GUIDE TO THE SP7 BACAIRI FILE

/During the last quarter of the 19th century and the early part of the 20th century there seem to have been two main geographical clusters of Bacairi, which were referred to as the western Bacairi and the eastern Bacairi, both located within the Mato Grosso region of Brazil. When seen by von den Steinen in 1884, the western Bacairi were concentrated in two settlements, one near the Rio Novo and one along the Rio Paranatinga. Even at that early date the western Bacairi were considered to be rather highly acculturated. By contrast, the eastern Bacairi, living in a number of villages along the Batoví and Kulisehu rivers in the Upper Xingú region, were almost completely unacculturated. But by 1924, according to Schmidt (pp. 31, 35), all the Bacairi of the Batoví and Kulisehu rivers who were not wiped-out by disease had moved to settlements along the Rio Paranatinga. The Bacairi speak a language of the Cariban stock, one of the most widespread stocks in South America.

The following cultural summary refers primarily to the traditional culture of the eastern Bacairi in the Upper Xingú region (cf. G.P. Murdock, Outline of South American Cultures, p. 87). Subsistence is based on slash-and-burn agriculture supplemented by fishing and to a lesser extent hunting. Bitter and sweet manioc, maize and sweet potatoes are the staple crops, while secondary crops include beans, peanuts, tobacco and cotton. They also gather wild fruits and nuts, and often transplant and even irrigate the trees that bear them. Men clear the land, hunt, and make baskets and bark canoes. Women plant and cultivate the crops; both sexes make pottery. Extensive trade is carried on with the Aueto, Trumai, Waura and Yaruma.

Dwellings are elliptical in shape with thatched roofs extending to the ground, and are substantially built. A village may consist of from three to six or twelve houses arranged in a circle around a village plaza on which stands a ceremonial hall and a guest house.

Each village is headed by a chief, and the villages are politically independent. According to Oberg (p. 73), there appears to be no evidence that the Bacairi had clans or moieties. Marriages are arranged by parents and involve no bride price. They are generally monogamous, but polygyny is permissible. Local endogamy seem to prevail. The Bacairi have Iroquois cousin terminology and bifurcate merging kin terms in the first ascending generation.

This file contains six sources; there are 2 translations from the German, 2 from the Portuguese, and 1 from the Spanish. The earliest source is 1: Steinen, which is a report in the form of a travel account of the first von den Steinen Xingú expedition in 1884. The villages of at least 4 different tribes were visited during a period of 5 months. Of this time, somewhat over 2 months were spent among the Bacairi of the Rio Batovi. Four Bacairi villages, with a total population of about 240, were visited. Also, the 2 villages of the western Bacairi were contacted, and their population is given as ca. 55 for the Rio Novo settlement, and ca. 20 for the Rio Paranatinga village.

2: Steinen remains the basic ethnographic source on the Bacairi. Out of a period of two months fieldwork in the Upper Xingú region, about 1 month was spent in 1887 with the Bacairi of the Rio Kulisehu. The report of this 2nd Xingú expedition covers both physical anthropology and the full range of ethnographic topics, plus some culture history. Most of the data are presented in the form of a comparative description with other Kulisehu river tribes — the villages of 7 different tribes were visited, and interviews were

conducted with informants from 2 other tribes. Three Baeairi villages, with a total population of ca. 160, were studied, and information was obtained concerning a fourth village. The most serious weakness in the von den Steinen data is the very inadequate treatment of social organization.

In 2: Steinen there are also separate sections devoted to the Paressi (SP19) and the Bororo (SP8), which have been marked for those files. The Paressi material is rather short and derived from interviews with a dozen informants, but the Bororo data are extensive and quite useful, being based mainly on one month's fieldwork in a recently established Bororo settlement in 1888.

3: Abreu focuses mainly on the Bacairi language. The data were obtained from one informant (not in the field) probably around 1892.

4: Schmidt presents a history of the Bacairi from the time of von den Steinen to 1927 when his own fieldwork was done. By this time the Xingú Bacairi had settled along the Rio Paranatinga both in and near the Simões Lopes Government Post. He describes numerous sociopolitical and cultural changes.

5: Altenfelder Silva and 6: Oberg both conducted their fieldwork in 1947 mainly at the Simões Lopes Post. Oberg estimates the total Bacairi population at that time in the northern part of Mato Grosso State to be 200 to 250 (p. 69). Oberg attempts a general reconstruction of Bacairi culture as it existed about 1907 along the Rio Kulisehu, his data deriving mainly from informants. Altenfelder Silva presents a brief description of Bacairi technology, kinship terminology, and ritual life, focusing on the series of ritualistic seclusions, or uanki, that occur at intervals during the life cycle.

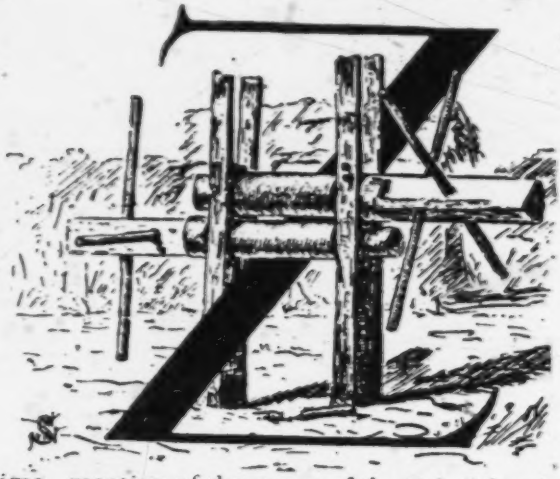
With the von den Steinen data, the Bacairi are one of the best described Brazilian tribes prior to almost any acculturation to western civilization./

Processed in 1965-1969

/100/

Eighth Chapter

The First Bakaïrí Village. -- March to the Paranatinga. -- The Second Bakaïrí Village.



101 175 [407]

In the report of José Gonçalves da Fonseca about a trip from Pará to the source region of the Madeira in the year 1749, I find, for the first time, mention of the name of the Bakaïrí, who consequently must have been known already to the first generation of Mata Grosso discoverers. In discussing the probable origin of the Schingú /Xingu/, he says that the rivers lying between the sources of the Tapajoz /Tapajós/ and the Tocantins, called "Bacaris" and "das Mortes," may undoubtedly be regarded as the source rivers of the Schingú. -- In the atlas of Thomas Jeffery of the year 1776, the "Bacahyris" on the Paranatinga are recorded.

Ayras de Cazal notes about our tribe in 1817: "The Baccahirys, who inhabit the regions adjacent to the Rio das Mortes, wage an incessant war against all kinds of quadrupeds and birds. [177] Up to the present time this people has not shown any hostility

[This drawing illustrates a sugar cane press — C.f. P. 22 -- Analyst]

/100 cont./

101 to the Christians. It is said that they are white and friendly: one reason why they are regarded as a horde of the Paricys."

Martius has them living at the southernmost sources of the Schingú and also lists them at the sources of the Arinos and Juruena. He also classifies /101/ them under the Parecí /Paressi/ who are scattered across the watershed between Tapajoz, Madeira, and Paraguay.

Now it turns out that placing the Parecí and the Bakaïrí together in this way was erroneous. The well-known closest relatives of the Bakaïrí, as I wish to point out briefly in advance, are settled north of the Amazon River, and a tribe somewhat more distantly related to them, but belonging to the same group, lives in the source region of the Madeira. I myself was familiar only with the note of Martius, and on the journey I had no idea how interesting this little tribe was

Bakaïrí village.

and how many hours I would later spend pondering over its past.

It was a very fortunate circumstance that Reginaldo -- who was always ready to smoke a cigarette with me and warmed up more and more and gradually became highly amused by my notations -- had an amazing gift of quick perception and was able to express himself clearly for practical purposes in a somewhat crude Portuguese. Such an opportunity never came again later. Reginaldo was a good person, intelligent, and held the reins of his chieftainship in strong, paternal hands.

/101 cont./

361 [101] There were two settlements of "docile" Bakaïrí: the aldeament on the Rio Novo, as this first was called, after a tributary of the Arinos, and the aldeament on the Paranatinga. The two villages are not yet old; all the adults were born father up the Paranatinga, on the "Salto" /waterfall; see the glosary, [131] p. 172 /; the Bakaïrí, however, were probably spread over this entire region in small hordes, as is shown by the fact that they were noted as far as the Rio das Mortes. In the twentie, when 179 648 797 the gold-seeker expedition under the leadership of P. Lopez pushed into this region, they were converted to Christianity, on which occasion, as Reginaldo related, his grandfather and many others lost their lives.

823 /102/ We eagerly inquired as to whether he knew about a river beyond the Paranatinga? Today, he replied, this region is [131] completely strange to them; he remembered from his youth, [101] however, that one was supposed to come to a large river if one went from the Paranatinga toward the rising sun, and on this river there were said to be Bakaïrí still living, the "antiguos" /the ancients/, who were not Christians.

361 The two aldeamente are under the administration of the 648 "Director dos Indios" in Cuyabá /Cuiabá/. Reginaldo is a [622] Brazilian captain, his successor as chief of the tribe, Joaquim, 361 is a lieutenant. Our seeing no women was due to the fact that they were living in an aldeament two legoas away; the huts which we occupied were used only when the farm work required it or when there were visitors. Reginaldo /illustration appears here/ completely forgot to say how sorry he was that he could greet us only as a grass widower.

[162] The village numbered six huts; the population amounted 342 to 55: 16 men, 19 women, 20 children. The soldiers were usually quartered in the big house that Reginaldo otherwise occupied with a few others: a rectangle 57 paces long and five paces wide, which was divided into a number of separate rooms by means of partitions. We occupied the guest house -- it was only 17 paces [199] long. It was modern construction, learned from the colonists. Twenty minutes away we found two deserted old-style huts,

/177 cont./

829 We inquired eagerly about other tribes. It became clear
[101] that the Kustenaú and the Trumaí were to be met downstream. Waurá was a name about which we could not be certain. Was it a tribe? Or a little stream like "Tapacuya," which had given us a great deal of trouble and turned out to be the name of a nearby brook -- frequently mentioned to distinguish it from this aldea.

[101] The Kamayurá /Camayura/ lived ten days overland in the east. The principal role in all the descriptions, however, was played by the Schuyá (1), about whom the people in Aldea III

1. Suyá, pronounced Schuyá by the Bakaïrí.

had also spoken with excitement. They said they were taller -- they always pointed to me for a comparison --, very muscular, wore long hair down to their shoulders, and -- apparently lip plugs. By way of illustration, they pulled the lower lip forward forcefully with both hands, leaped about, and uttered a dreadful, intermittent roar; there was no doubt about it, the "Schuyá" were regarded with extraordinary respect among the Bakaïrí. But we! We might indeed risk it -- a young chap pointed to our guns, and all the heroes laughed and nodded to each other.

439 They showed us a number of articles that came from the Suyá: a fine headdress of orange-red and green feathers, arm bands of such feathers, a flute (simple bamboo cylinder with side hole and an opening in the top), arrows with bamboo knives. A nicely carved stool, which represented a bird, was supposed to have been obtained from the Kamayurá.

[101] A string with small perforated stone disks, one of which was larger in the center and could be interpreted as human-like, came from the Nahuquá (2) likewise living in the east.

2. Apparently the Uanaquá of the Suyá geographer.

1: Steinen
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SP7 Bacairi SP7

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4	5	6

Chart of Positions of Map A

/Facing p. 154/

I. Steinen. 1884 D, L-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Sacair. SP7

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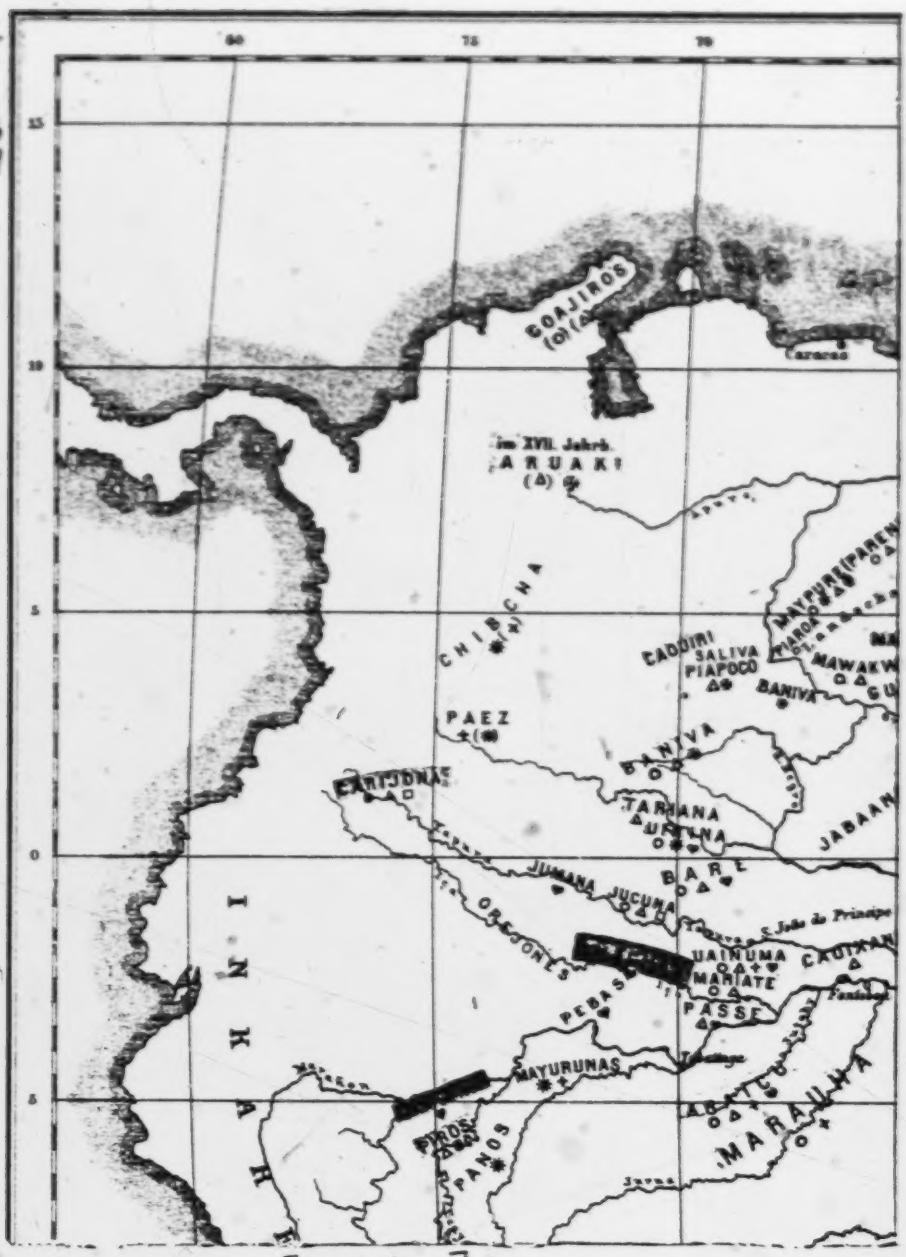

[Map A-1]

1: Steinen--155 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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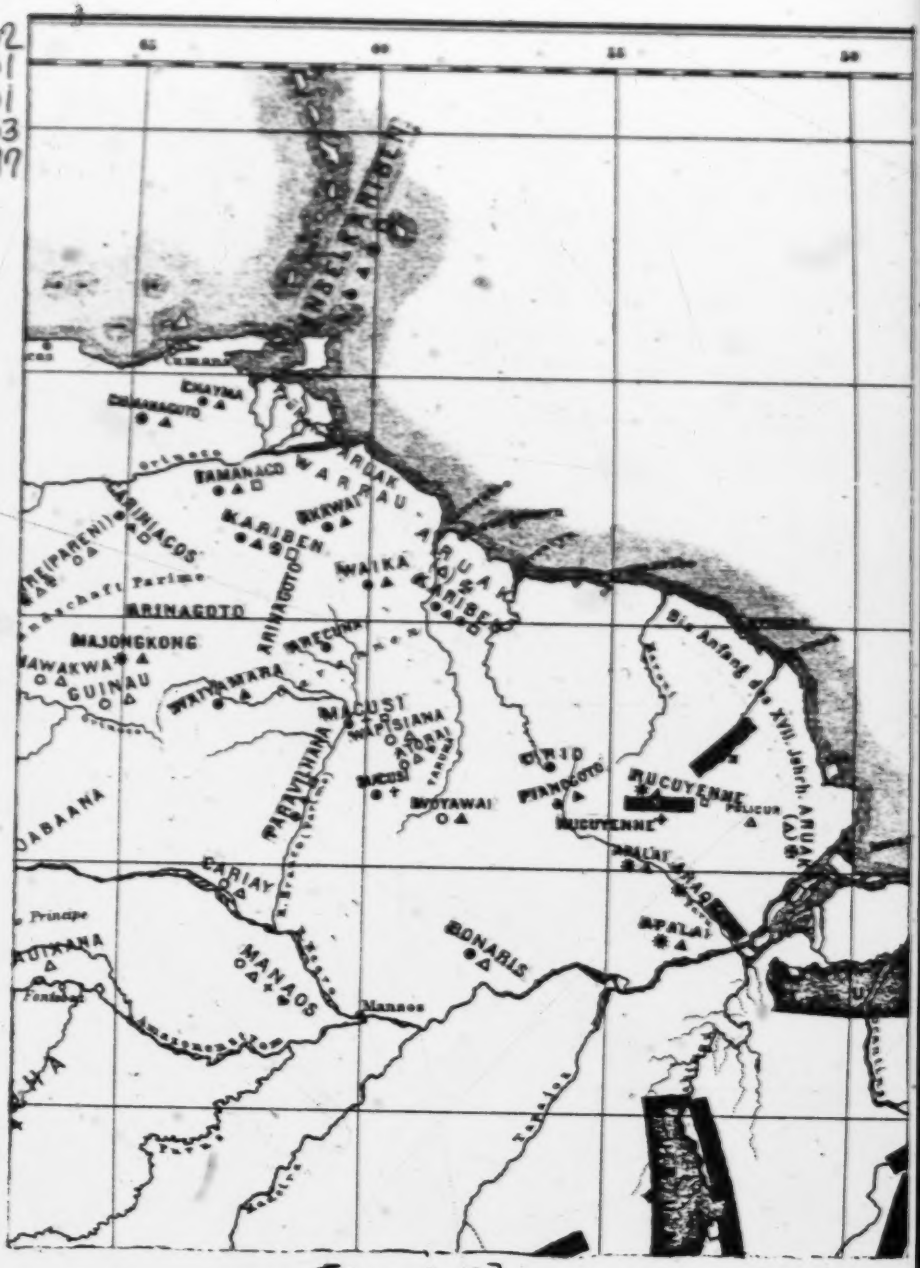
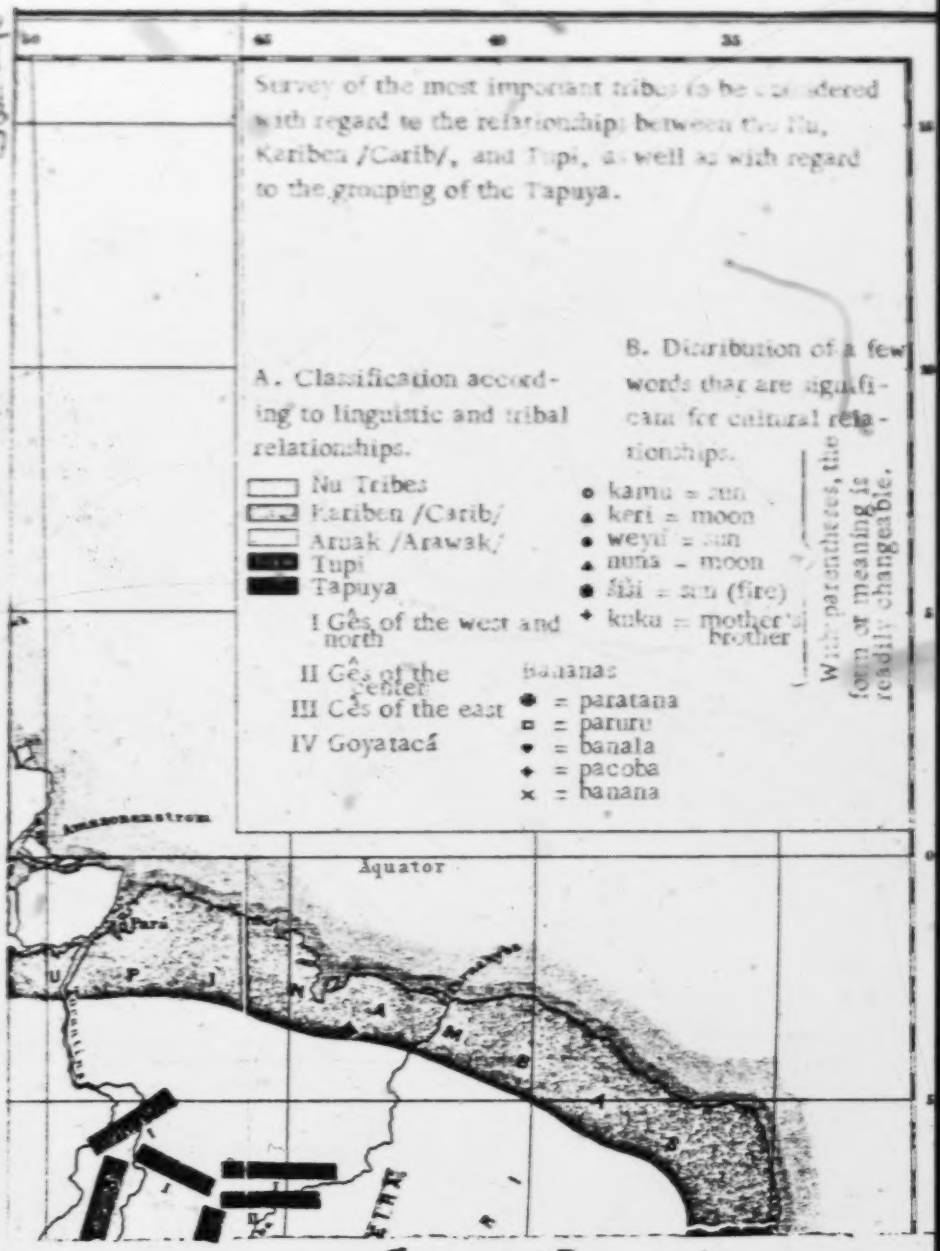


[Map A-2]

1: Steinen--15c D,1-2 (188s) 1886 MS page: SP7



[Map A-3]

1: Steinen--157 D,5-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Backup: SP7

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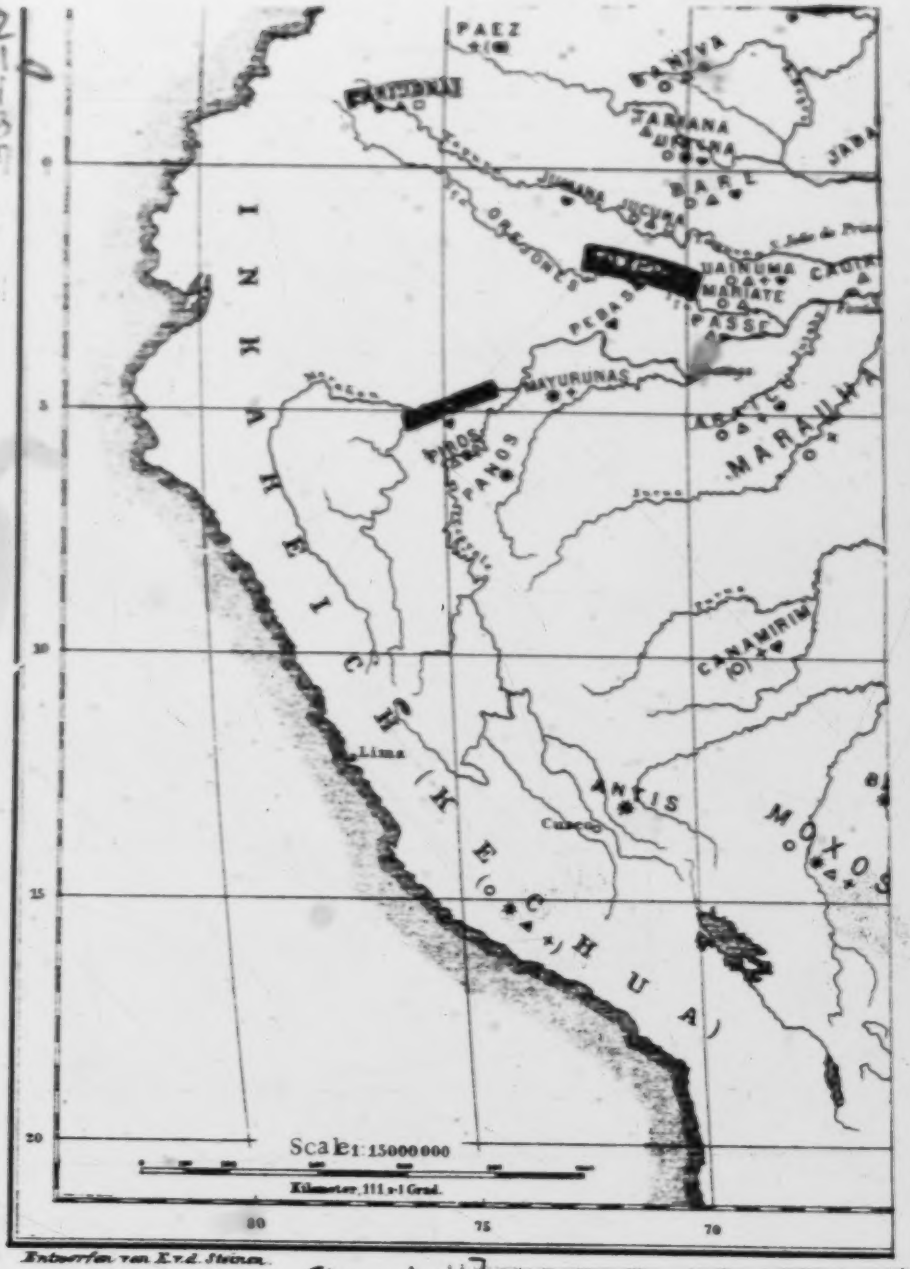

Entworfen von K. v. d. Steinen.

[Map A-4]

I: Steinen--158 D.E.-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacai SP7

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[Map A-5]

1. Steinen--159 D E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Backir SP7

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[Map A-6]

1: Steinen

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SP7 Bacairi SP7

A	B	C	D	E	F
G	H	I	J	K	L

Chart of Positions of End Map /Facing p. 173/

1: Steinen--173), E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Special map of the Schingú River. From the records and position-findings of Dr. O. Clauss, reduced to the scale of 1:500,000.

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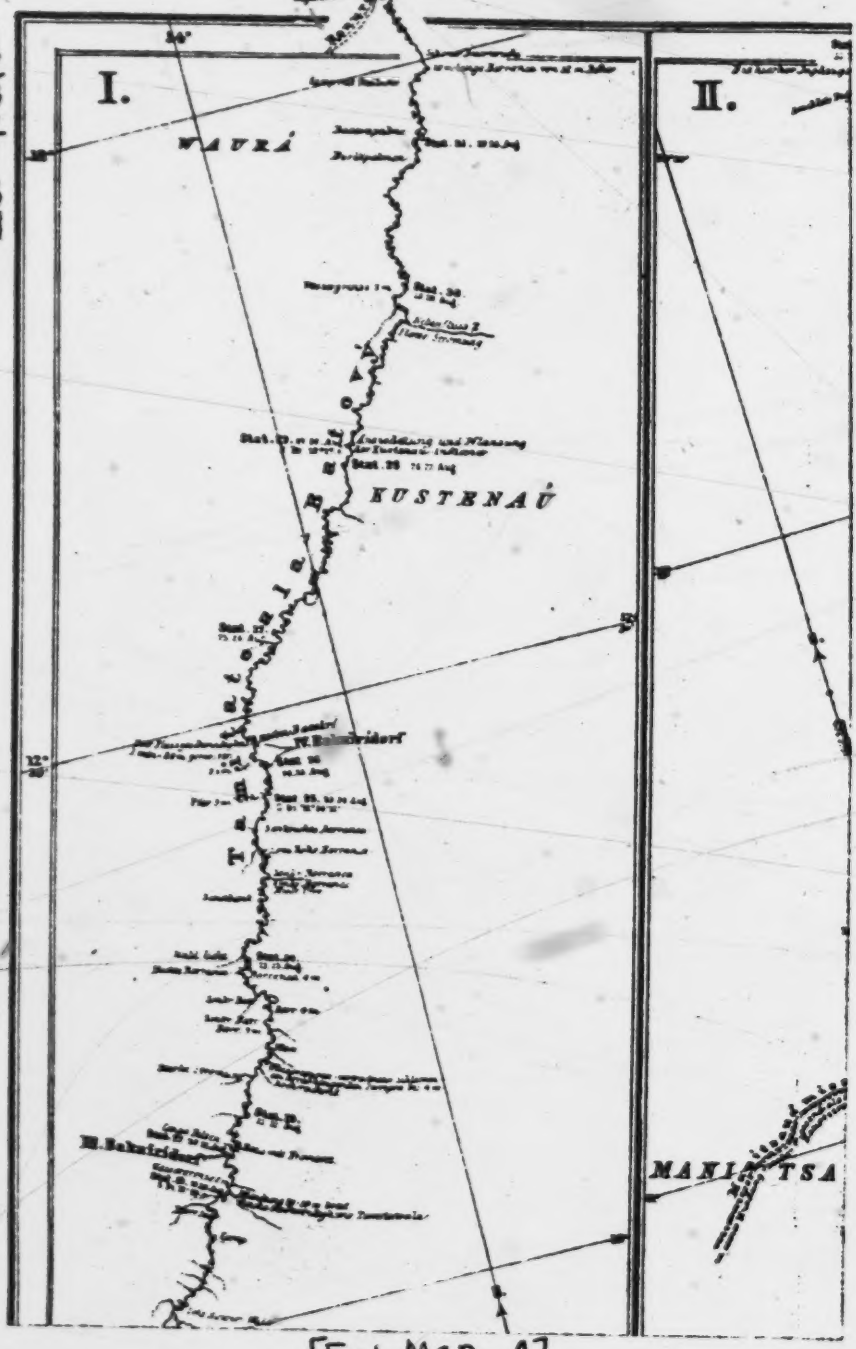

[End Map, A]

1: Steinen--174 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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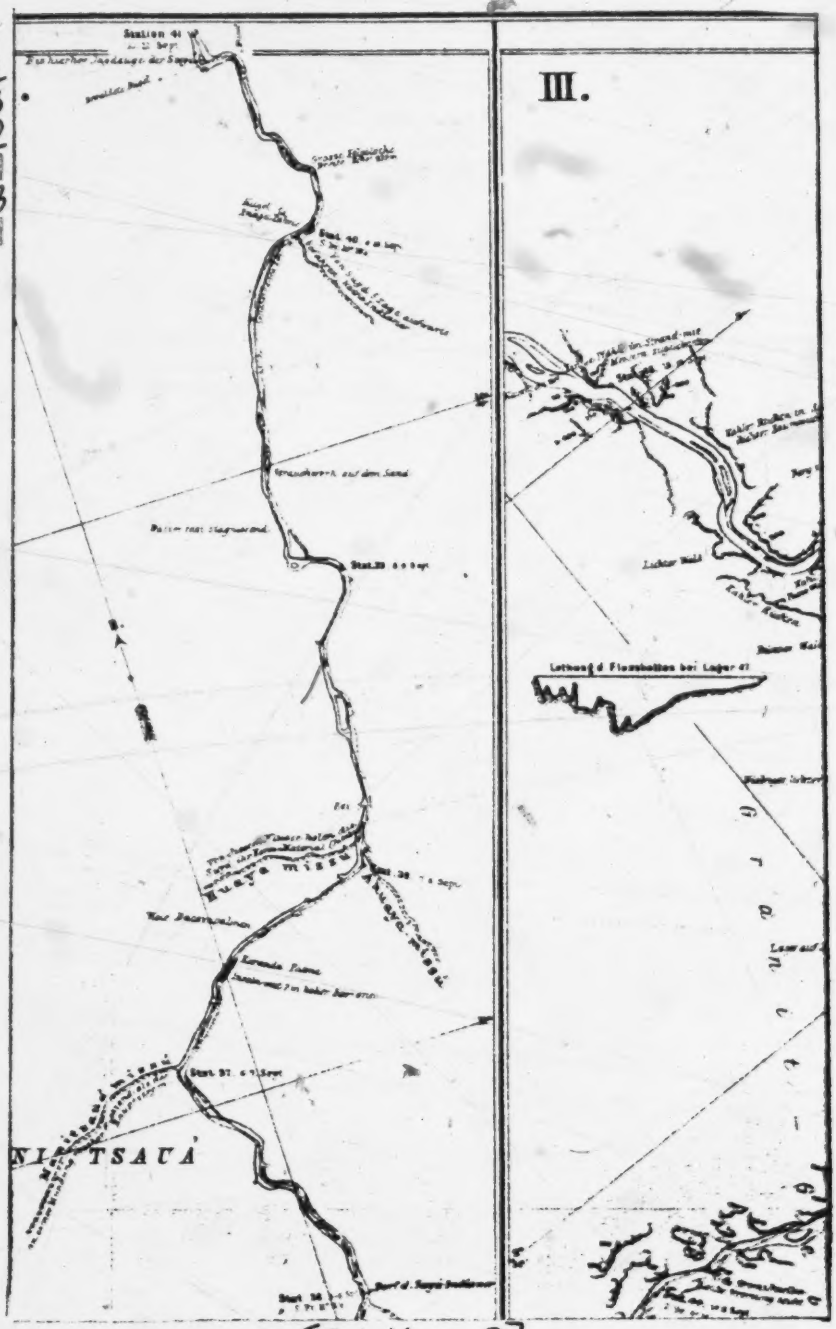

[End Map, B]

1: Steinen--175 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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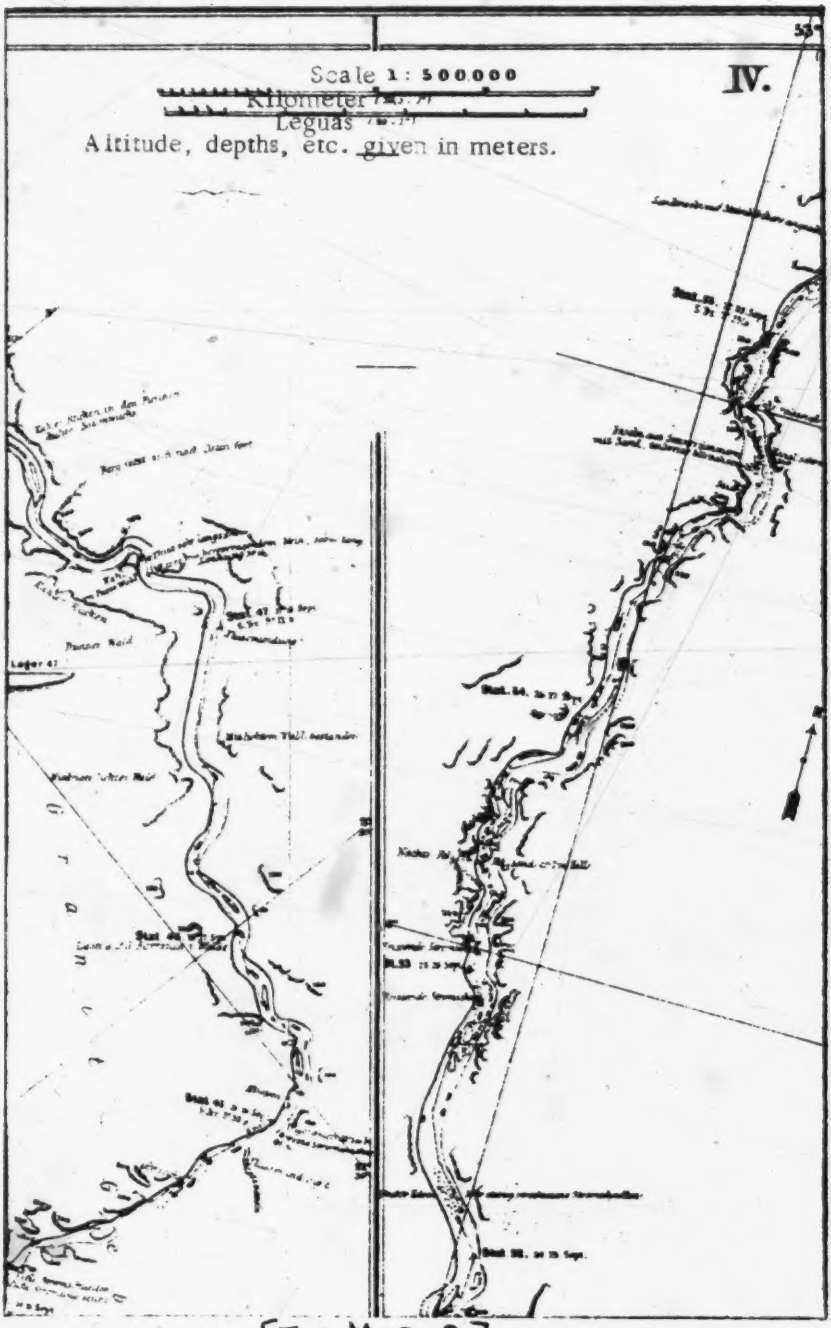

[End Map, C]

1: Steinen--176 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Explanation:

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route of the v. d. Steinen Expedition 1884.

Δ Stat. 34 Stopping places on it, with dates 4, 5 Oct.

In the case of stations determined by astronomical calculations, the latitude that was ascertained is added.

camp = treeless land overgrown with tall grass

= forest

o Seringeiro = Brazilian caoutchouc gatherer

cataracts and rapids

rocks, partly covered with plant growth.
Barranca = steep, sandy shore

sand banks

[Legend Appearing Below scale on End Map, C]

1 Steinen--177 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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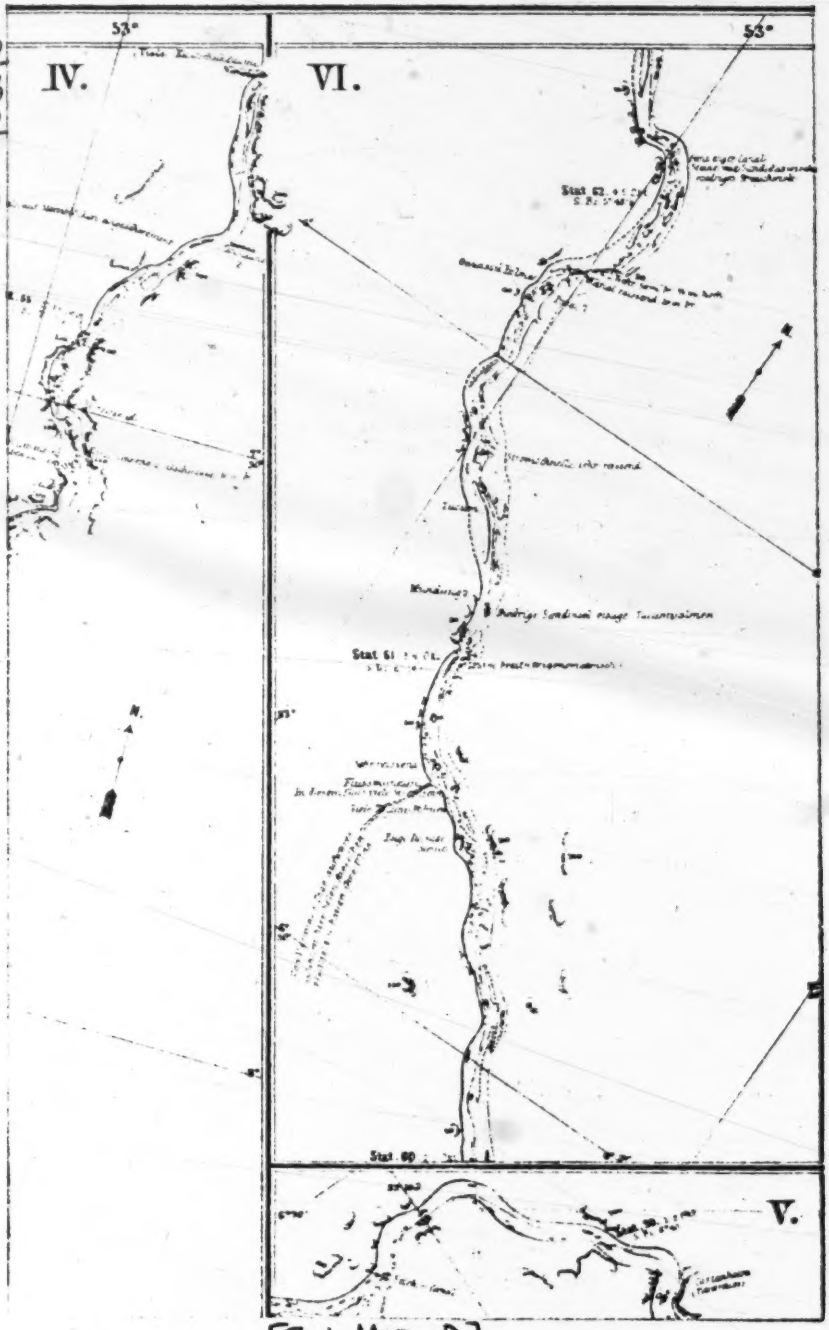

[End Map, D]

1: Steinen--178 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Gacairi SP7

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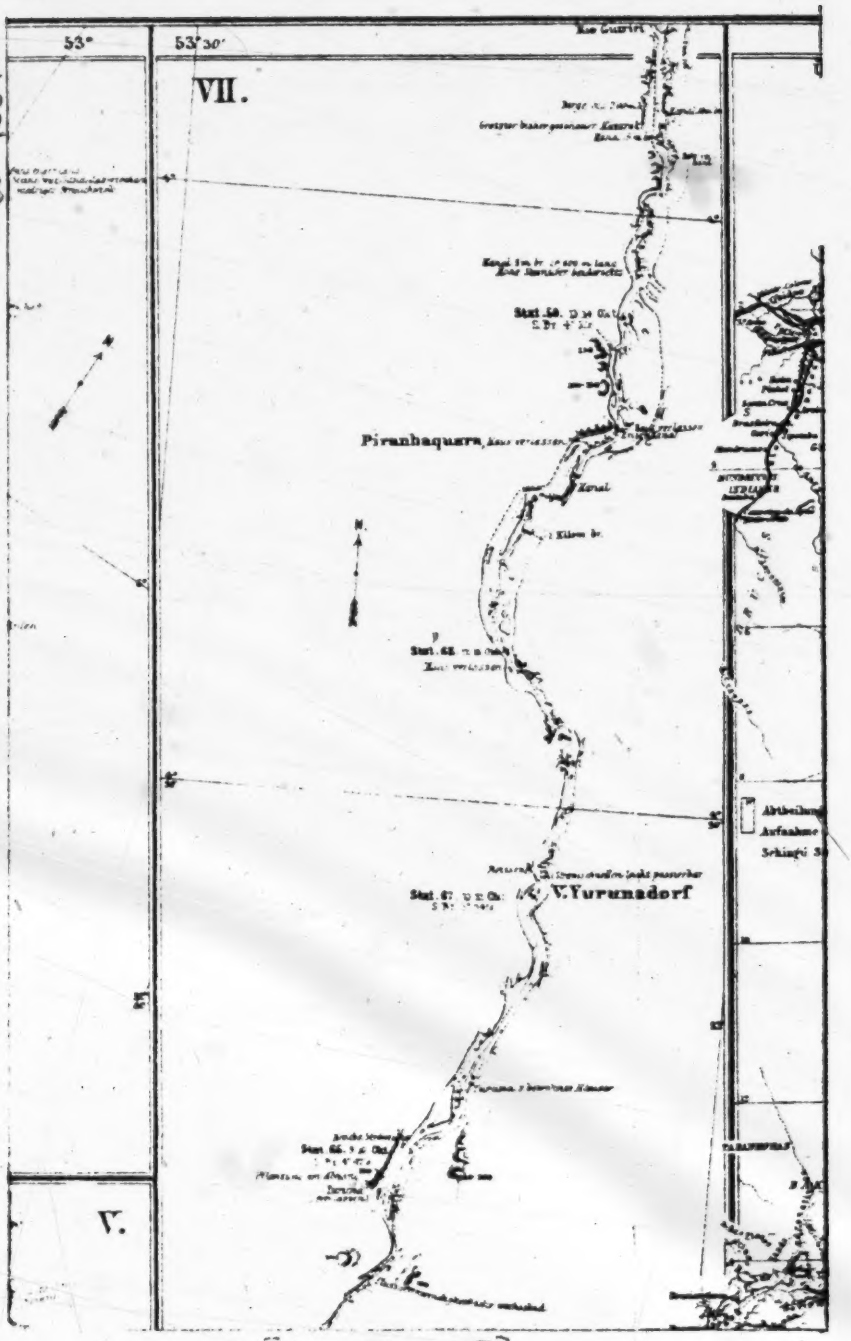

[Ens MAP, E]

1: Steinen--179 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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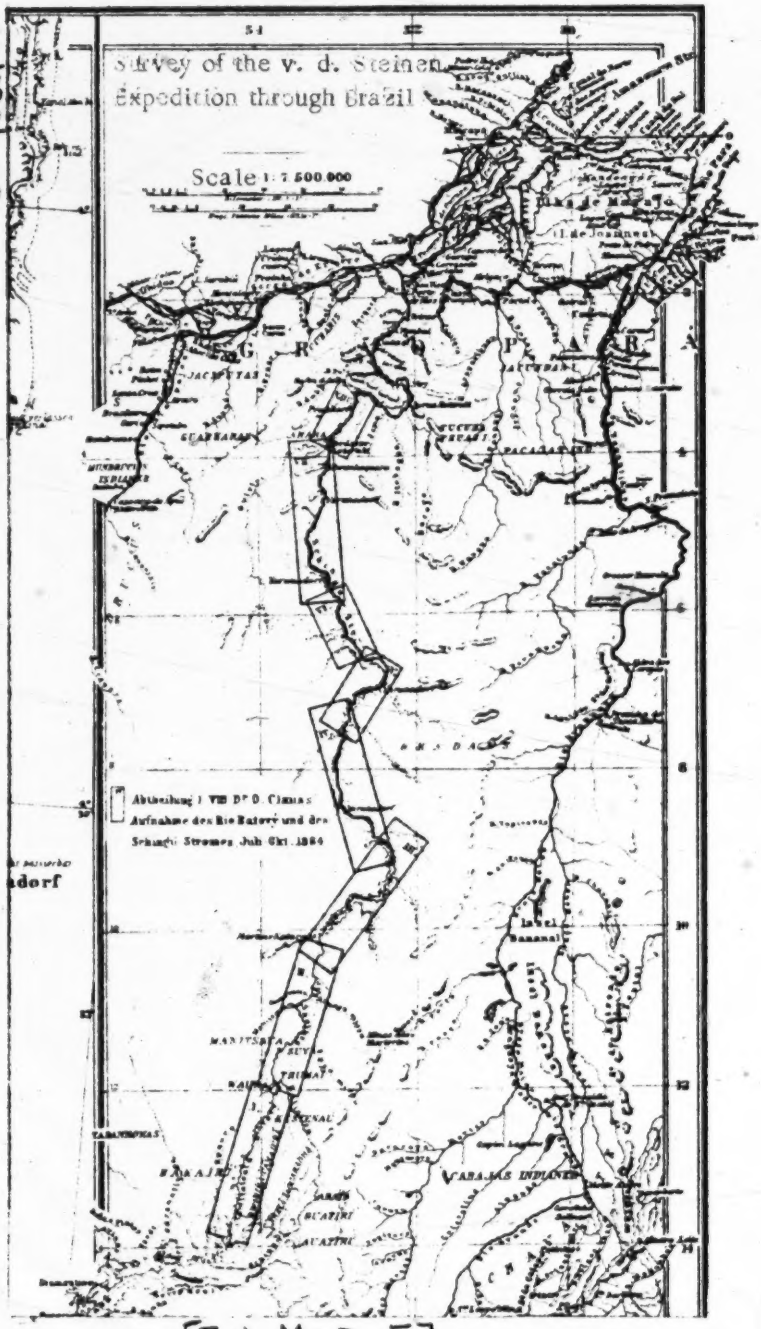

[End Map, F]

1: Steinen - 180 D, 5-3 (1884) 1886 - SP7 Bacairi SP7

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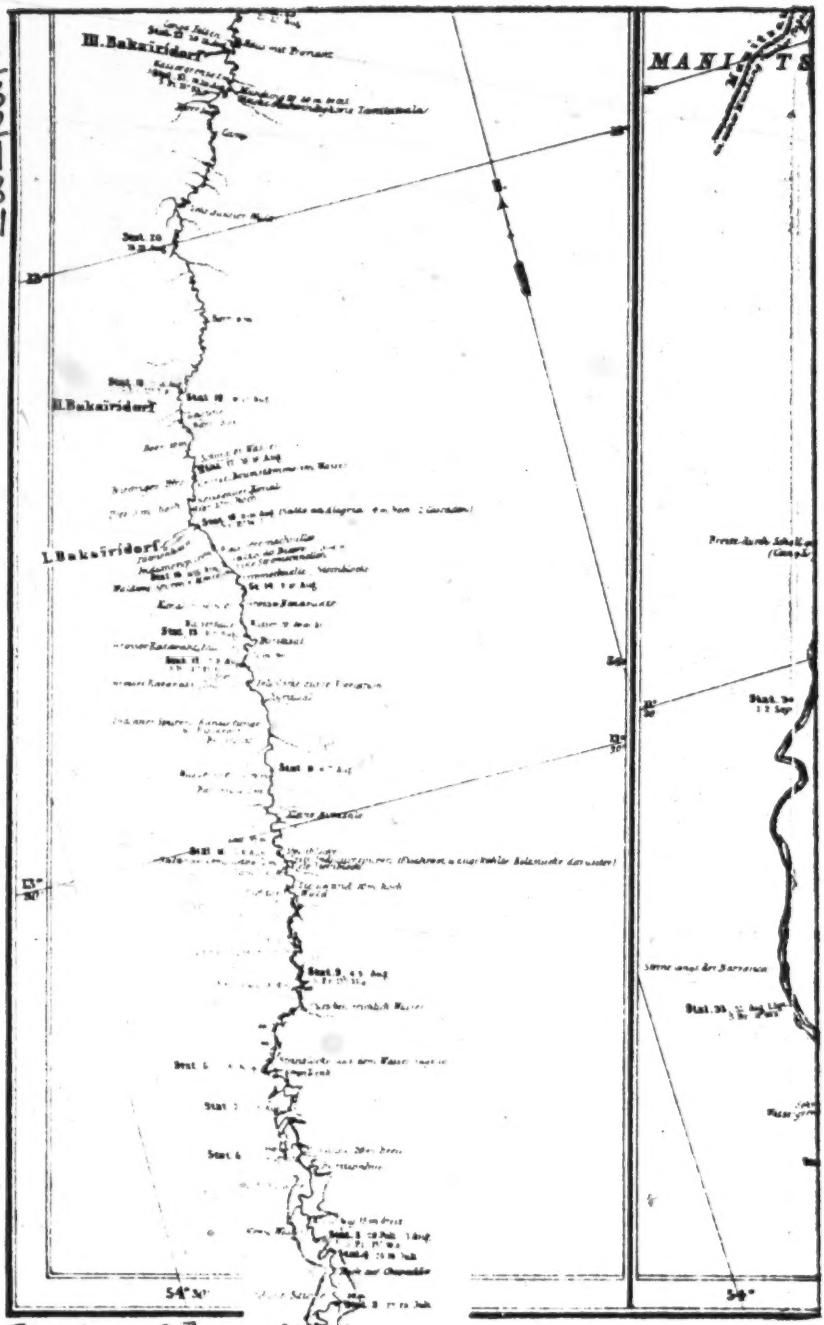

[End Map, G]

1: Steinen--181 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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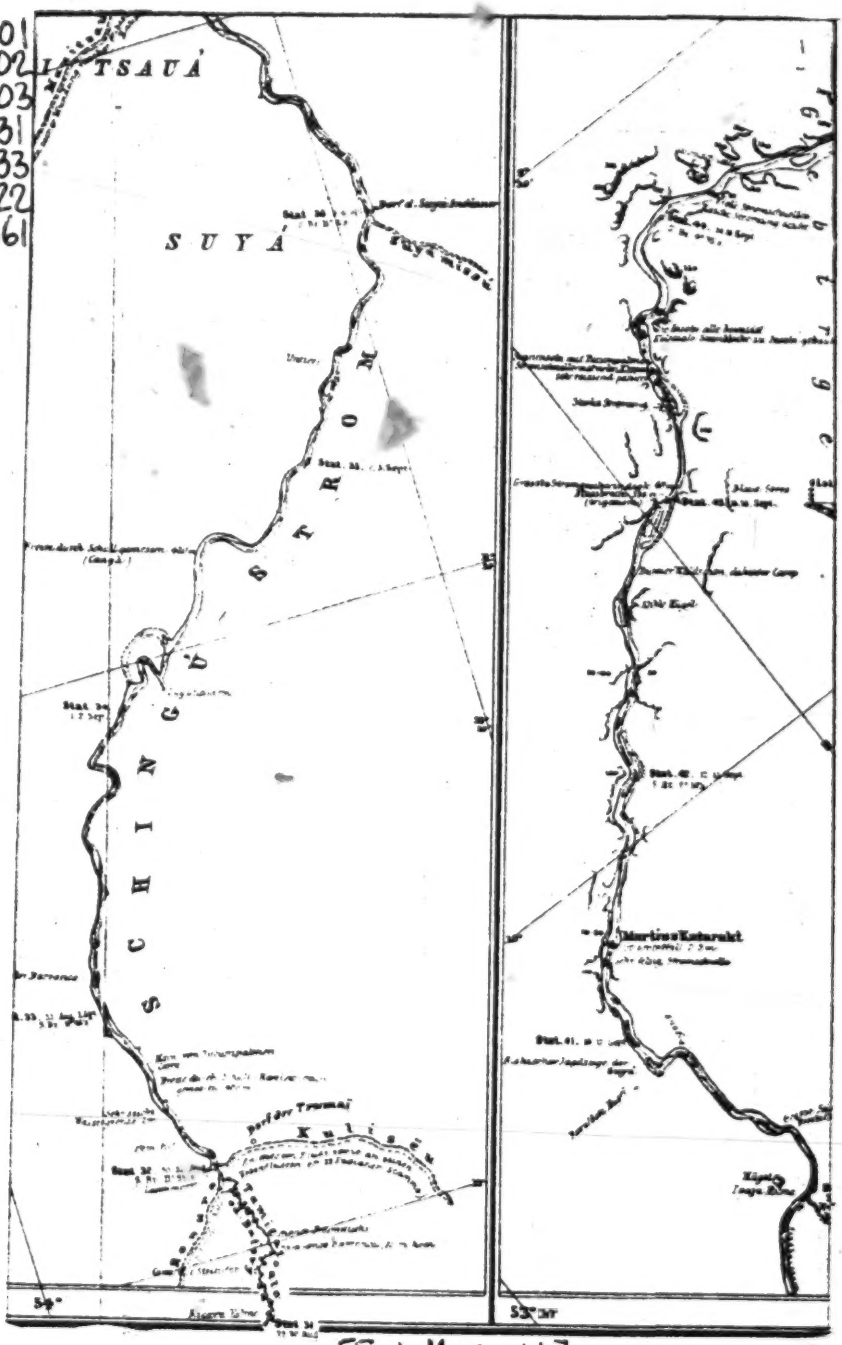

[End Map, H]

1: Steinen--182 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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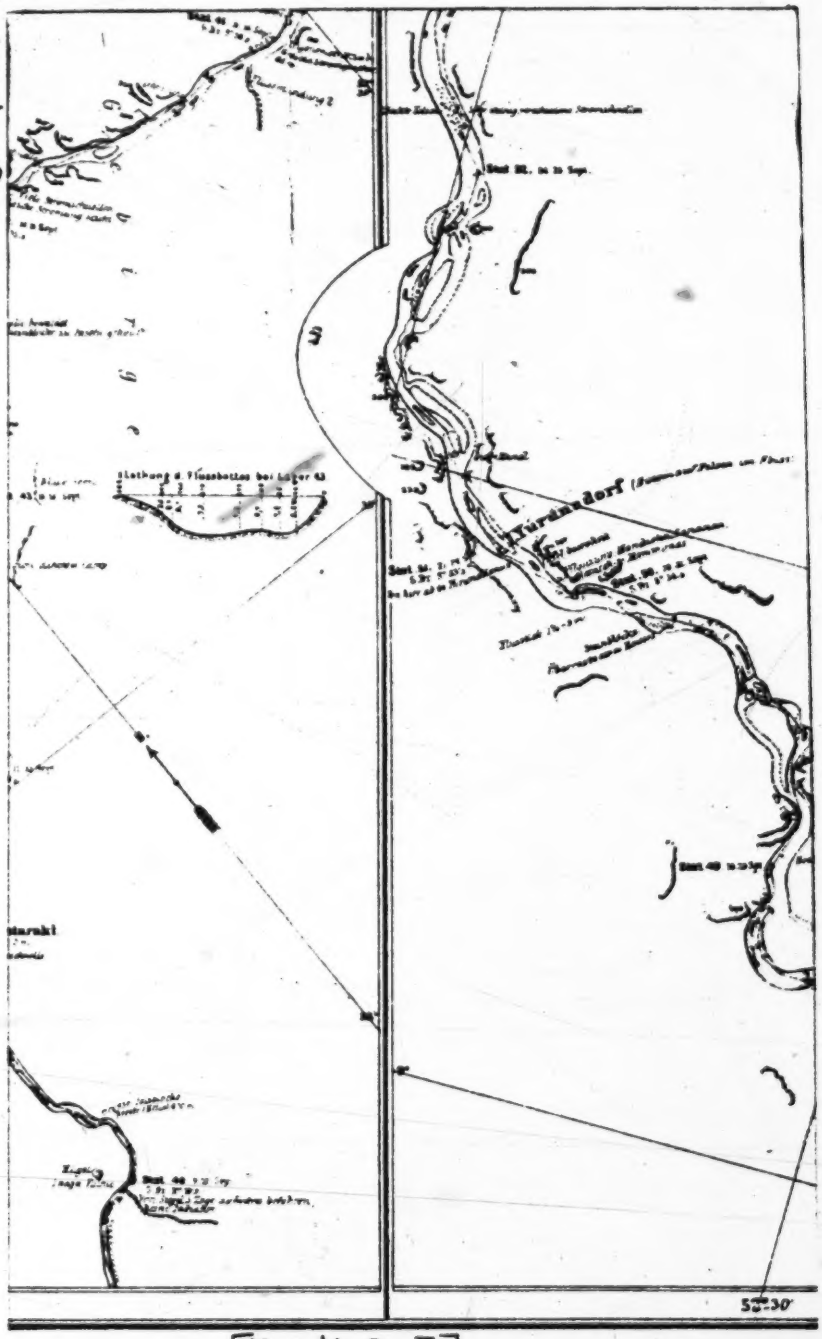

[End Map, I]

1: Steinen--183 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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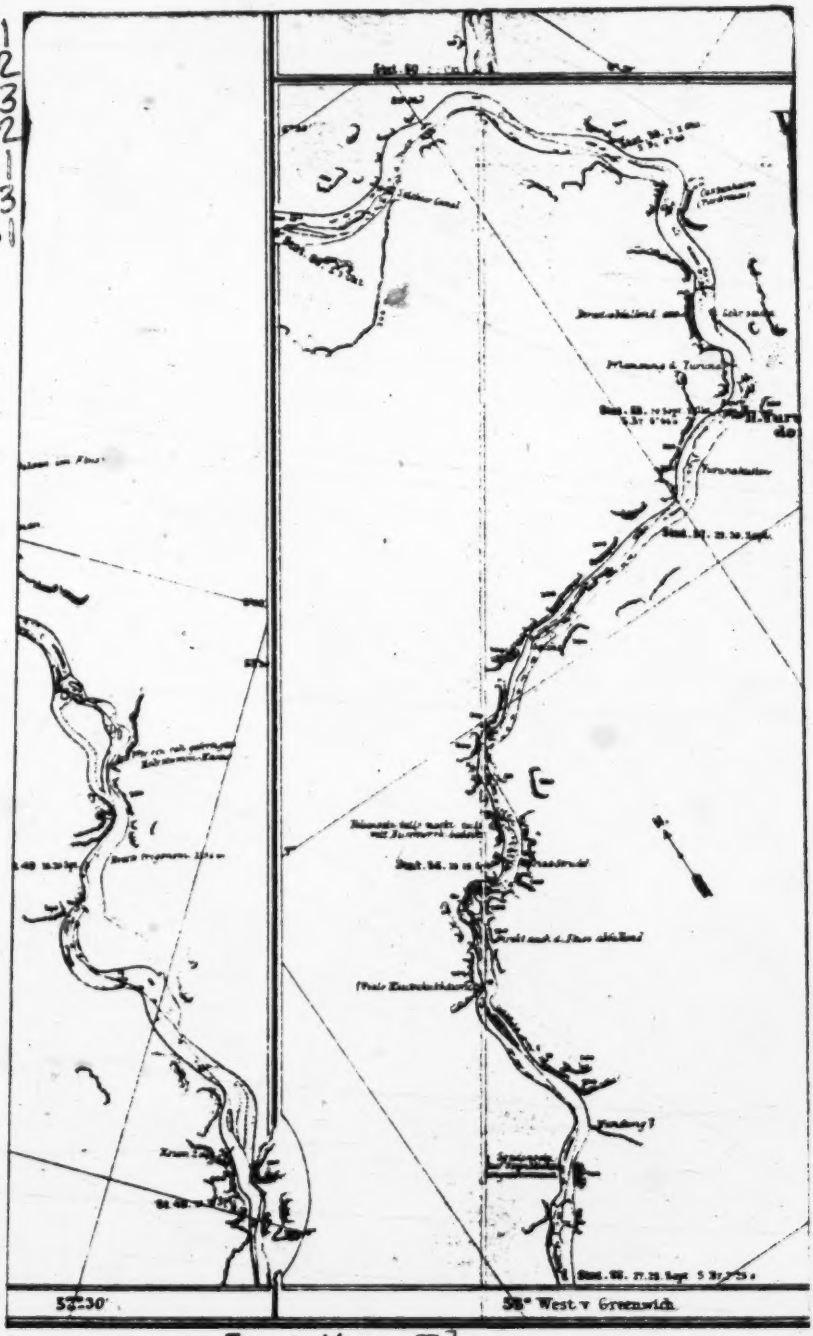

[End Map, J]

1: Steinen--184 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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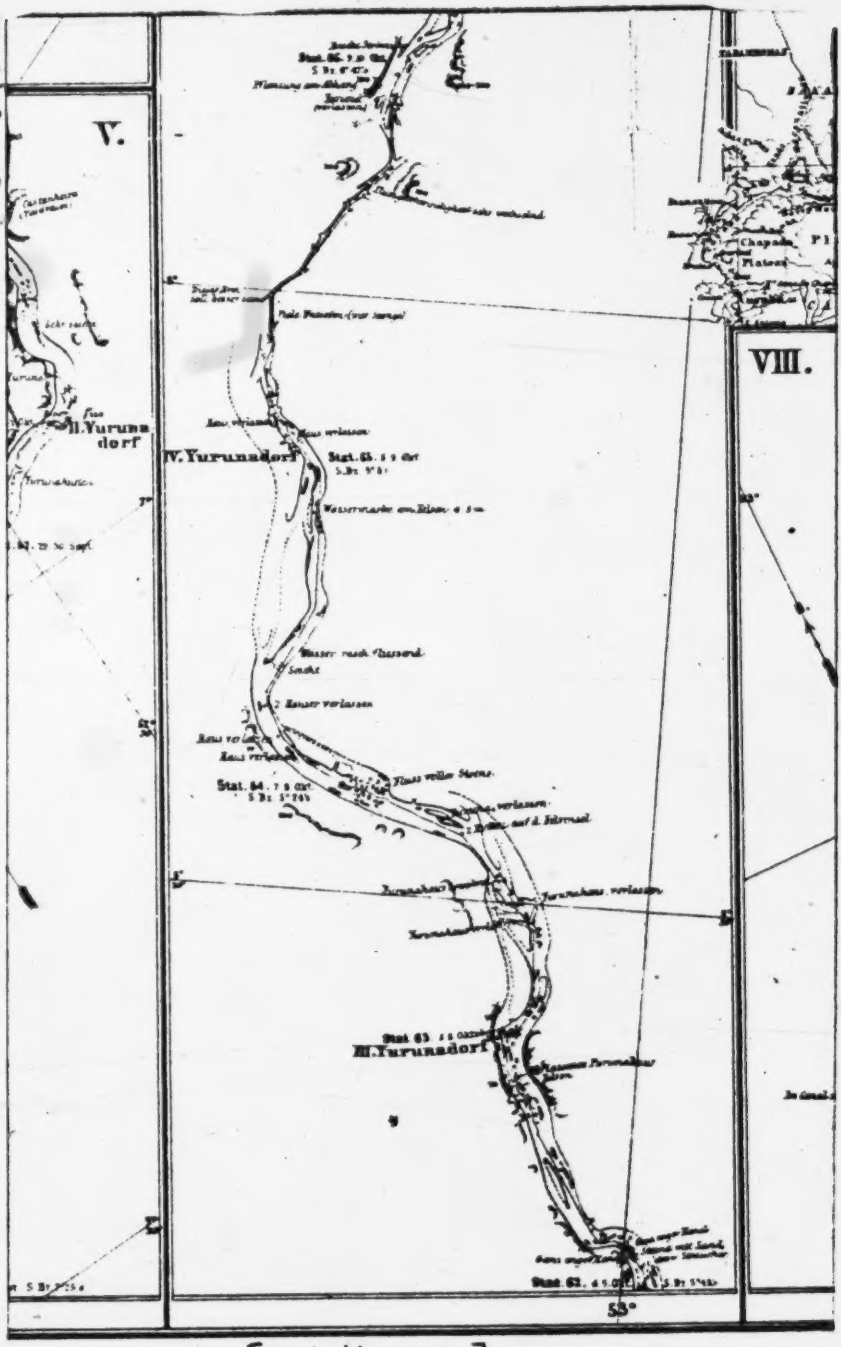

[End Map, K]

1: Steinen--185 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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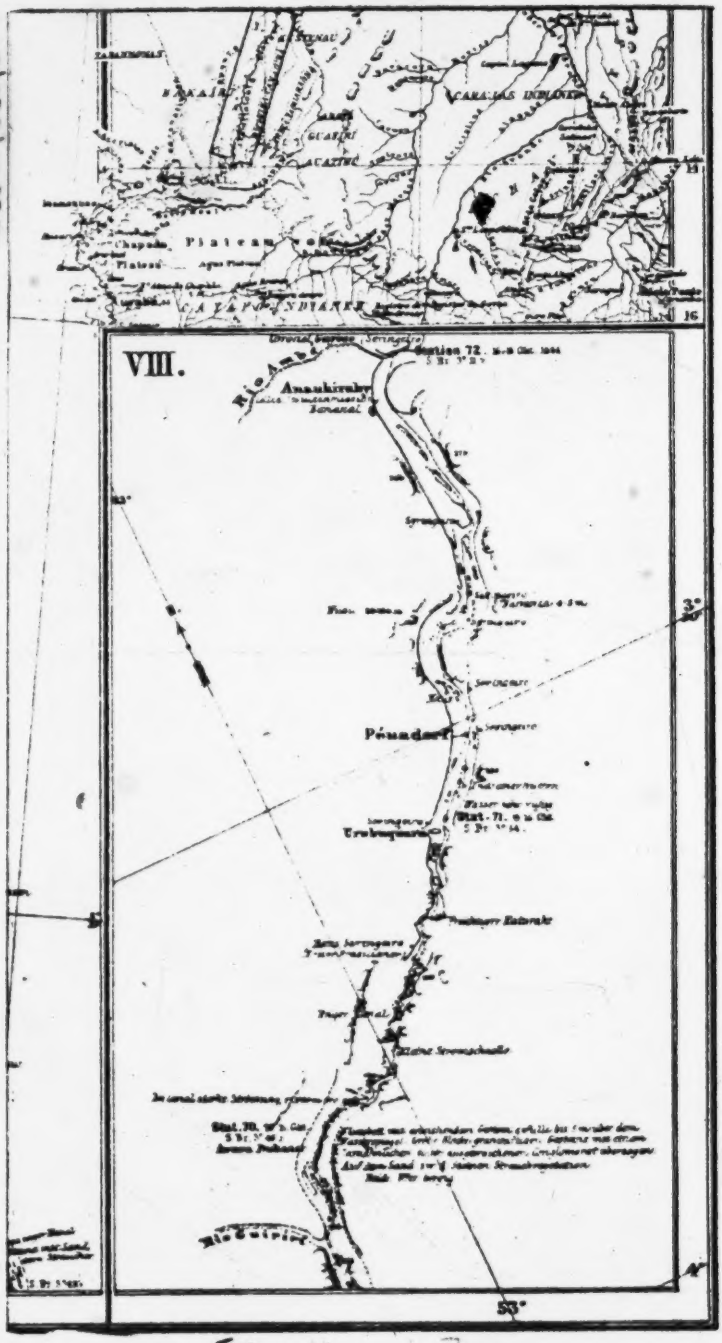

[End Map, L]

2: Steinen

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SP7 Bacairi SP7

/For a map showing place names, location of settlements, physical relationships of the various tribes discussed in the text, and topographical features of the area covered by the second von den Steinen expedition, see category 116, pp. 664-684./

/53 cont./

123 was assured. Tumayaua, as I now learned from Antonio, had
[609] been no little disconcerted by my call; he had answered that he
was a Bakaïrí, but that we were not Bakaïrí. Obligingly, the
good man offered us his canoe, he himself climbed into ours,
and took charge of guiding us. But we chatted no less busily
101 than we rowed. The Bakaïrí of the Batovy were Tumayaua's
114 relatives and friends. There was wonderful news about the first
village that we had visited in 1884. The old Indian whom we
at that time had called the "professor" was on his way to the
Paranatinga with a few others! They wanted to pay a new visit
to Antonio and his tribal brothers. Pauhaga, the first Bakaïrí
whom we had greeted on the Batovy on our previous journey,
lived at the moment in Tumayaua's community, and a strange
coincidence thus decreed that we were to see him again likewise
131 in the very first village of the Kulisehu. Were we really on the
103 Kulisehu? Yes, the river was called Kulisehu, Kulisëu, or
Kulihëu, since "h" and "s" are interchangeable in Bakaïrí, and
all the tribes that we were looking for apparently also lived
on its shores.

133 Cachoeiras, however, interrupted the conversation. We
had set out at 12:00; after half an hour there came a low rock-
cachoeira 60 meters long, through which we laboriously wound
our way; then shortly after 1:00 No. 4 of this day's series, where
we had to unload and stop for half an hour. At 2:45 we came
to the fifth and last, which poured over the boulders in a mighty
122 surge. Here, however, the pilot went on strike against going
any farther in our canoe, which was succumbing to acute
dropsy. We took him aboard as a fourth and left the corpse to
its fate. Tumayaua, we had to acknowledge approvingly, had
truly come our way at a good time; it is highly improbable that
we three with our baggage and without knowing the way would
have reached the village through the final cachoeiras in the
miserable canoe that could no longer carry the single Indian.
Certainly we would not have reached this goal today. At 3:15
we landed on the left bank; we were in the "harbor."

/55 cont./

B 101 131 361 On the very first evening I obtained a fairly clear conception of the Kulisehu dwellers whom we might see. There were three Bakaïrí villages; they were supposed to be followed by a village of the "Nahuquá," two villages of the "Minakú," a village of the "Auití," a village of the "Yaulapihü," and on the "Kuluëne" a village of the "Trumaí," Between the Kulisehu and the Tamitotoala-Batovy, the "Kamayulá" and the "Waurá" were said to be living. B 103 133 114 The meaning of the river name "Kuluëne," which I now heard for the first time, remained uncertain. Only gradually did I come to understand that it is the chief river in the east, larger than the Kulisehu which empties into it. Thus the river that we had seen in 1884 flowing in from the southeast at Schingú-Koblenz /Xingu-Coblenz/ was not actually the "Kulisehu," as we had understood at that time and had believed up to now, but rather the combined Kuluëne-Kulisehu; the name "Kuluëne" was retained for the Schingú itself below the large fork, so that the Suyá, for instance, lived on the Kuluëne. If one wished to go by the nomenclature of the natives, one would have to use the name "Kuluëne" instead of "Schingú" and now say that the Kuluëne first receives the Kulisehu and then, at "Koblenz," the Ronuro along with the Tamitotoala-Batovy.

B 823 It was a difficult piece of work to get these statements from the Bakaïrí; there was much drawing in the sand, much pantomime carried on, and, if a section of the route remained B 101 T 114 obscure, they always began again from the beginning. For the time being I knew enough; the individual tribes apparently did not live very far apart, at most a journey of three days. I was also given some bad news, and I confess that for me it spoiled the hitherto very pleasant memory of the first expedition: when the Trumaí /56/ at that time at Koblenz had dashed away from us in sheer flight, and our soldiers had pursued them in order to recover some of the objects that they had taken along in spite of their haste, a Trumaí had been killed, as I now learned, in the foolhardy shooting that the men had permitted themselves and that allegedly was only aimed into the air. We could therefore hardly count on a cordial welcome there.

/91 cont./

353 a couple of fish drawings were drawn on with white loam. To our
531 greatest astonishment, triangles and squares were meant as illustrations of concrete objects and were not merely "geometric
126 figures." Wilhelm copied the entire frieze with painstaking precision, as Plates 20 and 21 show.[1] I shall later compare the practices among the Bakaïrí with those among the rest of the Kulisehu tribes. Unfortunately it was not possible to bring home the originals. The loam was so loosely applied that it immediately crumbled off, and so coarse-grained that it could not be permanently fixed with a coating of collodion, as was done successfully with the masks.

000 Toward sundown, led by Aramöke, who was parading around in his red scarf, we went to the camp, which was now pitched at the actual harbor, and there, after the new shipwreck, we encountered a great "drying of laundry." Antonio's oar was also broken.

123 A number of Indians stood and sat around on the slope of the shore when we set out on 6 October shortly after 7:00. João Pedro had ordered for himself half a dozen fresh beijús and was served promptly in the early morning, as by a civilized baker.

133 The powerful rapids called "kulúri" by the Bakaïrí, which we soon cut through without peril, was the last one on the Kulisehu: "tũxu ãle," the stones are "all gone." On this stretch the river again greatly resembled the section beyond Independencia; many fallen trees in the water, frequent elevated sandy beaches or steep
[136] loam banks, the current somewhat faster. The small masarico with its little red legs came tripping rapidly toward us across the sand, called "go away, come, come," and flew ahead a little distance, to wait for us there again. The bends in the river were very numerous and the trip became a deadly bore. The sunlight was reflected glaringly by the light sand and the water glistened unbearably. At 2:45 we passed a right tributary-brook about eight meters wide, the Pakuneru. This is the same name that the Paranatinga bears among the Bakaïrí. At its source -- far away
[101] ih.... -- the kayãxo, the Kayapó /Cayapo/, are said to live;

[1] [See pp. 280-281 -- Analyst]

/91 cont./

133 Tumayaua declared that he had heard them shout. It is probable
[101] that the fire glow which we had repeatedly noticed in the east, and which had been regularly observed in the evening at Independencia, came from them. Barely an hour later, the Kewayeli, about 12 meters wide, flowed in from the left. On both banks queimada and plantings.

484 From the second village Tumayaua had taken along as a companion Pakurali, a short, stocky old man who did not look as though he were a great sorcerer, and whom we, with a lack of
[482] respect, called the "cab driver." They did not have much luggage with them and easily packed it into the mayakus, their
[286] back-baskets for carrying loads. They had taken along on the journey, not cotton hammocks, but hammocks made of palm fiber, which are lighter and dry quickly if they become wet. /92/ The two made rapid progress, even though they were bent on fishing at every favorable spot. We had let the great sorcerer sniff a bottle of ammonia, which had horrified him no little. After that he could no longer be enticed to smell any of our things. If one of us calls from a corner that it stinks there, everybody runs over and sniffs.

103 To the Third Bakaïrí Village (Kuyaqualiéti).

361 The harbor at which we arrived at 4:45 lay at the end of a lateral inlet and would not have been found without a guide.

The next morning, 6 October, we departed at 7:00 for the village and reached it in three-quarters of an hour on the usual
[532] winding forest-trail. On the way we saw a large human figure carved in tree bark, with three fingers on the hands and stump-like feet.

Harpia village, "kuyaquali-éti," also had only three houses and a flute-house, but was the liveliest of the three villages.
162 I counted 31 men and just about as many women and children.
621 Some of the latter, however, had run into the woods. There
574 were probably about 100 souls in the village. The chief, Porisa,
622 was a small, friendly gentleman; he had had beijú baked at night.

B /132 cont./
123 Then he dragged up one of the nicely plaited storage baskets
431 three-quarters of a meter high and, boasting happily, put it be-
[285] fore us as a present. The best was yet to come, however. A
B round mat was placed on the ground, the chief called, and out
[262] of the houses all the women and children came running and slapped a beijú onto the mat, each one running back immediately to make room. The agile flurry with which the beijús came flying was charming. Some 16 cakes were lying there. Then "ále" was said and we were dismissed. We, of course, outdid ourselves in praise of the hospitality of the Bakairí and secretly made up our mind to pay them back handsomely in Independencia.

B Since a heavy thunderstorm broke out, we stayed in the vil-
123 lage the last night. It was raining in torrents outside and Tumayaua was describing his journeys. We all sat for a long time around the fire, which the Indians let blaze up wildly by recklessly tearing bunches of straw out of the wall of the festival hut. Luchu had taken possession of the black frock-coat as his sole article of clothing; another man had decorated his ear with a fishhook. My erstwhile intended - it pains me not to be able to keep this a secret -- honored me with scarcely a glance.

The song of woman's constancy!

000 /The remainder of Ch. VI, pp. 132-137, and Ch. VII, pp. 138-152, are omitted in the translation./

/153/ Chapter VIII

I. Geography and Classification of the Tribes of the Schingú Source-region

B
S
101
131
823
S
[115]

The old chief of the Suyá, distinguished from his companions by an extremely modest lip-plug, had enumerated for us in 1884 the long list of tribes that were settled on the upper Schingú /Xingu/ and with his finger had drawn in the sand the source rivers on whose banks they lived. Cf. Durch Central-brasilien /Through Central Brazil/, page 214 /see 1: Steinen, this file, pp. 104-106/. His 13 tribal names had tempted us to undertake

B /153 cont. /
S the second journey. By and large, one must say, the statements
101 of our informant were confirmed. His river branchings, it is true,
131 cannot satisfy the cartographic demands of our Karaiben exacti-
823 tude, but even here he was more accurate than we could realize when we mistook the Kulisehu for the Kuluëne. But the astronomical position of the localities in relation to one another turned out to be completely distorted, since the Suyá needed a very long line to show the large number along the one branch of the source and blithely extended it endlessly to the south.

B We do not know the dwellers along the Ronuro; Vogel under-
101 stood the Auetö chief who navigated the mouth at Schingú-
131 Koblenz with him to say that there are Kabischí /Cabishi/ and Kayapó /Cayapo/ there. The Kabischí about whom anything is known live in the source region of the Tapajoz /Tapajós/ as part of the docile Paressí Indians, it would be most interesting and significant if the Paressí, like the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/, could be divided into a "docile" and a "wild" group, since it is precisely in this once populous and highly developed Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ tribe that the crude civilizing process has destroyed what cannot be replaced. It would not be surprising at all if the widely distributed Kayapó were on the Ronuro, since they frequently appeared on the Paranatinga and had merely been mistaken here for the Coroados-Bororó by the Brazilians.

B Along the tributary of the Ronuro, the Batovy-Tamitotoala*,
101
103
131
361

* Formerly incorrectly written Tamitatoala.
tamitóto, falcon, owl = they killed (schóle)
a falcon, as the Bakaïrí themselves told me.

down which we traveled in 1884, there are four villages of the Bakaïrí. Its lower course and the adjacent region on the right belongs to the Kustenaú /Custenau/ and the Waurá.

/154/ There follows, toward the east, the Kulisehu. On its left bank we have the three villages of the Bakaïrí, Maigéri or "tapir died," Iguéti or sparrow-hawk village, Kuyaqualiéti or Matipy village.

2: Steinen- 128 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25
Waura SP18
Aueto SP6
Trumai SP23

/154 cont./

000 harpy village. Then, on the right bank, comes the village of
B the Nahuquá. Again on the left, somewhat apart and not visited
W by us, there is a fourth village of the Bakaïrí. Farther down-
101 stream the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ are on the left bank in the
361 two villages which the Bakaïrí designated as Paischuéti (dogfish
103 village) and Kalúti. It seems, however, that there are three
villages; the Paischuéti-Mehinakú also spoke of the Yutapühü --
this would be "Kaluti" -- whose harbor we passed on 15 October,
of the Atapilú, and at the same time warning us against the
B Ualapihü, Ulavapitü, that is, our Yaulapiti. From the Mehinakú
W territory there begin numerous canals, which, along with several
487 lagoons, are found throughout the region between the lower
A courses of the Kulisehu and Batovy. The village of the Auetö
[36] may be regarded as a sort of central point for the canal traffic.*

A
[101]

* It is really strange that their name seems to have this meaning. They are called "Auití" by their neighbors; now in Guaraní the unsoftened adjectival form apité means "what is at the center, in the middle."

B
101 On two lagoons, in two villages, we find the Yaulapiti, on a
361 third lagoon the Kamayurá /Camayura/, who had four villages
close together and were on the point of uniting them into a
single one. The Arauití (see p. 94) are a mixture of Yaulápiti
and Auetö.

T
101 The Kulisehu flows into the Kuluëne; a few hours of rowing
361 led to the Trumaí settled in two villages on its right bank not
167 far above Schingú-Koblenz. This tribe, driven away by the
Suyá, had the intention of founding a new home near the Auetö.
Y The Nahuquá live upstream on the Kuluëne, and also on small
361 tributaries between it and the Kulisehu, in a series of villages
103 that have separate names. We become acquainted with single
101 individuals from the Guapirí, Yanumakapü, Guikurú /Kuikuru/,
and Yaurikumá, the Yanumakapü, the Enomakabihü of the
Bakaïrí, do not live on the main river, and of the Guapirí the
Bakaïrí specifically pointed out that they are found overland
between the Kulisehu and Kuluëne.

/154 cont./

000 between the Kulisehu and Kuluëne. In the first Bakaïrí village
B Paleko enumerated for me the Nahuquá villages of the Kuluëne
101 and indicated the direction from Maigéri in which they were to be
823 sought; starting at the upper course, there are: 1. Anuakúru
[115] or Anahukú southeast, 2. Aluíti or Kanaluíti east, 3. Yamurikumá
Y or Yaurikumá east to east-southeast, 4. Apalaquíri east-northeast,
361 5. Guikurú east-northeast, 6. Mariapé northeast. Beyond them
103 came the Trumaí. Thus, with the Guapirí, the Yanumakapü,
101 and the Nahuquá of the Kulisehu, we would have nine Nahuquá villages.

A In order to round out the picture, I shall also mention the
S Suyá, who live on the main river a journey of three short days
361 below Schingú-Koblenz and of whom we did not see anything on the second expedition, but heard bad rumors, and the Manitsauá, who live on a left tributary that flows in farther
A downstream and are well known to the Kamayurá and Yaulapiti.
S In 1884 we met a /155/ number of Manitsauá in captivity
727 among the Suyá. Not until 1887 did we hear about the Yarumá
Y or Arumá who, very soon after the Trumaí, were said to have
101 had an unpleasant visit by the Suyá, and about whom the
[648] Kamayurá gave us the remarkable information that they wore a
A metallic-sounding ear-ornament (cf. p. 104). It is probable
[829] that we must regard them as Mundurukú /Mundurucu/, the
Y famous warrior tribe of the Tapajoz, whose trail we missed on
[301] the Schingú long ago. The Paressí called the Mundurukú "Sarumá," which is phonetically the same as Yarumá. A specimen of a club of Karajá-like /Caraja/ workmanship, which was attributed to the Yarumá, cannot invalidate the evidence presented in the agreement of the names. The Aratá lead an existence even more obscure to us; the Nahuquá asserted that they were not worth anything, and the Suyá geographer described them as neighbors of theirs. A Karajá tribe?

Y
S
101
Y
[829]

C Finally, I must also consider the Kayapó, likewise in the upper
361 source region; they are said to live between the Kulisehu and the Kuluëne, above the Nahuquá, along the sources of the Pakuneru, the small Kulisehu tributary whose name is identical with the Bakaïrí name for the Paranatinga. The Suyá geographer

5 /155 cont./ The Suyá geographer
101 already mentioned the "Kayuquará" as the outermost inhabitants, and I had assumed at that time, correctly it now seems, that by that the KayaX-ó-Kayapó were meant.

B The long list of names looks worse than it actually is. Each
101 village has its name, and the stranger who hears it cannot at first
103 judge whether he should expect a new or a familiar tribe there.
621 The simplest example is the Nahuquá. For the Indian, "Nahuquá"
Y refers only to the inhabitants of the Kulisehu village; the
101 Yaurikumá, Guikurú, etc. do not call themselves Nahuquá, and
621 it was merely because of our happening to stop first among the "Nahuquá" that I am using this name as the tribal name. There
Y [197] may be slight dialectal differences, but I was able to record a list of the most important words from the Yanumakapü and am convinced, and for the Yaurikumá and Guikurú as well, that their language corresponds throughout with the "Nahuquá." The
B Bakaïrí are inspired by a strong feeling of nationality, for they
101 call themselves Bakaïrí whether they live in the source region of
62 [619] the Arinos, the Paranatinga, the Batovy, or the Kulisehu. By
[103] analogy with the Nahuquá, the Bakaïrí of the Kulisehu would have to call themselves by their village names: Maigéri, Iguéti, and Kuyaqualiéti.

B It would have been a blessing for ethnography if all the
101 tribes had taken as a model this fine example of the Bakaïrí.
128 We have several clear examples here of how a family community,
197 or, if one wishes, a tribe, becomes scattered, how each separate
619 community is inclined to give up the old connection and therefore loses it irrevocably, must become a new "tribe" if the displacement continues, and closer relations are maintained, not with neighbors related by blood, but those of another extraction. Under these circumstances, there is nothing else for us to do /156/ but to determine first of all the linguistic relationships. They are not to be confused with blood relationships. But under the simple narrow circumstances which are involved here, linguistic relationship and blood relationship coincide far more than among more highly civilized peoples, who, through writing, possess a language that has developed a distinct character. If a

B /156 cont./

101 couple of foreign individuals enter one of these family communi-
128 ties, they will, it is readily admitted, bring about a crossbreeding
197 which is not disclosed by a study of the language. But inter-
619 mixtures on a greater scale also change the language tremendously.
The foreign women who become mothers exert an influence on
the language of the children, which, in the Island Karaiben, for
000 example, is plainly evident. The children of the Karaiben men
and Aruak women did not by any means speak Karaiben, as the
young mulattoes in Brazil speak Portuguese, but rather spoke a
new language which had important grammatical elements and
phonetic peculiarities from the mothers. This is not very sur-
prising, for the cultural differences between the two tribes were
not basic, the number of foreign women was large, and they
brought all their local traditions into the marriage, since the
conquering men came from the outside. The children were com-
pelled both to make a compromise with the language materials
on the father's and the mother's side, and to choose between the
prefixes and suffixes offered by the one and the other, which are
of decisive importance for the alteration of the word roots as a
result of the influence on the stem's initial or final sound, and
they experienced the reciprocal effect, uncurbed by any school-
master culture, but instead freely active, of the phonetic laws
B valid up to then in the two parental tribes. Among these primi-
101 tive peoples, the measure of linguistic differentiation will also
197 be roughly the measure of anthropological differentiation.

If we wish to cast about for linguistic relationship among the Kulisehu "tribes" and thus reduce the list, we must dwell for a moment on the linguistic groups occurring in the rest of Brazil.

T There are still many individual tribes who, either because
101 their linguistic relatives are no longer living or because we do
197 not know them, speak isolated languages. We must first of all
put the Trumaí among them, in order to dispose of them im-
T mediately. I did not succeed in finding a place for them anywhere,
[192] near or far. They have borrowed a good many words from the
culture of their neighbors, the Kamayurá and Auetö, but the core
and essence of the idiom is peculiar and of a different origin.

T 101 197 /156 cont./
and essence of the idiom is peculiar and of a different origin, just as their physical type is different from all Kulisehu tribes.

B 197 From the Cordilleras to the Atlantic Ocean, from the La Plata to the Antilles, there are four large linguistic families: Tapuya, Tupí, Karaiben /Carib/, and Nu-Aruak /Arawak/.

B 194 101 131 /157/ The Tapuya are the east Brazilian aborigines, the forest dwellers of the coastal region and the occupants of the interior as far as a western boundary, of which the Schingú may be regarded as the main portion. They fall into two divisions, a western one, the Gēs according to Martius, and an eastern one, to which belong the primitive forest tribes of the east and the Botokuden /Botocudo/. The western outposts of the Gēs are the Kapayó and Suyá. With the latter we need not concern ourselves further, in view of the report about our second expedition, except that now there must be added the interesting fact that formerly the Suyá lived still much farther west. They were settled west of the Paranatinga, along its left tributary, the Rio Verde, in the neighborhood of the Kayabí /Cayabi/ and Bakaïrí, and from here they were not long ago driven back, one might say, to the Schingú. The entire mass of Gēs has lived east of the Schingú from time immemorial, and the nearest relatives of the Suyá, the Apinagēs /Apinaye/, live in the angle where the Araguay /Araguaia/ and Tokantins /Tocantins/ flow together.

The Tupí are dispersed over vast areas. By and large their northern boundary lies along the northern tributaries of the Amazon; they occupied the coast from the mouth of the Amazon to that of the La Plata; the Guaraní of Paraguay merely speak a dialect of Tupí. We encounter Tupí on the upper course of the Schingú, of the Tapajoz, of the Madeira, even of the Maranhão. Their language was elevated by the Jesuits to be the language for communication, the "lingoa geral." A great practical benefit, but unfortunate for the science of language. The interest in Tupí has caused scholarship in Brazil to treat all other languages in a most stepmotherly fashion; countless volumes from ancient and modern times are devoted to it; there is nothing more than meager vocabularies from any of the Tapuya tribes, either the Botokuden or a Gēs tribe, the linguistic study of which would be one of the

/157 cont. /

197 10 131

world's most important, on account of the low cultural level, and which in reality formed the nucleus of the original population of eastern Brazil. The Brazilian scholar sees practically everything that has been thought about the natives as sub specie of the Tupí. He is happy to put Tupí in the closest relationship with the Aryans and derives from Tupí the other languages of his native land; these natives, however, are so widely distributed already that it is quite superfluous to put them in addition where they themselves have not yet been. On the Kulisehu, the Auetö and the Kamayurá, the latter in greater agreement with the lingoa geral, belong with them.

The Karaiben /Carib/ have been known north of the Amazon River since the times of the discoverers. On the Kulisehu we were the Karaiben; and thus probably originally, too, the first Karaiben were the first strangers who incorrectly understood the tribal name and made it the word that was used to refer to them themselves, as has happened in numerous other cases and is indeed often difficult to avoid during the noisy reception in an unknown language. The name, of course, is derived from the ancestral Tupí /Tupímanen/, not out of the Tupí spoken either in the Lesser Antilles or on the north coast of the continent. The Bakaïrí /158/ called us "Karáiba" with definite emphasis on the "a"; the word may be explained as "not like us" in their language, whereas the opposite, "like us," is called Karále. Let us ignore the very dubious etymology, however; it is enough for us that the word is Karaiben in our sense, was taken over by the Tupí of the Kulisehu in the already abbreviated form "karái" -- not in the form "karyb" of the lingoa geral! -- and, according to everything, must for us be "Karaibe" and not, as people are now largely in the habit of writing it, "Karibe." On the upper Schingú the Bakaïrí and the Nahuquá are Karaiben. Their language is radically different from Tupí, and the favorite hypothesis of several excellent researchers, namely, that the Tupí and Karaiben are related, has been conclusively eliminated by the two Schingú expeditions; the root words of the two languages show no correspondence.

B 197 101 131 /158 cont./

The Nu-Aruak fall into the subdivisions of the Nu tribes and the Aruak. "Nu-" is the characteristic fossil of these tribes, the pronominal prefix of the first person, highly characteristic for most of them, which we come across from Bolivia and the Mato Grosso to the Lesser Antilles. In the Guianas we see the Nu-Aruak in intimate contact with the Karaiben; on the Lesser Antilles, where the Aruak were attacked and oppressed by the Karaiben, a true amalgamation would in all probability have come about without the arrival of the Europeans, bringing destruction. Father Raymond Breton in 1665 left us a dictionary of the Island Karaiben, whose Indian-French part, unfortunately only this, has become generally available in a facsimile edition, thanks to Julius Platzmann (Leipzig, 1892), and strove earnestly to separate the words of the Karaiben men and the Aruak women, where they differed, but proved by his compilation that two languages were no longer spoken independently of each other, as was mentioned above, but that the Karaiben men had allowed the substance and form of their old "mother tongue" to be tremendously changed by the new "language of their mothers."

B [191] On the distant Kulisehu we met the exact mirror image of the conditions in the Guianas. The Mehinakú, Kustenaú, Waurá, and Yaulapiti are Nu-Aruak; their influence was clearly asserted in language and culture traits among the Nahuquá who had taken several Mehinakú women.

B 101 171 197 36 Therefore, according to linguistic investigation, the tribes of the Schingú source region are to be classified as follows (the number of villages in parentheses):

Karaiben: Bakaïrí (8), Nahuquá (9);
Nu-Aruak: Mehinakú (3), Waurá (1), Kustenaú (1), Yaulapiti (2);
Tupí: Kamayurá (4), Auetö (1);
Isolated: Trumaí (2).

B 101 191 197 /159/ Just as the Nahuquá embrace nine different "tribes," which correspond merely to nine different independent villages, we could likewise put the Mehinakú, Waurá, and Kustenaú together as one tribe. These three tribes speak exactly the same idiom. They also, as we shall see, form an ethnological unit,

B 101 171 197 /159 cont./

and, in order not to do violence to the perfectly justified tribal names, as actually happened in the case of the Nahuquá, we may call them, where we need a comprehensive term, the potter tribes, according to their most important ethnological characteristic. Beside them stand the Yaulapiti as a closely related Nu-Aruak tribe, but one already clearly different in dialect and revealing other influences.

B T 101 197

Thus the arithmetical problem has been simplified to the extent that we have before us Karaiben in the Bakaïrí and Nahuquá, Nu-Aruak in the potter tribes and the Yaulapiti, Tupí in the Auetö and the Kamayurá, and, as an indivisible remainder, the Trumaï.

II. Anthropological.

B T 126 128 141

In order to have a record of the physical appearance of the Kulisehu Indians, insofar as was possible during our brief acquaintance with the individual tribes, a series of measurements were taken, which did not turn out to be very numerous and are not evenly distributed according to the different tribes or the two sexes, yet nevertheless offer interesting material. Possible sources of error on the part of the observer may be put down as constant, since the measurements were all taken by Ehrenreich. He also took a far greater number of photographs than could be reproduced here; some of them, however, became very spotty and difficult to reproduce.* He expects to make further use of the illustrative

B T 128 141

* As is shown in detail in the list of illustrations, the following are reproduced here in photographs: both sexes of the Bakaïrí, Mehinakú and Kamayurá, as well as only men of the Nahuquá and Auetö, while Yaulapiti and Trumaï are missing altogether.

material and to deal with the collected material of the measurements in detail and according to its comparative value for the

B /229 cont./
*171 laterally hollowed end of the wooden support, lashing it, and
411 covering it with resin.
[237]

Sometimes a pierced, hollow tucum nut is shoved up on the arrow shaft to slightly above the middle; one or two holes are cut into the nut on the side. In flight a high-pitched whirring or whistling is heard. /230/ While the noise-making arrows are used only for bird hunting, the others are intended for all hunting and the shooting of fish; those with barbs are exclusively
B fish arrows. Arrows with sawlike notched wooden points do not
[101] occur on the Schingú except among the Yarumá, whom we regard as a southern group of the Mundurukú /Mundurucu/ of the Tapajoz /Tapajós/.

T The Suyá and Trumaí had arrows with long pointed bamboo
171 knives for war and for hunting jaguar. Spindle-shaped bamboo
411 splinters up to 35 centimeters long and up to 36 millimeters wide,
[824] knife-sharp on the edges, are mounted on the wooden stick driven deep into the reed shaft; the wooden stick is embedded in a groove
T cut below along the inner surface of the splinter. And, to be
[284] sure, the pointed spindle is only loosely fastened with a little resin and thread; when shot it remains in the body that was hit, while the shaft with the wooden stick flies off behind it.

B The most remarkable thing about the arrow is the feathering
*171 at the lower end. Two feathers, more correctly two halves of
411 feathers, for the feather is split at the shaft, are carefully fastened
237 in a spiral twist which goes around one-fourth of the circumference; each flag stands with the plane of its upper part perpendicu-
B lar on that of its lower part, so that the flying arrow spirals
[284] through the air. The feathers are set in a row of small holes, which are made with an agutí tooth and enlarged with a pointed buriti splinter, and, one may say, are sewed onto the arrow; the cotton thread is wound around the ends and is itself protected by
B being wound with waimbé bark (Philodendron). Usually the
[825] feathers come from gallinaceous birds, jakú (Penelope) and mutung (Crax), from the falcon, and from the blue arara. Where the hand grasps the arrow shaft there is a wrapping of waimbé. At the bottom a notch is cut in parallel to the upper part of the feathers.

/366 cont./

173 Could we not regard Keri and Kame as personifications of the
173 sun and moon? Only they were not moon and sun or feather balls, but were merely called that; the celestial bodies sun and moon were not made out of Bakaïrí bones. Now, the oldest things and the oldest human beings belong together; the father of the tribe is the natural owner of the sun. If, in order to explain his origin, I have him come forth from some kind of substance and be animated, there is nothing there to be personified, but only to be named. The person is quite automatically furnished by the founder of the tribe, who is completely unknown historically, but is certainly to be taken for granted; it is therefore only a question of where the name came from.

● 101 In the first place one should consider whether the names do
174 not have a geographical meaning. Let us orient ourselves! The potter tribes of the Kulisehu are, in our latitudes, the easternmost outposts of the Nu-Aruak. The huge main body lives to the west of the Arinos, the tributary of the Tapajoz. Here we have first of all, in the source region of the Arinos and Juruena, the Paressí group, formerly numerous and made up of many separate tribes, of whom we know that today they have shifted southwards. Farther to the west there are huge areas inhabited by the Nu-Aruak. The Paressí who visited us in Cuyabá called the sun kamái and the Arinos, as the river toward the rising sun that bounded their territory to the east, kame-uhína = sun-river. Still, it could have been some other tribe of the Paressí group; it could certainly have been ancestors of the /367/ Mehinakú tribes, who today have advanced eastward as far as the Kulisehu,* from whom the stimulus

* They are the very ones who have "sun" and "moon" in the unaltered form "káme" and "kéri," while the Paressí of Diamantino had kamai, sun, but kayö, moon, which, to be sure, does not mean much with respect to the old Paressí, who were split up into many subtribes.

/367 cont./

101 174 for the Bakaïrí could have come in a time that disappeared long ago, it is possible that the tribe whose women once influenced the Bakaïrí tradition so profoundly has not existed in independent form for a long time -- all these details are not to be determined. But it does not matter much. Of course, it could be significant that among the Paressí the Arinos is called sun-river, Kame-river, or east-river. For the tribes which, according to the 101 174 829 Bakaïrí, were made by the hero Kame are "toda gente de Arinos," "all the people of the Arinos!" They enumerated the Paressí, Apiaká /Apiaca/, Mundurukú /Mundurucu/, Suyá (formerly on the Arinos), Maué (on the Tapajoz). Keri, on the other hand, made "Bakaïrí /Bacairi/, Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, Nahuquá, Bororó, Kayapó /Cayapo/, Kayabí /Cayabi/;" that is to say, the tribes living east and south of the Arinos. The division has nothing whatever to do with a distinction according to languages, for there are Nu-Aruak and Gēs on both sides; it embraces two large, spatially affiliated groups which are by no means lying strictly west-east; the one contains western, northwestern, and northern tribes, from the vantage point of the Bakaïrí, the other eastern, southeastern, and southern tribes. The chief representatives of the two groups, however, the Bakaïrí and Paressí, actually reside in such a way that the former live east of the [173] latter. We thus have the following situation: 1. Kame = Nu-Aruak "sun," but among the Bakaïrí hero of the second rank and lord of the moon, is the tribal ancestor of the western and northern tribes, and 2. Keri = Nu-Aruak "moon," but among the Bakaïrí the most favored hero and lord of the sun, is the tribal ancestor of the eastern and southern tribes.

000 Here I should like to draw on an interesting example found in Alexander von Humboldt. ** In the vicinity of Maípure, the

[113] ** Reise in die Aequinoktial-Gegenden /Journey into the Equinoctial Regions/, III, p. 173.

place named after a Nu-Aruak tribe, stand two rocks in the cataracts of the Orinoco, one of which, "the so-called Keri or

/378 cont./

539 The Bakaïrí lived with Keri; Keri's house lay on the east side of the salto. Both together also made a hill on the west side of the Paranatinga, from which one had a broad view.

Kame first built a festival hut and first carved a flute. He invited Keri and his people. They all danced to the sound of the flute, stamping and swinging their arms in rhythm, from the dwellings to the flute house and back again. Kame served his guests pogu to drink and /379/ beijûs. In return they gave presents of arrows and cotton thread.

Keri then called his people together, too, for a dance festival; they danced and also drank pogu in the afternoon on the large open place which one can still see at the salto; then they plaited makanari and imiga costumes out of buriti, swung the rattles, blew the flutes. Now Keri could also invite Kame and his people. Many came; Keri was the master of the imeo dance, and people danced for two days and two nights in succession, resting only a little in the evening and refreshing themselves in the morning with a bath in the river.

But during the festival a quarrel broke out between the brothers about the people. Keri had made many Bakaïrí out of ubá reed, but Kame had made nothing. Keri accused him of laziness; they quarreled, and Kame, the weaker one, fled. He took refuge in the southwest, made a hill on the Rio Beijaflor (hummingbird), a left tributary of the Paranatinga, and there also made tribes: Apiaká /Apiaca/, Paressí, and Guaná. It is very interesting that the Guaná are also mentioned [101] here, a Paraguayan tribe split up into several divisions, of whose presence in this part of the country nothing was ever said; in very, very ancient times they also "lived on the Beijaflor."

Keri climbed up his hill on the Paranatinga and discovered smoke in the distance. He went to look for Kame and found many, many people. Angrily he accosted Kame: "Why did you make so many people?" Again they started quarreling, but Kame left the Paressí, with whom he was living, and accompanied Keri back to the salto. It was not long before another quarrel broke out because of the people. Keri had made new

/379 cont./

539 ones and Kame fled, but this time to the Arinos. Keri looked for him, found him, and again brought him back to the Paranatingo salto. It seems that this quarreling and roaming about are described in order to make it possible for each of the two to have made a number of tribes living far apart. Finally, Keri [101] made the Bakaïrí, Kayabí, Bororó, Nahuquá, Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, and Kame made the Apiaká, Paressí, Guaná, Maué, Suyá, Mundurukú /Mundurucu/, "all the Arinos tribes." I have already discussed (cf. p. 435) how this grouping can be viewed essentially as an eastern one for Keri and a western one for Kame, and I mentioned that if there is a distinction here according to the sun = east and the moon = west, Keri is actually to be thought of as lord of the "eastern" tribes, despite his Aruak meaning - moon (cf. p. 439), for the Bakaïrí hero with the moon-name merely given to him by the Aruak /Arawak/ women was, of course, for the Bakaïrí the owner of the sun = east. All the tribes were made out of arrow-reed, the Portuguese out of a dark kind, the color of the gun stock. Keri had first given the gun to the Bakaïrí (naturally!). But they did not know how to handle it; one of them would shoot past another's ear. They were afraid of shooting, "just as we still have seen among the people on the Kulisehu." Then Keri gave the rifle to the Karaiben /Carib/.

/380/ Departure of Keri and Kame. Keri and Kame again leave the salto, and Keri appoints Arimoto as chief of the Bakaïrí remaining there. Arimoto was also born at the salto. This chief, however, misused his position and killed many Bakaïrí. "But wasn't he a Bakaïrí himself?" I asked. "Probably, but he was a wretched scoundrel. If he had been good, his descendants would be chiefs of the Bakaïrí to this day." This time Keri and Kame went to the Kulisehu. The Bakaïrí followed him in their distress and complained about Arimoto. At once Keri and Kame went back and killed the faithless one, who defended himself violently and for his part tried to kill Keri.

/386 cont./

539 the jaguar stood up and went in the direction the ant bear had
825 gone. The ant bear was inside the mountain and was singing. The jaguar went into the house. Singing, the ant bear came along with his back to the door. As he was coming, the jaguar seized him. He ate some of his leg. When he had eaten, he let go and went home. The termites made the ant bear well again. When he had recovered, the ant bear got up.

The little ant-bear (Myrmecophaga tetradactyla) said he would kill the jaguar. "Oh pshaw, you're no giant," the people said to him. "Then take magic poison along," the people told him. The little ant bear did as they said; he took magic poison in a gourd to Oka's house and placed the gourd in front of the door. Oka went out. When he caught sight of the gourd, he said, "That is something nice for me," and opened it. Then Oka became ill. The jaguar died.

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Chapter XIV.

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On the Question of the Original Home of the Karaiben.

I. Historical Data on the Bakaïrí.

• 101 In contrast to the East Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ of the Schingú, found first by our expedition of 1884 and 1887, I call the Bakaïrí west of the Paranatinga, long known to the Brazilians, the West
131 Bakaïrí. Today there is one village of them, to which our
[361] Antonio belongs, on the left bank of the Paranatinga, and a second one on the small tributary stream of the Arinos, the Rio Novo, where Reginaldo ruled as chief and where in 1884 we made
[464] our first acquaintance with the tribe. A few individuals, whom one can count on one's fingers, however, are to be found as workers on one fazenda or another in the western source-region of the Paranatinga; there are also supposed to be a few on the Rio Preto in the vicinity of Diamantino, who represent the
131 remains of a former settlement. At any rate, since the Arinos
133 and Paranatinga flow into the Tapajoz /Tapajós/, the West

/387 cont./

131 Bakaïrí are all inhabitants of the eastern source-region of the
133 Tapajoz and are to be found only in the region of the plateau above the rapids and waterfalls that put great obstacles in the way of the journey downstream to the Amazonas /Amazon/.

175 The West Bakaïrí have been known since the first raiding
101 expeditions of the "Paulistas," the discoverers of the Mato Grosso who boldly pushed forward from the province of S. Paulo on their slave hunts at the beginning of the previous century. Even Antonio Pires de Campos, from whom we have a report* from the year 1723,

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* Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico XXV, p. 448. Rio de Janeiro, 1862.

"after the experience of so many years," had heard of them; after he has briefly characterized (page 448) the tribes -- today long since disappeared -- of the upper Cuyabá and the Rio Manso emptying into it, he continues: "All these have the same way of life, the same type of weapons, and everything else the same, they are nomadic tribes and, with their raiding expeditions, succeed in causing harm to the heathen people named Bacayris, who live on the tributaries of the Maranhão (sic!); and from there on various stations of heathens /388/ with countless villages follow one another, as I have been informed, and all very warlike people and masters of their weapons."

The Bakaïrí are also mentioned in a report from the year 1749 about a trip from Pará into the source region of the Madeira, and furthermore it may also have happened in many an old note about the origin of the Mato Grosso gold mines. It is always only a casual mention of the tribal name, which does not offer us further information. At most we may conclude from these citations that in the previous century the Bakaïrí must have been more numerous and perhaps had advanced somewhat more to the west and southwest than is the case today. This will come out more clearly, however, from their own tradition.

175 Closer contact with the Brazilians did not take place until
797 the beginning of the 'twenties in our century. At that time

/388 cont./

175 "Padre" Lopes reached as far as the region of the Paranatinga
177 and converted the West Bakaïrí to Christianity. Lopes was an adventurous gold-seeker, about whom the painter of the Langsdorff Expedition* of 1828 remarks that, accompanied by

[113] * Hercules Florence; cf. Revista Trimensal, Vol. 38, II, p. 280.

Apiaká /Apiaca/ Indians, he had gone up the Rio dos Peixes, a tributary of the Arinos, and "fought with many savages." At any rate, since his visit, which cost the lives of Reginaldo's grandfather and others, the West Bakaïrí have been regarded as
175 Christians. How superfluous the brutalities of the noble Lopes were comes out best from the following words of the geographer
[113] Ayras de Cazal in his Corographia Brasilica /Chorography of Brazil/ of the year 1817, therefore before Lopes: "The Baccahirys who inhabit the regions adjacent to the Rio das Mortes carry on ceaseless warfare against all types of quadrupeds and birds. To this day these people have not engaged in any hostilities against the Christians. It is said that they are white and friendly: one reason why they are regarded as a horde of the Paricys."

● [101] The real reason why the Bakaïrí could have been regarded as a horde of the Paressí, as happened in the case of Martius, is simply that there was no accurate information about either one
[177] of the neighboring tribes. If the natives occasionally came to Cuyabá in small numbers in order to beg for a few gifts of ironware, shirts, trousers, or blankets from the government, they were felt to be annoying guests whom one tried to get rid of as quickly as possible, and about whose language or peculiarities no official needed to bother. They did not live, say, near an avenue of communication connecting two important towns, but rather, on the contrary, sat behind the very last little colonists, who themselves received very little attention, there where there were no avenues at all; they did not do these neighbors any harm and were therefore of no interest whatever to the government.
177 The good Chief Felipe in the Paranatinga village racked his brains

/390 cont./

131 brought about by the gold-seeker Correa. The expeditions in
173 search of the fabulous gold mines of the Martyrios were able to
177 cross the Paranatinga most conveniently here and wanted to use
167 the canoes of the Bakaïrí as well as to obtain food supplies from
361 them. Antonio was born toward the end of the fifties, at the earliest, in Limoeiro, a small settlement.

131 The ancestors of Antonio offer a chronological handle. His
173 father, Seseriari, also had a Portuguese name; his grandfather,
601 like an Indian in the first Batovy village, was called Karawako, his great-grandfather Yakauka, his great-great-grandfather Kupare, and the last one whose name Antonio still knew was his great-great-great-grandfather, Mariukara. The latter lived near the salto of the Paranatinga. If we estimate 30 years per generation, the succession might go back to before the middle of the eighteenth century. Caetano, probably born around 1790, was still supposed to be able to call by name six or seven ancestors, which I unfortunately could no longer confirm, so that his genealogy would reach back to the middle of the seventeenth century. Caetano's father was born on the Paranatinga, above the salto, it was his grandfather who was born on the salto itself. In any case, the statements of the Bakaïrí agree perfectly with the report of Antonio Pires that the Bakaïrí were in contact with the tribes on the upper course of the Cuyabá at the beginning of the previous century.

131 It is not unimportant to determine as much of the tradition
173 as possible, insofar as it does not yet appear as legend and fairy
[101] tale, because it is very desirable to know whether the present-day West Bakaïrí, the inhabitants of the Tapajoz source-region, or the East Bakaïrí in the source region of the Schingú /Xingu/ occupy the older habitations.

/391/ The West Bakaïrí definitely put the original home of the entire tribe at the salto of the Paranatinga, so that our Karaiben /Carib/ tribe would originally have belonged to the Tapajoz. But the western source-rivers of the Schingú and the eastern ones of the Paranatinga lie so close together that it is a matter of pure chance where the tribes moving downstream arrive. "One of the grandfathers* of Caetano was slain in the forest by

173 /391 cont./ "one of the grandfathers" of Caetano was slain in the forest by
131 another Bakaïrí; at that time there were serious conflicts within
[167] the tribe, and the result was -- according to the report of the Paranatinga people -- that one part of the Bakaïrí moved from the salto to the Kulisehu.

[361] Between the Paranatinga and the Ronuro, too, there is a "tapeira," a ruined settlement of bygone days, known to the West
[487] Bakaïrí. At one time a route led from the salto as far as the Auetö on the Kulisehu, which therefore must have led across the Ronuro or its source streams and the Batovy. The Bakaïrí are
[167] said to have fled along this route and to have settled in part on the Batovy, in part on the Kulisehu. They were said to have ob-
[177] tained mandioca twigs, batatas, and cará /Dioscorea/ fruits from the Nahuquá for planting.

These are, therefore, very definite statements. It is difficult to say, however, when the separation between West and East Bakaïrí took place and whether it occurred in several thrusts.
• [101] Just as the tribe of the Auetö and of the Nahuquá appears in the tradition of the Paranatinga village, so have the names of the rest of the Kulisehu tribes, the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, Yaulapiti, Kustenaú /Custenau/, Waurá, Kamayurá /Camayura/, and Trumaí, been known there from the times of Caetano's grandfathers. In the third Bakaïrí village on the Batovy we found a small piece of iron that was said to have been brought in former times from the Pakuneru, the Paranatinga; thus occasional visits back and forth may have occurred, or at least Parantinga-Bakaïrí may now and then have reached the Schingú.

[167] In general, however, I gained the impression that the actual separation of the two Bakaïrí groups took place around the middle or the beginning of the previous century at the latest, when the Brazilians settled in the Mato Grosso and caused major shifts of the tribes. Probably it was not merely a matter of individual internal feuds among the people at the salto, but also of malevolent neighbors who oppressed and occasionally drove away the peaceable Bakaïrí.

175 In the Brazilian sources the Nambiquara /Nambicuara/,
648 Tapanhuna /Tapanyuna/, and Kayabí /Cayabi/ are given as

2: Steinen- -472 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Apiaca SP2
Cayabi
Mundurucu SQ13

B /391 cont./
175 enemies of the Bakaïrí, but there is no more specific informa-
648 tion about them. The Nambiquara and Tapanhuna, enemies of the Apiaká, lived in the Arinos region; of the Tapanhuna, Joaquim Ferreira Moutinho* states that they spoke the Bakaïrí

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[113]

* Noticia da Provincia de Mato Grosso, S. Paulo, 1869, p. 216.

language; unfortunately no notes were ever made on the language of the Bakaïrí, let alone on that of the Tapanhuna, /392/ and unfortunately the author has no claim to any credibility in these matters, as we shall see among the Bororó.

B A statement in the fortieth volume of the Revista Trimensal
M do Instituto Historico (Rio de Janeiro, 1877, II, p. 97) is worth
175 mentioning; it refers to the tribe of the Mundrukú /Mundurucu/,
648 once feared far and wide, which today sits along the middle and
[113] lower Tapajoz, but formerly lived farther upstream. Antonio
M Manoel Gonçalves Tocantins, who visited them in 1875, remarks:
[131] "In former times they also overcame the Bakaïrí, whom they
B call Mureufuâtes and whom they forced to go into the Matogrosso
M where they ('aldeïert') settled in villages." The latter addition
[101] shows that this can only refer to events of relatively recent times, in the Brazilian era. Nor should one believe, on the basis of this
B passage, that the Baikïrí lived in the province of Pará; among
M the dwellers along the lower Tapajoz, the region of the upper
[131] course and of the source arms Juruena and Arinos is called "Matogrosso"; the Mundrukú themselves lived next to the Apiaká in the province of Mato Grosso, where they are called Saruma, and harassed all the tribes of the Arinos and Schingú area with
B their attacks. The Bakaïrí, who called them "Mandurukú," re-
M membered them vividly, but said that their attacks no longer
[101] occur, since they have moved to the north.

B The chief enemies of the West Bakaïrí, and probably even
A of the united Bakaïrí, if the tradition is correct, were the Kayabí.
173 "Unvanquished savages in the vicinity of the salto," says the
648 report of the Directoria dos Indios. The following is what I was

/392 cont./ The following is what I was
A gradually able to learn about them from the Bakaïrí. The Kayabí
105 call themselves Paruá; they are said to be -- but this requires
[101] confirmation -- relatives of the Kamayurá on the Kuliseho, ac-
cording to their language, and would therefore be a Tupí tribe.
A They are strong people and, like the Tupí tribe of Apiaká living
[266] nearby, practitioners of anthropophagy. They plant mandioca,
[241] maize, batatas, mandubí, etc., just like the rest. They have
A nicely worked clubs of bakayuva palm-wood with plaiting around
[411] them, which, about one and a half meters long, have the shape
of flat staffs and are worn in a rope on the arm. In this respect,
too, they would correspond with the Kamayurá. The arrows are
of kambayuva reed, like those of the Yuruna, but smaller. They
do not have throwing boards -- an important difference from the
Kamayurá.

A The Kayabí live on the Rio Verde, whose sources lie be-
[131] tween the Rio Novo village and the Paranatinga village of the
B Bakaïrí and which flows into the Paranatinga from the right,
A below the famous salto. They are therefore, of course, the
[101] very closest neighbors of the Bakaïrí. The hostility has existed
B since ancient times. Only in the very beginning did they tolerate
A each other: it is said that the Kayabí appeared among the
173 Bakaïrí in order to live near them and settled along a brook in
648 their vicinity; then the strife began. I recall the Kayabí of the
Keri legend; there they already appear in heaven, cf. p. 448.
The old Bakaïrí are said to have traveled down the Paranatinga
to below the Rio Verde and /393/ to have come back again out
of fear of the Kayabí. The Kayabí possessed stone axes and
that had given rise to conflicts.

B More specific information was reported to me about clashes
A in more recent times. The Kayabí killed the father of Felipe;
173 they attacked at night and also took a child along. Antonio's
721 grandfather, father, and uncle pushed forward as far as the mouth
of the Rio Verde. the Kayabí were hunting there and looking
for mussels. The Bakaïrí arrived in the afternoon and cautiously
held back, but early in the morning, when the Kayabí were still

B 648 193 S 167 648 /393 cont./ A great many Suyá were said to have been killed and the tribe fled to the Schingú. Hyacintho, the oldest Indian of the Rio Novo village, was said to have taken part in the battle, along with Antonio's grandfather, so that at the earliest the event would have occurred in the first quarter of our century.

B 648 B [175] In the south and southeast the West Bakairí evidently had friendly relations with the Gês tribe of the Kayapó. In the Brazilian sources, which in general underestimate the extent of this tribe, there is nothing /394/ known about the Kayapó B 101 having extended into this region. They report only attacks of the "Coroados" on the fazendas of the upper Cuyabá, but the Bakairí, who were necessarily better informed, designated this tribe as "kayáXo" - Kayapó, and they also call the source river of the Paranatinga coming farthest from the east the Kayapó River. The same Kayapó are eastern or southeastern neighbors of the Kulisehu Bakairí, as the latter informed me.

B 101 Finally, I tried to find out how far the sphere of the West Bakairí extends to the west; the Paressí are well known to them as old neighbors. To the west beyond Diamantino, behind the Paressí, live the "Woimaré" and "Eneurá," it was said. They allegedly are not relatives of the Paressí, a statement which is incorrect for the "Woimaré," as we shall see in the discussion of the Paressí. The "Eneurá" are otherwise unknown. Much farther still live the "Pekoban," likewise unknown. The ancestors pushed forward as far as that and said that there was a large river there and that the Pekoban lived beyond it. This could only be the Guaporé, the upper course of the Madeira.

In conclusion, a note about the Guaná is very remarkable; in very, very ancient times they were said to have lived on the Rio Beijaflor, a left tributary of the Paranatinga, which flows into it above the Rio Verde. Cf. page 454.

B 193 167 This is all that I could learn from the West Bakairí about the history of the tribe and its relations to its neighbors. To summarize the traditions: the oldest Bakairí were settled at the salto of the Paranatinga, thus in any case belonged to the

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The Bacaeris

000 /218/ Study published in the Revista Brasileira, Year 1, Vols. III and IV, 1895.

• 101 /219/ The Bacaeris

The Bacaeris /Bacairi/ are Indians who inhabit the headwaters of the Tapajoz /Tapajós/ and the Xingú in Mato Grosso. Their name, which first appears in the logbooks of the bandeirantes /members of armed bands/ of the early eighteenth century, is later found repeatedly in travel accounts, scholarly works, and newspaper items. Since 1884/85 they have attracted the interest of the scientific world, which they fully deserve on account of the language that they speak, the ethnographic group to which they belong, the characteristic customs that they retain, and the dual aspect that they present, already subdued along the Tapajoz, still completely savage along the Xingú.

114 It was Dr. Carlos von den Steinen--assisted by our government, which put at their disposal a military school between Cuyabá /Cuiabá/ and the lower Xingú and defended the expedition between those two points--who, by studying them, opened what may be called without exaggeration a new era for our native ethnography. The results of this expedition may be summarized in a few lines (1).

[113] 1. Durch Zentral Brasilien /Through Central Brazil; see 1:Steinen, this file/, Leipzig, 1886.

114 101 First of all, he delimited the rather vague concept of "Cariba" /Carib/, a designation which, as the German traveler states so well, was given by the Europeans to all kinds of Indians

114 /219 cont./
101 and by the Indians to all kinds of Europeans. Since the time of D'Orbigny and Martius there has been a tendency to identify /220/ them with the Tupis. Baptista Caetano, inclined to-
[197] ward the same view, stressed as the principal basis for it the impure character of the idiom spoken by the Caribas, denying Hervas' contention that it was one of the four principal ones of South America.

114 "In my opinion," he wrote, "Kariba is not and could not
197 be a mother language. According to a study which I undertook (and which I regrettably could not carry further), it looks to me like an extraordinary mixture of several dialects of diverse origins; it is a veritable jargon, amalgamated from various dialects, which sometimes offers several phrases with different radicals and words in order to express the same thing, and sometimes a total lack of designations for other things. It is so confused that it can only be compared to what is heard in certain circles in Rio de Janeiro, where during a conversation in Portuguese one hears at the same time a phrase in English, another in Italian, a bit of Spanish or German, and all this more or less basted with Gallicisms." (Introduction to the second edition of Arte de grammatica da lingua... Kiriri /Nature of the grammar of the language... Kiriri (Cariri)/, by Luiz Vicenzio Mamiani, Rio, 1877, p. XII.)

197 This, which is accurate with regard to the Island Caribas, whom we know through Breton's works (2), does not apply,

[113] 2. Cf. Du parler des hommes et du parler des femmes dans la langue caraïbe /On men's speech and women's speech in the Carib language/, by Lucien Adam, Paris, 1879.

/220 cont./

197 however, to the language of the Bacaeris, which seems pure, nor, for example, to the Cumanagotas /Cumanagoto/ and Chaymas /Chaima/ of Venezuela and Colombia, belonging to the same group, for which there have been printed grammars and texts since 1683.

114 /221/ The second result was the finding of Cariba tribes
101 south of the Amazon, when those that were known had been found only north of the great river, such as the Crixanás /Crichana/, Macuxis /Macusi/, and others. Directly afterward, it was proved that these were not the only ones: between the S. Francisco and Parnahiba /Parnaíba/ rivers, Martius recorded a short glossary of the language of the Pimenteiras, who proved to be Caribas; the Palmelas /Palmella/, too, with whom Dr. Severiano da Fonseca dealt on the Guaporé, were Caribas; more Caribas were found later by Dr. von den Steinen himself on one of the tributaries of the Xingú, the Culisewi, and by Dr. Paulo Ehrenreich on the lower Tocantins, where they are called Apiacás.

114 A more detailed knowledge of the purely Cariba languages
174 and the existence of tribes that spoke them south of the
197 Amazon raised the question: might it not have been from south of the Amazon toward the Caribbean Sea that the migrations of these tribes took place--rather than the opposite, as was accepted until then? Almost simultaneously this was answered in the affirmative by Dr. Carlos von den Steinen and by Sr. Lucien Adam, who from 1882 on published various glossaries by Crevaux, among which were some Cariba ones.

114 In order to study the subject better, Dr. Carlos von den Steinen went a second time, in 1888 and, again assisted by our government, explored the Pakunera and Culisewi rivers down to their mouths in the Culuéne, the easternmost of the headwaters of the Xingú.

/222/ Two books resulted from this journey: a monograph on the language of the Bacaeris (3), published in 1892; and the

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I. Historical Data on the Bakairí /Bacairi/

The same title which I have given to the present part of this publication was given by Karl von den Steinen to Chapter 14 of his book, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens /Among the Natives of Central Brazil/ (1) in which he deals at

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1. Karl von den Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens. Berlin, 1894, pp. 387-395.

length with the history of the Bakairí up to the year of his second expedition, carried out in the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River in the year 1887, based on comparative literature and on information received from the Bakairí themselves.

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There follows from the research of Karl von den Steinen that in the time prior to his first expedition to the Xingu River, very little was known on the Bakairí, although the western part of these Indians, that is to say, the Bakairí who lived on the Rio Paranatinga and the Rio Novo, had lived for a long time in fairly active contact with the Brazilians and came occasionally to the capital, Cuiabá, to sell the rubber they had produced and to ask for some donatives from the government. Martius, too, knows almost nothing about them, and treats them as if they were a Paressi group. (2) It is noteworthy that Martius

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[113]

2. Martius, Zur Ethnographie Amerikas zumal Brasiliens /Toward an Ethnography of the Americas, especially of Brazil/, Vol. I, 1867, p. 779.

already mentions the existence of Bakairí in the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River: "Bacahiri, Bacchyri also live on the southern headwaters of the Xingu River"; (3) but with

3. Ibid., p. 382.

/11 cont./

114 101 133 respect to this piece of information we must keep in mind the fact that in those times the Rio Paranatinga was regarded as a tributary of the Xingu River.

From an objective standpoint I have nothing to add to Karl von den Steinen's full account. I merely propose to com- [121] plement it in time and to add what we know of the more recent history of the Bakairí since that period when Karl von den Steinen wrote his history of the Bakairí. I feel impelled to carry out this mission, especially in view of the fact that of my two expeditions, in which I had the most extensive contact with the Bakairí, the first took place 26 years before the second, so that I had a good opportunity to observe personally a great part of the change in the living conditions of the Bakairí in the times after Karl von den Steinen's publication. The Bakairí [115] Andrés, who was my faithful companion /12/ on the trip from the Simões Lopes Post to the Pedro Dantas Post, established to civilize the Kayabí /Cayabi/, and on the return to Cuiabá, was the son of a Bakairí, born on the Rio Kulisehu and called Chico, who had been one of my traveling companions to the Rio Kulisehu in the year 1901. I also encountered in the year 1927 many old acquaintances among whom I had lived 26 years before in their village, Maimaieti, on the Rio Kulisehu. They all still remembered well the time we had spent together in the past. During my later stay in Cuiabá, up to the year 1931, the Bakairí boys who went to school in Cuiabá visited my house often, so that it enabled me to keep informed up to that date about all that went on among the Bakairí.

114 648 175 Karl von den Steinen's two expeditions to the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River should be noted as an important event not only in the general history of discoveries but also, especially, in the history of the Bakairí. Through them was re-established the long broken connection between the Bakairí living on the Rio Paranatinga and their fellow countrymen on [177] the Batovy and Kulisehu rivers. This fact had such an incisive

/12 cont./

114 influence on the later development of these Indians, with their
648 very marked feeling of nationality, that they changed their
175 primordial customs completely during the 50 years following
[177] Karl von den Steinen's second expedition carried out in the
114 region of the headwaters of the Xingu River. Thanks to a series
121 of data on events among the Bakairí in this interval, we find ourselves in the fortunate position of being able to investigate that transformation. We are oriented in detail on the personality and life history of several Bakairí who have influenced in a special way the later development of their tribe, like Cacique Reginaldo and, especially, Cacique Antonio and his stepson José Coroado, so that we can give our historical report on the Bakairí a more personal character than would be possible with respect to other Indian tribes.

114 If we differentiate, according to Karl von den Steinen, the
●101 Bakairí who live west of the Rio Paranatinga (in later times officially Rio Telles Pires) as western Bakairí and the eastern Bakairí, who have their homes in the regions east of this river, on the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, it can be said that in the period of Karl von den Steinen's first expedition to the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River, no contacts took place between these two Bakairí groups, and certainly none had
[115] taken place for a long time. Old Cacique Reginaldo told Karl von den Steinen that he still remembered, from the days of his youth, that traveling from the Rio Paranatinga eastward, one would reach a big river on which it was said that Bakairí also lived, but that at the present date they did not know any-
174 thing about this region. (4) Certainly no contacts had taken
177
619
[13]

4. Karl v.d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien /Through Central Brazil/. Leipzig, 1886. p. 182.

place between the western Bakairí and those of the east from the time when the former established closer contact with the

/12 cont./

174 Brazilians, for otherwise the Bakairí of the Batovy and Kulisehu
177 rivers could not have remained so totally free of /13/ any Euro-
619 pean influence. In my book, Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien
114 (5), I discussed at length the causes of this long isolation of the
175
619
[643]
[113]

5. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien. Erlebnisse und Ethnologische. Ergebnisse einer Reise in den Jahren 1900-1901 /Indian Studies in Central Brazil. Adventure and Ethnology. Results of a Journey in the Years 1900-1901/. Berlin, 1905, p. 320.

eastern Bakairí, and among these causes I especially emphasized the hostility which existed between the Bakairí and their neighbors the Kayabí /Cayabi/, who long made unsafe the region located between the settlements of the western and eastern Bakairí. Contact between these two Bakairí groups was re-established when Karl von den Steinen took along with him on his first expedition to the Xingu River, the Bakairí, Antonio, who later became cacique of the Bakairí, so that he had the opportunity to become acquainted with his fellow countrymen who lived on the Rio Batovy. Already in the year 1886, that is, before Karl von den Steinen's second expedition, the Bakairí, Felipe, who was then cacique of the Paranatinga Bakairí, had on his part visited, along with the above-mentioned Antonio and another Bakairí, his fellow countrymen on the Rio Batovy and had succeeded in getting some of them to make, in turn, a visit to the Rio Paranatinga.

128 In order to make a connection with Karl von den Steinen's
101 historical report, I shall first refer in a few words to the conditions in which this author found the Bakairí at the time of his second expedition in the year 1887. I shall first deal with the

128 /13 cont./ I shall first deal with the
101 western Bakairí, most of whom lived in two aldeas about two
361 leagues apart, located on the Corrego Sant'Anna, a tributary
of the Rio Novo, and the rest on the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles
361 Pires). (6) The Bakairí of the Rio Paranatinga lived at that time

6. Cf. the map drawn by Vogel and published in Karl v.d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit.

in a single aldea, located 17 kilometers downriver from the mouth of the Piava and right in the narrow river valley. (7)

[113]

7. Cf. Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa, Exploração do Rio Parataninga e seu levantamento topographico bem como o dos Rios S. Manoel e Telles Pires /Exploration of the Rio Parataninga and Its Topographic Survey as well as that of the São Manuel and Telles Pires Rivers/, Commissão de Linhas Telegraphicas, etc., Publication No. 34, Appendix No. 2. Rio de Janeiro, 1916, pp. 35 and 61.

Besides these Bakairí of the Rio Novo and the Rio Paranatinga, it was said that there were some of these Indians living on the Rio Preto in the vicinity of Diamantino, the remainder of the inhabitants of a settlement of former times, (8) and a few

8. Karl v.d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., p. 387.

individuals working on one ranch or another in the western region of the headwaters of the Rio Paranatinga.

/29 cont./

114 met one of the Bakairí who had accompanied me in the year
115 1901 on my journey to the Rio Kulisehu. He too was already
[164] very old and he was ill, his body being covered with tumors.

When I reached the Simões Lopes Post I met with highly
114 unfavorable circumstances. My pack oxen were the first to
361 reach Simões Lopes after the long interruption of all traffic between this post and the capital Cuiabá caused by the revolutionaries
[731] led by Prestes. For this reason there was at that time a scarcity of /30/ provisions, and in addition there was among the Indians a bad epidemic of malaria, which the head of the post, Señor Benedito, and his family also had. The post at the time was still at the same location where it was first established, where José Coroado had had his aldea before, and thus 13 kilometers downriver from the old aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí and four kilometers inland on the right side of the river near the small Riberão Azul. It consisted of some administrative buildings (cf. Figure 3) and some 20 ranchos for the Bakairí Indians (cf. Figures 4, 6, and 7). There is no doubt that all the Bakairí lived at this time in areas near the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires) and had relations with the Simões Lopes Post, but only part of them lived at the post, and since the plantations of the individual Indian families were rather far from the settlement, the Indians who lived at the post also stayed temporarily in their small houses built near their plantations.

361 In the middle of the post was the house of the Bakairí, Pires,
622 whom the administration had entrusted with the caciqueship over
166 the Bakairí who had moved from the region of the upper Xingu
101 River and who were called Xinguanos. (Cf. Figures 4 and 5.)

In one of the houses of the post I met the Bakairí, Luchu,
114 who came from the first aldea on the Rio Kulisehu, who with
115 Cacique Tumayaua had accompanied Karl von den Steinen on his expedition and who is shown in a photograph in the book
[177] Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens. As shown in the photograph in Figure 8, he had grown quite old since and was

[P.69-A]

THE BACAIRI

114 This brief account of the Bacairí is based on
[101] field work done among the Bacairí living in the Government Indian Post on the Rio Paranatinga
[121] in June 1947. The field work was carried out in the course of a reconnaissance survey which the writer was then making of some of the central and northern Indian tribes of Mato Grosso.
[122] This and other trips at the time were made in a Ford truck put at the disposal of the writer by the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios. By using a truck the trip to the Paranatinga could be made over the Planalto do Matogrosense in 2 days in contrast to the old route along the Rio Cuiabá which, on horseback with pack oxen, takes from 2 to 3 weeks. The writer was accompanied by Fernando Altenfelder Silva of the Escola de Sociologia e Politica de São Paulo and by Rev. Thomas Young and Rev. W. L. Buckman of the South American Indian Mission. The Reverend Mr.
[115] Young, who has spent more than 10 years among the Bacairí, was of great help in selecting informants and in adding to our knowledge of the Bacairí.

161 According to estimates made in 1947 by the
361 Brazilian Indian Service (Serviço de Proteção aos Indios) there are between 200 and 250 Bacairí living in the northern part of Mato Grosso State, Brazil, divided between the Indian Post of Simão Lopes on the Rio Paranatinga and the village of
173 Rio Novo some distance to the northwest. The
361 Bacairí claim that the whole tribe originally
167 lived together on the Rio Paranatinga (headwaters
[648] of the Tapajoz River), but attacks by other Indians and Brazilians forced them to move about 90 years ago. Owing to a dispute the tribe split, one group moving north to settle on the banks of the Rio Kuliseu, a tributary of the Xingú River, the other moving to Rio Novo. After about 50 years in the Kuliseu Basin, this group moved to the present location of Simão Lopes, not far from the original Bacairí settlement
177 on the Rio Paranatinga. Although the Rio Novo
166 group has adopted Brazilian customs and manages
648 without Government help, some have moved to Simão Lopes where the Bacairí now live on reservation lands and receive assistance from the Brazilian Government.

THE BACAIRI [P. 69-B]

000 101 Brazilian Government. The information presented here was obtained at Simão Lopes from the Bacairí who lived on the Rio Kuliseu and relates to the life that they lived there about 40 years ago.

[192] Linguistically the Bacairí belong to the Carib-speaking family and appear to be closely related culturally to the other Carib-speaking tribes in 142 the Upper Xingú Basin. The Bacairí are short in stature, broad-shouldered and well-built. The head is broad, the nose straight or acquiline, the face narrow, the lips fairly thin. In physical [44] appearance the Bacairí remind one of the Arawak-speaking Paressí, but contrast sharply with the large-framed, coarse-featured Bororo, Umotina, and Guató living in the headwaters of the Paraguay River to the south.

175 131 The Bacairí Indians are first mentioned by Gonçalves da Fonseca in his account of his travels to the Madeira region in 1749. In the atlas of Thomas Jeffry, 1776, the "Bacahyris" are located on the Rio Paranatinga. Ayres de Casal, in 1817, refers to the "Baccahyris" as living in the region around the Rio das Mortes. Martins places them 175 in the headwaters of the Xingú. From 1820 on, 177 more or less permanent contact has been maintained with the Bacairí living on the Rio Novo and Rio Paranatinga. In 1820 a P. Lopez led an expedition in search for gold into the area and [79] with him came priests who began to convert the Bacairí to Christianity. With these contacts came disease and conflicts (Von den Steinen, 1942, p. 123).

175 101 131 361 The first scientific account of the Bacairí dates from the voyage of Von den Steinen down the Xingú River in 1884. Traveling over land from Cuiabá, he and his party reached the Christianized Bacairí living in the villages of Rio Novo and Paranatinga with whose help he continued his voyage down the Batoví River where he was the first to make contact with the four pagan villages of the Bacairí located between latitudes 13°30′ and 12°30′ S.

175 162 The following table gives size and number of inhabitants of the villages visited by Von den Steinen (1942, appendix, table 8, p. 418):

Trumai SP23
Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25

The Trumai were met on the west bank of the Kuluseu, between the Anahukua and Mehinaku ports. They had no canoes. We learned that their village was close to the Batovy. It would seem that they also have shifted their village site since Von den Steinen's encounter with them. T 101 361 648 [50]

All of these people live at peace with each other, though of course quarrels arose at times. Their common enemies are, however, the tribes living to the east and west, tribes that roam across the headwaters and depend on hunting rather than fishing for food.

The Bakairi gave the following list of tribes that are supposed to live in the forests east of the Kuluene: Kayahó (Kayapó); Kaviji; Turi; Maritsava; Phoi, who are pygmies, a little over a metre high; Penehoko, who are a very large people; Tsuyakadi, who also are very large; Yaruma; Suya; Tsuruna; and, on the Paranatinga, the Tonali, who are also known as Kayabi, Kajabi; Apiakala (Apiaka) and the Pana, who are a very tall people. B 101 829

The Kalapalu gave the names of the following tribes who are supposed to live to the east of the Kuluene and with whom they are permanently in a state of war: lower part of Kuluene, the Siuya (Suya) and Tsuruna (Juruna); directly to the east of their village, the Ahinkotl, Turi, Juruma, Tumbilyaka, Kayapo (big feet) Alitsowa, Aiiva, Yahã, Ravine, Aruga (hide away to kill people), Yarpitsu (kill people), Tahulgi (pygmies). [See map, Plate XXV.] Y 101 829 648

Our attempt to meet some of these tribes that are supposed to have their villages close to the banks of the Seventh of September river was not successful. In view of the above linguistic grouping of the tribes, it is interesting to note their attitude toward each other. The Bakairi, who are Caribs, distrust and fear the Anahukua, who are of the same linguistic stock, affirming to me again and again that they are a bad people. They were relieved when we left their neighborhood. On the other hand they praised the Mehinaku, and were not even afraid to leave their goods about. The Mehinaku are Arawaks. My canoemen were also at ease with the Aura and the Yawalapiti, and seemed to expect nothing from the Trumai, whom they considered an inferior and poor people. The Auiti were watched with suspicion, but the Kamayula were actually feared, as well as the Tsuva, Kuikutl and Kalapalu, the first being Tupi and the last three Caribs; but the Paravute were praised for their honesty and peaceful disposition, and seemed to recognize in the Bakairi. Y B 648

Trumai SP23
Bacairi SP7 ●
Yaruma SP25
Waura SP18
Mato Grosso SP1

●

102, 131

/For a sketch map of the state of Mato Grosso showing the location of various ethnic groups, see 3:Petrullo, SP8 Bororo, category 116, map facing p. 180./

/xiv/

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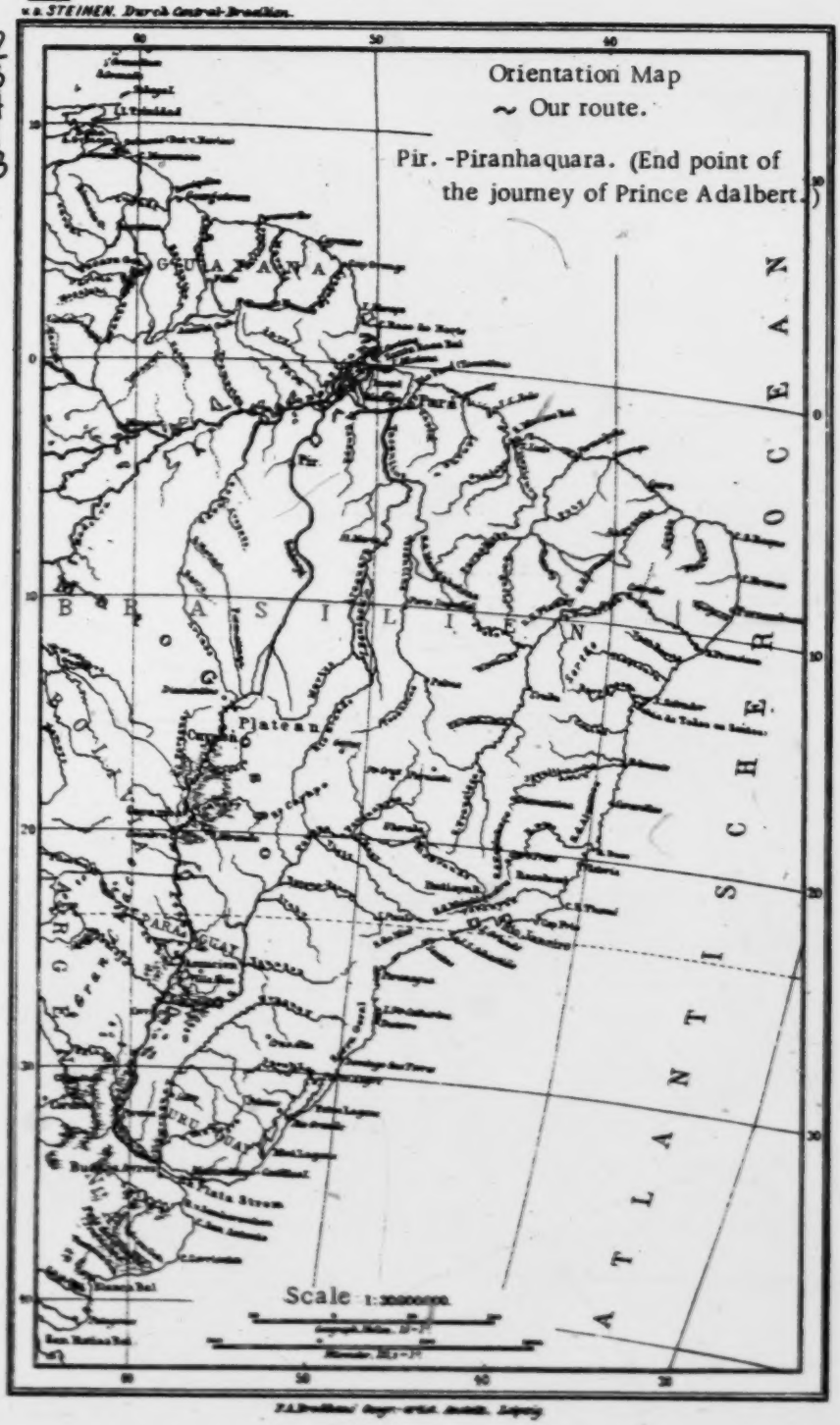

1: Steinen
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SP7 Bacairi SP7

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Chart of Positions of Map A

/Facing p. 154/

1: Steinen--154 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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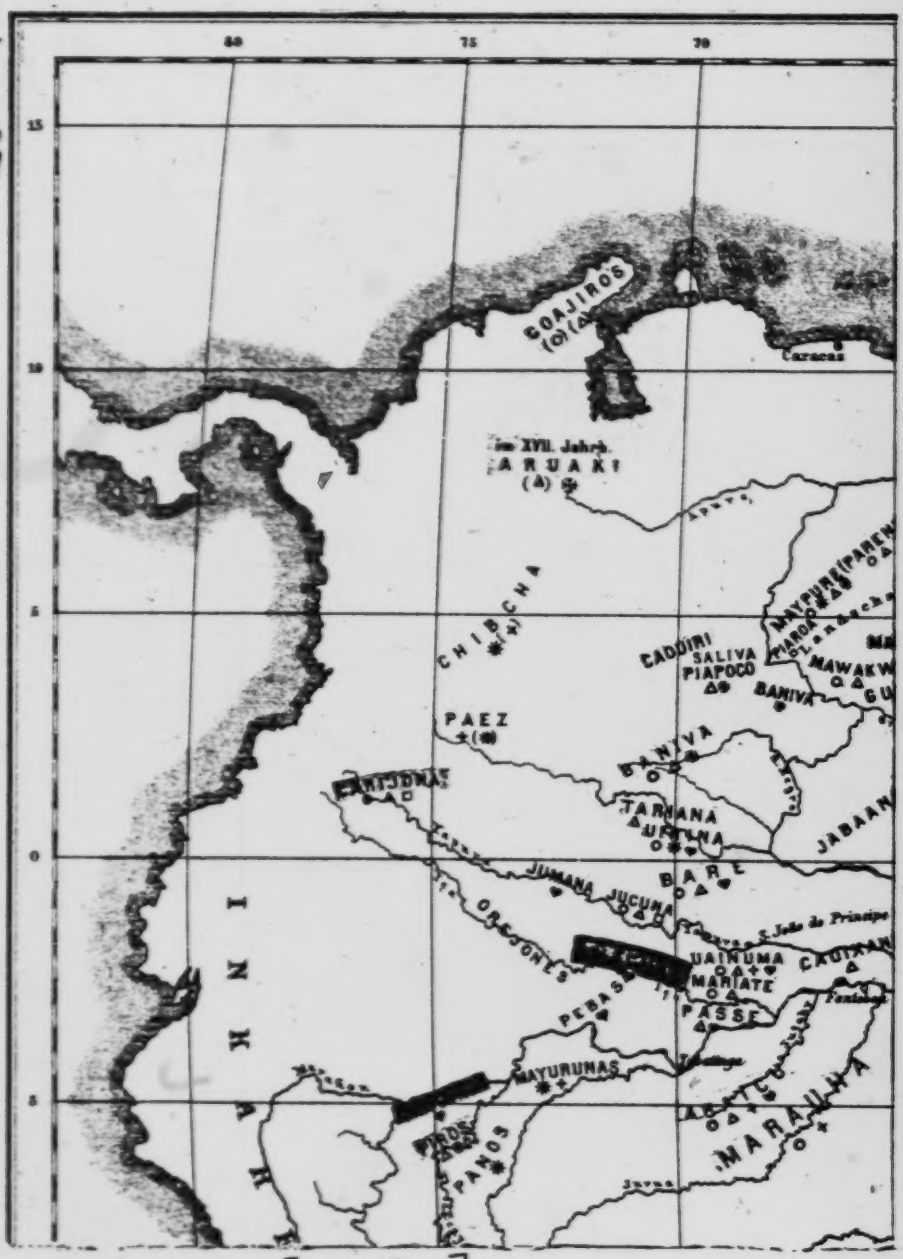

[Map A-1]

J: Steinen--155 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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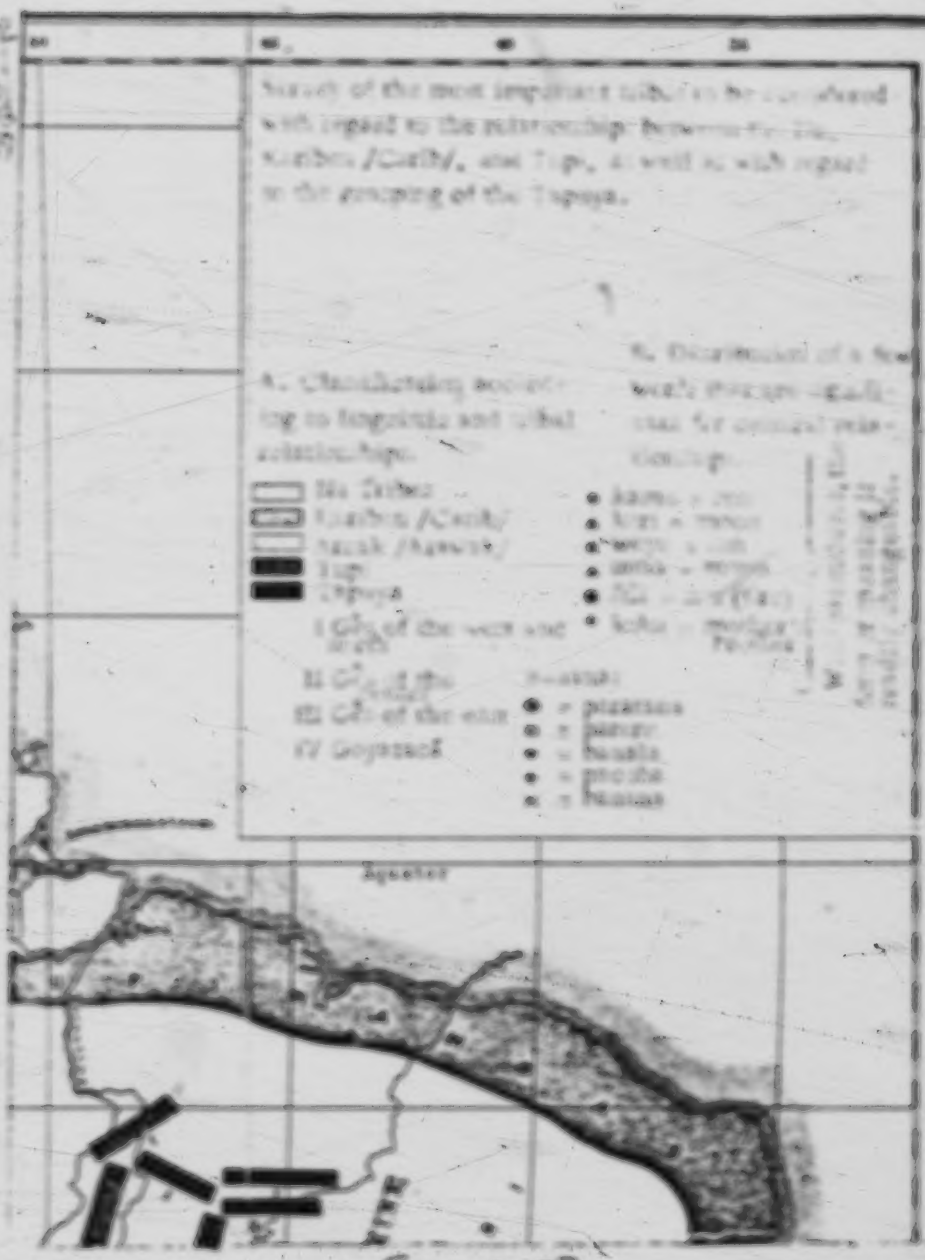
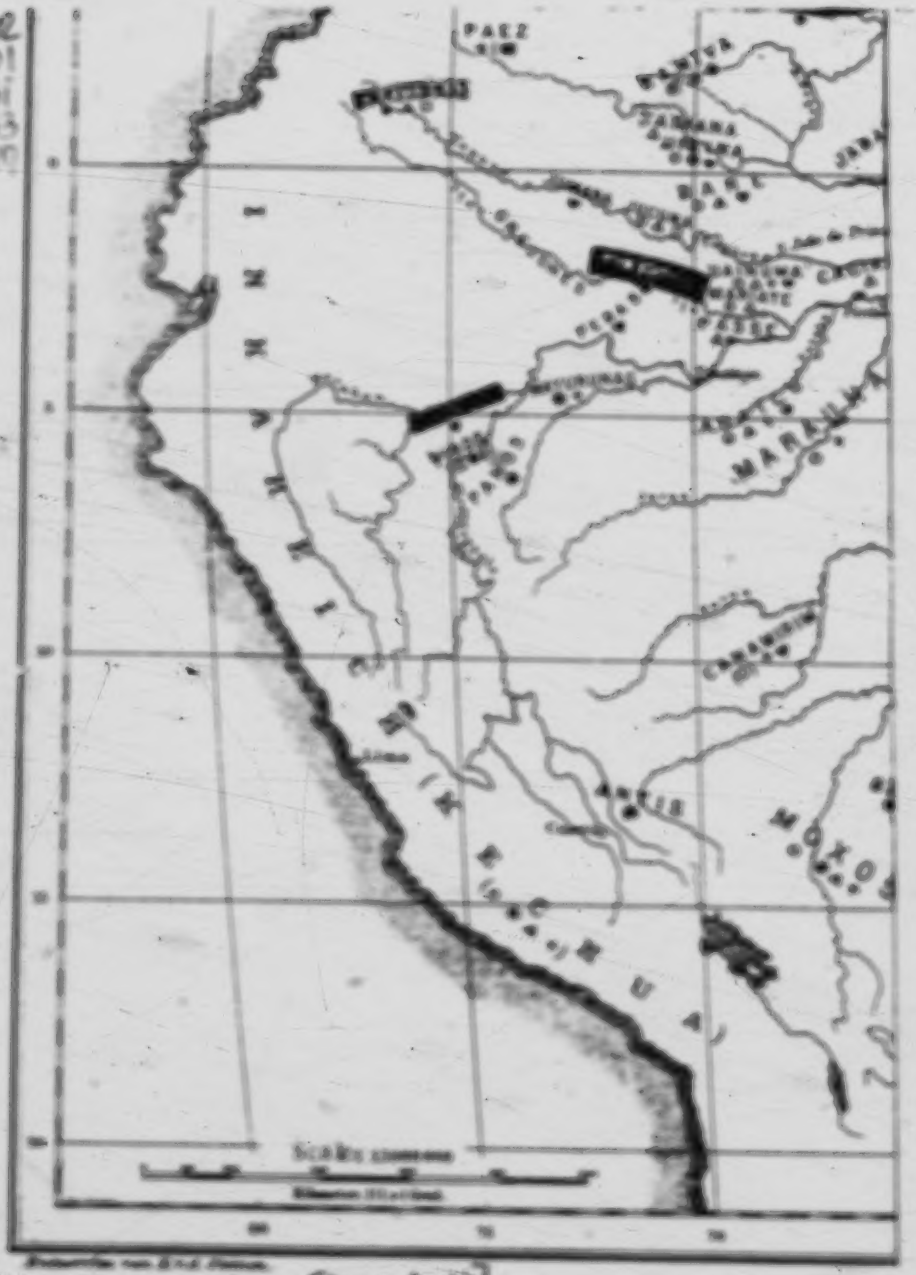
[Map A-2]


Survey of the most important sites to be considered with regard to the interrelationship between the Kuchin /Cachi/, and Tupi, as well as with regard to the grouping of the Tupiya.
A. Classification according to linguistic and tribal relationships.
Kuchin /Cachi/
Tupi
Tupiya
I Gil of the west and south
II Gil of the
III Gil of the east
IV Gojetsch
Aguaico

[MAP A-3]

1 Steiner--117 D.E.S. (1884) 1886 SP7 Facs. SP7



[Map A-4]

1: Steinen--158 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacali: SP7

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[Map A-5]

1: Steinen--159 D E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

[Map A-6]

1: Steinen

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- 101
- 103
- 122
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- 133
- 361

SP7 Bacairi SP7

A	B	C	D	E	F
G	H	I	J	K	L

Chart of Positions of End Map /Facing p. 173/

1: Steinen--173 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Special map of the Schingú River. From the records and position-findings of Dr. O. Clauss, reduced to the scale of 1:500,000.

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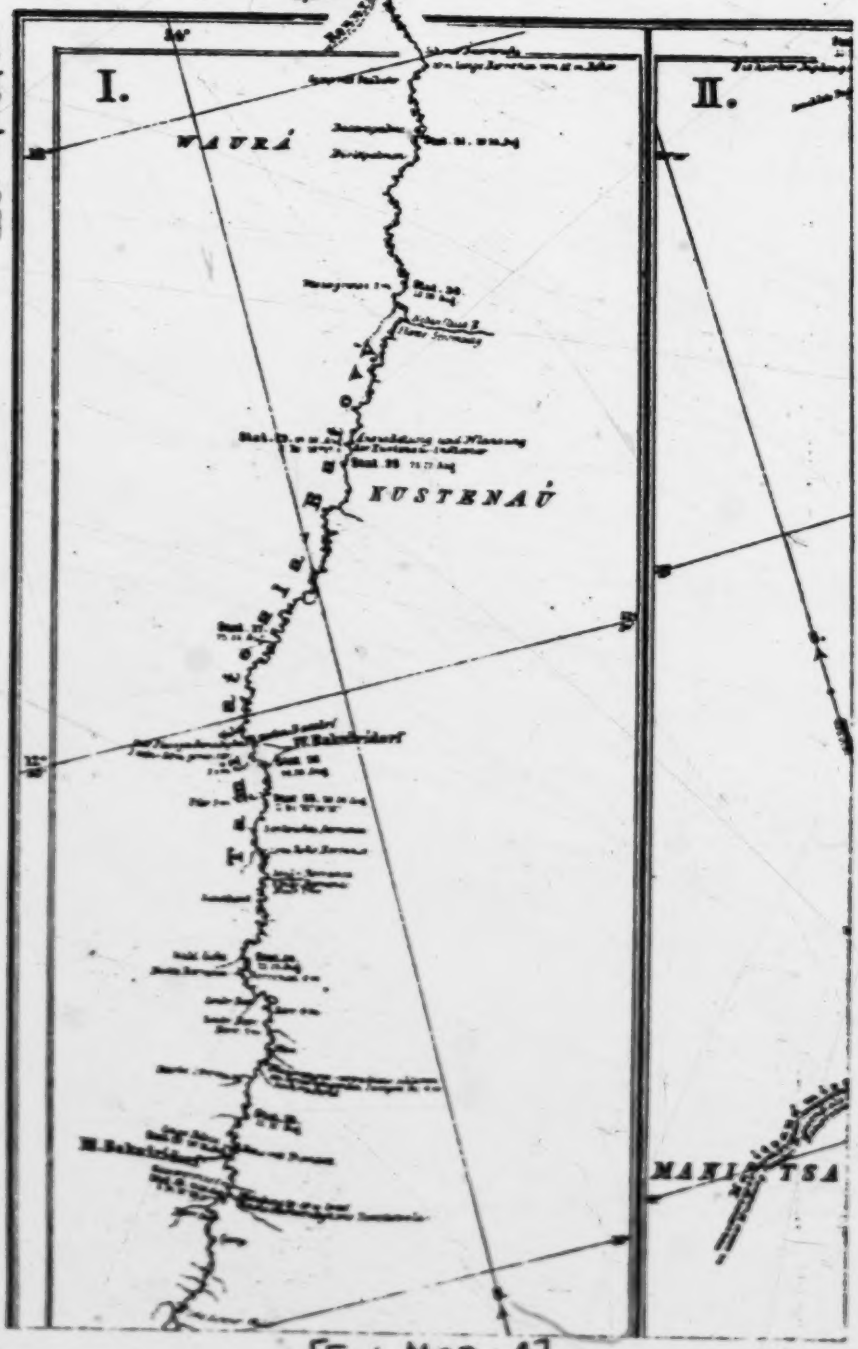

[End Map, A]

1: Steinen--174 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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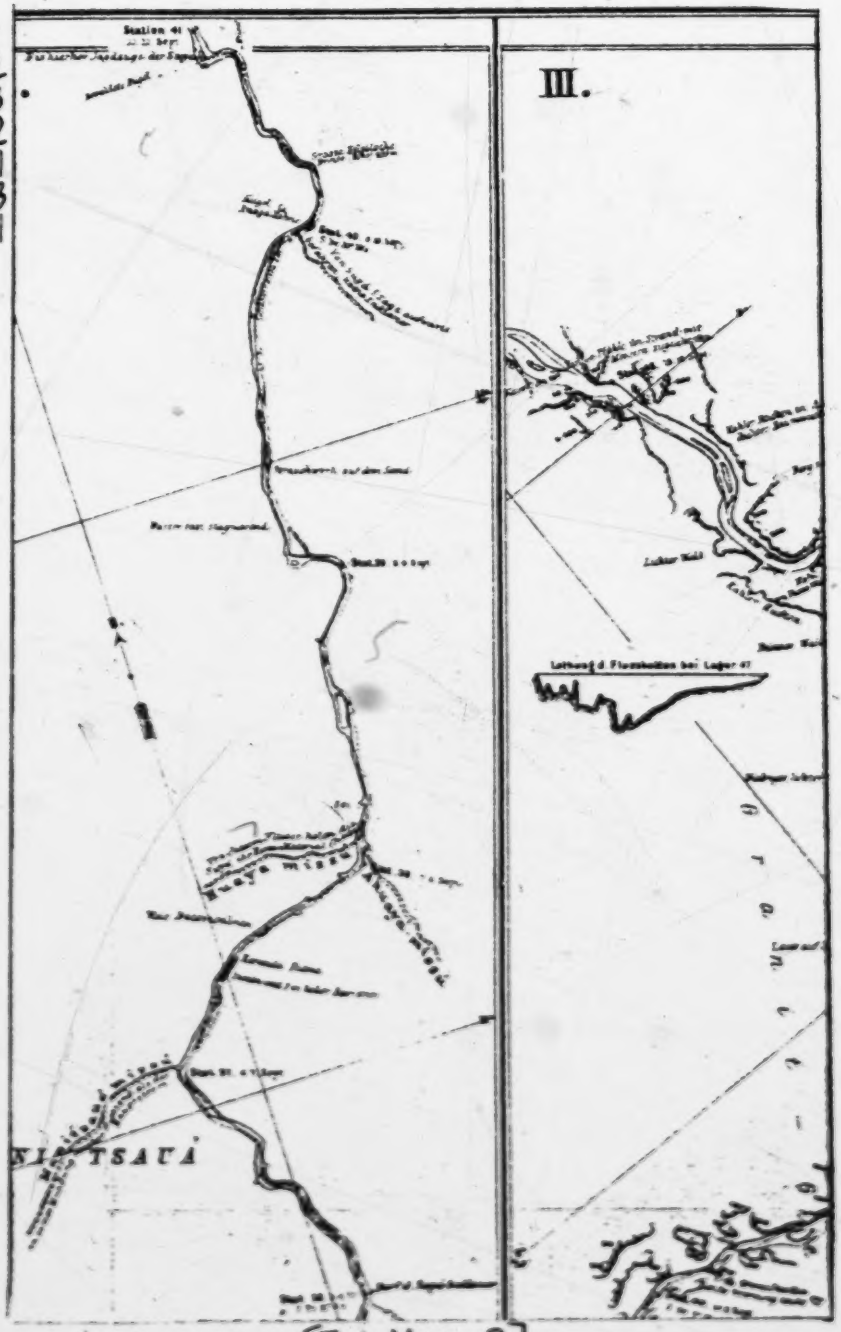

[End Map, B]

1: Steinen--175 ☽, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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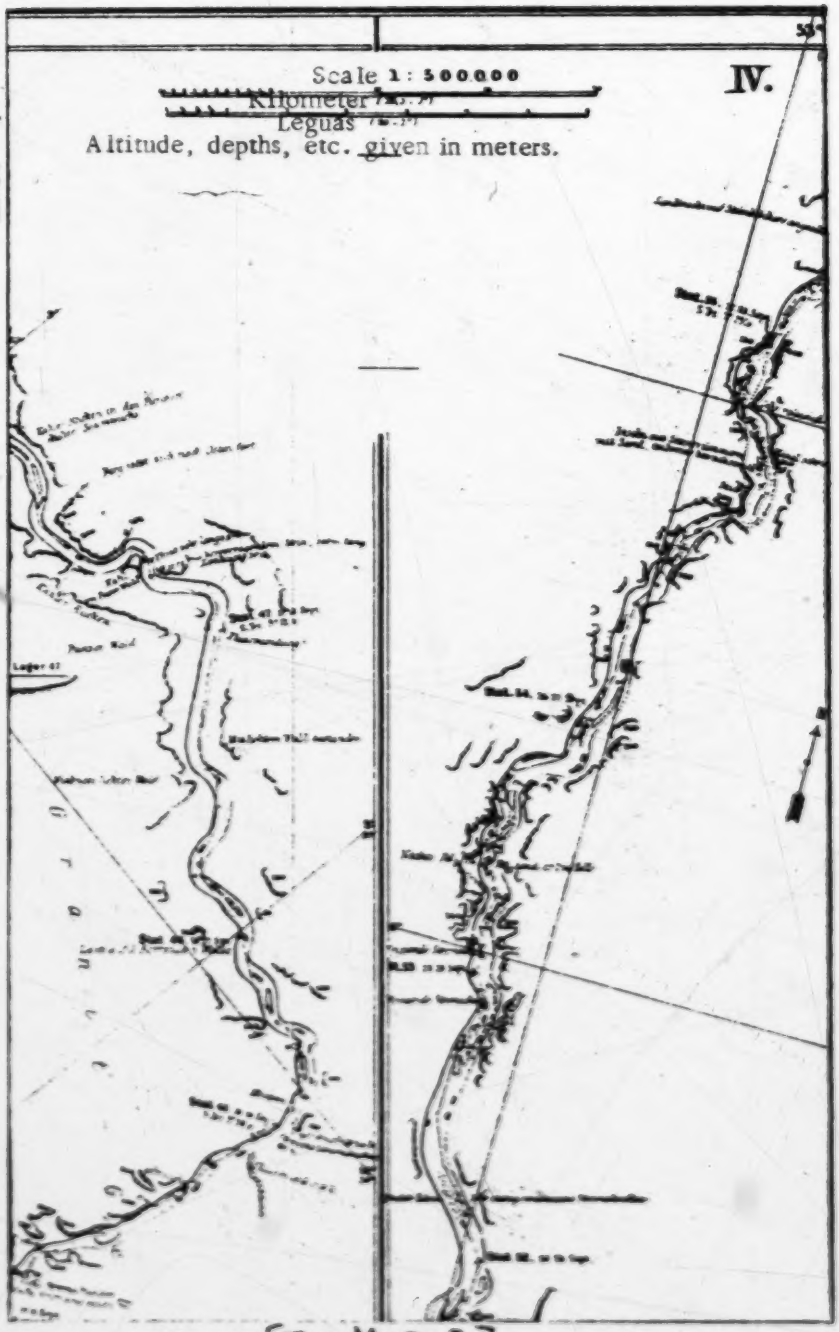

[End Map, C]

1: Steinen--176 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Explanation:

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route of the v. d. Steinen Expedition 1884.

Δ Stat. 34 Stopping places on it, with dates 4, 5 Oct.

In the case of stations determined by astronomical calculations, the latitude that was ascertained is added.

camp = treeless land overgrown with tall grass

= forest

o Seringeiro = Brazilian caoutchouc gatherer

cataracts and rapids

rocks, partly covered with plant growth.
Barranca = steep, sandy shore

sand banks

[Legend Appearing Below Scale on End Map, C]

1: Steinen--177 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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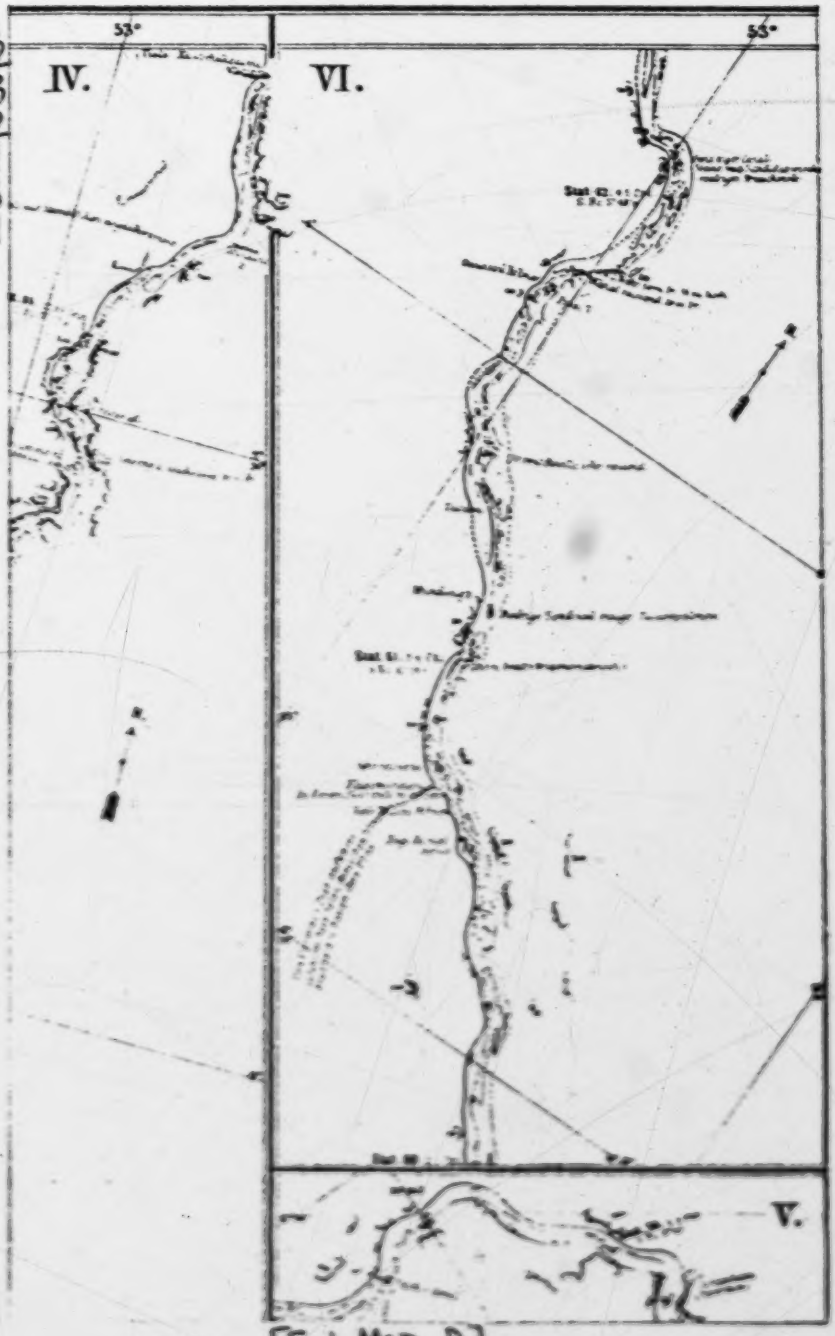

[End Map, D]

1: Steinen--178 D E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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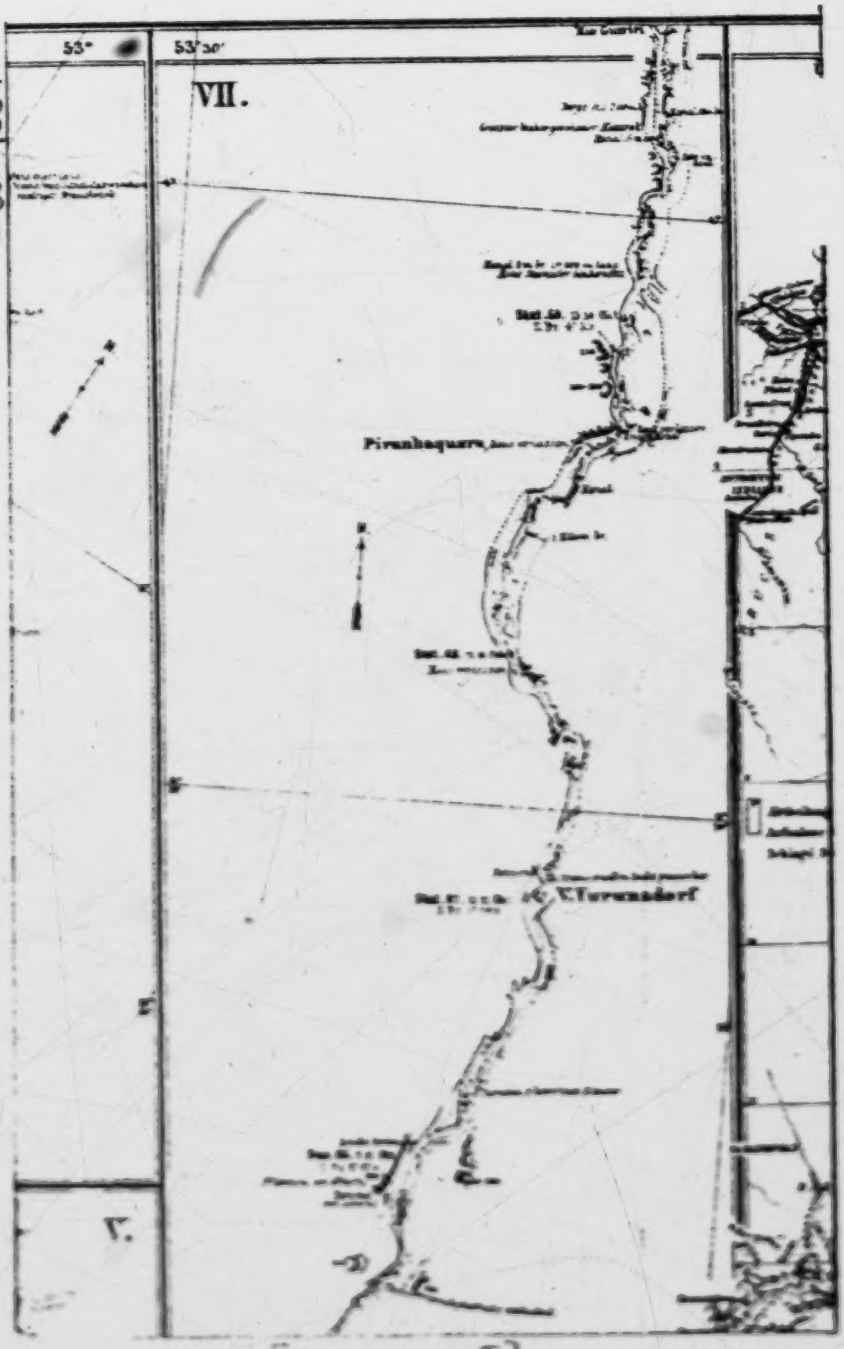

[Ens MAP, E]

1: Steinen--179 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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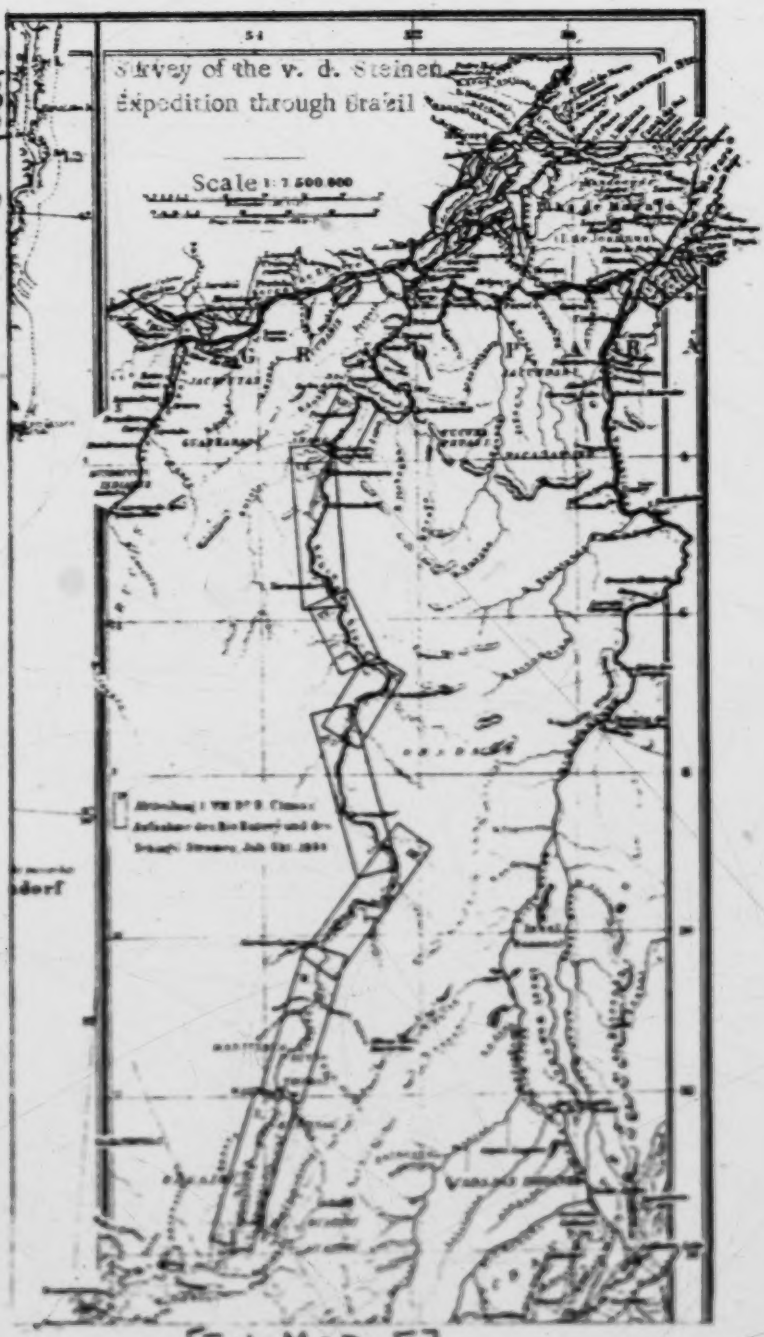

[End Map, F]

1: Steinen--180 D, 5-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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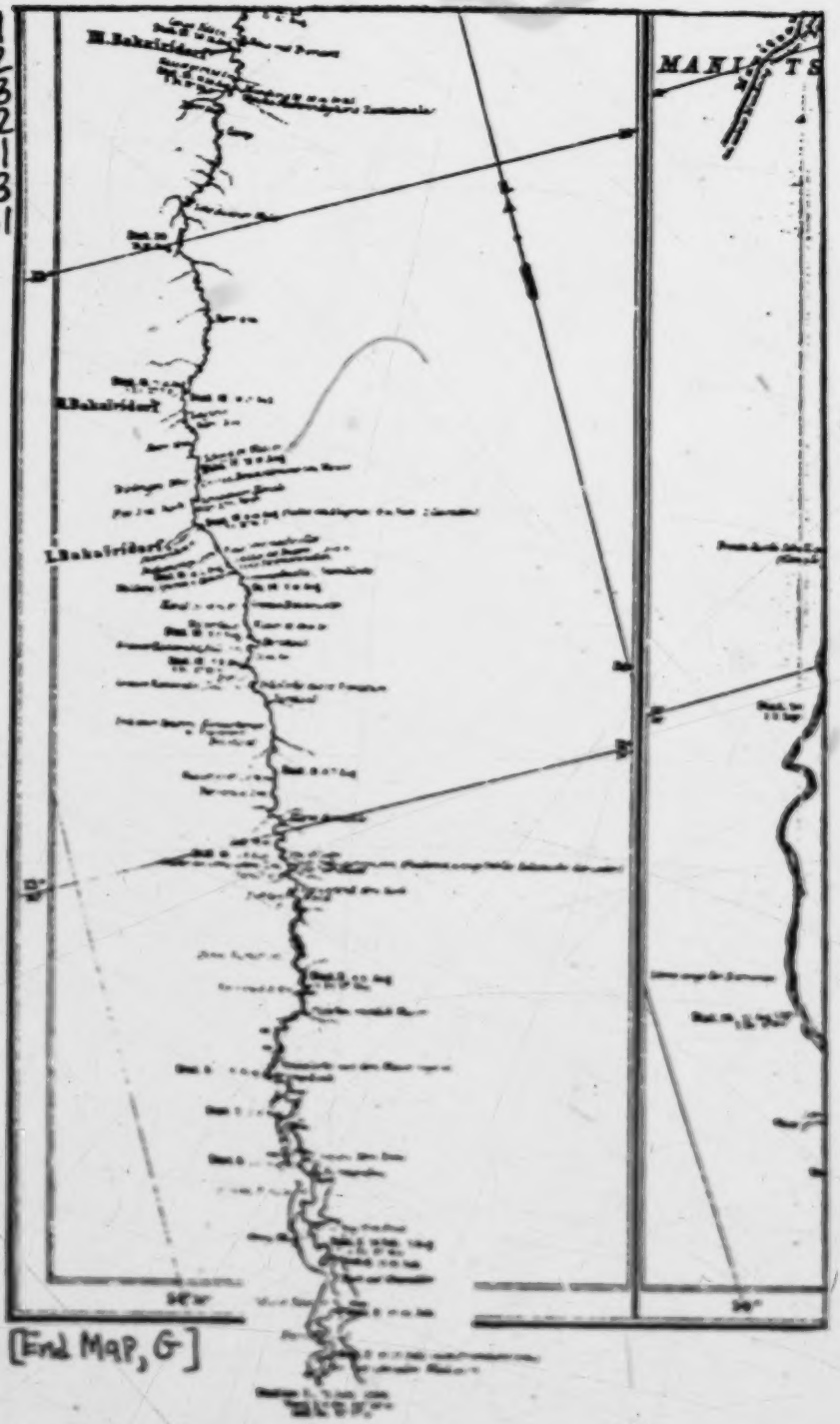

[End Map, G]

1: Steinen--181 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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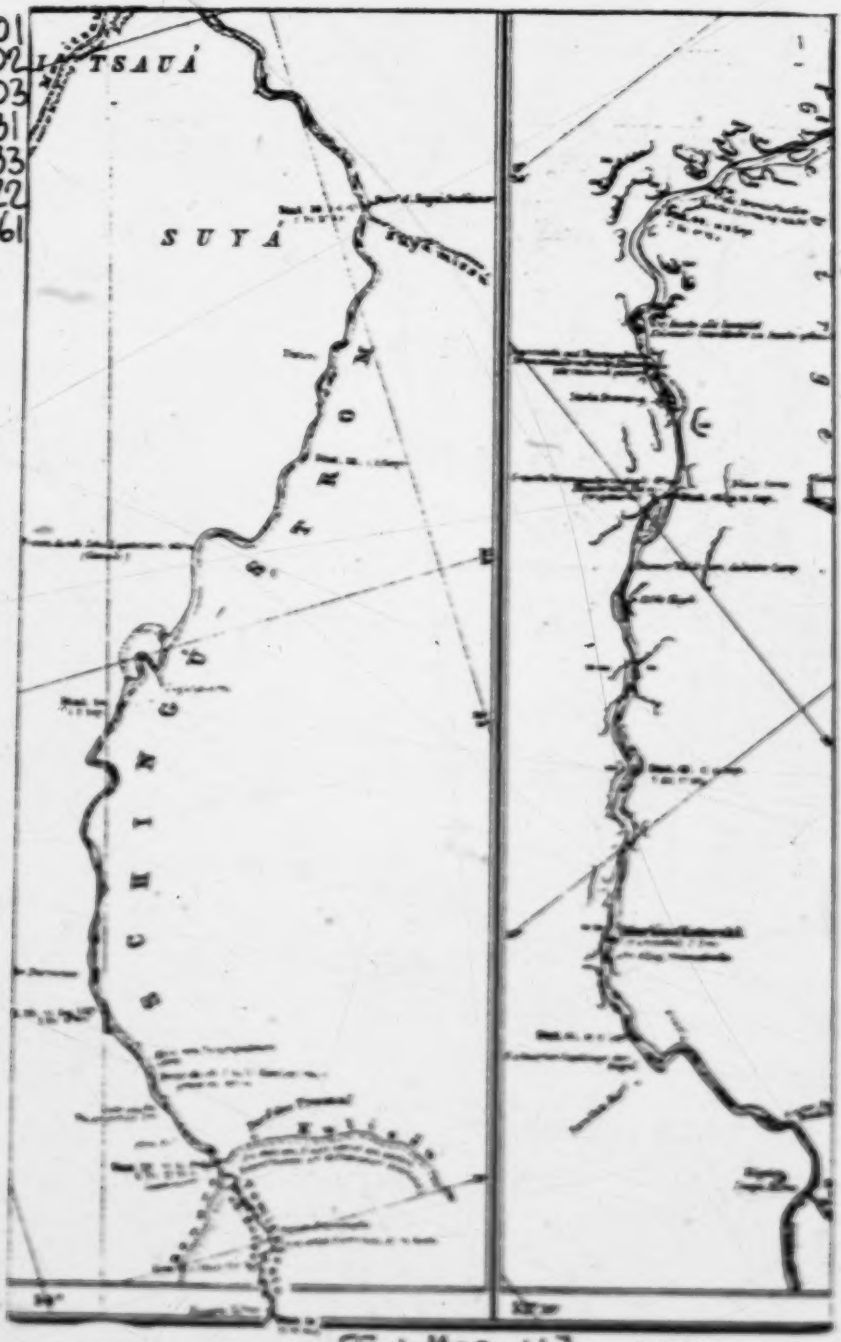

[End Map, H]

1: Steinen--182 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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[End Map, I]

1: Steinen--183 E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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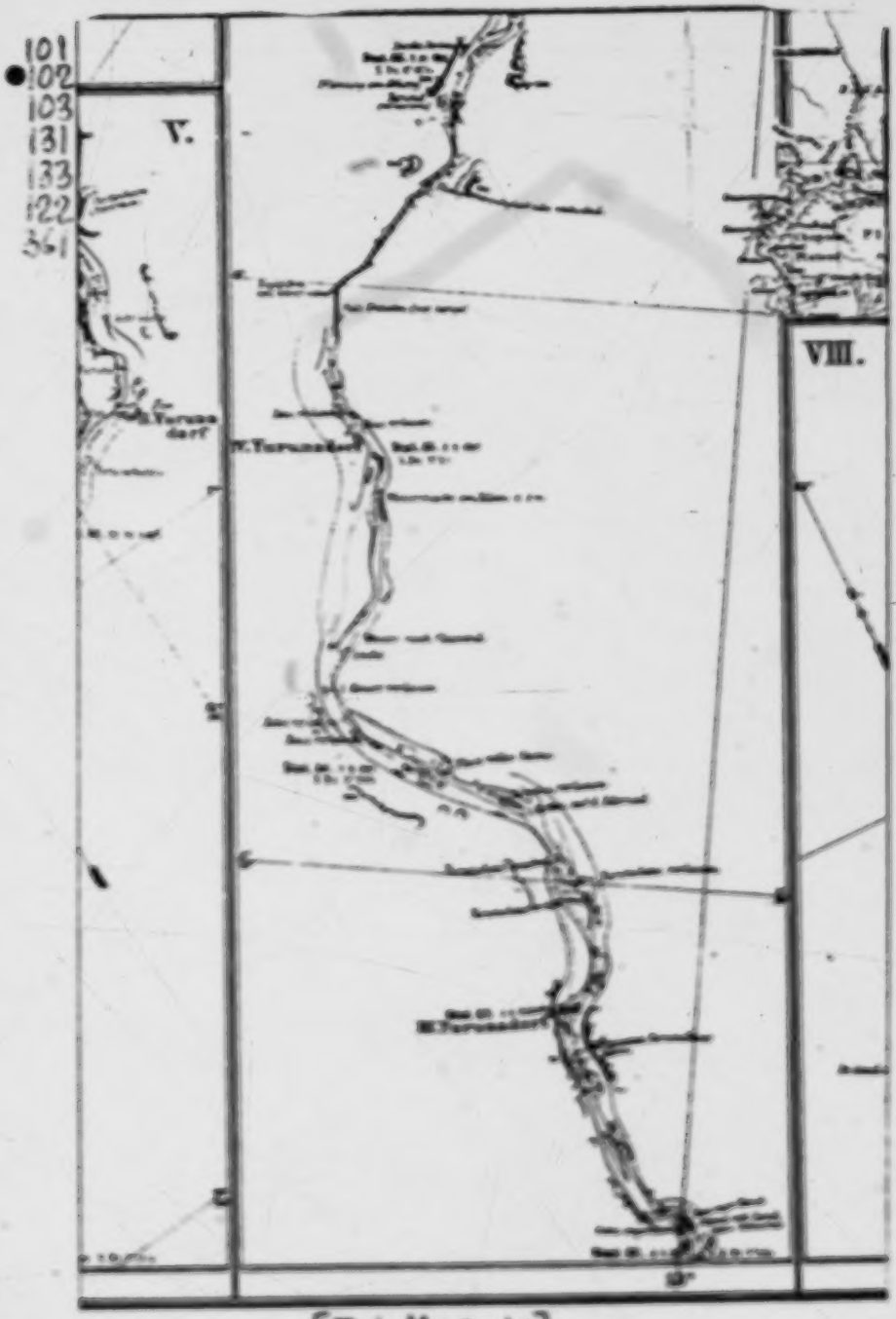
[End Map, J]

1: Steinen--184 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Eacairi SP7



[End Map, K]

1- Steiner--185 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacain SP7

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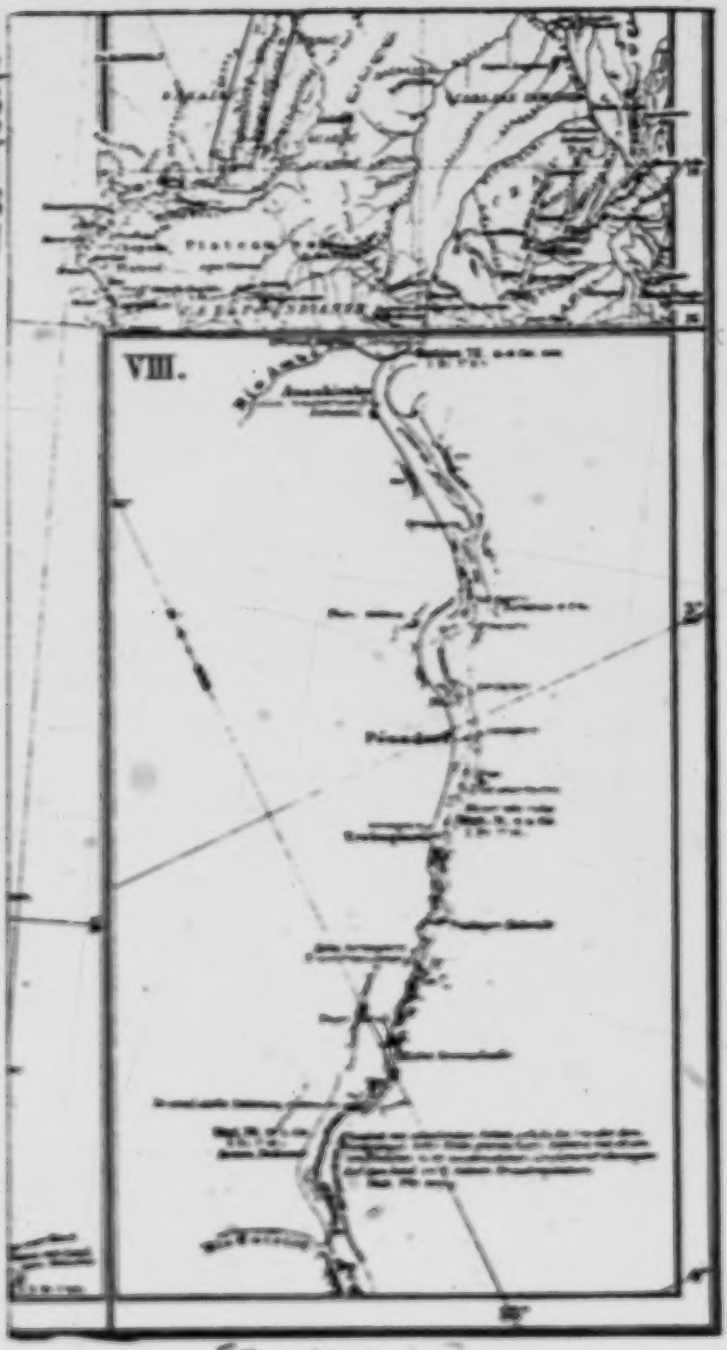

[End map, L]

2: Steinen

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SP? Bacaizi SP?

A	B	C	D	E	F	G
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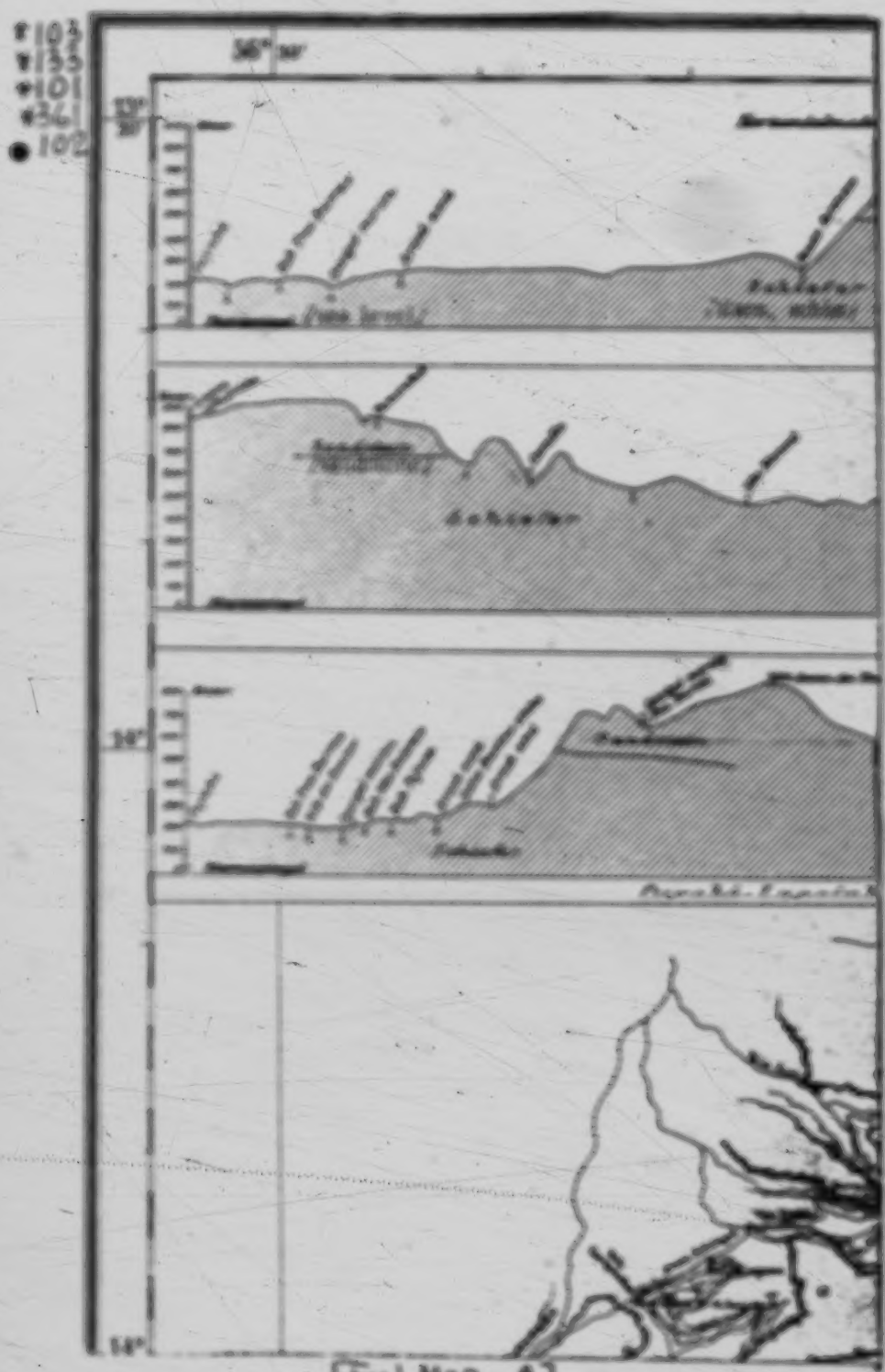
O	P	Q	R	S	T	U

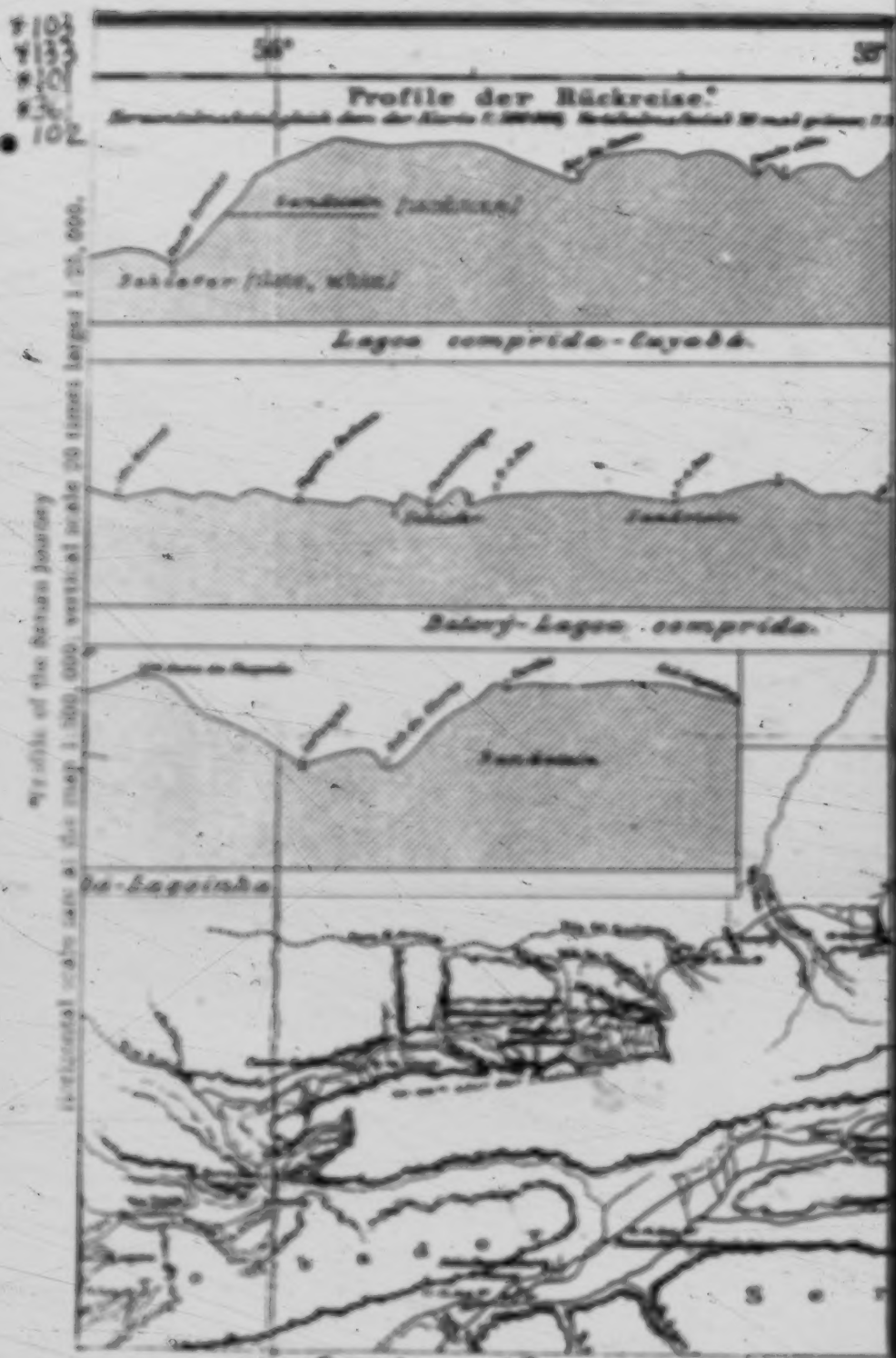
Chart of Positions of End Map. /Facing p. 664/

2. Sheet: 464 E D-5 (1984, 1987-1988) 1994 NPT Barakzi SPT



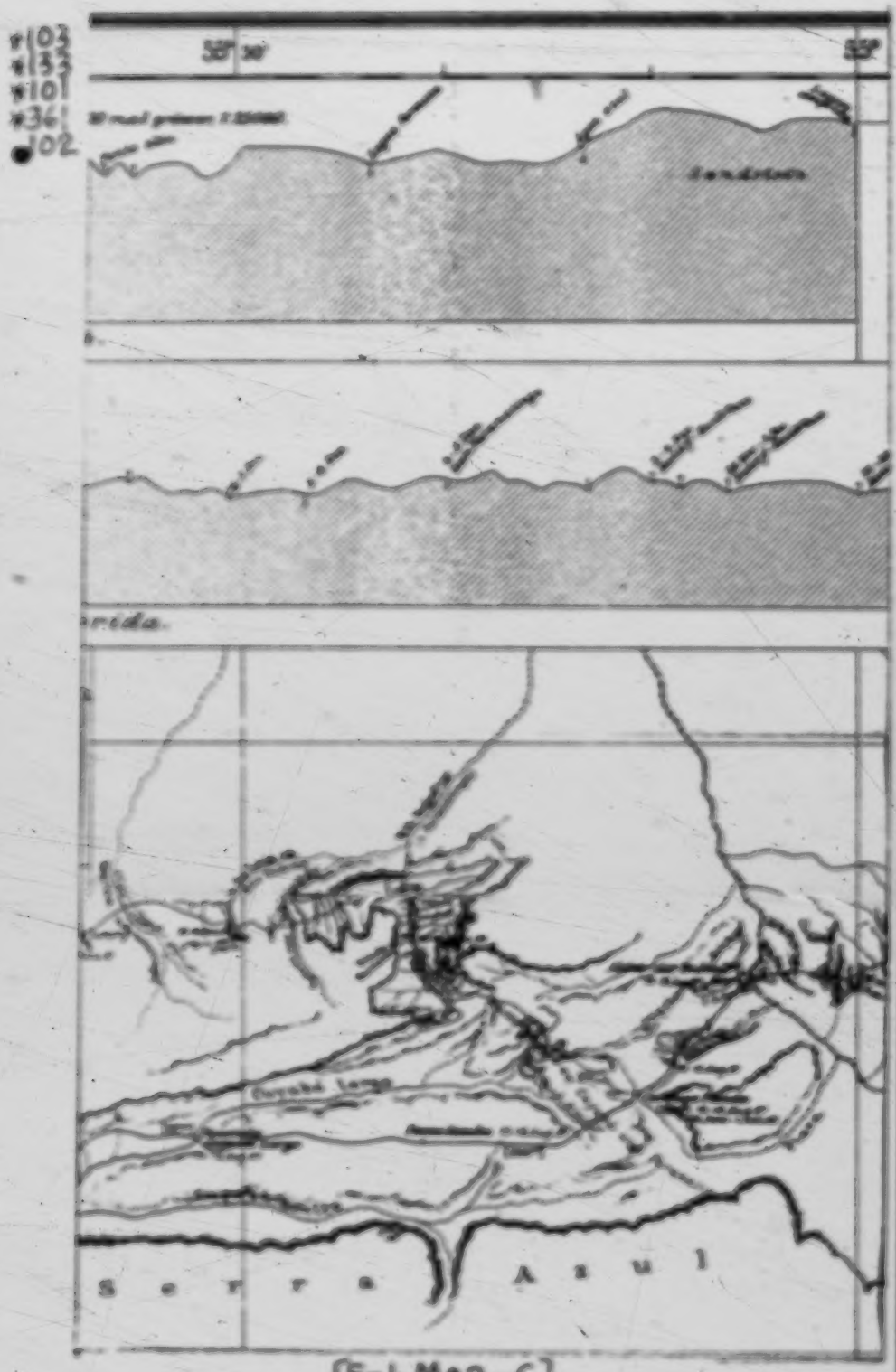
[End Map – 9]

Stations--665 E (1-5 (1884, 1887-1889) 1894 SPT Bacaizi SPT



[End MAP-B]

2: Steinen--666 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP? Bacairi SP?



[End Map—C]

2: Steinen--667 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

[End Map—D]

2: Steinen--668E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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#133
#101
#361
102

[End Map-E]

2: Steinen--669 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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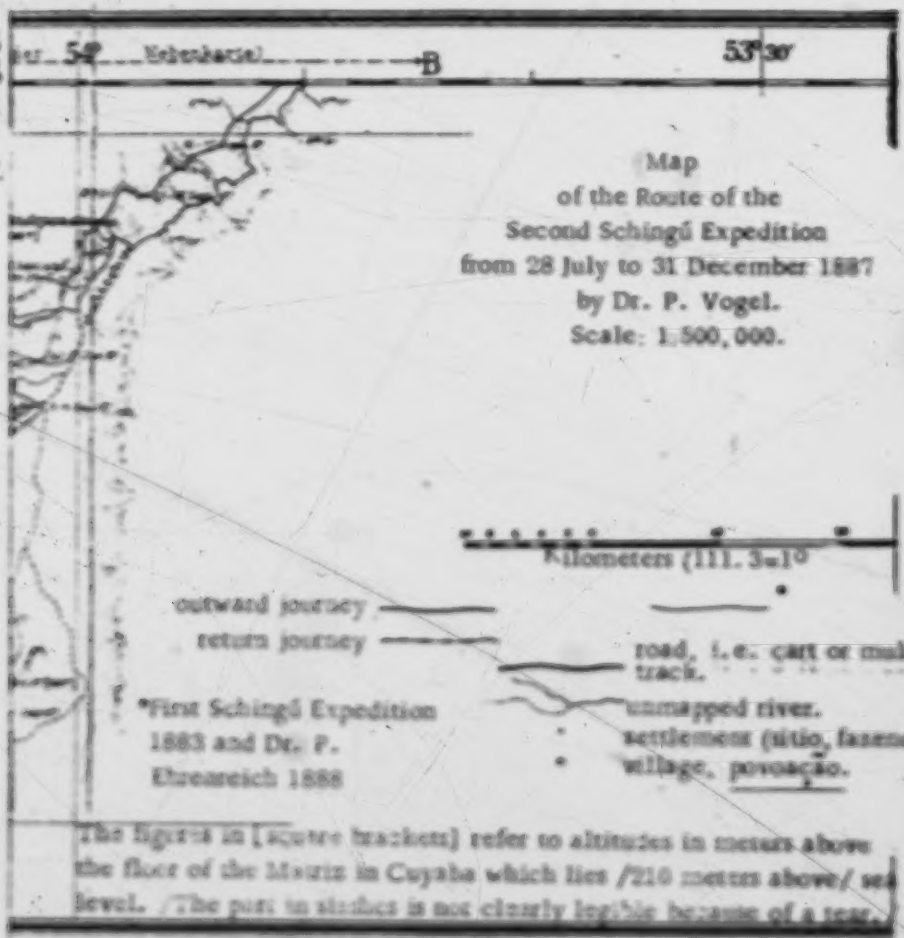
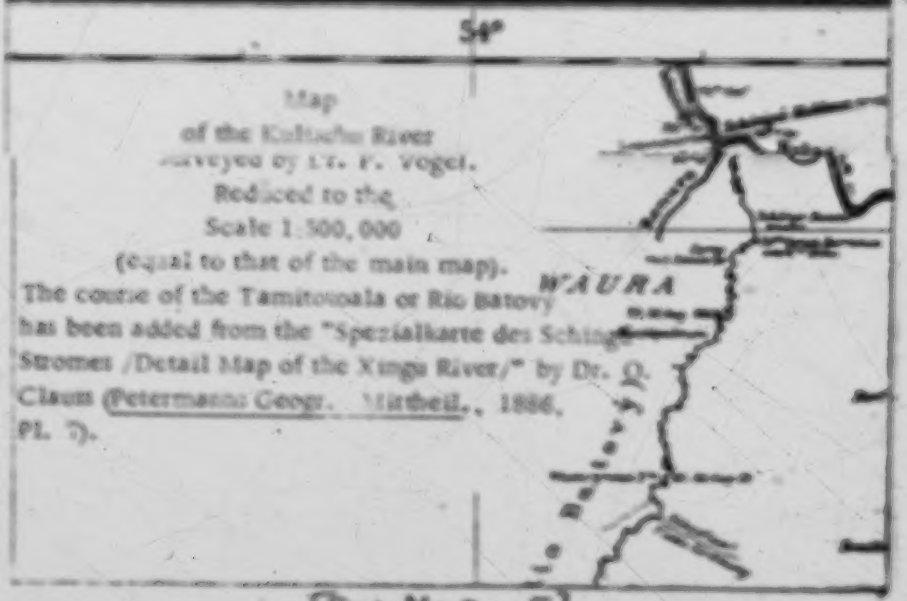
●102

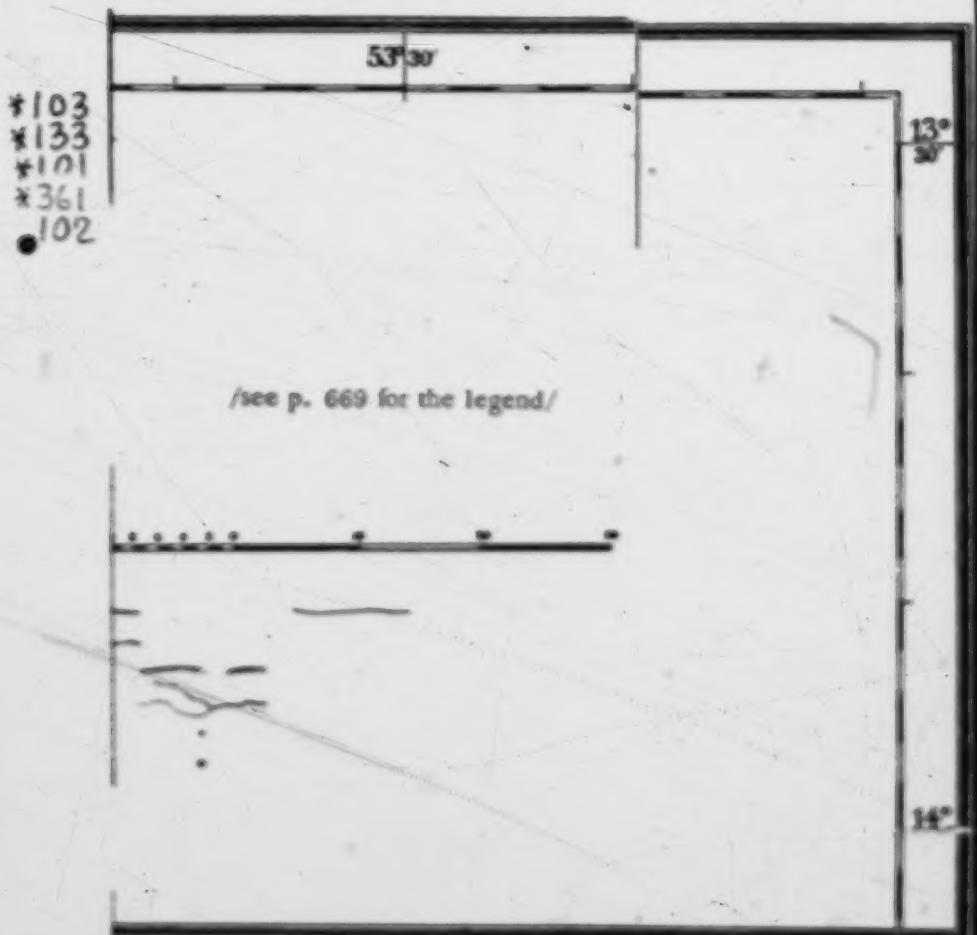


The figures in [square brackets] refer to altitudes in meters above the floor of the Maurz in Cuyaba which lies /210 meters above/ sea level. /The part in studies is not clearly legible because of a tear.



[End Map—F]

2: Steinen--670 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888, 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7



[End Map—G.]

2: Steinen--671ED-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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● 102

[End Map H]

2: Steinen--672ED-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1814 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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[End map 2]

2: Steinen--673ED-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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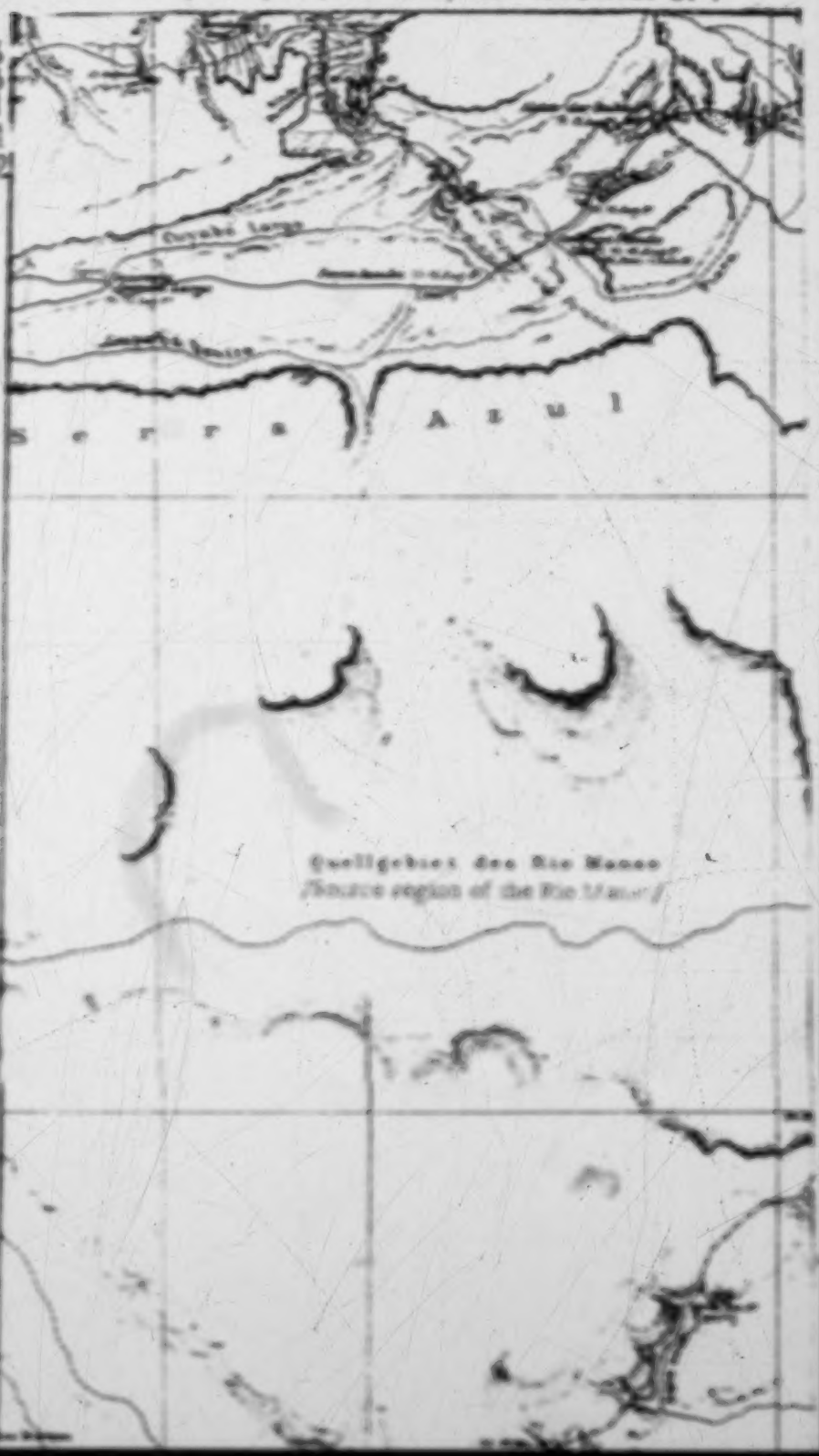
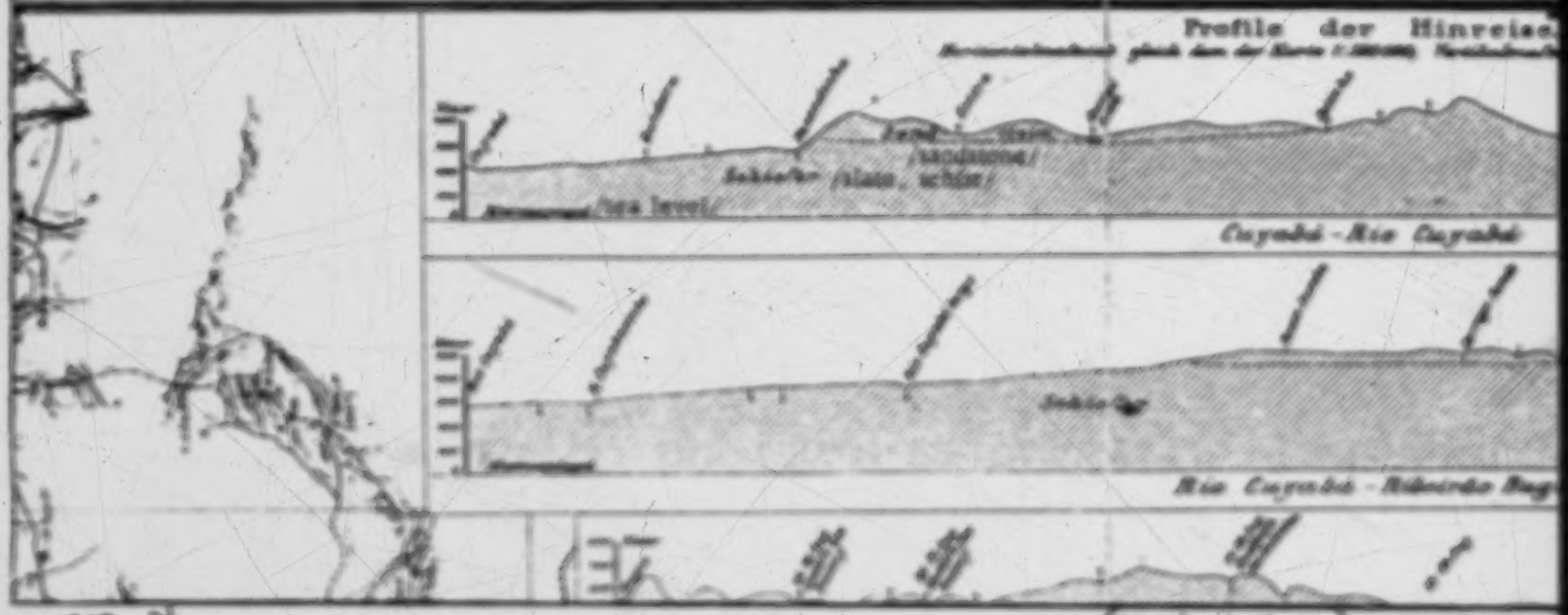
*133
+101
*361
● 102



Rio Cuyabá - Ribeirão Bug
Sandstein
Quellfl. = source river
Quellbach = source stream
Quellgebiet = source region
Rib. Bugio - Lagerplatz Independen
[End Map-K]

Profile of the Outward Journey.

Horizontal scale same as the one for the map 1:500,000; vertical scale 20 times larger 1:25,000.

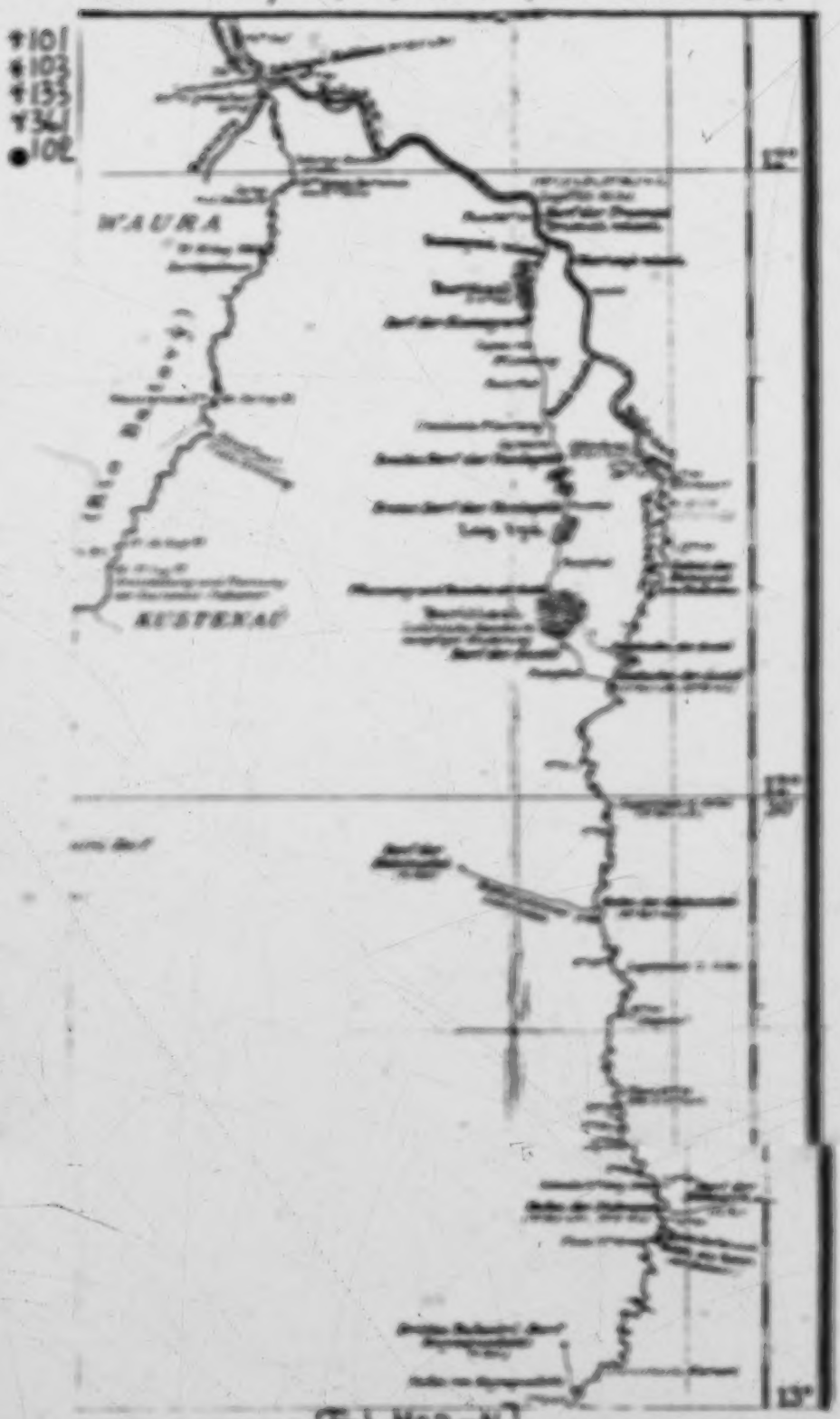


(End of Page)

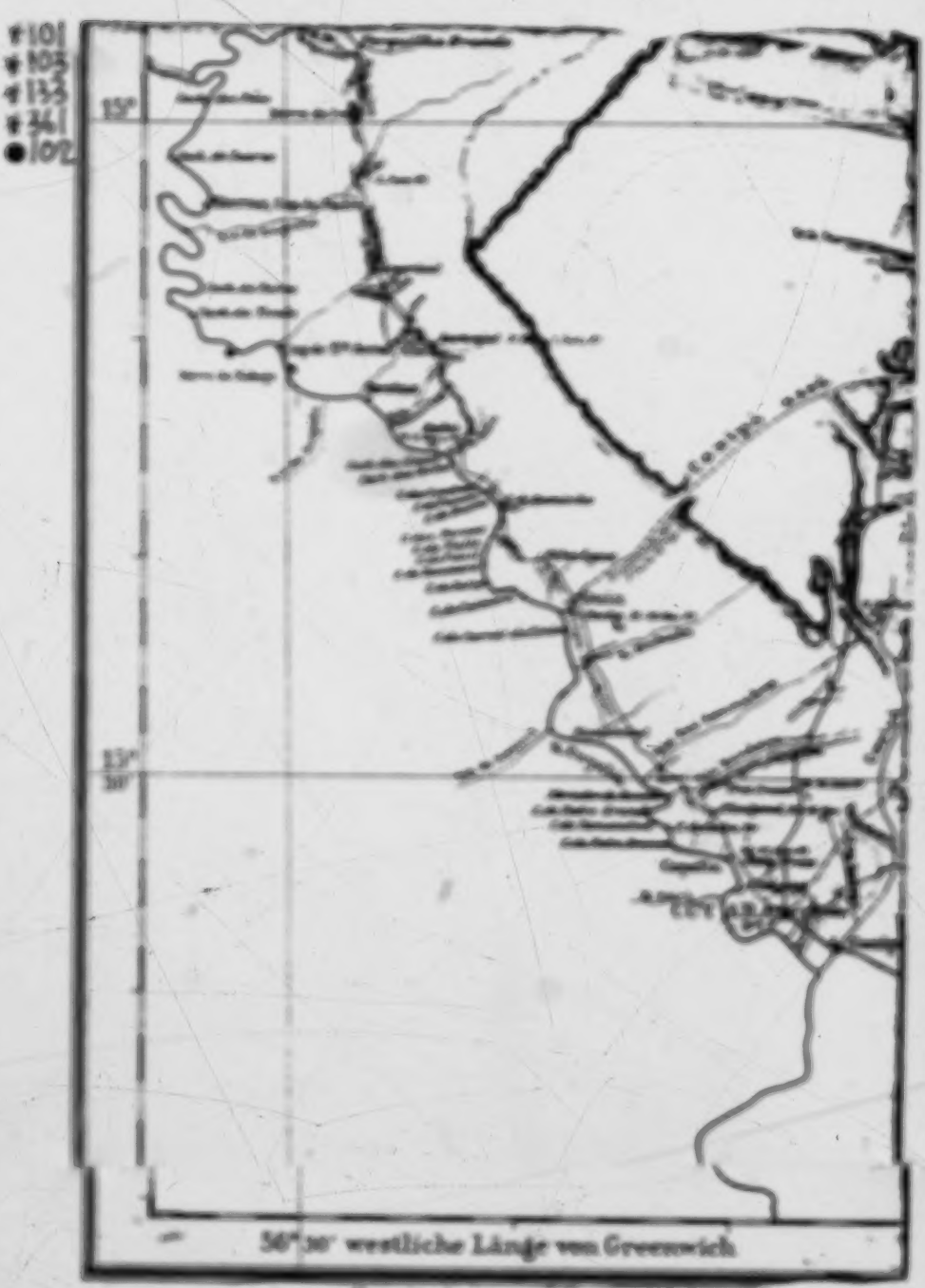
2: Swiss--676EC-5 (189-, 1897-1898) 1894 SET Decain 529

/see caption on p. 602/

2. Stations--6778D-5 (1984, 1987-1988) 1994 SPT Decals: 97



Ex. MAP—N



/longitude west of Greenwich/

[End Map - O]

2: Steinen--679ℓD-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacatal SP7

[Enl Map — P]

2: Steinen--680ED-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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● 102

[End Map—Q]

2: Steinen--681E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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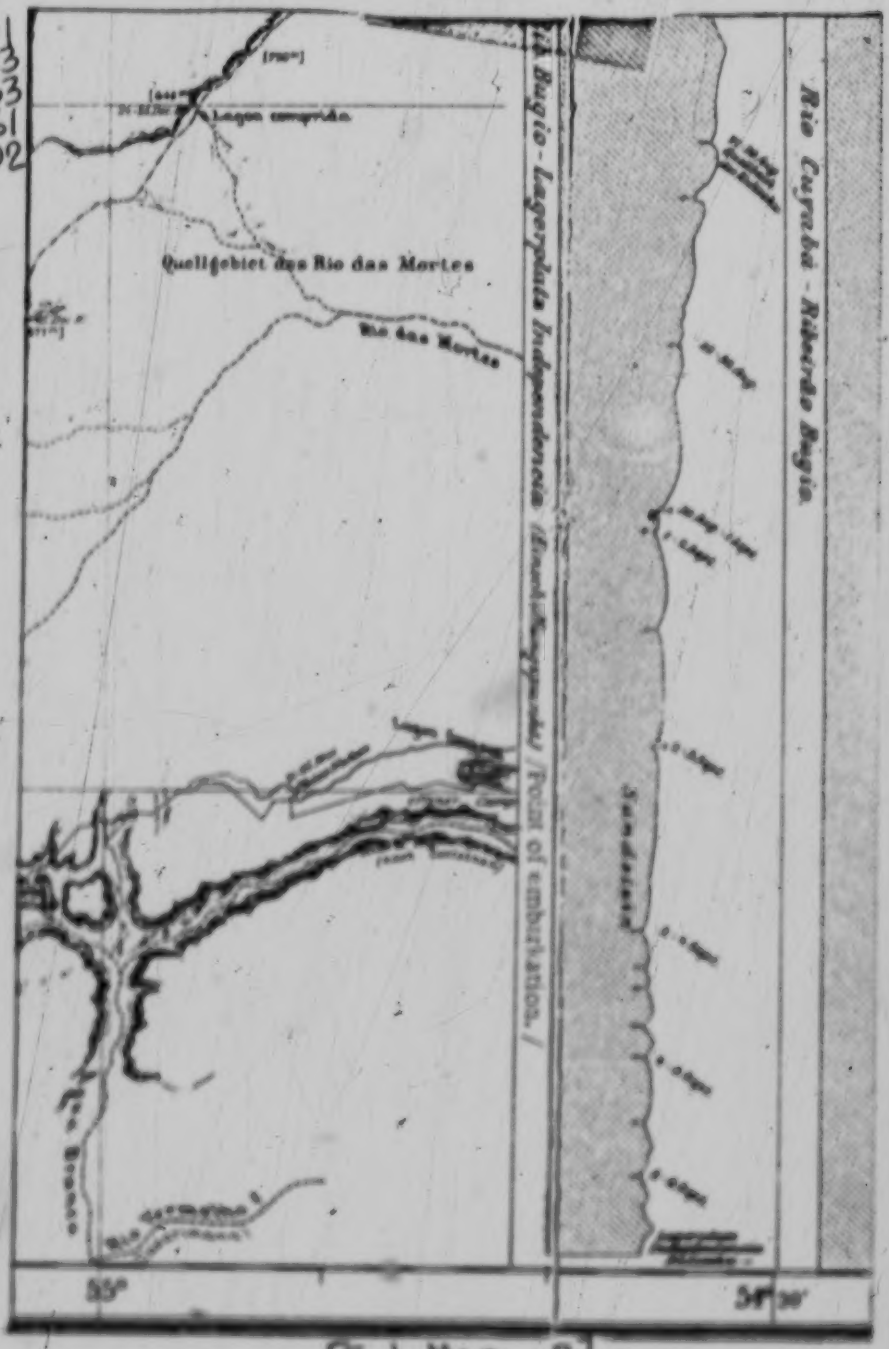

[End Map — R]

Profile der Hinreise. /see caption on p. 675/
Cuyabá - Rio Cuyabá
Rio Cuyabá - Ribeirão Bugio
Salgar
[End Map-5]

2: Steizen--683E, D-5 (1894, 1897-1898) 1894 SPT Kaiser 597

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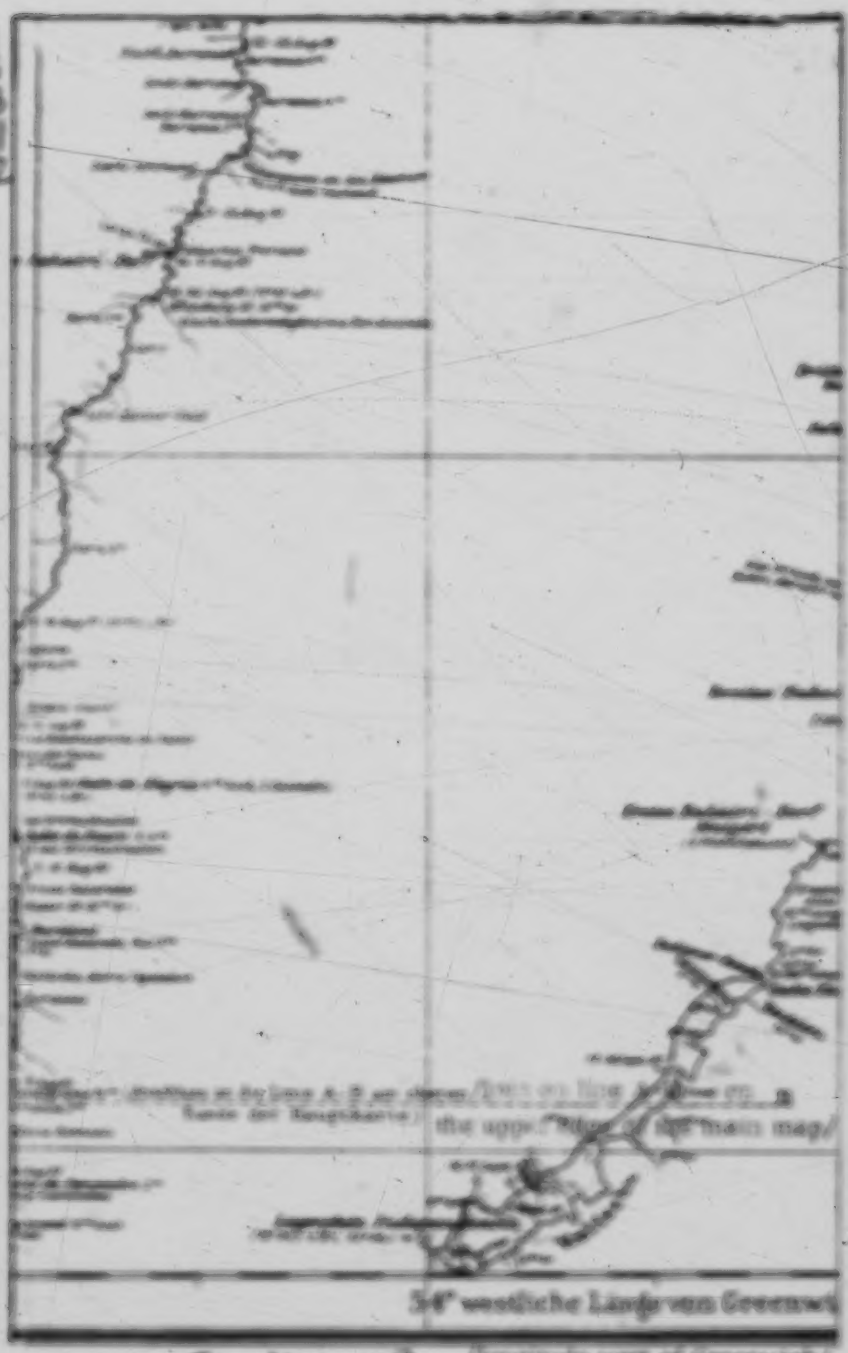
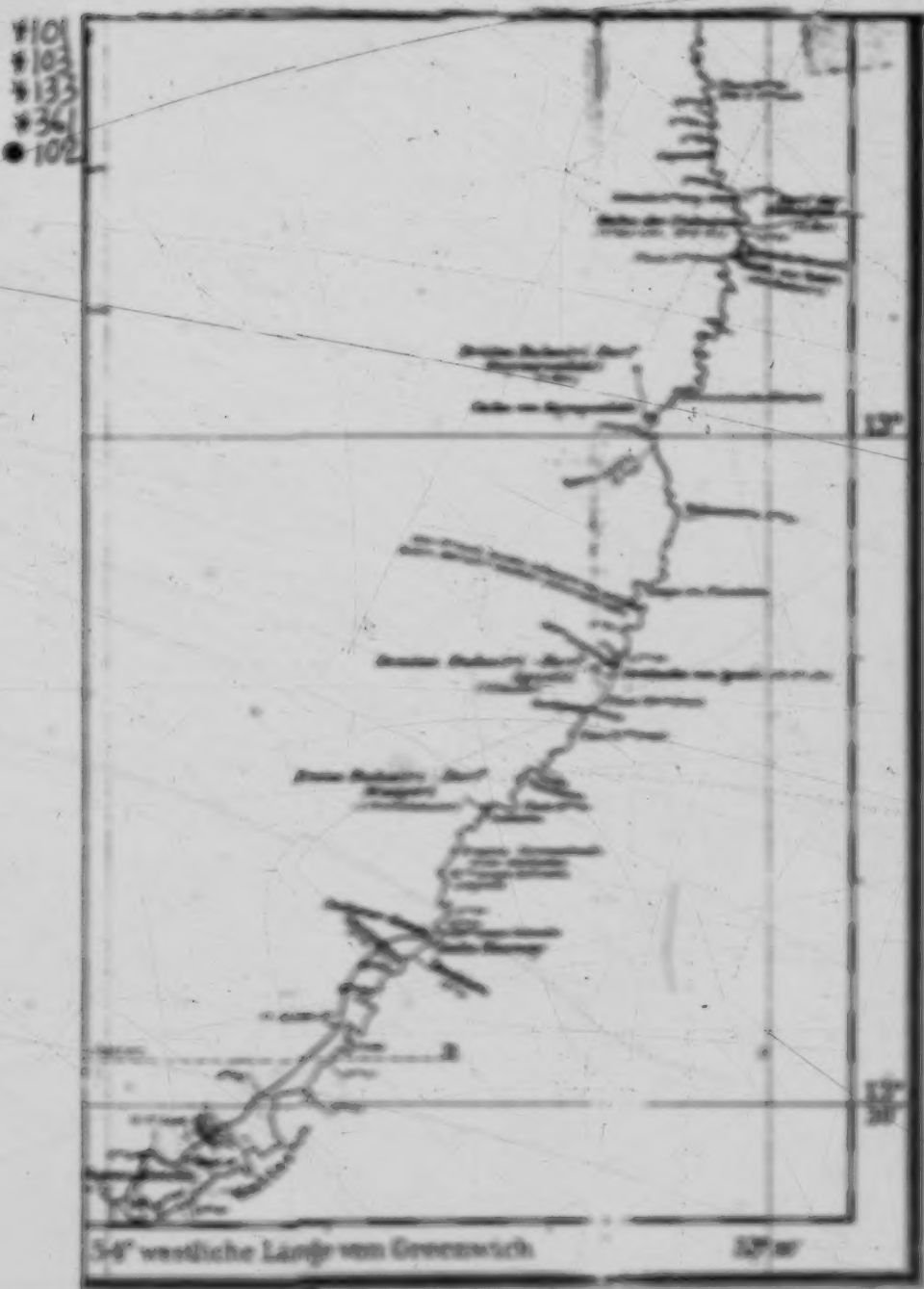


[End Map—T]

2: Steinen--604 E,D-3 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacadi SP9



[End Map—U]

Plate I

102
105
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Territory of the Bakuri

— — — Itinerary of the author

1.Petrolio E-5 (1931)1932
SPS Boreo SPS
Recnik: 397
Sa
Bo
102
131
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497
21

[Facing P. 160-A]
[Plate XXII-A]

J.Petrolio E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Barero SP8
Becerril SP7
PLATE XXV

[Plate XXV-B] [Facing P. 180-B]

Bacairi SP7
Yaruro SP25

and a number were on the sick list with fever. From this time on, at least three of my fifteen men were daily suffering from some malady that incapacitated them for hard work.

Just below the rapids formerly were located a number of Bakairi villages, as reported for instance by Von den Steinen. We passed the sites of the villages known as Marika, Iparti, Maiaeti, names meaning mosquito, harpy eagle, and turtle, respectively.

At this time some of the commrades began to show weakness, especially one man that I had brought from Diavarichiba to act as my foreman but who had failed in most of his duties to show the efficiency necessary. This, the fact that there was so much illness, and because we were behind our schedule, urged me to make use of the outboard motor now that we were in clear water. Accordingly three canoes were lashed together and the other four were towed in pairs. We made good speed, but an odd change came over the men. From being expert canoemen they became clumsy in their movements, as if this were the first time that they had seen canoes. Also, having nothing to do, they became increasingly restless in their places. This resulted in disaster several days later, after we left the Suyá-kaa, at whose port we had encamped.

Pressed for time in order to keep our scheduled meeting with the plane at the mouth of the Kuluene, the Suyá-kaa village was not visited. We camped opposite their port late in the afternoon, and soon afterwards Ukuka, the chief headman, and some of his followers, appeared on the opposite bank. He came alone, since none of his men apparently had the courage to visit us. A few gifts were made to him and he went over, promising to be back in the morning with his people and food for us.

Ukuka kept his word, for in the morning the opposite bank was crowded with naked men, women and children, carrying calabashes filled with farina, baskets filled with beiju, and pikí wrapped in leaves. Our phonograph kept them amused on their crossing over, but our presents to them interested them more. In the few hours that we stayed with them I tried to make as many notes as possible and collected a number of objects—work that was of no avail, for a few hours later everything was lost under fifty feet of water.

Authority among the Suyá-kaa did not exist. It was in vain that Ukuka tried to impress us with his power; everyone behaved as he

[text continues on p. 124]

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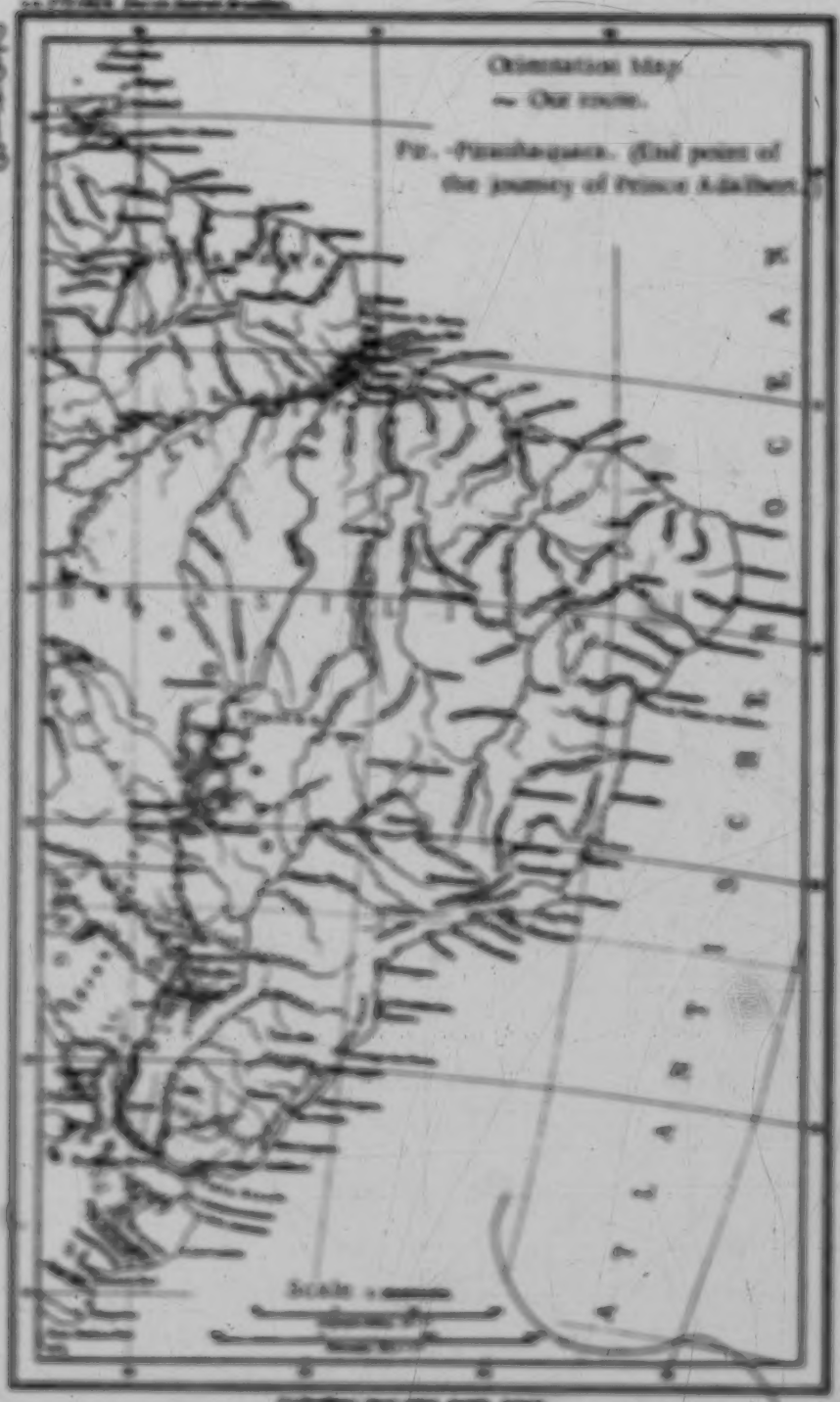

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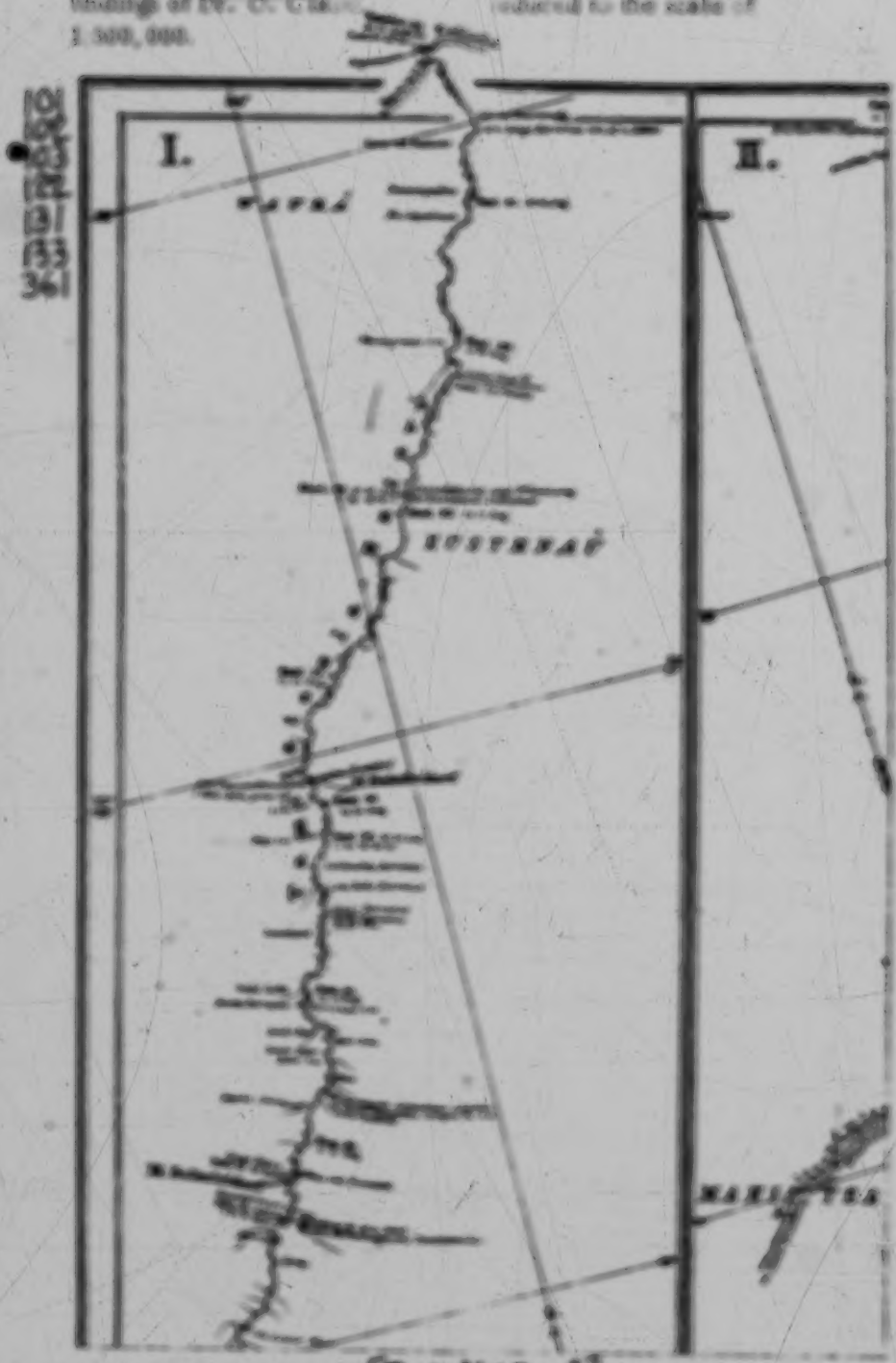
A	B	C	D	E	F
G	H	I	J	K	L

Chart of Positions of End Map /Facing p. 173/

1. Steinen--173 λ,E-5 (1664) 1916 SPT Decent SPT

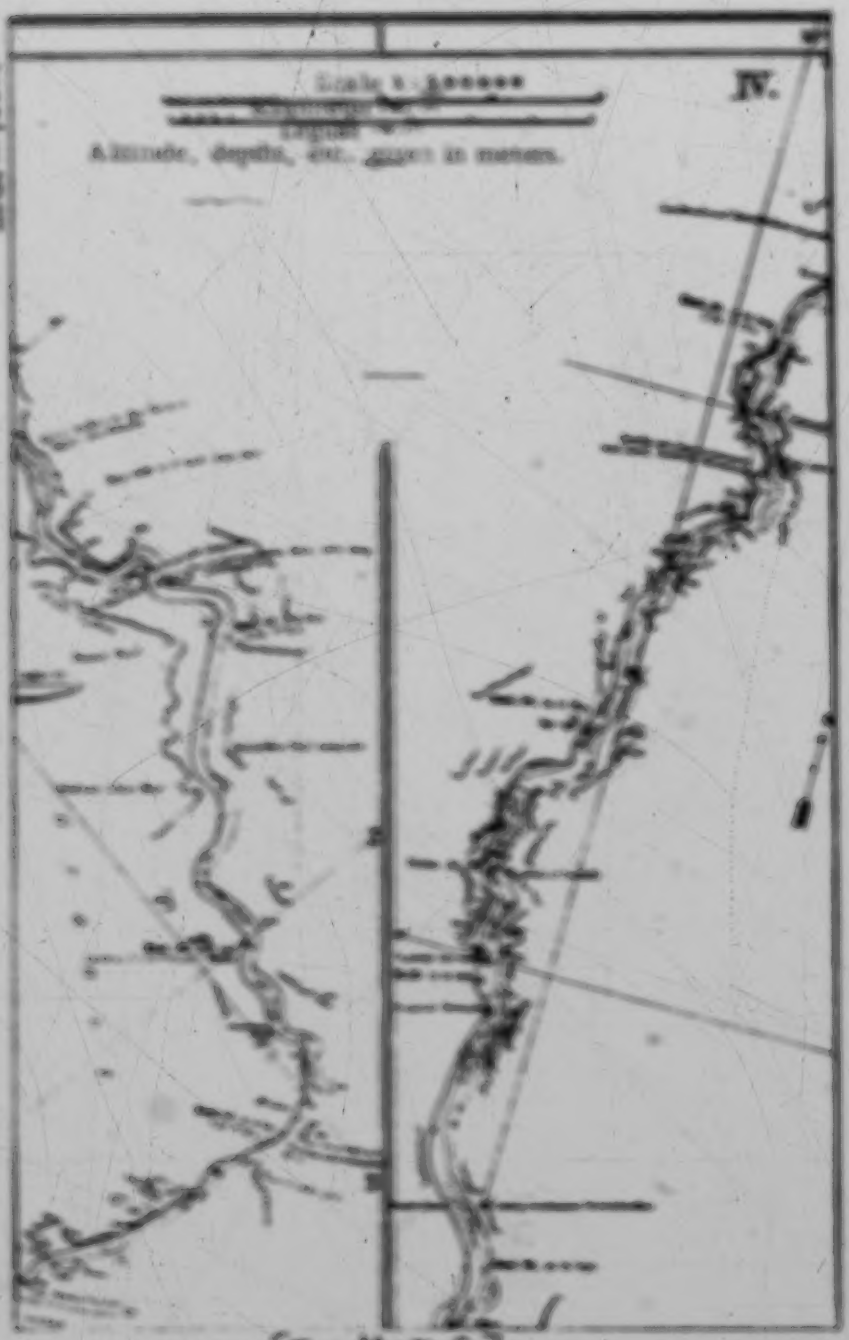
Special map of the Schingú River showing the records and position-findings of Dr. C. Clas[illegible] reduced to the scale of 1:500,000.



[Ex. MAP, A]

I: Seaman--176 D,E-5 (1864) 1906 SPT Decals: 577

[End Map, 8]



[EXH MAP, C]

1. Steinen--176 Ξ E-3 (1884) 1886 SPT Record: SP7

Explanation:

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341

route of the v. d. Steinen Expedition 1884.

Δ Stat. 34 Stopping places on it, with dates 4, 5 Oct.

In the case of stations determined by astronomical calculations, the latitude that was ascertained is added.

comp = treeless land overgrown with tall grass

= forest

o hevea = Brazilian caoutchouc pathway

cataracts and rapids

rocks, partly covered with plant growth. Banaua = steep, sandy shore

sand banks

[Legend Appearing Below Scale on End Map, C]

[End Map, D]

I; Nielsen--178 DE-5 (1884) 1886 SP: excavation SP7

[Eng map, E]

1: Steinen--179 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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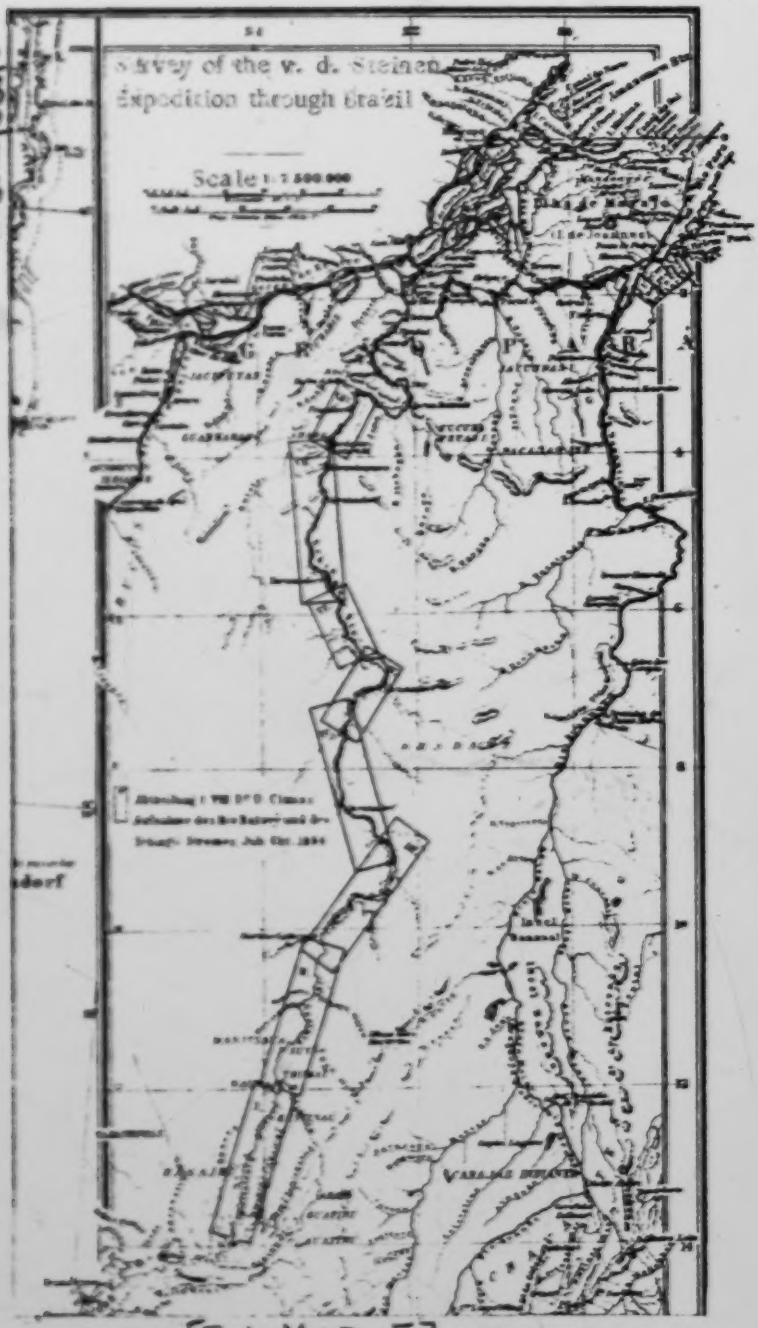

[End Map, F]

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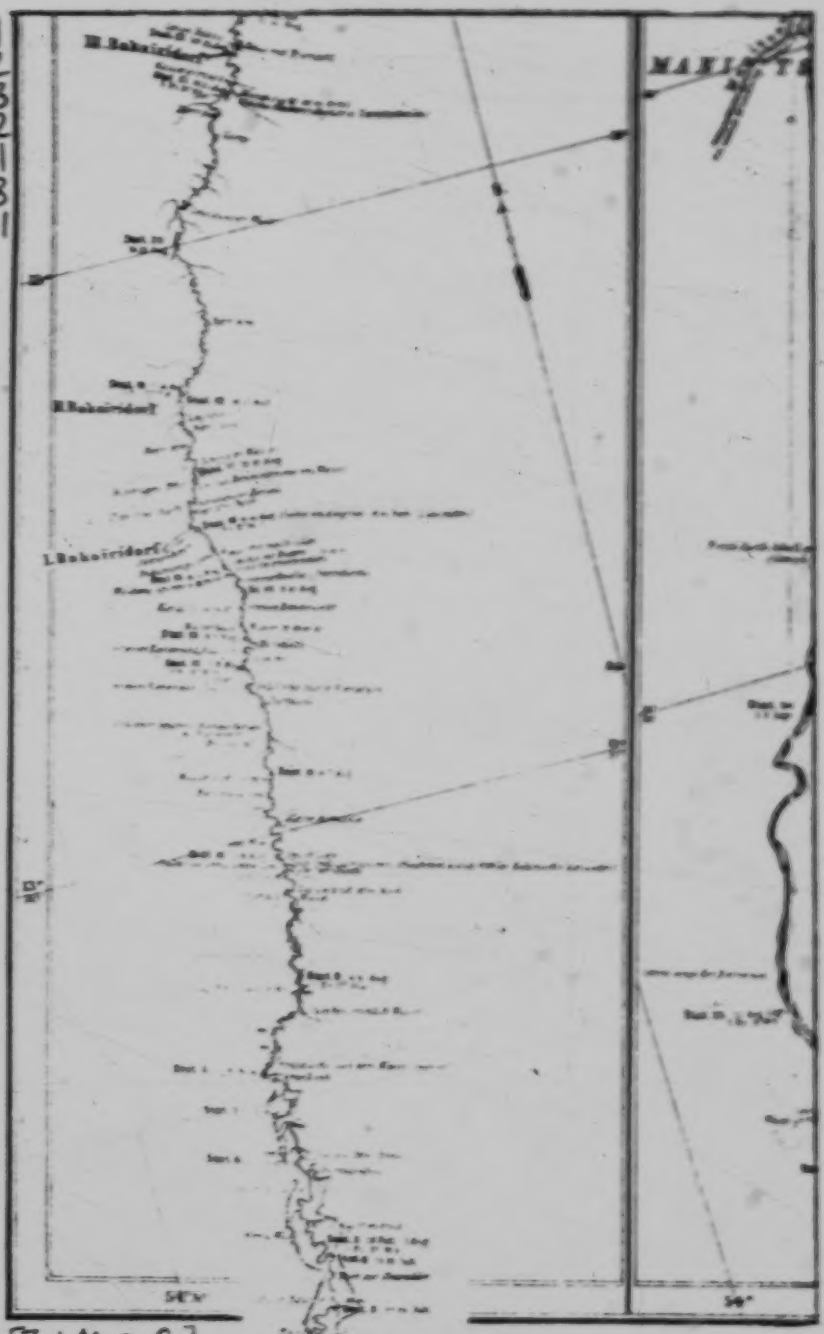

[End Map, G]

[End Map, H]

1: Shoshone--102 B.E.-5 (1994) 1996 SPT Backup SP7

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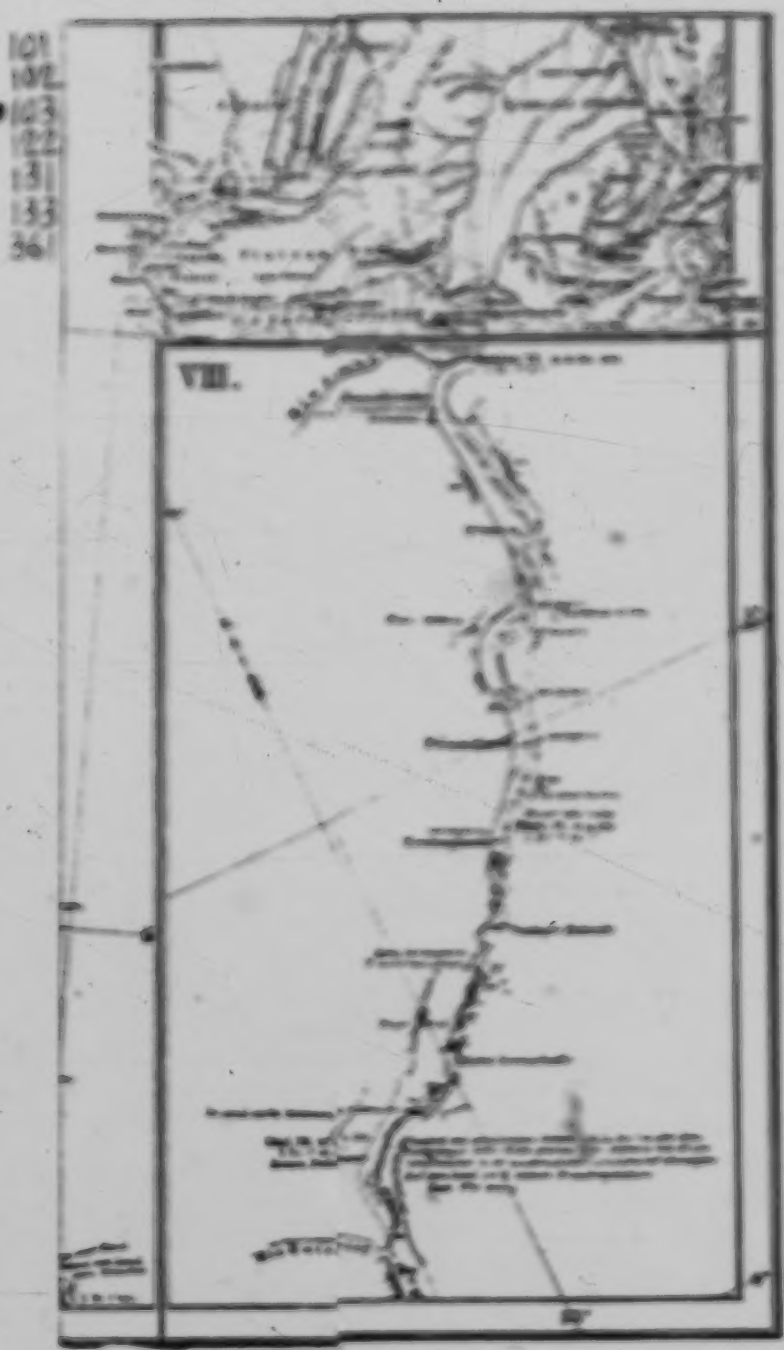
[End Map, I]

[End Map, J]

[End Map, K]



[Eng 1907 –]

2. Steinen

SF7 Secret SF7

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  101
  103
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/For a map showing place names, location of settlements, physical relationships of the various tribes discussed in the text, and topographical features of the area covered by the second von den Steinen expedition, see category 116, pp. 484-486./

/32 cont./

123 was amused. Tumayaua, as I now learned from Antonio, had been no little disconcerted by my call. He had answered that he was a Bakalif, but that we were not Bakalif. Obligingly, the good man offered us his canoe, he himself climbed into ours, and took charge of guiding us. But we chatted no less busily
101 than we rowed. The Bakalif of the Sacaya were Tumayaua's
114 relatives and friends. There was wonderful news about the first village that we had visited in 1904. The old Indian whom we at that time had called the "professor" was on his way to the Paranatinga with a few others. They wanted to pay a few visit to Antonio and his tribal brothers. Paulinge, the first Bakalif whom we had greeted on the Sacaya on our previous journey, lived at the moment in Tumayaua's community, and a strange coincidence thus decreed that we were to see him again likewise
131 in the very first village of the Kulisehu. Were we really on the
103 Kulisehu? Yes, the river was called Kulisehu, Kulisehu, or Kulihehu, since "h" and "s" are interchangeable in Bakalif, and all the tribes that we were looking for apparently also lived on its shores.

133 Cachoeiras, however, interrupted the conversation. We had set out at 12:00; after half an hour there came a low rock-cachoeira 60 meters long, through which we laboriously wound our way; then shortly after 1:00 No. 4 of this day's series, where we had to unload and stop for half an hour. At 2:45 we came to the fifth and last, which poured over the boulders in a mighty
122 surge. Here, however, the pilot went on strike against going any farther in our canoe, which was succumbing to acute dropsy. We took him aboard as a fourth and left the corpse to its fate. Tumayaua, we had to acknowledge approvingly, had truly come our way at a good time; it is highly improbable that we three with our baggage and without knowing the way would have reached the village through the final cachoeiras in the miserable canoe that could no longer carry the single Indian. Certainly we would not have reached this goal today. At 3:15 we landed on the left bank; we were in the "harbor."

/35 cont./

B 101 131 361

On the very first evening I obtained a fairly clear conception of the Kulisehu dwellers whom we might see. There were three Sakalf villages, they were supposed to be followed by a village of the "Nahuqué," two villages of the "Minaké," a village of the "Auizf," a village of the "Tsalapihi," and on the "Kuluéne" a village of the "Trumaf." Between the Kulisehu and the Tamitsuala-Sanovy, the "Kamayuiá" and the "Waurá" were said to be living. The meaning of the river name "Kuluéne," which I now heard for the first time, remained uncertain. Only gradually did I come to understand that it is the chief river in the east, larger than the Kulisehu which empties into it. Thus the river that we had seen in 1884 flowing in from the southeast at Schingú-Koblenz /Xingu-Coblenz/ was not actually the "Kulisehu," as we had understood at that time and had believed up to now, but rather the combined Kuluéne-Kulisehu; the name "Kuluéne" was retained for the Schingú itself below the large fork, so that the Sayá, for instance, lived on the Kuluéne. If one wished to go by the nomenclature of the natives, one would have to use the name "Kuluéne" instead of "Schingú" and now say that the Kuluéne first receives the Kulisehu and then, at "Koblenz," the Somno along with the Tamitsuala-Sanovy.

B 323

It was a difficult piece of work to get these statements from the Sakalf: there was much drawing in the sand, much pantomime carried on, and, if a section of the route remained obscure, they always began again from the beginning. For the time being I knew enough: the individual tribes apparently did not live very far apart, at most a journey of three days. I was also given some bad news, and I confess that for me it spoiled the hitherto very pleasant memory of the first expedition: when the Trumaf /36/ at that time at Koblenz had dashed away from us in sheer flight, and our soldiers had pursued them in order to recover some of the objects that they had taken along in spite of their haste, a Trumaf had been killed, as I now learned, in the foolhardy shooting that the men had permitted themselves and that allegedly was only aimed into the air. We could therefore hardly count on a cordial welcome there.

B 101 T 114

/93 cont./

124 asked of them. Indeed, Tumayaua accepted without delay the invitation to mount Perrot's horse. I led the animal for a while and then let it go; the noble chief rode and rode, for he did not know how to get back. But there was something of a historic moment in the picture: the South American of the Stone Age on the back of a horse for the first time. Luchu was not yet ripe for this idea; the young man could not to be persuaded to follow the example of the plucky uncle, who was highly pleased with the experience. Tumayaua also measured the horse by feeling the head and neck in comparison with his body size; obviously he wanted to furnish the tobacco club with a scientific description.

122 With the help of the Indians, two more canoes had been made: on 29 September the oars were carved and on the 30th the canoes were experimentally loaded.

[103] To the First Bakairi Village (Naughri).

On 1 October we got up at four o'clock and at six o'clock we set out. We were distributed in the five canoes: 1. Antonio, Wilhelm, I. 2. Ehrenreich, João Pedro; 3. Vogel, Perrot, Columna; 4. Carlos and Peter with heavy luggage; 5. Tumayaua and Luchu. "Adeus Januario, Raymundo, Serpro, Manoel! Auf 4 volta, until our return! Take care of the animals, don't quarrel, and keep well!" "Feliz viagem!" called back the good fellows, in whose place I truly would not have liked to be and who were now going to count the days until our return would again give them their freedom.

We rowed lustily, made a midday pause on a rocky island, and at a quarter to five our canoe was the first at the big cachoeira which we christened Salto Teunay in honor of Senator Teunay. I took a splendid bath in the whirlpool and then sat down at a lookout point; dusk was beginning to fall and no one came. At a quarter to seven, in the light of the full moon, the others appeared; they had remained at the island until three o'clock, sleeping and boiling maté. Fishing was made difficult by the all too bright night; it was not until eleven o'clock that the men

/98 cont./

123 gaily colored little dress and which, as the best item in our warehouse, was intended for "the most worthy one." I could not waver about its belonging by right to my intended, the heiress of the village and mistress of all the flour furnished me. The inquisitive question as to whether the wives of the Kazaiben also had clothes should now be settled. I called the whole company together on the plaza and aroused their exultation when I exhibited the blue-eyed, rosy-cheeked little porcelain head, let them see and touch the genuine blond hair, and explained in turn the pretty clothes of the "yanzilla poldna." And their ecstasy was increased when I then stepped up to my intended and said "Ama ulna," "it is yours." The little yellow-skin blushed with joy, and to my amazement the otherwise taciturn mother began speaking in a loud voice and called and talked, professing all kinds of things which I did not understand, but which, even though the Indians have no word for "thank you," was nevertheless a speech of thanks. I do not know upon whom my intended of that time may meanwhile have bestowed her heart and hand and, as a dowry, the precious Kazaiben woman -- by one of those strange twists which sometimes joins the links in the chain of fate, however, it has come to pass that in the meantime one of the two Berlin ladies has become the wife of the publisher of this book, and the other, the wife of its author.

133 /87/ We stayed until well after dark and then went to our camp at the so-called second harbor of the village. A long stretch of rapids lies between the upper and the lower harbor; the canoes had been hauled over it during the afternoon, so that we would not have to overcome the obstacle the following morning.

[103] To the Second Bakairi Village (Iguéti).

The journey from the first village to the second is very arduous because of the many rapids. It is characterized by long stretches where the river is filled with boulders, between which it was very low in view of the water level at that time. We called this type "stone cachoeiras": they are regular cataracts which are probably more easily negotiated with a higher water level.

/St cont./

153 Tumoyeue declared that he had heard them shout. It is probable
[101] that the fire glow which we had repeatedly noticed in the east, and which had been similarly observed at the evening at Independencia, came from them. Barely an hour later, the Kewayeli, about 12 meters wide, flowed in from the left. On both banks quetimade and plantings.

484 From the second village Tumoyeue had taken along as a companion Fakuseli, a short, stocky old man who did not look as though he were a great sorcerer, and whom we, with a lack of
[542] respect, called the "cab driver." They did not have much luggage with them and easily packed it into the mayakun, their
[284] back-baskets for carrying loads. They had taken along on the journey, not cotton hammocks, but hammocks made of palm fiber, which are lighter and dry quickly if they become wet. /92/ The two made rapid progress, even though they were bent on fishing at every favorable spot. We had let the great sorcerer sniff a bottle of ammonia, which had horrified him no little. After that he could no longer be enticed to smell any of our things. If one of us calls from a corner that it stinks there, everybody runs over and sniffs.

●103 To the Third Sakaiff Village (Kuyaqualifti).

361 The harbor at which we arrived at 4:45 lay at the end of a lateral inlet and would not have been found without a guide.

The next morning, 6 October, we departed at 7:00 for the village and reached it in three-quarters of an hour on the usual
[532] winding forest-trail. On the way we saw a large human figure carved in tree bark, with three fingers on the hands and stump-like feet.

Harpia village, "kuyaquali-fti," also had only three houses and a flute-house, but was the liveliest of the three villages.
167 I counted 31 men and just about as many women and children.
621 Some of the latter, however, had run into the woods. There
574 were probably about 100 souls in the village. The chief, Forisa,
622 was a small, friendly gentleman; he had had beijú baked at NIGHT.

/127 cont./

upper end of the handle, which was thrust through the small gourd, and in the case of one of them the gourd was replaced by the shell of a young turtle.

The Nahuquá let us take them across the river. The Aueto, too, often made demands on us. They found it decidedly convenient that we were always at their disposal with our canoes. The Aueto, however, were also excellent swimmers. Children who reached to their father's knees paddled about freely and happily in the Kulisehu. We denied the trip to one young man who from the other side shouted in Aueto, "ferryman ahoy". It was a pleasure to see how elegantly he crossed the river, his left hand stretched up high and holding hammock and bow.

The farewell was difficult for us, much as we longed to get away from the dirty and unhealthy campsite. Vogel and Perrot had returned from their trip on 29 October. On 30 October we worked busily and packed up the collection. Perrot made another trip to the Aueto village and bade a tender farewell; the women brought him their children and a little girl was given the name "Perrot". For all this love he of course had to show his appreciation in beads, and a young mother whose two children had received gifts from him called his attention, with lively gestures, to the fact that he should also remember a third that was in prospect.

VIII. Return to Independencia.

Vogel's trip to Schingú-Koblenz. Off from the Aueto harbor. Visiting the villages. Accompanied by Indians. Rhenish carnival on the Kulisehu. Farewell scene in Maigéri. The mountain trip: rowing. Suffering. Fever. Independencia: day of rest. Solemn farewell from the Bakairí.

The excursion of Vogel and Perrot clarified the relationship between the Kulisehu and Kuluéne. Auayato, the Aueto chief, had accompanied them. They were absent from the harbor from 11:45, 24 October, to 7:00 in the evening, 29 October, and were able to make headway easily, since they carried no luggage.

/127 cont./

B 103 B 33 T [42]

luggage. They reached the place where the Kulisehu empties /128/ into the beautiful wide Kuluêne in seven hours, passed a tributary on the left, a canal of the Mariapé-Nahuquá on the right, found on the right bank the Trumaí villages in the condition described on page 114, and from here were able in all of four hours -- in eight hours from the emptying of the Kulisehu -- to reach Schingú-Koblenz at the junction of the Kuluêne and Xingu, that large sandy beach where our meeting with the Trumaí was enacted in 1884.

At that time the Trumaí had thus come down on their Kuluêne, and this large river, of which we knew only the mouth, was designated for us as the "Kulisehu." A strange development! On our new expedition we had sought the "Kulisehu" and had found and traveled the Kulisehu as well, but we had meant the Kuluêne. Even the Trumaí live below the Kulisehu mouth, farther up on the Kuluêne lived the Nahuquá tribes, which fortunately, however, were also settled on the Kulisehu in the village visited by us.

Y 7 [38]

Vogel and Perrot had bad weather. On account of the cloud cover, the astronomical latitude could not be determined either at the mouth of the Kulisehu or in Koblenz. The Kuluêne was 241 meters wide below the Kulisehu mouth, 299 meters somewhat above it. From Koblenz they had gone up the Xingu, had passed the Batovy mouth in a scant half hour -- where on 30 August 1884 we had emerged from the endlessly winding forest stream and for the first time were able to enjoy with some certainty the hope that we had actually found the Schingú -- and had finally continued the journey on the Xingu for two kilometers farther upstream. The Xingu had an average width of 250 meters and a depth of three to six meters, the Kuluêne, above Koblenz, measured only 187 meters and the main river at our sandy beach, 366 meters.

B 122

If we did not wish to jeopardize all of our success, the thought of traveling up the Kuluêne and visiting the other Nahuquá villages was completely out of the question. The rainy period had set in in earnest, the journey upstream was becoming

/133 cont./

the second journey. By and large, one must say, the statements of our informant were confirmed. His river branchings, it is true, cannot satisfy the cartographic demands of our Kazaiben exactitude, but even here he was more accurate than we could realize when we mistook the Kulisehu for the Kuluéne. But the astronomical position of the localities in relation to one another turned out to be completely distorted, since the Suyá needed a very long line to show the large number along the one branch of the source and blithely extended it endlessly to the south.

We do not know the dwellers along the Ronuro. Vogel understood the Aweto chief who navigated the mouth at Schingú-Kohlenz with him to say that there are Kabischí /Cabishi/ and Kayapó /Cayapo/ there. The Kabischí about whom anything is known live in the source region of the Tapajoz /Tapajós/ as part of the docile Parecí Indians, it would be most interesting and significant if the Parecí, like the Bakairí /Bacairi/, could be divided into a "docile" and a "wild" group, since it is precisely in this once populous and highly developed Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ tribe that the crude civilizing process has destroyed what cannot be replaced. It would not be surprising at all if the widely distributed Kayapó were on the Ronuro, since they frequently appeared on the Paranatinga and had merely been mistaken here for the Coroados-Bororó by the Brazilians.

Along the tributary of the Ronuro, the Batovy-Tamitotoala*,

* Formerly incorrectly written Tamitatoala. tamitóto, falcon, owl = they killed (schóte) a falcon, as the Bakairí themselves told me.

down which we traveled in 1884, there are four villages of the Bakairí. Its lower course and the adjacent region on the right belongs to the Kustenaú /Custenau/ and the Waurá.

/134/ There follows, toward the east, the Kulisehu. On its left bank we have the three villages of the Bakairí, Maigéri or "tapir died," Iguéti or sparrow-hawk village, Kuyaqualiéti or [illegible] village.

/134 cont./

kuiju village. Then, on the right bank, comes the village of the Nahuquá. Again on the left, somewhat apart and not visited by us, there is a fourth village of the Bakairí. Further downstream the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ are on the left bank in the two villages which the Bakairí designated as Paischuéti (dogfish village) and Kalíti. It seems, however, that there are three villages: the Paischuéti-Mehinakú also spoke of the Yutapíhú -- this would be "Kaluti" -- whose harbor we passed on 15 October, of the Atapíli, and at the same time warning us against the Ulalapíhú, Ulavapuú, that is, our Yaulapíti. From the Mehinakú territory there begin numerous canals, which, along with several lagoons, are found throughout the region between the lower courses of the Kulisehu and Batovy. The village of the Auetó may be regarded as a sort of central point for the canal traffic.*

* It is really strange that their name seems to have this meaning. They are called "Auití" by their neighbors; now in Guaraní the unoffended adjectival form apité means: "what is at the center, in the middle."

On two lagoons, in two villages, we find the Yaulapíti, on a third lagoon the Kamayurá /Cámayura/, who had four villages close together and were on the point of uniting them into a single one. The Arauití (see p. 94) are a mixture of Yaulapíti and Auetó.

The Kulisehu flows into the Kuluéne; a few hours rowing led to the Trumaí settled in two villages on its right bank not far above Schingú-Koblenz. This tribe, driven away by the Suyá, had the intention of founding a new home near the Auetó. The Nahuquá live upstream on the Kuluéne, and also on small tributaries between it and the Kulisehu, in a series of villages that have separate names. We become acquainted with single individuals from the Guapirí, Yanumakapú, Guikurú /Kulkuru/, and Yaurikumá; the Yanumakapú, the Enomakabihú of the Bakairí, do not live on the main river, and of the Guapirí the Bakairí specifically pointed out that they are found overland between the Kulisehu and Kuluéne.

/155 cont./ Tom Suyá geographer

already mentioned the "Kayuquená" as the outermost inhabitants, and I had assumed at that time, correctly it now seems, that by that the Kayaló-Kayapó were meant.

The long list of names looks worse than it actually is. Each village has its name, and the stranger who hears it cannot at first judge whether he should expect a new or a familiar tribe there. The simplest example is the Nahuquá. For the Indian, "Nahuquá" refers only to the inhabitants of the Kulisehu village; the Yaurikumá, Guikurú, etc. do not call themselves Nahuquá, and it was merely because of our happening to stop first among the "Nahuquá" that I am using this name as the tribal name. There may be slight dialectal differences, but I was able to record a list of the most important words from the Yamumakapú and am convinced, and for the Yaurikumá and Guikurú as well, that their language corresponds throughout with the "Nahuquá." The Bakairí are inspired by a strong feeling of nationality, for they call themselves Bakairí whether they live in the source region of the Arinos, the Paranatinga, the Batovy, or the Kulisehu. By analogy with the Nahuquá, the Bakairí of the Kulisehu would have to call themselves by their village names: Maigéti, Iguéti, and Kuyaqualiéti.

It would have been a blessing for ethnography if all the tribes had taken as a model this fine example of the Bakairí. We have several clear examples here of how a family community, or, if one wishes, a tribe, becomes scattered, how each separate community is inclined to give up the old connection and therefore loses it irrevocably, must become a new "tribe" if the displacement continues, and closer relations are maintained, not with neighbors related by blood, but those of another extraction. Under these circumstances, there is nothing else for us to do /156/ but to determine first of all the linguistic relationships. They are not to be confused with blood relationships. But under the simple narrow circumstances which are involved here, linguistic relationship and blood relationship coincide far more than among more highly civilized peoples, who, through writing, possess a language that has developed a distinct character. If a

/223 cont./

121 114 with slight variations, it is nevertheless more than a mere summary, for at several points our opinions differ, while at others heretofore unknown facts appear for the first time. This concerning the linguistic part, the subject of this first chapter. The divergence is even greater in the points that follow, which are based exclusively on what Irineu related.

/224/

I

The Language of the Bacaeris

197

The language of the Bacaeris (kxura itano, tohi itano, that is, language of people, exactly like abá ñeẽ, the language 133 103 of the Tupis) is spoken on the Rio Novo (Yemériri), a tributary of the Arinos; on the Paranatinga (Pakunéra), a tributary of the Tapajoz; on the Tamitatoala, one of the headwaters of the Xingú, called Batovi by the Germans in honor of the baron of the same name, president of Mato Grosso in 1884, the time of the first expedition; on the Culisewi, a tributary of the Culuene, also a headwater (the easternmost one) of the Xingú. On the Oronuio, the westernmost headwater, there are no Indians who speak this language. From an examination of the vocabularies and the grammatical forms, it was proved that the Bacaeris belong to the Carahiba or Cariba group.

194 Of the letters of our alphabet, F is found in only one word, possibly onomatopoeic, which precedes incantations: aúfá, perhaps an imitation of the blowing out of smoke. V is rare, and in any case it is not pronounced as it generally is in Rio de Janeiro, but rather seems to be bilabial. R is always soft, that is, to use the description by Gonçalves Vianna, "the air is expelled at one time, without interruption, as in caro /'dear' in Port./, and not intermittently, in successive contacts, more or less repeated, /225/ resulting from the vibration imparted by the active organ, as in carro /'cart' in Port./." G is slightly velar, and to differentiate it from ours

175 /17 cont./
619 in subsequent times to a high degree the history of the two
128 groups of the Bakairí tribe, so different one from the other.

After Karl von den Steinen's second expedition to the
175 Xingu River, the next event in the history of the Bakairí, and especially of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga, was the lost expedition of Captain Telles Pires in the year 1889. This explorer, accompanied by Lieutenant Oscar Miranda and 26 boatmen, among whom were also Paranatinga Bakairí, had endeavored to go down the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires) from the mouth of the Rio S. Manuel /São Manuel River/.
175 Among the 21 companions who perished with Telles Pires in
622 this undertaking was Cacique Felipe of the Paranatinga Bakairí, who died of fever on the way. The Bakairí, Irineo, raised and adopted by this cacique, who had accompanied his father, was not heard of again after this excursion and it was supposed
175 that he also had perished. When the Bakairí got the news of
622 their cacique's death, they burned their houses /18/ and
166 abandoned their aldea to settle farther upriver. The harbor of
361 the new aldea, situated like the previous aldea on the left side of the river, was 18 kilometers downriver from the mouth
[103] of the Rio S. Manuel on the Rio Paranatinga, or Rio Telles Pires as it was officially named after the ill-fated undertaking of Captain Telles Pires, and the aldea itself was 1,600 meters inland from the riverbank and 200 meters from the small Corrego do Tatú /"Armadillo Stream"/. (21)

21. A. Pyrineus de Sousa, loc. cit., pp. 61, 68, and 69.

175 Who the first cacique of the aldea was after Felipe's death
622 I do not know. At the close of the last decade of the past century, when Antonio Correa da Costa was president of the state of Mato Grosso (in the years from 1895 to the beginning of 1898, with a gap in the year 1897), the cacique of the aldea

4:Schmidt--59 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate I

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103
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133
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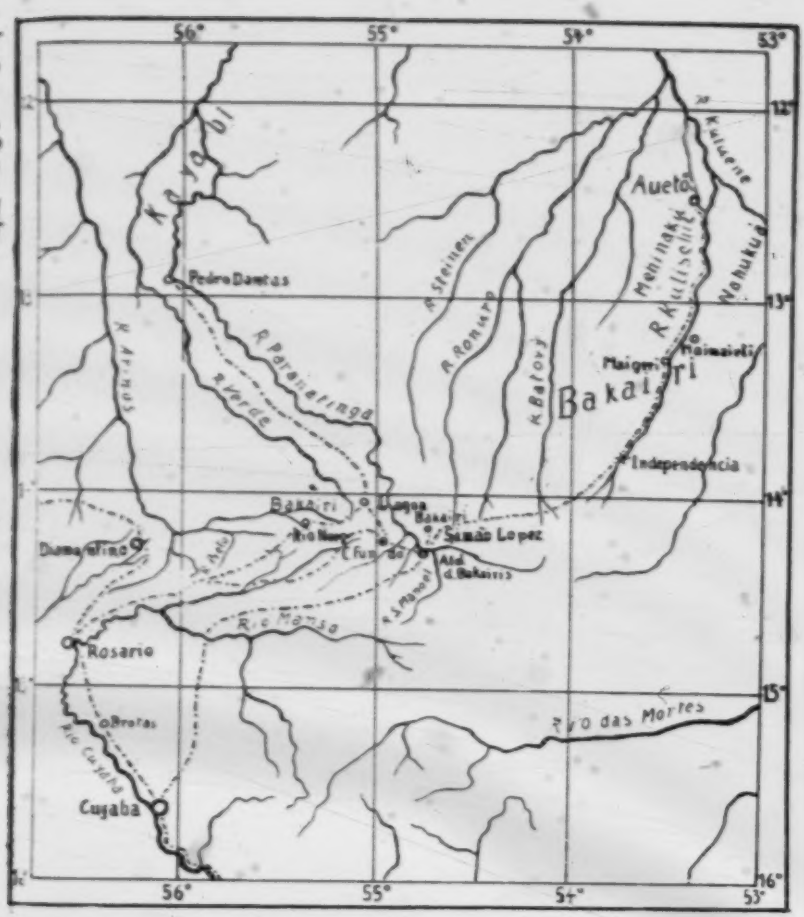

Territory of the Bakairi

— — — Itinerary of the author.

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• 104 Explanation of Brazilian Expressions Appearing in the Text, with the page number where somewhat more detail is to be found /omitted in the translation/, as well as the frequently repeated animal and plant names. /The pronunciation of the words is given in German spelling/.

Aldea, aldeament, village.
Arrobe /arroba/ = 16 kilograms.

Bagadú, see "Pirarára."
Barranca, steep riverbank wall.
Batata, sweet potato.
Beijú (French j), flat cakes made with mandioca flour /see p. 7/.
Borrachudos (pronounced borraschudos), small biting flies.
Burití, Mauritia flexuosa, palm.
Burracen, leather bags for pack animals.

Cabeceira, source brook.
Cachoeira (pronounced caschoeira), probably best translated by cataract, something between a salto and correndeira, waterfall and rapids.
Campo, grassy field with low, stunted tree growth. Campo cerrado, more compact, that is, more densely filled campo.
Cará, Dioscorea, potato plant.
Capivara /capybara/, Hydrochoerus capybara.
Carapana, species of mosquito.
Carrapatos, ticks.
Cerrado, see "Campo."
Chapada (pronounced schapada) } plateau.
Chapadão (pronounced schapadão) }
Coatá /Ateles paniscus/, see Index II /untranslated/.
Currál /corral/, fenced enclosure.
Cuyen, gourd drinking-bowls.

/367 cont./

104 Farinha (pronounced farinja), mandioca flour.

Fazenda (pronounced fasenda), = the Spanish hacienda, country estate, farm.

Friágem (French j), early morning cold and cloudiness.

Gevatter /compadre/, designation of the Indians in Brazil.
Guaraná, beverage in place of coffee.

Inajá (French j), Maximiliana, palm.

Jacú, Penelops, turkey-sized gallinaceous bird.
Japá (French j), palm-straw canopy over the boat.
Jatobá (French j), tree for the bark canoes.

Kameraden (like the Spanish peons), laborers for the journey, who are familiar with the life in the wilderness and with all its resources.

Macaco, Cebus, monkey.
Mandioca, Manihot utilissima, most important useful native plant.
Milrēis, approximately two reichs marks.
Mingau, refreshing drink mixed with mandioca flour /see p. 37/.
Mosquiteiro, gauze tent over the hammock for protection against insects.
Mutúm, Crax, turkey-sized gallinaceous bird.

Oauassú, Attalea spectabilis, palm.

Pantanál, swamp.
Picade, path opened through the forest, trail.
Pintado, Platystomatis, very tasty fish.
Piranha (pronounced piranja), Serrasalmo, predatory fish with strong teeth.

104 /367 cont./

Pirarára, Phractocephalus, also bagadú, a sheatfish /see p. 53/, illustration p. 110.

Polvilho (pronounced polviljo), finest mandioca flour /see p. 45/.

Praia, sandy beach.

Puva, coarser mandioca flour in brick form /see p. 46/.

Quemada (pronounced kemáda), burned-off terrain.

Rancho (pronounced rantscho), hut.

Rapadura, unrefined, primitively prepared sugar in brick form.

Ribeirão, brook, small stream.

Roça, cultivated field.

Salto, waterfall.

Seringueira, rubber (caoutchouc) tree, see the index /untranslated/.

Serra = the Spanish sierra, mountain range.

Sertão, wilderness, usually infertile. One who is very familiar with it, sertanejo.

Tacoára, bamboo.

Tracajá (French j), small river turtle, see Index II /untranslated/: Schildkröteneir /turtle eggs/.

Tucúm, Astrocaryum, palm.

Ubá, tree canoe /see p. 124/.

/The "Index," pp. 368-372 in the original source, is omitted in the translation. The end map following p. 372 in the original source follows here as pp. 173-185 in the translation./

amáka--hammocks
itabíenli--the ceremony, following childbirth, by means of which a woman is reintegrated into the life of the family and village
itáida--assistant to the village chief
jirãu--the storage space in the center of the house
kadoéti--ceremonial or flute house
káiko--gourd vessels
komete--collective land clearing
píma--village chief
posegéiro--a period of seclusion at the time of puberty ranging from two months to a year
ransegéro--the ear-piercing ceremony (at puberty)
tadáinpudíli--wrestling matches
tadaunuto--the release from the state of ritual danger (following childbirth, puberty seclusion, etc.)
taséra--the central plaza
toinyaméli--a form of Indian football (soccer)
towise--houses
utanári--a village
wanki--a state of ritual danger after childbirth, death, puberty, etc.

80 /551 cont./
105 and by means of gifts to lure them to a fazenda of his in the
175 Registo do Jaurú; there they all stayed, 177 in number, from 1 April 1843; today they have dwindled to 81. During these five years they showed little inclination for agriculture and lived only by bow and arrow.

C 105 175 [131] 15. Cayapós. Between Paraná and Paranahyba and in the source region of the S. Lourenço and Taquary. Some are settled in the Destakament /detachment of troops/ on the Piquiry, others in the Porto do Paranahyba on the road to S. Paulo, others live independently. Hunting, fishing, cultivation of maize, rice, mandioca, batatas, and sugar cane. Make some rapadura (raw sugar boiled down). Have pigs, chickens, even a few cows and horses. Speak Portuguese in large part. Many hire themselves out. Some robberies which are attributed to the Coroados are probably carried out by them.

80 105 175 [131] 16. Coroados. On the sources of the various tributaries of the S. Lourenço. Of their numbers and their characteristics little is known; they flee or are hostile. Set fires up to 20 leagues from Cuyabá; hence troops are sent out against them every few years, who kill adults and take children captive, which in no way promotes converting them.

B 105 175 17. Bacahiris. Sources of the Paranatinga and upper course of the Arinos. Are distinguished by a peaceful disposition. Flee from the attacks of their enemies, the Nambiquáras, Tapanhunas, and Cajabis. Live on hunting and fishing, plant maize, mandioca, batatas, cará, garden beans, broad beans, and sugar cane. Their implements for agriculture are made of stone or heartwood. Their industry: hammocks with meshes of cotton or tucum, plaited sieves, and small baskets. Only a very few (muito poucos) understand our language, although they wish to. Senhora Donna Feliciana Guerobina Pereira Coelho, a well-to-do landowner in the district of the upper sierra* has a

* According to Antonio, near Lagoinha.

A 105 175 friendly interest in them, gives them gifts, and speaks favorably about their easy conversion. They are enemies of the
18. Cajabis, unconquered savages in the vicinity of the Salto.

Bacairi: SP7
Yaruma SP25

these cakes are packed in large carrying baskets, carefully covered with leaves and stored away. [Plate XII, 1, 2, 3.] Y 105 171 252

Some of the grated manioc is made into farina, by sifting it through a basket sieve and baking it in a flat pottery pan. In this form it will keep indefinitely. If biiju is to be made, the grated manioc is sifted, but instead of baking it so as to dry it in small particles, it is spread out in the pan to form a sort of thin cake. This is the form in which most of the manioc is eaten. The biiju cakes keep for several days, and always form part of the traveller's baggage. Y [484]

A non-intoxicating but nevertheless refreshing drink is made by mixing the unbaked grated and sifted manioc with water. This is the drink offered the visitors, on arrival at the village, by the women. It is served in large half gourds. Y 105 171 272

Depending almost entirely on fish and manioc for food, great quantities of both are eaten, and eaten continuously. The women begin making biiju before sunrise, so that those setting out to fish will be able to take it along. Y 105 171 262

In connection with the making of biiju fire, fans made from strips of palm leaves, or sometimes of grass, are used. To smooth out and turn the biiju cakes, wooden spatules are in use, generally made to suggest the representation of a snake or a bird. [372] [412]

In the food quest, besides the cultivation of manioc, fishing occupies the attention of the men. Though the women assist by steering the canoe and paddling, not one of them was ever seen actually fishing, though the Bakairi informed me that the women are capable of it. Y 105 171 226 [501] [462]

Shooting the fish with bow and arrow is the most common method. It is never done from the banks or by wading in, except in the rapids. The man doing the shooting stands up at the bow of the canoe while his companion, who may be his wife, perhaps with a baby at the breast at the same time, gently paddles, keeping the canoe close to the bank. To learn to shoot fish is not easy, since both the force with which the arrow is driven into the water, its deflection upon striking the water, the motion of the canoe, and the movements of the quarry must be gauged. The bow is held upright, the arrow in position but the string relaxed until the game is seen. In case of a miss, the arrow floating on the surface of the water is retrieved with the end of the bow, the arrow being caught between it and the string. No opportunity of getting fish B [105 171 226]

[text continues on p. 153]

Bacairi SP7 ●
Yaruma SP25

is ever lost. Our Bakairi were imbued with the same spirit, for often the paddle would be dropped and replaced with bow and arrow though we may not have needed the extra food. This anxiety to gather as much food as is encountered was also manifested in the case of turtle eggs found in the sand banks. For those days that we travelled, each canoe at the end of the day would have gathered at least thirty or forty eggs. This food was shared generously with everyone. [Plate XIII, 2.]

Y Ba 226 105 ● 171 [222]

Another method of fishing was with a spear. Especially in the dry season, the fish withdraw to the deep pools where it is impossible to reach them with an arrow. A spear is usually made of two sections: a wooden shaft with a large conical bone point and a reed extension to the shaft. Both sections measure about seven metres in length. [Plate XIII, 1.]

Y [411]

Damming of the lagoons is resorted to. A dip net with a handle about three metres long is in use, and drag nets are apparently used in season.

Y [227]

Fish is eaten almost raw; the only method of cooking seen was barbecuing, either by placing it on a platform over a fire or by placing it on a framework close to the fire. Salt is unknown and not liked, as evidenced when they were asked to try our food, when though hungry, none would accept it if it had been seasoned with salt.

Y 105 171 252 [263]

Another food in usage, highly prized and carefully stored away is the fruit piki, which grows wild. The fruit is boiled in the large earthen pots, placed in cylindrical bark containers, about one and half metres to two metres in length and a third of a metre in diameter, sealed tight at both ends, and placed under water in some cool pool. These bark containers are reinforced with wooden slats. On ceremonial occasions they are opened and a quantity sufficient for the immediate needs is taken out to be distributed to every member of the village equally. It is mixed with water and drunk, without fermentation. Both the Yawalapiti and Naravute had these bark containers.

Y 105 171 251 415

Pottery

Pottery is poorly developed in the region. Neither in quantity nor variety, nor in technical perfection does it compare with that of the Bororo. The forms are simple though characteristic.

Y Bo 105 171 323

[text continues on p. 155]

Y 105 171 352 *Seats*

In front of the men's houses a log is usually kept, on which the men sit, and which guests occupy until bird stools, or in the case of the Naravute, bark stools are brought by the headmen of the village.

Y [345] In the houses the hammocks take the place of stools or mats, except when biiju is being prepared by the women. In the men's house there are two parallel logs running almost its entire length, lashed to the main posts.

Y [285] [531] In the villages, sitting on the ground is avoided whenever possible. Mats, made of lengths of taquara, held together by two strings passed through holes in the individual pieces, are used. Such a mat is shown in Plate XXIV, 4. Often the upper surface is decorated with incised rectilinear geometric patterns, as shown in the sketch. These mats are especially used when making farina or biiju.

The bark stools seen among the Naravute which were brought to us, as the guests, in place of the bird stools, consist merely of a piece of bark about thirty centimetres long, bent inward and lengthwise. They bear no decorations of any kind.

Y [231] [532] The bird stools are of the type shown in Plate XXIV, 10, 11. They are carved from one piece of wood, the head of the bird and the tail being easily recognized, although the style is extremely simple. The bird represented is the harpy eagle, and is in some way connected with the keeping of the bird in the cage in the village as described.

Y [574] [622] Of the bark and bird stools there are but a few in the village, owned only by the headmen, and are used on those occasions when visitors arrive at the village.

Y 516 [501] In the canoes the occupants sit on sticks placed crosswise on the bottom. The paddlers hold the legs straight before them, or bent, but never under them.

When not sitting on stools, hammocks or mats, the men squat. The women double the legs under them as seen in Plate XII, 3. When standing they frequently lean on each other's shoulders, and also employ the crane's posture [Plate XII, 4].

Ba *Musical Instruments*

Y 534 105 171 Pan's pipes are known to all of the peoples on the Kuluseu and Kuluene rivers, including the Bakairi. One type consists of five reeds

Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25
Waura SP18

of different lengths, closed at one end. Two or three of the pipes are played in unison. Though the intervals between the lowest note and the next two in the scale are well defined, there seems to be but a very slight difference, if any at all, in the pitch of the notes produced by the shorter pipes. This type is used for practicing the music and for personal amusement, but not in ceremonies. They are easily made and are carried about frequently. Though different sets may be pitched differently, the note intervals seem to be the same, at least in the three sets that are in the University Museum collection, though they were collected from the Bakairi, the Naravute and the Kalapalu. [Plate XIX, 7.] Ba Y 105 171 534

In the Yawalapiti village, the two clowns used pipes made of bamboo. Instead of five, they consisted of three pieces, the longest of which measured over one and a half metres. The three notes produced, though different in pitch, corresponded to the three lowest notes produced on the pipes described above. In this particular ceremony, each of the men in turn played what may be called the lead part, while the other played the accompaniment. W 522 534 533

Single end-blown flutes, such as are illustrated in Plate XIX, 6, are common to the entire area. They were seen in the Tsuva, Yawalapiti, and Naravute village, and apparently were known to the Bakairi and to peoples of the other villages. They are made of taquara, and to be played they must be well soaked in water. The upper part is so cut out that when the flute is played the chin rests on it. At the other end, there is a narrow aperture. Four holes control the pitch of the notes. It was noted that the note intervals were the same as those of the Pan's pipes. They are used strictly in the ceremonies, and the sight of them is prohibited to the women, death being feared for failure to observe the tabu. However, not only are the women permitted to listen to them, but they are listened to with great pleasure. It was the women that prohibited the men to sell them to us in the Tsuva village, and in the Yawalapiti village, the women pretended to weep when it was decided to let us have them. Three flutes are played together in the ceremony. Both the flutes and the office of playing them in the ceremonies seem to be inherited. Ba Y 534 105 171 Y Ba [784 562] W [425 562 152]

Another flute, smaller than the above mentioned, was obtained at the Yawalapiti village; it differs from the others in that close to the top W 534

[text continues on p. 163]

/14 cont./

195 Reginaldo, who ruled the two Bakairí villages on the Rio Novo,
622 held the grade of "captain" and his intended successor, Joaquim,
648 was a "lieutenant." In the village on the Rio Paranatinga the administration had deprived old chief Caetano, whose age was calculated at 80 years, of the chiefship and had entrusted it to a younger man called Felipe who had the rank of "captain," in the year 1882.

105 [177] The way of life of the western Bakairí, at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions differed little from that of the Brazilian campesinos. Already from the year 1820 they had all been baptized. Men's and women's dress was similar in general to that of the campesinos as the style of their rectangular houses was similar to the Brazilian rancho. Besides some dogs many pigs and chickens were raised. Cattle was also raised, and they had some milch cows and a herd of oxen. They planted manioc, maize, porotos /var. of French bean, from Quechua purutu/, rice, sweet potatoes, bananas, sugar cane, and a little tobacco. This agriculture was carried out to a sufficient degree to permit them to sell a surplus to the cattle ranch at Corrego Fundo. An important element of nourishment was provided the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí by the abundance of fish in the river, and especially the excellent matrinchan that was caught in the season of its collective migration upriver. (10) These western Bakairí worked then

10. Karl von den Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 23.

on a temporary basis for neighboring ranches, but they also produced rubber for their own use and brought the product with their herds of oxen to Cuiabá.

105 In spite of this almost complete assimilation of the western
177 Bakairí to the ways of life of Brazilian campesinos, they still
178 kept some of their ancestral customs. Above all they kept their
[191] native language, and only a few understood and spoke some Portuguese.

/14 cont./

105 Portuguese. The lobes of their ears and the nasal septa were
177 still perforated, and Cacique Reginaldo sometimes wore, in
178 addition to his captain's uniform, the little sticks adorned with feathers in his ear lobes as well. In the aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí there still stood in the year 1884, besides the /15/ rectangular houses in the Brazilian rancho style, a round hut built like the houses of the eastern Bakairí who live in the regions of the headwaters of the Xingu River, in which lived an old Bakairí man with a young Kayabí woman. Bows and arrows were still used, occasionally, for hunting and fishing, and among the plaited objects had been kept the ancestral forms of the large twig baskets, sieves, and hammocks.

175 In the aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí the order of things
622 was gravely disturbed at the time of Karl von den Steinen's
648 expeditions (11) because the occupants of this village felt greater
578

11. Karl v.d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 120.

loyalty to the old cacique, Caetano, than to Cacique Felipe, installed as cacique instead of the former by the Mato Grosso government. The Bakairí, Antonio, who accompanied Karl von
[115] den Steinen on his expeditions to the Xingu River and who later became the most important figure in the history of the Bakairí, was then a youth.

175 The western Bakairí were at that time the Indians to whom
648 had come the most remote shoots of European culture in these regions. What was farther on was still unexplored land, with free Indians, because of whom the mobility of the Bakairí was hampered to a high degree. It seems that the Bakairi to the south and southwest had peaceful relations with the Kayapó /Cayapo/ with whom, in earlier times, they had once been allied in order jointly to expel the Suyá from the Rio Verde region. (12) This friendship is interesting in so far as the Kayapó

/270 cont./

000 /The bibliography on p. 271 has been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text. The following "Abstract" is given in English in the original text./

/271/ Abstract

• 105

Certain aspects of the culture of the Bakairi Indians of Mato Grosso are briefly described: their technology, kinship terminology, pantheon, cerimonies, shamanism, treatment of illness, and the series of ritualistic seclusions, or wanki, that occur at stated intervals during the life cycle: at birth, at puberty, at death and upon becoming a shaman. Ritualistic seclusion, or wanki, is one of the two means employed as defenses against harm of supernatural origin, the other means being shamanism.

1: Steinen, Karl von den. Durch Central-Brasilien. Expedition zur Erforschung des Schingú im Jahre 1884 /Through Central Brazil. Expedition for the Exploration of the Xingu in the Year 1884/. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1886.

Pp. xii, 372; 3 maps; 16 plates; numerous text illustrations and tables; glossary; index. /HRAF MS: pp. ix, 185/.

Yale: Brazil Ehh 1884. DLC: F2513.S82. DLC card: 3-2/397.

Translated from the German for the Human Relations Area Files by Frieda Schütze.
Only pp. 98-133, 157-84, 191-215, 219-26, 235-44, 251-67, and 282-85, plates facing pp. 322 and 326, and p. 367, and end map have been processed.

/This source consists of a detailed travel report of the von den Steinen expedition through the Xingu area of Brazil by canoe from June through October of 1884. During these five months, the expedition visited the villages of at least four different tribes, and encountered members of a number of additional tribes. The data are presented in the format of a travel account, and include both geographical and anthropological observations, plus information gleaned from interviews. On geography, there is good coverage of climate, topography, flora, and fauna.

The anthropological data cover a broad range of topics from descriptive somatology to language, but few topics are treated in any depth, and the information is largely limited to those facets which could be easily observed, such as population and settlement patterns, subsistence activities, travel and transportation,

1: Steinen, Karl von den.

material culture, and so forth. Various tribes are treated in the order in which they were encountered by the expedition, and the data have been marked for the appropriate OWC code. The following is a list of the tribes covered, together with page references, and the length of time spent with each tribe: Bacairi (SP7), pp. 1-63, 14 June - 24 Aug.; Custenau (SP18 Waura), pp. 64-71, 27 Aug.; Trumai (SP23), pp. 72-80, 31 Aug. - group of travelers, no village seen; Suya (SP21), pp. 84-112, 3 Sept. - 11 Sept.; Manitsaua (SP6 Aueto), pp. 100-101, 5 Sept. - a few captives in a Suya village; and Yuruna (SQ26), pp. 116-49, c. 21 Sept. - c. 11 Oct. Some Bacairi legends are given on pp. 149-53, and there is an excellent end map showing the area traveled and the location of the tribal villages visited. /

Field date: 1884
Analyst: Robert O. Lagacé

Evaluation: Physician and Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1966-1967

2: Steinen, Karl von den. Inter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens. Reiseschilderung und Ergebnisse der Zweiten Schingú-Expdition 1887-1888 /Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil. A Travel Account and the Results of the Second Xingu Expedition 1887-1888/. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1894.

Pp. xvi, 571; 30 plates; 145 text illus.; index; fold. end map. /HRAF MS: pp. xix, 684; including 27 plates, 143 text illus. and end map./

Yale: Brazil Ehh 887S. DLC: F2576.S83. DLC card No.: 6-8168.

Translated from the German fc the Human Relations Area Files by Frieda Schütze.

Pages processed for the Files: Frontispiece and title page, pp. v-xv, 46-132, 153-518, 523-552, 563-571, and folded end map.

/The principal members o this second von den Steinen expedition, in addition to Karl, were his cousin, Wilhelm, an artist, Dr Paul Ehrenreich, who did the photography and anthropometric measurements, and Dr. Peter Vogel, whose interests were geography and geology. Approximately two months - from 10 September 1887 to 13 November 1887 - were spent traveling among the tribes located along the Kuliseu River /in the Upper Xingu area. The villages of seven different tribes were visited, the tribes leing the Bacairi (SP7), the Nahuqua (SP25), the Mehinaku (SP18), the Aueto (SP6), the Yaulapiti(SP18), the Kamayura (SP6), and the Trumai (SP23). A few informants

2: Steinen, Karl von den.

from two other tribes - the Waura (SP18) and the Yaruma (SP25) - were also interviewed, although their villages were not seen. About one month - i.e. half of the total time - was spent with the Bacairi, and it is their culture which is described most thoroughly. In fact, this undoubtedly constitutes the basic source on Bacairi ethnography. Villages of the other tribes were visited for periods of up to only several days each.

In contrast to the report of the first expedition (cf. 1: Steinen, this file), only the opening section of this report (pp. 1-126) is in the format of a travel account. The bulk of the monograph (pp. 126-410) consists of a detailed and valuable comparative topical description of anthropological data from the various Kulisehu tribes. The coverage includes both physical anthropology and the full range of ethnographic topics, as well as some culture history. Many of von den Steinen's analytical interpretations are highly speculative, but these do not detract from the value of the data per se. The most serious weakness, as might be expected, is the very inadequate treatment of social organization.

This comparative section is followed by three chapters (pp. 411-515) focusing mainly on a few other aspects of Bacairi culture, such as mythology, culture history, and art. Some comparative data are also included here, but to a lesser degree.

Next comes a short description of Paressi (SP19) ethnography (pp. 515-540). These data were obtained from interviews with twelve Paressi informants summoned to the town of Cuyaba for this purpose in February, 1888.

The final major section of the book (pp. 540-652) consists of a very interesting and useful description of various aspects of Bororo (SP8) ethnography. Some Bororo informants were interviewed at Cuyaba

2: Steinen, Karl von den.

in July 1887, and March 1888; but most of the data was obtained during a one month period of field research in a recently established Bororo settlement. In 1886 the Bororo of the Cuyaba region were settled by the Brazilian government in two military colonies on the S. Lourenço River. One of these, the colony of Thereza Christina located at the junction of the Prata River, was the research locale during the period 15 March 1888 to 18 April 1888.

This source concludes with an Appendix (pp. 653-663) consisting of an orthographic note and archival data on various Mato Grosso tribes, and the end map reproduced on pp. 664-684.

Generally, data in the comparative section (pp. 157-410) have been marked only for those OWC groups for which a File has been developed; in addition to the Bacairi (SP7), these are the Bororo (SP8) and the Trumai (SP23). Marking for other OWC groups was done, however, when the data could be most efficiently handled in that way. Otherwise comparative data were marked for asterisked category 171, except when categories 141 and 142 are used, since these incorporate a comparative or distributional dimension. /

Field date: 1887-1888
Analyst: Robert O. Lagacé

Evaluation: Physician & Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1966, 1967

3: Abreu, João Capistrano de. Os Bacaeris [The Bacairi]. In his Ensaios e Estudos (Critica e Historia), Third Series, pp. 217-274. Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Briguiet, 1938.

Yale: Brazil Cwbr f931a v.3 [HRAF MS: pp. 52]. DLC: F2521.A15. DLC card no.: 42-9649.

Translated from the Portuguese for the Human Relations Area Files by A. Brunel.

/This is primarily an account on the language of the Bacairi Indians with a good amount of sample words and texts. It also contains a discussion of the mythology and religion of these Indians./

Field date: ca. 1892
Analyst: Sigrid Khera

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1968-1969

4: Schmidt, Max. Los Bakairi /The Bacairi/. Revista do Museu Paulista, New Series, Vol. 1, pp. 11-58. Sao Paulo: 1947.

Yale: Sloh 692 II.1-2. /HRAF MS: pp. 1-81./

Translated from the Spanish for the Human Relations Area Files by A. Brunel.

/This is an account of the history of the Bacairi from the visit of Karl v.d. Steinen at the end of the 19th century until 1927, the last visit of the author among these Indians. During this period of time numerous socio-political and cultural changes took place among the Bacairi. Part of the book is a detailed description of material culture, primarily of basketry work. The author is describing three different Bacairi groups: the Eastern, Western, and Xinguanos: the latter being a mixed group. Data on these three groups are merged in this account./

Field date: 1927
Analyst: Sigrid Khera

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1969

5: Altenfelder Silva, Fernando. O Estada de Uanki entre os Bakairi [The Ianki State among the Bacairi]. Sociologia, vol. 12, No. 3, pp. 259-271. São Paulo: Escola de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo, 1950.

U.S. Department of Labor. [HRAF MS: pp. 1-16.]

Translated from the Portuguese for the Human Relations Area Files by A. Bunel.

/Certain aspects of the culture of the Bakairi Indians of Mato Grosso are brefly described: their technology, kinship terminology, pantheon, ceremonies, shamanism, and the series ofritualistic seclusions, or uanki, that occur at intervals during the life cycle: at birth, at puberty, at death and upon becoming a shaman. Ritualistic seclusion, or uanki, is a means of defense against harm of supenatural origin, and also for becoming shaman./

Field date: 1947
Analyst: Sigrid Khera

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4, 5
Processed in 1969

6: Oberg, Kalervo. The Bacairi. In his, Indian Tribes of Northern Mato Grosso, Brazil. Smithsonian Institution, Institute of Social Anthropology, Publication No. 15, pp. 69-81, 114, 119, 121, 127, 136. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1953.

* bibliography

HRAF Copy DLC: E 51. S4 No. 15. DLC card no.: 53-60626

/This study presents a brief but well-rounded account of the Bacairi based on the author's field work among these people living on the Government Indian Post (Simão Lopes) on the Rio Paranatinga during June 1947. It should be noted that the information presented in this source, obtained primarily from informants, relates to an earlier period in Bacairi history (ca. 1907) when they lived on the Rio Kuliseu. Data presented pertain to: settlement patterns, subsistence activities, house types, furniture, language, culture history and early European contacts, population, dress and personal ornaments, organization of labor, social organization, the life cycle, puberty rites, marriage, burial, shamanism, games, ceremonialism and mythology. Kinship charts are also presented at the end of the source relating to the Bacairi, Trumai and Bororo, with a brief analysis of the Bororo kinship system. /

Field date: 1947
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1965

Köch-Grunberg, Theodor. Anfänge der Kunst im Urwald. Indianer-Handzeichnungen auf seinen Reisen in Brasilien. Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth A.-G., [1905].

Pp. xv, 70, viii; 63 plates; 2 maps.

K-Library of Congress: N5310. K6. DLC card No. 20-18720.

[This volume of drawings by various aborigines has not been procesed since only three of the 63 plates refer to the Bacairi and little mention of them is made in the text.]

Oberg, Kalervo. The Bacairí of Northern Matto Grosso. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 4, No. 3, pp. 305-319. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1948.

HRAF copy.

/This source duplicates the material found in 6: Oberg, this file. Therefore, it has not been processed.]

Steinen, Karl von den. Die Bakaïri-Sprache. Wörterverzeichnis, Sätze, Sagen, Grammatik. Mit Beiträgen zu einer Lautlehre der Karaïbischen Grundsprache. Leipzig: K. F. Koehler's Antiquarium, 1892.

Pp. xvi, 404; 1 plate.

Yale: Fzh B172 St35. DLC: PM5581 S7. DLC card no.:4-15039.

/This source is a lengthy analysis of the Bacairi language and a comparison of Bacairi with other Carib languages. The first part of the book consists of a number of vocabularies, including parts of the body, family and society, soul and speech, nature, animals, plants, adjectives, pronouns, etc. This is followed by a set of six texts, including one origin legend. The last half of the volume is a reconstruction of the original Carib language from which Bacairi and the other languages noted in the text supposedly evolved. Since much of the material in this source is theoretical, and since few ethnographic data are involved, it has not been processed for the Bacairi file./

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Tupi-Guarani SL6
Bacairi SP7
Arawakan Indians SR6
Cariban Indians SR7
Carib SR9
Macusi SR11
Rucuyen SR12
Cumana SS9

/For information on the terminologies and nomenclatures in the native vernacular applied by the Carib-speaking and some other northern South American tribes to various species of mammalian fauna in their habitats, see 3: Simpson, SS16 Pemon, Category 116, particularly pp. 4A-10B./

/vii cont./

The German consul in this emporium of Amazonas, Herr Sesselberg, as well as the German ambassador in Rio de Janeiro, Herr Le Maistre, gave us the most gracious reception.

126 /viii/ The ethnological collection, which, despite all the difficulties of transport, we salvaged successfully and almost without loss, was given to the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde.

126 128 Herr Professor Baron Karl von Fritsch kindly undertook the identification of the rock samples gathered on the trip, a considerable part of which, however, was unfortunately lost.

In working up the linguistic material I was enthusiastically assisted by my friend Herr Dr. Georg Wenker in Marburg.

The illustrations, with the exception of the ten separate pictures which Mr. Johannes Gehrts of Düsseldorf made, as well as a few photographs collected on the trip, were done by my cousin, Wilhelm von den Steinen, from his numerous travel sketches. In the case of the ethnographic plates, he was helped by a few photographs, for which I am indebted to the Assistant Director of the Berlin Museum, Herr Dr. von Luschan.

Besides an ethnographic and a simple survey map, a special map by Herr Dr. Clauss, which was made available by the publishing firm of Justus Perthes, was added to the book. The [113] results of our meteorological and geographical studies were published by Dr. Clauss in detailed form in the May and June issue of Petermanns Mittheilungen for the year 1886. He also erected a small meteorological station in Cuyabá, in order to obtain a series of observations over a longer period; Herr 127 August Karstens, a German master tailor in residence there, has earned the most commendable merit for filling in as best he could the considerable gaps in our meteorological knowledge of central South America and has already sent in a continuous series of observations.

I am particularly indebted to Herr Capistrano de Abreu of Rio, the translator of "Wappaeus," who was indefatigably active in obtaining for me excerpts from older works in the Bibliotheca Nacional.

/vi cont./

122 [113] Simultaneously with the appearance of this book, Professor Vogel is publishing his results in the organ of the Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin/Geographical Society of Berlin/, which deserves credit in connection with our journey for supporting him from the funds of the Karl Ritter Foundation. I cordially thank the president, Privy Councilor Baron von Richthofen, for his kind permission to add to my account the map drawn and edited by Dr. Richard Kiepert's trusted hand. I myself experienced substantial assistance through the Humboldt Foundation of the Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin /Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences of Berlin/, and on this occasion, too, I beg the Board of Trustees to accept my most sincere gratitude.

In the course of the journey we were given numerous demonstrations of hospitality by Brazilians as well as by countrymen in Brazil and the La Plata states, both by simple private persons and by persons in high office, who have put us most deeply under obligation to them. Though we can show our appreciation to the sons of the country to a certain extent by helping to open up the interior of a little explored province, we remain wholly indebted to our countrymen; were I merely to mention the localities where they live, I would have to recapitulate the entire route, except for the Indian paths. Thus, to all to whom these lines find their way, whether they import and export in trade or lead in a political position, or whether, as intrepid colonists, they live far from the coast, I extend the most cordial greetings and wish them the safeguard of peace and orderly conditions for their work.

128 [802] The maize has already bloomed six times since we left the source region of the Schingú -- "two two two, ahége ahége ahége," counts the Bakaïrí, and finds no words in his language [113] to express a larger number. The report has been delayed longer than I liked; I was held back primarily by preliminary linguistic studies (Die Bakaïrí-Sprache /The Bacairi Language/, K. F. Köhler, Leipzig, 1892), but I learned many things from them and gained a broader and firmer foundation than was the

/198 cont./

*171 or occasionally took them off, just as a number of Trumaí did
29 not even wear the string, but the penis had always been pushed
834 back so far and the skin was so wrinkled that nothing was visible of the glans. I even believe, perhaps because, without corroborating material, I myself am gazing through the spectacles of civilization, that they would be ashamed to expose the glans to the eyes of another, especially a stranger. Except that I would regard this feeling of modesty as the result of the firmly rooted custom and not as its cause. I find it very strange, however, that a feeling given by temperament should be awakened for only a small anatomical part of an organ which in its function also claims other parts, and I should like to hear of a case having been observed, say, in which a person taken by surprise in a naked state covers himself, not with his hand, but with only two fingers. It should not be forgotten that erections are neither prevented nor concealed by the tying-off. Moreover, there are also
[304] circumcised persons who go naked or did.*

[113] *Cf. the example of the cacique of Gotera; R. Andree, Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche, new series, Leipzig, 1889, p. 202.

000 And here we have arrived at the point that must be considered above all. We must take into consideration the opposite treatment of the glans, which shortens or cuts open the praeputium. The majority of mankind has given preference to circumcision. Along with Ploss and Andree, ** I am of the opinion that the

** Op. cit., p. 212.

original meaning of circumcision was that of an "operative preparatory act for the sexual function of the man"; "one wants to make the young man at once mature and normal sexually, /199/ with it he is taken into the ranks of marriageable men." Now, if our primitives have decided on the opposite method, they could not have been impelled by an opposite motive, which would be irrational. One may well ask, however, whether their

/209 cont./

*171 Category B could probably be considerably enlarged. It
24 depended on the need. The fruit trees under this were planted
245 with great care. I have mentioned that in the first Bakaïrí village there was a sort of avenue of pikí trees; the Nahuquá cultivated this species with great enthusiasm. The mangabas were popular and thrive especially well among the Bakaïrí, among the Kamayurá, and in particular, as was reported to me, among the Waurá, so that the Trumaí word "waurarú" seems to mean simply the Waurá fruit. The fruta de lobo was less fre-
*171 quently found near the village. Then, however, plants which
249 they needed in any way for their implements and weapons were set out as required, if they did not occur in the vicinity of the
[302] village. Thus they transplanted near the village the spear grass
[824] growing in swampy soil, with which they shaved themselves,
[248] the bast plants that /210/ furnished them thread, occasionally perhaps also the sapé grass with which the houses were covered. Most interesting, however, it seems to me, is the assurance that they planted the ubá arrow reed in larger quantities on the Batovy, so as not to have to fetch it from distant places.

Besides casual inclinations and knowledge of management, the nature of the soil apparently played an important role.
[276] Tobacco grew excellently among the Suyá and the Auetó and
ooo was commonly smoked by the men, except in the first Bakaïrí village on the Batovy.* It plays an important part in medical

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[113]

* This circumstance may have occasioned H. v. Ihering to say: "v. d. Steinen missed tobacco among the Bakaïrí of the Upper Schingú just as completely as bananas or metals" [Zeitschrift f. Ethnologie, 1893, p. 195]. I describe, cf. Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, p. 173 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 55/, for Village III of the Batovy-Bakaïrí, the real part played by smoking, as the discoverers of the

/215 cont./

*171 462 satisfied with scant remains and would suffer hunger if they did not provide for themselves in time and stealthily set aside part of the contents of the cooking pots still during the cooking or eat already during their work." This among the modern Karaiben Makuschi [113] /Macusi/ in Guiana. Appun, Unter den Tropen /Below the Tropics/, II, p. 399, Jena, 1871, and among many other tribes.

was therefore dependent on the booty of plant foods that she herself could obtain. On the Schingú the men plaited the roast-[252] ing rack, roasted fish and meat, the women baked the beijús, boiled the beverages, the fruits, and grilled palm nuts -- what other meaning could this division into animal cookery by the men and vegetable cookery by the women have than that each of the two sexes had remained in its ancient sphere?

[252] The men did the roasting, but never the boiling. Starting *171 from this fact, we come by way of the same line of thought 323 to a similar conclusion corroborated by quite analogous observations. Scarcely anything else on the Schingú seemed stranger to me at first than the fact that the art of making pots was limited [439] to the Nu-Aruak tribes. The Bakaïrí did not own a single pot that did not come from the Kustenaú or Mehinakú. The docile Bakaïrí [177] expressly told me that they had learned pottery from the Paressí, their Nu-Aruak neighbors. Thus old Caetano, in other words, the man, contrary to all original custom, made pots on the modern Paranatinga. The Nahuquá had pots from the Mehinakú and also made some themselves, as was demonstrated before our eyes by a woman kneading the moist clay; but this woman wore the tattooing of the Mehinakú women and had married into the Nahuquá; the art actually came from the Mehinakú. The Tupí tribes, too, had pots from the Nu-Aruak, especially from the Waurá. Thus, the one tribal group ** was the sole bearer of

** According to Im Thurn, the Karaiben at

/245 cont./

associated with the older representation. In the field of painting, we come across such productions in the form of geometric ornamentation. Dots and dashes may be the equivalents of the old markings. But even such "simple" figures as triangles and squares, which one would think could be freely constructed by the most primitive artists, originated only through the stylization of representations, and, since they automatically recommended themselves to the technique as types, they easily won out over more complicated structures in the struggle for existence.

Now just a word about the motifs of our Indian art. They have been borrowed exclusively from the animal kingdom. Andree in his well-known /246/ article, "Das Zeichnen bei Naturvölkern /Drawing Among Primitive Peoples/,"* points out

*Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche, n.s., Leipzig, 1889, p. 59.

that the plant only rarely plays a role and adds: "In order to arrive at an understanding of this phenomenon we need only remember that among our children, too, when they make their first independent attempts at drawing on the blackboard, animals and human beings in crude forms are represented first; the living, mobile animal is more apt to capture their attention, is also easier to grasp in its entire figure than the plant consisting of numerous leaves and blossoms."

This pertinent remark is in perfect accord with the relationship between gesture and drawing which I maintain. By means of gestures I imitate an animal, not a tree, and not only because the latter does not move actively. It is easy for me to express parts of the animal body by means of gestures, because in doing so, proceeding from my own body, if, for example, I wanted to depict a pair of donkey ears or some antlers, I would immediately indicate the position and the type of the organ, whereas I should be unable to express parts of a plant by means of gestures, unless I use words to help out. Among our Indians, however, drawing is only a special case; the animal motif dominates their entire

/260 cont./

531 825 the world is pictured in these minds!" No. 10, semímo ikuto, pictures of bats! Rhombuses strung together. Head, extremities, tail, where are they? We shall come across bats again, however, in other drawings and especially on the pots, where they are re-
● [113] duced to the same rhombus form. In Brehm's Tierleben I, 1890, page 363, there is an illustration of Vesperugo noctula, the Abendsegler /"evening swift"/, which in the specimen on the left, wrapped in a wing membrane and hanging, shows us a somewhat similar outline; if it were stylized, it could also be developed into a rhombus. -- /261/ Let us now confirm the fact that on these two plates we have rhombuses in three patterns: that of the pakú, either an outline or spotted-surface design; that of the nuki, with diagonal triangles, and the one of the bat, which is simply filled in. The negative drawing of the bats, No. 10, would be exactly like No. 11, the Boa constrictor or jiboya snake. One sees, at any rate, that one can arrive at the geometric figure of the rhombus in very different ways.

* 171 531 825 Mereschu and uluri. /Fig. 43 appears here./ Strangely enough, the frieze of the Bakaïrí house lacked a design which is the most common one, not only among the Bakaïrí, but also among all the tribes of the upper Schingú. On our first journey we noticed it often enough, but did not appreciate and understand it. In my report Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/ it is found on page 163 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 42/ as a drinking-bowl design of the Bakaïrí and on page 213 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 104/ as a pencil drawing of the Suyá in the handsomest delineation: rhombuses whose corners are filled in with small triangles. Only after the discovery was made in the second Bakaïrí village was
[136] the explanation given. The original of the decoration is a small, flat lagoon fish, a Serrasalmo or Myletes, related to the piranhas. The one drawn by Wilhelm measured 19 centimeters in length, 9.5 centimeters in width, and was silver-gray with brown spots. No
[123] artist has ever had more success with a picture than did Wilhelm with this drawing. People came crowding up and all were positively happy to view it. And this was repeated among all the tribes. Even the Paressí in Cuyabá were delighted with it and

/295 cont./

Auetö as the inventors of the woven mask and the mereschu ornamentation. III. Other festival apparatus. Kamayurá dances. Dance clubs. Ornamental whorl, etc. Musical instruments. Whizzer sticks. Feather ornaments. Diadems.

Games of the young people.

"The artifacts of the Stone Age are simple and fashioned only for the satisfaction of the most essential needs. With the art of shaping metals, the feeling for ornamentation and adornment is awakened." Thus writes O. Schrader in his excellent book, Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte /Language Comparison and Prehistory/ (p. 215), and something like that could have been written only by a distinguished philologist to whom it does not occur that such judgments, even when they refer to Indo-European prehistoric peoples, must be tested in the modern museum of ethnology. That passage has about the same value as one to the effect that man began to establish traditions when he learned to write. Though it is true that the satisfaction of the most essential needs is older than the development of the feeling for ornamentation and adornment, nevertheless even primitive peoples, without metal developed this to the full extent of their means; in fact, one may very well argue that, quite the contrary, it might often have awakened -- and could awaken because it was already highly developed -- the interest
*171 in metals in the first place. In the chapter on ornamental draw-
114 ing and plastic art, I believe I have proved in detail what I
18 stated about our Indians in a preliminary report presented to the
[113] Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin /Geographical Society of Berlin/ (Verhandlungen, 1888, p. 386): "They have a positive mania for painting all implements, a passion for crafts," and I must now complete the evidence for the festival days when man quite consciously feels elevated above the satisfaction of the most essential needs and puts all his skill into the service of the art of adorning himself.

/335 cont./

*171 846 Among our Indians the father takes care of the child, the woman returns to work sooner. That the father lies in the hammock a great deal is understandable in view of the lack of nourishment and from the mere fact that he stays at home. /336/ When does the couvade start and when does it end? The [844] father cuts the umbilical cord of the newborn child, fasts strictly, cares for the child, and is a free man once more when the remainder of the umbilical cord drops off. Among the Bakaïrí he cuts the umbilical cord of boys with kambayuva reed, of girls with takoara bamboo.

Let us compare with this the note by Martius about the Passés /Pase/, where the customs may be recognized particularly clearly as medical when the young woman at the onset of the menses fasts for a month, the woman in confinement remains in the dark for a month and, "like the husband, is restricted to a diet of mandioca, beijú, and flour soup. The husband colors himself black and remains in the hammock during the entire period of fasting or until the dried umbilical cord of the baby drops off (six to eight days). He himself usually cuts the umbilical cord with the teeth or sharp stones, if he has no knife." Especially important, however, is a manuscript by the Jesuit Fernão Cardim of 1584 and preserved for us in the monastery library of Evora, the capital of the Portuguese province of Alemtejo,*

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* Do principio e origem dos Indios do Brazil /The Beginning and Origin of the Indians of Brazil/, Rio de Janeiro, 1881.

which contains many reliable observations. "The women give birth on the ground, they do not pick up the child, but rather the father picks it up or some person whom they take as sponsor and with whom they maintain friendship, like the godfather among the Christians; the father cuts the umbilical cord with the teeth or with two stones, one above the other, and immediately thereafter he lies down to fast until the navel drops off, which usually takes up to eight days, and until it drops off they

2: Steinen--411 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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Chapter XIII.

Science and Legend of the Bakaïrí

I. The Basic View.

Man need not die. Knowledge of the existence after death. Explanation of nature by means of stories. Animals = persons. Animals actually furnish culture, hence same explanation carried over for unknown origins. Origin of explanatory story. Celestial bodies, the oldest things, and animals. Significance of the Milky Way. Transformation. Men from arrows, women from maize pestles. Keri and Kame and the ancestor legend. The twins and their mother are not profound personifications.

[76] When in the course of making my linguistic recordings I gave Antonio* the sentence, "everyone must die," he was silent for

[113]

* Bakaïrí-Grammatik /Bacairi Grammar/, p. 185.

some time, to my astonishment. There ensued the same long pause which I always had to cope with when I presented him with one of those abstractions so familiar to us, but so foreign to him. [811] I learned then for the first time that the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ does not know "must," he has not yet reached the point of deducing a general necessity from a series of always identical, recurring phenomena; quite specifically, however, he does not understand that man must die. He is still far from the thought which we memorize in the lowest classes of the Gymnasium,** "nemo mortem

** As a boy I refused to believe it at heart and for many years, until I became more intimately acquainted with the nature of death, clung stubbornly to the hope that I might perhaps be an exception and not die, as is otherwise customary in the history of the world.

2: Steinen--422E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/356 cont./

993 moment sweet curiosity asked further: "Where did those people
811 get their tobacco?" Then there was no better answer, assuming the basic view, than: "From the kinkajou, of course," and people were very satisfied.

In exactly the same manner, as we shall see, the origin of the ordinary smoking tobacco is traced back to a fish which does not occur in the Paranatinga, but lives in the "tobacco river," and the origin of mandioca to a fish likewise not found in the Paranatinga, but which inhabited the "beijú river." Occasionally I did not conceal my skepticism from Antonio -- not often, for, like every believer, he was offended by doubts, the true core of which he himself could not fail to recognize. Then he would either maintain a hurt silence, or he would explain the present condition as the result of magic, or -- and, to be sure, in most cases -- he would simply say: "It is no longer like that now, but it used to be."

"Once upon a time" (the constantly recurring paá of the Tupí legends) is also the signature of the Indian "fairy tales." By far the greatest number of the legends try to explain the origin of something; thus they always deal with events in ancient times, and since they are always to be explained only by something special that happened, the view that there was once a time when the extraordinary was the rule was bound to be established from all this. With the most beautiful logic in the world they arrived at situations where it was always found that the human behavior of animals was the only way out, but a very excellent one. It is very easy to understand the origin of the stories, frequently spiced with a good deal of humor, if only one takes as the point of departure the point which is proved; it is obvious that the fact to be explained could not have led to the story, but rather only the story to the fact.

000 /357/ In a fairy tale* that is very widespread on the Amazon

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* Barbosa Rodriguez, "Poranduba Amazonense /Amazon History/," Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional, Vol. XIV, 2, page III, Rio de Janeiro, 1890.

/367 cont./

101 for the Bakaïrí could have come in a time that disappeared long
174 ago, it is possible that the tribe whose women once influenced the Bakaïrí tradition so profoundly has not existed in independent form for a long time -- all these details are not to be determined. But it does not matter much. Of course, it could be significant that among the Paressí the Arinos is called sun-river, Kame-
101 river, or east-river. For the tribes which, according to the
174 Bakaïrí, were made by the hero Kame are "toda gente de Arinos,"
829 "all the people of the Arinos!" They enumerated the Paressí, Apiaká /Apiaca/, Mundurukú /Mundurucu/, Suyá (formerly on the Arinos), Maué (on the Tapajoz). Keri, on the other hand, made "Bakaïrí /Bacairi/, Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, Nahuquá, Bororó, Kayapó /Cayapo/, Kayabí /Cayabi/," that is to say, the tribes living east and south of the Arinos. The division has nothing whatever to do with a distinction according to languages, for there are Nu-Aruak and Gês on both sides; it embraces two large, spatially affiliated groups which are by no means lying strictly west-east; the one contains western, northwestern, and northern tribes, from the vantage point of the Bakaïrí, the other eastern, southeastern, and southern tribes. The chief representatives of the two groups, however, the Bakaïrí and Paressí, actually reside in such a way that the former live east of the
[773] latter. We thus have the following situation: 1. Kame = Nu-Aruak "sun," but among the Bakaïrí hero of the second rank and lord of the moon, is the tribal ancestor of the western and northern tribes, and 2. Keri = Nu-Aruak "moon," but among the Bakaïrí the most favored hero and lord of the sun, is the tribal ancestor of the eastern and southern tribes.

000 Here I should like to draw on an interesting example found in Alexander von Humboldt. ** In the vicinity of Maípure, the

[113] ** Reise in die Aequinoktial-Gegenden /Journey into the Equinoctial Regions/, III, p. 173.

place named after a Nu-Aruak tribe, stand two rocks in the cataracts of the Orinoco, one of which, "the so-called Keri or

/372 cont./

793 how powerfully, from time immemorial, civilization was seized by the attraction toward the west; all the tribes who bury their dead -- since they cannot place a compass in the grave -- with the face toward the rising sun, are supposed to have come from the east. "Where does Keri live?" I asked Antonio. "In heaven." "But in which direction?" "In the east; that is where he keeps the sun. The pot that covers it at night stands in his house." Old Caetano called Keri the "Imperador" /emperor/, and he, too, had him living in the east, namely, in Rio de Janeiro. I do not see the slightest reason for mixing up the first act in heaven of the Keri myth with a migration myth. The sun was there before Keri; he simply regulated its course. If he goes with the sun, he must live in the east or the west; the Bakaïrí decided on the east and could now have easily come to the conclusion, which they did not draw, that their ancestors came from there. The ancestors, however, could not very well have lived in the east wherever this conclusion is drawn. It need not cause surprise, however, that Keri goes with the sun, since he is merely the person who was added to the sun in the story by way of explanation, and since the person who is supposed to represent the founder of the tribe and who is linked with the most important achievements has been added to the story, the culture hero must also be the "god of light."

II. The Texts.

000 The parents of Keri and Kame. Origin and death of the mother. The latter avenged. Sun, sleep, and buriti hammock. Heaven and earth interchanged. Fire. Rivers. To the salto of the Paranatinga. House, fishing, festival dances, tribes. Departure of Keri and Kame. Tobacco and cotton. Mandioca; deer antlers. The ugly ostrich. Keri and the campo fox out hunting. The jaguar and the ant bear.

128 113 539 I have published the original texts of the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ legends, with interlinear translation, in the Bakaïrí-Grammatik.

/380 cont./

539 a cigar out of this tobacco and blows on people, they die; /381/
825 but if other people then come and blow on the dead one, he will come to life again and go his way. Cotton, too, and the hammock woven from it come from the sawari. Where the sawari obtained the tobacco and the cotton hammock is not known. It is very rare and lives gregariously downstream on the Paranatinga. It is an animal of the campo cerrado, is somewhat smaller and has a slightly more pointed snout than the irara (Galictis, marten-like, cf. Brehm, Säugetiere /Mammals/ I, page 614) related to it; it climbs and sleeps during the day in tree holes; there are some that are more black, and some that are more white. The description exactly fits the kinkajou, Cercoleptes caudivolvulus, which in its entire build is extraordinarily like the irara, although it is not related to it (cf. the illustration in Brehm, Säugetiere II, page 287, with that of the irara at the place cited). Among the Makuschí /Macusi/, who are closely related to the Bakaïrí linguistically, the kinkajou is called yawari.* According to

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* Schomburgk, Rich. Versuch einer Fauna und Flora von Britisch-Güiana /Attempt at a Flora and Fauna of British Guiana/, Leipzig, 1848, Vol. II, p. 435: "Von Tschudi gives it geographical distribution up to 10° south latitude. The colonists call it yamanack, the Arawaaks wawula, the Macusis yawali, the Warraus uvari."

Brehm, "we know that the kinkajou is widely distributed. It occurs throughout northern Brazil, in Peru, and northward as far as Mexico, in fact, even in southern Louisiana and Florida."

Sawari also had the tobacco that one smokes. The Bakaïrí, however, had obtained this from the karazóto = "master of the fish," a large fish found in the Kulizehu, but not in the Paranatinga. Antonio had also seen it in the Kulizehu, "but not very well."
[262] I myself ate it in Maigéri, where Tumayaua gave me a piece of karazóto; it was very oily. According to the description, it is an electric eel, but I cannot give the meaning as wholly certain.

/387 cont./

131 Bakaïrí are all inhabitants of the eastern source-region of the
133 Tapajoz and are to be found only in the region of the plateau above the rapids and waterfalls that put great obstacles in the way of the journey downstream to the Amazonas /Amazon/.

175 The West Bakaïrí have been known since the first raiding
101 expeditions of the "Paulistas," the discoverers of the Mato Grosso who boldly pushed forward from the province of S. Paulo on their slave hunts at the beginning of the previous century. Even Antonio Pires de Campos, from whom we have a report* from the year 1723,

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* Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico XXV, p. 448. Rio de Janeiro, 1862.

"after the experience of so many years," had heard of them; after he has briefly characterized (page 448) the tribes -- today long since disappeared -- of the upper Cuyabá and the Rio Manso emptying into it, he continues: "All these have the same way of life, the same type of weapons, and everything else the same, they are nomadic tribes and, with their raiding expeditions, succeed in causing harm to the heathen people named Bacayris, who live on the tributaries of the Maranhão (sic!); and from there on various stations of heathens /388/ with countless villages follow one another, as I have been informed, and all very warlike people and masters of their weapons."

The Bakaïrí are also mentioned in a report from the year 1749 about a trip from Pará into the source region of the Madeira, and furthermore it may also have happened in many an old note about the origin of the Mato Grosso gold mines. It is always only a casual mention of the tribal name, which does not offer us further information. At most we may conclude from these citations that in the previous century the Bakaïrí must have been more numerous and perhaps had advanced somewhat more to the west and southwest than is the case today. This will come out more clearly, however, from their own tradition.

175 Closer contact with the Brazilians did not take place until
797 the beginning of the 'twenties in our century. At that time

2: Steinen--466 E D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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175 "Padre" Lopes reached as far as the region of the Paranatinga
177 and converted the West Bakaïrí to Christianity. Lopes was an adventurous gold-seeker, about whom the painter of the Langsdorff Expedition* of 1828 remarks that, accompanied by

[113] * Hercules Florence; cf. Revista Trimensal, Vol. 38, II, p. 280.

Apiaká /Apiaca/ Indians, he had gone up the Rio dos Peixes, a tributary of the Arinos, and "fought with many savages." At any rate, since his visit, which cost the lives of Reginaldo's grandfather and others, the West Bakaïrí have been regarded as
175 Christians. How superfluous the brutalities of the noble Lopes were comes out best from the following words of the geographer
[113] Ayras de Cazal in his Corographia Brasilica /Chorography of Brazil/ of the year 1817, therefore before Lopes: "The Baccahirys who inhabit the regions adjacent to the Rio das Mortes carry on ceaseless warfare against all types of quadrupeds and birds. To this day these people have not engaged in any hostilities against the Christians. It is said that they are white and friendly: one reason why they are regarded as a horde of the Paricys."

[101] The real reason why the Bakaïrí could have been regarded as a horde of the Paressí, as happened in the case of Martius, is simply that there was no accurate information about either one
[177] of the neighboring tribes. If the natives occasionally came to Cuyabá in small numbers in order to beg for a few gifts of ironware, shirts, trousers, or blankets from the government, they were felt to be annoying guests whom one tried to get rid of as quickly as possible, and about whose language or peculiarities no official needed to bother. They did not live, say, near an avenue of communication connecting two important towns, but rather, on the contrary, sat behind the very last little colonists, who themselves received very little attention, there where there were no avenues at all; they did not do these neighbors any harm and were therefore of no interest whatever to the government.
177 The good Chief Felipe in the Paranatinga village racked his brains

/388 cont./

197 in vain as to why /389/ it happened that the Bororó, who inflicted fire and pillage upon the land, received lavish gifts as soon as a few individuals were seized, whereas he himself, with his fellow tribesmen, who for generations had devoted themselves to the finest peaceableness, was obliged to return empty-handed even on his last visit to the great captain.

127 [113] Almost everything that we can learn about the West Bakaïrí from Brazilian sources is summed up in a report of the Directoria dos Indios from the year 1848; cf. the excerpt in the appendix.*

* In Petermann's Mittheilungen for the year 1862, p. 437, there is a review of an article which Dr. Amédée Moure published in the Nouvelles Annales des Voyages about 33 tribes of the province of Mato Grosso on the basis of his own experiences and adventures. The reviewer gave a comprehensive summary of Dr. Moure's data in a table arranged according to tribe, number of persons, and places of residence. Under the tribes we find some listed with 20,000, 30,000, even 50,000 persons. If one adds the minima and maxima of the estimates, one obtains the result that the number of Indians of the Mato Grosso comes to 241,800 to 282,000. If today we estimate the total number of the Mato Grosso population of all colors, all the docile and savage inhabitants on every level of culture, at about 70,000, it will undoubtedly come much closer to the truth. The original article

[113] by Dr. Moure (Nouvelles Annales des Voyages de la géographie, de l'histoire et de l'archéologie, Vol. II, 1862, pp. 5-19, 323-341, III, pp. 77-100, Paris) also contains small factual atrocities such as, for example, that the Cambixis, who live in the Campos dos Parecis and have a pure Nu-Aruak dialect, speak the Peruvian Kechua

2: Steinen- -472 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Apiaca SP2
Cayabi
Mundurucu SQ13

B /391 cont./
175 enemies of the Bakaïrí, but there is no more specific informa-
648 tion about them. The Nambiquara and Tapanhuna, enemies of the Apiaká, lived in the Arinos region; of the Tapanhuna, Joaquim Ferreira Moutinho* states that they spoke the Bakaïrí

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* Noticia da Provincia de Mato Grosso, S. Paulo, 1869, p. 216.

language; unfortunately no notes were ever made on the language of the Bakaïrí, let alone on that of the Tapanhuna, /392/ and unfortunately the author has no claim to any credibility in these matters, as we shall see among the Bororó.

B A Mundrukú /Mundurucu/,
175 mentioning; it refers to the tribe of the Mundrukú /Mundurucu/,
648 once feared far and wide, which today sits along the middle and
[113] lower Tapajoz, but formerly lived farther upstream. Antonio
M Manoel Gonçalves Tocantins, who visited them in 1875, remarks:
[131] "In former times they also overcame the Bakaïrí, whom they
B M call Mureufuâtes and whom they forced to go into the Matogrosso
[101] where they ('aldeïert') settled in villages." The latter addition shows that this can only refer to events of relatively recent times, in the Brazilian era. Nor should one believe, on the basis of this
B M passage, that the Baikïrí lived in the province of Pará; among
[131] the dwellers along the lower Tapajoz, the region of the upper course and of the source arms Juruena and Arinos is called "Matogrosso"; the Mundrukú themselves lived next to the Apiaká in the province of Mato Grosso, where they are called Saruma, and harassed all the tribes of the Arinos and Schingú area with
B M their attacks. The Bakaïrí, who called them "Mandurukú," re-
[101] membered them vividly, but said that their attacks no longer occur, since they have moved to the north.

B A The chief enemies of the West Bakaïrí, and probably even
173 of the united Bakaïrí, if the tradition is correct, were the Kayabí.
648 "Unvanquished savages in the vicinity of the salto," says the
ooo report of the Directoria dos Indios. The following is what I was

B A 174 A [167] /400 cont./
there is historical proof here for the shift of the Karaiben from south to north is not affected by it. The shift of latitude is also very considerable, for today the Suyá live on the 11th degree of latitude and previously on the Rio Verde lived considerably farther south, whereas the Apiaká are already in close proximity to the Amazon River.

B A [197] A [194] B A [113] [193] The linguistic relationship of the Apiaká and Bakaïrí is close, but no closer than that of several Karaiben tribes north of the Amazonas and the Bakaïrí! It is very interesting that in many cases the Apiaká already have consonant terminal sounds and double consonants within the word. I am presenting a few words from Ehrenreich's vocabulary, which has not yet been published. The pronominal prefix of the first person is ĩ-, which in Bakaïrí sometimes belongs to the first person, sometimes to the third.

B A 192
Tooth ieri, Bak. vĕri, Karaiben in general;
Tongue elo (e slightly audible), Bak. ĩlu (third person);
Hand omiat, Bak. omári (second person);
Foot ipun, Bak. iχũlu (third person);
Thigh iwet, Bak. ewéti (third person);
Lower leg iptchin, Bak. ischinári (third person);
Nose inam, Bak. inári (third person);
Ear iuanan, Bak. iwanatári (third person);
Bone itpun, Bak. ipüri;
Water paru, Bak. páru water, river;
River paru ime, Bak. páru ima large river;
Sun tschitschi, Bak. tschíschi;
Moon nuno, Bak. núna;
Heaven kabo, Bak. kχáu;
Rain kongpo, Bak. kχópö;
Fire kampot (Bak. péto), Rukuyenne and others wapoto, apoto, cf. the table in Bakaïrí-Grammatik, p. 278.
Tree, wood, yei, Bak. se, Makuschí yeh, yéi;
Father ongmä, Bak. iyúme;
/401/
Mother iämä, Bak. íse;

/217/

The Bacaeris

000 /218/ Study published in the Revista Brasileira, Year 1, Vols. III and IV, 1895.

101 /219/ The Bacaeris

The Bacaeris /Bacairi/ are Indians who inhabit the headwaters of the Tapajoz /Tapajós/ and the Xingú in Mato Grosso. Their name, which first appears in the logbooks of the bandeirantes /members of armed bands/ of the early eighteenth century, is later found repeatedly in travel accounts, scholarly works, and newspaper items. Since 1884/85 they have attracted the interest of the scientific world, which they fully deserve on account of the language that they speak, the ethnographic group to which they belong, the characteristic customs that they retain, and the dual aspect that they present, already subdued along the Tapajoz, still completely savage along the Xingú.

114 It was Dr. Carlos von den Steinen--assisted by our government, which put at their disposal a military school between Cuyabá /Cuiabá/ and the lower Xingú and defended the expedition between those two points--who, by studying them, opened what may be called without exaggeration a new era for our native ethnography. The results of this expedition may be summarized in a few lines (1).

[113] 1. Durch Zentral Brasilien /Through Central Brazil; see 1:Steinen, this file/, Leipzig, 1886.

114 First of all, he delimited the rather vague concept of
101 "Cariba" /Carib/, a designation which, as the German traveler states so well, was given by the Europeans to all kinds of Indians

114 /219 cont./
101 and by the Indians to all kinds of Europeans. Since the time of D'Orbigny and Martius there has been a tendency to identify /220/ them with the Tupis. Baptista Caetano, inclined to-
[197] ward the same view, stressed as the principal basis for it the impure character of the idiom spoken by the Caribas, denying Hervas' contention that it was one of the four principal ones of South America.

114 "In my opinion," he wrote, "Kariba is not and could not
197 be a mother language. According to a study which I undertook (and which I regrettably could not carry further), it looks to me like an extraordinary mixture of several dialects of diverse origins; it is a veritable jargon, amalgamated from various dialects, which sometimes offers several phrases with different radicals and words in order to express the same thing, and sometimes a total lack of designations for other things. It is so confused that it can only be compared to what is heard in certain circles in Rio de Janeiro, where during a conversation in Portuguese one hears at the same time a phrase in English, another in Italian, a bit of Spanish or German, and all this more or less basted with Gallicisms." (Introduction to the second edition of Arte de grammatica da lingua... Kiriri /Nature of the grammar of the language...Kiriri (Cariri)/, by Luiz Vicenzio Mamiani, Rio, 1877, p. XII.)

197 This, which is accurate with regard to the Island Caribas, whom we know through Breton's works (2), does not apply,

[113] 2. Cf. Du parler des hommes et du parler des femmes dans la langue caraïbe /On men's speech and women's speech in the Carib language/, by Lucien Adam, Paris, 1879.

114 /222 cont./

[113] 3. Die Bakairi Sprache /The Bacairi Language/, Leipzig, 1892.

account published in 1894, the richly illustrated, brilliantly written, forcefully conceived volume in which are discussed the main subjects of the primitive history of mankind, to sum up in a word, the richest modern contribution on all that touches upon our aborigines (4).

[113] 4. Unter den Naturvoelkern Zentral-Braziliens /Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil; see 2:Steinen, this file/, Berlin, 1894.

114 115 At the same time that Dr. Steinen's book on the language appeared, a Bacaeri was here, brought from the Paranatinga by Dr. Oscar de Miranda when he completed his difficult journey down that river to the Amazon. With this Indian, the author of these lines was able to study the German scholar's book word by word, and I cannot find words enough to express the admiration that was aroused in me by the exactitude of the phonetic transcription, the sharpness with which the grammatical forms had been discerned, and the thoroughness with which everything usable in the materials collected had been picked out. If the comparison be permitted in a country that boasts of being primarily agricultural, it might be said that his sugar mill, like one of the gigantic rollers in use today, squeezed out all the cane juice, leaving only the bagasse.

From that Indian, called Irineu, who will be designated with the initial "I," many texts were gathered--legends, 121 114 descriptions, traditions. The present /223/ work aims at a partial presentation of this harvest. Based on the book by Dr. Steinen, whose system of phonetic transcription is adopted

/235 cont./

193 [114] That the substantives have a plural has been contested; just recently, Sr. Lucien Adam maintained "that the Bakairi is the only one of the adequately known (Carib) dialects in which distinctions of number are not expressed by any suffix" /translated from the French/ (5); nevertheless they do exist

[113] 5. Matériaux pour servir à l'établissement d'une grammaire comparée des dialectes de la famille caribe /Materials to serve for setting up a comparative grammar of the dialects of the Carib family/, Paris, 1893, a book of extraordinary value for the study of difficult problems.

and there are no fewer than three endings which indicate plural. The first is modo: aʔaetiño, "ancient," aʔaetiño-modo, "ancients." The second one is mo: pekodo, "woman," pekodómo, "women." The third one is do: idamu, "his grandfather," idamudo, "his grandfathers." Let it be noted, however, that the Bacaeris, although they have a fine verb with which to count (imperative, çapoʔeʔa), do not count beyond three, and thus numbers are of little importance to them. Let it be noted further that the word idanára means both "all" and "entire"; in /236/ other words, in their minds the concepts of plurality and totality have not been differentiated, resulting in many words, principally ending in do, in which the concept of plural does not exist, for example, yunu, "his blood," yunudo, "his people"--that is, "his bloods."

There is little to be said concerning gender.

There are words which may be called masculine, such as uʔurodo, "man," or feminine, such as arekxuma, "hen." The sole vestige of grammatical gender, however, is found in the demonstratives: mâka, miâka, mera, êra, inara are used

/245 cont./

114 "The personal pronouns," says the greatly missed Baptista
193 Caetano, "are divided into two well characterized orders, namely: the first, of the agent or denominative pronouns, and the second, of the patient or accusative pronouns and of the governed cases. Both of them are preposed to the verbs, in accordance with the most general rule...And when both occur together, the patient one is the one immediately next to the verb" (7).

[113] 7. Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional, VI. 8, Rio, 1879.

193 The same is to be observed in the Kxura-itano. And the patient or objective pronouns are identical to the possessives, which is another proof of how little differentiation there is as yet between verb and substantive, transitive and intransitive verb, in this idiom.

/265 cont./

756 After much wandering, the sky becomes cooler. We are
776 close to the village, says Nakoeri's companion. Then they reach the village of the hornets, and the candidate hears nothing but hornet language: Did you come, my brother? Did you come, my father? Did you come, my uncle? Did you come, my son? the candidate hears, but he sees nothing, because one cannot see through the darkness of the sky.

The bench moves on again, and then, as though awakening, they reach Nakoeri's house and go into it. You wandered much, says Nakoeri.--Yes, I did, Captain, answers the candidate.

After a short while, the candidate says to Nakoeri: Captain, I am going away. Yes, replies Nakoeri, You may go now; you will return again one day.

114 Let us now interrupt this passage in order to comment
115 upon it.

776 Dr. Carlos von den Steinen heard from Antonio something which probably referred to Nakoeri; he thought, however, that the story,--naturally poorly developed, since Antonio spoke in Portuguese, which he did not know well, and an Indian only narrates with pleasure and clarity in his native tongue--showed the influence of Christianity. Thus, when Antonio, unable to recall at once the name of the personage who dwelt in the sky, was searching for it in his own mind, the German traveler asked him if it might not be Jesus /266/ Christo.--"Crito mesmo /Christ himself/," said Antonio, possibly accepting the suggestion (16).

[113] 16. Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral Brasiliens /Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil/, 346 /see 2:Steinen, this file, p. 409/.

/11/

I. Historical Data on the Bakairí /Bacairi/

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The same title which I have given to the present part of this publication was given by Karl von den Steinen to Chapter 14 of his book, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens /Among the Natives of Central Brazil/ (1) in which he deals at

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1. Karl von den Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens. Berlin, 1894, pp. 387-395.

length with the history of the Bakairí up to the year of his second expedition, carried out in the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River in the year 1887, based on comparative literature and on information received from the Bakairí themselves.

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There follows from the research of Karl von den Steinen that in the time prior to his first expedition to the Xingu River, very little was known on the Bakairí, although the western part of these Indians, that is to say, the Bakairí who lived on the Rio Paranatinga and the Rio Novo, had lived for a long time in fairly active contact with the Brazilians and came occasionally to the capital, Cuiabá, to sell the rubber they had produced and to ask for some donatives from the government. Martius, too, knows almost nothing about them, and treats them as if they were a Paressi group. (2) It is noteworthy that Martius

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2. Martius, Zur Ethnographie Amerikas zumal Brasiliens /Toward an Ethnography of the Americas, especially of Brazil/, Vol. I, 1867, p. 779.

already mentions the existence of Bakairí in the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River: "Bacahiri, Bacchyri also live on the southern headwaters of the Xingu River"; (3) but with

3. Ibid., p. 382.

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114 648 175 [177] 114 121

influence on the later development of these Indians, with their very marked feeling of nationality, that they changed their primordial customs completely during the 50 years following Karl von den Steinen's second expedition carried out in the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River. Thanks to a series of data on events among the Bakairí in this interval, we find ourselves in the fortunate position of being able to investigate that transformation. We are oriented in detail on the personality and life history of several Bakairí who have influenced in a special way the later development of their tribe, like Cacique Reginaldo and, especially, Cacique Antonio and his stepson José Coroado, so that we can give our historical report on the Bakairí a more personal character than would be possible with respect to other Indian tribes.

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If we differentiate, according to Karl von den Steinen, the Bakairí who live west of the Rio Paranatinga (in later times officially Rio Telles Pires) as western Bakairí and the eastern Bakairí, who have their homes in the regions east of this river, on the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, it can be said that in the period of Karl von den Steinen's first expedition to the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River, no contacts took place between these two Bakairí groups, and certainly none had taken place for a long time. Old Cacique Reginaldo told Karl von den Steinen that he still remembered, from the days of his youth, that traveling from the Rio Paranatinga eastward, one would reach a big river on which it was said that Bakairí also lived, but that at the present date they did not know anything about this region. (4) Certainly no contacts had taken

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174 177 619 [113]

4. Karl v.d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien /Through Central Brazil/. Leipzig, 1886. p. 182.

place between the western Bakairí and those of the east from the time when the former established closer contact with the

/12 cont./

174 Brazilians, for otherwise the Bakairí of the Batovy and Kulisehu
177 rivers could not have remained so totally free of /13/ any Euro-
619 pean influence. In my book, Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien
114 (5), I discussed at length the causes of this long isolation of the
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5. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien. Erlebnisse und Ethnologische. Ergebnisse einer Reise in den Jahren 1900-1901 /Indian Studies in Central Brazil. Adventure and Ethnology. Results of a Journey in the Years 1900-1901/. Berlin, 1905, p. 320.

eastern Bakairí, and among these causes I especially emphasized the hostility which existed between the Bakairí and their neighbors the Kayabí /Cayabi/, who long made unsafe the region located between the settlements of the western and eastern Bakairí. Contact between these two Bakairí groups was re-established when Karl von den Steinen took along with him on his first expedition to the Xingu River, the Bakairí, Antonio, who later became cacique of the Bakairí, so that he had the opportunity to become acquainted with his fellow countrymen who lived on the Rio Batovy. Already in the year 1886, that is, before Karl von den Steinen's second expedition, the Bakairí, Felipe, who was then cacique of the Paranatinga Bakairí, had on his part visited, along with the above-mentioned Antonio and another Bakairí, his fellow countrymen on the Rio Batovy and had succeeded in getting some of them to make, in turn, a visit to the Rio Paranatinga.

128 In order to make a connection with Karl von den Steinen's
101 historical report, I shall first refer in a few words to the conditions in which this author found the Bakairí at the time of his second expedition in the year 1887. I shall first deal with the

128 /13 cont./ I shall first deal with the
101 western Bakairí, most of whom lived in two aldeas about two
361 leagues apart, located on the Corrego Sant'Anna, a tributary
of the Rio Novo, and the rest on the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles
361 Pires). (6) The Bakairí of the Rio Paranatinga lived at that time

6. Cf. the map drawn by Vogel and published in Karl v.d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit.

in a single aldea, located 17 kilometers downriver from the mouth of the Piava and right in the narrow river valley. (7)

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7. Cf. Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa, Exploração do Rio Parataninga e seu levantamento topographico bem como o dos Rios S. Manoel e Telles Pires /Exploration of the Rio Parataninga and Its Topographic Survey as well as that of the São Manuel and Telles Pires Rivers/, Commissão de Linhas Telegraphicas, etc., Publication No. 34, Appendix No. 2. Rio de Janeiro, 1916, pp. 35 and 61.

Besides these Bakairí of the Rio Novo and the Rio Paranatinga, it was said that there were some of these Indians living on the Rio Preto in the vicinity of Diamantino, the remainder of the inhabitants of a settlement of former times, (8) and a few

8. Karl v.d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., p. 387.

individuals working on one ranch or another in the western region of the headwaters of the Rio Paranatinga.

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175 of the Paranatinga Bakairí was already the same Antonio who
622 had accompanied Karl von den Steinen on his two expeditions to the Xingu River and who had become acquainted on his return from the first of these expeditions with Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires. President Antonio Correa da Costa confirmed his
[648] caciqueship, extending his authority over the whole region of the Indians who lived on the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, naming him the comandante of all the Indians of the upper
175 Xingu River. This extension of the authority of Cacique Antonio
622 by the president of the state was instigated, according to
648 Herrmann Meyer, (22) by the same Paulo Castro who, in the
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22. Dr. Herrmann Meyer, "Uber seine zweite Reise in Central-Brasilien (IV. Xingú-Expedition) /On His Second Journey in Central Brazil (IV. Xingu Expedition)/," aus einem Brief an Herrn Prof. Dr. Karl von den Steinen /From a letter to Prof. Karl von den Steinen/, Cuiabá, d. March 5, 1899, (Verh. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin. Vol. XXVI, 1899, pp. 261-265), p. 265.

years following his participation in Karl von den Steinen's expedition to the Xingu River, traveled through these regions several times in his tireless search for the "martyrs," and thus had had the opportunity to meet the Bakairí of the Paranatinga. Cacique Antonio then for a long time was the most influential figure in the subsequent development not only of the western Bakairí but also of the eastern Bakairí. He had been born in the Limoeira handicrafts center and came from a family who had lived for a long time in the Rio Paranatinga aldea. The most remote ancestors of whom he had knowledge had still

/18 cont./
175 lived in the vicinity of the falls. His grandfather, Karavako,
159 and his father, Seseriari, had participated in the above-
622 mentioned expedition for revenge undertaken against the Kayabí,
648 in which the two Kayabí women who lived in the Rio Paranatinga aldea were captured. At the time of Karl von den Steinen's expedition, his parents were no longer living, but he had an older brother living with his wife and with a small son in the Paranatinga aldea. As a companion to Karl von den Steinen in the year 1888, Antonio had met in the Reducción de Bororo de Thereza Christina, situated on the Rio S. Lourenzo /São Lourenço River/, the Bororo Indian woman Rosa, well known for the fact that while a prisoner of Officer Duarte, she had undertaken to mediate in the agreement /?conivencia/ between Bororo and Brazilians so that it became possible to establish the above-mentioned Bororo reducción /pueblo of Christianized Indians/. She was a widow at the time and Antonio took her along toward the Paranatinga. Rosa brought with her a small son, five or six years of age, who was raised in the house of Cacique Antonio and who later, under the name of José /19/ Coroado, achieved a certain stature in the Bakairí community of the Paranatinga, so that I must refer to him several times in what follows.

175 Already in the last decade of the past century, when
166 Herrmann Meyer passed the aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí in his two expeditions to the Xingu River in the years 1896 and 1899, much activity was taking place there. (23) Antonio with

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23. Dr. Herrmann Meyer, "Über seine Expedition nach Zentral-Brasilien /On His Expedition toward Central Brazil/," March 6, Verhandl. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde z. Berlin, Vol. XXIV, 1897, pp. 172-198. Idem., "Bericht über seine zweite

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Xingú-Expedition /Report on His Second Xingu Expedition/," February 3, 1900, Verh. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde z. Berlin, Vol. XXVII, 1900, pp. 112-128. Idem., "Uber seine zweite Reise in Central-Brasilien," loc. cit.

175 Antonio with
166 his stepson José Coroado, already an adult, had then visited
159 several times the Bakairí in the region of the tributaries of the
622 Xingu River, and a big part of these had moved in with their
162 fellow countrymen of the Rio Paranatinga, so that Theodor Koch, a participant in Herrmann Meyer's second expedition to the Xingu River, estimated the population of the aldea of the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí, at this date, at more than 60 individuals.(24)

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24. Dr. Theodor Koch, "Reise in Matto Grosso (Brasilien). Expedition in das Quellgebiet des Xingú /Journey in Mato Grosso (Brazil). Expedition to the Region of the Headwaters of the Xingu/." Communication, d. K. K. Geogr. Ges. in Vienna, p. 335.

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At this time, the Rio Batovy Bakairí had canoes and also a port on the Rio Jatobá. Also the Nahukuá /Nahuqua/ had then risked for the first time the journey to the Rio Paranatinga and had carried away from there sugar cane and porotos /French beans/ for planting. (25)

25. Dr. Herrmann Meyer, "Bericht uber seine zweite Xingú-Expedition," loc. cit., p. 127.

/28 cont./

178 in form, placed in front under the belt, which consists of glass
[535] beads strung on a thread. Face and body were painted with
[291] urucú and genipap in red and black. At this time, too, cases
[302] of illness were imputed to the influence of some sorcerer, and
[754] shortly before the expedition of Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa a Paranatinga Bakairí had been shot to death because the Indians ascribed the consequences of a flu epidemic to his witchcraft.

114 In his book Unter Indianern und Riesenschlangen (36)

[113] 36. Hintermann, Heinrich, Unter Indianern und Riesenschlangen /Among Indians and Boa Constrictors/, Zurich and Leipzig, 1926.

Heinrich Hintermann relates the incidents and outcome of a journey to the region of the upper Xingu River tributaries. He had the opportunity to accompany a military expedition led by the Brazilian, Captain Vicente de Vasconcellos, which was carried out in the year 1924 for the Commissão de Linhas Telegr. Est. de Matto Grosso ao Amazonas to measure the Rio Ronuro and establish relations between the administration of the new Simões Lopes Post, established by the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios /Indian Protection Service/, and the Indians of the
[166] Kulisehu and Kuluene rivers. We know from Hintermann that already at that time, all the Kulisehu Bakairí had moved to the Simões Lopes Post, which was established at the same place where José Coroado had already set up his aldea before.

During my journey carried out in the year 1927 I had the opportunity to become personally acquainted once more, after an interval of 26 years, with the conditions of the Bakairí. (37)

[113] 37. Cf. the preliminary reports on the results of this trip: Max Schmidt, "Ergebnisse meiner zweijährigen Forschungreise in Matto Grosso.

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Sept. 1926 bis Aug. 1928
/Results of My Two Year Exploratory
Trip in Mato Grosso. Sept. 1926
to Aug. 1928/." pp. 86-88.
Zeitschrift fur Ethnologie.
Annual Set 60. Heft 1/3.

114 In Cuiabá I had already encountered some Bakairí
115 who had come from Simões Lopes with a herd of oxen to the capital. Since at that time the revolutionaries, led by /Luiz Carlos/ Prestes, were passing through Mato Grosso and also were making the vicinity of Cuiabá insecure, these Bakairí were prevented from undertaking their return journey for the same reason I was unable to carry out my projected trip to Simões Lopes. They were four men and one boy of ten, and when they visited me one day in my house, it turned out that one of these Indians, called Marcellino Caminago, or by his native name, Palugude, came from the second Bakairí aldea on the Rio Kulisehu. At the time of my stay in this aldea 26 years earlier, he had been a small boy, but he still remembered me well. It was interesting to note how this memory gradually came back to him when I played on my violin the same melody that I had played many times in the Maimaieti aldea among the Kulisehu Bakairí. He asked one of the other Bakairí what my name was, and when I told him that my name was "Doctor Macimo," he knew at once that his memory had not deceived him and he
[551] greeted me as an old acquaintance. Naturally, from this
[191] moment on he frequented my house with his small son, Lorenzo,
[126] whose native name was Kaiura, and with the other Bakairí, and since some /29/ of these Bakairí were quite familiar with the Portuguese language I had a good chance to take down linguistic notes and to obtain at this time exact data on the changes which had taken place with respect to conditions among the Bakairí
[622] since my former journey. Among other news they told me that
[159] old Cacique Reginaldo had lived on for a long time and had

/32 cont./

114 enemy Indian. Just as an untiring search for the "martyrs" in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River finally broke the health of Officer Paulo Castro 25 years before, so too Colonel Fawcett perished in the same regions in his fantastic race for the "mysterious city."

177 178 Although in the year 1927 nearly all the Bakairí dressed in European-type garments and lived in Brazilian-style ranchos, and although they had also adopted many other articles of European culture, there survived among them various articles of their native culture with which I shall deal in the section that follows.

361 Already at the time of my stay among the Bakairí at Simões Lopes there was frequent talk of an imminent move of the post. [312] The Indians were not satisfied with their present location because [241] in times of drought there was no water available except at a great distance, and because there was no ground suitable to make plantations in the immediate vicinity of the post. As for the selection of a place for the new post, the opinions of the Indians differed a great deal, and it was interesting to note that the Xinguanos especially wanted the location to be closer to the capital, Cuiabá, while the Paranatinganos, on the contrary, wanted a place which would be beyond the Rio Paranatinga.

[114] /33/ We learned a few details concerning the later conditions of the Bakairí who lived in the new Simões Lopes Post from Vincent M. Petrullo, who in the year 1931 undertook a journey carried out in part with pack oxen, by water, and in part by air to the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, passing this Indian post along the way. (38) According to

[113] 38. Vincent M. Petrullo, "Primitive Peoples of Mato Grosso, Brazil," The Museum Journal, Vol. XXIII, Number 2, Philadelphia, pp. 127-130.

323 /35 cont./
[126] specimens collected by Karl von den Steinen which were said to
[532] represent bats. To the basic, dark color of the outer surface of
[531] the vessel, brown paint is applied on the walls in parallel vertical strips and on the bottom of the vessel in curved lines emerging from the circumference of a circle whose center is the center of the pot bottom. The height of this pot reaches 10.5 cm. and the diameter of its upper rim, 26.5 cm. Two other fired clay vessels, both smaller, are represented in Figures 26 and 27, one of which (V.B. 9877) has a height of 11.5 cm. and an upper rim diameter of 26 cm., and the other (V.B. 9874) a height of 12.5 cm. and an upper rim diameter of 20 cm. Of the other objects from the region of the upper Xingu River
301 most were ornaments. The necklace shown in Figure 24 (V.B.
126 9957) and made of small shell disks (diameter: 0.8 cm.) and a large stone bead was given to me in Simões Lopes by my old friend, the Bakairí, Karía, as a particularly precious object from former times. Other ornamental objects in my collection are shown in the following photographs:

Figure 24, a. A necklace of small shell plates /chapitas/ (V.B. 9956. Length of the plates: 2.5 cm.).

/36/ Figure 23, c. A necklace of shell disks with a zoomorphic (bird) pendant of fruit rind (V.B. 9954).

Figure 23, b. Zoomorphic stone pendant for a necklace.

Figure 23, a. Feather diadem. (V.B. 9968.) Length 36 cm. Width 8 cm.

285 Among the cultural goods of the Bakairí which we must
184 also regard as products of the native industry, but which, in contrast with those just described, were apparently made by the Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post themselves, we may point out first of all the various kinds of plaited objects, because they will serve to complement on various points my previous publications on Bakairí plaited objects. (44) For this reason I shall

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44. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., pp. 330-371.

/36 cont./

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Cf. Idem., "Ableitung südamerikanischer Geflechtsmuster aus der Technik des Flechtens /Derivation of South American Plaiting Pattern from the Technique of Plaiting/," Zeitsch. f. Ethn., 1904, Heft 3 and 4, pp. 490-512. Idem., "Die technischen Voraussetzungen in der Ornamentik der Eingeborenen Südamerikas /The Technical Bases in the Ornamentation of the South American Natives/," Ipek. Jahrbuch für Prähistorische und Ethnographische Kunst, 1926, pp. 142-174.

discuss the plaited objects that I collected from the Simões Lopes Bakairí in a special section that follows. In addition to plaited objects I was primarily concerned with the acquisition of a mortar and its corresponding pestle and a triangular barbecue, because the relevant collections of the Berlin Ethnographic Museum did not include any specimen of these Bakairí objects which are to be found in almost every settlement of these Indians. The wooden mortar which I brought from Simões Lopes (V.B. 9883, called óro by the Kulisehu Bakairí) is shown in Figure 29. Its height reaches 38 cm. and the rim diameter 25 cm. From the irregular shape of the bottom it may be assumed that the lower part of the mortar was implanted in the ground. The corresponding pestle (V.B. 9884) has a length of 95 cm. and is shown in Figure 28. The barbecue shown in Figure 30 and called by the Kulisehu Bakairí si(r)ka has the usual triangular shape of Bakairí barbecues. The sticks of which this barbecue consists are bound together with tree bark. Its height reaches 105 cm.

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I found the dancing sticks shown in Figures 33 a-d and 34 a-d (V.B. 9942, 9943, 9945-9948, 9951, and 10071) in

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131 Rio Novo, also in that state. The Simões Lopes Indians claim
361 that in the past all the Bakairí lived in aldeas by the Parana-
173 tinga River, moving later to the north under pressure of enemy
131 groups. (2) Later on the tribe divided as a result of internal
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2. For a better discussion of the possible origins of the Bakairí, see Max Schmidt's article, "Los Bakairí" /The Bacairi/, Revista do Museu Paulista, New Series, Vol. I, pp. 11-58, São Paulo, 1947.

[113]

disputes; part moved to the banks of the Rio Culiseu, one of the sources of the Xingu, and the other part was distributed along the Rio Novo. Perhaps the truth about these reports can only be obtained with the help of archaeology. Meanwhile, the old villages of the Bakairí on the sources of the
619 Xingu no longer exist. The Xinguano Indians suffered a great
175 deal from repeated outbreaks of influenza, and the last
731 Bakairí found in that area were brought to the Simões Lopes
648 Post a few years ago by officials of the Indian Protection Ser-
166 vice. The Rio Novo Bakairí, practically as a whole, adopted
619 the customs of the neighboring Brazilian populations and live
177 independent of the control of the Indian Protection Service.
184 As for the Simões Lopes Indians, although they are quite
[178] acculturated, they still retain many traits of their old culture, they all still speak Bakairí, and some of them still remember the time when they lived in Xinguano aldeas, and make good informants.

114 As for the authors who have dealt with the Bakairí, we shall note among the best, Capistrano de Abreu and Karl von den Steinen. The former left us valuable information on the Bakairí language and on the beliefs of these Indians. The only weakness of his material is that it is based on only one

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114 informant. (3) Karl von den Steinen, on the other hand,

[113] 3. Capistrano de Abreu, "Os Bacaerys /The Bacairi/," Revista Brasileira, Year I, Volumes 3 and 4, Rio de Janeiro, 1895.

worked with several informants, and, what is more important in our opinion, personally visited Bakairí aldeas, (4) which

[113] 4. Karl von den Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien /Through Central Brazil/, Leipzig, 1886; Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens /Among the Central Brazilian Primitive Peoples/, Berlin, 1894.

[127] Capistrano did not do. These documents, studied comparatively, permit us /261/ to support the conclusions we expect to reach on Bakairí beliefs and customs.

197 The Bakairí belong to the Karaib /Carib/ linguistic
361 family. Their old aldeas consisted of large communal houses,
[342] ellipsoidal in form, around a square. In each house there
[592] lived from two to five families. In the center of the aldea
[344] there was a house, kadoeti, where the ceremonial adornments of the men were kept and where visitors were lodged. Access to the kadoeti was open not only to the men but to women
[346] and children as well. Attached to the kadoeti was a small
[534] house, its entrance turned to the rising sun, where the flutes, buzzers or bull-roarer, and other sacred objects were kept.
[784] Access to this latter house was forbidden to women and children.

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about three centimeters square made of tree bark. After the seclusion boys and girls were eligible for /264/ marriage. Marriage, todohokûinle, was joined by the parents of the young people by means of an exchange of gifts, and it does not seem to have merited any special ceremony.

The Bakairí do not seem to have believed in the possibility of a natural death. After death, which was always caused by the sorcery of some enemy, the corpse was painted and attired in the finery used in life. The corpse was rolled up in the hammock used by the deceased, and buried with the head pointing west and the feet east. There followed a mourning period, during which the closer relatives remained uanki and from which they emerged through the tadaunúto feast.

The world of the Bakairí was surrounded by supernatural beings, good and evil, such as the iamũra, topiehe, karoui, kadopa, and kilaimo. (5) Plants and animals were nothing but

5. Capistrano de Abeu, "Os Bacaerys," Revista Brasileira, Year I, Vol. 4, pp. 44, 45, 47, 48, 234, 240, 241. Rio de Janeiro, 1895.

drapery used by the iamura and kadopa. Hunting, fishing, and agricultural activities thus had to be accompanied by propitiatory activities intended to appease the anger of the iamũra deprived of their animals and plants. On the other hand, karoui and kilaimo wandered through the forest menacing the Bakairí. Against such beings the Indians required the protection of their sorcerer-doctors as well as periods of seclusion in the most dangerous moments.

The Bakairí believed that men had two souls: one called kati or kutulu, heavier and thicker, corresponding to a camisa worn by the second soul, kagatopuri, a more fluid element that

/265 cont./

775 789 539 When finished, one gives a benediction... saying: Aufa! Go inside the sky, to our people, to our mother, to our father, here there is no one, inside the sky it is good, go, we also are going to pass away, it is said, the piahi teaches." (8)

8. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 44.

776 [775] In Nakoeri's aldea, the kadopa change into iamüra. But the iamüra also wander on the earth using the bodies of animals. Although their behavior was not intentionally malignant, the Bakairí had to take precautions when they went hunting or fishing or when they planted. On killing game or fish, the Indians left certain offerings for the iamüra portrayed by these animals. (9)

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9. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 49.

776 756 By means of certain rituals a Bakairí might, while still alive, make contact with the iamüra, acquiring the corresponding powers, and become a sorcerer-doctor.

776 Capistrano de Abreu (10) and Karl von den Steinen (11)

10. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 235, 239, 240.

[113] 11. Karl von den Steinen, Entre os aborígenes do Brasil Central /Among the Aborigines of Central Brazil/, São Paulo, 1940, transl., p. 448.

mention yet other supernatural beings that surrounded the

6:Oberg E-5 (1947)1953 SP7 Bacairi SP.7

[P.136-A]

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●114

Dr. Clauss Dr. K. von den Steinen W. von den Steinen

Dr. Karl von den Steinen and his traveling companions.

Frontispiece.

/vii/

Foreword

114 In September of the year 1883 His Majesty's ship "Marie" safely delivered in Montevideo the German South Polar Expedition returning from the island of South Georgia. While the rest of the members returned home, Dr. Clauss and I remained at La Plata in order to take advantage of the favorable opportunity for a journey of exploration into the interior of South America, together with my cousin, Wilhelm von den Steinen, who was already awaiting us there, as had been arranged.

121 After my initially cherished plan to explore the Rio Pilcomayo was thwarted as a result of the expedition of Herr Thouar, which had just then been successfully completed, we turned our attention to the Schingú /Xingu/, the largest still unknown river of the South American continent, which promised interesting disclosures, especially from an anthropological point of view.

122 The German Minister-Resident in Buenos Aires, Herr Baron von Holleben, supported us in the most active and gracious manner. Through the good offices of the Brazilian Chargé d'Affaires, Herr Cavalcanti Lacerda, the Imperial Ministry was induced to provide us with a military escort.

114 Our trio was not unfavorably constituted for the purpose. Dr. Clauss was a physicist, my cousin a painter. The anthropological-ethnological part of the program fell to me as a physician who had already gathered some experiences from a journey around the world. My cousin had brought along the necessary instruments. He had prepared himself for a few months at the Hamburg Naval Observatory, under the kind supervision of the Privy Admiralty Councilor, Professor Dr. Neumayer; he was also helped by the latter's advice in the selection and procurement of the instruments.

[122] Since the president of the province of Mato Grosso, Herr Baron von Batovy, agreed to our wishes with the greatest readiness, success could not be lacking. Thus, we set out from Cuyabá /Cuiabá/ at the end of May in the year 1884 and reached Pará at the end of October.

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v. d. STEINEN. Durch Central-Brasilien.

F.A. Brockhaus' Geogr.-artist. Anstalt, Leipzig

/108 cont./

122 The supply would not last a month longer, and we were at 14° 13' 6" south latitude; the Schingú sources were supposed to be two degrees of longitude eastward, and hence Melgaço lay perhaps only at 11° south latitude.

ooo /109/ We did some figuring, and we counted our cash; each of us had taken along a few pounds sterling in case we should conceivably land somewhere else on our travels than at the Schingú mouth; our total wealth amounted to about 300 milreis (600 marks). We had the advantage that we were able to choose the best people, and we set great store by this circumstance; for if a few of our traveling companions up to this point belonged to the bad elements of the Mato Grosso garrison, it was also certain that some of the people positively deserved high marks chiefly for the qualities of reliability, skill, and stamina.

Castro willingly agreed to our plans; 12 people were to go home, the sergeant and the cadet at their head; we provisioned them as far as Rosario and gave them two oxen which in any case did not seem to have the ambition to bear the burden of life as far as the Schingú sources.

In Tupy's escort there were the old cavalry hero Januario and the soldier Gabriel from the picket.

• 114 The names of those who went on with us were the following: Clementino, the active butcher-boy and José Maria from the picket, the sergeant Norberto, Israel, Satyr, Quintiliano, Merelles, Irineo, Rufino, Braga, Chico, Manoel, the Corneta, all of Negro, mulatto, or pure Indian descent, except three. Irineo was Paraguayan and spoke the lingoa geral /universal language/.

122 We planned to provision ourselves at the fazenda on the Paranatinga; from there on the mules were to be used only as beasts of burden, and the staff as well as the men were to go on foot.

/129 cont./

money; it would be a /130/ shame to return home without having accomplished anything. We would rather perish with two or three in the sertão than make ourselves ridiculous before the entire country. Anyone who would like to go back is

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Our four "Kameraden."
Antonio. Valentin. Pedro.
Daniel.

free to do so." Then Tupy: We had told him that we no longer had any confidence in him, the commander, therefore -- he

2: Steinen
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SP7 Bacairi SP7

/For a detailed map of the author's journey as outlined in the text of this source, see category 116, pp. 664-684./

/v/

Foreword

914
[576]

ámá! -- you!
úra! -- I!

So runs the simple formula with which people introduce themselves to each other on the Kulisehu, and I would gladly spare the kind reader what follows, if I did not also have to bid him to greet my "younger brothers," my companions on the journey, and, in addition, have a few other things at heart.

[601] For "younger brother" and "cousin" the Indians have one and the same word; thus, their designation truly fits our special artist, Wilhelm von den Steinen of Düsseldorf, in its fullest sense, for, according to our concepts, he is my cousin, to be sure, but he is commonly taken for my younger brother. He rowed down the Schingú /Xingu/ with me as early as 1884.

The second man, Dr. Paul Ehrenreich of Berlin, was likewise no newcomer to Brazil; in Espíritu Santo he had already become closely acquainted with the Botokuden /Botocudo/; after the completion of our joint undertaking, he had traveled the Araguay /Araguaia/ and the Purus and thus today has probably seen more of the interior of the mighty realm than any other German traveler. He is to be thanked for the photographs and the body measurements.

The recording of the route and the astronomical findings, along with geological investigations, were undertaken by Professor Dr. Peter Vogel of Munich. In 1882-83, on the German Polar Expedition to South Georgia, whose deputy leader he was, we two shared the cramped cabin in joy and sorrow for a year; in 1887 he again felt a powerful impulse to set out, and so he was willing to carry on in new territory the work of Dr. Otto Claus, our /vi/ Antarctic colleague and the geographer of the first Schingú expedition.

/46 cont./

ooo Thursday, 8 September, at 10:30 in the morning, we pushed off. Carlos sat in front, Antonio in the rear, I in the middle. A tent that we should have liked to take along had to be left behind because of its weight and exchanged for a lighter /47/ oxhide. In our haste the canoe had turned out very badly and was patchwork from the beginning. Just below me a wax-plastered crack two-thirds of a meter long broke through the bottom of the narrow piece of bark that was supposed to represent a vessel; on the sides, under the lumps of clay pasted there, little streams trickled forth slowly and incessantly, lapping one's feet.

●114 But what did it matter? I was happy. We had the definite prospect of encountering Indians; in our hearts we scarcely doubted that they would be Bakaïrí /Bacairi/. Yet come what may, we three could count on one another. Carlos, carefree, sang the Brazilian popular ballads into the forest with his harsh voice; Antonio was silent, but when I turned around, I would see his honest face beaming with good humor and love of adventure.

ooo The water was calm and almost dead. We passed a few small rapids and sandbanks where we had to climb out and where I was obliged to learn anew how to walk with bare feet over pebbles and rubble. The mighty tree skeletons that lay in the river along the sides, or even bridged and intersected it, formed tedious obstacles; ducking our heads low, we sighed as we crept under the trunks or cut off the obstructing branches. Thicket on land, thicket in the water. But we were at the height of the dry season; the steep bank, which is not visible during the rainy season, loomed up five to eight meters above the surface of the water, laced with the horizontal lines of previous water levels. Thus we also passed by many sandy beaches now exposed, which for the most part were gently sloping and covered with many animal tracks.

/50 cont./

000 carriages, the lighted shops, the bustling crowd, and I gladly returned to my dark river in the primeval forest.

But are they so easily dispensed with, I asked myself in my reverie, these things that dominate and animate our whole world of feeling? One thing, at least, was certain: if the miracle, which did not happen, had happened, and a pair of the most luscious lips had suddenly smiled at me seductively from the bushes -- I would have smoked and graciously asked permission to go on smoking. The best thing, I concluded, seems to be if we are able, in the memory of finer enjoyments, to find quiet happiness in the simplest things; the philosopher of Wiedensahl is right once again: "Contentment is pleasure in things that we do not get."

And yet I would not have exchanged Berlin for the Schingú /Xingu/ simply and solely for the brown beans or the wilderness and river rapids; without a loftier purpose, that is, a hope which is rooted in serious concepts of culture, even the most unspoiled nature would very soon become intolerable. It is odd enough
[121] that our like should come over from Germany and perhaps risk his precious life here -- in order to look for the home of the Karaiben /Caribs/! "What is Hecuba to him?" What is Cuyabá and Karáiba to me?

Yet there are problems so puzzling and unfathomable that one is unable to solve them with an empty stomach, and it was fortunate that Carlos at the fire finally shouted his triumphant "pronto." The beans stood ready on the ground, the little bag of farinha /manioc flour/ lay beside them, a remnant of mutung beckoned benevolently from the rammed-in wooden spike -- let the crickets go on chirping in the forest.

114 At 6:30 (10 September 1887) we departed, eager for the things which, according to the indications of yesterday, were
133 to come today. After 20 minutes a river flowed into ours from the right side, a stream as quiet /51/ as it was and only a little narrower. Later it was named for us as the Ponekuru. The predominant direction of the combined waterways was north to northeast, the same as the one that our earlier route had tried to

/53 cont./

123 was assured. Tumayaua, as I now learned from Antonio, had
[609] been no little disconcerted by my call; he had answered that he
was a Bakairí, but that we were not Bakairí. Obligingly, the
good man offered us his canoe, he himself climbed into ours,
and took charge of guiding us. But we chatted no less busily
101 than we rowed. The Bakairí of the Batovy were Tumayaua's
•114 relatives and friends. There was wonderful news about the first
village that we had visited in 1884. The old Indian whom we
at that time had called the "professor" was on his way to the
Paranatinga with a few others! They wanted to pay a new visit
to Antonio and his tribal brothers. Paubaga, the first Bakairí
whom we had greeted on the Batovy on our previous journey,
lived at the moment in Tumayaua's community, and a strange
coincidence thus decreed that we were to see him again likewise
131 in the very first village of the Kulisehu. Were we really on the
103 Kulisehu? Yes, the river was called Kulisehu, Kulisêu, or
Kulihêu, since "h" and "s" are interchangeable in Bakairí, and
all the tribes that we were looking for apparently also lived
on its shores.

133 Cachoeiras, however, interrupted the conversation. We
had set out at 12:00; after half an hour there came a low rock-
cachoeira 60 meters long, through which we laboriously wound
our way; then shortly after 1:00 No. 4 of this day's series, where
we had to unload and stop for half an hour. At 2:45 we came
to the fifth and last, which poured over the boulders in a mighty
122 surge. Here, however, the pilot went on strike against going
any farther in our canoe, which was succumbing to acute
dropsy. We took him aboard as a fourth and left the corpse to
its fate. Tumayaua, we had to acknowledge approvingly, had
truly come our way at a good time; it is highly improbable that
we three with our baggage and without knowing the way would
have reached the village through the final cachoeiras in the
miserable canoe that could no longer carry the single Indian.
Certainly we would not have reached this goal today. At 3:15
we landed on the left bank; we were in the "harbor."

/55 cont./

B 101 131 34

On the very first evening I obtained a fairly clear conception of the Kulisehu dwellers whom we might see. There were three Bakairi villages; they were supposed to be followed by a village of the "Nahuqui," two villages of the "Minaki," a village of the "Aurit," a village of the "Tailapiti," and on the "Kuluene" a village of the "Trumai." Between the Kulisehu and the Tamitanala-Batovy, the "Kamayuli" and the "Waurá" were said to be living. The meaning of the river name "Kuluene," which I now heard for the first time, remained uncertain. Only gradually did I come to understand that it is the chief river in the east, larger than the Kulisehu which empties into it. Thus the river that we had seen in 1884 flowing in from the southeast at Schingú-Kobiene /Xingu-Cobiene/ was not actually the "Kulisehu," as we had understood at that time and had believed up to now, but rather the combined Kuluene-Kulisehu; the name "Kuluene" was retained for the Schingú itself below the large fork, so that the Suyá, for instance, lived on the Kuluene. If one wished to go by the nomenclature of the natives, one would have to use the name "Kuluene" instead of "Schingú" and now say that the Kuluene first receives the Kulisehu and then, at "Kobiene," the Ronuro along with the Tamitanala-Batovy.

B 103 153 114

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It was a difficult piece of work to get these statements from the Bakairi; there was much drawing in the sand, much pantomime carried on, and, if a section of the route remained obscure, they always began again from the beginning. For the time being I knew enough: the individual tribes apparently did not live very far apart, at most a journey of three days. I was also given some bad news, and I confess that for me it spoiled the hitherto very pleasant memory of the first expedition: when the Trumaí /16/ at that time at Kobiene had dashed away from us in their flight, and our soldiers had pursued them in order to recover some of the objects that they had taken along in spite of their name, a Trumaí had been killed, as I now learned, in the foolhardy shooting that the men had permitted themselves and that allegedly was only aimed into the air. We could therefore hardly count on a cordial welcome there.

B 101 T 114

/56 cont./

122 On the following day, 11 September 1887, I sent Antonio
[439] and Carlos back to Independencia with the news. In exchange for a bush knife I had acquired one of the two canoes that the Bakairí possessed. I myself wanted to remain behind to have a new canoe made and, for the sake of my studies, to take advantage of the rare opportunity to stay alone among these chil-
[340] dren of nature. I heard that in the second Bakairí village lying downstream there were three canoes and we could perhaps obtain two of them. While a good rancho was to be built for those remaining behind at our permanent quarters, one or two men who were now to be fetched by Antonio and Carlos were to ride with me to the second Bakairí village; there we could complete our outfitting and then, if all went well, row back to Independencia with four canoes, in order finally to commence the actual river journey. Moreover, to save time, Antonio and Carlos were to leave their canoe at the first large cachoeira and find Independencia overland. Thus, along with the experiences gained in the meantime by the gentlemen at Independencia, the terrain would be thoroughly explored and the question settled as to whether the permanent quarters could not be pushed forward closer to the first Bakairí village.

123 After I had brought the two worthies to the harbor and they had soon disappeared in the nearest bend of the river, I returned to my new friends and soon felt so comfortable in their midst that without hesitation I count those idyllic days among the
[121] happiest that I have experienced. I shall try to do them justice in a little sketch; this will give me the opportunity to report many little traits of the good people which could not be put in a purely scientific report, but which nevertheless are not without value, because they reveal the Indians to us not wholly as we are accustomed to imagine them. Not a little of this disappeared when the larger group arrived later; the complete unconcern which they showed toward me as a single individual did not remain, and their behavior more closely resembled the well-
● 124 known persons customarily described in books. And here I
159 should immediately like to enter a protest, with regard to my

/56 cont./

114 Bakairí, against such views about their characteristics as are
157 found, typically expressed, in the following sentences by Oscar Peschel (Abhandlungen zur Erde- und Völkerkunde /Essays on Geography and Ethnology/, Leipzig, 1877, Vol. I, p. 421): "In no other continent on earth did one hear less happy laughter before 1492 than in America. The so-called red man remains the same in all climates, /57/ everywhere he is gloomy, silent, withdrawn, and intent on a certain dignified bearing."

159 These assertions are in no way applicable to the Bakairí; they were gay, talkative, and trustful, as I observed them in their association with one another and as they acted toward me alone. I shall not fail to give examples of this. In this village I laughed and heard laughter almost as often as under the coconut palms of Samoa and Tonga. It is true, their temperament is less vivacious and their entire view of life less sunny than among the children of the South Seas, the girls do not dance in the moonlight and the men do not sing on canoe trips, shyness and mistrust are more easily aroused, but all this is a long way from the sadness and reserve which, like the black horsehair and the Mongolian eyes, are summarily attributed to the Indian on the basis of appearances, as though there were but a single family between the Bering Strait and the Strait of Magellan.

361 The "village" was very small; it consisted of two large
[342] round houses, in each of which several families lived, and a
[342] small, empty, somewhat dilapidated oblong house, in which I
[122] took up my residence. Between the houses stretched the "tadra,"
[40] an open place where a few racks stood for drying the white
[251] manihoca flour spread out on mats, where in the center lay a
[241] long, slender log for sitting, and, toward the edge, there grew a few stalks of cotton, Orleans bushes (Bixa orellana), and
245 Ricinus plants. Numerous fruit trees were planted all around, bakayuwa palms (Acrocomia), mangaba /fruit of the mangabeira/ (Hancornia speciosa), fruta de lobo (Solanum lycocarpum), and a
[469] sort of avenue of stately piki trees (Caryocar butyrosum). Toward
[32] the east a path led to the "harbor" across the nearby brook, toward
[124]

/74 cont./

226 and sought to drive the fish into them. It was an amusing sight: the girls extremely agile, the men less quick, fat Yapü in particular not at all in his element apparently, much laughing and splashing, in the air a few hovering dragonflies and humming bees without number, on the shore under the tree the busily commenting old Paleko, who leaned with his left hand on a stick and held pressed under his upper arm on the same side the very superfluous stone ax. The fish were called poniũ or poriũ, the jejú of the Brazilians.

482 [122] The bark canoe that I had ordered was ready on September 18: the stone ax had worked slowly, but very neatly. Four men carried the vessel to the river; on their shoulders they had placed rings plaited out of brown bast and with exactly the same appearance as those our market women wear on their heads.

123 [114] I had now been alone with the good Bakaíri for more than a week and I noticed that they were becoming somewhat impatient. They asked far too often when the "younger brothers" were coming. What I had carried with me in the way of valuables was long since in their possession anyway; even my améma ikúto ("figure of the lizard"), a reptile with glass scales and ruby-red eyes, which they had greedily attempted to get belonged to them.

But our good understanding remained the same up to the final hour. If it had been up to me, I would have preferred to [362] spend the entire rainy season with them, although I could not get [122] rid of a sourish taste in my throat from the eternal starchy food 159 and I was also suffering from digestive upsets. My first impressions about the peaceable and sympathetic character of my hosts needed no correction. The elders were wise and solicitous, the young people vigorous and agile, the women industrious and domestic, all of them well-meaning, a little vain, and, with the exception of a few mothers absorbed by their duties, always gay and talkative. All were honest. No one ever took anything of mine, lost things were often brought to me, anything that I had received in trade was always regarded as my property.

/77 cont./

115 157 The various menon detached duty were very different in their usefulness for my purposes. Some tired too quickly, others were too unsteady. Fat, peasant-like Yapü, for example, yawned after a few minutes, andhis face seemed to say, "Sir, you are asking too much," and Lichu, the vain fop, only wanted to amuse himself. Of the youngerones, only the remarkable Kulekule was of any use to me. He was, in fact, taciturn and reserved, but he obviously liked to come, laughed quietly to himself, and then when he opened his mouh to speak, he answered better than the rest. He had received biads from me for a pot, but he had to give them up; I presented him with new ones and did not accept another pot that he brought me. He was happy about that, gave [123] me a bowl of the insipidpogu drink, and sat down beside me, leaning his head confidently against my shoulder. My most faithful guardian was Paleko; with his long hair sprinkled with gray, his fine old face, he coud very well have been /78/ director ooo emeritus of a Gymnasiun. In fact, we were often reminded of European physiognomies, whose owners would perhaps protest at being compared to a naked Indian. Ehrenreich and I, for example, were jokingly and seriously in complete agreement that we recognized a couple of gntlemen from the Berliner Anthropologischen Gesellschaft on tie Kulisehu; naturally these gentlemen did not resemble the Indians, but the Indians resembled the 123 gentlemen. I was alone with Paleko for half days at a time. Now and then, Eva or my intended or the Egyptian came alone or together, giving the two of us a little company.

461 Paleko plaited danty little baskets, repaired weirs, twisted twine out of palm fibers, and did whatever else there was 126 in the way of such light tsks requiring patience. He gave me not 191 only words and sentencesfrom his mother tongue, but also a list of Nahuquá words, whichproved that he had associated a great deal • 184 with these neighbors. Heput less value on learning my language than the young people di. I would rather have given them German words instead of the Portuguese, but I regarded it as my duty not to confuse the poor souls or the future. Since my knowledge of Bakaïrí was still very meger, I progressed but slowly.

Y /127 cont./
531 upper end of the handle, which was thrust through the small
534 gourd, and in the case of one of them the gourd was replaced
237 by the shell of a young turtle.

Y 123 The Nahuquá let us take them across the river. The Auetö,
A too, often made demands on us. They found it decidedly con-
123 venient that we were always at their disposal with our canoes.

A The Auetö, however, were also excellent swimmers. Children
526 who reached to their father's knees paddled about freely and happily in the Kulisehu. We denied the trip to one young man who from the other side shouted in Auetö, "ferryman ahoy"; it was a pleasure to see how elegantly he crossed the river, his left hand stretched up high and holding hammock and bow.

A The farewell was difficult for us, much as we longed to get
123 away from the dirty and unhealthy campsite. Vogel and Perrot had returned from their trip on 29 October; on 30 October we worked busily and packed up the collection. Perrot made another trip to the Auetö village and bade a tender farewell;
A [553] the women brought him their children and a little girl was given the name "Perro"; for all this love he of course had to show his appreciation in beads, and a young mother whose two children had received gifts from him called his attention, with lively gestures, to the fact that he should also remember a third that was in prospect.

000 VIII. Return to Independencia.

Vogel's trip to Schingú-Koblenz. Off from the Auetö harbor. Visiting the villages. Accompanied by Indians. Rhenish carnival on the Kulisehu. Farewell scene in Maigéri. The mountain trip: rowing. Suffering. Fever. Independencia: day of rest. Solemn farewell from the Bakairí.

B
133 The excursion of Vogel and Perrot clarified the relationship
[103] between the Kulisehu and Kuluëne. Auayato, the Auetö chief,
[114] had accompanied them. They were absent from the harbor from 11:45, 24 October, to 7:00 in the evening, 29 October, and were able to make headway easily, since they carried no luggage.

/209 cont./

*171 Category B could probably be considerably enlarged. It
24 depended on the need. The fruit trees under this were planted
245 with great care. I have mentioned that in the first Bakaïrí village there was a sort of avenue of pikí trees; the Nahuquá cultivated this species with great enthusiasm. The mangabas were popular and thrive especially well among the Bakaïrí, among the Kamayurá, and in particular, as was reported to me, among the Waurá, so that the Trumaí word "waurarú" seems to mean simply the Waurá fruit. The fruta de lobo was less fre-
*171 quently found near the village. Then, however, plants which
249 they needed in any way for their implements and weapons were set out as required, if they did not occur in the vicinity of the
[302] village. Thus they transplanted near the village the spear grass
[824] growing in swampy soil, with which they shaved themselves,
[248] the bast plants that /210/ furnished them thread, occasionally perhaps also the sapé grass with which the houses were covered. Most interesting, however, it seems to me, is the assurance that they planted the ubá arrow reed in larger quantities on the Batovy, so as not to have to fetch it from distant places.

Besides casual inclinations and knowledge of management, the nature of the soil apparently played an important role.
[276] Tobacco grew excellently among the Suyá and the Auetó and
000 was commonly smoked by the men, except in the first Bakaïrí village on the Batovy.* It plays an important part in medical

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[113]

* This circumstance may have occasioned H. v. Ihering to say: "v. d. Steinen missed tobacco among the Bakaïrí of the Upper Schingú just as completely as bananas or metals" [Zeitschrift f. Ethnologie, 1893, p. 195]. I describe, cf. Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, p. 173 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 55/, for Village III of the Batovy-Bakaïrí, the real part played by smoking, as the discoverers of the

/210 cont./

•114 276 [177] Antilles found it. On the other hand, I share the opinion of v. Ihering, which I often expressed in lectures before I read his article, that the pipe in Brazil is of modern origin. Like the fishhook.

*171 276 757 773 It plays an important part in medical treatment and is regarded as a very ancient acquisition of the culture heroes, who, as legend indicates, received it from the north. The drinking bowls and calabashes, especially the Cucurbita lagenaria, represented a major product for the

*171 249 [248] [302] Nahuquá, a somewhat lesser one for the Bakaïrí. The Mehinakú and the Bakaïrí had the best cotton. The orlean bush was valued above all by the Bakaïrí, the Mehinakú neglected it completely because watering it made too much work; the surprising circumstance upon my arrival in the village, namely, that no red-painted, but many black-painted figures were walking about, finds a very natural explanation.

*171 241 Maize, represented among the Suyá by a species characterized by smallness of ears and a golden color of the kernels, and mandioca were found everywhere, but the latter was planted in decidedly greater amounts among the Mehinakú. They were the richest farmers of the upper Schingú; their word for mandioca was also adopted by the Trumaí. Of tuber plants, besides mandioca, we saw yams of two kinds and batatas, which we first found in quantities among the Mehinakú. Our men designated beans as "feijaõ de vara," pole beans, or as "feijão de roça," plantation beans. Of edible gourds, abóbora /Abobra/, we saw only the seeds which the Suya brought us in 1884 for eating, so we understood. The mandubi peanut occurred in a small species. There were definitely no guavas or bananas on the Schingú.

*171 174 241 In my report about the first journey I pointed out the absence of bananas and especially stressed that for the question as to whether or not the banana was introduced in America only after the arrival of the Europeans this must be all the more decisive since the different Schingú tribes are of different origin and yet not a single one brought along the banana from the previous

[i.e., The Tobacco -- Analyst]

/210 cont./

*171 174 241 place of habitation. After the experiences of the second expedition I can only find my opinion confirmed. This time we also met true Tupí who did not have bananas. Among the Kamayurá I sought in vain for the /211/ word "pakóba," which the lingoa geral has for banana; they were unfamiliar with it. I gladly withdraw the suggestion that this word might be derived from the Portuguese; I no longer set any store by arbitrary etymology; today, more than at that time, however, I must lay much greater stress on the fact that among the individual tribes the names for banana do not conform to the linguistic derivation, but to fortuitous, local distribution. This is without precedent for the other useful plants. What is more, none of the first [824] discoverers mentions the banana, and the Aruak of the coast and the Island Karaiben reproduce the Spanish word "platano" so unmistakably in their "prättane" and "balatanna" that there is absolutely no doubt about the agreement; finally, if we fully appreciate the fact that in a lost corner we find representatives of all the large linguistic families with the most excellent names for all the cultivated plants, but without banana, that a splinter group of one of these tribes, and one associating with Europeans, the docile Bakaïrí, do have the banana and in their language, otherwise kept absolutely pure, simply call it "banana" (just like the Paressí, by the way), I believe that this proof is as forceful as negative proof can ever be. [114] Humboldt and Martius let themselves be persuaded by the fact that they found the banana everywhere among the Indians, but this basis for their view has now become untenable, and the experiences of linguistics, as well as the actual absence of the banana in the entire region of the upper Schingú, undoubtedly justify the opinion of the botanist, Alphonse de Candolle, that the banana was introduced into South America, though probably very soon after the appearance of Europeans.

*171 174 241 824 It is worthwhile, for a better evaluation of the linguistic methods of proof, to give an example. Let us consider the words for "pepper" among I, the Nu-Aruak, II, the Karaiben, and III, the Tupí.

/258 cont./

531 that one could not expect delicate lines in these fresco daubings.
825 When I sought to enlarge my word list with the names of the decorations, I was surprised to hear several fish names familiar to me, whereupon I went to the heart of the matter. For each design I was given the name of a concrete original, and the more we concerned ourselves with the decorations on household utensils here and among the other tribes, the more we discovered that there was the same procedure everywhere. Ehrenreich then pursued the problem [114] further among the Araguay /Araguaia/ Indians and there, to my delight, found only confirmation.

On the two plates 20 and 21 /see pp. 280-281/, Bakaïrí ornamentation I and II, which give characteristic samples of all the bark pieces, we see first of all in Numbers 14 and 15* two

* On Plate 21, as the result of an oversight, the numbers 14 and 15 occur twice.

well-drawn fish, the frequently mentioned, favorite fish of the Bakaïrí, the matrincham, and the many-boned kurimatá, /259/ Salmo curimatá. They are painted on with reference to the entire surface. The noróku ikúto, "picture of the matrincham," was set down with positive elegance and dash. Next to it, in No. 13, we have an ulúri ikúto, a picture of the woman's triangle. And in this manner each decoration was said to be an ikúto. Sometimes individual ones are set apart by short vertical lines; cf. 3 and 4 or 7 and 8 on plate I /see p. 280/. Only a single picture is taken from the vegetable kingdom, No. 17. It represents the leaves of [824] a small, "cabbage" yielding forest palm, yemariáli, a word that means hand-leaf. We see a number of twin pinnae pointing alternately up and down and arranged exactly like the uluris in No. 16; to us the figure gives the impression of a plaiting design.

Our attempts at interpretation, however, would soon come to grief. We observe among the decorations some in which the natural skin markings of an animal are reproduced, some in which the outlines of the animal are drawn, and some in which both are combined. No. 6 has the dotted and spotted markings of a sheatfish, schurúi, whose spotted skin has given rise to the Portuguese name

/278 cont./

285 532 Straw figures. Anyone who still feels confident about always being able to interpret the pictures and figures of the Indians I should have liked to have had beside me in the hut of the Bakaïrí which contains the large frieze, not so much because of the painted decorations, as because of a plaited design above the door. When the master of the house had explained the pictures to us, he led us to /279/ this door, as though he wanted to say: "Now here I have another little work of art." There was a plaiting made out of thin, black twigs lying crosswise and yellow straw stretched vertically. One saw two rows of squares between three rods, divided alternately in a diagonal direction from top left to bottom right and from top right to bottom left in such a way that each of them was made up of a black triangle of twigs and a yellow triangle of straw. The Bakaïrí explained these triangles as "swallow feathers," "tårïga yuchúto." The

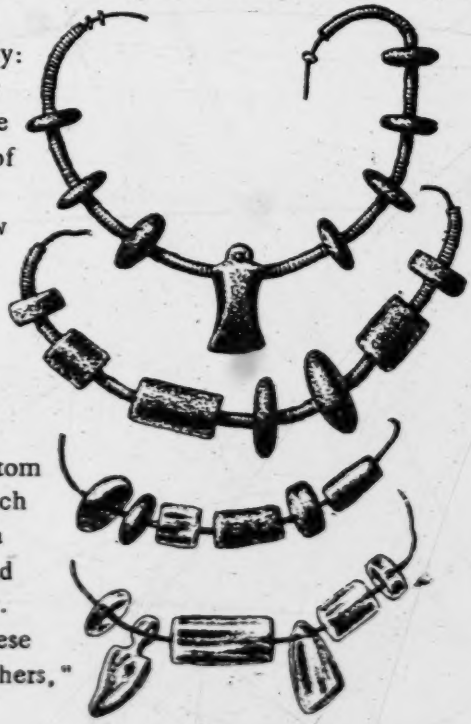

Fig. 64. Small chain-figures. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

tårïga is a black and yellow swallow,* while the ïri is black and white.

* Erroneously described as half black, half "white" in my book, Die Bakaïrí-Sprache /The Bakaïrí Language/, p. 39.

Apparently the yellow triangles of the design represented the wings. It is by no means a matter of a casual design, for neither its special

2: Steinen--338 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/295 cont./

ooo Auetö as the inventors of the woven mask and the mereschu ornamentation. III. Other festival apparatus. Kamayurá dances. Dance clubs. Ornamental whorl, etc. Musical instruments. Whizzer sticks. Feather ornaments. Diadems. Games of the young people.

"The artifacts of the Stone Age are simple and fashioned only for the satisfaction of the most essential needs. With the art of shaping metals, the feeling for ornamentation and adornment is awakened." Thus writes O. Schrader in his excellent book, Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte /Language Comparison and Prehistory/ (p. 215), and something like that could have been written only by a distinguished philologist to whom it does not occur that such judgments, even when they refer to Indo-European prehistoric peoples, must be tested in the modern museum of ethnology. That passage has about the same value as one to the effect that man began to establish traditions when he learned to write. Though it is true that the satisfaction of the most essential needs is older than the development of the feeling for ornamentation and adornment, nevertheless even primitive peoples, without metal developed this to the full extent of their means; in fact, one may very well argue that, quite the contrary, it might often have awakened -- and could awaken because it was already highly developed -- the interest
*171 in metals in the first place. In the chapter on ornamental draw-
● 114 ing and plastic art, I believe I have proved in detail what I
18 stated about our Indians in a preliminary report presented to the
[113] Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin /Geographical Society of Berlin/ (Verhandlungen, 1888, p. 386): "They have a positive mania for painting all implements, a passion for crafts," and I must now complete the evidence for the festival days when man quite consciously feels elevated above the satisfaction of the most essential needs and puts all his skill into the service of the art of adorning himself.

/298 cont./

171 345 535 562 Furthermore, however, it is easily understandable that the women are strictly excluded from the ceremonious dances and may not enter the flute house, the house of the men where foreign visitors are welcomed and entertained. It is probably in this sense that one should interpret the strange masquerade which we experienced in the second Bakaïrí village, when the food and drink for our flute-house band was fetched by a masked Indian of the first village from the women, who would not have been permitted to bring it. Cf. page 63. Behind the jest lay the

●[114]

* At that place there is a sentence which was left in by mistake and which contains an idea long since given up by me -- the final sentence that there is perhaps a connection with the custom of eating alone. /The sentence referred to, which was omitted in the translation in accordance with the corrections listed on p. 571, reads as follows. Perhaps there is a connection between the custom of being veiled when one brings his gift of hospitality and the custom of eating alone, against which one cannot transgress without arousing the sense of shame of the others./

serious motive that strangers and women should be limited in their intercourse. The Mohammedan takes the opposite course, in that he masks his women and shuts them up in special chambers.

*171 535 562 In the origin of the dance itself, moreover, there is a fundamental reason against the participation of the female sex. These are "unfeminine" pleasures which have developed from hunters festivals. Nevertheless, there seem to be distinctions. The women never take part in the big festivals, the Bakaïrí said, but in the small ones they do. they are also said to dance by themselves occasionally, without men. The Suyá, however, seem to think otherwise. at any rate, the Bakaïrí expressed themselves very contemptuously about the misbehavior there, "men danced with women." Perhaps it is advisable to point out,

/372 cont./

128 Here I shall try to relate their content, which, to be understood,
539 requires the essential supplements furnished by Antonio. They themselves consist of very short sentences and have an extremely terse form of expression.

539 The parents of Keri and Kame. The first part of the legend takes place in heaven. Almost everything that is now on earth existed at that time. Nothing is reported about an actual creation; it is only told how the heroes Keri and Kame acquire all kinds of good and important things from others. There were always Bakaïrí present, though "at the beginning /373/ only a few." There were also people of other tribal affiliations, especially the various jaguars and their relatives, who killed and devoured many Bakaïrí. For example, Kamuschini, with whom the story begins, was also "of another people."

Kamuschini, when he was looking for leaves of the tucum palm in the forest in order to provide himself with cord for bowstrings, met the jaguar Oka, was afraid of him, and promised to make women for him if he would spare him. First he felled trees with red wood (sewéti), took the blocks home, set them in a maize mortar, blew on them, and withdrew for a while. When he returned, however, they had all turned into men who were carving arrows! He killed them, went out again and with a stone axe felled five or six other trees, proceeded with them as with the first, and, after he had left the ones blown upon to themselves for a while, found that this time they had become women. They all said "Papa" to him and, with the exception of the last ones who sat there lazily and whom he therefore angrily killed at once,* they were busily pounding maize -- "it is said that there

* For five of them I was given the names Nimagakaniro, Atanumagale, Ichoge, Koyaka, and Tawagüri. In Bakaïrí-Grammatik, p. 226, I erroneously said that Kamuschini felled five pikí trees, and besides that I was guilty of accusing Kamuschini of an error. He first felled two pikí trees, from which came

[114]

/217/

The Bacaeris

000 /218/ Study published in the Revista Brasileira, Year 1, Vols. III and IV, 1895.

101 /219/ The Bacaeris

The Bacaeris /Bacairi/ are Indians who inhabit the headwaters of the Tapajoz /Tapajós/ and the Xingú in Mato Grosso. Their name, which first appears in the logbooks of the bandeirantes /members of armed bands/ of the early eighteenth century, is later found repeatedly in travel accounts, scholarly works, and newspaper items. Since 1884/85 they have attracted the interest of the scientific world, which they fully deserve on account of the language that they speak, the ethnographic group to which they belong, the characteristic customs that they retain, and the dual aspect that they present, already subdued along the Tapajoz, still completely savage along the Xingú.

114 It was Dr. Carlos von den Steinen--assisted by our government, which put at their disposal a military school between Cuyabá /Cuiabá/ and the lower Xingú and defended the expedition between those two points--who, by studying them, opened what may be called without exaggeration a new era for our native ethnography. The results of this expedition may be summarized in a few lines (1).

[113] 1. Durch Zentral Brasilien /Through Central Brazil; see 1:Steinen, this file/, Leipzig, 1886.

114 101 First of all, he delimited the rather vague concept of "Cariba" /Carib/, a designation which, as the German traveler states so well, was given by the Europeans to all kinds of Indians

114 /219 cont./
101 and by the Indians to all kinds of Europeans. Since the time of D'Orbigny and Martius there has been a tendency to identify /220/ them with the Tupis. Baptista Caetano, inclined to-
[197] ward the same view, stressed as the principal basis for it the impure character of the idiom spoken by the Caribas, denying Hervas' contention that it was one of the four principal ones of South America.

114 "In my opinion," he wrote, "Kariba is not and could not
197 be a mother language. According to a study which I undertook (and which I regrettably could not carry further), it looks to me like an extraordinary mixture of several dialects of diverse origins; it is a veritable jargon, amalgamated from various dialects, which sometimes offers several phrases with different radicals and words in order to express the same thing, and sometimes a total lack of designations for other things. It is so confused that it can only be compared to what is heard in certain circles in Rio de Janeiro, where during a conversation in Portuguese one hears at the same time a phrase in English, another in Italian, a bit of Spanish or German, and all this more or less basted with Gallicisms." (Introduction to the second edition of Arte de grammatica da lingua... Kiriri /Nature of the grammar of the language... Kiriri (Cariri)/, by Luiz Vicenzio Mamiani, Rio, 1877, p. XII.)

197 This, which is accurate with regard to the Island Caribas, whom we know through Breton's works (2), does not apply.

[113] 2. Cf. Du parler des hommes et du parler des femmes dans la langue caraïbe /On men's speech and women's speech in the Carib language/, by Lucien Adam, Paris, 1879.

/220 cont./

197 however, to the language of the Bacaeris, which seems pure, nor, for example, to the Cumanagotas /Cumanagoto/ and Chaymas /Chaima/ of Venezuela and Colombia, belonging to the same group, for which there have been printed grammars and texts since 1683.

114 /221/ The second result was the finding of Cariba tribes
101 south of the Amazon, when those that were known had been found only north of the great river, such as the Crixanás /Crichana/, Macuxis /Macusi/, and others. Directly afterward, it was proved that these were not the only ones: between the S. Francisco and Parnahiba /Parnaíba/ rivers, Martius recorded a short glossary of the language of the Pimenteiras, who proved to be Caribas; the Palmelas /Palmella/, too, with whom Dr. Severiano da Fonseca dealt on the Guaporé, were Caribas; more Caribas were found later by Dr. von den Steinen himself on one of the tributaries of the Xingú, the Culisewi, and by Dr. Paulo Ehrenreich on the lower Tocantins, where they are called Apiacás.

114 A more detailed knowledge of the purely Cariba languages
174 and the existence of tribes that spoke them south of the
197 Amazon raised the question: might it not have been from south of the Amazon toward the Caribbean Sea that the migrations of these tribes took place--rather than the opposite, as was accepted until then? Almost simultaneously this was answered in the affirmative by Dr. Carlos von den Steinen and by Sr. Lucien Adam, who from 1882 on published various glossaries by Crevaux, among which were some Cariba ones.

114 In order to study the subject better, Dr. Carlos von den Steinen went a second time, in 1888 and, again assisted by our government, explored the Pakunera and Culisewi rivers down to their mouth: in the Culuéne, the easternmost of the headwaters of the Xingú.

/222/ Two books resulted from this journey: a monograph on the language of the Bacaeris (3), published in 1892; and the

114 [113] /222 cont./

3. Die Bakairi Sprache /The Bacairi Language/. Leipzig, 1892.

account published in 1894, the richly illustrated, brilliantly written, forcefully conceived volume in which are discussed the main subjects of the primitive history of mankind, to sum up in a word, the richest modern contribution on all that touches upon our aborigines (4).

[113]

4. Unter den Naturvoelkern Zentral-Braziliens /Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil; see 2:Steinen, this file/. Berlin, 1894.

114 115 At the same time that Dr. Steinen's book on the language appeared, a Bacaeri was here, brought from the Paranatinga by Dr. Oscar de Miranda when he completed his difficult journey down that river to the Amazon. With this Indian, the author of these lines was able to study the German scholar's book word by word, and I cannot find words enough to express the admiration that was aroused in me by the exactitude of the phonetic transcription, the sharpness with which the grammatical forms had been discerned, and the thoroughness with which everything usable in the materials collected had been picked out. If the comparison be permitted in a country that boasts of being primarily agricultural, it might be said that his sugar mill, like one of the gigantic rollers in use today, squeezed out all the cane juice, leaving only the bagasse.

From that Indian, called Irineu, who will be designated with the initial "I," many texts were gathered--legends, descriptions, traditions. The present /223/ work aims at a partial presentation of this harvest. Based on the book by Dr. Steinen, whose system of phonetic transcription is adopted

12 114

/223 cont./

121 114 with slight variations, it is nevertheless more than a mere summary, for at several points our opinions differ, while at others heretofore unknown facts appear for the first time. This concerning the linguistic part, the subject of this first chapter. The divergence is even greater in the points that follow, which are based exclusively on what Irineu related.

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I

The Language of the Bacaeris

197

133 103 The language of the Bacaeris (kxura itano, tohi itano, that is, language of people, exactly like abá ñeẽ, the language of the Tupis) is spoken on the Rio Novo (Yemeriri), a tributary of the Arinos; on the Paranatinga (Pakunéra), a tributary of the Tapajoz; on the Tamitatoala, one of the headwaters of the Xingú, called Batovi by the Germans in honor of the baron of the same name, president of Mato Grosso in 1884, the time of the first expedition; on the Culisewi, a tributary of the Culuene, also a headwater (the easternmost one) of the Xingú. On the Oronuro, the westernmost headwater, there are no Indians who speak this language. From an examination of the vocabularies and the grammatical forms, it was proved that the Bacaeris belong to the Carahiba or Cariba group.

194 Of the letters of our alphabet, F is found in only one word, possibly onomatopoeic, which precedes incantations: aúfá, perhaps an imitation of the blowing out of smoke. V is rare, and in any case it is not pronounced as it generally is in Rio de Janeiro, but rather seems to be bilabial. R is always soft, that is, to use the description by Gonçalves Vianna, "the air is expelled at one time, without interruption, as in caro /'dear' in Port./, and not intermittently, in successive contacts, more or less repeated, /225/ resulting from the vibration imparted by the active organ, as in carro /'cart' in Port./." G is slightly velar, and to differentiate it from ours

/235 cont./

193 [114] That the substantives have a plural has been contested; just recently, Sr. Lucien Adam maintained "that the Bakairi is the only one of the adequately known (Carib) dialects in which distinctions of number are not expressed by any suffix" /translated from the French/ (5); nevertheless they do exist

[113]

5. Matériaux pour servir à l'établissement d'une grammaire comparée des dialectes de la famille caribe /Materials to serve for setting up a comparative grammar of the dialects of the Carib family/, Paris, 1893, a book of extraordinary value for the study of difficult problems.

and there are no fewer than three endings which indicate plural. The first is modo: aʔaetiño, "ancient," aʔaetiño-modo, "ancients." The second one is mo: pekodo, "woman," pekodómo, "women." The third one is do: idamu, "his grandfather," idamudo, "his grandfathers." Let it be noted, however, that the Bacaeris, although they have a fine verb with which to count (imperative, çapoʔeʔa), do not count beyond three, and thus numbers are of little importance to them. Let it be noted further that the word idanára means both "all" and "entire"; in /236/ other words, in their minds the concepts of plurality and totality have not been differentiated, resulting in many words, principally ending in do, in which the concept of plural does not exist, for example, yunu, "his blood," yunudo, "his people"--that is, "his bloods."

There is little to be said concerning gender.

There are words which may be called masculine, such as uʔurodo, "man," or feminine, such as arekʔuma, "hen." The sole vestige of grammatical gender, however, is found in the demonstratives: mâka, miâka, mera, êra, inara are used

/243/

193 The verbs in rahi and tahi are governed by these two paradigms as far as the affixes postposed to the radical and indicative of tense are concerned; the paradigm for eyatu, "to will," is used for the verbs which may be called unitransitive, either because they are reflexive and the action is communicated only to the subject performing it--identity of subject and object--or because, aside from the complement of thing they demand one of person, and while the former is expressed by incorporation in the radical, the latter, the only one which could change, is expressed by the facaeris separately from the radical of the verb.

The case of the multi-transitive verbs is complex, and demands the study of what the Jesuit grammarians--in spite of the defective method which led them to apply the standards of Latin to the idioms of the New World--minds of unusual linguistic discernment and insight, called transitions /transições/ in connection with the abã-ñcã.

Taking the radical çatõ (Bak. Sprache, 165), we find that çatõ-he is one of the indicative presents and means "I cut, you cut, he cuts, we cut, you cut, they cut." This is sufficient to show how right Steinen is when he considers it a grammatical myth to say that in the Cariba languages ç represents the first person pronoun. (B. Sp., 281/291).

If, however, we wish to say, "you cut me," we shall have i-atõhe, which also means "he cuts me." If we wish to say, "I cut you," we shall have a-tõ-he, which also means "he cuts you" or "he cut you." If we say ka-atõhe, it may mean either "you cut us" or "he cuts us," which leads one to conclude that the /244/ ç in çatõ-he corresponds to the object in the third person, and that çatõhe means "I, you, he, we, you, or they cut it." This is indeed the case, which certainly does not favor Steinen, when, in his admirable endeavor to reconstruct the primitive Cariba (Karaïbische Grundsprache) spoken by the various tribes before their separation, he classifies the ç, with its many phonetic variations, as a verb radical.

[114]

[Text cont.]

193 To go on to the other pronouns, we find in [illegible] the following forms: kga-a-ati-k, ma-a-ati-k, i-a-ati-k, kgi-a-ati-k. We have already learned with respect to [illegible] that kg-, m-, i-, kgi- mean respectively "I," "you," "he," "we"; since kaaatiik, however, does not simply mean "I cut," but "I cut it," would it be rash to conclude that in these forms a represents the object in the third person? No, indeed, for if we wish to say "you or he cut me," we have iatiik, in which there is no a; "I, he, or we cut you," atiik; "you or he cut us," kaatiik, in which there is no a either.

In summarizing these facts, we arrive at the following results:

1. In multi-transitive verbs, the pronoun in kg or ci may undergo only four modifications, since there are that number of possible personal objects which can be added to the verb radical, preceding it;

2. In the pronoun in ki-k, ki-k, wi-k, or simply ik, when the object is in the third person, there are four possible modifications, because the character of the language demands in such a case that, aside from the patient pronoun, [illegible] which does not vary, the agent pronoun, which are four in number, be added to the radical, preceding it;

3. In the first and second persons singular and the first person plural, since it is a matter of the person who is speaking or spoken to, persons present, only the objective pronoun is used, and since there are only three, two for the singular [illegible]

Thus the transitions, which we referred to above as possibly adding up to 11, do not add up to more than seven in one case and four in the other; 11 in all, but in different categories.

Thus, after a long detour, we return once more to the pronoun.

(114) With much justification, the Jesuits claim that in the ahi-ati the pronouns belong to two different classes.

/Pali cont./

194 193 "The personal pronouns," says the greatly revered Bagchee Gautam, "are divided into two well characterized orders, namely: the first, of the agent or denominative pronouns, and the second, of the patient or accusative pronouns and of the governed cases. Both of them are prefixed to the verb, in accordance with the most general rule... And when both occur together, the patient one is the one immediately next to the verb" (7).

[113] 7. Annaes de Bibliotheca Nacional, Vol. 8, Rio, 1879.

193 The same is to be observed in the Khasa-Gana. And the patient or objective pronouns are identical to the possessives, which is further proof of how little differentiation there is as yet between verb and substantive, transitive and intransitive verb, in this idiom.

/209 cont./

795 (brazilnut) is killed, pay for them with mingku;--if no payment
796 is made, Tamiko will seize our shadow; Imiga (Cebus?) /210/
797 is the domestic animal that is the creation (of) of Tamiko;
798 if you cut down forest in which Tamiko dwells, pay for it;--
796 work out a place to hold a festival; makanari is payment for
the forest (13);--then, when Tamiko had drunk mingku, he

[114] [115]

13. After he had dictated this passage, I expressed doubts as to whether the dance was the makanari or some other one.

goes far away (14).

[191] [114]

14. Matias Ruiz Blanco notes a variant of the same idea among the Indians of Perijá (Colombia): "When the Indian brings in a deer or wild boar, the woman comes out with a tumuna of the drink that they make out of maize, and she opens the animal's mouth and gives it some to drink out of courtesy so that its soul will tell the others about the good treatment given to it" (Conversión de Perijá, 84, Madrid reprint.).

796 Makanari is the name of one of their festivals, and this would be the proper place to discuss them, if unfortunately, the scanty information that exists concerning this were not deficient, concealing all the ritual and devotional aspect which is its essence. We shall return to it on another occasion.

/283 cont./

75 76 After much wandering, the sky becomes cooler. We are close to the village, says Nakoeri's companion. Then they reach the village of the hornets, and the candidate hears nothing but hornet language: Did you come, my brother? Did you come, my father? Did you come, my uncle? Did you come, my son? the candidate hears, but he sees nothing, because one cannot see through the darkness of the sky.

The bench moves on again, and then, as though awakening, they reach Nakoeri's house and go into it. You wandered much, says Nakoeri,--Yes, I did, Captain, answers the candidate.

After a short while, the candidate says to Nakoeri: Captain, I am going away. Yes, replies Nakoeri. You may go now; you will return again one day.

114 115 77 Let us now interrupt this passage in order to comment upon it.

Dr. Carlos von den Steinen heard from Antonio something which probably referred to Nakoeri; he thought, however, that the story,--naturally poorly developed, since Antonio spoke in Portuguese, which he did not know well, and an Indian only narrates with pleasure and clarity in his native tongue--showed the influence of Christianity. Thus, when Antonio, unable to recall at once the name of the personage who dwelt in the sky, was searching for it in his own mind, the German traveler asked him if it might not be Jesus /266/ Christ.--"Cristo mesmo /Christ himself/," said Antonio, possibly accepting the suggestion (16).

[13] 16. Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral Brasiliens /Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil/, 346 /See 2:Steinen, this file, p. 409/.

/270 cont. /

of a higher order because they come back to life after they have died and return to live among men.

Aside from these three principles, we find unclear figures and concepts, probably vestiges of older ideas.

Dr. C. v. d. Steinen speaks of Kitaino oroiko, which he translates as "devil." I. is not familiar with such a being, but simply /271/ Kilibo, evil beings who dwell in the forest or in the hills, assumevarious forms, eat mice and small birds, do not pass water, hid dead game and the arrows shot, the things that fall from people's hands; answer the shouts of a person, and shout in oder to mislead those who walk through the forest.

Of the same typeare: Kitarowi, who goes about at night, carrying a tool for axe, always animated by the desire to do evil to the Bacairi, but usually duped by the latter, in short similar to the Curupeas of the Amazon as they appear in the stories collectedby Barbosa Rodrigues; and Tuanaguano, the lord of the hunt,easy to identify because one side of his chest is larger than the other, and he kills against it the persons who offend him-a figure similar to the Caipora of the Tupi.

There is also mention of a lake where the grandfather of the cachorro fish,the grandfather of the piranha, the grandfather of the uaci, the grandfather of the otter, the grandfather of the redfish, the grandfather of drums, etc., dwell. Ghosts appear in the middle of the water. No acta, cayubaca, or quitaua goes there, no flying thing flies across [illegible] Bacairi took a canoe there, but a whirlpool overturned it, the [illegible] (a sort of enchanted otter) are there, and only the Jeadmen's [illegible]

The jaguar aú, the horse auú, the quitauda auú, the turtle auú, the ob auú of fresh water, etc. are also there. Everything is swiping at the edge of the water. The Kaurisso and the Kuruberiake their heads which sound like thunder, and those who hr this sound fall ill and die, and those who see the grandfathr of the animals also die. /272/ At the edge of the lake there a swamp, and the lake is the omen of [illegible]

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I. Historical Data on the Bakairí /Bacairi/

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The same title which I have given to the present part of this publication was given by Karl von den Steinen to Chapter 14 of his book, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens /Among the Natives of Central Brazil/ (1) in which he deals at

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1. Karl von den Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens. Berlin, 1894, pp. 387-395.

length with the history of the Bakairí up to the year of his second expedition, carried out in the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River in the year 1887, based on comparative literature and on information received from the Bakairí themselves.

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There follows from the research of Karl von den Steinen that in the time prior to his first expedition to the Xingu River, very little was known on the Bakairí, although the western part of these Indians, that is to say, the Bakairí who lived on the Rio Paranatinga and the Rio Novo, had lived for a long time in fairly active contact with the Brazilians and came occasionally to the capital, Cuiabá, to sell the rubber they had produced and to ask for some donatives from the government. Martius, too, knows almost nothing about them, and treats them as if they were a Paresi group. (2) It is noteworthy that Martius

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2. Martius, Zur Ethnographie Amerikas zumal Brasiliens /Toward an Ethnography of the Americas, especially of Brazil/. Vol. I. 1867, p. 779.

already mentions the existence of Bakairí in the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River: "Bacairi, Bacchyri also live on the southern headwaters of the Xingu River": (3) but with

3. Ibid., p. 382.

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114 101 133 respect to this piece of information we must keep in mind the fact that in those times the Rio Paranatinga was regarded as a tributary of the Xingu River.

From an objective standpoint I have nothing to add to Karl von den Steinen's full account. I merely propose to com- [121] plement it in time and to add what we know of the more recent history of the Bakairí since that period when Karl von den Steinen wrote his history of the Bakairí. I feel impelled to carry out this mission, especially in view of the fact that of my two expeditions, in which I had the most extensive contact with the Bakairí, the first took place 26 years before the second, so that I had a good opportunity to observe personally a great part of the change in the living conditions of the Bakairí in the times after Karl von den Steinen's publication. The Bakairí [115] André, who was my faithful companion /12/ on the trip from the Simões Lopes Post to the Pedro Dantas Post, established to civilize the Kayabí /Cayabi/, and on the return to Cuiabá, was the son of a Bakairí, born on the Rio Kuliseho and called Chico, who had been one of my traveling companions to the Rio Kuliseho in the year 1901. I also encountered in the year 1927 many old acquaintances among whom I had lived 26 years before in their village, Maimaieti, on the Rio Kuliseho. They all still remembered well the time we had spent together in the past. During my later stay in Cuiabá, up to the year 1931, the Bakairí boys who went to school in Cuiabá visited my house often, so that it enabled me to keep informed up to that date about all that went on among the Bakairí.

114 648 195 Karl von den Steinen's two expeditions to the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River should be noted as an important event not only in the general history of discoveries but also, especially, in the history of the Bakairí. Through them was re-established the long broken connection between the Bakairí living on the Rio Paranatinga and their fellow countrymen on [197] the Batovy and Kuliseho river. This fact had such an inclusive

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114 648 175 [177] 114 12]

influence on the later development of these Indians, with their very marked feeling of nationality, that they changed their primordial customs completely during the 50 years following Karl von den Steinen's second expedition carried out in the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River. Thanks to a series of data on events among the Bakairí in this interval, we find ourselves in the fortunate position of being able to investigate that transformation. We are oriented in detail on the personality and life history of several Bakairí who have influenced in a special way the later development of their tribe, like Cacique Reginaldo and, especially, Cacique Antonio and his stepson José Coroado, so that we can give our historical report on the Bakairí a more personal character than would be possible with respect to other Indian tribes.

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If we differentiate, according to Karl von den Steinen, the Bakairí who live west of the Rio Paranatinga (in later times officially Rio Telles Pires) as western Bakairí and the eastern Bakairí, who have their homes in the regions east of this river, on the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, it can be said that in the period of Karl von den Steinen's first expedition to the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River, no contacts took place between these two Bakairí groups, and certainly none had taken place for a long time. Old Cacique Reginaldo told Karl von den Steinen that he still remembered, from the days of his youth, that traveling from the Rio Paranatinga eastward, [illegible] also lived, but that at the present date they did not know anything about this region. (4) Certainly no contacts had taken

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4. Karl v.d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien /Through Central Brazil/. Leipzig, 1886. p. 182.

place between the western Bakairí and those of the east from the time when the former established closer contact with the

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174 Brazilians, for otherwise the Bakairí of the Batovy and Kulisehu
177 rivers could not have remained so totally free of /13/ any Euro-
619 pean influence. In my book, Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien
114 (5). I discussed at length the causes of this long isolation of the
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5. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien. Erlebnisse und Ethnologische. Ergebnisse einer Reise in den Jahren 1900-1901 /Indian Studies in Central Brazil. Adventure and Ethnology. Results of a Journey in the Years 1900-1901/. Berlin, 1905, p. 320.

eastern Bakairí, and among these causes I especially emphasized the hostility which existed between the Bakairí and their neighbors the Kayabí /Cayabi/, who long made unsafe the region located between the settlements of the western and eastern Bakairí. Contact between these two Bakairí groups was re-established when Karl von den Steinen took along with him on his first expedition to the Xingu River, the Bakairí, Antonio, who later became cacique of the Bakairí, so that he had the opportunity to become acquainted with his fellow countrymen who lived on the Rio Batovy. Already in the year 1886, that is, before Karl von den Steinen's second expedition, the Bakairí [illegible] on his part visited, along with the above-mentioned Antonio and another Bakairí, his fellow countrymen on the Rio Batovy and had succeeded in getting some of them to make, in turn, a visit to the Rio Paranatinga.

128 In order to make a connection with Karl von den Steinen's
101 historical report, I shall first refer in a few words to the conditions in which this author found the Bakairí at the time of his second expedition in the year 1887. I shall first deal with the

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161 Going on from the Rio Preto Bakairí, on whom we do not have more precise data than that they were few, the remaining Bakairí population and, especially, those of the Rio Paranatinga was also very scant in this period. As Karl von den Steinen, on his second expedition to the Xingu River in the year 1887, did not have the opportunity to visit the Bakairí of the Rio Novo, we have no precise data concerning their population in this year. We only know that their population three years earlier, in the year 1884, was 55, among whom were 16 men, 19 women, and 20 children. In the same year the population of the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí was much smaller because these Indians had been hit, some six years before, by a measles epidemic. The entire population of the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí at the time consisted of only 10 men, eight women, and four children, of whom five men, three women, and a boy were /14/ absent, and some of these were not expected to return.(9) This number

[114] [175] [131] [563]

9. Karl v.d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 120. Idem., Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens, loc. cit., p. 25.

is increased, however, if we add the two Paresí women and the two Kayabí women who were married to Bakairí men. When Karl von den Steinen visited this Bakairí village again, in the year 1887, some Bakairí may have died in the interval, some had moved to the ranches, and no increase by birth had occurred. If we add up the above-mentioned figures and include the four Paresí and Kayabí women, the total number for all the Bakairí of the Rio Novo and the Rio Paranatinga reaches 81 individuals.

175 622 648 The above-mentioned aldeas of the western Bakairí were at this time under the Indian Superintendent in Cuiabá, and the administration of the state of Mato Grosso has exerted repeated influence on the various Bakairí units, increasing the authority of the caciques or strengthening it with insignia. Thus Cacique

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175 648 I must also mention here an expedition of five North Americans who, half a year before Herrmann Meyer's second expedition, went down the Rio Kulisehu to look for rubber. No doubt, like the other expeditions to these regions, they took along Bakairí Indians. The details of the tragic outcome of this expedition, whose five participants were all massacred by the Suyá with clubs, were told me several times by the Bakairí and the Auetö in the same way, and I have noted down the particulars of this event with care in my book, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien. (26)

26. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 42.

In the year 1900, Paulo Castro had once more entered the region east of the Rio Paranatinga, this time as head of an expedition outfitted in grand style by the Mato Grosso government, as they said, to prepare, at the top of the water divide between the Xingu and Araguaya rivers, a route that would lead to the Amazon River, in order to facilitate the tramportation of livestock from Mato Grosso to Pará. Shortly before the return of my expedition to the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River in June, 1901, the survivors of Paulo Castro's expedition, which had been a total failure, returned to Cuiabá. The great hardships of this last expedition of Paulo Castro caused this explorer, untiring in his search for the "martyrs," never to be well until his death.

114 In the year 1901 I led my own expedition to the region of the source of the Xingu River, when I had the opportunity to become acquainted with the conditions of the life of the Bakairí of the Rio Novo and the Rio Paranatinga, and also, especially, of those of the Bakairí of the Rio Kulisehu.

114 36 /20/ Shortly before crossing the Rio Novo I passed one of the two aldeas of the Rio Novo Bakairí, but I had only a passing

/20 cont./

114 look at this settlement situated on the left side of the Rio Novo.
36 The main aldea of these Indians, which consisted of five ranchos, was at a distance of three turns of the river from the small Brazilian pueblo of Rio Novo situated on the right side of the
[648] river. At this place I met Mr. Eliseu, who then held the title of subdirector over the Bakairí.

114 Conditions among the Rio Novo Bakairí had hardly changed
178 since the time when Karl von den Steinen described them.
622 Also, the population, which I estimated at 60 individuals, was
[162] more or less the same. Reginaldo, who had meanwhile become an old man, was still cacique of the two communities of Rio Novo Bakairí. Plate V of my book Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien presents a photograph taken in the aldea of these Indians showing Cacique Reginaldo with his wife in the midst of several other Bakairí, standing in front of the door of his house. The book which he holds in his hand is the work Durch Centralbrasilien, published by Karl von den Steinen, in which he is also represented in a drawing and at which he is
114 looking with great interest. In the aldea there were still various
178 objects which were products of typical Bakairí work, such as for
[285] example the large baskets of twigs /banastas/ woven in the an-
531 cestral way, and other kinds of baskets which matched exactly
784 in terms of technique and decoration those made by the Bakairí
[411] of the tributaries of the Xingu River. (27) The Rio Novo Bakairí

27. Cf. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., Fig. 174, p. 347.

also still used, besides [illegible] and these corresponded exactly to those of their fellow country-
179 men of the Xingu River region. But outside of these objects,
231 made in native fashion, these Bakairí had been changed completely into Brazilian campesinos as a result of the fact that

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Reginaldo and his people had a large number of cattle and several saddle horses. Although among themselves they spoke only in the Bakairí language, all of the men knew the Brazilian language, and it was said that Cacique Reginaldo knew how to read and speak some French. The Rio Novo Bakairí maintained at the time active relations with their fellow countrymen on the Rio Paranatinga. With the eastern Bakairí they hardly had any contacts, except for the Bakairí Joaquim who was the uncle of Cacique Antonio of the Paranatinga aldea and who had a young Bakairí from the Rio Batovi river in his service.

Different were the conditions of the Bakairí in the Rio Paranatinga aldea at the time of my visit. While the population at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions had dwindled in such a way that Karl von den Steinen foresaw the end of this community, the population of the aldea had increased in the meantime with the addition of numerous Bakairí from the Xingu River region. The number of these Bakairí, called by their Paranatinga fellow countrymen Xinguanos, climbed to 34 at the time of my stay with these Indians. The leader of the community was Antonio, who was at this time at the peak of his power. The only insignia /21/ of his rank as comandante of the Indians of the upper Xingu River region, officially granted by the Mato Grosso government, were a pair of red soldier's trousers with a wide white stripe which ran down the side of each leg, but a more practical symbol of his power were several good firearms hanging in his house, which he also used occasionally, according to the Mato Grosso men, against uncooperative fellow countrymen. The majority of the Xinguanos then living in his aldea were totally dependent upon him with regard to economic conditions and made up a valuable component of his power, for he had supplied the most trustworthy men among them with firearms. This small military force was important above all to insure contact between the Rio Paranatinga and the tributaries of the Xingu River against the Kayabí who had unquestionably begun at this time to

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159 619 inhabitants planned to poison him. So he remained in the port near our canoes. But the difficulties this caused me were compensated for by the fact that during his visit to the second aldea of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí, he had married a local Indian girl and taken her to the Rio Paranatinga.

159 593 114 José was already trying then in every possible way to become independent from his stepfather. I found this out primarily from a conversation between José and his mother which I overheard during my stay in Antonio's house. Already then he had several Xinguanos working in his service, and although they were not as numerous as the Xinguanos in the service of Cacique Antonio, this competition could be seen as a factor that was beginning to curtail Antonio's power, which had reached its zenith at the time, and that threatened sooner or later to lead to a violent outcome. This discord between Antonio and his son-in-law /sic/ was important to the outcome of the expedition I had undertaken to the Rio Kulisehu insofar as José Coroado was ready to accompany me with his brother-in-law Chico, who was from the second Bakairí aldea on the Rio Kulisehu, while Antonio made his help to my undertaking contingent on inordinately high demands which far exceeded my then rather scant resources for travel. Finally I was able to persuade Antonio to let me have two of his people to accompany me to the embarkation point on the Rio Kulisehu and then to return with my pack oxen to the Rio Paranatinga.

619 182 As a result of the active and close contact which had prevailed since the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions between the Bakairí of the Paranatinga and their fellow countrymen of the upper Xingu River region, the /23/ way of life of the former had regained a more native character. I have already 353 619 182 756 mentioned that José Coroado's large house showed friezes with paintings of a purely Bakairí nature. Antonio was again participating, painted above the waist, in native dances and because of the frequency of illnesses at the time among the Paranatinga Bakairí, he wanted to induce a doctor from the second Bakairí

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756 aldea on the Rio Kulisehu to settle with his arts on the Paranatinga.

When I was with the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí in May and June
177 of 1901, 14 years had elapsed since their first contact with
178 articles of European culture. After Karl von den Steinen's
[114] expedition, other explorers had also passed through their land. They had become familiar with iron axes, knives, scissors, matches, and other objects of modern culture, and by bartering their native products they had become amply provided with such objects, but their natures and their way of life had barely
[411] changed. They had become acquainted with the firearms of the Europeans and of their fellow countrymen of the Rio Paranatinga, but they still regarded them with a certain mis-
[226] giving and did not use them either. Fishing, which had been of the greatest importance in the economy of these Indians, was still carried out on a broad scale and in the ancestral way,
[224] fishhooks not being used. In hunting, too, they only used their
241 arrows and long bows built like the ones of old. Agriculture
412 was also carried out in the same manner and with the same digging sticks, with the mere exception that the work of clearing was made much easier by the numerous iron axes that replaced the stone axes of times past. I did not see any more stone axes among these Indians. Undoubtedly they had all been replaced by the far more useful iron axes brought by the explorers who passed through these regions. There were large plantations in
241 the vicinity of the aldeas or at a distance from them, and I
114 myself had the opportunity to observe in the aldea of Maimaieti, situated on the Rio Kulisehu, the way in which a big part of the mountain was cleared for a future plantation. The Indians proudly showed me a [illegible] /[illegible]/, [illegible] /[illegible]/ manioc, of which they had received cuttings from the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí. During my stay among the Bakairí of Maimaieti aldea there was never a scarcity of manioc, and I and my companions were always generously provided with
[648] manioc cakes /beiju/. I mention this fact especially, because

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241 it contrasts with Hermann Meyer's observation, made two
•114 years before in the year 1899, on his own experiences among
648 the same Bakairí. (29) To account for the fact that it was

29. Hermann Meyer, "Bericht über seine zweite Xingú-Expedition," loc. cit., pp. 126 and 127.

absolutely impossible for him to obtain provisions from the Rio Kuluehu Bakairí, he said that these Indians depended for their subsistence almost entirely on their fellow countrymen of the Rio Paranatinga and that their agriculture had almost completely disappeared. When Meyer passed by the aldeas of the Rio Kuluehu Bakairí, conditions for his expedition, which comprised a large number of participants, were very precarious, especially because of lack of provisions, and no doubt the fact that he was unable to get from the Bakairí the provisions he had asked for was for him a severe disappointment. It is possible that the Bakairí at this time could not /24/ supply such large quantities of provisions to accommodate such a large number of strangers. Since it is certain that the Bakairí at the time of my stay among them possessed large plantations, it does not seem possible that their agriculture, two years earlier,
114 should have been at the vanishing point. Nor can I corroborate
342 Hermann Meyer's comment that the Bakairí of the first two aldeas on the Rio Kuluehu, at the time of his expedition, had changed their good houses for "miserable huts." The two aldeas of the Kuluehu Bakairí which I visited each consisted of four large houses of six fols, built in the same form with an oval base as the houses had in former times. All of the houses in [illegible] were quite new and made a good impression
231 inside and outside. About one league from Maimaiem were the then abandoned houses of the old aldea which the Bakairí of Maimaiem had still occupied a short time earlier and where a large bird of prey, a kind of harpy eagle /harpia/, was kept on

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231 a table made of vertigas and provided regularly with meat, if possible monkey meat.

198 Among the various crafts of the Kuikuru Bakairí, pottery-
323 making, plaiting, and spinning were still maintained in the
285 ancestral form. Food preparation was also still the same as
283 described by Karl von den Steinen for times past. The only
252 essential difference appeared in regard to woodworking, for
179 which at this time metal tools were used, so that this craft no
322 longer depended on stone axes, drills with stone points, shells,
412 and the teeth of fish or other animals. Another acquisition from
301 the various expeditions which had passed through their territory were ear pendants of multicolored glass beads with which many women and children, especially, were well provided. European
(291) clothing was seen only in exceptional cases. Thus the first man who came out of his house in Maigeri aldea to greet me had on trousers which he had been given at the time of a visit to the Rio Paranatinga aldea and which surely had never been washed since. As a rule the ubuni (small triangle of bark) was the sole
(291) usual garment of the women and young girls, and a fine thread belt and body paint the men's apparel.

114 When Karl von den Steinen visited the Rio Kuikuru Indians,
36 the first Bakairí aldea, called Maigeri, consisted of only two
339 large houses of kindale and one small house for females with an
344 oval base, while the second and third aldeas each consisted of
345 three large houses of kindale and of one house for females. Thus
(161) the number of houses in Bakairí aldeas at the time of my stay among these Indians had increased, and for this reason I do not hold to Curt Nimuendaju Meyer's observation that this tribe was
114 already "greatly declining" at the time. (36) No doubt there
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36. Nimuendaju Meyer, Op.Cit., p. 126.

were then only two Bakairí aldeas on the Rio Kuikuru, the first, Maigeri, already mentioned by Karl von den Steinen, and the

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second, Maimaieri, also called Meriba, but for a short /25/ time there was also an aldea called Bodoiro in the region that extends between the Kuliseiu and Batovy rivers. From the fact that the wife of the Bakairí, Mayuká, who was the head of one of the Maimaieri houses, lived in that aldea, it follows that there were intimate relations between the inhabitants of these two aldeas.

Unfortunately I was unable to obtain, during my journey to the Rio Kuliseiu, exact data on the population of the first aldea of Maigeri and of Bodoiro aldea situated between the Kuliseiu and Batovy rivers, just as it is not possible to determine exactly the population movement of the Bakairí of the Rio Kuliseiu in the period of time which elapsed between Karl von den Steinen's expedition and my stay among these Indians in the year 1901. But I can still recall clearly that the population of Maigeri aldea had more than the 21 individuals it had at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expedition. Also, from the fact that the aldea consisted at the time of my trip of four houses of similar size instead of the two houses that Karl von den Steinen found, it can be concluded that the population had increased considerably in the interval. As for the inhabitants of the second Rio Kuliseiu aldea, Karl von den Steinen estimated them at some 40 individuals, which corresponds more or less to the population of Maimaieri aldea in later times, which I estimated at 45 individuals. The population of the third Bakairí aldea, which had formerly existed on the Kuliseiu, numbered, according to Karl von den Steinen, some 100 individuals, a figure that seems very high compared with the number (three) of houses in this aldea and with the population of the other aldeas. If we add up the figures estimated and noted by Karl von den Steinen for the population of the Bakairí aldeas which existed at the time of his expedition on the Rio Kuliseiu, we get a total of some 160 Bakairí who lived on the Rio Kuliseiu. When I was in Maimaieri there were 45 individuals present in this aldea, but they said that a number of the inhabitants were

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114 161 361 temporarily absent at the time, so we must take into account a population in Maimaieti of more than 45 persons. I have already mentioned above that the population of Maigeri aldea at the time of my trip was much larger than Karl von den Steinen estimated it to be at an earlier time. Still to be added is the population of the aldea recently founded between the Kuliseihu and Batovy rivers, whose total we do not know, because it should undoubtedly be regarded as having been founded by Rio Kuliseihu Bakairí and a part of the Xingamos, who have moved temporarily or for longer to the Rio Paranatinga.

115 681 It is certain that the epilogues of the expeditions made to the regions of the sources of the Xingu River have been played out with regard to the subsequent history of the Bakairí of the Kuliseihu and Batovy rivers. Thus, Cacique Tumayana of the first aldea on the Kuliseihu, who had first helped Karl von den Steinen in his undertaking in these regions, had been assassinated by his own fellow countrymen shortly before the time of my expedition. I have already mentioned that the inhabitants of this same aldea had lain in wait for José Corondo because he had become too involved /26/ with the women.

648 198 Another consequence of these expeditions was the fact that the relations of the Rio Kuliseihu Bakairí with the other tribes that lived farther down this river, especially the Nahukuá and the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, had already become strained at the time because these Indians envied the Bakairí for having received the lion's share of the precious articles brought by the explorers. But, in short, the Rio Kuliseihu Bakairí, after their first contact with the whites, had gone on living as before without being discommoded by others. Their social organization, their legal ideas, the form of their economy, their customs, and their crafts were at the time of my stay among them still almost the same as in former times.

114 361 We received the first information on the Bakairí, after my journey, in the year 1915 through Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa, who, on the occasion of his expedition devoted to measuring

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114 361 the Rio S. Manuel and the Rio Paranatinga (officially named Rio Telles Pires), encountered the Bakairí of the Rio Novo and the Rio Paranatinga and those who had settled at the "Cabeceira do Chapadão." (31)

31. Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa, loc. cit., p. 70.

361 622 In the aldea situated on the Rio Novo there still lived at this time the old cacique, Reginaldo, who then wore a long, white beard. He had good plantations, he carried on some [249] raising of cattle and horses, and he had a stand of rubber trees 361 from which he had rubber sought. (32) A small group of

32. Ibid.

Bakairí from the Arinos region lived at this time on the Cabeceira do Pitão, a tributary of the Rio Arinos. They were the Bakairí, [423] André, and four fellow tribesmen who owned plantations and [464] worked as rubber workers. (33)

33. Ibid., pp. 70 and 71.

159 Meanwhile changes had taken place among the Rio 622 Paranatinga Bakairí. Antonio was still cacique of the aldea, 593 which was still at the same place, slightly downriver from the 361 mouth of the São Manuel River on the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires), where it had been set up after the death of Cacique Felipe. Since the aldea consisted at this time of seven houses, it may be assumed that Antonio still commanded a relatively large number of Bakairí. But he was no longer the 159 sole ruler of all the Paranatinga Bakairí. The differences which 593 had already existed for a long time between Antonio and his 361 stepson, José Coroado, had become intensified, and after a serious quarrel between them, José Coroado had left Antonio's

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159 aldea and established with his people his own village, situated
593 13 kilometers downriver on the right side of the Rio Paranatinga
361 (Rio Telles Pires) and four kilometers from the main river on the small Ribeirão Azul. This was the same place where at the time of my trip in the year 1927 the Puesto de Simões Lopes /Simões Lopes Post/ was.

159 Through Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa we know that Dona Rosa
593 Bororo, José Coroado's mother and for many years Cacique Antonio's wife, had died in January, 1913 in her son's village.
/27/ From this piece of information it may be deduced, on the
[174] one hand, that José Coroado's move to the Ribeirão Azul had already taken place before the year 1913, and on the other hand, that Rosa Bororo, in the quarrel between her husband and her son, followed the latter and left Antonio. The latter had already married in 1915 a young woman who, according to Antonio Pyrineus, was a daughter of old Cacique Reginaldo by
[114] a Kayabí woman. Possibly Antonio Pyrineus made a mistake with respect to this piece of information, for we know through Karl von den Steinen that the cacique who had married young Luisa Kayabí was old Caetano, who was then cacique of the aldea situated on the Rio Paranatinga, while I never heard it said that the wife of Cacique Reginaldo, whom I knew in person, was a Kayabí. If the information that the second wife of Cacique Antonio was a Kayabí is correct, I would presume that she was the daughter of Luisa Kayabí, who was still living at the time of my trip in the year 1927, at the Simões Lopes Post and thus the legitimate daughter, although presumably not the natural daughter, of old Cacique Caetano.

162 A considerable increase in the population of the Rio
361 Paranatinga had been caused by the fact that Cacique Kurutú
166 of the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River had moved with 180 Xinguanos to the Rio Paranatinga. Cacique Kurutú's new aldea was situated eight kilometers downriver from Cacique Antonio's aldea, on the left side of the Rio Paranatinga and some 200 meters from the river. But of these 180 Xinguanos, already in

/28 cont./

in form, placed in front under the belt, which consists of glass beads strung on a thread. Face and body were painted with urucú and genipap in red and black. At this time, too, cases of illness were imputed to the influence of some sorcerer, and shortly before the expedition of Antonio Pyrineu de Souza a Paranatinga Bakairí had been shot to death because the Indians ascribed the consequences of a flu epidemic to his witchcraft.

In his book Unter Indianern und Roesenschlangen (36)

36. Hintermann, Heinrich.
Unter Indianern und Roesenschlangen
/Among Indians and Boa Constrictors/.
Zurich and Leipzig, 1926.

Heinrich Hintermann relates the incidents and outcome of a journey to the region of the upper Xingu River tributaries. He had the opportunity to accompany a military expedition led by the Brazilian, Captain Vicente de Vasconcellos, which was carried out in the year 1924 for the Commissão de Linhas Telegr. Est. de Matto-Grosso ao Amazonas to measure the Rio Batuira and establish relations between the administration of the new Simões Lopes Post, established by the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios /Indian Protection Service/, and the Indians of the Kuluehu and Kuluene rivers. We know from Hintermann that already at that time, all the Kuluehu Bakairí had moved to the Simões Lopes Post, which was established at the same place where José Cuiabá had already set up his aldea before.

During my journey carried out in the year 1927 I had the opportunity to become personally acquainted once more, after an interval of 26 years, with the conditions of the Bakairí.(37)

37. Cf. the preliminary reports on the results of this trip: Max Schmidt, "Ergebnisse meiner zweijährigen Forschungreise in Matto Grosso.

/28 cont./

114 (113)

Sept. 1926 to Aug. 1928
/Results of My Two Year Exploratory
Trip in Mato Grosso, Sept. 1926
to Aug. 1928/." pp. 86-88.
Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.
Annual Set 48, math 1/2.

114 115 In Cuiabá I had simply encountered some Bakairí who had come from Sundles Lagos with a load of ovos to the capital. Since at that time the revolutionaries, led by /Luiz Carlos/ Prestes, were passing through Mato Grosso and also were threatening the vicinity of Cuiabá itself, these Bakairí were prevented from undertaking their return journey for the same reason I was unable to carry out my project and trip to Sundles Lagos. They were four men and one boy of me, and when they visited me one day in my house, it turned out that one of these Indians, called Marcellino Camargo, or by his native name, "Angnor," came from the second Bakairí village on the Rio Kulisehu. At the time of my stay in this village 26 years earlier, he had been a small boy, but he still remembered me well. It was interesting to note how this memory gradually came back to him when I played on my violin the same melody that I had played many times in the Maximiano village among the Kulisehu Bakairí. He asked one of the other Bakairí what my name was, and when I told him that my name was "Doctor Hacume," he knew at once that his memory had not deceived him and he greeted me as an old acquaintance. Naturally, from this moment on he frequented my house with his small son, Lawrence, whose native name was Kaiura, and with the other Bakairí. [551] [191] [126] And since some /20/ of these Bakairí were quite familiar with the Portuguese language I had a good chance to take down linguistic texts and to obtain at the same exact data on the changes which had taken place with respect to conditions among the Bakairí since my former journey. Among other news they told me that [222] [159] old Cacique Reginaldo had lived on for a long time and had

/29 cont./

died a short time before. Cacique Kanik, who in times past had received me so hospitably in Mainamoni aldea, was still living but very old. He was quite isolated, for his wife as well as his two daughters, whom I had known as little girls, had died. Cacique Antonio was also still alive but was also already old and had remained with his family and a few people at the location of the old Bakoni aldea of the Paranaringa Bakoni. Antonio always clung stubbornly to the idea that the land bound by the Sucre River, the Riberalta Rubber, and the Rio Paranaringa belonged to him and his Bakoni, and he did not want to move his aldea so as not to lose the right to this region. As for the changes brought about by the establishment of the Sandoval Lopez Post, he maintained a very cautious attitude and did not recognize the authority of the Post administration, according to which the Bakoni, Pirax, was named cacique of the Kaiguanas in his place and appointed to administer the affairs of this part of the Bakoni of the Sandoval Lopez Post. When I later met Cacique Antonio, he told me repeatedly that he was still Capitão and the legitimate chief of his fellow tribesmen. Among other news received from the Bakoni in Cavalhã, I heard that José Cavalcante and his brother-in-law Chico, who had accompanied me with the latter on my expedition to the Rio Jamanxim, had died since.

In the course of the journey which I finally undertook, leaving Cuiabá on January 27, 1967, I was able to make only a passing visit to Cacique Antonio in his aldea, but he himself visited me at Sandoval Lopez several times. (Cf. Fig. 1.) I was very well received in his house as an old friend and treated to a glass of guarana drink. Whereas Antonio had no issue by Rosa Branca, he had after her death three sons by his second wife. The photograph shown in Figure 2 shows Antonio before his house with his family, and his horse on the right. The condition of his house, in contrast with that of previous times when I visited him at the height of his power, conveyed an impression of poverty. In a small house situated close to Antonio's, I also

/29 cont. /

114 115 (124) met one of the Bakairí who had accompanied me in the year 1901 on my journey to the Rio Kulisehu. He we was already very old and he was ill, his body being covered with tumors.

114 361 When I reached the Simões Lopes Post I met with highly unfavorable circumstances. My pack oxen were the first to reach Simões Lopes after the long interruption of all traffic between this post and the capital Cuiabá caused by the revolutionaries led by Preses. For this reason there was at that time a scarcity (734) of /30/ provisions, and in addition there was among the Indians a bad epidemic of malaria, which the head of the post, Señor Benedito, and his family also had. The post at the time was still at the same location where it was first established, where José Cuiaxio had had his aldea before, and thus 13 kilometers downriver from the old aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí and four kilometers inland on the right side of the river near the small Ribeirão Azul. It consisted of some administrative buildings (cf. Figure 3) and some 20 ranches for the Bakairí Indians (cf. Figures 4, 6, and 7). There is no doubt that all the Bakairí lived at this time in areas near the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Teling Pure) and had relations with the Simões Lopes Post, but only part of them lived at the post, and since the plantations of the individual Indian families were rather far from the settlement, the Indians who lived at the post also stayed temporarily in their small houses built near their plantations.

361 (692) 162 161 In the middle of the post was the house of the Bakairí Pires, whom the administration had entrusted with the rectorship over the Bakairí who had moved from the region of the upper Xingu River and who were called Xinguanos. (Cf. Figures 4 and 5.)

114 115 (777) In one of the houses of the post I met the Bakairí, Lucito, who came from the first aldea on the Rio Kulisehu, who with Cacique Tumayoup had accompanied Karl von den Steinen on his expedition and who is shown in a photograph in the book Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens. As shown in the photograph in Figure 8, he had grown quite old since and was

/30 cont./

dressed in European manner, and with his rough beard he bears little resemblance the photograph taken by Karl von den Steinen some 39 yrs earlier. In another house there still lived Luisa Kayabi, whom Karl von den Steinen had met when she was the young ile-of and Cacique Cumaru.

Most of the Bakairi whom I had known 26 years before in Mangueira and Mairumi aldeia had perished in a flu epidemic that had occurred two among the population of Mato Grosso some years earlier. Since the high number of deaths among the Bakairi of the upper Kings River was attributed to the witchcraft of evil neighboring tribes, especially the Mehinaku and the Nahukua, who id been envious of the economic benefits derived by the Bakairi from their contact with civilization, all the Bakairi of the Bovy and Kulisehu rivers had moved to the Rio Paranatinga. Doubtlessly petty jealousies and other discords had caused the Bakairi, called Kinguaua, not to get along with their fellow tribes on the Paranatinga, and for this reason they had settled at some distance from the past, further downriver. I found five of these Kinguaua settlements at the place where the Rio Kulisehu enters the Rio Paranatinga. It was situated on the ger side of this river and consisted of few small houses. (Cf. guess II and III.) A little farther downriver I reached a Bakairi plantation near which was a rancho occupied by some pple. (Cf. Figure 2b.)

/31/ From there path led to the principal settlement of the Bakairi who badowed from the Rio Kulisehu. It consisted of two rather large ones. (Cf. Figure 17.) I was told that a little farther downriv there were some more settlements, and among them also th of my old friend from Mairumi aldeia, Karib. I had already met Karib when I visited Cacique Antonio, and he hadrecognized me. He was no longer cacique, and I was told that the time of my stay in Mairumi he had merely been a temporary cacique in the place of his brother who was then away. He had grown much older and no longer

/51 cont./

had people at his command so that he no doubt lived in great poverty. Some time later he visited me at the Sundles Lagoa Post and brought me a beautiful bow with arrows and an old-fashioned knife made of stone and shell beads.

During my stay at Sundles Lagoa I twice visited the Xinguano settlement situated on the Rio Paranatinga, and each time I was received very kindly and entertained well by the inhabitants, among whom I still found some acquaintances from Maimaiem. There I again met Marcellino Camunage and his family (cf. Figures 15-17), and also the son of the Bakairí, Chuo, who had accompanied me on my previous trip from the Rio Paranatinga to Maimaiem alone and who had since died. The son of the Chuo, called André, had been raised on the ranch of Jorge Soares so that he was good at the tasks related to a trip with such men. I hired him for the rest of my journey, and I must mention here that he was always a good and faithful companion on my trip to the Kayabí Post, Pedro Dantas, and on the return to Cuiabá, at one time being my only companion and going through many difficulties with me. I still remember one day, when things were going very badly for us, he said to me, "My father, Indian, always stayed near you on your trip, and so now I stay near you too."

Also on the right side of the Rio Paranatinga but some distance from the river and beyond the Rio Vermelho that flows into the river below the Sundles Lagoa Post, was the settlement of the Bakairí who had moved from their two villages situated on the Rio Novo. The cacique of this group of Bakairí was at this time a man of advanced age called Roberto. (Cf. Figure 18.) The settlement consisted of 11 houses, only three of which were occupied at this time. But besides these houses Roberto also had a house at the Sundles Lagoa Post itself, where he occasionally stayed with his people. On leaving Sundles Lagoa to continue my journey to the Pedro Dantas Post, I had the opportunity to visit the houses of the Bakairí who had come from the Rio Novo,

/31 cont./

114 but unfortunately I encountered only a few inhabitants of this aldea because Roberto was busy at the plantations with most of his people.

114 115 At the Sandbo Lopes Post itself there lived several Bakairí who had been for some time in the employ of the Post administration and who were familiar with the tasks involved with traveling with pack oxen. (Cf. /32/ Figures 9-11.) One of these was employed especially as a carpenter. (Cf. Figure 9.) It was interesting for me to meet one of these Bakairí, called Bernardino, who with some other Bakairí had accompanied Colonel Fawcett on his last trip to the tributaries of the Xingu River, and who for this reason could give me some exact data on the last events prior to the disappearance of this unfortunate explorer. According to this information, already before /his disappearance/ the Colonel's behavior had seemed very strange

114 to the Bakairí. They said that before his last trip he had undertaken a journey to the Rio Paranatinga region with some Bakairí, pushing blindly in a certain direction until his pack oxen fell exhausted, so that he had to abandon all his equipment on the plain. Returning to Sandbo Lopes, he had hired Leonardo and some other Bakairí to lead him with his son and another youth, who was said to have been ill already, to the tributaries of the Xingu River. From there he had then ordered all his guides to return because he wished to continue the journey accompanied only by his son and by the above-mentioned fellow countrymen. Since that time there had been no news of him, and all those who are familiar with conditions in these regions insofar as its southern climate, impenetrable forests, rapids, and total lack of available game in many of its parts are concerned, will share my opinion that these conditions preclude the possibility of Fawcett still being alive. It is probable that but a short time after the departure of the Bakairí he and his two companions dropped exhausted and helpless somewhere on the plain or a hill, so that we need not assume necessarily that their death was brought about through the violence of some

//12 cont.//

114 enemy Indian. Just as an unknown search for the "marvel" in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River finally broke the health of Officer Paulo Castro 25 years before, so too Colonel Fawcett perished in the same region in his fanatic race for the "mysterious city."

172 178 Although in the year 1927 nearly all the Bakairí dressed in European-type garments and lived in Brazilian-style ranches, and although they had also adopted many other articles of European culture, there survived among them various articles of their native culture with which I shall deal in the section that follows.

361 Already at the time of my stay among the Bakairí at Sundhu Lapes there was frequent talk of an imminent move of the post. The Indians were not satisfied with their present location because in times of drought there was no water available except at a great distance, and because there was no ground suitable to make plantations in the immediate vicinity of the post. As for the selection of a place for the new post, the opinions of the Indians differed a great deal, and it was interesting to note that the Kuiguaus especially wanted the location to be closer to the capital, Cuiabá, while the Paranatinguaus, on the contrary, wanted a place which would be beyond the Rio Paranatinga.

[342] [241]

[114] //13// We learned a few details concerning the later conditions of the Bakairí who lived in the new Sundhu Lapes Post from Vincent M. Petrullo, who in the year 1931 undertook a journey carried out in part with pack oxen, by water, and in part by air to the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, passing this Indian post along the way. (18) According to

[113]

18. Vincent M. Petrullo, "Primitive Peoples of Mato Grosso, Brazil," The Museum Journal, Vol. XXIII, Number 2, Philadelphia, pp. 127-130.

361 648 FN cont. / According to
Petrullo the new post is situated on top of a mountain some distance from the edge of the Rio Paranatinga. The post itself consisted of some excellent administrative buildings, and at some distance from these stood the Bakairí aldeia, so that the Indians kept a certain independence. The post had a school which tried
[871] to teach the Bakairí youth to read and write in the Portuguese language and the rudiments of arithmetic. The administration
[231] kept a herd of cattle, and each of the Bakairí wished to have some oxen and cows.

114 648 197 241 Without wishing to malign Petrullo's precious information, I must note below some points on which I cannot quite agree with his opinions, because they contradict my experiences among these Indians. I believe that a false impression of the previous living conditions of the Bakairí in the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River led to Petrullo's interpretations when he says that the post administration had not experimented in order to change the Bakairí, who in former times had led a semisedentary life, into a sedentary group of agriculturalists. The Bakairí of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River were, like all the other Indian tribes of the Rio Kuliseu, with the possible exception of the Trumaí, a typical agricultural people. The tasks related to agriculture made up the chief part of their occupations, and they had extensive plantations in the vicinity of their houses. They led a totally sedentary existence in their aldeias, even moving these closer to their plantations when the latter, owing to the intensive exploitation of the land on the closest hill, were little by little moved too distant
[231] from their houses. Livestock they did not have, so that there has been a change in their way of life at the post, with the transformation of a previously agricultural people into a people who raise cattle, no doubt to get a bigger income.

226 114 Also, I cannot believe that the unusual abundance of fish in the Rio Paranatinga, extolled in former times by the Bakairí, should have dwindled so thoroughly as to warrant Petrullo's observation, "There are practically no fish in the Paranatinga.

/40 cont./

226 114 at least up to where the post is located /Aires in English/.*
As the time of Karl von den Steinen's expedition, the *matrinchão* fish was held as the most precious beast in the country of the Paranatinga Bakairí, and in its honor they held their most beautiful fiesta. (39) When Karl von den Steinen suggested to

39. Karl v. d. Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 24 and 25.

Cacique Felipe that his *aldeia*, which seemed to be losing all its population then, should be moved closer to Cuiabá, his sole reply was /to/ *matrinchão*. Later at the *aldeia*, then situated farther upriver, I was treated almost every day to a tasty *matrinchão*, and when I visited the Kingueno in the year 1927 at their settlement on the Rio Paranatinga, they also offered me fish. Of course, it may be that this abundance of fish in the Rio Paranatinga is restricted to certain times of the year.

[123]

I also regard as incorrect Petrullo's observation that the Bakairí of the past had substituted hammocks made of cotton thread for the ancestral nets of bark fiber. From the beginning the hammock made of cotton thread was typical especially of the Bakairí of the region of the tributaries of the upper Kinge-River, in contrast to the hammocks woven of bark fiber used by the other tribes in this region. But already at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions, (40) the Bakairí of the Rio

114 199 283 352

40. *Ibid.*, p. 330.

Paranatinga had hammocks made of bark fiber, which, they said, old Cacique Cantaro had introduced among them. As for Petrullo's opinion that the custom of filing the upper incisors is ancestral with the Bakairí and that they still retain it, I must contend it with the fact that the Bakairí of the region of the

114 199 304

/34 cont./

114 191 304 inhabitants of the upper Xingu River never had this custom, but that I had the opportunity to observe it among several of my Mato Grosso attendants, who had presumably adopted it through African influences. If the present-day Bakairí of the Sundhen Lagoon Post file their teeth, this is no doubt an innovation brought about by foreign influences.

165 164 648 We know through Petrullo that the high mortality of the Paranatinga Bakairí unfortunately has continued in spite of the care of the Inspectoria de Proteção ao Índio /Indian Protection Service/. (41) It seems that fewer are rapidly diminishing the

41. Vincent M. Petrullo, loc. cit., pp. 128 and 129.

Bakairí population. According to Petrullo, syphilis, caught through contact with the whites, probably has also caused high mortality among these Indians.

622 159 198 Finally, I must still mention the last news I received when I had already left Mato Grosso. It was the news of the death of the man who had withdrawn from all innovations at the cost of his life because he wished to retain his independence but who nevertheless will remain the best-known Bakairí in Bakairí history: the death of Caetano Arunde.

184 198 199

II. Change and Continuity in the Cultural Goods of the Bakairí of the Sundhen Lagoon Post

In discussing in the preceding section the history of the Bakairí, I mention that the sedentary Bakairí on the Rio Paranatinga and the Rio Teles, before they entered into relations with their fellow countrymen of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, has still retained some of the articles of their /his/ material culture although they had almost completely become Brazilian campesinos. Through contact with the Europeans and to a

/41 cont. /

285 531 walls of the resulting basket will show uniform stripes running horizontally, while a basket the walls of which show stripes running vertically will result if the surface of the bottom has a cross-shaped decorative element. (Cf. the basket shown in a photograph in my above-mentioned book (48).)

48. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 354, Fig. 180.

285 184 531 Already on my trip made in the year 1901, I found among the Kuikuiro Bororó a kind of basket which, as to external form, corresponds to the basket just described but which, in terms of the structure of the plaiting of its bottom suggests a completely different beginning of the plaiting. (49) A loop

49. Ibid., pp. 360-362.

for determining the head length by me from the same Bororó tribe, instead of the usual decorative elements of these Indians, the special figure that appears in the middle of the bottom of these baskets (50) has the diagram shown in Figure 10. On my-

(184) (186)

50. Ibid., p. 454, Fig. 272.

last trip, made in the year 1927, I acquired from the Bororó of Sangue Lopes several specimens of such baskets. Of the three specimens of baskets of the kind shown in Figure 40 (V.B. 9890, height 17 cm. Width of the bottom 30 cm. Width of the upper rim 33 cm.), 41 (V.B. 9889, height 18 cm. Width of the bottom 21 cm. Width of the upper rim 26.5 cm.), and 42 (V.B. 9891, height 21 cm. Width of the bottom 21 cm. Width of the upper rim 35 cm.), each shows a different structure of plaiting in the center of the bottom of the basket: that of the basket shown in Figure 40 has four

Plate I

Territory of the Bakaal

— — — Itinerary of the author

Archmsdt--Gd E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SPT Recent SPT

Plate VIII

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302

Fig. 13. Bekeuf, son of the Singanoo Kapitsage, in Sundaw Lepen.

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302
291
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Fig. 14. The author with Singanoo in front of their house, situated near the Pamanangs.

/209/

121 156 194 In order to protect themselves against the numerous supernatural dangers that surrounded them, the Bakairí /Bacairi/ made use of two methods: shamanism and the sacred rites, or ritual sections. The aim of this article is to examine these two methods of Bakairí culture in the light of data gathered by us (1) and with the help of the existing relevant

114 122 1. The data that we present were gathered in 1947, during a visit to the Simões Lopes Indian Post of the Indian Protection Service, which was sponsored by the School of Sociology and Political Science of São Paulo in collaboration with the Institute of Social Anthropology of the Smithsonian Institution. Except where specifically mentioned in a footnote, the data mentioned were obtained from the Simões Lopes Indians.

114 121 literature. However, although the Bakairí have been visited from as early date by several ethnologists and their customs have been mentioned in the literature to support ethnological theories, very little is yet known on their culture as a whole. Most of the reports left by scholars do not give a rounded view of Bakairí culture and focus rather on their technology. On the other hand, the present-day Bakairí are quite acculturated, and it is difficult to obtain complete data on their old culture. We shall attempt nevertheless to try to contribute here to a clarification of the problem.

177

161 The Bakairí now number about 200 individuals, according to the estimates of the Indian Protection Service, /200/ in 1947. They live in villages in Mato Grosso, at the Simões Lopes Post of the Indian Protection Service, on the banks of the Paranatinga River, and in groups scattered along the

151 361

/Still same /

Rio Negro, also in that state. The Sonden Lapan Indians claim that in the past all the Bakairí lived in villages by the Paranatinga River, moving later to the north under pressure of enemy groups. (2) Later on the tribe divided on a much of unusual

2. For a better discussion of the possible origin of the Bakairí, see Max Schmidt's article, "Los Bakairí" /The Bakairí/, Revista do Museu Paulista, New Series, Vol. 2, pp. 11-48, São Paulo, 1947.

[113]

[illegible] part moved to the north on the Rio Culiseu, one of the sources of the Xingu, and the other part was distributed along the Rio Novo. Perhaps the truth about these reports can only be obtained with the help of archaeology. Meanwhile, the old villages of the Bakairí as the sources of the Kings no longer exist. The Kingueno Indians suffered a great deal from repeated outbreaks of influenza, and the last Bakairí found in that area were brought to the Sonden Lapan Post a few years ago by officials of the Indian Protection Service. The Rio Novo Bakairí, particularly as a whole, adopted the customs of the neighboring Brazilian populations and live independent of the control of the Indian Protection Service. As for the Sonden Lapan Indians, although they are quite acculturated, they still retain many traits of their old culture. They all still speak Bakairí, and some of them still remember the time when they lived in Kingueno villages, and make good informants.

As for the authors who have dealt with the Bakairí, we shall see, among the best, Capistrano de Abreu and Karl von den Steinen. The former left us valuable information on the Bakairí language and on the beliefs of these Indians. The only weakness of his material is that it is based on only one

/Bill one./

114 informant. (3) Karl von den Steinen, on the other hand,

(113) 3. Capistrano de Abreu,
"Os Bacairys /The Bakairi/."
Revista Brasileira, Year I,
Volumes 3 and 4. Rio de
Janeiro, 1895.

worked with several informants, and, what is more important
in our opinion, personally visited Bakairi aldeias, (4) which

(113) 4. Karl von den Steinen,
Durch Central-Brasilien
/Through Central Brazil/.
Leipzig, 1886; Unter den
Naturvölkern Zentral-
Brasiliens /Among the Central
Brazilian Primitive Peoples/.
Berlin, 1894.

(129) Capistrano did not do. These documents, studied comparatively, permit us /Bill/ to support the conclusions we expect
to reach on Bakairi beliefs and customs.

199 The Bakairi belong to the Karaib /Carib/ linguistic
361 family. Their old aldeias consisted of large communal houses,
(347) elliptoidal in form, around a square. In each house there
(392) lived from two to five families. In the center of the aldeia
there was a house, kaiuwi, where the ceremonial adornments
(344) of the men were kept and where visitors were lodged. Access
to the kaiuwi was open not only to the men but to women
(346) and children as well. Attached to the kaiuwi was a small
(534) house, its entrance turned to the rising sun, where the flutes,
(784) bullroarers or bull-roarers, and other sacred objects were kept.
Access to this inner house was forbidden to women and children.

754 755 /754 cont./ But in the event the illness had been caused by another sorcerer, it would be necessary to find out first the vehicle of the disease. This might be a small piece of charred wood, a thin cotton thread, or a small piece of bone, sowed from a distance and then introduced into the patient's body. The sorcerer would suck at the afflicted part, thus withdrawing the cause of the illness.

754 114 755 /757/ Our informants could tell us nothing about diseases caused by omoono (evil sorcerers) mentioned by Karl von den Steinen. According to the latter, in order to injure an Indian, a sorcerer would cook in a pot a lizard into whose throat he had previously inserted the skin of the middle finger of a corpse. The agony and death of the lizard were matched simultaneously by the agony and death of the victim. (12)

12. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., p. 442.

114 199 In our opinion, this method hardly seems to be indigenous and is probably the result of acculturation. However, our informants did not know about it.

756 754 762 In order to become a sorcerer, a youth had to undergo training for a period that lasted from six to 12 months, submitting to rigorous sexual abstinence and an exclusively vegetal diet. Throughout the initiation period the candidate remained unseen, enclosed in the kajaem. Part of the training, meanwhile, was carried out in distant places, where the novice learned the healing properties of certain roots, as well as the secrets related to the supernatural world. The training ended with the acquisition, on the candidate's part, of a guardian spirit, or iamika. This acquisition was made during a trance into which the candidate has fallen by means of the ingestion of narcotic substances. After this the new sorcerer had to prove his power, either through small acts such as finding lost objects or by curing a sick person.

199 296

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[269-A]

THE BACAIRI

114 This brief account of the Bacairi is based on
[100] field work done among the Bacairi living in the Government Indian Post on the Rio Paranatinga
[121] in June 1947. The field work was carried out in the course of a reconnaissance survey which the writer was then making of some of the central and northern Indian tribes of Mato Grosso.
[122] This and other trips at the time were made in a Ford truck put at the disposal of the writer by the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios. By using a truck the trip to the Paranatinga could be made over the Planalto do Matogrosense in 2 days in contrast to the old route along the Rio Cuiabá which, on horseback with pack oxen, takes from 2 to 3 weeks. The writer was accompanied by Fernando Altenfelder Silva of the Escola de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo and by Rev. Thomas Young and Rev. W. L. Buckman of the South American Indian Mission. The Reverend Mr.
[115] Young, who has spent more than 10 years among the Bacairi, was of great help in selecting informants and in adding to our knowledge of the Bacairi.

161 According to estimates made in 1947 by the
36 Brazilian Indian Service (Serviço de Proteção aos Indios) there are between 200 and 250 Bacairi living in the northern part of Mato Grosso State, Brazil, divided between the Indian Post of Simão Lopes on the Rio Paranatinga and the village of
173 Rio Novo some distance to the northwest. The
36 Bacairi claim that the whole tribe originally
167 lived together on the Rio Paranatinga (headwaters
[6 ref] of the Tapajos River), but attacks by other Indians and Brazilians forced them to move about 90 years ago. Owing to a dispute the tribe split, one group moving north to settle on the banks of the Rio Kuliseu, a tributary of the Xingú River, the other moving to Rio Novo. After about 30 years in the Kuliseu Basin, this group moved to the present location of Simão Lopes, not far from the original Bacairi settlement
177 on the Rio Paranatinga. Although the Rio Novo
166 group has adopted Brazilian customs and manages
167 without Government help, some have moved to Simão Lopes where the Bacairi now live on reservation lands and receive assistance from the Brazilian Government.

6:Oberg E-5 (1947)1953 SP7 Bacairi SP7
[P.77-B]

773 171 Mavutsiné of the Camayurá. Both are original personages. It is also interesting to note that the Bacairí myth speaks of a time when there was maize but no manioc. Camayurá legends speak of the origin of manioc only. All the tribes are made from uba cane. The Camayurá, as we noted, were made by Mavutsiné from *camiura* wood.

539 *The Parents of Keri and Kame.* The first part of this legend takes place in heaven. At that time there was almost everything that there is on earth today. They tell nothing of their own creation, they narrate only how it is that the heroes Keri and Kame obtain of other personages a part of the useful and important things. The Bakairí always existed, even if "in the beginning there were only a few." There were also other people that were not Bakairí, chiefly the different jaguar tribes and their relatives, who killed and ate many Bakairí. Kamuschiní, with whom the story begins, also was "of another people."

Kamuschiní went into the forest in search of tucum palm leaves to make bowstrings, where he met the jaguar Oka, whom he feared very much, and promised to get him some women if he were spared. First he felled red wood trees (*sewéti*), took the logs home, put them in a maize mortar, blew on them, and went away for a little while. But when he returned all the logs had turned into men who were busy making arrows. He killed them and went to fell five or six trees of another species which he handled as he had the other ones.

Returning, after a short absence, he saw that this time the trees had turned into women. They all called him "papa" and—with the exception of the last two, who, remaining seated without moving, infuriated him and he killed them immediately [a]—were busily grinding maize—"they say that at that time there was no manioc"—to make beijús and drinks. Kamuschiní gave the two eldest ones, Nimagakaniro and Ichoge, to the jaguar Oka, who took them home. On the way, however, Ichoge, climbing a burity palm for nuts, fell to the ground and died.

Nimagakaniro swallowed two Bakairí finger bones, which were spread around the house in great numbers as Oka used them to make arrowheads with which he killed many Bakairí, whose flesh he ate. It was due to these bones, only these, not Oka, which made her pregnant. Now, however, destiny threatened her in the person of her mother-in-law, Mero. Her husband is not known and besides Oka she had two other jaguar sons, Kuára

[114] [a] I obtained the names of five women: Nimagakaniro, Atucumagale, Ichoge, Koyuka, and Tawaguri. In my Bakairí grammar, p. 226, I erroneously wrote that Kamuschiní killed five piqui trees and committed the injustice of attributing to him a mistake. The name Ichoge contains *ipé* piqui (*ini* - *ge*, with piqui). Tawaguri also is the name of a tree, of which the two lazy men were made. In Portuguese it is called "olho do Boi" (bull's eye). Koyuka (*koyé-ka*, with *koyé?*) grew out of a tree with rough bark and yellow fruit. About Atucumagale's tree origin Antonio could give no further information. Both she and Koyuka were also wives and mothers of jaguars, although this information is given as uncertain. Later on Atucumagale is designated as the wife of Kuára, Mero's son.

Bacairi SP7

Geographically the post is situated ideally on a high land removed from the river and cleared of all vegetation, the jungle appearing only as a narrow fringe along the river banks. Like the rest of the high plateau it is wind swept, and generally pleasant. It must be added that contact with white people, such as is had when a small group of natives go to Cuyabá, has brought syphilis to them, and it may be their mortality is due to this.

One occupation enjoyed in former times is denied them, and that is fishing. There are practically no fish in the Paranatinga, at least up to where the post is located. Since meat is gotten only on rare occasions, and no hunting is done, the diet is mainly one of vegetables and considerably poorer than when they were living in their original state. This may also explain their lowered resistance to disease.

Very little museum material which represents their own products can be collected from the Bakairi. What has not been gotten from the Inspectoria has been brought back on excursions to the Kuluseu. Pottery has not been made since their coming to the post, according to them. The huge vessels that they possess either have been brought with them from their former homes or bartered from the tribes on the Kuluseu. It is claimed that the proper clay cannot be found in the neighborhood of Simões Lopes.

Arrows are still being made, an iron nail generally being substituted for the old bone point, but most of the arrows also come from the Kuluseu.

For the old hammock made of palm-leaf fibre the cotton hammock has been substituted, but the same open net style has been kept.

Mussel shell ornaments have also been bought from the tribes of the Kuluseu. In brief, almost anything that is found in their village must bear the suspicion that it is not a Bakairi product.

However, they have preserved a few customs, such as filing the upper teeth to a point, wearing under the European clothing the gee string, and ceremonial use of the bull-roarer, and they probably remember many of their ceremonies.

The short time spent at the post was mostly devoted to taking anthropometric measurements, which were subsequently lost on the Kuluseu, but in some notes I do find the statement that in blood groupings most belong to groups three and four, the former predominating.

Bororo SP9
Mato Grosso SP1

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[551]
[191]
[96]

Nine canoeists, recommended by Major Noronha, were received from the Bakairi. The nine included Paglioli, or Marcellino, and Ignacio, both of whom had lived on the Kuluene before they withdrew of the Bakairi to the post. Both of these men can speak Xinkakoia to some extent, and are the only men who know how to make bark canoes. Unfortunately, their Portuguese is poor, necessitating another interpreter. Their knowledge and skill in matters of river travel made them invaluable, however.

B
501

The Bakairi have the reputation of being the best canoeists of the region. The children are taught to paddle from infancy, and become extremely skilled in paddling the clumsy and heavy canoes. The paddle used is short and narrow, and a quick, short stroke is employed, the paddler shifting his paddle from one side to the other with every two or three strokes. Steering is accomplished more by the bowman than by the man in the stern. The use of the stern paddle as a rudder is not well understood. Poling is resorted to by the man in the bow when going up the stream, in which case the efforts of the man in the stern are given to guiding the canoe, which is accomplished by quick shifting of the paddling from one side to the other. Among the Bakairi, as indeed among all of the aborigines encountered, the women are as good paddlers as the men, but they never were seen poling.

* * * *

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As soon as our personnel was completed, with the addition of a young Italian explorer, Giovanni Anzil, who had been forced to abandon his project to reach the Amazon upon reaching the post, our baggage was transferred to the backs of men and mules, which were to transport it to the Kuluene river. The men not concerned with driving the mules went about. It was indeed an odd caravan. Mounted men busy with the mules, men about carrying bows and arrows and guns, long-haired men, small mules, filed in a long line across the waters of the plateau. All of the men wore a red kerchief wound about the head, and the usual hunting conversation was carried on. The Bakairi, of course, wore trousers and shirts, and even sandals made of old automobile tires, in imitation of the Brazilian caboclos.

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[29]

As we moved eastward and slightly north, it became more often necessary to build bridges for the animals, across small but high-banked

Mato Grosso 94
Bacairi 519

storms. Under the hot sun this became hard work, but in general the month was a pleasant one. The start in the morning was made at about eight o'clock, unless some beast had wandered too far off, when there was some further delay. A low fog hid the tall grass from sight early in the morning, but soon afterwards it would lift. In the early afternoon would appear white clouds in the skies that had been perfectly clear, enough to enhance the beauty of the sunsets, and no more. The region is windswept, so that though the sun was hot enough the heat was never unbearable. Camp was generally made in the middle afternoon, by some stream, in order to give the crew a chance to graze. Skies were invariably clear at night. The temperature fell so suddenly that few days after midnight, most preferring to huddle around the fire, to talk and drink coffee, which I allowed. Precipitation was heavy during the night, so was attested by our blankets, which were wringing wet by morning. However, the nights were not so uncomfortable that it would have justified the carrying of heavy tarpaulins.

In this manner we traveled over the rolling country. Sometimes we surprised deer that bounded off before a shot could be had, though several fell to our guns. Once Tupi, a short-haired New York fox terrier that accompanied us, roused a tapir; the other dogs joining in the chase, it was bayed and killed, a welcome event, for it supplied us with meat for several days. A puma one day caused a great deal of excitement. On being seen, almost the entire personnel gave chase, whistling lustily, shooting arrows, whooping, yelling and laughing. It was finally shot. Several centaung, birds whose meat was found to be excellent, were killed in the jungle patches bordering the streams.

We passed near two deserted village sites which the Bakairi identified as being Kayapó. Traveling on schedule, however, we were not able to stop to investigate archaeological possibilities.

On the sixth day from Simão Lopes we entered more wooded country, necessitating cutting a way through, and on the seventh day we reached the banks of the Kuluene river below the mouth of the Preto. This last day was marked by an accident to one of the tame park cows. It fell, breaking its back. For the wild steer that we had taken with us, its face covered with a leather mask so that it could not see where it was going, but naturally followed the other cows, this was fortunate. The heart ox was killed and its meat dried. The steer was sent back to the post

[illegible]
Photo Collection 1[illegible]
Box: [illegible]

in the morning with the other cows, with another excursion on its life upon. The cows from that had driven the cows also returned to Santa Lagoa, their fear of attack by the Kayapó hastening their journey back.

We were now totally out of touch with the world that we had left. The underbrush of a patch of jungle was cleared for our camp. This was always our practice, the insects and the moisture being less troublesome there than in the open. Furthermore we could swing our hammocks between trees, whereas it would have been necessary to set up hammock poles were we to camp in the open. As to danger of attack by the aborigines, it was felt that one is equally safe in the forest.

The following day the Bakairi began the search for suitable jatobá trees, for our canoes were to be made from the bark. The Bakairi set out early, without the customary breakfast, and carrying nothing but their weapons, without which they would not stir from camp. Were a man to eat before setting out to hunt the trees he would never find one, they said. In case, by some fortuitous accident he did, the bark would be too thin, or too thick, or too dry, or would crack. Therefore nothing must be eaten until the trees are found. In the afternoon they returned with news that several had been located and also that a trail marked with broken twigs had been discovered running about in a circle around our camp, indicating the presence of the Kayapó in the neighborhood. During the night it was claimed that strange calls were heard, but during our stay at this camp we were not molested.

For the conduct of the Brazilian camaradas I permitted the making of a dugout canoe, with this sort of watercraft they were familiar, but were distrustful of the bark canoes. Subsequently I had occasion to regret my decision and they their request.

In four days the Bakairi made six canoes, two of which were of good size, each capable of carrying an estimated load of fifteen hundred pounds. The dugout was not completed until the seventh day, and it proved hardly serviceable then. Its only baggage was two cases of gasoline, and it gave infinite trouble to its crew in the rapids because of its unwieldiness and great weight.

On the other hand, the jatobá bark canoe is flexible; this feature, combined with the thickness of the bark, diminishes the chances of perforation or capsizing on hitting a submerged rock or tree, which cannot be avoided, especially in the upper waters of the rivers. Such a

/100 cont./

to the Christians. I is said that they are white and friendly; one reason why th are regarded as a horde of the Furuya."

Mattiu haveth living on the southernmost sources of the Schingil and so lieth them on the sources of the Xingu and Iutuma. Its so classifies /[illegible]/ them under the Paresi /Pareni/ who are scattered across the watershed between Tapajos, Madeira, and Paraay.

Now it turnout that placing the Paresi and the Beleidi together in this so-was strangeness. The well-known closest relatives of the Beleidi, as I wish to point out briefly in advance, are settledworth of the Amazon River, and a tribe somewhat more directly related to them, but belonging to the same group, lies in the source region of the Madeira. I myself was famair only with the name of Mattiu, and on the journey I had idea how interesting this little tribe was

Beleidi village.

and how many hour I would later spend pondering over its past.

It was a verysingulaire circumstance that Reginaldo -- who was always ready to smoke a cigarette with me and warmed up more al more and gradually became highly amused by my notaam -- had an amazing gift of quick perception and was ab to express himself clearly for practical purposes in a somewat crude Portuguese. Such an opportunity never came again her. Reginaldo was a good person, intelligent, and holdin reins of his chachaindip in strong, paternal hands.

/101 cont./

151 only Reginaldo, who joined us, laughed and said derisively that the person approaching was Claus coming on foot. And he was right.

98 They all understand at least a few scraps of Portuguese.

648 They are on good terms with the Cavalé, who, they said, call themselves Kayaulo. It seems that they impress them because of their rifles. Reginaldo did not like to talk about this point. One had the impression that, according to his inner feeling, he was, after all, on the side of the wild Indians and against the Whites. As a clever man, he took advantage of the benefits offered by the Brazilians and did not fall out with the barbarians.

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John and Jacquina.

648 The Bororó manas /men's houses/ have to authority, as their hearts are the same people as the ximigua.

126 8 /126/ We were busy for a number of days. Claus worked out the itinerary and took the ground temperature, Wilhelm drew, I took body measurements and made the glossary that appears in the appendix. Besides Reginaldo, I was aided in particular by good-natured Antonio, who put up with everything and would have given anything to go with us. But he did not even dare ask the strict captain for permission. Cerro, too, was busy with notes. We shared the hut with him and the cadet.

[115]

122

/[illegible] cont./

The enthusiasm in the Paranangas was smaller than in one or the two towns. Moreover, the order of the community seemed seriously disturbed. Old Captain Cantano, probably over his eighties, despite his black hair, /[illegible]/ had been divested of his sovereignty in favor of a younger man, Felipe, in the instigation of the Marmyrus expedition, which, with the help of the Beladi, had crossed the Paranangas and passed through a section of the [illegible] /[illegible] see the glossary, p. [illegible]/ in a northerly direction. The Beladi, of course, felt more obligated to obey Captain Cantano than Captain Felipe, and the result was that each one made himself as independent as possible and worked on his own. Moreover, the tribe had been hard hit about eight years before by [illegible] /[illegible]/, an epidemic disease. The Brazilians put [illegible] of the blame for the number of deaths on the Indian because, in the face of the fever, they had always run into the [illegible].

As the time of our visit the Beladi population was made up of five men, five women, three children -- the present were five men, three women, one boy, whose return was, in part, no longer expected. Moreover, there were two Parell women, one of whom was numbered among those not present, and two Cajibi women, who had been adopted into the tribe. Finally, two Brazilians, caoutchouc-seekers, who had recovered from the fever in the village, had attached themselves, a mulatto lad and a certain Marco who had a Portuguese, Carlotta, as a wife, with a small son. Altogether there were 20 individuals present.

Luis, who had lived an adventurous life, a "philosopher," as he called himself, a "[illegible]," as his friend Daniel called him, was intimately acquainted with conditions. He charmed endlessly and was probably not altogether reliable, but he made himself useful, since the Portuguese of Cantano, who best knew the language, consisted of an extremely modest stock by words. "[illegible]" -- "[illegible]" /that's it exactly/ in German -- was the quintessence of his knowledge, so that the Indians soon called him nothing but "Capitão Mimo." Luis maintained that Cantano was the son of a Beladi father and

[Cajibi = Cayabi, a tribe classified under SPE Africa in The Outline of World Cultures -- Analyst]

/125 cont./

142 A gato. -- a boy Zinco (parents dead).
621 Luis (Bolivian), Maria (Brazilian) with wife Carlota (Paraguayan) and child.

124 I could not express enough about the fortunate circumstance
125 that I was able to make the linguistic survey on the Rio Novo. Even with the intelligent linguistic it had been difficult enough to determine phonetically the inimitable tongue exercises that make up the Botocudo language, but with Captain Mina, who did nothing but nod continually, and the officer who either laughed or gave impatient, nothing could be done.

On the other hand, I am indebted to Carolina for the legends which I shall retell later.

342 The largest house, which Capitão Cantano and Felipe occupied together, was 21 paces long and 9 1/2 paces wide. The
424 roof and walls, the latter supported by cross rods of tucum /bamboo, see the glossary, p. 172 / covered entirely of buriti /see the glossary, p. 174 / straw. Only Miguel owned a round house, the inner frame of tucum covered with buriti leaves. There were seven houses and two new buildings. In addition two
[345] pig huts. In the case of one new building, I inquired about the timber that made up the frame. Two tall ucuba posts supported the uppermost longitudinal roof-beam of ucuba wood (also cuitiba de porco). The sloping side-beams of the roof likewise cuitiba de porco, the two longitudinal beams guarandi. The smaller posts that supported the roof beams: uritiba, peuva, cavaio, banco. One roof was also covered with canipa grass.

164 I visited Miguel, who had an attack of fever, in his ham-
352 /126/ hock. He lay in his cotton hammock and let himself be
353 waited on by pretty Maria. The whole room hung full of calabashes, rare and fetishe baskets, skins, arrows -- things left by his grandfather. It was far more comfortable in this still true heathen affair than in the characteristic huts of the adherents of a mock civilization. With dreadful gestures of disgust, the old man swallowed the bitter quinine and buried his fever-enflamed
123 face in the hammock. Maria, in gratitude, baked me a bread.
[351]
[352] [Cf. Bossert on p. 170 -- Analysis]

/197 cont./

back and forth in this way for hours. They held bow and arrow in their hands and were led by a marked figure which, in the [illegible], looked like a man dressed as a woman or a carnival. The clothing was feminine, the abrupt movements masculine. This costume consisted of a conical cap with red, yellow, and green feather trimming all around and a long white cloak of heavily knotted cotton cord that terminated at the bottom with a wreath of black [illegible] feathers pointing downward. — Canna and that he had interpreted the explanation of an Tuxuna to mean that the sacred dance preserve the memory of former times when a great chief was received with much pomp in the villages that he visited. That chief is represented by the man in the cloak and the feather crown. /The remainder of Ch. 16 and Ch. 17, pp. 187-201, are omitted in the translation./

/202/

Eighteenth Chapter

Legends of the Bakaïri

The name that plays the chief role in the story of jully Captain Cannon Ulume, which unfortunately was told in such miserably broken Portuguese, is that of the "Imperador." If the missionaries had the intention of creating the greatest possible confusion of concepts in the heads of the Bakaïri whom they were to convert, they achieved their purpose to such an extent that one can only with effort separate a little clarity and concreteness from the general confusion. Let us imagine Imperador the sun-god of the Indians. He bears two other names, Kari and Schiachi. His brother is called Kame and also Duna. Schiachi, however, is the sun, Duna the moon. Kari and Kame are merely two other names for the two celestial bodies, which are found among many "Cuck tribes" (cf. chart of the Bo /unintelligible/) interestingly enough in reverse, Kari belonging to the moon, Kamu to the sun.

/77 cont./

The various men on detached duty were very different in their attitude to my purpose. Some tired too quickly, others were too unsteady. Far, present-like Yagi, for example, yawned after a few minutes, and his face seemed to say, "Sir, you are asking too much," and Lucho, the vain boy, only wanted to amuse himself. Of the younger men, only the remarkable Kalebale was of any use to me. He was, in fact, taciturn and reserved, but he obviously liked to come, laughed quietly to himself, and then when he opened his mouth to speak, he answered better than the rest. He had received beads from me for a pot, but he had to give them up. I presented him with new ones and did not accept another pot that he brought me. He was happy about that, gave me a bowl of the insipid pogo drink, and sat down beside me, leaning his head confidently against my shoulder. My most faithful guardian was Paleko: with his long face sprinkled with grey, his fine old face, he could very well have been /78/ director emeritus of a Gymnasium. In fact, we were often reminded of European physiognomies, whose owners would perhaps protest at being compared to a naked Indian. Ehrenreich and I, for example, were jokingly and seriously in complete agreement that we recognized a couple of gentlemen from the Berliner Anthropologischen Gesellschaft on the Kalimba; naturally these gentlemen did not resemble the Indians, but the Indians resembled the gentlemen. I was alone with Paleko for half days at a time. Now and then, Eva or my intended or the Egyptian came along or together, giving the two of us a little company.

Paleko plaited dainty little baskets, repaired wear, twisted twine out of palm fibers, and did whatever else there was in the way of such light tasks requiring patience. He gave me not only words and sentences from his mother tongue, but also a list of Nahuquá words, which proved that he had associated a great deal with these neighbors. He put less value on learning my language than the young people did. I would rather have given them German words instead of the Portuguese, but I regarded it as my duty not to confuse the poor souls for the future. Since my knowledge of Bakairí was still very meager, I progressed but slowly.

//in sum,//

between the Kulisehu and Kulusiu. In the line beside village Paisho enumerated for me the Nahuqué villages of the Kulisehu and indicated the direction from Mengéki in which they were to be sought. Starting on the upper course, there are: 1. Ainashiu or Anáshi southwest, 2. Ahufi or Kanahifi east, 3. Temurihumá or Tauihumá east to east-southeast, 4. Apelaquíh east-northeast, 5. Gulhuri east-northeast, 6. Mariapé northeast. Beyond them came the Tumaé. Thus, with the Guayaé, the Tamumeaqui, and the Nahuqué of the Kulisehu, we would have nine Nahuqué villages.

In order to round out the picture, I shall also mention the Suyá, who live on the main river a journey of three short days below Ininugi-Kulisehu and of whom we did not see anything on the second expedition, but heard bad rumors, and the Mentrauá, who live on a left tributary that flows in farther downstream and are well known to the Kamayurá and Tauiapité. In 1884 we met a [illegible] number of Mentrauá in captivity among the Suyá. Not until 1887 did we hear about the Tarumá or Arumá who, very soon after the Tumaé, were said to have had an unpleasant visit by the Suyá, and about whom the Kamayurá gave us the remarkable information that they were a metallic-sounding ear-ornament (cf. p. 196). It is probable that we must regard them as Mundurukú /Mundurucú/, the famous warrior tribe of the Tapajós, whose trail we missed on the Ininugi long ago. The Paresí called the Mundurukú "Tarumá," which is phonetically the same as Tarumá. A question of a club of Karajá-like /Carajá/ workmanship, which was attributed to the Tarumá, cannot invalidate the evidence presented in the agreement of the names. The Araçá had an evidence even more obscure to us: the Nahuqué asserted that they were not worth anything, and the Suyá geographer described them as neighbors of theirs. A Karajá tribe?

Finally, I must also consider the Kayapó. Likewise in the upper source region, they are said to live between the Kulisehu and the Kulusiu, above the Nahuqué, along the sources of the Paiumeru, the small Kulisehu tributary whose name is identical with the Suyá name for the Paranatinga. The Suyá geographer

/[illegible]/

from March 15, 1972, to closed. It had become necessary to take into account the tremendous and widely known changes which the Paraguay war had brought about in the southern part of the province. Of the tribes listed as Nos. 2-15 in 1968, three were crossed out, the total figure was reduced from 25,000 to 8670; on the other hand, for tribes 1, 2, 16-19 the old report was again copied verbatim, so that no human being seems to have been born or died here in the 16 years.

The Bakairí of the Paranatinga and Rio Novo maintained themselves in their two poor villages. They were occasionally visited by gold-seeker expeditions who would then arrange a small mass-baptism and introduce syphilis and measles. Many perished from measles. The disease, relatively harmless for us, is not only /[illegible]/ often fatal to the Indians, but they also have the bad habit of plunging into the river in the middle of the highest fever and not drying themselves after they leave the cool bath.

I made an effort to learn more details about the history of the tribe from the aged Caetano, second chief, and his successor, Felipe, on the Paranatinga, as well as from Amarin. A history of more recent times can clearly be separated out, during which a drift to the southwest took place. Whereas the forefathers of the [illegible] of the Paranatinga lived several days' journey below the present village and somewhat above the emptying of the Rio [illegible] coming from the left, the West Bakairí, at least since the middle of the previous century, have occupied the border area between the source rivers of the Arinos, Cuyabá, and Paranatinga, where the village on the Rio Novo is still to be found. On the Ribeirão Caiabão there were more than six villages; there was a large village on the Ribeirão do Pedro. The first baptism of the Bakairí took place in Diamantino. Caetano, born in the previous century according to all calculations, first saw the light of the world where the Rio Bezerra empties into the Paranatinga. The Paranatinga village now located above this is a creation of modern times.

/[illegible] cont./

[illegible]

5. Die Tucuna Sprache /The Tucuna Language/. Leipzig, [illegible].

amount published in [illegible], the richly illustrated, brilliantly written, lovingly conceived volume in which are discussed the main subjects of the primitive history of mankind, to sum up in a word, the richest modern contribution on all that touches upon our aborigines (#).

[illegible]

6. Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens /Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil; an Ethnogr. Tr. Ed./. Berlin, [illegible].

[illegible]

At the same time that Dr. Ihering's book on the language appeared, a Tucuna was here, brought from the Paranaiuba by Dr. Oscar de Miranda when he completed his difficult journey down that river to the Amazon. With this Indian, the author of these lines was able to study the German scholar's book word by word, and I cannot find words enough to express the admiration that was aroused in me by the exactitude of the phonetic transcription, the sharpness with which the grammatical forms had been discerned, and the thoroughness with which everything useful in the materials collected had been picked out. If the comparison be permitted in a country that boasts of being primarily agricultural, it might be said that his sugar mill, like one of the gigantic rollers in use today, squeezed out all the cane juice, leaving only the bagasse.

From that Indian, called Iruru, who will be designated with the initial "I," many texts were gathered--legends, descriptions, traditions. The present /[illegible]/ work aims at a partial presentation of this harvest. Based on the book by Dr. Ihering, whose system of phonetic transcription is adopted

/[illegible] cont./

[illegible] is killed, pay to [illegible]—if no payment is made, Tamiko will enter one [illegible] Inuga (Cahua?) /[illegible]/ is the domestic animal that is the creation [illegible] of Tamiko [illegible] if you cut down trees in which Tamiko dwells, pay for [illegible] and on a place to hold a festival, [illegible] is payment for the [illegible]—then, when Tamiko had drunk [illegible], he

[illegible]

15. After he had dictated the passage, I expressed doubts as to whether the dance was the [illegible] or some other one.

gave for away (16).

[illegible]

16. Martín Ruiz Blanco notes a variant of the same idea among the Indians of Perú (Colombia): "When the Indian brings in a deer or wild boar, the woman comes out with a [illegible] of the drink that they make out of maize, and she opens the animal's mouth and gives it some to drink out of courtesy so that its soul will tell the others about the good treatment given to it" (Conversión de Perú, 64, Madrid reprint.).

796 [illegible] is the name of one of their festivals, and this would be the proper place to discuss them, if unfortunately, the scanty information that exists concerning this were not deficient, concealing all the ritual and devotional aspect which is its essence. We shall return to it on another occasion.

/Text cont./

After much wandering, the sky becomes cooler. We are close to the village, says Nahuori's companion. Then they reach the village of the heroes, and the candidate hears nothing but human language: Did you come, my brother? Did you come, my father? Did you come, my uncle? Did you come, my son? the candidate hears, but he sees nothing, because one cannot see through the darkness of the sky.

The bench moves on again, and then, as though awakening, they reach Nahuori's house and go into it. You wandered much, says Nahuori.--Yes, I did, Captain, answers the candidate.

After a short while, the candidate says to Nahuori: Captain, I am going away. Yes, replies Nahuori. You may go now; you will return again one day.

Let us now interrupt this passage in order to comment upon it.

Dr. Carlos von den Steinen heard from Antonio something which probably referred to Nahuori; he thought, however, that the story,--naturally poorly developed, since Antonio spoke in Portuguese, which he did not know well, and an Indian only narrates with pleasure and clarity in his native tongue--showed the influence of Christianity. Thus, when Antonio, unable to recall at once the name of the personage who dwelt in the sky, was searching for it in his own mind, the German traveler asked him if it might not be Jesus /Nei/ Christo.--"Cristo mesmo /Christ himself/," said Antonio, possibly accepting the suggestion (16).

[13]

16. Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens /Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil/, 348 /See 2:Steinen, this file, p. 409/.

/11 cont./

respect to this piece of information we must keep in mind the fact that in those times the Rio Paranatinga was regarded as a tributary of the Xingu River.

From an objective standpoint I have nothing to add to Karl von den Steinen's full account. I merely propose to complement it in time and to add what we know of the more recent history of the Bakairí since that period when Karl von den Steinen wrote his history of the Bakairí. I feel impelled to carry out this mission, especially in view of the fact that of my two expeditions, in which I had the most extensive contacts with the Bakairí, the first took place 26 years before the second, so that I had a good opportunity to observe personally a great part of the change in the living conditions of the Bakairí in the times after Karl von den Steinen's publication. The Bakairí Anaki, who was my faithful companion /12/ on the trip from the Simão Lopes Post to the Pedro Dantas Post, established to civilize the Kayabí /Cayabi/, and on the return to Cuiabá, was the son of a Bakairí, born on the Rio Kulisehu and called Chuco, who had been one of my traveling companions to the Rio Kulisehu in the year 1901. I also encountered in the year 1927 many old acquaintances among whom I had lived 26 years before in their village, Maimaiuri, on the Rio Kulisehu. They all still remembered well the time we had spent together in the past. During my later stay in Cuiabá, up to the year 1931, the Bakairí boys who went to school in Cuiabá visited my house often, so that it enabled me to keep informed up to that date about all that went on among the Bakairí.

Karl von den Steinen's two expeditions to the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River should be noted as an important event not only in the general history of discoveries but also, especially, in the history of the Bakairí. Though there was re-established the long broken connection between the Bakairí living on the Rio Paranatinga and their fellow countrymen on the Batovy and Kulisehu river. This fact had such an incisive

/12 cont./

influence on the later development of these Indians, with their very marked feeling of nationality, that they changed their aboriginal customs completely during the 30 years following Karl von den Steinen's second expedition carried out in the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River. Thanks to a series of data on events among the Bakairí in this interval, we find ourselves in the fortunate position of being able to investigate that transformation. We are informed in detail on the personality and life history of several Bakairí who have influenced in a special way the later development of their tribe, like Cacique Reginaldo and, especially, Cacique Antonio and his nephew José Cuiuiuc, so that we can give our historical report on the Bakairí a more personal character than would be possible with respect to other Indian tribes.

If we differentiate, according to Karl von den Steinen, the Bakairí who live west of the Rio Paranatinga (in later times officially Rio Teles Pires) as western Bakairí and the eastern Bakairí, who have their homes in the region east of this river, on the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, it can be said that in the period of Karl von den Steinen's first expedition to the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River, no contacts took place between these two Bakairí groups, and certainly none had taken place for a long time. Old Cacique Reginaldo told Karl von den Steinen that he still remembered, from the days of his youth, that traveling from the Rio Paranatinga eastward, one would reach a big river on which it was said that Bakairí also lived; but that at the present date they did not know anything about this region. (4) Certainly no contacts had taken

4. Karl v.d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien /Through Central Brazil/. Leipzig, 1886. p. 182.

place between the western Bakairí and those of the east from the time when the former established closer contact with the

/14 cont./

106 Portuguese. The lobes of their ears and the nasal septa were
177 still perforated, and Cacique Reginaldo sometimes wore, in
178 addition to his captain's uniform, the little sticks adorned with feathers in his ear lobes as well. In the aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí there still stood in the year 1884, besides the /15/ rectangular houses in the Brazilian rancho style, a round hut built like the houses of the eastern Bakairí who live in the regions of the headwaters of the Xingu River, in which lived an old Bakairí man with a young Kayabí woman. Bows and arrows were still used, occasionally, for hunting and fishing, and among the plaited objects had been kept the ancestral forms of the large twig baskets, sieves, and hammocks.

175 In the aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí the order of things
622 was gravely disturbed at the time of Karl von den Steinen's
648 expeditions (11) because the occupants of this village felt greater
578

11. Karl v.d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 120.

loyalty to the old cacique, Caetano, than to Cacique Felipe, installed as cacique instead of the former by the Mato Grosso government. The Bakairí, Antonio, who accompanied Karl von
[115] den Steinen on his expeditions to the Xingu River and who later became the most important figure in the history of the Bakairí, was then a youth.

175 The western Bakairí were at that time the Indians to whom
648 had come the most remote shoots of European culture in these regions. What was farther on was still unexplored land, with free Indians, because of whom the mobility of the Bakairí was hampered to a high degree. It seems that the Bakairi to the south and southwest had peaceful relations with the Kayapó /Cayapo/ with whom, in earlier times, they had once been allied in order jointly to expel the Suyá from the Rio Verde region. (12) This friendship is interesting in so far as the Kayapó

/21 cont./

701 disturb the Brazilian campesinos in these regions. According to
648 Herrmann Meyer (28) they had already wreaked serious destruction

28. Herrmann Meyer, "Bericht uber seine zweite Xingú-Expedition," loc. cit., pp. 115 and 116.

in the region of the Serra Trombador and killed several inhabitants. At the time of my stay on the Corrego Fundo ranch, the Kayabí had penetrated the mountains above the Rio Paranatinga up to some six leagues from Corrego Fundo and attacked Cacique Antonio as he was looking for rubber with his people for Señor Jange Soares, the owner of the ranch. But Antonio had driven them back with his armed people and killed a Kayabí on this occasion.

622 Cacique Antonio's big house where I visited him had been
342 built a year earlier. It consisted of a large middle room which communicated on the left side of the entrance with two other rooms which formed the dwelling house proper of the cacique and Doña Rosa, and on the right side with a large room for guests that fulfilled exactly the functions of the house for fiestas
622 of the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River regions. All the men
342 and boys of the aldea could go in and out of it as they pleased.
574 This room also served for dancing, and during my stay in it,
[302] from time to time, some Xinguanos would enter, their faces
[533] painted in red and black, and sing their monotonous melodies
[535] as they danced around the post set in the middle of the room.
[352] Cacique Antonio's own dwelling already had at this time quite
[123] a modern appearance. In the "dining room" there was a table and a large armchair as well as dishes and spoons, and I was entertained at his table in the Brazilian manner with a dish of
622 meat with rice and flour. He obviously enjoyed renewing old
115 memories of the journeys he had made with Karl von den Steinen. He looked with great interest at Karl von den Steinen's works about his travels and, on his part, showed me some photographs

/21 cont./

622 that he still kept from those days. Antonio had no children by
●115 Doña Rosa. I had the opportunity to become acquainted with
[123] her when, returning in poor health from the Rio Kulisehu, I was most generously accommodated in her house although Antonio was away.

342 José Coroado's house, situated in front of his stepfather
352 Antonio's house, was just as large and built in the same style.
353 Its interior gave much more of a native impression than Antonio's house. In the half-dark rooms several women lay in the hammocks /22/ among them one with Jose's little daughter, who was only a few weeks old. All the walls in the house showed in the upper part, directly under the ceiling, boards painted in black and white. These friezes made by the Xinguanos showed the typical paintings of the Bakairí. All of the decorations known to the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River regions appeared in these paintings, such as, for example, the figures called
159 uluri, merechu, and maimai. José, in spite of his youth, had
191 already had a great deal of experience. The hole in his lower lip at once recalled his early childhood among his own fellow
[871] countrymen, the Bororo, whose idiom he still knew. As already mentioned above, he had come with his mother to the house of Cacique Antonio when he was a boy of five or six, but he had received part of his education in the capital, Cuiabá, so that he was better acquainted than any other Rio Paranatinga Bakairí with the Portuguese language, which he also used in
159 talking with his mother. When he was an adult, Cacique
619 Antonio had taken him along on a trip to the Batovy and Kulisehu
484 rivers. Already at that time he had had trouble with his stepfather because he had become too involved with the pretty girls of the first aldea of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí and had thus damaged the good relations with the inhabitants of that aldea. The anger of the inhabitants of the first Rio Kulisehu aldea caused by José Coroado's behavior still continued at the time of my journey to the Rio Kulisehu, and José did not dare to accompany me to that aldea because he had learned that its

/25 cont./

114 temporarily absent at the time, so we must take into account
161 a population in Maimaieti of more than 45 persons. I have
361 already mentioned above that the population of Maigeri aldea at the time of my trip was much larger than Karl von den Steinen estimated it to be at an earlier time. Still to be added is the population of the aldea recently founded between the Kulisehu and Batovy rivers, whose total we do not know, because it should undoubtedly be regarded as having been founded by Rio Kulisehu Bakairí and a part of the Xinguanos, who have moved temporarily or for longer to the Rio Paranatinga.

●115 It is certain that the epilogues of the expeditions made to
681 the regions of the sources of the Xingu River have been played out with regard to the subsequent history of the Bakairí of the Kulisehu and Batovy rivers. Thus, Cacique Tumayaua of the first aldea on the Kulisehu, who had first helped Karl von den Steinen in his undertaking in these regions, had been assassinated by his own fellow countrymen shortly before the time of my expedition. I have already mentioned that the inhabitants of this same aldea had lain in wait for José Coroado because he had become too involved /26/ with the women.

648 Another consequence of these expeditions was the fact that the
178 relations of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí with the other tribes that lived farther down this river, especially the Nahukuá and the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, had already become strained at the time because these Indians envied the Bakairí for having received the lion's share of the precious articles brought by the explorers. But, in short, the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí, after their first contact with the whites, had gone on living as before without being discommoded by others. Their social organization, their legal ideas, the form of their economy, their customs, and their crafts were at the time of my stay among them still almost the same as in former times.

114 We received the first information on the Bakairí, after
361 my journey, in the year 1915 through Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa, who, on the occasion of his expedition devoted to measuring

/28 cont./

114 [113] Sept. 1926 bis Aug. 1928
/Results of My Two Year Exploratory
Trip in Mato Grosso. Sept. 1926
to Aug. 1928/." pp. 86-88.
Zeitschrift fur Ethnologe.
Annual Set 60. Heft 1/1.

114 In Cuiabá I had already encountered some Bakairí
115 who had come from Simões Lopes with a herd of oxen to the capital. Since at that time the revolutionaries, led by /Luiz Carlos/ Prestes, were passing through Mato Grosso and also were making the vicinity of Cuiabá insecure, these Bakairí were prevented from undertaking their return journey for the same reason I was unable to carry out my projected trip to Simões Lopes. They were four men and one boy of ten, and when they visited me one day in my house, it turned out that one of these Indians, called Marcellino Caminsgo, or by his native name, Palugude, came from the second Bakairí aldea on the Rio Kulisehu. At the time of my stay in this aldea 26 years earlier, he had been a small boy, but he still remembered me well. It was interesting to note how this memory gradually came back to him when I played on my violin the same melody that I had played many times in the Maimaieti aldea among the Kulisehu Bakairí. He asked one of the other Bakairí what my name was, and when I told him that my name was "Doctor Macimo," he knew at once that his memory had not deceived him and he
[551] greeted me as an old acquaintance. Naturally, from this
[191] moment on he frequented my house with his small son, Lorenzo,
[126] whose native name was Kaiura, and with the other Bakairí, and since some /29/ of these Bakairí were quite familiar with the Portuguese language I had a good chance to take down linguistic notes and to obtain at this time exact data on the changes which had taken place with respect to conditions among the Bakairí
[622] since my former journey. Among other news they told me that
[159] old Cacique Reginaldo had lived on for a long time and had

/29 cont./

114 died a short time before. Cacique Karía, who in times past
115 had received me so hospitably in Maimaieti aldea, was still
159 living but very old. He was quite isolated, for his wife as well
622 as his two daughters, whom I had known as little girls, had
died. Cacique Antonio was also still alive but was also already
old and had remained with his family and a few people at the
location of the old Bakairí aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí.
622 Antonio always clung stubbornly to the idea that the land bound
159 by the Serra Azul, the Riberão Bananal, and the Río Paranatinga
619 belonged to him and his Bakairí, and he did not want to leave
648 his aldea so as not to lose the right to this region. As for the
114 changes brought about by the establishment of the Simões Lopes
Post, he maintained a very cautious attitude and did not recognize the authority of the Post administration, according to which the Bakairí, Pires, was named cacique of the Xinguanos in his place and appointed to administer the affairs of this part of the Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post. When I later met Cacique Antonio, he told me repeatedly that he was still Capitão and the legitimate chief of his fellow tribesmen. Among other news received from the Bakairí in Cuiabá, I heard that José Coroado and his brother-in-law Chico, who had accompanied me with the latter on my expedition to the Rio Kulisehu, had died since.

114 In the course of the journey which I finally undertook,
622 leaving Cuiabá on January 27, 1927, I was able to make only
159 a passing visit to Cacique Antonio in his aldea, but he himself
[123] visited me at Simões Lopes several times. (Cf. Fig. 1.) I was
very well received in his house as an old friend and treated to
a glass of guarana drink. Whereas Antonio had no issue by Rosa
Bororo, he had after her death three sons by his second wife.
The photograph shown in Figure 2 shows Antonio before his
house with his family, and his horse on the right. The condition
of his house, in contrast with that of previous times when I
visited him at the height of his power, conveyed an impression
114 of poverty. In a small house situated close to Antonio's, I also
115

/29 cont./

114 met one of the Bakairí who had accompanied me in the year
115 1901 on my journey to the Rio Kulisehu. He too was already
[164] very old and he was ill, his body being covered with tumors.

When I reached the Simões Lopes Post I met with highly
114 unfavorable circumstances. My pack oxen were the first to
361 reach Simões Lopes after the long interruption of all traffic between this post and the capital Cuiabá caused by the revolutionaries
[173] led by Prestes. For this reason there was at that time a scarcity of /30/ provisions, and in addition there was among the Indians a bad epidemic of malaria, which the head of the post, Señor Benedito, and his family also had. The post at the time was still at the same location where it was first established, where José Coroado had had his aldea before, and thus 13 kilometers downriver from the old aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí and four kilometers inland on the right side of the river near the small Riberão Azul. It consisted of some administrative buildings (cf. Figure 3) and some 20 ranchos for the Bakairí Indians (cf. Figures 4, 6, and 7). There is no doubt that all the Bakairí lived at this time in areas near the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires) and had relations with the Simões Lopes Post, but only part of them lived at the post, and since the plantations of the individual Indian families were rather far from the settlement, the Indians who lived at the post also stayed temporarily in their small houses built near their plantations.

361 In the middle of the post was the house of the Bakairí, Pires,
622 whom the administration had entrusted with the caciqueship over
166 the Bakairí who had moved from the region of the upper Xingu
101 River and who were called Xinguanos. (Cf. Figures 4 and 5.)

In one of the houses of the post I met the Bakairí, Luchu,
114 who came from the first aldea on the Rio Kulisehu, who with
115 Cacique Tumayaua had accompanied Karl von den Steinen on his expedition and who is shown in a photograph in the book
[179] Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens. As shown in the photograph in Figure 8, he had grown quite old since and was

/30 cont./

114 dressed in European manner, and with his rough beard he bears
115 little resemblance to the photograph taken by Karl von den
[177] Steinen some 39 years earlier. In another house there still lived Luisa Kayabí, whom Karl von den Steinen had met when she was the young wife of old Cacique Caetano.

114 Most of the Bakairí whom I had known 26 years before in
731 Maigeri and Maimaieti aldeas had perished in a flu epidemic
753 that had wreaked havoc among the population of Mato Grosso
648 some years earlier. Since the high number of deaths among
361 the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River was attributed to the witch-
[166] craft of evil neighboring tribes, especially the Mehinakú and the Nahukuá, who had been envious of the economic benefits derived by the Bakairí from their contact with civilization, all the Bakairí of the Batovy and Kulisehu rivers had moved to the Rio Paranatinga. Undoubtedly petty jealousies and other discords had caused these Bakairí, called Xinguanos, not to get along with their fellow natives on the Paranatinga, and for this reason they had settled at some distance from the post, farther downriver. I found the first of these Xinguano settlements at the place where the Ribeřão Azul enters the Rio Paranatinga. It was situated on the right side of this river and consisted of four small houses. (Cf. Figures 21 and 22.) A little farther downriver I reached a Bakairí plantation near which was a rancho occupied by some people. (Cf. Figure 20.)

361 /31/ From there a path led to the principal settlement of
622 the Bakairí who had moved from the Rio Kulisehu. It consisted
159 of two rather large houses. (Cf. Figure 17.) I was told that a
114 little farther downriver there were some more settlements, and
[487] among them also that of my old friend from Maimaieti aldea, Karía. I had already encountered Karía when I visited Cacique
622 Antonio, and he had recognized me. He was no longer cacique,
159 and I was told that at the time of my stay in Maimaieti he had
114 merely been a temporary cacique in the place of his brother who was then away. He had grown much older and no longer

/31 cont./

622 had people at his command so that he no doubt lived in great
159 poverty. Some time later he visited me at the Simões Lopes
114 Post and brought me a beautiful bow with arrows and an old-style necklace made of stone and shell beads.

114 During my stay at Simões Lopes I twice visited the Xinguano
115 settlement situated on the Rio Paranatinga, and each time I was received very kindly and entertained well by the inhabitants, among whom I still found some acquaintances from Maimaieti. There I again met Marcellino Caminage and his family (cf. Figures 15-17), and also the son of the Bakairí, Chico, who had accompanied me on my previous trip from the Rio Paranatinga to Maimaieti aldea and who had since died. The son of this Chico, called André, had been raised on the ranch of Jange Soares so that he was good at the tasks related to a trip with pack oxen. I hired him for the rest of my journey, and I must mention here that he was always a good and faithful companion on my trip to the Kayabí Post, Pedro Dantas, and on the return to Cuiabá, at one time being my only companion and going through many difficulties with me. I still remember one day, when things were going very badly for us, he said to me, "My father, before, always stayed near you on your trip, and so now I stay near you too."

361 Also on the right side of the Rio Paranatinga but some dis-
622 tance from the river and beyond the Rio Vermelho that flows
[166] into the river below the Simões Lopes Post, was the settlement of the Bakairí who had moved from their two aldeas situated on the Rio Novo. The cacique of this group of Bakairí was at this time a man of advanced age called Roberto. (Cf. Figure 12.) The settlement consisted of 11 houses, only three of which were occupied at this time. But besides these houses Roberto also had a house at the Simões Lopes Post itself, where he occasionally
114 stayed with his people. On leaving Simões Lopes to continue my journey to the Pedro Dantas Post, I had the opportunity to visit the houses of the Bakairí who had come from the Rio Novo,

/31 cont./

114 but unfortunately I encountered only a few inhabitants of this aldea because Roberto was busy at the plantations with most of his people.

114 At the Simões Lopes Post itself there lived several Bakairí
●115 who had been for some time in the employ of the Post administration and who were familiar with the tasks involved with traveling with pack oxen. (Cf. /32/ Figures 9-11.) One of these was employed especially as a carpenter. (Cf. Figure 9.) It was interesting for me to meet one of these Bakairí, called Bernardino, who with some other Bakairí had accompanied Colonel Fawcett on his last trip to the tributaries of the Xingu River, and who for this reason could give me some exact data on the last events prior to the disappearance of this unfortunate explorer. According to this information, already before /his disappearance/ the Colonel's behavior had seemed very strange
114 to the Bakairí. They said that before his last trip he had undertaken a journey to the Rio Paranatinga region with some Bakairí, pushing blindly in a certain direction until his pack oxen fell exhausted, so that he had to abandon all his equipment on the plain. Returning to Simões Lopes, he had hired Leonardo and some other Bakairí to lead him with his son and another youth, who was said to have been ill already, to the tributaries of the Xingu River. From there he had then ordered all his guides to return because he wished to continue the journey accompanied only by his son and by the above-mentioned fellow countrymen. Since that time there had been no news of him, and all those who are familiar with conditions in these regions insofar as its pestiferous climate, impenetrable forests, rapids, and total lack of available game in many of its parts are concerned, will share my opinion that these conditions preclude the possibility of Fawcett still being alive. It is probable that but a short time after the departure of the Bakairí he and his two companions dropped exhausted and helpless somewhere on the plain or a hill, so that we need not assume necessarily that their death was brought about through the violence of some

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[P69-A]

THE BACAIRI

114 This brief account of the Bacairí is based on
[101] field work done among the Bacairí living in the Government Indian Post on the Rio Paranatinga
[121] in June 1947. The field work was carried out in the course of a reconnaissance survey which the writer was then making of some of the central and northern Indian tribes of Mato Grosso.
[122] This and other trips at the time were made in a Ford truck put at the disposal of the writer by the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios. By using a truck the trip to the Paranatinga could be made over the Planalto do Matogrossense in 2 days in contrast to the old route along the Rio Cuiabá which, on horseback with pack oxen, takes from 2 to 3 weeks. The writer was accompanied by Fernando Altenfelder Silva of the Escola de Sociologia e Politica de São Paulo and by Rev. Thomas Young and Rev. W. L. Buckman of the South American Indian Mission. The Reverend Mr.
[115] Young, who has spent more than 10 years among the Bacairí, was of great help in selecting informants and in adding to our knowledge of the Bacairí.

161 According to estimates made in 1947 by the
36/ Brazilian Indian Service (Serviço de Proteção aos Indios) there are between 200 and 250 Bacairí living in the northern part of Mato Grosso State, Brazil, divided between the Indian Post of Simão Lopes on the Rio Paranatinga and the village of
173 Rio Novo some distance to the northwest. The
36/ Bacairí claim that the whole tribe originally
167 lived together on the Rio Paranatinga (headwaters
[648] of the Tapajoz River), but attacks by other Indians and Brazilians forced them to move about 90 years ago. Owing to a dispute the tribe split, one group moving north to settle on the banks of the Rio Kuliseu, a tributary of the Xingú River, the other moving to Rio Novo. After about 50 years in the Kuliseu Basin, this group moved to the present location of Simão Lopes, not far from the original Bacairí settlement
177 on the Rio Paranatinga. Although the Rio Novo
166 group has adopted Brazilian customs and manages
648 without Government help, some have moved to Simão Lopes where the Bacairí now live on reservation lands and receive assistance from the Brazilian Government.

1 Steinen P,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Through Central Brazil. Expedition for the Exploration of the Xingu in the Year 1884
[Durch Central-Brasilien. Expedition zur Erforschung des Schingú im Jahre 1884]

Karl von den Steinen

Leipzig: 1886
F. A. Brockhaus

Translated from the German by Frieda Schütze

Human Relations Area Files
1966
[Title Page]

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114

Dr. Clauss Dr. K. von den Steinen W. von den Steinen

Dr. Karl von den Steinen and his traveling companions.

Frontispiece.

Foreword

114 In September of the year 1883 His Majesty's ship "Marie" safely delivered in Montevideo the German South Polar Expedition returning from the island of South Georgia. While the rest of the members returned home, Dr. Clauss and I remained at La Plata in order to take advantage of the favorable opportunity for a journey of exploration into the interior of South America, together with my cousin, Wilhelm von den Steinen, who was already awaiting us there, as had been arranged.

121 After my initially cherished plan to explore the Rio Pilcomayo was thwarted as a result of the expedition of Herr Thouar, which had just then been successfully completed, we turned our attention to the Schingú /Xingu/, the largest still unknown river of the South American continent, which promised interesting disclosures, especially from an anthropological point of view.

122 The German Minister-Resident in Buenos Aires, Herr Baron von Holleben, supported us in the most active and gracious manner. Through the good offices of the Brazilian Chargé d'Affaires, Herr Cavalcanti Lacerda, the Imperial Ministry was induced to provide us with a military escort.

114 Our trio was not unfavorably constituted for the purpose. Dr. Clauss was a physicist, my cousin a painter. The anthropological-ethnological part of the program fell to me as a physician who had already gathered some experiences from a journey around the world. My cousin had brought along the necessary instruments. He had prepared himself for a few months at the Hamburg Naval Observatory, under the kind supervision of the Privy Admiralty Councilor, Professor Dr. Neumayer; he was also helped by the latter's advice in the selection and procurement of the instruments.

[122] Since the president of the province of Mato Grosso, Herr Baron von Batovy, agreed to our wishes with the greatest readiness, success could not be lacking. Thus, we set out from Cuyabá /Cuiabá/ at the end of May in the year 1884 and reached Pará at the end of October.

/vii cont./

The German consul in this emporium of Amazonas, Herr Semelberg, as well as the German ambassador in Rio de Janeiro, Herr Le Maistre, gave us the most gracious reception.

126 /viii/ The ethnological collection, which, despite all the difficulties of transport, we salvaged successfully and almost without loss, was given to the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde.

126 Herr Professor Baron Karl von Fritsch kindly undertook the
128 identification of the rock samples gathered on the trip, a considerable part of which, however, was unfortunately lost.

In working up the linguistic material I was enthusiastically assisted by my friend Herr Dr. Georg Wenker in Marburg.

The illustrations, with the exception of the ten separate pictures which Mr. Johannes Gehrs of Düsseldorf made, as well as a few photographs collected on the trip, were done by my cousin, Wilhelm von den Steinen, from his numerous travel sketches. In the case of the ethnographic plates, he was helped by a few photographs, for which I am indebted to the Assistant Director of the Berlin Museum, Herr Dr. von Luschan.

Besides an ethnographic and a simple survey map, a special map by Herr Dr. Clauss, which was made available by the
[113] publishing firm of Justus Perthes, was added to the book. The results of our meteorological and geographical studies were published by Dr. Clauss in detailed form in the May and June issue of Petermanns Mittheilungen for the year 1886. He also erected a small meteorological station in Cuyabá, in order to obtain a series of observations over a longer period; Herr
127 August Karstens, a German master tailor in residence there, has earned the most commendable merit for filling in as best he could the considerable gaps in our meteorological knowledge of central South America and has already sent in a continuous series of observations.

I am particularly indebted to Herr Capistrano de Abreu of Rio, the translator of "Wappaeus," who was indefatigably active in obtaining for me excerpts from older works in the Bibliotheca Nacional.

/viii cont./

I would find no end were I to list the names of the many friends from whom we experienced kindness on our journey; I assure them all, however, of our warmest gratitude. Anyone who feels that he must regard all human beings as evil and selfish should travel in distant lands in order to convince himself there that he will be treated better than he deserves.

Düsseldorf, May 1886 Karl von den Steinen

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Seventh Chapter

000 March from Cuyabá to the Docile Bakaïrí on the Rio Novo

/Pages 80-98 are omitted in the translation./

/98/

132 14 June. 6:40 A.M.: dry. 18.9, wet. 18.2, strat. 8, S 2-3. Like yesterday, the south wind brings low-moving cloud masses.

122 Today the men are ready very quickly; off shortly before seven o'clock in the morning.

[137] [487] Predominantly meadow, a narrow, hard path leads through it, on which one can merrily trot. A number of oxen greet us as the first emissaries. A wide expanse of campo has been freshly burned off; it is said that wild animals like to seek out these "quemadas" /see the glossary, p. 172 / because of the salty [136] ashes. A number of curicacas (ibis); in the distance an ostrich, which Pedro and the dogs pursue in vain.

361 At nine o'clock we see the "aldeamento"[7] /see the glossary, p.170 / of the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ in the distance; four houses; the sunshine gives the illusion of slate roofs; a few naked torsos hasten inside, clothed persons step outside. In the immediate [342] vicinity the settlement shrinks to actual palm-straw huts.

622 /99/ Daniel is on the spot and introduces us to "Captain Reginaldo." Reginaldo da Silva Nogueira, from the walnut forest /Nusswald/. A man in his forties with a broad chest, long, curly black hair, a friendly look, but silent; hat, shirt, trousers in good condition.

574 General handshaking. A half dozen, mostly young, broad-shouldered men, likewise in their Sunday best, sit on the fence of the cattle yard. The crown of creation is absent. -- Gradually the procession draws up, and everyone settles down at home. By way of greeting, sugar cane is sucked and a swallow of liquor permitted.

[7] [i.e. village -- Analyst]

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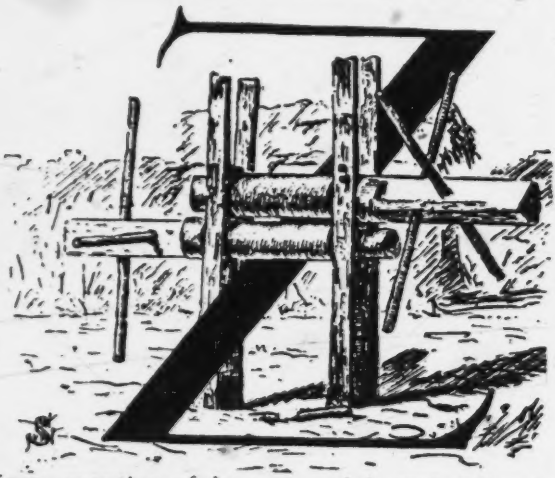
Eighth Chapter

The First Bakaïrí Village. -- March to the Paranatinga. -- The Second Bakaïrí Village.



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[407]

In the report of José Gonçalves da Fonseca about a trip from Pará to the source region of the Madeira in the year 1749, I find, for the first time, mention of the name of the Bakaïrí, who consequently must have been known already to the first generation of Mata Grosso discoverers. In discussing the probable origin of the Schingú /Xingu/, he says that the rivers lying between the sources of the Tapajoz /Tapajós/ and the Tocantins, called "Bacaris" and "das Mortes," may undoubtedly be regarded as the source rivers of the Schingú. -- In the atlas of Thomas Jeffery of the year 1776, the "Bacahyris" on the Paranatinga are recorded.

Ayras de Cazal notes about our tribe in 1817: "The Baccahirys, who inhabit the regions adjacent to the Rio das Mortes, wage an incessant war against all kinds of quadrupeds and birds. [177] Up to the present time this people has not shown any hostility

[This drawing illustrates a Sugar Cane Press— C.f. P. 22 -- Analyst]

/100 cont./

101 to the Christians. It is said that they are white and friendly:
175 one reason why they are regarded as a horde of the Paricys."
[177] Martius has them living at the southernmost sources of
[131] the Schingú and also lists them at the sources of the Arinos and Juruena. He also classifies /101/ them under the Parecí /Paressi/ who are scattered across the watershed between Tapajoz, Madeira, and Paraguay.

101 Now it turns out that placing the Parecí and the Bakaïrí together in this way was erroneous. The well-known closest relatives of the Bakaïrí, as I wish to point out briefly in advance, are settled north of the Amazon River, and a tribe somewhat more distantly related to them, but belonging to the same group, lives in the source region of the Madeira.
122 I myself was familiar only with the note of Martius, and on the journey I had no idea how interesting this little tribe was

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361

Bakaïrí village.

122 and how many hours I would later spend pondering over its past.

115 It was a very fortunate circumstance that Reginaldo --
123 who was always ready to smoke a cigarette with me and
[191] warmed up more and more and gradually became highly amused by my notations -- had an amazing gift of quick perception and was able to express himself clearly for practical purposes in a somewhat crude Portuguese. Such an opportunity
[622] never came again later. Reginaldo was a good person, intelligent, and held the reins of his chieftainship in strong, paternal hands.

/101 cont./

361 There were two settlements of "docile" Bakaïrí: the
[101] aldeament on the Rio Novo, as this first was called, after a tributary of the Arinos, and the aldeament on the Paranatinga. The two villages are not yet old; all the adults were born farther up the Paranatinga, on the "Salto" /waterfall; see the glossary,
[131] p. 172 /; the Bakaïrí, however, were probably spread over this entire region in small hordes, as is shown by the fact that they
177 were noted as far as the Rio das Mortes. In the 'twenties, when
648 the gold-seeker expedition under the leadership of P. Lopez
797 pushed into this region, they were converted to Christianity, on which occasion, as Reginaldo related, his grandfather and many others lost their lives.

823 /102/ We eagerly inquired as to whether he knew about a river beyond the Paranatinga? Today, he replied, this region is
[131] completely strange to them; he remembered from his youth,
[101] however, that one was supposed to come to a large river if one went from the Paranatinga toward the rising sun, and on this river there were said to be Bakaïrí still living, the "antiguos" /the ancients/, who were not Christians.

361 The two aldeamente are under the administration of the
648 "Director dos Indios" in Cuyabá /Cuiabá/. Reginaldo is a
[622] Brazilian captain, his successor as chief of the tribe, Joaquim,
361 is a lieutenant. Our seeing no women was due to the fact that they were living in an aldeament two legoas away; the huts which we occupied were used only when the farm work required it or when there were visitors. Reginaldo /illustration appears here/ completely forgot to say how sorry he was that he could greet us only as a grass widower.

[162] The village numbered six huts; the population amounted
342 to 55: 16 men, 19 women, 20 children. The soldiers were usually quartered in the big house that Reginaldo otherwise occupied with a few others: a rectangle 57 paces long and five paces wide, which was divided into a number of separate rooms by means of partitions. We occupied the guest house -- it was only 17 paces
[177] long. It was modern construction, learned from the colonists. Twenty minutes away we found two deserted old-style huts,

/102 cont./

342 round, beehive-like. The larger one was 19 paces in diameter, covered high up on the outside with acuri straw, whereas the framework in the interior exhibited a circle of supporting posts one and a third meters high, upon which the basket of this structure, which actually consisted merely of a roof, rose with many horizontal bamboo rings. At the top was an air vent; a number of the /103/ framework poles crossing one another here extended to the outside. The entrance, a hole one and a half meters high, was surrounded by pepper plants. In any case, the interior space was far larger and finer than in the new houses.

433 241 The people led an idyllic existence; they carried on agri-

142 291 302 622

Captain Reginaldo and wife.

433 241 culture and stock-raising, went hunting, planted mandioca /manioc/, beans, maize, rice, and some tobacco and sugar cane. 177 They were civilized, despite the pierced ear lobes and nasal septa. 304 Their average height was 1.65 meters; they were striking because 142 of their broad and powerful chests. Their skin was yellowish, [141] clay-colored, and rather light, the hair of most of them was black and slightly curly or wavy. In general they had beautiful, open 151 eyes. Reginaldo's excellent vision was demonstrated on one occasion in a way that amazed us all. We noticed far in the distance a /illustration appears here/ figure in the grass; with an excellent field-glass I took it to be Tupy riding up; the entire company, among them Daniel, who was seldom mistaken, agreed with me;

/103 cont./

151 only Reginaldo, who joined us, laughed and said definitely that the person approaching was Clauss coming on foot. And he was right.

191 They all understood at least a few scraps of Portuguese.
648 They are on good terms with the Coroá, who, they said, call themselves Kayacho. It seems that they impress them because of their rifles; Reginaldo did not like to talk about this point. One had the impression that, according to his inner feeling, he was, after all, on the side of the wild Indians and against the Whites. As a clever man, he took advantage of the benefits offered by the Brazilians and did not fall out with the barbarians.

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João and Joaquina.

648 The Bakaïrí mansos /meek Bacairi/ bow to authority; in their hearts they are the same people as the antiguos.

126 /104/ We were busy for a number of days; Clauss worked out the itinerary and took the ground temperature, Wilhelm drew, I took body measurements and made the glossary that ap-
[115] pears in the appendix. Besides Reginaldo, I was aided in particular by good-natured Antonio, who put up with everything and would have given anything to go with us. But he did not even dare ask the strict captain for permission. Castro, too,
122 was busy with notes. We shared the hut with him and the cadet.

/104 cont./

122 The cadet was familiar with only two forms of activity: he slept or ate. It was indeed a pleasure, however, to sleep within four walls once more, although at night the wind often whistled through strongly. And there were all kinds of things to eat that were
262 not furnished on the march. There was plenty of sugar cane; the cooked mandioca root with roasted bacon cubes was a dish for the gods; a piglet was slaughtered; a few chickens forfeited their lives;
[224] the young chaps had also killed a tapir one day under a regular volley of small shot; it furnished a very tasty ragout. The women sent fresh, crisp "beijús," a simple baked product made of mandioca

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Antonio

Quirino

262 flour, of the shape and approximately the taste of matzoth. Since
272 there was no shortage of rapadura /a crude form of sugar; see the glossary, p.172 /, "jacuba" was constantly being prepared as refreshment; in a gourd bowl a plentiful amount of rapadura, a plentiful amount of farinha /manioc flour; see the glossary p.171 /,
231 and water as desired. Even milk appeared. In the evening the
526 calves were separated from their mothers; the herd was driven into the "curral" /corral; see glossary, p.170 /, and the calves were lassoed with a great hullabaloo, while a large and appreciative
526 audience /105/ sat all around on the fence. That was something

/105 cont./

526 for Pedro; to hang on by the tail of a cow rushing out at top speed and to maintain this seat as long as possible during the gigantic leaps -- that was something to laugh about.

533 As soon as darkness set in, the music-making began. The [177] Bakaïrí had learned from the colonist of Mato Grosso to carve [534] guitars for themselves, and they played them with enthusiasm. They improvised short "verses" in praise of dogs, bananas, the 534 moon, a house, etc. One evening they showed up with

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291
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André

534 their original and peculiar tribal instruments. Characteristically enough, they had hidden them nearby in the forest.

They were large and small flutes, the meni and the kyanuarílʌ. The latter has nothing special; it is made out of [824] bamboo, one might say bassoon-like. The meni, made out of vinhatico wood, is a little over a meter long; it is held with the feet. On the upper section there is a small hole into which the player blows. Not far below it there is a square opening in the tube, just as there is a series of smaller ones in the lower part. 533 The music is simple, but has to be learned. It consists of five tones,

/105 cont./

533 sounds not unpleasant, and has something both gentle and fascinatingly eerie about it at the same time, just as the wailing night-wind blowing down the chimney is described when the storyteller /106/ first gives thanks to God that he is lying warm and safe in his snug bed, but is again and again obliged to listen to the weird lament and finally sees in a dream the ghost of a
122 friend who lies dying. We sat crowded against one another in the
[354] small room; a gourd filled with fat, in which a wick was burning, lay upon the floor; I was glad when the gourd also started to burn and we were able to step outside where the stars glistened and we shook ourselves -- the shuddering was over.

562 The women held out until 19 June; then they came; Reginaldo fetched them; a dozen in number, they walked one behind the other across the campo, the father of the tribe in the lead.

[609] On this afternoon, however, not one of them would let herself be looked at closely; the procession entered the big house and disappeared. Reginaldo came to ask us for an opera glass that he wanted to show to the women. Toward evening they appeared again and left single file as before. During the night they slept in the forest, a brief half an hour away.

292 On 20 June they appeared again; Reginaldo looked superb
[301] at their head; he wore his gray felt hat, his blue captain's uniform and white trousers, walked barefoot, and had a blue-white
123 feather stuck crosswise in each ear lobe. He was very agreeable
[126] that Wilhelm should sketch him in all his glory. Moreover, he assumed, and we daily encouraged him in this, that we were conducting all inquiries concerning the Bakaïrí only in order to report them again to the Emperor of Brazil -- at least the man understood that and for this purpose he was glad to oblige.

[291] He also accompanied us to the women; they were barefoot, of course, but otherwise wore the complete costume of the female rural inhabitant; the majority were of a mature age; I liked best one big, strong girl whom Homer would have called βοῶπις. -- The captain's wife, christened Ines, was quiet and pious and looked as though she had had many a care. We tried to

/106 cont./

123 shake hands with each one, but they evidently did not know the purpose of this; when we put bracelets and earrings on them, however, they understood this immediately. The children had to have something too.

[126] Wilhelm was allowed to sketch Frau Ines behind the house; as yet I did not dare think about taking the measurements of the women, and then fate knocked on the door.

122 Very unpleasant discoveries about the condition of the supplies changed the entire situation.

On 18 June we had already reached an agreement with

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Bakaïrí boy.

122 Castro to wait at most three more days for Tupy; in view of our uncertain /107/ future it was not to be justified if we did not use the favorable time of year better. The Bakaïrí figured five days more to the Paranatinga; another stop was necessary in the second aldeament; let Tupy follow us there. As far as the lost iron goods [501] were concerned, we had become less worried; Daniel had first called our attention to the bark canoes of the Bakaïrí; on the Rio Novo there was only a very small one that was being used as a trough; we were to see them on the Paranatinga; if we could make up our minds to make do with these bark canoes, we would need only a few tools, which perhaps could be obtained from a fazendeiro /see "Fazenda" in the glossary, p.171 / living near the Paranatinga. The advice was good.

/107 cont./

The most objective manner of presentation is, I believe, for me to insert our report to Baron von Batovy in a literal version:

We have the honor to report to Your Excellency a number of events which require us to make important changes in our plan.

Captain Tupy left the troup on 7 June at the camp of Riberão dos Nobres, in order to look for an ox that became lost during the very disorderly departure from Rosario. Unfortunately this particular ox was loaded with all the iron goods, although the captain had promised to distribute these valuable objects among several animals.

After our arrival at Tombador Falls on 7 June we waited there until 9 June for Captain Tupy to appear and bid us move on in case he had not found the ox and wanted to continue the search or procure new iron goods in Rosario.

We came to the village of the Bakaïrí on 14 June; we have waited for Captain Tupy until today, 20 June. Since this is already the 26th day of our journey, we regard it as absolutely necessary to continue the march tomorrow; we have already lost much valuable and irreplaceable time. /108/ Even now it will take about six days to the Paranatinga, and so we shall not be able to commence the exploration on the other side of this river until 5 July at the earliest.

With this in mind, we examined all of our provisions today. To our great surprise, we found the following amounts: beans 4 alq., farinha 3 1/4 alq., salt 3 bags, rice 3 1/4 alq., one ration of rapadura, and a little tobacco.

For 35 men the beans would last one month and the farinha ten days.

In Rosario we had already tried to get information from Captain Tupy and not without reason, about the state of the supplies. After resisting for a long time, he assured us that he had bought 16 alq. of farinha and six alq. of beans and promised to procure three more alq. of beans.

Today we discovered that the animals had left Cuyabá with only six alq. of farinha. Besides that the captain gave each man

/108 cont./

five liters of farinha and a piece of meat, with the exception of two men who were given only meat and one man who was given nothing for his surrão /bag or poke/.

Those provisions and one alqueire of farinha which the captain bought in Rosario, with a few other small items, represented the provisions for 37 men as far as the Paranatinga and for three months beyond this river.

It seems to us impossible to match the amounts that we actually possess with those that Captain Tupy claims to have bought.

Up to today, the 26th day, he has been with the troop only ten days.

Moreover, for grave private reasons which may not be discussed here in a suitable manner, we are not in a position to put our trust in Captain Tupy, which is the first condition of a joint journey. We are therefore forced, to our great regret, to change the present make-up of our company, but feel convinced that Your Excellency will pardon a procedure that is in harmony with the good wishes of Your Excellency for the successful completion of the expedition.

We shall ask Captain Francisco de Paula Castro to assume command of the men. We are sending 12 men back to the city and are choosing 11 men for the continuation of the journey.

Thus we form a company of 20 persons. We shall buy the provisions that we lack by advancing the amount to the government. As a result of the lack of iron goods we are in a very awkward position, but we would rather move on with the little that we shall be able to obtain on the Paranatinga than give up our venture before we have begun it.

Deus guarde a V. Exc.

Castro also wrote to the Baron.

It was a scene of the most painstaking kind; every burrace /bags carried by pack animals; see glossary, p. 170 / was examined, the contents of each noted down and every man was asked what he had received. Step by step Tupy's carelessness became clearer and at the same time more incomprehensible.

/108 cont./

122 The supply would not last a month longer, and we were at 14° 13' 6" south latitude; the Schingú sources were supposed to be two degrees of longitude eastward, and hence Melgaço lay perhaps only at 11° south latitude.

000 /109/ We did some figuring, and we counted our cash; each of us had taken along a few pounds sterling in case we should conceivably land somewhere else on our travels than at the Schingú mouth; our total wealth amounted to about 300 milreis (600 marks). We had the advantage that we were able to choose the best people, and we set great store by this circumstance; for if a few of our traveling companions up to this point belonged to the bad elements of the Mato Grosso garrison, it was also certain that some of the people positively deserved high marks chiefly for the qualities of reliability, skill, and stamina.

Castro willingly agreed to our plans; 12 people were to go home, the sergeant and the cadet at their head; we provisioned them as far as Rosario and gave them two oxen which in any case did not seem to have the ambition to bear the burden of life as far as the Schingú sources.

In Tupy's escort there were the old cavalry hero Januario and the soldier Gabriel from the picket.

114 The names of those who went on with us were the following: Clementino, the active butcher-boy and José Maria from the picket, the sergeant Norberto, Israel, Satyr, Quintiliano, Merelles, Irineo, Rufino, Braga, Chico, Manoel, the Corneta, all of Negro, mulatto, or pure Indian descent, except three. Irineo was Paraguayan and spoke the lingoa geral /universal language/.

122 We planned to provision ourselves at the fazenda on the Paranatinga; from there on the mules were to be used only as beasts of burden, and the staff as well as the men were to go on foot.

/109 cont./

132 Meteorological notes in the Bakaïrí village:

15 June. 7:00 A.M.: dry. 17.0 wet. 15.6, cum. s. 8, S 2-3.
8:00 A.M.: water of the brook 21.0, air 19.0.
2:00 P.M.: dry. 27.0, wet. 18.8, mares' tails 5°, S 2-3.
Ground radiation (maximum thermometer covered with a thin layer of clay): 41.0. Temperature 0.5 meters deep in the ground: 25.7 (ground opening 4 centimeters, not filled in.)
9:15 P.M.: dry. 19.0, wet. 15.8, clear, S 2-3.

16 June. 6:30 P.M.: ground radiation min. 13.0, ground temp. 25.5.
7:00 A.M.: dry. 12.4, wet. 11.7, clouds and wind = 0.
8:30 A.M.: water of the brook 19.5, air 14.0.
10:40 A.M.: I 734.6, II 725.4.
3:00 P.M.: dry. 32.2, wet. 19.0, ground radiation max. 40.0.
9:45 P.M.: dry. 16.3, wet. 15.0, clear.

17 June. 7:00 A.M.: dry. 14.0, wet. 13.1, clear, radiation min. 14.7.
/110/ 2:00 P.M.: dry. 32.8, wet. 20.2, cum. 3, NNE 2-3, ground (60 centimeters deep) 25.2 (hole covered with sand), radiation 46.2.
5:30 P.M.: water of the brook 20.5, air 21.7.
9:00 P.M.: dry. 18.0, wet. 16.6, cum. SW1, wind = 0.

18 June. 7:00 A.M.: dry. 15.7, wet. 14.8, ground radiation 15, ground temp. 25.2.
10:40 A.M.: I 735.4, II 725.4.
2:00 P.M. dry. 30.4, wet. 18.5, cum. s. 5, N 1-2; ground radiation max. 47.2, ground temperature (60 centimeters) 25.3.
4:00 P.M.: I 733.4, II 722.4.
9:00 P.M.: dry. 18.6, wet. 15.8, clear.

/110 cont./

132 19 June. 7:00 A.M.: dry. 14.8, wet. 13.3, clear.
10:20 P.M.: I 734.0, II 724.2.
2:10 P.M.: dry. 31.7, wet. 19.0, ground rod. 44.2, ground temp. (60 centimeters) 26.0.
10:20 P.M.: dry. 18.0.

20 June. 7:00 A.M.: dry. 14.1, wet. 13.0, strat. W., wind = 0.
8:00 A.M.: ground temp. 25.6, radiation 15.6 since 6:30 A.M.
2:00 P.M.: dry. 31.0, wet. 19.4, cum. 5, N. 1-3, ground radiation max. 44.9 since 12:30 P.M.
9:30 P.M.: dry. 17.9, wet. 16.3, clear.

21 June. 7:00 A.M.: dry. 14.4, wet. 13.0, clear.

/Pages 110-118, covering June 21 to June 27, are omitted in the translation./

/118/

28 June. (Corrego fundo) 7:00 A.M.: dry. 10.0, wet. 9.1, clear, calm.
10.00 A.M.: I 736.5, II 725.6. Hypsometer 98.660, air 25.0.
2:15 P.M.: dry. 30.1, wet. 17.0, clear, calm.

122 Lengthy transactions over iron goods. The fazendeiro is obstinate and suspicious, like an Indian. He dragged out all the discarded tools that he had in the house, in order to sell them at the purchase price. As a matter of fact, he can scarcely dispense with the better ones himself, even for a short time. He liked to use the comparison that the loss of these implements was equal to cutting off a leg. We luckily bought the most important things, a few axes and hatchets.

The people were busy slaughtering and pounding maize; Joaquim and Daniel made their way to the aldeament yesterday. Wilhelm and I with a few soldiers likewise wanted to go there today in order to study the Bakaïrí and also start procuring supplies among them.

/119/

000 Clauss, Castro, and the majority stayed at the fazenda. The owner, for his part, rode to a compadre /Gavatter in the Ger.; in the original source, p. 191 (translated p. 72) "compadre" is translated as the Ger. Gevatter; the latter term is given in the glossary of Brazilian expressions, p. 171 / eight legoas away, who was supposed to sell farinha. Thus everyone was busy.

133 Wilhelm and I arrived at twilight after a four-hour march over a series of hilly ranges, having crossed a few small tributaries of the Paranatinga. We could have sworn that [622] we were in the Bergischen [142] /a hilly countryside near [291] the Rhine/ or Westphalia -- [301] farm houses in front of the [302] bush, the quemada like → potato fields; -- in the [241] gathering darkness ← we also began to indulge in fancies: on a barren hill in the distance we clearly saw a lunatic asylum in the latest pavilion style.

Captain Caetano "Mêmo."

231 The dreadful dogs that hastened toward us, barking, were ill-suited to bringing us back to a clear and sober conception of reality. These curs, small, skeletal specimens, with pointed snouts, light whitish-yellow fur, and glassy, watery eyes, looked as though they scratched up the dead out of the graves in the cemetery at night.

122, 485 Received by old Captain Caetano and a few young chaps, we were put up in the guest house. The term is synonymous with guest room or guest stall. The only furniture a trough-like, unfinished bark canoe on a stand in the corner, which we were permitted to use as a dresser and table.

/119 cont./

361 The aldeament on the Paranatinga was smaller than the
622 one on the Rio Novo. Moreover, the order of the community
578 seemed seriously disturbed. Old Captain Caetano, probably near
[177] his eighties, despite his black hair, /120/ had been divested of his sovereignty in favor of a younger man, Felipe, at the instigation of the Martyrios expedition, which, with the help of the Bakaïrí, had crossed the Paranatinga and passed through a section of the sertão /wilderness; see the glossary, p. 172 / in a northerly direction. The Bakaïrí, of course, felt more obligated to obey Captain Caetano than Captain Felipe, and the result was that each one made himself as independent as possible and worked on his own.
164 Moreover, the tribe had been hard hit about eight years before by sarampão /measles/, an epidemic disease; the Brazilians put part of the blame for the number of deaths on the Indians because, in the heat of the fever, they had always run into the river.

162 At the time of our visit the Bakaïrí population was made up
621 of five men, five women, three children -- not present were five men, three women, one boy, whose return was, in part, no longer expected. Moreover, there were two Parecí women, one of whom was numbered among those not present, and two Cajibí[1] women, who had been adopted into the tribe. Finally, two Brazilians, caoutchouc-seekers, who had recovered from the fever in the village, had attached themselves, a mulatto Luis and a certain Martin who had a Paraguayan, Carlotta, as a wife, with a small son. Altogether there were 20 individuals present.

115 Luis, who had lived an adventurous life, a "philosopho," as he called himself, a "conversador," as his friend Daniel called him, was intimately acquainted with conditions; he
[191] chattered endlessly and was probably not altogether reliable, but he made himself useful, since the Portuguese of Caetano, who best knew the language, consisted of an extremely modest stock by words; "esse mêmo" -- "stimmt auffallend" /that's it exactly/ in German -- was the quintessence of his knowledge, so that the
144 soldiers soon called him nothing but "Capitão Mêmo." Luis maintained that Caetano was the son of a Bakaïrí father and

[1] [Cajibí = Cayabi, a Tribe classified under SP2 Apiaca in The Outline of World Cultures -- Analyst]

/120 cont./

144 mother, but that among his forefathers, as among Reginaldo's, mixture with "Brazilian" blood had taken place. This, however, seemed to be more a conclusion based on the wavy, soft hair of the two, rather than on definite knowledge. In any case, it was noteworthy that Luis declared the two brothers João and Antonio to be the purest Bakaïrí; to me, too, they had seemed the most typical physiognomies and most resembled the Rio Novo charac-
126 ter. Since Antonio is the one who was induced to accompany us
[142] and could thus be photographed in Rio, I may call attention to his picture as the most faithful reproduction of a true Bakaïrí.
[732] Unfortunately the handsome youth had a slightly shortened leg as the result of a fracture, so I contented myself with a bust portrait. The defect was not very pronounced, by the way, and /121/ /illustration appears here/ /122/ the awkwardness that Antonio, strength and agility themselves, presents in full figure amidst the group of Kameraden /see the glossary, p. 171 / (page 28) is largely due to the anxious moment in front of the photographer's apparatus.

Wilhelm made all the other portraits with the camera clara.

162 Carlotta was a Parecí brought back from Diamantino and the wife of the absent Captain Felipe; her small eyes and the root of her nose, which was flat from eyebrow level to the inner corner of the eye, distinguished her strikingly from the Bakaïrí
[648] women. The two Cajibí -- a tribe that lives on the lower Rio Verde, a left tributary of the Paranatinga -- had been caught in the forest as children. /Illustration appears here./ The two
[582] young and pretty creatures were given as wives to the two oldest matrimonial cripples of the tribe, Caetano and Miguel, for the immoral reason that the youngest, as the best workers, belong to the mightier ones. Delicate skin, fine little nose under the likewise flat root, eye slits narrowed and drawn up toward the outside, in connection with which, however, the sharply folded upper lid did not overlap, they reminded one of the Japanese type, especially Caetano's not very feminine little wife.

[Text continues on p. 20]

1: Steinen--19 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

142
302

Antonio

/122 cont./

191 Unfortunately neither Carlotta nor Luisa and Maria spoke one syllable of their mother tongue.

837 The young men had the old women. It is therefore not improbable that Luis, who himself boasted of the conquest of three women's hearts, was not wrong when he maintained that occasional /123/ unfaithfulness is not uncommon and also is not

593 severely judged. The good-natured, aged Caetano, he said, even fell sick, to his astonishment, a short time after the visit of the Martyrios expedition, but he was unable to be sullen with his Luisinha for more than a few days.

162

Luisa Cajibí and Carlotta Parecí.

847 The use of abortive remedies is said to be common and to
161 explain the small number of children. The end of this community can clearly be foreseen.

162 The following was the result of my census:
62 Felipe (absent) married to Carlotta Parecí, childless.
[125] Caetano " " Luisa Cajibí, childless.
Miguel } brothers " " Feliciana, one small daughter.
Joaquim }
João } brothers
Antonio } (our companion).
Joaquina, sister of Miguel and Joaquim.
Marianna.

/123 cont./

162 Agosta. -- A boy Irineo (parents dead).
621 Luis (Bolivian), Martin (Brazilian) with wife Carlotta (Paraguayan) and child.

126 I could not rejoice enough about the fortunate circumstance
115 that I was able to make the linguistic survey on the Rio Novo. Even with the intelligent Reginaldo it had been difficult enough to determine phonetically the inimitable tongue exercises that make up the Bakaïrí language, but with Captain Mêmo, who did nothing but nod contentedly, and the others who either laughed or grew impatient, nothing could be done.

On the other hand, I am indebted to Caetano for the legends which I shall retell later.

342 The largest house, which Captains Caetano and Felipe oc-
824 cupied together, was 21 paces long and 9 1/2 paces wide. The roof and walls, the latter supported by cross rods of tacoara /bamboo; see the glossary, p. 172 / consisted entirely of burití /see the glossary, p.170 / straw. Only Miguel owned a round house, the inner frame of tacoara covered with burití leaves.
[343] There were seven houses and two new buildings. In addition two pig huts. In the case of one new building, I inquired about the timber that made up the frame. Two tall aruera posts supported the uppermost longitudinal roof-beam of aricá wood (also cunhào de porco). The sloping side-beams of the roof likewise cunhào de porco, the two longitudinal beams guanandí. The smaller posts that supported the roof beams: timbó, peuva, carvão, branco. One roof was also covered with campo grass.

164 I visited Miguel, who had an attack of fever, in his bee-
352 /124/ hive. He lay in his cotton hammock and let himself be waited on by pretty Maria. The whole room hung full of
353 calabashes, rice and farinha baskets, skins, arrows -- things left by his grandfather; it was far more comfortable in this still true heathen affair than in the characterless huts of the adherents of
123 a mock civilization. With dreadful gestures of disgust, the old
[157] man swallowed the bitter quinine and buried his fever-reddened
[283] face in the hammock. Maria, in gratitude, baked me a beijú [Cf. glossary on P. 170 --Analyst

/124 cont./

123 and showed me how the raw cotton, merely cleaned of seeds, is
283 twisted into thread with the spindle. The cotton plants stand
241 between the huts everywhere; beside them grows mamona /castor
[372] oil plant/, whose oil serves us for wretched illumination in the
[251] evening, and peppers. Mats are spread out on racks in order to dry the mandioca farina.

The roca," the cultivated field, lies some distance away. The Bakairí plant mandioca, beans, rice, sweet potatoes, sugar, and deliver to the Fazenda Corrego fundo. Their rapadura was
272 excellent; the melada, a honey-sweet syrup, moved us to exclamations of admiration. The sugar cane is pressed between
249 two cylinders in the simplest way. (Cf. the vignette at the be-

342

Old-style hut.

[249] ginning of this chapter /see p. 2/).

We found Caetano's hut divided into three rooms: Caetano received us in the high, airy center room and shut the door, behind which little Luisa was doing housework. Felipe and Carlotta
354 Pareci lived in the corner room opposite. Three canga blocks
482 formed the hearth. Plaited back-baskets, which are carried by a forehead band and in which the women are said to carry up to six
412 arrobas. Graters to grate the mandioca: hard little spikes from
824 the rib of the buriti leaf are neatly set into the middle part of a narrow piece of wood almost a meter long.

/125/

648 Carlotta showed us the captain's commission (from 1882) of her absent husband. As a seal an imitation gold capsule with a bas-relief cross, which had lost its shine, was set on a piece of pink ribbon; in addition, a chest bow in the Brazilian colors.

574 553 Luis, whose new house is not yet finished, is hospitably taken in by Carlotta, who, during Felipe's absence, claims most of the space; his real affection, however, is for his namesake, 837 Luisa Cajibí. He said that he and Maria Cajibí had had a little son who had died. "And did Miguel know about it?" I asked timidly. "Oh, he," replied the vain mulatto, whose face in comparison with that of the Indians is like roasted coffee as against unroasted, "he was completely in favor of the affair and, of course, he immediately knew of the Brazilian descent of the child by its light skin and its hair."

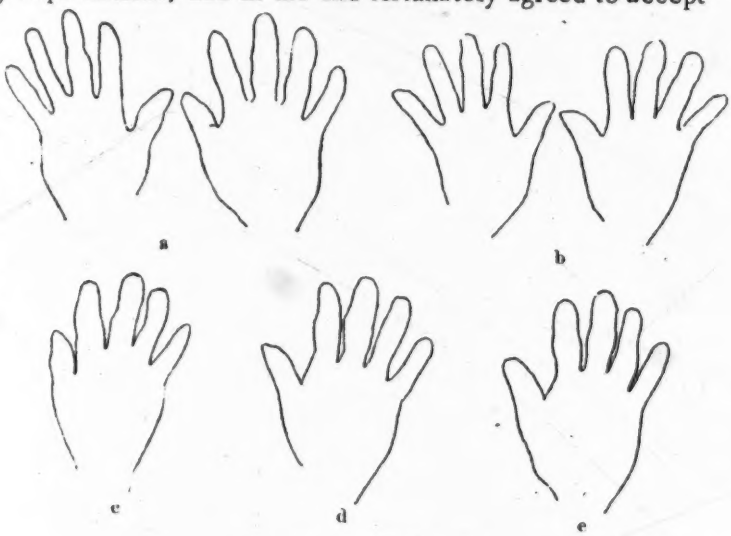
563 Luis is extremely satisfied with his life among the Bakaïrí who are so far beneath him; he says that he has everything that he needs, does not owe anybody a copper, and the Indians are [829] good people; later on he would perhaps like to go to Lisbon, because, according to what a friend told him, it must be the most 123 beautiful city in the world. He was impertinent enough to interfere with quite unjustifiable demands in the transaction concerning the delivery of rice which Daniel had made with Caetano on the first day. Daniel, who is easily aroused, seized his comblain and hit him over the head with the butt; the philosopher hastily bolted on his long brown legs and, standing bent over in the doorway of the chief's hut, exchanged a flood of compliments with Daniel, while that good creature, old Captain Mêmo, in his tattered, coarse cotton suit, which apparently came from the prison, squatted on the floor and stared forward with a friendly expression.

000 Our idyll was unpleasantly interrupted on 1 July by the news that Tupy had appeared the evening before at the fazenda. On the way he had met the men sent back by us, commanded them to return, and rode on ahead of them. The sergeant, hunting pigs, had lost the correspondence in the forest.

/125 cont./

Soon they all arrived; I do not believe that in the strictly polite greeting which I had to offer Captain Tupy there was reflected any special joy at seeing him again. While he was installing himself at Caetano's, Clauss told me that he had surprised them as they were taking the observations. Castro was just counting the seconds: the sun in the cross-threads and the hands of the clock were supposed to have taken strange leaps. He said that Tupy knew nothing; he still had 40 milreis as the remains of his funds, /126/ which were immediately drawn upon to pay the fazendeiro. The latter, after lengthy explanations, had in the end fortunately agreed to accept

142



Hands of the Bakaïri

a Manoel Antonio b Magdalena.
c Antonio. d Generoso. e Leopoldino.

the English gold.

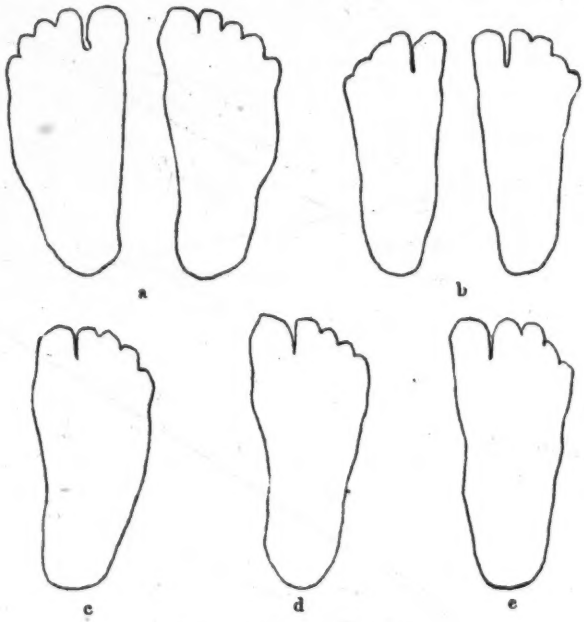
Discussion in the guest hut with the door closed; attentive public outside the straw wall.

Tupy had had to order iron goods from Cuyabá and waited for it in Rosario. (His companion Januario later testified that he had ordered this only after long delay; he still found time to dance at the festival of S. João in Rosario; also, the honest Januario maintained that at least part of the iron goods was paid for by one of

/126 cont./

000 Tupy's friends.) Be that as it may; Tupy stated, when we questioned him about the use of the money, that he had arrived in Rosario with only 300 milreis, had bought the iron goods, and had 40 milreis left over. Yet how the sum of almost 1,800 milreis could shrink to 300, although the outlay for the oxen and the ironware in Cuyabá was paid for with other funds, about this decisive point in the whole problem he refused to give evidence. He said that he would be able to account for it to the president. One may, however, figure as high and as much in his favor as one likes, not

142



Feet of the Bakaïrí.
a Manoel Antonio. b Magdalena. c Antonio.
d Generoso. e. Leopoldino.

000 half of those 1,800 milreis could have been spent for expedition purposes. All the more since he did not /127/ even make the purchases that he mentioned to us in Rosario. Actually he admitted that on that occasion he had not informed us correctly about the provisions (indeed, his own figures, immediately noted, prove this); he supposedly was sure that he could supplement them later on.

/127 cont./

In short, what to use now to pay for the three months' supplies? He had supposedly figured on our funds, after he had suffered an unexpected shortage because of the iron goods. /Illustration appears here./

No, we said, the previous incidents had robbed us of all confidence in him; we would have to do without his company on the journey.

That would be impossible, he said, he could not separate from his person the men entrusted to him.

Was he really capable of accompanying us after we told him that we had absolutely no more confidence in him?

Yes, he wanted to in spite of it. Or else he would return to the city with all the men; he would assume the responsibility; it was all the same to him whether we trusted him or not. At these words I leaped up; I begged him to repeat the statement. "Do you want to lay hands on me?" he cried excitedly, and, seeming /128/ to busy himself with the leather bag hanging beside him, the foolish man pulled the cotton stopper out of his gun. I stood on my wish that he admit whether he had spoken those words and, when he evasively turned this way and that, demanded Castro's testimony. Castro confirmed that he had heard exactly the same thing. "Then all is over between us, Captain Tupy." He stood at the door, his back to us: "I am moving out tomorrow with the men." "You shall not do that; how can the expedition depend on you alone?" "I will do it," he said and left.

We were not without apprehension, since our fate was to depend on the men. Moreover, we liked Tupy better than ever; he had the courage to take the consequences, that was not to be denied, and from a strictly military point of view he was right.

It was an uncomfortable evening meal; Castro had no appetite at all; he suspiciously watched Tupy, who was sitting at another fire and talking animatedly.

We could not cease blessing providence that the doubtful company was still far away and out of touch with Tupy.

/128 cont./

000 In order to observe official procedure and fortify the melancholy Castro somewhat, we handed him the following document:

"In view of the fact that, after the incidents of the past month about which we shall report to His Excellency the President separately, we shall under no circumstances be able to continue the journey together with Captain Tupy Ferreira Caldas, we are forced by imperative necessity to ask you to take over the command of the men. We hope that, on the basis of your instruction, 'to support us in every respect,' you will be in a position to bear the military responsibility of this extraordinary step, which, however, is perfectly understandable in view of the present situation."

2 July. Castro, armed with our paper and his instruction, went to Tupy; the two disappeared behind Caetano's house. For a while there was silence, then one heard loud voices and the two commanders appeared, like Ajax and Achilles, in heated argument before the assembled troops. "You take over the command?" laughed Tupy scornfully. He had simply rebuffed Castro when the latter proposed to him that they calmly agree to separate. Vehement conversation back and forth. We all became excited. "Then you pay for the provisions" -- Tupy could be heard most disagreeably and was answered by a shrug and a poisonous sidelong glance.

The time for parleying was over; I took Castro aside and repeatedly urged him to call the men together and bring the matter to a decision.

/129/ There was only one way out, or the expedition was lost: to take the initiative and, before Tupy gave an order, energetically to take over the high command. /Illustration appears here./

The men fell in. Tupy, in a poncho, smoking a cigarette, not suspecting the coup, stationed himself in front of the right wing. We stood silently to one side. Castro did not speak badly, "it is impossible to move on with Tupy, who used up all the

/129 cont./

money; it would be a /130/ shame to return home without having accomplished anything. We would rather perish with two or three in the sertão than make ourselves ridiculous before the entire country. Anyone who would like to go back is

114

Our four "Kameraden."
Antonio. Valentin. Pedro.
Daniel.

free to do so." Then Tupy: We had told him that we no longer had any confidence in him, the commander, therefore -- he

/130 cont./

seemed to want to continue, we also no longer had any confidence in the men -- but Castro interrupted him with decisiveness, not Tupy but he was in command here. A few brief words back and forth. "Dismissed!" cried Castro; "Attention!" cried Tupy. "Dismissed!" -- "Attention!" -- "Dismissed!" -- with bowed heads they turned slowly and broke ranks, like mourners at the grave after the last words of farewell by the pastor have died away. Only one hesitated and muttered to himself: "Captain Castro says this and Captain Tupy says that." "Then nobody wants to follow me?" Tupy broke out angrily. Silence. "No one?" Not one moved. Tupy had lost this game. "You have incited the men against me, I pronounce you under arrest in the name of the President." "If someone here were to be arrested," replied Castro, "it would be you, caught red-handed."

The awkward scene was at an end; Tupy was given a receipt for the 40 milreis, and at 9:30 he swung himself into the saddle and trotted off silently, without having seen the Paranatinga.

In August he arrived back in Cuyabá with the soldiers who had been sent back.

We decided to send Martim as courier to the Residence. He received from us the following report to the Baron:

Village of the Bakaïrí on the Paranatinga, 3 July 1884.

Illmo e Exc^mo Sor Barão!

Before we cut the final link with the rest of the civilized world, we wish to ask Your Excellency and Her Excellency Señora Baronesa to hold us in kind remembrance; we, for our part, sincerely hope that Your Excellencies may not cease to enjoy untroubled happiness and well-being.

It was a lamentable trick of fate that this farewell should be accompanied by the misfortunes of the last few days. But, frankly speaking, we are now obliged to view the conduct of our traveling companion in a still more unfavorable light than in our previous letter of 20 June, a copy of which is enclosed, which Sergeant Povos lost in the forest while hunting pigs.

/130 cont./

000 Captain Castro will report to Your Excellency the specific details of the disagreeable scenes that we had with Captain Tupy after his arrival. It will be superfluous for us seriously to protest against being accompanied by a man whom we, without hesitation, declare to be absolutely unreliable and quite incapable of understanding the important tasks of such an expedition. /131/ Captain Tupy expressed himself to the effect that it was all the same to him whether or not we had confidence in him; he had the courage to make the whole enterprise dependent on himself by misusing Your Excellency's order which gave him command of the men. Your Excellency entrusted this post to the respected officer, not to the guilty man who arrives here with 40 milreis and is ready to lead 37 persons into the sertão without being able to pay for the supplies for one week. He said that he counted on our private means.

It should be noted that in Cuyabá he borrowed the small sum of 50 milreis from us and the following day, after receiving the ration monies for the soldiers, was in a position to cover about 600 milreis of gambling debts.

A fortunate coincidence has saved us before our plans were thwarted; now, however, with a commander whom we trust implicitly, and with a smaller, but truly choice body of men, we are commencing the journey in the firm hope of success.

Deus guarde a V. Exc.

Virtue triumphed. Let us bless the iron-goods ox and forgive the miserable sergeant who let it run away.

122 In order to occupy the men, the crossing was begun immediately. The liveliest activity everywhere; the fazendeiro came with the remainder of the delivery; in the aldeament work continued even during the night; the maize pestle pounded and the sugar press squeaked incessantly.

The lack of farinha is made up for with rice; there are beans in abundance, we can confidently face the future. The tobacco situation is serious, since the fazenda was unable to spare any. We have a few gold pieces left, not many.

/131 cont./

122 At night we write busily: two benches serve as tables; for
[534] sitting, knapsack and hammock. Outside the frogs are croaking;
the Bakaïrí João, whom we call the minnesinger, is improvising
on his violin; he cannot be parted from it and even takes it along
to bathe. Thus, for the time being, the last night under a roof.

[133] 5 July. It was late afternoon before the staff crossed over.
The river was about 150 meters wide. On either side is a barranca
[501] about five meters high. The long bark canoes give a confidence-
inspiring impression. We shall have to become accustomed to
[123] them. Antiono already feels completely at home with us; he has
fallen in love with a mouth organ that I gave him.

[136] 6 July. The river sent up mists in the early morning. Pedro
caught a big pirahyba (Bagrus reticulatus). He is parading around
in a soldier's coat, under which, and, to be sure, over his trousers,
he is wearing an old flannel shirt of mine. Our ladies would take
him for a curly-haired Neapolitan boy with a gentle, melancholy
disposition, and yet the youth is only interested /132/ in killing
everything that creeps and flies, and in between times in sucking
sugar cane.

123 First Caetano came, in order to have breakfast with us once
more. A number of women followed, brought us more beijús,
and squatted to one side, the two Carlottas combing their long
hair. The over-jackets had already disappeared on the second day.
122 Luis appeared last of all, when all the canoes were already at
our shore; he went as far as the last sandstone slab, took off his
clothes, and tried to wade across naked. But he was afraid and
stood irresolute. "Well, come along," cried Felipe's wife.
The minnesinger finally went after him. /Illustration appears
here./

At ten o'clock we set out; for a long time the laughing and
shouting of the women sounded behind us.

132 I am supplying the missing meteorological data for the stay
in Corrego fundo and the Bakaïrí village:

/132 cont./

132 28 June. (Corrego fundo.) 4:00 P.M.: I 735.0, II 722.8, dry. 30.7, ground warming max. 41.2.
9:00 P.M.: dry. 16.4, wet. 13.1, clear, light wind.

29 June. 7:00 A.M.: dry. 12.6, wet. 11.5, clear, calm. Ground min. 14.1 (since 6:45 P.M., depth 50 centimeters).
10:00 A.M.: I 738.0, II 726.6.
2:45 P.M.: dry. 32.0, wet. 17.6, cum. 1. Since 10:00 /133/ NNW to 5, ground 24.0 (since 10:00, depth 60 centimeters), radiation surface max. 46.0.

501

132

Bark canoes on the Paranatinga.

4:20 P.M.: I 736.0, II 724.0.
9:10 P.M.: dry. 17.6, wet. 14.2, clear, calm.

30 June. 7:00 A.M.: dry. 12.2, wet. 11.7, clear, calm, radiation min. 14.8.
10:15 A.M.: I 738.0, II 726.2.
2:10 P.M.: dry. 31.2, wet. 18.4, cum. s. 4. Since 11:00 gusts from N. Radiation max. 47.8.

/132 cont./

132

4:00 P.M.: I 736.0, II 724.0.
10:30 P.M.: dry. 17.0, wet. 14.0, clear, calm.

2 July. (Bakaïrí village.) 10:00 A.M.: I 739.0, II 729.0, dry. 29.0.
2:10 P.M.: dry. 30.8, wet. 18.3, clear, N gusts to 4.
4:20 P.M.: I 737.8, II 729.0, dry. 30.0, hypsom. 98.660.
9:00 P.M.: dry. 18.2, wet. 14.7, clear, calm.

3 July. 7:20 A.M.: dry. 13.8, wet. 13.0, clear, calm.
2:00 P.M.: dry. 31.1, wet. 18.3, clear. Since 10:00 N.
10:15 A.M.: I 738.6, II 728.6, dry. 29.0.
4:00 P.M.: I 737.0, II 726.4.
9:00 P.M.: dry. 17.6, wet. 15.4, clear, calm.

4 July. 7:00 A.M.: dry. 13.4, wet. 12.6, clear, calm.
10:00 A.M.: I 737.6, II 728.0.
2:30 P.M.: dry. 31.0, wet. 17.6, NE cum. 1, E 1-2, forenoon N wind.
4:00 P.M.: I 735.2, II 724.8. -- 5:00 dry. 28.5. Hypsom. 98.605.

5 July. 7:00 A.M.: dry. 13.1, wet. 12.3, clear, calm.
10:00 A.M.: I 737.4, II 727.8, dry. 24.4.
2:00 P.M.: dry. 30.2, wet. 16.4, clear N. 2, forenoon to 4.
5:00 P.M.: I 736.0, II 725.6, dry. 29.0.

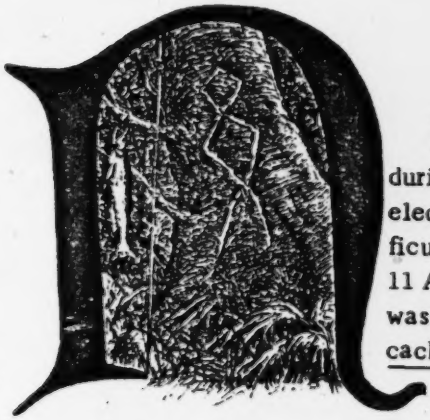
6 July. (Right bank of the Paranatinga.) 6:45 A.M.: I 737.0, II, 728.2, dry. 11.5.

000 /Chapters 9 and 10, pp. 134-156, are omitted in the translation./

Eleventh Chapter

The Wild Bakaïrí. The Kustenaú /Custenau/.

122
133



After all kinds of troubles during the morning, we traveled for a stretch without difficulties on the afternoon of 11 August, and again there was heard the rumble of the cachoeira /cataract; see the glossary, p. 170 /, which by this time had become positively gruesome for us all. To our joyous amazement we found an Indian canoe on the left shore. Below a beautiful waterfall poured forth on two ledges; poles and steps were set in it; it foamed and churned in a basin, only to form another level farther below.

[487]

122 For the moment, however, we have no eye for the salto; where are the Indians? We all gather, leave behind three men to guard the canoes, and push forward, gun in hand. -- The ground is strewn with jatobá /see the glossary, p. 171 / fruits; a well-trod path leads inland. We pass by a tree, into the bark of which the outlines, one-half life-sized, of a man above and a woman below have been crudely carved.

[137] [487] [532]

241 Silently our column marches through the forest -- the narrow path stops -- a clearing. There is thick smoke and steam rising from the tree stumps that stand there like broken pillars, in between a tangle of trunks and boughs on the ground, everything in

/157 cont./

241 the process of being charred. The pillar of smoke that had drawn our attention for several days is explained: the forest was
122 being cleared in order to lay out a planting. Eagerly scouting, we climb up, and again we are wandering along the forest path.

/158/ "Beijú," somebody cries in a suppressed voice and
[262] triumphantly points to a few crumbs, which give us the prospect of new provisions; "they have beijús," each one murmurs to the man behind him.

[411] There -- a feather-decorated arrow leans against a tree
[824] -- the tube of ubá, the wood from which the Imperador /emperor/
[973] of the legend created the Bakaïrí. We become more serious, and even the Negroes, who, when they are afraid, like to try to give themselves courage by chattering march on silently. Now and then small fires, alive or burned out. We have already been
[137] walking three-quarters of an hour. But see there, a new clearing -- a charming grove of nut-bearing bacayuva palms -- a few kernels of maize on the ground, again a bit of forest and: "Casas -- houses," the first man cries.

361 Three houses of the form of a beehive become visible; in
342 the first hut, which blocks our path, the low door stands open; in the dark we make out a few heads. A completely naked
609 Indian steps out, young, well built, closes the door, and comes
[291] toward us, in his hand a long arrow shaft without a point, which he holds horizontally in front of him.

I instruct Antonio to call out a greeting to him in Bakaïrí. "Kyulino," cries Antonio almost breathless, and -- hail to the antiguos -- the Indian answers in Bakaïrí. Eagerly he steps up to Antonio, leans against him, and both embrace as they walk on -- both talking at the same time, both trembling all over with fear and excitement.

[302] A joyful feeling of release overcame us all, and when Manoel, discovering that our dear savage wears a nicely shaved tonsure, now finally recovers his speech and cries out, "Oh, why that's a priest, the compadre is a parson," general laughter breaks out, and everybody talks at once.

/158 cont./

342 We were led into the smallest of the three huts; there we
353 sat down on a long trunk lying on the floor. Two supporting beams, adorned with a diadem of parrot feathers and wound at the bottom with a belt of dry grass stalks, held up the straw roof. Many elegantly worked arrows were sticking in the wall.

179 These Bakaïrí had never seen human beings of another color.
361 They said that there were a few more settlements downstream.
133 This was the last cachoeira, the one we passed here -- great news -- and the river -- naturally, we were eager to learn this -- runs north, it is called Tamitatoala; after 12 days' journey there comes another, larger one from the left, the Ronuro.

000 Thus all favorable circumstances seemed to converge and the hardships of the trip were amply outweighed.

162 We could not endure it much longer in the hut; outside /159/ others appeared, including two women -- one, whose youth and beauty were long gone, busily tripping about with
291 tousled hair. A triangular, straw-yellow leaf fastened to a string, which was slung around the hips and drawn through the perineum,
301 constituted her scanty clothing. Our friend who was doing the honors wore around his waist three strings, on which were alternately strung bits of stalks and black seeds, in each ear lobe two coquettish yellow feathers, and above the ankles a tight band of
302 bast. His hair had a dark reddish sheen; it was cut in Russian style around a bowl; the tonsure was as correct as in other well-known cases where the discoverers of a tribe were misled by it into believing that the heralds of Christianity must have been active
[142] here earlier. The type of physiognomy was without doubt in conformity with the Bakaïrí.

609 Soon a second principal figure appeared on the scene: a
[142] medium-sized Indian with a fine hooked nose and heavily painted
[302] red, who was coming from hunting; he drew near uneasily in a roundabout way, talking partly to himself and partly, parrying, to us; we called him the professor because of his incredibly dignified manner of examining every object most minutely, like a person who knows a thing thoroughly, but cannot quite understand why this or that does not fit.

/159 cont./

262 It contributed no little to the enhancement of the holiday
574 mood that plenty of beijús, as well as puvas /see the glossary, p. 172/, brick-like pieces of dried mandioca pulp, and, above all, mingaus /see the glossary, p. 171/ were served. Everyone
[272] was separately offered in large bowls three kinds: a whitish, thin, scarcely refreshing beaten paste of starch flour, another, yellow one, tasting of squash, and a third one, warm and pleasantly sweet, toward which everyone crowded in order to grant the palate this half forgotten quality of sensation.

609. Most delightful was the absolutely equal treatment that was given us and the soldiers. Chico, this African ape-man, even seemed to impress the little people particularly, and he, like all the others, leaning on his gun, accepted the homage with great dignity and drank in enormous draughts.

It cannot be said that the barbarians actually expressed great astonishment. In general they did not pay any attention to skin color and beard; true, they admired the clothing, the knives, the opera glass, but as children who are not experiencing this for the first time do with their presents at Christmas. A
[152] demonstration shot filled them with terror; the women ran away, the men winced and, puzzled, joined in the laughter when they saw our gaiety. To avoid a repetition, however, they urgently begged "ȧla, ȧla -- it is enough." At the strange /160/ appearance of our dogs the professor was so frightened that he manifested the best intention of shooting them dead.

12 August.

437 The Bakaïrí paid us a return visit with wife and child. They
439 were heavily laden with beijús. Soon an enthusiastic barter with the soldiers was in progress; the latter bartered for arrows or feathers and puvas in exchange for buttons and worn articles of clothing. The buttons, which could be strung on the belt-string, were highly prized. The guests, however, especially preferred
[554] knives, plates, and spoons. The tribal sorceress ran about busily; in vain she speculated on a cooking pot, which she excitedly examined from all sides; but she won a spoon, a tin plate, and

/160 cont./
437 carried each piece that she captured to a secret repository lying
439 back off the road, immediately most hurriedly hastening forth
[554] for new deeds.

609 At noon Wilhelm and I went to the aldea;[1] Antonio accompanied us, but, suspicious of his fellow tribesmen, he could not make up his mind to stay with them during the night and returned to the river in the evening.

122 We set up housekeeping in the festival hut, and, alone with the charming little people, we felt indescribably content. When toward evening the mosquitoes started to annoy us, we took a
[137] walk to the roça.[2] Greedily we looked about for the "frutas de lobo," apple-round fruits which were present in numbers on gray-green shrubs, but unfortunately not ripe; the Bakaïrí boys are no different from ours. A magnificent estate; the horizon was bordered by a dark park, behind which the sun was setting in
291 reddish orange. We met Pauhaga, as our apostle of peace is
177 called, and his relatives on the plaza between the three huts, trying on clothes in great embarrassment. They urgently needed our help; not only did they put the trousers on in reverse and upside down over the legs, but they also tried to draw them up over their arms and wanted to stick their legs into a shirt. Putting on a coat alone was an impossible thing. They were unaware of the most obvious offenses against the elements of propriety. A safety pin was hugely admired, but most of all a pair of scissors with which
412 one could so conveniently cut one's nails. Their tool, the stone ax -- a ground stone is wedged into a wooden handle -- with which they fell trees and make posts, deserves our appreciation no less, from the standpoint of how much can be accomplished with the simplest means, even though in the unspoken accompanying thought that we ourselves /161/ might have to go back to this
[411] stage there is a slight admixture of horror. They have no spears,
[231] no bananas, no dogs, and tobacco is nowhere to be found. Bones,
[276] teeth, shells must serve them as tools, along with the stone ax.
[237] /Illustration appears here./

[1] [i.e. village -- Analyst]
[2] [i.e. Cultivated field -- Analyst]

[Text continues on P. 40]

1: Steinen--39 E-5 (1884)1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

361
342

Bakairi village.

/161 cont./

123 They brought fire to us in the hut and withdrew after they had examined our candle closely. One or another, however, constantly came to have coat or trousers put on. One young man appeared and, pointing to his chest, complained, "tuck, tuck, tuck," about heart palpitations.

/162/ I gave him a powder, curious as to whether he would not reject it. After I reassured him a bit and patted him encouragingly on the shoulder, he drank the mixture slowly and fearfully, but drank it to the last drop. An unsuspecting little people. The procedure was described to new visitors, who listened with close attention; the little powder-paper was observantly looked over; but the curative power, which soon made its appearance, was apparently attributed to the knife with which I mixed the medicine. -- Wilhelm had Chinese fireworks with him; this suddenly went off in the yard and frightened them almost more than the shots. He secretly lighted a leftover little tube in the interior of the hut -- how it was possible is still a puzzle to me now -- but at the same instant the five persons present all started at the same time through the low door opening to the outside.

132 13 August. 7:00 A.M.: dry. 13.1, wet. 12.5.

123 Writing uncomfortable. Filling in from yesterday, I am
126 sitting outside on a dry beam that lies bare in the sand. It is still quiet. The professor has just carefully picked up the fireworks cases; he is standing in back of me and is looking admiringly at what I am doing. Scarcely a sound comes from the huts. A blue-
231 yellow arara on the roof has the floor; it pronounced the λ, on which I almost sprain my tongue, just as accurately and yet vaguely blurred as the natives. The tame pavão do rio clucks and gobbles in strange tones that seem to come from a music box; bored by the morning mood, a green parrot is sitting on a bare branch of
000 shrubbery. I hear with displeasure that someone is drinking in the house, mingau again?

/162 cont./

512 I did them an injustice; at half-past seven a procession of seven comes around the corner in the fastest quickstep, one behind the other, the tribal sorceress at their head, all loaded with [482] mandioca roots. The old woman is carrying a bundle of them loose on her head, and behind her runs a young woman with a heavy back-basket; is it her husband who is following her? Likewise [854] bent under the load of a basket he walks forward, on his left hip a straddling boy whom he clasps heedlessly, as though he had hurriedly picked him up from the ground.

592 We visit the house of the professor. In the moderately light [352] room one at first distinguishes only a number of vertical and [252] horizontal posts, brown hammocks; the old woman and a younger one are sitting on the floor most diligently scraping mandioca with a shell, the naked legs buried in the parings.

[353] Two families have divided up in the space; the conjugal chambers are characterized by the fact that two hammocks are fastened, one above the other, to the same post. In the center there is an empty circle, and round about, /163/ radially, the "individual rooms" divided off, not by partitions, but merely by [354] the posts. The upper vault is blackened by smoke. Three or [251] four stones form the simple hearth. The flour is put into huge [252] pot vessels (up to 77 centimeters in diameter); the beijús are [323] roasted on flat, rimless bowls. The clay is blackish brown, the vessels are made by hand by the women.

352 We sit on small, low benches; they are rectangular, slightly concave, made out of dark-brown palm-wood, usually in octavo form, and not a decimeter high.

412 The stone axes, which are sticking in the wall (the longest [353] 24 centimeters), all have the same shape: a thick wooden cylinder, [135] offset at the bottom by a thinner handle. The stone is supposedly found farther downstream (1). /Illustration appears here./

1. Herr Prof. Arzruni of Aachen was kind enough to examine the material carefully and has identified it as diabase, a rock made up of augite, plagioclase, mica, chlorite, and

/163 cont./

412 135 1. (cont.)
magnetite, in which are embedded individual crystals of olivine and quite a number of quartz granules.

415 Tall storage baskets of biconcave profile (one meter 40 centimeters long, 35 centimeters wide at the top), wound with brown bast bands and lined in the interior with maize
412 leaves, contain the flour and are very stout. The grating boards on which the mandioca is pulverized are about 115 centimeters long and 80 centimeters wide.

415 531

Gourd-vessel (drinking-vessel) designs of the Bakaïrí.

251 High up a great quantity of dusty corncobs.
532 A number of strange dolls, which hang down from the
[353] vault on long strings, seem the most striking; they are
[824] plaited out of maize leaves: turkey-sized birds, projecting wings made out of one leaf and circularly twisted legs with three toes; others are slender, human-like figures, /164/ a small head on top, broken up below into narrow frippery. In our house we found two lizards made of grass, whose four feet come together in a ring, so that one can put them on one's head.

/164 cont./

415 Countless gourd vessels /cuyen; see glossary, p. 170 / and
531 calabashes, brownish-yellow, some of them painted black in designs not without taste.

411 In the lower roof-basket are stuck the arrows, averaging two meters long, and the bows, which almost reach a length of two and a half meters. The arrows, made of ubá, have simple wood or bone points; at the end of the shaft broad feathers are set spirally.

237 Feathers, even bunches of them and whole tail rosettes,
415 are kept in mats placed together portfolio-like; spindles, pigment, bones, root pieces, shells, and the like are kept in small baskets and nets. On the cords of the hammocks are found as
412 decoration a couple of feathers or shells and -- the comb. This toilet article consists of small, narrow sticks placed next to one
[284] another and held together by two cross-sticks of bamboo by means of a plaiting of cotton threads; the hard sticks project beyond the lower cross-stick as the teeth of the comb.

286 The hammocks are (one can hardly say woven, but rather knotted. Two posts stand in the ground; they are wound with a skein of cotton in the way that our women wind knitting wool on a chair; through the horizontal, parallel threads, vertical threads are drawn at four-centimeter intervals with guide sticks and knotted; the parts of the skein which lie close to the post and are not knotted (the entire bundle of horizontal threads pressed together) form the loop that receives the hammock ropes.

285 A plaited matting above the door and sieves of alternating black and light straw are worked with a natural artistic sense. The fire is fanned with a triangular piece of matting.

302 The hair of the women, cut unevenly and longest behind the ears, hangs down to the shoulders; the forehead is almost completely covered. A young woman had the latter painted with thick red color during the visit on the river. No ornaments. Only
301 the old woman wears a string over her left shoulder, which goes under her right arm; three trouser buttons, which she cut off from us and the soldiers with her own hands, are strung on it.

/164 cont./

287 The triangular garment of the women, a folded piece of
291 bark bast, supposedly from the schischá tree, has a base of four centimeters and a height of one to one and a half centimeters.

A girl about ten years old is still completely naked.

302 The nasal septum of the men is not pierced; the beard hair,
[304] /165/ if a natural tendency for it is present, as well as all the hair (among the women, too) with the exception of the head hair, the eyebrows, and eyelashes, is carefully removed.

224 Around 10:00 in the forenoon Clauss came with Antonio; a
[622] few men also arrived from hunting, among them the chief, an older gentleman with an anxiously serious official face and a
162 fat little belly. We count ten men, seven women, five boys, four girls.

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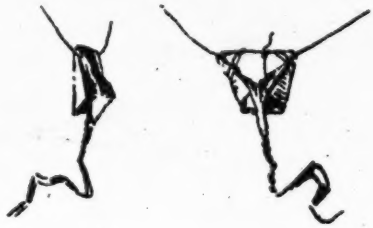

Clothing of the Bakaïrí women.

372 Pauhaga showed us how they make fire. They take two long, thin sticks of the same dry wood; into one a notch is scraped; while one man now holds this in position on the ground with two small sticks, a second man twirls the other stick rapidly between both hands in the notch. The dust that is rubbed loose glimmers.

126 We did some bartering; I measured a few men. They patiently allowed it to be done.

157 These "wild" Bakaïrí are alert, teachable, and certainly very good-natured. They do not steal, although we are carrying
[273] treasures with us. They have no intoxicating drink; they refuse
[276] tobacco. On the second day, together with their wives, they visit
609 us in our camp -- the "docile ones" on the Rio-novo, on the other hand, preferred to sleep with those in the bush as long as we were in the aldea. On the first evening a savage drinks a medicine that I

/165 cont./

609 mix for him -- whereas the boy of a Brazilian colonist, to whom I was called in Rosario, leaped out of bed and fled from me into the forest.

186 The old sibyl joined us this evening on the open plaza.
823 She pointed to the west, "Bakaïrí!"; to the south, "Bakaïrí!"; to the north and east likewise "Bakaïrí!"' and finally, describing a circle in the air, she summed up with proud satisfaction, "Bakaïrí!" In translation: "All this is subject to me, admit that I am fortunate."

132 14 Aug. 6:00 A.M.: dry. 11.7, wet. 10.6.
2:00 P.M.: dry. 34.9, wet. 20.0, clear, NE 1.
4:05 P.M.: I 740.8, II 730.0, dry. 34.0, hypsom. 98.825.
9:00 P.M.: dry. 18.0, wet. 17.0.

126 /166/ I was fortunately able to measure three women.
[124] Antonio is very useless as an interpreter and causes more difficulties
[532] than the harmless people themselves. I also traded for a few maize-straw dolls; judging from the ease with which the transaction was made, there seemed to be no higher or in any sense a religious meaning attached to them.

592 We spent some time in Pauhaga's, or rather Chief Cavâco's house; it differed in nothing essential from that of the professor; there were no straw dolls.

137 We found inhame (Dioscorea, yams), which we greeted
252 with joy. -- The fish are grilled on just such racks as we came across on the Batovy; they are exposed to the fire until they are encased in a thick charcoal crust; capybara leg, which tasted like fat fish, and monkey steak were also charred on the outside in this fashion. The crisp charcoal gives the insipid-tasting meat, which is not salted, an -- faute de mieux -- improved flavor. The
[263] Bakaïrí are also familiar with a very medicinal tasting salt made from tree ashes, which, however, they do not seem to use in the preparation of food.

609 The soldiers, who were paying their farewell visit, were
431 given generous quantities of beijûs, puvas, and polvilho /manioc
252 flour; see the glossary, p.172 / as presents. The grated and pounded mandioca is pressed through mats; the pulp is put into

/166 cont./

252 brick shape -- puvas, used for mingau. They boil the strained liquid in large pots, whereby the finest flour is deposited -- polvilho; this makes the best beijús.

501 Back in the afternoon. Four canoes were acquired with an
[437] ax, shirt, and trousers. We are not in good shape, in spite of all that. Quintilian's canoe burst when it was hauled down. The
[531] Bakaïrí canoes differ from ours only in their more careful workmanship; one of them is painted with black rings on the outside of the longitudinal sides. The oars, the size of a walking stick, have a crook-shaped handle, shaft, and a long lance-shaped blade, which is slightly hollowed out like a shovel.

133 The height of the two uppermost levels of the salto amounts to four meters; two meters more may be figured for the falls
[229] below. Baskets for catching fish hang on ropes, which, in turn, are held by stakes standing in the middle of the whirlpool.

We call this waterfall the Salto da Alegria. Our happiness
136 is only slightly marred by a swarm of bees and wasps; among the latter, the kind that sting very painfully. -- The transport of the
122 canoes, for which there is a route, is completed. /Illustration appears here./

/167/

132 15 Aug. φ 13° 11'.7, λ 5'.7, km. 6.41, total 130.85.
122 7:00 A.M.: dry. 11.8, wet. 9.9, clear, calm.

000 We have only nine canoes; one is very battered. Castro and I separated, he is traveling with Manoel, I with Compadre Valentin. Off about 9:30 A.M.; immediately an accident happened. At a small rapids Wilhelm's boat capsized, and the foolish Negro Chico behaved as clumsily as possible. With the knapsack and the suitcase in his hands, he stood in the middle of the water, which was flowing over the baggage as though over a mill wheel, as bewildered as a porter in a railroad station who has lost sight of his stranger. He almost drowned, but was luckily pulled out by Clementino. We dried out on both shores. Delay until 1:00 in the afternoon.

[Text continues on P. 48--Analyst]

1: Steinen--47 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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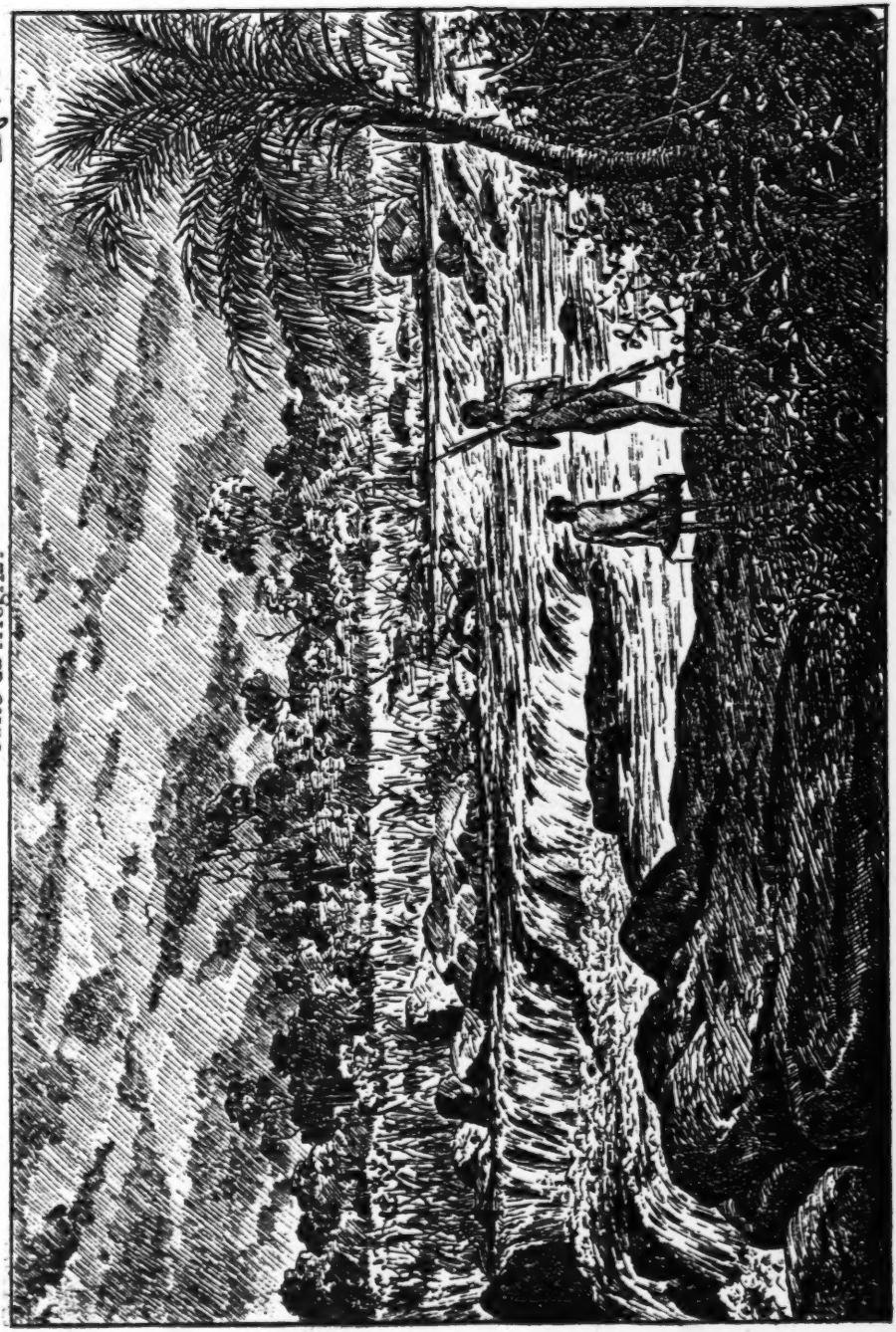

Salto da Alegria.

/167 cont./

133 Instead of the cachoeiras, the simple rapids now cause us worries. With effort Antonio saved his canoe from capsizing; he escaped with a load of water.

We pass a canal three-fourths of a meter wide, which leads 226 through a meadow to a lagoon. There, when the water is higher, the Bakaïrí seize the fish passing through the canal. They are not familiar with hooks and catch the fish either in traps or kill them with arrows.

137 Attractive park landscape. Many tree skeletons in the water. Width 35-45 meters. We were merrily rowing along and 000 already thinking of picking out an attractive campsite when necessity chose one for us. Wilhelm's canoe with Israel and Chico was shipwrecked a second time, but, to be sure, at a less dangerous spot, after the rapids had already been passed. Everything disappeared in an instant in the waves. Poor Israel, who could not swim, held on to a tree branch jutting up from the bottom; the canoe was quickly righted, and three men safely dragged to shore the unlucky one who, on account of his bittersweet expressions and at the same time irresolute behavior, had to put up with general laughter on top of everything. Valentin caught the tripod of the theodolite, and everybody swam, dived, and paddled with the current; little by little the entire cargo was brought to light, with the exception of the bundle made up of Wilhelm's poncho, blanket, and hammock. All searching remained unsuccessful.

226 The Bakaïrí have set up for themselves here a natural fish treasury; on the edge of the river bed, boulders are placed loosely beside one another in a circle; the water flows in and out through two larger openings. -- We bring two canoes in, which are to be made flexible and tomorrow bent into shape.

/168/

122 16 Aug. φ 13° 7' .6, λ 5' .9, km. 10.90, total 141.75.

132 7:00 A.M.: dry. 11.1.

10:00 A.M.: I 742.2, II 733.6, dry. 24.7.

5:40 P.M.: I 741.0, II 732.8, dry. 24.9, water 25.0.

/168 cont./

126 During the night there was heavy dew; in the forenoon we dried Wilhelm's things; it is a pity the way the drawings look, the sheets are stuck together and bent. How could we have brought photographic chemicals through here?

136 At 1:00 in the afternoon slowly off. Several times a sandy shore 20 meters wide; masaricos, small black-white, red-legged shore-birds. Numerous traces of the tracajá turtle; the people poke in the sand with an arrow or generally simply follow the tracks of the tracajá and with their hands dig up the shallow pit that shows the impression of their bodies. In one nest there are 17 eggs, in another 15; the egg is white and gradually shades to gray; 4.9 centimeters long, 3.2 centimeters wide. Temperature of the sand 57°.4. The verdict about the empty nests, merely in passing by, is often: "Here the lizard has fed."

It is wondrously summer-like: current, sun, charming leafy shores, yellow butterflies, and no mosquitoes or wasps. Many novatos. Endless meanderings; we covered about two legoas.

Valentin caught a large pintado fish; see the glossary, p. 171/; Satyr was almost pulled out of the canoe by a pirahyba that was supposedly as long as he was. Loud buzzing and chirping in the night air. The sabiá was singing.

122 17 Aug. φ 13° 7'.3, λ 6'.1, km. 0.57, total 142.32.
132 6:35 A.M.: dry. 11.3, water 23.5.
7:30 P.M.: II 732.0, dry. 21.0.

Shivering I awoke during the night and believed that I had
[361] fever. It was the cold. Very soon we arrived in the harbor of the second village.

227 A fisherman's hut lies at the entrance of the forest; here are baskets shaped somewhat like an elongated spiked helmet, into which, from the inner rim, a small collecting funnel with a narrow
487 opening leads inside. The path stretches inland one legoa and is very similar to the one from the first village.

574 After a few steps we were received by two good acquaintances from Aldea I, who had gone overland to announce us to their fellows. One of them in blue trousers and red striped shirt, the

/168 cont./

574 other, the professor, naked, but, along with bow and arrow, one of our mirrors in his hand. We were undoubtedly well recommended.

532 Shortly before the exit from the woods we came across a wonderful display of about a dozen animal figures along one side of the path, /169/ probably the remains from a festival. They were made of leaves and straw, mostly quadrupeds with long, thin bodies, consisting of practically nothing but spinal column and long legs; the tallest ones reached to our hips. Something that was evidently supposed to be a monkey was climbing up a pole. A human figure was incised in a tree, with roguish use of a depression present in the bark. Such is the beginning of art in the primeval forest.

361 After we had passed a roça and low shrub planting, we saw
[241] four huts, two large ones and two small ones, lying correspond-
574 ingly opposite each other. The nobility was assembled on the
[576] plaza; a friendly "am(b)á" (that is you) with raised hand wel-
[345] comed each one. Then, one after the other, we were grasped at the wrists by our hosts, mostly by two at the same time, and led before the festival hut, where beam and stool were ready. Here we sat is long rows with our guns, and immediately the serving of mingau began. Then we did our tricks, cut nails,
[123] let them look through the opera glasses, lighted a match with fire steel, etc. The professor beamed; he was reaping honor with us.

[301] A sturdy young man, a diadem of stiff jaguar skin over his
[624] forehead, seemed to be acting as herald. He poured busily, screamed louder than the others, and grasped everything most quickly. I had the feeling that we were traveling circus artists and were being informally received and treated in a club. One
302 of the younger sportsmen had had his body painted with black
531 squares, which were joined at the edges with short lines. The drawing on the upper thigh of another -- a black wavy line and in the depressions of it black dots -- definitely resembled the skin marking of a fish, the pintado.

/169 cont./

126 I acquired cheaply some belt strings of round stone disks with
[301] the diameter of a thick pencil, as well as a necklace of jaguar claws, by hooking the fish hook, as an ornament, into the ear lobes of these people, who do not know how to appreciate it as a means of catching fish.

622 The chief was striking because of his stupid face and a big nose; he treated us with aristocratic indolence and indifference. --
301 Several wore two yellow feathers in each ear; these were stuck
237 in a little bunch of red feathers that protruded from a small husk. The most beautiful head-ornament, however, was a simple row of yellow feathers up to 12 centimeters long, in the center of which towered a long arara feather.

562 Stealthily a few women appeared. There was an old woman
[554] here, too, who /170/ kept the tribe in order; she had curly hair.
[302] One woman, who had a boy astride her right hip, was painted all over her body with a disgusting yellow pigment.

342 The two large huts were round, the two small ones ellipti-
345 cally long, resembling scales. In one of them, the festival hut,
353 we discovered strange things. Between the supporting beams, on cross-poles, hung a great number of the most diverse colorful
292 headpieces. They all had a straw frame for fitting them on the
532 head. The colors were white, black, red, and orange, all applied crudely. There were open cylinders of bast of the consistency of cardboard, red, set with black squares; two large gourd /illustration appears here/ vessels, one with small yellow feathers pasted over it, the other with small blue feathers, and smaller ones painted with red and white areas; on the edge buriti fibers one meter long hung down like a woman's hair; a stuffed hide of a little fox, likewise an otter, both with a straw frame for putting them on. Two black and white sword-like pieces of wood -- representing rattlesnakes, according to Antonio. A stiff frame of stalks, in which sat little swallows, with cotton stuffed in between everywhere. The birds, perfectly recognizable in shape, white, head and back of neck black, a few with yellow belly. A larger bird, painted red and black, was looking out of one of the cylinders (1).

1. Cf. the first ethnological plate /see pp. 160-162/.

/170 cont./

291 Besides these products of the most primitive carving art, /171/ the most interesting article was: a buritĩ shirt -- "the" shirt of the upper Schingú -- which proved the invention of [286] clothing even among the Bakaïrĩ. The fibers were knotted in meshes, following the method for the hammock; the doublet was wide at the neck in order to be stepped into; it had short sleeves and trousers, from the bottom edge of which long fibers hung down. Many simple, meter-long buritĩ-fiber 372 237 hangings seemed apron-like. Two triangular fire-fans had small downy feathers pasted on them. Hard, open shells, 535

345 352 353

In the Bakaïrĩ festival-hut.

535 the size of half-walnuts, were gathered into a rattling bundle 534 that is tied around the ankles for dancing. Another rattle instrument was a dried gourd shell, which contained seeds, impaled on a stick (1).

[171] 1. Hans Stadl (1556) tells of the "Tuppin Inbas": "They believe in a thing that grows like a gourd, is as large as a half-measure scoop. It is hollow inside; they stick a little stick through it, cut a little hole in it, like a mouth, and put little stones in it,

/171 cont./

534
171

1. (cont.)
so that it rattles. They rattle with it when they sing and dance, and call it tammaraka." The soothsayer lets the rattle speak "and just a word so that one cannot really perceive whether the rattle is doing it or whether he is doing it. And the other people think that the rattle is doing it... but when I saw the fraud, I went out of the hut; I thought, what a poor, deluded people that is."

361 The aldea was otherwise similar to the first in everything. All around puva racks, cotton, spear grass, fruta de lobo, and
162 nearby a brook running over white sand. We counted 18 men, 17 women, 7 children; it is possible, however, that one or another has been counted twice; again the small number of children is very striking. Toward evening we returned to the river; I had done some good bartering.

122 18 Aug, φ 12° 59'.9, λ 7'.7, km. 22.10, total 164.42.
[132] 7:30 A.M.: dry. 14.0, water 22.7.
5:35 P.M.: I 742.8, II 733.4, dry. 25.0.

From the wool /Wolle," wool, down, hair, cotton"/ obtained in the village fish lines were twisted. During the night
[136] five pirararas /see the glossary, p. 172/ and nine piranhas were caught. The former has the bad habit, when it is hauled on land, of emitting a farewell sound, which is audible far and wide, with the part that leaves the water last. It tastes fatty; the broth is somewhat strong; it is also supposed to produce ulcers. -- The
[482] professor went home again; besides arrow, bow, and the treasured mirror, he carried his hammock on his back in a net held by a forehead band: this is the way the Bakaïrí goes traveling. -- A young, handsome chap accompanies us to the next village. He
[291] wears a red-black flannel shirt and around his head a green cloth with the Brazilian coat of arms. At the campsite he removes this clothing.

/171 cont./

122 19 Aug. φ 12° 53'.0, λ12'.4, km. 31.03, total 195.45.

132 6:35 A.M.: dry. 15.0, water 24.3.

5:43 P.M.: I 742.2, dry. 26.1, water 26.0.

9:30 P.M.: I 742.8, dry. 21.1.

137 /172/ The river landscape changes its physiognomy somewhat. Shrubs and light-green, fine-leaved bushes, which form tall bowers or rounded, dense masses, occupy the foreground. Willow-like trees often stand as though planted, with delicate, slender trunks. We have not exactly come out of the forest river into a meadow river, but the low-plain character predominates. The sand barranca is steep. Easterly direction of the river.

122 20 Aug. φ12° 51'.1 λ12'.8, km. 6.27, total 201.72.

132 7:00 A.M.: dry. 19.3, water 25.1, at night 2-3:00 thunderstorm in NW.

Today the sky is covered with strato-cumulus and the air is showery damp.

133 At an early hour we reached a branch stream 20 meters wide, emptying in quietly from the right. Finally a tributary.

361 The third aldea, located on the left bank, is not quite two
[342] kilometers from the Batovy. There are three huts, lower, smaller, and less conical than previously. We three again install ourselves
122 for a night among the good people, and even Antonio, who has given up his mistrust, sleeps along with us.

364 As agreeable as this "little village" is, it must be called
345 the dirtiest of the three. The floor of the festival hut is covered with dry grass and refuse of all kinds; the sun shines through the roof, so that inside we are able to light our pipe with the burning-
[532] glass. It is obviously still unfinished and new; besides a few arrows and several rattles, flat wooden fish are stuck on the walls as the products of local artistic activity.

162 Census: 13 men, 12 women and -- the most favorable proportion so far -- 19 children. Among them there are a man and a woman of another tribe whom we are to meet farther
142 downstream, the Kustenaũ /Custenau/. In type I am unable to see any essential differences; in fact, the more Bakaïrí we meet, the more uncertain I am in abstracting the common features.

/172 cont./

000 the more uncertain I am in abstracting the common features. The
171 Kustenaú has his foot and half of his lower thigh painted red, like
302 stockings; the upper thighs are covered with a sooty black, in which, however, arched stripes are left blank. On his back he has two red stripes, and in addition black arm-bands. Numerous scratches, which are made with the tooth of the peixe-cachorro
302 (dogfish). The Bakairí, too, are painted more than usual with
[53] red; one has a black stripe on either side from eye to ear; another has painted himself black over the middle of his forehead, nose, lips, and chin, and bright brick-red on the sides of the forehead and the face. Among some, the hair, too, is saturated with the
301 red oil. Below the knees are bands of /Illustration appears here/ /173/ burití straw; a skein of cotton, colored a dirty reddish brown, is tied around the waist. Some have strings or bands of cotton wound over the ankles or under the knees, around the legs, or around the upper arms. There is no uniformity anywhere.

302 The tonsure is shaved with a bent piece of spear grass. Its
413 diameter is seven centimeters.

177 To our surprise we also found an iron chisel tip and on a child a little string of blue beads. We could not find out definitely how these had found their way here; I interpreted their descrip-
[72] tion and Antonio's unclear account to mean that they had been brought back from a tribe on the lower Paranatinga whom the grandfather had visited on a raiding expedition.

276 Even in Aldea II the men had become happily excited by the discovery of tobacco seed; smoking was also done here. The leaves were so dry that they could be rubbed almost to powder; they were rolled into cigarettes about two decimeters long, and the fresh green leaf of an unknown tree was split lengthwise and used as the wrapping. This wrapper burned with a pleasant, balsam odor. The smoke was inhaled.

262 The women made excellent beijú; it tasted like fresh French rolls. We also ate a fish ragout à la coquille, of which we would have liked to have had more than they gave us.

[Text Continues on P. 57]

1: Steinen--56 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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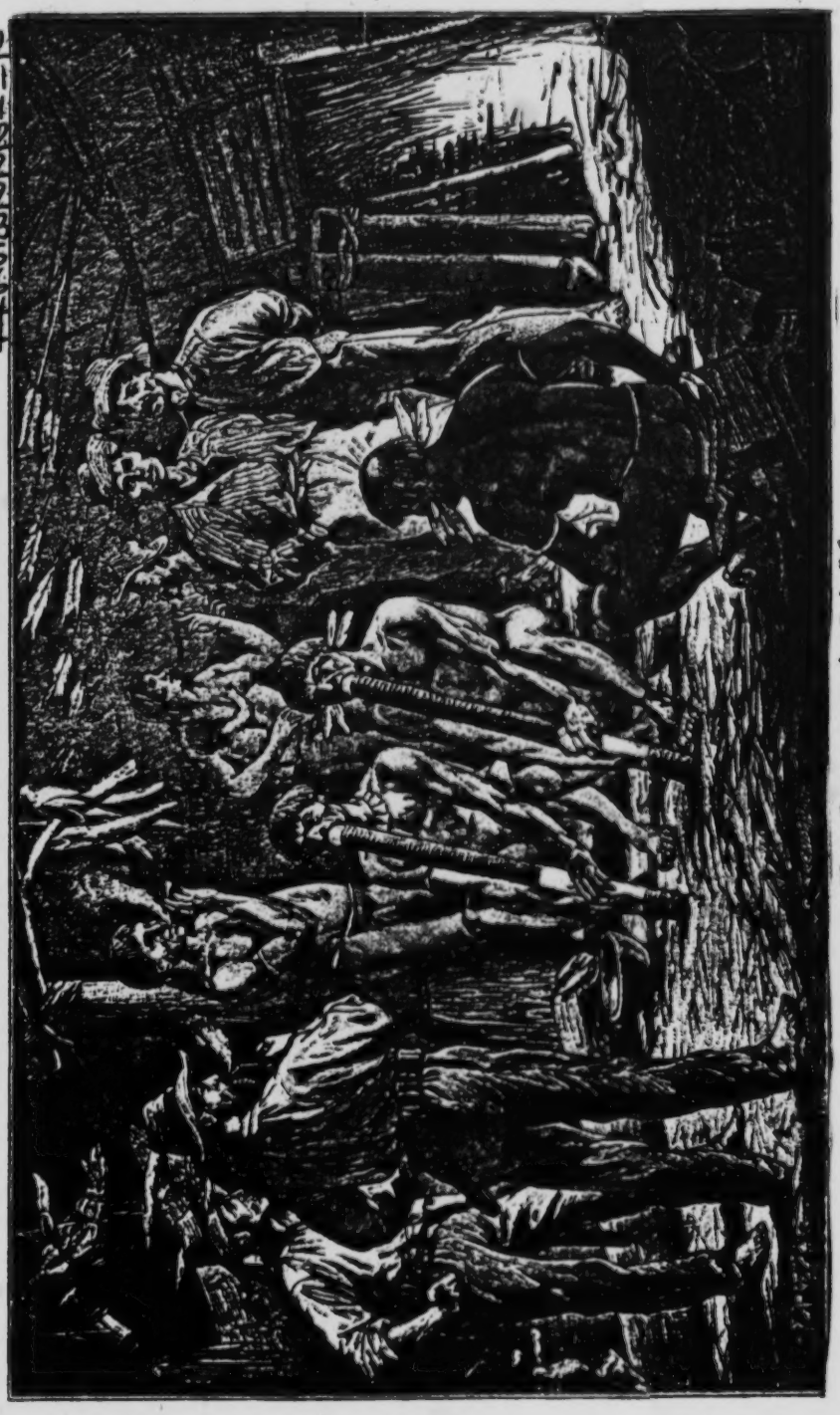

Flute duet among the Bakairí.

/173 cont./

535 In the evening there was a musical performance. A flickering fire of twigs faintly illuminated the night. The men appeared
[534] in pairs with menis, the meter-long flutes; one had the rattling shells tied around his foot. One pair stationed themselves near us, the other one in front of the opposite house. The former started to blow, stamping rhythmically with the right foot in one spot, our two dipped the menis in water and cried loudly "uh -- uh," then started to blow also and began moving toward the hut at the left, beating time regularly with the right foot. The ones across the way came blowing toward us, while the others, without ceasing their melancholy wail, stood still again, stamping and bending their bodies forward. Finally this pair, too, returned to their starting point; during the finale the lament of the night wind whistling in the chimney increased to the most miserable wail, and the quartet
[292] was at an end. Courteously we were then immediately served the strengthening mingau.

This was the "ubödidie," a word infinitely jollier than the dance itself, which it designates.

122 21 Aug. ♀ 12° 49'.3, λ 14'.3, km. 11.08, total 212.80.
132 /174/ 11:00 A.M.: I 745.8, II 736.4, dry. 28.0.
5:20 P.M.: I 743.6, II 734.2, dry. 27.0, wet. 24.1, water 25.8.

000 Back to the camp early. During the night the bottom of Israel's canoe split with a bang and the load sank. Some of Wilhelm's things, among them the oil sketches of the place of embarkation, were destroyed. The beam lay in the water for hours.

122 Off at 1:00 in the afternoon; soon there was campo on the right; we noticed a hut which we investigated; it did not seem to
[415] be finished or else was merely a supply station. A number of well-filled baskets, pots, bags with gourd vessels, a rack for the pawa, and bunches of urucú capsules, whose angular seeds furnish the red pigment, were completely abandoned. The path to a roça led into the woods.

7174 cont. /

122 22 Aug. φ 12° 42'.0, λ 16'.4, km. 29.44, total 242.24.

132 6:45 A.M.: dry. 17.0, wet. 16.1, clear, calm.
7:15 A.M.: I 742.8.
6:00 P.M.: I 743.6, II 734.5, dry. 27.1, wet. 24.3, clear, calm, water 26.5.

133 The river is 70 meters wide. Three rapids. It has much
226 swampy meadows and forms small lagoons. Tall scaffolds have been erected for passage and for catching fish. When the lagoon has filled up in the rainy season, a mat planking is lowered to the poles, through which the water partly flows off later, but the fish are held back. -- A hunt for two tapirs was in vain.

122 23 Aug. φ 12° 24'.5, λ 19'.2, km. 32.76, total 274.94.

132 6:35 A.M.: I 744.0, II 736.2, dry. 20.0, wet. 19.4, alto-c. 0, wind = 0, water 25.3.
5:45 P.M.: I 744.4, II 735.4, dry. 28.1, wet. 23.8, clouds = 0, wind = 0, water 27.0.
10:20 P.M.: I 744.0, dry. 19.1.

During the night, 2-3:00, a light rain fell. Sheet lightning. Early the sky is cloudy; not until 9:00 does the sun break through. --
133 The river makes meandering windings; two brooks flow in on the right, one is 20 meters wide. There is often sandy beach and
134 willow brush in the water. Further on comes campo. We see six houses. -- A dog drives in pursuit of a capybara. The meat of the latter has the taste of machine oil.

122 24 Aug. φ 12° 32'.6, λ 19'.6, km. 7.13, total 282.07.

132 6:30 A.M.: I 743.2, II 735.2, dry. 14.7, wet. 14.0, clear, calm, water 25.2.

[illegible] During the night the tempo de agua made an uproar; toads performed a concert concert.

/173/

050 Off at 9:00. Soundlessly with Valentin in the lead; occasionally a bird is aroused in the bushes. Doves coo, otherwise deep silence. The last morning mist heavy on the water.

153 From the shore a blue serra /sierra; see the glossary, p. 172/
561 visible in NW. At 10:00 we reached the harbor of Aldea IV. Here we were already expected. It is the only one that lies on the right shore, about three kilometers inland. -- A half-dozen
609 older people received us with their "amigo" and accompanied us along the way. They stopped often in order to make clear to us, with many gestures of satisfaction, that they were Bakairí and masters of the entire region. Mostly through meadow and
[561] campo along the edge of the forest. -- It was the largest village, seven huts, and in the middle an open plaza. Twenty-four men stood there in several groups, foremost a heavily blackened fellow who swung bow and arrows wildly, beat on them clamoringly, and shouted with a monotonous voice: "Bakairí, Kkure Bakairí" (we, the Bakairí). And the chorus joined in: "Kkure Bakairí --
[558] Kumenó...Tugmaí hu-hu,"...other tribal names, incomprehensible words, triumphant gestures; finally the bacairí, with a gesture of his hand, invited us to pass. Apparently they were trying to make as forceful an impression as possible on us.

302 Only the hair of a few individuals was dyed red; otherwise they blackened their faces, chests, and legs. No one was dis-
[301] tinguished by special finery; they wore their belt strings, arm and leg bands of cotton or buriti bast.

[302] The skin color seemed to me a little darker than among the other Bakairí, but I may have been misled by the black painting, which did not show any particular designs anywhere, but rather was manifested in a simple coating of the body. The spinal column was left free, and likewise the parts from which the color could rub off in sitting. blandum virile pernum, pasputium longum.

142 The epidermis of several individuals was thickened ichthyosis-like and covered with hard, dry scales over the entire body. Many had curly hair.

/175 cont./

168 621 209 We counted 27 men, 18 women, and eight children, but as some of the men, who stayed longer than we, reported, a whole troop of women and children later came out of the woods.

342 I measured the largest house more carefully. It was 40 paces long, 24 paces wide. In the center line stood four supporting beams, 8-8.5 meters high (!) and 30 centimeters in diameter, the middle ones five paces apart, the outer ones each six paces from these; they had several bands painted with geometrical designs. [531]

The distance of the two outer supporting beams from each other, /176/ 17 paces according to the above, also gave the length of the roof timbers. All around, 72 posts, up to 25 centimeters thick, one meter 72 high, served to support the elliptical roof basket. This was also the height of the two entrances, 77 centimeters wide, which lay opposite each other on the long sides and were made somewhat lower by the straw hanging down from the outside.

The roof basket, made up of large horizontal bamboo rings fastened by vertical poles bent against them, which converged at the top and projected to the outside through an opening, was built with great skill and regularity. The covering was made of straw-dry palm leaves. The leaf ribs lay horizontally; the free ends of the individual leaf spears hanging down from them, however, were all bent inward around the base rib, so that solid mats were produced in the simplest manner. These overlapped like roof tiles.

344 We make the rounds through all the huts. The sense of order of the peaceful professor is lacking. They are full of refuse. Instead of the fine supply baskets, balls of the mama /dough/ one meter long, a half meter thick, and packed in leaves are found on simple racks. Little maize. Many fish nets made of tucum fiber: a wide-meshed bag hangs from a ring 80 centimeters long, 30 centimeters wide, which sits on a long pole. They probably get the fish out of the blocked-off lagoons with these nets from the top of their scaffold. [531] [529] 226

/176 cont./

433 It is clear that here agriculture falls behind hunting and
181 fishing; Aldea IV is military in character and forms the frontier
648 defense against alien tribes.

763 In one hut lay an ancient, paralytic little woman emaciated to a skeleton, whose soul seemed to say "ãla Bakaïrí" (it is enough Bakaïrí) and was trying impatiently to flutter away. The hammock was resting partly on the ground; two women squatted beside it and, as garrulous cronies, explained to us the suffering of the dying little mother.

231 Of tame animals we found a heron, small parrots, a king-fisher and the socó-morena.

345 The festival hut was 18 meters long, nine meters wide.
532 There were clumsily carved wooden fish hanging there, as well as a few finless specimens; wound bands which perhaps represented the electric eel.

Two square pieces of wood, painted red and white, with modeled nose and two eye sockets were striking; they are held in front of the face and represent doves, whose voice the artist can imitate better than the head (1).

1. Cf. the second ethnological plate /see p. 165/.

534 /177/ Four menis and a number of rattles were stuck in the
353 rafte walling.

684 Only in the festival hut did the herald put down his bow and arrows, but he did not part with them during our entire stay, even
[296] when he handed us a few bundles of tobacco. The latter, by the way, was better than among the earlier Bakaïrí. A few modest old
682 people were there, none with gray hair; among them the chief and, if I understood correctly, a vice-chief, the authority during the time the former is absent.

123 A shooting demonstration on the plaza filled them with
152 terror; they jumped with fright and turned away convulsively, most of all the mighty herald. His "ãla, ãla" was very humble and urgent.

/177 cont./

829 We inquired eagerly about other tribes. It became clear
[101] that the Kustenaú and the Trumaí were to be met downstream. Waurá was a name about which we could not be certain. Was it a tribe? Or a little stream like "Tapacuya," which had given us a great deal of trouble and turned out to be the name of a nearby brook -- frequently mentioned to distinguish it from this aldea.

[101] The Kamayurá /Camayura/ lived ten days overland in the east. The principal role in all the descriptions, however, was played by the Schuyá (1), about whom the people in Aldea III

1. Suyá, pronounced Schuyá by the Bakairí.

had also spoken with excitement. They said they were taller -- they always pointed to me for a comparison --, very muscular, wore long hair down to their shoulders, and -- apparently lip plugs. By way of illustration, they pulled the lower lip forward forcefully with both hands, leaped about, and uttered a dreadful, intermittent roar; there was no doubt about it, the "Schuyá" were regarded with extraordinary respect among the Bakairí. But we! We might indeed risk it -- a young chap pointed to our guns, and all the heroes laughed and nodded to each other.

439 They showed us a number of articles that came from the Suyá: a fine headdress of orange-red and green feathers, arm bands of such feathers, a flute (simple bamboo cylinder with side hole and an opening in the top), arrows with bamboo knives. A nicely carved stool, which represented a bird, was supposed to have been obtained from the Kamayurá.

[101] A string with small perforated stone disks, one of which was larger in the center and could be interpreted as human-like, came from the Nahuquá (2) likewise living in the east.

2. Apparently the Uanaquá of the Suyá geographer.

/177 cont./

122 By way of farewell we wanted to drink sweet mingau --
[272] piseregu -- in the main house; it was bubbling in a big pot; I was /178/ so foolish as to dip a piece of beijú prematurely into the foam -- the old cook leaped up and they all screamed at once, horrified -- the foam was still poisonous. That I did not know this was probably inconceivable to them; but I thought it best to refrain from producing a miracle for them.

330 It was lasting too long for us; Clauss had to calculate an occultation of Mars that was taking place today. Unfortunately the event which we had long anticipated with pleasure and which would have been doubly important for us so near the Schingú took place before twilight set in.

Our Bakaïrí visits had come to an end.

[136] In the evening an inferno of mosquitoes. Wilhelm's and my hands and lower arms have for some time been covered with flat, slow-healing sores. They start with a dark blister the size of a pinhead, which contains thin pus; then they become enlarged and discharge a thin, milky secretion. It looks as though they came from the bites of small flies. In connection with the discharge, red scars remain after healing.

122 25 Aug. φ 12° 26'.2, λ 21'.7, km. 28.83, total 310.90.
132 6:50 A.M.: I 743.2, II 735.2, dry. 14.0, wet. 13.1, mares' tails 3°, wind - 0, water 25.1.
5:30 P.M.: I 744.6, II 735.2, dry. 25.4, wet. 23.3, clear.

133 Heaven only knows when the "Schingú" is finally supposed to appear. After two days there is a river coming from the left, that is no doubt certain, and later on a larger river -- but when? Concerning this there are the most varied interpretations.

At a width of 70-80 meters we measured the speed of the Batovy at 1,416 meters per hour. Barranca three and one-half
137 meters. Water dirty yellow, as always. Campo, tucum and carandí palms. Low brush on the shore and individual copses about 18 meters high. Araticú, blossoming paratudo.

Waura SP18
Coutenau -

/178 cont./

122 26 Aug. φ 12° 8'.8, λ 27'.3, km. 34.71, total 345.61.

132 6:30 A.M.: I 742.8, II 735.2, dry. 15.1, wet. 14.8, strc. 2, wind = 0, water 25.2.

5:50 P.M.: I 744.0, II 735.0, dry. 25.3, wet. 23.4, strc. 8, wind = 0, water 26.9.

136 Swamp birds; ducks, storks. Of the latter, the tujujú is a large white bird with a long, thick, black bill and orange-colored throat; it has rather tough meat and makes a good broth. -- Warbling arancuans, jabiru, biguá, mutúm,[1] jacu,[2] jacutinga, poayero, soco. The best dish is duck.

000 The beijú[3] gradually makes us belch and suffer heartburn.

136 We are careful in bathing. Candirus were found, /179/ a transparent little fish two centimeters long here, with yellow iris, which likes to enter the body cavities accessible to it. If, as is frequently supposed to happen, it slips into the urethra, the situation is very serious because of the fins' boring into the mucous membrane, like hooks; if one does not succeed in getting the mischief-maker out by means of a warm bath, there remains only an operation. It is said that then the sertanejo[4] /see "Sertão" in the glossary, p. 172 / does not hesitate to perform a urethrotomy and in many cases perishes as a result of this heroic procedure.

000 Toward 4:00 in the afternoon a persistent rain shower fell. The cicadas produce a sound deceptively like the whistle of a locomotive; one can hear the train pulling into the station.

122 27 Aug. φ 12° 17'.9, λ 27'.9, km. 2.79, total 348.40.

132 6:30 A.M.: I 743.4, II 735.0, dry. 17.4, wet. 16.2, clouds = 0, wind = 0, water 25.8.

2:00 P.M.: I 744.0, II 734.4, dry. 31.9, wet. 22.5, cum. 3, wind = 0.

10:00 P.M.: I 743.6, dry. 19.4, wet. 19.0, hazy, calm.

361 At 9:00 in the morning we found canoes on the right bank.

609 After only a few steps we saw a hut and people. Several women were not a little startled by our appearance; in the background

[1], [2] [i.e. Crax and Penelops, Turkey-sized gallinaceous birds]
[3] [i.e. flat cakes made with manioc flour]
[4] [i.e. one who is very familiar with the wilderness]

/179 cont./

609 a few men were also running about, snatching up arrows and disappearing. Two women stayed, old women, of course, waved to us, shaking with terror, and cried: "katú, katú, hekatú" (1).

1. Tupi: catu, "good."

The men, not a little excited, now reappeared, led by an Indian of medium height with a pleasant face, who smiled awkwardly when he saw us all laughing and likewise did not stop calling "katú, katú, hekatú." After a series of misunderstandings, it turned
101 out that we were among the Kustenaú.

361 But the place seemed to be merely a roça;[1] two miserable
[241] huts and farther back a somewhat better one, that was all. After the parley, we assumed that we had passed their actual aldea[2] yesterday.

594 Mats and pestles and pots and pans lay and stood around in wild disorder; a few tree trunks were rolled up and we were invited to sit down. The oldest of the three hekatú sorcerers hastily baked a few beijús in the open; a thin mixture of starch-water and good tobacco, the best on the Batovy, were served with them.

162 Altogether we gradually counted seven men, seven women, one boy, two girls, and, in addition, two Bakaïrí, one of whom was a modest old man, the other an idiotic youth. They had not
609 in the least /180/ taken any notice of our arrival -- but, with quick comprehension of the situation, they were immediately interested solely in knives and metal goods. Buttons, these buttons
[435] with which, among the Bakaïrí, one may demand house, field, wife, and everything that belongs to him, provided that one is in a position to offer a fine assortment -- the practical Kustenaú scorned them completely. Our men soon accused them of various thefts;. a spoon, a bowl -- and their number has already shrunk to the most essential -- disappeared; a cup was saved with difficulty.

829 In the meantime the spokesman told us in the well-known
537 manner, accompanied by lively gesticulations and enlivened by tones from the entire scale of interjections, about the Trumaí, who seem to

[1] [i.e. a cultivate field -- Analyst]
[2] [i.e. a village -- Analyst]

/180 cont./

829 treat strange visitors somewhat treacherously, and in particular
[537] again about the teeth-baring Suyá, the alpha and omega of all
their reports. The name of the Karajá /Caraja/ also came up,
however -- to our great joy -- for the Karajá wander about in the
region between the Schingú and the Araguay /Araguaia/; it was
our first definite pointer that we were on the right route to the
Schingú. A few later maintained that the Chavante, who like-
wise live in the province of Goyaz /Goiás/, were mentioned.
439 They owned a number of things that came from the Suyá.
Baskets, "Suyá"; a very small, yellow ear of maize, "Suyá";
[534] two Panpipes, "Suyá." Each of the latter made out of three flutes
about one, two-thirds, and one-half of a meter in size, crudely
609 tied together. They quickly put these valuables in safekeeping
in our presence, however -- the best proof that they stole.
342 The first hut seven meters in diameter, five meters high.
Badly built roof, one main supporting beam. Three hammocks.
352 These were not made of cotton, but of buriti[1] fibers plaited very
286 closely and firmly, like thick, strong cloth. A place for the fire,
353 a bale of provisions, and batatas /see the glossary, p.170 / are
also at hand; nets for storing bones, shells, feathers, paint, cotton,
[534] etc. Three sets of teeth from the peixe-cachorro. A flute covered
[412] with plaiting. Stone axes, somewhat larger than among the
[352] Bakaïrí. Concave, rectangular, elongated beak-like stool, with
[531] an incised groove on the edge for decoration.

Two huts, miserable, lying rather than standing. Looked
342 at by us, not crawled into. Through the door hole we distin-
guished several hammocks and a few utensils.

Third hut, 200 paces away. A special species of bean with
[241] small fruits grew in between. Like the poorer Bakaïrí huts; puva[2]
352 racks; the interior construction is the same; seven hammocks.
437 I acquired one of these, on which hung a shell and a piece of jaguar
[126] skin, after long /181/ bargaining. The owner insisted on having
an ax or my side-knife; I finally bought it for two kitchen knives
through the mediation of the spokesman, whom I rewarded by
[562] sticking gold oak-leaves in his ear lobes. The women here have a
voice; without being asked, they take part in the parley and
always vote for not giving anything away.

[1] [i.e. palm, Mauritia flexuosa--Analyst]
[2] [i.e. coarser manioc flour in brick form--Analyst]

/181 cont./

always vote for not giving anything away. I do not want to be angry with the owner of the hammock, a young chap whose crafty and impertinent physiognomy reminded one singularly of the shoplifters of the Berlin rogues' gallery; he was newly married and had a wife about 25 years old with big, sparkling eyes, who, sitting, was rocking the cradle of her new happiness and addressed me vivaciously. The fact that the hammock was made, not of cotton, but of buritĩ fibers

Kustenaũ hut.

means a difference of far-reaching ethnological importance, for in this respect the Kustenaũ stand with respect to the Bakaĩrĩ exactly as the Aruak /Arawak/ stand with respect to the Karibs /Carib/ in the Guianas.

As for arrows and bows, no difference between the weapons of the Kustenaũ and the Bakaĩrĩ could be discovered. A muscular young man sold me a belt-string with small pointed teeth. Two spindles with tortoise-shell disks.

/181 cont./

142 The Kustenaŭ were of medium size; one who towered above all the others measured one meter 67 centimeters. The young men in particular were of powerful /182/ musculature and sym-
304 metrical build; the skin color was like that of the Bakaïrí. The
531 young men had a blue tattooing on their backs: two or three lines on either side in the form of right angles that were set slantwise on the shoulder blade, outlining its inner and lower edge.

Two old women had three tattooed lines in the form of
302 semicircles on the front side of both upper arms. The middle of their faces and almost the entire front of their bodies was blackened with oily soot; there were unaesthetic finger strokes
[142] of the same color on their backs. The head hair was deep black, moderately soft, slightly curly in the case of the tall man, and sprinkled with gray in the case of the old women. A tonsure at the crown of the head. Beard, armpit, and pubic hair shaved. Hair style like that of the Bakaïrí, in individual cases dyed red.

142 Skull vertical in back; the forehead of the tall one was well rounded. Nose straight, alae moderately thick, in some individuals somewhat flat between forehead and root. Upper lip slightly protruding, teeth good. Eye slit rather narrow in the case of most of them; dark-brown iris. One young man was striking because of his Mongolian face: square, markedly broad cheekbones, eyes a bit slanted, upper lid sharply defined, taut in the inner corner of the eye, but not stretched over the underlid. One woman and two small girls had large, open, and beautiful eyes, and likewise a square face and prominent cheekbones.

The old, unkempt women were small and thin, the pelvis little wider than the waist, gluteal region flat, endlessly
[291] wrinkled; they wore the same triangularly golded piece of bast
[171] as the Bakaïrí women.

301 The men had bands of burití strips around the head and likewise over the ankles; around the waist a simple string or a
[304] wool /Wollen/ cord. Ear lobes pierced among the men; one had adorned them with red flowers.

/182 cont./

126 I was able to measure the tall one and the spokesman, as well as the tribal sorceress; the young men whom I had also fetched fled from me when they saw the instruments and would not be persuaded, even by gifts, to submit to the procedure.

164 The tribal sorceress herself was enticed only by the prospect
123 of a successful cure for her eyes, which were afflicted with chronic conjunctivitis. In order to be quite sure, she also turned to Clauss; he puffed and blew with all his might, Indian-fashion, into her running eyes, while she stretched out her puckered-up face with an expression of heartfelt contentment. One of the two girls suffered from an old inflammation of the hip joint; the mother brought her to me to be rubbed and blown upon and gave me a beijú. Since Clauss ate the latter anyway, I left the medical treatment to him as well, and he set to work with vigor.

126 /183/ I put down as best I could a brief vocabulary from
192 their language. It contains some words from the lingoa geral, but probably only a few of the most widespread ones. Paraná -- river, cunhá -- woman, petun - tobacco; Castro maintains that he also heard "jucá" (to kill) and a Tupi expression for "go away."

124 In any case, Irineo was not understood, even in the case of
192 the simplest questions: what is that? etc. Moreover, the spokesman had been around a great deal; he knew words from the Bakaïrí, Trumaí, and Suyá, and, for example, the number 2 from the lingoa geral, whereas the Kustenaú word is different.

The language does not burden the European mouth with such tongue gymnastics as the Bakaïrí. We were amused about "father,"
[601] papá; "mother," mamá; furthermore "boy" = little man, enira pipi, and "girl" = little woman, cunhá pipi.

I worked hard in the most diverse attempts to get the number words; I probably obtained 1 and 2 correctly, but whether 3 and beyond did not perhaps mean "maize, -- piece of wood, -- quite right, -- the same, -- now I don't feel like it anymore" -- or something like that, was difficult to decide. I became annoy-
124 ing to them with my many questions. I also did not get very far
601 with the degrees of kinship in such a short time. Papá, mamá, that was, of course, simple; teté -- "brother" was not bad either.

/183 cont./

124 Brother is symbolized by pointing to the navel of the one who is
601 the brother and to one's own navel; the word became certain because the Kustenaú immediately applied it to me: "I call you brother," he cried most enthusiastically and slapped me on the shoulder -- "mepiama teté, two brothers," he added. That one designates someone as son becomes absolutely clear, on the part of the father as well as of the mother, by a gesture which represents the height of naïveté, but whether the word spoken does not at the same time correspond to the given name of the son, etc. can be deduced only from a number of examples.

124 In answer to the question as to where we would be tomorrow,
[101] the Kustenaú always repeated, "Waurá." Whether that is a tribe or, as Antonio says, a tributary, we are unable to decide (1).

1. From the statements of the Suyá geographer it becomes clear that the Waurá are indeed a tribe on the Batovy, whom we did not find.

805 The number of days is nicely and simply elucidated. They point to the sun, describe an arc in the air which sumbolizes its daily course, nod their heads, and close their eyes -- one day; again they describe an arc, etc., depicting each day separately in this manner. The questioner does the adding.

802 /184/ The manner in which our Indians -- the Bakaïrí do
[171] exactly the same -- answer the question about a number, for example, of persons, is also very drastic. First they grasp and bend aside one finger after another of the left and then of the right hand; then comes the left foot and, if this is not enough, the right foot, toe by toe in sequence. If the number exceeds even 20, the Indian in the end grasps his hair with both hands, lifts a full bunch, and pulls it apart in all directions.

/184 cont./

124 The art lies in the questioning. The proverb is turned around. Here ten fools can answer more than one wise man is able to ask. I often consoled myself with that.

133
137

Batovy landscape.

/The remainder of p. 184 and p. 185 of Ch. 11, as well as Ch. 12, pp. 186-190, are omitted in the translation./

/191/

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Thirteenth Chapter

Meeting With the Trumaí

During the night Castro's canoe, the only one whose load was not brought to shore, floated away; in two hours it travels one legoa; Valentin and Satyr set out in pursuit.

122 31 Aug. φ 11° 46'.5, λ 31'.6, km. 18.12, total 466.81.
132 4:10 A.M.: I 744.0, dry. 19.2.
6:45 A.M.: I 744.6, II 737.0, dry. 19.4, wet. 19.0, strc. 9°, water 25.8.
5:40 P.M.: I 744.4, II 735.6, dry. 24.8, wet. 21.9, horizon hazy 4, wind = 0, water 27.9.
9:45 P.M.: I 745.0, dry. 20.8.

484 "Vem os compadres! oh, quantas canoas!" suddenly rang
501 out around 10:00; "the compadres are coming; oh, how many
609 canoes!" The soldiers hastened from the nearby camp in the forest; everyone armed himself and watched the canoes drawing up picturesquely in a long row -- and a magnificent sight it was as one after another came around the bend and slowly drifted down the Kulisëu. Two Indians stood erect, with quiet composure, their bows in readiness; a third sat in the center and scarcely moved the oar. We counted 14 canoes and 43 persons.

/191 cont./

484 In perfect order, as though this were a carefully rehearsed theatri-
501 cal performance /192/ supported by very successful scenery, the
609 long, narrow craft glided silently along, a considerable distance from our praia /sandy shore; see the glossary, p. 172 /, closer to
[291] the opposite wooded shore; no command sounded. Almost all
[302] the naked occupants were painted black and bright red on faces
[289] and bodies, many simply blackened all over with soot; on their heads they wore white feather caps, the hair was cut short all
[411] around, as among the Bakaïrí; the standing ones were overtopped by the bows, almost two and a half meters long, and in the left hand held a thick bundle of colorfully feathered arrows.

609 Gradually they came to a stop and the stillness was followed
576 by a dreadful noise, a fanatical howling and bellowing. There
[101] could be no doubt but that they were Trumaí, for they shouted this word incessantly as though their lives depended on it, beat their fists against their chests, and at the same time made bows with their upper bodies all the more violently since their legs had little room for lively gesticulation. Nevertheless, if any of us had behaved half as excitedly in the canoe, we would surely have fallen hopelessly into the water at the very beginning of the imitation. But we were on firm ground, and the example is contagious. We, too, howled; we, too, bellowed; we, too, beat our chests. Everybody shouted whatever he happened to remember of an Indian language: "Katú, hekatú Trumaí, Bakaïrí, Kustenaú," interspersed with an occasional lusty "diavo," heiliges Donnerwetter /hang it all/ in German, "don't these fellows have any sense?"

[123] But far from it! No matter how invitingly we waved to them, how affably we clapped our hands, how graciously we pointed to our campsite, as though we were speaking to the Spaniard, "Sir, this house is your house," it did not help in the least. It was clear that this performance is official on the Schingú; we should be committing a breach of etiquette were we to speak of other things before we had thoroughly introduced ourselves to each other for half an hour.

/192 cont./

123 609 It was necessary to make another attempt; since our Indian was apparently not adequate, Antonio was induced to make a speech in Bakaïrí. After a little shy resistance, he took heart and shouted across energetically that he was a Bakaïrí, and that the Bakaïrí are good, and that the Trumaí are also good, and that the Bakaïrí were friendly to the Trumaí, that therefore the Trumaí should also be friendly to the Bakaïrí. Actually, he made himself heard for a moment, but the Trumaí realized at once that they did not understand him and outshouted the poor soul, whose voice died away. Hold on, I remember two Trumaí words which the Kustenaú chief had told me: apirí, /Illustration appears here/ /193/ "friend," and meijú, our beijú, the mandioca bread. With a truly stentorian voice I therefore cry: "Apirí Trumaí, meijú Trumaí, apirí." If my purpose had been to fan the storm, I could have been satisfied. The effect was dazzling. My words came back in the loudest echo; I had definitely spoken good Trumaí. From the bottom of the canoe they fetched the [262] beijús, which have the shape of large pancakes baked in a pan, and waved this token of peace in the air. Particularly the chief [302] shouter, a young man painted brick-red from head to toe, talked with great enthusiasm about such a cake which he seemed to be demonstrating and explaining like a professor in a classroom.

Some success was noticeable, however; they were quarreling among themselves. The brick-red one was obviously inclined to [302] break off the preliminaries and to enter into closer acquaintance; but one canoe in particular, with three tall, uncanny, coal-black ones, decidedly refused and implored the other heroes not to listen to the words of that demagogue. But the opposition was overruled. Three of our men climbed into a canoe and rowed into the midst of the hostile fleet, laughing kindly and talking; that won their hearts. Still parleying a bit, they approached the shore and [152] finally landed. The black or red, ugly faces, whether the more so by artifice or by nature I do not know, grinned happily in our direction; each of us took one of the fellows by the arm, whereupon a second man of theirs quickly took his other arm, thus we strode, fraternally united, to our campsite.

[Text continues on p. 76]

1: Steinen--75 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi
Trumai SP28
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133
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609

Meeting with the Trumai.

/193 cont./

123 Most of them proffered a piece of beijú as a present and at
576 the same time said "má." My companion took my hat, but I
609 respectfully demanded it back. Everything seemed to be going smoothly; I was among the last, and in front they had already reached our hammocks.

609 Suddenly I hear a shot behind me; Cousin Wilhelm is
152 standing there, without his hat, gesticulating, his Indian guest
123 is sitting in the sand and kicking and striking with all fours; already he leaps up. What panic! Are they afraid that the earth will open up and swallow them? This is primitive fear; there is no question but that we have thunder and lightning at our command. With a few leaps all are in the canoes; they push off; — screaming, they row with all their might and do not begin to calm down a bit until they are in the middle of the river. No pleading, no peace demonstrations -- we put down the guns and walk unarmed across the beach -- can persuade them to return.

609 A boat with four of our men is in their midst, I thought
123 /194/ at first with the intention of calming the excited compadres; but it soon became evident that they wanted some of their things back, Manoel's pistol, the hats of Castro, Wilhelm, and Antonio, Quintilian's gun, the ax used for the soundings -- I don't know what all, it is incredible how they could have taken possession of all this in the short time.

609 The entire fleet is already on the left side of the Kulisëu.
921 Suddenly a Trumaí shoots an arrow toward our canoes, and in a
123 moment the guns of the soldiers are rattling. They assert that they only fired into the air. A wild scene ensues; all the Indians leap head over heels out of the canoes, abandon these and their weapons, swim to the nearby shore, and disappear among the trees. The soldiers, once having been seized by the furor of battle, continue to shoot eagerly, no matter how much Castro, from the shore, tries to order them: rest arms! Finally it is quiet; they rummage and hunt in all the canoes and start coming back. There is not a Trumaí to be seen anywhere in the forest: like peaceful staffage, their canoes lie peacefully along the shore, and only here and there, like a dead bird, a feather ornament floats on the waves.

/194 cont./

609 It was only then that we recovered our senses and were able
123 to understand the reason for the incident. Apparently the Trumaí
[439] had been animated by the urgent desire to barter as soon as possible
[262] and with as little ceremony as possible for some of our treasures
in exchange for their miserable beijú, which looked grey as though
made with buckwheat flour, were coarse-grained, and tasted
slightly sour. With this in mind they had been active everywhere.
Of Wilhelm's companions, one had been busy with the hunting
knife and the other with the gun at the same time, and the latter,
while my cousin was trying in the friendliest way to keep them
off, had unfortunately pressed the cock. In any case the culprit
was the most surprised by the effect, otherwise he would not have
been kicking so frightenedly on the ground.

In spite of the miraculous speed with which they dashed to
the boats, however, the Trumaí had not lost all presence of mind.
The two who had just been trying on Carlo's and Antonio's hats
did not forget in their hasty running to put them on well down
over their heads. Another old hand had still found time on his
flight to snatch up quickly one of the large fish lying on the beach.

Antonio's behavior when he was so unexpectedly deprived of
his precious hat was characteristic. Without further ado he shot
his pistol at the thief, but in his rage fortunately missed. And
when we /Illustration appears here/ /195/ asked him whether he
really wanted to kill the man, he nodded with the greatest com-
posure, "Yes, he had my hat."

126 The returning men brought back a rich ethnological collec-
411 tion, at least in terms of the number of objects. The bows were
very fine and strong, one was shot to pieces, proof that the shots
had not been fired entirely haphazardly. The arrows provided
with pointed pieces of bamboo were plentiful; these bamboo
blades, which, as could be easily seen, had been freshly sharpened,
are only loosely inserted in the shaft with a little resin; after the
arrow has reached its mark, they break off and remain embedded
in the body. There was a single club, crudely worked, flat, 86
301 centimeters long. One feather ornament was particularly pretty;
237 the green, orange-colored, and white feathers were mounted on

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 79]

Tauma!

//[illegible]//

a hand-net, above which they pointed upwards, sticking out at all sides, and into which they could be here back to protect them after use. There was also a dainty little pot with a notched edge, and red cotton strings which around Tremal wire around the waist or around the lower leg. There was some tobacco wrapped in green leaves; on the beach there were also a few grand vessels containing weight, pretty mingus which was just as poor as the medium bread.

There was no indication that the Tremal are on a higher level than the Beladf. As far as their body structure is concerned, I did not notice anything peculiar during the brief encounter. In size they did not differ from the Beladf and Kumnal. The fact that they appeared so ugly in the face may have been due to the disfigurement. They protect themselves against penetrating insects in the strangest and most primitive manner -- [illegible] the groups also use glandin [illegible] /the leaves is bound with red cotton thread in front of the glass in such a manner as to look like [illegible]/. This arrangement may also be useful in the water against the prying cendlar fish.

What now? A closer study of the Tremal is, of course, [illegible]. Now has been declared: we have no choice but to disappear from the scene of action as quickly as possible. We are found to have all further soundings and measurements and hit the Kalidh himself. We can still draw one advantage from the unknown situation, however. Since we have departed far far from the path of virtue, we need not have any scruples about conquering still more. After all, we did not get back our line as (two canoes capsized and sank when the Tremal fled to land). Why should we hesitate to exchange the most warped and defective canoes for those abandoned there, which are well built and excellently dried out?

//[illegible]// Several men are sent out and return with three canoes and a few oars, which do not differ from those of the Beladf. One of them is for Tremal and me, a second will be pulled along as a reserve, the third goes to the sergeant. Meanwhile Capt's cloth has also been brought home.

[illegible]

/1006 cont./

1006 The incident, which basically has put me in a bad humor, is all the more unpleasant since the soldiers are very delighted about it. They regard it as a sort of easy victory about which they would like to boast. Many also do not consider the "Bororo," the savage, worth better treatment, and those who are full-blooded Indians themselves judge most severely. Ammin is still very downcast, although the feather ornament that he procured for himself in place of the adornments has looks much better on him.

1025 We need not doubt but that none of the Trumai was hit by a bullet, all the men agree about this. They are very good-hearted by nature. They pulled out of the water one boy who, they say, could not swim.

1026 1021 Now and then the view is expressed that the Trumai had a secret disarmament plan. To be sure, the Bakairi had warned us in this respect. They described in detail how the Trumai would receive strangers in a friendly manner, wheedle their weapons from them, and then attack the unsuspecting men. They would wrench their arms out of their shoulder joints -- "pak, pak, pak," the instrument graphically described it -- tie their hands together, and toss the thus murdered bodies into the river.

1027 Thanks be to the gods if we have escaped such a fate. For the time being, however, I shall deeply regret this day. In popular Brazilian belief, August is an unlucky month. Well, at least we are already at the thirty-first.

And the poor Trumai are worse off than we are. When they arrive home in their miserable array, deprived of all their weapons and yet none wounded, what will their believed wives say? Has anything like that ever happened on the Schingú? It will be difficult for the heroes to report their deeds in such a way that praise and honor will be due them. The two captives so heavily avenged will play an important role. If we have heads, at least they are bringing home two hens. One of them jumped out of sight, can be understood, explained, but the other, a gray bird -- where are these forest animals whose skin bears hair not only on the outside, but also on the inside? Oh, riddle of life!

L. Stoiman--01 D.E-S (1894) 1896 SPT Secaiot

Sept 1921

/121/

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Fourteenth Chapter

The Sayd and Mesimaud

122 Since day before yesterday Claus and Clementine, and since yesterday Rufine, have been entered on the fever list -- with Daniel and me, five who must swallow quinine every morning. We need scarcely worry that the supply will be exhausted toward the end, as long as the remedy is given daily only to those who show by an attack, a need for it.

132 Φ 11^{h} 32^{m}.2, λ 38°.9, km. 31.64, total 438.45.
6:30 A.M.: I 746.0, II 736.2, dry. 18.4, wet. 17.8, cir. 6, wind = 0, water 25.2.
5:45 P.M.: I 746.0, II 736.4, dry. 25.3, wet. 22.7, heavy storm clouds Φ^{2}, NE 3, water 28.3. Soon after, thunderstorm, heavy rain until 7.30P.M., with strong north wind.

133 The width of the river is very changeable; it varies between a minimum of about 400 and a maximum of 7-800 meters. Individual islands and tributary branches, swamp fill regions.

/197 cont./

136 all around. Long grass with many jaguar tracks; a gull, which Camro calls talhamar and Alemin sand, is in its hatching season; I found two grayish-green, brown-speckled eggs, which had a delicate flavor. The nearer depressions in the sand, six to eight of them together. Today I succeeded for the first time in finding turtle eggs by myself, 18 in one nest, eight of which I managed to consume in celebration of this event. Nine nests were emptied. -- The wat often squirts up in an eddy, the cause attributed to the piranhas.

138 I rowed assiduously a day and find more /198/ pleasure in it than in waiting. Annoying north wind. In the middle of the river there were unknown, but high enough so that the low canoes were obliged to take refuge along the shore. About 5:30-6:30 in the afternoon heavy thunderstorms. The things were well protected. We stood and chatted in the sun. The light after the rain was peculiar. One would have sworn that he was high in the north in the season of Friesland: pure sea wind and the light beach, the color of which scarcely differed from that of the terra. The grounds already dry. When the moon came out, the scene even had truly polar appearance. Satyr fished; we ate our meal after ten (?) (?) at eight and, not fearing any more rain, slept outside the hammocks. /Illustration appears here./

122 2 Sept. ☿ 11° 22'., ☽ 69'.6, Ion. 29.70, total 528.15.
132 6:30 A.M.: I 744.4, II 736.2, dry. 20.1, wet. 19.3, s. c. 8, wind 0, water 25.2.
6:00 P.M.: I 744.4, II 736.4, dry. 23.6, wet. 20.8, new tails, cir. c. 3, wind o. 8, water 26.4.
Overcast. Northwind, strength 3.

137 Off at 9:45 A.M. Desolate shore section and opposite thickly covered campo, which, however, shows many dried up trunks and branches. Entrance too to four meters, perpendicular, with water marks in little steps, overed with foliage, sandstone boulders in between. The color the water in the middle of the river is
[i.e. Sandy beaches -- Analyst]

/198 cont./

dark green, what the men call "black." Today the sun is
[136] absent, there is an absence of the borachudos /see the glossary, p. 170/ and the yellow butterflies that we noticed here yester-
[138] day. /199/ as on the Batovy. The river makes bends to the right, until it takes a southerly direction; it turns to the NNE at a large cove, which we might have regarded as a tributary, but which is correctly judged at once by the practiced eyes
[139] of the Brazilians. Scrub forest, no palms; tucum in the campo
[136] In the afternoon four urubus circle high in the air. Where the eagles gather there is carrion; Indians cannot be far away.
[412] [434] On the shore we discover the place of a fire; one branch,

[138]

Schingú landscape.

sharply severed from the shrub, has been cut off with a knife, the experts say; the Suyá therefore have iron tools, they have commercial relations with the Brazilians -- we are coming into orderly conditions; once again imagination gaily runs away with reason, and that branch sweeps aside tree-size improbabilities with the greatest elegance. -- The compadres have been looking for turtle eggs. Suye, who habitually arrives at the campsite later, maintains that he has seen a canoe, it moved in midstream and then suddenly turned around.

[i.e. Small biting flies--Analyst]

/199 cont./

122 It is ten o'clock before the meal is set on the ground. Manoel is serving us roasted maize cake and hot egg mingau as a first course: on a Baka'ri' platter there appears a large fried piranha with a lovely flavor. For dessert, Berlin pancakes à la Chingou, made of the finest flour, fish fat, and turtle eggs. We are celebrating an anniversary: the hundredth day of our journey has been completed today.

3 Sept. φ11° 11'.4. λ56'.0. km. 26.20. total 554.35.
132 6:25 A.M.: I 745.2. II 738.0. dry. 20.5. wet. 19.6. stnc. 10. water 25.3.
10:00 P.M.: I 746.0. dry. 204 /sic/.

800 At 4:30 in the morning a few thin drops fell. Everything is very damp.

At 6:30 in the morning it began to rain: the tents were pitched, the things brought under shelter. Until ten o'clock we sat chatting around a burning block of wood, which passed from hand to hand in our tobacco club.

Off at 10:30 in cool rainy weather. The rowing was excellent. The river held to the same direction for a long stretch, a circumstance that wearies the boatman just as much as the straight poplar-lined highway does the wanderer. At the far end of the course a bit of yellow sandy beach was set off against the dark masses of the woods. Like an Oriental city laid out there: Valentin compared it to Samarra on the mouth of the Tapajoz.

531 Toward 2:30 in the afternoon we noticed a tree that bore
361 the finally carved drawing of a spiral. An hour later /200/ houses came in sight: lying near the river, they peeped out of the verdure: we could count three of them.

114 Fortunately we had kept together well today: we gathered around, everybody loaded rifles and revolvers, the mood of the men was disagreeably warlike. Yonder in the hostile camp the people were also alert: with the glass I made out a number of persons who were lining up on the shore and observing us. A kind of happy excitement took hold of us, such as one feels before a

/200 cont./

114 public debut, when one is sure of oneself, but still does not underestimate the importance of the moment. Especially since we were on the river, there could be no question of any slight twinges of real fear. With thunder and lightning in reserve, we were sure to win our game. Nevertheless an accident was not out of the question; the savagery of the teeth-baring Suyá had been produced for us too often in dramatic mimicry for us not to have to be prepared for an extraordinary experience. And I was filled with an oppressive anxiety: shall we not again, as among the Trumaí, be deprived of the opportunity of becoming better acquainted with the new tribe by a disastrous incident which the soldiers will welcome as a crude jest but which will be fatal to our interests? Are we to sail down the Schingú, not as a scientific expedition, but as bold adventurers who contentedly look back on their achievements if they have successfully cut through to their destination, no matter in what condition?

361 Gradually we distinguished a larger number of huts; they
609 lay somewhat elevated, a short path led down to the river. The premier half of the village inhabitants was evidently staying back;
[501] only a band of naked men awaited us on the shore. Suddenly, somewhat ahead from the right, four or five canoes came rowing up -- long vessels, the piled-up load carefully covered with green leaves, occupied almost solely by women and children; undoubtedly they had fetched manioca and produce from the planting.

[155] A tributary, whose width -- from a distance -- we estimated at 250 meters, empties here. Startled, the brown women
[154] caught sight of us, propelled their canoes to shore with rapid strokes and, clutching the children, the smallest ones straddling their left hips, hastened screaming into the woods, in order to reach the huts overland. Only one canoe, which harbored three men and a resolute, somewhat corpulent old woman, approached us to within hailing distance; one of the men held his weapon in readiness in his hand, but the whole did not give an impression
[301] of hostility. We were pleased to see by the lip /Illustration ap-
[01] pears here/ /201/ disks that we had Suyá before us and not, as we had [illegible] feared, a second division of Trumaí.

[Text Continues on P. 90]

1: Steinen--86 ℞E-5 (1884) 1886 597 Bacaizi
Juta 6921
609
291
301
411
133

Reception by the Sun.

/201 cont./

[60 929] we had silently feared, a second division of Trumaí. The old woman was a captured Trumaí, however, as it turned out later; what she shouted to us was supposed to mean "draw near" in the lingoa geral, a knowledge of which is said to make at least that one word intelligible. To judge by the anxious-friendly expression on her face, at any rate, she was saying something of the sort. We moved forward close together, all too close; as though the men had forgotten that they were sitting in canoes, they crowded so closely together that the fleet formed a little floating bridge and no one left the other the least room to row. They scolded, laughed, and, amidst a lusty "diavo" here and "diavo" there, the clew disentangled itself into an orderly battle-line which, expectantly, moderating the excitement only with effort, drew up to the landing place of the Suyá village.

[291 302 301 411] But what confusion among these aborigines. Some 40 men had gathered there, all naked, their bodies artfully painted black and red, in part with white or orange-colored feather caps on their heads, in part with the loose, tangled hair hanging down to the shoulders, -- all armed with bows, arrows, and even clubs, -- all horribly disfigured by the horizontal disk in the lower lip, projecting in front of the teeth like a tray and lacquered red on top. Not one of them stopped talking even for an instant -- what superb chatter, and what a wonderful pantomime when in their excitement the thing seemed to snap at their noses! "Suyá -- Suyá -- tahahá Suyá -- tahahá" -- the bellowing of the raving mob culminated in these words, recurring in all tones; they waved their weapons and leaped about in confusion, their eyes fastened on us like vultures in a zoo momentarily almost mad from greed and hunger when the attendant approaches [illegible]

[123] I went ahead with Claus in order to land, both of us standing upright and manifesting our wish by means of gestures. The hullabaloo increased. They were divided -- two were exchanging blows as best they could in their lame, then leaped onto a couple of canoes lying in the water and gesticulated violently. Accompanying each movement with their "tahahá tahahá"

/201 cont./

609 they pointed to the bows and ostentatiously pressed their left hands in rapid succession on chest, arms, legs, as though wishing to make clear to us that our weapons and clothes seemed sus-
[123] picious to them. I put down my gun -- immediately my intelligent Suyá did the same, depositing bow and arrows on the ground and clapping his hands: "Tahahá! tahahá!"

But we were not permitted to land. At the slightest movement in this direction, the waves swelled to a flood tide, and in a manner not /202/ to be misunderstood all arms pointed in a downstream direction: "There, there goes your way." Meanwhile Castro, too, came nearer with the others. Glances of the greatest mistrust were directed especially at the dogs; it would, of course, have been quite contrary to their nature if they had exhibited cold composure amidst the general noise; they were barking with all their might, and in their anger they were scarcely to be restrained from dashing on land and causing dread-
[123] ful havoc among the red legs. Castro handed to one Suyá a
[SE] small gift, which was accepted -- with all their bullying, some of the people were shaking with fright, but the situation remained the same.

609 Since it was growing late, we decided, as the wiser men,
123 to give in and pitch our camp on the opposite shore. When at the start we traveled downstream a short distance, the naked band cheered for joy and howled, but alas, what disappointment was manifested in the chorus as soon as the new course revealed our intention and they realized that they were not rid of us after all.

Continually observing our behavior, a canoe with three men in it soon followed us; they approached the shore; their weapons lay on the bottom. I were toward them [illegible] them with an old flannel shirt belonging to Claus, but I had to wade in water up to my knees before they decided to accept the gift. For their part they presented me with a few hatfuls of sweet potatoes. Soon others arrived, there was much shouting toward the other side and everything went well. They landed; it took only a short time before there was a lively exchange underway.

/202 cont./

609 The soldiers bartered for feather caps: I traded fish hooks, which
123 they examined with curiosity and, as though they dared not ad-
439 mit their ignorance, accepted with friendly faces, for neck
[601] cords of perforated little stone-disks strung together. I could not persuade anyone, however, to transfer his lip plug to me; they laughed, but kept it.

823 One intelligent chap explained nicely that the river (parané) goes farther north -- always north north -- and that after nine days there comes a waterfall; hopefully he was lying or exaggerating in the desire to express himself very clearly: he pointed first almost perpendicularly toward the sky, then to the river: -- "tuck, tuck, tuck, wild," he declaimed with shivering delight, shook one of the canoes, and laughed, very satisfied -- "Hei /ah/," this means in good German, "werdet ihr dort hinunterrauschen! Meine Herren, ich gratuliere/ will you whizz down there! Gentlemen, I offer congratulations/." Apparently no Suyá and no other tribes are to be found as far as the salto.

609 The new friends were very eager to obtain some of our things /203/ and stayed until nightfall, while we roasted batatas in the ashes, happy to have a change. They wanted by all means to have some of us accompany them back to the village. A vivacious, active company, far superior in energy to the good Suyá.

We are lying in the tent, the sky has become overcast; mosquitos are swarming around me. The Suyá over there do not want to go to bed, it seems; up to now, almost midnight, they have been chattering incessantly. A muted, indistinct hubbub is carried over from the other shore; no firelight is visible.

[illegible] you little people of the Stone Age. Don't let your grandmothers say anything, for what are their childlike legends in comparison with the just experienced first tidings from another world, which possess a thousand miraculous things in tangible reality and handles them heedlessly as an everyday matter. Indeed, what a bizarre game grave Clio has permitted herself to play with you today, you would not be able to understand and appreciate it.

/203 cont./

600 Even in imagination we can scarcely transplant ourselves back to your stage, and, no matter how benevolently we regard you, we can hardly convince ourselves that descendants of yours would invent the locomotive and the microscope, to say nothing of Hegelian philosophy.

The possession of our achievements has become so familiar to us that they almost seem to belong to us like parts of our bodies. Even in this sad wilderness we have with us compass, powder, gun, knife, books and would regard ourselves as miserable, indeed, helpless, without them -- we, who are a few millenniums wiser than you.

Who knows, you chattering Suyá, whether, after we have left you in a few days, your generation will ever again see similar human beings. Thus you have dreamed of the future, a vision has shown you the inconceivable, and yet you are holding the knives, the mirrors, in your hands; you will show them to your children, without being able to explain to them how these oddities have come about, for which neither animal nor plant nor rock, neither forest nor stream, in other words, nothing in the nature tangible to the senses has furnished the materials.

No matter how old your tribal history may be, whether your ancestors in the pampas sought shelter from wind and storm under the carapace of the giant armadillo, whether they dwelt on the seashore and piled up mountains of shells -- from the lowermost depths of your original state your development has always proceeded step by step; today, however, your glance has leaped forward over a few millenniums, as ours did backwards. Undoubtedly we may be permitted /204/ to lay claim to being [illegible] cal conceptions.

152 4 Sept. 7:10 A.M.: I 745.8, II 738.4, dry. 18.9, wet. 18.5, wind w 0, low, thick fog.
9:00 A.M.: I 746.8, dry. 20.8.
2:00 P.M.: I 745.6, dry. 22.8, wet. 22.0, cum. 2, SW 1-2, sand 43.4.

/204 cont./

132 9.00 P.M. I 746.8, II 738.6, dry. 21.0, wet. 20.0, clouds = 0, wind = 0.

123 We wanted to pay our return visit. It did not seem advisable to take along guns, because they would have aroused too much attention; in order, however, not to leave out of consideration the principle of mistrust during a first encounter with unknown Indians, we made sure of our revolvers, well concealed in our leather belts. I prepared to spend the night in the village if possible; the measuring instruments and gifts were packed in the hammock; perhaps even during the course of the day there would be an opportunity to make an anthropological attack on the Suyá. "As long as man strives he errs."

123 609 837 The morning began very agreeably. Just as we were ready to leave the camp, a canoe with two men and three women appeared. The latter came in paradisiacal simplicity, and no less in paradisiacal innocence. Their desire to establish intimate relations, which could not be reconciled with the discipline required by our serious position, was explained by their companions in the sign language comprehensible to all ages and peoples, and thus the invitation of last night, which had already seemed to have an admixture of similar suggestions, appeared in a new light. [291] The two completely unclothed women were neither young nor beautiful, but in no way impertinent and offensive. Their nakedness was, of course, disconcerting; stepping out of the canoe, they washed themselves in the most unembarrassed way and thus showed that they still possessed the naïve self-forgetfulness which criticism denies the bashfulness Venus.

123 594 516 We three traveled to the Suyá village in the company of two soldiers. We were received by a great swarm placing their weapons on the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] means "good," "friend," and the like. Each of us was carefully [354] taken by the hand and led up the path. On one side there were many women, some with infants, who sat on the left hip of the mother in a brownish-red wool /Wollen/ band running over her right shoulder. They looked at us inquisitively, but withdrew [291] when we nodded to them. All in Eve's costume, all of the body [302] hair shaved, the head hair drawn up in a loose knot at the back of the head as /illustration appears here. /285/ loose down to the

[text continues on p. 93]

1: Steinen--92 Ⅱ E-5 (1884) 1886 SPT Bacairi
Saya SP21
142
291
301
411

Saya.

/385 cont./

301 shoulders; they, too, wore the rolled-up palm-leaf strip in their
[491] ears; their lips were not disfigured. One of them attracted my
[302] attention because of her beautiful white teeth; she had three chains
with thick perforated stones around her neck.

123 Our kind guides had the obvious intention of distributing us
609 in various huts; we pretended not to notice this, however, and
together stepped into the last and largest one. We counted nine
361 beehive-like houses built exactly as among the Bakairí, and an
362 open shelter in the center of the open plaza. Cotton and wild
[371] sugar cane, which furnishes the arrow shafts, grew all around.
[341]

In the house we were surrounded and oppressed in such a
123 way that we could scarcely move. Wilhelm sat on a mat and, at
609 each attempt to rise, [illegible] smoothly pushed down. I wrote
[574]

412 Cracing stick (mandioca scraper).
531

123 down a few words; suspiciously they watched every movement of
609 my hand. We borrowed a few objects. They gave us good cigarettes
[361] of the familiar giant size; they served us a thin starchy liquid.
[376]

There was a series of cotton hammocks; the boyá, however,
[386] always said "Bakairí" -- in one hut a man was busy weaving --,
[191] there is no doubt but that they first learned this art from the Bakairí.
352 Their actual bed is a carefully placed mat and a piece of wood for a
pillow. And yet it is no less certain that these boyá are superior
[415] to the Bakairí in skill and energy. The pots were excellently
531 wrought and nicely painted black; two concentric circles on the
upper edge, formed a design that particularly caught my attention.

/205 cont./

The painting of the calabashes showed the same geometric drawings as among the Bakairi. They were clever at plaiting penny baskets, in which produce was stored, whereas the supply of flour was packed in arrow bales.

/206/ Several stools represented a bird; the head and eyes were admirably worked, considering the miserable tools. On the grating sticks, or manioca scrapers, the bazin pegs were arranged in an attractive design. The bazin burners also showed painting.

The jostling did not let up; one squinting old man, perhaps the sorcerer of the tribe, blew two huge clouds of smoke into each ear of each of us and promptly added his "ishahé, ishahé Suyá." Extraordinarily early our hosts expressed the wish that we should now leave again and, when we did not understand them, took us by the hand, pointed to the other shore, and, walking ahead, tried to lure us back to the canoes. But we still did not understand them; we made toward the shelter and sat down there. It probably served as the council place; there was a mat lying in the center, a place for a fire on either side, and a great number of straw spills scattered about indicated that popular speeches has been held here the night before. A blind man came along, leaning on a stick; an ancient graybeard, likewise on a stick, whose lower lip with a huge plug wobbled violently, felt us with trembling hands.

The resolute Trumaí woman of yesterday also appeared; she unquestionably had influence among the men and therefore received a splendid bracelet with blue beads, which she accepted, smiling contentedly.

The sorcerer, whose impatience grew from minute to minute, sat beside us. He was almost in despair over the slowness of our intellectual capacity and complained bitterly to the [illegible] surrounding us. Did the worthy fellow lose losing face himself because the foreign sorcerers were superior to him? Pulled out a mirror, none of which they had ever seen, and with a flattering "ishahé, ishahé" I held it before the

[(i.e. a false, deceitful figure --Analyst]
[(i.e. that Cabin made with magic fear --Analyst]

/206 cont./

604 [152] countenance of my squinting neighbor. How he rolled his eyes! He had cast only a fleeting glance at it and terror was painted on his features; excitedly he warned the others against looking at the object. Then I was seized with mischief; I picked up the small ray of sunlight with the polished surface and let it flicker rapidly two or three times over the bodies of those [152] standing around. Screaming they dashed away; threatening, they returned with their weapons and beckoned vehemently for us to leave. Now it was time for us to understand. As composed and deliberate as possible, without hurrying, we started to take our leave; but it was not until the canoe pushed off from shore that the bald forehead of the sorcerer smoothed out.

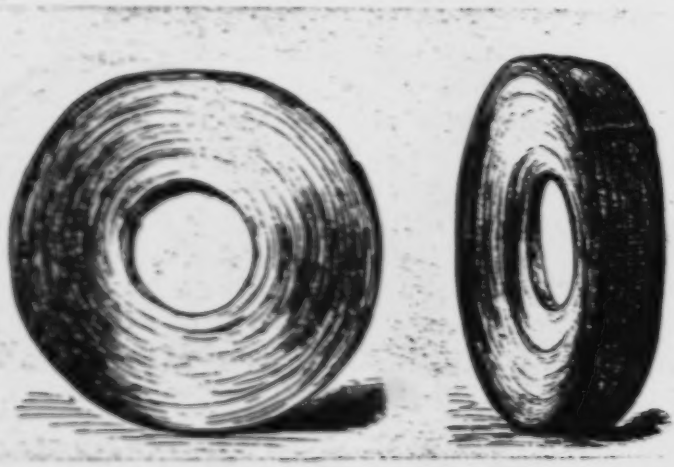
162 In the late afternoon some visitors. From our experiences it would scarcely be possible to state the number of Suyá; in any case it is the most populous /207/ village of those that we saw. An ample figure would be 150 souls, men, women, and children.

142 They are somewhat taller on the average than the tribes that we have met thus far; none, however, reaches 1.70 meters; slim with strong musculature; there is a little more yellow admixture in their skin color. A high, but slightly receding forehead, narrow, usually straight noses, rather narrow eye slits, sensible features -- without the disfigurement these faces would 302 not show anything unusual. Some have the front half of the head shaved; in back the hair, which is more straight than wavy, [301] is loosened or hangs in a tangle down to the shoulders. We noticed two who wore yellow cotton strands like a wig. Many have a [142] greater /Illustration appears here/ tendency toward beard growth; one had a thin mustache. Only a few have removed the rest of the body hair. The eyelashes are usually plucked. Many scars from cuts over the entire body.

304 [329] [304] [142] [illegible] as a rule, like a tape measure (diameter, seven centimeters; width of band, 1.5 centimeters), made out of the wide leaf strips of the bacaua palm; the ear lobes in which it is worn by both sexes look as though they were slit and, when

142 /207 cont./
301 the roll, which has gradually greatly extended them, is re-
[304] moved, they hang like reins almost down to the collarbone;
thus it causes great inconvenience if the lancó is not put on,
as often happens; but they know how to help themselves: they
wind the flapping reins over the shell of the ear.

301 The lip-disk is called "nigakoko" and is exclusively the
ornament of adult men. It is very delicately worked out of a
wood as light as cork, /208/ up to seven or eight centimeters



Ear roll.

in diameter, and 1.7 centimeters thick. The edge has a groove-
like depression all around it by means of which the disk is firmly
[531] held. The upper surface and the edge are painted red; the under
surface is white and decorated with a concentric circle painted
[304] on in black. The hole in which the disk is inserted is pierced in
the center just below the red part of the lips; its weight causes
it to fall in a horizontal position; at the edges the painted red
blends directly into the mucous membrane of the mouth. In
[164] profile a strange sight. The lower incisors, lacking the pressure
of the lips, become crooked, break off, fall out. The accumula-
[141] tion of saliva is also affected, and thus the Suyá are constantly

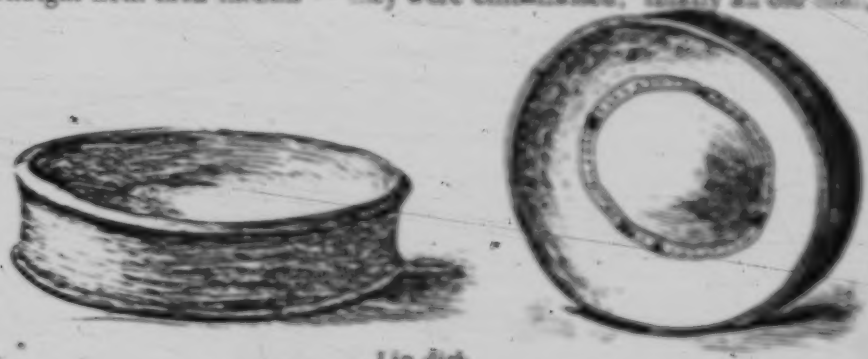
/208 cont./

301 forced to swallow it; as a result, their speech is interrupted at regular
147 intervals by a lapping noise.

[194] It is impossible for them to pronounce a pure labial "p"; what they manage is a sound between "f" and "h" (1).

1. Cf. "Appendix," the Suyá vocabulary, Phonetic Change IV /untranslated/.

301 They smiled awkwardly at first when I demanded the plugs
126 straight from their mouths -- they were embarrassed; finally an old man,
[437]



Lip disk.
a Upper side. b Under side.

who no doubt more readily succeeded in mastering the opposing vanity and modesty, was the first to make up his mind, was given a little pile of blue beads as a reward, and the ice was broken. Now they
142 crowded around, vying with one another to barter. They were certainly
301 more handsome, however, with the lip disk; the hole showed the uneven, knobby inner edge of the mucous membrane, the teeth were visible
000 through it, and the saliva-lapping did not cease. It is difficult for one to go deeply into the soul of a Suyá girl /209/ when she says to her bridegroom: "Behold, my friend, you are handsome and charming. Your lips are like roses dripping with flowing myrrh."

And surely the Suyá girl says that, even though with slightly different words than the clergyman.

We admire a most charming little ear, in the lobe of which a diamond star glitters -- the Suyá taste naturally runs more to size,

/209 cont./

since nothing dainty with which he might amuse otherwise is available to him, the basic inclination is the same in both cases. Why are we so one-sided and do not also wear a jewel in our lip? It need not necessarily be a golden saucer. Such a mouthpiece does not become any more burdensome in eating and smoking than it does in talking. In drinking it would even prevent heavy nectars from losses, and yet, no, it would not work -- women will not understand how I could forget such a thing.

301 297 In the making of feather ornaments the Boyd are similarly superior to the others. They like the combination of red and orange. They wear both the diadem with towering arrow feathers and the round caps fitting on the head with a wide-meshed cotton plaiting. Feather bands around the upper arm.

These trinkets, however, are not everyday garb.

411 [124] [134] Their heavy, dark brown, flat clubs, one meter 41 centimeters long and made from the wood of the [illegible] palm, have two eye-like insets of mussel shell. On one the handle was covered with a black-yellow plaiting.

They gave us a shooting demonstration with arrows, on the point of which a ball of resin sits and around the center of which there is a pierced turtle seed open on the side. By means of the latter a peculiar high-pitched singing and whistling is produced during the flight of the arrow. Our men were mad about these arrows and provoked great hilarity among the companions with their attempts.

[192] To my delight I acquired an interesting specimen, the only one that we saw -- an arrow thrower, which the owner called "[illegible]" (a verb?). A little round rod 23 centimeters long and provided with a hook-shaped curvature at one end changes at the other end into a plane six centimeters wide and 14 centimeters long, which has a hole. The index finger is stuck through the latter, the rod rests on the forearm, and the arrow, only gently guided with the fingers and thrown free by the hook, which is bent behind, whizzes off with great force and great accuracy of direction, which can never be achieved with the

/[See The Page 1/2 Back -- Analyst]

/209 cont./

[illegible] for alone, since, as a result of the unavoidable friction of the grip, the light /[illegible]/ projectile cannot get away without resistance and cannot run through the air sharply. (C.f. the second ethnographic plate /see p. 143 f./).

[illegible] I have already described the arrows provided with bamboo blades in connection with the Dumad.

[illegible] The axe and the canoe do not have any peculiarities.

[illegible] The more even are distinguished by their size and weight.

[illegible] I acquired a kind of chisel which consisted of a wooden handle and a piece of bone lashed to it.

[illegible] The Buyé made a great effort to obtain from the men as many sets of pipelle teeth as possible, which even cut out for them.

[illegible] They also brought me two cotton bands, which are supposed to be worn under the knee, with a pendant of rattling shells, as well as carrying bands for infants.

[illegible] Around the waist they adorn themselves with strings of small stone disks. Necklaces of rectangular, slightly convex shell-disks were very pretty.

[illegible] These flutes, which consist of three tubes, are very large (the longest tube, 50 centimeters), but are tied together without any case. One flute similar to the Bakaiff [illegible] came from the Kamayurá.

[illegible] 2. Sept. 7:00 A.M.: 1 Tab. 6, dry. 18.8, wet. 18.4, [illegible] low, calm, chilly night, toward 5:00 A.M. diary wind out of the E.

2:00 P.M.: 1 Tab. 6, 2 Tab. 6, dry. 36.2, wet. 23.5, cum. E, SSW 2-3, ground radiation max. 47.2, wind 11:00 ESE.

9:00 P.M.: 1 Tab. 6, 2 Tab. 6, dry. 22.1, wet. 21.1, cir. c. 2, 7:00 P.M. SSE, sheet lightning.

[illegible] The Buyé came very late today. We were beginning to fear that something was wrong. We saw the smoke of a rather large fire rise up, constantly heard dull flute tones, but not a soul could be seen on the shore. And when they finally appeared,

[illegible]

//[illegible] cont.//

their large number was striking. We must have been almost all the men, and not without suspicion we noted that they were all armed with bows, arrows, clubs, or sticks. The morning passed without disturbance, however. Many soon withdrew. They urgently warned us to depart. They pointed to the sun -- when it has passed the midday peak, we should make camp. They had no more to say. Evidently they were afraid to set out to hunt and fish as long as our presence threatened their village.

They left us a few provisions, but only with great reluctance. Besides the wild meadows, they plant a fine, golden maize which is distinguished by the smallness of the ears. Jikama, sweet potatoes, beans, tobacco, cotton. We also found manihot, mangoes, guard seeds (?-bulbs), and these -common pod nuts -- the //[illegible]// fruit of the chestnut tree, so pleasant to the Brazilian palate and so low as to our own, which, according to the Nyé, was fetched from some distance.

The Mentawai Indians, whose village is located downstream on a left tributary of the Schingú allegedly four days' journey from here, are being held in captivity by the Nyé. The first one who attracted our attention was a thickset man of heroic appearance with a noble signore, though does full-beard, who, if his eyes had not been so veiled and empty, would have had to be described as quite handsome. Besides him, we also became acquainted with an old man with two sons; unfortunately, after a short time they were not to be held back any longer, so I was happy to be able to write down even a few words. The old man had a tonsure that had grown back in and notice some beard growth. These three fine, agilely lean, dark-color like the Bakairi, one of the boys with remarkably fine hands and small ears, 15-17 years old. Among all four, hooked nose, narrow eye slits. They carried weapons, but no ornaments of any kind. The courteous Nyé called them "brothers." I rewarded the old man richly so that he would come again tomorrow -- soon afterwards I found my gifts in the hands of apparently the closest "brother," to whom everything had to be delivered.

Dogs 1121
Lists 1176
Miscellaneous

5
1123

/111 cont./

Hence I pointed out to the Suyá, indicating the position of the sun, that he and his brother should visit me again tomorrow morning.

Now astonished we were, however, when in the evening, between eight and nine o'clock, a small number arrived without weapons, cheerful and unconcerned, pointed to the moon, and clearly explained that they had been ordered for this hour.

4
5
1124
1117

I immediately began to question the female, together with a Suyá, and continued the linguistic recording. Two of our dogs [illegible] by and, from the words that they drew from the Mentsenó, it was possible, first, to confirm that they, too, have a word for dog, and therefore probably also the dogs themselves, as a joyful "Mentsenó bangi" seemed to indicate, and, secondly, to obtain the color adjectives, since one dog was black, the other yellow. This was immediately extended to other colored objects. By this time I thought that the Suyá sitting nearby was equally as advanced. He did not understand me, however, and persistently pronounced only the names of the objects, although the Mentsenó, who understood me perfectly, was trying to help me.

5
1124
1117

I put down the most necessary words for the Suyá. But as soon as I came to the verbs -- good heavens! To see and to think -- when I showed them that, the words came to them so quickly and naturally /1124/ that I could not fail to get them. Whatever else I expressed in pantomime, however, to make clear my wishes, sleeping, laughing, crying, running, was appreciated by all as a linguistic achievement, evoked much merriment, and roused the ugo for imitation among my public -- but the magic words, the redeeming ones, were not uttered. The conversation continues in a fluent pace. With so "that," rehetá "good," and rehetá "not good," wéindie "I do not understand," one can carry on the most extensive conversation about most things of heaven and earth. One of the few to whom I addressed a question had already said "wéindie" and at the same time pointed to his ears as though he were hard of hearing -- now, when duetly thereafter an inquisitive circle of Suyá bombarded me with questions,

//III cont./

126 I said very gravely at the same gesture, "wabbie, wabbie."
127 But I could not maintain my seriousness, for on their baffled faces there was so only mirrored such a mixture of astonishment at how well I subbey quite Suyk and, at the same time, obvious suspicion that Sight then went to know much more that I had to hand out lasing. I realized that this little Schlugl people will did notice, not only our inventions and requirements in general, I, in particular, even our oldest plan.

116 The squinting-eyes also took part in the linguistic contest. When I saw that I to exhausted their patience, and that my
126 little book, he used pencil and paper. He moved to draw
128 a good-vessel designed, in exchange for a kitchen knife, drew two pages full, gung the pencil properly in spite of the fire attempt -- to be so, in his preoccupation he several times held it in the candle flat, as he was accustomed to do from his studies in resin young. If he failed with the lounge-shaped figures, he filled subs space with laughing. He was very diligent, and, with thwid front of his shell, he resembled a Japanese squeezing sis work, for which the red-lacquered lip-bowl did not harmonize badly.

Wilhelm put seven sudden colleagues, who covered several pages of the foreign-textbook with blue and red net-marks.

124 Gradually a lot assembly had gathered in front of our tent. A beautiful full-moon night, the river glittered and rose yonder, above the big scenery of the town, floated small silver clouds. A weatherwold man with a distinctive head, from which the hair hung in dense down to his shoulders, was talking. A
648 calm, clear voice, possess gesticulation. The Tsimal are dere enemies. "Tsuf sell wheld." They had received in a friendly manner a Ni who was visiting them and, //illustration appears here// //[illegible]// was explained with the sudden expression, killed him treacherously the next day. But the Suyk will take revenge on the Tsimal. Now it was our turn! We been Nain, dear old man, for the end of year and, several of our heroes leaped forward simultaneously to strike up the song of victory, we had sent

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.104]

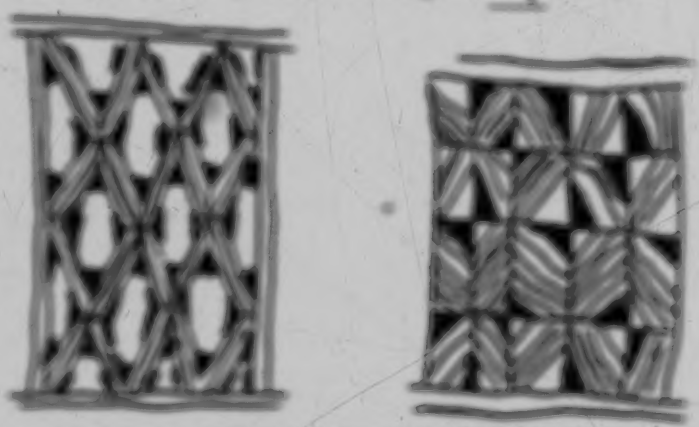
/113 cont./

123 the miserable Tsuma' flying, despite their bi-bi, and had cap-
192 tured all their weapons. This news aroused great joy among the
Suyá. They had, of course, long since seen how many bows and
arrows of the Tsuma' we possessed and had made their opinion
about this.

124 The old man was well acquainted with the Kutomai and
Bakaiti. Ananuia was introduced, "our" Bakaiti. "Well, well,"
said the old man, as was clear from his gestures, "you probably
picked him up as a roaming expedition when he was still small and
let him grow up as a brother!"

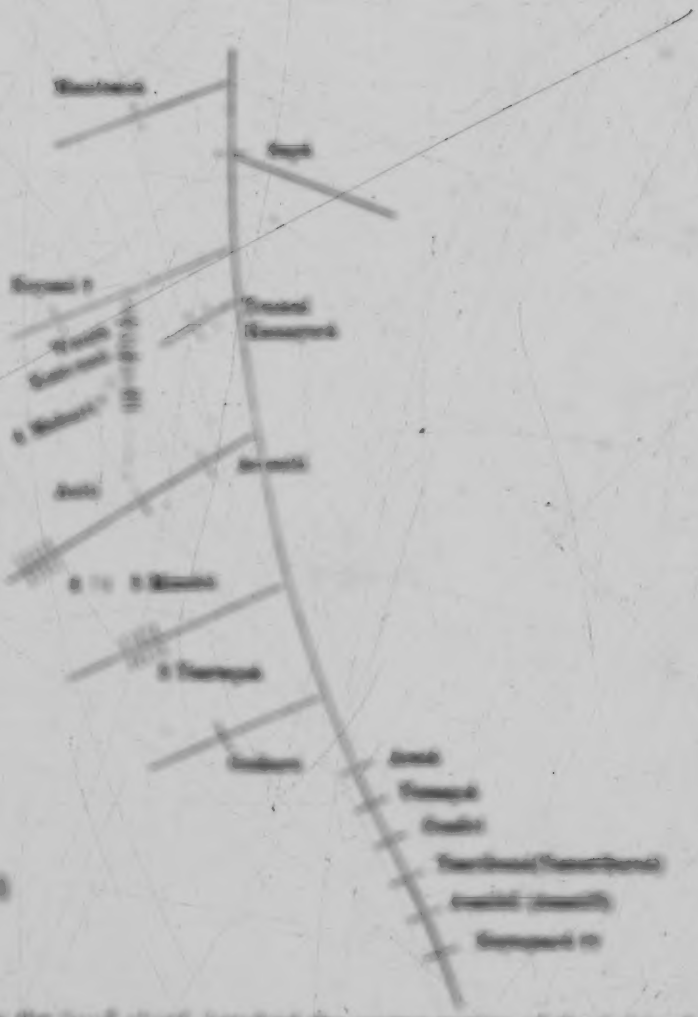
124 One word led to another; the old man understood what we
125 wanted to know. He enumerated all the tribes that are settled
on the upper Xingu; in order to be quite clear, he drew the
course of the river in the sand with his finger. Xingú is river.

192



Dualland drawings of the Suyá.

124 Suá-mugí, -- Bakaiti, Kutomai, Waná-mugí, -- and to our
123 greatest surprise he drew the Suyá, the only one which he pa-
trayed in this way, and, to be sure, entirely on his own initiative,
with a collective-like, certainly correct. He repeated such name
two or three times, where a tribe, such as, for example, the
Waná /Wanaw/, has five villages, he said Waná five times,
made five lines in the sand, and bent the five fingers of one hand
aside, one by one. On the following page there is an exact copy
of his drawing with the names added.



[illegible] Show the Nuyil chief launched the course region of the Sakirgil.

[illegible] 2. The Bakaki... ? Kuyaal-mind. However, the existence of a Kuyaal tribe did not seem absolutely certain to us. ?? - Kayaqi? so the Coual call themselves, according to the Bakaki?

/213 cont./

[223] Whether the drawing is in fact to be cited to the extent
[133] that all of the tributaries of the main arm the Kulidu come from the left, I do not venture /214/ to say. Since, however, the upper Ishingi, as we must now presum comes so close to the Anaguay, which then farther south, is conceivable that the wooded between Ishingi and Anaguay /[illegible] appears here/ extends closer to the former there. For claims being, how-
[223] ever, this does not matter; the important thg is that such a
[131] multitude of no less than 13 tribes inhabit a dozen of the Kulidu. the spelling of the few names is are uncertain because our geographer was in a greater hurry towards the end. he repeated the entire list once again, however, and affirmed it as I read it to him.

[114] How lucrend we were by fortune! What pulled us at precisely the only place where we were able to be with something familiar, namely, in connection with the Ishi. Fortune had placed into our hands the only key that fit the locked panel. /215/ And if we had embarked on the Ilanu, which, according to the accounts of the Ishi[illegible], has the [illegible] who knows how far we would have come. we had traveled farther to the east to the Kulidu, we mighave expected a greater abundance of interesting material, to sum, but this task would have been too great for our auxiliary expedition. it could have been accomplished only in capture independence, and it is very doubtful whether we could be entrd the [illegible] problem -- the drawward journey on the Ingi.

How are conditions downstream?

There is a "[illegible]" that is certain. Anthe [illegible] of the Ingi? Contrary to the result of our [illegible] on the low [illegible], we now believe that we shall encounter second Ingi village. It is my only comfort. we cannot [illegible] here any longer -- our departure is being urged upon us to such extent that we shall have to give in, however much I am annoyed about the loss of body measurements. If I should resort to attack with new magic apparatus, however, I would [illegible] compliance, and the men, too, are impatient. once Ingi, who remains

[illegible] -- Ingi? [illegible] -- Ingi?

/215 cont./

423 that they have nothing more to see themselves, are bringing us
nothing for good souls.

424 Our much-traveled Loyd geographer has been to that
"other" beyond it they had seen many lies and turned back out
425 of fear. The Loyd -- if they are telling the truth -- are not
familiar with any curve except that of the blessed living on a
426 tributary. And today, when we are indebted to them for such an
enrichment of our knowledge, I should not like to think ill of the
good old men. As a reward we put around his neck a night-
watchman's whistle, the shrill sound of which impressed him.
He also pitched on very much, saying that we had given the Loyd
427 so many letters. Amid many mutual compliments about how
valuable the other was, we parted at midnight.

While we were sitting together talking, however, a new company of seven men arrived at 11:30. They, too, wanted to drink! They, too, wanted to earn kitchen leaves! Yes, gentlemen, everything can be overdone, even the love of art. As compared to we were born, we met there home, but they only left reluctantly and, as before, cordially invited me to accompany them. Even that yet!

/216/

Fifteenth Chapter

428

Entrance of the Greek into the Mountains -- Dual-headed Serpentine.

/Pages 216-219, 6 hept. through 9 hept., are omitted in the manuscript/

/219/

429 9 hept. [illegible] 19.3, h. [illegible] 9.6, hum. 90.05, aneroid 677.20.
430 7.10 a.m.: 1 765.2, 2 736.8, dry 11.5, wet. 10.8,
elev. 1. 3, wind = 0, water 28.6.
3.45 P.M.: 1 763.4, 2 736.4, dry 15.8, wet. 11.7,
elev. 1. 6, wind = 0, water 28.3, thunderstorm all around.

/110 cont./

The morning toilet of the Ewok. They peer each other's back with a thick coat of red, an excellent remedy, the hemichuda, which in the oil. /220/ and wear their locks, like our glue sticks square flies, are strewn with blackish cadavers.

The movement of the stream is very slight, several islands. The chestnut tree (Castanea sativa) towers over the wood. Here and there small alligators have been observed.

From about 11.00 cumuli have been forming on the horizon. Air and water do not stir. It is very hot, perspiration is extremely annoying to the eyes, a swarm of hemichuda is the faithful escort of the canoe.

At least an occasional gentle current of air from the north. Course in that direction very good. A high wood appears in the distance, but in its immediate vicinity it dwindle to a low ridge of a hill. We camp opposite an attractive cluster of ewok, see the glossary, p.171 / palms. Fireflies are quickly caught, the Ewok present us with a fish duo with an arrow, a mikelo or mellin. They also killed another fish, jacundi, that has a peculiar lower lip. -- Determining the latitude shows a favorable result.

The Ewok chief becomes quite effectuoses. He urgently advises us to abandon the plan to go downstream. Beyond the mike, there are supposed to be bad people, he are them by the fires (which he had repeated to us earlier without mentioning the people). They were long bodies in their ears and had foot-long arrow points (!). He himself was afraid of meeting their

1. Obviously a description of the Ewok.

acquaintance. "Ni ent mikelo kuf, there are bad people," he repeated emotionally. We should set our with him against the Dumal. He was positively in love with this battle plan, we were to go with them, we were to hide in the woods, and when the Dumal were asleep, we were to shoot them down from ambush. All the men would be killed and the women -- the boys that did not realize that we were not enthusiastically agreeing

[i.e. beach hitting, blows -- Ewok?]

[i.e. [illegible], [Pulse -- Ewok?]

/[illegible] cont./

with him -- we would divide up the women, one half for the boys, the other half for us. each of us would be able to have more than one, then we would go home, then they would go home.

Civilization certainly has its drawbacks.

[illegible] 10 Sept. [illegible] 10[illegible] 8 - 2, 3, 1[illegible] 7 - 3, km. 23.16, wind 700.40. 8.15 A.M. 1 763.8, B 760.0, dry 23.0, wet. 20.8, cloud = 0 wind = 0, water 27.7, clear night. Ground cooling minimum 20.6.

Once again a geography lesson. the crews are drawn to the wind and the other bend.

Off at 8:00 in the morning. The companion remain behind. Oh my feelings! If only we had remained a day longer! One should always follow one's first, one's best impulse. /[illegible]/ /Mosquitoes appear here./

/[illegible]/ Nine o'clock in the evening. A bed of large grey boulders along the right shore. they project like a bar so much as 200 meters into the river. the dark grey-green water quiet as a lagoon, to the left a little island garden.

[illegible] A region tree, [illegible], [illegible], generally elegant local palms, now and then -- we are approaching the [illegible] where we might wind there -- a pirahi, [illegible] [illegible], two Indians.

About 1:00 in the afternoon we come to a fork in the river, one branch run westward, the other northward. The men in the land, who were considering which they should choose, suddenly found themselves locked in a close, loudly resounding case. two Indians pulled off from the island and very rapidly rowed down the west branch. We saw three women lying on the north shore. We assembled and pulled ashore. Under the trees stood a naked woman with four children. a man sat near over in the corner, as though to seem absorbed in reading a book, which was very improbable, and ignored our approach until we called "[illegible]." Then the women and children ran into the woods, we heard their screams and weep -- two Indians. Said, who had remained hidden, came out and appeared friendly, but did not permit us to land. We did not quite know what to do, since we were uncertain where [illegible] [illegible] -- [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] -- [illegible] [illegible] -- [illegible]

[illegible] on p. 10]

Pleasure Bait.

/[illegible] cont./

[illegible] the sides was. Dense we proceeded on the north branch toward a rather dismal place that belonged to a small island beyond the confluence of the two branches. Wilhelm's and my canoe ran aground on a mere bar. The three canoes accompanied us on a respectful distance, their excited occupants clamored incessantly.

[illegible] We landed and set up housekeeping, the bush held back, [illegible] and again I had to struggle to them, up to my knees in water. Apparently they had been informed of our arrival, the manner in which they immediately demanded brown and beads obviously proved this. We collared bright, they withdrew.

Strong wind and thunderhowers, high waves, we were glad to be sitting where it was dry.

At 5:00 in the afternoon the bush came again and they all brought very badly baked bright. A few decided to land, among those who stayed behind we noticed a Ubangiandi, again with a ragged face and weak eyes. We browned a little, they were impulsive beyond all measure.

We hoped for something better the very morning.

[illegible] Chemmitin skins caught bar bandit/ow the glossary, p. 170/, a mighty [illegible] pouches.

[illegible] /[illegible] Bugs and Chico had high fevers, since 7 September [illegible] has been a participant in the quinine cure, night sick.

[illegible] 11 Sept. 7:00 A.M.: [illegible] 747.5, [illegible] 730.5, dry. [illegible], wet. [illegible], [illegible] S.W. 2.
2:00 P.M.: [illegible] 745.5, [illegible] 730.5, dry. [illegible], wet. [illegible], [illegible], wind [illegible].
9:00 P.M.: [illegible] 747.5, [illegible] 730.5, dry. [illegible], [illegible] 5, 8:00 P.M. thunderstorm, strong east wind 3-4.

[illegible] Waiting in vain for the [illegible]. At 3:00 at night one could still hear flute being blown. The men carried all day; there was an /illegible appear here/ uninterrupted boiling and stewing in the pots and the pouches were browning on great grills.

Toward 4:00 in the afternoon we drove with four men and two women out to visit the bush. Nothing on show, no human being, no town. Two open huts consisting merely of a leaf roof and a few posts, a dead [illegible] see the glossary, p. 170/.

[illegible] Small dick — [illegible]"
[illegible] Pappenheimia — [illegible]

[illegible] Cong. Tuckey [illegible]
[illegible]

/[illegible] cont./

[illegible] anywhere remains -- all was now clear. There was no "alidee", [illegible] only a hunting expedition of the buyé had reached this far -- the [illegible] old man had not been lying, we were to come across buyé, but that report of the few day, that there are no more buyé further down, was correct in the sense that there are no more alidee. In order to be quite certain, we returned by way of the west branch. [illegible] magnificent wooded shores, an impenetrable wall of intertwined underbrush permitted only occasional glimpses of a smooth trunk.

133

Entrance of the Iritungi into the mountain.

122 [illegible] /[illegible]/ The west branch about 100 meters wide, the north branch 100 meters. -- Caught by surprise by a thunderstorm at 2:00 at night, soaked through, we gathered up the hammocks and fled into the tent.

192. 12 Sept. Φ 0° 27'.3, λ 1° 3'.8, km. 26.30, ratio 726.77.
7.10 A. M.: I 746.4, II 739.6, dry. 22.2, cir. 3, water 20.3, heavy rain at 2:00 A. M.
Evening: I 747.6, II 739.8, dry. 26.1, wet. 23.8, thunderheads in W 8, W 1-2, water 20.3

/224 cont./

153 Off at 7.30 in the morning. River 8-900 meters wide.
152 Water temperature 28°. High water marks on trees 2.3 meters. Sunny and windy.

Ahead, serra densely covered with verdure, apparently running from NE to SW.

We ran right into a branch with a great deal of rock in it. It is rather shallow and has many small rapids. But it soon widens and, with the main branch, forms a wide body of water. Most particles ahead so that we feared a serious obstruction.

At the left the river, interrupted by small rock islands overgrown with grass and bushes, drops three meters as a steep cachoeira and thereafter has a width of 1,200 meters. The serra on the left is about 80 meters high. We could think of no more worthy name for this waterfall, which, on account of its location, is most characteristic geographically and of the utmost significance ethnologically, than "Martius Cataract," in honor of our countrymen, who ranks foremost among all the explorers of Brazil.

The canoes were unloaded and pushed through the low, rocky bed. They often hit against the stones, but everything went off without an accident. Mavelles and Quintilian went with their boat through the sides, where they had found a channel, and arrived somewhat later, but unharmed. Black, large, and fat mosquitoes.

We had arrived at 10.00 in the morning, at 12.00 noon, when the last canoe had been dragged through, we continued our journey.

Many matrinchans /a kind of fish/.

153 Soon the river narrows to 600 meters, the ridge on the left disappears and makes way for scrub woods and swamp area; to the right, however, it becomes hilly. Ahead we sight a dark serra and behind it a second one. At this point the river turns to the north and is only 4-300 meters wide.

157 Again to the east, the predominant direction today. Bacaba palms with tall, slender trunk and green fruit. Tucum, burití.

[i.e. mountain range -- Analyst]

/224 cont./

122 On the small beach where we camp, Antonio has found about 100 eggs. Pleasant, sunny evening; in front of us and behind us it has thundered and rained. -- Chico has a high fever.

/225/

13 Sept. φ 9° 47'.5, λ 1° 26'.5, km. 28.04, total 754.81.

132 6.45 A.M.: I 749.0, II 740.4, dry. 21.4, wet. 20.9, cir. c. 5°, water 28.5, at night little rain.
6.00 P.M.: I 747.6, II 739.0, dry. 24.3, wet. 22.3, str. c. 8, water 29.9, 7.00 P.M. heavy thunderstorm.

At 4.00 this morning everyone already at the fire; we got up at 4.45, ate egg mingau and came to the happy conclusion that we have the tenth degree of latitude behind us.

133

Schingú landscape.

Off after 7.00 in the morning. Islands. At the widest spot the volume of water is scarcely less than one and a half kilometers wide.

A strange uniform that the men now have. Shirts? One or another of them is still provided with this not indispensable garment; most of them, however, have allowed it to stray into the possession of the Indians, who are incapable of judging how many holes characteristically belong in a shirt.

Some go about with naked torsos and try to ward off the insects with the oil of the Suyá; others have hung the gray military coat, all of the buttons of which have been sacrificed to the passion of the compadres, loosely around them. Hats? Caps?

/225 cont./

They, too, were greatly coveted. In our ten canoes I distinguish, according to the covering of the head with feather caps or straw diadems, four Trumaí, one Suyá, and four Bakaïrí. There are also some scarves tied around the head. Trousers? To some extent and, even though one-sided, worn out to above the knees; there are gaps everywhere and, on account of the mosquito plague, to be sure, /226/ considerable gaps. We are well on our way to adopting the simple customs of the Indians. /The remainder of p. 226 and pp. 227-234 are omitted in the translation./

000

Sixteenth Chapter

The Yuruna. Trip to Piranhaquara

122 A canoe in sight! Everyone is seized with happy excitement. On such occasions one learns how fast rowing can be. A second and third canoe [501] depart from the shore; a few naked Indians are sitting in each one.

[609] [101] We call out a gay "Bom dia" to them; "Bom dia, camarada," is the equally happy rejoinder, "Yuruna, Yuruna."

000 Bom dia, camarada! -- You good souls in the theater whose hearts contract convulsively when for several acts things were all the more miserable and wretched for your beloved hero the more resigned and good he was, you whose fingers twitched spasmodically at your handkerchiefs when finally the redeeming love, which had long been known to you, but which seemed to be only a blessed dream to him, bursting all bonds, recklessly threw herself at his breast, you alone can understand our state of mind; we, too, twitched -- no, our handkerchiefs had long since become a blessed dream to us -- but there was a twitching in our arms and fingers, animating them to embrace these worthy sons of the wilderness whose "Bom dia, Camarada" removed a mountainous weight from our hearts.

123 The chief is called José; a competition of inquisitive [622] questions and answers arises with him. His Portuguese is [191] perfectly adequate for the most essential understanding. "Is this river the Schingú?" is the first inquiry of the men, who admire the apparatus of astronomy, but have little faith in

/231 cont./

123 its results. It is painful, /231/ José has never heard anything about the Schingú. "Are there many more cachoeiras?"[2] -- José casts a smiling glance at our frail vessels, touches them pushingly with his hand, and says: "Não prêsa, camarada, these are worth nothing, dear friend."

He for his part is quite satisfied with our statement that we have come from Cuyabá and tries to imprint the word upon his memory by numerous repetitions. It is important to him to

648 learn whether we had met Karajá Indians. The Karajá, we are told, are the mortal enemies of the Yuruna; they were the ones who destroyed and set fire to the huts that we saw.

829 José would also like to know what kind of people there are upstream. Besides the Karajá, who live in the stretches of country between the Schingú and the Araguay, he did not know any tribes of the upper Schingú. The Suyá were complete strangers to him, Trumaí, Bakairí -- none of these words had ever reached the ear of the Yuruna. This fact was established beyond any doubt. Later we saw their words confirmed by the way in which they examined the trophies that we had brought along, both in connection with the weapons as well as in connection with the ornamental objects of the Indians of the upper Schingú, the Yuruna said that these things were entirely new to them and that they did not know who had made them.

361 Meanwhile, traveling downstream, we reached the aldea. It lay in the middle of the river on two small rock deposits, one of which was 300 meters, the other 500 meters, from the beach. On the former there were two large huts and one small one, on the latter five small ones, some of which were also separated by water.

342 All miserable straw ranchos. One room, from four to three meters; lumpy stones form the floor of the interior; the stable-like dwelling rises directly above the water level, or at most one foot above it. The rest of the rock is occupied by a

231 noisy company of animals. The coatí (Paniscus ateles), a large black monkey which, on account of its long, skinny limbs, is

[2] [i.e. cataracts --Analyst]

/236 cont./

231 called, not without justification, the quiet country, regards the approaching stranger with growing indignation. Quick as thought, he has swung himself onto the gable of the house, stands up there erect, his tail held up to the level of his head like a question mark, a mighty club on his neck, which he holds with one hand, and, waving the other violently, he proceeds amid growling, rapid teeth-baring -- he finds no words to match our impertinence -- in fact, amid threatening howling and chattering, against the alien visitors. Little macacos dance excitedly around the posts to which they are tied and almost strangle themselves on /237/ the rope, across scream, in between parrots hold forth and laugh, a wild pig grunts, brown noses with long, broad, black backs wander about with pedantic gravity, chickens flutter, sooners crow, a humble cur of a dog, with furious yaps, announces to his fellow tribesmen who accompany us his mortal enemy -- it is a wonderful country-fair booth, the home of the Tupinas.

230 For the rest, we see nothing and hear nothing -- we eat. We have often on this journey accused one another of putting extraordinary emphasis on physical nourishment, but when the gods on their journeys refresh themselves with abundant food and drink at the home of Philemon and Baucis, /illustration appears here/ when the angels who visit Abraham and Sarah consume a tender calf and cakes made out of three measures of wheat flour, certainly we poor children of men, after months of abstemiousness, may defend ourselves for consuming bananas with positive ecstasy.

232 Moreover, this noble fruit is the symbolic token of civilization; the moment we again have an opportunity to eat bananas (1),

1. Cf. the introduction of the bananas, Ch. XXIII /untranslated/.

we have stepped from the pre-European era into the modern period of South American history.

We pitched our tents on a line, based chiefly beauty and /[illegible]/ began the usual serious and gay dealings with the companies, whom we frequently visited on their rocky seats.

The number of Tununa came to about 30 persons: 12 men, 12 women, about six children.

(One man, one woman, deaf-mutes.)

The roof of the huts was well made and tight, the mud walls carelessly made. In the rainy season the occupants are obliged to move to higher ranks or to the shore.

At the same time they do not seem to be a primarily

Camping place opposite the Tununa village.

ichthyophagous people, their feuds with the Kanapé and in former times with the Tucunapéus downstream, which have perhaps been going on since time immemorial, and the protection that they find in the middle of the river from treacherous attacks are probably their chief reasons for the strange choice of dwelling place.

There is an impression that for several generations the Tununa have been in the process of migrating upstream in order to maintain their independence.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they were the principal subjects for conversion to Christianity in the lower missions.

//[illegible] cont.//

Prince Adalbert found them concentrated @ [illegible] third and on the beginning of the fourth degree of latitude. It was very surprising that we nevertheless came across them already in the center of the eighth degree of latitude.

Moreover, since the utterly disciplined *aline* cannot be reconciled with the love of order and cleanliness which Prince Adalbert praises particularly with reference to the Tucuna here, and since the Indians do not know anything about the upper course of the river, it can scarcely be doubted that the Tucuna are in the process of fleeing to the south ahead of civilization. From the southernmost point that they have reached, they have again, as we have seen, moved a little farther back from the Kawáß.

The mountainous zone from the Martius Cataract to the eighth degree of latitude separates the inhabitants of the middle course from the tribes of the source region -- it may be traversed by inferior hordes -- sedentary Indians are not present in it at this time.

I succeeded in measuring three men and two women. They were rather short in stature, all the women half a head shorter than the men. Their skin color had an admixture of a grayish violet tone.

The women were characterized by dainty hands and feet. Lud's favorite wife had a little foot 198 millimeters long.

The nose is hooked, rather wide at the bottom, the eye slit moderately wide, the upper lid overlaps. Eyebrows and temple hair are shaved, the eyelashes are removed in a brutal manner by being //[illegible]// placed over a tucum string, grasped, and pulled out with a jerk. The men wear their long, black hair almost to their waists, but usually have it carefully parted by the women and in back put in a braid, which is tightly bound. On the forehead at the beginning of the parting there is a red, mossy spot the size of a five-pfennig piece. It is said to be pollen of the so-called banana brava. The hair style of the women is the same, except that they do not wear a braid, but rather wind the hair, when it does not hang down, into a loose knot.

//123 cont.//

300 Moustache and or beard are very sparse. The men have their ear lobes pierced.

302 They rub themselves with oil for protection against the little green (mosquito), less so as artistic painting among the men. A few women has black vertical stripe over the middle of the abdomen.

301 The greatest ornaments of the Turnus are the "nosemagen," the glass beads: men & women have black strings around their necks, infants are also heavily beadedad. Around his waist, however, the man wears belt more than a handbreadth wide, which may not be removed. The abdomen is absolutely enclosed in an armor ring from with the natural curvature seems to push out behind and below. (It cannot have the Indian perfect blue beads, which contrast sollently with his skin, to all other colors -- this is a scant, but elegn costume (1). The women, squatting

291

1. Turnus pi impenum "pileolum" (a covering in the due of a cone cut off horizontally on top, obliqu(below) unde pelmer folis factum, qui altitudine et diametrum duarum inferiorum phalangum dii minimi fere aequat. Qui pileolo directo a sinu urgente corpora cavernosa in scrotum repuntur, ita ut tumorib inner influxu. Penis autem omni plane nihil extra pileolum apparet. Atque cum urethra prorsus conclusa est, insectis introeunt penum. /The Turnus wear on the penis a "pedum" (a covering in the shape of a cone cut offhorizontally on top, obliquely below) made ofry palm leaves, which almost equals the length andiameter of the two lower bones of the smallest iger. By means of this pileolum the corpora cavrnosa are pulled directly back into the scrotm, they press out from the scrotum, so that it is piled out like a tumor. Nothing of the penis, however, appears outside the surface of the pileolu. And when the urethra is wholly enclosed, insects cannot get in/.

//[illegible]// [illegible]

on the ground, another for her husband a cotton band tied to four fingers with strand his upper arm and above the ankles, while the six in his beloved hammock. Some women, too, are provided with the bands.

The women have a gray cloth that they wrap themselves wrapped around their hips, which reaches almost to the feet and furnish continually open on one side all the way to the top, so that one may freely view the peculiarly present painting of the one leg. On one woman the forearm and the lower legs were colored black with grayish ink. Below the knee, however, on the outside of the calf, a round area was left free and this was decorated with a concentric circular ring. A lateral stripe continued to the upper thigh, which in front was painted with a dot.

//[illegible]// The relationship between married people is quite charming, as have the relationship between the husband and his youngest wife. The [illegible] (Tupi. [illegible] = chief) had had, as he said, three wives. The youngest, a very pretty, unusually graceful and little figure with a very attractive little face, was inseparable from him. A pair of parakeets. "[illegible] [illegible] [illegible], this woman is good," said the tyrant, and not without satisfaction. The woman followed the man everywhere, like a little dog. We called an older, slightly corpulent Turuna, with hair tinged with gray and an extremely peaceable, broad face, simply the person -- well, even his wife, already advanced in years, walked behind him faithfully, whenever he wandered about in all directions in our camp, leaning on his club, which, in his hand, looked like a respectable walking stick. If the person sat down, his wife likewise squatted down behind him a little, and never did his favorite drink our quite without looking at his wife and, not heeding her lively grimaces, urging her to enjoy the precious residue.

We found these Turuna, given a bad name in previous centuries as cannibals, to be very good-natured. To be sure, they were obstinate in trade because we who were poor could not impress them, with their guns, axes, knives, and beads by the kilo, with our riches: they enjoyed laughing, they did not steal, they even helped at the work.

/[illegible]/

It was uncomfortable to find cramped and small huts. In all of them a kind of loft was set up with a layer of cow-leaves, which I could survey standing up, for the storage of bows, arrows, cotton, nipples, and utensils of all kinds. Besides the *manioca*, maize, and the *batatas*, we found beans, *cucurbitaceous*, see the glossary, p. 170/, *mamonos*, *anonas*, *ananas* /see the glossary, p. 170/, and other palm fruits. Here there was also some agave or intoxicating beverage, the *maguey*[1] (elsewhere this *pequeria* is called *pequel*, for example, in the Glossary), a broth mixed up out of *hojalda*[2] which is brought to a state of fermentation by the addition of *manioca* dough chewed by the women.

"And to the white corn *pe-ones* bread," the marshal complains in Tupi. A frightful soup, which never sent, solidifies for the stomach, and lasts solidifies. The soldiers stand about the *hoalled*, and we, scorning each other for it, also drink not a little. In any case, our heads would have laboured a longer time our stomachs. The latter, however, were provided with loud signs of disorganization against the attack on its ancient right to take over the beginning of digestion itself.

The *aldea* was poor. Immediately which course of the same *ocoes* /[illegible]/ as the women's cloths were not traded, with the greatest difficulty I acquired a piece of cloth, which was first blown upon with a dusty breath by one after another of the adults before it was handed over to me.

A few attractive feather caps consisting primarily of green feathers, red macaw feathers for the ear, in a case that is also decorated with a few little *mutum* feathers (1); a feather loop

1. Cf. the first ethnographic piece /see p. 142/.

produced by the *Kaapé*, in which each feather was for the most part tightly wound with a string, a small, round, yellow gourd-vessel for oil, decorated with a black-painted Greek line design.

[1] [i.e. potato plant—Author] [2] [i.e. [illegible] plant—Author]
[3] [i.e. a palm, *Attalea speciosa* L.f.—Author]

[illegible]

The bow: six-sided, dark brown, a little over two meters long; the stroke-oar of [illegible], a light, hard wood, with pony, colored feathers, painted bones, or long bamboo blades. Heavy, dark brown shield, one meter 30 centimeters long, the shape of a mall, and nicely grooved, come from the [illegible].

[illegible] the second ethnographic photo [illegible] p. 300 [illegible].

[illegible] The oars have a flared crook by which one knows with the one hand, while the other grasps the shaft, and a broad blade which with powerfully fit the water. I found one painted with a simple line pattern. (Handle 67 centimeters, blade 83 centimeters long.)

[illegible] The [illegible] is not a bark canoe, but rather a log canoe consisting of a rather much hollowed out with fire and so. Two persons could easily go in the longest one, without any goods to fill the space.

In front and rear a horizontal forehead is left where the following begins.

[illegible] I measured the canoes that brought us solely this far. Besides the single canoe that we ourselves made on the Berrey, the Sulila contained specimens of the lightbuilding art of the Iatmul, Tumul, and Sepik.

	Length	Width above	Width below	Depth	Width of beam	Thickness of bark
Canoe from Berrey	6.74	70cm.	36cm.	27.5cm.	47cm.	37 mm.
Iatmul	8	64	16	24	63	11-13
Tumul	7.70	53	30	27	57	16
Sepik	9	61	54	33	50	19

[illegible] Tarua [illegible]: length 10.60 meters, greatest width 90 centimeters, depth 39 centimeters, thickness of wall 25 millimeters. Front forehead: one meter long, 90 centimeters wide. Rear forehead: 57 centimeters long, 44 centimeters wide.

//[illegible]//

All of the back canoes were left behind. We acquired [illegible] for the continuation of the journey. Some of them are composed with [illegible] see the glossary, p. [illegible], a crude mat, //[illegible]// or simply several covering layers of skin leaves to protect the cargo. The transaction took a good deal of trouble. Our presents did not find favor in the eyes of the Tarumas. They wanted guns, powder, small shot, clothing, etc. and gave us (not the finest) [illegible] which had to be repaired another or possible.

Twine and bananas were bought and a whole collection of animals acquired by trade. The soldiers hoped to sell the latter with profit in Pará.

251 I acquired a large female [illegible], which was baptized "Tarumã," a most manly creature which succeeded in escaping from me several times and then made caught for some Indian women, to sit down contentedly beside them. -- The [illegible] had yellow-green wings, head, the chest and tail feather-end. Among the parrots there was one peculiar pigeon-[illegible] species, remarkable because of its light-brown sparrow-hawk head, which is called the fan pigeon (Patagioenas [illegible]). Russian [illegible], [illegible] or [illegible], which has a crest of blue feathers edged with carmine and money is bristle into a fan when excited. Breast and abdomen are marked like the collar, wings and tail emerald green with a few black-black feather end. The [illegible] is unusually tame and pronounces its "[illegible]" with the melodious, sighmating tone of a young, amorous girl. -- Small parrotets, chickens, capuchin monkeys, a small night-ape with large yellow lemur eyes -- along with the strange costumes of the soldiers, the thick bundles of arrows that peep out of the straw roof -- truly, this is a grotesque masquerade procession on the water.

253 We spent three days at José's [illegible]. The worthy [illegible] was always in the same jolly mood. José's ideal was to drink, with his little wife pave to him, and to sing. He certainly did not see himself exposed to the danger of remaining a fool his life long. Unfortunately, he was bent on singing Portuguese; on the second evening in particular he was in the most blissful [illegible] mood. "Vamos, camarada," he begged without ceasing. He had had a bit

[i.e. palm-straw canopy over the boat -- Analyst]

too much of a good thing. Leaning on his shelf, he swayed drunkenly to the ubifu, until he into the nighee could bear him on his stand, blundering and talking Portugese.

On the last evening we tried to light the flower wreaths a couple of them were actually still usable a brisk up, scattering sparks over the river.

11 Sept. ☿ 8° 10'.3, ☽ 1° 31'.4, km. 18., nomi 994.8.
6.15 A.M.: I 748.2, II 741.8, dr 20.2, wet. 18.5. In the east stratus clouds 1, wind 0. Heavy dew. Night completely clear. In the am /July/ 10.00 at night dense lightning. Water 28.
3.00 P.M.: thunderstorm in N, very south wind. We remain without rain.

12 Sept. 7.00 A.M.: I 748.8, II 741.8, dr 22.2, wet. 21.4, low clouds on the water 0, wd = 0. Night clear, in the evening thunderstorm 5. Water 28.8
2.00 P.M.: I 747.8, dry. 35.7, wet. all around horiz. 2.
6.30 P.M.: II 738.0, dry. 36.0; 6.00 P.M. south wind.
9.00 P.M.: I 748.2, II 739.8, dr 25.6. Clouds = 0, wind = 0.

13 Sept. 7.00 A.M.: I 749.0, II 741.2, dr 24.8, Water with 3°. West wind 3. Night clear. Toward morning alto-cum. 10.

14 Sept. ☿ 8° 15'.1, ☽ 3° 23'.3, km. 40.1, nomi 1032.87.
6.15 A.M.: I 749.6, II 742.8, dr 22.0, wet. c. 18, wind = 0, at night and toward morning light rain. Evening: I 748.2, II 739.4, dry. 2.4, wet. c. 21, 5 1-2, water 31.0. Clear until noon very hot. 2-3:30 P.M., pouring rain.

The distribution of 20 persons in the ubifu dome in such a way that I holds 2 occupants, II 3, III 4, IV 5, V 6.

[illegible]

The appearance of [illegible] as well as the best of the wild pieces. In front [illegible], behind one another, the completely tattooed Ainga, the serpent Kuikuro, who has, after a Kuikuro, stood one leg from a pair of still-made right-fitting deerskin trousers, and Chico, the eye-man, who most constantly will attribute to his similarity with my [illegible] friends. Soon follow these [illegible] dogs, Lobo, a Kuikuro, Tongo, the black devil, the small yellow spitz, Mau [illegible] ("Big Bone"), Tongo's [illegible] dog. [illegible] the walled [illegible] upon which a capacity [illegible] would like a [illegible], [illegible] hens, [illegible] in [illegible], and [illegible], upon which, in [illegible], a signal [illegible] with sky-blue hood feathers is [illegible] beside a pond, [illegible] [illegible] behind the [illegible] upon which the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], and at the [illegible] corner are the [illegible] of his contempt, the [illegible] [illegible], who [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] on his [illegible] part of [illegible].

[illegible], too, [illegible] [illegible] figure, is not [illegible], from out of the [illegible] peep [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible].

My [illegible] has acquired a somewhat more [illegible] disposition by the moderate application of [illegible] punishment. She is standing [illegible] beside me on the [illegible] of the boat, but long [illegible] and [illegible] at [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] for [illegible] and — she is rowing! For [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] in the air with both arms at [illegible], pulling the imaginary oar to her chest and away again. If I [illegible] her, she grins at me, [illegible], with her wise old face, and with one leap she is on the other side, where she eagerly resumes her activity. Occasionally she refreshes herself with a swallow of water, bending down to the river and scooping up the flowing water with her hands. At the same time she is properly trained, she knows perfectly well how to distinguish between inside and outside of the boat.

I am glad she is rowing for me. Antonio is sitting in front of me and is handling the oar with such strength and endurance that I have lost all pleasure in offering my help, which is weak in comparison with his achievement.

//[illegible]//

[illegible] At the mouth of the chief, we are being accompanied by a Tarumo boat. For often we crossed past half this morning to my farewell, he laughed and cried. "Tuan [illegible], [illegible] [illegible]" (Those are [illegible] [illegible], in which you would [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

/[illegible] cont./

A good settlement. Little by little eight men, six women, three boys, and three girls appeared.

The hut in the north stand near the right door, on which we looked, was small, five and a half paces wide, six paces long. Two young turtles were crawling about in it. Hammocks hung outside under the roof. Baskets of wool /Wolle/, large and heavy, brown, etc., were stored in a shelter. We found iron pots and a blue porcelain enamel.

In the hut stood a simple loom. The cotton, which consisted of an endless, always freshly knotted thread, was hanging vertically over two harmless bamboo poles. Two meters wide, three meters high. Two wool threads, each on a little guide stick, were pulled through crosswise.

The women, however, were imported blue upon cloth. Pedro told the town of Ribeira I to a brother in county, who had a fine mustache and sparse eyebrows, but long, carefully parted head-hair. The spectators, on principle, did not look at each other: one leaning on a stick, the other on an axe, they stood near to each other and both looked straight ahead. The cousin listened attentively, however, and interrupted Pedro's sermon with many polite "mah, mah -- hihmah -- khah -- ah -- [illegible], [illegible]."

A woman coming from the race gives Pedro a message. Thereupon both of them, holding their hands before their faces, start to weep loudly -- his wife and the others remained impassive.

A few about a minute the hands are removed -- tears did not flow, the face has its usual expression. Then the old woman goes to Pedro's wife and starts the same scene with her. With that the farce has obviously been observed.

We were given a seldom nutmeg soup to eat, which tasted better than it looked. I had previously looked into the pot and did not care for the gray broth in which pieces of banana and a bird's head were floating. Everybody was busily engaged in pounding open nutmeg nuts, it is best to crack them in two with the cutting edge of the ax. A few Paal nuts, too, and, more important than all the food, several packets of tobacco were given to us in return for small gifts. -- /[illegible]/ The Portuguese vocabulary of the men

//[illegible]// The [illegible] attitudes of the men
[illegible] were exact. "[illegible]" (there is much — not), "[illegible]" (been), and "[illegible]" (I do not know) were, however, familiar to them. //[illegible] appears here.//

[illegible] "[illegible]! [illegible]..." The Kamjâ are to blame that they themselves have no [illegible].

[illegible] //[illegible]// We took cordial leave of Pedro, who remained behind here. None of us will forget him.

[illegible] Off at 1:15 P.M. Beautiful, densely wooded hilly dunes (200 meters), full islands with charming vistas.

[illegible] At 2.30 we arrived at the second, larger settlement, near which we camped. On an island near the right dune there were four spacious new houses, and nearby two smaller huts which one reached by wading through the water, and approximately in the middle of the river another small island occupied by one house. Twelve men, 18 women, four boys, six girls. One ancient gray-[illegible] beard, a one-eyed boy, a man with inguinal glandular swelling.

The largest hut was 22 paces long, 14 paces wide with a low door. The arched palm-straw roof (*[illegible]*) and *[illegible]* reached down to the floor. — Not many animals, dogs, some *[illegible]* (Guinea).

Everything was new, the *[illegible]*, the axe, the cotton basket, etc. I acquired a flute with a gourd vessel set on the end of it.

Individual men had two black stripes painted below the neck around the nape and the chest, and their lower legs and forearms colored black. One *paraded* about with an almost fist-thick roll of beads around his neck.

The good people wished to get *[illegible]* from us. It seems that in disputes with the Kamjâ they had lost many things, had worked on new ones for a few months, and meanwhile had neglected their planting, or that, as a result of this feud, they had only a short time ago felt obliged to build huts on this spot. There is plenty of tobacco available.

We are pleased that we are on the sixth degree of latitude. In this latitude, too, the mosquito plague seems established.

[See Continued on P. 132]

Tumua village.

/[illegible] cont./

122 1 [illegible] 9 [illegible], [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] 30.68, [illegible]
122 6:00 A.M.: [illegible], [illegible], dry. [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], wind [illegible], [illegible] (shallow and magnum). Slight [illegible] clear.

4:30 P.M.: [illegible], [illegible], dry. 30.5, barometer 29.[illegible], [illegible] [illegible], wind [illegible].
8:00 P.M.: [illegible], dry: 30.0.

123 Off at 7:15 A.M. Five Yuruna boats with 15 persons (four
121 men, four women, three boys, three girls) accompany us. Still
139 150-200 meters. Fine depth. Gradual change to northerly direction. Some banks are rather high. For a while the river narrows and, where it widens, flows at average depth of one and a quarter meters where we pass.

137 A number of the magnificent Jurucui trees, which, with our good angled roof of leaves, tower above their neighbors, a few would [illegible] perhaps.

364 Shortly after our departure we noticed two additional huts on
[61] the left shore. If the Yuruna were not so fatalistic about individual freedom /[illegible]/ and would gather together in compact villages, they would probably be better able to deal with the Kinaji. At the same time, it cannot be denied that the islands, surrounded by [illegible], offer great natural protection. Toward afternoon the
133 stream becomes magnificent: charming islands, luxuriant woods even on the summits of the hills; in the distance an extended high range, which, with countless small peaks, stands out against the sky like a bluish wall.

000 At the campsite, a medium-sized island with dense true growth beyond the sandy beach, the female monkey, the precious Yuruna, escaped from me. Unfortunately she was very clever at untying the knots in the rope to which she was fastened. All hunting was, of course, in vain. In Aldea II, however, I acquired by trade a coati barely two months old -- a frightful, little black devil that sports a major's mustache and the saucier monkey eyes in its wrinkled graybeard's face. Soyé, as it was called, also

[Free for the bark canoes -- Analyst]

/255 cont./

000 drinks water from the river with its hand; on the tent pole it climbs, leaps, and tumbles in restless gymnastics, in the evening it screams terribly if I do not take it with me into the hammock.

122 2 Oct. φ 6° 34'.0, λ 1° 45'.3 km. 40.12, total 1309.94.
132 6:00 A.M.: I 752.8, dry. 22.7, cum. 4, N 1. Night clear, low stratus clouds on the hills.
5:55 P.M.: I 751.2, II 742.7, dry. 30.3, mares' tails 5°, wind = 0, day clear.

000 The quiet night has refreshed everyone.

225 Off at 6:15 A.M., without breakfast. The Yuruna hunt
142 turtles. I take delight in an adorable girl with a Chinese, but fresh, trusting little face -- Bonitinha (bonito = pretty) the men
142 call her. Bonitinha has trim calves, charming little feet and
301 hands, a graceful, lithe torso, wears a string of blue beads around
501 her neck, and runs back and forth busily all the time with the punt-pole on the front footboard, laughing gaily and chattering
225 and pushing the ubá. She is always the first to catch sight of the tracajás, and the Yuruna sitting behind stabs them, impaling them with the pole. -- Large rays, an electric eel observed.

146 Moving forward like a procession. Some of the Yuruna are "moving": they want to set up housekeeping downstream and are traveling leisurely.

000 Midday pause from 12:30 to 2:30.

[268] The compadres are cooking the almost hatched turtle eggs and kindly invite us. The functions of my tongue and stomach are too much out of order for me to make up my mind to taste them. Clauss praises the yolk -- he, too, cannot bring himself to try the embryos, /256/ although the little black creatures look clean and appetizing.

[37] The hills recede from the shore. Many seringueiras[2]/caoutchouc tree; see the glossary, p. 172/. We spend the night on an island beach, some of the Yuruna on another island nearby.

[2] [i.e. rubber trees--ANALYST]

/256 cont./

000 Moonlight. The celestial body is encircled by a large ring and light veils of clouds. Gulls scream; they have been robbed of their nearly fledged young. The menagerie is sitting quietly on rammed-in punt-poles. Only the night ape scurries busily; its lantern eyes sparkle. From the island the quiet light of the campfire of the Yuruna sends greetings to this side; it is too beautiful to sleep.

122 3 Oct. φ 6° 14'.0, λ 1° 30'.1, km. 48.40, total 1358.34.
132 6:00 A.M.: I 751.8, II 744.2, dry. 22.5, cum. s. 2, wind = 0, water 29.1, night clear.
6:00 P.M.: I 751.0, II 743.0, dry. 29.8, mares' tails 5°, wind = 0, water 32.0. During the day bright and pleasant. Forenoon NW 2-3. 2:00 P.M. thunderstorm in southwest.
8:00 P.M.: I 752.0, dry. 28.5.

000 Up since 4:00 in the morning: "a piece is missing" on the trumpet, so that it is horribly out of tune. "Mata grande," the dog, is howling along with it, and the great forest itself no less in an echo.

Off at 6:00 A.M. River at least 1.5 kilometers wide. Full
[133] of reefs and shallow. The mountains on the right look like insignificant ranges of hills; a glance back shows the elevations passed as a distant serra.* Head wind hinders us greatly.

At 1:30 in the afternoon, shallow, sandy. Channel and cachoeira: passage through a narrow stone cleft that one had to be familiar with; a Yuruna stood on the rock alongside and pushed the canoe in the right direction. The stones reddish gray, smooth with blunt shapes. Everyone gets through without mishap. Merelles, the pirate, calls his ubá, not without justification, "canoa da republica."

[137] Tall tucumãs (Astrocaryum tucumã), numerous tucums and inajás. -- On the sides flat, behind and in front mountain ranges or hills.

* [i.e. mountain range -- Analyst]

/256 cont./

133 At 3:00 in the afternoon. Broad expanse of water interlaced with countless wooded islands. To the right a few hills and many cachoeiras. A river flows in on the left, the width of which cannot be estimated on account of the chaotic obstruction on all [824] sides; the Yuruna say that two and a half days' journey upward they gather cambaiuva, their arrow reed, build their ubás there, and that this river has many cachoeiras. A long sandy beach indicates the mouth. We leave it far to the left; we lose ourselves in a tangle of rock /257/ islands that are overgrown with thin [648] brush. Another battle with the Karajá has taken place in the vicinity.

The river develops somewhat more uniformly into a waterway of 1,500 meters, on the edge of which a great many flat stone islands are lodged. To the right and left, wooded plain.

Two mighty cachoeiras; over the second the boat almost makes a leap downward. A few of them just miss capsizing; the republic was in a violent uproar: "O diavo quer andar neste inferno (let the devil ride in this inferno)," as Merelles expressed it.

137 On either side and ahead, level wooded area; "Tucumisal and inajal." The palms are playing an entirely new role; they are extremely numerous and the inajás are topped only by individual slender foliage trees; the foreground up to the water is filled with dense brush.

122 4 Oct. φ 5° 48'.7, λ 1° 25'.5, km. 54.03, total 1412.37.

132 6:00 A.M.: I 752.2, II 745.4, dry. 22.9, cir. c. 5, wind = 0. Night clear, ring around the moon very large; mares' tails.

6:15 P.M.: I 753.4, II 746.0, dry. 28.0, str. in W 5°, wind = 0. During the day, bright, no rain.

7:40 P.M.: I 754.0, dry. 27.7. Thunderstorm coming up.

/257 cont./

133 Off at 6:30 A.M. Insignificant rapids. Large and small islands. Dirty reddish rocks split into lumpy blocks. -- A difficult cachoeira -- a swell that plunges through a channel ten meters wide. Then we travel in a branch 800 meters wide. Oauassú. Inajá. Tucum.

In the afternoon we again shoot through a similar, somewhat gentler channel and, between two islands, through an eddying passage 70 meters wide, we reach the main stream.

36 342 Rather a long stretch northward. Finally, after the Yuruna have already blown a great deal and we have longingly looked all around, we come to an uninhabited hut in the midst of a region so full of islands that it seems flooded. The hut has been built and furnished for one of the families accompanying us. It looks clean inside. On three stones there stands a large, shallow bowl; [231] all the palm straw is clean and new. From the ceiling hangs a little nest decorated with little yellow and black feathers and lined with cotton, in which young birds may be raised.

000 While the latitude was being determined, it was observed that a total eclipse of the moon was coming to an end. Unfortunately the realization came too late. -- Today we recorded the largest kilometer figure -- more than we made in the entire first seven days on the Batovy, 54 kilometers.

/258/

122 5 Oct. φ 5° 36'.5, λ 1° 17'.7, km. 28.39, total 1440.76.
132 5:45 A.M.: I 754.0, II 747.8, dry. 23.3, cum. 1, wind = 0, clear, 8 and 9:00 P.M., during the eclipse of the moon, strong wind. Thunderstorm passes by without rain. During the day fair weather; very hot; sky overcast in the evening.

133 Off at 6:00 A.M. Soon in a channel that our ubá passes through with great difficulty. Through three rapids we reach a calm, wide waterway, a branch one kilometer wide, here and there a round hilltop. But the shores soon become hilly again, 100-120 meters high.

Beds of smooth stone intersect the river more or less crosswise; one bar is more than 300 meters wide.

/258 cont./

361 Through rapids we ride up to the islands of the aldea. (Village No. III.)

[285] On individual rocks in the middle of the water stand frames for hammocks, and mats weighted with stones are spread out.

[342] We find three huts; two are unoccupied. The largest is 30 paces long and wide, almost six meters high.

We take up quarters next to a shelter.

[162] Twelve men, twelve women, eight girls, and seven boys are [621] counted; in the course of the day, however, all kinds of visitors arrive; there are a few more houses in the vicinity. One might be able to count some 45 souls here.

302 [531] ←

Painted leg of a Yuruna.

Few show painting; one man has three stripes all the way around between neck and chest, a second a very attractive design on the calf. This man's young wife likewise has black lower-legs, the feet were painted only close along the edge and behind the toes. One boy had two black stripes from mouth to ear and black spots as well as lateral stripes on his legs.

511 In comparison with the earlier settlements, we are among rich people here; in the abundance of supplies, in all the housekeeping, a greater degree of prosperity is pronounced. [262] Maize is present in large quantities; pretty baskets, very similar [285] to our attractive wastepaper baskets, are filled with the egg- [286] yellow mandioca flour by the women; a few looms look very [411] solidly built; the hammocks are like coarse, but strong cloth; [439] there are comparatively few bows and arrows; they are replaced by modern weapons; with great amusement we discovered the names of Remscheid and Elberfeld firms on knives; a surprising

/258 cont./

a surprising

511 number of flutes /259/ are present -- the long panêtadada (one
[534] meter 75) with a hollow, trumpet tone, small bassoons which the women are supposed to play, and small Panpipes; a few flutes
[237] with black painting and feather ornaments; also rattle gourds decorated with two arara feathers. Much poultry; many chickens,
[231] large ducks and geese (marecão). Several spotted dogs. I acquired a fan parrot in exchange for a mirror and a bracelet -- it spoke fluent Yuruna, whistled, and was very tame.

273 Apparently because of the abundant kaschirí available many
924 guests appeared. The Yuruna returning from hunting is a sight for
291 the gods. The naked man has a small plaited bag hanging on the
301 left, he carries the powder horn on a wide band, his hair ends in
302 a braid wound with gray, the blue bead belt encircles his waist; with his right hand on an oar, leaning on an old-fashioned gun with the left, he stands there, gazes into the wide world, and chats with his friend, whose line of vision intersects his in infinity.

273 We consumed much kaschirí broth, which was poured into a canoe; it tasted better than in the previous aldea, but the putrid fermented taste that is somewhat reminiscent of Mexican pulque was not to be denied. A kaschirí mixed with bananas was also
[142] served. An old man with a little pot belly drank almost continuously; bored, he swung in his hammock and let himself be waited
262 on by his young wife. We ate acará fish (cascudo) outside in front
264 of the hut along with the compadres; a bowl for general use stood in the middle of the circle and beside it a gourd vessel with farinha, into which each one dipped his highly peppered morsel. Meanwhile the moon rose splendidly over the reefs.

132 6 Oct. 6:40 A.M.: I 756.0, II 749.4, dry. 23.9, str. c. 10, wind = 0, water 30.0, from 2:00 at night until 6:00 in the morning, rain.
2:30 P.M.: I 754.4, dry. 32.0, cum. 5, wind = 0.
5:15 P.M.: I 754.6, II 747.2, dry. 29.0, hyps. 99.300.
11:00 P.M.: I 756.2, dry. 25.8, alto-c. 9, SW 1-2, some rain at 7:00 P.M.

/259 cont./

273 Even for breakfast, there is kaschirí, with an admixture of the
000 taste of the quinine clinging to the beard. We want to give the men another day of rest; Castro thinks they are worn out from the exertions of the last few days, and their conversation certainly shows great dissatisfaction with their present life.

823 The Schingú is still known only as paranã, but we come across the name Schusel = Souzel, concerning the distance of which very unclear accounts are given.

755 /260/ One of the visitors was a medicine man and treated a sick woman. I followed the scene with great interest and came to the conclusion that the cure, as a special variation of massage, might perhaps be successfully introduced among us. The woman lay in the hammock; my colleague rubbed her face, neck, chest, and stomach with a green twig, pressing down with both fists as hard as he could, and puffed as though with the exertion he wanted to squeeze out the soul. Then he took the twig in his cupped hands, carefully, as though he were afraid of spilling some liquid, and trotted outside to throw it away, always groaning from the very depths. Returning, he subjected the back of the woman to the same procedure; he first flapped the twig on which she had been lying, as though getting the dust off, and started to knead; with the same grave apprehension he carried the captured matter out into the open.

765 A series of mourning ceremonies also took place. Always the same tearless weeping with the hands held up in front, always the same indifference of the nonparticipants until it was their turn. A little dog in the hammock joined in the howling, the most
[142] sincere of all, judging from appearances. One fat old woman had Clementin's red-lined riding cloak hung around her and, wringing her hands, wailed in heart-rending tones.

273 In between a kaschirí feast -- things were very lively. The men became intoxicated and, scooping full bowls out of the canoe, urged people to drink with a friendly "malitscha." A few boys were
[533] in very high spirits; their small bows and arrows over their shoulders, they walked up and down in the hut singing, each to himself, in fact, The monologizing Spread.

/260 cont./

273 himself, in fact, the monologizing spread. No one was paying any attention to the others. The only uniformly quiet point in the confused activity was Little-pot-belly in the hammock; he drank and was silent and was silent and drank.

126 437 000 I had succeeded in trading a quantity of small shot and powder for a panêtadada:[2] but I had hardly put it safely in the tent before it was carried off again in mysterious fashion. -- The ghost of too much kaschirí also appeared among our men. Manoel and Satyr wrestled according to all the rules of the art; the Black was suddenly no longer squinting -- that eye was hidden by a thick swelling.

122 132 7 Oct. φ 5° 24'.6, λ 1° 8'.9, km. 34.77, total 1475.53.
5:30 A.M.: I 756.0, dry. 24.2, str. c. 10, W 3, gusts from W, night overcast, moon shining palely through the clouds.
5:45 P.M.: I 756.2, II 749.6, dry. 25.4, str. c. 9, wind = 0. 4-5:00 P.M., heavy rain.

123 000 Off at 6:30. Some of the Yuruna bid us a cordial farewell until we meet again. They believe that later on we /261/ shall return to our homes downstream. The head of our convoy is called Caetano.

133 137 Many oauassús and tucums, no hills. We travel into a rocky, narrow arm.

162 361 177 [291] At 10:00 in the morning a hut (nine men, seven women, three boys, four girls). "Lucio" wears a red head-cloth and a blue jacket with small shirt-*/Illustration appears here/ buttons -- voilà tout; another wears striped trousers. Signs of civilization are rapidly increasing: a chest with copper trimming, small powder-boxes, a tin drum that looked as though it had come from a confectioner's shop, little tobacco pipes, a pot with a cross painted on it. The 276 824 Yuruna roll their long cigarettes in cinnamon-colored, flexible tree bark (tauarí).

000 [2] Souzel is supposed to be "five" days away.
[i.e. a trumpet -- Analyst]

/261 cont./

133 Today we do not catch a glimpse of both shores simultaneously; long islands slip by, one after the other. To the left a few hilly ranges up to 150 meters. /262/ It is getting hot: the animals are suffering a great deal from the sun. Today I acquired for Suyá a life-companion for the future; she is somewhat larger than he and is again called Yuruna.

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Yuruna women.

At 3:00 in the afternoon a narrow channel, rocky bed. At 4:00 rain. The compadres with their hang-overs wish to make a stop.

252 Whereas it took hours before Manoel had prepared the chickens and bananas, the preparation of the meal among the Yuruna went off so smoothly that I heartily wished that I could join their

/262 cont. /

252 households. The shape of their pots (similar to the cooking vessels
[415] of the chemists) permits them to be acted on all around by the
fire; the overlapping edge guards against the flames' darting over
252 them. While the water was coming to a boil, the woman roasted
262 bananas on the burning logs and cut up the turtles. The ragout
made from the latter has no pronounced flavor; the meat rem-
nants roasted in the shell and clinging there were bette. Mean-
[224] while Bonitinha found a quantity of eggs, and her spouse shot
four pacús, as well as a fish which they called pari. To do this,
he crept along the shore as cautiously as though it were a matter
of wild game on land. The fish were put in the pot without be-
ing cut up. They were extremely tasty, since they were juicier
000 than our more overcooked ones. Clauss managed to consume a
turtle embryo; it tasted merely gelatinous. -- We felt extraordi-
narily happy in this company under the tall trees with the dimly
glowing cook-fire. How magnificent the one who was naked
looked, how elegant in his movements; how small and gypsy-like
another appeared in shirt and hat.

262 The compadres later also ate chicken with us, which they
usually refuse, and praised the dish. It is certainly a tender trait
in the nature of the crude Indian that he cannot make up his mind
to eat animals which he himself has raised with affection. These
175 are the Yuruna who in the last century were still described as
266 cannibals. Let us assume that, now and then, in the heat of battle,
they were tempted to indulge in anthropophagy, let us also assume
that in this connection no superstitious notions were involved, that
they were truly obeying the most brutal instinct of savagery --
according to my feeling this excess among a barbaric people
should be interpreted not so much against them as their repugnance
against the consumption of domestic animals should be interpreted
262 for them. Even our eating chicken eggs obviously seemed very
000 immoral to the Yuruna. Compare with this the lady who lost by
death one of her two spoiled little Bolognese dogs, and whom the
furrier thereupon regretfully informed that the skin of the /263/
beloved little animal would not suffice for a muff, and who cries
out, sobbing: "Then take the other one too."

/263 cont./

861 Now and then the compadres have sensible principles. Recently the four-year-old daughter of our companion was naughty; she was set down on a sandy beach and had to walk alongside for a quarter of an hour, during which she had to leap over boulders, wade through the water, and make detours -- meanwhile papa continued to work with the punt-pole relentlessly, despite her loud wailing, paying no attention to the little one; when she was permitted to climb in again, she was obedient and compliant.

000 How the Indians are regarded as good human beings even by our men is shown by one of the instructive pronouncements which Merelles delivered in the republican canoe: "Diavo, estes Indios crem mais em Deus do que nos -- são mais catholicos do que nos (The devil, these Indians believe in God more than we do, they are more Catholic than we are)."

122 8 Oct. φ 5° 8'.7, λ 1° 6'.2, km. 34.36, total 1509.89.
132 5:45 A.M.: I 756.6, II 750.0, dry. 22.0, alto-cum. 9, wind = 0, night overcast.
5:20 P.M.: I 756.4, II 748.4, dry. 30.4, cum. 5, water 31.9. Rain in NE. South wind 2-3 just arose, then rain until 7:00 P.M.

133 We are traveling in an arm about two kilometers wide; it is impossible to estimate the width of the entire stream, since one cannot tell from the long strips of woods whether they belong to islands or mainland. Very shallow up to one meter, the bottom is sand and rock; many reefs, irregular dark reddish blocks and more gray beds in rounded forms.

241 One o'clock in the afternoon. Two rocas of the Yuruna; we
133 obtain sugar cane and very nice S. Thomé bananas. On the shore lay a mighty boulder, the outcrop being seven meters high, eight meters wide, 12 meters long, the same reddish gray rock as in the river.

162 At 2:30 in the afternoon we remain in a small settlement
361 (No. IV of the more important ones), three huts and shelters; eight men, ten women, two boys, three girls. An ubá needed repair. [i.e. cultivated field -- Analyst]

/263 cont./

512 A cozy evening under cover while it was raining outside. A
[283] good woman cooked, another spun thread in the semidarkness,
[354] several men were chatting by the light of a little twig wrapped with cotton and soaked with fat. Order, cleanliness, and peace everywhere. - - The journey to Souzel is again claimed to be longer here -- ten days.

122 9 Oct. φ 4° 47'.9, λ 1° 9'.5, km. 44.00, total 1553.89.
132 5:45 A.M.: I 757.4, II 750.0, dry. 23.1, str., clouds of haze 4. /264/ wind = 0, water 30.2. Night clear and fresh.
7:20 P.M.: I 757.4, dry. 28.0.

000 Here and there a hill visible; actually we are traveling through many rivers and do not know whether we are ever stopping along the main shore. -- A tall, gray tree: barrigudo.

At 4:30 in the afternoon. Width of arm 1.5 kilometers. To the right behind an island a range apparently about 120-150 meters high becomes visible. Toward 5:30 we camp. With the darkness the initially numerous mosquitoes disperse. -- We are on the fourth degree of latitude! Soon the fish-eating will cease.

122 10 Oct. φ 4° 34'.5, λ 1° 14'.7, km. 29.43, total 1583.32.
132 5:00 A.M.: I 756.2, II 750.4, dry. 23.1, str. 1. Night clear.
7:45 P.M.: I 757.6, II 750.4, dry. 27.0, cum. 1, E 1-3. Fair during the day, 7:00 P.M. thunderstorm.

361 Off at 5:15 A.M. An arm 700 meters wide. At seven in the
162 morning we reach settlement V; two large huts, but rather modest in the interior; eight men, six women, two boys, two girls.
415 Caetano remains here. A number of young chaps are busily en-
251 gaged in packing farinha into baskets the shape of a cylindrical
177 box with a rim. We have the honor of seeing a most highly civilized Yuruna, José, son of Nunes, who speaks some Portuguese, with a sailor hat, shirt, trousers, waist belt.

/264 cont./

609 We are presented with quantities of Pará nuts.

[361] Off in a light breeze from the north; individual elevations from 40-60 meters, at noon we reach the aldea of Nunes; inside trousers were hastily put on.

Old Nunes received us very civilly; he looked bad enough in his attire, which was so much better than ours.

[123] He promised us a canoe that would accompany us downstream. The next morning, however, it was utterly impossible to get the people moving, all the speeches and gifts accomplished nothing.

[293] first the kaschirí had to be drunk up. "Angora tem cachirí, -- cachirí não tem mais, vamos embora." And the kaschirí filled a canoe up to the brim.

162 In the huts there were 14 men, ten women, three boys, three

101 girls. Among them was a captured Arára Indian whose tribe lives

[727] farther downstream on the left bank of the Schingú. The Arára are friends of the Péua, whereas they are said to be hostile to all other tribes. It is assumed that they did not appear until the beginning of the 'fifties.

000 This individual seemed to be weak-minded and ill; he /265/ always had the same unaltered, empty facial expression, did not speak, and lay in the hammock. The complexion was very light and quite yellowish, approximately No. 33 Broca; from the center of the lower lid to the edge of the lower jaw a painted stripe extended down on either side, like two tracks of tears, which, however, were light blue. He had long, wavy hair.

727 Besides the Arára, there were said to be two Karajá, a woman and a girl, in Yuruna captivity.

142 Among the Yuruna, moreover, I also often noticed that the hair was not deep black, but shaded into brown; the hair of several children was dark brown. /Illustration appears here./

302 A few had black stripes across the chest and abdomen; another was conspicuous by the painting of his upper thigh: a lateral stripe as far as a band under the knee, in the area alongside it a number of half rings.

/265 cont./

273 On the first evening three old women chewed another abundant
000 mass of mandioca and added it to the liquid. A soldier told me that in the "coim" of his homeland, Ceará, which is made in the same way, one is sometimes lucky enough to find a broken tooth. No, there I preferred the preparation of kava on the islands of Samoa. There the prettiest young girls were chosen, whose white teeth were much more appetizing than the feet of our wine-growers.

273 The canoe intended for the ptyalin bowl stood on a wooden
415 rack; it was covered with green banana leaves -- for stirring, /266/

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Arrival on 10 October.

273 a dainty little oar was used. Gourds were lying on the leaves. It
415 looked really attractive. What student heart would not be inspired by the poetry of a canoe filled with an intoxicating substance? And
764 two steps away, in the middle of the hut, were the mounds of two graves. The Yuruna bury their dead in the house; the hammock of the closest relative swings beside the resting place of the deceased.
765 Later on the bones are supposed to be dug up, dried, and stored in baskets; we did not notice any of these. Three women, relatives of the departed, wore their hair cut short.

574 The chief figure of the kaschirí festival was a handsome chap
624 with the most careful toilet, who carried the long trumpet. The
[302] hair parted in the middle, oiled, in front the red, mossy spot; on
[301]

/266 cont./

574 the braid a blue and white beaded tassel three-fourths of a meter
624 long; in each ear, inserted from behind and above, a red arara
[302] feather; around the neck a roll of blue beads, around the upper
[301] arm red cotton bands; below the navel a beaded belt 16 centimeters wide, not to forget the little yellow straw hat; narrow little bands below the knee, above the ankles again a beaded band five centimeters high sewed on, and, finally, on the chest an
[534] iron key on a string. The panétadada,[1] eight and a half spans long and somewhat taller than he himself, was plaited round with a type of reed and had a halved bamboo disk as a tongue. It emitted hollow sounding, mighty tones.

The festival herald, holding the trumpet diagonally, strode ceaselessly up and down between the graves and the canoe, with
[533] monotonous singing. The individual verse of the endless song lasted a good minute and was soon taken up again, usually with the same words; in between the singer offered others a drink and did not forget the musician's throat either. "Lāva nāim, lāva nāim, lāva nāim," or "hānaná, hānaná, hānaná," it rang out tirelessly.

574 During the drinking, the women roasted farinha and spun
273 thread.

They all drank until their faces were puffy, and soon they could scarcely understand their own words. To wander about alone, to sing or talk to themselves, seemed to be very popular.

[301] Again a hopeful boy with bow, arrow, little braid, and, rakishly, pushed back on his head, a feather diadem stood out because of his kaschirí fervor.

535 In the evening a dance was performed in front of the hut. The central point was two flute-blowers who stayed close together; their flutes were tied together by a thread; they drew from them strange double tones and hopped rhythmically in one spot with knees bent and matching feet. Leaping forward in the same rhythm, /Illustration appears here/ /267/ a circle of men made a ring, turned around suddenly when the first of them had again come to his starting point, while all uttered a loud, short laugh, and, without pausing, began the game anew. They ran

[1] [i.e. a Trumpet--Analyst]

[Text continues on p. 149]

1: Steinen--148 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi

Yurina SQ26

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Kaschirl festival.

Y /267 cont./
535 back and forth in this way for hours. They held bow and arrow in their hands and were led by a masked figure which, in the semidarkness, looked like a man dressed as a woman at a carnival. Y The clothing was feminine, the abrupt movements masculine.
[292] This costume consisted of a cotton cap with red, yellow, and green feather trimming all around and a long white cloak of loosely knotted cotton cord that terminated at the bottom with a wreath of black mutum feathers pointing downward. -- Castro said that he had interpreted the explanation of an Yuruna to mean that this festival dance preserves the memory of former times when a great chief was received with much pomp in the villages that he visited. That chief is represented by the man in
000 the cloak and the feather crown. /The remainder of Ch. 16 and Ch. 17, pp. 267-281, are omitted in the translation./

/282/ Eighteenth Chapter

Legends of the Bakaïrí

B
973 The name that plays the chief role in the story of jolly
[115] Captain Caetano Mêmo, which unfortunately was told in such miserably broken Portuguese, is that of the "Imperador." If B
[797] the missionaries had the intention of causing the greatest possible confusion of concepts in the heads of the Bakaïrí whom they were to convert, they achieved their purpose to such an extent that one can only with effort separate a little clarity and B
539 concreteness from the general confusion. Let us imagine: Imperador the sun-god of the Indians. He bears two other names. Keri and Schischi. His brother is called Kame and also Nuna. Schischi, however, is the sun, Nuna the moon. Keri and Kame are merely two other names for the two celestial bodies, which are found among many "Guck tribes" (cf. chart of the Nu /untranslated/) interestingly enough in reverse, Keri belonging to the moon, Kamu to the sun.

/282 cont./

539 Keri and Kame are the sons of "Utoto," the bright jaguar (onça pintada) and Atanumagale. Utoto's father is unknown; his mother's name is Mero, whose parents are again unknown. Of Atanumagale's procreators only the father's name has been handed down: Kamuschini. "Kamuschini" also seems to contain "Kamu" and is reminiscent of tamoussi, the old one of the heavens in Galibi. He, also older than Mero (the mother of his son-in-law), is the oldest of all, is, says Caetano: Adam!

Besides the realm of light in which the sky, sun, moon, and the spotted jaguar appear, there are representatives of darkness. Here there appears as the oldest Semino, the bat, and his wife, Evaki, about whose parents nothing can be discovered. Evaki, Caetano informs us, is Eva! One sees that the pious fathers have not let any advantage escape them. But the best is yet to come; the son of the bat and of Evaki /283/ is Tumeng; this word perhaps originally means dark, black -- it is formed exactly like the color adjectives (cf. Bakaïrí words 251-256 /in the appendix, which is omitted in the translation/). Only Caetano does not use the name Tumeng in his story, but rather calls the ruler of darkness -- truly a worthy counterpart to the Imperador -- the Rey de Congo, the King of the Congo. What could be more natural! The Whites call the emperor of Brazil their ruler; the Blacks, the king of the Congo.

In the beginning everything was dark night; only where Guroto, the red vulture, flew did it become light, and it became dark again when he flew away. His brother, the white vulture, was also called Guroto, but where he dwelt it remained dark. The red vulture owned the sun, the Imperador acquired it from him. The latter used a ruse in order to reach his goal. From "aka," a wood as soft as mandioca, he made the tapir, and made "pemera," small flies. Through the flies the tapir acquired a bad odor, which was supposed to attract the red vulture. cunningly the Imperador hid himself in a front foot of the tapir. The red vulture came along and seized the tapir, but at the moment when he was going to tear his heart out, the

/283 cont./

539 hidden Imperador seized him by the throat and threatened to kill him if he did not give him the sun. The sun stood in the house of the red vulture in the sky and the white vulture had to fetch it. The Imperador handed it to the old aunt Evaki for safe-keeping. The sky, the house, moves, the sun does not; it stands in an "oven" in a big "pot" which is covered with a lid. Evaki covers it at night and opens it in the morning, after the house, the sky, has moved back during the night.

Evaki also gave sleep to human beings and animals. Before that only the lizard slept. Evaki drew the sleep out of its eyes and distributed it to all.

About the origin of the moon and stars, Caetano has nothing to report, just as he is also silent about Kame, Keri's brother.

Keri, the Imperador, created human beings from plants. He blessed (rezou) the "uvá," the arrow reed, and the Bakaïrí and Cajibí came into being. He created the Coroá from "tacoara" (bamboo), the Negroes from "penacholo," a black wood, the ancestors of the Portuguese from "pirecetó," a tree of the campo cerrado /see "Campo" in the glossary, p.170 /. The Imperador made the forest, the grass, the horse, the cattle; he blessed the termites and they became -- prettily enough -- the stones.

Ochobi, a large snake, made the water. It is not known where Ochobi came from. Who made the ground? "Não sei mêmo, I myself do not know that," replied the friendly old man.

/284/ The first Bakaïrí lived on the Rio Verde, a left tributary of the Paranatinga. Our friends like to tell about the waterfall that the Paranatinga forms about six days' journey downstream; most of them were born there, nature is full of wonders there. They regard even the turbulent salto, with which their knowledge of the stream presumably ends, as a unique spectacle. In the midst of it stands a stone house, a house such as they have here, habitable, but with roof and walls of stone. Nearby urubús fly about in the air; they watch the natural fish trap which is to be found there, a large stone slab on which the fish traveling upstream

A² [i.e. grassland with dense, low, stunted tree growth. --AGAINST]

/284 cont./

539 and whirled upward out of the water remain lying helpless and die.

Ochobi, Caetano relates, made a large basin in the source mountains of the Paranatinga, filled it with water, and let the latter run toward the noonday sun. This became the Pakuneru, the Paranatinga of the Brazilians. Farther toward the rising sun there flows parallel to it another river, which would perhaps be the Schingú which we sought. The Imperador, accompanied by Bakaïrí, and a white man went for a walk, the former along the Paranatinga, the other along the other river whose name is not known. The white man suddenly no longer answered when the Imperador called to him. A great fish, a jaú, had devoured him. Then Keri sent a duck which made the jaú spit out the

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Hieroglyphics on the Paranatinga.

539 white man again unharmed. He then wandered along the river farther and farther until he came to the great "poço" (spring, here perhaps lagoon, the sea is meant), where he embarked and later returned with the gun. -- Tumeng made the stone house on the salto, so that the Imperador would live there, and also made the fish trap, so that the countless urubús would find something to eat.

The distinction, clearly present, between a light /285/ and a dark sphere of gods forms the nucleus of these legends, insofar as it grew out of pre-Christian ideas. Furthermore, the gigantic animal figures, which are closely connected with the beginning

/285 cont./

539 of creation and in point of time precede the anthropomorphic gods, the creators of mankind, are a characteristic trait that is very widespread throughout the Indian myths.

172 Near the waterfall, on the shore, there is an old inscription; I am reproducing it just as it was copied by the Italian Luiz Oddi, who traveled down the Paranatinga to the salto a few years ago in the hope of finding the gold site of the Martyrios. Oddi thinks that the signs were scratched in with a knife and stem from the Paulistas, whose traces he endeavored to follow. Caetano, however, although he is unable to state anything definite, believes that the picture writing was made by Indian hands and is ancient. The presence of the "cross figure" does not prove anything opposing this view; it probably represents a human being and corresponds almost exactly to one of the drawings given in

000 Wallace's book about Amazonas. /Chapters 19-24, pp. 286-329 in the original source, are omitted in the translation, except for the map facing p. 298, which appears in the translation as pp. 154 -159, and the illustrations facing pp. 322 and 326, which follow as pp. 160-164 and pp. 165 - 169, respectively. The "Appendix," pp. 330-366 in the original source, is omitted in the translation./

1: Steinen
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SP7 Bacairi SP7

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4	5	6

Chart of Positions of Map A

/Facing p. 154/

I. Steinen 154 D, L-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacair SP7

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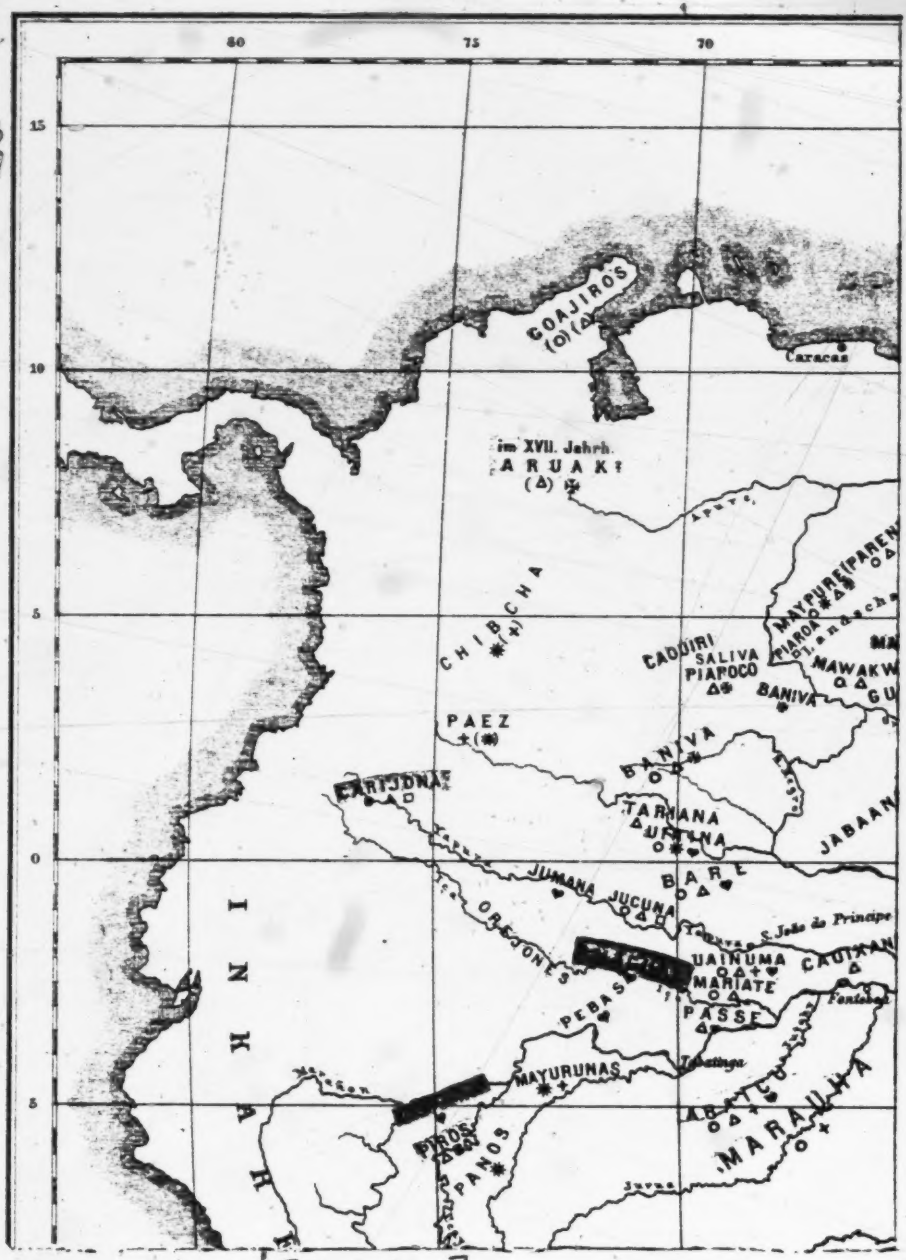

[Map A-1]

1: Steinen--155 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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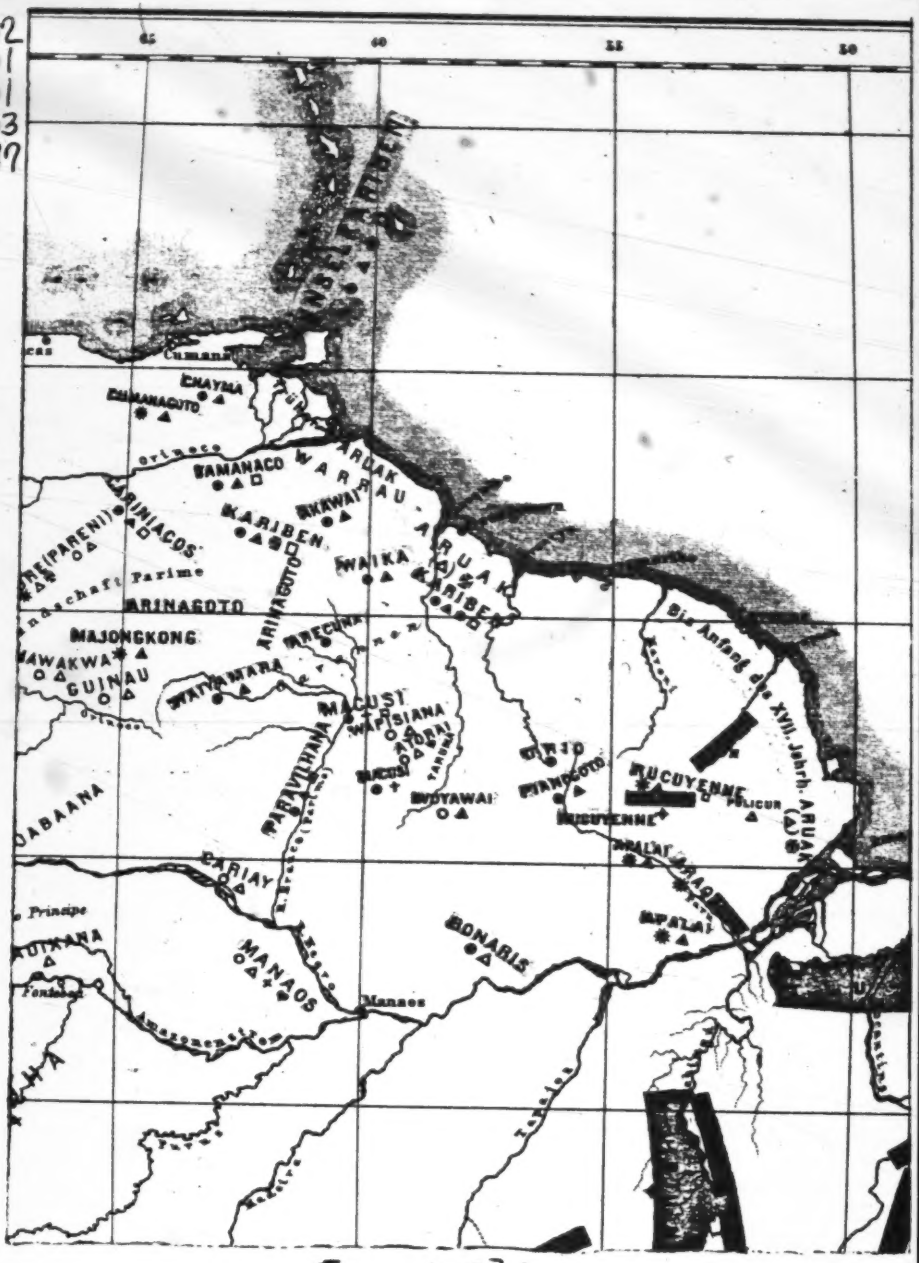

[Map A-2]

1: Steinen--156 D,L-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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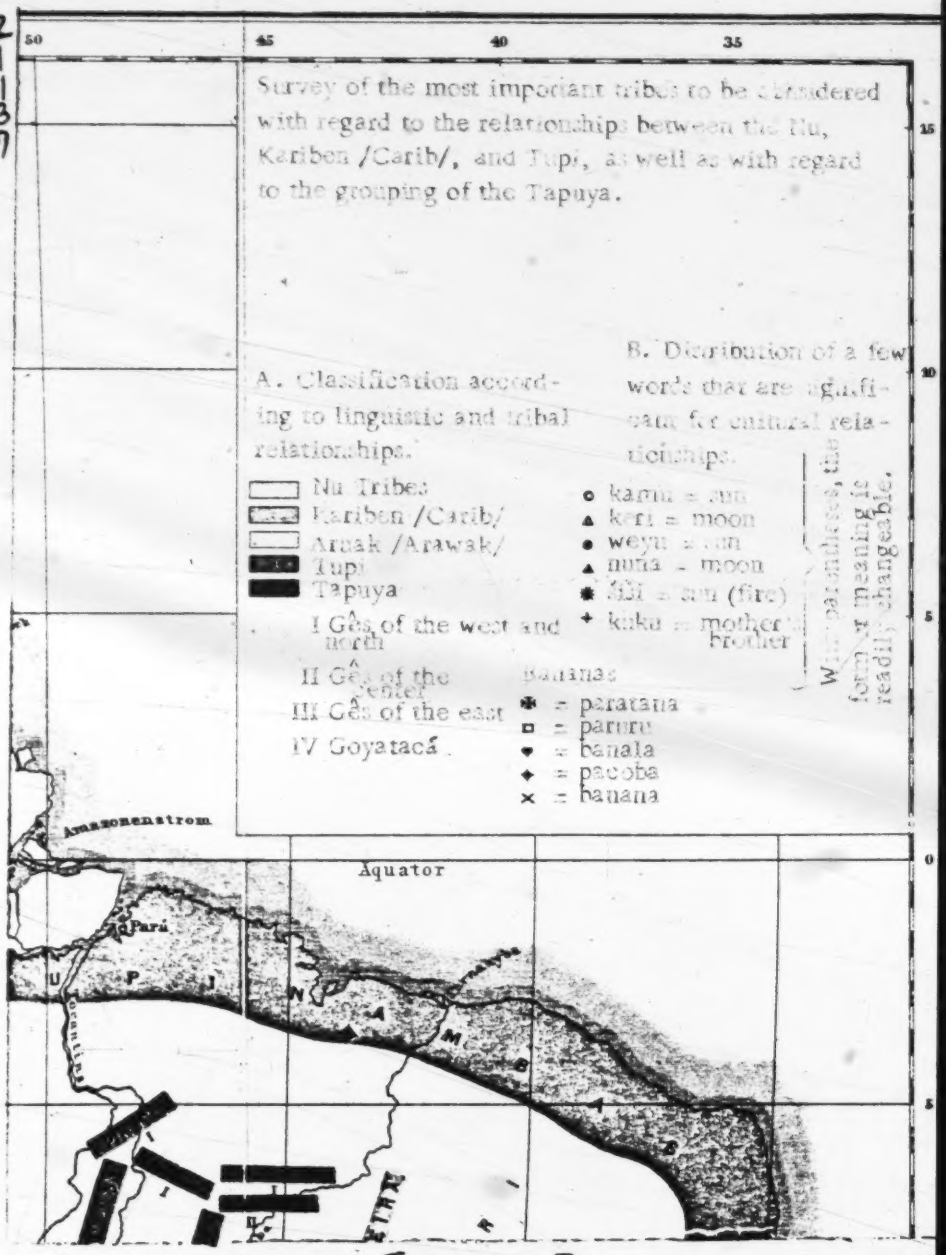
Survey of the most important tribes to be considered with regard to the relationships between the Nu, Kariben /Carib/, and Tupi, as well as with regard to the grouping of the Tapuya.
A. Classification according to linguistic and tribal relationships.
Nu Tribes
Kariben /Carib/
Arnak /Arawak/
Tupi
Tapuya
I Gês of the west and north
II Gês of the center
III Gês of the east
IV Goyatacá
B. Distribution of a few words that are significant for cultural relationships.
kanu = sun
kari = moon
weyu = sun
nuna = moon
kiki = sun (fire)
kuku = mother's brother
Words parenthesised, the form of meaning is readily changeable.
Bananas
= paratana
= paruru
= banala
= pacoba
= banana
Amazonenstrom
Äquator
Pará
U
P
J
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1: Steinen--157 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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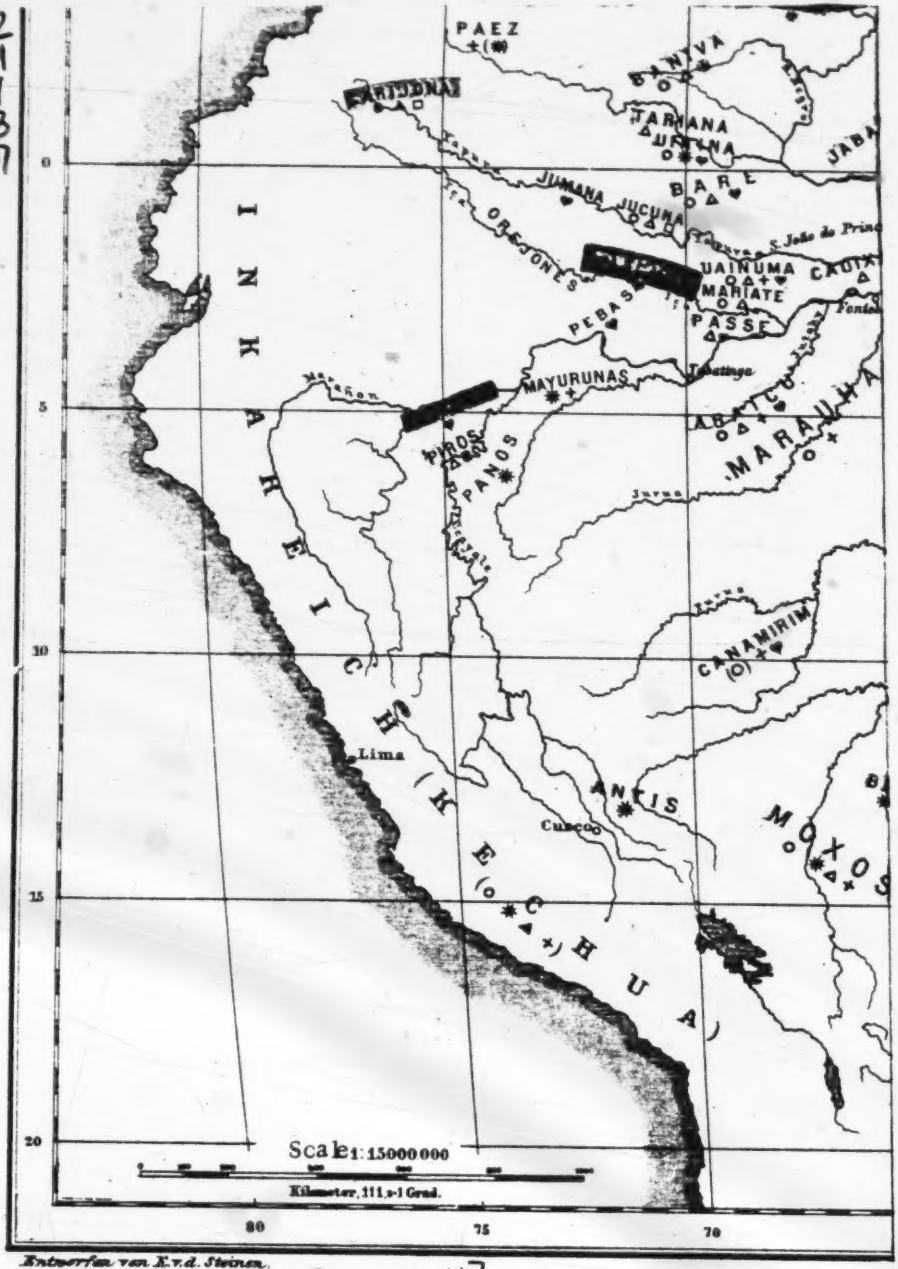

Entworfen von E. v. d. Steinen.

[Map A-4]

1: Steinen--158 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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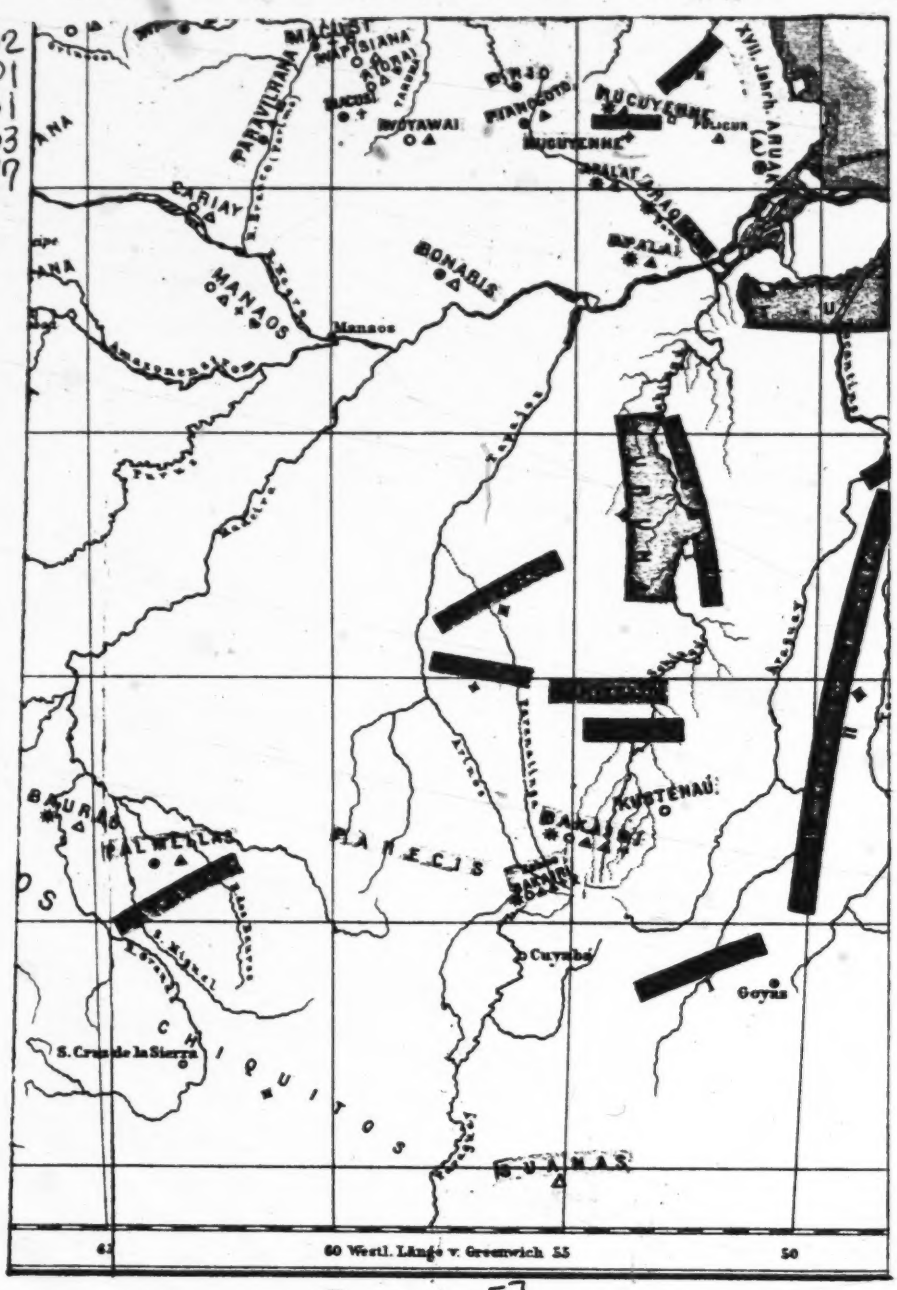

[Map A-5]

1: Steinen--159 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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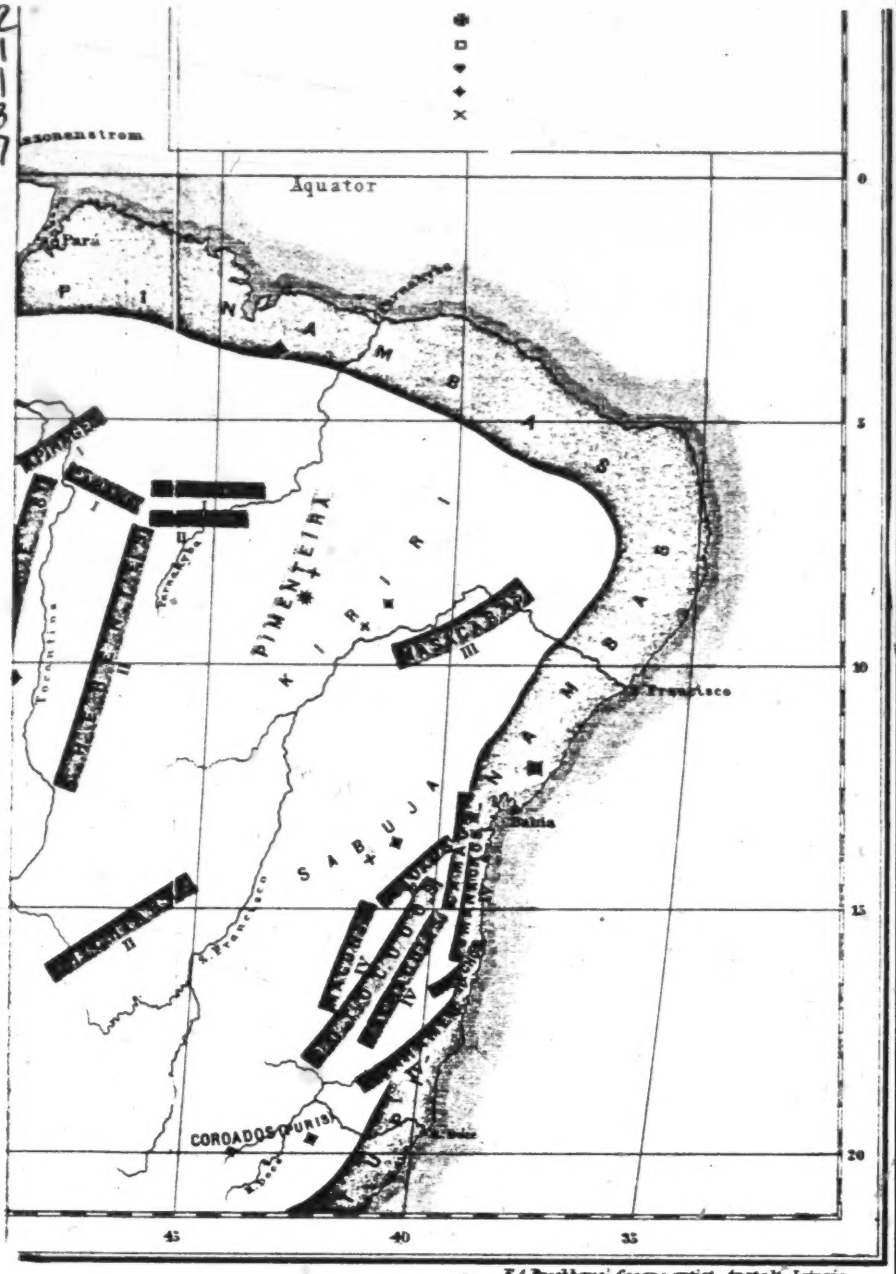
Amazonenstrom
Äquator
Pará
P I N A M B A S
PIMENTEIRA
K I R I R I
Tocantins
Rio Tocantins
Rio Xingu
Rio Tapajos
Rio Tapirapé
Rio Araguaia
Rio Xingu
Rio Tocantins

1: Steinen--160 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

292
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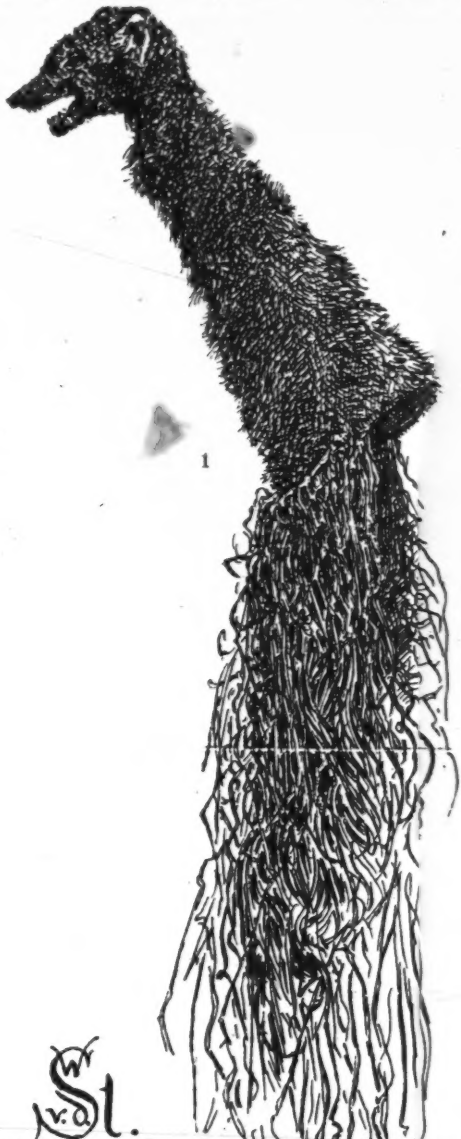

W
v.d. St.

ooo Ethnological Plate I /reproduced on pp. 160 - 164/. 1-10 Bakaïrí: 1-4, headdresses from festival hut. 5. Straw wreath with feathers. 6. Ear feathers. 7. Comb. 8-10. Necklaces: 8, little stone disks; 9, pieces of shell (also very popular among the Suyá); 10, jaguar claws. 11. Trumaí feather cap. 12 and 13. Suyá feather diadem. 14. Yuruna ear-feather.

292
532

1: Steinen--161 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/From Ethnological Pl. 1:
2 and 3, Bakaïrí headdresses
from the festival hut./

1: Steinen--162 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP23
Suya SP21
Yuruna SQ26

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B
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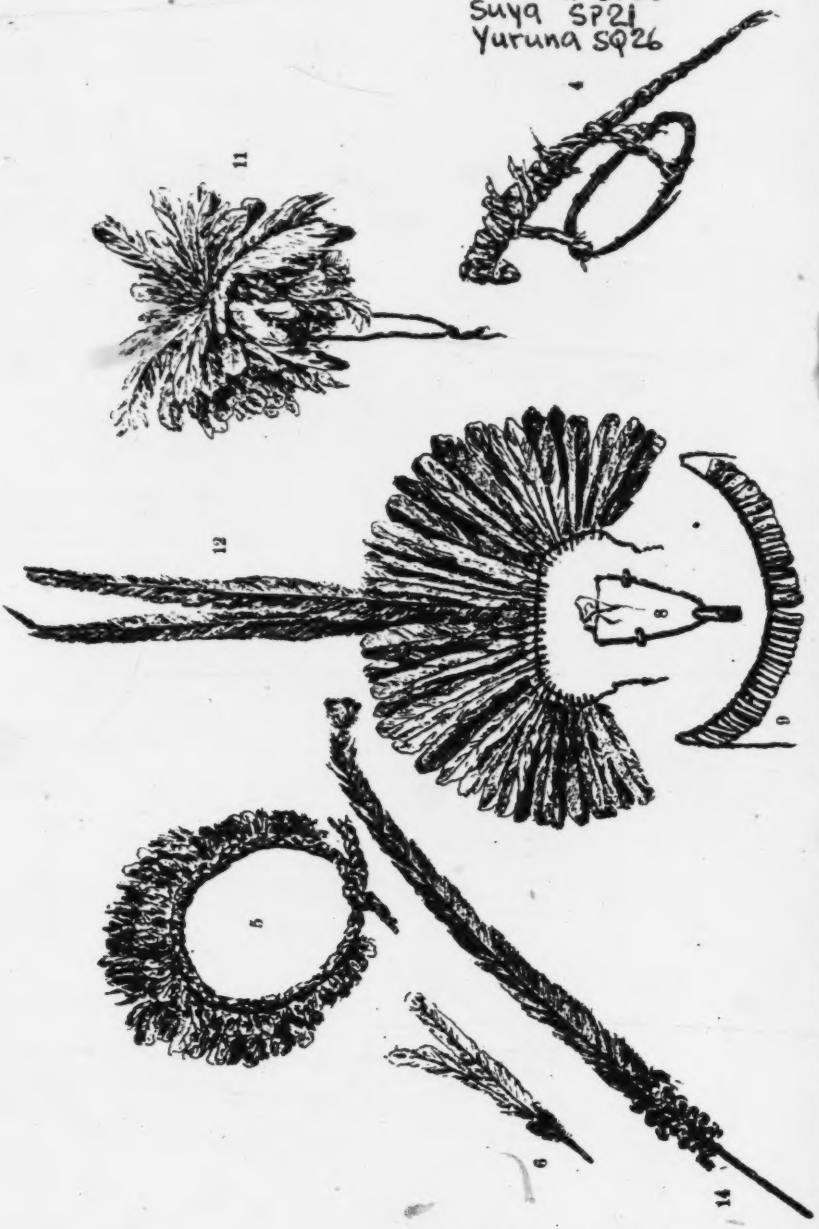
→

S
301
237
←

B
Y
301
237



/See caption on following page./

1: Steinen--163 D E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP23
Suya SP21
Yuruna SQ26

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S
Y
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237

/From Ethnological Pl. I: 4, Bakaïrí headdress from the festival hut; 5, Bakaïrí straw wreath with feathers; 6, Bakaïrí ear feathers; 8-9, Bakaïrí necklaces (8, stone disks; 9, pieces of shell and also popular among the Suyá); 11, Trumaí feather-cap; 12, Suyá feather-diadem; 14, Yuruna ear-feather./

1: Steinen--164 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Suya SP21

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B
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S
301
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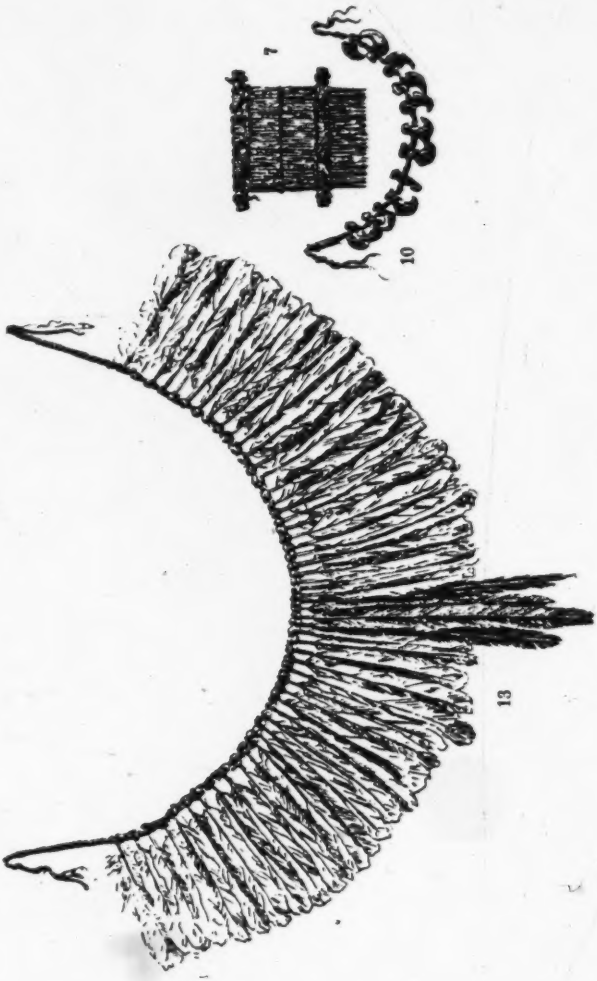


/From Ethnological Pl. I:
7, Bakaïrí comb; 10, Bakaïrí necklace
of jaguar claws; 13, Suyá feather-diadem. /

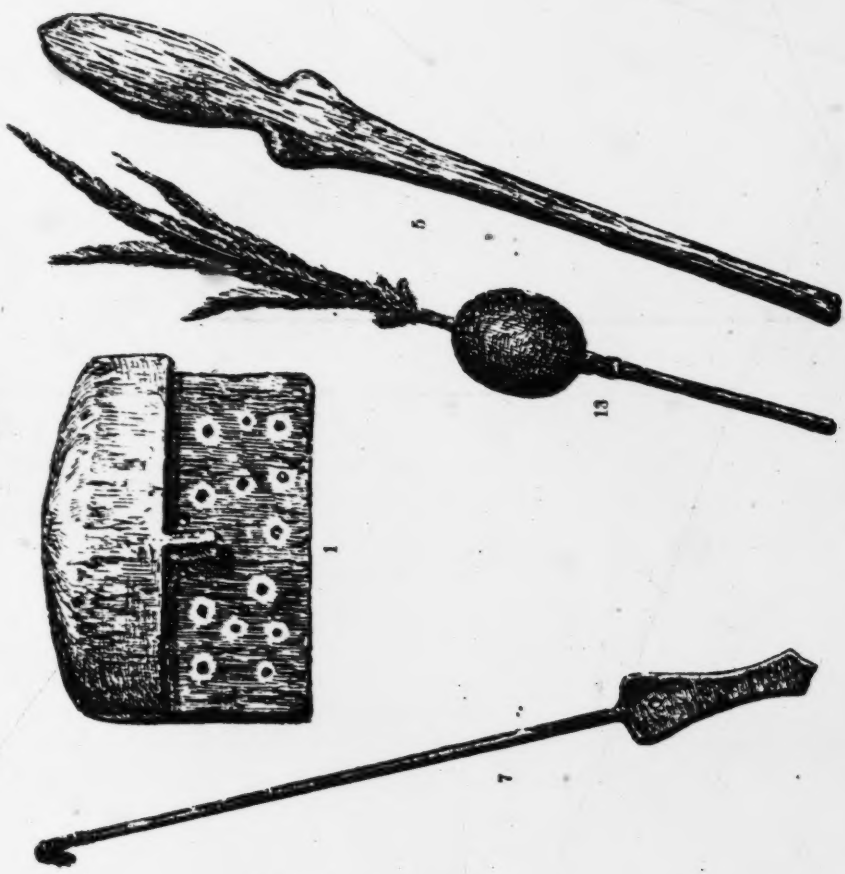
1: Steinen--165 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP23
Suya SP21
Yuruna SQ26

T 411

Y 534

B 532

S 411



Ethnological Plate II

/reproduced on pp. 165-169/. Bakaïrí: 1. Dove mask for a dance. 2. Flute (meni). 3. Stone ax. 4. Oar. Trumaí: 5. Club. Suyá: 6. Club. 7. Arrow thrower (throwing board). 8. Stone ax. 9. Bone knife. 10. Beijú turner. Yuruna: 11. Oar. 12. Flute. 13. Gourd rattle. Karajá: 14. Club.

1: Steinen--166 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Suya SP21

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/From Ethnological Pl. II: 2, Bakaïrí flute (meni); 6, Suyá club./

/From Ethnological Pl. II:
3, Bakaïrí stone ax; 4, Bakaïrí oar; 12, Yuruna flute./

1. Steinen--168 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacaiti

Suya SP21
Yuruna SQ26
Caraja SP9

C
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S
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S
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412

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14

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/See caption on following page./

1: Steinen--169 D,E-5 (1884) 1886

SP7 Bacairi
Caraja SP9
Yuruna SG26
Suya SP21

C
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Y
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S
252
412

/From Ethnological Pl. II: 8, Suyá stone ax; 9, Suyá bone knife; 10, Suyá beijú turner; 11, Yuruna oar; 14, Karajá club./

/367/

104 Explanation of Brazilian Expressions Appearing in the Text, with the page number where somewhat more detail is to be found /omitted in the translation/, as well as the frequently repeated animal and plant names. /The pronunciation of the words is given in German spelling/.

Aldea, aldeament, village.
Arrobe /arroba/ = 16 kilograms.

Bagadú, see "Pirarára."
Barranca, steep riverbank wall.
Batata, sweet potato.
Beijú (French j), flat cakes made with mandioca flour /see p. 7/.
Borrachudos (pronounced borraschudos), small biting flies.
Buritf, Mauritia flexuosa, palm.
Burracen, leather bags for pack animals./

Cabeceira, source brook.
Cachoeira (pronounced caschoeira), probably best translated by cataract, something between a salto and correndeira, waterfall and rapids.
Campo, grassy field with low, stunted tree growth. Campo cerrado, more compact, that is, more densely filled campo.
Cará, Dioscorea, potato plant.
Capivara /capybara/, Hydrochoerus capybara.
Carapana, species of mosquito.
Carrapatos, ticks.
Cerrado, see "Campo."
Chapada (pronounced schapada) } plateau.
Chapadão (pronounced schapadão) }
Coatá /Ateles paniscus/, see Index II /untranslated/.
Curral /corral/, fenced enclosure.
Cuyen, gourd drinking-bowls.

/367 cont./

104 Farinha (pronounced farinja), mandioca flour.

Fazenda (pronounced fasenda), = the Spanish hacienda, country estate, farm.

Friágem (French j), early morning cold and cloudiness.

Gevatter /compadre/, designation of the Indians in Brazil.
Guaraná, beverage in place of coffee.

Inajá (French j), Maximiliana, palm.

Jacú, Penelops, turkey-sized gallinaceous bird.
Japá (French j), palm-straw canopy over the boat.
Jatobá (French j), tree for the bark canoes.

Kameraden (like the Spanish peons), laborers for the journey, who are familiar with the life in the wilderness and with all its resources.

Macaco, Cebus, monkey.
Mandioca, Manihot utilissima, most important useful native plant.
Milrëis, approximately two reichs marks.
Mingãu, refreshing drink mixed with mandioca flour /see p. 37/.
Mosquiteiro, gauze tent over the hammock for protection against insects.
Mutúm, Crax, turkey-sized gallinaceous bird.

Oauassú, Attalea spectabilis, palm.

Pantanál, swamp.
Picade, path opened through the forest, trail.
Pintado, Platystomatis, very tasty fish.
Piranha (pronounced piranja), Serrasalmo, predatory fish with strong teeth.

104 /367 cont./

Pirarára, Phractocephalus, also bagadú, a sheatfish /see p. 53/, illustration p. 110.

Polvilho (pronounced polviljo), finest mandioca flour /see p. 45/.

Praia, sandy beach.

Puva, coarser mandioca flour in brick form /see p. 46/.

Quemada (pronounced kemáda), burned-off terrain.

Rancho (pronounced rantscho), hut.

Rapadura, unrefined, primitively prepared sugar in brick form.

Ribeirão, brook, small stream.

Roça, cultivated field.

Salto, waterfall.

Seringueira, rubber (caoutchouc) tree, see the index /untranslated/.

Serra = the Spanish sierra, mountain range.

Sertão, wilderness, usually infertile. One who is very familiar with it, sertanejo.

Tacoára, bamboo.

Tracajá (French j), small river turtle, see Index II /untranslated/: Schildkröteneir /turtle eggs/.

Tucúm, Astrocaryum, palm.

Ubá, tree canoe /see p. 124/.

/The "Index," pp. 368-372 in the original source, is omitted in the translation. The end map following p. 372 in the original source follows here as pp. 173-185 in the translation./

1: Steinen

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SP7 Bacairi SP7

A	B	C	D	E	F
G	H	I	J	K	L

Chart of Positions of End Map /Facing p. 173/

1: Steinen--173 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Special map of the Schingú River. From the records and position-findings of Dr. O. Clauss, reduced to the scale of 1:500,000.

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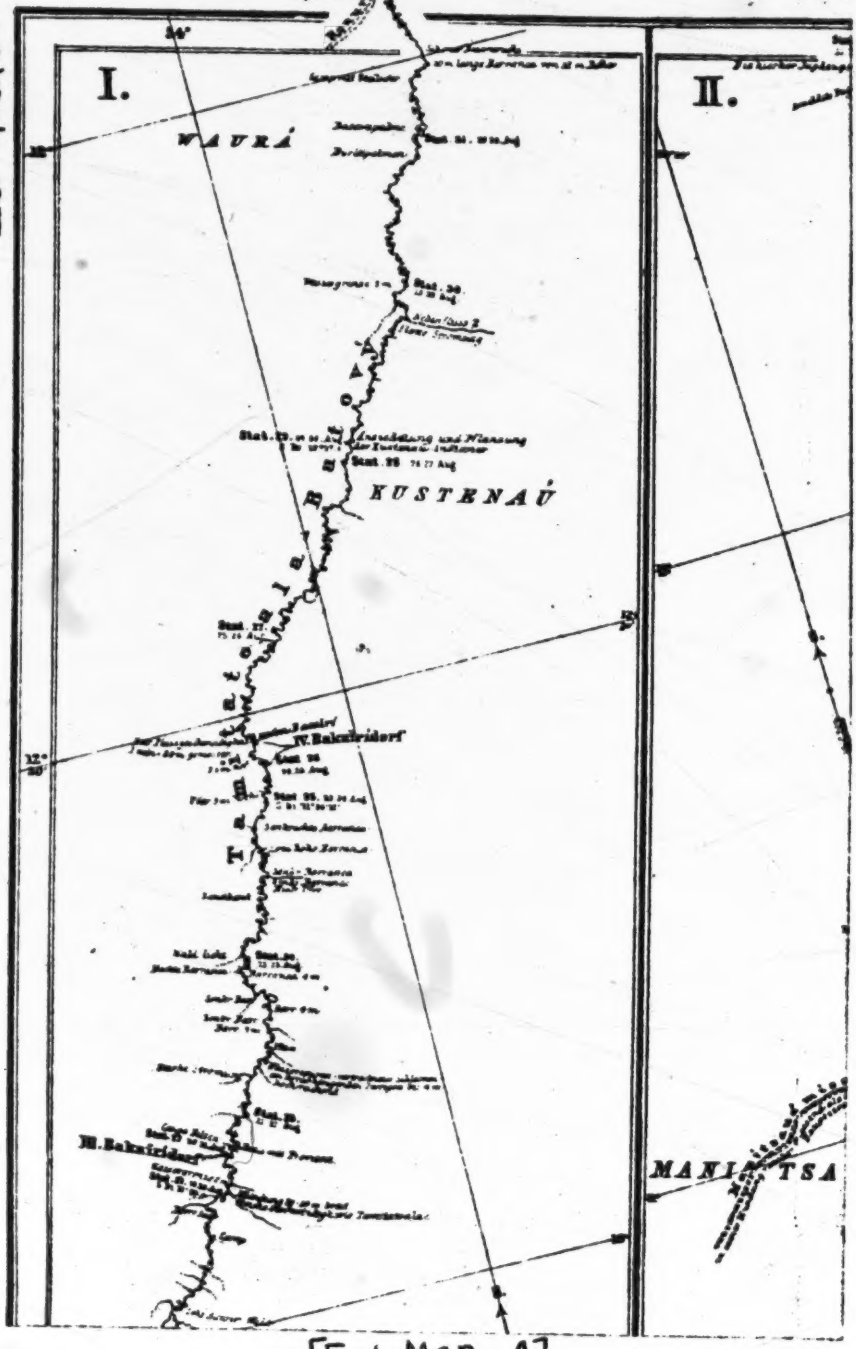

[End Map, A]

1: Steinen--174 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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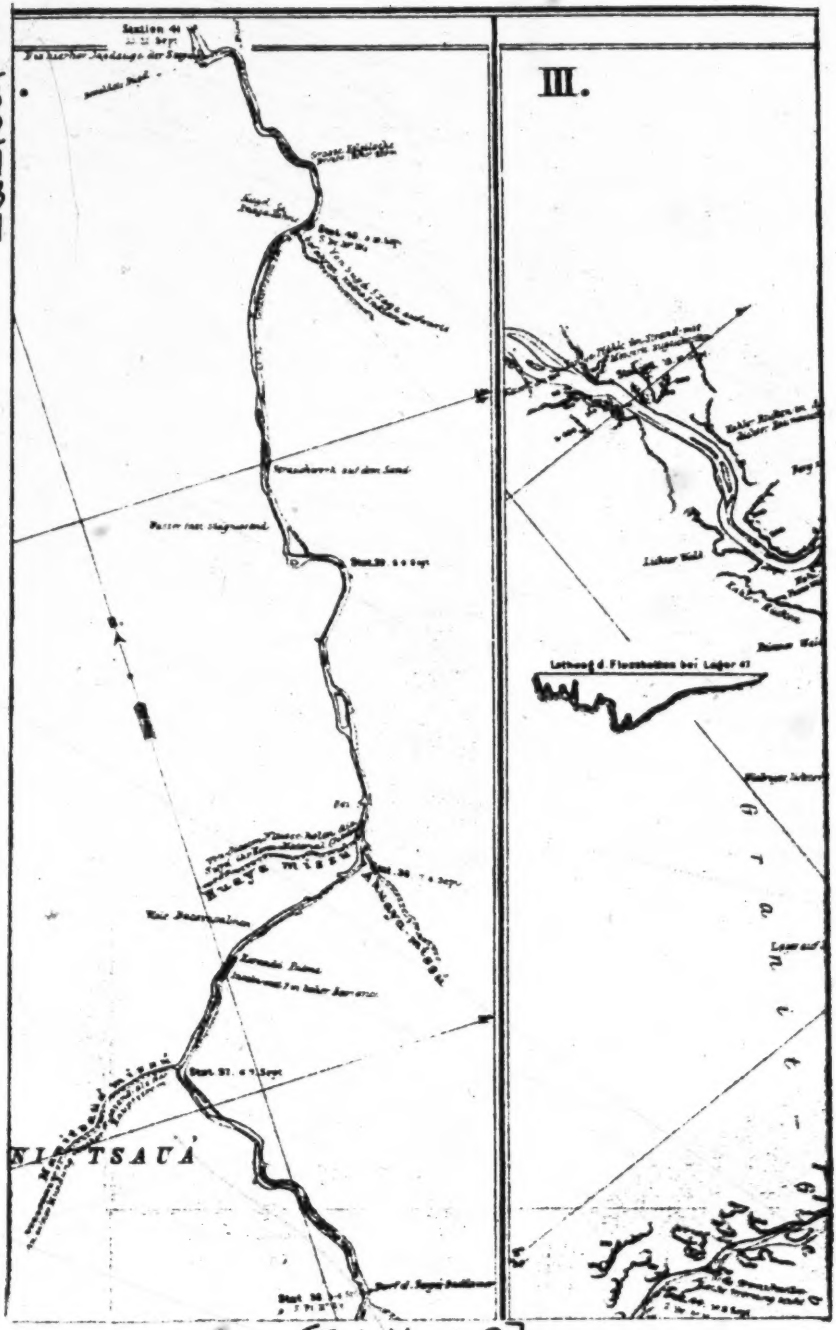

[End Map, B]

1: Steinen--175), E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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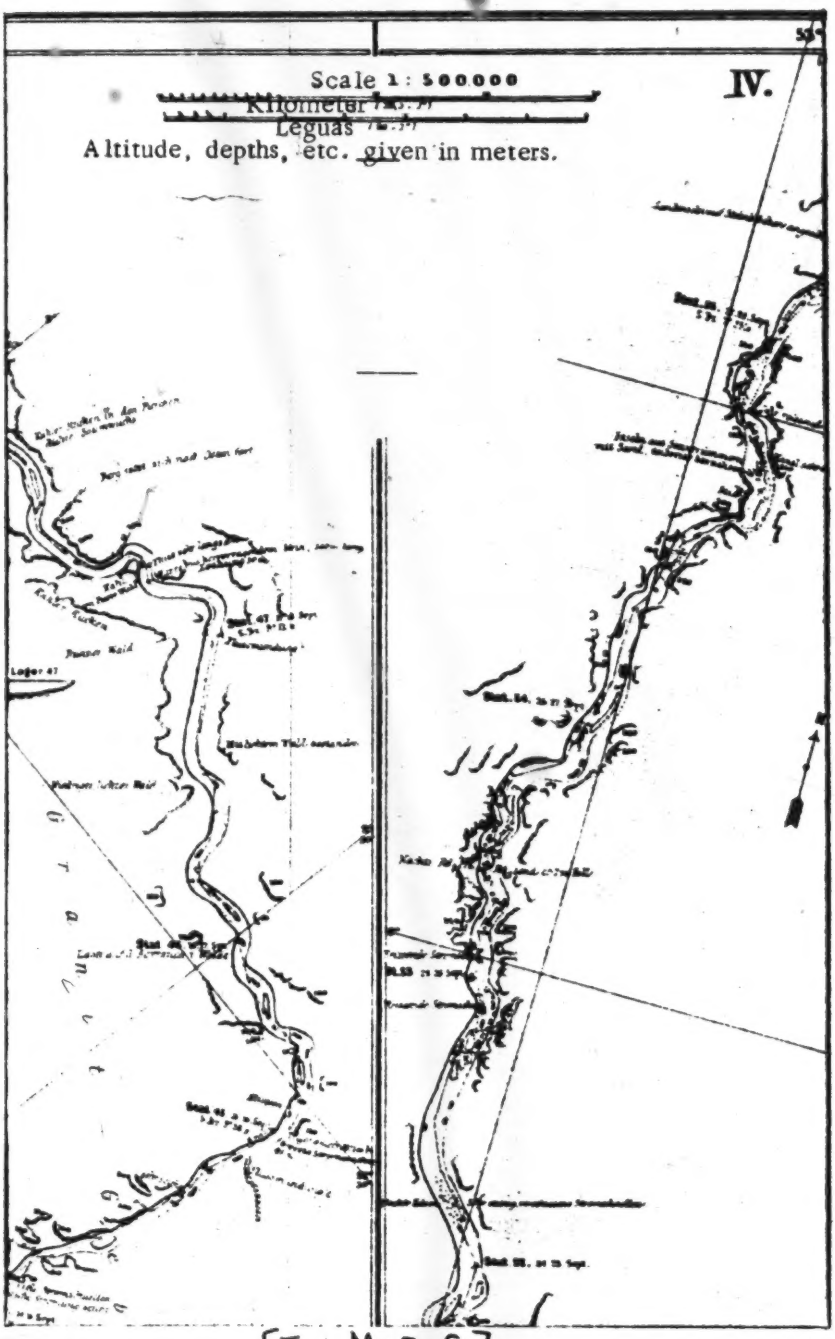

[End Map, C]

1: Steinen--176 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Explanation:

101
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route of the v. d. Steinen Expedition 1884.

Δ Stat. 34 Stopping places on it, with dates 4, 5 Oct.

In the case of stations determined by astronomical calculations, the latitude that was ascertained is added.

camp = treeless land overgrown with tall grass

= forest

o Seringeiro = Brazilian caoutchouc gatherer

cataracts and rapids

rocks, partly covered with plant growth.
Barranca = steep, sandy shore

sand banks

[Legend Appearing Below scale on End Map, C]

1s Steinen--177 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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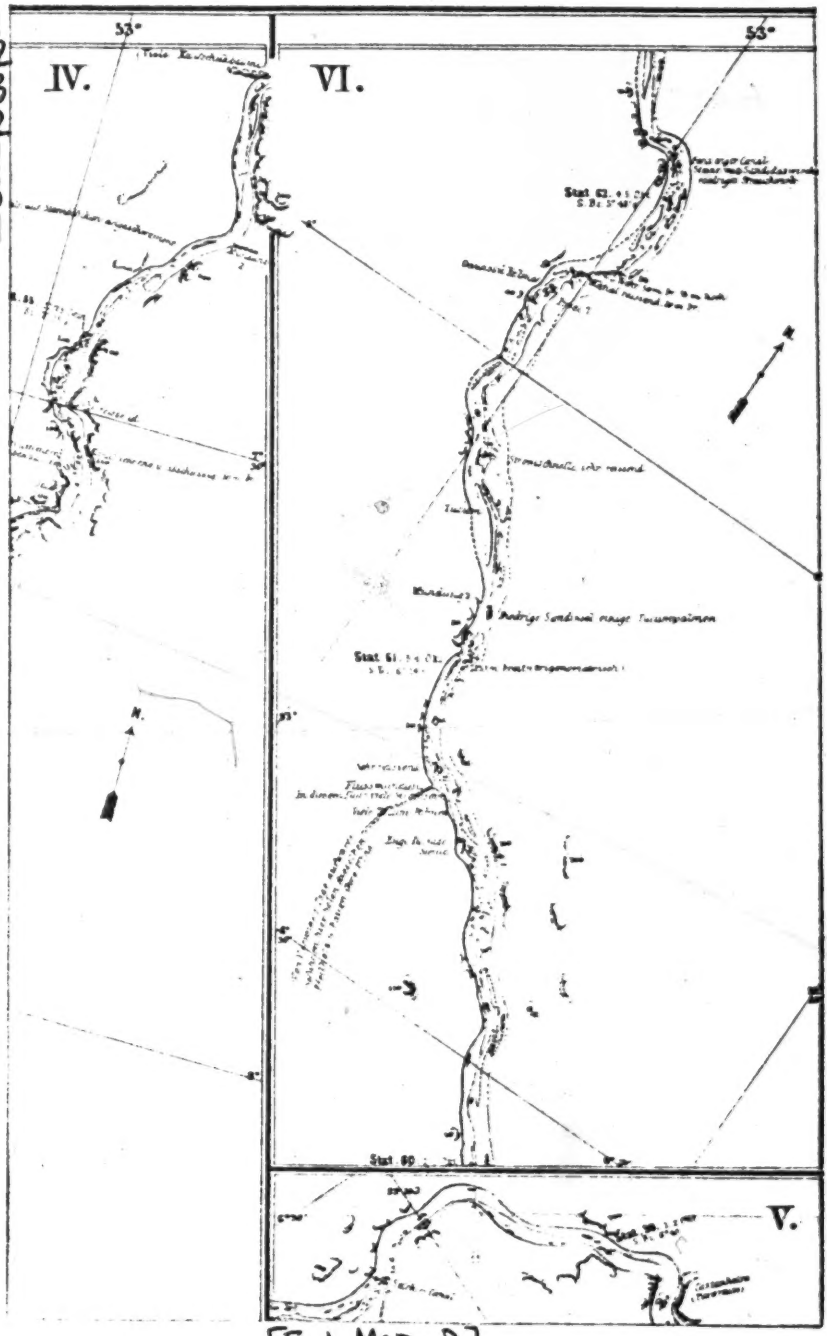

[End Map, D]

1: Steinen--178 D E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi 887

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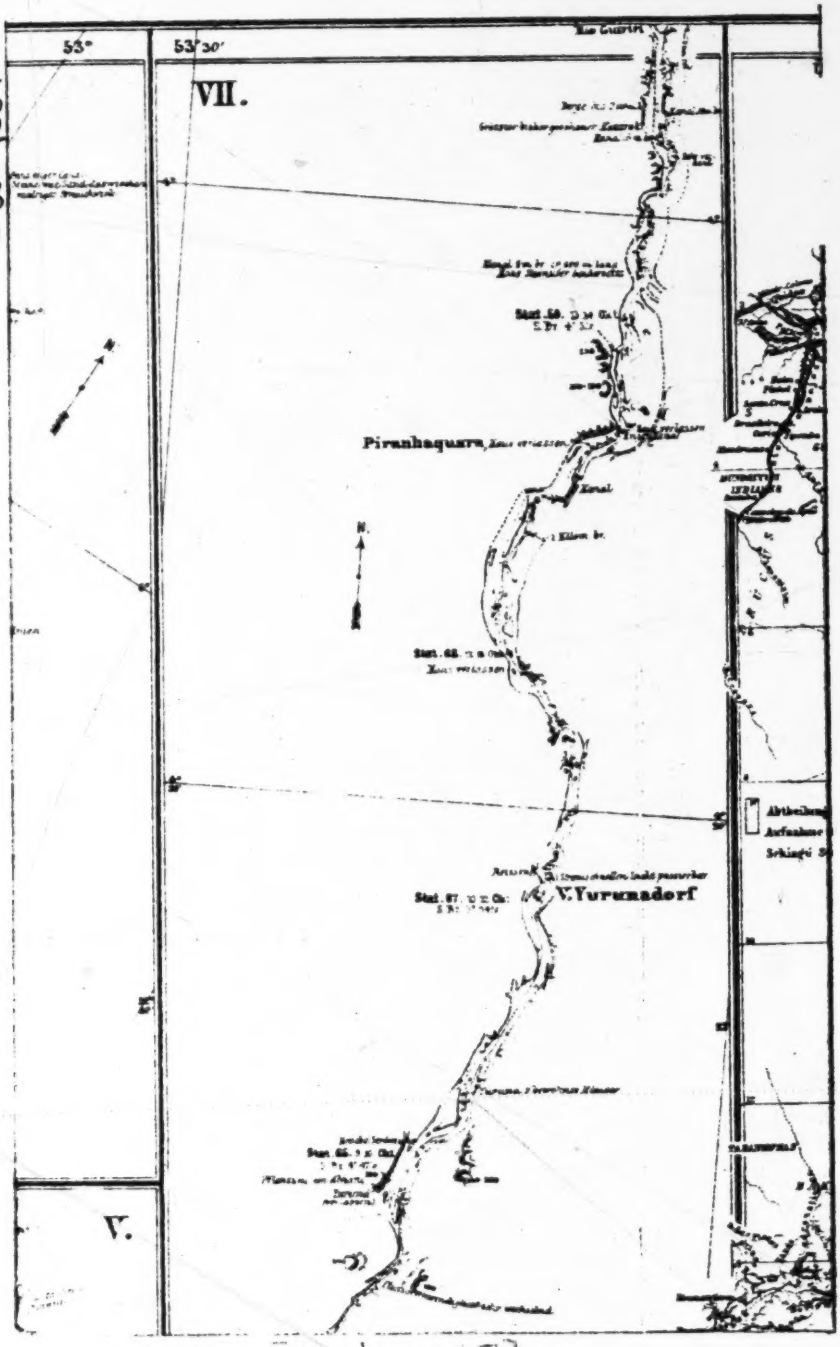

[Map E]

1: Steinen -179 D, E 5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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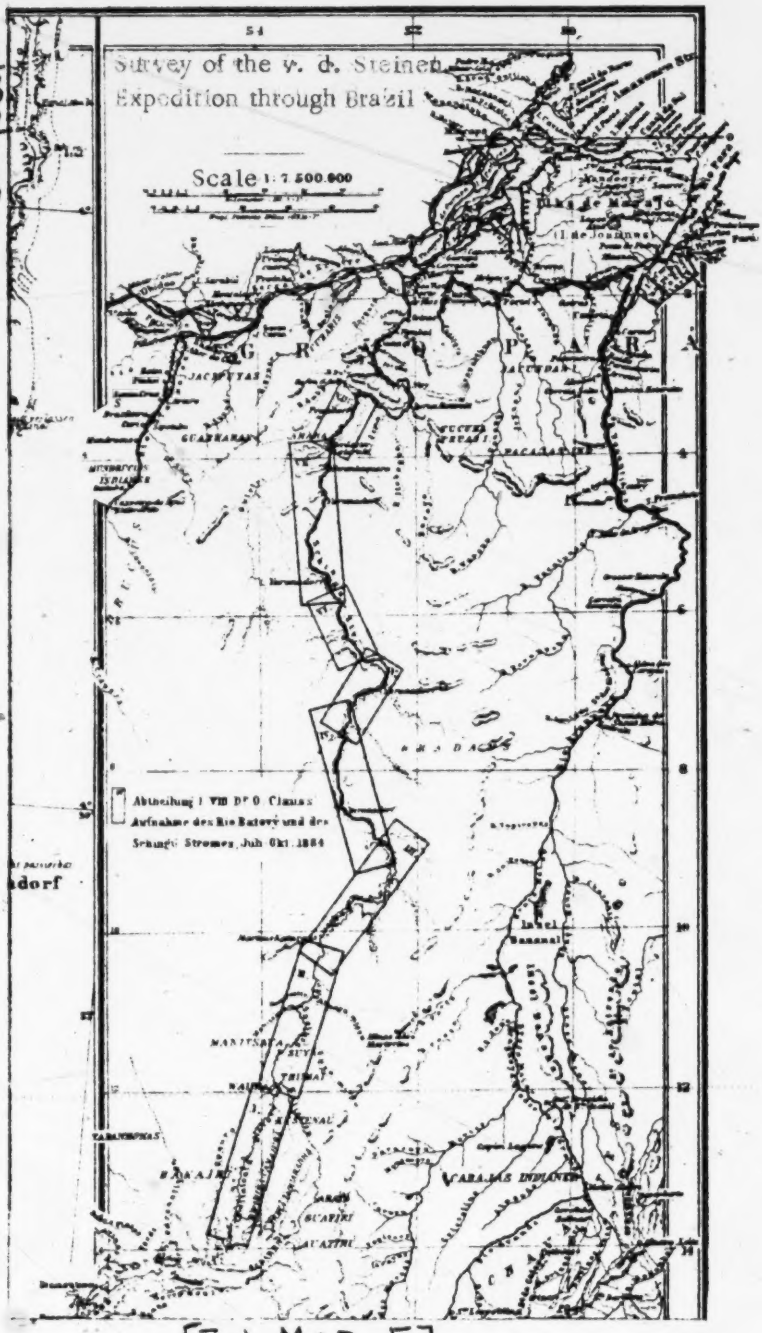
Survey of the v. d. Steinen
Expedition through Brazil
Scale 1:7 500.000
Abtheilung I VIII Dr O. Clauss
Aufnahme des Rio Batovi und des
Schingú Stromes, Juli Okt. 1884
Ilha de Marajó
Ilha de Joannes
Rio Xingú
Rio Tocantins
Rio Araguaia
Rio Tapajós
Rio Madeira
Rio Negro
Rio Branco
Rio Uaupés
Rio Tiquié
Rio Uatumã
Rio Jauaperi
Rio Trombetas
Rio Nhamundá
Rio Paru
Rio Jari
Rio Maracá
Rio Uraricoera
Rio Tacutú
Rio Mucajaí
Rio Parima
Rio Uraricaá
Rio Cauaburi
Rio Marauiá

1: Steinen - 180 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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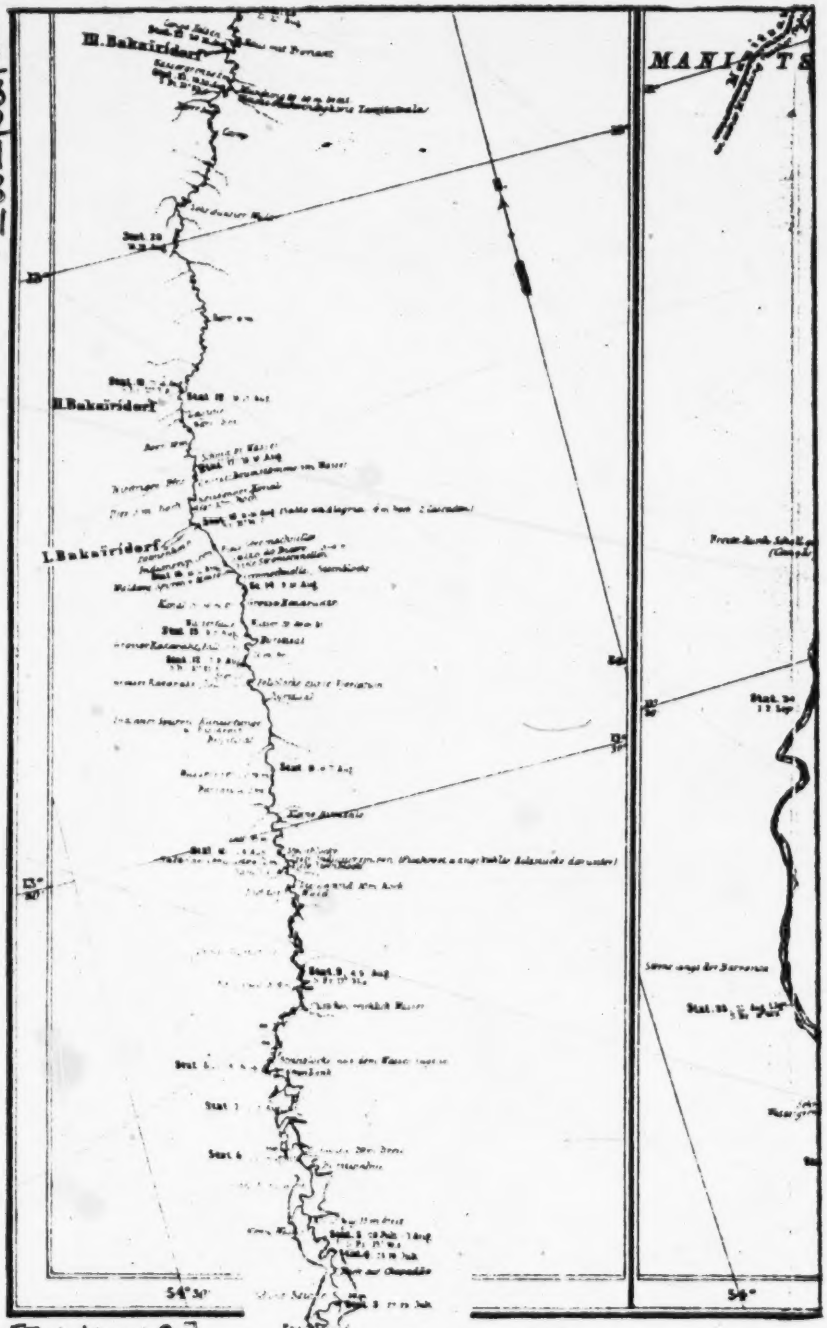

[End Map, G]

1: Steinen--181 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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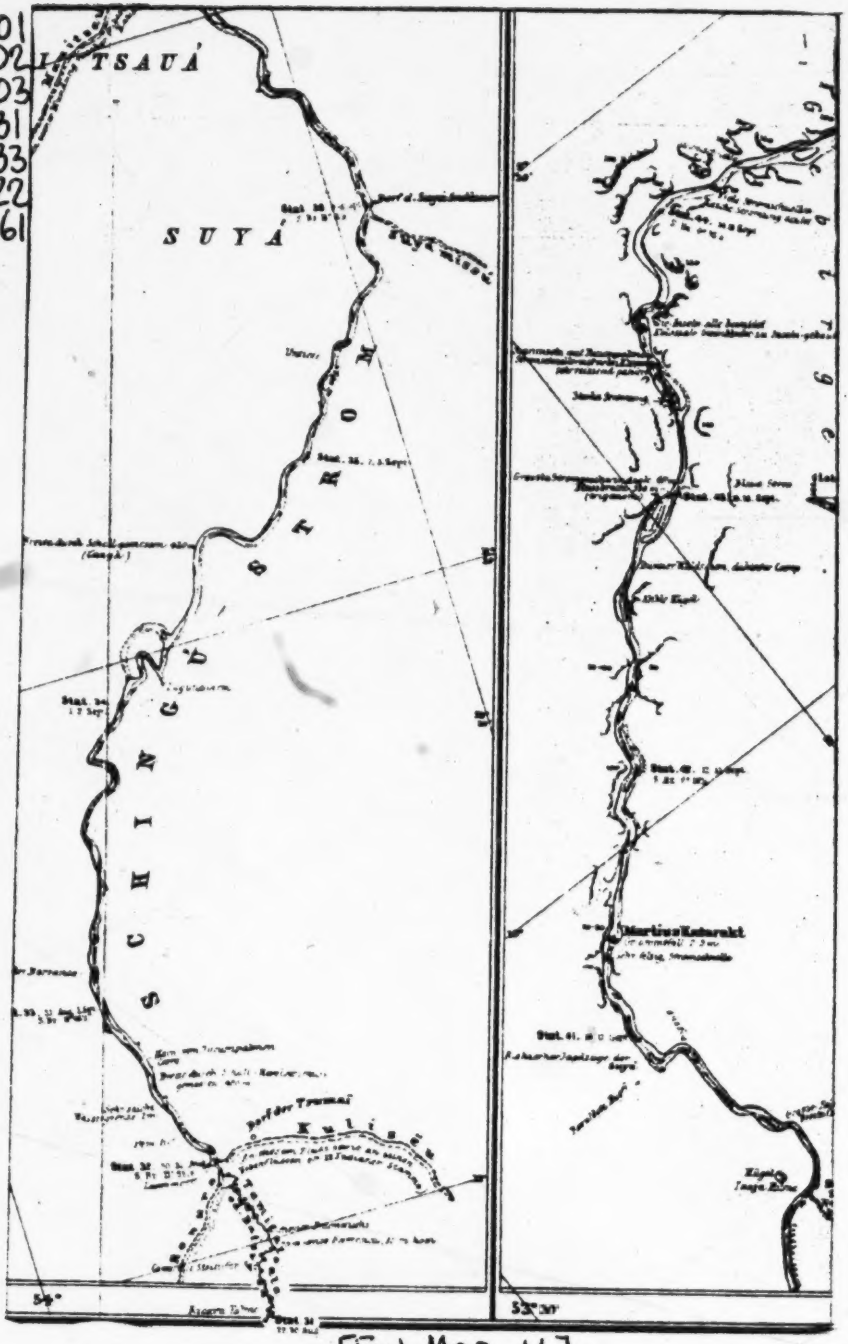

[End Map, H]

1: Steinen--182 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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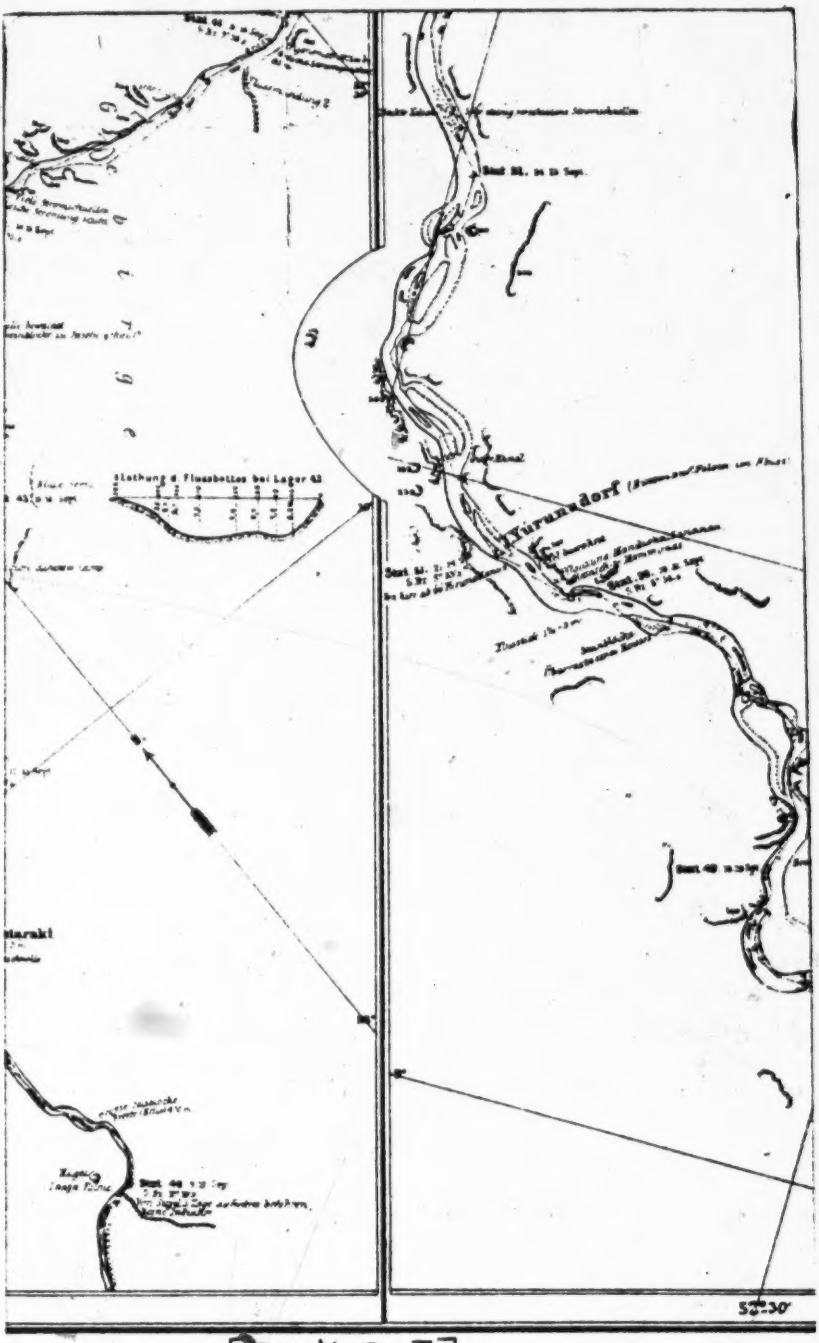

[End Map, I]

1: Steinen--183 DE-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacaio SP7

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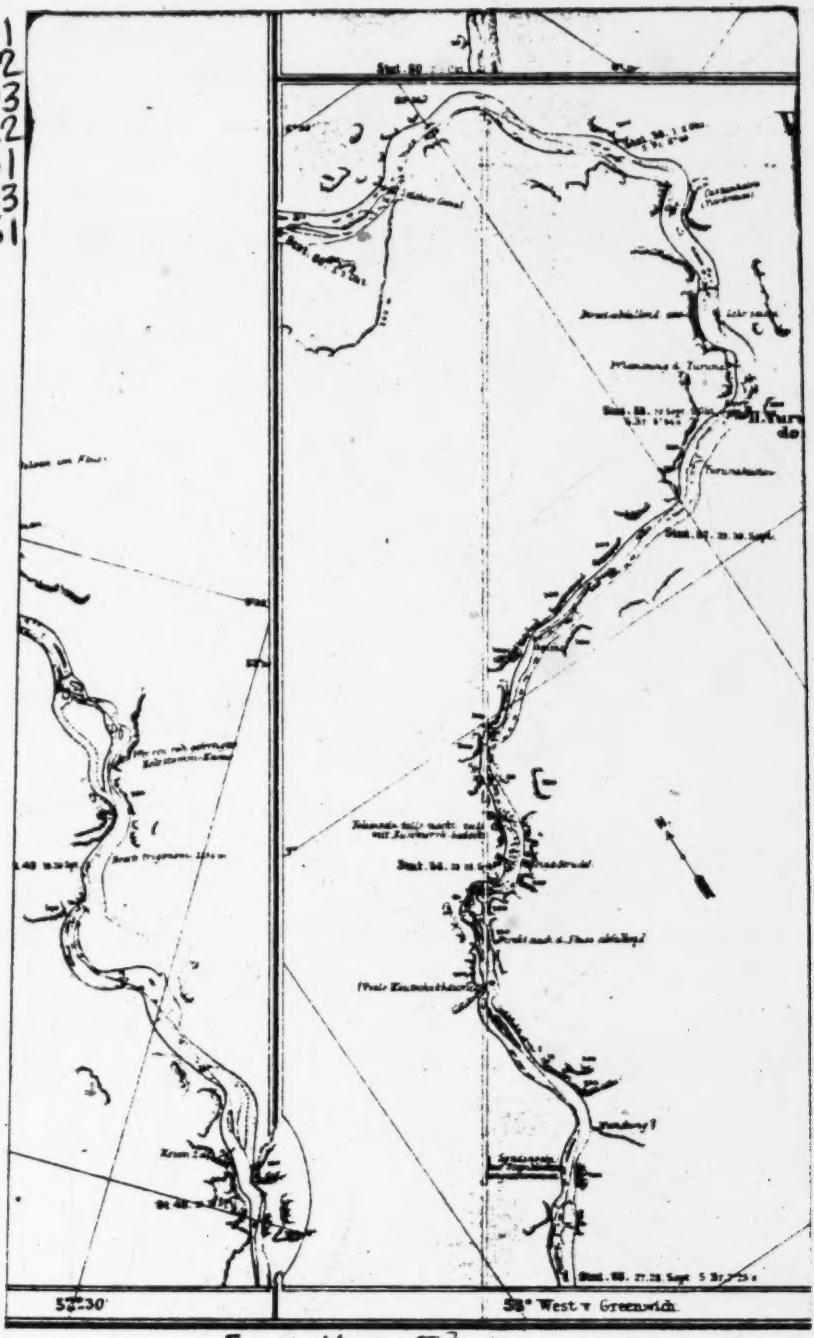

[End Map, J]

1: Steinen--184 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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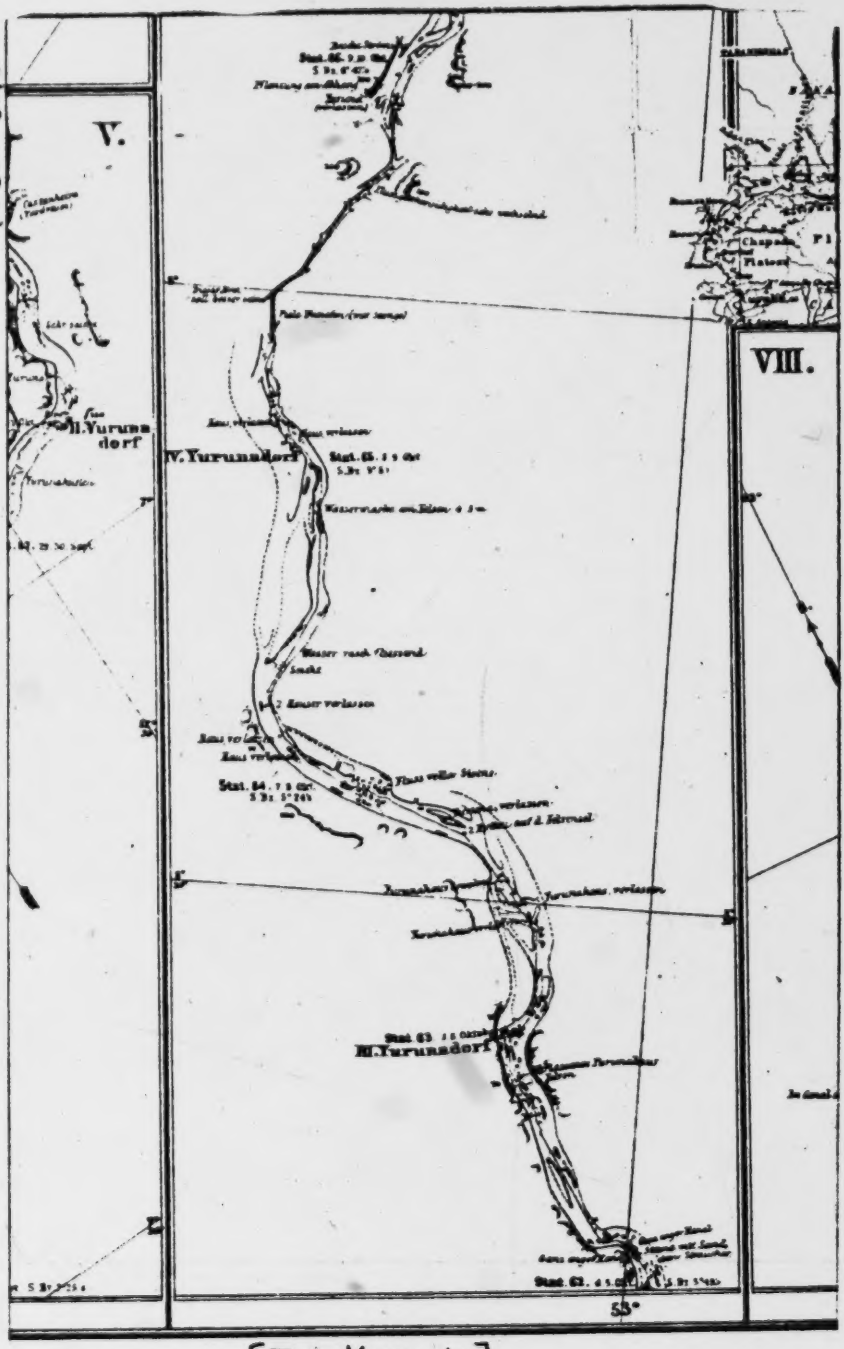

[End Map, K]

1: Steinen--185 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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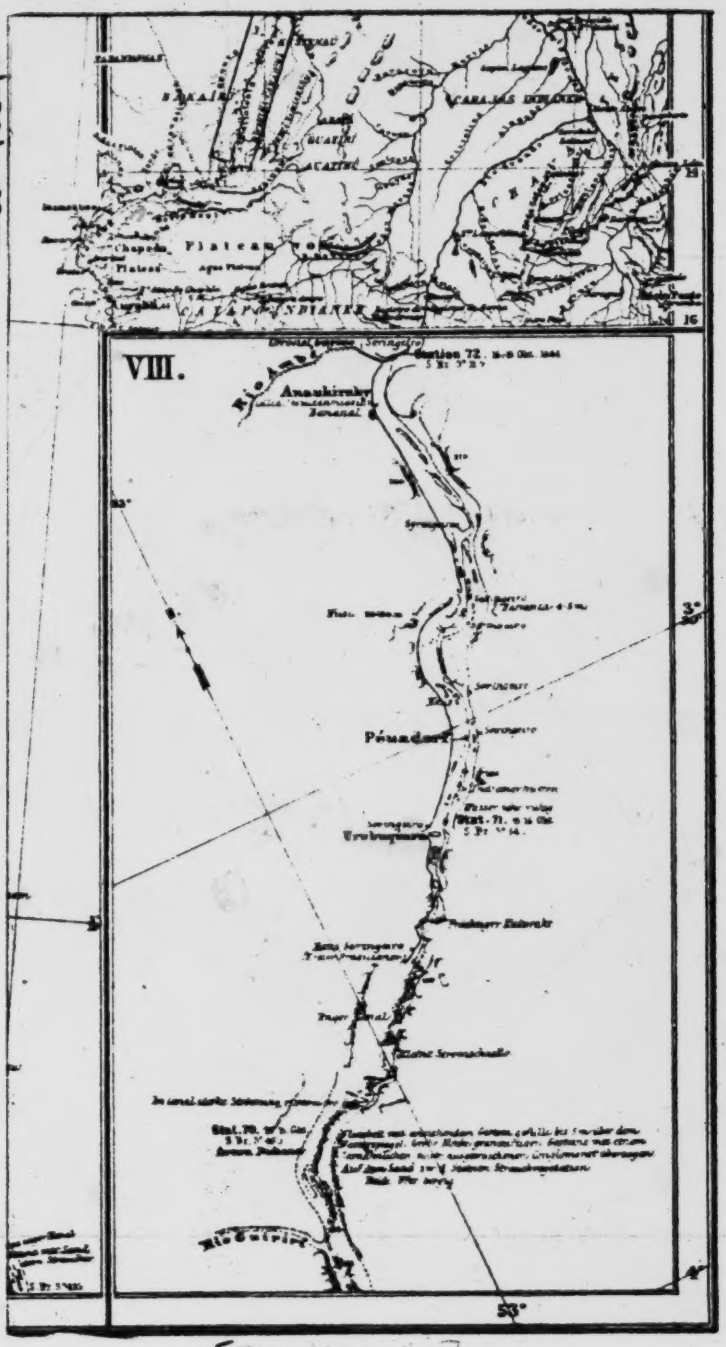

[End MAP, L]

122

/For information on the author's problems of obtaining food and supplies on the expedition, his difficulties with his field aides, and other problems dealing with the organization of his party, see category 116, pp. 11-13, 23-30./

1: Steinen SP7 Bacairi

DURCH CENTRAL-BRASILIEN.

EXPEDITION
ZUR ERFORSCHUNG DES SCHINGÚ
IM JAHRE 1884.

VON

KARL VON DEN STEINEN
DR. MED.

MIT
ZWEI IM TEXT- UND HOLZSCHNITTBILDER VON WILHELM VON DEN STEINEN,
IN HOLZSCHNITTBILDER VON JOHANNES SCHMITZ,
EINER SPECIALKARTE DES SCHINGÚQUELLENGEBIETS VON DR. OTTO CLASEN,
EINER STRANGLAPPENKARTE UND EINER ÜBERSICHTSKARTE.

[title page]

LEIPZIG:
F. A. BROCKHAUS.
1886.

[p. à à à]

[pp à-à à are blank]

1: Steinen SP7 Bacairi

DR. CLATON. DR. K. VON DEN STEINEN. W. VON DEN STEINEN.

DR. KARL VON DEN STEINEN UND SEINE REISEGEFÄRTEN.

[facing p. iii]

Das Recht der Uebersetzung ist vorbehalten.

Brazil
Ehh
+884

[p. iv]

1: Steinen SP7 Bacairi

SEINER MAJESTÄT

DEM

KAISER PEDRO II.

EHRERBIETIGST GEWIDMET.

[p. v]

[p. vi is blank]

1: Steinen SP7 Bacairi

VORWORT.

Sr. Maj. Schiff „Marie“ lieferte im September des Jahres 1883 die von der Insel Süd-Georgien zurückkehrende deutsche Südpolar-Expedition wohlbehalten in Montevideo ab. Während sich die übrigen Mitglieder in die Heimat begaben, blieben Dr. Clauss und ich am La-Plata zurück, um in Gemeinschaft mit meinem Vetter Wilhelm von den Steinen, der uns verabredetermassen dort bereits erwartete, die günstige Gelegenheit für eine Forschungsreise im Innern Südamerikas wahrzunehmen.

Nachdem mein anfangs gehegter Plan, den Rio Pilcomayo zu untersuchen, durch die gerade damals glücklich vollendete Expedition des Herrn Thouar in Wegfall gebracht worden war, wandte sich unsere Aufmerksamkeit dem Schingú zu, dem grössten noch unbekannten Flusse des südamerikanischen Continents, welcher besonders in anthropologischer Beziehung interessante Aufschlüsse versprach.

Der deutsche Ministerresident in Buenos-Aires, Herr Baron von Holleben, unterstützte uns in thätigster und liebenswürdigster Weise. Durch Vermittelung des brasilianischen Geschäftsträgers, Herrn Cavalcanti Lacerda, wurde das Kaiserliche Ministerium veranlasst, uns eine militärische Begleitmannschaft zuzusichern.

Unser Trio war für den Zweck nicht ungünstig zusammengesetzt. Dr. Clauss war Physiker, mein Vetter Maler. Mir als Arzt, der auf einer Reise um die Erde bereits einige Erfahrungen gesammelt, fiel der anthropologisch-ethnologische Theil des Programms zu. Von meinem Vetter waren die nöthigsten Instrumente mitgebracht worden. Er hatte sich auf der Hamburger Seewarte einige Monate unter der gütigen Leitung des Herrn Geheimen Admiralitätsraths Professor Dr. Neumayer vorbereitet; auch stand ihm dessen Rath in Auswahl und Beschaffung der Instrumente zur Seite.

Da der Präsident der Provinz Mato Grosso, Herr Baron von Batovy, auf unsere Wünsche mit grösster Bereitwilligkeit einging, konnte auch der gute Erfolg nicht fehlen. So reisten wir im Jahre 1884 Ende Mai von Cuyabá ab und erreichten Pará Ende October.

Der deutsche Consul in diesem Emporium des Amazonas, Herr Sesselberg, sowie der deutsche Gesandte in Rio de Janeiro, Herr Le Maistre, bereiteten uns den liebenswürdigsten Empfang.

1: Steinen SP7 Bacairi

Die ethnologische Sammlung, welche wir trotz aller Transportschwierigkeiten glücklich und fast ohne Verluste gerettet hatten, ging in den Besitz des Berliner Museums für Völkerkunde über.

Herr Professor Freiherr Karl von Fritsch unterzog sich freundlichst der Bestimmung der unterwegs gesammelten Gesteinsproben, von denen aber leider ein beträchtlicher Theil verloren gegangen war.

Bei der Bearbeitung des linguistischen Materials unterstützte mich eifrigst mein Freund Herr Dr. Georg Wenker in Marburg.

Die Illustrationen sind mit Ausnahme der zehn Separatbilder, welche Herr Johannes Gehrts in Düsseldorf componirte, sowie weniger unterwegs gesammelter Photographien von meinem Vetter Wilhelm von den Steinen nach seinen zahlreichen Reiseskizzen ausgeführt worden. Bei den ethnographischen Tafeln kamen ihm noch einige Photographien zu Hülfe, die ich dem Directorialassistenten am Berliner Museum, Herrn Dr. von Luschan, verdanke.

Dem Buche ist ausser einer ethnographischen und einer einfachen Uebersichtskarte eine Specialkarte des Herrn Dr. Clauss beigegeben, welche letztere der Verlag von Justus Perthes zur Verfügung stellte. In dem Mai- und Juniheft vom Jahre 1886 der Petermann'schen Mittheilungen sind die Ergebnisse unserer meteorologischen und geographischen Arbeiten von Herrn Dr. Clauss in detaillirter Form veröffentlicht. Derselbe hat auch, um eine auf längere Zeit ausgedehnte Beobachtungsreihe zu erhalten, in Cuyabá eine kleine meteorologische Station errichtet; Herr August Karstens, ein dort ansässiger deutscher Schneidermeister, hat sich das höchst anerkennenswerthe Verdienst erworben, die empfindliche Lücke über das meteorologische Wissen im centralen Südamerika nach Kräften auszufüllen, und bereits eine zusammenhängende Serie von Beobachtungen eingeschickt.

Besondern Dank schulde ich noch dem Uebersetzer des „Wappaeus", dem Herrn Capistrano de Abreu in Rio, welcher unermüdlich thätig war, mir Auszüge aus ältern Werken der Bibliotheca Nacional zu verschaffen.

Ich würde kein Ende finden, die Namen so vieler Freunde aufzuzählen, von denen wir auf unserer Reise Liebes erfahren: sie alle aber versichere ich der herzlichsten Dankbarkeit. Wer die Menschen sämmtlich für schlecht und eigennützig halten zu müssen glaubt, der möge in das ferne Ausland wandern, um sich dort zu überzeugen, dass man ihn besser behandelt, als er verdient.

Düsseldorf, im Mai 1886.

KARL VON DEN STEINEN.

1: Steinen SP7 Bacairi

[p. ix]

INHALT.

Seite

Vorwort VII

ERSTES KAPITEL.

Geschichtliches über den Schingú 1

ZWEITES KAPITEL.

Mato Grosso. 14

DRITTES KAPITEL.

Von Asuncion nach Corumbá 21

VIERTES KAPITEL.

Von Corumbá nach Cuyabá. 29

FÜNFTES KAPITEL.

Allgemeines über Cuyabá 40

SECHSTES KAPITEL.

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14. Juni. 6 Uhr 40 Min. früh: Trock. 18.9, Feucht. 18.2, Strat. 8, 8 2 —3.
Wie gestern bringt der Südwind tiefziehende Wolkenmassen.

Heute sind die Leute gar rasch fertig; kurz vor 7 Uhr morgens ab.

Vorherrschend Wiese, ein schmaler harter Pfad durchzieht dieselbe, auf dem sich lustig trotten lässt. Eine Anzahl Ochsen begrüssen uns als erste Abgesandte. Eine weite Strecke hin war der Campo frisch abgebrannt; das Wild soll diese „Queimadas" wegen der salzigen Asche gern aufsuchen. Eine Anzahl Curicacas (Ibis): in der Ferne ein Strauss, dem Pedro und die Hunde vergeblich nachlaufen.

Um 9 Uhr sehen wir das „Aldeamento" der Bakairi von weitem; 4 Häuser: der Sonnenschein täuscht Schieferdächer vor; einige nackte Oberkörper eilen in das Innere, Bekleidete treten heraus. In der Nähe schrumpft die Niederlassung zu echten Palmstrohhütten zusammen.

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Daniel ist zur Stelle und stellt uns dem „Kapitão Reginaldo“ vor. Reginaldo da Silva Nogueira, von Nusswald. Ein Mann in den Vierzigen mit breitem Brustkasten, langem lockigen schwarzen Haar, freundlichem Blick, aber schweigsam; Hut, Hemd, Hose in gutem Zustande.

Allgemeines Händeschütteln. Ein halbes Dutzend, meist junger, breitschulteriger Männer, ebenfalls im Sonntagsanzuge, sitzen auf dem Zaune des Viehhofes. Die Krone der Schöpfung fehlt. — Allmählich rückt der Zug an und alles richtet sich häuslich ein. Zur Begrüssung wird Zuckerrohr gelutscht und ein Schlückchen Branntwein genehmigt.

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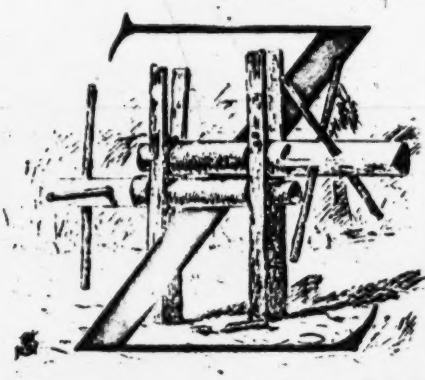
ACHTES KAPITEL.

DAS ERSTE DORF DER BAKAÏRÍ. — MARSCH ZUM PARANATINGA. — DAS ZWEITE DORF DER BAKAÏRÍ.



Zum ersten mal finde ich eine Erwähnung des Namens der Bakaïrí, die folglich schon der ersten Generation der Mato Grosso-Entdecker bekannt gewesen sein müssen, in dem Bericht des José Gonçalves da Fonseca über eine Fahrt von Pará bis in das Quellgebiet des Madeira aus dem Jahre 1749. Indem er den wahrscheinlichen Ursprung des Schingú bespricht, sagt er, dass die zwischen den Quellen des Tapajoz und des Tocantins gelegenen Flüsse, genannt „Bacaris" und „das Mortes", wol als die Quellflüsse des Schingú gelten dürften. — In dem Atlas des Thomas Jeffery vom Jahre 1776 sind die „Bacahyris" am Paranatinga verzeichnet.

Ayras de Cazal bemerkt über unsern Stamm 1817: „Die Baccahirys, welche die den Rio das Mortes benachbarten Gebiete bewohnen, unterhalten einen unaufhörlichen Krieg gegen alle Arten Vierfüssler und Vögel. Bis heute hat dieses Volk den Christen keine Feindseligkeiten zugefügt. Man sagt, dass sie weiss seien und freundlich: ein Grund, weshalb man sie für eine Horde der Paricys ansieht."

Martius lässt sie an den südlichsten Quellen des Schingú wohnen und zählt sie ausserdem an den Quellen des Arinos und Juruena auf. Er ordnet

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sie ebenfalls den Pareci unter, welche über die Wasserscheide zwischen Tapajoz, Madeira und Paraguay zerstreut sind.

Es hat sich nun herausgestellt, dass diese Zusammenstellung der Pareci und der Bakaïri eine irrige gewesen ist. Die bekannten nächsten Verwandten der Bakaïri sitzen, wie ich kurz vorweg andeuten will, nördlich des Amazonenstroms, und ein ihnen etwas entfernter verwandter Stamm, doch derselben Gruppe zugehörig, wohnt im Quellgebiet des Madeira. Mir selbst war nur die Notiz von Martius bekannt, und ich hatte unterwegs keine Ahnung, welches Interesse dieses Völkchen darbot und wie viele Stunden ich später noch über seine Vorzeit nachgrübeln sollte.

Es war ein sehr glücklicher Umstand, dass Reginaldo — der sich immer bereit zeigte eine Cigarrette mit mir zu rauchen, auch mehr und mehr aufthaute und sich allmählich über meine Aufzeichnungen königlich amusirte

Dorf der Bakaïri.

— eine bewunderungswürdige Gabe rascher Auffassung besass und mit einem für den praktischen Gebrauch etwas roh zugeschnittenen Portugiesisch sich deutlich auszudrücken wusste. Eine derartige Gelegenheit ist auch später niemals wieder gekommen. Reginaldo war ein guter Mensch, intelligent und hielt die Zügel seiner Oberhauptschaft in kräftiger, väterlicher Hand.

Es gab zwei Niederlassungen „zahmer" Bakaïri: das Aldeament am Rio novo, wie dieses erste nach einem Nebenbach des Arinos benannt wurde, und das Aldeament am Paranatinga. Beide Dörfer sind noch nicht alt; die Erwachsenen waren sämmtlich noch den Paranatinga aufwärts am „Salto" geboren; doch sind die Bakaïri wol über dieses ganze Gebiet in kleinen Horden verbreitet gewesen, wie daraus hervorgeht, dass sie bis zum Rio das Mortes verzeichnet worden sind. Sie wurden in den zwanziger Jahren, als die Goldsucherexpedition unter Führung des P. Lopez in diese Gegend vordrang, zum Christenthum bekehrt, bei welcher Gelegenheit, wie Reginaldo erzählte, sein Grossvater und viele andere ums Leben kamen.

Wir erkundigten uns eifrig, ob er von einem Flusse jenseit des Paranatinga wisse? Heute, erwiderte er, sei ihnen dieses Gebiet völlig fremd; er erinnere sich jedoch noch aus seiner Jugend, dass man an einen grossen Fluss kommen solle, wenn man vom Paranatinga gegen die aufgehende Sonne wandere, und an diesem Flusse sollten noch Bakaïrí wohnen, die „antiguos", die keine Christen seien.

Die beiden Aldeamente stehen unter der Leitung des „Director dos Indios" in Cuyabá. Reginaldo ist brasilianischer Kapitän, sein Nachfolger als Oberhaupt des Stammes, Joaquim, ist Lieutenant. Dass wir keine Frauen erblickten, rührte daher, dass sie in einem zwei Legoas entfernten Aldeament wohnten; die Hütten, welche wir innehatten, wurden nur gebraucht, wenn es die Landwirthschaft erheischte, oder wenn Besuch da war. Regi-

Kapitän Reginaldo und Frau.

naldo vergass auch ganz, sein Bedauern auszusprechen, dass er uns nur als Strohwitwer begrüssen könne.

Das Dorf zählte 6 Hütten, die Einwohnerschaft betrug 55: 16 Männer, 19 Frauen, 20 Kinder. Die Soldaten waren meist in dem grossen Hause einquartiert, das Reginaldo sonst mit einigen andern bewohnte: ein Rechteck, 57 Schritt lang, 5 Schritt breit, das durch Querwände in eine Anzahl Einzelräume abgetheilt war. Wir hatten das Fremdenhaus inne — es war nur 17 Schritt lang. Das war moderne Construction, von den Ansiedlern erlernt. 20 Minuten entfernt fanden wir noch zwei verlassene Hütten alten Stils; rund, bienenkorbartig. Die grössere hatte 19 Schritt im Durchmesser, aussen hoch hinauf mit Acuristroh bedeckt, während das Gerüst im Innern einen Kreis von $1^1/_2$ m hohen Stützpfählen zeigte, auf dem sich der Korb dieses eigentlich nur aus einem Dach bestehenden Baues mit vielen horizontalen Bambusringen erhob. Oben war ein Luftloch gelassen, eine Anzahl der

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hier sich kreuzenden Gerüststangen ragten nach aussen. Der Eintritt, ein $1^1/_2$ m hohes Loch, war von Pfefferstauden umgeben. Jedenfalls war der Innenraum bei weitem grösser und schöner als in den neuen Häusern.

Die Leutchen führten ein idyllisches Dasein; sie trieben Landbau und Viehzucht, gingen auf die Jagd, pflanzten Mandioca, Bohnen, Mais, Reis, auch etwas Taback und Zucker. Sie waren civilisirt trotz der durchbohrten Ohrläppchen und Nasenscheidewände. Die mittlere Grösse betrug 1,65 m; sie fielen auf durch den breiten und mächtigen Brustkasten. Ihre Haut war gelblich, lehmfarben und ziemlich hell, das Haar der meisten schwarz und leicht lockig oder wellig. Im allgemeinen hatten sie schöne, offene Augen. Die ausgezeichnete Sehschärfe Reginaldo's zeigte sich bei einer Gelegenheit in einer uns alle verblüffenden Weise. Wir bemerkten in weiter Ferne eine

João und Joaquim.

Gestalt im Grase; mit meinem vorzüglichen Feldglase hielt ich sie für den heranreitenden Tupy; die ganze Gesellschaft, unter ihnen Daniel, der sich selten irrte, war mit mir einverstanden; nur Reginaldo, der hinzutrat, lachte und sagte bestimmt, der Nahende sei Chaus, der zu Fuss herankomme. Und er hatte recht.

Alle verstanden wenigstens einige portugiesische Brocken. Mit den Coroá, die sich nach ihrer Angabe Kayacho nennen, leben sie auf gutem Fusse. Es scheint, dass sie ihnen durch ihre Gewehre imponiren; Reginaldo sprach nicht gern über diesen Punkt. Man hatte den Eindruck, dass er seinem innern Gefühl nach doch auf Seite der wilden Indianer gegen die Weissen Stellung nehme. Er nutzte als kluger Mann die von den Brasilianern gebotenen Vortheile aus und verdarb es nicht mit den Barbaren. Die Bakaïrí massos beugen sich vor der Macht, im Innern sind sie dieselben Menschen, wie die Antiguos.

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Wir waren eine Reihe von Tagen fleissig; Claus arbeitete das Itinerar aus, bestimmte die Bodentemperatur, Wilhelm zeichnete, ich nahm Körpermaasse und machte das Glossarium, welches sich im Anhang befindet. Ausser Reginaldo war mir besonders der gutmüthige Antonio behülflich, der sich alles gefallen liess und für sein Leben gern mit uns gegangen wäre. Er wagte aber nicht einmal, den strengen Kapitän um Erlaubniss zu fragen. Auch Castro beschäftigte sich mit Notizen. Mit ihm und dem Cadeten theilten wir die Hütte.

Der Cadet kannte nur zwei Arten der Thätigkeit, er schlief oder ass. Es war aber auch ein Genuss, wieder zwischen vier Wänden zu schlafen, obwol der Wind nachts oft kräftig hindurchpfiff. Und zu essen gab es so

Antonio.

Quirino.

mancherlei, was auf dem Marsche nicht verabreicht wurde. Zuckerrohr war reichlich vorhanden; die gekochte Mandiocawurzel mit gerösteten Speckwürfelchen war ein Gericht für Götter; ein Schweinchen wurde geschlachtet; einige Hühner büssten ihr Leben ein; auch hatten die jungen Burschen eines Tages unter förmlichem Kleingewehrfeuer einen Tapir erlegt; derselbe lieferte ein sehr schmackhaftes Ragout. Die Frauen sandten frische, knusperige „Beijûs“, ein einfaches Gebäck aus Mandiocamehl von der Form und auch ungefähr dem Geschmack der Matzen. Da es nicht an Rapadura fehlte, liess sich jeden Augenblick zur Erfrischung eine „Jacuba“ bereiten, in einer Kürbisschale viel Rapadura, viel Farinha und Wasser nach Belieben. Es erschien sogar Milch. Abends wurden die Kälber von ihren Müttern getrennt; man trieb die Heerde in den „Curral“ und lassirte die Kälber unter grossem Hallo, während ein zahlreiches und dankbares Publi-

kum ringsum auf dem Zaune sass. Das war etwas für Pedro; einer mit höchster Eilfertigkeit hinausstürzenden Kuh sich an den Schwanz zu hängen und diesen Platz unter riesigen Sprüngen möglichst lange zu behaupten — da gab es zu lachen.

Sobald die Dunkelheit eingetreten war, begann das Musiciren. Die Bakaïri hatten es dem Ansiedler des Mato Grosso abgelernt, sich selbst Guitarren zu schnitzen, und spielten diese mit Leidenschaft. Dazu improvisirte man kurze „Verse", ein Lob der Hunde, der Bananen, des Mondes, eines Hauses u. dgl. Eines Abends kamen sie mit ihren originalen und

André.

originellen Stammesinstrumenten zum Vorschein. Sie hatten dieselben charakteristisch genug nahebei im Walde verborgen.

Es waren grosse und kleine Flöten, die Meni und die Kyanuγo. Letztere hat nichts Besonderes; sie ist aus Bambus, man möchte sagen fagottähnlich. Die Meni, aus Vinhaticholz, ist etwas über einen Meter lang; sie wird mit den Füssen gehalten. Auf dem obern Querschnitt befindet sich ein kleines Loch, in welches der Spielende hineinbläst. Nahe unter demselben ist eine viereckige Oeffnung in dem Rohr, wie dasselbe noch eine Reihe kleinerer im untern Theile besitzt. Die Musik ist einfach, will aber gelernt sein. Sie besteht aus fünf Tönen, klingt nicht unangenehm und hat etwas zugleich Sanftes und packend Schauriges, wie der klagende Nachtwind, der in den Kamin bläst, beschrieben wird, wo der Erzähler zu-

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erst Gott dankt, dass er warm und sicher in seinem behaglichen Bette liegt, aber immer wieder dem unheimlichen Wehklagen lauschen muss und schliesslich im Traum den Geist eines Freundes sieht, der gerade im Sterben lag. Wir sassen dicht aneinandergedrängt in dem kleinen Raume; ein mit Fett gefüllter Kürbis, in dem ein Docht brannte, lag auf dem Boden; ich war froh, als der Kürbis auch zu brennen anfing und wir hinaustreten konnten, wo die Sterne glitzerten und wir uns schüttelten — das Grusein war zu Ende.

Bis zum 19. Juni hatten die Weiber es ausgehalten; da kamen sie; Reginaldo hatte sie geholt; ein Dutzend an der Zahl, schritten sie eine hinter der andern durch den Campo, der Vater des Stammes voran.

Doch liess sich an diesem Nachmittage noch keine näher betrachten; der Zug ging in das grosse Haus und verschwand. Reginaldo kam um sich ein Operuglas von uns zu erbitten, das er den Frauen zeigen wollte. Gegen Abend erschienen sie wieder und entfernten sich in demselben Gänsemarsch. Sie schliefen die Nacht ein halbes Stündchen entfernt im Walde.

Am 20. Juni traten sie wieder an; Reginaldo sah köstlich aus an ihrer Spitze; er trug seinen grauen Filzhut, die blaue Kapitänsuniform und weisse Beinkleider, ging barfuss und hatte in jedem Ohrläppchen quer eine blau-weisse Feder stecken. Er war sehr damit einverstanden, dass ihn Wilhelm in unserm seinen Glanze zeichnen müsse. Er ging überdies von der Ansicht aus, in der wir ihn täglich bestärkten, dass wir alle Erkundigungen über die Bakaïri nur anstellten, um sie dem Kaiser von Brasilien wieder zu berichten, — das begriff der Mann wenigstens, und für diesen Zweck war er gern gefällig.

Er begleitete uns auch zu den Frauen; sie waren natürlich barfuss, trugen aber sonst die vollständige Kleidung der Landbewohnerin; die Mehrzahl war schon in einem reifern Lebensalter; ein grosses, kräftiges Mädchen, welche Homer βοῶπις genannt haben würde, gefiel mir am besten. — Die Frau Kapitän, Ines getauft, war still und fromm und sah aus, als ob sie manche Sorge durchgemacht hätte. Wir suchten jeder die Hand zu geben, doch wussten sie offenbar nicht, wozu das diente; als wir ihnen aber Armbänder anlegten und Ohrringe ansteckten, verstanden sie das sogleich. Die Kinder mussten auch etwas haben.

Wilhelm wurde verstattet, Frau Ines hinter dem Hause zu zeichnen, an Messungen der Frauen wagte ich noch nicht zu denken, und schon klopfte das Schicksal an die Pforte.

Sehr unliebsame Entdeckungen über den Zustand des Proviants veränderten die ganze Sachlage.

Schon am 18. Juni hatten wir uns mit Castro geeinigt, höchstenfalls noch drei Tage auf Tupy zu warten; es war bei unserer ungewissen Za-

konnt nicht zu verwundern, wenn wir die gleiche Ankunft nicht besser benutzten. Die Bakairi rechneten bis zum Paranatinga noch 3 Tage; in dem zweiten Abkommen war ein neuer Aufenthalt nötig, sondern Tapy uns dorthin folgen. Betreffs der verlorenen Kleinwaren war unsere Bewegung etwas geringer geworden; Daniel hatte uns sowat auf die Kinderkamm der Bakairi aufmerksam gemacht, um Rio Novo war uns ein ganz kleines, das als Trag benutzt wurde, verhandelt, wir sollten sie am Paranatinga sehen; wenn wir uns entschlossen hätten, uns mit diesen Kinderkamm zu begnügen, hätten wir nur weniger Werkzeuge, die vielleicht noch bei einem oder am Paranatinga wohnenden Fremdlinge zu beschaffen wären. Der Rath war gut.

Bakairi-Gesicht.

Der objectivste Weg der Darstellung ist, glaube ich, der, dass ich unsern Bericht an den Baron von Batovy in wörtlicher Uebersetzung einschalte:

Wir haben die Ehre, Ew. Excellenz über einige Ereignisse zu berichten, welche uns nöthigten, wichtige Veränderungen in unserm Plane vorzunehmen.

Der Kapitän Tapy trennte sich von der Truppe am 7. Juni an dem Lagerplatz des Häuptlings des Nahuas, um einen Gehilfen zu suchen, der bei dem oder angeworbenen Aufstande von Rosario verloren gegangen war. Unglücklicherweise war gerade dieser Gehilfe mit allen Kleinwaaren beladen, obgleich der Kapitän vorgesehen hatte, jene wertheollen Gegenstände auf anderen Thieren zu vertheilen.

Nach unserer Ankunft am Fall des Tombador, am 7. Juni, warteten wir dort bis zum 9. Juni, bis der Kapitän Tapy erschien und uns verständigte, daß er den Gehilfen nicht gefunden habe und die Nachforschung fortsetzen oder neue Kleinwaaren in Rosario beschaffen wolle.

Wir kamen in dem Dorfe der Bakairi am 14. Juni an, wir haben auf den Kapitän Tapy bis heute, 21. Juni, gewartet. Da dies nun bereits der 16. Tag unserer Reise ist, halten wir es für durchaus nothwendig, weiter zu marschiren; wir haben schon viele kostbare und unwiederbringliche Zeit verloren. Es fehlen

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Wir rechneten, wir überschlugen unsern Bestand, jeder von uns hatte für den dunkelsten Fall, dass wir irgendwo anders als an der Schlaga-Mündung von unsern Fahrten aufnehmen würden, einige Pfund Sterling mitgenommen; unser Gesammtvorrath betrug ca. 300 Milreis (600 Mark). Wir hatten den Vortheil, dass wir die besten Leute auswählen durften, und legten diesem Umstande einen grossen Werth bei; denn wenn einige unserer bisherigen Reisegefährten zu den schlechten Elementen der entgegenseiner Besatzung gehörten, war es auch gewiss, dass ein Theil der Leute gerade den Pöbelhaft verträglich für die Eigenschaften der Zuverlässigkeit, Gewandtheit und Ausdauer verdienten.

Unsere ging hervorragend auf unser Projectiren ein; 12 Leute sollten leiten, an Ihrer Spitze der Sergeant und der Cabo; wir verpflichteten sie bis Rosario und gaben ihnen zwei Orbaes mit, während ebenfalls nicht den Eingeln zu bestimmen wünschen, die Last des Lebens bis an den Schlagaquellen zu tragen.

In der Begleitung Tuyy's befanden sich der alte Entdeckt Jacuarie und der Indian Gabriel von Pilot.

Die Nacht dann, die uns weiter begleiteten, waren Sérgeado Cruzeiro, der übrige Mitgeschwarte und Zwei Maria von Pilot, der Unterpilotin Roberto, Sawel, Sotyr, Quintiliano, Mordica, Irineu, Rufino, Diogo, Cleto, Manoel, der Cuiaba, mit Ausnahme von drei eingeborenen Bogen, Mulatten oder sein indianischer Abstammung. Irineu war Paragayer und sprach die Langue general.

Wir wollten uns auf der Faxenda am Paranatinga verproviantiren; die Maultiere sollten von dort an nur als Lastthiere gebraucht werden, und der Stab sollen wir die Mannschaft zu Fuss gehen.

Meteorologische Aufzeichnungen im Bakairidorfe.

15. Juni. 7 Uhr früh: Trock. 17.0, Feucht. 15.6, Gas. v. 6, 0 9—5.
8 Uhr morgens: Wasser des Sodes 15.6, Luft 19.0.
6 Uhr nachmittags: Trock. 27.0, Feucht. 18.8, Windfahne 2°, SW 3—5.
Bodentemperatur (Maximumthermometer mit dünner Schicht Thermometer bedeckt): 11.0. Temperatur 0.5 m tief im Boden: 25.7 (Bodenoffnung 6 cm, nicht ausgefüllt.)
9°, Uhr abends: Trock. 19.0, Feucht. 17.0, Wet. 9 9—5.
16. Juni. 6°, Uhr abends: Bodentemperatur Min. 15.0, Bodentemp. 16.0.
7 Uhr früh: Trock. 18.6, Feucht. 16.7, Wolken und Wind — 0.
6°, Uhr morgens: Wasser des Sodes 15.5, Luft 14.0.
10 Uhr 40 Min. vormittags: 1 Thl.0, 11 Thl.4.
3 Uhr nachmittags: Trock. 31.5, Feucht. 19.0, Bodentemperatur Min. 16.0.
9°, Uhr abends: Trock. 19.8, Feucht. 17.0, Wet.
17. Juni. 7 Uhr früh: Trock. 14.0, Feucht. 19.1, Wet. Bodentemperatur Min. 14.7.

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2 Uhr nachmittags: Trock. 32.8, Feucht. 20.2, Cum. 3, NNO 2—3, Boden (30 cm Tiefe) 25.2 (Lehm mit Sand vermischt), Bestrahlung 48.2.
5½ Uhr nachmittags: Wasser des Bodens 20.5; Luft 21.7.
9 Uhr abends: Trock. 18.0, Feucht. 14.6, Cum. SW 1, Wind — 0.

18. Juni. 7 Uhr früh: Trock. 13.7, Feucht. 14.8, Bodenausstrahlung 15, Bodentemp. 25.2.
10 Uhr 40 Min. vormittags: I 735.4, II 735.4.
2 Uhr nachmittags: Trock. 30.4, Feucht. 18.5, Cum. a. 5, N 1—2; Bodenbestrahlung Max. 17.2, Bodentemp. (30 cm) 25.2.
4 Uhr nachmittags: I 733.4, II 732.4.
9 Uhr abends: Trock. 18.6, Feucht. 15.9, klar.

19. Juni. 7 Uhr früh: Trock. 14.8, Feucht. 15.3, klar.
10 Uhr 20 Min. abends: I 734.0, II 731.2.
2 Uhr 10 Min. nachmittags: Trock. 31.7, Feucht. 19.0, Bodenbestr. Max. 41.2, Bodentemp. (30 cm) 26.0.
10 Uhr 20 Min. abends: Trock. 18.0.

20. Juni. 7 Uhr früh: Trock. 14.1, Feucht. 13.0, Strat. W., Wind — 0.
8 Uhr morgens: Bodentemp. 25.6, Ausstrahlung 15.4 mit 6½, Uhr früh.
2 Uhr nachmittags: Trock. 31.0, Feucht. 19.4, Cum. 3, N 1—2, Bodenbestrahlung Max. 41.9 mit 12°, Uhr mittags.
9°, Uhr abends: Trock. 17.9, Feucht. 14.3, klar.

21. Juni. 7 Uhr früh: Trock. 11.4, Feucht. 12.0, klar.

Die Ceremonie heute Morgen vollzog sich ziemlich glatt; Cuatro hielt eine Rede, die Angewählten waren bereit zu folgen, je der eine und andere der Zurückgebliebenen bezeugte seine Unzufriedenheit, dass man ihn nicht auch mitnehmen wolle. Der Sergent zeigte sich wenig überrascht; der Cadet verfolgte den Hergang mit ruhiger Theilnahme für die Leute, er fiel aus den Wolken, als auch er verwählt wurde. Eine Stunde später zog eine Karawane aus der Richtung auf, in der sie abgegangen waren, das Letzte hoffentlich, was uns von ihnen vor Augen kommt. Die Berichte an den Präsidenten und ein kurzer Brief an Tapy, in dem wir erklärten, dass wir kein Vertrauen mehr für seine Person zu hegen im Stande seien und unter keinen Umständen die Reise mit ihm gemeinschaftlich fortsetzen würden, hatten wir dem Sergeanten mitgegeben.

Um 1 Uhr 30 Min. nachmittags ab. Uns begleitet auf einer alten weissen Mähre der Bakairilieutenant Joaquim, der uns den kürzesten Weg führen will; Geld beansprucht er glücklicherweise nicht, sondern erklärt sich mit einigen Hemden und Hosen zufriedengestellt.

Wir passirten den Rio Novo, ca. 15 Schritt breit, bis ½ m tief. Ein Ochse, der zwei Packsättel trug, hinkte bedenklich, legte sich und musste an Ungunsten eines Maultheiers entlastet werden.

Bunge bekam neuen gefährlichen Gesellschaft auf, einen wolgroßen Wespenschwarm von einem Baum entführend. Die Wespen marschirten

während den hartnäckigen Menschen, der immer wieder zu seinem Beutestück zurückkehrte, nachdem er es, wie toll mit den Armen durch die Luft fuchtelnd, mehrmals fallen gelassen und wie vom Winde dahergestöbert mit ihm durch die Wiese jagte. Endlich kam er stolz, als wenn er zum Geburtstage einen Bannkuchen überreichen wollte, mit seinem Korbe, der leider keinen Honig enthielt, herangeschritten.

Wir übernachten inmitten eines Wildchens; viele Schlingpflanzen klettern an den schlanken Bäumen empor; am Bache hohe Stauden und wilde Cana. Freudig begrüssen uns die Moskitos. Warben werden nicht mehr angestellt. Im Walde ist man vor Pfeilen sicher.

22. Juni.

Sandiger Boden und dichter Campo. Es selbst sich, selbst wenn er abgebrannt ist, in dem „Campo cerrado" höchstens Kartoffeln pflanzen lassen. Wir überschreiten den Quilombo-Bach und gelangen damit in das bereits dem Paranatinga tributäre Gebiet.

Der Teufel, s. v., schwirrt in einem Bienenkorbe; die Thiere, schwarz mit gelbgestreiftem Hinterkörper von der Grösse der Fliegen, stechen zwar nicht, sind aber unglaublich lästig, da sie sich nicht nur auf der Brust, fürstlich Ordensstern bildend, festsetzen, die Strümpfe schwarz überziehen u. dgl., sondern ihre dicken, ekelhaften Körper auch allerorts unter der Kleidung hervorklimmen werden können. Quintiliano hat einen Bienenstamm, in dem sie heulten, umgehauen; die jungen Bienen schwärmen sinnlos erbärmlich.

23. Juni.

Wilhelm, Castro und ich, jeder einen brechenden Feuerbrand schwingend, weckten Chuma um 5 Uhr; er feiert heute seinen dritten Geburtstag fern von Mattero, den ersten hat er, als wir die Linie passirten, den zweiten im winterlichen Süd-Georgien begangen.

Welch ein Geist ist in die Maskhiere gefahren? Castro's „rainha-ana" (?) hatte nicht die geringste Lust, sich vom Platze zu bewegen, sodass sein Herr den Wunsch unterdrückte, ihm eine Kugel durch den Kopf zu jagen. Ein anderes brannte, von einer Wespe gestochen, mit den klappernden Bohrmaschinen durch, und mein Pinscher (Pfeifer) setzte sich erschreckt hinter ihm her in Galop, während ich gerade Taback schnitt — barsch, nach amerikanischer Manier mitten durch den Bauch hindurch, als gäbe es Kängurus zu jagen.

Eine längere Strecke dichten Waldes, in dem die besonders eine gigantische Armen bewunderten, führte uns an den krystallklaren Rio Verde, der für Fussgänger mit einigen Bannstämmen überbrückt war. Hier sahen wir die ersten Seringueiras, deren Saft den Kautschuk liefert. Sie

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gleichen in etwas den Buchen; die hohen, lange unverzweigt bleibenden Stämme recken gegenwärtig fast blätterlose Aeste in die Luft. Wir schnitten sie an; die Milch, dick, weiss, legt sich wie fettige Kuhmilch auf die Zunge und schmeckt wie frisch abgepellte Wallnuss. Der Cadet, erinnerten wir uns, hatte behauptet, dass man viel davon essen könne. Wir fürchteten aber den Gummiüberzug im Magen.

21. Juni.

Der Morgenritt durch den Campo cerrado hat seinen eigenthümlichen Reiz. Ich gebe zu, im October früh nach Sonnenaufgang durch die fruchtbehangenen duftigen Obstgelände des Taunus zu spazieren, mag, poetisch und prosaisch genommen, schöner sein. Die Sonne steht noch niedrig. Der Himmel, wolkenlos, gleicht einer bläulichen Milchglasglocke. Von den Blättern blinkt der Thau, dem diese skrofulöse Natur ihr Dasein schuldet; die verkrüppelten Bäume werfen lange, schmale Schatten über das braunröthlich verfärbte Gras. Die Luft ist unbewegt, keine Halmspitze zittert, man fühlt wie sie sich langsam erwärmt. Zahlreich liegen welke Blätter auf dem Boden; die lebendigen auf den Bäumen zeigen vielleicht zum grössten Theil ein gesundes frisches Grün; viele aber sind zernagt und durchlöchert, die dicken lederartigen mit dunkeln Flecken bedeckt. Da das Laub spärlich ist und gewöhnlich nur den Enden der Zweige aufsitzt, ist der ganze Vordergrund mit den krummen Stamm- und Astformen ausgefüllt, deren die Phantasie für Märchen von Hexenspuk und verzauberten Besenstielen bedarf.

Nicht wenige Bäume sind nackt und kahl; von andern stehen nur noch die dünnen Stämpfe; auf dem Reitthiere einen Zweig nachzerrend, läuft man Gefahr, den ganzen Baum mitzunehmen. Sie sehen vielfach aus wie angebrannt und angekohlt; so scharf setzt sich oft Schwarz gegen Hellgrau auf der in liegende oder stehende Plättchen unendlich zerklüfteten Borke ab.

Nur wenige Blumen schmücken den verwilderten Obstgarten; am häufigsten finden sich blaue Glocken, andere sitzen auf hohen Stengeln und überragen das Gras bis Augenhöhe.

Zwischendurch stehen unförmliche Lehmstalaktiten, meist verlassene Ameisenbauten.

Im Westen steht eine bleigraue, am obern Rande gekräuselte Wolkenbank auf, „une frio horrivel", wie Castro befürchtet; nur Abwechslung eine „fringem de S. João".

Ein leichter Windstoss bläst momentan die schweigende Natur. Er rüttelt eine Anzahl Mücken auf, und eine dicke Hummel summt vorüber.

In der Truppe wird nicht viel gesprochen; mit mechanischer Gleich-

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MARSCH DURCH DEN SERTÃO.

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mässigkeit schwanken die Ochsen, wegen der über die Lastkörbe gespannten Häute schwerfälligen Kutschen nicht unähnlich, den in sanften Schlangenwindungen gebogenen Pfad voraus. Eine prächtige Staffage bilden die Reiter in ihrem mexikanischen Habitus, den breitrandigen Strohhut gegen die Sonne geneigt, das Gewehr über den Rücken, im buntgestreiften Hemd, die rothe wollene Decke oder einen Sack hinter dem Sattel aufgeschnallt.

Die Monotonie ermüdet. Jeder blickt gerade vor sich nieder, und wehrt sich nur wenig gegen den die Sinne leise umfangenden Schlummer; er schrickt zusammen, wenn der Hut oder die Flinte an einen Ast stösst, und erwacht erst völlig, wenn ein Ochse plötzlich seitwärts in den Busch abschwenkt und die Leute unter allgemeinem „que diavo" die Ordnung herzustellen suchen.

Schnell steigt die Sonne; das Laub wird hell beleuchtet; nur die breiten Schatten der Thiergestalten fallen in dem Grase noch auf. Der eine oder andere pfeift ein Melodiechen, ohne es selbst zu merken. Ein Paar kreischender Papagaien fliegt hoch vorüber.

Die Garirobapalme wird häufiger; wir steigen abwärts und treten aus dem Cerrado auf eine Wiese heraus. Die feinen, straffen Grashalme sind schon trocken, und über die Fläche verbreitet das glitzernde Spiel von Wind und Sonne stete Bewegung. Ein merkwürdiges Bild. Die Wiese umzieht, scharf abgesetzt, wie eine glatte Bahn, hufeisenförmig eine Mauer hochstämmigen und vollbelaubten Waldes; dort nimmt ein Bach, man möchte auf ein paar Meter bestimmen wo, seinen Ursprung. Eine echte „Cabeceira". Wir können der dichten Vegetation halber die Wegrichtung, welche mitten hindurch führt, nicht beibehalten. Wir umreiten den Wald bis zum entsprechenden Punkte auf der andern Seite; an dem Scheitel des Hufeisens ist der Boden morastig. In der Wiese selbst gibt es auch nicht ein einziges Bäumchen; nur stehen gewöhnlich, einige Schritte abseits vom Hochwaldstreifen, wie Offiziere längs der Colonne, elegante Buritipalmen.

Bei dem Wiesenritt athmet man auf; das Gemüth fühlt sich von dem Druck der Langeweile befreit. Der musikalische Hornist jodelt auf brasilianische Manier und scheucht drei Araras auf; bewundernd blicken wir den bunten Vögeln nach, deren Schwingen sich allmählich mit einem entzückend duftigen Blau verlieren.

Wieder durchwandern wir den Campo; nach kurzem Marsche haben wir eine neue Wiese und Cabeceira vor uns; dort hat die Avantgarde etwas erlebt. Claus und Daniel, mit dem Bakaïri voraus, sahen einen Jaguar aus dem Campo vorbrechend durch die Wiese springen; ehe das Vetterlin-Gewehr schussgerecht gewesen, war er schon im Walde verschwunden. Daniel und Joaquim eilen ihm nach; statt der Unze be-

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gegnen sie einer grossen Wasserschlange, die Daniel in Stücke haut; ein Hund, der furchtlos auf die Sucuriú losfuhr, hat eine leichte Wunde davongetragen.

Die Cabeceira ist die des Ribeirão Caixão; die grosse sumpfige Wiese verursacht ernstliche Schwierigkeiten. Daniel und Joaquim legen eine Strasse aus Palmblättern und -stengeln hinüber; aber gerade dort stürzen fast sämmtliche Maulthiere. Sie gerathen mit den Vorderbeinen bis an den Leib in den „Pantanal", und nur durch allgemeines Zerren, Ziehen und Wälzen bringen wir sie wieder zum Stehen. Alle Last wird abgeladen und auf den Schultern über die Stelle getragen. Die Ochsen, theilweise den Weg selbständig suchend, kommen ohne Unfall zur andern Seite.

Es war erst 10 Uhr, doch die von Thieren und Menschen überstandene Arbeit machte es nothwendig, die Mittagsrast früher anzusetzen. Zu unserer Ueberraschung erschien plötzlich eine kleine Karavane von Kautschuksuchern unter Führung des Cuyabaners Elisco, die an dem Flüsschen Beijaflor, unserm heute in Aussicht genommenen Reiseziel, gearbeitet hatten. Elisco war mit seinem Ergebnisse (15 Arroben) unzufrieden; seine Leute waren alle am Fieber erkrankt, er selbst sah stark abgemagert aus und zitterte heftig an den Händen, wenn er sich eine Cigarrette anzündete.

Den Nachmittag marschirten wir durch ein breites Thal, das eine Anzahl ausgetrockneter Bachbetten mit rothem Sandsteingrunde enthielt. Im Osten wurde die Serra jenseit des Paranatinga verheissungsvoll sichtbar. Die Hügelrücken fielen mit einer Böschung von 15 in die Ebene ab.

Das Nachtquartier schlugen wir auf dem jenseitigen Ufer des Beijaflor (Blumenküsser, Name des Kolibri) auf, eines 60 Schritt breiten Flüsschens. Der rothe Sandstein bildete zwei natürliche Brücken, indem das Wasser durch Spalten seinen Weg suchte oder eine Platte oberflächlich überströmte. Unzählige Strudellöcher dicht nebeneinander, eins war $^1/_2$ m tief, cylindrisch und nur 5 cm breit. Eine hübsche Insel theilte den Fluss in zwei Arme. Wieder setzte die Passage der Ochsen erhebliche Schwierigkeiten, keiner von uns hat in seinem ganzen Leben soviel an Ochsenschwänzen gezogen wie heute. Einem Thiere musste auch wieder der Bart geräuchert werden, und mit so stoischem Gleichmuthe liess es sich anbrennen, dass man annehmen darf, die Geschichte von Mucius Scävola würde unter Ochsen gar kein Aufsehen erregt haben. Ich nahm ein mit allem Comfort ausgestattetes Bad: Kübel, Sitz, Fussplatte, der Sandstein lieferte alles im saubersten Zustande. Castro ging nachts mit Pedro fischen; er brachte eine kleine Piranha heim; diese wurde wieder als Köder zerschnitten, ohne dass Weiteres erbeutet wurde. Der Fluss hatte alles zurück, was er hergegeben.

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25. Juni. (Rio Beijaflor) 7 Uhr früh: Trock. 13.7, Feucht. 12.0, beleckt 10. 8., frische Nacht.
10 Uhr vormittags: I 740.0, II 729.6, Trock. 20.4.
8 Uhr 35 Min. abends: I 733.8, II 724.0, Trock. 16.4.

Daniel hat in der Nähe ein kleines Besitzthum, das er besuchte, und einen Freund, der uns Mais für die Maulthiere liefern sollte. Der Umstand hat uns fast einen Tag gekostet; denn wir merkten später, dass wir ihm zu Liebe einen Umweg hatten machen müssen; um 10 Uhr kam der Freund, Namens Matta Grande (Grosser Wald), an, ein in seinen Aeussern höchst verwilderter Mulatte. Mit ihm seine schwangere Gattin, die mich consultiren wollte. Für die Arznei schnitt sich der Mann von einer Gariroba die Flasche ab, von einer Buriti den Stöpsel und dichtete letztern mit einem Stückchen Maisblatt.

Flussaufwärts neue Passage über den Beijaflor mit vieler Arbeit. Auf dem steilen Ufer gegenüber musste ein Aufgang gegraben werden. Tarugo erjagte ein Reh; Joaquim verfolgte ein zweites zu Pferde; er galopirte Carrière, vortrefflich sitzend, das Gewehr geschickt von der Schulter nehmend; in seiner rothen Decke wie der Indianer auf den Bildern, doch der flinke Zweihufer entrann, ehe ihm der Weg abgeschnitten war.

Es war ein schwerer Tag gewesen; in den Hügeln, die wir zu passiren hatten, waren wir auf allerlei Irrwege gerathen; wir lagerten bei dem Zusammenfluss zweier Bäche, von denen der grössere ein Quellfluss des Beijaflor war. Der Rehbraten, etwas zäh, und einige Fische lieferten ein gutes Mahl.

Die Leute zünden Feuer an, wo sie können. Am letzten Rastort hinterliessen wir einen förmlichen Waldbrand, hier wurde die Hide angezündet; die wogende Flammenlinie bot in der Dunkelheit ein prächtiges Schauspiel. Der Wind trieb hohe flackernde Zungen auf. Eine biterkalte Nacht; ich lag geschützter in meiner Hängematte, die andern klagten sehr. Castro behauptete, nicht geschlafen zu haben. Südwind und zwar in einzelnen Stössen mit Stärke 6 geht bei dieser Temperaturschwankung von 30° mittags auf 7° bei Tagesanbruch über das leicht Erträgliche. Es ist schwer zu begreifen, wie Braga und der Corneta, die nur Leinwandlappen als Rest aller Kleidung am Leibe haben, nur in den Mantel gehüllt, die Kälte aushalten. Man sieht freilich oft mitten in der Nacht eine klapernde Gestalt sich erheben, die mit zitternden Händen das Feuer schürt. Nebeneinander auf dem Ochsenfell schlafen ist jetzt besser als in den dünnen feuchten Hängematten liegen; die wegen ihrer Kleinheit immer über kurz oder lang die Füsse verrätherisch preisgeben.

26. Juni. 7¼ Uhr früh: I 734.0, II 725.6, Trock. 13.6. Ganze Nachtscharfer 8 5—6.

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Ewig dieselben uninteressanten Sandhügel, alle Viertelstunden eine neue Rinne und Schwierigkeiten mit den Thieren. Der „Stern“ benannte Ochse musste zurückgelassen werden; nachdem man ihn 2 km weit Schritt für Schritt vorgeschoben hatte und endlich nicht mehr wusste, ob die Thier- oder Menschenquälerei grösser sei.

In weiter Ferne erschien die Serra Azul, die wir nach den jetzt schon ganz unbrauchbaren Karten überschreiten mussten. Die Pinselstümpfe der abgebrannten Graskuppen sehen wie eine Polypenfauna auf dem Meeresboden aus; zwischen ihnen harte, schwarze Bröckel, in grössern Stücken schlackenartig.

Der Gavião schwebt über der Queimada nach Beute ausspähend. Zwei Füchse, Lobosinhos, werden von den Hunden aufgejagt, mit erhobenem Schwanz springen sie wie Katzen durch das Gras; beide entkamen trotz der eifrigsten Verfolgung durch geschickte Seitensätze; der eine rettete sich in ein Loch und war durch Graben und Räuchern nicht hervorzulocken.

Joaquim bemerkte einen Ameisenbären und ritt mit Wilhelm, denselben zu erlegen. Er galopirte flott und lassirte den seltsamen Wanderer des Sertão, der von Nachmittag bis Mitternacht in Bewegung sein soll, um neue Ameisencolonien zu besuchen. Wilhelm, dessen Maulthier bei seinem Anblick in panischem Schrecken kehrt machte, hatte ihm eine Kugel hinters Ohr geschossen.

Der „Tamanduá“ lässt sich leicht zu Fuss einholen; die Leute, inzwischen herbeigeeilt, schlugen ihm mit den schweren Messerrücken auf den Rüssel und den Kopf; allein es dauerte lange bis er todt war, und die Abhäutung hatte wol schon etwas früher begonnen. Die Mannschaft war aufgeregt vor Freude. Sie zogen die gummiartige Zunge hervor, die wie eine Schlange aussieht, und streichelten die platten Schwanzhaare, welche man mit Seegras verwechseln könnte. Sie legten besonders Werth auf die abgeschnittenen Klauen, welche — wie applicirt, weiss ich nicht — Nachkommenschaft verhüten sollen.

Nachmittags erreichten wir die Fazenda am Corrego Fundo (tiefer Bach). Für ihren Hauptzweck, die Viehzucht, ist sie ausgezeichnet gelegen; alles Wiese, bergauf, bergab, zum Theil von Bächen begrenzt, sodass die Thiere leicht zu finden sind. Wald längs der Wasserläufe. Das Vieh geht nach Rosario und Diamantino. Fünf ziemlich ärmliche Häuser, resp. Hütten, wurden von mehrern verwandten Familien bewohnt.

Unverfälscht erklingt hier der Matogrossenser Dialekt; die Wörter werden sehr breit gesprochen und gedehnt; dem s-Laut geht ein t vorher (eu atšo [acho] bem).

Der Fazendeiro kaum uns Maismehl, das aber erst gemahlen werden

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muss, Bohnen, Speck, Ochsen überlassen, Farinha von Mandioca nur wenig; Rapadura, Taback, Branntwein gibt es nur für den Gebrauch im Hause.

Das Fleisch des Ameisenbären sagt mir wegen seines öligen Geschmacks nicht zu; ich finde es begreiflich, dass die Hunde das Fleisch von drei Thieren, dem Tamanduá, dem Tatú (Gürtelthier) und dem Kágado (Landschildkröte) verschmähen: es ist bei allen drei mit Oel durchtränkt, freilich zumeist bei dem erstern, während mir das argentinische doch auch fette Tatú gar nicht übel geschmeckt hat; es mag viel an der Zubereitung liegen.

Die Schwiegermutter im Hause, eine robuste, freundliche Frau, erzählt uns, dass die Coroá im vorigen Jahre am hellen Tage die Fazenda angegriffen hätten. Viele Schüsse und viel Geschrei vertrieb den Feind, ohne dass auf einer Seite Blut geflossen wäre.

27. Juni. (Corrego fundo) 7 Uhr früh: Trock. 11,6, Feucht. 9,0, klar, SW 2.
10¾ Uhr vormittags: I 736,4, II 726,0.
2 Uhr nachmittags: Trock. 27,5, Feucht. 16,0, S 1—2.
4½ Uhr nachmittags: I 735. 6, II 723. 6.
9 Uhr abends: Trock. 17,1 Feucht. 12,6, klar, SSW 1.

Es sind vorläufig bestellt: 4 Arroben (à 16 kg) Mandiocamehl, 4 Arr. Maismehl (beides à 3 Milreis) . .
2 Arr. Reis (à 4 Milreis) 34
5 Arroben Speck (à 9 Milreis). 45
2 Ochsen (à 18 Milreis) 36
115 Milreis.

Einige Nachträge kommen dazu, von den Bakaïri am Paranatinga dürfen wir auch noch mancherlei erwarten — es wird schon gehen.

Drei Mann konnten das grosse Schwein nicht bewältigen, es wurde mit einem Schuss getödtet. Man holte uns, der Wägung des Specks beizuwohnen. Es war nur ein Achtpfundgewicht vorhanden. Um 3 andere Achtpfundgewichte künstlich herzustellen, hatte man ad I einen Stein, ad II einen Beutel Maiskörner, ad III ein Stück Fleisch mit dem Urgewicht gleich schwer gemacht. Alles zusammen stellte eine Arrobe dar und wurde an der Wage aufgehängt. Letztere war ein in der Mitte an einem hängenden Seile befestigter Stab. Mit vieler Förmlichkeit, indem man stets die Meinung der andern Partei einholte, und mit übrigens sehr guter Schätzung wurde Arrobe für Arrobe abgeschnitten und gewogen. Ein Arbeiter hatte seine redliche Mühe, die vier Gewichte an dem Ende des Wägestabs zusammenzuhalten, sie waren aneinander gebunden mit einem langen Stricke, mit dem ein im Hemdchen auf dem Boden sitzendes Kind spielte. Der unglückliche Maisbeutel fiel einmal herab, und die Körner rollten über die Erde.

1: Steinen SP7 Bacairi

Manoel hat Muskelrheumatismus im Genick; die berliner Senfpflaster wirken auf seine schwarze Lederhaut so gut wie gar nicht.

Während ein Tukan und ein kleiner Affe, die nahebei erschossen worden sind, am Spiesse braten, werden merkwürdige Geschichten über die öffentliche Sicherheit in der Stadt Mato Grosso und Umgegend erzählt. Es sei nichts Seltenes, dass ein höherer Offizier mit der Etappe der Soldaten grosse Speculationen in Vieh mache und solche, die ihm dabei hinderlich sind, aus dem Wege räume. — Man habe einmal drei Commandanten hintereinander vergiftet. — Ein reicher Fazendeiro, João Carlos, habe eine Menge Menschen tödten lassen. Wenn ihm ein Pferd gefallen habe, das aber nicht käuflich war, sei es den andern Tag todt gefunden, und der widerspenstige Besitzer sei oft demselben Schicksal verfallen. — Ich gebe die Geschichten wieder, nicht als ob ich an ihre Thatsächlichkeit unbedingt glaubte, sondern weil es mir bemerkenswerth scheint, dass keiner gegen ihre Wahrheit Widerspruch erhebt, jeder also von ihrer Möglichkeit wenigstens überzeugt ist. Nach Manoel's Beschreibung muss Fort Principe, wo er fünf Jahre gewesen sei, ein allerliebster Aufenthalt sein. Acht Mann Besatzung unter einem Lieutenant, fünf Frauen. Die Lebensmittel wurden flussaufwärts weit aus Bolivien bezogen.

Man glaubt sich eben nicht alles, das beruht auf Gegenseitigkeit. Dass wir in Deutschland andere Sterne sähen als in Brasilien, das war in den Augen Manoel's etwas dick aufgetragen. „Die Deutschen haben andere Früchte, andere Thiere und einen andern Himmel!“ Er schüttelte sich vor Lachen und, als wir auf der Thatsache ernsthaft bestanden, war er anscheinend ein wenig gekränkt und klagte wieder über seine Genickschmerzen.

28. Juni. (Corrego fundo) 7 Uhr früh: Trock. 10.0, Feucht. 9. 1, klar, windstill. 10 Uhr vormittags: I 736.5, II 725.6. Hypsometer 98.660, Luft 25.0. 2½ Uhr nachmittags: Trock. 30.1, Feucht. 17.0, klar, windstill.

Langwierige Geschäfte in Eisenwaaren. Der Fazendeiro ist zäh und mistrauisch wie ein Indianer. Er schleppte alles ausrangirte Werkzeug, das er im Hause hatte, herbei, um es zum Einkaufspreise zu verkaufen. Die besseren sind ihm ja selbst in der That auch für kurze Zeit kaum entbehrlich. Er gebrauchte mit Vorliebe den Vergleich, dass der Verlust dieser Geräthe dem Abschneiden eines Beines gleich komme. Das Wichtigste, einige Beile und Hacken, erstanden wir glücklich.

Die Leute waren mit Schlachten und Maisstampfen beschäftigt; Joaquim und Daniel begaben sich gestern bereits nach dem Aldeament. Wilhelm und ich mit wenigen Soldaten wollten heute gleichfalls dorthin vorrücken, um die Bakairi zu studiren und auch bei ihnen die Beschaffung von Proviant in Gang zu bringen.

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SP7 Bacairi

Claus, Castro und die Mehrzahl blieben in der Fazenda. Der Besitzer ritt seinerseits zu einem 8 Legoas entfernten Gevatter, der Farinha ablassen sollte. So war alles in Thätigkeit.

Wilhelm und ich kamen nach einem vierstündigen Marsch über eine Reihe von Hügelzügen, einige Zuflüsschen des Paranatinga überschreitend, in der Dämmerung an. Wir hätten darauf schwören mögen, im Bergischen oder Westphälischen zu sein — Bauerhäuser vor dem Busch, die Queimada wie Kartoffelacker; — auch begannen wir in der einbrechenden Dunkelheit leicht zu phantasieren: auf einem kahlen Hügel in der Ferne sahen wir deutlich eine Irrenanstalt im neuesten Pavillonsystem.

Kapitän Caetano „Mémo".

Die schauderhaften Hunde, die uns kläffend entgegeneilten, waren wenig geeignet, uns die klare und nüchterne Auffassung der Wirklichkeit zurückzugeben. Diese Köter, klein, Skeletpräparate, mit spitzer Schnauze, hellem weingelblichem Fell und glasig wässerigen Augen, sahen aus, als ob sie nachts auf dem Kirchhofe die Todten aus den Gräbern kratzten.

Von dem alten Kapitän Caetano und einigen jungen Burschen empfangen, wurden wir in dem Fremdenhause untergebracht. Der Begriff deckt sich mit Fremdenzimmer oder Fremdenstall. Einziges Möbel ein trogartiges unfertiges Rindenkanu auf einem Gestell in der Ecke, das wir als Commode und Tisch benutzen durften.

Das Aldeamento am Paranatinga war kleiner als das am Rio Novo. Auch schien die Ordnung des Gemeinwesens bedenklich erschüttert. Der alte Kapitän Caetano, trotz seines schwarzen Haares und den Achtzigen

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nahe, war auf Veranlassung der Martyriosexpedition, welche mit Hülfe der Bakaïrí über den Paranatinga setzte und ein Stück des Sertão in nördlicher Richtung durchzogen hatte, zu Gunsten eines jüngern Mannes, Felipe, seiner Oberherrlichkeit entkleidet worden: die Bakaïrí fühlten sich natürlich mehr dem Kapitän Caetano als dem Kapitän Felipe zum Gehorsam verpflichtet, und die Folge war, dass jeder sich möglichst unabhängig machte und auf eigene Faust arbeitete. Zudem war der Stamm durch den Sarampão, eine epidemische Erkrankung, vor ungefähr acht Jahren schwer betroffen worden: die Brasilianer geben den Indianern einen Theil der Schuld an der Zahl der Todesfälle, weil sie in der Fieberhitze immer in den Fluss gelaufen seien.

Zur Zeit unsers Besuchs setzte sich die Bakaïrí-Bevölkerung zusammen aus 5 Männern, 5 Weibern, 3 Kindern, — abwesend waren 5 Männer, 3 Weiber, 1 Knabe, deren Rückkehr zum Theil nicht mehr erwartet wurde. In den Stamm aufgenommen waren ausserdem 2 Pareci-Frauen, deren eine den Abwesenden beizuzählen ist, und 2 Cajibí-Frauen. Endlich hatten sich zwei Brasilianer, Kautschuksucher, die sich von dem Fieber im Dorfe erholt, ankrystallisirt, ein Mulatte Luis und ein gewisser Martin, der eine Paraguayerin, Carlotta, zur Frau besass, mit einem Söhnchen. Im ganzen waren 20 Individuen anwesend.

Luis, der ein abenteuerliches Leben geführt, ein „philosopho", wie er sich selbst, „conversador", wie ihn sein Freund Daniel nannte, war in die Verhältnisse genau eingeweiht; er schwatzte unendlich, war wol auch nicht durchaus zuverlässig, machte sich aber nützlich, da das Portugiesisch des Caetano, des besten Kenners der Sprache, aus einem ungemein bescheidenen Wortvorrath bestand; „esse mémo" — „stimmt auffallend" zu deutsch — war die Quintessenz seines Wissens, sodass ihn die Soldaten bald nur noch den „Capitão Mémo" nannten. Luis behauptete, Caetano sei Sohn von Bakairí-Vater und -Mutter, doch habe sowol bei seinen, wie bei Reginaldo's Ahnen Mischung mit „brasilianischem" Blut stattgefunden. Dies schien aber mehr ein Schluss von dem welligen, weichen Haar der beiden, als ein bestimmtes Wissen zu sein. Doch war es jedenfalls bemerkenswerth, dass Luis die beiden Brüder João und Antonio für die reinsten Bakaïrí erklärte; diese waren auch mir als die am meisten typischen Physiognomien erschienen und hatten die meiste Aehnlichkeit mit dem Rio novo-Gepräge. Da Antonio derjenige ist, der sich bereden liess, uns zu begleiten, und so in Rio photographirt werden konnte, darf ich auf sein Bild als auf die getreueste Wiedergabe eines echten Bakaïrí aufmerksam machen. Leider hatte der hübsche Bursche infolge einer Fractur eine geringe Beinverkürzung, sodass ich mich mit seinem Brustbild begnügte. Der Fehler trat übrigens wenig hervor, und

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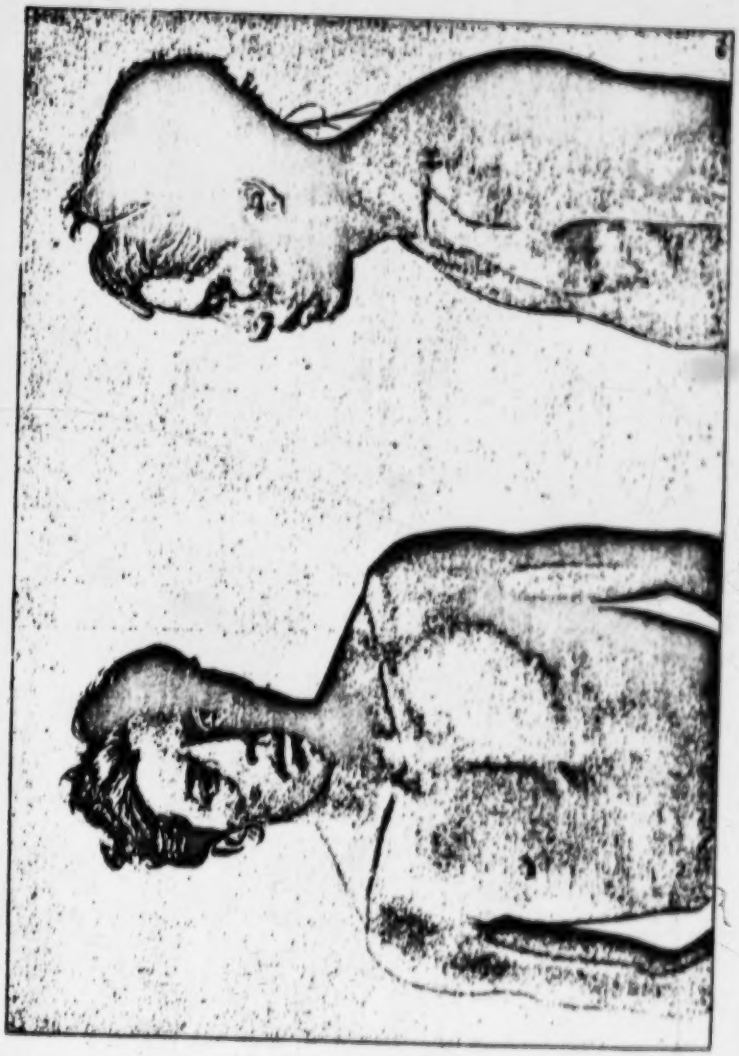

Aruwa.

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die Ungeschicklichkeit, mit der sich Antonio, die Kraft und Gewandtheit selbst, in der Gruppe der Kameraden (Seite 120) in ganzer Figur zeigt, fällt zum grossen Theil auf Rechnung des beängstigenden Augenblicks vor dem Apparat des Photographen.

Die übrigen Porträts hat Wilhelm sämmtlich mit der Camera clara gemacht.

Carlotta war eine von Diamantino mitgebrachte Parecí, die Frau des abwesenden Kapitäns Felipe: ihre kleinen Augenlider, die von Brauenhöhe bis zum innern Augenwinkel platte Nasenwurzel unterschieden sie auffällig von den Bakairí-Weibern. Die beiden Cajibí — ein Stamm, der am untern Rio Verde, linkem Nebenflusse des Paranatinga, wohnt — waren als Kinder

Leiva Cajibí und Carlotta Parecí.

im Walde eingefangen. Die beiden jungen und hübschen Geschöpfe waren aus dem unwandelbaren Grunde, dass die jüngeren als beste Arbeiterinnen den Mächtigern gehören, den zwei ältesten Ehehälften des Stammes, Cutanu und Miguel, als Gattinnen zugetheilt. Zarte Haut, feine Nüstern, unter der ebenfalls platten Wurzel, nach innenhin verengerte und aufgebogene Lidspalten, bei denen jedoch das scharf gefältete Oberlid nicht übergriff, erinnerten sie, besonders das wenig feuerfunkelnde Weibchen Cutanu's, an japanischen Typus.

Leider sprachen weder Carlotta, noch Leiva und Marie auch nur eine Silbe ihrer Muttersprache.

Die jungen Männer hatten die alten Weiber. Es ist deshalb nicht unwahrscheinlich, dass Leiva, der sich selbst der Eroberung von drei Frauenherzen rühmte, nicht unrecht hatte, wenn er behauptete, dass gelegentliche

Untreue nicht selten sei und auch nicht streng beurtheilt werde. Der gutmüthige, grüne Cutano sei sogar zu seiner Verwunderung kurze Zeit nach dem Besuch der Martyrinnenexpedition erkrankt, habe aber nur wenige Tage seiner Leidenschaft zu schmollen vermocht.

Der Gebrauch von Abortivmitteln sei gewöhnlich und erkläre die geringe Zahl der Kinder. Das Ende dieses Gemeinwesens ist klar vorauszusehen.

Folgendes war das Ergebniss meiner Volkszählung:

Felipe (abwesend) verheirathet mit Curbéta Paveri, kinderlos.
Cutano " " Luisa Cujibé, kinderlos.
Miguel, Joaquim (Brüder) " " Maria Cujibé, kinderlos.
" " Felicissima, ein Töchterchen.
João, Antonio (Brüder) " " Magdalena, ein Söhnchen.
(unser Begleiter).
Joaquina, Schwester von Miguel und Joaquim.
Marianna.
Agosta. — Ein Kinder Irimo (Arbeiten todt).
Luis (Bolivianer), Martin (Brasilianer) mit Frau Curbéta (Paraguayerin) und Kind.

Ich konnte nicht genug den glücklichen Zufall preisen, dass ich die linguistische Aufnahme von Ilha Novo machen konnte. Wie es schon bei dem intelligenten Reginaldo schwer gegangen gewesen, die unerhörbaren Zungenverschlüsse, aus denen sich die Bakairi-Sprache zusammensetzt, phonetisch festzuhalten, so war mit dem Kapitão Mituo, der nur immer antwortete nichts, und den andern, die entweder lachten oder ungeduldig wurden, gar nichts Rechtes zu machen.

Dagegen verdanke ich Cutano die Legenden, welche ich später wiedererzählen werde.

Das grösste Haus, welches die Kapitães Cutano und Felipe zusammen bewohnten, hatte 22 Schritt Länge und 9½ Schritt Breite. Dach und Wände, letztere durch Querstäbe von Taquara gebildet, bestanden ganz aus Buritistroh. Nur Miguel besass ein rundes Haus, das innere Gerüst aus Taquara, mit Buritiblättern belegt. Es waren vorhanden 7 Häuser und 2 Neubauten. Dazu 2 Schweinehütten. An einem Neubau erkundigte ich mich nach den Hölzern, die das Gerüst zusammensetzten. Zwei lange Aroeirapfosten trugen den obersten Dach-Längsbalken aus Aricidiole (auch Cumbáo de pavo). Die übrigen Seitenbalken des Dachs ebenso Cumbáo de pavo, die beiden Längsbalken Guassuí. Die kleineren Pfosten, welche den Dachgebälk stützten: Tinhó, Pavo, Curtão brauno. Ein Dach war auch mit Cangagua gedeckt.

Miguel, der einen Fiebernadel hatte, besuchte ich in seinem Hause.

korbe. Er lag in seiner baumwollenen Hängematte und liess sich von der hübschen Maria verpflegen. Der ganze Raum hing voller Calabassen, Reis- und Farinhakörbe, Felle, Pfeile — Hinterlassenschaft des Grossvaters; es war weit gemüthlicher in diesem noch echten Heidenkram als in den charakterlosen Hütten der Bekenner einer cacikirten Civilisation. Der Alte schluckte unter fürchterlichen Geberden des Abscheus das bittere Chinin und vergrub sein fiebergeröthetes Gesicht in der Hängematte. Maria bot mir zum Dank einen Beijú und zeigte mir, wie man die rohe, nur von den Kernen gereinigte Baumwolle mit der Spindel zum Faden drillt. Die Baumwollstauden stehen allerorts zwischen den Hütten, daneben wächst Mamona, deren Oel uns abends zur kümmerlichen Leuchte dient, und Pfeffer.

Hütte alten Stils.

Auf Gestellen sind Matten ausgebreitet, um das Satzmehl der Mandioca zu trocknen.

Die „Roça", das bebaute Feld, liegt in einiger Entfernung. Die Bakairi pflanzen Mandioca, Bohnen, Reis, süsse Kartoffeln, Zucker und liefern an die Fazenda Corrego fundo. Ihre Rapadura war vorzüglich, die Melada, ein honigsüsser Syrup, riss uns zu Ausrufen der Bewunderung hin. Das Zuckerrohr wird auf einfachste Art zwischen zwei Walzen gequetscht. (Vgl. die Anfangsvignette dieses Kapitels.)

Die Hütte Caetano's fanden wir in drei Räume abgetheilt; in dem hohen luftigen Mittelraum empfing uns Caetano und schloss die Thüre, hinter welcher Luischen wirthschaftete. Im entgegengesetzten Eckraum wohnen Felipe und Carlotta Pareci. Den Feuerherd bildeten drei Cangablöcke. Geflochtene Körpen, die an einem Stirnband getragen werden, und in denen die Frauen bis zu 6 Arroben schleppen sollen. Raspeln, die Mandioca zu schaben: harte Stiftchen von der Rippe des Buritiblattes sind zierlich in dem Mittelstück eines schmalen, beinahe meterlangen Holzes eingesetzt.

Carlotta mögte nun den Kapitänspatent (von 1861) ihres abwesenden Gatten. Als Siegel war an einem Bändchen vom Hemd einer sanften Goldkapsel mit farbenbunten Kreuz, die jedes Glanz verloren hatte, angebracht; dabei eine Brustschleife in brasilianischen Farben.

Luis, dessen neuen Hase noch nicht fertig ist, wird von Carlotta, welche während der Abwesenheit Felipe's über den unteren Platz verfügt, gutfreundlich bedeutet; seine eigentliche Zuneigung jedoch gehört seiner Namensschwester Luisa Cajibi. Mit Maria Cajibi habe er ein Silberbrot gebaut, das gestohlen sei. „Und wenn Miguel dessen?" Sagte ich schlichtern. „Ai, der", meinte der edle Mohatte, dessen Gesicht gegen das der Indianer wie gebrannter Kaffee gegen ungebrannten aussieht, „der war ganz mit dem Verhältnis einverstanden und hat ja an der hellen Hautfarbe und an dem Haar selbst die brasilianische Abstammung des Kindes erkannt."

Luis ist mit seinem Lehrer zwischen den so tief unter ihm stehenden Bakairi immerhin zufrieden; er habe alles, was er brauche, scheint keinen Menschen einen Kopfer und die Indianer seien gute Leute; später möchte er wol noch einmal nach Lissabon, weil das auch dem, was ihm ein Freund gesagt, die schönste Stadt der Welt sein müsse. Er war unverschämt genug, sich in den Handel über die Brüderschaft, den Daniel am ersten Tage mit Carlotta abgeschlossen hatte, mit ganz ungerechtfertigten Forderungen einzumischen. Daniel, der sich leicht erhitzt, griff zum Candiolo und stieß ihm den Kolben an den Kopf; schleunigst nahm der Philosoph auf seinen langen braunen Beinen reißaus und verbarrikadierte, gebückt in der Thür der Häuptlingshütte stehend, einer Flut von Artigkeiten mit Daniel, während der gute Geschäpf, der alte Kapitän Mitau, in seinem [illegible] sassage, erst aus dem Zerbrechen zu stammen schien, am Boden hockte und freundlich vor sich hin guckte.

Unsere Idylle wurde am 1. Juli unangenehm durch die Nachricht unterbrochen, dass Tupy den Abend vorher auf der Fazenda erschienen sei. Er habe die von uns zurückgeschickte Mannschaft unterwegs getroffen, zurückkommandirt und sei ihnen vorausgeritten. Die Correspondenz habe der Sergeant, Schweine jagend, im Walde verloren.

Bald kamen sie alle an; ich glaube nicht, dass sich in dem streng höflichen Gruss, welchen ich dem Herrn Kapitän Tupy zu bieten hatte, eine besondere Freude des Wiedersehens wiederspiegelte. Während er sich bei Carlotta einquartierte, erzählte Chuan, dass er sie beim Observiren überrascht habe. Castro zählte gerade die Secunden: die Sonne im Fadenkreuz und der Zeiger auf der Uhr sollen merkwürdige Sprünge gemacht haben. Tupy wisse von nichts; er habe ab den Rest seiner Gebäudeteil auch 60 Mitrin

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

die Aehnlichkeit gemacht hat, die er uns in Aussicht stellte. In der That gab er uns, ohne er uns darauf hinweis der Photographien [illegible] hatte [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Leidenschaft beschäftigend, sog der [illegible] Mensch den Wortgebäuden aus seiner Pfeife. Ich lauscht auf seinen Wunsche, dass er sagte, ob er jene Worte gesprochen habe, und bedauerte, als er sich unwillkürlich hin- und herwandte, den Kapitän Cantrin. Cantrin beteiligte, gewiss ebenso gehört zu haben. „Sie sie alle zwischen uns zu Ende, Herr Kapitän Tapp?“ Dem Sticken aus angeblicht, stand er an der Thüre: „Ich rede morgen mit der Mannschaft ab.“ „Sie werden das nicht thun; wir sollen die Expedition von Herr einigen Person abhängen?“ „Ich werde es thun“, sagte er und ging.

Wir waren nicht ohne Bewegung, da unser Schicksal von der Mannschaft abhängen sollte. Tapp übergaben gebot uns besser dann je, es hatte den Mutt der Gesagten, das Ihm sich nicht begann, und streng mitunter gewonnen, hatte er recht.

Es war ein unbeschreiblicher Abendessen; Cantrin schwieg es gar nicht, [illegible] beobachtete ungeduldig Tapp, der an einem andern Tisch saß und ruhig sprach.

Wir konnten nicht genug die Pflegung erspare, dass die unerschütterliche Gesellschaft noch nicht entfernt und unsere Verbindung mit Tapp war.

Um den allgemeinen Verdacht zu heben und den unbeschränkten Cantrin etwas zu ziehen, überreichten wir ihm die folgende Schriftstück:

„Es dürfte, dass wir auch die Gefahr der letzten Monate, aber wahrscheinlich Kaufleute den Frankreich [illegible] werden, unter keinen Umständen die Herr gemeinschaftlich mit dem Kapitän Tapp Dienste [illegible] [illegible] und wir durch gebieterische Notwendigkeit gezwungen. Sie zu bitten, die Gesamtheit der Mannschaft zu [illegible]. Wir hoffen, dass Sie mit Hand Ihre Instruktion, [illegible] in jeder Beziehung zu unterstützen, die [illegible] Verantwortlichkeit dieser [illegible], aber durch die gegenwärtige Lage [illegible] [illegible] zu tragen im Stande sind.“

[illegible] Cantrin [illegible] und [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Wort war so still, dass hier man kaum Stimmen, und die zwei Unglücksvögel [illegible] wie Ajax und Achilles in königem Wortstreite zu [illegible] [illegible] Kriegsrath. „Sie den Gesamtheit [illegible]“ bedeutete Tapp. Er hatte Cantrin [illegible] [illegible], als dass dieser [illegible], sich in Ruhe über die Sammung zu verständigen. Obligen Hin- und Widerreden. Wir wurden alle aufgerufen. „Sie sehen Sie doch den Protest“ — nur Tapp war ausgeschlossen zu hören und wurde mit Achselzucken und einem gelinden [illegible] [illegible].

Die Zeit des Parlamentirens war vorüber; ich nahm Cantrin beiseite und drang eindringlich in ihn, die Leute zusammenzurufen und die Sache zur Entscheidung zu bringen.

Ic Stolzen SPT Bacalot

Es gab so nur einen Ausweg, oder die Expedition war verloren: die Initiative zu ergreifen und, der Tapy eine Order gegeben, den Übeltäter wenigstens in der Hand zu nehmen.

Unsere vier „Kommandos".

[illegible]

Die Leute waren an. Tapy, im Pseudo, eine Cigarette rauchend, den Gang nicht abwend, pendelte sich vor den anderen Pfiegel. Wir standen schweigend beisammen. Unsere sprach nicht Wort, „er ist eine Unmöglichkeit, mit Tapy, der alles Gold verbrauchte hat, verwechselnd, er ist eine [illegible]

Schande, unverzeihliche Dinge beimischeten. Wir würden mit meinen edlen Leber im Innern zu Grunde gehen, ob man vor dem grossen Leude lächerlich machen. Wir nachkommen wünschen, dass ich so Frl.[illegible] Daniel Tapp: Wir hätten das erklärt, dass wir zu Ihm, dem Commandeur, kein Vertrauen mehr hätten, folglich — wenn er fortfahren zu wollen, hätten wir auch zu den Leuten kein Vertrauen mehr, — da unterbrach Ihn eber Cuiaro schon mit Entschiedenheit, nicht Tapp, er commandire hier. Einige kurze Worte hetzten, hinüber. „Alentou!" rief Cuiaro, „Hülfscommando!" schrie Tapp. „Alentou!" — „Hülfscommando!" — „Alentou!" — mit gewaltigen Köpfen drehten sie sich langsam und traten auseinander, wie Leidtragende am Grabe, nachdem die letzten Abschiedsworte den Todten verklungen sind. Nur einer schwankte und murmelte vor sich hin: „Der Kapitäo Cuiaro spricht so und der Kapitäo Tapp spricht so". „Er will vielleicht wie folgt?" fragt Tapp sanftig hin. Stillschweigen. „Nicht?" Keiner rührte sich. Diesen Spiel hatte Tapp verloren. „Die haben die Leute wieder auch aufgewiegelt, ich erklärt Ihr im Namen des Präsidenten gefangen." „Wenn Ihr gefangen zu nehmen wärt", erwiderte Cuiaro, „so würden Ihr das wie, den man in Sagrado abhaut."

Die gründliche Sache war zu Ende; es wurde Tapp noch ein Empfangsschein für die 60 Mörser übergeben, am 1/7. Ihr schwang er sich in den Sattel und trotzte still von dannen, ohne den Parasolinge grüssen zu haben.

Im August ist er erst wieder mit den nachfolgenden Soldaten in Cuyabá eingetroffen.

Wir brachtenen Kartige als Eingeborenen nach der Gewähren zu erhalten. Von ihm erhielt er den folgenden Bericht an den Baron:

Dorf der Bakairi am Paranatinga, 3. Juli 1884.

Herr Baron!

Bevor wir uns von der letzten Verbindung mit der übrigen civilisirten Welt [illegible] wir Ihr, Ihr und die Ihr[illegible] Ihr Bemühen hätten, uns in dem Ihr. Ihr[illegible] zu behalten, wir unternahm schnellen entschlossen, [illegible] erfahren zu schwang." [illegible] wir angestrengten Glieder und Wohlergehen zu schwang.

Es war eine Anlässigen:

von den Indianern der letzten Zeit begleitet wein wollen. Aber, bei gegenwärtigen, nämen wir die Verhältnisse unserer Reisegefährten jetzt in einem noch ungünstigeren Lichte erneuen als in unserem Schreiben in Gleichzeit beigefügten Briefe vom 20. Juni, welchen der Bugrauer Fresse im Wohle und der Schwarzjagd verloren hat.

Der Kapitäo Cuiaro wird Ihr, Ihr, die besonderen Einzelheiten der unangenehmen Aufrichte berichten, die wir mit dem Kapitäo Tapp nach seiner Ankunft erlebten. Um einzige, unendlich gegen die Begleitung eines Mannes Gesprach zu erhalten, den wir ohne Tapers für durchaus unzuverlässig und ganz untüchtig erklärten, die wichtigen Aufgaben einer solchen Expedition zu verstehen. Der Ka-

L: Steinen SP7 Becsiri

gütige Tapp hat sich dahin ausgesprochen, dass er dem gleichgültig sei, ob wir Vertrauen zu ihm hätten oder nicht; er hatte den Muth, der grosse Unternehmen von seiner Person abhängig zu machen, indem er den Rabbi Ex. Ess., durch den ihm der Commando der Mannschaft übergeben war, mitbrachte. Ex. Ess. vertraute diesen Posten dem angeschenen Offizier, nicht dem erbärmlichen Mann, der mit 40 Mörsis hier ankommt und bereit ist, 27 Personen in den Tartäro zu führen, ohne Lebensmittel für eine Woche beisammen zu bleiben. Er habe, sagte er, auf unsere Privatmittel gerechnet.

Es ist bemerkenswerth, dass er in Cayuhi von uns die geringe Summe von 24 Mörsis entlieh, und den folgenden Tag nach Empfang der Empfangsbriefe die Soldaten im Stande war, ungefähr 600 Mörsis Spezialcredite zu decken.

Ein glücklicher Zufall hat uns vor dem Schiffbruch unserer Ehre bewahrt; jetzt indessen, mit einem Commandanten, dem wir vollständig vertrauen, und mit geringer, aber wohlhabend ausgerüsteter Mannschaft, beginnen wir die Reise in der festen Hoffnung den guten Schlüssel.

Dem guardia a V. Ess.

Die Tugend hat gesiegt. Segnen wir den Himmelhaus und vertrauen wir dem ehrlichen Unterrüthiter, der das hat halten können.

Um die Leute zu beschäftigen, wurde sofort mit der Uebersetzung begonnen. Uebrigens lebhafteste Thätigkeit; der Fuscolero kam mit dem Rests seiner Lieferung; im Allgemeinen wurde auch die Nacht durchgearbeitet; unablässig blieben der Meisteliner und quirlachte der Lockenpatscher.

Die ausgelassene Fröhlichkeit ist durch Eric erneut; die Dohnen sind reichlich vorhanden, wir können der Zukunft getrost entgegengehen. Schlimm nicht so nur den Tabuch, da die Fuscolo keinen ähnlichen kennen. Wir behalten auch ein gutes Gedächtnis übrig, nicht wahr.

Heute erhielten wir wenig, zwei Blicke dieses ein Tarbo, zwei Eis Tarniner und Hingeneiter. Dreimal spielen die Friesler, der Rabbi Jeder, den wir den Mannsinger nennen, phantasirt auf seiner Violine; er ist von denselben unzertrennlich und nimmt sie sogar zum Dohnen mit. Aber [illegible]

3. Juli. Er wurde spät aufhängen, bis der Stab Morgenstern. Der Fluss hat eine Breite von ungefähr 150 m. Auf beiden Seiten ist eine Terrasse von ungefähr 5 m Höhe. Die langen Hinterbeine machen einen ganz wahrnehmungsverwandten Eindruck. Wir werden uns an sie gewöhnen müssen. Antonio Gibb sich heute ganz als an uns gehörig; er hat sich in eine Mundharmonica verliebt, die ich den Abschnitt.

4. Juli. Der Fluss dampfte in der Frühe. Pedro fing eine grosse Fledyche (Dagrus vaiculus). Er stehlert in einem Schlammerch, unter dem er, und unter über der Hose, ein ohne Flaschkend von mir trägt. Unsere Dusen wirkten die für einen heiligen Hospitalmarkhaus auch unbeschränkten Gemüthe haben, und doch hat der Junge vor den Inviriaus,

alles was da kreucht und fleugt, todtschlagen und zwischenher Zuckerrohr zu knuppern.

Zuerst kam Cortana, um noch einmal mit uns zu Göbelchen. Eine Anzahl Weiber folgten, brachten uns noch Beijiu und knieten abseits, die beiden Curbitiva ihr langes Haar kämmend. Die Unterjacken waren schon am zweiten Tage wieder verschwunden gewesen. Luis erschien zuletzt, als bereits alle Kanus an unserm Ufer waren; er ging bis zur letzten Sandsteinplatte, zog die Kleider aus und versuchte nicht herüberzuwaten. Aber er hatte Angst und stand unentschlossen. „Ei, so komm doch", rief Felipe's Gattin. Der Missionsinspektor holte ihn endlich.

Kochplatzen am Paranatinga.

Um 10 Uhr ergaben wir ab; fuhr noch einen Hinter aus den Lachen

Ich trage die folgenden Messungen dem Aufenthalt in Cuyaba Sande und dem Dokumentenbuch nach.

28. Juni. (Cuyaba Sande.) 4 Uhr morgens: 1 720.0, II 720.8, Trock. 16.2, Bodenerwärmung Max. 41.0.
6 Uhr abends: Trock. 18.4, Feucht. 15.2, klar, leichter Wind.

29. Juni. 7 Uhr früh: Trock. 12.6, Feucht. 11.0, klar, windstill. Boden Min. 14.1 (noch 6°, Uhr morgens, Tiefe 30 cm).
10 Uhr vormittags: 1 720.0, II 720.8.
6°, Uhr nachmittags: Trock. 16.0, Feucht. 17.8, Gew. 1. Bei 10 Uhr

XXW bis 5, Boden 24.0 (seit 10 Uhr, Tiefe 90 cm), Bestrahlung Oberfläche Max. 44.0.
4 Uhr 30 Min. nachmittags: I 736.0, II 734.0.
9 Uhr 10 Min. abends: Trock. 17.6, Feucht. 14.2, klar, windstill.

30. Juni. 7 Uhr früh: Trock. 13.3, Feucht. 11.7, klar, windstill, Anstrahlung Min. 14.8.
10½ Uhr vormittags: I 736.0, II 734.2.
2 Uhr 10 Min. nachmittags: Trock. 21.2, Feucht. 18.4, Cum. s. 4. Seit 11 Uhr Stürme aus N. Bestrahlung Max. 47.8.
4 Uhr nachmittags: I 736.0, II 734.0.
10½ Uhr abends: Trock. 17.0, Feucht. 14.0, klar, windstill.

2. Juli. (Sekretärtag) 10 Uhr vormittags: I 739.0, II 739.0, Trock. 20.0.
2 Uhr 10 Min. nachmittags: Trock. 26.8, Feucht. 19.2, klar, N Stürme bis 4.
4 Uhr 30 Min. nachmittags: I 737.0, II 737.0, Trock. 20.0, Sippen. 36.0.
9 Uhr abends: Trock. 14.2, Feucht. 14.2, klar, windstill.

3. Juli. 7 Uhr 30 Min. früh: Trock. 13.8, Feucht. 13.0, klar, windstill.
2 Uhr nachmittags: Trock. 21.5, Feucht. 18.2, klar. Seit 10 Uhr N.
10½ Uhr vormittags: I 736.0, II 734.0, Trock. 20.0.
4 Uhr nachmittags: I 737.0, II 736.4.
9 Uhr abends: Trock. 17.6, Feucht. 15.4, klar, windstill.

4. Juli. 7 Uhr früh: Trock. 19.4, Feucht. 15.6, klar, windstill.
10 Uhr vormittags: I 737.4, II 736.0.
3½ Uhr nachmittags: Trock. 22.0, Feucht. 17.6, NO Cum. 1, ⊙ 1—2, Vormittag N-Wind.
4 Uhr nachmittags: I 736.8, II 735.8. — 5 Uhr Trock. 20.4. Sippen. 36.0.

5. Juli. 7 Uhr früh: Trock. 15.1, Feucht. 13.8, klar, windstill.
10 Uhr vormittags: I 737.4, II 737.0, Trock. 24.4.
2 Uhr nachmittags: Trock. 30.2, Feucht. 16.4, klar N 1, Vormittag bis 4.
5 Uhr nachmittags: I 736.0, II 735.6, Trock. 22.0.

6. Juli. (Spalten [illegible] 736.8, Trock. 11.8.

[pp 134-156 not processed]

[p.157]

ELFTES KAPITEL.

DER WILDE BAKAIRÍ. DIE KUPTERAÚ.

Nach mancherlei Mühseligkeiten während des Morgens führen wir am Nachmittag des 11. August eine Strecke ohne Hindernisse, und wieder stellte sich das für uns alle jetzt geradezu unheimliche Gefühl der Ungewißheit ein. Zu unserer freudigen Ueberraschung finden wir ein indianisches Haus am linken Ufer. Unterhalb ergießt sich in zwei Abzweigungen ein schöner Wasserfall; Felsen und Stämme waren in demselben angehäuft; er schäumte und brodelte in einem Bassin, um weiter abwärts eine neue Stufe zu bilden.

Wir haben aber zunächst kein Auge für den Fall, wo stecken die Indianer? Wir [illegible] zwei Leute zur Bewachung der Kanus zurück und rücken vor, das Gewehr in der Hand. — Der Boden ist mit Jacubá-Früchten besäet; ein gut ausgetretener Pfad führt landeinwärts. Wir kommen an einem Baum vorüber, in dessen Rinde sich die Umrisse eines einen Mannes und unten eines Weibes halb hineingraben eingeschnitten sind.

Still marschiert unsere Linie durch den Wald — der enge Pfad setzt ab — eine Lichtung. Es qualmt und raucht von Baumstumpfen, die wie abgebrochene Säulen dort stehen, reichlicher auf dem Boden ein Gewirr von Stämmen und Gezweig, alles in Verkohlung begriffen. Die Rauchsäule, die uns einige Tage beunruhigt, ist erklärt: man hat den Wald angezündet, um eine Pflanzung anzulegen. Wir blicken eilig umsichtend hinüber, und wieder wandern wir den Waldpfad.

1: Steinen SP7 Bacairi

„Beijo“ ruft Einer mit unterdrückter Stimme, od zeigt triumphirend einige Krümel, welche uns neuen Proviant in Aussicht stellen, „ein bedeutendes Beijo“, lispelt jeder seinem Hintermann zu.

Da — ein federverzierter Pfeil lehnt an einem Baume, — das Rohr aus Ubá, dem Holze, aus dem der Imperador der Igaraés die Bakairí erschuf. Wir werden ernster und selbst die Neger, o sich so gern in der Angst durch Schwatzen Muth zu machen suchen, bewegen lautlos voran. Ab und zu kleine Feuer, lebendig oder completirt. Schon gehen wir dreiviertel Stunde. Doch sieh da, eine neue Lichung — ein lieblicher Hain umstrangender Bacuyuva-Palmen, — einige Maisäuer auf dem Boden, noch einmal ein Stückchen Wald und: „A'ssa — Ihaer“, ruft der Kiesler.

Drei Hütten von der Form eines Bienenkorbes werden sichtbar, in der vordersten Hütte, die unsern Pfad verlegt, steht dreieckige Thüre offen; wir unterscheiden im Dunkeln einige Köpfe. Ein alter nackter Indianer tritt heraus, jung, wohlgebaut, schliesst die Thüre; er kommt uns entgegen, einen langen Pfeilschaft ohne Spitze in der Hand; er wegwendet vor sich hin bläst.

Ich weise Antonio an, ihm in Bakairí einen Gruss zuzurufen. „Kyalmo“, schreit Antonio fast schreiend, und — Heil dem Antigoes — der Indianer antwortet in Bakairí. Eilig tritt er auf Antonio zu, lehnt sich an ihn an und beide umschlingen sich im Weitergehen — beide zu gleicher Zeit plaudernd, beide vor Angst und Aufregung am ganzen Körper zitternd.

Um alle packt ein freudiges Gefühl der Erlösung und als Manoel, entdeckend, dass unser lieber Wilden eine schön rasirte, ganze trägt, jetzt endlich zu Worte kommt und sagt: „O, das ist ja a Padre, der Gouverneur ist ja ein Pfaff“, entsteht ein allgemeines Lachen zu Durchbrüchen.

Wir werden in die kleinste der drei Hütten geführt; dort setzen wir uns auf einen langen, am Boden liegenden Stamm. Zwei Mädchen tragen das Neugeborene, gewickelt mit einem Bastbande, entgegenkommen und ruhen mit einem Gürtel trockener Grashalme umwunden. Viele elegant gearbeitete Pfeile stehen in der Wandung.

Nirmala hatte [illegible] verlorene Fingerchen. Sie gebe [illegible] noch einige weitere Niederkunftsangaben. [illegible] wie die letzte Geburtsstunde, die wir hier passiren — eine grosse Neuigkeit — [illegible] — wir bemerken natürlich, dass zu erhören — gehe gen Norden, zu seinen Tamitatoala, nach 12 Tagereisen kommen ein anderer gebauter von Indianern der Kosoru.

Sie schienen alle günstigen Umstände vereinigt und die Bemerkungen der Fahrt reichlich aufgewogen.

Wir hielten es nicht lange mehr in der Hütte aus; draussen lasen

andere nun Verschn, auch zwei Weiber — einen mit wirrem Haar, geschäftig umherstippelnd, deren Schönheit und Jugend lange dahin waren. Ein dreieckiges, strohgelbes Blättchen, an einem Faden befestigt, der die Hüften umschlang und durch den Damm gezogen war, hüllte ihr knappes Kleidchen. Unser Freund, der die Honneurs machte, trug um den Leib drei Schnüre, an denen abwechselnd Holzstäbchen und schwarze Korne aufgereiht waren, in jedem Ohrläppchen zwei kokette gelbe Federn, über den Knöcheln eine engaufliegende Bastbinde. Das Haar hatte einen dunkelrosafarbigen Glanz; gearbeitet war es wie in russischer Art um den Topf; die Tonsur war so regelrecht wie in bekannten andern Fällen, wo die Entdecker einen Stammes durch diesellbe zu der Meinung verleitet wurden, dass hier schon frühe Vorbinder des Christenthums gewirkt haben müssten. Der Typus der Physiognomie war ohne Zweifel bakairi-gradem.

Bald erschien eine zweite Hauptfigur in der Scene: ein mittelgroßer Indianer, mit frin gebogener Nase, stark roth tätowirt, der von der Jagd kam; er näherte sich ängstlich im Bogen, hielt vor sich hin und hielt abwechselnd so was redend; wir nannten den nur den Professor wegen seiner unglaublich wichtigen Art, alle Gegenstände auf das genauste zu betrachten, wie jemand, der das Ding durch und durch kennt, aber nicht recht versteht, warum dieses oder jenes nicht stimmen will.

Zur Erhöhung der Festlichkeit trug es nicht wenig bei, dass reichlich Beijiu sowie Fleisch, eingeschnittenige Stücke gebrochener Mandioccaaxen, und vor allem Mingau gespendet wurden. In grossen Schalen wurde jedem einzelne kredenzt; dreierlei Sorten: ein weinlicher, dünner, zur Noth erfrischender Bläßtrank von Bäckenmehl, ein anderer, gelb, nach Kürbis schmeckend, und ein dritter warm, engeschen dünn, zu dem sich alles drängte, um der Zunge diese halb vergessene Qualität der Empfindung zu gönnen.

Höchst englisch war die ebenbürtig gleichmäßige Behandlung, die man und den Bäbbiten zuteil wurde. Chico, dieser schlaksige Affenmensch, schien den Leuchten sogar besonders zu imponiren, und er, wie alle, auf die Plätze gesetzen, nahm die Halbjungen mit grösstem Ernst entgegen [illegible]

Dass die Barbaren eigentlich vielen Erstaunen ausdrücken, ist nicht zu sagen. Um Hautfarbe und Bart bekümmerten sie sich im allgemeinen nicht, sie bewunderten freilich die Kleidung, die Messer, den Operaglas, aber wie Kinder, welche das nicht zum ersten mal sehen, die Gedanken zu Weiterem. Eine Schnurvorführung Bissis fanden grossen Schrecken vor; die Weiber liefen fort, die Männer rockten zusammen und hielten vorlegen mit, als sie unsere Heiterkeit sahen. Eine Wiederholung aber zu verhüten, hatten sie eindringlich „Ho, Ho — es ist genug.“ Ueber die fremdartige Er-

I: Steinen SP7 Bacairi

schirung unserer Hunde war der Professor so erschreckt, dass er den besten Willen bekundete, sie todtzuschiessen.

12. August.

Die Bakairi machten uns mit Weib und Kind ihren Gegenbesuch. Sie waren mit Brijiis schwer behaftet. Bald war ein eifriger Handelsverkehr mit den Soldaten im Gange; die letzteren tauschten sich Pfeile oder Federn und Perlen für Knöpfe und defecte Kleidungsstücke ein. Die Knöpfe, die sich an die Gürtelschnur aufreihen lessen, standen in hohem Werth. Besonders gern aber wollten die Gastfreunde Messer, Teller und Löffel haben. Geschäftig rannte die Nassenchen umher; vergeblich spendete sie auf einen Kochtopf, den sie aufgeregt von allen Seiten betrachtete; doch erhielt sie einen Löffel, einen Zinnteller und trug jeden Stück, das sie erhandelte, auf ein am Wege aufbewahrtes gebeimes Depot, sehrt eiligst zu neuen Thaten herbeieilend.

Mittags gingen Wilhelm und ich zur Aldea, Antonio begleitete uns, konnte sich aber, mistrauisch gegen seine Stammesgenossen, nicht entschliessen, die Nacht bei ihnen zu bleiben und kehrte abends zum Flusse zurück.

Wir richteten uns häuslich in der Fazendita ein und führten uns allein mit dem paradiesischen Völkchen unbeschreiblich wohl. Wir machten, als uns die Moskitos gegen Abend zu ärgern begannen, einen Spaziergang durch die Roça. Lässtern schauten wir uns auch den „Brutus de Inhar" an, ephemerides Fröschen, die an grasgrünen Stäbchen zahlreich vorhanden, aber leider unreif waren; die Bakairi-Bohnen sind nicht anders als die unsrigen. Ein prächtiger Landgut; der Horizont war von einem dunkeln Farbe bezeichnet, hinter dem sich die Sonne in rötlichem Grange niederneigte. Wir trafen Fischlinge, wie unser Fischkomposit heisst, und seiner Verwandten auf dem Platze zwischen den drei Hütten, bei einer Kleiderprobe in grosser Verlegenheit. Sie bedurften dringend unserer Hülfe; sie trugen die Hose nicht nur umgekehrten Wege und umgekehrt über die Beine, sie versuchten auch, sie über die Arme zu stülpen und wollten mit den Beinen in ein Hemd hineinfahren. Einen Rock allein anzuziehen, war ein Ding der Unmöglichkeit. Angestrengte Versuche gegen die Elemente der Schicklichkeit führten dazu unbewusst. Eine Sicherheitsnadel wurde [illegible], mit der man so bequem die Nägel schneiden konnte. Der Wirkung, den Nadelstil — ein augenblicklicher Stein ist in einen Hebegriff geschickt — mit dem sie Hemm Gilen und Pfeiten bearbeiten, verdient von drei Gesichtspunkten aus, wie sieht mit einfachsten Mitteln gelöstet werden kann, nicht minder unsere Aufmerksamkeit, vergleich sich in dem stillen Nebengedanken, dass wir uns selbst auf

diese Stufe mehrkrystallinischer Substanz, die leichten Grauens beimischt. Sie haben keine Speere, keine Bogen, keine Hunde, Tabak ist eingeführt zu entdecken. Knochen, Zähne, Muscheln scheinen ihnen neben dem Steinbeil als Werkzeug dienen.

Sie bringen vom Feuer in die Hütte und ungern sich merkich, verhüten sie unseren Kamera gegenüberstehen lassen. Doch kann immer wieder der eine oder der andere, um sich Rock und Hosen anziehen zu lassen. Ein Bororo-Knabe und Mädchen, auf die Brust deutend, „ziek, tuck, tuck", ihre Herzklopfen. [illegible]

I:Steinen SP7 Bacairi

Ich gab ihm ein Pulver, neugierig, ob er es nicht verbrauchen. Nachdem ich ihm etwas angewandt und erzählsgrad auf die Schulter geklopft, trank er die Mischung langsam und begeistert, trank sie aber bis zur Neige. Ein anderes Völkchen. Neues Bemühen, die mit Spannung zuhörten, wurde der Vorgang erzählt; man begeistert aufmerksam das Pulverpapierchen; die Heilkraft aber, welche bald eintrat, schrieb man offenbar dem Messer zu, mit dem ich die Arznei angerührt. — Wilhelm hatte chinesisches Feuerwerk bei sich; es prasselte plötzlich auf dem Hofe los und verbreitete fast noch mehr als die Schüsse. Heimlich steckte er im Innern der Hütte ein übriggebliebenes Röhrchen an — wie es möglich war, ist mir noch jetzt ein Rätsel — doch in demselben Augenblick stehen die Hof-Inwohnerinnen gleichzeitig durch das niedrige Thürlein nach unsern.

13. August. 7 Uhr früh. Temp. 13.1, Feuchtigkeit 12.5.

Unbeschreiben Schreiben. Vom gestrigen Tage verdrängend eine ich dennoch auf einem dürren Balken, der glatt im Sande liegt. Es ist noch still. Der Professor hat neben sorgfältig die Feuerwerkhülsen aufgehoben; er steht hinter mir und schaut bewundernd, was ich mache. Kaum dringt ein Laut aus den Hütten. Ein blasgelber Arawa auf dem Dache hat den Wunsch, er spricht das L, an dem ich mir fast die Zunge verrenke, ebenso sicher und doch unbeschreiblich verschiedenartig aus wie die Kingsbeinen. Der schöne Pavian da ein gleichen und kollert in sonderbaren Tönen, die von einer Spieldose zu kommen scheinen; gelangweilt von der Morgenstimmung sitzt ein grüner Papagei auf einem kahlen Stammchen. Ich höre mit Verhängnis, dass einer im Hause trinkt, schon wieder Wingu?

Ich habe diesen Vormittag gethan: von halb acht bringt ein Zug von sieben im schwellenden Gesichtsschnitte, einer hinter dem andern, aus den Felsen, die Stammdörfer an der Spitze, alle mit Mandioccawurzeln beladen. Die Alte trägt ein Bündel derselben hier auf dem Kopfe, hinter ihr trennt eine junge Frau mit einer schweren Kiepe; ist es die Gattin, der sie folgt? Gleichfalls unter der Last des Korbes gebeugt, trollt er vorüber, auf der linken Hüfte einen weinenden Jungen, den er schliesslich ruhiger bald, als ob er dies in der Eile von der Erde aufgerafft hätte.

Wir besuchen den Hof des Professors. Man unterscheidet [illegible] Pfosten, breite Hängematten; die Alte und eine Jungfrau sitzen auf dem Boden, rückgrat mit einer Menge Mandioca schabend, die andern Beiden sind in den Schatten verschwunden.

Zwei Familien haben sich in den Hof geteilt, die Hängematten sind dadurch gekennzeichnet, dass zwei Hängematten übereinander an demselben Pfosten angebracht sind. In der Mitte bleibt ein freier Kreis, eingeen-

[illegible] die durch kräftiges Schleifwerkzeug, sondern nur durch die Pfanne abgerieben „Einschlämmer". Die obere Wölbung ist schwach angedeutet. Drei oder vier Steine bilden den einfachen Kochherd. Das Mehl wird in mehrfaches Tuplipfanne (bis 77 cm Durchmesser) gesiebt, auf platten, rundlichen Schlamm werden die Reijes gerieben. Der Thon ist schwärzlichbraun, das Geschirr von den Weibern mit der Hand gearbeitet.

Wie oben auf einfachen Stäbchen; sie sind rechteckig, etwas convex, aus schwarzbraunem Palmholz, meist in Osterformen und kleinen Dreiecken hach.

Die Steinbeile, die an der Wand stecken (Ihre Länge 24 cm), haben alle dieselbe Form: ein dicker Hohcylinder, unten gegen einen dünnen Griff abgerundet. Der Stein wurde weiter [illegible] gebunden.[1]

Figuren (Einbaumbaum) Bacairi der Sammlung.

Hohe Vorratsbehälter aus [illegible] Holz (1 m 40 cm lang, etwa 30 cm breit), mit [illegible] Deckelchen versehen und [illegible] mit Mandelkörnern angefüllt, verfertigen das Mehl und sind sehr schwer. Die Bohlenreihen, auf denen die Mandeln zerkleinert wird, sind ungefähr 113 cm lang und [illegible] cm [illegible].

In der Hütte eine Menge verschiedener Meisselchen.

Als [illegible] verfertigen eine Anzahl verschiedener Figuren, die an langen Fäden von der Wölbung herabhängen; sie sind aus Mandelkörnern gefertigt: verschiedengroße Vögel, abscheuliche Vögel aus einem Blatt und rund gebrochen Reise mit drei Zehen; andere schlanke, menschenähnliche Figuren.

[1] Ihre Prof. Krause: in Anden war es gültig, das Material genau so zuzuschneiden und bei Gebrauch die Stücke herzustellen, wie man [illegible] Figurchen, Gläsern, Gläsern und Kugelchen zusammengemischten Gemisch, in welchem [illegible] Krystalle von Glimmer und [illegible] viele Quarzkörner eingelagert sind.

wie Kleidern dient, unter in schmale Fäden aufgelöst. Ist unsere Hanne halten wir zwei aus Gras verfertigte Kleidchen vorgebunden, dann eine Feder sich in einen Ring verwandeln, welchen man sie auf den Kopf setzen kann.

Zahlreiche Cuyas und Calabassen, bemalt, zum Theil mit nicht geschmacklosen Mustern schwarz bemalt.

Im unteren Dachbalk stecken die Pfähle, durchschnittlich 2 m lang, und die Bogen, welche beinahe die Länge von 1½ m erreichen. Die Pfähle, aus Ubi, haben einfache Hähe oder Kerbenspitzen; am Ende des Schaftes sind breite Federn spiralig angewickelt.

In mannigfaltig zusammengefügten Mustern sind Federn, auch Muschelarmbänder und ganze Schmucksachen, in kleinen Kisten und Netzen Spindel, Faden, Kämmen, Wurfhölzern, Muschelnäpfen u. dgl. enthalten. An den Schnüren der Hängematten finden sich neue Schmuck wie ganze Federn oder Muschelnäpfe und — der Kamm. Dieser Gegenstand der Toilette besteht aus schwarzumhüllten schmalen Stäbchen, die durch zwei Querhölzchen aus Bambus mittels vieler Gebinde von Baumwollfäden zusammengehalten werden; die kurzen Stäbchen stehen über den unteren Querholz als die Zähne des Kammes vor.

Die Hängematten werden (man kann kaum sagen gewebt, sondern) geknüpft. Zwei Fäden stehen in der Kette; sie werden mit einem Strang Baumwolle zu einschlagen, wie unsere Frauen die Strickwolle um Stäbchen wickeln; durch die horizontalen, parallelen Fäden werden in Abständen von 4 cm vertikale Fäden mit breiten Stäbchen durchgezogen und verknüpft; die Theile des Strangs, welche den Fäden anlagen und nicht geknüpft werden, (die zusammengerollten Gemeinschaft aller Horizontal-Fäden), bilden die Schlinge, welche der Hängende anbinden hat.

Ein Netzgeflecht über der Thür und Fenster am verhaftet schwarzen und hellen Stück sind nicht ohne artistischen Kunstsinn gearbeitet. Das Fenster wird mit einem dreieckigen Stückchen Matte angeklebt.

Unregelmäßig gearbeitete, hinter den Ohren am Hinterkopf, hängt das Haar der Frauen bis auf die Schulter; die Haare ist hat ganz bedeckt. Ein junges Weib hatte die kunstvoll bis Frauen dicht durchflochtenen Haare Schmuck. Nur die Alte trägt einen Faden über die linke Schulter, der unter dem rechten Arm durchgeht; dies Hemdchen, die sie um und den Nähten eigentümlich abgeschnitten hat, sind an denselben aufgenäht.

Die dreieckige Kleidungsstück der Frauen, ein gefaltetes Stückchen Kleidchen, angeblich den Schurz-Genuss, hat 4 cm Grundlinie und

Ein ungefähr achtjähriges Mädchen ist noch völlig nackt.

Die Nacktheit der Männer ist nicht durchdacht, die Bacairos

sind, wenn Anlage so deutlich vorhanden war, wie alles Hier (auch bei den Frauen), mit Ausnahme des Hauptbaues, der Brauen und Wimpern, ungiebig erscheint.

Gegen 10 Uhr vereinigte [illegible] Chuse mit Antonio; nach [illegible] noch einige Minuten von der Jagd ein, unter denen der Häuptling, ein [illegible] Herr mit [illegible] Augenpaar und dickem Bauchbäuch. Wir zählten 10 Männer, 7 Weiber, 5 Knaben, 4 Mädchen.

Paulinge zeigte uns, wie sie Feuer machen. Sie nehmen zwei lange, dünne Stäbe von denselben trockenen Holze; in den einen ist eine Kerbe gemacht; während von diesem ein Mann mit zwei Stäbchen auf dem Boden in seiner Lage erhält, quirlt ein zweiter den anderen Stab zwischen beiden Händen rasch in der Kerbe. Der hingeriebene Staub glimmt.

Wir machten einige Tonscherbenbilder; ich nahm einige Männer. Sie [illegible] es sich gutmütig gefallen.

Abbildung der Gesichtsbemalung.

Diese „wilden" Bakairi sind aufgeweckt, gutmütig und scheinbar sehr gutmütig. Sie erklärten nicht, obwohl wir Gebärden mit zum Ohrem. Sie haben keine bemerkenswerten Gerüche. Tabacks [illegible] sie [illegible]. Sie bemalen nur an [illegible] Tage [illegible] ihren Weibern in [illegible] Lager — die „zahmen" dagegen am Morgen [illegible], [illegible] wir in der Aldea waren, [illegible] mit [illegible] im Bauch. Ein Wilder [illegible] [illegible] Medizin, die ich [illegible], — der Junge [illegible] [illegible], wo [illegible] ich bei Romero gewohnt [illegible], sprang vom Lager auf und flüchtete sich [illegible] mir in den Wald.

Die alte Häuptlingsfrau [illegible] „[illegible]", nach Nahe: „Bakairi!", nach Norden und Osten [illegible]: „Bakairi!", und endlich [illegible] Kreis in der Luft [illegible] und [illegible] sie mit [illegible] Bakairi!": Es deutete: „Diese alle [illegible] mir unterthänig, gemäss, dass ich glücklich bin."

[illegible]. Aug. 6 Uhr [illegible]. Temp. [illegible], Feuchtigkeit [illegible].
9 Uhr [illegible]. Temp. [illegible], Feuchtigkeit [illegible], Wind [illegible].
4 Uhr 5 Min. [illegible]: I [illegible], II [illegible]. Temp. [illegible], Feuchtigkeit [illegible].
9 Uhr abends: Temp. [illegible], Feuchtigkeit [illegible].

Drei Frauen konnte ich glücklich nennen. Antonio ist sehr unbeweglich als Dolmetscher und macht mehr Schwierigkeiten als die bornirtesten Mundurucú selbst. Auch erkundete ich einige der Mainstämmgruppen; der Leichtigkeit auch, mit der sich das Geschäft abwickelte, schien demselben keine höhere, irgendwie religiöse Bedeutung zuzuschreiben.

Wir brachten längere Zeit in Paranaíta, resp. den Hängelinge Cuiaba Hom zu; es unterscheidet sich in vielen Wesentlichkeiten von den den Professoren, die Stammgruppen bilden.

Wir kochten Jaburu (Mamoeiro, Tamá), welche wir mit Freude begrüßten. — Die Fische werden auf eben solchen Gestellen gebraten, wie wir sie am Botany angetroffen; man wirft sie dem Feuer solange zu, bis sie von einer dicken Kohlenkruste umgeben sind; auch Caipiras-Kuchen, die wir früher Fisch schmeckten, und Affenfleisch waren diesmal unsere Verbrät. Die bunggrige Kohle gibt dem Salze, nicht mit Salz versetzten Fleisch einen — Saite de mieux — verbrennenden Beigeschmack. Die Butter kommen auch ein aus Baumwolle hergestellten, recht medizinisch schmeckenden Salz, welches sie jedoch nicht für die Zubereitung der Speisen zu verwenden scheinen.

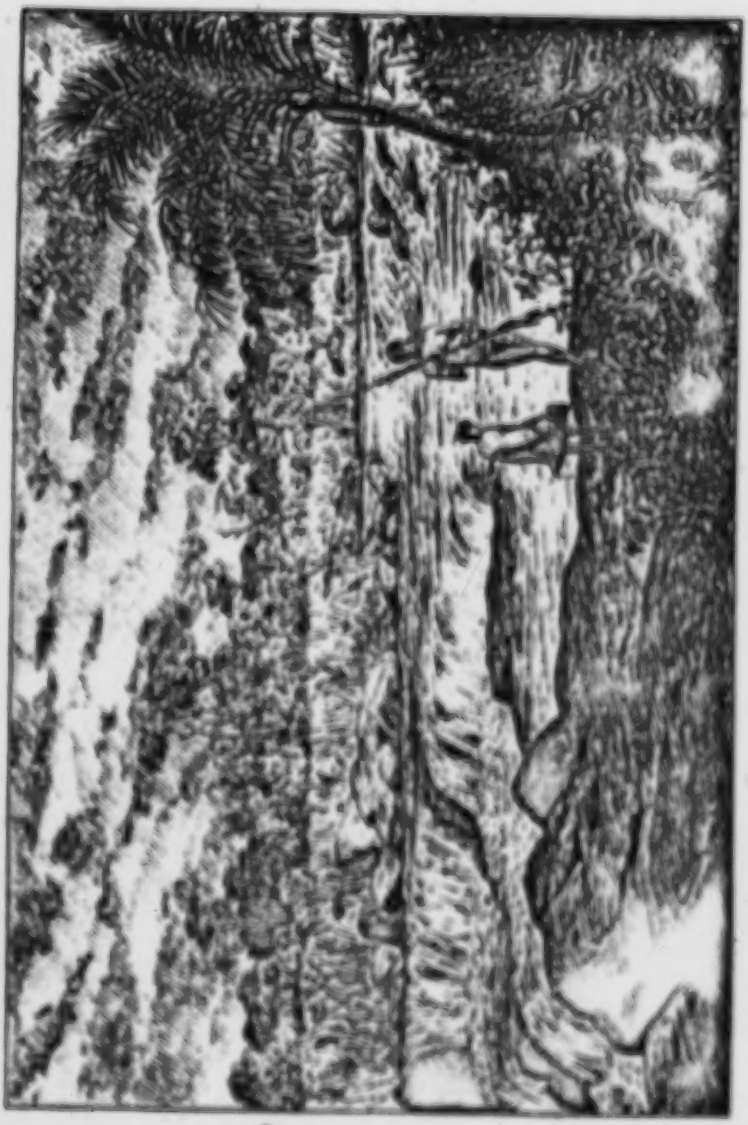
Die Nahrung, die diese Abschnittsbrauch machen, wurden noch reichlich mit Brijas, Farau und Fabillas bereichert. Die geschälte und gestampfte Wurzeln wird durch Mattro gepresst; der Saft erhält die Bestandteile — Farau, zu Mingau brauchbar. Die durchlässige Flüssigkeit ziehen sie in grosse Töpfen, wobei sich ein feinstes Mehl absetzt — Fabillas, dessen Gebäck die besten Brijas.

Am Nachmittage zerlegt. Mit einem Beil, Messer und Hose wurden 4 Kanus verarbeitet. Wir sind nicht gut dazu, wenn ebenen. Beim Überschreiten erfasst das Kanu Quantitäts. Die Bakairi-Kanus unterscheiden sich nur durch sorgfältigere Arbeit von den unsrigen; sie ist an den Längsseiten sauber mit schwarzen Ringen bemalt. Die Ruder, von der Gestalt eines Spatenstiels, haben kräftiger Griff, Stiel, und ein langes lanzenförmiges Blatt, das wir eine Schaufel bisher gebildet ist.

Die Höhe der hohen abrupten Stufen des Salto beträgt 4 m; 7 m können abwärts für das Gefälle unterhalb bestimmt werden. Kähne, die vom Fischfang dienen, hängen an Seilen, welche derselbe durch eisen in Gestalt eisbrecht Pfähle gebaut werden.

Wir nennen diesen Wasserfall den Salto da Alegria. Die Freude Wesen; unter den Kanus selbst, die sehr schwerfällig sterben. — Der Transport der Kanus, für den eine Strasse vorhanden war, ist vollendet.

1: Steinen SP7 Bacairi



[facing p. 166]

15. Aug. φ 15° 11'.3, -λ 5'.7, km 6.41 Sonne 180.66.
7 Uhr früh: Trock. 11.6, Feucht. 8.8, klar, windstill.

Wir besitzen nur neun Kanoe; eine ist sehr invalide. Castro und ich haben uns getrennt, jener fährt mit Manoel, ich mit Gevatter Valentin. Um 9½ Uhr vormittags ab; sogleich ereignete sich ein Unfall. An einer kleinen Schnelle schlug Wilhelm's Boot um, der thätigste Neger Chico befand sich so ungeschickt wie möglich. Mit den Tornister und dem Handkoffer in der Hand, stand er mitten im Wasser, das wie über ein Mühlenwehr über die Effecten floss, verdutzt gleich einem Dinstmann am Bahnhofe, der seinen Fremden aus dem Auge verloren hat. Er wäre beinahe ertrunken, wurde aber von Clementino glücklich herausgezogen. Wir trockneten auf beiden Ufern. Verzögerung bis 1 Uhr nachmittags.

Anstatt der Cachoeiras schaffen uns jetzt die einfachen Schnellen Sorgen. Antonio rettete mit Mühe sein Kanu vor dem Umkippen; er kam mit einer Ladung Wasser davon.

Wir fuhren an einem ½ m breiten Kanal vorbei, der durch Wiesen zu einer Lagune führt. Dort beunruhigen sich die Bakairí bei höherem Wasser der den Kanal passirenden Fische. Sie kennen keine Angel und fangen die Fische entweder in Fallen oder erlegen sie mit Pfeilen.

Hübsche Parklandschaft. Viele Baumgruppe im Wasser. Breite 35—45m. Wir ruderten fröhlich voran und gedachten schon, am einen hübschen Lagerplatz anzumachen, als die Nothwendigkeit dies uns selbst bestimmte. Wilhelm's Kanu mit Israel und Chico erlitt zum zweiten mal Schiffbruch, und zwar an einer wenig gefährlichen Stelle, nachdem die Schnelle bereits passirt war. Alles verschwand im Nu in den Wellen. Der arme Israel, der nicht schwimmen konnte, klirrte sich an einen von Grund aufragenden Baumast; das Kanu wurde schnell gesichert, und drei Mann schleppten den Unglücksmann der wegen seiner eisernen Minen und zugleich willenlosen Haltung ebendrein allgemeine Heiterkeit zu erregen hatte, an das rettende Ufer. Valentin fing das Stativ des Theodoliten auf, und alle schwammen, tauchten und paddelten in der Strömung; auch und auch wurde die ganze Fracht zu Tage gefördert, mit Ausnahme des Bündels, zu dem Wilhelm's Poncho, Decke und Hängematte vereinigt waren. Alles Suchen blieb erfolglos.

Die Bakairí haben sich hier einen natürlichen Fischkasten eingerichtet; am Rande des Flussbettes sind Steinblöcke locker nebeneinander im Kreise herum gelegt; durch zwei grössere Oeffnungen strömt das Wasser ein und aus. — Wir bringen zwei Kanus hinein, die gewissenhaft gesucht und morgen nachgebogen werden sollen.

[illegible] Aug. [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

Die Nacht fiel [illegible] Thau, vereinzelte [illegible] wie die [illegible] Wälder; es ist ein Donner, wie die Zeichnungen [illegible], die Bäume sind [illegible] und [illegible]. Wie sollen wir hier photographieren? Unmöglich [illegible]

[illegible] Wälder [illegible] Bäumen, [illegible] Spuren der Tiere [illegible] die Leute [illegible] mit einem Pfeile in den Sand, oder [illegible] gewöhnlich nur die Spur der Tiere und [illegible] mit den Händen die [illegible] Grube auf, welche den Abdruck ihrer Klauen bildet. In einem Nest sind 17 Eier, in einem anderen 15; das Ei ist weiss und dunkel [illegible] im grossen; 6,5 cm lang, 3,7 cm breit. Temperatur des Sandes 27° C. Ueber die [illegible] wird täglich der Schiedsspruch [illegible] im Vorübergehen gerufen: „Die hat die Eidechse gebrannt".

Es ist wunderbare [illegible] Stimmung, Grosse, [illegible] Bäume, [illegible] Schmetterlinge und [illegible] von Moskiten oder Wespen. Viele Sonnen. Unendliche Windungen; wir machen ungefähr 2 Leguas.

Unbeschreiblich [illegible] Pfützen, Sümpfe [illegible] von einer Pirahyba, welche ungefähr [illegible] Länge war, [illegible] Kanu gegangen. Starker Gewitter und Gewitter in der Nachtzeit. Die Zelte [illegible]

[illegible] Aug. [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

Eisenrot [illegible] ich in der Nacht und [illegible] ich [illegible] Fieber. Es war Kalte. Sehr bald [illegible] wir den Eisen des [illegible] Dorfes.

Eine Eisenbahnstrecke liegt am Eingang des Waldes, hier sind Kisten von der Form einer einer langgezogenen Pickelhaube, in die von innen Sande um ein [illegible] Fangnetzes mit engen Lochen eingelegt [illegible]. Der Weg [illegible] sich [illegible] Leguas hindurchzieht und ist dem von [illegible] [illegible].

Nach wenigen Schritten [illegible] zwei gute Bekannte von Aldeia I, die [illegible] Land gegangen waren, um bei [illegible] Grenzen [illegible]. Der eine in blauer Hose und [illegible] Hemd, der andere, der Professor, [illegible], aber [illegible] Pfeile und Bogen einen [illegible] Spiegel in der Hand. Wir waren gerade gut [illegible].

Kurz vor dem Eingang des Waldes [illegible] wir eine wunderbare Anhäufung von ungefähr [illegible] Dutzend Thongefässen [illegible] einer Seite des Pfades,

[illegible] Unterkleid einer Frau. Sie waren von Leib und Hals [illegible], weite Ärmel mit langen, dünnen Körpern, bei nur von Wäsche [illegible] und hohen Reihen bedeckt; die gelenke reichten von Ha an die Hüften. Ein Ding, das allerlei sie Alle mit sollen, bildete eine Gruppe [illegible]. Eine menschliche Figur war in einem Stoffe eingeschnitt mit [illegible] Bemerkung einer in der Hinde verbundenen Verbindung. Sie ist der Regione der Kunst im Dunkle.

Nachdem wir eine Boys und einfaches Gesamtgebäuderung gemacht hatten, [illegible] wir 4 Hütten, 2 grosse und 2 kleine, die sich rechtwinkelig gegenüberlagen. Auf dem Platze war die Hirtenhaft versammelt; die Frauen [illegible] „ma(h)ja" (das bist Du) mit ungeschickterer Hand herzlichst [illegible] rieten jedes. Dann wurden wir einer nach dem andern von unsern Wirthen, [illegible] zwei zwei zu gleicher Zeit, an den Hauptgebäuden gelenkt und vor die Fundstätte geführt, wo Bohnen und Sakrand schon bereit waren. Hier [illegible] wir uns in langer Reihe mit den Gewehren, und sofort begann die Umwickelung von Wagen. Wir [illegible] dazu [illegible], [illegible] Nägel, [illegible] durchs Gewehr [illegible], [illegible] Leute mit dem Fuchsmaul etc. Der Dolmetscher erklärt, er legte Eisen mit um sie.

Ein kräftiger Bursche, ein Diadem von [illegible] Jugendfell über der Stirn, [illegible] Kleidung [illegible]. Er [illegible] Kriegs, [illegible] [illegible] die andern und begriff alles [illegible]. Ich hatte den GÖGÖ, dem [illegible] Gewehrkolben [illegible] und in einem Club [illegible] [illegible] und [illegible] wurden. Einer der jüngern Spartaner hatte sich den Körper mit schwarzen Quadraten bemalen lassen, die an den Kolben durch [illegible] [illegible] verbunden waren. Die Zeichnung auf den Oberschenkeln [illegible] — eine schwarze Wellenlinie und in den Einsenkungen derselben schwarze Tupfen — erinnerte unwillkürlich an die Zeichnung einer Fisches, des Fisches.

Gleichzeitig mit vielen Geschenkchen von dem Dorfhaupt einer dicken Bratwurst sowie ein Halsband von Jugendhaaren erwarb ich auf billige Art, indem ich diesen Wunsch, welche die Angst als Mittel zum Fischfang sicher zu wirksam wissen, an die Zuversicht in die Gottgaben [illegible].

Der Hauptling hat durch sein ungeheures Gewicht und eine dicke Nase auf, er behandelte uns mit vornehmer Lässigkeit und Bestimmtheit. — Mehrere [illegible] [illegible] Fahnen in jedem Ohr; dieselben stehen in einem [illegible] Fahrtenbuchchen, das um einen kleinen Hüte verschlossen. Der schlanke Kopfschmuck war jedoch eine einfache Krone gelber, bis 10 cm grosser Federn, in deren Mitte eine lange Arendeder eingesteckt.

Vorzüglich zeigten sich einige Frauen. Eine Alte gab es auch hier, die

[illegible] Gestalt [illegible], die beiden gebrochen [illegible]. Eine Frau, auf deren weißem Hemde ein Jungen [illegible], war von grauem Körper mit einer dickhaarigen gelben Schlangenhaut [illegible].

Die beiden grauen Hexen waren rund, die beiden kleinen lang ellipsisch, schlangenähnlich. In der einen, der Fruchtbaren, entdeckten wir mehrerlei Organe. Zwischen den [illegible] Jungen [illegible] eine Menge verschiedenartiger bunter Kopfhaubchen. Alle hatten vor Angstmung an den Kopf ein Strohgeflecht. Die Farben waren weiss, schwarz, rotbraun, [illegible], sämmtlich rein [illegible]. Die gab es allein Cylinder von Bast von Pflanzenfaserstoffen, rotbraun, mit schwarzen Quadraten bemalt, zwei grauen

Die drei Hexen-Gestalten

Körper, die einen mit gelben, die andern mit blauen Fischen bemalt, und [illegible] mit rotbraunen weissen Fischen bemalten, zwei Kinder langen Bastfasern, 2 m lang, wie Pflanzenfasern [illegible], ein [illegible] Stab einer Fischfalle, [illegible] einer Gitter, beide mit Strohgeflecht [illegible]. Zwei schwarz und weiss schwarzbraune Schlangen — auch Antonio Klapperschlangen [illegible]. Ein [illegible] Strohgeflecht, in dem kleine Schnecken waren, [illegible] Bananenblätter [illegible]. Die Vögel, in dem Haus [illegible], weiss, Kopf und Hinterleib schwarz, [illegible] mit gelbem Bauch. Ein grünerer rotbraun und schwarz bemalter Vogel schwarz [illegible] einem der Cylinder [illegible].*

Neben diesen Erzeugnissen der primitivsten Schnitzkunst war das

* Vgl. die [illegible] Tafel.

[illegible] — „der" Stand [illegible] — welches die Bekleidung noch bei den Bakairi [illegible]. Die Frauen waren nach dem System der Bingmanier in Mustern gekleidet, am Halse war das Wasser weit, am Leibesumfange, so hatte [illegible] und Hosen, von denen Gelenkbänder lange Fransen herabhingen. Viele einfache [illegible] Perlen-Fransenbänder [illegible]. Zwei dreireihige Fransenbänder waren mit Bananen-Fruchtkern besetzt. Ihre Haare [illegible], [illegible] Gelenke [illegible] mit [illegible] Stirnbande versehen, das beim Tanzen von die Kniebeuge gebunden wird. Ein anderes Kleidungsstück war eine [illegible], an einem Gürtelchen aufgehängtem Lendenschurz, welches Kerne enthielt.[1]

Die Bälle war meist in allen der ersten Gleichs. Eingaben Perlenbänder, Bananenfrucht, Lanzenspitzen, Frosch de labio, und außerdem ein [illegible] Stück [illegible] Gleichnis. Wir zählten 10 Männer, 17 Frauen, 7 Kinder; es ist jedoch möglich, dass einer oder der andere doppelt gezählt ist, sehr wahrscheinlich ist [illegible] die geringe Menge der Kinder. Gegen Abend [illegible] wir vom Flusse zurück, als [illegible] gute Beobachtungszeiten gewonnen.

19. Aug. φ 15° 10′ S, λ 7° 7′, bei 20.15, Sonnen 18.45.
P^1_2, Ohr [illegible]. Druck [illegible], Wasser [illegible].
1 Uhr 30 Min. nachmittags: 1 [illegible], 2 [illegible]. Druck [illegible].

Aus der im Druck erhaltenen Wolle wurden Augenbinden gedreht. In der Nacht und 1 Frauen und 2 Frauen gefangen. Der andere hat die Unsitte, wenn er an Land gegangen wird, mit dem Dach, der das Wasser [illegible] wollen, einen [illegible] Gleichnis von sich zu geben. Es schmeckte lustig, die Bälle [illegible] auch mit [illegible] — Der Dolmetscher ging [illegible], er trug [illegible] Pfeil, Bogen und den [illegible] Spiegel auf dem Rücken in einem Netz, das durch ein Stirnband gehalten wurde, einen Bingmanier- [illegible] gelb, der Bakairi auf Reisen. — Ein junger, hübscher Bursche begleitete uns zum nächsten Dorfe. Er trägt ein [illegible] Flanellhemd und um den Kopf ein grünes Tuch mit dem brasilianischen Wappen. Am Lagerplatze legt er diese Bekleidung ab.

19. Aug. φ 15° 10′ S, λ 15° E, bei 21.15, Sonnen 18.45.
φ Ohr 20 Min. [illegible]. Druck [illegible], Wasser [illegible].
2 Uhr 45 Min. nachmittags: 1 [illegible]. Druck [illegible], Wasser [illegible].
P^1_2, Ohr [illegible]: 1 [illegible], Druck [illegible].

[1] [illegible] „Tempo [illegible]" [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[Facing p. 172]

[illegible] ein Strang [illegible], schwarzing rotlichem gefärbt, ist um den Leib geschlungen. Manche haben [illegible] oder Ähnliches über den Knöcheln oder unter den Knien um die Beine oder um den Oberarm gewunden. Gleichfalls ist eingeölt verfahren.

Die Tänzer wird mit einem gebogenen Stöckchen Lanzengras [illegible]. Die Durchmesser beträgt 5 cm.

Zu unserer Überraschung finden wir auch eine einzige Mehrdeutigkeit und bei einem Kinde ein Schlafzeichen [illegible] Fuße vor. Wir konnten nähergewinn Gesichtes, auf welchem Wege die [illegible] gelangt waren; ich deutete [illegible] Bemerkung und Antwort [illegible] Angaben an, [illegible] [illegible] Dummheiten, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

Schon in Kiste II war die [illegible] durch die Bemerkung [illegible] Tätowierungen in [illegible] Bewegung gerathen; hier wurde noch gemacht. Die Sätzen waren so [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] Uhr vormittags: [illegible]
5 Uhr 30 Min. nachmittags: [illegible]
Feuchte [illegible], Wasser [illegible]

[illegible] ging in seine Lager zurück. Während der Nacht war der Boden von [illegible] Kosa mit einem Kreuz gepranzt und die Ladung gemacht. Einige Boden Wilhelm's, darunter die Gefährten von Eisenbahnsoldaten, sind in Gefangenschaft gegangen. Die Schanzen haben standhaft im Wasser gelegen.

Um 3 Uhr nachmittags ist [illegible] von Compiègne, wo besonders eine Hütte, die wir anhielten, wir schien nicht [illegible] zu sein oder war eine eine Provisionsstation. Eine [illegible] Kuchen, Tiegel, Brotel mit Cognac, ein Gewehr für die Pferde, Blechbüchsen, deren einige Kerzen die [illegible] Farbe [illegible], befindet sich in vollkommener Verfassung. Der Weg an einer Reihe Häuser an dem Wald.

[illegible] Aug. [illegible]
[illegible] Uhr früh: [illegible]
[illegible] Uhr [illegible]
[illegible] Uhr abends: [illegible]
[illegible]

Der Platz ist [illegible]. Die Gewehrschüsse. Es hat viel [illegible] Bomben und [illegible] Lagerstätten. Zur Passage und für den Fortbling und [illegible] Stangengewehre angebracht. Wenn die Lagerstätte sich in der Regel [illegible] hat, wird an den Stangen ein Blattengeflecht befestigt, durch welches das Wasser [illegible] vom Blatt abfließt, die Blätter aber [illegible] gehalten werden. — Vergleichbar war eine Jagd auf [illegible] Tagen.

[illegible] Aug. [illegible]
[illegible] Uhr [illegible]
[illegible] Uhr vormittags: [illegible]
[illegible] Uhr nachmittags: [illegible]
[illegible]

Da der Nacht [illegible] Uhr [illegible] Regen. Wasserbomben. [illegible] [illegible] Uhr [illegible] — Der Platz [illegible] Wasserlagen [illegible] Blätter [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Wasserlagen [illegible] Wasserlagen [illegible] Uhr [illegible] — Ein Hund [illegible] in der Verfolgung [illegible] Gefangenen [illegible]. Das Fleisch der [illegible] hat einen Geschmack von [illegible].

[illegible] Aug. [illegible]
[illegible] Uhr früh: [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] der Stangen [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Um 9 Uhr ab. Gebaudäne mit Tabaxia verzog sowohl und ein Vogel im Gebüsch aufgeschreckt. Trotzen gerne, wenn sich Stili. Dicke auf dem Wasser die beiden Mongoendel.

[illegible]: Von Uhr in NW eine blaue Form sichtbar.

Um 10 Uhr erwachen wir den Halbe der Aldea IV. Ein erwachen wir bereits erwartet. Sie ist die einzige, die auf dem rechten Ufer liegt, umgeben 3 km landeinwärts. — Ein lapfen Dutzend dieser Leute empfing uns mit lauten „[illegible]" und geleitete uns den Weg. Sie machen lustiger Lärm, um uns mit vielen Gebrüder der Gemeinschaft zu verständlichen, dass sie Herrn und Herren des ganzen Gebiets seien. Meist durch Wiesen und Gestrüpp der Waldlisiere. — Es war das grösste Dorf, 7 Häuser, zwischen sie freier Platz. Dort standen 10 Männer in verlorenen Gruppen, mit einem stark geschnitzten Schiper, das wild Bogen und Pfeile schwang, Mitunter an diesem unruhig und mit Geschreimmer „Bakairi, Kipu, Bakairi" (ver, die Bakairi) heilte. Und der Chef bei sie: „Kipu Bakairi, — Kuiaua! .... Tuaui bacairi", ... andere Stammesnamen, verschiedene Worte, wenigstens Gebrüder, schliesslich bei uns der Hengi mit einer Handbewegung sie so passiere. Augenscheinlich beruhigten wir uns, diesen wichtigst gewaltigen Eindruck auf uns zu machen.

Nur das Haar trugen wir sehr gelichtet, so dürfen bei, wenn sich Gesicht, Brust und Beine geschehen. Durch besondere Fett wachsen sich keiner uns sie wegen den Gesichtsfelder, Arm und Fundinden von Gesamtwelle oder Bartflaum.

Die Hautfarbe erschien mir ein wenig dunkler, als bei den übrigen Bakairi, doch mag ich durch die Schmutzfärbung geblendet sein, die sie gerdem besonders Mutter zeigte, wenden sich in reichlichem Bemalen den Körpern beschäftigt. Die Wirbelsäule blieb frei, dagegen die Hüfte, die beim Sitzen sichtbar blieben. Mundrum rote gewesen, gruppiert an Langem.

Die Bjaderwaie anderer Individuen war schlecht-sauberlig Pulsiert und mit spitzen, wechsen Schuppen an ganzen Körper bedeckt. Vielle dabei lustig gewellten Haar.

Wir zählten 27 Männer, 10 Weiber, 6 Kinder, doch soll sein einige von der Mannschaft, die länger als wir verweilten, beschäftigt gehen auch ein ganzer Zug von Frauen und Kindern aus dem Walde gekommen sein.

Das grösste Haus sass ich gemessen sein. Es war 40 Schritt lang, 10 Schritt breit. In der Mittellinie standen 4 Mittelsäulen, 5—6 m hoch (?) bei 30 m Durchmesser, die mittleren 3 Schritte voneinander, die äusseren von diesen je 2 Schritte entfernt; dieselben hatten einige mit Geschnitzten Mustern bemalte Hinder.

Die Anlehnung der beiden inneren Mittelsäulen verursachte, auch

eingen 11 Schritt, ergab auch die Länge des Dachgerüstes. Eingesetzt dienten vier Stützen den eigentlichen Dachkorben 72 Platten, bis 35 cm dick, 1 m 20 breit. Derselbe Korb hatte auch die beiden 77 cm breiten Eingänge, welche auf den Längsseiten gegenüberlagen und durch den von innen einbeziehenden Stock einen einzigen wurden.

Der von grossen horizontalen Bambusringen zusammengewirkte Dachkorb, gefertigt durch senkrecht auf derselben gelegenen Stangen, welche dann zusammenwickelten und durch eine Öffnung nach innen reichten, war mit grosser Gewichtlichkeit und Regelmässigkeit geschehen. Die Bedeckung war aus strohernen Palmblättern gebildet. Die Dachspitze lagen horizontal, die Seiten Enden der von dem breitbiegenden einzelnen Lamellen waren jedoch einzeln an eine andere Rippe nach innen umgebogen, wobei auf die einfachste Art solche Matten entstanden. Diese Enden sah dichtung-Klamp.

Wir sachen eine Sonde durch alle Stützen. Der Unterungsteil des Gerüstes Pfahlwerk bildet. Die und voller Schwelle. Unter der schlanken Pfosten-Stelle sich auf einfachen Gerüsten 1 m lange, ½ m dicke Stelle der Mann in Stützen vorgeht. Wenig Mann. Viele Pfahlwerkes am Tuwendeur ein weitmaschiger Strick hängt von einem 80 cm langen, 15 cm breiten Ring, der auf einer langen Stange steht. Wahrscheinlich haben sie mit diesem Netzen von dem Gerüst herab die Farbe aus der eingesetzten Lagune.

So ist hier, der Bildhaus wie hier gegen Angst und Fruchtung errichtet, Bilder 17 ist hinsichtlich gemacht und bildet die Grenzwehr gegen die Fremden Stämme.

In einer Hütte lag ein weiten, geschlossen und vom Dache abgesperrten Wäschchen, dessen Stelle „die Schwiz" (so ist genug Schwiz) ein sogar schön und sorgfältig dreiseitiglich hatte war. Die Eingangsseite rechts hatt auf dem Boden, zwei Frauen hockten daneben und wischten von ein wohlfeiligen Gewürzstrauch das Laub den mehrenden Wäscherdem weggeschnitten.

Von schönen Thieren hatten wir einen Schlan, kleine Papageien, eine Eisvogel und die Sonnenvogel.

Die Fachhütte war 20 m lang, 9 m breit. Dort lagen ungefähr gesammelten Holzbalken, unter einige Bamsiten Eisenglanz, gewaschene Gänse, die vielleicht den Sinnend dienten.

Schliesslich waren zwei Gerüstige, reich und weise bemalte Schnitzbilder, mit phrischen Nase und zwei Augenlöchern, sie werden vor den Gerüste gehalten und reichen Tanzen vor, deren Sinnen der Kranken besser verständlich waren als den Engl.

[illegible]

Vor Monis und ihre Arabit Damals ruhen in der Intermedung.

Der Herold lagte nur in der Fruchtbare Regen und Pfade ziehen, wenn sich ihre während unsere gesamte Aufenthalte nicht von Sonne, selbst ihr er von einige Monbit Tabach Unerhörte. Dieser war Königsen besser ihr bei den Gelassen Bekehrt. Einige bestehlen Ihr wenn ihr, Leiter mit grossen Eisen; unter Sonne der Hauptling und, wenn ich nicht verstand, ein Verdienstling, die Anwerbe für die Zeit, wenn jener abwesend ist.

Eine Schwarzverbindung auf dem Pfeiler jagte Sonne grossen Schrecken vor, ihr Sohn begeistert umsonst und wandten sich verwirrtesch ab, so nicht der gewaltige Herold. Sein „Ah, Ah!" war sehr deutlich und dringend.

Wir erkundigten uns eifrig nach neuen Schmerz. Dass die Kriegsmut und die Trauer Bandwurm verursacht wird, wurde deutlich. Wurde war ein Name, über den wir nur nicht hier werden konnten. Wer ist die Mutter? Über die Pflanzen, wie „Dipsenyi", das unreife Blüte gemacht hatte und sich als der Name der mächtigen Inhaftlichen Sache — nur Unterscheidung dieser Hilfen Heilig verdient — bezeichnete.

Jeden Tage über Land im Unter wohnten die Kwanyeri. Die erste Hilfe in allen Schlüsselungen ihre spielten die Dokuyi?, was dann nun auch in Hilfen III aufgerufen wurden hatte. Die erste grösser — nun dreiten sich auf sich zum Vergleich, — sehr wunderlich, wegen langen Haar bis auf die Schulter und — ebenfalls Lippenpflöcker. Zur Verwandlung ung nun die Unterlage gewichtsam mit leichten Blumen von, sprung hervor und einen ein Geschmeidiges, stumpfsinnes Gebäude aus, so gute Seine Frage, die „Dokuyi" standen in unverwechselbaren Ringen bei den Dokuyi. Aber nur! Wir konnten es ohne sagen — ein junger Bursche war auf unsere Grenzen hin, und alle die Hilfen sahen sich bedrohend an.

Man wegte von einer Anzahl Stücke, die von den Boys herübersaus einem schönen Kopfpfeife von wunderbaren und grünen Federn, bestehender aus schönen Federn, einer Pfeife (sicherlich Bambusrohrhalter mit Schnitzerei und einer Gestaltung im Dachel), Pfeile mit Bambusmuster. Ein bisher geschnitzter Schmuck, der einen Vogel darstellte, stiftet von den Kwanyeri einzig aus.

Eine Schnur mit durchlöcherten Bernsteinkörnern, deren eine in der Mitte grünen war und als unschätzbarlich gehoben wurden konnte, stammte von den Dokuyi im Unter wohnenden Dokuyi? her.

Zum Abschiede wollten wir in den Hauptkraal gern noch einmal Wiegen — Pfeifen — trinken, er bestehte in einem grossen Topfe, ich war

* Auch von den Dokuyi Schuck wenig gesehen.
* Allerdings die Sonnen des Kopfschmuckes.
* s. Anmerkungen.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] und [illegible] Tracht, die Gesichtsbildung glich der der Dakotas. Die jungen Männer hatten eine kleine Tätowierung auf dem Rücken; 2 oder 3 Linien auf jeder Seite von der Form eines Winkels, die nicht auf den Schulterblatt gerichtet waren, den Samen und Unterwuchs dunkelten [illegible].

Zwei alte Frauen hatten an beiden Oberarmen drei [illegible] Linien von Gebärmüttern auf der rechten Seite. Die Mütter des Geschlechts und bei der ganzen Verbrüderung war mit Hagen Bem gerichtet; auf den Rücken [illegible] Fingerzeichen dunkelten Farbe. Das Kopfhaar war [illegible], [illegible] gewachsenlig, bei den Langen leicht gelockt, bei den alten Weibern ganz [illegible]. Am Wirbel Tonsur. Bart-, Achsel- und Schamhaar [illegible]. Frauen gleich der der Dakotas, bei einzelnen [illegible] gefärbt.

Gesicht breit [illegible], Stirn der Langen gut gewölbt. Nase gerade, Flügel [illegible], bei einzelnen etwas [illegible] zwischen Stirn und Auge. Oberlippe leicht vorgebaut, Kinn gut. Augenspalte bei den meisten [illegible] weg. Iris dunkelbraun. Ein Bewohner hat durch sein [illegible] Gesichtsfarbe [illegible], [illegible] Zeichnung, Augen sie geringer [illegible], Oberlid [illegible] [illegible], die [illegible] Augenwinkel [illegible], doch nicht über den Unterlid gegangen. Eine Frau und zwei kleine Mädchen hatten grosse, offene und [illegible] Augen, ebenfalls symbolischen Gesichts und [illegible] Zeichnungen.

Die alten strupfigen Weiber waren klein und mager, das Becken wenig breiter als die Taille, Gliedmaßen glatt, [illegible] verwachsen, die [illegible] dunkler dreieckig gebildete Gesichtsform wie die Dakota-Frauen.

Die Männer hatten von den Kopf-Bindern von Bartstreifen, und [illegible] über den Kniebeln; um den Leib eine einfache Schnur oder einen Wollenstreifen. Oberlippenbart bei den Männern durchbrochen; einer hatte die mit [illegible] Haaren geschmückt.

Den Langen und den Wortführern, soweit die Bemerkungen [illegible] ich [illegible]; die jungen Bursche, welche ich [illegible] hatte, entfernten sich, als wir die Instrumente [illegible], und [illegible] sich auch durch Gesichtsbilder [illegible] der Dreschler bewegen.

Die Bemerkungen selbst war nur durch die Aussicht auf einen [illegible] Erfolg für den an [illegible] Bildhauerentwickelung [illegible] Angen [illegible] werden. Ein ganz [illegible] zu gehen, [illegible] sich auch an Chaos; [illegible] gestatte und über die auch Indianerinnen aus Lebensmitteln in die [illegible] Angen, während sie mit dem Ausdruck [illegible] Erlangens das [illegible] Antlitz [illegible]. Eine der beiden Mädchen bis an eine Bildgebärdenentwickelung, die Mutter bestätigte es mir [illegible] Bedeutung und gab mir einen Strip. Die Chaos des letzteren [illegible], [illegible] ich [illegible] auch die [illegible] Behandlung, welcher er mit Geduldigkeit [illegible] [illegible].

Von dem Sprecher nahm ich, so gut es ging, die kleinen Veränderungen auf. Die meisten einzelnen Wörter der Lingua geral, aber wahrscheinlich nur wenige der eingemischten vorkommen. Fawa — Pfau, ondé — Weib, pitsa — Tabak; Cuanto bekanntlich auch „jacó" (Jakobs) und einen Tagesausdruck für „gab weg" gehört zu haben.

Jedenfalls wurde Irmen nicht verstanden, auch nicht bei der einfachsten Frage: wie ist das? etc. Indem war der Wortschatz viel unvergleichsamer; er besass Wörter der Bakuti, Tonga und Sayk, und z. B. die Zahl 2 der Lingua geral, während das Kaffernwort anders lautet.

Die Sprache legt dem verspätetsten Mande nicht eine solche Sangesgymnastik auf wie die Bakuti. Wir hatten nur über Vater: „papá", Mutter: „mamá", Junge Kinder — kleiner Mann: „pinin pipi" und Mädchen — kleine Frau: „pinin pipi".

Ich quälte mich mit den verschiedenartigsten Versuchen um die Zahlwörter ab; 1 und 2 habe ich wol richtig erhalten; aber ich 3 und darüber nicht etwa „Mückers, — Hühnerkicker, — gans richtig, — dasselbe, — pass mag ich nicht mehr" — oder dergleichen bedeuten, war schwer zu entscheiden. Ich wurde dann mit den vielen Fragen fertig. Auch mit den Verwandtschaftsgraden kam ich bei der kurzen Zeit nicht weit. Papá, mamá, das war ja einfach, ich — Bruder ging auch noch, der Bruder wird durch Hinzufügung auf den Vater deuten, der der Bruder ist, und auf den eigenen Vater verwandschaftlich; das Wort wurde sicher, weil der Kaffernmann es selbst auf mich anwendete: „ich nenne dich Bruder", viel er ganz begeistert und klopfte mir auf die Schulter, — „ungiamen tsi, ewé Bruder" Ungiamen tsi kann ich die Sohn bezeichnet, wird sowol seinen den Vater wie der Mutter durch eine Umschreibung, welche den Gegsitz der Kaffernsprache darstellt, ebenfalls hier, ich aber das gleichzeitig ausgesprochene Wort nicht den Bedeutung der Sohne etc. wiedergibt, ist erst aus anderen Beispielen ersichtlich.

Auf die Frage, wohin wir morgen kommen, wiederholten die Kaffernmänner „Wuyuri". Ob das ein Namen oder, wie Antonio sagt, ein Bedeutung ist, vermögen wir nicht zu entscheiden.[1]

Die Zahl der Tage wird häufig und einfach verdeutlicht. Man weist auf die Sonne, beschreibt einen Bogen durch die Luft, der dem Tagesbeud veranschaulichen, neigt den Kopf und schlummert dabei — 1 Tag; wieder beschreibt man einen Bogen u. s. w., jeden Tag in dieser Weise besonders ausdrückend. Der Finger ähnlich.

[1] Aus den Angaben des Sayk-Gewährsmannes erhellt, dass die Wurzel in der Tat ein Namen von Sayk-Leuten ist, wie wir weiter gehendes hatten.

Sehr deutlich ist auch, wie unsere Indianer — die Bakairi machen es genau so — die Frage nach einer Anzahl z. B. von Personen beantworten. Erst wird Finger für Finger der linken, dann der rechten Hand angelegt und leinsie gebogen; dann kommt der linke Fuss und, wenn es nicht reicht, der rechte Fuss, Zehe für Zehe, an die Reihe. Übersteigt die Zahl auch noch die 20, greift sich der Indianer zum Schlusse mit beiden Händen ins Haar, hebt einen vollen Büschel empor und zählt ihn noch allen Richtungen auseinander.

Im Fragen liegt die Kunst. Das Sprichwort erklärt eine Unkundige: Hier können eben Narren mehr beantworten, als ein Weiser zu fragen im Stande ist. Damit habe ich mich oft getröstet.

[pp. 185-190 not processed]

[p. 191]

DREIZEHNTES KAPITEL.

ZUSAMMENTREFFEN MIT DEN TRUMAÍ.

Während der Nacht ist Castro's Kanu, das einzige, dessen Ladung nicht an das Ufer gebracht war, von dannen geschwommen; in zwei Stunden legt es eine Legua zurück; Valentin und Satyr begeben sich auf die Verfolgung.

31. Aug. φ 11°48'.5, λ 31°.6, km 18.12, Summe 466.81.
4 Uhr 10 Min. früh: I 744.0, Trock. 19.2.
6½ Uhr früh: I 744.6, II 737.0, Trock. 19.4, Feucht. 19.0, str. 9°, Wasser 25.8.
5 Uhr 40 Min. nachmittags: I 744.4, II 735.6, Trock. 24.8, Feucht. 21.9, Horizont dunstig 4. Wind = 0, Wasser 27.9.
9½ Uhr abends: I 745.0, Trock. 20.8.

„Vem os compadres! oh, quantas canoas!" erschallte es plötzlich gegen 10 Uhr: „die Gevattern kommen: o, wie viele Kanus!" Die Soldaten eilten von dem nahen Lagerplatz im Walde herbei, alles bewaffnete sich und schaute den in langer Reihe malerisch aufziehenden Kanus zu — und ein prachtvolles Bild war es, wie eins nach dem andern um die Ecke bog und langsam den Kolísiu abwärts trieb. Zwei Indianer standen aufrecht, in ruhiger Haltung, die Bogen fertig, ein dritter saß in der Mitte und bewegte kaum das Ruder. Wie zählten 14 Kanus und 43 Menschen. In der größten Ordnung, als handle es sich um eine sorgfältig studierte Theatervorstellung.

I: Steinen SP7 Bacairi

die durch eine sehr glückliche Decoration unterstützt wurde, glitten die langen schmalen Fahrzeuge, in weitem Abstande von unserer Frau, den gegenüberliegenden Waldufer näher, lautlos dahin; kein Commando erfolgte. Fast die sämmtlichen nackten Insassen waren an Gesicht und Körper schwarz und gelbroth bemalt, viele nur über und über schwarz bemalt; auf dem Kopfe trugen sie weisse Federhauben, das Haar war wie bei den Bakairi rundum kurz geschnitten; die Stehenden wurden überragt von dem fast 2°, so langen Bogen und hielten mit der Linken ein dickes Bündel bunt befiederter Pfeile umfasst.

Allmählich machten sie halt und der Stille folgte ein fürchterlicher Lärm, ein fanatisches Gebrüll und Geheule. Dass sie Trumai waren, konnte keinem Zweifel unterliegen: denn sie schrien den Wort unaufhörlich, als ob ihr Leben davon abhänge, schlugen sich mit der Faust auf die Brust und machten dabei mit dem Oberkörper um so leidenschaftlichere Verbeugungen, als den Beinen für lebhafte Gesticulation wenig Spielraum gegönnt war. Immerhin wäre schwerlich jeder von uns, der sich halbwegs so aufgeregt im Kaus bewegen hätte, schon beim Beginn der Nachahmung rettungslos ins Wasser gefallen. Aber wir bedurften uns auf festem Boden, und das Brüllen steckt an. Auch wir heulten, auch wir brüllten, auch wir schlugen uns auf die Brust: jeder schrie uns dann aus einer Indianersprache zuerst: „Kotó, lekato Trumai; Bakairi, Kustenaú“ unterstützt mit kräftigen „Aiuwa“, „heiliges Donnerwetter“ so deutsch, „verkaufen diese Kerle denn keinen Verstand an?“

Aber weit entfernt! So herzlich einladend wir denen auch winkten, so vertraulich wir in die Hände klatschten, so verbindlich wir auf unsern Lagerplatz zeigten, als sprächen wir mit dem Spanier: „Mein Herr, dies Haus ist Ihr Haus“, es half nicht im geringsten. Es war klar, der Spektakel ist offiziell am Schlusse: wir würden den guten Ton verletzen, wenn wir von andern Dingen reden wollten, ehe wir nun gegenseitig eine halbe Stunde lang gründlich vorgestellt haben.

Einen andern Versuch galt es: da unser Indianisch offenbar nicht ausreichte, wurde Antonio vorgeschoben, eine Ansprache in Bakairi zu halten. Nach einigem schüchternen Stottern ermannte er sich auch und schrie energisch hinüber, dass er ein Bakairi sei, und dass die Bakairi gut seien, und dass auch die Trumai gut seien, und dass die Bakairi den Trumai gut seien, dass also auch die Trumai den Bakairi gut sein möchten. Wirklich verschaffte er sich einen Augenblick Gehör, allein die Trumai merkten sofort, dass sie ihn nicht verstanden, und überschrien die arme Seele, deren Stimme verklang. Halt, da erinnere ich mich zweier Trumaiwörter, die mir der Kustenaú-Häuptling mitgetheilt hatte: „apiri“,

[Fig. 1 a-192]

Freund, und „weiter", immer weiter, das Handwerkszeug. Wie wahres Bewusstsein rufe ich aber: „Agiri Tramai, weiße Tramai, agiri!" Wenn ich bewacht haben würde, den Sturm auszuhalten, hätte ich aufstehen müssen. Die Wirkung war phänomenal. In kurzem Hohn konnen meine Worte entfalt; ich hatte unendlichen guten Trumai gesprochen. Sie holten vom Boden den Kanon der Beiden, welche die Dinge gemacht, in der Flamme gebrochener Kieselsteine haben, hervor und schwenkten den Kanon den Frauen durch die Luft. Besonders der Hauptdoktor, ein von der Sturm bis zur Zehe eingeölt übereinander Bursche, redete in gar heiligen Eifer über einen solchen Kanon, den er wie ein Professor im Collog zu demonstrieren und genau zu erläutern schien.

Ein gewisser Erfolg war übrigens bemerkbar: sie redeten sich untereinander. Der Zeugstreifer hatte offenbar nicht übel Lust, die Pfälzinnerin abzuschreiben und eine solche Bekanntschaft anzuknüpfen, allein besonders ein Kanon mit drei langen unheimlich Kalkkiesseren wogegen sich ordentlich und bestimmt die übrigen Hütten, den Wurm jene Dreiaggregat kein Gehör zu schenken. Doch die Opposition unterlag. Drei unserer Leute setzten sich in ein Kanon und ruderten unter der feindlichen Flotille, freundlich lachend und schmeichelnd, das gewann den Herzen, immer noch ein wenig gebremsend, näherten sie sich dem Strande und landeten endlich. Die schwarzen aber rufen, ich weiss nicht ob sie durch Kunst oder Liebe von Natur bändigen Gewächse grüßen uns wenigstens entgegen; jeder von uns nahm einen der Gesellen unter den Arm, worauf sich schleunigst ein Zweiter von jenen an den andern Arm einhängte; so schritten wir brüderlich vereint auf unsern Lagerplatz zu.

Die meisten überreichten ein Stück Brot zum Angedenken und sagten dabei „mir". Mein Begleiter nahm ein weisses Hut, den ich aber respektvoll zurückverlangte. Es schien vorzüglich abzuhalten; ich war unter den letzten und wer hatte nun unsere Blumenstöcke schon erreicht.

Da hier ich hinter mir einen Schaum; Vetter Wilhelm steht dort, ohne Hut, gestikulierend, eine indianischer Gestikulant steht im Sande und zeigt auf alles Vieren; schon springt er auf. Welche Panik? Fürchten sie, dass auch der Boden Ihr, um sie zu verschlingen? Das ist phänomenaler Schrecken; keine Frage, wir verfliegen über Bäte und Dunner. Mit wenigen Sätzen sind alle in den Kanon, sie stossen ab, schwimmend rudern sie zum Leibschiffchen und kommen erst in der Mitte des Flusses ungefähr zur Ruhe. Kein Bitten, keine Friedensdemonstrationen — wir legen die Gewehre nieder und gehen unbewaffnet über den Strand — keine sie zur Rückkehr bewegen.

Ein Boot mit vier unserer Leute ist mitten unter ihnen; ich glaubte [illegible]

[illegible] zu der Gleichen, die [illegible] Gewissen zu beschäftigen; doch [illegible] es sich bald, dass sie einige Farben wieder haben wollen; die Pistole Hannelis, die Bitte von Cantre, Wilhelm und Antonio, das Gewehr Quirillanis, das für die Lieferung bestimmte Geld — was weiss ich, es ist unbegreiflich, wie sie sich alles dessen in der kurzen Zeit bemächtigt haben.

Schon befanden sich die ganze Pistole auf der linken Seite des Gebäudes. Die [illegible] von Tressan einen Pfeil nach unserm Kamm, und im Moment bemächtigten die Gewehre der Soldaten. Wie sie versicherten, haben sie nur in die Luft gefeuert. Es folgt eine wilde Szene; die einzelnen Indianer springen Hals über Kopf von den Kamm, lassen dort und dort Waffen im Stich, schwimmen um sehr Ufer und sind unter den Bäumen verschwunden. Die Soldaten, einmal von dem Turm der Schlacht herunter, schwenken noch einig weiter, so sehr sich Cantre vom Strand aus bemüht, durch Gewehr in Schuß zu bringen; endlich wird's still, sie kommen und ordnen in allen Reihen und begeben sich auf den Heimweg. Nirgends ist im Wasser von Tressan zu entdecken; gleich einer leblosen Masse liegen der Kamm am Ufer und hier und da nur rechts, wie ein toter Vogel, ein Federbusch auf den Wellen.

Jetzt gelangten wir erst zur Besinnung und konnten uns über die Ursache der Begebenheiten klar werden. Offenbar waren die Tressan von dem dringenden Wunsche beseelt gewesen, für den ersten Preis, den gern mandten sie von Shake-Gesellschaft, gefährlung waren und einerlei schwärzen, möglichst bald und mit möglichst geringem Gesamtschaden einige neuere Kostbarkeiten einzusetzen. Ebenso waren sie in den Sinn dieses gewesen. Von Wilhelm Begleitern hatte sich der eine gleichzeitig mit dem Hirschfänger, der andere mit dem Gewehr beschäftigt, und der letztere, während sich mein Vetter dem Frauenzimmer zu erscheinen suchte, möglichkeiterweise den Hahn abgefeuert. Von dem Effekt war der Gleichhaare gleichfalls nur mittelmäßig; wenn hätte er nicht so erschreckt auf den Boden geruppelt.

Trotz der unbeschreiblichen Geschwindigkeit übrigens, mit der sie zu den Booten eilten, hatten die Tressan nicht alle Gesamtgepäckstücke eingeladen. Die Beiden, welche Cantre und Antonio Hilfe gerade geschwindeller entgegenzu hatten, vergessen nicht, im vierten Lauf dreifachen auf über den Kopf zu eilen. Ein anderer Pokaldem hatte auf seiner Flucht noch Zeit gefunden, schleunigst einen der grossen am Strande liegenden Fische mitzunehmen.

Charakteristisch war das Verhalten Antonio's, als dieser sein theuer Hut zu unserer [illegible] wurde. Ohne weiteres nahm er seine Pistole auf den Rücken ab, tätte aber glücklicherweise in seinem Zorn. Und als wir

[facing p. 194]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[p. 117]

[illegible] KAPITEL.

[illegible] UND KAMPFGAS.

[illegible] wegnehmen sind Chlore und Chlorverbindungen, mit grünem Gelbe in die Fabrikräume eingedrungen — mit Dampf und mit Gas, welches jeden Morgen Chlorin entbinden müssen. Dass was der Vorrath an Bleiweiss ausgeht, ist heute zu besorgen, sobald das Mittel nur dasjenige [illegible] wirklich wirksam wird, wirkte mit einem Anfall des Bedürfnisses [illegible].

[illegible]

Die Gleichwärme ist sehr wechselnd, sie schwankt zwischen Minimum [illegible] und Maximum 7—[illegible] m. Einzelne Inseln und Schwarzwasser, ringsum alles Sumpf. Lange Frösche mit schönsten Jugendquaken; eine Möve, die Centro Tellmann, Velocita Sinn nennt, ist in der Brutzeit; ich fand zwei grasgrünliche, braungesprenkelte Eier, die delicat schmeckten. Die Nester sind Vertiefungen im Sande, drei 4—6 nummeriert. Heute glückte es mir auch zum ersten mal, allein Schildkrötennester zu finden, schwarzes in einem Nest, deren sehr ich nur Feier dessen Eingangsnest zu verschwen fertig brachte. Es wurden neun Nester gefunden. — Das Wasser spritzt oft in [illegible] Strahl auf, der Ursache wird dem Frostings zugeschrieben.

Ich habe den ganzen Tag fleissig gerudert und finde daraus ein grünerne

[illegible]

[illegible] die an dem Schiffchen. Lebhafter Nordwind. In der Mitte des Flusses gingen kleine Wellen, aber doch genug, dass die vorderen Kanne auch an die Uferseite Wellen zeigten. Um 3½—4½ Uhr nachmittags bald [illegible]. Die Farben waren gut gelungen. Wie vorhin und gleichzeitig im Zelt. Die Schwärzung nach dem Regen war unbedeutend, man hatte darauf schreiben müssen, doch im Norden, an der Horizontlinie, von Grünlich zu einer reinen Bernsteinfarbe und der hellen Strand, von dessen Farbe sich deutlich der Zelt dann unterschied. Der Boden war schon trocken, die Wand durchbrach, gewann das Bild wieder ein ganz polares Aussehen. Nach Sicht, wir nahmen unser Mahl nach 10 Uhr abends ein und schliefen, keinen Regen mehr befürchtend, dennoch in den Hängematten.

[illegible]

[illegible] Regen. [illegible] 10° [illegible] 6 [illegible] 8, [illegible] 19 [illegible], [illegible] [illegible].
[illegible] Uhr [illegible] 1 [illegible] 6, [illegible] 19 [illegible] 8. [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] 8, [illegible] [illegible] 8, [illegible] [illegible].
[illegible] Uhr abends 1 [illegible] 6, [illegible] 19 [illegible] 8. [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] 8, [illegible] [illegible] 8, [illegible] [illegible] 8.
[illegible] Himmel. [illegible], [illegible] 8.

[illegible] Uhr [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible] und gegenüber dicke [illegible] Gänge, der aber viele verdorrte Stämme und Äste zeigt. [illegible] 3—4 m, [illegible], mit Wasserrinnen in kleinen Stellen, [illegible], dazwischen [illegible]. Die Farbe des Wassers in der Mitte des Flusses [illegible], was die Leute „schwarz" nennen. Heute fehlt die Sonne, es fehlen die Bernsteinen und die gelben Schattenlinge, welche wir gestern hier

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

Glauer zu Hilfe zu nehmen, oder an Pferde legend, von dem Orte bei-
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Glücklicherweise hatten wir heute gut zusammengehalten, wir verwundeten uns, aber bei Weibern und Kindern, die Stimmung der Leute war eine ausgezeichnete hervorragende. Durch Gottes im kindlichen Lager war [illegible] geworden, ich unterschied auf dem Wege eine Anzahl Gewehre, die sich in einer Reihe am Ufer anlehnten und von Indianern [illegible]. Eine bei [illegible] Anlegung, wie man sie von einem [illegible] Gebiet empfindet, wenn man einmal Ruhe gefunden hat, aber die Wirklichkeit des Augenblickes durch nicht unverdächtigen, [illegible] sich [illegible]. Zuerst die mit auf dem Flusse waren, konnte auch von keiner Ergung wirklicher Freude keine Rede sein. Wir Alle und Damen in Gel Kanoes [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[Facing p 200]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible]

[illegible]

Die [illegible] gut [illegible], es [illegible] nur als die [illegible] [illegible] und dem Lager und dem gegenüberliegenden Ufer [illegible] [illegible] von Stockholm [illegible] Schwedens, [illegible] die [illegible] [illegible] von Vergnügen und Leuten, aber ach, welche Enttäuschung gab sich in dem [illegible] kund, nachdem der dem Ufer die Mädchen erkennen [illegible] und man begriff, dass man von denselben nicht begrüßt [illegible].

Unterdessen unser Unbeliebt [illegible], folgte man [illegible] mit den Matrosen [illegible] Kanal, sie [illegible] sich dem Strande, die Wellen Sogen auf dem Boden. Ich ging dann [illegible] entgegen, dann sie allen Kleidungsstücke [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] im Wasser [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

und verwellen im eisen Gedränge der Tonne, während wir vergeblich über die Schwierigkeiten Steinen in der Ferne leisten. Sie wollen durchaus, dass wir uns in die Tiefe zurückbegeben. Eine lebhafte, ruhige Gesellschaft, welche den guten Geschmack so Europa weit übertroffen ist.

Wir lagen im Zelt, der Himmel hat sich bezogen; Wolkiten umschwärmen sich. Die Nacht drohen wollen nicht zu Bett gehen, schlafen im Zelt, oder Mitternacht, schwatzen wir unendlich. Ein gelungenes [illegible] Gedicht [illegible] vom [illegible] Uhr [illegible]. Frauenhaus [illegible] [illegible].

Wie [illegible] der Urwelt, die Schlafmutterin [illegible], die Lenkerin der Heimat. Lasst unsere Gemüthe nicht in Wirre kommen, denn wir sind die [illegible] Legende gegen die andere [illegible] Gottheit [illegible] [illegible] Welt, die [illegible] Wanderungen in [illegible] Wirklichkeit [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Lt Steinan SP7 Bacairi

[facing p. 204]

frei bis auf die Schultern; in den Ohren trugen auch sie den aufgerollten Palmblattstreifen; ihre Lippen waren nicht entstellt. Eine fiel mir auf wegen ihres schönen weissen Gebisses; sie hatte drei Ketten mit dicken durchbohrten Steinen um den Hals.

Unsere liebenswürdigen Führer hegten die klare Absicht, uns in verschiedene Hütten zu vertheilen; wir schienen das aber nicht zu bemerken und traten zusammen in die letzte und grösste ein. Wir zählten neun ganz wie bei den Bakairi gebaute bienenkorbartige Hütten und einen offenen Schuppen in der Mitte des freien Platzes. Hängender wurde Baumwolle und wilden Zuckerrohr, das der Pfeilschäfte liefert.

In dem Hause wurden wir auf eine Weise umlagert und bedrängt, dass wir uns kaum rühren konnten. Wilhelm sass auf einem Schemel und wurde bei jedem Versuch, sich zu erheben, freundlichst niedergedrückt. Ich schrieb einige Worte auf; mistrauisch beobachtete man jede Bewegung der Hand.

Kochbrett (Manioccawschaber).

Wir erhielten einige Gegenstände. Man gab uns gute Cigaretten von bekannter Bezugsquelle, man bewirthete uns mit einer dünnen Stärkelösung.

Es war eine Reihe baumwollener Hängematten vorhanden; doch sagten die Suyá stets „Bakairi" — in einer Hütte war einer beim Weben beschäftigt, — es unterliegt keinem Zweifel, dass sie diese Kunst erst von den Bakairi erlernt haben. Ihr eigentlicher Nachtlager ist eine grob geflochtene Matte und ein Stück Holz zum Kopfkissen. Und doch ist es nicht weniger gewiss, dass diese Suyá den Bakairi an Kunstfertigkeit und Energie überlegen sind. Die Töpfe waren vorzüglich gearbeitet und hübsch schwarz bemalt: zwei concentrische Kreise, auf der äusseren Bodenfläche von dem grösseren Seitenstreifen zum oberen Rande verlaufend, bildeten ein Muster, das mir besonders auffiel.

Die Bemalung der Calabassen wies dieselben geometrischen Zeichnungen wie bei den Bakairi. Geflochten waren sie im Flechten niedlicher Körbe, in denen Früchte aufbewahrt wurden, während der Vorrath an Mehl in kunstlosen Säcken versteckt war.

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Mehrere Schaaf stellten einen Vogel dar. Kopf und Augen waren, wenn man das einfache Werkzeug bedenkt, vortrefflich gearbeitet. An den Reifbäumen oder Mandioracacibaumen waren die Bariti-Stäbe zu einem hübschen Muster angeordnet. Auch die Beipiwender zeigten Bemalung.

Das Gedränge liess nicht nach; ein erblindeter Alter, vielleicht der Zauberer des Stammes, blies jedem von uns zwei mächtige Rauchwolken in jedes Ohr und fügte pünktlich sein „tahahi, tahahi Suyá“ hinzu. Ausserordentlich früh drückten unsere Gastfreunde den Wunsch aus, dass wir uns nun wieder entfernen möchten, und als wir sie nicht verstanden, fassten sie uns an der Hand, deuteten auf den andern Ufer und suchten uns verständlich zu der Rückkehr nach dem Kanus zu verlocken. Wir verstanden sie aber immer noch nicht; wir gingen auf den Schuppen zu und setzten uns dort nieder. Derselbe diente wohl als Berathungsort; es lag dort eine Matte in der Mitte, an jeder Seite befand sich eine Feuerstelle, und eine Menge verstreuter Steinbildnisse deutete an, dass man hier in der vorigen Nacht die Volksreden gehalten hatte. Ein Blinder kam herbei, auf einen Stock gestützt; ein zweiter Greis, desgleichen am Stabe, dem die Unterlippe mit mächtigem Klotz heftig wackelte, betastete uns mit zitternden Händen.

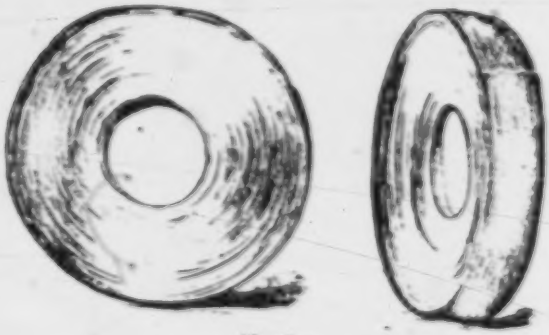
Auch die Frauen vom andern erschien; sie hatte unbedingt Einfluss bei den Männern, und erhielt deshalb ein prachtvolles Armband mit blauen Perlen, welches sie zufrieden lächelnd entgegennahm.

Der Zauberer, dessen Ungeduld von Minute zu Minute wuchs, um uns zu verständigen, verzweifelte schier über die Schwerfälligkeit unsers Begriffsvermögens und beklagte sich bitter bei dem Kreis der Bewunderer, der uns umgab. Fürchtete der Biedermann, an seinem eigenen Ansehen zu verlieren, weil die fremden Zauberer ihm überlegen waren? Ich zog einen Spiegel hervor, deren sie noch keinen gesehen hatten, und hielt ihn mit einem schmeichelnden „tahahi, tahahi“ den erblindeten Nachbar vors Antlitz. Wie er die Augen verdrehte! Nur einen flüchtigen Blick hatte er hineingeworfen, und der Schreck malte sich in seinen Zügen; aufgeregt wandte er die andern, den Gegenstand zu betrachten. Da plagte mich der Uebermuth, dass ich das Sonnenbildchen mit der blanken Fläche auffing und es rasch zwei, drei mal über die Körper der Umstehenden zucken liess. Schreiend stürzten sie auseinander, drehend kamen sie mit den Waffen zurück und winkten uns heftig, den Platz zu räumen. Jetzt war es Zeit, dass wir verstanden. Möglichst gehalten und ruhig, ohne uns zu beeilen, traten wir den Rückzug an; doch erst, als das Kanu vom Ufer abstiess, glättete sich die kahle Stirn des Zauberers.

Spät nachmittags einiger Besuch. Die Zahl der Suyá anzugeben, wäre nach unsern Erfahrungen kaum möglich; jedenfalls ist es das bevölkertste

Dorf von denen, welche wir gesehen haben. 150 Seelen, Männer, Weiber, Kinder, dürfte reichlich gerechnet sein.

Sie sind etwas grösser im Durchschnitt als die Stämme, denen wir bisher begegnet, keiner erreicht jedoch 1.70 m; schlank, von kräftiger Muskulatur; ihrer Hautfarbe ist ein wenig mehr gelb beigemischt. Eine hohe, aber etwas zurückweichende Stirn, schmale, meist gerade Nasen, ziemlich enge Augenspalten, verständige Züge — ohne die Entstellung würden diese Gesichter nichts Ungewöhnliches darbieten. Bei einigen ist die Vorderhälfte des Kopfes rasirt; hinten wird das mehr straffe als wellige Haar geknotet oder hängt wirr bis auf die Schulter herab. Wir bemerkten zwei, welche gelbe Baumwollmützen wie eine Perücke trugen. Bei vielen stärkere



Ohrrolle.

Ansätze von Bartwuchs; bei einem war ein dünner Schnurrbart vorhanden. Nur wenige haben das übrige Körperhaar entfernt. Die Augenwimpern sind meistens ausgerissen. Viele Schnittnarben über den ganzen Körper.

Das „Lauçó" ist eine Rolle wie ein Handmaass (Durchmesser 7 cm, Breite des Bandes 1.5 cm), von den breiten Blattstreifen der Bacava-Palme; die Ohrläppchen, in denen es von beiden Geschlechtern getragen wird, erscheinen wie aufgeschlitzt und hängen, wenn die Rolle, welche sie allmählich weit ausgedehnt hat, herausgenommen wird, wie ein Zügel bis nahe an das Schlüsselbein herab; so entstände eine grosse Unbequemlichkeit, falls das Lauçó, wie häufig geschieht, nicht angelegt wird; doch weiss man sich zu helfen: man schlingt den schlotternden Zügel über die Ohrmuschel.

Die Lippenscheibe heisst „Nigakoko" und ist ausschliesslich Schmuck der erwachsenen Männer. Sie ist sehr zierlich aus einem wie Kork leichten

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Holz gearbeitet, bis 7 oder 8 cm im Durchmesser und 1.7 cm dick. Der Rand zeigt ringsum eine hohlkehlenartige Vertiefung, durch welche die Scheibe sichern Halt gewinnt. Die obere Fläche und der Rand sind roth bemalt, die untere Fläche ist weiss und durch einen schwarz aufgemalten concentrischen Kreis verziert. Das Loch, in welchem die Scheibe steckt, ist in der Mitte dicht unter dem Lippenrand gebohrt; durch ihr Gewicht fällt sie in eine horizontale Lage; an den Zähnen geht das gemalte Roth unmittelbar in die Mundschleimhaut über. Im Profil ein merkwürdiger Anblick. Die untern Schneidezähne, den Druck der Lippe entbehrend, stehen schief, brechen ab, fallen aus. Auch die Ausmundung des Mundspeichels ist beeinträchtigt, und so sind die Suyá fortwährend genöthigt, den herabsch-

Lippenscheibe.
a obere Seite b untere Seite

lucken; ihre Rede wird infolge dessen in regelmässigen Intervallen durch ein schlürfendes Geräusch unterbrochen.

Es ist ihnen unmöglich, ein reines anlautendes p auszusprechen; was sie zu Stande bringen, ist ein Laut zwischen f und h.[1]

Sie Gicheltten anfangs verlegen, wenn ich ihnen den Pflock vom Munde weg verlangte; sie genirten sich; ein Alter endlich, dem es schon eher gelingen durfte, der widerstrebenden Eitelkeit und Scham Meister zu werden, entschloss sich zuerst, erhielt zur Belohnung ein Häufchen blauer Perlen, und das Eis war gebrochen. Sie drängten sich nun an die Wette zu dem Tauschgeschäfte. Aber mit der Lippenscheibe waren sie doch schöner; das Loch zeigte die am Innenrand unregelmässig höckerige Schleimhaut, die Zähne wurden durch dasselbe sichtbar, das Speichelschlürfen hörte auch nicht auf. Schwer kann man sich in die Seele eines Suyámädchens hinein-

[1] Vgl. Anhang: Suyá-Vocabular. Lautwandel IV.

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denken, wenn sie ihrem Bräutigam gesteht: „Siehe, mein Freund, du bist schön und lieblich. Deine Lippen sind wie Rosen, die mit fliessendem Myrrhen triefen."

Und sicherlich sagt das Suyámädchen dergleichen, wenn auch mit ein bischen andern Worten als der Herr Pfarrer.

Wir bewundern ein allerliebstes Oehrchen, in dessen Läppchen ein diamantener Stern funkelt — der Suyágeschmack geht naturgemäss mehr ins Grosse, da ihm nichts Zierlicheres zu Gebote steht, wodurch er auffallen könnte: die Grundneigung ist in beiden Fällen dieselbe. Warum sind wir so einseitig und tragen nicht auch ein Juwel in der Lippe? Es brauchte nicht gerade eine goldene Unterlasse zu sein. Auch belästigte beim Essen und Rauchen ein solches Nigakoko nicht mehr als beim Sprechen, beim Trinken würde es lustige Naturen sogar vor Verlusten bewahren, und doch, nein, es geht ja nicht — die Frauen werden nicht begreifen, wie ich so etwas vergessen konnte.

In der Verfertigung des Federschmucks sind die Suyá den andern gleichfalls überlegen. Sie lieben die Zusammenstellung von roth und orange; sie tragen sowol die Diademe mit ragenden Ararafedern, als auch die mit einem weitmaschigen Baumwollengeflecht an dem Kopf anliegenden runden Hauben. Federbänder um den Oberarm.

Doch sind diese Kostbarkeiten nicht alltägliche Tracht.

Ihre schweren, schwarzbraunen, platten Keulen, 1 m 40 cm lang, aus dem Holz der Seribapalme, haben zwei augenartige Einsätze von Muschelschale. Bei einer war der Griff mit einem schwarzgelben Geflecht überzogen.

Sie gaben uns eine Schiessvorstellung mit Pfeilen, deren Spitze eine Harzkugel aufsitzt und deren Mitte von einem durchbohrten und ausserdem seitlich offenen Tucumkern umgeben ist; durch den letztern wird beim Fliegen des Pfeils ein eigenthümliches helles Klingen und Pfeifen erzeugt. Unsere Leute waren auf diese Pfeile wie versessen und riefen mit ihren Versuchen grosse Heiterkeit unter den Gevattern hervor.

Zu meiner Freude erwarb ich ein interessantes Stück, das einzige, welches wir sahen — eine Pfeilschleuder, die der Besitzer „kagolintane" (ein Verbum?) nannte. Ein rundes mit einer hakenförmigen Umbiegung an einem Ende versehenes Stäbchen, 25 cm lang, geht an dem andern Ende in eine 6 cm breite, 14 cm lange Platte über, welche ein Loch besitzt. Durch letzteres wird der Zeigefinger gesteckt, das Stäbchen liegt auf dem Vorderarm und der Pfeil, nur leicht mit den Fingern dirigirt und durch den Haken, dem er hinten anliegt, losgeschleudert, entsaust mit grosser Kraft und grosser Bestimmtheit der Richtung, was mit der blossen Faust niemals zu erzielen ist, da durch die beim Griffe nicht zu vermeidende Reibung das leichte Ge-

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schoss nicht ohne Hemmung abkommen und die Luft nicht scharf durchschneiden kann. (Vgl. die zweite ethnographische Tafel.)

Die mit Bambusmesser versehenen Pfeile habe ich bereits bei den Trumai beschrieben.

Ruder und Kanu sind ohne Eigenthümlichkeiten.

Die Steinbeile zeichnen sich durch ihre Grösse und Schwere aus. — Ich erwarb eine Art Meissel, welcher aus einem Holzgriff und daran gebundenem Knochenstück bestand.

Die Suyá bemühten sich sehr, möglichst viele Piranhagebisse, welche für sie ausgeschnitten wurden, von der Mannschaft zu erhalten.

Sie brachten mir auch dichte Baumwollenbinden, welche unter dem Knie getragen werden sollen, mit einem Gehänge klirrender Muscheln, sowie Tragbänder für Säuglinge.

Um den Leib schmücken sie sich mit Schnüren kleiner Steinscheibchen. Sehr hübsch waren Halsketten aus quadratischen, leicht gewölbten Muschelplättchen.

Ihre Flöten, welche aus drei Rohren bestehen, sind sehr gross (das längste Rohr 50 cm), aber ohne jede Sorgfalt aneinander gebunden. Eine der Bokairmeni ähnliche Flöte stammte von den Kamayurá.

5. Sept. 7 Uhr früh: I 741.6, Trock. 18.8, Feucht. 18.0, klar, windstill, frische Nacht, gegen 3 Uhr früh scharfer Wind aus O.
2 Uhr nachmittags: I 745.8, II 736.4, Trock. 36.2, Feucht. 23.5, cum 4. SSW 2—3, Bodenbestrahlung Max. 47.0, Wind 11 Uhr OSO.
9 Uhr abends: I 745.6, II 737.0, Trock. 22.1, Feucht. 21.1, cir. c. 2, 7 Uhr abends NNO, Wetterleuchten.

Die Suyá kamen heute sehr spät. Wir fürchteten bereits, es sei etwas in Unordnung: wir sahen den Rauch von einem grossen Feuer emporsteigen, hörten fortwährend hohle Flötentöne, aber keine Seele liess sich am Ufer blicken. Und als sie endlich erschienen, fiel ihre grosse Zahl auf; es mussten ungefähr die sämmtlichen Männer sein, und nicht ohne Mistrauen gewahrten wir, dass sie alle mit Bogen, Pfeilen, Keulen oder Knüppeln bewaffnet waren. Doch verlief der Morgen ohne Störung; viele zogen sich bald zurück. Sie wünschten dringend, dass wir abfahren möchten. Sie zeigten auf die Sonne — wenn sie die Mittagshöhe passirt habe, sollten wir aufbrechen. Sie hätten nichts mehr zu essen; offenbar fürchteten sie, auf Jagd und Fischfang auszuziehen, solange unsere Anwesenheit ihr Dorf bedrohte.

Ein wenig Proviant überliessen sie uns auch nur mit grosser Zurückhaltung. Ausser der wilden Mandioca pflanzen sie einen schönen goldenen Mais, der durch die Kleinheit der Kolben ausgezeichnet ist, Inhame, süsse Batatas, Bohnen, Taback, Baumwolle. Wir fanden zudem Mandubi, Mangava, Kürbiskerne (Abóbora) und dreikantige Paranüsse — die dem

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brasilianischen wie nicht minder unserm Gaumen so sehr zusagende Frucht des Kastanienbaums, welche nach Aussage der Suyá aus einiger Entfernung herbeigeholt wurde.

In Gefangenschaft der Suyá befanden sich zehn Manitsauindianer, deren Aldea stromabwärts an einem linken Nebenfluss des Schingú angeblich vier Tagereisen von hier gelegen ist. Der erste, der uns auffiel, war ein untersetzter Mensch semitischen Aussehens, mit ziemlich kräftigem, wenn auch kurzem Vollbart, der, wären die Augen nicht so verschlitzt und leer gewesen, recht hübsch hätte genannt werden müssen. Wir lernten ausser ihm noch einen Alten mit zwei Söhnen kennen, leider waren sie schon nach kurzer Zeit nicht mehr zurückzuhalten, sodass ich früh war, ehe einige Vocabeln aufschreiben können. Der Alte hatte eine nachgewachsene Tonsur, ziemlich spärlichen Bartwuchs. Diese drei mager, schwächlich; Haare, Hautfarbe wie die Bakairi; einer der Jungen mit bemerkenswerth feinen Händen und kleinen Ohren, 15—17 Jahre. Bei allen vieren gebogene Nase, enge Augenspalte. Sie trugen Waffen, doch keinerlei Schmuck. Die höflichen Suyá nannten sie „Brüder". Ich belohnte den Alten reichlich, damit er morgen wiederkomme — bald darauf fand ich meine Geschenke in den Händen des anscheinend nächststehenden „Bruders", dem alles hatte abgeliefert werden müssen.

So bedeutete ich diesen Suyá, den Sonnenstand bezeichnend, dass er und der Bruder morgen früh mich wieder besuchen mögen.

Wie erstaunten wir aber, als abends zwischen 8 und 9 Uhr eine kleine Anzahl sich ohne Waffen vergnügt und unbefangen bei uns einstellte, auf den Mond deutete und klar auseinandersetzte, dass sie für diese Stunde bestellt seien.

Ich nahm sofort den Semiten mit einem Suyá zusammen ins Gebet, und setzte die linguistische Aufnahme fort. Zwei unserer Hunde liefen vorüber, und aus den Worten, die sie dem Manitsauá entlockten, liess sich erstens constatiren, dass sie auch ein Wort für Hunde, deshalb wahrscheinlich auch die Hunde selbst haben, wie sein freudiges „Manitsauá hayugú" zu bezeugen schien, und gelang es zweitens, die Farbenadjective zu gewinnen, da der eine Hund schwarz, der andere gelb war. Das wurde sofort auf andere farbige Gegenstände ausgedehnt. Nun glaubte ich, den dabei sitzenden Suyá auch so weit zu haben. Er begriff mich aber nicht und sprach beharrlich nur die Namen der Gegenstände aus, obwol der Manitsauá, der mich vollkommen verstand, mir zu helfen bemüht war.

Die nöthigsten Wörter habe ich für die Suyá notirt; sobald ich jedoch an die Verba kam — du gütiger Himmel! Essen und trinken — als ich ihnen das vormachte, stellten sich die Wörter zu rasch und natürlich bei

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ihnen ein, als dass ich sie nicht hätte festhalten können. Was ich aber ferner zur Verdeutlichung meiner Wünsche mimisch ausdrückte, schlafen, lachen, weinen, laufen, fand allseitige Anerkennung als schauspielerische Leistung, erzeugte viele Heiterkeit und weckte den Trieb der Nachahmung bei meinem Publikum — die Zauberworte jedoch, die erlösenden, sprach es nicht aus. Unsere Unterhaltung bewegt sich in flotter Gangart. Mit „ni" dies, „tahahi" gut, „atá tahahi" nicht gut, „waikele" ich verstehe nicht, lässt sich die ausgedehnteste Conversation über die meisten Dinge des Himmels und der Erden führen. „Waikele" hatte mir schon einer der ersten gesagt, an den ich eine Frage richtete, und dabei auf seine Ohren gedeutet, als ob er schwerhörig sei; — als man kurz darauf ein neugieriger Kreis von Suyá mich mit Fragen bedrängte, sagte ich mit derselben Geberde sehr ernsthaft: „Waikele, Waikele", aber mein Ernst hielt nicht vor: denn in ihren verdutzten Gesichtern prägte sich eine solche Mischung von Erstaunen, wie gut ich plötzlich Suyá sprach, und gleichzeitig von offenbarem Argwohn, dass ich dann auch noch viel mehr wissen möchte, so unverhohlen aus, dass ich hell auflachen musste. Ich merkte, dass diesen Schingúvölkchen nicht nur nicht unsere Erfindungen und Bedürfnisse im allgemeinen, sondern das besondere selbst unsere ältesten Witze noch nicht kennt.

Der scheidende Zauberer hatte auch an der linguistischen Sitzung theilgenommen. Als ich sah, dass ich ihre Geduld erschöpft hatte, und mein Büchlein zuklappte, begehrte jener Bleistift und Papier. Er begann ein Cayenmuster zu zeichnen, und malte für ein Küchenmesser zwei Seiten voll, den Bleistift trotz des ersten Versuchs regelrecht führend — freilich in der Zerstreutheit hielt er ihn etliche male in die Kerzenflamme, wie er es von seinen Studien in der Hexenkunst her gewöhnt war. Kam er mit den Rauten in die Brüche, füllte er den Platz durch Schraffirung aus. Er war sehr fleissig, und glich mit seinem kahlen Vorderschädel einem bei der Arbeit hockenden Japaner, wozu die rothlackirte Lippenschüssel nicht übel stimmte.

Wilhelm setzte einen andern Collegen in Thätigkeit, welcher mehrere Seiten des fremden Skizzenbuchs mit blauen und rothen Netzmaschen bedeckte.

Allmählich hatte sich eine grosse Versammlung vor unserm Zelte zusammengefunden. Eine schöne Vollmondnacht; der Fluss blinkte und drüben über der schwarzen Baumdecoration schwammen silberne Wölkchen. Ein verwetterter Alter, mit einem Charakterkopf, von dem das Haar unordentlich bis auf die Schulter hing, erzählte. Eine ruhige, helle Stimme, eine ausdrucksvolle Gesticulation. Die Trumaí sind ihre Feinde. „Trumaí atá tahahi". Sie haben einen Suyá, der sie besuchte, freundlich empfangen und,

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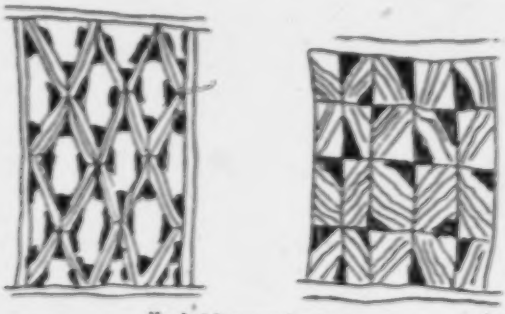
[facing p. 212].

wie mit dem traurigsten Mienen erklärt wurde, am nächsten Tage hinterlistig getödtet. Aber die Suyá werden sich an den Trumai rächen. Nun aber kamen wir an die Reihe! Wir hatten Balsam, lieber Alter, für die Wunde deiner Seele. Mehrere unserer Helden sprangen gleichzeitig vor, den Singsangsang anzustimmen: die elenden Trumai hatten wir trotz ihres Hó-hó in die Flucht geschlagen und ihre sämmtlichen Waffen erbeutet. Hohe Freude erweckte diese Mär unter den Suyá; sie hatten natürlich längst gesehen, wie viele Bogen und Pfeile der Trumai wir besassen und ihre Vermuthungen darüber aufgestellt.

Die Kuikuró und Bakairi kannte der Alte wohl; Antonio wurde vorgeführt, „unser" Bakairi. „Sieh da", meinte jener, wie aus seinen Geberden klar zu verstehen war, „den habt ihr euch wol als er noch klein war bei einem Raubzug aufgelesen und zum Bruder heranwachsen lassen?"



Handzeichnungen der Suyá.

Ein Wort gab das andere; der Alte begriff, was wir wissen wollten. Er zählte alle die Stämme auf, welche an dem obern Schingú seesshaft sind, er zeichnete, um recht deutlich zu sein, mit dem Finger den Flusslauf in den Sand. Miçú ist Fluss: Suyá-miçú, — Bakairi-, Kuikuró-, Waurá-miçú, — und zu unserer grössten Ueberraschung malte er den Batovy, den einzigen, den er so und zwar ganz aus eigener Initiative so darstellte, mit korkzieherartig gewundenem Lauf. Jeden Namen wiederholte er zwei, drei mal; wo ein Stamm, wie z. B. die Minakú, fünf Dörfer besitzt, sagte er fünf mal Minakú, machte fünf Striche in den Sand und bog Stück für Stück die fünf Finger einer Hand zur Seite. Umstehend ist das genaue Conterfei seiner Zeichnung mit den beigefügten Namen.

Ob der Zeichnung in der That so weit zu vertrauen ist, dass auch die Nebenflüsse des Kuliseu-Hauptarmes alle von links kommen, wage ich

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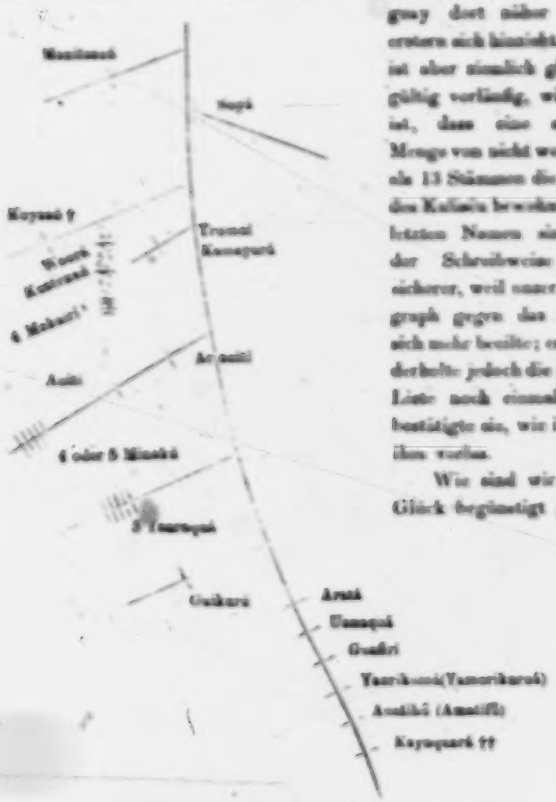
nicht zu sagen; da jedoch der obere Schingú, wie wir jetzt vermuthen können, so nahe an den weiter südlich entspringenden Araguay herantritt, ist es wol denkbar, dass die Wasserscheide zwischen Schingú und Araguay dort näher dem ersteren sich hinzieht. Das ist aber einmal gleichgültig vorläufig, wichtig ist, dass eine solche Menge von nicht weniger als 13 Stämmen die Ufer des Kaliéiu bewohnt; die letzten Namen sind in der Schreibweise unsicherer, weil unser Geograph gegen das Ende sich mehr beeilte; er wiederholte jedoch die ganze Liste noch einmal und bestätigte sie, wie ich sie ihm vorlas.



Wie der Seyá-Häuptling das Quellgebiet des Schingú aufzeichnete.

Wir sind wir vom Glück begünstigt gewesen! Gerade an der einzigen Stelle, wo wir an Bekanntes anknüpfen konnten, bei den Bakairi, sind wir eingedrungen; den einzigen Schlüssel, der auf die verschlossene Pforte passte, hat uns Fortuna in die Hand gedrückt.

¹ Die Bakairi. † Kayaú-mirú; doch schien uns die Existenz eines Kayaústammes nicht vollkommen sicher. †† — Kayaqó? wie sich nach den Bakairi die Coroá nennen?

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Und hätten wir uns auf dem Rennen eingeschifft, der nach den Angaben der Bakairi die fürchterlichsten Cachoeiras besitzt — wer weiss, wie weit wir gekommen wären; wären wir weiter gen Osten bis zum Kuliseu gezogen, so hätte uns zwar eine grössere Fülle des Interessanten erwartet, allein diese Aufgabe wäre für unsere halb militärische Expedition zu gross gewesen: sie hätte sich nur in voller Unabhängigkeit lösen lassen, und es ist sehr zweifelhaft, ob wir die Cardinalfrage — die Niederfahrt auf dem Schingú — zur Erledigung gebracht haben könnten.

Wie liegen die Verhältnisse aber flussabwärts?

Ein „Salto" kommt, das ist sicher. Noch eine Aldea der Suyá? Entgegengesetzt dem Ergebniss unserer Erkundigung am ersten Tage glauben wir jetzt, dass wir ein zweites Suyádorf treffen werden. Es ist mein einziger Trost; hier können wir nicht länger bleiben — man drängt uns derartig zur Abfahrt, dass wir wol nachgeben müssen, so sehr mich die Sorge um den Verbrauch der Körpermessungen bekümmert. Wollte ich aber jetzt mit unsern Zauberapparaten ins Feld rücken, so würde ich wenig Willfährigkeit finden, und auch die Mannschaft wird ungeduldig, da die Suyá, welche selbst nichts mehr zu essen zu haben behaupten, uns nur noch Kürbiskerne bringen.

An jenem „Salto" ist unser vielgereister Suyágeograph gewesen; jenseit desselben hätten sie viele Feuer gesehen und seien aus Furcht umgekehrt. Kein Name ausser den an einem Nebenflusse wohnenden Manitsauá ist den Suyá bekannt — wenn sie die Wahrheit sagen. Und heute, wo wir ihnen eine solche Bereicherung unsers Wissens verdanken, möchte ich nicht schlecht von dem braven Alten denken. Wir hingen ihm zur Belohnung eine Nachtwächterpfeife um, deren gellender Ton ihm imponirte: er lobte uns auch sehr, wir hätten den Suyá so viele Messer gegeben. Unter vielen gegenseitigen Complimenten, wie tabphi der andere oci, trennten wir uns um Mitternacht.

Doch als wir noch plaudernd zusammensassen, kam 12½ Uhr eine neue Gesellschaft von sieben Mann. Sie wollten auch zeichnen! Sie wollten sich auch Küchenmesser verdienen! Nein, meine Herren, man kann alles übertreiben, selbst die Liebe zur Kunst. Ebenso höflich wie entschieden schickten wir sie nach Hause; sie gingen aber nur widerstrebend von dannen und luden mich wie neulich freundlichst ein, sie zu begleiten. Auch das noch!

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[pp. 216-218 not processed]

9. Sept. φ 10° 19'.3, λ 1° 9'.8, km 36.05, Summe 677.35.
7 Uhr 10 Min. früh: I 746.2, II 738.6, Trock. 21.3, Feucht. 20.9, alto c. 9, Wind = 0, Wasser 26.0.
5¾ Uhr abends: I 745.4, II 738.4, Trock. 25.8, Feucht. 22.7, cir. c. 6, Wind = 0, Wasser 28.5, ringsum Gewitter.

Morgentoilette der Suyá. Sie malen sich gegenseitig den Rücken dick roth an, ein vortreffliches Mittel; die Borrachudos gehen in dem Oel zu

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Grunde; bald sind die Rücken auch, wir unsere Leinwandungen gegen die Fliegen, mit schwärzlichen Cadavern überzieht.

Die Geschwindigkeit des Stromes ist sehr gering; mehrere Inseln. Der Kautschukbaum (Bertholletia excelsa) überragt den Wald. Hier und da sind kleine Alligatoren bemerkt worden.

Von ca. 11 Uhr ab bilden sich Cumuli am Horizont. Luft und Wasser rühren sich nicht; es ist sehr heiss; der Schweiss belästigt empfindlich die Augen; ein Schwarm Bienenhunde ist der getreue Begleiter des Kanu.

Mittags zuweilen ein gelinder Luftzug von Nordwest. Richtung dorthin sehr gut. Ein hoher Wald erscheint in der Ferne, schwimmt aber in der Nähe zu einem niedrigen Hügelrücken zusammen. Gegenüber einer bläulichen Gruppe von Inselpalmen lagern wir. Pirañhas sind rasch gefangen; die Suyá schenken uns einen mit dem Pfeil geschossenen Fisch, Rabudo oder Traira. Sie erbeuten auch einen anderen Fisch, Jurandá, der eine hängende Unterlippe hat. — Breitenbestimmung ergibt ein günstiges Resultat.

Der Suyá-Häuptling wird ganz nützlich. Eindringlich rieth er uns ab von dem Plane, flussaufwärts zu fahren. Jenseit des Salto seien schlimme Leute, er habe sie bei den Frauen (von denen er uns früher ohne Erwähnung der Leute berichtet) gesehen; sie trügen lange Federn in den Ohren und hätten hundertfache Pfeilspitzen.[1] Er selbst habe sich vor ihrer Bekanntschaft gefürchtet. „Ni até tabahá kuí", das sind schlimme Leute, wiederholte er bedeutsam. Wir sollten mit ihm gegen die Truppe ziehen! In diesem Schlachtplan war er furchtbar verliebt: wir gingen mit ihm zusammen, wir versteckten uns im Walde, und wenn die Truppe schliefen, schossen wir sie aus dem Hinterhalte nieder; alle Männer würden getödtet und die Frauen — der wackere Mann begriff nicht, dass wir ihn nicht begeistert zustimmten — die Frauen theilten wir, den Suyá die eine, uns die andere Hälfte; jeder von uns werde mehr als eine bekommen können; dann gingen wir, dann gingen sie nach Hause.

Die Civilisation hat doch auch ihre Schattenseite.

10. Sept. φ 10° 6′.2, λ 1° 7′.5, ha 23.16, Sonne 7h 0.42.
6½ Uhr früh: I 745.8, II 738.0, Trock. 21.0, Feucht. 20.6, Wolkenzug 0, Wind = 0, Wasser 27.7, Maro Nacht. Bodenerhaltung Minimum 20.4.

Noch einmal Geographiestunde; die Flüsse werden in den Sand gerichtet und die Stämme aufgezählt.

Um 8 Uhr 66h ab. Die Gewitter bleiben zurück. O meine Ahnung! Wären wir nur einen Tag länger geblieben! Man soll immer der ersten, der besten Regung folgen.

[1] Offenbar eine Beschreibung der Kayapó.

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Pamarikó

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Abends 9 Uhr. Ein Lager von grossen grauen Steinblöcken liegt den ersten Ufern, die springen wir eine Bootslänge bis 200 m weit in den Fluss vor; das durchgesiebte Wasser ruhig wie in einer Lagune, links ein Gartenuferchen.

Angelschnüre, Mützchen, Beutel, niedlich elegante Inappsäcke, ab und zu — gar nichts von den Cachoeiras, wo wir diese vielleicht bedürften — eine Jatobá. Barometer steht 7 m.

Wir kommen ca. 1 Uhr nachmittags zu einer Gabelung des Flusses, der eine Arm verläuft nach Westen, der andere nach Norden. Die ersten, welche übergingen, wollten sie wählen wollten, hörten sich plötzlich mit einem heftigen, laut hallenden Ton angerufen; zwei Indianer stürmen von der Insel ab und rudern sehr geschwind den Westarm hinunter. Am Nordufer sehen wir drei Kanus liegen. Wir umwarten uns und rücken vor. Unter den Bäumen steht eine junge Frau mit vier Kindern, ein Mann aus gebückt im Kanu, als ob er, was sehr unwahrscheinlich war, in der Lectüre einer Broche vertieft sei, und ignorirte unsere Annäherung, bis wir „ankahi" riefen. Dann liefen Frau und Kinder in die Waldung, wir hörten sie schreien und weinen — fünf Indianer, Nayo, die sich versteckt gehalten, kamen hervor und zeigten sich freundschaftlich, erhielten uns aber nicht zu landen. Wir wussten nicht recht wohin, ungewiss wo die Aldeia sei. So fuhren wir im Nordarm weiter auf eine ziemlich entfernte Prainha zu, welche einem bequemen gemeint der Vereinigung der beiden Arme angehörte. Wilhelm's und mein Kanu fuhren in einer Strömung auf. Die drei Kanus begleiteten uns zu respectvoller Entfernung, der entgegengesetzten Strömung schwimmend unablässig.

Wir landeten und richteten uns häuslich ein; die Nayo hielten sich zurück, und wieder wusste ich nicht, bis zu die Knie im Wasser, zu ihnen herüberzu. Offenbar waren sie von unserer Ankunft unterrichtet; die Art und Weise, wie sie sofort Messer und Perlen verlangten, bewies das ungeduldig. Wir beschenkten Beispiele, sie zogen sich zurück.

Starker Wind und Gewitterregen, hochgehende Wellen; wir waren froh, im Trockenen zu sitzen.

Um 5 Uhr nachmittags kamen die Nayo wieder und brachten einmütlich sehr schlecht gebackene Brijão mit. Einige entschlossen sich zu landen; unter den Zurückbleibenden bemerkten wir einen Mamelucos, wieder mit strupigem Gesicht und blöden Augen. Wir handelten ein wenig; sie waren über alles Maass mistrauisch.

Wir hofften Besseres vom nächsten Morgen.

Clementino allein fing vier Bagres, einen mächtigen Pintado und 16 Piranhas.

Braga und Chiro hatten starken Fieber; Irineo ist seit dem 7. September Theilnehmer der Chininur: acht Kranke.

11. Sept. 7½ Uhr früh: I 747.2, II 739.4, Trock. 22.1, Feucht. 21.0, str. c. 9, W 2.

2 Uhr nachmittags: I 744.6, II 736.0, Trock. 32.4, Feucht. 24.8, str. c. 7, Wind = 0.

9 Uhr abends: I 747.0, II 739.6, Trock. 28.2, str. 5, 8 Uhr abends Gewitter, starker Gegenwind 3—4.

Vergebliche Erwartung der Gewitter. Um 9 Uhr abends hörte man noch Flöte blasen. Die Leute kochten den ganzen Tag, es war ein un-

Eintritt des Schlages in das Gebirge.

unterbrochenes Brodeln und Schmoren in den Töpfen und auf einigen Bratgestellen bräunten sich die Fischen.

Gegen 4 Uhr nachmittags fuhren wir drei mit vier Leuten und zwei Kanoe ab, die Suyá zu besuchen. Nichts am Ufer, kein Mensch, kein Boot. Zwei offene, nur von einem Blätterdach und einigen Pfosten bestehende Hütten, ein todter Motum, Reste von Capivara — nun wurde alles klar. Eine „Aldea" war nicht vorhanden, nur ein Jagdzeug der Suyá hatte sich hierher erstreckt — der Alte hatte nicht gelogen, wir sollten noch Suyá treffen, aber jene Nachricht vom ersten Tage, dass es weiter unterhalb keine Suyá mehr gebe, war auch in dem Sinne, dass es keine Aldea mehr gebe, richtig gewesen. Wir kehrten, um ganz sicher zu sein, durch den Westarm zurück. Herrliche Wasserfälle, eine undurchdringliche Wand verwobener Gewächse lässt nur hier und da einen glatten Stamm durchblicken.

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Der Westarm ungefähr 550 m, der Nordarm 450 m breit. — Nachts 2 Uhr von einem Gewitter überrascht; durchnässt retteten wir die Hängematten nummern und flüchteten in das Zelt.

12. Sept. φ 9°57'.5, λ 1°15'.9, km 26.25, Summe 794.77.
7 Uhr 10 Min. früh; I 748.0, II 729.8, Trockt. 21.2, cir. 5, Wasser 26.2, nachts 2 Uhr schwerer Regen.
Abends: I 747.6, II 728.0, Trock. 26.1, Feuchtt. 23.9, Gewitterwolken in W 8, W 1—2, Wasser 28.9.

Früh 7½ Uhr ab. Fluss 8—900 m breit. Wassertemperatur 28°. An Bäumen Marke des höchsten Standes 2.3 m. Sonnig und windig.

Vorne, anscheinend von NO nach SW ziehende, dicht mit Grün überzogene Serra.

Wir biegen rechts in einen von vielen Gesträu durchsetzten Arm ein, der ziemlich flach ist und zahlreiche kleine Schnellen hat. Doch erweitert er sich bald und bildet mit dem Hauptarm ein breites Gewässer. Vorne Nebelstaub, sodass wir ein schlimmes Hemmnis befürchteten.

Links stürzt der Fluss, durch grus- und buschüberwachsene Steininseln unterbrochen, als eine steile Cachoeira 3 m tief herab, und hat alsdann eine Breite von 1200 m. Die Serra links etwa 80 m hoch. Wir haben diesem wegen seiner Lage geographisch höchst charakteristischen und ethnologisch bedeutungsvollen Wasserfall keinen würdigern Namen zu geben gewusst als „Martinskatarakt", zu Ehren des Landsmannes, der unter allen Brasilien-Forschern den ersten Rang einnimmt.

Die Kanus wurden entladen und durch das niedrige, felsige Bett geschoben; sie stiessen oft gegen die Steine an, aber alles verlief ohne Unfall. Merelles und Quintilian gingen mit ihrem Boot durch den Salto, wo sie einen Kanal gefunden hatten, und kamen etwas später, doch unverletzt an. Schwarze, grosse und dicke Moskitos.

Wir waren um 10 Uhr vormittags angekommen; um 12 Uhr mittags, als das letzte Kanu durchbugsirt war, setzten wir die Reise fort.

Viele Matrinchans.

Bald verschmälert sich der Fluss zu 800 m; der Rücken links verschwindet und macht Buschwald und Sumpfgebiet Platz, rechts dagegen wird es hügelig. Vorne erblicken wir eine dunkle Serra und hinter ihr eine zweite. An dieser Stelle biegt der Fluss nach Norden um und ist nur 4—500 m breit.

Wieder nach Osten, die heute vorwiegende Richtung. Bacurypalme mit hohem dünnen Stamm und grünen Früchten. Tucum, Buriti.

Auf dem kleinen Strande, wo wir lagern, hat Antonio an hundert Eier gefunden. Schöner sonniger Abend; vor und hinter uns hatte es geblitzt und geregnet. — Chiro hat ein starkes Fieber.

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13. Sept. φ 9° 47'.4, λ 1° 26'.2, km 28.04, Summe 754.01.
6½ Uhr früh: I 749.0, II 740.4, Trock. 21.4, Feucht. 20.9, str. o. 5°, Wasser 28.5, nachts wenig Regen.
6 Uhr abends: I 747.6, II 739.0, Trock. 24.3, Feucht. 22.3, str. o. 8, Wasser 29.9, 7 Uhr abends starkes Gewitter.

Heute früh 4 Uhr schon alles am Feuer; wir standen 4½ Uhr auf, assen Eierningen und stellten das freudige Ergebniss fest, dass wir den 10. Breitengrad hinter uns haben.

Nach 7 Uhr früh ab. Inseln. An der breitesten Stelle ist die Wassermasse kaum weniger als 1½ km breit.

Eine sonderbare Uniformirung, welche die Leute jetzt haben. Hemden? Der eine oder andere ist noch mit diesem nicht unentbehrlichen

Schingüilandschaft.

Kleidungsstück versehen; die meisten aber haben sie in den Besitz der Indianer wandern lassen, welche nicht zu beurtheilen vermögen, wie viele Löcher zur Wesenheit eines Hemdes gehören.

Einige gehen mit nacktem Oberkörper und machen Versuche mit dem Oel der Suyá, um sich der Insekten zu erwehren, andere haben den grauen Militärmantel, dessen sämmtliche Knöpfe der Leidenschaft der Gevattern zum Opfer gefallen sind, lose umgehangen. Hüte? Mützen? Auch sie waren sehr begehrt. In unsern 10 Kanus unterscheide ich nach der Bedeckung des Hauptes mit Federhauben oder Strohdiademen 4 Trumaí, 1 Suyá und 4 Bakairí. Auch finden sich Tücher um den Kopf geschlagen. Hosen? Zum Theil und, wenn auch nur einseitig, bis über die Knie abgetreten; Lücken sind allenthalben vorhanden und zwar wegen der Moskitoplage

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empfindliche Lücken. Wir sind auf dem besten Wege, die einfachen Sitten der Indianer anzunehmen.

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SECHZEHNTES KAPITEL.

DIE YURUNA.

FAHRT BIS PIRANHAQUARA.

Ein Kanu in Sicht! Frohe Aufregung bemächtigt sich aller. Bei solchen Gelegenheiten kann man erfahren, wie rasch sich rudern lässt. Ein zweites und drittes Kanu lösen sich vom Ufer ab; in jedem sitzen einige nackte Indianer.

Wir rufen ihnen ein lustiges „Bom dia" zu; „Bom dia, camarada", tönt es ebenso vergnügt zurück: „Yuruna, Yuruna".

Bom dia, camarada! — Ihr guten Seelen im Theater, denen sich das Herz krampfhaft zusammenzog, als es euerm geliebten Helden mehrere Acte hindurch immer um so elender und erbärmlicher erging, je entsagungsfähiger und braver er war, ihr, denen die Finger nach dem Taschentuche zuckten, wenn sich ihm endlich die erlösende Liebe, um die ihr längst wusstet, die ihm aber nur ein seliger Traum erschien, alle Bande sprengend, rücksichtslos an den Hals warf, ach, ihr allein könnt begreifen, wie uns zu Muthe war; auch uns zuckten — nein, Taschentücher waren uns längst nur ein seliger Traum — aber es zuckte uns in den Fingern und Armen, sie begeistert zu umschlingen, diese biedern Söhne der Wildniss, deren „Bom dia, Camarada" uns Berge vom Herzen wälzte.

José heisst der Häuptling; mit ihm entspinnt sich ein Wettkampf neugierigen Fragens und Antwortens. Sein Portugiesisch reicht vollkommen aus zur wesentlichsten Verständigung. „Ist dieser Fluss der Schingú?" lautet die erste Erkundigung der Mannschaft, welche die Apparate der Astronomie bewundert, ihren Ergebnissen aber sehr wenig traut. Es ist schmerz-

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lich, von dem Schingú hat José niemals etwas gehört. „Gibt es noch viele Cachoeiras?“ — José wirft einen lächelnden Blick auf unsere gebrechlichen Fahrzeuge, betastet sie prüfend mit der Hand und meint: „Não prêta, camarada“, die sind nichts werth, lieber Freund.

Er seinerseits ist von unserer Mittheilung, dass wir von Cuyabá kommen, durchaus befriedigt und sucht sich durch mehrfache Wiederholung das Wort einzuprägen. Ihm ist es wichtig zu erfahren, ob wir Karajá-Indianer getroffen hätten. Die Karajá, wird uns erzählt, sind die blutigen Feinde der Yuruna, von ihnen waren die Hütten zerstört und in Brand gesteckt, welche wir gesehen haben.

José möchte ferner wissen, was es denn oberhalb für Leute gebe. Ausser den Karajá, welche in den Landstrecken zwischen Schingú und Araguay wohnen, kannte er keine Stämme des obern Schingú. Die Suyá waren ihm vollständig fremd, Trumaí, Bakaïrí — keines dieser Wörter hatte jemals das Ohr der Yuruna erreicht. Diese Thatsache wurde über jeden Zweifel erhaben festgestellt. Ihre Reden sahen wir später noch bestätigt durch die Art, wie sie unsere mitgebrachten Trophäen untersuchten; sowol bei den Waffen, wie bei den Schmuckgegenständen der obern Schingú-Indianer erklärten die Yuruna, dass ihnen diese Dinge ganz neu seien und dass sie nicht wüssten, wer sie gemacht habe.

Mittlerweile hatten wir abwärts fahrend die Aldea erreicht. Sie lag inmitten des Flusses auf zwei kleinen Felslagern, von denen das eine 300, das andere 500 m von dem Strande entfernt war. Auf jenem befanden sich zwei grössere und eine kleine, auf diesem fünf kleine und zum Theil noch durch Wasser getrennte Hütten.

Sämmtlich elende Strohranchos. Ein Raum, von 4 zu 3 m; höckeriges Gestein bildet den Boden des Innern; unmittelbar über dem Wasserspiegel, oder höchstens einen Fuss darüber, erhebt sich die stallartige Behausung. Der Rest des Felsens ist von einer geräuschvollen Thiergesellschaft eingenommen. Der Contá (Paniscus ateles), ein grosser schwarzer Affe, der wegen seiner dürren langen Gliedmassen nicht mit Unrecht Spinnenaffe genannt wird, beobachtet mit wachsender Entrüstung den nahenden Fremdling: rasch wie der Gedanke hat er sich auf den Giebel des Hauses geschwungen, steht dort oben aufrecht, den Schwanz wie ein Fragezeichen bis zur Kopfhöhe emporgerichtet, einen mächtigen Knüppel am Halse, den er mit einer Hand festhält, und protestirt mit der andern heftig winkend unter Knurren, hastigem Zähnefletschen — keine Worte findet er, um unsere Frechheit nach Gebühr zu würdigen — ja unter drohendem Geheul und Geschnatter gegen den fremdartigen Besuch. Kleine Macacos tanzen erregt um den Pfosten, an dem sie angebunden sind und stranguliren sich beinahe an

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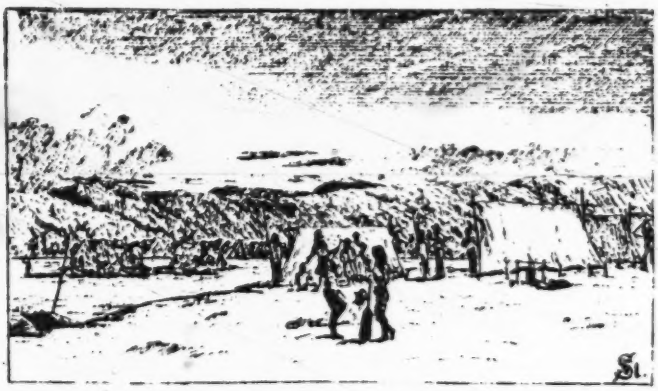
der Leine, Araras kreischen, Papagaien räsonniren dazwischen und lachen, ein Waldschwein grunzt, braune Socós mit langen, breiten, schwarzen Schnäbeln wandeln schulmeisterlich ernsthaft umher, Hühner flattern, Hähne krähen, ein schauderhafter Hundeköter erklärt unter wüthendem Gekläff seinen Stammesgenossen, die uns begleiten, Feindschaft auf Tod und Leben — es ist eine wundervolle Jahrmarktsbude, das Heim des Yuruna.

Im übrigen, wir sehen nichts und hören nichts — wir essen. Wir haben oft auf dieser Reise einer dem andern vorgeworfen, welch eine ausserordentliche Wichtigkeit wir der leiblichen Nahrung zutheil werden lassen, aber wenn die Götter auf Reisen sich bei Philemon und Baucis



Lagerplatz gegenüber dem Yurunadorf.

reichlich mit Speise und Trank erquicken, wenn die Engel, die Abraham und Sarah besuchen, ein zartes Kalb und Kuchen von drei Maass Semmelmehl aufessen, so können wir armen Menschenkinder es schon verantworten, dass wir nach mehrmonatlicher Enthaltsamkeit mit wahrer Wonne Bananen verzehren.

Zudem ist diese edle Frucht das symbolische Wahrzeichen der Civilisation; mit dem Augenblick, wo wir wieder Bananen zu speisen Gelegenheit haben[1], sind wir aus der voreuropäischen Zeit in die moderne Periode der südamerikanischen Geschichte eingetreten.

Wir schlugen auf einem schönen, breiten Sandstrande die Zelte auf und

[1] Vgl. über die Einführung der Banane Kapitel XXIII.

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begannen die gewohnten ernsten und heitern Geschäfte mit den Gevattern, die wir häufig auf ihren Felsennestern besuchten.

Die Zahl der Yuruna belief sich auf ungefähr 30 Personen: 12 Männer, 12 Weiber, etwa 6 Kinder.

(Ein Mann, eine Frau taubstumm.)

Das Dach der Hütten war gut und dicht gearbeitet, die Seitenwände liederlich. In der Regenzeit müssen die Bewohner auf höher gelegene Felsen oder an das Ufer ziehen.

Dabei scheinen sie nicht einmal ein hauptsächlich ichthyophages Völkchen zu sein: ihre Fehde mit den Karajá und flussabwärts früher mit den Tucunapéua, die vielleicht seit undenklichen Zeiten unterhalten worden, der Schutz, den sie inmitten des Flusses vor hinterlistigen Angriffen finden, ist ihr wichtigster Beweggrund für die sonderbare Auswahl des Wohnorts.

Es macht den Eindruck, als ob die Yuruna seit einigen Generationen, um sich ihre Freiheit zu erhalten, auf einer Wanderung flussaufwärts begriffen seien.

Im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert bildeten sie das Hauptobject der Bekehrung zum Christenthum in den untern Missionen. Prinz Adalbert fand sie auf dem 3. und am Beginn des 4. Grades concentrirt; dass wir sie jedoch bereits auf der Mitte des 8. Breitengrades antrafen, war sehr überraschend.

Da überdies die ganze verwahrloste Aldea nicht mit der Ordnungsliebe und Sauberkeit, welche Prinz Adalbert den Yuruna-Hütten besonders nachrühmt, in Uebereinstimmung zu bringen ist, die Indianer auch über den obern Lauf des Flusses nichts wissen, so ist kaum zu bezweifeln, dass die Yuruna im Begriff sind sich nach Süden hin vor der Civilisation zu retten. Von dem südlichsten Punkte, den sie erreicht hatten, haben sie sich, wie wir gesehen haben, von den Karajá wieder ein wenig zurückgezogen.

Die gebirgige Zone vom Martiuskataract bis zum 8. Breitengrade trennt die Bewohner des Mittellaufs von den Stämmen des Quellgebiets — sie mag von niedrig stehenden Horden durchzogen werden — sesshafte Indianer sind in derselben gegenwärtig nicht vorhanden.

Es gelang mir drei Männer und zwei Frauen zu messen. Sie waren von ziemlich niedriger Statur, die Frauen sämmtlich einen halben Kopf kleiner als die Männer; ihrer Hautfarbe war ein grauvioletter Ton beigemischt.

Die Frauen zeichneten sich durch zierliche Hände und Füsse aus; José's Lieblingsgattin hatte ein Füsschen von 198 mm Länge.

Die Nase ist gebogen, unten ziemlich breit, die Augenspalte mässig weit, das Oberlid greift über. Augenbrauen und Schläfenhaar sind rasirt; die Wimpern werden in brutaler Weise entfernt, indem sie über einen Tu-

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cumfaden gelegt, gefasst und mit einem Ruck ausgerissen werden. Die Männer tragen das lange schwarze Haar bis fast auf die Taille, lassen es sich aber gewöhnlich von den Frauen sorgfältig scheiteln und hinten in einen Zopf legen, der dicht umwickelt wird. Auf der Stirn am Beginn des Scheitels sitzt ein rothes mosiges Fleckchen von der Grösse eines Fünfpfennigstücks auf; es soll Pollen der sogenannten Banana brava sein. Ebenso ist die Frisur der Frauen, doch tragen sie keinen Zopf, sondern schlingen das Haar, wenn es nicht herabhängt, in einen losen Schopf.

Schnurrbart und Kinnhaar sind sehr spärlich. Die Männer haben die Ohrläppchen durchbohrt.

Sie salbten sich zum Schutz gegen die kleinen Mücken (Carapaná) mit Oel; künstlerische Bemalung war bei den Männern nicht vorhanden. Einige Frauen hatten einen schwarzen senkrechten Streifen mitten über den Leib.

Der grösste Schmuck des Yuruna sind die „missangas", die Glasperlen; Männer und Frauen haben dicke Schnüre um den Hals, die Säuglinge sind bereits schwer behangen, um die Taille aber trägt der Mann einen über handbreiten Gurt, der nicht abgelegt werden kann. Der Leib ist förmlich von einem Panzerring umschlossen, aus dem sich hinten und unten die natürliche Wölbung vorzudrängen scheint; mit richtigem Geschmack zieht der Indianer blaue Perlen, welche vortrefflich mit seiner Haut contrastiren, allen andersfarbigen vor — es ist eine knappe, aber elegante Tracht.[1] Um den Oberarm und über den Knöcheln häkelt die Frau, auf dem Boden hockend, ihrem Gatten eine 3—4 Finger breite Baumwollenbinde, während er in seiner geliebten Hängematte sitzt. Auch manche Frauen sind mit den Binden versehen.

Die Frauen haben um die Hüften ein graues, selbstgewebtes Tuch geschlungen, das bis fast auf die Füsse reicht und an einer Seite nachlässig bis obenhin offen bleibt, sodass man die etwa vorhandene Malerei des einen Beins frei betrachten kann. Bei einer Frau waren die Vorderarme und die Unterschenkel mit Genipapotinte schwarz gefärbt, unterhalb des Knies war jedoch an der Aussenseite der Wade eine runde Fläche ausgespart und dieselbe mit einem concentrischen Kreisring verziert. Ein seitlicher Streifen setzte sich auf den vorn mit einer Scheibe bemalten Oberschenkel fort.

[1] Yurunae peni imponunt „pileolum" (eine Hülse von der Form eines oben wagerecht, unten schräg abgeschnittenen Kegels) aridis palmae foliis factum, qui altitudinem et diametrum duarum inferiorum phalangum digiti minimi fere aequat. Quo pileolo directe e scroto urgente corpora cavernosa in scrotum reprimuntur, ita ut tumoris instar inflectur. Penis autem externi plane nihil extra pileolum apparet. Atque cum urethra prorsus conclusa sit, insecta intrare non possunt.

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Ganz allerliebst ist das Verhältniss der Eheleute, wenigstens das Verhältniss des Gatten mit der jüngsten Gattin. Der Tuschaua (Tupi: tuxaua = Häuptling) José besass, wie er sagte, drei Weiber. Die jüngste, eine recht hübsche, ungemein zierliche und geschmeidige Gestalt mit einem sehr verliebten Gesichtchen, war unzertrennlich mit ihm zusammen. Ein Pärchen Periquitos. „Esta mulher está boa", diese Frau ist gut, äusserte der Tyrann auch nicht ohne Genugthuung. Ueberall folgte die Frau dem Manne wie ein Hündchen auf Schritt und Tritt. Wir nannten einen ältern etwas corpulenten Yuruna mit graumelirtem Haar und einem äusserst friedfertigen breiten Gesicht nur den Pfarrer — nun, selbst seine schon betagte Pfarrerin wandelte, wie immer er auch die Kreuz und Quer an der Keule, die sich in seiner Hand gleich einem ehrsamen Spazierstock ausnahm, in unserm Lager einherschritt, getreulich hinter ihm drein; setzte sich der Herr Pfarrer, hockte die Frau Pfarrerin ein wenig zurück ebenfalls nieder, und niemals trank Ehrwürden unsern Spiritus, ohne seine Frau dabei anzusehen und sie ihrer lebhaften Grimassen nicht achtend zu nöthigen, den kostbaren Rest zu geniessen.

Diese in frühern Jahrhunderten als Menschenfresser verschrienen Yuruna fanden wir sehr gutmüthig; freilich waren sie zäh im Tauschhandel, weil wir Armen ihnen, die Flinten, Beile, Messer und kiloweise Perlen besassen, mit unsern Reichthümern nicht imponiren konnten; sie lachten gern, sie stahlen nicht, sie halfen sogar arbeiten.

In ihren engen und kleinen Hütten war es ungemüthlich. In allen war aus einem Lager Querbalken eine Art Boden hergerichtet, über den ich stehend wegschauen konnte, zur Aufbewahrung von Bogen, Pfeilen, Baumwolle, Vorräthen und Utensilien aller Art. Ausser der Mandioca, dem Mais, den Bananen, fanden wir Batatas, Carás, Mamonen, Ouanassúnüsse und andere Palmfrüchte. Hier gab es nun auch wieder ein berauschendes Getränk, den Kaschirí (sonst in dieser Zubereitung z. B. in den Guyanas Pajaurú genannt), eine aus Farinha angerührte Brühe, welche durch Zusatz von den Weibern gekauten Mandiocateiges in Gärung versetzt wird.

„Und auf den Tisch kommt vorgegessen Brot", klagt der Marschalk im Faust. Eine schauderhafte Suppe, die säuerlich, magensäuerlich schmeckt und magensäuerlich aussieht. Die Soldaten schwärmten für den Kaschirí, und wir, einander darob gegenseitig verachtend, tranken auch nicht wenig. Unser Kopf hätte es jedenfalls länger aushalten können als unser Magen; dieser jedoch protestirte bald mit lauten Zeichen der Unzufriedenheit gegen den Eingriff in sein altes Recht, selbst den Beginn der Verdauung übernehmen zu dürfen.

Die Alden war arm; Hängematten, die aus demselben Gewebe bestehen

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wie das Frauentuch, wurden nicht abgegeben; mit grösster Mühe erwarb ich ein Stück Tuch, das von den Erwachsenen der Reihe nach erst mit einem scharfen Hauch angeblasen wurde, ehe man es mir einhändigte.

Einige schöne Federhauben, aus hauptsächlich grünen Federn bestehend; rothe Ararasfedern für das Ohr, in einer Hülse, welche noch mit einigen Mutumfederchen verziert ist[1]; ein Federroif von den Karajá herrührend, in dem jede Feder zum grössten Theil mit einem Faden eng umwickelt war; eine kleine runde gelbe Oelcuye, verziert durch ein schwarz aufgemaltes griechisches Linienmuster.

Die Bogen sind vierkantig, schwarzbraun, ein wenig über 2 m lang, die Pfeile aus Cambaiuva, einem leichten, harten Schilfrohr, mit hübschen bunten Federn, spitzen Knochen oder langen Bambusmessern. Schwere schwarzbraune Keulen, 1 m 35 cm lang, von Stabform, hübsch cannelirt, entstammen den Karajá.[2]

Die Ruder haben eine ausgeschweifte Krücke, an welcher man mit der einen Hand hebelt, während die andere den Stiel umfasst, und ein breites Blatt, welches im Wasser kräftig fördert; ich fand eins mit einem einfachen Linienmuster bemalt. (Griff 62 cm, Blatt 83 cm lang.)

Die Ubá ist kein Rindenkanu, sondern ein aus einem mit Feuer und Beil gehöhltem Cedernstamm bestehendes Baumkanu. In den grössten könnten ohne raumbeengende Waaren leicht zehn Personen Platz nehmen.

Vorn und hinten ist ein horizontales Trittbret übriggelassen, an dem die Höhlung ansetzt.

Ich habe die Kanus, welche uns glücklich bis hierher gebracht haben, ausgemessen; die Flotille enthielt ausser einem einzigen der Kanus, die wir uns selbst am Batovy gemacht hatten, Proben der Schiffsbaukunst von den Bakaïrí, Trumaí und Suyá:

	Länge.	Breite i. d. Mitte. oben	Breite i. d. Mitte. unten	Tiefe.	Breite d. Hintertheils.	Rindendicke.
Unseres v. Batovy	6.70 m	70 cm	56 cm	27.5 cm	67 cm	37 mm
Bakaïrí	8	64	56	24	63	11—21
Trumaí	7.70	53	39	27	57	16
Suyá	9	65	54	33	59	19

Yuruna-Ubá: Länge 10.60 m, grösste Breite 95 cm, Tiefe 39 cm, Dicke der Wand 25 mm. Vordertrittbret: 1 m lang, 90 cm breit. Hintertrittbret: 57 cm lang, 44 cm breit.

Alle Rindenkanus wurden zurückgelassen. Wir erwarben sechs Ubás für die Weiterreise. Zum Theil sind dieselben mit Japá, einer rohen Matte

[1] Vgl. die erste ethnographische Tafel.
[2] Vgl. die zweite ethnographische Tafel.

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oder nur mehrern Decklagen aus Palmblättern, zum Schutz der Ladung überwölbt. Der Handel hat sehr viele Mühe gekostet; unsere Juwelen fanden keine Gnade in den Augen der Yuruna, sie wollten Flinten, Pulver, Schrot, Kleidungsstücke etc. und gaben uns (nicht die schönsten) Ubás, welche noch nach Möglichkeit ausgebessert werden mussten.

Farinha und Bananen wurden angekauft und eine ganze Collection Thiere eingetauscht. Die Soldaten hofften, die letztern mit Gewinn in Pará absetzen zu können.

Ich erstand einen grossen weiblichen Coatá, der „Yuruna" getauft wurde, ein höchst ungeberdiges Wesen, das mir mehrere mal zu entrinnen wusste und dann spornstreichs einigen Indianerinnen zueilte, um sich zufrieden an ihrer Seite niederzulassen. — Die Araras hatten gelbgrüne Flügel, Kopf, Brust- und Schwanzfedern roth. Unter den Papagnien befand sich eine durch ihren hellbraunen Sperberkopf merkwürdige taubengrosse Art, der Fächerpapagni (Psittacus s. Pionias accipitrinus), Anaká oder auch Anaká genannt, welcher eine Holle von blauen, karminroth gesäumten Federn besitzt und dieselbe in der Erregung zu einem Fächer emporsträubt. Brust und Bauch sind wie der Kragen gezeichnet, Flügel und Schwanz smaragdgrün, mit einigen bläulich schwarzen Federenden. Der Anaká ist ungemein zahm und spricht sein „Anaká" mit dem melodischen Schmeichelton eines jungen zärtlichen Mädchens. — Kleine Periquitos, Hühner, Kapuzineraffen, ein Nachtäffchen mit grossen gelben Laternenaugen — dabei die seltsame Costümirung der Soldaten, die dicken Pfeilbündel, welche aus dem Strohdache vorlugen — fürwahr, das wird ein grotesker Maskenzug auf dem Wasser.

Drei Tage verbrachten wir bei der Aldea José's. Der biedere Tuschaua war immer gleich heitern Sinnes. Trinken, sein Weibchen neben sich, und singen, war José's Ideal; der Gefahr, sein Leben lang ein Narr zu bleiben, sah er sich gewiss nicht ausgesetzt. Leider wollte er durchaus portugiesisch singen; den zweiten Abend besonders war er in der glückseligsten Kaschirstimmung; „canta, camarada", bat er ohne Aufhören. Er hatte des Guten ein wenig zu viel genossen, betrunken schwankte er, auf die holde Gattin gestützt, zur Ubá; noch bis in die tiefe Nacht hörte man ihn auf seiner Insel lärmen und portugiesisch sprechen.

Den letzten Abend versuchten wir, die noch erhaltenen Raketen anzuzünden — ein paar waren wirklich noch brauchbar und zischten sprühend über dem Flusse empor.

21. Sept. φ 8° 33′.3, λ 1° 31′.6, km 10.34, Summa 994.92.
6¼ Uhr früh: I 749.0, II 741.6, Trock. 20.0, Feucht. 19.5. In Ost Nebelwolken 1, Wind = 0. Viel Thau; Nacht völlig klar; in Süd

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10 Uhr abends Wetterleuchten. Wasser 28.1.
3 Uhr nachmittags; Gewitter in N, heftiger Nordwind. Wir bleiben ohne Regen.

22. Sept. 7 Uhr früh: I 748.8, II 740.8, Trock. 22.1, Feucht. 21.6, tiefe Wolken a. d. Wasser 8, Wind = 0. Nacht klar, abends Gewitter in S. Wasser 28.8.
2 Uhr nachmittags: I 747.8, Trock. 33.7. Cum. rings Horis. 2.
4½ Uhr nachmittags: II 738.0, Trock. 34.0, 5 Uhr nachmittags Nordwind.
9 Uhr abends: I 748.2, II 739.8, Trock. 25.4. Wolken = 0, Wind = 0.

23. Sept. 7 Uhr früh: I 749.0, II 740.2, Trock. 24.0, Windbäume 3°. Westwind 2. Nacht klar. Gegen Morgen altocum. 10.

24. Sept. φ 8° 15'.1, λ 1° 25'.5, km 40.55, Summa 1035.17.
6¼ Uhr früh: I 749.6, II 740.8, Trock. 23.0, str. c. 10, Wind = 0, Nachts und gegen Morgen schwacher Regen.
Abends: I 748.2, II 739.6, Trock. 25.4, str. c. 10, O 1—2, Wasser 31.0. Bis Mittag klar; sehr heiss. 2—3 Uhr nachmittags strömender Regen.

Die Vertheilung der 20 Personen in die Ubás ist derart getroffen, dass I 2, II 3, III 4, IV 5, V 6 Insassen birgt.

Classisch ist der Anblick von V; wir nennen es das Boot der wilden Piraten. Vorn stehen hintereinander der gänzlich abgerissene Braga, der Unteroffizier Norberto, welcher von einer selbstverfertigten anliegenden Rehfellhose noch ein Beinetui halbwegs gerettet hat, und Chico, der Affenmensch, der sich fortwährend auf seine Aehnlichkeit mit meiner dünnbeinigen Yuruna aufmerksam machen lassen muss; es folgen drei neugierige Hunde, Leão eine Dogge, Tarugo, das schwarze Teufelsthier, der kleine gelbe Spitz Mata Grande („grosser Wald"), Braga's Schosshündchen; hierauf schliesst das gewölbte Strohdach an, auf dem ein Kapuzineräffchen wie ein Eichhörnchen umherläuft, Gesichter schneidet, die Stirn runzelt und flötet, auf dem ferner ein stumpfsinniger Papagai mit himmelblauen Kopffedern neben einem grellen, unruhig kletternden Arara balancirt; hinter der Japá steht wieder der ewig schwadronirende Neger Merelles und in der letzten Ecke sitzt das Opfer seiner Kritik, der steuernde Corneta, welcher ihm keine Antwort schuldig bleibt und zwischendurch singt, die schmutzige Federhaube auf dem krausen Haarwust.

Auch Castro's Ubá, mit sechs verwegenen Gestalten bemannt, ist nicht übel. Aus dem Dach gucken neben Periquitos mehrere weisse Hühner hervor.

Meine Yuruna ist durch mässige Einführung der Prügelstrafe etwas duldsamern Gemüths geworden. Sie steht angebunden neben mir auf dem Rande des Boots, den langen Greifschwanz um irgendeinen Halt angeklammert, weit vornüber liegend und — rudert. Ganze Viertelstunden wirbelt sie

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mit beiden Armen gleichzeitig in grösster Geschäftigkeit durch die Luft, das imaginäre Ruder an die Brust anziehend und wieder entfernend; wenn ich sie störe, grinst sie mich mit dem alten weissen Gesicht verwundert an und ist mit einem Satz auf der andern Seite, wo sie ihre Thätigkeit eifriger von neuem aufnimmt. Zuweilen stärkt sie sich mit einem Schluck Wasser, indem sie sich zum Fluss herabbeugt und die Flut mit den Händen schöpft. Dabei ist sie sittsam erzogen; sie weiss an dem Boot genau zwischen drinnen und draussen zu unterscheiden.

Mir ist es lieb, dass sie für mich rudert; Antonio sitzt vor mir und handhabt das Ruder mit solcher Kraft und Ausdauer, dass ich alle Freude daran verloren habe, meine im Vergleich zu seiner Leistung schwache Hülfe anzubieten.

Wir werden auf den Wunsch des Häuptlings von einem Yurumboot geleitet. Denn als wir um Abschied zu nehmen heute früh bei José vorführen, rief dieser lachend: „Tem cachoeira, tudo morre lá“ (es kommen noch Cachoeiras, in denen ihr alle zu Grunde gehen würdet), und bald holte uns der flinke Gevatter Pedro ein.

Dieser kann seine Verwandten besuchen gehen und erfreut sich unsers Schutzes gegen die bösen Karajá, wie er uns vor den bösen Schnellen bewahren soll.

Er fährt mit Weib und Kind und Schwiegervater. Pedro selbst rudert. Frau und Töchterchen sitzen unter der Wölbung der Japá, Schwiegerpapa steuert. Auf einer über den Kanurand vorstehenden Seitenstange sonnt sich ein Papagai, auf einer andern hocken als Passagiere drei ernsthafte Periquitos, ganz vorn turnt ein Coatí mundeo (Nasua solitaria), ein seltenes, ungemein bewegliches Thierchen: es ist durch eine rüsselförmige Schnauze ausgezeichnet, die es gern ins Wasser steckt und mit der es alles beschnüffelt, ergreift und aufwühlt.

[pp245-250 not processed]

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30. Sept. φ 6°54'.0, λ 1°59'.0, km 14.31, Summe 1239.18.
Morgens: I 752.2, II 745.2, Trock. 22.3, Nebel 10, Wind = 0.
4 Uhr früh: klarer Sternhimmel, gestern Abend trüb.
5¾ Uhr nachmittags: I 75.10, II 742.6, Trock. 31.4, cum. 1, O 1, tagsüber schön und klar.
8 Uhr abends: I 752.8, Trock. 27.5.

Etwas Farinha; zu kochen nichts vorhanden.

Früh 6½ Uhr ab. Pedro macht immer noch auf neue Plätze aufmerk-

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sam, wo sich die Yuruna und Karajá geschlagen haben. — Schwarzweisse Schwalben; ein einsamer Caracará (Polyborus) auf einem Felsen.

Um 8 Uhr erreichten wir zwei bewohnte Inseln. Pedro meldete sich einige Zeit vorher durch dumpfe — tuhuhú uú — Töne an, welche er einer Calabasse entlockte. Man antwortete mit Schüssen, die wir unsererseits auf Pedro's Aufforderung erwiderten.

Eine arme Niederlassung. Nach und nach stellten sich 8 Männer, 6 Weiber, 3 Knaben, 3 Mädchen ein.

Die Hütte auf der nördlichen Insel nahe dem rechten Ufer, auf der wir landeten, war klein, 5½ Schritt breit, 6 Schritt lang. Zwei junge Schildkröten krochen in ihr umher. Hängematten hingen draussen unter den Bäumen. In einem Schuppen wurden Körbe mit Wolle, grossen rothen Bananen, Pfeile etc. aufbewahrt. Wir fanden eiserne Töpfe und einen blauen Porzellantiegel.

In der Hütte stand ein einfacher Webrahmen; um zwei querliegende Bambusstangen hing vertical die Baumwolle, die aus einem ewigen, immer wieder frisch angeknoteten Faden bestand. 2 m breit, 3 m hoch. Zwei Wollfäden, je an einem Stöckchen geleitet, wurden kreuzweise durchgezogen.

Die Weiber trugen jedoch importirtes blaues Schürzentuch. Pedro erzählte einem Bruder oder Vetter, der einen dünnen Schnurrbart, spärliche Brauen, aber langes, sorgfältig gescheiteltes Haupthaar hatte, die Neuigkeiten von der Alden I. Die Sprecher blickten sich grundsätzlich nicht an; der eine auf einen Stock, der andere auf ein Ruder gestützt, schauten sie nebeneinanderstehend beide nach vorwärts. Aber der Vetter folgte aufmerksam und unterbrach Pedro's Bericht mit vielen höflichen „enäh, enäh — häheeäh — ähäh — ah — ä, wä."

Eine von der Roça eintreffende Frau macht Pedro eine Mittheilung; beide fangen daraufhin an, die Hände vor das Gesicht haltend, laut zu weinen — seine Frau und die andern blieben gleichgültig.

Nach ungefähr einer Minute werden die Hände weggenommen — Thränen sind nicht geflossen, das Antlitz hat seinen gewöhnlichen Ausdruck. Darauf geht die Alte zu Pedro's Frau und führt mit ihr dieselbe Scene auf. Hiermit ist die Form offenbar erfüllt.

Wir erhielten von einer salzlosen Mutumsuppe zu essen, die besser schmeckte als sie aussah. Ich hatte vorher schon in den Topf geguckt und wenig Gefallen an der grauen Brühe gefunden, in der Bananenstücke und ein Vogelkopf umherschwammen. Alles beschäftigte sich eifrig mit dem Aufklopfen von Ouassúnüssen; am besten schlägt man sie auf der Beilschneide entzwei. Auch einige Paránüsse und, wichtiger als alles Essen, etliche Packete Taback wurden uns gegen kleine Geschenke gespendet. —

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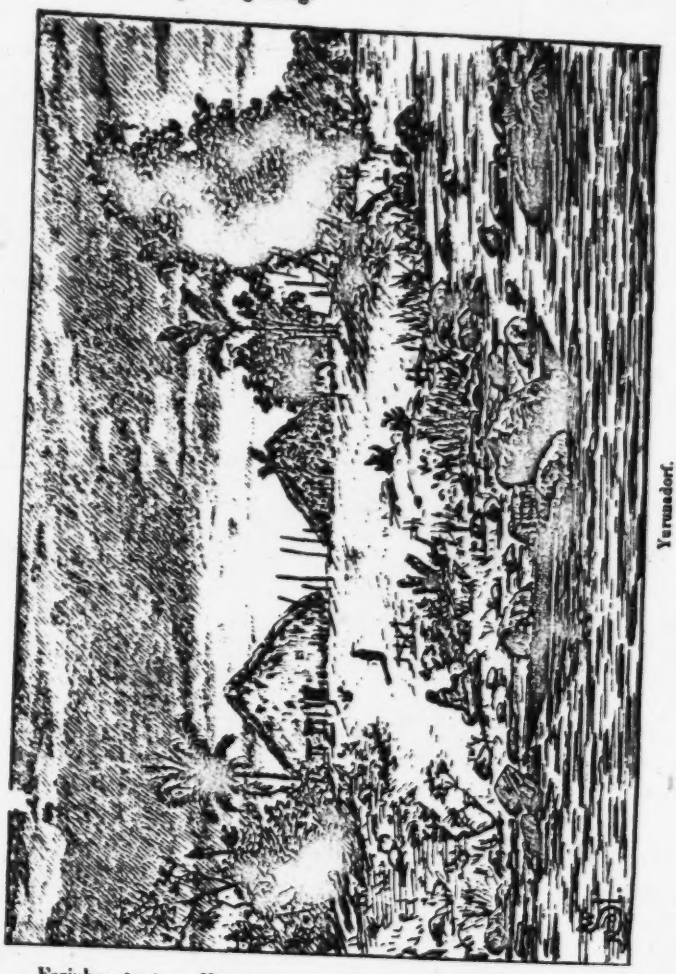
Der portugiesische Wortschatz der Männer war dürftig „tem muito — não tem“ (es gibt viel — nicht); „aqui“ (hier) und „não sabe“ (ich weiss nicht) war ihnen jedoch geläufig.



Yurunadorf.

„Farinha não tem; Karajá . . . .“ Die Karajá seien daran schuld, dass sie selbst keine Farinha hätten.

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Von Pedro, der hier zurückblieb, nahmen wir herzlichsten Abschied. Keiner von uns wird ihn vergessen.

Um 1¼ Uhr nachmittags ab. Schöne dicht bewaldete Bergufer (200 m), üppige Inseln mit lieblichen Durchblicken.

Wir kamen 2½ Uhr an der zweiten grösseren Niederlassung an, bei der wir campirten. Auf einer Insel nahe dem rechten Ufer vier geräumige neue Häuser, nahebei zwei kleinere Hütten, die man durch das Wasser watend erreichte, und ungefähr in der Mitte des Flusses noch ein mit einem Hause besetztes Inselchen. 12 Männer, 18 Frauen, 4 Knaben, 6 Mädchen. Ein uralter Greis: ein einäugiger Junge; ein Mann mit Inguinaldrüsen.

Die grösste Hütte war 22 Schritt lang, 14 Schritt breit mit niedriger Thüre. Das gewölbte Palmstrohdach (Ouassú und Inajá) reichte bis auf den Boden. — Nicht viele Thiere; Hunde, zahme Magoari (Ciconia).

Alles war neu: die Ubás, die Ruder, die Baumwollkörbe etc. Ich erwarb eine Flöte, an deren Ende eine Cuye aufsass.

Einzelne Männer hatten unterhalb des Halses um Nacken und Brust zwei schwarze Streifen gemalt und Unterschenkel und Vorderarm schwarz gefärbt. Einer prunkte mit einem fast faustdicken Perlenwulst um den Hals.

Die Leutchen wünschten von uns Farinha zu erhalten; es scheint, dass sie in Händeln mit den Karajá vieles verloren, einige Monate neues gearbeitet und darüber die Pflanzung vernachlässigt haben, oder dass sie sich überhaupt erst infolge jener Fehde seit kurzem veranlasst sahen, an diesem Orte Hütten zu bauen. Taback ist reichlich vorhanden.

Wir freuen uns, dass wir auf dem 6. Breitengrade sind. Auch auf ihm scheint die Moskitoplage eingebürgert.

1. Oct. φ 6°40'.3, λ 2°1'.5, km 30.64, Summe 1269.82
6 Uhr früh: I 752.6, II 744.8, Trock. 22.1, cir. c. 1, Wind = 0, Wasser 29.0 (seicht und stagnirend). Nacht völlig klar.
4 Uhr 50 Min. nachmittags: I 752.2, II 743.7, Trock. 31.5, Hypsometer 99.230, Windbäume 8°, Wind = 0.
8 Uhr abends: I 752.6, Trock. 26.0.

Früh 7½ Uhr ab. Fünf Yurunaboote mit 15 Personen (4 Männer, 5 Weiber, 3 Knaben, 3 Mädchen) begleiten uns. Berge 150—200 m. Fünf Schnellen. Allmählich Uebergang in nördliche Richtung. 1 m hohe Steinwälle; eine Zeit lang verengt sich der Fluss und zeigt, wo er sich erweitert, eine durchschnittliche Tiefe von 1¼ m, wo wir passiren.

Eine Anzahl der prächtigen Kastanienbäume, die mit weitgewölbtem Laubdach über ihre Nachbarn emporragen, einige Jatobás und Genipapos.

Kurz nach der Abfahrt bemerkten wir am linken Ufer noch zwei Hütten: wenn die Yuruna nicht so sehr für individuelle Freiheit schwärm-

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ten und sich in geschlossenen Dörfern vereinigten, würden sie wahrscheinlich besser mit den Karajá fertig werden. Es lässt sich gleichwol nicht leugnen, dass die von Katarakten umgebenen Inseln eine grosse natürliche Sicherheit bieten. Gegen Nachmittag wird der Strom herrlich; anmuthige Inseln, üppiger Wald auch auf den Bergkuppen; in der Ferne ein langgestreckter Höhenzug, der sich mit unzähligen Wipfelchen als eine bläuliche Wand gegen den Himmel absetzt.

Auf dem Lagerplatze, einer mittelgrossen Insel mit dichtem Baumwuchs jenseit des Sandstrandes, entwischte mir die Aeffin, die theure Yuruna. Sie verstand es leider vorzüglich, die Knoten des Strickes, an dem sie angebunden war, zu lösen. Alles Suchen war natürlich umsonst. Doch habe ich in Aldea II einen kaum zwei Monate alten Coatá erhandelt — ein greuliches schwarzes Teufelchen, das in seinem verrunzelten Greisenantlitz einen Majorsschnurrbart und die frechsten Affenaugen zur Schau trägt. Auch Suyá, wie es genannt worden ist, trinkt Wasser aus dem Flusse mit der Hand; an der Zeltstange klettert, springt, purzelt es in ruheloser Gymnastik, abends schreit es entsetzlich, wenn ich es nicht zu mir in die Hängematte nehme.

2. Oct. φ 6° 34'.0, λ 1° 45'.3, km 40.12, Summe 1309.94.
6 Uhr früh: I 752.8, Trock. 22.7, cum. 4, N 1. Nacht klar, niedrige Nebelwolken an den Bergen.
5 Uhr 55 Min. nachmittags: I 751.2, II 742.7, Trock. 30.3, Windbäume 5°, Wind = 0, Tag klar.

Die ruhige Nacht hat alle wieder erquickt.

Früh 6¼ Uhr ab; ohne Frühstück. Die Yuruna suchen Schildkröten. Ich habe meine Freude an einem allerliebsten Mädchen mit chinesischem, aber frischem zutraulichen Gesichtchen — Bonitinha (bonito = hübsch) nennt sie die Mannschaft. Bonitinha hat schmucke Waden, reizende Füsschen und Händchen, einen zierlichen, geschmeidigen Oberleib, trägt eine blaue Perlenschnur um den Hals, und läuft auf dem Vordertrittbret mit der Ruderstange lustig lachend und plappernd und die Ubá schiebend allzeit thätig hin und wieder. Sie erblickt die Tracajás immer zuerst, und der hinten sitzende Yuruna durchstösst sie aufspiessend mit der Stange. — Grosse Rochen, einen Zitteraal bemerkt.

Prozessionsartiges Vorwärtskommen. Ein Theil der Yuruna „zieht", sie wollen sich flussabwärts häuslich einrichten und reisen gemächlich.

Von 12½—2½ Uhr Mittagspause.

Die Gevattern kochen die fast ausgebrüteten Schildkröteneier und laden uns freundlich ein. Ich bin zu sehr in Unordnung mit den Functionen der Zunge und des Magens, als dass ich mich entschliessen könnte zu kosten. Clauss lobt den Dotter — die Embryonen zu probiren, bringt auch er

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nicht fertig, obgleich die kleinen schwarzen Kröten blank und appetitlich aussehen.

Die Berge treten vom Ufer zurück. Viele Seringueiras. Wir übernachten auf einem Inselstrande, ein Theil der Yuruna auf einer andern Insel in der Nähe.

Mondhell. Das Gestirn ist von einem grossen Hofe und leichten Wolkenschleiern umgeben. Möven schreien; ihnen sind die beinahe flüggen Jungen geraubt worden. Die Menagerie sitzt stumm auf eingerammten Ruderstangen. Nur der Nachtaffe rennt geschäftig; seine Laternenaugen funkeln. Von der Insel grüsst das stille Licht des Lagerfeuers der Yuruna herüber; es ist zu schön zum Schlafen.

3. Oct. φ 6° 14'.0, λ 1° 30'.1, km 48.40, Summe 1358.34.
6 Uhr früh: I 751.8, II 744.2, Trock. 22.5, cum. s. 2, Wind = 0, Wasser 29.1, Nacht klar.
6 Uhr abends: I 751.0, II 743.0, Trock. 29.8, Windbäume 5°, Wind = 0, Wasser 32.0. Tagsüber hell und freundlich. Vormittags NW 2—3.
2 Uhr nachmittags Gewitter in SW.
8 Uhr abends: I 752.0, Trock. 28.5.

Vor 4 Uhr früh auf: an der Trompete „fehlt ein Stück", sodass sie schauderhaft verstimmt ist; „Mata grande", der Hund, heult mit und der grosse Wald selber im Echo nicht minder.

Früh 6 Uhr ab. Fluss 1.5 km zum wenigsten breit. Klippenreich und flach. Die Berge treten rechts als unbedeutende Hügelzüge auf; ein Rückblick zeigt die passirten Höhen wie eine ferne Serra. Gegenwind behindert uns sehr.

Nachmittags 1½ Uhr flach, sandig. Kanal und Cachoeira: Passage durch eine enge Steinspalte, die man kennen musste; ein Yuruna stand seitwärts auf dem Felsen und stiess das Kanu in die Richtung. Das Gestein graurötlich, glatt mit stumpfen Formen. Alles kommt ohne Unfall durch. Merelles, der Seeräuber, nennt seine Ubá nicht mit Unrecht „canoa da republica".

Hohe Tucumás (Astrocaryum Tucumá), zahlreiche Tucuma und Inajás. — An den Seiten flach, zurück und voraus Höhenzüge oder Hügel.

Um 3 Uhr nachmittags. Weites Wasserbild, von zahllosen Waldinseln durchzogen. Rechts einige Hügel und viele Cachoeiras. Links mündet ein Fluss, dessen Breite bei der chaotischen allseitigen Verbarrikadirung nicht zu schätzen ist: die Yuruna erzählen, dass sie dort 2½ Tage aufwärts Cambaiuva, ihr Pfeilrohr, holten, ihre Ubás bauten, und dass dieser Fluss reich an Cachoeiras sei. Ein langer Sandstrand kennzeichnet die Mündung. Wir lassen sie weit links; wir verlieren uns in einem Gewirr von Felsen-

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inseln, die mit dünnen Stauden bewachsen sind. In der Nähe hat wieder ein Kampf mit den Karajá stattgefunden.

Der Fluss entwickelt sich etwas einheitlicher zu einer Wasserstrasse von 1500 m, an deren Rande noch eine Menge flacher Steininseln eingelagert sind. Links und rechts Waldebene.

Zwei kräftige Cachoeiras; über die zweite macht das Boot fast einen Sprung abwärts. Es fehlte bei einigen herzlich wenig zu einem Schiffbruch; die Republik war in heftigem Aufruhr: „O diavo quer andar neste inferno (der Teufel möge in dieser Hölle fahren)", äusserte Merelles.

Beiderseits und voraus ebenes Waldgebiet; „Tucumiaal und Inajal". Die Palmen spielen eine ganz neue Rolle; sie sind ungemein zahlreich und die Inajás werden nur von einzelnen schlanken Laubbäumen überragt; den Vordergrund bis zum Wasser füllt dichtes Strauchwerk.

4. Oct. φ 5° 48'.7, λ 1° 25'.5, km 54.03, Summe 1412.37.
6 Uhr früh: I 752.2, II 745.4, Trock. 22.9, cir. c. 5, Wind = 0. Nacht klar, Mondhof sehr gross; Wandbäume.
6¼ Uhr abends: I 753.4, II 746.0, Trock. 28.0, str. in W 5°, Wind = 0. Tagsüber hell, regenlos.
7 Uhr 40 Min. abends: I 754.0, Trock. 27.7. Gewitter im Anzuge.

Früh 6½ Uhr ab. Eine unbedeutende Stromschnelle. Grosse und kleine Inseln. Schmutzig röthlichen Gestein in klumpige Blöcke zersprungen. — Eine schwierige Cachoeira — ein Schwall, der durch einen 10 m breiten Kanal stürzt. Dann fahren wir in einem 800 m breiten Arm. Oamassú. Inajá. Tucum.

Nachmittag schiessen wir wieder durch einen ähnlichen, etwas sanftern Kanal und gelangen zwischen zwei Inseln durch eine 70 m breite strudelnde Passage in den Hauptstrom.

Längere Strecke nach Norden. Endlich, nachdem die Yuruna bereits viel geblasen und wir sehnsüchtig umhergeschaut, kommen wir inmitten eines so inselreichen Gebiets, dass es überschwemmt erscheint, zu einer unbewohnten Hütte, welche für eine der uns begleitenden Familien gebaut und eingerichtet ist. Es sieht sauber darin aus. Auf drei Steinen steht eine grosse flache Schüssel; alles Palmstroh ist rein und neu. Von der Decke hängt ein mit gelben und schwarzen Federchen verziertes, baumwollgefüttertes Nestchen, in dem junge Vögelchen aufgezogen werden können.

Während der Breitenbestimmung wurde beobachtet, dass eine totale Mondfinsterniss im Ablauf begriffen war. Leider kam die Erkenntniss zu spät. — Heute haben wir die grösste Kilometerzahl zu verzeichnen — mehr als wir in den ersten 7 Tagen zusammen auf dem Batovy gemacht haben, 54 km.

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5. Oct. φ 5°36'.5, λ 1°17'.7, km 28.39, Summe 1440.76.
5½ Uhr früh: I 754.0, II 747.8, Trock. 23.3, cum. 1, Wind = 0.
klar, 8 und 9 Uhr abends während der Mondfinsterniss starker Wind.
Gewitter zieht vorüber, ohne Regen.
Tagsüber schönes Wetter; sehr heiss; abends Himmel bedeckt.

Früh 6 Uhr ab. Bald in einen Kanal, den unsere Ubá mit grosser Mühe passirt. Durch drei Schnellen erreichen wir ruhiges breites Fahrwasser, 1 km breiter Arm, hier und da eine runde Kuppe. Doch werden die Ufer bald wieder bergig, 100—120 m hoch.

Glatte Steinlager durchsetzen den Fluss mehr oder minder quer, eine Barre hat über 300 m Breite.

Durch Schnellen fahren wir bei den Aldeainseln vor. (Dorf Nr. III.)

Bemaltes Bein eines Yuruna.

Auf einzelnen Felsen mitten im Wasser stehen Gerüste für Hängematten und liegen steinbeschwerte Matten.

Wir finden drei Hütten, zwei sind unbewohnt. Die grösste hat 30 Schritt Länge und Breite, fast 6 m Höhe.

Bei einem Schuppen quartieren wir uns ein.

Es werden 12 Männer, 12 Weiber, 8 Mädchen, 7 Knaben gezählt; doch kommt im Laufe des Tages mancherlei Besuch; es sind noch einige Häuser in der Nähe. An 45 Seelen mögen hier zu rechnen sein.

Wenige zeigen Bemalung, einer drei Streifen ringsum zwischen Hals und Brust, ein zweiter ein sehr hübsches Wadenmuster. Dessen junges Frauchen hatte ebenfalls schwarze Unterschenkel, die Füsse waren nur knapp längs des Randes und hinter den Zehen bemalt. Ein Knabe trug zwei schwarze Streifen von Mund zu Ohr und schwarze Flecken sowie Seitenstreifen an den Beinen.

Im Vergleich zu den frühern Niederlassungen sind wir hier bei reichen Leuten: in der Fülle der Vorräthe, in der ganzen Haushaltung prägt sich ein höherer Grad des Wohlstandes aus. Mais ist in grosser Menge vorhanden; das eiergelbe Mandiocamehl wird in zierliche Körbe, unsern lieben Papierkörben sehr ähnlich, von den Frauen aufgefüllt; einige Webrahmen zeigen sich solid gearbeitet; die Hängematten sind wie grobes, aber starkes Tuch: Pfeile und Bogen gibt es verhältnissmässig wenig, sie weichen den modernen Waffen; mit grossem Vergnügen entdecken wir auf Messern die Namen von Remscheider und Elberfelder Firmen; auffallend viele Flöten

sind vorhanden — die lange Panetalada (1 m 75) mit dumpfem Trompetenton, kleine Fagotte, welche die Frauen spielen sollen, und kleine Panditen; einige Flöten mit schwarzer Bemalung und Federzierath; ferner Rasselwyen, die mit zwei Axtaufsätzen geschmückt sind. Viele Federvieh; zahlreiche Hühner, grosse Enten und Gänse (Marecho). Mehrere gefleckte Hunde. Ich erwarb einen Fächerpapagei für einen Spiegel und ein Armband — er sprach geläufig Yurúna, pfiff und war sehr zahm.

Offenbar wegen des reichlich vorhandenen Kauchiri stellten sich viele Gäste ein. Der Yurúna, von der Jagd heimkehrend, ist ein Anblick für Götter. Links hat der nackte Mensch ein gefleckteres Taschchen hängen, an einem breiten Bande trägt er das Pulverhorn, sein Haar läuft in einen grossmaschigen Zopf aus, den Leib umschliesst der blaue Perlengürtel; mit der Rechten auf ein Ruder, mit der Linken auf die altertümliche Flöte gelehnt, steht er da, schaut in die weite Welt und unterhält sich mit dem Freunde, dessen Blickrichtung die seine in der Unendlichkeit schneidet.

Wir bewältigten viel Kauchiritrüb, die in einem Kanu aufgefüllt war; sie schmeckte feiner als in der frühern Aldea, aber den finalig fermentirenden Geschmack, der etwas an mexikanischen Pulque erinnert, verlangte sie nicht. Auch ein mit Bananen gemischter Kauchiri wurde verabreicht. Ein Alter mit einem Rundhüttchehen trank fast ununterbrochen; er schaukelte sich gelangweilt in der Hängematte und liess sich von seiner jungen Frau bedienen. Wir sassen draussen vor der Hütte mit den Gewittern zusammen Acarifisch (Cascudo); eine Schüssel zum allgemeinen Gebrauch stand inmitten des Kreises und daneben eine Cuye mit Farinha, in die ein jeder den stark gepfefferten Bissen eintippte. Währenddessen ging der Mond prachtvoll über den Hügeln auf.

6. Oct. 6 Uhr 30 Min. früh: I 756.0, II 749.4, Trock. 23.0, str. s. 10, Wind w 0, Wasser 20.0, nachts von 2 Uhr bis 3 Uhr früh Regen.
$2^{1}/_{2}$ Uhr nachmittags: I 754. 4, Trock. 32.0, cum. 3, Wind w 0.
$5^{1}/_{2}$ Uhr nachmittags: I 754.4, II 747.2, Trock. 29.0, Hygr. 99.500.
11 Uhr nachts: I 756.2, Trock. 25.0, cirrus. 0, SW 1—2. 7 Uhr abends etwas Regen.

Schon zum Frühstück gibt es Kauchiri, dem sich der dem Bier noch anhaftende Chiningeschmack beimischt. Wir wollen den Leuten noch einen Ruhetag gönnen; Castro meint, sie seien doch von den Anstrengungen der letzten Zeit ermüdet und sicherlich geht aus ihren Gesprächen eine grosse Unzufriedenheit mit dem gegenwärtigen Leben hervor.

Der Schingú ist immer nur noch als Paranã bekannt, doch begegnen wir dem Namen Schaud — Sauud, über dessen Entfernung sehr unklare Angaben gemacht werden.

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Einer der Besucher war ein Medizinmann und behandelte eine kranke Frau. Ich verfolgte die Scene mit grossem Interesse und kam zu der Ansicht, dass die Cur als eine besondere Variation der Massage sich vielleicht mit Glück bei uns einführen liesse. Die Frau lag in der Hängematte; mit einem grünen Zweige rieb ihr der College Gesicht, Hals, Brust und Bauch, mit beiden Fäusten aus Leibeskräften zudrückend, und pustete, als wollte er sich bei der Anstrengung die Seele auspressen. Dann nahm er den Zweig in die hohlen Hände, vorsichtig, als ob er von einer Flüssigkeit zu verschütten fürchte, und trabte hinaus, ihn fortzuwerfen, immer aus dem tiefsten Innern ächzend. Wiederkehrend unterwarf er den Rücken der Frau derselben Procedur; er wedelte den Zweig, auf dem sie gelegen, zuerst wie abstäubend und begann zu kneten; mit derselben wichtigen Aengstlichkeit brachte er die gefangene Materie ins Freie.

Auch fanden eine Reihe von Klageceremonien statt. Immer dasselbe thränenlose Weinen mit vorgehaltenen Händen, immer dieselbe Gleichgültigkeit der Unbetheiligten, bis sie selbst an die Reihe kamen. Ein Hündchen in der Hängematte heulte mit, dem Anschein nach am aufrichtigsten. Eine dicke Alte hatte Clementin's rothgefütterten Reitermantel umhängen und jammerte, die Hände ringend, in herzzerreissenden Tönen.

Dazwischen ein Kauchirtgelage — es ging lebendig her. Die Männer wurden betrunken und nöthigten, volle Schalen aus dem Kanu schöpfend, mit einem freundlichen „Maliterhe" zum Trinken. Ein paar Jungen waren in sehr erhöhter Stimmung: sie gingen, ihre kleinen Pfeile und Bogen über der Schulter, in der Hütte singend auf und nieder, jeder für sich; überhaupt griff das Monologisiren um sich. Keiner bekümmerte sich um den andern. Der einzige gleichmässig ruhige Punkt in dem wüsten Treiben war Rundhämchelchen in der Hängematte, es trank und schwieg und schwieg und trank.

Ich hatte mit einer Menge Schrot und Pulver glücklich eine Panetadeda erbeutet; sie wurde jedoch auf geheimnissvolle Weise, nachdem ich sie kaum im Zelte geborgen, wieder entführt. — Unter unsern Leuten spukte auch der Geist zu viel genossenen Kauchirt's. Manoel und Satyr fudgten sich nach allen Regeln der Kunst; der Schwarze schielte plötzlich nicht mehr — das eine Auge war unter einer dicken Geschwulst verborgen.

7. Oct. ☾ 5° 21'.6 λ 1 8'.9, km 34.77, Summe 1475.53.
5½ Uhr früh: I 756.0, Trock. 24.2, str. c. 10, W 3, Windstösse aus W, Nacht trüb, Mond schwach durch die Wolken scheinend.
3½ Uhr nachmittags: I 754.2, II 749.6, Trock. 25.4, str. c. 9, Wind = 0.
4—5 Uhr nachmittags heftiger Regen.

6½ Uhr ab. Ein Theil der Yurunas nimmt herzlichen Abschied bis auf Wiedersehen. Sie glauben, dass wir später flussaufwärts zu unserer

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Heimat zurückkehren werden. Das Oberhaupt unserer Geleitschaft heisst Caetano.

Viele Ouassús und Tucuma, keine Berge. Wir fahren in einen felsigen schmalen Arm.

Um 10 Uhr früh Hütte (9 Männer, 7 Weiber, 3 Knaben, 4 Mädchen). „Lucio" trägt ein rothes Kopftuch und einen blauen Kittel mit Hemden-

Yurunafrauen.

knöpfchen — voilà tout, ein anderer gestreifte Hosen. Die Anzeichen der Cultur nehmen rapid zu: ein kupferbeschlagener Koffer, Pulverbüchsen, eine Blechtrommel, wie aus der Conditorei genommen, Tabackspfeifchen, ein Topf mit einem aufgemalten Kreuz. Die Yuruna drehen die langen Cigarretten in eine zimmtfarbene geschmeidige Baumrinde (Tauarí) ein.

Souzel soll „fünf" Tage entfernt sein.

Die beiden Ufer gleichzeitig bekommen wir heute nicht zu sehen; lange Inseln schieben sich aneinander vorbei. Links einige Hügelzüge bis 150 m.

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Es wird heiss: die Thiere leiden viel von der Sonne. Ich habe heute Suyá eine Lebensgefährtin für die Zukunft erworben; sie ist etwas grösser als er und heisst wieder Yuruna.

Nachmittags 3 Uhr enger Kanal, felsiges Bett. Um 4 Uhr Regen. Die Gevattern in ihrem Katzenjammer wünschen halt zu machen.

Während es Stunden dauerte, bis Manoel die Hühner und Bananen zugerichtet hatte, ging die Zurichtung des Mahles bei den Yuruna so flott, dass ich innig wünschte, mich ihrer Wirthschaft anschliessen zu können. Die Form ihrer Töpfe (ähnlich den Kochschalen der Chemiker) erlaubt, dass dieselben ganz vom Feuer umspielt werden; der übergreifende Rand schützt gegen das Ueberschlagen der Flammen. Bis das Wasser gekocht war, röstete die Frau Bananen auf den brennenden Scheiten und zertheilte Schildkröten. Das Ragout der letztern hatte keinen ausgesprochenen Geschmack; besser waren die in der Schale gebratenen, dort haftenden Fleischreste. Unterdess hatte Bonitinha ein Schock Eier gefunden, und der Gatte vier Pacús, sowie einen Fisch, den sie Pariá nannten, geschossen. Er schlich dabei am Ufer so vorsichtig, als handle es sich um Wild am Lande. Die Fische kamen unaufgeschnitten in den Topf. Sie mundeten vortrefflich, da sie saftiger waren als unsere mehr zerkochten. Clauss gewann es über sich, einen Schildkrötenembryo zu verspeisen; er schmeckte einfach gallertartig. Wir fühlten uns ausserordentlich wohl in dieser Gesellschaft unter den hohen Bäumen beim schwach leuchtenden Kochfeuer. Wie prächtig sah der eine aus, der nackt war, wie elegant in seinen Bewegungen; wie klein und zigeunerartig erschien der andere in Hemd und Hut.

Die Gevattern assen später auch mit uns Huhn, das sie sonst zurückweisen, und lobten das Gericht. Es ist gewiss ein zarter Zug in der Natur des rohen Indianers, dass er sich nicht entschliessen kann, Thiere, die er selbst mit Liebe aufgezogen hat, zu essen. Das sind die Yuruna, die man im vorigen Jahrhundert noch als Menschenfresser schilderte. Nehmen wir denn an, sie seien hin und wieder durch die Aufregung des Kampfes verführt, zur Anthropophagie ausgeschritten, nehmen wir auch an, dass dabei keine abergläubischen Vorstellungen mit im Spiele waren, dass sie wirklich dem rohesten Instinkt der Wildheit gehorchten — nach meinem Gefühl sollte dieser Excess bei einem barbarischen Volke weniger zu seinen Ungunsten als das Widerstreben gegen das Verzehren der Hausthiere zu seinen Gunsten ausgelegt werden. Selbst dass wir Hühnereier assen, war den Yuruna offenbar sehr unmoralisch vorgekommen. Man vergleiche damit die Dame, die von zwei verhätschelten Bologneserhündchen eins durch den Tod verliert, der alsdann der Kürschner bedauernd mittheilt, dass das Fell des

geliebten Thierchens zum Muff nicht hinreiche, und die schluchzend ausruft: „So nehmen Sie auch das andere.“

Hin und wieder haben die Gevattern vernünftige Grundsätze. Neulich war das vierjährige Töchterlein unsers Begleiters unartig gewesen; sie wurde an einem Sandstrand ausgesetzt und musste ein Viertelstündchen nebenherlaufen, wobei sie über Blöcke zu springen, durchs Wasser zu waten und Umwege zu machen hatte — währenddem arbeitete der Papa mit der Ruderstange weiter, trotz ihres lauten Jammerns unerbittlich und die Kleine nicht beachtend; als sie wieder einsteigen durfte, war sie gehorsam und nachgiebig.

Wie die Indianer auch von unserer Mannschaft für gute Menschen gehalten werden, geht aus einer der belehrenden Aeusserungen hervor, welche Merelles in dem republikanischen Kanu vom Stapel liess: „Diavo, estes Indios crem mais em Deus do que nos — são mais catholicos do que nos (Teufel, diese Indianer glauben mehr an Gott als wir, sie sind katholischer als wir)“.

8. Oct. φ 5°8′.7, λ 1°6′.2, km 34.36, Summe 1509.89.
5¾ Uhr früh: I 756.6, II 750.0, Trock. 22.0, altocum. 9, Wind = 0, Nacht trüb.
5 Uhr 20 Min. nachmittags: I 756.4, II 748.4, Trock. 30.4, cum. 5, Wasser 31.9. In NO Regen. Eben erhebt sich Südwind 2—3, darauf Regen bis 7 Uhr abends.

Wir fahren in einem ca. 2 km breiten Arme; es ist unmöglich, die Breite des ganzen Stroms zu schätzen, da von den langen Waldstreifen nicht zu sagen ist, ob sie Inseln oder Festland angehören. Sehr flach bis 1 m, der Boden ist Sand und Fels; viele Riffe, unregelmässig schwarzröthliche Blöcke und mehr graue Lager in gewölbten Formen.

Nachmittags 1 Uhr. Zwei Roças der Yuruna; wir erhalten Zuckerrohr und schöne S. Thomé-Bananen. Am Ufer lag ein mächtiger Block, 7 m hoch, 8 m breit, 12 m lang, anstehend, dasselbe röthlichgraue Gestein wie auch im Flusse.

Um 2½ Uhr nachmittags bleiben wir in einer kleinen Niederlassung (Nr. IV der ansehnlichern), 3 Hütten und Schuppen; 8 Männer, 10 Weiber, 2 Knaben, 3 Mädchen. Eine Ubá bedurfte der Ausbesserung.

Ein gemüthlicher Abend unter Dach und Fach, während es draussen regnete. Gutweib kochte, ein anderes spann im Halbdunkel Fäden, mehrere Männer unterhielten sich beim Schein eines baumwollumwickelten, fettgetränkten Zweigleins. Ueberall Ordnung, Reinlichkeit und Friede. — Die Fahrt nach Souzel nimmt hier wieder mehr — 10 Tage — in Anspruch.

9. Oct. φ 4°47′.9, λ 1°9′.5, km 44.00, Summe 1553.89.
5¾ Uhr früh: I 757.4, II 750.0, Trock. 23.1, str., Dunstwolken 4,

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Wind = 0, Wasser 30.2. Nacht klar und frisch.
7 Uhr 20 Min. abends: I 757.4, Trock. 28.0.

Hier und da ein Hügel sichtbar; wir fahren eigentlich durch eine Menge Flüsse und wissen nicht, ob wir je entlang dem Hauptufer halten. — Ein hoher, grauer Baum: Barrigudo.

Um 4½ Uhr nachmittags. Breite des Armes 1.5 km. Rechts hinter einer Insel wird ein anscheinend etwa 120—150 m hoher Zug sichtbar. Gegen 5½ Uhr wird campirt. Mit der Dunkelheit verziehen sich die anfangs zahlreichen Moskitos. — Wir sind auf dem 4. Breitengrade! Bald wird das Fischessen aufhören.

10. Oct. φ 4°34'.5, λ 1 14'.7. km 29.43, Summe 1583.32.
5 Uhr früh: I 756.2, II 750.4, Trock. 23.1, str. 1. Nacht klar.
7¾ Uhr abends: I 757.6, II 750.4, Trock. 27.0, cum. 1, O 1—3. Tagsüber schön, 7 Uhr abends Gewitter.

Früh 5¼ Uhr ab. Ein 700 m breiter Arm. Um 7 Uhr früh erreichen wir die Niederlassung V.: zwei grosse, doch im Innern ziemlich bescheidene Hütten: 8 Männer, 6 Weiber, 2 Knaben, 2 Mädchen. Caetano bleibt hier. Eine Anzahl junger Burschen ist eifrig beschäftigt, Farinha in Körben zu verpacken von der Form einer Cylinderschachtel mit Rand. Wir haben die Ehre, einen höchst civilisirten Yaruna zu sehen, José, Sohn von Nunes, der etwas portugiesisch spricht, mit Matrosenhut, Hemd, Hose, Leibriemen.

Man beschenkt uns reichlich mit Paränüssen.

Bei leichter Nordbrise ab; einzelne Erhöhungen von 40—60 m, mittags kommen wir zu der Aldea des Nunes; man zieht sich eilfertigst drinnen die Hosen an.

Der alte Nunes empfing uns sehr zuvorkommend; er sah unglücklich genug aus in seinem Anzug, der so viel besser war als die unserigen.

Er sicherte uns ein Kanu zu, das uns flussabwärts geleiten werde. Aber den andern Morgen war es ganz unmöglich, die Leute in Bewegung zu bringen, alle Reden und Geschenke richteten nichts aus; erst musste der Kaschirí ausgetrunken werden. „Angora tem cachirí, — cachirí não tem mais, vamos embora.“ Und der Kaschirí füllte ein Kanu bis zum Rande.

Es befanden sich in den Hütten 14 Männer, 10 Weiber, 3 Knaben, 3 Mädchen. Unter ihnen war ein gefangener Arára-Indianer, dessen Stamm weiter flussabwärts auf dem linken Ufer des Schingú wohnt. Die Arára sind mit den Péua befreundet, während sie allen andern Stämmen Feind sein sollen. Man nimmt an, dass sie erst seit Anfang der 50ger Jahre aufgetreten seien.

Dieses Individuum schien schwachsinnig und krank zu sein; es hatte

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stets denselben unverändert leeren Gesichtsausdruck, sprach nicht und lag in der Hängematte. Die Gesichtsfarbe war sehr hell und stark gelblich, ungefähr Nr. 33 Broca; von der Mitte des Unterlids bis zum Rande des Unterkiefers reichte je ein gemalter Streifen herab, wie zwei Thränenspuren, die aber lichtblau waren. Er hatte langes gewelltes Haar.

Ausser dem Arára sollen sich zwei Karajá, eine Frau und ein Mädchen, in Gefangenschaft der Yuruna befunden haben.

Uebrigens ist mir bei den Yuruna auch vielfach aufgefallen, dass das Haar nicht tiefschwarz war, sondern ins Braune spielte; das Haar einiger Kinder war dunkelbraun.

Aufahrt am 10. October.

Einige hatten schwarze Streifen über Brust und Leib, ein anderer machte sich durch die Bemalung seines Oberschenkels bemerklich: ein Seitenstreifen bis zu einem Bande unter dem Knie, nebenher in der Fläche eine Menge halber Ringe.

Drei alte Weiber hatten den ersten Abend noch reichlich Mandiocamasse gekaut und der Brühe zugesetzt. Ein Soldat erzählte mir, dass man in dem „Coim" seiner Heimat Ceará, der auf dieselbe Weise hergestellt werde, zuweilen so glücklich sei, einen abgebrochenen Zahn zu finden. Nein, da gefiel mir die Zubereitung der Kawa auf den Samoainseln besser. Dort suchte man die hübschesten jungen Mädchen aus, deren weisse Zähne viel appetitlicher waren, als die Füsse unserer Winzer.

Das für die Ptyalinbowle bestimmte Kanu stand auf einem Holzgestell; es war mit grünen Bananenblättern zugedeckt — zum Umrühren bediente

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man sich eines niedlichen kleinen Ruders. Cuyen lagen auf den Blättern. Es sah wirklich hübsch aus. Welches Studentengemüth würde sich auch nicht für die Poesie eines mit berauschendem Stoff gefüllten Kanu begeistern? Und zwei Schritt entfernt, mitten in der Hütte, wölbten sich zwei Gräber. Die Yuruna beerdigen ihre Todten in dem Hause; die Hängematte des nächsten Verwandten schaukelt bei dem Ruheort des Verstorbenen. Später sollen sie die Knochen ausgraben, trocknen und in Körben aufbewahren; wir haben deren keine bemerkt. Drei Weiber, Angehörige der Dahingeschiedenen, trugen kurzgeschorenes Haar.

Die Hauptfigur des Kaschirtfestes war ein hübscher Bursche von sorgfältigster Toilette, der die lange Trompete führte. Das Haar in der Mitte gescheitelt, geölt, vorn das rothe moosige Fleckchen; an dem Zopf eine $^3/_4$ m lange blauweisse Perlenquaste; in jedem Ohr, von hinten und oben eingeführt, eine rothe Araraféder; um den Hals ein Wulst von blauen Perlen, um den Oberarm rothe Baumwollbänder; unter dem Nabel ein 16 cm breiter Perlengurt, das gelbe Strohhütchen nicht zu vergessen; schmale Bändchen unter dem Knie, über den Knöcheln wieder ein 5 cm hohes Perlenband angenäht, endlich auf der Brust an einer Schnur ein eiserner Schlüssel. Die Panétadada, $8^1/_2$ Spannen lang und etwas grösser als er selbst, war mit einer Art Ried umflochten und enthielt als Zunge ein halbes Bambusscheibchen. Sie entsandte dumpf hallende mächtige Töne.

Der Festherold schritt unablässig, die Trompete querhaltend, mit monotonem Gesang zwischen den Gräbern und dem Kanu auf und nieder. Der einzelne Vers des endlosen Liedes dauerte eine gute Minute und wurde bald, meist mit demselben Wortlaute, wieder aufgenommen; dazwischen bot der Sänger andern zu trinken an und vergass auch die Musikantenkehle nicht. „Lävá náim, lävá náim, lävá náim“, oder „hánaná, hánaná, hánaná“, klang es ohne Ermüden.

Während des Zechens rösteten die Frauen Farinha und spannen Garn.

Alles trank sich gedunsene Gesichter an und bald konnte man kaum sein eigenes Wort noch verstehen. Allein umherzuwandeln, für sich zu singen oder zu sprechen, schien sehr beliebt zu sein.

Wieder fiel ein hoffnungsvoller Junge mit Pfeil, Bogen, Zöpfchen und keck am Kopfe abwärts geschlagenem Federdiadem durch seinen Kaschirtéifer auf.

Abends wurde vor der Hütte ein Tanz veranstaltet. Den Mittelpunkt bildeten zwei Flötenbläser, die sich dicht nebeneinander hielten; ihre Flöten waren durch einen Faden verbunden; sie entlockten denselben eigenthümliche Doppeltöne und hüpften mit gebeugten Knien und gleichen Füssen rythmisch auf der Stelle. In demselben Rythmus vorwärts springend machte

KASCHIRÍ-PEST.

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ein Kreis von Männern die Runde, kehrte, wenn der erste von ihnen wieder zu seiner Ausgangsstelle gekommen war, plötzlich um, indem alle ein lautes kurzes Gelächter ausstiessen, und begann, ohne zu pausiren, das Spiel von neuem. So rannten sie stundenlang hin und wieder. Sie hielten Pfeile und Bogen in der Hand und wurden von einer vermummten Gestalt geführt, die im Halbdunkel wie ein beim Carneval als Frau verkleideter Mann aussah. Die Kleidung war weiblich, die abrupten Bewegungen männlich. Dieses Costüm bestand aus einer Baumwollenmütze mit rothgelbgrünem Federbesatz ringsum und einem langen weissen Mantel von locker geknoteten Baumwollenstricken, den unten ein Kranz von abwärts gerichteten schwarzen Mutumfedern abschloss. — Castro erzählte, er habe die Erklärung eines Yuruna so gedeutet, dass dieser Festtanz die Erinnerung an frühere Zeiten aufbewahre, wo ein grosser Häuptling mit vielem Pomp in den Dörfern, die er besuchte, empfangen worden sei. Jener Häuptling werde durch den Mann im Mantel und mit der Federkrone dargestellt.

[pp. 268-281 not processed]

[p. 282]

ACHTZEHNTES KAPITEL.

LEGENDEN DER BAKAÏRÍ.

Der Name, welcher in der leider mit so unglückselig gebrechlichem Portugiesisch vorgebrachten Erzählung des vergnügten Kapitäu Caetano Mêmo die grösste Rolle spielt, ist der des „Imperador". Wenn die Missionare die Absicht hatten, in den Köpfen der zu bekehrenden Bakaïrí die möglichste Verwirrung der Begriffe anzurichten, haben sie ihren Zweck soweit erreicht, dass sich nur mit Mühe wenig Klares und Bestimmtes aus der allgemeinen Confusion abscheiden lässt. Man denke sich: Imperador der Sonnengott der Indianer. Zwei andere Namen führt er noch. Keri und Schischi. Sein Bruder heisst Kame und auch Nuna. Schischi aber ist Sonne, Nuna Mond. Keri und Kame sind nur zwei andere Namen für die beiden Gestirne, die sich bei vielen „Guck-Stämmen" (vgl. Tabelle der Nu) finden, interessanterweise umgekehrt Keri dem Mond, Kamu der Sonne zugehörig.

Keri und Kame sind die Söhne von „Utoto", dem hellen Jaguar (Onça pintada) und Atanumagale. Utoto's Vater ist unbekannt, seine Mutter heisst Mero, deren Aeltern wieder unbekannt sind. Von Atanumagale's Erzeugern ist blos der Vatername überliefert: Kamuschini. „Kamuschini" scheint auch „Kamu" zu enthalten, und erinnert an tamoussi, den Alten des Himmels im Galibi. Er, älter auch als Mero (die Mutter seines Schwiegersohns), ist der Aelteste von Allen, ist, sagt Caetano: Adam!

Neben dem Reiche des Lichts, in dem der Himmel, Sonne, Mond und der bunte Jaguar auftreten, gibt es Repräsentanten der Finsterniss. Hier erscheint als Aeltester Semino, die Fledermaus, und sein Weib Evaki, über deren Aeltern nichts zu erfahren ist. Evaki, belehrt uns Caetano, sei Eva! Man sieht, die frommen Väter haben sich keinen Vortheil entgehen lassen. Aber das Schönste kommt, der Sohn der Fledermaus und der Evaki

ist Tumeng: dies Wort bedeutet vielleicht ursprünglich dunkel, schwarz — es ist genau analog den Farbenadjectiven gebildet (vgl. Bakaïri-Wörter 251—256). Allein Caetano bedient sich in seiner Erzählung nicht des Namens Tumeng, sondern nennt den Herrscher der Finsterniss — ein würdiges Seitenstück wahrlich zum Imperador — den Roy do Congo, den König von Congo. Was ist natürlicher! Die Weissen nennen den Kaiser von Brasilien, die Schwarzen den König von Congo ihren Gebieter.

Im Anfang war alles dunkle Nacht; nur wo Guroto, der rothe Geier flog, wurde es hell, und wurde es wieder dunkel, wenn er von dannen flog. Sein Bruder, der weisse Geier, hiess auch Guroto, aber wo er sich aufhielt, blieb es finster. Der rothe Geier besass die Sonne, von ihm erwarb sie der Imperador. Dieser bediente sich einer List, um sein Ziel zu erreichen. Er machte aus „aka", einem Holz weich wie Mandioca, den Tapir, und machte „pemera", kleine Fliegen. Durch die Fliegen erhielt der Tapir einen übeln Geruch, der den rothen Geier anziehen sollte; listig verbarg sich der Imperador in einem Vorderfuss des Tapirs. Der rothe Geier kam herbei und bemächtigte sich des Tapirs, in dem Augenblick aber, als er ihm das Herz herausreissen wollte, packte ihn der versteckte Imperador am Halse und drohte, ihn zu tödten, wenn er ihm nicht die Sonne gebe. Die Sonne stand im Hause des rothen Geiers im Himmel und der weisse Geier musste sie herbeischaffen. Der Imperador händigte sie zur Aufbewahrung der alten Muhme Evaki ein. Der Himmel, das Haus, bewegt sich, die Sonne nicht; sie steht in einem „Ofen", in einem grossen „Topf" der mit einem Deckel zu verschliessen ist. Evaki schliesst ihn des Abends und öffnet ihn des Morgens, wenn sich das Haus, der Himmel, während der Nacht zurückbewegt hat.

Evaki gab auch Menschen und Thieren den Schlaf. Vorher schlief nur die Eidechse; Evaki zog den Schlaf aus ihren Augen und vertheilte ihn an alle.

Ueber das Herkommen von Mond und Sternen weiss Caetano nichts zu berichten, wie er denn auch über Kame, Keri's Bruder, schweigt.

Die Menschen schuf Keri, der Imperador, aus Pflanzen. Er segnete (rezou) die „uvá", das Pfeilrohr, und es entstanden die Bakaïri und die Cajibí. Die Coroá schuf er aus „tacoara" (Bambus), die Neger aus „penacholo", einem schwarzen Holz, den Ahnen der Portugiesen aus „pirocetó", einem Baum des Campo cerrado. Der Imperador machte den Wald, das Gras, das Pferd, das Rindvieh, er segnete die Termiten und es wurden — hübsch genug — die Steine.

Ochobi, eine grosse Schlange, machte das Wasser. Woher Ochobi stammt, weiss man nicht. Wer den Boden machte? „Não sei mêmo", das weiss ich selber nicht, erwiderte der freundliche Alte.

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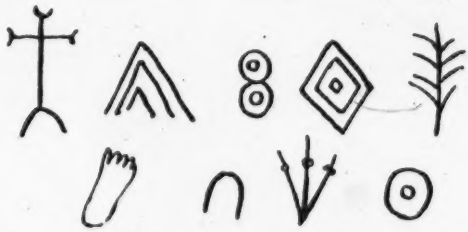
Die ersten Bakaïrí wohnten am Rio-Verde, einem linken Nebenfluss des Paranatinga. Gern erzählen unsere Freunde von dem Wasserfall, den der Paranatinga ungefähr sechs Tagereisen flussabwärts bildet; dort sind noch die meisten von ihnen geboren, dort ist die Natur an Wundern reich. Schon der tosende Salto, mit dem angeblich ihre Kenntniss des Stromes abschliesst, gilt ihnen als ein besonderes Schauspiel. Inmitten desselben aber steht ein Steinhaus, ein Haus wie sie es hier haben, bewohnbar, aber Dach und Wände aus Stein. Nahebei schwärmt es von Urubús in der Luft: sie beobachten die daselbst befindliche natürliche Fischfalle, eine grosse Steinplatte, auf welcher die flussaufwärts steigenden Fische, aus dem Wasser emporgewirbelt, hülflos liegen bleiben und verenden.

Ochobi, erzählt Caetano, machte im Quellgebirge des Paranatinga einen grossen Kessel, füllte ihn mit Wasser und liess es der Mittagssonne zu-



Bilderschrift am Paranatinga.

laufen. Das wurde der Pakuneru, der Paranatinga der Brasilianer. Weiter gegen die aufgehende Sonne hin läuft parallel ein anderer Fluss, das wäre vielleicht der Schingú, nach dem wir suchten. Der Imperador, von Bakaïrí begleitet, und ein weisser Mensch gingen spazieren, der erstere längs des Paranatinga, der andere längs des andern Flusses, dessen Namen man nicht kennt. Der weisse Mensch antwortete plötzlich nicht mehr, als der Imperador ihm zurief. Ein grosser Fisch, ein Jaú, hatte ihn verschlungen. Da sandte Keri eine Ente, welche machte, dass der Jaú den weissen Menschen wieder unversehrt ausspie. Der wanderte alsdann längs des Flusses weiter und weiter, bis er nach dem grossen „Poço", kam (Brunnen, hier etwa Lagune, das Meer ist gemeint), sich dort einschiffte und später mit der Schiessflinte wiederkehrte. — Tumeng machte das Steinhaus am Salto, damit der Imperador dort wohne, und machte auch die Fischfalle, damit die unzähligen Urubús zu fressen fänden.

Den Kern dieser Legenden, soweit er aus vorchristlichen Anschauungen erwachsen ist, bildet die deutlich vorhandene Unterscheidung eines lichten

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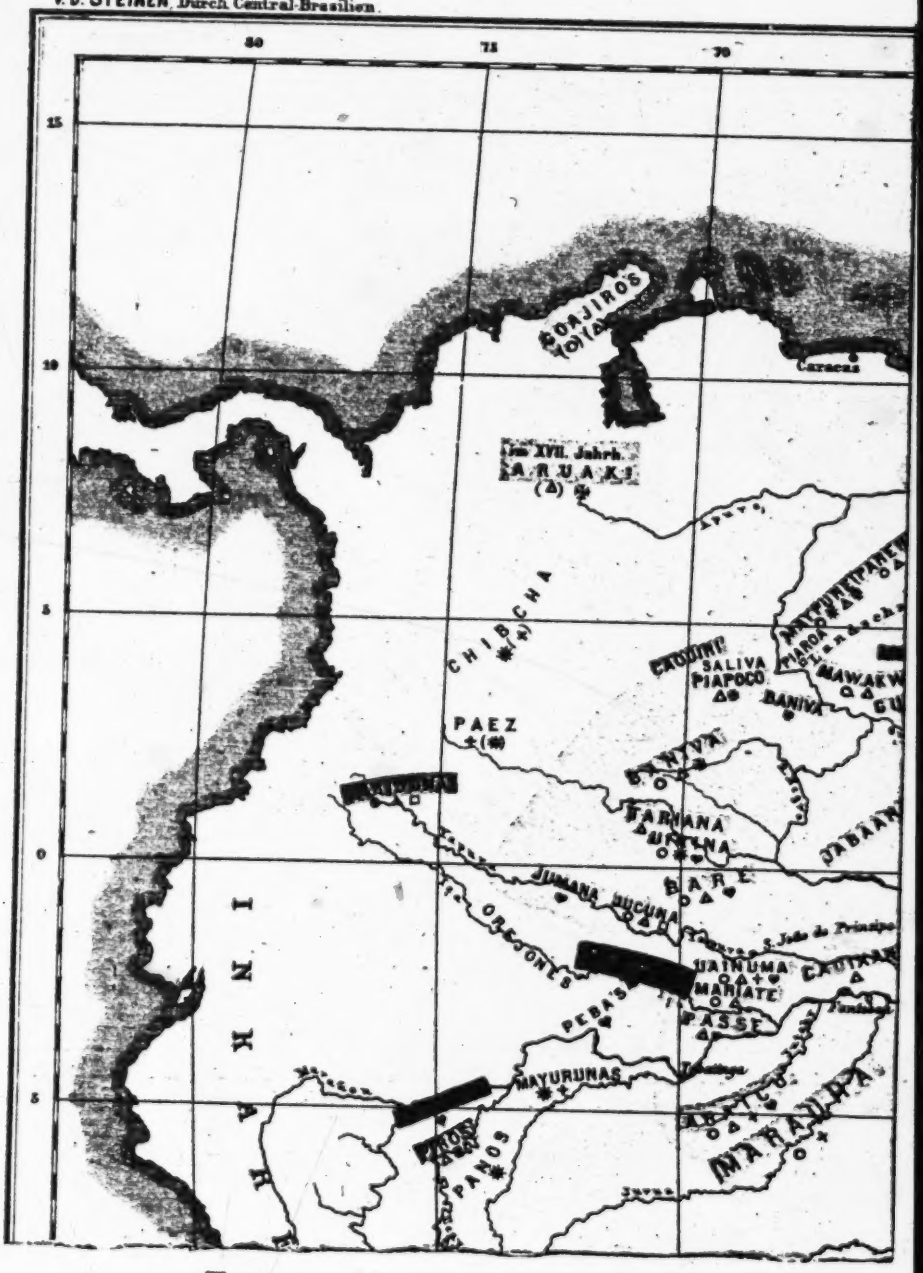
und eines dunkeln Götterkreises. Ein durch die indianischen Mythen weit verbreiteter Charakterzug sind ferner die riesigen Thiergestalten, die in nächster Beziehung zum Anfang der Schöpfung stehen und den anthropomorphen Göttern, den Bildnern des Menschen, zeitlich vorausschreiten.

In der Nähe des Wasserfalls existirt auf dem Ufer eine alte Inschrift; ich gebe sie wieder, wie sie der Italiener Luiz Oddi, der vor wenigen Jahren, in der Hoffnung, die Goldstätte der Martyrios zu finden, den Paranatinga bis zum Salto hinabfuhr, abgezeichnet hat. Oddi meint, die Zeichen seien mit dem Messer eingeritzt und stammten von den Paulisten, deren Spuren er zu verfolgen strebte. Caetano indess, obwol er nichts Genaueres anzugeben vermag, glaubt, dass die Bilderschrift von indianischen Händen herrühre und uralt sei. Das Vorhandensein der „Kreuzfigur" beweist nichts gegen diese Ansicht, sie stellt wahrscheinlich einen Menschen vor und stimmt mit einer der in Wallace's Buch über den Amazonas mitgetheilten Zeichnungen fast genau überein.

[pp. 286-372 not processed except for plates facing pp. 322 and 326, and for p. 367.]

V. D. STEINEN, Durch Central-Brasilien.



[facing p. 298-A]

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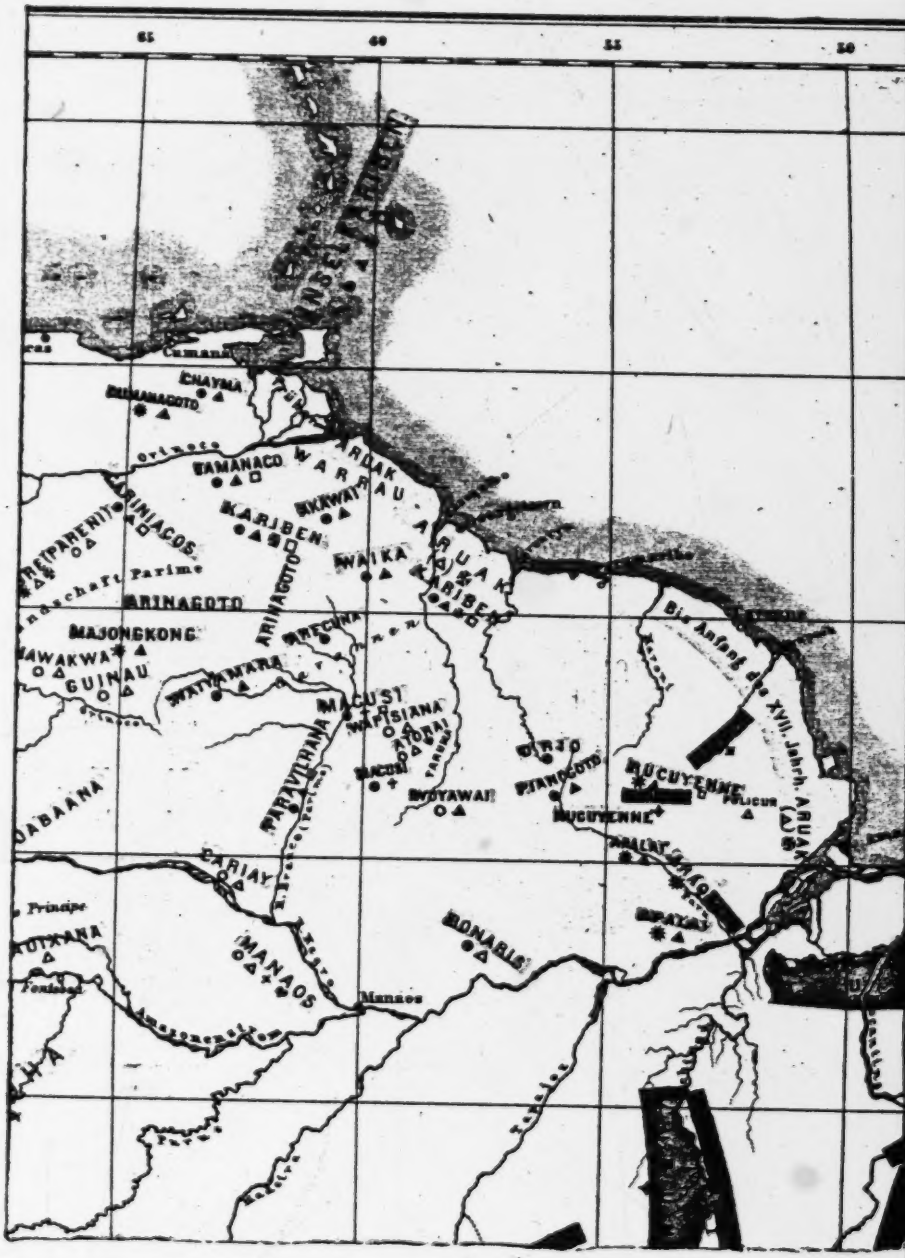
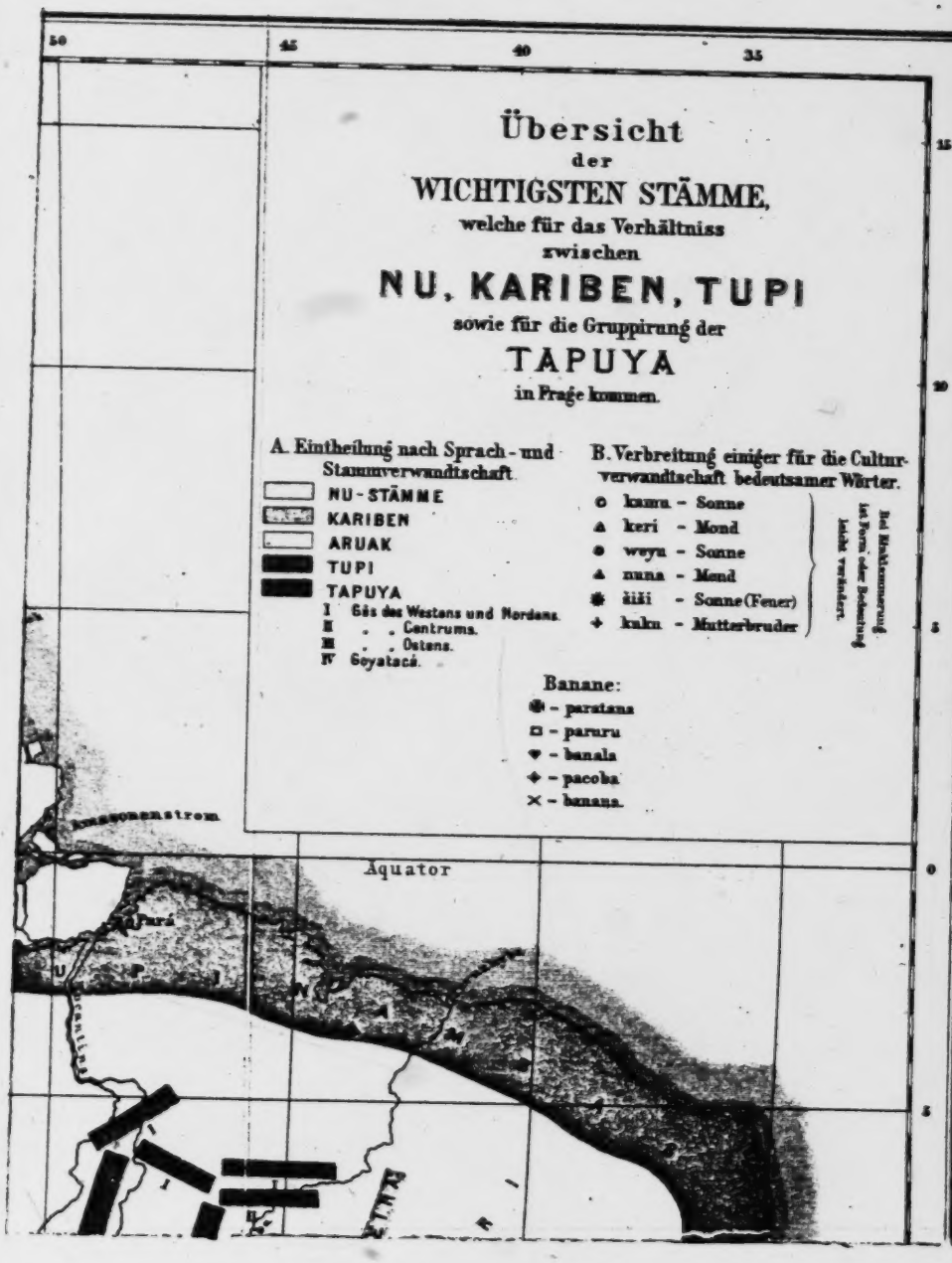


[facing p. 298-B]



[facing p. 298-c]

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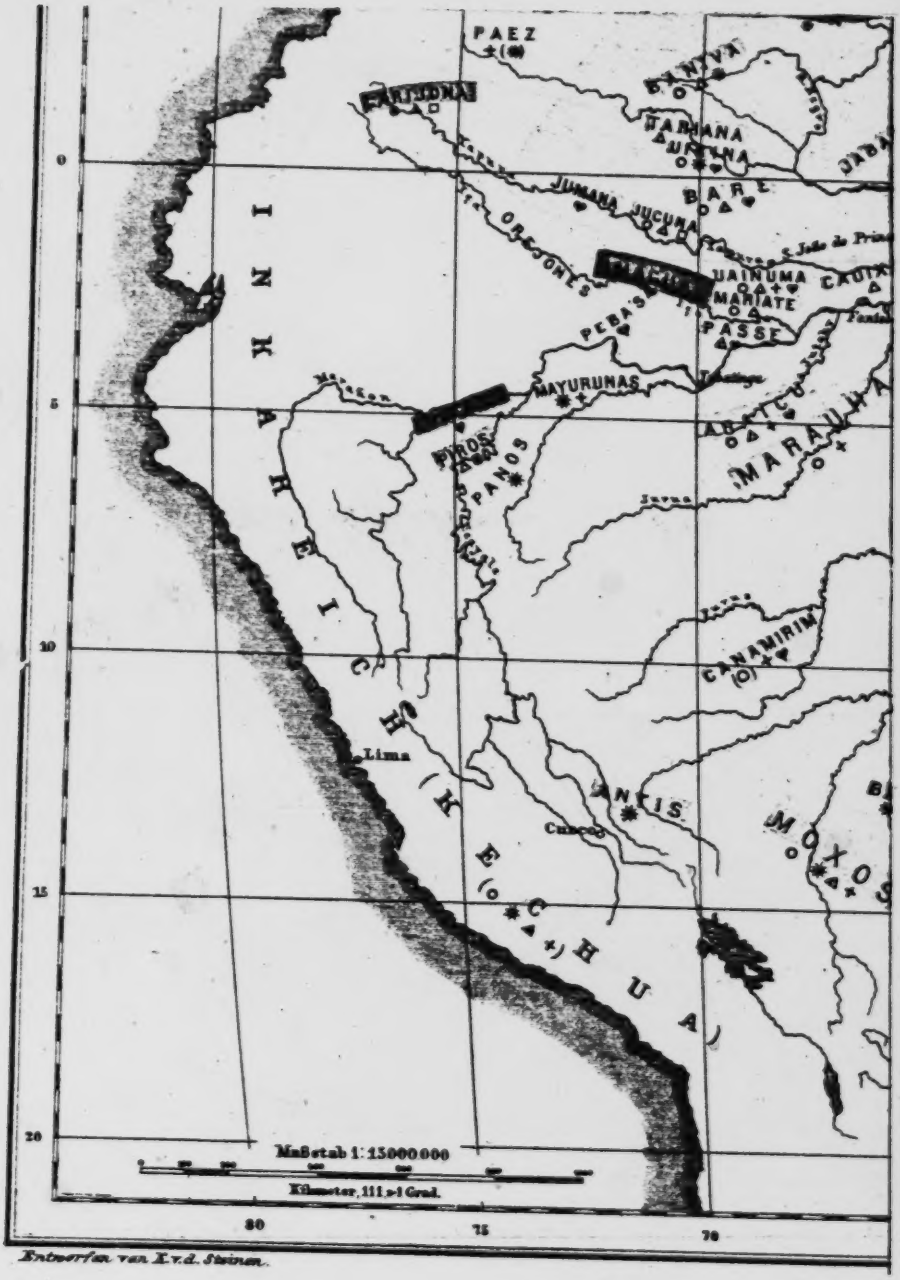
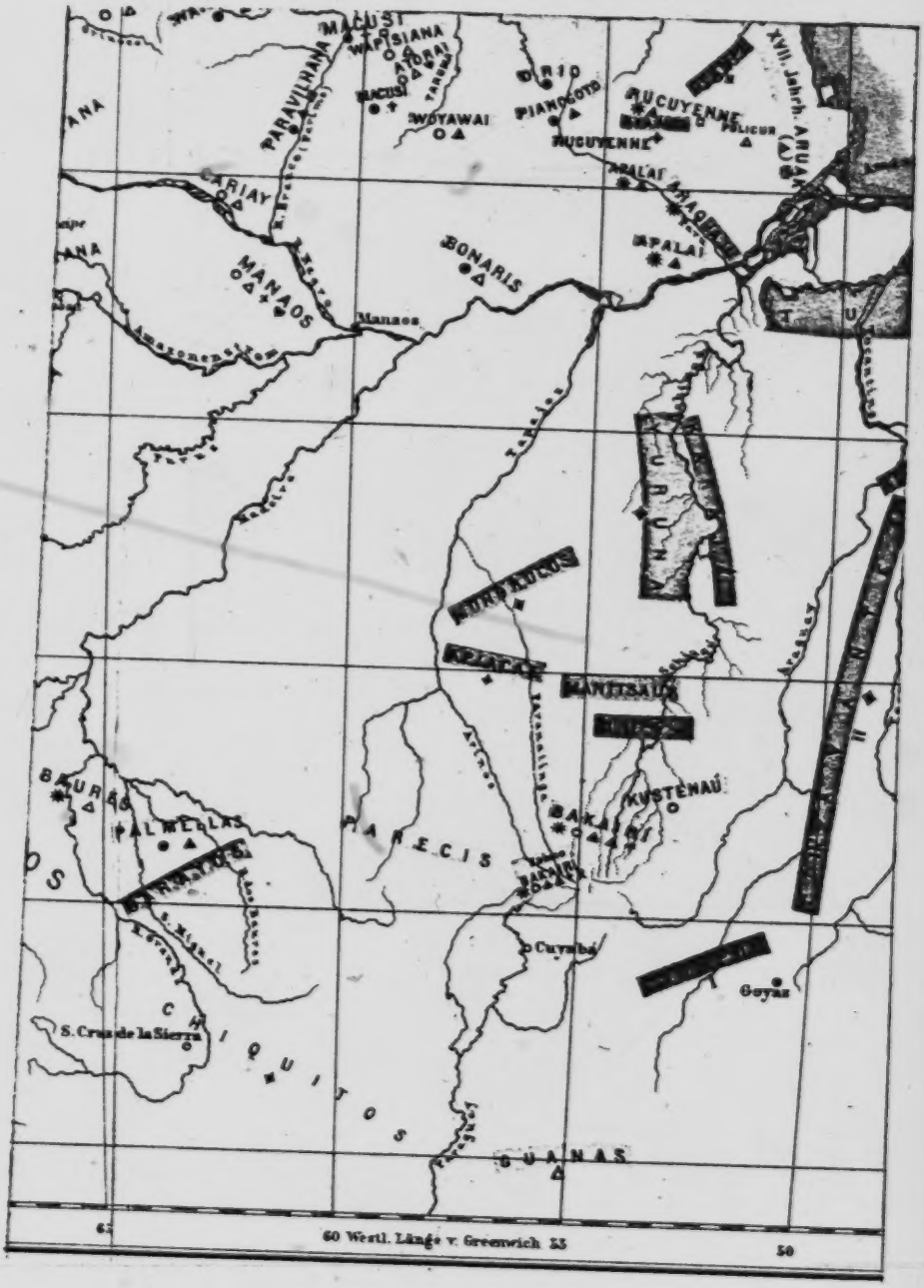


Entworfen von K. v. d. Steinen.

[facing p. 298-D]

1: Steinen

SP7 Bacairi



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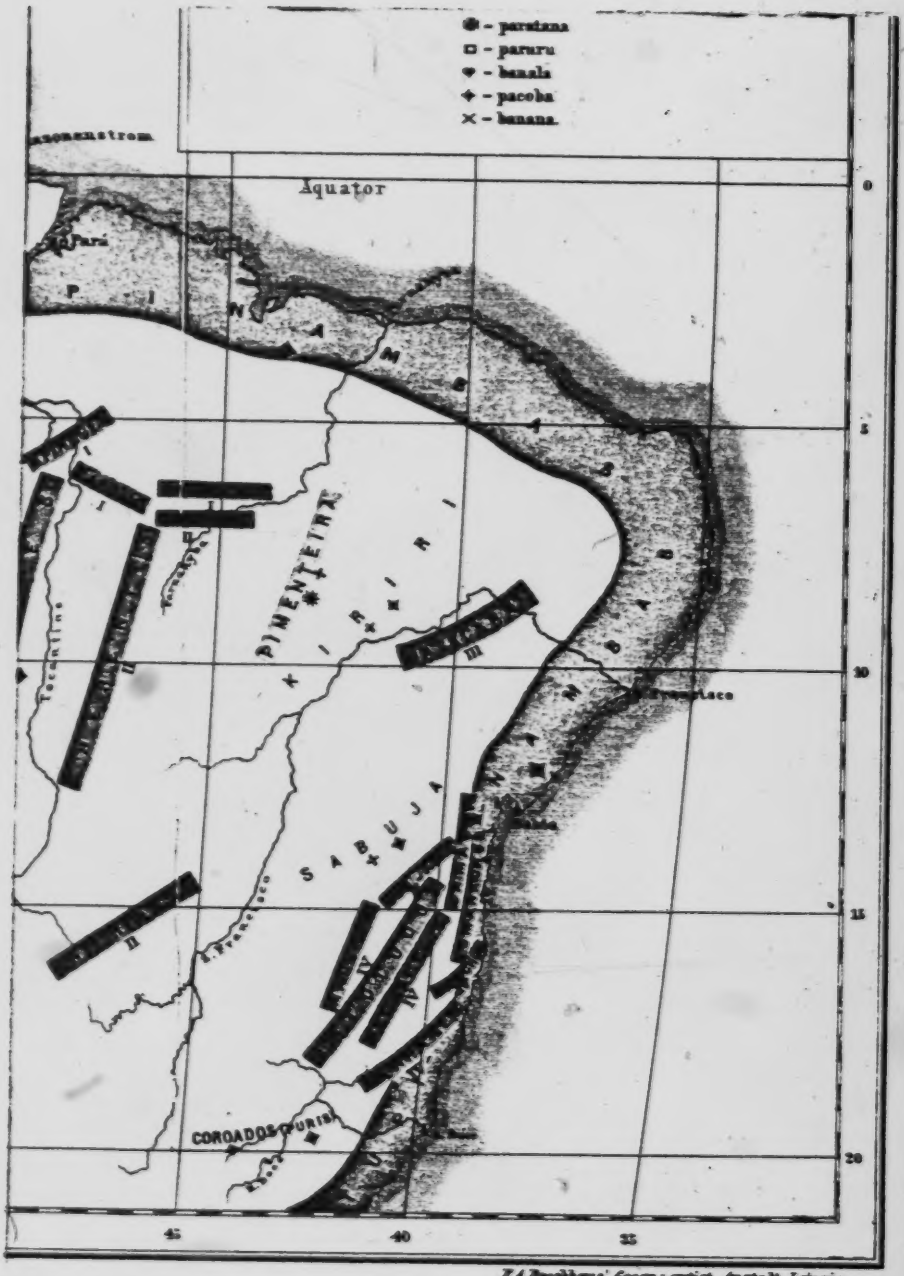

F.A. Brockhaus' Geogr.-artist. Institut, Leipzig.

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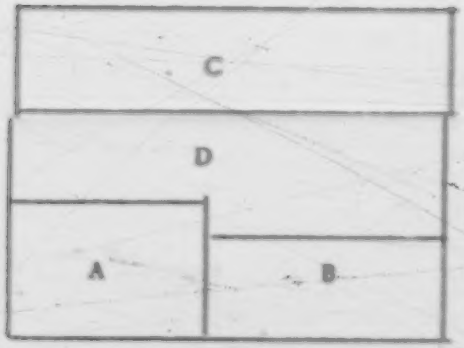
Chart of ethnological plate No. I facing p. 322.



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1

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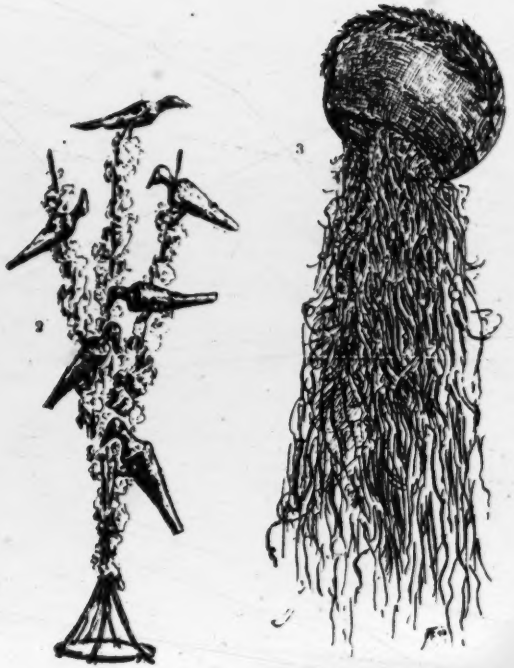

Ethnologische Tafel Nr. I.

1—10 von den **Bakairi**: 1, 2, 3, 4 Kopfaufsätze aus der Festhütte. 5 Strohkrans mit Federn. 6 Ohrfedern. 7 Kamm. 8—10 Halsketten, 8 aus Steinscheibchen, 9 aus Muschelstücken (auch bei den **Suyá** sehr beliebt), 10 aus Jaguarklauen. 11 Federhaube der **Trumai**. 12 und 13 Federdiademe der **Suyá**. 14 Ohrfeder der **Turuna**.

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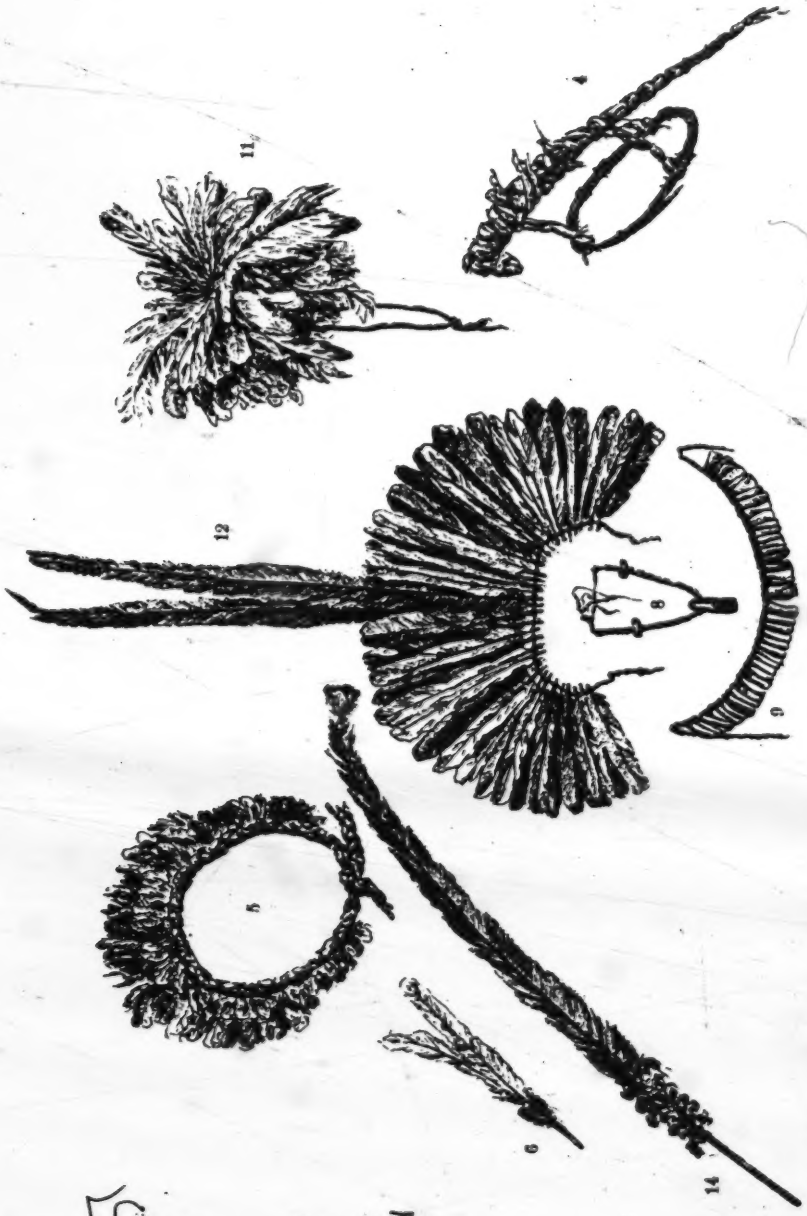
[facing p.322-B]



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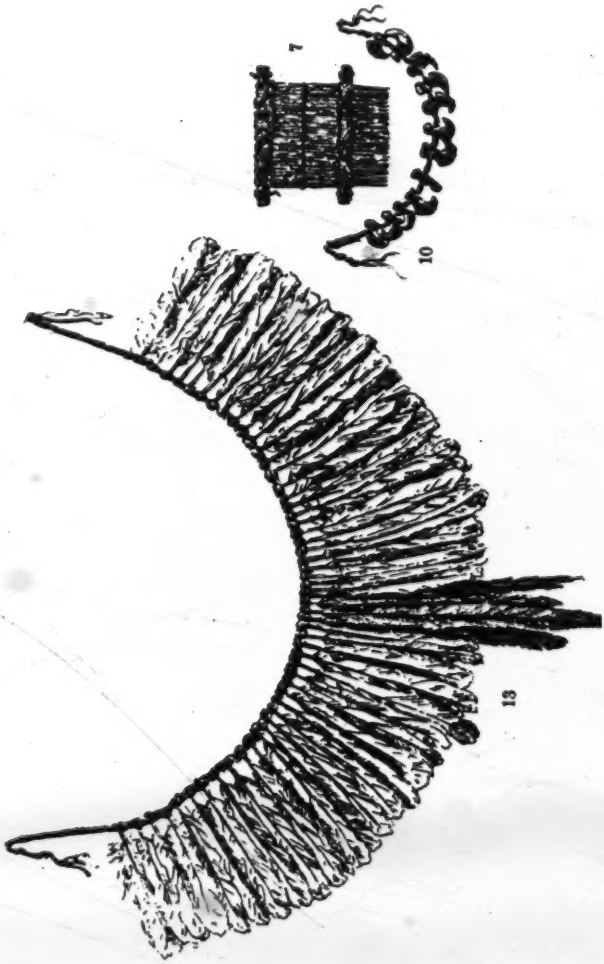
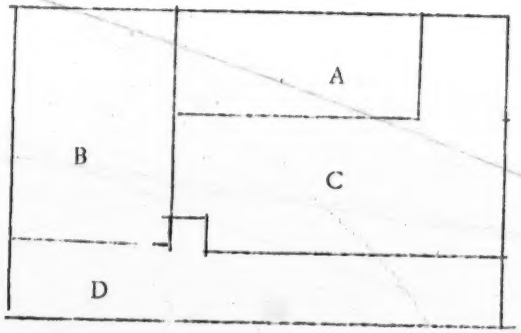


[facing p. 322-D]

Chart of ethnological plate No. II facing p. 326.



[Facing p. 326]

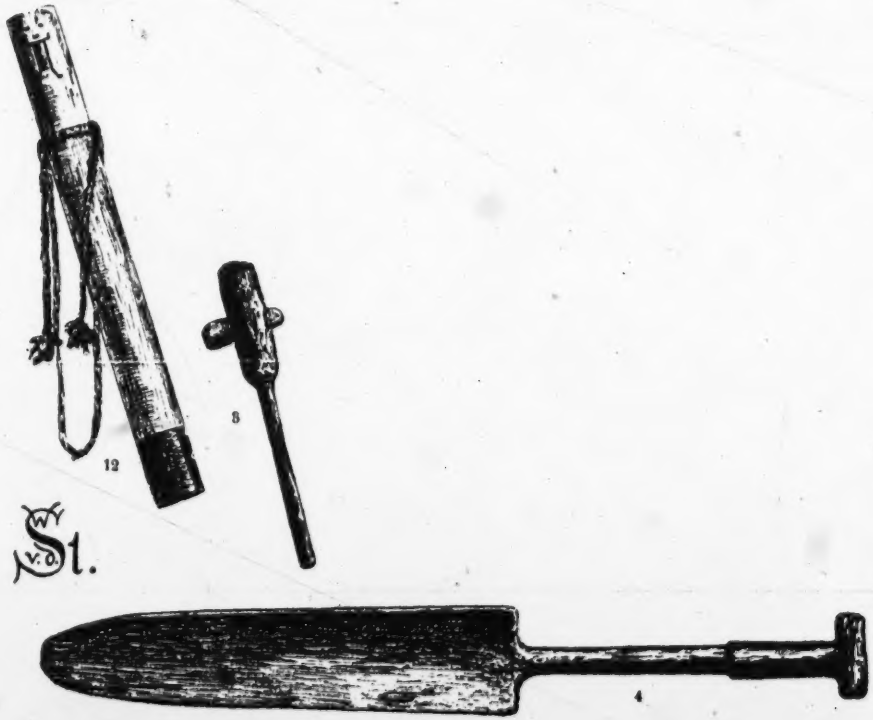
1: Steinen

SP7 Bacairi

[facing p. 326. A]

[facing p.326-B]

[facing p.326-c]



Ethnologische Tafel Nr. II.

Bakairi: 1 Taubenmaske beim Tanz. 2 Flöte (Meni). 3 Steinbeil. 4 Ruder. **Trumai:** 5 Keule.
Suyá: 6 Keule. 7 Pfeilschleuder (Wurfbret). 8 Steinbeil. 9 Knochenmesser. 10 Beijúwender. **Yuruna:** 11 Ruder. 12 Flöte. 13 Rasselcuya.
Karajá: 14 Keule.

S. 234.

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Erklärung im Text vorkommender brasilianischer Ausdrücke

mit Angabe der Seitenzahl, wo etwa Näheres zu finden ist, sowie der sich häufig wiederholenden Thier- und Pflanzennamen.

Aldea, Aldeament, Dorf.
Arrobe = 16 Kilogramm.

Bagadú, s. Pirarára.
Barranca, steile Uferwand.
Batata, süsse Kartoffel.
Beijú (französ. j), Fladen aus Mandiocamehl 104.
Borrachudos (spr. Borraschudos), kleine Stechfliegen.
Burití, Mauritia flexuosa, Palme.
Burracen, Ledersäcke der Transportthiere 77.

Cabeceira, Quellbach 113.
Cachoeira (spr. Caschoeira), am besten wol durch Katarakt übersetzt, Mittelding zwischen Salto und Correndeira, Fall und Schnelle.
Campo, mit niederm, verkrüppeltem Baumwuchs bestandene Grasfluren. Campo cerrado, geschlossener, d. h. dichter bestandener Campo.
Cará, Dioscorea, Kartoffelpflanze.
Capivara, Hydrochoerus capybara 185.
Carapaná, Art Moskitos.
Carrapatos, Zecken 93.
Cerrado, s. Campo.
Chapada (spr. Schapada) } Hochebene 94.
Chapadão (spr. Schapadão) }
Coatá, s. Register II.
Currál, Zaungehege.
Cuyen, Kürbis-Trinkschalen.

Farinha (spr. Farinja), Mandiocamehl 24. 54.
Fazenda (spr. Fasenda) = dem spanischen Hacienda, Landgut, Farm.
Friágem (französ. j), Kälte und Bewölkung frühmorgens 97. 112.

Gevatter, Bezeichnung der Indianer in Brasilien.
Guaraná, Getränk an Stelle des Kaffee 19.

Inajá (französ. j), Maximiliana, Palme.

Jacú, Penelops, truthahngrosser Hühnervogel.
Japá (französ. j), Palmstrohüberwölbung des Bootes.
Jatobá (französ. j), Baum für die Rindenkanus 145.

Kameraden (wie die spanischen Peones), Arbeitsleute für die Reise, die mit dem Leben in der Wildniss und mit allen Hülfsquellen derselben vertraut sind.

Macaco, Cebus, Affe.
Mandioca, Manihot utilissima, wichtigste einheimische Nutzpflanze.
Milréis, ungefähr 2 Reichsmark 73.
Mingäu, erfrischendes, mit Mandiocamehl angerührtes Getränk 159.
Mosquiteiro, Gazezelt über der Hängematte zum Schutz gegen die Insekten 77.
Mutúm, Crax, truthahngrosser Hühnervogel.

Oauassú, Attalea spectabilis, Palme.

Pantanál, Sumpf.
Picade, durch den Wald geschlagener Pfad, Schneiz oder Schneusse.
Pintado, Platystomatis, sehr wohlschmeckender Fisch.
Piranha (spr. Piranja), Serrasalmo, Raubfisch mit starkem Gebiss 139.
Pirarára, Phractocephalus, auch Bagadú, ein Wels 171, Abbildung 221.
Polvilho (spr. Polviljo), feinstes Mandiocamehl 166.
Praia, Sandstrand.
Puva, gröberes Mandiocamehl in Backsteinform 166.

Quemada (spr. Kemáda), abgebranntes Terrain.

Rancho (spr. Rantscho), Hütte.
Rapadura, unreiner, primitiv zubereiteter Zucker in Backsteinform 46.
Ribeirão, Bach, Flüsschen.
Roça, bebautes Feld.

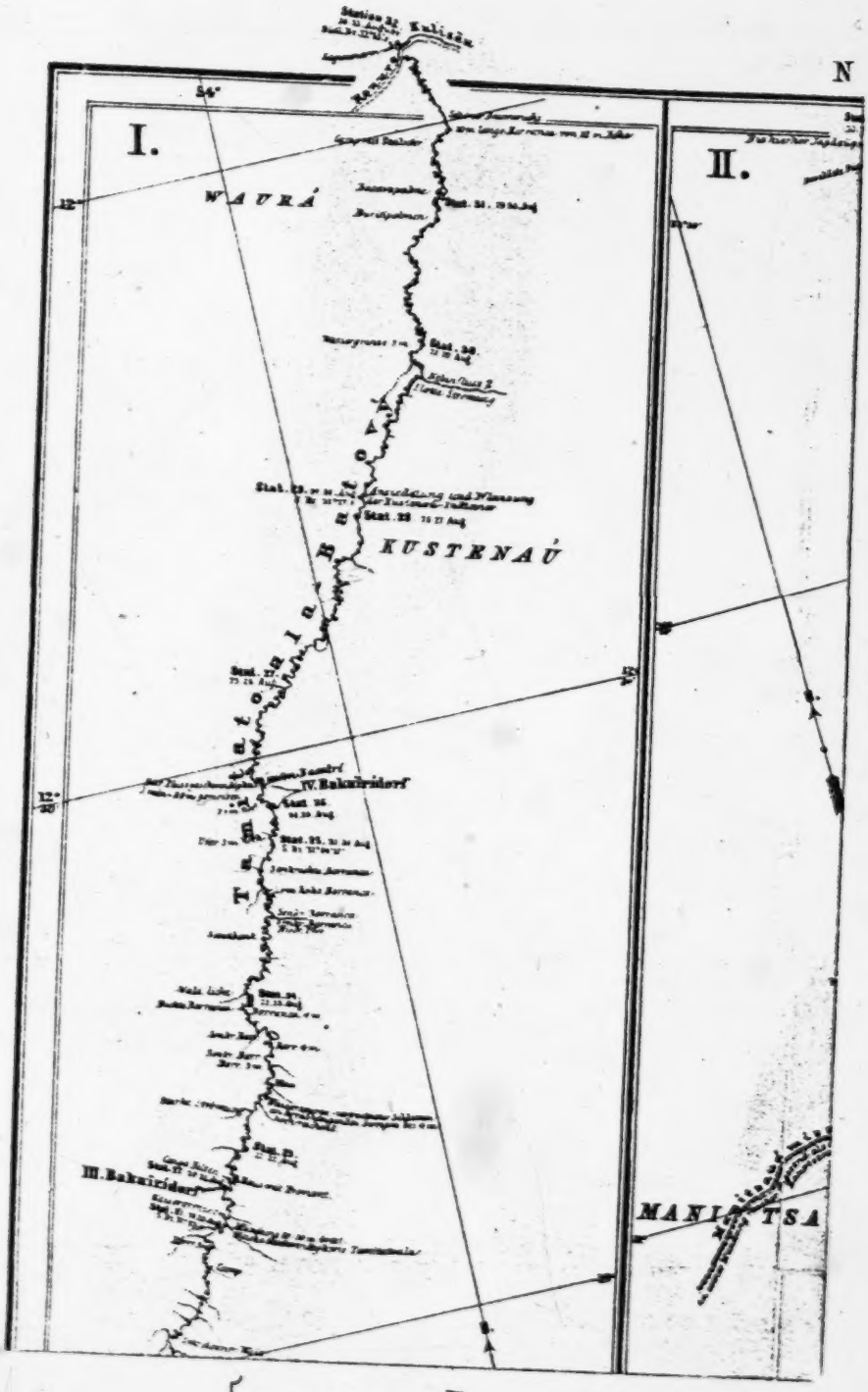
Salto, Wasserfall.
Seringueira, Gummi- (Kautschuk-) Baum s. Register.
Serra = dem spanischen Sierra, Gebirgszug.
Sertão, Einöde, meist unfruchtbar. Wer dort gut Bescheid weiss, Sertanejo.

Tacoára, Bambus.
Tracajá (französ. j.), kleine Flusschildkröte s. Register II: Schildkröteneier.
Tucúm, Astrocaryum, Palme.

Ubá, Baumkanu 241.

1: Steinen

Bacairi



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1: Steinen

Bacairi

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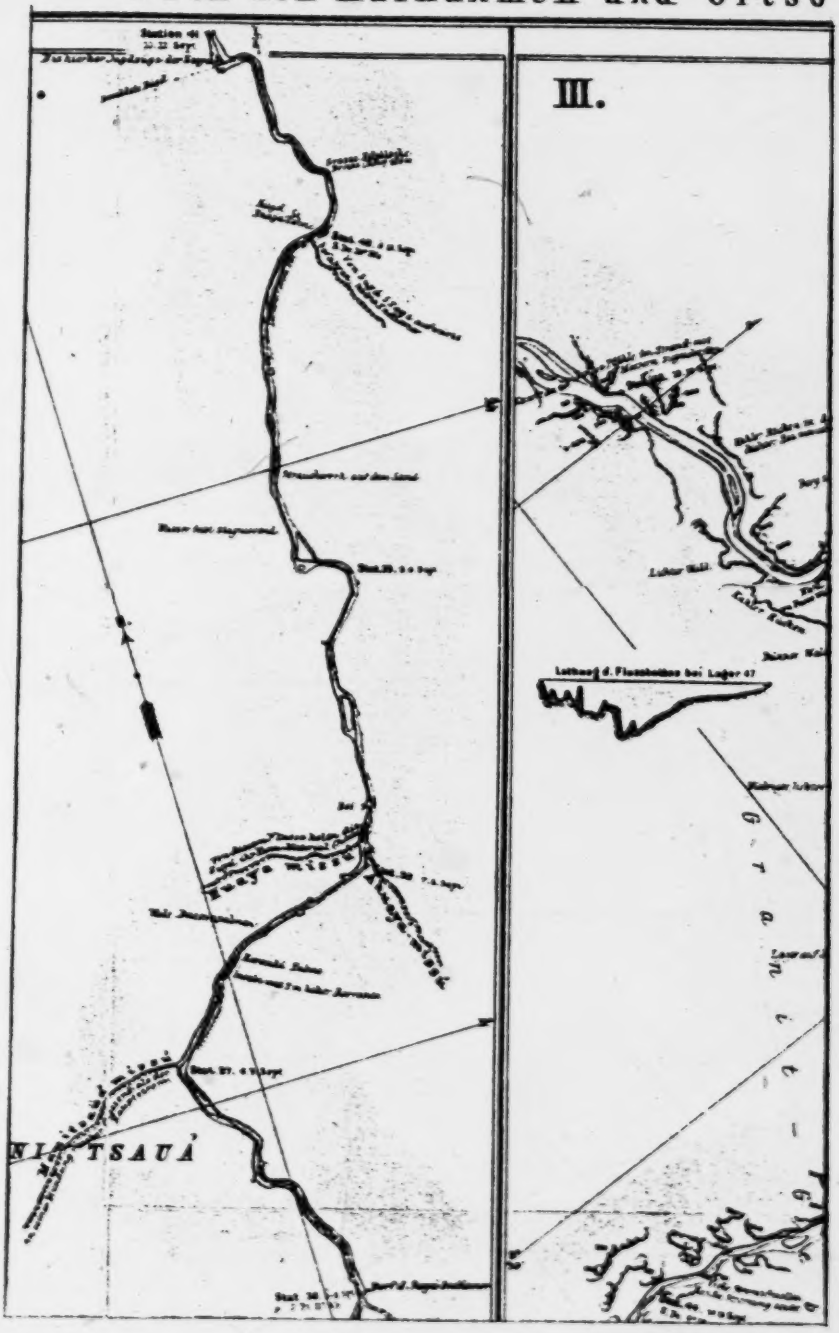

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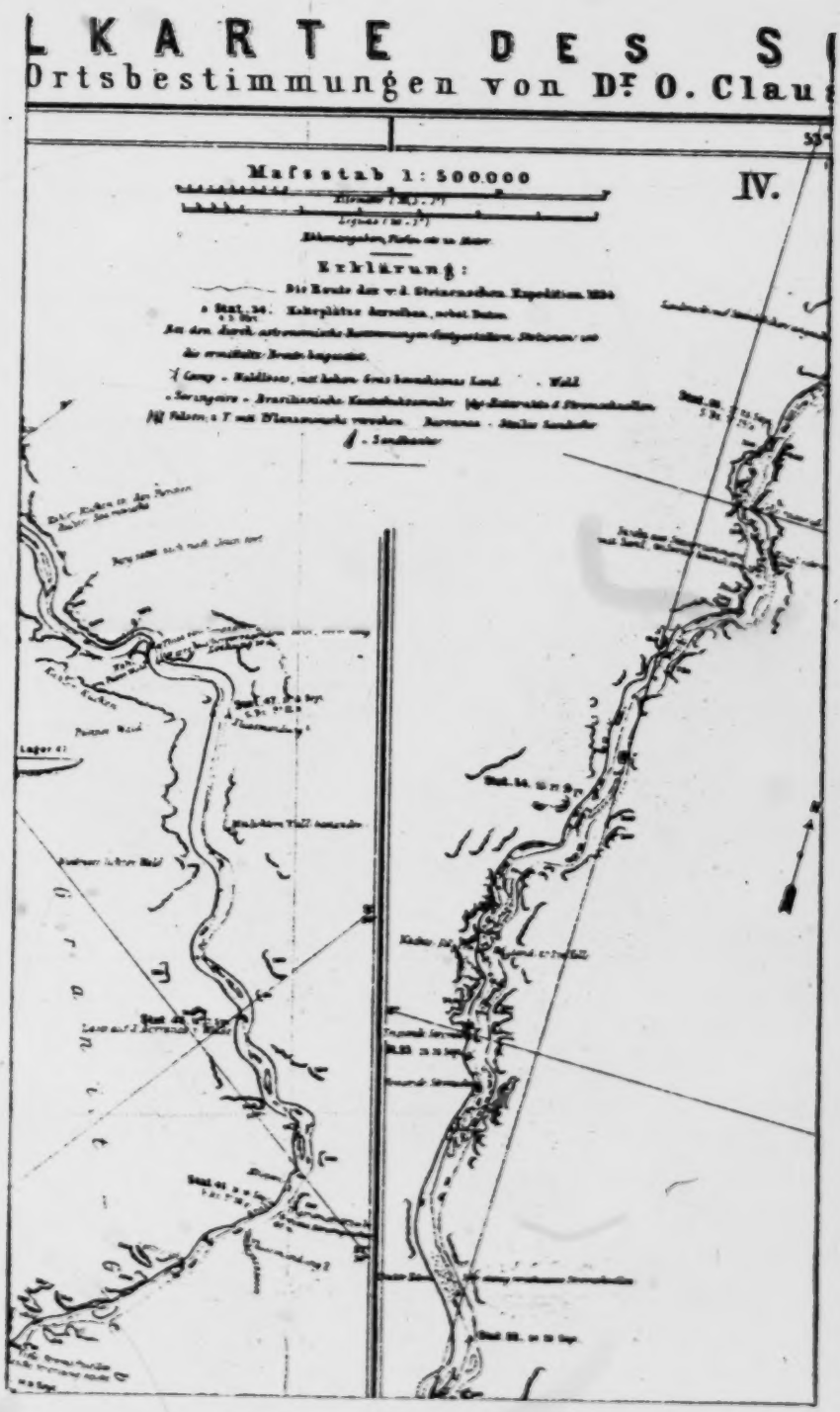
Bacairi



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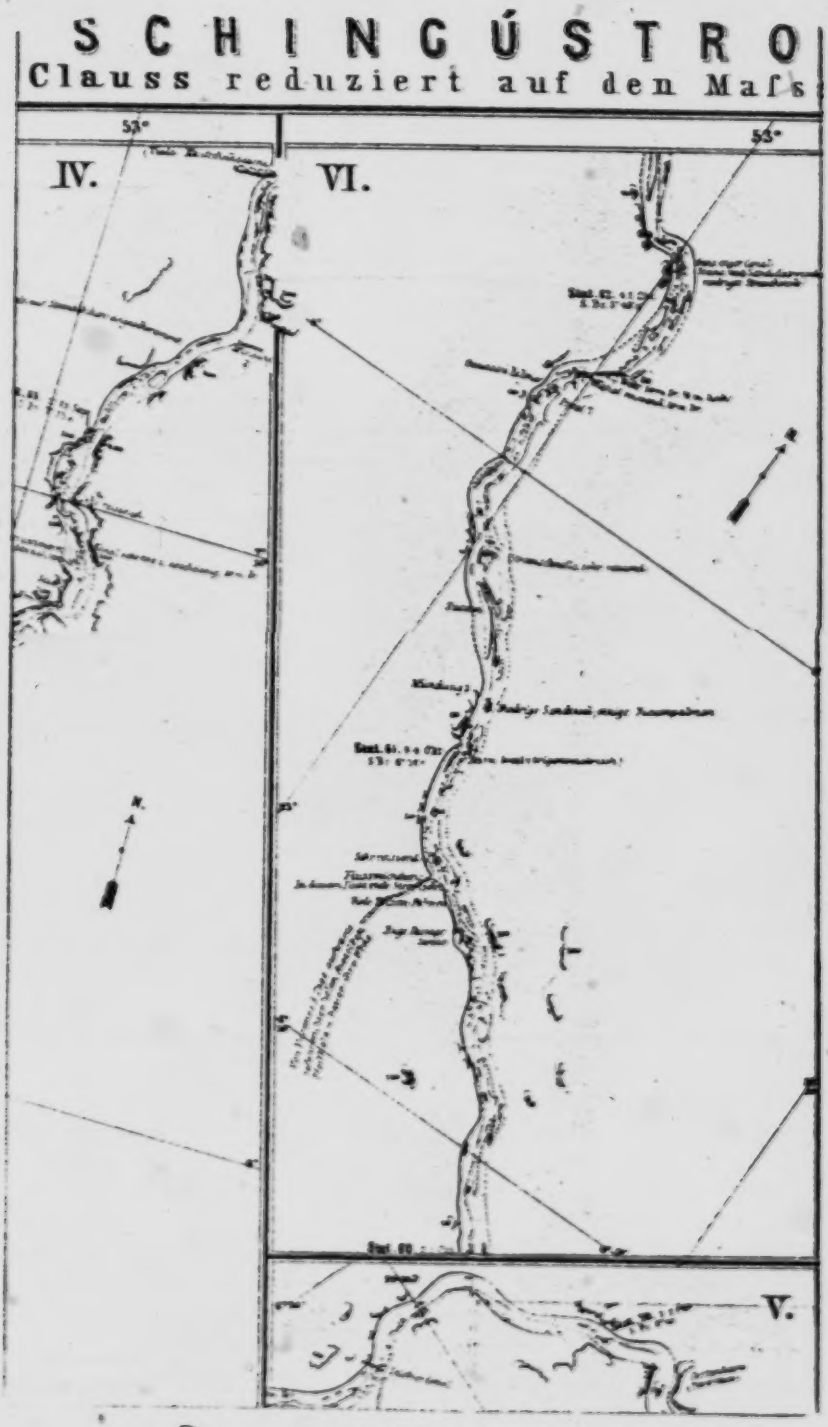

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1: Steinen Bacairi

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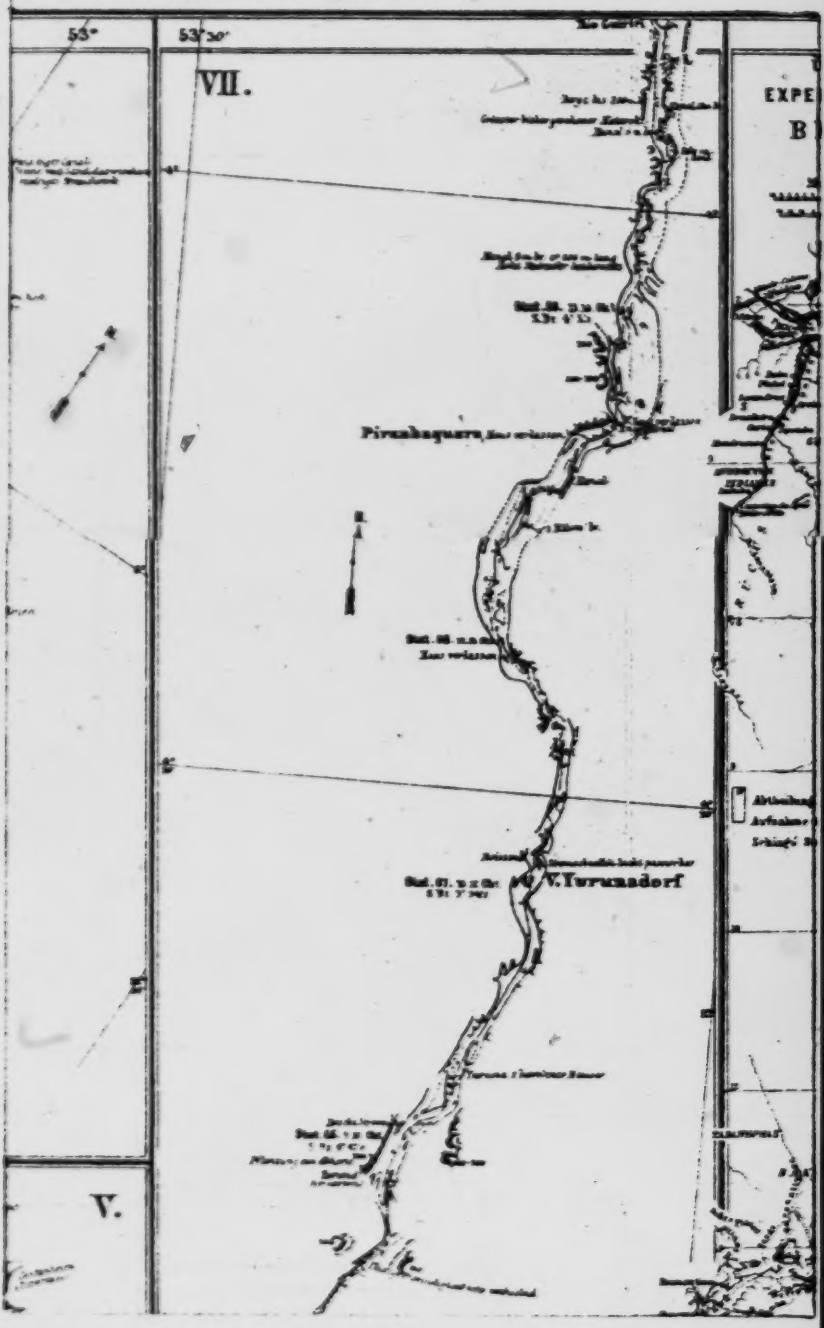

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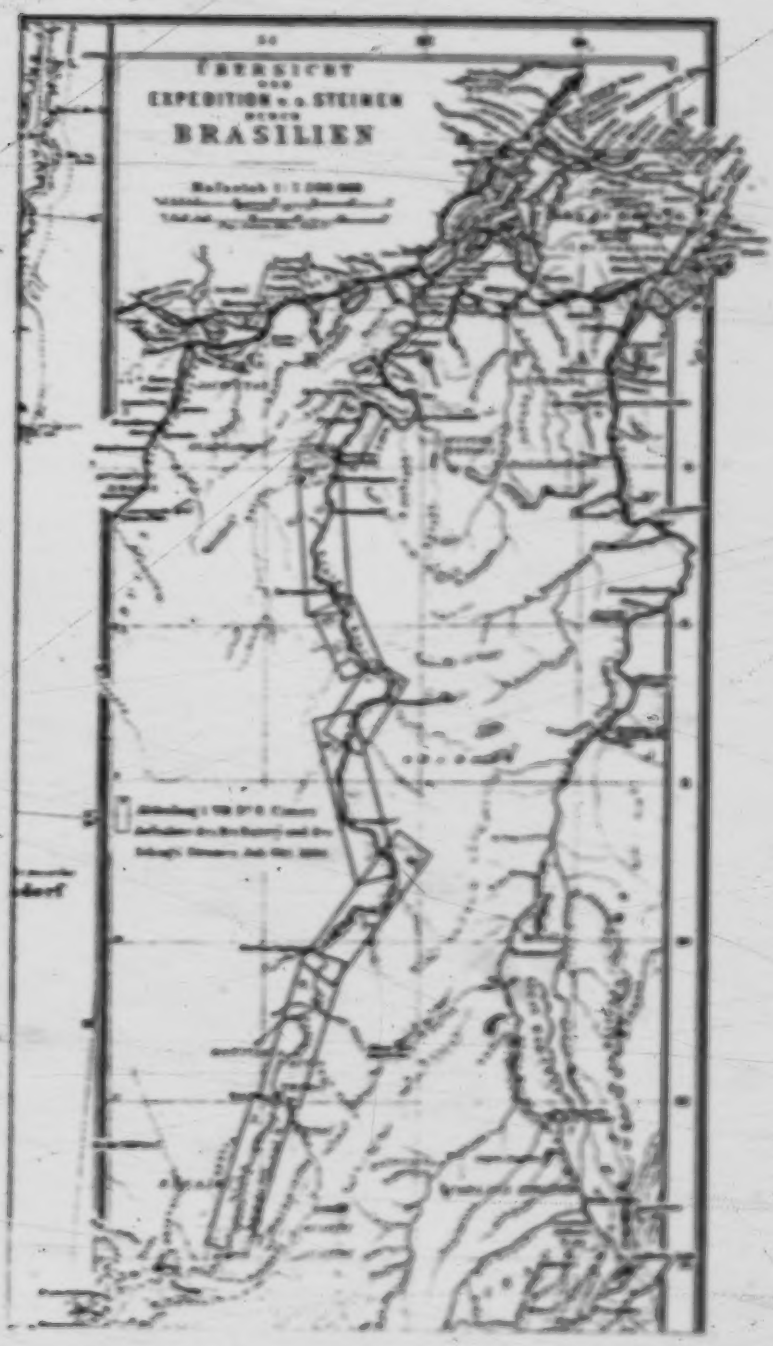
I: Steinen

Bacairi



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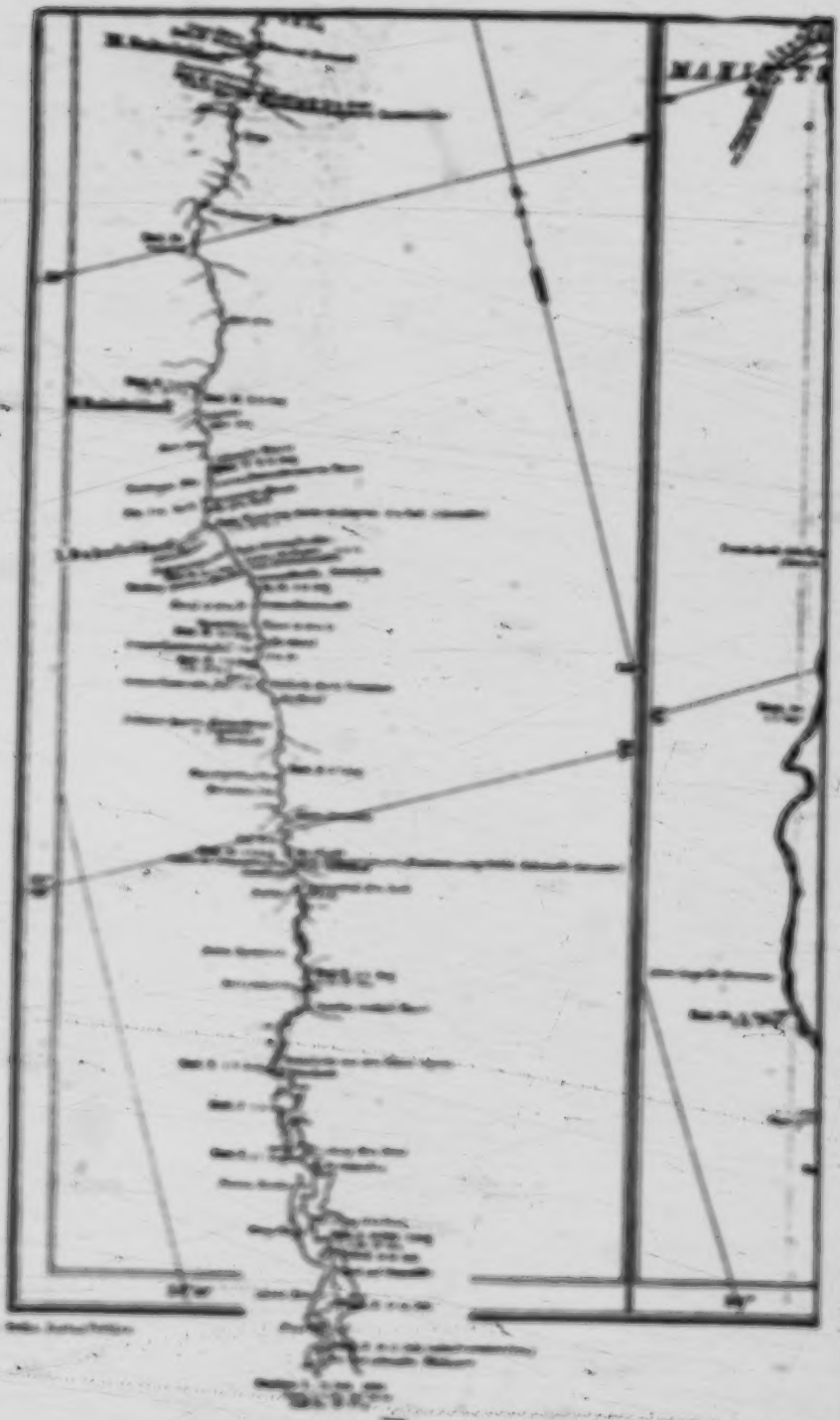

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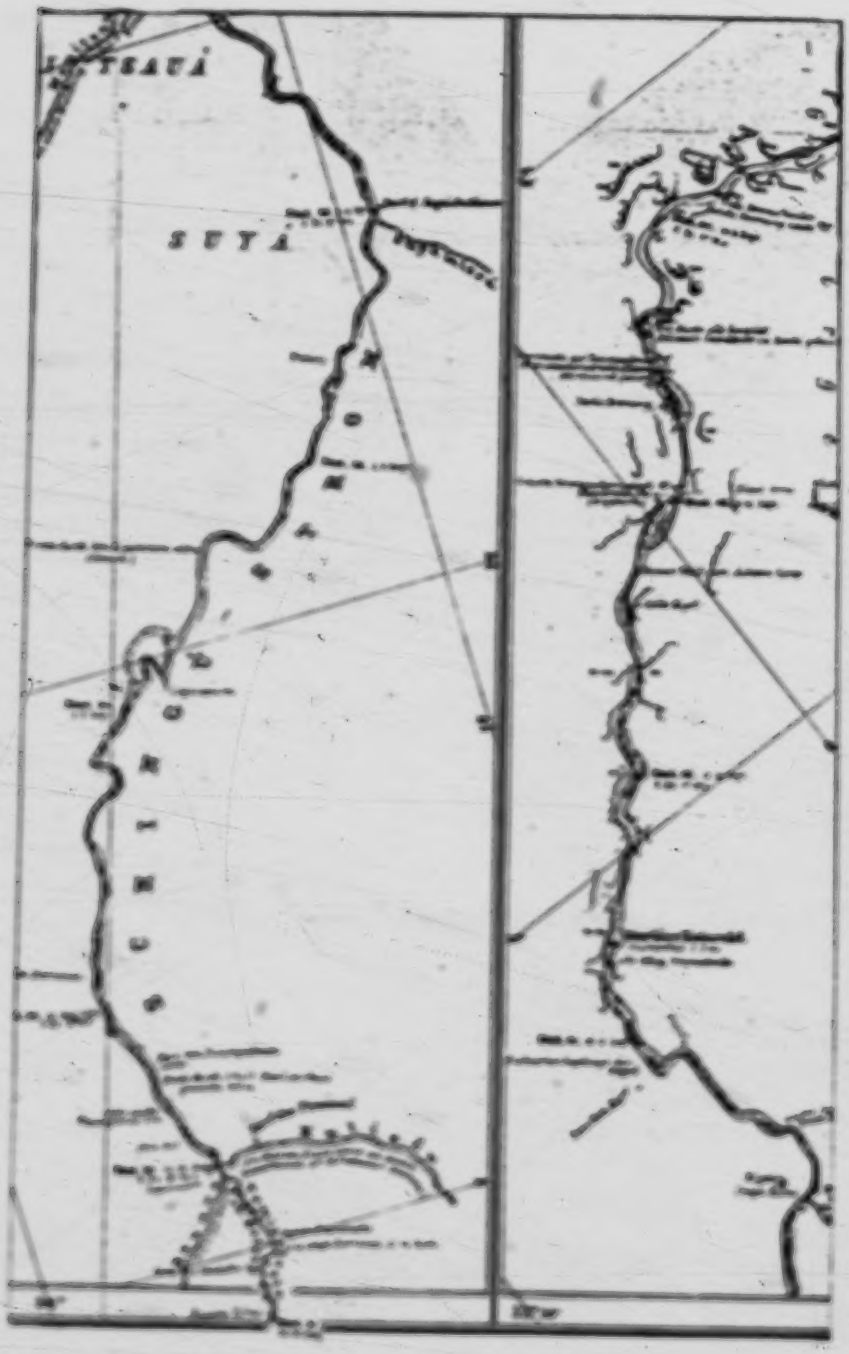
1: Steinen

Bacairi



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1: Steinen

Bacairi

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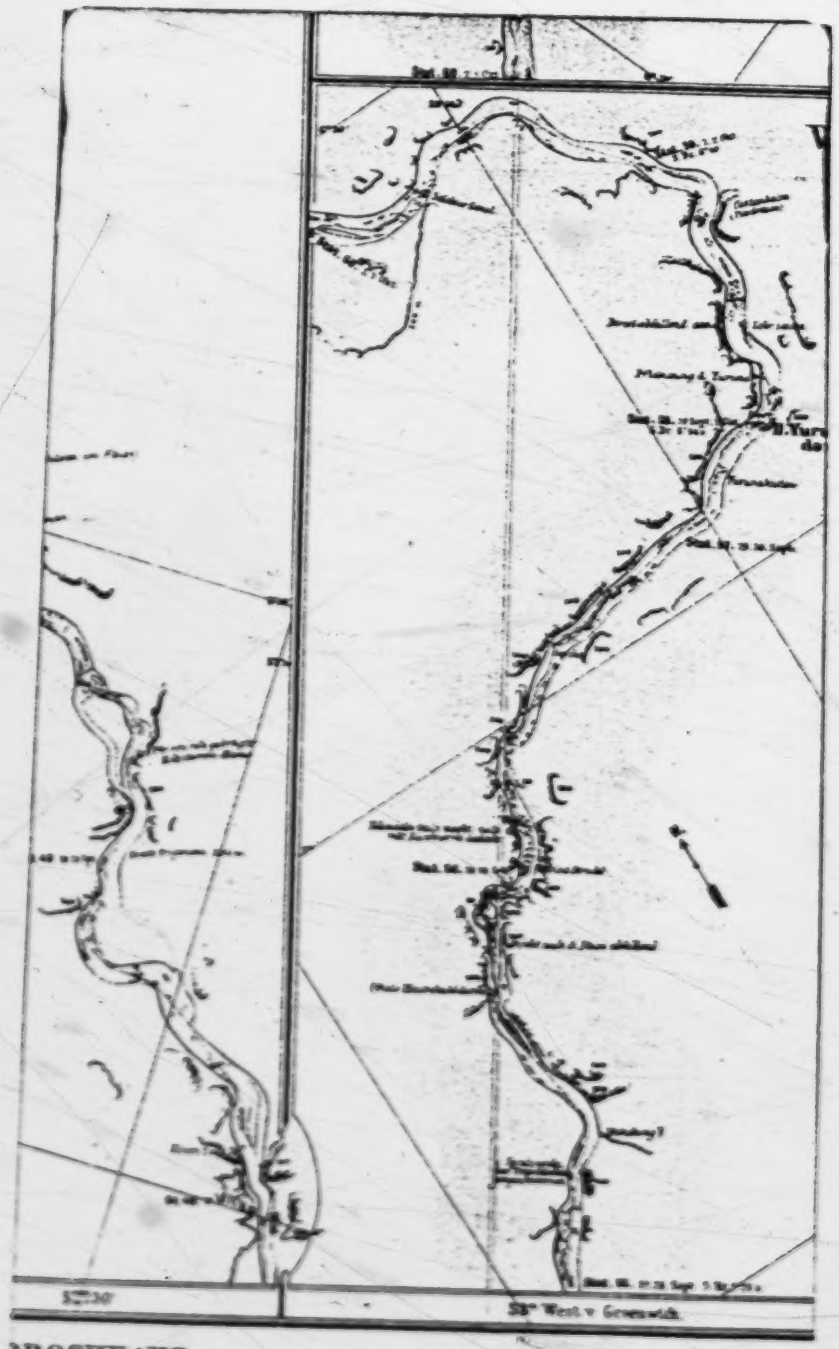
[Ewd Map-I]

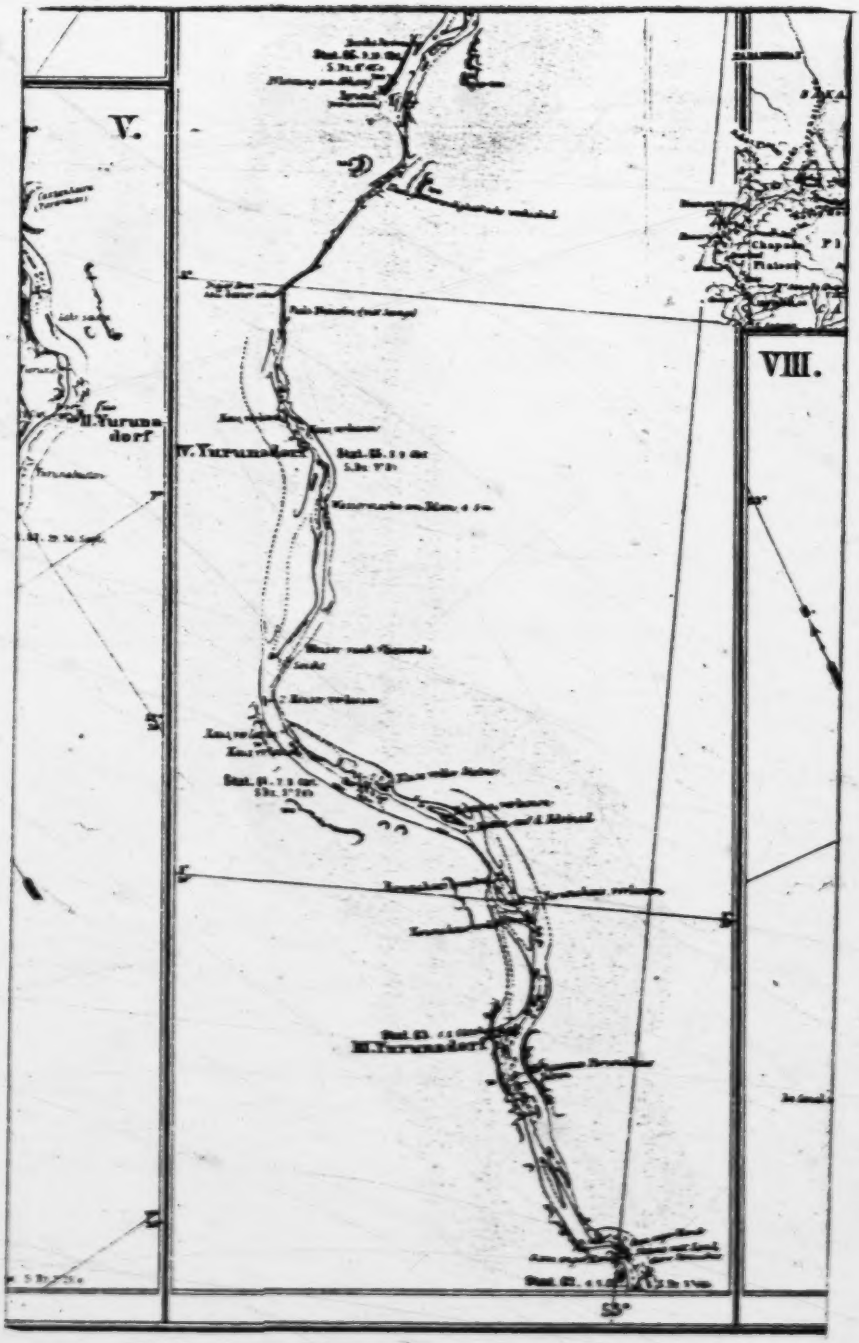
1: Steinen

Bacairi



BROCKHAUS

[End Map J]



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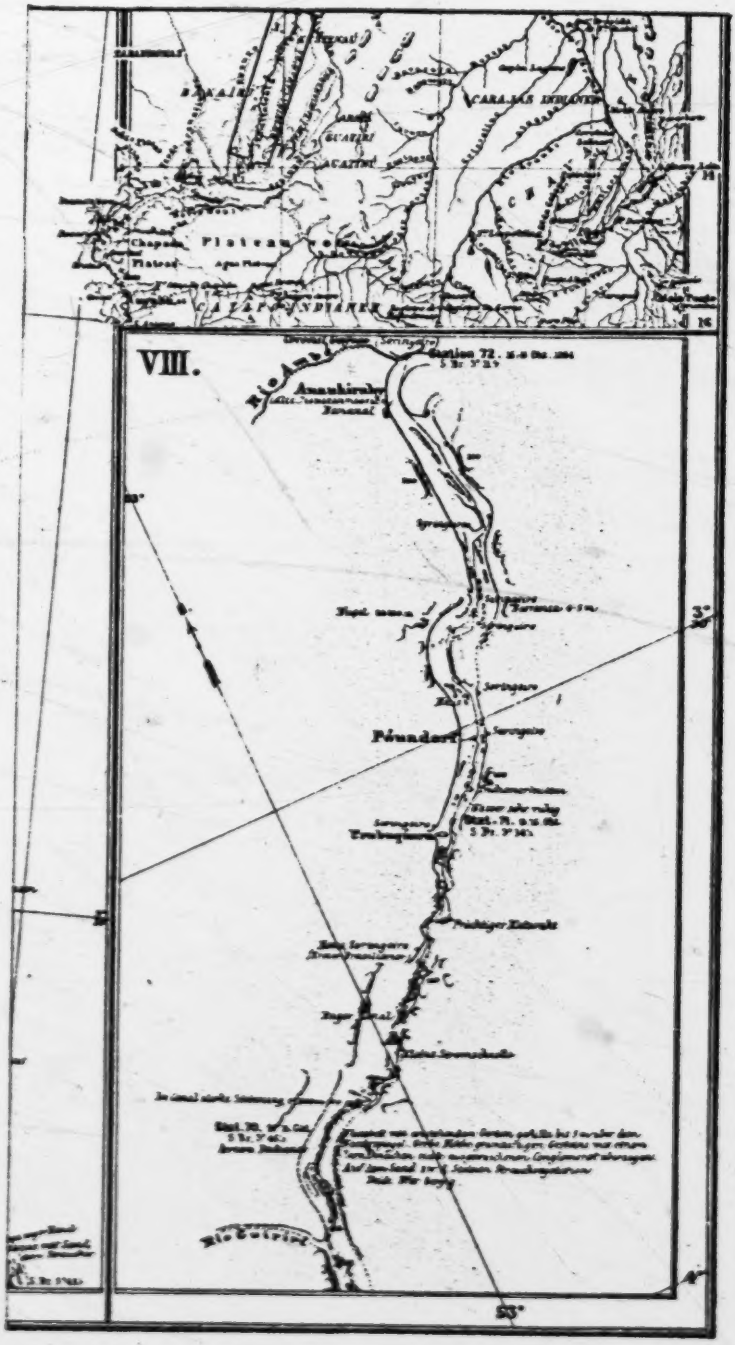

[End Map-L]

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116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

Literary texts 539

2: Steinen E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil; a Travel Account and the Results of the Second Xingu Expedition, 1887-1888

[Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens; Reiseschilderung und Ergebnisse der Zweiten Schingú-Expedition 1887-1888]

by Karl von den Steinen

Berlin, 1894
Dietrich Reimer

Translated from the German by Frieda Schütze

Human Relations Area Files
1966

[Title page]

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Bororo SP8

Pl. I

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Bororó chief.

/v/

Foreword

114 [576] ámа! -- you!
úra! -- I!

So runs the simple formula with which people introduce themselves to each other on the Kulisehu, and I would gladly spare the kind reader what follows, if I did not also have to bid him to greet my "younger brothers," my companions on the journey, and, in addition, have a few other things at heart.

[601] For "younger brother" and "cousin" the Indians have one and the same word; thus, their designation truly fits our special artist, Wilhelm von den Steinen of Düsseldorf, in its fullest sense, for, according to our concepts, he is my cousin, to be sure, but he is commonly taken for my younger brother. He rowed down the Schingú /Xingu/ with me as early as 1884.

The second man, Dr. Paul Ehrenreich of Berlin, was likewise no newcomer to Brazil; in Espíritu Santo he had already become closely acquainted with the Botokuden /Botocudo/; after the completion of our joint undertaking, he had traveled the Araguay /Araguaia/ and the Purus and thus today has probably seen more of the interior of the mighty realm than any other German traveler. He is to be thanked for the photographs and the body measurements.

The recording of the route and the astronomical findings, along with geological investigations, were undertaken by Professor Dr. Peter Vogel of Munich. In 1882-83, on the German Polar Expedition to South Georgia, whose deputy leader he was, we two shared the cramped cabin in joy and sorrow for a year; in 1887 he again felt a powerful impulse to set out, and so he was willing to carry on in new territory the work of Dr. Otto Claus, our /vi/ Antarctic colleague and the geographer of the first Schingú expedition.

/vi cont./

122 [113] Simultaneously with the appearance of this book, Professor Vogel is publishing his results in the organ of the Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin/Geographical Society of Berlin/, which deserves credit in connection with our journey for supporting him from the funds of the Karl Ritter Foundation. I cordially thank the president, Privy Councilor Baron von Richthofen, for his kind permission to add to my account the map drawn and edited by Dr. Richard Kiepert's trusted hand. I myself experienced substantial assistance through the Humboldt Foundation of the Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin /Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences of Berlin/, and on this occasion, too, I beg the Board of Trustees to accept my most sincere gratitude.

In the course of the journey we were given numerous demonstrations of hospitality by Brazilians as well as by countrymen in Brazil and the La Plata states, both by simple private persons and by persons in high office, who have put us most deeply under obligation to them. Though we can show our appreciation to the sons of the country to a certain extent by helping to open up the interior of a little explored province, we remain wholly indebted to our countrymen; were I merely to mention the localities where they live, I would have to recapitulate the entire route, except for the Indian paths. Thus, to all to whom these lines find their way, whether they import and export in trade or lead in a political position, or whether, as intrepid colonists, they live far from the coast, I extend the most cordial greetings and wish them the safeguard of peace and orderly conditions for their work.

128 [802] The maize has already bloomed six times since we left the source region of the Schingú -- "two two two, ahége ahége ahége," counts the Bakaïrí, and finds no words in his language [113] to express a larger number. The report has been delayed longer than I liked; I was held back primarily by preliminary linguistic studies (Die Bakaïrí-Sprache /The Bacairi Language/, K. F. Köhler, Leipzig, 1892), but I learned many things from them and gained a broader and firmer foundation than was the

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/vi cont./

128 case with the considerably smaller amount of linguistic and ethnographic material from the first expedition. My love for the subject has only grown with my longer occupation with it, for in equal measure it necessarily strengthened the recognition of the truth propounded with flaming enthusiasm by our revered elder master, Adolf Bastian, that the decline of the little esteemed primitive peoples means the loss of irreplaceable information for the history of the human mind. There is no lack of confirmation in the following pages. And just as everyone who is deeply imbued with a conviction feels impelled to make propaganda for it, so I, too, should not care to address myself only to the narrow circle of specialists, and I have permitted myself the pleasure /vii/ of writing for general understanding. I must gratefully acknowledge here the courage and co-operation of the publishing firm, which granted my wish to set the price as low as possible and nevertheless did not stint in the layout.

May the reader be no more aware of the great interval of time than I am when I imagine myself back in those days. It cannot be denied, my sense of time functions a little defectively; I only wish the reason were that I truly succeeded in going deeply into the soul of our primitive peoples, these children of the moment -- to try to do this was my real task.

Neubabelsberg

Karalbenhof, October 1893.

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Chapter IV.

First Encounter with the Indians.

Bark canoes. Traces of Indians. My trip with Antonio and Carlos. Animal life. Reverie before supper. Mouth of the Ponekuru. Cataracts. Signs of colonization increase. Chief Tumayaua. To the first Bakaïrí village. Arrival of the "Karaiben."

396 [324] After tapping several times in vain, Antonio found a jatobá (Hymenaea sp.) with serviceable bark. A pole scaffold is erected around the tree; a long rectangular strip of bark is loosened with ax blows and, carefully taken down, is placed on low supports; then the bark is made pliable with heat, a fire being lighted underneath and twigs also set afire on top, and the edges of the longitudinal sides are bent upward. In front a point is formed; in the rear the bark is pushed forward toward the inside to produce a slightly hollowed out bulkhead with acute-angled edges, at which the bark is soon likely to split. The canoe was to be finished in a day and brought to the water the next morning.

Antonio came home from his work noticeably pleased. I believed it was because the canoe had turned out well. I talked to him about it for a while and then, referring once more to our plans, said: "So you are not afraid that the river is without inhabitants?" "No," he replied in dismissal, "I've already found a rancho." "Why didn't you say so?" "Well, I intended to."

224 342 [412] [394] In looking for wood for the canoe, he had discovered a collapsed hunting-hut covered with palm straw; its posts showed the blunt gash-marks of a stone ax. Beside it lay charred logs still in the radial arrangement of the Indian campfire; adjacent jatobás had been tested with stone axes for their usefulness, a still recognizable path led through the brush to a "harbor" on the river. Antonio thought it was probably a year ago that the visitors had stopped here.

/46 cont./

Thursday, 8 September, at 10:30 in the morning, we pushed off. Carlos sat in front, Antonio in the rear, I in the middle. A tent that we should have liked to take along had to be left behind because of its weight and exchanged for a lighter /47/ oxhide. In our haste the canoe had turned out very badly and was patchwork from the beginning. Just below me a wax-plastered crack two-thirds of a meter long broke through the bottom of the narrow piece of bark that was supposed to represent a vessel; on the sides, under the lumps of clay pasted there, little streams trickled forth slowly and incessantly, lapping one's feet.

114 But what did it matter? I was happy. We had the definite prospect of encountering Indians; in our hearts we scarcely doubted that they would be Bakaïrí /Bacairi/. Yet come what may, we three could count on one another. Carlos, carefree, sang the Brazilian popular ballads into the forest with his harsh voice; Antonio was silent, but when I turned around, I would see his honest face beaming with good humor and love of adventure.

The water was calm and almost dead. We passed a few small rapids and sandbanks where we had to climb out and where I was obliged to learn anew how to walk with bare feet over pebbles and rubble. The mighty tree skeletons that lay in the river along the sides, or even bridged and intersected it, formed tedious obstacles; ducking our heads low, we sighed as we crept under the trunks or cut off the obstructing branches. Thicket on land, thicket in the water. But we were at the height of the dry season; the steep bank, which is not visible during the rainy season, loomed up five to eight meters above the surface of the water, laced with the horizontal lines of previous water levels. Thus we also passed by many sandy beaches now exposed, which for the most part were gently sloping and covered with many animal tracks.

/47 cont./

136 After our long foot journey through the lifeless wilderness of the stunted scrub woodland, we were doubly struck by the cheerful bird life on the river, and, indeed, twice as much after our privation. On the river journey one must divide the birds into those which one sees and those which one merely hears. We became very familiar with a whole series of feathered inhabitants of the forest which we nevertheless did not glimpse a single time; we knew their call, we imitated it, we had our companions tell us to what species they belonged, we read about them in books, but in a museum we would pass by these friends without recognizing them. Carlos, who in his former position had hunted and skinned countless birds of the Mato Grosso, was unfortunately far more expert than I; for his part he divided the birds into those that Herbert Smith "had" and those that he "did not have." To the latter category belonged the swallows, the ones that we had encountered in 1884 on the Batovy. Otherwise on this very first day we saw or heard such birds as doves, humming birds, small flocks of parakeets, araras, kingfishers, the yellow bemtevi (Saurophagus sulphuratus), the inquisitive, nodding beach-runner mamarico (Calidris arenaria), the biguá (Carbo brasilianus), and sparrow-hawk species, divers of the air as well as of the water, /48/ and finally the Penelopinae arakuan and jakutinga, the tasty gallinaceous birds which we pursued with special interest. Of fish we observed matrincham, bagre, the sheatfish or pintado, and agulha, the needlefish, which was found in the form of remains from an otter's meal. Yellow butterflies, which Smith "had by the thousands," as well as bees and crickets, were extraordinarily numerous on the sandy beach. Occasionally a sinimbú, the iguana, plopped down from a branch into the water. On the sand ran tracks of turtles, pigs, and tapirs. Caymans, the "jakaré" of the Brazilians, seemed to be very rare; we saw a small species, however, and during the night Antonio -- so he said the next morning -- had an inquisitive representative of this tribe hostilely bare its teeth at him when he left his hammock because of the mosquitoes.

/48 cont./

000 We therefore named our camping place, which we had taken possession of shortly after 4:00, Pouso do Jakaé. Antonio took [396] charge of the unfortunate canoe; he shoved it onto a low framework of forked supports, lighted a fire of brush under it, and bent the front part up as much as possible; he stuffed the crack with [136] rags and smeared it with beeswax. Howling monkeys gave us an evening concert and carried on as dreadfully as though we were supposed to learn how to shudder.

136 137 We were glad to get up early the next morning; we cursed the mosquitoes and set out at 6:30 into the light mist floating over the water. The birds twittered and chirped noisily; a kaitetú pig was swimming across the river in the distance. We rowed as soundlessly as possible between the shores covered with campo vegetation: much tall leafy brush and bamboo thicket, out of which rose the tree of the red ants, the imbaiva. A fat Mutum cavallo with black plumage shimmering greenish-blue and a sealing-wax red crest was successfully caught and immediately plucked; Antonio carefully collected the wing and tail feathers, which, split and turned spirally, are set on the end of the arrow shaft, for his fellows on the Paranatinga, so that he would have something to bring them from the journey. A small piece of the meat served as bait when we passed through some rapids with exposed boulders and disturbed the matrinchans, which allegedly sleep there between the stones. The two men threw out their lines and at each throw let them strike enticingly a couple of times; they were snapped at, but unfortunately there were no bites. They shot at a couple of playful ariranas, large fish otters that surface like seals, spit, disappear quick as lightning, and suddenly appear again somewhere far downstream.

224 Shortly after midday Antonio observed tow-off branches on the right bank; we disembarked and, on closer investigation, saw that a piece of slain game, probably a capybara, had been placed on a bed of twigs and leaves in order to protect the meat from sand while it was being eviscerated. There was neither but not evidence of fire, the booty had therefore been taken from this spot to the /Pl. IV appears here/ /49/ camping place or even to the village.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.6]

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Pl. IV

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Tumayaua Inlet

/49 cont./

000 the village. The scars on the brush, however, were supposed to be a month old. We made our midday stop here, roasted the mutung along with the fish retrieved from the otter, spiced our luncheon with hopeful conjectures, and, after I had permitted Carlos, for dessert, the pleasure of digging out a fat sand-flea [136] for me, pushed off in a happy mood. Borrachudos, the small stinging flies, accompanied us in a thick cloud; on account of the infernal itching, I was obliged to wind a handkerchief around my bare feet. It was sultry and rainy. Soon a violent thunderstorm broke out and forced us to seek shelter for more than an hour on a steep, slippery bank-slope where a few piles of rock jutted out. After that, however, it became mild and sunny, and [122] our woolen underwear was soon dry. My hunter's clothing was indeed not beautiful or socially proper, but I found it light and practical, and the Indians had no right to rebuke me for traveling only in shirt and underpants.

The nearness of the "compadres," or Gevattern /Ger., "sponsor, godparent, close friend," used here, as is compadre, to refer to the Indians/, became more and more obvious. For at 5:00, as we were looking for a camping place, we came -- at just the right hour -- to the mouth of a brook, which, on the left bank of the river, led, to our delight, to clear, cool water and showed a barricade of branches, crude, to be sure, but made [226] by human hands, a "chiqueira." This is what the Brazilians call one of the simplest fish-traps, often accidently formed by nature itself, at the mouth of a brook or the outlet of an arm of a lagoon; at high water the fish enter unimpeded and when the water is low they cannot get back again. We climbed up the steep embankment and on top found an excellent spot for our night's lodging free of underbrush and with moderately large trees well spaced. But our men complained, after they had pushed the canoe up into the chiqueira brook, that in the mud on the bank they had picked up "frieiras," painful swellings such as they said occur when one steps into capybara dung, mule filth, and similar pleasant things. They stamped their feet in pain for a while and rubbed them with salt.

/49 cont./

It was a beautiful evening. The reader will forgive me if I conjure it up once more, despite its purely subjective content. Sitting in the hammock, I permitted myself, for the first time since Cuyabá, the luxury of writing by the light of a candle stub; in the denser woods nearby the crickets were making music, down below the brook was murmuring, and, worth closer attention, there in the kettle above the fire obstinately bubbled -- Landgrave Ludwig, grow hard, grow hard! -- the brown beans. /Translator's note: "Landgrave Ludwig" refers to a legendary prince who was at first so benign in his rule that the mighty took advantage of it and oppressed the people, until the prince spent a night incognito in the hut of a smith, who, as he was forging his iron, kept cursing the prince and muttering: "Now grow hard." Thereafter the prince changed his ways and became known as The Iron Ludwig./

It was not long before the journal was lost in a fold of the hammock. I laughed about it a bit myself, but I regarded the special event, the stub of the candle, with true tenderness and swung back and forth, gazing into the flames, smoking contentedly, and rocking body as well as soul in the gentle /50/ motion. I had no actual thoughts and that was pleasant. Also, I had no longing for the enjoyments which at home seem so indispensable to us. With my little pipe and my candle, nothing else was needed for happiness. At the moment the calabash of fresh brook water that Carlos handed me in the hammock meant much more to me than a mug of "the real thing" or a bottle of Rauenthaler. I thought of those things indifferently as of a pallid past. I told myself that it was the hour when at home people set out for concerts, the theater, social events. And unexpectedly I felt that I was in the midst of Berlin street traffic; I stepped up to a placard pillar, read the colorful posters from top to bottom and walked around it, reading it, but my pulses remained calm, and there was not a twinge of desire. Quietly happy, I noticed only that I had no money with me and that my costume was contrary to the police regulations for under the linden; with a feeling of scorn and without sorrow I looked at the newspaper vendors, the rolling

/50 cont./

080 carriages, the lighted shops, the bustling crowd, and I gladly returned to my dark river in the primeval forest.

But are they so easily dispensed with, I asked myself in my reverie, these things that dominate and animate our whole world of feeling? One thing, at least, was certain: if the miracle, which did not happen, had happened, and a pair of the most luscious lips had suddenly smiled at me seductively from the bushes -- I would have smoked and graciously asked permission to go on smoking. The best thing, I concluded, seems to be if we are able, in the memory of finer enjoyments, to find quiet happiness in the simplest things: the philosopher of Wiedensahl is right once again: "Contentment is pleasure in things that we do not get."

And yet I would not have exchanged Berlin for the Schingú /Xingu/ simply and solely for the brown beans or the wilderness and river rapids; without a loftier purpose, that is, a hope which is rooted in serious concepts of culture, even the most unspoiled nature would very soon become intolerable. It is odd enough
[121] that our like should come over from Germany and perhaps risk his precious life here -- in order to look for the home of the Karaiben /Caribs/! "What is Hecuba to him?" What is Cuyabá and Karíiba to me?

Yet there are problems so puzzling and unfathomable that one is unable to solve them with an empty stomach, and it was fortunate that Carlos at the fire finally shouted his triumphant "pronto." The beans stood ready on the ground, the little bag of farinha /manioc flour/ lay beside them, a remnant of mutúng beckoned benevolently from the rammed-in wooden spike -- let the crickets go on chirping in the forest.

114 At 6:30 (10 September 1887) we departed, eager for the things which, according to the indications of yesterday, were
133 to come today. After 20 minutes a river flowed into ours from the right side, a stream as quiet /51/ as it was and only a little narrower. Later it was named for us as the Poreiuru. The predominant direction of the combined waterways was north to northeast the same as the one that our earlier route had tried to

/51 cont./

133 follow despite the many windings. Even before the appearance of the tributary, however, our entire attention was drawn to a gradually increasing roar which we recognized only too well from 1884: we were nearing a large "cachoeira" /cataract/. We passed a few rocky islands which consisted of sandstone boulders and were overgrown with low bushes and thin shrubs; the tumult and roar increased tremendously and suddenly we looked down on the widened stream bed filled with huge deposits of stone, in which the surge of the masses of water, foaming and churning over a great distance, plunged downhill. Our subsequent Salto Taunay.

122 We stopped for an hour. The canoe was pushed down the steps, the baggage carried on shoulders along the edge of the bank. I would have liked to see myself: straw hat with arara feathers, shirt, underpants, leather belt, shoulder bag, gray linen Basque shoes, over my left arm the folded oxhide, and in my right hand our four tin plates, the uppermost one filled with the leftover cooked beans; and all the while eagerly looking

226 around and watching for anything suspicious. At a cachoeira like this one there is ample opportunity for fishing; and, sure enough, we found clear footprints and on the stones half-burned palm

OED torches whose gray, fine ash was still intact. We estimated the age of the shelter-hut in the Independencia camp at one year; the age of the torn-off branches on the spit where the capybara had been cut up, at one month; and it could scarcely have been more than a week since these torches had been burning; the situation was therefore now getting scorched and burning in the boldest sense of the word.

133 In contrast to the scantier cataracts of the Batovy in the same latitude, the beautiful cachoeira already had the more grandiose character of the true Schingl cataract throughout, and down below, where the river again flowed onward, calm and clear, the water was beautifully dark and bottle-green. After only a quarter of an hour, however, a new, good-sized cachoeira appeared, lower than the first, where I again had to climb out

226 and wend my way overland. Here, too, some fishing was done.

/51 cont./

226 Beyond the cachoeira we counted 13 so-called "curralr" /corrals/, circles of boulders in shallower places in the river bed; the fish can enter through a gap in the circle and are then herded together by the Indians and shot. I was not a little surprised when, 823 151 farther downstream in quiet water, Antonio suddenly stated that a canoe had been here yesterday or the day before; all I noticed was a quantity of small white bubbles near the shore. The foam of the oar stroke is preserved in a path on calm water; not destroyed by waves, the air bubbles remain on the water and are gradually driven to the shore by the wind.

/52/ For two hours we rowed on vigorously, spoke but little and with a soft voice, and, cautiously on the lookout, proceeded into each new bend close to the inner edge. But all [131] signs had ceased. On either side lay tall, silent forest, the river glistened in the sunlight, nothing living stirred within a wide radius, and only a yellow butterfly fluttered past here and [133] there. Shortly before midday the stream bed opened into a rather wide inlet; one could not quite make out whether this was a lagoon or an island formation and the river divided into two types. We landed and I sent the two off to cross the bit of woods that separated us from the lagoon and to examine the course of the water beyond.

I sat on the beach waiting. Carlos was already coming 123 back, when suddenly I notice a canoe a gunshot downstream. 109 [50] A single naked Indian is standing in it and swiftly making for the shore. There he steers the vessel behind the skeleton of a fallen tree and cautiously crouches down in the darker of it. "Bakairi, Bakairi," I cried with all my might, "Ndse Bakairi, Ama Bakairi, Ina Bakairi, we are Bakairi, you are a Bakairi, I am a Bakairi, the Bakairi are good" -- in short, I shout in joyful excitement whatever is inspired in me by the ghost of reminiscences [illegible] of that particular time. And behold: "Bakairi, Bakairi, Bakairi" comes resounding back. Other words are added, which unfortunately I do not understand, but the high voice, rising in uncertainty, bears an unhappily anxious and mistrustful expression, and the arms swing wildly in the air behind

/52 cont./

123 609 the tree skeleton, as though the man were dancing there like a cannibal in a show booth. "Bakairí ...," I commence once more, when luckily Antonio comes bounding up with mighty leaps, and, half out of breath from excitement, he for his part now shouts a long explanation downriver, which again I do not understand, but which releases a grateful howl of exultation on the part of the entrenched hero and clarifies the situation as though by a stroke of magic.

The canoe shot out of its hiding place and hastened [501] at once, a fine, long, dry bark-canoe, toward our sad, [49] crooked, wax-plastered, loam-smeared vessel laved with [48] dirty water -- truly, I thought, we were the ones who were entering the sphere of a higher culture here; even though the noble boatman was dressed with only a belt-cord and carried with him nothing but the neatly worked, feather-trimmed arrows and the bow which lay on the floor of the canoe beside a calabash filled with honey, nevertheless in its trimness and cleanliness this total picture gliding toward us contrasted most advantageously with us ragged bearers of civilization beside the piece of wet-rot bark that was called our boat. Well, the newcomer clearly showed by his facial expression that for his part he nevertheless admired us.

123 152 He did not behave at all like the silent, gloomy Indian whose soul, as I might have expected on the basis of our school-wisdom, reflected the monotonous, oppressive environment of the tropical forest; rather, he laughed /53/ and chatted with his fellow tribesman Antonio as though he had grown up in a fortunate country of the temperate zone. In a [576] few minutes we were good friends; at my urging he even told us his name, which, of course, according to the custom of his country, he could not do without modest hemming and 551 hawing. His name was Tuimavana and he was the chief of 622 a village of the Bakairí a few hours away.

123 609 Thus actually of the Bakairí! The hope of the past week was fulfilled, we entered our research area among a good-natured little people well known to us, and our debut

/53 cont./

123 was amazed. Tumayaua, as I now learned from Antonio, had
been no little disconcerted by my call; he had answered that he
was a Bakaïrí, but that we were not Bakaïrí. Obligingly, the
good man offered us his canoe, he himself climbed into ours,
and took charge of guiding us. But we chanted no less lustily
101 than we rowed. The Bakaïrí of the Batovy were Tumayaua's
114 relatives and friends. There was wonderful news about the first
village that we had visited in 1884. The old Indian whom we
at that time had called the "professor" was on his way to the
Paranatinga with a few others! They wanted to pay a new visit
to Antonio and his tribal brothers. Pauhaga, the first Bakaïrí
whom we had greeted on the Batovy on our previous journey,
lived at the moment in Tumayaua's community, and a strange
coincidence thus decreed that we were to see him again likewise
131 in the very first village of the Kulisehu. Were we really on the
103 Kulisehu? Yes, the river was called Kulisehu, Kulisêu, or
Kulihêu, since "h" and "s" are interchangeable in Bakaïrí, and
all the tribes that we were looking for apparently also lived
on its shores.

133 Cachoeiras, however, interrupted the conversation. We
had set out at 12:00; after half an hour there came a low rock-
cachoeira 60 meters long, through which we laboriously wound
our way; then shortly after 1:00 No. 4 of this day's series, where
we had to unload and stop for half an hour. At 2:45 we came
to the fifth and last, which poured over the boulders in a mighty
122 surge. Here, however, the pilot went on strike against going
any farther in our canoe, which was succumbing to acute
dropsy. We took him aboard as a fourth and left the corpse to
its fate. Tumayaua, we had to acknowledge approvingly, had
truly come our way at a good time; it is highly improbable that
we three with our baggage and without knowing the way would
have reached the village through the final cachoeiras in the
miserable canoe that could no longer carry the single Indian.
Certainly we would not have reached this goal today. At 3:15
we landed on the left bank; we were in the "harbor."

/53 cont./

122 Who was more pleased, Tumayaua, who hurried on ahead in order to announce us and rapidly disappeared from view, or [489] we ourselves, is difficult to say. We trudged behind one another along the narrow path in the terrain cleared by burning, stepped [361] into the forest after a few minutes, heard loud shouting and /54/ [342] a confusion of calls, and a few hundred feet farther, after we had crossed a crystal-clear brook on a tree trunk serving as a bridge, we came in sight of three beehive-like huts which had 609 an open space between them. Awaiting us there, with Tumayaua enthusiastically gesticulating at the head, was a naked, brown band of men and, in the rear guard, of women and children, all gathered in a tight group and half embarrassed, half joyful, [576] but in any case most surprised. The men stepped toward us, stretching out the right hand, and said "śma = "you," "that is you," or "śma kχarśiba" = "you, the Karaibe /Carib/."

829 Not they, but we are the "Karaiben" in their eyes, and I, who among us speak of the Karaiben tribe of the Bakaïrí, was called there the "pśma kχarśiba," the chief of the Karaiben.

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/55/

Chapter V.

Bakaïrí Idyl.

I.

Information about Kulisehu and Kuluëne. Antonio and Carlos back. A part of the world in which there is no laughing. Village layout. Introduction of the persons. My flute-house. In Paleko's house. Hospitality. Bean-cooking and dance songs. External appearance of the Indians. Nakedness and feeling of modesty. Eating and feeling of modesty. Tobacco club. Pantomime: river journey, days' journeys, tribes, work with the stone ax. Presentation of "mäh" and "wauwau." Tobacco planting. Fishing in the lagoon. Canoe-building.

2: Steinen- 14 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP23

/55 cont./

B 101 131 361 On the very first evening I obtained a fairly clear conception of the Kulisehu dwellers whom we might see. There were three Bakaïrí villages; they were supposed to be followed by a village of the "Nahuquí," two villages of the "Minakí," a village of the "Auití," a village of the "Yaulapití," and on the "Kuluëne" a village of the "Trumaí." Between the Kulisehu and the Tamitotoala-Batovy, the "Kamayurá" and the "Waurá" were said to be living. The meaning of the river name "Kuluëne," B 103 which I now heard for the first time, remained uncertain. Only 133 gradually did I come to understand that it is the chief river 114 in the east, larger than the Kulisehu which empties into it. Thus the river that we had seen in 1884 flowing in from the southeast at Schingú-Koblenz /Xingu-Coblenz/ was not actually the "Kulisehu," as we had understood at that time and had believed up to now, but rather the combined Kuluëne-Kulisehu; the name "Kuluëne" was reserved for the Schingú itself below the large fork, so that the Suyá, for instance, lived on the Kuluëne. If one wished to go by the nomenclature of the natives, one would have to use the name "Kuluëne" instead of "Schingú" and now say that the Kuluëne first receives the Kulisehu and then, at "Koblenz," the Ronuro along with the Tamitotoala-Batovy.

B 823 It was a difficult piece of work to get these statements from the Bakaïrí; there was much drawing in the sand, much pantomime carried on, and, if a section of the route remained B 101 obscure, they always began again from the beginning. For the T 114 time being I knew enough; the individual tribes apparently did not live very far apart, at most a journey of three days. I was also given some bad news, and I confess that for me it spoiled the hitherto very pleasant memory of the first expedition: when the Trumaí /56/ at that time at Koblenz had dashed away from us in sheer flight, and our soldiers had pursued them in order to recover some of the objects that they had taken along in spite of their haste, a Trumaí had been killed, as I now learned, in the foolhardy shooting that the men had permitted themselves and that allegedly was only aimed into the air. We could therefore hardly count on a cordial welcome there.

/56 cont./

122 On the following day, 11 September 1887, I sent Antonio
[439] and Carlos back to Independencia with the news. In exchange
for a bush knife I had acquired one of the two canoes that the
Bakairí possessed. I myself wanted to remain behind to have
a new canoe made and, for the sake of my studies, to take ad-
vantage of the rare opportunity to stay alone among these chil-
[34] dren of nature. I heard that in the second Bakairí village lying
downstream there were three canoes and we could perhaps ob-
tain two of them. While a good rancho was to be built for those
remaining behind at our permanent quarters, one or two men
who were now to be fetched by Antonio and Carlos were to
ride with me to the second Bakairí village: there we could
complete our outfitting and then, if all went well, row back
to Independencia with four canoes, in order finally to com-
mence the actual river journey. Moreover, to save time,
Antonio and Carlos were to leave their canoe at the first large
cachoeira and find Independencia overland. Thus, along with
the experiences gained in the meantime by the gentlemen at
Independencia, the terrain would be thoroughly explored and
the question settled as to whether the permanent quarters could
not be pushed forward closer to the first Bakairí village.

123 After I had brought the two worthies to the harbor and they
had soon disappeared in the nearest bend of the river, I returned
to my new friends and soon felt so comfortable in their midst
that without hesitation I count those idyllic days among the
[121] happiest that I have experienced. I shall try to do them justice
in a little sketch. this will give me the opportunity to report
many little traits of the good people which could not be put in
a purely scientific report, but which nevertheless are not without
value, because they reveal the Indians to us not wholly as we are
accustomed to imagine them. Not a little of this disappeared
when the larger group arrived later. the complete unconcern
which they showed toward me as a single individual did not
remain, and their behavior more closely resembled the well-
114 known pattern customarily described in books. And here I
159 should immediately like to enter a protest, with regard to my

/56 cont./

196 Bekaḃ̄, against such views about their characteristics as are
197 found, typically expressed, in the following sentences by Oscar Peschel (Abhandlungen zur Erde- und Völkerkunde /Essays on Geography and Ethnology/, Leipzig, 1877, Vol. I, p. 421): "In no other continent on earth did one hear less happy laughter before 1492 than in America. The so-called red man remains the same in all climates, /37/ everywhere he is gloomy, silent, withdrawn, and intent on a certain dignified bearing."

197 These assertions are in no way applicable to the Bekaḃ̄; they were gay, talkative, and tuneful, as I observed them in their association with one another and as they acted toward the alone. I shall not fail to give examples of this. In this village I laughed and heard laughter almost as often as under the coconut palms of Samoa and Tonga. It is true, their temperament is less vivacious and their entire view of life less sunny than among the children of the South Seas, the girls do not dance in the moonlight and the men do not sing on canoe trips. Rhymes and mimicry are more easily aroused, but all this is a long way from the sadness and reserve which, like the black hair/hair and the Mongolian eyes, are summarily attributed to the Indian on the basis of appearances, as though there were but a single family between the Bering Strait and the Strait of Magellan.

361 The "village" was very small. It consisted of two large
342 round houses, in each of which several families lived, and a
342 small, empty, somewhat dilapidated oblong house, in which I
122 took up my residence. Between the houses stretched the "uadra," an open place where a few racks stood for drying the white manioca flour spread out on mats, where in the center lay a long, slender log for sitting, and, toward the edge, there grew a few stalks of cotton, Orinoco bushes (Bixa orellana), and
245 Ricinus plants. Numerous fruit trees were planted all around, bakayuva palms (Acrocercia), mangaba /fruit of the mangabeira/ (Hancornia speciosa), fruta de lobo (Solanum lycocarpum), and a sort of avenue of rarely pitd trees (Caryocar butyrosum). Toward the east a path led to the "harbor" across the nearby beach, toward

/37 cont./

the northeast a wide path through tall *sapé* grass, with which the houses are covered, to the river *igaçáb* below, toward the south a path to the manihoca planting, and everywhere tall forest moved in close to the inhabited and planted clearing.

The community numbered nine men, seven women, five children. The names of the men were: Tumayaua, the chief, our guide, who was primarily responsible for the planting (Pl. 6);* Paleko, his father, a charming old gentleman, with whom I struck up a close friendship and who in his declining years plaited baskets and fish weirs, Alakusi, the shrewd carpenter and canoe-builder, Awia, the painter, Tapé, the fat one, Kalawaku, the modest one, and the young men Kalakule, Lucho (Pl. 6), and Paulaga. After a few days a couple of visitors came from the second village, among them one whose parents had died young and who therefore -- had no name.

The names of the women were not to be discovered: "*pehdu ita*" was the regular answer, "I am a woman." Thus I have had to /38/ invent my own designations here. There was, as always, an old woman who had a great deal to say and who, with her lean wrinkled body, was not exactly beautiful, the "tribal witch," Paleko's wife (see Pl. 5, left).* Her antithesis was her granddaughter "Eva," Tumayaua's daughter, mother of two children and the youthful wife of the muscular, magnificently strongly built Kalakule, who, before I knew his name, seemed to me worthy of being called "Adam" in this little paradise and also possessed a fine yellowish-red brown color. Eva had a finely chiseled European face with full lips, pale rosy cheeks which were closely framed with wavy hair, and the most beautiful eyes that I saw in Brazil -- and that is saying not a little -- large eyes whose sweet /Fig. 2 appears here/ glance contained no coquetry at all, but in whose radiant fire, with a full, naively tender upward glance, glowed that spark of innocent lust that must once upon a time have kindled the eternal fires of the universe. Thus, with a body never maltreated by any lacing, she really looked like a young Mother Eve. Unfortunately, she scratched her head far too often,

*[See P. 40--Editor]
*[See P. 23--Editor]

/58 cont./ unfortunately, she scratched her back for the dress, and though this may occasionally have occurred out of embarrassment, nevertheless lice had their visible part in it.

Eva's friend, about twelve years old, "my intended" (Pl. 5, third from the right), was in the habit of picking them out and eating them. In general this one had all the good things in the village, and many

Fig. 2. "Eva," Tumayana's daughter.

beads that I had given others I later found around her neck. She was the little daughter of the deceased chief and his /59/ heiress. Her uncle Tumayana was only the provisional chief. If I had followed Paleko's very seriously meant suggestion and had married his niece, he would have had to turn over the government to me. Even today I cannot deny that, quite apart from the excellent match with which there was associated no greater demands in the way of dress than a string of beads and a piece of bark-bast the size of a small human ear, a better opportunity of becoming acquainted with the ethnology of the Kulinehu could scarcely have been imagined. I saw little of the other women, with the exception, perhaps, of the "Egyptian," who also came over from the second village, a tall gaudy person with an Egyptian profile and almond-shaped eyes (Pl. 5, second from the right).

[See p. 68--Anonymous]

/59 cont./

123 During the first two days I modestly remained myself in order not to alarm the good people. I also noticed that one of the men was almost always detached for special duty near me and thus a sort of guard was established. When on the first night, after I had taken my leave, I wanted to stay up for a while with a light and write in my journal, old Paleiko appeared at the door and asked me just as politely as urgently to go to sleep and blow out the candle. My discretion bore good fruit: they soon took me into the two large houses: in one Paleiko and my intended were the chief occupants, in the other Tumayaua and
[122] his daughter. They took me out to fish, to the launching of the new canoe, and the like; and everything could not have been better, if only I had not suffered from chronic hunger as a result of their hospitable, but for me absolutely inadequate
[516] [512] board. I had to try to help myself by heavy smoking and in this respect achieved what was humanly possible, whereas almost the only time the Indians gave themselves up to this pleasure, but then in a body and with great enthusiasm, was during our nightly tobacco meeting outside on the plaza, the jolliest hour of the day.

345 My little house had served at the time of the festivals as
[122] the dance house, "kuato-ôu," or "flute house." Two reed
[534] flutes hanging on the wall in a case made of burití-palm straw were the only remains of past glory. For me, however, it was
[562] better this way, for the women, who passed in and out of this main freely, may never enter the flute house of the men. It was seven paces wide and nine and a half long; the main posts in the center, standing two and a half paces apart, which supported the roof, were four and a half meters high. At the top, in the straw roof, a vent one meter and three and three-fourths meters long was left open. A couple of fish weirs stood in one corner, but otherwise there was nothing but the two posts, from one of which I had stretched the hammock over to the wall.
231 Besides my guard of honor, I also had the company of a jaçó (Cassicus), who seemed like a green tropical Jim Crow /Hans Huckebein/ to me; he was permitted to sit only up in the

/59 cont./

231 rafters of the smoke vent, and, if he suddenly shot down and raced around us like a wild animal, he was quickly chased back to his observation post, where he looked down, his head bent inquisitively and his beak open. /60/ Sometimes one of the little mice 224 [262] usually active at night came spying about and, if it did not scamper away in time, was shot with a child's arrow and brought 136 to the women as a roast. Almost constant guests were large black-white striped bees, which, like a butterfly that now and then fluttered into the entrance, would calmly let themselves be seized and put aside. On a hot noonday I often had the feeling of sitting in the midst of a beehive filled with buzzing and droning.

123 It was at this hour on the third day that I fled from the bees [342] and flies to Paleko's large house and entered it for the first time. It was wonderfully cool and comfortable in there and no annoying insects. Only ants laden with grains of flour marched down their street to the mandioca pestle. The men were swing- 574 [574] ing in the hammocks, their chief occupation at home, and 350 [350] after I had sat a while, for the sake of politeness, on the stool of honor, which was as high as a cigar box, I soon followed their example.

342 One had the feeling of being in a huge beehive, fortunately without the bees. The ground plan was almost circular with a diameter of 15 meters. Two mighty posts standing nine meters high and three and a half meters apart, supported in the center the huge straw dome, the framework of which consisted of horizontal bamboo rings and over these vertical poles bent upward toward the vent. It was smoke-blackened, glimmering like tar. The walling all around, above which it rose, a tightly closed ring of posts one and a half meters high, interrupted only by two door entrances opposite each other, which were much 350 [350] too low for me. From the wall towards the interior, in the direction of the radii, the hammocks were stretched, fastened on either end to particularly strong posts, so that the outer space 353 was divided into a number of rooms, albeit open. The large center space around the main posts and under the vent, which

/60 cont./

353 remained free, was the kitchen and storage place for supply baskets, pots, earthen beijú pans, sieves, mats, back baskets, mortars, pestles, and calabashes. Sticks were plaited with vines onto the main posts, where again gourd bowls or bundles [352] [251] of tobacco were hanging. from a cross beam dangled large birds with straw-plaited legs and tails, which looked very mysterious and were solely for the purpose of storing the maize ears, out of which their insides and wings were constructed, in a manner pleasing to the eye. The floor was covered with a stone-hard deposit of the fine white mandioca flour, the mortars and pestles were flour-white, and the pots smoke-blackened. Above the doors, baskets with calabashes, basket-weirs, fishing nets, on the walls of the "rooms," bows, stone axes, the gaily feathered arrows projecting out of the straw of the dome, a stock of small baskets, drinking bowls, and smaller utensils, on the floor, white balls of loam, little pots, stools, pieces of wood, fire tongs, and the ashes of the small fire which everyone maintains at night beside and almost under his hammock; hanging on the hammock, a small bunch of colorful feathers and the comb, here and there a pyramid made of rods with the grill. /61/ a couple of the sticks with which [312] fire is rubbed were also hung up and beside them was tied a small packet of the tinder bast.

354 In short: family dwelling in full operation, precisely as [353] much disorder as was required for comfort, everything clean [412] and nicely arranged, everything hung up, bound, turned upside down, no iron nails and screws, but only cord and plaiting, all worked with stone ax, animal teeth, and shell. Total impression: the wall, the hammocks, the calabashes, the human beings, brown, brown in every shade, but harmoniously 342 tuned, all color /Klang/. Here and there the sun shone through a crack in the straw dome, in front of the door the daylight was sharply cut off, and the lane between the doors lay in semidarkness. through the vent, which was quite tightly closed, a few bright rings and circles fell on the floor, and faint motes of sunlight danced in the ascending smoke.

/61 cont./

512 The taciturn Indians, men and women, chattered con-
[152] stantly, and Eva's delightful laughter rang out merrily. The
[278] women were all busy. One was scraping a reddish bark which, when cooked, furnishes a curative brew, a second was pounding mandioca grains in a mortar. Now and then a swallow was brought to one of the men in the hammock. A beautiful
[292] picture there by the flickering fire that leaped up at the enormous kettle; the naked woman with long hair was skimming off the milk-like, gently bubbling foam of the piserego in a little pot and pouring it back again and again with a vigorous swing of her arm. Others stepped up, yours truly as well, and tasted, licking their fingers. My intended looked very trim, too, her "raven-black Mongolian hair" had glints of faded
[231] light brown, and she was squatting in front of three discontentedly cawing green parakeets which she was feeding out of
[262] a little pot. Then thy sum came: she placed a freshly baked, golden yellow beiú flat-cake in front of me and did not forget to remark that it was her own handiwork.

Fat Tapii had fallen asleep. I, too, was overcome by a pleasant weariness in the unfamiliar, mood-evoking equableness of the domestic activity. I could not resist the pleasant invitation to take a midday nap, although in the largest hammock there I squirmed like a fish in the net.

I had slept soundly. The picture had changed. The women
[515] sat outside on the plaza, five in a row one behind the other, busily engaged in delousing. Anyone who caught a little
[516] animal placed it on the tip of the tongue and swallowed the delicacy or gave it to the original owner, who received it from the rear in her upturned right hand. The men were attentively watching swallows, "ar". Luchu shot at them without hitting them; when a pair took its prey in the air, this aroused general interest, and good old Peleiko furnished explanatory comment. Everywhere dolce far niente. Only the arm did not celebrate. Large cassaquiares marched by, heavily laden with pieces of molle and charcoal.

/62/
342 Tumayaua's house was a little smaller; here Eva's children peeped out of the little hammocks, but otherwise the picture was the same.

122 The lodgings pleased me more than the second part of the
262 room-and-board. As far as my diet was concerned, it was bad. I did not see meat at all during my stay in the village, if I except two mice that were shot. Fish was given to me rarely and in small portions as though it were one of the costliest of dishes: once a little pot of creatures the length of a little finger in a
[252] saltless broth with a corncob stalk as a spoon; twice a piece of grilled fish barely hand-size and served on beiju as on a small plate; and once a piece of electric eel, almost too fat, but good and with a skin like smoked eel. Then once I was allowed to dip beiju in fish oil, which would not have been a special delicacy even for the Bakairí if in their childhood they had been obliged to
[252] take cod-liver oil. I do not find anything else recorded in my journal -- on the other hand, on the first day my intended shared with me roasted maize kernels which she held in her lap as she squatted on the ground; occasionally she also brought me a couple of mangabas, and during the inquiry about vocabulary, Eva offered me ants, a palm-boring beetle which still had half a leg, and a fat larva, all of which were supposed to be "pwakulukulu," the superlative of everything good and fine in Bakairí. There was no
272 lack of manihoca flat-cakes or beijús and drinks. The festive drink, piñerego, however, lasted for only two days; greenish gray like soapy water, warm and covered with bubbly foam, it never-
262 theless had a pleasant, insipid, sweet taste. The beijús were very different in quality, depending on the type of flour; they were usually crumbled and, mixed with water, taken as a drink.

On the other hand, my hosts were heartily willing to relish
[122] the little that I had with me in the way of beans and salt and urgently begged for them. There was some difficulty with the beans. Paleko and I together cooked them, but both for the first time in our lives. I kindled the fire and he fetched sticks of wood; we set an earthen pot with the beans in it on three stones and cooked
533 away. Paleko sang to it, plaiting his basket and beating time softly
122

/62 cont./

533 with one foot. I tried to get the words and read them back to
[126] him, singing lustily in his fashion. Unfortunately I do not understand the text, and unfortunately the note even less. I can only say that the rhythm was very pronounced and that, when only the old man sang, one thought one was hearing a whole company as they ran and stamped in a circle.

539 kuyé kuyé kutapayó kuyé -- kutpayó hohóhohohó
533 yaliwayéhahó ohohó uhó -- ohóhóho huhohohó ohóhóchó.
ému hitenó kuyé -- kutápayó yekitapó yekitapó ohó.

This verse contains something about eyes, a similar one with kámi hitenó etc., about the sun (*).

*káme, sun, Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ word. The following yawalí is the name for the throwing stick and the throwing-stick dance of the Tupí tribes of the Kuliseu. The words are probably only partly Bakairí.

/63/ yéwalí, yéwalí i í ií pekóo, yawalí u ú ü hé hé hé yawalíawí.

yéwalí pinakó yawalí eh he hé, yawalí henemónokaló yawalí eh he hé, yawélü he he hé.

yawalí nawí ehé, yawalí nawí ehé, yawalí nawí ehé, yawalí nawí ehé-yé.

Like the yawalí song there was another with endless repetition: wékutuyéh, wékutuyéh five times, waiú wékutuyéh etc. ad infinitum. Then Paleko also knew a song of the Bakuguá that referred to the beautiful sex, ókó, woman: yémiú heat heóhunóu -- yémiú erehezé mezé mitíu.

535 In spite of the rousing marching songs, no boiling and gurgling appeared in our bean pot, only rodent bubbles of foam floated on top, and after two hours the tightly heated legumes were still raw. Not until my intended came along and took charge of the matter did the tempo of the beans become livelier. She, too, sang "kuyéuhu kuyéuhú (diphthong au) with a soft voice
[539] a little like the melody, "Wir hatten gebaut ein stattlichés Haus" ("We built a stately house," a German student-song (Commerslied) after the [illegible] of the Theodorich [illegible] 1888 - Author)

/63 cont./

532 534 noney/. kuyfuhu kuyfuhuhé -- kirihayé kirihayé (four times) -- kuyfuhu kuyfu.

Softly and rather muffled, solemnly slow, lingering a long time on the au.

The principal song that we were to sing together often was the following: yawé yawé nahé -- nowé rinó hahé -- ohó hohé, nihé weké nihé, nihé weké nihé, nowé arihe nihuhé, ohihuhó hohé, nihé weké nihé, nowé arihe ihohu, ohihuhó, etc.

Muffled and softly, but faster and faster with a stamped beat and a jerky emphasis that impels one to stride forward, the ihohu... is repeated until one is almost out of breath, and then one recovers on the more solemn: nó ri hé -- nowé arihe nihuhé nuhé hahé -- nowé arihe nihuhé nuhé hahé nó ri hé, nó ri hé -- ihu hé hu.

533 A greater contrast can scarcely be imagined than between a jolly students' drinking song and these songs whose tonation was scarcely to be called singing, but seemed merely intended to accompany the dancing march of the feet with suppressed tones. I

[123] sang, too, of course, running the risk of not giving the good people a generally valid idea of our music, since I have at my disposal only "my own melodies." I achieved a small moral success, but they were a little overwhelmed because of the unfamiliar noise connected with the volume of tone. Natural sounds, however, such as "nuiselisis," my friend Paleko liked exceptionally well; he was passionately eager to learn them and bent double laughing when he could not follow quickly enough.

291 [125] Feeling of modesty. In this narrative part I wish to avoid describing clothing and ornaments in detail and shall limit myself, as far as personal appearance is concerned, to the remark that both sexes went about unclothed, that the women, as may be seen from Plate 3,8 wore the "ulini," a yellowish brown piece

[291] [301] of bark-bast folded in a triangle and hanging to strings, and around their necks a string with pieces of shell, pieces of milk, and seeds, that the men always wore a big cord, with or without such ornaments, and frequently bore /64/ or cotton bands around

[See P 128 -- Analyst]

/94 cont./

291 the upper arms or under one knee or above one ankle. One youth
301 or another would also stick a feather into his pierced ear-lobe;
304 one must not think, however, that the Indian always appears in
his entire festive array, as on tobacco-store signs.

I should like, however, to say a few words at this point about the general impression that the "nakedness" makes on the unself-conscious visitor. One does not see this evil nakedness at all after a quarter of an hour, and if one then purposely reminds oneself of it and asks whether the naked human beings, father, mother, children, who are innocently standing or walking around there ought to be condemned or pitied because of their lack of modesty, one must either laugh about it as about something incredibly silly or raise a protest against it as against something contemptible. From the aesthetic standpoint the lack of covering has its pros and cons, like all truth: youth and vigor often looked delightful in their uncontrained movements, old age and disease
291 often dreadful in their decay. Our clothing seemed as strange
125 to the good people as their nakedness seemed to us. I was accompanied by men and women when I went to bathe and was obliged to submit to having all my entire skin examined in the greatest detail. They lacked any understanding of the embarrassed feeling that I was well-bred enough to feel with respect to their curiosity; they thoughtfully examined my Polynesian tattooing, especially a blue kiwi of New Zealand, but, to my satisfaction, they were obviously disappointed by the fact that there were not greater wonders hidden under the careful and unusual packing.

178 They themselves, of course, also wore something resem-
585 bling clothes for their masquerade and dance, apparel plaited out of palm straw, the name of which is *ñi* = house, and thus my shirt was given the grand name of "back-house". I had a "head-house" and a "leg-house." Since the women do not dance and only the men may use this apparel in their flute-house, Eva's question as to whether "*kanikha paikhu*," the women of the Kanikha, also wore clothes, "houses," was probably not so unwarranted. -- How quickly one can become accustomed to the naked

/84 cont./

surroundings, even in the regions of the uncontact, is best shown by the fact that from the 15th to the 16th of September, as well as during the following night, I dreamed of my German home and saw all my acquaintances there just as naked as the Bakairi. I myself was astonished about it in my dream, but my table partner at a dinner party, a highly respectable lady in whom I took an interest, reassured me immediately by saying: "Everyone goes around that way now."

123 291 The purpose that we associate with clothing remained hidden from them; there was no doubt about that when one saw in what naïve fashion they put on the parts of my apparel that they got hold of for a while. And how could they know any more about the rigors of our climate than about the third chapter of the first book of Moses? They played with my garments /Pl. V appears here/ /83/ like vain children. Lucku was happy when I loaned him my poncho, and with it and my hat he walked proudly about the village plaza like the most conceited fop.

291 In the ethnographic description of the Kuikuru tribes I shall have to come back to the subject of clothing and the feeling of modesty; here I can only truthfully report that in my association with these people I did not see anything of our feeling of modesty, but I did observe another kind, absolutely foreign to us, about which I shall report presently.

124 292 291 During the inquiry into the vocabulary, the parts of the body represented important and easily handled material. The Bakairi found it very amusing that I wanted to know everything, but, on the other hand, were very proud that their language was so rich and that the Bakairi had a word for each part. They became very merry at this point in my questioning and were not wanting in prompt answers where, according to our conceptions, they should have been ashamed and if possible answered in Latin or in the language of children. Consequently -- for at this time I, of course, was looking through my cultural spectacles and saw that they were naked -- I had waited for a moment when the women had gone out of the hut. I was astonished by the fact that the answer that was due suddenly came from the outside, from a very amused girl's voice. My caution had been purposless. It was the caution of,

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 29]

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281
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Bakairi women.

B. Brasiliens--Ge G.-S. (1884, 1887-1889) 1894 Gift Barrett

/63 cont./

say, an Arab, who would feel awkward about looking into the unveiled face of a European woman, or a Chinese, who would fall into the most anguished embarrassment if chance showed him her mockingbird little foot. It is true, the subject that seem shocking to us gave the Bakairi, men and women, decided pleasure, and if a pedantic pandeer who wants to have modesty in our sense preserved at any price as the innate heritage of humanity would like to conclude from this increased measure of merriment that the bad conscience of a tribe that had sunk from a higher morality was stirring, I can only reply to him that their merry laughter was neither impudent nor did it give the impression of cloaking an inner embarrassment. On the other hand, it undoubtedly had a slightly erotic timbre, and, much as occasion and accompanying circumstances among true primitive peoples must differ, it altogether resembled the laughter that one hears at our spinning-party jokes, at games of forfeit, or other harmless amusement in the intercourse between the two sexes. For from this sense natural joy, as we shall see later, there resulted one of the most common ornaments in their painting, namely, the uluri of the women, represented on numerous implements as the original form of the triangle.

I wished to have the uluris made in larger quantities for the collection. Which aroused great merriment. Then one afternoon there was lively talking. We were sitting behind Tumeyoun's house, an old woman was baking beijiu outside, pouring the flour on the pan, spreading it smooth, and /64/ skillfully turning the finished flat-cake on a sieve, the children licked up pinenuts and played catch with feather-decorated maize balls, and four women and girls were twisting the threads out of palm fiber, folding the "little skirt" out of brownish-yellow leaves, and handing me the neat work in quantity and in all sizes. The only thing that I must add is that one woman was very baffled and looked about helplessly when I asked for an uluri that she was wearing. But no feeling of modesty related to the exposure had anything to do with this embarrassment: rather, what feeling of modesty was present should be called a physiological one, the existence of which I do not

/66 cont./

126 dispute. When I then asked several women at the same time for
291 their *ahuin* and precluded any misunderstanding by pointing to the collection, it was granted me unhesitatingly /"*amandohon*"/ and longingly.

264 On the other hand, I observed a clear feeling of modesty
576 on an entirely different occasion, and, to be sure, in -- eating. I had an opportunity to confirm it only among the men, and I should imagine that it is even less likely to be absent among the women.

On the evening of 13 September, outside on the plaza where we men stood talking beside the mandioca rack, Tumayaua offered me a piece of fish that I, overjoyed, wanted to eat immediately. All of them bowed their heads, looked down in front of them or turned away with expressions of painful embarrassment, and Paleiko pointed to my hut. They were ashamed. Astonished and taken aback, I went into the flute-house to eat the fish. I had not yet finished my meal when Kulekule entered. He wanted to be shown in greater detail the use of a fishhook that had been presented to him. With a face that clearly said, "Ah, you are not yet finished," he sat down on the floor, silent, turned away and with head bowed, and waited. On the next evening I again received fish outside, but it was already dark. I ate, turning modestly toward the dark background of trees and thus did not seem to give offense.

When Paleiko brought me the pot of little fish, we two were alone in the flute-house. He turned his back to me and did not say a word during the long time while I was struggling with the bones. I gave Tumayaua some of our bean dish; he took the portion and walked as far as his house, where he sat down, ate, and in between, but without turning his head, called over and took part in our conversation. He had thus quite purposely removed himself. In the house the women were eating, each by herself, in the vicinity of the fire. They brought the men their meal, and each one ate at his place. Alakusi, for instance, was making himself very comfortable. Lying in his hammock, he reached down to the pot on the floor, dipped into it with his fingers,

/66 cont./

and licked them off as he swung himself, but no one bothered another with his company. In eating beijú they were perhaps a little more liberal, at least toward me, but in the evening I often saw the men turn aside individually to consume a piece. Later Ehrenreich /67/ found something similar among the Karajá /Caraja/ on the Araguaya /Araguaia/. "Etiquette demands that each one eat by himself, turned away from the other. Anyone who violates this must endure the mockery of the others."

Now among the Bakairí this etiquette was definitely stricter, certainly in relation to the guest at least, for they completely lost their sense of humor over my lack of manners. I certainly did many things that were not the practice of the country. I sang loudly, I asked men and women their names, I refused the delicate beetle larvae and committed similar quite inexcusable things, but I never noticed that people were ashamed. In this case, however, it was more a matter of something improper. I had been indecent. There can be no doubt about that.

If we must admit, along with Hesse, that we all are naked inside our clothes and may be granted only relative justification for our feeling of modesty, the Bakairí, too, cannot be offended in his nobler feelings by the mere fact of eating, insofar as the individual takes care of the process for himself. Involuntarily one thinks of some animal that carries its portion of the meal to one side, but obviously out of the fear that another will take it away. I do believe that fish and meat were relatively scarce among the Bakairí, who, with a certain indolence, limited themselves more to manioca and maize than they themselves liked; I am certain that if I had stayed there a week longer I would voluntarily have sat down in a quiet corner with every good morsel that I had justly or unjustly got hold of, in order to consume it protected from the glances of the others. Even at that time, I am afraid, I was casting hungry glances toward the others. The origin of the feeling of modesty described, however, must be rooted in ancient times.

Good heavens, when we were on short rations on the expedition, how we so-called civilized human beings checked each other's portions, I can only say with greed and envy, although we

/67 cont./

knew how to master our feelings; when the sugar supply, the rapadura, dwindled, it became necessary to distribute the remainder individually, so that each one at the camp could prepare his refreshing drink in a thrifty or extravagant way, as he wished, and later, at the Fazenda San Manoel, when we found only a small supply of rapadura, which we cut into pieces of exactly the same size, we became seriously excited about the discovery that the soldiers, with whom we shared fairly, had secretly obtained a number of the bonbon bricks.

The Bakairí lived like a single family; they mutually distributed the booty from fishing and hunting among the various houses; in each house there had to be a further distribution among the various families. The time when they learned to plant mandioca and maize, and were then able to assure themselves of a regular supply of food, was a new era. Until /68/ then they had lived from hand to mouth, as we did on the expedition, and being alone for the sake of peace and quiet was then perhaps a reasonable, useful arrangement. That arrangement, practiced from childhood on and having become a habit which was in their blood, was carried over into the period of sedentary life when agriculture predominated and it no longer had any meaning. Then the feeling of modesty developed. For it could no longer be justified as truly sensible, it was not examined as to its justification by circumstances, every old habit is there for its own sake; it is then called "sacred" because it has simply become a matter of feeling. One is ashamed when a person violates it, and is the more righteously ashamed the less one is able to say what grievous thing he has actually committed. One who has passed through another process of development, who looks at the matter itself and not the false conception arrived at through a reinterpretation, and who is in their position, asks astonished: "Why is it not proper not to eat alone?" "Why," the Bakairí asks us, "is it not proper to be naked?" The one would have to know that one remains "naked" under his clothing; the other that one eats "alone" even in the largest company. Quite certainly our feeling of modesty in the

/68 cont./

intercourse between the two sexes goes back to a time when each man had to see to it that he had his wife for himself alone, sought to protect her from the lustful glances of his fellow tribesmen, and, for this purpose, used the clothing that developed either out of the pleasure of adornment or out of reasons of utility. Then clothing itself became sacred. It is certainly an interesting parallel if we regard the naked Indians as an indecent lot and imagine ourselves in the soul of a Bakaïrí who would not know what to do out of shame if he saw the dreadfully indecent Europeans united at a table d'hôte. He would quickly become accustomed to it, however, and would perhaps the very next night dream that he was back on the Kulisehu, would find old and young cozily gathered together dining on a tapir roast, and would be astonished to be informed by the chief: "We always eat together now."

276 [512] Tobacco club. My friends were most natural in the evening after the day's burden and toil, when we men sat together smoking on the village plaza. A more harmless conviviality could scarcely be imagined, although, or if one wishes, because, there was no drinking. Punctually, with his long pipe, like the first of the people of rank at the table reserved for the regular guests, stiff-legged old Paleko appeared, the spindle-shaped bundle of tobacco, a twig with leaves for wrapping, and a chunk of wood in his hands, and squatted down on the sitting beam, sighing con-
[516] tentedly. My back soon became sore in this sitting position a handbreadth above the ground, and I would drag my oxhide out of the hut. A couple of sticks were placed together radially, along with the glowing chunk of wood, and a small fire kindled. The clay pipe was unknown; /69/ they smoked cigars or regular cigarettes, albeit 25 centimeters long. The leaf wrapping was still green and was held over the fire for only a few seconds; it gave off a balsamy odor. The cigar went out frequently; it was held against the embers to light it again. Occasionally one would have fire given to him from the cigar of his neighbor, but in that case he handed him his own which the other would put

/69 cont./

276 in his mouth and light. The smoke was inhaled. They even smoked my heavy black tobacco in the same manner and in the same size, and they tolerated it without difficulty, although theirs was light as straw.

517 Not a sound came from the houses; the plaiting had been pushed in front of the entrance. Were the women not lying awake in the hammocks? The two araras, who during the day were in the habit of cawing from the roof poles, were asleep on a partly withered palm. No insects were annoying us. For two or three hours we sat under the star-studded dome of the heavens, surrounded all around by the dark mass of the woods. The smallest cloud that rose anywhere was observed and became the subject of a discussion about where from and where to. As soon as an animal sound became audible in the woods, everyone would be silent for a moment, waiting to see whether it was repeated, and then they would whisper to each other "a tapir," "an armadillo," or the like, while one man half mechanically whistled in imitation of the animal cry. There was also no lack of in-
517 voluntary sounds. Sucking sounds with saliva, belching, or break-
576 ing wind was not restrained. Bakaïrí sum, nihil humani a me
[514] alienum puto. But the moment someone behaved too badly, there immediately followed, as a direct reflex movement of all the colleagues, a brief violent spitting to one side, without an interruption in the conversation. To be sure, if there were a
[626] repetition, Tumayaua or Paleko would mutter something that seemed to mean, "Confound it, we have a guest, after all," and the culprit would lose himself in the shadows six paces away. It was very patriarchal.

823 We discussed in detail the subject most important for me,
829 the geography of the Kulisehu. The river was drawn in the sand, the tribes were enumerated and designated with maize kernels. Thus I gradually learned to understand the correct relationship of the Kulisehu and Kuluëne and learned that the main body of the Nahuquá tribes, each of which was designated by a special
829 name, lived on the Kuluëne. All people were either good,
577 "kúra," or bad, "kurápa." The distinction was made chiefly,

/69 cont./

829 577 as I noted to my astonishment, according to the canons of the hospitality that they offered, to be "kiza" means not to let there be any lack of beiji and piarogo, the flat cakes and the beer paste-drink made of manioca, at the reception. As far as the Bakairi and possibly also the Bichinaki /bichinaca/ were concerned, it was the same information, based in part on experience, in part on hearsay, which is regarded as the most important for our actual journeys: good and bad hosts.

823 539 805 But what a difference between a printed Baedeker and this gesticulation, this sound-painting, this reluctant creeping from one halting-place to another in the enumeration of stations from where we are to the second Bakairi /70/ village one day's journey, from the second to the third two, and so on -- no, one did not race madly along like that in the good old days that I was experiencing here. Here one sits down in the canoe, "pépe," said rows, rows, "pépe, pépe, pépe" -- one rows with paddles, dipping right and left, and one comes to rapids, bubub.... How high it drops with each bu, bu, the hand goes one step down from the top, and how frightened the women are and cry: "pichéo ah, ah, ah...!" At this spot the pépe -- a vigorous step toward the ground -- must be pushed forward through rocks, with white grinning, and the "mapéki," the carrying basket, labor-laden -- the left shoulder is tapped one, two, three times -- carried overland. But one climbs in again and rows, pépe, pépe, pépe. Far, far -- the voice soars ih....., so far ih....., and the mouth, pouted like a moor, while the head is convulsively bent back at the nape, shows in what direction of the compass ih..... Over this the sun sinks: the hand, outstretched as far as possible, points toward the west, describing an arc, and aims at the point in the sky where the sun will be standing when one -- lah.....! enters the harbor. Here we shall be among the: "Bakairi, Bakairi, Bakairi!" "Kiza, kiza!" and here we shall be well received. Perhaps one has also passed a place where there is good fishing, where "matrinchami" or "pirarara" are to be shot: whereas otherwise words have the accent on the penultimate syllable,

/70 cont./

123 [691] nuéhu, pine, it is now -- as though we were to say "jahrf" /the German word for "years," but with the accent on the final syllable/ -- transferred to the last one "nuwéd," "pond," and the arrow flies, nik, nik, from the bow.

Beyond the Nahuqué, however, where the knowledge of details becomes vague, only the days' journeys themselves are given. The right hand, slowly rising in even motion, describes an arc from east to west, arrives down there, and suddenly is laid on the cheek coming up to meet it, remains there while the eyes are weakly closed, and then grasps the little finger of the left hand: sleep once. Then again the same figure, but the ring finger is grasped with the little finger and both are drawn aside: sleep twice, and so forth. Be attentive, noble listener, for woe to you if you ask a question -- there is no other way to help you but to begin again from the beginning.

123 [692] But revenge is sweet. My turn also came, for they wanted to know how far it is to Cuyahé, my starting point. Their faces were priceless when I counted off, first, the fingers of my left hand, then my right, then, exactly according to their method of counting, went over the toes of the left foot and those of the right, traveled and slept between each two fingers and each two toes in the prescribed way, and finally had to grasp my hair, pulling it apart, to demonstrate that the number of days still did not extend far enough and was more than 20! Then they murmured their "hóu, hóu" of amazement or "óuo, óuo, he óuo" more and more impatiently; all talked at once and finally joined in the hearty laughter of sheer disbelief.

186 /71/ Individual Indian tribes were also ridiculed in vivid pantomime on account of their peculiarities; the Nahuqué were funny because of their beards, the Suyé, or, as the Bakalíf say, Schuyé, had to bear the brunt because of their cork-disk which they wore in the lower lip, for which the actors stretched their lower lip far forward and produced a made-up jargon of mapping tones; the Trumaf were imitated with a horrible "huhuhuhu" and, because of their barbaric habit of tossing war captives into the river with their hands tied behind them, were presented as objects partly of scorn or disgust, partly of fear.

/71 cont./

536 412 191 I may mention at once that the mimicry of the Bakairi munsie munsiki with more or less temperament was repeated among all tribes, that only the interjections differed, but the gestures were exactly the same. Here in the Nahuqua club I also first became acquainted with the nono-ax pantomime which, though in itself very touching, we later had to endure in the case of each tribe to the point of boredom. It described the contrast between the nono ax and the iron ax, which was immediately demonstrated to them by Ariunin, and to my feeling, before I became dulled by the repetition, indeed at the beginning, just because it was so inexactly repeated, it had something unusually gripping about it, like a sort of hammering protest of metal-less humanity against the crushing hammer blows of civilization, a protest which, as I still experienced it here, must have resounded unheard a thousand times in all the corners of the earth.

536 412 How the Bakairi imagine himself to fell a tree: early in the morning, when the sun, tschitschi, rises -- it rises there in the east -- he starts to swing the nono ax. And tschitschi travels upward and the Bakairi goes on striking heavily, tsik, tsik, tsik. His arms grow ever weaker -- they are rubbed and drop down limply, he blows a weak puff of air out of his mouth and passes his hand over his exhausted face, he goes on striking, no longer with tsik, tsik, but with a groan drawn from the depths of his chest. The sun stands high in the zenith, his stomach -- his flat hand who over it or is laid deep in a fold -- is empty. How hungry the Bakairi is -- his face is drawn into the most pitiful expression. Finally, when tschitschi is already very low, a tree falls: tohfie - one, the little finger points out. But you, the Kazaibe -- suddenly everything about the mimic is alive and strong -- the Kazaibe takes his iron ax, swings it aloft, brings it down heavily, tsik, tsik, pum -- ah..., there lies the tree, a hard stamp with the foot, on the ground already. And here and there and here again, one sees them falling everywhere. Conclusion for the Kazaibe: give us your iron axes.

/71 cont./

201 No activity with a tool of metal, stone, bone, or wood
412 was discovered without the appearance also of the appropriate sounds
(530) to portray it. It is true that a good part of this was to communicate with me, who knew only the rudiments of their language; they were more sparing with these /72/ sounds and gestures in their own conversation, but they nevertheless had at their disposal in ample measure the auxiliary language of expressive movement and used it in their communications with other tribes, as I saw later, in exactly the same way as with me. Thus the disadvantage that each tribe speaks a different language is of little concern; understanding was possible without difficulty even for a Kaesiben, for the gestures, stereotyped, to be sure, nevertheless contain full clarity and still are not reduced to conventional abbreviations.

123 They also manifested an attentive interest in the inter-
153 jections and gestures peculiar to me, which, of course, involun-
201 tarily took on a livelier expression than at home. If I accompanied any feeling with a sound that was strange to them, it was imitated. If I whistled softly to myself, I could soon hear one of them whistling happily along with me. Particularly if I laughed loudly and struck my leg, there was general acknowledgement: they would immediately slap their naked thighs, and Homeric laughter filled the village plaza.

126 My linguistic notes of the day, which I would bring out, were gone over once more in our tobacco club and were enriched by small contributions. The constellations, the names of animals, the inexhaustible material for parts of the body, and whatever the moment offered were noted down, read aloud, and confirmed with approval.

123 I, too, however, offered mimic performances, for which my interesting exhibit offered the first occasion. I demonstrated our domestic animals to them and achieved a greater measure of success among my small, but grateful public than could ever have fallen to the lot of even the author of "Tierleben" /Animal Life/ or much-admired performing artists. Above all they became acquainted with cattle, sheep, and dogs, whose size and characteristics I described graphically to them as best I could,

/72 cont./

123 and whose language "mäh" evoked loud outbursts of merriment and jubilation.

Then "muh," "mäh," "wawaa," and "miau" in all tones rang out from me and from them. Especially effective was the excitation between the peculiar "mäh" of the old sheep and the pitiful "mäh" of a little lamb seeking its mother, between the barking of big curs and that of little yappers. Incidentally I commended a rather good pronunciation in these mäuse, so that the shrewd experts on animal languages had no need to doubt the authenticity. I also tried to make clear to them the character of the animals by having different kinds, such as cat and dog, appear together, tried to explain to them that a dog, for example, always ran, and was now in a position to instruct them about the origin
[63] of my woolen clothing -- mäh. They were attentive pupils who very soon mastered the subject matter completely and practiced assiduously.

The memorable session of our tobacco club in which I gave the first lecture about European domestic animals had extended far into the night. /Plate VI appears here/ /73/ but I took leave of happy men on whose faces was written that was a fine evening. Luchu barked in exemplary fashion, he ran into the two houses from which a great deal of bright laughter had already been heard and ran around there with a wild wau-wau.

I was already lying half asleep in my hammock and believed the citizenry to be resting in their accustomed peace, when once more Eva's voice from over yonder roused me with a loud "mäh." So I replied "mäh" for a good ending from my sheep stall; there was giggling again everywhere behind the straw walls, and finally quiet actually came until -- mäh, mäh even before sunrise -- I started up, cursing.

128 One day went by like the next. In the next chapter I shall relate fully how we worked together in my hut, how the Bakairí learned Portuguese and I Bakairí, while I shall add here what I have to report about our life together.

[Text continues on p. 9]

B. Gessner—G.E.D.-S. (1884, 1897-1899) 1904 LPP Berlin SW 47

Tumayeus

Lucho

Bekalif

/73 cont./

[123] Tumepeno had me plant tobacco in front of his house, a
[241] proposal that astonished me somewhat until I realized that with my assistance he anticipated an excellent harvest of quality. hence I asked only that he marr it, and then I crushed the capsules and put the seed into the ground, as though I had been a tobacco
[226] planter all my life. With Kulekule I had to go to the cataract
[191] below the village and help him with the fishing rod. he must not suspect that I had not swung this implement since grammar school days, when I had trouble rescuing it from the police.

[226] One forenoon we took a very pleasant fishing excursion with
[123] half a dozen persons, among them a few women, to the uéino, a pond that lay in the campo about two and a half kilometers from
[301] the village. We walked a short distance through the woods, the
[642] women carrying fishing baskets and weirs, Pelako with a necklace of fish teeth on a string around his neck, and under his arm a stone ax that he had sharpened on a stone at the river, during which he
[291] mumbled in with spittle at his mouth. Meanwhile it was amusing to see how my intended and her sister drank out of the Kalimelu: mouth in water, supported on their two little hands, one leg in the air, not unlike young monkeys. On the way we sang together our ohohó ohohó hu in restrained tones, and I disturbed the morning quiet with a few louder songs. Alakuei took the liberty of removing my hat, but he was so happy with this adornment that in the name of all the saints I exposed my head to the pitiless campo sun.

[226] Far away, to the edge of the wooded shore, stretched a
quemada /burned clearing/ covered with fresh grass. only a single shade-giving tree stood beside the pond. In the middle of the knee-deep swampy water were set three weirs, half of which, with their mouths, protruded out. Then, with the fishing baskets, kítu, which had the shape of a blunted cone open at the top and bottom and were put together out of thin, pointed sticks, /74/ several persons walked through the pond in a bent position and stabbed the ground quickly: the kítu were inverted over the little fish and the latter pulled out from the top with the hand and placed in a hanging basket. After they had been working in this fashion for a while, they converged from various sides toward the center, where the weirs lay.

/To cont./

226 and sought to drive the fish into them. It was an amusing sight: the girls extremely agile, the men less quick, for Tupã in particular not at all in his element apparently, much laughing and splashing, in the air a few hovering dragonflies and humming bees without number, on the shore under the tree the busily commenting old Paleko, who leaned with his left hand on a stick and held pawaw under his upper arm on the same side the very superfluous stone ax. The fish were called pauid or pauid, the ani of the Brazilians.

482 [122] The bark canoe that I had ordered was ready on September 10: the stone ax had worked slowly, but very neatly. Four men carried the vessel to the river; on their shoulders they had placed rings plaited out of brown bast and with exactly the same appearance as those our market women wear on their heads.

[123] [124] I had now been alone with the good Bakairi for more than a week and I noticed that they were becoming somewhat impatient. They asked for tow often when the "younger brothers" were coming. What I had carried with me in the way of valuables was long since in their possession anyway: even my amêma iñêno ("figure of the lizard"), a reptile with glass scales and ruby-red eyes, which they had greedily attempted to get belonged to them.

But our good understanding remained the same up to the final hour. If it had been up to me, I would have preferred to [126] [122] spend the entire rainy season with them, although I could not get rid of a sourish taste in my throat from the eternal starchy food and I was also suffering from digestive upset. My first impressions 157 about the peaceable and sympathetic character of my hosts needed no correction. The elders were wise and solicitous, the young people vigorous and agile, the women industrious and domestic, all of them well-meaning, a little vain, and, with the exception of a few mothers absorbed by their duties, always gay and talkative. All were honest. No one ever took anything of mine, lost things were often brought to me, anything that I had received in trade was always regarded as my property.

/7a cont./

157 In short, Bakairí kiza, the Bakairí are good. It would be foolish to misunderstand them in the Rousseau sense, for there was not a trace of any kind of idealism. They were nothing but the product of very simple and undisturbed conditions and gave the visitor who approached with eyes accustomed to nature and style 585 a picture of an "idyl." Whether one comes from Cuiabá, river, or sea, one will feel the magic of a quiet lagoon, that is all.

/7b/

II.

Psychological notes about the attitude of the Bakairí toward new things. Limits of understanding. Studies with the one on special duty. Difficulties of understanding an of linguistic recording substantives, verbs, superordinate concepts.

123 I have reported about the interest that the Bakairí took in
152 my clothing. It gradually turned to the pockets in particular, and they soon knew exactly what was hidden in this one and what in that one.

"Had I made shirt and trousers myself?" This question, which annoyed me, always came up. "Had I made the hammock, the mosquitoes myself?" They were strongly affected by the fact that there was nothing that came to light in all my property for which I had answered in the affirmative. It was clearly to be seen that the objects whose origin they could picture to themselves to a certain extent also more actively occupied their attention. The texture of the Paraguayan hammock was felt and eagerly discussed every day.

They wanted to have everything. "Ura" "(it is) mine" was the simple explanation. The men referred for themselves the practical thing, for wives and children the ornament, for themselves knives, for the former beads. At sight of the beads, the women became positively excited and only my tin plate was sought with the same covetousness. "Buttons" seemed to be re-
301 438 garded as a kind of bead. Among several women I discovered ornaments that came from our first expedition and had traveled

/75 cont./

from the Botany to the Kalkaska. I was confronted by one woman who wore nothing but a copper button on a string on her breast, and on this button was the 8 of the eighth Cavalier battalion, to which our soldiers had belonged at that time. "Is it nickel, sure?" asked these living prehistoric. Of course, the heads were likewise mine, and, on account of their gay colors, they preferred them to gold, which left them quite indifferent. I had given them a few pins and had also showed them a needle, the only one that I had with me: they brought a pin back to me and asked me to make a hole in it, like the one in the needle.

Most peculiar was the alacrity with which they classified the things unfamiliar to them among those that were familiar to them and also immediately assigned familiar names to them directly and without any restrictive additions. They cut their hair with sharp shells or the teeth of the piranha fish, and my scissors, the object of unmeasured delight, which cut hair so smoothly and evenly, were simply called "piranha teeth." The mirror was "water." "Show the water," they cried when they wanted to see the mirror. And I made a much slighter impression with it than I had expected.

The compass was called "sun," the watch "moon." I had showed them that, no matter how I turned and twisted the case, the needle always pointed to the highest position of the sun, and the very similar watch, whose spring they said was a hair, seemed to them the natural counterpart, for the /76/ special reason that it "did not sleep at night." Often in the middle of the conversation they would demand that I take out the watch, and then they would laugh very contentedly when it was actually awake and ticking.

Nothing would be more erroneous than to think that this sincere curiosity and admiration was based on an actual thirst for knowledge or a deeper need of understanding. They never got beyond the question: "Did you make that?" No, I simply did my circus act, I displayed my tricks, and they were pleased that at any moment I could show them in all elegance and never disgraced myself. The most baffling example of superficial satisfaction

/'it was/
153 was later given by Ian Topi when Vogel showed him his gold
177 watch and, in order to make him aware of the valuable gold, turned it over, by chance, to the side with glass. Topi happened to have in his hand a piece of benzil, a mundane fish-tale, which is customarily baked well on only one side and thus had one beautiful golden yellow and one grayish white side. "Benzil," he said complacently and strode on. The appearance was familiar to him from the benzil, and there was really no point in delaying over it.

And here, too, I can recall their surprise when one of the gentlemen /Thomson/ who was in a position to remove a set of false teeth put on this show. They marvelled, but soon laughed, and a few days later when they were removing the teeth, their native "saws," from the piranha fish caught and were asked by one of the commandos /Kamandos, Ger. "commandos," the workers, the poors, on the trip, in contrast to the Herrens, the "gentlemen" who were in charge of the expedition,/ why they were doing this, one of them answered, not without wit: "So that we can help ourselves out, like the brother, when one day we grow old."

How would it have been possible actually to explain to them any of my apparatus or even a knife or a button? How should I have made a "machine" comprehensible to them? What they were obliged to do they did; they were very attentive and it was delightful to observe the liveliness and the air of importance with which a just demonstrated trick was described to a new arrival, an ignoramus in their eyes. Thus they quite accurately noted that my Swedish matches ignited only on the friction surface; with great enthusiasm a new arrival was instructed in Bakali about "tinda endaw mot ikdam pilo." What lady among us would be able to say anything more about it? Not to mention the fact that none has any idea of what fire is. At first they were frightened, then they found the matter thrilling, then very nice and funny, and finally they reached the practical application and, when a fire was to be lighted, asked me to set fire to a thick chunk of wood with my Swedes. One woman, for whom the initial feeling probably continued to prevail, took an empty box and hung it around her baby's neck.

/14 cont./

153 177 Their need for putting into the names of new things was exhausted, except for the question as to whether I had made them, with the second one as to their names /177/ "Kahu?" "Kahu?" "What is that called?" cried the whole company in unison, and they all took honest pains to repeat after me the Portuguese words. One or another would often go on whispering the word to himself for a long time while the conversation went on. They were unable to pronounce two consonants in succession. But if now and then they succeeded in correctly reproducing the appropriate word, their joy was great, and I had the impression that the object itself now also seemed more familiar to them. "Papéis," from the Portuguese papel, "paper," was given as the name for my notebook, and whereas at first they could not examine and touch the incomprehensible thing enough, they could now quickly come to terms with it. It was quite simply "papéis."

572 [192] Anywhere in the world a foreign language is encountered, one will very soon know what "a pretty girl" is. Their "paládu iwéku" or the more endearing "paládu iwekuhidlu" I could translate for them with the words "moça bonita," which they were well able to imitate and which they now practiced with delight. I had first taught my "moça bonita" to Eno. She laughed, blushed, and pronounced it daintily and diminutively. She continued to laugh, poked her husband Kulekule in the ribs -- just as a vigorous person who is pleased about a good idea would do among us -- the two whispered together, and I was asked to say what "a handsome man" might be. When I once imitated Tumayana's attempts at Portuguese, which in truth were not very successful, even though he was chief, the entire chorus laughed so much that they were unable to talk for laughing, they fairly yodeled with abandon.

576 These were the gloomy and reserved Indians. If the talk became too much for them, everybody yawned openly and without holding the hand in front of the mouth. It was not to be denied that the wholesome reflex was catching here, too. Then one after another would stand up and I remained alone with my guard.

/171 cont./

115 157 The various men on detached duty were very different in their usefulness for my purposes. Some tired too quickly, others were too unsteady. Yet, peasant-like Yapi, for example, yawned after a few minutes, and his face seemed to say, "Sir, you are asking too much," and Luchu, the wain fop, only wanted to amuse himself. Of the younger ones, only the remarkable Kulekule was of any use to me. He was, in fact, taciturn and reserved, but he obviously liked to come, laughed quietly to himself, and then when he opened his mouth to speak, he answered better than the rest. He had received beads from me for a pot, but he had to give them up. I presented him with new ones and did not accept another pot that he brought me. He was happy about that, gave me a bowl of the insipid pogo drink, and sat down beside me, leaning his head confidently against my shoulder. My most faithful guardian was Paleko. With his long hair sprinkled with gray, his fine old face, he could very well have been /178/ director emeritus of a Gymnasium. In fact, we were often reminded of European physiognomies, whose owners would perhaps protest at being compared to a naked Indian. Ehrenreich and I, for example, were jokingly and seriously in complete agreement that we recognized a couple of gentlemen from the Berliner Anthropologischen Gesellschaft on the Kulinchu; naturally these gentlemen did not resemble the Indians, but the Indians resembled the gentlemen. I was alone with Paleko for half days at a time. Now and then, Eva or my intended or the Egyptian came alone or together, giving the two of us a little company.

[123]

123

461 Paleko plaited dainty little baskets, repaired weirs, twisted twine out of palm fibers, and did whatever else there was in the way of such light tasks requiring patience. He gave me not only words and sentences from his mother tongue, but also a list of Nahuquá words, which proved that he had associated a great deal with these neighbors. He put less value on learning my language than the young people did. I would rather have given them German words instead of the Portuguese, but I regarded it as my duty not to confuse the poor souls for the future. Since my knowledge of Bakairí was still very meager, I progressed but slowly.

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/18 cont./

122 Simple communication referring to ordinary activities caused no difficulties. With 50-60 words one can, with a little practice, converse fluently in any foreign language: this /tiaser (masc.)/, this /tiaser (neuter)/ yes, no, is there, is not there, do not know, want, do not want, what is it called, what, where, when, how much, all, few, much, another, immediately, tomorrow, I, you, one, two, three, good, bad, large, small, near, far, up, down, with, for, in, toward, let us, give, take, bring, put, go, go away, come, arrive, stay, eat, drink, sleep, make, cut, stop, and the most important substantives. The otherwise so necessary "thank you" and "please" are unknown to the Brazilian native. With a small part of these words one can get along very well, and it would be too bad if it were otherwise. The fundamental grammatical differences, for example, between Portuguese and any Indian language of Brazil are so great that no colonist or soldier is ever able to penetrate its system, even the pronominal prefixes and the postpositions form an insurmountable obstacle. On account of them it is unfortunately not possible in many cases to separate out the word stem, which we, according to our linguistic feeling, require first of all, from the fusion made with those elements. The stem of the verb, besides its combination with pronominal prefixes, is joined and assimilated with adverbial expressions, in order to give what we call inflection, in such a way
195 that a poor devil of a beginner sinks into absolute despair. Since in Bakairi "afte" and "axandile" both mean "I am taking along," different forms of the same meaning, how am I supposed to guess that the verbal stem "za," which, according to the phonetic laws of the language, changes to "ha" and "a," is given in the "a" /19/ of kx-an-a-dile? Thus, with the (already altered) verb stem "e," to see, "you see" is "méta," and "you do not see" is manepürama" and is to be analyzed:

m	- e	- ta	and m	an	- e	- püra	- ama.
you	stem	inflection	you	inflection	stem	not	you.

/70 cont./

193 The simple result is that all kinds of things that do not belong to it are regarded as part of the stem, and the form is used on all kinds of occasions where it is appropriate neither according to person, time sequence, or other nuances contained in it. The organic structure of words becomes rigid, and the sentence becomes a mosaic of the crudest sort made up of nothing but fragments. But there is provision for understanding: for the Indian, with his talent for the characteristic, the chopped-off fragment of a word suffices completely for the entire sentence, and, what is worse, if one wants to make progress in the language, it is all the more agreeable, of course, if one sends only the clumsy content of the communication; he himself soon adopts the new manner of expression: finest conversations are carried on by barter with stamped coins instead with living words.

126 What made my recording not a little difficult was the cir-
192 cumstance that the Sokalif did not understand my questioning tone.
[194] They imitated it instead of answering. Obtaining the names of
[153] the objects present was done without any trouble; they even anticipated the need, pointed to those I had not yet asked about,
126 and said the names. I went into great detail with the parts of the
193 body because they are always joined with pronominal prefixes; thus the Indian does not say, for example, "tongue," but always, with the addition of the person, "my tongue," "your tongue," "his tongue," and thus there is a grammatical value in this category of the list. It was therefore well to note whether the part of the body whose stem one was asking for was shown on oneself, on the person questioned, or on a third person, for the answer was accordingly: your Ilu, my ulu, his ilu, or in general kFulu, the tongue of all of us here.

126 Recording animal names was a pleasure, for here the imita-
192 tion with sounds and gestures was the most artful. A Snake, an
536 alligator head, or the like was also drawn in the sand. The
825 quantity of the many individual statements was a hindrance to me, since I did not know enough about the voices and the behavior of their animals; they offered me subtleties in the distinction of species which, to their surprise, I was unable to appreciate, and

126 /79 cont./
192 sometimes I am afraid I betrayed what to them were incredible
153 gaps in the most ordinary education.
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The most difficult problem lay in the verbs, and, to be sure, not only because of the complication of forms. If I succeeded in writing down short sentences in which something was said about an occurrence that was just going on, even if I myself performed all kinds of actions, such as eating and drinking now of this, now of that, which were supposed to give them the context of a sentence, /80/ gross errors were nevertheless unavoidable. Unfortunately, they often said things that were different from what they were supposed to say according to my request and criticized the action instead of naming it. They were thinking for themselves and not for me. And in these efforts their readiness to imitate was disturbing to a high degree. I thought nothing would be easier than to obtain at least those intransitive verbs that could be evoked by unequivocal mimicry on my part. I would indeed need only to sneeze, cough, weep, yawn, snore, only to get up, sit down, to fall, and so forth, in order to be immediately rewarded with the matching words. But they either clung to the contemplation of the process itself, thought I wanted to go away when I stood up, righteously joined in when I yawned, because they, too, were tired, or were royally amused at my strange doings, and, amidst much laughter, would likewise abandon themselves to sneezing, coughing, and snoring, without, however, saying the redeeming words.

I made the best progress when I gave them the Portuguese word and applied the formula: the Karaibe says it thus, how does the Estabi say it? Here I finally almost always met with understanding and response, for they were mad about learning my language.

[511] They were very grieved that they did not understand me better, and, confusing hearing and understanding, they asked me to [illegible] them. I had to put saliva on my fingers and with it rub
151 the [illegible] entrance for them. Their comprehension of Portuguese
141 was [illegible] more deficient than they themselves realized. They have
194

/80 cont./

151 no f in their store of sounds and replace it with p: if I said fogo
191 (fire), fumo (tobacco), they would say pogo, pumo. But they
194 heard, or, more correctly, apperceived, the f also as p: they were, as far as I could see, firmly convinced that they were pronouncing the same sound that I had said to them. Their attitude was entirely different if, for example, I gave them too long a word: then they struggled and despaired of it, but with regard to fogo, fumo, f...., the more emphatically and loudly I said it, the more emphatically and loudly they joined in: pogo, pumo, p...., with decided indigantion over my dissatisfaction.

128 I was obliged to be content with completing the vocabulary as much as possible and interpreting the sentences to the best of my knowledge. I did not achieve an actual translation that would do justice to the subtleties of their language: whatever I was able to offer in this respect in my book Die Bakairí-Sprache /The Bakairí Language/ (Leipzig, K. F. Köhler, 1892), I owe
192 to Antonio. I was especially very peculiarly touched by their joy over the richness of their stock of words. They manifested great pleasure at having a word for every object, as though the name itself were a sort of thing and piece of property. That the number of concepts depends primarily on interest was clearly evident. On the one hand, in comparison with our languages, an abundance of words, such as animal names or kinship terms; on the other hand, a poverty at first surprising: yélo is "lightning" and "thunder"; kxópö, rain, /81/ thunderstorm, and cloud. Now of course, almost all rains in their region are associated with thunderstorm phenomena, and the cloud in the sky has interest for them only insofar as it means an approaching thunderstorm. The fact that, when they combine into one concept, in their word yélo, the visual and audible aspect of the electrical discharge, thunder is the more essential part is shown by the fact that they also call the buzzing whizzer-stick yélo. I, who proceeded from the idea of the magic instrument, according to the custom of mythologists, who was looking for the uncanny and recognized this primarily in the flashing streak, at first translated the word as "lightning" instead of "thunder."

/81 cont./

192 The real poverty is in the lack of superordinate concepts,
811 as among all primitive peoples. They have a word for "bird," which probably means "winged," but the North Karaiben have another stem toro- or tono-, which among the Bakaïrí also means very ordinary birds, a species of parrot or wild chicken /Waldhuhn/. Each parrot has its particular name and the more general concept of "parrot" is completely lacking, just as the concept "palm" is lacking. They know the characteristics of each parrot and palm species very precisely, however, and cling so to these numerous individual facts that they pay no attention to the common features, which, to be sure, have no interest. Thus, one sees that their poverty is only a poverty of higher units; they are choked by the mass of material and cannot handle it economically. They deal only in small change, but in the number of pieces in their possession they should be called superrich rather than poor. In building up their thoughts they set their ideas together like an endless wall of uniform stones and as yet have scarcely any notion of architectonic structure.

811 Their ineptness at forming abstractions came out most clearly in my efforts with regard to their art of counting. About this,
128 however, I should like to report later in a separate chapter, so that now I may finally take up once more the thread of our travel chronicle and return to Independência, to my traveling companions. In my description of my Bakaïrí idyl I have been very detailed to some extent, but will thus be saved many details in the later portrayal, since the picture among the other tribes was essentially the same, even though I was never again able to enjoy it so quietly.

2. Steinen--53ED-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Chapter VI.

I. Joint Departure and Visiting of the Three Bakaïrí Villages.

Independencia during my absence. Preparations for setting out. To the first Bakaïrí village. Photographs. Doll delivered. To the second Bakaïrí village. River journey. Hospitality. Mummery to fetch food. Nocturnal dance. Frieze in the house of the chief. To the third Bakaïrí village. Speeches of welcome. Collection. The first Nahuquá. Body measurements and beads.

122 On 19 September 1887 Ehrenreich and Vogel arrived. We traveled together to the second village of the Bakaïrí, where we acquired another canoe and returned to the first village. The former left for Independencia on 24 September and I followed them on the 25th, overtook them, for Carlos was ill with fever, and on the 26th we were all united again in Independencia. Tumayaua and Luchu had accompanied me and were now able to study the
128 "wau-wau" in the original. I do not yet want to describe our visit with the second Bakaïrí here, but rather would like to include it in the report concerning the later, joint one, so that the criscross routes will not make it difficult to get an over-all view.

I had been absent from Independencia from the 8th to the 26th of September. It may be imagined with what a feeling of relief Wilhelm and Perrot greeted our canoes.

The mules had caused them and old Januario a great deal of worry. Day after day first this one and then that one was missing. Once Januario had been obliged to fetch back an animal from the next-to-last campsite of the journey here and had thus always been on the go. Meanwhile fresh young grass had sprung up on the queimada and the future was thus assured. The donkeys were in good condition; they were already beginning to grow fat, were already becoming unmanageable, and came daily to drink at a pool. Only "Balisa," the "post," had come up with a hole filled with maggots in his back. "Tormenta" had been relieved of the pangs of existence. He could no longer stand on his legs, no longer ate the grass that was carefully cut up for him, and one morning lay dead on the sandy beach.

/83/

136 Hunting and fishing had offered all kinds of variety. Except that the fishing was not as easy as one might think. Immediately after our return, Antonio caught seven sheatfish, pintados, of which, to our sorrow, he delivered all of four to the pair Tumayaua and Luchu and only three to our large kitchen; but the soldiers had never been so happy. On the other hand, there were all kinds of fowl shot, jakutingas and jakûs mostly, excellent ducks; moreover, single specimens of johô, Mutum cavallo, pigeon, arara, and parrot. From the category of quadrupeds: monkey, deer, a tapir, a cervo de campo, which was scorned because of its musk odor, and a wildcat. Several pigs had been captured at two different times, but the second lot had become unusable because the animals were full of "worms" and had to be thrown
000 into the river. Occasionally a turtle was found. "Buscar mel," looking for honey, was more enthusiastically practiced than hunting for bigger game, for the appetite for sweets was already very much in evidence. The various kinds of honey were differently appreciated. The bora honey had a sweetish-sour and very soapy taste; nevertheless Januario washed out the wax with water and relished the liquid the color of English mustard. The kupim honey, which sweetened the Paraguayan tea or was mixed with flour, found general favor.

The evenings passed slowly. With horror Wilhelm and Perrot caught themselves talking more about Cuyabá and the return journey than about the river trip and its prospects. Desperately they played sixty-six /a German card game/ and were annoyed by the mockery in the indefatigable call of the "João Cortapáo" (Jack, chop wood; Caprimulgus albicollis), to whom the Brazilian also attributes the words "manhã eu vou" = tomorrow I shall
[136] go. They listened to the six-tone scale of the warbling urutau, a night swallow (Nyctibius aethereus), and the less pleasant cry of a heron species, the sokoboi, which is supposed to remind one of the voice of the jaguar. The comparison, however, was found not to be appropriate when the snarling of the big cat itself was heard. In addition to these sounds of lament from the forest, the nasal songs of the soldiers, who had carved themselves a "côxo"

/83 cont./

(pronounced koscho), the primitive violin of the sertanejo /an inhabitant of the sertão, the interior/, issued from the tents.

The question as to whether the camp could be moved down closer to the Bakaïrí village was finally answered in the negative. On 9 September, the day after my departure, Wilhelm and Perrot had left for a reconnaissance, from which they returned on 12 September without results. On the left side of the river in the north and north-northeast, they had found only dense chapadão cerrado /densely covered tableland/ filled with climbing plants and thorns; they then crossed the river and on the right side found only short stretches where the animals could have pushed forward in an emergency. They returned home, tired and weary. The excursion had almost cost the life of Feroz, the best of the five dogs: he was suddenly heard to howl loudly and plaintively; they /84/ quickly ran to him and found him gripped by a boa more than three meters long, which had already strangled him so that he could no longer cry out and released him only after receiving many blows with the knife.

On 14 September Antonio and Carlos then returned from the Bakaïrí village with my message of 11 September; from the salto they came overland, the last part of the stretch on the right riverbank, and they, too, thought it impossible to move the post farther down. Ehrenreich and Vogel finally came to the same conclusion; they left Independencia on 15 September and on the 17th arrived at the salto, where they embarked and sent back two people with the report. They declared that weeks of work would be required to cut a path through the thicket, that the little brooks of the sucuruí and chiqueira could be negotiated only with the greatest difficulty even now, to say nothing of the rainy season, since the swampy and at the same time densely overgrown terrain would require long corduroy roads. Only in the vicinity of the salto had the animals found a grazing area. Here was open campo, but surrounded, especially in the north, by extensive bogs with stands of buriti, which in the rainy season are under water and would constitute the worst kind of breeding places for fever. On the second and third day, as far as the Kulisehu, they had come across nothing but sandy bottom and not a single stone.

/84 cont./

000 We could thus be satisfied with our Independencia. It had a pleasant broad open plaza and one lower level where the clear brook emptied into the river, the small kitchen area shown on Plate 12 /omitted in the translation/. Several hammocks were also set up there, whereas Perrot's tent and the tents of the soldiers stood above, beside the "new construction." Everybody now worked busily to get a roof on this little house. A few loads of buriti leaves were fetched with the donkeys; unfortunately a great number of large ticks were also imported on them. Cross-rafters were lashed together with pindahyba bast to form a girão, a supporting framework, and above this the roof was covered with buriti leaves. The wooden saddles and the leather bags were stacked up in the house and the ethnological collection was sheltered on the framework under oxhides. A good-sized space remained for Januario for sleeping.

[126] The collection was a promising beginning. It already contained almost 120 specimens which were catalogued and provided with tin numbers. Less effort was required for the distribution of the food supplies. A small part was set aside for the return journey by land. The first experiments were now made with the Kemmerich tubes of meat; it turned out that they were best
122 cooked with vegetable cubes, Mélange d'Equipage. Tumayaua promised to see to it that mandioca flour was delivered from the village to those remaining behind, and Januario had before his eyes a bag of magnificent beads, turned over to him as a lure for the suppliers.

124 Tumayaua further promised to accompany us on our trip. We guaranteed him two fine axes, several shirts, and so many beads that he would be the richest /85/ man on the Kulisehu. He and Luchu, pampered on all sides, felt immeasurably content in their new environment. We showed them the campsite in Bengal light, which, in fact, looked magnificent, although the nightly illumination by thousands of fireflies which performed their torch dances in front of the dark background of the queimada perhaps created
[126] more of a mood. Tumayaua and Luchu unhesitatingly let themselves be photographed (Plate 6).[2] They did everything that was

[2] [See P. 40--Analyst]

/85 cont./

124 asked of them. Indeed, Tumayaua accepted without delay the invitation to mount Perrot's horse. I led the animal for a while and then let it trot; the noble chief rode and rode, for he did not know how to get back. But there was something of a historic moment in the picture: the South American of the Stone Age on the back of a horse for the first time. Luchu was not yet ripe for this idea; the young man could not to be persuaded to follow the example of the plucky uncle, who was highly pleased with the experience. Tumayaua also measured the horse by feeling the head and neck in comparison with his body size: obviously he wanted to furnish the tobacco club with a scientific description.

122 With the help of the Indians, two more canoes had been made; on 29 September the oars were carved and on the 30th the canoes were experimentally loaded.

[103] To the First Bakairí Village (Maigéri).

On 1 October we got up at four o'clock and at six o'clock we set out. We were distributed in the five canoes: 1. Antonio, Wilhelm, I; 2. Ehrenreich, João Pedro; 3. Vogel, Perrot, Columna; 4. Carlos and Peter with heavy luggage; 5. Tumayaua and Luchu. "Adeus Januario, Raymundo, Satyro, Manoel! Até á volta, until our return! Take care of the animals, don't quarrel, and keep well!" "Feliz viagem!" called back the good fellows, in whose place I truly would not have liked to be and who were now going to count the days until our return would again give them their freedom.

We rowed busily, made a midday pause on a rocky island, and at a quarter to five our canoe was the first at the big cachoeira which we christened Salto Taunay in honor of Senator Taunay. I took a splendid bath in the whirlpool and then sat down at a lookout point; dusk was beginning to fall and no one came. At a quarter to seven, in the light of the full moon, the others appeared; they had remained at the island until three o'clock, sleeping and boiling maté. Fishing was made difficult by the all too bright night; it was not until eleven o'clock that the men

/85 cont./

000 brought three large fat barbados, which traveled to the grill and well deserved being eaten, even at the witching hour, in the scenery of the roaring waterfall gloriously illuminated by the moon.

122 On 2 October we set out at 6:30 and reached the Bakaïrí harbor at 2:15. Good Paleko was already standing there with a bowl of mandioca paste. Wilhelm and I immediately went to the
123 village. It was very entertaining /86/ to observe how one welcoming scene followed the other, since the canoes arrived at intervals; new guests, again and again new excitement, and a new rushing forth out of the flute-house, where we sat amidst beijús
302 and calabashes. Some of the people had adorned themselves festively with colored designs. Kulekule had decorated his face and upper body with orange-red lines and dots, my intended had red serpentine lines on her upper thighs, the Egyptian a red forehead and nose, Tumayaua's small grandchildren were daubed and smeared black, their mother Eva appeared with her hair and skin
301 powdered white from her beijú work. Good-natured Awiá wore a cake knife, that is, a beijú turner, in her hair in a curious fashion.

628 There were also foreign visitors present from Village II and
574 III; we counted 18 hammocks in Paleko's house and 13 in Tumayaua's
126 houses. Ehrenreich was taking photographs. For each shot the models were compensated with a few beads. They were somewhat afraid, but the beads conquered the fear of danger. The women's group on Plate 5 was obtained only with difficulty. The women had let themselves be positioned and arranged, and Ehrenreich was on the point of exposing the plate, when they suddenly discovered their mirrored images in the lens and, astonished, fell upon the apparatus in order to examine it more closely. The photographer in dire distress! Tumayaua had gained possession of a useless plate of glass -- "páru," water - and with it, following Vogel's directions, he set the first window in the straw dome of his house.

123 On this fine day I wanted to present a gift of honor to my hosts. Two young ladies of Berlin had given me a pretty blond doll to bring along, which they themselves had fitted out with a

[see p. 28--Analyst]

/86 cont./

123 gaily colored little dress and which, as the best item in our warehouse, was intended for "the most worthy one." I could not waver about its belonging by right to my intended, the heiress of the village and mistress of all the flour furnished me. The inquisitive question as to whether the wives of the Karaiben also had clothes should now be settled. I called the whole company together on the plaza and aroused sheer exultation when I exhibited the blue-eyed, rosy-cheeked little porcelain head, let them see and touch the genuine blond hair, and explained in turn the pretty clothes of the "kyarĩiba pekõto." And their ecstasy was increased when I then stepped up to my intended and said "ĩma zõto," "it is yours." The little yellow-skin blushed with joy, and to my amazement the otherwise taciturn mother began speaking in a loud voice and talked and talked, professing all kinds of things which I did not understand, but which, even though the Indians have no word for "thank you," was nevertheless a speech of thanks. I do not know upon whom my intended of that time may meanwhile have bestowed her heart and hand and, as a dowry, the precious Karaiben woman -- by one of those strange twists which sometimes joins the links in the chain of fate, however, it has come to pass that in the meantime one of the two Berlin ladies has become the wife of the publisher of this book, and the other, the wife of its author.

133 /87/ We stayed until well after dark and then went to our camp at the so-called second harbor of the village. A long stretch of rapids lies between the upper and the lower harbor; the canoes had been hauled over it during the afternoon, so that we would not have to overcome the obstacle the following morning.

[103] To the Second Bakaĩrĩ Village (Iguẽti).

The journey from the first village to the second is very arduous because of the many rapids. It is characterized by long stretches where the river is filled with boulders, between which it was very low in view of the water level at that time. We called this type "stone cachoeiras"; they are regular cataracts which are probably more easily negotiated with a higher water level.

/87 cont./

800 During the first few hours beyond Maigéri, the Kulisehu flowed along with heavenly calm; the canoe with its oars was undistortedly mirrored in the bottle-green surface, and a long trail of foam bubbles indicated the path. Somber, but shot through with yellowish sunlight, the picture of the forest back-drop contrasted with the shimmering, glittering surface. Clothed in full foliage, the tree outlines were rounded, and luxuriant light-green masses of bamboo filled all the gaps. Overhanging bushes and low trees, which, bending far over, seemed pushed back from the shore, spread out roofs of shade, in the shelter of which one enjoyed gliding along. Nothing is more beautiful than the universal silence of nature before the cachoeira comes; one knows that soon the roaring will be heard, at first far away and low, then louder and louder, and one enjoys the quiet which would overwhelm our spirit with oppressive boredom were it not for the prospect of the approaching, all too
226 lively contrast. When we traveled the same stretch for the first time on 20 September, I had enjoyed the sight of graceful Luchu, who with bow and arrow, standing upright in the canoe, was looking for pakú fish. The Indian, to whom the fishhook was unfamiliar, nevertheless used bait. He tossed bean-sized bright red berries (iwáulu) quite far out into the river, quickly stretched the bow, aimed at the berry, and sent off the arrow the moment the pakú shapped at it and the berry disappeared.

487 At that time we had comfortably reached Iguéti in one day, for we left the canoes as soon as possible and went overland. This time we could not spare ourselves any of the rapids. There were eight of them in all up to the so-called harbor, but after the seventh, at 5:30, we already pitched our camp. It had taken us 40 minutes at the fourth one to push the canoes through the extensive maze of stones. Our canoe became stuck fast between two boulders and was half filled with water. It is an unpleasant feeling when the flexible floor of the vessel bends under one's feet
[226] like a wave. At 4:00 we found the entire /88/ river blocked and studded crosswise by high palings and stones, where the Bakaírí can cut off and open a passage for the fish at their discretion. It was a very strange sight and, if one considers what they have to work with and the cultural progress of the Bakaírí, not without

/88 cont./

487 grandeur. We had to move the stones laboriously out of the way at the edge of the palings in order to pass through even with our narrow canoes. Behind this a width of 124 meters.

000 At the last rapids Vogel was shipwrecked. The instruments remained dry, but the condensed-soup tablets suffered a premature

[343]

Fig. 3. Bird cage.

soaking. So we utilized the opportunity to brew, for once, an extravagantly strong soup from the hopelessly softened pieces. We [122] stopped behind the site of the accident, from here visited the Bakairí village on the next day, 4 October, and meanwhile had the canoes transported to the harbor. On this stretch, too, Vogel's canoe hit a stone and went under. On this occasion a water thermometer given us by Herr von Danckelman sank into the depths, true to its destiny, but remained below, never to be seen again, and eluded a reading.

/88 cont./

361 The village could be reached in half an hour or an hour from
311 the river, depending on whether one landed sooner or later. It was surrounded by cultivated land to an extent that aroused our
241 greatest astonishment. On the three different paths that we followed, we came through long stretches where the forest had been cut down with the stone ax. In March and April the trees are felled and in September and October the wood which has dried in the meantime is burned. We examined with admiration a number of thick trunks, the cross-sections of which were covered with the dull blow-marks of the stone axes, and regretted that we could not saw off such a marked surface and take it along. I silently begged forgiveness of the Indians at whom I had often laughed when they were swinging themselves in their hammocks at home, as though their lives were one long Sunday.

361 /89/ In Iguéti there were three large family-houses and a
345 very respectable flute-house in which many dance costumes made
535 of palm straw were hanging. On the village plaza a cage rose
343 up higher than a house, which consisted of long poles set together
231 in the form of a pointed cone; in it sat a mighty Harpia destructor, although the village is called igu-eti = sparrow-hawk village.
231 The once heraldic bird had probably long since departed. The beautiful eagle was named after its favorite food, mégo-zóto, lord
412 of the monkeys. Beside the chief's house lay a large whetstone
[191] for the stone axes; it gave me much pleasure because it showed the same grooves that we had observed in the zambaquis of Sta. Catharina.

621 The community numbered some 40 persons. They spoke of
162 three chiefs, but we met in this capacity only the good-natured,
622 very broad-shouldered Aramóke, who was characterized by a waddling walk. He had a sly expression and with his clumsy body was very polite, for, striding ahead of me in the forest, he broke off the branches, which might have snapped back in my face, more graciously than he probably would have for a woman. A large knife and a red scarf made him the happiest of mortals.
574 He showed us great hospitality. Fresh golden beijús were con-
437 stantly brought forth, a row of calabashes filled with pogu were

/89 cont./

574 always standing ready, a thin, very sweet pūserego was offered
[439] in superabundance, and for our beads we obtained a supply of fine polvilho flour for the journey.

462 The women baking away so busily seemed to us small and ugly, but friendly. They fetched water only accompanied by men.

535 When I was in Iguéti the first time on 20 September with Vogel and Ehrenreich, we experienced a strange scene which I should like to insert here. We were sitting in the flute-house in the evening when a few came in, squatted down beside the ashes of the fire, and uttered a loud ih... Then a couple of others put on the straw apparel hanging there and ran around for a while like roaring lions. I believed it to be pure fun and pastime, but all of them remained perfectly serious. Then one of the maskers ran outside while the chorus again cried ih...hi, stuck his arms out of the straw, and made a rustling sound with the fringe. He disappeared into a house and soon came out again, laden with beijú and fish. The same thing was repeated, and Luchu was the third to go, returning with drink. The departure was always announced by the general ih..., so that the people in the houses were prepared. Since the straw apparel covers the entire body down to the feet, the person that hides in it cannot be recognized.

/90/ Later in the evening three men started to sing. They stepped close to the door entrance of the flute-house, and, to be
[534] sure, in such a way that they turned their backs to the rest of us; two of them shook the gourd rattle, which differs from our first cradle toy only in the material, and the third stamped in steady
[533] perseverance with his right foot. The three sang: ĩhaí, ĩháĩí huχó, ihaí ohuhoχó.... Perhaps the eternal huχu, huχo is nothing but the word for "foot," which, pupu in ancient Karaibe, changed phonetically to χuχu, huχu. It was a solemn, almost melancholy sounding, but very powerful "makanari," as the Bakaírí call their festival songs. Ehrenreich was very impatient with the invariable, unchanging monotony of the singing, rattling, and stamping; for my part, however, I can only say that the very sameness made an impression on me and in a way intoxicated

/90 cont./

535 and captivated me. Others placed themselves behind the three, sang and stamped along with them, more and more joined, and finally those nearest the door ran out, bent over and one following the other; the entire train trotted in a long chain over to the chief's house with uninterrupted ohúhoχδ, came back to the flute-house, and back and forth across the plaza; we guests did not fail to take part in at least a few rounds of the musical marathon, but the good Bakaïrí ran, sang, stamped -- the whole night. It thus seems to be a very old custom to dance until broad daylight. Except that the men did the work by themselves. It was excellent to go to sleep by; like the familiar and often tested method of falling asleep by imagining an endless herd of sheep jumping over a fence and counting the individual leaping animals, their firm ohóhuχδ hypnotized with deadly certainty.

On our second visit we saw nothing of the kind.

123 A small shooting demonstration aroused more fear than astonishment; the women ran behind the houses; a tall youth fled into the hammock and covered his ears. After the third shot the chief begged "ãle," "it is enough." Afterwards they again had a desire for it and set tasks, to hit birds circling high in the air, which only Cooper's hunters could have fulfilled. At any rate, one must beware of sending off a shot about which one is not certain.

The photographic apparatus was set up opposite the chief's house; Aramöke accepted the invitation, stuck his head under the black cloth, viewed the picture with great pleasure, and chattered enthusiastically about it. The others did not trust the thing.

342 Aramöke's house, a magnificent example of primitive architecture, was larger and more carefully built than Paleko's in
353 Maigéri. Many storage baskets were piled up between the center
531 posts, and from the dome hung numerous maize birds and cobs. What absorbed our interest primarily, however, was a frieze of crude drawings which ran all around, about two meters above the doors, to a total length of about 56 meters. /91/ On narrow sheets of blackened tree bark, dots, rings, linear patterns, and in between

/91 cont./

353 a couple of fish drawings were drawn on with white loam. To our
531 greatest astonishment, triangles and squares were meant as illustrations of concrete objects and were not merely "geometric
126 figures." Wilhelm copied the entire frieze with painstaking precision, as Plates 20 and 21 show.[3/4] I shall later compare the practices among the Bakaïrí with those among the rest of the Kulisehu tribes. Unfortunately it was not possible to bring home the originals. The loam was so loosely applied that it immediately crumbled off, and so coarse-grained that it could not be permanently fixed with a coating of collodion, as was done successfully with the masks.

000 Toward sundown, led by Aramõke, who was parading around in his red scarf, we went to the camp, which was now pitched at the actual harbor, and there, after the new shipwreck, we encountered a great "drying of laundry." Antonio's oar was also broken.

123 A number of Indians stood and sat around on the slope of the shore when we set out on 6 October shortly after 7:00. João Pedro had ordered for himself half a dozen fresh beijús and was served promptly in the early morning, as by a civilized baker.

133 The powerful rapids called "kulúri" by the Bakaïrí, which we soon cut through without peril, was the last one on the Kulisehu: "tũxu ãle," the stones are "all gone." On this stretch the river again greatly resembled the section beyond Independencia; many fallen trees in the water, frequent elevated sandy beaches or steep
[136] loam banks, the current somewhat faster. The small masarico with its little red legs came tripping rapidly toward us across the sand, called "go away, come, come," and flew ahead a little distance, to wait for us there again. The bends in the river were very numerous and the trip became a deadly bore. The sunlight was reflected glaringly by the light sand and the water glistened unbearably. At 2:45 we passed a right tributary-brook about eight meters wide, the Pakuneru. This is the same name that the Paranatinga bears among the Bakaïrí. At its source -- far away
[101] ih.... -- the kayáxo, the Kayapó /Cayapo/, are said to live.
[See pp. 280-281 -- Analyst]

/91 cont./

133 Tumayaua declared that he had heard them shout. It is probable
[101] that the fire glow which we had repeatedly noticed in the east, and which had been regularly observed in the evening at Independencia, came from them. Barely an hour later, the Kewayeli, about 12 meters wide, flowed in from the left. On both banks queimada and plantings.

484 From the second village Tumayaua had taken along as a companion Pakurali, a short, stocky old man who did not look as though he were a great sorcerer, and whom we, with a lack of
[482] respect, called the "cab driver." They did not have much luggage with them and easily packed it into the mayakus, their
[286] back-baskets for carrying loads. They had taken along on the journey, not cotton hammocks, but hammocks made of palm fiber, which are lighter and dry quickly if they become wet. /92/ The two made rapid progress, even though they were bent on fishing at every favorable spot. We had let the great sorcerer sniff a bottle of ammonia, which had horrified him no little. After that he could no longer be enticed to smell any of our things. If one of us calls from a corner that it stinks there, everybody runs over and sniffs.

103 To the Third Bakairí Village (Kuyaqualiéti).

361 The harbor at which we arrived at 4:45 lay at the end of a lateral inlet and would not have been found without a guide.

The next morning, 6 October, we departed at 7:00 for the village and reached it in three-quarters of an hour on the usual
[532] winding forest-trail. On the way we saw a large human figure carved in tree bark, with three fingers on the hands and stump-like feet.

Harpia village, "kuyaquali-éti," also had only three houses and a flute-house, but was the liveliest of the three villages.
162 I counted 31 men and just about as many women and children.
621 Some of the latter, however, had run into the woods. There
574 were probably about 100 souls in the village. The chief, Porisa,
622 was a small, friendly gentleman; he had had beijú baked at night.

/92 cont./

574 night. We sat down in the middle of the large plaza in a long
row. Each one was brought a drinking bowl; the largest, along
574 with a cigar, fell to me. Speeches of welcome were now ex-
576 changed with great volubility.

ŝma, you = that is you. ehẽ ũra, yes, I = indeed, that is I.

bakaĩrĩ ũra, I (am a) Bakaĩrĩ. kyarŝiba ũra, I (am a) Karaibe.

bakaĩrĩ kyũra, (the) Bakaĩrĩ (are) good. kyarŝiba ĩwakulukũlu,

(the) Karaiben (are) very good. pĩma ŝma? (are) you (the) chief?

pĩma ũra, I (am the) chief.

123 Opposite each Karaiben squatted a Bakaĩrĩ and admired him
and what he wore. The Swedish matches, knives, mirrors,
buttons, beads -- it was always the same routine. Except that
in the case of Porisa it was my notebook that was most appreciated,
and it was not the written pages or those covered with drawings,
but the white, empty sheets that elicited exclamations of delight
from him. We also strode about the plaza in pairs, arm in arm,
in affable conversation. We studied the geographical distribution
of the Kulisehu tribes in detail, but the dwelling places of the
Trumaĩ still remained as obscure as before.

345 The flute-house was large and spacious, its roof dilapidated,
much straw lay on the floor inside, and here, as in the houses,
we missed the cleanliness which pleased us so in the other vil-
534 lages. In front of the flute-house, resting on cross-sticks, lay a
[532] huge hollow tree-trunk -- a morcego (bat) tree our men called
it -- /93/ irregularly painted with human figures and fish vertebrae.
During festivals they drummed on this giant instrument with thick
wooden clubs, similar to the mandioca pestles.

535 Inside there were handsome masks and a new form of dance
costume; two huge crinolines ten meters in circumference,
covered with straw, and comparable to small huts, koŝlu, which
126 the dancer wore on a ring on his shoulder. Soon enthusiastic
301 barter was under way everywhere. We obtained fine feather
237 ornaments, crowns made of arara feathers, which are light blue
534 on one side, yellow on the other, dainty mats in which they are
283

/93 cont./.

126 stored, dark yellow reed diadems, such as Luchu is wearing on
534 Plate 6,[1] others with radiating tips, large Panpipes, an oar deco-
583 rated with drawings, spinning wheels of the simplest type, that
[301] is, disks made of potsherds, and a quantity of remarkable
[239] cylinder-shaped sticks, which are covered with ornamentation
177 and worn on the back at festivals. But in the equipment of these
third Bakaïrí it was clearly shown that we were with the section
of the tribe living next to the rest of the Kulisehu Indians; all
kinds of imported goods were present and were designated as such
439 here. The Bakaïrí do not make any pots themselves and do not
[323] themselves have a place where they might fetch stones for stone
axes, but here we were immediately told that the pots came
from the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ and the stone axes from the
Trumaí. Among the pots one in the shape of a turtle represented
an absolute masterpiece of primitive plastic art, on which the head,
tail, and feet, as well as the shell drawing, were magnificently
worked out. From the Auetó we found a half-broken clay doll;
also originating from the Mehinakú, balls of finely spun cotton;
from the Trumaí and Suyá, dainty feather caps. From our own
possessions of 1884 we discovered two iron chisels, parts of a
ramrod, which had been sharpened to a point on stones.

We met a Nahuquá in person; unfortunately, the man was
418 obviously an idiot and had little to offer for my purposes. It is
132 strange that this is not an isolated phenomenon: the Kustenaú
of 1884 had a simple-minded Bakaïrí among them, the Yuruna
likewise an Arara Indian definitely feeble-minded, and it seems
to me I often noticed similar instances. Do the people become
stupid in the new environment or are only the stupid specimens
entrusted to neighbors for their use?

126 In the flute-house anthropological measurements and photo-
graphs were taken in exchange for beads. In this village there
was a pronounced Sémitic type, of which Plate 13[1] represents a
classic example. The people submitted to everything and called
the caliper compass núna, "moon." Only one man was indignant
when, after Ehrenreich had measured him from head to foot in
all directions, I handed him the fee of three beautiful, large
[153] beads. He wanted to have as many beads as there were measurements

[1] [See p. 138 -- Analyst]

/93 cont./

126 taken on him. With lively gesticulations and a /94/ memory
153 worthy of appreciation, he repeated the entire procedure: the head from front to back, from side to side, the nose from top to bottom, the space between the eyes, the length of the extremities and their parts, the height of the navel above the ground, etc., etc., and after each pantomime he stretched out his hand toward the katakuf, the beads. There was nothing for it, the man's claim must be admitted, but I was obliged to compensate him with small embroidery beads; for when I started to pay him, he faithfully went over the number of measurements again after each pair of beads, first pointing to the latter, then to the corresponding part of the body, and he did not rest until the long list was quite carefully brought to an end. If these instances pile up, I said to myself, and if the Bakairí produce many such critical natures, their art of counting will make rapid progress. Here, indeed, was a tangible example of how trade fructifies and develops arithmetical gifts!

126 The women offered some resistance. It was quite impossible
345 to take the readings on them in the flute-house. They were not
562 permitted to enter it, although the noble building was already half in ruins. Hence they were measured and photographed on the plaza.

123 We carefully packed up our bartered treasures and asked Porisa to keep them for us in his house until our return. We did not dare overload our canoes and had to provide room for the collection among the tribes living downstream. Porisa, before our eyes, shoved the bundles onto a high cross-beam between the center posts and promised that no one would touch them.

At 4:30 we then set out, very satisfied, for the harbor once
226 more. Antonio with eight Indians had gone out in front of the
[197] inlet where fishing was more rewarding and there demonstrated the use of the hook and line. His companions were able to set out homeward toward the village with a heavy load of piranhas, a
122 bagadú, and a pintado. We traded one of our small canoes for a better, larger one.

/94 cont./

II. To the Nahuquá.

000

Intercourse between the Bakaïrí and Nahuquá. Surprised in the harbor. Strange reception. Village vacated. A Yaurikumá. Overnight. Mehinakú in the village. Dances. Sad prospects for Professor Bastian. I go on ahead to the Mehinakú. Improvement of conditions. News about the battle between the Suyá and the Trumaí.

Y 648 B 191 648 Y [199] • Without question the Nahuquá have all kinds of intercourse with the Bakaïrí. Even from old Paleko I had learned a whole series of Nahuquá words and from these, to my great delight, was immediately able to tell that there was a new Karaiben /Carib/ tribe involved. Paleko told me that he had formerly lived for a time among the Nahuquá; Tumayaua, too, had already been among them and /95/ knew many words of their language, whereas all of the Bakaïrí of the Mehinakú living downstream from the Nahuquá did not know half a dozen words.

Y 123 361 The Nahuquá who lived in the third village of the Bakaïrí accompanied us when, on 7 October 1887, we traveled from the harbor of the third Bakaïrí to his fellow tribesmen only a day's journey away, and late in the afternoon he climbed out at a place B 123 where a path led up, in order to announce us in the village. Three Bakaïrí from the harpy village, including Chief Porisa, had also B /Fig. 4 appears here/ joined us. We had started off at 6:30 and Y were obliged to pass through another small rapid with a strong 131 swell. It, with a few fish corrals, still belonged to the Bakaïrí, 133 while a small brook to the right, two meters wide, which we 226 passed about 9:00 and which was closed off by a fish fence, was already the property of the Nahuquá. At 11:00 another wide brook flowed in from the right, the Háiri of the Bakaïrí, or Rãza of the Nahuquá in whose territory it lay. Much high sandy beach, four to five meters above the water level in the dry season, willow B 226 bushes, countless dead and fallen trees. At 1:00 we made a /96/ halt at a place with abundant fish; the piranhas snapped so quickly that one had only to toss out the line and they were already caught; one large, meter-long bagadú that Antonio had caught with iguana

B /96 cont./
226 bait pulled the happy fisherman out into the middle of the river, to our
B amusement. Several fish hooks were bitten off by the piranhas. After
[237] some examination, the Indians carefully removed the lower jaw, which

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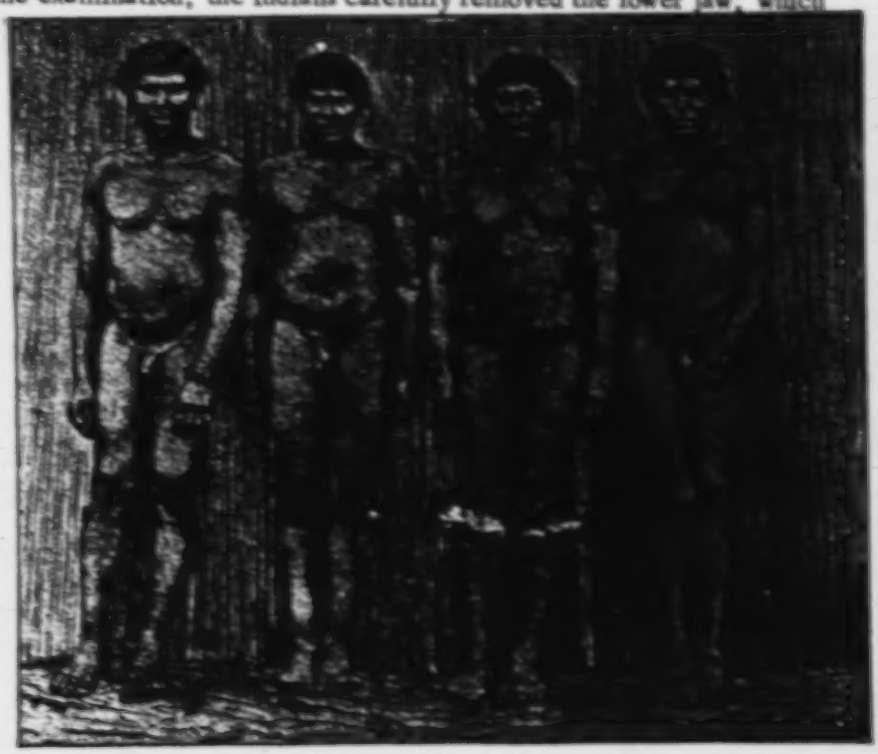

Fig. 4. Nahuquá.

B
226
237 they use for cutting threads and also for hair cutting.

Wilhelm and I, whose boat, as usual, along with Tumayaua's, was
Y ahead of the others, were the first to arrive at the actual harbor and
122 there surprised three individuals who seemed not a little frightened:
609 a good-looking, sturdy youth about 18 years old, the prototype of Crevaux's Rukuyenn /Rucuyen/ in Guiana, whom Tumayaua designated as pĩma imẽri, the son of a chief, a small boy, and, as the third, a young Mehinakú.

/96 cont./

123 Comforted and reassured in a friendly way by Tumayaua, the
[291] little chief laughed, but his whole body trembled. He had a wide
cotton bundle wound around his body and also a wrapping above
[301] his calves. Two beautiful shell chains adorned his neck. Their
[482] carrying baskets were filled with river mussels. Soon they has-
[226] tened away, happily excited. "Kúra karáiba," the Karaibe is
good, had been said to them a hundred times -- and Tumayaua
continued to call after them for a long time that they were to
137 provide plenty of pũserego. The next morning we departed early;
after we had passed a small section of campo cerrado, we entered
the woods. It was largely capoeira, young scrub forest that
532 springs up on previously planted terrain. On the trees we noticed
a large number of crudely carved human figures -- more than we
saw anywhere else. They were characterized by tremendous
donkey-earlike, but narrow elongations, which were explained to
245 us as ear-feathers. Toward the end of the path we found a fine
planting of piki trees (Caryocar brasiliensis); they have round
fruits of the shape and size of quite large apples, with a green
rind, butter-yellow contents, and fat seeds.

123 After two hours we reached the village; it lay in deathly
609 silence. Our procession walked up to the festival plaza. A
[361] wreath of twelve houses standing close together and a fine flute-
house; long sitting-beams lay at our feet. Not a human soul
greeted us; only in the entrances of the hushed beehives could
a few dark figures be indistinctly discerned. Tumayaua called,
gesticulating eagerly in the air with bow and arrow; our long
row, silently happy, awaited the events to come, then we, too,
began to shout that we were good, and suddenly we saw ourselves
tightly encircled by some 40 men.

123 With outbursts of joy which could not conceal a despairing
609 tinge of great fear, they had us squat down beside one another
574 on the slender sitting-beam and dragged forth beijús and huge
gourd bowls in abundance. The beijús were being stacked up
[292] to a frightening height; /Pl. VII appears here/ /97/ the gourd
bowls unfortunately did not contain the pleasant tasting pũserego,
000 but only the ordinary pogu mandioca paste. As a delicacy they

[TEXT Continues on P.74]

2: Steinen--73 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP? Bacairi
Yaruma SP25
Nahuqua

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Fish-net dance of the Nahuquá.

/97 cont./ As a delicacy They

574 262 let us sample a few pikí fruits, which in general were not yet ripe; a little piece with beijú did not taste so bad, but the greasy taste soon became too much for us and aroused repugnance.

142 The Nahuquá were strong, somewhat clumsy figures, whose square faces struck us in particular. Many of them had a double 302 chin. Among several we noticed painting on the chest with round daubs, triangles, and so forth; one wore a serpentine line over 201 the upper thighs. As an expression of astonishment or great amazement they pressed one hand tightly against the mouth and nose and behind it made all kinds of audible tones, hö hö hö, 574 such as we sometimes make while shaking our heads. We were 276 offered giant cigars 40 centimeters long; apparently this size was in direct proportion to the great fear of the givers.

345 After the reception ceremonies were over, we crept into [122] the flute-house to deposit our things there. The loads of beijú and drinks were eagerly dragged after us. The house of the men, which was very spacious and very carefully built, looked comfortlessly empty inside. A desolate room, only a few straw rem- 352 nants of dance costumes here and there on the floor. We visited individual huts: they were cleared out, here and there hung a lonely hammock, but the quantity of household goods in the way of baskets, calabashes, and pots, otherwise present everywhere, was absent; on the walls the stone axes, the bows, and the arrows were absent. Particularly painfully, however, we missed the 562 crown of creation. Only a few old women of ghastly ugliness -- 609 frighteningly thin, the skin over the entire body wrinkled, tangled, [142] flour-strewn hair, mincing walk with bent-in legs -- let them- [481] selves be seen; they grinned at us in a friendly way and were good, active creatures to whom we also owed our beijús. The more attractive young women had fled far into the forest.

123 Everywhere we were met with great distrust; at every step 609 we were joined by a large escort, and they assured us so vehemently and frequently of their "atötö atötö atötö," which corresponds to "kura" of the Bakaïrí, that it was hard for us to overlook the fact that their tongues were saying the opposite of what their hearts felt. We traded for whatever we found in the way of trifles and

/97 cont./

123 gave disproportionately large gifts in return, in order to arouse
609 their greed somewhat. Perrot as medicine man blew tobacco smoke on several of them and rubbed them with vaseline. One old man dragged his son from one to the other and was not satisfied until each one had blown on him.

123 We thought it might be well to reduce our number; first Antonio and Tumayaua returned to the harbor, then Perrot and Vogel, especially since the latter wanted to determine the latitude. Ehrenreich, my cousin, and I remained behind with the Bakaïrí from the third village and wanted at all events to sleep among our hosts, however unfavorably this decision /98/ was received. Fish and foodstuffs were to be brought to us regularly from the harbor by messengers.

We went to bathe, accompanied by 15 men. A small, overflowing brook with dirty bam water was found about half a kilometer from the village.

In the flute-house we sought to become a little more friendly
[115] with a few of them. One among them called himself a "Yaurikumá"; he lived three days' journey toward the east on
101 the Kuluëne. We obtained information from him about the loca-
823 tion of the Trumaí and Kamayurá /Camayura/ villages, which later proved to be perfectly correct. He also knew a few
197 Kamayurá words. To our delight, they proved that the Kamayurá must be a Tupí tribe. It made a strange impression on us to hear from him, whose language we did not understand, words of a foreign language that were so familiar to us, such as tapyra, the tapir, and yakaré, the cayman, which is generally designated
829 with this word in Brazil. Another man gave us a histrionic presentation of the Suyá; with a band of straw he demonstrated the ear rolls and lip disks, which, as always, provoked general de-
101 light among those sitting about. Here, too, for the first time, and, to be sure, in connection with the Suyá, the tribal name
186 "Aratá," which was unknown to us, was mentioned. The Trumaí, the Suyá, and the Aratá were described as "kurápa" = "not good."

/98 cont./

Y 123 In the evening the door of the flute-house, like those of the huts, was closed with a mat; sorrowfully, the Nahuquá bowed to their fate of not getting rid of us. On the village plaza we then held a jolly meeting of the tobacco club and pleased and amazed the assembly with a small display of fireworks. A burning candle was admired even more by these practical people. Our mirror was called tune, water, by them, just like the paru of the Bakaïrí.

Y 123 609 During the night a heavy thunderstorm broke out; we thought with compassion of the poor Nahuquá women who were sleeping out in the forest. At 5:00 it had already started to grow noisy in the village; scarcely had they heard us say a few words when we had numerous visitors in the flute-house. After the bad night, their desire that we depart became all the more vigorous. The Bakaïrí present from the third village urgently advised us that we should go now. While the festival hut was crowded with curious spectators, we packed into carrying baskets the few valuables that we had acquired, and the good Bakaïrí believed we were getting ready to leave. But they were mistaken. We merely asked them, when they themselves left the village at 10:00, to take the things along to the harbor, and we stayed.

Y W 323 On our walk through the huts we had come across a number of small pots, about which we were told at one time that they came from the Nahuquá, at another time that they came from the Mehinakú. The old potteress wore three parallel lines on her W 304 upper arm, the tattooing of the Mehinakú women; with her hands she indicated that she had been marked with this when she was Y 621 still very small. /99/ Besides several women, a few Mehinakú 162 men lived among the Nahuquá, one of whom we had already met W 302 at the harbor. One of them had painted his cheeks with black color, making two right angles filled with dots on the inside. I W 192 had him tell me a few words in his language and found that they 123 sounded the same as the Kustenau /Custenau/ recorded by us in 1884 on the Batovy. Since I had a word list of this language with me, I could immediately name for him a number of things, which filled him with the greatest astonishment. He then delivered a long, loud speech, hopefully friendly in content, and seemed thoroughly convinced that I understood every word of it.

/99 cont./

123 I wanted to make it clear to the people that it was important for me to obtain masks and promised them big knives as a reward. Apparently, however, my gestures were interpreted as meaning
535 that we ordered a dance. The company became greatly excited and, after some preparation, led us out to the plaza where we had to squat down on the dreadful sitting-beams. Two persons
[534] furnished the music. One of them squatted on the ground and beat time with a long gourd, another stood behind him, an attractive diadem band plaited out of straw around his head, and swung a rattle. Three dancers stepped up, feather diadems over their foreheads, the long apron of buriti straw wrapped around their hips several times, and their arms adorned with green foliage. They had tied leafy twigs, which gave forth a balsamy odor, along their arms, the stems upward, and concealed their hands in the green foliage. They lined up next to one another and each one stamped in a bent position, stretching his arms out and beating them together, moved away from his neighbor, turned around, and, always stamping, came back to the center. To the beat of the gourd, the rattle, and the stamping, they roared with loud voices: "ho ho ho" or "hu hu hu." Then a woman stepped up, one of the ugliest of the old ones and, opposite the three, hands placed on the chest, wandered rhythmically forward and backward with bent knees.

A second round of the dance was performed with somewhat
[533] livelier movements, each one beating the twigs together and rattling them, without the presence of the woman, and accompanied by the following song: "witenéru wayiwíti; wayiwítinéru witinerúwe; awirínuyána, awirínúyána; kanihayúha witinerú."

Soon afterwards a big dance was performed for us in the flute-
[534] house. The two musicians with rattles and gourd sat in the middle, and the others, 16 men strong, moved around in a semicircle, one half always moving away from the other and always coming back to it. As they strode, they all stamped the right foot and uttered a loud, shrill "ho ho ho," each one thrusting the rattle which he carried in his hand forward with a violent jerk

/99 cont./

535 in the direction of the musicians. The endless to and fro went on in this fashion. They were wearing miserable straw diadems which they had put together in haste, and only a few had an
126 attractive, /100/ respectable feather ornament. We traded knives for everything in the way of instruments and ornaments that had been used by the dancers.

Nevertheless, our mood was very gloomy and despairing. How were we supposed to take home an ethnological collection if the people hid in the forest before our arrival! What would Professor Bastian in Berlin say if we could only bring him to illustrate Schingú culture such miserable odds and ends as had to be laboriously searched for in some corner of this emptied flute-house or in these abandoned huts! The Nahuquá were only the second tribe on our list; if the rest were to behave in this way, it would be sad for the results of our expedition.

123 What to do then? We must not approach the tribes in a large group which would instill fear and must, at any price, try to surprise them by our arrival. I therefore decided to leave the Nahuquá secretly and go on ahead to the Mehinakú early the next morning, not with our men, but with only two Bakaïrí. My cousin and Ehrenreich stayed behind among the Nahuquá, in order to dispel their mistrust as far as possible and to complete the investigations; those following were to give me at least two days' start. If I suddenly appeared as a single individual among the Mehinakú, it was certainly not to be assumed that the entire village would be afraid of me and flee into the woods with all their possessions. Thus I went back to the harbor in the afternoon, while my cousin and Ehrenreich stayed.

During those days the first signs of fever were announcing themselves to Ehrenreich; they were all the more unpleasant because the heat was unusually intense. Wilhelm reported the following to me about the further course of events. After my departure he was led out on the plaza and there coram publico thoroughly questioned as to what had become of me. According to our agreement, he replied with an innocent face that I had been hungry and had gone to the harbor to eat fish. This motive

/100 cont./

123 was understood by the Indians and satisfied them; it was less agreeable to them that he and Ehrenreich had not also felt a similar hunger.

As early as 5:00 the next morning Wilhelm was awakened by a long speech outside, but he fell asleep again; at 6:00 a load of [126] fresh beijûs appeared. Ehrenreich took photographs, which at first aroused great alarm, but went off better than expected. The Nahuquá, who were pleased about the reward of beads, finally even fetched women out of the forest so that they would earn 263 ornaments for themselves. An old man who walked with a stick handed Wilhelm a little pot of bitter salt, the preparation of which we later became acquainted with among the Mehinakú. The old gentleman regarded the horrid tasting stuff as a delicacy, for he did not fail to stick his finger into it several times and lick off the salt, smacking his lips contentedly. On top lay a couple of small pepper pods, which were called homi.

226 /101/ Among the booty of the returning fishermen there were two small piranha-like fish called irinko; this was the mereschu of the Bakaïrí, which plays an important role in their ornamenta- 123 tion. Wilhelm made a drawing of the fish and was surprised to [126] see what great appreciation he reaped from the Indians for his picture. The intelligent Yaurikumá finally, after prolonged entreaty, understood our wish to obtain masks and promised that we should find them upon our return.

From all appearances, the mistrust had lessened somewhat; objects which previously had been hidden appeared in the huts. [415] There were two large pots, such as are made by Mehinakú, of [531] huge circumference with a painting of vertically ascending stripes all around and a drawing consisting of two semicircles facing each other outside on the bottom. In the flute-house 126 Ehrenreich took anthropological measurements without any diffi- culty.

The morning of 11 October was quieter. A couple of shell [301] chains were brought, one with a large pierced stone, for which the owner at first absolutely insisted on Ehrenreich's large bush- 000 knife. Wilhelm came across the chief busy planting maize behind

Y /101 cont./ Wilhelm came across the chief busy planting maize behind
123 his hut; with a little stick he dug holes two to three inches deep
241 and placed several kernels in them. When my cousin came along, the old man insisted that he plant the rest, an incident similar to my experience in the first Bakaïrí village.

Y Soon afterwards great agitation suddenly broke out in the
203 midst of the company. Wilhelm was led into the hut of the chief
152 and found sitting there three newcomers who were staring darkly ahead while everyone was noisily talking at once and a few women were weeping. He could not make out what was happening and
Y [302] realized only that there had been bad news, the bearers of which were the three red-painted strangers. Only later in the flute-house was the news made intelligible to him with much panto-
T mime. The bad Suyá had finally successfully carried out the plan
648 to attack the Trumaí, for which they had sought our assistance in 1884. "Suyá Trumaí tok tok"; it was thus illustrated with lively gestures that the Suyá had struck down and overcome the Trumaí. It seemed that the former had pulled some of the Trumaí canoes toward them with hooks and tipped them over; arrows were shot
Y at the swimmers, and others had their hands tied behind their backs.
203 The people who had brought the news were the Nahuquá
101 living closest to the Trumaí, who were called Guikurú /Kuikuru/.

Y On the forenoon of 11 October Wilhelm and Ehrenreich, whose
122 indisposition was growing worse, returned to the harbor and rowed off on the morning of the 12th in order to catch up with me. Two of the Mehinakú, who lived below the Nahuquá and had correctly interpreted my disappearance, had already traveled after me the day before, but fortunately arrived a day later than I did.

000 /102/ III. To the Mehinakú.

Going ahead alone. Arrival and reception. Festival hut. Disturbed harmony and reconciliation. Prosperity. Flying ants. Ethnographic collection.

B
123 It had required some power of persuasion to induce Tumayaua and his companion, the "cab driver," who had fortunately once

B /102 cont./
123 been among the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, although he did not know their language, to carry out my plan, but one was encouraged by the example of the other.

W 122 We set out early on 10 October and reached the harbor of the
B Mehinakú on 12 October at 11:00 in the forenoon. We had not
461 hurried particularly; the two rowed best only when I provided a good example. The most dreadful thing to me was that they traced all the bends in the river and never cut off one of them by crossing it. There was not a fish, not a bird, that did not hold their attention. They shot at, without hitting, several gallinaceous birds; a capybara that was swimming across the river was wounded in its hind leg and, with the arrow, ran screaming into the woods. We slept that night beside an inlet with an abundance of fish and made a good catch. The two roasted fish all night long, carefully keeping the fire going under the wooden grill; they had set up their hammocks so close that they could comfortably reach out, turn the fish, occasionally consume a piece, and have the benefit of the fire's warmth.

W [142] [302] ←

B 252

Fig. 4. Mehinakú woman.

W 131 On the second morning they told me that the bank on the left
B belonged to the Mehinakú, on the right to the Nahuquá. The
504 harbor lay along a steep sandbank where a small brook emptied.
W [531] Rhomboid designs were scratched on the trees. The Bakaïrí shoved
B the canoe far up into the brook and carefully concealed the oars
581 and carrying baskets, which still contained remnants of fish and
B beijús, in the woods. Tumayaua prepared a gift for the Mehinakú
576 hosts and for this purpose hung a rosary-like cord around his neck,
B on which were strung fruits with an oily content. The oil was
[757] rubbed on the skin scratched by the medicinal scarifier of the Indians.

/102 cont./

487 We walked for two and a quarter hours through the woods
along a monotonous and, in the oppressive heat, not untroublesome
532 path. About one kilometer from the village, where the woods
thinned out, a large circular figure was drawn in the sand under
a tree (cf. the figure under "Sand Drawings" /see Fig. 36, p.263/).
Along the part of the edge turned toward the village there was
drawn on the inside a figure that was difficult to interpret.
Tumayaua called the thing "atulua" and described to me that one
/103/ goes around there with kā ā ā.... As a matter of fact,
there were many footprints running all around.

609 Even before we arrived at this spot, the Bakaïrí, who had
walked ahead of me the greater part of the way, stood still and
politely invited me to take the lead. They were clearly indicating
that they no longer felt altogether safe. It was not until we were
close to the village, however, that we met a Mehinakú, who most
hastily wheeled around just after we had called out a "kúra, kúra!"
[361] to him. Immediately thereafter we stepped out on a vast open
plaza that was surrounded by 14 houses in a large circle.

A most curious picture! From all sides people rushed out of
the houses; young and old ran about with lively calls and gestures,
partly coming toward me, partly drawing back. Soon I was taken
[352] by the hands and, held in this friendly fashion, was led through the
[532] throng, which had grown to over 100 persons, to the flute-house,
where I was made to sit down on a handsomely carved bird-stool.
[302] I was regarded with an expression of shy and anxious curiosity; the
women, largely blackened and in part covered all over with soot,
hid behind the circle of men, who recoiled at the slightest unex-
[272] pected movement on my part. Many gourds filled with starchy
paste were offered, and I had to drink out of each one. Beijús of
[262] excellent quality, soft, with whitish flour, and folded together like
a cloth, appeared in masses; salt was also served on green leaves.

345 I was glad when I was finally permitted to crawl into the
festival hut, the entrance of which was not knee-high here. It was
[532] filled with colorful wooden masks with varied painting, but the
same shape; on some of them, too, the long buriti hangings that
fall down in front like a huge beard are colored red.

/103 cont./

437 I immediately opened the trading and, for knives and beads,
[126] obtained a few masks and small pots. They were absolutely bent on having knives and more knives; they exhibited quite impatient behavior with regard to this. "Out with your things," each one seemed to say, "can't you see that I'm waiting?" The essence of a sound business transaction, in which whoever takes something also gives something, was definitely not clear to them. Tumayaua, who in his role as impresario for the interesting guest felt exceedingly proud and happy, explained to them in a long speech the elementary principles of European trade. His skill in making this understandable to his audience with not more than three or four phrases of his own language in the chest tone of conviction, and later in giving an account of our experiences, was highly remarkable.

123 Later I had a long session outside, at which numerous old
153 women took part; whenever the chief heard a Karaibe word from me, he did what I did when I entered his words in my book, and scribbled busily in the sand.

122 /104/ The two Bakaïrí set up housekeeping with me in the festival hut. We stayed there unmolested for the night, after I had made a tour of inspection through several dwellings.

345 The flute-house was 13 paces wide, 22 paces long, and five meters high. It had two door openings adjacent to each other, both extremely low and each four paces long; outside lay a long
345 buriti trunk. Three huge posts supported the roof beams; along
353 them was a horizontally fastened, ladder-like structure, from the
[335] vertically lashed rungs of which hung 20 masks, a few straw hang-
[534] ings, and a whizzer stick 60 centimeters long, painted black and red, and shaped like a sword blade.

345 On the floor in front of the small center post that separated the
353 two doors, and likewise to the right of the entrance, there were
532 two skin reliefs bulging out of the ground, representing iguanas, one meter long and eight centimeters high. These daintiest of all mounds were, in general, very well modeled, only the heads were
764 rather crudely executed. Opposite the entrance, on the village plaza, a man had been buried shortly before; a heap of brush

/104 cont./

764 lay there, crawling with beetles and flies. In the ground one also saw openings of channels from which the little animals were returning from their feast.

609 123 The next morning the peace was unfortunately disturbed, because while I was away in the huts my belt bag had been emptied in the flute-house. I missed my compass, which pained me very much, as well as a pair of surgeon's scissors, a small hunting horn, a box of peppermint drops, and similar things. At the same time the company was so greedy and tormented me so much that I realized I would have to make an example of this and not let them get away with this theft if I wanted to keep my position of indispensable respect. Hence I complained, called them bad, "kurápa," and demanded my things back. Amid lively assurances of their innocence, they departed; perhaps, they said, a Kamayurá who had just arrived was the culprit.

123 Two hours passed. Every five or ten minutes one of them would come crawling in, but was immediately led to the door by me and given to understand that he should search; he would then stand up outside and, in a tone as though he could scarcely suppress his tears, would make a loud speech across the plaza, which was answered from the huts with much screaming, most excitedly on the part of the women. I sternly rejected a bowl of mandioca drink. Very gradually and at long intervals the missing articles appeared.

One man brought the scissors, another the little hunting horn, and five or six, likewise at long intervals, a peppermint drop each, all of which I let lie on the ground and explained that I would not accept it until not one piece was missing.

Unfortunately, the most important thing, the compass, did [622] not appear. Then I went straight over to the hut of the fat old chief and complained there; he /Pl. VIII appears here/ /105/ excused himself because he had been absent and did not know anything about what happened. Whereupon I took him by the hand and, while he very reluctantly waddled after me, brought him to the flute-house. Here, on the spot, I described to him what had happened, threatened: "mehinakú kúra, karáiba kúra; mehinakú

[Text Continues on p. 86]

2: Steinen--85 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Wauja SP18
Mehinaku

Plate VIII

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516

Demonstration of a bird-whistle among the Mehinakú.

/105 cont./

123 kurápa, karáiba kurápa" = if the Mehinakú is good, the Karaibe is likewise good, if the Mehinakú is bad, the Karaibe is likewise bad, and, to his dismay, fired a revolver shot into the center post. Immediately there arose outside a loud wailing and a confused running this way and that. The old man disappeared, assured me, trembling, that he would search. Tumayaua peered through the peepholes in the straw roof and, with great enjoyment, observed the scenes outside, then ran snickering to the post and examined the path of the shot.

[648] The rest of the day they stayed away from me; only two Kamayurá, visitors in the village, sat down beside me in front of the festival hut and let themselves be examined. Demonstratively I rewarded them lavishly and also obtained from them the promise that we would be well received by their tribe. According to their description, not the old man whom I had taken to [622] task, but the second chief of the Mehinakú, who had attracted my attention from the start because of his dissatisfied face, was the real thief of my things.

The next morning, as early as 4:00, a hullabaloo broke out. It had been quiet during the night; only now and then one could hear coughing outside, proof that the Mehinakú were awake. Toward morning we had a very violent thunderstorm; a puddle of water formed in front of the door and made the entrance almost [789] impassable. I had conjured up the thunderstorm. Many speeches were being delivered outside. Either one man alone stood on the plaza and spoke in a loud voice, or, more commonly, the speakers stationed themselves before the doors of their houses. More and more I began to see the humor of the whole thing. It was a classic and epic situation, the way the heroes stood there in front of the doors of their houses and solemnly spoke. I let myself be persuaded to make peace and, to everybody's delight, accepted a beijú which was brought to me freshly fragrant from the pan and which really tasted very good. Thus the episode came to an end; it was all the more fortunate that everything ended well, because it was later discovered, to my horror, that the compass could not have been stolen from me for the simple reason that I did not have it with me. The interlude had a very favorable effect on our

/105 cont./

123 relationship, however, insofar as the good Mehinakú from then on became more courteous and did not pester me any more with impatient entreaties.

The reconciliation was facilitated inasmuch as one of the Mehinakú encountered among the Nahuquá, who knew me only from the good side, had meanwhile arrived. In the afternoon Wilhelm and Vogel also appeared, while Ehrenreich remained behind, ill, in the harbor and did not visit the village until /106/ the return journey. The two were given a small reception; they [352] [532] had to sit on the magnificent animal-stools, which we did not see as beautifully made among any other tribe, and received their beijús of welcome. The news about the battle between the 361 Trumaí and Suyá was discussed amid lively pantomime. It turned out that there were two more Mehinakú villages, both a day's journey or less away. The one lying to the southwest, to be sure, seemed to be very small and was even described as a single house, the other in the north was supposed to consist of five houses.

Our village was made up of 14 houses, excluding the flute-house; there were also two buildings under construction, one of which 511 was almost finished and already occupied. The whole gave the impression of great prosperity. At any rate, if the Indian measuring-stick were applied, that the possession of mandioca signified the actual wealth, the Mehinakú were the richest tribe of the Kulisehu. [241] They seemed to practice agriculture in a very systematic way. Among them we again were given sweet potatoes for the first time. When we paid for a few mangabas with beads, entire baskets of them were dragged out for us, until we were obliged to call the dis- 222 tributors to a halt, despite our excellent appetites. On the evening of 13 October a joyful event took place, a cloud of flying ants fell down over the village. Straw fires were lighted in front of the huts and old and young hastily collected in gourds and pots the almost inch-long little animals which had singed their long, deli- 262 cate wings in the flickering fire. Everybody rejoiced and relished 263 the ants with beijú and salt-earth. In several houses we found 258 [824] people busy preparing the salt. They burn takoara and aguapé, the foliage plant of still waters, leach out the ashes, and from the 317 filtrate obtain a salty residue. Often a reddish earth resembling a salt-ash is used directly.

W /106 cont./

531 We were able to put together a fine ethnological collection.
[126] In all the implements there was manifested the same primitive, but most vigorous artistic sense, which always used animal figures as its subject matter, and, to be sure, often in a very discerning
W [412] manner. The women of the Mehinakú, who turn their cakes with
[323] beautifully carved implements, are also the ones who have gone furthest in making artistic pot-forms. All the masks in the flute-
W 126 house that we chose were given to us without hesitation. Simi-
437 larly, there was no notion connected with the whizzer stick which
[534] would have made its surrender to us seem hazardous.

W The farewell from the Mehinakú on the afternoon of 14 October
123 was very cordial; once again they presented us with beijús,
[482] mangabas, and sweet potatoes, and four men packed the load on their backs in order to carry it to the harbor for us. Our collection, which we did not want to carry along on the visit to the tribes living downstream, we confidently left for safekeeping with the old gentleman whom I had frightened so. He had become our well-meaning friend, /107/ after I had solemnly hung around his neck a string of our biggest beads and a few small bells.

Y On the way home through the sultry woods filled with a true
484 hothouse temperature, we met three Nahuquá, two men and a
[415] woman; they were heavily loaded with fine large gourd-vessels. In the harbor we also met two Nahuquá and the Guikurú who had
W conveyed the news of the Trumaí battle. They had crossed the
[487] river and come overland -- proof that a passable route exists.

000

IV. To the Auetó

Journey. Reception at the harbor and in the village. Throwing sticks. Masks. Artists' hut. Center of traffic. The Waurá. Wrestling match.

W [122] On 15 October, at 8:15 in the morning, we departed from the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ harbor; the river flowed along in dreadful meanderings, and we were obliged to row in circles, so to speak, the whole day. Moreover, the weather was dreary and rainy. We

W /107 cont./
123 We stayed the night in the harbor of the northerly Mehinakú village,
504 which we reached at 3:30 in the afternoon. A few citizens awaited us there, in order to invite us in a friendly way to pay a visit. We were afraid of the loss of time, however, and gave up the little excursion.

A On 16 October, after we had departed at 7:00, we were
122 hailed at midday from the left bank. "katú, Auetó, katú katú!"
609 rang out in good Tupí. "The Auetó are good!"

A A small number of Indians, most of them covered all over
123 with soot, awaited us at their harbor. The news of our appearance and the events among the Mehinakú had already reached them; the Kamayurá /Camayura/ whom I had favored with gifts among the Mehinakú had probably announced us and reported good things about us. We landed and promised to appear in the village in the afternoon, after the rest of the canoes had arrived. Almost at the
A same time another group of Auetó, among whom there were a few
226 women, passed by on their way back from fishing; they were carrying basket-weirs and had caught small trahira fish.

A Ehrenreich was extremely indisposed and, like Vogel and
122 Perrot, postponed his visit until the next day. Wilhelm and I set
A out at 2:30 in the afternoon. We walked through a bit of woods,
[361] passed a recently burned-off clearing, wandered through capoeira for a long time, assiduously ate mangabas which grew in abundance by the wayside, and reached the village in an hour and a half.

A Our reception was somewhat out of the ordinary. In front of
123 the festival hut we were obliged to wait for a time, during which
574 a large crowd of people assembled; stools were fetched, and we all
[345] remained in /108/ solemn silence. Beside us lay a burial place
A [764] marked off in a square by a fence of low posts which were joined
[417] by plaiting (cf. Pl. 15 /see p. 253/); individuals sat comfortably on the posts. Then the chief, Auayato, stepped out of one of the
A [622] huts opposite the flute-house, bow and arrow in hand, his neck
[414] adorned with a chain of jaguar claws and his head with a diadem
[301] of jaguar skin. He sat down on the ground quite a distance from
[537] us, in the center of the plaza, and, with a loud voice, delivered a long official speech. We replied eagerly: katú, kúra, etc., etc.

/108 cont./

123 574 Then he stood up, came toward us, sat down directly in front of me, and delivered the same speech again. We, too, said everything that occurred to us; I handed him a fine knife, and all of [186] us were one heart and one soul. They made not a little fun of the Mehinakú whose women had run away and seemed to find special satisfaction in the fact that their neighbors had behaved badly and had to be set right by me. They, too, expressed the eager desire to be given beads, but they behaved courteously and decently.

[142] [292] [301] [302] [622] ← [576] → 648 186 →

Fig. 5. Aueté chief Anayato.

The Aueté were still deeply affected by the battle between the Suyá and Trumaí. This became more understandable to us later when we /109/ learned that the Trumaí had sought protection among the Aueté. The subject was discussed [123] in detail in the evening, after we had entertained our hosts with sparkling fireworks on the village plaza. The chief immediately launched one of his pathetic addresses and cried loudly that the Suyá were bad, that the -- unknown to us -- Arará, too, were bad, that the Suyá had assaulted first the Manitsauá and then the Trumaí, /Fig. 6 appears here/ had killed many men and dragged off many [123] women. We should unite with the Trumaí and chastise the Suyá.

/109 cont./

123 And in 1884 the reverse offer had been made to us by the Suyá,
648 who at that time were our friends and, like us, were obliged to complain about the Trumaí.

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Fig. 6.
Plaited mask, throwing sticks, and darts
of the Aueto.

411 When we entered the huts, one of the first things that caught our attention and held our interest to the highest degree was the ever present throwing stick. On our first journey we had obtained a single specimen of this strange weapon from the Suyá and heard

/109 cont./

411 that it came from the Kamayurá. Here there was no hut in which the throwing boards were absent.

Apparently the weapon served primarily for the dance. But we were told that the Auetó and Trumaí used them in case of war. Its use for hunting seems to be out of the question. The chief [536] demonstrated the use of the throwing stick to us with grotesque gestures and accompanied his mimicry with a song, to which I shall come back later when I give the more detailed description.

532 Instead of the wooden masks we encountered for the first time masks made of cotton plaiting, which were coated with wax and had small wads of wool /Woll/ or lumps of wax as eyes and a 535 thicker lump of wax for the nose. The ever obliging chief also showed us the mask dance, taking bow and arrow in his hand. The face of the mask rested on the front part of his skull; he peered out from under it through the buriti plaiting. The accompanying song referred to the women.

531 The Auetó, too, showed a strong inclination toward adorning all implements with painted decorations. We even, with every justification, called a house where they were particularly active in this respect the artists' hut. /110/ Many animal figures, carved and painted black, were to be found there on the wall posts; on the cross-beams we discovered a whole series of geometrical figures. The artists were very pleased that we were interested in their works, [126] never tired of leading us into every corner where there was perhaps still another drawing, and were very gratified that Wilhelm made copies of them in his sketchbook.

101 Lively foreign traffic prevailed in the Auetó village. We met 648 Waurá, Yaulapiti, Kamayurá, Mehinakú, a Bakaírí /Bacairi/ from the fourth village of the Batovy, and, during our subsequent stay, representatives of almost all the principal tribes there. Trumaí were roaming about too, but we did not catch sight of them, for, remembering our meeting of 1884, they anxiously hid [487] from us. Directly beside the Auetó village there begins the network of canals and lagoons that extends to the confluence of the principal source rivers and unites the tribes living there. The 504 Auetó therefore have, aside from the river harbor on the Kulisehu, where we landed, another harbor at the village itself, which is part of the canal network.

/110 cont./

000 A 648 487 part of the canal network. Thus by waterway they are in communication with the Yaulapiti and the Trumaí. By switching to short overland stretches one could also reach the Mehinakú, the Kamayurá, and the Waurá by way of the canals and lagoons.

A 122 Our excursions then to the Yaulapiti and Kamayurá, as well as to the Trumaí, were made from the Auetó village. Unfortunately, because of the limited time, we were obliged to give up a visit to the Waurá, the ones farthest away.

W 131 W [101] The Waurá must live in the angle between the Batovy and the Kulisehu, but considerably closer to the former. In 1884, the Kustenaú /Custenau/ had definitely mentioned their name to us, but we were uncertain as to whether it actually referred to a tribe, and only now on the Kulisehu we learned that a few fish traps that we had noticed on the lowermost part of the Batovy belonged to the Waurá. Among the Auetó we saw several individuals of the tribe, measured them and recorded them linguistically; they are most closely related to the Mehinakú and Kustenaú. One Waurá promised us that while we were among the Kamayurá he would procure pots and masks which we should find on our return to the Auetó village. He pained us deeply, however, and stayed away.

W 126 197 W 123

A W 526 648 The three Waurá in the Auetó village were trim, sturdy chaps; on the second day of our stay they staged a sort of wrestling match with the Auetó, which probably did not take place in our honor, but occurred quite accidentally at the time of our stay. A Yaulapiti also took part in it. The wrestlers, always members of different tribes, came forward in pairs, their bodies oiled in part with yellowish-red urucú, in part with black pigment. They squatted down, picked up a handful of sand, and, arms hanging down, they moved with great speed in a low squatting position, around each other several times in a narrow circle, sized each other up with wicked looks, and cried out threatening "<u>húuhá! húuhá!</u>" at each other. Then one of them let his right hand fly /<u>111</u>/ against the left hand of the other, and, always squatting in this position, with lightning speed and not unlike angry monkeys, both leaped about tirelessly on the same spot and sought to seize and force down the other's head. This went on for a long time, without a word spoken. Suddenly they leaped up and, grasping quickly, aimed for the head. Yet in spite of zealous efforts, none

A W 526 [302]

/111 cont./

A W 526 was able to hit the other and pull him down. In the end they became very cheerful and put their arms around each other's shoulders in friendly fashion. Actual wrestling did not take place; the main thing seemed to be the dexterity with which one avoided having his head suddenly seized by the opponent and being pulled down. The audience remained motionless, except for a few laughing critics. General merriment arose only when one man, who was obviously considered the winner, lifted up the leg of the other under the knee.

ooo

V. To the Yaulapiti.

The Arauití in the Auetö village. Trip through canals and across the uyá lagoon. A poor village. The sorcerer Moritona. Reception of the blind chief. Back to the Auetö and again to the Yaulapiti. Second Yaulapiti village.

A W 648 We met individual Yaulapiti among the Mehinakú and Auetö. W 197 According to linguistic relationships, they belong with the Nu-Aruak /Arawak/, but dialectally they represent a form that is already quite sharply different from the Mehinakú, and Waurá.

A W 582 592 621 Near the Auetö village, a few hundred paces away, stood two houses where Auetö men and Yaulapiti women lived. The families, I do not know for what reasons, were not on very friendly terms with the Auetö village and definitely regarded themselves as closer to the Yaulapiti. They bore the special A W [571] [101] name of the Arauití; in spite of the fact that -- during our time, at any rate -- there were only two families, the designation Arauití already fully served as a tribal name. The Suyá chief who in 1884 drew for us in the sand the river map of the source region mentioned the Arauití directly next to the Auetö.

W 122 On 18 October in the afternoon, under the guidance of a Yaulapiti, I departed from the Auetö harbor with Antonio and W [487] [137] Tumayaua, in order to take up the Yaulapiti. The canal was not more than four to five meters wide; we were surrounded on all sides by the picture of a swamp landscape. Numerous side

ooo

Numerous side

W /111 cont./
487 canals flowed in, especially when our arm occasionally broadened
out to 12 to 15 meters wide. It was difficult to see how one
W 487 could find the way in this maze. Many side canals seemed filled
137 with grass and covered with a dirty coating of vegetation. As
far as the eye could see it took in a multitude of buriti palms,
from the tall-trunked, full-grown ones with fine fan-shaped crowns,
to the smallest which greatly resembled the reed grass growing
W 342 everywhere. After an hour we passed a small, miserable rancho
609 which was perched between a few /112/ tree roots. This was the
place of refuge of the women when they run away out of fear from
the visit of strangers. Here, to be sure, we would never have
W been able to find them, even if we had wanted to.
502 In places the canal was so narrow and so blocked that we
W 487 pushed our way through only with difficulty. On the side canals,
101 as the Yaulapiti pointed out to me, one could reach the Mehinakú
on the left and the Trumaí on the right.
W 136 It was incompatible with the picture of the swamp landscape
that we were not bothered by any mosquitoes and gnats at all,
W 226 much as I appreciated their absence. Our guide was eagerly
[822] watching for fish and tried to spear them with the arrow, which
bore a long bone point, during which, by dipping, he frequently
W measured the refraction in the water; he speared only a small
501 trahira, however, He liked to push the canoe forward with the bow.
W 487 After a trip of an hour and a quarter we were at the end of
the Auetó canal. We let the canoe lie there and stepped onto
A firm land. The Auetó had a planting here and evidently when
[241] they worked on it remained out for days. We found about a dozen
[342] shelter-huts, several places for fires, and a number of large and
[415] small pots. We then went overland for an hour through open,
idyllic bush country on a somewhat serpentine, winding path and
W reached another very narrow swampy canal. Here we were obliged
[485] to wait for a considerable time, sitting in the swamp, while our
Yaulapiti walked along the canal for a bit and raised a loud,
W resounding cry for a canoe. Finally one came along, appeared
[133] in our canal, and, after a few minutes, brought us into a beautiful
lagoon, the clear water of which was a comfort to the eyes. The

/112 cont./

487 shore round about was covered with buriti palms; we cut across
361 the lake and in half an hour reached the Yaulapiti village.

361 A short path led up to the houses; there were six of them
123 and several were very dilapidated. There was no flute-house;
609 we were taken to an empty hut, and Antonio and I were each
[345] brought a stool. A strange reception. After a long time the
[622] chief came hobbling along on a stick and sat for a while, smoking
[276] behind me. Gradually, however, he came closer, moved opposite me, and started the conversation. He: I am a Yaulapiti. I: I am a Karaibe. He: I am good, Yaulapiti are good. I: I am
[756] good, the Karaiben are good. He: I am a yatoma (witch doctor). I: I am a yatoma. Then he had a bowl of sticky tasting unpalata-
[431] ble mandioca drink brought, was given his knife, and gave me a cigar.

511 It is amazing what differences there are between poor and rich even among these primitive peoples. The people did not hide anything from me; one realizes immediately that they simply do not possess anything but the bare essentials, that here they did not remove anything, as among the Nahuquá, but that
[262] real want prevails. I cannot make up my mind to accept the single beijú that is present and gladly give beads even without getting this sad specimen. /Pl. IX appears here./ /113/ The little mandioca flour that I see has become moldy red through and through. They roast bakayuva nuts and I discover only one
[252] single gnawed-off maize ear. Fish are being roasted on wooden grills in front of the huts, but even these are small, miserable animals; it is a ghastly thought that several persons are supposed to be satisfied with them.

756 Later in the evening a man named Moritona came and with
[302] his powerful voice and brisk manner brought a little life into the company; he had a black stripe painted through the middle of his face. He proudly mentioned his name immediately; he was a great witch-doctor, "yatóma Moritona Mehinakú," he declared, "Moritona Kamayurá, Moritona Auetö, Moritona Trumaí" -- among all tribes Moritona was welcome as a doctor, and, wherever anyone was ill, he blew away the affliction. He pictured this with

[Text Continues on p. 98]

2: Steinen--97 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Aueto SP6
Camayura

Plate IX

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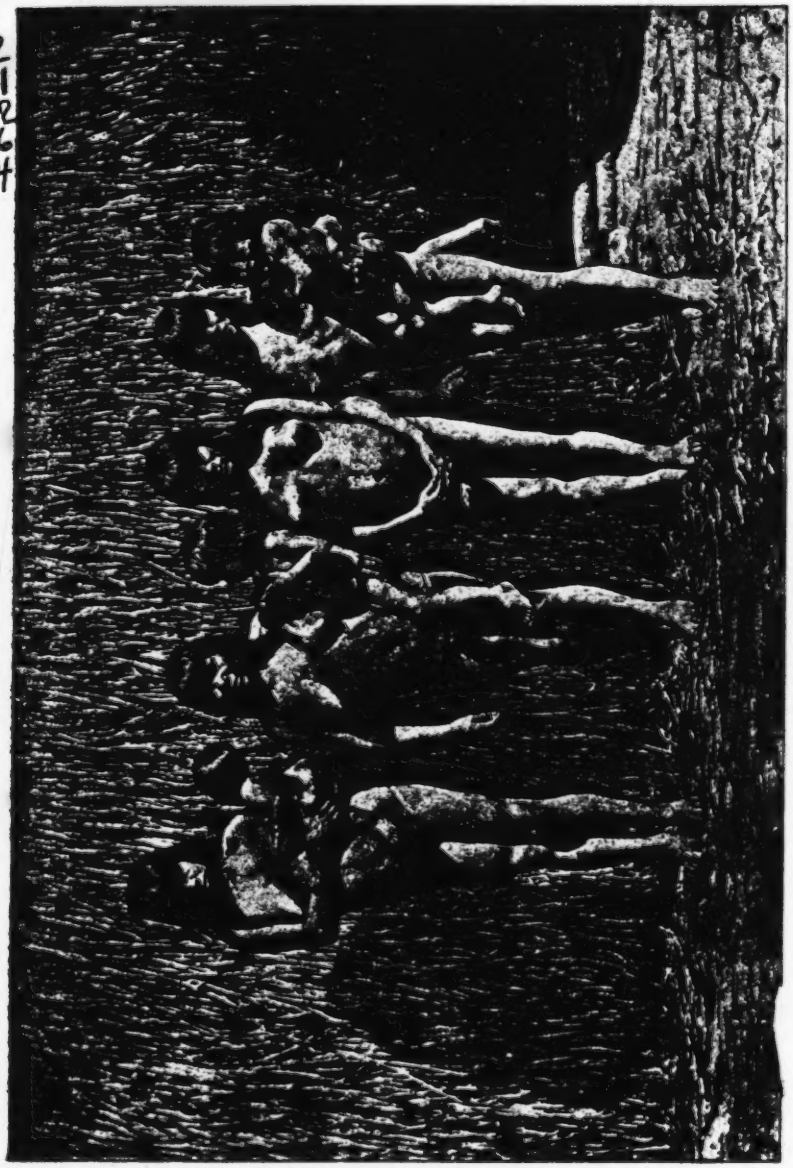

Kamayurá women.

/113 cont./

756 such forceful conviction that one could see sicknesses disappear like mist before his breath. We had cooked a pea-soup tablet for ourselves; the noble Moritona rubbed his chest with what was left over and naïvely asked me whether that was efficacious.
574 For our supper the Yaulapiti had been able to furnish us only water and lend us a pot and two gourd vessels. And yet, in spite of their poverty, beads meant much more to them than knives.

123 The next morning I was called out of my hut and told that there was another chief there whom I must greet. The number
[361] of people had also increased. As I learned later, they had come over from a second Yaulapiti village that I knew nothing about at
[764] that time. A stool had been placed in the center of the plaza beside a fenced-in burial place. Many people round about. We
[276] waited. The chief with whom I was acquainted was sitting a little distance to the left of me and was smoking; to pass the time, I followed his example. This was apparently incorrect, for the woman leading the chief who finally appeared uttered
[622] a sound of dissatisfaction. Old Mapukáyaka was blind, his eyes
[732] dim. He sat down opposite me, and the familiar conversation
[511] took its course. He described the poverty of his tribe and, sighing, pressed his hand against his empty stomach for greater empha-
[431] sis. We had given the Bakaïrí so much -- this turn always recurs -- I must give him gifts, too. Touched, I went to get him a shiny spoon. Which aroused joyful appreciation among the bystanders. The old chief touched me and complained about his blindness with such dignity that I felt truly sorry for him. He rubbed his hand over my hand and then over his eyes; he did the
[764] same thing with his arm. He pointed to the burial place where
178 his son or grandson was lying. He said that formerly the Yaulapiti
648 had been much stronger, but had been oppressed by the Manitsauá; in short, he had only the dark sides of life to report and put me
648 in quite a melancholy mood. He said that the Manitsauá, in turn, were conquered by the Suyá, and in fact in 1884 we had
829 met a number of captive Manitsauá among the Suyá. For the first /114/ time I heard the statement that the Suyá were good.

/114 cont./

829 The complaints of the old man also referred to the Trumaí, however. They and the Suyá, he said, were rich because they had stone axes.

164 The old people looked unhealthy; several men and women
162 had skin thickened to a scaly crust. There were numerous chil-
609 dren, relatively more than anywhere else. The women were
562 supposed to have been very much afraid of me at first; now they sat cozily around me, as in the first Bakaïrí village, but they attentively observed my every movement, and at the slightest one that came unexpectedly, one or another of them would dash off to one side. With a sudden upward leap I could have put the entire company in flight. They conversed softly, but even after being together for an hour, they did not seem bored. Of my magic objects the mirror, for a change, made the greatest impression here and evoked a loud "té he he hé" of astonishment. A burned match that I had thrown away was planted in the ground between grass by one of them.

511 I was unable to acquire much from these poor people. Why
[126] they were actually in such a lamentable state did not become
[241] clear to me, in spite of the Manitsauá. True, their plantings
[731] had been devastated that year by pigs. There were a couple of
[301] attractive spindle disks, beijú turners, a few feather ornaments,
[126] and, the only thing that was special and noteworthy, a number of chains with bored stones.

122 On the morning of 19 October I had ordered Antonio and Tumayaua to go back to the Auetö to fetch our other traveling companions, while I was completing the linguistic recording of the Yaulapiti. They returned in the afternoon, however, because they had not found any boat at the end of the Auetö canal.

The Yaulapiti maintained that the one we left there had been used by a couple of Trumaí. The latter, they said, had been in their village, but had fled when I arrived because they were afraid of me. In this unpleasant situation I decided to return to the Auetö immediately, so that we would not be expected in vain and our companions become worried. It was to be hoped, surely, that a canoe of the Auetö would appear the next day and take us.

/114 cont./

122 It was not until 5:00, however, that we obtained from the Yaulapiti a canoe which had returned from fishing. The uyá, as the large lagoon was called, was very choppy. There was sheet lightning all around. The young Yaulapiti who rowed us stood [501] [821] in the canoe and blew against the gathering clouds with such conviction and gravity that it was a pleasure to watch him. A funnel of spray squirted out of the mouth of the sturdy Boreas.

We landed in good time, however, and walked the last stretch of the way in the pitch darkness, while flashes of lightning occasionally illuminated the path. We settled down for the night in the shelter-huts of the Auetö at the end of the canal. [415] Of the pots available, only one monster proved, on closer inspection, to be useful for cooking; I had nothing but two vegetable tablets with /115/ me. The water that had been laboriously fetched evaporated, the pot cracked, and the only thing left for us to do was to lie down hungry in the hammocks. [285] The Yaulapiti slept on one of the small circular mats that were lying around there from the preparation of mandioca. Almost all night long we had a heavy thunderstorm and were thoroughly soaked, in spite of the protective roofs, which unfortunately were very dilapidated.

An Auetö actually came the next morning, 20 October, and we traveled back to the village with him. There I joined my traveling companions, and on the same evening we were back again with the Yaulapiti. My departure from them was therefore really most superfluous, since Antonio and Tumayaua could just as well have waited alone at the Auetö canal for a boat, without taking me along, too. But the bad Trumaí were roaming about there, and Antonio was avoiding these "water animals" (for that is what they are, he said, and not human beings) at all costs. We were not anxious to stay long among the Yaulapiti, but rather wanted to go on immediately to the Kamayurá.

122 487 We set out early on 21 October. A short distance beyond the Yaulapiti village we were again obliged to enter a canal, and this one again led us to a lagoon, which lay more to the north than the first one. We crossed it, and after we had landed

Aueto SP6
Camayura
Waura SP18
Yaulapiti

W 122 487 361 /115 cont./ We crossed it, and after we had landed on the opposite shore beside a couple of long tree trunks lying there in the swamp, upon which we had to balance ourselves painstakingly, we saw, after a few steps, a second Yaulapiti village.

W 361 342 It consisted of nine huts, only four of which, however, represented substantial dwellings, while the other five were dilapidated ranchos. About 40 persons awaited us, at their head the W 628 [574] blind chief and our friend Moritona, both of whom were thus at home here. As a matter of fact, I noticed a number of people whose acquaintance I had already made in the first village. They had come over for a visit after my arrival.

W 511 123 This second village could not in any way give us more favorable impressions of the Yaulapiti. Here, too, we saw only a pitiful fisherfolk, to whom we handed a few presents and whom, after the completion of the customary reception scene, we left not unwillingly.

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VI. To the Kamayurá.

Reception. Delight over our linguistic relationship. Reports about the Arumá. Pleasant sojourn. Kamayurá and Trumaí together in 1884. Invitation to Cuyabá. Pilferings.

A 172 361 Leaving the second Yaulapiti village on 21 October, shortly after 9:00 in the morning, we reached the Kamayurá /Camayura/ after a march of three and a quarter hours through the forest. The final stretch was covered with magnificent mangabeira plants.

A [342] [343] [231] /116/ We found four huts and the locally customary bird cage in which a huge harpy was kept. We apparently had not been expected yet; a few people spoke to us and had us sit down on A 574 stools, but it was only after some time, after a larger company of men and women had returned home from the plantings, that A [537] the actual reception scene took place. The speeches struck us both by their length and by their litany-like tone; they were also A [276] interrupted by rather long, unpleasant pauses. Finally, drinks A [262] and cigars came along, and when we expressed a desire for mangabas, they were brought in large quantities. These fruits had the best flavor here by far.

/116 cont./

197 The Kamayurá spoke a true Tupí dialect, the language of the old coastal tribes and disseminated by the Jesuits as the lingoa geral, which is almost identical with the Guaraní of the Paraguayans. It furnished the bulk of all the names taken over
123 by the natives. When in the course of the conversation we dem-
192 onstrated that we had a great many names for animals, plants, and implements in common with the Kamayurá -- which immediately applied to the beijús and mangabas (beijú, mangáb) -- their delight was enormous.

122 There was no flute-house in this village. For the first time
345 it happened that an inhabited hut, half of which was cleared,
252 was assigned to us for our stay. The people there were busy
262 roasting large winged ants on a beijú pan; they tasted crisp and delicate, somewhat like burnt almonds or nuts; if I had not known what I was eating, I would not have thought of insects, for there was nothing disgusting or insipid about the taste.

361 Half a kilometer to the west there was a second village, seven houses and the beginning of a festival hut. It lay on the
[133] nearest of the beautiful lagoons of the Kamayurá. From the plaza one had a charming view over lush reeds to the blue,
574 sunlit water. We were greeted there by Chief Akautschikí, who
[622] was suffering from an inflammation of the knee joint and came
[352] along leaning on a Suyá club. Two jaguar-stools and two bird-
[532] stools were put down for us. Again our vocabulary from the
[192] lingoa geral was compared with that of the Kamayurá; our hosts
[602] declared that we were their brothers and emphasized their words
[201] with the gesture customary for this kinship relation on the
532 Schingú in that they pointed to the navel. In the houses we found a number of dance masks made out of wood as well as of
411 cotton plaiting. Throwing sticks were likewise present every-
535 where. Nowhere else did we see such beautiful dance ornaments;
237 they had magnificent feather diadems and feather bands, a sort of feather cloak, and dance staffs decorated with fish teeth.

203 On 22 October, while we were bathing on the beautiful sandy
648 beach of the lagoon, bad news arrived once again, which excited the company: two Trumai had arrived and announced new misdeeds of
[illegible] the Suya. In the account, most of which remained obscure to us,

[text continues on p. 104]

2: Steinen--103 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Aueto SP6
Camayura

/117/

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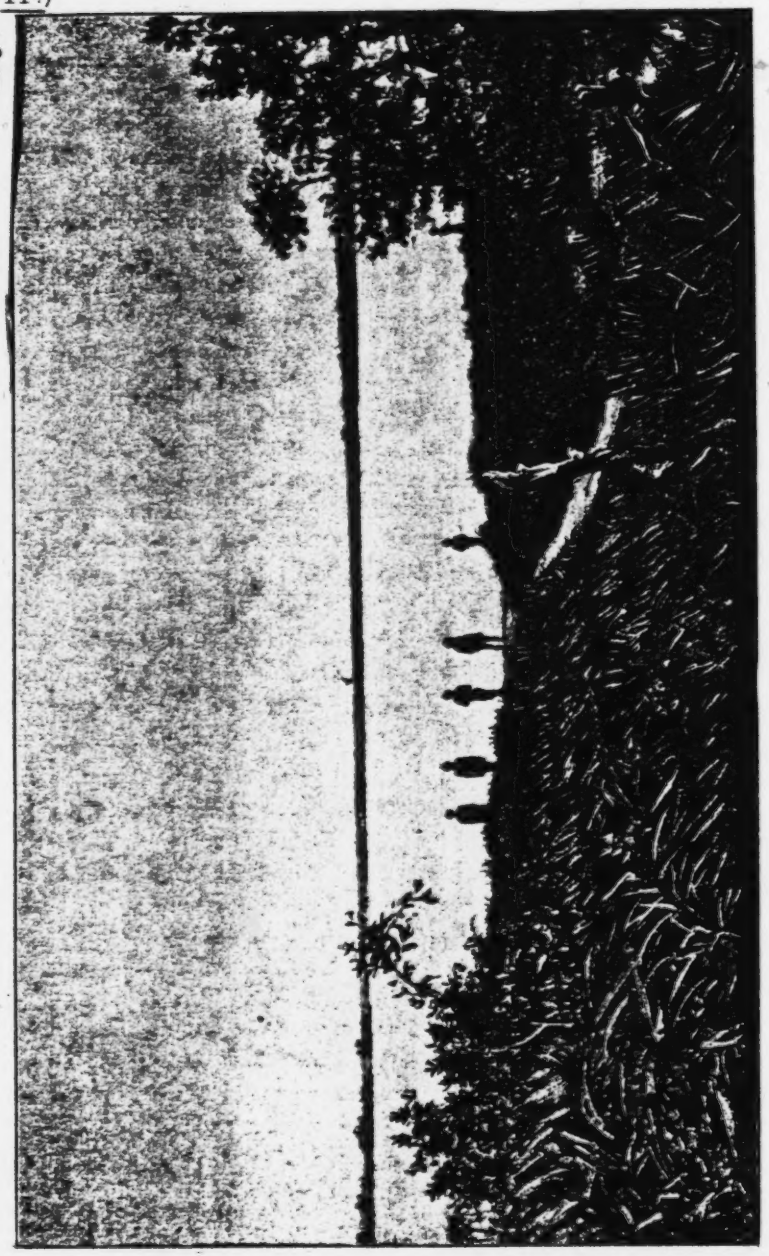


Fig. 7. Kamayurá lagoon.

2: Steinen--104 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Yaruma SP25
Aueto SP6
Camayura

Y 648 /118/ In the account, most of which remained obscure to us, a tribe of the Arumá or Yarumá played the chief role. The Suyá had surprised the Arumá, who seemed to be living inland from them, and had, at any rate, fought with them; they had shot eight Arumá, who were counted for us on fingers, in the knees with arrows, so that they were obliged to walk bent over -- perhaps a method of our friends with the lip disks for transport-
Y 301 ing their prisoners safely. According to the description of the
[302] Kamayurá, the mysterious Arumá wore yapú feathers in their ears, the usual tonsure, and a facial painting or tattooing of such a kind that one line ran from the eye to the mouth and another from the mouth to the ear. Crosswise under the nose they wore ornaments of feathers or bone. The strangest thing, however, is that they had an ear ornament with "itapú," which made a "ting ting" like our metal! In Tupí itapú means the ringing
Y sound of stone or iron. In the huts we obtained a piece of a club
411 ascribed to the Arumá, exactly like the Karajá /Caraja/ clubs
[126] that we had obtained in 1884 among the Yuruna, carved out of heavy, dark brown palm wood in staff form and characterized by an attractive grooving (cf.: Durch Zentral-Brasilien /Through Central Brazil/, p. 241 and the second ethnographic plate /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 124 and p. 168/). We also discovered two Arumá arrows. One of them had at the tip a ray spine with the little teeth filed off, the other a long wooden tip which was notched like a saw on one side.

A 361 A third group of houses consisted of three huts, a house in ruins and a building under construction.

A 123 Being with the Kamayurá was extremely agreeable. Our happy mood was enhanced not a little by the unusually beautiful picture of the lagoon landscape. It was a place where we should have liked best to stay a few months and to which I think back only with longing. The tobacco club in the evening by moonlight had a particularly intimate character. We sang folksongs and
A student songs for the Kamayurá and earned hearty applause. They,
[535] for their part, performed dances, albeit not in full festive array, but only as a demonstration, so that we should learn how they
000 are done. A great mimic talent was revealed in connection with

535 /118 cont./ A great mimic talent was revealed in connection with
536 the throwing-stick dance: the warrior was wounded and fell dead exactly in the position of the dying Aeginetan, except that the shield was missing.

123 Our meeting with the Trumaí in 1884 was gone over in de-
648 tail. It turned out that the Kamayurá had taken part in it and were old friends, or enemies, of ours. Chief Takuni, who had a bass voice, described his experiences of that time with expressive mimicry. Wilhelm is even convinced that he is the very one who took his hat away from him and whose clumsy grab at his gun touched off the fateful shot that drove them all to flight. The fleeing Indians in their haste had taken all kinds of things with them; a boat with the soldiers traveled after them and on the other side of the river, when a Trumaí sent off an arrow, shooting started, despite our order against it. To our sorrow, /119/ although the soldiers insisted at the time that they had only fired into the air, an Indian was killed, and this was said to have been, not a Trumaí, but a Kamayurá. Takuni declared that they had fled as far as the Nahuquá on the Kuluëne; it had then taken them three days to get home, where he arrived sick and dead tired.

361 On the evening of 23 October we became acquainted with still a fourth settlement; with great ceremony we were requested to pay a visit there and walked to it in single file from our dwell-
342 ing. A huge plaza had been cleared. A fine house, perhaps the finest that we saw on the Schingú, high and spacious, had obviously been completed for only a short time. At this place the
619 Kamayurá, who were now living dispersed, wished to unite in
166 one village. But -- and again came this big "but," as we sat
123 together smoking -- but with stone axes the work is so tedious;
412 one toils from morning to night to cut down one tree, which the
461 Karaibe fells with two or three blows -- tok tok. I invited the Kamayurá to accompany us to Cuyabá. There they should have knives and axes, as many as their hearts desired. I described Cuyabá to them, pictured to them that there were as many houses there as on the entire Kulisehu and Kuluëne combined, and assured them of the friendliest reception.

/119 cont./

123 484 Less satisfactory, however, was the information about the great distance. Fingers and toes did not suffice to illustrate how many times the sun would have to describe its course in the sky before one reached the houses of the Karaiben. Nevertheless, they all were enthusiastic about the proposal. Takuni gloated over the thought of how the women would welcome him on his return, when he would set down the loaded carrying-basket and take out his treasures. For hours the subject was dealt with in word and pantomime; finally Takuni's misgivings gained the upper hand. His histrionic performance took on a sentimental character: he has children who cry for him, who are still at the breast, for whom he must fish and clear land.

The stimulation, so pleasant to our hosts, continued long after we had retired into the house to sleep. Wilhelm had already closed his eyes when there was a tug on his hammock and a Kamayurá bade him in a soft voice to calculate for him once again the distance to Cuyabá and to assure him that he would obtain axes and beads there. In fact, there was no lack of amusing incidents during the night. Ehrenreich had to change the photographic plates and was obliged to ask the people to extinguish for a short time the small fires that they customarily maintain beside their hammocks until morning. Good-naturedly they complied with his wish, but it gave them an uncanny feeling. When they saw the red lantern, they even asked anxiously -- a very remarkable question -- whether the Suyá were coming. [829]

251 /120/ On the plaza there were a number of holes in the ground, which, however, did not indicate a grave, as among the Auetó, but marked the spot where mandioca roots were 124 stored. When we were given this information, we inquired about the manner in which the dead were buried. They understood me immediately when I lay down on the ground as though dead, and they gave a detailed portrayal in pantomime of their customs.

/120 cont./

123 They were always striving to inform us about their customs,
[533] after they had learned of our interest in them, and on the way to bathe one of them even made known to me the maraká song, the text accompanying the dance rattle-music of the Manitsauá Indians: "húmitá ya héuna hm hm."

On the last morning our harmony suffered a slight disturbance for the first time. A container, still half-full, of Kemmerich meat powder was missing. It also appeared that a few kitchen knives had been taken from my bag. Two buckles had been cut off a strap belonging to Ehrenreich. I saw that I had to make our standpoint clear to our landlord and host and express to him in a grave tone my opinion that the Kamayurá were no longer as kúra and katú as in the beginning. Beijús were brought to us with humble gestures; I refused them. The good fellows became very excited, put the blame on a Trumaí, who, they said, had been there secretly, and after a while they brought back at least the lost Kemmerich.

000

VII. Trumaí Camp and Auetö Harbor.

Vogel's plan to visit Schingú-Koblenz. Back by way of the Yaulapiti. Meeting with the Trumaí. Research with obstacles. Theft of arsenic. The devastated Trumaí villages. To the Auetö harbor. Exchange of names. Canoes acquired. Thefts. Yamúmakapü-Nahúquá. Farewell.

121 On 22 October Vogel undertook a boat trip on the Kamayurá
133 lagoon, in order to find out whether it was connected with the river. The motive given the Indians was that he wanted to fish. After a four-hour absence he returned and had convinced himself that the lagoon did not flow into the river anywhere. He was very anxious, first of all, to determine the relationship of the Kuluëne and Kulisehu, and, secondly, to determine the location of the junction, passed by us in 1884, of the Ronuro coming from the west and the river coming from the southeast, which at that time was named for us as the Kulisehu, thus in

A /120 cont./
121 Schingú-Koblenz, /Xingu-Coblenz/, in order in this way to ob-
133 tain the exact connection with the geographical survey of the first expedition. It was the place where the Trumaí had appeared, were persuaded with difficulty to land, and had sped away in headlong flight.

A
122 It was not desirable for all of us to take part in this reconnaissance trip, since what mattered above all was to utilize the few hours available for an investigation of the Indians and there was little prospect /Pl. X appears here/ /121/ of coming across
T a new tribe on that excursion. To be sure, the villages of the
727 Trumaí would probably be passed, but we knew that they had fled after that battle with the Suyá and were roaming about in our vicinity, for individual Trumaí had appeared among the Auetö, the Yaulapiti, and the Kamayurá. We did not know where the nucleus of the tribe, which had every reason to fear a meeting with us, was hiding. There also had to be considered the possibility that the not very trustworthy Suyá were still somewhere near the mouth of the Kulisehu and had not yet returned home.

A
122 In order to satisfy all interests and at the same time take the necessary precautions, it was decided that Vogel should go to the Auetö harbor and there embark for Koblenz in two canoes with Perrot, Antonio, two soldiers, and a couple of Indians, and that we, on the other hand, would fill the time until his return with our investigations. Thus Vogel left the Kamayurá on 23 October and, as had been agreed, set out on the 25th from the Auetö harbor for the mouth of the Kuluëne.

The rest of us left our dear Kamayurá on 25 October early in the morning. We heard nothing more of Takuni and his desire for the journey to Cuyabá. We were accompanied, however, by a few Indians who carried our collection along the route through the unforgettable mangabeira groves and the forest to the
W second Yaulapiti village. Here we again had the stretch with
122 obstacles before us: across the northern lagoon and through a bit
487 of canal to the first Yaulapiti village -- then another embarkation

[Text Continues on, P. 110]

2: Steinen--109 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Puerto 596

Plate X

137
142
291
302
482
501

Transport of a bark canoe by the Auetó.

/121 cont./

W 122 487 and the trip across the southern lagoon -- and then a land route to the end or, as reckoned by us, to the beginning of the Auetó canal, where the plantings and shelter-huts of the Auetó were -- and finally, another embarkation there and the trip to the Auetó village.

W 122 The unpleasant thing was that for these three trips there was always only one canoe available, and, what was more, it might easily happen that this canoe would be underway and not available when it was needed.

From the second Yaulapiti village, first Ehrenreich and I departed in the one canoe that lay there, while Wilhelm and Carlos were obliged to sit in the shadeless swamp with the blazing heat of the sun for over three hours until they, too, were picked up. We two reached the first Yaulapiti village W 123 and had great difficulty in obtaining a canoe here and getting away. the people by all means wanted us to stay longer, so that they would get more beads and knives. The chief, however, W 123 648 seemed to have an additional reason for delaying our departure. Not until he saw that we were adamant did he give us a canoe and tell us, looking fearful, that the Trumaí were among the Auetó. He was very much worried that we intended to do them harm. He urgently beseeched me not to, and as he was bidding me farewell he asked me once again in all seriousness, with very expressive pantomime, whether I were not going to cut the throats of all the Trumaí?

W 122 /122/ We crossed the lagoon, sent the boat back, and set out on the way to the Auetó canal. It was a fine afternoon; the W 539 Indian who carried our luggage had a happy nature and, in spite of his burden, happily blew his little Panpipe. In this pleasant mood we were disturbed by the braggart Moritona, the great sneerer of the Yaulapiti, who came striding along, all alone, with his carrying basket. He tried to hold us back and delivered a long speech, the alpha and omega of which were the Trumaí; T 361 apparently they were nearby. We passed a spot where people had been camping and a number of fires had been burning. All

/122 cont./

All

123 doubts vanished at the end of the trail. Two women there were
192 crossing the path, let out a dreadful scream, and disappeared with lightning speed into the bushes. A chorus of confused, shrill cries and suddenly between the trees figures running excitedly hither and thither everywhere. We were in the midst of the Trumaí!

An unpleasant situation. To go back was, *of course*, *impossible*. Therefore, straight ahead. I have never heard more insane noise. In the background women and children dashed
[411] away with ear-splitting howls; the men gathered up their weapons here and there and, swinging bows, arrows, darts, they drew together into a screaming, dancing, raging knot, toward which we resolutely strode, one behind the other. I fixed my eye on a short gentleman who seemed to be the chief, stepped straight up to him, placed my hand on his shoulder, and did what is always best on such occasions, I laughed. Nor did I omit a forcefully expressed "katũ katũ karãiba, kúra kúra karãiba." In fact, I addressed several short sentences to him in a language which he had most probably never heard, but the sounds of which readily spring to my lips at critical moments and then always help to triumph over the gravity of the situation; it is my beloved Düsseldorf dialect, reinforced with a few carnivalistic catchwords that are appropriate for any situation. They had their effect on the Trumaí as well; the little old chief was, to be sure, too horrified to be able to laugh with me, but he nevertheless greeted me as graciously as he could.

[362 Two stools were hastily dragged up and the straw in which
532] they were packed was torn off; they were bird-shaped, and one, which represented a vulture, was distinguished by two necks and heads, like a double eagle. We sat down in the forest camp, and the company, looking quite wild in their terror, surged and pressed all around us among the trees. When I declared with jovial mien that I wanted to sleep among them, twenty hands moved at once clearing away the brush and making room -- more attentive service could not be imagined. After

/122 cont./

123 half an hour renewed howling and women's screams announced
152 the arrival of Wilhelm and Carlos, who were led up and likewise gave expression to their friendly intentions with words and gestures.

142 /123/ There were mostly small, frail figures with small heads, receding chins, and ugly faces; among the old women there were truly magnificent specimens of witch-models. The
291 women in part wore the triangular uluri, in part a wardrobe garment new to us, a grayish-white bast loop that was drawn over
194 the hips and thickened into a small roll. The language in its cadence reminded us not a little of that of the Suyá, with which it had in common the nagging, squeezed habitus and could be immediately distinguished from all the Kulisehu languages by the frequent terminal sound of ts and by the f.

727 It was strange that the Trumaí had let themselves be taken by surprise in this way. Probably they had fled from the Suyá who had plundered their villages and from us at the same time. Their scouts, who were roving about among the Auetó, Yaulapiti, and Kamayurá, probably believed that we would not return directly to the Auetó from the Kamayurá, but would go to Schingú-Koblenz in order to join Perrot and Vogel, whose trip was already known to them, and reach the Auetó harbor on the river. The camp of the fugitives presented a spectacle of
[162] disorder and confusion. There were about 50 persons in all;
[352] numerous small fires were burning beside the brown hammocks, bundles of all kinds lay about and hung from the trees; the shelter-huts of the Auetó plantation remained unused. The
[501] Indians had come in part by way of the canals; a small flotilla of canoes had drawn up in the swampy water nearby, many of them in bad shape and where necessary pasted up merely with lumps of loam.

437 The beijús, the filled gourd bowls, and the cigars were necessarily lacking at this reception. They brought small balls of cotton and asked for beads. Unfortunately, we had given away almost everything to the Kamayurá and could therefore not offer much. With the remains, however, a few

/123 cont./

437 knives and some sacrifices from our personal belongings, we acquired a small, not unattractive collection. The people had protected from the Suyá and carried along with them the
126 things that were most important for us. There were feather
437 ornaments, necklaces of stone beads, a stone ax, valuable as
[439] an example of local manufacture, for the other Kulisehu tribes obtain their stone axes from the Trumaí, throwing sticks, a club, ten masks, dance clubs, large flutes, and various trifles.
411 To our astonishment, we did not see the large arrows with long, pointed pieces of bamboo, which the Trumaí had carried in 1884, a number of which they lost in their flight, and which we noticed had been sharpened for the encounter with us. They had probably been used up in the battle with the Suyá.

126 I spent as much time as possible during the evening writing beside a candle stub, in order to obtain a vocabulary. A
[115] younger chief proved very capable, except that in his enthusiasm he shouted with a loud voice, as though I were stone deaf.
123 Inquisitively the men squatted nearby, the witches were /124/
[601] busy at the fires, the children cried atsíu for mother and papá for father, through the branches magic moonlight poured over the strange camp scene, and soon the peace of night embraced the sleeping and the awake. We could sleep undisturbed, but were well aware that a few men remained sitting beside the fire.

The next morning, 26 October, there was great confusion. A large glass of arsenic pills had been stolen from me. Under the peculiar circumstances I would gladly have overlooked any kind of theft, but I could neither be without this arsenic for my part, nor let the Indians poison themselves with it. I was forced to suspect the Yaulapiti who had accompanied us, after our experiences in their village, and demanded that they give it back. They, of course, professed their innocence, the Trumaí became terribly afraid, the women, children, and part of the men escaped into the bushes and did not return even when one of the Yaulapiti actually brought the glass with the arsenic pills. According to his humble opinion, it had dropped out of my

T /124 cont./
123 pocket along the way. A certain amount was obviously missing; I hope it was distributed among various fanciers and taken by them with some success for the skin diseases particularly common among the Yaulapiti.

T
126 Much as we were urged to depart, we still had to undertake at least the most important body measurements and would not relent; seven men were measured in haste, in between our packing, and the only photographic plate left was used for a group shot -- unfortunately ruined later.

T
122 At 9:45 we set out in two canoes, accompanied by four Trumaí. Three times one would have to sleep, they said, before reaching their villages. The Mehinakú could also be reached by way of the canals and only one day was needed to their second village. At 11:00 we landed near the Auetó village, at a place other than where we had left. In the damp
T
[136] leaves lay huge quantities of giant earthworms; wherever one put his foot, he stepped on them. The path led us to the two huts of the Yaulapiti-Auetó families.

T
361 It is advisable to insert here what Vogel and Perrot reported about the Trumaí villages after their return home from Schingú-Koblenz. They had not caught sight of an Indian, but below the place where the Kulisehu empties into the Kuluëne, on a bank five meters high, they had found one Trumaí village of eight houses and, a kilometer farther east, a second one of five
T
727 houses with buildings under construction among them. The Suyá had burned down all the houses and smashed whatever
T
241 was left of large pots and utensils. There were plantings of remarkably large size and careful cultivation directly adjoining the
T
764 villages. About ten fresh graves were noted; judging from the circular excavation, the corpses had been buried in a squatting position. They seemed to lie deep; at least they were /125/
B
186 not uncovered by some superficial subsequent digging. Antonio had been very alarmed when Perrot said to him: "o doutor Carlos precisa d'uma cabeça /Doctor Carlos wants a head/." It was only with great effort that Antonio had been persuaded to go along on the trip and expose himself to the possibility of meeting the detested Trumaí.

/125 cont./

122 We spent the days from 26 to 31 October in the village and
[126] to a large extent in the harbor of the Auetö. We made use of every opportunity to measure, to photograph, and to complete the linguistic notes, and for this purpose had samples of almost
123 all the tribes at our disposal. We had become very friendly with the Auetö. One jolly evening reminded me vividly of my Bakaïrí idyl; here, too, the voices of European domestic animals were hailed with great jubilation, and the stone-ax pantomime was repeated with stereotype faithfulness. It was a particularly delightful sight for them when we stood up and
123 chopped wood. I hobnobbed with one of the Auetö, and, fol-
553 lowing the custom of the country, we exchanged names. Mayúli was the name of my special friend who proposed it. The chief had me stand up, patted me on the back six or seven times, and along with it said "Mayúli" in rhythm a like number of times, blew on my chest, and said "Mayúli" in each of my ears. I had to do the same thing to Mayúli and impress upon him my "Karilose" for Carlos. Now they all called me Mayúli with emphasis, which always made me think of Mai-Juli /the pronunciation of "May-July" in German/ and pointed out how pleased the women would be about this. Sure enough, as soon as I entered a hut, the women called "Mayúli" in welcome.

122 It looked wretched in the harbor. Peter with Tumayaua and the cab driver had been keeping watch there. It was a miserable swampy place, cramped and unpleasant, the rain had softened up the ground covered with rotted vegetation, the ants had been busily at work and had cut through the leather and the bags, everything looked dirty and ugly. On top of that, rations were short. Poor Peter had been living on beijú, and once again the fish were not biting. Tumayaua was swinging in his hammock and was content; he regarded himself for hours in a small round mirror and plucked out the little hairs on his face. At night the mosquitoes bothered him; I once heard him, for I myself was not asleep, complaining and slapping for hours. Before we arrived, the cab driver had climbed into a canoe and gone off to the Mehinakú. Only one canoe, a poor one, was still available when we arrived. Vogel and Perrot had two with them,

A 122 226 /125 cont./ Vogel and Perrot had Two[1] with them, a band of Indians had seized a fourth and had gone fishing with
A 251 it for three days. They returned, the boat filled to the brim with grilled fish. Among all these tribes fish are roasted immediately in order to preserve the meat.

A 437 In exchange for a couple of axes, two canoes were acquired from the Auetö, who were supposed to bring them through the
A 437 482 forest. Carlos went to the village in order to pick out the best ones and said that it was a magnificent sight when the /126/ Indians with the long canoes on their shoulders ran at a trot through the village street and the entire population took part in the spectacle. At midday 60 persons arrived amidst the loudest shouts of joy and broke out of the woods at a running pace with the two canoes. They also hastened down the steep slope of the bank at a running pace, and the narrow plaza was
A 262 swarming with naked brown figures. They had also brought along a dozen children and all kinds of supplies of beijús, honey,
A 123 and piki and mangabeira fruits. They were now passionately bent on receiving from us at the eleventh hour whatever was to be had. Beads, beads, beads! In the transporting of the canoes one of the Auetö had injured his hand; Ehrenreich bandaged it, but was scarcely finished when the man was al-
W 123 124 ready holding it out for beads. A Waurá with whom I struggled almost to the point of despair to get him to reveal to me the color adjectives of his language, and who always named the objects for me and not their color, interrupted each of my questions impatiently, stretched out his right hand, and demanded
A 123 124 beads, "out with them," he had to get home. Sometimes there was nothing for it but to tap the impertinent ones on their fingers, especially when they kept nudging me during the questioning and notetaking and wanted to be rewarded. They took nothing amiss, however. Often they became burdensome to us, because their numbers were too large, but they permitted me to haul them out of their hammocks and lead them away. In fact, one old man actively supported me one time and hit an unruly younger chap over the head with his bow.

1 [ie. two canoes--Analyst]

Aueto SP6
Yaruma SP25
Waura SP18

/126 cont./

A 123 It required the greatest alertness to protect ourselves from thefts. Knives, scissors, vaseline, candles, tin cans, buckles, everything suited them. It was lucky that we had Tumayaua. He was as alert as a policeman, for he could count on coming into possession of everything that we kept, and it was obvious that every chain of beads and every knife that we gave away cut him through the heart. He had carefully concealed between the projecting roots of his hammock tree his own treasures collected on the way.

A 186 162 101 177 The constant excuse, when something was missing, that this or that person from another tribe must have taken it was very common in the Auetó harbor. Except for the Mehinakú, there were representatives of all tribes: Auetó, Kamayurá, Yaulapiti, Trumaí, Kustenaú, Waurá, Bakaïrí, and Nahuquá. There were always new visitors coming, and we had our hands full to complete our records.

W 123 Of the Kustenaú whom we had met in 1884 in a small village, or, more correctly, near their plantation bordered with a few huts on the Batovy, one man appeared who still remembered the travelers of that time, Wilhelm, Antonio, and me, and wanted to deal only with these old acquaintances of his. An inquisitive one from the fourth village of the Bakaïrí on the A 203 Batovy had also presented himself. Apparently the news of the reappearance of the Karaiben had sped through the entire region. Y 114 [101] We were most interested in a few /127/ Nahuquá from the Kuluëne, since it was impossible, in view of the passing time, to seek them out. The Guikurú-Nahuquá /Kuikuru-Nahuqua/ Y [101] [131] whom we had met in the Nahuquá village had followed us on the journey, and he had been joined by a family of four Yanumakapü or Yanumakabihü who seemed to live about half a day's journey inland, between the Kulisehu and the Kuluëne. Y 197 Since yanumáka is the word for "jaguar" among the Mehinakú, Kustenaú, Waurá, and Yaulapiti, I was already thinking of a mixture of the Nahuquá with one of those Nu-Aruak tribes. But the linguistic data given by the head of the family showed Y 534 a pure Nahuquá dialect. The Yanumakapú-Nahuquá had dainty 531 dance rattles with them; small animal heads of wax sat on the 237

Y /127 cont./
531 upper end of the handle, which was thrust through the small
534 gourd, and in the case of one of them the gourd was replaced
237 by the shell of a young turtle.

Y 123 The Nahuquá let us take them across the river. The Auetö,
A too, often made demands on us. They found it decidedly con-
123 venient that we were always at their disposal with our canoes.
A The Auetö, however, were also excellent swimmers. Children
526 who reached to their father's knees paddled about freely and happily in the Kulisehu. We denied the trip to one young man who from the other side shouted in Auetö, "ferryman ahoy"; it was a pleasure to see how elegantly he crossed the river, his left hand stretched up high and holding hammock and bow.

A The farewell was difficult for us, much as we longed to get
123 away from the dirty and unhealthy campsite. Vogel and Perrot had returned from their trip on 29 October; on 30 October we worked busily and packed up the collection. Perrot made another trip to the Auetö village and bade a tender farewell;
A [553] the women brought him their children and a little girl was given the name "Perro"; for all this love he of course had to show his appreciation in beads, and a young mother whose two children had received gifts from him called his attention, with lively gestures, to the fact that he should also remember a third that was in prospect.

000 VIII. Return to Independencia.

Vogel's trip to Schingú-Koblenz. Off from the Auetö harbor. Visiting the villages. Accompanied by Indians. Rhenish carnival on the Kulisehu. Farewell scene in Maigéri. The mountain trip: rowing. Suffering. Fever. Independencia: day of rest. Solemn farewell from the Bakaïrí.

B The excursion of Vogel and Perrot clarified the relationship
133 [103] between the Kulisehu and Kuluëne. Auayato, the Auetö chief,
[114] had accompanied them. They were absent from the harbor from 11:45, 24 October, to 7:00 in the evening, 29 October, and were able to make headway easily, since they carried no luggage.

/127 cont./

B T 103 133 T [361] luggage. They reached the place where the Kulisehu empties /128/ into the beautiful wide Kuluëne in seven hours, passed a tributary on the left, a canal of the Mariapé-Nahuquá on the right, found on the right bank the Trumaí villages in the condition described on page 114, and from here were able in all of four hours -- in eight hours from the emptying of the Kulisehu -- to reach Schingú-Koblenz at the junction of the Kuluëne and Ronuro, that large sandy beach where our meeting with the Trumaí was enacted in 1884.

At that time the Trumaí had thus come down on their Kuluëne, and this large river, of which we knew only the mouth, was designated for us as the "Kulisehu." A strange development! On our new expedition we had sought the "Kulisehu" and had found and traveled the Kulisehu as well, but we had meant the Kuluëne. Even the Trumaí live below the Kulisehu mouth; farther up on the Kuluëne lived the Nahuquá tribes, which fortunately, however, were also settled on the Kulisehu in the village visited by us.

Y T [131]

Vogel and Perrot had bad weather. On account of the cloud cover, the astronomical latitude could not be determined either at the mouth of the Kulisehu or in Koblenz. The Kuluëne was 241 meters wide below the Kulisehu mouth, 289 meters somewhat above it. From Koblenz they had gone up the Ronuro, had passed the Batovy mouth in a scant half hour -- where on 30 August 1884 we had emerged from the endlessly winding forest stream and for the first time were able to enjoy with some certainty the hope that we had actually found the Schingú -- and had finally continued the journey on the Ronuro for two kilometers farther upstream. The Ronuro had an average width of 250 meters and a depth of three to six meters; the Kuluëne, above Koblenz, measured only 187 meters and the main river at our sandy beach, 366 meters.

B 122 If we did not wish to jeopardize all of our success, the thought of traveling up the Kuluëne and visiting the other Nahuquá villages was completely out of the question. The rainy period had set in in earnest, the journey upstream was becoming

B /128 cont./
122 increasingly difficult, the provisions were exhausted, and before us lay the prospect of a long land march made exceedingly more difficult by the rise of the waters. The food supplies that had been brought along were practically exhausted, except for salt, Paraguayan tea, and a little coffee. The soup tablets had disappeared, there were two containers of vegetables left, and the rest consisted of a little bottle of Kemmerich boullon, two small containers of peptone, and three bottles of liquor. Only Kemmerich meat powder had made it possible for us to stay in the Indian villages; the last two containers of it had been cooked in the Auetö village.

B On 31 October we set out on the return journey. Without
122 the help of the Indians we should have been unable to transport
123 the collection to Independencia, for we did not have enough canoes. For this service, however, we had carefully saved a
B number of attractive and useful trade items. First /Pl. XI ap-
B pears here/ /129/ five Auetö accompanied us to the Mehinakú
122 in several canoes filled with our loads, the Mehinakú helped
123 us on to the Nahuquá, with the Nahuquá we reached the third Bakaïrí; Bakaïrí from all three villages took part in the transport that increased from village to village, and on 13 November we drew up, a small fleet of 13 canoes with 14 Bakaïrí, in front of the kitchen site of Independencia.

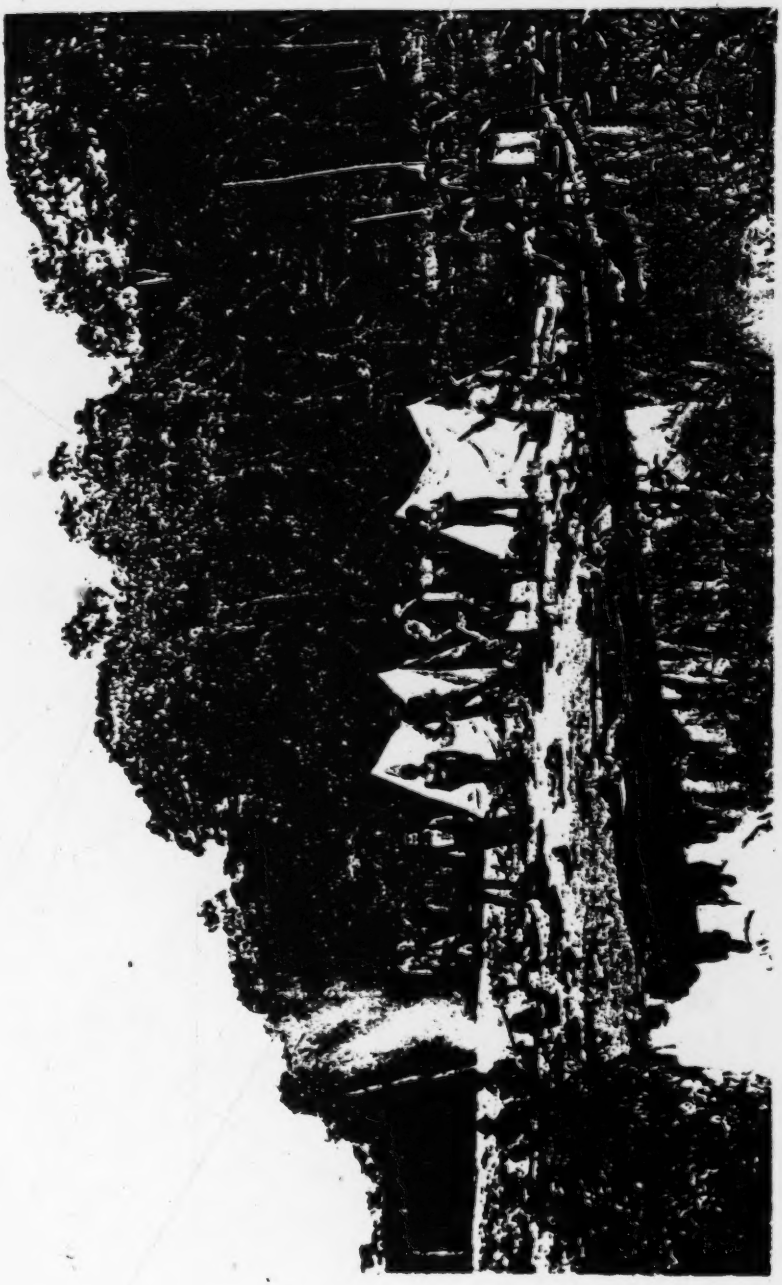
W I should like to sketch briefly what is still to be reported
126 from the second visit to the villages. The two Mehinakú days were very pleasant and instructive. Photographs and measurements had to be taken, since Ehrenreich had been ill at the
W time of our first visit. During the measuring, the women trem-
163 bled all over their bodies. They had remarkably many children: in the case of one woman we counted the unheard of num-
W ber of six; another had four daughters. Later I shall have to
323 sing the praises of these Nu-Aruak women, the inventors of the
W pots and the best benefactors of the mandioca industry. An ex-
123 cellent picture of the company is shown on Plate 8, "Demonstration of a bird whistle" /see p. 85/. They are listening to the swelling tones which the native sitting in front of me is drawing
ooo out of the new silver object. The gesture of the little girl in the

[Text continues on p. 122]

2: Steinen--121 E D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate XI

122
133
137
501



Kulisehu journey.

201 /129 cont./ The gesture of the little girl in the
516 center, who is anxiously holding her ears and the position of the two friends leaning against each other in the foreground are very
000 typical. How exceedingly picturesque are all these naked figures in their unconstrained movements! Would it not be a shame if they were to put on "back-houses" and "leg-houses"?

123 Wilhelm and I again contracted bonds of friendship. "Belemo"
553 exchanged names with Waikuala, and I, "Karilose," with the chest-tattooed Chief Mayutó. Wilhelm also had to plant tobacco,
123 as I did among the Bakaïrí. My brother Karilose, in exchange
437 for an ax, gave us a mighty canoe, a sort of Noah's ark, so wide
501 and clumsy that there was room for the greater part of the collection, along with Carlos and Peter.

482 Twenty-four men accompanied us to the harbor; six carried the canoe on ahead, the hollow part turned toward the ground, the edge on their shoulders, which were protected by straw wreaths, two walking with their heads in the belly of the vessel. A veritable funeral procession behind the coffin; involuntarily one hummed a funeral march. Directly in front of me strode a classic youth. The back basket reached from his shoulders to
[534] his knees, beneath it dangled a large gourd, in his left hand he carried bow and arrow, with his right he put his Panpipe to his mouth, tirelessly making music. Five men who wanted to take
[286] part in our journey each carried an oar and a net containing the hammock, which hung from the forehead down the back. Always one behind another and chatting with the man in front or behind. On their oars they demonstrated to each other how large they thought the knives might be with which the Karaibe
[262] would reward them. In their hands many carried beijús, uläpe,
[272] wrapped in green leaves, and several a gourd bowl with piki juice during the two and a half hour trip. The canoe was wider
132 than the forest path. Overtaken by a violent thunderstorm, /130/
[147] we stopped, put the collection and the instruments under the canoe, and noticed with surprise that the Indians were terribly cold and trembling all over their bodies like delicate ladies in snowy weather after a ball. The teeth of some of them were chattering in the most extreme fits of shivering. To be sure, it

[See Plate 8, p. 85--Analyst]

W 132 /130 cont./
rained by buckets, and the shower bath was quite cold, scarcely
W [821] more than 15°. Our good Mehinakú were unhappy that we did
not follow their example and puff against the heavenly sluices;
they hastily built a protective roof, probably more to keep busy,
and complained incessantly "uläpe, uläpe!"

W 122 In the harbor of the Mehinakú we acquired another canoe;
meanwhile the Auetö who had accompanied us this far had dis-
appeared without a trace. Vogel's hunting knife was also
missing.

Y 245 The Nahuquá village was in the middle of the pikí harvest.
Like cannon balls in an arsenal, the pikí lay in piles outside
Y 251 and inside. Racks had been set up in the houses to dry the seeds,
the women were busy peeling the fruit, cooking it, and scraping
the seeds, human beings and utensils butter yellow -- Caryocar
Y [757] butyrosum. No pogu, but pikí juice; the pikí seeds with an
almond-like taste, an electuary "pikí herb" not at all bad in
Y 164 moderate doses. Many sick in the hammocks, stomach and skin
affected; one old baldhead, face and head covered with sores.
Y 123 Tumayaua was given pikí as a parting gift for the trip. Only
[431] one newborn child, which the mother brought to us so that we
would blow on it, seemed to know nothing yet about pikí.

B 648 In Bakaïrí village III, which, by the way, the Nahuquá
B 731 accompanying us did not want to enter, the old festival hut had
burned down and the people were very much afraid of the
B 532 previously greatly admired matches. But we did find magnifi-
cent bird-masks and fish-masks. Of the two canoes we ordered,
B 122 one was not yet finished and the other had been wrecked.

501 Bakaïrí village II seemed deserted. The occupants were
B 123 in part absent, why remained unclear; also, we had apparently
seen foreign guests the first time and included them. Chief
B [622] Aramöke, however, was gracious as ever and had set before us
beijús which we could have offered the most distinguished tea
guests at home. It was only with great difficulty that we found
a few men to transport part of the collection for some distance
B 752 overland. It was always said that they had to stay with the
children. Then in the chief's house lay a woman with burns on

/130 cont./

752 her arm, who also needed company. A colleague with a very
752 professional look on his face sat beside her and occasionally had
755 a therapeutic seizure, during which, moaning pitiably, he blew clouds of tobacco smoke over the sick woman or, turned toward the wall, groaned dreadfully. The "cab driver," who, with Tumayaua, had accompanied us as far as the Auetõ and who was a great witch-doctor, took leave of us here. He by all means had to take part in the treatment and was not to be persuaded to leave the case solely to his colleague, who was, after all, blowing extremely efficiently. As a reward for this
123 177 291 civilized behavior, we provided him with a /131/ civilized exterior in the form of a shirt and head covering, which, along with a big knife, was the goal of his ambition. We solemnly dressed him up, along with Tumayaua, who had been parading about for a long time in a black and white checked shirt and white linen trousers underneath, and we photographed the two, as is shown in Figure 8 /see p. 125/. Wilhelm had been saving up a few prizes for the deserving travel companions, a magnificent Düsseldorf carnival-cap, worn by him himself as Prince Carnival on a high triumphal chariot, green, yellow, white, and red, with sparkling bells, likewise the medal of His Foolish Majesty, set with brilliants and worn around the neck -- these two pieces went to Tumayaua -- and a genuine carnival cap of the still gayer sister city on the Rhine, which we put over the tonsure of the cab-driver colleague, for want of a doctoral hood. /Figure 8 appears here./ In addition, Tumayaua was given a black frock-coat purchased by Wilhelm in Rio de Janeiro, an import from Paris et le dernier mot de la perfection /and the
000 last word in perfection/. The illustration gives us a faint idea of how ghastly the two fools, puffed up with pride, appeared in their clothing; both certainly not the most handsome types, but now they suddenly looked positively ugly, bent and crooked, and the reason for this, more than the shabbiness of the costume, was that all the contour lines were obliterated and had lost their character. Tumayaua in shirt and trousers was as clumsy as on the first day; he would tear them in the forest, but then again

/131 cont./

would take exaggerated care of them by removing them on occasions when even for children it would not be necessary.

In the first Bakaïrí village the population had increased by one young soul. Pauhaga had become a father and was observing the lying-in period along with his wife. I shall come back to the scene, which seemed comical to us, in discussing the couvade. The maize was a succulent green; we were offered excellent, somewhat dry maize beijús. My tobacco planting on village plaza had shot up tremendously and was fenced in all around by a palisade.

Fig. 8.
Indians disguised as Europeans.

But what did our astonished eyes catch sight of behind Paleko's house? A new construction, already far advanced, of a strange kind. Or rather, one of very familiar appearance. The Bakaïrí had taken our rancho at Independencia as a model and, instead of their beehive, had started a house with a triangular gable /132/ and a two-sided roof. We had believed we were seeing something genuine in a remote corner, and already it was disappearing. "The first glimpse of light," says Bastian, "will also be the last."

Tumayaua, who was going along to Independencia, nevertheless carried out the official farewell in Maigéri. He handed me two large gourd bowls. A little while after that he came to fetch me, seized me vehemently by the arm, and, shouting loudly all around, led me from the hut to the beam in the middle of the plaza and, with a sort of enthusiasm, pushed me down on to the seat. Soon four Karaiben were sitting there in a row, side by side.

B /132 cont. /
123 Then he dragged up one of the nicely plaited storage baskets
431 three-quarters of a meter high and, boasting happily, put it be-
[285] fore us as a present. The best was yet to come, however. A
B round mat was placed on the ground, the chief called, and out
[262] of the houses all the women and children came running and
slapped a beijú onto the mat, each one running back immediately
to make room. The agile flurry with which the beijús came
flying was charming. Some 16 cakes were lying there. Then
"ále" was said and we were dismissed. We, of course, outdid
ourselves in praise of the hospitality of the Bakaīrī and secretly
made up our mind to pay them back handsomely in Independencia.

B Since a heavy thunderstorm broke out, we stayed in the vil-
123 lage the last night. It was raining in torrents outside and
Tumayaua was describing his journeys. We all sat for a long time
around the fire, which the Indians let blaze up wildly by reck-
lessly tearing bunches of straw out of the wall of the festival hut.
Luchu had taken possession of the black frock-coat as his sole
article of clothing; another man had decorated his ear with a
fishhook. My erstwhile intended - it pains me not to be able
to keep this a secret -- honored me with scarcely a glance.

The song of woman's constancy!

ooo /The remainder of Ch. VI, pp. 132-137, and Ch. VII, pp. 138-152, are omitted in the translation. /

/153/ Chapter VIII

I. Geography and Classification of the Tribes of the Schingú Source-region

B S The old chief of the Suyá, distinguished from his companions
101 by an extremely modest lip-plug, had enumerated for us in 1884
131 the long list of tribes that were settled on the upper Schingú
823 /Xingu/ and with his finger had drawn in the sand the source
S rivers on whose banks they lived. Cf. Durch Central-brasilien
[115] /Through Central Brazil/, page 214 /see 1: Steinen, this file, pp. 104-106/. His 13 tribal names had tempted us to undertake

B S 101 131 823 /153 cont./ the second journey. By and large, one must say, the statements of our informant were confirmed. His river branchings, it is true, cannot satisfy the cartographic demands of our Karaiben exactitude, but even here he was more accurate than we could realize when we mistook the Kulisehu for the Kuluëne. But the astronomical position of the localities in relation to one another turned out to be completely distorted, since the Suyá needed a very long line to show the large number along the one branch of the source and blithely extended it endlessly to the south.

B 101 131 We do not know the dwellers along the Ronuro; Vogel understood the Auetö chief who navigated the mouth at Schingü-Koblenz with him to say that there are Kabischí /Cabishi/ and Kayapó /Cayapo/ there. The Kabischí about whom anything is known live in the source region of the Tapajoz /Tapajós/ as part of the docile Paressí Indians; it would be most interesting and significant if the Paressí, like the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/, could be divided into a "docile" and a "wild" group, since it is precisely in this once populous and highly developed Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ tribe that the crude civilizing process has destroyed what cannot be replaced. It would not be surprising at all if the widely distributed Kayapó were on the Ronuro, since they frequently appeared on the Paranatinga and had merely been mistaken here for the Coroados-Bororó by the Brazilians.

B 101 103 131 361 Along the tributary of the Ronuro, the Batovy-Tamitotoala*,

* Formerly incorrectly written Tamitatoala. tamitóto, falcon, owl = they killed (schóle) a falcon, as the Bakaïrí themselves told me.

down which we traveled in 1884, there are four villages of the Bakaïrí. Its lower course and the adjacent region on the right belongs to the Kustenaü /Custenau/ and the Waurá.

/154/ There follows, toward the east, the Kulisehu. On its left bank we have the three villages of the Bakaïrí, Maigéri or "tapir died," Iguéti or sparrow-hawk village, Kuyaqualiéti or harpy village.

2: Steinen- 128 E D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25
Waura SP18
Auetó SP6
Trumai SP23

/154 cont./

000 harpy village. Then, on the right bank, comes the village of
B the Nahuquá. Again on the left, somewhat apart and not visited
W by us, there is a fourth village of the Bakaïrí. Farther down-
101 stream the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ are on the left bank in the
361 two villages which the Bakaïrí designated as Paischuéti (dogfish
103 village) and Kalúti. It seems, however, that there are three villages; the Paischuéti-Mehinakú also spoke of the Yutapühü -- this would be "Kaluti" -- whose harbor we passed on 15 October, of the Atapilú, and at the same time warning us against the Ualapihü, Ulavapitü, that is, our Yaulapiti. From the Mehinakú territory there begin numerous canals, which, along with several lagoons, are found throughout the region between the lower courses of the Kulisehu and Batovy. The village of the Auetö may be regarded as a sort of central point for the canal traffic.*

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* It is really strange that their name seems to have this meaning. They are called "Auití" by their neighbors; now in Guaraní the unsoftened adjectival form apité means "what is at the center, in the middle."

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On two lagoons, in two villages, we find the Yaulapiti, on a third lagoon the Kamayurá /Camayura/, who had four villages close together and were on the point of uniting them into a single one. The Arauití (see p. 94) are a mixture of Yaulapiti and Auetö.

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The Kulisehu flows into the Kuluëne; a few hours of rowing led to the Trumaí settled in two villages on its right bank not far above Schingú-Koblenz. This tribe, driven away by the Suyá, had the intention of founding a new home near the Auetö.

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The Nahuquá live upstream on the Kuluëne, and also on small tributaries between it and the Kulisehu, in a series of villages that have separate names. We become acquainted with single individuals from the Guapirí, Yanumakapü, Guikurú /Kuikuru/, and Yaurikumá; the Yanumakapü, the Enomakabihü of the Bakaïrí, do not live on the main river, and of the Guapirí the Bakaïrí specifically pointed out that they are found overland between the Kulisehu and Kuluëne.

 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25
Suya SP21
Auetto SP6
Cayapo SP11

/154 cont./

000 between the Kulisehu and Kuluëne. In the first Bakairí village
B Paleko enumerated for me the Nahuquá villages of the Kuluëne
101 and indicated the direction from Maigéri in which they were to be
823 sought; starting at the upper course, there are: 1. Amukiru
[115] or Anakuú southeast, 2. Alufti or Kanalufti east, 3. Yamurikumá
Y or Yaurikumá east to east-southeast, 4. Apalaquíti east-northeast,
361 5. Guikuñ east-northeast, 6. Mariapé northeast. Beyond them
103 came the Trumaí. Thus, with the Guapirí, the Yamumalapó,
101 and the Nahuquá of the Kulisehu, we would have nine Nahuquá villages.

A In order to round out the picture, I shall also mention the
S Suyá, who live on the main river a journey of three short days
361 below Schingú-Koblenz and of whom we did not see anything on the second expedition, but heard bad rumors, and the Manitsauá, who live on a left tributary that flows in farther downstream and are well known to the Kamayurá and Yaulapiti.
A In 1884 we met a /155/ number of Manitsauá in captivity
S among the Suyá. Not until 1887 did we hear about the Yarumá,
727 or Arumá who, very soon after the Trumaí, were said to have
Y had an unpleasant visit by the Suyá, and about whom the
101 Kamayurá gave us the remarkable information that they wore a
[648] metallic-sounding ear-ornament (cf. p. 104). It is probable
A that we must regard them as Mundurukú /Mundurucu/, the
[829] famous warrior tribe of the Tapajos, whose trail we missed on
Y the Schingú long ago. The Parecí called the Mundurukú
[801] "Sarumá," which is phonetically the same as Yarumá. A specimen of a club of Karajá-like /Caraja/ workmanship, which was attributed to the Yarumá, cannot invalidate the evidence presented in the agreement of the names. The Aratú lead an existence even more obscure to us; the Nahuquá asserted that they were not worth anything, and the Suyá geographer described them as neighbors of theirs. A Karajá tribe?

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C Finally, I must also consider the Kayapó, likewise in the upper
361 source region; they are said to live between the Kulisehu and the Kuluëne, above the Nahuquá, along the sources of the Pakuneru, the small Kulisehu tributary whose name is identical with the Bakairí name for the Paranatinga. The Suyá geographer

5 /155 cont./ The Suyá group-Fuer
101 already mentioned the "Kayuquard" as the outermost inhabitants, and I had assumed at that time, correctly it now seems, that by that the Kayaká-Kayapó were meant.

8 The long list of names looks worse than it actually is. Each
101 village has its name, and the stranger who hears it cannot at first
103 judge whether he should expect a new or a familiar tribe there.
621 The simplest example is the Nahuquá. For the Indian, "Nahuquá"
4 refers only to the inhabitants of the Kulisehu village; the
101 Yaurisumá, Guikurú, etc. do not call themselves Nahuquá, and
621 it was merely because of our happening to stop first among the "Nahuquá" that I am using this name as the tribal name. There
7 may be slight dialectal differences, but I was able to record a
[199] list of the most important words from the Yanumakapó and am convinced, and for the Yaurisumá and Guikurú as well, that their language corresponds throughout with the "Nahuquá." The
8 Bakairí are inspired by a strong feeling of nationality, for they
101 call themselves Bakairí whether they live in the source region of
[621] the Arinos, the Paranatinga, the Batovy, or the Kulisehu. By
[103] analogy with the Nahuquá, the Bakairí of the Kulisehu would have to call themselves by their village names: Maigéri, Igufri, and Kuyaquilifri.

8 It would have been a blessing for ethnography if all the
101 tribes had taken as a model this fine example of the Bakairí.
103 We have several clear examples here of how a family community,
199 or, if one wishes, a tribe, becomes scattered, how each separate
619 community is inclined to give up the old connection and therefore loses it irrevocably, must become a new "tribe" if the displacement continues, and closer relations are maintained, not with neighbors related by blood, but those of another extraction. Under these circumstances, there is nothing else for us to do /156/ but to determine first of all the linguistic relationships. They are not to be confused with blood relationships. But under the simple narrow circumstances which are involved here, linguistic relationship and blood relationship coincide far more than among more highly civilized peoples, who, through writing, possess a language that has developed a distinct character. If a

/136 cont./

couple of foreign individuals enter one of these family communities, they will, it is readily admitted, bring about a crossbreeding which is not disclosed by a study of the language. But intermixtures on a greater scale also change the language tremendously. The foreign women who become mothers exert an influence on the language of the children, which, in the Island Karaiben, for example, is plainly evident. The children of the Karaiben men and Aruak women did not by any means speak Karaiben, as the young mulattoes in Brazil speak Portuguese, but rather spoke a new language which had important grammatical elements and phonetic peculiarities from the mothers. This is not very surprising, for the cultural differences between the two tribes were not basic, the number of foreign women was large, and they brought all their local traditions into the marriage, since the conquering men came from the outside. The children were compelled both to make a compromise with the language materials on the father's and the mother's side, and to choose between the prefixes and suffixes offered by the one and the other, which are of decisive importance for the alteration of the word roots as a result of the influence on the stem's initial or final sound, and they experienced the reciprocal effect, uncurbed by any schoolmaster culture, but instead freely active, of the phonetic laws valid up to then in the two parental tribes. Among these primitive peoples, the measure of linguistic differentiation will also be roughly the measure of anthropological differentiation.

If we wish to cast about for linguistic relationship among the Kulisehu "tribes" and thus reduce the list, we must dwell for a moment on the linguistic groups occurring in the rest of Brazil.

There are still many individual tribes who, either because their linguistic relatives are no longer living or because we do not know them, speak isolated languages. We must first of all put the Trumaí among them, in order to dispose of them immediately. I did not succeed in finding a place for them anywhere, near or far. They have borrowed a good many words from the culture of their neighbors, the Kamayurá and Auetó, but the core existence of the idiom is peculiar and of a distinct origin.

T /156 cont./
101 and essence of the idiom is peculiar and of a different origin,
197 just as their physical type is different from all Kulisehu tribes.

B From the Cordilleras to the Atlantic Ocean, from the La
197 Plata to the Antilles, there are four large linguistic families:
Tapuya, Tupí, Karaíben /Carib/, and Nu-Aruak /Arawak/.

B /157/ The Tapuya are the east Brazilian aborigines, the
197 forest dwellers of the coastal region and the occurents of the
101 interior as far as a western boundary, of which the Schingú may
131 be regarded as the main portion. They fall into two divisions,
a western one, the Gês according to Martius, and an eastern
one, to which belong the primitive forest tribes of the east and
the Botokuden /Botocudo/. The western outposts of the Gês
are the Kapayó and Suyá. With the latter we need not concern
ourselves further, in view of the report about our second expedi-
tion, except that now there must be added the interesting fact
that formerly the Suyá lived still much farther west. They were
settled west of the Paranatinga, along its left tributary, the Rio
Verde, in the neighborhood of the Kayabí /Cayabi/ and Bakairí,
and from here they were not long ago driven back, one might say,
to the Schingú. The entire mass of Gês has lived east of the
Schingú from time immemorial, and the nearest relatives of the
Suyá, the Apinagês /Apinaye/, live in the angle where the
Araguay /Araguaia/ and Tokantins /Tocantins/ flow together.

The Tupí are dispersed over vast areas. By and large their
northern boundary lies along the northern tributaries of the Amazon;
they occupied the coast from the mouth of the Amazon to that of
the La Plata; the Goaraní of Paraguay merely speak a dialect of
Tupí. We encounter Tupí on the upper course of the Schingú,
of the Tapajoz, of the Madeira, even of the Maranhão. Their
language was elevated by the Jesuits to be the language for com-
munication, the "lingua geral." A great practical benefit, but
unfortunate for the science of language. The interest in Tupí
has caused scholarship in Brazil to treat all other languages in a
most stepmotherly fashion. countless volumes from ancient and
modern times are devoted to it. there is nothing more than meager
vocabularies from any of the Tapuya tribes, either the Botokuden
or a Gês tribe, the linguistic study of which would be one of the

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world's most important, on account of the low cultural level, and which in reality formed the nucleus of the original population of eastern Brazil. The Brazilian scholar sees practically everything that has been thought about the natives as sub specie of the Tupí. He is happy to put Tupí in the closest relationship with the Aryans and derives from Tupí the other languages of his native land; these natives, however, are so widely distributed already that it is quite superfluous to put them in addition where they themselves have not yet been. On the Kulisehu, the Auetõ and the Kamayurá, the latter in greater agreement with the lingoa geral, belong with them.

The Karaiben /Carib/ have been known north of the Amazon River since the times of the discoverers. On the Kulisehu we were the Karaiben; and thus probably originally, too, the first Karaiben were the first strangers who incorrectly understood the tribal name and made it the word that was used to refer to them themselves, as has happened in numerous other cases and is indeed often difficult to avoid during the noisy reception in an unknown language. The name, of course, is derived from the ancestral Tupí /Tupímanen/, not out of the Tupí spoken either in the Lesser Antilles or on the north coast of the continent. The Bakaírí /158/ called us "Karáiba" with definite emphasis on the "a"; the word may be explained as "not like us" in their language, whereas the opposite, "like us," is called Karále. Let us ignore the very dubious etymology, however; it is enough for us that the word is Karaiben in our sense, was taken over by the Tupí of the Kulisehu in the already abbreviated form "karái" -- not in the form "karyb" of the lingoa geral! -- and, according to everything, must for us be "Karaibe" and not, as people are now largely in the habit of writing it, "Karibe." On the upper Schingú the Bakaírí and the Nahuquá are Karaiben. Their language is radically different from Tupí, and the favorite hypothesis of several excellent researchers, namely, that the Tupí and Karaiben are related, has been conclusively eliminated by the two Schingú expeditions; the root words of the two languages show no correspondence.

B /158 cont./
197 The Nu-Aruak fall into the subdivisions of the Nu tribes
101 and the Aruak. "Nu-" is the characteristic fossil of these tribes,
131 the pronominal prefix of the first person, highly characteristic for most of them, which we come across from Bolivia and the Mato Grosso to the Lesser Antilles. In the Guianas we see the Nu-Aruak in intimate contact with the Karaiben; on the Lesser Antilles, where the Aruak were attacked and oppressed by the Karaiben, a true amalgamation would in all probability have come about without the arrival of the Europeans, bringing destruction. Father Raymond Breton in 1665 left us a dictionary of the Island Karaiben, whose Indian-French part, unfortunately only this, has become generally available in a facsimile edition, thanks to Julius Platzmann (Leipzig, 1892), and strove earnestly to separate the words of the Karaiben men and the Aruak women, where they differed, but proved by his compilation that two languages were no longer spoken independently of each other, as was mentioned above, but that the Karaiben men had allowed the substance and form of their old "mother tongue" to be tremendously changed by the new "language of their mothers."

B [191] On the distant Kuliseiu we met the exact mirror image of the conditions in the Guianas. The Mehinakú, Kustenaú, Waurá, and Yaulapiti are Nu-Aruak; their influence was clearly asserted in language and culture traits among the Nahuquá who had taken several Mehinaki women.

B Therefore, according to linguistic investigation, the tribes
101 of the Schingú source region are to be classified as follows (the
171 number of villages in parentheses):
197 Karaiben: Bakaïrí (8), Nahuquá (9);
361 Nu-Aruak: Mehinakú (3), Waurá (1), Kustenaú (1), Yaulapiti (2);
Tupí: Kamayurá (4), Auetó (1);
Isolated: Trumaí (2).

B /159/ Just as the Nahuquá embrace nine different "tribes,"
101 which correspond merely to nine different independent villages,
171 we could likewise put the Mehinakú, Waurá, and Kustenaú to-
197 gether as one tribe. These three tribes speak exactly the same idiom. They also, as we shall see, form an ethnological unit,

B /159 cont./
101 and, in order not to do violence to the perfectly justified tribal
191 names, as actually happened in the case of the Nahuquá, we
197 may call them, where we need a comprehensive term, the potter tribes, according to their most important ethnological characteristic. Beside them stand the Yaulapiti as a closely related Nu-Aruak tribe, but one already clearly different in dialect and revealing other influences.

B T Thus the arithmetical problem has been simplified to the
101 extent that we have before us Karaiben in the Bakaïrí and
197 Nahuquá, Nu-Aruak in the potter tribes and the Yaulapiti, Tupí in the Auetó and the Kamayurá, and, as an indivisible remainder, the Trumaí.

II. Anthropological.

B T In order to have a record of the physical appearance of the
126 Kulisehu Indians, insofar as was possible during our brief acquaint-
128 ance with the individual tribes, a series of measurements were
141 taken, which did not turn out to be very numerous and are not evenly distributed according to the different tribes or the two sexes, yet nevertheless offer interesting material. Possible sources of error on the part of the observer may be put down as constant, since the measurements were all taken by Ehrenreich. He also took a far greater number of photographs than could be reproduced here; some of them, however, became very spotty and difficult
B T to reproduce.* He expects to make further use of the illustrative
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* As is shown in detail in the list of illustrations, the following are reproduced here in photographs: both sexes of the Bakaïrí, Mehinakú and Kamayurá, as well as only men of the Nahuquá and Auetó, while Yaulapiti and Trumaí are missing altogether.

material and to deal with the collected material of the measurements in detail and according to its comparative value for the

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other South American Indians; I shall limit myself here to a few preliminary studies and from the chief measurements give at least the bulk reduced to maximum, minimum, and arithmetical mean, in order to show merely in rough outlines the proportions of the Indian physique.

Virchow's instrumental equipment was used for the measurements: measuring staff with folding foot-board, calipers and beam compasses, as well as a steel /160/ tape measure. The measurements were entered on a printed Virchow form (cf. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie XVII, p. 100). The following were measured: Bakaïrí men 10, women 6; Nahuqua men 15, women 12; Mehinakú men 6, women 5; Kustenaú women 1; Waurá men 1, women 1; Auetö men 14, women 2; Kamayurá men 14, women 4; Trumaí men 8; a total of 68 men and 31 women. I shall always list the tribes in such a way that the arithmetical mean of the figures for the men increase from top to bottom.

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Body height.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Trumaí	8	163.0	155.0	159.1	–	–	–	–
Auetö	14	171.6	155.5	159.9	16	156.5	139.5	148.0
Kustenaú	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	150.0
Bakaïrí	10	166.3	154.5	160.8	6	161.2	140.5	151.6
Nahuquá	14	166.7	155.5	162.3	12	161.0	145.0	152.2
Mehinakú	6	168.2	159.0	164.1	5	153.7	145.3	151.4
Kamayurá	14	172.0	159.0	164.1	4	155.7	152.0	153.8
Waurá	1	–	–	165.7	1	–	–	147.5

The arithmetical mean of the body heights of all these 67 men, irrespective of tribe, amounts of 161.9.

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Without doubt, however, the number is too low. If we exclude all younger persons up to the estimated age of 25 and include the Nahuquá estimated at "50" years who represents the minimum of 155.5, as well as the "60"-year-old Kamayurá with a minimum height of 159.0, we obtain the following rearrangement of tribes and alteration of figures. The maxima remain unaffected.

2: Steinen--137 ED-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP23

/160 cont./

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	Men	Min.	Mean			
Trumaí	4	155.0	155.8	as against		159.1
Bakaïrí	5	154.5	160.5	"	"	160.8
Auetö	9	155.5	160.7	"	"	159.9
Nahuquá	11	158.2	163.7	"	"	162.3
Kamayurá	6	159.7	165.5	"	"	164.1
Mehinakú	4	163.2	166.0	"	"	164.1

The arithmetical mean for these 39 men, who, according to the estimate, would be from 30-50 years of age, comes to 162.6. We see that now the Trumaí and Bakaïrí have a low mean, but the others a higher one, and, to be sure, the difference is greatest in the case of the Mehinakú.

If, with Topinard, we give 165 centimeters as the average height of the adult, the Kulisehu Indians on the average remain under the average size: below average height for all, with the exception of the Trumaí, who even go beyond the line set at 160 centimeters for small stature. The numbers agree with those which Topinard gives in his table, 162 for the Araukaner /Arawakans/ and Botokuden /Botocudo/, 160 for the Peruvians. The tallest man on the Kulisehu was a Kamayurá at 172.0, the shortest was the Bakaïrí with the Jewish facial type (Pl. 13) at 154.5. I obtained somewhat larger figures for the Bakaïrí in 1884: /Pl. XIII appears here/ /161/ on the Batovy the average of seven measurements was 163.6; on the Rio Novo and Paranatinga the average of 14 was 164.1. I should therefore like them to precede the Auetö in stature, as in the first table.

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The women were decidedly small in stature. The maximum 161.2 belonged to the tall Bakaïrí who appears in the group of women (Pl. 5), the "Egyptian" of the first village; the minimum of 139.5 to one of the only two Auetö women measured, while the other measured 156.5, but was particularly striking because of her small fingers and toes.

The arithmetical mean of 31 women measured, irrespective of age, comes to 151.7.

[Text continues on p.139]

2: Steinen--138 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Pl. XIII

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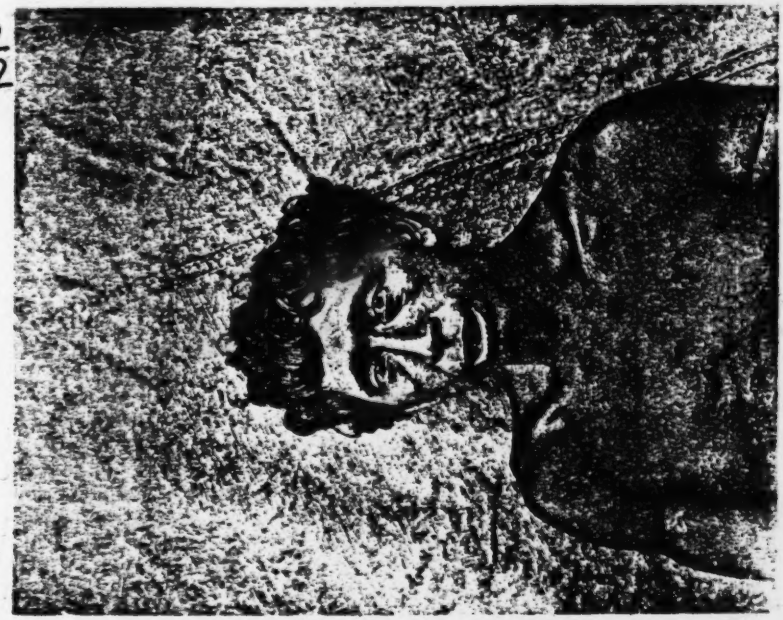

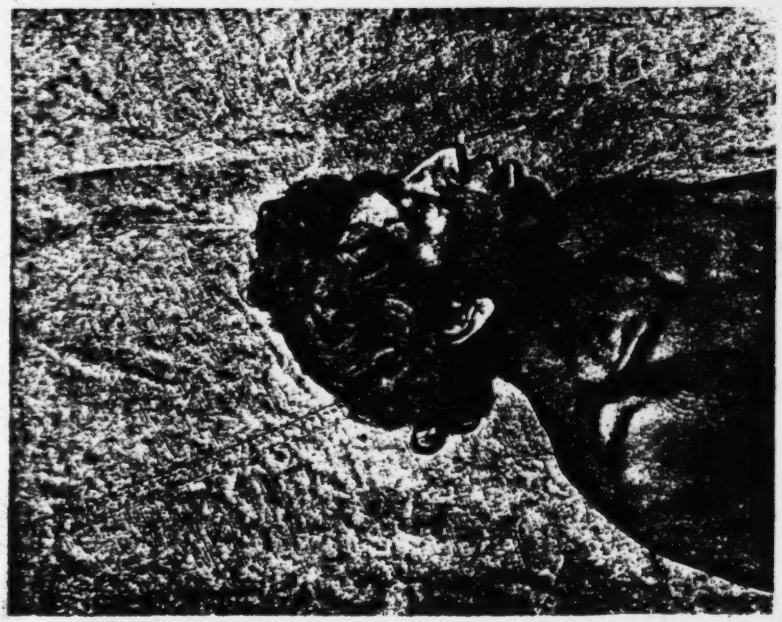

Bakairi "Izzy"

2: Steinen- 139 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/161 cont./

128 141 It is not likewise not really possible to exclude among the women all individuals up to those 25 years old exclusively, for in that case, at least for the Bakaïrí, there would be left only the tall Egyptian, who, moreover, in my opinion, if, given "25-30" years, is estimated too old. If we disregard all women up to those 20 years old inclusively and likewise a "60"-year-old Mehinakú of 151.0, we obtain:

	Women	Min.	Mean			
Waurá	1	–	147.5	as against		147.5
Auetö	2	139.5	148.0	"	"	148.0
Kustenaú	1	–	150.0	"	"	150.0
Mehinakú	3	145.3	150.8	"	"	151.4
Nahuquá	10	145.0	152.0	"	"	152.2
Bakaïrí	3	145.5	153.9	"	"	151.6
Kamayurá	2	154.3	155.0	"	"	153.8

The arithmetical mean of these 22 women amounts to 152.1; the mean of the Mehinakú and Nahuquá, however, after the exclusion of the younger women, has become lower. The average difference between the two sexes would be 10.5 centimeters; in other words, the women on the average were 6.5% shorter than the men.

ooo The most powerfully built Indians were to be found among the Mehinakú, cf. Plate 14 /see p. 163/, very sturdy chaps, and the Nahuquá, cf. the illustration on page 71. The most striking phenomenon about their physique is the broad and deep chest and the tremendous shoulder breadth of the men. The breadth of the pelvis seems smaller than the breadth of the thorax. Older men and children were commonly characterized by a little belly. The women did not have very broad hips, the calves were weak, and their feet were set inward somewhat, as though they were always walking on narrow paths, so that the walk, especially of the woman tripping along with a load, was by no means beautiful. Actually, we saw only one Indian woman whose figure, [142] even by our standards, was graceful and well proportioned; it is the slim Bakaïrí girl in the middle of the group on Plate 5, to whom the photograph, however, does not do justice.

/161 cont.

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Breadth of outspread arms. Body height = 100.

The variations in details are great in each tribe, but move within similar boundaries, so that the difference in the arithmetical /162/ means of the series is less pronounced. The breadth of the outspread arms was less than the body height in one instance each among the Auetö (- 0.5), the Kamayurá (- 1.3), and the Trumaí (3.8).

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Trumaí	7	106.2	97.5	102.7	–	–	–	–
Nahuquá	14	105.7	100.2	103.5	12	108.8	100.3	103.8
Kamayurá	14	107.6	99.2	104.5	4	103.6	102.1	103.5
Bakaïrí	10	108.2	102.1	104.9	6	105.8	101.8	103.3
Kustenaú	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	105.0
Mehinakú	6	107.3	100.5	105.0	5	108.7	102.5	105.5
Auetö	14	108.4	99.7	105.2	2	106.0	101.8	103.9
Waurá	1	–	–	108.3	1	–	–	106.6

Here the Nahuquá, Kamayurá, Bakaïrí, Mehinakú, and Auetö appear in the same order as in the measurements of chest size.

Shoulder breadth. A. Body height = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Nahuquá	5	25.0	22.4	24.1	1	–	–	22.4
Kamayurá	4	24.9	23.6	24.4	2	22.7	21.5	22.1
Waurá	1	–	–	24.4	1	–	–	23.8
Auetö	4	25.7	23.6	24.5	2	23.7	23.0	23.4
Bakaïrí	10	26.2	23.9	24.7	5	24.1	23.4	23.7
Trumaí	1	–	–	24.9	–	–	–	–
Mehinakú	6	26.8	24.6	25.2	–	–	–	–

2: Steinen--141 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP23

B
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/162 cont./

B. Absolute.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Auetö	4	40.0	38.0	39.0	2	36.0	33.0	34.5
Nahuquá	5	41.0	36.5	39.2	1	–	–	33.0
Waurá	1	–	–	39.5	1	–	–	35.0
Bakaïrí	10	42.0	38.0	39.7	5	39.0	33.0	35.0
Trumaí	1	–	–	40.0	–	–	–	–
Kamayurá	4	41.5	39.0	40.1	2	34.5	33.5	34.0
Mehinakú	6	44.5	39.5	41.4	–	–	–	–

Chest circumference. A. Body height = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Nahuquá	14	57.6	50.8	55.1	12	59.1	48.3	53.2
Kamayurá	4	59.0	53.0	55.9	2	56.6	50.3	53.5
Bakaïrí	10	58.8	54.4	56.5	6	59.1	50.0	54.0
Trumaí	1	–	–	56.6	–	–	–	–
Kustenaú	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	54.7
Mehinakú	6	60.3	56.4	57.9	5	59.6	50.7	55.5
Auetö	14	60.6	55.8	58.2	2	56.3	55.6	56.0

These figures are very high. According to Topinard, the Scots have 56.7, the North American Indians 55.5, the Germans 53.8. The extraordinarily strong development of the chest and the shoulder breadth is also the factor that stands out most prominently in the appearance of our Indians. Consider the Mehinakú on the left on Plate 14 /see p. 163 /. Even the Nahuquá who /163/ show up the most unfavorably in the measurements are characterized by a strong thorax; see the illustration on page 71. The Auetö with their short stature have relatively the largest chest circumference.

[illegible]

2: Steinen--142 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP23

/163 cont./

B
T
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In view of the importance of this measurement, I am also giving the circumference

B. Absolute.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Nahuquá	14	96.0	83.5	89.5	12	89.5	70.0	80.0
Bakaïrí	10	94.9	84.0	90.9	6	86.0	75.5	81.7
Trumai	1	–	–	91.0	–	–	–	–
Kustenaú	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	82.0
Kamayurá	4	97.5	87.5	91.9	2	86.0	78.3	82.6
Auetö	14	99.0	87.0	93.1	2	87.0	78.5	82.7
Waurá	1	–	–	94.0	1	–	–	79.0
Mehinakú	6	101.5	91.5	95.1	5	90.0	78.0	84.0

Head height. Body height = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Kamayurá	4	15.6	12.4	13.8	2	14.2	13.7	14.0
Mehinakú	6	15.7	12.7	13.9	–	–	–	–
Nahuquá	4	15.8	12.7	13.9	1	–	–	14.5
Bakaïrí	10	15.3	13.1	14.2	6	14.4	13.0	13.6
Waurá	1	–	–	14.3	1	–	–	12.6
Auetö	4	14.8	14.1	14.3	2	15.8	13.1	14.5
Trumaí	1	–	–	14.5	–	–	–	–

The measurement thus fluctuates between one-seventh and one-eighth of the total height. The men have relatively lower heads than the women. The maximum, 15.8%, belongs to an Auetö woman, the minimum, 12.4%, to a Kamayurá man.

Head circumference. Body size = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Trumaí	1	–	–	32.4	–	–	–	–
Kumayurá	4	33.0	33.5	33.7	2	34.9	34.0	34.5
Bakaïrí	10	35.3	32.5	33.7	6	38.3	33.7	35.5
Mehinakú	6	34.9	32.8	33.8	–	–	–	–
Nahuquá	5	34.9	32.8	34.0	1	–	–	35.4
Waurá	1	–	–	34.3	1	–	–	32.2
Auetö	4	35.4	33.8	34.5	2	36.1	34.2	35.2

/163 cont./

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The maximum of the totality was that of a Bakaïrí woman who was particularly small and whose body height was only 140.5 centimeters. The Waurá woman with 32.2 was 147.5 centimeters tall. She is followed in the minimum measure by the Trumaí man who was 160.7 in body height and whose head circumference was 52.0, so that the striking fact, even at a glance, of how small the heads of the Trumaí are relatively is clearly expressed in the 32.4 figure. The Auetö, on the other hand, also distinguished by their small stature, at least had heads large in circumference, just as they had chests large in circumference.

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Length-breadth index of the head.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Waurá	1	—	—	77.4	1	—	—	84.9
Mehinakú	6	79.2	75.2	77.7	5	80.2	74.8	77.5
Kustenaú	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	78.5
Kamayurá	14	81.6	75.6	78.8	4	81.7	74.4	77.9
Bakaïrí	10	82.6	73.8	78.9	6	84.3	77.9	80.1
Auetö	14	83.2	73.0	79.4	2	80.3	77.5	78.9
Nahuquá	15	84.8	75.4	80.5	12	84.1	72.7	80.8
Trumaí	8	83.8	78.6	81.1	—	—	—	—

My measurements of the Bakaïrí in 1884 deviate not inconsiderably from these of the Kulisehu Bakaïrí. /Fig. 10 appears here./

	Max.	Min.	Mean
Six men on the Batovy	78.8	72.5	75.9
Four " " " Paranatinga	80.4	75.1	77.3
Six " " " Rio Novo	83.2	78.7	79.9

We see that differences in the mean are great between the individual tribes as well as between individuals of the same tribe, that in general the skulls are mesocephalic, and that the Trumaí are the ones who most definitely cross the boundary into brachycephaly. If one arranges according to means the women of the tribes for which there is a series, the sequence is the same as in the case of the men: Mehinakú, Kamayurá, Bakaïrí, Auetö, Nahuquá. Only in the case of the Bakaïrí is the index of the women consistently higher for maximum, minimum, and mean than that of the men.

2: Steinen--144ED-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Aueto SP6
Trumai SP23

/164 cont./

A
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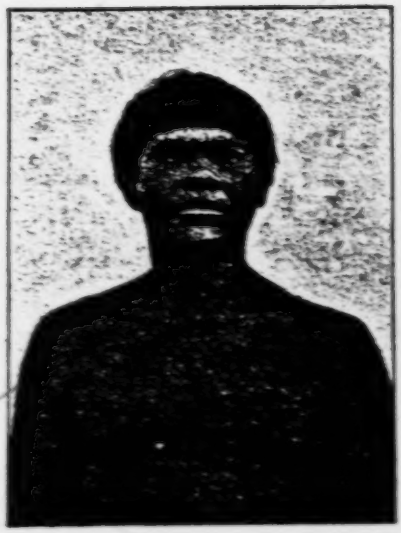

Fig. 10. Auetö.

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B
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Relationship of head length to ear height. Greatest length of the head = 100

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Bakaïrí	10	69.7	59.0	64.7	6	71.2	59.1	65.8
Kamayurá	14	69,6	60.6	64.7	4	68.7	58.9	64.4
Auetö	14	70.3	60.9	65.4	2	63.4	62.0	62.7
Kustenaú	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	67.3
Mehinakú	6	71.0	63.8	65.8	5	68.7	59.4	65.3
Waurá	1	—	—	65.6	1	—	—	67.6
Nahuquá	15	71.5	62.8	67.4	12	76.0	65.9	69.9
Trumaí	8	72.6	68.0	70.5	—	—	—	—

The Nahuquá and the Trumaí, who have the broadest skulls, also have the highest.

2: Steinen--145 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP23

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Angle of the jaw. A. Edge of hair -- chin = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Bakaírí	9	58.3	49.1	47.8	6	61.6	50.6	56.1
Waurá	1	–	–	50.0	1	–	–	56.0
Trumaí	1	–	–	50.8	–	–	–	–
Kamayurá	4	62.4	42.7	54.5	2	56.8	54.5	55.7
Mehinakú	6	59.2	52.4	56.4	–	–	–	–
Nahuquá	5	64.5	53.3	58.0	1	–	–	59.8
Auetó	4	62.9	54.5	59.0	2	60.6	53.1	56.9

B. Nasal root -- chin = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Trumaí	1	–	–	79.1	–	–	–	–
Kamayurá	4	93.2	64.9	81.3	2	98.9	89.7	94.3
Bakaírí	8	88.7	80.5	84.5	6	98.9	81.3	88.1
Auetó	4	94.7	85.0	88.4	2	97.0	89.9	93.5
Mehinakú	6	96.4	85.5	89.8	–	–	–	–
Nahuquá	5	102.5	86.0	93.7	1	–	–	100.0
Waurá	1	–	–	100.0	1	–	–	86.6

The faces of the Nahuquá looked very square, especially on account of the width of the angle of the jaw.

Zygomatic arch. A. Edge of hair -- chin = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Waurá	1	–	–	67.5	1	–	–	87.3
Nahuquá	5	74.6	68.6	72.0	1	–	–	70.0
Trumaí	1	–	–	72.2	–	–	–	–
Bakaírí	9	76.6	67.7	72.9	6	83.0	71.9	76.9
Auetó	4	80.5	71.1	74.9	2	77.5	74.7	76.1
Kamayurá	4	81.2	74.5	77.8	2	76.9	74.3	75.6
Mehinakú	6	84.9	74.3	79.8	–	–	–	–

/165 cont./

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B. Nasal root -- chin = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Waurá	1	–	–	110.7	1	–	–	130.1
Nahuquá	9	122.7	103.4	113.2	12	130.0	116.3	125.0
Auetó	5	122.4	110.8	114.1	2	124.0	122.2	123.1
Bakaïrí	9	121.1	109.2	114.7	6	131.6	109.5	120.8
Kamayurá	14	126.4	105.2	115.0	4	134.7	108.3	123.1
Kustenaú	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	116.3
Trumaí	7	123.3	110.2	117.9	–	–	–	–
Mehinakú	6	134.3	121.4	127.4	5	141.8	127.0	131.3

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Cheekbone protuberance. A. Edge of hair -- chin = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Trumaí	1	–	–	42.2	–	–	–	–
Bakaïrí	8	48.1	39.8	43.6	6	47.2	40.6	44.3
Waurá	1	–	–	44.5	1	–	–	51.3
Nahuquá	5	50.5	41.5	44.6	1	–	–	40.2
Auetó	4	47.2	45.6	46.1	2	48.8	45.0	46.9
Mehinakú	6	49.4	42.4	46.4	–	–	–	–
Kamayurá	4	53.5	41.5	46.9	2	44.3	42.6	43.5

B. Nasal root -- chin = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Trumaí	1	–	–	65.8	–	–	–	–
Auetó	4	72.6	65.2	69.1	2	79.8	72.0	75.9
Bakaïrí	7	75.8	62.7	69.4	6	71.8	65.4	69.3
Kamayurá	4	76.5	66.1	70.1	2	80.4	67.3	73.9
Nahuquá	5	80.3	64.5	71.8	1	–	–	67.3
Waurá	1	–	–	72.9	1	–	–	79.4
Mehinakú	6	77.3	69.0	73.5	–	–	–	–

2: Steinen--147 E D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP23

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Middle face. Nasal root -- chin = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Nahuquá	5	64.9	56.8	61.0	—	—	—	—
Trumaí	1	—	—	61.7	—	—	—	—
Kamayurá	4	64.0	59.5	61.9	2	66.3	62.6	64.5
Mehinakú	6	66.7	58.2	62.0	—	—	—	—
Bakaïrí	8	68.6	56.1	62.4	6	65.4	59.0	61.8
Auetó	4	66.4	59.2	62.9	2	62.6	60.0	61.3
Waurá	1	—	—	65.7	1	—	—	61.9

Nasal height. Nasal length = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Mehinakú	6	106.6	83.9	96.7	—	—	—	—
Waurá	1	—	—	98.1	1	—	—	93.2
Bakaïrí	9	112.7	89.6	98.3	6	104.9	91.8	96.1
Kamayurá	4	104.4	93.3	100.7	2	107.5	107.1	107.3
Nahuquá	5	121.4	89.4	102.0	1	—	—	97.8
Trumaí	1	—	—	104.3	—	—	—	—
Auetó	4	113.0	96.2	105.5	2	95.2	93.3	94.2

Nasal breadth. Nasal height = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Waurá	1	—	—	73.1	1	—	—	82.9
Trumaí	1	—	—	75.5	—	—	—	—
Auetó	4	81.3	70.4	76.3	2	87.5	80.9	84.2
Kamayurá	4	83.3	74.5	79.9	2	86.0	68.9	77.5
Bakaïrí	10	100.0	66.7	81.0	6	95.0	66.0	79.3
Mehinakú	5	91.1	76.1	82.3	—	—	—	—
Nahuquá	5	102.2	74.5	86.9	1	—	—	76.7

2: Steinen--148 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP23

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Shoulder height. Body height = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Kustenaú	1	–	–	80.4	–	–	–	–
Nahuquá	5	83.8	80.1	82.4	12	85.7	82.4	83.5
Kamayurá	14	85.7	81.1	83.0	4	84.2	81.9	83.0
Trumaí	1	–	–	83.3	–	–	–	–
Mehinakú	6	84.8	82.1	83.3	5	84.4	82.6	83.6
Auetõ	14	86.0	81.4	83.4	2	83.1	81.2	82.2
Waurá	1	–	–	83.5	1	–	–	84.3
Bakaïrí	10	85.6	82.6	84.0	6	84.5	82.3	83.4

An Auetõ has the maximum of 86.0 among the men, a Nahuquá the minimum of 80.1; among the women, conversely, the maximum of 85.7 is found on a Nahuquá, and the minimum of 81.2 on an Auetõ. The difference between the sexes is thus greatest among the Nahuquá and the Auetõ; on the average, the man among the Nahuquá would be shorter at the shoulders by 1.1% of the total height than the woman, and among the Auetõ taller than the woman by 1.2%.

Navel height. Body height = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Mehinakú	6	60.1	58.0	58.5	–	–	–	–
Nahuquá	5	59.4	57.8	58.6	1	–	–	57.3
Kamayurá	4	61.6	58.0	59.5	2	60.5	59.7	60.1
Waurá	1	–	–	59.7	1	–	–	60.7
Bakaïrí	10	61.0	57.8	59.7	6	60.8	59.5	60.4
Auetõ	4	61.5	59.5	60.6	2	59.4	59.1	59.3
Trumaí	1	–	–	60.6	–	–	–	–

Men: maximum 61.6, Kamayurá; minimum 57.8, Bakaïrí and Nahuquá. Women: maximum 60.8, Bakaïrí; and minumum 59.1, Auetõ.

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Symphysis height. Body height = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Mehinakú	4	50.7	48.1	49.2	–	–	–	–
Nahuquá	5	50.9	50.3	50.7	1	–	–	49.9
Trumaí	1	–	–	50.8	–	–	–	–
Auetó	3	51.7	50.1	50.9	2	51.8	48.1	50.5
Kamayurá	4	52.4	49.7	51.1	2	51.0	48.8	49.9
Bakairí	10	52.5	49.8	51.5	6	51.1	49.0	50.4
Waurá	1	–	–	52.4	1	–	–	51.2

Here the arithmetical mean is less among the women than among the men of the same tribe everywhere. Unfortunately, the Mehinakú women are missing, but the minimum of the total figure for both sexes is among the Mehinakú men at 48.1. In the series for the men, maximum 52.5 Bakairí, minimum Mehinakú; in the series for the women, maximum 51.8 among the Auetó, minimum 48.8 among the Kamayurá.

Iliac-crest height. Body height = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Mehinakú	6	60.4	55.9	58.8	—	–	–	–
Nahuquá	14	61.7	57.8	59.7	1	–	–	59.6
Bakairí	10	61.9	58.3	60.0	6	60.7	57.9	59.7
/168/								
Trumaí	1	–	–	60.2	–	–	–	–
Kamayurá	4	62.3	58.6	60.5	2	62.0	59.9	60.1
Waurá	1	–	–	61.6	1	–	–	60.0
Auetó	4	61.3	59.3	60.0	2	61.0	59.1	60.0

Men's maximum 62.3 and women's maximum 62.0 among the Kamayurá.

Arm length. Body height = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Nahuquá	4	46.2	43.5	45.1	10	49.2	45.2	46.7
Mehinakú	6	46.0	43.6	45.4	5	48.0	43.5	46.3
Auetó	14	47.3	43.9	45.8	2	46.7	44.7	45.7
Trumaí	1	–	–	46.2	–	–	–	–
Kustenaú	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	45.7

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	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Kamayurá	14	48.2	44.6	46.2	4	47.1	44.3	45.5
Bakairí	10	47.6	45.2	46.2	6	46.6	45.2	45.6
Waurá	1	-	-	46.3	1	-	-	46.1

The long arms of the Nahuquá women are striking. Whereas the Nahuquá men have the shortest arms among the men, the arms of their women are not only longer than those of their male fellow-tribesmen, but the longest of the total figure in general, their maximum of 49.2 is exceeded only by one Kamayurá man with 48.3, and their minimum is higher than the mean of the Nahuquá men.

Hand length. A. Absolute.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Trumaí	1	-	-	15.3	-	-	-	-
Nahuquá	5	18.0	15.2	16.5	1	-	-	15.5
Bakairí	10	18.5	15.3	16.6	6	18.0	14.8	15.8
Kamayurá	4	18.5	16.5	17.0	2	16.5	16.3	16.4
Aweú	4	18.5	15.8	17.2	2	16.3	15.7	15.0
Mehinaká	6	19.0	16.5	17.4	-	-	-	-
Waurá	1	-	-	17.5	1	-	-	15.6

B. Body height = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Trumaí	1	-	-	9.5	-	-	-	-
Nahuquá	5	10.8	9.3	10.1	1	-	-	10.0
Bakairí	10	11.2	9.9	10.2	6	11.3	9.2	10.3
Kamayurá	4	11.1	10.0	10.3	2	10.8	10.4	10.6
Aweú	4	11.5	10.1	10.5	2	10.4	9.8	10.1
Mehinaká	6	11.4	10.0	10.6	-	-	-	-
Waurá	1	-	-	10.6	1	-	-	10.5

C. Arm length = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Trumaí	1	-	-	20.6	-	-	-	-
Bakairí	10	24.3	20.2	22.2	6	25.0	21.5	22.9
Kamayurá	4	24.5	20.5	22.5	2	24.2	23.0	23.6
Nahuquá	5	24.2	21.4	22.6	1	-	-	21.9
Aweú	4	24.9	22.3	23.4	2	22.3	22.0	22.2

/169 cont./

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Mehinaků	6	23.1	21.7	23.4	–	–	–	–
Waurá	1	–	–	22.8	1	–	–	22.9

/169/ The hand of the Indians is relatively short, and the woman's hand for the most part relatively shorter than the hand of the man.

Length-breadth index of the hand. Hand length = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Bakairí	10	56.2	43.4	44.1	6	50.9	41.7	47.3
Nahuquá	5	52.6	47.9	45.3	1	–	–	45.2
Kamayurá	4	48.3	43.4	45.8	2	42.9	41.2	42.5
Mehinaků	6	51.5	48.0	50.2	–	–	–	–
Aweú	4	55.9	48.6	51.5	2	54.7	46.0	50.4
Waurá	1	–	–	54.3	1	–	–	51.3
Trumaí	1	–	–	55.6	–	–	–	–

The Mehinaků have relatively the longest hand and also a very broad one. The hand of the Bakairí and Nahuquá is short and narrow, that of the Aweú long and wide, that of the Kamayurá moderately long and narrow.

Trochanter height. Body height = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Kamayurá	1	–	–	50.3	–	–	–	–
Mehinaků	6	55.2	48.4	50.6	5	51.4	47.6	50.2
Aweú	14	53.6	47.2	50.6	2	52.4	48.7	50.5
Trumaí	1	–	–	51.0	–	–	–	–
Waurá	1	–	–	51.6	1	–	–	51.5
Nahuquá	5	52.4	50.7	51.7	15	52.1	50.2	51.2
Bakairí	9	52.7	50.7	52.0	6	54.3	51.1	52.6
Kamayurá	14	53.6	51.1	52.1	4	52.0	50.6	51.3

The maximum 54.3 of the total number is among the Bakairí women and the minimum 47.2 among the Aweú men.

2: Steinen--132E,D-5 (1884,1887-1888) 1894 SPT Bakairi SP7
Trumai SP23

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Foot length. A. Absolute.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Nahuquá	3	25.0	23.0	24.0	1	–	–	23.7
Trumaí	1	–	–	24.5	–	–	–	–
Auetó	4	25.8	23.5	24.6	2	22.0	20.5	21.3
Kamayurá	4	25.5	23.3	24.6	2	23.0	22.5	22.8
Bakairí	7	26.5	22.4	24.7	2	24.7	22.3	23.5
Mehinakú	5	27.5	24.5	25.7	–	–	–	–
Waurá	1	–	–	26.0	1	–	–	23.0

B. Body length = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Nahuquá	3	15.3	13.9	14.7	1	–	–	16.1
Kamayurá	4	16.0	14.1	15.0	2	14.8	14.0	14.8
Trumaí	1	–	–	15.2	–	–	–	–
Auetó	4	16.1	14.8	15.3	2	14.7	14.1	14.4
Bakairí	7	15.9	14.3	15.4	2	15.3	14.4	14.9
Mehinakú	5	16.3	14.8	15.6	–	–	–	–
Waurá	1	–	–	15.7	1	–	–	15.6

The foot length, like the hand length, is greatest among the Mehinakú and least among the Nahuquá, while the Bakairí have relatively longer feet than hands. It is a pity that we do not know whether the only Nahuquá women measured, who is distinguished by such a remarkably long foot, was not /170/ perhaps a Mehinakú introduced into the tribe. Among all the Nahuquá women the toes were very short; in the case of the one measured, the fourth and fifth toes of the right foot were very short and crippled.

The second toe was frequently longer than the first, and in walking a space showed between the two. In the case of the standing foot, the space was sometimes rectangular in shape.

2: Steinen--113 ED-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trawai 923

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Length-breadth index of the foot. Foot length = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Waurá	1	–	–	40.4	1	–	–	38.2
Bakairí	7	43.1	39.6	41.2	2	40.4	38.5	39.5
Nahuquá	3	44.3	40.8	41.7	1	–	–	37.9
Mehinakú	5	44.9	37.5	41.7	–	–	–	–
Aweté	4	42.6	40.7	42.0	2	43.9	38.6	41.3
Kamayurá	3	44.0	40.8	42.4	2	40.0	37.0	38.5
Trumaí	1	–	–	42.9	–	–	–	–

In order to give something of a survey of the way the individual tribes differ according to their measurements, I am arranging the most important measurements of the six tribes for which we have limited series in such a way that I give each one the number corresponding to its place in the series: 1 represents the lowest measure value, 2 a higher one, and so on up to 6, the highest number of the order of succession. The columns are arranged according to body height.

	Trumaí	Aweté	Bakairí	Nahuquá	Kamayurá	Mehinakú
Body height	1	2	3	4	5	6
Breadth of outspread arms	1	6	4	2	3	5
Shoulder breadth	5	3	4	1	2	6
Chest circumference	4	6	3	1	2	5
Head height	6	5	4	3	1	2
Head circumference	1	6	3	5	2	4
Length-breadth index	6	4	3	5	2	1
Length-height index	6	3	1	5	2	4
Zygomatic-arch breadth	2	4	3	1	5	6
Shoulder height	3	5	6	1	2	4
Navel height	6	5	4	2	3	1
Symphysis height	3	4	6	2	5	1
Iliac-crest height	4	6	3	2	5	1
Arm length	4	3	6	1	5	2
Trochanter height	3	2	5	4	6	1
Hand length	1	5	3	2	4	6
Foot length	3	4	5	1	2	6

2. Steinen--154 ED-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP23

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B T 141 The Trumaí have the lowest figure of all for stature, breadth of outspread arms, head circumference, hand length, the highest for head height, length-breadth and length-height index of the skull, navel height, the Mehinakú the lowest figure for the length-breadth index of the skull, for height of navel, symphysis, iliac crest, and trochanter, the lighest, on the other hand, for stature, shoulder breadth (just as they are also rather outstanding for breadth of outspread arms and chest circumference), for zygomatic-arch breadth, and, although arms and legs are short, for the length of foot and hand. The Nahuquá do not have a 6 for any measure, but show relatively many 5's and 2's.

B T 142 126 /171/ The skin color is characterized by yellow-gray loam shades in all gradations; sunburn, dirt, and painting made it extremely difficult to determine the original color, and it was only under the cotton bindings in the upper arms or lower legs that one realized how light the Indians actually were. Wilhelm made a little color chart on the spot; according to it, the average shade falls between No. 30 and 13 of the Broca chart; the darker tones had a definite lilac-violet admixture, especially on chest and abdomen, the lighter tone a somewhat yellow one. We also used the Rabbe charts and found the greatest similarity for forehead and cheek with 33 m to n or also 33 o, the upper arms approximately 33 m.

B T 142 The head hair was black, especially among the Bakairí, Nahuquá, and Aueto, brownish black. The bluish-black shade did not occur. On the other hand, the hair, especially of the Bakairí children, looked strangely light and faded if the light struck it obliquely, at times it had a dark red shimmer. We never encountered "horsehair." The head hair was moderately thick and straight or, especially among the Bakairí and Nahuquá, decidedly wavy. To our surprise, we saw out-and-out curly heads among the Bakairí, such as, for example, the type shown on Plate 13. How much of it was nature, how much art, is difficult to say. At any rate, old Paleko in Maigéri, who had long since become superior to the vanity of youth, had short, curly hair. Among the Bakairí, the hair is wavy without artificial treatment. Sometimes the forehead was hairy almost to the eyebrows.

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B 302 The lashes were plucked, especially among the Nahuquá until the last trace had disappeared. The same was true of the beard hair. We often, however, came across a moderate mustache or chin beard, occasionally even a cheek beard, mostly among the Kamayurá. Underarm and pubic hair was also plucked out.

B 142 The facial type of the individual tribes showed certain differences which are difficult to define. There is a Bakairí face which I would be confident about not confusing with a face of any other Kulisehu tribe, but which has the greatest similarity with the Karaiben of the Guianas. I would immediately take for a Bakairí a Karaiber Apiaká /Apiaca/ of the Tokantíns whom Ehrenreich photographed. Other Bakairí, however, could also belong to any of the other Kulisehu tribes on the basis of their physiognomy. The more Indians one became acquainted with, of course, the more uncertain one became. The Bakairí or Karaiben face that I am referring to almost has a European structure, the prognathism is slight, the forehead not high but well rounded, the nose has a somewhat wide bridge, pronounced alae, a rounded tip, wide upper lips, the eyes are beautifully almond-shaped and full. On the other hand, there is a second Bakairí type with strong prognathism, a markedly receding chin, low, sloping forehead, and a rather long nose with aquiline bridge, which we noticed particularly among the Bakairí of the Paranatinga. A peculiar specialty of the third Bakairí village was the distinct Jewish physiognomies. The photogravure Plate 13 /172/ shows us the best representative of this variety, who owed his name "Izzy" to our travel mood. Izzy was the smallest Bakairí, but very agile and strong and, as may be seen in the photograph, equipped with a powerful chest; he had black curly hair, a broad-bridged, aquiline nose, and would probably not be taken for an Indian by a naïve person. If there are people today, aside from the Mormons, who would have the children of Israel immigrating to America and being the tribal fathers of the redskins, they may take Izzy's picture as excellent documentary proof. Probably a few Egyptians also joined the caravan of lost tribes; at any rate, a few women in their hair style,
a [See P. 138--Analysis]

B 142 /172 cont./

especially the "Egyptian woman" of the first village, with her narrow face and her long, slightly aquiline nose, showed great resemblance to the women of the ancient kingdom of the Nile, as these have come down to us.

B T 142 Bulging foreheads were found here and there among all tribes, but they were typical of the Trumaí and doubly conspicuous among these little people. They also had the greatest prognathism and the most receding chins; they had a narrow nasal root and little space between the eyes, while the Mehinakú were striking because of their slight prognathism, protruding chin, wide, low faces, and eyes far apart. The faces of the Nahuquá differed from those of the Bakaírí in their coarser character; in contrast to the oval shape of the latter, they had a somewhat square and thick-set one, with very prominent jaw angles. The most finely chiseled faces were to be found among the Kamayurá.

The iris was dark brown and only as an exception light brown; the Trumaí had relatively light eyes. We found one blue-eyed Nahuquá. He had nothing special in the way of hair and skin color; his hair was black and quite straight. He was the father of a young man with dark brown eyes, but his own eyes had a definitely blue iris. The position of the eyes was horizontal or slightly oblique, the form was almond-shaped; the eyeslit among the Bakaírí was commonly wide open, among the rest, especially among the Nahuquá and Kamayurá, rather small and low. We did not see Mongolian eyes; only one Kamayurá could be regarded as Mongoloid.

Beautiful teeth were extremely rare. They were more often opaque, rather than translucent, the color was yellowish and only as an exception white, the position largely irregular; they were rather bulky, but among the Mehinakú frequently small and fine. Almost everywhere they appeared greatly chewed down. One B T [515] never sees the Indians brushing their teeth or rinsing their mouths, which would be very advisable in view of their starchy diet. They use their teeth very incautiously if they do not have any B T [412] fish teeth or shells at hand; moreover, they bite a hole into the oyster-like, hard shells of river mussels, in order to smooth wood

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B with these sharp edges, and they crush with their teeth the shells
142 from which they make their beads, a type of mistreatment that
412 is bound to be disastrous to better teeth, the mere sight of which pained me deeply.

/173/ Chapter IX.

000

I. Dress: Hair and Skin.

Preliminary remarks concerning clothing and ornamentation. The hair. Head hair, body hair, lashes. The skin. Piercing. Binding. Chains. Daubing and painting. Scratch-scars. Tattooing.

B Since in this and the following chapter I shall try to go back
128 as much as possible to the origin of the dress observed among our natives, I should like to begin with two fundamental remarks.

B First, I consider it erroneous that clothing, arising out of a
*171 feeling of modesty, is required for man's humanity. We became
291 acquainted with representatives for various tribal groups of the Indians on the upper Schingú, and they do not need clothing in this sense, as I deduce from the fact that they have no such clothing. Their devices, which from our custom we would be inclined to call pubic coverings, are by no means coverings, and the feeling of modesty that is supposed to have produced the coverings is not present. As early as 1584 the Jesuit Father Cardim wrote about the Brazilian natives: "All go naked, men as well as women, and have no clothing of any kind and in no case verecundant /feel shame/, but rather it seems that in this part they are in a state of innocence."

000 Secondly, I must explain my position somewhat with respect to the origin of ornamentation. It is established that nowadays among primitive peoples there are many types of ornament for which no real or imaginary use is apparent and which, at present, are solely articles of adornment. Nevertheless, it is probably impossible that the finer feelings were stirred before

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the grosser ones. The huntsman first adorned himself with the feathers of the captured birds before he picked flowers for himself. Before he shot birds in order to adorn himself with their feathers, however, he shot birds in order to eat them. From ancient times he has painted his naked body with colored loams. It is true, the pretty colors lie on the shore in nature and are stepped in day after day. But would it not more likely have struck the human being that the wet loam cooled his skin or that the mosquitoes no longer stung than that he observed how his foot had acquired beauty? I believe that /174/ at first he consciously daubed himself only because he was utilitarian enough to take advantage of such opportunities.

Some people, however, will not hear of such a beginning. They seem to be of the opinion that something to be despised is connected with the useful. Why, heaven only knows. I, too, believe that ornamentation arises from pleasure, that, like play and dance, it comes from an excess of tonic powers, but the things that are used for personal adornment were first known through their usefulness. We may also, as soon as people begin to adorn themselves, note two main trends. There is a type of vanity that is related to heroic deeds, the vanity of testimonies of bravura displayed before everyone, let us call it the vanity of the trophy and the scar, and there is the more subdued vanity that is content with the impression made by beautiful or even hideous colors, let us call it the vanity of cosmetics. Everywhere we can see among our Indians methods that serve useful purposes and those that serve for beautification employed together harmoniously, and we have every reason to assume that the former are the older.

#171 302 The hair. The hair style of the men is a calotte with tonsure. The hair is combed from the crown radially toward all sides, falls on the forehead in front, reaches on the side to the ear opening, and in back not quite to the start of the neck. Whereas the Suyá are in the habit of shearing the front part of the head bare and having the tonsure of Apostle Paul, the Kulisehu Indians all have the tonsure of Apostle Peter, a circular bald spot up to seven centimeters in diameter on the crown. When the

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*171 young Bakaïrí Luchu paraded around in Vogel's brown woolen,
302 waterproof poncho, he looked like a monastery pupil from "Ekkehard." It was believed that the Indians had borrowed the tonsure from the example of the padres, which would certainly be in keeping with their disposition, but the tonsure was in America before the Catholic priests. It was extraordinarily widespread among the primitive peoples of South America, and since the Portuguese called the shorn ones "Coroados," from coróa, crown, tonsure, wholly disparate tribes were confusingly considred with the same designation. Father Dobrizhoffer reports that among the Abipon of Paraguay the tonsure was regarded as a mark of the higher caste. There was no question of this among our tribes. Every
[881] boy received the tonsure at puberty, and Antonio told me that he had wept and was very rebellious when his father sheared the spot bald for him for the first time. The habit was described to me as an ancient custom of the grandfathers. People were not always very careful about shaving. Among older people in particular, the tonsure often had bristly hair growing over it; it was said, one bothers about it less "when one is old and father and mother are dead."

The vain young men among the Bakaïrí also knew how to provide themselves with a full head of curls by means of wooden curlers. Small pieces of cork-like wood, /15/ cut with a shell, covered the head; the tufts of hair that were to be curled lay clamped in the sticks. This beauty treatment, however, seemed to be practiced only rarely.

The women wore their hair on the forehead in the same manner, except a little fuller, but on the sides and in back it hung down loosely; over the back it usually reached to the tips of the shoulder blades. The ears were usually covered, and the hair falling down in back rested on the shoulders. Thus one may probably assume that the tonsure of the men is nothing more than a result of the distinction in the hair style customary for the two sexes. The man shortened his hair in the back and on the sides, the woman only over the forehead. The man, in order to facilitate

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* 171 302 the cut desired by him, went a step further and cut off at the roots a part of the hair falling down in back and on the sides. The additional advantage connected with this was that, during combing, the hair could easily be evenly distributed on all sides. The tonsure of the Indians extended chiefly downward over the back of the head (cf. Fig. 14 /see p. 170 /). The Suyá men, on the other hand, with their tonsure of Apostle Paul, went further in the removal of the hair falling over the forehead and, instead, wore their hair hanging down to their shoulders

[42] [301]

Fig. 11. Bakairí girl.

in back or knotted up. Long back hair and the crown tonsure do not occur together. Copying the priests was not required for this simple procedure.

/176/ All the other body hair, with the exception of the eyebrows, was shaved or unhesitatingly plucked out. The lashes were not, as among the Yuruna on the lower Schingú, placed on a tucum thread and torn out all at once with a jerk, but were pulled out one by one at the earliest age of the children. The shaving of the tonsure was done with a tip of spear grass, these razor blades were kept planted near the house. The hair was cut with the teeth of the piranha fish. I never saw among

[324] [342] [237]

/176 cont./

I never saw among

#191 the men the reciprocal and daily delousing practiced so happily
302 by the women. The comb, plaited out of pointed bamboo sticks,
515 hung on the hammock. The hair was not excluded from the paint-
412 ing with urucú red; sometimes it dripped with the red oil and designs might even be applied: one Auetö who was in a festive mood had painted a stripe of urucú red two fingers wide along the lower edge of the calotte, while two stripes ran upward from the ears to the tonsure, so that Wilhelm, who was well-informed in matters of costume, was moved to compare it with a helmet of the early Middle Ages.

151 I often watched Tumayaua in particular when he plucked
302 out his sparse beard hair. In the possession of a mirror, he could devote himself to this contemplative occupation with great concentration for hours at a time; he evidently did not feel any pain, but rather the enjoyment of an industrious man who loves his stimulating work. Accustomed to the procedure from childhood as a matter of course, he was scarcely acquainted with the more disagreeable part of the operation, the fear of it. The people are vain to a high degree, but it is improbable that the nerves of the Indians react more dully to begin with than ours, to judge from the behavior of children. The same man who, with an expression of only slight pain, scratched open his swollen skin with the scarifier to which I shall come back later, thinking that he would cure himself by this, cried out at the first unexpected feeling of pain when I held the burning-glass over his hand.

#191 Undoubtedly, with regard to the plucking of hair, we are
302 dealing today with an old custom, with a fashion for which no one would any longer think of asking the reason, or, more probably, the reasons. People practice the custom, are used to it, and therefore find ugly the strangers who do not know about it. It has been remarked that the beard is plucked precisely by those peoples who are already sparsely provided with this adornment by nature, and it was not enough to say that it is easier in this case to pluck them out; rather it was believed that the sparsity as such looked ugly to the people. My long and thick beard, however, really seemed ugly to the women, and one or another of the Indian women, tugging at it with familiar aversion, gave me the

/176 cont./

*171 well-meaning advice that I should pluck it out. The lashes re-
302 moved so radically would not by any means grow scantily, as is proved by the magnificent lashes of the "docile" Indians. /Pl. XIV appears here./ /177/ Moreover, the grooming of the beard was by far the most neglected, and thus the custom of removing the hair probably did not start with it.

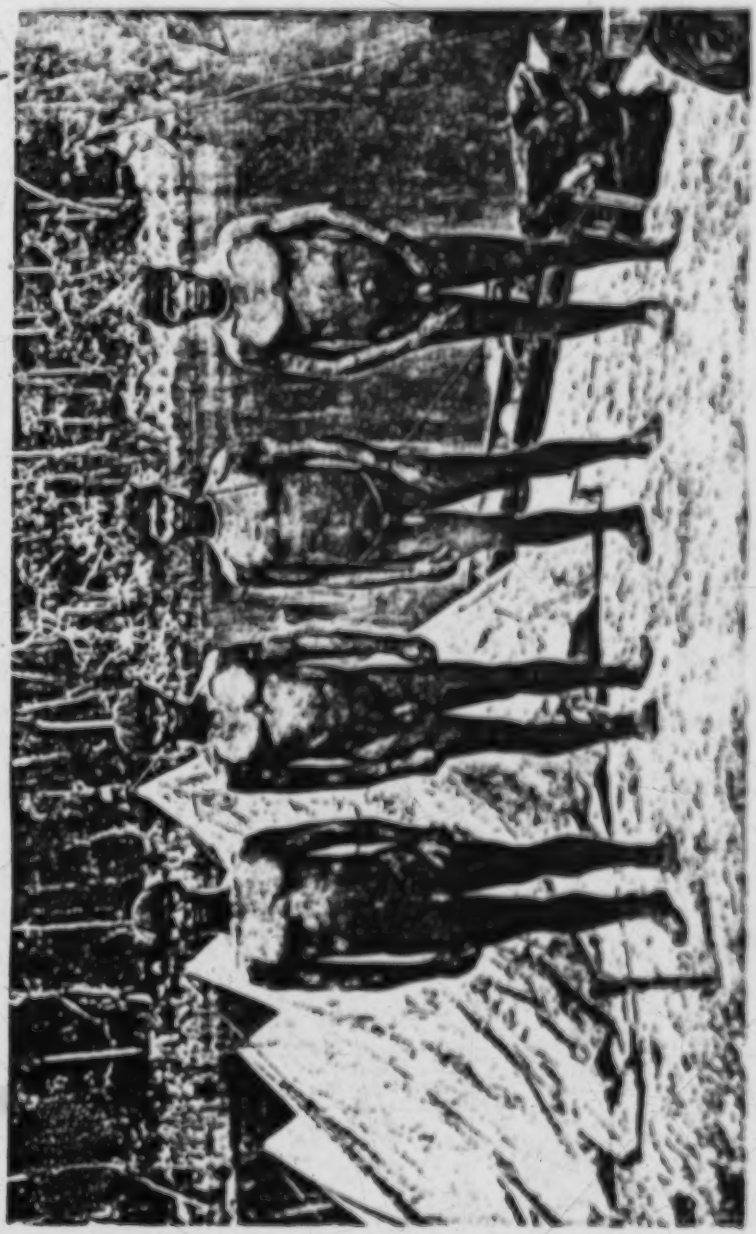
Regarding the pubic hair, which only the Suyá men did not remove, whereas their absolutely naked women did, one can expect the rather coarsely naïve natives to regard its presence as particularly ugly. Yet it is scarcely satisfactory to assume that it is only man's innate pleasure in a smooth skin which has prompted the unclothed native to carry on such energetic destructive warfare against all body hair. There is no lack of reasons why it often seems annoying. People say that even insects which are not eaten as lice are get into the beard, underarm, and pubic hair and mat it down, just as in our case bees in particular became entangled there; people remember the tubercles and blisters on perspiring skin, which are doubly sensitive in hair, the uncleanness caused by blood and dirt, the convenience of attack for underbrush as well as for the pugnacity of one's fellow men, and thus they find many situations in which the body hair of a naked person may cause more annoyance than pleasure. On
[519] the other hand, the pastime and enjoyment which plucking the hair and working over the bodies with small implements provide people in lazy hours must also be given their due. Finally, it is
[811] perhaps not entirely irrelevant that hair and feathers are regarded
[811] as a sort of plant growth. The word for hair and feathers among
[190] the Bakairí, and probably also in other languages, was originally
[179] the same as forest, and the concepts are basically related, regardless of whether the vegetative was taken from the corporeal, or vice versa. Hair and plants grow; they are also cleared away, at least the short weeds.

I should like to put foremost, however, a simple motive operating daily. Just as skin and hair belong together, I am thinking, in association with the custom of plucking, of a connection with the other custom of body painting, of cosmetics, which Joest maintains is older than bathing. For the painting of

[Text continues on p. 164]

2: Steinen--163ED-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Wouto SP18
Mehinaku
Pl. XIV

142
291
301
302



Mehinaku

/177 cont./

*171 302 the body, with which we shall soon occupy ourselves in greater detail, the removal of hair is extremely advisable, because the latter absorbs the color which is supposed to be rubbed into the skin lying under it. Anyone who wants to paint a hide shaves it [951] first. One main purpose of painting, the killing of insects, would otherwise not be achieved. Furthermore, a very natural explanation for the removal of pubic hair is found in the conflict between it and the devices used here at the very time when it appears. In particular manipulations with the hip cord among the men would definitely be impeded. In short, a person who removes the hair is better off and yet misses nothing. This alone is sufficient to justify the custom. Plucking, clipping, and shaving are only a question of thoroughness or technical means or consideration for personal sensitivity. Less attention is given to the comb; they would sooner cut and pluck their hair than use a comb.

/178/ Strangest of all, and certainly no pastime, is the plucking of the lashes, because this operation, as one may call it, is performed quite generally, even on small children of both sexes, and cannot be explained on the basis of tribal or sex differences.*

[R1 (951)]

*In the case of primitive peoples one far too often attributes a thing to their desire for physical hardening, but I never saw children being hardened. The six fathers, not to speak of the mothers, were inclined more to sentimentality than to strictness toward their very self-willed offspring, who could not cry without their parents being bitterly hurt as well. They were definitely [951] caused pain only when it was believed to be for their own good. Their health was always a matter of extreme concern and amulets were hung on them.

/178 cont./

#171 826 If the eye is the most valuable of all human organs, these forest dwellers in quest of animals and fruits are dependent on it to the highest degree imaginable. Never have I heard an Indian complain and whimper as did the chief of the Yaulapiti bemoaning his blindness. Yet in treatment they do not necessarily develop [159] the insight that seems proper to us. Since tobacco smoke is the best medical remedy, a badly inflamed conjunctiva is blown full of smoke as forcefully as possible. Thus the idea that the lashes protect the eye is quite foreign to the Indians. They maintain that the lashes hinder the eye in seeing, especially if they want to peer sharply into the distance. That they are anxious to care for [159] [411] the precious organ according to the best of their knowledge is shown by the fact that the area around the eye of the boy who is to become a skilled archer is scratched bloody with the scarifier -- naturally because they believe in this "medicine" and not because [302] they want to harden him. In the case of the lashes in particular, the seemingly cruel plucking, since it is radical, is nevertheless a relatively mild procedure. To endure the cutting and shaving on the edge of the lid with fish teeth and shells would indeed be heroic.

#171 302 304 The skin. The skin is pierced to receive ornaments, it is painted with color, and it is scratched with spines or teeth. The two last methods have developed into artistic treatment, into body painting or tattooing -- one would only like to know what original purposes lie behind them.

#171 301 If we observe, on the basis of thousands of examples, to what degree coquetry and vanity triumph over physical discomfort in matters crude and fine among our pampered, civilized human beings, we shall not be surprised that the vanity of primitive peoples is even more reckless. The chief difference between us and them is merely that they are obliged to do on the skin what we are able to do with clothing. Among them, however, it was everywhere first of all the man who adorned himself. He began doing so as a hunter, and since there is the matter of manifesting the hunter's beauty, we may conclude that man first developed the idea of the trophy by not separating himself from the parts of the beasts that were inedible, /178/ yet could easily be preserved and

/179 cont./

carried, but rather saved them for acknowledgment by his contemporaries and attached them to his body. We find this all the more natural, since we know that with such parts, in his opinion, the characteristics of the game animal were acquired. Thus he wore claws, teeth, and feathers as trophy and talisman. While he could tie most of these things on a string, he was in difficulty with a feather which he wanted to keep as a memento of a good shot: he pierced his ear lobe and stuck it in there, where it was secure and did not get in his way. The ancestors of all our tribes hit upon this; some of them were soon not content with ear holes, but also pierced the nose and lips. For the idea of the trophy, at first applied only to the laborious attainment, was extended to a wearing not connected with much pain or labor. A new result, worthy of admiration, was produced, and a young man undoubtedly felt "better tailored," in the fullest sense of the expression, if he displayed his treasure in a hole in his nose, lip, or ears, than if he wore it around his neck on a string. Once the wearing of the trophy became habitual, it was inevitable that attention was turned to its external qualities as well, the previously secondary characteristics of color and form. Even objects that had merely been used to keep the holes open and prevent them from healing shut became ornaments and decorations. More or less vaguely felt perceptions of pleasing color contrasts were associated with ideas about the difficult, the unusual, the power-endowed.

The artificial injury, however, became an end in itself through the circumstance that it furnished a permanent distinguishing mark and thus shaped various forms of the custom. It was not only excellently suited for distinguishing brave and ruling persons within a tribe, who were usually also the most vain, but it often formed the consciously worn symbol of nationality from tribe to tribe. It provided the means for giving even children lasting marks. The Indians have always passionately engaged in kidnapping among foreign tribes in order to rear warriors and women, hence children were marked so that they could be recognized, as the herd-owner stamps his livestock. When we were with the Bororó, an old woman swore by all that was holy that our Antonio,

/179 cont./

although he understood not a word of Bororó, was her son stolen years before by enemies; she wailed and lamented loudly all night long. then it was strange to see how the Bororó carefully undertook to examine on the half-laughing, half-outraged Antonio his lower lip, which among them is pierced as early as infancy and unanimously set him free when, instead of their little lip-hole, they found a pierced nasal septum. Thus among the Bakaïri there were abducted Paresiï women; among the Nahuquá, Mehinakú women; among the Suyá, the captured Manitsauá, who were immediately distinguishable from the rest by the tribal marking. /180/ The artificial injury thus developed into a regular arrangement for expediency. Moreover, the foreign was regarded as ugly or comical, the indigenous as beautiful and noble.

The piercing of the ear lobes is generally widespread among the men of all tribes. It serves solely for feather ornaments. Among no tribe of the Kulisehu do the women have pierced ear-lobes, and no woman wears feather ornaments of any kind anywhere else on her body. the woman does not hunt -- the origin from the hunting trophy is still unmistakably distinct. The ear of the boy is pierced at the time when he begins to practice with a small-sized bow and arrow.* /Fig. 12 appears here./

*Among the Suyá men and women wear rolls of palm leaf strips in the slit-open ear-lobe, which is gradually extended into a long rein, but here, too, feather ornaments are confined to the men.

The piercing of the lower part of the nasal septum, so that the alae, slightly turned upward, rest on the object stuck through it, is found only among the Bakaïri, on the Paranatinga and Rio Novo, on the Batovy, and in the first Kulisehu village among both sexes, in the second Kulisehu village only among the men, in the third neither among men nor women. This geographical distribution makes it seem not improbable to me that the custom is based on that of the Paresiï, /181/ who were formerly in active

/181 cont./

#171 contact, sometimes peaceful, sometimes hostile, with the western
304 Bakaïrí, of whom we still found two women, kidnapped as children,
[648] in the Paranatinga village. The Paressí pierced the ear lobes of their women so that they could always be distinguished from the Bakaïrí women, and their men pierced the nasal septum, inserted a little

[532]
[237]

Fig. 12. Wooden mask of the Bakaïrí, with ear and nose feathers.

piece of reed in it, and stuck into only one end of this a long arara feather or ordinary toucan feather, whereas the ear ornament of the women consisted of a little triangular piece of nut shell.

301 Among the Bakaïrí today feathers are no longer worn in the
304 nose, but we found masks with a hole in the elongated septum of
[178] the wooden nose, through which an arara feather stuck into a piece
[532] of reed projected out on either side. There is also a difference in the size of the hole among men and women, to which my attention was especially drawn by the Bakaïrí themselves; in it the men wear a thin piece of kambayuwa reed, in which the feather or a thin bone is inserted, the women a thick kambayuva peg or a thick bone or stone. The latter is never used by the men.

/181 cont./

000 or stone. The latter is never used by the men. On the Kulisehu
*171 we collected a few ornamental stones made out of grayish white
301 quartzite with a dull shine, which were ground into the shape of
[324] a pointed spindle and were six centimeters long. We saw the nose-spindle, natáko, in actual use only in the case of a pregnant woman, who also had many ornaments hanging around her
[319] neck. These stones came from the Batovy or the Ponekuro, the right source-river of the Kulisehu, they were said to be rare, so that ordinary bones or reed had to help out. We also obtained
[237] bones of similar shape, eight and a half centimeters long, and a spindle seven centimeters long and gleaming like mother-of-pearl, which was cut out of a shell. The operation is performed
[304] in approximately the fifth year of life and is said to be accompanied by profuse bleeding on occasion.

000 I may add on here the binding of the extremeties, although

301

Fig. 13. Ornamental nose-stone of the Bakairí women.

*171 I may add on here the binding of the extremeties, although
301 it was still foreign to our Indians in the degree where it might
304 be spoken of as a bodily injury. It was much in use among all
826 the tribes. For this they used thick, wide straw binding, hanks
[283] of cotton, cotton ropes, or bands crocheted with wooden needles, and wore them on the upper arm and below the knee or above the ankle. The custom was most striking in the third Bakairí village, where one saw chubby, almost swollen calves. We never observed, however, such thick, protruding calves as are shown in illustrations of the male or female Karaiben of the north. We noticed the straw bindings especially among the Nahuquá (cf. Fig. 4 /see p. 71/). /182/ Only the men made use of the binding. It makes one strong, I was told by way of explanation.
[237] As dance ornaments bands decorated with colored feathers are worn around the upper arm.

/162 cont./

B 191 301 Chains. Both sexes adorned themselves with neck chains, the men also wore ornaments on their hip cord. Children and pregnant women had the most chain-ornament hung on them. Our beads were also requested primarily for the children.

The Bakairí, with great pains, made very pretty neck chains, trophies of the kind of work that was quite popular among the other tribes, which we also found among the Suyá in 1884, cf. the

B 191 301 321 Kamayurá of Figure 14. These are rectangular, slightly convex pieces which are cut from a convolution of the shell of pfu. Cytkalicus melanostomus (Prof. v. Martens), two to three centimeters long, one

A 192 301 302

Fig. 14. Kamayurá with shell chain.

B 191 301 321 (283) to one and a half centimeters wide, almost pure white, and known as pfu ortii. They overlap on the long side, like roof tiles, and are generally pierced at the top and bottom, but fastened only at the top with small threads to the neck cord. Especially thick shells were chosen, broken, and ground on stones. They were pierced with the

B 192 (250) teeth of the dogfish or with the twirling stick, at the end of which was lashed a triangular splinter of stone. In this way a conical hole was formed.

/182 cont./

4 171 30 32 Another type consists of small disks or smooth beads only one millimeter thick and three to five millimeters in diameter. They are evenly circular, with a dull, whitish-gray to bluish sheen. The little pieces of the broken shell were bitten off with the teeth, made approximately even in size, and were pierced like the squares. The tiny little things are so evenly ground /183/ that on the string they form a thin, flexible coil. They are usually alternated with similarly shaped tucum beads (Bactris), which are hewn out of the shell of the palm nut. The tucum beads are likewise pierced with the teeth of the dogfish. For these and the small shell disks, the evenness is achieved by stringing the beads and, not grinding the coil on a stone, but rubbing and smoothing it between two pot sherds. The shell beads are a very natural product, if colored or shiny pieces of shell are saved at all: they are strung on a cord, since they are hard to fasten otherwise, and they are matched up, which is more easily accomplished if one simply grinds them all around. In this way the most diverse primitive peoples, with their respective shell material, have arrived at beads that look so much alike as to be mistaken for one another. The beads, however, also have all the characteristics required to circulate from tribe to tribe wherever intercourse takes place and provide the best opportunity to become acquainted with the extent of the intercourse, which some regard as unlimited. The Bakaiří of the Bakovy, more than those of the Kalisalu, are "ofuo," lords, of the shell chains.

4 171 30 45

The tucum beads are made chiefly by the Nahuquá; the latter had as shell beads the rose-colored little spindle pieces of Bulimus in particular, whose "ofuo" they were, a single one of which interrupted the coil of the nut beads at short intervals. The Nahuquá were distinguished by a great wealth of chains, especially of plain material, which, moreover, also played a more important role among the Bakaiří than among the tribes living downstream. The Bakaiří of Mangéri greatly prized "grain beads," kanaéiu, which Antonio explained were fruits of a tall, rare grass growing along lagoons, each stalk of which produces only a few.

4 171 30

(B24)

2: Roseman--1721 D-5 (1984, 1987-1988) 1986 SPT Bacairi SPT
Trumai SPT

/183 cont./

We found pieces of malva, pieces of bark, seed kernels, and berries of the most diverse kinds: nut beads from the large and the small tucum palm, fruits of a climbing plant, of a campo tree takipé, of a plant called (Bakaïf) udeyiki, red and black seeds of Papilionaceae, of mamona (Ricinus), snake beans (Dioscorea odorata), among the Aweni gourd seeds and almonds kernels, and even a small, bottle-shaped gourd seven centimeters long.

Among the Tsuiagani, Trumaí, and, coming from them, among their neighbors, stone chains were frequent: pierced disks and cylinders which the Nahuquá immersed in the amber-like uculú resin and in clay. It was the diorite of the stone axes and throwing-stick arrows /Wurihuto-Pleiio/; it was pierced with the stone chip fastened to the twirling stick and the addition of sand. Small, pear-shaped stones, such as go with the darts /Wurlyleiiong/, are popularly hung on children's chains by the Mehinaká and Aweni.

Thus there were distinct differences in the material, which were probably, as is certainly the case with the stones, locally conditioned. All chains made of white shell pieces went back to the Bakaïf, all those of red to the Nahuquá, all those made of stones to the Trumaí or Tsuiagani.

/184/ Animal material was found everywhere. There were bone beads and bone beads, the latter also in the form of little rods: they were sometimes strung on individually, sometimes joined for whole chains, especially monkey teeth and jaguar teeth. Cf. the illustration of the Aweni chief, page 90. Among the Nahuquá we procured a chain with jaguar teeth and small, colored feathers. The Trumaí joined capybara teeth. Among the Mehinaká in particular there was an abundance of children's ornaments, which were hung in bunches on infants. Besides the others, monkey teeth in particular, teeth of the jaguatirica (Felis mitis), fish vertebrae, bones of the bagre fish, once a huge, black beetle horn. Also claws or hoofs of the tapir (Kamayurá), jaguar, and deer.

/194 cont./

With this the most essential constituents of the chain ornament have probably been enumerated. In the later chapter on the plastic art of our Indians I shall come back to details, insofar as all kinds of figures were also carved and ground.

I am unable to say to what extent useful and therapeutic effects were attributed to individual objects. That the "ornament" was often "talisman" is shown by the fact that, as mentioned, children and pregnant women were the most bedecked. If the remains of a menihhex were also hung around, this, too, did not originate from a sense of beauty. The green beads of the Bakairi greatly resembled fine fish-bones, but I obtained such a chain only with the greatest difficulty. In the eyes of their owners they were decidedly "more beautiful" than those with fish beads, because they were rare.

Daubing and painting. Why do the Indians daub themselves with all color, either with black, like those who are less familiar with the urucu bush, or with red, as the others prefer? To frighten the enemy by means of display and disfigurement? This is certainly a practical use, but only for this particular instance.

Could the love of color explain everything? If so, we are obliged to recognize the delight in black as a primary sensation of pleasure. In that case we should have to note with amazement that a natural source has eluded our Indians, a source used so profusely in Polynesia, for example, and one that is abundantly available for this purpose even in the river-forest area which is relatively poor in flowers -- neither men nor women adorned themselves with flowers. I believe the only question that Antonio asked me of his own initiative was the following in Cuyabá: "Why do the women wear flowers in their hair?" The idea that it is done in order to adorn oneself with gay colors was wholly removed from his way of thinking. No, the gay parrot feathers only later developed into colored ornaments; first came the pleasure in the hunt or in animal life and the beautifulness concerning the hunter's

/194 cont./

still, and only then did sensuous pleasure come into its own.

I guessed in my journal each instance of body painting and was able to observe that even today there are two types of body painting here. /195/ The one which occurs to us first, that of external adornment, was the more uncommon and had one characteristic that distinguished it rather definitely from the other. This characteristic was that a design, simple or elaborate, was part of the adornment. A distinction must be made between daubing and painting the body. In daubing the useful is the decisive factor, in design painting, the beautiful. The love of color is present in both cases, but secondary. Even the effect of urucú red is overestimated by us. If it had been so esteemed generally, all tribes could have used it. A person who lives with the truly gaudy adornment of the parrots is supposed to regard himself as particularly beautiful if he daubs himself with soot or even brick-red! Let us pause in front of the magnificent feather ornaments of tropical South America in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde and confidently compare with these the most beautiful and the most colorful things that our modern technology, which has certainly accomplished so little, is able to conjure up -- nature can still stand up under the comparison, and surely its feather splendor surpasses the modern black-white-red which charcoal, loam, and the green bush provide for the Indian.

The Indians never use white for body painting! I already hear the answer: "He finds white not becoming to him." There is probably something in this. He valued our white beads less than the red ones. He preferred the blue ones to both, for they contrasted best with his skin. One could retort, to be sure, that he made these distinctions merely at a glance and before he saw the beads on his body, but it may be that he liked red better than white and blue better than all the rest, not because he preferred the, to him, more unusual colors, but purely as a matter of taste. But this still does not explain why he avoided white altogether. One would only understand why he used it

/185 cont./

more sparingly and could not by any means conceive why he did not use it merely to bring out the other colors better. He wears feather caps, which look most charming, of pure white with a few, small yellow-red feathers in between.

The chalky, fine-grained clay is not suitable for the design-painting of the body. If it were mixed, like charcoal, with the yellowish oil, it could likewise be applied in lines, but the white color would be lost. Mixed with water, however, the lines would be very impermanent and mostly fall off when dry. On the mania, white furnishes only the background or appears in wide stripes on the most artless men. On the other hand, if the native used his pigment for body adornment primarily for the sake of the color effect, nothing would prevent him from beautifying himself with white also, by powdering himself over large areas with the clay. Thus the thighs of the string-twisting women are chalk-white. Moreover, the fine, flour-dust, with which the women who bake bread are often covered white, would be available to him. But neither the white baker-women nor the Indian decked red or black over large areas /186/ has dressed himself up this way in order to adorn himself. This is everyday clothing, not Sunday attire.

The question thus is: of what use is the daubing? As is well known, and as I know very well from my long experience of going barefoot, the mud has a cooling effect. It is extremely pleasant in the heat to keep the skin moist. In particular it cools stung spots, and it protects the open sting from the non-noxious, whether it be red, yellow, black, or white. I cannot believe that whenever a person waded through the mud of the shore, he seemed particularly adorned because of it. It may be different on other soil, where the earth colors are more unusual. In our territory, at any rate, the agreeableness for the skin takes precedence over that for the eye. The Indian has replaced the mud with oil, but a finely powdered addition is said to make it more consistent and sticky, and this addition is a pigment, rust and urucú red. Undoubtedly the Bakairí like the red better, since they did not have to send and cultivate the plant of the rust-way-out as many, and within these limits the adornment is where also by daubing himself.

2: Steinen--176 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/186 cont./

one adorns himself also by daubing himself. The native daubs himself with oil paint, either black or red, in order to keep the skin agreeably soft in the heat and so that the mosquitoes and stinging flies that alight on his body stick to it and perish. He does not set out for the hunt until his loving spouse has smeared him, especially on chest and back, with oil paint; he takes with him in the canoe, as we saw in the case of our companions, the small oil-calabash, in order to renew the coating on the way, and in the morning he and his companions perform this service of love for each other. After a day of rowing, such a back is dotted with countless small black cadavers which are quickly removed by a bath in the river. Among the Bakairi I also saw a number of women blackened with dry charcoal all over their bodies, who were busily going about their ordinary tasks and, to all appearances, had not in any way thought of dressing up. Unfortunately, however, I do not know for what purpose they had rubbed themselves and only suspect that some kind of hygienic measures were involved.

Now, I should not like to maintain that daubing and design-painting are sharply separated. It is the same as with clothing. It is worn differently for work and for festivities. If clothing were decoratively created, with better materials, brighter colors, a special cut, I should not like to conclude from that that it was fundamentally only adornment. Oil color is actually the clothing of the Indian, as he requires it: its real and oldest purpose is protection, not against cold, but against warmth, against chapping and certain kinds of external wounds. He has only one form of clothing which he can do without better than we can that of nun, which also does not have the secondary characteristic of concealing, like that of nun, and he has therefore not arrived at the feeling of modesty that we have. Just as our clothing /187/ is singled out of considerations of adornment, so his oil color and in earlier times, I imagine, his mud. Just as some people more than others are affected even in their everyday clothing, by the consideration of a more attractive outward appearance, so also does an Indian lap, like

2: Steinen--177ED-5 (1884, 1887-1889) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/187 cont./

*[171] the Bakairi Lucho, in a pleasant idle hour, treat himself to a
302 serpentine line with dots beside it on his thigh, and just as plainer
751 people among us dress only modestly even on Sunday, to an
Indian of more measuring temperament is content to permit
himself for the celebration of a joyful event merely a painting
of the forehead and nose or of the calves, instead of a linear de-
sign. By and large, however, I find it clearly evident that
daubing is done for utilitarian purposes and one decorates himself
with designs for beautification purposes, and I conclude from this
that cosmetics were not adornment at first. And this is all the
[322] more to be maintained inasmuch as to this day only secondary
value is put on the color of their coloring materials, since they
scorn white altogether, make no particular distinction between
red and black, and since they have disproportionately more
[342] beautiful colors at their disposal in their feather ornaments. The
development of color words, as we shall see, also speaks in favor
of this view.

I need scarcely point out that among the purposes of
daubing regarded as useful the medicinal ones were not lacking
and encouraged the custom. I shall cite a specific and very
common case personally in connection with the scarifier. When
Bororoma, the great medicine man of the Tsalagiti, smeared
the remainder of our pea soup over a broad area of his chest,
the motive of delight in color probably played only a minor part.

*[171] The designs were of different kinds. Simple finger
302 motion, bold stripes, for example, from eye to ear, or the
beautifying of the arms Bororoma: a black stripe from the nose
to the navel, stripes that followed the contours of the shoulder
blades, dots on chest and arms, wavy lines along the thighs,
dotted arcs across the chest, a zigzag down the back and legs,
and the like. In part there was involved in this a bold outlining
[349] or accentuation of the anatomical contours, in part imitation
animal skin-design, but everything was the choice of the individ-
ual person and there were no tribal designs. The conspicuous
painting of individual parts of the body, for example, forehead
and nose, may be regarded as a transition to the ordinary tender

/187 cont./

*171 302 daubing. The cotton bands wound the upper arm or lower leg offered a not unpopular motif. One day I saw on the Bakairí Kulekule, who was an enthusiastic admirer of mine, a black horseshoe-like arc below either nipple, and when I jokingly asked him what it was, to my surprise he pointed to my boots, which impressed him very much: he had painted the heels on himself. A veritable work of art was displayed by a young Auetó who was solemnly decked out for the journey with us to Cuyabá -- his father ordered him to accompany us --, but who left us already among /188/ the Mehinakú, in spite of a pot of flour that had been given to take along as provisions. The meresihu kuenge-petem, which I shall subsequently discuss in greater detail, covered his chest and sides down to the middle of the calves, in contrast to which the lower half of his face and the sides of his neck from the ear to the collarbone stood out with a coating of pure, deep black. Otherwise it was primarily on the festive occasion of a reception or, as among the Nahuquá, for the dance that people decorated themselves with designs. In everyday life there was practically nothing to be seen, just as little as of feather ornaments. When I appeared with my travelling companions from Independencia, almost all of the Bakairí of the first village, including the women, received us in a painted state. the smaller grandsons of Tumayaua had been carefully smeared over their whole bodies, and Tumayaua told me specifically that we were supposed to see how pleased the women were.

*171 304 Scratch-scars. Scratching the skin is a sort of pastime. It is used on young and old and in the same way among all the tribes. With the /Fig. 15 appears here/ scarifier, a triangular piece of giant shell set with a row of small, pointed teeth of fish (piranhas) or claws of sucuriú (agouti), the skin is scratched, allowed to bleed for a while, which is helped by sucking with a horn, and is then rubbed either with yellow loam or with soot or the juice of a fruit (usually among the Auetó). One sees the scratch-scars everywhere, especially on the arms. Actual

/166 cont./

#[17]|| 504 decorative scars are altogether absent, which agrees with a state-
ment by Joest, that they are confined to the dark peoples. So
that boys will develop a sure eye and a strong arm for shooting,
#[17]|| 959 the face and upper arm are treated with the scarifier. I saw it
used with very good results in the case of a bad swelling of the
foot. The procedure is pure Baunscheidtism /a method of
healing by acupuncture/ and is expressly represented as a medi-
cal one. It is clear that in many cases relief is actually obtained
by a lessening of pressure and inflammation. It is no less clear
how people hit upon it, for in the case of insect bites, everyone
scratches until there is bleeding and the pain or itching stops,
and one also tries to let out anything harmful that has penetrated
the skin. Finally, it is not mysterious why people rub them-

[304]

Fig. 15.
Scarifier.

selves with soot or earth; again they do not wish to adorn them-
selves, but to increase or alleviate, according to need, the irri-
tation and stop the blood. Bleeding was also checked with ashes.

#[17]|| 304 Thus the native has now arrived at tattooing, without
inventing it. I often observed colored scratch-lines in the skin
as a regular, albeit unintentional tattooing among tribes who did
not /165/ concern themselves with this art at all. One may not
speak of accident, however, since the habit of medicinal scarifi-
cation of necessity called forth the secondary experience of
coloring. Purposeful application is a matter of subsequent culture.
Tattooing also becomes an artificial method and a distinguishing
aid which is put on the skin where clothing is not present.
Nothing is more natural than that tattooing decreases as clothing
appears and easier ways to the same end are opened up. Felipe,
the docile Bakairi /Bacairi/ from the Paranatinga village,
lieutenant of the Brazilian militia and owner of a

G: Sarlaan -1800D-3 (1564, 1857-1865) 1974- SP7 Sarlaan SP7
Auto SP6
Camayura

B
191
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/189 cont./

pelaua and of a cast-off, galloned uniform, which his rediscovered brother in name, along with Antonio, after our first expedition, he told me that he was asked to go to the Kumenal /Cumenau/ and have himself tattooed. "But I didn't want to," he told me, "after all, I have my galloon."

Tattooing is limited to the Ile-Aruak /Arawak/ tribes,

A
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Fig. 16. Kamayuré woman with urucú-seed.

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namely, the Mehinaki /Mehinaku/, Kumenal, Waurá, and Yaulapiti -- no tribes who are fond of blackening their bodies, who could thus have observed the coloring of the urucú -- and is occasionally laid claim to by the neighboring Paiaká. It is done in endless childhood with the thorn of a bromelia, grown for the teeth of the dogfish, and on the skin of the caruná fish serves for the color.

B
191
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/189 cont./

p. 191 304 We saw an artistic tattooing only once: a chief of the Mehinakú had the rhombus shape of the *meraichu* fish tattoed on either side of his chest. From the upper and outer corner of the rhombus a double line ran up to the shoulder. Proudly counting up for us the tribes that knew him, he each time pointed to a corner of the rhombus. I use even this little humorous touch to substantiate my opinion that what primitive peoples do with their skin, *mutatis mutandis*, corresponds to what we undertake with our clothing. The Mehinakú counts off on the corners of his tattoo design, we on the buttons of our vest. The men had /190/ as tattooing a line or a double line that followed the inner contours of their shoulder blades, sometimes as obtuse or approximately right angles which have the vertex turned toward the spinal column, sometimes as an arc -- a design that has gone over into the art of the Mehinakú and appears outside on the bottoms of the large pots. cf. Plate 15 /see p. 253 /. The women wore, either on the upper arm or around the waist or on the upper thigh, two or three horizontal curved lines, encircling the front part of the limbs, thus representing semicircles.

In general, tattooing does not as yet achieve more than simple lines and still reveals its origin from the clumsy scarification with the fish teeth. In this respect the illustration on the preceding page of a Kamayurá /Kamayura/ woman seemingly tattooed, but merely scarched for medicinal purposes, is strange. The Kamayurá did not have any tattooing, but hands and arms were often closely lined with scratch-scars from the scarifier.

[304] Tattooing, however, did serve as a conscious distinction. It marked men and women of the chiefs' families, who, unlike the Bakairí Felipe, were not in a position to wear gallooms, this distinction was provided even for small children. Thus, therefore, it has families a mark of differentiation within the tribe, which in the course of time, however, like every badge of rank, will give to pauperism. Individual Bakairí and Nahuquá strangers were tempted to agree for the foreign distinction. The Nahuquá had several Mehinakú women with tattooing. Among the Mehinakú I met a visiting Kamayurá, and he,

/190 cont./

characteristically, were on his arm the two tattoo lines of the Mehinakú women, painted on, to be sure, and not tattooed. I believe, but cannot maintain and prove, that there is a connection here with the system of matriarchy. According to the Indian conception, the sons belong to the tribe of the mother, and in every case they visit the tribal village of the mother under peaceful circumstances. It is certain that the Mehinakú women and the Mehinakú men have their home stamp.

II. Sexualia.

The devices among men and women are not coverings. Protection of the mucous membrane and benefits with the onset of puberty. Origin among the women, however, as bandage and cushion, among the men as gymnastic treatment for phimosis.

Our natives do not have any secret body parts. They joke about them in word and picture with such complete ingenuousness that it would be foolish to call them indecent. They envy us for our clothing as though for a valuable ornament, they put it on and wear it in our company with such utter disregard of our complicated rules and such complete misunderstanding of all the devices designed for them that their peculiarities relevant in most convincingly proved. Some of them celebrate /191/ the onset of puberty for both sexes with noisy folk festivals, in which general attention and boisterousness is demonstratively concerned with the "private parts." If a man wishes to tell a stranger that he is the father of another or a woman wishes to introduce herself as the mother of a child, they gravely acknowledge themselves as worthy begetters in that, with the most spontaneous and natural explanation in the world, they grasp the organs from which life issues.

Hence it is not possible to understand these peoples properly unless we leave aside our idea of "clothing," unless we take them as they are and as they prove themselves in their own way. Keeping in mind as our point of departure the fact that they have

/191 cont./

only their natural skin and no artificial fabric cover over their bodies, we must ask ourselves first of all whether the skin, in its relation to an external world to which it is directly exposed, can be affected by the changes of sexual life, and we must in any case approach this subject with clinical frankness and not with the idea of a civilized human being who is suddenly required to undress. Let us begin with a survey of the various methods used among the individual tribes for the treatment of the *pars pudendae* from the time of maturity on, and only from this time on. They do not at any point apply to children.

Among the Kalinda tribes, with the exception of the Tsumaf, the men do not show anything very special at first glance. The pubic hair is plucked; they wear only a belt-cord in the form of a cotton string on which are occasionally strung small pieces of maize or bead seed kernels or tiny pieces of snail shell, but usually in such a way that the greater part of the string is left free. One might examine the photographs, for example, Plate 14 / see p. 183/; one finds the hip cord, without exception, on every man. Often, instead of the string, there is a hank of cotton, as in the case of one of the Nahuqué, page 72* or in the picture of the Bakaiff Lucha, Plate 6 /see

*The Nahuqué on the left lacks a hip cord because it came into our possession shortly before the picture was taken.

p. 60/. It was in the case of this particular youth, who had reached maturity a short while before and had not yet finished removing his pubic hair, that I learned about the purpose of the hip cord, which is of interest to us here. Up until then I had regarded it, along with the hank of cotton, as a carrying cord, often provided with decoration, for people who have no pockets, or as a supply of binding material that was always at hand. But in fact light resin, such as shells and fish teeth or the comb or knives given by us, were worn, not on the hip cord, but on the chest or back on a string around the neck. Also, the very

191 cont.

inductions women did not have a hip cord. Smaller boys wo usually already provided with the cord, but then always had a couple of dainty trifles strung on it.

192 The purpose of the hip cord is to extend the praeputium. The penis is placed upward against the body an pushed under the hip cord in such a way that the uppermost portion of the praeputium remains pinched off. The young man made to do this when the first erections set in. He tries to adhe to the procedure for days and removes the annoying pubic hai

The Trumai had a bizarre method which is also reported from other Brazilian tribes. They tied up the praeputium in front of the glans with a cotton rag usually dyed red with urucú. The front end of the penis looked like a end of a sausage. Thus they achieved permanently what the others with their hip cord managed only temporarily. Unfortunately, we were u able to observe them in their ville life under normal conditions. When we

Fig. 17. Penis cuff of the Suruí.

found them in the vicinity of the Aweti, on their flight from t Xavá, we did not notice the sausage string on all of the men, though those not provided with it showed the tying-off marks o the praeputium caused by its use. It would not be inconceivab that the men were somewhat embarrassed in front of the Aweti any rate, the rest of the tribes, when we spoke to them about t Trumai, always manifested very special amusement over the wooll hip cord which they marked and found as funny as we did. We met the company, however, when they were entirely

2: Dominos--1818,D-5 (1884,1887-1888) 1894 SPT Bacam
Thomas, SPT3
Beyond SPT8

/192 cont./

among themselves, and the chief reason, I presume, in view of the calamity, was the only too explicable neglect of their outward appearance. We also noticed that it was older persons in particular who lacked the string, just as the older ones are the most careless concerning the tamure. Among older men who wore the string, it rested directly on the scrotum, and the contents of the penis had completely disappeared, so that one saw only a little tied-up bag. And it was scarcely different when they wore no string.

This consequence of continual compressment was no less evident in the case of the cuff or straw collar, which none of the Kalapalo tribes wore, but which I should like to mention here. We saw this device, which is not unknown elsewhere in Brazil, among the Turuna, the inhabitants of the middle and lower course, who were unacquainted with the upper tribes, and in a larger size among the Bororó of the southern Mato Grosso. A long strip of rather brittle yellow palm-straw is rolled and folded, as the illustration /Fig. 17; see p. 184/ shows, so that a funnel-shaped cuff, tapering to a point at the bottom, is formed. The left, projecting end of the strip in the illustration may be ignored, since it was only on festive occasions that the cuff bore such a flag painted with red designs. Its effect is exactly like that of the string: the penis is drawn through it in such a way that the /193/ lower, narrow end of the funnel tightly ties off just a tip, as the frontispiece /see p. 5/ and Plate 27 /see p. 184/ show. Here, too, the rest of the penis usually disappears in the scrotum, but the advantage of the rigid cuff over the string is that it does not cut in so sharply. The cuff is an improvement and an embellishment in comparison with the string. I presume that the lip cord was worn first and some of them used pieces of it for the binding, while others were content to clamp the skin. The former went on to the milder and more comfortable cuff, but retained the old and in any case still useful or ornamental lip cord, just as the Bororó wear it besides the cuff, while the cuff-wearing Turuna have developed it into a wide beaded belt. Actually, Wallwitz reports (1903) of the Bororó living in the source region

80 /183 cont./

of the Paraguay that they wear, not the cuff, but the string. "The men tie only the glans around their abdomen by means of a fine bast thread, so that they keep themselves free of mucus and are not hindered in running."

All methods, with slight variations, achieve the same result, the covering of the glans, either by simply extending the *praeputium* or by tying it up besides and even also enclosing it in palm straw.

As for the women, I have mentioned that they all remove the pubic hair.

The Bayé women, who adorned themselves with neck chains and wore thick, rolled-up palm-leaf strips resembling tape measures in their pierced ear-lobes, went about completely naked.

The Trumaí women wore a band of soft, grayish-white bast. It was twisted into a rope so that there was concealment only within the most modest limits and surely could not have been unnatural, since merely a wider strip could have been used. They rolled a long, narrow, folded bast-strip up a little at one end, held this little roll with one hand pressed against the lower corner of the *mons pubis*, twisted the free strip around themselves several times with the other hand, and drew it up toward the back between the legs, came to the front again to the little roll, pressed it to them with the strip drawn across it, and turned back over the other hip to the small of the back, where they twisted in the free end and tied it securely.

The Bororó women likewise had the soft, gray bast band, which they replaced by a black one during the menses, but they fastened the band to a hip cord. Twisted in there in front, three to four fingers wide, it ran, becoming narrower, over the fissure of the vulva and the perineum to the small of the back and was again tied to the hip cord. In place of the hip cord, a wide, tightly embracing piece of bark was also worn around the body. See the illustration, "Bororó, Mother and Daughter" /see p.589 /.

/193 cont./

The women of the Karaiben /Carib/, the Nu-Aruak, and Tupí tribes of the Schingú /Xingu/ source region all wore the little triangular piece of rigid bark bast, which /194/ is most conveniently designated with im Bakairí name, "uluri." The uluris are made out of a square piece of rather hard, crumpled material folded diagonally; the edges of the two triangles thus

formed, which are slightly springy against each other, are turned inward so that they do not remain sharp and cut in. The uluri fits very deeply into the corner of the mons pubis; the lower angle of the triangle is drawn out into a perineal strip of hard bark-bast four millimeters wide, while, from the upper two, two thin threads run across the groin around the thighs to the rear and there join the narrow perineal strip coming from the lower point of the triangle. The size of the uluris varies; ample specimens have a base line

Fig. 19. Uluri (5/6-5/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

of seven centimeters, a height of three centimeters; most of them, especially for younger persons, are considerably smaller. They

/194 cont./

§ 171 just cover the beginning of the fissure of the vulva and fit closely against it. The *introitus vaginae* is not reached by the triangle, but is closed from front to rear or at least held back toward the inside by the total pressure, since the perineal strip embedded in the fissure between the unrestrained *labia majora* is drawn taut.

The *uluris* are made with great nicety and look quite coquettish when they are new. Their entire construction is so nicely thought out and especially the fastening of the groin cords, as well as that of the perineal strip, which are sewed to the triangles, are such neat work that one cannot explain them as a native product.

§ 171 What the various methods of the women have in common is the closing, not the concealment. They hold back the mucous membrane parts, just as among the men the glans is prevented from protruding. Holding back the mucous /195/ membrane is the common mechanical effect of all the devices of both sexes. The *uluri* achieves it by such an extreme reduction of the covering that concealment seems avoided as much as possible, rather than desired. The mucous membrane, since it is held back behind the *praeputium* in the case of the men, behind the *labia majora* in the case of the women, remains hidden from the outer world in general and thus also from the glances of the circle of acquaintances.

These devices can only facetiously be regarded as "articles of clothing" whose chief purpose would be to serve the sense of modesty. Sexual excitement was not concealed by them and was not kept secret, at least among the Bororó men. The little red thread of the *Trumaí*, the decorative *uluris*, the colored flag of the Bororó, like ornaments, invite attention instead of diverting it. To be sure, the notion of tracing the moral condition as well as these "remnants of earlier clothing" back to degeneration, during which the natives are supposed to have sunk from a higher level to the lower one of the present, will be a heartfelt need for some minds, but it cannot be reconciled either with the variety of devices dominated by one similar, clearly expressed purpose, or with the complete harmony with which they fit into the entire cultural level of the Indians otherwise. The absolutely

B /195 cont./
*171 naked Suyá women washed their sexual parts at the river in our
291 presence.
831

If the glans constantly threatens to become exposed through
B erections and sexual intercourse, could the wish arise on the
*171 part of maturing men to keep it covered for protection? There is
291 much to be said in favor of this. To be sure this need for pro-
136 tection might least of all be related to underbrush and thorns.
251 More seriously to be considered are the assaults of the animal
T kingdom. If the Trumaí, as was maintained of them, were
171 animals who lived in the water and slept on the bottom of the
291 river, they would be urgently required to close off the urethral
251 opening against the little candiru fish (Cetopsis candiru). This
136 transparent, span-long little monster, whose occurrence we noted in the Batovy in 1884, has the peculiar habit of penetrating the body openings accessible to it when human beings are in the water; it slips into the urethra, cannot get back because of its fins, and may easily cause the death of the unfortunate one who has no other recourse but, willy-nilly, to perform the urethrotomia externa with his knife.*

> *The Brazilians' fear of this fish, so harmless in and of itself, is thus probably justified; it is best characterized by a Munchausenism which an officer, with a perfectly straight face, reported to us as true: in the waters beside Villa Cáceres the candiru is so vicious and so consumed with its passion that even when a person relieves himself on the shore it quickly goes up in the jet of water.

T Since, however, the amphibian nature of the Trumaí will
171 justifiably encounter skepticism, and the stay in the water,
136 even for the fisherman or the rower hauling his canoe through the
291 cataracts, plays only an insignificant role, it is /196/ not neces-
251 sary to grasp at the only occasional danger from the candiru. On

196 cont.

*171 the other hand, the swarm of "carapatos" (Ixodidae), the ticks
29 stripped off and shaken down from leaves in great numbers as
136 one goes through the forest, makes protection of the glans ex-
951 tremely desirable for the forest dwellers. These little parasites, in part very tiny, attach themselves to the skin, pump themselves full of blood, swell up to the size of peas as a result of their expansible body walls, and cling so tightly with the hooked tips of their maxillary feelers which sharply penetrate the skin that one tears them apart in trying to pluck them off, and painful inflammed areas are caused by the parts that remain behind. The Brazilian, who often comes out of the forest as though strewed with carapatos, hastily removes his clothing and shakes his shirt and trousers out over the campfire; if one of the parasites has bored into the glans, he goes after it with a burning cigarette as close to the body as his own sensitivity will permit, so that the little animal, tortured by the heat, will voluntarily give up its abode and withdraw from the mucous membrane without being torn apart. All of us, in spite of our clothing, have had to resort to this procedure at one time or another and have experienced the situation, before relief was achieved, as one of the most painful. I am also of the opinion that the protection which the Indians enjoy is more reliable than that of covering clothing.

How many other biting, pinching, sucking, increeping insects can in like manner afflict the South American forest dweller is familiar to every traveler who has sat on the ground
*171 in the Brazilian forest. These annoyances are most vividly made
136 clear by the fact that it was the inhabitant of the South American
352 tropical forest who was forced to invent the hammock, which the
516 English and French still call "amáka" from the Nu-Aruak word.
951 Forced certainly not only because of the wet ground of the Hylaea. The Indian very wisely averts such attacks somewhat by customarily sitting in a squatting position. The women, if they sit down flat during the scraping of mandioca roots and similar occupations which would be inconvenient to do in a squatting position, use a couple of flat pieces of bamboo, fastened together as an underlayer, even when they are in the house, which, of course, is crawling with ants. Their domestic tasks

B /196 cont./ their domestic tools
#191 have made them less accustomed to squatting than the men,
136 and they are therefore less protected. In the illustration on the
516 next page /see p. 192/ a group of Bakairi from the second village
951 shows very well the characteristic positions of both sexes in sitting or squatting.

B In the case of the women, too, if protection of the mucous
#191 membrane was to be effected by their devices, this purpose would
291 probably be achieved and certainly be achieved better than, say,
136 the purpose of concealment. Furthermore, it should be realized
951 that, assuming the purpose to be protection of the mucous membrane, a need for this was at least increased through sexual life, since in the case of the young /197/ woman the mucosa became more accessible, in the pregnant more tangescent, and as a result of childbirth more slack.

Thus it would indeed be improper, on the basis of local conditions, to doubt that the methods described could offer the adults of both sexes protection against external assaults and that there was no lack of occasions when they were found to be useful in this sense. It would also be natural for young people to be duly furnished with them as early as the onset of puberty when they began to work with the older ones. The explanation, however,
B cannot possibly be exhaustive. For the importance and indis-
#191 pensableness of the devices are out of proportion to the idea /Fig.
291 19 appears here/ of protective apparatus. Why should they not
836 have been removed more often, especially at night in the ham-
951 mock? Why should the young men have been so intent on training the praeputium. Why should particular fun have been made one day about wearing the uluri or the cuffs? The connections with sexual life must be direct and not merely indirect.

B In the case of the female sex one encounters no difficulty.
#191 Suddenly bleeding appears: there is illness here. That the Indian
291 thought this originally is clearly proved by the utterly superfluous
841 medical treatment of the menstruating girl customary among
T most tribes, /198/ with isolation, fumigation, diet, incisions,
191 and other remedies against the unknown foes. One neatly re-
291 moved the pubic hair and donned a bandage, the bast loop, or a
841 cushion, the uluri. The bast loop among the Trumai women --

1: Boulnois--180 E D-5 (1904, 1907-1909) 1094 SPT Barain 597
Transit 5923

B //198 cont.//

171 a combination of bandage and cuttoon -- is twisted like a rope, in
291 the case of the ulus wearers the narrow bark strip makes possible
834 the stretching over the peritoneum; in both bases there is provided a
171 support pressing against the pubic symphysis, in the former case by
291 means of the little roll, in the latter case by means of the springy
834 triangle. One realizes that it was not cleanliness which prompted
the procedure, but the medical attempt to counteract the loss of
blood. These are truly not inventions of modesty, such as aprons or
similar loose hangings.

Fig. 19. Squatting Bakairi.

B 152 291 302 516

cop similar loose hangings.

B In the case of the men, the explanation is not so obvious. Here,
171 too, an attempt has been made to preserve the connection with a
291 causative, primary sense of modesty. The view has been expressed
834 that shame was felt only when the glans of the penis was exposed to
the gaze of others and therefore it alone was covered. Unfortunately,
I did not observe anything that might settle the question directly. I
saw that the people were not ashamed when they gave us their device.

/199 cont./

or occasionally tuck them off, just as a number of Trumai did not even wear the string. But the penis had always been pushed back so far and the skin was so wrinkled that nothing was visible of the glans. I even believe, perhaps because, without corroborating material, I myself am gazing through the spectacles of civilization, that they would be ashamed to expose the glans to the eyes of another, especially a stranger. Except that I would regard this feeling of modesty as the result of the firmly rooted custom and not as its cause. I find it very strange, however, that a feeling given by temperament should be awakened for only a small anatomical part of an organ which in its function also claims other parts, and I should like to hear of a case having been observed, say, in which a person taken by surprise in a naked state covers himself, not with his hand, but with only two fingers. It should not be forgotten that erections are neither prevented nor concealed by the tying-off. Moreover, there are also [304] circumcised persons who go naked or did.*

[113]

*Cf. the example of the cacique of Gotera. R. Andree, Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche, new series, Leipzig, 1889, p. 202.

And here we have arrived at the point that must be considered above all. We must take into consideration the opposite treatment of the glans, which shortens or cuts open the praeputium. The majority of mankind has given preference to circumcision. Along with Ploss and Andree, ** I am of the opinion that the

** Op. cit., p. 212.

original meaning of circumcision was that of an "operative preparatory act for the sexual function of the man"; "one wants to make the young man at once mature and normal sexually. /199/ with it he is taken into the ranks of marriageable men." Now, if our primitives have decided on the opposite method, they could not have been impelled by an opposite motive, which would be irrational. One may well ask, however, whether their

/139 cont./

method does not merely seem opposite, whether it does not, in reality, achieve the same thing? Not that the opening is enlarged. Instead, there is a gymnosis rather than an operative treatment for phimosis. Do they not stretch the skin which the others cut? Do they not make room inside where the others make it toward the outside? This can be questioned least of all for the pinching off of the praeputium by means of the hip cord, which, as was mentioned, seems to be the oldest form, since the hip cord has been preserved everywhere. With the cuff, the skin was strongly pulled forward. In young men it often looked sore and scraped. The European lets the shoemaker stretch his too tight shoes on the last, but in the interior of Brazil, where people buy only finished, imported goods, a gentleman thinks nothing of appearing in patent leather shoes which he has widened with a couple of firm slashes. His knife is to the shoemaker's last what the circumcising splinter or thorn is to the hip cord.

One thing the elegant Brazilian and the European have in common in this case: they are both more or less ashamed of going barefoot. Perhaps the time will come when perfect human beings will think shoes were invented because it was a heritage of our generation to be ashamed of naked feet.

Not even the actual apparel that our Indians have -- they are plaited of palm straw, provided with sleeves and trousers, and serve for mummery at dance festivals -- can be used in favor of an origin from a sense of modesty: large and conspicuous, the sex organs are put on them on the outside. I cannot believe that a sense of modesty, which is decidedly lacking in the unclothed Indians, could be a primary feeling among other human beings but rather assume that it developed only after the parts were already covered, and that the nakedness of women was withdrawn from view only after the value of the girl given in marriage had, with more active intercommunication under perhaps slightly more complex economic and social conditions, risen to more than it was even among the great families on the Schingú. I am also of the opinion that we make the explanation more difficult than it is by attributing to ourselves, theoretically, a greater sense of modesty than we actually have.

2. Steinen--1884, D-4 (1884, 1887-1888) 1884 NPT Berlin 377
Transcr. SPK3

/200/

III. Hunting, Agriculture, and "Stone Age" Culture.

Population figures. Location of the villages. Combination of ancient agriculture and the world view of hunters. Hunting and fishing must furnish the most important tools for the tribes lacking metals, for whom the expression "Stone Age" is incorrect. Stone-as monopoly,-teeth, bones, shells, feathers. List of useful plants and distribution according to tribes. No bananas. Plant names as evidence of continuous development. Lack of intoxicating flour-beverages proves that simplicity is not the same as degeneration. Combination of hunting and agriculture made possible through the division of labor of the sexes. Indian women do the agriculture, they invent pots to replace gourds, the men do the hunting, the women the boiling. Culture with agriculture, pottery, and the preparation of flour was spread and maintained by foreign women after wars, in particular by Nu-Aruak women.

B 161 128 The population of the Schingú /Xingu/ source region probably amounts to approximately 2500-3000 souls. I am not in a position to give more than a very superficial estimate. Even in the third Bakairí village, the young women and girls fled into the woods when we arrived. Usually the fugitives gradually returned, to be sure, but we never knew for certain whether we were seeing before us the normal number of inhabitants. The opposite also occurred, namely, that visitors from the neighboring villages had come in, and the company surrounding us seemed too large. B 162 121 The smallest villages consisted of only two family-houses, the largest of almost 20. In general, it will be correct if one reckons for the villages, depending on their size, a population of 30 to 150 and, where it is high, up to 200 inhabitants.

T 361 181 Only the Trumaí and, beyond Schingú-Kobleste, the Suyá lived along the river bank. These were the most warlike and restless tribes; one might regard the Suyá as the pike in a fish pond. B [361] The rest lived in peaceful security, often more than two hours of travel inland from the river. But while the river in B 33 437 the region of the Bakairí /Bacairi/ was still narrow and had

/200 cont./

cooed to coping in the last centuries, while dense campo wilderness with sandy soil still prevailed in the landscape here, a vast network of canals and lagoons developed downstream and, for persons familiar with the winding waterways, in which the stranger could not find his way, made communication there effortless and extensive, not only from village to village, but also from the village to the plantings, and more fertile soil made work more rewarding.

If we wish to use the schema of fisherman and hunter or agriculturalist, we find a mixed situation among our natives. The hunting of mammals naturally fell back before fishing among the sedentary river dwellers. The latter was important, both for the purpose of food and for that of use for technical requirements. Skins offered no advantages, since clothing for warmth was not worn; the skin of a slain mammal was usually not stripped off, but roasted as well, and to be sure, until it was charred, when it tasted pleasantly crisp and salty. Hunting, beyond that eagerly undertaken for large gallinaceous birds and the other inhabitants of the river-forest, yielded only occasional game and, if it were to have been carried on more seriously, /201/ would have required larger expeditions. We saw that later among the Bororó, who also lived on a river rich in fish, but among whom, conversely, the hunting of mammals predominated. They were away from home for weeks and returned with large quantities of roasted meat. They did not as yet practice agriculture.

Mentally -- and this is a highly significant point -- the Schingú Indians, in spite of intensive agriculture, still lived completely on the true hunting level. At any rate, with regard to the Bakairí I can confirm this statement in its broadest sense. I have described with what attentiveness they observed, even in the village, every sound issuing from the forest, every occurrence in animal life that they chanced to see. Outside, on the campo or forest path, in the canoe, in the overnight camp, the Indian always felt that he was hunting. He was not aware of any gulf between him and the animal world; he saw

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151 only that all creatures behaved essentially as he did, that they
155 had their family life, communicated with one another by means of sounds, had dwellings, sometimes fought with one another, and nourished themselves from hunting booty or from fruits; in short, he felt as though he were *primus inter pares*, not above them. He knew nothing about all those good things to the effect that there is a difference whether one draws conclusions in emotional images or in concepts, and whether one acts purposefully according to associations which are inherited complete within the species, or according to traditions which is handed down by the parents by means of language. His myths and legends, which
[913] to us seem like pure fairy tales and animal fables and which he takes just as seriously as we do the sacred books with their doctrine, in which he lets human beings and animals mingle, would necessarily be only *playful* pots if he regarded himself as created out of a different substance than other creatures are. We can understand these human beings only if we regard them as the product of a hunting culture. They gathered the main body of their experiences from animals, and with these experiences primarily, since it is only through the old that one is capable of understanding the new, they explained nature, fashioned their world view.
[532] Accordingly, their artistic motifs, as we shall see, are borrowed, with amazing one-sidedness, from the animal kingdom. Indeed, their entire, surprisingly rich art is rooted in the hunting life and did not flower until a more peaceful existence provided protection for the huts. From the outset I cannot refer often enough to these conditions, since otherwise we should not properly evaluate the material culture of the natives and should not understand their mental culture at all.

*191 On the other hand, it is a fact that the products of agricul-
194 ture -- except in the case of the Trumaí -- have been in the
241 possession of our Indians since time immemorial. A comparison of the languages furnishes irrefutable proof. It teaches us first of all that the tribes of the Schingú belong to different language families. It teaches us furthermore that in the case of each one the branching off from the basic people concerned took place

/281 cont./

in remote epochs, /282/ for the phonetic softening processes and the disappearance of the initial vowel-sounds, which are present everywhere in the individual dialects, show a development in the same direction, but in different gradations everywhere with respect to degree and limits, show only equivalence, not conformity, and therefore could have started only after the separation from the basic people. Nevertheless, even the basic peoples have names for the most important useful plants; they are entirely different from one basic people to another, but for the individual basic stock they are common among a greater or lesser number of branches. For the Karaiben /Carib/ I believe I have proved these statements in my Bakairí grammar. I can likewise maintain them for the Tupí after more recent studies, for the Nu-Aruak /Arawak/, where the material is inadequate and difficult, I reserve all judgment and merely point out that, on the basis of historical and ethnological data, we must conclude that the Nu-Aruak undoubtedly have an older culture than the Karaiben and certainly the Gês, and probably also an older one than the Tupí. The Trumaí borrowed their names for the most important useful plants in part from the Nu-Aruak, in part from the Tupí.

Thus, we have a contradiction with respect to the common conception: ancient agriculture along with the world view of hunters. The Bakairí said to me: "Our grandfathers did not know anything about maize and manioca, instead they ate earth" -- which the present-day Indians only nibble. In the bagaiú legend they say that manioca was first given as a gift to the campo residents. In the Mato Grosso different stages of development are found side by side: in the case of the Bororó we shall become acquainted with a mighty tribe for whom the cultivation of food plants was an incomprehensible beginning, who, without need, most speedily pulled out and consumed the manioca roots planted for them, before the roots were scarcely more than thin young shoots -- we recognize from the language and also hear from the tradition that the Trumaí were taught agriculture only recently by their neighbors, and we find among them excellently tended, extensive plantings--

/202 cont./

exceptionally studied, extensive plantings -- finally, we see the rest of the Ixtlungi Indians dependent on the produce of the fields, but in their entire thinking and feeling filled with delight in the original hunters' calling.

But, according to the scheme, the process could not have taken place so discontinuously in steps and more or less autonomously. In order to understand this we must approach still another problem. The Ixtlungi tribes had no metal. It is said that they lived in the "Stone Age."

Unfortunately, the study of the pre-metallic period has quite predominantly been built on the mute evidence of excavations. Thus, first of all, there was permitted to arise such a confusion of concepts that "Stone Age" and "prehistory" are commonly regarded as identical terms, although the peoples who have written their own history did so only after they had long had metals, and although, side by side with them and at the same time, there lived metal-less peoples, "prehistorical" with historical peoples. Then, however, /203/ according to our prehistoric finds, one could distinguish an older period, in which stone implements were made by striking and splintering the stones, and a more recent period, in which they were produced by grinding, and, not content to limit this process -- I am not saying this process of development -- to the areas where it was observed, but, generalizing the experiences, it was concluded that man necessarily, in order to obtain his tools, began everywhere by breaking up stones and then progressed to grinding them. Whereas prehistory ought to pronounce the final word and furnish the definitions for the explanation of cultural beginnings only where observation among primitive peoples reaches its limits, nevertheless today the reports from Alaska or from a South Sea island are predominantly regarded as valuable material for the prehistorian who delightedly sees his perspicacious interpretations confirmed by reality, and when, on the other hand, the traveling /Fig. 20 appears here/ researcher comes to a place where people are unfamiliar with metal, he cries out that they are living in the "Stone Age" -- a folly which became clear to me because I myself frequently committed it. If, as in

/203 cont./

proper, we started first with the primitive peoples, we should not fail to recognize that there is Paleolithic work among them even today, depending on the kind of stone available, the material provided from another quarter, and the technical purposes present. We should see that the negative term "metal-less" is, of course, appropriate, but that the positive name "Stone Age" can be very unfortunate. We should also consider the case where man has no stones at all or unsuitable ones and still makes excellent tools and weapons. As an unprejudiced observer, it would scarcely have occurred to me to maintain that the Schingú Indians are living in the "Stone Age."

It is certainly true that their most difficult accomplishments -- clearing the forest, building houses, building canoes, making zoots, and the like -- go back to the stone ax. But the various tribes were entirely dependent on one stone, which was in the possession of the Trumaí. Neither the Suyá nor the Kalapalo nor the Kuikuro /Kuikuro/ and their relatives, nor the Aweté nor Kamayura /Camayura/ had stone axes of their own manufacture. Their sandstone was not suitable for axes. I have assumed exactly the same thing about the former times of the docile Bakairí of the Paratatinga. In this region the Kayabi /Cayabi/ had a monopoly on the stone axes, the neighboring Bakairí were obliged to get them from them, later their deadly enemies. The tribes of the Bororó, Kuikuro, and Kuluéne obtained their stone axes from the Trumaí (the Suyá living on the main river had some of their own). Thus, the stone ax is presented to us here as an import article.

Fig. 20.
Stone ax.
(1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.

In answer to my inquiries, I was told that the stones were found "along a brook in the sand." The material has been identified by Herr Professor Arzruni /204/ of Aachen as diabase, a rock consisting of augite, plagioclase, mica, chlorite, and magnetite, in which are

/[illegible]/
embedded individual crystals of diorite and quite a number of quartz granules. The blades, 11-21 centimeters long, are usually evenly cylindrical, but some are round in the center like a roller, taper toward the rear, and have a broad front end with a bow-shaped cutting edge. Without any lashing, they fit into a wooden handle 1.5 meters long on the average, which consists of a cylindrical upper piece bored crosswise and a thinner handle set off from this like a reed stalk from its spike. The stone points mounted in the darts and the ornamental stones of the neck chains are made of the same diabase. The Tlinnel ground the blades to a point on these stones and bored the ornamental stones, besides them, only the neighboring Tenlapin did this. The other tribes simply sharpened on the river sandstone the axes then became dull. Shells and stones were bored with a twirl-borer. A triangular, hard splinter of stone was clamped to a small staff, and, to be sure, at both ends so that one could alternate them, and was secured by cord lashing. The little staff was almost half a meter long and was twirled between the hands. If stone was to be bored, sand was added. This is all the Indian achieved in the working of stone; they had

Fig. 21.
Twirl-borer.*
(1/2 nat. size/ as shown in the original illustration/.)

*The twirl-staff is represented discontinuously.

/Tupi-Guar/

no triangular pounds of meat, no stone hatchets, no celts, no stone axes, no adzes, etc. Among the Bakairi I found two pieces of sandstone containing iron together so that sparks flew out and to my amazement saw that they were not familiar with the phenomenon. They were Neolithic people who could have learned many a useful craft secret from the Paleolithic Bororoans.

I do not venture to say that the Xingu Indians lived in the "Tooth Age," the "Shell Age," or "Wood Age," although, as a matter of fact, the great majority of weapons, tools, implements, and ornaments are put together out of teeth, shells, and wood, and they produced fire by rubbing sticks. I do not venture to say this even with regard to the eastern Brazilian forest tribes, among whom the stone ax must have played a wholly secondary role, since they neither carried on agriculture nor built canoes or solid huts. Obviously, however, it is only the transference of ideas gained elsewhere -- and in connection with excavation, in a very understandable way -- if, in order to identify the cultural level, one selects from among the natural materials available for tools and weapons that which has been worked and used least of all. The culture of the old Brazilian hunting tribes living in the forest will be very much misunderstood if, with the classification of "Stone Age" peoples, /20/ the image of people of the Ice-Age is conjured up. We impute our study of the spatial distribution of culture circles and man's dependence on his place of residence: every tribe learned to utilize the material of its environment, upon which it was dependent, and thus has come into the possession of methods which a neighborhood only sparsely supplied with the same materials would not have found, but which it learns to use and exercise only for its own advancement. Bastian says, "it appears to be conditioned by the geographical environment whether, beside the Stone Age preceding the metals, there must be put a Wood Age (as in the Brazilian alluviums, for example), a Bone Age (in the case of livestock on barren plain or hunting in such areas), or a Shell Age (as occasionally on coral islands)." I therefore prefer to

/249 cont./

ney simply that our Indians were not yet familiar with metals and steel, for the time being, dependent on shells, teeth, and wood in their work methods, if only because in large part they did not even have more suitable stones.

And now I have come back to my point of departure. In spite of their agriculture and in spite of their land-clearing with the stone ax, the Schingú Indians were not only able to maintain their hunting, but they had to maintain it, because fishing and hunting provided them, aside from a change of diet, with the indispensable tools for making weapons and implements.

Teeth. The sets of teeth of the piranha (Serrasalmus)*

* There were two species, a smaller black "pirarara preta" or "olho de fogo" (fire eye),

Fig. 22. Fire-eye piranha.
(1/6 nat. size/ as shown in the original illustration/.)

and a larger "pa o amarello" (yellow maw), whose "yellow" is a brilliant orange.

served for cutting. They were opened with any suitable wooden hook and carefully examined: the lower jaw, four centimeters long and containing 14 small, triangular teeth, was then cut out with a shell. Hard things and soft things, the spines of the buriti palms or human hair, but especially all threads and fibers, were cut with the sharp teeth. They called my scissors "piranha teeth." Bamboo and other reed: were scored with them until they could

/205 cont./

to broken off evenly. A scarcely less important tool was furnished by the pelon cachorro, or dogfish, called Cynolmia zoologically, which has in its lower jaw two pointed teeth three to three and a half centimeters long, each projecting upward through a hole. The edge of these teeth, ground knife-sharp, was used for cutting, but chiefly for puncturing, for example, in connection with tattooing, for scarifying, for example, in decorating the tortoise spindle disks, and for boring reeds, as in the case of the arrows, in order to put through the threads for fastening the feathers and points. /206/ The triangular pieces of gourd which, as the scarifier, represented the most important instrument in the little surgery of the Indians, cf. Figure 15 /see p. 179/, were studded with the small, pointed teeth of the wahura fish, Erythrinus. The little teeth of the aguif, Dasyproctis aguti, served the same purpose. Of the rodents, the capybara, Hydrochoerus capybara, furnished indispensable scraping chisels with the front teeth of its lower jaw. The teeth, six to eight centimeters long, was fastened to a piece of ubá reed with cotton thread, or two teeth were lashed together and cemented with a little wax. /Figs. 23-28 appear here./ The arrow holes were likewise bored with the aguif teeth. Monkey teeth, pierced at the root and artfully plaited together into a chain, were a favorite belt or neck ornament.

Bones. Arm and leg bones of monkeys, which were kept in thick bundles in the little tool basket at home, served as arrowheads. They were ground to shape and, with their hollow tubes, mounted on the stick between the arrowhead and arrow shaft. The tail radiation of the ray was likewise an arrowhead. Small, pointed bones were added as barbs. /207/ Mammal bones had many uses: the skin treated with the scarifier was rubbed with the thigh bone of the deer; we saw a splinter of a jaguar bone pointed to pierce ear lobes; the wax smeared over the lashing on arrowheads was applied with a bone. The front claws of the giant armadillo, Dasypus gigas, served mac, as well as the animal itself, for digging and grubbing up the ground and were the earth hoe of our Indians. The spindle disks in many cases came from the ventral piece of the tortoise shell, which was broken to pieces with a stone. Jaguar

/207 [illegible]/

Japan

[illegible] claws were [illegible] in such shape, full varieties on the belt [illegible] a bone stick [illegible] through the nasal septum adorned the old [illegible].

Shells. Fine cross shells were extensively used for cutting, less for cutting through than for scoring longitudinally, for scraping, glazing, smoothing. The such shells brought back from the Kamayurá (g. 27 appears here,/ were identified by their Professor von Martius: tual, [illegible], was the shell for scraping the mandioca root, "manaa pinly".

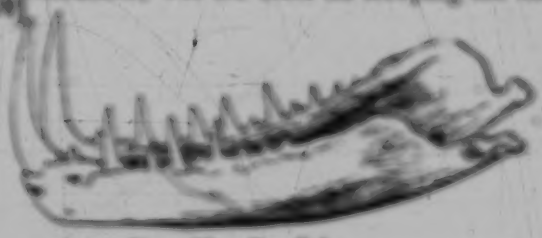

Fig. 23. Dogfish.
(1/2 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 24. Marlin.
(1/2 nat. siz /in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 25. Front claws of the giant armadillo. (Grubbing hoe.) (2/5 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 26. Capiara teeth. (Scrapg chisel.) (1/2at. size /in the oginal illustration/.

the women sat on a couple of pieces of bamboo placed together and they scraped, scrubbed, scratched, until their legs disappeared: the heap of parings. This shell also served as a plane to smooth the handle of the stone ax or the oar by means of finer scraping, not with te edge.

/207 cont./

but with a hole made in the center. The people bit off the outermost shell with their teeth and knocked the planing hole into it with the pointed akuf nut. Another type of Anodonta, ita-f, "little mussel," was also used for the fine scraping of wood. This and the other types were also used to store the pigments with which one painted himself red or black; they were usually hung on the hammocks. A second large shell for scraping room was itá, "mussel," a variety of the Lelia pulvinata Hupé, brought back from the Araguay /Anguaia/ by Castelnau. With the largest species, itá kurá, /208/ Unio orbignanus, the bows were smoothed, and, to be sure, with the outer surface of the shell.

Fig. 27. Knife-shell and plane-shell.

[202] A flat Hyria, itá mukú, was interesting because it had a sharp, pointed extension with which pikí fruits, for example, were opened. It corresponds best to our pocketknife, an instrument that was regarded very disapprovingly by the Indians because they were able to open it only with indescribable effort; they were as clumsy with it as we with the unfamiliar twirl-borer. The shell was hung around the necks when one set out on journeys; the fish and game animals caught were cut open with it; the shell was used to hollow out the little depression in the fire-stick, in which a second stick was twirled to the glowing point; for [301] all carving of wood it was indispensable. Snail shells were used in many ways: pieces of Bulimus shells were used for chain orna- [302] ments. Cf. page 170. Orthalicus melanostomus sometimes dangled in thick hangings on the mask costume.

/209 cont./

Feathers lend wings to the arrow, on whose shaft end two split halves of feathers are sewed opposite each other in spiral turns. Otherwise they seem to be used exclusively, but in great profusion here, for ornaments, such as ear feathers, feather crowns, feather caps, feather arm bands, feather chains (among the Kamayurá), and in hundredfold decoration on small ornaments, where little colored bundles hang on hammocks, combs, gourd rattles, arrow throwers, masks, etc. The most magnificent material was available, from the yellow, blue, red, and green of the arara, toucan, weaver birds, and parrots, from the beautiful stripes or speckles of the curassows, falcons, and owls, to the shimmering white of the herons and storks or the black of the urubu vulture. The big, broad, black-and-white striped flag of the Harpyia destructor was magnificent.

The spirit of hunting and fishing therefore offered an abundance of the most necessary things. In particular it furnished tools for cutting, scraping, polishing, piercing, boring, scratching, and digging. Agriculture assured the natives a sedentary existence and improved their economic condition, but they still remained fishermen and hunters, though to a lesser extent. They were hunters without dogs, fishermen without hooks, farmers without plow and spade. They afford us an excellent example that teaches us how manifold the methods of work for the purpose of making a living could have been before the possession of any metal technique, an example that warns us about overestimating the importance of stone implements, which, of course, are preserved the best and most plentifully for posterity, and about throwing indiscriminately into the great pot of the Stone Age everything that comes before the use of metal and, in comparison to the small span of time established for this, must embrace unimaginably long periods.

If one judges culture according to the extent and thoroughness with which the surrounding nature is exploited by the human beings, then our natives certainly did not stand on a low level. They hunted and fished with arrow /209/ and bow; they fished with nets, catch-baskets, and weir-baskets; they had their fish

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#171 433 511 229 hurdles in the river, planted the stream with fences and barriers, and closed off arms of lagoons in order to confine the fish; they worked hard to clear large stretches of forest; they built themselves splendid houses, piled up considerable supplies in them, filled them with a great variety of things from an industrious craftman's skill, arrayed themselves with gay body ornaments, and decorated all their implements with graceful design. In #171 511 view of the fact that the people of Cuyabá have showered me with angry newspaper articles to the effect that I have said the savages of the Schingú had neater and better homes than many people of the Mato Grosso, I should like, without comparing reasons, to set their minds at rest by adding that even in old Europe there are plenty of villages in the mountains and along the coast where people lead a more miserable life than on the Kulisehu.

#171 241 I shall list the cultivated useful plants which we observed among the Indians. They are arranged, under A, as those that were common in the northern part of South America before the Europeans appeared, and, under B, as those that grew wild in the immediate environment:

A.

Maize	Zea mays.	Cotton	Gossypium.
Mandioca	Manihot utilissima.	Cuyeté	Crescentia cuyeté
Batatas	Convolvus batatas.	Bottle gourd	Cucurbita lagenaria.
Carã	Dioscorea.	Edible gourd	Cucurbita.
Peanut	Arachis hypogaea.	Mamona	Ricinus.
Bean	Phaseolus.	Urucú shrub	Bixa orellana.
Pepper	Capsicum.	Tobacco	Nicotiana tabacum.

B.

Bakayuva palm	Acrocomia.	Genipapo	Genipa.
Fikí	Caryocar butyrosum.	Arrow reed, ubá	Gynerium parviflorum.
Mangaba	Hancornia speciosa.	Spear grass	Scleria.
Fruta de lobo	Solanum lycocarpum.	Pita bast-plant	Fourcroya? Agave?

/209 cont./

#171 Category B could probably be considerably enlarged. It
241 depended on the need. The fruit trees under this were planted
245 with great care. I have mentioned that in the first Bakaïrí village there was a sort of avenue of pikí trees; the Nahuquá cultivated this species with great enthusiasm. The mangabas were popular and thrive especially well among the Bakaïrí, among the Kamayurá, and in particular, as was reported to me, among the Waurá, so that the Trumaí word "waurarú" seems to mean simply the Waurá fruit. The fruta de lobo was less fre-
#171 quently found near the village. Then, however, plants which
249 they needed in any way for their implements and weapons were set out as required, if they did not occur in the vicinity of the
[302] village. Thus they transplanted near the village the spear grass
[324] growing in swampy soil, with which they shaved themselves,
[248] the bast plants that /210/ furnished them thread, occasionally perhaps also the sapé grass with which the houses were covered. Most interesting, however, it seems to me, is the assurance that they planted the ubá arrow reed in larger quantities on the Batovy, so as not to have to fetch it from distant places.

Besides casual inclinations and knowledge of management, the nature of the soil apparently played an important role.
[276] Tobacco grew excellently among the Suyá and the Auetó and
was commonly smoked by the men, except in the first Bakaïrí
[270] village on the Batovy.* It plays an important part in medical

114
276
[113]

* This circumstance may have occasioned H. v. Ihering to say: "v. d. Steinen missed tobacco among the Bakaïrí of the Upper Schingú just as completely as bananas or metals" [Zeitschrift f. Ethnologie, 1893, p. 195]. I describe, cf. Durch Central-brasilien /Through Central Brazil/, p. 173 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 55/, for Village III of the Batovy-Bakaïrí, the real part played by smoking, as the discoverers of the

/210 cont./

114 276 [99] Antilles found it. On the other hand, I share the opinion of v. Ihering, which I often expressed in lectures before I read his article, that the pipe in Brazil is of modern origin. Like the fishhook.

It plays an important part in medical

*171 276 753 993 treatment and is regarded as a very ancient acquisition of the culture heroes, who, as legend indicates, received it from the north. The drinking bowls and calabashes, especially the Cucurbita lagenaria, represented a major product for the

*171 249 [248] 302 Nahuquá, a somewhat lesser one for the Bakaïrí. The Mehinakú and the Bakaïrí had the best cotton. The orlean bush was valued above all by the Bakaïrí, the Mehinakú neglected it completely because watering it made too much work; the surprising circumstance upon my arrival in the village, namely, that no red-painted, but many black-painted figures were walking about, finds a very natural explanation.

*171 241 Maize, represented among the Suyá by a species characterized by smallness of ears and a golden color of the kernels, and mandioca were found everywhere, but the latter was planted in decidedly greater amounts among the Mehinakú. They were the richest farmers of the upper Schingú, their word for mandioca was also adopted by the Trumaí. Of tuber plants, besides mandioca, we saw yams of two kinds and batatas, which we first found in quantities among the Mehinakú. Our men designated beans as "feijão de vara," pole beans, or as "feijão de roça," plantation beans. Of edible gourds, abóbora /Abobra/, we saw only the seeds which the Suya brought us in 1884 for eating, so we understood. The mandubi peanut occurred in a small species. There were definitely no guavas or bananas on the Schingú.

*171 174 241 In my report about the first journey I pointed out the absence of bananas and especially stressed that for the question as to whether or not the banana was introduced in America only after the arrival of the Europeans this must be all the more decisive since the different Schingú tribes are of different origin and yet not a single one brought along the banana from the previous

[i.e., The Tobacco -- Analyst]

/210 cont./

*171 174 241 place of habitation. After the experiences of the second expedition I can only find my opinion confirmed. This time we also met true Tupí who did not have bananas. Among the Kamayurá I sought in vain for the /211/ word "pakõba," which the lingoa geral has for banana; they were unfamiliar with it. I gladly withdraw the suggestion that this word might be derived from the Portuguese; I no longer set any store by arbitrary etymology; today, more than at that time, however, I must lay much greater stress on the fact that among the individual tribes the names for banana do not conform to the linguistic derivation, but to fortuitous, local distribution. This is without precedent for the other useful plants. What is more, none of the first [824] discoverers mentions the banana, and the Aruak of the coast and the Island Karaiben reproduce the Spanish word "platano" so unmistakably in their "prãtrane" and "balatanna" that there is absolutely no doubt about the agreement; finally, if we fully appreciate the fact that in a lost corner we find representatives of all the large linguistic families with the most excellent names for all the cultivated plants, but without banana, that a splinter group of one of these tribes, and one associating with Europeans, the docile Bakaïrí, do have the banana and in their language, otherwise kept absolutely pure, simply call it "banana" (just like the Paressí, by the way), I believe that this proof is as forceful [114] as negative proof can ever be. Humboldt and Martius let themselves be persuaded by the fact that they found the banana everywhere among the Indians, but this basis for their view has now become untenable, and the experiences of linguistics, as well as the actual absence of the banana in the entire region of the upper Schingú, undoubtedly justify the opinion of the botanist, Alphonse de Candolle, that the banana was introduced into South America, though probably very soon after the appearance of Europeans.

*171 174 241 824 It is worthwhile, for a better evaluation of the linguistic methods of proof, to give an example. Let us consider the words for "pepper" among I, the Nu-Aruak, II, the Karaiben, and III, the Tupí.

/211 cont./

*171 174 241 824

I. On the Schingú, among the Nu-Aruak, pepper is called ãi, among the Maipure on the Orinoco ai, among the Moxos /Mojo/ in Bolivia atscheti, among the Aruak haatschi, among the women of the Island Karaiben ãti, for the Taino of the island of Haiti Oviedo gives axi, aji.

II. On the Schingú, among the Karaiben Bakaírí, pepper is called pãno (with a nasal ã), among the Nahuquá võme, hõmi, among the Island Karaiben pomi, pomui, among the Karaiben Orinoco tribes in Venezuela pomei, pomuey, in the Galibí generally widespread in Guiana pomi. Among the Palmella, a Karaiben tribe on the Madeira, apõmo.

III. From Tupí the Kamayurá on the Schingú have the word õkeõng; the Omagua on the upper Amazon ekei, the Guaraní in Paraguay kiy; the lingoa geral has kyiá, kyinha, etc.

These phonetic equivalents, which are absolutely certain within the tribal groups and which do not show the slightest compatibility from tribal group to tribal group, /212/ extend over more than half of South America and turn up in records that go back from 1887 to the middle of the sixteenth century. They teach us irrefutably that pepper was known since immemorial "prehistoric" times in each of the three tribal groups, whose remotest family members have preserved its equivalent on their wanderings, and none of them obtained it from any of the others. The situation with regard to the banana words cannot be reconciled with this. These congruities surprise us simply because we are caught up in the delusion, not only that the South American peoples represent a linguistic chaos, but also that these "hordes" to whom we were the first to bring metals are largely crude hunting peoples tossed hither and yon by unknown destinies, like rubble in rapids, somehow cemented together here and broken up in pieces there. In the clumsy masses which in our eyes make up the "Stone Age," however, we shall have to become accustomed to distinguishing a multitude of regular, neatly deposited cultural layers.

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+171 244 In the cultivation of mandioca, which today, along with maize, is penetrating into the farthest corners of Africa, as though both of these purely American plants had been native there forever, the metal-less South American has gained achievement which need not fear any comparison with other parts of the world. Today there is a cultivated, harmless species, but the [852] original root, which was found only on the Schingú, first had to [272] be divested of its strongly toxic juice, the expressed flour, obtained by grating and pounding, first had to be roasted before a foodstuff was produced, and, to be sure, one of many uses, in a solid state and as a pappy drink, Manihot "utilissima." It far surpasses maize in importance in the household of our Indians. It furnishes the principal food and is really responsible [262] for having forced the natives, who received it from more ad- [412] vanced tribes, to become sedentary, for its preparation presupposes a series of procedures requiring patience and presupposes implements, which, like the grating board studded with palm spines, could be produced only at a great cost of time and work with the [852] inferior tools. Unknown on the upper Schingú is the ingenious typytí, a tube plaited out of elastic stalks, which is filled with the grated mass and, pulled lengthwise by means of a weight, presses out the poisonous juice; our Indians filtered and pressed the juice through plaited sieves.

+171 273 Of greater interest, however, is the fact that the method of fermenting larger quantities of extract by means of chewing balls of flour or kernels of maize, which is used today probably everywhere in South America where maize and mandioca are cultivated by natives, was still unknown in our region; also, nothing was known there about the preparation of pajauará, popular among the North Karaiben, where the fresh beijús soaked in water are wrapped in leaves and buried for a few days. /213/ The püserego [272] of the Schingú does not have an intoxicating effect; it merely represents the tastiest pap-beverage, it is a soup, not an alcoholic drink. No palm wine is made either; one becomes intoxicated only with dancing or, if one wishes, with tobacco, and achieved what was humanly possible in the quantitative consumption of the pap-beverages. On the other hand, the Kamayurá

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#171 word kauí for the simple refreshing drink made out of water and
213 crumbled beijú is the same kauim which their Tupí fellow-tribesmen associating with Europeans or more advanced Americans use for intoxicating beverages and therefore have retained from the days of innocence in the transition to less innocuous pleasures. The absence of intoxicating beverages for which the material is available will not escape the ever-ready explanation that the Indians formerly also possessed these fine products of civilization and have now simply forgotten them, and should, in this particular instance, perhaps for once induce the person who insists on tracing primitive conditions, without exception, back to retrogression and downfall to substitute virtue for demoralization and purity of morals for depravity. Anyone who has seen the Indian in Brazil celebrating kauim or kaschirí festivals, who has been obliged to interrupt his boat journey for this noble purpose and with neither money nor kind words has been successful in making the people disperse before the last drop has disappeared out of the full drink-canoe, will not believe otherwise than that a free tribe which really consumes only unfermented drinks at its festivals certainly does not have an inkling of the fermented ones and could never have had an inkling of them as far back as the most mythical forefathers and culture heroes. The practice of producing fermentation by chewing is so simple that one does not understand how it was forgotten or, what is more, could have been forgotten equally by representatives of different tribal groups.

174 I find, conversely, in the absence of intoxicating beverages, the surest guarantee of undisturbed conditions on the Schingú and believe it to be an imperative assumption that in the same way, before the invasion of Europeans, similar little cultural scenes of the "Stone Age" must have been common throughout centuries and millenniums in the numerous, relatively isolated river valleys of the Amazon and Orinoco systems. People did not always get along with their neighbors (women! stone axes!); occasionally disturbers of the peace broke in and perhaps permanently destroyed one of the small centers, but new ones were established in their place, and this is how, in a small and modest

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174 way, always and at all times, what we call history was enacted. Here and there a tribe was driven away by attackers or was split by internal feuds, a long period of wandering took place before settlement again followed, but in general people shifted and intermingled from one river valley to another.

Nothing but an eternal alternation of isolation and unification, in which now the former, now the latter was more sharply pronounced, could have produced the multitude of simultaneous linguistic /214/ differences and conformities within the same family of languages; that, in spite of the changes, a true stability predominated, however, is shown by the surprisingly large number of congruities, particularly in view of the paucity of our material. Where it is possible to establish phonetic laws, we see the same certainty and regularity that we find in our European languages. Thus we may only conclude that there was an orderly course of development, despite occasional catastrophes. Even the tribes of hunters must have already had a form of settled, though more irregular existence, in order to acquire the splendid technique of bow and arrow; only in the peaceful, day-by-day life for generations could the useful plants have been acquired, and it is not at all necessary that it was always large and mighty tribes that brought about progress. We see in the case of the Schingú people that primitive agriculture needed fishing and hunting, if only to furnish it with its tools. The realization that is now becoming accepted in North America, namely, that the restless redskins were sedentary to a far greater extent than we should credit them with today, that these wild tribes of hunters are in part the product of the revolution stirred up by us, is perfectly in agreement with the conclusions forced upon us by our experiences along the Schingú.

*171 462 For our Indians -- far be it from me to generalize -- there is a deeper and yet very simple reason that very well explains the juxtaposition of the bloody hunt and the peaceful tillage of the soil. To put it bluntly: the man practiced hunting and

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171 462 meanwhile the woman invented agriculture. The women, as all over Brazil, have exclusive charge, not only of the mandioca preparation in the house, but also of its cultivation. They clear the ground of weeds with pointed sticks, place in the ground the pieces of stalk with which the mandioca is transplanted, and daily fetch what they need, which they carry home in heavily packed back-baskets. The man, on the other hand, plants the tobacco which the woman does not need. On the Schingú the woman already voices a strong opinion; in more primitive circumstances she may actually have been a beast of burden and of work, and even today she must stay away during most of the festivals and animal dances of the men. But let us consider the situation somewhat more closely. The man is more courageous and more agile, to him belongs the hunt and the practice of arms. Where fishing and hunting still play an important part, therefore, insofar as there is any division of labor, the woman must concern herself with procuring the rest of the food, with its transport and preparation. The division is not arbitrary, but one of natural circumstances; yet it has the insufficiently appreciated result that in her field of work the woman acquires her own knowledge, just as the man does in his. This must necessarily hold good on every lower or higher level. The counterpart of the Indian woman's carrying on mandioca cultivation with wise understanding is already found in the pure hunting culture. /215/ The Bororó woman went into the forest armed with a pointed stick and looked for roots and tubers; in connection with the roving expeditions through the campo or wherever a band of Indians changed their residence, such hunting was the task of the woman while the man pursued animals; climbing, she fetched down the palm nuts and dragged home heavy loads of them. And if the [562] Indian woman was subordinate to the man, this position certainly was no benefit to her in the distribution of fish and meat; she

*"After the men have eaten comes the turn of the women and children, who must often be

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*171 462 satisfied with scant remains and would suffer hunger if they did not provide for themselves in time and stealthily set aside part of the contents of the cooking pots still during the cooking or eat already during their work." This among the modern Karaiben Makuschi /Macusi/ in Guiana. Appun, Unter den Tropen /Below the Tropics/, II, p. 399, Jena, 1871, and among many other tribes.

[113]

was therefore dependent on the booty of plant foods that she herself could obtain. On the Schingú the men plaited the roasting rack, roasted fish and meat, the women baked the beijús, boiled the beverages, the fruits, and grilled palm nuts -- what other meaning could this division into animal cookery by the men and vegetable cookery by the women have than that each of the two sexes had remained in its ancient sphere?

[252]

[252] The men did the roasting, but never the boiling. Starting *171 323 from this fact, we come by way of the same line of thought to a similar conclusion corroborated by quite analogous observations. Scarcely anything else on the Schingú seemed stranger to me at first than the fact that the art of making pots was limited [439] to the Nu-Aruak tribes. The Bakairí did not own a single pot that did not come from the Kustenaú or Mehinakú. The docile Bakairí [177] expressly told me that they had learned pottery from the Paressí, their Nu-Aruak neighbors. Thus old Caetano, in other words, the man, contrary to all original custom, made pots on the modern Paranatinga. The Nahuquá had pots from the Mehinakú and also made some themselves, as was demonstrated before our eyes by a woman kneading the moist clay; but this woman wore the tattooing of the Mehinakú women and had married into the Nahuquá; the art actually came from the Mehinakú. The Tupí tribes, too, had pots from the Nu-Aruak, especially from the Waurá. Thus, the one tribal group ** was the sole bearer of

** According to Im Thurn, the Karaiben at

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*171 323

present provide the other tribes with cooking vessels in Guiana, although he says that the Aruak make abundant pots for their own use, but do not dispose of them as trade goods, like the Karaiben. Martius says of the Makuschi, the most populous Karaiben tribe of the Rio Branco area: "All implements of these Indians are neatly and carefully made, the weapons decorated with feathers, and only in pottery are they inferior to the Indians of the coast."

ceramics, also from an artistic point of view, as we shall see.

At first, and before I knew that the peculiar dependency on the Nu-Aruak existed for all tribes, I believed that there happened to be no clay available. This was an error, however. [135] There was suitable clay, not only among the Nahuquá, but also among the Bakaïrí, and the only thing I cannot say /216/ is whether the quality was a degree poorer than among the potter tribes, which, however, is probably of no concern for our problem.*

[312]

* The Bakaïrí were the only ones who fetched good drinking water from a crystal-clear brook; the Nahuquá and, even more, the Mehinakú and Auetó drank from muddy loam pools and stagnant canal waters.

*171 323 415 [439]

But let us consider another circumstance: the Bakaïrí and Nahuquá had gourds and calabashes, which, on the other hand, were lacking among the potter tribes and which the latter obtained from the Nahuquá, where special care or better soil, I know not, produced splendid fruits for vessels. Finally, if we learn that the Waurá made very attractive pots of exactly the shape and size of the gourd vessels, with imitations of the drawings put on them, that the basic form of the pots is clearly that of the drinking bowl, the gourd, and that the pots as well as the

/216 cont. /

*171 gourd bowls were blackened on the inside, we shall understand
323 the connection.
415

Originally the Indian pot had nothing to do with cooking
*171 and was merely a substitute for the gourd. The women fetched
194 water in the gourds to the huts or the campsites. How they
323 managed when they had no gourds we see to this day in the little
415 baskets smeared with loam, which are familiar from several tribes. The leaky canoe is also smeared with loam; the body is smeared with loam, the beginning of body painting, and the loam itself is transported in baskets, as we have observed, and that was probably the main thing. If gourds were often not available, the women soon learned to make their loam baskets more solid by a more lavish use of the plastic clay; moreover, they could dispense with the plaited work as soon as they noticed that the dried loam forms were sufficiently resistant by themselves. They set them in the sun or over the fire and thus found the cheapest source of supply for artificial gourds.

The women did not make this discovery, however, until sedentary times; the wife of the roving hunter could not have replaced the gourd with the heavy and breakable pot. Still less could the hunting man have been the inventor of the pot. It is exactly the same situation as for the origin of agriculture.

*171 The pot in the beginning is only a container, like a gourd,
194 or, in certain instances, a basket. When we hear that people
415 are buried in pots, all the associations that we have with our pots come to mind; we think of a sort of cooking pot and are inclined to feel an obscure connection with cremation. Thus it is important to learn that the hunter tribe of the Bororó laid the skeletons of their dead, not in big pots, like Humboldt's Aturen, but in feather-decorated basket-bags, so that here, too, the preliminary stage has been preserved.

/217/ Just as gourds were used for drinking and eating, pots were also used at first for only these purposes. The great number
[126] of small and medium-sized pots which we brought back from the Kulisehu are almost all "bowls," not cooking pots. The filtrate

/217 cont./ The filtrate

*171 174 415 252 of the mandioca mass was boiled in huge pots, but otherwise only a jam of fruits was boiled and occasionally a dish of small fish which were not worth turning on the grill.

*171 174 252 462 Soup meat and meat broth were unknown; the men knew only roasting. One may ask, perhaps, how did they happen to discover roasting? I shall prove in the next chapter that we have here a matter of experience of hunters and men. They set fire to the campo in a circle in order to overpower the animals being pursued, and there they found roasted small animals and found fruits which, though unripe, had been made edible and even tasty by the heat.

Now, since the men and hunters, in their sphere, do not yet know about cooking, boiling or cooking must have been invented in connection with the preparation of plant food. One often sees the women grilling all kinds of small fruits in quantities on the beijú pans. Only in this way does unripe fruit become edible, the crispness gives seeds and nuts greater tastiness. And they also began with the roasting of fruits. The roasting [323] racks of the men for meat and fish, plaited out of climbing plants, let the fruits fall through the meshes; the base again may have been smeared with loam, and from that only a small step was lacking for the earthen frying pan, the subsequent beijú pan. On the other hand, if one wanted to "roast" fruits or roots soaked in water, the vessels filled with these, either natural ones -- the Botokude cooks in bamboo sections -- or artificial ones covered with clay, were set on the fire, and thus one "cooked." Therefore, "cooking with water" was done only by the women!

If the mandioca industry was founded by one tribe whose descendants are still living and are included in the present classification, this was in all probability the Nu-Aruak. On the Schingú they most certainly deserve credit for its introduction, since the preparation of flour without earthen pots and beijú pans is impossible. Even in the northern regions, however, the Aruak are the best flour-workers and have always been the most

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*171 skillful potters, although the Karaiben in Guiana have at present
194 become the manufacturers for that region. That is to say, the
252 women! When the Karaiben in the north of the Amazon River
462 and on the Lesser Antilles subjugated the Aruak tribes and killed half the population, it was fortunate that this half was the men; the women with their agriculture, their potter's art, and their flour technique survived.

194 Thus, among our Indians we see how the higher culture sur-
462 passing hunting arose out of the natural division of labor, and it is also /218/ owing to this that, with feuds and with the formation of new tribal communities, it could be handed down to future generations. The woman was more than the working animal, she was also the working human being; just as the man developed the technique of weapons and of the tools arising out of hunting, she, with the same self-reliance, developed the cultural elements placed in her hands, such as gathering, carrying, preparing fruits and roots; the Indian owes his tasty flour-drink in the earthen vessels to the woman. The individual pieces of evidence put together for this conclusion, which might be more useful for a toast to the ladies than for the serious struggle of our women in order to work (a struggle rooted in modern necessity and not in prehistory), are still preserved intact in the Brazilian culture circle. The realization that -- at least here -- the possibility of becoming sedentary goes back to the obvious merit of the women's activity naturally forced into a certain direction by the hunter vocation of the men, elevates the female sex for this phase of development at least up to the level of the male sex.

[433] The hunter and agriculturalist schema only now comes alive;
man and woman, both, represent a standing or a certain sum of
[323] technical knowledge. Thus it is very plain that the less advanced tribes of the Schingú could not make their pots, although they had loam. They lacked Nu-Aruak women, and the Nahuquá, who had taken some of them into their community, had thus taken the right path: they now began to make their own pots, whereas the Bakaïrí had not yet produced the smallest pot.

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*171 174 433 I shall sum up. Ancient agriculture is most compatible with the type of hunting practiced here. The Indians were primarily fishermen. The yield in their area on the upper course of a river was not sufficient for pure ichthyophagy; on the other hand, it was not small during the months when the fish traveled upstream in the rising water and were found in all the canals and lagoons in great numbers, or when, as the water receded, the opportunity for a catch in the artificially barricaded parts of the river branches became considerably greater. Fishing and hunting, furthermore, furnished the indispensable tools. There *171 174 433 were no domestic animals in our sense; dogs were unfamiliar to the native. He took pleasure in the colored birds, whose 231 feathers he sometimes pulled out, especially in the talking [343] parrots and cawing araras; he let those that he happened to catch young walk around in the village, woodpecker or heron or curassow, and kept in huge pole-cages, for the edification of the community, the spitting eagle, Harpyia destructor, or some other predatory bird; he had lizards hanging by their tails from the hammock, so that they would clean up a bit among the annoying crickets -- he had not succeeded any further in the utilization of animals, and though wild plants were established near the village to be used as desired, the rearing of edible [825] animals was not considered. /219/ Indeed, the attitude that the [262] Indian took toward the animal kingdom made him feel a definite repugnance about ultimately consuming animals that he had raised, just as we do not eat dogs.

*171 174 433 The relative sedentariness connected with the life of the fisherman could not become permanent until the women learned to plant, to make pots, and to prepare flour. Although agricul- *171 174 241 ture on the Schingú had already reached respectable improvement, nevertheless there were small indications that showed 648 what its origin had been, at least here. People planted the useful plants found in the vicinity, each tribe acquired its own experience on its own soil, and they were disseminated by the 174 women who, in war or peace, came to other tribes. The fact 773 that the Bakaïrí-Karaiben were once furthered in this way in

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their civilization by Nu-Aruak women is shown in their tribal legend, as I should like to mention here already, in a way that can scarcely be misinterpreted. They have two culture heroes, the twin brothers Keri and Kame, the former of whom is strongly favored by the legend. The two names are the generally widespread Nu-Aruak words, always appearing together, for moon and sun, so that an influence from the Nu-Aruak side is obvious, however one explains the "personification." Kame is the leader of the Nu-Aruak and other tribes; Keri, of the Bakaïrí. Everything that Keri and Kame undertake in the best interests of the tribe is traced back to the advice of Aunt Ewaki, who takes the place of the mother; the woman who always first points out ways and means to them could not possibly, however, have been conceived as a stupid work-animal.

IV. Fire and the Discovery of Wooden Fire-makers.

Introduction. Campo fires and the behavior of the animal kingdom. Ancient hunting. The "queimada," a civilizing place. The awe of primitive man. The myth of instruction by the storms. Fire-making and work methods. Procedure on the Schingú. Origin of wood-rubbing. Stage of maintaining the fire and tinder-technique. Prehistoric vagabonds and Prometheus. Confirmation by experiment.

If I have already been obliged in the previous chapters to discuss my observations on the Schingú with respect to their general culture-historical value, I shall be even less able to avoid doing so in connection with the subject that I am about to take up. I am far from believing that the Schingú Indians were the first who produced fire by drilling or rubbing pieces of wood, I am not by any means yielding to the pleasant delusion that I /220/ have discovered a paradisiacal ancestral seat where all the most important discoveries were made. I should simply like to proceed from these little primitive people, who are still unfamiliar

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with European civilization, in the same frame of mind with which one might seek a firm inductive basis with regard to all the others in a similar situation. As for the "discovery of fire," in my opinion nothing at all stands in the way of its having been made anywhere on earth where a primitive technique and practical knowledge of the use of fire already existed.

Nowhere has it been more clearly shown how difficult it is for us civilized human beings to think simply and without profound erudition, on the basis of living observation, than in the countless reflections on the relation of primitive peoples, to say nothing of primitive human beings, to fire. The century-old flourishing of roses around Sleeping Beauty's castle could not compete in luxuriant growth with all the blooms of delightful nonsense that have sprouted from an all too cogitative and sentimental literature, while behind the rank tangle of deductions, young, fresh experience slumbered forgotten. It reached the point where people maintained that the discovery of fire by rubbing had been made by priests who imitated the wheel of the sun in wood: they turned it until the axle struck sparks. Two essential points may today be regarded as certain. No one any longer believes in the possibility that there are tribes in the world who have not long since understood the art of producing fire at will, and no one doubts that even the simplest of the various methods could have been found without long familiarity with the characteristics of fire, and therefore that its artificial production must have been preceded by a period of maintaining it with the carrying of natural fire from place to place.

It can hardly be determined whether fires were frequently caused by the numerous electrical storms in the thin scrub forests of the Mato Grosso. I was assured that such fires do occur; there is no doubt that the vegetation of the dry, stunted campo trees and of the tall dry grass is extremely favorable for this. The fires that we set on our expedition burned for many days and spread over large areas without any assistance.

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The influence on the animal kingdom was strange and remarkable. All beasts of prey very deliberately made use of the occurrence, sought and found their victims, not so much near the blazing fire as on the smoking burned place where many a rodent was probably charred. Numerous falcons hovered over the dark clouds of the "queimada"; wild game hastened to it from far away, to lick the salty ash, and preferred the night, perhaps because it could not hide on the bare expanse. The ground radiated an agreeable warmth.

224 559 Hunting by means of fire is found among many primitive peoples. The Schingú Indians no longer seemed to practice it, but in any case it was well known to the Bakairí, /221/ and the legend of "Kame in the Mouse" tells us that Keri went hunting with the possessor of fire, the campo fox, and the latter caught "only a burned mouse," inside of which was Keri's brother Kame:

Keri met the campo fox. "Let's make fire in the campo, grandpapa," said Keri. They set out to make fire; it burned all around. Kame was in a mouse. Keri did not know that he had gone inside. The fire burned down and stopped. Keri hunted, did not see a mouse. The campo fox found a burned mouse. After he saw it, he ate it. He met Keri. "Grandpapa, what kind of roast did you eat?" "I ate only a mouse."

372 The "queimada," or burned place, furnished many experiences about the usefulness of fire: fleeing animals when the fire began, later charred animals and fruits, animals that came to it, salty ashes, warmth. Here the hunter could learn how to roast meat, which, on a smaller scale, took on the significance for him that flour preparation has for the field cultivator. Roasting preserves. After many days roasted meat, which otherwise would long since have become putrid, is still tasty; the Bororó went out hunting for weeks and returned with a rich supply of roasted game; the Aueto were absent for several days on fishing expeditions and brought home a canoe heavily laden with roasted fish; among the Mehinakú we saw baskets filled with very appetizing, golden yellow baked fish. Even today roasting is continued until the meat has a thick charcoal crust -- the burned skin -- with a very popular salty taste.

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000 Even the primitive hunter who did not know how to produce fire could make use of all these experiences during campo fires; one will not deny him the collection of knowledge which is familiar in detail to the various classes of the surrounding animal kingdom.

At this point, however, the person accustomed to looking through the spectacles of civilization will protest. He mistes the awe which was felt before the mighty phenomenon of fire in primeval times, but which is not much more than the awe of the scholar whose study lamp might fall over and set fire to his room, his house, the city with all its valuables. If even I, who, after all, restrains, guards the power of fire, am filled with fear and terror as soon as the raging element is let loose, if the overwhelming spectacle of flame excites me with its impression of fantastic beauty, how much more must the soul of the poor savage be filled with terror and feel the mystery of the majestic! Without doubt a person can lose his presence of mind in a rapidly spreading steppe fire, but in general it is among primitive peoples in particular that we do not see the aforementioned awe; we discover it no more than we do the awe in the midst of the majestic primeval forest likewise claimed for the origin of religious feelings. Only the helpless European is afraid, whereas the "savage" would probably /000/ more readily feel uneasy "under the linden" than in his native thicket. The native fears the electric storm and is undoubtedly just as terrified as any other creature when lightning strikes, yet he fears the advancing conflagration just as little as many animals, if he or they do not happen to be caught in the surge. If he is surprised by fire in the campo, he quickly sets fire to his own neighborhood, and, if he has no camp fire, he confidently fetches himself a burning twig. The same wind that sweeps the fire along also cuts a rapid path for his counterfire; on the methodically burned-off site the hunter calmly watches how the blazing fire all around travels on, and then he hastily tries to match anything roasted and killed that remains, before the predatory birds get ahead of him. It is decidedly more probable that the cleverest, most cunning creature, provided he possessed the initiative

/222 cont./

distinguishing human beings, was at all times inclined to provide for the maintenance of the conflagration rather than to flee from it and marvel at it. The beast, fire, has been found everywhere as a domestic animal and that alone proves that contact with its savage nature was always sought and avoided. The subsequent civilized feelings are easy to explain and are probably justified at their time and on their level, but the necessary and useful always precedes the sacred.

Civilized feelings have been put at the start of development; civilized thoughts have been put there just as mistakenly. The unknown benefactor of mankind who first thought up a way to produce fire by rubbing together two wooden sticks has been praised in high-sounding words. A much quoted statement points out to us the path of the fortunate invention by means of the possibility, probably quite rare nowadays, that he observed a few sticks whipped by the wind, which rubbed together and burst into flames, or a twig that was spun around in a knothole by the storm and suddenly blazed up.

Certainly Nature has been the great teacher in many things. But she did not demonstrate like the professor behind his desk in an experimental course, but rather tapped the dull-witted pupil on the nose a bit to point out what was instructive. If one wanted to start from the psychology of primitive peoples, one would hardly expect an idly watching native to break up a whole complex of phenomena, such as blowing, whipping, rubbing, and burning, in terms of cause and effect and to reassemble them in his thoughts in such a way that he now has a "method" for attaining an end corresponding to one of those effects. Where examples in nature pointed the way, they were examples that recurred daily, and then man did not act imitatively, analyzing, but rather he co-acted, if the expression is permitted, and only by a joining-in stimulated by some kind of interest did he come to grasp and retain effects possibly of use to him; thus, with his active participation, /223/ which is the main thing, he learned an appropriate action, acquired a method. This progress is made possible only by a succession of frequently recurring individual events, each of which was seized by the forelock as it was taking place; an unusual complex can be

/223 cont./

680 mentally assimilated only by a person who is already in possession of the separate processes. If now and then the storm actually started a fire, man probably quickly took a brand so that wind or rain would not extinguish it. Perhaps he also observed that a falling tree killed an animal and, happily frightened, seized the unexpected booty, but we would rather not date from this historic moment his having reached for the club and found a weapon with which to kill animals. He must have learned these skills in some other way. Up to the present time such an extremely simple explanation for any primitive achievement has not been satisfactory; it has always soon been realized that there had been produced a more or less ingenious myth which lacked only the name of the originator to merit adoption in popular mythology. Today, too, the fancy of the speculative mythologist, praised or condemned, is perpetuated in all the literature, along with the Prometheus legend, and will, it seems, always be associated with it.

It is clear that we must not be led astray by the subsequent mystic, poetic, religious, or scientific conceptions related to fire and regard primitive man, who is a sober, limited, practical individual, as something he is not, either as a philosopher or a modern inventor. If we turn to living experience, the obstacle immediately disappears at the start, namely, the contradiction, which is not insoluble except in an age of fully developed property concepts, that a thing will strike terror and at the same time become indispensable day and night.

For the first stage, with the origin of which we need not concern ourselves further here, when man reached the point of deliberately keeping the wild, free fire burning and making it permanently serviceable to himself by continuous transplanting, with all its advantages, the comparison that he established, tended, and tamed it, like a species of domestic animal, may
*171 not be inappropriate. But it is only with the further problem of
174 how the method of producing fire came about that we find our-
392 selves on firm ground among primitive peoples; we immediately see among them various methods for this work, and they must therefore be examined in connection with other work methods.

It was from this point of view that I tried to gather information

/223 cont./

*171 among the Schingú Indians, and I believe I shall be able to
194 prove how their way of producing fire must have originated. It
372 is the simplest one of the "fire drill," very widespread in America and other parts of the world, whereas in Polynesia a "stick" is rubbed in a "groove."

*171 /224/ The natives take two sticks not quite as thin as a
372 little finger, about three-fourths of a meter long, and still covered with the bark that keeps them dry, and cut a small depression into one with a shell. While one man lays this stick on the ground and keeps it firmly pressed down, a second man sets the other stick into the depression and twirls it with great speed between his hands which glide nimbly up and down on it. Through the twirling the little depression is enlarged, a fine dust is loosened, and this begins to glow and to smoke. Tinder is brought forth, blown upon, and immediately the flame is there. The small depression now appears extremely smooth and charred on the surface. The process from start to finish does not take a minute. The one who twirls really exerts himself. it would be an exaggeration to make more of it, although a person who is not practiced and allows small pauses to occur, which is detrimental to the result, will not succeed without a supreme effort. In an emergency, a single individual will manage very well with the procedure by holding the stick firmly on the ground with his feet.

[824] The fire sticks are usually two straight twigs from the orlean bush or urucú, which have a light, porous wood. Other wood, too, has "fire in it," as the Indian understands it, especially ubá and kambayuva, the two types of arrow reed. If the hunter on his way has no fire with him and needs it, he knows how to help himself: he breaks an arrow and drills one piece into the other. The arrow is precious, however, and rubbing is strenuous. We several times observed that the men on their way to the harbor and into the forest took along burning chunks from the smoldering clearing, which they later heedlessly tossed aside. On excursions that involved an absence from home for days they took along with them in the canoe a huge smoldering piece of dry rotten wood from the forest.

/224 cont./

*171 The tinder is a light brown, fine meshed bast tissue which is
392 furnished best by the young uakumá palm (a Cocos species). In
[824] the campo, tinder from the guarirobá palm (Cocos oleracea) or of dry grass and leaves also helps out. Its purpose is to furnish the flame with which one transfers the fire to the twigs. Ehrenreich reports from the Karayá /Caraja/, Im Thurn from the Warrau of Guiana, that their wood catches fire so easily that it does not need tinder; "it in itself furnishes the tinder."

As is seen, it is not necessary to have a hard and a soft wood for rubbing fire with the "drill" /Bohrer, borer, drill, auger/. The Schingú Indians always take only one kind; the Karayá drill bamboo in urucú.

ooo We find the movement of twirling very difficult; indeed, we are scarcely acquainted with it in everyday life because our drills terminate in a screw, and we do not use it at all for drilling, but for mixing, for example, in the kitchen, to mix yeast or eggs with milk, or in connection with the preparation of a cocktail.

*171 It is easy to understand how the drilling and twirling of the natives
174 originated. At first holes were made with a pointed tooth or bone.
412 /225/ When the object was very resistant, a turning pressure against and into it was tried, and this gradually and naturally developed into the twirl-drilling, if only one worked steadily and evenly so as not to split the object, clamped it down securely so as not to lose the point drilled on, and thus had both hands to
[321] work with. This twirl-drilling is practiced by the Indian with a tooth or particle of stone fastened to a little stick (cf. p. 201) for all piercing of shells, bone, stone, armadillo carapace, and hard wood. One very often sees him occupied with it, using his feet
ooo as a brace. We are now, however, confronted with a riddle if we wish to explain how this fire-drilling with two pieces of wood could have originated. How did people happen to drill wood with wood if they were not purposely setting out to "invent fire?"

It has been said in all seriousness that in grinding or drilling tools out of wood, bone, and stone, people found by experience that friction produces warmth, they observed that the warmth increases the harder the rubbing, and they then tried to rub

/225 cont./

000 wood so hard that it would not only become warm, but also glowed, lighted, burned! If the gentlemen who make this suggestion about our revered ancestors were stranded on an uninhabited, wooded coral island -- I am willing to assume, with some protest, that with their technical and theoretical knowledge they would hit upon the idea of rubbing wood with wood to make a campfire for themselves. The man of prehistoric times, however long he had had live fire and had known its value, could have been purposely forced to the discovery only if the wood warmed by rubbing had also glowed; then he would perhaps have made the attempt to increase the glow to a flame. The Bakaïrí, for ex-
[372] ample, actually reasoned in this way. The campo fox, they said, struck fire out of his eyes.

In the aforementioned suggestion for the solution of the problem, there is, however, a sound core, namely, that one should not allow too much room for chance concerning an invention. Actually, if one wishes to believe that people only incidentally, in connection with the making of tools, made the observation that fire is produced when wood is rubbed or drilled with wood, then it should at least be presented in a direct and intimate connection with the use of fire. If wood was drilled, it was undoubtedly drilled with tooth, bone, or stone, and although it is possible that on occasion, if this material were lacking, a hard piece of wood was used for twirl-drilling, which then produced a smoldering powder, this undeniable possibility does not seem quite convincing to me because it does not grow out of the fire technique itself. Nor can one see, for a practical case, if the customary tool were lacking, why people would necessarily set such great store by boring through wood that they chose the laborious method and did not achieve their purpose more conveniently by tying or breaking or some other way. A little /226/ reflection and a few facts lead us to an approach that is possibly more promising.

174 Man had fire, kept it going, but could not produce it. It
372 is clear that the first skill which had to be learned and was learned at this stage was to revive the fire and transfer it to another place.

/226 cont./

*1171 Several times on the expedition's return trip, during the rainy
392 period, we were able to maintain sufficient fire only with great trouble in the morning, although the log was still glowing; all the wood was wet and would not burn. Our men were able to remedy the situation only by peeling the bark off the damp twigs and whittling out with a knife a few rather dry shavings from the inside, putting these with great care and patience, almost individually, on the glowing coals, and then gradually blowing up feeble flames which, cleverly nursed, would grow stronger to become a vigorous fire. Im Thurn describes the same procedure among the Guiana Indians. It is reported of the North American natives that they carried glowing tree fungi with them all day and thus transplanted their campfire from place to place. The decayed logs which our Indians took along in the canoe easily smoldered for one or two days.

000 The technique of tinder was developed early, before fire could be produced at will. People transferred the fire from a feebly glowing log to twigs by adding dry stalks, shavings, leaves, or the like. They learned to know the parts of plants that burned easily. For their wanderings they provided themselves with tinder of spongy plant fibers; they also kept a supply of it at their camp site, since any rain or negligence might extinguish the fire. They used the shavings whittled loose during working on wood, stone-ax handles, and weapons, or, if they bored through wood with tooth, shell, or stone, the dust resulting from this. If this natural tinder was lacking or was perhaps soaking wet, they simply made some. With their tools of tooth, shell, or stone, they pulverized, scraped, or whittled light wood. When the ax blade was inserted in a wooden groove and lashed there -- in this way it could be more easily attached at an acute angle and put in the position most suitable for canoe building -- they may have scraped the tinder dust into a groove; here, as well as when the wooden handle of the stone ax was bored through crosswise, they probably did not overlook the fact that the dust falling at the time was especially fine and easily inflammable. They observed that the relatively heavy, less quickly kindled wood tinder glowed for a longer time than spongy fiber and pith.

/226 cont./

This powder was excellently adapted for conveying the living fire to another place; it was easily transported in any piece of reed with a perforated cover, which one agitated or into which one blew occasionally, and a second container could hold a replenishing supply. In short, if there was a /227/ time when living fire was transferred, either for warmth or for hunting purposes or for roasting, there must also have been a way of preparing tinder and glow-stuffs out of different materials, and among this the wood dust, available at all times, even during rain, and necessarily well known from working, could not have been lacking.

Who, then, were the great geniuses of prehistoric times who "discovered" the production of fire at will? It was a couple of poor devils in the wet forest whose glowing tinder, taken along with them, was threatening to go out and to whom, at the moment, shell, tooth, or stone chip was unavailable. They looked for a stick or broke off a reed shaft; the drier the wood, the easier it was to break off and the more readily it would burn. Assiduously they drilled wood into wood in order to obtain an ample quantity of dust, or, if they were ancestors of the Polynesians, they rubbed wood on wood -- whether they did the one or the other probably depended only on their customary methods of work; they were pleased by the discovery that their powder, rubbed off more laboriously with the wooden stick, but also finer, glowed and started to smoke spontaneously. It is correct, as Im Thurn reports from the Warrau, "the wood in itself furnishes the tinder," but the tinder, too, in itself furnishes the flame. A discovery that every prehistoric vagabond who had nothing but a remnant of glow-stuff from the last campfire was in a position to make.

"Would a great thinker of prehistoric times, for example, have allowed himself to be led by the conjecture: warmth is produced through friction, should not fire, too, be obtainable by the utmost increase in the heat of friction? -- thus the truth would have dawned on him that the bright warmth differs from the dark warmth only in quantity and in its effect on the optic nerves,

/227 cont./

and his attempt at kindling fire through friction, based on this, would indeed be a Yes in nature to a properly formulated question. In acuity of perception such a Prometheus of the Ice Age would not lag behind the most clear-sighted thinkers of historic times...."

Oh, ye immortal gods!

The Titan, boldly appropriating fire, sheltered it in a hollow staff; this, summed up in a moment, is actually the history of the stage of maintaining natural fire. Most interesting, it seems to me, is this very staff itself, a stalk of the ferula shrub, which is used as a receptacle and whose pith easily catches fire. According to Pliny, the Egyptians used this tinder. Prometheus was still on the level preceding the discovery of the rubbing-sticks, he carried the glowing stuff from place to place. The Murray-Australians also tell how fire was brought to them in a reed, a grass stalk.

With the technical advance of production at will, the wood dust became superfluous. All that was needed now was the light, loose tinder to /228/ fan up the flame, and not even this everywhere. We may probably recognize the sticks which once chiefly furnished the tinder dust in those that later served for rubbing fire; for, of course, the sticks that ignite best by rubbing are also the ones that give the most inflammable dust.

Along with Prometheus, however, I thought: experiment is better than study. I tried it out and recommend it to all who wish to convince themselves of its amazing success. I filled a caviar keg 15 centimeters tall with some dry sawdust, placed a glowing ember on it until a thin upper layer was charred, and threw the ember away. When the air was moderately fanned, the dust soon smoked so much that I preferred putting a perforated lid on it. Then I wrapped a cloth arount the keg and left it; the dust glowed uninterruptedly for 13 hours. With replenishment the glow could be kept going for any length of time. Only now did I remember how difficult it had often been for me en route to smother the glowing cotton in the ox horn of my Brazilian steel

/228 cont./

000 fire-maker; I also remembered the stick of pressed dry cow dung which is allowed to glow for many hours on the decks of Indian ships for the use of smokers. Perhaps a corresponding use of wood dust is to be found here and there. Wood shavings were used by us in historical Germany up to the beginning of this century, along with flint and steel.

V. Weapons, Implements, Industry.

Bows and arrows. Throwing stick. Club. Canoe. Fishing implements. Plaiting and textile work. Buriti and cotton hammocks. Gourd vessels. Pottery.

128 I have reported on the settlements, the way of life, and the tools of our Indians, insofar as they present peculiarities. What remains to be said about one implement or another will follow naturally within the framework of the description of arts and crafts, which, on account of the many new things, requires a special survey. On the other hand, it is advisable to say a little more about the appearance and the use of the weapons, as well as about the simplest craft skills.

* 171 411 Bows and arrows are the only weapon common to all our Indians. Clubs are used among the Suyá and Trumaí. Nowhere are there lances. Nowhere blowgun and poisoned arrows. Only [754] the sorcerer has a kind of theoretical poisoned arrow when, as we shall see, he secretly and with powerful witchcraft hurls poisoned twigs at his victim; at any rate, the idea of a projectile poison comes before us here.

/229/ Bows and arrows are distinguished by their size, the arrows by the extremely neat and pleasing workmanship. The length of the bows is more than two and a third meters, that of the arrows one and a half to almost two meters. The wood [824] of the bow is yellowish or light brown and comes from the aratã tree, Tecoma, and others. We found palm wood in only a few [531] bows of the Tupí tribes; here, too, the bow was plaited round with cotton in an attractive pattern, something unknown among [283] the other tribes. The bowstring is twisted out of tucum fiber.

/229 cont./

*171 411 The arrow is by no means a simple work of art; if one compares the arrows of our tribes, among whom an ethnographic leveling has taken place, with the arrows from neighboring regions, one always notices, on careful examination, differences of material or technique. The arrows of the Yuruna on the lower Schingú, those of the Karayá /Caraja/ in the east toward the Araguay /Araguaia/, those of the Paressí in the west, those of the Bororó in the south, as well as those of the Yarumá, always have their distinct characteristics. Like comparative linguistic research, it is possible to carry on comparative arrow research. When we came to a new tribe we often saw with what interest the specimens brought along from the neighbors were examined and judged; aside from our clothes, nothing seemed stranger to these people than our lack of bows and arrows. If it is diffi-
[619] cult to understand how the Indian imagines that his culture heroes created the individual tribes by bewitchment of the arrow reed that they stuck into the ground, nevertheless it is easy to understand the basic idea that the arrow is the characteristic mark of the tribe; the great sorcerer also chooses for each tribe the type
[824] of reed that distinguishes its arrows. The kambayuva reed furnishes more delicate, thinner shafts than the ubá reed; the docile Bakaïrí, since they have made the acquaintance of rifles, have given up the ubá reed commonly used on the upper Schingú and now have, if not exactly toy arrows, at any rate small arrows in comparison with those of the Schingú. The bows, (1.70 meters), too, have become smaller.-

*171 411 237 The simplest arrow consists of the feathered reed shaft and, driven into it, a thin stick of wood which protrudes a third of a meter and is slightly pointed. Below the point there is sometimes fastened a small barb, for which a small tooth or preferably the maxillary spike of the great ant-bear is used. Or else a long piece of hollow cylindrical bone from monkey arm or leg bones, whole bundles of which are collected at home and the bone ground down, is driven onto the wooden point at the top. Wax, which is applied with a bone, is used as a binding agent. The ray spine also makes an arrow point. Finally, the barb may be made by placing a curved, double pointed piece of bone into the

B /229 cont./
*171 laterally hollowed end of the wooden support, lashing it, and
411 covering it with resin.
[237]

Sometimes a pierced, hollow tucum nut is shoved up on the arrow shaft to slightly above the middle; one or two holes are cut into the nut on the side. In flight a high-pitched whirring or whistling is heard. /230/ While the noise-making arrows are used only for bird hunting, the others are intended for all hunting and the shooting of fish; those with barbs are exclusively
B fish arrows. Arrows with sawlike notched wooden points do not
[101] occur on the Schingú except among the Yarumá, whom we regard as a southern group of the Mundurukú /Mundurucu/ of the Tapajoz /Tapajós/.

T The Suyá and Trumaí had arrows with long pointed bamboo
171 knives for war and for hunting jaguar. Spindle-shaped bamboo
411 splinters up to 35 centimeters long and up to 36 millimeters wide,
[824] knife-sharp on the edges, are mounted on the wooden stick driven deep into the reed shaft; the wooden stick is embedded in a groove
T cut below along the inner surface of the splinter. And, to be
[284] sure, the pointed spindle is only loosely fastened with a little resin and thread; when shot it remains in the body that was hit, while the shaft with the wooden stick flies off behind it.

B The most remarkable thing about the arrow is the feathering
*171 at the lower end. Two feathers, more correctly two halves of
411 feathers, for the feather is split at the shaft, are carefully fastened
237 in a spiral twist which goes around one-fourth of the circumference; each flag stands with the plane of its upper part perpendicu-
B lar on that of its lower part, so that the flying arrow spirals
[284] through the air. The feathers are set in a row of small holes, which are made with an agutí tooth and enlarged with a pointed buriti splinter, and, one may say, are sewed onto the arrow; the cotton thread is wound around the ends and is itself protected by
B being wound with waimbé bark (Philodendron). Usually the
[825] feathers come from gallinaceous birds, jakú (Penelope) and mutung (Crax), from the falcon, and from the blue arara. Where the hand grasps the arrow shaft there is a wrapping of waimbé. At the bottom a notch is cut in parallel to the upper part of the feathers.

/230 cont./

*171 411 Children's arrows are similar, but smaller, with wood and bone points or (those of the earliest youth) flexible, thin stalks split off from palm-leaf panicles.

The bow is usually held vertically. The arrow lies to the left of the bow. It is held between the index finger and the middle finger, which draw back the bowstring, while the fourth and fifth fingers also help to stretch the bowstring. The thumb is not used. This way of drawing the bow, corresponding to the Mediterranean draw of Edward S. Morse, is different from that of the Bororó. Devices to protect the finger against the strong friction of the bowstring are not used. The left hand, holding the bow, can also hold a second arrow in reserve.

The arrow is sighted at the target only for short distances; if the distance is great the bow is held up high, the arrow flies upward in a vertical direction toward the target and sinks down toward it. On the river, for example, if an otter playing in the distance is to be shot, an extremely fascinating sight, with the picturesque pose of the naked archer standing in the low canoe! /231/ In shooting fish the arrow point is frequently dipped into the water to test the degree of light refraction. No little practice is required for fish-shooting. The companion sitting in the rear rows slowly while the archer stands in front ready to shoot and sharply on the lookout. One of us does not see any more than the Indian would if he were to look into the microscope for the first time. A slight change of wave form already discloses the booty to him. With this he must remain as quiet as a mouse; the oar is soundlessly dipped. Many a shot, moreover, goes astray, and often two or three of the beautiful arrows drift sadly on the water until they are recovered. No wonder that our fishing rod seemed like a revelation to the Indians. Although they were not acquainted with the rod, they nevertheless knew about bait. But that floating freely. The archer tossed a scarlet berry into the river from the canoe; at the moment when a snout snapping at it from below tried to gulp it, the arrow whizzed from the bow. Anyone looking for a new sport might try it. The

*171 411 226 [822]

*171 411

B /231 cont./
*171 Indians practice on the village plaza and, as a target, plant a
411 shaft which bears at the top a cylindrical or conical piece of cork wood.

T The throwing board, in our case, where there is no "board"
171 often called a throwing stick,* is now a rare weapon which was
411

* For our case the best expression would be "arrow thrower." "Throwing stick" too easily gives rise to confusion with sticks that are thrown.

found among only the two Tupí tribes, the Kamayurá /Camayura/ and Auetö, and among the Trumaí. It was the greatest ethnological surprise of our journey. Ehrenreich then also came across it among the Karayá on the Araguay. Replaced by the bow, it has remained in active use only among the wood-poor Eskimo. The North American Indians, as far as is known, were not familiar with it; among the ancient Mexicans and among the Maya, as well as among the inhabitants of Colombia, it appears in limited use, though a wider distribution in early times may be inferred; it is regarded as the weapon of the Inca warriors; and finally we see individual examples of it among South American primitive peoples, especially Tupís, on the high Amazon as well as in eastern Brazil. Among our tribes, too, the throwing stick had lost its real importance, or at least was on the point of losing it. Nevertheless, in every house there were more throwing boards than bows; the Indians said that they never used the weapon any more for hunting, to be sure, but certainly in war. In 1884, when the Trumaí appeared before our camp, they had no throwing boards with them; the stone balls with which the darts are equipped for serious use were not present in any number among the Auetö and Kamayurá; they, too, had to get them from the Trumaí, and thus, for the Tupí tribes at any rate, if only because of their geographical location, the days of the throwing board are numbered. As a
T [526] sporting weapon, however, it still enjoys great esteem and
[535] assiduous use; in connection with the dance, I shall also have to mention the throwing-board dance, which portrays being wounded in battle.

/231 cont./

171 411 in battle. The purpose of the throwing board is /232/ to throw a stone-weighted arrow, or, if one wishes, a more graceful spear, [824] with great force. The type present on the Schingú is a thin, smooth stick of hard palm wood about 70 centimeters long, which widens at the front end into a holding plate provided with a hole and bears a small hook at the other, rear end. In other words, no board and no sign of a groove. Cf. Figures 28 /see p. 941/ and 6, p. 91.

The arrow is set in on the barb at the back, the index finger is stuck through the hole of the holding plate, while the other fingers grasp the plate and the arrow; thus, the rear part of the arrow lies securely against the throwing board, is lifted with a powerful swing, the throwing stick describes an arc forward and upward and with this lever motion sends out the arrow so "that it [824] positively whizzes." The throwing boards are made of light or [237] dark palm wood, /Fig. 28 appears here/ they are nicely smoothed, and some of them give an impression of elegance, especially if a small bunch of colored feathers hangs down from the barb cord. The plate has a width of about five centimeters in front, six centimeters in the rear, and a length of 15 centimeters; it is cut biconcave, so that the hand grasps it securely. The shaft is [284] about four times as long. The barb on which the dart is set, a bone among the Karayá, is here a little stick, two and a half centimeters long, lashed on diagonally with cotton thread. There were throwing boards in small sizes for children.

The reed thrown by our Indians is not a spear, but a real ubá arrow and is also called an arrow by them /in this work it is called arrow (Pfeil) or dart (Wurfpfeil). Only the feathering is usually more carelessly worked and not arranged spirally. Bone points and sharp wooden points do not occur. The characteristic thing about the dart is the opposite -- a possibility not provided for in the German language, it seems -- a "blunt point." /233/ In this respect, too, the characteristic of the "spear" is lacking. [284] The dart does not spear and stab, but shatters with a heavy blow. Inserted into the shaft, lashed with string, and smeared with wax were heavy stone or wood points. The stones either conical, like

/288 cont./

171 411 No. 2 in the accompanying figure or pear-shaped, like No. 3. Only a small part of the stone peeked out of the wax covering; cf. No. 9. The wooden points had different forms, spherical or, corresponding to the stone pear, with a long stem to be shoved into the shaft: No. 1, or (the common form) Nos. 4 and 10; a cylindrical piece that tapered at the bottom for insertion -- in No. 11 also one with a pointed projection, furthermore a knob, No. 12, and a fork, No. 8. In Figure 6 on [531] page 91, the center arrow bears a long, narrow wooden cone which is decorated with a long black linear or dot design on a white background

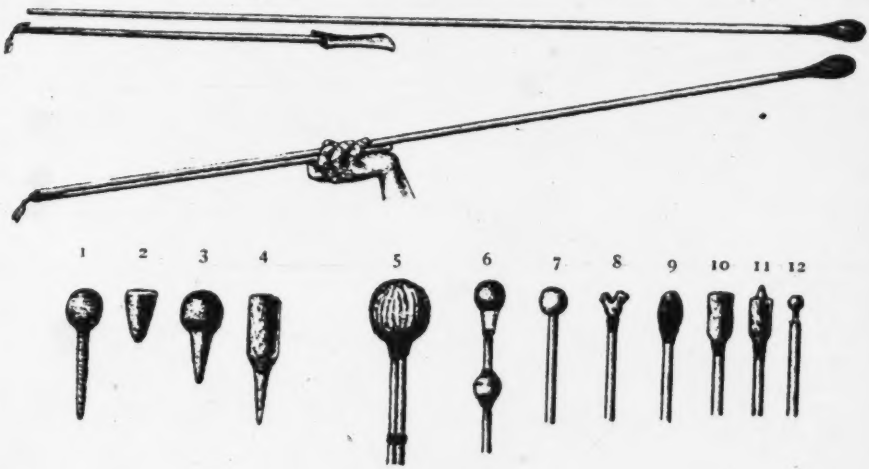


Fig. 28. Throwing board (1/13 nat. size/ as shown in the original illustration/) and the tips of the darts.

already the purely decorative weapon for the dance. Many darts bore [824] only wax knobs. Finally, we see in Nos. 6 and 7 one or two tucum nuts (Astrocaryum) set on in the manner of the noise-making arrows, and in No. 5 a fist-size tucum nut on two reed shafts lashed together.

[192] The throwing board gets its name from the tucum palm: yauarí. It is not unusual for the plant that furnishes the material to provide the name for the implement as well; the Kamayurá added a more specific identification, yauarí amomoáp, which means (amo, far; mo, causative; ap, to break apart, to wound) "tucum shattering far away." Apollo amomoáp, the one hitting far away. In a legend

/233 cont./

171 which Ehrenreich recorded among the Karayá, there are monkeys
411 who, sitting in a tree, kill people with darts. This agrees to a certain extent with what the Indians told me, the throwing board is good to use in the forest. Thus, in rapid pursuit between the trees, one can ready the throwing board to hurl the stone arrow, but cannot hold the bow, requiring two hands for pulling, ready for shooting and seize one of the brief moments during which the fleeing target loses the cover of trunks and underbrush. The force with which the dart whizzes off and hits is far greater than one expects. The weapon has one tremendous disadvantage compared to the bow, in that it cannot be used upward; one cannot bring down a bird with it from the treetop. Moreover, it distinguishes itself very much to its disfavor by its uselessness for killing fish. In short, it is not a hunting weapon and, even if the darts were provided with points that would penetrate the skin, would be one only to a limited extent for larger animals; it is decidedly a weapon of war and is designated only as such. It had its value, along with the bow, when there was war, suitable stones, and forest. If it is called a preliminary stage of the bow, one should remember that it does not in any way help us to solve the mystery of its origin, for the essential thing about the bow is its resilient force, both that of the wood and that of the bowstring.

/234/ Clubs were used only by the Suyá and the Trumaí. The one of the Suyá, cf. Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, illustration page 326 /see 1:Steinen, this file, p. 166/, was flat, one and a third to almost one and a half meters long, with an oval upper piece that was decorated with shell eyes, an elegant weapon of brownish black seriba palm wood that shone as though polished. The Trumaí club is of similar shape, smaller, clumsier, and not of artistic workmanship. We /Fig. 29 appears here/ also acquired only one of these on the second expedition. On the other hand, the Trumaí, and like the Kamayurá, had no dance clubs, of which I shall speak later. Thus here, too, as in the case of the throwing board, the phenomenon of the old weapon deteriorating into a plaything. Among the Kamayurá we found, besides a Suyá club, one attributed to the Yarumá, which

T
171
411

/234 cont./

corresponded exactly to the Karayá club found among the Yuruna in 1884, a dark brown staff chamfered vertically all around, sharply grooved, lopped off bluntly at top and bottom, with a smooth intermediate piece for the hand. The Yuruna in that case, and the Kamayurá here, had transformed the murder weapon into a peaceful walking stick. One must admit that the defense weapons of the men on the Kulisehu do not point to warlike habits.

B
*171
501
[824]

B
[531]

The canoes are commonly made from the bark of the jatobá, as I described it in the case of our vessels. See Plates 10 and 11 /see pages 109 and 121/. A Bakaïrí canoe measured in 1884 had the following measurements: length eight meters, width in the center 64 centimeters on top, 56 centimeters below, depth 24 centimeters, width of stern 63 centimeters, thickness of bark 11 to 21 millimeters. On our second journey we saw longer specimens, and the ark which we acquired among the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ was considerably wider, was, in fact, unique in its corpulence. The Bakaïrí canoes that had to travel in the shallower river bed strewn with stones were somewhat shallower than those farther downstream. Among the Yaulapiti the rim was turned over slightly.

Fig. 29. Bakaïrí oar. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

The oar, somewhat over a meter long, consisted of a slightly hollowed-out blade 60 centimeters long and ten centimeters wide,

/234 cont./

*171 501 with a shaft and crook-handle (cf. the illustration /see Fig. 29, p. 243/). Holding the crook-handle with one hand and the lower part of the shaft with the other, the Indian pushes the oar down rather vertically by his side and levers it forward with powerful pressure. Often the thrusts follow one another very rapidly, the oar is thrown high in the air and changes hands with lightning [502] speed. One of the rowers usually sits in front, the other in the rear; the one in the rear steers with his paddle, the one in front shoots at fish. The only place to sit is a low clamped-in piece of [415] branch. In the center lies a carrying basket, protected from the rain with leaves. Loam and resin play a great part; /235/ the [396] bark easily cracks, especially in the bent-in stern, and lets in *171 502 water. Thanks to their great skill as pilots, the Bakaïrí shoot even through the swell of the cataracts without danger; the rapids with a greater fall downstream in the region of the Yuruna, however, could not be surmounted with the low and fragile bark canoes -- a noteworthy obstacle against the shifting of our tribes toward the north. Perhaps no less difficult would be the beating of the waves on the broader stream, which every strong wind [396] brings. On the other hand, the bark canoes have the tremendous advantage of being made in the shortest time. For this reason even the people at the Fazenda S. Manoel were satisfied with a canoe furnished by the Bakaïrí, which cost only one day's work. [482] They are easy to carry out of the forest to the shore; bast rings protect the shoulders.

*171 484 Fishing is done just as much as possible during a trip, and similarly eating. Smoking and singing en route are unknown.

*171 226 Fishing implements. The shooting of fish with bow and arrow provides only a little booty, in terms of number. I have reported on the fences or palings with which the river was blocked off near the second Bakaïrí village, on the "chiqueiras," the barrier made with twigs that closes off the mouths of brooks or the arms of lagoons, on the stone circles that were laid out, often in great numbers, in the shallow river bed near rapids, and where the fish entered from above through a narrow opening and, driven downstream, were caught in nets at the opposite exit, and, finally,

/235 cont./

*171 226 on the fishing of the Bakaírí with catch-baskets in the shallow campo lagoon. The natives like to fish between the stones on dark nights by torchlight. We did not see any poisoning of fish.

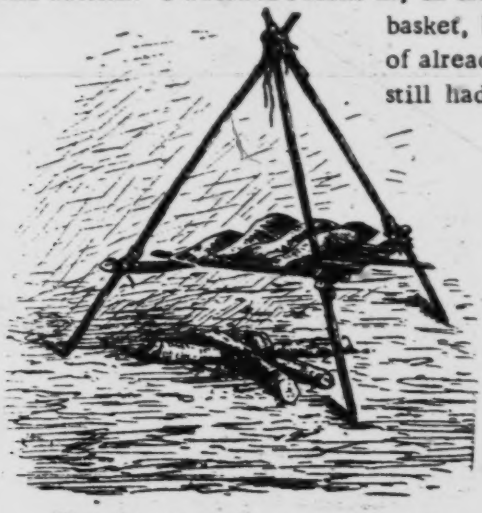
*171 227 [177] It is a fact of great significance that the fishhook was unknown to all these tribes of such diverse origins, tribes of such avid fishermen. It argues persuasively for the frequent claim that the hook was introduced only by Europeans in the north and south of Amazonas. If this is not the case, the only way out is that our tribes left their original homes before the hook was known there. For, anyone who saw, as I did, with what interest the natives became acquainted with our fishhook will smile here, if anywhere, at the thought that the degenerate Indians have forgotten an invention well known to them formerly -- when they were still close to the point of departure of the Karaiben /Carib/ or the Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ or the Tupí or the Gẽs. It is understandable that Indians under peaceful circumstances no longer make any clubs, it would be understandable that one or another of our tribes had migrated here from Amazonas and gave up the wooden canoe because they got along excellently on the upper course with the easily constructed bark canoes, but that fishermen who had formerly fished with a hook and line gave it up in a region where they might continue practicing the skill to great advantage and that their descendants are obliged to let themselves be taught anew by us, let anyone believe that who can. In Guaraní and Tupí /236/ hook, and especially fishhook, is called pinda, and from this word, in both dialects, Xylopia frutescens, which furnishes the fishing rod, is called pinda-iba = hook-rod. For the Kamayurá, who certainly leave nothing to be desired in Tupí purity and to whom we seemed to be tribal brothers with the comparison of the words that we had in common, the correspondence failed for this particular plant: they did not know pindaiba and called it ivíra or ivít, the ymbira of the Tupí or hybir of the Guaraní (= "skin-tree"), according to Martius "name of various Bombaceae and Xylopia." The decadent company had also forgotten the plant name "hook rod," although it was so easy for them to remember.

/236 cont./

*171 227 [286] The nets, merely small hand nets, were plaited out of the twisted, very resistant tucum palm fiber. They hung as a pouch from a piece of vine with both ends bent together in an oval.

*171 227 285 Two types of weir baskets were distinguished: the puroschi of the Bakaïrí, wider, fuller with horizontal, rectangular interstices, and the other, tamaschi, narrow, long, with wide, high vertical meshes. The catch-basket, kutu, was a plaited framework of pointed sticks, shaped like a truncated cone, and open at the top and bottom. I watched Paleko as, in order to make a catch-basket, he evened up a bundle of already pointed sticks which still had different lengths. He used the following measuring stick. He took a piece of shaft reed, a-b, and another, c-d, tied them together one under the other parallel at b and c, and now used the free piece from c-d for measuring, placing the stick to be measured alongside it, pressing it against b, cracking it sharply at d, and breaking it off.

*171 227 285 804



[252] Fig. 30. Roasting rack (trempe). (1/30 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

*171 25 252 The Indians often set out for a few days to engage in fishing. They bring home baked fish, but they also seem to be satisfied merely to eat their fill for once outside. The pyramid of the grill, the "trempe" of the Brazilians, which one almost always finds where the Indians have stayed overnight to fish or to build a canoe, is finished in no time. Three sticks are placed together like rifles and are joined at the top with bast, somewhat below the middle a little rod is placed crosswise from one stick to each of the two neighboring ones and is lashed, and this angle

/237/

*171 is covered with more small sticks, so that a triangular horizontal
251 grill is formed. The fish are opened with a longitudinal slash along
252 the middle line and a crosswise cut on the side, the flap is opened, the entrails removed, and the fish are placed on the roasting rack.

*171 Plaiting. The mate-
285 rial was furnished by the
[824] bakayuva, buriti, akurí, and carandasinha palms, bamboo cane, and Maranta stalks, which were split, the climbing palm urumbamba (Desmoncus), and the in-
[462] dispensable vines. The men were the ones who plaited. They used both feet to help out, one foot holding the transverse stalks, the other the longitudinal ones. The basket plaiting was not on a high level. There were little standing and hanging baskets, closely plaited and wide-meshed, in
[482] which odds and ends were stored, fish carried, and the like, but there was no ad-
→ vance beyond the generally
[531] familiar forms. Some variety was achieved by plaiting in black-colored strips. The Mehinakú and Auetõ had larger, rectangular, trough-like standing baskets, which were characterized by a neat appearance, were also decorated with tassels at the corners, and were used to store gourds and the like. The Mehinakú called these baskets mayáku, a word which the

Fig. 31.
Carrying basket. (1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

/237 cont./

*171 Bakaïrí used for the very differently constructed carrying basket.
285 The accompanying illustration /see Fig. 31, p. 247/ shows
[482] the three-walled carrying basket used by all tribes, the "mayáku" of the Bakaïrí, while the manner in which it is carried, hanging from the head with a bast loop, may be seen in the picture of Tumayaua, Plate 6 /see p. 40/. The contents were covered with leaves, which are also used to line the inside; then the side walls were bound together as tightly as possible. Small back-baskets were even hung on children.

The storage baskets for the mandioca flour should also be mentioned. While the lower tribes had clumsy supply baskets, resembling the back-baskets in form, those of the Bakaïrí (oádu) were the product of careful work. Five or six thin poles as tall as a man were put together with a couple of cross-rings of vines to form a circular framework supported in some way, this was lined with Heliconia leaves, several of which were strung over one another with thread, spread out, and on the outside wound in horizontal circular turns with reddish pindahyba bast from bottom to top, with the bast knotted continuously from piece to piece. While this type of basket was therefore unplaited, there were others with an open, hexagonal /238/ mesh plaiting, which were likewise lined with leaves. The baskets were hung by strips of embira.

[372] The plaiting of mats did not play an important role. Small fan-shaped or square mats for fanning the fire were very pretty.
[352] Larger mats for sleeping were lacking, since hammocks were
[252] used. Mats were used in the preparation of flour, first of all drying mats plaited out of palm leaves, and then sieve-mats consisting of four-edged small reed rods knotted together with cross-threads for sifting and pressing out the roots grated on the grating boards studded with palm spines. Similar rod mats served as cases for storing feather ornaments. The feathers were placed in them as in a file folder; the mat was then held stiff by means of three clamps, one each on the top, on the bottom, and in the middle, made by bending split reed stalks together and, with the cut side lying against them, stretching them across transversally and tying the projecting ends together at the right.

/238 cont./.

128 I shall discuss the reed diadems and plaited dance costumes in the chapter on masks.

*171 283 286 Textile work. The materials: pineapple silk, aloe hemp, palm fiber from the tucum and burití, and cotton. The fibers are put in neat bundles, and twirled on the thigh, but the cotton tufts, on the other hand, are drawn out into a thread by means of the spindle likewise made to turn rapidly on the thigh and then [462] spinning freely. Only the women spin and weave. The fiber strings serve as the actual tie-threads and ropes; fish nets, carrying nets, in certain cases hammocks, and finally bowstrings are made of them. Knitting is done with bamboo rods or long wooden needles that have eyes.

*171 392 285

Fig. 32. Fire fan (1/9 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

*171 283 The spindle is a disk through which is stuck a thin, not very straight, and smoothly worked stick sometimes notched at the tip. To it is attached a tuft of cotton, seed of seeds, whereupon the whorl is rapidly turned on the thigh and the whole allowed to hang; as a result of the even rotation, the cotton is twisted into a thread. The thread is wound on the little stick, until a thick, cone-shaped ball rests against the whorl, which prevents it from slipping off. Diameter of the whorl-disk, five and a half to six centimeters; length of spindle shaft, 30-35 centimeters. The [239] whorl usually consists of a piece of the ventral shell of the turtle,

/238 cont./

*171 283 it is often made of wood, and only among the Bakaïrí does it consist of an ordinary, crude clay disk which might have been broken out of the bottom of an old pot and ground to shape.

[531] /239/ I shall speak later of the designs incised on the first two types mentioned; the Bakaïrí leave their wood and clay disks undecorated, and we did not find any tortoise-shell whorls among them. The women powdered their upper thighs with white, chalky clay for protection against perspiration. They kept the material in the form of balls the size of a child's head, from which they scraped off a little with a shell for use.

The thread is made in two or three different thicknesses and kept in balls which are wrapped in green leaves. The balls [431] [594] are popular hospitable gifts of the Bakaïrí and Mehinakú, which were given to us likewise at the reception, just as Columbus reports this in the case of his islanders on 12 October 1492.

*171 286 The "loom" is as primitive as can be. Two low posts, which need not be half a meter high, a good distance apart, that is all. The origin of the weaving from the plaiting is still clearly evident. A thick skein of cotton is wound around the posts as a warp, a thread without end; the cross-threads are pulled through with guide sticks.

286 352 The Bakaïrí hammock represents a rather loose net, long, rectangular, two and a third meters by one and a quarter meters. The rows running lengthwise are broken at irregular intervals of two to three and a half centimeters by transverse rows; one can easily stick one's finger through the interstices. The type of weave is very simple. Two longitudinal threads, two to three millimeters thick, are wound around each time through the thinner transverse threads which are only one millimeter thick, and, to be sure, there are four transverse threads, of which two run wave-like in front of, and two in back of, the longitudinal threads, crossing between the latter. Where the transverse threads come out on either side, they are knotted; thus on each longitudinal side one finds some 70 knots with the four cut-off ends of the threads. The loop left free on either post is wound in the center, so that, on the one hand, an eyelet to receive the suspension

/239 cont./

286 ropes is produced, and, on the other hand, the longitudinal
352 threads, uncrossed here for a length of 30-35 centimeters, diverge from this fixed point toward the net when it is stretched out.

*171 Besides this typical cotton hammock, there is a hammock
286 in which the warp consists of buriti palm-fiber thread and only
352 the woof is of cotton. And, to be sure, this cotton woof may be limited to only a few transverse threads, which ran at intervals of 10-20 centimeters among the Mehinakú. The buriti hammock is native among the Nu-Aruak tribes. The docile Bakaïrí on the Paranatinga also had it, and they told me that their old chief, Caetano, had first introduced it. The palm-fiber hammocks were usually of the same length or even longer (up to two and three-fourths meters) than the cotton hammocks, but not one meter wide, so that the comfortable diagonal position which the Brazilian quite rightly likes to assume was almost impossible.

A third type was produced by the more abundant use of cotton. Thus, among the Auetö, we saw all the transitions from a space of six to seven centimeters between the /240/ cotton transverse threads to a space of one or two centimeters, or even half a centimeter. Finally, however, the cotton threads were pressed so closely together that one could no longer see the palm fiber, and a strong cloth, worked almost as tightly as sailcloth, was produced. Here the palm-fiber longitudinal thread, about one and a half millimeters wide, was wound with two pairs of cotton transverse threads that crossed, not singly, but doubled, between it and the next longitudinal thread. Naturally, the long sides of the hammock were densely studded with knots; at the four ends the strands were allowed to hang down a bit and
[386] ended in tassels. In many cases, at intervals of about 40 centimeters, bluish-black transverse stripes were achieved by the use of dyed cotton. Otherwise all hammocks were brown; the cotton hammock, as well as the one of palm fiber, which was already light brown in its natural color, was colored a dirty brown by the bodies oiled with urucú red.

/240 cont./

*171 286 352 The hammocks of pure cotton were a specialty of the Bakaïrí; among them, too, buriti hammocks could be found even on the Kulisehu. The stoutest cloth was made by the Auetö. The hammocks for small children among the Nahuquá were peculiar: merely a bundle of stalks tied together at the top and bottom and hung up.

Thus, the most varied forms existed and were in the process of becoming uniform. The Suyá were still sleeping on large palm-straw mats following the custom of the Gês. When we visited them, they were on the point of adopting the hammock; they had a few specimens and were weaving some themselves. Perhaps the art came from the Trumaí women whom they had with them. After my journey of 1884 I pointed out the parallelism between the Schingú region and the Guianas, namely, that in both areas the cotton hammock seems to be native to the Karaiben, the palm-fiber hammock to the Nu-Aruak, and that furthermore this ethnographic conformity corresponds exactly to the linguistic one. In both cases, the technique arises from plaiting, only the material is different. The Bakaïrí were the most backward; they did not have the cloth-like fabric. It is [283] also striking that their spinning whorls, although they completely fulfilled their purpose, were less artistic than among the other tribes.

*171 285 415 A parallel technique was shown in a type of sieve-mat. The stalks were covered more or less closely with cotton yarn, so that stiff and at the same time very flexible, tight mats were produced, between which the mandioca was pressed dry. We also saw pieces of cloth used for the same purpose.

*171 415 [824] Gourd vessels. The fruits of Crescentia cuyeté /C. cujete/ and the cucurbit Lagenaria provide vessels of the most diverse shapes. There are some that are ball-shaped, cucumber-shaped, bottle-shaped, hourglass-shaped, as well as many others of an irregular nature; after cutting them in two one obtains correspondingly shaped bowls. The green fruits are tied into the desired shape; the hourglass shape, in particular, is a product of this method. In order /Pl. XV appears here/ /241/ to divide them

[Text Continues on P. 254]

2: Steinen--253 ED-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Auetö SP6
Waurá SP18
Mehinaku

Plate XV

A
142
301
302
766
W
415
531

Cooking pots and Auetö grave.

B /241 cont./
*171 into bowls, the fresh fruits are wound with palm fiber and scratched
415 along it with a shell. If a bowl cracks during use, it is sewed;
B
[412] the small holes are bored with the pointed tooth of the dogfish
and the sewing is done with a buriti thread rubbed with wax, the
knots of which are cut off close to the shell by the tooth edge
B
[531] ground knife-sharp. The drawings that decorate the surface are
incised with the same tooth, unless one prefers to burn them in
B
with a red-hot stick. The drinking bowls and small ladle-gourds
[386]
[824] or spoons are given a coating of black lacquer on the inside. The
lacquer is the soot of the charred buriti shaft mixed with the
yellow, sticky liquid extract of the grated rind of the ochogohi
tree from the campo cerrado /densely covered campo/. Special
small, spherical gourds served to hold the oil with which the body
was rubbed and were closed with a stopper; the Bakaïrí called
B
the fruit péru. They sometimes hung in a closely plaited net. I
[128] shall consider the rattle gourd in connection with the dance music.

B Pottery. In the chapter on the "Stone Age" culture, cf.
128 pages 217 ff., I have discussed in detail the origin of the pots
323 in our region, the monopoly of the Nu-Aruak tribes, and the
manufacture limited to only the female sex. Only in the later
chapter on the plastic arts, when the development of Indian art
has become clear, shall I be in a position to speak of the orna-
mental aspect of the pots.

B Three types of pots were distinguished according to size and
*171
415 purpose. First, the huge mawukúru of the Mehinakú, in which
W
[415] the grated mandioca root was cooked; they had a diameter of
[252] almost three-fourths of a meter. We were unable to bring home
[126] any of these pots, but took a photograph among the Auetö, from
which their shape and, since a man -- by rights it should have
been a woman -- is squatting beside it, also their size are clear.
Cf. Plate 15 /see p. 253/. The largest and most attractive pots
are furnished by the Waurá. For cooking they were set on three
low clay feet of cylindrical shape and bulging at the bottom.

A second type, the cooking pot for fruit and small fish,
had a diameter of 18-20 centimeters, a height of about 12 centi-
meters; it was round with rather steep, slightly bulging walls
and sometimes had a rim two and a half centimeters wide and

B /241 cont./
*171 bent outward horizontally. These pots were not, as one would
415 expect, the most common ones, but rather the rarest. I scarcely
B [252] believe that there was one in each dwelling. Cooking did not play an important part, except for the preparation of flour, and for that the large kettles were required. On the other hand, a third type was found quite abundantly. These are the many-shaped warming and eating bowls 10-24 centimeters in diameter, which are represented by typical examples on the two plates, 23 and 24, "Ceramic Motifs" /see pp. 328 - 329/. A glance at the two plates teaches us the important fact that the basic form of these pots studded with edge projections is that of the roundish-oval vessel-fruit, whose /242/ curvature they have retained, although a flat bottom should be preferable for the pot. On the other hand, the curvature has made possible the plastic motif of the animal body. These clay bowls, as they are probably best called, were also by no means numerous in the houses. We saw the smallest number of them among the Auetö and Kamayurá. From the Trumaí we acquired only two small round pots, but this does not mean anything because they were in flight. We
B [126] searched out every specimen because of their artistic value; we brought back some 80 in our collection, and if I now estimate that in the villages visited by us there might have been twice that many in all, I am sure the figure is too high. There are probably scarcely three small pots per household on the average. The gourd vessels still have precedence. There was, of course, every transition in size, as well as in use, to the small cooking
B [264] pots. Eating was always done, however, out of the clay bowls, while the contents of the cooking pots were dished out. The clay bowls were preferred for children.

W Unfortunately, we did not observe how the kettle-pots
323 were shaped. We saw only the extremely simple manner in which a Mehinakú woman in the Nahuquá village made a scarcely medium-sized pot. She brought out a basket filled with loam -- it interested me more than anything else in relation to the history of the origin of the pots -- added water to the clay, and pressed the superfluous water through a sieve. She shaped it, kneading and scraping it, and, in view of the smallness of the pot, did

W /242 cont./
323 not have to build up the walls with thin clay cylinders put on top of one another as is ordinarily described. She smoothed the walls with a piece of gourd, not a stone. She modeled the ornamental edge-projections, which represented the body parts of an animal, and then put them on; she scratched in the eyes and nose with a little bamboo rod. An old broken-out bottom or a beijú pan is popularly taken as a model for the bottom of the pot.

B The clay is whitish-gray to grayish-yellow. Only the Waurá
*171 pots have a pretty, light red clay. The new pot is properly
323 dried in the sun and then turned upside down on a very sooty fire;
824 for that they use the green bark of a campo tree which the Bakaïrí call kutére, or of the guanandí (Calophyllum) saturated with sticky resin. Thus the pot, like the gourd, is blackened on the inside.

000 /243/

Chapter X.

I. Drawing.

Origin from the drawing gesture. Descriptive drawing older than artistic drawing. Sand drawings. Pencil drawings. Explanation of the plates. Profile position. Proportions. Number of fingers. Bark drawings.

B The simplest drawing that we can observe is probably the one
*171 directly connected with an explanatory gesture. Just as the na-
201 tive, to demonstrate the sense of hearing, cleverly reproduces
532 the characteristic voice sounds of an animal and is always tempted to do this in connection with any lively narrative, so also, with respect to the sense of sight, he imitates the animal in pose, walk, movements and, for better understanding, draws any peculiar body parts, such as ears, snout, or horns, in the air, or he outlines his own corresponding body parts with his hand. The drawing gesture is exactly parallel to the imitation of animal voices. As soon as this procedure is no longer adequate, however,

B /243 cont./
*171 one draws on the ground or in the sand. In taking down the
20 vocabulary, I was extraordinarily often able to convince myself
532 that the inner perception was converted into an explanatory
[124] sand-drawing involuntarily and without being demanded by me.
To be sure, it happened most often if the shape of the animal was particularly suitable for this, as in the case of snakes, an alligator head, and fish, where, in addition, a voice could not be imitated. Furthermore, it is to be freely admitted that the impulse for the realm of hearing was disproportionately stronger among these hunters, and also that in intercourse among themselves they undoubtedly confined themselves to the drawing gesture for the sense of sight. Indeed, they could actually limit themselves to this. Toward me there was the additional thought: "since the man does not understand our language, how can we in this case be adequately clear?" and they drew in the sand.

It is enough if one is justified in concluding from the behavior of the Indians that the drawing gesture, on the level where it still forms a not unessential supplement to the language, easily develops into actual drawing. /244/ We see, and this is the important thing, that here among primitive peoples drawing is used like gesture, to convey a message and not to reproduce graceful forms, and, on the basis of the personal impression that I gained from the directness of explanatory drawing, I believe
B that it is older than the ornamental-artistic kind. One may per-
[531] haps object that the Schingú /Xingu/ Indians are already artists who cover all their implements with drawings and ornamentation and that is why drawing as a means of expression is particularly
BO natural to them. To this I can only reply that the Bororó, whom
171 I should like to mention often in this connection in an anticipatory
532 way, made magnificent feather ornaments, to be sure, but knew practically nothing about the graphic arts, and that they were the very ones who had a greater skill and greater fancy for draw-
BO ing in the sand for explanation than did the Schingú people. They
[224] were restless fellows, however, who lived from the hunt; they had never found the leisure to practice painting and plastic art like those who, to be sure, still practiced hunting and fishing, but had already advanced to sedentary farming.

/244 cont./

ooo Therefore I say that communicative drawing is the older form. Our German word "Zeichnen" /to draw/ reflects the process admirably. At the beginning stands the "Zeichen" /sign, symbol/ and making use of it was part of the ancient calling of these hunter tribes, just as it was for the ancestors of the Kulisehu natives and those of the S. Lourenço. They applied communicative signs to orient themselves and others; they snapped the twigs on their path, first of all, in order to make room for themselves and then, purposefully, in order to mark the path. They found their way by means of old tracks, and made tracks on purpose to find their way. The foot incised in stone that points the way to the ones following is a product of exactly this development. The progress from the tree mark to the representation of the footprint is that from the notch to the outline, from the sign to the drawing, and it is accomplished through the medium of the gesture, which also explains and communicates but explains and communicates with outlines; now the gesture, which was previously described only in the air, could leave behind, for example, in the sand, a permanently visible picture.

The pleasure in the imitation represented, on which all independent further development depends, is also to a certain extent a helpful factor even in the beginning, for the gestures are all the more vivid, the more the object hovering before the inner perception arouses interest. In fact, purely for pleasure, which needs to be communicated no less than practical need, even the most uncivilized individual has marked the places where he has been; in that respect one certainly need not -- other peoples, other customs -- place him behind his faithful four-legged hunting companion. In Brazil in particular a vast amount of nonsense has been brought to light by mysterious interpretations of "picture writing," and I am glad that I can fully endorse the opposition of Richard Andree against this mania of suspecting an important communication in every idle "scribble." Certainly one has something in mind in the case of a notion which he reproduces in a /245/ drawing, just as much as in the case of one reproduced in words, but he is also perfectly satisfied with a joke that he makes, and this all the more

/245 cont./

000 if he succeeds in spite of the difficulties of the material. Time does not matter; a notion does not become profound just because one cuts profoundly into stone for a few months. I would not by any means doubt that the Indians possess the ability to express themselves in "picture writing" -- I myself saw, as I shall report presently, that they communicated by means of pictures. That the rock drawings lack the signification of a coherent message, however, is evident from the great irregularity with which the pictures are scattered over the area; one sees clearly that one person furnished this contribution, another that; it therefore need not mean anything special just because we are not always able to explain a particular picture. The irregularity is far greater than appears in the reproductions because, in most cases at any rate, only a selection from the pictures is given, while minor things which seem unimportant to the collector, but are nevertheless very important for an explanation of the whole, for example, grooves for stone tools, are left out. There may, of course, be exceptions.

For an introductory survey I may now perhaps be permitted to outline further what, from my observations, I believe is to be inferred about the further course of development of Schingú art. After people had spontaneously arrived at the making of outline drawings of things that vividly caught the attention, after people thus learned to see the external picture of the inner perceptions and had acquired the concept of the picture, then the inclination to notice resemblances to all kinds of interesting originals in nature arising in connection with easy work, to enhance them, and to produce new ones, gladdening heart and mind, began to assert itself in connection with every kind of technique to that of plaiting. Especially in the case of the pots we can clearly recognize the connection between the form of the vessel and the motive of imitation. Finally, from these concrete imitations, in connection with a tradition more and more remote in the artistic sense from the original, and under the influence of the work method and the work materials, grew the stylized art work, which, in the minds of our Indians, is still most closely

/245 cont./

000 associated with the older representation. In the field of painting, we come across such productions in the form of geometric ornamentation. Dots and dashes may be the equivalents of the old markings. But even such "simple" figures as triangles and squares, which one would think could be freely constructed by the most primitive artists, originated only through the stylization of representations, and, since they automatically recommended themselves to the technique as types, they easily won out over more complicated structures in the struggle for existence.

171 532 [113] Now just a word about the motifs of our Indian art. They have been borrowed exclusively from the animal kingdom. Andree in his well-known /246/ article, "Das Zeichnen bei Naturvölkern /Drawing Among Primitive Peoples/," points out

*Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche, n.s., Leipzig, 1889, p. 59.

that the plant only rarely plays a role and adds: "In order to arrive at an understanding of this phenomenon we need only remember that among our children, too, when they make their first independent attempts at drawing on the blackboard, animals and human beings in crude forms are represented first; the living, mobile animal is more apt to capture their attention, is also easier to grasp in its entire figure than the plant consisting of numerous leaves and blossoms."

000 This pertinent remark is in perfect accord with the relationship between gesture and drawing which I maintain. By means of gestures I imitate an animal, not a tree, and not only because the latter does not move actively. It is easy for me to express parts of the animal body by means of gestures, because in doing so, proceeding from my own body, if, for example, I wanted to depict a pair of donkey ears or some antlers, I would immediately indicate the position and the type of the organ, whereas I should be unable to express parts of a plant by means of gestures, unless *171 I use words to help out. Among our Indians, however, drawing is 181 only a special case; the animal motif dominates their entire 825

/246 cont./

*171 18 825 mental world in every art and science, no matter what it is called, and there can be no foundation for this other than their hunting culture.

000 The material interest in the animal precedes the formal or esthetic interest. The flower in art is secondary, exactly as it is in ornamentation; first the feather in the ear and then the little bunch of flowers on the hat. I saw araucarias portrayed in the "picture writing" of the virador in Rio Grande do Sul. A palm tree would be just as easy to draw as a pine, but no palm in the north furnishes such indispensable food as the araucaria formerly provided for the "bugre" /wild Indian/ of that southern province. Before art went after bread, if I may alter the meaning of the sentence somewhat, it went after meat and fish. I shall have to come back to this subject, especially in connection with the products of the ceramic art.

*171 212 532 823 Sand drawings. They are at first a form of communication, like words. I have spoken of how the descriptive gesture readily and easily became a picture. Map drawings were the most common. Our second journey arose through the sand drawing of the arrangement of the upper Schingú, with which the Suyá geographer illustrated his statements; cf. page 126. "He enumerated all the tribes that are settled on the upper Schingú; in order to be quite clear, he drew the course of the river in the sand with his finger. To our greatest surprise, he drew the Batovy, the only one which he portrayed in this way, and, to be sure, entirely on his own initiative, with corkscrew-like, tortuous course." (Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, p. 213 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 104/.) The Batovy, as we learned to our sorrow, was a true River Meander.

*171 212 532 /247/ We saw the same thing among the Kulisehu tribes. The number, sometimes of tribes, sometimes of rapids, was indicated by dashes. Circles were houses; wreaths of circles, villages, corresponding to the actual arrangement of the circular [126] houses around the large plaza. All these figures were also drawn with pencil in our book, while the accompanying words were taken down as dictation. A certain individualization, as in the

/247 cont./

* 191 212 532 case of the Batovy above, with zigzag or serpentine lines, seemed to occur more often, but could not be controlled by us. It is in no way remarkable after what we have heard on page 133 /untranslated/ about the map picture in the head of the Indian. Thus, in Figure 33 we see a pencil drawing of river courses, which a Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ made in Wilhelm's sketchbook; of the names we are only familiar with that of the Kuluëne, the main source river; paranayubá is Tupí = yellow river. Moreover, in order to symbolize villages lying along brooks, zigzag lines were drawn,

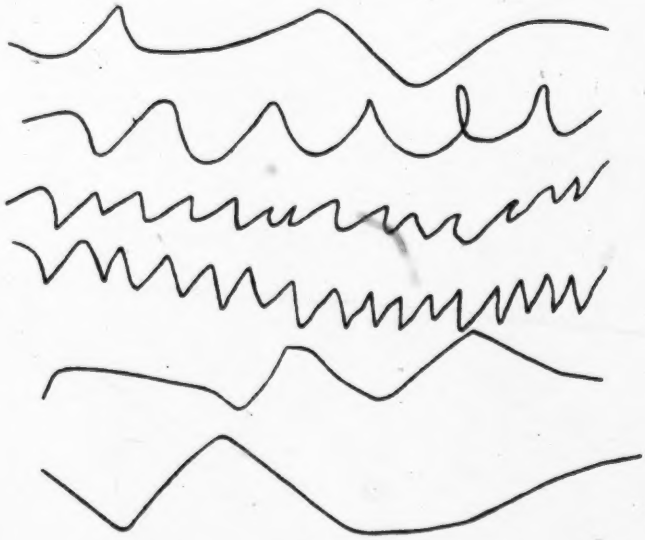


Fig. 33. Pencil drawing of the rivers. (2/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.) From top to bottom: kuluéne, kanakayutuí, auiná, auiyá, paranayubá, pareyutó.

along each of which extended a row of circles. They liked best to draw all over the page. One sheet covered with short parallel lines was devoted to the river rapids. Other statements were made between times in conversation; for example, the various words with which different tribes name "water" or "beijú" were enumerated.

/247 cont./

*171 212 532 Among the Nahuquá, circles on the ground indicated the place where pikí fruits, which are as round as apples, had fallen unripe from the tree and were buried.

[825] One day on the return trip our canoe passed a sandy beach which our Indian companions had already passed before us; there, to our /248/ surprise, we saw two fish drawn in the sand, which Antonio said were matrinchams. We stopped, fished, and actually caught matrinchams! It was just as though the word had been

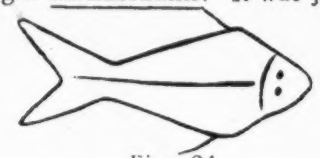


Fig. 34.
Sand drawing of a matrincham.

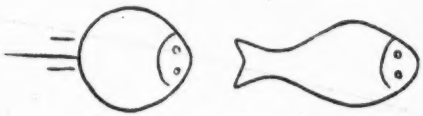


Fig. 35.
Sand drawing of a ray and pakú.

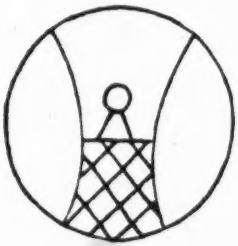


Fig. 36.
Mehinakú sand-drawing. (1:130 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

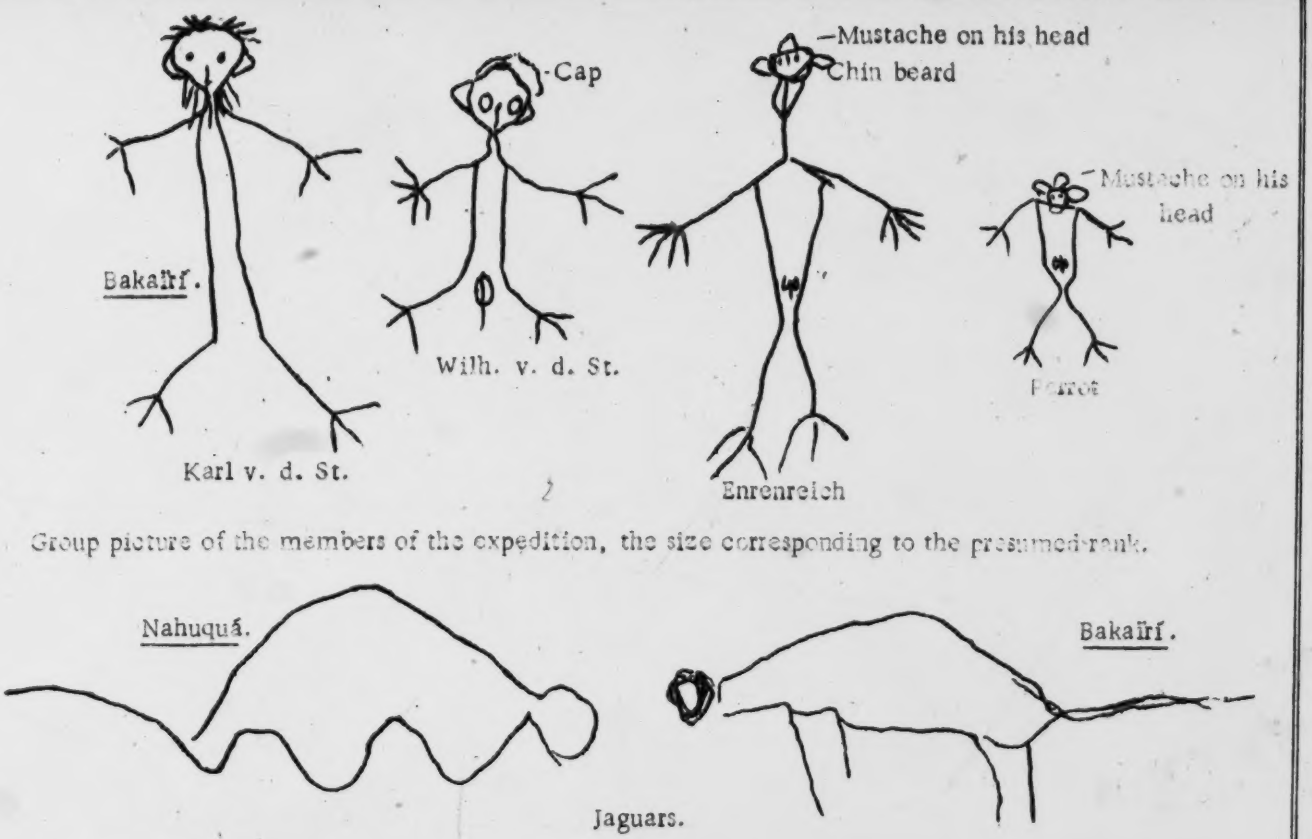
written there and an invitation to try his luck there too had been handed to Antonio quite intentionally. Another case remains more obscure to me than this instructive example. Almost exactly in the middle of the path between the harbor and the village of the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ I found a ray and a pakú fish drawn in the sand. The narrow forest path widened at this spot into a small

B /248 cont./
*171 circular area. My companions, two Bakaïrí, immediately sat
212 down to rest. I do not know whether a weary wanderer before us
532 who stopped there on his way home from the river so neatly drew the two animals purely for diversion, or because he had just dealt with rays and pakũs, and, frankly, I find it quite immaterial whether the one or the other was the case.

Even more inexplicable as to its exact meaning was the circular figure drawn in the sand, which is shown in Figure 36 and which was found under a beautiful tree approximately half a kilometer from the Mehinakũ village. It was called aturuá
B and was four and a half meters in diameter. When we left the
[533] village accompanied by several men, they made a round inside the circle on either side up to very near the network and sang ka ã ã...; there were also numerous traces of former rounds. Since the men wanted to turn back at this point and spoke of the women, there was probably some reference to the arrival or departure of guests here on the edge of the forest or a quarter of an hour from home. The network of the drawing was turned toward the village. The two curves occur similarly as tattoo patterns and on the outside on the bottom of the large pots of the Mehinakũ (cf. Plate 15 /see p. 253/). I had copied the figure in my journal a few days before my cousin saw it; there, in place of the small central circle with the two supports, two circles are represented touching each other, the lower one being slightly larger and going over into the network; one might imagine head and body.

Bo The Bororó, whom I am including here, contributed not only
171 purely explanatory, but even semi-artistic pictures in the sand,
532 which we /Plates XVI-XIX appear here/ /249/ had no opportunity to see on the Schingũ. In the evening in the moonlight they took special pleasure in drawing hunting animals and hunting scenes in the sand for us. I say "scenes," for their amateurishness did not by any means shrink from a difficult composition. Nor were they content to draw in outlines; with their hands they shoveled the surface sand out of the outline of the animal being represented and filled this depression, shaped, for example, like a jaguar or a tapir, with grayish-white ashes; thus they made the body with its

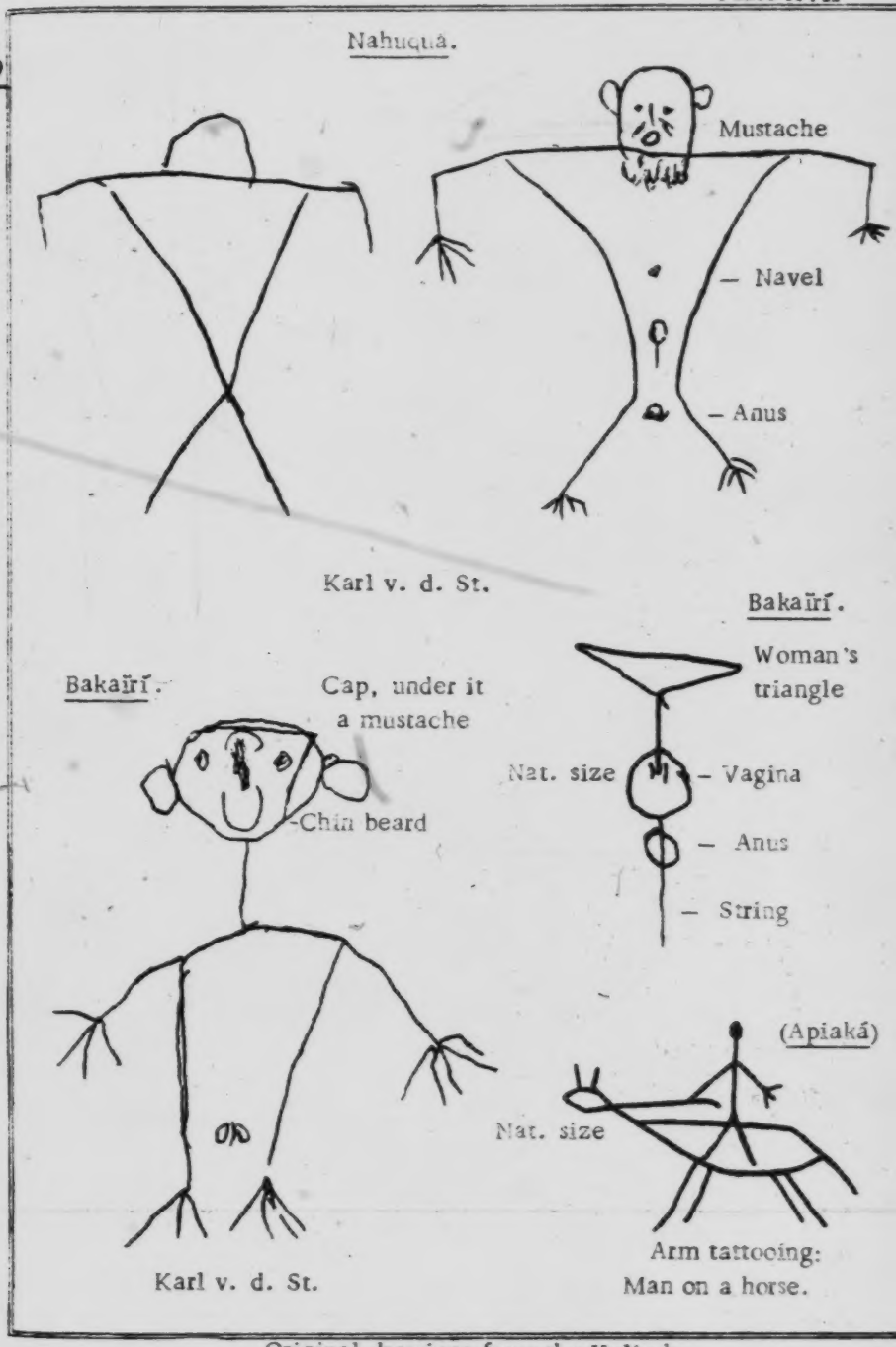
[Text Continues on P. 269]



Original drawings from the Kulisehu. I.
2/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.

*171
532

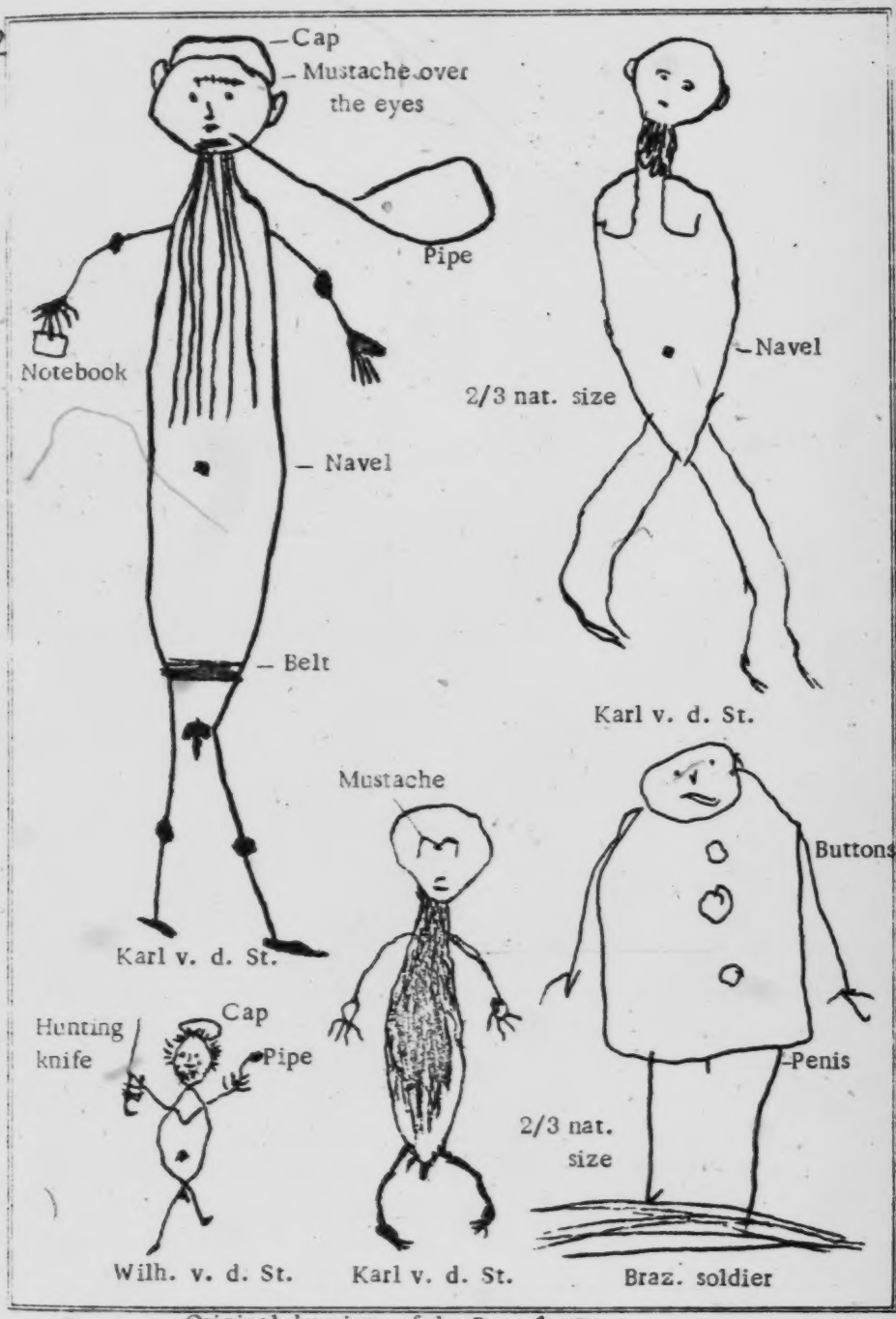
*171
532



Original drawings from the Kulisehu.

II. 2/3 nat. size /all references to size are given for the illustrations as they appeared in the original source/.

532



Original drawings of the Bororó. I.
Nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.

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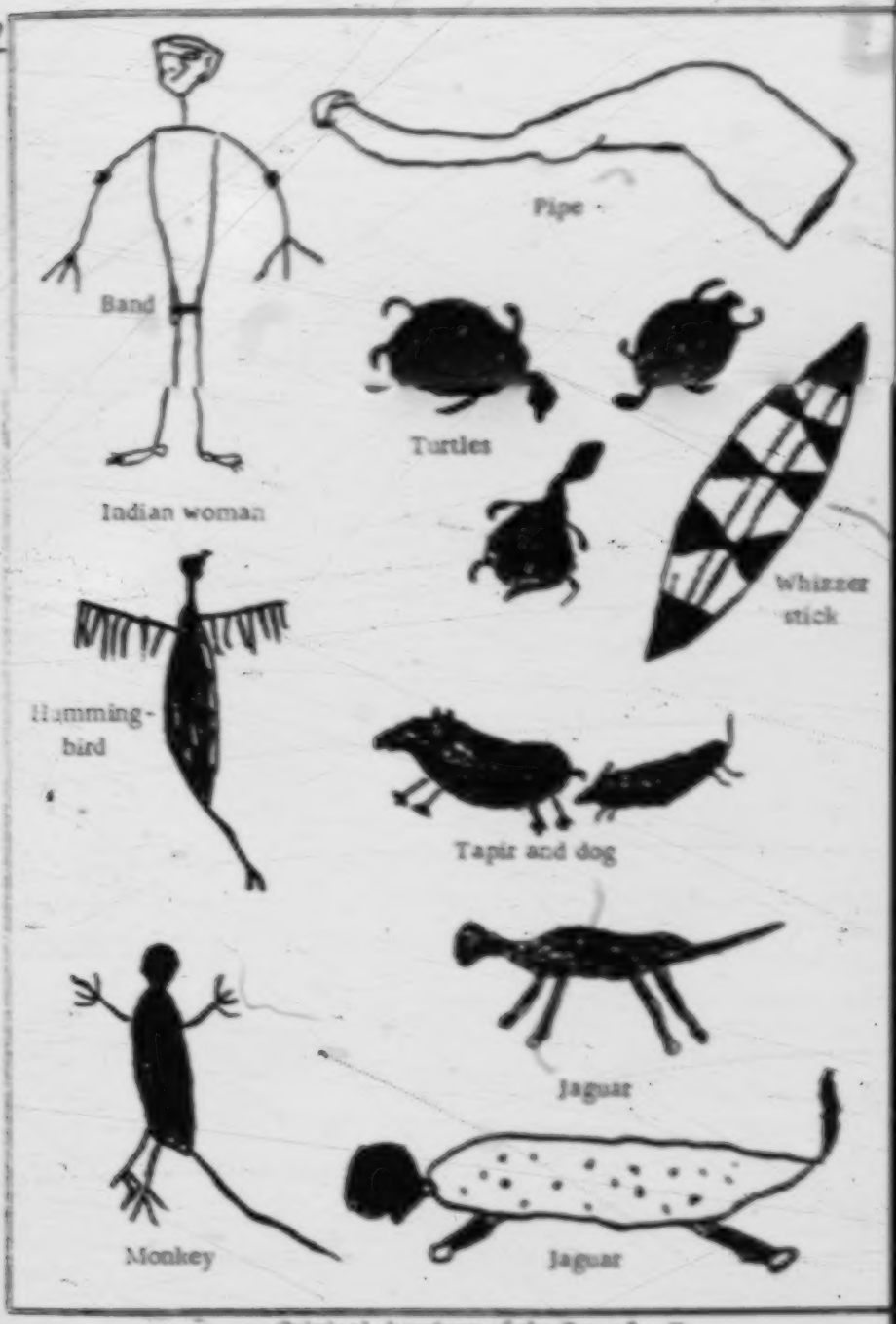

Original drawings of the Bororó. II.
Nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.

BO 191 532 /249 cont./
extremities look like a shimmering whitish painting. The eye and the spotted markings of the skin were indicated with dark sand. Since the figures were at least life-sized, they gave a surprisingly lifelike impression in the evening twilight; it looked as though huge, shimmering and glistening skins were spread out on the ground.

B 191 532 BO 171 532 B BO [126]
Pencil drawings. Even in 1884 we let the Suyá draw with pencil in our notebooks. They themselves were amused by it; they were not awkward, and only at first did they superfluously hold the pencil point into the flame, being accustomed, for their part, to drawing with resin-saturated sticks. They drew rhombus-shaped designs, similar to those on their gourd bowls, which at that time I dismissed with the label "geometric figures." This time we had them draw a series of persons and objects which turned out to be extremely instructive. On the four plates, 16-19 /see pp. 265-268/, these artistic productions, which could still be considerably improved, have been reproduced with painful accuracy; there are portraits of the members of the expedition, especially of me, and furthermore two jaguars and a woman's triangle with the accompanying topography done by Kulisehu Indians, as well as a soldier, a woman, a pipe, a whizzer stick, two jaguars, a tapir pursued by a dog, a monkey, a hummingbird, and three turtles by the Bororó. The animal pictures of the Bororó, like the sand drawings covered with ashes, are filled with black inside the outline and show that these artists already had higher aspirations, although in their sparse ornamentation they did not achieve more than is shown by the whizzer stick.

000 At first the pencil drawings vividly remind one of the pictures in the copybook of little Moritz. In fact, in the interesting little book by Corrado Ricci, L'arte dei bambini /The Art of Children/, Bologna, 1887, which reports on studies of many children's drawings, there are many correspondences, and more than the author himself assumes when he considers the drawings of primitive peoples. Children describe a human being, instead of reproducing him artistically, "just as they would describe him with words." In their first attempts they are satisfied with the most

/249 cont./

imperfect creatures, which have only a head and legs, but soon they strive to portray a human being completely; they know he has two legs and draw them, regardless of whether it is a matter of profile position or a situation on horseback or in a boat. The spatial arrangement is unimportant to them; the arms /250/ may be located on the head, the neck, or even the hips, as long as they are there; proportions do not concern them in the least. On the other hand, they place the greatest importance on attributes that interest them, and thus the ideal of the boy is always the gentleman with the pipe or a tall hat or a rifle and saber, the ideal of the girl, the lady with the bouquet of flowers or the sunshade, dressed inexorably in the latest fashion.

The Indians, too, describe. I can put myself in their place immediately when I set myself the task of drawing a map of Africa from memory and without particular reflection. I shall then put on paper a crooked, pear-shaped object, in the thick part on the right draw a vertical wavy line running from top to bottom and on the left an oblique one, as well as a curved line somewhat farther down, Nile, Niger, and Congo, and finally patch on a stem high up on the right, the land bridge to Arabia, hanging in the air. That is the way I should draw Africa for an Indian, my colleagues, too, would recognize it. And if completeness is demanded, I shall fill in the upper part with dots and speckles to represent the Sahara; I shall also be mindful of recent research and put in a few partly narrow, partly roundish twists next to the angle of Nile and Congo, the lakes of the Dark Continent; while I am at it, I shall remember the child of sorrows, the colonial policy, and a long oval island will appear, at least as large as Madagascar, whereas I shall forget Madagascar itself altogether. This example, which is certainly easy for us to understand, contains the entire psychology of Indian pencil drawings. If an African traveler objects, I humbly beg him to draw a picture of South America instead. If, in the end, we turn confidently to Herr Dr. Bruno Hassenstein of Gotha with these creations, he will, though otherwise most gracious, scarcely be able to suppress the same cruelly compassionate smile which the portraits of the natives drew from us."

B /250 cont./

*171 532 On plate I from the Kulisehu,[1] four members of the expedition are standing side by side, a picture from the third Bakaïrí village. In it I am recognizable as the tallest and the one with the longest beard; the second one, my cousin, is characterized by his jaunty little cap, the third is Ehrenreich with a shorter full beard and next to me in body size; the fourth, quite small and delicate, is Lieutenant Perrot to whom a lower rank was imputed because he did not take part in the investigations. Here, as well as with most of the drawings, I performed the test of showing them afterwards to other Indians with the question, who might that be? They identified the persons correctly, hopefully not because of the

BO 171 532 resemblance, but according to the outstanding characteristics. Actually the turtles and the tapir of the Bororó (Bororó II) are quite satisfactory, even for our requirements, whereas the pursuing dog was probably recognizable only because he was the four-legged animal running behind the tapir, which could not be a second tapir because of the tail and the absence of a trunk. Inference per exclusionem must often help out.

B /251/ The two likenesses of me done by a Nahuquá (Kulisehu

*171 532 II) are interesting.[2] Strangely enough, the man first drew a horizontal line containing the unbroken shoulder line and the upper arms, put a sort of semicircle on this, two diagonal crossed lines underneath, and handed this worthless picture back to me as finished. I protested, pointing out to him that I was provided with eyes, ears, etc., in the normal fashion, and demanded an entirely new, revised edition, which he, looking me over attentively, then made. He now went to the other extreme and drew, not only more than he saw, but more than he could have seen.

BO 171 532 In similar contrast are the two upper pictures on the Bororó plate I, drawn by two different people: on the right I was born without arms and feet; on the left I appear most lovingly depicted and equipped. Here, besides all my limbs, including -- as likewise in the case of the Indian woman on Bororó II -- knobby joints, I have: cap, pipe, notebook, belt, and shoes. In the same manner, the jolly little fellow below that, my cousin, was

[1] [See p. 265 -- Analyst]
[2] [See p. 266 -- Analyst]

/251 cont./

BO 171 532 given cap, pipe, and the fine hunting knife. Children, to whom smoking as such seems strange, would have thick smoke coming out of the pipe, but the Indians are interested only in the apparatus. In the corner on the right, the Brazilian soldier was given a uniform with three buttons, that is to say, only the coat, from which emerge the usual lines for arms without sleeves. The armless figure above it is the only one where an attempt was made to do justice to our trousers, even at the expense of the foot.

B *171 532 831 The chief attribute of the men, especially in the externally more meagerly equipped portraits on Kulisehu I and II, is the one conferred on them by nature. Here we have the child's standpoint altogether, namely, that it does not matter to the sketcher whether he sees with his eyes what he feels duty-bound to indicate because he knows it is there. For the Indian who goes unclothed, this is the characteristic feature and so he shows it; he even adds it where he expressly draws the clothing, cf. the soldier. Thus, the navel is also often taken into consideration. Indeed, the Nahuquá from whom I demanded completeness (Kulisehu II) did not want to forget even the anus.

B *171 532 BO 171 532 The spatial arrangement is not quite a secondary to the Indians as it is to the youngest children, but strange things are done with it. The fact that the pipe (Bororó I) is put next to the mouth does not mean anything when in the same picture one sees the mustache above the eyes. I would have declared it to be a pair of joined eyebrows, what Goethe calls Rägel, but I was emphatically informed that the line represents the mustache. The same is true of the small central figure below it. And the Bakaírí do the same thing with the unfamiliar mustache. On the Kulisehu plate II, lower left, we see the mustache below the cap, which is carelessly cut off from the roundness of the head by a cross line, and the chin beard, separated from it by a large nose, /252/ is kept entirely inside the face. This head is precisely my map of Africa, with the lakes imperturbably put north or south of the Congo and the Nile sources; out of all proportion, the dreadful line of the neck looks like my Isthmus of Suez, and the

/252 cont./

B *171 532 BO 171 532 enormous ear flaps, like my Island of Zanzibar. And after I heard from a high-ranking German official that Brazil and Rio de Janeiro are located on the west side of the continent, on the Pacific Ocean, I am perfectly content to have the Bakaïrí, cf. Kulisehu plate I, put the mustaches of Herren Ehrenreich and Perrot on top of their heads. In these two instances the mustache was put in afterwards. The Indians themselves pluck out all the beard hair, and no matter where the beard hair is located, they differentiate hanging and transverse beard-hair according to their first impression, without giving a more accurate account; they reproduce the former, if they do not draw the hairs separately in great numbers (cf. Bororó I and the Nahuquá drawing, Kulisehu II), by a curved line open at the top, the latter by a curved line open at the bottom. They concern themselves with the "where" only for the grossest topography; the beard is indeed connected with the head and face, and the only thing that matters to them is to show the feature itself. If they take it into their heads to draw the anus, they put it, too, in front, although in this case they must know from experience, which they lack in the case of the beard, that it belongs elsewhere.

B BO [302]

What is missing, what is there, it all depends on interest. The head, the beard, the sexualia are drawn with a will -- let the rest appear wherever it may or be absent altogether. Is not the greatest master of portraiture and the most gifted characterizer of physiognomy accused of neglecting the hands? Opposites attract, Franz Lenbach and the Kulisehu Indians are contemporaries. If the latter or the Bororó take pencil in hand, they give a more or less complete account: their enumeration of the body parts, and whatever interests them, is emphasized, anything that leaves them indifferent at the moment is treated negligently or left out. In the case of animals, the outlines are important; not one of those drawn for us had eyes, with the exception of the fish drawn in the sand, cf. Figs. 34 and 35 /see p. 262/; in the latter case they are probably more likely to come to it because the head, set off only by the gill arch, does not seem sufficiently characterized. The Nahuquá, Kulisehu I, gives the jaguar a lurking position with

/252 cont./

B *171 532 BO 171 532 a huge arched back and the long tail, the extremities form a wavy line; the picture was always recognized by others without difficulty as a jaguar. When for all the Bororó animals the faces are simply filled in black, one might attribute this to the drawing style of the sketchers and point out that the rest of the body is treated in the same way, but even the Bakaïrí on the Kulisehu plate I scribbles over the face of his jaguar. The Indian woman, Bororó II, who, of all the figures, shows the best proportions, has a completely scribbled /253/ head. Above the fine beard covering the torso of the center figure at the bottom, Bororo I, eyes, nose, and ears have been forgotten, the legs are stunted into beetle pincers. In none of the five Bakaïrí portraits has the mouth been drawn; none lacks the nose, which the Bakaïrí BO [304] pierces. On the other hand, for the Bororó, who pierces the lower lip, it cannot happen that he would omit the mouth, whereas he forgot the nose twice.

The profile position, so popular in the art of children, is absent in the Indian drawings of human beings and invariable in the case of four-legged animals. The former is to be regretted, since there can be no comparison with the cases where children give the profile two eyes and then, when they remember that the nose comes between the eyes, sometimes two noses as well, and furthermore where they attach double arms on the exposed side, since two must, of course, be shown, and so forth. It is to be hoped that these efforts of a childlike mind would by this B *171 532 time be impossible for the Indians. Nevertheless, among the sand drawings, we have to show an example that corresponds exactly to childlike art. The matrincham (Fig. 34 /see p. 263/) has two eyes next to the gill arch; the pakũ (Fig. 35 /see p. 263/) in profile is likewise drawn with two eyes. That these are profile positions is shown in the case of the matrincham by the indication of the side line, the gill arch (exactly as in the case of the wooden fish), the fin position, and, finally, as also in the case of the pakũ, the tail position. In the case of the ray, the two eyes are justified, since the Indian naturally avoids the problem of drawing it from the side.

B /253 cont./

*171 532 80 171 532 On the Kulisehu plate II there is a drawing of an arm tattooing which we observed in Cuyabá on a man of the Tupí tribe of the Apiaká /Apiaca/ living on the upper Tapajoz /Tapajós/, and which I add here parenthetically. Here the two legs are on the same side, exactly as in the case of children's drawings of "riders on horseback." The legs of the horse are placed one behind the other, exactly like those of the jaguar, Bororó II. The animal's long ears are handsome.

Why are all human beings drawn en face, all four-footed animals in profile? The reason can only be that in the case of the former the outline was given indifferently as self-evident, and the characterization of the details, to be distributed on two sides or to be judged better in their full extent from the front, was decisive; in the case of the latter, the outline more easily characterized in profile. The monkey on Bororó II, with legs and tail in profile, shows the arms symmetrically, but might have been conceived with the upper part of the body turned forward. The jaguar with the spotted fur was drawn by a man who was obviously aware of the fact that the animal has only two legs on one side: he omitted the legs on the right side.

The proportions are deficient. The pipe and notebook of the principal figure on Bororó were actually in the reverse size-proportions. The artist was in no way disturbed by the fact that the relationship between the torso and the extremities was like that of a lizard propped upright. The disproportion of /254/ the Nahuquá portrait on the Kulisehu plate II is also charming. Whereas the neck often resembles a pole, here, as in the case of Perrot, Kulisehu I, the shoulder line runs across the mouth region. It is five times as wide as the width of the hips, which, in the first version next to it, shrinks to a point. The legs always come out worst of all. In the most extreme deformity, Kulisehu II, bottom left, they are absent, to judge from the position of the sexualia, and the toes are attached to the torso. If only this one portrait was presented, one might explain the long lines on the sides as legs originating at shoulder height, but, strangely enough, in all the Kulisehu portraits, the torso is not closed off at the

B /254 cont./

* 171 bottom, indeed not even the head in my portrait and Wilhelm's,
532 Kulisehu I! Only the Nahuquá treats the body as a triangle, at
BO least in his first version. The lateral contours of the torso veer
171 out at an angle without converging -- in the case of Wilhelm,
532 Kulisehu I, almost horizontally -- and after extending a short distance, without knee, without foot, are finished off on either side with a little line, and these three-toed chicken legs are then human legs, my legs. "You resemble the spirit you comprehend, not me!" /Translator's note: this is a quotation from Faust./ Besides being short, the legs are usually also unequal, even where the torso is closed off, cf. jolly Wilhelm, Bororó I.

ooo The number of fingers and toes deserves special attention. If one of us who is a hunter should sketch a stag's head, he will be careful to provide it with antlers of a particular shape, whatever he happens to have in his mind's eye. Another person, however, will pay scarcely any attention to whether there are more or fewer prongs, not even if he is superficially copying an original before him; he will be content if he has put on the head a number of prongs in a very questionable arrangement of branches. The only thing is, it will not satisfy his idea of stag antlers to draw two forks, he will put down at least three prongs each. Similarly, if I make a schematic drawing of a little fir tree, my minimum will be three pairs of symmetrical diagonal lines on a vertical line, the whole finished off at the bottom with a horizontal line; two pairs would indeed make a little tree, but not a little fir tree. Thus, even without counting, I will supply a minimum of components, in accordance with my inner perception. Our children, who are drilled early in the five of the fingers, will take it into account even in drawings which otherwise contain the grossest sins, and even before they think of reproducing the hand, they will correctly draw five fingers. In the case of the drawings of primitive peoples, we encounter an uncertainty about the number of fingers, and especially three fingers, with such regularity that we must recognize a law here, as in the case of the stag antlers and the fir tree. They undoubtedly did not count 1, 2, 3, and the only thing that can be at the basis of it is that

/254 cont./

000 they feel impelled to put in more than two lines, in order to define their vague inner conception at least to the extent that a bifurcation does not result.

B /255/ If we consider the five Bakaïrí portraits, we have, if
*171 we put the number of fingers in the numerator and the number of
532 toes in the denominator, the following relationships: $\frac{3\ 3}{3\ 3}$, $\frac{5\ 3}{3\ 3}$, $\frac{5\ 5}{3\ 3}$, $\frac{3\ 3}{3\ 3}$ (Kulisehu I) and $\frac{4\ 5}{3\ 4}$ (Kulisehu II). I had them show me on my hand which fingers they had drawn; they took hold of my thumb, little finger, and middle finger and pointed to the corresponding lines in such a way that the little finger was the one in the center of the three which, in my portrait, happened to be the longest in the group of four. Ehrenreich is provided with two five-fingered arms, Wilhelm at least with one such arm. The lower extremities have three toes, with the exception of my portrait, Kulisehu II, where four are present on one side. On the same plate, the Nahuquá, after his first effort had been criticized, drew the correct number of fingers in the second, not from memory, to be sure, but with careful contemplation of the insulted original.

BO Among the Bororó we find on plate I, aside from the arm-
171 less portrait of me, Wilhelm with five fingers on each arm, the
532 soldier with three on each arm, and similarly on plate II the Indian woman with three fingers. As for the rest, there is great progress to be seen here. Not only elbows and knee-joints appear in the form of thick knots, but also hands and feet. In the classic picture showing me with pipe and notebook, touching care has been devoted to the left thumb, which has been joined to the hand in a thick mass; on the right hand we note, to our surprise, seven fingers, but find a perfect explanation in the fact that the two extra fingers must grasp the little book; the legs are standing on shoes, as are Wilhelm's below. The soldier has been planted in the ground, with two lines for legs. The center figure next to him has most peculiar hands and feet, but at least it has some; they are extraordinarily reminiscent of the blood-sucking ticks. One also notes here a tendency to give the

/255 cont./

BO 171 532 extremities a second dimension. The feet of the Indian woman, Bororó II, an amusing contrast to the absent hands, are drawn in excellent outline and in good horizontal position; one might take them for shoes if three toes, not unlike short hairs, were not planted in them.

Of the animal pictures, only among the Bororó do the tapir and monkey have jointed feet. The jaguar legs end in round knobs -- cat paws. The tail is always featured; only in the case of the spotted jaguar may one reasonably wonder about the bushy stump. In the case of the flying hummingbird, whose legs are missing and indeed may be missing, we see a long and divided tail, such as more commonly occurs for this species.

B *171 532 Bark drawings. Rather seldom, except among the Nahuquá, where they were numerous, were human figures found carved in trees, that is to say, incised in outline or with the surface peeled out of the bark, along the forest path leading from the river to the village. They were, as far as /256/ /Figs. 37 and 38 appear here/ I remember, exclusively men in 1887; in 1884, however, we found a male figure above a female one in front of the first Batovy village of the Bakaïrí and a female figure in front of the second one, "with roguish utilization of a depression present in the bark." In the accompanying bark figure of the Bakaïrí /see p. 279/, a great advance has been made by means of the surface cutting in comparison with the line drawings. Where the fingers were clearly worked out, they corresponded exactly to the three of the pencil drawings; the toes, on the other hand, were never treated more accurately. The legs ran down shapelessly, like stockings. We were particularly struck by the tree figures along the forest path of the Nahuquá; they had formations resembling donkey ears, but somewhat longer, on either side of the head, which represented ear feathers. There was also one or another B [534] animal figure. If I add to this the fact that there were human figures carved on the huge hollow drum-tree lying in front of the festival hut of the third Bakaïrí village, there follows the noteworthy fact that the use of the human figure in the art of drawing was present only on trees. The pencil drawings were done at my request.

/256 cont./

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B
[532]
←

Fig. 37. Bakaïrí bark-figure.

Y
[532]
←

Fig. 38. Nahuquá bark-figures.

Among the Auetó we saw animal figures in the interior of the "artists' hut," scratched and blackened on the posts.[1] They are all long and usually narrow figures, conforming to the posts. The first seems to be a snake with its mouth wide open; it was called nanyetá. We see an ordinary snake in the last figure, mói of the Auetó and Kamayurá /Camayura/, agáu of the Bakaïrí, and úi of the potter tribes. Moreover, in the first figure of the second row we have a /Plates XX and XXI appear here/ /257/ lizard, called tetú by the Auetó, teiú by the Tupí, and Teius by the zoologist. The last figure in the first row, however, in spite of its twists, represents a pakú fish. It seems even stranger to us to have the natives say that the second figure, not unlike a beetle rubbing its legs together, signifies a "small turtle," tarikayae-i, Kinya [illegible]. Here the two legs are posted like the tail of the pakú fish. The animal next to the little turtle, a four-footed one, was called kamayú by the Auetó and Kamayurá. In view of this agreement, the word may be regarded as a

[1] [See P. 282--Analyst]

[Text continues on P. 282]

2: Steinen--280 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate XX

531
825

1. Sukuri snake. 2. Rays I.

3. Pakú fish. 4. Armored fish.

5. Fish bones.

6. Pintado fish (shearfish).

7. Rays II. 8. Ilaki fish.

9. Pakú fish.

10. Bats.

Bakaïrí ornamentation I.

531
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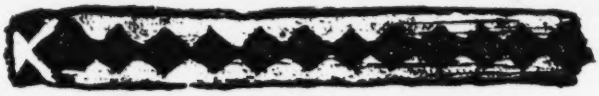
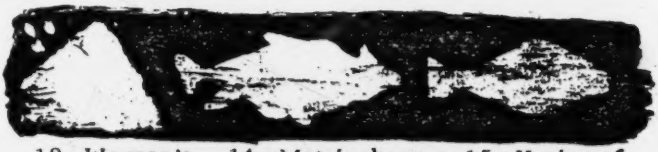


11. Jiboya snake.

12. Agau snake with head.



13. Women's triangle. 14. Matrincham. 15. Kurimatá.

531

14. Women's triangles (uluri).

15. Women's triangles (uluri).

16. Women's triangles (uluri).

[824]

17. Palmito leaves.

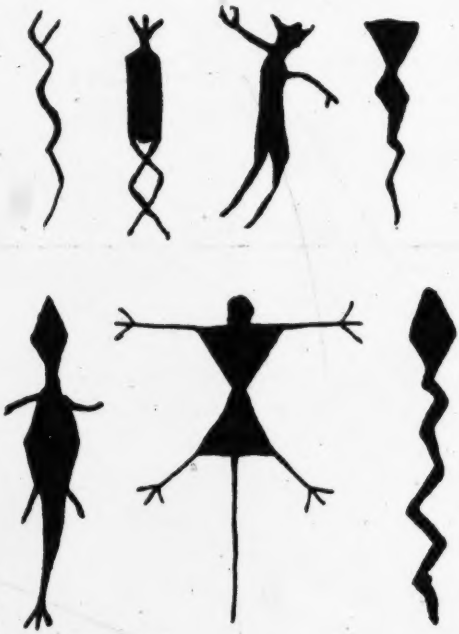
Bakaïrí ornamentation II.

Aueto SP6
Waura SP18
Mehinacu

/257 cont./

A 171 532 825 genuine Tupí word. But only the spiny animal kuandú of the Tupí could be linked with this, which phonetically would be all the more justified since yu means "spine," and it seems implausible only because the picture bears no resemblance to the original and even lacks a principal characteristic of the animal, for the kuandú or porcupine, Cercolabes prehensilis, has a tail almost half as long as the rest of its body. It is pictured in Brehm's Tierleben /Animal Life/, Säugetiere II /Mammals II/, page 575, but I doubt that Herr

A 113



W 534 532

Fig. 39.
Post drawings of the Auetö. (1/15 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.) Snake, small turtle, kumayú, pakú fish, lizard, monkey, snake.

Fig. 40.
Mehinakú flute with two monkeys. (1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration./)

Fig. 41.
Tokandira ant. (1/12 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

A /257 cont./
171 Mützel can in any way identify his illustration with that of the
532 Indian artist.
825

Therefore it is comforting to find no difficulty with the center figure of the bottom row. It represents a macaco or Cebus monkey and is well characterized by the human-like limbs with the usual three toes and the long tail. For comparison I am adding the illustration of a Mehinakú flute, /258/ where the same monkey -- not inappropriately, since it too emits flute tones -- appears and is treated very similarly, except that it also enjoys a neck.

W [534] [532]

A very remarkable creature was depicted on one post (Fig. 41), a sort of female figure with riding habit and a wasp waist, two-fingered arms, and a triangular face under a hat brim. This is Cryptocerus atratus, the tokandira, tokanteira, tokangira of the Brazilians, a huge ant that does not have a social life, but crawls around individually on tree trunks.

W 532 Finally, mereschu designs, which are still to be discussed, were found on trees in the harbor of the Mehinakú.

II. Ornamental Drawing.

000

Ornamental frieze of the Bakaïrí. Mereschu and uluri. The Auetö ornamentation. Conclusions. Use of ornamentation. Calabashes, beijú turners, spindle whorls. Painting of pots.

B
531 On pages 64-65, in the report about the visit to the second
825 Bakaïrí village, I mentioned the large wall frieze of pieces of
[353] bark painted white, which went around inside the house of the chief, in several places in a double row, to a length of approximately 56 meters; the width of the pieces of bark varied between approximately 15 to 40 centimeters. Our first impression was that these zigzags, dots, rings, chains of rhombuses and triangles were ornamental fancies which were attractive and charming, but did not mean anything beyond that. The bark, blackened with soot, came from a forest tree which the Bakaïrí called noïschi, the white or often yellowish loam was applied with the fingers, so

/258 cont./

531 that one could not expect delicate lines in these fresco daubings.
825 When I sought to enlarge my word list with the names of the decorations, I was surprised to hear several fish names familiar to me, whereupon I went to the heart of the matter. For each design I was given the name of a concrete original, and the more we concerned ourselves with the decorations on household utensils here and among the other tribes, the more we discovered that there was the same procedure everywhere. Ehrenreich then pursued the problem
[114] further among the Araguay /Araguaia/ Indians and there, to my delight, found only confirmation.

On the two plates 20 and 21 /see pp. 280-281/, Bakaïrí ornamentation I and II, which give characteristic samples of all the bark pieces, we see first of all in Numbers 14 and 15* two

* On Plate 21, as the result of an oversight, the numbers 14 and 15 occur twice.

well-drawn fish, the frequently mentioned, favorite fish of the Bakaïrí, the matrincham, and the many-boned kurimatá, /259/ Salmo curimatá. They are painted on with reference to the entire surface. The noróku ikúto, "picture of the matrincham," was set down with positive elegance and dash. Next to it, in No. 13, we have an ulúri ikúto, a picture of the woman's triangle. And in this manner each decoration was said to be an ikúto. Sometimes individual ones are set apart by short vertical lines; cf. 3 and 4 or 7 and 8 on plate I /see p. 280/. Only a single picture is taken from the vegetable kingdom, No. 17. It represents the leaves of
[824] a small, "cabbage" yielding forest palm, yemariáli, a word that means hand-leaf. We see a number of twin pinnae pointing alternately up and down and arranged exactly like the uluris in No. 16; to us the figure gives the impression of a plaiting design.

Our attempts at interpretation, however, would soon come to grief. We observe among the decorations some in which the natural skin markings of an animal are reproduced, some in which the outlines of the animal are drawn, and some in which both are combined. No. 6 has the dotted and spotted markings of a sheatfish, schurúi, whose spotted skin has given rise to the Portuguese name

/259 cont./

531 "pintado." We shall come across it again in connection with the
825 mask costumes. No. 7 was described as the dotted markings of a ray, pinukái, while in No. 2 a second species of ray, schiwári (a word generally present among the North Karaiben /Carib/ as schibali, sipari, chuparé, etc.), is shown with the characteristic rings and spots of its skin.

Zigzags and wavy lines are snakes, whose characteristic skin marking, for which there was probably no room on the narrow strip, was cold-bloodedly added in the surroundings. Thus, No. 12, a common land snake or cobra of the Brazilians, has its tail end on the left and, on the right, the clearly recognizable head described to me as such; the dots are put in between the zigzags. After the artist had drawn the snake, he remembered to characterize it by its spots. The same thing happened in No. 1, in the case of the sukurí watersnake or anaconda, Boa scytale. On the other hand, in No. 11, the picture of the Boa constrictor, we see the marking of the snake skin divided up into numerous small triangles; it runs along the two edges of the board, and, to be sure, both times in such a way that the triangles project inward with their tips and border the unpainted background to form a chain of black rhombuses. According to my notes, the snake has a head, but it is difficult to see how the bit of a figure on the left, with which the drawing begins, can represent one.

No. 5, kána igúri ikúto, the fish-bones picture, is readily understandable. It had the considerable length of three and one-fourth meters. The armored fish, No. 4, which joins the dividing line, makes greater demands on the imagination. This tupára of the Bakaírí is the akará of the Tupí and the Acara or armored sheatfish of the zoologist, the cascudo of the Brazilians. On the other hand, the pakú fish in No. 3, Prochilodus, páte-ikúto, though we should scarcely have recognized them as fish, became clear to us from the picture of the kurimatá, koalú ikúto (No. 15). The fish /260/ figure in No. 15, with the entire surface filled in, appears only in a stylized outline in 3, the body becomes a rhombus, the tail a triangle, and both are used purely ornamentally in any number desired, next to one another or each one alone. Thus we see in No. 3 on the left two body rhombuses and a tail triangle of the

/260 cont./

531 pakú, while there are three rhombuses in succession at the right.
825 In the two rhombuses on the left the gill arch sets off the head, as in Figures 34 and 35 /see p. 263/ and also in the carved bark fish. The same thing is repeated in No. 8, núki-ikuto, the picture of the nuki fish, which cannot be identified more specifically, but, according to a very similar Auetö design, may perhaps be regarded as a armored sheatfish, where, on the right, triangle, rhombus, rhombus, triangle succeed one another, as though two fishes were touching at their mouths, and, on the left, four tail-triangles are joined in a row. Apparently it is because of the skin marking of the nuki fish that it is distinguished from the pakú by triangles filled in with white. The pakú, on the other hand, is characterized by small dots; in No. 9 we see on the left a sample of the design on its skin and next to it, on the right, a number of body rhombuses, each of which has a little dot in the center, and which, if we wanted to associate them with fish, we should probably say were an illustration of an armor-like, scaly skin, which the pakú does not have at all.

[136] Fig. 42. Mereschu. (2/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

I must admit that I did not quite know whether to laugh at our good-natured interpreter or to give in to a feeling of mute bafflement that may be summed up in the exclamation "how differently

/260 cont./

531 the world is pictured in these minds!" No. 10, semímo ikuto,
825 pictures of bats! Rhombuses strung together. Head, extremities, tail, where are they? We shall come across bats again, however, in other drawings and especially on the pots, where they are re-
[113] duced to the same rhombus form. In Brehm's Tierleben I, 1890, page 363, there is an illustration of Vesperugo noctula, the Abendsegler /"evening swift"/, which in the specimen on the left, wrapped in a wing membrane and hanging, shows us a somewhat similar outline; if it were stylized, it could also be developed into a rhombus. -- /261/ Let us now confirm the fact that on these two plates we have rhombuses in three patterns: that of the pakú, either an outline or spotted-surface design; that of the nuki, with diagonal triangles, and the one of the bat, which is simply filled in. The negative drawing of the bats, No. 10, would be exactly like No. 11, the Boa constrictor or jiboya snake. One sees, at any rate, that one can arrive at the geometric figure of the rhombus in very different ways.

171 Mereschu and uluri. /Fig. 43 appears here./ Strangely enough,
531 the frieze of the Bakaïrí house lacked a design which is the most
825 common one, not only among the Bakaïrí, but also among all the tribes of the upper Schingú. On our first journey we noticed it often enough, but did not appreciate and understand it. In my report Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/ it is found on page 163 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 42/ as a drinking-bowl design of the Bakaïrí and on page 213 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 104/ as a pencil drawing of the Suyá in the handsomest delineation: rhombuses whose corners are filled in with small triangles. Only after the discovery was made in the second Bakaïrí village was
[136] the explanation given. The original of the decoration is a small, flat lagoon fish, a Serrasalmo or Myletes, related to the piranhas. The one drawn by Wilhelm measured 19 centimeters in length, 9.5 centimeters in width, and was silver-gray with brown spots. No
[123] artist has ever had more success with a picture than did Wilhelm with this drawing. People came crowding up and all were positively happy to view it. And this was repeated among all the tribes. Even the Paressí in Cuyabá were delighted with it and

/261 cont./

*171 identified it. We retained the Bakaïrí name of the important
531 little fish, the one we learned first, for our use. In the Kulisehu
825 languages the animal has the following names: Bakaïrí meréschu (the accented e /262/ long), Nahuquá irínko, Mehinakú kulupé,

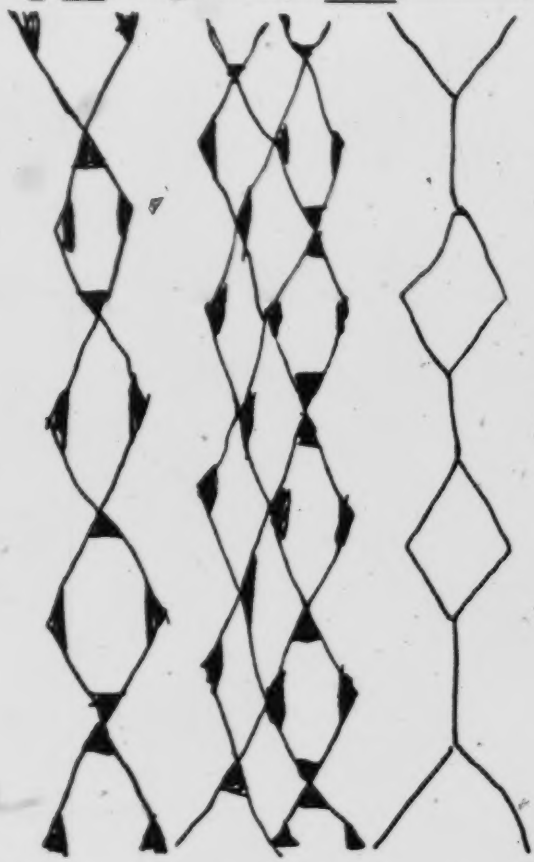


Fig. 43. Mereschu design drawn with pencil (1/1 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

B /262 cont./
*171 Kustenaú /Custenau/, kulupéi, Waurá warjái (French j), Yaulapiti
531 marirftyi, Auetö pirapévit, Kamayurá tapaká, Trumaí pakí.
825 Everywhere the design has the name of the fish.

In Figure 43 /see p. 288/ the first and second designs were drawn in pencil by the Bakairí, the third by a Nahuquá. The noble Nahuquá, exactly as in my portrait on Plate 17,3, made it very easy for himself by being contented with the simplest outline imaginable, but he is alone in this negligent originality. The Nahuquá apply the design not only for the mereschu fish irinko, but also for a related one called iru or ino. A similar situation probably accounts for the fact that the Waurá word differs from that of the Mehinakú and the Kustenaú.

B
531
532

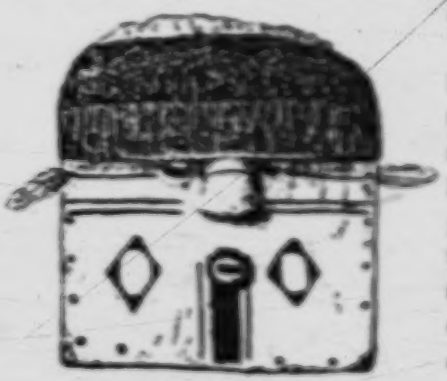


Fig. 44.
Wooden mask with mereschu design. (Gull, Bakairí.) (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Figure 44, the Bakairí wooden mask, shows the mereschu design in typical fashion. It is especially in the painting of the masks that it plays the greatest role. The rhombus corresponds to the body of the fish and the four filled-in corners are head, tail, dorsal fin, and anal fin. The execution of the corners varies in plenitude, so that sometimes an octagon, sometimes a square is left inside. According to our feeling, such a filled-in triangle can only correspond to the head; we can, if necessary, imagine the fins drawn into the rhombus as set on, not drawn in, but for the time being we do not know what to make of the tail, which, as a triangle, ought to have its tip pointed inward and not outward, but we shall find the explanation later.

A
531 The two Auetö masks, Figs. 45 and 46 /see p. 291/, show
532 how the mereschu typically appears as a surface design, one showing the decoration on wood, the other on cloth-like material. The mereschus are framed by lines; they are embedded in a net with
[See p. 266--Analysis]

A /262 cont./
531 rhombus-shaped meshes: "fish in the net," said the Bakairí. The
532 term "net," as we shall see, is by no means figurative, but means a fish net.

B In spite of the purely ornamental nature of the figure, which
171 absolutely forbids the expression "illustration" in our sense, the
531 Indian is still most definitely aware of the concrete meaning. Where the design covered a mash or a spindle whorl, each mesh with its mereschu was placed separately against the adjoining one and by no means was a net produced first by the intersection of
A 531 lines. At most the Auetö, who /263/ as we shall see, were the
532 most advanced in schematic ornamentation, were capable of genuine drawing, as, indeed, practice in connection with a regular, craftsman-like procedure should gradually lead to this automatically: one clearly sees in the drawing of the wooden mask that the artist /Figs. 45-47 appear here/ did not practice the mathematical art in dividing up the space, whereas one might doubt this in the case of the cloth mask. The Bakairí, at any
A 263 rate, were still far from any such progress. The two spindle whorls
531 of the Mehinakú (Fig. 47), in one of which the hole in the center is surrounded by a mereschu, also show how the /264/ individual fish are set next to one another and, on closer observation, reveal numerous small irregularities. It was great fun to watch the people at their scribbling. But it is impossible for me to think that this "design," which best expresses the high degree of ethnological leveling among the tribes, is a product of more recent times. If the degree of stylization could serve as a relative measure of time, the Auetö would have had it longest.

One cannot say, for example, that the people drew rhombuoid figures in which they made lines intersect at equal intervals, filled out the corners, and then said: "why, that looks like a mereschu fish, it mereschu-shaped, or the like," and had thus, in accordance with the comparison, given the design its name. This is refuted by the manner of manufacture, setting the figures next to one another, one by one, and by the simple fact that the design is no longer mereschu-shaped, but has already deviated from the concrete original, as is shown in particular by the tail-corner. None of us

[Text continues on p. 292]

2: Steinen--291 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Aueto SP6
Waura SP18
Mehinaku

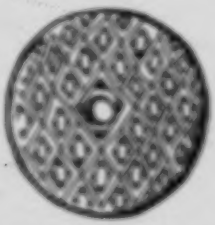
A
D3
S2

Fig. 45.
Wooden mask of the Aueto. (2/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 46.
Cloth mask of the Aueto. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

W
D3
S1

(1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)



(1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 47. Spindle whorls of the Mehinakú.

/264 cont./

*171 531 would recognize it as a fish at all. The pakú-fish at the left in No. 3 (Plate 20 /see p. 280/) is still recognizable as an illustration of a fish, with the help of the kurimatá, No. 15 /see p. 281/ although two rhombus bodies are already united with the tail triangle, but in the case of the rhomboid bodies at the right in No. 3, no sketcher whose hands happen to create them could say that they reminded him of a pakú fish, but rather it is only possible the other way around, from the picture of a concrete original to the stylization. Not to speak of No. 9, the dotted rhombuses = pakú fish with stippling or the bats.

The relationship to the original model is the very thing that gives the Indian pleasure in drawing, which, after all, is very natural. It amuses him that he can draw a fish with a few strokes. Probably, however, a technical factor was important. Drawing was in most cases scratching, not painting. It was only the scratched line that was filled with color. The designs were scratched on spindle whorls and gourds; even on the masks they were scratched out of the previously applied white clay background with a bamboo stick. Thus, it is not surprising that motifs like the rhombus of the mercachu and the triangle of the uluri with its sharp corners, which we shall discuss presently, have gained the upper hand to such an overwhelming extent and recur everywhere in endless repetition. It was particularly easy to scratch out the sharp corners. One could work better than with circles and wavy lines, which could also represent animals. The scratching inevitably led to stylization.

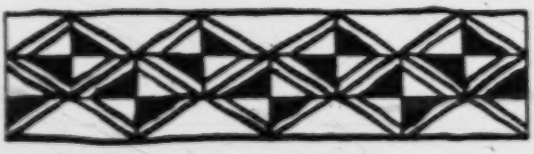
In the case of the uluri, the woman's triangle, our pleasure in the concrete model is perhaps more easily understandable than in the case of a tasty little fish. Cf. Figure 18, page 187. Even we, to this day, have the same point of view as the Kulisehu Indians. Except that we civilized human beings have stylized the anatomical model, while the crude primitive peoples were satisfied with the dainty "little garment." /Plate XXII appears here./ /265/ And strangely enough, it is the rhombus, discussed so much here, that we have in place of the uluri. The Bakairí research traveler,

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 294]

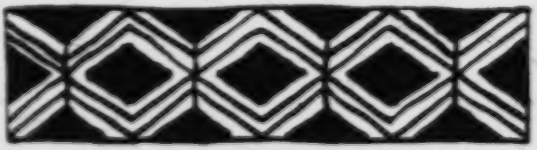
531
825

1. Bats

2. Women's triangles.

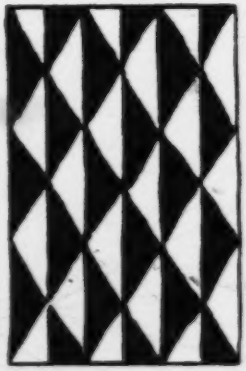


3. Armored fish.

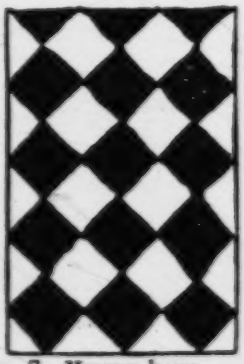


4. Mereschu fish.

5. Mereschu fish.



6. Hanging bats.



7. Young bees.

8. Fish vertebrae.

Auetö ornamentation.

/265 cont./

000 probably to his great satisfaction, would rediscover -- I do not know whether in all parts of Germany -- countless examples of his pakũ fish, the rhombus with the center dot, incised, scratched, and painted on our trees, walls, doors, exactly as he makes it. Woe to him who has once formed the habit of seeing this Indian pakũ design wherever it appears among us. If he wanted to get away from it, he could no longer set foot in a railroad station, an avenue of trees, a scenic spot, in short, any place where people pass by, for it seems as though an unknown, mysterious society had conspired to pursue him with it; he finds it in the bark of ancient forest giants, he finds it in freshly fallen snow.

301
531

Fig. 48. Bakaĩrí back-sticks with the designs: mereschu, uluri, bat, and snake. (1/4 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/. Cf. the following page /see p. 295/.

1 171 The Kulisehu Indians made no secret of their delight in
531 the uluri; a shapeless bast band would not have offered them
[291] the model. If they have the geometric conception of a triangle, they owe it entirely to the uluri. It would not have spontane-
531 ously occurred to them to draw triangles. Among the pencil drawings on Plate 17 /see p. 266/ there is an uluri which a Bakaĩrí, unasked, drew in my book for me. In the frieze, Plate 21 /see p. 281/, a large single specimen is shown in No. 13, in 14 we see the uluris joined into a flat zigzag band.

/265 cont./

531 No. 15 shows them in a strange succession, two adjoining ones touching only at one corner and alternately at the upper and lower edge of the bark board. In No. 16 four uluris lie with their bases alternately against the lower and upper edge and are separated somewhat by diagonal bars extending from base to base. The bars represent the grossly thickened groin strings and are analogous to the mereschu fish-net.

If I drew an equilateral triangle for the Bakaïrí, they laughed happily and cried "ulúri." It often appeared on their drinking bowls, covering the entire surface in a neat arrangement, and the dividing lines were put on with the awareness that they were originally strings.

[301] /266/ The four back-sticks of Figure 48 /see p. 294/, wooden cylinders which were worn on the back on strings for festival adornment in the third Bakaïrí village and represented stylized mandioca digging-sticks, show us various designs painted on in black in attractive execution. The first shows mereschu fish, the [825] third hanging bats, which we shall also come across among the Auetõ, the fourth the agau snake corresponding to No. 12 of Plate 21, the second uluris. Never, as far as I remember, does the uluri triangle occur as a triangle composed of only three lines, except in the pencil drawing on Plate 17. The triangle is always filled in and thus gives an even more direct impression of the concrete original. /Figs. 49 and 50 appear here./

*[171] On Nahuquá whizzer sticks, cf. chapter "Mask Ornamentation and Dance Ornaments," III, illustration /see Fig. 122, p. 382/, zigzags of the same kind as those on the back sticks occur and here, too, are regarded as the picture of a snake.

531 The back sticks also gave us two more very strange decora-
825 tions. One of them, to our eyes different from the mereschu
[301] only by the smallness of the filled-in corners, was a grasshopper, tõvíga of the Bakaïrí, tukúra of the Tupí. The design was combined with that of the mereschu fish; the long lines extending from the corners of the rhombus are the grasshopper legs.

/266 cont./

B 531 825 The other decoration refers to a "small bird," yaritamáze, of the Bakaïrí, which I cannot identify more specifically. One can easily see that it represents a flying bird. But the Indians demand more; they insist on the yaritamáze.

A 531 171 The Auetö decorations are characterized by the most extensive stylization. In the "artists' hut" of the village, numerous designs were painted over the doors and on the wall posts, the most remarkable of which are assembled on Plate 22, "Auetö ornamentation" /see p. 293/. All of them are made up of triangles and rhombuses. Whereas the Bakaïrí painted with white loam on blackened bark, the Auetö applied black color on a light wood background or incised the design and rubbed color on afterwards. My cousin therefore used to call his Auetö colleagues black-artists and his Bakaïrí colleagues plein-airists.

B [531] →

B [301] [531] [825] ←

A 531 825 →

Fig. 49. Back stick with grasshopper. (1/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 50. Back stick with birds. (1/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

/267/ No. 5 is a genuine, quite pleasing mereschu design. No. 4, too, is supposed to represent mereschu fish. The same word, tepirapevetú, was given for both. This is, to be sure, the only example in which the mereschu rhombus is filled in, not only at the corners, but all over. On the other hand, the net, inside the meshes of which the fish are worked in, is treated in greater detail.

A /267 cont./
531 No. 3 are armored fish, akará. They have the same shape as
825 the nuki fish of the Bakaïrí, No. 8 on Plate 20 /see p. 280/, so they are perhaps also a species of cascudos. Now, the armored sheatfish do not have a rhomboid form like the mereschu, but are elongated. Since we also see the pakú, likewise not rhomboidal, as a rhombus, and since even Nos. 14 and 15 of Plate 21 /see p. 281/, the non-schematically drawn fish, look slightly more rhomboid than corresponds with reality, we realize that the fish body in any stylization is meant to be a rhombus, whether or not this is appropriate for the species in question, as it actually is only for the mereschu, applied everywhere with quite overwhelming preference. For more detailed characterization there are worked in, in the case of the pakú, the dots, and, in the case of the armored sheatfish, the sharply contrasted, hard scales, which are polygonal, but which in the larger specimens appear as slightly overlapping triangles (cf. Brehm, Fische /Fish/, p. 144, illustration).

A 531 In No. 2 we see the uluri triangles, which among the Auetö,
[291] too, are named with the word corresponding to the women's tri-
T angle (umpám). It is a great pity that we could not have met the
[291] Trumaí under peaceful circumstances, for they are the only ones
[171] whose women wear a bast band; to be sure, they have borrowed
[531] so much from their neighbors that they may also have the women's triangle in their ornamentation. In the flute house of the
A Auetö there was a rather long frieze under the vault of the roof,
[345] where a whole series of umpams or uluris had been painted in black on narrow strips of light wood.

A Now for No. 1. Two rows of triangles, one above the other,
531 exactly like the uluris, but above the triangles there runs a zigzag
825 line bordering the upper sides, which never occurs in the case of the uluris. These are suddenly bats, tatsiá of the Auetö, and, to be sure, tatsiá pevú, "level," "flat bats." In like manner, bats in vertical position are the same triangles which horizontally in No. 2 we must acknowledge as uluris; they even lack the accompanying zigzag line of No. 1, but they are designated as hanging bats. The semímo, the bats of the Bakaïrí, on the third back-stick

/267 cont./

A 531 825 of Figure 48 /see p. 294/ are also thought of as hanging bats. If I think of flying foxes that hang in trees like hams, I understand the triangular ornament perfectly, and others agree with me to a certain extent; but no one pretends to understand me when I maintain that I now see bats everywhere, on tile-covered floors or in the tiles over a kitchen sink, etc.

Perhaps even more surprising is mura-yöt, the design of "young" or "small" bora bees or bird bees: the black fields of a A [262] /268/ chess board standing on one corner! A design that surrounds us on all sides and that, despite the greatest power of imagination, would not call to mind the picture of the young bee, which the Indian is so passionately fond of eating, or even its cell. In comparison with these, the fish vertebrae, No. 8, two equilateral triangles joined at the apex, resembling stylized hourglasses, are strikingly realistic.

B *171 531 Conclusions. What we call geometric figures are designated by the Indian with names of concrete originals. One must ask again whether these are perhaps not merely names which he uses for the sake of comparison. This cannot in any way be maintained, however. We, too, have no better expression than "serpentine line," but we never draw dots beside it and do not distinguish, according to the number and arrangement of dots, serpentine lines that correspond to different kinds of snakes, as the Bakaïrí do in Nos. 1 and 12 of Plates 20 and 21 /see pp. 280-281/. In No. 12 we have the figure with dots and on the fourth back-stick, page 294, the same snake in the, according to our view, purely geometric figure of the serpentine line. But even this is not a geometric figure to the native; the certainly inevitable subsequent stage, where the concrete object becomes transformed into an abstraction, can have only just begun. The Indian could say of the triangles, they are "uluri-shaped," but, for one thing, he calls them simply uluris, although his language is perfectly capable of expressing the comparison even adjectivally, and then, too, he sometimes connects them, as in No. 16, by means of the groin strings. There is even more cogent proof for the mereschu design, however, when the native explains to me that the surrounding net is the fish net, the filled-in corners of the rhombus are head,

/268 cont./

*171 531 tail, and fins, and when he records side by side on the same frieze the developmental stages of the fish stylization in No. 15, No. 3, and No. 9, and finally when he draws the rhombuses one by one, even where they cover a broad area, and does not produce them by the intersection of parallel lines. I promise to place the mereschu design in front of any number of unprejudiced and imaginative persons, and I believe not one out of a hundred will interpret it as a fish. In fact, the thing is so extreme, we can be glad if we understand the figures to a certain degree after we know what the Indian calls them; but if we wanted to maintain that he created the names according to the resemblances, we ourselves should surely have observed the resemblances in the first place. How, in all probability, the mereschu design originated and gained its general distribution, I shall not be able to discuss until the next chapter; see II below /see pp. 369 ff./.

Conversely, nothing is easier to understand than the development of the geometric figure from an illustration. Certain things gave the people pleasure, and assuming that they draw such things -- regardless of how they progressed to drawing -- then out of the ideas of various artists, such as we still see in /269/ colorful confusion in the Bakaïrí frieze, one or another must soon gain more general acceptation when the object in question is easy to recognize because of the natural simplicity of its outlines. A rhomboid fish will retain more similitude in unskilled hands than any quadruped. A series of uluris are at first still varied individually, as is admirably shown in Nos. 16, 15, and 14, but from the multitude of individual variations, the one that wins out will be the one which eliminates secondary details, which sacrifices similitude to simplicity, and can most easily be mass-produced, if I may express it thus. The less one needs to deliberate, the better able to survive is the form, for it can be accomplished even by lesser talents. Art makes some progress here when it achieves the endlessly repeated pattern; only thus can it gain a foothold and become a general need and be preserved from generation to generation. We are at this stage in the case of the Auetö; the Bakairi are still partly below this level and make it

/269 cont./

* 171 531 possible for us to recognize the path, which, in the case of the former, is by this time revealed only in the names.

Among the Auetö the artistic form is already of primary importance; among the Bakaïrí the emphasis is still on the fact that the designs are likenesses. Better than all discussion, the strange situation among the Bakaïrí can be explained by one example among many, namely, the accompanying illustration of an oar covered with primitive "scribbles." [825] The four circles are the ring marking of a ray, beyond the dividing line there follow mereschus in net meshes, then a pakú fish, and finally several "kuómi" fish, a design that does not occur elsewhere and the original model of which is a fish unfamiliar to me: pinukái, meréschu, páte, kuómi. I am far from wanting to maintain that these four designs in their assemblage have a meaning; at most I believe that the person who made them wanted to put fish on an oar. It is extremely instructive, however, to see that, even though these scribbles undoubtedly do not mean anything in association with one another, that is, are not hieroglyphics, nevertheless each one is by no means simply an arbitrary

[501]

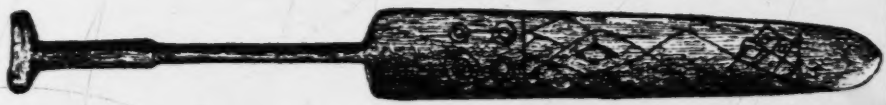


Fig. 51. Oar of the Bakaïrí. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Ray rings. Mereschu fish in the net. Pakú fish. Kuomi fish.

curlicue, but the pattern of a very definite object and thus actually represents the element of a hieroglyphic. We should never explain these patterns correctly by studying them; one must find out from the people themselves what they mean or simply give up. For my part, I have become extraordinarily humble about interpreting, but on the other hand, regard it as very superficial to dismiss as curlicues figures which we do not understand. Where /270/ figures are regularly repeated, where there are designs at all, one may be sure that the first people who drew them also had a definite model in mind, the meaning of which, however, their successors may have neglected and, under the influence of linguistic differentiation of what are now technical words, may have forgotten completely.

/270 cont./

000 Civilized man today begins even his first bungling efforts in the drawing art with triangles, squares, circles, and with these and similar figures our ancestors developed the science that is regarded as the highest; he does not see lines and geometric figures anywhere around him in nature -- therefore, he concludes, these fundamental concepts have sprung from his own rich inner self. That they could have originated from the models of pubic coverings, bats, or fish seems to him not only unworthy, but also a ridiculously roundabout course. For what is simpler than drawing a triangle? What is simpler, I reply, than counting to five? Even now the Bakairí explains each triangle that I draw for him as a picture of the uluri; he cannot yet count things without the help of his fingers. The number word "5" = hand, which is still found among many primitive peoples, corresponds exactly to the uluri - triangle; in both cases the inner perception of the pattern or the abstraction is derived only from the object, in both the concrete original has asserted its rights for a long time. Neither the facility with which we toss these ideas about nor the fact that the meaning of our number words has evaded all the probings of philology proves that our ancestors followed a course different from that of primitive peoples.

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The teacher of geometry today certainly need not take particular pleasure in an uluri in order to sketch a triangle. The uluri is a sort of archaeopteryx of mathematics. How should the flying bird appreciate the fact that it is descended from the creeping or, at best, fluttering reptiles? Nevertheless the bird's inability to understand this origin does not prove the least thing against it. In the same way nothing is proved if we who are excellent flyers in the heights of mathematics can scarcely imagine that earlier human beings were unable to rise to the minor achievement of producing a simple triangle by themselves.

*171 411 531 Use of the ornamentation. On the weapons used -- there were only bows and arrows -- painted designs were scarcely applicable. The throwing stick, too, was decorated only with plaiting around it; a cork cone that was mounted on an arrow shaft as a tip exhibited the decoration of the mereschu design, cf. the illustration, page 91.

/270 cont./

B *171 531 532 Otherwise it may be said that all festive adornment, insofar as it offered suitable areas, was without exception painted with designs. This is most noticeable on the masks, for which all tribes greatly preferred the mereschu, as will be shown in the more detailed description of masks.

B 531 [501] /271/ I shall briefly enumerate the most characteristic examples of decoration with designs. Among the Bakaïrí we saw a canoe painted with the ray rings and the zigzag of the anaconda. As for oars, apart from the one in Figure 51, we found only one where the snake design was applied or had been preserved. On B [534] the drum-tree lying in the third Bakaïrí village, besides the mereschu figures mentioned under bark drawings, there was a long fish-bone drawing painted on, like that of the first plate showing ornamentation /Pl. XX; see p. 280/. In the harbor of the Mehinakú, as I have also mentioned, several trees bore attractive mereschu designs scratched into them.

B 531 415 Among the Bakaïrí it was primarily the gourds that were adorned with designs, the drinking bowls as well as the ball-shaped calabashes and the bottle-shaped ones that were used for storing feathers. /Figs. 52 and 53 appear here./ Sometimes the uluri design, sometimes the mereschu design covered them net-shaped; corresponding to the slice cut out at the stem of the calabashes, and also directly opposite, there was drawn a circle toward which the designs converged and of which a half-circle remained on the side when the gourds were cut in two for drinking bowls. On one specimen we saw that the mereschus had been pushed over one another in one corner, which gave the impression of plaiting. Occasionally mereschus and bats alternated and were differentiated B only by the fact that in the case of the latter the corners were [301] not filled in, like No. 10 on Plate 20. The back-sticks were all closely covered with designs, as described. Cf. page 296.

Y 171 531 Among the Nahuquá we were likewise particularly struck by the decorated gourds, except that here principally the rattle-gourds used in the dance were decorated. Their whole painting did not amount to much. Yet it is possible that I underestimate them, because during our first visit they had moved out their household

Y /271 cont./
171 utensils and perhaps had still withheld some of them during our
531 second visit. This is not particularly likely, however, since they were very anxious to do business with us.

A The Auetö proved to be assiduous painters, surpassing the
531 Mehinakú and Kamayurá, especially the former. Among the
W Mehinakú, the gourds, which among the Kamayurá were pro-
[531] vided with attractive designs, fell behind the pots. The mandioca digging-sticks were decorated with mereschu designs
W and also, as we shall see, with carvings. Both are also extended
A to the beijú turners, with which the flat cakes were tossed from
[412] one side to the other. I am giving /272/ an example of a beijú turner from the Kamayurá (a) and one from the Yaulapiti (b), these poor devils who had nothing to offer us except four wooden beijú turners and only one stone-hard beijú. The Kamayurá artist enjoyed drawing the dividing lines more than the mereschus, which he dismisses with four halves. In this apt example, which will presently find its counterpart, one may clearly

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Fig. 52. Drinking gourd (Bakaïrí) with mereschu and bat designs. (1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 53. Feather gourd (Bakaïrí) with mereschu design. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

A
531 see how the original motif is pushed aside, in the fullest sense of
000 the term, and ornamentation for its own sake takes over. The

/272 cont./

A W 531 beijú turner of the Yaulapiti shows half a mereschu above and below and, in the center, the armored fish decoration of the Auetö, about which, however, I do not know, as I do in the case of the mereschu, whether it has the same meaning among the Yaulapiti.

A W 283 531 B [283] [531] [239] The spindle whorl offers the richest material in the way of drawings among the Mehinakú, Auetö, and Kamayurá, in equal fashion. While the Bakaïrí had whorls of wood and clay, a disk cut out of the ventral carapace of the turtle was used predominantly here and was almost always decorated on one side and not infrequently on both sides. The design was scratched in with the tooth of the dogfish and smeared with saliva and charcoal.

A W [412]

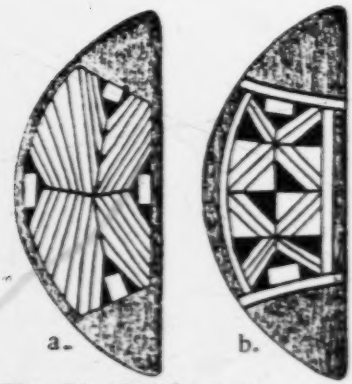

Fig. 54. Beijú turners.
a. Kamayurá, b. Yaulapiti.
(1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 55. Spindle whor with mereschu design (Mehinakú.) (1/1 nat. size (as shown in the original illustration/.)

I have already reproduced two turtle spindle-whorls of the Mehinakú on page 291. A similar one of wood is shown in Figure 55. The designer ran into difficulties with his dividing lines. This type is the common one. Occasionally, however, we found whorls that show great progress. On the small work surface, a sure hand is developed and purely artistic motifs are produced. In order to demarcate the mereschus all around, a concentric circle used to be drawn close to the

/272 cont./

A W 283 531 edge of the whorl, and this space between the circle and the edge of the disk was left free. Now, however, it is filled in also; uluris accompany the circle as well as the edge of the disk and their tips, projecting inward, are joined. Thus we see on the spindle whorl of the /273/ Kamayurá, Fig. 56 /see p. 306/, the mereschu-filled inner circle surrounded by a wreath of beads, we might almost think, but these angular beads are only the interspaces between the good old uluris. /Figs. 56 and 57 appear here./

On a whorl of the Mehinakú Fig. 57 /see p. 306/, we have precisely the same situation, except that the decorated edge is wider, the space between the uluris is greater, and thus /Fig. 58 appears here/ a wreath prettily made out of small hexagonal panels encloses the inner circle. Here, however, a peculiar variation has arisen in that only one rectangular strip, with the hole in the center of it, is filled with mereschus.

The people are now arriving at motifs about which they themselves as yet know nothing, as in the case of the wreaths of beads and small panels. Woe to these creations if the Indian himself cannot explain them and they fall into the hands of a white man looking through his spectacles of civilization! On a whorl of the the Auetõ, mereschus are arranged in a circle around the center in such a way that they touch with their lateral corners: the result is a "rosette" or an ornamental "flower calyx." /274/ After A 301 531 we have become more than adequately familiar with the mereschu, we can look at the disk with the upright cross, Figure 58 /see p. 306/, without becoming excited. The figures arises only because the artist, like the Kamayurá in the case of the beijú turner above, Figure 54a /see p. 304/, treats the dividing line as the important thing, whereas the naïve person, seeing only this disk, would, conversely, /Fig. 59 appears here/ pay little attention to the fact that there are also some ornamental triangles put in between the arms of the cross. The four-armedness is merely accidental. Two other extremely artless pieces, Figure 59 /see p. 307/, show plainly that it is merely a question of the interspaces between the radially arranged mereschus. /Fig. 60 appears here./ These three disks, however, are not actually

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 307]

2: Steinen--306 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi

Aueto SP6
Camayura
Waura SP18
Mehinacu

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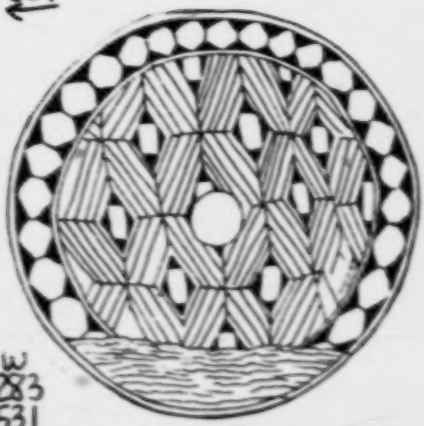

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Fig. 56. Kamayurá spindle whorl with mereschu and uluri designs. Lower piece destroyed. (1/1 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

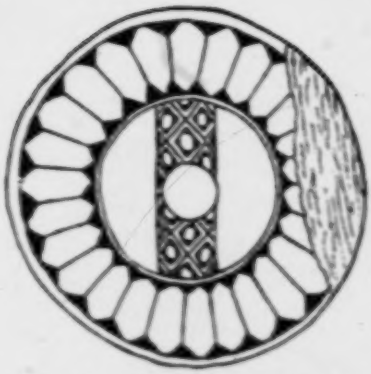

Fig. 57. Spindle whorl with mereschu and uluri designs. Side section at the right destroyed. Mehinakú. (1/1 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

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Fig. 58. Aueto ornamental whorl with mereschu design. (1/1 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

/274 cont./

301 spindle whorls, but imitations of them for festive ornamentation. Light
531 cork disks among the Auetö, pieces of turtle bones among the Kamayurá, are painted with black color, without scratchings. They are hung around the neck. In the cross design the hole of the whorl was omitted. On the other two disks, by contrast, it has been painted on boldly, and they were

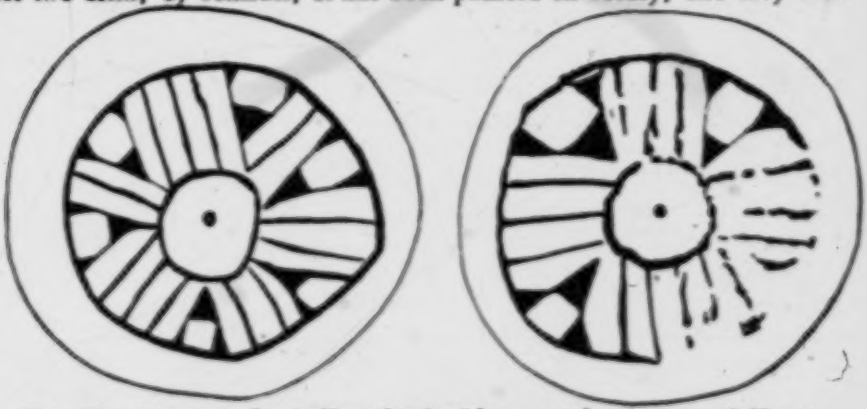

Fig. 59. Kamayurá spindle-whorl with mereschu design. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

bored in the center only for the thread for suspending them.

A small work of art of the same type, in which the hole is bored wide as though actually for receiving the spindle shaft, shows us in the center the picture of a many-rayed star, then a black-dotted, circular band enclosing it, and finally a black wreath running all around, in which, next to each of the black dots, a small white disk is left blank. The pierced sun surrounded by 15 black stars and 15 white full moons; for the symbolist it may be difficult to decide whether it would be better /275/ to recommend the explanation that here an Auetö sorcerer is prophesying the end of the world, or the one that he is proclaiming a mysterious ancient legend of his people about the creation of the firmament. As a matter of fact, the pretty little ornamental disk is a purely decorative production. Except that the motifs are not quite so far-fetched. They are given to us in

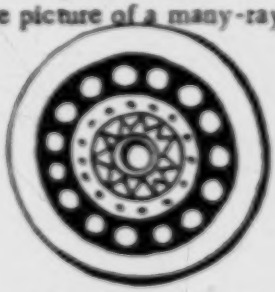

Fig. 60. Auetö ornamental whorl with whorl-motifs.

/275 cont./ A 301 531

cruder execution on the two sides of another ornamental whorl, Figure 61 with the details intelligible.

First one should examine once more the two whorls of Figure 59 /see p. 307/, where the edged round hole is shown surrounded by mereschus. The ornamental whorls contain a selected number of the elements of the work whorls. On the large disk with the cross design the hole was left out; in Figure 61, besides the uluris, the hole-circles of 59 form the motif. While on the work whorls the drawing was first scratched on and smeared with color, on the ornamental whorls the color is painted on directly, with greater freedom; the uluris are put in broadly around the central, painted hole (Fig. 61), and connected with strings to the same number along the edge circle; into the polygons left free, six hole-circles with

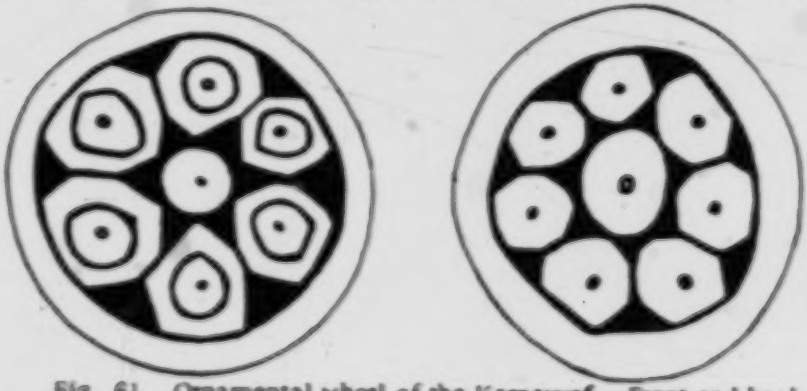

Fig. 61. Ornamental whorl of the Kamayurá. Front and back sides. (1/1 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

bored holes are put in all around the one time, seven bored holes the other time. Except for these additions, the basic design of the two ornamental whorls has already been given in the work whorl with the paneled wreath (Fig. 57), whose already reduced mereschu design is now abolished entirely and whose numerous uluris are decreased to seven or six. That is how the uluris happen to form a "star," whose points, however, with their extension to the edge on these two ornamental disks, scorn geometric exactness. Star, hole-circle, and bored hole have now been drawn in succession by the artist of the cosmological ornamental disk (Fig. 60) in free composition, each element of which is assigned its own place. N 283 531

/275 cont./

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The wooden spindle whorls were very seldom decorated with incised designs. We did, however, find two on which a design had been carved. /276/ I am inserting here the illustration of the more attractive one, which was carved on both sides; having arisen out of the customary art of incising the whorls, the work represents the only case of flat carving. The side illustrated first should be compared with the cross-whorl, page 306. The four triangular segments are half-mereschus; the line contours of the drawing were carved out in relief, the lateral bands thus formed led toward the center, and the pentagonal fields, which might again thrust themselves on us as the principal feature, but which are merely left over from the mereschu and hole edging leveled out completely. On the other side of the whorl, four whole mereschus are cut out between the

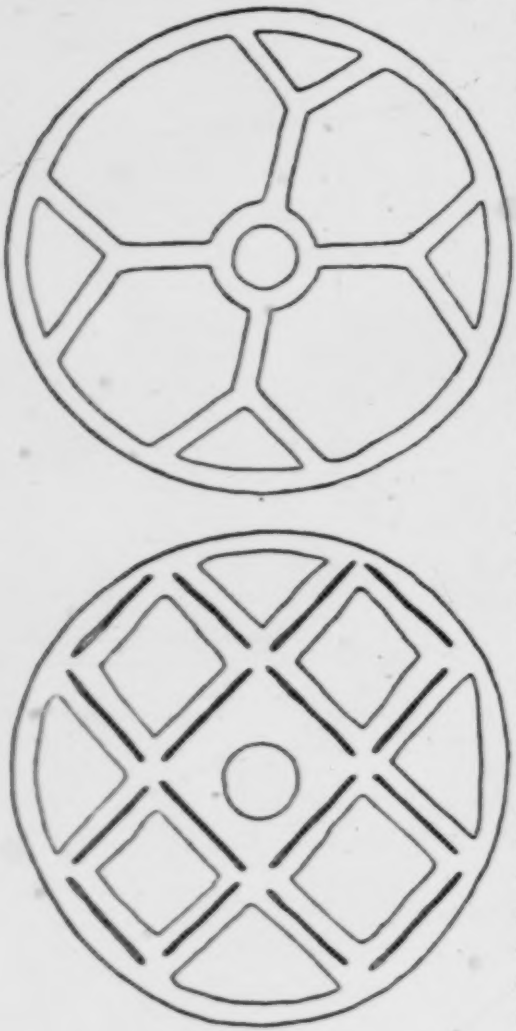

Fig. 62. Carved wooden whorl of the Auetõ. Upper and under sides. (1/1 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

A 283 531 /276 cont./
four halves, and the hole is surrounded by a fifth central one, as is often the case in the incised designs as well.

B *171 323 531 [532] Painting of the pots. On the clay bowls that represent animals, a drawing of the animal is sometimes copied; cf. Figure 87, the lizard pot, in the chapter on ceramic plastic art /see p. 333/. More often the medium-sized and large pots are painted, and, to be sure, on the outer wall, besides on the bottom, with parallel vertical stripes and designs. One sees applied especially often the tattooing lines of the Mehinakú, which go around the shoulder blades on the inside in angles or curves. Plate 15 /see p. 253/ with the large pots shows us this motif on the bottom of the pot in the upper left in an already richer form, in that the curves are not only double, as also occurs in the tattooing itself, /277/ but triple, and are painted with dots between the two inner ones and with serpentine zigzags between the two outer ones. Smaller curves, such as the women have tattooed on their arms, are applied above the center field, which is filled in with color. The pot bottom in the foreground contains a center circle with network and around it the serpentine zigzag as well as a few lines in the direction of the lateral stripes. The drawing is irregular enough to prevent us from seeing it as a "star," which the Indian woman did not have in mind.

000

III. Plastic Representation and Ceramics.

Introduction. Small chair-figures. Straw figures. Loana dolls. Wax figures. Wooden figures (dance clubs and fan, [illegible] digging-sticks, beijú turners, combs, stools). Pots.

B *171 532 The art of the Indians in imitating body forms is disproportionately more advanced than that of drawing. From the start, as Ricci also points out with respect to the efforts of children, it has the great advantage that the difficulties of perspective drop away. The parts may be clumsily worked out, but they are in their proper place; it is not necessary to put them in the wrong B [825] place in order to show them. Just as in drawing, indeed to a greater extent since the number of motifs is far more considerable,

/277 cont./

the animal motif is predominant here. Aside from the fact that the pots are made to look like gourds, from which they probably arose, it is solely and entirely a matter of imitation of animals. Only in the dance art is there an equally inexhaustible abundance of motifs which arise from the joy in the hunting life and its observations.

The plastic art, too, will permit one clearly to recognize that it was originally merely descriptive. We must not expect to be able to trace its course back as far as in the case of drawing, the best efforts of which still remain a sort of cartographic enumeration of the characteristic features and preserve these even in the geometric modification, but we have here another indication which is no less clear. In the fashioning of bodily forms the material that is being worked on comes to the fore much more than in the incising of lines. Just as rhyme often furnishes the thought, so does a form already present often furnish the motif. Thus, there is a very striking frugality shown in the characteristic features that are invented; any small resemblance is sufficient to define the object as a particular creature. On a higher level, the native shows a stemmil with a freely invented motif, and this then falls into geometric stylization exactly like the drawings.

/278/ Small chain-figures. The meager characterization is most striking in the small figures which are kept on the neck chains, mostly those of babies and very small children, between [illegible] terial is wholly unimportant. A piece of the convolution of the rose-colored snail shell has an edge which runs into irregular projections and indentations: that is a crayfish. The Bakairí cut birds and fish out of the shell of the caramujo branco, Orthalicus melanostomus. We see a shield-shaped piece, the body, which at the bottom continues into a narrower tail and at the top into a sort of neck piece (Fig. 63). This "neck piece," however, is the head, commonly pierced at the side to receive the string, and seems to be treated quite indifferently. If the tail piece is notched like a fin, we have before us a fish instead of a bird. /Figure 63 appears here./

/270 cont./

In like manner, small pieces of the greenish, black-speckled stone of the stone axes are: fish if they are flat, or birds if the roller-shaped body flattens out into a tail. Nature is helped along somewhat by grinding. In Figure 64, page 313, the first two chains show pierced stone disks (two to three centimeters in diameter) and stone cylinders (three centimeters long) between the nut-beads, such as are made by the Tzumal and Tzulapini, in the third, the figures of the Nahuqui are made of clay. In the fourth copied by them out of the transparent, amber-like jacobi resin (Hymenaea), the third chain also contains an amber bead. A bird is strung on the first and fourth chain. The stone bird, with a small knob recognizable as a beak, is designated as a dove. The pear-shaped stones of the dove, in a small size, are also worn on the chains, tied on, not pierced, and, to be sure, we also found them imported among the Mehinaki, who have neither stones nor throwing sticks.

Similar figures are carved out of nut shells and bones. Among the Mehinaki we acquired a

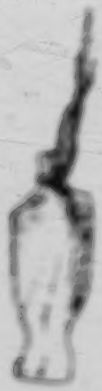

Fig. 63.
Bird figure made out of mumei shell.
(2/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

piece of bagadj fish-bone seven centimeters long, a square with bow-shaped flared sides, which represents a quadruped, while a smaller piece represents a ray with the tail and beside it the ventral fins. Unfortunately, I discovered too late that there was always a definite meaning attached to the figures and am therefore unable to say what some of them mean. All guessing is pointless here.

/278 cont./

Straw figures. Anyone who still feels confident about always being able to interpret the pictures and figures of the Indians I should have liked to have had beside me in the hut of the Bakairí which contains the large frieze, not so much because of the painted decorations, as because of a plaited design above the door. When the master of the house had explained the pictures to us, he led us to /279/ this door, as though he wanted to say: "Now here I have another little work of art." There was a plaiting made out of thin, black twigs lying crosswise and yellow straw stretched vertically. One saw two rows of squares between these rods, divided alternately in a diagonal direction from top left to bottom right and from top right to bottom left in such a way that each of them was made up of a black triangle of twigs and a yellow triangle of straw. The Bakairí explained these triangles as "swallow feathers," "tiriga yuchino." The

Fig. 64. Small chain-figures. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

tiriga is a black and yellow swallow,* while the [illegible] is black and white.

* Erroneously described as half black, half "white" in my book, Die Bakairí-Sprache /The Bakairí Language/, p. 39.

Apparently the yellow triangles of the design represented the wings. It is by no means a matter of a casual design, for neither its special

B /279 cont./

285 mention, nor the surrounding figures, nor the construction of
532 twigs made this likely. All doubts vanished, however, when the Indian showed us, inside two squares, which were otherwise made up merely of crosswise twigs, several narrow, and in themselves quite meaningless, stretches of plaiting on which was wound a little yellow straw, and then explained: "capybara teeth." In other words, teeth of Hydrachoerus capybara or water hog, the large rodent characterized by huge incisors, the chisel of the natives. One had to admit that the outlines were roughly similar, but no European would have hit upon this correct interpretation by himself. Finally, we saw in the artists' hut of the Auetö a plaited strip which they designated for us as "fish bones." It was the same figure as No. 5, Plate 20 /see p. 280/.

I would have referred to these examples earlier, along with
285 the drawings, and not here if they had not been connected with
524 peculiarly plaited figures or dolls which we found among the
532 Nahuquá. Of the two illustrations 65 and 66 /see p. 315/, the one is easily understandable and suitable for a kindergarten, it represents a /280/ toad; the other, however, I, at any rate, would not have interpreted correctly even if I had thought about it for a year. We have to recognize it as a deer! And actually it is quite simple. First I need to start out that it is an animal, then the sharply protruding corner piece /Figs. 65-67 appear here/ to the right must be the head, and thus I have a four-footed animal, whereas I do not pay any attention to the three peaks on the back, since a Nahuquá is not familiar with a dromedary or a camel, to say nothing of an animal with three elevations on its back. It must, moreover, be a type of quadruped for which the tail, since it is missing, is not characteristic. What I see in the way of feet, however, corresponds most closely to the hoofs of the deer. Thus, I come slowly limping along behind the Nahuquá with my conclusions, while the Indian of another tribe, after brief reflection, finds the correct solution by himself.

80 Inasmuch as I considered the Bororó in connection with
285 the drawings, their analogous Froebel toy might be taken up in
524 this connection. The folded piece of palm leaf, Fig. 67 left
532 /see p. 315/ represents a "Bororó woman," that is to say, it is

BO 285 524 532

/280 cont./

nothing more than the pubc band with the bark belt holding it. A "Bororó man" was repreented by a palm leaf strip folded in the same way and then ony a thread tied around it, the waist cord, which he wears besides his cuff and wore long before the invention of the cuff.

B 285 532 535

B 524 [204]

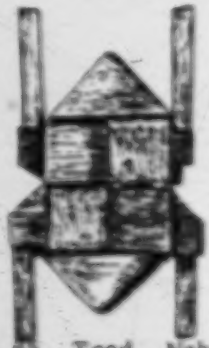

Fig. 65. Toad. Nahuquá. (1/2 nat. size /as shown n the original illustration/.)

The straw figures of the Bakairí dance festivals are a special group. I shall have to discuss them in connection with the masks. They represented animals and were worn on the head. Span-long dolls served as children's toys and were also stuck on a pole in the roof of the festival

Y 285 524 532

Fig. 66. Deer. Nahuqu- (1/2 nat. size /as shown n the original illustration/.)

hut as a sign that a masquerade was being celebrated; they announced to all the world: "Big dance entertainment today."

B 524

Fig. 67. Woman's and man's figure. Bororó. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

The two little dolls of Figure 68 /see p. 316/ seem to be very expressively summoning one for the merriment. In 1884 we came across [illegible] were not used as headdresses, in front of the second Bakairí village

BO 285 524 532

on the Batovy. "Shortly before the exit from the woods we came across a wonderful display of about a dozen animal figures along one side of the path, probably the remains from a festival." (They

/280 cont./

285 532 were meant to welcome the participants from the neighboring villages.) "They were made of leaves and straw, 535 /281/ mostly quadrupeds with long, thin bodies, consisting of practically nothing but spinal column and long legs; the tallest ones reached to our hips. Something that was evidently supposed to be a monkey was climbing up a pole." (Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, page 168 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 50/.

[529]

Fig. 68. Invitation to the dance. Bakairí. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

285 532 525 The maize figures, almost exclusively birds, are extremely characteristic of their enjoyment of art; we found the most attractive examples of them in the second Bakairí village. There they hung, almost as large as turkeys, on a long string from the vault of the dome, a strange sight for the person entering, who undoubtedly

Fig. 69. Maize figure: Harpyia destructor. Bakairí. (1/10 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

[251] would think of idols and fetishes. But these fine birds were nothing but lovingly trimmed maize ears which were stored in their natural straw husks. I listed figures of Harpia destructor, a large and a small species of falcon, the snake

/281 cont./

285 532 825 bird, and the jabiru or giant stork. A human-like figure, a doll with a knob on top instead of a head, represented the imoto dancer in his straw garb. Otherwise there were always birds, and, to be sure, large birds. Often a pair of genuine tail feathers were stuck in or a few colored bands painted on the maize straw. The accompanying Harpia destructor (Fig. 69 /see p. 316/) is characterized by its strong beak and its crest, the tail feathers are banded with black; the toes are lovingly made out of twisted straw and where the foot emerges from the feathers of the leg there is a lashing. More impressive was the tujujú stork; it hung with wings outspread! A thick maize ear, as the center section, formed the body; only the stem was not cut off on it, but rather, projecting far out, formed the somewhat thin, but long beak. On either side eleven maize ears in [259] a row were clamped between a couple of twigs, and this beautifully suspended bridge then represented Mycteria americana, the individual parts of which were broken off one by one and roasted. Nothing mysterious, nothing symbolic, only a stork which the Bakairí were very willing to roast crispy for the astonished European.

524 532 861 /282/ Loam dolls. A similar unexpected combination of the beautiful and useful is shown by a heavy, red, loam doll, 30 centimeters long, 24 centimeters wide, and seven centimeters thick, Fig. 70 /see p. 318/. Four rounded stumps, which are produced by two lateral and one lower /Fig. 70 appears here/ indentation in the body lump, are the extremities; a clumsy, cube-shaped projection, the head. Two little holes the eyes; a depression, the mouth sliding sharply downward, and another little hole, the navel. This red loam man is an edible doll for children. It consists of the material which the Bakairí say their grandfathers consumed before they were acquainted with mandioca. Today the heavy, fat dough is probably no longer a prized delicacy. The doll is also not very suitable as a plaything because of its weight. I was told that children licked it. We found similar dolls made of whitish, harder, nonedible loam, however, and saw nothing of loam being

B
524 /282 cont./ We found similar dolls made of whitish,
532 nonedible loam, however, and saw nothing of loam being
261 eaten by the Kuliseiu Indians, whereas among the Bororó I saw
*171 that they absent-mindedly broke off and nibbled little pieces of the
BO wall of the station house in front of which
261 we stood talking.

B
*171
524
532

Fig. 70. Loam doll. Bakairí. (1/6-1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Among the Bakairí we discovered a small female doll of baked clay, which they attributed to the Auetö, the only one of its kind. Among the Auetö themselves we did not find anything similar. The arms are broken off close to the shoulder, the legs somewhat lower

Fig. 71. Clay doll. Auetö. (3/4 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

in the middle of the shapeless, swollen thighs. /283/ Aside from this elephantiasis, the modeling is not bad at all. The torso especially is praiseworthy, the navel is in the right place, and the back, both in

/283 cont./

*171 524 532 its course with the furrow of the spine as well as where it ends with a somewhat deeply cut division, is free of all schematization. The head reminds one of that of an Eskimo in its round hood, which is the result, first of all, of the absence of a neck, and then of the shallow depression dug out below the hair line for the face and in which the nose was left standing. In the case of the loam man of the Bakaïrí, it can be seen on closer inspection that there was also a depression (but extremely shallow) for the face.

*171 239 532 825 Wax figures. Again, as in the case of maize, merely an artistic way of preserving the material. The black wax was shaped into pretty little animal figures, and, to be sure, most attractively among the Mehinakú, and thus hung up or placed in a basket until needed. Among the Bakaïrí we found a human figure better modeled than the loam dolls. The civilized Indians converted to Christianity have modified their saints out of wax and sell

Fig. 72. Wax figure: peccary. Mehinakú. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration)./

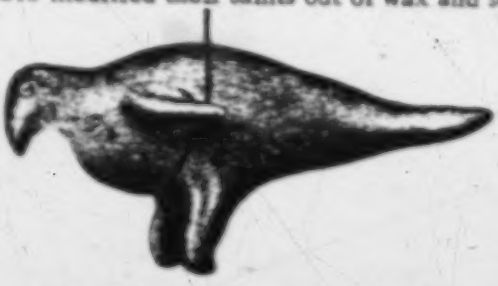

Fig. 73. Wax figure: karijo dove. Mehinakú. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

them. The plastic wax best revealed what the artists could do. Some animals were very well modeled, for instance, the small peccary or tayassu, 6.5 centimeters long, of Figure 72, Dicotyles torquatus. The eyes are represented by a pair of small plates of shell, the nostrils of the proboscis put in deeply. Of other mammals we also saw the large swamp deer and a howling monkey in the form of wax figures. More common were the hanging

/283 cont./

*171 birds, often painted red. In Illustration 73 /see p. 319/ we see
237 a karijo dove; the figure, 15 centimeters long, with the short
532 wing stumps, turned out very stiff.
825

Wooden figures. In discussing the dance onaments I shall
537 deal with the carved and painted wooden masksseparately. The
535 Bakaïrí, whose festival finery consisted mostly of straw caps,
825 straw suits, and straw animals worn on the head, carved birds of light wood for their headpieces. In 1884 we brought back from the Batovy a wonderful head-structure (illustated in Durch Centralbrasilien, page 32 /see 1:Steinen, this file, p. 16/), where seven colorfully painted birds are mounted on three long rods wound with flocks o cotton, /284/ birds which at that time took to be swallows, but in the meantime have been able to dentify as sanyassú (Tanagra sayaca Neuw.). Those shown in No. 74 are similar birds, the larger of which represents a falcon, the smal one the nimble shore birds massarico (Calidris arenaria; there were many of themin the third Bakaïrí village o the Kulisehu. The neck is sarply set off from the body a few lines show the marings of the feathers and a long stalk stuck

Fig. 74. Wooden figures: falcon and massarico. Bakaïrí. (1/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 75. Wooden fish of the Batovy Bakaïrí. (1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

[301]

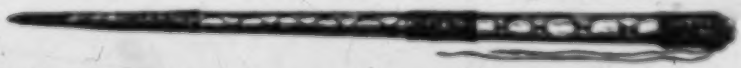

Fig. 76. Mandioca digger as a back-stick. Bakaïrí. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

through the body on the right and left and with its ends coming together again at the bottom represents the legs.

B /284 cont./
532 On the Batovy we found fish (Fig. 75 /see p. 320/) crudely carved out of hard bark and pierced for hanging up, 30-40 centimeters long, flat and wide, with fins or band-like without fins, and the gill cover marked by a curve; just as in the rhombus drawings of fish one corner is filled in to represent the head.
B
* [171] We found similar fish in 1887 among the Nahuquá. Here, however, they are whizzer sticks, which I shall discuss under musical
[128] instruments in the chapter "Mask Ornamentation and Dance Ornaments, III" /see pp. 381 - 382/.

W The mandioca digging-sticks among the Mehinakú showed a
412 carved decoration of great interest. The ordinary digging-stick
531 is a smooth, pointed stick made of hard wood 60-65 centimeters
532 long and of exactly the same shape as the ornamental stick of
825 Fig. 76 /see p. 320/, which is decorated with the mereschu design and plaited round in several places. These pointed sticks take the place of the spade. Now it occurs to imaginative minds /Fig. 76 appears here/ to carve the head and part of the body of the digger wasp, a little animal that also throws up the sand, on the blunt end of the stick. See Fig. 77 /see p. 322/. The first picture of the series shows us this motif in the first stage; we see the constricted body sharply set off and on it the head with an eye of wax on either side (cf. also Fig. 78 /see p. 322/. In the three following pictures the figure is stylized; the last one, a simple point, does not seem to be connected with this development, but it is striking that the /285/ pointed piece is set off on a free edge. Figures 2, 3, and 4 are thus stylized digger wasps; they would be as little recognizable as such as are the horses' heads on many a gable of the farmhouses in Pomerania, if one /Fig. 77 appears here/ did not know their story, and without it they would certainly be regarded as purely ornamental. In our case the motif is truly motivated; the Indians laughingly demonstrated for me how they themselves tear up the ground, just as the /Fig. 78 appears here/ digger wasp burrows and throws up the sand. The Mehinakú called it kukúi, the Bakairí koingkofng.

/285 cont./

412 The crescent-shaped beijú turners, which are customarily
531 painted on both sides, were given a handle carved in the shape of
532 an animal among the Mehinakú. The disk of the beijú turner
825

Fig. 77. Digger-wasp motif of the mandioca sticks. Mehinakú. (3/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

was usually regarded as the body of a bird which was extended into a long neck with head. In Figure 78 the head of a spoonbill, Platalea ajaja, is represented. Next to it is a snake with the familiar zigzag, this time in wood. The beijú turners are usually 12 or 13 centimeters wide and, with the handle, 30-35 centimeters long. The largest piece of the collection, a disk without a handle, is 43 centimeters long and 19 1/2 centimeters wide. Among the Mehinakú, the flour-people of the Kulisehu, we also found a unique beijú-turner which seemed to be more of a club. This cake-attacking weapon was a narrow board, 86 centimeters long, 11 centimeters wide, both sides of which were cut out in waves.

Fig. 78. Beijú turner and mandioca stick. Mehinakú. (1/9 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Aueto SP6
Wauja SP8
Mehinacu
Yaruma SP25
Nahuqua

W
Y
412
531

/285 cont./

Combs were decorated with carving among the Mehinakú and Nahuquá. Hard wooden rods form the teeth, are plaited together in the center section, and, to be sure, often with an attractive rhomboid design, and are held together at the top and bottom of the plaiting by an additional pair of bamboo cross-strips.

A
[412]
←

Fig. 79. Comb. Auetó. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

W
Y
412
531
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825

/286/ Cf. the Auetó comb, figure 79. A more advanced technique replaces the lashed strips with cross-sticks in which a longitudinal plate is cut out: the comb is pushed through this. Comb-holders of this type up to 18 centimeters long have small animal figures mounted on each end, so that one comb has four of them. With their tools of fish-teeth and shells, however, the people were unable to turn out delicate figures. The head was usually joined to the base by a "proboscis," just as the

Fig. 80. Comb with jaguars. Mehinakú. (2/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

B
352

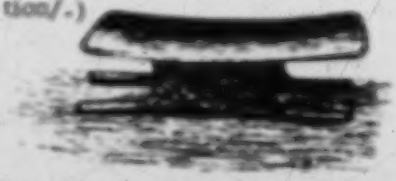


Fig. 81. Stool. (1/10 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Aueto SP8
Camayura
Waura SP18
Mehinacu
Yaruma SP25
Nahugua

/286 cont./

W Y 412 531 532 825

bronze horses of our monuments often seem to have run a post through their bodies; if the combs had been excavated, the unknown makers would forthwith be identified as having immigrated from regions where there were elephants or walruses. The figures on the Mehinakú comb illustrated in No. 80 /see p. 323/ are jaguars; similar ones from the Nahuquá and no less difficult for us to identify, represented the agutí, Dasyprocta aguti, a leaping, rabbit-like rodent. Here, too, the motifs for the combs are comprehensible. The colorful jaguar and the agutí, "or the golden hare, as it is doubtless called because of its pretty fur, one of the handsomest members of the family" (Brehm, Säugetiere /Mammals/ II, p. 583), whose glistening fur shows a lovely irideacence when the animal moves or in changing light, are both characterized by strikingly beautiful fur. The agutí washes itself even more assiduously than the cat.

W Y [113]

B *191 352

The chief products of carving art are the stools for sitting. It is noteworthy that the Bakairí call them apika and the Auetó and Kamayurá apikáp. the former is the borrowed word, since Tupí has the related verb stem aypg, "to sit down," etc. The simplest form (Fig. 81 /see p. 323/) consists of a rectangular, slightly concave seat-plate and two small supporting boards running along it lengthwise, with tail-like prolongations front and back, but all worked out of one /287/ piece. An average size is 42 centimeters long, 19 centimeters wide, and 14 centimeters high. there were little things 21 x 10 centimeters and seven centimeters high, which were tricky to sit on. There were not many specimens of either these simple ones or the more artful ones, but they were always to be found in the house of the chief and were offered to the guest. The seat-plate sometimes had a /Fig. 82 appears here/ more oval form which was prolonged front and back into a triangular tail piece and represented a fish.

W B 352 532 825

We saw bird figures most commonly. Thus we acquired a tujujú stork, Mycteria americana, from the Kamayurá (Fig. 82 /see p. 325/), and among the Mehinakú (Fig. 83) a wood-ibis, /Fig. 83 appears here/ Tantalus loculator, called jabiru or João grande, big John, by the Brazilians. The two animals differ

Trumai SP23
Waura SP18
Mehinacu
Auetó SP6
Camayura

/287 cont./

A W 352 532 825 chiefly in their beaks; that of the wood ibis is curved ibis-like. The largest and handsomest birds were preferably portrayed. Thus, among the Mehinakú, we found a magnificent king-vulture, Sarcoramphus papa, or red urubu. The red warts

Fig. 82. Tujuji stool. Kamayurá. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration.

which this splendid predatory bird has between its beak and its eyes were carefully carved. The Trumaí stool illustrated here T 352 532 825 (Fig. 84 /see p. 328/) is supposed to represent the white urubu; it lacks the warts. Strangely enough, it was given two necks 171

W 352 532

Fig. 83. Wood-ibis stool. Mehinakú. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

T 352 532 825 171 and heads, so we see here the chief's chair in the form of a double eagle; they are supposed to be male and female. By contrast, T 352 the /288/ the depression in the back-plate is somewhat prosaic; it serves as a bowl for crushing and mixing the dyeing resin. In

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 329]

2: Steinen--326 ED-S (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi

Trumai SP23
Yaruma SP15
Nahuqua
Waura SP18
Mehinacu

/286 cont./

T
352
S32
825

Fig. 84. Double-vulture mask. Trumaí.
(1/9 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Y
352
S32
825

Fig. 85. Monkey mask. Nahuqua. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

W
352
S32
825

Fig. 86. Jaguar mask. Mehinakú. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

/288 cont./ In the case of all the birds, the supporting boards /Figs. 84 and 85 appear here/ of the simple mool, provided with rails, have been retained, except that they are now spread farther apart and are set on the center line of the abdomen. The seat-plate and the supporting boards consist of one piece. The upper surface is extremely carefully smoothed. The measurements of the double vulture, which correspond to those of the others, are as follows: 61 centimeters long, 24 centimeters wide, 25 centimeters high.

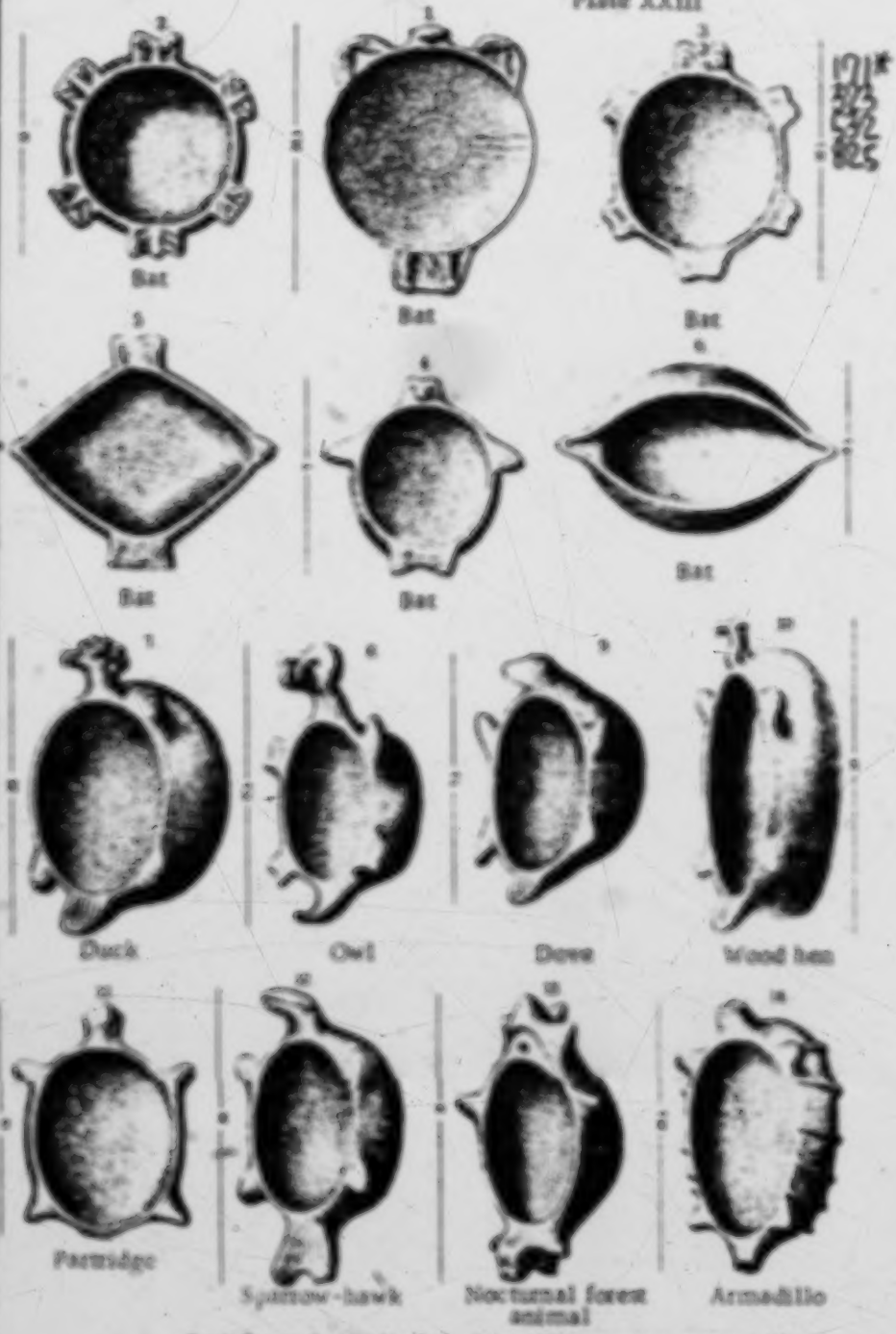
We found two quadrupeds. Here, too, higher types were chosen. The support boards have been transformed into four legs. Among the Nahuquá we acquired a not very handsome monkey, 46 centimeters long, characterized by the ears, nose, and the long horizontal tail. The back had its natural roundness. The animal was /Fig. 86 appears here/ always immediately identified correctly among the other tribes. The most splendid specimen of our collection, however, is the jaguar of the Mehinakú, a chunky creature, 90 centimeters long and 18 centimeters wide, /Plates XXIII and XXIV appear here/ /289/ with a clumsy head and a well worked-out neck, a long plate-like back and a long, slightly raised tail. The cat's ears are excellently reproduced, the nose is limited to a vague elevation, the mouth is a wide cross-furrow, and the eyes are a pair of round Unio-shell pieces with a mother-of-pearl sheen.

Pots. The basic form of the clay bowls (cf. pages 254, 255) with which we are exclusively concerned here is, like that of the gourd bowls, hemispherical to almost the shape of half an egg. The pots drawn on the two plates 23 and 24 /see pp. 328-329/ are all in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde. They come from no particular village, but were made exclusively by Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ women. With the exception of Numbers 25, 26, and 27 of the second plate, all forms are animal motifs. We obtained pot No. 28 among the Mehinakú. It was attributed to the Waurá women, the chief artists of the Nu-Aruak group. It consists of reddish clay, which heightens the similarity to a real gourd bowl, is covered with an attractive meresehu design, and has a string fastened to it. We acquired No. 25, the spiny shell of a forest fruit, from the family of the Tanumakapi-Nahuquá whose

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P 330]

2. Steinen--328 E D-S (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacani SP7

Plate XXIII



Pots from the Kulisehu. Measurements in centimeters.

2: Steinen--329 6, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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532
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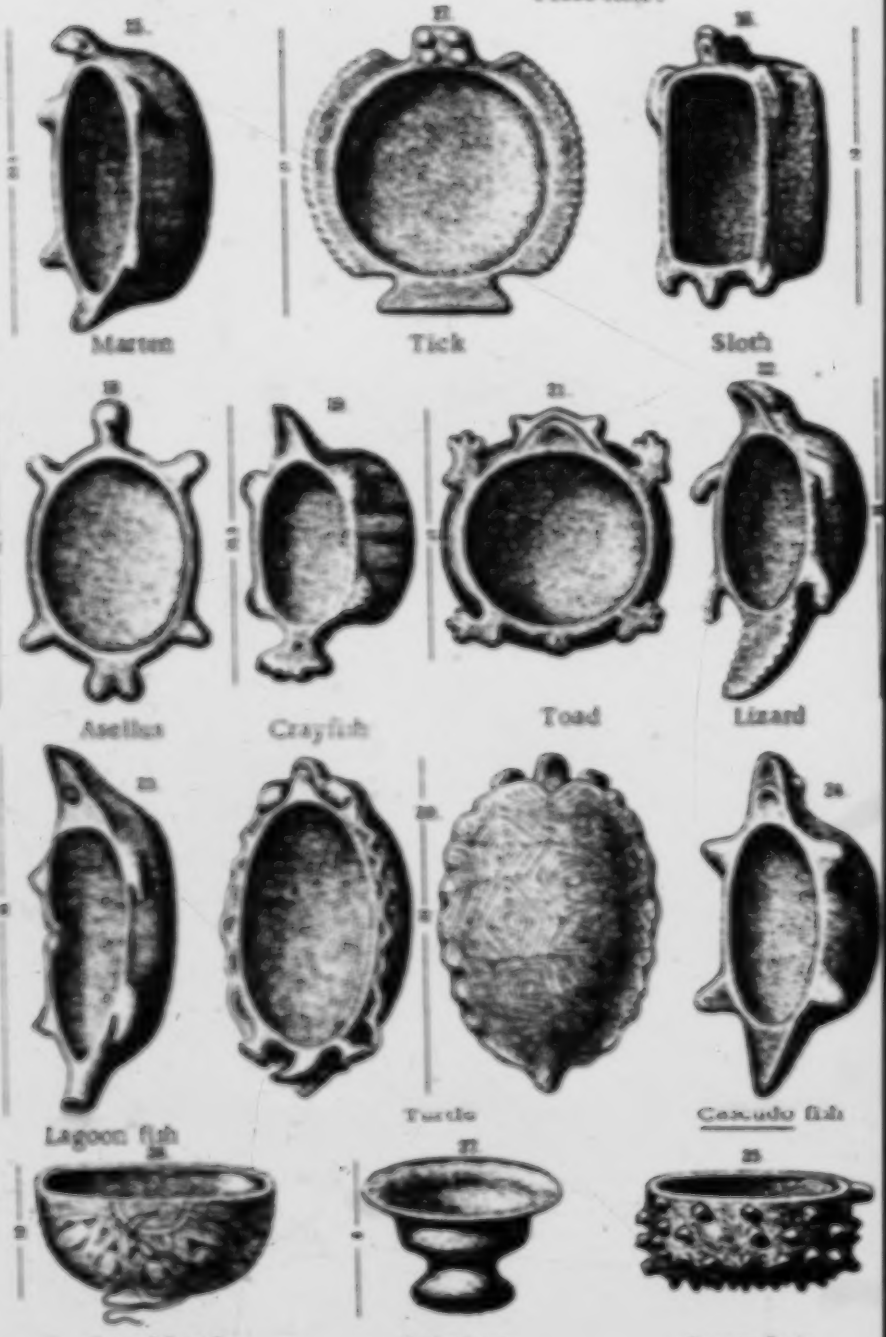
Plate XXIV



Pots from the Kulischu. Measurements in centimeters.

/289 cont./

*1971 acquaintance we made in the Auetõ harbor. No. 27, with the
323 "goblet shape," indented along the edge on the outside, is regarded as a paint pot of the Waurá. Beaker and goblet have not yet penetrated to our Indians; this form, too, has a gourd-bowl motif, which, however, is less to be seen than to be heard. The flat sphere at the bottom is not put on, say, simply for an easier grip, but represents precisely the essential part of the plastic production, a rattle gourd. It harbors on the inside a few small stones or seeds which give off a rather weak rattling sound if one shakes the "goblet."

*1971 While these three pots have a free edge, all the others are
323 characterized by a greater or lesser number of projections.
532 These projections, modeled in many different ways, characterize
825 the animal portrayed. Almost everywhere the roundness of the gourd is retained; indeed, it is obvious that this has given direction to the artistic idea. Just as the ordinary, merely crescent-shaped disks of the beijũ turners represent the animal body as soon as a handle carved as head and neck is added, so the rounded bowl becomes the animal body when head and limbs are added with the edge-projections. This, then, is a clear and unequivocal history of development. Once the new artistic element has been achieved, it develops with independent freedom, presses on to a variety of forms, and, in the most popular and oft-repeated forms, rapidly deteriorates to stylization.

The most common, by far the most common form of the pot is the one with the bat motif. Apparently Indian sensibility is not guided by our refined considerations of taste. Our ladies would not be agreeably affected if they were obliged to eat out of bats, toads, and ticks; we men, however, can wash our hands in innocence, for it is the women who had these indelicate notions. To do them justice, I am assuming that /290/ they were influenced in their realism by the color and form of the original animals and were led to choose those whose imitation would turn out most favorably for pots. The bat, besides its roundish body, is exactly the color of the clay, and the toad (No. 21), which is likewise not infrequent, turned out excellently in the

/290 cont./

*171 circular, bellied pot. Armadillos and turtles are, indeed, noth-
323 ing but walking pot-shells and were therefore deemed worthy of
532 the imitation of their shells in the curvature of the pots. The
825 lizard swinging from the hammock by its tied tail, presents itself, as a good domestic animal, for friendly consideration. Finally, there were also several types of caymans and cascudo fish, both armored. The other motifs are unique.

We found and added to our collection the following animals in imitations.

Mammals: Two species of bats (1-6), deer, page 333, squirrel, irara marten (Galictis barbara) (15), sloth (16), little anteater or Tamanduá mirim (Myrmecophaga tetradactyla), armadillo, a small tatú /tatou/ (14), as well as tatú canastra, or giant armadillo (Dasypus gigas), and finally, a nocturnal forest animal that was said to be similar to an armadillo (13).

Birds: White sparrow-hawk (Buteo pteroclen) (12), coruja owl (8), dove (9), makuko wood hen (Trachypelmus brasiliensis) (10), inyambú partridge (11), duck (7), and an unidentified flying bird.

Creeping and amphibious animals: trakajá river turtle (Emys tracaxa) (20), kágado turtle (Emys depressa), jabuti forest turtle (Testudo tabulata), cayman, lizard (22), sinimbú or chameleon (Anolis), toad (21).

Fish: cascudo, akará, or armored theatfish (24), lagoon fish (23), ray.

Insects and lower animals: karapato or tick (Ixoden) (17), crayfish (19), asellus (18).

The most beautiful specimen, the trakajá turtle, No. 20, is really a work of art, not so much because the drawing of the shell is so carefully incised, but because of the extremely felicitous modeling of head, tail, and limbs. The front feet in particular are bent over so pliantly and naturally that one marvels at the talent for form and the gift of observation of the unknown Mehinakú woman. I must say, in her honor, that she copies nature more faithfully than the Berlin sketcher and lithographer did her reproduction.

2: Steinen--332 E,D-5 (1894, 1887-1888) 1894 SPT Bacain SP7

/290 cont./

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In the case of some animals one may speak of a direct copy hollowed out rather than of a pot with anatomical structure. For example, the turtle 20, the toad 21, the bat 1, the lizard 22, on which, in the drawing of my cousin, Figure 87 /see p. 332/, the body painting is still visible. The bat is particularly remarkable because of the outspread wing membrane from which the rear extremities are carefully worked out. In /291/ No. 2 the projections are simply incised, the head with the eyes has a couple of lines for the eyes, the other projections have been given two pairs of strokes for the lines of the wing membranes. These strokes may be left out, and one sees merely a six-projection pot and is surprised to hear it called "bat" regularly and among the most diverse tribes. In Nos. 3 and 4 the facial parts are even more precisely portrayed, in No. 3 the tail is broader than the extremity-projections, in No. 4 the legs and the tail are joined inside the wing membrane, as in /Fig. 87 appears here/ No. 1, and not further indicated. Nos. 5 and 6, too, were bats, but it was said they were a different, smaller species than the round six-projection pots. We are immediately reminded of the bat chondyars drawn by the Bikaïr, Plate 20 /see p. 280/.

In a more careful examination of the pots one will be able to understand, at least to a certain extent, the characteristic feature that differentiates most of them. At least one of the three elements, head, limbs, or tail, is always provided with an identifying "special mark." /Fig. 88 appears here./ In connection with this, the inference per exclusionem is never to be forgotten.

No. 15, the marmo-like Galictis, is probably the most difficult to recognize. The snout is more pointed in the original. The sloth, No. 16, is identified by the shape of the head and the position of the four legs at the corners. But it was obviously not easy with the four-footed mammals. For example, the only exception arose among them: a deer (6.5 x 12.5 centimeters in diameter) was set on its legs and the hollow opened in the back. Figure 88 /see p. 332/. The shape of the head, the tail, and the stance permitted even foreign Indians to identify the little pot

/291 cont./

immediately as a dove. The happy thought, which could lead the portrayal into entirely new directions, was not encountered by us in any other example.

In the case of the birds, wing and leg stumps are not differentiated, the feathers are incised in the tail, cf. 7 and 12, that of the sparrow-hawk is /291/ inferred. The head of the drake, 7, and of the owl, 8, are well characterized.

Fig. 87. Lizard pot. (1/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

In the case of the dove, 9, there is the same head shape as on the little figure of the neck ornament, the sparrow-hawk, 12, has a powerful beak, and a nicely formed little head is not on

Fig. 88. Dove pot. (1/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

the makiki, 10. In the case of the indistinct partridge, 11, the tail is broken off.

Fish were extremely rare. No. 23 has a long tail, the end of which was already broken off when we acquired the pot, but on the journey is lost still another piece. The head shapes of 23 and 24 are similar to the lizard, but they have a peculiar mouth.

/192 cont./

The tick, 17, has four knobs on its head, which are probably supposed to represent maxillary feelers and mouth parts. The notched edge is most amusing. It reproduces not at all badly the general impression of the creeping and crawling of the eight crooked legs, which, in the case of animals that have sucked their fill, form a wreath at the top of the sac. I do not know whether the isopod, 18, bears up under zoological scrutiny. It is yellow, like the Asellus, one of which it is supposed to represent, as far as I understand my informants. In No. 19, the crayfish, we note richly scalloped extremities and a tail fin. For eyes it has a pair of small knobs in which is pierced a fine little hole.

Fig. 69. Suyá toad-pot. (1/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

In conclusion I am adding a pot (diameter 10 X 15 centimeters) with a human representation. It is too much to demand, however, that anyone should suspect anything human about it. The woman artist who brought it to us chuckled with laughter over her creation. She wanted to make a toad-pot and had already copied the tail and leg projections, as well as the head with the bulging eyes of toad form. Then, when she was modeling the wide mouth and it happened to turn out open instead of closed, she noticed the similarity with the much-ridiculed lip disk of the despised Suyá, which stands out in front of the teeth of these Indians like a movable saucer. She laughed about it, set the stiff mouth flap nearly perpendicular to the toad face, and called the pot a "Suyá figure." Thus, for once, an ornament of the men was used as a motif by the women, analogous to the uluri motif, which was so popular among the gentlemen artists.

2. Steinen--335 E,D-5 (1894, 1897-1898) 1894 SPT Bacairi 377

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E-VII 335 E,D-5

IV. Relationship between the Animal Motif and the Technique.

What appears as a joke in the case of the Suyá pot, namely, the influence of the technique on the determination of the motif, makes itself felt on a wider scale as a lawful process. Let us examine once again the list of animals portrayed in pots. It is interesting on account of the animals which are not there. One might say that the same difference is discernible as in the modern motifs of men and women artists on the average, especially in the still lifes: on the one hand, flowers, fruits, butterflies, flies, market fish, and hams, on the other hand, game and herring. For among the animals of the pots, the smaller animals and, with the exception of the ticks, the tamer ones predominate. At any rate, it is noteworthy that, by and large, jaguar, tapir, pig, and the parrots providing the feather ornaments and kept at home are entirely absent. These animals are also missing, however -- again for a special reason to be mentioned later -- in the animal masks of the men's festivals, and it should be further noted that one sees the above-mentioned connection between motif and form of presentation even more clearly from the negative side.

Snakes and monkeys, with their elongated bodies, were entirely unsuitable for the earthenware gourds, whereas the former were excellently adapted to the long bark boards of the fleece or the sword-shaped whizzer stick or the canoe, and the latter to a bat pot or a flute. The handle on the half-moon of the Xingú names could easily be transformed into the neck of a bird or the free part of a snake, but it did not become, for example, a fish, which simply cannot be combined with the half-moon and a one-sided elongation. On the other hand, the whizzer stick with its long, narrow shape became a fish (cf. Chapter XI under III /see p. 381 /), and the cord could be very conveniently wound up on the tail end, the hole for the cord is not therefore, say, in the eyes on the head end. The drawn and incised fish-body becomes a rhombus, the meyachu design dominates the unique art of drawing, and a Waurá woman even scratches it in the gourd-pot, but it does not occur to anyone to depict a

/203 cont./

A 171 S82 V25 meruchu as a pot? Why? The meruchu won in the struggle for existence among the incised designs because it was easier to incise a figure characterized by sharp and readily scratched-out corners. It was easy to make and still retained the likeness. Likewise the ulugi. Occasionally, cf. Pot 5 /see p. 326/, a chomba-shaped pot was produced, but it belongs in the developmental series of bat forms, while for the fish the more natural oval outline can assert itself here, where other animals also have it, cf. 23 and 24 /see p. 326/.

A law is clearly expressed in this. It is not symbolic sobriety that directs the artistic impulse. Neither in small things nor in large. The woman artist neither shies away from making a toad-pot because the toad is an unappetizing animal, /204/ nor does she choose the bat because this creature also occurs in the mythology of the Indians. In view of the role played by the animal in the mental life of the Indian, animal motifs suggest themselves as a matter of course. The choice, however, may be prompted first of all by the nature or activity of the animal: the shell of the turtle corresponds to the pot, the digger wasp decorates the manioca digging stick, the agouti with its handsome fur, the comb, the picture of the hissing snake, the whizzer stick, that of the whistling monkey, the flute. Then, however, as soon as artistic activity is practiced with sufficient vigor, the form and size and color of the object also have a decisive effect, so that the animal that is most appropriate for them is chosen for reproduction. The artist need not be aware of this at all. It comes by itself if attempts in another direction turn out unsatisfactorily. This phenomenon manifests itself most of all in the reproduction of birds: we see only a small bird painted on a back-stick, whereas the plastic birds -- carved, molded out of wax, or in the form of maize-straw dolls -- were extremely numerous. It was easier for the Indians to form characteristically the outlines of the head, beak, and tail, as well as the proportions, in plastic form than in drawing.

/294 cont./

In conclusion I shall list the animal motifs observed by us and shall add in what form they occur. F means plaited work, M maize bird, S carving, T pots, W wax, Z drawing, incising, or painting.

Mammals: Monkey (macaque) Z, S; (howling monkey) W. Bat (several species) Z, T. Jaguar Z, S. Irara marten T. Squirrel T. Agouti S. Capybara (teeth) F. Porcupine Z. Sloth T. Armadillo (giant armadillo, small species) T. Little anteater T. Swamp deer /Odocoileus dichotomus/ W. Roe deer F, T. Peccary W.

Birds: King vulture (red urubu) S. White urubu S. Harpy M. Falcon, sparrow hawk M, S, T. Owl T. Songbirds S. Swallow F, Z. Dove S, T, W. Partridge T. Wood hen T. Mamaricó S. Claw mark M, S. Tujuji mark M, S. Spoonbill S. Snake bird M.

Creeping animals and amphibians: Turtles (makayá, jabuti, kípado) T, Z. Caiman Z. Iguana (also loam figure) T. Lizards (several species) T, Z. Snake (several species) S, Z. Toad F, T.

Fish: Armored sheatfish Z. Kumá Z. Kumaná Z. Lagoon fish T, Z. Matrincham Z. Mawachu Z. Nuki Z. Paid Z. Piava D. Pimado sheatfish Z. Ray (two species) Z, S. Underslfed S, Z. Bones F, Z.

Insects and lower animals: Grasshopper Z. Digger wasp S. Tokandira ant Z. Tick T. Crayfish S, T. Anilus T.

All kinds of new motifs are added in the masks.

/295/ 500

Chapter XI.

Mask Ornamentation and Dance Ornaments.

Preliminary remarks. I. Masks. Dancing and singing. "Idols"? Feasts and invitations. Participation of the women. Types of mummery. Bakairi dances (makairi) and masks. Nahuquá (fish-net dance). Mahaneá (caiman dance). Aueri (koshiki dance, yakuikati dance). Kaiseyuá (tibiá dance). Trumai. II. Common origin of the masks and the mawachu design. The

/295 cont./

Aweto as the inventors of the woven mask and the *mereichu* ornamentation. III. Other festival apparatus. Kamayurá dances. Dance clubs. Ornamental whorl, etc. Musical instruments. Whizzer sticks. Feather ornaments. Diadems. Games of the young people.

"The artifacts of the Stone Age are simple and fashioned only for the satisfaction of the most essential needs. With the art of shaping metals, the feeling for ornamentation and adornment is awakened." Thus writes O. Schrader in his excellent book, Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte /Language Comparison and Prehistory/ (p. 210), and something like that could have been written only by a distinguished philologist to whom it does not occur that such judgments, even when they refer to Indo-European prehistoric peoples, must be tested in the modern museum of ethnology. That passage has about the same value as one to the effect that man began to establish traditions when he learned to write. Though it is true that the satisfaction of the most essential needs is older than the development of the feeling for ornamentation and adornment, nevertheless even primitive peoples, without metal developed this to the full extent of their means. In fact, one may very well argue that, quite the contrary, it might often have awakened -- and could awaken because it was already highly developed -- the interest in metals in the first place. In the chapter on ornamental drawing and plastic art, I believe I have proved in detail what I stated about our Indians in a preliminary report presented to the Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin /Geographical Society of Berlin/ (Verhandlungen, 1888, p. 288): "They have a positive mania for painting all implements, a passion for crafts," and I must now complete the evidence for the festival days when man quite consciously feels elevated above the satisfaction of the most essential needs and puts all his skill into the service of the art of adorning himself.

2: Steinen--339 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/296/

I. Masks.

191 532 535

On the second journey our yield of dance ornaments and, above all, of face-masks was considerably larger than on the first. This is all the more important since the masks, which are, after all, distributed throughout the world in the most diverse forms and for the most diverse purposes, and which play such an important part among the Indians of northern America, have so far been observed only to a relatively slight extent in South America. It seems that they occur in particular in the Amazonas region, but it may only seem so. All the tribes have their dance festivals, all have pantomimes in which animals are portrayed, people adorn themselves with natural ornaments of skins or feathers, imitate the voices and movements, and spontaneously arrive at the characterizing mummery which makes the spectacle more effective. The technical skill of the mummery and its characterization certainly differs, but probably all hunting peoples reached the level which we come across among the Schingú tribes, again with an entirely different development of mimic devices. We are so poorly informed about this only because the opportunities to investigate living tribes in an unimpaired state are rare and can be only superficially explained during a fleeting visit. Our own journey is the best example. In one region where in 1884 we came across strange headgear with animal imitations of straw, etc., but only two wooden dove-masks. In 1887 we brought back a handsome collection of face masks which, now in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde, permit an interesting comparison with the grotesque animal masks of the Tecuna /Tucuna/ from the upper Amazon River that are present there. Ehrenreich, too, brought back from the Karayá /Carajá/ on the Araguaya /Araguaia/ a number of huge dance masks adorned in the most colorful manner with feathers, which in their construction remind one most strikingly of the Duk-duk of the South Sea.

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191 545

Not only each tribe, but each village has its own masked dances. The center is always the "flute house." In their character the dances are extraordinarily alike throughout Brazil. Always the running around in a circle and the noisy singing corresponding

/296 cont./

171 to the stamping. It is extremely characteristic that the Bakairi
582 have the same word for "dancing" and "singing." "The mean-
585 ing of the songs," says Martius, "is simple: praise of the warlike
[58] and hunting deeds of individuals or hordes, enumeration of cer-
tain animals and remarks about their characteristics. If masks
appear at the festival, most of which represent animals, the
wearers imitate their voices."

171 We did not observe anything that would permit us to con-
123 clude that the masks are in any way regarded as sacred. The
582 pieces plaited out of palm straw in particular were all heedlessly
tossed aside after use. True, the masks were sometimes hidden
from us, but only in the same way that /297/ all portable utensils
and ornaments were hidden from us, out of fear of robbery. Once
the people had gained confidence in us, they surrendered their
masks to us without further ado and made new ones to order.
They were demonstrated for us with joking and laughter, like a
pretty toy.

587 Among the docile Bakairi /Bacairi/ on the Paranatinga and
the Rio Novo the principal festival usually occurred in April. I,
with my civilized conceptions, was pursuing the idea of a feast
of thanksgiving and thought of the possibility that the festival
held at harvest time was somehow being celebrated in praise and
honor of some friendly powers regarded as the givers of good things.
I therefore tried to find out from Antonio whether anything like
that could be established. Antonio, however, did not respond to
my suggestion. "We celebrate the festival around harvest time,"
he declared, "because then we have something to celebrate; in
the dry period we must save, in the rainy season everything would
become moldy." Materialistic, but understandable.*

*"Usually a surplus of supplies for the beverages
is the occasion for the festival," says Martius,
"but where European custom has asserted itself
and Christians live next to Indians, a saint's day
will probably be chosen for it."

/297 cont./

B 527 533 533 533 [191] According to everything that the natives told us about the festivals, they primarily amounted to what they thought were riotous feasting and drinking bouts. Bakairi legend describes the origin to us in the same way. Kame, the tribal ancestor of the Arinos tribes, built the first flute house, carved the first flute, invited his friends to the dance, and served them manch-pane. Keri, the tribal ancestor of the Bakairi, who most eagerly competed with Kame in invention, for his part invited Kame to the dance; the legend tells us in what manner the festival took place and speaks of the makanari and the imeo, the straw costumes without face-masks, but with characterizing and partly disguising headdresses, as Keri's invention.

B 527 535 539 "Keri, too, called his people together. Toward evening they went dancing on the village plaza. Then from the house Keri fetched pogo to be drunk. Immediately thereafter they plaited makanari. Keri called Kame. Many people came and Keri was master of the dance. They danced all day. Toward evening they rested. After dark they danced all through the night. Early in the morning they went to be given to bathe. After the bath they came to the flute house. They began with the imeo and danced the whole day. They likewise danced all night. -- Then the festival was at an end."

B 527 533 533 533 533 [191] A noteworthy feature of the legend is the circumstance that the different tribes united for the dance festival. It is a universal custom that the villages invite one another to the big festivals. Friendly neighboring tribes also send numerous participants. In 1884, when we met the Trumai and Kamayurá /Camayura/ together (see p. 105), the two tribes had just celebrated a joint festival.

B 527 533 533 533 For one thing it is understandable under these circumstances that an exchange and leveling out between the customs and dance gear of the tribes takes place. /298/ Each tribe knew the songs of the neighboring tribes, without understanding their content precisely, as we learned in numerous cases. One tribe would also become acquainted with new types of masks from another, and finally the meresichu design, to which I shall come back after describing the masks, gained its general distribution.

2: Stetson--3426,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/298 cont./

171 Furthermore, however, it is easily understandable that the women are strictly excluded from the ceremonious dances and may not enter the flute house, the house of the men where foreign visitors are welcomed and entertained. It is probably in this sense that one should interpret the strange masquerade which we experienced in the second Bakairí village, when the food and drink for our flute-house band was fetched by a masked Indian of the first village from the women, who would not have been permitted to bring it. Cf. page 63.* Behind the jest lay the

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* At that place there is a sentence which was left in by mistake and which contains an idea long since given up by me -- the final sentence that there is perhaps a connection with the custom of eating alone. /The sentence referred to, which was omitted in the translation in accordance with the corrections listed on p. 371, reads as follows. Perhaps there is a connection between the custom of being veiled when one brings his gift of hospitality and the custom of eating alone, against which one cannot transgress without assuming the onus of shame of the others./

serious motive that strangers and women should be limited in their intercourse. The Mohammedan takes the opposite course, in that he masks his women and shuts them up in special chambers.

171 In the origin of the dance itself, moreover, there is a fundamental reason against the participation of the female sex. There are "inferiorized" pleasures which have developed from human festivals. Nevertheless, there seem to be distinctions. The women never take part in the big festivals, the Bakairí said, but in the small ones they do. They are also said to dance by themselves occasionally, without men. The Suyá, however, seem to think otherwise. At any rate, the Bakairí expressed themselves very contemptuously about the midbehavior there, "men danced with women." Perhaps it is advisable to point out,

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•191 finally, that there was not the slightest trace of any secrets and mysteries or of any special relationship of the medicine men to the dances which were supposed to be kept secret from the women.

•191 It is also for protection against feminine curiosity that the entrances of the flute house on the Kuliehu are made so low that one can enter only in a very moved position or even must slide in on the knees. I do not know to what extent the prohibition for the women is carried out in practice in everyday life, but we did not obtain permission to measure them in the flute house, and certainly it was said "the women would be killed if they went into the flute house" -- a rather crude variant of "mulier taceat in ecclesia" /the women is to be silent in church/. [197] That the custom was still taken seriously among the docile Bakairi some 30 or 40 years ago is best illustrated by an experience which, according to the story of an old Brazilian, the priests who brought Christianity were obliged to undergo. They found nothing more natural than to assemble the new congregation in the flute house which was so well suited for church purposes because it was uninhabited. /298/ The men came willingly enough, but the women remained outside and were persuaded only with great difficulty to risk physical danger for the sake of the salvation of their souls.

•191 Among all the tribes the body is partially or completely covered with aprons or cloaks for the masked dances. Leaf strips of burity straw or dry grass blades about a meter long were strung on a cord to make a wide apron and were wound around the neck several times so that they hung down from the shoulders, or around the /Fig. 30 appears here/ hips so that they reached to the ankles, or combined in both forms. The chief difference [125] is in the ornament for the head. Common to all is the connection with animals. Here we may distinguish

1. Imitations of animals are put on. Bakairi.

2. Straw caps with long fiber hangings, in part bearing attributes of the animal. Bakairi.

3. Fish net in front of the face. Nahuqua.

4. Straw lattice in the fashion of the sieve-fiber, in an oval hoop. Without facial parts. Bakairi, Nahuqua. Facial parts of wax. Aweti.

2/ Steinen--344E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888)1894 S97 Bakairi S97

/299 cont./

* 971 S96

5. Oval frames on which are stretched netting, cotton plaiting, and cotton weaving. Facial parts of wax pasted on, eyes of cotton flocks, beans, mother-of-pearl. Painted. Bakairí, Aweró, Kamayurá, Trumaí.

* 971 S97 S96 S95

6. Wooden masks. Square wooden planes with mighty bulging forehead and nose of human form. Painted on natural markings of the animal, outline of the animal, body parts of the animal (wings, fins), stylized animal designs. Eyes of mussel shell, mouth with fish teeth pasted on with wax, the lenses, like the former, again of human shape. Bakairí, Nahuquá, Aweró, Kamayurá, and, in the largest development, Mehinakú /Mehinacu/. The Mehinakú had only wooden masks. A manatamal from between 5 and 6, without the knitted bulge and owl, among the Aweró.

Fig. 90. Iruea dancer. Bakairí

* 971 S97 S95 S91

In the masked dancers's borrowings from foreign tribes, which are suggested through visits, and local cultivation of special variations are undoubtedly mixed.

Cologne, Düsseldorf, Vienna, and Trier also have, in their carnival sections, different caps, different insignia, different customs /300/ in the meetings, different songs, different dances, and different masks for the vehicles of the procession. Here, too, special "ladies' meetings" are announced for the participation of the female sex, and the women vigorously guard

/300 cont./

against appearing in the "flute house" at an inappropriate time, though they may hope to come out again alive, or at most only half dead. Carnival on the Kulisehu is also followed by a period of fasting, for it does not end -- the reason is not one connected with the cult -- before everything that is there has been eaten and drunk insofar as possible. The women have an enormous job satisfying the demands for beijú and drinks; they must pound, boil, and bake incessantly, and this necessity has probably also contributed somewhat to their being kept away from the dancing, so that they could meanwhile carry out their duties.

Bakaiří. On the Rio Novo and Paranatinga the old customs are still observed. "Everybody dances like the wild Bakaiří," said Antonio, "todo dança como Bakaiří bravo." He described to me the festival held last April, when the people from the Rio Novo had invited those of the Paranatinga. They danced the yenuka dance, the makanari, and the imeu. Yenuka is a fish dance; wooden fish are worn on the head, especially the black pakí and the meruchum; heads of men and women are made of calabashes painted black and white or black and red and surrounded with Bromelia hair.

Makanari is a general term. The Bakaiří calls almost everything and anything that is part of his dance ahemmeu makanari, he calls specific dances makanari. "bakaiří makanari ólu," the Bakaiří is master of the makanari. It is the dance of his tribe. The imeu is a type of makanari, a specific figure. It is meant that the concept of makanari was originally narrower and referred to a specific dance with straw plaiting. Among the Bacairi Bakaiří there are no wooden masks. Have the principal makanari is the bat dance, and, to be sure, ermíno, the small bat, and aiuá, the large bat. Antonio recited the text of the aiuá dance* for me, but, in spite of a great deal of trouble, it

*One man sings: ahuhaeha-ihá yunda ohí . . . . yumarí uwanká, yumari uwanká huyandá vuá ni . . . yohohohí. Then another: mauá idua

/300 cont./

535 533 534 kéuayú, maukeuayú bohohó, ahuá . . ahuhá, ahuá miyevené yandvizá hó. . .ohohohó, ihóhó. . . hohó, he . .hirámirurí hohó, yukévené yohó hohohohó. Now all in circular motion. ohó naminurí ohú naminuhurí ohoyócho yóchu hohuhó, oyarívéoení kayarió ohó naminurí ohú naminuhurí ohó oyochó yochu. Now out on the plaza yochó huyócho huyóchó huyóchohó huyócho. makavó makavó yuávizá inívirihaná, aná yochohuyócho. . . . . Finally, turning around achimámayú ohuhohí oyaveríhó hohuhoo, evechítini mahiraní hoo, achimámayú ohuhu. . . . .

535 533 was impossible for me to obtain a translation or even an explanation of the content. He said that he himself no longer understands the old words. I believe there was some truth in this, and that he was not merely, in his awkwardness, handing me an excuse, because even ahuá itself is not a Bakairí or Karaíben /Carib/ word at all, but a Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ word. (See also the footnote, page 24.) Perhaps the text is also in part old Aruak -- no longer understood /301/ after it had been sung together at joint festivals and was taken over and mixed with Bakairí words.

535 The imeo makanari in common to all Bakairí. On the Kulisehu imóto, imóto, is added as a related figure. Imeo is a
[125] white animal that lives in the dried-up buriti palm -- as far as I understood, the larva of a palm-boring beetle. imoto, a related creature, reddish with a black head. A strange selection, somewhat reminiscent of the Midsummer Night's Dream. It
[124] is explained, however, if one remembers that the material for the dance costumes is furnished primarily by the buriti palm, which that insect inhabits. And this may be a tasty morsel besides. /Fig. 91 appears here./ Other animals also appear in this makanari, especially the bat and the pintado sheatfish. Fig. 91 /see p. 347/. The latter mask is easy to understand. A costume plaited out of coarse, hard grass covers the body, but the wearer can look through the plaiting without difficulty, and a long pare

/XI cont./

595 of vine characterizes the herbals of the fish. The costume for the other figures of the dance consists of a straw cap with long fiber hangings all around, pulled down over the entire head, and a garment plaited out of burim leaf strips, which we found on the Bazavy even in 1884. Straw caps without a mask belong to the women or bat dancer: the [illegible] on the left in Figure 91 (see p. 348 /) has on its cap a mask with one or even two knob-like thickenings, the [illegible] (Figure 91, right) a bundle of knotted [illegible]. The [illegible] was also hung up in the hut as a magic doll (cf. page 517). Finally, a cap with five little [illegible] and shaped like Papuan plaited [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible], that, however, is the name of the wood out of which the [illegible] are carved. The mask [illegible] [illegible] a whistling bird which [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. The [illegible] of this cap are: total length [illegible] centimeters, tip piece 11.5 centimeters, actual cap [illegible] centimeters, height [illegible] centimeters.

Fig. 91. Wooden mask. Bakairi. (1/36 nat. size) as shown in the original showcase /.

The bunda doubtless of the [illegible] dance, with fringed sleeves and [illegible], Fig. 92, is very remarkable. We also found [illegible] dances, which were worn in connection with the large straw hangings. One stage ties the [illegible] the neck, the width thereof is one and a quarter meters and a string is fastened for drawing it together. The Bakairi wind as far on Tumpeat [illegible] in the same awkward way. However the [illegible] high [illegible] is a slit that is laced together with a [illegible] cord. /XI/ of our clothing owes its origin to a sense of modesty, the Bakairi has taken another course, so far must be regarded as a bad [illegible], for on some specimens he has hung on the [illegible] a penis consisting of a

/302 cont./

(§24) little piece of an ear of maize together with testicles of plaiting. Inevitably we feel forced to assume that a human individual is being presented to us. This is not necessarily the case, however, for, (§25) conversely, it seems self-evident to the Indian that the animal portrayed appears and acts with all human characteristics, and he

Fig. 91. Mekaraí of the Iwalá'.

Imuiá. Ewó. Ewachihpu. Ipwa.

also gives the face masks of his animals human features.

The dance on the Sereny, the ceremonial attire for which we found in 1884 in the flute house of the second Iwalá' village, is called Imiga. (Cf. Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, (p. 178 /see 1. Steinen, this file, p. 31/.) There were painted gourds, with feathers pasted on and open at the bottom, with carved birds looking out, the stuffed skin of a campo fox and an otter, a

/302 cont./

535 framework of stalks in which sat small sanyama birds amidst flocks of cotton, lizards plaited out of straw, as well as two sword-like pieces of wood painted black and white, which represented rattlesnakes -- /303/ all, except the circularly cutout ball-gourds, were provided with straw funnels for setting

[534] them on the head. In addition, rattle-gourds and face-combs made of hard fruit shells.

539 As for masks, I obtained in
535 Maigdri a longish oval mask of net plaiting with a beard of burriti fibers, a pendant of Orthalicus shells, and a wide-meshed net hood trimmed with curassow feathers. In the upper third, which is vertically intersected by a white stripe, but otherwise is painted red and dotted with black, there are the two eyes in the form of two straw rings. a band of straw borders the tongue-shaped nose which is on the edge above the eyes.

[531] The lower two thirds have a white loam background and on it exhibit the meremiu design in black and neatly drawn. The most striking thing, however, is the picture of a piava fish, tonikchi, which is the continuation of the stripe in the center of the face mask in the middle of the meremiu design. The black dotting of the upper part is probably also connected with it.

Fig. 93.
Net plaited-mask with piava fish. Bakairi. (1/10 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

We obtained eight wooden masks, all with black, red, and usually also white painting. They are heavy, flat wooden plates

[532] laboriously worked out with the stone ax, out of which the forehead FOOT PROJECTS WITH CONSIDERABLE CURVATURE.

/303 cont./

532 part projects with considerable curvature. They also have a huge
535 nose of human shape, which, along with the rest, is carved out
[239] of one piece. The mouth consists of a set of piranha teeth pasted on with wax. The eyes are small holes decorated with little pieces of mother-of-pearl, or they appear in two masks as a pair of river mussels pierced in the center. Hoods, from which, as always, long straw hangings flutter down, are plaited on the wooden
[239] plates for putting them on the head. In the places corresponding
[619] to the ears, the Bakairí were in the habit of inserting two beautiful yellow japú feathers (Cassicus), which they themselves wear as a sort of tribal mark. These feathers are also to be noted on the costume of the man with the imeo cap (cf. page 344).

532 Six of the masks were identified for us as bird masks. We
535 have, first of all, a mask, Fig. 94 /see p. 351/, which represents
825 a dove, papadüri, secondly a /304/ /Figs. 94-97 appear here/ /305/ gull mask, kakaya, see Fig. 44, page 289, thirdly the mask of a small bird unknown to us, which is said to live along lagoons and is called alapübe, Fig. 95, fourthly the arakuma mask, which represents a cock of the woods and is characterized by a wooden stem representing the head ornament of the animal, Fig. 96, and, finally, two tüwetüwe masks, one with a black indented decoration, the other with a red one, which refer to a songbird with a white head and red shoulder markings, Fig. 97. Of the bird masks described, only the gull mask (cf. the illustration on page 289) has the mereichu decoration, and it may doubtless be assumed that this is supposed to characterize the fish-catching water bird, since the mereichu is not shown in the net but separately.

The two most attractive masks were called yakuí-ikúto, that is, "piranha picture." They bear red cheek markings; on the one specimen we see two red triangles with the tips touching between nose and mouth, and the triangles are so large that each takes up one-fourth of the plate. (Cf. Fig. 12, p. 168.) By means of this painting the larger piranha species of those waters, the papo amarello (yellow throat) of the Brazilians, adorned with a brilliant orange, is reproduced. The eyes are pierced shells. The

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 352]

2: Steinen--351 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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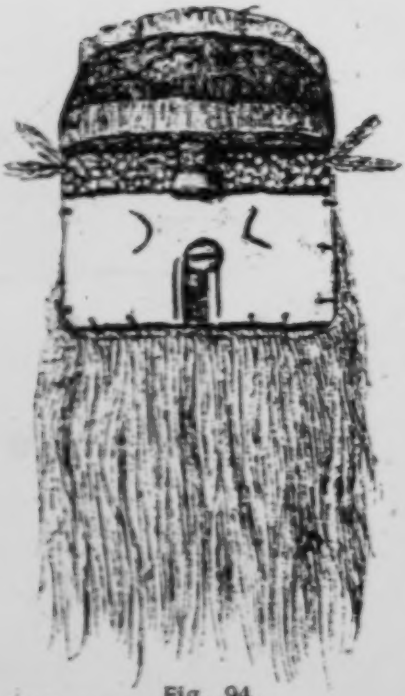

Fig. 94.
Papadūri dove. Bakaïrí. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

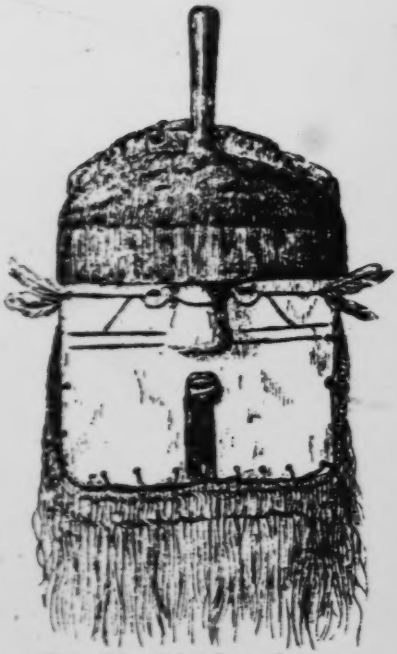

Fig. 96. Wood cock. Bakaïrí. (1/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

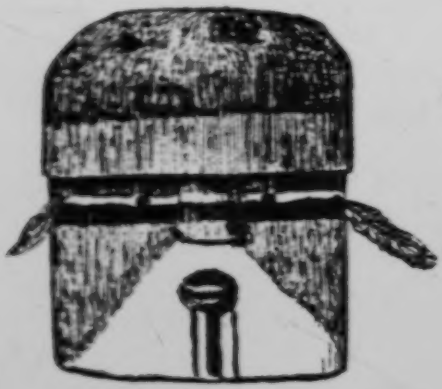

Fig. 95.
Alapūbe bird. Bakaïrí. (1/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 97. Tūwetūwe bird. Bakaïrí. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

/305 cont./

532 The handsomest decoration of these two masks, however, are the
535 enormous arara feathers inserted in the elongated nasal septum
825 and projecting far to the right and left. They are inserted into
237 a little bamboo rod decorated with tassels. Thus the Indians are so far from feeling obliged to give the animal represented its zoological physiognomy that they even pierce its nasal septum and adorn it with feathers, in accordance with their own custom.

535 We came across three fantastic dance costumes in the flute house of the third Bakairí village. Only one, however, was still in good condition. It was called kualíhe and looked like a small hut. This straw costume was truly a small house, and hence it is probably on account of the straw covering that the Bakairí call their dance costumes, including the beaded doublet provided with trouser legs and sleeves, "houses." The straw hoods were also called "beled houses." The expression, however, when the word was transferred to our woolen shirts and cloth trousers, became incomprehensible. The monster was much too heavy for us to take along. It was almost ten meters in circumference at the bottom. It was constructed like a huge cylinder with five concentric hoops heavily covered with straw, but was worn on the shoulder with two bast loops attached to the upper ring. One of the Indians obliged us by crawling into it. He put on the tíwetíwe mask and went into swaying and rocking movements. The hollow tree lying in front of the forewall but was beaten as an accompaniment to the kualíhe. "It is not a makanaí," the Bakairí say. I do not know whether they mean that it was of foreign origin. Also, I am un-
[136] able to decide whether there is a connection between this dance and the kurimatá fish (Salmo curimata), which in Bakairí /306/
[532] is called koáiu. At any rate, the tíwetíwe mask, which the native dancing before us put on, does not go with it, but rather a kuíbi sieve-mat. A sieve-mat consisting of little reed rods plaited together was provided with feather ornaments and worn in front of the face. This rush mask, or kuabi, however, lay in shreds on the ground.

2: Steinen--353 f,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SPT Bacairi 5P7
Yaruma 5P25
Nahuqua

Y 535 /306 cont./

Nahuquá. I have already described on page 77 the enemo dance which the Nahuquá performed for us and in which a woman also took part. Plate 7 /see p. 72/ reproduces the little drama very well. The dancers, who, with nets in front of their faces, strode toward each other in an extremely stooped position and beat their green branches together rhythmically, were demonstrating with their pantomime the kinds of fishing done at the river bundle or at

B 532 535

Fig. 98. Kualõbe dancer with tũwetũwe mask. Bakairí.

Y 535 similarly obstructed places; the fish are driven together at the narrow Y [534] exit and plunge into the nets held ready there. I have also reported on page 77 about the big round dance which they called amakakatí; obviously the gourd rattle, which is especially prized by the Nahuquá, played an important role in it.

/306 cont./

532 535 [104] [136] The masks that we took such pains to acquire are positively painful. It should be noted, however, that we visited only a single village of the Nahuquá, and that the main body of this tribe has its seat a few days' journey to the east on the Kuludiue where there is supposed to be no lack of dancing and masquerading. If we /307/ have correctly understood the indications given to us. It is suspicious that they designated the masks only with the Tupí word yakuikáto. Among them, as among the third Bakairí, we found a few face masks painted in the manner of the mandioca filters; unfortunately, however, since the festival had taken place some time before our arrival, these rush lattices had been carelessly tossed into a corner, crushed and stepped on, so that we were no longer able to use the sad remains.

Fig. 99. Nahuquá mask. (1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

We brought home four masks from the Nahuquá. Three are decorated with bean-eyes, with facial parts painted red and black, and with the black meroschu design on a white background in the lower two thirds of the plate. They are poorly worked; [126] we had asked the Indians to furnish us with fine yakuikáto when we called back on our return journey. That is when we obtained the three characterless [171] → wooden masks, the handsomest of which is shown in Figure 99 and which we fear have little Nahuquá individuality. A small mask, Fig. 100, which we received en route from a Guikuru-Nahuquá /Kuikuru-Nahuqua/ was truly original. It, too, was hastily, if not carved, at least put together; the natural color wooden background was painted without the use of white loam.

Fig. 100. Guikuru mask. (1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

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/307 cont./

Even the eyes were merely black dots. /Fig. 100 appears here/ It would certainly never have been used for the festival in this form, since it was known that we wanted masks, trash made ad hoc was provided. The mask shows a black rhombus in each of the domed side fields. The old Bakairi Falcão, to whom I showed it, first said "bat," but then "yakui-ikati face."

Mehinakú. The Mehinakú called their masks munuré or monuré. The Kuikuro /Cuikuro/, however, as well as the Waurá and Yaulapiti, also spoke of kiéhiku masks with the Aweró word for the painted masks. (The Yaulapiti again said yakuikati instead of munuré for wooden masks.) Among the Mehinakú there were found only heavy wooden masks, which, hung in the festival hut with a whizzing stick, were a magnificent sight. All that I am able to say about the meaning attached to them is that they are part of a cayman dance. I also remember that modeled out of earth next to the entrance of the festival hut were two iguanas, or Amelia, the scaly lizards usually known in Brazil by the Tupí word iguanbá.

/308/ We picked out the eight handsomest masks and obtained them without difficulty. In one dwelling we discovered a veritable monster. Not much wider than the others, it was almost three times as long and reached /Figs. 101 and 102 appear here/ almost down to the wearer's navel. The mouth is placed disproportionately low, a distance from the nose of one and a half times the length of it. A wide red transverse stripe runs right and left of the nose. Cf. Figure 103 /see p.357 /.

/309/ Most of the masks bear the meiguchu design. Only rhombuses without the filled-in corners and in between a net-crossing are painted on the giant mask. In the illustration the parts painted red are easily recognizable next to the light streaks. /Fig. 103 appears here./

No mask is like another. We see several with a red neck stripe or center stripe below the nose, but in Figure 104 /see p.359 / the one has a stretch of a red transverse stripe on the right and left beside the tip of the nose, in the case of the other one the

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 357]

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Fig. 101. Mehinaků mask with background painted red. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 102. Mehinaků mask with crenelated band. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

/309 cont./

532 side part is set off medially by a red curved stripe. In the case
535 of a third (Fig. 106 /see p. 301 /) a border field at the level of the eyes is painted red. In the case of a fourth (Fig. 105 /see p. 310 /), the center stripe is missing and is replaced by a half

Fig. 103. Large Mehinaku mask. (1/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

meretchu whose one point comes between mouth and nose, while to the right and left on this black and white mask there is again a curved bordering of the patterned side fields. We are already acquainted with such curved sections from the pots and spindle whorls. Each man had his mask and recognized it by the drawing.

/319 cont./ [illegible] so that the letter was a mark of ownership, whether this was intentional or came about naturally through the fact that everyone designed his painting independently.

I do not know to what extent one would be justified in seeing attributes of the caymen in part of the painting. One is not a little tempted to do so by the crenelated band which runs straight across the black and white mask reproduced with the large burnt head in Figure 182. It might well correspond to the neck shield of the caymen, especially since it appears only on the caymen masks. The mask on the right in Figure 186 /see p. 360 / is further characterized by two rows of very pointed red triangles, which alternately have their apexes turned up and down. /331/ If one has seen the plaited caypbara teeth of the Bakairí, one quite obviously thinks of the teeth of the caymen. These of the upper and lower jaw /Fig. 184 appears here/ overlap in quite similar fashion. The mask shown in profile on page 316, with its side triangles below and outside the eyes, resembles the piranha mask of the Bakairí, cf. page 167, and probably also represents the neck or cheek markings of an animal. /Fig. 185 appears here./

Aweté. The Aweté distinguish between two types of masks: I. koehíu and II. yakuíkaní, the former plaited and woven masks, the latter wooden masks.

I. Koehíu. Among the plaited and woven masks there are especially striking because they show was used in a way that does not occur otherwise, Figure 187 /see p. 360 /. The first and second of these koehíu masks, as may be clearly seen in the middle figure, are nothing more than a lattice of little reed rods, the same type of work, that is, with the technique of the sieve-mat, that we observed among the Bakairí and Nahuquá. Worth noting also is the manner in which the oval plaited and woven masks are worn. They are by no means placed in front of the face, like our masks, where the facial parts correspond to the position of the parts of the human face behind them, but rather lie obliquely pointed upward on the front of the head and the /311/ /Figs. 106 and 107 appear here/ /312/ forehead of the wearer, who looks out under the oval mask through the straw hangings plaited on it.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 361]

Fig. 104. Cayman mask. Mohawk. (1/4-1/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 105. Cayman mask. Mohawk. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 106. Cayman masks. Mehinakú. (1/4-1/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

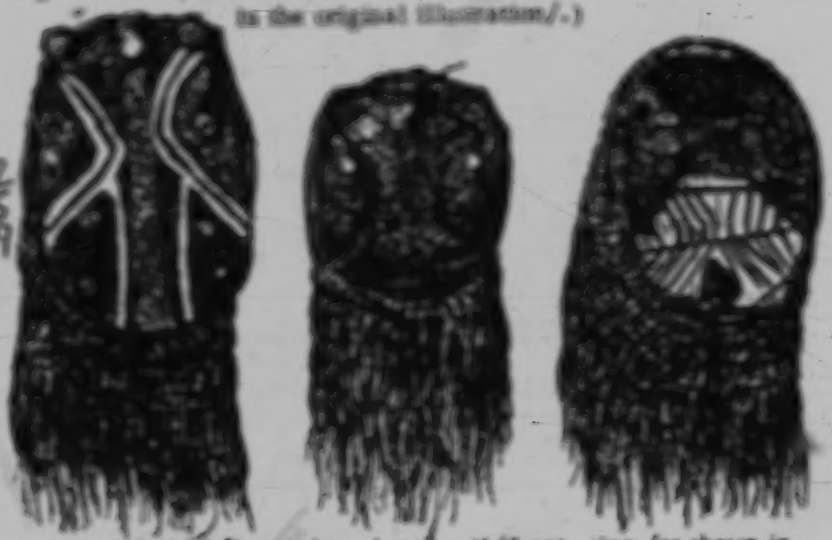


Fig. 107. Koahálu masks. Auetó. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

/312 cont./

Of the three wax masks in Fig. 127 /see p. 301/ the most primitive is the middle figure. The lattice of little rods is covered with wax, but the side parts are more thickly covered and contain the eyes, two white wool snippets, originally provided with black wax pupils, which, however, were lost. The nose, a thick lump of wax, is higher than the eyes. In the mask on the left, which is completely coated with wax, the

Fig. 128. Koehdlu mask. Azandé. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 129. Koehdlu mask. Azandé. Wooden plate. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

eyes are little lumps of wax set on small pieces of mother-of-pearl. Red cheek triangles and a red center stripe are outlined by sharply contrasting white lines; in the lower side fields are found two red dots. The eyes are terribly far apart and closer to the edge than to the middle line, the nose again high up, and on either side of it a wax knob appears. The three wax masks do not have a mouth, but it may be only accidentally missing, because we took the masks just as we found them in the huts.

/31.2 cont./

The most interesting is the mask on the right in Fig. 107 /see p. 300/. Here closely woven cloth, which is exposed at the top, is stretched in the hoop. Between the two wax chemin there is a center piece painted red, and at the edge of them the eyes are tiny bean rings. The lower half of the mask frames the gills in the form of fishelike or treelike branching. A cotton tip three-fourths of a meter long hangs down at the bottom and over its attachment a piece of wax has been pressed on.

/31.3/ Besides the wax masks there were found for the koahdlu dance four masks with black or red forehead segment, center stripe, and meremhu design, Fig. 108 /see p. 301/. Cf. also the mask on page 291, Fig. 46. Seed rings appear for bordering both the wax eyes (mother-of-pearl inset) and the wax mouth with the piranha teeth. A quite similar mask, Fig. 109 /see p. 301/, consists, interestingly enough, of a wooden plate which is oval like the hoop of the painted masks. Holes are put all around where the hood is tied on. Thus we have a wooden mask with exactly the same equipment and form as the painted masks.

With the help of the Bakairí I tried to find out the meaning of the koahdlu dance, but learned only that it had something to do with a fish or fishes. The Bakairí said the mask corresponds to the kuikhi, cf. page 302, which they themselves wear in the third village for the kualdhe dance. Just because of that, however, I should not like to link together koahdlu and kualdhe, which are after all different words -- especially not since I heard in addition among the Aweró the forms kouhahdlu, kuhahalind, and, supposedly for the Kamayurá, kouhdhi. In any case, in practical use koahdlu meant only the song accompanying the fish dance and corresponded to the maraká of the Kamayurá.

The Aweró chief demonstrated the dance for us, taking a bow and arrow in his hand, putting on the mask, as described, and, walking up and down, singing with a loud voice: "ehé hehi he ehé. Hátlere umatschíre ü kunyayá, kunyayá kunyayá. Hátlere umatylíre ü kunyayá." This refers to women "kunyá," which the Bakairí also translated as pekóro. On the other hand, the Kamayurá sang their "maraká": "yemáma hemahé, yáuara emuakuá yerí pitú pitú yáuara emuakuá yemáma hemahé..."

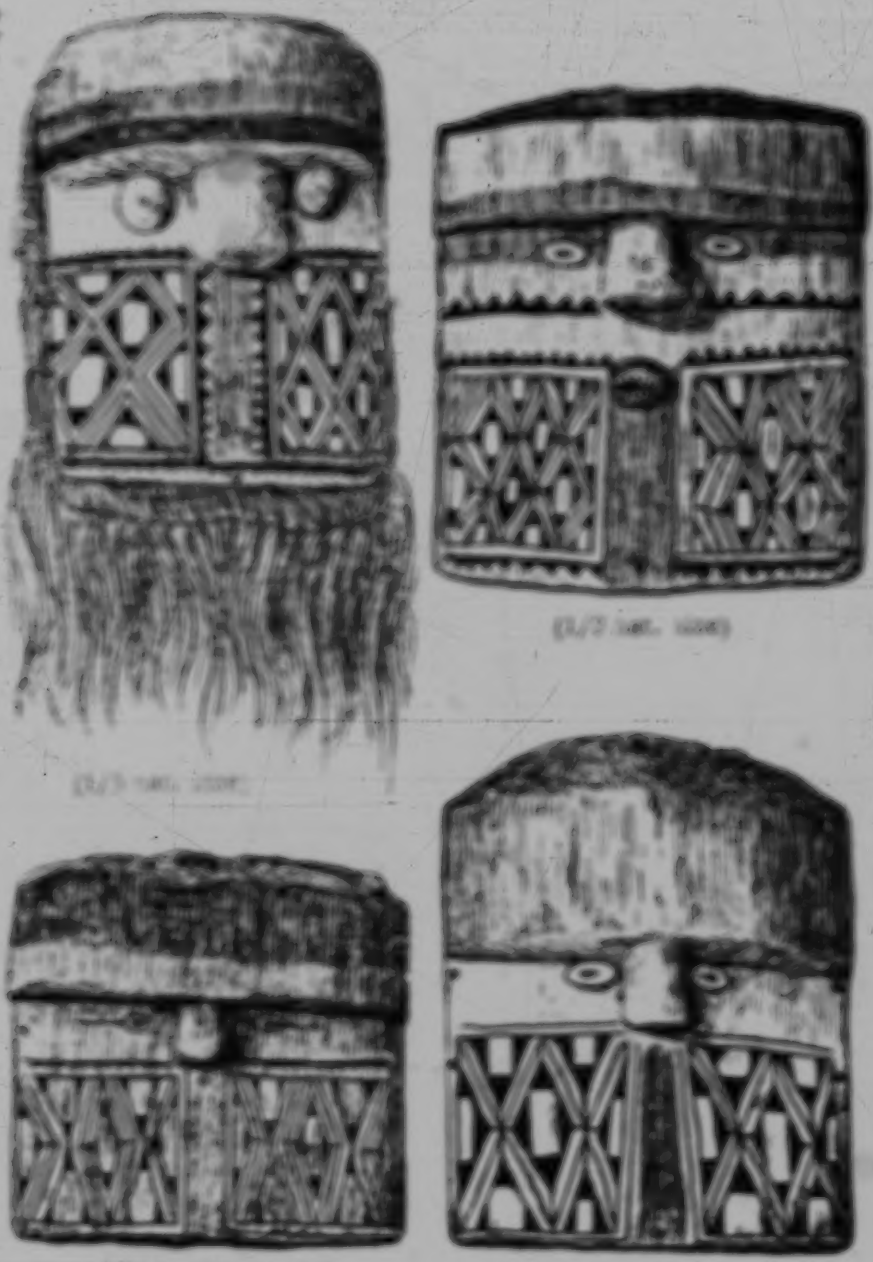
/[illegible] cont./

[illegible] **Takahiro?**. *yakuf* is a small or young *yaki*, which. The word *yaki* designates the gallinaceous birds of the Polytypinae most closely related to the cormorans. Cf. Richter's *Taschen* /Annual Lib/, *Vogel* /Bird/ II., page 628. *kari*, good, is affixed in Tupi in the more diverse meanings, the basic one of which is usually that something is pleasing, given pleasure, so that in this case we may best translate it as "pleasure," "fun," "holiday." The Kamayurá called the dance and the music both *yakuflari* and simply *yakuf*. This Tupi word was familiar to all the tribes, except that the Bakairí and *yakuflari*, probably because they made it similar to their own *yaki* dance. The *yakuf* dance is the original dance of the Auetó and Kamayurá, the Tupi tribes.

The Auetó-music that being here are wooden masks. We saw a variation of these masks in the plumed masks, cf. Figure 189 /see p. 361/. The Kamayurá bridge of walking, and the mask was more delicately carved than the wooden masks are. [illegible] we except the plumed-like Bakairí masks that have only a [illegible] carved. The masks are already on the way to making wooden fish-masks like the Kamayurá. /[illegible]/ /Fig. 113 approximately/

/[illegible]/ All the wooden masks get the full page /see p. 361/ have a red [illegible] shape, dark eyes which are plumed, and the [illegible] design with a [illegible] red-design. The two masks of Figure 181 /see p. 365/ have, in addition to the [illegible] eyes, the wing markings. The [illegible] masks have also [illegible] the [illegible] hand, [illegible] as it is related to the shoulder mark of the legend but in the [illegible] mark of the bakairí. /Fig. 181 appear both/ both [illegible] and vertically, and [illegible], [illegible] characterizes the peculiarity of the plumage to that is [illegible] the pretty [illegible]-design that appears especially on hands, [illegible], and legs of the young birds. The back stripe or [illegible], however, is painted red throughout, because the naked [illegible] of the *yaki* is this color.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 365]



(1/3 nat. size)

(1/2 nat. size)

(1/4 nat. size)

(1/4 nat. size)

Fig. 110. Yakuhaní wooden masks of the Asetó. /The sizes are given in relation to the original illustration./

2. Kamayurá — Kil-f_D-5 (1006, 1007-1008) 1034 [illegible] Kamayurá

/205 conn./

535 Kamayurá. The Kamayurá practiced chiefly the yakuf or flowing-head dance, for which there is no mask. It is a war dance. In our presence, however, they used the word yakuf also simply for dance. It is extremely difficult to avoid errors, for

(1/3 nat. size)

(1/4 nat. size)

Fig. 111. Yakuñaní masks with wing drawings. Aweté. /The sizes are given in relation to the original illustrations./

if one asks the Indians for the name of a thing, they always say what it is used for. Thus, maracá, which in Tupí is always translated as "rattle," means the song and music for which the rattle is used. Thus we always believed that "yakuñaní" means "mask," whereas it means "yakuf festival." In the masked dances they distinguish between 1. yakuf, and 2. hiwéñ. The word hiwéñ = Guarani y-guéñ means "water-dweller," just as the capybara is the "grass (kaapim)-dweller." At first we thought hiwéñ was "wooden mask."

The hiwéñ was the fish dance of the Kamayurá, just as the kuñhéñ was the fish dance of the Aweté, while both had the yakuf bird dance.

We did not get any actual yakuf masks from the Kamayurá; they compared this bird dance with the tiwetiwe dance of the Bakairí. They /316/ used woven and wooden masks in the same way for the hiwéñ dance, thus not limiting the fish dance to the former, as the Aweté generally seemed to do. /Fig. 112 appears here./

[Text Continues on P 367]

Fig. 112. Woven mask of the Kamayurá. (1/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

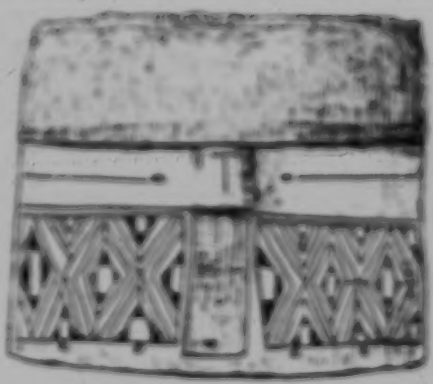


Fig. 113. Hívat mask. Kamayurá. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

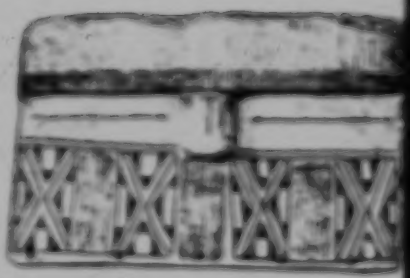


Fig. 114. Hívat mask. Kamayurá. (1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Auto 526 comparo

On both, the fish is characterized by the lateral lines with which we became familiar on a fish drawing, page 288, Fig. 64. They reach to the eyes and in Figure 112 /see p. 366/ give the impression of spectacles without a bridge. On one wooden mask the pectoral fins were reproduced in such a way that below and on either side of the nose, under the cross stroke, there was a drawing that looked like a small tongue or flap tilted outward.

Woven and wooden masks had the same arrangement: forehead part, eyes with the side line, center strip, and, on either side of it, the mereschu design. On the sole of the wooden masks, Figs. 113 and 114 /see p. 366/, there appears a T-figure which probably represents the marking of a certain fish. The wooden masks were strikingly wide, 27-37 centimeters. On the woven masks (Fig. 112) there were barbels of the fish attached in the form of cotton strands which hung down from the hoops and rested on the burin hood. It was also known how to produce fish designs in the weave itself. /Figs. 113 and 114 appear here./ We saw an oval hoop with woven cotton stretched on it, which was held in front of the face and bore no painting of any kind, but a fish-bone design in the weave itself. Similarly, in several woven masks, which could be regarded as cloth masks in view of the tightness of the weaving, there appeared /317/ a slightly raised woven rhombus design under the painted mereschu design and without precisely covering it. Finally, a hivät wooden mask (Fig. 115 /see p. 368/) with a red forehead border, likewise very wide, was striking on account of two red fish standing vertically on a black background, which were painted outside and next to the eyes. Each fish appeared as a rhombus with a wide tail triangle set on it.

In the hivät dance the hollow tree is pounded as a signal that the festival is commencing and that the women are to go away. Women and children were even driven away for the pantomime when one man donned a wooden mask on the village plaza in order to show us the dance. It looks mad enough. The mask with its empty, lined face inevitably takes on, with the solemn movements a certain physiognomy. I was vividly reminded of the

Trumai 5223
Auetö 5226
Camayurá

/197 cont./

illustrations in "Good' aus dem Wandham... /just out of the Pub/," in which the houses, the pumps, and the lanterns have exactly the same faces.

Besides the bikák masks there was also found among the Kamayurá a huge plaiting reminiscent of the kualiho of the Bakairí, which had approximately the form of a mushroom with skin and stem. The upper body of the weaver, approximately to the navel, was in the cap, which was plaited over a large cross-hoop, while the stem of the mushroom was formed by the straw curtain hanging down. One quadrant of the surface of the cap, set off by border-like pieces of vine, was painted with the meremchu design. on the top a stem was added, similar to the jimo of the Bakairí, but thickly plaited round, painted with meremchu, and ending in a great tassel. The thing was called turuí. In Guarani turú means "all kinds of worms living in the water," whereas in Tupí, according to Marcai, it means Termitodo, leaf wasp.

Fig. 115. Wooden mask with fish pictures. Kamayurá. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Trumaí. Exclusively cotton plaited masks, called bukrike, zarumuká, kushabá, the various meanings of which I do not know. It should be remembered that we met these people in flight, and that they may have left wooden masks behind. It may also come from the fact that a very large mask without facial parts appears only as an oval frame with cotton plaiting (black, with red center stripe) stretched over it and also provided with an incomplete buriti hood. In spite of the cotton, one cannot speak of "weaving". the strands were crudely plaited,

/317 cont./

on for straw mats. Some /318/ of the plaited masks are of the same type as among the Auetö and Kamayurá, but usually the entire surface of the texture is covered with the black merexchu design on a white background, in one case with horizontal rhombuses and without neck stripe or center stripe, while on others the latter is reduced to a black line. /Figs. 116 and 117 appear here./

Eyes and nose are usually three equal-sized lumps of wax next to one another in a row and knotted on with a piece of buriti fiber. On only one mask is a pair of bright shell disks pressed on the eye-lumps. The mouth is a black wax ring that looks like a penny and so large that nose and mouth have room in it. All the facial parts are confined to the upper half, in fact the upper third, of the oval.

On a number of masks the painting is simply a black background with a red center stripe or a red background with a black center stripe in which nose and mouth are placed or which extends only to the mouth.

/319/ In the case of three masks, however, there is more. On No. 1: black background, white center stripe accompanied by a white line on either side; touching it is the triangular cheek part which consists of a red and a white stripe, the black background stripe, and a red border triangle. The mask reminds one very much of the first wax mask of the Auetö, Fig. 107 /see p. 360/. No. 2: black /Fig. 118 appears here/ background, red center stripe, two white border triangles on either side, outlined by a white zigzag line. No. 3: white background on the outside and top, inside a black background the width of the eyes and to a height to include the eyes, with a red center stripe up to the mouth ring.

II. Common Origin of the Masks and the Merexchu Design.

We have no difficulty understanding the Bakairí who put on animal figures plaited out of straw and heads of animal skins, but we cannot help but find it strange that there are facial parts of human form on the animal masks. One would expect a dove

[Text continues on p. 371]

2: Steinen--370E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Trumai SP23

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Fig. 116. Trumaí mask, black and red. (1/4 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 117. Trumaí mask with mereschu design. (1/4 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

/319 cont./ B 171* 532 535

mask, for example, to have a bill and not a nose with a mouth beneath it. On seeing such a dancer, one has the feeling that he is going to call out to us pleasantly: "Don't think that I am really a dove. I am a

T 532 535

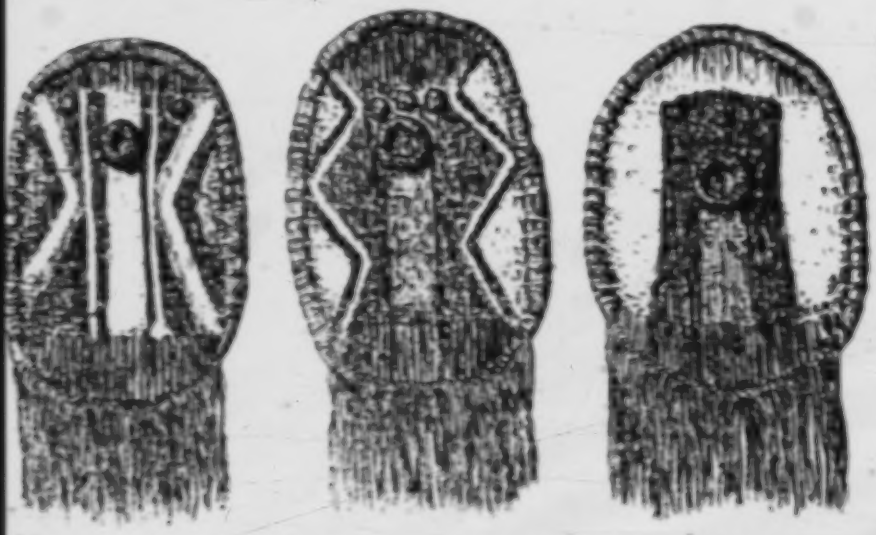

Fig. 118. Trumaí masks, painted black, white, and red. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

B 171* 532 535

human being, like you, and am merely /320/ pretending to be a dove as you can hear by my cooing and can convince yourself by the painted dots on my feathers."

"Know ye, therefore, that I am Hans Schnock, the carpenter
Not a wild lion, forsooth, and not a lion's wife."

In fact, the masks are not by any means merely face masks. Eyes, nose, and mouth are restricted to the upper part of the field, and the center stripe marks the continuation of the body with the neck; wing, fin, side line, neck and shoulder markings appear next to it. On the fish makanari of the Bakaírí, which is a work made with great care and love, we miss the mouth and see a large fish in the middle of the mereschu design. The Auetõ, finally, look out from under their masks, through the hood; moreover, a large part of the wooden-mask eyes are made so that the holes are too small and not the proper distance apart to be suitable for looking through; they are for the spectator, not for the wearer.

/320 cont./

*171 532 535 How should we picture to ourselves the developmental history of the masks? Let us take as a starting point the straw hoods of the Bakairí and their pintado mask, page 346. This masquerade was already a great advance as compared to their dressing up in an animal skin and hangings of strips of straw. The people plaited animals for themselves, put some on their heads and crawled into others. From the products of the drawing art and from the plaited figures we know how little they need for characterization. They drew a piece of vine through the upper part of the costume; that was the barbels and sufficed for a demonstration of a pintado fish. They do not find it necessary to carry the imitation further; even today they do not need a pintado face-mask. The Indians enhanced the effect of their straw hoods, however, by putting wax eyes, nose, and mouth on them and plaiting in a hoop that outlined the oval of a face. This mask was more decorative than imitative; it developed from the straw lattice to the fiber plaiting that could have loam put on it and be painted. It was provided with the fish design or the markings of an animal, or an animal was painted on.

*171 535 532 525 [527] It is very natural that fish should play the chief role, since they were caught in masses on their expeditions and thus furnished the opportunity for a general festival. The yakuf dance, the dance of the small schakú chickens, may also be associated with more abundant hunting booty. "All the larger species maintain themselves individually, the smaller ones usually gather in large flocks which may grow to a hundred or more individuals." (Brehm's Tierleben /Animal Life/, Vögel /Birds/ II, page 628). Thus we are not surprised that we hear nothing about the jaguar or the tapir or other game mammals that appear in the Tekuna masks: these furnished only occasional booty, whereas it was precisely quantity that offered the occasion for a banquet to be celebrated with many neighbors.

*171 532 535 /321/ If one recalls, however, how the Nahuquá covered the head with a fish net for their eremo dance and demonstrated by their pantomime the herding together of fish by a band of people, one will not reject the thought that the oval woven mask has more

/321 cont./

*171 than external similarity in common with the fish net stretched in
532 a frame in the same shape. If the Indian had hit upon the idea of
535 the mask-hoop by starting from the shape of the face, he would have used the entire field for the face, whereas the latter now takes up only a part of the space and is treated with less care than the painting. The fish makanari of the Bakairí is nothing but a net with narrow meshes and thus suitable for holding the loam.
[237] The net hood attached to it could be there today for the sake of the feather ornamentation, since the feathers must be tied into the meshes, but for this reason it is just as likely possible that the net is older then the feathers, which are otherwise missing on the hoods. Perhaps our oldest oval plaited mask, therefore, is merely the fish net added to the straw costume and decoratively fashioned. In this case it is far easier to understand why the characterization of the animal is so little emphasized; the net was decorated and even characteristically decorated, but it was not incorporated into the costume for the sake of an anatomical likeness.

*171 This also gives us an explanation of the mereschu design. The
53 mask -- fish-net was plaited more closely because it concealed better and could now be painted. But the old, wide-meshed net was painted on and the little fish set in. There is one point which seems to me to prove that I am right, a point which is very strange by itself, but would then be quite easily explained. My cousin Wilhelm pointed out to me that the Indian always paints the mereschu design standing, that is to say, the larger diagonal of the rhombus upright, the smaller one crosswise. This can no longer be seen on the round spindle whorls when they are finished, but we watched the incising and observed that the figure was made standing, and precisely the same thing happened in the pencil drawings. I could not therefore show the figure on page 288, Fig. 43, horizontally, which would probably have seemed more natural to us, I therefore also arranged all the spindle whorls with the mereschus horizontal, and lastly, though more for fun, I stood the original mereschu, page 286, on its tail.

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How does the artist arrive at this peculiarity? After all, on the frieze (cf.Plate 21/see p. 281/) the fish are drawn as they swim. Well, on the masks the fish also stand on their tails; one need only look at the fish makanari of the Bakaïrí, page 349, and the black Kamayurá mask, page 368. Indeed, the only time we come across the mereschu fish as a single individual outside the net, on the gull mask of the Bakaïrí, page 289, Fig. 44, it is standing vertically. On the woven masks, however, which are the ones that matter since they are the oldest, the fish was drawn in a position unnatural in itself and for the fish, /322/ because they have the elongated oval position corresponding to the face; if one imagines the piava of the fish makanari, page 349, as horizontal, one will realize, first, that the fish would then be contracted, secondly, that it would look positively unnatural to have the fish swimming across the face because it would be contrary to the main direction. A glance at door and window arrangements shows the same requirement for us.

Thus, net and fish were painted with upright rhombuses on the elongated oval mask. Look at the great number of the mask illustrations with the mereschu design: the same position everywhere. We saw only one exception and it proves the rule rather than running counter to it. This is a Trumaí mask. The good Trumaí, however, borrowed the masks from the Kamayurá, just as they learned of cotton and the sieve-mat among them, and they designate them with the Tupí name. They did not take part in the developmental process.

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[532]
[535]
[177]

We now also understand the close connection between net and mereschu fish and the abundant production of this particular fish. Within each mesh was drawn a fish, which had to be small, because otherwise it would not fit in the space, which also had the same rhomboid shape as the net mesh. Finally, we understand how, with the fine work, the representation of the head, fins, and tail was done by filling in the corners. In short, everything agrees so excellently, both for the design and for the course of development, that I regard the proof as demonstrated, insofar as this is possible.

/322 cont./

*171 531 825 Nowadays the design has become purely ornamental. There is no direct, inherent connection between the mandioca digging sticks and the little lagoon fish. But one thing will have to be admitted. The significance of the little fish grew far beyond what it was originally because it recalled happy days of festivity: all industry having to do with drinking, feasting, and adornment seized upon it. Thus, there is good reason why the large gourds and calabashes in which the pogu is served, the beijú turners with which the hospitable cakes are tirelessly turned on such days, the gourd vessels in which the gorgeous feathers were kept, the rattle-gourds waved for the dance, the spindle whorls with which the thread for the woven masks was spun, why all these and similar things were decorated with the mereschu fish. The origin of ornamentation lies in a motivated feeling, and it is only when its manifestations have become numerous and trivial that no one sees anything but figure and color. The favorite pictures of our people appear after all on colored handkerchiefs. The mereschu design was able to spread from tribe to tribe and became established everywhere just because it grew out of the festival dances in which all the tribes joined.

/323/ Yet it should not be forgotten that the Indian even today remains aware of the concrete original. The Bakaïrí does [562] not put a mereschu fish on his masks, with the exception of the [535] gull mask, Figure 44, and the fish makanari, Figure 93, and among other tribes too -- see the wax masks of the Auetó and the black, white, and red masks of the Trumaí -- there are distinct differences which I am unable to define more specifically. In the beginning, the fish was not appropriate in all the cases where today the rhombus has already crept in or will creep in soon.

*171 53 One must now ask the question: if the woven masks and the mereschu design go back to the fish net, are there any facts for determining which tribe was the inventor? The mereschu fish was designated to me as a "lagoon fish" (we ate it among the Yaulapiti), but it occurs everywhere in our area, even in the [226] Paranatinga. Fishing with nets is also practiced by all tribes.

Waura SP18
Mehinacu
Yaruma SP25
Nahuqua
Aueto SP6
Camayura

B /323 cont./
*171 Thus, nothing can be determined here. Nevertheless, the ethno-
53 logical leveling with the mereschu design and the masks has not
yet gone so far that a negative conclusion cannot be reached, at
least for a few tribes. The Bakaĩrí, I believe, are out of the
question. They are the "masters of the makanari and the imeo,"
B the plaited costumes, and the docile Bakaĩrí did not have real
[283] masks at all. The Bakaĩrí also did not have the spindle whorls
Y decorated with the mereschu. Among the Nahuquá we did not
532 find any woven masks and only poor wooden masks, which they
171 designated with the name yakuíkatú of the Tupí dance; they
may have more to offer on the Kuluëne, but on the basis of
what we know about them up to now, we can scarcely give them
as much credit as the Bakaĩrí and certainly not more. I have
previously been obliged to deny originality for the Trumaí.

W The Mehinakú with their relatives and the Tupí tribes remain.
171 The former permitted us to see only wooden masks. The wooden
53 masks show the same arrangement as the woven masks with center
stripe and design, so they do not show any peculiar origin and
W signify only a technical advance. The Mehinakú were the best
[322] carvers, as the stools show, and thus I should be inclined to give
them first place for the invention of the wooden mask. I do not
know but that they may also have dances with woven masks,
since the word koahálu was also familiar to the Kustenaú and
Waurá whom I questioned in the Auetó harbor; it is impossible
to decide, since one tribe would know the dances of the other.
A The Tupí tribes of the Kamayurá and Auetó, especially the
171 latter, probably deserve the most consideration. The Auetó had
53 the largest number of plaited and woven masks, their word
[286] "koahálu" had been passed on to the Nu-Aruak tribes, also all
the wooden masks among them were painted with the mereschu,
they were the best painting artists who made purely stylized
drawings, and among them and the Kamayurá in particular the
most firmly woven cloth was present. Thus we see among them
W the oldest practice of the very arts which are required here, /324/
[322] weaving and painting, while the Mehinakú accomplish more in
[323] ceramics and carving. Therefore it is my humble opinion that

/324 cont./

171 the chances are in favor of the Auetč and that they are the in-
53 ventors of the woven mask and hence also of the mereschu design.

III. Other Festival Apparatus.

535 In the evening on the village plaza the Kamayurá enumerated for us seven different dances and demonstrated parts of them in pantomime. 1. yauarí. The throwing-board dance. With great plastic talent it was demonstrated how a warrior is wounded and falls down dead. The dying Aeginetan lacked only the shield. 2. mavuravuá masked dance. 3. ivúraaú with feather ornament and buriti costume, the arrow over the shoulder. 4. amerikumá with small dance clubs. Cf. Figure 119. ihóhó ihoehehé ihóho ehéhé nuyakíko horómotáng motík. 5. tavúravauá. Green branches on the arms, net cap, ear feathers, feather diadems, buriti costume. Corresponding to the fish dance of the Nahuquá. 6. namiakóit, when the ear holes are pierced for boys about five years old. 7. kunyá maraká, when the uluri is put on the girls.

[304] →

Fig. 119.
Dance club.
(1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

[533] We also heard more of the accompanying songs, all of which seem to be stereotyped. I jotted down parts of them, but am unable to translate them. The refrains that recurred most frequently were kaká hiyé, kaká hiyevéne. In any case, the yauarí dance plays the most important part and has all kinds of turns; one heard yauarí among the Kamayurá just as often as makanári among the Bakaïrí, except that maraká was the equivalent of "dance" or

/324 cont./

A 535 "song," and therefore their chief dance was called yauarí-maraká. One man also gave a strange performance by dancing bent over and rubbing two arrows over the ground, a woman behind him: kurukú he.

A [533] The women, kunyá, who are, of course, regarded as the best booty, were often mentioned in the songs. In the dance pantomime, especially during the amurikumá dance, it was often made clear that the women were handing over fish. The dances start early in the morning and last until sunset.

Fig. 120. Dogfish dance-staff. Kamayurá. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

T [171] [535] Dance clubs, similar to the one of the Kamayurá, illustrated, in part with plaiting prettily around them, were also found A [412] [239] among the Trumaí. Among the Auetó we obtained a dance ornament, the shape of which was reminiscent of the horsetail of a drum major: from a piece of hoop, on either side and in the center, hung tails of buriti fibers almost half a meter long.

A [239] [412] For the dance with hūvát masks among the Kamayurá there were two staffs, haéatē, 80 centimeters long, at the tip of which the set of teeth of a dogfish was plaited into a /325/ triangular attachment in such a way that the two long pointed teeth, the favorite boring and cutting instruments of the Indian, stuck out at the top.

B *171 535 As may be seen, the dance has its psychological development. It clearly reflects the progress of culture. In the beginning the animal is presented in pantomime, its voice is imitated, and its shape copied in the straw masquerade; the masking art with its fertile motifs for all painting develops from the fish net -- here the implement with its technique has already become the chief focus of interest as over against the animal figure. The throwing

/325 cont./

*171 535 board and the club die out as weapons among the more peacefully minded field-cultivators, but they remain as dance ornaments; the throwing stones are replaced on the arrow by lumps of wax, and small ones hang around the necks of the children as amulets. The Bakaïrí makes two insects living in the palm tree the center of his dances with buriti plaiting. The Kamayurá wears the set of teeth of the dogfish as a festive ornament during the fish dance; he and the Auetö also make ornamental whorls in place of the work spindle-whorls and immediately arrive at new designs because they need paint them with only temporary designs for the purpose of the moment (cf. page 307); the Bakaïrí, in the back-sticks, creates a peculiar dance ornament out of the mandioca digging sticks, and here, too, in the free exercise of art, there arise new motifs, both the form, in that the pointed wooden cylinder was changed, and the design of the drawing (cf. pages 294, 296, 320).

Everywhere here we still find the prosaic, useful activity, either hunting, fishing, or other work, preceding the ornamentation. Let us make clear to ourselves once again that man did not adorn himself by looking around in free nature for something that was attractive and putting it on his body; rather, he discovered beauty only after he had sought and adopted the material for useful purposes. But meanwhile he has gained a great supply of form- and color-motifs; he seeks to apply them everywhere and has raised the ornamentation itself to a kind of art which unfolds most freely in dance and festive play where an excess of energy asserts itself.

*171 533 Musical instruments. "In the music of the Indian the feeling for rhythm is most pronounced, but he produces only weak fragments of melodies and /326/ he seems to have no idea of the emotional power of harmony." I am quoting Martius here, if only because I am not sure whether the Indians are not more *171 534 musical than I am. It was true, everything that we heard was merely an expression of beat and rhythm. I am therefore counting the rattles, which only produce noise, among their musical instruments. They had foot rattles, bunches of hard

/326 cont./ They had foot rattles, bunches of hard
*19 fruit shells, and in particular halved pikí seeds which the dancer
304 wore tied around the ankle of the stamping foot. (Cf. Figure 90,
[324] page 344.) Clinking shell and nut-shell pendants that hung on cotton tassels from neck cords, the shell bundle of the fish makanari of the Bakaïrí, served the same purpose.

The rattle gourd containing seeds and pieces of mussel shells and pierced by a little bamboo stick, which was shaken rhythmically with the hand, had the same name as the foot rattles* among the Bakaïrí, Nahuquá, and Kamayurá. A strange

> * kamitũ among the Kamayurá, not marãka as in Tupí, which among them means song and dance. Auetõ teruã and foot rattle aimãra, which could be related to marãka.

sight for us when the adult people with great enthusiasm swing the musical instrument of our infants. One would seek in vain for the rattle among children. While we saw no rattle gourds among the Bakaïrí, they were very numerous among the Nahuquá and were provided with all kinds of decorations of small feathers, small lumps of wax, and cotton tassels. We
[237] also found a young turtle impaled on a small stick in place of the gourd, and among the Auetõ even the blue, polished-looking egg of a gallinaceous bird, with a handle more than a third of a meter long. Occasionally there were two rattle gourds on one handle.

Bottle-shaped gourds were used for rhythmical stamping. Round ones with a bamboo tube inserted formed a sort of transition to the flute.

In the third Bakaïrí village and among the Kamayurá a hollow tree which lay on the ground was used as a drum.

Flutes. A hollow palm nut, six centimeters long, provided with two holes into which one blew, served as a little pipe. The most popular and accomplished flute, three-fourths to one meter long, six centimeters thick, was called méni among the Bakaïrí, while among the rest of the tribes it

B /326 cont./
*171 carried the following names, apparently all related: Mehinakú
534 kolutá, Kustenaú kulútu, Trumaí kut (foot rattle kutchót), Nahuquá kulúta, karúto, Kamayurá kurutá, kuruá, Auetó kalötú. A thick wax stopper is inserted into a tube at one end in such a way that a channel remains open along the wall. This is blown into at the top; the channel leads to a square air hole in the wall of the tube. In the lower quarter of the flute there are four finger-holes for the index and middle fingers of both hands; the partition-wall that closes off the lower end is pierced. Sometimes the tube consists of two halves stuck together with wax along the entire length of the flute; wrapping with bark strips, reed, or cotton. Slanting the mouthpiece is also found. The dance sleeves plaited out of buriti straw furnished carrying cases. Smaller /327/ flutes (up to 80 centimeters long) of bamboo are treated less carefully. Panpipes occur, from the delicate shepherd's flute on up to huge sizes. Thus, in 1884 among the Suyá, we found a specimen with three tubes of one and a half meters, one meter, and three-quarters of a meter long, 13 1/2, 13, and five centimeters in circumference; in the upper part, on the side, there is a rectangular air hole, and farther up a curved piece of bamboo ten centimeters long is pasted on and is open only at the bottom where it catches the stream of air coming out of the rectangular hole.

W Whizzer sticks. Next to the dance masks in the flute house
171 of the Mehinakú hung a whizzer stick 60 centimeters long and
534 in the form of a sword blade colored black with a red center section; cf. Fig. 121 /see p. 382/. The narrow board, /Figs. 121 and 122 appear here/ swung through the air on a rope, produces a buzzing or whizzing noise that makes a somewhat uncanny impression because it seems to swell more strongly by itself and can thereby howl or whistle with a force that one would not expect behind the insignificant and simple thing.

Y Among the Nahuquá we acquired the whizzer sticks illustrated
171 in No. 122 /see p. 382/, one of which is painted with the
531 snake decoration, while the other one was painted black and
534 thereby had a row of fish or bat rhombuses left free. These

Bororo SP8
Waura SP18
Mehinacu
Yaruma SP25
Nahuqua

/327 cont./

W 171 534

These two whizzer sticks are 34 and 36 centimeters long; they have the shape of fish, which is suitable for the purpose, since part of the three-meter long rope is wound around the construction at the tail end. We had just as little difficulty obtaining the whizzer sticks as we did concerning the masks. The Nahuquá showed us how they were used on the village plaza in all candor, like any implement and without driving away the women. This is very interesting, since the whizzer stick, which in our civilized countries today is merely a child's toy, had or still has great significance in the religious mysteries among the most diverse peoples of the world. We shall come across it again among the Bororó, and, to be sure, with a mysterious meaning which is absent on the Kulisehu, and shall therefore discuss it more fully there.

BO [171] [534]

The Nahuquá and the Mehinakú have the same word for the whizzer stick; the former calling it matápu, the latter matáhu. Among the Auetö, Kamayurá, and /328/ Trumaí we did not see the implement.

Fig. 121. Whizzer stick. Mehinakú. (1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 122. Whizzer sticks (fish form). Nahuquá. (1/4-1/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

000 /328 cont./

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the implement. The Bakaïrí give it the name yélo, iyelo, which is their word for thunder and lightning combined, something like "thunderstorm." If we wish to speak as they do, we must not call it "lightning," as I did at first, but "thunder," according to its sound. By means of this Bakaïrí word we also gain an explanation as to why the whizzer stick was used precisely for rainmaking by the Australian medicine-men, who can fly to heaven with it and who carve figures of water flowers on it. They produced thunder and electrical storms with the magical stick; the idea of rain was secondary.

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Feather ornaments and diadems. I have already listed on page 207 the birds that furnish the most important feather ornaments. The feathers were worked into diadems, especially those of the arara, the parrot, the japú (Cassicus), and the falcon. The tail feathers of the arara were usually put on as the center section of the diadem, where they towered high above the other smaller ones. The lower quill end was turned in and tied to strings; in order to cover the exposed quills, a band made of small red or yellow feathers was placed all around. Feathers tied to a straw wreath were made into

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Fig. 123. Ear feathers. Kamayurá. (1/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

a feather wreath encircling the head. Feather hoods were made by tying the feathers (preferably white ones from herons and storks interspersed with small colored feathers), and, to be sure, the

B /328 cont./
*171 larger ones, near the center into the meshes of a cotton net;
237 when the net is pulled over the head, the feathers stand up in
301 a crest. Feather bands were worn for covering the edge of the diadem, around the forehead, and chiefly, rather loosely knotted, around the upper arms.

Ear feathers. The Bakaïrí preferred to wear yellow Cassicus feathers; cf. the masks on page 351 and Plate 6 /see p. 40/. The ear feathers are stuck into hulls or fastened to small or large
A sticks of reed. The 24-centimeter long feather staffs of the
[237] Kamayurá are very dainty and colorful; Figure 123 /see p. 383/,
[301] unfortunately, cannot reproduce the magnificent colors. I have discussed the nose feathers of the Bakaïrí on page 168.

A Only the Kamayurá had feather cloaks, or more properly long
171 feather nets, which hung down over the back from a neck cord
535 and were put together with the feathers of the vulture, sparrow-
237 hawk, arara, stork, and jakutinga. They belonged primarily "to
301 the yakui dance," yakuí-ãp. Long buriti hangings fell in front
[287] over the forehead. The Kamayurá also had bunches of human hair, 30-40 centimeters long, which were plaited on a head-net and used in the yauari dance. In addition they also wore small animal skins and stretched pieces of skin up to about one-fourth of a meter long for the dance.

B /329/ Cheaper diadems were plaited out of reed; see Plate
*171 6 /see p. 40/. The Bakaïrí and Nahuquá in particular were con-
301 tent with this adornment, which they skillfully plaited out of
[285] strips of buriti or akurí or mostly waimbé and enlivened by alternating
Y black-colored strips. Among the Nahuquá little reed rods were also
171 set on in a star-shaped arrangement, like the long center feathers
301 of the feather diadems. We also see plain pieces of hard bast
[285] (from pata de boi) tied around like a diadem; the Auetó chief
A wore a piece of jaguar skin as a diadem, cf. the illustration on
171 page 90. Finally, the Kamayurá had cotton caps which, like
301 the reed diadems out of the feather diadems, for their part de-
A veloped out of the feather hood, as the technique shows.
[292]

/329 cont./

*171 239 301 All feather ornamentation, except for an occasional feather stuck in the ear, especially among the Bakaïrí, belongs to festive occasions including the solemn reception. It is the same with the feathers as with the body painting.

*171 524 Children's games. Among the Bakaïrí we saw catch-balls wadded together out of maize straw; instead of the usual long feather, a tail of maize straw was tied inside. There were rubber balls, huge ones, among the Auetö. The sap of a figueira /Ficus/ [314] or the mangabeira is rolled into a little ball on the chest, steeped in water with ashes, and the ball punctured all around in such a way that on the outside it looks as though it were covered with [386] plaiting. The balls are dyed red with urucú.

[824] Tops were made from the unripe peanut (Arachis hypogaea) or mandubí. Twice as big as a cherry, it was pierced and pushed onto a small bamboo stick so that only a small part of the latter emerged, and here it was wound with a tuft of cotton flocks to prevent it from sliding off. The fruit would spin upward on the long handle. Several such tops were set in a pot and made to spin together.

[526] We must count the wrestling described on page 93 among the games of the adults, but children liked to practice wrestling. The same was true, of course, of shooting the bow. We also saw children's throwing-sticks. Older children played with the heavy clay dolls. I was asked several times to perform a sort of test of strength in that I was supposed to lift a boy up in the air with my free arm. I may add here the observation that the Indians were unable to balance a pole on one finger.

/330/

Chapter XII.

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I. Law and Custom. II. Magic.

I. Property. Kinship. Marriage. Morals. Barter. Names. Birth. Couvade and its explanation. Burial.

II. Sorcery in various stages and on various levels of culture. Dream experiences. Pars pro toto. Good and bad medicine-men.

/330 cont./

CCD Their methods. To die in narcosis. The medicine man in heaven. Tobacco. Conjuration of the weather.

1.

*171 131 The boundaries between the regions of the tribes are natural ones. "This brook belongs to the neighboring tribe," we were regularly informed along the way. The one bank of the Kulisehu, for example, belonged to the Nahuquá, the other to the Mehinakú [226] /Mehinacu/. Fishing with bow and arrow on the river was open to everyone.

*171 422 The plantings were common property. Everyone had his [428] personal property in the house, even the women, who, we saw, [622] often objected to having it given to us; it was handed down to one's children, sons and daughters. We often observed, however, that persons to whom we had given beads, etc. were obliged to hand them over to the chief.

*171 622 The power of the chief was not great. In all the larger villages there were several chiefs who lived in different houses; in dealings with us, there was always only one who appeared as representative. "Representation" was the most important obligation during peacetime. The chief directed the business connected with planting, he saw to it that the necessary supply of flour was put away, he had the beijús baked and the drinks prepared for all festive occasions and for the visits of strangers. He was apparently a family-father in greater style, but could not be very thrifty if he was concerned about the esteem of his fellow citizens, to say nothing of his neighboring tribesmen. Thus, the chief of the first Batovy village was "kurápa," bad = stingy. He had only a few [519] beijús baked for the guests. Stinginess is regarded as the ugliest trait. This type of rule must be difficult, however. Antonio told me about a certain João Cadete in the Paranatinga village, who was in line to become chief, but preferred to emigrate "com medo de tratar gente," for fear of having to entertain people, [621] /331/ so Felipe took his place. If the community is dissatisfied [626] with its chief, it knows a remedy: it breaks away from him and simply moves to another place. The office is hereditary, hence

/331 cont./

*171 682 not always in the best hands, and goes to the son, or, if there is none, to the son of the sister. In Maigéri the chief had died and left only a daughter, "my intended" in the Bakairí idyl. Tumayaua, the brother of the widow, now became temporary chief; as soon as the girl married, her husband took his place. She received a quantity of the beads which we had given to others; the chief's stool belonged to her.

171 611 648 A number of characteristics of matriarchy are recognizable in the little that I am able to report about these conditions. The sons belong to the tribe of the mother; Antonio said that if one of the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ married to Paressí women had children, they would be Paressí. Which, of course, in the case of abducted women, can only be meant very theoretically. In our time marriages took place between Mehinakú and Nahuquá, between Auetó and Yaulapiti, as well as between Kamayurá /Camayura/, and Auetó, between Kamayurá and Mehinakú, between Batovy Bakaïrí and Kustenaú /Custenau/, between Kulisehu Bakaïrí and Nahuquá. Just as Mehinakú women lived among the Nahuquá, so had Auetó men married Yaulapiti women and lived in two houses somewhat apart from the Auetó village; they were called "Arauitf." On the other hand, a Kustenaú man and a Nahuquá

*171 582 648

*171 591 648

*The Suyá chief who in 1884 gave us the map of the river course was also called an "Arauitf" by the Auetó chief. His strikingly small lip-plug was explained by the fact that he had had the operation later. he himself traced his geographical knowledge back to his own journeys.

man had married and lived among the Bakaïrí, whereas we never observed the opposite, that Bakaïrí women married into another tribe. Pauhaga, from the first Bakaïrí village on the Batovy, had as his wife Awía's daughter from Maigéri and, when his wife was ready to give birth, came with her to Awiá's house on the Kulisehu, so that she, or rather both of them, as we shall

*171 591 844

*171 /331 cont./
591 see, could occupy the lying-in room at the home of the parents-
844 in-law. Although the people lived in monogamy and the father
*171 was the head of the family, the mother's brother was still re-
604 garded as equal to the father as a protector of the child and in
any case, if the father died, assumed all responsibilities until
[593] the children were grown. He, not the mother, was in charge of
their property.

*171 Among all the tribes, older and younger brothers had differ-
601 ent designations. The younger brother was on the same level as
the cousin and had a name in common with him. The Bakaïrí
*171 called me "older brother" and later in the third village also
123 "grandfather"; the Mehinakú called me "uncle" (mother's
602 brother). My traveling companions were always called my
"younger brothers or cousins" and were also addressed in this way
by the Indians themselves.

*171 Marriages were concluded without wedding celebrations;
583 the parents, first the fathers, then the mothers, talk matters over,
585 and the father of the bride receives /332/ arrows and stone axes;
the bridegroom must also work with him in the clearing "to show
that he knows how," he hangs his hammock above that of the
girl; and everything is in order. That older men have young
*171 wives and younger men older wives was clearly pronounced only
582 on the Paranatinga, but not on the Kulisehu (this prerogative of
the old thus appears only with the decline of the tribe). At least
the few matrimonial unions with which I became more closely
586 acquainted in Maigéri were evenly matched. Divorce among the
Bakaïrí takes place without any trouble, it was said, even if the
husband is not in favor of it. "The woman leaves, perhaps he
will catch her again."

*171 I have spoken earlier about the division of labor between the
562 sexes; cf. pp. 216 ff. The woman did not occupy an undignified
[593] position. The husband let her carry a larger load than he himself
carried, he kept her away from the flute house where the
men consulted, smoked, celebrated festivals, and where strangers
were lodged, he was her lord and master -- and he did what she
wanted. When Martius says that the woman does not occupy an
inferior position "in spite of slavish subordination as a result of

/332 cont./

*171 562 the gay activity /der heitern Geschäftigkeit/," this is perfectly applicable to our Indians with the reservation that the slavish subordination was very much in the background. The woman needed protection, first, because she was weak and "wept" whenever there was danger, and then because she had to be protected from foreign lusts. In returning home from the plantings, she walked in front of her husband, since, heavily loaded, she hastened forward rapidly and everything was safe; in the forest she walked behind him so that he would be the first to meet any possible danger. She was protected from foreign guests, and, if they were of a dubious nature, as we were, the women and children ran into the forest.

*171 681 123 674 What occurs in dramas of adultery I do not know. We had no opportunity to observe anything that belonged to the sphere of the administration of justice. If I asked Antonio about crimes of any kind, he always answered that such things probably happened in former times, but no longer occur now.

*171 123 674 Theft of things belonging to us was, in any case, very frequent, except among the Bakaïrí, although friend Luchu, at the time he visited us in Independencia, was no longer altogether trustworthy. When the confusion in the Trumaí camp arose [248] because I was obliged to demand the return of a glass of my stolen arsenic pills, we saw that the Yaulapiti, who had come with us, were trying to snatch the stone axes of the Trumaí. Always and *171 186 without exception it was supposed to have been a stranger who had done the stealing. The people living together also had little that they needed to take from one another, and the thief could scarcely have enjoyed it without being discovered. There is nothing more natural, therefore, than that the idea of morals rests most particularly on tribal affiliation. Among the Bakaïrí kurá means "we," "we all," "our" and at the same time "good" ("our people"); kurápa, "not we," "not our," and at the same time "bad, stingy, unhealthy." All evil comes /333/ from for- [754] eigners, and not least sickness and death, which are sent from outside sorcerers.

B /333 cont./

*171 439 How important good relations with neighboring tribes must be becomes clear from the, one might almost say, necessity of barter. One tribe is zóto, master of one article, the other of another. I have given the most important information about this in detail on pages 199, 209, 216. The Bakaïrí had as their specialty the neck chains with white rectangular pieces of shell, shell beads, urucú, cotton thread, and hammocks; the Nahuquá, gourds, as well as chains with red pieces of shell and tucum beads; the Mehinakú and their relatives, pots and fine cotton thread; the Trumaí and Suyá, stone axes and tobacco; the Trumai and possibly also the Yaulapiti, chains with pierced stones. The Trumaí salt prepared from bamboo ashes was also popular among other tribes. These were all articles of trade. Some of them traveled the great distance from the Bakaïrí to the Suyá, going from tribe to tribe. The Suyá traded with the Kamayurá, the latter with the potter tribes, among whom the Mehinakú had the closest association with the Nahuquá, and the Kustenaú with the Bakaïrí of the Batovy. The uppermost Bakaïrí of the Kulisehu obtained their Suyá stone axes and Kustenaú pots from their Batovy relatives, and the Bakaïrí of the third Kulisehu village from the Nahuquá, with whom they maintained close relations. In 1884, when we had given the Bakaïrí on the Batovy some of our Karaiben things, the chief of the first village took advantage of the favorable trade outlook and set out on a business trip to the lower region of the Kulisehu; in this way tribes who were not neighbors occasionally also had trade relations. The articles traded by the Suyá for stone axes are hammocks, shell chains, arara feathers, and pots.

T 171 439

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B *171 439 Although there was an old and necessary barter-trade, nevertheless the concept of value was lacking, at least to a certain extent. The person arriving brought along this or that and delivered it when he was served at the reception. He was given the desired return gift in smaller quantities at the reception, in larger amounts when he took his leave. In Maigéri we experienced a typical example upon our departure, cf. page 125; we were made to sit down and then received a basket of flour. Thus, the docile

/333 cont./

*171 437 Bakaïrí translated the Portuguese word comprar, "to buy," as yekadile, "to sit down." Trade is therefore still an exchange of hospitable gifts. But this has its origin only in the level of culture, *171 574 577 not in nobility of character. The Indian is not at all hospitable in the sense that he feels greatly honored by the visit and feels absolutely obliged to entertain lavishly with beijús and drinks. For this effort he would certainly like a reciprocal one; he soon becomes impatient if the guest is staying only because living is cheap, and he frankly asks him to leave the village. It is even reported in the Bakaïrí legends, along with the invention of the dance, that the people who were invited and entertained had given gifts of arrows and string. Our travel companions undoubtedly offered us fish en route /334/ only when they themselves were satisfied, and it was not the best beijús which they left for us. [186] The endless talk among themselves as to whether this or that tribe was "kúra" clearly shows that they were only naïvely hospitable; there was always the greatest gratification when we declared a tribe to be "kurápa," because this meant that for our part we had done less business with that one. They praised themselves far too much for the recipient to be able to believe in the pure virtue of the unselfish savage.

*171 123 437 Our matter-of-fact, businesslike way of exchanging one object for another was at first completely new to all the tribes. They quickly learned, however. Nevertheless, the funniest enormities occurred. One man gathered up a handful of mangabas and then impetuously demanded a large knife. One wanted to have beads in exchange for the bandaging of his hand. Only if it were explained to them that one had but a single specimen of an object was one not bothered further.

*171 55 [958] Names. The son, soon after birth, is given the name of the grandfather, uncle, or an ancestor, not that of the father. The names among the Bakaïrí are animal names in part, but I believe only a small part. The following are the only ones whose meaning I understand: Luchu, for example, is a water snake; the native name of Chief Reginaldo on the Rio Novo was izána = cayman; an old man in Igueti was named póne = black piranha.

/334 cont./

*171 551 [124] One of the women in the Paranatinga village was called makála = tujujú stork. The names of the men were usually obtained without difficulty; sometimes there was a little reluctance and it was preferred that a friend give the information. One Bakaïrí allegedly had no name because his parents had died early. From the women on the Kulisehu I always received only the answer, "I am a woman"; however, I neglected to ask a third person.

*171 553 797 I have described the custom of exchanging names; cf. pages 115 and 122. It explains why the Indians make so little fuss about submitting to Christian baptism. To them it means simply a ceremony by means of which they lose their old name.

*171 844 [849] [872] Birth and couvade. Abortions are said to take place frequently. The women are afraid of childbirth. Among the Bakaïrí they make a tea from the root of a campo tree called perovinha. Probably there are also mechanical procedures. The woman gives birth in a kneeling position on the floor, hanging on to a post. The hammock is not supposed to be soiled. Women who demonstrated this to us in pantomime and who knew about it from experience stated emphatically that the pains were great.

*171 846 They soon get up, however, and go to work, and the man goes through the well-known couvade, the male lying-in, during which he adheres to a strict diet, does not touch weapons, and spends most of his time in the hammock. On our return we saw such a couvade in Maigéri in Paleko's house. An actual lying-in room had been /335/ set up by stretching two man-high walls of hanging buriti leaves from one of the main posts to the outer wall. In this way a three-cornered segment was closed off. I was gladly allowed to enter so that I could give the child beads. Inside there were stretched four hammocks, sheltering two women with babies and two men. A strong odor of pikí, coming from rubbings, filled the room. The babies were kurápa, ill, weak, [755] the parents complained. The fathers and mothers were ceaselessly occupied with blowing on them, and, to be sure, with hollow-sounding noises with the mouth nearly closed, which was hardly interrupted for a moment throughout the following night. The [514] [862] husbands left the house only to relieve themselves; they lived exclusively on thin pogu, mandioca cakes crumbled in water.

/335 cont./

*171 846 [262] Everything else would be harmful for the child; it would be exactly as though the child itself were eating meat, fish, or fruit.

Now nothing is more obvious than to connect the remarkable custom, which is beneficial to the women, with the hunting life; the man should stay near the wife and child during the difficult hours and the first days and should not roam about outside; there was no better means for this than to put him on a diet. And, no matter how the custom originated, it is clear that it afforded this advantage, and it is at least quite understandable that the women were in favor of it, and it became firmly established.

[183] On the modern Paranatinga, however, where it is being neglected, the women are discontented, not because they suffer under it, but because the children do. Even though it benefited the women, that is no reason why the men would have submitted to it. And yet the men do submit to it so generally and with such conviction that one realizes that a deeply rooted, ancient element of popular belief is involved. It is very doubtful whether there is any Indian tribe in Brazil which has not practiced it. One must, if possible, investigate the institution among tribes that were found in undisturbed conditions and have not simply preserved the remnants of old institutions. The Island Karaiben /Island Carib/ usually did not eat or drink anything during the first five days, limited themselves in the following four to a drink made out of cooked mandioca, and then ate more abundantly, but abstained from a few kinds of meat for several months more. "It is not likely," says the excellent Father Breton, "that the husband also screams like the wife in labor; on the contrary, I saw them coming from outside secretively and in a furtive manner one month after the birth, in order to keep their fast in seclusion." They are contemptuous of those who do not observe the custom; they say they feel better doing it and grow older, and they believe that if they omit the custom their illnesses caused by superfluous juices would be passed on to their children.

/335 cont./

*171 846 Among our Indians the father takes care of the child, the woman returns to work sooner. That the father lies in the hammock a great deal is understandable in view of the lack of nourishment and from the mere fact that he stays at home. /336/ When does the couvade start and when does it end? The [844] father cuts the umbilical cord of the newborn child, fasts strictly, cares for the child, and is a free man once more when the remainder of the umbilical cord drops off. Among the Bakaïrí he cuts the umbilical cord of boys with kambayuva reed, of girls with takoara bamboo.

Let us compare with this the note by Martius about the Passés /Pase/, where the customs may be recognized particularly clearly as medical when the young woman at the onset of the menses fasts for a month, the woman in confinement remains in the dark for a month and, "like the husband, is restricted to a diet of mandioca, beijú, and flour soup. The husband colors himself black and remains in the hammock during the entire period of fasting or until the dried umbilical cord of the baby drops off (six to eight days). He himself usually cuts the umbilical cord with the teeth or sharp stones, if he has no knife." Especially important, however, is a manuscript by the Jesuit Fernão Cardim of 1584 and preserved for us in the monastery library of Evora, the capital of the Portuguese province of Alemtejo,*

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* Do principio e origem dos Indios do Brazil /The Beginning and Origin of the Indians of Brazil/, Rio de Janeiro, 1881.

which contains many reliable observations. "The women give birth on the ground, they do not pick up the child, but rather the father picks it up or some person whom they take as sponsor and with whom they maintain friendship, like the godfather among the Christians; the father cuts the umbilical cord with the teeth or with two stones, one above the other, and immediately thereafter he lies down to fast until the navel drops off, which usually takes up to eight days, and until it drops off they

/336 cont./

*171 846 do not cease fasting, and when it drops off, if it is a boy, he makes a bow with arrows and fastens it to the bundle of ropes of the hammock and on the other bundle of ropes he fastens many bunches of herbs, which are the foes that his son is to kill and devour, and after these ceremonies are over, they make wine which they all enjoy."

According to these valuable statements, which correspond exactly with those on the Schingú /Xingu/, one might call the father the attending physician, who perhaps also fasts like the apprentice medicine man, and who, if he behaved differently, might endanger his cure and harm the child. Not only the Schingú people, however, but many other tribes say that the father may not eat fish, meat, and fruits because it would be the same as though the child ate them, and there is no reason why one should not believe that the natives believe this. It is also said that the medicine man of the village is always available and that he is summoned in all other cases when mother or child becomes ill.

*171 842 846 The father is a patient insofar as he identifies himself with the newborn child. It is, after all, not really so difficult to understand how he happens to do this. /337/ The native cannot very well know anything about the human egg-cell and the Graafian follicle; he cannot know that the mother shelters a structure corresponding to the eggs of birds. For him the man is the carrier of the eggs, which he, to put it succinctly and clearly, lays inside the mother and which the latter hatches out during pregnancy. Consider Plates 16 and 17 /see pp. 265-266/ where the Indians have drawn the male eggs. Where the linguistic material is adequate, we see immediately how this extremely natural attempt to explain conception is also manifest in the words for father, testicles, and egg. In Guaraní tub means father, spawn, eggs, tupiá means eggs, and "tup-í" itself, the name of the tribe, with the addition of -i, "little," is merely little fathers or eggs or children, as one wishes; the father is egg and the child is the little father. The language itself says that the child is nothing but the father. Among the Tupí it was also the custom that the father, after the birth of each new son,

/337 cont./

*171 842 846 took a new name; in order to explain this, it is by no means necessary to assume that the "soul" of the father entered into the son each time. It is exactly the same in the Karaiben. imu is egg or testicles or father or child, the latter among several tribes already differentiated phonetically:

Ipurucoto /Puricoto/ imu "egg," Bakaïrí "testicles," Tamanako "father," Makuschi /Macusi/ imum "seed." With the pronominal suffix -ru, we find imu-ru, "child," among various tribes: Kumanagoto /Cumanagoto/ umo "my father," amo "your father," Nahuquá umú-ru "my child," amú-ru "your child." Naturally, it comes about everywhere that qualifying additions are supplied or words originally identical deviate from one another phonetically, with the connection forgotten. Thus, Kamayurá has ye-rup "my father," upiá "eggs," ye-reapiá "my testicles"; Auetó has i-tupiá "my testicles," n-upiá "his eggs"; the lingoa geral has çapyá "testicles," çopiá "egg." Among the Bakaïrí "child" and "little" are iméri, "the child of the chief" píma iméri; we may translate it as either "the child of the chief" or "the little chief" as we wish and do not realize in connection with the latter form, which we might apply jokingly to the son, that for the Indian the child is really only the little chief himself, a small edition of the big one. For our feeling, too, this conception is strange and scarcely comprehensible in the case where a girl is involved. But even the girl is the little father and not the little mother; she is made only by the father. In Bakaïrí [601] there are no special words for "son" and "daughter," but rather, if the distinction is required the sex is added. "píma iméri" may [622] mean the daughter as well as the son of the chief. The only [428] daughter of the chief is the heiress of the property and rank, both of which, along with her own property, go to her husband.

*171 846 The little father comes into the world, the umbilical cord is cut, the big father fasts at least until the wound is healed, and with this the new little human being may be regarded as an independent being. The father would surely not observe any precautionary measures if the little one immediately /338/ ran about as healthy as a little chick, but it bleeds and is in danger since it

B /338 cont./
*171 is not even tied off. The thing is not so strange if the mother is
846 thought of as merely an incubator. Even during the pregnancy
[843] (see Ploss, Das Kind /The Child/, II, Ch. 7) the father fasts frequently and avoids heavy work, so as not to harm the child. After birth, however, at least until the moment when the remainder of the umbilical cord drops off, he still feels in actual "connection" with the child, and at least during the days when the life of the little father seems obviously in danger, a diet must be observed and nothing eaten that does not agree with the one part. Nor is it by any means absolutely necessary that the confinement take place in the presence of the father in order to force him to fast, and hence the need for his presence cannot be the ultimate reason for the custom. As was quoted, the Island Karaiben observed their couvade even a month later. Among the Ipurina on the Purus the woman, assisted by a few older women, gives birth in a forest hut and returns only "four or five days later" to her husband, who only now may see the child and who was obliged to adhere to a strict diet during this time." For an entire year yet the husband may not eat either pig or tapir meat. Ehrenreich, who reports this, adds: "a real 'men's childbed' is not customary." Well, but probably not only insofar as the father need not lie in the hammock, which, even though it is not merely a secondary phenomenon, is in any case one of least important prescriptions of the treatment. Even the Indian knows that improper nourishment is first of all harmful for the child, and therefore the most important thing is to follow a diet. Everything
B0 else is more or less only an accessory. Finally, the behavior of
[844] the Bororó is decisive. The mother gives birth in the forest, and
[846] the father, who is never present, not only fasts, but, if the child is sick, also takes the medicine that is handed to him for the child, as we learned from the druggist of the Brazilian military colony, who was greatly surprised over this.

While the procedure for the father is the same in all the tribes, the conduct of the mother may be very different, depending on whether she is regarded as more or less ailing. She goes back to her duties again insofar as she feels strong enough and nurses the child, but that suffices. There is no mysterious correspondence

B /338 cont./
*171 between father and child; the child is a duplication of him, the
846 father has become double, and, for the sake of the helpless, irrational creature which represents a miniature edition of himself, he must himself behave like a child who must not come to
B harm. Supposing that the child dies during the first days, how
[753] could the father who is filled with such ideas and who has eaten
[761] indigestible things doubt that he himself is at fault, especially
B since all sickness arises through the fault of another? What we
[811] call "pars pro toto" dominates popular belief everywhere with respect to sorcery or healing magic, although I do not believe that the sorcerer /339/ has a clear image of a "part" with which he is working. The "couvade" is carried out according to the same logic, except that here is a case where the whole intercedes for the "part." It is all the same whether I poison the hair of the enemy and thereby cause him to waste away, or whether, to the detriment of the child which has become detached from me, I eat food that it might not tolerate at all or at least not during the days when the separation takes place.

B
*171 Burial. All the tribes of the Kulisehu bury their dead; the
764 body lies in west-east in such a way that the head looks toward the rising sun. (According to the statements of the Kamayurá, the Suyá bury their dead in a squatting position, the head with the feather ornament bent back and the eyes turned toward the setting sun.) The grave is on the village plaza. Among the Mehinakú we saw in front of the festival hut a heap of brush under which, at a shallow depth, the grave pit was said to be located; fat beetles were crawling out of holes in the ground
A and the place was alive with flies. Among the Auetó a square
[764] in front of the festival hut was staked off with thick, low posts connected by plaiting. It is photographed on Plate 15 /see p. 253/; I do not know whether it is a coincidence that the two sinuated sides of the square resemble the characteristic shape of the handle-plate of the throwing board. Among the Yaulapiti we saw a square grave fence.

B /339 cont./
171 The body is wrapped in the hammock The grave gifts are
764

* In Cuyabá slaves and poor people from the Misericordia Hospital were buried in a hammock or a coverlet. A coffin has the shape of a long box, the bottom and ends of which consist of slats; this framework has a white cloth stretched over it on the inside, a black one on the outside.

B bow and arrows for the man, sieve-mat, spindle, and pot for the
[775] woman. The earthly division of labor continues in the future
A life. The Kamayurá described to us the burial of a chief. To
766 make the grave, they dig two pits and join them with a passage so that the layout has the form of a dumbbell. While everyone is weeping and lamenting, fires are lighted, and each man breaks his throwing stick and the arrows that go with it and throws them
A in the fire. The nearest relatives fast for some time, ** but then
[765]
[302]

** See the burial among the Paressí /see p. 531 /.

they adorn themselves in festive array, the tonsure is renewed, and the body painted black with genipap, which the Kamayurá prefer to urucú. The widow goes about with her head shaved. The grave that we saw among the Auetö (cf. Plate 15 /see p. 253/) contained the wife of a chief, a Kamayurá woman; it was said that mourners from all the tribes had come for the burial.

II. Magic and Medicine Men.

One tends to think of the magic and sorcery of primitive peoples as an art entirely foreign to us. If one proceeds from the nature of its /340/ art, however, nothing is more common even in the life of civilized man than sorcery, albeit an unsystematic and unprofessional sorcery. A person who dreams

/340 cont./

000 practices sorcery. He is not bound to place and form and is capable of any kind of accomplishment with any person or thing. Vivid play of imagination is merely quantitatively and not qualitatively distinguishable from dream-sorcery. A person who kisses the picture of his beloved is preparing himself for sorcery. Anyone who throws a kiss through the air to his distant sweetheart is already strongly to be suspected of sorcery, for it is to be feared that he believes the sweet breath will reach its destination and be felt there. Anyone, however, who, like the great sorcerer Goethe, says to his amanuensis Eckermann: "I have in the years of my youth experienced instances enough when, on lonely walks, a powerful longing for a beloved girl would seize me and I would think of her until she actually came walking toward me," such a person is already practicing sorcery according to all the rules of the art. Completely under the spell of genuine sorcery is the person who, if his ears are ringing, yields to the conviction, if only for a second, that someone has spoken good or ill of him, or who has a friend keep his fingers crossed so that he will succeed in something, or who believes that his wishes have the power to influence the course of pleasant or unpleasant events.

*171 787 794 Our Indians, like many other primitive peoples, have the firm conviction, which may, moreover, be observed on our level of civilization among children and intoxicated persons, and not only among them, that in a vivid dream they are experiencing reality; a person goes hunting, shoots fish, or fells trees when he is asleep, while the body remains in the hammock. Among the Bororó, as I shall report later, we once found that the entire village wanted to flee because one man in a dream had seen enemies creeping up. The Bakaïrí let the "shadow" of a human being -- which we then translate as "soul" -- wander about in the dream. *171 794 828 (Cf. the Paressí chapter also for this and similar information /see p. 532/.) Antonio, whom I could study alone sufficiently, especially during the Cuyabá months, in order to obtain most of the statements which will follow later, had the fear, well known particularly from the Malays, that it is dangerous to waken a sleeping person suddenly. The "shadow," which is perhaps wandering

/340 cont./

*171 in distant regions, would not be able to return quickly enough,
774 and the sleeper would turn into a dead person. To my surprise,
828 he also explained the headache which one has after too little sleep at night as resulting from the fatigue of the shadow hurrying
000 back. We may not be too critical of the Indian's belief, based purely on the direct experience of the senses, if we remember that higher speculative philosophy does not find it at all simple to determine whether life is a dream or the dream is life, whether we experience reality while awake or during sleep, and we must not forget that, after we awaken, reality sometimes brings complete confirmation.

/341/ How does such a point of view arise and what are its consequences? The awakening person is conscious of having seen and heard things. He has perceived them with perfect clarity. Hence they were there. If meanwhile the body of the sleeper has been lying in the hammock, it does not occur to anyone to ask therefore whether what was seen and what happened were real. None of the fellow tribesmen would think of questioning the faithful report; in the course of time they may perhaps try to give a kind of explanation by attributing to the shadow, for example, the change of locale which the body did not actually undertake, but this is secondary and does not affect the impression left by what has just occurred. Simply because one does not understand a thing is no reason to dismiss the actual experience of the senses. It is merely a reason for attaching great importance to dreamed events that have a general interest and for everyone to become excited about them; what happened is something special and the person who experienced it is capable of more than the others. We see that it is not necessary in deciding what is real to consider whether sense impressions are received directly from the outside or whether impressions previously stored up from memory images regain their old sensuous power in an aroused state. A confusion of feeling and accomplishment is quite unavoidable, however, as soon as what is vividly imagined is regarded as real. An inflamed fancy can, in truth, devise anything it wishes; hence the person filled with it is capable of what is otherwise impossible.

/341 cont./

He himself is convinced, and the others admire him for his deeds reported by him himself; many false conclusions about the connection between events and pure chance work convincingly in the same direction. Everything is based on the various forms of suggestion.

That which in reality is so difficult to overcome, spatial distance, is now, when feelings have been strongly aroused, surmounted with ease. Not only in the dream and the visionary state. What the critically searching Goethe regards as puzzling, but yet actually believes, primitive man feels to a far greater extent than in the realm of the intimate relations between two persons, and he believes it to be natural. The miracle is accomplished in the case of each object viewed with a strong feeling of love, hatred, fear, admiration. Just as one can cover the greatest distance in an instant and overcome the strongest enemy by a touch of the little finger in a dream, so also will an aroused imagination remove the obstacle of spatial separation, deal with all resistance by means of the slightest manipulation, and, conversely, bring about any desired increase of strength or skill. If, for example, I have at my command something from the body of the enemy, then I have command over the enemy for good or bad; I have a talisman or a means of destroying him despite the distance. One usually imagines the process as being one in which the person who works magic /342/ confuses the part with the whole, pars pro toto, and labors under the delusion that the injury done to the part grows into an injury for the whole, but this is not at all necessary. As soon as the feeling is aroused, the part actually stimulates the entire cluster of associations; in the presence of a picture or a fragment one can feel everything that one is capable of feeling in the presence of the original or the whole. That the believer in talismans or magic transfers to the part in his possession, say, capabilities which exist only in the whole is simply due to the fact that the part awakens in him feelings which relate to the whole and which therefore also arouse an increase of power in him, as though he possessed the whole. Certainly the parts more suitable for this

/342 cont./

are those which have some connection with the desired effect, such as claws and teeth with physical strength or a piece of skin with poisoning, but this requirement is not essential. The person casting a spell takes what he can get, but will always be inclined to let the effect that he achieves originate from the characteristics of the part concerned. Soon the experience of the individual becomes common property; this is the origin of the "remedies" recommended from generation to generation, which nobody thinks about any more.

Surely we need only to look about us to realize that we have in no way been able to free ourselves from the overwhelming power of feeling. We have action at a distance and talismans in abundance; we simply have other names for them and insert connecting links between the beginning and the end of the process, the presence of which conceals the origin from out of our own selves. Let us take only the most trivial examples.

The medicine man who murders an absent person by throwing a poisoned arrow in his direction, or the lover who kisses the distant beloved, they do not differ in any way. The poet who, happy in the possession of an inkwell used by Schiller, writes poetry like Schiller, and the native who, with a chain of jaguar claws around his neck, is as strong as a jaguar, they do not differ in any way. The agreement even extends to the attempted explanation. For the scholar who lodges the soul in the brain, either as a single, self-acting thing or as a multiplicity of personally active centers, and the Indian who in sleep has his shadow catching fish, they, too, do not differ in any way. If the medicine man believes that he did what he dreamed or hallucinated, he may, without being a faker, regard himself as a miracle man and may justifiably be regarded as such by others. He then actually has more power than the others. The fraud may often soon be exposed in professional practice or in its transmission by instruction to younger spirits, but it is extremely superficial to dismiss with the word humbug the phenomenon of the magician which has arisen from the absolutely necessary confusion of feeling and accomplishment. There is this type of faker hidden in each of us, no matter how matter-of-fact he may be.

/343/

171 754 756 The medicine men are differentiated as good and bad. According to Antonio, there are "few among the Bakaïrí and Auetó, more among the Nahuquá, many among the Mehinakú, and too many among the Kamayurá." There were none living on the Paranatinga at the time. Anyone can become one, but it is very [262] [785] difficult. "One must learn a great deal." One is supposed to drink only starchy broth for four months, enjoy no salt and eat no

[261] [226] * This fasting is also very good if one wants to excel in the art of shooting fish, and in this case it is sufficient if one does not eat anything but starch-paste for a month. Antonio did this and was very satisfied with the result.

meat, fish, or fruits; one is not supposed to sleep but to drum ceaselessly on the skull with the fists so that the swollen eyes are very painful in the morning, bathe a great deal, scratch arm and chest bloody, etc. Antonio wanted to study medicine, but was afraid of this difficult internship; Felipe made a good start in the same endeavor, but did not succeed, because he had no teacher.
*171 754 The chief art of the accomplished master of sorcery is exhibited in the use of poisons. With these he kills others and he even kills himself in order to be able to change himself into another shape. We are to become acquainted here with a conception of death which takes some getting used to, but which is in direct agreement with the life of the shadow during sleep.

[628] Let us hear first how sickness and death come into the world, in spite of the good medicine-man of one's own village, who with all his might combats the evil one from the foreign village. [825] [824] The evil one is a bad person whom no one likes because he kills instead of healing, he mixes the poison from wasps, from the tocandyra ant, and from other such animals with oil and resin from the alsmesca and pindahyba in a calabash. From the man whom he wishes to harm he obtains either hair, by stepping on it when it is being cut or even cutting it himself when the man is asleep, or a bit of blood by tossing a finely pointed twig of jatobá, pindahyba, or pau de olho in his direction and then picking

/343 cont./

*171 754 it up. This hair or blood is put into the poison calabash, which is closed up, and the original owner immediately falls sick. Hair is supposedly used "because headache is produced in this way" -- actually, no doubt, because it is most convenient to obtain. If the sorcerer has no hair or blood, he soaks a little pindahyba twig or a little wool thread /Wollfadchen/ in the poison and hides it in a crack of the house or under the clay foot on which the cooking pot stands, or he surreptitiously throws it -- for it flies very far -- toward the person pursued, or he shoots it with an arrow ** into a

** One may make the subtle distinction between this magic arrow and the weapon of the poisoned arrow which is unknown to the Indians in that the former is not actually poisoned, but rather only dispatches the poisoned fragment.

*171 754 755 tree where the person lives. The good medicine-man, however, often finds it, for he looks everywhere and even climbs up into the tree to fetch it down, lays it in water, and thus renders it harmless; for that he receives from the recovered one, say,/344/ a hammock, for he deserves a fine gift. If the poisoned twig has scratched the patient, the good medicine-man -- and only he -- discovers the spot where it has penetrated, sucks it until the little twig or wool thread appears, and spits it out.

*171 754 Thus we have one method where something from the body is poisoned, and one where the poison is merely brought into its vicinity. There is a third where any connection with it is absent, but instead an animal is killed simultaneously. Its purpose is never merely sickness, but always death. The man to be killed is called åmápö or amápö. In this case the sorcerer needs a piece of skin from the middle finger of any corpse and an ugá lizard; he dries the skin at the fire, pulverizes it with his magic poison, stuffs the mixture deep into the throat of the lizard, which is tightly bound around the neck and body so that it cannot get out, tosses the animal thus treated into a pot of water, covers it tightly,

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*171 754 and hangs it over the fire. When the water starts to boil, the amápö falls sick and, when the lizard dies, he dies.

[753] All illnesses are caused by sorcery; "there are said to be people who commission the medicine men to poison their enemies." On the Schingú one must not make an enemy of one's hairdresser. Then it was really very careless of me, I jokingly interrupted Antonio, to have had him cut my hair. "No," he replied, "I am not bad, I am no omeóto (= ome-zóto, master of poison)." "So all illnesses come from the omeotos?" "All." "Did you ever see one?" "Not among the Bakaïrí, we would chase away such bad people." "But among the Kamayurá?" "Pode ser, *171 754 could be." "Have you ever seen good medicine-men (piáje, French j)?" "Yes, several on the Kulisehu. Pakurali was one. 756 Formerly also on the Paranatinga. The Auetö chief Auayáto was one." It is very characteristic that all bad (kχurá-pa = not our) sorcerers live in foreign villages. The terms omeóto and piáje, by the way, do not seem to be differentiated very strictly. In any case, the laudable, better medicine-men have not been free of professional fraud for a long time, since they cannot very well believe that they have sucked the poisoned cotton threads, which they spit out, from the body of the sick person. The purer origin of their art, however, in the sense of the introductory remarks, is still easily recognizable.

*171 754 The fact that the practice of magic is nothing but a stimulation of the imagination becomes evident in the practical accomplishment even more clearly than in the asceticism of the study of medicine. Pain tells the sick person that he is being attacked by someone. He does not see that anyone in the village is doing it; no one here is so evil. Hence the enemy is outside. The *171 755 person who wants to get the better of him must, first of all, be stronger than he and, secondly, be able to reach the unseen one. For one who does not know otherwise than that the miracles wrought in a dream are reality, both things become possible through a doctor who /345/ puts himself into a highly excited state, for this alone accomplishes what cannot be accomplished

B /345 cont./
*171 by ordinary means. This brings about the amusing reverse situa-
755 tion whereby the doctor takes medicine in order to heal. The
[276] more he can bear, the stronger he is. He knows all kinds of poisons that intoxicate and he uses them: tobacco, ãgukuriõku or (cipó de cobra) snake-vine, seũwi or timbo vine (Paullinia pinnata), the leaves of the forest tree ätíko. Everyone listens
B attentively to the unintelligible stuff that he offers during his
[787] stupor, or to the strange experiences that he reports about his
B shadow after he wakes up from deep narcosis. He becomes a
[756] great man, he enjoys the admiration and the gifts; like many other great men, he first permits himself to be led to slight exaggerations and then touches up his own achievements when they are not entirely adequate, so as not to disappoint the stupid
BO folk. Among the Bororó, a person who, at the time of the best
[756] palm wine, consumes the largest quantities during the sumptuous
[273] drinking bouts and, most successfully withstanding the intoxication, makes the longest speeches is recognized as a witch doctor; the concepts of the doctoral banquet and the doctoral examination coincide.

B The tobacco narcosis of the doctor is the most common
[276] medicine for the patient among all our tribes, as well as among many others; the sick body is blown upon with huge clouds, at the same time it is spat upon vigorously, and in between it is kneaded with the use of all the muscular strength amidst terrible groans reverberating throughout the village, not from the patient, but from the doctor. This goes on for a long time; the doctor permits himself only brief pauses in the kneading, during which he laments loudly and at the same time smokes passionately. The cigars are furnished by the family. Finally he starts to suck and, with convulsive outbursts, spits out the cause of the illness.

A The Auetõ chief had drunk plant poisons, but he had not yet
[622] undergone the greatest test, taking snake poison, which was often
[755] done in "former" times. It is emphatically pointed out that the poison calabash of the sorcerer cannot harm the good medicine-man, but, of course, it is not explained how the latter can fall ill. The Auetõ chief had already been dead. When the medicine

/345 cont./

*171 man takes the strong poisons, "he dies." When the medicine He lies "dead" in the
755 hammock until his shadow returns. For the time being I should
704 like to ignore what the result of this conception of loss of consciousness is for the conception of death. During his narcosis the witch doctor is able to transform himself into any animal form and immediately reach any place desired. The transformation occurs in such a way that he "enters" into the animal. Even today the best doctors are those who drink poison and transform themselves in the intoxicated state. "These piajes who drink âgokuriôku and go to heaven," said Antonio literally, "are very good, they cure everything, and the others who do not take poison, who merely blow with tobacco, they cure also, but they do not cure severe /346/ illness." The origin and the meaning of magic cannot be expressed more clearly; one puts himself into a state of excitement in order to make himself capable of what would otherwise be impossible, he works miracles, in which everyone believes, by stimulating his power of imagination; the ultimate basis of all sorcery is the conviction of the reality of what is dreamed or imagined.

Antonio's statements, in the literal wording, about the visit of a narcotized piaje in heaven will explain the situation better than my interpretation. The docile Bakaïrí have, I can only say,
[177] snapped up a few Christian ideas and have made them their own in the most curious distortion; for me, at any rate, it was extremely difficult to remain serious when before my astonished eyes Christ, Mary, and the angels suddenly appeared in Schingú dress amidst beijûs and surrounded by gourds filled with starch-paste and yellow pikí juice. At the same time we were assured that the
[175] non-Christian ancestors, the "antigos" of the narrative piaje,
[173] visited heaven and, drinking poison, changed themselves into all kinds of wild animals. I was given the story when I tried to learn their ideas of heaven.

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*171 755 994 995 539 "Heaven has a ground, as here. The piaje who was there says so." "??..." "He drank liana poison and died. He was then no longer like human beings, he could go into a jaguar or a cobra snake or a sukurí snake or a falcon. He ascended to heaven, came back, awoke as a human being, and was just as he was before. This happened on the Paranatinga. The same thing also happened formerly among the antigos, and the people of the Tamitotoala (Batovy) used to say the same thing." Thereupon Antonio reported his specific example. "He drank the poison in the hammock itself, he drank out of a gourd vessel in which there was mixed a great deal of water, he died in the hammock. He went to heaven and there met the antigos. He also met that one...., what is he called?" (Tries in vain to think of the name.) "Oh, his mother also went to heaven." "Jesu Christo?" "The same. He conversed with him for a long time. This Krito had him sit down on a stool and brought him calabashes with pogu and pikí juice. There was a great deal of it. They talked a very long time. This Krito provided him with arara feathers for flying. Then he blew on him. Then he let him return. He woke up in his hammock." I wanted to find out in greater detail how he had come out. "The shadow rose up a little above heaven, carefully looked for the hole by which one gets out of heaven, and flew back here." "So the shadow had been in heaven?" "Since the body does not go and cannot rise up because it is dead, the shadow goes."

171 755 276 The transformation thus takes place in the dream, which is induced by a narcotic. It is regarded as real and the story of such a dream, wholly true or nowadays only very much partially true in professional practice, furnishes the material for the belief in the art of the /347/ witch doctors. Their actual merit lies only in their knowledge of the narcotics, and in particular, from our point of view, that of tobacco narcosis. Antonio told me that

* The occasion for becoming acquainted with the narcotic effect was probably during the fanning of the smoldering fire. One must seek in the forest the dry leaves which are thrown on, which

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*171 755 276

> smoke and flare up more or less quickly when one blows on them. Leaves burning with an aromatic or stupefying smoke would strike the sensitive nose of the Indian while he was blowing on them and would be found useful by him for his medicinal sorcerer's kitchen. He inhaled the smoke and swallowed it (hence always the expression "drink" among the discoverers of America).

there are two kinds of "tobacco"; the tobacco which one smokes for pleasure is different from the kind that cures and is much weaker. In the cures which I saw the ordinary tobacco was used; probably there are other leaves that have a stronger narcotic effect. The Schingú cigarette in its green aromatic leaf-wrapping is probably one of the simplest forms of regular smoking enjoyment. Tobacco smoke cures everything; I saw infected eyes, inflammation of the hip joint, burns, abdominal pains, and other such things treated with it. The Suyá blew it into my ears and talked into them loudly, so that I would understand their language better. Perhaps if a patient is blown upon for a long time with a thick cloud of smoke a slight drowsiness is aimed at, but in each case the patient, already suffering, must lapse into a dull state as a result of the untiring, monotonous moaning and kneading, in which he may experience transformations just as well as the medicine man. I did not obtain any accounts or examples of this, however.

In the following chapter I must discuss a simpler method of blowing, by means of which the sorcerer transforms, not himself, but others, and which occurs without tobacco smoke.

*171 789

The medicine man or anyone else blows in a different way when he drives away a thunderstorm by blowing. Saliva is puffed out through a spray funnel against the clouds; I myself saw the remedy work several times and was then sorry that in my overly great caution, in spite of the urgent requests of the Indians, I had not puffed along with them. I lacked the power of imagination.

2: Steinen--411 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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Chapter XIII.

Science and Legend of the Bakaïrí

I. The Basic View.

Man need not die. Knowledge of the existence after death. Explanation of nature by means of stories. Animals = persons. Animals actually furnish culture, hence same explanation carried over for unknown origins. Origin of explanatory story. Celestial bodies, the oldest things, and animals. Significance of the Milky Way. Transformation. Men from arrows, women from maize pestles. Kerí and Kame and the ancestor legend. The twins and their mother are not profound personifications.

761 When in the course of making my linguistic recordings I gave Antonio* the sentence, "everyone must die," he was silent for

[113]

* Bakaïrí-Grammatik /Bacairi Grammar/, p. 185.

some time, to my astonishment. There ensued the same long pause which I always had to cope with when I presented him with one of those abstractions so familiar to us, but so foreign to him. [811] I learned then for the first time that the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ does not know "must," he has not yet reached the point of deducing a general necessity from a series of always identical, recurring phenomena; quite specifically, however, he does not understand that man must die. He is still far from the thought which we memorize in the lowest classes of the Gymnasium,** "nemo mortem

** As a boy I refused to believe it at heart and for many years, until I became more intimately acquainted with the nature of death, clung stubbornly to the hope that I might perhaps be an exception and not die, as is otherwise customary in the history of the world.

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761 effugere potest" /no one can flee death/. Antonio's translation, which avoided the word "must," yet showed that he correctly understood my view, came out rather twisted after a quarter of an hour of thinking: "I die only (and) we (die)." The interpreter, however, shook his head, dissatisfied; he had doubts which we, too, should scarcely be able to surpress if it were maintained: "all men must be murdered." The Indian seeks the cause of death only externally, in a nasty trick. If there were only good human beings, there would be neither sickness nor death. He knows nothing about a natural ebbing of the life process.

775 /349/ A second, not unessential difference between the interpretation of our Indians and that of civilized peoples concerns existence after death. That the earth's goods are unevenly distributed and a poor person may one day experience the bliss of abundance, that justice is imperfect here below and the good person will one day be rewarded, the evil person punished, these ethical demands have not arisen in the simple social conditions of the native. His conception of the existence after death does not arise from hope and faith. It is, however, linked with the idea of agreeable conditions to the extent that in the future life with the "antigos" in heaven fish, game, and pikí juice will be very abundantly provided, and it also takes into account the behavior of worthless fellows, for they roam about at night in the forest as malicious spirits, kflain-oroika, spreading terror and alarm, not because they are, say, "cursed," but because they naturally continue their wickedness in another place.

761 For the native, however, the root of the conviction about
774 continued existence lies, not in feeling, but in intellect, despite
775 the fact that the two are inseparably joined. For his level of
828 judgment, it is a matter of knowledge. According to the conception of civilized peoples, the soul leaves the body for the first time at death, something entirely new happens, about which they know nothing from experience and observation, unless through spiritualistic means; because of this unknown, new thing, they cannot prove immortality, but are obliged to content themselves with believing it for ethical reasons. For the Indian, on

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761 the other hand, the process of the separation of soul and body is
774 not new; he experiences it day after day, as we have seen, when
775 the shade /Schatten," shadow, shade"/ hastens away in the dream
828 and leaves his body behind in the hammock. Ordinary death is a deep unconsciousness (coma) brought about by the poison which the sorcerer administers, and it differs from sleep only in the fact that the shade hastens too far away to be able to return. Only the medicine man who poisons himself returns to life. The experiences of the shade during sleep were already "real"; hence its "experiences" after death are just as "real." One is familiar with this reality, which is merely life in another place, from daily experience and has it amply confirmed by the deceased, with whose shades our own communicates during the dream, and by the sorcerers who occasionally visit the realm of the dead; in the latter Hamlet may find the wanderers who return from the regions of the unknown country. To die to sleep, no more /cited in English/.

775 The shades of the dead Bakaïrí go to heaven to the ancestors. Heaven is first of all not the land of the future, but of the past, the old ones are still there where all history began. The heaven
[772] in which the first Bakaïrí lived lay beside the earth in former times, and one could easily get over to it. Too many people died there, however, /350/ so the people moved to earth, and heaven rose up to where it is now and where the animals, the places, and the things which occur in the old stories may be seen to this day. "Everything remained as it was." "There were always Bakaïrí, but in the beginning there were very few." One
[811] need only hold fast to a few specific points, and one will recognize, in spite of all flights of fancy and in spite of all the elaboration by tradition, a core of naïve, sound logic in the Indians' explanation of nature.

811 The Indians know no "must." They regard every occurrence in nature as a unique occurrence, or more correctly as a unique action. Indeed, laws are in fact known only as the result of the common work of many -- those who live and have lived. And as long as there are no laws and at best only habits, each individual is at the center of the

/350 cont./

811 universe, which represents only the totality of his personal impressions. It is not the natural phenomenon as such, with its conditions, that is the object of contemplation, but the impression that one receives from it; a story is sufficient to explain it. We recognize the same situation in the language; each species has its name, but the number of superordinate terms is extremely small. Therefore the number of divisions and pigeonholes is small; hence it does not matter much if a thing falls out of one compartment and into another. It is definitely noted, something special has happened, but there is no inherent impossibility anymore.

Let us make a comparison with something seen indistinctly. Far off on the forest path we see something which we are not yet in a position to recognize clearly. Everyone sees what he expects to see -- a stone, a deer, a heap of wood, a woman messenger, whatever it might be. It moves us if one of the shapes in the woods turns into another before our eyes, but -- and therein lies the great difference -- we do not believe in a transformation, but rather conclude that we were mistaken at the first glance, because we forthwith sacrifice our perception to the universal laws known to us, which absolutely exclude the former possibility. In the case of a striking illusion, however, we might realize that our obstacle does not exist for an ignorant person. I heard of a case where a fleeing Negro slave was pursued, and he ran into a small thicket, a capão; people looked for him in vain and found only a large jabuti turtle. The leader of the people put the turtle on his horse, but on the way let it fall out of fright and set it free; the entire company then swore that the Negro had turned into the turtle. When, despite a careful search, the slave was not found and only the turtle was to be discovered, this personal experience was decisive. The fact simply existed; if it was unusual, it could easily be explained by saying that the Negro was a sorcerer.

/351/ The reason that all "unusual" things can be explained simply as magic is because the idea of lawfulness is lacking. One is not yet in a position to be sharp-sighted. In fact, the more unusual the occurrence, the more one likes to hear it related and the more firmly it will therefore be believed.

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772 By far the most important instance of the lack of abstract divisions, which at the same time is the most difficult to approach with our way of feeling and thinking, is the relationship of human beings to animals and of the individual animal species to one another. We say the native anthropomorphizes in his "fairy tales," he lets the animals speak and act like human beings. This is all right from our point of view, but if we were to believe that he gives animals human traits only for the purpose of telling a good story, this would be a tremendous misunderstanding, it would mean nothing more and nothing less than that we are denying him all his belief and knowledge: his belief for he has the same confidence in the wonderful stories that he tells about animals as every confirmed Christian has in the miracles of the Bible; his knowledge, for he could as little conceive of the world around him without his fairy-tale animals as the physicist the centers of energy without the atoms of matter -- si parva licet componere magnis /if it be permitted to compare small things with great ones/.

We must imagine that there are no boundaries at all between man and animal. An animal may be cleverer or more stupid, stronger or weaker, than the Indian, it may have an entirely different way of life, but in his eyes it is a person, exactly as he is; the animals are united, like human beings, in families and tribes, they have different languages, just like human tribes, but human being, jaguar, deer, bird, fish, they are all only persons of different appearance and different characteristics. One need only be a medicine man who can do everything, then one can change oneself from one person into another, then one will also understand all the languages spoken in the forest or in the air or
[812] in the water. The underlying reason for this view is that there is as yet no ethical humanity; there is goodness and badness only in the crude sense that one causes another displeasure or pleasure, but moral judgment and ideal volition, influenced either by the prospect of reward or the fear of punishment, are altogether lacking. In that case, why should an insurmountable barrier between man and animal be assumed? The external observation of the

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772 ways of life, to which the Indian is limited, can at best merely indicate to man the position of primus inter pares. To be sure, the animal does not have bow and arrow and maize pestle, but that is the chief difference in the eyes of the Indian, and that is why the men arose from arrows, the women from maize pestles, but it does have, like man, important tools, for example, such as teeth and claws, which, indeed, he takes away from it.

825 Moreover, the Indian lacks our division into species, insofar as the one does not interbreed with another. This distinction, which /352/ experience certainly makes easily recognizable, is again completely obliterated because the barrier based on our anatomical knowledge falls away. Let us consider for a moment what our popular belief is capable of concerning this error; here one is confronted with a genuine mouse-skin, a genuine dog-foot, etc. If the Indian can explain something by the crossing of different species of animals or by that of animal and man, nothing prevents him from asserting it; on the contrary, he will see proof of it and merely conclude that such things no longer happen now because they are no longer necessary. Today, our learned men say, there is no longer generatio aequivoca, but at one time it surely occurred. The difference is all the more obliterated since the native is obliged to use the convenient explanatory principle of transformation in the widest latitude. Finally, he does not concern himself further about reproduction within the species, since the child is nothing but the father; the species or the tribe is like a single individual, which always appears under the same name; various subspecies, for example, the jaguar cats, large and small and differing in color, are brothers. Each of these "jaguars," however, appear by name, "campo fox," "deer," "ant bear" -- in all kinds of stories and no one asks whether it is, say, campo fox "V" or campo fox "XXIII." It is also precisely the same for the human forefathers in the ancestor legends; the women are usually taken as given, and the fellow tribesmen who accompany them always are.

772 I repeat, we are justified in using the expression "anthropo-
811 morphize" only as a schema, and it becomes false if one tries to

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B 772 811 interpret it as though the Indian says, "I am a human being and let the animals behave like human beings too." The reverse, that human beings are animals, also occurs, and, to be sure, in B [186] the good and bad sense. The Trumaí are water animals because they sleep at the bottom of the river. The Bakaïrí say this in B [171] all seriousness. We likewise encounter among other tribes this same belief in human beings who live in the water. The Bororó BO [827] maintain that if one chews certain leaves one can remain for hours under the surface of the water and catch fish. I was unable to learn anything more specific about the "water life" of the Trumaí, except that they like to attack other tribes on the river and supposedly throw captives in the water with their arms tied. I do not know whether they were formerly river nomads, like the Guató; at any rate, they first learned agriculture from their B [186] neighbors. Whatever may have suggested this belief about them to the Bakaïrí, it will not be vitiated by any conclusions that we might draw on the basis of our natural laws, "but, after all, the Trumaí are not animals, not fishes"; rather, the Bakaïrí concludes that because the Trumaí sleep in the river they are water animals, and he mocks and despises them, as happens to every tribe with BO 772 811 [775] strange customs. The Bororó pride themselves on the fact that they are red araras. They not only turn into araras after death, /353/ as well as into certain other animals, not only are the araras Bororó and treated accordingly -- they also express their relationship to the brilliant bird so cold-bloodedly that they designate themselves as araras as though a caterpillar were to say that it is a butterfly and, in doing so, do not at all wish to give themselves merely a name completely independent from their nature.

B 772 811 [171] Thus, the Trumaí are water animals because they have a habit of water animals; the Bororó are araras because their dead are transformed into araras. One tries to interpret these and similar phenomena by the confusion of names and things which easily occurs in tradition. This is decidedly not the case among our Indians. Though it may be readily conceded that, where the basic view is present, such confusion automatically appears, nevertheless the basic view, undoubtedly present, must be put

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772 first as the main point. Or would we who lack it and who may also
811 experience confusion ever believe our geographers and historians if they said that the Finns were a nation of tapeworms?

772 But if the essential distinction is absent, then the matter is
773 entirely different. Then there is nothing to prevent the campo-
811 fox, the nocturnal predator who has fire in his eyes glowing in the dark, from giving this fire to human beings by striking it out of his eyes. Or, to take a common variant of the ancestor legend, there is nothing to prevent the jaguar from being the ancestor of a cannibalistic tribe; for it is always emphatically reported that this tribal ancestor "jaguar" killed and devoured the ancestors of the local tribe, Bakaïrí or Paressí. I can state most emphatically that my informant was firmly convinced that the evil ancestor in question in the legend was a jaguar and was not merely called that, although he shot with arrows. To say that the earlier time in which the legend originated only symbolized and the descendants confused names and things is a convenient supposition, but an unreliable one, for in that case the entire tradition would consist of nothing but confusions. The earlier generation had the same basic view as the present one. It explained the cannibalistic custom of the neighboring tribe by descent from the jaguar for whom it is characteristic to devour human beings. They did not know the tribal ancestor, because he cannot be known by any tribe, although he always must have been present. Since the essential distinction between man and animal is lacking, they had no difficulty in concluding that, because these people always devoured human beings, our own forefathers, the tribal ancestor was therefore a jaguar, and their causal requirement was satisfied -- which was much more essential than the possible objection that today the son of a jaguar is always a jaguar and that today, after all, no jaguar shoots with bow and arrow as, of course, the ancestors of the hostile tribe did.

773 /354/ We understand that the Indian presents animals as though
811 they were persons when he reports their conversations, for one
825 knows that animals call to each other and communicate in loving or threatening tones, but to furnish animals with cultural products and implements seems to us to exceed the limit of what is permissible. In fact, according to the Indian ancestral legends, man

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773 is supposed to have acquired from the animals all kinds of goods
811 that he possesses. The most diverse animals were "masters" or
825 "owners" of them and the culture hero took them from them. The master of medicinal tobacco and of cotton was the kinkajou, Cercoleptes caudivolvulus; the master of ordinary smoking tobacco, the electric eel; the master of the mandioca, the bagadú fish Phractocephalus; the master of sleep and the buriti hammock, the lizard; the master of the pots filled with water, from which, after they were broken, flowed the Ronuro and the Paranatinga, the ochobi river-snake; master of the sun, the king vulture, Sarcoramphus papa, and so on. How is such nonsense possible? All this, of course, is meant symbolically, says the wearer of the spectacles of civilization, and thus regards the question as answered. I can only laugh heartily when I think of the Indian hunters or fishermen, adhering to their view, as dealing with symbolic animals like the poets, painters, and, not to forget the lower spirits, the patentees of our civilized world inventing their trade-mark -- none of whom maintain close personal acquaintance with the originals of their symbolic animals.

773 No, Antonio and his fellow tribesmen would not have under-
811 stood our type of symbols, let alone discovered some themselves. I do not deny that I was sometimes dumbfounded during our conversation when I was confronted with the simple-hearted belief in the reality of the "fairy-tale" animals and their culture in all its originality, but I was also so thoroughly convinced of its genuineness that I feel duty-bound to reject any explanation that does not fully acknowledge it. I also think the matter is simple enough to understand. The Indian has, in truth, obtained the most important parts of his culture from the persons whom we call animals,
[237] and even today he must take them away from them. Teeth, bones, claws, shells are his tools, without which he would be un-
[825] able to make weapon or house or implement. He owes whatever he can accomplish to the piranha, the dogfish, the monkey, the capybara, the agutí, the giant armadillo, the mollusks, and the legend reports nothing about any of them because every child knows that these animals, the hunting of which is the most important prerequisite for those accomplishments, furnish the most

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703 indispensable things to this day. What is more natural than that
811 he should, when he thinks about it, also derive from the animals the fine and good things about whose origin he knows nothing or, as in the case of cultivated plants, very little? What is more natural than that the lizard, which sleeps for several months, provided sleep (it was drawn out of its eyes), /355/ or that the campo fox, whose eyes shine in the dark when it goes forth for prey at night, provided fire; that the sun, whose nature we shall become acquainted with, was in the possession of the sovereign of the air, the king vulture, whom the other vultures greatly respect, and that water was in the possession of a large river snake? Along with sleep the lizard must have also given up the hammock which goes with it. Now it no longer has any; it was simply taken away, and it was very angry. All those acquisitions were taken away by force or deception; that is why the animals lack them nowadays. Thus the causal requirement of the old, naïve hunters is very agreeably satisfied, and, to be sure, altogether on the foundation of the basic view that animals and human beings are merely persons with different appearances and different equipment.

Modern research has succeeded in tracing a number of the most dangerous illnesses to the presence of bacilli, and what is the result? All kinds of diseases whose cause is still obscure are also attributed to bacilli; thousands of people who have never even seen a microorganism, to say nothing of having any idea as to how the bad animals actually go about producing illness, now suspect them in everything that they eat and seem as familiar with them as with spiders and gnats. I should like to compare these proved morbific agents with the animals which have truly furnished the Indian with the most useful things, and those others that exist only in legend with the fairy-tale animals to which, proceeding along the same trend of thought, he attributes the things of unknown origin. It is a natural procedure to explain the unknown exactly as one does the known.

Sun, fire, water, sleep are things whose first possessors must simply be imagined; for them there is no historical tradition, however dim. It may be different -- not necessarily -- with

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713 cultivated plants. Medicinal tobacco, it is vaguely recalled,
811 came from the north. Undoubtedly it was furnished by, let us say, a neighboring tribe, but the Bakaïrí have long since forgotten the actual, and in its details very ordinary, event; for many generations nothing has been known except that tobacco was first used for curing in the region where the kinkajou lives. The kinkajou is very rare in the region of the Bakaïrí; Antonio had never seen one, but he knew exactly how it looked, and his description, which was very exact in all its details, along with the name sawári, made it possible for me to recognize it as the phonetically identical yawari of the Makuschí /Macusi/ in Guiana, about which Schomburgk adds in his report that the occurrence of the yawari, according to v. Tschudi, is known in Peru as far as the tenth degree south latitude! Thus the kinkajou, as the characteristic person for the region from which tobacco came, furnished tobacco, just as the king vulture, as the person who comes into the region of the sun, furnished the sun.

/356/ The kinkajou interested the Bakaïrí more than the missing neighboring tribe, and throughout the centuries it remained the same. It was the lord of the northern region, and whatever came from there, whether tobacco or cotton, originated from it; hunters who extended an expedition beyond the ordinary boundaries to the north found it there or it would itself pay occasional visits to the Bakaïrí in the south. The story of the origin of medicinal tobacco and cotton was treated according to the customary and natural schema that the characteristic animal was regarded as the original owner; if, in order to carry out the above comparison with reference to our similar procedure, we put the two diseases in the place of cotton and tobacco, then the legendary bacillus was the kinkajou. The story told about him is merely the answer to the question: "How does it happen that we had no tobacco in former times?" At first it was still known that "such and such a tribe gave it to us," then the name and specific circumstances were forgotten in the course of time and a later generation may perhaps still have heard, "We got it from someone in the region where the kinkajou lives," but such information was bound to fall into the customary schema the

2: Steinen--422 E D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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773 moment sweet curiosity asked further: "Where did those people
811 get their tobacco?" Then there was no better answer, assuming the basic view, than: "From the kinkajou, of course," and people were very satisfied.

In exactly the same manner, as we shall see, the origin of the ordinary smoking tobacco is traced back to a fish which does not occur in the Paranatinga, but lives in the "tobacco river," and the origin of mandioca to a fish likewise not found in the Paranatinga, but which inhabited the "beijú river." Occasionally I did not conceal my skepticism from Antonio -- not often, for, like every believer, he was offended by doubts, the true core of which he himself could not fail to recognize. Then he would either maintain a hurt silence, or he would explain the present condition as the result of magic, or -- and, to be sure, in most cases -- he would simply say: "It is no longer like that now, but it used to be."

"Once upon a time" (the constantly recurring paá of the Tupí legends) is also the signature of the Indian "fairy tales." By far the greatest number of the legends try to explain the origin of something; thus they always deal with events in ancient times, and since they are always to be explained only by something special that happened, the view that there was once a time when the extraordinary was the rule was bound to be established from all this. With the most beautiful logic in the world they arrived at situations where it was always found that the human behavior of animals was the only way out, but a very excellent one. It is very easy to understand the origin of the stories, frequently spiced with a good deal of humor, if only one takes as the point of departure the point which is proved; it is obvious that the fact to be explained could not have led to the story, but rather only the story to the fact.

000 /357/ In a fairy tale* that is very widespread on the Amazon

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* Barbosa Rodriguez, "Poranduba Amazonense /Amazon History/," Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional, Vol. XIV, 2, page III, Rio de Janeiro, 1890.

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the urubu vulture and the jabuti turtle make a wager as to which one could more quickly reach heaven, where a festival was being celebrated. The turtle smuggles herself into the supply basket of the vulture, arrives safely, and greets the vulture, as the latter returns from a stroll through the festive throng, with the announcement that she has already been up there for a long time and was waiting for him. The wager is undecided and is renewed for the return journey as to who will first arrive on the earth. The vulture flies down, but the turtle lets herself fall and wins. In falling she was flattened out and her shell burst, as may be seen to this day.

How is one to regard this invention? It is the answer to the question: "How does the turtle shell happen to have a cleft out of which we laboriously pick the meat?" Today all turtles have this cleft, it must have originated long ago. At that time the tribal ancestor of the turtles must have had a bad fall, from it the shell was also entirely flattened underneath. In that case, one opines gravely, the turtle must have fallen at least from heaven. Yes, but how did she get there? Well, the vulture took her along. But how? -- The turtle has been put into a situation which deviates from all the experiences in the life of turtles, but the conclusions leading to it are compelling and only now does invention begin, which, in turn, as a result of the contradictory nature of the two animals brought together in a common situation, the swift bird and the slow reptile, clearly points to the popular expedient of a wager. If now, besides all this, the Indian does not recognize an essential difference between animal and man, the solution of the problem with the aid of the human wager and the human supply-basket does not encounter the slightest difficulty, especially since the story takes place in the famous olden times when things were different from what they are today. The supply basket of the Indian, which transports the turtle to heaven, is quite as justified as our ether in whose waves the light of heaven is transmitted. If we must by all means satisfy our causal requirement, we must in both cases, each on its level, provide a means of transportation, the characteristics of which are suitable for the explanation.

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821 Celestial bodies. The Indian observes the figures in the sky and sees in them things with which he is familiar. The sky, "formerly so close," is now very, very high. Only birds that fly a long time might be able to reach it; the medicine man is there in a moment, for him it is "no higher than a house." The characteristics of fire are not attributed to heavenly bodies. The sun is a large ball of the feathers of the red arara and of the toucan, whose feathers also display magnificent orange and red, the moon is a ball of the yellow tail feathers of the weaverbird (Cassicus, japú), which the Bakaïrí /358/ wears in his ears. In the evening the sun is covered with a large pot which is lifted off again in the morning. For the time being I shall ignore the person who takes care of that; this person is an addition or supplement of little concern at the beginning of the development, for if the sun is a feather ball and this feather ball disappears for a while, it is obvious that someone covers it up during that time, whether with a pot, as the Bakaïrí maintain, or by placing it in a gourd, as the Paressí believe.

During the rainy season, when the days are long, the sun is carried by a snail (Bulimus), in the dry season, when they are short, by a hummingbird; it is well known that the wing beat of this little bird is so rapid that the eye cannot follow it. During the night the services of these animals is reversed; in the rainy period the hummingbird, and in the dry period the snail, drags the covered sun-ball back to its old place. For the phases of the moon the Bakaïrí starts with the full moon, when we see the ball in its entirety. A lizard, which we notice along the edge, comes first to take it along, on the second day an ordinary armadillo, and then a giant armadillo whose fat body soon conceals the yellow feathers altogether. It should be noted that the armadillos or tatús /tatous/ have a curved shape, are nocturnal animals, and are hunted by moonlight.

821 773 The eclipses are explained in a similar way. Antonio did not regard the phenomenon as in any way lawful, however, and explained it case by case. Thus once, when he was still small,

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821 a sorcerer on the Paranatinga changed himself into an anú, a
773 bluish-black bird (Crotophaga) and covered the sun for a while with his wings. On January 28, 1888, there was an eclipse of the moon which I called to Antonio's attention. Deprived of surprise because of my announcement beforehand, he nevertheless made his usual explanation that the lizard and the tatús were at work. I let him look at the moon through an opera glass and wanted him to tell me about the mountains. "A little dirt from the tatú has remained behind," he replied. Thus, with the grubbing and digging there was added a new circumstance which induced the ancient Bakaïrí to see in the curved form of the unilluminated part the armadillo in particular.

171 In these explanations, however, there is a definite contra-
821 diction of the views of the Karaiben /Carib/ base-people /Grundvolk/, which are handed down to us in the words for sun,*

* Cf. Bakaïrí-Grammatik /Bakaïrí Grammar/, the table for "Fire, Sun, Wood, Tree," p. 278 and pp. 279 to 281, as well as Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, page 306 /omitted in the translation (1: Steinen, this file)/.

and in the same manner the explanations of the present-day Paressí, who also have the feathers and the armadillos, contradict the presumed views among the Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ base-people. The words for "fire" and "sun" have the same roots and are in part differentiated only by reduplication, or are even identical from one tribe to another. Thus, in the formation of the words, warmth and light must have been the first characteristics of the sun comprehended. The pot, too, with which the
821 Bakaïrí have the sun /359/ covered at night, is also a reference to the hearth, and it proves to us, since the Bakaïrí had no pots in former times, the comparatively late embellishment of the hypothesis. I modestly objected to Antonio: "But the sun is hot, after all, and there are no feathers, are there?" An objection which I bitterly regretted as soon as it had escaped my lips.

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82| For Antonio, who was clever enough to recognize the contradiction as soon as it was pointed out to him, was visibly hurt. "It may be," he finally declared sullenly, "that fire was added later through magic; in olden times there was none there." He is wrong about that, however. The heat was not added by magic, as Antonio thinks, but on the contrary, was conjured away. Nevertheless, present-day Bakaïrí science is rooted in the belief that sun and moon are feather balls, and no matter when or where it may have arisen, it furnishes us with a good example for understanding the thinking of the Indians.

811 821 It is sufficient for the explanation that a thing looks like another, more familiar one. The sun is a feather ball the moment one finds that it looks more like that than like a blazing fire. Even if the conclusion is one by analogy, it is fully convincing on this level, and the further explanations about the growing darkness and the course in the sky develop organically from the stimulus which has now been given. We say that there cannot be any animals up there, hence the heavenly bodies are not animals; the Bakaïrí, on the other hand, sees the animals or the feathers and does not ask whether they are there, but merely how they got there.

82| I obtained no information about comets; Antonio simply remarked disdainfully: "They are supposed to bring harm to the Portuguese (the Brazilians are named only in this way), they don't do anything to the Bakaïrí." As for the planets, I was given only the name for Venus, which could not be translated.

[153] Antonio was excellently informed about the heavens. He also understood the nature of my star map without any trouble. The first time I pointed out a few constellations to him, we went outside and looked for them in the sky. We returned to the room and he immediately found Sirius on the map. It along with Orion, Aldebaran, and the Pleiades are regarded as belonging together in a group. Orion is a large rack on which mandioca is dried, the larger stars are the knobs of the posts, and thus Sirius marks the end of a large cross-beam by means of which the rack is held from the side. The Pleiades, apparently the starting point of the entire conception, are a heap of grains of flour that have fallen to one

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821 side, Aldebaran is a thicker lump, the "father of the heap." "In the sky there are mandioca, plantings, forest, everything, everything." Festival ornaments too. Capella is a small husk such as the Bakaïrí wears in his ear for sticking a feather in from the front, two other stars of the Charioteer are the husks of the Kayabí /Cayabi/, the feathers of which are inserted in the back. One star, which one was uncertain but it seemed to me Procyon, is an ear-piercer, or probably more accurately, the hole pierced by him. The Twins /360/ are the holes of a large flute. Canopus did not have a name. The Southern Cross was a bird snare on a twig, and the two large stars of the Centaur represented two little sticks that belong to it. With the snare a mutum cavallo (Crax) had been caught, which one recognizes in a dark area of the Milk Way nearby; again one suggestion releases another and the one confirms the other. Not far distant, corresponding approximately to the stars of the Flying Fish and Argo, stands a sokko heron with a little basket full of small fish: lambaré, trahira, jejum. Scorpio is a carrying-net for children.

821 The Milky Way definitely attracted the greatest attention
773 by far with its light and dark parts, and, next to the sun and moon, it seems to have furnished the bulk of the raw material for the entire body of legend. Whereas the stars are granules, holes, net knots, pegs and the ends of posts, here animal figures also appear, such as the aforementioned mutung hen and the sokko heron. The Milky Way itself is a huge drum-tree that lies on the ground, "like the one in the third village on the Kulisehu," which is drummed for the festival up above too; one can see its roots spreading out in the south. Keri and Kame, the two culture heroes, from whom the Bakaïrí learned their festival dances, accomplished all the deeds of their youth, which we have yet to discuss, in the vicinity of this "sata" tree. In the zenith is found the dark hole, which one can see only on the clearest nights, where the king vulture came out carrying the feather-ball of the sun in its claws, and through which the medicine man who was entertained by Christ (cf. p. 346) flew back to earth. The starless area to the east of the Cross, the Coalsack, is the hole that Keri and Kame dug in

/360 cont./

821 order to watch as their dead grandmother Mero was burned. They
773 had set the fire themselves -- one can still see it in the large Magellanic Cloud -- while another, the small Magellanic Cloud, arose through their carelessness, which I shall speak of later in detail. Keri in particular is the hero of all these stories: he caught the mutung with the bird snare; he robbed the king vulture of the sun-ball by assuming the shape of a tapir whose dark forms one can still clearly distinguish in the Argo part of the Milky Way. Besides the tapir, one can also see a jaguar and an ant bear of the legend. In fact, one need not be an Indian in order to observe the animals; I, too, distinctly recognized the tapir in particular.

821 The native predominantly sees animals up there for the
151 same reason that he sees them down here in all kinds of things that remind him of some animal merely by some small characteristic; he cannot do otherwise because he apperceives chiefly in accordance with his hunter interests. It did not escape him, however, that the animals and things in the sky have a different appearance than their originals on earth, according to which they are determined. /361/ They are only figures. And yet they are more. For even though they may have been made at some time, he cannot regard them as works of art like his animal stools or sand drawings, because they move and are in the midst of a highly variable shifting of wind, clouds, and weather that takes place independently without one's seeing any human being. They must be bewitched.

772 All the more so since the same result is reached in another
773 way. They are necessarily the oldest animals and things that there are. Each earlier generation, no matter what it thought of them, saw them as complete as does the present one, whereas, according to all present-day and earlier experience, the rivers and trees and inhabitants of the earth of all kinds are small at first and then grow big. Now all the ancestors have disappeared; year in, year out those who die are always disappearing -- where else should the oldest people be than among the oldest things? But to
[761] die is to be bewitched and transformed, just as the medicine man who takes poison and dies changes himself into any animal shape desired.

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772 desired. Therefore, we have up there the oldest bewitched peo-
773 ple and things. The feather ball, the vulture, the jaguar, the tapir prove to the Indian the deeds of the oldest medicine men. The only thing needed for a fully logical conclusion would be to regard every dream as a bewitched state.

773 I have already discussed, in the story about the vulture and
821 the turtle, how the coherent text of the legends comes into being, even before a dim historical tradition furnishes special material. There is no lack of material, since the various animals and things which one sees side by side up there must stimulate, according to their characteristics, all kinds of notions which explain
539 their being together. Thus legend tells how the king vulture, before Keri took the sun away from him, appeared with it in the dark hole of the Milky Way and then flew around in the sky. Well, the sun is apperceived as a feather ball; during the day it reaches the highest heights of the heavens where at night one sees a dark hole, and there the "red urubu" or magnificently colored king vulture, "the prince and ruler of his kindred (Brehm)," is the most conspicuous citizen in the realm of the air -- when this material has been gathered, only the inquisitive question is required and the connection cannot fail to appear. There is not much bother about the moon. It was "together with the sun at first"; later Keri and Kame divided the feathers between them.

I was given the following story about the five stars in Perseus. The giant armadillo -- we have seen that it, as the largest of the spherical tatûs, leaving its dirt behind, eventually covers the moon -- met Keri on his way. It was carrying a basket with pikí fruit, gave Keri some, and went on. Keri called after it, it stopped, again gave Keri some, and said: "I shall not give more." Then he seized the tatû, the fruits rolled all around, and the tatû worked its way into the ground. Keri made himself claws out of jatobá resin and dug it out. Again it worked its way /362/ in, again he dug it out. This happened five times in all and the five holes are the five stars. Therefore we have here only a meeting between Keri and the tatû already given, we know furthermore from the flute (Twins) that stars are thought of as holes; what is

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539 more natural than that the tatú, well known for quickly digging itself in, should, as soon as it eludes its pursuer, make a group of those star holes. All that was missing for establishing the game of escape and pursuit was the quarrel, and the "apple of discord," for which again is chosen the favorite fruit, which is round and has butter-yellow meat, but any other might have been chosen. In short, the story originates, without any great power of invention, by making a connection between the characteristics of one of the heavenly animals that presented itself through the natural stimulus and a suitable group of stars that attracts the attention of the inquiring mind. Then the name runs "the giant armadillo comes out." All that is required is the interest that produces the question, and the explanatory ideas are inevitable.

773 128 One generation may have contributed this, another generation that. To continue the analysis up to the final details is simply impossible, if one because the comparative material with other Karaiben tribes is very meager.

761 755 812 Transformation. A large part of the Bakaïrí explanation of nature rests on the supposition of sorcery. They have no development, but only transformation. This takes place in two ways.

The first is that a dead person is blown upon and comes to life, or that a thing is blown upon and comes to life. To the dead person the breath which he lacks is given back; to the thing, breath is imparted and with it life. This blowing, proceeding from the most natural attempt at resuscitation, and the tobacco-blowing of the modern medicine man must not be confused. The weak newborn babies in Maigéri (cf. p. 392), for whose life one feared, were blown upon day and night, but not with tobacco. It was only in practice that the two methods merged. The blowing of tobacco smoke on a patient was merely added by transference to the smoking of the doctor -- which, as we have seen (cf. p. 407), is merely the easiest and most pleasant of the various types of narcosis otherwise induced by drinking, on the use of which his art seems to be based. It has probably long been forgotten that by

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761 blowing it was intended to breathe in the breath. But in the
755 legends the dead and things are always brought to life by simple
812 but indispensable blowing, and the Bakaïrí sometimes translates epeheni, "to blow," into the Portuguese with rezar, "to pray, to bless," while ordinarily he uses soprar, "to blow," or assoprar, "to blow upon," just as the substantive related to epeheni is sapehénu, "wind."

Although I said that things become living or animate through blowing, on closer observation this is a very incorrect expression. The /363/ sorcerer accomplishes far more than breathing a "soul"
773 or, as into the dead, "life," into them. We learn this from the
812 most important example that human beings are made from things: men from arrows, women from maize pestles, after the necessary arrows and pestles have been carved out of cane and wood. To be sure, there were always Bakaïrí, but if there was a scarcity of them, the culture hero made new ones by fashioning arrows out of ubá reed, thrusting them upright into the ground, and blowing on them. In the same way each of the other tribes were made out of the arrow reed that they still carry today and that therefore still differentiates them today; the European was made from a wood resembling the stock of his gun. The fundamental
[619] observation, which is later, as always, regarded as confirmation of the proceedings described, is that the tribes are differentiated by their arrows. Moreover, the arrow is the characteristic feature of the man. The women, on the other hand, come into being when maize pestles are carved, set upright against the mortar, and get the breath of life by being blown upon; those carved out of good wood start working immediately, the others are idle.

Neither arrows nor pestles are given a "soul," but rather the whole "person." When the sorcerer is finished, the man stands beside his arrow, the woman beside her pestle. The story-teller himself seems to be not entirely at ease about the process, for the sorcerer, as soon as he has blown, "goes to one side a little" and upon his return finds the men or women finished. An insect, which through mimicry has come to look like a jatobá leaf and is called "jatobá leaf" by the Bakaïrí, was created by blowing on the leaf; we might say "it came alive" or call it a "transformed leaf." The person is added to the already present reed, wood, leaf.

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773 812 I mean to say that these cases are essentially different from those in the legends where things are "personified," that is, speak and act like animal and human being. The falling turtle of the Amazon legend sees a boulder in the direction of her fall and calls out to it: "Get out of my way!" Obediently the stone removes itself and she falls on soft ground. The stone, which understands her words, could also have replied. Keri quarrels with the sky and, angered, goes over to the earth with his people, where the Bakairi, as a result, live today. The wind is called in order to tear down a tree. In these cases there is no blowing or sorcery. The storyteller lets the things hear, speak, in order to say that they do or do not want something, are tractable or refractory, and need not realize, as we do, that he is thus endowing them with a "soul." "How could the sky talk?" "I don't know, at that time it talked." More was not to be learned from Antonio. If today in ordinary life a thing suddenly causes harm, that is the fault of an evil sorcerer, whereas an animal acts by itself.

754 756 812 /364/ The second type of transformation is that of the sorcerer himself into any animal shape desired. No one seems to know how he does this. He does not actually become the animal itself, however; he always goes into the animal and is always implanted in the animal; in fact, he can be in the foot of the tapir and seize the vulture. How does the "soul" go out of one person and into the other? But in that case at least we ought not ask either where the soul of the animal or where the body of the culture hero remains, or whether the "shade," which in the case of the modern, narcotized medicine man lying in the hammock leaves the body for the transformation into jaguar or snake, was previously "inside" the medicine man, or whether the shade can get inside an animal- - I believe we are overdoing a good thing if we speak of the activities of the "soul" among primitive peoples. I, at any rate, merely had the impression that with regard to the "soul" the Indians sometimes think of the shade, sometimes of the breath, but do not account for all the specific details, and instead always preserve the image of the entire "living" personality. It seems to me one comes closest to the real situation if one

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754 imagines the sorcerer as being in an animal approximately like the
756 Indian in an animal mask, who now is a dove, for example, and
812 behaves like a dove in voice and movement, but remains fellow tribesman X and is therefore able to fetch a gourd bowl full of pogu from the women, although he is a bird.

793 Keri and Kame and the ancestor legend. The general
[770] basis of the world view of the Bakaïrí is his relationship to animal life. It assumes, however, one might say, that his science and poetry are of heavenly origin. The oldest Bakaïrí lived in heaven; this is proved to us by all that we know about the sun and moon, and everything that we see up there, the figures of the Milky Way, the starless areas, and the shining Magellanic Clouds. Strangely enough, there was nothing to be discovered in the way of ideas about thunderstorms, windstorms, clouds, rain, which are productive in a similar sense among other peoples. One had the impression that meteorology was still quite unexplored. There always remained the astronomical heavenly animals, to which were added the personages of the ancestor legend. The second main source of legend material flows in the memories of the tribe, but the two streams are so tightly intermingled that it is scarcely possible to distinguish what was originally supplied by the one and what by the other. The jaguar, behind which is concealed a cannibalistic neighboring tribe of ancient times, has become one with the jaguar of the Milky Way and to top it all, the zoological varieties of the jaguar family are available as a number of brothers.

[771] The names Keri and Kame show that foreign, and, to be sure, Aruak influence has played a significant role. These are the names for moon and sun of the Nu-Aruak tribes; they are not Karaiben /365/ words at all.* A coincidence is completely

*Cf. Bakaïrí-Grammatik /Bakaïrí Grammar/, p. 57. The Island Karaiben have a benign "deity," ischeiri, which can scarcely be connected with keri phonetically; if there is a connection and ischeiri is ancient

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773 Karaiben, one would suppose that the Bakaïrí word would have agreed with the Aruak word.

out of the question, because the two names always go together, both as moon and sun among the Nu-Aruak, as well as in the Bakaïrí legend in which the two heroes are twins. Except that kéri is moon, and káme, kámu, sun, whereas in the Bakaïrí legend Keri is the chief person, Kame usually plays the "fool," and Keri is allotted the sun, Kame the moon. Finally, kamu, sun, seems to be contained in Kamuschini, the oldest person in the legend. It is an important circumstance that tradition is [562] transmitted preferably by the women. Antonio had all the myths from his mother and he told me that this was the rule. In that case a constant differentiation must necessarily be assumed; many alien women were taken into the Bakaïrí tribe in the course of time. In legend Keri appears as the culture hero of the Bakaïrí, Kame as the one of the Arinos tribes. Old Caetano also designated the two simply with the Bakaïrí words for sun and moon in the form of proper names: Tschischi and Nuna. It was amusing enough when he said in Bakaïrí: "Keri took tschischi," and in Portuguese: "Tschischi tomou o sol."

With the two brothers we gradually arrive at the other end of the legend of creation, its termination in the actual ancestor legend or tribal history. After the events in heaven have come to an end, that is to say, after Keri and Kame were born and brought up and accomplished their deeds, to which are owed the possession of daylight, the interchange of heaven and earth, sleep, fire, the rivers, they come to the Paranatinga, move to the old seat of the Bakaïrí at the salto /waterfall/, make various tribes out of arrows, teach festival dances, procure tobacco, mandioca, and the like, and finally depart, never to return. 773 Where in this is the end of pure legend and the beginning of 773 history, from which some actual facts are supposed to have been preserved in the accounts concerning the rivers, concerning the relationship to other tribes, and concerning the origin of cultivated

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173 plants? Indeed, the Kayabí /Cayabi/ appear when it is still
173 night on earth, before the sun has been fetched by Keri!

I should be happy if I could answer the question even somewhat satisfactorily. Antonio was able to enumerate for me [601] the names of his ancestors up to his great-great-great-grandfather Mariukara who was supposed to have lived near the salto of the Paranatinga; this, if one figures 30 years per generation, would go back to the middle of the eighteenth century. Assuming the reliability of the statement, we would have what would probably be the natural limit in the case of a tribe without writing and without any particular carriers of tradition, an oral tradition that extends personally to the grandfather and, since the latter likewise /366/ could have been instructed by his grandfather, to the grandfather of the grandfather. If, mindful of the various life spans, we allow two more generations, we shall probably have reached the limit of credibility. None of our Indians doubts that with these ancestors we arrive at the time when Keri and Kame fetched the sun. To be sure, there were Bakaïrí before that and Kayabí were also already present before the sky and earth were interchanged. Since I am inclined to think the best of the good Bakaïrí, I believe after all that we shall be completely fair to them if we have them living on the Paranatinga since time immemorial and have them learn there about mandioca and tobacco.

Now are Keri and Kame the names of two specific chiefs who really lived several centuries ago and who are now exaggeratedly credited with having regulated the course of the sun and providing the Bakaïrí and their neighbors with sleep, fire, rivers, etc.? The history of our hunter tribes living for centuries as extended families is not very well suited for creating personalities whose names could not be forgotten. But aside from this, if only the one name "moon" existed, one might still be able to imagine a real ancestor with this name, but it is asking too much for us to assume two with the names "sun" and "moon."

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173 Could we not regard Keri and Kame as personifications of the
173 sun and moon? Only they were not moon and sun or feather balls, but were merely called that; the celestial bodies sun and moon were not made out of Bakaïrí bones. Now, the oldest things and the oldest human beings belong together; the father of the tribe is the natural owner of the sun. If, in order to explain his origin, I have him come forth from some kind of substance and be animated, there is nothing there to be personified, but only to be named. The person is quite automatically furnished by the founder of the tribe, who is completely unknown historically, but is certainly to be taken for granted; it is therefore only a question of where the name came from.

101 In the first place one should consider whether the names do
174 not have a geographical meaning. Let us orient ourselves! The potter tribes of the Kulisehu are, in our latitudes, the easternmost outposts of the Nu-Aruak. The huge main body lives to the west of the Arinos, the tributary of the Tapajoz. Here we have first of all, in the source region of the Arinos and Juruena, the Paressí group, formerly numerous and made up of many separate tribes, of whom we know that today they have shifted southwards. Farther to the west there are huge areas inhabited by the Nu-Aruak. The Paressí who visited us in Cuyabá called the sun kamái and the Arinos, as the river toward the rising sun that bounded their territory to the east, kame-uhína = sun-river. Still, it could have been some other tribe of the Paressí group; it could certainly have been ancestors of the /367/ Mehinakú tribes, who today have advanced eastward as far as the Kulisehu,* from whom the stimulus

* They are the very ones who have "sun" and "moon" in the unaltered form "kāme" and "kēri," while the Paressí of Diamantino had kamai, sun, but kayõ, moon, which, to be sure, does not mean much with respect to the old Paressí, who were split up into many subtribes.

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101 for the Bakaïrí could have come in a time that disappeared long
174 ago, it is possible that the tribe whose women once influenced the Bakaïrí tradition so profoundly has not existed in independent form for a long time -- all these details are not to be determined. But it does not matter much. Of course, it could be significant that among the Paressí the Arinos is called sun-river, Kame-
101 river, or east-river. For the tribes which, according to the
174 Bakaïrí, were made by the hero Kame are "toda gente de Arinos,"
829 "all the people of the Arinos!" They enumerated the Paressí, Apiaká /Apiaca/, Mundurukú /Mundurucu/, Suyá (formerly on the Arinos), Maué (on the Tapajoz). Keri, on the other hand, made "Bakaïrí /Bacairi/, Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, Nahuquá, Bororó, Kayapó /Cayapo/, Kayabí /Cayabi/," that is to say, the tribes living east and south of the Arinos. The division has nothing whatever to do with a distinction according to languages, for there are Nu-Aruak and Gês on both sides; it embraces two large, spatially affiliated groups which are by no means lying strictly west-east; the one contains western, northwestern, and northern tribes, from the vantage point of the Bakaïrí, the other eastern, southeastern, and southern tribes. The chief representatives of the two groups, however, the Bakaïrí and Paressí, actually reside in such a way that the former live east of the
[113] latter. We thus have the following situation: 1. Kame = Nu-Aruak "sun," but among the Bakaïrí hero of the second rank and lord of the moon, is the tribal ancestor of the western and northern tribes, and 2. Keri = Nu-Aruak "moon," but among the Bakaïrí the most favored hero and lord of the sun, is the tribal ancestor of the eastern and southern tribes.

000 Here I should like to draw on an interesting example found in Alexander von Humboldt. ** In the vicinity of Maípure, the

[113] ** Reise in die Aequinoktial-Gegenden /Journey into the Equinoctial Regions/, III, p. 173.

place named after a Nu-Aruak tribe, stand two rocks in the cataracts of the Orinoco, one of which, "the so-called Keri or

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000 moon-rock," is famous on account of a white spot shining far off, probably a lump of quartz, "in which the natives profess to see a picture of the full moon"; opposite it on another rock a similar white spot "with mysterious importance" is pointed out, it "is disk-shaped and, they say, it is the picture of the sun, Camosi." "Perhaps the geographical location of these two things has given rise to their being so named; Keri lies toward the setting sun, Camosi toward the rising sun." It is not indicated whether one disk is not also larger than the other, but it is true that, if two equal disks should represent moon and sun, the one in the east will be regarded as the picture of the sun, the other that of the moon, although the west as such has no more to do with the moon /368/ than with the sun. It could also happen that of two groups of tribes lying east-west, the one to the east would be called the one of the sun, the other the one of the moon.

174 Unfortunately, in our case we arrive at nothing but confusion with the same inference. From the standpoint of the old western Nu-Aruak, for whom the Arinos was the east-river and sun-river, the Keri tribes lived even more to the east than the Kame-Arinos tribes. From the standpoint of the Bakaïrí, the Kame tribes lived due west and the Keri tribes to the east. The significance of the directions would thus be interchanged.

But let us, for the time being, ignore the directions and imagine ourselves in the situation at the time the myths originated! There existed ancient intercourse and occasionally also a closer union between the Nu-Aruak and Bakaïrí. This must have happened if the names Keri and Kame were adopted in the Bakaïrí. The two elements therefore felt fraternally related and traced their history back to two brothers who lived together in the most ancient times. The two brothers provided their tribes with all the good things that they enjoy today. But before they were able to accomplish this on earth they must have lived in heaven, the older world which we see preserved with all its bewitched animals and things. They were born there and, with the animals visible there, experienced the stories which must have happened at that time to make it appear as it does now. The two also put the

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174 feather balls sun and moon under the pot or in the gourd vessel in which even now they are covered for a time. They saw to it that day and night alternate properly, so that we always have out regular time for sleeping. If the two had not done that we should be in difficulty; before that things were surely not as well regulated, then the two balls were still a single one, a large red bird flew around with it into all kinds of regions, and only where it happened to be did it become light. Then, however, they took the feathers away for us, divided them between each other, and established the regular service which now runs so precisely with the sun and moon day after day and night after night that at night we have our rest and during the day find our way about safely everywhere. That is why today we call one ball "sun" and the other "moon," as they themselves were called.

Perhaps the kind reader will be taken aback, since he expected me to say: that is why they themselves were named "sun" and "moon." It may be that the two were named after sun and moon, like Little Red Riding Hood after her red hood. I do not know. Only it is difficult for me to imagine that the ancient Indians thought that way. I should then always come up against a conscious name-giving, such as takes place for children; for instance, if a native should have twins he might call them "sun" and "moon." But if he is telling us about the origin of things, he is telling /369/ a story, the material for which is furnished by the characteristics of the thing, about a person of this name -- someone must have brought it and the person concerned was called just what the thing has been called since then: in the name of the thing, which is known to the listener, lies the evidence for the truth of the story and it satisfies the curiosity. Thus, among the Tupí there was a chief's daughter Mani who died under extraordinary circumstances and from out of whose grave in the house of her father grew a plant; birds became intoxicated with its blossoms, people dug and found a root with intoxicating juice which since then has been called "Mani's house" (ōka), or "mandioca." In the same way, I should prefer to think that a

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174 pair of twins were born who "were called" Keri and Kame and who, after they were grown up, brought us sun and moon, which, naturally, before they knew anything about the sun and moon, were called Keri and Kame. The name of the two best things which they brought to us, the Bakaïrí and Aruak, is the one which they themselves had, and that is how we know where the two things came from.

In any case, I absolutely deny that sun and moon were personified. To be sure, if I had not definitely established that they are regarded as feather balls and as things which are in the possession of persons, if we had only the names of the culture heroes "Sun" and "Moon," I would have to see this case, too, settled according to the convenient schema of personification. But that is out of the question here. The Indian concludes that someone must have brought the things, and this is, of course, the two tribal ancestors, who must necessarily have existed. And whose names he finds at hand.

174 773 Old Caetano said they are called Tschischi or Keri and Nuna or Kame. He used the Karaiben and Aruak words for sun and moon as proper names interchangeably at will, except that he reserved for his Bakaïrí (in spite of kéri = moon) the chief person, Keri, as the sun. Keri is always the clever one in the stories and Kame the stupid one! "Kame," Antonio said, "is a booby (é gente bobo) and does everything wrong, but not Keri, oh no!" With this endeavor, which is natural for every tribe, I come back to the connection with the geographical distribution and also to the explanation. Two brothers, "Sun" and "Moon," were the tribal ancestors of the Nu-Aruak and Bakaïrí, who in olden times lived together at a certain period. Naturally, each tribe chose "Sun" for its hero and gave "Moon" to the other. The Aruak women said, our Kame (sun) and your Keri (moon); the Bakaïrí men, our Tschischi (sun) and your Nuna (moon). Thus, for the children of the two, the ancestors of the present-day Bakaïrí, who were taught by both and were more concerned about the deeds of the heroes than about the word explanation, called the one who possessed the sun Tschischi, as the fathers called him, or Keri,

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174 as the mothers called him, and the one who possessed the moon
173 Nuna, as the fathers called him, or Kame, as the mothers called him. The Bakairi and their neighbors made Tschischi-Keri, the Aruak and their neighbors made Nuña-Kame, /370/ in other words Kame, the Arinos people living to the northwest with the Paressí, and Keri, the tribes living with the Bakaïrí to the south and east. There is no question of a conscious, primary distinction on the basis of the directions; this distinction could only have arisen secondarily by the roundabout way of Keri's having already become the chief person and the possessor of the sun; for children could not have simply called east and sun what their mothers called west and moon, and it is not an incomprehensible misunderstanding (as I myself believed in the beginning) that brought about the exchange of names, but the very understandable claim on both sides to descent from the more important of the two fraternal ancestors.

[173] I believe that the material of the astronomical observations and that of the historical memories were handled in exactly the same way: in both cases the authors of the deed were added to the story, as were the men to the arrows and the women to the maize pestles. The deed is historical, the persons are only to the extent that they are the chiefs, medicine men, or tribal ancestors whom one must assume for the beginning.

173 Let us consider a few important details of the legend: Keri and Kame are twins. Their mother is "married" to the jaguar, but it is especially emphasized that they are only his foster sons and that their mother, even though she need not be a virgin, did not conceive them by her husband; she swallowed two finger bones from Bakaïrí, which the jaguar stored away at home as arrow points, and became pregnant from them. We come across the same features in many American legends. First of all, several brothers are born as the original ancestors, and, secondly, the mother is often virginal. There is no lack of profound interpre-
[171] tations. Among the Paressí there are ten brothers, among other tribes four; the number depends either on the need, how many independent family trees were necessary for the tribes who lived

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773 next to one another and felt ultimately related by kinship and marriage, or it is regulated in one way or another according to the directions. In view of the Indians' conception of paternity, one may rather take it for granted that the mother is virginal. The son is always the little father; the first in line, if he is to be really first, may not, of course, have a father. A mother may exist, but the problem is how she becomes pregnant. In our case it is very happily solved; Keri and Kame each spring from a bone that gets into the mother's womb, but these bones are arrow points, and thus the common origin of the man from the arrow is preserved here, too. It is inconsequential that the bones are Bakaïrí bones, which probably points to the blending of various legends. "There were always Bakaïrí"; Ewaki, too, Keri's and Kame's aunt, already belongs among the "relatives of the Bakaïrí," and Keri only makes Bakaïrí when a shortage occurs. Keri, however, always remains the "grandfather of the Bakaïrí."

/371/ As for the mother herself, she was made out of, or more accurately into, a maize pestle carved out of pikí wood, and this, in the clear analogy to the origin of the men out of arrows, should sufficiently guarantee the purely human conception of her nature. Anyone who, in spite of this, however, wants to see in her a personfication, for example, of the morning twilight from which the sun breaks forth, will be expressing what I believe to be a very excellent idea which has only one failing, that he thought of it and not the Indian. I shall gladly, however, contribute to the myth-making concerning the myth: five maize pestles were animated; two of the women thus conjured up did not want to work and were immediately killed, whereas the future mother of the twins was one of the industrious ones; thus, diligence is personified here, and diligence is as closely connected as one could wish to the morning twilight when it is already busily awake while laziness is still asleep.

The morning twilight disappears with the light of day, and for this reason, it is explained, the mother of the culture heroes dies. I find it very cruel that the mother does not come alive

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773 again as evening twilight. But I must admit, this feature of the death of the mother, often observed in the American creation legends, is appropriate here too. And there, to be sure, my beautiful explanation about diligence comes to nought, for with the break of day this should be awakened to full life. Thus, I believe it is better not to put too high a value on the generalization of any fate of the mother -- dying happens very readily in the myths -- but rather to examine in each individual case to what extent death is useful for the aims of the storytellers. In our case both death itself, as the motif for the continuation of the story, and the manner in which it is combined with birth are very useful. The mother is killed by the mother-in-law because she is regarded as a Bakaïrí, and the mother-in-law and her tribe were hostile to the Bakaïrí and devoured as many of them as possible. Keri and Kame take revenge on her; she, too, is killed, and when she is burned the Magellanic Clouds arise; this fire again plays an important role for the development of the heroes. Then, however, Keri and Kame were cut out of the dead mother, and that is, after all, a circumstance which has a more startling relation to the miraculous birth, albeit fateful to the mother, of two great medicine men who soon accomplish so much than it has to the death of the personified morning-twilight! The morning twilight, moreover, like the sun, is regarded as feathers which the vulture brings in order not to have to give up the sun itself.

If only we would take the legends as what they are to the Indian himself rather than as what they could be to us and, I must admit, what they could become for him, with the advancement of a higher culture embellishing the childlike origins with a thousand arabesques. The Indian imagines the sun as a feather
[171] ball -- and not only /372/ the Bakaïrí and Paressí do that, but also the Bororó -- and he is supposed to imagine abstract "light" as a person!

In the American legends the "god of light" brings "civilization" and there is seen in this a memory of a migration from the east or an origin of civilization from the east. It is indeed strange

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773 how powerfully, from time immemorial, civilization was seized by the attraction toward the west; all the tribes who bury their dead -- since they cannot place a compass in the grave -- with the face toward the rising sun, are supposed to have come from the east. "Where does Keri live?" I asked Antonio. "In heaven." "But in which direction?" "In the east; that is where he keeps the sun. The pot that covers it at night stands in his house." Old Caetano called Keri the "Imperador" /emperor/, and he, too, had him living in the east, namely, in Rio de Janeiro. I do not see the slightest reason for mixing up the first act in heaven of the Keri myth with a migration myth. The sun was there before Keri; he simply regulated its course. If he goes with the sun, he must live in the east or the west; the Bakaïrí decided on the east and could now have easily come to the conclusion, which they did not draw, that their ancestors came from there. The ancestors, however, could not very well have lived in the east wherever this conclusion is drawn. It need not cause surprise, however, that Keri goes with the sun, since he is merely the person who was added to the sun in the story by way of explanation, and since the person who is supposed to represent the founder of the tribe and who is linked with the most important achievements has been added to the story, the culture hero must also be the "god of light."

II. The Texts.

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The parents of Keri and Kame. Origin and death of the mother. The latter avenged. Sun, sleep, and buriti hammock. Heaven and earth interchanged. Fire. Rivers. To the salto of the Paranatinga. House, fishing, festival dances, tribes. Departure of Keri and Kame. Tobacco and cotton. Mandioca; deer antlers. The ugly ostrich. Keri and the campo fox out hunting. The jaguar and the ant bear.

128 113 539 I have published the original texts of the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ legends, with interlinear translation, in the Bakaïrí-Grammatik.

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128 Here I shall try to relate their content, which, to be understood,
539 requires the essential supplements furnished by Antonio. They themselves consist of very short sentences and have an extremely terse form of expression.

539 The parents of Keri and Kame. The first part of the legend takes place in heaven. Almost everything that is now on earth existed at that time. Nothing is reported about an actual creation; it is only told how the heroes Keri and Kame acquire all kinds of good and important things from others. There were always Bakaïrí present, though "at the beginning /373/ only a few." There were also people of other tribal affiliations, especially the various jaguars and their relatives, who killed and devoured many Bakaïrí. For example, Kamuschini, with whom the story begins, was also "of another people."

Kamuschini, when he was looking for leaves of the tucum palm in the forest in order to provide himself with cord for bowstrings, met the jaguar Oka, was afraid of him, and promised to make women for him if he would spare him. First he felled trees with red wood (sewéti), took the blocks home, set them in a maize mortar, blew on them, and withdrew for a while. When he returned, however, they had all turned into men who were carving arrows! He killed them, went out again and with a stone axe felled five or six other trees, proceeded with them as with the first, and, after he had left the ones blown upon to themselves for a while, found that this time they had become women. They all said "Papa" to him and, with the exception of the last ones who sat there lazily and whom he therefore angrily killed at once,* they were busily pounding maize -- "it is said that there

* For five of them I was given the names Nimagakaniro, Atanumagale, Ichoge, Koyaka, and Tawagüri. In Bakaïrí-Grammatik, p. 226, I erroneously said that Kamuschini felled five pikí trees, and besides that I was guilty of accusing Kamuschini of an error. He first felled two pikí trees, from which came

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Nimagakaniro and Ichoge. Ichoge contains ipó, pikí (= iχó-ge, with pikí). Tawagüri, too, is the name of a tree, from which the two lazy women were made, the Portuguese olho de boi, oxeye. Koyaka (= koyá-ke, with koyá?) came from a tree with rough bark and yellow fruit. Antonio did not know anything more specific about Atanumagale's tree-origin. She and Koyaka likewise became the wives and mothers of jaguars, although this (K. 36) is put down as uncertain. Atanumagale was later designated as the wife of Kuára, the son of Mero.

was not yet any mandioca at that time" -- and were making beijús and drinks. Kamuschini gave the two oldest ones, Nimagakaniro and Ichoge, to the jaguar Oka, and he led them home. On the way, however, Ichoge came to grief; she climbed up a buriti palm to fetch herself some nuts and fell down.

Nimagakaniro swallowed two Bakaïrí finger-bones, of which there were many in the house because Oka needed them for his arrow points and killed many Bakaïrí, whose flesh he ate. The woman became pregnant from the finger bones, and from [825] these only, not from Oka. Now, however, her fate was approaching in the shape of her mother-in-law, Mero, whose husband is unknown and who, besides Oka (the large onça pintada, the spotted jaguar), had two more jaguar sons, Kuára (the "cangucú" variety of the Brazilian) and Zaupányua (a "red-colored" species). Mero came for a visit while Oka was hunting; "she did not want him to have sons by a Bakaïrí," for she hated and devoured the Bakaïrí. She tore Nimagakaniro's eyes out with her claws and departed. Nimagakaniro died, but the uncle, Kuára -- a jaguar who in heaven performs a Caesarean section on a dead woman! -- cut open her belly, took out the twins Keri and Kame, and put them in a calabash like young parrots. Then he and his people cut Nimagakaniro into bits, roasted and ate her, and served

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539 the rest to the /374/ returning Oka, who unwittingly ate it. Furiously angry when he learned what had happened, he ran to kill Mero, but desisted because she said: "I am your mother." The jaguar foster-father reared Keri and Kame; he let them ride on his back and taught them to shoot with arrows. Now, however, they asked him about their mother; he had been silent about her death because he was ashamed of having eaten her flesh and now, too, gave no information. The grandmother, however, or Aunt Ewaki, who belonged to the family of the Bakaīrí and is named here for the first time, reported Mero's crime. Keri and Kame went out and killed Mero, although she received them with the friendly greeting, "*oh my grandsons.*"

"Mero safada, the cursed Mero" (Antonio hated her from the bottom of his heart) "was not buried, oh no, she was burned." Keri and Kame gathered faggots and lighted a fire; then they dug a hole in order to watch. Mero burned bopopopo. . . . One can see the fire to this day in the large Magellanic Cloud. At that time Keri and Kame did not yet have human form. Kame inquisitively crawled out of his hole and caught fire. He burned up, died. Keri blew upon him and made him nose and hands and feet, such as human beings have. But Keri, too, caught fire (the small Magellanic Cloud is the fire of Keri and Kame), burned up, died, was blown to life by Kame and given human shape. Then came three kinds of animals, which can also be seen in the sky, the small fish otter who took her tail from Keri and Kame, the large one (ariranha) who took hands and feet from them, and the toucan who took his beak from them. Keri had had a larger beak than Kame.

Only now do the two have a human appearance, and they soon start their activity for the benefit of those living today. How did Kamuschini, Mero, and Oka look? "Oka is the spotted jaguar, isn't he?" "Yes." "And he shot with arrows?" "Yes, at that time the jaguar shot with arrows." "He shot the Bakaīrí and de-
[825] voured them." Mero had "something of the joho" (Crypturus noctivagus) "and makuku" (Tinamus brasiliensis), two wood hens.

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539 But their claws were as large as thumbs. "So the mother of the jaguars was a bird?" "Yes, it is said that to this day the jaguar does not devour any johõ and makuku." This is again a true Indian reason for the senseless relationship between the jaguar kin-group and the wood-hen kin-group. If there is anything historical here it has been inseparably mixed with the zoological. "Mero devoured so many Bakaïrí that scarcely any remained. Keri had to make new ones."

The person of Kamuschini, finally, is also linked with an animal observation and, although we learn to understand his sojourn in heaven, makes even greater demands on our power of imagination. He has "a black sin, is moderately haired, he makes threads like a spider." "The spiders come each year in July and then have children; in August and /375/ September, when the rain comes, they make threads and then they go to heaven and the thread trails after them. Kamuschini is like these spiders."

Keri and Kame, on the other hand, have human shape by this time. They now take revenge on their foster-father for the death of their mother. But they shrink from it and want to have the deed performed by others. They ask the jaguar to make them arrows; they place them upright in a circle in the ground and blow upon them. "There came" the Kayabí /Cayabi/, the neighbors of the Paranatinga Bakaïrí, who in former times were supposed to have lived peaceably with them but who became their mortal enemies because of the stone axes and women. The arrows which the jaguar made for Keri and Kame and in addition to which the latter conjured up the Kayabí were stalks of buriti leaves, for at that time Keri and Kame were still children and used toy arrows. Keri told the Kayabí to shoot at Oka, but they missed. Then Keri himself shot, the arrow penetrated the knee of the jaguar, "the jaguar leaped into the water and escaped." The legend simply says: "thereupon they killed their father," but Antonio gave this different version and added: "if the jaguar had been killed, there wouldn't be any today."

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539 Sun. Keri and Kame were now instructed by their aunt, Ewaki, to fetch the sun, which was owned by the red urubu or king vulture. Everything that has been told so far took place at night, unless the king vulture happened to appear with the sun. In the zenith there is a black hole that belongs to the urubus. The tapir which one sees in the Milky Way fell into this hole because it was a dark night. Keri saw the tapir and went into his front foot.* Kame, however, entered a small yellow songbird,

* Old Caetano said that Keri made the tapir out of áka, a soft wood like mandioca, and then made small flies which were to give the tapir a disagreeable odor and attract the urubu.

similar to the bemteví, and sat down on a branch; he was supposed to inform Keri, who could not see anything, about everything that was going on. The red vulture uncovered the sun, it became light and thus the urubus caught sight of the tapir. The entire "urubusiada," black and white vultures -- only the red one stayed away -- pounced upon the tapir. They fetched liana ropes, pulled him out of the hole with all their might, and wanted to divide him up. Then Kame on his branch went "neng, neng, neng," Keri blew, and the vultures could not open the tapir with their beaks. They called the king vulture to help; he came, and Kame stopped going "neng, neng, neng." The red vulture opened the tapir with his beak, and at that moment Keri seized him, grasping him so firmly that he almost died. He was told that only if he gave up the sun could he remain alive. Then the king vulture sent his brother, the white vulture, to fetch the sun. He brought the dawn. "Is that right?" Kame asked Keri, who had to hang on. "No, not the dawn," replied Keri. So the white urubu brought the moon. "Is that right?" asked Kame. "Certainly not," replied Keri. Then /376/ the white urubu brought the sun, and when Kame asked, "Is that right?" Keri replied: "This time, yes." Then he released the red urubu, who was very angry.

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539 "At that time the moon consisted of japú feathers; the sun, the feathers of the toucan and the red arara; the dawn, toucan feathers. That is how the old ones knew it. If now, as you say, it is supposed to be different, I do not know anything about it, and nobody does. Then it must have been blown on so that it became like fire."

Keri thought and thought about what he ought to do with the sun and the moon. It was light all the time. Ewaki did not know how to advise him either. Finally he made a large pot and turned it over them. Then it was dark. He gave Kame the moon. Sun and moon were both under the pot. When the pot is lifted, it is day. -- Concerning the service rendered by the hummingbird and the snail, as well as the lizard and the armadillos, cf. p. 424.

Sleep and buriti hammock. Whether the need arose with the long-lasting brightness of the sun, which had not yet been put away, I do not know, but Keri and Kame very much wanted to sleep and, to their sorrow, were unable to. They went to Ewaki and the always well-informed aunt told them where they should go to fetch sleep. Po, the lizard, possessed sleep. She received Keri and Kame in a friendly way and said, "Oh, my grandsons." They stayed in her house, lay down in the buriti hammock, and slept. When they awoke, they felt well again. The next morning they said farewell and set out with the hammock which the lizard had given them as a present.* On the way, after they had gone a league, they thought they would try to sleep. They lay down in the hammock and tried, but it was no good. They struggled in vain. Then they went back to the

* Another time it was said that before there was a hammock people slept standing up, leaning with their backs against the trees. Protection from snakes and insects on the ground is indeed one of the chief advantages of the hammock.

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539 house of the lizard, seized her, and pulled out her eyelid. They took a large piece for themselves, and the lizard was very angry. Now they had eyelids and could sleep.

Heaven and earth interchanged. At that time it also came to pass that Keri left heaven. "At first the earth was heaven; no Bakaïrí were born here where we are now. Heaven had a ground on which everything looked the same as here on earth. Heaven and earth were very close to each other; one could go over to the earth." Keri said to heaven: "You shall not stay here. My people die here. And you want to stay here? You are good! But I don't want my people to die." Heaven replied: "I want to stay here." Whereupon Keri said: "Then I'll change." He with all his people went to the earth and heaven rose up high where it now is, and where to this day one can see that everything happened as the Bakaïrí tell it.

/377/ Fire. Keri and Kame went to Ewaki and she ordered them to fetch fire. The campo fox was the lord of fire. He had it in his eyes and struck it out when he wanted to kindle wood.
[825] The campo fox (Canis vetulus "catches crayfish and crabs," Brehm, Säugetiere /Mammals/ II, page 57) had set up a weir basket in order to catch fish. Keri and Kame went to the weir basket; in it they found a jejum fish and a caramujo snail. Keri went into the jejum (a smooth, span-long lagoon fish) and Kame went into the shell. "Both were well hidden in them." The campo fox came along singing and made a fire. Then he looked to see what was in the weir basket, fetched the fish and the snail, and laid them in the fire in order to roast them. But the two poured water in the fire. Angrily the campo fox seized the snail, but it jumped into the river and fetched more water and poured it into the fire until the latter was almost completely extinguished. The campo fox seized it again and wanted to beat it to pieces on a piece of wood, but the snail slipped away from him and fell on the other side. That was too much for the campo fox; he angrily ran away. Keri and Kame, however, blew up the fire and took it to Ewaki.

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539 Rivers. Ewaki sent the two boys out to fetch water. They wandered for three days. They found three pots which belonged to the ochobi water-snake. There was water in the pots; in two of them there was good water, but in the third there was foul water which one cannot drink without dying. They did not have anything to do with this third pot; they wanted to have good water. They smashed the other two pots; the water that ran out of one was the Paranatinga; the water of the other, the Ronuro and Kulisehu.* Keri took charge of the Paranatinga water;

* The text of the legend speaks only of the Ronuro; Antonio added: "along with it was the water of the Kulisehu."

Kame, the Ronuro-Kulisehu water. Both rivers ran on, and Keri and Kame each ran behind his; they called to each other so that they would not lose each other. Suddenly Kame's calls ceased. Keri shouted and shouted, but he got no answer. Then he had the Paranatinga stand still and wait, and he went to the Ronuro. Stupid Kame had picked out the worst river. He could not cope with it; the water swelled and grew wide, and Kame drowned. A huge jahú fish swallowed him. Keri arrived and found the Ronuro standing still; Kame had disappeared. At once he started to fish; he caught three jahús and one was greatly swollen. He tore open its belly and saw kame, who was dead. He laid the corpse on large, green leaves and blew upon it. Then Kame stood up and said: "I slept well." "No," cried Keri, "You did not sleep at all! A jahú devoured you." They did not want to have anything more to do with the Ronuro; Keri sent for a duck and ordered it to take the water along. So the duck escorted the river farther and the two boys -- at this time, as Antonio pointed out by comparison, they were the age /378/ of the son of a German acquaintance of ours in Cuyabá, about eight years old -- set out for Keri's Paranatinga, which was still patiently waiting. "This is the water," said Keri, "that we want to take along."

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539 For three days they ran with it down toward the valley. Then they came to the salto of the Paranatinga, but it was not yet a waterfall, only dry rock. They themselves now brought the water to the salto and let it wait on the other side of the falls. But since they were now staying here, Keri soon had ducks and doves come and other birds who took the water with them and led it on.

House, fishing, festival dances, tribes. Tumehi or Tumeng, a grandfather of Keri, lived on the salto. He was the husband of the grandmother or, as we have called her up to now, Aunt Ewaki (mother and aunt, great-aunt and grandmother have the same merit as kinsfolk). Tumehi was a bat and had a dark gray skin. Old Caetano variously called him Semimo (Bak. semímo, bat) and Rei de Congo! The king of the Congo, a term which he got hold of, heaven knows how, from Negroes, fleeing slaves or workers on the fazendas, and applied to the black Tumehi. Tumehi belongs to the oldest kin-group of Kamuschini, Mero, and Ewaki, and his correct name is probably Semimo, for tumehi, tumeng, is an adjective. The salto had been his stone house before the water came; it should not be surprising to us that it is precisely the bat, which prefers to "keep house" in rock clefts, that is regarded as the builder of the stone chasm and that the latter, with one or another overhanging rock-roof, is regarded as a house. Thus, Tumehi was pedreiro, stonecutter.

Keri and Kame had Tumehi build each of them a stone house. The latter provided himself with stones by blowing on termites; that is how stones were produced.

They learned more from Tumehi on the salto, however. Their knowledgeable grandfather showed them how to make and to set weirs and catch matrincham fish in them, how to plait roasting racks and roast fish.

Now Keri and Kame have reached the stage where they are regarded as adult human beings, they have acquired everything one needs: sun and moon, hammock and sleep, fire, the best river with the salto and its fish, house, and roasting rack. Their [193] [34] life had to start in heaven, and now it has been carried forward to the time when the actual tribal history begins at the oldest residence site of the Bakairí, on the salto of the Paranatinga.

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539 The Bakaïr lived with Keri; Keri's house lay on the east side of the salto. Both together also made a hill on the west side of the Paranatinga, from which one had a broad view.

Kame first built a festival hut and first carved a flute. He invited Keri and his people. They all danced to the sound of the flute, stamping and swinging their arms in rhythm, from the dwellings to the flute house and back again. Kame served his guests pogu to drink and /379/ beijûs. In return they gave presents of arrows and cotton thread.

Keri then called his people together, too, for a dance festival; they danced and also drank pogu in the afternoon on the large open place which one can still see at the salto; then they plaited makanari and imiga costumes out of buriti, swung the rattles, blew the flutes. Now Keri could also invite Kame and his people. Many came; Keri was the master of the imeo dance, and people danced for two days and two nights in succession, resting only a little in the evening and refreshing themselves in the morning with a bath in the river.

But during the festival a quarrel broke out between the brothers about the people. Keri had made many Bakaïr out of ubâ reed, but Kame had made nothing. Keri accused him of laziness; they quarreled, and Kame, the weaker one, fled. He took refuge in the southwest, made a hill on the Rio Beijaflor (hummingbird), a left tributary of the Paranatinga, and there also made tribes: Apiaká /Apiaca/, Parecí, and Guaná. It is very interesting that the Guaná are also mentioned
[101] here, a Paraguayan tribe split up into several divisions, of whose presence in this part of the country nothing was ever said; in very, very ancient times they also "lived on the Beijaflor."

Keri climbed up his hill on the Paranatinga and discovered smoke in the distance. He went to look for Kame and found many, many people. Angrily he accosted Kame: "Why did you make so many people?" Again they started quarreling, but Kame left the Parecí, with whom he was living, and accompanied Keri back to the salto. It was not long before another quarrel broke out because of the people. Keri had made new

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539 ones and Kame fled, but this time to the Arinos. Keri looked for him, found him, and again brought him back to the Paranatingo salto. It seems that this quarreling and roaming about are described in order to make it possible for each of the two to have made a number of tribes living far apart. Finally, Keri [101] made the Bakaïrí, Kayabí, Bororó, Nahuquá, Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, and Kame made the Apiaká, Paresí, Guaná, Mauá, Suyá, Mundurukú /Mundurucu/, "all the Arinos tribes." I have already discussed (cf. p. 435) how this grouping can be viewed essentially as an eastern one for Keri and a western one for Kame, and I mentioned that if there is a distinction here according to the sun = east and the moon = west, Keri is actually to be thought of as lord of the "eastern" tribes, despite his Aruak meaning = moon (cf. p. 439), for the Bakaïrí hero with the moon-name merely given to him by the Aruak /Arawak/ women was, of course, for the Bakaïrí the owner of the sun = east. All the tribes were made out of arrow-reed, the Portuguese out of a dark kind, the color of the gun stock. Keri had first given the gun to the Bakaïrí (naturally!). But they did not know how to handle it; one of them would shoot past another's ear. They were afraid of shooting, "just as we still have seen among the people on the Kuliseiu." Then Keri gave the rifle to the Karaiben /Carib/.

/380/ Departure of Keri and Kame. Keri and Kame again leave the salto, and Keri appoints Arimoto as chief of the Bakaïrí remaining there. Arimoto was also born at the salto. This chief, however, misused his position and killed many Bakaïrí. "But wasn't he a Bakaïrí himself?" I asked. "Probably, but he was a wretched scoundrel. If he had been good, his descendants would be chiefs of the Bakaïrí to this day." This time Keri and Kame went to the Kuliseiu. The Bakaïrí followed him in their distress and complained about Arimoto. At once Keri and Kame went back and killed the faithless one, who defended himself violently and for his part tried to kill Keri.

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539 This brings us to the end of the activities of Keri and Kame insofar as the principal legend reports it. They left the Bakaïrí an abundance of matrinchams, climbed a hill, from which they called down once more to the Bakaïrí, who answered them animatedly, and "went forth on their way. No one knows where they went. The ancestors did not know where they went. Today one knows less than ever where they are."

Even though the legend ends in such a melancholy way, however, the people had their own ideas. Tumehi -- not to forget this old bat -- went away with Keri. What happened to Kame? "He was always together with Keri. Perhaps he is dead now." And Keri? Caetano, the grand old man, who knew how to adjust to the new conditions extremely well, said that Keri was the Imperador /emperor/ in Rio de Janeiro, Emperor Pedro Segundo. The good [124] Bakaïrí patiently answered all my innumerable questions because I had told them I needed to know everything in order to report it to the Imperador. That meant a great deal to them. I made the objection, "what if the Imperador in Rio de Janeiro dies?" "If the Imperador dies," ran the answer, the correctness of which, however, must unfortunately be refuted, "then all the Bakaïrí will die also."

Chief Felipe told me something else. "Keri went to the Romuro and Kulisehu with a hundred men. He traveled downstream to the sea. That is what the people on the Batovy say too!"

Antonio adhered to the text of the legend as he had learned it from his mother. But in another connection he said that Keri lives in heaven, his house is there where the sun rises. "Then is Keri 'God' (Deus), about whom the Portuguese have told you?" "No, that is another, about whom we know nothing. Keri is the grandfather of the Bakaïrí."

539 825 Tobacco and cotton. Besides the coherent legends, the contents of which I have told thus far, other achievements of Keri were occasionally mentioned. For example, he took from the sawari the tobacco with which people are cured. Sawari did not want to give it up; he said it was very good tobacco. Keri, however, took the seed away and gave it to the Bakaïrí. If one makes

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539 a cigar out of this tobacco and blows on people, they die; /381/
825 but if other people then come and blow on the dead one, he will come to life again and go his way. Cotton, too, and the hammock woven from it come from the sawari. Where the sawari obtained the tobacco and the cotton hammock is not known. It is very rare and lives gregariously downstream on the Paranatinga. It is an animal of the campo cerrado, is somewhat smaller and has a slightly more pointed snout than the irara (Galictis, marten-like, cf. Brehm, Säugetiere /Mammals/ I, page 614) related to it; it climbs and sleeps during the day in tree holes; there are some that are more black, and some that are more white. The description exactly fits the kinkajou, Cercoleptes caudivolvulus, which in its entire build is extraordinarily like the irara, although it is not related to it (cf. the illustration in Brehm, Säugetiere II, page 287, with that of the irara at the place cited). Among the Makuschí /Macusi/, who are closely related to the Bakaírí linguistically, the kinkajou is called yawari.* According to

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* Schomburgk, Rich. Versuch einer Fauna und Flora von Britisch-Güiana /Attempt at a Flora and Fauna of British Guiana/, Leipzig, 1848, Vol. II, p. 435: "Von Tschudi gives it geographical distribution up to 10° south latitude. The colonists call it yamanack, the Arawaaks wawula, the Macusis yawali, the Warraus uvari."

Brehm, "we know that the kinkajou is widely distributed. It occurs throughout northern Brazil, in Peru, and northward as far as Mexico, in fact, even in southern Louisiana and Florida."

Sawari also had the tobacco that one smokes. The Bakaírí, however, had obtained this from the karazóto = "master of the fish," a large fish found in the Kulisehu, but not in the Paranatinga. Antonio had also seen it in the Kulisehu, "but not very well."
[262] I myself ate it in Maigéri, where Tumayaua gave me a piece of karazóto; it was very oily. According to the description, it is an electric eel, but I cannot give the meaning as wholly certain.

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The karasoto from whom the Bakaïrí obtained smoking tobacco lived in the "tobacco river." "He had received the tobacco, no one knows where, but he gave some to the Bakaïrí when they visited him in his house." It is probably obvious that the animals were used as geographical indications. Tribal names were "sound and smoke," the animals always remained comprehensible.

Mandioca; deer antlers. Keri obtained mandioca from the campo deer or Portuguese veado (Cervus simplicicornis). Before that, however, we must find out how the deer itself came to possess mandioca. It belonged to the bagadú fish (Phractocephalus, cf. the illustration in Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, p. 221 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 110/), also called pirarara, an oily fish which we often caught but did not relish particularly. The bagadú (kλáto) lived in the "beijú river." "Perhaps," Antonio added of his own accord and thus for the first time put me on the tract of the "geographical" animals, "it was a branch of the Ronuro, for there are bagadú there, there are none in the Paranatinga." "The beijú river was in the east." How the deer obtained mandioca from the bagadú is told as follows.

/382/ The deer was thirsty and looked for water. Then it found the bagadú (in a side branch of the river where it had gone at high water and now, with low water, could no longer get out). The bagadú lay high and dry and gasped for air. Then it said to the deer: "Carry me! Plait a bast loop in order to carry me." After the deer had plaited one out of embira, it stowed the bagadú on its back and brought it to the slope of the beijú river. "Here I should like to rest," it said. (The deer was afraid to go down to the bottom of the river.) But the bagadú did not feel like it. Thus they talked and waked down the slope. At the bottom they leaped into the water. The deer enjoyed itself in the waves. So the bagadú took the deer along to its dwelling. When they arrived the deer drank pogu. It also ate beijú. (Both were refreshments as yet unknown to it.) The bagadú took the deer along to the mandioca planting. it ran along behind. When they saw the mandioca, they broke of branches and tied three together. Then

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539 they went home. "Tomorrow I shall go," said the deer and slept
825 that night in the house of the bagadú. The next morning the bagadú said: "Take the mandioca branches along. Fell trees and then plant them." "If they are well planted, you will soon have mandioca," it declared. "Farewell!" said the bagadú to the deer. It climbed out of the water. "Now then, go!" "I am going back home," it said. But it put down the branches together in a heap on the bank; it could not manage alone and did not reach its dwelling until late in the evening. Soon it returned to the place with its son and the two carried the branches home. They rested for a while, then they cut wood in the campo. (A great folly in the eyes of the Bakaïrí, over which they laughed heartily.) But the mandioca does not flourish in the campo. They therefore then felled trees in the forest. They built a fire, burned the wood off, and planted.

Now the deer was master of the mandioca. Keri met it and wanted to have some. Up to that time Keri's beijú had consisted of the red earth found at the salto of the Paranatinga. But while the two were talking about it, they began to quarrel. The deer did not want to give up the mandioca. Then Keri grew angry, seized the deer by its neck, and blew; suddenly it had its antlers. But Keri laughed and called out, "That is how the master of the mandioca looks," took the mandioca along, and presented it to the women of the Bakaïrí and showed them, as he had learned from the deer, what they had to do so that they would not die of the poison. "But now the deer has its antlers, eats leaves, and gnaws the bark off the twigs."

The deer was thus the first, because it eats leaves and bark, to be credited with the ability to remove the poison from the mandioca. Antonio was firmly convinced that the deer was perfectly familiar with the treatment of mandioca and showed it to Keri. It was from Keri that the Bakaïrí women learned it.

/383/ The ugly ostrich. The South American ostrich or nandu (Rhea) of the zoologists is called ema in Brazil, and another bird, the seriema, sariema of the Brazilians, is regarded as its relative because it, too, hurries across the campo at a fast run, though the zoologists classify it as Dicholophus cristatus

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539 in order of the cranes, under the family name of snake-storks.
825 Cf. the illustration in Brehm, Vögel /Birds/ II, page 686. Here there is also a quotation from Burmeister to the effect that the seriema "runs along faster than a horse can trot, and can be overtaken only at a gallop."

Keri ran a race with the seriema. The seriema stopped for a brief moment. Keri passed her and the seriema fell back. Then he challenged the ostrich. They ran and Keri fell back; the ostrich hurried on. Keri was very angry at the ostrich. He fetched himself leaves of the uakumá palm; he seized the ostrich and punished it. Then the ostrich lost its beautiful feathers; today it has nothing but small, ugly feathers.

Keri and the campo fox out hunting. Keri met the "grandpapa" campo fox and agreed to hunt with him, during which the campo fox, as master of fire, would light the massega grass in a circle. Whatever animals were surrounded were to be burned. Now stupid Kame had just entered a mouse. "Keri did not know anything about it; he thought Kame was outside." The fire stopped, and the two roamed about to see whether they could find booty. Keri did not find a roast. The fox found a charred mouse and ate it up. Then the two met again. "Grandpapa, what kind of roast did you eat?" "I only ate a mouse." Then Keri realizes that the campo fox has swallowed his brother, and he thinks up a strange method of getting him back without having to kill and cut open the campo fox. "Let us race, Grandpapa," said Keri. "All right, my grandson." They raced a long distance. They stood still. When the fox stood still, he vomited. After he had vomited, he quickly ran away. Keri went to the spot where the fox had vomited. He saw the mouse bones and gathered them up. After he had gathered them up, he blew. After he had blown, Kame rose up. "I slept well," he said. "You didn't sleep at all! The campo fox ate you."

The jaguar and the ant bear. This strange story no longer has anything to do with Keri and Kame. Nevertheless it deals with the same contrast of the clever one and the stupid one. The stupid one is the strong jaguar, the clever one the large ant-bear,

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539 tamanduá bandeira (striped) of the Brazilians and Myrmecophaga
825 jubata of the zoologists, which is no match for the other in bodily strength and agility. The relationship of the two animals interests the Brazilian hunters very much; they maintain that the ant bear can cope very well with the jaguar, not out on the campo, to be sure, but in the forest, by standing upright like our bears and embracing the jaguar. At times this struggle is said to cost both of them their lives.

/384/ Our tale is also concerned, however, with the particular circumstance that the jaguar eats only wild game and the ant bear only ants, and it asserts it in a rather drastic manner, applying the schema of the wager to a very unusual case. Aside from this point, the animals act entirely like human beings; they light fire, roast meat, wander about with the back-basket, dance, the ant bear cuts its tonsure (the hair of its head is very short and bristly), in fact, the little ant-bear, Myrmecophaga tetradactyla, which appears at the end, poisons the jaguar with the magic poison of the medicine men that is contained in a calabash. The moral of this tale, which delightfully reflects the humor of the Indian, is that artifice and cunning triumph over physical strength, this most important experience of the hunting life. The jaguar is sometimes called by the general name of the species, utóto, sometimes by the name of the onça pintada, óka, under which we became acquainted with him as Keri's and Kame's foster-father.

The ant bear met the jaguar. Then the ant bear said: "Let us cack, my friend, with eyes closed." They closed their eyes and cacked. While the jaguar had his eyes closed, the ant bear laid Oka's heap under himself. The ant bear laid his own heap under the jaguar. When he had arranged them nicely, the ant bear said: "Let's open our eyes." "Let's look at our heaps," said the ant bear to the jaguar. The ant bear cried out: "I ate meat!" The ant bear said to the jaguar: "You ate termites!" "I don't eat termites!" the jaguar said to the ant bear.

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539
825 The tapir came to where they had cacked. When the jaguar saw the tapir, he demanded that the ant bear go and kill the tapir. (Now the ant bear had an opportunity to prove his boast that he eats meat.) As ordered, the ant bear followed the trail of the tapir. The ant bear killed -- a tree! Then the jaguar set out to kill the tapir. The jaguar actually killed the tapir. Meanwhile the ant bear, eating termites, had gone on and did not return until the tapir was dead. "Where did the tapir go, my friend?" the jaguar asked the ant bear. "I did not see him," said the ant bear to the jaguar. "Didn't you see him?" said the ant bear to the jaguar and went on: "I do not eat meat, I always eat termites; meat I do not eat." "I killed him," said the jaguar. The jaguar disembowled the tapir and gave the excrement of the tapir to the ant bear (crude revenge, as though to say: "There you also have a meat-eater"). "Light a fire, my friend," said the jaguar. The ant bear lighted a fire. The jaguar set up the roasting rack and roasted the meat.

"I'm thirsty," said the ant bear. "There's no water here!" said the jaguar. "Yes there is," said the ant bear, "there are wild buriti palms over there." The ant bear left; he went far, but he did not find water. /385/ Then he pissed, drank his urine, and washed himself with it too. In his urine he found a little lambaré fish. (The storyteller makes things a bit easier for himself by providing the ant bear with evidence for his assertion.) He went back to the camping place, and when he arrived the jaguar asked: "Did you drink water, my friend?" "I drank," said the ant bear. "Look at the lambaré that I caught!" "I shall go to drink too. Is it far?" "It's a bit far," said the ant bear. The jaguar went to drink water. When the jaguar had already gone far, he called: "Where is the water, where?" "Farther! Farther!"

When the ant bear no longer heard the distant jaguar, he laid the tapir roast in a back-basket and climbed up a jatobá tree. The jaguar came back to the roasting rack; there was no longer any tapir roast. The jaguar followed the scent and saw the ant bear up in the jatobá. "Come, let's eat!" said the jaguar

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539 to the ant bear. The ant bear ate the tapir and -- it was his turn
825 to ridicule the other -- he tossed the tapir bones to the jaguar. The jaguar (who could not climb up the tall, slender trunk of the jatobá and was trying to think how he could get the ant bear down) called the biting ants. The biting ants climbed up the jatobá. But the ant bear blew. Then the biting ants went away again. Now the jaguar called the wind. The wind came to break the tree. He came to the ant bear and uprooted the jatobá. The jatobá crashed. The ant bear fled. To be sure, the jaguar pounced, but he caught only a termite nest sitting on the jatobá.

The jaguar set out and searched. At last he met the ant bear as it was eating termites. The ant bear had shaved himself a tonsure. "You there, my friend, you ate my roast." "Your roast?" said the ant bear, "I didn't eat your roast." "You are the very one who has just eaten up my roast," said the jaguar to the ant bear. "Someone that looks like me ate it. Matawiwe (a small member of the species) is the one who ate your roast," said the ant bear. "Did I look as though I'd eaten it?" asked the ant bear. "You want to deceive me. You shaved yourself a tonsure," said the jaguar.

(It is impossible to decide the case, so the ant bear proposes a competition; the one who wins is right. He felt very secure in this type of "dancing" and at first the jaguar did not feel like going into it.) Then the ant bear said: "Let's dance properly, my friend." "Let us leave dancing alone," said the jaguar. "But all right, let's just dance," said the jaguar. First the jaguar carried the ant bear. Then the ant bear carried the jaguar. Again the jaguar carried the ant bear. (He was able to carry the ant bear oftener than the latter would have given him credit for, and he was on the point of winning.) Then the ant bear tore out the jaguar's eyes and fled. The little pindoreiro bird saw the ant bear run away.

/386/ The agutí (Dasyprocta aguti, a pretty little rodent, "golden hare," very clever at tracing a scent) found the eyes and put them back in the jaguar. When his eyes had been set in,

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539 the jaguar stood up and went in the direction the ant bear had
P25 gone. The ant bear was inside the mountain and was singing. The jaguar went into the house. Singing, the ant bear came along with his back to the door. As he was coming, the jaguar seized him. He ate some of his leg. When he had eaten, he let go and went home. The termites made the ant bear well again. When he had recovered, the ant bear got up.

The little ant-bear (Myrmecophaga tetradactyla) said he would kill the jaguar. "Oh pshaw, you're no giant," the people said to him. "Then take magic poison along," the people told him. The little ant bear did as they said; he took magic poison in a gourd to Oka's house and placed the gourd in front of the door. Oka went out. When he caught sight of the gourd, he said, "That is something nice for me," and opened it. Then Oka became ill. The jaguar died.

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Chapter XIV.

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On the Question of the Original Home of the Karaiben.

I. Historical Data on the Bakaïrí.

101 In contrast to the East Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ of the Schingú, found first by our expedition of 1884 and 1887, I call the Bakaïrí west of the Paranatinga, long known to the Brazilians, the West
131 Bakaïrí. Today there is one village of them, to which our
[361] Antonio belongs, on the left bank of the Paranatinga, and a second one on the small tributary stream of the Arinos, the Rio Novo, where Reginaldo ruled as chief and where in 1884 we made
[464] our first acquaintance with the tribe. A few individuals, whom one can count on one's fingers, however, are to be found as workers on one fazenda or another in the western source-region of the Paranatinga; there are also supposed to be a few on the Rio Preto in the vicinity of Diamantino, who represent the
131 remains of a former settlement. At any rate, since the Arinos
133 and Paranatinga flow into the Tapajoz /Tapajós/, the West

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131 Bakaïrí are all inhabitants of the eastern source-region of the
133 Tapajoz and are to be found only in the region of the plateau above the rapids and waterfalls that put great obstacles in the way of the journey downstream to the Amazonas /Amazon/.

175 The West Bakaïrí have been known since the first raiding
101 expeditions of the "Paulistas," the discoverers of the Mato Grosso who boldly pushed forward from the province of S. Paulo on their slave hunts at the beginning of the previous century. Even Antonio Pires de Campos, from whom we have a report* from the year 1723,

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* Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico XXV, p. 448. Rio de Janeiro, 1862.

"after the experience of so many years," had heard of them; after he has briefly characterized (page 448) the tribes -- today long since disappeared -- of the upper Cuyabá and the Rio Manso emptying into it, he continues: "All these have the same way of life, the same type of weapons, and everything else the same, they are nomadic tribes and, with their raiding expeditions, succeed in causing harm to the heathen people named Bacayris, who live on the tributaries of the Maranhão (sic!); and from there on various stations of heathens /388/ with countless villages follow one another, as I have been informed, and all very warlike people and masters of their weapons."

The Bakaïrí are also mentioned in a report from the year 1749 about a trip from Pará into the source region of the Madeira, and furthermore it may also have happened in many an old note about the origin of the Mato Grosso gold mines. It is always only a casual mention of the tribal name, which does not offer us further information. At most we may conclude from these citations that in the previous century the Bakaïrí must have been more numerous and perhaps had advanced somewhat more to the west and southwest than is the case today. This will come out more clearly, however, from their own tradition.

175 Closer contact with the Brazilians did not take place until
797 the beginning of the 'twenties in our century. At that time

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175 "Padre" Lopes reached as far as the region of the Paranatinga
797 and converted the West Bakaïrí to Christianity. Lopes was an adventurous gold-seeker, about whom the painter of the Langsdorff Expedition* of 1828 remarks that, accompanied by

[113] * Hercules Florence; cf. Revista Trimensal, Vol. 38, II, p. 280.

Apiaká /Apiaca/ Indians, he had gone up the Rio dos Peixes, a tributary of the Arinos, and "fought with many savages." At any rate, since his visit, which cost the lives of Reginaldo's grandfather and others, the West Bakaïrí have been regarded as
175 Christians. How superfluous the brutalities of the noble Lopes were comes out best from the following words of the geographer
[113] Ayras de Cazal in his Corographia Brasilica /Chorography of Brazil/ of the year 1817, therefore before Lopes: "The Baccahirys who inhabit the regions adjacent to the Rio das Mortes carry on ceaseless warfare against all types of quadrupeds and birds. To this day these people have not engaged in any hostilities against the Christians. It is said that they are white and friendly: one reason why they are regarded as a horde of the Paricys."

[101] The real reason why the Bakaïrí could have been regarded as a horde of the Paressí, as happened in the case of Martius, is simply that there was no accurate information about either one
[177] of the neighboring tribes. If the natives occasionally came to Cuyabá in small numbers in order to beg for a few gifts of ironware, shirts, trousers, or blankets from the government, they were felt to be annoying guests whom one tried to get rid of as quickly as possible, and about whose language or peculiarities no official needed to bother. They did not live, say, near an avenue of communication connecting two important towns, but rather, on the contrary, sat behind the very last little colonists, who themselves received very little attention, there where there were no avenues at all; they did not do these neighbors any harm and were therefore of no interest whatever to the government.
177 The good Chief Felipe in the Paranatinga village racked his brains

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177 in vain as to why /389/ it happened that the Bororó, who inflicted fire and pillage upon the land, received lavish gifts as soon as a few individuals were seized, whereas he himself, with his fellow tribesmen, who for generations had devoted themselves to the finest peaceableness, was obliged to return empty-handed even on his last visit to the great captain.

127 [113] Almost everything that we can learn about the West Bakaïrí from Brazilian sources is summed up in a report of the Directoria dos Indios from the year 1848; cf. the excerpt in the appendix.*

* In Petermann's Mittheilungen for the year 1862, p. 437, there is a review of an article which Dr. Amédée Moure published in the Nouvelles Annales des Voyages about 33 tribes of the province of Mato Grosso on the basis of his own experiences and adventures. The reviewer gave a comprehensive summary of Dr. Moure's data in a table arranged according to tribe, number of persons, and places of residence. Under the tribes we find some listed with 20,000, 30,000, even 50,000 persons. If one adds the minima and maxima of the estimates, one obtains the result that the number of Indians of the Mato Grosso comes to 241,800 to 282,000. If today we estimate the total number of the Mato Grosso population of all colors, all the docile and savage inhabitants on every level of culture, at about 70,000, it will undoubtedly come much closer to the truth. The original article by Dr. Moure (Nouvelles Annales des Voyages de la géographie, de l'histoire et de l'archéologie, Vol. II, 1862, pp. 5-19, 323-341, III, pp. 77-100, Paris) also contains small factual atrocities such as, for example, that the Cambixis, who live in the Campos dos Parecis and have a pure Nu-Aruak dialect, speak the Peruvian Kechua

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127 /Quechua/ language, but many details are so accurate that they must have been based on good information. I rediscovered Dr. Moure's source in Cuyabá; it offers literally and verbatim the greater part of his factual data, but knows nothing of the exaggerated figures which, indeed, one could scarcely mention to a Cuyaban without eliciting from him a smile of disbelief.

This source is the "Archives" of the "Directoria dos Indios," an inspection board proposed in a report of the President dated May 12, 1846 (cf. Vol. IX of the Rev. Trim; this lists the Indian villages known at that time as 21 in number, without mentioning the Bakairí). The Director has the rank of Brigadier General, in order to be able to impress the Indian chiefs -- in our time he was a modest citizen with a meager salary, who, however, when he is borne to his grave, will be granted the military honors befitting his rank. The Archiv, which I was permitted to examine, was a thin folio booklet; the records began October 1, 1848. In the first flush of enthusiasm, on December 2, 1848, Director Joaquim Alvez Ferreira put together a survey of 33 tribes with explanatory additions and thereby did his successors a great service: none of them later took the trouble to check for himself, and, if a new record of figures was needed for the authorities, the report of 1848 was confidently copied. Thus, Dr. Moure's own experiences and adventures are also limited to a literal translation of the official document, except that he multiplied the census figure of 13,020 by 20! A new, neatly written table of the directorial documents dating

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127 from March 13, 1872, is classic. It had become necessary to take into account the tremendous and widely known changes which the Paraguay war had brought about in the southern part of the province. Of the tribes listed as Nos. 3-15 in 1848, three were crossed out, the total figure was reduced from 13,020 to 8670; on the other hand, for tribes 1, 2, 16-33 the old report was again copied verbatim, so that no human being seems to have been born or died here in the 24 years.

175 The Bakaïrí of the Paranatinga and Rio Novo maintained them-
[177] selves in their two poor villages; they were occasionally visited
[164] by gold-seeker expeditions who would then arrange a small mass-
baptism and introduce syphilis and measles. Many perished from
[157] measles; the disease, relatively harmless for us, is not only /390/
often fatal to the Indians, but they also have the bad habit of plunging into the river in the middle of the highest fever and not drying themselves after they leave the cool bath.

173 I made an effort to learn more details about the history of
[115] the tribe from the aged Caetano, retired chief, and his successor, Felipe, on the Paranatinga, as well as from Antonio. A history of more recent times can clearly be separated out, during which a shift to the southwest took place. Whereas the forefathers on the
173 salto of the Paranatinga lived several days' journey below the
131 present village and somewhat above the emptying of the Rio Verde
167 coming from the left, the West Bakaïrí, at least since the middle
361 of the previous century, have occupied the border area between the source rivers of the Arinos, Cuyabá, and Paranatinga, where the village on the Rio Novo is still to be found. On the Ribeirão Caixão there were more than six villages; there was a large village on the Ribeirão da Pedra. The first baptism of the Bakaïrí took place in Diamantino. Caetano, born in the previous century according to all calculations, first saw the light of the world where
[177] the Rio Beijaflor empties into the Paranatinga. The Paranatinga village now located above this is a creation of modern times,

/390 cont./

131 brought about by the gold-seeker Correa. The expeditions in
193 search of the fabulous gold mines of the Martyrios were able to
197 cross the Paranatinga most conveniently here and wanted to use
167 the canoes of the Bakaïrí as well as to obtain food supplies from
361 them. Antonio was born toward the end of the fifties, at the earliest, in Limoeiro, a small settlement.

131 The ancestors of Antonio offer a chronological handle. His
193 father, Seseriari, also had a Portuguese name; his grandfather,
601 like an Indian in the first Batovy village, was called Karawako, his great-grandfather Yakauka, his great-great-grandfather Kupare, and the last one whose name Antonio still knew was his great-great-great-grandfather, Mariukara. The latter lived near the salto of the Paranatinga. If we estimate 30 years per generation, the succession might go back to before the middle of the eighteenth century. Caetano, probably born around 1790, was still supposed to be able to call by name six or seven ancestors, which I unfortunately could no longer confirm, so that his genealogy would reach back to the middle of the seventeenth century. Caetano's father was born on the Paranatinga, above the salto, it was his grandfather who was born on the salto itself. In any case, the statements of the Bakaïrí agree perfectly with the report of Antonio Pires that the Bakaïrí were in contact with the tribes on the upper course of the Cuyabá at the beginning of the previous century.

131 It is not unimportant to determine as much of the tradition
193 as possible, insofar as it does not yet appear as legend and fairy
[101] tale, because it is very desirable to know whether the present-day West Bakaïrí, the inhabitants of the Tapajoz source-region, or the East Bakaïrí in the source region of the Schingú /Xingu/ occupy the older habitations.

/391/ The West Bakaïrí definitely put the original home of the entire tribe at the salto of the Paranatinga, so that our Karaiben /Carib/ tribe would originally have belonged to the Tapajoz. But the western source-rivers of the Schingú and the eastern ones of the Paranatinga lie so close together that it is a matter of pure chance where the tribes moving downstream arrive. "One of the grandfathers" of Caetano was slain in the forest by

/391 cont./ "one of the grandfathers" of Caetano was slain in the forest by
173 another Bakaïrí; at that time there were serious conflicts within
131 the tribe, and the result was -- according to the report of the
[167] Paranatinga people -- that one part of the Bakaïrí moved from the salto to the Kulisehu.

Between the Paranatinga and the Ronuro, too, there is a
[361] "tapeira," a ruined settlement of bygone days, known to the West Bakaïrí. At one time a route led from the salto as far as the
[487] Auetö on the Kulisehu, which therefore must have led across the Ronuro or its source streams and the Batovy. The Bakaïrí are
[167] said to have fled along this route and to have settled in part on the Batovy, in part on the Kulisehu. They were said to have ob-
[177] tained mandioca twigs, batatas, and cará /Dioscorea/ fruits from the Nahuquá for planting.

These are, therefore, very definite statements. It is difficult to say, however, when the separation between West and East Bakaïrí took place and whether it occurred in several thrusts.
[101] Just as the tribe of the Auetö and of the Nahuquá appears in the tradition of the Paranatinga village, so have the names of the rest of the Kulisehu tribes, the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, Yaulapiti, Kustenaú /Custenau/, Waurá, Kamayurá /Camayura/, and Trumaí, been known there from the times of Caetano's grandfathers. In the third Bakaïrí village on the Batovy we found a small piece of iron that was said to have been brought in former times from the Pakuneru, the Paranatinga; thus occasional visits back and forth may have occurred, or at least Parantinga-Bakaïrí may now and then have reached the Schingú.

[167] In general, however, I gained the impression that the actual separation of the two Bakaïrí groups took place around the middle or the beginning of the previous century at the latest, when the Brazilians settled in the Mato Grosso and caused major shifts of the tribes. Probably it was not merely a matter of individual internal feuds among the people at the salto, but also of malevolent neighbors who oppressed and occasionally drove away the peaceable Bakaïrí.

175 In the Brazilian sources the Nambiquara /Nambicuara/,
648 Tapanhuna /Tapanyuna/, and Käyabí /Cajabi/ are given as

2: Steinen- -472 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Apiaca SP2
Cayabi
Mundurucu SQ13

B 175 648 /391 cont./ enemies of the Bakaïrí, but there is no more specific information about them. The Nambiquara and Tapanhuna, enemies of the Apiaká, lived in the Arinos region; of the Tapanhuna, Joaquim Ferreira Moutinho* states that they spoke the Bakaïrí

B [113]

* Noticia da Provincia de Mato Grosso, S. Paulo, 1869, p. 216.

language; unfortunately no notes were ever made on the language of the Bakaïrí, let alone on that of the Tapanhuna, /392/ and unfortunately the author has no claim to any credibility in these matters, as we shall see among the Bororó.

BM 175 648 [113] M [131] A statement in the fortieth volume of the Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico (Rio de Janeiro, 1877, II, p. 97) is worth mentioning: it refers to the tribe of the Mundrukú /Mundurucu/, once feared far and wide, which today sits along the middle and lower Tapajoz, but formerly lived farther upstream. Antonio Manoel Gonçalves Tocantins, who visited them in 1875, remarks: "In former times they also overcame the Bakaïrí, whom they call Mureufuâtes and whom they forced to go into the Matogrosso where they ('aldefert') settled in villages." The latter addition shows that this can only refer to events of relatively recent times, in the Brazilian era. Nor should one believe, on the basis of this passage, that the Baikíri lived in the province of Pará; among the dwellers along the lower Tapajoz, the region of the upper course and of the source arms Juruena and Arinos is called "Matogrosso"; the Mundrukú themselves lived next to the Apiaká in the province of Mato Grosso, where they are called Saruma, and harassed all the tribes of the Arinos and Schingú area with their attacks. The Bakaïrí, who called them "Mandurukú," remembered them vividly, but said that their attacks no longer occur, since they have moved to the north.

B [101] B [101] B [131]

BA 173 648 The chief enemies of the West Bakaïrí, and probably even of the united Bakaïrí, if the tradition is correct, were the Kayabí. "Unvanquished savages in the vicinity of the salto," says the report of the Directoria dos Indios. The following is what I was

2: Steinen--473E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Apiaca SP2
Cayabi

/392 cont./ The following is what I was
A 105 [101] gradually able to learn about them from the Bakaïrí. The Kayabí call themselves Paruá; they are said to be -- but this requires confirmation -- relatives of the Kamayurá on the Kulisehu, according to their language, and would therefore be a Tupí tribe.
A [266] [241] They are strong people and, like the Tupí tribe of Apiaká living nearby, practitioners of anthropophagy. They plant mandioca, maize, batatas, mandubí, etc., just like the rest. They have
A [411] nicely worked clubs of bakayuva palm-wood with plaiting around them, which, about one and a half meters long, have the shape of flat staffs and are worn in a rope on the arm. In this respect, too, they would correspond with the Kamayurá. The arrows are of kambayuva reed, like those of the Yuruna, but smaller. They do not have throwing boards -- an important difference from the Kamayurá.

A [131] The Kayabí live on the Rio Verde, whose sources lie between the Rio Novo village and the Paranatinga village of the
B A [101] Bakaïrí and which flows into the Paranatinga from the right, below the famous salto. They are therefore, of course, the very closest neighbors of the Bakaïrí. The hostility has existed
B A 173 648 since ancient times. Only in the very beginning did they tolerate each other: it is said that the Kayabí appeared among the Bakaïrí in order to live near them and settled along a brook in their vicinity; then the strife began. I recall the Kayabí of the Keri legend; there they already appear in heaven, cf. p. 448. The old Bakaïrí are said to have traveled down the Paranatinga to below the Rio Verde and /393/ to have come back again out of fear of the Kayabí. The Kayabí possessed stone axes and that had given rise to conflicts.

B A 173 721 More specific information was reported to me about clashes in more recent times. The Kayabí killed the father of Felipe; they attacked at night and also took a child along. Antonio's grandfather, father, and uncle pushed forward as far as the mouth of the Rio Verde; the Kayabí were hunting there and looking for mussels. The Bakaïrí arrived in the afternoon and cautiously held back, but early in the morning, when the Kayabí were still

2: Steinen--474E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Apiaca SP2
Cayabi
Suya SP21

/393 cont./

B lying in their hammocks, they made an assault and killed two,
A while the others ran away. The Kayabí were rubbed with
173 arimesca oil (from a vine) and urucú and stank like the devil.
721 They had with them gourd bowls, a different kind of urucú, and
A [302] bows and arrows. In 1884 in the Paranatinga village we found
B [729] two Kayabí women, Maria and Luisa Kayabí,* who unfortunately

* See Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, p. 283 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 151/, and the body measurements in the table following p. 364 /omitted in 1:Steinen/. Erroneously written Čajibi there.

no longer knew a word of their mother tongue. Some 20 Bakaïrí had undertaken the raid at the mouth of the Rio Verde and captured the two small girls along with a sister of Luisa, who, however, bit everyone around her so furiously that she had to be killed.

B Although, in addition to the version that dissension among
173 the Bakaïrí themselves necessitated an exodus to the Schingú,
167 I was also given another one, that a number of Bakaïrí fled there from the Kayabí, it is quite possible that both are justified and refer to different occasions.

S A shift in the same direction was reported to me for the Suyá,
131 which necessarily surprised me no little. The Suyá, whom we
167 found in 1884 on the upper course of the Schingú, are a true
[101] Gês tribe and linguistically are most closely related to the Apinagês /Apinaye/ of the province of Goyaz /Goiás/ between the Tocantins and Araguay /Araguaia/. They are likewise said to have lived on the Rio Verde west of the Paranatinga and to have come there from the nearby Arinos. They must therefore, since we may cling to their eastern origin, first have been driven across the Schingú and Paranatinga toward the west and
B [648] then moved back. The Bakaïrí say that they joined the Kayapó
[173] /Cayapo/, who were excellent archers, and drove the Suyá out
S [648] of the neighborhood along the Rio Verde. A great many Suyá

B 648 193 S 169 648 /393 cont./ A great many Suyá were said to have been killed and the tribe fled to the Schingú. Hyacintho, the oldest Indian of the Rio Novo village, was said to have taken part in the battle, along with Antonio's grandfather, so that at the earliest the event would have occurred in the first quarter of our century.

B 648 B [175] B 101 In the south and southeast the West Bakairí evidently had friendly relations with the Gês tribe of the Kayapó. In the Brazilian sources, which in general underestimate the extent of this tribe, there is nothing /394/ known about the Kayapó having extended into this region. They report only attacks of the "Coroados" on the fazendas of the upper Coyabá, but the Bakairí, who were necessarily better informed, designated this tribe as "kayáko" = Kayapó, and they also call the source river of the Paranatinga coming farthest from the east the Kayapó River. The same Kayapó are eastern or southeastern neighbors of the Kulisehu Bakairí, as the latter informed me.

B 101 Finally, I tried to find out how far the sphere of the West Bakairí extends to the west; the Pareuí are well known to them as old neighbors. To the west beyond Diamantino, behind the Pareuí, live the "Woimaré" and "Eneuré," it was said. They allegedly are not relatives of the Pareuí, a statement which is incorrect for the "Woimaré," as we shall see in the discussion of the Pareuí. The "Eneuré" are otherwise unknown. Much farther still live the "Pekoban," likewise unknown. The ancestors pushed forward as far as that and said that there was a large river there and that the Pekoban lived beyond it. This could only be the Guaporé, the upper course of the Madeira.

In conclusion, a note about the Guaná is very remarkable; in very, very ancient times they were said to have lived on the Rio Beijaflor, a left tributary of the Paranatinga, which flows into it above the Rio Verde. Cf. page 454.

B 193 167 This is all that I could learn from the West Bakairí about the history of the tribe and its relations to its neighbors. To summarize the traditions: the oldest Bakairí were settled at the salto of the Paranatinga, thus in any case belonged to the

/394 cont./

193 source region of the Tapajoz, and from there some of them emi-
169 grated to the Batovy and Kulisehu in the source region of the Schingú. According to the legend, they reached the sakó from the source region of the Paranatinga and Rosaro.

The separation of the West Bakairí and East Bakairí would under all circumstances have to be dated back to at least the previous century and before the time when the Bakairí spread to the southwest into the source region of the Cuyabá. The
179 linguistic comparison agrees well with these conclusions; the
199 two groups of Bakairí speak a language that is identical in form and content, with slight dialectal differences. A few fish and trees are designated differently. the name of the akuri palm of the Kulisehu is that of the oaumí palm of the Paranatinga, and
[177] vice versa. As far as the Schingú Bakairí are concerned, it is absolutely certain that they have never had any contact with the white man.

619 As a result of our expedition of 1884, West Bakairí and East
[123] Bakairí came together again. Antonio, after his return home
[166] to the Paranatinga, told of the fellow tribesmen on the Batovy, and the practical Chief Felipe had the idea that he must try to
[188] persuade them to settle on the Paranatinga. In September of 1886 he set out with Antonio and another man. they reached the Batovy in three days and required another three days along the river until they reached the first village.

/395/ Chief Luku was kurípa and did not entertain them as splendidly as they had expected, but several East Bakairí, our "professor" of 1884 in the lead, accompanied them to the
619 Paranatinga. The visitors had great fear of the cattle, but great
431 joy over the visitors-gifts, with which Felipe did not stint. I inquired specifically what they had been given to take along. "We gave them all the iron we had, chickens (this, however, was later denied), small banana plants, mandioca twigs, maize, and rice." Thus one sees how the first opportunity is immediately used to transplant the cultivated produce! If the experiment succeeded, our descendants on the Schingú will be able to eat bananas!

B 619 [484] [199]

/396 cont./

In January of 1887 Felipe gaily set out for Cuyabá to let himself be presented with more iron goods, but his hopes were not appreciated there, and he was sent home empty-handed. Tumayaua told us in 1887 that the Bakairi of the first Batovy village had again gone to the Paranatinga; they must have arrived there shortly after our departure. I had no further opportunity to hear more details about this later.

II. Shift of the Karaiben to the North.

B 121 1974

Chiefly relying on linguistic evidence, I attempted, on the basis of the results of the first Schingú /Xingu/ expedition, to defend the hypothesis that the newly discovered Karaiben /Carib/ in the source region of the Tapajos /Tapajós/ and Schingú lived closer to the original seat of the tribe than did the Karaiben north of the Amazonas, that the latter immigrated from the south into the Guianas and from there crossed over to the Lesser Antilles.

A B 1974

I advanced a movement in the same direction only for the Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ always appearing next to the Karaiben, although I was well aware that there was far greater uncertainty here than in the case of the Karaiben. Cf. Durch Central-Brasilien, page 297 /omitted in 1:Steinen of this file, a translation of the work cited/. "Whether the common ancestors lived in the northern or southern part of the stretch of country over which we find the grandchildren distributed is rather unimportant considering the present state of our knowledge. My feeling -- that is all -- is more inclined to assume that the movement started from the plateau." My feeling, however, deceived me for an important part of the Nu-Aruak group, the Paresí, of whom I had erroneous ideas based on reports of Cuyabana; for, at least according to the statements that I obtained from them directly in 1888, they definitely advanced from north to south, even though the boundary may be uncertain with regard to how far north their homeland is to be shifted. At the present time the problem concerning the Nu-Aruak is not yet to be taken in at a glance: we know too little about the Moxos /Mojo/ and

B A 1974

2: Steinen--478E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Arawakan Indians SR6
Cariban Indians SR9

/395 cont./

B A 1974 the related tribes in Bolivia and western Brazil; we know even less about the Chaco tribes; and concerning the Aruak in the /396/ Guianas we must in any case cling to the fact that here they had an older civilization than the Karaiben. This is also true of the Kulisehu, even within the confines of the more modest conditions present there. It is indeed quite possible that their main movement was very different from that of the Karaiben.

B C 1974 On the other hand, the more definitely stated central hypothesis about the Karaiben has gained new support since 1884. The proofs are in part indirect ones, as a brief review will show, and in part direct ones.

The problem of where the original home of the Karaiben should be sought is about as old as the discovery of America. The fact that even the first visitors to the New World were obliged to ask themselves this question is easy to understand, for the widespread people first encountered in the Lesser Antilles and subsequently along the nearby coast of South America, distinguished from all the other Indians by their bravery, pride, and cruelty and inflicting war, murder, and plundering on all the others, had first occupied the chain of islands of the sea still named after them today not much too long before then and seemed to everyone to be a conquering people who had pushed in from the outside.

The same historian in whose work the name "Karaibe" is first mentioned and whose famous book appeared ten years after the death of Columbus, namely, Petrus Martyr, already speaks out for the foreign origin of the name and would trace it back to North America. And this idea prevailed for a long time; it thrust itself forward almost automatically, for involuntarily people strove to link the inhabitants of the two continents by way of the natural bridge of the Antilles; it was extremely plausible also because, as far as character and physical structure were concerned, there seemed to be no other type related to the hunter tribes of the north to the same degree as that of the Karaiben.

Two legends of the North American mainland, which reported the expulsion of a tribe from its ancient dwelling site, were appealed to; the Karaiben were identified as the mining tribe, although no true Karaibian element was found either in Florida or

2: Steinen--479 E D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Cariban Indians SR7

/396 cont./

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174

on the Bahamas or Greater Antilles. In fact, from the majority of the natives themselves here was heard the definite assertion that they came from the southern mainland and those who knew them best quite rightly posted this out.

It would scarcely be worthwhile to linger over the North American hypothesis formulated and embellished chiefly by the Englishman Bristock and the Frenchman de Rochefort had it not, strangely enough, found a later champion in Alexander von Humboldt; he grants it the greatest probability and merely regards the estimate that the migration took place around 1100 as arbitrary and unacceptable.

If, however, Humboldt was on the wrong track with this opinion, nevertheless he unquestionably deserves credit for the more rigorous definition of the term "Karaibe," insofar as this was possible at the time. /397/ Until his journey it was believed that the Karaiben had died out -- and on the islands, it is true, they had been destroyed, especially in conflicts with the French -- or had intermarried with Negro slaves; the last remnants had been transported by the English toward the end of the previous century to a island in the Gulf of Honduras.

It was through Humboldt that attention was again focused on the Mainland Karaibe, who, with an estimated total number of 40,000 souls, were all living north of the Amazon River between its tributaries coming from the left or in the vast area of the Orinoco. More recent times have been able to add not a few names to the tribes known at that time.

Thus, there naturally came to be expressed the view that the Karaiben probably had their home in that country in which they seemed to be most densely concentrated, in the region of the llanos of Venezuela and in the present-day Guianas, namely, in the northern or northeastern part of the South American continent, from where they crossed over to the islands.

This solution was not satisfactory, however. With all their relationships, the tribes not only showed a generally striking and very pronounced diversity of languages, but even in their endless struggle with other peoples, especially the anciently established

/397 cont./

B
C
1974

Aruak, they nowhere displayed the character of conquering intruders. Even though one therefore saw with regard to the Island Karaiben that they came from the mainland that lay toward the south, and though Karaiben tribes were also actually found there in unexpectedly large numbers -- nevertheless it now had to be admitted: this is not their home either.

There remained the possibility: they immigrated from the south, they crossed the Amazon River, pushed northward along one or several of its mighty southern tributaries, and originate from some region of the vast Brazilian land mass. Actually, however, this consideration was arrived at only because there was no other way out. Unfortunately, no Karaiben at all were known in Brazil; only among a small tribe far up in the northeastern part of the empire, among the Pimenteira, could definite Karaiben elements be found in the language, but so terribly distorted and garbled that they did not provide a reliable foothold. The only thing that could be offered to support the new conjecture was a motive of a more subjective nature. Throughout present-day Brazil, along the coast as well as scattered far across the deepest interior, throughout the Paraguay -- La-Plata region into Bolivia and to the upper Amazonas, were spread the Tupí peoples, able seamen and inclined to roam no less than the Karaiben; now these Tupí could indeed be the kinsmen and ancestors of the Karaiben. This proposal found its staunchest advocates in one Orbigny and, above all, in the person of the distinguished founder of Brazilian ethnography, in Martius, a man who deserves far more credit for his study of American man than Humboldt. "From where did the Karaiben originally /398/ come?" asks Martius. "Concerning this we venture to put forth only the surmise that they were Tupí. The latter, spreading out over a large part of Brazil, also asserted a supremacy over other hordes and for a long time preserved an athletic physique and a heroic nature. It is not improbable that in ancient times -- perhaps centuries before the arrival of the Europeans in the New World -- contact and intermarriage between the Tupí and the inhabitants of the Karaiben country took place, from which came the so-called

/398 cont./

B Karaiben, not as a separate folk, but as people with a peculiar
174 way of life, as brigands, pirates, and slayers of men."

I have already mentioned, page 133, that the kinship of Tupí and Karaiben runs up against the irremovable obstacle of the diversity of languages, which is clearly marked even in the root-words. There is no bridge here. Though the study of the
B [199] Bakairí language and a comparison of it with the North Karaiben Indians furnished this positive result, on the other hand the southern hypothesis has nevertheless been saved by the now substantiated presence of a Karaiben population in the interior of the continent, and Lucien Adam, who in more recent times had spoken in favor of a homeland south of the Amazonas, on the basis of his careful investigation of Karaiben idioms, may thus enjoy the best confirmation.

Y 101 Meanwhile a Karaiben tribe south of the Amazonas was found even before us. It, the "Palmellas," is reported in a
Y [131] travel account, scarcely known in Europe, by the Brazilian physician, João Severiano da Fonseca,* who became acquainted
Y [113]

* Viagem ao redor do Brasil 1875-1878 /Journey around Brazil, 1875-1878/, Rio de Janeiro, 1880. Vol. II, 190 ff.

with them in 1877 with the detachment of Pedras Negras (12° 15' 11", 22 south latitude and 19° 44' 22", 65 west of Rio de
Y [199] Janeiro) on the Guaporé and recorded a small vocabulary. Some seven or eight leagues away in the last spurs of the Paressí "Cordillere" lived this "tribe of docile Indians who appeared only a few years ago and established communication with the
Y 197 members of the detachment and the river travelers. They speak an idiom different from that of the Guaporé tribes, mixed with Portuguese and Spanish words, and they cannot give their place of origin or descent. It is noteworthy, however, that a large number of their words are identical or similar to the Galibí
ooo dialect." Severiano learned from three Palmellas who were in

 Yaruma SP25 Nahuqua SP7 Bacairi SP7 Yabuti SP24 Palmella Cariban Indians SR7

Y 131 167 /398 cont./ Severiano learned from three Palmellas who were in the detachment that until some time ago (but at most 80 years) they were settled near the mission of S. Miguel of the Baures and had come there as refugees from elsewhere, but they no Y 161 longer knew from what region. They numbered about 400 in- 164 dividuals, but in an epidemic had lost many people through Y death and flight. They were peaceful farmers, little inclined 181 to hunt and fish; they planted maize, mandioca, yams, peanuts, 241 squash, sugar /399/ cane, oranges, melons, and raised chickens Y and ducks. According to accounts of traders, there were among 142 the Indians "a few truly white with reddish or chestnut-brown 143 hair, like the Herisobocones in the Baures district, the Tukunapeba and the Arara of the lower Schingú." A white Indian woman with blue eyes and behavior that showed traces of civilization was Y treated respectfully by all under the name of "Senhora." Un- 101 fortunately, we do not learn the actual name of the tribe and must be content with "Palmella," as a Cuyaban caoutchouc Y trader saw fit to christen them. Now though the tribe only im- 167 migrated into the Baures district from the outside, and its origin C is unknown, nevertheless the fact that here Karaiben appear in 131 considerable numbers in the source region of the Madeira remains very noteworthy.

Ya B In the eastern source region of the Tapajoz and in the west- 131 ern one of the Schingú, the Bakaïrí and the Nahuquá were now 174 added. Though the West Bakaïrí are today considerably reduced, B [167] they successfully spread from the now abandoned salto of the Paranatinga and from the region between the Parantinga and Ronuro toward the east to the Batovy and Kulisehu, where they Ya occupied the fish-rich region of the cataracts. The Nahuquá 131 are the masters of the Kuluene, the chief source-branch of the 133 Schingú, the exploration of which will be the most important C task of our successors. With their numerous villages they are so Ya 361 very important that one may say: it is the Karaiben who rep- 161 resent the chief bulk of the population of the Schingú source region.

B 174 Through the Kulisehu Bakaïrí and the Nahuquá, the considera- tion causing the expedition of 1884 to object, namely, that the

B /399 cont./
174 number of our Karaiben elements is too small to account for the one going from the center of the continent to the north, is removed.

B As far as the relation of the Bakaïrí and Nahuquá to each
174 other is concerned, it should be noted that the two tribes are
197 linguistically no closer than the Guiana Karaiben are to one another. In fact, the Bakaïrí are closer to the Makuschí /Macusi/ or Rukuyenn /Rucuyen/ than to the Nahuquá. The influence of the neighboring Nu-Aruak, the potter tribes of the Kulisehu, on the language of the Nahuquá is clearly pronounced, and this relation, as is the case today, has undoubtedly been closer and more cordial for a very long time than with the
B [173] Bakaïrí. This circumstance is in perfect accord with the history and legend of the West Bakaïrí when they maintain that the original seat of their tribe lies between the Ronuro and the Paranatinga.

B The latest acquisition for the Karaiben question, finally,
A and a very important one on account of the spatial adjustment
174 which it permits, is the Apiaká /Apiaca/. Martius already
A speaks of "Apiaká" in the river basin of the Tokantins /Tocantins/;
[101] he mentions them beside the Karajá /Caraja/ and regards them
[131] as Tupí, as indeed the Indians of the upper Tapajoz living in a remote region and likewise called "Apiaká" actually are. In 1888, Ehrenreich, after he had traveled down the Araguay-Tokantins,
A met a few Apiaká in Praia Grande and /400/ identified them as
B [142] Karaiben. He was surprised at their great physical resemblance to the Bakaïrí. The people said that they had been driven away by
A [173] the Suyá. They had fled northward and are now living west of
[167] the last stretch of the lower Tokantins, probably in the upper
[131] region of the Uanapu and Pacayá, approximately on the third degree south latitude. Ehrenreich suspects that the migration took place only a few decades ago. It is obvious to link them up with the change of habitation which the Suyá themselves undertook when, in the first decades of this century (cf. page 474), they were driven from the Paranatinga region to the Schingú. Nor do
A [167] we know anything more specific about whether the Apiaká lived to the west or east of the Schingú, but the important fact that

B A 174 A [167]

/400 cont./

there is historical proof here for the shift of the Karaiben from south to north is not affected by it. The shiftof latitude is also very considerable, for today the Suyá live on he 11th degree of latitude and previously on the Rio Verde lived considerably farther south, whereas the Apiaká are alreadyin close proximity to the Amazon River.

B A [197] A [194] B A [113] [193]

The linguistic relationship of the Apiaká and Bakaïrí is close, but no closer than that of several Karaiben tribes north of the Amazonas and the Bakaïrí! It is very iteresting that in many cases the Apiaká already have consonnt terminal sounds and double consonants within the word. I am presenting a few words from Ehrenreich's vocabulary, wlch has not yet been published. The pronominal prefix of th first person is ĩ-, which in Bakaïrí sometimes belongs to the fist person, sometimes to the third.

B A 192

Tooth ieri, Bak. vẽri, Karaiben in geneal;
Tongue elo (e slightly audible), Bak. ĩi (third person);
Hand omiat, Bak. omãri (second person;
Foot ipun, Bak. ixũlu (third person);
Thigh iwet, Bak. ewẽti (third person);
Lower leg iptchin, Bak. ischinãri (third erson);
Nose inam, Bak. inãri (third person);
Ear iuanan, Bak. iwanatãri (third person;
Bone itpun, Bak. ipũri;
Water paru, Bak. pãru water, river;
River pãru ime, Bak. pãru ima large riv;
Sun tschitschi, Bak. tschíschi;
Moon nuno, Bak. núna;
Heaven kabo, Bak. kxãu;
Rain kongpo, Bak. kxõpõ;
Fire kampot (Bak. pẽto), Rukuyenne and others wapoto, apoto, cf. the table in Bakaïrí-Grammatik, p. 278.
Tree, wood, yei, Bak. se, Makuschí yeh, yẽi;
Father ongmã, Bak. iyũme;

/401/

Mother iãmã, Bak. ĩse;

B A 192 /401 cont./

Uncle koko (patruus /father's brother/, matruus / mother's brother/), Bak. kχúgo matruus;
Grandfather tamko, Bak. itãmo, Galibi tamoko;
Arrow pirom, Bak. pülẽu, pirãu;
Bow topkat, Bak. tãkχo;
Tobacco tawe (e scarcely audible), Bak. tãwe;
Maize ãnat, Bak. anãzi;
Beijú abat, Bak. awãtu;
Batata nabiot, Bak. nãwi;
Banana uomium, Docile Bak. banana;
Fish uot, North Kar. boto, uoto fish, Bak. póto wild game;
Piranha ponã, Bak. pãne;
Snake ogoi, Bak. agãu;
Jaguar ogro, Bak. ãkã.

B A 174 192 A [177]

Here I have, of course, chosen very clear correspondences, which is what matters at this point. The banana is again designated with a new word foreign to all Karaiben idioms; the Apiaká were as little familiar with the fruit in their central habitation as the Suyá from whom they fled, and they probably first made its acquaintance in the region between the Schingú and the Araguay.

C 174

Numerous tributaries of the Tapajoz, Schingú, and Araguay are as yet completely unexplored. I am quite confident that there is still many a Karaiben people living there. The Arara west of the lower course of the Schingú are suspicious because of their tattooing. The above-mentioned Pimenteira in the province of Piauhy provide the easternmost trace of the Karaiben. Martius reports that since the year 1775 they have broken out from time to time between the sources of the Piauhy and the Gorguea and alarmed the farms of the upper Piauhy. "Members of this horde were already settled in former times in Quebrobro along the Rio de San Francisco."* "The greater part of them is still roving

C [113]

* Zur Ethnographie Amerikas, zumal Brasiliens /On the Ethnography of America, particularly Brazil/, pp. 348, 349. Leipzig, 1867.

C /401 cont./
174 about independently, and the fazendeiros have the right to use those of them whom they can capture as slaves for ten years or to sell them."** It is earnestly to be wished that a part of the

C
[113]

** Spix and Martius, Reise in Brasilien /Travels in Brazil/, II, p. 805. Munich, 1828.

natives had escaped this fine system of the beginning of the
C century and were available for a thorough investigation. The
192 brief vocabulary which Spix and Martius set down in Piauhy
197 (Glossary, p. 219) and in which Martius already recognized correspondences with Karaiben dialects -- he mentions Tamanako -- would not in the least, however, satisfy the requirements for pure Karaiben. Nevertheless, with all the mixture with Gẽs or Tupí tribes, the Karaiben elements are unmistakable and more numerous than Martius probably suspected. They are the words for: tooth, tongue, arm, chest, thigh, toe, uncle, father, brother, child, companion, sun, (moon), wood, fire, earth, thunder, arrow, /402/ mandioca, tobacco (pipe),
B to sleep. Only there is such a swarm of õ, ã, ũ that familiar words
[192] seem very distorted, for example, mandioca, Bak. ichére, Pim. uũtschõrõ, or arm, Tamanako japari (Bak. wing, sawõri), Pim. sõbarõh.

B While the Palmella and the Pimenteira, according to
C everything that we know thus far, seem somewhat isolated in
174 foreign surroundings, the united Bakaíri and Nahuquá represent a very considerable complex, and at the same time their geographical location in the source region of the Tapajoz and Schingú is remarkable suitable for the hypothesis of the shift toward the north insofar as the southernmost of the North Karaiben on the left bank of the Amazonas are directly adjacent just opposite the mouths of the Tapajoz and Schingú. I am far from regarding the Bakaíri or Nahuquá as, say, the remnants of the unaltered Karaiben base-people /Grundvolk/; but rather I merely believe that everything suggests that they live closest to the original home of the base-people. That there was such a base-people, though perhaps, after all, a small tribe, is an

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C /402 cont./
174 imperative postulate of the linguistic comparison. In spite of all the differentiation in the course of time through intermixture with very diverse elements, there is still today a great unity of Karaiben tribes, each of which possesses a larger or smaller stock of radical words. They effected their phonetic differentiation along exactly the same lines, but independently of one another. Thus, whether we assume migrations or slow drift, we always come back to an original community where, for example, the unsoftened initial sound of the stem still existed. That very many centuries went by and very many drops flowed down the Amazonas since the radiation from the original center took place may be concluded from the vast spatial expansion which the Karaibian language unit has reached today. Thus it follows as a matter of course that even such Karaiben as may still be living in the closest proximity to the original home must have undergone all the changes which vast periods of time bring about, even under the most peaceful conditions. One must never forget that the "base-people," although it represents a sort of trunk or even root for the many-branched tree that is being investigated, was itself merely a branch of the tree, just as any forefather or tribal ancestor is also merely a link in an endless chain. Thus, the Bakaïrí are by no means the "original Karaiben." To look for them would be as though the Jews were to look for the still living patriarch Abraham.

The Karaiben base-people already had maize, mandioca, tobacco, yams, pepper, cotton, orlean bush. Cf. the evidence in the vocabulary of my Bakaïrí-Grammatik. No matter how one twists and turns, one cannot escape the conclusion that the culture afforded by these plants already belonged to the Karaiben a very, very long time ago. It is truly important to bear this in mind if one wishes to profit by the proper relation with the ancestor legend. Reliable historical tradition with definite names does not cover /403/ two hundred years. Thus one should really not blame the Bakaïrí if they can no longer name for us the tribe which gave them tobacco and cotton and refer to the kinkajou living in the north. But that these products came from

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the north is of the greatest interest in view of the general picture that we now have of the situation.

Only two things are possible. Either one dismisses the kinkajou legend as an old wives' tale, in which case the matter is settled. I am unable to decide in favor of this because I do not see how one has the right to reject a definite assertion which is in no way improbable and agrees perfectly with the plant-geographical requirements. The only improbable thing for us is the person of the kinkajou, but it, too, is precisely a guarantee of accuracy, since, by referring to an animal that was already living many centuries ago on the northern border of Bakaïrí territory, the tradition could actually be preserved. The Bakaïrí can do nothing about the fact that we are unable to imagine a tobacco-smoking kinkajou.

Thus, like Antonio, I believe in the kinkajou from whom tobacco and cotton stem and then am confronted only with the second possibility, namely, that the original home of the Karaiben lies in the southern part of kinkajou country. For the base-people already had tobacco and cotton.

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I even attach much greater importance to this evidence than to the tradition that in ancient times the Bakaïrí emigrated -- no one knows where. I do not by any means doubt its accuracy; I also regard it as possible that one or another Karaiben tribe which we find in the north today may have come from such early Bakaïrí, but this would merely inconclusively prove what does not in the least need proving. Probably nothing else is conceivable, even though there is no tradition telling of it, but that throughout centuries smaller or larger groups from each tribe, especially a tribe that lived on fishing, like the Bakaïrí, wandered into other regions along the river courses and then, through contact with new tribes, also moved toward physical and linguistic differentiation. Just as little need it be proved -- as in fact it is proved by the Nu-Aruak keri and kame -- that the Bakaïrí were influenced in the course of the centuries by their neighbors with whom they intermingled. I repeat, the Bakaïrí are not original Karaiben, nor unfortunately will they ever become such for their descendants in centuries to come, since their death warrant is already sealed.

2: Steinen--489E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Cariban Indians SW

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I shall sum up. From former times the postulate has persisted that the Karaiben north of the Amazonas arrived in their settlements from elsewhere. One was forced to conclude that the immigration could have proceeded only from the south. The Bakaïrí or Nahuquá, who would have had to be invented if they had not existed, have been confirmed in considerable numbers and /404/ are present in an area that must satisfy perfectly even the geographer's need for explanation. The Palmella and Pimenteira seem more isolated. The "missing link" for the spatial distance is furnished by the Apiaká; the Suyá, who drove them away, live north of the Schingú and Paranatings Karaiben. The physical appearance of the South Karaiben and the Apiaká, as well as of those north of the Amazonas, which we may compare at least on the basis of illustrations -- I am thinking here particularly of Creveaux's Rukuyenn and a few Galibí who in the year 1892 made an artistic tour of Europe -- shows striking correspondence. The tradition of the Bakaïrí points out that tobacco and cotton, which the base-people possessed, came from the north. What one should further like, namely, that the language and culture in the case of the tribes closer to the original home and therefore subject to less differentiation have remained purer and simpler, I have endeavored to prove both with regard to language, in the Bakaïrí-Grammatik, and with regard to culture, in the present book.

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Chapter XV.

I. The Bakaïrí Art of Counting and the Origin of the 2.

The number words of the other tribes. --Names of the fingers. Reciting the number words with finger gestures. Counting of objects beyond 6; idem below 6. The right hand touches. Cases of practical use and lack of regular numbers. Finger gesture not mimic, but calculating. Riddle of the "2." "5"="hand" not a model, but a (late) empirical limit. Origin of "2" by dividing

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a whole into its halves. Objects furnish the empirical limit of the "2" gesture. Dependence on sense of touch. Confirmation by etymology.

B 171 802 [128]

The art of counting was the least developed among the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/. With regard to the other tribes I shall limit myself to a few remarks, since I am giving the numbers in the word list /omitted in the translation; see the foreign text, pp. 524-547/.

B 171 802 T 171 802

All tribes counted the fingers of both hands first and then the toes of both feet. With the exception of the Bakaïrí, they commenced with the thumb of the right hand, counted up to 5 on the fingers, went over to the thumb of the left hand, counted up to 10 here, and repeated the procedure in exactly the same way for the feet.

If one regards the number words in terms of their formation, one observes among all the tribes that they have separate words for 1, 2, 3, with the exception of the Bakaïrí, whom I shall ignore for the time being, and the Trumaí, for whom, however, the records contain much that is uncertain; among the Trumaí the word for 2, hurs, is contained in the one for 3, hurtamé. On the other hand, the Trumaí and, besides them, only the Waurá (uncertain) and the Kamayurá /Camayura/ have an entirely new word for 4, whereas among all the others 4 is represented by 2 altered by an addition.

For 5 the Trumaí and the Auetó have a new word that has nothing to do with "hand." Among all the others, always with the exception of the Bakaïrí, "hand" is contained in the 5. The Kamayurá say "hand stops," yenepó momíp (Guaraní mombíb, to stop), the potter tribes say "1 hand," the Nahuquá simply "hand."

The numbers 6, 7, 8, 9 are formed out of 1, 2, 3, 4 with an addition. It is only among the Kamayurá that the latter is different for 6 and 7 than for 8 and 9. For 6 and 7 an 1 and 2 + verowák, the meaning (Guaraní guerobág) seems to be: 1 or 2 are interchanged, alternate.

/406/ Among the potter tribes and probably also the Auetó 10 contains the hands, among the others the word is a new one.

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B 171 802 F 171 802

With 11, among all of them, the foot enters, specified by an addition, and 12, 13, 14 are = 2, 3, 4 + foot and this addition. The Nahuquá, however, instead of their word for foot, use the word vúrö, which, however, from a comparison with other Karaiben /Carib/ languages, is recognizable as a stem with the same meaning,* and now count from 11-15: "1, 2, 3, 4, 5 foot"

* vuro = upu-lu (-lu pronominal suffix);
Makuá, Island Karaiben, upu, foot.

on the right toes and from 16-20 on the left "1, 2, 3, 4, 10 foot."

From 15-19 matters are very confused; with 15 a new addition usually appears and the formations run parallel to those of the second hand from 6-9 or those of the first foot from 11-14. Among the Yaulapiti, whose numbers are formed very regularly, 1 foot means 15, whereas among the Mehinaká /Mehinacu/ 11, in the former instance because the foot is finished, in the latter because it is just beginning. Thus, among the Mehinaká, the following oddity occurs: 5 = 1 hand, 11 = 1 foot, 12 = 2 foot, 13 = 3 foot, 14 = 4 foot and (since 5 = 1 hand) 15 = 1 hand, foot!

All have the foot in the 20 except the Auetö. Among the Yaulapiti the same addition which was with the hand = 10, is with the foot = 20. Among the Kuikuró /Cuiucuru/ 15 is precariously similar to 20.

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Let us now turn to the more backward Bakairí, with whom I practiced all kinds of arithmetical exercises.

The names of their counting apparatus, the fingers, have nothing to do with numbers. The thumb means "father", the little finger, "child" or "little one", the middle finger, as among us, "the middle one"; index finger and ring finger are called the "neighbor" -- at least that is the probable meaning -- in the case of the former, of the "father," and, in the case of the latter, the "neighbor" of the "little one."

They count as follows up to 6:

1 = tokíle	4 = ahíge ahíge
2 = ahíge	5 = ahíge ahíge tokíle
3 = ahíge tokíle or ahewío	6 = ahíge ahíge ahíge

As may be seen, they have individual words only for the numbers from 1 to 3, and the numbers from 4 to 6 are made up out of ahíge and tokíle. It was only on the second expedition

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802 that I learned the word ahewão for 3, but I just as frequently heard the form made up of 2 and 1. The inference that ahewão is perhaps a newer word would be false, for linguistic comparison shows that it is also present among several Karaiben tribes in the northern part of the Amazon River and must be very old. It is noteworthy, however, that this 3 does not enter into any of the higher number words, not even 6.

If we disregard the nonobligatory ahewão, the Bakairí counts as follows:

one, two, two-one, two-two, two-two-one, two-two-two.

He starts with the little finger of the left hand and says "tokále," grasps finger IV, joins it with V and says "ahége," goes over to III and says, /407/ holding it separately beside V and IV, "ahége tokále," goes over to II, joins it with III and says "ahége ahége," grasps the thumb and says "ahége ahége tokále," places the little finger of the right hand alongside it and says "ahége ahége ahége." Beyond "6" the Bakairí has come to the end of the number words and now continues with IV, III, II, I of the right hand by touching each finger in turn and simply adding "méra," "this one." In like manner he touches the toes of the left and right foot and each time says "méra." If he is still not finished, he grasps his hair and pulls it apart in all directions.

One is obliged to say to oneself that if they had wanted to designate 7 with "ahége ahége ahége tokále," they would have had to count, and in order to count they would have had to count the numbers themselves. Thus, even if there were no more profound reasons, the lack of a number word higher than 2 or 3 would have been an obstacle in itself. Apparently beyond 6 they had only a vague idea of a larger num. One must imagine someone who wants to count the steps of stairs, but on the way, for some reason, no longer knows exactly the number of steps covered: climbing higher and higher, he remains aware of the fact that there are always more, but having once lost count, he becomes increasingly vague about how many more steps there will be and how many there are altogether. Thus the Bakairí climbed their stairs of 20 steps up to the end and were undoubtedly

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802 altogether sure that with the first foot they were farther than with the second hand, and with the second foot farther than with the first, but after they had counted, say, 10 fingers and 5 toes, there was no question of their having a precise notion such as we associate with the word "fifteen."

Their concepts came to an end with "6," and the view beyond "6" was likewise definite only to a certain degree, as long as it was bound up with seeing and feeling the fingers and toes. As soon as specific objects were to be counted, their skill scarcely went further than their concepts, that is to say, the number words.

125 802 I made a great many experiments with Paleko and Tumayaua -- I tear my hair at the memory -- and shall first mention the invariable result with a large number of maize kernels or something similar. If I put down ten kernels and asked "Ïnïra?" "how many?" they counted, in the manner to be described, slowly but correctly up to "6." At the seventh and eighth kernel they would, if necessary, refer to fingers IV and III of the right hand and correspondingly say "méra," "méra," but then they acted tired and morose; they reminded me of people who are supposed to play cards or solve puzzles in which they are not interested and soon exclaim, yawning: "Oh, I have no talent for that sort of thing." They, too, yawned, and, when I pressed them, they laughed foolishly or made a sullen face, complained of "kinaŕchu ewïno," which, significantly, means "head-work" or "head-pain," and, if possible, ran away; in any case they went on strike.

802 /406/ On one occasion I asked Paleko whether the Nahuquá village was large. In reply he set about drawing a number of circles in the sand and pointed to the picture with a satisfied expression. His purpose was to illustrate for me the indefinite multiplicity of houses, the more precise number of which he could scarcely have had any certain knowledge, and he was not in the least aware that, putting down one circle after another he was nevertheless giving me a limited number. Paleko had no idea of the fact that there are people who can specify a dozen circles as 12 circles.

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125 How did they count things that did not exceed 6 in number?
802 If I put down 1 maize kernel, the Bakaïrí immediately answered "tokále," at the same time generally grasping the kernel and then the left little finger, but both so hastily and mechanically that, even if he did so, the process seemed needless. In the case of 2 kernels, he seldom omitted taking the fingers of both hands to assist. Particularly if I put down the kernels somewhat apart, he would always shove them together and then always grasp the left little finger and the ring finger before he pronounced the number. If I put down 3 kernels and asked the number, I was not once given the answer, either by Paleko and Tumayaua or others with whom I practiced less, until the little pile had been divided into 2 and 1: they would first touch the pair of kernels, frequently breaking them up, inspecting them, then on the left grasp fingers V and IV and say "ahége"; then they would grasp the single kernel, shove finger III to the left toward IV and V, say "tokále," and finally announce: "ahége tokále." The experiments proceeded in a similar manner up to 6. Little heaps of two kernels were always made, they were always touched, and only then the finger put to use.

The right hand touched, the left hand calculated. To count on the fingers of the left hand simply by looking at the kernels, without using the fingers of the right hand, was utterly impossible even with 3 items. The little heap of two had to be positioned properly with the hand. I placed 3, 4, 5, 6 kernels before Tumayaua, let him form the little heaps, but held his left hand: he would seldom count, or rather guess, correctly with 3; for the remainder he gave a random collection of "ahége" for good measure. Thus, both hands were indispensable when 3 items were to be counted; in an emergency one could do without the left, but never without the right.

801 In the legends and tales of the Bakaïrí, to keep this in mind
802 here, the number 2 is often mentioned.

The 3 also appears; the bagadú fish gives the deer 3 mandioca twigs which he is supposed to plant. Kamuschini cuts down 5 trees; cf. page 445. The storyteller needs 3 sentences in order

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801 to give us this information. "He cut down two pikî trees. He
802 cut down two more the same way. He cut down one."
Kamuschini brings the 5 trees into the house and sets them against a mortar. Again 3 sentences, and, /409/ to be sure, here, in the middle of the enumeration, the second pair of trees is expressed not by the number word "ahâge," but by the indefinite "zagóno," the one or the others. Thus, the three sentences run: "He set 2 against the mortar. He likewise set the others against the mortar. The single one was put against the mortar." Of course, the situation in this case need not be quite as bad as it looks. Kamuschini cuts down different kinds of trees, as Antonio also remarked to me. Thus, the storyteller may have had in mind in each of those three sentences the different trees. Nevertheless, he would not have proceeded otherwise with 5 trees of the same species, as I saw in the case of the 5 stars of Perseus; cf. page 425.

802 There is, of course, nothing to prevent them from reporting accurately even in the case of 5 items, since they have number words up to "6."

One of the stereotyped conversations had to do with the number of children. Even the Bakalîr who arrived from the second village and had not yet been tortured by my experiments confided to me during the first quarter hour that they had 1, 2, or even 3 children, and in doing so used their fingers without exception. It seemed unheard-of among the Bakalîr that someone calls "ahâge ahâge" offspring his own. Hence they got along very well with the number words and the fingers.

In fact, they did not need higher numbers than they possessed. In their simple circumstances, which were not beset with difficult problems about property, a number of pieces beyond six played no role. On their own initiative, they gave me the numbers for the child statistics just mentioned and for the days' journeys on the river, which from tribe to tribe always remained under that limit. Their deficient arithmetic means a lack of intelligence only insofar as it shows, to be sure, a limited economic horizon, but has nothing at all to do directly with poor endowment. It

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802 means lack of practice. They have no livestock whose numbers they would be obliged to watch, they have no trade in goods that would have to be counted or referred to a unit of value; they need only inform one another now and then about the number of persons, about the number of animals, which they have encountered, which they have killed, which they divided up among themselves, about the trees that they cut, and whatever similar work there is in the household and daily life, for which their number words are adequate or for which an indefinite multiplicity may be conveyed with other means of expression in word and gesture. They have the principle of counting, the abstraction of number; the Karaiben base-people already had this in ancient times, and from there upward the further development depends only on interest. Their limited need for concerning themselves [193] with the number of things is, in my opinion, characterized by the lack of a plural even more than by the lack of number words. Tree, trees, and wood are all "se," house, houses, and village always merely "ôzi."

800 We whose lives are full of numbers because they represent the framework of all our knowledge possess a great many acquired items of knowledge in which all /410/ ordinary, "regularly" recurring numerical relationships are included, and in very many individual cases we do not need independent observation. It is not likely that we ever counted our toes, but it is true, there are ten of them. We can wear a vest for a year, put it on and take it off daily, and yet have no idea how many buttons are on it. Now primitive man clings to each single phenomenon and knows nothing about laws. If one asks him how many fingers he has he is glad to do us the favor of counting them. He takes the question exactly as the European does the one about the vest buttons.

191 How the Bakairi set of counting, which is extraordinarily
802 similar to that of Australian tribes, could have developed further step by step can be seen in a frequently cited example among their near, though spatially very remote kinsmen, the Tamanako of the Orinoco. The latter have completed the

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171 802 familiar step forward and chose a number word for "2" from the hand: "whole hand", "10" are "both hands," "15" a "whole foot," and "20" "a man." The "2," the same word as among the Bakaïrí, is still contained in the "4" of the Tamanaks, but they have given it an ending determining the meaning and no longer say "two-two." We again recognize exactly the same finger-gesture system of the Bakaïrí, which, however, has already provided itself with proper number-words.

800 While Paleko plaited baskets or when I often swung sleepless in my hammock during the night, I would rack my brains about their method of counting. Was one to be unable to find even here, where conditions are as simple as possible, any trace of the remarkable secret of how the abstraction of number originated in the human mind?

It has been observed everywhere among primitive peoples that they count primarily with their fingers and get along better this way than with number words. From this general experience it was concluded that number gestures are older than number words and that the latter only came out of the former. Now, in speaking of finger gestures, one must not think that it is merely a matter of gestures with which the number is to be conveyed to the questioner as though they had the immediate purpose of giving him a more vivid elucidation, in the way an Italian, for example, as soon as he says "3," stretches out 3 fingers. The native calculates with his fingers, in the way one grasps the beads on the wires of an abacus. It is true, in counting one or two objects he often touches the fingers of the left hand so fleetingly that the movement takes on the character of a purely communicative gesture. If, however, one has watched the careful and punctilious [802] work which the counting of 3 maize kernels represents, how the Bakaïrí touches first the kernels and then the left fingers, one will not doubt that the left hand is his abacus. And in the same way beyond "6" he touches his fingers and toes one by one like the beads of an abacus, and he is far from pointing to them merely in an expressive way or even, if that were mechanically possible, from stretching them out in pantomimic demonstration.

/411/

000 But the fact that one is able to trace the art of counting back to its lowest level, where the "2" or "3" must still be laboriously counted off on the fingers, does not add the least bit for an actual understanding of counting. The riddle begins with the "2" itself, for how in the world did human beings everywhere come to think: 1 + 1 = 2, in other words, to join together two individual, like objects into a new unit? Nature shows things only in endless repetition; it is easy to understand how people would point to one thing after another, using a finger and some demonstrative word, not is there any difficulty imagining, in the part played by the language of gesture, how a person would make clear to himself on his fingers, one by one, the things that he was thinking of and each time point to a finger as a substitute perceived by the senses. In this way one can, of course, know and express the fact that all the objects are present and that some are missing, and in this sense one is already counting; one is, however, merely achieving an enumeration of present and absent objects with demonstrative gestures and demonstrative words, and not as yet the unit idea of "2" embracing two individual objects.

It has been said that "2" resulted from the intercommunication of the first and second person = "I + you." In contrast to these two all other persons were "many" = "3." I find this explanation quite incomprehensible. I can understand that "I + you" becomes "we," or that "mine and yours" becomes "our," but "2"? What does the relationship of "I and you," even in a comparative sense, have to do with 2 arrows which I have in my hand, with 2 women whom I meet? I cannot even imagine that one would point to 2 fingers in order to express "I and you" with a gesture -- unless he wanted to invent counting -- but rather I believe that he would point to himself and the other person.

It was hoped that progress could be made by the etymology of the number words, and people let themselves be influenced by the widespread "5" = "hand." It was said that even if the original meaning of the number words for "1" and "2" is obscure, there is still reason to assume that it referred to a similar example given by the body. In case one wanted to explain the number

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words themselves in this manner, which certainly could have come about from a comparison, there would be no objection to this possibility. On the other hand, no light at all is shed on the origin of the finger gesture meaning "2" by a comparison with "hand" or "5." Let us remember, "5" = "hand" is a very late achievement. There is a whole series of counting primitive-peoples who have not yet reached it. The Bakairi, who, as has been proved, must have been counting for many centuries, do not to this day have the word which the Tamanako therefore acquired only after their separation from the Karaiben base-people. If we learn from this that a long period of accomplished counting can exist without "5" = "hand," we are not surprised that this meaning came into use one day, but we may deduce from that nothing more than simply that people counted on their fingers. The hand /412/ was at first not a model; it was a definite limit of practical counting experience. A natural delimitation, however, such as is actually given for "5" by the hand, is unfortunately not given here for the "2." Up to 5 the hand offered only individual fingers,-each of which could exemplify an actual or imagined object with a gesture, but it did not furnish the model for a unit of two fingers which, if touched, would have presented itself as a matter of course.

Could not the simplest "model" of a natural unit for "2" have been pairs of organs? Certainly, as soon as one could count, and then without effort. Even before man could count, the observation that eye and eye, wing and wing, had the same appearance must have thrust itself upon him, but this observation nevertheless does not produce the gesture that would cause him to mark off a boundary after "eye" fingers and make the abstraction with regard to other things. He simply compared eye with eye, wing with wing, and had no occasion even to compare the two eyes with the two wings or arms, much less to make a comparative analysis according to "eyes" or "wings" on suitable occasions in the longer series of fingers, arrows, or fish that he encountered, unless, of course, he said to himself: "Now I shall count." It should always be emphasized, too, that the native touches his fingers when he counts. But even the wildest

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000 symbol-seeker will not indulge in the fancy that originally he conceived the first "2" by feeling a pair of eyes or wings and then transferring the sensation to his fingers.

Just as little would he have been able to abstract the "1" as the first number concept from "nose" or "mouth," whereas he could apply it to them after he already had the abstraction. But whether he placed his finger on his nose or his nose on his finger, it would not have helped him in the art of counting, as has been mentioned, for with such 1, 1, 1, 1, which without the "2" would have been no better than the demonstrative "*ahpa*" of the Bakairi, he would never have arrived at the first sum. His "1" could only have piled up an indefinite "many."

Now if it is not understandable how the numberless man could have made "2" out of 1 + 1, might not the solution of the problem be that he made it out of a single entity?

802 The Bakairi counts, both in his finger language as well as in his word language, according to the following scheme:

I, II, II I, III, II II I, II II II; and, to be sure: I *tokâle*, II *ahâge*.

Although he has a separate word for "3," he uses it only to a limited extent. The "2" cannot renounce its original importance and did not even tolerate the formation of an "*ahewâo ahewâo* = "6." The objects which are counted are divided into pairs. In the case of "3" and "5," he does not form I II "*tokâle ahâge*" and I II II "*tokâle ahâge ahâge*," but II I "*ahâge tokâle* and II II I "*ahâge ahâge tokâle*." Thus, it looks /413/ almost as though "2" had existed, not only before "3," but also before "1"!

000 This notion led me to the approach which I regard as the right one. This approach must be an everywhere recurrent, lawful and extremely simple process and must speak for itself, no matter what etymology says. It must be of such a nature that we have to take it for granted even when we do not know the number words at all.

Now what if man had achieved the unit "2" by dividing a whole into two pieces? What if, instead of beginning with the "number of pieces" "1" he had begun with the number of 2 pieces?

/413 cont./

000 Adam and Eve, I assume, already counted up to "2" in paradise, for it was a jolly tree that made them clever. But from the number of apples picked they did not set apart "2" by looking into each other's eyes and then at the apples and finally grasping 2 fingers, or by saying "my and your" apple, but rather Eve, as a loving wife, wanted to let Adam eat of the same apple that she ate, whereupon she immediately made the strange observation that, no matter how many apples she offered in this manner, time and again when she broke or cut one apple, she always, with the first cut, divided it into -- equal or unequal -- but always into "2" pieces. And if she cut one of the pieces, she again, with this cut, divided it into another 2 pieces. In short, she proceeded as did the Bakairi: from | there was ||, she cut the one | and obtained || |, cut the other | and obtained || ||, again cut a | and obtained || || |, cut once more and now had || || ||.

Now when Eve, who was somewhat rambling in her speech, who thoroughly explained all the details step by step and illustrated them with lively gestures, recalled the process in her mind, she said: "I cut an apple and I had this piece," and with that she touched the first finger of her left hand -- "I had this piece" and with that she touched the ring finger next to it. "The pieces were very large. I cut again, then I had this piece," and with that she touched the middle finger of the left hand -- "and with that I had this piece" and with that she touched the index finger beside it. Always in such an illustration of each and every cut, the first limit was beyond the ring finger. Thus she could in no way prevent always having the unit "2" in her hand again, for each time when she produced two pieces, she saw the two together before she divided them, and with each illustration of such a process by means of finger gestures, this "together" corresponded to the same limit. She had to obtain the concrete two pieces by dividing, and the "2" of her subsequent conscious calculation by memory, assisted by gesture. She counted on her fingers the pairs she had formed, whether they were one pair, a pair and a half, or two pairs.

/414/ If we return from paradise to the present, we may sum up the thought process in the following manner:

/414 cont./

171 If there is no natural limit for the "2" in the fingers, and
502 one tribe calculates by beginning from the little finger, another by beginning from the thumb, that of the Coroados even at the finger joints, according to Martius, then the counting of the "2" is not learned by means of a pattern in the arrangement of the hand itself, as would be conceivable with "5." It should be remembered, however, that the Bakairí only calculates on the left hand what he has touched with the right. With his glance alone he cannot transfer the number of kemeis to his left fingers, but must first arrange them. His counting is divided into two processes: that of the arrangement of the objects into 2 parts and that of the illustration on the fingers of pairs and individual pieces. But he already divides or counts up to 2 on his right hand and simply derives the abstraction, if I may express it thus, on his left hand. The important preliminary step, which, I believe, has been overlooked up to now, comes from the touch perception. Then, of necessity, the things he touched and somehow manipulated with his hands are responsible for the first unit of "2": these things must have in them a law that furnished the concrete "2" when they were manipulated and that with certainty produced the abstraction of "2" after the customary illustration with the fingers, because the same observation was repeated in the case of all objects.

172 One can break a thing into many fragments, but everything that one methodically breaks or cuts is first broken or cut into 2 pieces. I can take in my hand 1, 2, 3, 4 sticks and nothing teaches me to put the individual ones together in number units, but if I take a stick and break it -- it will be conceded that, as long as man has existed and wherever on earth he has broken sticks, he has always broken every stick first into "2" pieces. If one again breaks the first piece into 2 and the second piece into 2, one obtains the numerical order of the two-system of the Bakairí or the Australians. In the demonstration of the procedure regularly following the same course by means of the finger gestures used by primitive peoples for all illustration, the ancient Bakairí always pointed first to the little finger and ring finger and then, if he

/414 cont./

continued, to the middle finger and ring finger, while the Coroado always pointed to the two upper finger-joints of a finger: here an initial limit was marked off on the fingers, no matter where, but a limit that remained constant in the case of any one people, an empirical limit. This was the finger gesture "2," and the word "together," "finished," "much" -- there are x conventional possibilities --, which concluded the first operation, became the number word "2," and the first operation was followed by a second identical one for 3 and 4.

The conception of "2" was first formed and practiced with fragments. It may soon have been extended to other similar objects which a person had in his hand /415/ and which resembled one another as two fragments resemble each other; in the case of two wholes the two-unit looked and felt the same as in the case of two fragments. 2: (1 + 1) = 1: (1/2 + 1/2). With this advance, it must have been detached from the process of cutting and breaking and transferred to other procedures, such as giving and taking and apportioning, which were done with the hands and in the same way with fragments or wholes.

The activity of dividing was always the same, the objects changed as desired; thus, one came to disregard their nature and had the abstraction of the number "2." But it was only by means of the activity that it was achieved, not by means of the mere appearance of the objects as they represented, say, the paired organs of the body. The first firm basis was now established in experience for the fact that one could divide a whole into two halves without calculation: if one broke a single piece, he no longer had to touch and mark off, he knew that it made "2." In the case of the paired organs, however, it is primarily a matter of the halves of a whole. They were conceived, on the basis of all experience, as a correlated whole, there were no one- or three-eyed, no one- or three-legged human beings, and one had in view, even if it were not precisely defined conceptually, that one had neither more nor less.

The clear initial limit, which we still definitely recognize among the Bakairi today, is the division of the whole into its

/415 cont./

802 halves. For as soon as it comes to 3, he requires the assistance, not only of his calculating machine, but also of his sense of touch. Even today he does not know, without reflection, that he has five fingers, although he can count them; his knowledge is secure only as far as "2," as is also shown by the drawings which I had the people make. With any given number of similar objects, he is to this day confronted with an indefinite multiplicity, and that is why, when I place before him for counting 2 maize kernels which are not 2 halves of a whole, he repeats the old procedure and lets the fingers touch them; in this case, to be sure, the Bakairí is quite able to count without the fingers, but he seldom does so. With 3 maize kernels he cannot for the life of him say that there are 3 if he simply looks at them and does not also touch them and add 2 + 1 on his left hand.

000 It was only the touch perception that in the beginning marked off the objects that were counted. In order to understand the fatigue of the Bakairí, we must imagine that we are counting in the dark and have only the number words 1 and 2. We are so accustomed to count with our eyes that we can scarcely realize that this is an accomplishment achieved only through long practice, which was attainable only with the possession of the higher number-words and by an audible or silent pronunciation of them replacing the finger grasping. And yet we need only take the ears instead of the eyes and we soon realize how everything depends on practice and how in an equivalent sensory area we register or count just about as badly as the Bakairí does /416/ the maize kernels. Who does not count aloud or silently when he wants to count the striking of a clock, assuming, of course, that he does not know beforehand how many there will be? And now one should imagine for a moment that he does not have at his disposal a series of number words, each of which relieves us of the effort of remembering the preceding one, but rather has only the words for 1 and 2. Will he not immediately use the fingers in order to ask them for the sum at 6 or 8 strokes, exactly as the Bakairí does in his case? The fact that one stroke after another dies away does not essentially alter anything in the comparison; I must also move my glance from one object to another.

/416 cont./

300 Conversely, let us imagine someone who has had a great deal of practice in registering aural impressions; will he be able to understand how someone like us could say he heard the clock strike but could not tell how often? How charitably he would smile at our audible counting! And he, too, would have to use his fingers to help out if among his number words he had no higher units than 2 and 3.

[302] Just as we are not practiced in hearing, so the Bakairí is not in the habit of counting with his eyes. He is still almost entirely limited to the result of touch perception. The foundation upon which further development, stimulated by interest and need, and the formation of higher units must have been accomplished had already been present for many generations, yet how slight were interest and need in primitive family life! Even in sharing, which -- we cannot help but think -- first of all demands "keeping accounts," one scarcely ever needed to count: it was give and take and the piece in the hand proved more than the fingers on the hand.

302 196 Let us turn once again to the number words of the Bakairí and see how their etymology, insofar as it offers any certainty, corresponds to the development revealed in the experiments. The comparison is not without value because the two studies were made quite independently of each other, and the explanation of the number words rests only on phonetic proof and linguistic comparison.

191 302 196 I do not know how to begin with "shewão," "2." It occurs among a number of tribes of the north, partly in greatly altered forms which nevertheless can probably be reconciled. The singular luxury of two numerical expressions may be bound up with the great uncertainty which the Bakairí still manifest in 3-counting: the important thing is still to determine the pair and there is a separate word only for what exceeds the designation of the first pair, the most common case. In the difficult counting of objects that exceed "3," I heard only "shége xaále," so that the two expressions are used somewhat like "twelve" and "dozen," and "shewão" perhaps still has something indeterminate adhering

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196

to it from its original meaning. For this reason it is not used for making up higher numbers. In the Kamayurá "3" is called moapit, a word that can be definitely analyzed. It is made up of the causative mo-, mbo-, and apit, apy, "peak," "point." The highest /417/ or peak finger is the middle finger, which marks the "3," in other words, already a natural limit, like 5 = hand. In the closely related Auetö, 1 and 3 are entirely different words than in the Kamayurá-Tupí, while 2 is the same. This is very similar to the relationship among the various Karaiben tribes.

Fortunately, the meaning of the most important number-word "ahãge" is certain. It also has the greatest comparative value linguistically, for it occurs, for the most part little differentiated, among all the genuine Karaiben peoples and is a veritable guide-word. Phonetically it goes back to "ãnãke." It must be broken up into, first, the demonstrative a-, which also forms the pronominal prefix of the second person and refers to the nearest thing outside one's own body, and, secondly, the postposition "-take," "-sale," "-hage," "with /mit/, along with /samt/" = "there-by /da-bei/," "there-with /da-mit/," "together /zusammen/." Thus, there is nothing in it about hand or fingers, and nothing about eyes, wings, and arms.

"Many" is "ahgi," and even "ãgi," and, since I also once wrote down "ahãgi," and in any case there must have been a consonant between the two occurrences of a, was very probably originally identical with "ahãge," "2" -- an identity which has long been lost in the linguistic feeling of the modern Bakairí. Consequently, the meanings "2" and "many" would have split off from the oldest meaning still demonstrable today, "therewith /dabei/," about like our "jointly /miteinander/" "together /zusammen/," and the word for the definite number and the one for the indefinite amount would be merely phonetic differentiation of the same stem form.*

* For example, in German the same stem paar /pair/ = "2" and = einige /a few/ is not even phonetically differentiated, but only syntactically.

/417 cont./

and graphically for the person who writes "Paar" and "par": even the syntax is not consistently carried out. Because though one says, "das Paar Handschuhe" /the pair of gloves/ or "ein Paar Handschuhe" /a pair of gloves/, one also says, "die par Leute" or "ein par Leute waren da" /the few people or a few people were there/, instead of being consistent and saying "wenige Leute" /few people/ or, likewise without an article, "par Leute waren da."

802 196 We see that the history of the Bakairi number-word for 2 is wholly in keeping with the presumed origin in general of the outlook regarding numbers. We only learn here in addition that the observation of how an object broken with control falls into "2" pieces was not separated for a long time from the one that in the case of an object uncontrollably broken one has in one's hand any number of pieces "together." Now, however, contrary to our psychological development, a strange ray of light falls on the etymology. The origin of the postposition "-ake" "-hage," which must mean something like "collectivity /Gemeinsamkeit/" -- to express it in a more abstract way -- remains to be elucidated. In the material recorded there is a verbal stem which is homonymic, but which no one would connect with the concept "collectivity": chopping wood! The work of the stone ax which splits the trunk. This is at any rate interesting, and one might believe that for a Karaiben the meaning "to chop wood, pieces of wood or sticks (collectivity), together, two" could develop divergently, even though our "zusammen, same, sammeln /together, along with, to gather/," as well as the Sanskrit sama, Zend hama, English same, that is, demselbe /in Ger./, /418/ Greek ἅμα, composedly /zugleich/, ὁμός same /derselbe/, etc. have one origin. In this case the language would be the final missing link. It would furnish proof of the origin of the first number abstraction "2" from the concrete image of something broken and would thus complete the series of conclusions from my experiments, which

/418 cont./

802 reach back only to the proof of the origin from manual work, to
196 make an uninterrupted chain of inductive evidence.

In Tupí "2" is mokõi, made up with the causative mo-; koi is translated "pair." Thus "2" = "makes pair." But what is koi? Now strangely enough, kopi -- the exact equivalent of the Bakairí uke -- means "to chop wood"! Between the two vowels in koi a softened consonant has been dropped; let us assume it arose from koui, kobi, which would be a very common process, and we would have the same origin of "2" as would be conceivable in Bakairí.

Finally I must also consider "tokõie," "1." It is made up of "toka" and the augmentative particle "-ie." "tõka" means "bow." Since each man has only one bow, or since many arrows go with one bow, the bow is the simplest example for "1" among all the implements. The derivation is a bit questionable because it is almost too perfect. To be sure, "toka" is so constructed phonetically that, according to the phonetic laws prevailing in the Bakairí, it need not change. It seems very striking that there are so few equivalents for "tokõie" among the Karaiben of the north; they are fewer in number than those for "ahewõ" and far fewer than those for "ahõge." It is surely permissible to exclude coincidence here and to see in this circumstance, as regards language as well, evidence that actual, conceptual counting began with the "2."

II. Color Words

000 Available dyestuffs. Corresponding to the number of color words. Strange statements intelligible through etymology. Dyestuffs older than the need for color words. Use in connection with the names of animals and plants. Green never = blue-black.

196 Color words, no less than number words, show how development depends on interest.

191 As has already been mentioned, the following dyestuffs are
386 used on the Schingú /Xingu/.

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171 386 [283] White is chalky white clay, a supply of which is kept in the huts in the form of balls the size of a child's head. The women, when they spin, rub it on the right thigh, on which they twist the thread. It is simply mixed with water. It is never used to paint the body; it also falls far back for the implements and appears almost solely on the masks, the painting of which need last but a few days, on painted bark pieces, and the like.

/419/ Charcoal and soot, the berry-pulp of the genipap tree, (Genipa) and a number of resins furnish black. In order to blacken the inside of the gourd shells charcoal from the bark of the buriti shaft is used.

The yellowish-red to brownish-red loam seems to have been driven out by the urucú dyestuff. It was formerly eaten and is [262] 304 [304] still molded into heavy dolls for children and is rubbed on wounds for scarification.

Charcoal and soot are rubbed in directly, like the white, or they are also mixed with liquid, like the urucú. Either the oil [329] from the piké fruit (Caryocar butyrosum) is used, or the yellow extract containing caoutchouc from a tree of the campo cerrado, which the Bakairí call ochogohi and the bark of which is grated and made into an extract with water. The colors are mixed in a gourd shell or a pot or, when a hard resin is broken up with the ax blade, most conveniently in the cup-shaped depression of a stool. Urucú is always found as a paste wrapped in leaves in the little workbasket beside the hammock.

The dyestuffs available to the natives are therefore white, black, red, and yellow. The genipap-black is blue-black, the urucú-red a brick-red to orange, which, mixed with the yellow ochogohi juice, loses a good deal of its red. There are no blue or green dyestuffs.

171 146 The theory that the color sense developed gradually for human beings, based on the fact that color distinction in language is inadequate up to a high level of culture and that blue and green in particular are extraordinarily often designated with the same word, has now been abandoned. It was found among all the primitive peoples investigated that they distinguish excellently

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121 the various color impressions with their eyes, that, for examp,
196 they choose with normal accuracy like-colored shades out of a pile of many little bunches of wool, so there can be no question of color blindness, but that, as far as language is concerned, blue and green are mixed up with astonishing regularity. The correct solution was given by Ernst Krause (Carus Sterne). The human being, by natural inclination always most susceptible to the vivid impression of red, has found mineral and vegetable pigments in greatest abundance for this particular color. The next most frequent naturally formed dyestuff besides black and white is yellow, whereas green and blue dyestuffs are late products of the coloring technique. Color names were developed in accordance with this.

125 On a leaf of my journal Wilhelm entered colored spots of
191 ultramarine, cobalt blue, emerald green, sap green, carmine,
196 rose madder, vermillion, orange, cadmium yellow, burnt sienna, sepia, and ivory black. The attempt to obtain the names of colors by laying out vividly colored objects was a complete failure. They gave the names of the objects or these confused with the color names, and nothing stood in the way of drawing up an amusing list /420/ of those words, not one of which designated a color. A Waurá almost made me despair, and he in particular seemed to have different words for blue and green. But even if this misconception was eliminated -- and, to be sure, this was done best by the use of the definite color words already obtained from the neighboring tribe -- even if the people were really on the right track, the experiment usually became a veritable trial of patience. They would think it over, vacillate, sometimes disagree with each other; it was obvious that I was demanding something very unusual. Only the Aweté, the enthusiastic painters, proved amenable. But there was one difficulty that was responsible for, since I not only had to become accustomed to hearing the same word for emerald green and ultramarine, but was also given other baffling information which I understood only after linguistic studies.

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8 They all had in common a word each for 1) red and orange,
1971 2) yellow, 3) white, 4) black. This therefore corresponds
192 exactly with their dyestuffs. The Auetö had the same word, the
T "white" of the Tupí language, for white and light yellow. The
1971 Trumaí were the only ones who had two words for blue and green;
192 the rest designated these two colors with the same word. Among the Bakairí /Bacairi/, however, tamagenéng blue = black and dark brown, and green is tukuéng. It also happened that one of them would use tukuéng for blue as well, but not tamagenéng for green. Now and then the strangest things occurred: A Trumaí and a Nahuquá designated blue with the same word as cadmium yellow, a Bakairí and a Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ designated green just the same as red -- if one wished, one could discover the various types of color blindness among any of them one happened to be investigating.

8 Only linguistic research can give the key for these phenom-
1971 ena. For a number of the color words I am able to give the origi-
192 nal meaning, and they will suffice to explain possibilities of
196 this kind. It is quite certain that the Kamayurá /Camayura/ word "blue" or "green" i-tawi-mat = parakeet-colored" from tawi, the name of the Camura species or parakeet. These parrots have grass green as well as indigo blue in their feathers. In Tupí the same color word is cíqui, cy, and the parakeet is called tovi, tui, cívi, ciui. Thanks to the Kamayurá form, i-tawi-mae, the origin of cíqui, already obscured in the Tupí, is still preserved. Whether I showed the Indian a blue or a green cloth, a blue string of beads or a green leaf, his answer, "parakeet-colored," was, indeed, correct. It all depends on which part of the coloring he visualized. The Auetö word i-kir-ení, "green" or "blue," perhaps corresponds to the "panco" of the Tupí, ímu, softened from ímu, so that we would have here "panco-colored."

The tukuéng "green" of the Bakairí also goes back to the parakeet zugí-ri.* Now since there is a parakeet species kept in

* The name of the parakeet is onomatopoetic, hence very similar among Bakairí, Tupí, and Suruí.

/420 cont./

171 the houses by the natives, /421/ one which has a beautiful red
172 spot next to the beak, I assume that one Bakairi woman recalled
176 this little animal when, to my amazement, she designated emerald green, vermillion, and ultramarine, one after the other, as *tukuling*! This was all correct, but at that time I myself had no idea of the connection, and, shaking my head, I put the result down on paper with big exclamation marks. Luckily, the people had not derived a color word from the red aras of the lower Schingú; they would have been able to give the baffled European a palette of practically all the clashing colors with *one* word. Moreover, it is at least possible that the Bakairi and North Karaíben word for red means "the color of fruit"; in this case one person who is by no means color-blind for red might, by way of exception, also use the word for green (emerald green and sap-green), whereas the others generally used it for orange, vermillion, and carmine. The derivation of the Tupí word *ti, tiny, tinga* for "white" from *ty*, urine, sap, juice, can probably be defended; in that case it would surely not be surprising if the Aweró designate white and light yellow with it.

The Bakairi word for white is "salt"-colored, the one for black, "soot"-colored. The latter, as has been mentioned, also serves for blue and dark brown, and, whereas green = parakeet-colored could also be "blue," blue = soot-colored could *not* be "green."

Thus it follows that some of the color words may have more than *one* meaning. It is obvious that where this is the case usage will gradually be restricted to *one* quality; the important thing is merely usage which develops the need for distinction. The need to distinguish colors asserts itself first of all for the dyestuff itself. It seems to be by no means usual for the color word to be derived from the dyestuff, since I am able to find this in Bakairi only for blue-black = soot-color; among the Tupí, for example, *una* black = "burned," and the form often applied to animals, *pinduna*, means "burned skin." This word is also used for "blue"; the brilliant blue aras has gone over into zoology as "*Psittacus ararauna*" = *arara una*. Nowhere is the word for urucú contained

/421 cont./

171 in the color word for red, nor the word for the white clay in the
192 color word for white. I believe that the dyestuffs are far older
196 than the need for distinguishing them according to their colors.
[193] This is probable for the Bakairi because of two points: first, the color adjectives, with the single exception of "red, orange," do not belong to the inventory of the Karaiben base-language; secondly, their construction according to the schema i-stem-ding bears the stamp of a more recent formation.

000 I may doubtless also be permitted to use such a situation to support the earlier argument about the origin of personal color ornamentation (see pp. 17. ff.). No matter how ancient and innate the joy of color may actually be, nevertheless the circumstance that a need to distinguish the colors of the dyestuffs with words did not manifest itself until late speaks in favor of the view /422/ that colored ornamentation was not first used on the body for the sake of the color. Since whatever was worn on the body as trophies or for practical purposes was actually distinguished by varying colors, which must have given pleasure, people quite naturally came to want to use them also for enjoyment, and from this time on the earliest distinctions by means of names for colors began. Within these, in turn, the first certainty was gained also for the colors that were fashioned, whereas the need for distinguishing green and blue was satisfied by words which were still vague, such as "parakeet-colored."

One more thing must not be forgotten. The Indian does not
171 form general judgments, such as "the trees are green, the sky is
192 blue." Nothing induces him to analyze this view presented to
811 him by the external world; it is of no interest to his person in any activity and is something taken for granted, such as that water is wet. What does interest him in making distinctions according to color is animals and plants. His principal application of the color names acquired is here and it is necessary to find out here how he proceeds with color names in his own usage.

171 With this in mind I looked through the list of animal names
192 in the glossary of Martius, in which some 1300 have been col-
825 lected from the total literature. "Parakeet-colored," cugai, for "blue and green" is used only a single time in the case of a

/422 cont./

171 192 825 boa-snake which Martius calls "viridis vel azureus Coluber aestivus L." The ordinary distinctions according to color, the number of which is smaller than one would expect, are black, white, red, and yellow; without placing any importance on absolute accuracy, I count 28 birds, 23 fish, 9 mammals, 4 snakes, and 12 lower animals which are differentiated according to those four colors. But now two more words occur for "colorful" /bum, "gay-colored, mixed, spotted"/, one of which, pinima, with the verb "to paint" of the same stem, is used for fish, three birds, the jaguar, one snake, one lizard, one crayfish, and the other, paragoa, means simply "parrot" and also furnishes a parrot-fish and a parrot-snake. Pure "green" is always parrot-colored or parakeet-colored; where a "blue" is to be distinguished, the animal is also given the additional word una (burned) = black or dark.

171 192 It cannot be expressed more clearly that the Indian is induced to make a sharp color-distinction only when it is a matter of color qualities familiar to him from the dyestuffs, in other words, that his own experience, not his sense of color, furnishes the material for the sharply defined concepts.

171 192 824 The list of plant names by Martius, somewhat over 1000 in number, offers an interesting comparison. Eight plants are given the title black, 7 white, 7 red, 2 yellow. It is obvious that among the plants "green" does not form a distinguishing mark. Yet here, too, we come across on one occasion the cugui or "parakeet-colored," sometimes translated "green," sometimes "blue," and, to be sure, it corresponds to /423/ a specific blue, since it refers to Indigofera anil L. Three plants are "colorful," but "pinima"; the parrot-colorfulness (paragoa) is lacking.

171 336 The natives could have obtained indigo from the plant just mentioned, but they did not know how. Martius asserts that in the manufacture of indigo the Brazilian industrialists use Indian labor, that it was first introduced by the Portuguese and produces a not very desirable kind. Genipap-black has a blue tinge and thus corresponds very well to the referring of blue to black in the color designations. The blue of the tattooing also comes from the black.

[192] [304]

/423 cont./

B the black. If one examines the collections in the Museum für
171 Völkerkunde, which are still free of blue embroidery beads and
531 fabrics, one will understand the entire situation at a glance.
There on the painted implements one finds only red, yellow, white, and black, and the feather ornamentation also shows green and blue; it shows both colors in brilliant purity, but unsorted, arbitrarily blended together in any fashion, and, with the other colors, in a luminous total picture which invites general admiration but not detailed analysis. In modern art this is called a color symphony, and it is understandable that from a symphony one does not learn scales. In the soul of the Indian
B it looks the same as in a shop window. The only blue and green
[146] he has at home is in the shape of his parakeets and parrots or similar ornamental birds, and so he takes their name for the color name, which suffices for blue and green.

B He always definitely made one distinction between blue
171 and green: he ranked blue, but not green, with black or dark.
192 Why does he not sometimes also call a green "black-dark"?
196 The only reason seems to be that cases where a green is so striking that it is used as the distinguishing feature of a designation are very rare, aside from the parrots themselves, as the lists show, and then it is always a matter of a luminous parrot-green. On the other hand, among the animals distinguished with "black-dark" = blue, the dark blue always predominates; thus, even the ararauna, probably the lightest of these, has, according to Brehm, "all upper parts along with the tail-coverts dark sky-blue"; the feathers often have even a very blackish shade on the outer part of the vane, and only when the bird is flying along bathed in full sunlight does a lighter, misty azure become notable.

/424/

Chapter XVI.
The Paressí.

P
128 On the history of the Paressí and tribes related to them. Our visitors. Language. Anthropological. On the ethnography (dress, ethnographic yields, intoxicating beverages, dance

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128 festivals). Course of life. Burial. Medicine men. The soul of the dreamer and of the dead. Firmament. Ancestor legend. Creation. Origin of the cultivated plants. Descent of the Bakairí. Life in heaven. River and forest spirits. Home of the Paressí.

131 On the history. Northwest of Kuyabá lie the "Campos dos Parecis" where the source rivers of the Paraguay, as well as those of the Tapajoz and Madeira, rise. Of the old Paressí Indians
101 there are only relatively few survivors, who are divided into sev-
[161] eral tribes. With the exception of the Kabischí /Cabishi/ who
[119] frequently make the environs of the town of Mato Grosso unsafe,
[121] they lead a peaceful existence. Since it was impossible for us
114 to visit the Paressí because our desire to become acquainted with the Bororó led us in almost the opposite direction, the Paressí
114 had to come to us. Fortunately, we were given an extremely
122 kind and understanding reception for all our wishes by the then president of the province, Colonel Francisco Raphael de Mello Rego. To him and his excellent wife, Donna Carmina, who, as a perfect lady in the midst of the male and female Cuyabans, seemed to us like a creature from another world, we owe our deepest gratitude for their lively interest. On 10 January I presented to the President the request that he summon a few Paressí to the capital; we also wrote privately to Diamantino because it was maintained that the influential persons there were "liberal" and would not pay any attention to the order of a "conservative" president. On 19 February the Indians arrived.

175 Important information about the Paressí by one of their discoverers has been preserved. Captain Antonio Pires de Campos*

[113] * Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico XXV, p. 443. Rio de Janeiro, 1862.

in the year 1723, and, to be sure, after an acquaintance "de tantos annos" /of so many years/, sketches for us a picture of their "reino" or kingdom such as we could never put together from the ruins still preserved today.

/425/

[175] [105] [131] "On those extensive plateaus the Paresi occupy a broad realm, and all waters flow to the north. (Thus, at that time he is counting them only in the source region of the Tapajoz and Madeira.) These people are present in such numbers that one [361] [342] cannot count their settlements or 'aldeias'; on one day's march one often passes through 10 or 12 villages and in each of these there are 10 to 30 houses, and among these houses there are several 30 to 40 paces wide, and they are round in the shape of an oven, very high, and each one of these houses, we hear, shelters an entire family. They all live from the cultivation of their [241] fields, in which they are indefatigable, and they are sedentary people, and the plants which they chiefly cultivate are mandioca, some maize and beans, batatas, much pineapple (not a word about bananas!), and planted individually in admirable regularity, from which they make their wings.. And they also enclose the [229] campo from river to river, within this enclosure they make many pits in which they hunt many deer, ostriches, and many other [721] [411] kinds of animals. These heathen are not warlike and merely defend themselves if one wants to take them away; their weapons are bow and arrow and they also use a very strong wood and make out of it broad blades which serve them as swords and they also have their very small spears in order to defend their doors which they make so small that one can enter only on all fours. And [178] these Indians also make use of idols; the latter have a special [562] house with many figures of manifold shapes, where only the [534] men are allowed to enter, these figures are quite dreadful and [535] they all have their gourd trumpets which, as these heathen say, belong to the figures, and the womenfolk observe the law so that they do not even glance toward these houses, and only the men are found there on those days of entertainment which they set aside in order to perform their dances and on which they [291] dress themselves richly. The ordinary dress of these heathen is [287] that the men wear a little piece of straw on the private parts [363] and the women their 'tipoinhas' half way down their thighs, the [364] material of which they themselves make out of a weave of feathers (small-meshed net with feathers knotted in) and with magnificent colors, all very strange and works of different kinds and forms, and

/425 cont./

175 the curiosity among men and women is extreme; they are very
102 clean and accomplished in everything down to their streets,
[24] which they make straight and wide and keep so clean and in
[28] such good condition that not a leaf can be found there."
[63]
[344]

[232] Antonio Pires goes on to praise the light-colored, pretty women, skillful in all tasks, mentions the art of arbitrarily dyeing the feathers of the parrots and other birds, and admires the works in stone and hard-wood, which are made without the [301] help of iron and steel. The chiefs wore around their necks jasper-like stones, ground marble-smooth, in the shape of a [622] Maltese cross. He regards the people, ruled by numerous chiefs and occupying a vast region with fertile soil and a pleasant climate, as the most worthwhile goal of the Catholic mission in [101] honor of the Portuguese name. In contrast to the Parecsí, he [244] regards the "Cavihis," the Kabischí, as roving wild barbarians who drove his people to flight, despite their 130 guns, and in whose huts he once found pots filled with human flesh and racks full of skulls and bones. Beyond the Parecsí in the north lived the [101] "Mahibarez," who were just as numerous and in their entire [199] level of culture equal to them and whose language differs in [247] only a few words; they undertook many raids against the Parecsí, killed the men and abducted the women.

175 Such were the conditions at the beginning of the previous [48] century. The slave-seekers were followed by the gold and diamond seekers who forced the Indians into oppressive service. [161] Today Diamantino,* once the center of adventurers, is /426/

* Position, according to Chandless, 14°24'33" south latitude and 56°8'30" east of Greenwich.

only a pitiful hamlet -- in 1874 the entire parish had 1876 souls, and a few years later the geographer Melgaço stated: "the decay continues and almost borders on marasmus" -- but even the Indians perished by the thousands and only those who knew how to escape from civilization and conversion still enjoy a certain measure of health.

/426 cont./

175 In the document booklet of the Directoria dos Indios of Cuyabá, I find the following statements concerning the tribes in the "Campos dos Parecis" from the year 1848.

1. Barbados; 400 souls in a village on the slope of the sierra at the sources of the Rio Vermelho, a small source of the Paraguay, cultivate maize, mandioca, batatas, café /Dioscorea/. Tools of stone and hard wood. Without animal husbandry and industry. Treacherous, sometimes attack travelers between
[162] Diamantino and Villa Maria. 2. Pareuí; 200-250 souls, various
[339] groups in the district of Diamantino and Mato Grosso, sometimes appear to barter with sieves, baskets, hammock ropes, feathers, gourd vessels, and tobacco, which they prepare and wrap with urumbamba and which is greatly prized by smokers. Few of them
[191] understand and speak Portuguese. They do not commit open hostilities, but occasionally join the Kabischí in order to commit
[101] misdeeds. 3. Maimbaré; 400 souls, scattered in family groups throughout the sertão, have contacts with the Pareuí. Hunt, maize, mandioca, bananas, batatas, café. 4. Kabischí; numer-
[162] ous, estimated at 500 souls, in various villages, 15-20 leagues
[361] northwest of the Arraial de S. Vicente. Hostile, pillage and
[921] incendiary raids in the direction of the town of Mato Grosso.

[114] The figures given here have no value, to conclude from others to be better judged. There are all kinds of strange stories about the Barbados, that they are white and descendants of the Paulistas, who permitted no approach. With regard to the
[113] Kabischí, I read a manuscript account (June 1888) by Captain Antonio Annibal de Motta, who, through the mediation of the Pareuí on the Rio Sepotuba, became acquainted with twelve natives of this tribe, among them Chief Loulomadí. About the
[361] Pareuí, of whom he lists three villages on the sources of the Rio
[439] Sepotuba, Rio Formoso, and Rio Juba, the captain remarks that
[648] they traded caoutchouc and ipecac in S. Luiz de Caceres, that they lived in a state of hostility with the warlike Nambiquara /Nambicuara/ of the Rio Juruena, dealt with the "tame" Kabischí, but not with

2: Steinen- 320 ED-5 (1894, 1897-1899) 1894 SPT Bacairi
Paress: SP19

/426 cont./

195 the "wild" ones, who lived ten days' journey beyond the tame
[341] ones in the forest. The tame ones have four villages on the
Rio Cabaçal, a right tributary of the Paraguay, each under a
[184] separate chief. Their language, except for a few dialectal
[199] differences, and their manners and customs are like those of the
[241] Paresí; both tribes plant manioca, tobacco, and cotton. The
[286] hammocks are different inasmuch as the Paresí make them of
cotton and the Kabischí make them out of the fiber of the
small tucum palm (Astrocaryum). Arrows and tools are the
[301] same. The men wear very tightly woven cotton bands around
the upper arm and /427/ lower leg, the women wear cau-
[442] tchouc bands. "In general men and women lack the upper
incisors." The captain regards the "tame" Kabischí as the very
ones who occasionally make the roads of the neighboring region
unsafe.

36 Our visitors. The village of the Paresí summoned for us
[115] lies in the district of Diamantino on the Rio St. Anna, a right
[123] tributary of the Paraguay. There have been gold and diamond
[199] mines here since the middle of the previous century, and the
ancestors of our visitors were enlisted to work. The people
themselves called their river Zaikuriviñ and estimated three
days to Diamantino.

115 There were 12 individuals in all, nine men and three
162 women. Only four of them called themselves Paresí, four
were Waimaré /Uaimare/ from the tribe designated as
Maimbaré above, and four, among them the three women,
were Kaschinití /Cashiniti/. With their Portuguese and native
names they were divided up as follows:

115 Paresí: João Battista = Kanadaló, Manoel Bito (Brito) =
551 Halíaó, Bayano (from Bahia) = Toéhigaó, Manoel Bibiano =
Dalokarihí; Waimaré: Manoel Chico (from Francisco) = Duliízo,
José de Oliveira Santo = Daremáridi; furthermore, Waimaré
father, Paresí mother: João Baixo (Hans Kurz /Jack Short/) =
Kobiaré, and Manoel Antonio (my chief informant) = Zaruliaré;
as well as Kaschinití: Miguel = Waitiharé, Maria Kalara (Clara) =
Kameroaó, Maria Theresa = Kamemenaló, Antonia (cf. Fig. 125) =
Kahuiró.

/427 cont./

115 Kahuiré. The men, with the exception of two, were more than 35 years old, the oldest perhaps 50; Antonia was a girl of almost 20 years, the other two were women 40-50 years old.

101 173 I do not know what differences originally lay behind this division into tribes. The Waimaré formerly lived north of the Parecís. At the time of their decline a fusion seems to have taken place. Thus, our Waimaré said that their fathers had been Waimaré, their mothers Parecís, from which it appears that the tribal name here is not determined according to the mothers, in whose villages, however, the fathers lived. The distinction as Kaschiniká was treated more negligently, they said there was no longer any independent Kaschiniká tribe. It was not possible for me to penetrate more deeply into these subtleties, which were not discovered until the last minute.

114 Unfortunately, our time together was limited to only two days, the people were not to be kept longer.

197 Language. I was further able to discover that the language differences between Parecís and Waimaré are merely of a dia-

[201] lectal nature. Father P. ahá, W. hawá; mother P. amá, W. mamá; water P. oní, W. uní; fire P. and W. ingaré; uncle P. kukúre, W. kukú; older brother P. aiá W. aiá. My vocabu-

[115] lary was obtained in part from the chief of the Parecís, João Batista, in part from the Waimaré Manoel Chico and is therefore mixed in content.

[193] The language belongs to the Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ languages and has the typical pronominal prefix no- of the first person. The relationship of the vocabulary /428/ is considerably closer to the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ and confederates on the Kulisehu than to the large Nu-Aruak tribe of the Moxo /Mojo/ in Bolivia, from whom they are separated by the source region of the Guaporé-

[192] Madeira. The interchange of the Mehinakú p and Parecís h, as well as often t and s (in both directions), is expressed very nicely: fish, Meh. kupáti, Par. kohasí; thigh, M. nupítu, P. nuhúse; cará fruit, M. pika, P. hakú; bone, M. inápü, P. enáhe; house, M. pá, P. hatí; you, M. pítü, P. hisó; gourd vessel, M. pítsa, P. heschícha. The correspondence of ax,

/438 cont./

199 M. yawéi, F. ium as neuéri, and salt, M. ochéu, F. ówo, is
192 noteworthy. On the other hand, lexical correspondences of the simplest kind, which one might expect, are lacking, so that there is absolutely no question of close relations between the Paresí and Mehinakú groups in recent times.

128 Anthropological. The material does not even remotely suf-
129 fice to determine possible differences between Paresí, Waimaré, and Kaschinití. All three of the women were Kaschinití, the Waimaré called themselves sons of Paresí mothers, and beyond that a few were related by families.

141 Body height.

9 men: max. 166.3, min. 153.0, av. 160.5.

3 women: max. 152.3, min. 150.5, av. 151.4.

The men are therefore on the borderline of small stature. If, in this measurement, we make a distinction according to tribal divisions, we obtain:

4 Paresí men:	max.	161.3,	min.	153.0,	av.	158.0
4 Waimaré "	"	166.3	"	160.5	"	161.8
1 Kaschinití man:	"	--	"	--	"	161.3

This would be small stature for the Paresí. The shortest of all the men was the Paresí chief and the tallest was the Waimaré chief.

Breadth of outspread arms. A. Body height = 100.

9 men: max. 109.4, min. 101.4, av. 106.6.

3 women: max. 103.9, min. 101.3, av. 102.9.

B. Absolute.

9 men: max. 15.2, min. 2.2, av. 10.6.

3 women: max. 5.9, min. 2.0, av. 4.4.

One Paresí has the minimum, the Kaschinití the maximum.

Shoulder breadth. A. Body height = 100.

9 men: max. 26.2, min. 23.5, av. 25.0.

3 women: max. 24.9, min. 23.6, av. 24.3.

B. Absolute

9 men: max. 43.9, min. 37.5, av. 40.1.

3 women: max. 38.0, min. 35.5, av. 36.8.

2: Bauman--123 E,D-3 (1894, 1897-1900) 1894 SPT Bacaas
Flores: SP:9

/428 cont./

|4| Chest circumference. A. Body height = 100.

9 men: max. 59.2, min. 53.3, av. 55.4.

3 women: max. 57.1, min. 52.5, av. 54.8.

B. Absolute.

9 men: max. 97.0, min. 84.5, av. 89.0.

3 women: max. 86.0, min. 80.0, av. 83.0.

Head height. Body height = 100.

9 men: max. 15.6, min. 13.5, av. 14.7.

3 women: max. 15.8, min. 13.7, av. 14.7.

Head circumference. Body height = 100.

9 men: max. 35.5, min. 32.4, av. 34.4.

3 women: max. 37.8, min. 34.4, av. 36.1.

/429/

The measurement 37.8 (57.5 centimeters with 152.3 centimeters in body height) of Maria Clara seems doubtful to me. Only one man had more in absolute figures, 58.0 centimeters, with 163.9 centimeters in body height.

Length-breadth index of head.

9 men: max. 80.7, min. 71.1, av. 77.5.

3 women: max. 76.8, min. 75.3, av. 76.0.

Of the Kulinchu tribes, the closest to the *Paraná* are the Mehinakú, where the measurements for six men fluctuated between 79.2 and 75.2 and the average was 77.7. Cf. page 143.

Relation of head length to ear height. Head length = 100.

9 men: max. 66.5, min. 59.0, av. 62.8.

3 women: max. 62.9, min. 61.5, av. 62.4.

Jaw angle. Edge of hair--chin = 100.

9 men: max. 57.6, min. 48.6, av. 54.3.

2 women: max. 58.2, min. 57.1, av. 57.7.

Zygomatic arch. Edge of hair--chin = 100.

9 men: max. 77.8, min. 68.6, av. 73.5.

3 women: max. 75.8, min. 73.4, av. 74.5.

Cheekbone protuberance. Edge of hair--chin = 100.

9 men: max. 44.8, min. 40.7, av. 40.5.

2 women: max. 45.7, min. 40.7, av. 43.2.

2: Sherman--1246 D-3 (1894, 1897-1899) 1894 SPT Sacaini
Pavesi SPM

/429 cont./

14 Middle face. Nasal root--chin = 100.
9 men: max. 66.7, min. 57.7, av. 62.9.
3 women: max. 62.2, min. 52.5, av. 56.3.

Nasal height. Nasal length = 100.
9 men: max. 101.9, min. 93.0, av. 97.6.
3 women: max. 103.1, min. 97.6, av. 101.7.

Nasal breadth. Nasal height = 100.
9 men: max. 84.9, min. 71.7, av. 79.2.
3 women: max. 95.1, min. 83.8, av. 90.5.

Shoulder height. Body height = 100.
9 men: max. 84.9, min. 82.6, av. 83.7.
3 women: max. 84.8, min. 83.4, av. 84.0.

Navel height. Body height = 100.
9 men: max. 61.2, min. 53.9, av. 58.4.
3 women: max. 59.9, min. 56.0, av. 58.9.

Symphysis height. Body height = 100.
9 men: max. 51.1, min. 47.7, av. 50.5.
3 women: max. 50.4, min. 46.3, av. 49.2.

Iliac-crest height. Body height = 100.
9 men: max. 60.8, min. 56.9, av. 58.9.
3 women: max. 61.4, min. 59.0, av. 60.2.

Arm length. Body height = 100.
9 men: max. 49.3, min. 45.4, av. 47.4.
3 women: max. 47.3, min. 45.5, av. 46.1.

Hand length. A. Body height = 100.
9 men: max. 11.3, min. 9.7, av. 10.4.
3 women: max. 9.8, min. 9.3, av. 9.6.

B. Arm length = 100.
9 men: max. 24.0, min. 20.8, av. 22.0.
3 women: max. 21.4, min. 20.4, av. 20.9.

2: Steinen--SJSE, D-3 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Paress: SP19

/429 cont./

141 Length-breadth index of the hand. Hand length = 100.

9 men: max. 51.4, min. 43.5, av. 46.9.

3 women: max. 53.5, min. 46.0, av. 50.6.

Trochanter height.

9 men: max. 53.4, min. 51.1, av. 51.9.

3 women: max. 53.8, min. 49.9, av. 51.2.

/430/

Foot length. Body height = 100.

9 men: max. 16.5, min. 15.4, av. 15.9.

3 women: max. 15.0, min. 13.8, av. 14.5.

Length-breadth index of the foot. Foot length = 100.

9 men: max. 42.6, min. 36.9, av. 39.2.

3 women: max. 45.7, min. 39.6, av. 42.6.

142 126 The skin color was determined on the basis of the Radde tables, with 33 m to n for forehead and cheek, in one case the forehead with 33 o, the chest with 33 m, only once with 33 l. Under the cotton band of the upper arm 33 n. The chest especially was a pronounced loam color which could be matched up better with shards of flower pots than with all the color samples of the table, which were always too shiny.

142 Hair black, straight, sleek; in the case of the four Kaschinitf, a man and three women, wavy to curly. In the case of some, sparse beard hair.

Face generally high, oval, moderately wide. Forehead among the Pareuf slanting, low; among the Waimaré slacting, high, with bulges; among the women slanting, low, full. Cheekbones prominent. Iris dark-brown, eyeslit high, almond-shaped, horizontal; in the case of some, set slightly slanted. Nose among the Pareuf: root narrow, bridge straight or slightly curved, alae narrow, nostrils oval; among the Waimaré: root, bridge, and alae wide, nostrils large and projecting forward elliptically; among the Kaschinitf and the women: bridge broad, slightly projecting, tip thick and nostrils pointing elliptically far forward. Lips sometimes full, sometimes

/430 cont./

142 delicate, curved. Teeth often defective and irregular, usually opaque and yellowish. Only one woman had a fine set of teeth with evenly placed, white, translucent, small teeth. Prognathism only moderate, with the exception of one Waimaré with very worn-down upper teeth, who was conspicuous because of a greater degree, especially of the lower jaw.

The Pareseí in the narrower sense, who were smaller, had a more finely chiseled face; they definitely reminded one of the Bakairí /Bacairi/, and there was even a certain resemblance between João Bettista and Chief Felipe of the Paranatinga village.

291 On the Ethnography. The Pareseí appeared barefoot in the ordinary clothing of the Mato Grosso country people. Beneath it, to be sure, they still wore part of the original costume.

302 The hair of the men had the bowl-shaped cut as among the Schingú /Xingu/ Indians, but without tonsure. They said the tonsure (ilada) had been customary generally among their grandfathers; thus, it not only did not arise from the example of the padres, but, on the contrary, was given up after the acquaintance with them, as among the docile Bakairí. The hair of the older women was worn entirely according to the old style, that of the girls was parted, the forehead hair not cut. Eyebrows, lashes, the sparse beard hair, and the body hair were not removed.

304 The ear lobes were pierced among both sexes, whereas
301 Antonio had told me that among the men only the nose was pierced. /431/ A triangular piece of black coconut shell (bohoró) was worn -- not any more, but at the time of the grandfathers -- as an ear ornament. The nasal septum was pierced in the case of a few men to hold a toucan or arara feather. The lip is not and was never pierced.

304 In the case of a few men tattooing (nohoró) was only poorly recognizable on the upper arm and thigh in the shape of
[462] two small transverse arcs. It is the women who do the tattooing.
[824] For this they use a gravatá thorn (Bromelia) and genipap ink or the extract of the paua leaf. Also, a line drawing was found above the knee on one woman.

/621 cont./

291 Instead of the lap-cord mill described by Antonio Pires, the men wore a waist-band 1.5 to 2.5 centimeters wide, firmly woven of imported colored cotton thread, or strings of beads (kumokuá). The penis was worn drawn up behind the kumokuá. For protection against the rubbing of the band or string, there was put between it and the latter a square, woven, and red-striped scrap of material (8x10 centimeters), half of which was slung over the string (daihauô). As Figure 124 shows, the scrotum and the root of the penis were not concealed by the little scrap. This must be specifically pointed out because a Parecí Indian, for example, (like many others) is pictured in the Revista da exposição anthropologica (Rio de Janeiro, 1882), p. 85, with a complete suspensorium for the benefit of the reader. In fact, this deference toward us if often practiced at the expense of accuracy, distorting reality, especially in the illustrations showing the Brazilian aborigines, as anyone who pursues the matter more closely will note in the travel accounts -- hence erroneous ideas about the natives' sense of modesty are unavoidable. Contradictions between text and illustrations are quite common.

Fig. 124. Daihauô (Parecí).

The women, who removed their Brazilian clothing without hesitation, wore under it a closely woven, red-colored "belly band" 30 centimeters wide. This band, however, rested considerably below the navel, leaving the abdomen entirely free; at the side it extended down from the iliac crest and was so low in front that it barely, but tautly, covered the mons veneris. It reached down over half the thigh and was prevented from sliding off only because it was elastic and fitted tightly. One does not exactly understand how the "tipoinha" of Antonio Pires was constructed; to judge from the Tupí word and the statement that it was decorated with colored feathers, it was

/431 cont./

291 a net of net provided with feathers. Today, at any rate, in contrast to the Schingú costume, there is a covering, an article of clothing in our sense. /432/ There is no longer anything here in the way of band or pelisse. The development, which we still miss on the Schingú, has thus been accomplished in the case of
161 the women, not the men. We also know from the account of Antonio Pires, however, that the old Parecní -- even though we may consider the bold slave-hunter, whose statements give the impression of truthfulness, capable of some exaggeration -- had numerous villages with a dense population and could thus be differentiated, in social matters, from the large families on the Schingú.

142
302

Fig. 122. Parecní girl.

291 How the dress of Parecní women originally looked could
177 probably be learned only through an acquaintance with "wild" Parecní. In the village of the natives investigated by us there has
[464] been a much closer association for a century and a half with the Brazilians of Diamantino, since the people were used for mine work and Tapajoz shipping, than in the villages of the docile Bakairí, whose women have no longer worn uluris for a long time. It often happened in Brazil that the Indian women, quite apart from the fact that they wore clothing, changed their old costumes very soon after the appearance of the whites.* The need to protect

[171]

* Prince Wied reports a very good example from the Camacan. "The apron of the

2: Steinen--1896,D-1 (1894, 1897-1900) 1896 GPT Bacairi
Paressi. SPM

/433 cont./

291 199 191 women consists of a rope artfully wound with fine strings, with a few large tassels at the ends, from which hang a great many other round strings to form an apron. the rope is wound around the hips by the women, and these aprons are their sole garment where they still live in a somewhat crude state. in early times they were not even acquainted with this, but went about completely naked, or later, with a piece of tree bast wound around their hips." Reise nach Brasilien in den Jahren 1815-1817 /Journey to Brazil in the Years 1815-1817/, II, p. 216. Thus we have the sequence: nakedness, bast band, string-apron, European clothing.

[113]

291 themselves from glances is first felt upon encountering strange 199 men, whose desire the women are not supposed to arouse.

The men wore, around the upper arm and on the lower leg 301 below the knee or above the ankle, closely woven and tightly wound bands up to ten centimeters wide, which were tied together at the side with the end threads hanging down as a loose strand; the women, on the other hand, wore knee bands of caoutchouc scarcely as wide as a finger, which cut in deeply and under which the skin was astonishingly light. Girls wore a thick roll of glass beads around their necks.

126 Our ethnographic yield was very meager, and all the more 215 meager since the Paresní presented the best of the little that they 431 brought along, especially /433/ a few very lovely sieve-vessels 531 and basket-vessels decorated with artistic black-yellow plaited patterns, to the "Capitão grande," or rather to Donna Carmina. 439 As has been mentioned, the sieves, the "peneiras," constitute the chief specialty of the Paresní in their barter with the 531 Brazilians. The designs, like those of the linguistically related Aruak in the Guianas, are characterized by wealth of invention.

2: Steinen--SM E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SPT Bacairi
Paress. SP19

/630 cont./

126 Besides the articles of dress we obtained a back-basket, *kohó*,
418 pouch-shaped, plaited out of strips of bamboo, and carried on a
534 bast strip running across the forehead, a little woven shoulder-bag, a hammock, a pair of Panpipes made up of five tubes (largest 40, smallest 28 centimeters), a roll of tightly pressed tobacco wound with cane, such as is prepared on the Amazonas, and, finally a child's bow with a child's arrows. The hammock
286 was woven out of cotton in the fashion of the Bakairí hammock,
352 but with thin threads and therefore extraordinarily light. Bows
411 and arrows, the Indians said, were almost entirely used only by
524 children in their village. The arrows were made of very thin *kambayuva* cane (largest 1.1 meter); the bows, not quite 1.5 meters long, were convex on the back and flat on the string side.

342 The houses seem to have the style of the Brazilian ranchos,
501 with a long gable-roof. The canoes are made of *jatobá* bark
824 (*miá*) or wood. Hammocks, woven fabrics, and pots are made
462 by the women, sieves and baskets by the men. The latter clear the forest, the women plant.

273 Conversation with the Indians was very difficult, for, although
124 they were very willing and good-natured, they had been entertained by the Cuyaban citizens and came to us very tipsy. For their services they demanded more liquor, poured it down like lemonade, and thereupon fell into a lasting drowsy state. Even Maria Kalara and Maria Theresa stumbled drunkenly through the house and, with transfixed, stupid faces, sank into one of our armchairs. Fortunately, they were to be won over by means of other inducements; they loved beads best and empty bottles, which they took along in large numbers.

273 The intoxicating beverages which they use at home and which correspond to the "wines" of Antonio Pires are mandioca or maize "*kaschirí*": a decoction prepared from the fruit by boiling, and fermentation is induced by an addition of chewed *beijús* or maize kernels. These drinks -- they cause poor teeth, the Paresí com-
527 plained -- are consumed in large quantities. The chief festivals are said to take place in October and April. There are dances for
535 men alone and others in which women take part. In their stimulated mood, our guests took great pleasure in performing dances

/633 cont./

535 for us. They went in threes, arm in arm, two blew melodious drawn-out tones on the Panpipe by seeming to blow lightly on the flute, the third stamped out the beat. They alternately made a few steps forward and back.

[228] The dances are ordered by the chieftain, for whom, besides the two designations hazirí and amuré, they mentioned a third on this occasion, kakuderihé. /634/ They begin at daybreak. Three types were mentioned: the zulanf dance, in which one person starts alone (hamenané hazoné ezanané kuakéna, nat nanó nanéné, of which I understand nothing but nanó = I) and the chorus joins (halé halé katéhe timenaziré zohukató hahahá...); the holíta dance with flute music in humming prolonged tones which seem to die out gradually in the distance, and during this or afterwards they feast on fish, wild pig, "to come, everybody eats," and finally, the walazonó dance with flute and rattle (wéla).

[293] The only thing I could learn about the masked dances was that "spectacles" or something similar are made out of burning straw and that they dance with poles (?) around the drink-cask filled with kachirí. Antonio Pires, of course, interpreted the masks as idols and the festival but as a temple.

115 622 The most sensible and the most moderate were the two men, João Baptista and Manoel Chico, whom I kept with me and

191 questioned in the evening. Unfortunately, their Portuguese was very inadequate; a few Spanish words, such as muchacho, boy, and hdiyo = hiyo, son, were probably related to Bolivian in-

114 I learned all kinds of interesting things, however, and was sorry that the company was not to be kept longer.

582 The Paresí live in monogamy, marriage is arranged by the

585 parents on both sides, and the bride is led by her parents, without ceremony, after she has received a few presents, to the im-

844 mock of the bridegroom. The woman gives birth in a kneeling position, grasped around the chest by her mother. Man and wife

846 remain at home for about five days, until the umbilical cord drops off; the father may take only water mixed with beijú.

553 Otherwise the child would die. It is given its name, that of "grandfather," at about three years of age.

/434 cont./

964 The dead are buried in the house with their heads toward the east. Hammock, feather ornaments, arm bands, a neck chain with black fruits, and lavish provisions for the journey, consisting of sperm, beijú, meat of the wild pig, salt, and a small gourd
965 vessel for drinking, are put in the grave. The relatives close up the house and remain at the grave for six days, during which they themselves fast strictly and drink only "a little water." If someone eats, "he is eating the mouth of the deceased," whereupon he would also die. If, by the sixth day, the deceased has not come
[1975] back to life, people do not wait any longer; by that time he has arrived in heaven and will not come back. A liquid is prepared from the juice of the kaiserú tree by beating it all night long, to which urucú red is added, and on the seventh morning everyone
754 paints himself festively, feasts, and drinks. Death is always
[961] brought about by a sorcerer, tiheúlie. He prepares the feitiço, the magic poison (Portuguese expression, identical with "feitiço") or ihíserú, and seeks to administer it to his victim in various ways, including casting. He also poisons the liquor and the drinking dam -- the evil effect is not ascribed to anything as good as pure
756 whiskey. The good medicine man, his counterpart, is called otuharíif. At the present time there is none in the village. He heals the sick, whom he /435/ blows upon with tobacco smoke. He knows everything; he takes in young people who wish to learn from him, the ewemekuaré, and the one who learns best becomes his successor. The pupil must fast and live alone in the woods. The otuharíif also knows the way to heaven, "just as well as the padre in the city," whereas "other people do not know it."
994 The Portuguese word alma, soul, was familiar to the chief,*

> * Probably from the "alma do outro mundo" (soul of the other world) of Brazilian popular belief. The expression plays an important role for the lower population.

who translated it as niakó. During sleep the niakó wanders about;
[828] it returns and one wakes up. His niakó, he added, was with his wife and child the previous night; he believed absolutely that he had actually visited the village. The niakó goes far away

/4th cont./

774 and heaven the body (nomelihi, as in all our languages, skin = body)
828 at the neck. If one calls to the sleeper and the nisiki is still far away, "the entire head hurts." I do not know the more exact meaning of "nifiko." Animals have it, just like human beings.

775 The "soul" of the dead person requires six days in order to
[199] reach heaven. Christian conceptions already seem amalgamated here with the original ones. For bad human beings do not go as far as heaven. On the way there, a small fire leaps up high if a "simen" appears and it consumes him. It is all over with him, just as the dead Mono of the Bakairi legend was burned up so that the world be deader than dead. "Simen" (with the Portuguese word), however, who escape the fire fall under the power of a monster, half human, half animal, doglike in appearance, with huge ears, the iyuiif, who says to the wanderer, "Come here, my son," and tears out his eyes so that now he really "dies." The oldest Paresiif are in heaven and greet the one arriving, especially four brothers, nowhiud, whom we shall meet again in the ancestor legend, and at their head Waikomoeiif, who, at the greeting, paints the dead person with urucú -- a soul certainly conceived of as physical! Everyone up there receives a palatá, that is, a palace such as is owned by the Capitão grande in Coyabá. They live there as on earth and produce many children.

821 Firmament. The sun consists of red arara feathers and belongs to Molihumaré, whose wife is called Kamoró (kamái, sun). He is its owner, "domo." At night he keeps it in a long feather-pound and opens this in the morning. Two other names were also mentioned as owners of the sun, Kuitahé and Kaschíe, who were said to be dead now, but another said that Molihumaré was now dead. Probably there are several names for the same person, either from Kaschiniiif or Waimaré or other parts of the tribal group. The moon, * which consists of yellow mutung feathers,

[192] * kayõ, moon; kayé, batata. Mono cohé, moon, and coeze, batata, show that two different words coincide here.

/435 cont./

821 probably from the /436/ mutum pinima of the Brazilians, the colorful mutung, Crax discors, also has a master; he is called Kaimaré and his wife, Uriílo or Uruiíro. It was expressly said of the two owners that they were "como gente mesmo," just like human beings.

How the course of the sun in the sky is to be understood remained unclear to me -- "Molihutuaré sets it here, there, always higher" -- because my question as to whether the arara feathers are thought of as ornaments or as of some other earthly use was not understood. "During the day he puts out arara feathers," which are bright red; "at night he puts out mutung feathers," which, among several species, are shiny black, and "it is dark." I do not believe that anyone would want to assume that this is a personification of light.

The phases of the moon are explained very much as they are among the Bakaïrí. Instead of the lizard, among the Paressí,
[825] a thin spider first appears on the edge of the full moon, but then come not only two, but four armadillos: first the tatú cabelludo, or the hairy one; secondly, the tatú liso, or the smooth one; thirdly, the tatú bola, apar, Dasypus tricinctus; and, finally, the tatú canastra, Dasypus gigas or giant armadillo, behind which the moon is completely hidden. As among the Bakaïrí, the simply descriptive names of the phases of the moon have nothing to do with these explanations and do not contain anything concerning any animal, so that one sees how urgently necessary it is to make special inquiries.

As for the stars, I was given a small number of names, which, however, I am unable to translate, so I do not know what ideas the Paressí have about them. Above the Southern Cross, which is called zutakaré, there is an ostrich, aú, the shape of which is
[825] to be seen in a dark section of the Milky Way. A "jaguar, a seriema bird (Dicholophus cristatus), and many other animals" are also found there. A jaguar seizes a swamp deer. The Milky Way itself is a path strewn with countless yellow kutá fruits, which in the lingoa geral are said to be called karikaró, but which I cannot identify more closely, although Antonio maintains that I ate them myself in the sertão on the Christmas lagoon.

/436 cont./

601 551 Ancestor legend. The father of João Battista, the Paressí chief, is called Uvanãi, and the latter's brother, Haraurusõ. His grandfather was called Hazaré, his great-grandfather Kauviyé, the latter's father Uvetõkuharé, his father Zukahirí, his father Kahaduré, his father Oiyé, his father Kamoduré, and his father, finally, was Uazãle or Wazalé or Uazaré, the first Paressí. I asked about the succession on three different occasions; it was 773 always the same. During the further discussion, however, an almost inexhaustible wealth of names came to light; again and again new brothers or sons of Uazale appeared. Next to him, the greatest part is played by Waikomoné, his nephew. Both of them, having died, are now living in heaven.

/437/ Let us now, however, in order to learn about Uazale's origin, go back immediately to the first person in the history of the world, who, among the Paressí, is a woman without a husband. Again we see that the woman need not be explained; she is taken for granted also in the case of all the succeeding brothers of Uazale who have sons. It was always said, then so-and-so was born, without the birth of the woman ever being mentioned, and when I specifically inquired, "Where did he get his wife?" the reply was: "She was born, too."

539 Maisõ has no parents. A person who likes fine words may call her the "all-mother." She has human form and is made of stone; in her time it was still dark, there were no rivers as yet, no earth, no wood. She took a piece of wood -- from where I do not know -- and stuck it into her vagina; then the Rio Cuyabá flowed out of her body, it was very dirty. Soon, however, came water that was clear and beautiful, the Rio Paressí. She put earth into the water, it produced the ground.

Then "many people" came out of her body, the first being Darũkavaiteré, all the head, arms, chest, etc. of stone.

Darũkavaiteré had a wife named Uarahiulũ or Urulahiulũ. He went out only at night; there was not yet any daybreak. The sun, the moon, the ostrich, the jaguar, the seriema, the swamp deer, and whatever we see in the sky, Darũkavaiteré himself procreated with his wife and "set there." With his wife he then procreated parrots and snakes. Uarahiulũ gave birth first to an ordinary

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539 parakeet and two identically colored parakeet-snakes; then they procreated again and the wife gave birth first to a blue arara, which already had a human face, and then also to a blue arara-snake; at the third time she gave birth to a red arara, also with a human face, and a red arara-snake; at the fourth time a marakaná parrot and a marakaná snake. Mother-in-law Maisö was very angry over these unsuccessful attempts. "Always nothing but parrots and snakes," she scolded, "and still no human beings!" She thought and thought, took her hair, laid it on her daughter's belly, massaged it, and washed her in the river; again Uarahiulú procreated with Darúkavaiteré, and now she gave birth to Uazale, the tribal father of the Paressí, who had a human appearance. But Uazale had black hair all over his body, a short tail, and a wing membrane between his arms and legs, like a bat.

Uruiahiulú had nine more sons by Darúkavaiteré, among them the tribal ancestors of the tribes related to the Paressí. Their sons were: 1. Uazale, 2. Zatemaré, 3. Kamahié, 4. Kamaikuré (2, 3, and 4 remained without descendants), 5. Kamázu, the grandfather of the Kabischí, who must therefore acknowledge the Paressí as older brothers, 6. Zaluiá and 7. Zakálu, both grandfathers of the Waimaré, 8. Zauluré, the grandfather of the Kaschinití, who today no longer live as an independent tribe, 9. Aurumenaré, without descendants, /438/ and 10. Kuitihuré, the grandfather of the Portuguese! The Portuguese or Brazilians are younger brothers of the Paressí.

Darúkavaiteré and Uarahiulú went on producing sons, and, indeed, the latter gave birth to iron goods and axes, then horses, cattle, pigs; everything came out of the belly of Uarahiulú.

Uazale is the "first Paressí" -- "he was like us" -- he was born on a river in the north and later went to heaven. His son, Kamoduré, to whom João Battista traces his ancestry, had his house on a mountain when a great deluge took place; he was the first to plant maize (cf. below for its origin).

In the beginning people ate jatobá fruit, buriti nuts, rotten wood, and earth. Once, as a little boy, Uazale was lost in the forest; he whistled and whistled, his mother did not hear him.

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539 He ran deeper into the woods and found wild mandioca. He pulled the root out of the ground, ate some of it, and brought back twigs to his parents. It is not uninteresting that a tribe of the Aruak group, which, of the living tribal groups, might have the greatest claim on the first cultivation of mandioca, simply finds mandioca in the woods and neither has it blossom forth out of a grave, like the Tupí, nor has it brought from a river by the bagadú fish, like the Bakaïrí.

Uazale planted hair from his head and it produced cotton; he buried (I am not sure but that this is a misunderstanding) a small child and it produced tobacco. Maize also originated then. Uazale was made very angry by his two children, Kolabirunê and Haralõ, brother and sister, who had been lying in the same hammock, and he almost killed them. They fled into the forest and with them, out of fear, two other sons as well, Alahuré and Manié. They made a fire and the forest caught fire. Three of the four were burned to death, only Alahuré remained alive. But from the others grew plants: from the sexual parts of the two men came the black (from Kolabiurnê) and the yellow or red (from Manié) maize ears, from the sexual parts of Haralo, the woman, came the kumatá bean (fava), from her ribs the kumatahiró bean (feijão), from her navel the batata, from her anus the mandubí peanut. It may be seen that the resemblance between body parts and fruit is decisive in the selection. Alahuré, who remained alive, first ate maize.

Uazale also taught the women to make pots.

648 I now also wanted to learn from the Paressí how the Bakaïrí, toward whom they were by no means well disposed, had originated. Just a few years ago, on the way to Diamantino, the Bakaïrí had made a surprise attack on the Paressí in order to take women away from them and had killed many. The brother of Manoel Brito lost his life at that time, and so Manoel "Bito" actually went to the President, Herr Mello Rego, in order to make a complaint against our Antonio, who at the time of the incident was about four years
539 old. -- Uazale had a brother Kamázu, /439/ the aforementioned

/439 cont./

539 grandfather of the Kaschibí, and another, Tschenikauré, which is the equivalent of "big jaguar." Tschenikauré killed Kamázu and his wife and devoured them. Their son, Waikomoné, was brought up by his grandmother, Araurinú; when he was grown and could shoot arrows, he shot the big jaguar and removed its skin with the long tail, which he took along in a bag. From the six arrows of Tschenikauré arose the Bakaíri, who in the Paressí language were called Matokozó. Still other tribes belonged to the kin group of the big jaguar, all of whom are said to be "bugre bravo," savages, and to eat human flesh! Thus one tribe accuses the other of cannibalistic customs and charges it with descent from the man-eating jaguar.

Next to Uazale, Waikomoné seems to have the greatest importance. He is said to have exchanged wives with him. Once he was also designated as Uazale's son. With three brothers, Uazúlukuhiraré, Kerokamá, and Uazulié, he went to heaven after his death; there they receive the dead Paressí, whom they paint with urucú, adorn, and for whom they shear a tonsure. These four are designated as noschinú (nóschi, grandchild) and are regarded as "angels" by the Christian Paressí. "Ficarão bonito," "they became beautiful," and thus every Paressí who arrives up there becomes "bonito." In heaven everything is "bonito mesmo," very beautiful, "bonito como aquí na cidade," beautiful as here in the city! Waikomoné and his three companions of the reception committee "não gostão de mulher," do not have any taste for women (probably as ascetic medicine men), but in heaven Waikomoné made himself a son out of leaves, which he took in his hand and which grew and grew until there was a human being, Hoholuré. This Hoholuré marries "all pretty women" who die here below and go up there. A brother-in-law of his is called Duzuhayé, who is also in heaven and has many sons; another is Makakoaré. The wealth of names is inexhaustible; one would think every Paressí sees to it that his grandfather in heaven has a good position.

/439 cont./

776 On the other hand, the earth is swarming with all kinds of creatures who are not related to the Paressí, connected by marriage, or friendly with them, but who, on the contrary, are hostile to them and seek to devour them. They devour "not only sinners, oh no, good people as well."

Iwakané, with a thick mop of hair way down over his eyes, on the bottom of rivers. One never sees him, but one hears him going hm, hm or hum hum. He is in all the rivers, even in the source brooks. He also has a wife.

Kokuimorõ. In the river. Looks like a bat, has a wing membrane, a bat tail, an arara head. Flies about at night and cries "kwí kwí kwí" in a thin, high voice, similar to the cry of the falcon. Early in the morning it dives into the water.

Toluá. In the river. Rather small, whitish. Makes a gurgling noise at night, "turú, turú" (hence the name). Comes out of the water and makes its way into the woods.

/440/ Severití. In the forest. Very small, like a foot-sized termite, has no hair. Does not speak.

Hakasõ. In the forest. Its call alternately: kwa..... high-pitched, and hahahá low. Small, has a human head, a thick beard; its legs are merely bones.

Hakasõ and Toluá devour in particular the husband who neglects the couvade and goes into the forest instead of staying at home with wife and child.

173 Home of the Paressí. Where was Uazale and where were the first Paressí born? With João Battista and Manoel Chico I went over the geography of their region as thoroughly as possible and was given a great many names for small brooks and rivers which are of no particular interest. But even in the enumeration of these waters of the upper course one could definitely tell that a shift to the south had taken place. I took the names of the forefathers familiar to me, starting with the father and grandfather, and asked on which river they were born. The more we moved up in the sequence of ancestral names, the farther north we came. Uazale's nearest descendants lived above the confluence of the Juruena (along which the shift southward had taken place) and the Arinos, which together form the Tapajoz. Uazale himself

/440 cont./

P 173 was born on the Matihurizá, "where there is neither land nor forest," that is, no shore, "and he went far upstream." The Matihurizá is the Tapajoz, if it does not represent the Amazonas itself. Thus, if the main movement of the Karaiben tribes was in the direction from south to north, at least this part of the Nu-Aruak group moved from north to south.

To be sure, the good people are not concerned about the slight contradiction that Uazale came from the far north and that his grandmother Maisó made the Rio Cuyabá as the first of all rivers!

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Chapter XVII.

000

On the Bororó.

I. Historical. Founding of the Colonies.

Bororó da Campanha and do Cabaçal. "Coroados" = Bororó. Confusion in the literature. Little Sebastian. Martius. Ending of warfare and catechesis. Pillage in the colonies.

B 101 Two groups of Bororó are distinguished in the Mato Grosso: the "Bororós da Campanha," or of the plains, and the "Bororós Cabaçaes," or of the Rio Cabaçal. The Bororós da Campanha B 131 live in small settlements below Villa Maria, on the right bank 133 of the Paraguay and Jaurú, toward Bolivia, the Bororós do 361 Cabaçal not far from them in the north, along the banks and in the source region of the river of the same name as well as of the Jaurú, both of which empty into the upper Paraguay from the right, the former at Villa Maria, the latter somewhat farther south.

B 175 These Bororó were not infrequently visited by travelers; in [114] 1827 they came into contact with the Langsdorff Expedition; in the same year the Austrian naturalist Natterer gathered an abundant collection among them, now in the Vienna Hofmuseum; Count Castlenau and his companion Weddell, who stayed in the Mato Grosso during their famous crossing of South America in

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175 1845 and 1846, left us a small vocabulary; the engineer
[113] Rodolfo Waehneldt gives a very clear description from the year 1863 in the Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico, Volume 27; finally, the collector Richard Rohde, who in 1883-84 traveled in the southern Mato Grosso under the sponsorship of the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde, set down a few statements in No. I of the Original-Mittheilungen aus der ethnologischen Abtheilung der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin /Original Reports from the Ethnological Division of the Imperial Museums of Berlin/ (1885).

175 These Bororó of the Campanha and of the Cabaçal are re-
648 garded as the remnants of a once powerful tribe which occupied the region between the Rio Paraguay and Rio Cuyabá, lived in bitter enmity with the colonists, disrupted communications especially between Cuyabá and Villa Maria and Mato Grosso, and was broken up into numerous subdivisions long since destroyed.
[797] In the twenties of our century the Bororó of the Campanha were the first /442/ to be persuaded to make peace, and in part to be baptized, by João Pereira Leite, a great fazendeiro near Villa Maria, who fought with them for six years, killed 450,
[433] and captured 50.* Not until 1842 were the Bororó of the Cabaçal,

[553] * He himself became the godfather of the chief, who, as usual, regarded the baptism as a name exchange and told everyone proudly: "My name is João Pereira Leite."

the ones usually described, induced to settle down along the Jaurú by "mild persuasion and gifts" on the part of the vicar in Mato Grosso, José da Sa. Fraga; they proved to be very stubborn about farming, however, planted only a little maize, batatas, and bananas, and preferred to nourish themselves chiefly from hunting with bow and arrow. Today the Bororó on
178 the right bank of the Paraguay are a miserable, degenerate lot.
[177] They were quite unable to bear civilization with its lures and whiskey.

/442 cont./

175 The colonization history of the province tells us about other Bororó, even in the earliest epoch. In 1742 Antonio Pires set out with a band of Paulistas and 500 friendly Bororó to subjugate the Kayapó /Cayapo/ in the southern part of the province; he took more than 1000 captive, established a few military posts, and left behind "a garrison of Bororó" there.

131 All these Bororó originally come from the region of the Rio S. Lourenço; from its lower part these nomadic hunters spread out into the region between it and its tributary, the Cuyabá, as well as along the right bank of the Paraguay lying opposite its mouth, whereas the ones originating from the upper part of the S. Lourenço are encountered by us in the eastern and southeastern part of the province along the source rivers of the Araguay /Araquaia/, the "Contravertenten" /contraflows/ of the S. Lourenço, as neighbors and enemies of the no less strong Kayapó.

114 It is difficult to understand why such great confusion has prevailed and still prevails about the Bororó among the people of the Mato Grosso themselves as well as in the literature. We
101 learn from Castelnau that the Bororó of the Cabaçal were at that time still called "Porrudos"; "the old name of the Rio S. Lorenço, which it still bears in its upper part," as the geographer Melgaço states (Rev. Trim., Vol. 47, p. 459), is now "Rio dos Porrudos."**

** Porra means "penis" in Portuguese; the penis-cuff of the Bororó suggested the name. Since the same costume, widespread throughout Brazil, did not call forth this name elsewhere, one suspects that here where the people said that they were called "Bororó" the Paulistas were moved to make a bad pun.

The Indians of the S. Lourenço are today called "Coroados," the shorn ones -- a name that positively invites confusion. We could have called the Schingú /Xingu/ Indians "Coroados" too; there were Coroados especially in the river basin of the Paraná

/442 cont./

101 and still others on the Rio Xipotó on the border of the provinces of Minas Geraes and Rio de Janeiro, tribes which, both in origin and language, are altogether different from one another as well as from the "Coroados" of the Mato Grosso.

648 In Cuyabá the "Coroados" were the object of general interest upon our arrival. After always being regarded as the worst enemies of the /443/ rural population in the entire region between the Rio Cuyabá and S. Lourenço up to the boundary of Goyaz /Goiás/, they finally, thanks to the efforts of President Galdino Pimentel in the year 1886, became "pacificados," pacified, and were settled in two military colonies on the S. Lourenço.

101 648 By no means all the infamous deeds with which the "Coroados" were charged were actually committed by them. In the northeastern part of Cuyabá in particular they were confused with the Kayapó, who carried on predatory raids there. Moreover, no one in the capital knew that the feared "Coroados" were nothing but tribal brothers of the same Bororó who had been living for a long time in several villages to the right of the Paraguay in peaceful conditions and in part in very reduced circumstances, indeed even tribal brothers of the same Bororó who were already allied with the founder of Cuyabá, Antonio Pires, before the middle of the eighteenth century and were used by him as a garrison!

I was not a little surprised when I learned from "Atahualpa," a "Coroado" brought to the capital along with a few companions for baptism, that they call themselves Bororó.

114 [113] Thus the conversation with Atahualpa gave me the opportunity to solve another puzzle quickly. I had just read in the book by Joaquim Ferreira Moutinho, Noticia da provincia de Mato Grosso (S. Paulo, 1869, 425 pp.) the report about a few captive "Coroados" (two girls and a boy) brought to Cuyabá in 1859, and found there a word list (p. 192) which I wished to compare with my own list. To my astonishment, nothing tallied, absolutely nothing. The author had been given the words by the "Coroado" boy, about whom he tells the most

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114 touching stories and who was baptized "Sebastian" in Cuyabá. "We shall give a few words which we learned from him." There follow 52 words -- unfortunately copied from the glossary of Martius, pp. 195 ff., and originating unfortunately from the "Coroados" on the distant Rio Xipotó, on the border of Rio de Janeiro, who, like the "Coroados" of Paraná, have nothing more in common with the "Coroados" of the Mato Grosso than the unfortunate Portuguese name! Without the name, the disagree-
[361] able confusion* would have been impossible. Moutinho had an

* Moutinho says: "We once showed little Sebastian the sky. He, raising his hands as a sign of reverence, answered us humbly "tupáng" (N.B. Tupí word - thunderstorm, interpreted and adopted by the missionaries as "God"). We showed him the sun -- he said "obé" ("Coroado" word from the Rio Xipotó = sun) and he bowed his head to show respect." No "Coroado" boy ever delivered to Cuyabá knew the words tupáng and obé, and still less did one ever know the reverence so beautifully described by Moutinho. Such anecdotes, however, are taken at face value by the innocent reader and put into circulation. The author himself, in his ignorance, has no idea of what great nonsense he is dishing up in his well-meaning way.

opportunity to inform himself better, /444/ foolishly not utilized, when he visited the village of the tribal division on the Rio Cabaçal called, not "Coroados," but correctly "Bororó." On this visit, which he describes on pages 169 ff., he should have noted that the Indians spoke a dialect of the language of devout little Sebastian. Again he consulted his Martius and there on page 14 found the "Bororós" and here copied 40 words which actually belong to the Bororó on the Cabaçal. Here, too, his ill-luck

/444 cont./

114 permits us to discover the source. For the words, taken down by the Castelnau Expedition, unfortunately do not have a Portuguese, but a French spelling, in which several double vowels have an entirely different pronunciation than in Portuguese, and they correspond in a manner in which two accounts independent of each other never correspond.

[101] One of the few who, as I later found, correctly assumed the identity of the "Coroados" and Bororó was Baron Melgaço,* as

[113] * Revista Trimensal, Vol. 47, p. 396. Baron Melgaço's civilian name was Aug. Leverger and he was of French origin.

competent a president (for the first time in 1851) as a geographer of the Mato Grosso. "The Coroados lived in the source region of the S. Lourenço; they have nothing in common with those of the Parana basin; I suspect they were Bororó." He merely regarded them as extinct.

In view of the confusion which occurs in the country itself, it is not surprising that Martius has very erroneous conceptions of the Bororó. He discusses them under the Central Tupí; ** he

[113] ** Zur Ethnographie Amerika's /On America's Ethnography/, pp. 209 ff., p. 263, Leipzig, 1867.

himself doubts, correctly, that they represent a Tupí tribe, but then falls victim to the strange notions that formerly prevailed about the composition of the Indian tribes and that are best expressed in his favorite expression "Colluvies gentium" /tribal rubble-heap/. "It is probable that under Bororós are understood hostile Indians generally, without any definite designation of names, indeed perhaps occasionally also a Colluvies gentium, which, without a clearly stamped and firmly held nationality in language, customs, and physical appearance, split up into small bands without fixed residence, to roam about plundering and murdering. In Mato Grosso and Goyaz, it is true, individual of the Tupí tribe may be the basis of such predatory communities. But since other Indians

/444 cont./

114 have joined them, they have changed their language to a thieves' idiom (!). In Cazal (Corografia brasilica, p. 302) two hordes of [101] Bororós are mentioned: the Coroados, or shorn ones, and the [113] Barbados, bearded ones. The former are not navigators, but [131] nomadic hunters who are said to dwell to the south and southwest of the city of Cuyabá in inaccessible wildernesses on the sources of the Rio de S. Lourenço and the Rio dos Mortes, a tributary of the Araguaya." These statements by Cazal are perfectly accurate and true, and he, too, thus recognized the "Coroados" as Bororó. By /445/ "Barbados," Martius goes on to say, perhaps the Guató are to be understood, they sometimes attacked caravans traveling from Goyaz to Cuyabá and extended their raids as far as Diamantino. [101] The Guató, however, have never come into this region, they live as water nomads in the upper Paraguay region; those "Barbados" were probably Kayapó or even Bororó.

114 Martius, of course, explains the name Bororó according to 101 the lingoa geral, either, if coming from the neighbors, = "warriors, enemies," or, if they themselves say it, = "we, the masters of the soil." The Bororó, however, know nothing about the lingoa geral and they call themselves this.

797 I shall now drop the name "Coroado" altogether; I shall report some things about the so-called "catechesis" or conversion of this Bororó tribe, which was attempted in vain for many years, but could scarcely have succeeded because the attempts were carried out in the most topsy-turvy manner. A military colony [648] set up on the right bank of the S. Lourenço, which was established toward the end of the 'seventies by Major J. Lopez da Costa Moreira, served as the base.

648 In 1878 one Captain Alexander Bueno with 70 Terena Indians, a tribe belonging to the Guaná group, undertook an expedition "to drive out the Bororó." He had been secretly instructed, as I was assured, to shoot to death as many as possible and was favored by success to such an extent that he was able to show the President a bag full of ears. Of living ones he brought along two women and two children.

/445 cont./

648 On 9 October 1880, the Bororó attacked the fazenda of José Martins de Figueiredo on the Bananal (Rio Cuyabá) and killed several persons. Thereupon several simultaneous expeditions were fitted out against them. One of the leaders was Lieutenant Antonio José Duarte; he attacked a village without success and captured five women and twelve children. Nothing more was accomplished. During the years 1875-1880, 43 houses of the Bororó were said to have been burned, 204 persons (134 men, 46 women, 17 children, 7 slaves) killed, and 27 persons (eleven men, six women, three children, seven slaves) wounded. It is not indicated how many Bororó were killed. There is no doubt [721] but that reciprocity played an important part. It was generally emphasized that the natives showed the toughest endurance in carrying out their plans of revenge. A Brazilian who had very cruelly murdered two children was systematically persecuted for more than four years, until they finally caught him and tore him to pieces, as he deserved. They were extremely cautious in their attacks and were on the lookout for days and weeks until an opportunity presented itself when there were only a few individuals on the farm. They usually left individual travelers unharmed, but if the latter wished to pitch their camp somewhere, they were prevented from doing so by a cry of "va embora," "go away," resounding from the forest. No one was to be seen, but an arrow could have been expected if they had not obeyed. In February 1881 at Forquilha, ten leagues from Cuyabá, /446/ two men and seven children were killed by Bororó, in fact they advanced as far as Urubú near the powder factory, five leagues from the capital.

[728] Lieutenant Antonio José Duarte, whom I have just mentioned, finally brought about a favorable change in the intolerable situation. He sent back captive women with lavish gifts, promised more if the men came, and thus, at last, the reconciliation was brought about. In January 1887 he brought some 400 Bororó to Cuyabá. There must have been a strange commotion in the streets of the city. The children gave the most pleasure; they acted very impetuously and were compared to little jaguars, "sómente unha e dente," "nothing but claws and teeth." The

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648 women climbed over the garden walls and climbed trees, as was their habit, to fetch down fruit for themselves.

The province sighed with relief; with customary exaggeration, the Bororó were estimated at 10,000 souls and the entire 10,000 were already visualized as planting mandioca and working in the sugar mills. The government immediately made 70 contos (at 1000 milreis) available for the catechesis and the citizenry voluntarily added three contos, which altogether amounted to about 140,000 marks at that time. The expenses increased within a short time to 118 contos. The Indians were [361] settled in two colonies: the one where the Prata flows into the S. Lourenço was called Thereza Christina after the Empress; the other where the Piquiry flows into the S. Lourenço was called Izabel after the Crown Princess and wife of Count d'Eu. The President also founded a "Collegio de Nossa Senhora da Conceição" for the education of Indian children -- a school that was never attended by pupils.

648 Solemnly the entire company was baptized by the bishop.
797 The then President, Don Alvaro Marcondes, and his wife were godfather and godmother for all; Chief Moguyokuri, whose personal acquaintance we shall make -- truly a magnificent figure of an Indian, 1.9 meters tall and, despite some inborn brutality, an exceedingly good-natured gentleman -- was given the name Alvaro. His Christianity, to be sure, was limited to his remembering this name for a few days.

648 "Muguiocury," reported the Jornal do Commercio in a
[177] Cuyaban letter, "seems to be completely identified with the cause of civilizing his tribe, assiduously visits the palace to call on the President and bring him presents; he manifests the greatest sympathy toward him and calls him 'Godfather,' kissing his hand as often as he sees him. Each time he meets the President he shows his satisfaction with much laughter and repeated embraces."

Difficile est, satiram non scribere /it is difficult not to write satire/. It is indeed very difficult. Good Moguyokuri undoubtedly had the best intentions, within the limits of his intelligence, as

~~446~~ cont.

648 long as gifts were not lacking. The Indian, the officer, the supplier, each in his way wants to enrich himself, that is the catechesis. The /447/ government gives the means with lavish hands and the one and only thing accomplished is that the hostilities, for which both parties were equally to blame, come to an end. Christianity, education for work, training of youth -- my pen refuses to write these fine words.

Whatever money was used for the Indians was used in such a way that the splendid human material was certain to go under. Lieutenant Duarte, the leader of Thereza Christina, was truly, as the Cuyabans said, "the god of the Coroados"; he gave them everything they wanted and kept them quiet with this simple method, which did not cost him much and permitted the merchants to profit according to well-known methods of calculation. The number of Indians, for whom the state paid per capita, tends to be very large, of course, and to this is added the considerable profit which the officer makes on the common soldier, who must buy his food from him or from the supplier engaged by him. Not only the goods delivered from the city, but also those from the fazendas located outside on the way to the colony were more expensive for the poor soldier in the colony than for the citizen in the city: farina, beans, bacon cost twice as much!

I listed the following prices (1 milreis = 1000 reis = about [illegible] marks)

	City	Colony
liter farina	100 reis	200 reis!
" rice	160 "	300 "!
" beans	160 "	300 "
kilo bacon	800 "	1500 "!
liter salt	200 "	500 "!
box matches	320 "	800 "!
Alcoholic spirits, bottle	400 "	2000 "!
" " small glass	80 "	250 "!
kilo fresh meat	200 "	200 "
" dried meat (carne secca)	400 "	500 "
arroba dried meat	3000 "	8000 "
kilo Paraguay tea	400 "	1000 "
Rapadura (sugar-brick)	120 "	250 "

/447 cont./

000 The soldier received 600 reis in supply money per day, which, in view of these prices, was very little for him and his housewife. He received five milreis in pay per month, as well as five milreis bonus.

"I am well aware," said one of the presidents, "Duarte has found a California." Yet even the president could not change anything; he scarcely gets a picture of the situation before he has to leave his post, and the more he wants to check the mismanagement, the more quickly the change comes, because he makes enemies of all who would lose by it. It is not worthwhile to discuss the chief question, whether the /448/ Brazilian soldier, including the good and honest one, would be equal to the by no means easy task of educating the Indians to become a useful element of society. The following pages may bring it out.

II. Pictures of the Catechesis.

To the S. Lourenço. (First acquaintance with neophytes in Cuyabá. Journey.) The inhabitants (Clemente) and the arrangement of the colony. European clothing. Agriculture. Our impressions. Quarrel and women's wrestling match (Maria). Meat distribution. Nocturnal howl of lamentation. Vesper prayer. Row with Arateba. Good Friday. Lament for the dead. Hallelujah Saturday (Judas). Kayapó. Threatened dissolution of the colony. School. The hostile brothers. Discipline. Duarte's arrival. "Voluntarios da patria." Breakfast and serenade.

114 To the S. Lourenço. We were able to examine the first Bororó in July 1887 in Cuyabá; Duarte had brought several to be baptized. We became acquainted with others at the beginning of March 1888. They were barefoot, but otherwise dressed in the prescribed 291 civil fashion and wore on a string around their necks a green 197 cardboard the size of a calling card, on which their new name could be read: "Atahualpa," "Montezuma," "José Domingo," etc. José Domingo was coughing violently; it was said he had caught cold at the baptism. Under their clothes they wore their

/448 cont./

291 native straw cuff; as soon as they were outside the walls of the city
177 they took everything off, packed up the finery, and merely kept their green cards around their necks for a few more days as a memento of the conversion.

142 They were tall, sturdy chaps, striking on account of thick forehead bulges, without eyebrows and lashes. They were de-
199 lighted with the sights of Cuyabá, where they were spoiled like children, except that they were given alcohol instead of sweets.

[192] They were particularly delighted with Wilhelm's opera hat; they greeted the snapping sound with a bear-growl hu hú of laughter and slapped Wilhelm on the shoulder in appreciation.

[262] When they were in the house with us they always wanted to drink or to eat "mandioca" or "tapira," which meant beef and not tapir, or to sleep or comb their hair. They found friends everywhere, and when they stood with us at the house door every passing Negress would nod to them sociably: "Ah, the compadres! How are you, compadre? Está bom, compadre."

114 On 14 March 1888 we set out to visit Thereza Christina, but we were obliged to forgo visiting Izabel. Duarte was staying longer in Cuyabá and wanted to join us later. The Bakairí Antonio and the two comrades /Kameraden here means peons/, Carlos and Peter, accompanied us. The mules were once again in such good condition that we were able to use the best ones as riding animals.

122 Our first destination, the old military colony, lies 16°32', 6
[131] south latitude and 0°59', 9 east of Cuyabá on the right bank of the S. Lourenço, almost exactly /Pl. XXV appears here/
[133] /449/ southeast of Cuyabá. We were obliged to cross a few tributaries of the Rio Cuyabá, climb the chapada /plateau/, and, half-way there, on 18 March, reached the Fazenda S. José at an altitude of 555 meters above the plaza of the Cuyaban cathedral or matriz /mother church/. To the southwest of it, lower down, are the fazendas of Cupim and Palmeiras, which chiefly provide for the colonies. Beyond S. José the country is uninhabited; the small white farm, walled like a fortress, appears in deep solitude a depression between bare slopes covered

[Text Continues On P. 553]

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2: Steinen--552 fp-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8
Plate XXV

In front of the men's house of the Bororó.

/449 cont./

122 only with grass. A single, but tall tree stood beside the little brook, whose banks were lined with many young buriti palms. It required courage to live and work here. Except for the farm walls at S. José, scarcely anything along the way reminded one of the struggles with the Bororó. Only we were occasionally struck by low, narrow arbors which had been made by putting together dwarfed sertão trees; they were attributable to the soldiers and had served for protection during the night. On 19 March, across terribly desolate grassy areas, we reached the first brooks flowing toward the S. Lourenço, which were as yet only a few meters wide. On the Ribeirão Prata we found a charming little landscape, which, with its woods and succulent meadow and the silver ribbon of the little source stream, vividly recalled our home to us. Only a few young palm trees argued against this, and the thermometer, which stubbornly measured 22.8° for the very refreshing, "ice-cold" water. On 21 March there followed the descent from the plateau terrace past picturesque red sandstone rocks, and in the afternoon we reached the orange groves of the military colony, where the beautiful forest-edged S. Lourenço flowed past at a width of 127 meters. We were very hospitably received by the commander, Captain Serejo.

361 On the next day we arrived at Thereza Christina. It is situated upstream, also on the right bank and not far below where the Prata empties, but the S. Lourenço makes great bends between the two colonies and the forest area is so swampy that one is forced to make a long detour inland.

[342] Above a bank a few meters high, an extensive forest clearing; on the open place covered with dry weeds, many massive old tree trunk still standing, and here and there hewn trunks lying about, a great many low, rectangular, in part long huts with gable roofs covered with palm straw which begin just above the door; everything prosaic and cheerless in the same grayish-yellow shade of straw and loam, surrounded by forest on three sides, the fourth bordered by a majestic, wide stream and beyond it a dark strip of luxuriant forest, above which appears an extended chain of flat hills -- that was Thereza Christina.

/449 cont./

114 Duarte's representative, who received us with great kindness and cordiality, was the "Cadet" Eliseo Pinto d'Annunciação. In Brazil cadets are aspiring officers, usually sons of officials or officers, /450/ who rise from the ranks and whose advancement depends largely on protection. Our Eliseo had the rank of sergeant and thought he would promptly become lieutenant if I put in a good word for him in Rio. He was a good and conscientious man and would have been able to accomplish something useful if he had had the right to act according to his judgment. A second cadet with the rank of noncommissioned officer was called Caldas, a young man, musical, and, for additional pay, schoolmaster of the Bororó boys. He had also put together a vocabulary and was thus the representative of art and science. Then there was another cadet, Joaquim, the apothecary, and the administrator, Ildefonso. By far the most important individual for me, however, was Clemente, who had lived in Bororó captivity for 13 years and was now about 28 years old. His father, Manoel Pedroso de Alvarenga, lived on the Peixe de couro, a small tributary of the Piquiry emptying into the S.
721 Lourenço. In September 1873, the Bororó attacked five children who were bathing there; two were killed, one escaped, two were
727 taken along, Clemente and a younger brother. He said they tied their hands in front of their eyes and carried them to the village on their backs five days without stopping. His brother soon died.
124 In 1886 Clemente was freed by the Bororó. Meanwhile, however, he had become a Bororó himself. He not only went about in their dress with bow and arrow, he had not only forgotten almost all his Portuguese, but he had, as I learned to my advantage, experienced a purely Indian training in his thinking and knowledge. On the other hand, he had relearned enough of his mother tongue in the meantime to be able to assist me as a useful interpreter. Unfortunately, he left Thereza Christina before we did, because, he said, he "is learning nothing" there. The officers themselves did not know anything, he said. Near his home village there lives a man who can cure all the sick and open any lock.

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361 Arrangement of the colony. The principal building of the colony had as its groundplan a long, very narrow rectangle. It consisted of a number of rooms with stamped loam floor, loam-plastered paneled walls, and a low straw-roof; the doors all opened out on the same side facing the main plaza. The furniture was limited to tables, chairs, and chests. On one end was Duarte's one-window room without a door to the outside; then came the room where meals were eaten, where Caldas sometimes taught school in the morning, and where people gathered generally, with a door to the plaza and also an opposite one leading out to the rear, to the left the entrance to Duarte's room and to the right the door to a supply room in which alcoholic spirits were kept and the key to which played an important part in dealings with the Indians. There then followed, with doors to the plaza, the cadêa /jail/, a small detention room for the soldiers, which was always occupied and the inhabitant of which was obliged to spend the day in the hammock, a room for Eliseo and the administrator, and supply rooms. The apothecary had his well-stocked poison-kitchen in a little house by himself which lay a few steps /451/ opposite. The soldiers lived in small ranchos, some of them toward the river, some on the edge of the forest. [342] Round about lay the Indian huts, like gabled roofs standing on the ground, six paces wide, ten to 13 paces long; they afforded protection against the sun and to some extent against rain, left nothing to be desired in the way of simplicity, and served as an abode for one family each.

345 In the center of the colony a large area was left free; here stood the so-called ranchão, namely, large rancho or baitó of the Indians, cf. Plate 25 /see p. 552/, ten paces wide and 26 paces long. It, too, was built without any skill, though with the help of the soldiers; the longitudinal sides consisted of poles which were covered carelessly with palm leaves and were so far apart that one could enter almost anywhere; the transverse sides were even more open. The illustration shows the Indians busy repairing the roof with palm branches. The bachelors worked and slept in the baitó; it was also the center for all festivities,

345 /451 cont./
especially the hunting songs and the dances and laments in case
[562] of death, and consultations. The women had free access and, as we shall see, were sometimes dragged there by force.

361 514 The huts were everywhere pushed close to the edge of the forest. Numerous narrow paths led into it; privies of even the most primitive kind did not exist in the houses any more than in Cuyabá; and just as in the city one went into the garden, so in the 339 colony one sought the woods. Upstream lay the so-called brick- 241 yard, where loam was fetched and a kiln had been built but never used, and, in a clearing, the little that was planted was to be 231 found. As for animals, one saw only a few dogs and chickens among the soldiers and a few red araras among the Indians. There were also a few black carrion vultures always hovering about in the vicinity. The cattle to be slaughtered were caught by vaqueanos outside on the campo, where they lived in complete freedom. The mules were also allowed to roam and were sought out if one needed them or if one wanted to check them.

162 621 There were about 50 Brazilians in the colony, along with the wives of the soldiers; only a few were lighter than the Bororó and many were darker. I estimated the number of Bororó present at some 200 with wives and children. A group was away on a hunting expedition, however, and Duarte had taken about 20 along to Cuyabá. A generous figure for the total number would be 350, officially 450. In the beginning there were said to have been considerably more -- Eliseo said over 1000 at one time. As a matter of fact, Clemente also said that the Bororó from all the villages had put in an appearance. Thus we see that the ap-
[114] proximately "10,000" spoken of in Cuyabá is not in any case conceivable.

179 291 European clothing. The first impression that we had of the Bororó was essentially different from that of the decent and industrious Schingú Indians. Not so much with respect to the lack of clothing. /452/ Chief Moguyokuri, to be sure, paraded about mostly in his shirt, seldom in trousers, and only the rowdy Chief Arateba regularly wore shirt and trousers. They liked to wrap themselves in their sleeping blankets on a colder day or toward

/452 cont./

177 evening; several women, especially those who happened to be
291 carrying on intimate relations with the gentlemen, were distinguished by shirts, jackets, and skirts in large floral prints, but the ones who were more or less clothed were only exceptions for both sexes. The men wore the hip cord and the straw cuff, the women a hip cord or a bark strip with bast band. Both sexes loved neck and chest ornaments. I shall discuss the details later. I gave Moguyokuri a choice piece that he heartily approved of: a brick-red Turkish, wide-sleeved woman's jacket embroidered with colorful arabesques, which had once been used in the Paint-Box masquerade at the Düsseldorf concert hall. In this elegant fancy-dress costume the ever happily smiling giant was a sight for the gods.

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Fig. 126. Bororó girl.

"What shall we do?" complained Captain Serejo in the military colony. "When the large crowd embarked for Cuyabá, 430 suits were provided. Many more were added in Cuyabá. And when the Indians returned, there was nothing left of all that." First, because the merchants had furnished miserable trash, thin, badly woven material that they could not otherwise sell, then because the clothes were too tight and too short, the shirts did not even come together over the broad chests and the unmentionables ripped, but, finally, because the Bororó treated the gifts of civilization with terrible negligence. As soon as they felt inconvenienced, they would toss off the clothing; as soon as they needed a bag, for example, to carry away meat or fish, they would use their blankets and shirts. They wrapped their grease-smeared bodies

/452 cont./

177 in hammocks, pieces of which they cut off, and in tablecloths --
291 a true Brazilian gift for naked Indians. They themselves do not use
[513] hammocks, but sleep on straw mats. They would not dream of
[296] washing their clothes; their shirts looked loam-colored, like their bodies, the earth, the huts.

123 The good Bororó had been spoiled to such an extent that we
177 with our modest barter goods came off badly. They were already such experts that they wanted only North American axes. Our beads met with the most approval, but here, too, the women seemed very particular and /453/ summarily designated the ones that they did not like with the Portuguese expression which the catechesis had made current and which distressed us very much, "porcaria," "piggishness," or "merda," "filth," not to mention the accompanying "diavo" curses.

Clothing the Indians was therefore not to be accomplished.

177 Agriculture. The Bororó were supposed to clear and plant!
241 In practice the officers thanked their lucky stars if they succeeded in saving from the Bororó the plantings laid out by the soldiers. As soon as the natives had axes, they found far greater pleasure in chopping down the piki trees than in climbing up them and removing the fruit. In the military colony there was a fine canavial, a planting of sugar cane. A watch had to be posted in
[264] order to prevent devastation. Nevertheless, the Indians paid nightly visits and found a way to conceal them and to deceive their patrons; they did not break the plants, but lay down on the ground, bit into the cane as it stood, and contentedly sucked on it. The mandioca planting was completely looted; the women, accustomed to digging out roots in the forest, pulled up the plants that were not a meter long and went on grubbing busily to see whether more roots might be hidden in the ground. The hunter tribe had no understanding at all for systematic planting, but above all no patience to wait until the root had reached its full development.

177 The soldiers could not very well solve the problem of making
648 gardeners out of these clumsy fellows. The task would have been a difficult test of patience even for other men who would have devoted themselves to it, not merely by command or to

/453 cont./

177 realize selfish wishes, but on their own initiative for the sake of
648 the humane purpose, and apart from any greed. The Indians saw only too well that to live and let live was the only watchword of their paragons, that everything one needed was conveniently furnished from the outside; they were sincerely glad to break with their warlike past as soon as it no longer served any purpose; they were just as afraid of the Brazilians as the latter were of them, and for them the colony meant merely a comfortable and happy existence with few duties, which consisted of their occasionally lending a hand and furnishing the Brazilian chiefs with female housemates. A blind man could have seen that they were the true masters of the colony, and not Lieutenant "Dyuáte," whose power was limited to his being in the position (actually in the forced position) of spoiling them.

128 Our impressions. Before I systematically assemble our observations, I should like to attempt to describe, on the basis of my journal, the most remarkable scenes from the life and activities of our Indians and their teachers that we experienced.

123 24 March. We are dining in our mess room with the door open. During the meal there is a constant coming and going; sometimes the little room is crowded with visitors, though we are sitting very close together as it is. The /454/ language used is a
[192] wonderful Bororó-Portuguese. Bororó predominates in the ordinary pleasantries, that is to say, the substantives required for the case, only a rather small number of which is known by the Brazilians, are combined with two dozen pronominal, adjectival, adverbial, and even a few verbal expressions in stereotyped uniformity, and the natives themselves, especially the women, willingly
[273] adapt themselves to this pidgin-Bororó in their speech. The principal person is Chief Arateba in a state of chronic drunkenness; a plate of leftovers is given to this one or that one. The eternal feminine is pushing herself very much into the foreground; the female friends of the gentlemen are also given their plates, and the louder and more uninhibited they behave, the merrier is the general atmosphere.

/454 cont./

578 Today the younger of the two wives of Moguyokuri, a large, big-boned woman who seems to scorn all clothing, suddenly burst in with coarse vituperation. She had a bunch of mandioca [252] roots in her hand and in a fury tossed them at Eliseo's feet. We had already noticed the general mandioca-roasting today in the men's house; the planting had once again been prematurely robbed of the thin root stalks. Moguyokuri's Xanthippe had apparently been unjustly accused of the theft; others had given her the mandioca. The quarrel took on ever greater proportions and lasted until evening. Two hostile parties among the women opposed each other. The loudest noise was made by "Maria," [554] Arateba's sister, who, in general, played the most important role of all the Indian women. Maria had been Duarte's mistress, and it was rumored that he had decked her out with riding habit and feather hat; now, at any rate, she was walking about in only her national costume, a small, sturdy, nimble, and, according to our ideas, moderately attractive person with sparkling eyes.

When the squabble had reached its height inside one of the huts, it was to be fought out in a sort of wrestling match. Everybody rushed out to the plaza; Xantippe seemed to be the impartial one. Amid lively talk and gestures, they placed three women on one side and Maria opposite them alone. One of the three leaped forward with a big jump, Maria towards her. They clasped each other around the waist and a wild wrestling commenced. But in a few seconds they formed the center of a thick knot of onlookers and fellow combatants, a knot which itself kept milling about in the thick of things, and with a larger, looser crowd of people along the houses; it was a mad shoving and pushing, the men laughing, leaping, beside themselves with amusement, the women vying with each other in their howling, while the two opponents were locked in a tight embrace and clutched each other's hair. Finally they were pulled apart, but the word-wrangle began all the more violently, with several yelling at several others. One old woman in particular drowned out all the others with her shrill voice. Caldas, who, to his sorrow, saw that his

/454 cont./ Caldas, who, to his sorrow, saw that his
578 tent-mate who was also taking part had her breast scratched, forced the
[627] great chief /455/ Moguyokuri in; with tremendous calm the latter stepped into the noisy crowd and suddenly it was quiet. There was not a sound; his mighty arm shoved aside the three most dangerous women at once. Maria had definitely lost; she did not say a word and stood scowling, arms crossed, her bosom heaving violently, while a friend on her side smoothed her tousled hair. More disgruntled ones tried to unleash the storm once again, but the laughter of Corona won out;

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Fig. 127. Bororó woman.

578 they dispersed, and the shrill old woman, at a triumphant trot, was led off by three women.

517 Shaking our heads, we turned our steps homeward toward our shack, but there, too, we were driven back by an infernal noise. The soldiers were dancing and singing in the moonlight with their mulattoes and Indian women; they were making music with harmonica, with fork and plate -- carnival everywhere!

526 I went back to the men's house; two men were practicing wrestling. They grasped each other under the arms, bending far forward, and remained in this position for a long time, until one of them suddenly tried one leg, or rather his heel, to press in the knee-hollow of the other one and knock him over, but he was lifted up and lost.

/455 cont./

517 him over, but he was lifted up and lost. Small fires were burning
[352] alongside the house. The men were lying in a row, one beside the other, their heads resting on chunks of wood, to sleep out there; they were chatting and biting stalks of sugar cane with their teeth, tossing the remains in an arc behind them. They were very much amused when I squatted down beside the fire and wrote down their words. At small fires to one side women were sleeping with their husbands; children were still running around gaily late in the night and romping across the plaza.

648 /456/ Meat distribution. 26 March. An efficient administration would find an excellent means of getting the Indians accustomed to order by the manner of its food distribution. But no one thinks of fair equality, either in rations or in other things. Everything is arbitrary. The crude scene at the distribution of the tapíra, the ox, about two of which are slaughtered weekly and which represent a cheap food in the Mato Grosso, defies all description. The Brazilians could hardly make things easier for themselves. The pieces of meat and chopped bones are piled up in layers on top of one another in a great heap on a skin in front of the house; the Indians, men and women and older children, some of them armed with baskets, stand waiting to one side, one of the cadets gives the signal, and the whole crowd pounces on the meat and bones like a pack of wolves. It was such a disgusting sight that I lost my sense of humor, although a circle of onlookers regarded the spectacle with a certain enjoyment. Espe-
[732] cially the idiot Dyapokuri, a cretin type, attracted general attention; with animal savagery the imbecile, the deputy of the men's house, seized three huge pieces and, with grunts of triumph, dragged them away with shining eyes while the spittle ran down his hanging lower jaw. If this were nothing but a crude occasional joke, but no, it is the regular, local procedure. The
[756] Indian is thereby reduced to conditions which in his hunting life
[626] he overcame ages ago; for it is one of the chief purposes of the institution of the barí or medicine men (as we shall see) to prevent discord in the distribution of booty, a problem which the latter, it is true, solve by securing the best pieces for themselves.

/456 cont./

198 Nocturnal howl of Lamantation. Evening after evening, from
224 at least four or five huts, came the incessant howls of lamentation by individual women. These are the wives of men who are on a hunting expedition and are expected back in a few days. Bábela bábela bá.... baba éh. The lament lasts until far into the night; it is scarcely possible for us to sleep. It has a very
[787] definite purpose, however. The women say that afterwards, when they lie down to sleep, they will find out in their dreams when their husbands will return. They will know it the next
763 morning. At the moment they are all the more occupied with this matter since the wife of one of the absent ones, the Indian "Coqueiro" (coconut palm), has just died. In the men's house the red covering of the dead has been spread out, a pot and two work-shells of hers have been added; two baris let resound a lengthy song of lament, while a number of mourning women remained in the background.

ooo Vesper prayer. At eight o'clock in the evening the "reza," the vesper prayer of the soldiers, takes place. Yesterday we followed the procedure more closely, and, when the horn-player gave his signal, we took our places in front of the prison door in order to watch. Gradually 32 men, besides the ever present guard, gathered at the main house /457/ and "arranged" themselves in two rows, tall and short, as they happened to come, in whatever garb, but each one equipped with his Comblain rifle. The full moon shed its mild light on the strange fellows. Facing them stood two cadets, one of whom read the names by the light of a candle, the other cut himself pieces of sugar cane and sucked contentedly. As soon as a name was called, the bearer answered, sometimes loudly, sometimes softly, depending on his mood, "pronto," "present." To our astonishment, the "pronto" suddenly sounded behind us in a hollow, sepulchral voice issuing from the guardhouse cell; through a crack in the door we were amused to see, from the shadow moving back and forth, how the culprit in a bright light inside was swinging in his hammock.

/457 cont./

000 After the roll call the men took off their caps and hats and sang, or rather bawled, with one clear voice predominating:
O, virgem da concepção, Maria immaculada, vós sois a advogada dos peccadores, criais todos cheia de graça com a vossa feliz grandeza, vos soís dos céos princeza, do Espíritu Santo esposa.

Maria mãi de graça, mãi de misericordia, rogai Jesus por nos, recebai (!) nos na hora de morte! Senhor Deus pequei (?), Senhor, misericordia. Por vossa mãi, Maria Santissima, misericordia!*

* Satirical verse: "O, virgem da concepção, Maria immaculada, pagai o nosso soldo, deixai da cacoada! (pay us our wages and never mind the rotten jokes).

177 As in the "pronto" calls, Indians who happened to be passing by lustily joined in the singing; inside the house Caldas was practicing on the violin. At the end all of them, including the guard and the cadet with the sugar cane, knelt down. The Bororó did not pay any particular attention to the procedure, which had [533] long since been familiar to them. But about an hour later a dozen boys appeared before our door and sang -- the music was correct, the words, except for the beginning, unintelligible and not understood -- "O, Santa Maria, mãi de graxa," ** as they put their arms

** "Mother of fat" (pronounced grascha).

around one another, giggling, and lined up in a row leaning crookedly against one another.

648 Toward nine o'clock Moguyokrui had appeared before the
273 cadets and demanded alcohol. For a change the chief "identifying himself completely with the civilization of his tribe" wore a woman's red petticoat and a white linen jacket; he insisted that the key to the supply room be fetched and he actually got his bottle; he achieved his purpose no less when, on occasion, he would rouse the gentlemen in the middle of the night.

Row with Arateba. He is once again totally drunk and demands more; this time, however, the famous key is refused. He alarms the whole colony with his yelling and scolding; he hastens to

/457 cont./

648 his hut and returns with two "espadas"! He waves the sabers around
273 in the air, enraged, and totters from side to side, but contents himself with threats. He takes off first his shirt, then his trousers, /458/ and throws them at poor Eliseo's feet; he turns to the soldiers who are standing idly by and pours out all the insults he knows against the superiors, who are likewise standing idly about. He wants to go away and to go with us because here they refuse him alcohol. Finally he trudges home.

000 30 March, Good Friday. The guard holds his gun pointed downward. The guns of the rest of the soldiers remain on the ground. The soldiers' wives in their freshly ironed Sunday clothing wander to the graveyard with crosses and candles. The prison is opened; two prisoners come out, one of them a tall Negro, his surrão -- the leather bag that takes the place of a knapsack -- on his back and in his hand the coxó, the fiddle of the sertanejo, on which he is happily strumming.

224 The hunters returned heavily laden and brought a quantity of
765 game in their carrying baskets; Coqueiro, the new widower, is still in the military colony. The body of his wife is dug out. The bones were cleaned and brought in a basket to the men's house in the evening; a new basket-bag, into which they are to be transferred at the actual burial service, lies beside them and a pot
[276] with water stands there. The room is dark; only a few embers glow to one side, at which those who smoke light their cigars, Many men, women, children are lying comfortably stretched out on
[533] the floor. A tight semicircle of squatting figures, however, the bari in the middle, surrounds the baskets and the pot; they are singing a monotonous, but loudly resounding song of lament.
[756] The Bari is incessantly swinging the gourd rattle filled with clink-
[534] ing shell fragments, his deep, quivering voice rises above all the others with strong pathos, and he does not stop singing and swinging until his voice and hand fail him; then he falls silent and lets the rattle come to a trembling stop, there is a brief pause during which, in his transport, he hastily puts a cigar to his mouth, and, drawing at it forcibly, he swallows the smoke. Again he sings and rattles and smokes in between, until after a brief hour the

/458 cont./

765 obligation has been fulfilled; everybody leaves the ranchão and wanders about outside, talking, laughing, as on most evenings.
512 In the huts one can still hear maize being pounded, here and there a little fire flares up, illuminating a picturesque group, there is singing, noisemaking, the boys romp, couples appear and disappear -- in short, country fair in front of the village, but with extraordinarily many booths in which wild rabbits eat and worship the stars.

000 On the day after Good Friday in Brazil comes the so-called Hallelujah Saturday. At twelve noon the general mourning ceases and changes to gay abandon, there is shooting and popping everywhere, Judas, the traitor, who hangs on a tree, is treated roughly and destroyed.

In the colony the beginning of the Hallelujah is announced for eight o'clock in the morning because a cow and a pig must be slaughtered. The river rose, fish were not caught for Good Friday because of the full stream, /459/ and the meat transport has come to an end. The good Eliseo excuses himself to us in all seriousness when under these circumstances he must announce the end of the Passion earlier; we reassure him by pointing out the difference in time with Jerusalem.

Judas has been hung on a young tree one and a half meters above the ground; white fatigue uniform, fine tight boots, paper face, the cheeks painted with urucú red, mustache and hair made of the hair of Indian women, stuffed with sawdust. "Kababábá?" "What is that?" ask the astonished Bororó. Judas is holding a wooden sword in his right sleeve, out of one pocket appears the neck of a beer bottle, a piece of paper stuck in the coat is the testament of the betrayer. At eight o'clock, however, the soldiers line up spick and span in white linen suits; European eyes would be somewhat surprised by the naked feet. Eliseo is wearing a red sash. The cook sticks a powder cartridge into the body of Judas -- a bang, smoke seeps out and Judas slowly begins to burn. The trumpeter blows a fanfare during which three salvos explode, and in the pauses a penetrating howl of lament from a hut is coupled with the musical accompaniment. The

/459 cont./

000 Indians, who are standing about in tight bunches, hold their ears and remember the time when shots went off in their forest. Moguyokuri and his son, who even exceed him in body height, come forward in order to send a few arrows as well into the crumbling remains of Judas Iscariot. Cautiously they first put it out so that the arrows will not burn up. The soldiers are dismissed; powder is now exploded everywhere, and even our comrades cannot resist the temptation; from the cook-yard where the pig is being slaughtered there is murderous screaming, joy predominates everywhere: Hallelujah!

765 Kayapó! The burial ceremony for Coqueiro's widow /sic/, which I shall describe in detail, fell on Easter Monday (1 April); we guests never stopped marveling at the strange contrasts which were set before our eyes every day in the restless life of the colony. Scarcely had the lamentation died away and the burial 721 basket been removed, when there was new excitement. The Bororó maintained they had seen two Kayapó, whom they called Kayámo, in the forest. Their mortal enemy in close proximity 722 to the colony! Leave the colony that very evening -- it seemed almost unbelievable -- was the general solution of the Indians. The soldiers had to be called up; a patrol was sent out and was to discharge a dozen shots in the suspected corner in the forest. Thus they calmed themselves temporarily, but as a precaution the great chief Moguyokuri, the terror of the Mato Grosso, did not sleep with his two wives and his children that night, but at Eliseo's.

726 During the night of 2 to 3 April, too, everyone was awake. Our Indian friends took us to the ranchão and invited us to take part in a meeting, the purpose of which was to fortify themselves with music in the hope of victory over the evil Kayapó. At first [535] we all stood and danced /460/ on one spot, while an old chief in the center sang and ponderously shook the rattle-gourd. The rest of us held our hands in front of our mouths and bellowed a hollow u, u... into them and flexed our knees in rhythm. Since we noticed how greatly this comforted the Bororó, we did not hold back in our enthusiastic participation. Our band was working in the dark; only occasionally did someone throw a little straw into

/460 cont./

726 the fire and the grave faces were sharply illuminated for a moment. The dancing lasted half an hour. Then we sat down around the old rattler, who was trembling violently from the exertion and was swallowing great draughts of water; we had to hold the pot to his mouth, for otherwise it would not have reached its goal. Now, however, we were all filled with fresh courage; the venerable old man, in a half singing tone, expatiated further on the subject of the agenda and our great chorus replied either an enraptured "uakína," "very good," or with coarse laughter, "hahahá," or with a determined threat, "uh...."

At noon on 3 April the patriotic enthusiasm against the unseen foe reached its climax. We were sitting and eating when suddenly ten or twelve Bororó came storming up in weird attire. In the [411] lead Moguyokuri, drunk, his face flushed, in my Turkish woman's jacket, armed, or rather loaded, with bow, arrows, a maize pestle, and a heavy ax blade without a handle, behind him José Domingo, face and body blackened with soot, swinging a beautiful bow decorated with ostrich feathers, a black hair-string around his right wrist for protection against the snapping bowstring, on a strap around his naked stomach a cavalry saber, and similarly fitted out for war the rest of the heroes -- last not least /given in English/ the idiot Dyapokuri. This unfortunate fool had also smeared himself all over with soot, around his pathological skull he had wound a black hair string, like a Chinese his pigtail, on his back hung a long kitchen knife, and with his right hand he twirled a club in the air; like one possessed, uttering inarticulate sounds, he leaped about to the laughter of the company at the table. The terrible warriors were setting out to seek the traces of the Kayapó. They soon returned, they had found nothing suspicious, the foolish people seemed to have come to their senses, and the episode was ended.

302 In the men's house in the morning there had been great activity; during the afternoon and into the evening a dozen Bororó were busy coloring the hair, face, and body of their lovers a festive bright red, and outside, after darkness descended, an entirely different ooo kind of scene was enacted. A child of about two which had been

763 /460 cont./ A child of about two which had been struggling with death for about 24 hours and whose end the baris had predicted for today was brought out in front of the hut. The mother was holding it in her lap; the medicine men and relatives sat around and lamented. Behind the mother squatted the father; for a while he remained motionless, then -- one of the onlookers was just lighting his pipe -- /461/ he drew a cord around the neck of the poor little mite and quickly brought to fulfillment the prophecy of the doctors. Immediately everyone except the [535] mother got up; the medicine men fetched their feather ornaments [764] and rattles and, with a booming "aroé..., aroé..." song, commenced the mourning dance.

726 The festivity in the ranchão and the mourning ceremonies outside suddenly suffered a mighty disturbance, however, when two shots were heard from the forest. Somebody there was again shooting at the Kayapó! One man who was sleeping off his intoxication had caught sight of them and heard them shouting! Having waked up, he sounded the alarm and a mad hubbub was [411] the result. Eliseo had the soldiers report; in no time the plaza was filled with men, all of whom carried bows and arrows, clubs, and axes, with women who had packed up all their belongings in carrying baskets and were dragging their children or pushing them on ahead, with half-grown boys, most of whom were also armed. [764] Only the woman with the little dead creature in her lap remained [535] in her place, and a few dancers with the great radial wheel of red arara feathers around their heads stamped, sang, rattled on steadfastly, or, after they had mingled for a moment in the bustle, returned to their duty.

The crowd was milling about wildly and pressing around the main building. The soldiers stood there in a long row; the cadets and officials could scarcely defend themselves against the onslaught, and no one could hear his own words. It was a dark night as well. The agitated ones demanded an immediate crossing to the other river bank before the Kayapó arrived; the entire company was ready to march. Fortunately, the people did not dare separate themselves from the soldiers. There was such a surging and seething that one did not know whether he still had possession of his five senses. Gradually the surging

/461 cont./

726 became somewhat weaker. The solemn aroé... of the dancers sounded louder, the young men and red-painted girls again sought their resting places in the dimly lit ranchão, the tumult on the plaza became concentrated in smaller groups; here and there one saw glowing logs in the darkness, and when a fire blazed up one saw the bristling bows and arrows, the carrying baskets, the feathers of the singers, and, squatting or lying, persons of every age and both sexes, on whose powerful bodies the distribution of light and shadow for the moment that they were illuminated brought out extremely picturesque effects.

722 In the main building all the rooms were filled; with Eliseo, Caldas, and the administrator, everywhere there were women and children with bag and baggage, around the table and on the table, in the farthest corner, old and young, like, apart from their nakedness, a swarm of emigrants in a crowded railway station. Some of the younger and prettier women stood out because of the white pillows in their possession. The Brazilians mocked and comforted, "kayámo bakímo," "the Kayapó are no good"; the Indians boasted that they were not afraid, took aim with their /462/ bows, and crouched like scouts stealing up on the enemy. Between times they begged for tobacco and alcohol.

Once again there was a great hubbub: a Bororó was supposed to have been killed by the Kayapó near the last houses! A man with a bleeding forehead was brought in; his wife, moaning, threw herself upon him and examined the wound. We did the same. A few drops, a slight bruise; the injured one maintained that he had been hit with a pointed ox bone while he was reconnoitering. Whether a flippant friend had permitted himself a bad joke, whether the blow was meant for a Kayapó, remained one of the mysteries of that night of terror. /Fig. 128 appears here./

Toward eleven o'clock we felt it was time to retire. There was nothing new in prospect. The cadets were playing cards, the chiefs were very intoxicated. Outside it had grown rather quiet. The soldiers had made themselves comfortable, their wives were lying near by on skins. The dirge was continuing; it was dark in the ranchão.

/462 cont./

115 School. Let us now pause at a peaceful scene. The Bororó
[123] boys were my special friends. From them I learned the most
[145] important elements of the language: they were extremely wide
awake, pert, somewhat like little Niggerboys /given in English/,
and in physical and mental agility decidedly ahead of our
civilized European youth. They were extraordinarily pleased
with their teacher-role and were constantly urging me to write
things down: "poyédye papéra," roughly "again on the paper."

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Fig. 128. Bororó youths.

115 I am indebted to them in particular for /463/ a knowledge of
[193] the pronominal prefixes for the body parts, which are different
for each person, and soon their favorite sport was to declaim
in their language, "my nose, your nose, his nose, our nose,
115 your nose, their nose" in all sorts of variations. The little
153 scamp in the center in Figure 128 was especially intelligent.
He was always hearing Bororó in our German. If the expression
"papageienmässig" /Ger., "parrot-like"/ was used, there im-
mediately came the exclamation: "papagaíma" = "we are
bathing." One evening when Ehrenreich was addressing the
moon in the words of Doctor Faust and came to the passage,

2 Steinen--572 E.D-5 (1884, 188?-1888) 1894 SP? Bacairi
Bororo SP8

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115 "in Deinem Thau gesund mich baden" /to bathe myself sound in
153 your dew/, the little fellow immediately interrupted with "itáu!
akau, áu" = "my hair, your hair, his hair." This game was all
the more original since the cadet Caldas, their schoolmaster, who was also supposed to be working on the Bororó language, pronounced the American pronominal prefixes which I was seeking to be silly humbug and an invention of the boys, on the order of chicken talk. And he stuck to it, because he was very stubborn in his views. He was also very scornful of our opinion that Latin is a dead language, for he said it is spoken in Egypt. But what was even worse, he maintained that "Müller" -- heaven knows where he got his knowledge of his only German word -- was a French word and insisted on it, despite the amusing despair of Ehrenreich, who, as a native Spree-Athenian /a Berliner/, was shaken to the depths of his thinking and feeling in the face of such an unheard-of attack on the Berlin address-book.

872 If Caldas, who received an extra allowance for the instruction of the Bororó boys, did not learn much from his pupils, they probably learned even less from him. It is true, the rogues came unwillingly; in the beginning they did not come at all and were persuaded to do so only when a few inquisitive fathers sat with them in the school. The way in which the recalcitrant ones were assembled in the morning reminded one vividly of the game "bringing the little pig into the pen." Moreover, they were extremely inattentive. I must admit, however, that the method could not have been more peculiar. I thought the children would first of all learn the Portuguese names for the most familiar things, useful plants, animals, implements, which would certainly have pleased them, because they asked about them spontaneously. I also thought, if they absolutely had to learn to read -- but it really does not matter what I thought, and it is better to limit oneself to the report.

Each of the boys had in his hand a sheet of paper that Caldas had written on. Thereupon we read -- not they, of course -- al, el, il, ol, ul, bal, bel, bil, bol, bul, dal, del, dil, dol, dul, etc. over the entire page. The teacher read them one line

/463 cont./

872 after the other, the boys had to recite after him. For hours they practiced, gaily waving their paper, "bal, bel, bil, bol, bul, dal, del, dil, dol, dul." In several months they had not gone beyond this. Caldas himself seemed impatient, and during the short time that we were able to endure the performance he asked three times what time it was. Two Bororó fathers were sitting in the /464/ corner and occasionally also murmured absent-mindedly bal, bel, bil, bol, bul. Among my linguistic notes I find that the Bororó told me, "he is teaching the boys to read"; the sentence in literal translation corresponds exactly to the situation: "he is
876 teaching the boys to look at the paper." Caldas hoped, however, that there would soon be progress; he said the boys were an ill-behaved lot who first had to learn obedience. Up to now he had hit their fingers with a ruler if they did not pay attention. Now, however, he had an improved system of "palmatorios," two specimens of which he showed us. They looked like wooden spoons, except that they had a circular, flat end-piece, and this -- here was the improvement -- was perforated with holes like a sieve. The air whistles through the holes and this increases the pain. Well, I hope the new palmatorios stood the test and that the boys have meanwhile progressed at least as far as xal, xel, xil, xol, xul. In our day the entire result was always just dal, del, dil, dol, dul.

578 The hostile brothers. On 9 April Arateba, in his drunkenness,
[273] again put on one of his sensational performances. Burning with rage, he tears down the house of a widow who would not let him have his way. He is quickly finished with this work, even though he threatens to fall over backwards with each jerk. His brother and two sensible friends hoist him on their shoulders and take him to his hut. There he has the weeping blues for a quarter of an hour, but after cold water has been poured over him he pulls himself together again and appears in front of headquarters. He
593 strides up and down like a roaring lion in a cage and challenges his brother, upon whom he heaps abuse in front of all the people, to a fight. His brother leaps at him and, crouched over, hops back and forth in front of him for a while; then they clutch each other with furious holds. Arateba is thrown to the ground four times.

/464 cont./

593 Then Maria, their sister, steps in with determination and clasps him so firmly that he is unable to move. The brothers are led off in different directions. From Arateba's hut comes the sound of ugly quarreling; again the swaying drunkard appears -- he has a regular criminal's face and, to top it off, a smoothly shorn head -- and forces his way into the hut where his brother is hidden. Resounding blows, blustering voices, a general scuffle. The excited crowd, in the center of which Moguyokuri's figure towers, comes outside, several wrestle with each other, Arateba again lies on the ground, the women now throw themselves heavily into the fray, Maria overpowers the drunken one, and he is dragged away. Everyone is laughing; they go back to the ranchão [273] and several of them say, not unjustly, "piga* pega," "whiskey

* = Portuguese pinga, drop. Vulgar expression for alcohol.

is a bad thing."

000 Discipline. Where such scenes were the order of the day, how could it have been otherwise but that a harmful reaction upon the soldiers /Pl. XXVI appears here/ /465/ would result? The men [648] were embittered because the Indians were idle and they had to do all the work, because the Indian obtained free alcohol to the point of the most flagrant abuse, and they had to pay two milreis for a bottle or five times as much as in the city, because the Indian was permitted to say a contemptuous filho da puta /bastard/ to the faces of the officers without punishment, and they were obliged to go into the xadrez* for their offences. Good-natured Eliseo,

* The detention room. Literally, "chessboard."

however, who was unable to change the system, was guiltless -- indeed, he was lenient enough, for example, to pardon a man who went for him with a knife. Of course, their pay was wasted in card-playing. When payday came, one of them had lost 100 milreis in vinte e um or trinta e um. If they had no money, they would sell their household utensils for a song.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 576]

2: Steinen--575ED-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8

Plate XXVI

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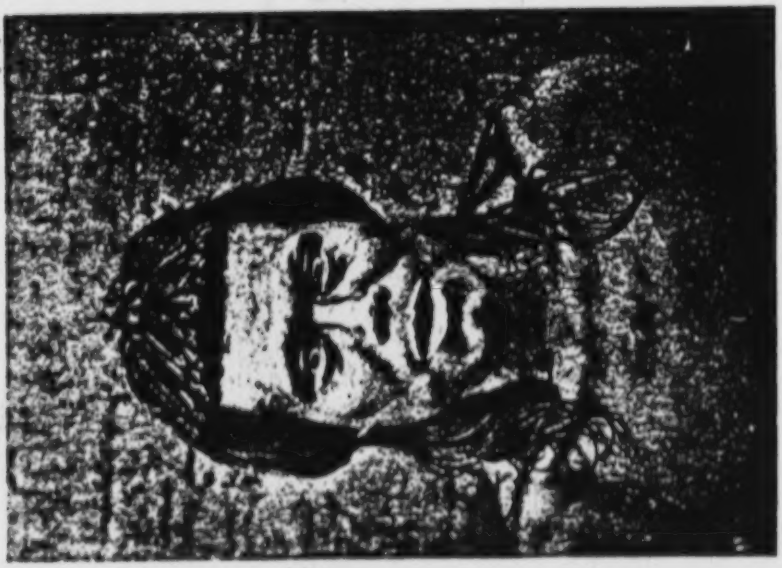

Bororó.

/465 cont./

000 Their hatred toward the administrator increased to a small uprising when one of their comrades was locked up because of his calumny to the effect that he had made propositions to his housemate and promised her a new dress from his supply room. They wanted to make an assault upon the jail and shoot Ildefonso, "this family man." They were calmed after it was pointed out that Duarte was arriving soon and would settle the dispute. Ildefonso, however, was very excited. He had only said good day to the girl. In former times, he would not deny it, he had permitted himself such things, but now "a woman was only an ideal" for him, he said.

Duarte's arrival. On 11 April toward noon, loud cries and great excitement: "dyuáte, dyuáte!" They emerged from the woods -- no operetta could offer anything handsomer. Fourteen [177] Bororó, one behind the other, barefoot, in snow-white sailor suits trimmed with red braid, in wide-brimmed, bright straw hats, from under which the long black hair flowed out in waves, with thick red tufted tassels and fluttering red bows, on which was written "Colonia Thereza Christina." Swords with decorated belts and hilts, large round whiskey bottles, here and there an open sunshade. And behind them Duarte on horseback and three chiefs mounted on mules, in marine-blue uniforms, with red galloons as wide as a hand, which contrasted sharply with the bare feet, guns in their hands, and on their sleeves gleaming brass shields with the inscription "Voluntarios da patria." Long live Donna Carmina, Madame President! For this is the catechesis of the Excellentissima Senhora! The sturdy fellows looked splendid enough as they came striding along in the sunshine and marched straight up to the main building; fixedly they stared straight ahead with terribly grave mien, really "fixedly," for they did not even cast a sidelong glance at the loudly howling women and children, who seemed mad with joy.

177 Even in the dining room they maintained their solemn com-
152 posure. Like strangers they sat on the benches around the table and along the wall, a sharp contrast to their /466/ boisterous naked fellow-tribesmen. Four women in particular were lamenting

/466 cont./ Four women in particular were lamenting
177 pitifully, their faces bathed in tears, and reported on the events
152 since the parting; the most excited one cut the skin on her breast,
785 arms, and legs and, in wild distress, with her wet, loam-yellow body streaming with blood, writhed before her husband sitting stiffly on the bench in his theatrical costume.

000 The commander of the colony was followed, on 12 April, by two huge carts loaded with goods, each of which was drawn by a dozen oxen. For the soldiers a change took place when, in the evening orders, it was announced that the sale of alcoholic spirits was to be suspended from now on in view of the fact that many had been intoxicated when the Lieutenant arrived.

After such business was finished, Duarte was given a proper welcome by his subjects on the following day. First at breakfast with good port wine. To be sure, two cadets drank from one glass, but there was no shortage of the stuff. Duarte himself was very moderate out of consideration for his liver. The wine was followed by a collection of bottles of light export beer, the labels of which reminded us of home: the brewery was in Hannover. Six toasts were drunk to Duarte, as a Paraguayan soldier, as a family man, etc.; again and again he was offered a wealth of eulogies, to all of which he responded with a friendly "obrigado," "thank you very much."

This session, however, was merely a prelude to the "serenade" in the evening: Caldas violin, Duarte guitar, Ildefonso coxó fiddle. It turned into a fine, jolly evening, and it filled us with the greatest respect for Brazilian drinking ability; I would never have believed that there could be such hearty guzzling in the sertão. Two good-sized cases of beer were emptied to the last drop before the liquor came. But even more endless was the stream of talk. I dedicated my toast to the originator of the Bororó catechesis, President Galdino Pimentel, who is not to blame if wrong methods were subsequently adopted, and in this way I avoided the dilemma of lying or offending needlessly. Duarte thereupon also spoke and rather well. He was dissatisfied with the government; the "governo ingrato" was blamed for whatever prevented conditions from being perfect. It was also unfair that

/466 cont./

000 Eliseo had not yet been promoted; he himself, however, had been obliged to advise against having his young friend take over the other colony, Izabel, as proposed, because he might spoil his entire career by a mistake! For an outsider it was, indeed, remarkable to see how very much the cadets trusted his paternal care, which he alone profited by, and seemed truly devoted to him. I estimate that there were 30-35 toasts during the evening and calculate that more than 20 were to Duarte's well-being. Good-natured Eliseo was priceless. He first asked fluent Ildefonso to speak for him, but after a while he got up himself and /467/ began with determination: "não tendo a devida intelligencia," in fact, once the ice was broken, he gave one toast after another, each time beginning with the excuse that he did not have the necessary mental powers, and each time, at the end, appealing for the coadjuvencia of those present, debaixo de todo enthusiasmo he drank the health successively of the individual members of Duarte's family, his wife in Cuyabá, his brother, and especially his eldest daughter. The more beer that was drunk, the more moving and serious the speeches became. The apothecary was a poet, he knew a great deal about all kinds of flowers and compared the uncouth cadet Joaquim to a bud, he extolled woman who -- part one -- was only a child, and for him -- part two -- a goddess who forever remains an unfathomable mystery to us men. To the soft accompaniment of the guitar Caldas recited stirring verses; the beautiful words often tumbled over one another with uncanny speed, and with equal alacrity our emotion was obliged to leap from the tender to the pathetic, from the strong to the sweet. Everyone was deeply moved. Duarte was embraced like a father, Eliseo knelt before him and begged him for his blessing, which the father, however, gently refused with a "isso não," "oh friends, not these tones."

648 I have not yet mentioned the Bororó. They were by no means
574 absent, however, and were very much part of things. For the
[273] first time I saw a proud Indian chief uncork a bottle of German export beer. They did very well by the juice of barley and sugar cane and drank far more than they could stand; they kept

/467 cont. /

648 interrupting the sentimental speeches with their eager chatter,
574 but no one paid any attention to it, they raised their bottles when
[273] the glasses clinked and would join in, they exhausted themselves and us with tender embraces. Moguyokuri also sat down and sang a resounding song and played the guitar, sweeping across the strings like a tapir through bamboo. Only the Indian women were absent during the serenade. Before it started, however, two young people had been brought by Moguyokuri to Duarte's room next door. There they looked out of the window the next morning and let themselves be admired, tortoise-shell combs in their hair, talmi chains around their necks, rose-colored circlets around their wrists, and demurely dressed in long shirts covered with a huge, iridescent palmetto design.

648 Perhaps I may be permitted to close up my peep show here. The pictures would merely be repeated. Until our departure on 18 April we had no occasion to observe whether the absence of the leader of the catechesis might be to blame for our unfavorable first impressions. Quite the contrary. Duarte went bathing, took a walk to the brickyard or the like; otherwise he sat all day in his room, in which there were always many Bororó. They all begged. Some received something, others received nothing. There were always drunken ones among them. The soldiers brought wood and palm leaves, which they obtained in the forest, for a new building. A few Bororó helped /468/ occasionally, because they received whiskey for it. If the purpose of the colony was doing nothing and passing the time on the part of officials and Indians, it could be regarded as a shining example for all others.

III. Observations.

000 Anthropological. Dress (hair, sexualia, artificial injuries, painting, ornaments). The aróe. Hunting and agriculture. Weapons. Work in the men's house and techniques. Food; "consecration" by the baris. Dance and play. Musical instruments; whizzer sticks. Art of drawing. Law and marriage (customs of the family and of the men s house). Birth; names. Death rites. Soul and

/468 cont./

000 existence after death. Heavenly fleas; meteor conjuration.

141 Anthropological.

Body height.

20 men: max. 191.2, min. 167.0, av. 173.6.
6 women: max. 168.2, min. 156.2, av. 160.5.

A striking difference from the height of the Schingú /Xingu/ Indians! The Bororó women correspond approximately to the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ men. The average of the 26 Bororó measured, of both sexes, comes to 170.6, which figure, however, is of no value considering the disproportion of 20 men and six women. According to the Topinard schema, the Bororó are tall people, since his lower limit is 170.0. In the table of average figures for men given by Topinard,* the Bororó would occupy third place

[113]

* Anthropologie. Translation by R. Neuhauss from the 3rd French edition. Second edition, p. 320. Leipzig, 1888.

among the ten tribes of tall stature; they would be exceeded by the Tehuelche of Patagonia (178.1) and the Polynesians (176.2) and correspond almost exactly to the Irokesen /Iroquois/ (173.5).

Breadth of outspread arms. Body height = 100.

20 men: max. 113.2, min. 99.9, av. 104.7.
6 women: max. 102.4, min. 97.4, av. 100.3.

The minimum among the men -- 0.2 -- occurred in the case of the tallest Bororó measured, whose armspread was 191.0 with a body height of 191.2. In the case of two of the six women the breadth of the outspread arms was less than the body height: -- 0.2 with 156.2 in body height and -- 4.2 with 160.7 in body height.

Shoulder breadth. A. Body height = 100.

19 men: max. 25.0, min. 21.6, av. 23.9.
6 women: max. 22.6, min. 20.4, av. 21.8.

/468 cont./

141

B. Absolute

19 men: max. 45.3, min. 38.5, av. 41.6.

6 women: max. 38.0, min. 32.5, av. 34.6.

The maximum under B belongs to the tall son of Moguyokuri (Pl. 26), who had the tallest body height with 191.2 and the figure 23.7 for A. The next highest figure for absolute shoulder-breadth is 43.5 with a relative one of 23.6. If we compare the Kulisehu Indians, p. 140, the absolute average for the Bororó is 41.6, more than the largest average of 41.4 there for the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, and the relative average for the Bororó of 23.9 less than the smallest average of 24.1 there for the Nahuquá.

/469/

Chest circumference. A. Body height = 100.

19 men: max. 58.4, min. 52.4, av. 55.1.

6 women: max. 55.5, min. 47.9, av. 51.3.

B. Absolute

19 men: max. 100.8, min. 90.0, av. 95.4.

6 women: max. 93.3, min. 76.6, av. 82.5.

If we compare this measurement, too, as we did the preceding one, with the Kulisehu Indians, pages 140, 142, we again find the highest absolute average for the Bororó of 95.4 larger than the highest average for the Mehinakú with 95.1 and the lowest relative average for the Bororó of 55.1 the same as the lowest average there of 55.1 for the Nahuquá.

Head height. Body height = 100.

18 men: max. 19.4, min. 12.8, av. 14.6.

6 women: max. 16.1, min. 13.0, av. 14.5.

Two men have very high figures. If we calculate the average without the maximum of 19.4 (37.0 centimeters) and the next largest figure of 16.8 (31 centimeters), the 16 men have a smaller average by 0.4, namely, only 14.2, which is smaller than the average for the six women.

/469 cont./

141 Head circumference. Body height = 100.

20 men: max. 34.4, min. 31.1, av. 32.9.
6 women: max. 36.6, min. 31.6, av. 33.4.

The minimum of the men measured on the Schingú -- in the case of a Trumaí -- came to 32.4; cf. page 142. The average for the Bororó, 32.9, is lower than the lowest average of the series observed there, namely, 33.7 for the Kamayurá /Camayura/, and, to be sure, the difference of 0.8 is exactly the same as the difference between the lowest and the highest average of the Kulisehu tribes (Kamayurá 33.7, Auetö 34.5).

Length-breadth index of the head.

20 men: max. 85.6, min. 75.0, av. 80.8.
6 women: max. 79.8, min. 76.2, av. 77.7.

10 men below the average: 75.0, 76.4, 77.0, 77.6, 77.8, 79.4, 79.6, 80.2, 80.3, 80.3, and 10 men above the average: 80.9, 81.5, 81.8, 82.3, 82.5, 84.0, 84.4, 84.8, 85.5, 85.6.

3 women below the average: 76.2, 76.6, 77.6, and 3 women above the average: 77.9, 78.3, 79.8.

I have presented all the individual figures in order to show that the average figures in this case give a correct picture. Among the men, the difference between maximum and minimum is so great that one might have doubted it. The maximum for the women is lower than the average for the men and the difference between the sexes has an essentially different aspect than on the Kulisehu; cf. page 143. In the averages, the figures for the Bororó men are close to the highest on the Kulisehu and are exceeded only by the index of the Trumaí, 81.1.

Relation of head length to ear height. Maximum length of head = 100.

20 men: max. 75.4, min. 61.3, av. 67.9.
6 women: max. 69.4, min. 62.2, av. 66.2.

Jaw angle. Edge of hair -- chin = 100.

19 men: max. 65.9, min. 51.7, av. 58.3.
6 women: max. 67.3, min. 52.4, av. 58.4.

2: Steinen--583 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8

/469 cont./

141 Zygomatic arch. Edge of hair -- chin = 100.

19 men: max. 85.2, min. 72.8, av. 78.7.
6 women: max. 84.6, min. 70.3, av. 78.5.

Cheekbone protuberance. Edge of hair--chin = 100.

19 men: max. 57.6, min. 45.7, av. 49.0.
6 women: max. 49.1, min. 42.7, av. 46.6.

/470/

Middle face. Nasal root--chin = 100.

20 men: max. 69.4, min. 53.8, av. 60.9.
6 women: max. 68.0, min. 58.0, av. 62.3.

Nasal height. Nasal length = 100.

18 men: max. 112.5, min. 92.0, av. 100.1.
6 women: max. 111.6, min. 102.3, av. 106.8.

Nasal breadth. Nasal height = 100.

18 men: max. 108.9, min. 77.8, av. 89.1.
6 women: max. 95.1, min. 73.3, av. 85.3.

Shoulder height. Body height = 100.

20 men: max. 89.9, min. 79.4. av. 84.2.
6 women: max. 85.3, min. 82.3, av. 83.9.

Navel height. Body height = 100.

20 men: max. 63.0, min. 57.4, av. 59.5.
6 women: max. 63.0, min. 58.9, av. 60.4.

Symphysis height. Body height = 100.

19 men: max. 53.0, min. 47.1, av. 50.9.
6 women: max. 53.3, min. 47.4, av. 49.8.

Iliac-crest height. Body height = 100.

20 men: max. 62.3, min. 55.8, av. 59.9.
4 women: max. 61.7, min. 58.1, av. 60.1.

Arm length. Body height = 100.

18 men: max. 52.5, min. 43.6, av. 46.5.
6 women: max. 46.2, min. 42.9, av. 44.5.

/470 cont./

141 Hand length. A. Absolute.

19 men: max. 19.2, min. 16.1, av. 17.8.
6 women: max. 17.4, min. 16.0, av. 16.6.

B. Body height = 100.

19 men: max. 11.1, min. 9.5, av. 10.4.
6 women: max. 11.3, min. 9.8, av. 10.4.

C. Arm length = 100.

20 men: max. 24.2, min. 19.3, av. 22.1.
6 women: max. 24.3, min. 21.7, av. 23.2.

Length-breadth index of hand. Hand length = 100.

18 men: max. 50.3, min. 41.6, av. 45.1.
5 women: max. 46.9, min. 41.2, av. 44.3.

Trochanter height. Body height = 100.

20 men: max. 53.6, min. 48.4, av. 51.1.
6 women: max. 55.6, min. 49.4, av. 52.1.

Foot length. A. Absolute.

20 men: max. 28.3, min. 24.0, av. 26.6.
6 women: max. 25.5, min. 23.1, av. 24.0.

B. Body height = 100.

20 men: max. 16.4, min. 14.1, av. 15.3.
6 women: max. 15.2, min. 14.6, av. 14.9.

Length-breadth index of foot. Foot length = 100.

20 men: max. 43.3, min. 30.8, av. 37.5.
6 women: max. 38.9, min. 36.1, av. 37.5.

Foot height. Trochanter height = 100.

17 men: max. 9.1, min. 7.1, av. 7.6.
5 women: max. 7.9, min. 6.8, av. 7.4.

142 The skin has a pronounced loam color, but all shades occurred, from light, yellowish (cheek) to dark, almost purplish (chest). In general the best match was Radde 33 m; forehead somewhat more reddish, even (the cheek likewise) ascertained at 33 n and 33 o.

/470 cont./

164 Some individuals showed a skin affection, which was most prominent in the case of Moguyokuri's wife. Here only the face, the hypogastrium from the navel downwards where the skin was covered, and the back of the foot were free; /471/ otherwise the epidermis was covered with scaly ridges in concentric coils, circles, ellipses, roughly comparable to the markings of polished agate.

142 Hair black and as often stiff and straight as wavy, less often -- in two of the 20 men -- curly. Beard hair, where not plucked, sparse on the chin and upper lip.

Head generally high, usually wide, often round. Ridge at the back of the head strongly developed. Forehead low, among the men more often sloping, among the women more often straight, only exceptionally high and arched, often covered with hair. Pronounced ridges, especially among the men, are a conspicuous characteristic. Face generally high and wide, seldom high and narrow, usually oval, seldom round, in exceptional cases square. Cheek bones prominent.

Iris dark coffee-brown, in exceptional cases light brown. Eyes far apart. Eyelid opening often slanting, but in the majority of cases horizontal, generally low, almond-shaped, in exceptional cases slit. Ear lobes small or very small, more than once joined on. Nose: root more often wide than narrow, more often depressed than projecting, bridge generally wide, usually straight or slightly arched, more than once even saddle-shaped, alae wide, occasionally roof-shaped, and among the men powerful, among the women delicate, tip moderately blunt, openings turned forward, round. Lips full, curved, protruding. Teeth, even, large, opaque, generally yellowish, but not infrequently white, often greatly and as much as half chewed down. Prognathism moderate; chin seldom receding.

Breasts of the women who have given birth, pendulous with large areola. Genitals of the men small. The praeputium was artificially lengthened by manipulations with the cuff.

141 Hands and feet relatively small; short index finger. Circumference of the thigh, measured on a man with a body height of 173.0, 50 centimeters; of the calves, 35 centimeters. Longest

/471 cont./

141 toe: in the case of 17 men, II nine times, I seven times, I = II once; in the case of five women, II three times, I two times.

302 Dress. Eyelashes, eyebrows, beard hair, and body hair were plucked or shaved. The people are now beginning to leave the eyelashes of some children intact, which was a great advantage to them, according to our taste.

The head hair was treated in a very different manner, but equally arbitrarily by men and women alike. The tonsure which one would expect from the name "Coroados" is restricted to an occasional one of one centimeter in diameter. Perhaps the name comes from the large feather crowns. Widowers and widows wore their hair cut short. The most common and original style for both sexes was that the hair was combed to the forehead and cut off here straight across, but hung down freely in back; cf. Plate 26 /see p. 575/. Next to the ears occasionally another step was cut or a bunch tied together like a paint brush, sometimes the men's hair was twisted into a knot in back or /472/ a bast band was wound around the head. Women who proved amenable to Brazilian customs parted their hair in the center. One man or another also went about with loose, uncut hair parted in the
412 center. Nowadays the hair was generally cut with scissors, between two shells by the old method. The comb consisted of pointed little rods which were tapered at both ends and joined together in the middle section by crude plaiting; the plaiting lay between two cross-strips tied together at the projecting ends.

291 The men, almost without exception, wear a hip cord. One or another, however, went about without it. The cuff, inobá (no, oaussu palm; ba, eggs, scrotum), called gravata by the Brazilians, has already been discussed and illustrated on page 184 (with the festive flag). One can very easily make a model from a strip of paper three centimeters wide and 14 centimeters long, by putting the two ends together to form a ring and then twisting one end about 90° and folding it slightly under the other. If a new or somewhat tighter cuff was put on, the praeputium was tied with a string in front of the glans and drawn through; by this manipulation and the wearing of the cuff, it was considerably

/472 cont./

291 pulled and lengthened. The flag is a strip of straw up to 20 centimeters in length inserted at the side. Even the captured Clemente was given a cuff, and he complained that it was ac-
[175] companied by pain and swelling. The Langsdorff Expedition reports of the Bororó dos Campos in the year 1827 that "the men, after the manner of the Guató, tie up the praeputium with embira bast which they wear as a belt; others cover it with a leaf sheath (cartuxa de folhas)." * I have already quoted on page 193

[113] * Revista Trimensal 38 II, page 242.

Waehneldt's remark, which likewise bears witness, that the hip
[114] cord without cuff suffices, as on the Kulisehu. Rohde ** expresses

[113] ** Originalmitteilungen aus der Ethnol. Abteilung /Original Reports from the Ethnological Division/ I, page 14.

himself incorrectly when he says: "the men go about completely naked, except that they cover the penis with a sheath of reed, they tie the foreskin up, the member is fastened upright to the body." The reed sheaths which he presented to the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde are exactly like the cuffs described, which cover the penis only insofar as the glans is part of it, and the rest seems to be pushed back into the scrotum. We did not see on the S. Lourenço the clamping into the hip cord; it is said to be done only by those who do not wear a cuff. Hence it follows that the purpose of the "tying up," namely, to be unimpeded in running, which Waehneldt suggests, could only have been a secondary purpose. The real purpose, which hip cord and cuff serve in like manner, is the lengthening of the praeputium: differing only wich respect to method, it was observed among the great majority of all Brazilian tribes. /Pl. XXVII appears here./

/473/ Of the Bororó women the reporter of the Langsdorff Expedition says: "The women have a strange custom, I do not know whether to /Fig. 129 appears here/ cover themselves, in which case they are far from their laudable purpose. First of all, I should

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 590]

2: Steinen--588 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8

Pl. XXVII

142
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Bororó with feathers pasted on.

2: Steinen--589 E1 D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8

142
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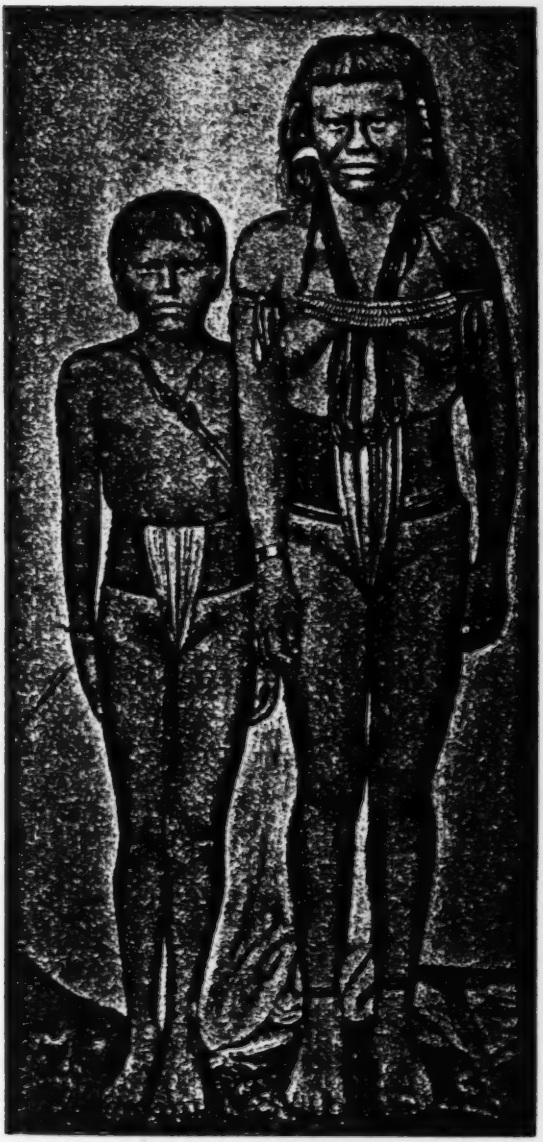

Fig. 129. Mother and daughter. Bororó.

/473 cont./

291 like to say that for this or for some other reason they bind their waists with a piece of tree bark ten inches wide, and, to be sure, so tightly that the skin at stomach height and over the abdomen and hips forms a bulge, which tends to disfigure them; but to go back to the strange custom, I must add that from this belt two strands (filamentos) two to three inches wide hang down in front and back." According to Waehneldt, the women wear a piece of tapir skin, one and a half spans wide, tied around their waists; "coming out from it is a bast band half a span wide, which covers their genitals." Rohde writes: "The women likewise go naked, the sole article of clothing is a narrow strip of cactus bark which conceals only the smallest part of the sexual organs."

With regard to our Bororó women, I have said on page 186 [287] that they wore on a hip cord a gray bast band three to four fingers [841] wide, and during the menses a similar black one, that in place of the hip cord they also used a piece of hard bark over which the /474/ T-band extended down in front and up in back, both of which were additionally secured by a string or bast wrapping. Younger women seemed to prefer the "corset" to the hip cord; the abdomen was tightly encased in the rigid bark armor.

291 The gray bast came from the jangadeira tree (jangada = raft),
287 whose light wood is used for the construction of rafts; it is also
824 called embira branca and its botanical name (from the family of Tiliaceae) is Apeiba cymbalaria. The black bark-belt came from the jiquitiba or pot-tree, Lecythis, a beautiful ornament of the primeval forest with a huge crown. A thick piece of bark was hewed off medium-sized trunks and laid in water for a week. Then a very fine, soft bast could be peeled off on the inside, [386] which furnished the hygienic bands. It was dyed black in rotten mire (tyjuca of the Tupí). The coarser hard outer layers provided the material for the belts, which had a width up to 28 centimeters. Often even children three to four years old wore the belt and looked very droll in it.

291 From what we have seen, the bark belt might be regarded merely as a substitute for the hip cord, whose firm embrace was perhaps agreeable, as long as the fashion did not become

/474 cont./

291 exaggerated. According to Langsdorff's description, however, the belt seems to be the main thing, since strands hung down freely and there was no band to be fastened to it. The observer himself does not believe that its purpose was concealment. There was very little of this likewise among our Bororó women, and, as far as their modesty is concerned, it remained not only partly, but entirely concealed, or more accurately, the very opposite of it was present and, quite apart from the dissoluteness of the Brazilian civilizers, was present in large measure to begin with. All things considered, I regard it as not impossible that the wide [482] belt of bark or tapir skin originally had a different purpose. The women carried home from the forest back-baskets so heavily loaded with palm nuts that they seemed almost to collapse under the load and were unable to walk, but only to trip along; moreover, the end of the back-basket rested in the small of the back on the strip of belt and the latter protected the skin here just as the bast ring protected the shoulders of the Kulisehu Indians in the transport of canoes. A piece of tapir skin, especially, must have served excellently as padding. Meanwhile, however, it had turned into a pretentious, tightly clasped armor.

304 The ear lobes were pierced in the case of both sexes, but among [852] the boys this was done by the father at the age of eight to ten years when they were beginning to practice hunting skills seriously and among the girls, as we shall see, it was done with an entirely different meaning by their future husbands.

[619] The pierced lower lip was the tribal mark of the men. I have told how our Antonio, whom a woman claimed as her stolen /475/ 301 son, was examined for this. Waehneldt says of the Bororó of the Jaurú that some of them also wear a sort of "toothpick" /Figs. 130-132 appear here/ in the nasal septum; an ornament of pieces of wood was found in the pierced lower lip on a number of them. In their everyday life our Bororó never wore anything at all in the hole of the lower lip. Only boys, cf. Fig. 128 /see p. 571/, were in the habit of using small sticks which kept the hole open; one saw bone splinters, for example, from the cayman, occasionally a nail, and sticks of resin with a little button at the end inside the mouth. Adults, for festive ornamentation, wore sticks of the

/475 cont./

301 same kind, cf. Plate 27 /see p. 588/, or the lip chain, cf. Plate 1 /see p. i/ and Figure 130. The chain consisted of half a dozen small elongated shell plates hanging on one another, with a small string tassel at the lower end, and was 12 centimeters long.

304 852 The lip hole was pierced for the baby by the medicine man shortly after its birth. The instrument used for the operation, baragára, was a feather rod ending in a bone point, cf. Fig. 131 which was very showy and was worn in the hair as an ornament on festive occasions: "the rod on which the bone was fastened with resin had alternate red and orange-colored little feathers densely pasted over it, with fine white down also in between now and then, and [301] terminated at the upper end in a long blue arara feather, while at the point of attachment a bunch of striped falcon, parrot, and arara feathers hung down, about one meter long from tip to tip. The medicine man with the baragára in his hand danced in front of the baby, singing and stepping up to it and back, and on one of these rounds he pierced the lip.

Fig. 130. Lip chain. Bororó. (2/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 131. Lip piercer. Bororó. (1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 132. Scratching bone. Bororó. (2/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

/475 cont./

304 Tattooing was unknown; scars of cuts, casually colored, were not unusual. We did not see instruments analogous to the scari-
757 fier of the Kulisehu Indians. The skin was not torn for medical
413 purposes, but simply scratched, as everybody does, if it /476/ itched, and there was even a special implement for scratching the back, 21 centimeters long, a bone which was adorned with ostrich feathers, cf. Fig. 132 /see p. 591/, and was also used to advantage
765 by the freely perspiring festival dancers. Scars of cuts were the
304 result of the death ceremonies.

301 Painting and feather ornamentation played a role, the former an insignificant one, the latter a tremendously important one.
512 Waehneldt, not without justification, speaks of the "almost daily festivals" of the Bororó. The remark was also perfectly applicable
[224] to our Indians, and, to be sure, simply because even every hunt
302 was begun with dance and song. Then the girl dragged into the men's house was most carefully painted by her friends. Finally,
757 gluing feathers on oneself was a "medicine" practiced day after
237 day. Intermittent fever often occurred in the colony, children
301 were always doéte /sick/ (Portuguese doente), and thus it was simply
[164] impossible for us to see where the boundary lay between medicine and ornamentation. The painful parts of the body were smeared with heated almeisca resin and had down feathers thickly pasted over them. We saw children who had complete sleeves of small white duck-feathers. The color resin was black. In order to paste feathers on the face, a finger-wide adhesive strip was put on along the hair line and the ends bound beside the ears, sometimes with a cross-strip running between nose and lips so that, if the strip were wide and nothing was glued on it, one seemed to see a half-mask cut out to make a frame. The gum-frame originally designed for feathers was also used without glued-on feathers.

Plate 27 /see p. 588/ shows us a Bororó festively pasted with feathers. The arms are entirely covered with small green parrot-feathers, as is the adjoining part of the chest; above the navel there is a small strip of feathers, and on the back, I may add, a part of the shoulders and an area the width of a hand in the small of the back were pasted over. The black gum-frame on the face

/476 cont./

259 has already lost some of its initial beauty and feathering; a cross-
237 strip glued with pure white feathers extends from ear to ear, like
301 a huge moustache. The hair is smeared with urucú, and the front
[302] edge has red arara feathers thickly glued to it; red-smeared tufts stand out on both sides. The upper part of the head, around the tonsure, is adorned with a small red crown of arara feathers, and scattered around it, a handful of small feathers is only loosely pasted on. In the case of women who were ill we not infrequently saw small areas with feathers pasted on them; Maria appeared one day, complaining of fever, and was being more energetically treated with this remedy, for she had it applied to hair, face,
[302] and chest. The wife of a hunter who was returning after a long absence had had her face and hair painted like the ranchão girls for the welcome, and the skin of her upper body transformed
765 into a feather jacket open at the front. The skull of the skeletonized deceased has feathers pasted on it, similar to the ornamentation of the Bororó on Plate 27, before the final burial, whereas the rest of the /477/ bones are smeared with urucú oil. I am unable to say whether in this adornment the desperate unlikely hope of a favorable medical result was a contributing factor.

302 The daily daubing with oily soot and urucú, as on the Schingú
531 /Xingu/, did not occur. Also, the dyestuffs are not used for any
237 implement other than the whizzer sticks; instead of them, one saw feathers on bodies as well as on implements everywhere on
136 the S. Lourenço. Also missing, however, was the plague of mosquitoes and biting flies; the only insects we saw or heard in the colony were the countless crickets rustling in the maize
302 supply. The urucú, of which there was only very little, was
[237] mixed with fish oil. They used it only in the most sparing
[386] amounts, just as the painting with black on the gum-frame and the blackening of the face and body with soot when one set out against the Kayapó were limited. The ranchão girl was painted with urucú for the night; she sat on a red coverlet, and beside her lay a shell with fish oil and a piece of urucú paste. The hair was thickly smeared, the upper body was also given a daubing, but the chief thing, on which a great deal of time was spent,

/477 cont./

302 was the painting of the face with a stalk or a slender bamboo stick. Thus, the forehead was not painted with one stroke, but rather the stick, saturated with color, was put on and squeezed off, a stripe gradually being laid across the forehead with this procedure. The lids were also colored, the upper lid well into the fold. Triangles were painted on the cheeks. I shall come back later to the meaning of the cross-stripe and the triangles, cf. under "Art of Drawing" /see p. 625/, after a discussion of the whizzer sticks, where I shall have an opportunity to speak of designs separately.

237 Ornamental feather-work, as I should like to call it in contrast
301 to the pasting on of feathers, was furnished in the most magnificent fashion. The chief products of the hunters' art are to be found on Plate I /see p. i/ combined in the case of the chief in gala dress.

The parîko, cf. Fig. 133 /see p. 596/, an enormous radial wheel of blue arara tail-feathers, yellow on the reverse side, rises up on the fore part of the head and tilts forward. The arara feathers, 45 centimeters long, are stuck into a wound bundle of stalks that fits the head and is tied on with a string; the lower fourth of the long feathers is covered with several rows of small red and green parrot-feathers. A small diadem, cf. Plate I, is pulled down over the forehead. On the back of the head, tilted backwards and more arched than the parîko, there projects a diadem equal to it in size and made out of cross-banded falcon feathers, the kurugûgua. From the ears down to the chest hang colorful lappets of small red and yellow feathers, prettily arranged in cross-strips, from the breast of the toucan. (The large beaks of the toucans are also worn.) Bunches of wing feathers from the arara, the parrots, and other ornamental birds hang down from the upper arms, as well as from the bow or from the lip-piercer.

/478/ There are all kinds of other feather ornaments. Special consideration is to be given to the very beautiful nabuleâga (nabûre, arara), arara feathers with flowing ostrich feathers and white tufts of down, joined together on a small rod that is stuck into the hole

/478 cont./

237 of the ear lobe or into the hair, 56 centimeters long; cf. Fig. 134 /see
301 p. 597/. In like manner, a frame of little rods, maroboro, egg-shaped like the rattle-gourd, was stuck in the hair; the frame had white down glued over it and a red arara tail feather fastened on the top. Finally, the feather-decorated chignons of the Bororó men should be mentioned.

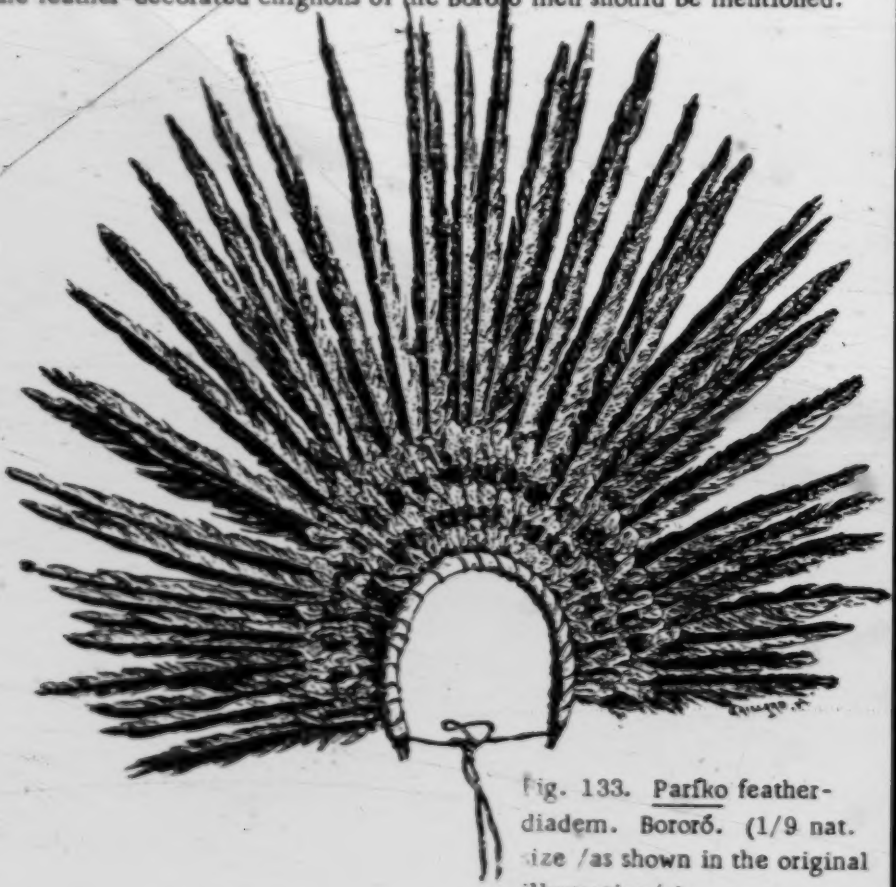

Fig. 133. Paríko feather-diadem. Bororó. (1/9 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

The knot of hair was wound with a feather wreath or densely studded with feathers projecting in rays; see Plate 29 /see p. 633/, the Bororó in the foreground.

/478 cont./

237 301 Teeth were primarily worked into chest ornaments; the most popular ones were large jaguar teeth, usually two pairs plaited together, and small monkey teeth, several transverse rows of which were joined into a piece up to 30 centimeters wide /479/ extending almost across the entire chest; cf. Plate I /see p. i/ and Fig. 129 /see p. 589/. It was extremely seldom that women were also given these ornaments and, since it is usually reported of the other Bororó that only the men adorned themselves, is probably to be traced back to the upheaval caused by the colonization. It was characteristic that the Indian-thinking and Portuguese-speaking Clemente called the teeth plaited together rosarios, rosaries; in connection with this ornament, the Indians had the idea that it makes one strong [727] and agile. They also extracted teeth from Brazilian prisoners and hung these around themselves; lower jaws of the enemy were worn [283] in the same way. They also [765] promised themselves protection from hair of the dead, which was spun into thread and then plaited into cords which were very difficult to obtain; bunches of hair hung down, along with the feathers, from the arm bands.

Fig. 134. Arara ear-feather. Bororó. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 135. Chest ornament of armadillo claws. Bororó. (1/3 nat. size/ as shown in the original illustration/.)

/479 cont./

237 301 Claws, small ones from rodents and large ones from armadillos, were put together by twos and thus formed the shape of a half-moon; in the center, where they were joined and covered with resin, hung a bunch of strings, while a few shell ringlets were pressed into the resin.

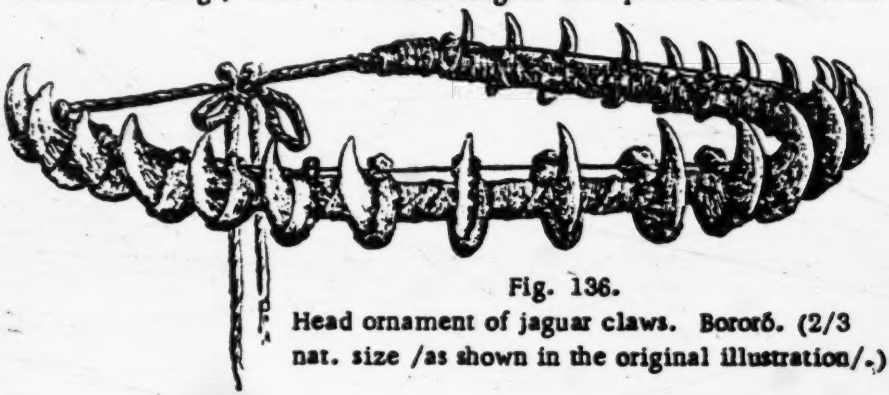

Fig. 136.
Head ornament of jaguar claws. Bororó. (2/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

[171] We found the claws of the giant armadillo on the Kulisehu in a very similar arrangement, not as an ornament, but as a tool /Fig. 135 ap-
[177] pears here; see Fig. 25, page 205. The Bororó imitated the claw ornament by cutting pieces of the same shape and size out of the tin of Brazilian tin cans. The process was very interesting because nothing about the tin half-moons betrayed their origin from two claws, and they were even declared to be proof of the "moon worship" of the Bororó by a Cuyaban, as I discovered to my delight. See Fig. 135 /sic; probably Fig. 129, p. 589, is meant/, the ear ornament of the mother. This was the way the Indians were already working metal. Lip pegs were also cut out of tin.

[171] Jaguar claws were joined together into a head hoop, see Fig. 136, an ornament very similar to the Auetó chief's neck-chain of the same material in Fig. 5, page 90.

/480/ There were chains made of shell- and nut-beads, small pieces of bone, and pierced seed kernels, but they were far less important than on the Schingú. Beads made out of the armadillo carapace were most highly prized. I shall give more details about this in my description of the activity in the men's house. In that connection I shall also discuss the ornamental strings for both sexes, which we called "suspenders."

/480 cont./

575 The aróe. The hub of Bororó existence is the baitó, the men's
533 house, and, compared with the incredibly noisy life that goes on
[345] there day and night, the family huts are scarcely more than an abode for women and children. The united men are called aróe, and, to be sure, especially with respect to the joint hunting. In the songs resounding and widely echoing in the baitó, one may say without undue exaggeration, almost every day and every night, aróe is not the third, but the second word; for the songs contain enumerations of animals and things, each of which is followed by at least one aróe as soon as it is named. There is singing on all occasions that in any way arouse feelings of sorrow or joy, and, to be sure, insofar as possible, on the eve of the
[622] event as well as after it. The chief announces in the evening a hunt for the following day: now, instead of sensibly going to sleep until the early hour of departure has arrived, the aróe join in their hunting song, and the most enthusiastic ones sing
[582] steadfastly until morning. The tribe gives the impression of a male singing society made up of hunters, the members of which pledge themselves not to marry until they are about 40 years old,
[561] but to live together in their clubhouse. The older members with
[264] families are the respected dignitaries, and for this reason they,
[554] too, can spend only a little time at home; they take part in the hunting expeditions or must officiate in the clubhouse where they provide for order, lead the songs, and on the busy days also take part in the meal which the women send in. /Pl. XXVIII appears here./

184 /481/ Clemente asserted that the Indians in the colony did not in any way live differently than in their villages, that, on the contrary, there the joint hunting was even more prominent because they had to provide all their subsistence themselves. Ac-
105 cording to this, therefore, life on the Kulisehu is essentially
171 different from that in the Bororó village. There people lived
433 together in stately family houses, here every married couple
511 blessed with children had their small miserable hut; there the
571 bachelors constituted the exception, here the majority; there the men living in monogomy had their flute house which no woman entered, which served for general consultations and dances

[Text Continues on P.601]

.2: Steinen--600 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8

Plate XXVIII

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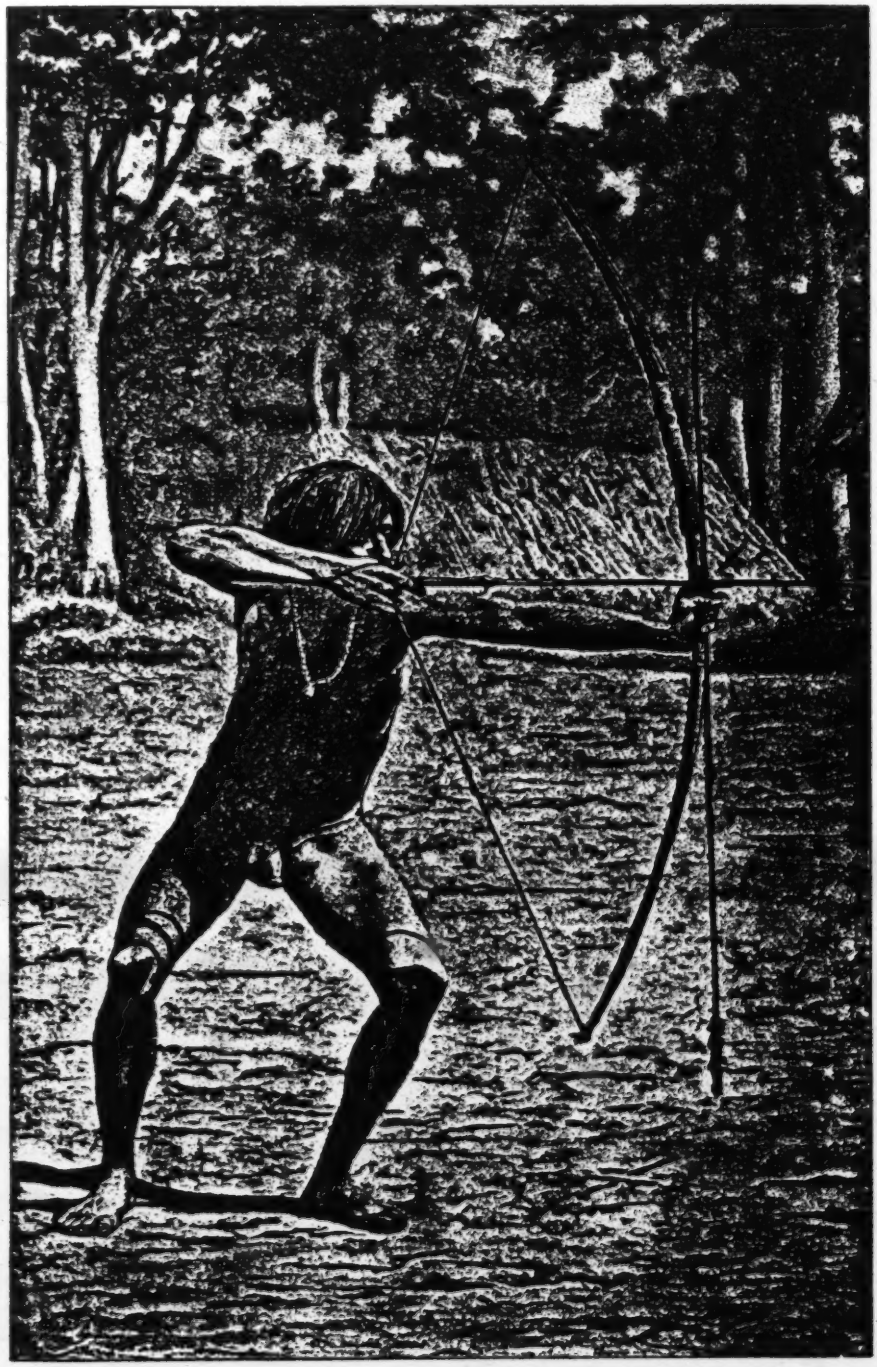

Bororó shooting.

/481 cont./

105 but where they worked only in making their festive ornaments,
171 here girls were forcibly dragged into the men's house, always be-
433 coming the common property of several members, and the regular
511 work on weapons and implements was carried on in the men's
571 house. Among the Bororó, family life was most clearly only an achievement of the older and stronger ones. A living could only be obtained by means of the closed fellowship of the majority of the men, who often had to be absent hunting together for a long time, which would not have been feasible for individuals. This living was meager, and the younger ones had to be satisfied if they themselves had enough to eat; they could not obtain enough to take care of wife and child as well. With peaceful field cultivation, which the woman of the Kulisehu tribes had developed or learned, conditions changed completely; the community of the men, the aróe, faded into the background and could be limited to that for fishing and festive dances. The availability of food was now so abundant and regular that each one had enough for the needs of at least a small family -- he saw to it that the family remained small -- and now that the activity of the woman became the more important achievement, it was, conversely, advantageous for the women to join together for joint work: people lived in families in a large house.

511 Hunting and agriculture. "In the rainy season they are with-
out any kind of food for days and days," dias e dias sem nada
261 para comer, Clemente reported. Then they drank a great deal of water mixed with loam to strengthen themselves, but did not
241 eat any loam. They planted only tobacco, cotton, and gourds,
184 and, to be sure, only the upper Bororó living in the source region
[226] of the S. Lourenço along small streams, who were more skillful
[436] fishermen, did this. The lower villages bartered arrows for those vegetable products. Here, therefore, we see that cultivation is begun not with the plants yielding food! Our Bororó now settled
415 in Thereza Christina had not learned to plant anything. Calabashes
[534] and long gourds suitable for storing feathers were in fact not present; smaller gourds were seldom used and chiefly as rattle gourds for the aróe singing or as small blow-gourds. The men

/481 cont./

415 on the hunt needed no vessels or they knew how to make do with fruit /482/ shells and bamboo, they kept their feathers in large bamboo boxes, and the women made pot-bowls and water pots at [824] home. The giant bamboo does not grow in the vicinity of the colony, but is fetched from some distance; we found containers 50-60 centimeters long and nine centimeters thick, out of which longitudinal lids had been cut.

224 On page 558 I have presented drastic examples of the crude lack of understanding which was characteristic of the Bororó in contrast to the field cultivation of the Brazilians. The men went out hunting for days and weeks; sometimes they were accompanied by a few women. Thus it was not a purely nomadic life, but rather settlement was present. It was made possible by the roasting of game and by fishing.

[251] We saw a group of returning hunters; they brought home in carrying baskets a quantity of meat very thoroughly roasted, black and dry, chiefly wild pig, fowl, and turtles, with large, charred pieces of skin and only little meat adhering to them. [151] The Brazilians valued the Bororó as excellent trackers; deserting soldiers were soon caught with their help.*

487

* In order to prevent the troops sent out against them from finding their village, the natives resorted to the ruse of traveling the final stretch of the way through the trees as much as possible.

226 Fish were shot with arrows or caught with hooks, which they made out of stolen iron and out of the shell of the turtle, copying the Brazilian model, or in nets; in that a circle was formed and the fish driven together. They also blocked narrower rivers with branches and grass, leaving a few funnel-shaped entrance holes, behind which an enclosure of bamboo sticks was erected. In shallow rivers, Clemente said, the Indians remained in the water [142] all night, working by palm torches. The assertion that they were [824] able to remain under water for a long time remains incompre- [296] hensible to me. They chewed the bitter leaves of the "dyorúbo"

/482 cont./

226 tree before they plunged under, and afterwards they spat them
147 out again. They caught fish under water. He knew of one man
824 who remained in the depths for about an hour and came back
276 "with an armful of pintados."

484 It is certain that the Bororó liked to stay in the water. One saw those returning from the hunt appear in the river one or two kilometers above the colony and travel the distance by swimming or wading up to their necks in water, instead of choosing the land route and merely swimming across. One could hear them laugh-
[482] ing and talking far off; they would follow one another in pairs a short distance apart, all uniformly holding their bows straight up, like crosses, at the top of which the bunches of arrows were tied horizontally, and carrying the captured animals on their chests or under their arms.

482 The women who brought the heavily loaded baskets full of palm nuts and roots or huge bundles of long palm leaves for /483/ roof and house wall likewise swam home. They tied the carrying baskets to pieces of wood, four to each piece, and guided them with ropes, like the pelota (cf. p. 139 /untranslated/). The carrying baskets were carried on the back in a bast loop which ran across the forehead or the front of the head.

501 The Bororó did not have any canoes. They called the vessels of the Brazilians ĩka -- the same word that they used for branches and twigs (not tree trunks: ipó) such as they were in the habit of tying together to form small rafts for the transportation of loads.

231 Dogs, which we imagine to be indispensable to the primitive hunter, from the example of our forefathers, were absent among the Bororó, not only in their original home, but even now they were scarcely ever used, although they could easily have been available to them in large numbers.

000 Later I shall be in a position to discuss the distribution of hunting booty.

411 Weapons. Bows and arrows represented the highest development of techniques and were fashioned with extraordinary neatness and precision. Here one could see most clearly that, if only there is interest, there will be no lack of achievement. Except for the

/483 cont./

411 club, the bow was also the sole weapon of war. It is said of the Bororó dos Campos that they "seldom" had lances, with points of iron, bone, or stone. The club of the S. Lourenço was one and a third meters long, a rather flat piece of palm wood which was three to four centimeters wide and ended in a blade only five to six centimeters wide.

No. 5 in Figure 137 /see p. 605/ shows us the ordinary bow, baíga. It is up to 1.9 meters long and, at a width of a third of a [283] meter, is wound with a palm-fiber cord, a reserve bowstring that usually forms the continuation of the stretched bowstring; cf. Plate 411 28 /see p. 600/. The bows carried on festive occasions by chiefs 237 and regarded as ceremonial gifts, the ornamentation of which [554] is shown on No. 1, have magnificent feather ornaments. The wood has colorful small arara feathers pasted over it, either red and yellow or blue and yellow, with white down in between, and the end held up is crowned with a tuft of like-colored feathers. The colorful tuft sometimes also adorns the ordinary hunting bow. 411 The fortunate slayer of a jaguar, finally, is distinguished by the [531] bow of No. 2; on it are put a dozen small yellow bands of [554] oaussú palm leaf (Attalea spectabilis). The bows have a rather [824] flat back, whereas the surface facing the bowstring is more convex, the opposite of the Paressí bows.

[824] The arrows have a shaft either of kambayuva reed or of the elegant black seriba palm straw (Avicennia). On the pencil-thin seriba shafts is set an end-piece of reed on which the tail feathers are attached; they are carefully planed with pierced Bulimus shells and more smoothly polished with lischa leaves, which are rough like sandpaper.

/484/ /Fig. 137 appears here./

/485/ Common to all arrows are the two pinions put on with a spiral twist and fastened at the upper and lower end; on the illustrations one can see how the shaft of the feather stands out from the reed of the arrow in a slight curve. A few rings of small, dainty feathers are often also put on between them.

[text continues on p. 606]

2: Steinen--605 F,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi

Bororo SP8

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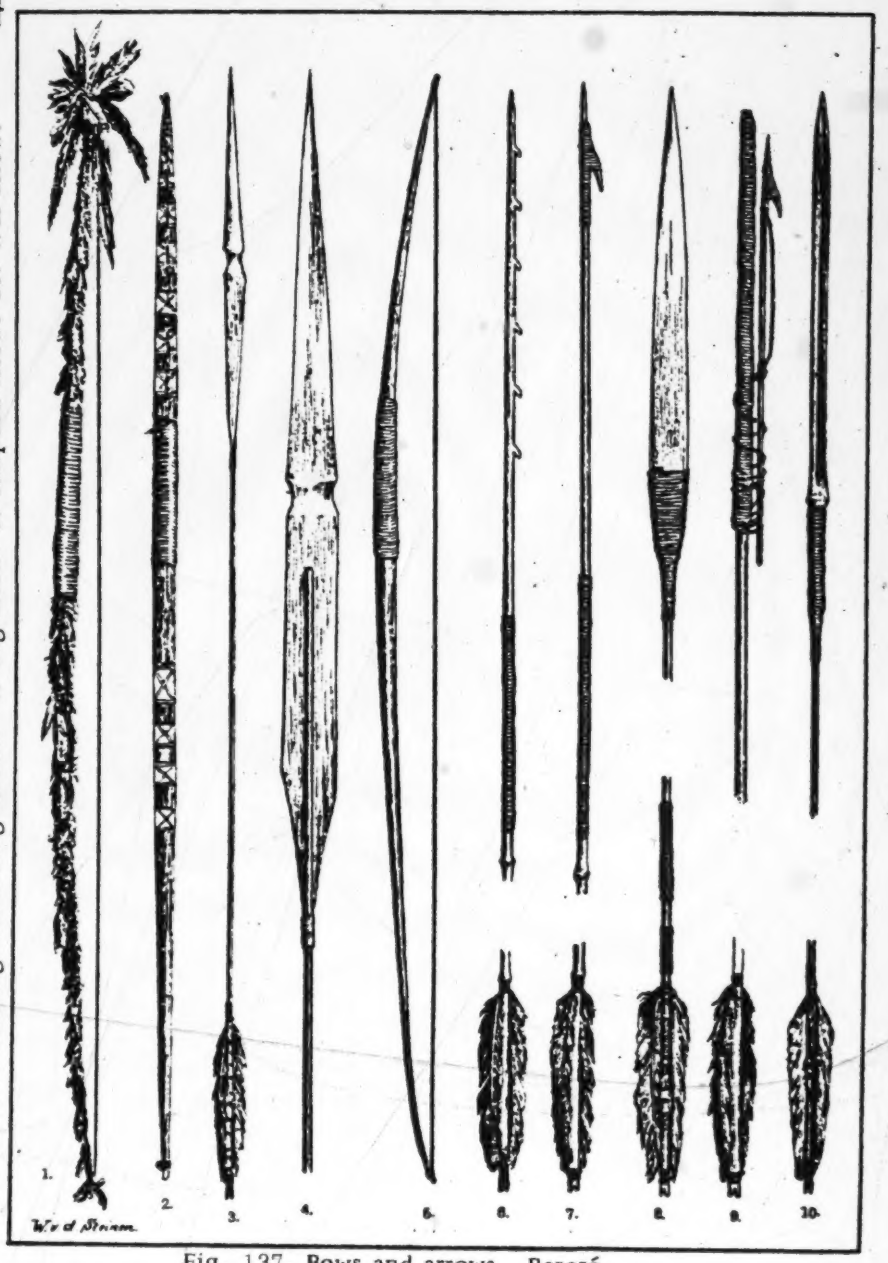


1. Bow of the chief, 2. of the jaguar hunter. 3. Jaguar arrow. 4. Bamboo point of 3. 5. Ordinary bow. 6 and 7. Hunting and fishing arrows. 8. Pig arrow. 9. Harpoon arrow. 10. War arrow.

Fig. 137. Bows and arrows. Bororó.

/485 cont./

411 The arrows are one and a half to one and three-fourths meters long. In the case of the most common type of hunting and fishing arrows pointed sticks of wood are driven into the kambayuva reed and on them sit a sharpened piece of bone. Or a bone is tied on [239] as a barb, No. 7, or the wood is notched, No. 6. The bones come from the monkey or the tapir. For bird hunting, arrows with blunt points are used; they bear a wooden cone, the wider end at the top, and in the center of the surface they are provided with a pointed knob.

Fig. 138. Bororó shooting.

Other arrows have sharpened pieces of bamboo as points; the bamboo is hung in smoke for a long time, so that it dries out sufficiently. The simplest form, which is used in hunting wild pigs, is shown by No. 8.[7] The flat bamboo point, 30-40 centimeters long, two and a half centimeters wide, is lashed to the reed shaft. No. 3 shows the beautiful seriba arrow for hunting jaguars; the entire arrow is one and three-fourths meters long, the feathered end-piece 24 centimeters, the bamboo point 60 centimeters long and three centimeters wide. The seriba shaft rests in a /486/ groove of the flat

[7] [See P. 605--Analyst]

/486 cont./

411 bamboo point, hollowed out with the capibara chisel, and is only loosely fastened with a little resin and string; cf. No. 4. The war arrow, No. 10, also carved out of seriba, bears a very narrow (one to two centimeters) piece of bamboo, round, but sharpened along its entire length (37 centimeters). The bamboo points break off in the body.

The barbed arrow is equipped with a harpoon device to catch alligators and larger fish. The length of the harpoon arrow in No. 9 was 1.78 centimeters /sic/, 31 centimeters of which should be allowed for the barbed stick fastened to a rope; the shaft, a thick ubá reed, was additionally wound half a meter in breadth.

The snapshot in Fig. 138 /see p. 606/ and Plate 28 /see p. 600/ show the stretching of the bow. The crouching archer holds the bow horizontally; the standing one, vertically. A reserve arrow is held parallel to the bow with the left hand. In this case the arrow rests to the left of the bow on the index finger of the left hand, which holds the bow. At its rear end it is grasped between thumb and index finger, the thumb lets go, the index finger, in extended position, supports and adjusts the arrow more accurately, the other three fingers, especially the middle
[171] finger, stretch the bowstring. Thus, the stretching is different from that on the Kulisehu (cf. page 237). In the case of the crouching archer, where the arrow lies on the bow and is slightly pressed against it there by the tip of the index finger of the left hand, the position of the stretching right hand differs insofar as the rear end of the arrow is held between the tightly grasping thumb and the bent index finger.

345 Work in the men's house and techniques. Each one had his particular place: one who lived in the direction of the river, in the corner facing the river, and so forth, all according to the position of the house of the nearest relatives. Here where the
[571] Indians were among themselves there prevailed, except for the sexual practices, a commendable order, even according to our
461 concepts. A person who had nothing to do, of course, idled with great perseverance, but a person who was occupied with his weapons, ornaments, and implements worked indefatigably and

/486 cont./

461 worked so neatly and carefully that the masters of the catechesis should have been delighted. Even the idiot Dyapokuri was incessantly busy, though he would now and then regale the others with a little joke of a voluntary or involuntary nature.

On days when there was no hunting, there were about 40 men
252 happily at work in the baitó. Meanwhile the women would be cooking in the huts and now and then one of the men would disap-
264 pear to fetch food. As soon as he returned and became visible
[152] in the wall there were individual "hm hm" of appreciation, and scarcely had he drawn in his arm holding aloft the steaming dish, appearing last, when, with a general shrill ah! the whole com-
[262] pany would shout for joy. Large pot-bowls were filled with thick, sourish maize mush or maize gruel, and on top /487/ lay large river mussels to be scooped up with a spoon. Then Moguyokuri would stride about, place his strong hand on the thick skulls of a number of young or old, and the chosen ones would squat around the pot and resolutely dig /Figs. 139-140 appear here/ their shell spoons into the mush. Anyone comparing this patriarchal tableau with the scene of the Brazilian meat distribution (page 562) was bound to be filled with righteous indignation at that disgraceful business.

252 The idiot Dyapokuri roasted the beef that was snatched dur-
372 ing the "feeding of the animals." He fetched fire from one of the huts. Fire no longer had to be kindled by rubbing, because
[177] the administration furnished Swedish matches. The original method of the Bororó was the same as on the Kulisehu. Canella brava, Pseudocaryophyllus sericeus, was regarded as the best wood.

412 There was, of course, no longer anything to be seen of stone
[177] axes and cutting fish teeth; axes and knives were present in abundance. But all kinds of things from the old days were still
[237] to be observed. For instance, the Bororó, when they ate, cut off pieces of meat in front of their mouths with bamboo splinters; as a scraping chisel they used the capibara tooth, up to eight centimeters long, fastened to a small stick cf. Fig. 26 /see p. 205/ from the Schingú and, in the present connection, Fig. 139 /see p. 609/; they filed this tooth with the tooth of the paca

/487 cont./

412 237 (Coelogenys paca), a small rodent; they still planed, polished, and bored in good Indian fashion.

Their plane was a Bulimus shell, ruo, ten centimeters long, cf. Fig. 140 (and Fig. 27 /see p. 206/ from the Schingú), into which sharp-edged holes

322 were struck with an oaussú nut. Moreover, they polished wood, for example the whizzer sticks which were made for the burial ceremony, by rubbing it for a quarter of an hour with a wet, smooth stone. Or they took the rough leaves of the lischa and the imbauba tree. They sat with

Fig. 139. Capybara chisel. Bororó. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

[412] [237] [284] →

legs folded and crossed and cut and planed the objects on their foot as a support. On the outer part of the ankle resting on the floor I often felt callous thickenings and even movable pieces as hard as cartilage.

321 Monkey bones for chain ornaments were cut up on their foot, and I constantly feared for their own bones.

Boring was always done with a twirling motion. A nail was fastened to a stick half a meter long and this was twirled between

Fig. 140. Plane-shell. Bororó. (2/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

[412] [237] →

the two hands sliding rapidly up and down. In this way they bored through the small shell plates for their lip chains, which they made

/487 cont./

321 by breaking up a shell and /488/ polishing the edges of the pieces on stone. In this way they bored through teeth and squeezed those that were small in an oaussú nut, several beside one another, so that they would not slip. Also peculiar was their method of making beads out of the carapace of the armadillo. It represents an arched shield made up of numerous small polygons; on the inner side of each polygon there is a natural pin-point depression: the twirl-borer was placed in this, and only after the entire shield was thus evenly perforated like a sieve, was it broken up into the individual small plates, which were strung in a row and polished round.

285 [765] → [142] [301] [302] ←

Fig. 141. Bororó woman with breast strings and arm bands.

Basket-bags into which the bones were packed at the ceremony for the dead, square fire-fans which were also used as plates or were tied on a handle like small flags in order to be used to ward off mosquitoes, and the large sleeping mats made of the oaussú palm leaf (two meters long, 90 centi-
[462] meters wide) were plaited. The pouch-shaped carrying baskets apparently were plaited by the women.

283 [462] The men spun. The men's house a spinning room! I confess it gave me an adventurous feeling when I saw for the first time one of these hunters loosening flocks of cotton by jerking them on a bowstring. They spun cotton and the hair of their dead, but in a manner different from that of the women on the Kulisehu. The spindle whorl, four to four and a half centimeters in diameter, was a disk of shell or clay and sat on the upper fourth of the little stick stuck through it. While the left hand held the drawn-out

/488 cont./

283 flock or a few hairs placed together and had fastened them to the short end of the stick; the larger part of the little stick, below the whorl, would be rolled on the right thigh with the right hand, the spindle being held slantwise; thus, the thread was formed on the shorter part of the stick above the whorl. The finished thread was wound on the long part below the whorl.

The hair-threads were plaited into a cord which was worn around the head hair, around the waist, or, for protection against the snapping of the bowstring, around the wrist. Palm fiber cord was twisted by hand on the thigh. The great toe was often used in string work.

[286] Actual weaving, that is to say, the interlacing of threads crossing at right angles, was unknown. The men made narrow [301] bands out of cotton threads, /489/ into which porcupine quills were plaited and which were worn like suspenders, cf. Figs. 141 /see p. 610/ and 129 /see p. 589/. as chest strings by both sexes, as well as arm bands by artfully interlacing threads between two thin rods.

461 How elegantly and neatly the men worked was particularly striking in the making of arrows. There were so many small dexterous movements which one would have expected only from the delicate hands of women. Among these I include particularly the decoration with tiny colored feathers, each of which was placed on the ground one by one and carefully arranged.

Nor can there be more chatter and laughter in a spinning room than there was here in the baitó. True, it was not very womanly when suddenly, for the sake of variety, two of the workers got up and staged a regular wrestling match which was watched with great interest by the others. They stood up, wrestled, threw each other, and resumed their work or lay down again for 517 dolce far niente. For comfortable idlers were never lacking; [832] and there was also seldom lacking, though the women otherwise stayed away, a loving couple who lay under a common red coverlet and dallied. No one paid any attention to them except a few friends troubled by mild jealousy, who at the moment were being neglected by the common lover and had to be content to sit beside the pair and chat with them.

/489 cont./

732 Sometimes Dyapokuri gave a performance. The men were far from regarding the feeble-minded one, who could only babble, as a superior creature. He liked to portray the quarreling of the women by launching into the most enraged gestures and vigorously demonstrated the mutual scratching and hair-pulling. He flew into frightful agitation himself, however, when a soldier teased him on account of his setting out to pursue the Kayapó (page 568) and, a stick over his shoulder, hitched along with huge, lunging strides: the poor devil foamed at the mouth with indignation, threw his burning chunk of wood at the mocker, and, since he did not know what else to do, snatched up a few wood chips from the ground and, with a teeth-baring grimace and unintelligible sounds of rage, depicted -- the mustache of the soldier. After a while he calmed down again and, for the funeral ceremony, practiced rattling with two rattle gourds and the rhythmic aróe grunts.

123 The hours in the ranchão were instructive and agreeable. There was only one thing that was intolerable, the incessant begging for tobacco. My pipe traveled from one man to another. The men dictated pages of Bororó to me, each one having to present in sentences whatever was going on at the moment, listened to me repeat it, and then laughed, just as gratified [157] as the Bakaïrí. The more intimate we became, the more striking was the agreement in temperament and character with the Kulisehu Indians. On a post in the men's house, after we had taken the anthropological measurements, /490/ my height was also indicated. A piece of charcoal was crushed with the teeth, pulverized with saliva in the hand, and above my head a black ring was painted around the post.

433 Food: "consecration." According to Clemente's report, in spite of all the hunting, the plant food obtained by the women is of the greatest importance, because it comes in more regularly 222 and abundantly. The women look for roots with a pointed stick, climb up the palm trees with great agility, among which preference is given to the oaussú and akurí, gather the nuts, cut the "palm cabbage" in the crown, look for jatobá and pikí fruits, 272 and so forth. The palm nuts are roasted or pounded in a mortar 574 and mixed with water to make a thickish drink, the refreshing

/490 cont./

272 beverage which corresponds to the starch-paste or the pikí juice
574 of the Kulisehu and is served to the guest. The maize mush to
262 which we were introduced in the ranchão is absent in the villages
241 because there is no maize. The women prepare the vegetable
462 food. They also make the pots, of which there was only a small
323 number. There were two kinds, an open bowl, ruóbo, in which one cooked, and a póli with a short neck and narrow bottom, almost in the shape of the mortar, which was also used as a vessel, for the storing of water. They were very crude, superficially fired, not
412 glazed inside. The mortar, crudely carved, only about 40 centimeters tall, but easily transportable, had roughly the shape of an

415

Fig. 142. Waterpot and pot-bowl. Bororó. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

412 egg from which one pole was cut straight off and, when used, was stuck in the ground. Besides nuts, they also pounded meat and bones in it.

262 When the women came home to Thereza Christina, they gave the men "carne de coco," nut meat, and were given what was left of the "carne de gado," beef. Salt and bacon were scorned. Although wild pig was their favorite food, they refused the meat of the domestic pig because the animal was raised by its owner. When a suckling pig was served to the officers, they ran out of the room.
[515] They had no such scruples about sand fleas which they dug out for themselves (we watched an Indian woman as she performed the

/490 cont. /

262 little operation with a fork taken from our table already set).
515 "They eat sand fleas /491/ because these, after all, consume their
252 blood too." All game was roasted in its skin, only the intestines were boiled; tripe was the speciality of Dyapokuri. Everything
262 was eaten "that there was in the forest and in the river." The caymans shot with the harpoon arrow were very popular. Campo deer were neither eaten nor killed.

231 Tame araras are not eaten or killed. They catch the orna-
mental birds young, bring them up, and pluck out their feathers.
232 Clemente said that they also knew how to color the araras yellow by rubbing the plucked areas with the sap of a tree. The procedure, familiar to many Indians, was thus probably discovered in the medical treatment of the animals who were forcibly divested of their feathers. I shall return later to the loving consideration for deer and arara.

224 Although etiquette did not by any means prevent the Bororó
[264] from eating together, as it did the Bakairí /Bacairi/ and Karayá
[171] /Caraja/, they instead had other peculiar customs which clearly show that tribes dependent on scant hunting booty must in one way or another seek methods of preventing arguments and quarrels in
[252] connection with the distribution. There was first of all a most striking rule: no one roasted the game that he himself had shot, but gave it to another to roast! Similar wise precaution is ob-
[262] served for previous skins and teeth. After a jaguar has been slain, a great festival is celebrated; the meat is eaten. The hunter, however, does not get the skin and the teeth, but the nearest relative of the Indian man or woman who died most recently, about
[554] which I shall not as yet go into detail. The hunter is honored; he receives gifts of arara feathers from everyone and the bow decorated with oaussú bands. The most important rule which prevents discord, however, is connected with the calling of the medicine man, about whom I must therefore first of all report.

756 The Bororó distinguish between the bari and the aroetauarari.
[575] The two are not mutually exclusive, however; both are medicine men, but the aroetauarari is primarily the leader of the singing and dancing in the aróe song or dance, the bari primarily the attending physician. The Brazilians called the former "padre,"

/491 cont./

756 the latter "doutor." Let us confine ourselves to the term bari or medicine man. His training seems to be less ceremonious than is otherwise the case; it depends more on natural talent. During [293] the dry season -- the name does not actually refer to thirst -- the most akurf palm wine is drunk; the trees are tapped, and the sap runs into a pot or mortar and is drunk from bamboo beakers. The wine is somewhat sour, but plentiful. Both sexes become as intoxicated as possible. The one who holds out the longest becomes the medicine man. If it is said of him that the birds of the forest understand him, that he converses with trees and with animals of all sorts in their language, hopefully that does not mean /492/ a medical man who is still inspired by palm wine, but refers to study in solitude and to the arče song in which the animals are 755 called upon. The bari treats his patients in the well-known manner: he groans, writhes, smokes, and sucks the cause of the illness -- customarily a bone here -- out of the body of the patient. Two things should be noted, however: first, the bone is merely displayed and does not leave his hand, and the doctor gives treatments only at night.

Waehneldt reports correspondingly about the Bororô on the Jauri. Curing is done amid great clouds of smoke, unintelligible words, and, "the most important thing," convulsive movements: "I was present at the cure by such a padre, which consisted of his sucking at various parts of the body, and meanwhile he smoked his pipe and chewed up the mouthpiece. After each sucking he spit out the chewed-up pieces of his pipe, telling the patient that it 956 was the cause of his suffering." Furthermore--and now we come 784 back to the hunting booty --a capibara pig had to be blessed in 825 the "sanctuary" by one of the four to six padres before it could be eaten or even touched. The baris cut off the best pieces and left the rest to the others.

On the S. Lourenço, too, the doctors likewise still lived in the golden age. It would be unjust to speak here of a delightful outgrowth of primitive hierarchy, for the bari was no "padre," but a "doutor" who merely did not yet know more than a "padre." The "consecration" was done in exactly the same way as the attempt to bring a dead person back to life. The logic is very

/492 cont./

754 simple. The animals primarily consecrated are precisely the same
784 ones into which deceased baris enter, and the baris, after their
825 death, transform themselves into the animals which are prized as
[775] the best game! Hence it is necessary to convince oneself that the slain animal cannot be brought back to life, and the consecration consists of this attempt. A large jahú fish was caught and brought to the men's house, a specimen almost one and a half meters long, which could not be roasted in one piece. A bari squatted down beside it, started to tremble violently, closed his eyes, vehemently shook his right hand pressed against his mouth, then began to blow and to cry vãi vãi, threw back his head and drew a deep breath, blew on the fish from top to bottom, tapped it all over, sprinkled it with saliva, opened the mouth of the animal, screamed and spat into it, closed it again -- finished. A procedure that was brisk and businesslike and lasted only three minutes by my watch. Then he seized a knife, cut up the fish, and took the piece that I, too, would have taken.

The animals that absolutely must be consecrated are the large fish, jahũ, pintado sheatfish, and dourado, and the capybara, [822] tapir, and cayman. The head of the tapir in particular requires the ceremony; no one but the bari may eat the tapir proboscis, /493/ which has the tenderest meat, and the back of the neck; of the other animals, too, the best belongs "to the bari and his friends," [824] who divide it up after it is roasted. The system has also been extended to some fruits: pikí, mangabas, and maize, again the best tasting ones. In the case of akuri nuts the procedure is unnecessary; it has been done with maize only since the Brazilians regularly supply the colony with it. Indeed, a bari must be present when the animals are caught! If a fish subject to the official meat-inspection falls into the net when no bari is present, it must be released, and Clemente said that this actually happens, but only by way of exception, because there are always several bari and they are always present. A person who violates the custom will soon die. Cf. "transmigration of souls" below /see p. 644/.

/493 cont./

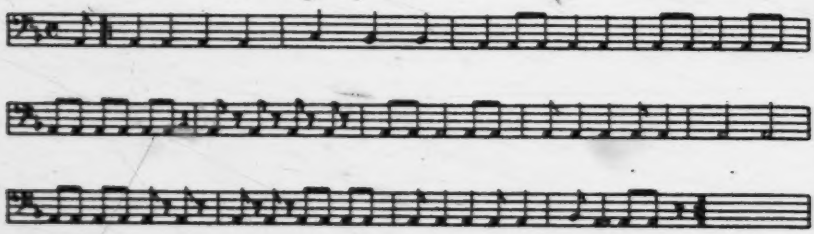
533 Dance and play. On the basis of the preceding, the aróe song,
[756] opening every communal hunting and fishing expedition, loses all its strangeness. The bari, who solemnly divides up the booty at the end, also takes care of the solemn preliminaries for the under-
[772] taking. We shall not yet go into the underlying view of the relationship between animal and human being, without which these ceremonies could scarcely have been invented except by charlatans, but with which they are probably justified in their origin.

The hunting song is the same as the one sung at the ceremony for the dead! It makes a very dignified and, at night, if one likes, horrible impression. At the ceremony for the dead, men and women sing together, the women, to be sure, standing to one side and in the background and often stopping, while the men do not permit themselves a pause. During the nocturnal preparations for the hunt, one heard only the deep booming voices of the men's
[115] chorus. I owe the notes on the next page /see p. 618/ to the cadet Caldas. He made a distinction between a first song by the men alone and a second one by the men and women. The text which he wrote down for the first one is unfortunately useless. It is about the gull, schibáyu, which also occurs in the second, and, in spite of several repetitions, it is nothing but a mere listing of names. This latter – aróe is the text of the second song and, in a long sequence, is also what is usually sung -- not much poorer in variety in the text than in the music, which, though I have no technical knowledge, seems to me to achieve the ultimate in "monotony." The following "verses" were translated by Clemente and are given in the proper sequence: bakororó aróe, okóge aróe, schibáyu aróe, kurugúge aróe botoroé aróe imayaré aróe dyuretóto aróe kayatóto aróe manotóto aróe. The words listed are: water (a specific kind? otherwise póbe), dourado fish, gull, falcon, another predatory bird that eats fish, "its breast," water snake aukurí, mortar, swamp grass. The scene, therefore, is on the water; more I cannot say; whether the dead person experiences all kinds of things in the vicinity of his skeleton-basket buried there, whether the rival animals that catch fish are desired in the mortar, which would seem more /494/ credible -- I was unable to discover. Alternating with this song, "jaguar," "capibara," "paríko" (feather

/494 cont./

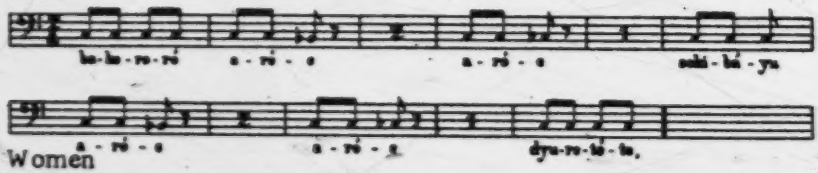
533 diadem) – ehé would be sung; again, however, this did not occur at the ceremony for the dead, but only in connection with hunting.

First song, by the Men.

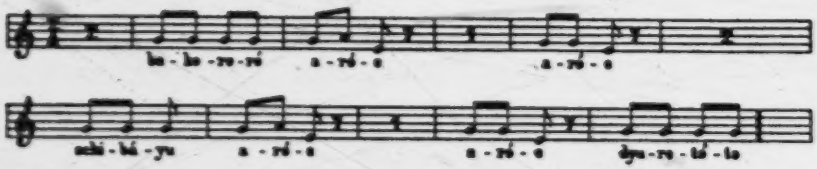


533
539 Men

Second Song, by the Men and Women.



Women



535 Rohde speaks of a "fararu dance," for which one is adorned with
[534] feather crowns, bells, and other ornaments. A dance leader, the gourd rattle in each hand, bells made out of deer hoofs on his feet, is in the center of a circle which the men form and which the women surround with a larger circle. They dance rhythmically, leap and rattle for a long time; finally the leading dancer roars hau! and makes a wild final leap which the entire company imitates. Waehneldt saw dances with imitations of animals and calls the howling-monkey dance, with an imitation of all the sounds and movements, particularly extravagant. "In the jaguar-skin dance men and women take part; the latter are never able to see the skin of the jaguar which one man is wearing on his back, who, however, tries to show it to them with his movements at every step." The fear of the women is the point /495/ of the dance.
[198] "The dance, which consisted of their imitating (?) the customs of

/495 cont./

535 198 their ancestors, was a bit clumsy and accompanied by songs in a language different from the present one. The most melancholy and
535 sorrowful dance was dedicated to the memory of their dead; in it they portrayed the latter as present, conversed with them, and bestowed all kinds of endearments on them."

On page 567 I have described the dance for courage in battle against the hostile Kayapó /Cayapo/, in which we had to take part. Details about the dance and song at the ceremony for the dead will be given in the specific report about the burial of Coqueiro's wife, and I shall also describe there the dance of the evening before, during which the belongings of the dead woman were burned.

We saw an amusing dance, on 8 April, the "pare" dance. Four young men in the parîko finery appeared behind the ranchão, led by Domingo who was swinging a rattle gourd in each hand. They rhythmically made small jumps with both feet and danced this way in a circle, in sudden alternation turning to face now inward, now outward. Then came three young girls; each danced timidly behind one of the youths, holding on to his hips. The onlookers were enjoying themselves, but their merriment increased considerably when now a fourth, more dashing person with bark belt and bast band, who was easily recognizable as a man in spite of a headcloth concealing the face, leaped into the circle. He was wearing strings of beads around his neck and carried a small mat in his hand, with which he fanned rhythmically toward the ground. The entertainment lasted about a quarter of an hour; the women, the sham one in the lead, stepped out, the men danced around once more in an accelerated tempo and went bathing.

526 Wrestling bouts, peaceful ones, took place according to the following rules. A person who wants to challenge another seizes him by his right wrist. The two stand opposite each other, and each one places his hands together under the shoulders or in the small of the back of the other one; in this embrace the two stand with almost horizontal torsos, their feet are as far apart as possible, and the one looks at the back of the other. Smiling, they remain this way for a while, perfectly quiet, but then they

/495 cont./

526 suddenly become very serious; the problem is to trip up the other one and thus bring him down. One of them opens the attack by trying to get his heel into the hollow of the knee of the other one and to bend it, but the latter places his tensely straightened leg so far back that the former cannot exert any pressure. Soon the attempts follow one another extremely rapidly on both sides until one falls. He may always take revenge. A small, agile, but ugly and one-eyed man whom we called the clown, but who was called Camões by his Cuyaban baptismal name, was excellent at this sort of entertainment in the ranchão, in that he threw three or four of his tallest fellow-tribesmen, one after the other. /496/ His stronger rivals, and surpassing him in size, used to point him out proudly, but at the same moment had his heel in the hollow of their knees and crashed to the ground.

[411] Shooting with the bow on the open plaza was often practiced. The photographs of Plate 28 /see p. 600/ and Fig. 138 /see p. 606/ were taken in connection with this.

Very popular among old and young was the burika, an invention of the soldiers: a horizontal beam, with short ropes at both ends, which turned in the center on a post; cf. Plate 25 /see p. 552/ where a crowd /Fig. 143 appears here/ of boys is having fun with the game. While one would sit astride on either end and others would run along hanging onto the ropes, the beam was swung around in faster and faster rotation by someone who remained a few moments longer at the post, until the riders were usually hurled to the ground.

524 In Figure 143 /see p. 621/ two kinds of toys are combined: papá, the ball plaited out of maize straw with an arara feather, and tagóra, a whip with a black urubu feather at the end of the string. The boys would swing the feather whip and enjoy the mild excitement of seeing the feather stand upright for a moment upon the ground if the handle of the whip was moved downward with a flick of the wrist. I once saw two boys make a bee and a butterfly flutter on a string.

534 765 Musical instruments; whizzer sticks. Only the large rattle gourds up to 20 centimeters long and a small blow-gourd, poári,

/496 cont./

534 765 [202] were to be found in ordinary use. The poari served as a signal horn in hunting; it was a gourd of the shape and size of a large apple, had a round cutout below, and a finger-long, thin little tube set on top, into which a tongue was cut at the side. With small bundles of the hair of the deceased hanging on them, the poaris were to be acquired from the Bororó only with difficulty. The only flute or trumpet that we saw is shown in Fig. 144; it was 1.21 meters long and was blown at the ceremony for the dead and when the bone-baskets were carried back to the house. A drum which was used at the same ceremony in the ranchão did not give the impression /497/ of originality; it was a wooden mortar with a piece of oxhide stretched over it; a couple of sticks of seriba palm wood served as drumsticks.

Of greater interest are the whizzer sticks, both on account of the air of mystery connected with them, and on account of the

[524] Fig. 143. Maize ball and feather whip. Bororó. (1/9 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

painting, for they represent the only painted implement. I have reported on page 381 how the whizzer sticks are used. Whereas they are used on the Kulisehu only for the jolly masquerades or as a toy, they are put to use on the S. Lourenço only in connection with the

Fig. 144. Death flute. Bororó. (1/11 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

practices of the ceremony for the dead, first of all when the belongings of the dead person are burned and, in a pantomimic dance, it is made clear to the dead, who themselves appear, that nothing

/497 cont./

534 belonging to their new associate is being withheld, that in the
765 future they therefore have nothing more to seek in the village, and then later when the bone-basket is disposed of and the deceased leaves the village. The underlying idea of all the ceremonies is the fear that the deceased will return to take away the
534 living. In the ceremonies undertaken to ward off this possibility,
765 the weaker sex is apprehensively excluded. During this time the
562 women run into the forest or hide in the houses. The signal for them is given by the whizzer stick, whose booming noise has a warning or uncanny character by nature. If they were present, they would risk the danger of dying. Up to this point everything
534 is logical and natural. Now, however, something more than is
562 necessary happens; in connection with these practices there has
784 developed a danger for the women at even the mere sight of the whizzer stick. They would die if they saw it.

000 Certainly a reinforcement of an exaggerated nature, but not at all incomprehensible. One finds similar exaggerations among our women in their fear of firearms; a lady whom I know held her ears when I showed her a revolver with an open, empty barrel and, in a state of excitement which refused to see and hear anything, begged that it be taken away because -- quoted strictly historically -- "it happens often enough that those things
[828] go off even if they are not loaded." When the whizzer stick is heard among the Bororó on the two occasions mentioned, it corresponds to the loaded revolver; there is danger for both men and women, but the apprehension for the latter is greater because in general in the view of the Indian it is part of a woman's nature that she always weeps, "trembles," when animals, enemies, indeed, even waterfalls threaten, and that she is always in need of protection. Now if even the sight of the whizzer stick is dangerous for the woman, this is still partly the fear of the unloaded revolver, partly also a thoughtless form acquired by her as the result of the practice of generations, which is employed with anxious eagerness without examination. In exactly the same way Wallace observed in the Amazonas region that the women flee when the flutes of the jurupari-demon dance are heard, and he was

/497 cont./

000 told that they must die /498/ if they see them; moreover, the flutes were handed over to him only under certain conditions.

Of course, if one reads that the same words that were said to me by the Bororó, "the women who see the whizzer stick must die," are said to a traveler by the Australians, if the same whizzer stick played a role among the most diverse peoples of the Old World and the New World in mysteries from which women were excluded, one at first feels strangely moved. Yet it is indeed hard to understand why, for this reason, contacts of a direct or indirect type, but not otherwise demonstrated by anything, should be assumed between the most heterogeneous elements; for one should not regard the device, a board swung in the air on a string, as such a great achievement of human ingenuity that it could have been thought up only once in the history of the world, and one should likewise not find the fear of sickness and death, the attempt to explain these phenomena, the ideas about existence after death, the interpretation of dreams, etc. so peculiar in their correspondences that a people could take over its "medicine" from another. On this path, since the same can be proved for a long list of inventions and customs, one arrives at an ethnographic paradise of mankind -- a path that is probably cut off as far as the whizzer stick is concerned by the lucid article on "the

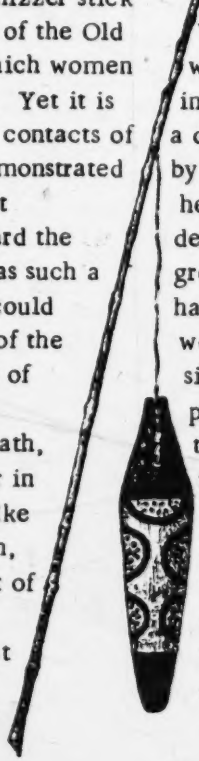


Fig. 145.
[534]
[531]
Whizzer stick. Bororó.
(1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

bullroarer" in Andrew Lang's Custom and Myth (London, 1885). The most diverse tribes, Lang explains, have their mysteries, they needed a signal for summoning the right persons and warning the wrong ones; through their concealing the instrument

/498 cont./

000 from the women, they obtained the double assurance that the in-
534 quisitive sex will show fear and will stay away. Among the
562 Bororó the case is somewhat different; they are concerned about
784 the women. Among other tribes -- each case must be separately
171 investigated, since the striking correspondence could only be external -- it may be a matter of threatening the women with the death penalty, just as the Kulisehu-Indian woman would put herself in such danger to life and limb if she entered the flute house of the men. The statement that "the women would die" may have two very different meanings.

126 Among the Bororó it was almost impossible for us to obtain
534 whizzer sticks. The fear of improper use was only too well
784 founded in view of the attitude of the Brazilians. /499/ Wilhelm was urgently beseeched not to show to the women the whizzer sticks drawn by him. When we offered to buy them, the aídye were hidden. The men themselves, apparently, had a certain amount of fear when we spoke of these devices as of bows and arrows and any other objects of the collection; one of them turned away apprehensively when I mentioned the subject of aídye and clearly indicated that he would rather not hear anything about it; it was closely bound up with the fear of death. We achieved our wish only through three older boys, regular teenagers, who were as avid for small red beads as we were for the whizzer sticks. They carved and painted them out in the forest. Under cover of darkness the first one appeared in our room very mysteriously and demanded that we close the door and the shutters. Then the second one came knocking, and finally, the third one likewise. Each one had a whizzer stick
[688] hidden under a cloth; they whispered that we must carefully conceal them, women and children would die if they caught sight of one; they were particularly insistent that even the men -- the scamp Tobakiu was very much afraid of his father Moguyokuri -- should not find out anything, because they would "brabo" and would beat them unmercifully. We respected this argument and, before their eyes, put the three dangerous sticks in our trunk where it was deepest.

/499 cont./

534 The shape of the whizzer sticks is longish oval, their length 40-42 centimeters. At the string end there is a notch and a short distance from it in the center line of the board a hole so that the string stretched between the hole and the notch has a firm hold; cf. Fig. 145 /see p. 623/.

534 531 Art of drawing. At first here I can continue with the whizzer sticks. On Plate 19 /see p. 268/ we see one drawn with pencil. Just as the corners, which have turned out rather pointed, are filled in with black in the picture, so are the ends of the whizzer sticks painted black; in between, the surface is painted with urucú red and on this red background the design is painted black. For motifs the designs have the two nearest at hand. On the whizzer stick in Figure 145, which was brought by the bari in connection with the death rites for Coqueiro's wife, there are painted semicircles with dots: the cranium with small feathers glued on it in its ornamentation for the bone-basket. On others there appeared articles of the woman's costume, either the bark belt in a wide, black cross-stripe or the bast band in triangles, cf. Fig. 129 /see p. 589/, with the hip cord. The latter motif is on the whizzer stick drawn on Plate 19. On either side is drawn a hip cord with three bast bands. Thus we have there the triangle familiar to us [171] from the uluri of the Kulisehu in the bast band as well, the corresponding imitation of which we should have liked to have obtained from the Trumaí. On one specimen of the whizzer stick, which also shows mother-of-pearl eyes and, in between, a semicircle without dots, there are painted, not only three bark belts as three cross-bands, but also, in the midst of each one, a small circle with a square to the right and left of it. /500/ The meaning is not clear; probably the squares represent the bone-baskets and the circle the skull.

302 The girls in the ranchão had their faces painted with the pictures of the bark belt and the bast band, as well as a part of the whizzer sticks: the same cross-stripe over the forehead and temple, including the eyes and leaving the upper part of the forehead free, and the same triangles on the cheeks, one on either side. This painting, however, page 594, was done with the more cheerful urucú red. One day the men permitted

/500 cont./ One day The men Permitted
302 themselves the joke of conferring upon us too a little painting
[123] on our faces; the girls who met us were very much amused by it and called out, "aídye," "whizzer sticks," which at that time was puzzling to us. They also added a couple of small triangles by picking off the color from a painted Bororó who
531 was standing nearby. -- Finally, the flags of the festive cuffs were red striped, cf. page 184, Fig. 17.

128 I discussed the pencil drawings of the Bororó, cf. Plates 18 and 19 /see pp. 267 and 268/, on pages 264 ff. in connection with those of the Kulisehu Indians.

532 Their sand drawings, too, are described there on pages 263 and 264. They especially liked to represent an Indian, characterized by a huge membrum virile, on a tapir hunt as he was shooting an arrow. We also saw a vaqueano throwing a lasso. Most attractive, however, was the dazzling jaguar drawing. Wilhelm's drawings always aroused lively interest. In the evening we often had visitors who studied them more carefully and set new tasks; one man wanted to see a picture of his fingernail, another caught a moth to be copied, and so forth. They also understood landscape pictures and recognized a certain tree beside a hut, which Wilhelm had drawn on a larger scale.

554 Law and marriage. The chief commands in war and an-
[622] nounces the hunt in peacetime, just as he provided for the planting on the Kulisehu. Otherwise his office is without importance;
[648] it is hereditary. The Brazilians sought to strengthen his position as much as possible, so that they could rely on one certain person, but authority such as Moguyokuri had was, according to what
[756] Clemente said, artificially inflated. Actually, the position of a medicine man was far better; for though the Brazilians primarily bestowed gifts on the chief, the bari was in the agreeable position of receiving the best on all occasions for his consecrations. Of course, there was the strenuous rattling that went with his trade.

561 /500 cont./
571 As far as I understood the matter, the tribe was divided
836 into two large classes: that of the family huts and that of the
548 men's house. The former included the older heads of families who lived in regular marriage, the latter the bachelors who captured girls for themselves and possessed them jointly in smaller groups. The abduction of women that goes on from tribe to tribe was carried on here within the tribe. Only a part of the tribesmen were permanently in possession /501/ of women. It is certain that these strange conditions were not an incidental result of the colony. Clemente said that the situation was exactly the same in the villages, and, what is more convincing proof, the customs themselves show that it is a matter of estab-
595 lished institutions. Except for the Brazilian leader Duarte with his two women, apparently only Moguyokuri lived in polygamy in Thereza Christina, and it was interesting enough in what fashion. His wives were an older woman and her daughter by her first marriage; he married a widow who had a daughter, and since the mother was ugly and the daughter pretty, he also "married" the daughter. In the villages, however, polygamy is more extensively the rule among the older people. Only as
[162] a result of the demands of the Brazilians, an exceptional situation to a certain extent seemed to prevail in the colony, for there was a scarcity of women both for the huts as well as for the men's house.

[583] Of the Bororó on the Jaurú Waehneldt reports: "At their marriages they have no other ceremony than to take as many women as they can support or, stated more correctly, as appear there (from the outside); almost all husbands had many wives, up to six, whereas in the village of the Bororó near S. Mathias there was such a scarcity of them that girls eight and ten years
344 old were obliged to serve as such." There was no men's house
562 there, but merely an enclosure four and a half meters in diameter, in which the padres performed the consecration and which women and children were not permitted to enter, the "sanctuary."

/501 cont./

584 Consent of the parents for the marriage is not demanded. Nor do the parents give or receive anything. If they oppose it, a conflict breaks out and force is decisive. The loser leaves the village. Everything rests on the right of the stronger.

591 The young wife remains with her children in the house of her parents. The young husband merely spends the night there in the house, and during the day, if he is not hunting, he lives
603 in the men's house. The young married people have a fire for themselves, the grandmother sits somewhat to one side with the grandchildren. It is this way until the death of the grandparents.
[853] The grandmother nurses if the young woman goes hunting with
[147] her husband or goes after palm nuts in the forest; "they always still have milk when their children marry."

583 Young men see to it that they find a wife in good time, and here there are two customs with respect to dress which are
[304] of the greatest interest. The ear lobes of the girl are pierced by her future husband;* if he does not marry her himself, she is

* Those of the boy by his father.

married by his son.

Moreover, whoever puts the cuff on a boy becomes "related by marriage" to him and will marry his sister or his aunt.

836 /502/ Now the customs of the men's house. The Brazilians
548 maintained that there were instances when 30 to 40 men in succession had taken the same woman, whose arms and legs were held down. Sometimes the girls were openly fetched during the day and, as described, painted and adorned amid much playful jesting; sometimes they were caught late at night. Thus, one night we saw how the bachelors lying in front of the ranchão made an attack on a group of women coming home from a mourning gathering; two were captured in a soundless struggle, wrapped in blankets so that they were not recognizable, and dragged into the men's house. One of the two, however, as we saw the next morning, was experienced Maria, whose resistance could not have been meant very seriously. "You did not want to get married yesterday?" I asked. "Now I am already married," she replied

/502 cont./

836 contentedly. She lay beside her preferred man, entirely at ease
548 under the red coverlet, and both were cracking palm nuts. One day we saw Moguyokuri goading the young men to adorn Maria, who was so wild in the wrestling bout and now so humble. Six of them immediately pounced on her and painted her.

The ranchão women were given arrows with long bamboo points by their lovers. Each one presented two, which the girl accepted, squatting, with an indifferent expression. Once when I was present, I counted 18 such love arrows for one girl. They
[602] are delivered to the brother or to the brother of the mother.
[851] The ranchão girls no longer marry an individual; if there are children, all the men of the ranchão with whom she has had inter-
[561] course are regarded as the fathers. These are entirely regulated
[437] conditions which result from the superior power of the older ones; they possess and receive from the girls who are handed over to the men's house, and on whose account they may reach an agreement, a regular income of arrows or ornaments, such as, for example, the suspender strings, which are also considered
838 payment. Pederasty is said to be not unknown in the men's house, but to occur only if the shortage of ranchão girls is unusually great.

224 We have already seen how well regulated property conditions are by the circumstance that the hunting booty does not remain
768 in the hands of the one who captured it. It is a great loss for the family when a member dies. For everything that was used by the deceased is burned, thrown into the river, or packed into the bone-basket, so that he will under no circumstance have occasion to come back. The hut is then completely cleared out.
[431] The survivors, however, are presented with new things; bows
[825] and arrows are made for them, and custom has it that when a
[602] jaguar is killed the skin is given "to the brother of the woman who has most recently died or to the uncle of the man who has
593 most recently died." The brother of a woman was always pointed out to us as her chosen protector. Arrows are the most
436 important object of value; they are given to the brother /503/ of the ranchão girl or to the jaguar killer; they are the equivalent of tobacco and cotton in barter.

/503 cont./

627 Occasional thefts were investigated with much noise, but without result. The chiefs or older persons ran around everywhere; long speeches were made on the open plaza. This happened once when Ehrenreich lost a fine knife. They went from
[411] hut to hut, everyone had to show their knives, and we saw, to our surprise, that there were quantities of them (we counted 21 in one woman's possession). In the end, however, it was always said that the object had been hidden in the forest.

844 Birth; names. The woman gives birth in the forest, leaning against "pae," the "father," is what I wrote down, and I do not know whether it ought not to be "pao," against the "tree." The eyes of the child are assiduously blown upon; the father cuts the umbilical cord with a bamboo splinter and puts on a string.
846 The father and mother eat nothing for two days; on the third they may take only a little warm water. If the man should eat,
[844] he and the child would fall ill. The afterbirth is buried in the
[515] forest. Until the return of menstruation the woman may not bathe; then, however, and throughout these days it is done
847 diligently. Abortions with the help of internal remedies are said to be frequent, especially on the part of the ranchão women. If
853 the mothers no longer wish to nurse, they squeeze out their breasts and "dry the milk over the fire, whereupon it stops."
757 Medicine for sick children, which was prepared by the apothecary,
846 was taken by the fathers. On the couvade, cf. pages 391 ff.
352 The subsidiary question, whether the father lies in the hammock, is automatically answered in the case of the Bororó, for they have none and yet practice the couvade.

553 The boy is given a name soon after birth when the lower lip
[304] is pierced, cf. page 592, which, by the way, may be done by persons other than the medicine man. The person performing the operation inquires, someone proposes a name, and it is adopted. Girls were also named soon after birth by relatives.
551 The names were those of animals and plants; Moguyokuri was said to be an animal related to the agutí.

/503 cont./

855 Waehneldt emphasizes the great love of the parents for their children. "They guard them" he continues, "carefully from kidnappers; as soon as I came among them, they hid them all, and they all reappeared only after they were convinced that there was nothing to fear. One Indian asked me for a remedy for his sick son and said that if the latter should die he would eat so much earth that he would be buried with him." The fact that [304] the lower lip is pierced in order to give children a distinguishing mark thus has a definite reason among the Bororó on the Jaurú also. We can only express ourselves in a similar manner about 854 their love for their children; in spite of the heavy load, the baby was usually taken along into the forest, and on the homeward journey it was enthroned on the shoulders of the mother, her head 593 between its legs. On the other hand, respect for the parents was less clearly expressed; they /504/ were intelligent but impudent scamps who were more stubborn than obedient.

852 Equipping the boys with cuffs is celebrated ceremoniously. They must spend the preceding day in the forest and get nothing to eat. The young warriors are blackened with soot and must endure all kinds of practical jokes; the chief sport is for two parties to station themselves on either side of the fire and toss the boys to each other.

764 Death rites. Let us first learn about the Bororó on the Jaurú [114] from Waehneldt.

"Their mourning- and burial-ceremonies take place in the middle of their villages, in the sanctuary itself (the enclosure 765 mentioned on page 627). We were shown the clean bones of the oldest Indian, deceased a few months previously, who, after he had been buried for six months, was dug up again; the bones were clean and complete in number.

"Each evening at this place they sang mourning songs and danced, while they covered each bone with colorful feathers and richly decorated the skull with arara and other feathers.

"These ceremonies lasted several weeks, whereupon the bones deposited in an urn are buried anew. Not all the dead, however, are honored to the same extent.

/504 cont./

764 "The departed remains on his deathbed untouched for three days until decomposition is already far advanced and there is a disagreeable, nauseating odor; on the third day the corpse is wrapped in skins, mats, and green leaves, laid in the pit, and this again covered with earth, palm leaves, and mats.

"The burial place is in the center of the village and is kept very clean; it had the appearance of a European cemetery."

765 In this valuable account one point must be discussed in more
174 detail. Waehneldt, with his short visit in the Mato Grosso, re-
114 gards the Bororó as ancient inhabitants of the region and believes, since he saw burial in urns, that urns, too, which are found "in abundance in old habitations now forsaken, largely filled with bones," originated among the ancestors of the Bororó. His Bororó, however, are the ones who were settled here by the fazendeiro Leite after long struggles; there are many old urn-cemeteries of the same type in the vicinity of Villa Maria; they have nothing to do with the modern Bororó and
765 are yet to be investigated. Waehneldt himself says that he only
174 "came across a few pots of clay which were made by them and
[323] in addition several larger vessels for storing various objects, which were heirlooms from the ancestors because they are no longer made today." Either the Bororó had taken such urns as models and replaced their bone-baskets -- a /illustration appears here/ /505/ first step toward the urn -- with them, or, what I consider more likely in view of their acknowledged inferior performance in ceramics, which corresponds exactly to our Bororó, and the statement that old urns were used for other things, they buried their dead in the old urns which are to be found in such numbers and in part empty at the old dwelling sites
765 now abandoned. The original custom of the Bororó is the same
171 as that of Humboldt's Aturen /Ature/, of whom the traveler found only remnants in the form of 600 well-preserved skeletons colored red with urucú and packed in baskets of palm-leaf ribs as in a square bag, and of whose language only an old parrot of the nearby mission was still able to prattle a few words. The Aturen also, in accordance with tradition, had first laid their corpses in the earth for a time, let the flesh decompose, and

[Text Continues on p. 634]

2: Steinen--633 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8

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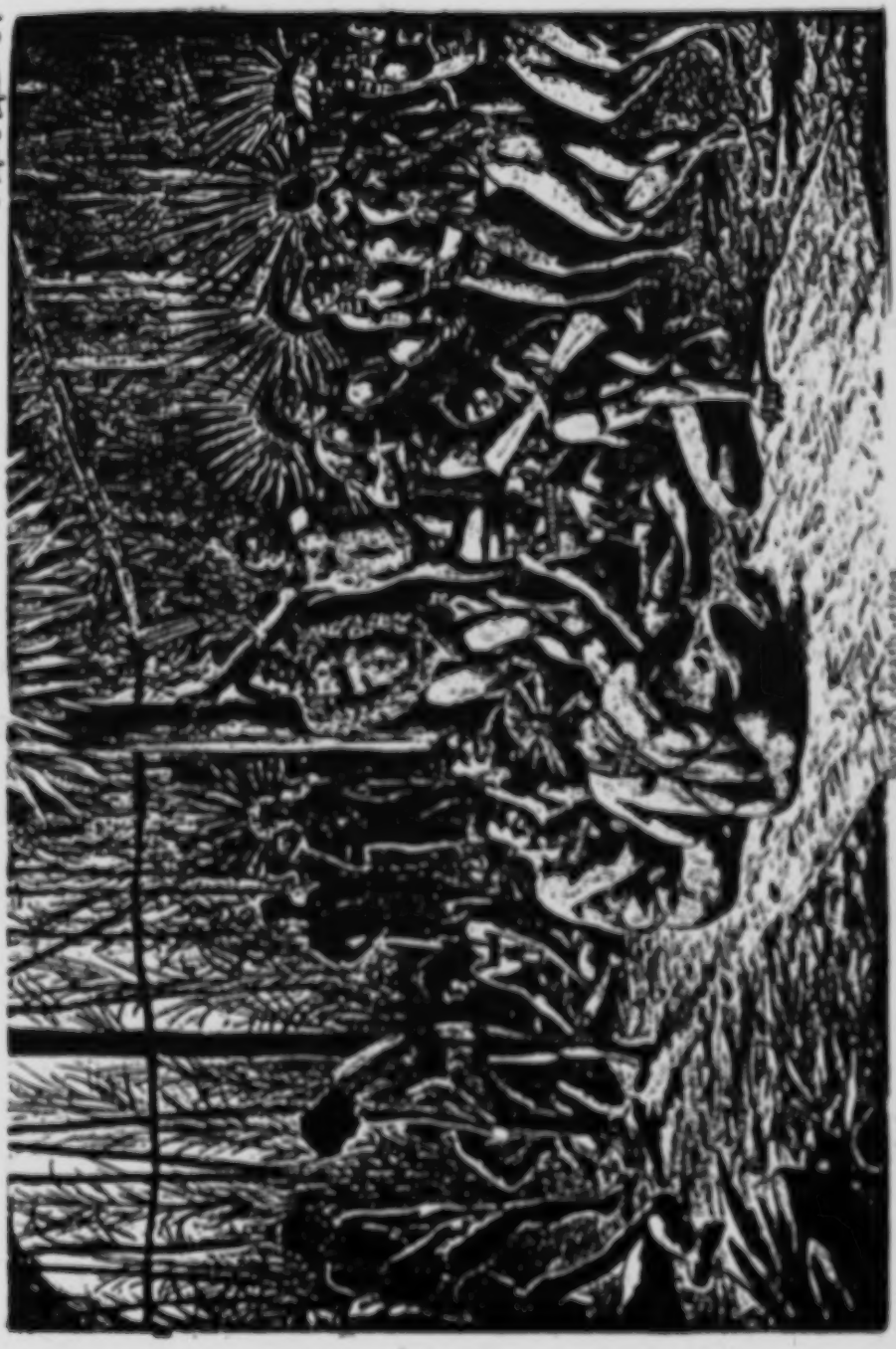

Bororo death-rites.

2: Steinen--634 E D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8

/505 cont./

765 cleaned the skeletons with sharp stones and transferred them to
171 the baskets. A number of dead were already buried in urns with handles.

764 We were present at two ceremonies for the dead on the S.
[123] Lourenço: the first was in progress at our arrival; we saw the second, which I should like to describe, from beginning to end.

The first burial takes place on the second or third day, when decomposition excludes any doubt about the death. The corpse
765 is buried near the water in the forest, and, after about 14 days, the flesh is removed and the principal ceremony is arranged, the purpose of which is the ornamentation and packing of the skeleton.
[533] In the meantime communication with the deceased is maintained, during the day as well as, and principally, during the night, by means of songs of lamentation in the ranchão, which in our case (cf. page 565) could be kept on a smaller scale, since it was only a woman, the wife of "Coconut-palm."

The principal ceremony took place on Easter Sunday. On the day before, Hallelujah Saturday, after Judas had been disposed of, there were busy preparations in the ranchão: whizzer sticks were planed and painted, the ornamentation repaired, in-between in one corner there was a little desultory rattling and singing by a bari in the feather finery of the parîko. The widower,
[768] Coqueiro, in his hut made cuts in his arms and legs, which became covered with crusts of clotted blood, and late in the afternoon there took place the ceremonious destruction of the belongings of the deceased, or, more correctly, the belongings of her immediate family who had lived in a hut with her -- a procedure with very interesting pantomime, which merits more detailed description.

Several Bororô appeared behind the men's house in full gala
[302] array, hair and body painted with urucú, the forehead framed by
[301] the black gum-strip, the festive cuff with the painted flag in place, the arms and hair with green parrot feathers pasted on them, and on their heads two parîkos and baragaras, the feather wheels and the feather-decorated lip-piercers. While two of them sat down on a mat and rattled, Coqueiro himself took fresh green /506/ bunches of leaves, tied them together at the stems

/506 cont./

765 brush-like and fastened them on the most attractively adorned young man, at the shoulders, where he had black tar spots, on his arms, knees, ankles. This Bororó in the green foliage adornment represented the dead in its present state, buried under a covering of green leaves. Four men stepped up with a basket-bag, brought out clothes of Coqueiro's wife, and hung them on the green one who stood there groaning and rocking with his knees -- a picture of misery, according to our concepts a "poor soul," looking strange in the "overloaded" costume of blue arara feathers, green garlands, and five colored cotton skirts. The others, too, hung skirts on themselves, one man a jaguar
[534] skin; they gave the green one a small gourd flute with little
[535] white feathers pasted on it and performed a dance. A man with two rattle-gourds led the dance, behind him danced the green one, and behind this one the other four, all six sang in chorus and danced, stepping to the right and stepping to the left, first to the ranchão, then turned back, and, dancing, stamped out a circle on the ground. Suddenly they veered off and, in disorder, ran toward the forest where they disappeared.

With the little gourd flute the late deceased called two dead persons who had lain in the earth for a long time. They were supposed to be present when the belongings were surrendered, to receive their new companion, and to be convinced that no one was withholding anything of his which on subsequent disagreeable visits he might demand back from the survivors.

After a quarter of an hour the swarm came storming back with frightful whoops, two of them carried on their backs -- hurrah, the dead ride fast -- two truly ghastly figures, naked, unadorned, plastered from head to foot with wet river loam.
765 With bestial cries the loam-monsters leaped about like wild
768 animals, three whizzer sticks buzzed and whirred through the air
[534] like huge bluebottle flies -- no female creature was to be seen
[562] far and wide, and the huts lay as though uninhabited, closed up with mats -- in the middle of the recently stamped circle a bright fire was lighted with great bustle, a tremendous load of all kinds of household equipment was dragged up, baskets, fire fans,

/506 cont./

[965] [968] bast bands, bark belts, a red coverlet, many maize ears, gourds, shells, bows and bunches of arrows were broken up, and everything thrown together in a heap. Soon the scene took on a [935] semblance of order; the men formed a circle around the fire and moved slowly round and round, leaping up with both feet. The green one was seized and held down by the two loam creatures, whom we at first scarcely recognized as good old Moguyokuri and the chief bari (the archer on Plate 28). The gourds rattled, the whizzer sticks buzzed, the fire now blazed up. The green [535] one was released, and he and a second man behind him in the [968] parĩko, /507/ dancing all around and always stepping to the side, first to the right, then to the left, threw the things into the [955] flames. Meanwhile -- and that, it seemed to me, was the strangest thing in the entire performance -- the two old dead persons cured a sick woman who had suddenly arrived, I know not how. They blew upon her and probably gave her the comforting assurance that she would not be fetched away so very soon. Several ran to the nearby river and threw knives and axes into it. Coqueiro tended the fire, dance and song ceased, the feather ornaments were placed beside the fire, and the green one added his garlands, the baris squatted in a row, one behind the other, and [622] were doused with water. Immediately thereafter great commotion: the dog of a soldier had bitten a child; Moguyokuri, still covered with loam, angrily accosts the owner, who, for his own safety, betakes himself to prison; this satisfies the chief, and with his hand he closes the mouth of the scolding mother, who now goes off silently, but grinning happily and sticking her tongue out.

[533] The following night uninterrupted arõe singing on the part of the Indians; no one stayed in the huts or in the ranchão; men, women, and children were outside. Uninterrupted music-making, dancing, laughing and bad singing among the soldiers. Magnificent moonlight. The first solemn hour of the Easter festival revealed marvelous contrasts between the groups for the resurrection.

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765 In the morning, led by Moguyokuri, a long procession entered the ranchão, all with green twigs in their hands; in the center, the brother of the deceased with the square-basket-bag containing the skeleton parts, which had been dug out and cleaned early in the morning. The basket was placed on a mat; four men took out the skull and the lower jaw, which looked smooth and white like the most beautiful specimens, and set about decorating them as well as a new basket-bag with feathers. [302] [301] Moguyokuri sat on a jaguar skin in gala array, skin and hair painted red, an akurí palm branch wrapped around his hips, dark-blue mutung feathers glued on his shoulders, the yellowish red lappets of toucan feathers hanging down from his ears, the most beautiful parfko on his head, the shell chain in the hole of his lower lip. Beside him stood four medicine men [756] adorned with parfkos, who busily shook the rattle-gourds and, rhythmically stamping, jumped up and down, their eyes closed. The entire ranchão was filled with people, chiefly women and children; they joined in the singing and clapped their hands rhythmically. Several of the women stepped up to the bone-basket and laid their hands on it. The oldest woman scratched [785] her arms with broken glass in quick, sharp cuts; the blood dripped on the hands of the others and colored the palm straw of the basket-bag.

[302] [301] The young men in the center first had their lower jaws *painted with urucú and covered with white down feathers.* Be- [237] side them on the mat they had urucú pigment in an armadillo shell, a little pot containing fish oil, a shell with gum-resin, a mat with little loose white feathers, and a /508/ large bowl filled with little purple feathers. They painted the new basket generously inside and out with urucú, and, while some of them glued feathers on the basket, the others devoted themselves to the skull, into which they set the lower jaw and on which they most carefully pasted the small purple feathers, starting at the back of the skull. Each feather was brushed on the end with a resin stick and set on individually.

/508 cont./

765 Meanwhile Coqueiro also arrived, holding a child by the
[152] hand. He sat down quietly to one side, sobbed and wept. He wore no ornament, except the black cord around his waist, which he had spun and plaited out of his wife's hair. His cheeks were wet with tears; he squeezed his eyes shut as though weeping were painful.

Gradually the vault of the skull was covered with red arara velvet. If a person had to wipe off his hands, he used the basket. Some of those present soon no longer paid any attention to the celebration. The children were running about gaily, a few men were munching on ears of maize and working, a couple of women were delousing each other, but kept on singing devoutly. It also became emptier.

One eventually became drowsy from all the whirring and booming tones. A drummer joined in, a pelt of small parrot feathers pasted on his arms. The room filled up again. Seven
765 women stepped up to the old bone-basket, scratched themselves,
785 and placed their feet on it so that their blood soaked the straw too. Cf. Plate 29 /see p. 633/. The wounds were two to three centimeters apart, a red network covered legs and arms, chests and abdomens. Their facial expression remained calm and showed no pain; the scratching was done with extremely quick movements. They all wrapped their sliver of glass in a leaf, handed
[82] it to Coqueiro, and sat down beside him. New groups came to scratch themselves, always only women and girls, and did what the preceding ones had done; each one, before she made a scratch, put the sliver to her mouth and moistened it. Booming and droning, two flutes joined the music of the rattling gourds, the drum, the singing and stamping. The singers danced with incredible endurance. Coqueiro also squatted down beside the basket and scratched his arms, while a woman stood beside him with her child on her back.

765 Toward noon the skull and the basket were finished. In the case of the former, the red velvet cap was interrupted by a pretty yellow cross-line, corresponding to the cranial suture. Snowy white feathers were glued on the new basket, and on either side, in the white area, two rows of red squares, like

/508 cont./

765 windows, were put on. It looked quite charming and dainty, what the crude hunters had worked out there. Now a special act was performed, the "consecration" of the skull and new basket. A sort of chapel or sanctuary was built in that five bows were planted in a semicircle, mats leaned against them, and coverlets hung on them and over them. In this niche /509/ was placed the decorated basket, three whizzer sticks as yet unpainted were leaned against it, and the skull laid on a mat filled with a loose heap of feathers; the most active of the baris sat down in the entrance, which was blocked by his body and the drummer standing behind him -- now without his drum. To encourage them, two pots of water, bam-yellow river water, and three [533] cigars had been put in the niche. Starting slowly, in a deep voice, the two began their song, and the bari swung a rattle in each hand. The others sat around happily, played little pranks, begged for tobacco, and merely hummed along in the final measure. Gradually, however, the singing became more animated, high women's voices joined in energetically, and at the niche the two leaders of the singing worked with all their might, until, after three-quarters of an hour, they were utterly exhausted. They bent down in the niche in order to drink, but their whole bodies shook as in fever, so that the water jug had to be held; they wiped off the perspiration and were able to stammer only a few inarticulate sounds, to which the chorus responded in [276] unison with several restrained grunts of approval. Trembling, they smoked their cigars.

[535] The coverlets were removed; six men, Coqueiro now among them, swung the rattles, sang, and danced, always with eyes closed, wholly absorbed in themselves. We, too, danced and rattled for a while, to the delight of the Indians. Only one or another would occasionally pause for a while, smoke his cigar meanwhile with great haste, and wipe off the sweat that poured in streams from the bodies of the six. Numerous women sang along, passing the time with delousing, or fanned the dancers rhythmically to cool them, standing behind them; a large number of men lay stretched out along the wall and rested. There was a general pause only once, and the singing was supplanted by the merry jingle of the harmonica coming

/509 cont./

765 from the soldiers' huts, but after three or four minutes Moguyokuri's gourd rattled as a signal to continue. All the bones are separately painted with urucú -- successively the thigh, upper arm, lower arm, lower leg, the pelvis split into two parts, the ribs and the bones of the hands and feet down to the last little bone of the toes. For a child there is less work; it is packed in toto. If too much of the oil dripped from the bones, covers and mats were placed underneath; nothing was to be lost. Hands were wiped on the palm branches that had been brought along. All the parts of the skeleton, the small bones of the hands and feet wrapped in separate leaves, were carefully placed in the basket, articles of clothing -- three pairs of trousers (Mrs. Coqueiro!), a woman's jacket, three shirts -- were added, and finally the used palm branches were stuffed into the basket-bag, which was full to bursting. It was sewed shut with foot-long wooden needles; Moguyokuri's powerful fist was required to bring the edges together. The palm branches sticking out at both corners were cut off.

/510/ At 5:15 they were finished; they sang a little longer, but during the final hour it had become uncannily quiet and the proceedings came to an end without any kind of ceremonious conclusion; they simply stopped. Moguyokuri asked for my pipe and chatted contentedly. The ceremony was already forgotten. An old woman took the bone-basket on her back, and a [534] young chap strode ahead of her, blowing the large death flute in melancholy fashion. No one paid any attention to them. Thus the two walked along in the gathering darkness, youth and age -- a mood-invoking little evening scene, as in a fairy tale. With a few moaning sounds they delivered the basket to Coqueiro, who was sitting in his empty hut, and hastily came back to the others. And two hours later on this Easter Sunday the Kayapó /Cayapo/ hullabaloo broke out.

[768] Coqueiro had kept nothing. His friends made bow and arrows and presented them to him. On the third morning after the ceremony he took the bone-basket away, and a woman laden with a like burden strode behind him. For it is the custom that

/510 cont./

765 one deceased waits for the next and the two leave the village together. Again no one seemed to pay any attention to them, and one would have thought two baskets of mandioca were being carried away. But soon four young people came along rather hurriedly and followed them into the forest: the first was swinging a whizzer stick; the second and third uttered loud cries of terror; the fourth cleared a broad path behind him with a palm leaf in order to obliterate the footprints and make it difficult for the dead to return. No woman was to be seen. One also carried a hoe /Hacke/. The baskets were buried, it was believed, on a small island lying upstream.

Soul and existence after death. For a person who is awake,
827 there is action at a distance, which reminds o[illegible] of our belief in ear-ringing. On the Kulisehu Tumayaua sa[illegible]me once when I sneezed that my wife was calling me and that she was said because I had not yet returned. On a similar occasion, the very same thing was maintained by the Bororó; another time, when I stood beside an Indian woman and sneezed, she immediately asked me the names of my relatives: "What is your mother's name? Your brother's? Your brother-in-law's?"

774 The "soul" is called búpe. In the dream it leaves the body.
828 The fear of waking up one who is sleeping was clearly expressed. Even Clemente believed that it was very harmful. It also has its advantages, however, as we once saw in the ranchão. Wilhelm wanted to draw a sleeping man. Now this seemed to be the
[754] greater evil, apparently because one could practice sorcery with the picture; the Bororó generally resisted Wilhelm's efforts, but, on the other hand, they were pleased later when he showed them portraits made surreptitiously. In any case, the drawing of this sleeping man seemed hazardous to them. They wanted to waken him, and, when I prevented them from doing so and criticized them, /511/ they also tried surreptitiously (by spitting and throwing little pieces of wood) to achieve their purpose.

I do not know the exact meaning of búpe. During the dream, the soul flies away in the shape of a bird. Then it sees and hears many things. What the waking person reported is firmly believed.

/511 cont./

774 828 The Kayapó were truly in the vicinity of the village; no one doubted it. From his own experience Clemente confirmed the accuracy of their predictions. If the wife left behind in the village while her husband is absent on a hunting expedition, sitting half the night alone in her hut, has loudly lamented and grieved for a few hours and then lies down to sleep, her soul will certainly find the hunters, and, after awakening, the women will always give accurate accounts of where they are now and when they will return. The proximity of the enemy is discovered in the dream, people flee, and he enters a deserted village.

763 It is quite true that in the case of a person who is very ill the baris accurately predict the day of his death. Not only was the child whom I mentioned on page 568 killed when the time came, but even in the case of Coqueiro's wife artificial means were employed. She was brought, still alive, into the ranchão; her face was covered with a cloth and she suffocated under the cover. According to the baris, she was to die on the fourth day, and she died. I believe one can easily understand this tampering with Atropos' handiwork, particularly in the case of a frequently roving hunter tribe, even if it does not put human beings and animals on the same level quite as seriously as the Bororó, because they are accustomed to giving dying animals the finishing stroke and are not in a position to remain for an arbitrary period in some localities. The fact that the baris know how to benefit by this custom is another matter.

761 775 [171] Ideas about death and the existence after death differ essentially from those of the Kulisehu Indians insofar as the medicine men responsible for the death do not live in a neighboring village and carry on their magic art there, but are in certain animals, which are unfortunately or foolishly killed and which now avenge themselves by taking away the living. [171] Whereas the medicine man of the Bakaïrí transforms himself into animals only temporarily in narcosis and after death goes to heaven in human shape, here death itself is nothing but a transformation into animals, a dream, the reality of which has become visible to all.

/511 cont./

775 The usual thing is that after his death the Bororó, man or woman, becomes a red arara, in other words, a bird, like the soul in the dream. The flesh and the skin decay, the bones are delivered as ceremoniously adorned as could possibly be demanded by the deceased, his clothing is packed up with him or burned, the relatives give up all the household goods whose use he shared, they even give him some of their blood -- perhaps, with all this, he is able to give himself back his old form; at any rate, the survivors /512/ have not deprived him of anything, now he must not demand more, he need not find his way back and should be content with his arara-existence. The red araras are Bororó; in fact, the Bororó go even further, as I have mentioned on page 417, and say "we are araras." This is either a subsequent exaggeration, which merely shows in a striking manner how vastly indifferent the Indians are to the scruples of our zoologists, or the soul-bird is thought of as an arara. They never eat araras, they never kill tame ones, they grieve when one dies, only wild ones are intentionally killed for their feather ornamentation, and on that account their tame brothers must also submit to a systematic plucking.

775 775 772 825 262

775 The deceased of other tribes become other birds. The Negroes become black urubus. The choice is not unfortunate; color, emanation, and oddity in the case of a malevolent one can easily arouse them, and the Bororó did not love the Negroes. I asked Maria what I would turn into after my death and, in all seriousness, was given the flattering reply, "a white egret." Even in life the soul is a bird, and this does not seem particularly strange, since in the dream it reaches distant places with great swiftness and a person who can do this simply is a bird to the hunter; which type of bird is the lot of one tribe and which one is that of another is a secondary question. The fact that a tribe will pick out the finest ornamental bird for itself, one which incidentally also talks, the feathers of which furnish magnificent ornaments for the living and the dead, is not difficult to understand. The Bororó, however, are not blue araras, but red araras, just as the Negroes are, or will become, black birds, and the Whites, white ones.

825 186 774

/512 cont./

775 Now, however, the medicine men, in a no less understand-
756 able extension, turn into other animals besices birds after their
825 death, and, to be sure, fish, sheatfish, jahú, and especially dourado, fish which are all large and tasty. For this reason the bari must be present when they are killed and must consecrate
[262] them; cf. page 615. The deer has a special position. "I do not know," Clemente said, "what sympathy they have for the deer; some eat it, to be sure, if it is consecrated. The aroetaurari, too, may eat it only if it is consecrated, others would die of it; they very rarely kill it, even if it comes quite close. I do not know whether it is a saint for them (não sei, se é santo d'elles)."

Not even a Bororó, but only a dog one day killed a deer; one man tasted the meat, became ill on the same day, and died after a time. Clemente was able to tell about another case of a man who killed a large, broad dourado and died soon after. "You see," said the Bororó, when they had finished the bone-basket, "the dourado was a medicine man and killed him."
/Pl. XXX appears here./

[772] /513/ The assumption here, as we also found among the
[171] Kulisehu Indians, is the view, still flourishing with its original vigor among the Bororó on their hunter level, that animals and
[261] human beings are merely different persons. The death of one of their own is the act of revenge of one that was killed. A hunter becomes sick or dies -- who is to be charged with this foul trick? An animal-person whom he himself killed and who is taking revenge, thus, in view of the ever-present possibility of this explanation, the general view necessarily arises that the dead takes the living. But how does the slain animal do this? Yes..., there was a medicine man inside it...., one who can do everything, without one's knowing how he does it.

775 Thus, the attempts at explanation intermesh, and an
772 occasional vicious circle does not matter where so much tradi-
825 tion and emotion are involved. It would make understanding more difficult rather than promoting it if one were to dismiss the view of the Bororó about the existence after death with the

[Text Continues on P. 646]

276
291
789
821

Meteor-conjuration among the Bororó.

2: Steinen--645 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8

Plate XXX

/513 cont./

772 schema "transmigration of souls." They experience "transmigra-
775 tion of souls" every night. That animals and human beings are
825 merely different persons is far more important than that one assumes a closer relationship to some animal-person or other as a result of subsequent considerations. I can really understand these people most readily if I regard the assertion, which seems to be the most recent and the most confusing, namely, their saying "we are birds," as the most ancient and the simplest, and not imagine them as saying "I shall become a bird," but rather "I have a bird -- please, not in the sense of the Berliners /who would mean, "I'm a bit touched" (Translator)/ -- I am a bird who now flies about at night but some day, hopefully in the distant future, will no longer fly back to his family if some other person, a human being, a bird, or a mammal, that I have fatally injured succeeds in preventing this, and who will then be forced to retain its nocturnal form and henceforth, as a white egret, will catch fish in the lagoon and earnestly hope that child and grandchildren will not shoot and eat him, but merely, if necessary, pluck out his feathers."

821 Heavenly fleas; meteor conjuration. Sun and moon are arara feathers. I did not succeed in discovering what ideas exist about their owners. The Bororó laughed at me, however, when I asked them whether sun and moon were like human beings, and repeated "arara feathers," arara feathers and not merely arara, as though they might be birds. We live on a large island in the middle of a river called the "baruparu" -- the reduplication of "baru," "heaven." Moon and sun (or their owners) are on one side and wander across the river; when they come together, the moon passes over and the new moon comes.

The Southern Cross is the toes of a large ostrich, Centaurus is an accompanying leg, Orion is a jabuti turtle and, in the part toward Sirius, a cayman, the Pleiades are the tuft of flowers of the angico tree, Acacia; the Bororó showed me all this with great pleasure, /514/ and in doing so they often uttered an ih... of admiration, but they did not always agree about the interpretation, so that it was doubly difficult for me to discover it. About one

/514 cont./

821 thing, however, perfect agreement prevailed, and this was most amazing to me. The ordinary stars not included in particular constellations, scattered over the sky as small and large dots, which one also sees streaking across the firmament as shooting stars, were all sand fleas; the Milky Way where they are most closely crowded together was ashes, and Venus the "large sand-flea."

[772] As among the Bakaïrí, the underlying interpretation is that the heavenly animals get up there by magic and differ in their appearance from terrestrial creatures; for as soon as some particular phenomenon appears, the bari is ready with an explanation. The large colorful water-snake which we call "rainbow" is a bari. A splendid meteor that fell during our stay was the "soul of a bari" which suddenly appeared in order to inform the Bororó that he wanted to have "jaguar meat" and that he would send one of them dysentery. The scene in which they tried to ward off the disaster merits a detailed description. Cf. Plate 30 /see p. 645/.

The meteor flared up in the south on 14 April at 8:26 in the evening as a ball about a quarter of the size of the moon; there was a bright glow over the entire area. It fell very rapidly in 45° towards the west and left a streak approximately the width of four heavenly fleas of the first magnitude and was divided into two parts like a staff, the free end gleaming like a star, the area toward the ball a brilliant blue. For another four minutes I seemed to see the streak, which was fading more and more, as a bright whitish mist.

821 789 At the same moment that the meteor became visible a shrill, prolonged cry of a hundred voices resounded from the Indian plaza. From all sides they rushed to the rancháo, where for a while there was a commotion inside and out as in a stirred-up ant hill. Then they turned to the part of the plaza facing the riverbank, started a few campfires, and soon numerous small, fantastically illuminated groups of men, women, and children were sitting along the huts. I had gone off to one side for a few minutes and was called back by a loud uproar. Two baris painted bright red with urucú stood in the midst of the company and, in

/514 cont./

821 great excitement, were puffing in all directions toward the sky,
789 squirting a little saliva from their lips, much as the Kulisehù Indians had driven away the thunder clouds. They were trembling and tottering so that one feared they would fall to the ground in a faint. Then they turned toward the place where the meteor had
[276] appeared, screamed vué! vué! with a threatening, terrified voice, pressing the hollow of the right hand to the mouth, stretched the left arm toward heaven, and each held up a bundle of span-long maize cigarettes. "Here, look at this," they seemed to say, "all /515/ this tobacco we are spending to drive away the evil. Woe to you, if you do not leave us in peace!"

A strange mixture of fear and courage, the latter, unfortu-
[152] nately, being tinged with something just as artificial as on the occasion of the exorcism of the Kayapó danger. The trembling increased, their entire bodies vibrated, their bent-back heads wobbled, they touched themselves with twitching movements and passed their hands over their chests and stomachs in order to force away everything evil.

After this spectacle had gone on for a while, their cigar
[276] bundles were taken out of their hands and lighted at the fire while the excited doctors, whimpering and shuddering, caught their breath for a moment. Half a dozen men got up, took a few puffs for comfort and strength, and gave the cigars to the baris, who resumed their cure. They puffed at the whole bundle, howled even more shrilly and reproachfully toward heaven than before, stroked their bodies even more assiduously, scratched their heads vigorously, puffed at their bundle once more, sucked convulsively at their forearms as though they were drawing the blood up from the depths, cried vué vuáu vuáu ever louder, shook themselves and blew toward the sun, their joints shook, their muscles flew.

Finally, they suddenly began to look searchingly about them
[155] in the throng, talked to those standing nearest them, pointed into the crowd, and joined the main group where they undertook a brief cure of a weak old man, the chief Domingo, and several of the most esteemed who alone could be involved in such a special case. They lifted up their heads, looked at them

/515 cont. /

821 searchingly, squirted into their faces, pzũ pzũ, and, with the
789 hollow of their hands held against their mouths, again uttered their threatening vóu or a shrill hahahó, not forgetting to smoke up their bundle as they did so. The chorus had in general remained grave and quiet; only now and then did it break out in a one-part huhá and now triumphantly repeated it at the end as the two doctors, teeth chattering and murmuring a shivery tédede tedéte, retired. Aróe singing was heard all night long.

[270] The tobacco smoke had been used here in exactly the same way as the puffing against the thunderstorm, and I gained the impression that the doctor's smoking was very similar to a fumigation. Perhaps, for the original meaning of the method of curing, this should not be underestimated.

755 Domingo had an attack of weakness two days after the meteor conjuration. On the third day, 17 April, he was ill and apparently had a very ominous feeling. He crept about anxiously, his hands tied up in rags and his head and face covered so that he would not be recognized. Since we left the colony on 18 April we were unfortunately unable to find out whether this remedy helped him.

773 Ancestor legend. Arigá-Bororó is the tribal ancestor of the Indians. He had a wife. The puma is called arigá. Later, two men and two women came /516/ to the earth east of the baruparu river (cf. page 646) and reached the S. Lourenço. I was unable
[124] to learn anything more. Clemente was quite useless here; he himself did not know anything and, on the basis of his knowledge of Brazil, interpreted those statements as meaning that the Bororó came from Rio de Janeiro. As far as I was able to understand, the Bororó lived on the source rivers of the S. Lourenço since the time they left heaven, and this origin from the east has nothing to do with tribal migrations, but is again only the result of the very natural reflection that the sun is the possession of the oldest people and that the oldest people therefore lived where the sun originates.

/516 cont./

115 Moguyokuri é muito criança, "is purely a child," said Clemente, who knows nothing, and this certainly agreed with the fact that the chief, as he told me, no longer knew who his grandfather was. A hoary old man who really knew something about the creation of the world -- for he had heard the details from his grandfather, who was himself present at the time -- this valuable informant was unfortunately off hunting.

829 Even information about other tribes with whom the Bororó were said to be in contact was extremely meager and limited to a few statements about the Kayapó, who were said to have smooth, short, but very strong and tough bows, rather small arrows made of tacoarasinha with feathers sewed on and two iron barbs, as well as a flat club, one meter long, shaped somewhat like a fish, made of seriba palm wood, and worn around the neck on a string.

1073 Besides these, however, there were other strange neighbors in the tribe of the Rarâi, also called baredyeragódo. One sees them only in twos or threes, and only at night; they wear bast cloth and have a blackish, never a light skin-color. They are monkeys. They threw Bororó to the ground at such and such a place and ran away. Clemente -- and this is not without value because he repeated the very words of the Indians themselves -- solemnly swore that the Rarâi were monkeys; they do not have arrows, they pick up stones or wood from the ground to throw, and they also have garruchas -- "pistols," such as the Brazilian comrades and hence also the Negroes and the fleeing slaves (cf. for example, our lovers, page 23 /untranslated/) quite generally possessed. "They are monkeys and they shoot with pistols?" "Yes, they are monkeys with iron pistols." The Negro, accordingly, has the agreeable choice of being regarded as a monkey or as a black carrion-vulture. One must constantly remember and make clear to oneself, however, that there is no boundary here between human being and animal and even the possession of an implement of civilization does not mean a thing. If monkeys have pistols, one cannot very well say that they do not have them.

/S16 cont./

114 Language. The linguistic material collected among the Bororó, which will perhaps suffice to establish at least the most important grammatical outlines, has not yet been worked over.
197 Up to now I have not been able to find any linguistic /S17/ relationship with other known idioms. In any case, the Bororó belong neither to the Tupí nor to the Gês, as one might at first
[195] think. Nor would it be particularly strange if all efforts remained fruitless, because the vicinity of their territory, over a wide area, has experienced very restless times since the first settling of the
648 Mato Grosso. In the north the road leads toward Goyaz, which they have often harassed with their attacks; in the south the discoverers came from the province of S. Paulo, and here as well as there years of slave-hunting took place.

194 The language is melodious and for us, apparently, easy to learn. As for consonants, only f is lacking, apart from fetogiro, "saliva"; double consonants are rare, the terminal sound is vocalic. The accent is generally on the penultimate syllable. There is no plural ending for the substantive. The independent
193 personal pronouns are: 1. imi, I; 2. aki, you; 3. ema, ao, he; 4. pagi, we; 5. tagi, you; 6. emagi, they. The corresponding pronominal suffixes for substantive and verb are:

1. i-, 2. a-, 3. –, 4. pa-, 5. ta-, 6. e-.

194 In use, various forms of phonetic change and influences on the initial sound of the stem appear. I shall give a few tentative examples:

	Eat	Blow	Head	To go
1.	i-wiya	i-kemo	i-tauta	i-tua
2.	a-wiya	a-kemo	a-kauta	a-tua
3.	biya	emo	kauta	tua
4.	pa-wiga	pa-gemo	pa-gauta	pa-dua
5.	ta-wiya	ta-gemo	ta-tauta	ta-dua
6.	e-wiya	e-kemo	e-tauta	e-tua

/517 cont. /

802 The numbers go according to the pattern of the Bakairí: 1, 2, 2..1, 2..2, 2..2..1, 2..2..2. 1 is called mito; 2, pobe. If these appear in the following number expressions, however, they are given additions from which we can separate out the third person pronouns ema and au (this). In the 3 there is still the negation bikua, bokudre: pobéma ãu metíya (also metía) bokudre, and it seems to mean: here I have 2, there no more than 1. 4 pobéma adgíre pobe, here two, there also two; 5 pobéma adgíre pobéma ãu metíya bokudre; 6. adgíre pobéma adgíre pobéma adgíre pobe. With grains they made the little heaps of twos exactly as among the Bakairí, and they likewise consulted their fingers each time. My wish to learn the number words was always and without exception interpreted as meaning
[802] that I wanted an enumeration of their relatives. The person concerned struck himself on the chest, said "1," and counted mother, father, girl, boy, with or without the addition of 1 and 2, assigning a family member to each finger. Whether the fingers as such have names of relatives I was unable to learn; at first I believed the thumb was mother, but I became confused about this /518/ because each person said something different and referred to his particular family situation. This was quite obviously their chief interest in counting. I therefore imagine the development here, too, to be that they designated a number of persons on their fingers, using demonstratives or pronouns, which, after all, amounts to the same thing to start with, and that the limit for 2 was set, not on the hand, but on the objects by breaking one thing into two parts, this calculation was transferred to their fingers. /Chapter XVIII, pp. 519-521, is omitted in the translation. Page 522 is blank. /

2: Steinen--653 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Trumai SP23
Paressi SP19
Bororo SP8

/523/

Appendix.

I. Word List of the

1. Nahuquá, 2. Yanumakapü-Nahuquá, 3. Mehinakú, 4. Kustenaú, 5. Waurá, 6. Yaulapiti, 7. Auetó, 8. Kamayurá, 9. Trumaí, 10. Paresí, 11. Bororó.

The following lists, which I have arranged as uniformly as possible, are limited to substantives, personal pronouns of the first and second person, colors, numbers, negation. With anything else I should necessarily have to enter into grammatical discussions which would lead me too far afield. For this reason I have also been obliged to dispense with any kind of comparison. Anyone who studies the words a little more closely will easily recognize a number of regular forms of phonetic change and will be able to convince himself of the important fact that in the various groups -- especially in a comparison of the Auetó and Kamayurá /Camayura/ with the lingoa geral -- there takes place the same softening of the initial sound of the stem that I pointed out for Bakairí /Bacairi/ and the Karaiben /Carib/ idioms. Everywhere, it seems, with lawful certainty, we come across the three series of the p-, t-, and k- initial sounds as the oldest possession of the base-languages.

The spelling has been kept as simple as possible. Note only:

a English a as in walk.
y as in York.
v German w.
ʒ guttural fricative, our German ch formed at the middle palate.
š French ch.
s French c.
z French z.

/524/

ϑ English th.

2: Steinen--654 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Trumai SP23
Paressi SP19
Bororo SP8

/524 cont./

T
P
B
104

λ (Nahuquá) difficult sound, midway between gl and ri, is always syllable-forming and similar to r + reduced vowel.

ṭ, p means that these consonants are scarcely audible, as is occasionally also indicated by parentheses.

Tilde ~ means nasalization.

ooo /The word lists, pp. 524-547, have been omitted in the translation. See the foreign text./

2: Steinen--655E,D-S (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Guana SP7
Terena
Bororo SP7

B
29
B0
G
131
16
195

/548/

II. The Mato Grosso Tribes according to Cuyaban Records.

Since the fate of the "Archives" of the Directoria dos Indios discussed in the footnote on page 467 is very uncertain, I regard it as necessary to give my excerpt. I shall start with the tables for 1848 and 1872.

			1848		1872
1	Caiuás		?	Vicinity of Rio Iguatimy (1)	?
2	Chamococos		200	Paraguay on the right near Bahia Negra	200
3	Guaicurús	Cadiuéos	850	Paraguay below Coimbra	850
4	Guaicurús	Beaquéos	500	East of the Paraguay and south of Miranda	100
5	Guaicurús	Cotoguéos		Lalima (2) near Miranda	– (4)
6	Guaicurús	Guatiedeos	130	Albuquerque	– (5)
7	Guanás	Guanaz	200	Albuquerque and near Cuyabá	– (6)
8	Guanás	Kinikinéos	1000	Matto grande near Albuquerque-Miranda	–
9	Guanás	Terenas	2000	Miranda	–
10	Guanás	Laianas	300	Miranda	–
11	Guachi's		?	Miranda	– (7)
12	Guatós		500	Paraguay and S. Lourenço, Lagoa Gaiba and Uberaba	50 (8)
13	Bororós da Campanha		180	West of the Paraguay near the Marco do Jauré (3)	180

1. The Rio Iguatemy is a tributary of the Paraná, into which it empties somewhat above the Salto-Grande das Sete-quedas.

2. Six leagues south of Miranda.

3. Tributary of the Paraguay. The Registro or Regimo (cf. 14), the customs station, lies on the road between Cuyabá and Matto Grosso.

4. Missing in the list.

5. Missing in the list.

6. Were brought to Anuncion by the Paraguayans and all died there.

7. Missing in the list.

8. Are almost extinct as a result of the Paraguay War and smallpox.

2: Steinen--656 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP9
Bororo SP8
Xambioa SP10
Parecis SP14

/548 cont./

		1848	1872
14 Bororós Cabaçaes . .	110	Registo do Jauru and Campos da Caiçara	40
15 Cayapós	200	Between sources of the S. Lourenço and the Taquary, between Paraná and Paranahiba	400
16 Coroados	?	Source region of the S. Lourenço	?
/549/			
17 Bacahiris	200	Source region of Paranatinga	200
18 Cajabis	?	Source region of Paranatinga	?
19 Barbados	400	Paraguay to the right and Serra dos Parecís	400
20 Pareciz	250	Campos and Serra dos Parecís	250
21 Maimbarés	400		400
22 Cabixis	500		500
23 Nambiquarás	600	Rio do Peixe (to the Arinos)	600
24 Tapanhunas	800	Ribeirão (brook) dos Tapanhunas (to the Arinos)	800
25 Apiacaz	2700	Arinos and Juruena	2700
26 Mequens	?	East of the Guaporé	?
27 Guarayos	?	West of the Guaporé	?
28 Cautarios	?	Both banks of the Mamoré and Madeira	?
29 Pacás	?	Eastern bank of the Mamoré	?
30 Cenabós	?	Western bank of the Mamoré	?
31 Jacarés	?		
32 Caripunas	1000	Bank of the Mamoré and Madeira	1000
33 Arãcas	?	Bank of Madeira up to the Jamari (1)	?
	13020		8670

1. Empties into the Madeira 14 leagues below the cataract of Santo Antonio.

2: Steinen--657 E,D-S (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Guarani SM4
Zamuco SK14
Chamococos
Mbaya SK11
Guaicuru

/549 cont. /

B 128 127 I shall further give the comments of 1948 and, in brackets, add the little that is worth knowing from later years found in the booklet of the Directoria, which otherwise contained almost solely personal and administrative notes.

G 105 175 1. Cayuás. Little known. Rather numerous. Are sedentary and carry on agriculture.

Z 175 105 [131] [233] 2. Chamococos. Scattered over a large forest area south of Coimbra near Bahia Negra in small groups that seldom unite. Strong, good workmen, not very intelligent. Hunters, engage in a little horse-breeding. Naked; the women cover their nakedness with a fabric of embira de caraguata.* Bags for foodstuffs are

* Bromeliae spinosa, commonly "gravata."

made out of the same material. No other industry. Occasionally Z [139] at war with a tribe of the same name in the west. Sell their children to Guaycurús and Guanás for axes, horses, and cotton cloth. Not hostile, but not inclined to make contact; four or five speak Portuguese. Once a year, at most, a few come to Miranda or Albuquerque. Like to become intoxicated and to steal also.

M 175 105 [131] [162] [342] [231] 3-6. Guaycurús Cadiuéos. Famous in ancient times for their resistance. About 800 on both banks of the Paraguay below Coimbra. In various hordes. Live in tents made of poles and skins or mats. Hunting, fishing, no agriculture. Many horses, some wool-bearing animals, pigs, chickens. No industry. Eternally at war with their neighbors, at peace with Brazil. Proud and treacherous; come with plaited work to barter for whiskey, horses, etc.

M [131] [162] [Report 1872: Guaycurús Beaquéos. About 100 individuals in one village near Miranda. Hunting, fishing. Maize, pororóca, * mandioca, batatas, café, gourds, sugar cane. A

* Also pipóca, a variety of maize most suitable for a biscuit-like pastry.

Guato SP15
Guana SK7
Mbaya SK11
Guaicuru
Guachi SP14

/549 cont./

M 105 175 few horses, some wool-bearing animals, birds, and pigs. Take wives and children away from the Chamococos as well as the Enimás on the neighboring Paraguay. Weave fine ponchos, hammocks, carrying bands, and belts. Proud, inclined to drunkenness and thievery.]

/550/

G 105 175 7. Guanás. Village near Albuquerque and half a league from Cuyabá.

131 [162] 8. Guanás Kinikináos. About 800 in Village I in Matto grande three leagues west of Albuquerque, Village II 200 near Miranda.

9. Guanás Terenas. Live settled in the vicinity of the garrison city (presidio) Miranda.

G 105 175 10. Guanás Laianas. The same.

[Report 1858: Guanás and Kinikináos in the village of Nossa Senhora do Bom Conselho under the excellent Brother Mariano de Bagnaia, who departed on vacation and remained in S. Paulo. They had a schoolmaster, a music teacher, and a master tailor. Terenas and Laianas in the Aldea da Villa de Miranda.

Report 1861: The Kinikináos lived in the judicial district of Albuquerque, three leagues from the city, in the village of Nossa Senhora do Bom Conselho long before the establishment of the Directoria. The latter sought to create order through the mission of Frei Mariano. For the Terenas, Laianas, and Guachis -- numbering 2500 -- a settlement was established on 30 April 1860 one league from the Villa de Miranda. (This contradicts the report of 1858.)]

G1 105 175 11. Guaxis. A tribe almost extinct. Conditions similar to those of the Guanás and Guaycurus of Miranda, where they likewise live.

G0 105 175 [131] 12. Guaná. On the right Paraguay bank and on the lagoons of the upper mouth of the Paraguay-merim to a little below Escalvado, also on the S. Lourenço and Cuyabá mouth. During the rainy season in the flooded campo region. Build small and

G0 [501] low huts, during the day remain in the canoes, which are very well constructed, are small and fast. Sometimes one sees a

GO 105 175 [595]

/550 cont./

Guató with five or six canoes full of women and children. Usually they have two wives, some are content with one. Here and there they cultivate a little maize, mandioca, and fruit, but more as delicacies than for subsistence. They also gather the wild rice (arroz silvestre), which grows there in abundance, but only for the needs of the moment. Very skillful with bow and arrow; engage in jaguar hunting with spear and javelin. Friendliest barter. The men starting to wear shirt and trousers, the women petticoats. Are faithful, upright, harmless, but have occasionally shown that they are capable of offering resistance and avenging injuries. Very inclined to drunkenness. Most of them understand our language and many adults speak it.

[Report 1872: This tribe is almost extinct.]

BO 105 175 [131] [101]

13 Bororós da Campanha. Two groups: 1) Village in Bolivia near Salinas, 2) village opposite Escalvado on the right bank of the Paraguay, one league from the river. Are peaceable, carry on agriculture, have pigs and chickens. Cotton hammocks. Some speak Portuguese. Have often brought slaves and deserters from Bolivia into the garrisons. 150-200.

[In 1858 it is said: one part lives in the Campanhas de Marco and another beyond the Corixa Brook.]

BO [101] [131]

14. Bororós Cabaçais. Two hordes, until recently savage, one on the sources of the Jauru, the other on those of the Cabaçal. Made numerous attacks on the road from Cuyabá to Matto Grosso,*

* The later name for Villa Bella on the Guaporé.

so that troops were often sent out against them and killed many, irrespective of age and sex. They themselves did not want to take captives, but killed as many as they could, irrespective of sex and age. Nourish themselves on the fruits which the earth yields freely and, at the most, plant some pururuca maize which they eat unripe, batatas, and bananas. No industry. /551/ Have bows and arrows, poor pots, straw plaiting with which they in part cover their nakedness. In 1842 the Reverend Curate of Matto Grosso, José da Sa Fraga, succeeded through persuasion and gentleness

2: Steinen--660 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP9
Bororo SP8
Coroados
Cayapo SP11
Apiaca SP2
Cayabi

80 /551 cont./
105 and by means of gifts to lure them to a fazenda of his in the
195 Registo do Jaurú; there they all stayed, 177 in number, from 1 April 1843; today they have dwindled to 81. During these five years they showed little inclination for agriculture and lived only by bow and arrow.

C 105 195 [131] 15. Cayapós. Between Paraná and Paranahyba and in the source region of the S. Lourenço and Taquary. Some are settled in the Destakament /detachment of troops/ on the Piquiry, others in the Porto do Paranahyba on the road to S. Paulo, others live independently. Hunting, fishing, cultivation of maize, rice, mandioca, batatas, and sugar cane. Make some rapadura (raw sugar boiled down). Have pigs, chickens, even a few cows and horses. Speak Portuguese in large part. Many hire themselves out. Some robberies which are attributed to the Coroados are probably carried out by them.

80 105 195 [131] 16. Coroados. On the sources of the various tributaries of the S. Lourenço. Of their numbers and their characteristics little is known; they flee or are hostile. Set fires up to 20 leagues from Cuyabá; fence troops are sent out against them every few years, who kill adults and take children captive, which in no way promotes converting them.

B 105 195 17. Bacairis. Sources of the Paranatinga and upper course of the Arinos. Are distinguished by a peaceful disposition. Flee from the attacks of their enemies, the Nambiquaras, Tapaihunas, and Cajabis. Live on hunting and fishing, plant maize, mandioca, batatas, carú, garden beans, broad beans, and sugar cane. Their implements for agriculture are made of stone or heartwood. Their industry: hammocks with meshes of cotton or tucum, plaited sieves, and small baskets. Only a very few (muito poucos) understand our language, although they wish to. Senhora Donna Feliciana Guerobina Pereira Coelho, a well-to-do landowner in the district of the upper sierra* has a

*According to Antonio, near Lagoinha.

friendly interest in them, gives them gifts, and speaks favorably
A 105 about their easy conversion. They are enemies of the
195 18. Cajabis, unconquered savages in the vicinity of the Xingu.

2: Steinen--661E,D-S (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Pare SS1 SP19
Brazilian Indians SL4
Bororo SP8
Barbados

/551 cont./

000 18. Cajabis, unconquered savages in the vicinity of the salto.

19. Barbados. Only one settlement on the slope of the Serra
BO dos Pareciz near the sources of the Rio Vermelho, a tributary of
105 the Paraguay, along which they roam as far as the Paraguay
175 itself. Maize, mandioca, batatas, carú. Implements of stone
[131] and bearwood. No animal husbandry or industry. Are not at war with others; flee from the Brazilians, but are treacherous and twice have attacked travelers between Diamantino and Villa Maria.

P 20. Pareciz. 200; once famous and warlike. Various
105 groups in the sierra and the Campos dos Pareciz between
175 Diamantino and the district of Matto Grosso. Sometimes pay visits and bring, as barter goods, sieves, baskets, hammock ropes, feathers, drinking bowls, and the tobacco greatly prized by smokers, which they prepare and wrap in urumbamba.**

** Desmoncus rudentum, Desmoncus macranthus Mart., climbing palms.

Few speak and understand Portuguese. They do not commit open hostilities, but occasionally join the Cabixis to commit outrages.

[Report of 1858: Considerably decimated by the slave hunts of the Paulistas. The founding of the village near the city of Diamantino is of recent date. In 1856 they received the first presents.]

BI 21. Maimbards. More numerous than the Pareciz, with whom
105 they have contact and in whose company they occasionally ap-
175 pear in family groups in the wilderness of the Campos dos Pareciz. Hunting, cultivation of maize, mandioca, bananas, batatas, carú.

/552/

P 22. Cabixis. Numerous in various villages, 15-20 leagues
105 northwest of the Arraial de São Vicente. Hostile; with robbery
175 and fire they go as far as the vicinity of Matto Grosso, so that
[131] occasionally troops are called out against them.

2: Steinen--662E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Nambicuara SP17
Apiaca SP2
Guarayu SF11
Brazilian Indians SL4

N /582 cont./

105 175 [131] [162]

23. Nambiquarás. 600 at the confluence of the Rio de Peixe and the Arinos. Hunting, fishing, fruits of the sierra, implements of wood and stone. Carry on habitual warfare with their neighbors, especially the Apiacás. Will have nothing to do with the Brazilians, attack canoes on their way to Pará, but are very much afraid of firearms and offer no open resistance.

A 105 175 [131] [162]

25. Tapanhunas. Of the same type as the preceding ones. About 800 at the confluence of the Tapajoz and the Arinos.

25. Apiacás. Dwellers along the Juruena, also visit the shores of the Arinos. They have iron goods and carry on agriculture, hunting, fishing. In their feuds with the Nambiquarás and the Tapanhunas they remain more on the defensive, but have nevertheless not by any means given up their original anthropophagous customs. Assist travelers, sell farina from mandioca, roasted maize, cará, batatas, sweet mandioca (aypim), beans, watermelons, gourds, birds, and honey, as well as wide-meshed hammocks of cotton or tucum palm, feather ornaments.

BI. 105 195

26. Mequens. On the like-named tributary of the Guaporé between the Guaraios and Palmellas. They flee; gifts which were put in the forest were not accepted.

G 105 175 [131]

27. Guaraios. At a place called Pao Cerne, 50 leagues from Matto Grosso. Mandioca, beans, maize; hunting, fishing. Seek out travelers.

G [169] [61]

[Report of 1850: Moved over from Pao Cerne in 1852 to the Aldea de Sta. Ignez somewhat below Matto Grosso. 31 tribes of 40 families = 1240, originating, it is assumed, from a settlement in the Bolivian province of "Moßos" (not "Moxos").]

BI. 105 195 131

28. Cautarios. On the like-named rivers between the Mamoré and Forte Principe. Fishing, hunting, wild fruits, mandioca. Harm us as much as they possibly can. They are robbers, traitors, and murderers.

29. Paceás. On the Mamoré east of the Guaporé mouth up to the first cataract. Quite unknown.

30. Senahás. West of the Mamoré up to the first cataract. Unknown. At war with the Jacards (31).

Chiquito SF9
2: Steinen--663 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Chaco Indians SK4
Jacates
Pacaguara SF19
Cashinawa SQ6

/652 cont./

C 105 175 131 31. Jacarés. West of the Mamoré cataracts up to the Madeira. Docile, assist travelers. Hunting, fishing, agriculture.

P 105 175 [131] [162] 32. Caripunas. More than 1000 in groups in the cataract region of the Mamoré and Madeira. Hunting, fishing, cultivation of maize, mandioca, bananas, sugar cane, batatas. Peaceable, without the lust to kill, not altogether disinclined to steal. They seek us out and have had friendly relations with us for a long time. Perform useful work at the cataracts, also furnish travelers with farina from mandioca, tow, tar, spice, guarana. In large part they understand and speak our language. They have already been settled in the Destakament do Ribeirão and many have been baptized.

Ca 105 175 [131] 33. Arara. Quite numerous on the Madeira from the Salto do Girão to the Rio Jauary. Hunting, fishing, agriculture. Spin cotton. Savage, eternally at war with the Muras and other neighbors, devour their captured enemies.

Co 105 175 [162] Chiquitos. In Casalvasco there are still about 60 of these Indians left from the earlier emigrations out of Bolivia. They cultivate the land, spin and weave cotton, some are employed as cattle tenders on the local Fazenda Nacional.

000 /Part III of the "Appendix," pp. 553-562, and the "Index," pp. 563-570, are omitted in the translation; for the latter, see the foreign text. The errata listed on p. 571 have been corrected in the text. The end-map is reproduced on the following pages (pp. 664-684)./

2: Steinen
102
•101
•361
•103
•133

SP? Bacaiti SP?

A	B	C	D	E	F	G
H	I	J	K	L	M	N
O	P	Q	R	S	T	U

Chart of Positions of End Map. /Facing p. 664/

2: Steinen--664 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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*101
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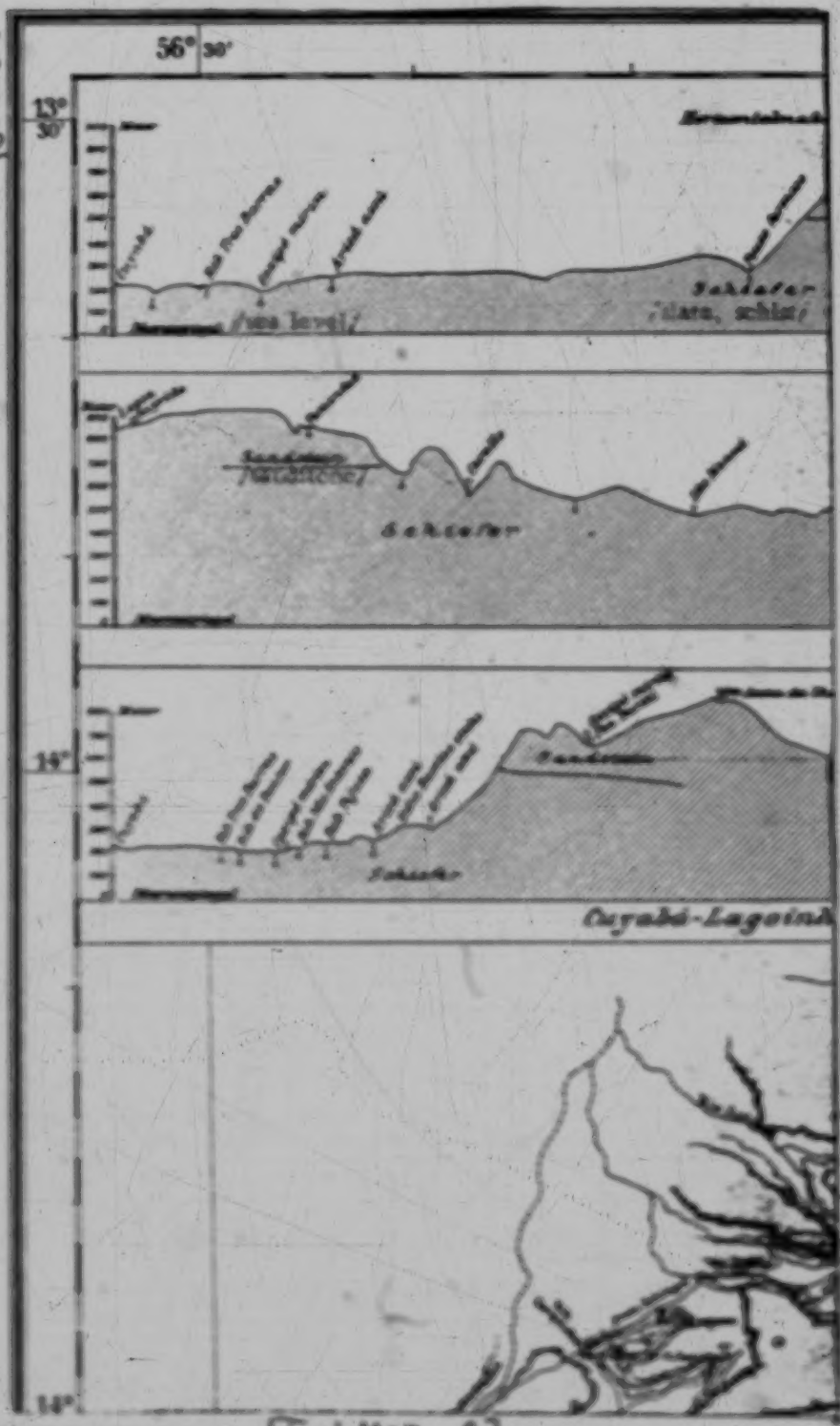
102



[End Map - A]

2. Steinen--665 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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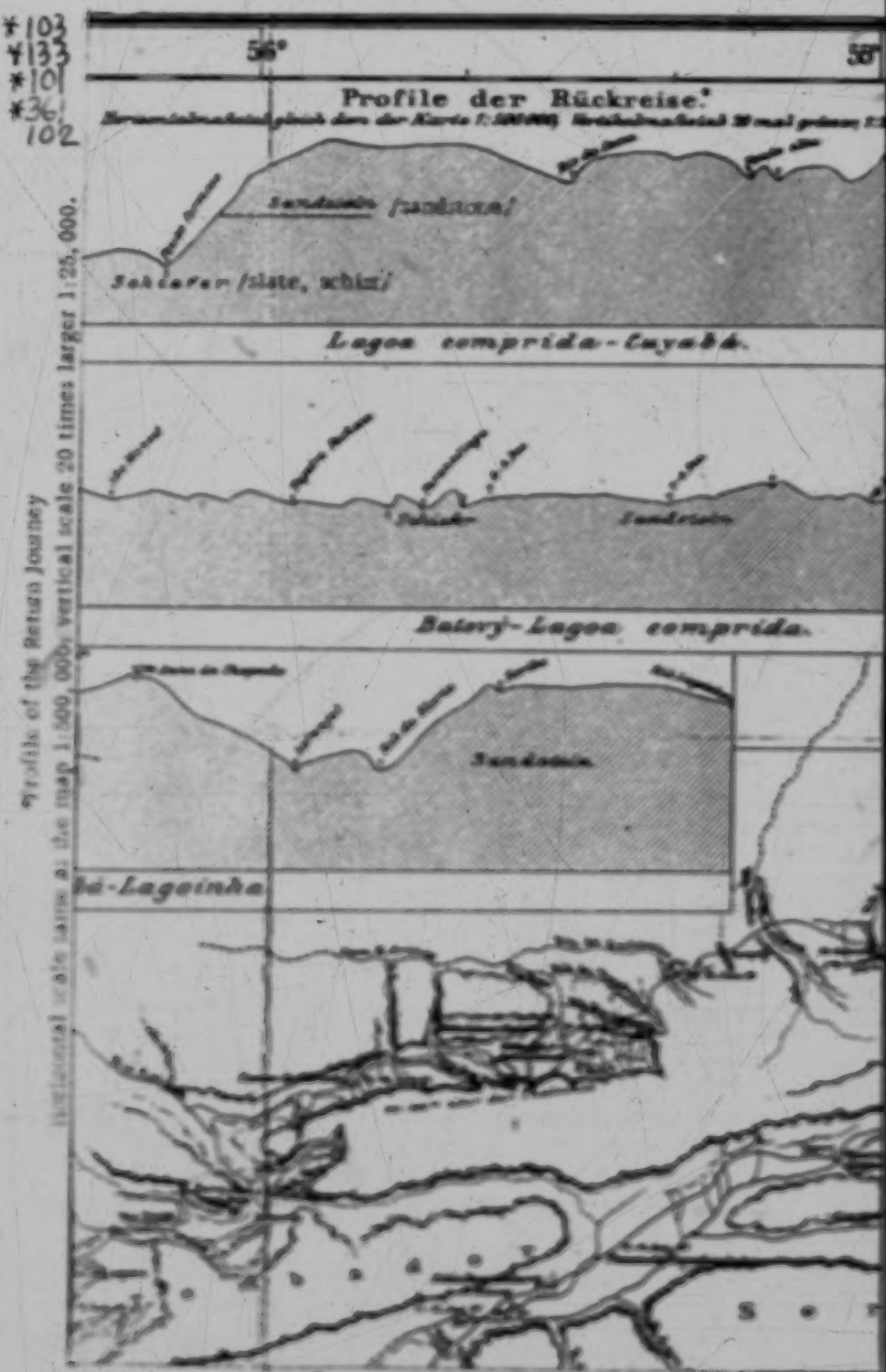
*36
102



[End MAP-B]

2: Steinen--666 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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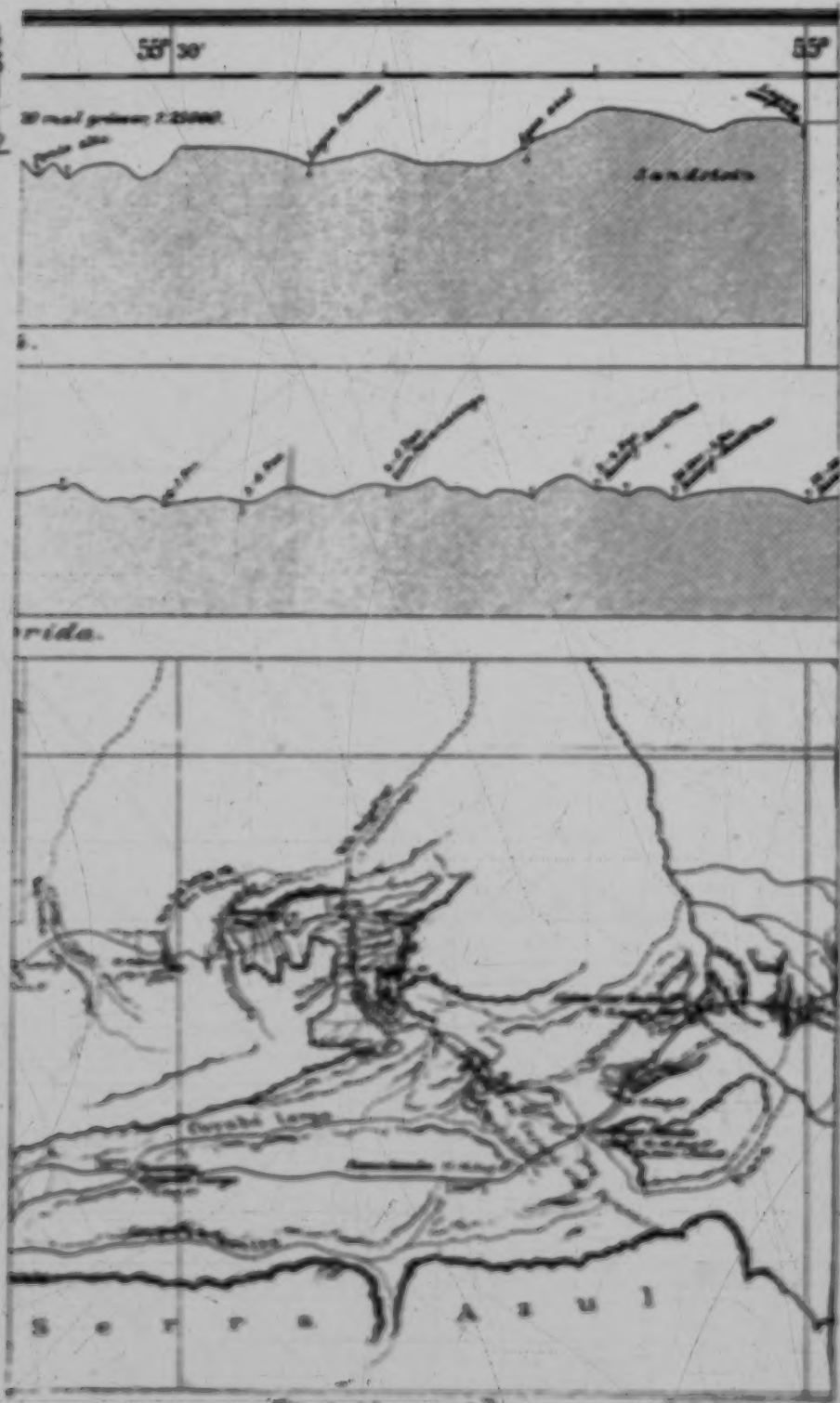
*101
*361
102



[End Map—C]

2: Steinen--667 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1896 SP7 Bacairi SP9

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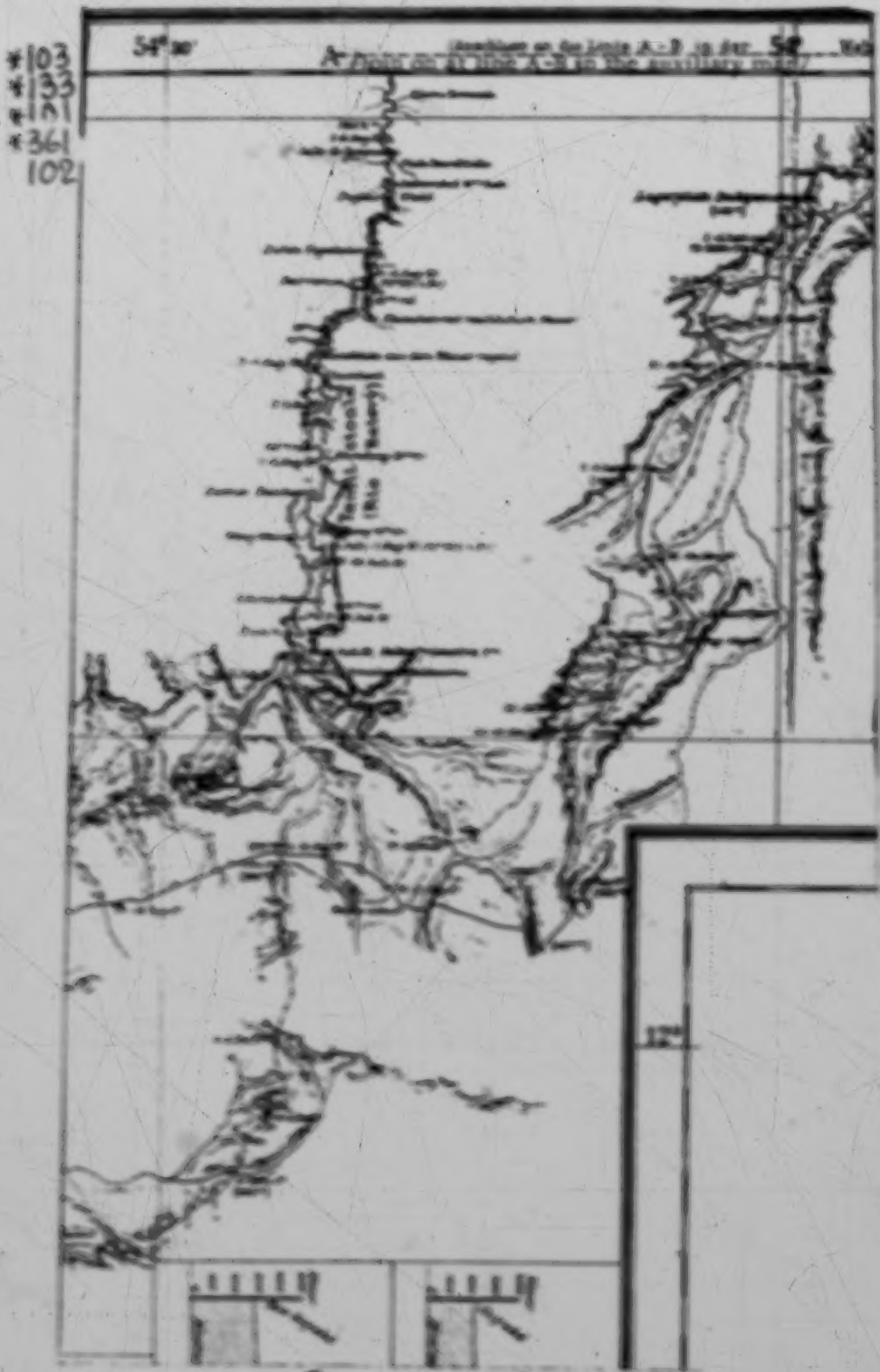
[End Map—D]

2; Steinen--668ED-S (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacaini SP7



[End Map-E]

2: Steinen--669E,D-S (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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f133
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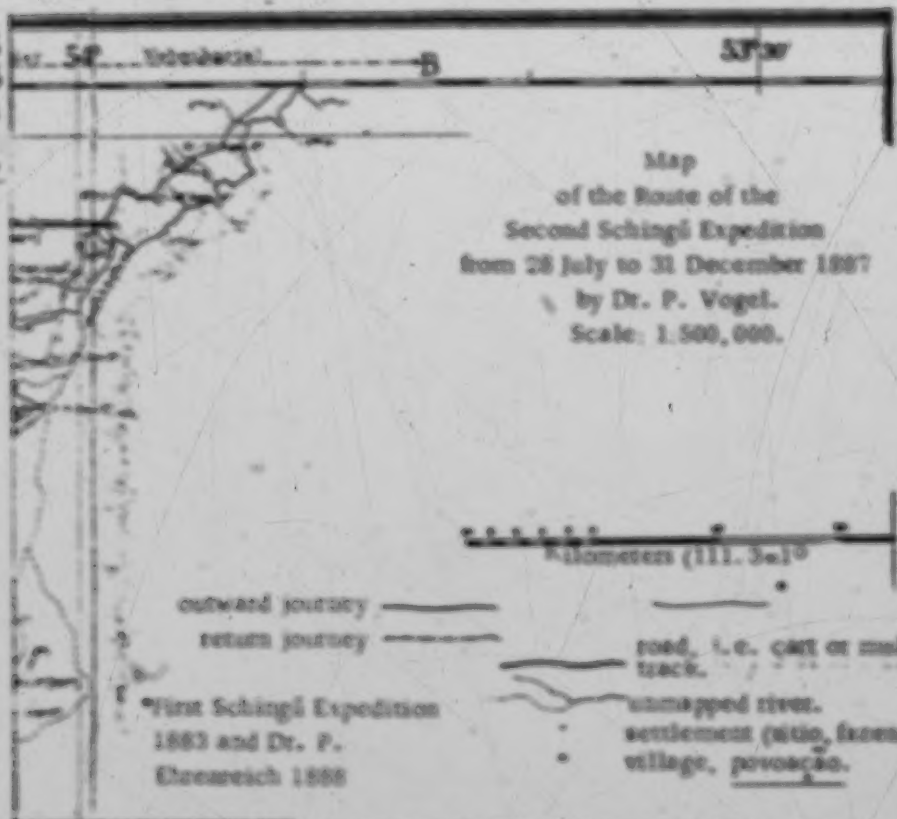
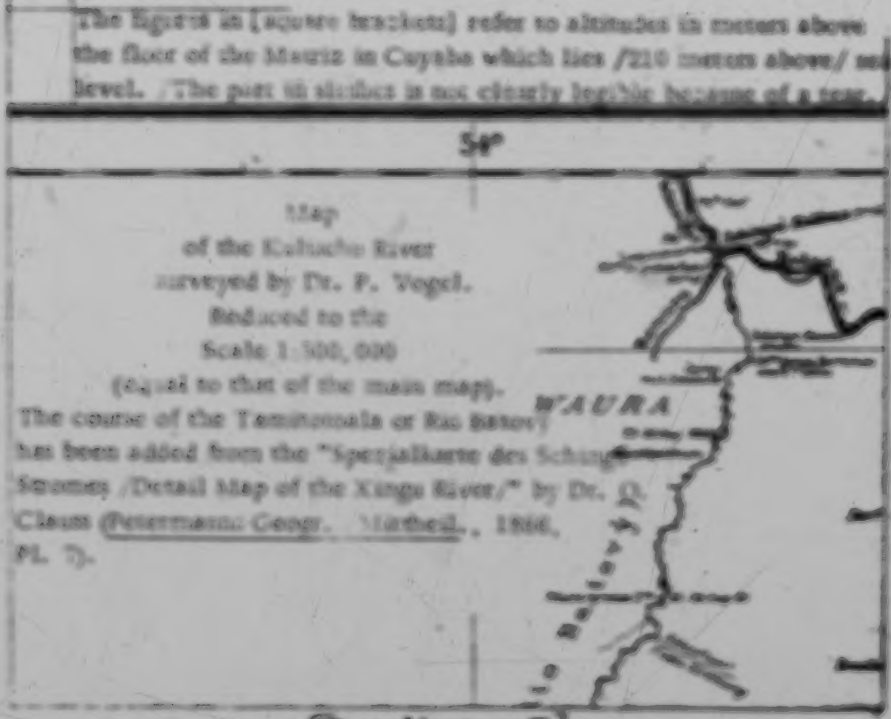
x361
102



The figures in [square brackets] refer to altitudes in meters above the floor of the Mauriz in Cuyaba which lies /210 meters above/ sea level. /The part in italics is not clearly legible because of a tear.



[End MAP—F]

2: Steinen--670 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888, 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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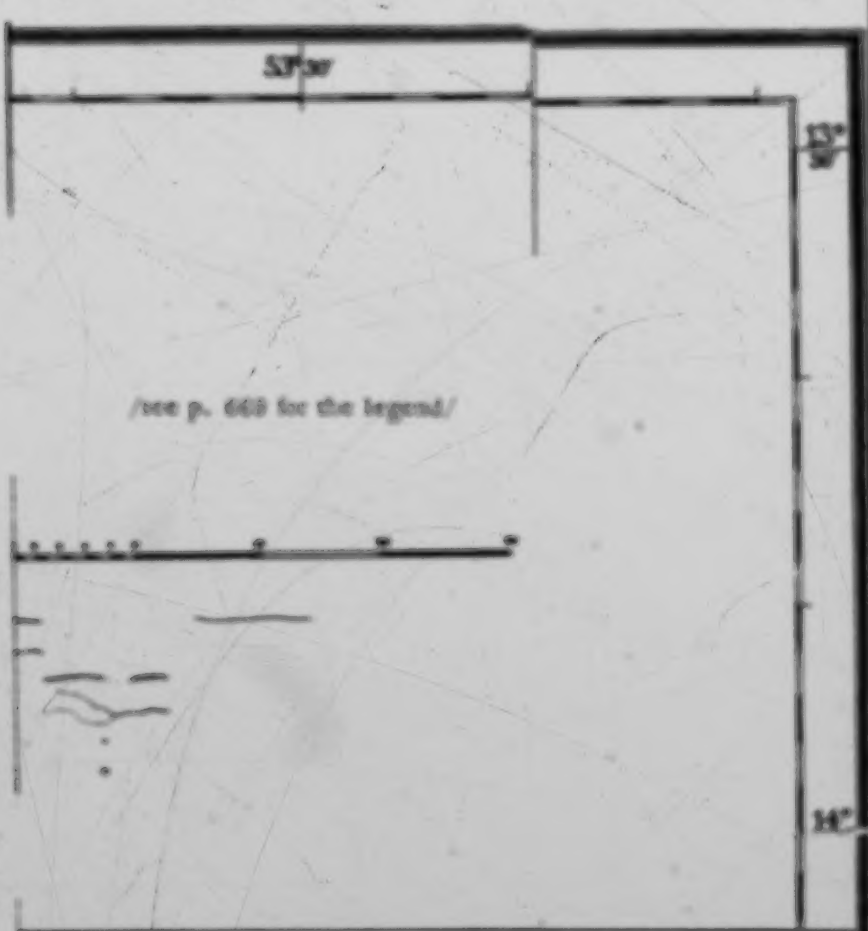

[End Map—G]

2: Stelmo--671ED-5 (1884,1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Pacaiti SP7

[End Map #1]

2: Steinen--672ED-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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*132
*101
*361
102

[End Map I]

2: Steinen--673ED-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP? Bacairi SP?

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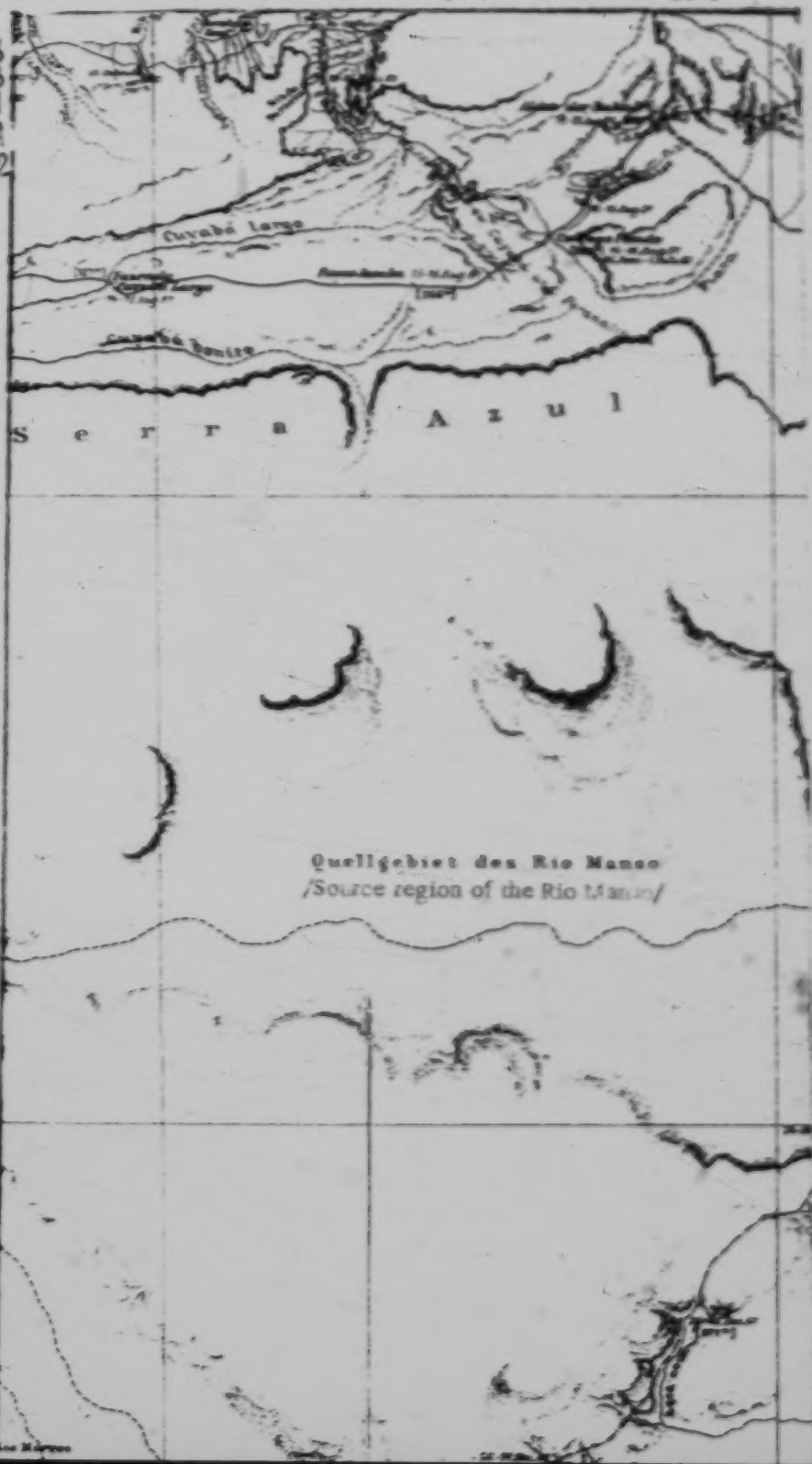
*361
102



[End of Map 3]

2: Section--674ED-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Basalt SP7

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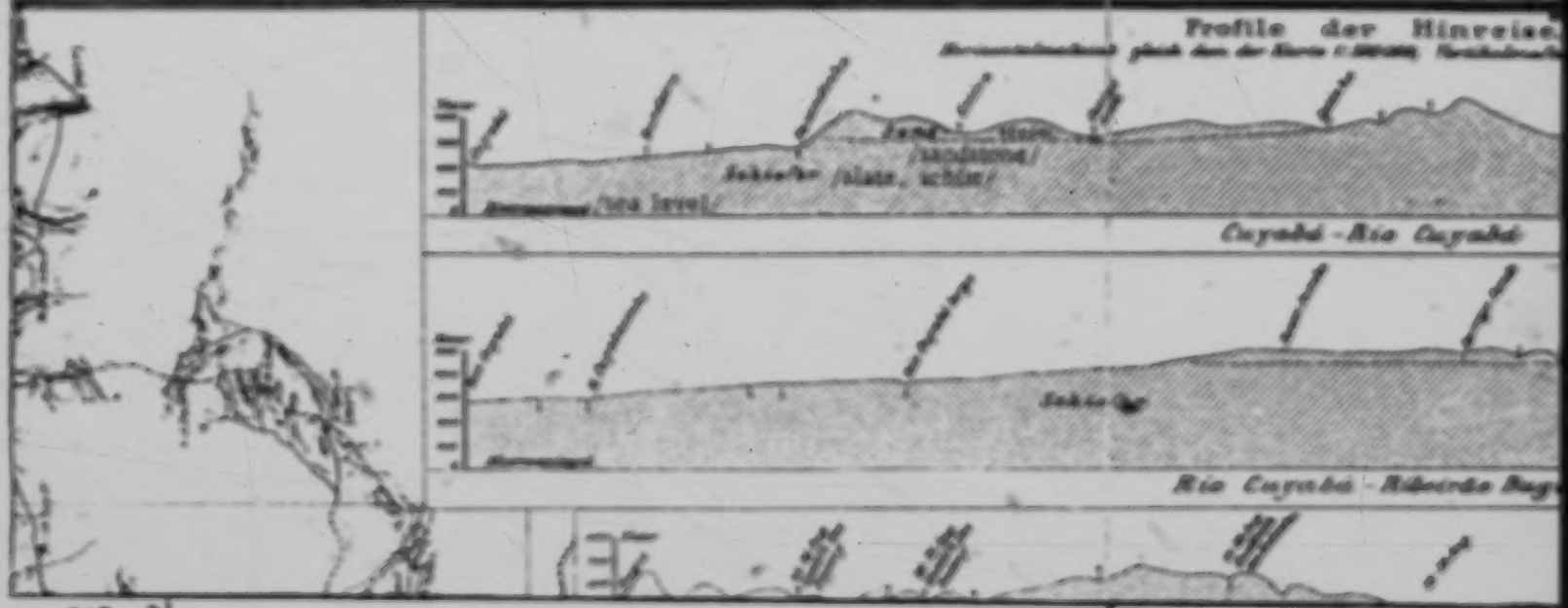
Profile of the Outward Journey.

Horizontal scale same as the one for the map 1:500,000; vertical scale 20 times larger 1:25,000.



(End of Map)

2: Sketches--676EP-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 NPT Bacam 3/9

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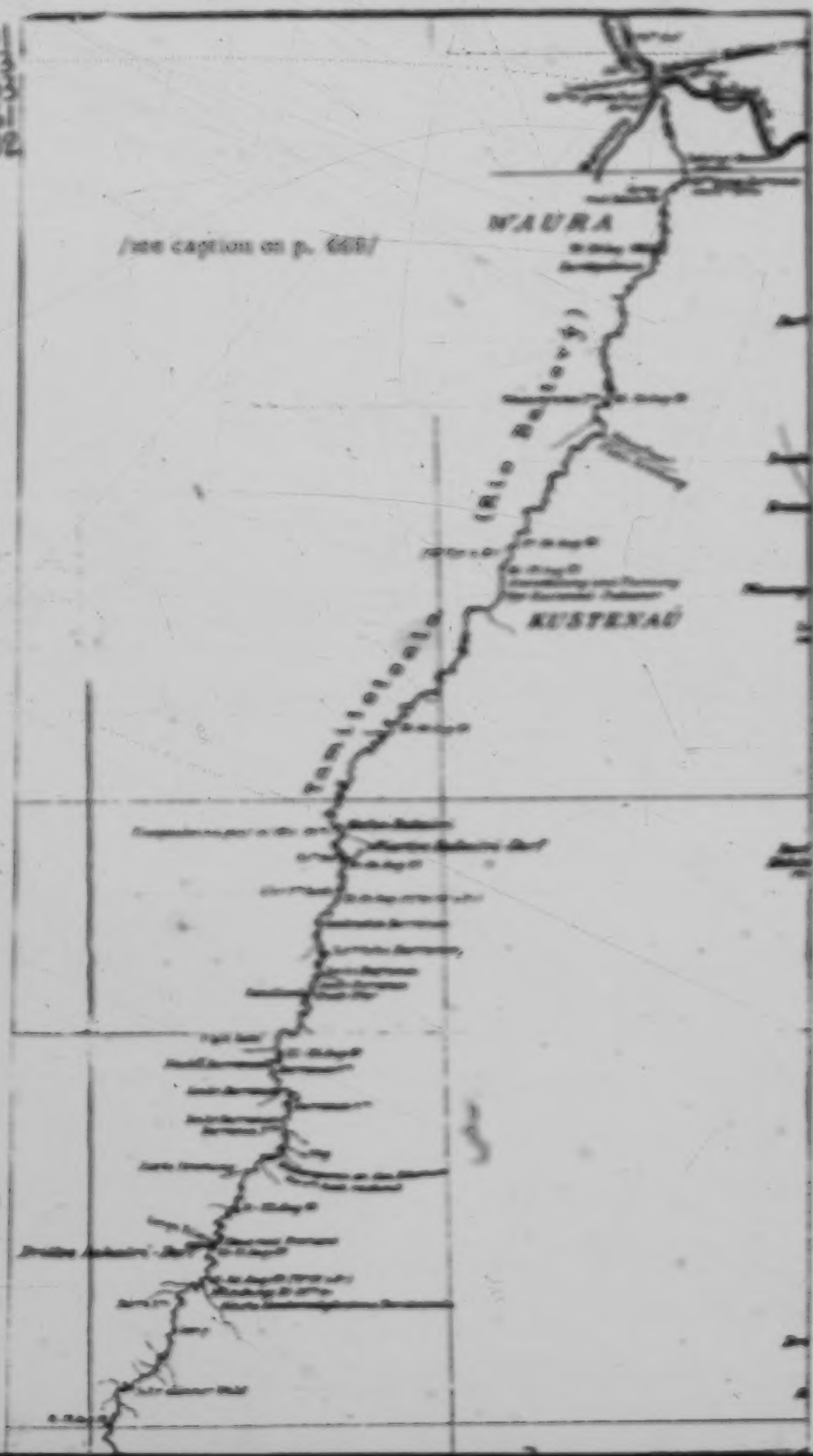
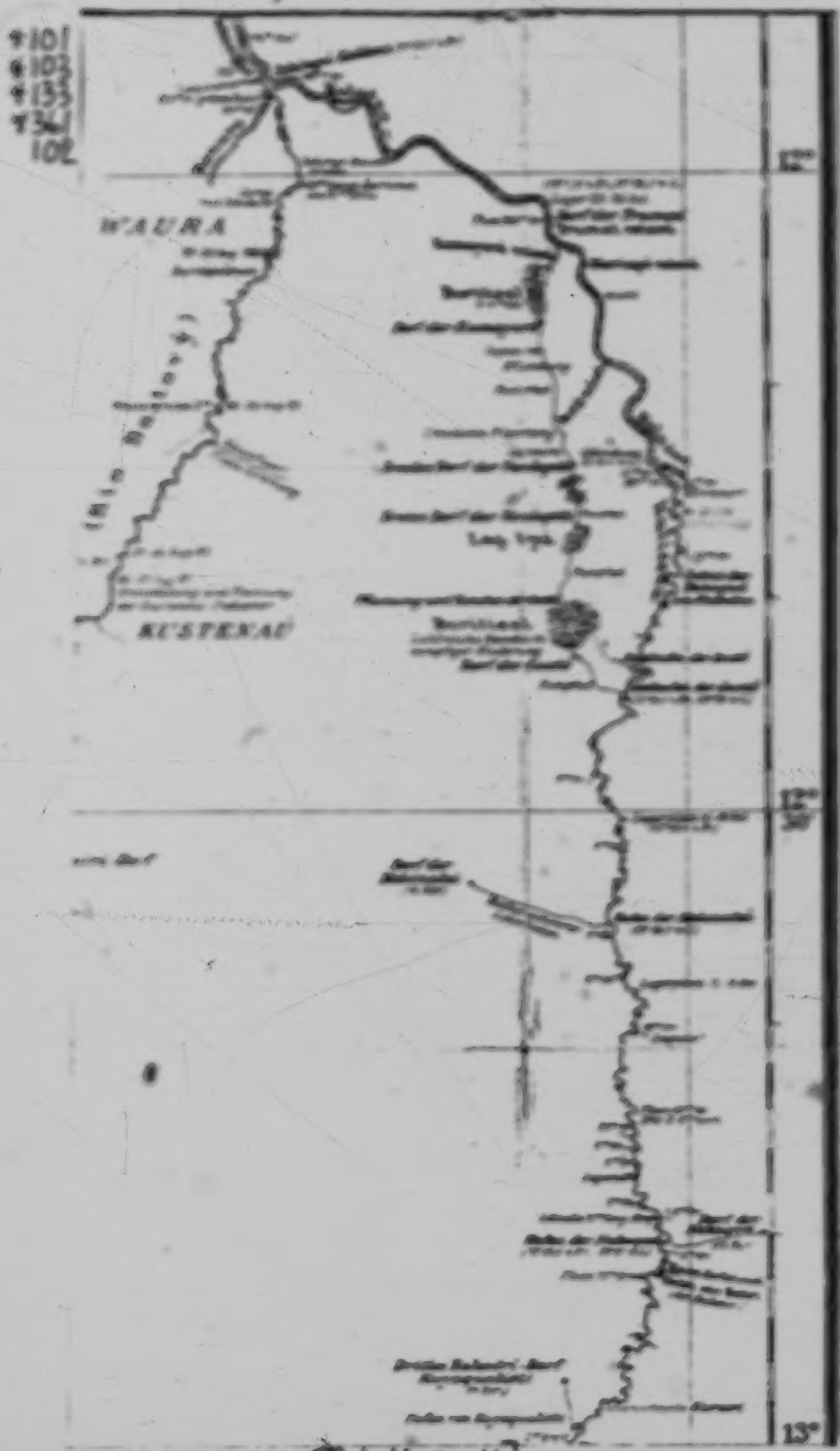


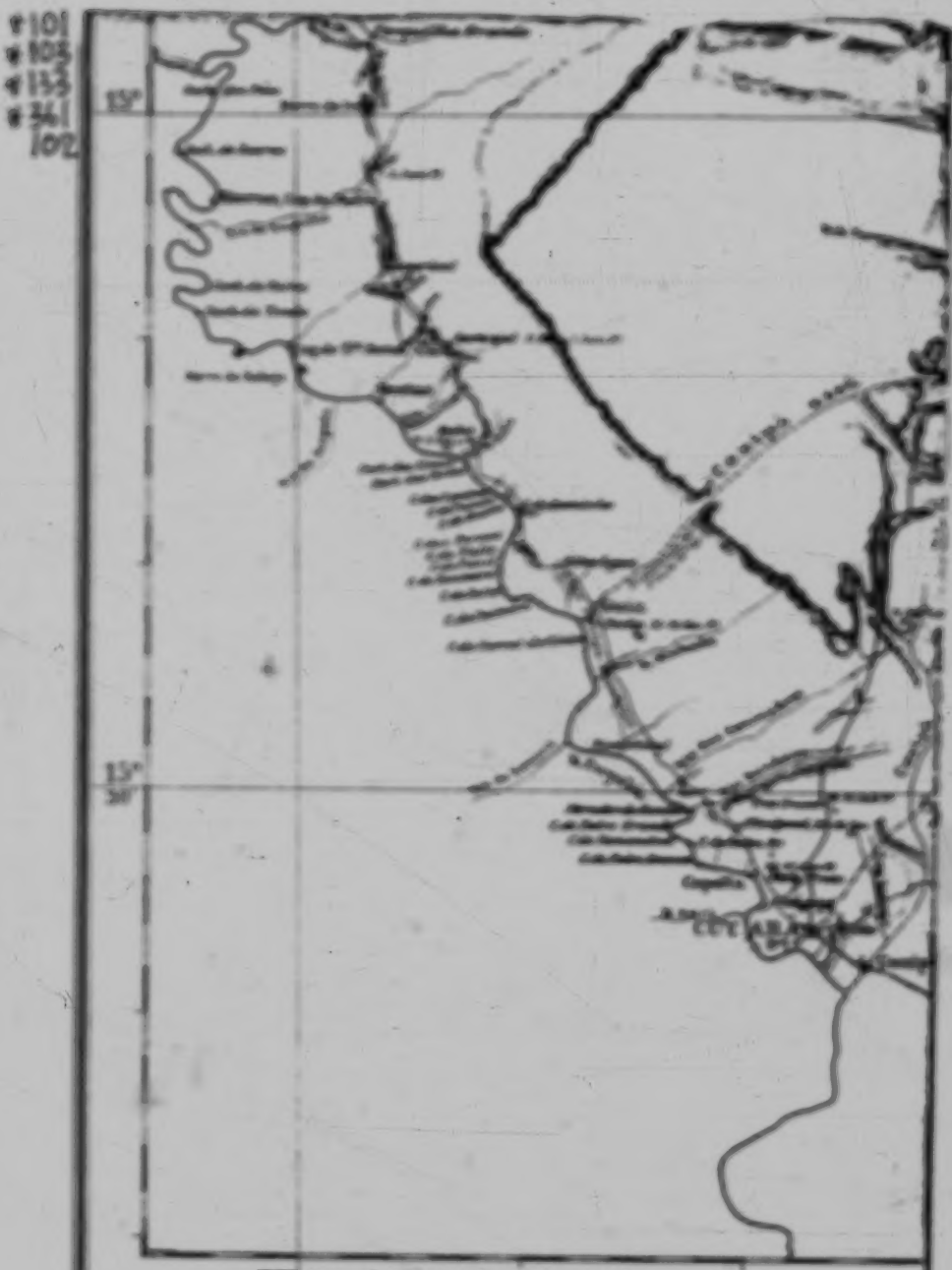
/see caption on p. 668/

Map 1A

2. Stations--6716p-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SPT Racak: 57



End Map—N



/longitude west of Greenwich/

[End Map-0]

2. Stellar--679ÉD-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SPT Decalc: SP7

[Enl Map — P]

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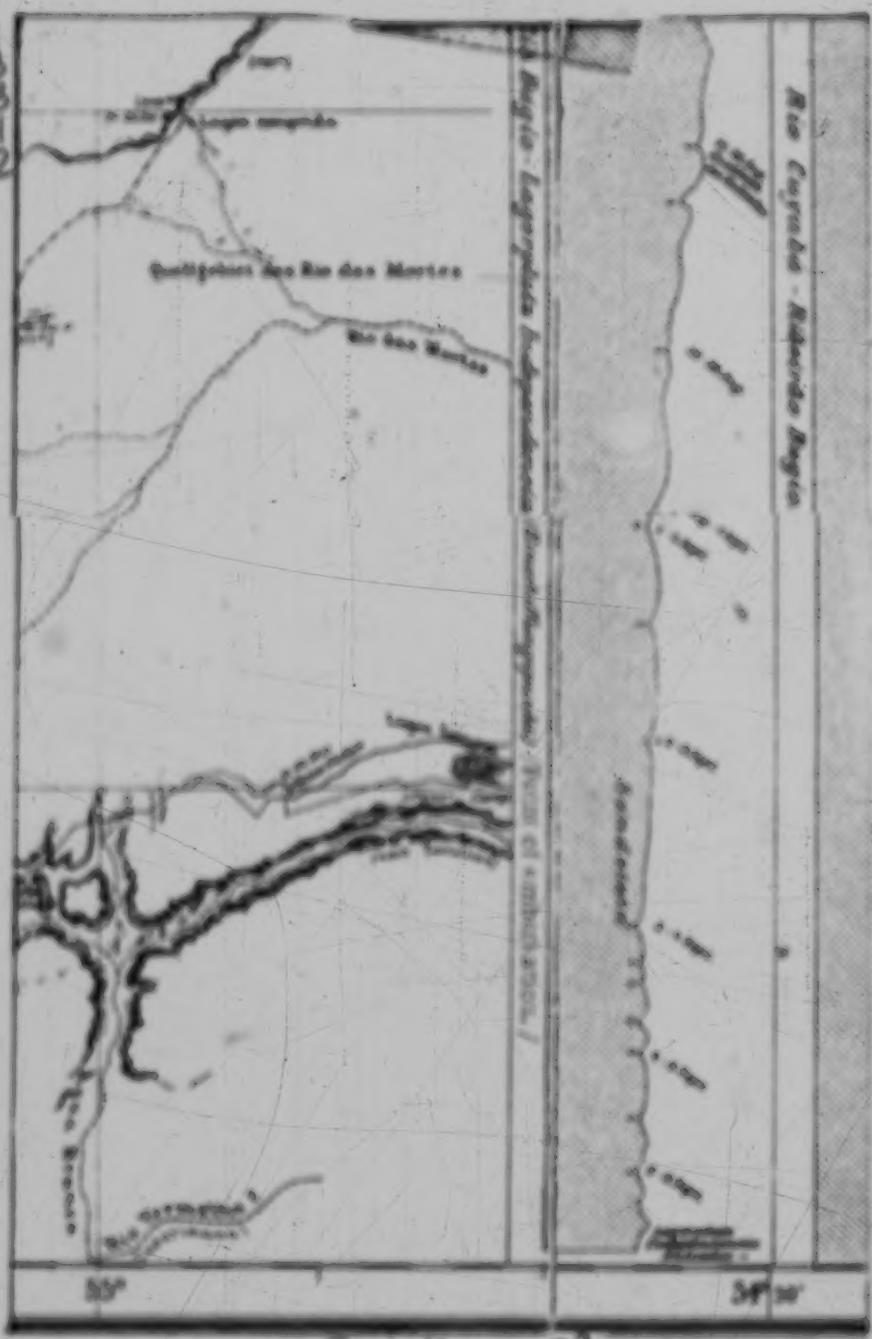
102

[End MAP — Q]


101
103
133
361
102
Rio Cuyaba - Ribeirão Bugre
Rio das Mortes
55°
54°30'

[End Map — R]

Profile über Hinreise. (wie caption on PLATE)
Cuyabá - Rio Cuyabá
Rio Cuyabá - Ribeirão Bugio
[End MAP - S]

2: Snelzen—G93E,D-5 (1900, 1907-1909) 1894 SP7 Bacaus 597

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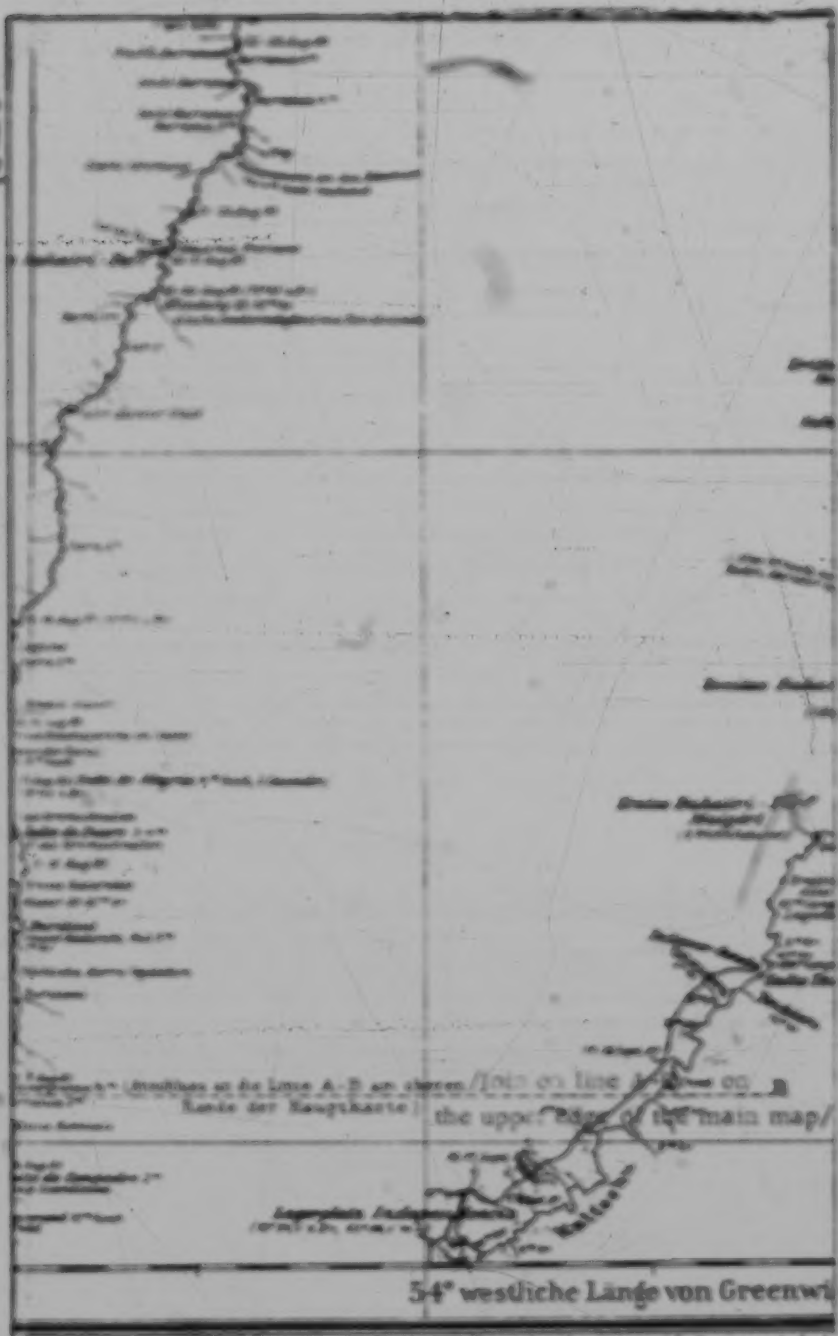
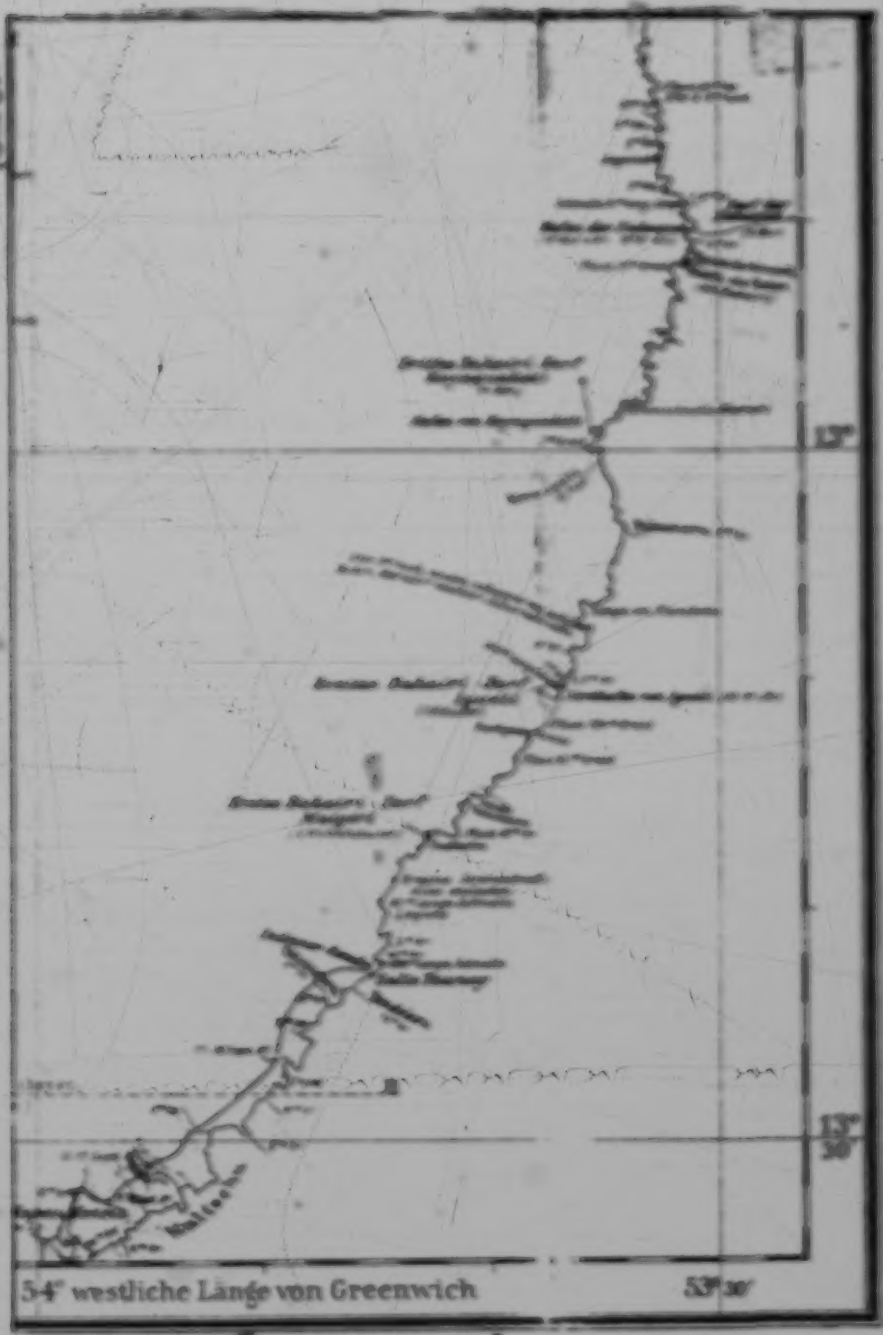
102



[End Map—T]

D: Stations--694 E,D-S (1894, 1897-1898) 1894 SPT Backup: SP9



[End Map—U]

2. Steinen

183

181

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361

/

SP? Recall SP?

/For a map showing place names, locations of settlements, physical relationships of the various tribes discussed in the text, and topographical features of the area covered by the second von den Steinen expedition, see category 116, pp. 664-684./

/For additional comparative data on the ethnography of other tribes along the Kulisehu River - especially the Aueto (SP6), the Kamayura (SP6), the Nahuqua (SP25), the Mehinaku (SP18), and Waura (SP18) - see category 116, pp. 157-410 passim. Data on the physical anthropology of these tribes may be found in categories 141 and 142./

/For a detailed map of the author's journey as outlined in the text of this source, see category 116, pp. 664-684./

116

116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

Literary texts 539

2: Steinen SP7 Bacairi

v. d. Steinen. Zentral-Brasilien.

BORORÓ-HÄUPTLING

[facing title page]

Z: Steinen SP7 Bacairi

Unter den

Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens.

Reiseschilderung und Ergebnisse

der

Zweiten Schingú-Expedition

1887–1888

von

Karl von den Steinen

Prof. Dr.

Mit

30 Tafeln (1 Holzgravüre, 11 Lichtdruckbilder, 5 Autotypien und 7 lithogr. Tafeln), sowie 160 Text-Abbildungen nach den PHOTOGRAPHIEN der Expedition, nach den Originalaufnahmen von WILHELM VON DEN STEINEN und nach Zeichnungen von JOHANNES GEHRTS nebst einer Karte von Prof. Dr. PETER VOGEL.

[title page]

BERLIN 1894.

Geographische Verlagsbuchhandlung von DIETRICH REIMER

Inhaber: HOEFER & VOHSEN.

[p. i]

Das Recht der Uebersetzung
in fremde Sprachen und der Vervielfältigung
vorbehalten.

[pp. ii - iii not processed]

[p. iv].

VORWORT.

ama! — du!
ara! — ich!

So lautet die einfache Formel, mit der man sich am Kulisehu einander vorstellt, und gern würde ich dem freundlichen Leser Weiteres ersparen, wenn ich ihn nicht auch bitten müsste, meine »jüngeren Brüder«, die Gefährten der Reise, zu begrüssen, und doch auch sonst noch Einiges auf dem Herzen hätte.

Für »jüngeren Bruder« und »Vetter« haben die Indianer ein und dasselbe Wort; so trifft ihre Bezeichnung wirklich im vollen Sinn zu auf unsern Spezialartisten Wilhelm von den Steinen aus Düsseldorf, da er zwar nach unsern Begriffen mein Vetter ist, aber gemeinhin für meinen jüngeren Bruder gehalten wird. Er war schon 1884 mit mir den Schingú hinabgerudert.

Der Zweite, Dr. Paul Ehrenreich aus Berlin, war ebenfalls kein Neuling in Brasilien, er hatte schon in Espíritu Santo die genauere Bekanntschaft der Botokuden gemacht, er hat nach Abschluss unseres gemeinsamen Unternehmens noch den Araguay und den Purus befahren und dürfte deshalb heute mehr als irgend ein anderer deutscher Reisender vom Innern des gewaltigen Reiches gesehen haben. Ihm sind die Photographien und die Körpermessungen zu verdanken.

Die Wegaufnahme und astronomischen Bestimmungen waren nebst geologischen Untersuchungen von Professor Dr. Peter Vogel aus München übernommen. Wir beide hatten 1882—83 auf der Deutschen Polarexpedition nach Südgeorgien, deren stellvertretender Leiter er war, während eines Jahres die enge Schlafkoje in Freud' und Leid geteilt, ihn zog es 1887 wieder mächtig hinaus, und so war er bereit, das Werk des Dr. Otto Clauss, unseres ant-

[p. v]

arktischen Kollegen und des Geographen der ersten Schingú-Expedition, in neues Gebiet hinein fortzuführen.

Professor Vogel veröffentlicht seine Ergebnisse gleichzeitig mit dem Erscheinen dieses Buches in dem Organ der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, die sich um unsere Reise das Verdienst erworben hat, ihn aus den Mitteln der Karl Ritter-Stiftung zu unterstützen. Dem Präsidenten, Herrn Geheimrat Freiherrn von Richthofen, sage ich für die gütige Erlaubnis, dass die von Herrn Dr. Richard Kiepert's bewährter Hand gezeichnete und redigierte Karte meinen Schilderungen beigegeben werde, verbindlichen Dank. Ich selbst habe durch die Humboldt-Stiftung der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin eine wesentliche Förderung erfahren und bitte das Kuratorium, auch an dieser Stelle meinen ergebensten Dank entgegenzunehmen.

Im Verlauf der Reise haben wir von Brasiliern wie von Landleuten in Brasilien und den La Platastaaten, sowohl von einfachen Privaten als von Personen in hohen Aemtern, zahlreiche Beweise der Gastfreundschaft empfangen, die uns auf's Tiefste verpflichtet haben. Wenn wir uns bei den Söhnen des Landes in gewissem Grade dadurch erkenntlich zeigen können, dass wir das Innere einer wenig erforschten Provinz aufschliessen helfen, bleiben wir unsern Landleuten gegenüber in voller Schuld; wollte ich nur die Orte nennen, in denen sie wohnen, musste ich mit Ausschluss unserer Indianerpfade die ganze Route rekapitulieren. So rufe ich Allen, zu denen diese Zeilen den Weg finden, ob sie im Handel einführen und ausführen oder in politischer Stellung anführen, ob sie der Küste fern als wackere Kolonisten hausen, die herzlichsten Grüsse zu und wünsche ihrer Arbeit den Schutz des Friedens und geordneter Zustände.

Sechs Mal schon hat der Mais geblüht, seit wir das Quellgebiet des Schingú verlassen haben — »zwei zwei zwei« *ahége ahége ahége* rechnet der Bakairí und findet kein Wort in seiner Sprache, um eine grössere Zahl auszudrücken. Die Berichterstattung hat sich länger verzögert als mir lieb war; hauptsächlich bin ich durch sprachliche Vorarbeiten (»Die Bakairí-Sprache«, K. F. Köhler, Leipzig 1892) aufgehalten worden, doch habe ich dabei auch Vielerlei gelernt und eine breitere und festere Grundlage gewonnen als mit dem in linguistischer und ethnographischer Hinsicht erheblich geringeren Material der ersten Expedition. Die Liebe zu dem Gegenstand ist mit der längeren Beschäftigung nur gewachsen, denn in gleichem Mass verstärkte sich notwendig die Erkenntnis der von unserem hochverehrten Altmeister Adolf Bastian mit flammender Begeisterung gepredigten Wahrheit, dass der Untergang der geringgeschätzten Naturvölker den Verlust unersetzlicher Urkunden für die Geschichte des menschlichen Geistes bedeutet. An Beweisen fehlt es nicht in den folgenden Blättern. Und wie Jeder, der von einer Ueberzeung tief durchdrungen ist, sich auch getrieben fühlt, für sie Propaganda zu machen, so möchte auch ich mich nicht gern nur an den engen Kreis der Fachleute wenden und habe mir die Freude gegönnt, gemeinver-

ständlich zu schreiben. Dankbar muss ich hier den Mut und das Entgegenkommen der Verlagshandlung anerkennen, die meinen Wunsch, den Preis so niedrig zu bestimmen als irgend möglich, erfüllt und doch an der Ausstattung nicht gespart hat.

Möge dem Leser der grosse zeitliche Abstand nicht fühlbarer werden als er es mir ist, wenn ich mich in jene Tage zurückversetze. Es lässt sich nicht leugnen, mein Zeitsinn funktioniert ein wenig mangelhaft; ich wünschte nur, der Grund läge darin, dass es mir wirklich gelungen wäre, mich in die Seele unserer Naturvölker, dieser Kinder des Augenblicks, hineinzudenken — was zu versuchen meine eigentliche Aufgabe war.

Neubabelsberg,
Karalbenhof, Oktober 1893.

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IV. KAPITEL.

Erste Begegnung mit den Indianern.

Rindenkanoe. Indianerspuren. Meine Fahrt mit Antonio und Carlos. Tierleben. Träumerei vor dem Abendessen. Einmündung des Paraíbura. Katarakte. Die Ansiedlung der Bacairi nähert sich. Ihr Häuptling Tumayoa. Nach dem ersten Bakairidorf. Ankunft des »Karaiba«.

Nach mehrfach vergeblichem Anklopfen fand Antonio eine Jatobá (Hymenaea sp.) mit brauchbarer Rinde. Es wird ein Stangengerüst um den Baum errichtet, ein langer rechteckiger Streifen Rinde mit Axthieben abgelöst und, vorsichtig heruntergenommen, auf niedrige Stützen gestellt; dann wird die Rinde durch Hitze, indem man ein Feuer unterhalb anzündet und auch oben Reiser anbrennt, geschmeidig gemacht, und die Ränder der Längsseiten werden emporgebogen. Vorne bildet man eine Spitze, hinten wird die Rinde nach innen vorgedrückt, sodass eine leicht eingebuchtete Querwand mit scharfwinkligen Kanten entsteht, an denen sich die Rinde mit Vorliebe bald spaltet. Das Kanu sollte an einem Tage fertig gestellt und den nächsten Morgen zum Wasser gebracht werden.

Antonio kam merkwürdig vergnügt von seiner Arbeit heim. Ich glaubte, weil das Kanu gut geraten sei, unterhielt mich mit ihm darüber eine Weile und meinte, noch einmal zu unserm Plane übergehend: »Also Du fürchtest nicht, dass der Fluss ohne Anwohner sei?« »Nein«, erwiderte er abweisend, »ich habe ja schon einen Rancho gefunden.« »Warum sagst Du das denn nicht?« »Ich wollte es ja noch sagen.« Beim Suchen nach Ruderholz hatte er eine zusammengefallene palmstrohgedeckte Jagdhütte entdeckt; ihre Pfosten zeigten die stumpfen Hiebmarken der Steinbeile. Daneben lagen angebrannte Holzklötze noch in der eudemonistischen Anordnung des indianischen Lagerfeuers; benachbarte Jatobás hatte man mit Steinäxten auf ihre Brauchbarkeit untersucht, ein noch erkennbarer Weg durchs Gebüsch führte zu einem »Hafen« am Flusse. Antonio glaubte, es sei wohl ein Jahr her, dass die Besucher sich hier aufgehalten hätten.

Donnerstag, den 8. September 10½ Uhr Morgens stiessen wir ab. Carlos saß vorn, Antonio hinten, ich in der Mitte. Ein Zelt, das wir gern mitgenommen hätten, musste wegen seines Gewichts zurückbleiben und mit einem leichteren

Ochsenfell vertauscht werden. Das Kanu war in der Eile doch herzlich schlecht geraten und Flickwerk schon von Anbeginn. Grade unter mir durchsetzte den Boden des schmalen Stücks Rinde, das ein Fahrzeug darstellen wollte, ein $^{3}/_{4}$ m langer wachsverklebter Riss; an den Seiten rannen unter den dort aufgepappten Lehmklumpen leise und unaufhörlich quellende Wässerchen hervor, die den Fuss umspülten.

Aber was lag daran? Ich war glücklich. Wir hatten bestimmte Aussicht, Indianer zu treffen; wir zweifelten in unserm Herzen kaum, dass es Bakairi sein würden. Mochte aber kommen was da wollte, wir drei konnten uns aufeinander verlassen. Carlos sang mit seiner harten Stimme sorglos die brasilischen Gassenhauer in den Wald hinein; Antonio schwieg, aber wenn ich mich umschaute, sah ich sein ehrliches Gesicht strahlen von guter Laune und Unternehmungslust.

Das Wasser war still und fast tot. Wir passierten einige kleine Schnellen und Sandbänke, an denen ausgestiegen werden musste, und wo ich auf's Neue zu lernen hatte, mit nackten Füssen über Kiesel und Geröll zu gehen. Langwierige Hindernisse bildeten die mächtigen Baumgerippe, die seitlich im Flusse lagen oder ihn auch überbrückten und durchsetzten; mit tiefgeduckten Köpfen krochen wir seufzend unter den Stämmen durch oder sägelten die sperrenden Aeste nieder. Dickicht am Lande, Dickicht im Wasser. Aber wir waren nun einmal in der Höhe der Trockenzeit; 5—8 m erhob sich die steile Uferwand, die während der Regenperiode nicht sichtbar ist, frei über dem Wasserspiegel, durchzogen von den horizontalen Linien früherer Pegelstände. So kamen wir auch an vielem jetzt blossliegendem Sandstrand, der meist sanft geböscht und mit zahlreichen Tierspuren bedeckt war, vorüber.

Das muntere Vogelleben am Fluss fiel uns nach der langen Wanderung durch die tote Einöde des verkrüppelten Buschwaldes doppelt auf und that uns nach der Entbehrung doppelt wohl. Man muss die Vögel auf der Stromfahrt einteilen in solche, die man sieht, und solche, die man nur hört. Eine ganze Reihe von befiederten Bewohnern des Waldes sind uns sehr vertraut geworden, die wir doch unterwegs nicht ein einziges Mal erblickt haben; wir kannten ihren Ruf, wir ahmten ihn nach, wir liessen uns von unsern Begleitern erzählen, zu welcher Art sie gehörten, wir lasen über sie in den Büchern nach, aber wir würden in einem Museum an diesen Freunden vorübergehen, ohne sie zu erkennen. Carlos, der in seiner früheren Stellung zahllose Vögel des Matogrosso gejagt und abgebalgt hatte, war leider weit sachverständiger als ich; er teilte seinerseits die Vögel in solche ein, die Herbert Smith »hatte« und solche, die er »nicht hatte«. Zu der letzten Kategorie gehörten die Schwalben, dieselben, denen wir 1884 auf dem Batovy begegnet waren. Wir sahen oder hörten sonst von Vögeln schon an diesem ersten Tage Tauben, Kolibris, kleine Schwärme Periquitos, Araras, Eisvögel, den gelben Bentevi (Saurophagus sulphuratus), den neugierigen kopfnickenden Strandläufer Maçarico (Calidris arenaria), den Biguá (Carbo brasilianus) und Sperberarten, Taucher der Luft neben dem des Wassers,

endlich die Penelopiden Arakuan und Jakutinga, die von uns mit besonderem Interesse verfolgten wohlschmeckenden Hühnervögel. Von Fischen bemerkten wir Matrincham, Bagre, den Wels oder Pintado und Agulha, den Nadelfisch, der in Gestalt des Restes einer Otternmahlzeit gefunden wurde. Ausserordentlich zahlreich waren gelbe Schmetterlinge am Sandstrand, die Smith »zu Tausenden hatte«, ferner Bienen und Grillen. Zuweilen plumpste ein Sinimbú, der Leguan, von einem Ast in das Wasser hinunter. Auf dem Sande liefen die Spuren von Schildkröten, Schweinen und Tapiren. Die Kaimans, »Jakaré« der Brasilier, schienen sehr selten zu sein, wir sahen jedoch eine kleine Art, und in der Nacht wurde Antonio — so erklärte er am nächsten Morgen — als er wegen der Moskitos die Hängematte verlassen habe, von einem neugierigen Vertreter dieser Sippe unfreundlich angefletscht.

Wir nannten deshalb unsern Lagerplatz, den wir kurz nach 4 Uhr bezogen hatten, den Pouso do Jakaré. Antonio nahm sich des unglücklichen Kanus an; er schob es auf ein niederes Gerüst von Gabelstützen, zündete ein Reisigfeuer darunter an und richtete das Vorderteil nach Möglichkeit empor; den Riss verstopfte er mit Lumpen und verschmierte ihn mit Bienenwachs. Brüllaffen gaben uns ein Abendkonzert und thaten so fürchterlich, als ob wir das Gruseln lernen sollten.

Gern standen wir den nächsten Morgen frühzeitig auf; wir flüchten über die Moskitos und fuhren um 6½ Uhr in den zarten Dampfnebel hinaus, der über dem Wasser wallte. Die Vögel zwitscherten und lärmten, ein Kaitetú-Schwein durchschwamm in der Ferne den Fluss. Wir ruderten möglichst geräuschlos zwischen den mit Kampvegetation bestandenen Ufern hin: viel hohes Laubgebusch und Bambusdickicht, aus dem der Baum der roten Ameisen, die Imbauva, emporragte. Ein fetter Mutum cavallo mit schwarzem, grünblau schimmernden Gefieder und siegellackrotem Kamm wurde glücklich erbeutet und sofort gerupft; Antonio sammelte die Schwungfedern und Schwanzfedern, die gespalten und in spiralger Drehung dem Ende des Pfeilschaftes aufgesetzt werden, sorgsam für seine Genossen am Paranatinga, um ihnen etwas von der Reise mitzubringen. Ein Stückchen des Fleisches diente zum Köder, als wir eine Schnelle mit blossliegenden Blöcken passierten und die Matrinchams aufstörten, die dort zwischen den Steinen angeblich schliefen. Die Beiden warfen ihre Angeln aus und liessen sie bei jedem Wurf ein paar Mal verlockend aufschlagen; es wurde auch geschnappt, aber leider nicht angebissen. Sie schossen auf ein paar spielende Ariranhas, grosse Fischottern, die wie Robben auftauchen, fauchen, blitzschnell verschwinden und plötzlich irgendwo weit flussabwärts wieder erscheinen.

Kurz nach Mittag bemerkte Antonio am rechten Ufer abgerissene Zweige; wir stiegen aus und sahen bei näherer Untersuchung, dass man ein erlegtes Jagdtier, ein Kapivara wahrscheinlich, auf eine Streu von Zweigen und Blättern gelegt hatte um das Fleisch beim Ausweiden vor dem Sande zu schützen. Es fand sich weder Hütte noch Feuerstelle; die Beute war also von diesem Ort nach dem

TAF. IV.

TUMAYAUA-BUCHT

v. d. Steinen, Zentral-Brasilien.

[Facing p. 48]

Lagerplatz oder gar nach dem Dorfe gebracht worden. Die Narben des Strauchwerks sollten aber einen Monat alt sein. Wir machten hier unsere Mittagspause, brieten den Mutung nebst dem von dem Otter apportierten Fisch, würzten das Frühstück mit hoffnungsvollen Konjekturen und stiessen, nachdem ich Carlos zum Nachtisch noch die Freude gegönnt hatte, mir einen dicken Sandfloh auszuschälen, in froher Stimmung ab. Borrachudos, die kleinen Stechfliegen, begleiteten uns in einer dichten Wolke; wegen des infernalischen Juckens musste ich die nackten Füsse mit einem Taschentuch umwickeln. Es war schwül und regnerisch. Bald brach auch ein heftiges Gewitter los und nötigte uns, an steilem, schlüpfrigem Uferhang, wo einige Steinhaufen vorgelagert waren, für eine gute Stunde Schutz zu suchen. Dann aber wurde es mild und sonnig, und unsere Wollenwäsche war rasch getrocknet. Schön oder gesellschaftsmässig war sie ja nicht, meine Jäger'sche Bekleidung, doch fand ich sie leicht und praktisch, und die Indianer hatten kein Recht mich zu tadeln, wenn ich nur in Hemd und Unterhose reiste.

Die Nähe der »Compadres« oder Gevattern wurde immer augenfälliger. Denn als wir um 5 Uhr nach einem Lagerplatz Umschau hielten, kamen wir — gerade zur rechten Stunde — an eine Bachmündung, die am linken Flussufer lag, zu unserer Freude klares, kühles Wasser führte und eine zwar kunstlose, aber von Menschenhand herrührende Versperrung durch Astwerk zeigte: eine »Chiqueira«. So nennen die Brasilier eine der einfachsten und von der Natur selbst in häufigen zufälligen Vorkommnissen vorgebildeten Fischfallen an der Mündung eines Baches oder dem Ausfluss eines Lagunenarmes; die Fische treten bei hohem Wasserstand ungehindert ein und können bei niederem nicht mehr zurück. Wir kletterten die steile Böschung hinauf und fanden oben einen ausgezeichneten Platz für das Nachtquartier, frei von Untergestrüpp und mit mittelstarken Bäumen in gehörigem Abstand. Nur jammerten unsere Leute, als sie das Kanu in den Chiqueirabach hinaufgeschoben hatten, dass sie in dem Uferlehm »frieiras« bekommen hätten, schmerzhafte Anschwellungen, wie sie entständen, wenn man in Kapivaralosung, Maultierjauche und dergleichen schöne Sachen trete. Sie trampelten ein Weilchen vor Schmerz mit den Füssen und rieben sie mit Salz ein.

Es war ein herrlicher Abend. Möge mir der Leser verzeihen, wenn ich ihn trotz seines rein subjektiven Inhalts noch einmal heraufbeschwöre. In der Hängematte sitzend, gönnte ich mir zum ersten Mal seit Cuyabá den Luxus, bei einem Kerzenstumpf zu schreiben; in dem dichteren Walde nebenan musizierten die Grillen, unten murmelte das Bächlein, und, höherer Aufmerksamkeit wert, brodelten über dem Feuer dort im Kessel widerspenstig — Landgraf Ludwig, werde hart, werde hart! — die braunen Bohnen.

Es dauerte nicht lange, so lag das Tagebuch verloren in einem Winkel der Hängematte. Ich lachte selbst ein wenig darüber, aber ich betrachtete mein Ereignis, den Kerzenstumpf, mit wahrer Zärtlichkeit und schaukelte mich, in die Flammen starrend, behaglich rauchend und den Körper wie die Seele in sanften

Schwingungen wiegend. Gedanken hatte ich eigentlich nicht und das that wohl. Auch Sehnsucht hatte ich nicht nach den Genüssen, die uns daheim unentbehrlich scheinen. In meinem Pfeifchen und in meiner Kerze erschöpfte sich alles Bedürfnis nach Glück. Im Augenblick galt mir um Vieles mehr als ein Seidel »Echtes« oder eine Flasche Rauenthaler die Kürbisschale frischen Bachwassers, die Carlos mir an die Hängematte reichte; kaltherzig gedachte ich jener Dinge wie einer blassen Vergangenheit. Ich sagte mir, dass es die Stunde sei, wo man sich daheim zu Konzert, Theater, Gesellschaft begiebt. Und unversehens wusste ich mich selbst inmitten des Berliner Strassengetriebes, ich trat vor eine Litfasssäule, las die bunten Anschläge von oben nach unten und ging lesend rund herum, aber mein Puls blieb ruhig, und es regte sich kein Zucken der Begehrlichkeit. Stillvergnügt bemerkte ich nur, dass ich kein Geld bei mir hatte, und dass meine Toilette für die Linden polizeiwidrig war; mit der Empfindung harmlosen Spottes schaute ich auf die Zeitungsverkäufer, die rollenden Wagen, die erleuchteten Läden, die treibende Menschenmenge, gern kehrte ich zurück an meinen dunklen Urwaldfluss.

Aber sind denn auch sie so leicht zu entbehren, fragte ich mich in meinem träumerischen Dusel, sie, die unsere ganze Empfindungswelt beherrschen und beseelen? Eines wenigstens war gewiss: würde das Wunder geschehen sein, was nicht geschah, und hätten mich aus dem Gezweig urplötzlich ein paar der bluhendsten Lippen verführerisch angelächelt — ich würde geraucht und freundlich um die Erlaubnis gebeten haben, weiter zu rauchen. Das Beste, folgerte ich, scheint es demnach zu sein, wenn wir mit der Erinnerung an feinere Genüsse ein stilles Glück in den allereinfachsten finden können; der Philosoph von Wiedensahl hat wieder einmal Recht: »Zufriedenheit ist das Vergnügen an Dingen, welche wir nicht kriegen«.

Und dennoch, nur und allein um der braunen Bohnen oder der Wildnis und Stromschnellen willen würde ich Berlin nicht mit dem Schingú vertauscht haben; ohne einen höheren Zweck, eine Hoffnung also, die in ernsten Kulturbegriffen wurzelt, würde auch die echteste Natur sehr bald wohl unausstehlich werden. Drollig genug, dass Unsereins von Deutschland herüberkommt und hier vielleicht sein kostbares Leben aufs Spiel setzt — um die Heimat der Karaiben zu suchen! »Was ist ihm Hekuba?« Was ist mir Cuyabá und Karáiba?

Doch es giebt Probleme so verzwickt und unergründlich, dass man sie mit hungrigem Magen nicht zu lösen vermag, und es war gut, dass Carlos vom Feuer her endlich seinen Triumphruf »Pronto« erschallen liess. Die Bohnen standen angerichtet auf dem Boden, das Farinhasäckchen lag daneben, von dem eingerammten Holzspiess winkte wohlwollend noch ein Rest Mutung — mochten die Grillen im Walde weiter zirpen.

Um 6½ Uhr (10. September 1887) fuhren wir ab, begierig der Dinge, die nach den Vorzeichen des gestrigen Tages heute kommen würden. Nach 20 Minuten mündete auf der rechten Seite ein Fluss in den unsern ein, ebenso stiller

Flut wie er und nur ein wenig schmaler. Er wurde uns später als Ponekuru bezeichnet. Die vorwiegende Richtung der vereinigten Gewässer war N bis NO, dieselbe, die auch unsere frühere Fahrt trotz der zahlreichen Windungen einzuhalten bestrebt gewesen. Unsere ganze Aufmerksamkeit aber hielt schon eine Weile vor dem Erscheinen des Zuflusses ein uns von 1884 her nur zu wohlbekanntes, mehr und mehr anschwellendes Brausen gefesselt: wir näherten uns einer grossen »Cachoeira«. Wir passierten etliche Steininseln, die aus Sandsteinblöcken bestanden und mit niederm Gebüsch und dünnen Sträuchern bewachsen waren, das Tosen und Rauschen nahm mächtig zu und plötzlich blickten wir hinab auf das verbreiterte, mit gewaltigen Steinlagern gefüllte Strombett, in dem der Schwall der Wassermassen über eine weite Strecke schäumend und strudelnd thalwärts stürzte. Unser späterer Salto Taunay.

Wir hatten eine Stunde Aufenthalt. Das Kanu wurde die Stufen hinabgeschoben, das Gepäck den Uferrand entlang auf den Schultern getragen. Ich hätte mich selbst sehen mögen: Strohhut mit Ararafedern, Hemd, Unterhose, Ledergürtel, Umhängetasche, grauleinene Baskenschuhe, über dem linken Arm das gefaltene Ochsenfell und in der rechten Hand unsere vier Zinnteller, deren oberster mit einem Rest gekochter Bohnen gefüllt war; dabei eifrig Umschau haltend und nach Verdächtigem ausspähend. An einer Cachoeira, wie dieser, giebt es reichliche Gelegenheit für Fischfang; und richtig, wir fanden deutliche Fussspuren und auf den Steinen halbverbrannte Palmfackeln, deren graue, feine Asche noch erhalten war. Das Alter der Schutzhütte in dem Independencia-Lager hatten wir auf ein Jahr geschätzt, das Alter der abgerissenen Zweige an dem Ort, wo das Kapivara zerteilt worden war, auf einen Monat, und mehr als eine Woche konnte es kaum her sein, dass diese Fackeln gebrannt hatten; die Sache wurde jetzt also sengerich und brenzelig in des Wortes verwegenster Bedeutung.

Die schöne Cachoeira hatte im Gegensatz zu den ärmlicheren Katarakten des Batovy in gleicher geographischer Breite bereits durchaus den grossartigeren Charakter der echten Schingúkatarakte, auch war das Wasser unterhalb, wo der Fluss wieder ruhig und klar dahinströmte, prächtig dunkel und flaschengrün. Doch schon nach einer Viertelstunde kam eine neue, ansehnliche Cachoeira, niedriger als die erste, wo ich wieder auszusteigen und über Land zu pilgern hatte. Auch hier wurde Fischfang getrieben. Wir zählten jenseit der Cachoeira 13 sogenannte »Currals«, Ringe von Steinblöcken an seichteren Stellen des Flussbettes; durch eine Lücke in dem Ring können die Fische eintreten, die von den Indianern alsdann zusammengetrieben und geschossen werden. Nicht wenig überrascht war ich, als Antonio weiter abwärts im ruhigen Wasser plötzlich erklärte, dass hier gestern oder vorgestern ein Kanu gewesen sei; ich bemerkte nur eine Menge weisser Bläschen dem Ufer zu. Der Schaum des Ruderschlages erhält sich auf stiller Flut in einer Strasse; durch keinen Wellenschlag zertrümmert, bleiben die Luftblasen auf dem Wasser stehen und werden vom Winde allmählich an's Ufer getrieben.

Wir ruderten zwei Stunden kräftig vorwärts, sprachen nur wenig und mit leiser Stimme und fuhren vorsichtig auslugend hart am inneren Rande in jede neue Windung ein. Aber alle Anzeichen hatten aufgehört. Beiderseits lag hoher schweigender Wald, der Fluss schimmerte im Sonnenschein, nichts Lebendiges regte sich im weiten Umkreis, und hier oder da nur gaukelte ein gelber Schmetterling vorüber. Kurz vor Mittag öffnete sich das Strombett zu einer ziemlich weiten Bucht; es war nicht recht zu erkennen, ob es sich um eine Lagune oder um eine Inselbildung handelte und der Fluss sich in zwei Arten teile; wir legten an, und ich schickte die Beiden aus, das Stück Wald, das uns von der Lagune trennte, zu durchqueren und jenseits den Lauf des Wassers zu prüfen.

Wartend sass ich am Strande; schon kam Carlos zurück, als ich einen Büchsenschuss flussabwärts plötzlich ein Kanu bemerke. Ein einzelner nackter Indianer steht darin und strebt eilfertig dem Ufer zu; dort lenkt er das Fahrzeug hinter ein abgestürztes Baumgeripp und duckt sich in seinem Schutze vorsichtig nieder. »Bakaïrí, Bakaïrí« schrie ich aus Leibeskräften, »kúra Bakaïrí, áma Bakaïrí, úra Bakaïrí«, wir sind Bakaïrí, du bist ein Bakaïrí, ich bin ein Bakaïrí, die Bakaïrí sind gut — kurz schreie, was mir der Geist von Reminiscenzen aus den Begrüssungsformeln gerade jenes Stammes eingiebt, in freudigster Erregung. Und siehe da: »Bakaïrí, Bakaïrí, Bakaïrí« klingt es zurück. Andere Worte kommen hinzu, die ich leider nicht verstehe, aber die hoch emporgeschraubte Stimme trägt einen unglückselig ängstlichen und misstrauischen Ausdruck, und die Arme fuchteln hinter dem Baumgeripp in der Luft herum, als ob der Mensch dort tanze wie ein Kannibale in der Schaubude. »Bakaïrí . . . .« beginne ich wieder, da kommt glücklicher Weise Antonio mit mächtigen Sätzen herbeigesprungen, und halb ausser Atem vor Aufregung schreit er nun seinerseits den Fluss hinunter eine lange Erklärung, die ich wiederum nicht verstehe, die aber bei dem verschanzten Helden ein dankbares Jubelgeheul entfesselt und die Situation wie mit einem Zauberschlag klärt.

Das Kanu schoss aus dem Versteck hervor und eilte geradenwegs, ein schönes, langes, trockenes Rindenkanu, an unser trauriges, krummes, wachsverklebtes, lehmbeschmiertes, von schmutzigem Wasser durchspültes Fahrzeug heran, — wahrlich, ich meinte, wir wären es, die hier in den Kreis einer höheren Kultur träten; wenn der edle Schiffer auch nur mit einer Gürtelschnur bekleidet war und nichts mit sich führte, als die sauber gearbeiteten, federverzierten Pfeile und den Bogen, die neben einer mit Honig gefüllten Kürbisschale auf dem Boden des Kanus lagen, so stach doch dieses auf uns zu gleitende Gesamtbild in seiner Nettigkeit und Reinlichkeit auf das Vorteilhafteste ab von uns abgerissenen Kulturträgern neben dem nassfaulen Stück Rinde, das unser Boot hiess. Nun, der Ankömmling zeigte mit seinem Gesichtsausdruck deutlich, dass er seinerseits doch uns bewundere.

Er benahm sich auch gar nicht als der schweigsame düstere Indianer, dessen Seele, wie ich auf Grund unserer Schulweisheit hätte verlangen dürfen, die eintönige niederdrückende Umgebung des tropischen Waldes wiederspiegelte, sondern lachte

und schwatzte mit seinem Stammesgenossen Antonio, als ob er in einem glücklichen Lande der gemässigten Zone aufgewachsen wäre. In wenigen Minuten waren wir gute Freunde, er sagte uns sogar, was er freilich nach des Landes Brauch ohne schamhaftes Zaudern und Zögern nicht zu Stande brachte, auf mein Drängen seinen Namen; er hiess Tumayaua und war der Häuptling eines wenige Stunden entfernten Dorfes der Bakaïrí.

Also wirklich der Bakaïrí! Die Hoffnung der vergangenen Wochen war in Erfüllung gegangen, wir traten in unser Forschungsgebiet bei einem uns wohlbekannten gutartigen Völkchen ein, und unser Debut war gesichert. Tumayaua, erfuhr ich jetzt durch Antonio, war nicht wenig verdutzt gewesen über meinen Zuruf; dass er ein Bakaïrí sei, dass wir aber keine Bakaïrí seien, hatte er geantwortet. Zuvorkommend bot uns der Gute sein Kanu an, stieg selbst in das unsere und übernahm die Führung. Aber wir plauderten nicht minder eifrig als wir ruderten. Die Bakaïrí des Batovy waren Tumayaua's Verwandte und Freunde. Von dem ersten Dorf, das wir 1884 besucht hatten, gab es wunderbare Neuigkeiten. Der alte Indianer, den wir damals den »Professor« genannt hatten, war mit einigen Andern unterwegs zum Paranatinga! Sie wollten Antonio und seinen Stammesbrüdern einen neuen Besuch abstatten. Pauhaga, der erste Bakaïrí, den wir auf der früheren Reise am Batovy begrüsst hatten, wohnte augenblicklich in Tumayaua's Gemeinde, und ein merkwürdiger Zufall fügte es also, dass wir ihn auch gerade im ersten Dorfe des Kulisehu wiedersehen sollten. Waren wir denn auch wirklich am Kulisehu? Ja, der Fluss hiess Kulisehu, Kulisëu oder Kulihëu, wie denn h und s im Bakaïrí zu wechseln pflegen, und alle die Stämme, die wir suchten, wohnten anscheinend auch an seinen Ufern.

Doch Cachoeiras unterbrachen die Unterhaltung. Um 12 Uhr waren wir abgefahren; nach einer halben Stunde kam eine 60 m lange, niedrige Steincachoeira, durch die wir uns mühsam hindurchwanden, kurz nach 1 Uhr dann No. 4 der heutigen Reihe, wo entladen werden musste, und ein halbes Stündchen Aufenthalt entstand. $^{3}/_{4}$3 Uhr trafen wir bei der fünften und letzten ein, die sich mit kräftigem Schwall durch die Felsblöcke ergoss. Hier aber streikte der Pilot gegen die Weiterbeförderung unseres in akuter Wassersucht verendenden Kanus. Wir nahmen ihn als Vierten auf und überliessen die Leiche ihrem Schicksal. Tumayaua, dass mussten wir lobend anerkennen, war uns wirklich zur guten Stunde entgegengekommen; dass wir drei mit unserm Gepäck und ohne Kenntnis des Weges durch die letzten Cachoeiras in dem elenden Kanu, das den einzelnen Indianer nicht mehr tragen konnte, bis zum Dorf gekommen wären, ist sehr unwahrscheinlich. Gewiss aber hätten wir heute dieses Ziel nicht mehr erreicht. 3$^{1}/_{4}$ Uhr legten wir am linken Ufer an; wir waren im »Hafen«.

Wer sich mehr freute, Tumayaua, der eilend vorauslief, um uns anzumelden, und rasch unseren Blicken entschwunden war, oder wir, ist schwer zu sagen. Wir wanderten hintereinander den schmalen Pfad in dem durch Brand gelichteten Terrain, traten nach wenigen Minuten in den Wald, hörten lautes Schreien und

Durcheinanderrufen, und einige hundert Schritte weiter, nachdem wir noch auf einem als Brücke dienenden Baumstamm ein kristallklares Bächlein passiert hatten, kamen wir in Sicht dreier bienenkorbartiger Hütten, die einen freien Platz zwischen sich hatten. Dort erwartete uns, den eifrig gestikulierenden Tumayaua an der Spitze, eine nackte braune Gesellschaft von Männern und in dem Hintertreffen von Weibern und Kindern, alle zu einer engen Gruppe zusammengeschlossen und halb verlegen, halb freudig gestimmt, jedenfalls aber auf's Höchste überrascht. Die Männer traten uns, die rechte Hand emporstreckend, entgegen und sagten »áma« = »du«, »das bist du«, oder »áma kχaráiba« = »du, der Karaibe«.

Nicht sie, sondern wir sind in ihren Augen die »Karaiben«, und ich, der ich bei uns von dem Karaibenstamm der Bakairí spreche, hiess dort der »píma kχaráiba«, der Häuptling der Karaiben.

[p. 55]

V. KAPITEL.

Bakaïri-Idylle.

I.

Auskunft über Kulisehu und Kuluëne. Antonio und Carlos zurück. Ein Weltteil, in dem nicht gelacht wird. Dorfanlage. Vorstellung der Personen. Mein Flötenhaus. In Palsho's Haus. Bewirtung. Bohnenkochen und Tanzlieder. Aeussere Erscheinung der Indianer. Nacktheit und Schamgefühl. Essen und Schamgefühl. Tabakkollegium. Pantomime: Flussfahrt, Tagereisen, Stämme, Steinbeilarbeit. Vorführung von »Mähe« und »Wanwase«. Tabakpflanzen. Fischfang in der Lagune. Kanubau.

Schon am ersten Abend erhielt ich eine ziemlich klare Vorstellung von den Anwohnern des Kulisehu, die uns in Aussicht standen. Es gab drei Bakaïridörfer; ihnen sollten folgen ein Dorf der »Nahuquá«, zwei Dörfer der »Minakú«, ein Dorf der »Auití«, ein Dorf der »Yaulapihü« und am »Kuluëne« ein Dorf der »Trumaí«. Zwischen dem Kulisehu und dem Tamitotoala-Batovy sollten noch die »Kamayulá« und die »Waurá« wohnen. Unsicher blieb, was der Flussname »Kuluëne« bedeute, den ich jetzt zum ersten Mal hörte. Erst allmählich lernte ich verstehen, dass es der im Osten gelegene Hauptfluss sei, grösser als der Kulisehu, der in ihn einmünde. Also war der Fluss, den wir 1884 bei Schingú-Koblenz von SO hatten heranziehen sehen, nicht eigentlich der »Kulisehu«, wie wir damals verstanden und bisher geglaubt hatten, sondern der vereinigte Kuluëne-Kulisehu gewesen: der Name »Kuluëne« blieb auch dem Schingú selbst unterhalb der grossen Gabelung, sodass z. B. die Suyá am Kuluëne wohnten. Wollte man nach der Nomenklatur der Eingeborenen verfahren, müsste man an Stelle von »Schingú« den Namen »Kuluëne« gebrauchen und nun sagen, dass der Kuluëne zuerst den Kulisehu und dann bei »Koblenz« den Ronuro mit dem Tamitotoala-Batovy aufnimmt.

Es war ein schwer Stück Arbeit, diese Angaben von den Bakaïri herauszubekommen; es wurde dabei viel in den Sand gezeichnet, viel Pantomime getrieben und, wenn ein Stück des Weges unklar geblieben war, immer wieder von vorne angefangen. Für's Erste wusste ich genug; die einzelnen Stämme wohnten offenbar nur um wenige, im höchsten Fall drei Tagereisen von einander entfernt. Auch eine böse Nachricht wurde mir zu Teil, und ich gestehe, dass sie mir die bisher so angenehme Erinnerung an die erste Expedition verdarb: als die Trumaí

2: Steinen SP7 Bacairi

damals bei Koblenz vor uns in heller Flucht davongestürzt waren, und unsere Soldaten sie verfolgt hatten, um einige von ihnen trotz aller Eile mitgenommenen Gegenstände zurückzugewinnen, war bei dem thörichten Schiessen, das sich die Leute erlaubt hatten und das angeblich nur in die Luft gerichtet war, dennoch ein Trumai, wie ich jetzt erfuhr, getödtet worden. Dort konnten wir also kaum auf herzliches Willkommen rechnen.

Antonio und Carlos schickte ich am nächsten Tage, dem 11. September 1887, mit den Neuigkeiten nach der Independencia zurück. Ich hatte für ein Buschmesser das eine der beiden Kanus, das die Bakairí besassen, erworben. Ich selbst wollte zurückbleiben, ein neues Kanu anfertigen lassen und die seltene Gelegenheit, allein unter diesen Naturkindern zu weilen, für meine Studien ausnutzen. In dem flussabwärts liegenden zweiten Bakairídorf, hörte ich, seien drei Kanus vorhanden, und könnten wir vielleicht zwei bekommen. Während für die im Standquartier zurückbleibenden ein guter Rancho gebaut würde, sollten deshalb ein oder zwei Herren, die jetzt von Antonio und Carlos geholt wurden, mit mir nach dem zweiten Bakairídorf fahren; dort konnten wir uns vervollständigen und alsdann günstigen Falls mit vier Kanus nach der Independencia zurückrudern, um nun endlich die eigentliche Flussfahrt anzutreten. Antonio und Carlos sollten ferner, um Zeit zu sparen, ihr Kanu an der ersten grossen Cachoeira zurücklassen und über Land die Independencia aufsuchen. So wurde das Terrain im Anschluss an die mittlerweile von den Herren in der Independencia gewonnenen Erfahrungen vollständig rekognosziert und die Frage erledigt, ob das Standquartier nicht näher an das erste Bakairídorf vorgeschoben werden könne.

Als ich die beiden Wackern zum Hafen gebracht hatte und sie bald in der nächsten Biegung des Flusses verschwunden waren, kehrte ich zu meinen neuen Freunden zurück und fühlte mich in ihrer Mitte bald so wohl, dass ich jene idyllischen Tage unbedenklich den glücklichsten zurechne, die ich erlebt habe. Ich will versuchen, ihnen in einer kleinen Skizze gerecht zu werden; ich erhalte dadurch Gelegenheit, manche kleinen Züge von dem braven Völkchen mitzuteilen, die im rein fachwissenschaftlichen Bericht nicht unterzubringen wären und doch des Wertes schon deshalb nicht entbehren, weil sie uns die Indianer nicht ganz so zeigen, wie wir sie uns vorzustellen gewohnt sind. Nicht Weniges davon verschwand, als später die grössere Gesellschaft kam; die volle Unbefangenheit, mit der man sich mir Einzelnen gegenüber gab, blieb nicht bestehen, und das Verhalten ähnelte mehr dem bekannten Schema, das in den Büchern gezeichnet zu werden pflegt. Und da möchte ich, was meine Bakairí angeht, von vornherein Einspruch erheben gegen derartige Anschauungen über ihre Eigenschaften, wie sie ihren typischen Ausdruck in den folgenden Sätzen Oscar Peschels (Abhandlungen zur Erd- und Völkerkunde, Leipzig 1877, Band I, p. 421) finden: »In keinem Weltteil der Erde hat man vor 1492 weniger frohes Lachen gehört als in Amerika. Der sogenannte rote Mann bleibt sich unter allen Himmels-

strichen gleich, er ist überall düster, schweigsam, in sich gekehrt und auf eine gewisse würdevolle Haltung bedacht.«

Für die Bakairí treffen diese Prädikate in keiner Weise zu, sie waren heiter, redselig und zutraulich, wie ich sie in ihrem Verkehr untereinander beobachtete, und wie sie sich mir allein gegenüber gaben. Ich werde die Beispiele dafür nicht schuldig bleiben, ich habe in diesem Dorfe fast ebenso viel gelacht und lachen gehört als unter den Kokospalmen von Samoa und Tonga. Es ist richtig, das Temperament ist weniger beweglich und die ganze Lebensauffassung weniger sonnig als bei den Kindern der Südsee, die Mädchen tanzen nicht im Mondschein und die Männer singen nicht auf der Kanufahrt; leichter wird Scheu und Misstrauen geweckt, aber von alledem ist es ein weiter Weg zu der Schwermut und Verschlossenheit, die dem Indianer, als ob es zwischen Berings- und Magalhäesstrasse nur eine einzige Familie gäbe, ebenso wie das schwarze Rosshaar und die mongolischen Augen, dem Anschein nach ein für alle Mal zugesprochen werden sollen.

Das »Dorf« war sehr klein, es bestand aus zwei grossen runden Häusern, in deren jedem mehrere Familien wohnten, und einem kleinen, leeren, etwas baufälligen oblongen Hause, in dem ich meine Residenz aufschlug. Zwischen den Häusern erstreckte sich die »taséra«, ein freier Platz, wo einige Gerüste standen, um das weisse, auf Matten ausgebreitete Mandiokamehl zu trocknen, wo in der Mitte ein langer dünner Sitzbalken lag und nach dem Rande zu etliche Baumwollstauden, Orléanssträucher (Bixa Orellana) und Ricinuspflanzen wuchsen. Ringsum waren zahlreiche Obstbäume angepflanzt, Bakayuvapalmen (Acrocomia), Mangaven (Hancornia speciosa), Fruta de lobo (Solanum lycocarpum), und eine Art Allee von stattlichen Pikí-Bäumen (Caryocar butyrosum). Nach Osten führte ein Weg zum »Hafen« über den nahebei befindlichen Bach hinüber, nach Nordosten ein breiter Pfad durch hohes Sapé-Gras, mit dem die Häuser gedeckt werden, zu der unterhalb gelegenen Stromschnelle, nach Süden ein Pfad zu der Mandioka-Pflanzung, und überall trat hoher Wald dicht an die besiedelte und bepflanzte Lichtung heran.

Die Gemeinde zählte 9 Männer, 7 Frauen, 5 Kinder. Die Namen der Männer waren: Tumayaua, der Häuptling, unser Führer, dem in erster Linie die Sorge um die Pflanzung oblag (Tafel 6), Paleko, sein Vater, ein reizender alter Herr, mit dem ich enge Freundschaft schloss und der an seinem Lebensabend Körbe und Reusen flocht, Alakuai, der pfiffige Zimmermann und Kanubauer, Awia, der Maler, Yapü, der Dicke, Kalawaku, der Bescheidene und die jungen Männer Kulekule, Luchu (Tafel 6) und Pauhaga. Es unter ihnen einigen Tagen noch ein paar Besucher aus dem zweiten Dorf hinzu, kamen nach Einer, dessen Eltern früh gestorben waren, der deshalb — keinen Namen hatte.

Namen der Frauen waren nicht zu erfahren: »pekóto úra« lautete regelmässig die Antwort »ich bin eine Frau«. So musste ich hier meine eigenen Be-

zeichnungen erfinden; es gab, wie immer, eine Alte, die sehr viel zu sagen hatte, und die mit ihrem dürren runzligen Körper nicht gerade schön war, die »Stammhexe«, Paleko's Gattin (vgl. Tafel 5 links). Ihr Gegenstück war ihre Enkelin »Eva«, Tumayaua's Tochter, Mutter zweier Kinder und die jugendliche Frau des muskulösen, prachtvoll stämmig gebauten Kulekule, der mir, ehe ich seinen Namen wusste, würdig erschien, in diesem kleinen Paradiese »Adam« zu heissen und sich auch einer schön gelbrötlichen Lehmfarbe erfreute. Eva hatte ein fein geschnittenes europäisches Gesicht mit vollen Lippen, leicht errötenden Wangen, die dicht von welligem Haar umrahmt waren, und den schönsten Augen, die ich in Brasilien — und das will nicht wenig bedeuten — gesehen habe, grossen Augen, deren lieb-

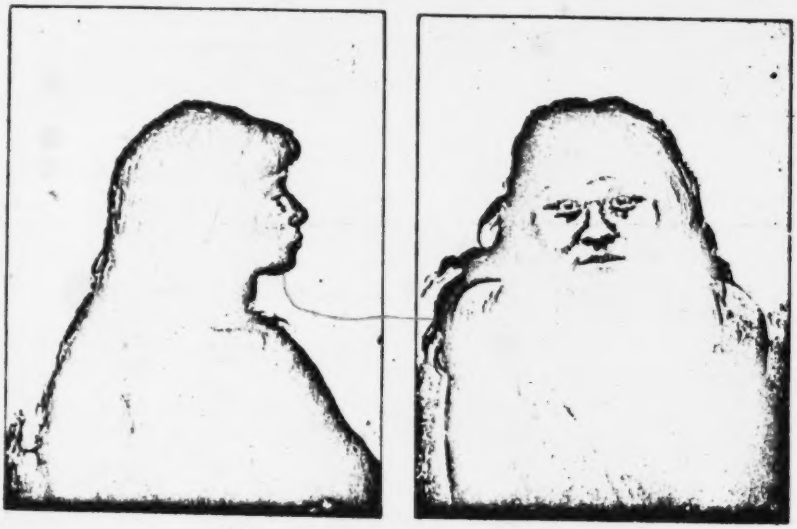

Abb. 2. »Eva«, Tumayaua's Tochter.

licher Blick garnichts von Koketterie enthielt, in deren strahlendem Feuer aber doch bei einem vollen, naiv zärtlichen Aufschlag jener Funke schuldloser Lüsternheit aufleuchtete, der einst den ewigen Weltbrand entzündet haben muss; so sah sie bei einem von keiner Einschnürung jemals misshandelten Körper wirklich wie eine junge Mutter Eva aus. Leider schuppte sie sich gar zu oft auf dem Kopfe und wenn dies auch zuweilen aus Verlegenheit geschehen mochte, so hatten doch Läuschen daran ihren sichtbaren Anteil.

Die etwa 12jährige Freundin Eva's, »meine Zukünftige« (Tafel 5 die dritte von rechts), pflegte sie hervorzuholen und zu essen. Dieser gehörte überhaupt alles Gute im Dorfe und viele Perlen, die ich Andern geschenkt hatte, fand ich später an ihrem Hals. Sie war das Töchterlein des verstorbenen Häuptlings und seine

Erbin. Ihr Oheim Tumayaua war nur interimistisches Oberhaupt, er hätte mir, wenn ich dem sehr ernst gemeinten Vorschlag Paleko's gefolgt wäre und seine Nichte geheiratet hätte, die Regierung abtreten müssen. Ich kann mir noch heute nicht verhehlen, dass, um von der ausgezeichneten Partie, mit der keine höheren Ansprüche an Toilettenaufwand als eine Schnur Glasperlen und ein Stück Rindenbast von der Grösse eines kleinen Menschenohres verbunden waren, ganz abzusehen, eine bessere Gelegenheit, die Ethnologie des Kulisehu kennen zu lernen, kaum zu erdenken war. Von den übrigen Frauen bekam ich wenig zu sehen, mit Ausnahme etwa der »Egypterin«, die auch vom zweiten Dorf herüberkam, eine lange habgierige Person mit egyptischem Profil und mandelförmigen Augen (Tafel 5 die zweite von rechts).

Ich hielt mich die beiden ersten Tage bescheidentlich zurück, um die Leutchen nicht zu ängstigen, ich merkte auch, dass einer der Männer fast immer zum Ehrendienst bei mir abkommandirt und so eine Art Dujour eingerichtet war; als ich in der ersten Nacht nach der Verabschiedung noch bei Licht einige Zeit aufbleiben und mein Tagebuch führen wollte, erschien der alte Paleko an der Thüre und bat mich ebenso höflich wie dringend, zu schlafen und die Kerze auszublasen. Meine Diskretion trug gute Früchte, bald holte man mich in die beiden grossen Häuser: in dem einen waren Paleko und die Zukünftige, in dem andern Tumayaua und Tochter die Hauptbewohner. Man nahm mich mit hinaus zum Fischen, zum Stapellauf des neuen Kanus u. dergl., und Alles hätte nicht besser sein können, wenn ich nicht bei der gastfreundlichen, aber für mich durchaus unzulänglichen Bewirtung an chronischem Hunger gelitten hätte. Ich musste mir durch starkes Rauchen zu helfen suchen und leistete darin das Menschenmögliche, während die Indianer sich diesem Genuss fast nur in unserm allabendlichen Tabakkollegium auf dem Platz draussen, den vergnügtesten Stunden des Tages, dann aber auch in corpore und mit grossem Eifer hingaben.

Mein Häuschen hatte zur Zeit der Feste als Tanzhaus gedient, »kχato-éti« oder »Flötenhaus«. Zwei Rohrflöten in einem Futteral aus Buriti-Palmstroh an der Wand hängend, waren die einzigen Reste der vergangenen Herrlichkeit. Doch war es für mich besser so; denn die Frauen, die in dieser Ruine frei aus- und eingingen, dürfen das Flötenhaus der Männer niemals betreten. Es war 7 Schritt breit, $9^1/_2$ lang, die $2^1/_2$ Schritt auseinander stehenden Hauptpfosten inmitten, die das Dach stützten, waren $4^1/_2$ m hoch. Oben blieb in dem Strohdach eine 1 m breite und $3^3/_4$ m lange Luke frei. Ein paar Fischreusen standen in einer Ecke, sonst gab es nichts als die zwei Pfosten, von deren einem ich die Hängematte zur Wand hinübergespannt hatte. Ausser meiner Ehrenwache hatte ich noch die Gesellschaft eines Japú (Cassicus), der mir wie ein grüner tropischer Hans Huckebein vorkam; er durfte nur oben in den Sparren der Rauchluke sitzen und wurde, wenn er plötzlich herunterschoss und wie ein wildes Tier zwischen uns umherjagte, schleunigst wieder auf seinen Beobachtungsposten verscheucht, wo er, den Kopf neugierig geneigt und den Schnabel offen, herabschaute.

Zuweilen kam auch eins der nachts eifrig thätigen Mäuslein spionieren und wurde, wenn es nicht zeitig entwischte, mit einem Kinderpfeil geschossen und den Frauen zum Braten gebracht. Fast ständige Gäste waren grosse schwarz-weiss gestreifte Bienen, die sich ebenso wie ein hier und da durch den Eingang herzuflatternder Schmetterling ruhig greifen und bei Seite setzen liessen. Am heissen Mittag meinte ich öfters inmitten eines von Gesumm und Gebrumm erfüllten Bienenkorbes zu sitzen.

Es war um diese Stunde am dritten Tage, dass ich vor den Bienen und Fliegen in das grosse Haus Paleko's flüchtete und es zum ersten Mal betrat. Dort drinnen war es wundervoll kühl und gemütlich und nichts von lästigem Ungeziefer vorhanden. Nur Ameisen zogen mit Mehlkörnern beladen ihre Strasse zum Mandiokastampfer. Die Männer schaukelten sich, ihre Hauptbeschäftigung daheim, in den Hängematten, und nachdem ich anstandshalber auf dem Ehrenschemel, der die Höhe einer Zigarrenkiste hatte, ein Weilchen sitzen geblieben war, folgte ich bald ihrem Beispiel.

Man meinte sich in einem riesigen Bienenkorb zu befinden, glücklicherweise ohne die Bienen. Der Grundriss war fast kreisförmig mit einem Durchmesser vom 15 m; zwei gewaltige Pfosten, 9 m hoch und $3^1/_2$ m von einander abstehend, stützten in der Mitte die mächtige Strohkuppel, deren Gerüst aus horizontalen Bambusringen und über diese senkrecht nach oben zur Luke gebogenen Stangen bestand. Sie war rauchgeschwärzt, wie Theer glänzend. Die Wandung ringsum, über der sie sich erhob, ein festgeschlossener Ring von $1^1/_2$ m hohen Pfosten, nur unterbrochen durch zwei für mich viel zu niedrige Thüreingänge, die sich gegenüberlagen. Von der Wand waren nach innen zu, in der Richtung der Radien, die Hängematten gespannt, an besonders starken Pfosten beiderseits befestigt, sodass der Aussenraum in eine Anzahl von freilich offenen Gemächern eingeteilt war. Der grosse Mittelraum um die Hauptpfosten herum und unter der Luke, der frei blieb, war Küche und Stapelplatz für Proviantkörbe, Töpfe, irdene Beijú-Pfannen, Siebe, Matten, Kiepen, Mörser, Stampfer und Kalabassen. An die Hauptpfosten waren Stöcke mit Schlingpflanzen angeflochten, wo wieder Kürbisschalen oder Tabakbündel herabhingen, von einem Querbalken baumelten grosse Vögel mit strohgeflochtenen Beinen und Schwänzen herab, die sehr geheimnisvoll aussahen und nur den Zweck hatten, die Maiskolben, aus denen ihr Inneres und die Flügel zusammengesetzt waren, auf eine das Auge erfreuende Art aufzubewahren. Der Boden war überzogen von einem steinharten Satz des feinen weissen Mandiokamehls, mehlweiss waren die Mörser und Stampfer und rauchgeschwärzt die Töpfe. Ueber den Thüren Körbe mit Kalabassen, Reusen, Fischnetze, in den »Gemächern« an der Wand Bogen, Steinbeile, die buntgefiederten Pfeile aus dem Kuppelstroh hervorstarrend, ein Kram von Körbchen, Trinkschalen und kleinerem Gerät, am Boden weisse Lehmkugeln, Töpfchen, Schemel, Holzstücke, Feuerfächer und die Asche des Feuerchens, das Jeder nachts neben und fast unter seiner Hängematte unterhält, an der Hängematte ein Büschelchen bunter Federn und der Kamm hängend, hier und da eine Pyramide aus Stäben mit dem Bratrost;

auch fand sich ein Paar der Stöcke aufgehängt, mit denen Feuer gerieben wird, und daneben ein Paketchen mit dem Zunderbast angebunden.

In Summa: Familienwohnung in vollem Betrieb, gerade so viel Unordnung als zur Behaglichkeit gehörte, Alles sauber und nett hergerichtet, Alles gehängt, geschachtelt, gestülpt, keine eisernen Nägel und Schrauben, sondern nur Faden und Flechtwerk, Alles Arbeit mit Steinbeil, Tierzahn und Muschel. Totaleindruck: braun die Wand, die Hängematten, die Kalabassen, die Menschen, braun in jeder Abstufung aber harmonisch getönt, ganz Knaus. Hier und da schien die Sonne durch eine Ritze in der Strohkuppel, vor der Thür schnitt die Tageshelle scharf ab und die Gasse zwischen den Thüren lag im Halbschatten; durch die Luke, die ziemlich eng verschlossen war, fielen einige lichte Kringel und Kreise auf den Boden, und in dem emporsteigenden Rauch tanzten matte Sonnenstäubchen.

Die schweigsamen Indianer, Männer und Frauen, schwatzten fortwährend, und lustig heraus klang Eva's liebliches Lachen. Die Frauen waren alle thätig. Eine schrappte eine rötliche Rinde, die gekocht einen heilkräftigen Sud liefert, eine zweite stampfte im Mörser Mandiokagrütze. Ab und zu wurde einem der Männer ein Schluck an die Hängematte gebracht. Ein schönes Bild dort beim loderndem Feuer, das an dem riesigen Topfkessel heraufschlug, die nackte Frau mit langem Haar, sie schöpfte den wie Milch weich wallenden Schaum des Püserego in einem kleinen Topf ab und goss ihn immer wieder mit kräftigem Schwung des Armes zurück. Andere traten hinzu, auch der gehorsamst Unterzeichnete, und kosteten, die Finger abschleckend. Die Zukünftige sah auch sehr niedlich aus, ihr »rabenschwarzes Mongolenhaar« spielte in ein verschossenes Lichtbraun, und sie hockte vor drei unzufrieden krächzenden grünen Periquitchen, die sie aus einem Töpfchen fütterte. Dann kam auch ich an die Reihe, sie legte einen frischgebackenen goldgelben Beijú-Fladen vor mich hin und vergass nicht zu bemerken, dass er ihrer eignen Händchen Werk sei.

Der dicke Yapü war eingeschlummert. Auch mich befiel in der ungewohnten stimmungsvollen Gleichmässigkeit des häuslichen Treibens eine angenehme Müdigkeit; der freundlichen Einladung, ein Mittagsschläfchen zu halten, konnte ich nicht widerstehen, obwohl ich mich in der grössten Hängematte, die da war, wie ein Fisch im Netze krümmte.

Ich hatte fest geschlafen. Das Bild war verändert. Die Frauen sassen draussen auf dem Platz fünf in einer Kette hintereinander eifrig beim Lausen. Wer ein Tierchen fing, legte es auf die Spitze der Zunge und schluckte den Leckerbissen hinunter oder gab es auch der ursprünglichen Besitzerin, die es in der emporgehaltenen Rechten von hintenher empfing. Die Männer beobachteten aufmerksam Schwalben »iri«, Luchu schoss nach ihnen, ohne sie zu treffen; als sich ein paar in der Luft eine Beute abjagten, nahm dies das allgemeine Interesse in Anspruch, und der gute alte Paleko lieferte erklärende Anmerkungen. Ueberall dolce far niente. Nur die Ameisen feierten nicht; grosse Carregadores zogen daher, schwer bepackt mit Halmstückchen und Holzkohlen.

Das Haus Tumayaua's war ein wenig kleiner; hier lugten Eva's Kinder aus den Hängemättchen hervor, sonst war es dasselbe Bild.

Die Wohnungsverhältnisse gefielen mir besser als der zweite Teil der Pension. Mit meiner Verpflegung war es übel bestellt. Fleisch bekam ich während des Aufenthaltes im Dorf überhaupt nicht zu sehen, wenn ich zwei geschossene Mäuse ausnehme. Fisch liess man mir nur so selten und in so kleinen Portionen zukommen, als wenn es eine der kostbarsten Speisen wäre; einmal ein Töpfchen von kleinfingerlangen Geschöpfchen in salzloser Brühe mit einem Maiskolbenstiel als Löffel, zweimal ein knapp handgrosses Stück Fisch gebraten und auf Beijú wie auf einem Tellerchen serviert, einmal ein Stück Zitteraal, fast zu fett, aber gut und mit einer Haut wie Spickaal. Dann durfte ich einmal Beijú in Fischöl tunken, was eine besondere Delikatesse auch für die Bakairí nicht gewesen wäre, wenn sie in ihrer Kindheit hätten Leberthran einnehmen müssen. Mehr finde ich in meinem Tagebuch nicht verzeichnet — dagegen teilte die Zukünftige am ersten Tage geröstete Maiskörner mit mir, die sie auf dem Boden hockend im Schooss hielt, brachte mir auch gelegentlich ein paar Mangaven, und Eva bot mir beim Vokabelfragen Ameisen, einen Palmbohrkäfer mit noch einem halben Bein und eine dicke Larve an, was alles »iwakulukulu«, der Superlativ jedweden Guten und Schönen im Bakairí, sein sollte. An den Mandioka-Fladen oder Beijús und Getränken liess man es nicht fehlen. Doch hielt der Festtrank Püserego nur für zwei Tage vor; wie Seifenwasser grünlich grau, warm und mit Blasenschaum überzogen, hatte er doch einen angenehm weichlichen, süssen Geschmack. Die Beijús waren in der Qualität je nach Art des Mehls sehr verschieden, sie wurden meist zerbröckelt und mit Wasser angerührt als Getränk genossen.

Dahingegen waren meine Gastfreunde von Herzen bereit, das Wenige, was ich von Bohnen und Salz bei mir hatte, sich schmecken zu lassen und baten darum inständigst. Mit den Bohnen hatte es seine Schwierigkeiten. Paleko und ich kochten sie zusammen, aber beide zum ersten Mal in unserm Leben. Ich machte Feuer an und er holte Scheite herbei, wir setzten einen irdenen Topf mit den Bohnen auf drei Steine und kochten los. Paleko sang dazu, seinen Korb flechtend und mit einem Fuss leise im Takt tretend; ich versuchte die Worte festzuhalten und las sie ihm, nach Kräften auf seine Art singend, vor. Leider verstehe ich den Text nicht und leider noch weniger die Noten, ich kann nur angeben, dass der Rhythmus sehr stark hervorgehoben wurde, und dass man, wenn nur der Alte sang, eine ganze Gesellschaft zu hören meinte, wie sie im Kreise lief und stampfte.

kuyé kuyé kutapayó kuyé — kutapayó kohókohokú yaliwayáhakú okokú ukó — ohóhóko kukohokú ohóhóchú.

éau hitenó kuyé — kutipayó yekútapá yekútapá okó. Dieser Vers enthält etwas von Augen, ein gleicher mit *kinú hitenó etc.* von der Sonne. *)

*) *kime* Sonne Nu-Aruakwort. Das folgende *yawali* ist der Name für das Wurfholz und den Wurfholztanz der Tupistämme des Kulisehu. Die Texte sind wohl nur teilweise Bakairí.

yawali, yawali i i ü pakitu, yawali ü ü ik ki ki yawalilauri.

yawali pinahi yawali ek ke ki, yawali kourutuehuki yawali ek ke ki, yawali ke ke ki.

yawali nauri oki, yawali nauri oki, yawali nauri oki, yawali nauri oki-yi.

Wie der *Yawali*-Gesang gab es einen andern mit endloser Wiederholung: *uikutapik, uikutapik* »fünf Mal, *uoki uikutapik etc.* in infinitum. Dann wurde Paleko auch ein Lied der Nahuquá, das sich auf das schöne Geschlecht, *tiu* Frau, bezog: *yimiki kazi kacimiku — yimiki orokari nauri mitiu.*

Trotz der aufmunternden Marschlieder kam in unserm Bohnentopf kein Wallen und Sprudeln zu Stande, nur bescheidene Schaumblasen schwammen oben und nach zwei Stunden waren die sanft erhitzten Hülsenfrüchte noch grün. Erst als meine Zukünftige herrukam und sich der Sache annahm, wurde auch das Tempo der Bohnen lebhafter. Auch sie sang »*kuyinku kuyinki*« (Diphthong *ou*) mit leiser Stimme ein wenig nach der Melodie: »Wir hatten gebauet ein stattliches Haus«: *kuyinku kuyinkuki — kirikuyi kirukuyi* (*vier mal*) — *kuyinku kuyin.*

Leise und ziemlich dumpf, langsam feierlich, lange auf dem *ou* verweilend.

Das Hauptlied, das wir noch häufig zusammen sangen, war das folgende: *yauri yauri nuki — nori riti kuki — oki koki, niki uoki niki, niki uoki niki, notti ariti nikuki, okikuki kuki, niki uoki niki, notti ariti ikuku, okikuki etc.*

Dumpf und leise, aber immer schneller mit gestampftem Takt und einer stossweisen Betonung, die zum Fortschreiten mitreisst; das *ikuku* . . . wird wiederholt, bis der Athem fast versagt, und man ruht wieder aus auf dem feierlicheren: *ni ti ki — notti ariti nikuki nuki kuki — notti ariti nikuki nuki kuki ni ti ki, ni ti ki — iku ki ku.*

Ein grösserer Gegensatz ist nicht gut denkbar als zwischen einem flotten Studenten-Kneiplied und jenen Gesängen, deren Vortrag kaum ein Singen zu nennen war, sondern nur mit verhaltenen Tönen den Tanzmarsch der Füsse begleiten zu wollen schien. Ich sang natürlich auch, auf die Gefahr hin, den Leutchen von unserer Musik nicht den allgemein gültigen Begriff zu geben, da ich nur »eigene Melodien« zur Verfügung habe. Ich errang einen kleinen Achtungserfolg, doch war man wegen des mit der Tonfülle verbundenen ungewohnten Lärms ein wenig befangen. Naturlaute aber wie »rudirallala« gefielen meinem Freunde Paleko ausnehmend, er war mit Feuereifer bestrebt, sie zu lernen, und krümmte sich vor Lachen, wenn er nicht rasch genug folgen konnte.

Schamgefühl. Ich möchte in diesem erzählenden Teil vermeiden, Kleidung und Schmuck im Einzelnen zu beschreiben und beschränke mich, was die persönliche Erscheinung betrifft, auf die Bemerkung, dass beide Geschlechter unbekleidet gingen, dass die Frauen, wie man auf der Tafel 5 sieht, das »Ulüri«, ein gelbbraunes, dreieckig gefaltenes und an Schnüren befestigtes Stückchen Rindenbast, und um den Hals eine Schnur mit Muschelstückchen, Halmstückchen, Samenkernen, dass die Männer immer eine Hüftschnur mit oder ohne solchen Zierrat und häufig Bast-

Z:Steinen SP7 Bacairi

oder Baumwollbinden um den Oberarm oder unter einem Knie oder über einem Fussgelenk trugen. Der eine oder andere Jüngling steckte sich auch eine Feder in das durchbohrte Ohrläppchen; aber man muss nicht glauben, dass der Indianer, wie auf den Schildern der Tabakläden, immer in seinem ganzen Festputz erscheint.

Wohl aber möchte ich über den allgemeinen Eindruck, den die »Nacktheit« auf den unbefangenen Besucher machte, an dieser Stelle ein Wörtchen sagen. Diese böse Nacktheit sieht man nach einer Viertelstunde gar nicht mehr, und wenn man sich ihrer dann absichtlich erinnert und sich fragt, ob die nackten Menschen: Vater, Mutter und Kinder, die dort arglos umherstehen oder gehen, wegen ihrer Schamlosigkeit verdammt oder bemitleidet werden sollten, so muss man entweder darüber lachen wie über etwas unsäglich Albernes oder dagegen Einspruch erheben wie gegen etwas Erbärmliches. Vom ästhetischen Standpunkt hat die Hüllenlosigkeit ihr Für und Wider wie alle Wahrheit: Jugend und Kraft sahen in ihren zwanglosen Bewegungen oft entzückend, Greisentum und Krankheit in ihrem Verfall oft schauderhaft aus. Unsere Kleider erschienen den guten Leuten so merkwürdig wie uns ihre Nacktheit. Ich wurde von Männern und Frauen zum Baden begleitet und musste mir gefallen lassen, dass alle meine Zwiebelschalen auf das Genaueste untersucht wurden. Für das peinliche Gefühl, das ich ihrer Neugier gegenüber zu empfinden wohlerzogen genug war, fehlte ihnen jedes Verständnis; sie betrachteten andächtig meine polynesische Tätowirung, zumal einen blauen Kiwi aus Neuseeland, waren aber zu meiner Genugthuung sichtlich enttäuscht darüber, dass sich unter der sorgsamen und seltsamen Verpackung nicht noch grössere Wunder bargen.

Sie selbst trugen ja auch etwas Kleiderähnliches bei Mummenschanz und Tanz, aus Palmstroh geflochtene Anzüge, deren Namen éti = Haus ist, und so erhielt mein Hemd den prunkvollen Namen »Rückenhaus«; ich hatte ein »Kopfhaus« und ein »Beinhaus«. Da die Frauen nicht tanzen und nur die Männer in ihrem Flötenhaus diese Anzüge gebrauchen dürfen, war Eva's Frage wohl nicht so unberechtigt, ob denn »karáiba pekóto«, die Frauen der Karaiben, auch Kleider, »Häuser«, trügen? — Mit welcher Schnelligkeit man sich bis in die Regionen des Unbewussten hinein an die nackte Umgebung gewöhnen kann, geht am besten daraus hervor, dass ich vom 15. auf den 16. September und ebenso in der folgenden Nacht von der deutschen Heimat träumte und dort alle Bekannten ebenso nackt sah wie die Bakairi; ich selbst war im Traum erstaunt darüber, aber meine Tischnachbarin bei einem Diner, an dem ich teilnahm, eine hochachtbare Dame, beruhigte mich sofort, indem sie sagte: »jetzt gehen ja Alle so.«

Der Zweck, den wir mit der Kleidung verbinden, blieb ihnen verborgen, daran konnte man nicht zweifeln, wenn man sah, in welch naiver Art sie Teile meines Anzugs, deren sie für eine Weile habhaft wurden, anlegten. Wie sollten sie auch sowohl von den Unbilden unseres Klimas als von dem dritten Kapitel des ersten Buch Mose etwas wissen? Sie spielten mit meinen Kleidungsstücken

TAFEL V.

BACAIRI-FRAUEN.

v. d. Steinen, Zentral-Brasilien

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wie eitle Kinder. Luchu war glücklich, wenn ich ihm meinen Poncho lieh, und ging mit ihm und meinem Hut stolz wie der aufgeblasenste Geck auf dem Dorfplatz spazieren.

Bei der ethnographischen Schilderung der Kulisehu-Stämme werde ich auf das Thema Kleidung und Schamgefühl zurückzukommen haben; hier kann ich nur wahrheitsgetreu berichten, dass ich im Verkehr mit den Leuten von unserem Schamgefühl Nichts bemerkt habe, wohl aber von einem anders gearteten, uns durchaus fremden, über das ich sogleich berichten werde.

Beim Vokabelfragen bildeten die Körperteile einen wichtigen und leicht zu behandelnden Stoff. Die Bakaïrí fanden es sehr komisch, dass ich Alles wissen wollte, waren andrerseits aber sehr stolz, dass ihre Sprache so reich war und der Bakaïrí für jeden Teil ein Wort hatte. Sehr vergnügt wurden sie bei meinem Fragen da und liessen es an prompter Auskunft nicht fehlen, wo sie sich nach unsern Begriffen hätten schämen und womöglich lateinisch oder in Ausdrücken der Kindersprache hätten antworten sollen. Rücksichtsvoll — denn ich natürlich schaute in diesem Moment durch meine Kulturbrille und sah, dass sie nackt waren — hatte ich einen Augenblick abgewartet, als die Frauen aus der Hütte herausgegangen waren: ich wurde damit überrascht, dass die fällige Antwort plötzlich draussenher von einer sehr belustigten Mädchenstimme kam. Meine Vorsicht hatte keinen Sinn gehabt. Es war die Vorsicht etwa eines Arabers, der sich geniren würde, in das unverhüllte Antlitz einer Europäerin zu sehen, oder eines Chinesen, der in ängstliche Verlegenheit geriete, wenn ihm der Zufall ihr strumpfloses Füsschen zeigte. Es ist wahr, das bei uns anstössig erscheinende Thema bereitete den Bakaïrí, Männern und Frauen, entschiedenes Vergnügen, und wenn ein pedantischer Grübler, der die Schamhaftigkeit in unserm Sinn um jeden Preis als angeborenes Erbgut der Menschheit gewahrt wissen will, nun gerade aus diesem gesteigerten Mass der Heiterkeit folgern möchte, dass sich das böse Gewissen eines von höherer Sittlichkeit herabgesunkenen Stammes geregt habe, so vermag ich ihm nur zu erwidern, dass ihr lustiges Lachen weder frech war noch den Eindruck machte, als ob es eine innere Verlegenheit bemänteln sollte. Dagegen hatte es unzweifelhaft eine leicht erotische Klangfarbe und ähnelte, so sehr verschieden Anlass und Begleitumstände bei einem echten Naturvolk sein mussten, durchaus dem Gelächter, das bei unseren Spinnstubenscherzen, Pfänderspielen oder andern harmlosen Spässen im Verkehr der beiden Geschlechter ertönt. Ist doch aus dieser selben natürlichen Freude, wie wir später sehen werden, eins der häufigsten Ornamente ihrer Malerei, das auf zahlreichen Gerätschaften als die Urform des Dreiecks dargestellte Uluri der Frauen hervorgegangen.

Die Uluris wünschte ich für die Sammlung in grösserer Zahl verfertigt zu haben. Was grosse Heiterkeit erregte. Eines Nachmittags wurde denn munter geschneidert. Wir sassen hinter Tumayaua's Haus, eine Alte röstete draussen Beijús, das Mehl auf die Schüssel aufschüttend, es glatt streichend und mit Ge-

schicklichkeit den fertigen Fladen auf ein Sieb werfend, die Kinder schleckten Püserego und spielten Fangball mit federverzierten Maisbällen, und vier Frauen und Mädchen drehten die Fäden aus Palmfaser, falteten die »Röckchen« aus braungelbem Blatt und lieferten mir die zierliche Arbeit massenweise in allen Grössen. Das Einzige, was ich zugeben muss, ist das, dass eine Frau sehr verblüfft war und ratlos um sich blickte, als ich ein Uluri verlangte, das sie anhatte. Allein an dieser Verlegenheit hatte ein auf die Entblössung bezogenes Schamgefühl keinen Anteil, sondern was von Schamgefühl vorhanden war, sollte ein physiologisches genannt werden, dessen Existenz ich nicht bestreite. Als ich nun mehrere Frauen gleichzeitig um ihre Uluris bat und durch Verweisen auf die Sammlung jedes Missverständnis ausschloss, wurde mir »anstandslos« und lachend gewillfahrt.

Dagegen beobachtete ich ein deutliches Schamgefühl bei ganz anderem Anlass, und zwar beim — Essen. Ich hatte nur Gelegenheit, es bei den Männern festzustellen, und möchte vermuten, dass es den Frauen erst recht nicht fehlte.

Am Abend des 13. September bot mir Tumayaua draussen auf dem Platz, wo wir Männer plaudernd bei dem Mandiokagestell standen, ein Stück Fisch an, das ich hocherfreut sofort verspeisen wollte. Alle senkten die Häupter, blickten mit dem Ausdruck peinlicher Verlegenheit vor sich nieder oder wandten sich ab, und Paleko deutete nach meiner Hütte. Sie schämten sich. Erstaunt und betroffen ging ich in das Flötenhaus, den Fisch zu verzehren. Ich hatte die Mahlzeit noch nicht beendet, als Kulekule eintrat, der über den Gebrauch einer ihm geschenkten Angel näher belehrt werden wollte. Mit einem Gesicht, das deutlich sagte: »ah, Sie sind noch nicht fertig«, setzte er sich nieder auf den Boden, schweigend, abgewandt und mit gesenktem Kopf und wartete. Am nächsten Abend erhielt ich draussen wieder Fisch, doch war es schon dunkel: ich ass, mich bescheidentlich dem finstern Baumgrund zukehrend und schien so keinen Anstoss zu erregen.

Als Paleko mir den Topf mit kleinen Fischen brachte, waren wir beide allein im Flötenhaus; er kehrte mir den Rücken zu und sprach kein Wort während der langen Zeit, dass ich mit den Gräten kämpfte. Ich gab Tumayaua von unserm Bohnengericht; er nahm die Portion und ging bis zu seinem Hause, wo er sich hinsetzte, ass und zwischendurch, aber ohne den Kopf zu wenden, herüberrufend sich auch an unserer Unterhaltung beteiligte. Er hatte sich also mit voller Absicht entfernt. Im Hause assen die Frauen jede für sich in der Nähe der Feuerstelle, sie brachten den Männern das Mahl, und Jeder ass auf seinem Platz. Dabei machte es sich Alakuai z. B. sehr bequem, indem er in der Hängematte liegend zu dem Topf auf dem Boden hinablangte, mit den Fingern hineinfuhr und sie sich schaukelnd abschleckte, aber Keiner behelligte den Andern mit seiner Gesellschaft. Mit dem Beijúessen war man vielleicht etwas liberaler, wenigstens mir gegenüber, doch sah ich die Männer Abends häufig einzeln beiseite gehen, ein Stück zu verzehren. Ehrenreich hat später bei den Karajá

am Araguay etwas Aehnliches gefunden. »Die Etikette verlangt, dass Jeder, von dem Andern abgewendet, für sich isst. Wer dagegen verstösst, muss sich den Spott der Uebrigen gefallen lassen.«

Bei den Bakaïrí war diese Etikette nun entschieden strenger, sicher wenigstens im Verhältnis zu dem Gaste, denn der Humor ging ihnen völlig ab meiner Unanständigkeit gegenüber. Ich habe gewiss Vieles gethan, was des Landes nicht der Brauch war, ich habe laut gesungen, Männer und Frauen nach ihrem Namen gefragt, die delikaten Käferlarven zurückgewiesen und dergleichen schwer zu entschuldigende Dinge mehr begangen, allein nie sah ich, dass man sich schämte. Hier aber handelte es sich um mehr als etwas Unschickliches, ich war unanständig gewesen. Darüber kann gar kein Zweifel sein.

Wenn wir mit Heine zugeben müssen, dass wir alle nackt in unsern Kleidern stecken und unserm Schamgefühl nur eine relative Berechtigung zusprechen dürfen, wird auch der Bakaïrí durch Essen an und für sich, soweit der Einzelne den Vorgang für seine Person erledigt, in edleren Gefühlen nicht verletzt werden können. Unwillkürlich gedenkt man irgend eines Tieres, das seinen Anteil von der Mahlzeit beiseite trägt, doch offenbar aus Furcht, ein anderes möchte ihn wegnehmen. Wohl glaube ich, dass Fisch und Fleisch bei den Bakaïrí, die sich mit einer gewissen Trägheit auf Mandioka und Mais mehr einschränkten als ihnen selbst lieb war, verhältnismässig knapp bemessen waren: ich bin gewiss, wenn ich noch eine Woche länger dort geblieben wäre, hätte ich mich aus freien Stücken mit jedem guten Stück, das ich rechtmässig oder unrechtmässig erwischt hätte, in eine stille Ecke gesetzt, um es vor den Blicken der Andern geschützt zu verzehren. Den hungrigen Blick, fürchte ich, habe ich selbst schon damals nach Andern hinübergeworfen. Aber die Entstehung des beschriebenen Schamgefühls muss in älteren Zeiten wurzeln.

Du lieber Himmel, wie haben wir sogenannten gebildeten Menschen, als Schmalhans auf der Expedition Küchenmeister wurde, ich kann nur sagen, obwohl wir die Gefühle zu meistern wussten, mit Gier und Neid die gegenseitigen Portionen kontrolliert; als der Zuckervorrat, die Rapadura, zusammenschrumpfte, war es nötig gewesen, den Rest persönlich zu verteilen, damit ein Jeder sich auf dem Lagerplatz seinen Erfrischungstrank nach Belieben sparsam oder verschwenderisch herrichten konnte, und als wir später auf der Fazenda S. Manoel nur ein wenig Rapadura vorfanden, die wir in genau gleiche Stücke zerschnitten, erhitzten wir uns in allem Ernst über der Entdeckung, dass die Soldaten, mit denen wir ehrlich geteilt, sich heimlich eine Anzahl der Bonbon-Ziegelsteine vorweg verschafft hatten.

Die Bakaïrí lebten wie eine einzige Familie, sie verteilten untereinander die Beute von Fischfang und Jagd auf die verschiedenen Häuser, in jedem Haus musste auf die verschiedenen Familien wieder verteilt werden. Die Zeit, wo sie gelernt hatten, Mandioka und Mais zu pflanzen, und sich nun einen regelmässigen Vorrat an Lebensmitteln sichern konnten, war eine neue Aera. Bis

dahin hatten sie, wie wir auf der Expedition, von der Hand in den Mund gelebt, und da war das Alleinessen um der Ruhe und des Friedens willen vielleicht eine verständige, nützliche Einrichtung gewesen. Jene Einrichtung, von Jugend auf geübt und eine Gewohnheit geworden, die im Blute steckte, wurde auch in die Zeit des sesshaften Lebens hinübergenommen, wo der Feldbau überwog und sie keinen Sinn mehr hatte. Da entwickelte sich das Schamgefühl. Denn man konnte sie als wirklich vernünftig nicht mehr begründen, man prüfte sie auch gar nicht auf ihre Berechtigung durch die Umstände, eine jede alte Gewohnheit ist um ihrer selbst willen da; was man dann »heilig« nennt, weil sie schlechthin eine Sache des Gefühls geworden ist. Man schämt sich, wenn Einer dawider verstösst, und schämt sich um so redlicher, je weniger man sagen könnte, was er eigentlich Schlimmes verbrochen hat. Wer einen andern Entwicklungsgang durchgemacht hat, auf die Sache selbst sieht und nicht auf den falschen, durch Umdeutung gewonnenen Begriff, der an ihrer Stelle steht, fragt erstaunt: »warum schickt es sich nicht, nicht allein zu essen?« »Warum«, fragt der Bakaïrí uns, »schickt es sich nicht, nackt zu sein?« Der Eine müsste wissen, dass man unter seinen Kleidern »nackt« bleibt, der Andere, dass man auch in der grössten Gesellschaft »allein« isst. Ganz gewiss geht unser Schamgefühl im Verkehr der beiden Geschlechter auf eine Zeit zurück, als Jeder noch dafür sorgen musste, dass er seine Frau für sich allein hatte, sie vor den begehrlichen Blicken der Stammesgenossen zu schützen suchte und dazu die, sei es nun aus Freude am Schmuck oder aus Nützlichkeitsgründen hervorgegangene Kleidung benutzte. Da wurde denn die Kleidung selbst heilig. Es ist gewiss eine interessante Parallele, wenn wir uns die nackten Indianer als eine unanständige Gesellschaft denken und uns in die Seele eines Bakaïrí versetzen, der sich vor Scham nicht zu helfen wusste, wenn er die fürchterlich unanständigen Europäer bei einer Table d'hôte vereinigt sähe. Er würde sich aber rasch daran gewöhnen und sich vielleicht in der nächsten Nacht an den Kulisehu zurückträumen, dort Alt und Jung gemütlich zusammen beim Schmaus eines Tapirbratens finden und erstaunt sich von dem Häuptling belehren lassen: »wir essen jetzt immer miteinander«.

Tabakkollegium. Am natürlichsten gaben sich meine Freunde Abends nach des Tages Last und Mühen, wenn wir Männer auf dem Dorfplatz rauchend zusammensassen. Eine harmlosere Lustigkeit war nicht gut denkbar, obgleich oder weil, wenn man will, Nichts dabei getrunken wurde. Pünktlich wie der erste der Honoratioren mit seiner langen Pfeife am Stammtisch, erschien der steifbeinige alte Paleko, das spindelförmige Tabakbündel, einen Zweig mit Wickelblättern und einen Holzkloben in den Händen und hockte behaglich seufzend auf dem Sitzbalken nieder. Mir that bald der Rücken weh in dieser Sitzlage von einer Handbreit über dem Boden, und ich schleifte meine Ochsenhaut aus der Hütte heran. Ein paar Hölzer wurden radienförmig mit dem glimmenden Kloben zusammengelegt und ein Feuerchen angeblasen. Die Thonpfeife war unbekannt,

man rauchte Zigarren oder richtiger Zigaretten, allerdings 25 cm lang. Das Wickelblatt war noch grün und wurde nur einige Augenblicke über dem Feuer gehalten, es verbreitete einen balsamischen Geruch. Die Zigarre ging häufig aus, man hielt sie an die Kohle, um sie wieder anzuzünden. Gelegentlich liess man sich auch Feuer von der Zigarre des Nachbars geben, überreichte ihm dann aber die eigene, die jener in den Mund nahm und anzündete. Der Rauch wurde geschluckt. Auch meinen schweren schwarzen Tabak rauchten sie auf dieselbe Weise und in demselben Format und vertrugen ihn, obwohl der ihrige leicht wie Stroh war, ohne Schwierigkeit.

Aus den Häusern drang kein Laut hervor, das Geflecht an dem Eingang war vorgeschoben. Ob die Frauen nicht wach in der Hängematte lagen? Die beiden Araras, die von den Dachstangen tagsüber zu krächzen pflegten, schliefen auf einer halbverdorrten Palme. Keine Insekten belästigten uns. Zwei, drei Stunden lang sassen wir unter dem sternfunkelnden Himmelsgewölbe, rings von der dunkeln Waldmasse umgeben. Das kleinste Wölkchen, das irgendwo aufstieg, wurde bemerkt und einer Erörterung über Woher und Wohin unterworfen. Sobald ein Tierlaut im Walde hörbar wurde, verstummte Alles einen Augenblick, wartete, ob er sich wiederhole, und man flüsterte sich zu »ein Tapir«, »ein Riesengürteltier« oder dergleichen, während Einer halb mechanisch den Tierruf nachpfiff. Auch an unwillkürlichen Lauten fehlte es nicht. Speichelschlürfen, Aufstossen, Blähungen erfuhren keine Hemmung. Bakairí sum, nihil humani a me alienum puto. Aber in dem Augenblick, wenn einer sich gar zu schlecht aufführte, erfolgte sofort als unmittelbare Reflexbewegung aller Kollegen ein kurzes heftiges Ausspucken nach der Seite, ohne dass die Unterhaltung stockte. Im Wiederholungsfall freilich brummte Tumayaua oder Paleko etwas, was zu heissen schien: »Donnerwetter, wir haben doch einen Gast«, und der Uebelthäter verlor sich auf sechs Schritt weg im Schatten. Es war sehr patriarchalisch.

Das für mich wichtigste Thema, die Geographie des Kulisehu, nahmen wir ausführlich durch. Der Fluss wurde in den Sand gezeichnet, die Stämme wurden aufgezählt und mit Maiskörnern bezeichnet. Allmählich lernte ich so das richtige Verhältnis von Kulisehu und Kuluëne verstehen und erfuhr, dass die Hauptmasse der Nahuquástämme, deren jeder mit einem besondern Namen bezeichnet wurde, am Kuluëne sass. Alle Leute waren entweder gut »kúra« oder schlecht »kurápa«. Hauptsächlich richtete sich die Unterscheidung, wie ich zu meinem Erstaunen merkte, nach dem Umfang der Gastfreundschaft, die sie ausübten; »kúra« sein hiess, es beim Empfang an Beijús und Püserego, den Fladen und dem besten Kleistertrank aus Mandioka, nicht fehlen lassen. Es war zum Teil, was die Nahuquá und etwa noch die Mehinakú betraf, nach eigenen Erfahrungen, zum Teil nach Hörensagen dieselbe Information, die bei unsern Herbstreisen als die wichtigste gilt: gute und schlechte Hôtels.

Aber welcher Unterschied zwischen einem gedruckten Baedeker und dieser Gestikulation, dieser Tonmalerei, dieser sich von Etappe zu Etappe mitleidlos weiterschleichenden Aufzählung der Stationen! Von uns bis zum zweiten Bakairí-

dorf eine Tagereise, von dem zweiten zum dritten zwei u. s. w. — nein, so raste man nicht weiter in der guten alten Zeit, die ich hier erlebte. Zuerst setzt man sich in das Kanu, »pépi«, und rudert, rudert »pépi, pépi, pépi« — man rudert mit Paddelrudern, links, rechts eintauchend, und man kommt an eine Stromschnelle, bububu . . . Wie hoch sie herabstürzt: die Hand geht mit jedem bu, bu von oben eine Treppenstufe nach abwärts, und wie die Frauen sich fürchten und weinen: »pekóto äh, äh, äh . . . .!« Da muss das pépi — ein kräftiger Fusstritt nach dem Boden hin — durch die Felsen, mit welchem Aechzen, vorgeschoben werden, und die »mayáku«, die Tragkörbe, mühsam — 1, 2, 3 mal an die linke Schulter geklopft — über Land getragen werden. Aber man steigt wieder ein und rudert, pépi, pépi, pépi. Weit, weit — die Stimme schwebt ih . . . . . ., so weit ih . . . . . ., und der schnauzenförmig zugespitzte Mund, während der Kopf krampfhaft in den Nacken zurückgebogen wird, zeigt, in welcher Himmelsrichtung ih . . . . . Darüber sinkt die Sonne bis: die Hand, soweit sie sich auszustrecken vermag, reicht einen Bogen beschreibend nach Westen hinüber und zielt auf den Punkt am Himmel, wo die Sonne steht, wenn man — lah . . . . . á — im Hafen eintrifft. Da sind wir bei den: »Bakaïrí, Bakaïrí, Bakaïrí!« »Kúra, kúra!« und hier werden wir gut aufgenommen. Vielleicht hat man auch noch eine Stelle mit gutem Fischfang passiert, wo »Matrinchams« oder »Piranyas« zu schiessen sind: während die Wörter sonst den Ton auf der vorletzten Silbe haben, noróku, póne, wird er jetzt — wie wir »Jahré« sagen — auf die letzte verlegt »norokú«, »poné«, und der Pfeil schnellt, tsök, tsök, vom Bogen.

Hinter dem Nahuquá freilich, wo die Kenntnis der Einzelheiten unbestimmt wird, werden nur die Tagereisen selbst angegeben. Die rechte Hand beschreibt langsam steigend in gleichmässigem Zuge einen Bogen von Osten nach Westen, kommt dort unten an und legt sich plötzlich an die ihr entgegenkommende Wange, verweilt hier, während die Augen müde geschlossen sind, und greift dann nach dem Kleinfinger der linken Hand: einmal geschlafen. Dann wieder dieselbe Figur, doch wird mit dem Kleinfinger noch der Ringfinger ergriffen, und beide werden nach der Seite gezogen: zweimal geschlafen u. s. w. Sei aufmerksam, edler Zuhörer, denn wehe Dir, wenn Du fragst — es kann Dir nicht anders geholfen werden, als indem man wieder von vorn anfängt.

Aber Rache ist süss. Die Reihe kam auch an mich, denn man wollte wissen, wie weit Cuyabá sei, mein Ausgangspunkt. Die Gesichter waren köstlich, wenn ich erst die linke, dann die rechte Hand abfingerte, dann genau nach ihrer Zählweise, die Zehen des linken und die des rechten Fusses abgriff, zwischen je zwei Fingern und je zwei Zehen vorschriftsmässig am Himmel wanderte und schlief, und zum Schluss in meine Haare greifen musste, um sie auseinander ziehend zu bekunden, dass die Zahl der Tage noch nicht reichte und mehr sei als 20! Da murmelten sie denn ihr »kóu, kóu« des Erstaunens oder »óka, óko, he okó« immer ungeduldiger, redeten alle durcheinander und vereinigten sich schliesslich in einem fröhlichen Gelächter baaren Unglaubens.

Einzelne Indianerstämme wurden auch mit lebendiger Pantomime wegen ihrer Absonderlichkeiten verspottet; die Nahuquá waren komisch wegen ihres Bartes, die Suyá oder, wie die Bakaïrí sagten, Schuyá mussten mit ihrer Korkscheibe, die sie in der Unterlippe tragen, herhalten, wobei die Schauspieler ihre Unterlippe stark nach vorn spannten und ein gemachtes Kauderwälsch von schnappenden Tönen hervorstiessen; die Trumaí wurden mit einem grausigen »huhuhuhu« wiedergegeben und in ihrer barbarischen Gewohnheit, dass sie die Kriegsgefangenen mit hinten zusammengebundenen Armen in den Fluss warfen, ein Gegenstand halb des Hohns oder Abscheus, halb der Furcht vor Augen geführt.

Ich darf wohl gleich erwähnen, dass sich die Mimik der Bakaïrí mutatis mutandis mit mehr oder weniger Temperament bei allen Stämmen wiederholte, dass nur die Interjektionen verschieden, die Geberden aber genau dieselben waren. Hier im Tabakkollegium lernte ich denn auch die Steinbeilpantomime zuerst kennen, die wir später, so rührend sie an und für sich war, bis zum Ueberdruss bei jedem Stamm über uns ergehen lassen mussten. Sie schilderte den Gegensatz zwischen dem Steinbeil und dem Eisenbeil, das ihnen von Antonio sofort demonstrirt worden war, und hatte für mein Empfinden, ehe ich durch die Wiederholung abgestumpft wurde, ja im Anfang noch, weil sie sich so unerbittlich wiederholte, etwas ungemein Ergreifendes als eine Art stammelnden Protestes der metallosen Menschheit gegen die zermalmenden Hammerschläge der Kultur, eines Protestes, der so, wie ich ihn hier noch erlebte, tausendfach in allen Erdteilen ungehört verhallt sein muss.

Wie quält sich der Bakaïrí, um einen Baum zu fällen: frühmorgens, wenn die Sonne tschischi aufgeht, — dort im Osten steigt sie — beginnt er die Steinaxt zu schwingen. Und tschischi wandert aufwärts und der Bakaïrí schlägt wacker immerzu, tsök, tsök, tsök. Immer mehr ermüden die Arme -- sie werden gerieben und sinken schlaff nieder, es wird ein kleiner matter Luftstoss aus dem Mund geblasen und über das erschöpfte Gesicht gestrichen; weiter schlägt er, aber nicht mehr mit tsök, tsök, sondern einem aus dem Grunde der Brust geholten Aechzen. Die Sonne steht oben im Zenith; der Leib — die flache Hand reibt darüber oder legt sich tief in eine Falte hinein — ist leer; wie hungrig ist der Bakaïrí — das Gesicht wird zu kläglichstem Ausdruck verzogen: endlich, wenn tschischi schon tief unten steht, fällt ein Baum: tokále = 1 zeigt der Kleinfinger. Aber Du, der Karaibe, — plötzlich ist Alles an dem Mimiker Leben und Kraft — der Karaibe nimmt seine Eisenaxt, reisst sie hoch empor, schlägt sie wuchtig nieder, tsök tsök, pum — äh . . . ., da liegt der Baum, ein fester Fusstritt, schon auf dem Boden. Und da und dort und wieder hier, überall sieht man sie fallen. Schlussfolgerung für den Karaiben: gieb uns Deine Eisenäxte.

Keine Thätigkeit eines Werkzeugs aus Metall, Stein, Zahn oder Holz wurde besprochen oder es erschienen auch entsprechend malende Laute. Es ist richtig, dass ein guter Teil auf Rechnung des Verkehrs mit mir, der nur die Anfangsgründe ihrer Sprache kannte, zu setzen war; sie waren sparsamer mit diesen

Lauten und Geberden in ihrer eigenen Unterhaltung, allein sie verfügten doch über die Hülfssprache ausdruckvoller Bewegung in reichem Masse und bedienten sich ihrer im Verkehr mit anderen Stämmen, wie ich später sah, auf genau dieselbe Art und Weise wie mir gegenüber. So macht sich der Nachteil, dass jeder Stamm eine andere Sprache redet, wenig geltend; die Verständigung war selbst mit einem Karaiben, da die Geberden zwar stereotyp sind, aber noch die volle Anschaulichkeit enthalten und noch nicht zu konventionellen Abkürzungen eingeschränkt sind, ohne Schwierigkeit möglich.

Auch für die mir eigentümlichen Interjektionen und Geberden, die ja ebenfalls unwillkürlich einen lebhafteren Ausdruck annahmen als zu Hause, bekundeten sie ein aufmerksames Interesse. Begleitete ich irgend welchen Affekt mit einem ihnen auffälligen Laut, so wurde er nachgeahmt; pfiff ich leise vor mich hin, so konnte ich bald Einen hören, der vergnügt mitpfiff. Allgemeine Anerkennung fand besonders, wenn ich mir laut lachend auf's Bein schlug: sofort klatschten sie sich auf die nackten Schenkel und ein homerisches Gelächter erfüllte den Dorfplatz.

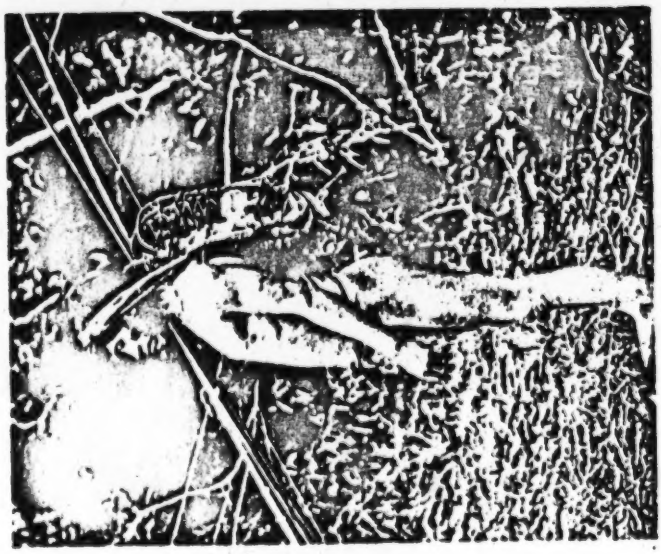
Meine linguistischen Aufzeichnungen vom Tage, die ich herbeiholte, wurden in unserm Tabakkollegium noch einmal durchgenommen und um kleine Beiträge bereichert. Die Sternbilder, Tiernamen, der unerschöpfliche Stoff für die Körperteile und was der Augenblick lieferte, wurde eingetragen, vorgelesen und mit Beifall bestätigt.

Allein auch ich bot mimische Vorstellungen, zu denen mein interessantes Ochsenfell den ersten Anlass gegeben hatte, ich führte ihnen unsere Haustiere vor und erzielte damit bei meinem kleinen, aber dankbaren Publikum einen Erfolg, wie er selbst dem Verfasser des »Tierlebens« und vielbewunderten Vortragskünstler niemals grösser beschieden gewesen sein kann. Vor allem machten sie die Bekanntschaft von Rind, Schaf und Hund, deren Grösse und Kennzeichen ich ihnen nach besten Kräften veranschaulichte, und deren Sprache »itáno« laute Ausbrüche der Heiterkeit und des Jubels hervorrief.

Da erklang es denn »muh«, »mäh», »wauwau« und »miau« in allen Tonarten von mir und von ihnen. Besonders wirkte die Abwechslung zwischen dem merkwürdigen »mäh« der alten Schafe und dem kläglichen »mäh« eines die Mutter suchenden Lämmchens, zwischen dem Gebell der grossen Köter und dem der kleinen Kläffer. Zufällig verfügte ich über eine ziemlich gute Aussprache in diesen itános, sodass die gewiegten Kenner der Tiersprachen an der Echtheit nicht zu zweifeln brauchten. Ich suchte ihnen auch den Charakter der Tiere klar zu machen, indem ich verschiedene Arten wie Katze und Hund zusammen auftreten liess, suchte ihnen zu verdeutlichen, dass z. B. ein Hund dem Menschen gehorcht, und war jetzt in der Lage, sie über den Ursprung meiner Wollbekleidung — mäh — zu unterrichten. Es waren aufmerksame Schüler, die den Lernstoff sehr bald vollständig beherrschten und fleissig übten.

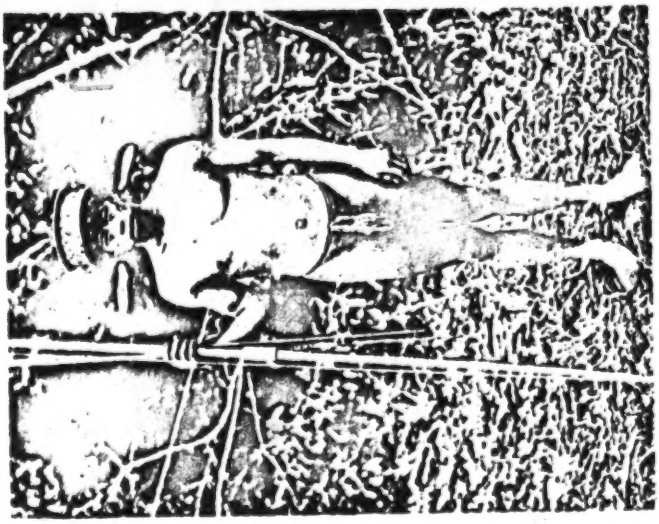
Die denkwürdige Sitzung unsers Tabakkollegiums, in der ich den ersten Vortrag über die europäischen Haustiere gehalten hatte, war spät in die Nacht

TAF. VI.



TUMAYAUA

BAKAÏRÍ



LUCNU

v. d. Steinen. Zentral-Brasilien.

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hinein ausgedehnt worden, aber ich verabschiedete mich von glücklichen Menschen, auf deren Gesichtern geschrieben stand: das war ein schöner Abend. Luchu bellte mustergültig, er lief in die beiden Häuser, aus denen schon vielfach helles Lachen hörbar geworden war, und fuhr dort mit wildem Wau-wau umher.

Ich lag bereits halb schlafend in der Hängematte und glaubte, die Bürgerschaft ruhe wieder in dem gewohnten Frieden, als mich noch einmal Eva's Stimme von drüben mit einem lauten »mäh« aufschreckte. »Mäh« antwortete ich denn auch zum guten Schluss aus meinem Schafstall, überall kicherte es noch einmal hinter den Strohwänden, und endlich trat dann wirklich Stille ein, bis ich — mäh, mäh schon vor Sonnenaufgang — fluchend emporfuhr.

Ein Tag verlief gleich dem andern. Wie wir in meiner Hütte miteinander arbeiteten, wie die Bakaïrí portugiesisch und ich bakaïrí lernte, will ich im nächsten Kapitel übersichtlich zusammenstellen, während ich noch anfüge, was ich aus unserm gemeinsamen Leben zu berichten habe.

Tumayaua liess mich vor seinem Hause Tabak pflanzen, ein Ansinnen, das mich ein wenig befremdete, bis ich merkte, dass er sich von meiner Beihülfe eine vorzügliche Ernte oder Qualität versprach; so verlangte ich nur, dass er den Anfang mache und zerrieb dann die Kapseln und senkte den Samen in den Boden, als sei ich mein Lebenlang Tabakpflanzer gewesen. Mit Kulekule musste ich zu dem Katarakt unterhalb des Dorfes gehen und ihm beim Angeln helfen; er durfte nicht ahnen, dass ich dieses Gerät seit den Zeiten der Sekunda, wo ich es mit Mühe vor der Polizei rettete, nicht mehr geschwungen hatte.

Einen sehr hübschen Fischereiausflug machten wir an einem Vormittag zu einem Halbdutzend Personen, darunter einigen Frauen, nach dem saímo, einem Teich, der etwa 2 1/2 Kilometer vom Dorf entfernt im Kamp lag. Wir schritten ein Stück Weges durch den Wald, die Frauen Fangkörbe und Reusen tragend, Paleko ein Stück Fischgebiss an einer Schnur um den Hals und ein Steinbeil unter dem Arm, das er am Fluss auf einem Stein noch geschliffen hatte, indem er es mit dem Speichel am Munde selbst anfeuchtete. Komisch war es währenddess gewesen, zu sehen, wie die Zukünftige und ihre Schwester aus dem Kulisehu tranken: den Mund im Wasser, auf die beiden Händchen gestützt, ein Bein in die Höhe, jungen Aeffchen nicht unähnlich. Unterwegs sangen wir mit verhaltenen Tönen gemeinsam unser ohohó ohohú hu, und ich störte die Morgenstille mit einigen lauteren Liedern. Alakuai erlaubte sich, mir meinen Hut abzunehmen, war aber in diesem Schmuck so glücklich, dass ich mein Haupt in aller Heiligen Namen der mitleidlosen Kampsonne aussetzte.

Weithin erstreckte sich bis zum Saum des Uferwaldes eine mit frischem Gras bedeckte Queimada, nur ein einziger Schatten spendender Baum stand an dem Teich. In die Mitte des knietiefen sumpfigen Gewässers wurden drei Reusen gesetzt, die mit ihren Mäulern halb herausragten. Dann gingen mehrere Personen mit den Fangkörben, kútu, die die Form eines oben und unten offenen abgestumpften Kegels hatten und aus dünnen spitzen Stöckchen zusammengesetzt

waren, in gebückter Haltung durch den Teich und stachen schnell auf den Grund nieder: die kútu wurden über die Fischchen gestülpt, und diese oben mit der Hand hervorgeholt und in einem Hängekörbchen untergebracht. Als man so eine Weile gearbeitet hatte, ging man von verschiedenen Seiten sich nach der Mitte entgegen, wo die Reusen lagen, und suchte die Fische dort hineinzutreiben. Es war ein lustiger Anblick: die Mädchen äusserst behende, die Männer weniger flink, zumal der dicke Yapü anscheinend keineswegs in seinem Element, viel Lachen und Plantschen, in der Luft einige gaukelnde Libellen und Brummbienen ohne Zahl, am Ufer unter dem Baum eifrig kommentierend der alte Paleko, der sich mit der linken Hand auf einen Stock stützte und unter dem Oberarm derselben Seite das sehr überflüssige Steinbeil angedrückt hielt. Die Fische hiessen poniú oder poriú, der Jejú der Brasilier.

Das von mir bestellte Rindenkanu war schon am 18. September fertig geworden; die Steinaxt hatte langsam, aber sehr sauber gearbeitet. Vier Männer trugen das Fahrzeug zum Fluss; sie hatten sich auf die Schultern aus braunem Bast geflochtene Ringe genau desselben Aussehens aufgesetzt, wie sie unsere Marktweiber auf dem Kopfe tragen.

Ich war nun über eine Woche allein bei den guten Bakaïrí und merkte, dass sie etwas ungeduldig wurden. Sie fragten gar zu oft, wann die »jüngeren Brüder« kämen. Was ich von Kostbarkeiten mit mir geführt hatte, war auch längst in ihrem Besitz, sogar mein améma ikúto (»Figur der Eidechse«), ein Reptil mit gläsernen Schuppen und rubinroten Augen, das sie gierig umworben hatten, gehörte ihnen.

Aber unser gutes Einvernehmen blieb bis zur letzten Stunde dasselbe. Wenn es nach mir gegangen wäre, hätte ich am liebsten die ganze Regenzeit bei ihnen zugebracht, obwohl ich einen säuerlichen Geschmack im Halse, von dem ewigen Mehlessen, nicht mehr los wurde und auch von Verdauungsstörungen geplagt wurde. Meine ersten Eindrücke über den friedfertigen und sympathischen Charakter meiner Gastfreunde brauchten keine Korrektur zu erfahren. Die Alten waren klug und sorglich, die Jungen kräftig und behend, die Frauen fleissig und häuslich, Alle gutwillig, ein wenig eitel und mit Ausnahme einiger von ihren Pflichten in Anspruch genommenen Mütter gleichmässig heiter und gesprächig. Alle waren ehrlich. Nie hat mir Einer etwas genommen, oft hat man mir Verlorenes gebracht, immer wurde, was ich eingetauscht hatte, als mein Eigentum geachtet.

Kurz, Bakaïrí kúra, die Bakaïrí sind gut. Es wäre lächerlich, sie im Rousseau'schen Sinne misszuverstehen, denn von irgend welcher Idealität war auch nicht die Spur zu entdecken; sie waren nichts als das Produkt sehr einfacher und ungestörter Verhältnisse und gewährten dem Besucher, der mit seinen an Bewegung und Kampf gewohnten Augen herantrat, das Bild einer »Idylle«. Man komme vom Giessbach, Strom oder Meer, man wird den Zauber einer stillen Lagune empfinden, das ist Alles.

II.

Psychologische Notizen über das Verhalten der Bakairí dem Neuen gegenüber. Grenzen des Verständnisses. Studien mit dem Dujourhabenden. Schwierigkeiten der Verständigung und der sprachlichen Aufnahme: Substantiva, Verba, übergeordnete Begriffe.

Ueber das Interesse, das die Bakairí an meinen Kleidern nahmen, habe ich berichtet. Es wandte sich allmählich in besonderm Grade den Taschen zu, und sie wussten bald genau, was in dieser und was in jener steckte.

»Ob ich Hemd und Hose selbst gemacht hätte?« Immer kehrte diese mir ärgerliche Frage wieder. »Ob ich die Hängematte, den Moskiteiro selbst gemacht hätte?« Es berührte sie wunderbar, dass in meinem ganzen Besitzstand nichts zu Tage kam, wo ich die Frage bejaht hätte. Deutlich war zu sehen, dass die Sachen, von deren Ursprung sie sich eine gewisse Vorstellung machen konnten, ihre Aufmerksamkeit auch lebhafter beschäftigten. Das Gewebe der paráguayer Hängematte wurde alle Tage betastet und eifrig beredet.

Alles wollten sie haben. »Ura« »(es ist) mein« lautete die einfache Erklärung. Die Männer bevorzugten für sich selbst das Praktische, für Frauen und Kinder den Schmuck, für sich die Messer, für jene die Perlen. Die Frauen wurden beim Anblick der Perlen geradezu aufgeregt und nur mein Zinnteller wurde mit gleicher Habgier umworben. »Knöpfe« schienen für eine Art Perlen gehalten zu werden. Ich entdeckte bei mehreren Frauen Zierrat, der von unserer ersten Expedition herrührte und von dem Batovy an den Kulisehu gewandert war. Eine Frau trat mir entgegen, die nichts als einen Messingknopf an einer Schnur auf der Brust trug, und auf diesem Knopf stand die 8 des achten Cuyabaner Bataillons, dem unsere Soldaten damals angehört hatten. »Ist es tuchú, Stein?«, fragten diese lebendigen Praehistoriker. Natürlich waren die Perlen ebenso Stein und ihnen wegen ihrer Buntheit lieber als Gold, das sie ganz gleichgültig liess. Ich hatte ihnen einige Stecknadeln gegeben und auch eine Nähnadel gezeigt, die einzige, die ich bei mir hatte: sie brachten mir eine Stecknadel wieder und baten, ihnen ein Loch hineinzumachen, wie es die Nähnadel hatte.

Höchst merkwürdig war die Schnelligkeit, mit der sie die ihnen unbekannten Dinge unter die ihnen bekannten einordneten und auch sofort mit dem ihnen geläufigen Namen unmittelbar und ohne jeden einschränkenden Zusatz belegten. Sie schneiden das Haar mit scharfen Muscheln oder Zähnen des Piranyafisches, und meine Scheere, der Gegenstand rückhaltlosen Entzückens, die das Haar so glatt und gleichmässig abschnitt, hiess einfach »Piranyazahn«. Der Spiegel war »Wasser!« »Zeig' das Wasser«, riefen sie, wenn sie den Spiegel sehen wollten. Und mit ihm machte ich viel weniger Eindruck, als ich erwartet hatte.

Der Kompass hiess »Sonne«, die Uhr »Mond«. Ich hatte ihnen gezeigt, dass die Nadel, wie ich das Gehäuse auch drehte und wendete, immer nach dem höchsten Sonnenstand wies, und die sehr ähnliche Uhr, deren Feder sie für ein Haar erklärten, erschien ihnen als das natürliche Gegenstück noch aus dem

besondern Grund, weil sie »nachts nicht schlief«. Sie stellten mehrfach mitten in der Unterhaltung die Forderung, dass ich die Uhr hervorhole und lachten dann sehr befriedigt, wenn sie wirklich wach war und tickte.

Nichts wäre verkehrter als zu glauben, dass dieser aufrichtigen Neugier und Bewunderung nun ein eigentlicher Wissenstrieb oder ein tieferes Bedürfnis des Verstehens zu Grunde gelegen hätte. Ueber die Frage: »hast du das gemacht?« kamen sie nicht hinaus. Nein, ich gab einfach meine Zirkusvorstellung, ich zeigte meine Kunststücke, und man freute sich, dass ich sie in jedem Augenblick in aller Eleganz vorweisen konnte und mich niemals blamierte. Das verblüffendste Beispiel einer oberflächlichen Befriedigung gab später der dicke Yapü, als Vogel ihm seine goldene Uhr zeigte und, um ihn auf das wertvolle Gold recht aufmerksam zu machen, sie zum Kontrast auf die Glasseite herumdrehte. Yapü hatte gerade ein Stück Beijú, Mandiokafladen in der Hand, der nur auf einer Seite gut gebacken zu werden pflegte, und somit eine schön goldgelbe und eine andere grauweissliche Seite hatte: »Beijú«, sagte er gelassen, und schritt weiter. Die Erscheinung war ihm von Beijú her bekannt, und es lohnte wahrlich nicht, sich dabei aufzuhalten.

Auch kann ich hier schon ihrer Ueberraschung gedenken, als einer der Herren, der in der Lage war, ein falsches Gebiss herausnehmen zu können, dieses Kunststück produzierte. Sie staunten, aber lachten auch sehr bald, und einige Tage später, als sie an den gefangenen Piranyafischen die Gebisse, ihre einheimischen »Messer«, auslösten und von einem Kameraden gefragt wurden, warum sie das thäten, antwortete Einer nicht ohne Witz: »damit wir uns auch helfen können, wie der Bruder, wenn wir einmal alt werden«.

Wie wäre es auch möglich gewesen, ihnen irgend einen meiner Apparate oder auch nur ein Messer oder einen Knopf wirklich zu erklären? Wie sollte ich ihnen begreiflich machen, was eine »Maschine« ist? Was sie zu leisten hatten, leisteten sie, sie passten gut auf und es war hübsch, die Lebhaftigkeit und Wichtigthuerei zu beobachten, mit der ein eben gezeigtes Kunststück einem neu Hinzutretenden, einem Ignoranten in ihren Augen, beschrieben wurde. So merkten sie sich ganz genau, dass meine schwedischen Zündhölzer nur auf der Reibfläche in Brand gerieten; mit grossem Eifer wurde ein Ankömmling auf Bakaïrí über »tända endast mot lådans plån« belehrt. Welche Dame bei uns wüsste mehr davon zu sagen? Nicht davon zu reden, dass keine eine Ahnung davon hat, was Feuer ist. Zuerst erschraken sie, dann fanden sie die Sache spannend, dann sehr nett und spasshaft, und endlich zogen sie die Nutzanwendung und baten mich, als ein Feuer angezündet werden sollte, einen dicken Holzkloben mit meinen Schweden in Brand zu setzen. Eine Frau, bei der wohl die ersten Gefühle vorherrschend blieben, nahm eine leere Schachtel und hing sie ihrem Baby um den Hals.

Ihr Bedürfnis, in das Wesen der neuen Dinge einzudringen, erschöpfte sich ausser in der Frage, ob ich sie gemacht habe, in der zweiten nach dem Namen.

»Eséti?« »Eséti?« »Wie heisst das?« rief die ganze Gesellschaft unisono und alle plagten sich redlich, die portugiesischen Wörter nachzusprechen. Der Eine oder Andere flüsterte oft, während die Unterhaltung weiter ging, das Wort noch lange vor sich hin. Zwei Konsonanten hintereinander vermochten sie nicht auszusprechen. Gelang es aber hier und da, ein geeignetes Wort gut wiederzugeben, war die Freude gross, und ich hatte den Eindruck, als ob ihnen nun der Gegenstand selbst auch vertrauter erscheine. Als Name für mein Schreibbuch war »papéra«, von dem portugiesischen papel, Papier, in Aufnahme gebracht worden, und während sie im Anfang das unbegreifliche Ding nicht genug hatten betrachten und betasten können, wussten sie sich nun rasch damit abzufinden: es war eben einfach »papéra«.

Ueberall in der Welt, wo man einer fremden Sprache gegenübertritt, will man recht bald wissen, was »ein hübsches Mädchen« heisst. Ihr »pekóto iwáku« oder das lieblichere »pekóto iwakulukúlu« konnte ich ihnen mit den Worten, die sie gut nachzusprechen im Stande waren, »moça bonita« übersetzen und das wurde nun mit Entzücken geübt. Ich hatte zuerst Eva mein »moça bonita« vorgesagt, sie lachte, errötete und sprach es zierlich und deutlich aus. Sie lachte weiter, stiess ihren Gatten Kulekule in die Rippen — genau so wie eine kräftige Person bei uns thun würde, die sich über einen guten Einfall freut — die beiden tuschelten zusammen, und ich wurde gebeten zu sagen, was nun »ein hübscher Mann« heisse. Als ich Tumayaua's portugiesische Versuche, die in der That, obwohl er Häuptling war, nicht sehr glücklich ausfielen, einmal nachahmte, lachte der ganze Chorus in einer Weise, dass sie vor Lachen nicht mehr reden konnten, sie jodelten förmlich vor Ausgelassenheit.

Das waren die düstern und verschlossenen Indianer. Wurde es ihnen mit dem Geplauder des Guten zu viel, so gähnte Alles aufrichtig und ohne die Hand vor den Mund zu halten. Dass der wohlthuende Reflex auch hier ansteckte, liess sich nicht verkennen. Dann stand Einer nach dem Andern auf, und ich blieb allein mit meinem Dujour.

Die verschiedenen Abkommandirten waren von sehr verschiedener Brauchbarkeit für meine Zwecke. Einige ermüdeten zu rasch, andere waren zu unstät. Der dicke bäurische Yapü z. B. gähnte nach wenigen Minuten und sein Gesicht schien zu sagen: »Herr, Sie fragen zu viel«, und Lüchu, der eitle Fant, wollte sich nur amüsieren. Von den Jüngeren nützte mir nur der merkwürdige Kulekule. Dieser war in der That schweigsam und zurückhaltend, aber er kam offenbar gern, lachte still für sich hin, und wenn er dann den Mund zum Reden aufthat, antwortete er besser als die Uebrigen. Er hatte für einen Topf von mir Perlen bekommen, sie aber abliefern müssen; ich schenkte ihm neue und nahm einen andern Topf, den er brachte, nicht an. Darüber war er glücklich, gab mir eine Schale des faden Pogugetränkes und setzte sich, den Kopf zutraulich an meine Schulter gelehnt, zu mir. Mein getreuester Hüter war Paleko; mit seinem langen graumelierten Haar, seinem feinen alten Antlitz hätte er sehr gut

emeritierter Gymnasialdirektor sein können. Wie wir denn häufig an europäische Physiognomieen erinnert worden sind, deren Besitzer sich den Vergleich mit einem nackten Indianer vielleicht verbitten würden; Ehrenreich und ich waren uns z. B. in Scherz und Ernst ganz darin einig, ein paar Herren der Berliner Anthropologischen Gesellschaft am Kulisehu wiederzuerkennen: selbstverständlich haben diese Herren nichts von den Indianern, aber diese Indianer hatten etwas von den Herren. Mit Paleko war ich halbe Tage allein. Ab und zu kamen denn Eva oder die Zukünftige oder die Egypterin allein oder zusammen, uns Beiden ein wenig Gesellschaft leistend.

Paleko flocht zierliche Körbchen, besserte Reusen aus, drehte Bindfaden aus Palmfaser und was dergleichen leichte Geduldarbeit mehr war. Er gab mir nicht nur Wörter und Sätze aus seiner Muttersprache, sondern auch eine Liste von Nahuquá-Wörtern, die bezeugte, dass er mit den Nachbarn reichlichen Verkehr unterhalten hatte. Er weniger als die Jugend legte Wert darauf, meine Sprache kennen zu lernen. Lieber hatte ich ihnen deutsche Wörter gesagt statt der portugiesischen, doch hielt ich es für meine Pflicht, die armen Gemüter für die Zukunft nicht zu verwirren. Da meine Kenntnisse des Bakairí noch sehr dürftig waren, kam ich nur langsam vorwärts.

Der einfache Verkehr, der sich auf das gewöhnliche Thun und Lassen bezog, hatte keine Schwierigkeiten. Mit 50—80 Wörtern kann man sich bei einiger Uebung in jeder fremden Sprache geläufig unterhalten: dieser, dieses, ja, nein, ist da, ist nicht da, weiss nicht, will, will nicht, wie heisst, was, wo, wann, wieviel, alle, wenig, viel, anderer, sogleich, morgen, ich, du, 1, 2, 3, gut, schlecht, gross, klein, nahe, weit, oben, unten, mit, für, in, nach, lass uns, geben, nehmen, bringen, stellen, gehen, weggehen, kommen, ankommen, bleiben, essen, trinken, schlafen, machen, schneiden, aufhören und die jeweilig wichtigsten Substantiva. Das sonst so nötige »danke« und »bitte« ist dem brasilischen Eingeborenen unbekannt. Mit einem kleinen Teil jener Wörter kann man schon sehr gut zurechtkommen, und es wäre schlimm, wenn es anders wäre. Denn die grundsätzlichen grammatischen Verschiedenheiten etwa zwischen Portugiesisch und einer beliebigen Indianersprache Brasiliens sind so gross, dass kein Kolonist oder Soldat jemals in ihr Wesen einzudringen vermag: schon die Pronominalpräfixe und die Postpositionen bilden ein unüberwindliches Hindernis. Es gelingt leider um ihretwillen in zahlreichen Fällen nicht, den Wortstamm, dessen wir nach unserm Sprachgefühl in erster Linie bedürfen, aus der mit jenen Elementen vollzogenen Verschmelzung abzuscheiden. Der Stamm des Verbums ist ausser der Zusammensetzung mit Pronominalpräfixen in einer Weise mit adverbialen Ausdrücken vereinigt und verarbeitet, um das, was wir Flexionen nennen, zu geben, dass ein armer Teufel von Anfänger in helle Verzweiflung gerät. Da heisst im Bakairí „*zúte*“ und „*kχanadíle*“ beides »ich nehme mit«, verschiedene Formen für denselben Sinn: wie soll ich ahnen, dass der Verbalstamm „*za*“, der sich nach den phonetischen Gesetzen der Sprache zu „*ka*“ und „*a*“ verändert, in dem „*a*“

von *kɣ-an-a-ãlo* gegeben wird? Da heisst mit dem (schon veränderten) Verbalstamm „*ɛ*" sehen »du siehst« „*mɛ̃ɛ*" und »du siehst nicht« „*manapürɛ̃ma*" und ist zu zergliedern:

m	-	*ɛ*	-	*ta*	und	*m*	-	*ma*	-	*ɛ*	- *pürɛ* - *ama.*
du		Stamm		Flexion		du		Flexion	Stamm	nicht	du.

Die einfache Folge ist, dass man alles Mögliche zum Stamm rechnet, was garnicht dazu gehört, und die Form für alle möglichen Gelegenheiten anwendet, bei denen sie weder der Person noch der Zeitfolge oder anderen in ihnen enthaltenen Nuancen nach angebracht sind. Die organische Gliederung der Wörter erstarrt, und der Satz wird ein Mosaik der rohesten Art aus lauter Bruchstücken. Aber für die Verständigung ist dann gesorgt; dem Indianer genügt bei seinem Talent für das Charakteristische das abgehackte Wortstück durchaus an Stelle des ganzen Satzindividuums, und, was schlimmer ist, wenn man Fortschritte in der Sprache machen möchte, freilich auch um so angenehmer ist, wenn man nur den plumpen Inhalt der Mitteilung bedarf, er selbst eignet sich bald die neue Ausdrucksweise an: man unterhält sich geläufig miteinander, indem man statt mit lebendigen Worten wie mit geprägten Münzen Tauschverkehr treibt.

Was mir die Aufnahme nicht wenig erschwerte, war der Umstand, dass die Bakaïrí meinen Frageton nicht verstanden. Sie ahmten ihn nach, statt zu antworten. Die Namen der gegenwärtigen Gegenstände zu erhalten, ging ohne jede Mühe an; sie kamen dem Bedürfnis sogar entgegen, zeigten auf solche, die ich noch nicht gefragt hatte, und sagten die Namen. Sehr ausführlich nahm ich die Körperteile auf, weil sie stets mit den Pronominalpräfixen verbunden sind, der Indianer also nicht etwa sagt: »Zunge«, sondern stets mit dem Zusatz der Person »meine Zunge«, »deine Zunge«, »seine Zunge«, und somit dieser Kategorie des Verzeichnisses auch ein grammatikalischer Wert innewohnt. Es war deshalb wohl darauf zu achten, ob man den Körperteil, dessen Stamm man verlangte, an sich selbst oder an dem Gefragten oder an einem Dritten zeigte, denn die Antwort lautete je nachdem: deine *ãlu*, meine *ulu*, seine *ilu* oder allgemein *ɣulu* unser Aller, die hier sind, Zunge.

Tiernamen aufzunehmen war ein Vergnügen, weil hier die Nachahmung mit Lauten und Geberden am kunstvollsten auftrat. Eine Schlange, ein Alligatorkopf oder dergleichen wurde auch in den Sand gezeichnet. Mir war die Menge der Einzelangaben hinderlich, da ich nicht genug von den Stimmen und dem Benehmen ihrer Tiere wusste; sie boten mir Feinheiten in den Artunterschieden, die ich zu ihrer Verwunderung nicht würdigen konnte, und zuweilen fürchte ich ihnen unbegreifliche Lücken in der gewöhnlichsten Schulbildung verraten zu haben.

Die schwierigste Aufgabe lag bei den Verben, und zwar nicht allein wegen der Kompliziertheit der Formen. Gelang es mir, kurze Sätze aufzuschreiben, in denen etwas über irgend einen grade ablaufenden Vorgang ausgesagt wurde, führte ich auch selbst allerlei Handlungen, wie Essen und Trinken jetzt von diesem, dann von jenem, aus, die ihnen den Inhalt eines Satzes liefern sollten,

2: Steinen SP7 Bacairi

so waren dabei doch grobe Irrtümer unvermeidlich. Sie sagten leider oft andere Dinge, als sie nach meinen Wünschen sagen sollten, und kritisierten die Handlung, anstatt sie zu benennen. Sie dachten für sich und nicht für mich. Und bei diesen Bemühungen wirkte ihre Bereitwilligkeit, nachzuahmen, in hohem Grade störend. Ich glaubte, nichts sei einfacher als wenigstens diejenigen intransitiven Zeitwörter zu erhalten, die sich durch eindeutige Mimik meinerseits herausfordern liessen, ich brauchte ja nur zu niesen, husten, weinen, gähnen, schnarchen, nur aufzustehen, niederzusitzen, zu fallen u. s. w., um auch sofort mit den zugehörigen Wörtern belohnt zu werden. Aber sie klebten entweder an der Anschauung des Vorgangs selbst, meinten, ich wolle fortgehen, wenn ich aufstand, gähnten rechtschaffen mit, weil sie auch müde waren, oder amüsierten sich königlich über mein sonderbares Gethue und gaben sich daran, unter vielem Lachen ebenfalls zu niesen, zu husten, und zu schnarchen, ohne aber die erlösenden Wörter auszusprechen.

Am besten kam ich vorwärts, wenn ich ihnen das portugiesische Wort gab, und die Formel anwandte: der Karaibe sagt so, wie sagt der Bakairi? Hier stiess ich endlich fast immer auf Verständnis und Gegenliebe, denn sie waren versessen darauf, von meiner Sprache zu lernen.

Es betrübte sie sehr, dass sie mich nicht besser verstanden und, Hören und Verstehen verwechselnd, baten sie mich, sie zu kurieren: ich musste Speichel auf meinen Finger nehmen und ihnen damit den Gehöreingang einreiben. Ihre Auffassung des Portugiesischen war sogar mangelhafter als sie selbst ahnten. Sie haben kein *f* in ihrem Lautschatz und ersetzen es durch *p*: sagte ich *fogo* (Feuer), *fumo* (Tabak), so sprachen sie *pogo*, *pumo* aus. Aber sie hörten, richtiger apperzipirten das *f* auch als *p*, sie waren, soweit ich zu sehen vermochte, fest überzeugt, denselben Laut auszusprechen, den ich ihnen vorsagte. Denn ihr Verhalten war ganz anders, wenn ich ihnen z. B. ein zu langes Wort aufgab, sie plagten sich und verzweifelten daran, aber *fogo*, *fumo*, *f* . . . ., je nachdrücklicher und lauter ich es sagte, um so nachdrücklicher und lauter fielen sie auch ein: *pogo*, *pumo*, *p* . . . ., mit merklicher Entrüstung über meine Unzufriedenheit.

Ich musste mich begnügen, das Vokabular so viel als möglich zu vervollständigen und die Sätze nach bestem Wissen zu deuten. Zu einem eigentlichen Uebersetzen, das den Feinheiten ihrer Sprache gerecht geworden wäre, kam ich nicht; was ich in dieser Beziehung in meinem Buch »Die Bakairi-Sprache« (Leipzig, K. F. Köhler, 1892), bringen konnte, verdanke ich Antonio. Ganz besonders eigentümlich berührte mich ihre Freude über den Reichtum ihres Wörtervorrats. Sie bekundeten ein grosses Vergnügen, für jedes Ding auch ein Wort zu haben, als wenn der Name selbst eine Art Ding und Besitzgegenstand wäre. Dass die Zahl der Begriffe in erster Linie vom Interesse abhängt, lag klar zu Tage. Auf der einen Seite im Vergleich mit unsern Sprachen eine Fülle von Wörtern, wie bei den Tier- oder Verwandtennamen, auf der andern eine zunächst befremdende Armut: *yólo* heisst »Blitz« und »Donner«, *kyápö* Regen,

Gewitter und Wolke. Nun sind ja in ihrem Gebiet fast alle Regen mit Gewittererscheinungen verbunden, und die Wolke am Himmel hat für sie nur das Interesse, dass sie ein heranziehendes Gewitter bedeutet. Dass der Donner, wenn sie die sichtbare und die hörbare Teilerscheinung der elektrischen Entladung in einen Begriff zusammenfassen, in ihrem Wort *yélo* der wesentlichere Teil ist, geht daraus hervor, dass sie *yélo* auch das brummende Schwirrholz nennen; ich, der ich von der Idee des Zauberinstrumentes ausging, nach dem Brauch der Mythologen auf das Unheimliche fahndete und dies zunächst in dem zuckenden Strahl erblickte, übersetzte das Wort anfangs mit »Blitz« anstatt mit »Donner«.

Die eigentliche Armut steckt in dem Mangel an übergeordneten Begriffen wie bei allen Naturvölkern. Sie haben ein Wort für »Vogel«, das wahrscheinlich »geflügelt« bedeutet, aber die Nordkaraiben haben einen andern Stamm *toro-* oder *tuo-*, der bei den Bakairí noch bestimmte, sehr gewöhnliche Vögel, eine Papageien- und eine Waldhuhnart, bedeutet. Jeder Papagei hat seinen besondern Namen und der allgemeinere Begriff »Papagei« fehlt vollständig, ebenso wie der Begriff »Palme« fehlt. Sie kennen aber die Eigenschaften jeder Papageien- und Palmenart sehr genau und kleben so an diesen zahlreichen Einzelkenntnissen, dass sie sich um die gemeinschaftlichen Merkmale, die ja kein Interesse haben, nicht bekümmern. Man sieht also, ihre Armut ist nur eine Armut an höheren Einheiten, sie ersticken in der Fülle des Stoffes und können ihn nicht ökonomisch bewirtschaften. Sie haben nur erst einen Verkehr mit Scheidemünze, sind aber im Besitz der Stückzahl eher überreich als arm zu nennen. Sie setzen in dem Ausbau ihrer Gedanken die Begriffe wie zu einem endlos langen Wall von gleichartigen Steinen zusammen und haben noch kaum eine Ahnung von architektonischer Gliederung.

Ihre Schwerfälligkeit, Abstraktionen zu bilden, trat am deutlichsten bei den Versuchen hervor, die ich betreffs ihrer Zählkunst anstellte. Hierüber möchte ich aber in einem besondern Kapitel später berichten, damit ich nun endlich den Faden unserer Reisechronik wieder aufnehmen und zur Independencia zu den Gefährten heimfahren kann. Ich bin bei der Schilderung meiner Bakairí-Idylle etwas sehr ausführlich gewesen, erspare damit aber auch manche Einzelheiten für die spätere Darstellung, da das Bild bei den übrigen Stämmen, wenn ich es auch nirgendwo mehr so still geniessen konnte, im Wesentlichen dasselbe war.

[p 82]

I. Gemeinsamer Aufbruch und Besuch der drei Bakaïridörfer.

Independencia während meiner Abwesenheit. Vorbereitungen zur Abreise. Nach dem ersten Bakaïridorf. Photographieren. Puppe skizziert. Nach dem zweiten Bakaïridorf. Flauteiet. Gastfreundschaft. Verwunderung vom Holen der Spritze. Nachtisen. Feier im Häuptlingshause. Nach dem dritten Bakaïridorf. Begrüssungsreden. Sammlung. Der erste Nahrungsmittel. Körperbemalung und Perlen.

Am 19. September 1887 kamen Ehrenreich und Vogel an. Wir fuhren gemeinsam zu dem zweiten Dorf der Bakaïri, wo wir noch ein Kanu erwarben und kehrten nun ersten Dorf zurück. Jene brachen dann am 24. September zur Independencia auf, und ich folgte ihnen am 25., überholte sie noch, da Carlos fieberkrank war, und am 26. waren wir alle wieder in der Independencia vereinigt. Tumayana und Luchu hatten mich begleitet und konnten jetzt das »Wawa« am Original studieren. Unsern Besuch der zweiten Bakaïri möchte ich hier noch nicht schildern, sondern bei dem Bericht über den späteren gemeinsamen anfügen, damit die Kreuz- und Querwege den Ueberblick nicht erschweren.

Ich war also vom 8.—26. September von der Independencia abwesend gewesen. Es läßt sich denken, mit welchem Gefühl der Erlösung Wilhelm und Perrot unsere Kanu begrüßten.

Die Maultiere hatten ihnen und dem alten Januario viele Sorgen gemacht. Tag um Tag fehlte bald dieses, bald jenes. Januario hatte ein Tier einmal von dem zweitnächsten Lagerplatz der Herreise zurückholen müssen und war so immer unterwegs gewesen. Inzwischen war auf der Queimada frisches junges Gras aufgeschossen und damit die Zukunft gesichert. Die Esel waren in gutem Zustande, sie fingen bereits an, fett zu werden, verwilderten schon und kamen täglich zur Tränke an einen Tümpel. Nur »Italino«, der »Fohlen«, hatte sich ein mit Maden gefülltes Loch auf dem Rücken zugezogen. »Tormenta« war den Qualen des Daseins entrückt worden. Er konnte sich nicht mehr auf den Beinen halten, fraß das Gras nicht mehr, das man ihm sorglich vorschnitt, und lag einen Morgen tot auf dem Sandstrand.

Jagd und Fischfang hatten manche Abwechslung geboten. Nur war das Fischen nicht so leicht als man denken sollte. Antonio fing sofort nach der Rückkehr 7 Welse, Piratados, von denen er zu unserm Schmerz ganze 4 an das Paar Tumayuna und Lutbu, und nur 3 an unsere grosse Küche ablieferte, allein die Soldaten waren nie so glücklich gewesen. Dagegen war allerlei Geflügel geschossen worden, Jakutingas und Jakus zumeist, vorzügliche Enten, ferner verscheuchte Exemplare von Jabú, Mutum cavallo, Taube, Arara und Papagei. Aus der Klasse der Vierfüssler fiel [illegible] seines Moschusgeruchs verschmäht wurde, und eine Waldkatze. Zweimal hatte man mehrere Schweine erbeutet, die zweite Lieferung aber war unbrauchbar geworden, da die Tiere voller »Würmer« steckten und in den Fluss geworfen werden mussten. Gelegentlich hatte man eine Schildkröte gefunden. »Buscar mel«, Honig suchen, war noch eifriger betrieben worden als die höhere Jagd. Denn stark meldete sich schon der Hunger nach Süssigkeiten. Die verschiedenen Arten des Honigs wurden verschieden gewürdigt. Der Bora-Honig hatte einen unsäglich sauren und sehr seifigen Geschmack; trotzdem wusch sich Januario noch das Wachs mit Wasser aus und genoss die Flüssigkeit von der Farbe des englischen Senfs mit Behagen. Allgemeinen Anklang fand der Kupimhonig, der den Paraguay-thee versüsste oder mit Mehl angerührt wurde.

Langsam verflossen die Abende. Mit Schrecken ertappten sich Wilhelm und Perrôt darauf, dass sie mehr von Cuyabá und der Rückreise plauderten als von der Flussfahrt und dem Ausschiffen. Sie spielten verzweifelt Sechundsechzig und ärgerten sich über die Verhöhnung in dem unermüdlichen Ruf des »Julio Cortapáo« (Hans, hack Holz, Caprimulgus albicollis), dem der Brasilier auch die Worte unterlegt: »manhã eu vou« = morgen gehe ich. Sie lauschten der sechstönigen Skala des flötenden Urutau, einer Nachtschwalbe (Nyctibius aethereus), und dem weniger wohllautenden Schrei einer Reiherart, des Sokobos, der an die Stimme des Jaguars erinnern soll. Der Vergleich wurde aber, als sich auch das Gekreuz der grossen Katze selbst hören liess, nicht zutreffend gefunden. Zu diesem Klagetönen aus dem Wald drangen aus den Zelten noch die näselnden Gesänge der Soldaten hervor, die sich eines »Cóxo« (spr. Kosche), die primitive Violine des Sertanejo, geschnitzt hatten.

Die Frage, ob das Lager näher an das Bakairidorf hinabverlegt werden könnte, war endgültig verneint worden. Am 9. September, dem Tage nach meiner Abreise, waren Wilhelm und Perrot zu einer Rekognoszierung aufgebrochen, von der sie am 12. September ohne Ergebnis zurückkehrten. Sie hatten auf der linken Seite des Flusses im Norden und Nordnordosten nur dichten von Schlinggewächs und Dornen erfüllten Chapadão cerrado angetroffen, dann den Fluss gekreuzt und auf der rechten Seite nur einige kleine Strecken gefunden, wo die Tiere zur Not hätten vorrücken können. Sie kamen abgehetzt und müde nach Hause. Ferse, dem besten der fünf Hunde, hätte der Ausflug beinahe das Leben gekostet; man hörte ihn plötzlich laut und klagend heulen, sprang

2:Steinen SP7 Bacairi

eiligst hinzu und fand ihn von einer über 3 m langen Boa umschlungen, die dem Armen die Kehle schon so zugeschnürt hatte, dass er nicht mehr schreien konnte, und nur nach Empfang von vielen Messerhieben losliess.

Am 14. September kehrten dann Antonio und Carlos mit meiner Botschaft vom 11. September aus dem Bakairidorf zurück; sie kamen vom Salto über Land, den letzten Teil der Strecke auf dem rechten Flussufer, und hielten auch ein Hinabrücken der Station für ausgeschlossen. Zu gleichem Ergebnis kamen endlich Ehrenreich und Vogel, die am 15. September die Independencia verliessen und am 17. am Salto eintrafen, wo sie sich einschifften und zwei Leute mit der Meldung zurücksandten. Sie erklärten, dass wochenlange Arbeit nötig sein würde, um durch das Dickicht eine Pikade zu schlagen, dass die kleinen Bäche der Sucurui und Chiqueira schon jetzt, geschweige in der Regenzeit, mit grösster Schwierigkeit zu passieren wären, weil das sumpfige, dabei dicht verwachsene Terrain lange Knüppeldämme erfordern würde. Erst in der Nähe des Salto hätten die Tiere einen Weideplatz gefunden. Hier war offener Kamp, aber namentlich im Norden von ausgedehnten Morästen mit Buritiständen umgeben, die in der Regenzeit unter Wasser stehen und eine Fieberbrutstätte der schlimmsten Art darstellen würden. Am zweiten und dritten Tage hatten sie bis an den Kulisehu nur Sandboden und keinen einzigen Stein angetroffen.

Wir durften also mit unserer Independencia zufrieden sein. Sie hatte einen angenehmen weiten freien Platz und eine Stufe tiefer, wo der klare Bach in den Fluss einmündete, den kleinen Küchenplatz, den die Tafel 12 darstellt. Dort waren auch mehrere Hängematten aufgeschlagen, während Perrot's Zelt und die Zelte der Soldaten oben neben dem »Neubau« standen. Es wurde nun eifrig gearbeitet, dieses Häuschen unter Dach zu bringen. Mit den Eseln wurden einige Ladungen Buritiblätter geholt; leider importirte man auf diesen auch eine Menge grosser Zecken. Quersparren wurden zu einem Girão, einem Traggerüst, mit Pindahybabast zusammengebunden, und darüber das Dach mit Buritiblättern gedeckt. Die Holzsattel und die Ledersäcke wurden im Hause aufgeschichtet und auf dem Gerüst die ethnologische Sammlung unter Ochsenfellen geborgen. Für Januario blieb ein guter Raum zum Schlafen.

Die Sammlung war ein vielversprechender Anfang. Sie zählte schon an 120 Stück, die katalogisiert und mit Blechnummern versehen wurden. Weniger Mühe nahm die Verteilung der Eßvorräte in Anspruch. Ein kleiner Theil wurde für die Rückreise über Land festgelegt. Mit den Kemmerich'schen Fleischpatronen wurden jetzt die ersten Versuche angestellt; es ergab sich, dass sie am besten mit Gemüsetafeln, Mélange d'Equipage, aufgekocht wurden. Tumayaua verpflichtete sich, dafür zu sorgen, dass den Zurückbleibenden vom Dorf aus Mandiokamehl geliefert würde, und Januario erhielt vor seinen Augen einen Sack mit herrlichen Perlen ausgehändigt, als Lockmittel für die Lieferanten.

Tumayaua versprach ferner, uns auf unserer Fahrt zu begleiten. Wir sicherten ihm zwei schöne Beile, mehrere Hemden und soviel Perlen zu, dass er der reichste

Mann am Kulisehu werden sollte. Er und Luchu fühlten sich, von allen Seiten verhätschelt, über alle Massen wohl in der neuen Umgebung. Wir zeigten ihnen den Lagerplatz in bengalischer Beleuchtung, die sich in der That prächtig ausnahm, obgleich die allabendliche Illumination durch tausende von Glühkäfern, die vor dem finstern Hintergrund der Queimada ihre Fackeltänze aufführten, vielleicht stimmungsvoller war. Tumayaua und Luchu liessen sich auch anstandslos photographieren (Tafel 6). Sie thaten alles was man von ihnen verlangte. Ja, Tumayaua folgte ohne Zaudern der Einladung, sich auf Perrot's Pferd zu setzen. Ich führte das Tier ein Weilchen und liess es dann traben; der edle Häuptling ritt und ritt, denn wie er zurückkommen sollte, war ihm unbekannt. Es steckte doch etwas von einem historischen Moment in dem Anblick: der Südamerikaner der Steinzeit zum ersten Mal auf dem Rücken eines Rosses. Luchu war diesem Ideal noch nicht reif; der junge Mensch liess sich nicht dazu bewegen, dem Beispiel des tapfern und ob des Genusses hocherfreuten Oheims zu folgen. Tumayaua mass auch das Pferd, indem er Hals und Kopf mit seiner Körpergrösse vergleichend betastete: offenbar wollte er im Tabakkollegium eine wissenschaftliche Beschreibung liefern.

Mit Hülfe der Indianer waren noch zwei Kanus gemacht worden, am 29. September wurden die Ruder geschnitzt und am 30. die Kanus zur Probe geladen.

Nach dem ersten Bakaïridorf (Maigéri).

Am 1. Oktober früh standen wir um vier Uhr auf und um sechs Uhr fuhren wir ab. Wir waren vertheilt auf die fünf Kanus: 1. Antonio, Wilhelm, ich; 2. Ehrenreich, João Pedro: 3. Vogel, Perrot, Columna; 4. Carlos und Peter mit schwerem Gepäck; 5. Tumayaua und Luchu. »Adeus Januario, Raymundo, Satyro, Manoel! Até á volta« bis zur Rückkehr! Sorgt für die Tiere, zankt Euch nicht und bleibt gesund!« »Feliz viagem!« riefen die guten Kerle zurück, an deren Stelle ich wahrlich nicht hätte sein mögen und die nun die Tage zählten, bis unsere Rückkehr ihnen die Freiheit wiedergäbe.

Wir ruderten fleissig, machten eine Mittagspause auf einer steinigen Insel und um 3/4 5 Uhr war unser Kanu als erstes an der grossen Cachoeira, die wir dem Senator Taunay zu Ehren Salto Taunay getauft haben. Im Strudel nahm ich ein prachtvolles Bad und setzte mich dann auf einen Ausguck; es dämmerte stark und Niemand kam. Um 3/4 7 Uhr im Vollmondschein erschienen die Andern; sie waren bis 3 Uhr bei der Insel geblieben, schlafend und Mate kochend. Das Fischen wurde durch die allzu helle Nacht erschwert, erst um 11 Uhr brachten die Leute 3 grosse fette Barbados, die auf den Rost wanderten und wohl verdienten, noch zur Geisterstunde in der vom Mond herrlich erleuchteten Scenerie des tosenden Wasserfalls gegessen zu werden.

Am 2. Oktober fuhren wir um 1/2 7 Uhr ab und erreichten den Bakaïrihafen um 2 1/4 Uhr. Dort stand der brave Paleko schon mit einer Schale Mandiokakleister. Wilhelm und ich gingen sofort zum Dorf. Es war sehr unterhaltend

zu beobachten, wie eine Empfangszene, da die Kanus in zeitlichen Abständen eintrafen, der andern folgte; neue Gäste, immer wieder neue Aufregung und neues Hervorstürzen aus dem Flötenhaus, wo wir unter Beijús und Kalabassen sassen. Man hatte sich zum Teil festlich mit Farbenmustern geschmückt. Kulekule hatte Gesicht und Oberkörper mit orangeroten Strichen und Tupfen verziert, die Zukünftige hatte rote Schlangenlinien auf den Oberschenkeln, die Egypterin eine rote Stirn und Nase, Tumayaua's kleine Enkel waren schwarz betupft und beklext, ihre Mutter Eva erschien, Haar und Haut weiss bepudert von der Beijúarbeit. Der gemütliche Awiá trug sonderbarer Weise eine Kuchenschaufel, d. h. einen Beijúwender im Haar.

Es war auch Fremdenbesuch aus Dorf II und III vorhanden, wir zählten in Paleko's Haus 18 und in Tumayaua's Haus 13 Hängematten. Ehrenreich photographirte. Jede Aufnahme wurde den Modellen durch einige Perlen vergütet. Sie hatten einige Angst, allein die Perlen siegten über die Furcht vor der Gefahr. Nur unter Schwierigkeiten kam die Frauengruppe Tafel 5 zu Stande. Die Frauen hatten sich aufstellen und zurechtrücken lassen, Ehrenreich war im Begriff, die Platte zu belichten, da entdeckten sie plötzlich ihr Spiegelbild in dem Objektiv und stürzten erstaunt auf den Apparat zu, es genauer zu betrachten. Der Photograph in tausend Nöten! Tumayaua war in den Besitz einer unbrauchbaren Glasplatte gelangt — »páru« Wasser — und richtete sich nach Vogel's Anweisung mit ihr in der Strohkuppel seines Hauses das erste Fenster ein.

An diesem schönen Tage wollte ich meinen Gastfreunden ein Ehrengeschenk stiften. Zwei junge Berliner Damen hatten mir eine hübsche blonde Puppe mitgegeben, die sie mit buntem Kleidchen eigenhändig ausstaffiert hatten und die als beste Nummer unseres Waarenlagers »der Würdigsten« zugedacht war. Ich konnte nicht schwanken, dass sie der Zukünftigen, der Erbtochter des Dorfes und Herrin über alles mir gespendete Mehl, gebühre. Die neugierige Frage, ob auch die Frauen der Karaiben Kleider hätten, sollte nun ihre Erledigung finden. Ich rief die ganze Gesellschaft auf den Platz zusammen und erregte hellen Jubel, als ich das blauäugige rotwangige Porzellanköpfchen vorzeigte, das echte Blondhaar sehen und anfühlen liess und die schönen Kleider des »kyaráiba pekóto« der Reihe nach erklärte. Und das Entzücken steigerte sich noch, da ich nun auf die Zukünftige zuschritt und »áma zóto« »Du besitzest es« sagte. Die kleine Gelbhaut errötete vor Freude und zu meinem Erstaunen ergriff die sonst schweigsame Mutter mit lauter Stimme das Wort und sprach und sprach, Mancherlei betheuernd, was ich nicht verstand, was aber, wenn die Indianer auch kein Wort für »danke« haben, doch eine Dankesrede war. Wem meine Zukünftige von damals inzwischen Herz und Hand und zur Mitgift die kostbare Karaibenfrau bescheert haben mag, ich weiss es nicht — in einer der seltsamen Verschlingungen aber, zu der sich zuweilen die Glieder der Schicksalskette zusammenschliessen, hat es sich gefügt, dass die eine der beiden Berliner Damen mittlerweile die Gattin des Verlegers, die andere die Gattin des Verfassers dieses Buches geworden ist.

Wir blieben bis tief in die Dunkelheit und gingen dann zu unserm Lager am sogenannten zweiten Hafen des Dorfes. Eine lange Stromschnelle liegt zwischen dem obern und dem untern Hafen; die Kanus waren dort noch am Nachmittag hinüberbugsiert worden, damit wir das Hindernis nicht erst am folgenden Morgen zu überwinden hatten.

Nach dem zweiten Bakaïridorf (Iguéti).

Die Reise von dem ersten Dorf nach dem zweiten ist wegen der zahlreichen Stromschnellen sehr beschwerlich. Sie zeichnet sich dadurch aus, dass der Fluss auf lange Strecken hin mit Blöcken durchsetzt ist, zwischen denen er bei dem damaligen Wasserstand nur sehr niedrig war. Wir nannten diese Art »Steincachoeiras«, es sind echte Katarakte, die bei höherm Wasserstand wahrscheinlich leichter passiert werden.

Die ersten Stunden hinter Maigéri floss der Kulisehu in himmlischer Ruhe dahin; das Kanu mit seinen Ruderern spiegelte sich unverzerrt in der flaschengrünen Flut, und eine lange Spur von Schaumblasen bezeichnete die Bahn. Dunkel, aber von dem Sonnenschein gelblich durchleuchtet, setzte sich das Bild der Waldkulisse gegen die schimmernde und flimmernde Oberfläche ab. Der volle Laubschmuck rundete die Baumumrisse, und üppige hellgrüne Bambusmassen füllten alle Lücken aus. Ueberhängendes Gebüsch und niedere Bäume, die tiefgeneigt vom Ufer weggedrückt schienen, spannten Schattendächer aus, in deren Schutz man gern dahinglitt. Nichts ist schöner als das allgemeine Schweigen der Natur, ehe die Cachoeira kommt; man weiss, bald wird das Brausen erst fern und dumpf, dann lauter und lauter ertönen und geniesst die Stille, der, ohne die Aussicht auf den bald nur zu lebhaften Wechsel, unser Geist in schwerer Langeweile erliegen würde. Als wir dieselbe Strecke am 20. September zum ersten Mal fuhren, hatte ich mich an dem Anblick des geschmeidigen Luchu erfreut, der mit Bogen und Pfeil im Kanu aufrecht stehend nach Pakú-Fischen ausspähte. Der Indianer, dem die Angel unbekannt war, gebrauchte doch schon den Köder. Er warf bohnengrosse grellrote Beeren (*iwiulu*) ziemlich weit in den Fluss, spannte schleunigst den Bogen, zielte auf die Beere und entsandte den Pfeil in dem Augenblick, wo der Pakú zuschnappte und die Beere verschwand.

Damals waren wir bequem in einem Tage nach Iguéti gekommen, da wir die Kanus sobald als möglich verliessen und über Land gingen. Dieses Mal konnten wir uns keine Stromschnelle ersparen. Es waren ihrer im Ganzen acht bis zu dem sogenannten Hafen, doch schlugen wir schon hinter der siebenten um 5½ Uhr das Lager auf. Bei der vierten hatten wir 40 Minuten gebraucht, um die Kanus durch das ausgedehnte Steingewirr hindurchzuschieben. Das unsere klemmte sich zwischen zwei Felsblöcken fest und füllte sich halb mit Wasser. Es ist ein unangenehmes Gefühl, wenn der elastische Boden des Fahrzeuges sich unter den Füssen biegt wie eine Welle. Um 4 Uhr fanden wir den ganzen

Fluss versperrt und quer durchsetzt durch hohe Stakete und Steine, wo die Bakairi den Fischen nach Gutdünken den Weg verlegen und öffnen können. Es war ein sehr merkwürdiger Anblick und, wenn man die Arbeitsmittel und den Kulturfortschritt der Bakairi in Rechnung zog, nicht ohne Grossartigkeit. Wir hatten mühsam die Steine am Rand der Stakete aus dem Wege zu räumen, um überhaupt mit unsern schmalen Kanus zu passieren. Dahinter eine Breite von 124 m.

Bei der letzten Stromschnelle erlitt Vogel Schiffbruch. Die Instrumente blieben trocken, aber die Suppentafeln erlitten eine vorzeitige Wässerung. So benutzten wir die Gelegenheit, aus den rettungslos durchweichten Stücken einmal eine verschwenderische Kraftsuppe zu brauen. Wir machten hinter dem Orte des Unfalls Halt, besuchten von hier aus am nächsten Tage, dem 4. Oktober, das Bakairidorf und liessen die Kanus währenddess zum Hafen weiterschaffen. Auch auf dieser Strecke fuhr Vogels Kanu auf einen Stein und ging unter. Dabei sank ein uns von Herrn von Danckelman überlassenes Wasser-Thermometer seiner Bestimmung gemäss in die Tiefe, blieb aber auf Nimmerwiedersehen drunten und entzog sich der Ablesung.

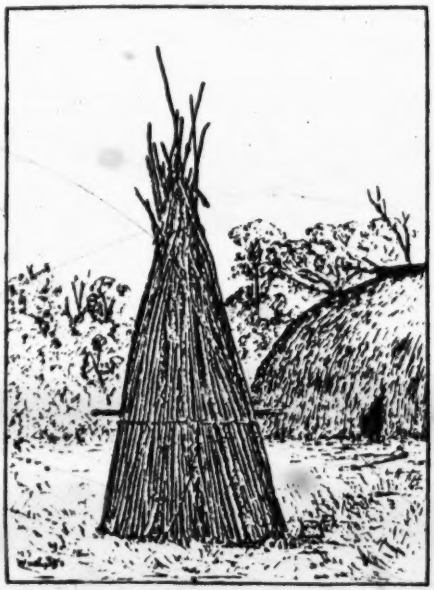


Abb. 3. Vogelkäfig.

Das Dorf war in einer halben bis einer ganzen Stunde vom Fluss zu erreichen, je nachdem man später oder früher landete. Es war rings umgeben von gerodetem Land in einer Ausdehnung, die unser höchstes Erstaunen erregte. Auf den drei verschiedenen Wegen, die wir gegangen sind, kamen wir durch lange Strecken, wo der Wald mit dem Steinbeil niedergeschlagen war. Im März und April werden die Bäume gefällt und im September und Oktober das inzwischen getrocknete Holz verbrannt. Wir betrachteten mit Bewunderung eine Anzahl dicker Stämme, deren Querschnitt mit den stumpfen Schlagmarken der Steinbeile bedeckt war und bedauerten keine solche Hiebfläche absägen und mitnehmen zu können. Ich leistete im Stillen Abbitte bei den Indianern, über die ich oft gelacht hatte, wenn sie sich zu Hause in der Hängematte schaukelten, als wenn ihr Leben ein grosser Sonntag wäre.

In Iguéti gab es drei grosse Familienhäuser und ein sehr ansehnliches Flötenhaus, in dem viele Tanzanzüge aus Palmstroh hingen. Auf dem Dorfplatz erhob sich ein Käfig von über Haushöhe, der aus langen, spitzkegelförmig zusammengestellten Stangen bestand; darin sass eine gewaltige Harpya destructor, obwohl das Dorf *igu-eti* = Sperberdorf heisst. Der einstige Wappenvogel war wohl schon lange dahin geschieden. Der schöne Adler wurde nach seiner Lieblingsnahrung *mégo-zóto*, Herr der Affen, genannt. Neben dem Häuptlingshause lag ein grosser Schleifstein für die Steinbeile; er machte mir viel Freude, weil er genau dieselben Rillen zeigte, wie wir sie in den Sambakis von Sta. Catharina beobachtet hatten.

Die Gemeinde zählte einige 40 Personen. Man sprach von drei Häuptlingen, doch kam uns in dieser Eigenschaft nur der gutmütige, sehr breitschultrige und durch watschelnden Gang ausgezeichnete Aramöke entgegen. Er hatte einen pfiffigen Ausdruck und war bei seinem ungeschlachten Körper sehr höflich, da er im Wald vor mir herschreitend liebenswürdiger, als er wahrscheinlich gegen eine Dame gewesen wäre, die Zweige abbrach, die mir hätten in's Gesicht schnellen können. Ein grosses Messer und ein rotes Halstuch machten ihn zum Glücklichsten aller Sterblichen. Er erwies uns grosse Gastfreundschaft. Fortwährend wurden neue goldige Beijús herbeigebracht, eine Reihe von Kalabassen mit Pogu gefüllt, standen immer zur Hand, ein dünner, sehr süsser Püserego wurde im Ueberfluss geboten und für unsere Perlen erhielten wir einen Vorrat an feinem Polvilhomehl auf den Weg.

Die so eifrig backenden Frauen erschienen uns klein und hässlich, aber freudlich. Sie holten Wasser nur in Begleitung von Männern.

Als ich mit Vogel und Ehrenreich am 20. September zum ersten Mal in Iguéti war, erlebten wir eine merkwürdige Scene, die ich hier einschalten möchte. Wir sassen am Abend in dem Flötenhaus, als Einige eintraten, an der Feuerasche niederhockten und ein lautes ih . . . . ausstiessen. Darauf zogen sich ein paar Andere die dort hängenden Strohanzüge an und liefen eine Weile umher wie die brüllenden Löwen. Ich glaubte, es sei eitel Scherz und Zeitvertreib, aber alle blieben durchaus ernst. Nun lief eine der Masken hinaus, während der Chor wieder ih . . . . hi schrie, streckte die Arme aus dem Stroh hervor und raschelte mit dem Behang. Sie verschwand in einem Hause und kam bald wieder hervor mit Beijú und Fisch beladen. Dasselbe wiederholte sich und Luchu machte den Gang als Dritter, mit Getränk zurückkehrend. Immer wurde das Hinausgehen durch das allgemeine ih . . . angekündigt, so dass man in den Häusern vorbereitet war. Da der Strohanzug den ganzen Körper bis auf die Füsse bedeckt, ist die Person, die sich in ihm verbirgt, nicht zu erkennen. Vielleicht ist zwischen diesem Gebrauch, dass man sich sein Gastgeschenk in verhülltem Zustande holt, und der Sitte des Alleinessens, gegen die man nicht verstossen kann, ohne das Schamgefühl der Andern wachzurufen, ein Zusammenhang vorhanden.

Später am Abend begannen drei Männer zu singen, indem sie dicht an den Thüreingang des Flötenhauses herantraten, und zwar so, dass sie uns Uebrigen den Rücken zukehrten: zwei schüttelten die Kürbisrassel, die sich nur im Material von unserem ersten Wiegenspielzeug unterscheidet, und der Dritte stampfte in taktfester Beharrlichkeit mit dem rechten Fuss auf. Die Drei sangen: *iháï, iháï hwxó, iháï ohwhoxó* . . . . Vielleicht steckt in dem ewigen *hwxu, hwxo* nichts anders als das Wort für »Fuss«, das, altkaraibisch *pupu*, sich in *xwxu, hwxu* lautgesetzlich verändert. Es war ein ernstes, fast traurig klingendes, aber sehr kräftiges »Makanari«, wie die Bakaïrí ihre Festgesänge nennen. Ehrenreich war mit der sich unverändert gleichbleibenden Monotonie des Singens, Rasselns und Stampfens sehr unzufrieden, ich kann für mein Teil aber nur sagen, dass gerade das Einerlei Eindruck auf mich machte und mich auf eine Art berauschte und gefangennahm. Andere stellten sich hinter die Drei, sangen und stampften mit, mehr und mehr schlossen sich an, und endlich liefen die der Thüre nächsten hinaus, einer nach dem andern bückte sich und folgte, der ganze Zug trabte in einer langen Kette hinüber zum Häuptlingshause mit ununterbrochenem *ohóhoxó*, zurück zum Flötenhaus, hin und her über den Platz; wir Gäste verfehlten nicht, auch wenigstens einige Touren des musikalischen Dauerlaufs mitzumachen, die guten Bakaïrí aber rannten, sangen, stampften — die ganze Nacht. Es scheint also eine sehr alte Sitte zu sein, bis an den hellen Morgen zu tanzen. Nur dass die Männer die Arbeit allein besorgten. Es schlief sich vorzüglich dabei ein; wie das bekannte und oft bewährte Mittel zum Einschlafen, dass man sich eine endlose Hammelherde vorstellt, die über einen Zaun setzt, und die einzelnen springenden Tiere zählt, hypnotisirte ihr unentwegtes *ohóhwxó* mit tödlicher Sicherheit.

Bei unserm zweiten Besuch sahen wir Nichts dergleichen.

Eine kleine Schussvorstellung erweckte mehr Furcht als Erstaunen; die Frauen liefen hinter die Häuser; ein langer Jüngling flüchtete sich in die Hängematte und hielt sich die Ohren zu. Nach dem dritten Schuss bat der Häuptling »ale«, »es ist genug«. Hinterher hatten sie wieder Verlangen danach und stellten Aufgaben, hoch in der Luft kreisende Vögel zu treffen, die nur die Cooperschen Jäger hätten erfüllen können. Man muss sich jedenfalls hüten, einen Schuss zu thun, dessen man nicht sicher ist.

Der photographische Apparat wurde dem Häuptlingshause gegenüber aufgestellt; Aramöke folgte der Einladung, steckte den Kopf unter das schwarze Tuch, betrachtete sich das Bild mit lebhaftem Vergnügen und schwatzte eifrig darüber. Die Uebrigen trauten der Sache nicht.

Das Haus Aramöke's, ein prachtvolles Beispiel der primitiven Architektur, war grösser und sorgfältiger gebaut als das Paleko's in Maigéri. Viele Vorratskörbe waren zwischen den Mittelpfosten aufgestapelt und von der Wölbung hingen zahlreiche Maisvögel und Kolben herab. Unser Interesse aber nahm in erster Linie ein Fries von rohen Zeichnungen in Anspruch, der in etwa 2 m Höhe über den Thüren weg ringsum lief in einer Gesamtlänge von etwa 56 m.

Auf schmale Tafeln von geschwärzter Baumrinde waren Tüpfel, Ringe, lineare Muster und dazwischen ein paar Fischzeichnungen mit weissem Lehm aufgetragen. Zu unserm grössten Erstaunen galten auch Dreiecke und Vierecke als Abbildungen konkreter Vorlagen und waren eben noch keine »geometrische Figuren«. Wilhelm zeichnete den ganzen Fries mit peinlicher Gewissenhaftigkeit ab, wie ihn die Tafeln 20 und 21 wiedergeben. Ich werde später die Erfahrungen bei den Bakairí mit den bei den übrigen Kulisehu-Stämmen zusammenstellen. Leider war es nicht möglich, die Originale heimzubringen. Der Lehm war so lose aufgetragen, dass er sofort abbröckelte, und so grobkörnig, dass er nicht, wie es bei den Masken gelang, durch Ueberstreichen mit Collodium festgehalten werden konnte.

Gegen Sonnenuntergang gingen wir, von Aramöke, der in seinem roten Halstuch stolzierte, geleitet, nach dem Lager, das nun an dem eigentlichen Hafen aufgeschlagen war, und trafen dort nach dem neuen Schiffbruch grosse »Trockenwäsche«. Auch war Antonios Ruder gebrochen.

Eine Anzahl Indianer standen und sassen auf dem Uferhang herum, als wir am 6. Oktober kurz nach 7 Uhr abfuhren. João Pedro hatte sich noch ein Halbdutzend frischer Beijús bestellt und wurde pünktlich in der Frühe wie vom zivilisierten Bäcker bedient.

Die kräftige Stromschnelle, »kulúri« von den Bakairí genannt, die wir bald ohne Fährlichkeiten durchschnitten, war die letzte des Kulisehu: »túzu âle«, die Steine sind »alle«. Der Fluss ähnelte auf dieser Strecke wieder sehr dem Stück hinter der Independencia; viele gestürzte Bäume im Wasser, häufig hochgelegener Sandstrand oder auch steiles Lehmufer, die Strömung etwas beschleunigter. Der kleine Masarico trippelte mit seinen roten Beinchen eilfertig über den Sand uns entgegen, rief »geh weg, komm, komm« und flog eine Strecke voraus, um uns dort wieder zu erwarten. Die Windungen des Flusses waren sehr zahlreich, und die Fahrt wurde sterbenslangweilig. Dabei wurde das Sonnenlicht von dem hellen Sand grell reflektiert und das Wasser blitzte unerträglich. Um 2¾ Uhr kamen wir an einen rechten Nebenbach von etwa 8 m Breite vorüber, dem Pakuneru. Das ist derselbe Name, den der Paranatinga bei den Bakairí führt. An seinen Quellen — weitweg *ih* .... — sollen die *kayáxo*, die Kayapó, wohnen; Tumayaua erklärte, dass er sie habe schreien hören. Es ist wahrscheinlich, dass von ihnen der Feuerschein herrührte, den wir wiederholt im Osten bemerkt hatten und der auf der Independencia regelmässig am Abend beobachtet worden war. Ein Stündchen später mündete links, etwa 12 m breit, der Kewayeli ein. An beiden Ufern Queimada und Pflanzung.

Tumayaua hatte als Begleiter Pakurali aus dem zweiten Dorf mitgenommen, einen untersetzten vierschrötigen Alten, dem man nicht ansah, dass er für einen grossen Zauberer galt, und der bei uns respektlos der »Droschkenkutscher« hiess. Sie hatten wenig Gepäck bei sich und bargen es leicht in den Mayakus, ihren Tragkiepen. Nicht Baumwollhängematten, sondern Hängematten aus Palmfaser, die leichter sind und rasch trocknen, wenn sie durchnässt werden, hatten sie

auf die Reise mitgenommen. Die Beiden kamen rasch vorwärts, obwohl sie an jedem günstigen Ort auf's Fischen bedacht waren. Den grossen Zauberer hatten wir an einer Salmiakflasche riechen lassen, was ihn nicht wenig entsetzt hatte. Er war seither nicht mehr zu verführen, irgend etwas von unsern Dingen zu beriechen. Wenn bei uns Jemand in einer Ecke ruft, dass es dort stinkt, so läuft Alles hin und schnüffelt.

Nach dem dritten Bakaïridorf (Kuyaqualléti).

Der Hafen, bei dem wir um 4¾ Uhr ankamen, lag am Ende einer seitwärts eingeschnittenen Bucht und wäre ohne Führer nicht zu finden gewesen.

Am nächsten Morgen, dem 6. Oktober, brachen wir um 7 Uhr zum Dorfe auf und erreichten es in dreiviertel Stunden auf dem üblichen geschlängelten Waldpfad. Unterwegs sahen wir eine grosse menschliche Gestalt in Baumrinde eingeschnitzt mit drei Fingern an den Händen und strumpfartigen Füssen.

Harpyen-Dorf, *„kuyaquali-éti"*, hatte auch nur drei Häuser und ein Flötenhaus, war aber das belebteste der drei Dörfer. Ich zählte 31 Männer und ungefähr ebensoviel Frauen und Kinder. Doch waren die letzeren zum Teil in den Wald gelaufen. Es mochten an 100 Seelen im Dorfe sein. Der Häuptling Porisa war ein kleiner freundlicher Herr; er hatte Nachts Beijú backen lassen. Wir sassen inmitten des grossen Platzes in einer langen Reihe nieder. Jedem wurde eine Trinkschale gebracht, mir wurde die grösste nebst einer Zigarre zu Teil. Die Begrüssungsreden wurden jetzt mit grosser Geläufigkeit ausgetauscht.

áma, du das bist du. *ehé úra*, ja, ich gewiss, das bin ich. *bakaïri úra*, ich (bin ein) Bakaïri. *kyaráiba úra*, ich (bin ein) Karaibe. *bakaïri kyára*, (die) Bakaïri (sind) gut. *kyaráiba iwakulukúlu*, (die) Karaiben (sind) sehr gut. *pima áma?* (bist) du (der) Häuptling? *pima úra*, ich (bin der) Häuptling.

Jedem Karaiben hockte ein Bakaïri gegenüber und bewunderte ihn und was er anhatte. Die schwedischen Zündhölzer, Messer, Spiegel, Knöpfe, Perlen, — es war immer derselbe Kursus. Nur fand bei Porisa mein Tagebuch die meiste Anerkennung und waren es nicht die beschriebenen, oder mit Zeichnungen bedeckten, sondern die weissen leeren Blätter, die ihm Ausrufe des Entzückens entlockten. Wir schritten auch paarweise, Arm in Arm, auf dem Platze umher, in verbindlicher Unterhaltung. Ausführlich studierten wir die geographische Verteilung der Kulisehu-Stämme, doch blieben die Wohnorte der Trumaí nach wie vor unklar.

Das Flötenhaus war gross und geräumig, sein Dach zerfallen, viel Stroh lag drinnen auf dem Boden, und hier, wie in den Häusern, vermissten wir die Sauberkeit, die uns in den andern Dörfern so wohlgethan hatte. Vor dem Flötenhaus fand sich, auf Querhölzern aufruhend, ein mächtiger hohler Baumstamm hingestreckt — einen Morcego- (Fledermaus) Baum nannten ihn unsere

Leute — unregelmässig bemalt mit menschlichen Figuren und Fischwirbelsäulen. Man trommelte bei Festen auf diesem Rieseninstrument mit dicken Holzknüppeln, ähnlich den Mandiokastampfern.

Drinnen gab es schöne Masken und eine neue Form des Tanzanzuges: zwei gewaltige Krinolinen von 10 m Umfang mit Stroh bedeckt, kleinen Hütten vergleichbar, *kollu*, die der Tänzer an einem Ring auf der Schulter trug. Bald war ein schwungvoller Tauschhandel überall im Gange. Wir erhielten schönen Federschmuck, Kronen aus Ararafedern, die auf der einen Seite lichtblau, auf der andern gelb sind, zierliche Matten, in denen sie aufbewahrt werden, schwarzgelbe Rohrdiademe, wie deren Luchu auf Tafel 6 eins trägt, andere mit strahlenförmigen Spitzen, grosse Pansflöten, ein mit Zeichnungen verziertes Ruder, Spinnwirtel der einfachsten Art: aus Topfscherben hergestellte Scheiben, und eine Menge merkwürdiger zilinderförmiger Hölzer, die mit Ornamenten bedeckt waren und bei Festen auf dem Rücken getragen wurden. Dann aber kam in dem Gerät dieser dritten Bakaïrí deutlich zum Ausdruck, dass wir uns bei dem den übrigen Kulisehu-Indianern nächst wohnenden Teil des Stammes befanden; es war vielerlei Importwaare vorhanden und wurde hier auch als solche bezeichnet. Die Bakaïrí machen selbst keine Töpfe und haben selbst keinen Ort, an dem sie sich die Steine für die Steinbeile holen könnten, hier aber sagte man uns auch sofort, dass die Töpfe von den Mehinakú und die Steinbeile von den Trumaí stammten. Unter den Töpfen war einer in Schildkrötenform, der ein wahres Meisterwerk der primitiven Plastik darstellte, an dem Kopf, Schwanz und Füsse, sowie die Schildzeichnung auf das Herrlichste ausgeführt waren. Von den Auetö fanden wir eine halbzerbrochene Thonpuppe, von den Mehinakú herrührend auch Knäuel feingesponnener Baumwolle, von den Trumaí und Suyá zierliche Federhauben. Aus unserm eigenen Besitz von 1884 entdeckten wir zwei Eisenmeissel, Teile eines Ladestockes, die auf Steinen zugeschliffen waren.

In höchsteigener Person trafen wir einen Nahuquá; leider war der Mensch sichtlich idiotisch und konnte meinen Zwecken wenig bieten. Es ist seltsam, dass dieses keine vereinzelte Erscheinung ist: die Kustenaú von 1884 hatten einen versimpelten Bakaïrí unter sich, die Yuruna desgleichen einen Arara-Indianer mit ausgesprochenem Schwachsinn, und Aehnliches glaube ich, noch öfter bemerkt zu haben. Werden die Leute dumm in der neuen Umgebung oder überlässt man dem Nachbar nur die dummen Exemplare zur Nutzniessung?

In dem Flötenhause wurden anthropologische Messungen und photographische Aufnahmen gegen Vergütung in Perlen ausgeführt. In diesem Dorf gab es einen ausgesprochen semitischen Typus, von dem Tafel 13 ein klassisches Beispiel darstellt. Die Leute liessen sich Alles gefallen und nannten den Tasterzirkel *núna* »Mond«. Nur Einer war entrüstet, als ich ihm, nachdem ihn Ehrenreich von Kopf bis zu Fuss in allen Richtungen gemessen hatte, die Gebühr von drei schönen, dicken Perlen überreichte. Er wollte so viel Perlen haben, als Messungen an ihm vorgenommen waren, er wiederholte mit lebhaftem Geberdenspiel und

anerkennungswertem Gedächtnis die sämtlichen Prozeduren: den Kopf von vorne nach hinten, von Seite zu Seite, die Nase von oben nach unten, den Abstand der Augen, die Länge der Extremitäten und ihrer Teile, die Höhe des Nabels über dem Boden u. s. w. u. s. w., und streckte hinter jeder Pantomime die Hand nach den *kutakuá*, den Perlen aus. Es half nichts, dem Manne musste sein Recht werden, nur war ich genötigt, ihn mit kleinen Stickperlen zu entschädigen; denn als ich begann, ihn zu bezahlen, ging er getreulich hinter jedem Perlenpaar wieder die Zahl der Messungen durch, erst jenes, dann den entsprechenden Körperteil berührend, und ruhte nicht, ehe die lange Liste ziemlich genau erledigt war. Wenn sich diese Gelegenheiten häufen, sagte ich mir, und wenn die Bakaïrí viele solche kritischen Naturen hervorbringen, wird ihre Zählkunst reissende Fortschritte machen. Da war es ja an einem Beispiel der Erfahrung mit Händen zu greifen, wie der Handelsverkehr die arithmetischen Anlagen befruchtet und entwickelt!

Die Frauen leisteten einigen Widerstand. Ganz unmöglich war es, auch an ihnen die Aufnahmen im Flötenhaus zu machen. Sie durften es nicht betreten, obwohl das edle Gebäude schon eine halbe Ruine war. So wurden sie auf dem Platz gemessen und photographirt.

Unsere eingetauschten Schätze packten wir sorglich zusammen und baten Porisa, sie uns in seinem Hause bis zur Wiederkehr aufzubewahren. Wir durften unsere Kanus nicht überfrachten und mussten Raum vorsehen für die Sammlung bei den abwärts wohnenden Stämmen. Porisa schob die Bündel vor unsern Augen auf einen hohen Querbalken zwischen den Mittelpfosten und versprach, dass Niemand daran rühren werde.

Um $^1/_2$5 Uhr zogen wir denn sehr befriedigt wieder zum Hafen. Antonio war mit acht Indianern vor die Bucht hinausgefahren, wo sich der Fischfang besser lohnte und zeigte dort den Gebrauch der Angel. Seine Begleiter konnten mit einer schweren Ladung von Piranyas, einem Bagadú und einem Pintado den Heimweg zum Dorfe antreten. Eins unserer kleinen Kanus tauschten wir gegen ein schöneres, grösseres um.

II. Zu den Nahuquá.

Verkehr von Bakaïrí und Nahuquá. Ueberraschte im Hafen. Merkwürdiger Empfang. Dorf ausgeräumt. Ein Vaurikumá. Ueber Nacht. Mehinakú im Dorf. Tänze. Traurige Aussichten für Professor Bastian. Ich voraus zu den Mehinakú. Besserung der Verhältnisse. Botschaft über die Schlacht zwischen den Suyá und den Trumaí.

Ohne Frage stehen die Nahuquá in vielfältigem Verkehr mit den Bakaïrí. Schon von dem alten Paleko hatte ich eine ganze Reihe Nahuquá-Wörter erfahren und aus ihnen zu meiner grossen Freude sofort ersehen können, dass es sich um einen neuen Karaibenstamm handle. Paleko sagte mir, dass er früher eine zeitlang bei den Nahuquá gelebt habe; auch Tumayaua war bereits bei ihnen gewesen und

kannte viele Wörter ihrer Sprache, während alle Bakaïrí von den flussabwärts der Nahuquá wohnenden Mehinakú nicht ein halbes Dutzend Wörter wussten.

Der Nahuquá, der im dritten Dorf der Bakaïrí wohnte, begleitete uns, als wir am 7. Oktober 1887 von dem Hafen der dritten Bakaïrí zu seinen nur eine Tagereise entfernten Stammesgenossen fuhren, stieg spät Nachmittags an einer Stelle, wo ein Pfad herantrat, aus, um uns im Dorfe anzumelden. Auch drei Bakaïrí von Harpyendorf mit Einschluss des Häuptlings Porisa hatten sich uns

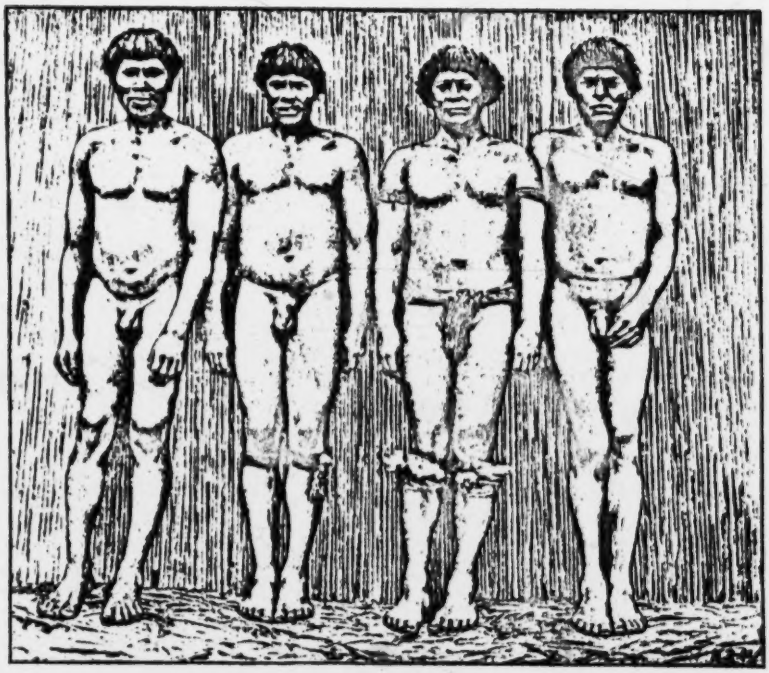


Abb. 4. Nahuquá.

angeschlossen. Wir waren um 1/27 Uhr abgefahren und hatten noch eine kleine Stromschnelle von starkem Schwall zu durchsetzen. Sie gehörte mit einigen Fischkurrals noch den Bakaïrí, während ein kleiner, 2 m breiter Bach rechts, den wir gegen 9 Uhr passierten, und der durch einen Fischzaun abgesperrt war, schon Eigentum der Nahuquá war. Um 11 Uhr mündete wieder rechts ein breiter Bach ein, der Háiri der Bakaïrí oder Ráza der Nahuquá, in deren Gebiet er lag. Viel hoher Sandstrand, 4—5 m über dem Wasserspiegel der Trockenzeit, Weidengebüsch, unzählige dürre und abgestürzte Bäume. Um 1 Uhr machten wir eine

Pause an einem fischreichen Orte; die Piranyas bissen so schnell zu, dass man die Angel nur auszuwerfen brauchte und sie auch schon daran festhingen; ein grosser, 1 m langer Bagadú, den Antonio mit Leguanköder fing, zog den glücklichen Fischer zu unserm Vergnügen bis in die Mitte des Flusses. Mehrere Angeln wurden von den Piranyas abgebissen. Die Indianer lösten nach einiger Untersuchung sorgfältig den Unterkiefer aus, den sie zum Durchschneiden von Fäden und auch zum Haarschneiden verwenden.

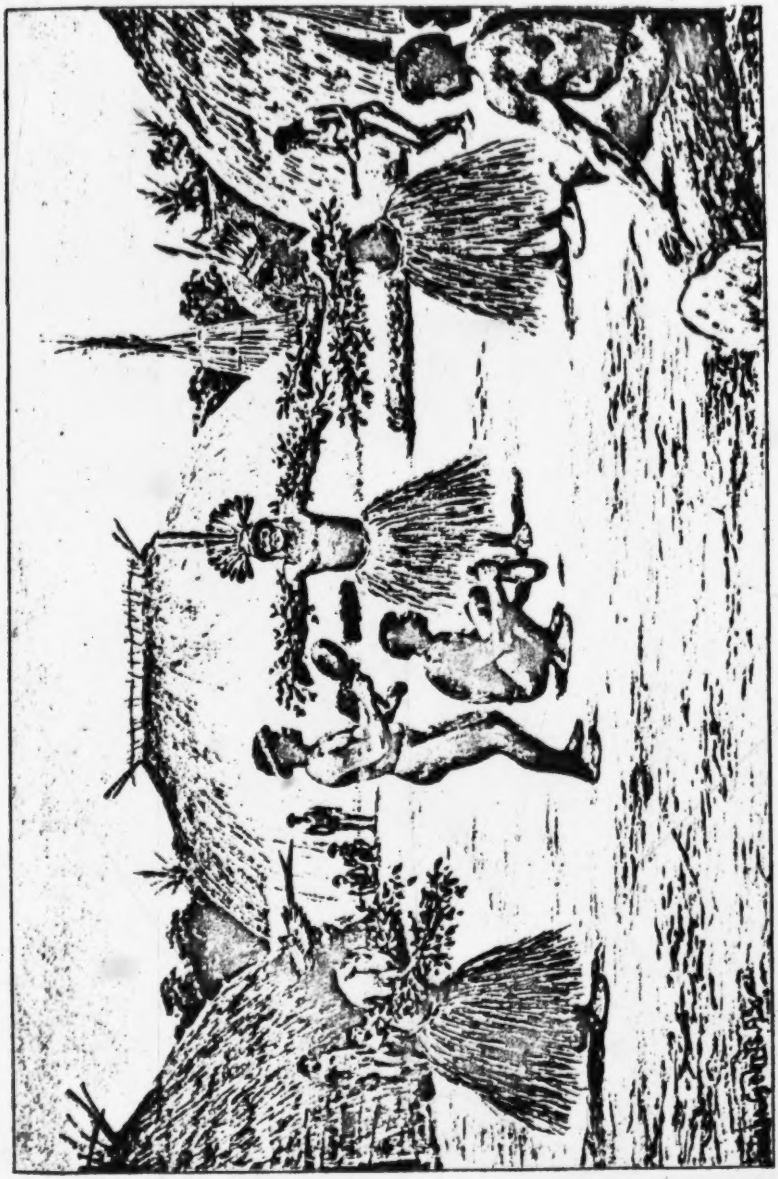
Wilhelm und ich, deren Boot wie gewöhnlich mit dem Tumayaua's den anderen voraus war, trafen zuerst am eigentlichen Hafen ein und überraschten dort drei Individuen, die nicht wenig erschreckt schienen. Es war ein hübscher strammer Junge von etwa 18 Jahren, das Urbild der Crevaux'schen Rukuyenn in Guyana, den Tumayaua als *pima imdri*, den Sohn eines Häuptlings, bezeichnete, ein kleiner Knabe und als dritter ein junger Mehinakú.

Durch Tumayaua freundlich getröstet und beruhigt, lachte der kleine Häuptling, zitterte aber am ganzen Leibe. Er hatte ein breites Baumwollbündel um den Leib geschlungen und auch eine Unwickelung über den Waden. Den Hals zierten zwei schöne Muschelketten. Ihre Tragkörbe waren mit Flussmuscheln gefüllt. Bald eilten sie freudig erregt davon. »Kúra karáiba«, der Karaibe ist gut, war ihnen hundertmal gesagt worden — und Tumayaua rief ihnen noch lange nach, sie sollten für reichlich Püserego sorgen. Den andern Morgen brachen wir früh auf; nachdem wir ein Stückchen Campo cerrado passiert hatten, kamen wir in den Wald. Es war grösstenteils Capoeira, junger Buschwald, der in früher bepflanztem Terrain nachwächst. An den Bäumen bemerkten wir eine grosse Zahl von plump eingeschnitzten menschlichen Figuren — mehr als wir irgendwo anders gesehen haben. Dieselben zeichneten sich durch gewaltige eselohrartige, aber schmale Verlängerungen aus, die uns als Ohrfedern gedeutet wurden. Gegen Ende des Weges fanden wir eine schöne Pflanzung von Piki-Bäumen (Caryocar brasiliensis); sie haben runde Früchte von der Form und dem Umfang recht grosser Aepfel mit grüner Schale, buttergelbem Inhalt und dicken Kernen.

Nach zwei Stunden erreichten wir das Dorf, es lag in Totenstille. Unser Zug betrat den Festplatz. Ein Kranz von zwölf nahe zusammenstehenden Häusern und ein schönes Flötenhaus; lange Sitzbalken lagen zu unsern Füssen. Keine Menschenseele begrüsste uns; nur in den Eingängen der schweigenden Bienenkörbe liessen sich einige dunkele Gestalten unbestimmt unterscheiden. Tumayaua rief, eifrig mit Bogen und Pfeil gestikulierend, in die Lüfte hinaus; unsere lange Reihe harrte stummvergnügt der kommenden Ereignisse, dann fingen auch wir an zu schreien, dass wir gut seien, und plötzlich sahen wir uns von einigen vierzig Männern dicht umringt.

Mit Ausbrüchen der Freude, die einen verzweifelten Anstrich grosser Angst nicht verbergen konnte, liessen sie uns einen neben dem anderen auf den dünnen Sitzbalken niederhocken und schleppten Beijús und mächtige Kürbisschalen die Hülle und Fülle herbei. Die Beijús thürmten sich in erschreckender Höhe auf;

TAFEL VII.



FISCHNETZ-TANZ DER NAHUQUÁ.

v. d. Steinen, Zentral-Brasilien.

[Facing p. 96]

in den Kürbisschalen war leider nicht der wohlschmeckende Püserego enthalten, sondern nur der gewöhnliche Pogu-Mandiokakleister. Sie liessen uns einige Pilzfrüchte, die im allgemeinen noch nicht reif waren, als Delikatessen probieren; ein kleines Stückchen mit Beijú schmeckte auch gar nicht so übel, doch wurde uns der fettige Geschmack bald zu stark und erregte Widerwillen.

Die Nahuquá waren kräftige, etwas plumpe Gestalten, an denen uns die viereckigen Gesichter besonders auffielen. Viele von ihnen hatten ein Doppelkinn. Bei mehreren bemerkten wir Bemalung auf der Brust mit runden Klexen, Dreiecken und dergl.; einer trug eine Schlangenlinie über den Oberschenkel. Zum Ausdruck der Bewunderung oder gewaltigen Erstaunens drückten sie eine Hand fest vor Mund und Nase und liessen dahinter allerlei Töne, *hõ hõ hõ*, hören, wie wir deren zuweilen beim Kopfschütteln machen. Es wurden uns riesige Zigarren von 40 cm Länge angeboten; anscheinend stand dieses Format im graden Verhältnis zur grossen Angst der Geber.

Nachdem die Empfangsfeierlichkeit beendet war, krochen wir in das Flötenhaus, um unsere Sachen dort niederzulegen. Die Beijúladungen und Getränke schleppte man uns eilfertig nach. In dem Haus der Männer, das sehr geräumig und sehr sorgfältig gebaut war, sah es trostlos leer aus. Ein öder Raum, nur hie und da ein paar Strohreste von Tanzkostümen auf dem Boden. Wir besuchten einzelne Hütten: sie waren ausgeräumt, hie und da hing eine einsame Hängematte, aber die sonst überall vorhandene Menge des Hausrats von Körben, Kalabassen, Töpfen fehlte; es fehlten an den Wänden die Steinbeile, die Bogen, die Pfeile. Besonders schmerzlich aber vermissten wir die Krone der Schöpfung. Nur ein paar alte Weiber von abscheulicher Hässlichkeit — abschreckend mager, die Haut am ganzen Körper verrunzelt, wirres mehlbestreutes Haar, trippelnder Gang mit eingeknickten Beinen — liessen sich erblicken; sie grinsten uns freundlich an und waren gute thätige Geschöpfe, denen wir auch unsere Beijús zu verdanken hatten. Die schönere Jugend war weit in den Wald entflohen.

Ueberall trat uns starkes Misstrauen entgegen; zu jedem Gang schloss sich starke Geleitschaft an, und sie versicherten so leidenschaftlich und häufig ihr *„atõtõ atõtõ atõtõ“*, was dem *„kura“* der Bakairi entspricht, dass man sich schwer verhehlen konnte, ihre Zunge spreche das Gegenteil aus von dem, was das Herz empfand. Was wir nur von Kleinigkeiten fanden, erhandelten wir und gaben unverhältnismässig grosse Gegengeschenke, um ihre Habgier ein wenig anzuregen. Perrot blies als Medizinmann Mehrere mit Tabakrauch an und rieb sie mit Vaselin ein. Ein Alter schleppte seinen Sohn von einem zum andern und beruhigte sich nicht eher, als bis jeder ihn angepustet hatte.

Wir hielten es für gut, unsere Zahl zu verringern; zuerst kehrten Antonio und Tumayaua, später Perrot und Vogel nach dem Hafen zurück, zumal letzterer dort eine Breitenbestimmung machen wollte. Ehrenreich, mein Vetter und ich blieben mit den Bakairi vom dritten Dorfe zurück und wollten unter allen Umständen bei unseren Gastfreunden schlafen, so missfällig dieser Entschluss auch

aufgenommen wurde. Durch Boten sollten uns vom Hafen Fische und Lebensmittel regelmässig gebracht werden.

Wir gingen baden, von fünfzehn Mann begleitet. Ein kleines ausgetretenes Bächlein mit schmutzigem Lehmwasser befand sich etwa ½ km weit vom Dorf.

In dem Flötenhause suchten wir uns mit Einigen etwas näher anzufreunden. Einer unter ihnen nannte sich einen »Yaurikumá«; er wohnte drei Tagereisen nach Osten am Kuluëne. Von ihm erhielten wir Angaben über die Lage der Trumaí- und Kamayurá-Dörfer, die sich später als ganz richtig erwiesen. Er wusste auch einige Kamayurá-Wörter. Zu unserer Freude bewiesen sie, dass die Kamayurá ein Tupistamm sein mussten. Es machte einen wunderlichen Eindruck auf uns, von ihm, dessen Sprache wir nicht verstanden, aus einer fremden Sprache Wörter zu vernehmen, die uns so wohl vertraut waren, wie tapyra, der Tapir, und yakaré, der in Brasilien allgemein mit diesem Worte bezeichnete Kaiman. Ein Anderer gab uns eine schauspielerische Vorführung der Suyá; mit einem Strohstreifen demonstrierte er die Ohrrollen und Lippenscheiben, was bei den Umsitzenden wie immer allgemeines Entzücken hervorrief. Hier wurde uns auch zum ersten Mal, und zwar in Verbindung mit den Suyá, der uns unbekannte Stammesname »Aratá« genannt. Die Trumaí, die Suyá und die Aratá wurden als »kuráipa« »nicht gut« bezeichnet.

Am Abend wurde die Thür des Flötenhauses wie die der Hütten mit einer Matte verschlossen; schmerzerfüllt ergaben sich die Nahuquá in das Schicksal, uns nicht los zu werden. Auf dem Dorfplatz hielten wir noch ein vergnügtes Tabakkollegium ab und erfreuten und erstaunten die Gesellschaft mit einem kleinen Feuerwerk. Mehr noch wurde von den praktischen Menschen eine brennende Kerze bewundert. Unsere Spiegel wurden gerade wie von den Bakairí *paru*, von ihnen *tuaz*, Wasser, genannt.

In der Nacht brach ein schweres Gewitter los; mitleidig gedachten wir der armen Nahuquáweiber, die draussen im Walde schliefen. Schon um 5 Uhr begann man im Dorfe zu lärmen; kaum hörte man uns ein paar Worte reden, so hatten wir auch schon zahlreichen Besuch im Flötenhause. Nach der schlimmen Nacht trat der Wunsch, dass wir uns entfernen möchten, um so lebhafter hervor. Die anwesenden Bakairí des dritten Dorfes redeten uns eindringlich zu, dass wir nun gehen möchten. Wir packten auch die wenigen Kostbarkeiten, die wir erworben hatten, in Tragkörbe, während die Festhütte von neugierigen Zuschauern gedrängt voll wär, und die guten Bakairí glaubten, wir rüsteten zum Aufbruch. Aber sie irrten sich. Wir baten sie nur, die Sachen, als sie selbst um 10 Uhr das Dorf verliessen, nach dem Hafen mitzunehmen, und blieben.

Bei unserm Spaziergang durch die Hütten trafen wir eine Anzahl kleiner Töpfe an, von denen uns bald gesagt wurde, dass sie von den Nahuquá, bald dass sie von den Mehinakú herrührten. Die alte Töpferin trug auf dem Oberarm drei parallele Linien, die Tätowirung der Mehinakúweiber, sie deutete mit den Händen an, dass sie damit gezeichnet worden sei, als sie noch ganz klein war.

Ausser mehreren Frauen lebten unter den Nahuquá einige Mehinakúmänner, deren einen wir ja schon am Hafen getroffen hatten. Einer hatte sich die Wangen derart bemalt, dass er mit schwarzer Farbe zwei innen mit Tüpfeln ausgefüllte rechte Winkel angebracht hatte. Ich liess mir von ihm etliche Wörter in seiner Sprache nennen und fand, dass sie mit dem von uns 1884 am Batovy aufgezeichneten Kustenáu gleichlautend waren. Da ich von dieser Sprache eine Wörterliste bei mir führte, konnte ich ihm sofort eine Reihe von Dingen nennen, was ihn mit höchstem Staunen erfüllte. Er hielt mir nun eine lange, laute Rede, hoffentlich freundschaftlichen Inhalts, und schien fest davon überzeugt, dass ich jedes Wort verstehe.

Ich wollte den Leuten gern klar machen, dass es mir darauf ankomme, Masken zu erhalten und versprach ihnen grosse Messer zur Belohnung. Offenbar wurden meine Geberden aber so ausgelegt, dass wir einen Tanz bestellten. Die Gesellschaft geriet in grosse Aufregung und führte uns nach einigen Vorbereitungen auf den Platz hinaus, wo wir auf den schrecklichen Sitzbalken niederhocken mussten. Zwei Personen besorgten die Musik. Der eine hockte auf dem Boden und schlug den Takt mit einer langen Kuye, ein anderer stand hinter ihm, ein aus Stroh geflochtenes hübsches Diademband um den Kopf und schwang eine Rassel. Drei Tänzer traten auf, Federdiademe über der Stirn, um die Hüften den lang herabhängenden mehrfach ringsum gewickelten Schurz aus Buritistroh und die Arme mit grünem Laub geschmückt. Sie hatten sich Blätterzweige, die balsamischen Geruch verbreiteten, den Armen entlang angebunden, den Stiel nach oben, und die Hände im grünen Laub versteckt. Sie stellten sich nebeneinander auf und jeder stampfte in gebückter Haltung, die Arme ausstreckend und zusammenschlagend, entfernte sich von seinem Nachbar, drehte sich und kehrte immer stampfend wieder nach der Mitte zurück. Zum Takt der Kuye, der Rassel und des Stampfens brüllten sie mit heller Stimme: »*ho ho ho*« oder »*hu hu hu*«. Dann trat noch eine Frau hinzu, eine der hässlichsten Alten und wanderte den dreien gegenüber, die Hände auf die Brust gelegt, mit geknickten Knien taktgemäss vor- und rückwärts.

Eine zweite Tour des Tanzes wurde mit etwas lebhafteren Bewegungen, indem ein Jeder die Zweige rasselnd zusammenschlug, ohne Anwesenheit der Frau ausgeführt und von folgendem Gesang begleitet: »*witeuiru wayiwiti; wayiwitiuiru witueräme; awiriuyina, awiriuyina; kuikayiku witiuri*«.

Bald darauf wurde uns noch ein grosser Tanz im Flötenhause vorgeführt. Die beiden Musiker mit Rasseln und Kuye sassen in der Mitte und die anderen, sechzehn Mann stark, bewegten sich in einem Halbkreis ringsum, in dem die eine Hälfte sich immer von der andern entfernte und immer zu ihr zurückkehrte. Sie alle stampften beim Schreiten mit dem rechten Fuss auf und stiessen ein gellend lautes: »*ho ho ho*« aus, wobei ein Jeder die Rassel, die er in der Hand trug, mit einem heftigen Ruck in der Richtung nach den Musikern vorstiess. So ging das ewig hin und her. Sie trugen elende Strohdiademe, die sie sich in der Eile zusammengestellt hatten, und nur wenige hatten einen hübschen

anständigen Federschmuck. Alles, was von Instrumenten und Zierrat bei den Tänzern gebraucht worden war, tauschten wir gegen Messer ein.

Allein unsere Stimmung war recht trüb und verzweifelt. Wie sollten wir eine ethnologische Sammlung heimbringen, wenn die Leute sich vor unserer Ankunft im Walde versteckten! Was würde Professor Bastian in Berlin sagen, wenn wir ihm zur Veranschaulichung der Schingú-Kultur nur so elenden Kram überbringen konnten, wie er in diesem ausgeräumten Flötenhaus oder in diesen verlassenen Hütten noch mühsam aus irgend einem Winkel hervorgesucht werden musste! Die Nahuquá waren erst der zweite Stamm unserer Liste; wenn die übrigen sich ebenso benehmen würden, wie sie, so war es mit den Ergebnissen unserer Expedition traurig bestellt.

Was also thun? Wir durften nicht in zahlreicher Gesellschaft, die Furcht einflösste, bei den Stämmen antreten und mussten um jeden Preis suchen, sie mit unserer Ankunft unvorbereitet zu überraschen. Ich entschied mich deshalb, die Nahuquá heimlich zu verlassen und nicht mit unseren Leuten, sondern mit zwei Bakairí in der Frühe des nächsten Morgens allein zu den Mehinakú vorauszufahren. Mein Vetter und Ehrenreich blieben bei den Nahuquá zurück, um ihr Misstrauen möglichst zu verscheuchen und die Untersuchungen zu vervollständigen; die Nachrückenden sollten mir wenigstens zwei Tage Vorsprung lassen. Wenn ich plötzlich als einzelner unter den Mehinakú erschien, so war doch wahrlich nicht anzunehmen, dass sich das ganze Dorf vor mir fürchtete und mit seiner Habe in den Wald flüchtete. So ging ich denn am Nachmittag zum Hafen zurück, während mein Vetter und Ehrenreich blieben.

Bei Ehrenreich meldeten sich in jenen Tagen die ersten Vorboten des Fiebers; sie machten sich um so unangenehmer fühlbar, als die Hitze ungewöhnlich stark war. Wilhelm hat mir über den weiteren Verlauf das Folgende berichtet. Nach meinem Weggehen wurde er auf den Platz hinausgeführt und dort coram publico gründlich darüber ausgeforscht, was aus mir geworden sei. Nach unserer Verabredung erwiderte er mit harmlosen Gesicht, ich habe Hunger gehabt und sei nach dem Hafen, Fische zu essen. Dieses Motiv leuchtete den Indianern ein und befriedigte sie; weniger angenehm war es ihnen, dass nicht auch er und Ehrenreich einen gleichen Hunger verspürten.

Schon um 5 Uhr des nächsten Morgens wurde Wilhelm durch eine lange Rede draussen geweckt, schlief aber wieder ein; um 6 Uhr erschien eine Ladung frischer Beijús. Ehrenreich photographierte, was Anfangs grossen Alarm erregte, aber über Erwarten gut verlief. Die Nahuquá, die sich des Lohnes der Perlen freuten, holten schliesslich selbst sogar Frauen aus dem Wald herbei, damit sie sich den Schmuck verdienten. Ein Alter, der am Stocke ging, überreichte Wilhelm ein Töpfchen bitteren Salzes, dessen Zubereitung wir später bei den Mehinakú kennen lernten. Der alte Herr betrachtete das abscheulich schmeckende Zeug als Delikatesse, denn er verfehlte nicht, mehrmals den Finger hineinzustecken und das Salz behaglich schmatzend abzulecken. Obenauf lagen ein paar Pfefferschötchen, die *komi* genannt wurden.

2:Steinen SP7 Bacairi

Unter der Beute heimkehrender Fischer fanden sich zwei kleine Fische Namens *trichs*, piranyähnlich: es war der Merrechu der Bakairí, der in der Ornamentik eine grosse Rolle spielt. Wilhelm zeichnete den Fisch ab und war überrascht zu sehen, welche grosse Anerkennung er für sein Bild bei den Indianern einerntete. Der intelligente Yaurikumá begriff nach längerem Zureden endlich auch unseren Wunsch, Masken zu erhalten, und versprach, dass wir sie bei der Rückkehr finden würden.

Allem Anschein nach nahm das Misstrauen etwas ab, in den Hütten tauchten Gegenstände auf, die vorher verborgen gehalten waren. Es fanden sich zwei grosse Töpfe, wie sie von den Mehinakú gefertigt werden, von mächtigem Umfang mit einer Bemalung von senkrecht aufsteigenden Streifen eingefasst und einer aus zwei einander zugewandten Halbkreisen bestehenden Zeichnung neben auf dem Boden. Ehrenreich nahm im Flötenhaus ohne Schwierigkeiten anthropologische Messungen vor.

Der Morgen des 11. Oktober war ruhiger. Es wurden ein paar Mandelketten gebracht, eine mit einem durchbohrten grossen Stein, für die der Besitzer zuerst durchaus Ehrenreich's grosses Waldmesser haben wollte. Wilhelm traf den Häuptling hinter seiner Hütte mit Maispflanzen beschäftigt; er bohrte mit einem Stäbchen Löcher 2—3 Zoll tief und legte mehrere Körner hinein. Als mein Vetter hinzutrat, bestand der Alte darauf, dass er den Rest pflanze, ein Vorfall analog meinem Erlebnis im ersten Bakairí-Dorfe.

Bald darauf entstand plötzlich eine grosse Erregung unter der Gesellschaft. Wilhelm wurde in die Hütte des Häuptlings gerufen und fand dort drei neue Ankömmlinge sitzen, die finster vor sich hin starrten, während Alles lärmend durcheinanderschwatzte und einige Weiber heulten. Er konnte aus dem Vorgang nicht klug werden und begriff nur so viel, dass es sich um eine schlimme Botschaft handle, deren Träger die drei rot angestrichenen Fremden waren. Erst in dem Flötenhause wurden ihm mit vielen Pantomimen die Neuigkeiten verständlich gemacht. Die bösen Suyá hatten endlich den Plan, die Trumaí zu überfallen, zu dessen Behufe sie um 1884 zu bereden suchten, mit Glück ausgeführt. „*Suyá Trumaí tak tak*" so wurde mit lebhaftem Gebärdenausdruck versinnbildlicht, dass die Suyá die Trumaí niedergeschlagen und vergewaltigt hätten. Es scheint, dass jene einen Teil der Trumaíkanoe mit Haken herangezogen und umgeworfen hätten; Pfeile wurden auf die Schwimmenden geschossen, anderen wurden die Arme auf dem Rücken zusammengebunden.

Die Leute, welche die Nachricht überbracht hatten, waren die den Trumaí zunächst wohnenden Nahuquá, die Gokuvi heissen.

Am Vormittag des 11. Oktober kehrten Wilhelm und Ehrenreich, dessen Unwohlsein zunahm, an den Hafen zurück und ruderten am 12. Morgens ab, um mich einzuholen. Zwei der Mehinakú, die unter den Nahuquá wohnten und mein Verschwinden richtig gedeutet hatten, waren mir schon am Tage vorher nachgefahren, kamen aber glücklicherweise einen Tag später an als ich selbst.

III. Zu den Mehinakú.

Allen voran. Anlauf und Empfang. Fundörfer. Gastrecht und Verwandtschaft. Wohlbehaltsfest. Fliegende Ameisen. Ethnographische Sammlung.

Es hatte einige Kraft der Ueberredung gekostet, Tumayaua und seinen Genossen, den »Dreschkenskutscher«, der glücklicher Weise, wenn er ihre Sprache auch nicht kannte, schon einmal bei den Mehinakú gewesen war, zur Ausführung seines Planes zu bewegen, doch stachelte sich Einer an dem Beispiel des Andern.

Wir fuhren am 10. Oktober früh ab und erreichten den Hafen der Mehinakú den 12. Oktober um 11 Uhr Vormittags. Wir hatten uns nicht sonderlich beeilt; die beiden ruderten aus lebtem nur dann, wenn ich das gute Beispiel gab. Am schwierigsten war es, dem sie alle Windungen des Flusses auszufahren und niemals eine derselben durch Hindurchrudern abzuschneiden. Kein Fisch, kein Vogel, der nicht den Aufmerksamkeit beschäftigte. Sie schossen, ohne zu treffen, nach mehreren Hühnervögeln; ein Kapivarachwein das durch den Fluss schwamm, wurde am Hinterbein verwundet und lief schreiend mit dem Pfeil in den Wald. An einer sichersten Bucht schlugen wir die Nacht und machten gute Beute. Die Beiden hielten Wache die ganze Nacht hindurch, indem sie das Feuer unter dem hölzernen Rost sorgfältig unterhielten; den Hängematte hatten sie so nahe aufgespannt, dass sie bequem herauslangen, die Fische wenden, gelegentlich ein Stück verzehren und von der Wärme des Feuers Nutzen ziehen konnten.

Abb. 9. Mehinakú-Frau.

Am zweiten Morgen sagten sie mir, dass das Ufer links den Mehinakú, rechts den Nahuquá gehöre. Der Hafen lag an einem steilen Sandufer, wo ein kleiner Bach einmündete. An den Bäumen waren Reusenmuster eingeritzt. Der Bakairí schoben das Kanu hoch in den Bach hinauf und versteckten dort Ruder und Trinkkürbis; in denen noch Fisch- und Bejiprobe enthalten waren, sorgfältig im Wald. Tumayaua bereitete ein Gastgeschenk für die Mehinakú vor und hing sich zu diesem Zweck eine rosenkranzähnliche Schnur um, an der Früchte eigen Inhalts aufgereiht waren. Das Oel wurde auf die mit dem medizinischen Wundkratzer der Indianer eingeritzte Haut gerieben.

Wir schritten 2½ Stunde einen langweiligen und bei der dumpfen Hitze nicht unbeschwerlichen Weg durch den Wald. Etwa einen Kilometer vor dem Dorf, wo sich das Gebüsch lichtete, war unter einem Baum eine grosse Kreisfigur in den Sand gezogen (vergl. die Abbildung unter »Sandzeichnungen«). An dem der Ortschaft zugewandten Teil des Randes war immer eine schwer zu deutende Figur eingeritzt. Tumayaua nannte das Ding „ainhe" und beschrieb mir, dass man

dort mit *ki ó o* ..... einen Rundgang mache. In der That waren viele ringsum laufende Fusspuren erhalten.

Schon bevor wir hier ankamen, luden die Bakairi, die den größeren Teil des Weges mir vorausgeschritten waren, stehen bleibend mich höflichst ein, den Vortritt zu nehmen. Sie liessen deutlich merken, dass es ihnen nicht mehr ganz geheuer war. Aber erst dicht vor dem Dorf begegnete uns ein Mehinakú, der schleunigst Kehrt machte, nachdem wir ihm noch eben ein ›kóra, kóra!‹ zugerufen hatten. Gleich darauf betraten wir einen gewaltigen freien Platz, der von 14 Häusern im weiten Kreise umgeben war.

Ein höchst wunderbares Bild! Von allen Seiten stürzte man aus den Häusern hervor, Alt und Jung rannte mit lebhaften Rufen und Geberden umher, teils auf mich zu, teils zurückweichend. Bald wurde ich an den Händen gefasst und so, freundschaftlich festgehalten, durch die bis über hundert Personen angewachsene Schaar nach dem Flötenhaus geleitet, wo ich auf einen schlangenschnitzten Vogelschemel niedersitzen musste. Man betrachtete mich mit dem Ausdruck der scheuen und angstvollen Neugier; die Frauen vielfach geschwärzt und teilweise mit Russ über und über bedeckt, verbargen sich hinter dem Ring der Männer, die bei der leisesten unerwarteten Bewegung meinerseits zurückprallten. Viele Koyos mit Starkbrennter wurden kredenzt, und ich musste aus jeder trinken. Brijos von vortrefflicher Qualität, weich, mit weinlichem Mehl, wie ein Tuch zusammengeschlagen, erschienen in Massen; auf grünen Blättern wurde auch Salz überreicht.

Ich war froh, als ich endlich in die Festhütte kriechen durfte, deren Eingang hier nicht kniehoch war. Sie war gefüllt mit bunten Holzmasken verschiedener Bemalung, aber gleicher Gestalt; bei einigen war auch das lange Bastgehänge, das vorne wie ein mächtiger Bart herabfällt, rot gefärbt.

Ich eröffnete sofort das Tauschgeschäft und erhielt für Messer und Perlen einige Masken und Töpfchen. Sie wollten absolut Messer und wieder Messer haben, sie zeigten dabei ein recht ungeduldiges Gebahren. ›Nur heraus mit Deinen Sachen‹, schien ein Jeder zu sagen, ›siehst Du denn nicht, dass ich warte?‹ Das Wesen eines reellen Geschäftes, bei dem, wer etwas nimmt, auch etwas hergiebt, war ihnen entschieden unklar. Tumayóna, der sich in seiner Rolle als Imperator des interessanten Gastes überaus stolz und glücklich fühlte, setzte ihnen in längerer Rede die Elementarbegriffe des europäischen Handelsverkehrs auseinander. Seine Geschicklichkeit, mit nicht viel mehr als drei oder vier Phrasen seiner eigenen Sprache in dem Bewusstsein der Ueberzeugung jene Auseinandersetzung und später eine Erzählung unserer Erlebnisse zum Verständnis seiner Zuhörerschaft zu bringen, war in hohem Masse bemerkenswert.

Später hatte ich eine lange Sitzung draussen unter Beteiligung zahlreicher alter Weiber; wenn der Häuptling ein Karaibenwort von mir hörte, machte er es wie ich, der ich seine Wörter in mein Buch eintrug, und kritzelte eifrig in den Sand.

Die beiden Bakairi richteten sich mit mir häuslich in der Festhütte ein. Wir blieben dort unbelästigt zur Nacht, nachdem ich noch einen inspizierenden Gang durch etliche Wohnungen gemacht hatte.

Das Flötenhaus war 13 Schritte breit, 22 Schritte lang und 5 m hoch. Es hatte zwei Thüröffnungen nebeneinander, beide äusserst niedrig und jede vier Schritt lang; draussen lag ein langer Buritistamm. Drei mächtige Pfosten stützten das Dachgebälk; ihnen entlang war ein leiterartiges Gestell horizontal befestigt, an dessen senkrecht stehenden, angebundenen Sprossen zwanzig Masken, einige Strohbehänge und ein 60 cm langes, schwarz und rot bemaltes Schwirrholz von der Form einer Schwertklinge herabhingen.

Auf dem Boden vor dem Mittelpföstchen, das die beiden Thüröffnungen trennte, und ebenso rechts von dem Eingang, befanden sich zwei aus der Erde aufgewölbte Hautreliefs, Leguane darstellend, 1 m lang, 8 cm hoch. Diese zierlichsten aller Mounds waren im allgemeinen sehr gut modelliert, nur der Kopf von ziemlich roher Ausführung. Gegenüber dem Eingang war auf dem Dorfplatz vor kurzem Einer begraben worden; dort lag ein Reisighaufen, in dem es von dicken Käfern und Fliegen wimmelte. Man sah auch in der Erde Oeffnungen von Kanälen, aus denen die Tierchen von ihrem Gastmahl zurückkehrten.

Am nächsten Morgen wurde der Friede leider dadurch gestört, dass man mir, als ich in den Hütten abwesend war, im Flötenhaus meine Gürteltasche entleerte. Ich vermisste, was mir sehr schmerzlich war, den Kompass, ferner eine chirurgische Scheere, ein kleines Jagdhörnchen, eine Schachtel mit Pfeffermünzplätzchen und dergleichen mehr. Zugleich war die Gesellschaft so habgierig und bedrängte mich so gewaltsam, dass ich einsah, ich müsse ein Exempel statuieren und dürfe mir den Diebstahl nicht gefallen lassen, wenn ich das in meiner Lage unentbehrliche Ansehen behaupten wolle. Ich beklagte mich also, nannte sie schlecht, »kurápa«, und verlangte meine Sachen zurück. Unter lebhaften Beteuerungen ihrer Unschuld entfernten sie sich; vielleicht sei ein Kamayurá, der eben angekommen wäre, der Thäter.

Zwei Stunden vergingen. Alle fünf oder zehn Minuten kam einer hereingekrochen, wurde aber von mir sofort zur Thüre geleitet und bedeutet, zu suchen; er stellte sich dann draussen hin und hielt in einem Tone, als könne er kaum das Weinen unterdrücken, eine laute Ansprache über den Platz, die von den Hütten aus, am erregtesten von Seiten der Weiber, mit vielem Geschrei beantwortet wurde. Eine Schale Mandioka-Getränk wies ich finster zurück. Ganz allmählich und in langen Zwischenpausen erschienen die fehlenden Gegenstände.

Einer brachte die Scheere, ein anderer das Jagdhörnchen und fünf oder sechs ebenfalls in grossen Pausen je ein Pfeffermünzplätzchen, was ich alles auf den Boden legen liess und nicht eher annehmen erklärte, als bis auch nicht ein Stück mehr ausstehe.

Leider erschien das Wichtigste nicht, der Kompass. Nun ging ich gerade hinüber nach der Hütte des dicken alten Häuptlings und klagte dort; er ent-

TAFEL VIII.

DEMONSTRATION EINER VOGELPFEIFE BEI DEN MEHINAKÚ.

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schuldigte sich, dass er abwesend gewesen sei und von dem Geschehenen nichts wisse. Da nahm ich ihn bei der Hand und brachte ihn, während er sehr ungern hinterdrein wackelte, zum Flötenhause. Hier beschrieb ich ihm den Vorgang an Ort und Stelle, drohte: *„mehinakú kúra, karáiba kúra; mehinakú kurápa, karáiba kurápa"* = wenn der Mehinakú gut ist, ist auch der Karaibe gut, wenn der Mehinakú schlecht ist, ist auch der Karaibe schlecht, und feuerte zu seinem Schrecken einen Revolverschuss in den Mittelpfosten. Sofort erhob sich draussen ein lautes Heulen und verwirrtes Durcheinanderrennen. Der Alte verschwand, indem er zitternd versicherte, suchen zu wollen. Tumayaua spähte durch die Gucklöcher im Strohdach und beobachtete mit grossem Genuss die Szenen draussen, lief dann kichernd zum Pfosten und untersuchte den Schusskanal.

Den Rest des Tages hielt man sich von mir fern, nur zwei Kamayurá, Besucher des Dorfes, setzten sich zu mir vor die Festhütte und liessen sich examinieren. Demonstrativ beschenkte ich sie reichlich und erhielt von ihnen auch das Versprechen, dass wir bei ihrem Stamm gut aufgenommen werden würden. Nach ihrer Beschreibung war nicht der Alte, den ich zur Rede gestellt hatte, sondern der zweite Häuptling der Mehinakú, der mir wegen seines unzufriedenen Gesichtes von Anfang an aufgefallen war, in höchsteigener Person der Dieb meiner Sachen.

Am nächsten Morgen brach schon um 4 Uhr ein Heidenlärm los. In der Nacht war es still gewesen, nur ab und zu hörte man draussen husten, ein Beweis, dass die Mehinakú wachsam waren; gegen Morgen hatten wir ein sehr heftiges Gewitter, vor der Thür bildete sich ein Wassertümpel und machte den Eingang fast unpassierbar. Das Gewitter hatte ich herbeigerufen. Draussen wurden viele Reden gehalten. Entweder stand einer allein auf dem Platz und sprach mit lauter Stimme, oder, und das war das Gewöhnliche, die Redner hatten sich vor der Thür ihres Hauses aufgestellt. Mehr und mehr leuchtete mir der Humor der ganzen Geschichte ein. Wie die Helden dort vor der Thüre ihres Hauses standen und feierlich sprachen, war es eine klassische und urepische Situation. Ich liess mich zum Frieden bewegen und nahm zu Aller Freude ein Beijú an, der mir frisch duftend von der Schüssel gebracht wurde und auch vortrefflich schmeckte. So hatte die Episode ihr Ende; dass alles gut ablief, war um so angenehmer, als sich später zu meinem Entsetzen herausstellte, dass grade der Kompass aus dem einfachen Grunde mir nicht gestohlen worden sein konnte, weil ich ihn gar nicht bei mir gehabt hatte. Auf unseren Verkehr hat das Intermezzo aber insofern einen sehr günstigen Einfluss ausgeübt, als die guten Mehinakú von jetzt ab höflicher wurden und mir nicht mehr mit ungeduldigem Drängen zusetzten.

Die Versöhnung war dadurch erleichtert worden, dass einer der bei den Nahuquá getroffenen Mehinakú, der mich nur von der guten Seite kannte, inzwischen angekommen war. Am Nachmittag erschienen auch Wilhelm und Vogel, während Ehrenreich krank im Hafen zurückblieb und das Dorf erst bei

der Rückfahrt besuchte. Den Beiden wurde ein kleiner Empfang bereitet, sie mussten sich auf die prachtvollen Tierschemel setzen, die wir bei keinem andern Stamm so schön gearbeitet sahen, und erhielten ihre Willkommbeijús. Die Nachricht von der Schlacht zwischen den Trumaí und Suyá wurde unter eifriger Pantomime besprochen. Es stellte sich heraus, dass es noch zwei andere Mehinakú-Dörfer gäbe, beide eine Tagereise oder weniger entfernt. Das im SW. gelegene schien freilich sehr klein zu sein und wurde sogar als ein einziges Haus beschrieben, das andere im Norden sollte aus fünf Häusern bestehen.

Unser Dorf setzte sich, ausschliesslich des Flötenhauses, aus vierzehn Häusern zusammen; es waren ausserdem zwei Neubauten vorhanden, von denen der eine nahezu fertiggestellt und schon bewohnt war. Das Ganze machte den Eindruck grosser Wohlhabenheit. Jedenfalls, wenn der indianische Massstab angelegt wird, dass der Besitz an Mandioka den eigentlichen Reichtum bedeutet, so waren die Mehinakú der reichste Stamm des Kulisehu. Sie schienen einen sehr geordneten Feldbau zu treiben. Bei ihnen erhielten wir zuerst wieder Bataten. Als wir einige Mangaven mit Perlen bezahlten, wurden uns ganze Körbe herbeigeschleppt, bis wir unseres vorzüglichen Appetits ungeachtet den Spendern ein Halt gebieten mussten. Am Abend des 13. Oktober trug sich das freudige Ereignis zu, dass eine Wolke fliegender Ameisen über dem Dorfe niederfiel. Es wurden Strohfeuer vor den Hütten angezündet und eilfertig sammelte Alt und Jung in Kuyen und Töpfen die fast zollgrossen Tierchen, die sich in dem flackernden Feuer die langen zarten Flügel versengten. Alles jubelte und liess sich die Ameisen mit Beijú und Salzerde schmecken. In mehreren Häusern fanden wir die Leute mit der Zubereitung des Salzes beschäftigt. Sie verbrennen Takoara und Aguapé, die Blattpflanze stiller Gewässer, laugen die Asche aus und erhalten aus dem Filtrat einen salzigen Rückstand. Vielfach wird auch rötliche, wie eine Salzasche aussehende Erde unmittelbar verwendet.

Wir konnten eine hübsche ethnologische Sammlung zusammenstellen. In allen Geräthen bekundete sich derselbe primitive, aber höchst lebendige Kunstsinn, der sich immer Tiergestalten und zwar häufig in recht sinniger Weise zum Vorwurf nahm. Die Weiber der Mehinakú, die mit schön geschnitzten Geräten ihre Kuchen wenden, sind auch diejenigen, die es in der Herstellung künstlerischer Topfformen am weitesten gebracht haben. Von den Masken in dem Flötenhause wurden uns alle, die wir auswählten, ohne Anstand überlassen. Auch mit dem Schwirrholz verband sich kein Begriff, der eine Auslieferung an uns hätte bedenklich erscheinen lassen.

Der Abschied von den Mehinakú am Nachmittag des 14. Oktober war sehr herzlich; sie beschenkten uns noch einmal mit Beijús, Mangaven und Bataten, und vier Männer packten sich die Ladung auf, um sie für uns zum Hafen zu tragen. Unsere Sammlung, die wir nicht zum Besuch der flussabwärts wohnenden Stämme mitschleppen wollten, übergaben wir vertrauensvoll dem alten Herrn, den ich so erschreckt hatte, zur Aufbewahrung. Er war unser wohlgesinnter Freund

2: Steinen SP7 Bacairi

geworden, nachdem ich ihm eine Reihe unserer dicksten Perlen und ein paar kleine Schellen feierlich um den Hals gehängt hatte.

Auf dem Heimwege durch den schwülen, mit einer wahren Treibhaustemperatur erfüllten Wald begegneten wir drei Nahuquá, zwei Männern und einem Weibe; sie waren schwer mit schönen grossen Kuyen beladen. Auch im Hafen trafen wir zwei Nahuquá und die Guikurú, welche die Botschaft von der Trumaischlacht überbracht hatten. Sie hatten über den Fluss gesetzt und waren — ein Beweis, dass ein gangbarer Weg vorhanden ist — über Land gekommen.

IV. Zu den Auetó.

Fahrt. Empfang am Hafen und im Dorf. Warthölzer. Masken. Künstlerhütte. Verkehrszentrum. Die Waurá. Ringkampf.

Am 15. Oktober fuhren wir um 8¼ Uhr früh von dem Mehinakúhafen ab; der Fluss zog sich in fürchterlichen Windungen dahin, und wir hatten den ganzen Tag über, man möchte sagen, im Kreis zu rudern. Es war zudem trübseliges regnerisches Wetter. Wir blieben die Nacht in dem Hafen des nördlichen Mehinakúdorfes, den wir um 3½ Uhr Nachmittags erreichten. Dort erwarteten uns einige Bürger, um uns freundlich zu einem Besuch einzuladen. Wir fürchteten aber den Zeitverlust und verzichteten auf den Abstecher.

Am 16. Oktober wurden wir, nachdem wir um 7 Uhr aufgebrochen waren, zur Mittagsstunde von dem linken Ufer angerufen »*kutú, Auetó, kutú kutú*«! erschallte in gutem Tupí. »Die Auetó sind gut«!

Eine kleine Anzahl meist über und über mit Russ bedeckter Indianer erwartete uns an ihrem Hafen: die Kunde von unserem Erscheinen und den Ereignissen bei den Mehinakú war bereits zu ihnen gedrungen; jedenfalls hatten uns die Kamayurá, die ich bei den Mehinakú mit Geschenken bedacht hatte, angemeldet und Gutes von uns berichtet. Wir landeten und versprachen den Nachmittag im Dorf zu erscheinen, nachdem die übrigen Kanus eingetroffen waren. Fast gleichzeitig kam auch eine andere Gesellschaft Auetó unter der sich einige Weiber befanden, vom Fischfang zurückkehrend, vorüber; sie trugen Reusen bei sich und hatten kleine Trahira-Fische erbeutet.

Ehrenreich war äusserst unwohl und verschob seinen Besuch wie Vogel und Perrot bis zum nächsten Tage: Wilhelm und ich machten uns um 2½ Uhr Nachmittags auf. Wir durchschritten ein Stückchen Wald, passierten eine jüngst abgebrannte Rodung, wanderten lange durch Capoeira, assen fleissig Mangaven, die zahlreich am Wege wuchsen und erreichten in 1½ Stunden das Dorf.

Unser Empfang war etwas von dem gewöhnlichen abweichend. Vor der Festhütte mussten wir ein Weilchen warten, während eine grosse Menge von Personen sich ansammelte; Schemel wurden geholt und wir verharrten alle in

feierlichem Schweigen. Neben uns lag durch einen Zaun von niedrigen Pfosten, die man mit Flechtwerk verbunden hatte, im Geviert abgesteckt, eine Grabstätte (vgl. Tafel 15); Einzelne sassen gemütlich auf den Pfosten. Nun trat der Häuptling Auayato aus einer dem Flötenhause gegenüberliegenden Hütte hervor, Pfeil und Bogen in den Händen, den Hals mit einer Kette von Jaguarkrallen und den Kopf mit einem Diadem aus Jaguarfell geschmückt. Ziemlich fern von uns, in der Mitte des Platzes, setzte er sich auf den Boden und hielt mit lauter Stimme eine lange Festrede. Wir antworteten eifrig: *kutú, kúra* u. s. w., u. s. w. Dann stand er

Abb. 5. Auetó-Häuptling Auayato.

auf, kam herbei, setzte sich dicht vor mich hin und hielt dieselbe Rede noch einmal. Auch wir sagten alles, was uns einfiel; ich überreichte ihm ein schönes Messer, und wir alle waren ein Herz und eine Seele. Sie machten sich nicht wenig über die Mehinakú lustig, deren Weiber davongelaufen seien, und schienen eine besondere Genugthuung darin zu finden, dass ihre Nachbarn ungeschickt gewesen und von mir zurecht gewiesen seien. Auch sie drückten den lebhaften Wunsch aus, Perlen zu bekommen, benahmen sich dabei aber höflich und anständig.

Die Auetó standen noch unter dem tiefen Eindruck des Kampfes zwischen den Suyá und Trumaí. Es wurde uns dies später noch verständlicher, als wir

erfuhren, dass die Trumaí bei den Auetó Schutz gesucht hatten. Das Thema wurde am Abend ausgiebig erörtert, nachdem wir unsere Gastfreunde mit einem Sprühfeuerwerk auf dem Dorfplatz unterhalten hatten. Der Häuptling liess sofort eine seiner pathetischen Ansprachen vom Stapel und rief laut, dass die Suyá schlecht seien, dass auch die — uns unbekannten — Aratá schlecht seien, dass die Suyá erst die Manitsauá und dann die Trumaí vergewaltigt, viele Männer getötet und viele Weiber weggeschleppt hätten. Wir sollten uns mit den Trumaí verbinden und die Suyá züchtigen. Und 1884 war uns das umgekehrte Angebot von den Suyá gemacht worden, die damals unsere Freunde waren und gleich uns über die Trumaí zu klagen hatten.

Als wir die Hütten betraten, war eins der ersten Dinge, das uns in die Augen fiel und unser Interesse im höchsten Grade fesselte, das überall vorhandene Wurfholz. Auf der ersten Reise hatten wir ein einziges Exemplar dieser merkwürdigen Waffe von den Suyá bekommen und gehört, dass es den Kamayurá entstamme. Hier keine Hütte, in der die Wurfbretter fehlten.

Offenbar diente die Waffe vorwiegend zum Tanz. Doch wurde uns angegeben, dass die Auetó und Trumaí sie im Kriegsfall gebrauchten. Verwendung für die Jagd scheint ausgeschlossen. Der Häuptling führte uns den Gebrauch des Wurfholzes mit grotesken Geberden vor, und begleitete seine Mimik mit einem Gesang, auf den ich später noch zurückkommen werde, wenn ich die nähere Beschreibung gebe.

Statt der Holzmasken trafen wir zum ersten Male Masken aus Baumwollgeflecht, die mit Wachs überzogen waren und als Augen Wollpfröpfchen oder Wachsklümpchen und dickere Wachsklümpchen als Nase hatten. Auch den Maskentanz zeigte uns der allzeit gefällige Häuptling, indem er dabei Bogen und Pfeil zur Hand nahm. Das Maskengesicht kam auf den vorderen Teil des Schädels zu liegen; er schaute unter ihm hinaus durch das Buritigeflecht. Der begleitende Gesangtext bezog sich auf die Frauen.

Abb. 6.
Geflechtmaske, Wurfhölzer und Wurfpfeile der Auetó.

Auch die Auetó zeigten eine lebhafte Neigung zu einer alle Geräte ausschmückenden Bemalung mit Ornamenten. Wir nannten sogar ein Haus, wo sie in diesem Sinne besonders thätig waren, mit allem Recht die Künstlerhütte.

Dort befanden sich an den Wandpfosten mehrfach Tierfiguren eingeschnitzt und schwarz bemalt; an den Querbalken entdeckten wir eine ganze Reihe von geometrischen Figuren. Die Künstler hatten grosse Freude darüber, dass wir uns für ihre Werke interessierten, wurden nicht müde, uns zu jedem Winkel zu führen, wo vielleicht noch eine Zeichnung vorhanden war und bekundeten viele Genugthuung, dass Wilhelm sie in sein Skizzenbuch abkonterfeite.

Im Auetódorf herrschte reger Fremdenverkehr. Wir trafen dort Waurá, Yaulapiti, Kamayurá, Mehinakú, einen Bakaïrí vom vierten Dorf des Batovy und bei unserem späteren Aufenthalt auch noch Vertreter fast aller Hauptstämme. Auch trieben sich dort Trumaí umher, die wir aber nicht zu Gesicht bekamen, da sie sich in Erinnerung an unsere Begegnung von anno 1884 ängstlich vor uns verbargen. Unmittelbar bei dem Auetódorfe beginnt das Netz von Kanälen und Lagunen, das sich bis zu der Vereinigung der Hauptquellflüsse erstreckt und die dort wohnenden Stämme verbindet. Die Auetó haben also ausser dem Flusshafen an dem Kulisehu, wo wir an Land gestiegen waren, beim Dorfe selbst noch einen Hafen, der dem Kanalnetz angehört. So stehen sie auf dem Wasserwege in Verkehr mit den Yaulapiti und den Trumaí. Mit Einschaltung kleiner Landstrecken konnte man auf den Kanälen und Lagunen auch zu den Mehinakú, den Kamayurá und den Waurá gelangen. Vom Auetódorf sind denn auch unsere Exkursionen zu den Yaulapiti und Kamayurá sowie zu den Trumaí gemacht worden. Leider haben wir uns bei der gedrängten Zeit versagen müssen, die am weitesten entfernten Waurá zu besuchen.

Die Waurá müssen in dem Winkel zwischen Batovy und Kulisehu sitzen, aber jenem bedeutend näher. Die Kustenaú hatten uns 1884 ihren Namen eindringlich genannt, doch waren wir uns unklar geblieben, ob er wirklich einen Volksstamm bezeichne, und lernten erst jetzt am Kulisehu, dass einige von uns im untersten Teil des Batovy bemerkte Fischfallen den Waurá gehörten. Bei den Auetó haben wir mehrere Individuen des Stammes gesehen, und sie gemessen, sowie sprachlich aufgenommen; sie sind den Mehinakú und Kustenaú auf das allernächste verwandt. Ein Waurá versprach uns, während wir zu den Kamayurá gingen, Töpfe und Masken zu besorgen, die wir bei der Rückkehr in das Auetódorf vorfinden sollten. Er that uns aber den Schmerz an und blieb aus.

Die drei Waurá im Auetódorf waren schmucke, stramme Burschen; sie führten am zweiten Tage unseres Aufenthalts mit den Auetó eine Art Ringkampf auf, der jedenfalls nicht zu unseren Ehren stattfand, sondern rein zufällig in die Zeit unserer Anwesenheit fiel. Auch ein Yaulapiti beteiligte sich an demselben. Die Kämpfer, immer Mitglieder verschiedener Stämme, traten paarweise vor, den Körper teils mit gelbrotem Urukú, teils mit schwarzer Farbe eingeölt. Sie hockten nieder, griffen eine Handvoll Sand auf, und die Arme herabhängend, bewegten sie sich in tiefer Hockestellung unter grosser Geschwindigkeit mehrmals in engem Kreise umeinander, massen sich mit bitterbösen Blicken und stiessen drohende »húuhá! húuhá!« gegeneinander aus. Dann schnellte der Eine seine rechte Hand

gegen die linke des Andern vor, beide sprangen in dieser Haltung immer hockend blitzschnell und erbosten Affen nicht unähnlich auf demselben Fleck unermüdlich herum und suchten sich am Kopf zu ergreifen und herabzuducken. Das ging eine lange Weile hin, ohne dass ein Wort gesprochen wurde. Plötzlich sprangen sie auf und holten scharf zupackend nach ihren Köpfen aus. Es gelang aber Keinem trotz eifrigem Bemühen, den Andern zu treffen und niederzureissen. Zum Schluss wurden sie sehr vergnügt und umfassten sich freundschaftlich die Schultern. Ein eigentliches Ringen kam nicht zu Stande; Hauptsache schien die Gewandtheit zu sein, mit der man es vermied, von dem Gegner plötzlich am Kopf gefasst und niedergerissen zu werden. Das Publikum verhielt sich bis auf einige lachende Kritiker regungslos. Nur weckte es allgemeine Heiterkeit, als Einer, der offenbar als Sieger galt, dem Andern das Bein unter dem Knie emporhob.

V. Zu den Yaulapiti.

Die Arauití im Auetódorf. Fahrt durch Kanäle und über die Uyá-Lagune. Ein armes Dorf. Der Zauberer Moritona. Empfang des blinden Häuptlings. Zurück zu den Auetó und wieder zu den Yaulapiti. Zweites Yaulapitidorf.

Wir trafen einzelne Yaulapiti bei den Mehinakú und Auetó. Sie gehören nach Sprachverwandtschaft zu den Nu-Aruak, stellen aber eine von den Mehinakú, Kustenaú und Waurá bereits dialektisch ziemlich stark verschiedene Form dar.

In der Nähe des Auetódorfes, ein paar hundert Schritt entfernt, standen zwei Häuser, wo Auetómänner und Yaulapitifrauen wohnten. Die Familien standen, ich weiss nicht, aus welchen Ursachen, in wenig freundschaftlichem Verhältnis zu dem Auetódorf und rechneten sich entschieden mehr zu den Yaulapiti. Sie führten den besonderen Namen der Arauití; trotzdem dass es sich nur — zu unserer Zeit wenigstens — um zwei Familien handelte, diente die Bezeichnung Arauití schon vollständig als Stammesname. Der Suyáhäuptling, der uns 1884 die Flusskarte des Quellgebiets in den Sand zeichnete, erwähnte die Arauití unmittelbar neben den Auetó.

Am 18. Oktober fuhr ich mit Antonio und Tumayaua unter Führung eines Yaulapiti am Nachmittag von dem Auetóhafen ab, um die Yaulapiti aufzunehmen. Der Kanal hatte nicht mehr als 4—5 m Breite; ringsumher umgab uns das Bild der Sumpflandschaft. Zahlreiche Seitenkanäle mündeten ein, besonders als sich unser Arm gelegentlich zu 12 bis 15 m Breite erweiterte. Es war schwer zu begreifen, wie man sich in diesem Gewirr zurechtfinden konnte. Zahlreiche Seitenkanäle erschienen mit Gras gefüllt und von einer schmutzigen Vegetationsdecke überzogen. Soweit das Auge reichte, blickte es in ein Heer von Buritípalmen, von den hochstämmigen, ausgewachsenen, mit schöner Fächerkrone, bis zu den jüngsten herab, die dem überall wachsenden Schilfgras sehr ähnlich sahen. Nach einer Stunde passierten wir einen kleinen elenden Rancho, der zwischen einigen

Baumwurzeln aufsass. Dies war die Zufluchtsstätte der Weiber, wenn sie aus Angst vor dem Besuch der Fremden weglaufen. Hier allerdings hätten wir sie, wenn wir selbst gewollt hätten, niemals finden können.

Der Kanal war stellenweise so schmal und so versperrt, dass wir uns nur mühsam hindurchschoben. Auf den Seitenkanälen, bedeutete mich der Yaulapiti, konnte man links zu den Mehinakú und rechts zu den Trumaí gelangen.

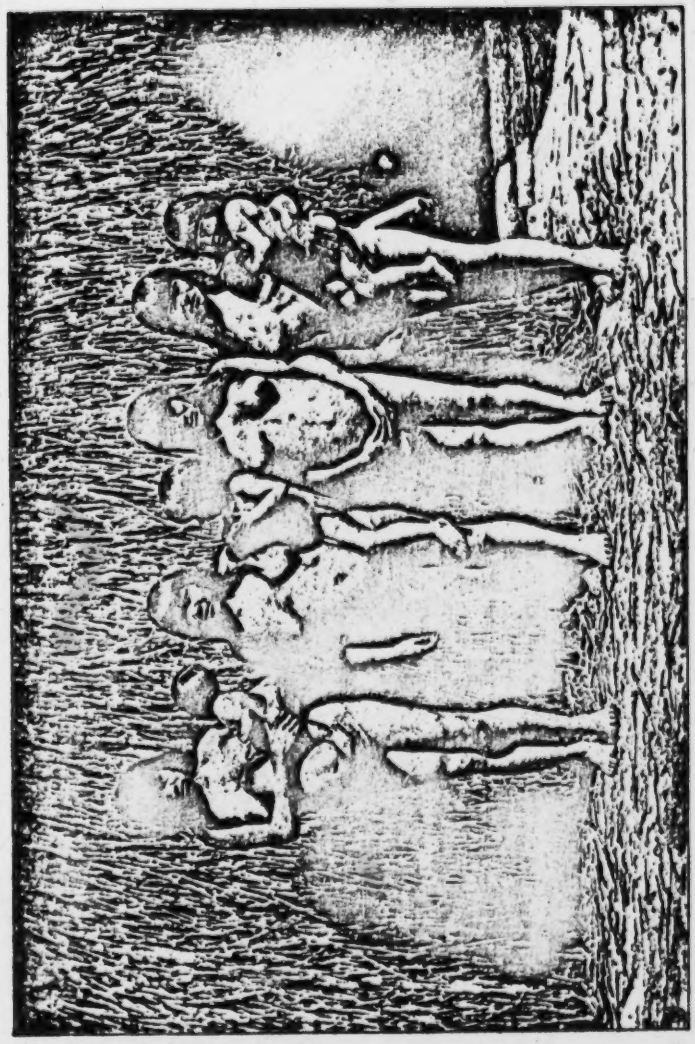
Es passte schlecht in das Bild der Sumpflandschaft, so angenehm ich den Mangel auch empfand, dass uns gar keine Moskitos und Schnaken belästigten. Unser Führer schaute eifrig nach Fischen aus und suchte sie mit dem Pfeil, der eine lange Knochenspitze trug, aufzuspiessen, wobei er eintauchend häufig die Strahlenbrechung im Wasser mass: er spiesste jedoch nur eine kleine Trahira. Gern stiess er das Kanu mit dem Bogen weiter.

Nach fünfviertel Stunde Fahrt waren wir am Ende des Auetó-Kanals. Dort liessen wir das Kanu liegen und traten auf festes Land. Die Auetó hatten hier eine Pflanzung und bearbeiteten dieselbe offenbar, indem sie tagelang draussen blieben. Wir fanden etwa ein Dutzend Schutzhütten, mehrere Feuerstellen und eine Anzahl grosser und kleiner Töpfe. Wir gingen dann eine Stunde durch offene idyllische Buschgegend auf einem etwas schlangenförmig gewundenen Pfad uber Land und erreichten wieder einen sehr schmalen sumpfigen Kanal. Hier mussten wir, im Sumpfe sitzend, längere Zeit warten, während unser Yaulapiti den Kanal ein Stück entlang gegangen war und den lauthallenden Ruf nach einem Kanu ertönen liess. Endlich kam eins herbei, erschien in unserem Kanal und brachte uns nach wenigen Augenblicken in eine schöne Lagune, deren reines Wasser den Augen wohlthat. Das Ufer war ringsum mit Buritípalmen bestanden; wir durchkreuzten den See und erreichten in einer halben Stunde das Yaulapitidorf.

Ein kurzer Weg führte zu den Häusern hinauf; es waren ihrer sechs und mehrere stark verfallen. Kein Flötenhaus war vorhanden, man brachte uns in eine leere Hütte und holte für Antonio und mich je einen Schemel herbei. Ein merkwürdiger Empfang. Nach langer Zeit erst humpelte am Stock der Häuptling herbei und blieb eine Weile, hinter mir rauchend, sitzen. Allmählich kam er aber näher, rückte mir gegenüber und begann die Unterhaltung. Er: ich bin ein Yaulapiti. Ich: ich bin ein Karaibe. Er: ich bin gut, Yaulapiti sind gut. Ich: ich bin gut, die Karaiben sind gut. Er: ich bin ein Yatoma (Zauberarzt). Ich: ich bin ein Yatoma. Dann liess er eine Schale stickig schmeckenden, ungeniessbaren Mandiokagetrankes bringen, erhielt sein Messer und gab mir eine Zigarre.

Es ist erstaunlich, welche Unterschiede es sogar bei diesen Naturvölkern zwischen Arm und Reich giebt. Die Leute haben nichts vor mir geflüchtet, man erkennt sofort, dass sie eben nichts mehr besitzen als das Notdürftigste, dass hier nicht ausgeräumt ist wie bei den Nahuquá, sondern wirklicher Mangel herrscht. Ich kann mich nicht dazu entschliessen, den einzigen vorhandenen Beijú anzunehmen, und gebe gern Perlen, auch ohne dies trostlose Exemplar zu

TAFEL IX.



KAMAYURÁ-FRAUEN.

v. d. Steinen, Zentral-Brasilien.

[Facing p. 112]

bekommen. Das wenige Mandiokamehl, das ich bemerke, ist durch und durch rot verschimmelt. Sie rösten Bakayuva-Nüsse, und ich entdecke nur einen einzigen abgeknabberten Maiskolben. Auf hölzernen Gestellen werden vor den Hütten Fische gebraten, selbst dies nur kleine elende Tiere: es ist ein unheimlicher Gedanke, dass davon mehrere Personen satt werden sollen.

Später am Abend kam ein Mann, Namens Moritona, der mit seiner kräftigen Stimme und seinem frischen Auftreten wieder etwas Leben in die Gesellschaft brachte; er hatte einen schwarzen Streifen mitten durch das Gesicht gemalt. Mit Stolz nannte er sofort seinen Namen, er sei ein grosser Zauberarzt, „*yatóna Moritona Mehinakú*", erklärte er, „*Moritona Kamayurú, Moritona Auetú, Moritona Trumai*" — bei allen Stämmen war Moritona als Arzt willkommen und, wo Einer krank war, blies er das Leiden weg. Er malte das mit einer Kraft der Ueberzeugung aus, dass man die Krankheiten vor seinem Hauch wie Nebel verschwinden sah. Wir hatten uns eine Tafel Erbsensuppe gekocht —it dem Rest rieb sich der edle Moritona die Brust ein und fragte mich treuhe. b das gut thue. Zu unserem Abendessen hatten uns die Yaulapiti nur Wasser liefern und einen Topf und zwei Kuyen leihen können. Und trotz ihrer Armut lag ihnen viel mehr an Perlen als an Messern.

Am anderen Morgen wurde ich aus der Hütte herausgerufen, es sei wieder ein Häuptling da, den ich begrüssen müsse. Auch hatte die Anzahl der Leute zugenommen. Sie waren, wie ich später erst verstand, aus einem zweiten Yaulapitidorf, von dem ich damals noch nichts wusste, herübergekommen. In die Mitte des Platzes, neben eine umzäunte Grabstätte, hatte man einen Schemel hingestellt. Viel Volks ringsum. Wir warteten. Der mir bekannte Häuptling sass links von mir ein wenig entfernt und rauchte; damit mir die Zeit nicht zu lang wurde, folgte ich seinem Beispiel. Das war offenbar unrichtig, denn die den endlich herankommenden Häuptling führende Frau stiess einen Laut der Unzufriedenheit aus. Der alte Mapukáyaka war blind, die Augen getrübt. Er setzte sich mir gegenüber und die bekannte Unterhaltung nahm ihren Verlauf. Er schilderte die Armut seines Stammes und drückte sich seufzend zur besseren Deutlichkeit die Hand auf den leeren Bauch. Wir hätten den Bakairi so viel gegeben — diese Wendung kehrt immer wieder — ich müsste auch ihn beschenken. Gerührt ging ich, ihm einen blanken Löffel holen. Was unter den Umstehenden freudige Anerkennung erweckte. Der alte Häuptling betastete mich und jammerte über seine Blindheit mit solchem Anstand, dass er mir wirklich herzlich leid that. Er rieb seine Hand über meine Hand und darauf über seine Augen; er machte es ebenso mit dem Arm. Er wies auf den Begräbnisort hin, wo sein Sohn oder Enkel liege. Er erzählte, dass die Yaulapiti früher viel stärker gewesen, durch die Manitsauá aber bedrängt worden seien; kurz er hatte nur von dunkeln Seiten des Lebens zu berichten und versetzte mich in eine ganz melancholische Stimmung. Die Manitsauá seien dann ihrerseits wieder von den Suyá bezwungen worden, wie wir denn 1884 bei den Suyá eine Anzahl gefangener Manitsauá angetroffen haben. Zum ersten

Male hörte ich den Ausspruch, dass die Suyá gut seien. Aber auch auf die Trumaí bezogen sich die Klagen des Alten. Sie und die Suyá seien reich, weil sie die Steinbeile hätten.

Die Alten sahen ungesund aus; mehrere Männer und Frauen hatten die Haut zu einer Schuppenkruste verdickt. Kinder waren zahlreich, verhältnismässig mehr als irgendwo sonst, vorhanden. Die Frauen sollen sich Anfangs sehr vor mir gefürchtet haben; jetzt sassen sie gemütlich um mich herum, wie im ersten Bakairídorf, aber sie beobachteten aufmerksam jede meiner Bewegungen und bei der geringsten, die unerwartet kam, stürzte die eine oder andere bei Seite. Mit einem plötzlichen Aufsprung hätte ich die ganze Gesellschaft in die Flucht treiben können. Man unterhielt sich leise, schien sich aber nach einer Stunde Zusammenseins noch nicht zu langweilen. Von meinen Zaubersachen machte zur Abwechslung hier der Spiegel den grössten Eindruck und rief ein lautes *„á ha ha há"* des Erstaunens hervor. Ein angebranntes Zündhölzchen, das ich wegwarf, verpflanzte Einer zwischen dem Gras in das Erdreich.

Von den armen Menschen konnte ich nicht viel erwerben. Warum sie eigentlich so jämmerlich daran waren, ist mir trotz der Manitsaná nicht verständlich geworden. Ihre Pflanzung war allerdings in diesem Jahre durch Schweine verwüstet worden. Es fanden sich ein paar hübsche Spindelscheiben, Beijúwender, ein wenig Federschmuck und, das einzige Besondere und Beachtenswerte, eine Anzahl Ketten mit durchbohrten Steinen.

Am Morgen des 19. Oktober hatte ich Antonio und Tumayaua nach den Auetó zurückbeordert, um die anderen Geführten zu holen, während ich die sprachliche Aufnahme der Yaulapiti vollendete. Sie kehrten jedoch am Nachmittag zurück, da sie am Ende des Auetókanals kein Boot gefunden hatten.

Das von uns dort zurückgelassene, behaupteten die Yaulapiti, sei von ein paar Trumaí benutzt worden. Dieselben seien bei ihnen im Dorf gewesen, aber aus Furcht vor mir bei meiner Ankunft entflohen. In dieser unangenehmen Situation beschloss ich sofort, damit wir nicht vergebens erwartet und die Geführten beunruhigt würden, zu den Auetó zurückzukehren. Es war doch zu hoffen, dass ein Kanu der Auetó am nächsten Tage erscheine, und uns aufnehme.

Wir erhielten aber erst um 5 Uhr von den Yaulapiti ein Kanu, das vom Fischfang zurückkehrte. Die Uyá, wie die grosse Lagune genannt wird, war stark bewegt. Es wetterleuchtete ringsum. Der junge Yaulapiti, der uns fuhr, blies, im Kanu stehend, mit einer Ueberzeugung und einem Ernst gegen die heraufziehenden Wolken, dass es eine Lust war, ihm zuzuschauen. Dem strammen Boreas spritzte ein Sprühtrichter aus dem Munde.

Wir landeten aber noch zu rechter Zeit und gingen das letzte Stück des Weges im tiefen Dunkel, während Blitze zuweilen den Pfad erhellten. In den Schutzhütten der Auetó am Ende des Kanals richteten wir uns für die Nacht ein. Von den vorhandenen Töpfen erwies sich bei näherer Untersuchung nur ein grosser Ungetum zum Kochen brauchbar; ich hatte nichts als zwei Gemüsetaldo bei

2: Steinen SP7 Bacairi

mir. Das mühsam herbeigeholte Wasser verdampfte, der Topf sprang und uns blieb nur übrig, uns hungrig in die Hängematte zu legen. Der Yaulapiti schlief auf einer der kleinen kreisrunden Matten, die von der Mandioka-Bereitung her dort herumlagen. Fast die ganze Nacht hindurch hatten wir ein starkes Gewitter und wurden trotz der Schutzdächer, die leider sehr baufällig waren, gründlich durchnässt.

Wirklich kam am nächsten Morgen, dem 20. Oktober, ein Auetö, mit dem wir nach dem Dorfe zurückfuhren. Dort vereinigte ich mich mit den Geführten, und noch an demselben Abend waren wir wieder bei den Yaulapiti zurück. Mein Weggehen von ihnen war also eigentlich höchst überflüssig gewesen, da Antonio und Tumayaua gerade so gut allein am Auetikanal auf ein Boot warten konnten, ohne mich noch hinzuholen. Aber die bösen Trumai trieben sich dort herum und dieses »Wassertiere« (denn das seien sie und keine Menschen, sagte er) ging Antonio um jeden Preis aus dem Wege. Wir trugen kein Begehr, uns lange bei den Yaulapiti aufzuhalten, wandern wollten sofort zu den Kamayurá weiter.

Am 21. Oktober früh machten wir uns auf den Weg. Eine kleine Strecke hinter dem Yaulapitidorf hatten wir uns wieder in einen Kanal einzuschiffen, und dieser führte uns wieder zu einer Lagune, die nördlicher lag als die erste. Wir durchkreuzten sie und nachdem wir am anderen Ufer an ein paar dort im Sumpf liegenden langen Baumstämmen, über die wir mühsam hinüberbalancieren mußten, gelandet waren, sahen wir uns nach wenigen Schritten in einem zweiten Yaulapitidorf.

Es bestand aus neun Hütten, von denen aber nur vier gute Wohnungen darstellten, während die übrigen fünf baufällige Ranchos waren. Etwa vierzig Personen erwarteten uns, an ihrer Spitze der blinde Häuptling und Freund Mutóna, die also beide hier zu Hause waren. Ueberhaupt bemerkte ich eine Anzahl von Leuten, deren Bekanntschaft ich bereits im ersten Dorfe gemacht hatte. Sie waren nach meinem Erscheinen zum Besuch herübergekommen.

Dieses zweite Dorf vermochte in keiner Weise, uns über die Yaulapiti günstigere Vorstellungen zu geben. Auch hier sahen wir nur ein armseliges Fischervölkchen, dem wir einige Geschenke verabreichten und das wir nach Erledigung der üblichen Empfangszeremonie nicht ungern verließen.

VI. Zu den Kamayurá.

Empfang. Freude über unsere Sprachverwandtschaft. Nachrichten von den Arawák. Gastlicher Aufenthalt. Kamayurá und Trumai 1884 zusammen. Rückreise nach Cuyabá. Heimreise.

Von dem zweiten Yaulapitidorf den 21. Oktober, kurz nach 9 Uhr Morgens aufbrechend, gelangten wir nach einem Marsch von 3½ Stunden durch den Wald zu den Kamayurá. Die letzte Strecke war mit prachtvollen Mangrovepflanzungen besetzt.

Wir fanden vier Hütten und den üblichen Vogelkäfig, in dem eine gewaltige Harpye gehalten wurde. Man schien uns auch nicht erwartet zu haben; einige Personen redeten uns an und liessen uns auf Schemel niedersitzen, aber erst nach geraumer Weile, nachdem eine grössere Gesellschaft, Männer und Frauen von der Pflanzung heimgekehrt war, spielte sich die eigentliche Empfangszeremonie ab. Die Reden fielen uns sowohl durch ihre Länge wie durch ihren litaneienhaften Ton auf, sie waren auch von längeren, unerfreulichen Pausen unterbrochen. Schliesslich rückten auch Getränke und Zigarren an, und als wir den Wunsch nach Mangaven aussprachen, wurden sie in grosser Menge herbeigebracht. Diese Früchte hatten hier bei Weitem den grössten Wohlgeschmack.

Die Kamayurá sprachen einen echten Tupídialekt, die von den Jesuiten als Lingoa geral verbreitete Sprache der alten Küstenstämme, die mit dem Guaraní der Paraguayer nahezu identisch ist. Sie hat das Gros aller von den Einheimischen übernommenen Namen geliefert. Als wir nun in der Unterhaltung feststellten, dass wir eine Menge von Namen für Tiere, Pflanzen und Geräte, was gleich für die Bejíja und Mangaven (*bejá*, *mangá*) zutraf, mit dem Kamayurá gemein hatten, war das Entzücken gross.

Ein Flötenhaus gab es in diesem Dorfe nicht. Zum ersten Mal geschah es, dass uns eine bewohnte Hütte, deren eine Hälfte man frei machte, zum Aufenthalt angewiesen wurde. Man war dort beschäftigt, auf einer Bejíjaschwelle grosse gefiederte Amuleten zu rüsten; sie schmeckten kampferig und zart, ähnlich wie geröstete Mandeln oder Nüsse; ohne zu wissen, was ich verspeiste, würde ich nicht zu knuckten gedacht haben, da der Geschmack nichts Widerliches oder Weichliches enthielt.

Einen halben Kilometer westlich befand sich ein zweites Dorf, sieben Häuser und eine angefangene Festhütte. Es lag am nächsten der schönen Lagune der Kamayurá. Von dem Platz aus hatte man einen reizenden Fernblick über üppigen Schilfrohr hinüber auf das von der Sonne beschienene blaue Wasser. Dort begrüsste uns der Häuptling Akautschikí, der an einer Kniegelenkentzündung litt und auf eine Suyákeule gestützt herankam. Es wurden uns zwei Jaguar- und zwei Vogelschemel hingewetzt. Wieder wurde unser Sprachschatz aus der Lingua geral mit dem der Kamayurá verglichen; unsere Gastfreunde erklärten uns für ihre Brüder und bekräftigten ihre Worte mit der für diesen Verwandtschaftsverhältnis zum Schingú üblichen Geberde, dass sie sich auf den Nabel deuteten. In den Häusern fanden wir eine Anzahl Tanzmasken sowohl aus Holz wie aus Baumwollgeflecht. Wurfbretter waren ebenfalls überall vorhanden. Nirgendwo sahen wir so schönen Tanzschmuck, sie hatten prächtige Federdiademe und Federhauben, eine Art Federgamtel und mit Fischzähnen verzierte Tanzstäbe.

Als wir den 22. Oktober an dem schönen Sandstrand der Lagune badeten, traf einmal wieder eine böse Nachricht ein, welche die Gesellschaft in Aufregung versetzte: zwei Trumai seien angekommen und hätten neue Unthaten der Suyá gemeldet. In der Geschichte, die uns zum grössten Teile dunkel blieb, spielte

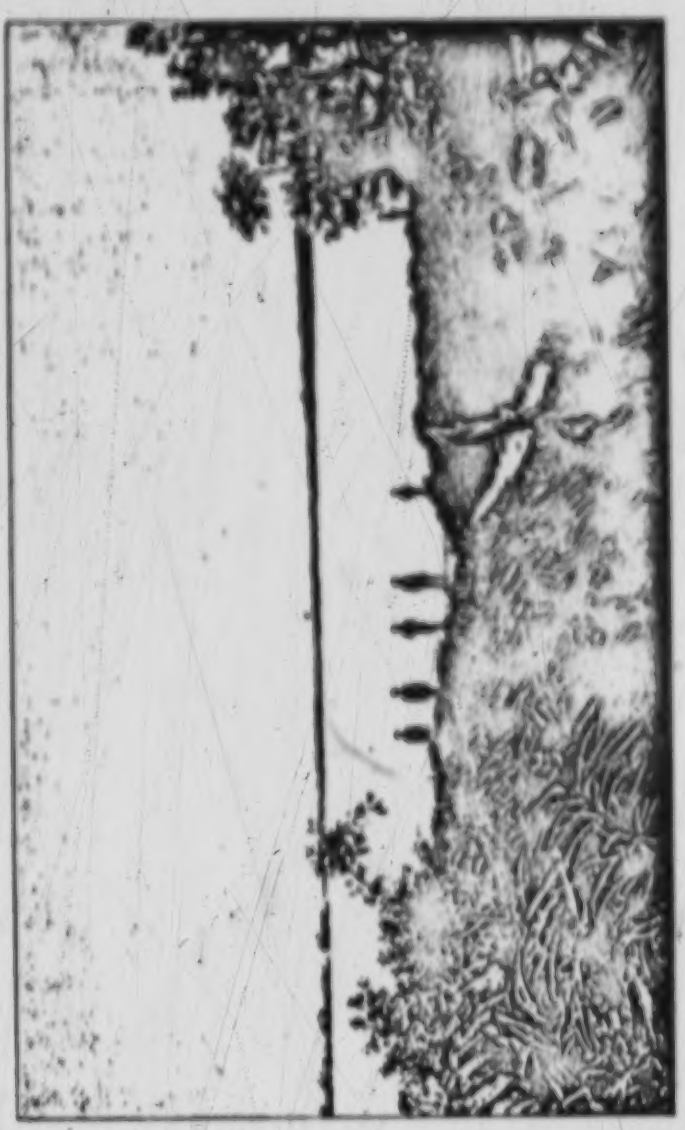


Abb. 3. Konzert-Lagen.

ein Stamm der Arumá oder Yaruná die Hauptrolle. Die Suyá hatten die Arumá, die bedeutendste von ihnen zu nennen scheinen, überfallen und jedesmal mit ihnen gekämpft; sie hatten acht Arumá, die uns an den Fingern vorgezeichnet wurden, mit Pfeilen in die Knie getroffen, sodass sie gebückt gehen mussten — vielleicht eine Methode unserer Freunde mit den Lippenscheiben, die Gefangenen sicher zu transportieren. Nach der Beschreibung der Kamayurá trugen die erwähnten Arumá Yapidiéro im Ohr, die gewöhnliche Tonsur und eine Bemalung oder Tätowierung des Gesichts derart, dass ein Strich vom Auge zum Munde, und ein anderer vom Munde zum Ohr lief. Quer unter der Nase trugen sie Schmuck von Federn oder Knochen. Am wunderbarsten aber ist es, dass sie einen Ohrschmuck hatten mit „dapé" der, wie unser Metall-ring trop- machte! Im Tupi heisst dapé Klinger von Stein oder Eisen. Wir erhielten in den Hütten ein Stück einer den Arumá eigentümlichen Kette, genau der Karajábrücke gleich, die wir 1884 bei den Yuruna erhalten hatten, von schwarzen schwarzbraunen Fäden in Stäbchen geschnitzt und durch eine bräunliche Kautschukmasse zusammengekittet, (vergl.: Durch Zentral-Brasilien S. 241 und zweite ethnographische Tafel). Wir entdeckten auch zwei Arumápfeile. Der eine hatte an der Spitze einen Knochenstachel mit abgebrochenen Zähnchen, der andere eine lange Holzspitze, die auf einer Seite sägeförmig eingekerbt war.

Eine dritte Hauptgruppe bestand aus drei Hütten, einem verfallenen Haus und einem Neubau.

Das Zusammensein mit den Kamayurá war äusserst gemütlich. Unsere glückliche Stimmung wurde durch das ungewöhnlich schöne Bild der Lagunenlandschaft nicht wenig gesteigert. Es war ein Ort, wo wir am liebsten ein paar Monate geblieben wären, und an den ich nur mit Sehnsucht zurückdenken kann. Der Tabakkolbigstem Abende im Mondschein hatte einen ganz besonders vertraulichen Charakter. Wir zeigten den Kamayurá Velio- und Studentenlieder vor und ernteten grossen Beifall. Sie führten uns dereinst Tanze auf, wenn auch nicht in vollem Festschmuck, sondern nur zur Erklärung, damit wir erkennen, wer's dabei begeht. Ein grosses mimisches Talent kam bei dem Wurfkämpfertanz zum Vorschein: der Krieger wurde verwundet und stürzte tot zusammen genau in der Stellung des sterbenden Aequetrro, dem nur der Schild fehlte.

Ausführlich wurde unser Zusammentreffen mit den Trumai im Jahre 1884 durchgenommen. Es stellte sich heraus, dass die Kamayurá darin Tal genommen hatten und alte Freunde oder Feinde von uns wären. Der Häuptling Tokoei, der eine Bananenrose besass, schilderte mit ausdrucksvoller Mimik seine damaligen Erlebnisse. Wilhelm ist sogar überzeugt, dass gerade er derjenige ist, der ihm den Hut weggaben und dessen ungeschickter Griff auch unserm Gewehr den verhängnisvollen, Alle in die Flucht treibenden Schuss entzog. Die fliehenden Indianer hatten in der Eile Alleriei mitgenommen, ein Boot mit Soldaten fuhr hinterher und auf der anderen Flussseite kam es, da ein Trumai einen Pfeil entsandte, trotz unserer Gegenbefehle zum Scharmützel. Zu unserem Leidwesen ist

obwohl die Soldaten damals versicherten, dass sie nur in die Luft gefeuert hätten, ein Indianer getötet worden, und dies soll nicht ein Trumai, sondern ein Kamayurá gewesen sein. Takuni erklärte, dass sie bis zu den Nahuquá am Kuluéne gefahren seien; drei Tage hätten sie dann nach Hause gebraucht, wo er krank und totmüde angekommen sei.

Am Abend des 23. Oktober lernten wir noch eine vierte Ansiedlung kennen; wir wurden mit grosser Feierlichkeit aufgefordert, dort einen Besuch zu machen und spazierten von unserem Wohnhaus im Gouvernaveh durchin. Ein ansehnlicher Platz war frei gerodet worden. Ein schönes Haus, vielleicht das schönste, das wir am Schingú gesehen haben, hoch und geräumig, war offenbar erst seit kurzem fertig geworden. An diesem Orte wollten die jetzt verstreut angesiedelten Kamayurá sich zu einem Dorfe vereinigen. Aber — und wieder kam dieses grosse Aber, als wir nachmal zusammenkamen — aber mit den Steinbeilen ist die Arbeit so mühsam; vom Morgen bis zum Abend quält man sich, um einen Baum, das der Karaíbe mit zwei oder drei Hieben — tok tok — niederschlägt. Ich lud die Kamayurá ein, uns nach Coyabá zu begleiten. Dort sollten sie Messer und Äxte haben, so viel ihr Herz begehre. Ich beschrieb ihnen Coyabá, malte ihnen aus, dass dort so viele Häuser stünden als am grossen Kuluéne und Kuluéne zusammengenommen und versicherte sie der freundlichsten Aufnahme.

Wenig befriedigte zwar die Aussicht über den weiten Weg. Finger und Zehen reichten nicht aus, um es vorzurechnen, wie viele Male die Sonne den Tagenkreis am Himmel beschreiben müsse, bis man zu den Häusern der Karaíben gelange. Dennoch waren Alle von dem Vorschlag begeistert. Takuni schwelgte in der Vorstellung, wie ihn die Frauen bewillkommnen würden bei seiner Heimkehr, wenn er den schwerbepackten Tragkorb niederwürfe und seine Schätze hervorholte. Stundenlang wurde das Thema in Wort und Pantomime behandelt; schliesslich überwogen bei Takuni die Zweifel. Seine schauspielerische Leistung gewann einen sentimentalen Charakter: er hat Kinder, die nach ihm weinen, die noch an der Brust liegen, für die er fischen und roden muss.

Nachdem wir von zum Schlaf in das Haus zurückgezogen hatten, dauerte die unseren Gastfreunden so angenehme Erregung noch lange fort. Wilhelm hatte schon die Augen geschlossen, als es noch an seiner Hängematte zupfte und ein Kamayurá ihn mit leiser Stimme bat, ihm noch einmal den Weg nach Coyabá vorzuzeichnen und ihm zu versichern, dass er dort Beile und Perlen erhalten werde. Ueberhaupt fehlte es in der Nacht nicht an komischen Zwischenfällen. Ehrenreich musste die photographischen Platten wechseln und war genötigt, die Leute zu bitten, dass sie die kleinen Feuer, die sie bei den Hängematten bis zum Morgen anzuhalten pflegen, für eine Weile auslöschten. Gutwillig entsprachen sie seinem Wunsche, aber es war ihnen unheimlich zu Mute. Als sie die rote Laterne sahen, fragten sie sogar ängstlich — eine sehr merkwürdige Frage — ob die Seyá kämen.

Auf dem Platz fanden sich eine Anzahl Löcher in dem Boden, die aber nicht wie bei den Auetó ein Grab, sondern die Stelle bezeichneten, wo Mandioka-Wurzeln aufbewahrt wurden. Bei Gelegenheit dieser Auskunft erkundigten wir uns nach der Art und Weise, wie die Toten bestattet werden. Sie verstanden mich sofort, als ich mich selbst wie tot auf den Boden legte, und gaben eine ausführliche mimische Darstellung ihrer Gebräuche.

Sie waren immer bestrebt, uns über ihre Sitten zu belehren, nachdem sie unser Interesse daran wahrgenommen hatten, und auf dem Wege zum Baden machte mich Einer sogar mit dem Maraká-Gesang, dem Begleittext der Tanzmusik, der Mauéssú-Indianer bekannt: „*Ákuiká ga ákusa ku ku*".

Am letzten Morgen erfuhr unsere Eintracht zum ersten Mal eine kleine Störung. Es fehlte eine noch halb gefüllte Büchse Kemmerich'schen Fleischmehls. Auch schien es, dass aus meiner Tasche einige Küchenmesser entwendet worden waren. Ehrenreich hatte man zwei Schnallen von einem Riemen abgeschnitten. Ich sah mich genötigt, unserem Haus- und Gastwirt den Standpunkt klar zu machen und ihm meine Meinung, dass die Kamayurá nicht mehr so *bóra* und *kuti* seien wie zu Anfang, in ernstem Ton auszudrücken. Man brachte uns mit demütiger Gebärde Beijús, ich wies sie zurück. Die guten Kerle wurden sehr aufgeregt, schoben die Schuld auf einen Trumai, der heimlich dagewesen sei, und brachten nach einer Weile wenigstens den verlorenen Kemmerich wieder.

VII. Trumai-Lager und Auetó-Hafen.

Vogel's Plan, Schingú-Kolóniu zu besuchen. Urbar die Yaulapiti zurück. Zusammenstoßen mit den Trumai. Studien mit Hindernissen. Aztekähnlichkeit. Die zerstörten Trumaihütten. Zum Auetó-Indianer. Nasenstamm. Kanus erworben. Dickstöcke. Yaumakupi-Nahuquá. Abschied.

Am 22. Oktober unternahm Vogel eine Bootfahrt auf der Kamayurá-Lagune, um zu untersuchen, ob sie mit dem Fluss in Verbindung stehe. Den Indianern wurde als Motiv angegeben, dass er fischen wolle. Nach vierstündiger Abwesenheit kehrte er zurück und hatte sich überzeugt, dass die Lagune nirgendwo in den Fluss übergehe. Es lag ihm sehr viel daran, erstens das Verhältnis von Kolóniu und Kulisehu festzustellen und zweitens an der von uns im Jahre 1884 passierten Vereinigungsstelle des von Westen kommenden Ronuro und des von Südost kommenden Flusses, der uns damals als Kulisehu bezeichnet war, also in Schingú-Kolóniu, eine Ortsbestimmung zu machen, um auf diese Weise den genauen Anschluss an die geographische Aufnahme der ersten Expedition zu erreichen. Es war die Stelle, wo die Trumai erschossen, mit Mühe zur Landung bewegen wurden und in heller Flucht davongeilt waren.

Dass wir sämmtlich uns an dieser Rekognoszierungstour beteiligten, war nicht wünschenswert, weil es vor Allem darauf ankam, die lang bemessenen Stunden zur Unterhaltung der Indianer zu verwerten, und weil keine grosse Aus-

TAFEL X.

v. d. Steinen, Zeichnung Strudhoff.

TRANSPORT EINES RINDENKANUS DURCH DIE AUETÖ.

[Facing p. 120]

sicht bestand, bei jenem Abstecher einen neuen Stamm anzutreffen. Zwar wurden wahrscheinlich die Dörfer der Trumaí passiert, doch wussten wir, dass sie nach dem Kampfe mit den Suyá geflohen waren und sich in unserer Nähe umhertrieben, denn vereinzelte Trumaí waren bei den Auetó, den Yaulapiti und den Kamayurá aufgetaucht. Wo der Kern des Stammes stecke, der allen Grund hatte, sich vor einem Zusammentreffen mit uns zu fürchten, war uns unbekannt. Man musste auch die Möglichkeit in Betracht ziehen, dass die wenig vertrauenswürdigen Suyá sich noch irgendwo in der Nähe der Kulisehumundung aufhielten und noch nicht nach Hause zurückgekehrt waren.

Um allen Interessen und zugleich der nötigen Vorsicht zu genügen, wurde beschlossen, dass Vogel nach dem Auetóhafen gehe und sich von dort in zwei Kanus mit Perrot, Antonio, zwei Soldaten und ein paar Indianern nach Koblenz einschiffe, dass wir dagegen die Zeit bis zu seiner Rückkehr mit unseren Untersuchungen ausfüllten. So ging Vogel am 23. Oktober von den Kamayurá weg und machte sich den 25. verabredetermassen vom Auetóhafen zur Kulisemundung auf.

Wir Anderen verliessen unsere lieben Kamayurá den 25. Oktober früh Morgens. Von Takuni und seinem Gelüst nach der Cuyabáreise hörten wir nichts mehr. Doch wurden wir von einigen Indianern, die unsere Sammlung trugen, den Weg durch die unvergesslichen Mangavenhaine und den Wald bis zum zweiten Yaulapitidorf begleitet. Hier hatten wir wieder die Strecke mit Hindernissen vor uns: über die nördliche Lagune und durch ein Stück Kanal zum ersten Yaulapitidorf — dann neue Einschiffung und Fahrt über die südliche Lagune — hierauf Landweg zum Ende oder, von uns aus gerechnet, zum Anfang des Auetókanals, wo sich die Pflanzungen und Schutzhütten der Auetó befanden — dort endlich wieder Einschiffung und Fahrt nach dem Auetódorf.

Das Unangenehme war, dass für diese drei Fahrten immer nur ein Kanu zur Verfügung stand, und dass es obendrein sehr leicht geschehen konnte, dass dieses Kanu sich gerade unterwegs befand und nicht zur Stelle war, wenn man es gebrauchte.

Von dem zweiten Yaulapitidorf durch in dem einen Kanu, das dort lag, zunächst Ehrenreich und ich ab, während Wilhelm und Carlos bei glühender Sonnenhitze über drei Stunden im schattenlosen Sumpf sitzen mussten, bis auch sie abgeholt wurden. Wir beiden gelangten zum ersten Yaulapitidorf und hatten viele Mühe, hier ein Kanu zu erhalten und wegzukommen; die Leute wollten uns durchaus länger bei sich sehen, um mehr Perlen und Messer zu bekommen. Der Häuptling schien aber doch auch einen anderen Grund zu haben, unsere Abreise zu verzögern. Erst als er sah, dass wir darauf bestanden, gab er uns ein Kanu und erzählte nun mit ängstlichem Gesicht, die Trumaí seien bei den Auetó. Er war in grosser Besorgnis, dass wir ihnen Böses anthun wollten. Er drang inständigst in mich, davon abzustehen, und fragte mich beim Abschied noch einmal allen Ernstes mit einer sehr ausdrucksvollen Pantomime, ob ich nicht allen Trumaí den Hals abschneiden werde?

Es waren meist kleine schmächtige Gestalten mit kleinen Köpfen, zurücktretendem Kinn und hässlichen Gesichtern; unter den alten Weibern gab es wahre Prachtexemplare von Hexenmodellen. Die Frauen trugen teilweise das dreieckige Uluri, teilweise ein uns neues Garderobenstück, eine grauweissliche Bastschlinge, die um die Hüften gezogen war und sich zu einer kleinen Rolle verdickte. Die Sprache erinnerte uns in ihrem Tonfall nicht wenig an die der Suyá, mit der sie den nörgelnden gequetschten Habitus gemein hatte, und liess sich durch den häufigen Auslaut auf *u* und durch das *f* von allen Kulisehusprachen sofort unterscheiden.

Es war merkwürdig, dass sich die Trumaí derart hatten überraschen lassen. Wahrscheinlich hatten sie sich doch vor den Suyá, die ihre Dörfer geplündert hatten, und vor uns gleichzeitig geflüchtet. Ihre Späher, die sich bei den Auetó, Yaulapiti und Kamayurá herumtrieben, waren wohl des Glaubens gewesen, dass wir von den Kamayurá aus nicht direkt zu den Auetó zurückkehren, sondern nach Schingú-Koblenz gehen würden, um uns mit Perrot und Vogel, deren Fahrt ihnen bereits bekannt war, zu vereinigen und auf dem Fluss nach dem Auetóhafen zu gelangen. Das Lager der Flüchtigen bot einen Anblick der Unordnung und Ueberstürzung. Es waren im Ganzen etwa 50 Personen; zahlreiche Feuerchen brannten bei den braunen Hängematten, Bündel aller Art lagen und hingen an den Bäumen herum; die Schutzhütten der Auetó-Pflanzung blieben unbenutzt. Die Indianer waren zum Teil über die Kanäle gekommen: eine kleine Flotille von Kanus war in dem sumpfigen Gewässer nahebei aufgefahren, viele darunter in schlechtem Zustand und nur mit Lehmklumpen notdürftig verpappt.

Die Beijús, die gefüllten Kürbisschalen und die Zigarren mussten bei diesem Empfang fehlen. Man brachte kleine Baumwollenknäuel herbei und verlangte Perlen. Leider hatten wir uns bei den Kamayurá so ziemlich ausgegeben und konnten daher nicht Vieles bieten. Dennoch erwarben wir mit den Resten, etlichen Messern und einigen Opfern von unserm persönlichen Besitz eine kleine, nicht unansehnliche Sammlung. Die Leute hatten die für uns wichtigsten Sachen vor den Suyá gerettet und mitgeschleppt. Da fanden sich Federschmuck, Halsketten aus Steinperlen, ein Steinbeil, als Belegstück wertvoll, da die übrigen Kulisehustämme ihre Steinbeile von den Trumaí erhalten, Wurfhölzer, eine Keule, zehn Masken, Tanzkeulen, grosse Flöten und verschiedene Kleinigkeiten. Wir vermissten zu unserm Erstaunen die grossen Pfeile mit langen spitzen Bambusstücken, die die Trumaí 1884 bei sich führten, von denen sie auf der Flucht eine Anzahl verloren und an denen wir bemerkt hatten, dass man sie für die Begegnung mit uns zugeschärft hatte. Sie waren wohl im Kampf mit den Suyá verschossen worden.

Ich nutzte den Abend bei einem Kerzenstumpf schreibend möglichst aus, um ein Vokabular zu erhalten. Ein jüngerer Häuptling zeigte sich sehr anstellig, nur schrie er in seinem Eifer mit seiner starken Stimme, als ob ich stocktaub wäre. Neugierig hockten die Männer in der Nähe, die Hexen waren um die

Feuer geschäftig, die Kinder schrieen *otóu* nach der Mutter und *papá* nach dem Vater, durch die Zweige ergoss sich ein magisches Mondlicht über die seltsame Lagerszene, und bald umfing der Friede der Nacht Schlummernde und Wachende. Wir durften ruhig schlafen, merkten aber wohl, dass einige Männer am Feuer sitzen blieben.

Am nächsten Morgen, den 26. Oktober, gab es eine grosse Verwirrung. Man hatte mir ein grosses Glas mit Arsenikpillen gestohlen. Gern hätte ich unter den besonderen Umständen zu jedem Diebstahl ein Auge zugedrückt, allein ich konnte diesen Arsenik weder meinerseits vermissen noch die Indianer damit vergiften lassen. Ich musste die Yaulapiti, die uns begleitet hatten, nach den Erfahrungen in ihrem Dorf im Verdacht haben und verlangte von ihnen die Rückgabe. Sie beteuerten natürlich ihre Unschuld, die Trumaí gerieten in grosse Angst, die Weiber, Kinder und ein Teil der Männer schlugen sich in die Büsche und kehrten auch nicht zurück, als wirklich einer der Yaulapiti das Glas mit den Arsenikpillen brachte. Nach seiner unmassgeblichen Ansicht war es mir unterwegs aus der Tasche gefallen. Ein Quantum fehlte augenscheinlich; ich hoffe, dass es auf verschiedene Liebhaber verteilt und von diesen bei den grade unter den Yaulapiti häufigen Hautkrankheiten mit einigem Erfolg genossen worden ist.

Wir mussten, so sehr man uns zum Fortgehen drängte, mindestens die wichtigsten Körpermessungen noch vornehmen und liessen auch nicht locker; sieben Männer wurden in der Eile zwischen dem Packen gemessen, und die einzige photographische Platte, die noch übrig war, wurde zu einer — später leider verunglückten — Gruppenaufnahme verwendet.

Um $^{3}/_{4}$10 Uhr fuhren wir in zwei Kanus ab, von vier Trumaí begleitet. Dreimal müsse man schlafen, gaben sie an, ehe man zu ihren Dörfern gelange. Die Mehinakú könne man auch auf den Kanalwegen erreichen und gebrauche zu ihrem zweiten Dorf nur einen Tag. Um 11 Uhr landeten wir in der Nähe des Auetódorfes an einer andern Stelle, als wir abgefahren waren. Im feuchten Laub lagen riesige Regenwürmer in ungeheurer Menge; wo man den Fuss hinsetzte, trat man darauf. Der Pfad führte uns zu den beiden Hütten der Yaulapiti-Auetó-Familien.

Es empfiehlt sich, schon hier anzufügen, was Vogel und Perrot nach ihrer Heimkehr von Schingú-Koblenz über die Trumaídörfer berichteten. Sie hatten keinen Indianer zu Gesicht bekommen, unterhalb der Einmündung des Kulisehu in den Kuluene aber auf dem 5 m hohen Ufer ein Trumaídorf von 8 und einen Kilometer weiter östlich ein zweites von 5 Häusern, darunter Neubauten gefunden. Die Suya hatten die Häuser sämtlich niedergebrannt, und was von grossen Töpfen und Gerät zurückgeblieben war, kurz und klein geschlagen. Unmittelbar an die Dörfer schlossen sich Pflanzungen an von auffallend grossem Umfang und sorgfältiger Bearbeitung. Ungefähr zehn frische Gräber wurden bemerkt; der kreisförmigen Angrabung nach zu urteilen waren die Leichen in hockender Stellung beerdigt, sie schienen tief zu liegen, da man sie wenigstens bei einigem ober-

flächlichen Nachgraben nicht blosslegte. Antonio war sehr erschreckt gewesen, als Perrot zu ihm sagte: »o doutor Carlos precisa d'uma cabeça«. Nur mit Mühe hatte man von Antonio erreicht, dass er die Fahrt mitmache und sich der Möglichkeit aussetzte, den verhassten Trumaí zu begegnen.

Die Tage vom 26. bis 31. Oktober brachten wir im Dorf und zum grösseren Teil im Hafen der Auetó zu. Wir benutzten noch jede Gelegenheit zu messen, zu photographieren und die sprachlichen Aufzeichnungen zu vervollständigen, und hatten dazu Exemplare fast aller Stämme zur Verfügung. Mit den Auetó hatten wir uns recht angefreundet. Ein vergnügter Abend erinnerte mich lebhaft an meine Bakairí-Idylle, auch hier wurden die Stimmen der europäischen Haustiere mit grossem Jubel begrüsst, und wiederholte sich die Steinbeilpantomime mit stereotyper Treue. Es war ein besonderer Augenschmaus für sie, wenn wir uns hinstellten und Holz hackten. Mit einem der Auetó machte ich Schmollis nach Landesbrauch, wir vertauschten die Namen. Mayúli hiess mein Spezialfreund, der mir den Antrag machte. Der Häuptling liess mich aufstehen, klopfte mich sechs oder sieben Mal auf den Rücken und sagte dazu ebenso oft im Takt »Mayúli«, blies mich auf die Brust und sagte mir »Mayúli« in jedes Ohr hinein. In gleicher Weise hatte ich mit Mayúli's Person zu verfahren und ihm mein »Karílose« für Carlos einzuprägen. Alle nannten mich nun mit Betonung Mayúli, wobei ich immer an Mai-Juli dachte, und hoben hervor, wie sehr sich die Frauen darüber freuen würden. In der That, sobald ich in eine Hütte kam, riefen die Frauen »Mayúli« zum Willkomm.

Im Hafen sah es traurig aus. Dort hatte Peter mit Tumayana und dem Droschkenkutscher Wache gehalten. Es war ein jämmerlicher sumpfiger Platz, eng und unfreundlich, der Regen hatte den mit faulem Laub bedeckten Boden erweicht, die Ameisen waren eifrig an der Arbeit gewesen und hatten das Leder und die Säcke zerschnitten, Alles sah schmutzig und häuslich aus. Dazu Schmalhans Küchenmeister. Der arme Peter hatte von Beijú gelebt, die Fische bissen wieder einmal nicht an. Tumayana schaukelte sich in der Hängematte und war zufrieden, er betrachtete sich stundenlang in einem kleinen runden Spiegel und rupfte sich die Härchen im Gesicht aus. Nachts quälten ihn die Moskitos; ich hörte ihn einmal, da ich selbst nicht schlief, stundenlang klagen und klatschen. Der Droschkenkutscher hatte sich, ehe wir eintrafen, in ein Kanu gesetzt und war zu den Mehinakú gefahren. Nur ein Kanu, ein schlechtes, war bei unserer Ankunft noch verfügbar. Zwei hatten Vogel und Perrot mit sich, eines vierten hatte sich eine Bande Indianer bemächtigt und war damit drei Tage auf den Fischfang gezogen. Sie kehrten zurück, das Boot bis an den Rand gefüllt mit gebackenen Fischen. Man brät bei allen diesen Stämmen die Fische sofort, um das Fleisch zu konserviren.

Gegen ein paar Beile wollen zwei Kanus von den Auetó erworben, die sie durch den Wald herbeibringen sollten. Carlos ging nach dem Dorf, um die besten auszusuchen, und erzählte, es sei ein grossartiges Bild gewesen, als die

Indianer mit den langen Kanus auf den Schultern im Trab durch die Dorfstrasse liefen und sich die ganze Bevölkerung an dem Schauspiel beteiligte. Mittags kamen unter lautestem Juchzen an 60 Personen und brachen mit den beiden Kanus im Laufschritt aus dem Walde hervor, im Laufschritt eilten sie auch den steilen Uferhang hinab und der enge Platz wimmelte von den nackten braunen Gestalten. Sie hatten auch ein Dutzend Kinder und allerlei Vorrat von Beijús, Honig, Piki- und Mangavenfrüchten mitgebracht. Sie waren jetzt mit Leidenschaft darauf aus, von uns vor Thoresschluss noch zu bekommen, was irgend zu bekommen war. Perlen, Perlen, Perlen! Beim Kanutransport hatte sich ein Auetó die Hand verletzt; Ehrenreich verband sie, war aber kaum damit fertig, als der Mann sie auch schon nach Perlen ausstreckte. Ein Vaurá, mit dem ich mich schier zum Verzweifeln abquälte, dass er mir die Farbenadjektiva seiner Sprache verrate und der mir immer die Gegenstände und nicht ihre Farben nannte, unterbrach jede meiner Fragen ungeduldig, streckte die Rechte vor und verlangte Perlen, »nur her damit«, er müsse nach Hause. Es blieb mir zuweilen nichts übrig, als die Zudringlichen auf die Finger zu klopfen, zumal wenn sie mich während des Verhörens und Aufschreibens immer anstiessen und beschenkt sein wollten. Sie nahmen jedoch nichts übel. Oefters wurden sie uns lästig, weil ihre Zahl zu gross war, liessen es sich aber gefallen, dass ich sie aus der Hängematte herausholte und abführte. Ja, ein Alter unterstützte mich einmal thatkräftig und schlug einen ungebärdigen jüngeren Burschen mit dem Bogen über den Kopf.

Es bedurfte der grössten Wachsamkeit, das wir uns vor Diebstählen schützten. Messer, Scheeren, Vaselin, Kerzen, Blechdosen, Schnallen, Alles war ihnen recht. Gut, dass wir Tumayaua hatten. Er passte auf wie ein Polizeidiener, denn er durfte darauf rechnen, selbst in den Besitz alles dessen zu gelangen, was wir behielten, und es war augenscheinlich, dass ihm jede Perlenschnur und jedes Messer durch die Seele schnitt, die wir an den Händen gaben. Er hatte seine eigenen unterwegs angesammelten Schätze sorgsam zwischen den überstehenden Wurzeln seines Hängemattenbaumes erborgen.

Die stete Ausrede, wenn etwas fehlte, der der jener von einem andern Stamm müsse es weggenommen haben, war im Aetéhafen sehr billig. Ausgenommen die Mehinakú gab es Vertreter aller Stämme: Auetó, Kamayurá, Yaulapiti, Trumaí, Kustenaú, Waurá, Bakairí und Nahuquá. Immer kamen neue Besucher, und wir hatten alle Hände voll zu thun, um unsere Aufnahmen zu ergänzen.

Von den Kustenaú, die wir 1884 in einem kleinen Dorf oder richtiger bei ihrer mit einigen Hütten besetzten Pflanzung am Batovy getroffen hatten, war einer erschienen, der sich der Reisenden von damals, Wilhelm's, Antonio's und meiner auch noch erinnerte und nur mit diesen seinen alten Bekannten zu thun haben wollte. Auch aus dem vierten Dorf der Bakairí am Batovy hatte sich ein Neugieriger eingestellt. Offenbar hatte die Kunde von dem Wiedererscheinen der Karaiben das ganze Gebiet durchflogen. Am meisten interessierten uns einige

Nahuquá vom Kuluëne, weil es bei der vorgerückten Zeit unmöglich war, sie selbst aufzusuchen. Da hatte der Guikurú-Nahuquá, den wir im Nahuquádorf getroffen, die Reise hinter uns gemacht, und ihm hatte sich eine Familie von vier Yanumakapü oder Yanumakabihü, die etwa eine halbe Tagereise landeinwärts zwischen Kuliseiu und Kuluëne zu wohnen schienen, angeschlossen. Da yanumáku bei den Mehinakú, Kustenaú, Waurá und Yaulapiti das Wort für »Jaguar« ist, so dachte ich schon an eine Vermischung von Nahuquá mit einem jener Nu-Aruak-stämme. Allein die sprachliche Aufnahme des Familienvaters ergab einen reinen Nahuquádialekt. Die Yanumakapú-Nahuquá hatten niedliche Tanzrasseln bei sich; dem durch den kleinen Kürbis durchgestossenen Stiel sassen am oberen Ende Tierköpfchen aus Wachs auf, und bei einer hatte man den Kürbis durch die Schale einer jungen Schildkröte ersetzt.

Die Nahuquá liessen sich von uns über den Fluss setzen. Auch die Auetó nahmen uns öfter in Anspruch. Man fand es entschieden sehr bequem, dass wir mit unsern Kanus immer zur Verfügung standen. Die Auetó schwammen aber auch ausgezeichnet. Kinder, die bis ans Knie des Vaters reichten, puddelten sich frei und vergnügt im Kuliseiu umher. Einem jungen Mann, der von der andern Seite auf Auetó »Holüber« schrie, verweigerten wir die Fähre; es war ein Vergnügen zu sehen, wie elegant er den Fluss durchsetzte, die linke Hand hoch emporgestreckt und Hängematte und Bogen haltend.

Der Abschied wurde uns schwer, so sehr wir darauf brannten, von dem schmutzigen und ungesunden Lagerplatz wegzukommen. Vogel und Perrot waren den 29. Oktober von ihrer Fahrt zurückgekehrt, am 30. Oktober wurde noch fleissig gearbeitet und die Sammlung eingepackt. Perrot ging noch einmal in das Auetódorf und verabschiedete sich zärtlich, die Frauen brachten ihm ihre Kinder und ein kleines Mädchen erhielt den Namen »Perro«; für die viele Liebe musste er sich natürlich in Perlen erkenntlich zeigen, und eine junge Mutter, deren zwei Kinder er beschenkt hatte, machte ihn mit lebhaften Geberden darauf aufmerksam, dass er doch auch noch ein drittes, das in Aussicht stand, bedenken möge.

VIII. Rückkehr nach Independencia.

Vogel's Fahrt nach Schingú-Kobéna. Ab vom Auetóhafen. Besuche der Dörfer. Begleitung durch die Indianer. Rheinischer Karneval am Kuliseiu. Abschiedsreise in Magéri. Die Bergfahrt: Rudern. Beschwerden. Fieber. Independencia: Ruhetag. Feierlicher Abschied von den Bakairí.

Ueber das Verhältnis von Kuliseiu und Kuluëne war durch den Ausflug von Vogel und Perrot Klarheit geschaffen worden. Anayato, der Auetóhäuptling, hatte sie begleitet. Sie waren vom Hafen abwesend vom 24. Oktober 11½ Uhr bis zum 29. Oktober 7 Uhr Abends und hatten, da sie kein Gepäck mit sich führten, leicht vorwärts kommen können. Sie erreichten die Mündung des Kuliseiu

in den schönen breiten Kuluëne in sieben Stunden, passierten links einen Zufluss, rechts einen Kanal der Mariapé-Nahuquá, fanden auf dem rechten Ufer die Trumaidörfer in dem Seite 124 beschriebenen Zustande und konnten von hier aus in gut vier Stunden — in acht Stunden seit der Kulisehu-Mündung — nach Schingú-Koblenz an die Vereinigungsstelle von Kuluëne und Ronuro kommen, jenen grossen Sandstrand, wo sich 1884 unser Zusammentreffen mit den Trumaí abgespielt hatte.

Die Trumaí waren also damals auf ihrem Kuluëne heruntergekommen, und uns hatte man diesen grossen Fluss, von dem wir nur die Einmündung kannten, als »Kulisehu« bezeichnet. Eine merkwürdige Entwickelung! Wir hatten auf unserer neuen Expedition den »Kulisehu« gesucht und den Kulisehu auch gefunden und befahren, allein gemeint hatten wir den Kuluëne. Schon die Trumaí wohnten unterhalb der Kulisehu-Mündung; am Kuluëne weiter oberhalb sassen die Nahuquá-Stämme, die aber glücklicher Weise auch am Kulisehu in dem von uns besuchten Dorf angesiedelt waren.

Vogel und Perrot hatten schlechtes Wetter. Wegen der Wolkenbedeckung konnte weder an der Kulisehu-Mündung noch in Koblenz die astronomische Breite bestimmt werden. Der Kuluëne hat eine Breite von 241 m unterhalb der Kulisehu-Mündung, etwas oberhalb 289 m. Von Koblenz waren sie den Ronuro hinaufgefahren, hatten nach einer kleinen halben Stunde die Batovymündung passiert wo wir 1884 am 30. August aus dem unendlich gewundenen Wäldfluschen auftauchten und zum ersten Mal mit einiger Sicherheit uns der Hoffnung freuen durften, wirklich den Schingú gefunden zu haben — und hatten endlich die Fahrt auf dem Ronuro noch zwei Kilometer weiter aufwärts fortgesetzt. Der Ronuro besass eine mittlere Breite von 250 m und eine Tiefe von 3 bis 6 m, der Kuluëne nun oberhalb Koblenz nur 187 m und der Hauptfluss bei unserm Sandstrand 366 m.

Wenn wir nicht den ganzen Erfolg in Frage stellen wollten, war der Gedanke, den Kuluëne noch hinaufzufahren und die übrigen Nahuquádörfer zu besuchen, völlig ausgeschlossen. Die Regenzeit hatte kräftig eingesetzt, die Fahrt flussaufwärts wurde zusehends schwieriger, der Proviant war erschöpft, vor uns lag die Perspektive eines langen, durch das Anschwellen der Gewässer überaus erschwerten Landmarsches. Die mitgenommenen Lebensmittel waren bis auf Sala, Paraguaythee und etwas Kaffee so gut wie verbraucht. Die Suppentafeln waren verschwunden, von Gemüse gab es noch zwei Büchsen, und der Rest waren ein Fläschchen Kemmerich'scher Bouillon, zwei kleine Büchschen Pepton und drei Fläschchen Schnaps. Das Kemmerich'sche Fleischmehl hatte uns allein den Aufenthalt in den Indianerdörfern ermöglicht, die beiden letzten Büchsen waren noch im Auetódorf verkocht worden.

Am 31. Oktober traten wir die Rückfahrt an. Ohne Hülfe der Indianer hätten wir die Sammlung nicht nach der Independencia schaffen können, da unsere Kanus nicht ausreichten. Aber für diese Dienstleistung hatten wir eine Anzahl schöner und nützlicher Tauschwaaren vorsorglich aufgespart. Zuerst

TAF. XI.

KULISEHU-REISE

v. d. Steinen, Zentral-Brasilien.

[facing p. 128]

begleiteten uns fünf Auetó in mehreren mit unserer Ladung befrachteten Kanus zu den Mehinakú, die Mehinakú halfen weiter zu den Nahuquá, mit den Nahuquá gelangten wir zu den dritten Bakairí; Bakairí aus allen drei Dörfern beteiligten sich an dem von Dorf zu Dorf gesteigerten Transport und am 13. November fuhren wir, eine kleine Flotte von 13 Kanus mit 14 Bakairí, an dem Küchenplatz der Independencia vor.

Kurz will ich skizzieren, was vom zweiten Besuch der Dörfer noch zu berichten ist. Sehr angenehm und lehrreich waren die beiden Mehinakútage. Es musste photographiert und gemessen werden, da Ehrenreich zur Zeit des ersten Besuchs krank gewesen war. Die Frauen zitterten während des Messens am ganzen Körper. Sie hatten auffallend viele Kinder, wir stellten bei einer die unerhörte Zahl von sechs fest, eine andere hatte vier Töchter. Ich werde später noch das Lob dieser Nu-Aruakfrauen, der Erfinderinnen der Töpfe und der besten Pflegerinnen der Manduokaindustrie, zu singen haben. Ein vortreffliches Bild der Gesellschaft liefert die Tafel 8 »Demonstration einer Vogelpfeife«. Sie lauscht den quellenden Tönen, die der vor mir sitzende Eingeborene dem urwüchsigen Ding entlockt. Sehr typisch ist die Geberde des kleinen Mädchens in der Mitte, das sich furchtsam die Ohren zuhält, und die Stellung der beiden aneinander gelehnten Freunde im Vordergrund. Wie ungemein malerisch sind alle diese nackten Gestalten in ihren zwanglosen Bewegungen! Wäre es nicht ein Jammer, wenn sie »Röcken« und »Beinhäuser« anziehen sollten?

Wilhelm und ich schlossen wieder Freundschaftsbündnisse. »Helene« tauschte den Namen mit Waikuslu, und ich, »Karibaw«, mit dem auf der Brust tätowierten Häuptling Mayutó. Wilhelm musste auch, wie ich bei den Bakairí, Tabak pflanzen. Mein Bruder Karibaw überließ uns gegen ein Beil ein mächtiges Kanu, eine Art Arche Noah, so breit und ungeschlacht, dass der größte Teil der Sammlung mit Carlos und Peter darin Platz fand.

24 Mann begleiteten uns zum Hafen; 6 trugen das Kanu voraus, die Höhlung dem Boden zugewendet, den Rand auf der Schulter, die durch Strohkränze geschützt war, 2 wanderten mit den Köpfen im Bauch des Fahrzeugs. Ein wahrer Leichenzug hinter dem Sarge, man summte unwillkürlich einen Trauermarsch. Grade vor mir schritt ein blonder Junge. Die Kiepe reichte ihm von der Schulter bis zu die Knie, darunter baumelte noch ein großer Korbin, in der linken Hand trug er Pfeil und Bogen, mit der Rechten führte er unermüdlich musizierend sein Pandiötchen zum Munde. 5 Mann, die zu unserer Fahrt teilnehmen wollten, führten jeder ein Ruder und ein die Hängematte enthaltendes Netz mit sich, das von der Stirn auf den Rücken herabhing. Immer einer hinter dem andern und mit dem Vorder- oder Hintermann schwatzend. An dem Ruder demonstrierten sie sich, wie groß die Messer wohl sein möchten, mit denen der Karaiba sie belohnen werde. Viele trugen Bejú, ólipe, in grüne Blätter eingeschlagen, mehrere während der 2½ Wegstunden eine Korbäuschale mit Pfeilrohr in der Hand. Das Kanu war breiter als der Waldpfad. Von einem starken Gewitter

überrascht, machten wir Halt, brachten die Sammlung und die Apparate unter das Kanu und sahen mit Ueberraschung, dass die Indianer entsetzlich froren und am ganzen Körper zitterten wie zarte Damen nach einem Ball im Schneewetter. Einzelne klapperten mit den Zähnen im schönsten Schüttelfrost. Es goss freilich eimerweise und das Sturzbad, empfindlich kalt, hatte kaum mehr als 15°. Unsere guten Mehinakú waren unglücklich, dass wir nicht ihrem Beispiel folgten und gegen die himmlischen Schleusen pusteten, sie hatten sich in der Eile, wohl mehr um sich zu beschäftigen, ein Schutzdach und jammerten ohne Ende „ehipe, ehipe!"

Im Hafen der Mehinakú erwarben wir noch ein Kanu; die Aweti, die uns bis hierher begleitet hatten, waren inzwischen spurlos verschwunden. Auch Vogels Hirschfänger fehlte.

Das Nahuquádorf stand unter dem Zeichen der Fiktrate. Wie die Kugeln im Arsenal lagen die Pfeil in Haufen draussen und drinnen. Geräte in den Hütten waren zum Trocknen der Kerne aufgestellt, die Weiber beschäftigt, die Früchte zu schälen, zu kochen und die Kerne abzukratzen, Menschen und Geräte bestrichen — *Carpaner bekymmen*. Kein Pfeil, sondern Pfeilreihe; die Pfeilkerne von mandelartigem Geschmack, eine Lattwerge «Pfeilkerne» gar nicht übel in bescheidener Dose. Viele krank in den Hängematten. Magen und Haut verdorben, ein alter Glatzkopf Gesicht und Schädel mit Geschwüren bedeckt. Tumayoua erhielt Pfeil zum Abschied auf den Weg. Nur ein Neugeborenes, das uns die Mutter brachte, dauert wir es anblicken, ohne auch nichts von Pfeil zu wissen.

Im Bakairidorf III, das die uns begleitenden Nahuqua übrigens nicht betreten wollten, war die alte Festhütte abgebrannt und man zeigte sich sehr angelegen gegenüber den früher so bewunderten Strichzeichnungen. Dafür fanden wir prächtige Vogel- und Fisch-Masken. Von zwei bemalten Kanus war das eine noch nicht fertig und das andere verunglückt.

Bakairidorf II war wie ausgestorben. Die Bewohner waren zum Teil, es blieb unklar, weshalb, abwesend, auch hatten wir offenbar das erste Mal fremde Gäste gesehen und mitgezählt. Doch war Häuptling Aramidar liebenswürdig wie immer und liess uns Bejiu verfertigen, die wir dahinten in der feinsten Thongeschirrfabrik hatten anbrennen dürfen. Nur mit grosser Mühe fanden wir einige Mann, um einen Teil der Sammlung ein Stück Wegs über Land zu schaffen, immer hiess es, wir müssten bei den Kindern bleiben. Unsere lag eine Frau mit Brandwunden am Arm im Häuptlingshause, die auch der Gesellschaft bedurfte. Ein Kollege mit sehr unbeweglichem Gesicht saus bei ihr und bekam zuweilen einen therapeutischen Anfall, während dessen er gottserbärmlich jammerd Wolken von Tabaksdampf [illegible] oder auch der Wand zugewandt entsetzlich stöhnte. Der Dreschlärmschreiber, der uns mit Tumayoua bis zu den Aweti begleitet hatte und der ein grosser Zauberarzt war, trennte sich hier von uns. Er musste sich durchaus an der Behandlung beteiligen und war nicht zu bewegen, den Fall dem doch ausserst tüchtig blasenden Kollegen allein zu überlassen. Zum Lohn für dieses uneinsichtige Verhalten verschaffen wir ihm auch ein

zivilisiertes Aroomere, das neben einem grossen Messer das Ziel seines Ehrgeizes gewesen war, in Gestalt eines Hemdes und einer Kopfbekleidung. Wir schmückten da mit Tumayoua, der schon längst in schwarzweiss karriertem Hemd und weisser Leinenhose darunter umherspazierte, gleichzeitig feierlich aus und photographierten die Beiden, wie figurat Abbildung 8 zeigen. Wilhelm hatte einige Prämien für die verdienstvollen Reisegrossen aufbewahrt, eine prächtige Dreschdrehe Fastnachtsmütze, von ihm selbst in der Eigenschaft eines Prinzen Karneval auf hohem Triumphwagen getragen, grün, gelb, weiss und rot mit klimmenden Schellen, desgleichen den mit Brillanten besetzten Hahnenkamm Sr. Narrischen Hoheit — diese beiden Stücke wurden Tumayoua zu Teil — und eine echte Karnevalsmütze der noch lustigeren Schwesterstadt am Rhein, die wir dem Kollegen Dreschkenkutscher in Erinnerung einer Doktorhutes über die Tu-

Abb. 6.
Tumayoua als Europäer ausstaffiert.

ner stülpten. Tumayoua erhielt ausserdem einen von Wilhelm in Rio de Janeiro gekauften schwarzen Gehrock, Import aus Paris et le dernier mot de la perfection. Die Abbildung giebt uns einen schwachen Begriff davon, wie schneidig die zwei vor Stolz aufgeblasenen Narren in den Kleidern erschienen; beide gewannen nicht die schönsten Typen, sahen sie nun aber plötzlich gerade hinlich krumm und schief aus, und darum war mehr als die Schönheit des Anzugs der Umstand schuld, dass alle Umstehenden aufgehoben und charakterlos geworden waren. Tumayoua war in Hemd und Hose noch ungeschickt wie am ersten Tage, er rannte im Walde und schonte sie anderweitig wieder in übertriebener Vorsicht, indem er sie bei Gelegenheiten sparsam, wo selbst Kinder so nicht nötig haben.

Im ersten Bakairidorf hatte sich die Bevölkerung um eine junge Seele vermehrt. Findungs war Vater geworden und hielt mit seiner Frau die Wochenstube ab. Ich wurde auf die uns bekannte sonderende Sorge bei Begrüssung der Gäste aufmerksamen. Der Mais stand in üppigem Grün, es wurden uns auch verschiedene, etwas trockene Maisbonjis gebraten. Meine Tätigkeitsäusserung auf dem [illegible] wurde an ein erstes gesteuert und durch einen Palmenbaum eingezäunt eingehegt worden.

Aber was erblickten unsere erstaunten Augen hinter Paleko's Haus? Einen Neubau, bereits weit vorgeschrittenen, schlanker Art. Oder eigentlich wie vertrauten Anzeichens. Die Bakairi hatten unsere Ratschläge in der Independencia zum Vorbild genommen und statt dem Bienenkorbes ein Haus mit dreieckigem Giebel

und zweckmäßigen Dach bequemen. Da haben wir also gejodelt, noch etwas Kokum in einem verlorenen Winkel zu sehen, und schon will es dahinsinken. «Der erste Lichtblick», sagt Bastian, «wird auch der letzte sein.»

Tumayua, der nur Independencia mitging, veranstaltete gleichwohl den offiziellen Abschied in Magéri. Er überreichte mir zwei grosse Kürbisschalen. Eine Weile darauf holte er mich herbei, fasste mich väterlich am Arm, leitete mich von der Hütte, lud eingaben ruhend, zum Balken inmitten des Platzes und drückte mich mit einer Art Begeisterung auf den Sitz nieder. Bald hockten dort vier Karaibes in einer Reihe nebeneinander. Dann schleppte er einen der bereits gebachenen Proviantkörbe, ⅔ so hoch, herbei und stellte den mit frischer Pfeilerei als Geschenk vor uns hin. Das Hilfsbereite aber folgte noch. Eine runde Matte wurde auf den Boden gelegt, der Häuptling rief, und aus den Hütten kamen alle Frauen und Kinder im Laufschritt herbei und warfen einen Beijú blutschend auf die Matte, ein Jeder sofort zurückkommend, um Platz zu machen. Die lustige Geschäftigkeit, mit der die Beijús herbeiflogen, war reizend. Es lagen einige 16 Stück. „Ich" hatte es und wir waren entlassen. Wir empfingen uns natürlich in Lobpreisungen über die Gastlichkeit der Bakairi und bewahrten uns Stillen, um in der Independencia glänzend zu revanchieren.

Es ein starkes Gewitter losbrach, blieben wir die letzte Nacht im Dorfe. Es regnete dicksamen in Strömen und Tumayua bewährte seine Fähigkeiten. Wir alle waren noch lange um's Feuer, das die Indianer wild aufflackern liessen, indem sie nachleuchtende dürre Stroh handbreitweise aus der Wand der Fledhütte rissen. Den schwarzen Gebrüder hatte sich Lucke als einzigen Kleidungsstücke hemmschlägt, ein Anderer hatte sich mit einer Angel das Ohr geschmückt. Meine ungeheure Zahnschlägt — es schmerzt noch die nicht verschwiegen zu durfen — hatte mich kaum einen Blicker gewendet.

Das Lied von der Wolkenkrone!

[pp. 139-152 not preserved]

[p. 153]

VIII. KAPITEL.

I. Geographie und Klassifikation der Stämme des Schingú-Quellgebiets.

Der alte, von seinen Grenzen durch einen *sonnert* bescheidenen Lippenpflock unterscheidende Häuptling der *Suyá* hatte um 1884 die lange Liste der Stämme aufgezählt, die am obern Schingú wohnhaft sind, und die Quellflüsse, an denen Ufer sie wohnen, mit dem Finger in den Sand gezeichnet. Vgl. «Durch Centralbrasilien», S. 214. Seine 13 Stammesnamen haben uns verleitet, die zweite Reise zu unternehmen. Im *Gesamten* und *Genauen*, muss man sagen, haben sich die Angaben unserer Gewährsmänner bestätigt. Seine Flussverzeichnung kann allerdings den kartographischen Ansprüchen unserer karaibischen Gewaltigkeit nicht genügen, allein auch da ist er mehr im Rechte gewesen, als wir zu erkennen vermochten, indem wir den Kulisehu mit dem Kuluene verwechselten. Nur ist die astronomische Lage der Ortschaften unter einander völlig verzerrt angegeben, da der Suyá für die grosse Reise dies einen Quellarm entlang auch einen sehr grossen Strich östlig hatte und das *Innere* in's endlose Südliche hinzudehnte.

Die Anwohner des Rosoro kennen wir nicht; Vogel hat den Ausdrückgeleg, der die Einmündung bei Schingú-Kuluene mit ihm behebt, so verstanden, dass es dort Kaiwichí und Kayapó gebe. Die Kaiwichí, von denen man etwas wenig, wohnen im Quellgebiet des Tapajós als ein Teil der *zahmen* Parecí-Indianer; es wäre im höchsten Grade interessant und wichtig, wenn die Parecí ebenso wie die Bakairí in eine «zahme» und eine «wilde» Gruppe zerfielen, da gerade an diesem einst volkreichen und hochentwickelten Nu-Aruak-Stamm die ruhe Zivilisierung Unerreichbares vernichtet hat. Die weitverbreiteten Kayapó wurden am Rosoro durchaus nicht beobachtet, da sie am Paranatinga häufig vorkommen und von den Brasilern hier nur mit den Coroado-Bororó verwechselt worden sind.

An dem Nebenfluss des Rosoro, dem Batovy-Tamitotsala,*) auf dem wir 1884 hinabfuhren, lagen vier Dörfer der Bakairí. Sein Unterlauf und das rechts anstossende Gebiet gehört den Kostenzó und den Waurá.

*) Früher fälsch Tamitatsala geschrieben. Ausdrücke Fels, Stein — *ta* steinern (*tsála*) einen Felsen, wie die Bakairí mir selbst angaben.

Es folgt nach Osten der Kulisehu. An seinem linken Ufer haben wir die drei Dörfer der Bakairi, Maigéri oder »Tapir starb«, Igućti oder Sperberdorf, Koyaqualiti oder Harpyendorf. Dann kommt am rechten Ufer das Dorf der Nahuquá. Wieder links liegt abseits und nicht von uns besucht ein viertes Dorf der Bakairi. Weiter flussabwärts sitzen am linken Ufer die Mehinakú in den beiden Dörfern, die die Bakairi als Paischućti (Hundsfischdorf) und Kalúti bezeichneten. Es scheint jedoch, dass es drei Dörfer giebt; die Paischućti-Mehinakú sprachen noch zuvor von den Yutapihi — das wäre »Kaluti« —, deren Hafen wir am 15. Oktober passierten, von den Atapihi, indem sie uns gleichzeitig vor den Ulapihi, Ulavapiti d. i. unsern Yaulapiti warnten. Von dem Mehinakúgebiet ab beginnen zahlreiche Kanäle, die mit einigen Lagunen das Gebiet zwischen den Unterläufen des Kulisehu und Batovy durchsetzen. Das Dorf der Auetó kann als eine Art Zentralpunkt für den Kanalverkehr gelten *). An zwei Lagunen finden wir in zwei Dörfern die Yaulapiti, an einer dritten Lagune die Kamayurá, die vier dicht bei einander liegende Ortschaften hatten und im Begriff waren, sie zu einer einzigen zu vereinigen. Eine Mischung von Yaulapiti und Auetó sind die Arauiti (vgl. S. 111).

Der Kulisehu mündet in den Kuluene; wenige Stunden Ruderns führten zu den an seinem rechten Ufer nicht weit oberhalb Schingú-Koblenz in zwei Dörfern angesiedelten Trumai. Von den Suyá vertrieben, beabsichtigte dieser Stamm, sich in der Nähe der Auetó ein neues Heim zu gründen. Oberhalb am Kuluene und auch an kleinen Zuflüssen zwischen ihm und dem Kulisehu sitzen die Nahuquá in einer Reihe von Ortschaften, die besondere Namen haben. Wir lernten einzelne Individuen kennen von den Guapiri, Yanumakapú, Guikurú und Yaurikumá; die Yanumakapú, die Enomakabihu der Bakairi, wohnen nicht am Hauptfluss, und von den Guapiri wurde seitens der Bakairi besonders hervorgehoben, dass man sie über Land zwischen Kulisehu und Kuluene finde. Im ersten Bakairidorf zählte mir Paleko die Nahuquá-Ortschaften des Kuluene auf und gab die Himmelsrichtung an, in der sie von Maigéri aus zu suchen wären; es sind, im Oberlauf beginnend: 1. Anuakúru oder Anahukú SO, 2. Alúiti oder Kanalutti O, 3. Yanurikumá oder Yaurikumá O bis OSO, 4. Apalaquiri ONO, 5. Guikurú ONO, 6. Mariapé NO. Hinter ihnen kamen die Trumai. So hatten wir mit den Guapiri, den Yanumakapú und den Nahuquá des Kulisehu 9 Nahuquádörfer.

Um das Bild abzurunden, erwähne ich noch die Suyá, die an dem Hauptstrom drei kleine Tagereisen unterhalb Schingú-Koblenz wohnen, von denen wir auf der zweiten Expedition nichts sahen, aber böse Geschichten hörten, und die Manitsaua, die an einem weiter abwärts einmündenden linken Nebenfluss sitzen und den Kamayurá und Yaulapiti gut bekannt sind. Wir trafen 1884 eine An-

*) Es ist wirklich merkwürdig, dass ihr Name diesen Sinn zu enthalten scheint. Sie werden von ihren Nachbarn »Auetó« genannt; nun heisst im Guaraní die unerweichte adjektivische Form *apitá* etwa im Zentrum, in der Mitte ista.

zahl Manitsaná in Gefangenschaft der Suyá. Erst 1887 hörten wir von den Yarumá oder Arumá, die sehr bald nach den Trumai den unangenehmen Besuch der Suyá empfangen haben sollten, und von denen uns die Kamayurá die merkwürdige Mitteilung machten, dass sie einen metallisch klingenden Oberschmuck trügen (vgl. S. 118). Es ist wahrscheinlich, dass wir in ihnen Mundurukú, den berühmten Kriegerstamm des Tapajoz erblicken müssen, dessen Spuren wir am Schingú längst vermisst haben. Die Paresi nannten die Mundurukú Sarumá, was lautlich dasselbe ist wie Yarumá. Ein Stück des Yarumá angeschriebener Keule von karajóähnlicher Arbeit kann den in der Uebereinstimmung der Namen liegenden Beweis nicht entkräften. Eine uns noch dunklere Existenz führen die Aratá; die Nahuquá erklärten, dass sie nichts taugten, und der Suyágewaqqah hatte sie ihnen zu Nachbarn gegeben. Ein Karajástamm?

Endlich habe ich noch, wiederum im obersten Quellgebiet, der Kayapó zu gedenken; sie sollen zwischen Kulischu und Kuluéne oberhalb der Nahuquá an den Quellen des Pakuneru leben, des kleinen Kulischu-Nebenflusses, dessen Namen mit dem Bakairí-Namen des Paranatinga identisch ist. Schon der Suyágewaqqah hatte als äusserste Bewohner die »Kayuquará« angegeben und ich hatte damals, wie es jetzt scheint, mit Recht vermutet, dass darunter Kayagó-Kayapó zu verstehen seien.

Die lange Reihe der Namen sieht schlimmer aus als sie in Wirklichkeit ist. Jedes Dorf hat seinen Namen, und der Freunde, der ihn hört, kann zunächst nicht beurteilen, ob er dort einen neuen oder einen bekannten Stamm zu erwarten hat. Das einfachste Beispiel sind die Nahuquá. »Nahuquá« heissen für den Indianer nur die Bewohner des Kulischodorfes; die Yaurikumá, Guikurú etc. nennen sich selbst nicht Nahuquá, und es ist nur der Zufall, der uns zuerst bei den »Nahuquá« einkehren liess, dass ich nun diesen Namen als den Stammesnamen vorführe. Geringe dialektische Verschiedenheiten mögen vorhanden sein, doch habe ich von den Yaurumakapi ein Verzeichnis der wichtigsten Wörter aufnehmen und mich auch für die Yaurikumá und Guikurú überzeugen können, dass ihre Sprache mit dem »Nahuquá« durchaus übereinstimmt. Die Bakairí sind von einem strengeren Nationalitätsgefühl beseelt, denn sie nennen sich Bakairí, ob sie nun im Quellgebiet des Arinos, des Paranatinga, des Batovy oder des Kulischu wohnen. Die Bakairí des Kulischu nennen sich nach Analogie der Nahuquá mit ihren Dorfnamen Maigéri, Igwéti und Kuyaquéiti etwa.

Es wäre ein Segen für die Ethnographie gewesen, wenn sich alle Stämme dieses schöne Beispiel der Bakairí zum Vorbild genommen hätten. Wir sehen hier an mehreren Beispielen deutlich, wie sich eine Familiengemeinschaft oder, wenn man will, ein Stamm räumlich verteilt, wie jede Sondergemeinschaft geneigt ist, auf den alten Zusammenhang zu verzichten und diesen deshalb unrettbar verlieren, ein neuer »Stamm« werden muss, wenn die Verschiebung andauert und anstatt mit den blutverwandten Nachbarn mit solchen anderer Abstammung engere Beziehungen unterhalten werden. Es bleibt uns unter diesen Umständen gar nichts

andere, ohne sie zunächst die sprachlichen Verwandtschaften heranzuziehen. Man braucht sie mit Blutverwandtschaften nicht zu verwechseln. Allein unter den kleinen einfachen Verhältnissen, um die es sich hier handelt, decken sich Sprachverwandtschaft und Blutverwandtschaft weit mehr als bei bitter zerfetzten Völkern, die eine durch die Schrift zu festem Gepräge ausgestaltete Sprache besitzen. Wenn in eine derart Familienverwandtschaften ein paar fremde Individuen eintreten, so werden sie, das ist ohne Weiteres zuzugeben, eine Kreuzung verursachen, die durch das Studium der Sprache nicht verraten wird. Aber Vermischungen in grösserem Umfang verändern auch die Sprache gewaltig. Die fremden Frauen, die Mütter werden, üben einen Einfluss auf die Sprache der Kinder aus, der z. B. in dem bestimmten handgreiflich hervortritt. Die Kinder der Karaiboninnen und Aruakfrauen sprachen bisweilen karaibisch, wie der jungen Mehrzahl in Brasilien portugiesisch sprechen, vielleicht eine neue Sprache, die wichtige grammatikalische Elemente und lustige Bewunderbrocken von den Müttern aufgenommen hatte. Das ist auch wenig wunderbar, denn die Kulturunterschiede zwischen den beiden Stämmen waren nicht unendlich, die Zahl der fremden Frauen war gross und diese brachten alle lokale Traditionen, die die eingeborenen Männer von neuem kennen, mit in die Ehe. Die Kinder waren genötigt, sich unwillkürlich für den Sprachstoff nach Vater- und Mutterseite hin umzugucken, als auch zwischen den vorgeier und dort gebrauchten Prädikaten oder Selbstwörtern, die für die Veränderung der Wortwurzeln durch den Einfluss auf den Stammauslaut oder den Stammanlaut von entscheidender Bedeutung sind, eine Auswahl zu treffen, und erfahren die auch durch keine Schulmeisterhaftigkeit gemildert, sondern in ihrem Leben tätige Wechselwirkung der bisher bei den zwei ehemaligen Stämmen geltenden Lautgesetze. Bei diesen Naturvölkern wird im Grossen das Mass der sprachlichen Differenzierung auch das Mass der anthropologischen Differenzierung sein.

Wenn wir uns nach den Sprachverwandtschaften der Kulaiko-Stämme umsehen und dadurch eine Redaktion der Liste gewinnen wollen, so müssen wir unsere Aufgabe bei den im übrigen Brasilien vorkommenden linguistischen Gruppen vorweg.

Es gibt noch zahlreiche einzelne Stämme, die, wie es, dass diese Sprachverwandten nicht mehr leben, wie es, dass wir sie nicht kennen, isolierte Sprachen reden. Hierher haben wir vorläufig, um sie gleich aus dem Wege zu räumen, die Trumai zu rechnen. Es ist mir nicht gelungen, sie irgendwo in der Nähe oder in der Ferne unterzubringen. Sie haben eine Menge Kulturwörter von ihren Nachbarn, den Kamayurá und Aweti entlehnt, aber der Kern und das Wesen ihres Idioms ist eigenartig und anderen Ursprungs, wie auch der leibliche Typus von allen Kulaiko-Stämmen abweicht.

Von den Karaiben bis zum Atlantischen Ozean, vom La Plata bis zu den Antillen sind vier grosse Sprachfamilien verbreitet: Tupuya, Tupi, Karaiben und Ne-Aruak.

Die Tupaya sind die ostwärtigsten Aborigines, die Waldbewohner des Kamapuhiten und die Bewohner des Innern bis zu einer westlichen Grenze, als die für den Hauptstock der Schingú gelten kann. Sie zerfallen in zwei Abteilungen, eine westliche, die Gés auch Mortiés, und eine östliche, zu denen die primitiven Waldstämme des Ostens und die Botócudos gehören. Die westlichen Vorposten der Gés sind die Kayapó und Suyá. Mit letzteren haben wir uns bei dem Bericht über die zweite Expedition nicht weiter befaßt, nur muß jetzt die interessante Thatsache nachgetragen werden, daß die Suyá früher noch viel weiter westlich gewohnt haben. Sie waren im Westen des Paranatinga an seinem linken Nebenfluß, dem Rio Verde, in der Nachbarschaft der Kayabí und Bakairí ansässig und wurden vor nicht langer Zeit von hier zum Schingú, zum dort wohl sogar, zurück vertrieben. Die ganze Masse der Gés sitzt seit unbekanntlichen Zeiten östlich des Schingú, und die nächsten Verwandten der Suyá, die Apinagés, wohnen in dem Winkel, wo Araguay und Tokantins zusammenfließen.

Die Tupí sind über ungeheure Strecken zersplittert. Ihre Nordgrenze liegt im Grossen und Ganzen an den östlichen Nebenflüssen des Amazonas, sie berührt die Küste von der Mündung des Amazonas bis zu der des La Plata bewohnt, der Guarani von Paraguay ordne nur einem Dialekt der Tupí. Wir begegnen den Tupí an dem Oberlauf des Schingú, des Tapajós, des Madeira, ja des Marañón. Ihre Sprache wurde von den Jesuiten zu der Verkehrssprache, der *Lingua geral* erhoben. Zum grossen Nutzen für die Praxis, zum Unglück für die Sprachkunde. Ihre Interesse für das Tupí hat die Wissenschaft so blendet, alle andern Sprachen bisher vielfachtlich behandelt lassen, zahlreiche Bände aus älter und neuer Zeit sind dem gewidmet, von keinem der Tupígrammatiker, weder von dem Botócudo noch einem Gés-Stamme, dessen linguistische Erforschung wegen der anderen Kulturstufe zu den wichtigsten der Erde gehören würde, und die in Wirklichkeit den Kern der ostbrasilischen Urbevölkerung gebildet haben, gibt es mehr als dürftige Vokabularien. Soll sprachlich das Tupí mehr der brasilischen Gebiete ungefähr Alles, was über die Eingeborenen gedruckt wird. Es ist glücklich, die Tupí in nahe Verwandtschaft mit den Arawak zu setzen und leiten von dem Tupí die übrigen Sprachen einem Vaterlande ab; diese Eingeborenen sind aber wirklich so weit verbreitet, daß es nicht abzusehen ist, wie jetzt noch noch dort unterscheiden, wo sie selbst noch sie beisammen sind. Am Kolumbia gehören zu denen die Aceti und die Komayurá, letztere in grosserer Uebereinstimmung mit der Lingua geral.

Die Karaíbes sind im Norden des Amazonenstromes weit den Zeiten der Entdecker bekannt. Am Kolumbia waren wir der Karaíbes, und es sind wohl noch ursprünglich die ersten Karaíbes die ersten Fremden gewesen, die, wie in mehreren andern Fällen geschehen und wie wirklich bei dem Umgang-dem in einer unbekannten Sprache oft schwer zu vermeiden ist, den Stammesnamen verkehrt auffassten und das auf sie selbst bezügliche Wort dann machten. Der Name wird natürlich von den Tupinamos aus dem weiter auf den Kleinen Antillen noch an der Nordküste des Kontinents gesprochenen Tupí abgeleitet. Die Bakairí

[illegible] von „Karibe“ mit deutlicher Betonung des „r“, das Wort lässt sich aus dieser Sprache erklären als «nicht wie wir», während der Gegensatz «wie wir» Karibe heisst. Doch wollen wir die recht unsichere Etymologie beiseite lassen, es kann uns genügen, dass das Wort ein in unserm Sinn karaibisches ist, von den Tupi der Küste in der oben verkürzten Form „Aoré“ — nicht in der Form „Aorgé“ der Lingua geral! — übernommen wurde und auch Allen für uns «Karaibe» und nicht, wie man sich jetzt vielfach zu schreiben gewöhnt hat, «Karibe» heißen muss. Karaiben sind an obern Schingú die Bakairi und die Nahuquá. Ihre Sprache ist grundverschieden von dem Tupi und die Lieblingshypothese mancher ungeschulterer Forscher, dass die Tupi und die Karaiben Verwandte seien, ist durch die beiden Schingúexpeditionen endgültig beseitigt worden, die Wörterbücher der beiden Sprachen zeigen keine Uebereinstimmung.

Die Nu-Aruak erfahren in den Untersuchungen der Nu-Stämme und der Aruak. «Nu» bedeutet das Lautsmal dieser Stämme, das für die meisten von diesen lautet; charakteristische Pronomenformen der ersten Person, dem wir von Bolivien und vom Matogrosso bis zu den Kleinen Antillen begegnen. Die Nu-Aruak stehen wir so den Gegnern in unsicher Berührung mit den Karaiben, auf den Kleinen Antillen, wo die Aruak von den Karaiben überfallen und vernichtet worden waren, wurde die Vernichtung bewirkende Aruak der Europäer oder Weißen. Endlich auch eine wirkliche Verschmelzung zu Stande gekommen: der Pater Raymond Breton hat um 1665 ein Wörterbuch der Inselkaraiben überliefert, dessen eingeborenen-grammatischer Teil, leider nur dieser, durch das Verdienst von Julien Platonoff in einer Pariser Ausgabe allgemein zugänglich geworden ist (Leipzig 1892), und hat sich endlich herausgestellt, die Wörter der karaibischen Männer und die der weiblichen Weiber, wie er verzeichnet hatten, miteinander zu tuhen, durch eine Zusammenstellung dieser Bewiesen, dass dadurch nicht nur, sondern dass die karaibischen Männer den Stoff und Ton dieser alten Mutter-sprache ganz gewiss durch die neue Sprache dieser Mutter hatten erfunden lassen.

An dem weit entfernten Kulturbau haben wir den genauen Spiegelbild der Verhältnisse in den Lingua geral gezeichnet. Die Mehinaki, Kuikuro, Waurá und Yaulapiti sind Nu-Aruak, die Karaiben machen sich bei den Nahuquá, der entfernten Mehinaki-Weiber aufgenommen hatten, in Sprache und Kulturelemente deutlich geltend.

Die Stämme des Schingú-Quellgebiets sind also nach der linguistischen Untersuchung folgendermassen zu klassifizieren (die Zahl der Gewehrkolben in Klammern):

Karaiben: Bakairi (8), Nahuquá (2).
Nu-Aruak: Mehinaki (3), Waurá (1), Kuikuro (1) Yaulapiti (1).
Tupi: Kamayurá (4), Aweti (1).
Isolirt: Trumai (2).

Wie die Nahuquá neun verschiedene »Stämme«, die nur neun verschiedenen selbständigen Ortschaften entsprechen, in sich begriffen, so könnten wir die Mehinakú, Waurá und Kustenaú ebenfalls unter einem Stamm zusammenfassen. Diese drei Stämme sprechen genau dieselbe Idiom. Sie bilden auch, wie wir sehen werden, eine ethnologische Einheit, und mögen, damit wir den von einmal berechtigten Stammnamen, wie bei den Nahuquá thatsächlich geschehen ist, keine Gewalt anthun, wo wir einen zusammenfassenden Ausdruck bedürfen, nach dem wichtigsten ethnologischen Merkmal als die Töpferstämme bezeichnet werden. Neben ihnen stehen die Yaulapití als ein sprachlich nahverwandter, aber doch schon deutlich in Dialekt unterschiedener und andere Einflüsse verratender Na-Aruákstamm.

So hat sich das Rechenexempel dahin vereinfacht, dass wir Karaíbes vor uns haben in den Bakairí und den Nahuquá, Na-Aruák in den Töpferstämmen und den Yaulapití, Tupí in den Aweté und den Kamayurá, und als einen Rest, der nicht aufgeht, die Trumai übrig behalten.

II. Anthropologisches.

Die körperliche Erscheinung der Kulisehu-Indianer brauchen, soweit es bei der kurzen Bekanntschaft mit den einzelnen Stämmen anging, eine Reihe von Messungen angestellt worden, die nicht sehr zahlreich ausgefallen und, sich auch weder gleichmässig auf die verschiedenen Stämme noch auf die beiden Geschlechter vertheilen, immerhin aber ein interessantes Material darbieten. Einige Fehlerquellen seitens des Beobachters wurden als bereits angestellt werden dürfen, da die Messungen vielfach von Ehrenreich ausgeführt worden sind. Dieser hat auch eine weit grössere Anzahl von Photographien aufgenommen als hier wiedergegeben werden konnte; sie sind aber zum Theil sehr fleckig geworden und nur schwierig zu reproduciren.*) Er gedenkt das bildliche Material noch zu verwerten und den gesammelten Stoff der Messungen in einem Einzelbeitrag und nach neuem Vergleichswerk für die übrigen südamerikanischen Indianer zu behandeln; ich beschränke mich hier auf einige Vorarbeiten und gebe von den hauptsächlichsten Messungen wenigstens die reduzierten Maxe nach Maximum, Minimum und arithmetischem Mittel wieder, um nur in den groben Umrissen die Proportionen des indianischen Körpers zu ziehen.

Zu den Messungen diente das Virchow'sche Instrumentarium: Messstange mit zusammenlegbarem Fundament, Tastzirkel und Stangenzirkel, neue Stahl-

*) Wie mir an Einzelbeiten aus dem Ehrenreich'schen Nachlass ergeben, sind hier nach Photographien reproduciert: beide Geschlechter von Bakairí, Mehinakú und Kamayurá, sowie verschiedenen Stämme von Nahuquá und Aweté, während Yaulapití und Trumai überhaupt fehlen.

handenen. Die Masse werden in ein gedrucktes Virchow'sches Schema (vgl. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie XVII p. 1081) eingetragen. Gemessen wurden: Bakairi Männer 10, Frauen 6; Nahuquá Männer 15, Frauen 12; Mehinakú Männer 6, Frauen 5; Kuikuruú Frauen 1; Waurá Männer 1, Frauen 1; Aweté Männer 14, Frauen 2; Kamayurá Männer 14, Frauen 4; Trumai Männer 8; im Ganzen 68 Männer und 31 Frauen. Ich werde die Stämme stets so anordnen, dass die arithmetischen Mittel der Mannerzahlen von oben nach unten zunehmen.

Körperhöhe.

	Männer	Max.	Min.	Mittl.	Frauen	Max.	Min.	Mittl.
Trumai	8	1650	1550	1598,1	—	—	—	—
Aweté	14	1710	1555	1588,8	2	1560,5	1500,0	1480,0
Kuikuruú	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1500,0
Bakairi	10	1680,5	1510,5	1580,8	6	1600,0	1400,5	1501,8
Nahuquá	15	1680,0	1555,5	1580,5	12	1600,0	1455,0	1501,1
Mehinakú	6	1680,0	1550,0	1580,1	5	1555,0	1455,5	1501,4
Kamayurá	14	1710,0	1550,0	1580,1	4	1555,0	1550,0	1552,8
Waurá	1	—	—	1580,0	1	—	—	1470,0

Das arithmetische Mittel aus den Körperhöhen aller dieser 67 Männer ohne Rücksicht auf den Stamm beträgt 1581,9.

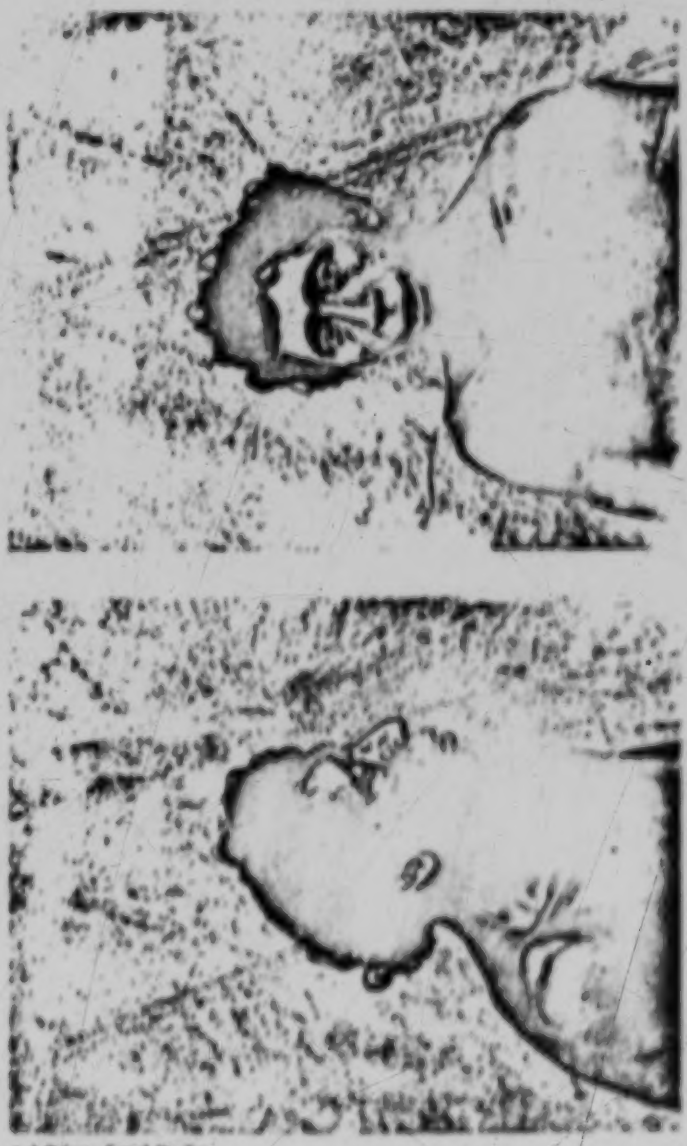
Ohne Zweifel ist die Zahl aber zu niedrig. Schliessen wir alle jüngeren Individuen aus bis zurück zu dem gesetzlichen Alter von 25 Jahren und erhalten auch eine zu 1500 Jahren geschätzten Nahuquá, dem das Maximum von 1555,5 angehört, wenn dem eine jüngere Kamayurá mit dem Maximum von 1550,0 Körperhöhe zur, so erhalten wir die folgende Verschiebung der Stämme und Verminderung der Zahlen. Die Massen blieben ungeändert.

	Männer	Max.	Min.	
Trumai	8	1550,0	1550,0	gegen 1598,1
Bakairi	5	1560,5	1560,5	„ 1580,8
Aweté	6	1555,5	1560,5	„ 1580,0
Nahuquá	10	1560,0	1560,5	„ 1560,5
Kamayurá	6	1550,0	1560,5	„ 1560,1
Mehinakú	6	1550,0	1560,0	„ 1560,1

Das arithmetische Mittel dieser 39 Männer, die nach der Schätzung dem Alter von 20—30 Jahren angehören werden, beträgt 1560,8. Wir sehen, dass entweder die Trumai und die Bakairi ein niedrigeres Mittel, die übrigen aber ein höheres erhalten haben, und zwar ist der Unterschied am erheblichsten bei den Mehinakú.

Wenn man mit Topinard 1625 cm als die Durchschnittsgrösse des Erwachsenen annimmt, so bleiben die Kalmuk-Indianer im Mittel unter Durchschnittsgrösse. Unterdurchschnittswerthe für alle Anwohner der Trumai, die bereits die Grenze von 1600 cm um einiges Weniges überschreiten. Die Zahlen stehen im Einklang mit denen, die Topinard in seiner Tabelle für die Aruakaner und Botokuden mit 1612, für die Peruaner mit 1610 angiebt. Der grösste Wuchs am Kalmuk war ein Kamayurá mit 1710,0, der kleinste der Bakairi mit jedenfalls Gesichtstypen (Tafel 13) mit 1500,5. Für die Bakairi habe ich 1584 etwas höhere

2:Steinen SP7 Bacairi



[Facing p. 160]

Zahlen erhalten; am Batovy betrug das Mittel von 7 Messungen 163,6; am Rio Novo und Paranatinga von 14 das Mittel 164,1. Sie möchte ich deshalb wie in der ersten Tabelle den Auetö in der Stator vorangehen lassen.

Die Frauen waren von ausgesprochen kleinem Wuchs. Das Maximum 161,2 gehörte der langen Bakairi, die in der Frauengruppe (Tafel 5) erscheint, der »Egypterin» des ersten Dorfes, das Minimum 139,5 der einen der beiden nur gemessenen Auetöfrauen, während die andere 156,5 maß, aber durch kleine Finger und Zehen bemerkenswert auffiel.

Das arithmetische Mittel der 31 gemessenen Frauen ohne Rücksicht auf das Alter beträgt 151,7.

Es geht nicht gut an, auch bei den Frauen alle Individuen bis einschließlich der zu 25 Jahren zuzurechnen, denn es bliebe alsdann wenigstens von den Bakairi nur die lange Egypterin übrig, die zwanzigmal mit »25—30» Jahren meines Kraftmaßes zu alt geschätzt ist. Lassen wir aber alle Frauen bis einschließlich der von 20 Jahren beiseite und ebenso eine »60» jährige Mehinakö von 151,0, so erhalten wir:

	Frauen	Min.	Max.		
Waurá	1	—	143,5	gegen	143,5
Auetö	2	139,5	148,0	„	148,0
Kamayurá	1		150,0	„	150,0
Mehinakö	3	149,5	150,8	„	150,4
Nahuquá	10	149,0	151,0	„	150,2
Bakairi	8	149,5	152,0	„	151,0
Kuikuruá	2	150,5	155,0	„	152,8

Das arithmetische Mittel dieser 22 Frauen beträgt 150,1, doch ist das Mittel der Mehinakö und Nahuquá nach Ausscheidung der jüngsten Frauen niedriger geworden. Die durchschnittliche Differenz zwischen den beiden Geschlechtern war 10,5 cm oder die Frauen waren durchschnittlich um 6,5% kleiner als die Männer.

Die bestgebauten Indianer fanden sich unter den Mehinakö, vgl. Tafel 14, sehr stämmigen Burschen, und den Nahuquá, vgl. das Bild auf Seite 94. Die auffallendste Erscheinung an ihrem Körperbau ist der breite und tiefe Brustkasten und die gewaltige Schulterbreite der Männer. Die Beckenbreite erscheint geringer als die Thoraxbreite. Aeltere Männer und die Kinder unterscheiden sich häufig durch ein Bauchlein nun. Die Frauen hatten wenig breite Hüften, die Waden waren schwach und die Füße etwas einwärts gewetzt, wie wenn sie immer auf schmalem Pfade gingen, sodaß der Gang besonders der mit einer Last dahinwippenden Frau bemerkenswert schien war. Wir haben eigentlich nur eine Indianerin gesehen, deren Figur auch nach unserm Begriffe gewiß und ebenmäßig war, es ist das schlanke Mädchen in der Mitte der Gruppe auf Tafel 5, deren die Photographie allerdings nicht gerecht wird.

Kleiderwaffen. Körperbilder — usw.

Die Schwarzhaupte sind im Unterhaar bei jedem Stamme gleich, bewegen sich aber innerhalb ähnlicher Grenzen, sodaß der Unterschied in den arithmetischen

Mittels der Serien ausgeschritt. Dass die Klafterweite geringer war als die Körperhöhe, fand sich je einmal bei den Aweté (— 0,5), den Kamayurá (— 1,3) und den Trumai (— 3,8).

	Männer	Min.	Max.	Mittl.	Frauen	Min.	Max.	Mittl.
Trumai	7	106,2	97,5	100,7	—	—	—	—
Nahuquá	14	105,7	100,1	103,5	11	108,8	100,3	103,8
Kamayurá	14	107,0	99,7	104,8	4	105,6	102,1	103,5
Bakairí	10	108,2	100,1	104,8	6	105,8	101,8	103,8
Kaiabi					1	—	—	105,0
Mehinaku	6	107,3	100,5	105,0	3	108,7	102,5	105,5
Aweté	13	108,4	99,7	105,0	3	106,0	102,8	103,8
Waurá	1		—	108,5	1	—	—	108,5

Der Nahuquá, Kamayurá, Bakairí, Mehinaku, Aweté erscheinen hier in gleicher Reihenfolge wie bei dem Maß des Brustumfangs.

Schulterbreite. A. Körperhöhe = 100.

	Männer	Min.	Max.	Mittl.	Frauen	Min.	Max.	Mittl.
Nahuquá	5	25,0	23,4	24,1	1		—	24,4
Kamayurá	6	24,0	23,6	24,4	2	23,7	21,5	24,1
Waurá	1		—	24,6	1		—	23,8
Aweté	6	25,7	23,0	24,5	2	23,7	23,0	23,4
Bakairí	10	24,7	23,0	24,2	5	24,1	23,0	23,7
Trumai	1			24,9				
Mehinaku	6	25,5	24,6	25,0				

B. Absolut.

	Männer	Min.	Max.	Mittl.	Frauen	Min.	Max.	Mittl.
Aweté	6	40,0	37,0	38,0	2	38,0	33,0	38,5
Nahuquá	5	41,0	37,5	38,0	1		—	38,0
Waurá	1			38,5	1	—	—	38,0
Bakairí	10	41,0	38,0	38,7	5	38,0	33,0	35,0
Trumai	1		—	40,0	—	—	—	—
Kamayurá	6	41,5	39,0	40,0	2	36,0	33,5	36,0
Mehinaku	6	44,5	39,5	41,0	—	—	—	—

Brustumfang. A. Körperhöhe = 100.

	Männer	Min.	Max.	Mittl.	Frauen	Min.	Max.	Mittl.
Nahuquá	14	57,0	51,8	55,1	11	59,1	48,5	55,0
Kamayurá	6	59,0	53,0	55,8	2	57,0	57,5	57,5
Bakairí	10	55,8	54,6	56,5	6	59,1	57,0	56,0
Trumai	1			56,8	—		—	—
Kaiabi			—		1	—	—	54,7
Mehinaku	6	60,5	57,0	57,8	3	59,0	56,0	57,0
Aweté	14	61,0	55,8	58,1	3	56,5	55,8	56,0

Diese Zahlen sind sehr hoch. Nach Topinard haben die Schotten 56,3, mittelamerikanische Indianer 55,5, die Deutschen 53,8. Die auffallendste starke Entwicklung des Brustumfangs und der Schulterbreite ist auch das Element, das bei dem Anblick unserer Indianer sich als auffallendstes aufdrängt. Man betrachte den Mehinaku links auf Tafel 14. Selbst die Nahuquá, die in den

Messungen am schlechtesten weghommen, zeichnen sich durch einen kräftigen Thorax aus, vergl. das Bild S. 95. Die Aweté mit ihrem niedrigen Wuchs haben den verhältnismässig grössten Brustumfang.

Bei der Wichtigkeit dieses Maßes gebe ich die Indizes auch

B. Abmessungen.

	Männer	Max.	Min.	Mittel	Frauen	Max.	Min.	Mittel
Nahuquá	14	98.0	83.5	89.5	12	89.5	79.0	84.0
Bakairí	10	94.0	84.0	90.0	5	86.0	75.5	81.7
Trumai	1	—	—	91.0	—	—	—	—
Kamayurá	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	82.0
Kamayurá	6	97.5	87.5	91.0	2	86.0	78.5	82.0
Aweté	14	96.0	87.0	93.1	3	87.0	78.5	84.7
Waurá	1	—	—	94.0	1	—	—	79.0
Mehinaku	6	100.5	91.5	95.1	3	90.0	78.0	84.0

Kopfbreite. Körperhöhe = 100.

	Männer	Max.	Min.	Mittel	Frauen	Max.	Min.	Mittel
Kamayurá	6	15.5	14.4	15.0	2	14.0	13.7	14.0
Mehinaku	6	15.2	14.2	15.0	—	—	—	—
Nahuquá	6	15.8	14.7	15.0	1	—	—	14.5
Bakairí	10	15.1	13.1	14.1	5	14.4	13.0	13.8
Waurá	1	—	—	14.3	1	—	—	14.5
Aweté	6	14.8	14.1	14.3	3	13.8	13.0	14.1
Trumai	1	—	—	14.5	—	—	—	—

Das Maß schwankt also zwischen 13 und 15 % der Gesamthöhe. Bei den Männern findet sich verhältnismässig niedrigere Köpfe als bei den Frauen. Das Maximum 15.8 % gehört einer Aweté-Frau, das Minimum 12.4 % einem Kamayurá an.

Kopfumfang. Körperhöhe = 100.

	Männer	Max.	Min.	Mittel	Frauen	Max.	Min.	Mittel
Trumai	1	—	—	36.0	—	—	—	—
Kamayurá	6	35.0	33.5	34.7	2	34.0	34.0	34.0
Bakairí	10	35.2	33.5	34.7	5	35.2	33.7	34.4
Mehinaku	6	35.0	33.8	35.0	—	—	—	—
Nahuquá	5	36.0	33.8	34.0	1	—	—	34.0
Waurá	1	—	—	34.5	1	—	—	35.0
Aweté	6	35.0	33.8	34.5	3	36.0	34.0	35.0

Das Maximum der Gesamtheit betrifft eine Bakairí-Frau, die besonders klein war und nur 146.5 cm Körperhöhe hatte. Die Waurá-Fra mit 36.0 war 147.5 cm gross. Ihr folgt im Mindestmass schon der Trumai-Mann mit Körperhöhe 160.7 und Kopfumfang 35.0, sodass die schon beim kleinen Aweté auffällige Thatsache, wie klein die Köpfe der Trumai verhältnismässig waren, durch die Zahl 36.0 deutlich zum Ausdruck gelangt. Die Aweté dagegen auch durch ihre kleine Statur ausgezeichnet, hatten wenigstens ziemlich grosse Köpfe, wie die einen umfangreichen Brustkasten hatten.

Längenbreiten-Index des Kopfes.

	Männer	Max.	Min.	Mittl.	Frauen	Max.	Min.	Mittl.
Waurá	3	—	—	75,4	3	—	—	84,8
Mehinaku	6	79,0	75,0	77,7	3	86,0	74,8	77,4
Kuikuro	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	78,5
Kamayurá	14	84,8	75,0	78,8	4	81,7	74,4	77,9
Bakairi	10	84,6	73,8	78,9	6	84,2	73,8	84,1
Aweiú	14	83,3	73,0	78,6	5	80,3	77,6	78,9
Nahuquá	15	84,8	73,4	84,2	10	84,1	73,7	84,8
Uaurá	8	83,8	78,0	84,1	—	—	—	—

Meine Messungen der Bakairi von 1884 weichen von denen der Kalisch-Bakairi nicht unerheblich ab.

Abb. 10. Aweiú.

	Max.	Min.	Mittl.
6 Männer von Suyá	79,0	77,1	77,9
6 " " Panamaigo	80,0	75,7	77,1
6 " " Rio Xingu	83,0	78,1	79,0

Wir sehen, dass die Verschiedenheiten der Mittel zwischen den einzelnen Stämmen sowohl als auch zwischen den individuen derselben Gruppen gross sind, dass es sich im allgemeinen um mesokephale Schädel handelt, und dass am entschiedensten die Tendenz der Grenze zur Brachykephalie überschritten. Ordnet man die Frauen der Stämme, die Seiten dichtem, nach den Mitteln, so ist die Reihenfolge derselbe wie bei den Männern: Mehinaku, Kamayurá, Bakairi, Aweiú, Nahuquá. Nur bei den Bakairi ist der Index der Frauen gleichmässiger bei Maximum, Minimum und Mittel höher als der Männer.

Verhältnis von Kopflänge zur Ohrhöhe. Grösste Länge des Kopfes = 100.

	Männer	Min.	Max.	Mittel	Frauen	Min.	Max.	Mittel
Bakairi	10	94,2	99,0	96,2	8	91,0	99,1	95,8
Kamayurá	11	94,5	96,8	95,7	9	88,7	98,0	94,4
Aweikoma	14	90,2	98,0	95,4	8	85,4	93,0	94,7
Kaingang	—	—	—	—	0	—	—	95,3
Mehinakú	8	91,0	93,5	95,5	5	88,7	99,4	95,3
Yaulapiti	1	—	—	95,5	1	—	—	95,5
Nahuquá	13	91,5	95,5	95,4	13	95,0	95,0	95,0
Trumai	8	93,0	98,0	94,5	—	—	—	—

Die Nahuquá und die Trumai, die die breitesten Schädel besitzen, besitzen auch die höchsten.

Kieferwinkel. A. Unterrand—Kinn = 100.

	Männer	Min.	Max.	Mittel	Frauen	Min.	Max.	Mittel
Bakairi	9	98,2	99,0	97,9	8	94,5	99,0	96,6
Yaulapiti	1	—	—	96,0	0	—	—	96,0
Trumai	1	—	—	96,5	—	—	—	—
Kamayurá	6	94,4	97,7	96,3	3	95,8	96,5	96,7
Mehinakú	6	95,5	99,0	96,6	—	—	—	—
Yaulapiti	3	94,5	99,0	96,0	0	—	—	96,5
Tupí	4	94,0	96,5	96,0	3	94,0	99,0	96,0

B. Nasenwurzel—Kinn = 100.

	Männer	Min.	Max.	Mittel	Frauen	Min.	Max.	Mittel
Trumai	1	—	—	96,5	—	—	—	—
Kamayurá	6	93,0	94,5	94,3	3	95,0	96,7	96,3
Bakairi	9	95,7	96,5	96,3	8	95,0	97,7	96,1
Tupí	4	94,7	97,0	96,4	3	95,0	96,0	95,3
Mehinakú	6	95,0	96,5	96,0	—	—	—	—
Yaulapiti	3	100,5	96,0	98,7	1	—	—	100,0
Nahuquá	1	—	—	100,0	1	—	—	96,0

Die Gesichter der Nahuquá erscheinen besonders wegen der Breite der Kieferwinkel sehr eckig.

Jochbogen. A. Unterrand—Kinn = 100.

	Männer	Min.	Max.	Mittel	Frauen	Min.	Max.	Mittel
Nahuquá	1	—	—	96,5	1	—	—	96,5
Yaulapiti	3	94,0	96,0	95,0	1	—	—	95,0
Trumai	1	—	—	95,5	—	—	—	—
Bakairi	9	95,0	97,7	96,0	8	95,0	97,0	96,0
Tupí	4	95,5	97,1	96,8	3	97,0	98,7	98,1
Kamayurá	6	95,5	96,5	97,0	3	95,0	96,5	95,8
Mehinakú	6	96,0	96,5	96,8	—	—	—	—

B. Nasenwurzel—Kinn = 100.

	Männer	Min.	Max.	Mittel	Frauen	Min.	Max.	Mittel
Nahuquá	1	—	—	100,0	1	—	—	100,0
Yaulapiti	3	100,5	102,0	102,0	1	100,0	100,5	100,0
Tupí	3	100,0	103,0	102,7	3	100,0	100,5	100,1
Bakairi	9	100,0	106,7	104,7	8	100,5	106,5	104,0
Kamayurá	6	100,0	105,7	102,7	3	100,5	105,5	103,0
Mehinakú	6	—	—	—	3	—	—	100,0
Trumai	1	102,5	100,0	101,0	—	—	—	—
Kaingang	3	100,5	101,0	100,0	3	101,0	102,0	101,3

Wangenbeinhöcker. A. Hauptmaß—Kaut [illegible]

	Wasser	Min.	Max.	Mittl.	Frauen	Min.	Max.	Mittl.
Tonga	7	—	—	[illegible]	—	—	—	—
Bakairi	8	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	6	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Waurá	4	—	—	[illegible]	1	—	—	[illegible]
Nahuqua	5	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	—	—	[illegible]
Yaulí	4	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Mehináku	6	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	—	—
Kamayurá	7	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

B. Nasenwurzel—Kaut [illegible]

	Wasser	Min.	Max.	Mittl.	Frauen	Min.	Max.	Mittl.
Tonga	1			[illegible]	—			
Yaulí	4	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Bakairi	7	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	6	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Kamayurá	6	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Nahuqua	5	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	—	—	[illegible]
Waurá	4	—	—	[illegible]	1	—	—	[illegible]
Mehináku	6	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	—	—

Mittelgesicht. Nasenwurzel—Kaut [illegible]

	Wasser	Min.	Max.	Mittl.	Frauen	Min.	Max.	Mittl.
Nahuqua	5	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	—	—
Tonga	1	—	—	[illegible]	—	—	—	—
Kamayurá	6	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Mehináku	6	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	—	—
Bakairi	8	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	6	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Yaulí	4	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Waurá	4	—		[illegible]	1	—	—	[illegible]

Nasenhöhle. Nasenlänge [illegible]

	Wasser	Min.	Max.	Mittl.	Frauen	Min.	Max.	Mittl.
Mehináku	6	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]				
Waurá	4	—		[illegible]	1	—		[illegible]
Bakairi	8	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	6	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Kamayurá	6	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Nahuqua	5	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1		—	[illegible]
Tonga	1			[illegible]			—	
Yaulí	4	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Nasenbreite. Nasenbreite [illegible]

	Wasser	Min.	Max.	Mittl.	Frauen	Min.	Max.	Mittl.
Waurá	4	—		[illegible]	1	—	—	[illegible]
Tonga	1		—	[illegible]	—	—	—	—
Yaulí	4	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Kamayurá	6	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Bakairi	8	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	6	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Mehináku	6	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	—	—
Nahuqua	5	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	—	—	[illegible]

Schulterbreite. Körperhöhe = 100.

	Männer	Max.	Min.	Var.	Frauen	Max.	Min.	Var.
Kamayurá	1	—	—	84,4	—			—
Nahuquá	1	83,8	80,1	84,4	12	85,7	81,4	85,8
Kaingang	14	85,7	81,1	85,9	4	84,1	81,9	85,9
Tupari	1	—	—	85,8	—	—	—	—
Mehinaku	6	84,8	81,1	85,8	3	84,4	81,8	85,8
Aweú	14	86,0	81,4	85,4	3	85,1	81,1	86,4
Xiriana	1	—	—	85,8	1	—	—	84,8
Bakairi	10	85,6	81,8	85,9	6	84,1	81,1	85,4

Das Maximum unter den Männern von 86,0 hat ein Aweú, das Minimum von 80,1 ein Nahuquá, bei den Frauen findet sich umgekehrt das Maximum von 85,7 bei einer Nahuquá und das Minimum von 81,1 bei einer Aweú. Die Differenz zwischen den Geschlechtern ist also am größten bei den Nahuquá und den Aweú, im Durchschnitt wäre der Mann bei den Nahuquá in den Schultern um 1,1 % der Gesamthöhe niedriger und bei den Aweú um 1,2 % höher als die Frau.

Beckenbreite. Körperhöhe = 100.

	Männer	Max.	Min.	Var.	Frauen	Max.	Min.	Var.
Mehinaku	6	80,1	76,1	78,1	—	—	—	—
Nahuquá	1	77,6	77,6	78,6	1	—	—	77,8
Kaingang	6	81,8	76,1	78,8	1	80,1	77,7	80,1
Xiriana	1	—	—	78,7	1	—	—	80,7
Bakairi	10	81,6	77,8	78,7	6	80,8	77,1	80,1
Aweú	8	81,1	77,1	80,8	8	77,6	77,1	78,8
Tupari	1	—	—	80,8	—	—	—	78,8

Männer: Maximum 81,6 Kaingang, Minimum 77,8 Bakairi und Nahuquá. Frauen: Maximum 80,8 Bakairi und Minimum 77,1 Aweú.

Symphysenbreite. Körperhöhe = 100.

	Männer	Max.	Min.	Var.	Frauen	Max.	Min.	Var.
Mehinaku	6	37,7	36,1	36,9	—	—	—	—
Nahuquá	1	37,1	37,1	37,1	1	—	—	36,9
Tupari	1	—	—	37,1	—	—	—	—
Aweú	8	37,7	37,1	37,9	8	37,1	36,1	37,1
Kaingang	6	37,6	36,7	37,1	6	37,1	36,6	36,9
Bakairi	10	37,1	36,6	37,1	6	37,1	36,6	37,1
Xiriana	1	—	—	37,6	1	—	—	37,1

Hier ist überall das arithmetische Mittel bei den Frauen geringer als bei den Männern derselbe Stamm. Die Mehinakú-Frauen fehlen leider, doch liegt das Minimum der Gesamtzahl für beide Geschlechter mit 36,1 bei den Mehinakú-Männern. Innerhalb der Männer Maximum 37,7 Bakairi, Minimum Mehinakú, innerhalb der Frauenreihen Maximum 37,1 bei den Aweú, Minimum 36,9 bei den Kaingang.

Darmbeinkammbreite. Körperhöhe = 100.

	Männer	Max.	Min.	Var.	Frauen	Max.	Min.	Var.
Mehinaku	6	38,6	35,6	38,6	—	—	—	—
Nahuquá	1	37,1	37,1	38,7	1	—	—	38,6
Bakairi	10	38,6	36,1	38,6	6	38,1	35,6	38,7

	Männer	Min.	Max.	Mittel	Frauen	Min.	Max.	Mittel
Trumai	1	—	—	[illegible]	—	—	—	—
Kamayurá	4	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Yawari	1	—	—	[illegible]	1	—	—	[illegible]
Suyá	4	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Maximum 63,3 und Frauenmaximum 61,0 bei den Kamayurá.

Armlänge. Körperhöhe = 100.

	Männer	Min.	Max.	Mittel	Frauen	Min.	Max.	Mittel
Nahuquá	4	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	10	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Nahuquá	9	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	5	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Aweti	14	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	3	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Trumai	1	—	—	[illegible]	—	—	—	—
Kalapalo	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	[illegible]
Kamayurá	14	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	4	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Bakairi	10	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	6	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Yawari	1	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	—	—	[illegible]

Auffallend sind die langen Arme der Nahuquá-Frauen. Während die Nahuquá-Männer unter den Männern die kürzesten Arme haben, sind die Arme ihrer Frauen nicht nur länger als die der weiblichen Stammesgenossen, sondern die längsten der Gesamtheit überhaupt. Ihr Maximum 49,5 wird nur von einem Kamayurá-Mann mit 49,3 übertroffen, ihr Minimum ist höher als das Mittel der Nahuquá-Männer.

Handlänge. A. Absolut.

	Männer	Min.	Max.	Mittel	Frauen	Min.	Max.	Mittel
Trumai	1			[illegible]	—	—	—	—
Nahuquá	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	—	—	[illegible]
Bakairi	10	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	6	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Kamayurá	4	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	2	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Aweti	4	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	2	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Kalapalo	4	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	—	—
Yawari	1		—	[illegible]	1	—	—	[illegible]

B. Körperhöhe = 100.

	Männer	Min.	Max.	Mittel	Frauen	Min.	Max.	Mittel
Trumai	1	—	—	[illegible]	—	—	—	—
Nahuquá	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	—	—	[illegible]
Bakairi	10	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	6	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Kamayurá	4	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	2	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Aweti	4	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	2	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Kalapalo	4	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	—	—
Yawari	1	—	—	[illegible]	1	—	—	[illegible]

C. Armlänge = 100.

	Männer	Min.	Max.	Mittel	Frauen	Min.	Max.	Mittel
Trumai	1	—	—	[illegible]	—	—	—	—
Bakairi	10	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	6	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Kamayurá	4	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	2	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Nahuquá	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	—	—	[illegible]
Aweti	4	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	2	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Kalapalo	4	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	—	—
Yawari	1	—	—	[illegible]	1	—	—	[illegible]

Die Hand der Indianer ist verhältnismäßig kurz und die Frauenhand außerdem verhältnismäßig kürzer als die Männerhand.

Längen-Breiten-Index der Hand. Handlänge [illegible] cm.

	Männer	Min.	Max.	Mittel	Frauen	Min.	Max.	Mittel
Sekani	10	76,0	83,0	80,6	6	73,0	81,0	78,5
Nahanni	5	73,0	87,0	82,5	1	—	—	82,0
Kaniyen	6	78,5	83,0	81,5	6	67,0	81,0	74,5
Nahanni	6	77,5	85,0	80,0	—	—	—	—
Ainti	6	75,0	85,0	79,5	6	74,0	85,0	79,4
Wasa	1	—	—	76,5	1	—	—	79,5
Tanai	1	—	—	82,5	—	—	—	—

Die Nahanni haben die relativ längste und eine auch recht breite Hand. Die Hand der Sekani und Nahanni ist kurz und schmal, die der Ainti lang und breit, die der Kaniyen mittelmäßig lang und schmal.

Trockenstrichlänge. Körperhöhe — cm.

	Männer	Min.	Max.	Mittel	Frauen	Min.	Max.	Mittel
Sekani	1	—	—	79,5	—	—	—	—
Nahanni	6	71,0	87,0	79,5	5	71,0	87,0	79,0
Ainti	10	73,0	87,0	79,5	5	71,0	85,0	79,5
Tanai	1	—	—	79,0	—	—	—	—
Wasa	1	—	—	79,5	1	—	—	79,5
Nahanni	5	71,0	79,0	75,0	10	71,0	79,0	75,0
Sekani	6	71,0	79,0	76,0	6	66,5	71,0	69,5
Kaniyen	10	73,5	81,0	78,0	6	71,0	80,5	74,5

Das Maximum 54,3 der Gesamtzahl ist bei den Nahanni-Frauen und das Minimum 47,1 bei den Ainti-Männern.

Fussläge. A. Absolut.

	Männer	Min.	Max.	Mittel	Frauen	Min.	Max.	Mittel
Nahanni	5	15,0	17,0	16,0	1	—	—	16,0
Tanai	1	—	—	16,5	—	—	—	—
Ainti	6	15,5	17,5	16,5	6	15,0	16,5	15,5
Kaniyen	6	15,5	17,5	16,5	6	15,0	17,5	16,5
Sekani	7	15,5	17,0	16,2	6	14,7	17,5	15,5
Nahanni	5	15,0	16,5	15,7	—	—	—	—
Wasa	1	—	—	16,0	1	—	—	15,0

B. Körperlänge — cm.

	Männer	Min.	Max.	Mittel	Frauen	Min.	Max.	Mittel
Nahanni	5	15,0	17,0	16,2	1	—	—	15,0
Kaniyen	6	15,0	16,5	15,8	6	14,5	16,5	15,5
Tanai	1	—	—	15,0	—	—	—	—
Ainti	6	15,1	16,5	15,5	6	14,5	15,1	14,8
Sekani	7	15,0	16,5	15,6	6	15,5	16,5	15,9
Nahanni	5	15,5	16,5	15,8	—	—	—	—
Wasa	1	—	—	15,5	1	—	—	15,5

Die Fussläge ist ebenso wie die Handlänge am grössten bei den Nahanni, geringer bei den Nahanni, während der Sekani verhältnismäßig längere Füsse als Hände haben. Es ist erlaubt, dass wir nicht wissen, ob die einzige gemessene Nahanni-Frau, die sich durch etwas so auffallend längere Füsse auszeichnet, nicht

entfernt eine der bei dem Stamme eingeübten Methoden gewesen ist. Bei allen Nahuquá-Frauen waren die Zehen sehr kurz, bei der gemessenen die vierte und fünfte Zehe des rechten Fusses stark verkürzt und verkrüppelt.

Die zweite Zehe war bedeutend länger als die erste, und beim Gehen zeigte sich ein Abstand zwischen beiden. Der Abstand bei rechtsseitigen Fuss war zwischen zwei rechtseitigen Fuss.

Längenverhältnis-Index der Frauen. Fundlinge 100.

	Wuchsmass	Mass.	Mass.	Mass.	Frauen	Mass.	Mass.	Mass.
Mass.	1		—	49.0	1	—	—	48.0
Schulter	7	63.0	46.0	41.0	4	49.0	48.0	39.0
Nabelgegend	3	60.5	41.0	41.0	1	—	—	37.0
Nabelbeine	5	60.0	42.5	41.0	—	—	—	—
Scheitel	4	61.0	40.0	40.0	1	63.0	46.0	41.0
Kniegelenk	1	60.0	41.0	40.0	1	49.0	37.0	38.0
Knöchel	1	—	—	40.0	—	—	—	—

Um einen gewissen Ueberblick über die Art zu geben, wie sich den Messungen Dritter die einzelnen Stämme unterscheiden, stelle ich die 6 Stämme, von denen wir klare Serien besitzen, für die wichtigsten Masse zusammen, dazu ich jedem die Summe der Reihenfolge zweier, die fast schematisch, 1 hat die niedrigste Wertzahl, 2 eine höhere und so fort bis zu 6, der höchsten Zahl der Reihenfolge. Die Kolumnen sind nach der Körperhöhe geordnet.

	Gesamt	Nahuq.	Bakairi	Nahuquá	Kamayurá	Mehináku
Körperhöhe	6	4	3	6	5	1
Kniehöhe	5	6	6	3	3	2
Schulterhöhe	1	1	6	4	4	6
Armspannung	6	6	3	4	1	5
Kopflänge	6	1	6	3	5	4
Kopfbreite	4	6	3	3	5	6
Längenverhältnis-Index	6	4	3	5	1	4
Breitenverhältnis-Index	6	1	4	3	4	4
Breitenverhältnis	1	4	3	4	6	6
Schulterbreite	3	5	6	4	1	6
Schulterbreite	6	5	4	4	4	4
Brustumfang	1	4	6	4	3	4
Hüftenbreitenbreite	4	6	1	4	5	4
Beckenbreite	4	3	6	4	5	4
Beckenbreite	3	4	5	6	6	4
Beckenbreite	4	5	1	4	6	3
Beckenbreite	3	4	3	4	4	6

Die Frauen haben die geringste Zahl von Fällen für Statur, Kniehöhe, Kopfbreite, Handlänge, die grösste für Kopfhöhe, Längenbreiten und Längenbreitenindex des Schädels, Schulterbreite, die Mehrzahl der geringsten Zahl für den Längenbreiten-Index des Schädels, für Nabel, Symphysen, Darmbeinkamm und Trochanterhöhe, die grösste dagegen für Statur, Schulterbreite (wo sie sich auch für Kniehöhe und Brustumfang recht auszeichnen), für die Fussbreitenbreite und, obwohl Arme und Beine lang sind, für die Länge des Fusses und der Hand. Die Nahuquá haben für fast Maß eine 6, haben aber verhältnismässig viele 1 und 2 aufzuweisen.

Die Hautfarbe zeichnete sich in allen Abstufungen durch gelbgraue Lebensnüance aus. Sonnenbrand, Schmutz und Bemalung erschwerten die Feststellung der ursprünglichen Farbe außerordentlich und nur unter den Bauwerkkindern der Oberarme oder Unterschenkel schienen man, wie bei den Indianer eigentlich waren. Wilhelm legte eine kleine Farbentafel an Ort und Stelle an, die nähere Gilt der Durchschnittstöne zwischen Nummer 30 und 33 der Broca'schen Tafel, dunklere Töne war ein mittelbraunes Lila-Violett beigemischt, namentlich auf Brust und Bauch, dies leitete etwas Gelb. Wir gebrauchten auch die Radde'schen Tafeln und fanden die meiste Aehnlichkeit für Stirn und Wange mit 33 m bis n oder auch 33 o, den Oberarm annähernd 33 m.

Das Haupthaar war schwarz, besonders bei den Bakairi, Nahuquá und Anuki braunschwarz. Blondschwarzer Ton kam nicht vor. Dagegen sah das Haar, besonders der Bakairikinder, bei wenig auffallendem Licht merkwürdig hell und verschossen aus, es spielte zuweilen in einem dunkelrotbraunlichgrau Schimmer. „Rotbraun" haben wir niemals angetroffen. Das Kopfhaar war wenig dick und grob, langen Verlauf oder, namentlich bei den Bakairi und Nahuquá, ausgesprochen wellig. Zu unserer Überraschung sahen wir unter den Bakairi einen Lockenkopf, ein Beispielmann der Typen Tafel 13 wiedergibt. Wieviel davon Natur, wieviel Kunst war, ist schwer zu sagen. Jedenfalls hatte der alte Häuptling in Waigiri, der langst über die Kindheit der Jugend erhaben war, keinen lockigen Haar. Wellig ist das Haar der Bakairi auch ohne künstliche Behandlung. Zuweilen war die Stirn bis in die Nähe der Brauen behaart.

Die Wimpern, besonders bei den Nahuquá bis auf die letzte Spur verschwunden, wurden ausgerupft. Desgleichen die Barthaar. Doch traten wir ohne einen einzigen Schnurr- oder Kinnbart, gelegentlich auch Wangenbart, namentlich bei den Kamayurá. Achsel und Schamhaar wurden ebenfalls ausgerupft.

Die Gesichtstypen der einzelnen Stämme zeigte gewisse Verschiedenheiten, die schwer zu definieren sind. Es gelte ein Bakairi-Gesicht, das ich mir zutrauen würde, nicht mit einem Gesicht von den übrigen Kulturstämmen zu verwechseln, das aber mit Karaiben der Guyanas die größte Aehnlichkeit besitzt. Auch einen von Eternod photographierten karaibischen Apinaié des Tocantins würde ich sofort für einen Bakairi erklären. Andere Bakairi aber könnten nach dem Physiognomie auch wieder beliebigen andern Kulturstämmen angehören. Je mehr Indianer man besuchen konnte, desto unsicherer wurde man natürlich. Der Bakairi oder Karaibengesicht, das ich meine, hat fast europäische Bildung, die Prognathie ist gering. Stirn nicht hoch aber gut gewölbt, die Nase hat einen etwas breiten Rücken, breitige Flügel, eine rundliche Spitze, breite Oberlippe, die Augen sind schon mandelförmig geschnitten und voll. Dagegen gibt es einen zweiten Bakaritypus mit starker Prognathie, einem stark vorstehenden Kinn, niedriger schräger Stirn und einer langen Nase mit gebogenem Rücken, der uns besonders an den Bakairi des Paranatinga erinnert. Eine weitere Spezialität des dritten Bakairitypus waren ausgeprägt jüdische Physiognomien. Der Lehrbuch Tafel 13

zeigt uns den besten Vertreter dieser Abart, der unserm Reisehumor den Namen «Itsig» verdankte. Itsig war der kleinste Bakairi, aber sehr gewandt und stark und wie auf der Photographie zu sehen ist, mit einem kräftigen Brustkasten ausgestattet, er hatte schwarzes lockiges Haar, eine breitrückige gebogene Nase und würde wohl von keinem Unbefangenen für einen Indianer gehalten werden. Wenn es ausser den Mormonen heute noch Leute gibt, die die Kinder Israels in Amerika einwandern und als Stammväter der Rothäute gelten lassen, so mögen sie Itsigs Bild als vortreffliches Beweisstück entgegennehmen. Wahrscheinlich haben sich dem Zug der verlorenen Stämme auch einige Egypter angeschlossen; wenigstens waren einige Frauen in ihrer Haartracht, besonders die „Egypterin" von dem ersten Dorf mit ihrem schmalen Gesicht und ihrer langen leicht gebogenen Nase von grosser Aehnlichkeit mit den Frauen des alten Nilreichs, wie diese uns überliefert worden sind.

Stirnwülste fanden sich vereinzelt bei allen Stämmen, typisch jedoch, und bei den kleinen Menschen doppelt auffallend, bei den Trumai. Sie hatten auch die stärkste Prognathie und die am meisten zurückweichende Kinn; sie hatten eine schmale Nasenwurzel und geringen Abstand der Augen, während die Mehinakú durch geringe Prognathie, vortretenden Kinn, breite niedrige Gesichter und weit abstehende Augen auffielen. Die Gesichter der Nahuquá waren von denen der Bakairi durch ihren plumperen Charakter unterschieden, sie hatten, im Gegensatz zu der ovalen Form dieser, bei stark vortretenden Kieferwinkeln etwas Viereckiges und Vierschrötiges. Die feinst geschnittenen Gesichter fanden sich unter den Kamayurá.

Die Iris war dunkelbraun und nur ausnahmsweise hellbraun; die Trumai hatten verhältnismässig helle Augen. Einen Nahuquá fanden wir blauäugig, er hatte in Haar- und Hautfarbe nichts Besonderes, das Haar war schwarz und ziemlich straff, er war der Vater eines jungen Mannes mit dunkelbraunen Augen, seine eigenen Augen aber hatten eine entschieden blaue Iris. Die Stellung der Augen war horizontal oder ein wenig schräg, die Form war mandelförmig, die Lidspalte bei den Bakairi häufig sehr weit geöffnet, bei den übrigen, besonders bei den Nahuquá und Kamayurá ziemlich klein und niedrig. Mongolische Augen haben wir nicht gesehen, nur ein Kamayurá konnte als mongoloid gelten.

Schöne Zähne waren ausserst selten. Sie waren häufiger opak als durchscheinend, die Färbung war gelblich und nur ausnahmsweise weiss, die Stellung vielfach unregelmässig, sie waren ziemlich massig, bei den Mehinakú häufig klein und fein. Fast überall erschienen sie stark abgekaut. Man sieht nie, dass sich die Indianer die Zähne putzen oder den Mund ausspülen, was ihnen bei ihrer stubenreichen Kost recht zu empfehlen wäre. Sie gebrauchen die Zähne sehr rücksichtslos, wenn sie keine Fischzange oder Muscheln zur Hand haben; sie beissen ferner auch in die ausgezeichnet harten Flussmuschelschalen ein Loch, um mit denen scharfem Rand Holz zu glätten, und zerbeissen die Muscheln, aus denen sie ihre Perlen verfertigen, eine Art der Misshandlung, die besseren Gebissen verderblich sein müsste und deren blosser Anblick mir in der Seele wehthat.

IX. KAPITEL.

I. Die Tracht: Haar und Haut.

Vorbemerkung über Kleidung und Schmuck. Das Haar. Haupthaar, Körperhaar, Wimpern. Die Haut. Durchbohrung. Umschnürung. Ketten. Anstreichen und Bemalen. Ritzmarben. Tätowierung.

Da ich in diesem und dem folgenden Kapitel nach Möglichkeit auf den Ursprung der bei unseren Eingeborenen beobachteten Tracht zurückzugehen suche, möchte ich zwei grundsätzliche Bemerkungen vorausschicken.

Einmal, ich halte es für einen Irrtum, dass eine aus dem Schamgefühl hervorgegangene Kleidung dem Menschen zu seinem Menschentum notwendig sei. Die Indianer am oberen Schingú, deren Vertreter für verschiedene Stammesgruppen wir kennen gelernt haben, bedürfen der Kleidung in diesem Sinne nicht, was ich daraus schließe, dass sie keine solche Kleidung haben. Ihre Vorrichtungen, die wir von unserer Gewöhnung aus als Schamhüllen anzusprechen geneigt wären, sind durchaus keine Hüllen, und das Schamgefühl, das die Hüllen geschaffen haben soll, ist nicht vorhanden. Schon 1584 schrieb der Jesuitenpater Cardim von brasilischen Eingeborenen: »Alle gehen nackt, so Männer wie Weiber, und haben keinerlei Art von Kleidung und für keinen Fall *verwundet*, vielmehr scheint es, dass sie in diesem Teil sich im Zustand der Unschuld befinden.«

Dann muss ich einigermassen Stellung nehmen zu dem Ursprung des Schmuckes. Es steht fest, dass es heute bei den Naturvölkern zahlreiche Arten von Schmuck giebt, für die kein wirklicher oder eingebildeter Nutzen sichtbar ist und die gegenwärtig ganz und gar nur Zierden sind. Dennoch ist es wohl unmöglich, dass sich die feineren Empfindungen eher geregt haben als die gröberen. Der Jäger hat sich erst mit den Federn der erbeuteten Vögel geschmückt, ehe er sich Blumen pflückte. Ehe er sich aber Vögel schoss, um sich mit den Federn zu schmücken, hat er Vögel geschossen, um sie zu essen. Er hat sich von alterher den nackten Leib mit bunten Lehmen angestrichen. Es ist wahr, die schönen Farben liegen in der Natur am Ufer, und man ist tagtäglich hineingetreten. Aber sollte es dem Menschen nicht eher aufgefallen sein, dass der nasse Lehm die Haut kühlte oder dass die Moskitos nicht mehr stachen, als dass er bemerkte, wie sein Fuss an Schönheit gewonnen hatte? Ich glaube, dass er

sich zweckbewusst zunächst auch nur deshalb bechmierte, weil er Utilitarier genug war, solche Vorteile auszunutzen.

Manche wollen aber von solchem Anfang Nichts hören. Sie scheinen der Ansicht zu sein, dass dem Natürlichen etwas Geringschätzendes anhaftet. Warum, mögen die Götter wissen. Auch ich glaube, dass der Schmuck aus dem Vergnügen, dass er wie Spiel und Tanz aus einem Ueberschuss an Spannkräften hervorgeht, aber die Dinge, die man braucht, um sich zu schmücken, hat man vorher durch ihren Nutzen kennen gelernt. Wir können, wenn man sich zu schmücken beginnt, auch schon zwei Hauptrichtungen beobachten. Es gibt eine Eitelkeit, die sich auf Heldenthaten bezieht, die Eitelkeit der Indianaer zur Ansicht vorgehaltenen Bravouratte-te, nennen wir sie die der Trophäe und des Schmisses, und es gibt eine zahmere Eitelkeit, die sich mit dem Eindruck durch schöne oder auch schreckliche Farben genügen lässt, nennen wir sie die der Schminke. Ueberall kennen wir bei unsern Indianern Methoden, die dem Nutzen, und solche, die der Verschönerung dienen, einträchtiglich nebeneinander im Gebrauch sehen, und wir haben allen Grund anzunehmen, dass jene die älteren sind.

Das Haar. Die Haartracht der Männer ist eine Kalotte mit Tonsur. Das Haar wird von dem Wirbel aus radienförmig nach allen Seiten gekämmt, fällt vorn auf die Stirn, reicht seitlich bis zu das Loch des Gehörgangs und hinten nicht ganz bis zum Halsansatz. Während die Suya das Vorderhaupt kahl zu scheeren pflegen und die Tonsur des Apostels Paulus besitzen, haben die Kulisehuindianer sämtlich die Tonsur des Apostels Petrus, eine kreisförmige Glatze auf dem Scheitel bis zu 7 cm Durchmesser. Wenn der junge Bakairi Lachu in Vogel's braunem Lodenpunchu stolzierte, sah er aus, wie ein Klosterschüler aus dem »Ekkehard«. Man hat geglaubt, die Indianer hätten die Tonsur von dem Beispiel der Patres entlehnt, was ihrer Sinnesart gewiss entsprechen würde, allein die Tonsur war vor den katholischen Priestern in Amerika. Sie ist bei den südamerikanischen Naturvölkern ungemein verbreitet gewesen, und da die Portugiesen die Geschorenen von coroa, Krone, Tonsur, „*Coroados*" nannten, sind ganz ungleichwertige Stämme verwirrend mit derselben Bezeichnung bedacht worden. Pater Dobrizhoffer berichtet, dass bei den Abiponern von Paraguay die Tonsur als Auszeichnung der höheren Kaste galt. Hiervon war bei unsern Stämmen nicht die Rede. Jeder Knabe erhielt die Tonsur um die Zeit, dass er mannbar wurde, und Antonio erzählte mir, dass er geweint und sich sehr gesträubt habe, als sein Vater ihm zum ersten Mal die Glatze schor. Der Gebrauch wurde mir als uralte Sitte der Grosvater bezeichnet. Nicht immer war man sehr aufmerksam im Rasieren. Bei älteren Leuten zumal fand sich die Tonsur oft mit Stoppeln überwachsen; man kümmere sich weniger darum, hiess es, »wenn man alt wird und Vater und Mutter schon tot sind«.

Bei den Bakairi wussten sich eitle junge Männer auch durch hölzerne Papilloten eine volle Lockenfrisur zu verschaffen. Kleine Stücke korkartigen Holzes, mit

2:Steinen SP7 Bacairi

einer Mondel eingeschnitten, bedeckten den Kopf, die Haarbüschel, die sich herausmachen wollten, lagen in den Bildern eingeklemmt. Durch schnell diese Verschönerung nur selten gesehen zu werden.

Die Frauen trugen das Haar auf der Stirn in gleicher Weise, nur etwas weiter, seitlich aber und hinten fiel es frei herab, es reichte auf dem Rücken gewöhnlich bis zu den Spitzen der Schulterblätter. Die Ohren waren meist bedeckt und auf den Schultern rahmte dies nach hinten fliessende Haar auf. So darf man wohl annehmen, dass die Tonsur der Männer nichts ist, als eine Kopfsperre der Unterscheidung der für die beiden Geschlechter üblichen Haartracht. Der Mann hinterließ das Haar hinten und zu der Seite, die Frau nur über der Stirn. Der Mann that, um sich die von ihm gewünschte Kürzung zu erleichtern, auch

Abb. 11. Bakairi-Mädchen.

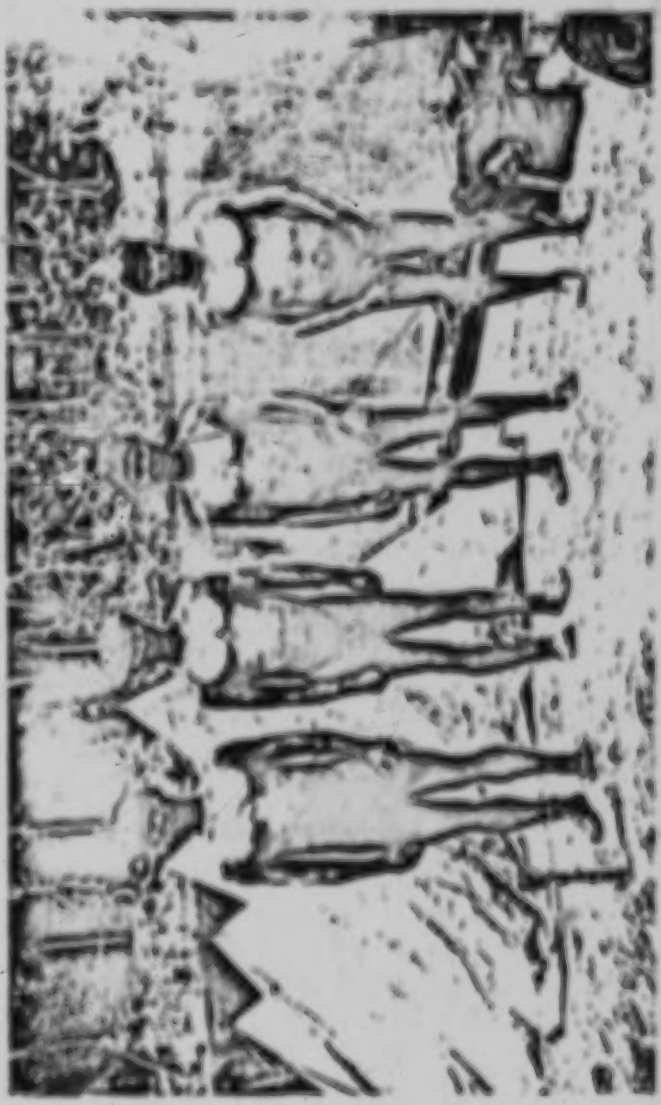
im Uebrigen und schnitt einen Teil des dem Infigen, nach hinten und zur Seite fallenden Haares schon am Grunde ab. Damit war auch der Vorteil verbunden, dass sich das Haar beim Kämmen bequem nach allen Seiten gleichmässig verteilen liess. Die Tonsur der Indianer dehnte sich hauptsächlich nach abwärts über den Hinterkopf aus (vgl. Abbildung 14). Die Suyámfanes dagegen hatten mit ihrer Tonsur des Apostels Paulus die Entfernung des über die Stirn fallenden Haares weiter getrieben und trugen dafür das Haar hinten bis auf die Schulter hängend oder aufgeknotet. Langes Hinterhaar und Wirbeltonsur findet sich nicht nennenswert. Für dieses einfachen Vorgang bedarf es keiner Kopierung der Fatres.

Alles übrige Körperhaar, mit Ausnahme der Augenbrauen, wurde rasiert oder bindweg ausgerupft. Die Wimpernhaare wurden nicht, wie bei den Yuruna und unsere Schwestern, auf einem Tokumbaden gelegt und dann mit einem Rock gleichzeitig ausgerissen, sondern Stück für Stück den Kindern im frühesten Alter ausgerissen. Das Kniehaar der Tamar geschah mit einem Endchen Lianengras, eine Sache dieser Kinderwärter in der Nähe des Hauses ausgeführt. Mit den Zähnen der Pernambuker wurde das Haar geschnitten. Die von den Frauen so gern gepflegte und täglich gepflegte Lianenjagd habe ich bei Mannern nie gesehen. Der Kamm, aus spitzen Bambusstäbchen geflochten, hing an der Hängematte. Von dem Bemalen mit Urukurai war auch das Haar nicht ausgenommen; gelegentlich traff es von dem rotten Öl und ergab Bilder, wenn sich schingen; ein freilich gewissenhafter Aucti- hatte sich den ganzen Kopf der Kolonie mit einem zum Finger breiten Streifen von Urukurai bemalen, während zwei Streifen radwärts von den Ohren zur Tamar führten, wobei sich der kenntnisreiche Wilhelm zum Vergleich mit einer frühmittelalterlichen Streitaxte angeregt fühlte.

Ich habe namentlich Tamayuna oftmals zugesehen, wenn er sich die spärlichen Barthaare auszupfte. Im Besitz eines Spiegels konnte er sich dieser beschwerlichen Beschäftigung mit grosser Aufmerksamkeit Stunden lang hingeben. Schmerz empfand er dabei sichtlich nicht, sondern das Behagen eines flüssigen Mannes, der eine anregende Arbeit hat. Ab der Pernambuker als etwas Selbstverständlichen von Jugend auf gewohnt, hatte er das schlimmste Teil bei jeder Operation, die Angst davor, kaum besonders gelernt. Eitel sind die Leute in hohem Grade; dass aber die Nerven der Indianer schon von vornherein träger reagieren als die unsern, ist nach dem Verhalten der Kinder unverkennbar. Derselbe Mensch, der sich der angestrengtesten Hast mit dem Wurfkratzer, auf den ich noch zurückkommen werde, in dem Bewusstsein, dass er sich dadurch kurzer, mit dem Ausdruck nur geringer Schmerzempfindung stark zerkratzte, schrie auf, wenn ich ihm das Bezuglas über die Hand hielt, sobald der erste unerwartete Schmerz entstand.

Ohne Zweifel haben wir es bei dem Ausrupfen der Haare heute mit altem Brauch, mit einer Tracht, zu thun, wobei Niemand mehr denkt, nach dem Grunde, oder wohl richtiger den Gründen, zu fragen. Man übt die Sitte, man ist an sie gewöhnt und findet deshalb Fremde hässlich, die sie nicht kennen. Es ist bemerkt worden, dass der Bart gerade von solchen Völkern ausgerupft werde, die von der Natur schon spärlich mit dieser Zierde bedacht sind, und man hat sich nicht begnügt, zu sagen, dass es hier eben leichter möglich sei, ihn auszurupfen, sondern geglaubt, dass die Spärlichkeit als solche den Leuten hässlich erscheinen sei. Häufig dankte den Frauen man aber erst recht mein langer und dichter Bart, und die eine oder andere Indianerin gab mir, mit vertraulichem Widerwillen darin zupfend, den wohlmeinenden Rat, dass ich ihn doch auch ausrupfen möge. Auch wurden sich die so radikal bewegtigten Wimpern keineswegs mangelhaft entwickeln, wie die prachtigen Wimpern der «zahmen» Indianer beweisen. Im

Taf. [illegible]



[illegible]

[Facing p. 176]

Uebrigens wurde die Barpflege [illegible] und so wird der Brauch, das Haar zu entfernen, wohl auch nicht [illegible] bei der eingewanderten haben.

Für das Schamhaar, das vor der Sagi-Mission nicht entfernt, während dem [illegible] Frauen [illegible] Haare, kann man den [illegible] gute naiven Eingeborenen zu [illegible] nennen, dass sie ein Verhaltensweise als besonders häßlich erachteten. Doch ist es wahrscheinlich [illegible] anzunehmen, dass es nur die dem Menschen angeborene Freude an glatter Haut ist, die den so sonderlichen Vernichtungskrieg des unbekleideten Eingeborenen gegen alles Körperhaar in Gang gesetzt hat. Es fehlt nicht an Gründen, die es als wirklich lästig erscheinen lassen. Was sagt sich, dass sich Insekten, die nicht nach Art der Läuse [illegible] werden, in Bart, Achsel- und Schamhaar einhängen und das Haar verfilzen, wie es unseren Reisenden mit dem namentlich der Bauch verhängen, [illegible] erzeugt sich der im Haar doppelt empfindlichen Kratzchen und Eierblättchen auf schwitzender Haut, der Unsauberkeit durch Blut und Schmutz, der Angriffsgelegenheit für Gestrüpp wie für den Kreislauf des Mitmenschen und findet so manchen Umstand, dem zufolge das Körperhaar einem nackten Menschen allerdings eher Beschwerden als [illegible] bringen mag. Es ist andererseits auch der Zottenstreit und Gestrüpp zu vermeiden, der das Auftreten der Haare und das Hervorscheinen mit Hinzuziehung am Körper in [illegible] Stunden dem Leuten bietet. Endlich wäre es vielleicht nicht ganz gleichgültig, dass Haar und Federn als eine Art pflanzlicher Gewächse gelten. Das Wort für Haar und Federn bei den Bakairi und wahrscheinlich auch in anderen Sprachen ist ursprünglich dasselbe wie Wald, und als von den Pflanzlichen vom Körperlichen abgeleitet, so oder umgekehrt, die Begriffe sind [illegible]. Haar und Pflanzen wachsen, sie werden auch zugewachsen, sowohl das [illegible] Unkraut.

Ich möchte jedoch einen tieferen und täglich wirkenden Grund vermuten. Wie Haut und Haar zusammengehören, so denke ich bei dem Gebrauch des Auftragens an einen Zusammenhang mit dem anderen Gebrauch des Körperbemalens, des Schmückens, von dem [illegible] behauptet, dass es [illegible] mit als das Wirken. Für das Anstreichen des Körpers, mit dem wir uns bald näher beschäftigen wollen, ist die Entfernung des Haares [illegible] wünschenswert, weil dann die Farbe aufkommt, die der darunter liegenden Haut selbst eingeprägt werden soll. Wer ein Fell anstreichen will, rasiert [illegible]. Ein Hauptzweck des Anstreichens, die Tötung der Insekten, wurde gar nicht [illegible]. Die Entfernung des Schamhaares findet weiterhin eine sehr natürliche Erklärung in dem Konflikt, in den es mit den Vorrichtungen gerät, die hier gerade um die [illegible] angebracht werden, [illegible] es erschwert. Besonders werden die Manipulationen [illegible] der Hüftschnur bei dem Mangel entwickelnden behindert werden. Kurz, wer das Haar entfernt, ist besser daran und vermeidet doch Nichts. Damit allein ist die Sitte genügend begründet. Reiben, Schneiden und Rasieren sind nur eine Frage der Gesundheitslehre oder der technischen Mittel oder der Rücksicht auf die Empfindlichkeit. Weniger Beachtung findet der Kamm, man hat eher die Haare geschoren und ausgerupft, ehe man sie gekämmt hat.

Am entdeckungsreichsten, gemäss nach dem Jahrtausende, ist das Augenglas der Wimpern, weil dieses, man darf wohl sagen, Operation ganz allgemein und schon bei den kleinen Kindern hundertfach Geschlechter ausgeübt wird und mit Stammes- und Geschlechtsumwandlungen nicht in Zusammenhang gebracht werden kann.*)

Ist das Auge aller Menschen wertvollstes Organ, so sind diese nach Tieren und Fruchten sprossenden Wüstenwesen darauf im denkbar kostbarsten Grade angewiesen. Nur haben sich einen Indianer jammern und wundern können wie den ganzen Handlungen beständigen Hauptzweck der Umlegung. Darum braucht man aber in der Behandlung nicht die, am ruhig erscheinende Einzelne zu entwickeln. Weil Tabakrauch die beste weibliche Hand ist, wird eine stark entzündete Bindehaut nach Kräften rauch gebissen. So liegt auch der Gedanke, dass die Wimpern das Auge schützen, den Indianern ganz fern. Sie erklären, das Auge würde durch die Wimpern am Sehen behindert, unmöglich, wenn sie schnell in die Ferne sehen wollten. Dass sie besonders und, nach deren besten Wissen für das edle Organ zu sorgen, gibt davon Zeugnis, dass dem Kranken, der ein anderes Begrenzungsmittel verlieren will, die Umgebung des Auges mit dem Wundkratzer blutig gerissen wird — natürlich, weil man so diese Mädchen glaubt und nicht, weil man die ähnlichen will. Gerade bei den Wimpern ist das gewissen erschreckende Augenglas, weil radikal, ein noch relativ milderes Verfahren. Diese Schmerzen und Kosten am Lebend mit Fettsäuren und Muschels zu ertragen wäre in der That ein Heroismus.

Die Haut. Die Haut wird durchlöchert, um Schmuck aufzunehmen, sie wird mit Farbe bemalen und wird mit Muschels oder Zähnen gerissen. Die beiden letzteren Methoden entwickeln sich zu kunstlerischer Behandlung, zur Körperbemalung oder zur Tätowierung — wenn nicht man nur, welcher ungeeigneten Zweifel zu Grunde liegen.

Wenn wir bei um verwichlichten civilisierten Menschen im Grossen und Ganzen noch zu tiefstand Stämmen betrachten, bis zu welchem Grade Gelehrsamkeit und Eitelkeit den Sieg über körperliche Unbehagen davontragen pflegen, so werden wir uns nicht wundern, dass die Eitelkeit der Naturvölker noch etwas rücksichtsloser verfährt. Der Hauptunterschied zwischen uns und denen ist nur der, dass wir an der Haut thun müssen, was wir an den Kleidern thun können. Denn aber ist es bei denen überall meistens der Mann gewesen, der sich geschmückt hat. Er hat damit als Jäger angefangen und, da es der Jäger-Eitelkeit zu erklären gilt, darüber wir schliessen, dass der Mensch zuerst den Begriff der Trophäe entwickelte, indem er sich von den Tieren der Beute, der ungeniessbar

*) Dass Naturvölkern wird etwas gar so häufig das Bedürfnis der Abhärtung angeschwitzen, aber ob hier nicht gleich ist, dass man die Kinder abhärtete. Die Eltern Vater, von den Müttern nicht zu reden, mögen aber zur Immunisation als auf Mängel dieses sehr angenehmen Spielzeugs gegeben, die nicht schwach machen, aber dass es nach den Eltern besser wirkten. Man legte dieses mit Bestimmtheit zur Schwerere zu, wenn man es an dieses Bestreben zu dem glaubten, man war immer mit dem Gesamtbilde rohe Amusanten bewegt und belang an mit Amulettem.

waren, sich aber gut bewaffnen und tragen lassen, nicht trennen, sondern sie zur Anschauung für die Mitwelt aufbewahrte und so seinem Leibe schmückte. Wie Jeder dann um so zufriedener, als wir wissen, dass mit solchen Trofäen nach seiner Meinung die Eigenschaften des Wilden erworben wurden. So trug er Knochen, Zähne und Federn als Trophäen und Talismane. Während er die meisten dieser Dinge an einer Schnur aufhängen konnte, rieb er sich mit einer Feder, die er zur Erinnerung an einen guten Schuss aufbewahren wollte, in Verlegenheit: er durchbohrte den Obrigkeit und steckte sie dort hinein, wo sie fehlen und ihn nicht behinderte. Hierauf sind auch die Verhältnisse aller unserer Stämme verhalten; einige haben es sich bald nicht an den Ohrläppchen genügen lassen, sondern auch die Nase und Lippe durchbohrt. Dass der Begriff der Trophäen, anfangs nur auf den individuellen Erwerb bezogen, dehnte sich nun auf ein mit sich grade grossen Schmerzen oder Mühen verbundenen Tragen, eine neue Leistung entstand, die der Bewunderung wert war, und ein junger Mann kann sich gewiss im vollen Wortsinn verheiratet vorkommen, wenn er seine Kleinod in einem Loch der Nase, der Lippe oder der Ohren zur Schau trug, als wenn er es an einer Schnur umhängen hatte. Wurde die Trophäen einmal gesellschaftlichen gebracht, so war es unvermeidlich, dass sich die Aufmerksamkeit auch dem äusseren Eigenschaften, den früher erkundeten Merkmalen der Farbe und Form, zuwandte. Selbst Gegenstände, die man nur gebraucht hatte, um die Löcher offen zu halten und das Zuheilen zu verhindern, wurden zu Schmuck und Zierat. Mit den Veränderungen aber das Schwierige, Seltene, Kostbaregabte ausmachten sich die mehr oder minder deutlich empfundenen Wahrnehmungen geistiger Fortschrittsmerkmale.

Die bezeichnete Verbreitung wurde aber auch Selbstzweck durch den Umstand, dass sie ein dauernder Kennzeichen lieferte und so manchertei Formen der Sitte gestaltete. Sie war nicht nur vorzüglich geeignet, innerhalb eines Stammes einige und bezeichnende Formen, die gewissermaßen auch der einzelnen waren, zu umschaffen, sie bildete vielfach von Stamm zu Stamm das mit Bewusstsein getragene Nationalitätsmerkmal. Sie gab das Mittel an die Hand, schon Kinder mit Unterscheiden zu versehen. Die Indianer haben von jeher den Kindermord bei fremden Stämmen mit Leidenschaft betrieben, um sich Krieger und Frauen anzueignen; so markierte man die Kinder, um sie wiederbekommen zu können, wie der Hirtenbesitzer sein Vieh stempelt. Als wir bei den Bororó waren, schwur eine alte Frau Stam und Bem, unser Antonio ist, obwohl er kein Wort Bororó verstand, der vor Jahren von Feinden geraubtener Sohn, sie erhängte und jammerte laut durch die Stadt; da war es dann merkwürdig zu sehen, wie sich die Bororó den halb lachenden, halb empörten Antonio gründlich verschauten, seine Unterlippe genau untersuchten, der bei ihnen schon dem Säugling durchbohrt wird, und ihn einmütig freigaben, als sie statt dem Lippenlöchlein eine durchbohrte Nasenscheidewand fanden. So waren unter den Bakairí gewisse Pseudofrauen, unter den Nahuquá Mehinakówänner, unter den Suyá die gefangenen Mantwaná sofort auch den Stammesmerkmalen von den Uebrigen zu unterscheiden.

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Die tatsächliche Verteilung entwickelte sich aber zu einer einseitigen Einrichtung der Zweckmäßigkeit. Zudem gilt den Frauen als häßlich oder komisch, den Männern als schön und edel.

Die Durchbohrung der Oberlippe ist allgemein bei den Mannern aller Stämme verbreitet. Sie dient allein für Federschmuck. Bei keinem Stamme des Kulisehu haben die Frauen die Oberlippe durchbohrt, und keine Frau trägt auch sonst am Körper irgendwelchen Federschmuck; die Frau jagt nicht — der Ursprung aus der Jagdtraphie ist noch unverkennbar ausgeprägt. Eine Ohr der Knaben wird um die Zeit durchbohrt, wenn er anfängt, sich mit Bogen und Pfeilen bisweilen Fremdem zu üben.*)

Abb. 10. Gesichtsmaske der Bakairi aus Ohr- und Nasenfedern.

Die Durchbohrung der Nasenscheidewand in ihrem unteren Teil, welche dem hervorragendsten Gegenstand der Hagyl leicht aufgenommen sein kann, ist nur bei den Bakairi anzutreffen, am Paranatinga und Rio Novo, am Batovy und am ersten Kulisehudorf bei beiden Geschlechtern, am zweiten Kulisehudorf nur bei den Männern, am dritten weder bei Männern noch bei Frauen. Diese geographische Verteilung macht es nur nicht unwahrscheinlich, daß die Sitte an der der Paresi

*) Bei den heut tragen Männer und Frauen im allgemeinen, ähnlich wie einen langen Zopf, erweiterten Oberlippenlöchern von Palmitstäbchen, aber auch hier beschränkt sich der Federschmuck auf die Männer.

[illegible] die mit den weiblichen Bakairi früher zu bekämpfen, bald friedlichem, bald feindlichem Verkehr standen, von denen wir noch zwei als Kinder gewaltsam Frauen im Paranatinga-Dorf fanden. Die Paresi durchbohrten deren Frauen die Oberlippe, wohin sie von den Bakairifrauen nicht zu unterscheiden waren, und den Männern durchbohrten die Nasenscheidewand, wohinein sie Stäbchen Kohlbaum und steckten nur in die eine Ende dreieckige eine lange Arawa- oder gewöhnliche Tukandeder, während der Oberteil der Frauen in dreieckigen Stäbchen Nasenschale bestand.

Bei den Bakairi wurden heute keine Frauen mehr in der Nase gemacht, doch fanden wir Mädchen mit einem Loch in der verlängerten Scheidewand der inferiorem Nase, durch das nach jeder Seite eine in einem Kolbenstück stehende Arawaleder hinausragte. Auch ist ein Unterschied zwischen der Größe des Loches bei Männern und Frauen, worauf ich von den Bakairi selbst besonders aufmerksam gemacht wurde; die Männer tragen dabei ein dünnes Stück Kambayawurzel, in das man die Feder steckte oder einen dünnen Knochen, die Frauen einen dicken Kambayawurzelstück oder einen dicken Knochen oder Stein. Dieser letztere wird sonnab von den Männern verwendet. Wir haben am Kulisehu einige Schmucksteine aus grauweißem, stumpf glänzendem Quarzit gesammelt, die in der Form einer spitzen Spindel ausgeschliffen waren und eine Länge

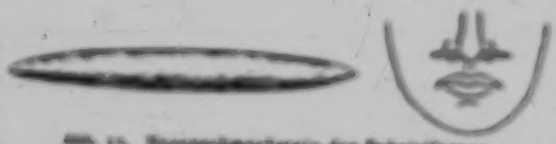


Abb. 19. Nasenschmuckstein der Bakairi-Frauen.

von 6 cm hatten. In wirklichem Gebrauch sahen wir die Nasenspindel, sonst, nur bei einer schwangeren Frau, die auch mit vielem Halsschmuck behangen war. Diese Steine kamen vom Batovy oder vom Paraíbuna, dem rechten Quellfluß des Kulisehu, sie waren selten, sodaß gewöhnlich Knochen oder Rohr nachgeahmt wurden. Wir erhielten auch Knochen ähnlicher Form, 8½ cm lang, und eine 7 cm lange, pedunculiformende Spindel, die aus einer Muschel geschnitten war. Die Operation wird angeblich im frühen Lebensjahre vorgenommen und soll sowohl mit starker Blutung verbunden sein.

Die Umschnürung der Extremitäten hatte ich hier anscheinend, obwohl sie unsere Indianer in dem Grade, wo man erst von einer Körperverletzung reden könnte, auch fremd war. Sie war bei allen Stämmen vielfach im Gebrauch. Man nahm dazu dicke breite Strohbänder, Baumwollstrümpfe, Baumwollstricke oder mit Holzperlen gefärbte Bänder und trug sie um den Oberarm und unterhalb des Knies oder oberhalb des Fußknöchels. Am meisten fiel die Sitte im dritten Bakairidorf auf, wo man prächtig fest aufgeschwollene Waden sah. Doch haben wir in dem Maße dick hervorgetriebene Waden, wie sie von den männlichen oder weiblichen Kranken des Nordens abgebildet werden, niemals beobachtet. Die Strohbänder bemerkten wir namentlich bei den Nahuqua (vgl. die Abbildung 4).

Nur die Wasser gebrauchten die Umschnürung für sauber stark, wurde mir zur Erklärung angegeben. Zum Tauschhandel trug man auch mit bunten Federn verzierte Binden von den Oberarm.

Ketten. Mit Halskette schmückten sich hier Gesellschaften, die Wasser trugen auch Zierrates an dem Halsbande. As mainhas waren Kinder und Schwangere mit Kettenschmuck behängt. Für die Kinder wurden in erster Linie auch unsere Perlen verlangt.

Die Bakairi verfertigten mit vielen Mühe mit bakaiischen Halsketten, Trophäen der Arbeit, die bei den andern Stämmen nicht Mode waren, und die wir 1884 auch bei den Suya gefunden haben, vgl. den Gesamtpreis der Abbildung 14. Ein und rechteckige, leicht gewölbte Stücke, dessen unter Wirkung der Schale

Abb. 14. Kamayurá und Wauchípuna.

von pro. Ostbaiaia-Indianerinnen (Prof. v. Martius), geschnitten sind, 2—3 cm lang, 1—1,5 cm breit, fast rein weiß und heiteren ja weiß. Sie decken sich mit der Longseite dachziegelförmig und sind meist oben und unten durchbohrt, aber nur oben mit Fädchen an der Halsgliedern befestigt. Man nahm besonders dicke Schalen aus, zerbrach sie und schliff sie zu Steinen. Sie wurden durchbohrt mit dem Zahn der Hundefischen oder mit dem Quirlbohrer, an dessen Ende ein dreieckiger Steinsplitter angebracht war, so bildete ab ein konisches Loch.

Eine andere Art besteht aus kleinen Schneckchen oder glatten Perlen, nur 1 mm dick und mit 3—5 mm Durchmesser. Sie sind rundlich kreisrund, von weißem, wenigstens bis bläulichem Glanz. Die Stückchen der unbrauchbaren Schale wurden mit den Zähnen abgebissen, ungefähr gleich gut gemacht und durch wie die Rechtecke durchbohrt. Die wenigen Dinge sind so gleichmäßig geschliffen,

dass sie auf der Schnur eine dicke langgezogene Schlinge bilden. Sie pflegen mit gleichgestalteten Tukanperlen (Bakairi) zu wechseln, die aus der Schale der Früchte abgeleitet sind. Die Tukanperlen werden ebenfalls mit dem Zahn des Hundsfisches durchbohrt. Bei dem und den Muschelstückchen wird die Gleichmässigkeit dadurch erreicht, dass man die Perlen aufreiht und die Reihe nicht auf Stein schleift, sondern zwischen zwei Tafelsteinen reibt und glättet. Die Muschelperlen sind so sehr natürlichen Erzeugnissen, wenn man durchaus heute oder glaublich Schneckenhäuser aufbewahrt, man reibt sie auf einer Schnur, da sie sich anders schlecht beibringen lassen, man macht sie untereinander gleich und erreicht dies am leichtesten, wenn man sie einfach rundum schleift. So sind die verschiedenartigsten Naturvölker mit dem betreffenden Muschelmaterial zu Perlen gelangt, die sich zum Verwechseln ähnlich sehen. Die Perlen haben aber auch alle Eigenschaften, um dort, wo Verkehr stattfindet, von Stamm zu Stamm zu wandern, und geben der bestimmten Gelegenheit, dem Umfang des Verkehrs, der Menschen für zulässig gilt, bequem zu bewegen. Die Bakairi dem Bakaiy und mehr als die der Kalenbo „vier", Pierrou, der Muschelketten.

Die Tukanperlen werden hauptsächlich von den Nahuqua verfertigt, diese hatten als Muschelperlen besonders ausgeformter Spondylusschalen von Bakairi, durch „vier" so weiter, und von denen ein einziges in kleinen Abständen die Schlinge der Nasenperlen zu unterbrechen pflegte. Die Nahuqua unterhalten sich durch einen grossen Kreislauf von Kettern, namentlich aus pflanzlichem Material, aus, das übrigens auch bei den Bakairi eine grössere Rolle spielte, als bei den übrigen vorhandenen Stämmen. Die Bakairi von Magro schnitten Gespinstfasern aus Bast, Aussaat, der Antrum für Früchte eines Baumes, an Lagunen wachsenden, schmalen Grases erhielt, und dieses jener Hütte nur wenige hervorbringt.

Wir finden Halsketten, Kopfbänder, Stirnbänder und Bauch der verschiedenen Art. Nasenpfeil aus der grossen und der kleinen Tukanperlen, Früchte einer Schlingpflanze, einen Kampfbemalen Tatupé, einer Pfeife mauer-(Bakairi) adaptiv, roten und schwarzen Samen von Papilionaceen, von Mutuna-Kernen, Tonkabohnen (Dipteryx odorata), bei den Aweti Kopfmasken und Abzeichen, je eine kleine 7 cm lange fischerlesenge Kaye.

Bei den Yaulapiti, Trumai und von diesen herstammend, bei dem Nachbarn, waren Steinbeilen blosg: durchbohrte Scheiben und Zilinder, die die Nahuqua in dem bewegtmachenden Jahrhundert und in Tiere nachbildeten. Es war der Typus der Steinbeile und Wurfholz-Pfeile, er wurde mit dem an dem Quirlstock befestigten Steinpfeiler unter Zusatz von Sand durchbohrt. Kleine Steinkerne, wie sie zu den Wurfpfeilen gehören, wurden mit Vorliebe von den Mehinaku und Aweti zu Kinderketten gebraucht.

Es waren also deutlich Unterschiede in dem Material vorhanden, die wahrscheinlich, wie es für die Steine ja sicher ist, örtlich bedingt waren. Alle Ketten von den wenigen Muschelstückchen gingen auf die Bakairi, alle von den roten auf die Nahuqua, alle von Steinen auf die Trumai oder Yaulapiti zurück.

Unbewußt fand sich das [illegible] Material. Es gab Hemmungen, Kombinationen, denen auch in Träumen, sie wurden bald [illegible] [illegible], bald [illegible] [illegible] Affen- und Jaguarzähne. Vgl. das Bild des Amuli-Hemmungs [illegible]. Wie erhielten bei dem Nebenjob eine Kette mit Jaguarzähnen und bunten Federchen. Die Traumi schätzten Kaguara-Zähne. Bei den Wahnsinn gab es besonders reichlichen Kindervorrat, mit dem die Singlinge [illegible] [illegible] waren: neuer dem Unbrigen, [illegible] Affen-Zähne, Zähne der Jaguarinna (Felis onza), Fischwirbel, Knochen vom Bagalli-Fisch, einmal ein [illegible] [illegible] Kolibrivogel. Auch Klauen vom Tapir (Kumpuri), Jaguar und Hirsch.

Hiermit wurden die wesentlichsten Bestandteile des Kettenschmucks wohl aufgezählt sein, in dem späteren Kapitel über die Plastik unserer Indianer kommen ich auf Einzelnes noch zurück, [illegible] auch [illegible] Figuren gestaltet und gestickelt wurden.

Inwieweit den einzelnen Dingen [illegible] und heilsame Wirkungen zugeschrieben wurden, vermag ich nicht zu sagen. Dass der «Schmuck» vielfach «Talisman» war, geht daraus hervor, dass, wie erwähnt, die Kinder und Schwangeren am meisten behängt waren. Wenn die Kette einer Zaubereibeschwörerin [illegible] wurden, so wird dies auch nicht aus dem Schönheitsgefühl entsprungen sein. Die Gewaltsten der Bakairi waren zwischen Fischkiefer [illegible] [illegible], ich erhielt eine solche Kette aber nur mit grosser Mühe, sie war in den Augen dieses Banditen [illegible] «[illegible]» als die mit Fischzähnen, weil sie schwer war.

Anstreichen und Malen. Warum streichen sich die Indianer mit Oelfarbe an, wo es doch [illegible] schwerer, wie die Frau, die den Ochsenschwanz weniger gefängt, oder mit [illegible], wie die Anderen [illegible]? Das Fend durch Freude und Entwicklung zu «[illegible]»? Das ist gewiss eine nützliche Anwendung, aber doch nur für diesen bestimmten Fall.

Sollte durch die Freude an der Farbe Alles erklärt werden? Dann sind wir gezwungen, auch die Freude am Schwarzen als eine ursprüngliche Lustempfindung anzuerkennen. Dann müssten wir mit Erstaunen feststellen, dass unsere Stammes es z. B. in Polynesien so ausgiebig benutzten, für welchen Zweck selbst in dem [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Fundgebiet der Natur entgegen ist — nicht Mann, nicht Weib schmückte sich mit Blumen. Die einzige Frage, glaube ich, die Antonio aus eigener Initiative an mich gerichtet hat, war in Cuyabá die: «Warum tragen die Frauen Blumen im Haar?» Der Gedanke, dass es gewähre, um sich mit bunten Farben zu schmücken, lag seiner Seele [illegible]. Nein, die [illegible] Papageienfedern sind zum [illegible] Schmuck erst geworden; zuerst war das Vergnügen an der Jagd oder dem Tierleben und die Freuden mit der Jägergeschicklichkeit wirksam und dann erst kam die Sinnesfreude zu ihrem Recht.

Ich habe in meinem Tagebuch jeden Fall von Körperbemalung eingetragen und feststellen können, dass es hier auch heute zwei Arten der Körperbemalung

gibt. Die eine, an die wir zuerst denken, die der Anwesende schmücken soll, war die schönere und hatte ein Kennzeichen, das sie von der andern sicherlich leicht unterscheiden liess. Dieses Kennzeichen war, dass zum Schmuck die Mutter gehörte, sei es einfach, sei es prunkvoll. Was zum einen Unterschied machen zwischen Anstreichen und Bemalen des Körpers. Beim Anstreichen ist das Mädchen, beim Bemalen das Schiff ausgeführt. Die Farbenbrühe ist in beiden Fällen verbrauchen, aber ähnlich. Schon die Wirkung des Urukarum überzeugt sie. Wenn sie so allgemein wert gehalten worden wäre, so hätten sich alle Stämme unter bedingen können. Wer den vielerhalb prachtvollen Schmuck der Papageienvogel zu Hause hat, der will sich besonders schön vorkommen, wenn er sich mit Ruu und auch mit Zugabe anstreicht. Man vergleiche im Berliner Museum für Völkerkunde von den herrlichen Federcoiffuren der tropischen Südamerika und vergleiche damit gewiss die Schlauche und Bastrock, was unsere gewiss nicht Geringen heimische moderne Technik hervorzubringen vermag — auch kann die Natur den Vergleich aushalten, und sicherlich schlägt der Federpracht der herrlichsten Schwarzvögel, die dem Indianer Kokär, Leben und Gedanken bieten.

Der Indianer gebrauchte niemals Wasser zur Körperbemalung? Ich kann schon die Antwort vor finden, Wasser dient den nicht. Dieses ist wohl auch etwas Richtiges. Unsere weissen Farben schienen er geringer als die roten, besonders sag er die blauen vor, die mit seiner Haut am besten kontrastieren. Man könnte zwar verwenden, dass er dieses Unterschiede schon nach dem blossen Anblick machte, und ehe er die Farben auf seinem Körper gemalen hatte, aber es mag sein, er gefiel ihm besser als weiss und blau besser als alle übrigen, nicht, weil er die für das schönsten Farben vorzog, sondern nach seinem Geschmacksurteil. Dieses ist damit noch nicht erklärt, warum er sich des Weissen gänzlich enthielt, man vermutete nur, dass er es sparsamer gebrauchte, und könnte beinahalb begründen, dass er es nicht schon, um die anderen Farben besser zu lieben, anwendete. Er trägt Federbinden, die ähnlichst zusammen, was einem Weiss mit wenigen gelbroten Federchen dazu ähnen.

Zur Mottenbemalung des Kib ers eignet sich der heiligen tränkenigen Thon nicht. Wurde er wie Kohle mit dem gelblichen Öl vermischt, so konnte er sich ebenfalls in Linien aufragen, aber die weisse Farbe ginge verloren. Mit Wasser gemischt, würden die Linien aber sehr unbeständig sein und zumeist beim Anstreichen abfallen. Auf den Masken liefert das Weiss nur den Grund oder erscheint bei den kunstvollen in breiten Streifen. Dagegen würde der Eingeborenen, wenn er seinen Farbstoff wesentlich um des Farbenindruckes willen zum Körperschmuck verwendete, nichts hindern, sich auch mit Weiss zu verschönern, indem er sich mit dem Thon in breiter Fläche einpulverte. So und beständigstens die Oberschenkel der fadenbindenden Frauen; auch der feine Mehlstaub, mit dem die Beijäbschnitzen öfters weiss eingeschüttet sind, stände ihm zur Verfügung. Aber weder die weisse Bäckerin noch der in breiter Fläche rot oder schwarz angestrichene

Indianer hat sich so eingerichtet, um sich zu schmücken. Es ist Verhüllungskleidung, nicht Bedeckungskleidung.

Die Frage lautet also: was ist denn der Nutzen des Anstreichens? Wie bekannt, und wie ich aus eigener Erfahrung langen Herumgehens sehr gut weiss, hilft der Schlamm, er ist sowohl angenehm in der Hitze, die Haut feucht zu erhalten. Er hilft insbesondere gereizten Stellen, und er schützt die angestrichenen vor den Moskitos, ob er nun rot, gelb, schwarz oder weiss ist. Ich kann nicht glauben, dass sich der Wunsch immer, wenn er durch den Urwaldschmutz gewandt ist, darum besonders geschmückt vorkommen zu, es mag auf anderen Boden, wo die Fröhlichen wohnen und, ein Anderer sein. In unserem Gebiet hat jedenfalls die Annehmlichkeit für die Haut den Vorzug vor der für das Auge. Der Indianer hat den Schlamm durch Öl ersetzt, doch um hinzugegen Zusatz will er kosmetischer und liebenger machen, und dieser Zusatz ist ein Farbstoff, Rot- und Urahrot. Natürlich gefällt dem Bakairi das Rot besser, da er die Pflanze nicht so hegen und so pflegen brauchte, wenn der Rot ebenso schön wäre, und innerhalb dieser Grenze schmückt man sich auch beim Anstreichen. Die Oelfarbe, je nachdem mit schwarzer oder roter, deckt sich der Eingeborene an, damit er die Haut in der Hitze angenehm geschmeidig erhält, und dient die Moskito- und Nachtfliegen, die sich auf den Körper niederlassen, ablehnen und zu Grunde gehen. Er nicht nicht auf die Jagd aus, ohne dass die Jaguarde Gattin ihr menschlich an Brust und Rücken mit Oelfarbe bemalen hat, er hätte mit sich zu Kaum, wie wir bei unseren Begleitern sahen, die kleine Oelkalebasse, um unterwegs den Urbrung zu erneuern und tausche mangels dieser Farbenfleck mit dem Gemeinen aus. Nach einem Tage Rudern ist sich ein Rücken mit zahlreichen schwarzen Kaduscheln bespickt, die durch ein Bad im Fluss auch entfernt werden. Bei den Nahuquas sah ich auch mit Annatto Farbe am ganzen Körper mit trockener Kohle geschwärzt, die dem gewöhnlichen Arbeit völlig verschlossen und ihm Anschein nach in keiner Weise daran gedacht hatten, sich herauszuputzen. Leider wusste ich aber nicht, zu welchem Zweck die Färbung gemacht war, und vermute nur, dass es sich um hygienische Massnahmen handelte.

Nun will ich nicht etwa behaupten, Ausschlag und Moskitobisse seien hauptsächlich geschehen. Es ist dasselbe wie mit der Kleidung. Man trägt sie ordentlich auf Arbeit und zum Fest. Wenn man sie durch bessere Stoffe, lebhaftere Farben, besonderen Schnitt schmückend gestaltet, so möchte ich darum nicht schliessen, dass die Kleidung von Haus aus nur Schmuck sei. Die Oelfarbe ist tatsächlich die Kleidung des Indianers, wie er sie bedarf: ihr eigentlicher und ältester Zweck ist Schutz, nicht gegen die Kälte, sondern gegen die Wärme, gegen die Sprödigkeit und bestimmte Arten unserer Insekte. Er hat nur eine Kleidung, die er nicht entbehren kann als wir die unsere, die auch nicht die Nebenzweckschaft besitzt wie die unsere, zu verhüllen, und er ist deshalb nicht zu dem Schamgefühl gelangt, das wir besitzen. Wie unsere Kleidung nach Rück-

nähme der Schmucke umgewandelt wird, so seine Gottheiten und, denke ich mir, früher sein Schlamm. Wie manche Leute mehr als Andere auch in der wirklichen Kleidung von der Eitelkeit auf ein scheinbares Ansehen bestimmt werden, so lässt sich ein indianischer Fant wie der Bakairi Lucius in einer beliebigen fremden Stadt nach einer Schlangenlinie mit Tupfen darüber auf dem Oberschenkel, und wie einfachere Menschen bei uns nach den Sonntags sich nur beschränkt herausputzen, so ist auch ein unsprüchlicheres Indianerpublikum zufrieden, wenn er sich zur Feier eines kriegerischen Ereignisses statt eines Lendenschurzes nur eine Bemalung der Stirn und Nase oder der Waden gönnt. Findet ich es aber im Grossen und Ganzen deutlich ausgeprägt, dass man sich zu Nützlichkeitszwecken anstreicht und zu Verschönerungszwecken mit Zeichnungen verziert, so schliesse ich daraus, dass das Schmücken zunächst nicht Schmucken war. Und dies ist um so mehr zutreffend zu erklären als der Farbe dem Farbstoffe wegen noch heute nur ein nebensächlicher Wert beigemessen werden kann, wenn sie Weiss überhaupt verschmähen, zwischen Rot und Schwarz keinen wesentlichen Unterschied machen, und wenn sie ganz ungleich schlechte Farben in ihrem Farbenschatz zur Verfügung haben. Auch spricht die Entwicklung der Farbenwörter, wie wir noch sehen werden, zu Gunsten derselben Auffassung.

Dass unter den für natürlich gehaltenen Zwecken des Anstreichens noch nebensächlichere nicht gefehlt und die Sitte gefördert haben, brauche ich kaum hervorzuheben; einen bestimmten und sehr gewöhnlichen Fall habe ich vorhin bei dem Wundkratzer anzuführen. Wenn Mortiri, der grosse Medicinmann der Yaulapiti, sich den Rest von unserer Erbsensuppe heute über die Brust schmierte, so dürfte das Motiv der Farbenfreude darum nur geringen Anteil gehabt haben.

Die Muster waren verschiedener Art. Einfache Fingerstriche, zufällige Streifen z. B. von Auge zu Ohr, oder die Verschönerung derselben Mienen, ein schwarzer Streifen von der Nase bis zum Nabel, Streifen, die den Konturen der Schulterblätter folgten, Tupfen auf Brust und Armen, Wellenlinien, die Schenkel entlang, gewöhnliche Bogen über die Brust herüber, ein Zickzack Rücken und Beine hinunter u. dergl. mehr. Zum Teil handelt es sich dabei um zufällige Begleitung oder Durchkreuzung der zusammenhängenden Konturen, zum Teil um Nachahmung tierischer Hautzeichnung, aber Alles was Wilhelm der einzelnen Personen und Stammesmuster waren nicht verbürgt. Als Uebergang zum gewöhnlichen breiteren Anstreichen mag es gelten, dass man einzelne Körperteile z. B. Stirn und Nase zufällig bemalte. Die Baumwollbänder, die den Oberarm oder den Unterschenkel umspannten, boten ein nicht unbeliebtes Motiv. Bei dem Bakairi Kalabale, der für mich schwitzte, sah ich einen Tages unterhalb jeder Brustwarze ein schwarzes hufeisenartiges Bogenstück, und als ich ihn nur zum Scherz fragte, was das sei, deutete er zu meiner Ueberraschung auf meine Stiefel, die ihm sehr imponierten: er hatte sich die Absätze aufgemalt. Ein wirklichen Kunstwerk trug ein junger Auetö zur Schau, der für die Reise mit uns nach Coyaba — sein Vater befahl ihm, dass er uns begleite — feierlich herausgeputzt war, der aber trotz eines ihm zum Proviant mitgegebenen Topfes Mehl uns schon bei

den Nativaiis verloren. Das Weibchen Kamaiurá, von dem ich später ausführlicher sprechen werde, bedeckte Brust und Seiten abwärts bis zur halben Höhe der Waden, dagegen prangte der untere Hälfte des Gesichts und seitlich der Hals vom Ohr bis zum Schlüsselbein in einem Ueberzug von einem tiefen Schwarz. Im Uebrigen war es vorzugsweise bei dieser freiwilligen Gelegenheit den Empfange oder vor bei den Nahuquá, beim Tanz, dass man sich mit Mustern schmückte. Im alltäglichen Leben war es gut wie Nichts zu sehen, ebensowenig als von Federschmuck. Die Bemalung des ersten Dorfes empfingen wir, als ich mit den Gefährten von der Indigoplantage zurückkehrte, einschliesslich der Frauen dort unerlich in besonderem Zustande, die kleinsten Kinder Tamayuá's waren vorgeblich am ganzen Körper bekleidet, und Tamayuá sagte mir nachdrücklich, dass wir sehen sollten, wie sich die Frauen kleiden.

Kämmerchen. Kämmen der Haut ist eine Art Universalheilmittel. Es wird für Jung und Alt gebraucht und in gleicher Art bei allen Stämmen. Mit dem Wundkratzer, einem dreieckigen Stück Karbonschale, das mit einer Reihe kleiner spitzer Zähne von Hunden (Dodoig) oder Krallen von Vogelnestern (Apeg) besetzt ist, wird die Haut gekratzt, eine Weile bluten gelassen, wobei durch Streichen mit einem Knochen nachgeholfen wird, und dann entweder mit gelbem Lehm oder mit Russ oder dem Saft einer Frucht (notamiaia bei den Aweti) eingerieben. Zumal an den Armen zeigt man überall die Kratzerbahn. Eigentliche Zierarbeiten fehlen durchaus, was mit dem Satz von Jouve übereinstimmt, dass sie auf die dunklen Völker beschränkt sind. Damit die Kratzer zum Schmuck ein sicheren Auge und einen starken Arm erhalten, wird Gewicht und Ueberwurf mit dem Wundkratzer beachtet. Ich sah die bei einer starken Anschwellung des Fusses mit sehr gutem Erfolg angewandt. Das Verfahren ist der reine Bauernheilmittel und wird noch ausdrücklich als ein medizinisches hingestellt. Es ist klar, dass man sich in vielen Fällen auch wirklich Erleichterung verschafft, indem man der Spannung und Entzündung vermindert. Es ist nicht weniger klar, wie man darauf verfallen ist, da sich jeder Mensch bei Insektenstichen kratzt, bis es blutet und der Schmerz oder das Jucken aufhört, und da man auch, was Schlechtes unter die Haut eingedrungen ist, wieder herausdrücken möchte. Endlich ist es nicht zweifelhaft, warum man sich mit Russ oder Erde einreibt, man will sich wiederum nicht schmücken, vielmehr man vergeht oder mildert nach Bedarf den Reiz und stillt das Blut. Blutem wurde auch mit Asche gebannt.

Abb. 13.
Wundkratzer.

So ist der Eingeborene hier zum Tätowieren gekommen, ohne es zu erfinden; ich habe häufig geritzte Kratzriche in der Haut als eine richtige, wenn auch unbeabsichtigte Tätowierung bei den Stämmen beobachtet, die sich mit dieser

Kunst gar nicht bekannten. Von Zahl kann man aber nicht reden, weil die Gewohnheit des umherziehenden Wandervolkes die Beibehaltung der Färbung unmöglich hervorrufen müsste. Die allerwenigste Verwendung ist Sache spätterer Vorstellungen. Auch die Tätowierung wird zur künstlichen Methode und zum unwirksamen Hilfsmittel, das auf der Haut angebracht wird, wo keine Kleidung vorhanden ist. Nichts ist natürlicher als dass die Tätowierung in dem Masse zurücktritt, als die Kleidung erscheint und bequemere Wege zu gleichem Zwecke eröffnet. Der ältere Bakairi Felipe aus dem Parantingebiet, Lieutenant der brasilianischen Miliz und im Besitz einer Patente und einer zweckmässigen gebrauchten Uniform, hatte nach unserer ersten Expedition mit Antonio die wiederholten Namenbrüder besucht, er erzählte uns, dass man ihn aufgefordert habe, zu den Kamayurá zu gehen und sich tätowieren zu lassen. «Aber ich wollte nicht», sagte er uns, «ich habe ja meine Gattin».

Abb. 18. Kamayurá-Frau mit Ritzerchen.

Die Tätowierung ist auf der No-Arawakstamme, also die Mehinakú, Kamayurá, Waurá und Yaulapíti beschränkt, — auf Stämme, die sich den Körper mit Vorliebe tätowieren, die also die Färbung der Kratzwunden am besten beobachten konnten — und wird gelegentlich von den benachbarten Bakairi in Anspruch genommen. Sie wird mit dem Dorn einer Bromelia, Gravatá, oder dem Zahn des Hundefisches in frühem Kindesalter ausgeführt; zur Farbe dient Russ oder der Saft der Tarumifrucht.

Nur ein einziges Mal haben wir eine künstlerische Tätowierung gesehen; ein Häuptling der Mehinakú hatte auf jeder Seite der Brust die Raute des Menschen-Fisches auftätowiert; von der obern und innern Ecke der Raute verlief noch eine Doppellinie zur Schulter hinauf. Indem er uns stolz die Stämme zeichnete, die ihn kannten, deutete er jedesmal auf eine Ecke der Raute; ich nehme noch diesen kleinen humoristischen Zug zu Gunsten meiner Meinung in Anspruch, dass das, was die Naturvölker mit ihrer Haut anfangen, mutatis mutandis, dem entspricht, was wir mit unserer Kleidung unternehmen. Der Mehinakú zählt an den Ecken unsers Tätowiermusters ab, unserins an den Westenknöpfen. Die Männer hatten

als Tätowierung je eine Linie oder Doppellinie, die den innern Konturen der Schulterblätter folgten, bald als stumpfe oder annähernd rechte Winkel, die ihre Scheitel der Wirbelsäule zukehrten, bald als Bogenstücke — ein Muster, das nun in die Kunst der Mehinakú übergegangen ist und außen auf den Böden der grossen Töpfe erscheint, vgl. Tafel 15. Die Frauen trugen entweder auf dem Oberarm, oder um das Handgelenk, oder auf dem Oberschenkel zwei, auch drei horizontale Bogenlinien, die den vordern Teil des Gliedes umspannten, also Halbkreise darstellten.

Die Tätowierung leistet im Allgemeinen noch nichts als einfache Linien und verrät noch ihren Ursprung aus dem ungeschickten Wundkratzen mit dem Fischzahn. In diesem Sinne ist die umstehende Abbildung einer wie tätowiert erscheinenden, aber nur medizinisch geritzten Kamayurá-Frau merkwürdig. Die Kamayurá hatten keine Tätowierung, dagegen waren Hände und Arme vielfach eng liniirt mit Ritznarben des Wundkratzens.

Allein schon diente die Tätowierung bewusster Auszeichnung. Sie kennzeichnete Männer und Frauen der Häuptlingsfamilien, die eben nicht wie der Bakairi Felipe in der Lage waren, Galons zu tragen, man sorgte für diese Unterscheidung schon bei den kleinen Kindern. So liefert sie hier zunächst ein Unterscheidungszeichen innerhalb des Stammes, das aber im Lauf der Zeit wie jedes Rangabzeichen der Verallgemeinerung verfallen wird. Schon gelustete es einzelne Bakairi- und Nahuquá-Aristokraten, sich um die fremde Auszeichnung zu bewerben. Die Nahuquá hatten mehrere Mehinakúfrauen mit Tätowierung. Ich traf bei den Mehinakú einen Kamayurá zu Besuch und dieser trug auf dem Arm charakteristischer Weise, aufgemalt freilich und nicht tätowiert, die beiden Tätowierlinien der Mehinakúfrauen. Ich glaube, kann es aber nicht behaupten und beweisen, dass hier ein Zusammenhang mit dem System des Matriachats vorliegt. Die Söhne gehören nach indianischer Vorstellung zum Stamm der Mutter und in jedem Fall verkehren sie unter friedlichen Verhältnissen in dem Stammdorf der Mutter. Sicher ist es, dass die Mehinakúweiber und die Mehinakútöpfe ihren Heimatsstempel tragen.

II. Sexualia.

Die Vorrichtungen bei Männern und Frauen sind keine Hüllen. Schutz der Schleimhaut und ein Notnotz bei einrissender Geschlechtsreife. Ursprung aber bei den Frauen als Verband und Peloite, bei den Männern als gymnastische Behandlung der Phimose.

Unsere Eingeborenen haben keine geheimen Körperteile. Sie scheuen über sie in Wort und Bild mit voller Unbefangenheit, sodass es thöricht wäre, sie deshalb unanständig zu nennen. Sie bescheiden uns um unsere Kleidung als um einen wertvollen Schmuck, sie legen ihn an und tragen ihn in unserer Gesellschaft mit einer so gänzlichen Nichtachtung unserer einfachsten Regeln und einer so gänzlichen Verkennung aller dieser gewidmeten Vorrichtungen, dass ihre paradiesische Ahnungslosigkeit auf das Auffälligste bewiesen wird. Einige von ihnen begehen

den Eintritt der Mannbarkeit für beide Geschlechter mit lauten Volksfesten, wobei sich die allgemeine Aufmerksamkeit und Ausgelassenheit mit den »private parts« demonstrativ beschäftigt. Ein Mann, der dem Fremden mitteilen will, dass er der Vater eines Andern sei, eine Frau, die sich als die Mutter eines Kindes vorstellen will, sie bekennen sich ernsthaft als würdige Erzeuger, indem sie mit der unwillkürlichsten und natürlichsten Verdeutlichung von der Welt die Organe anfassen, denen das Leben entspringt.

Es ist somit nicht möglich, die Leute richtig zu verstehen, wenn wir nicht unsere Begriffe von der »Kleidung« beiseite lassen, wenn wir sie nicht nehmen, wie sie sind und wie sie sich in ihrer Eigenart geben. Indem wir als den Ausgangspunkt festhalten, dass sie nur ihre natürliche Haut und keine künstliche Stoffdecke über ihren Körper haben, müssen wir uns zunächst einmal fragen, ob die Haut in ihrem Verhältnis zu einer Aussenwelt, der sie unmittelbar ausgesetzt wird, durch die Veränderungen des geschlechtlichen Lebens beeinflusst werden kann, und müssen jedenfalls an dieses Thema mit ärztlicher Unbefangenheit, nicht aber mit dem Gedanken eines zivilisierten Menschen, der sich plötzlich entkleiden soll, herantreten. Beginnen wir mit einer Uebersicht der verschiedenen Methoden, die für die Behandlung der partes pudendae bei den einzelnen Stämmen von der Zeit der Reife ab, und nur von dieser Zeit ab, im Gebrauch sind. Sie beziehen sich nirgendwo auf die Kinder.

Die Männer bieten bei den Kulischustämmen mit Ausnahme der Trumai für den ersten Anblick nichts Besonderes. Das Schamhaar ist ausgerupft; sie tragen nur eine Gürtelschnur in Gestalt eines Baumwollfadens, auf den gelegentlich kleine Halmstücke oder durchbohrte Samenkerne oder winzige Stücke Schneckenschale aufgereiht sind, aber meistens so, dass der grössere Teil der Schnur frei bleibt. Man betrachte die Photographien, z. B. Tafel 14: die Hüftschnur findet man ausnahmslos bei jedem Mann. Oefters ist statt des Fadens ein Strang Baumwolle vorhanden, so bei dem einen Nalluqui Seite 95*) oder auf dem Bild des Bakairi Lucius, Tafel 6. Gerade bei diesem Jüngling, der erst seit kurzem in das mannbare Alter eingetreten war und auch mit der Entfernung des Schamhaars noch nicht abgeschlossen hatte, lernte ich den uns hier interessierenden Zweck der Hüftschnur kennen. Ich hatte sie samt dem Baumwollstrang bis dahin als eine öfters mit Zierrat ausgestattete Tragschnur betrachtet für Leute, die keine Taschen haben, oder als Vorrat an Bindematerial, das immer zur Hand wäre, allein in der That wurden leichtes Handwerkszeug wie Muscheln und Fischgehöse, oder auch der Kamm oder die von uns gegebenen Messer nicht an der Hüftschnur, sondern an einer Schnur um den Hals auf Brust oder Rücken getragen. Auch hatten die so arbeitsamen Frauen keine Hüftschnur. Kleinere Knaben waren meist schon mit der Schnur versehen, hatten dann jedoch stets ein paar zierliche Kleinigkeiten darauf gereiht.

*) Dem Nahuquá Iuka fehlt die Hüftschnur, weil er kurz vor der Aufnahme in unsere Bestände eingegangen war.

Die Hüftschnur dient zu dem Zwecke, das Praeputium zu verlängern. Der Penis wird aufwärts dem Leib angelegt und so unter die Hüftschnur geschoben, dass das oberste Stück des Praeputium abgeklemmt bleibt. Man hält den Jüngling zu diesem Verfahren an, wenn die ersten Erektionen eintreten. Er bemüht sich, die Prozedur Tagelang inne zu halten, und beseitigt das lästige Schamhaar.

Die Trumaí hatten eine absonderliche Methode, die auch von andern brasilischen Stämmen berichtet wird. Sie banden das Praeputium vor der Glans mit einem meist mit Urukú rot gefärbten Baumwollfaden zusammen. Das Vorderende des Penis erschien wie ein Wurstzipfel. Sie hatten also im Dauerzustand das, was die Andern mit ihrer Hüftschnur nur vorübergehend hatten. Leider haben wir sie nicht unter normalen Verhältnissen in ihrem Dorfleben beobachten können. Als wir sie auf der Flucht vor den Suyá in der Nähe der Auetó fanden, bemerkten wir den wunderlichen Faden nicht bei sämtlichen Männern, obwohl auch die nicht damit versehenen die durch den Gebrauch erzeugte Abschnürungsmarke am Praeputium erkennen liessen. Es wäre nicht unmöglich, dass sich die Leute vor den Auetó ein wenig genierten; wenigstens bekundeten die übrigen Stämme, wenn wir mit ihnen von den Trumaí redeten, stets ein ganz besonderes Vergnügen über den Wollfaden, den sie verspotteten und ebenso komisch fanden wie wir. Doch hatten wir die Gesellschaft ganz unter sich getroffen, und der Hauptgrund, nehme ich an, war die in der Notlage nur zur erklärliche Vernachlässigung des Aeussern. Auch bemerkten wir, dass es namentlich ältere Individuen waren, denen der Faden fehlte, wie auch die Aelteren betreffs der Tonsur am nachlässigsten sind. Bei älteren Männern, die den Faden trugen, sass er dem Scrotum unmittelbar auf, und waren auch die Konturen des Penis völlig verschwunden, sodass man nur ein zusammengeschnürtes Beutelchen erblickte. Und kaum anders war es, wenn sie keinen Faden trugen.

Abb. 17. Penisstulp der Bororó.

Diese Folge dauernder Vergewaltigung trat nicht minder bei dem Stulp oder der Strohmanschette zu Tage, die keiner der Kulisehustämme trug, die ich aber hier mit anführen möchte. Wir sahen die auch sonst in Brasilien nicht unbekannte Vorrichtung bei den Yuruna, den mit den oberen Stämmen unbekannten Anwohnern des Mittel- und Unterlaufs, und in grösserem Format bei den Bororó des südlichen Matogrosso. Ein langer Streifen ziemlich spröden gelben Palmstrohs wird gerollt und gefaltet, wie die Abbildung zeigt, sodass ein trichterförmiger nach unten spitz zulaufender Stulp entsteht; das links abstehende Ende des Streifens in der Abbildung möge man sich wegdenken, da der Stulp nur bei festlichen Gelegenheiten solch' eine mit roten Mustern bemalte Fahne trug. Sein Effekt ist genau wie der des Fadens: das Praeputium wird so hindurchgezogen, dass das

untere enge Ende des Trichters noch gerade einen Zipfel scharf abschnürt, vgl. das Titelbild und Tafel 27. Auch hier verschwindet meist der Rest des Penis im Scrotum, aber der Vorteil des starren Stulps vor dem Faden ist der, dass er weniger scharf einschneidet. Der Stulp ist eine Verbesserung und eine Verschönerung im Vergleich zum Faden. Ich nehme an, man hat zunächst die Hüftschnur getragen und davon haben die Einen Stücke zum Abbinden benutzt, während die Andern sich begnügten, die Haut einzuklemmen. Bei jenen ist man zum Teil zu dem milderen und koketteren Stulp fortgeschritten, behielt aber die alte, immer noch nützliche oder zum Schmuck dienliche Hüftschnur bei, wie die Bororó sie neben dem Stulp tragen, während die stulptragenden Yuruna sie zum breiten Perlgürtel entwickelt haben. Waehneldt berichtet in der That (1863) von den im Quellgebiet des Paraguay wohnenden Bororó, dass sie nicht den Stulp, sondern den Faden tragen: »Die Männer binden nur die Glans mittels eines feinen Bastfadens um den Bauch, damit sie sich von Insekten frei halten und beim Laufen nicht belästigt werden«.

Alle Methoden erreichen auf leicht variierte Art dasselbe, die Bedeckung der Glans, sei es, dass das Praeputium nur verlängert, sei es, dass es ausserdem noch zusammengeschnürt und auch noch besonders durch Palmstroh umschlossen wird.

Von den Frauen habe ich erwähnt, dass alle das Schamhaar entfernen.

Die Suyáfrauen, die sich mit Halsketten schmückten und in den durchbohrten Ohrläppchen dicke bandmassartig aufgerollte Palmblattstreifen trugen, gingen durchaus nackt.

Die Trumaifrauen trugen eine Binde aus weichem, grauweisslichem Bast; sie war zu einem Strick gedreht, sodass eine Verhüllung nur in den aller bescheidensten Grenzen vorhanden war und sicherlich nicht beabsichtigt sein konnte, da man den Streifen nur hätte breiter zu nehmen brauchen. Sie rollten einen langen, schmal zusammengefalteten Baststreifen an einem Ende ein wenig auf, hielten dieses Röllchen mit der einen Hand gegen den untern Winkel des Schambergs angedrückt, drehten mit der andern Hand den freien Streifen einige Male um sich selbst und führten ihn zwischen den Beinen nach hinten hinauf, kamen wieder nach vorn zu dem Röllchen, drückten es mit dem quer darüberweg gespannten Streifen an und wandten sich über die andere Hüfte zum Kreuz zurück, wo sie das freie Ende einschlangen und festbanden.

Die Bororófrauen hatten ebenfalls die weiche graue Bastbinde, die sie während der Menses durch eine schwarze ersetzten, nur befestigten sie die Binde an einer Hüftschnur. Dort in einer Breite von 3—4 Fingern, vorn eingeschlungen, lief sie schmäler werdend über die Schamspalte und den Damm zum Kreuz und wurde wieder an die Hüftschnur gebunden. Statt der Hüftschnur wurde auch ein breites, fest schliessendes Stück Rinde um den Leib getragen. Vgl. die Abbildung Bororó, Mutter und Tochter.

Die Frauen der Karaiben, der Nu-Aruak- und Tupistämme des Schingú-Quellgebiets trugen sämtlich das dreieckige Stückchen starren Rindenbastes, das

am bequemsten mit seinem Bakairinamen „Uluri" bezeichnet wird. Die Uluris werden aus einem viereckigen Stück des ziemlich harten knitternden Stoffes durch Faltung in der Diagonale hergestellt; die Ränder der zwei so entstehenden leicht aufeinander federnden Dreiecke sind nach innen umgeschlagen, damit sie nicht scharf bleiben und einschneiden. Das Uluri sitzt sehr tief dem Winkel des Schambergs auf; die untere Ecke des Dreiecks verlängert sich in einen etwa 4 mm breiten Dammstreifen aus hartem Rindenbast, während von den beiden oberen 2 dünne Fadenschnüre durch die Leistenbeugen um die Schenkel herum nach hinten laufen und dort mit dem schmalen Dammstreifen vereinigt werden, der von der unteren Spitze des Dreiecks her entgegenkommt. Die Grösse der Uluris wechselt; umfangreiche Exemplare haben eine Grundlinie von 7 cm, eine Höhe von 3 cm, die meisten sind, zumal bei jüngeren Individuen, erheblich kleiner. Sie bedecken grade den Anfang der Schamspalte und liegen dort fest an. Der Introitus vaginae wird durch das Dreieck nicht erreicht, aber durch den Gesamtdruck von vorn nach hinten verschlossen oder mindestens nach innen zurückgehalten, da der zwischen den unbehemmten Labia majora in der Spalte eingebettete Dammstreifen scharf angezogen ist.

Abb. 18. Uluri. (4/5—5/5 nat. Gr.)

Die Uluris sind mit grosser Zierlichkeit gefertigt und sehen recht kokett aus, wenn sie neu sind. Ihre ganze Konstruktion ist so hübsch überlegt und besonders die Befestigung der Leistenschnüre wie die des Dammstreifens, die an die Dreiecke angenäht sind, so saubere Arbeit, dass man sie nicht für ein ursprüngliches Erzeugnis erklären kann.

Den verschiedenen Methoden der Frauen gemeinsam ist der Verschluss, nicht die Verhüllung. Sie halten die Schleimhautteile zurück, wie bei den Männern die Glans verhindert wird vorzutreten. Zurückhalten der Schleim-

2: Steinen SP7 Bacairi

haut ist der allen Vorrichtungen beider Geschlechter gemeinsame mechanische Effekt. Das Uluri erreicht ihn bei einer so weit getriebenen Reduktion der Bedeckung, dass die Verhüllung eher möglichst vermieden als gewünscht erscheint. Die Schleimhaut bleibt, da sie bei den Männern hinter dem Praeputium, bei den Frauen hinter den Labia majora zurückgehalten wird, der Aussenwelt überhaupt und somit allerdings auch den Blicken der Umgebung verborgen.

»Kleidungstücke«, deren Hauptzweck es wäre, dem Schamgefühl zu dienen, kann man doch nur im Scherz in jenen Vorrichtungen erblicken. Sexuelle Erregung wurde durch sie nicht verhüllt und wurde auch, wenigstens bei den Bororó-Männern, nicht geheim gehalten. Das rote Fädchen der Trumaí, die zierlichen Uluris, die bunte Fahne der Bororó fordern wie ein Schmuck die Aufmerksamkeit heraus, statt sie abzulenken. Zwar wird der Gedanke, sowohl den moralischen Zustand als diese »Reste einer früheren Kleidung« auf eine Degeneration zurückzuführen, indem die Eingeborenen von einer höheren Stufe auf die niedrige der Gegenwart herabgesunken wären, für manche Gemüter ein Herzensbedürfnis sein, er lässt sich aber nicht in Einklang bringen weder mit der von einem gleichen klar ausgesprochenen Zweck beherrschten Mannigfaltigkeit der Vorrichtungen, noch mit der vollkommenen Harmonie, in der sie sich der ganzen übrigen Kulturhöhe der Indianer einfügen. Die absolut nackten Suyáfrauen wuschen sich die Geschlechtsteile am Fluss in unserer Gegenwart.

Könnte für die heranwachsenden Männer, wenn die Glans durch Erektionen und sexuellen Verkehr dauernd frei zu werden droht, der Wunsch entstehen, sie zum Schutz bedeckt zu erhalten? Es lässt sich Vieles dafür anführen. Zwar möchte sich dieses Schutzbedürfnis noch am wenigsten auf Gestrüpp und Dornen beziehen. Ernsthafter sind die Insulte der Tierwelt zu nehmen. Wenn die Trumaí, wie von ihnen behauptet wurde, Tiere wären, die im Wasser lebten und auf dem Boden des Flusses schliefen, wären sie sogar in die dringende Notwendigkeit versetzt, die Urethralöffnung dem Kandirúfischchen *(Cetopsis Candiru)* zu verschliessen. Dies transparente, spannenlange kleine Scheusal, dessen Vorkommen im Batovy wir 1884 festgestellt haben, hat die eigentümliche Neigung, in die ihm zugänglichen Körperöffnungen des im Wasser befindlichen Menschen einzudringen; es schlüpft in die Urethra, kann wegen der Flossen nicht zurück und verursacht leicht den Tod des Unglücklichen, dem Nichts übrig bleibt, als schlecht und recht mit seinem Messer die Urethrotomia externa zu vollziehen. *)

Da die Amphibiennatur der Trumaí aber auf gerechte Zweifel stösst, und der Aufenthalt im Wasser selbst für den Fischer oder den sein Kanu durch die Katarakte bugsierenden Ruderer nur eine nebensächliche Rolle spielt, so ist es

*) Die Angst der Brasilier vor dem an und für sich so harmlosen Fischchen ist somit wohl gerechtfertigt; sie wird am besten durch eine Münchhausenisade charakterisiert, die uns ein Offizier mit ernsthafter Miene für wahr berichtete: in den Gewässern bei Villa Cáceres ist der Kandirú so bösartig und so auf seine Passion versessen, dass er sogar, wenn Jemand vom Ufer aus ein Bedürfnis befriedigt, eiligst in den Wasserstrahl emporbringt.

nicht notwendig, auf die von dem Kandiru ausgehende, nur gelegentliche Gefahr zurückzugreifen. Dagegen macht allerdings das Gesindel der »Carapatos« (Ixodidae), der beim Durchwandern des Waldes zahlreich von den Blättern abgestreiften und herabgeschüttelten Zecken, den Schutz der Glans den Waldbewohnern im höchsten Grade wünschenswert. Die zum Teil winzig kleinen Schmarotzer saugen sich auf der Haut fest, pumpen sich voller Blut, bei ihrer dehnbaren Körperwandung bis zu Erbsengröße anschwellend, und haften mit den in die Haut scharf eindringenden Hakenspitzen ihrer Kieferfühler so fest, dass man sie zerreisst, wenn man sie abpflücken will, und durch die zurückbleibenden Teile schmerzhafte Entzündungsstellen hervorgerufen werden. Der Brasilier, der häufig mit Karapaten wie besät aus dem Walde kommt, entledigt sich schleunigst seiner Kleidung und schüttelt Hemd und Beinkleid über dem Lagerfeuer aus; hat sich einer der Schmarotzer in die Glans eingebohrt, so pflegt er ihm mit einer brennenden Zigarette so nahe auf den Leib zu rücken, als seine eigene Empfindlichkeit nur eben gestattet, damit das Tierchen, durch die Hitze bedrängt, freiwillig seinen Aufenthalt aufgiebt und sich aus der Schleimhaut zurückzieht, ohne zerrissen zu werden. Wir Alle haben trotz unserer Kleidung das eine oder andere Mal dieses Verfahren einschlagen müssen und die Situation, bevor die Erlösung erreicht ist, als eine der peinlichsten gekostet. Ich bin auch der Ansicht, dass der Schutz, dessen sich die Indianer erfreuen, sicherer ist, als der einer verhüllenden Bekleidung.

Wie viel anderes beissendes, kneifendes, saugendes, einkriechendes Insektenzeug den südamerikanischen Waldbewohner noch auf ähnliche Art bedrängen kann, ist jedem Reisenden geläufig, der sich im brasilischen Wald auf den Boden gesetzt hat. Am hellsten werden diese Unannehmlichkeiten durch den Umstand beleuchtet, dass es auch der Bewohner des südamerikanischen Tropenwaldes gewesen ist, der die Hangematte, von den Engländern und Franzosen noch jetzt nach dem Nu-Aruakwort „*amaka*" benannt, zu erfinden genötigt war. Genötigt war, sicherlich nicht allein wegen des nassen Bodens der Hylaea. Wohlweislich begegnet der Indianer jenen Angriffen in etwas dadurch, dass er in Hockstellung zu sitzen pflegt. Auch gebrauchen die Frauen, wenn sie beim Schaben der Mandiokawurzel und dergleichen Beschäftigung, die sich in der Hockstellung nur unbequem verrichten liesse, breit aufsitzen, selbst im Hause, das ja von Schleppameisen wimmelt, ein paar aneinander befestigte flache Bambusstücke zur Unterlage. Sie sind von den häuslichen Arbeiten her weniger daran gewöhnt zu hocken, als die Männer, somit auch weniger geschützt. Auf der nebenstehenden Abbildung zeigt eine Gruppe von Bakairi aus dem zweiten Dorf sehr gut die charakteristischen Stellungen beider Geschlechter im Sitzen oder Hocken.

Auch bei den Frauen würde, wenn Schutz der Schleimhaut durch ihre Vorrichtungen bewirkt werden sollte, dieser Zweck wohl erreicht und sicherlich besser erreicht als etwa ein Zweck der Verhüllung. Es ist ferner anzuerkennen, dass, die Absicht des Schutzes der Schleimhaut vorausgesetzt, ein Bedürfnis sich dafür durch das geschlechtliche Leben wenigstens steigerte, weil bei der jungen

Frau die Mucosa zugänglicher wurde, im Zustand der Schwangerschaft turgescierte und durch die Entbindungen gelockert wurde.

So wäre es in der That nach den örtlichen Bedingungen unrecht, daran zu zweifeln, dass die beschriebenen Methoden den Erwachsenen beider Geschlechter Schutz gegen äussere Insulte bieten konnten, und dass es nicht an Gelegenheiten fehlte, wo sie in diesem Sinne nützlich sein mussten. Es wäre auch natürlich, dass man mit ihnen die Jugend schon beim Eintritt in die Reifezeit, wo sie begannen, mit den Aelteren zu arbeiten, gebührend ausrüstete. Allein die Erklärung kann unmöglich erschöpfend sein. Denn die Wichtigkeit und Unentbehrlichkeit der Vorrichtungen steht im Missverhältnis zu dem Begriff

Abb. 19. Hockende Bakairi.

von Schutzapparaten. Warum hätte man sie nicht häufiger, namentlich Nachts in der Hängematte, abgelegt? Warum wären die Jünglinge so aufmerksam bei ihrer Dressur des Praputiums gewesen? Warum hätte man sonderlich Aufhebens davon gemacht, dass die Uluris oder die Stulpe eines Tages angelegt wurden? Die Beziehungen zum Geschlechtsleben müssen unmittelbar sein und nicht nur mittelbar.

Bei dem weiblichen Geschlecht begegnet man keiner Schwierigkeit. Plötzlich treten Blutungen auf; hier ist eine Erkrankung gegeben. Dass der Indianer ursprünglich so dachte, wird klar bewiesen durch die bei den meisten Stämmen übliche, höchst überflüssige medizinische Behandlung des menstruierenden Mädchens

2: Steinen SP7 Bacairi

mit Ioberung, Ausraucherung, Diät, Inzisionen und den übrigen Hilfsmitteln wider die unbekannten Feinde. Man entfernte säuberlich das Schamhaar und legte einen Verband an, die Bastschlinge, oder eine Pelotte: das Uluri. Die Bastschlinge ist bei den Trumalfrauen — eine Kombination von Verband und Pelotte — strickartig gedreht, bei den Uluriträgerinnen bewirkt der schmale Rindenstreifen die Anspannung über den Damm; in beiden Fällen wird ein gegen die Schambeinfuge hin andrückendes Widerlager geschaffen, bei jenen durch das Röllchen, bei diesen durch das federnde Dreieck. Man sieht, es war nicht die Reinlichkeit, die das Verfahren eingab, sondern das ärztliche Bemühen, dem Blutverlust entgegenzuarbeiten. Das sind aber wahrlich keine Erfindungen der Schamhaftigkeit, wie Schürzen oder dergleichen loser Umhang.

Für die Männer liegt die Erklärung nicht ganz so nahe. Auch hier hat man den Versuch gemacht, die Beziehung zu einem ursächlich wirkenden, primären Schamgefühl zu retten. Die Ansicht ist ausgesprochen worden, dass man sich nur ganz ausschliesslich geschämt habe, die Glans des Penis den Blicken zu zeigen, und deshalb auch nur sie verhüllt habe. Leider habe ich Nichts beobachtet, was die Frage unmittelbar entscheiden könnte. Ich habe gesehen, dass die Leute sich nicht schämten, wenn sie ihre Vorrichtungen uns gaben oder auch gelegentlich ablegten, wie denn eine Anzahl Trumal den Faden nicht einmal trugen, allein der Penis war immer bereits so stark zurückgedrängt und die Haut so faltig, dass von der Glans nichts sichtbar wurde. Ich glaube sogar, vielleicht, weil ich ohne gegebenes Material selbst durch die Kulturbrille schaue, dass sie sich schämen würden, die Glans dem Auge eines Andern, zumal des Fremden, auszusetzen. Nur würde ich dieses Schamgefühl als Folge des eingewurzelten Gebrauchs betrachten und nicht als seine Ursache. Dass sich aber ein in der Naturanlage gegebenes Gefühl nur für einen kleinen anatomischen Teil eines in seiner Funktion auch die andern Teile beanspruchenden Organs regen solle, finde ich recht seltsam, und gern würde ich von einem etwa derart beobachteten Fall hören, dass ein im Zustand der Nacktheit überraschter Mensch sich nicht mit der Hand, sondern nur mit zwei Fingern bedeckt habe. Es ist nicht zu vergessen, dass Erektionen durch die Abschnürung weder verhindert noch verborgen werden. Dann giebt es ja auch beschnittene Menschen, die nackt gehen oder gingen *).

Und hier sind wir bei dem Punkt angelangt, der vor Allem erwogen werden muss. Wir müssen die entgegengesetzte Behandlung der Glans in Betracht ziehen, die das Praeputium verkürzt oder spaltet. Der grössere Teil der Menschheit hat der Zirkumzision den Vorzug gegeben. Mit Ploss und Andree **) bin ich der Meinung, dass der ursprüngliche Sinn der Beschneidung der eines »operativen Vorbereitungsaktes auf die Sexualfunktion des Mannes« gewesen sei; »man will den Jüngling mit einem Male reif und normal in sexueller Hinsicht

*) Vgl. das Beispiel des Kaziken von Gotern, R. Andree, Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche. Neue Folge, Leipzig 1889, p. 202.

**) a. a. O. p. 212.

2: Steinen SP7 Bacairi

machen, er wird damit in die Reihe der heiratsfähigen Männer aufgenommen«. Haben unsere Naturvölker sich nun für die entgegengesetzte Methode entschieden, so können sie dabei nicht von einem entgegengesetzten Motiv, das unsinnig wäre, geleitet worden sein. Aber wohl darf man sich fragen, ob ihre Methode nicht nur scheinbar entgegengesetzt ist, ob sie nicht in Wirklichkeit dasselbe erreicht? Nicht dass die Oeffnung erweitert würde; es liegt vielmehr eine gymnastische Behandlung der Phimose vor anstatt einer operativen. Dehnen sie denn nicht die Haut, die die Andern zerschneiden? Schaffen sie nicht Raum innen, wo ihn die Andern nach aussen schaffen? Am wenigsten kann dies für das Abklemmen des Praeputiums mittels der Hüftschnur bezweifelt werden, was, wie bereits erwähnt, die älteste Form zu sein scheint, da sich die Hüftschnur überall erhalten hat. Mit dem Stulp wurde die Haut stark vorgezerrt. Bei Jünglingen zeigte sie sich häufig wund und abgeschürft. Der Europäer lässt zu enge Schuhe vom Schuster auf den Leisten schlagen, im innern Brasilien aber, wo man nur fertige importierte Waare kauft, findet ein Mann der guten Gesellschaft gar nichts darin, in Lackschuhen zu erscheinen, die er sich mit ein paar festen Schnitten erweitert hat. Sein Messer verhält sich zum Leisten, wie der beschneidende Splitter oder Dorn zur Hüftschnur.

Eins haben der feine Brasilier und der Europäer in diesem Fall gemeinsam, sie schämen sich schon beide mehr oder minder, barfuss zu erscheinen. Vielleicht kommt auch einmal die Zeit, wo vollkommene Menschen glauben, die Schuhe seien erfunden, weil es ein Erbgut unseres Geschlechts gewesen sei, sich der nackten Füsse zu schämen.

Nicht einmal die wirklichen Anzüge, die unsere Indianer haben — sie sind aus Palmstroh geflochten, mit Aermeln und Hosen ausgestattet und dienen zur Vermummung bei Tanzfesten — lassen sich zu Gunsten des Ursprungs aus dem Schamgefühl verwerten: an ihnen werden die Geschlechtsteile gross und deutlich aussen angebracht. Ich vermag nicht zu glauben, dass ein Schamgefühl, das den unbekleideten Indianern entschieden fehlt, bei andern Menschen ein primäres Gefühl sein könne, sondern nehme an, dass es sich erst entwickelte, als man die Teile schon verhüllte, und dass man die Blösse der Frauen den Blicken erst entzog, als unter vielleicht nur sehr wenig komplizierteren wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Verhältnissen mit regerem Verkehrsleben der Wert des in die Ehe ausgelieferten Mädchens höher gestiegen war als er noch bei den grossen Familien am Schingú galt. Auch bin ich der Meinung, dass wir uns die Erklärung schwerer machen als sie ist, indem wir uns theoretisch ein grösseres Schamgefühl zulegen als wir praktisch haben.

III. Jägertum, Feldbau und „Steinzeit"-Kultur.

Bevölkerungszahl. Lage der Dörfer. Vereinigung von unitem Feldbau und Weiterentwicklung des Jägertums. Jagd und Fischfang müssen den metallosen Stämmen, für die der Ausdruck »Steinzeit« unzutreffend ist, die wichtigsten Werkzeuge liefern. Steinbeilmonopol, Zähne, Knochen, Muschels, Federn. Aufzählung der Nutzpflanzen und Verteilung nach Stämmen. Keine Bananen. Pflanzennamen als Zeugen für einige Entwicklung. Fehlen bemerkenswerter Mehlgetränke beweist, dass Einbuchbest nicht gleich Degeneration. Vereinigung von Jagd und Feldbau ermöglicht durch Arbeitsteilung der Geschlechter. Indianerinnen schaffen den Feldbau; sie erfinden die Töpfe zum Ersatz der Kürbisse; die Männer braten, die Frauen kochen. Durch fremde Frauen Kultur des Feldbaues, der Töpfe, der Mehlbereitung verbreitet und nach Kriegen erhalten, namentlich durch Ne-Aruakfrauen.

Die Bevölkerung des Schingú-Quellgebiets mag ungefähr 2500—3000 Seelen betragen. Ich bin nicht in der Lage, mehr als eine ganz oberflächliche Schätzung zu geben. Selbst in dem dritten Bakairidorf waren die jungen Frauen und Mädchen in den Wald gelaufen, als wir ankamen. Meist kehrten die Flüchtlinge zwar allmählich zurück, doch wussten wir niemals sicher, ob wir die normale Anzahl der Bewohner vor uns sahen. Es kam auch umgekehrt vor, dass Besuch aus den benachbarten Ortschaften eingetroffen war, und die uns umgebende Gesellschaft zu zahlreich erschien. Die kleinsten Dörfer bestanden aus nur zwei Familienhäusern, die grössten aus nahezu zwanzig. Es wird im Allgemeinen richtig sein, wenn man den Dörfern je nach der Grösse eine Bevölkerung von 30 bis 150 und, wo es hoch kommt, bis 200 Bewohnern zurechnet.

Nur die Trumai und jenseit Schingú-Koblenz die Suyá wohnten am Flussufer. Es waren dies die streitlustigsten und unruhigsten Stämme; die Suyá konnten als die Hechte im Karpfenteich gelten. Die Uebrigen sassen in stiller Sicherheit oft mehr als zwei Wegstunden landeinwärts vom Fluss. Aber während der Fluss im Gebiet der Bakairi noch schmal war und sich in den letzten Katarakten austobte, während hier noch in der Landschaft dichte Kampwildnis mit sandigem Boden vorherrschte, entwickelte sich flussabwärts ein ausgedehntes Netz von Kanälen und Lagunen, gestaltete sich dort für die Kenner der verschlungenen Wasserwege, in denen sich der Fremde nicht zurechtzufinden vermochte, der Verkehr nicht nur von Dorf zu Dorf, sondern auch vom Dorf zur Pflanzung mühelos und vielseitig, lohnte überdies ein reicherer Boden besser die Arbeit.

Wollen wir das Schema Fischer und Jäger oder Ackerbauer anwenden, so müssen wir bei unsern Eingeborenen ein Mischverhältnis feststellen. Die Jagd auf Säugetiere trat bei den seshaften Anwohnern des Flusses von selbst gegen den Fischfang zurück. Dieser war wichtig sowol für den Zweck der Ernährung als für den der Verwendung im technischen Bedarf. Felle boten keinen Nutzen, da man wärmende Kleidung nicht trug; die Haut des erlegten Säugetieres wurde gewöhnlich nicht abgezogen, sondern mitgebraten, und zwar bis zur Verkohlung, wo sie angenehm knusprig und salzig schmeckte. Die Jagd, ausser der eifrig gepflegten auf grosse Hühnervögel und die sonstige Bewohnerschaft des Flusswaldes, gewährte nur Gelegenheitsbeute und hätte, wenn sie ernster betrieben

werden sollte, zu grösseren Streifereien genötigt. Wir sahen dies später bei den Bororó, die auch an einem fischreichen Fluss wohnten, bei denen aber umgekehrt die Jagd auf Säugetiere im Vordergrunde stand; sie waren wochenlang von Hause abwesend und kehrten mit grossen Mengen gebratenen Fleisches zurück: sie betrieben noch keinen Feldbau.

Geistig — und das ist ein Punkt von hoher Bedeutung — lebten die Schingüindianer trotz eines intensiven Feldbaus noch im vollen, echten Jägerstadium. Wenigstens von den Bakairí kann ich diesen Satz in seinem ganzen Umfang bestätigen. Ich habe geschildert, mit welcher Aufmerksamkeit sie selbst im Dorf jeden Laut, der aus dem Walde drang, jeden Vorgang aus dem Tierleben, den ihnen der Zufall vor Augen führte, beobachteten. Draussen auf dem Kamp- oder Waldpfad, im Kanu, im Nachtlager fühlte sich der Indianer stets auf der Jagd. Er wusste sich nicht durch eine Kluft von der Tierwelt geschieden, er sah nur, dass sich alle Geschöpfe im Wesentlichen benahmen wie er selbst, dass sie ihr Familienleben hatten, sich durch Laute miteinander verständigten, Wohnungen besassen, sich zum Teil befehdeten und von der Jagdbeute oder von Früchten ernährten, kurz er fühlte sich als primus inter pares, nicht über ihnen; er wusste nichts von all den guten Dingen, dass es ein Anderes ist, ob man in Situationsbildern oder in Begriffen Schlussfolgerungen zieht, und ob man nach Assoziationen, die sich fertig innerhalb der Art forterben, oder nach der Tradition, die von den Eltern durch die Sprache übermittelt wird, zweckgemäss handelt. Seine Sagen und Legenden, die uns als reine Märchen und Tierfabeln erscheinen, und die er genau so ernst nimmt wie wir die heiligen Bücher und ihre Lehren, in denen er sich auch Menschen und Tiere vermischen lässt, müssten ihm selbst nur scherzhafte Spielereien sein, wenn er seine Person aus anderm Stoff geformt wüsste als die übrigen Geschöpfe. Wir können diese Menschen nur verstehen, wenn wir sie als das Erzeugnis des Jägertums betrachten. Den Hauptstock ihrer Erfahrungen sammelten sie an Tieren, und mit diesen Erfahrungen, weil man nur durch das Alte ein Neues zu verstehen vermag, erklärten sie sich vorwiegend die Natur, bildeten sie sich ihre Weltanschauung. Dementsprechend sind ihre künstlerischen Motive, wie wir sehen werden, mit einer verblüffenden Einseitigkeit dem Tierreich entlehnt, ja ihre ganze überraschend reiche Kunst wurzelt in dem Jägerleben und ist nur erblüht, als ein ruhigeres Dasein den Knospen Schutz gewährte. Ich kann nicht genug von Anfang an auf diese Verhältnisse hinweisen, weil wir sonst die materielle Kultur der Eingeborenen nicht richtig würdigen und ihre geistige überhaupt nicht begreifen würden.

Auf der andern Seite ist es Thatsache, dass die Erzeugnisse des Feldbaus — ausgenommen bei den Trumaí — seit undenklichen Zeiten im Besitz unserer Indianer sind. Dafür liefert die Vergleichung der Sprachen unwiderlegliche Beweise. Sie lehrt uns zunächst, dass die Stämme des Schingú verschiedenen Sprachfamilien angehören. Sie lehrt uns weiter, dass für jeden einzelnen die Abzweigung von dem entsprechenden Grundvolk in entlegenen Epochen stattgefunden hat;

denn die lautlichen Erweichungvorgänge und das Verschwinden der Stammanlaute, die überall bei den einzelnen Dialekten vorhanden sind, zeigen eine gleich gerichtete, aber dem Grade und den Grenzen nach überall verschieden abgestufte Entwicklung, zeigen nur Entsprechungen und keine Uebereinstimmungen, können also erst nach der Abtrennung von dem Grundvolk in Gang gekommen sein. Dennoch haben schon die Grundvölker die Namen der wichtigsten Nutzpflanzen; sie sind gänzlich verschieden von einem Grundvolk zum andern, sie sind aber dem einzelnen Grundstock gemeinsam mit einer grösseren oder geringeren Anzahl der Zweige. Für die Karaiben glaube ich diese Sätze in meiner Bakairí-Grammatik erwiesen zu haben, für die Tupí darf ich sie nach neueren Studien gleichfalls behaupten, für die Nu-Aruak, wo das Material unzulänglich und schwierig ist, enthalte ich mich jeden Urteils und verweise nur darauf, dass wir aus geschichtlichen und ethnologischen Daten schliessen müssen, dass die Nu-Aruak sicherlich eine ältere Kultur besitzen als die Karaiben und gar die Gés, und eine ältere wahrscheinlich auch als die Tupí. Die Trumaí haben ihre Namen für die wichtigsten Nutzpflanzen teils von den Nu-Aruak, teils von den Tupí entlehnt.

So haben wir einen Widerspruch gegen die landläufige Auffassung: uralten Feldbau neben der Weltanschauung des Jägertums. Die Bakairí sagten mir, »unsere Grosväter wussten nichts von Mais und Mandioka, sie assen dafür Erde« — wovon die heutigen Indianer nur naschen. In dem Bagadú-Märchen erzählen sie, dass die Mandioka den Kampbewohnern erst geschenkt worden sei. Man begegnet im Matogrosso verschiedenen Stufen der Entwicklung nebeneinander: in den Bororó werden wir einen mächtigen Stamm kennen lernen, dem das Anbauen von Nahrpflanzen ein unverständliches Beginnen war, der ohne Not die für ihn gepflanzten Mandiokawurzeln, kaum dass es junge, dünne Wurzelstengel waren, eiligst ausriss und verzehrte — wir erkennen aus der Sprache und hören auch aus der Ueberlieferung, dass die Trumaí erst spät in dem Feldbau von ihren Nachbarn unterrichtet worden sind und finden bei ihnen vortrefflich gehaltene, ausgedehnte Pflanzungen — wir sehen endlich die übrigen Schingú-Indianer abhängig von den Früchten des Feldes, doch in ihrem ganzen Denken und Empfinden von der Freude am ursprünglichen Jägerberuf erfüllt.

Allein der Gang kann sich nicht so abgesetzt stufenweise und mehr oder minder sprungweise nach dem Schema vollzogen haben. Um dies einzusehen, müssen wir nur noch einem andern Problem etwas näher treten. Die Schingústämme hatten keine Metalle. Man sagt, sie lebten in der »Steinzeit«.

Leider ist das Studium der vormetallischen Perioden ganz vorwiegend an dem stummen Material der Ausgrabungen herangebildet worden. So hat man zunächst die Verwirrung der Begriffe entstehen lassen, dass »Steinzeit« und »Praehistorie« häufig als Ausdrücke gelten, die sich decken, obwohl die Völker, die ihre Geschichte selbst geschrieben haben, dies erst thaten, als sie die Metalle längst besassen, und obwohl neben ihnen und zu gleicher Zeit metallose Völker, »vorgeschichtliche« mit geschichtlichen zusammen gelebt haben. Dann aber hat man

bei unsern prähistorischen Funden eine ältere Zeit unterscheiden können, wo die Steingeräte durch Zuhauen und Zersplittern der Steine, und eine jüngere Zeit, wo sie durch Schleifen hergestellt wurden, und hat sich nun nicht begnügt, diesen Gang — ich sage nicht, diesen Entwickhungsgang — auf die Gebiete zu beschränken, wo man ihn beobachtet, sondern, die Erfahrungen verallgemeinernd, geschlossen, der Mensch habe notwendig, um seine Werkzeuge zu gewinnen, überall damit begonnen, Steine zu zerschlagen, und sei dann fortgeschritten, sie zu schleifen. Während die Prähistorie erst dort für die Erklärung der Kulturanfänge das entscheidende Wort sprechen und die Definitionen liefern sollte, wo die Beobachtung an den Naturvölkern ihre Grenze findet, gelten heute die Mitteilungen aus Alaska oder von einer Südseeinsel vorwiegend als schätzbares Material für den Prähistoriker, der mit Freude sieht, wie seine scharfsinnigen Deutungen durch die Wirklichkeit bestätigt werden, und wenn andrerseits der Forschungsreisende irgendwohin gelangt, wo die Leute keine Metalle kennen, so ruft er aus, sie leben in der »Steinzeit« — eine Thorheit, die mir deshalb sehr klar geworden ist, weil ich sie selbst häufig begangen habe. Gingen wir zunächst einmal von den Naturvölkern aus, wie es sich gebührt, so würden wir nicht verkennen, dass sich unter ihnen noch heute palaeolithische sowohl als neolithische Arbeit je nach den vorhandenen Gesteinarten, je nach dem anderweitig gegebenen Material und je nach den technischen Zwecken vorfindet. Wir würden sehen, dass der negative Ausdruck »metallos« natürlich zutrifft, dass aber der positive Name »Steinzeit« sehr unglücklich sein kann. Wir würden auch den Fall berücksichtigen, wo der Mensch gar keine oder nur ungeeignete Steine hat und doch seine Geräte und Waffen vortrefflich herstellt. Als unbefangener Beobachter wäre ich kaum je darauf verfallen, zu behaupten, dass die Schingú-Indianer in der »Steinzeit« leben.

Abb. 20. Steinbeil. (1/3 nat. Gr.)

Es trifft gewiss zu, dass ihre schwierigsten Leistungen — Waldlichten, Häuserbauen, Kanubauen, Verfertigen von Schemeln und dergleichen — dem Steinbeil zukommen. Allein die verschiedenen Stämme waren ganz abhängig von einer Fundstätte, die im Besitz der Trumaí war. Weder Bakairí noch Nahuquá noch Mehinakú nebst Verwandten, noch Auetó noch Kamayurá hatten Steinbeile eigener Arbeit. Ihr Sandstein eignete sich nicht zu Beilen. Genau ein Gleiches habe ich von der früheren Zeit der zahmen Bakairí des Paranatinga auszusagen: in diesem Gebiet hatten die Kayabí das Monopol der Steinbeile; die benachbarten Bakairí mussten sie sich von ihnen, ihren späteren Todfeinden, beschaffen. Die Stämme des Batovy, Kulisehu und Kuluene erhielten ihre Steinbeile von den Trumaí; (die am Hauptfluss wohnenden Suyá hatten selbst welche). Das Steinbeil tritt uns hier also als ein Einfuhrartikel entgegen.

Auf meine Erkundigungen wurde mir geantwortet, die Steine wurden »an einem Bach im Sand« gefunden. Das Material ist von Herrn Professor Arzruni

in Aachen als Diabas bestimmt, ein aus Augit, Plagioklas, Glimmer, Chlorit und Magnetisen zusammengesetztes Gestein, in dem einzelne Krystalle von Olivin und ziemlich viele Quarzkörner eingelagert sind. Die Klingen, 11—21 cm lang, sind meist flach zylindrisch, einige in der Mitte walzenrund, verjüngen sich nach hinten und enden vorn breit mit bogenförmiger Schneide. Sie sitzen ohne jede Umschnurung in einem durchschnittlich 0,5 m langen Holzgriff, der aus einem zylindrischen quer durchbohrten Oberstück und einem dünneren, von diesem wie ein Schilfrohr von seinem Kolben abgesetzten Stiel besteht. Aus demselben Diabas sind die in die am Wurfpfeile eingelassenen Steinspitzen und die Schmucksteine der Halsketten. Die Trumai schliffen ihren Steinen die Klinge an, und durchbohrten, wie immer ihnen nur die benachbarten Yudapiti, die Schmucksteine. Die übrigen Stämme schliffen nur die stumpf gewordenen Beile im Flussandstein zu. Muscheln und Steine wurden mit einem Quirlbohrer durchbohrt. An einem Stöckchen war, und zwar an beiden Enden, damit man wechseln konnte, ein dreieckiges hartes Steinsplitterchen eingeklemmt und durch Fadenumschnürung gesichert. Das Stöckchen war nahezu $^1/_3$ m lang und wurde zwischen den Händen gequirlt. Wurde Stein durchbohrt, so setzte man Sand zu. Das ist Alles, was die Indianer in der Bearbeitung von Stein kürzten, sie hatten keine dreieckigen Pfeilspitzen aus Stein, keine Steinmesser, keine Kelte, keine Steinsägen, keine Schaber u. s. w. Ich schlug bei den Bakairi zwei Stücke eisenhaltigen Sandsteins gegeneinander, dass Funken hervorsprühten, und sah zu meinem Erstaunen, dass sie die Erscheinung nicht kannten. Sie waren Neolithiker, die von der paläolithischen Zunft manches nützliche Handwerksgeheimnis hatten lernen können.

Abb. 22. (Quirlbohrer.*) ($^1/_3$ nat. Gr.)

Ich wage nicht zu sagen, die Schingú-Indianer lebten in der »Zahnzeit«, »Muschelzeit« oder »Holzzeit«, obwohl in der That die grosse Mehrzahl von Waffen, Werkzeugen, Geräten, Schmuck aus Zähnen, Muscheln und Holz zusammengesetzt ist, und sie das Feuer durch Reiben von Hölzern erzeugten. Ich wage dies nicht einmal in Betreff der ostbrasilischen Waldstämme, bei denen das Steinbeil doch eine ganz sekundäre Rolle gespielt haben muss, da sie weder Feldbau trieben, noch Kanus bauten, noch solide Hütten kannten. Aber es ist offenbar nur die Uebertragung von anderswo — und beim Ausgraben auf sehr erklärliche Art und Weise — gewonnenen Begriffen, wenn man aus dem vorhandenen natürlichen Material für Werkzeuge und Waffen, um die Kulturstufe zu bezeichnen, dasjenige herausgreift, was am wenigsten sowohl Bearbeitung wie Verwendung erfahren hat. Die Kultur der den Wald bewohnenden alten brasilischen Jägerstämme wird schwer verkannt, wenn man mit der Klassifikation »steinzeitlich« die

*) Der Quirlstock ist unterbrochen dargestellt.

2: Steinen SP7 Bacairi

Vorstellung von den Menschen der Einzeit heraufbeschwört. Wir versperren uns das Studium der räumlichen Kulturkreise und der Abhängigkeit des Menschen von seinem Wohnorte; jeder Stamm hat das Material seiner Umgebung verwerten gelernt, auf das er angewiesen war, und ist so in den Besitz von Methoden gelangt, die eine mit demselben Material nur spärlich versorgte Nachbarschaft nicht gefunden hätte, aber nur zum eigenen Fortschritt benutzen und üben lernt. »Von der geographischen Umgebung«, sagt Bastian, »zeigt es sich bedingt, ob neben dem den Metallen vorhergehenden Steinalter noch ein Holzalter (wie in brasilischen Alluvionen z. B.), ein Knochenalter (bei Viehstand auf öden Ebenen, oder dortiger Jagd), ein Muschelalter (wie auf Korallen-Inseln manchmal) zu setzen sein würde.« Ich sage also lieber einfach, unsere Indianer kannten noch keine Metalle und waren in ihren Arbeitsmethoden zunächst auf Muscheln, Zähne und Holz angewiesen, schon weil sie besser geeignete Steine grossenteils gar nicht hatten.

Und nun bin ich wieder bei meinem Ausgangspunkt angelangt. Trotz ihres Feldbaues und trotz ihres Rodens mit der Steinaxt haben die Schingú-Indianer sich ihr Jägertum nicht nur erhalten können, sondern haben es sich auch erhalten müssen, weil ihnen Fischfang und Jagd, abgesehen von einem Wechsel in der Nahrung, die unentbehrlichsten Werkzeuge für die Herstellung von Waffen und Geräten lieferte.

Abb. 22. Fenzenge-Piranya. (⅓ nat. Gr.)

Zähne. Die Piranya-Gebisse (*serrasalmo*)*) dienten zum Schneiden. Sie wurden mit einem beliebigen Holzhaken geöffnet und sorgfältig untersucht; der 14 dreieckige Zähnchen enthaltende, 4 cm lange Unterkiefer wurde dann mit einer Muschel angeschnitten. Hartes und Weiches, die Stacheln der Buritipalmen oder das menschliche Haar, besonders aber alle Fäden und Fasern, wurden mit dem scharfen Gebiss geschnitten. Meine Scheere nannten sie »Piranya-Zähne«. Bambus und anderes Rohr wurde damit eingeritzt, bis es glatt abgebrochen werden konnte. Ein kaum unwichtigeres Werkzeug lieferte der Peixe cachorro oder Hundefisch, der zoologisch *Cynodon* heisst, und im Unterkiefer zwei 3—3½ cm lange spitze, durch je ein Loch nach oben durchtretende Zähne besitzt. Mit dem messerscharf geschliffenen Rand dieser Zähne wurde geschnitten, doch gebrauchte man sie hauptsächlich zum Stechen, z. B. beim Tätowiren, zum Ritzen, z. B. bei Verzierung der Schildkröten-Spindelscheiben, und zum Durchbohren von Rohr wie bei den Pfeilen, um die Fäden zur Befestigung der Federn und Spitzen durchzustecken. Mit den

*) Es gab zwei Arten, eine kleinere schwarze, »Piranya pretas oder colhos de fogo« (Feuerrage), und eine grössere »piraya amarella« (Gelbkopf), dessen »Gelbe« ein pelzähnliches Gewage war.

spitzen Zähnchen des Trahira-Fisches, *Erythrinus*, waren die dreieckigen Kürbisstücke benutzt, die als Wundkratzer in der kleinen Chirurgie der Indianer, vgl. Abbildung 15, das wichtigste Instrument darstellten. Auch dienten die Zähnchen des Aguti, *Dasyprocta Aguti*, zu gleichem Zweck. Von den Nagetieren hat das Kapivara, *Hydrochoerus Capybara*, in den Vorderzähnen des Unterkiefers unentbehrliche Schabeeisen; der 6—8 cm lange Zahn wurde mit Baumwollfäden an ein Stückchen Urbärste befestigt oder zwei Zähne wurden zusammengeschnürt und auch noch mit etwas Wachs verkittet. Mit dem Aguti-Zahn

Abb. 23. Hundekinn. (⅓ nat. Gr.)

Abb. 24. Piranya. (⅓ nat. Gr.)

Abb. 25. Vorderklauen des Riesenguertelthiers. (Wahlbaum). (⅓ nat. Gr.)

Abb. 26. Kapivara-Zähne. (Schabeeisen). (⅓ nat. Gr.)

wurden ebenfalls die Pfeilscher gebohrt. Affenzähne, an der Wurzel durchbohrt und kunstvoll zu einer Kette aneinander gereiht, waren ein beliebter Gürtel- oder Halsschmuck.

Knochen. Arm- und Beinknochen von Affen, die in dicken Bündeln in den Handwerkskörbchen zu Hause aufbewahrt wurden, dienten als Pfeilspitzen. Sie wurden zugeschliffen und mit dem Röhrenkanal dem zwischen Pfeilspitze und Pfeilschaft vermittelnden Stück aufgesetzt. Der Schwanzstachel des Rochen war ebenfalls Pfeilspitze. Kleine spitze Knöchelchen wurden als Widerhaken an-

gebracht. Säugetierknochen fanden mancherlei Verwendung, mit dem Oberschenkelknochen des Reh's strich man die mit dem Wundkratzer behandelte Haut, den Splitter von einem Jaguarknochen nahm wir zugespitzt, um Ohrlöcher zu bohren, mit einem Knochen wurde auf die Holzspitzen das Wachs aufgetragen, das die Umschnürung verschmierte. Die Vorderklauen des Riesengürteltiers *Dasypus gigas* dienten dem Menschen, wie dem Tier selbst, zum Graben und Aufwühlen des Bodens und waren die Erdhacke unserer Indianer. Die Spindelscheiben stammten vielfach aus dem Bauchstück des Schildkrötenpanzers, der mit einem Stein zerschlagen wurde. Jaguarklauen wurden als Halskettes getragen, Fischwirbel an der Gürtelschnur; ein quer durch die Nasenscheidewand gestreckter Knochen schmückte die alten Bakairi.

Muschels. Flache Flussmuscheln wurden zum Schneiden, weniger wo es auf ein Durchschneiden als ein Längsschneiden ankam, zum Schaben, Hobeln, Glätten in ausgedehntem Maße gebraucht. Die von den Kamayurá mitgebrachten

Abb. 17. Messermuschel und Hobelmuschel.

Arbeitsmuscheln hat Herr Prof. von Martens bestimmt: *Iputé*, *Anodonta* war die Muschel zum Abschaben der Manioksurwurzel, „*mandio pinipé*"; die Frauen saßen auf ein paar auseinandergerissen Bambusstücken und schabten, schruppten, kratzten, bis ihre Beine in den Schnitzelhaufen verschwanden. Diese Muschel diente auch als Hobel, um den Griff des Steinbeils oder das Ruder durch feineres Schaben zu glätten, aber nicht etwa mit dem Rande, sondern mit einem in der Mitte angebrachten Loch. Die Leute bissen mit ihren Zähnen die äußerste Schale ab und stützten mit der spitzigen Akuriuwa das Hobelloch hinein. Eine andere Anodonta-Art, *ita-i*, »kleine Muschel«, gebrauchte man ebenfalls zum Feinschaben des Holzes. Auch verwandte man diese wie die anderen Arten zum Aufbewahren der Farbe, mit der man sich rot oder schwarz bemalte; sie waren gewöhnlich an der Hängematte aufgehängt. Eine zweite grosse Schabemuschel für Wurzeln war *iti*, »Muschel«, eine Varietät der von Castelnau aus dem Araguay mitgebrachten *Leila pulcinata Hupé*. Mit der grossen Art *iti kawai*,

Ilais Orbignianus, wurden die Bogen geglättet und zwar mit der Ausendfläche der Muschel. Interessant war eine flache *Hyria*, *ité mabé*, weil sie einen scharfen spitzen Fortsatz hat, mit dem man z. B. Pikifrüchte öffnete. Sie entspricht am besten unserm Taschenmesser, einem von den Indianern sehr abfällig beurteilten Instrument, weil sie es nur mit unsäglicher Mühe zu öffnen wussten; sie stellten sich dabei so ungeschickt an wie wir bei dem uns ungewohnten Quirlbohren. Die Muschel wurde um den Hals gehängt, wenn man auf Reisen ging, mit ihr wurden die erbeuteten Fische und Jagdtiere aufgeschnitten, mit der Muschel wurde das Grübchen des Feuerstocks ausgehöhlt, in dem ein zweiter Stock bis zum Glimmen gequält wurde, bei allem Schnitzen des Holzes war sie unentbehrlich. Vielfache Verwendung fanden Schneckenschalen, Stücke von *Balionus*-Gehäusen zum Kettenschmuck. Vgl. Seite 182. *Ortholiras mehamtenses* bunmehr zuweilen in dichtem Gehänge zum Mukenzeug.

Federn beflügeln den Pfeil, dessen Schaftende einander gegenüber zwei abgeschnittene Federhälften in spiraliger Drehung aufgereiht sind. Im Uebrigen scheinen sie ausschliesslich, hier aber in grössem Umfang, zum Schmuck verwendet zu werden als *Ohrfedern*, *Federkronen*, *Federhauben*, *Federarmbänder*, *Federmäntel* (bei den Kamayurá) und in hundertfältiger Verzierung im Kleinen, wo die bunten Büschelchen hingen an den Hängematten, an Kämmen, Kürbisrasseln, Pfeifchenden, Masken u. s. w. Das herrlichste Material stand zur Verfügung, von dem Gelb, Blau, Rot und Grün der Aras, Tukane, Webervögel, Papageien, von den schönen Strähnen oder Sprenkelungen der Hühnerhühner, Falken, Eulen, bis zu dem schimmernden Weiss der Reiher und Störche oder dem Schwarz des Urubugeiers. Prächtig war die breite und grosse schwarz-weiss gebänderte Fahne der *Harpyia destructor*.

Die Beute von Jagd und Fischfang bot also eine Fülle der notwendigsten Dinge, sie lieferte namentlich Werkzeug zum Schneiden, Schaben, Glätten, Stechen, Bohren, Rösten und Graben. Der Feldbau hatte den Eingeborenen Sesshaftigkeit gesichert, ihre ökonomische Lage verbessert, aber sie waren dabei immer, wenn auch in geringerem Umfang, noch Fischer und Jäger geblieben. Sie wurden Jäger ohne Hunde, Fischer ohne Angel, Bauern ohne Pflug und Spaten. Sie bieten uns ein vortreffliches Beispiel dar, um zu lernen, wie vielgestaltig die Methoden der Arbeit zum Zweck des Lebensunterhalts vor dem Besitz jeweiler Metalltechnik gewesen sei können, ein Beispiel, das uns warnt, die Wichtigkeit der Steingeräte, die freilich am ehesten und reichhaltigsten der Nachwelt erhalten blieben, zu überschätzen, und in den einen grossen Topf des Steinalters unterschiedlos Alles hineinzuwerfen, was vor dem Gebrauch der Metalle liegt und im Vergleich zu der für diesen zuzusetzenden kleinen Spanne Zeit unvorstellbar lang: Perioden umfassen muss.

Wenn man die Kultur nach dem Umfang und der Gründlichkeit schätzt, wie die den Menschen umgebende Natur ausgenutzt wird, so standen unsere Eingeborenen wahrlich auf keiner niedrigen Stufe. Sie jagten und fischten mit Pfeil

und Bogen, sie fischten mit Netzen, Fangkörben und Reusen, sie hatten ihre Fischhürden im Fluss, durchsetzten den Strom mit Zäunen und Blöcken und schlossen Lagunenarme ab, um die Fische abzusperren, sie rodeten den Wald über grosse Strecken hinaus in schwerer Arbeit, sie bauten sich stattliche Häuser, häuften dazu ansehnliche Vorräte, füllten sie mit dem Vielerlei einer feinigen Handwerkergeschicklichkeit, statteten sich selbst mit buntem Körperschmuck aus und verzierten alles Gerät mit sinnigen Mustern. Wenn mich die Cuyabaner mit wütenden Zeitungsartikeln überschütteten, dass ich gesagt habe, die Wilden des Schingú hätten ein sauberes und besseres Heim als viele Matogrossenser, so will ich, ohne die Ursachen zu vergleichen, ihnen zur Beruhigung zufügen, dass es auch im alten Europa der Dörfer genug giebt, im Gebirge und an der Küste, wo man eine elendere Lebenshaltung führt als am Kulisehu.

Ich zähle die angebauten Nutzpflanzen auf, die wir bei den Indianern beobachtet haben. Sie gliedern sich A. in solche, die Allgemeingut des südamerikanischen Nordens gewesen sind, ehe die Europäer erschienen, und B. in solche, die in der unmittelbaren Umgebung wild vorkamen:

A.

Mais	*Zea Mays.*	Baumwolle	*Gossypium.*
Mandioka	*Manihot utilissima.*	Cuyeté	*Crescentia Cujeté.*
Batatten	*Convolvulus Batatas.*	Flaschenkürbis	*Cucurbita Lagenaria.*
Cará	*Dioscorea.*	Enkürbis	*Cucurbita.*
Erdnuss	*Arachis hypogaea.*	Mamona	*Ricinus.*
Bohne	*Phaseolus.*	Urukistrauch	*Bixa Orellana.*
Pfeffer	*Capsicum.*	Tabak	*Nicotiana Tabacum.*

B.

Bakayúva-Palme	*Acrocomia.*	Genipapo	*Genipa.*
Piki	*Caryocar butyrosum.*	Pfeilrohr, Ubá	*Gynerium parviflorum.*
Mangave	*Hancornia speciosa.*	Lanzengras	*Scleria.*
Fruta de lobo	*Solanum lycocarpum.*	Fita-Bastpflanze	*Fourcroya? Agave?*

Die Kategorie B. würde sehr wahrscheinlich noch ansehnlich vermehrt werden können. Sie hing vom Bedürfnis ab. Die Fruchtbäume darunter wurden mit grosser Sorgfalt angepflanzt. Ich habe erzählt, dass sich bei dem ersten Bakairidorf eine Art Allee von Pikibäumen befand, die Nahuquá pflegten diese Gattung mit Leidenschaft. Die Mangaves waren beliebt und kommen besonders gut fort bei den Bakairí, bei den Kamayurá und namentlich, wie mir berichtet wurde, bei den Waurá, sodass das Trumaiwort »waurará« nur die Waurífrucht zu bedeuten scheint. Die Fruta de lobo war weniger häufig beim Dorf zu finden. Dann aber wurden nach Bedarf auch Pflanzen, die sie irgendwie für ihre Gerätschaften und Waffen bedurften, angepflanzt, wenn sie grade in der Nähe des Ortes nicht vorkamen. So siedelten sie beim Dorf das auf sumpfigem Boden wachsende Lanzengras an, mit dem sie sich rasierten, die Bastpflanzen, die ihnen

Faden lieferten, zuweilen vielleicht auch das Sapé-Gras, mit dem die Häuser gedeckt wurden. Am interessantesten aber scheint mir die Versicherung, dass sie das Ubá-Pfeilrohr, um es nicht von entfernten Stellen holen zu müssen, am Batovy in grösserem Umfang anpflanzten.

Offenbar spielte neben zufälligen Liebhabereien und Kenntnissen in der Behandlung die Beschaffenheit des Bodens eine grosse Rolle. Der Tabak gedieh vorzüglich bei den Suyá und bei den Auetö und wurde allgemein von den Männern geraucht, ausgenommen im ersten Bakairidorf am Batovy *). Er spielt eine wichtige Rolle bei der ärztlichen Behandlung und gilt als ein uralter Erwerb der Kulturheroen, die ihn, wie die Sage andeutet, von Norden her empfingen. Die Trinkschalen und Kalabassen, besonders die Cucurbita Lagenaria, bildeten ein Haupterzeugnis der Nahuqua, etwas weniger der Bakairi. Die Mehinakú und die Bakairi hatten die beste Baumwolle. Der Orleanstrauch wurde vor Allem von den Bakairi gehalten, die Mehinakú vernachlässigten ihn gänzlich, da das Begießen zu viel Arbeit mache; der mich bei der Ankunft in ihrem Dorf überraschende Umstand, dass dort keine rot, aber viele schwarz bemalte Gestalten umherliefen, findet eine sehr natürliche Erklärung.

Mais bei den Suyá in einer durch Kleinheit der Kolben und goldige Farbe der Körner ausgezeichneten Art vertreten, und Mandioka gab es überall, die letztere wurde aber entschieden im grössten Umfang bei den Mehinakú gepflanzt. Sie waren die reichsten Bauern des obern Schingú; ihr Wort für Mandioka ist auch an die Trumai übergegangen. Neben der Mandioka sahen wir von Knollengewächsen Ignamen in zwei Arten und Batáten, die wir erst reichlich bei den Mehinakú fanden. Die Bohnen bezeichneten unsere Leute als »feijão de varas«, Stangenbohnen, oder auch als »feijão de roça«, Pflanzungsbohnen. Von Erdkürbissen, abóbora, haben wir nur die Kerne gesehen, die uns die Suyá 1884, soviel wir verstanden, zum Essen brachten. Die Mandubi-Erdnuss kam in einer kleinen Art vor. Goyaven und Bananen gab es mit Sicherheit nicht am Schingú.

Ich habe in meinem Bericht über die erste Reise auf das Fehlen der Bananen hingewiesen und besonders hervorgehoben, dass dies für die Frage, ob die Banane in Amerika erst nach Ankunft der Europäer eingeführt sei oder nicht, um so entscheidender sein müsse, als die verschiedenen Schingú-Stämme verschiedener Abkunft seien und dennoch kein einziger von dem früheren Wohnsitz die Banane mitgebracht habe. In den Erfahrungen der zweiten Expedition kann ich meine Meinung nur bestätigt finden. Wir haben jetzt auch echte Tupí angetroffen, die keine Bananen hatten. Ich habe bei den Kamayurá nach dem

*) Dieser Umstand mag H. v. Ihering veranlasst haben, zu schreiben: »v. d. Steinen vermisste bei den Bakairi des obern Schingú Tabak, ebenso vollständig wie Bananen oder Metallies« [Zeitschrift f. Ethnologie, 1893, p. 195]. Ich beschreibe, vgl. »Durch Centralbrasilien« p. 173, für Dorf III der Batovy-Bakairi die echte Rauchrolle, wie sie die Entdecker auf den Antillen finden. Dagegen teile ich die Ansicht v. Ihering's, die ich in Vorträgen schon öfter ausgesprochen, bevor ich seinen Aufsatz gelesen, dass die Pferde in Brasilien modernen Ursprungs ist. Wie die Angó.

2: Steinen SP7 Bacairi

Wort „*pakiba*", das die Lingoa geral für Banane hat, vergeblich gefahndet; sie verstanden es nicht. Den Vorschlag, ob dieses Wort aus dem Portugiesischen abgeleitet sein möge, nehme ich mit Vergnügen zurück; ich lege keinen Wert mehr auf willkürliche Etymologie, allein der Thatsache, dass die Bananennamen sich bei den einzelnen Stämmen nicht nach der sprachlichen Abstammung, sondern nach der zufälligen örtlichen Verteilung richteten, muss ich heute einen noch viel grösseren Wert beimessen als damals. Das ist ganz beispiellos für die übrigen Nutzpflanzen. Kommt nun hinzu, dass keiner der ersten Entdecker die Banane erwähnt, dass ferner die Aruak der Küste und die Inselkaraiben das spanische Wort „*plátano*" in ihrem „*prittano*" und „*holutanno*" so unverkennbar wiedergeben, dass ein Zweifel an der Uebereinstimmung ganz ausgeschlossen ist, würdigen wir es endlich, dass wir in einer verlorenen Ecke Vertreter sämtlicher grossen Sprachfamilien mit den vortrefflichsten Namen für die Kulturpflanzen finden, nur ohne Bananen, dass gar ein abgesprengtes und mit den Europäern verkehrendes Glied eines dieser Stämme, die zahmen Bakairi, die Banane haben und sie in ihrer sonst durchaus rein erhaltenen Sprache (wie übrigens ebenso die Paresi) einfach „*banana*" nennen, so glaube ich, dass der Beweis mit aller Kraft ausgestattet ist, die ein negativer Beweis überhaupt haben kann. Humboldt und Martius haben sich dadurch bestechen lassen, dass sie die Banane überall bei den Indianern antrafen, aber diese Stütze für ihre Ansicht ist jetzt hinfällig geworden, und die Erfahrungen der Linguistik wie das thatsächliche Fehlen der Banane in dem ganzen Gebiet des oberen Schingú geben der Ansicht des Botanikers Alphonse de Candolle unzweifelhaft Recht, dass die Banane in Südamerika erst eingeführt worden ist, wenn auch gewiss sehr bald nach dem Erscheinen der Europäer.

Es lohnt sich zur besseren Würdigung der sprachlichen Beweismittel ein Beispiel zu geben. Betrachten wir die Wörter für Pfeffer bei I. den Nu-Aruak, II. den Karaiben und III. den Tupí.

I. Am Schingú heisst Pfeffer bei den Nu-Aruak *ái*, bei den Maipure am Orinoko *ai*, bei den Moxos in Bolivien *atacheb*, bei den Aruak *kautachi*, bei den Frauen der Inselkaraiben *áti*, für das Taino der Insel Haiti verzeichnet Oviedo *ani*, *aji*.

II. Am Schingú heisst Pfeffer bei den karaibischen Bakairi *pûao* (mit nasalem *á*), bei den Nahuquá *oiuo*, *hómi*, bei den Inselkaraiben *pomi*, *pomui*, bei den karaibischen Orinokostämmen in Venezuela *pomi*, *pomary*, in dem allgemein in Guyana verbreiteten Galibi *pomi*. Bei den Palmella, einem Karaibenstamm am Madeira, *apómo*.

III. Von den Tupí haben die Kamayurá am Schingú das Wort *ibóing*; die Omagua am obern Amazonas *ebri*, die Guaraní in Paraguay *hiy*, die Lingoa geral *hyái*, *hyiaka* u. dgl.

Diese lautlichen Entsprechungen, die innerhalb der Stammesgruppen völlig sicher sind, die von Stammesgruppe zu Stammesgruppe auch nicht die leiseste

Verträglichkeit zeigen, überspannen mehr als halb Südamerika und rühren aus Aufzeichnungen, die von 1887 bis vor die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts zurückreichen. Sie lehren unwiderleglich, dass der Pfeffer in jeder der drei Stammesgruppen, deren weit entlegenste Familienglieder die Entsprechung auf ihren Wanderungen bewahrt haben, seit undenklichen »vorgeschichtlichen« Zeiten bekannt war und keine ihn von einer der andern erworben hat. Damit lässt sich das Verhalten der Bananenwörter durchaus nicht vereinigen. Jene Uebereinstimmungen können uns nur deshalb in Erstaunen versetzen, weil wir in dem Wahn befangen sind, nicht nur, dass die südamerikanischen Völker ein linguistisches Chaos darstellen, sondern auch, dass diese »Horden«, denen wir erst die Metalle gebracht haben, zum grossen Teil rohe Jägervölker seien, hin und her geworfen von unbekannten Geschicken wie Geröll im Wildwasser, beliebig hier verkittet und dort zertrümmert. Wir werden uns aber daran gewöhnen müssen, auch in den plumpen Massen, die unserm Auge die »Steinzeit« zusammensetzen, eine Menge regelmässiger, feinsäuberlich niedergeschlagener Kulturschichten zu unterscheiden.

Der metallose Südamerikaner hat in der Züchtung der Mandioka, die heute mit dem Mais in die letzten Winkel Afrika's vordringt, als ob beide rein amerikanischen Pflanzen dort ewig einheimisch gewesen seien, eine Leistung vollbracht, die mit denen anderer Erdteile keinen Vergleich zu scheuen hat. Heute giebt es eine kultivierte unschädliche Art, aber die ursprüngliche und am Schingú allein vorkommende Wurzel musste erst ihres stark giftigen Saftes beraubt, das durch Zerreiben und Zerstampfen erhaltene, ausgepresste Mehl erst gerüstet werden, ehe ein Nahrungsmittel entstand, und zwar eins von vielseitigster Verwendung, in festem Zustande und als breiiges Getränk, *Manihot „utilissima"*. Sie übertrifft an Wichtigkeit im Haushalt unserer Indianer weitaus den Mais. Sie liefert den Hauptproviant und ihr gebührt das eigentliche Verdienst, die Eingeborenen, die sie von vorgeschritteneren Stämmen empfingen, zur Sesshaftigkeit genötigt zu haben; denn ihre Zubereitung setzt eine Reihe Geduld erfordernder Prozeduren und setzt Werkzeuge voraus, die, wie mit Palmstacheln besetzte Reibbretter, nur durch grossen Aufwand von Zeit und Arbeit mit den geringwertigen Werkzeugen hergestellt werden konnten. Unbekannt am oberen Schingú ist das ingeniöse Typytí, ein aus elastischen Stengeln geflochtener Schlauch, der mit der zerriebenen Masse gefüllt wird und, durch ein Gewicht in die Länge gezogen, den giftigen Saft auspresst; unsere Indianer filtrierten und pressten den Saft durch geflochtene Siebe.

Von höherem Interesse aber ist es, dass die heute in Südamerika, wo Mais und Mandioka von Eingeborenen gebaut werden, wohl überall gepflegte Methode, durch Kauen von Mehlkugeln oder Maiskörnern grössere Mengen Absuds in Gährung zu versetzen, in unserm Gebiet noch unbekannt war; auch wusste man dort Nichts von der Bereitung des bei den Nordkaraiben beliebten Pajauarú, wo die mit Wasser aufgeweichten frischen Beijús in Blätter eingehüllt und einige Tage

begraben werden. Der Püserego des Schingú hat keine berauschende Wirkung, er stellt nur das schmackhafteste Breigetränk dar, er ist eine Suppe, kein Alkoholikum. Man bereitete auch keinen Palmwein; man berauschte sich nur am Tanz, wenn man will, am Tabak, und leistete das Menschenmögliche in quantitativer Vertilgung der Breigetränke. Dagegen ist das Wort der Kamayurá *kuí* für den einfachen Erfrischungstrank aus Wasser und eingebrocktem Beijú dasselbe Kauim, das ihre mit Europäern oder mit fortgeschritteneren Amerikanern verkehrenden Tupí-Stammesgenossen für die gährenden Getränke gebrauchen und also aus den Tagen der Unschuld beim Uebergang zu weniger harmlosen Genüssen noch beibehalten haben. Das Fehlen von berauschenden Getränken, für die der Stoff vorhanden ist, wird nicht der immer bereiten Deutung entgehen, dass die Indianer auch diese schönen Kulturerzeugnisse früher besessen und jetzt nur vergessen hätten, und sollte dann nur den, der die primitiven Zustände ausnahmslos auf Rückschritt und Niedergang zurückführen will, in diesem besondern Fall vielleicht einmal veranlassen, eine Verrohung zur Tugend, eine Verwilderung zur Sittenreinheit anzusetzen. Wer indessen in Brasilien den Indianer Kauim- oder Kaschirigelage hat feiern sehen, wer seine Bootsfahrt um dieses edlen Zweckes willen hat unterbrechen müssen und weder durch Geld noch durch gute Worte erreichen konnte, dass die Leute eher aufbrachen, als bis der letzte Tropfen aus dem hochgefüllten Trinkkanu verschwunden war, wird nicht anders glauben, als dass ein freier Stamm, der bei seinen Festen wirklich nur ungegohrene Getränke vertilgt, von den gegohrenen entschieden noch keine Ahnung haben und auch bis auf die sagenhaftesten Urväter und Kulturheroen zurück niemals eine Ahnung gehabt haben kann. Die Praxis, Gähren durch Kauen hervorzurufen, ist so einfach, dass man nicht versteht, wie sie zu vergessen wäre, und obendrein von Vertretern verschiedener Stammesgruppen gleichmässig vergessen werden sollte.

Ich finde umgekehrt in dem Fehlen der berauschenden Getränke die sicherste Bürgschaft für die Unberührtheit der Verhältnisse am Schingú, und halte es für eine unabweisliche Annahme, dass in gleicher Weise vor dem Einbrechen der Europäer ähnliche Kulturbildchen der »Steinzeit« in den zahlreichen, verhältnismässig abgeschlossenen Flussthälern des Amazonas- und Orinokosystems seit Jahrhunderten und Jahrtausenden häufig gewesen sein müssen. Nicht immer hat man sich mit der Nachbarschaft (Frauen! Steinbeile!) vertragen, gelegentlich sind auch Störenfriede eingefallen, haben vielleicht eines der kleinen Zentren für die Dauer vernichtet, dafür sind andere neu gegründet worden, und so hat sich im Kleinen und Bescheidenen immer und alle Zeit das abgespielt, was wir Geschichte nennen. Hier und da ist ein Stamm durch Angreifer vertrieben oder durch innere Fehden gespalten worden, eine längere Wanderung fand statt, ehe wieder Ansiedelung erfolgte, aber im Allgemeinen hat man sich von Flussthal zu Flussthal verschoben und durchsetzt.

Nur ein ewiger Wechsel von Isolierung und Vereinigung, in dem bald diese, bald jene schärfer ausgeprägt war, kann die Menge gleichzeitiger linguistischer

Verschiedenheiten und Uebereinstimmungen innerhalb derselben Sprachfamilie erzeugt haben; dass dabei aber trotz der Veränderungen eine wirkliche Stetigkeit vorgewaltet hat, geht aus der, zumal bei der Dürftigkeit unseres Materials, überraschend grossen Zahl guter Uebereinstimmungen hervor. Wo es möglich ist, die Lautgesetze festzustellen, sehen wir dieselbe Sicherheit und Regelmässigkeit, wie wir sie bei unsern europäischen Sprachen finden. Wir können also nur auf einen trotz gelegentlicher Katastrophen geordneten Entwicklungsgang zurückschliessen. Schon die Jägerstämme müssen eine, wenn auch unregelmässigere Art der Sesshaftigkeit gehabt haben, um die prächtige Technik der Pfeile und Bogen zu erwerben, nur in dem friedlichen Dahinleben während Generationen können alsdann die Nutzpflanzen gewonnen sein, und es ist gar nicht nötig, dass es immer grosse und mächtige Stämme gewesen sind, die einen Fortschritt hervorgebracht haben. Wir sehen an den Schingúleuten, dass der primitive Feldbau des Fischfangs und der Jagd schon deshalb bedarf, damit er sein Handwerkszeug erhält. Die Erkenntnis, die sich jetzt in Nordamerika durchringt, dass die ruhelosen Rothäute in weit grösserem Umfang sesshaft gewesen sind, als wir ihnen heute zutrauen sollten, dass diese wilden Jägerstämme zum Teil das Produkt der von uns herbeigeführten Umwälzung darstellen, steht in voller Uebereinstimmung mit den Schlüssen, zu denen wir durch die Erfahrungen am Schingú gedrängt werden.

Es giebt für unsere Indianer — Verallgemeinerung liegt mir fern — noch einen tiefer liegenden und doch recht einfachen Grund, der das Nebeneinander von blutiger Jagd und stiller Bestellung des Bodens sehr wohl erklärt. Um es schroff auszudrücken: der Mann hat die Jagd betrieben und währenddess die Frau den Feldbau erfunden. Die Frauen haben, wie in ganz Brasilien, ausschliesslich nicht nur die Zubereitung im Hause, sondern auch den Anbau der Mandioka in Händen. Sie reinigen den Boden mit spitzen Hölzern vom Unkraut, legen die Stengelstücke in die Erde, mit denen man die Mandioka verpflanzt und holen täglich ihren Bedarf, den sie in schwer bepackten Kiepen heimschleppen. Der Mann pflanzt dagegen den Tabak, den die Frau nicht gebraucht. Am Schingú hatte die Frau bereits ein kräftiges Wörtlein mitzureden; in primitiveren Zuständen mag sie wirklich ein Last- und Arbeitstier gewesen sein, noch heute muss sie bei den meisten Festen und Tiertänzen der Männer fern bleiben. Aber man überlege den Fall etwas näher. Der Mann ist mutiger und gewandter, ihm gehört die Jagd und die Uebung der Waffen. Wo also Jagd und Fischfang noch eine wichtige Rolle spielen, muss, sofern überhaupt eine Arbeitsteilung eintritt, die Frau sich mit der Sorge um die Beschaffung der übrigen Lebensmittel, mit dem Transport und der Zubereitung beschäftigen. Die Teilung ist keine der Willkür, sondern eine der natürlichen Verhältnisse, aber sie hat die nicht genug gewürdigte Folge, dass die Frau auf ihrem Arbeitsfelde ebenso gut eigene Kenntnisse erwirbt, wie der Mann auf dem seinen. Notwendig muss sich dies auf jeder niederen oder höheren Stufe bewähren. Zu der den Mandiokabau mit klugem Verständnis betreibenden Indianerin findet sich das Gegenstück bereits im reinen

2: Steinen SP7 Bacairi

Jägertum. Die Frau des Bororó ging mit einem spitzen Stock bewaffnet in den Wald und suchte Wurzeln und Knollen, bei den Streifzügen durch den Kamp oder wo immer eine Gesellschaft von Indianern den Ort veränderte, war solcherlei Jagd, während der Mann den Tieren nachspürte, die Aufgabe der Frau; sie holte die Palmnüsse kletternd herunter und schleppte schwere Lasten davon heim. Und war die Indianerin die Untergebene des Mannes, so kam ihr diese Stellung bei der Verteilung von Fisch und Fleisch gewiss nicht zu Gute*), sie war dabei auch angewiesen auf die Beute an den Vegetabilien, die sie selbst erwerben konnte. Am Schingú flochten die Männer den Bratrost, brieten Fisch und Fleisch, die Frauen backten die Beijús, kochten die Getränke, die Früchte und rösteten Palmnüsse — welchen andern Sinn konnte diese Teilung in animalische Männer- und vegetabilische Frauen-Küche haben, als dass ein jedes der beiden Geschlechter noch in seinem uralten Ressort verblieben war?

Die Männer brieten, aber kochten niemals. Von dieser Thatsache aus kommen wir durch den gleichen Gedankengang zu einer ähnlichen Folgerung, der ganz analoge Beobachtungen das Wort reden. Kaum irgend etwas ist mir anfänglich seltsamer am Schingú erschienen als der Umstand, dass die Kunst, Töpfe zu machen, auf die Nu-Aruakstämme beschränkt war. Die Bakairí besassen nicht einen Topf, der nicht von den Kustenaú oder Mekinakú stammte. Die zahmen Bakairi erklärten mir ausdrücklich, dass sie die Töpferei von den Paressí, ihren Nu-Aruak-Nachbarn, gelernt hätten. So machte der alte Caetano, also aller ursprünglichen Sitte entgegen der Mann, am modernen Paranatinga Töpfe. Die Nahuquá hatten Töpfe von den Mehinakú und machten auch selbst welche, wie uns eine Frau, den feuchten Thon knetend, ad oculos demonstrierte, allein diese Frau trug die Tätowierung der Mehinakúweiber und war unter die Nahuquá verheiratet worden; die Kunst stammte thatsächlich von den Mehinakú. Auch die Tupistämme hatten Töpfe von Nu-Aruak, namentlich von den Waurá. So war die eine Stammesgruppe**) die alleinige Trägerin der, wie wir sehen werden, auch in künstlerischem Sinn gehandhabten Keramik.

Ich glaubte anfangs und ehe ich wusste, dass die merkwürdige Abhängigkeit von den Nu-Aruak für sämtliche Stämme bestand, es sei zufällig kein Thon vorhanden. Doch war dies ein Irrtum. Geeigneten Thon gab es nicht nur bei den Nahuquá, sondern auch bei den Bakairí, und nur darüber weiss ich nichts anzu-

*) »Nachdem die Männer gegessen, kommen Weiber und Kinder an die Reihe, die sich mit den oft geringen Ueberresten begnügen müssen und Hunger leiden würden, sähen sie sich nicht bei Zeiten vor und praktizierten einen Teil des Inhalts der Kochtöpfe noch während des Kochens heimlich bei Seite oder ässen bereits während ihrer Arbeit.« So bei den modernen karaibischen Makuschi in Guyana. Appun, Unter den Tropen, II, p. 399, Jena 1871, und bei manchen anderen Stämmen.

**) Nach Im Thurn versorgen in Guyana gegenwärtig die Karaiben die andern Stämme mit Topfgeschirr, doch giebt er an, dass die Aruak für ihren eigenen Gebrauch reichlich Töpfe machen, sie aber nicht wie die Karaiben als Handelswaare vertreiben. Martius erklärt noch von den Makuschi, dem volkreichsten Karaibenstamm des Rio Branco-Gebiets: »Alle Geräte dieser Indianer sind sauber und sorgfältig verfertigt, die Waffen mit Federn verziert, und nur in den Töpferwaaren stehen sie den Indianern der Küste nach«.

geben, was aber für unsere Frage gleichgültig sein kann, ob die Qualität einen Grad schlechter war als bei den Töpferstämmen.*)

Aber man beachte nun noch einen anderen Umstand: die Bakairí und Nahuquá hatten Kuyen und Kalabassen, die wiederum den Töpferstämmen mangelten und die diese von den Nahuquá bezogen, wo die besondere Pflege oder die bessere Erde, ich weiss es nicht, prachtvolle Gefässfrüchte erzielte. Erfährt man endlich, dass die Waurá sehr hübsche Töpfe genau von der Form und Grösse der Kuyen, mit Nachahmung der auf ihnen angebrachten Zeichnungen, verfertigten, dass die Grundform der Töpfe deutlich die der Trinkschale, der Kuye ist, und dass die Töpfe ebenso wie die Kürbisschalen innen geschwärzt wurden, so wird man den Zusammenhang verstehen.

Der indianische Topf hat ursprünglich mit dem Kochen gar nichts zu thun und ist nur ein Ersatz der Kürbisfrucht. Die Frauen holten in den Kurbissen Wasser zu den Hütten oder den Lagerplätzen. Wie sie sich halfen, wenn sie keine Kürbisse hatten, sehen wir noch heute an den von mehreren Stammen bekannten mit Lehm verschmierten Körbchen. Mit Lehm verschmiert man auch das undichte Kanu; mit Lehm beschmierte man, der Anfang der Körperbemalung, den Leib und den Lehm selbst transportierte man, und das ist wohl die Hauptsache gewesen, in Körben, wie wir noch gesehen haben. Fehlte es öfter an Kurbissen, so kamen die Frauen leicht dazu, ihre Lehmkörbe durch reichlichere Anwendung des plastischen Thons solider zu gestalten; sie konnten ferner des Flechtwerks entraten, sobald sie bemerkt hatten, dass die trocken gewordenen Lehmformen für sich genügende Widerstandsfähigkeit besassen. Sie setzten sie in die Sonne oder über das Feuer und hatten die billigste Bezugsquelle für kunstliche Kürbisse gefunden.

Aber die Frauen haben diese Erfindung erst in sesshafter Zeit gemacht; das Weib des streifenden Jägers kann den Kürbis nicht durch den schweren und zerbrechlichen Topf ersetzt haben. Noch weniger könnte der jagende Mann Erfinder des Topfes gewesen sein. Es ist genau dasselbe Verhältnis wie zum Ursprung des Feldbaues.

Der Topf ist im Anfang nur ein Behälter wie Kürbis oder in gewissen Fällen auch Korb. Wenn wir hören, Menschen werden in Töpfen begraben, so melden sich alle Assoziationen in unserer Seele, die wir von unsern Töpfen besitzen, wir denken an eine Art Kochtopf, und sind geneigt, einen dunklen Zusammenhang mit Leichenverbrennung zu empfinden. Da ist es denn wichtig zu erfahren, dass der Jägerstamm der Bororó seine Totenskelette nicht wie die Humboldt'schen Aturen in grossen Töpfen, sondern in federverzierten Korbtaschen bettet, sodass auch hier die Vorstufe erhalten ist.

*) Die Bakairí waren die einzigen, die aus einem kristallklaren Quellbach gutes Trinkwasser holten, die Nahuquá und mehr noch die Mehinaká und Auetó tranken aus schlammigen Lehmpfützen und stillem Kanalgewässer.

Wie die Kürbisse zum Trinken und Essen gebraucht wurden, so dienten auch die Töpfe zunächst nur diesen Zwecken. Die grosse Anzahl von kleinen und mittelgrossen Töpfen, die wir vom Kulisehu mitgebracht haben, sind fast sämtlich »Näpfe«, keine Kochtöpfe. In riesigen Töpfen wurde das Filtrat der Mandiokamasse gekocht, sonst aber gesotten nur Mus von Früchten und gelegentlich ein Gericht von kleinen Fischchen, die des Umdrehens auf dem Bratrost nicht lohnten.

Suppenfleisch und Fleischbrühe waren unbekannt; die Männer kannten nur das Braten. Man fragt vielleicht, wie sind sie denn zum Braten gekommen? Ich werde im nächsten Kapitel darthun, dass wir es hier mit einer Jäger- und Männererfahrung zu thun haben. Man zündete den Kamp im Kreis an, um die aufgescheuchten Tiere zu überwältigen, und fand dort gebratene kleine Tiere und fand Früchte, die, obschon noch unreif, durch die Hitze geniessbar und sogar schmackhaft geworden waren.

Da nun die Männer und Jäger in ihrem Departement das Kochen noch nicht kennen, muss das Sieden oder Kochen bei der Verarbeitung pflanzlicher Nahrung erfunden worden sein. Man sieht die Frauen häufig allerlei kleine Früchte in Menge auf den Beijúschüsseln rösten. Unreifes Obst wird so erst essbar, Kerne und Nüsse erhalten mit der Knusprigkeit einen erhöhten Wohlgeschmack. Und mit dem Braten der Früchte haben sie auch begonnen. Die aus Schlingpflanzen geflochtenen Bratroste der Männer für Fleisch und Fische liessen die Früchte durch die Maschen fallen; man mag die Unterlage wieder mit Lehm verschmiert haben, und zur irdenen Bratpfanne, der späteren Beijúschüssel, fehlte nur ein kleiner Schritt. Wollte man dagegen in Wasser eingeweichte Früchte oder Wurzeln »braten«, setzte man die damit gefüllten Gefässe, entweder die natürlichen — der Botokude kocht in Bambusstücken — oder die künstlichen, mit Thon gedeckten auf das Feuer, so »kochte« man. Also nur von den Frauen wurde »mit Wasser gekocht«!

Wenn die Mandiokaindustrie von einem Stamm begründet worden ist, dessen Nachkommen noch leben und in der gegenwärtigen Klassifikation einbegriffen sind, so spricht alle Wahrscheinlichkeit dafür, dass es Nu-Aruak gewesen sind. Am Schingú haben ganz gewiss sie das Verdienst der Einführung gehabt, da die Mehlbereitung ohne irdene Töpfe und Beijúpfannen unmöglich ist. Die Aruak sind aber auch in den nördlichen Gebieten die besten Mehlarbeiter und von jeher, obwohl die Karaiben in Guyana gegenwärtig die Fabrikanten für das dortige Gebiet geworden sind, die geschicktesten Töpfer gewesen. Doch wohlverstanden die Frauen! Wenn die Karaiben im Norden des Amazonenstromes und auf den Kleinen Antillen die Aruakstämme unterjochten und die Hälfte der Bevölkerung töteten, so war es gut, dass diese Hälfte die Männer waren; die Frauen mit ihrem Feldbau, ihrer Töpferkunst und ihrer Mehltechnik blieben erhalten.

So sehen wir, wie bei unsern Indianern die höhere, das Jägertum überholende Kultur der natürlichen Arbeitsteilung entsprungen und dieser es auch zu

verdanken ist, dass sie bei Fehden und bei Neubildungen von Stammesgemeinschaften den künftigen Generationen überliefert werden konnte. Die Frau war mehr als das arbeitende Tier, sie war auch der arbeitende Mensch; wie der Mann die Technik der Waffen und der der Jagd entstammenden Werkzeuge, entwickelte sie in gleicher Selbständigkeit die mit Suchen, Tragen, Zubereiten der Früchte und Wurzeln in ihre Hand gegebenen Kulturelemente; seinen wohlschmeckenden Mehltrank in dem irdenen Gefäss verdankt der Indianer dem Weibe. Die einzelnen Beweisstücke, aus denen sich diese mehr für Damentoaste als für den ernsten (im modernen Bedürfnis und nicht in der Urgeschichte begründeten) Kampf unserer Frauen um die Arbeit zu verwertende Schlussfolgerung zusammensetzt, sind in dem brasilischen Kulturkreis noch vollständig erhalten. Die Erkenntnis, dass — wenigstens hier — die Möglichkeit sesshaft zu werden auf das augenscheinliche Verdienst der durch den Jägerberuf der Männer naturgemäss in bestimmte Richtungen gedrängten Thätigkeit der Frauen zurückgeht, hebt das weibliche Geschlecht für diese Phase der Entwicklung zum mindesten ebenbürtig an die Seite des männlichen.

Das Schema Jäger und Ackerbauer wird nun erst lebendig; Mann und Frau repräsentieren beide einen Stand oder eine bestimmte Summe von Fachkenntnissen. Da ist es denn sehr einfach, dass die weniger fortgeschrittenen Stämme des Schingú ihre Töpfe nicht machen konnten, obwohl sie den Lehm hatten. Ihnen fehlten die Nu-Aruakweiber, und die Nahuquá, die deren etliche in ihre Gemeinschaft aufgenommen, hatten damit den richtigen Weg eingeschlagen: sie fingen jetzt an, sich die Töpfe selbst zu machen, während die Bakairí noch nicht das kleinste Töpfchen zu Stande gebracht hatten.

Ich resumiere. Alter Feldbau verträgt sich vortrefflich mit der Art des Jägertums, wie es hier geübt wird. Die Indianer waren in der Hauptsache Fischer. Zur reinen Ichthyophagie reichte der Ertrag in ihrem Gebiet an dem Oberlauf eines Flusses nicht aus, dagegen war er nicht gering in den Monaten, wo die Fische bei steigendem Wasser aufwärts zogen und sich in allen Kanälen und Lagunen in grosser Zahl einfanden, oder wenn bei abnehmendem Wasser die Gelegenheit zum Fang in den künstlich abgesperrten Teilen der Flussarme erheblich grösser wurde. Fischfang und Jagd lieferten aber ferner die unentbehrlichen Werkzeuge. Haustiere in unserm Sinne gab es nicht; Hunde waren dem Eingeborenen unbekannt. Er erfreute sich an bunten Vögeln, denen er gelegentlich die Federn ausriss, namentlich an schwatzenden Papageien und krächzenden Araras, liess im Dorf umherspazieren, was gerade jung eingefangen war, ob Specht oder Reiher oder Hokkohuhn, und bewahrte in riesigem Stangenkäfig zum Ergötzen der Gemeinde den fauchenden Adler, die *Harpyia destructor*, oder sonst einen Raubvogel auf; er hatte Eidechsen mit dem Schwanz an der Hängematte aufgehängt, damit sie unter den lästigen Grillen ein wenig aufräumten — weiter war man in der Verwertung der Tiere nicht gediehen und, während man wilde Pflanzen um des Nutzen willen beim Dorf ansiedelte, dachte man nicht daran, essbare Tiere

zu züchten. Ja, die Stellung, die der Indianer der Tierwelt gegenüber einnahm, liess ihn ein lebhaftes Widerstreben empfinden, Tiere, die er aufzog, später zu verspeisen; wie wir keine Hunde essen.

Die relative Sesshaftigkeit, die mit dem Fischerleben verbunden war, hatte sich erst zur dauernden befestigen können, als die Frauen gelernt hatten zu pflanzen, Töpfe zu machen und Mehl zu bereiten. Obwohl der Feldbau am Schingú bereits zu achtungswerter Vervollkommnung gediehen war, liess sich doch an kleinen Zügen erkennen, welchen Ursprung er wenigstens hier genommen hatte. Man pflanzte die in der Nachbarschaft vorkommenden nützlichen Gewächse an, jeder Stamm machte auf seinem Boden seine eigenen Erfahrungen, und durch die Frauen, die im Frieden oder im Kriege zu andern Stämmen kamen, wurden sie verbreitet. Dass die Bakairí-Karaiben auf diesem Wege einst durch Nu Aruak-weiber in ihrer Zivilisation gefördert worden sind, geht aus ihrer Stammessagende, wie ich schon hier anführen möchte, in kaum zu missdeutender Weise hervor. Sie haben zwei Kulturheroen, die Zwillingsbrüder Keri und Kame, von denen jener durch die Sage stark bevorzugt wird. Die beiden Namen sind die allgemein verbreiteten, stets zusammen erscheinenden Nu-Aruakwörter für Mond und Sonne, sodass ein Einfluss von Nu-Aruakseite, mag man die »Personifikation« erklären, wie man will, offen zu Tage liegt. Kame ist der Führer der Nu-Aruak und anderer Stämme, Keri der Bakairí. Alles, was Keri und Kame zum Besten des Stammes unternehmen, wird auf den Rat der Mutterstelle vertretenden Tante Ewaki zurückgeführt; die Frau aber, die ihnen immer erst Mittel und Wege weist, ist unmöglich als stupides Arbeitstier aufgefasst worden.

IV. Das Feuer und die Entdeckung des Holzfeuerzeugs.

Einleitung. Kampbrände und Verhalten der Tierwelt. Uralte Jagd. Die »Queimada« eine Kulturstätte. Die Schauer des primitiven Menschen. Der Mythus von der Belehrung durch den Sturmwind. Feuererzeugung und Arbeitsmethoden. Verfahren am Schingú. Ursprung des Holzreibens. Stadium der Unterhaltung des Feuers und Zundertechnik. Prachistorische Vagabunden und Prometheus. Bestätigung durch den Versuch.

Wenn ich schon in den vorigen Abschnitten genötigt war, die Beobachtungen am Schingú in Hinsicht auf ihren allgemeinen kulturgeschichtlichen Wert zu erörtern, so kann ich dies noch weniger bei dem Thema vermeiden, das ich jetzt in Angriff nehme. Es liegt mir recht fern zu denken, dass die Schingú-Indianer die ersten gewesen seien, die durch Bohren oder Reiben von Holzstücken Feuer erzeugt hätten, ich gebe mich keineswegs dem süssen Wahn hin, dass ich einen

paradiesischen Ursitz aufgefunden habe, wo alle wichtigsten Erfindungen gemacht worden seien. Ich möchte nur von jenen Naturvölkchen, die noch keine europäische Kultur kannten, in demselben Sinn ausgehen, wie man bei allen andern in gleicher Lage eine sichere induktive Grundlage suchen könnte. Was übrigens die »Feuererfindung« betrifft, so steht meiner Ansicht nach nicht das Geringste im Wege, dass sie an beliebigen Stellen der Erde gemacht worden sein kann, wo man schon eine primitive Technik und praktische Kenntnisse von dem Nutzen des Feuers besass.

Nirgendwo hat sich in einem helleren Lichte gezeigt, wie schwer es uns zivilisierten Menschen wird, einfach und ohne tiefe Gelehrsamkeit auf Grund lebendiger Umschau zu denken als bei den zahllosen Betrachtungen über das Verhältnis der Naturvölker, geschweige des primitiven Menschen, zum Feuer. Der hundertjährige Rosenflor um Dornröschens Schloss konnte an Ueppigkeit nicht wetteifern mit alle den Blüten lieblichen Unsinns, die einer nur zu gedankenvollen und empfindsamen Literatur entsprossen sind, während hinter dem wuchernden Wust der Deduktionen die junge, frische Erfahrung vergessen schlummerte. Es war dahin gekommen, dass man behauptete, die Erfindung des Feuerreibens sei von Priestern gemacht worden, die das Sonnenrad in Holz nachahmten: sie drehten, bis die Achse Feuer sprühte. Zwei wesentliche Punkte dürfen heute als gesichert gelten. Niemand denkt mehr an die Möglichkeit, dass es Stämme auf Erden gebe, die nicht längst die Kunst verständen, das Feuer willkürlich zu erzeugen, und Niemand zweifelt daran, dass auch die einfachsten der verschiedenen Methoden nicht ohne lange Vertrautheit mit den Eigenschaften des Feuers gefunden sein können, dass also der künstlichen Erzeugung eine Periode der Unterhaltung mit Uebertragung des natürlichen Feuers von Ort zu Ort vorhergegangen sein muss.

Ob in den lichten Buschwäldern des Matogrosso durch die zahlreichen Gewitter häufig Brände verursacht werden, ist kaum festzustellen. Dass solche Brände vorkommen, ist mir versichert worden, dass die Vegetation der dürren verkrüppelten Kampbäume und des hohen trockenen Grases dafür äusserst günstig ist, unterliegt keinem Zweifel. Die Feuer, die wir auf unserm Zuge anlegten, brannten viele Tage lang und verbreiteten sich ohne Nachhülfe über grosse Strecken.

Sonderbar und auffallend war der Einfluss auf die Tierwelt. Alles Raubzeug machte sich den Vorfall sehr bedacht zu Nutze, es suchte und fand seine Opfer weniger bei dem hellen Feuer als auf der rauchenden Brandstätte, wo mancher Nager verkohlen mochte. Zahlreiche Falken schwebten über den dunklen Wolken der »Queimada«, Wild eilte von weither herbei, um die Salzasche zu lecken, und bevorzugte, vielleicht weil es sich auf der kahlen Fläche nicht verbergen konnte, die Nacht. Der Boden strahlte eine behagliche Wärme aus.

Der Jagd mittels des Feuers begegnet man bei vielen Naturvölkern. Die Schingú-Indianer schienen sie nicht mehr zu üben, den Bakairí war sie jedenfalls

gut bekannt und das Märchen von »Kame in der Maus« erzählt uns, dass Keri mit dem Besitzer des Feuers, dem Kampfuchs, jagen ging und dieser »nur eine verbrannte Maus« erbeutete, in der Keri's Bruder Kame steckte:

Keri begegnete dem Kampfuchs. »Wir wollen Feuer im Kamp machen, Grosspapa,« sagte Keri. Sie gingen Feuer machen; es brannte ringsum. Kame war in einer Maus. Keri wusste nicht, dass er hineingegangen. Das Feuer brannte nieder und hörte auf. Keri jagte, sah keinen Braten. Der Kampfuchs fand eine verbrannte Maus. Nachdem er sie gesehen, ass er sie. Er traf Keri. »Grosspapa, was für Braten hast Du gegessen?« »Nur eine Maus habe ich gegessen.«

Die »Queimada« oder Brandstätte lieferte Massenerfahrungen über den Nutzen des Feuers: beim Beginn des Feuers fliehende Tiere, später verkohlte Tiere und Früchte, Tiere die herbeikamen, Salzasche, Wärme. Der Jäger hat hier das Braten des Fleisches lernen können, das für ihn in kleinerem Massstab die Bedeutung gewann, wie sie die Mehlbereitung für den Feldbauer besitzt. Denn das Braten konserviert. Nach vielen Tagen ist gebratenes Fleisch noch schmackhaft, das sonst längst in Verwesung übergegangen wäre: die Bororó zogen wochenlang auf Jagd hinaus und kehrten mit reichem Vorrat an gebratenem Wild zurück, die Auetó blieben mehrere Tage auf Fischfang abwesend und brachten ein Kanu mit gebratenen Fischen schwer beladen heim, bei den Mehinakú sahen wir Körbe gefüllt mit recht appetitlichen, goldgelben Backfischen. Das Braten wird noch heute soweit getrieben, dass das Fleisch eine dicke Kohlenkruste — die verbrannte Haut — mit einem sehr beliebten Salzgeschmack erhält.

Alle diese Erfahrungen konnte sich schon der primitive Jäger, der kein Feuer zu erzeugen wusste, bei Kampbränden zu Nutze machen; man wird ihm das Sammeln von Kenntnissen nicht absprechen, die im Einzelnen den verschiedenen Klassen der umgebenden Tierwelt geläufig sind.

Da aber protestiert, wer durch die Kulturbrille zu schauen gewöhnt ist. Er vermisst die Schauer, die man in der Urzeit vor dem gewaltigen Phänomen des Feuers empfunden hat, und die nicht viel mehr sind als die Schauer des Gelehrten, dessen Studierlampe umfallen und die Stube, das Haus, die Stadt mit allen ihren Wertgegenständen in Brand setzen könnte. Wenn schon ich, der doch des Feuers Macht bezähmt, bewacht, in Furcht und Schrecken gerate, sobald das wütende Element losgelassen wird, wenn mich das übermächtige Flammenschauspiel durch den Eindruck phantastischer Schönheit aufregt, wie muss erst die Seele des armen Wilden von Angst erfüllt sein und das Geheimnis des Erhabenen spüren! Ohne Zweifel mag in dem einen oder andern rasch vorwärts eilenden Steppenbrand die Besonnenheit verloren gehen, doch im Allgemeinen sehen wir die beschriebenen Schauer gerade bei den Naturvölkern nicht, wir können sie ebensowenig entdecken als die ebenfalls für die Entstehung religiöser Gefühle in Anspruch genommenen Schauer inmitten des grossartigen Urwalds; nur der hülflose Europäer fürchtet sich, während es dem »Wilden« wahrscheinlich

leichter »unter den Linden« als in seinem heimatlichen Dickicht unheimlich zu Mute würde. Der Eingeborene fürchtet das Gewitter und wird von dem einschlagenden Blitz gewiss ebenso entsetzt sein wie irgend eine Kreatur, allein den fortschreitenden Brand fürchtet er ebensowenig wie viele Tiere, sofern er oder sie nicht gerade von der Woge erfasst werden. Wird er im Kamp vom Feuer überrascht, so steckt er schleunigst seine eigene Nachbarschaft in Brand und holt sich dazu, wenn er kein Lagerfeuer hat, getrost einen brennenden Zweig. Derselbe Wind, der das Feuer jagt, schafft auch seinem Gegenfeuer rasche Bahn; auf der planmässig leergebrannten Stätte sieht der Jäger gemütlich zu, wie die Glut ringsum lodernd weiterwandert, und sucht dann eiligst zu erwischen, was von Gebratenem und Getödtetem zurückgeblieben ist, ehe die Raubvögel ihm zuvorkommen. Es ist entschieden mehr wahrscheinlich, dass das klügste, listigste Geschöpf zu jeder Zeit, wo es überhaupt schon die den Menschen auszeichnende Initiative besass, veranlasst worden ist, für die Unterhaltung des Brandes zu sorgen als ihn zu fliehen und zu bestaunen. Die Bestie Feuer ist überall als Haustier gefunden worden und das allein beweist, dass man die Berührung mit seiner wilden Natur stets gesucht und nicht gemieden hat. Die späteren Kulturgefühle sind leicht zu erklären und zu ihrer Zeit und auf ihrer Stufe wohl berechtigt, aber immer geht das Notwendige und Nützliche dem Heiligen voraus.

Man hat Kulturgefühle an den Anfang der Entwicklung gesetzt, man hat mit demselben Fehler Kulturgedanken dorthin verlegt. Den unbekannten Wohlthäter der Menschheit, der zuerst das Mittel ersann, durch Reibung zweier Holzstücke Feuer zu erzeugen, hat man in schwungvollen Worten gepriesen. Ein vielzitierter Ausspruch deutet uns den Weg der glücklichen Erfindung durch die heutzutage wohl recht selten gewordene Möglichkeit an, dass er einige vom Sturm gepeitschte Zweige, die sich aneinander rieben und in Flammen gerieten, oder auch einen Zweig beobachtet habe, der vom Sturm in einem Astloch umhergewirbelt wurde und plötzlich aufloderte.

Gewiss ist die Natur die grosse Lehrmeisterin in vielen Dingen gewesen. Allein sie demonstrierte dann nicht wie der Professor im Experimentalkolleg hinter dem Pult, sondern stiess die schwerfälligen Schüler ein wenig mit der Nase auf das, was sich Lehrreiches abspielte. Wollte man von der Psychologie der Naturvölker ausgehen, so würde man einem unthätig zuschauenden Eingeborenen kaum zutrauen, einen ganzen Komplex von Erscheinungen, wie Blasen, Peitschen, Reiben, Brennen nach Ursachen und Wirkungen so aufzulösen und in Gedanken wieder so zu verknüpfen, dass er nun eine »Methode« hätte, um einen jenen Wirkungen entsprechenden Zweck zu erreichen. Wo Vorbilder der Natur den Weg gezeigt haben, da sind es alltäglich wiederkehrende gewesen und da hat der Mensch nicht analysierend nachgeahmt, sondern er hat mitgeahmt, wenn der Ausdruck erlaubt ist, und nur durch ein von irgend einem Interesse angeregtes Mitthun kam er dazu, etwaige ihm nützliche Wirkungen aufzufassen und festzuhalten; so hatte er alsdann mit seiner aktiven Beteili-

gung, die die Hauptsache ist, ein zweckgemässes Handeln erlernt, eine Methode erworben. Dieser Fortschritt ist nur an dem Nacheinander von häufig vorkommenden Einzelvorgängen möglich, deren jeder, während er sich abspielte, am Schopf erfasst wurde; einen seltenen Komplex kann sich erst geistig aneignen, wer schon im Besitz der Teilvorgänge ist. Wahrscheinlich hat sich der Mensch, wenn der Sturm das Feuer wirklich hier und da entzündete, schleunigst einen Brand genommen, damit ihn Wind oder Regen nicht verlöschten. Vielleicht hat er auch beobachtet, dass ein stürzender Baum ein Tier erschlug, und hat sich der unerwarteten Beute freudig erschreckt bemächtigt, aber von diesem historischen Augenblick wollen wir es lieber nicht datieren, dass er zum Knüppel gegriffen und eine Waffe gefunden hat, um Tiere zu erschlagen. Diese Künste muss er anders gelernt haben. Bis zur Gegenwart ist auch eine so ungemein einfache Erklärung noch für keine primitive Errungenschaft befriedigend gelungen; immer ist man sich bald bewusst geworden, dass man einen mehr oder minder sinnreichen Mythus hervorgebracht hatte, dem nur der Name des Erfinders fehlte, um die Aufnahme in die Mythologie der Völker zu verdienen. Auch heute pflanzt sich der Einfall des sinnenden Mythologen, belobt oder verurteilt, durch alle Literatur neben der Prometheussage fort und wird dem Anschein nach mit ihr immer verknüpft bleiben.

Es ist klar, wir dürfen uns von den späteren mystischen, poetischen, religiösen oder naturwissenschaftlichen Vorstellungen, die sich auf das Feuer beziehen, nicht beirren lassen und den Naturmenschen, der ein nüchterner, beschränkter Praktiker ist, nicht als das ansehen, was er nicht ist, weder als einen Philosophen noch als einen Erfinder der Neuzeit. Wenden wir uns an die lebendige Erfahrung, so verschwindet sofort das Hindernis am Anfang, nämlich der nur für die Zeit entwickelter Eigentumsbegriffe nicht unlösbare Widerspruch, dass ein Ding gleichzeitig mit Schrecken erfüllt und bei Tag und Nacht unentbehrlich geworden ist.

Für das erste Stadium, mit dessen Ursprung wir uns hier nicht weiter beschäftigen dürfen, wo sich der Mensch dazu erhob, das freie, wilde Feuer absichtlich zu unterhalten und sich durch Weiterverpflanzen mit allen seinen Vorteilen dauernd dienstbar zu machen, möchte der Vergleich, dass er es wie eine Art Haustier angesiedelt, gepflegt und gezüchtet hat, nicht unzutreffend sein. Aber erst mit dem weitern Problem, wie die Methode zu Stande kam, das Feuer zu erzeugen, finden wir uns innerhalb der Naturvölker auf festem Grund und Boden, wir sehen bei ihnen sofort, dass es verschiedene Methoden dieser Arbeit giebt, und dass sie deshalb im Zusammenhang mit den übrigen Arbeitsmethoden untersucht werden müssen. In diesem Sinne habe ich mich bei den Schingú-Indianern zu unterrichten gesucht und glaube auch nachweisen zu können, wie ihre Art, das Feuer zu erzeugen, entstanden sein muss. Es ist die einfachste des in Amerika und anderen Erdteilen weit verbreiteten »Feuerbohrers«, während man in Polynesien einen »Stock« in einer »Rinne« reibt.

Die Eingeborenen nehmen zwei nicht ganz kleinfingerdünne, etwa $^3/_4$ m lange, noch mit der trocken haltenden Rinde überkleidete Stöcke und schneiden in den einen mit einer Muschel eine kleine Grube. Während ein Mann diesen Stock auf den Boden legt und fest angedrückt hält, setzt ein Zweiter den andern Stock in das Grübchen hinein und quirlt ihn mit grosser Geschwindigkeit zwischen den hurtig daran auf- und niedergleitenden Händen. Durch das Quirlen erweitert sich das Grübchen, es löst sich feiner Staub und beginnt zu glimmen und zu rauchen. Zunder wird herangebracht, angeblasen und sofort ist die Flamme da. Die kleine Grube erscheint nun äusserst glatt und oberflächlich verkohlt. Der Vorgang nimmt Alles in Allem keine Minute in Anspruch. Der Quirlende plagt sich redlich; mehr daraus machen wäre Uebertreibung, obwohl ein Ungeübter, der während des Quirlens kleine und für den Erfolg schädliche Pausen eintreten lässt, auch nicht ohne eine Luxusanstrengung fertig werden wird. Zur Not kommt ein Einzelner recht gut mit der Prozedur zu Stande, indem er den Stock auf den Erdboden mit den Füssen festhält.

Die Feuerstöcke sind gewöhnlich zwei gerade Zweige vom Orléansstrauch oder Urukú, die ein leichtes lockeres Holz besitzen. Auch anderes Holz hat, wie der Indianer es versteht, »das Feuer in sich«, besonders Ubá und Kambayuva, die beiden Arten des Pfeilrohrs. Unterwegs weiss sich der Jäger, wenn er kein Feuer bei sich hat und seiner bedarf, zu helfen: er zerbricht einen Pfeil und bohrt ein Stück in dem andern. Doch ist der Pfeil kostbar und das Reiben anstrengend. Wir beobachteten mehrfach, dass die Leute von der qualmenden Rodung brennende Kloben auf ihre Wege zum Hafen und in den Wald mitnahmen, die sie später achtlos beiseite warfen. Auf Ausflüge mit tagelanger Abwesenheit von Hause im Kanu führten sie ein mächtiges glimmendes Stück morschen, trockenen Holzes aus dem Walde mit sich.

Der Zunder ist ein hellbraunes feinmaschiges Bastgewebe, das am besten die junge Uakumá-Palme (eine *Cocos*-Art) darbietet. Im Kamp hilft auch Zunder von der Guariroba-Palme (*Cocos oleracea*) oder von trockenem Gras und Laub aus. Er hat den Zweck, die Flamme zu liefern, mit der man das Feuer auf die Reiser überträgt. Ehrenreich giebt von den Karayá, Im Thurn von den Warrau Guyana's an, dass ihr Holz sich so lebhaft entzündet, dass es keines Zunders bedarf; »es liefert in sich selbst den Zunder«.

Man sieht, es ist zum Feuerreiben mit dem »Bohrer« nicht nötig, ein hartes und ein weiches Holz zu haben. Die Schingú-Indianer nehmen stets nur eine Art, die Karayá bohren Bambus in Urukú.

Uns fällt die Bewegung des Quirlens sehr schwer; wir kennen sie im gewöhnlichen Leben ja kaum, weil unsere Bohrer in eine Schraube auslaufen, und üben sie überhaupt nicht zum Bohren, sondern zum Mischen z. B. in der Küche, um Hefe oder Eier mit Milch zu vereinigen, oder bei der Präparation eines Cocktail. Wie das Bohren und Quirlen der Eingeborenen entstanden ist, lässt sich leicht erkennen. Man hat zuerst Löcher mit einem spitzen Zahn oder Knochen gemacht.

Bei starkem Widerstand des Objektes kam man zu drehendem An- und Eindrücken, und dies entwickelte sich allmählich von selbst zum Quirlbohren, wenn man nur ruhig und gleichmässig arbeitete, um das Objekt nicht zu sprengen, dasselbe auch festklemmte, um den angebohrten Punkt nicht zu verlieren, und so über beide Hände verfügen konnte. Dieses Quirlbohren wird von dem Indianer mit einem an ein Stäbchen befestigten Zahn oder Steinpartikelchen (vgl. S. 204) geübt für alles Durchlöchern von Muschel, Knochen, Stein, Gürteltierpanzer und hartem Holz. Man sieht ihn sehr häufig damit beschäftigt während er die Füsse zum Festklemmen verwendet. Nun stehen wir aber einem Rätsel gegenüber, wenn wir erklären wollen, wie das Feuerbohren mit zwei Holzstücken entstanden sein kann. Wie kam man dazu, Holz mit Holz zu bohren, wenn man nicht gerade darauf ausging, das »Feuer zu erfinden«?

Es ist allen Ernstes gesagt worden, man habe beim Schleifen oder Bohren von Werkzeugen aus Holz, Knochen und Stein die Erfahrung gemacht, dass Reibung Wärme erzeugt, habe bemerkt, dass die Wärme zunehme, je stärker man reibe, und habe alsdann versucht, Holz so stark zu reiben, dass es nicht nur warm werde, sondern auch glimme, leuchte, brenne! Wenn die Herren, die diesen Vorschlag für unsere werten Ahnen machen, auf eine unbewohnte, bewaldete Koralleninsel verschlagen würden — mit einigem Widerstreben will ich es annehmen, dass sie mit ihren technischen und theoretischen Kenntnissen darauf verfallen würden, Holz mit Holz zu reiben, um sich ein Lagerfeuer zu verschaffen. Der Mensch der Vorzeit, mag er noch so lange im Besitz des lebendigen Feuers gewesen sein und seinen Wert gekannt haben, könnte sich die Erfindung doch wohl nur dann absichtlich erzwungen haben, wenn das durch Reiben erwärmte Holz auch leuchtete; dann hätte er vielleicht den Versuch gemacht, das Leuchten bis zur Flamme zu steigern. So haben z. B. die Bakaïrí auch wirklich geschlossen. Der Kampfuchs, sagen sie, habe sich das Feuer aus den Augen geschlagen.

In jenem Vorschlag zur Lösung des Problems steckt aber der gesunde Kern, dass man dem Zufall einer Entdeckung keinen zu grossen Spielraum einräumen möchte. In der That, will man sich die Beobachtung, dass Feuer entsteht, wenn Holz mit Holz gerieben oder gebohrt wird, nur nebenher bei der Bearbeitung von Werkzeugen gemacht denken, so sollte sie wenigstens in einem direkten und innern Zusammenhang mit dem Gebrauch des Feuers vorzustellen sein. Wenn Holz gebohrt wurde, so wurde es sicherlich mit Zahn, Knochen oder Stein gebohrt, und obgleich es ja möglich wäre, dass gelegentlich, wenn jenes Material fehlte, einmal ein harter Holzstock zum Quirlbohren genommen wurde, der dann ein glimmendes Pulver erzeugte, so erscheint diese nicht zu leugnende Möglichkeit mir deshalb nicht recht befriedigend, weil sie nicht aus der Feuertechnik selbst hervorwächst. Auch sieht man nicht ein, in was für einem praktischen Fall, wenn das gewohnte Handwerkszeug fehlte, den Leuten soviel daran gelegen sein musste, Holz zu durchbohren, dass sie das mühevolle Mittel wählten und ihren Zweck nicht durch Binden oder Brechen oder anderswie bequemer erreichten. Einige

2: Steinen 5P7 Bacairi

Ueberlegung und ein paar Thatsachen leiten uns auf einen vielleicht aussichtsvolleren Weg.

Der Mensch hatte Feuer, unterhielt es, konnte es aber nicht erzeugen. Es ist klar, dass die erste Kunst, die auf dieser Stufe gelernt sein sollte und gelernt wurde, die Neubelebung und die Uebertragung des Feuers an einen andern Ort war. Wir haben auf dem Rückweg der Expedition in der Regenzeit mehrere Male am Morgen nur mit vieler Mühe, obwohl der Kloben noch glühte, genügendes Feuer erhalten können, alles Holz war nass und wollte nicht brennen; unsere Leute konnten nur dadurch Abhilfe schaffen, dass sie von den feuchten Reisern die Rinde losschälten und mit dem Messer schnitzelnd aus dem Innern eine Anzahl ziemlich trockener Spänchen hervorholten, diese mit grosser Vorsicht und Geduld fast einzeln auf die glimmende Kohle brachten und nun allmählich schwache Flämmchen hervorhauchten, die geschickt genährt zu einem lebenskräftigen Feuerchen erstarkten. Im Thurn beschreibt dasselbe Verfahren von den Guyana-Indianern. Von den nordamerikanischen Eingeborenen wird berichtet, dass sie glimmende Baumschwämme den Tag hindurch mit sich führten und so ihr Lagerfeuer von Ort zu Ort verpflanzten. Die von unsern Indianern im Kanu mitgenommenen morschen Kloben glimmten mit Leichtigkeit ein bis zwei Tage.

Man entwickelte früh, ehe man das Feuer willkürlich hervorrufen konnte, die Technik des Zunders. Man übertrug das Feuer von einem schwach glimmenden Kloben auf Reiser durch Zufügen von trockenen Halmen, Spänchen, Blättern oder dergleichen. Man lernte die leicht brennbaren Pflanzenteile kennen. Für die Wanderung versorgte man sich mit Zunder von schwammigem Pflanzengewebe, man hielt sich davon auch einen Vorrat an dem Lagerort, da jeder Regen oder eine Nachlässigkeit das Feuer dem Verlöschen nahe bringen konnte. Man verwandte die bei der Bearbeitung des Holzes, des Steinbeilgriffes und der Waffen losgeschnitzelten Späne oder, wenn man Holz mit Zahn, Muschel oder Stein durchbohrt hatte, das hierbei entstandene Mehl. Fehlte dieser natürliche Zunder oder war er etwa durchnässt, so machte man sich eben welchen. Man zerrieb, schabte, schnitzelte leichtes Holz mit den Werkzeugen aus Zahn, Muschel oder Stein. Wo man die Beilklinge in eine Holzrinne einliess und dort festband — so liess sie sich besser spitzwinklig anfügen und erhielt die für den Kanubau zweckmässigste Stellung — mag man das Zundermehl in einer Rinne geschabt haben; sowohl hier als auch wo man den Holzgriff des Steinbeils quer durchbohrte, wird man nicht übersehen haben, dass der dabei abfallende Staub besonders fein und leicht entzündbar war. Man machte die Beobachtung, dass der relativ schwere, weniger schnell auflohende Holzzunder längere Zeit glimmte als Schwammgewebe und Mark. Dieses Mehl war vorzüglich geeignet, das lebendige Feuer an einen andern Ort zu schaffen, es liess sich in einem beliebigen Rohrstück mit durchlöchertem Deckel, das man bewegte oder in das man zuweilen hineinblies, leicht transportieren, und eine zweite Büchse konnte nachzufüllenden Vorrat bergen. Kurz, wenn es eine

Z: Steinen SP7 Bacairi

Zeit der Uebertragung lebendigen Feuers, sei es um der Wärme oder der Jagdzwecke oder des Bratens willen, gegeben hat, so muss es auch eine Bereitung von Zunder und Glimmstoff aus verschiedenem Material gegeben haben und kaum darunter das allezeit auch während des Regens verfügbare und vom Arbeiten her notwendig gut bekannte Holzmehl nicht gefehlt haben.

Wer sind alsdann die grossen Genies der Urzeit gewesen, die die willkürliche Erzeugung des Feuers »erfunden« haben? Irgend ein paar arme Teufel im nassen Walde sind es gewesen, denen der mitgenommene glimmende Zunder zu verlöschen drohte und denen Muschel, Zahn oder Steinsplitter im Augenblick unerreichbar war. Sie suchten sich einen Stock oder zerbrachen einen Rohrschaft; je dürrer das Holz war, desto leichter liess es sich abbrechen und desto leichter würde es brennen. Eifrig bohrten sie Holz in Holz, um ein reichliches Quantum Mehl zu erzielen, oder, wenn es sich um Vorfahren der Polynesier handeln soll, rieben sie Holz an Holz — ob sie das Eine oder das Andere thaten, wird nur von ihren gewohnten Arbeitsmethoden abgehangen haben; sie wurden durch die Entdeckung erfreut, dass ihr mit dem Holzstock mühsamer, aber auch feiner losgeriebenes Pulver von selber glimmte und rauchte. Es ist richtig, wie Im Thurn von den Warrau sagt, »das Holz liefert in sich selbst den Zunder«, aber der Zunder lieferte auch in sich selbst die Flamme. Eine Entdeckung, die jeder prähistorische Vagabund zu machen im Stande war, der nichts besass als vom letzten Lagerfeuer her einen Rest Glimmstoff.

»Würde sich etwa ein gewaltiger Denker der Vorzeit von der Vermutung haben leiten lassen: durch Reibung werde Wärme erzeugt, sollte nicht auch das Feuer durch die höchste Steigerung der Reibungswärme gewonnen werden können? — so hätte in ihm die Wahrheit gedämmert, dass die leuchtende Wärme sich durch nichts als ihre Quantität und ihre Wirkung auf die Sehnerven von der dunklen Wärme unterscheide, und sein darauf begründeter Entzündungsversuch durch Reibung wäre ein Ja in der Natur auf eine richtig gestellte Frage gewesen. An Schärfe des Verstandes wäre ein solcher Prometheus der Eiszeit nicht hinter den scharfsinnigsten Denkern der geschichtlichen Zeit zurückgeblieben . . . .«

Oh, Ihr unsterblichen Götter!

Der kühn entwendende Titane barg das Feuer in einem hohlen Stab, das wäre in einen Moment zusammengedrängt in der That die Geschichte des Stadiums der Unterhaltung des natürlichen Feuers. Am interessantesten scheint mir eben jener Stab selbst, ein Stengel der Ferulastaude, dessen Mark leicht Feuer fängt und der als Büchse gebraucht wird. Nach Plinius haben sich die Egypter dieses Zunders bedient. Prometheus stand noch auf der Stufe vor Erfindung der Reibhölzer, er trug den glimmenden Stoff von Ort zu Ort. Auch die Murray-Australier wissen zu erzählen, dass ihnen das Feuer in einem Rohr, einem Grashalm, gebracht worden sei.

Mit dem technischen Fortschritt der willkürlichen Erzeugung wurde das Holzmehl überflüssig. Man bedurfte jetzt nur des leichten, losen Zunders zur

2:Steinen SP7 Bacairi

Anfachung der Flamme und nicht einmal überall dieses. Die Hölzer, die einst das Zundermehl hauptsächlich geliefert haben, dürften wir wohl in denen wiedererkennen, die später zum Feuerreiben dienten; denn natürlich sind die Hölzer, die sich durch Reiben am besten entzünden, auch die, die das brennbarste Mehl geben.

Ich aber dachte mit Prometheus: Probieren geht über Studieren, machte den Versuch und empfehle ihn Allen, die sich von seinem überraschenden Gelingen selbst überzeugen wollen. Ich füllte ein 15 cm hohes Kaviarfäßchen mit beliebigem trockenem Sägemehl, legte eine glühende Kohle darauf, bis eine dünne oberste Schicht verkohlt war, und warf die Kohle fort. Bei mäßig bewegter Luft rauchte das Mehl bald so stark, dass ich vorzog, einen durchlöcherten Deckel aufzusetzen. Dann schlug ich ein Tuch um das Fäßchen und überließ es sich selbst; ununterbrochen glimmte das Mehl 13 Stunden. Mit Nachfüllen wäre das Glimmen beliebig lange in Gang zu halten. Nun erinnerte ich mich erst, wie schwer es mir unterwegs oft geworden war, die glimmende Baumwolle in dem Ochsenhorn meines brasilischen Stahlfeuerzeuges zu ersticken; ich gedachte auch der aus trockenem Kuhdünger gepressten Stange, die man an Deck indischer Schiffe zum Gebrauch für die Raucher viele Stunden hindurch glimmen lässt. Vielleicht ist auch hier und da eine entsprechende Verwendung von Holzmehl zu finden. Hobelspäne sind bei uns im geschichtlichen Deutschland bis zum Beginn dieses Jahrhunderts mit Feuerstein und Stahl gebraucht worden.

V. Waffen, Geräte, Industrie.

Bogen und Pfeile. Wurfholz. Keule. Kanu. Fischereigerät. Flechten und Textilarbeiten. Baumwollspinnerei. Kürbisgefäße. Töpferei.

Ueber die Ansiedlungen, die Lebensweise, die Werkzeuge unserer Indianer habe ich, soweit sie Eigentümlichkeiten darbieten, Bericht erstattet. Was von dem einen oder andern Gerät noch zu sagen wäre, wird sich im Rahmen der kunstgewerblichen Schilderung, die wegen des mancherlei Neuen einen besondern Ueberblick beansprucht, von selbst ergeben. Dagegen empfiehlt es sich, über das Aussehen und den Gebrauch der Waffen, sowie über die einfachsten Kunstfertigkeiten noch Einiges mitzuteilen.

Bogen und Pfeile sind die einzige allen unsern Indianern gemeinsame Waffe. Bei den Suyá und Trumai finden sich Keulen im Gebrauch. Nirgendwo giebt es Lanzen. Nirgendwo Blasrohr und vergiftete Pfeile. Nur der Zauberer hat so eine Art theoretischer Giftpfeile, indem er mit kräftiger Hexenkunst vergiftete Zweiglein, wie wir sehen werden, heimlich nach seinem Opfer schleudert; hier tritt uns also jedenfalls der Gedanke eines Wurfgiftes entgegen.

Bogen und Pfeile sind ausgezeichnet durch ihre Grösse, die Pfeile durch die außerordentlich saubere und gefällige Arbeit. Die Länge der Bogen beträgt über 2½ m, die der Pfeile 1½ bis nahezu 2 m. Das Bogenholz ist gelblich oder lichtbraun und stammt von dem Aratibaum, Tecoma u. a. Palmholz fanden wir nur bei einigen Bogen der Tupistämme, hier auch, was den übrigen Stämmen unbekannt ist, den Bogen mit Baumwolle in hübschem Muster umflochten. Die Sehne ist aus Tukumfaden gedreht.

Der Pfeil ist ein keineswegs einfaches Kunstwerk; wenn man die Pfeile von unsern Stämmen, zwischen denen sich eine ethnographische Ausgleichung vollzogen hat, mit den Pfeilen aus den benachbarten Gebieten vergleicht, bemerkt man bei näherem Zusehen immer Verschiedenheiten des Materials oder der Technik. Die Pfeile der Yaruna am untern Schingú, die der Karayá im Osten nach dem Araguay hinüber, die der Parcuí im Westen, die der Bororó im Süden, wie die der Yaruná haben stets ihre bestimmten Merkmale. Wie vergleichende Sprachforschung lässt sich vergleichende Pfeilforschung treiben. Kamen wir zu einem neuen Stamm, so sahen wir häufig, mit welchem Interesse man die von den Nachbarn mitgebrachten Stücke prüfte und bestimmte; Nichts erschien den Leuten ausser unserer Kleidung merkwürdiger als unser Mangel an Bogen und Pfeilen. Wenn es schwer zu begreifen ist, wie der Indianer sich vorstellt, dass seine Kulturheroen die einzelnen Stämme durch Bezauberung von Pfeilrohr, das sie in die Erde steckten, geschaffen haben, so ist doch die zu Grunde liegende Anschauung, dass der Pfeil das Merkmal des Stammes sei, sehr gut zu verstehen; der grosse Zauberer wählt auch für jeden Stamm die Art Rohr, die seine Pfeile auszeichnet. Das Kambayuvarohr liefert zierlichere, dünnere Schafte als das Ubárohr; die zahmen Bakairí haben, seitdem sie die Bekanntschaft der Flinten gemacht, das am obern Schingú allgemein gebrauchte Ubárohr aufgegeben und besitzen nur, wenn nicht gerade Kinderpfeile, so doch kleine Pfeile im Vergleich zu denen des Schingú. Auch die Bogen (1,70 m) sind kleiner geworden.

Der einfachste Pfeil besteht aus dem befiederten Rohrschaft und einem hineingetriebenen dünnen Holzstock, der ½ m vorragt und ein wenig zugespitzt ist. Unterhalb der Spitze wird zuweilen ein kleiner Widerhaken angebracht, wozu man ein Zähnchen oder mit Vorliebe den Kieferstachel des grossen Ameisenbären gebraucht. Oder man treibt oben auf die Holzspitze ein langes Stück Röhrenknochen vom Affen, Arm- oder Beinknochen, deren man ganze Bündel zu Hause ansammelt, und schleift den Knochen zu. Als Bindemittel dient Wachs, das mit einem Knochen aufgetragen wird. Auch der Rochenstachel giebt eine Pfeilspitze ab. Der Widerhaken lässt sich endlich so herstellen, dass man ein geschweiftes, doppelspitziges Knochenstück in das seitlich ausgehöhlte Ende des Holzträgers legt, umwickelt und verharzt.

Zuweilen wird auf den Pfeilschaft eine durchlochte, hohle Tukumnuss bis etwas oberhalb der Mitte hinaufgeschoben; seitlich sind ein oder zwei Löcher in die Nuss eingeschnitten. Im Fluge ertönt ein helles Schwirren und Pfeifen.

Während die klingenden Pfeile nur zur Vogeljagd gebraucht werden, sind die andern für alle Jagd und das Schiessen der Fische bestimmt; die mit Widerhaken sind ausschliesslich Fischpfeile. Pfeile mit sägeartig eingekerbten Holzspitzen sind am Schingú nicht vorhanden, angenommen bei den Yarumá, die wir für eine Südgruppe der Mundurukú des Tapajoz halten.

Die Suya und Trumaí hatten zum Krieg und zur Jaguarjagd Pfeile mit langen spitzen Bambusmessern. Bambusspäne von Spindelform, bis 35 cm lang und bis 36 mm breit, messerscharf an den Seiten, sitzen dem tief in den Rohrschaft eingetriebenen Holzstock auf, indem dieser in eine oben an der Innenfläche des Spans eingeschnittene Rinne gebettet ist. Und zwar ist die spitze Spindel mit ein wenig Harz und Faden nur lose befestigt; sie bleibt beim Schuss in dem getroffenen Körper zurück, während der Schaft mit dem Holzstock hinter ihr abspringt.

Das Merkwürdigste am Pfeil ist die Befiederung am untern Ende. Zwei Federn, richtiger zwei Federhälften, denn die Feder wird in ihrem Schaft gespalten, sind in spiraliger Drehung, die ein Viertel des Umfangs umschreibt, sorgsam befestigt; jede Fahne steht mit der Ebene ihres Oberteils senkrecht auf der ihres Unterteils, sodass sich der fliegende Pfeil durch die Luft schraubt. Die Federn sind kleinen Löchelchen entlang gespannt, die mit einem Agutizahn gestochen und mit einem spitzen Buritisplitter erweitert werden, und, man darf sagen, dem Pfeil aufgenäht, der Baumwollfaden wird um die Enden herumgewickelt und selbst durch eine Umwicklung mit Waimbérinde *(Philodendron)* geschützt. Meist stammen die Federn von Hokkohühnern, Jakú (*Penelope*) und Mutung (*Crax*), vom Falken und vom blauen Arara. Wo die Hand den Pfeilschaft umfasst, befindet sich eine Umwicklung mit Waimbé. Unten ist eine Kerbe eingeschnitten, der das Oberteil der Federn parallel liegt.

Kinderpfeile sind ähnlich, nur kleinen Formats mit Holz und Knochenspitzen, oder (die der frühesten Jugend) schwanke, dünne Stengel, die man von Palmblattrippen abspaltet.

Die Haltung des Bogens ist gewöhnlich senkrecht. Der Pfeil liegt links vom Bogen. Er wird zwischen dem Zeigefinger und Mittelfinger gehalten, die die Sehne zurückziehen, während Finger IV und V noch helfen, die Sehne zu spannen. Der Daumen wird nicht gebraucht. Diese Spannung, der Mittelmeerspannung von Edward S. Morse entsprechend, ist verschieden von der der Bororó. Vorrichtungen, um die Finger gegen die starke Reibung der Sehne zu schützen, werden nicht gebraucht. Die den Bogen haltende linke Hand kann noch einen zweiten Pfeil in Reserve halten.

Der Pfeil visiert das Ziel nur bei geringer Entfernung; ist sie gross, so wird der Bogen hoch emporgehalten, der Pfeil fliegt in der Lotrichtung des Ziels empor und senkt sich zu ihm hinunter. Auf dem Fluss, z. B. wenn auf eine in der Ferne spielende Fischotter geschossen werden soll, ein bei der malerischen Haltung des im niedrigen Kanu stehenden nackten Schützen ungemein fesselnder

2:Steinen SP7 Bacairi

Anblick! Beim Fischschiessen wird die Pfeilspitze öfter in das Wasser getaucht, um den Grad der Lichtbrechung zu prüfen. Es gehört nicht geringe Uebung zum Fischschiessen. Langsam rudert der hintre sitzende Geführte, während der Schütze vorn schussfertig steht und scharf zielt. Unsereins sieht nicht mehr als der Indianer, wenn er zum ersten Mal in das Mikroskop blicken würde. Eine leise Aenderung der Wellenform verrät ihm schon die Beute. Dabei hat man sich mäuschenstill zu verhalten, unhörbar wird das Ruder eingetaucht. Mancher Schuss geht übrigens fehl und häufig treiben zwei oder drei der schönen Pfeile traurig im Wasser, bis sie zurückgeholt werden. Kein Wunder, dass den Indianern unsere Angel wie eine Offenbarung erschien. Kannten sie die Angel noch nicht, so kannten sie doch schon den Köder. Aber den frei schwimmenden. Der Schütze warf vom Kanu eine scharfschnitte Beere in den Fluss; in dem Augenblick, wo ein von unten zuschnappendes Maul sie verschlingen wollte, schnellte der Pfeil vom Bogen. Wer neuen Sport sucht, möge es probieren. Die Indianer üben sich auf dem Dorfplatz und pflanzen als Ziel einen Schaft auf, der oben ein zylindrisches oder kegelförmiges Stück Korkholz trägt.

Das **Wurfbrett**, für unsern Fall, wo kein »Brett« vorhanden ist, häufig Wurfholz*) genannt, ist eine jetzt seltene Waffe, die sich nur bei den beiden Tupistämmen, den Kamayurá und Auetó, und bei den Trumai vorfand. Sie ist die grösste ethnologische Ueberraschung unserer Reise gewesen. Ehrenreich begegnete ihr dann auch bei den Karayá am Araguay. Durch den Bogen verdrängt, hat sie sich in lebenskräftiger Uebung nur bei den bekannten Eskimo erhalten. Die nordamerikanischen Indianer haben sie, so viel man weiss, nicht gekannt; bei den alten Mexikanern und bei den Maya, sowie bei den Bewohnern Kolumbiens erscheint sie in beschränkter Verwendung, doch lässt sich auf eine grössere Verbreitung in frühen Zeiten schliessen, sie gilt als Waffe der Inkakrieger, wir sehen sie dann endlich in vereinzelten Beispielen bei südamerikanischen Naturvölkern, zumal Tupis, sowohl am hohen Amazonas wie im östlichen Brasilien. Auch bei unsern Stämmen hatte das Wurfholz seine aktuelle Bedeutung eingebüsst oder war mindestens dabei, sie zu verlieren. Immerhin fanden sich in jedem Hause mehr Wurfbretter als Bogen; die Indianer sagten, dass sie die Waffe zwar niemals mehr zur Jagd, wohl aber noch im Kriege gebrauchten. Als die Trumai 1884 vor unserm Lager erschienen, hatten sie keine Wurfbretter bei sich; die Steinkugeln, mit denen die Wurfpfeile im Ernstfall ausgestattet sind, waren bei den Auetó und Kamayurá nicht zahlreich vorhanden, sie mussten sie auch von den Trumai beziehen, und so sind für die Tupistämme wenigstens schon rein infolge der geographischen Lage die Tage des Wurfbrettes gezählt. Aber als Sportwaffe erfreute es sich noch hohen Ansehens und feinigen Gebrauchs; ich werde bei den Tänzen auch des Wurfbretttanzes, der die Verwendung im Kampf darstellt, zu gedenken haben. Das Wurfbrett hat den Zweck, einen stein-

*) Für unsern Fall würde der kurze Ausdruck »Pfeilschleuder« sein. »Wurfholz« gibt leicht zu Verwechslungen mit gewöhnlichen Holzern Anlass.

beschwerten Pfeil, oder, wenn man will, einen zierlicheren Spiess mit grosser Kraft zu schleudern. Der am Schingú vorhandene Typus ist ein etwa 70 cm langer glatter, dünner Stock aus hartem Palmholz, der sich an dem einen, vorderen Ende zu einer mit einem Loch versehenen Griffplatte verbreitert und an dem andern, hintern Ende einen kleinen Haken trägt. Also kein Brett und Nichts von einer Rinne. Vgl. Abbildung 28 und 6, S. 109.

Der Pfeil wird hinten auf den Widerhaken eingesetzt, durch das Loch der Griffplatte steckt man den Zeigefinger, während die andern Finger Platte und Pfeil umschliessen; so liegt der Pfeil in seinem hintern Teil dem Wurfbrett fest an, mit kräftigem Schwung wird ausgeholt, das Wurfholz beschreibt einen Bogen nach vorn und oben und entsendet mit dieser Hebelbewegung den Pfeil, »dass es nur so saust«. Die Wurfbretter sind aus hellem oder dunklem Palmholz gefertigt,

Abb. 28. Wurfbrett (1/10 nat. Gr.) und Spitzen von Wurfpfeilen.

sie sind schön geglättet und machen zum Teil einen eleganten Eindruck, zumal wenn ein bunten Federbündelchen von der Widerhakenschnur herabhängt. Die Platte hat eine Breite von etwa vorn 5 cm, hinten 6 cm und eine Länge von 15 cm; sie ist bikonkav ausgeschnitten, damit die Hand sie sicher umfasst. Der Stiel ist ungefähr vier mal so lang. Der Haken, dem der Wurfpfeil aufgesetzt wird, bei den Karayá ein Knochen, ist hier ein 2½ cm langes Stöckchen, mit Baumwollfaden schräg umgebunden. Für Kinder gab es Wurfbretter kleinen Formats.

Das geworfene Rohr ist bei unsern Indianern kein Spiess, sondern ein echter Ubá-Pfeil und wird auch von ihnen Pfeil genannt. Nur die Befederung ist gewöhnlich nachlässiger gearbeitet und nicht spiralig angeordnet. Knochenspitzen und scharfe Holzspitzen kommen nicht vor. Das Charakteristische des Wurfpfeils ist umgekehrt — eine, wie es scheint, in der deutschen Sprache nicht

vorgesehene Möglichkeit — die »stumpfe Spitze«. Auch in diesem Sinn fehlt das Merkmal des »Spiesses«. Der Wurfpfeil spiesst und sticht nicht, sondern zerschmettert mit schwerer Schlagkraft. In den Schaft eingelassen, mit Bindfaden umschnürt und mit Wachs verschmiert, waren schwere Stein- oder Holzspitzen. Die Steine entweder konisch wie No. 2 in der beistehenden Figur oder birnförmig wie No. 3. Aus dem Wachsüberzug schaute der Stein nur wenig heraus, vgl. No. 9. Die Holzspitzen hatten verschiedene Formen, kugelig, oder der Steinbirne entsprechend mit langem Stiel zum Einschieben in den Schaft: No. 1, oder (die gewöhnliche Form) No. 4 und 10, ein zilindrisches Stück, das sich unten zum Einsetzen zuspitzte — in No. 11 auch einmal mit einer spitzigen Hervorragung, ferner ein Knopf No. 12 und eine Gabel No. 8. In der Abbildung 6 S. 109 trägt der Mittelpfeil einen langen schmalen Holzkegel, der auf weissem Grund mit einem langen schwarzen Linien- oder Tüpfelmuster verziert ist, schon die reine Dekorationswaffe zum Tanz. Viele Wurfpfeile trugen nur Wachskugeln. Endlich sehen wir in No. 6 und 7 nach Art der klingenden Pfeile auch eine oder zwei Tukumnüsse (*Astrocaryum*) aufgesetzt und in No. 5 eine faustgrosse Tukumnuss auf zwei aneinander gebundenen Rohrschäften.

Das Wurfbrett hat von der Tukumpalme seinen Namen: *Yauari*. Es ist nicht selten, dass die Pflanze, die das Material liefert, auch den Namen des Gerätes liefert; die Kamayurá fügten eine nähere Bestimmung hinzu, *yauari amomoip*, das heisst (*amo* weit, *mo* Causativum, *ap* zerbrechen, verwunden) »fernhin zerschmetterndes Tukum«. Apollo *amomoip*, der fernhin treffende. In einer Legende, die Ehrenreich bei den Karayá aufnahm, kommen Affen vor, die im Baum sitzend Menschen mit Wurfpfeilen töten. Damit steht einigermassen im Einklang, wenn mir die Indianer sagten, das Wurfbrett sei gut im Wald zu gebrauchen. So kann man bei rascher Verfolgung zwischen den Bäumen das Wurfbrett mit dem Steinpfeil fertig zum Schleudern, nicht aber den beide Hände zum Spannen benötigenden Bogen schussbereit halten und einen der kurzen Augenblicke erfassen, während deren das fliehende Ziel Deckung durch Stämme und Unterholz verliert. Die Kraft, mit der der Wurfpfeil entsaust und aufschlägt, ist weit grösser als man erwartet. Die Waffe hat vor dem Bogen einmal den ungeheuren Nachteil, dass sie nicht in die Höhe hinauf verwendbar ist, man kann keinen Vogel mit ihr aus dem Wipfel herunterholen, und unterscheidet sich ferner sehr zu ihren Ungunsten durch die Unbrauchbarkeit zum Erlegen der Fische, sie ist mit einem Wort keine Jagdwaffe, würde es selbst nur in beschränktem Mass für grössere Tiere sein, wenn die Wurfpfeile mit die Haut durchdringenden Spitzen ausgestattet wären; sie ist eine entschiedene Kriegswaffe und wird auch nur als solche bezeichnet. Sie hatte ihren Wert neben dem Bogen, wo es Krieg, geeignete Steine und Wald gab. Wenn sie eine Vorstufe des Bogens genannt wird, so ist doch zu bedenken, dass sie uns das Geheimnis seines Ursprungs in keiner Weise entschleiern hilft, denn das Wesentliche des Bogens ist seine federnde Kraft, sowohl die des Holzes als die der Sehne.

Keulen hatten nur die Suyá und die Trumaí. Die der Suyá, vgl. »Durch Centralbrasilien« Abbildung Seite 326, war platt, 1¹/₂ bis fast 1¹/₂ m lang, mit einem ovalen Oberstück, das durch Muschelaugen verziert war, eine elegante Waffe aus braunschwarzem, wie poliert glänzendem Seribapalmholz. Von ähnlicher Form, kleiner, plumper, keine künstlerische Arbeit, ist die Trumaíkeule. Wir haben auch auf der zweiten Expedition deren nur eine erhalten. Dagegen hatten die Trumaí wie die Kamayurá kleine Tanzkeulen, deren ich später gedenken werde. Auch hier also wie beim Wurfbrett die Erscheinung, dass die alte Waffe zum Spielgerät herabsinkt. Bei den Kamayurá fanden wir ausser einer Suyákeule eine den Yarumá zugeschriebene Keule, die genau der 1884 bei den Yuruna gefundenen Karayakeule entsprach, ein dunkelbrauner, vertikal ringsum kanelirter, scharf geriefter, oben und unten stumpf abgekuppter Stab mit glattem Zwischenstück für die Hand. Dort die Yuruna, hier die Kamayurá hatten die Mordwaffe zum friedlichen Spazierstock umgewandelt. Man muss gestehen, dass die Wehr der Männer am Kulisehu nicht auf kriegerische Gewohnheiten hinweist.

Abb. 29. Bakairi-Ruder. ¹/₄ nat. Gr.

Die **Kanus** sind allgemein aus der Rinde der Jatobá hergestellt, wie ich es für unsere Fahrzeuge beschrieben habe. Vgl. Tafel 10 und 11. Ein 1884 gemessenes Bakairikanu hatte folgende Masse: Länge 8 m, Breite in der Mitte oben 64 cm, unten 56 cm, Tiefe 24 cm, Breite des Hinterteils 63 cm, Rindendicke 11 bis 21 mm. Wir haben auf der zweiten Reise längere Exemplare gesehen, und die Arche, die wir bei den Mehinakú erwarben, hatte eine erheblich grössere Breite, war freilich ein Unikum an Behäbigkeit. Die Kanus der Bakairí, die im flacheren, von Steinen durchsetzten Flussbett zu fahren hatten, waren etwas flacher als die weiter flussabwärts. Bei den Yaulapiti war der Rand etwas nach innen umgekrempelt.

Die Ruder, etwas über 1 m lang, bestanden aus einem etwa 60 cm langen und 10 cm breiten, leicht ausgehöhlten Blatt mit Stiel und Krückengriff (vgl. die Abbildung). Mit der einen Hand den Krückengriff, mit der andern den untern Teil des Stiels umfassend, stösst der Indianer das Ruder ziemlich senkrecht neben sich ein und hebelt mit kräftigem Druck nach vorn hinüber. Die Stösse folgen sich oft mit grosser Geschwindigkeit, das Ruder wird hoch durch die Luft geworfen und blitzschnell in den Händen gewechselt. Einer der Ruderer sitzt meist vorn, der Andere hinten; der Hintere steuert mit seiner Schaufel, nach den Fischen schiesst der Vordere. Ein niedrig eingeklemmtes Aststück ist die ganze Sitzgelegenheit. In der Mitte liegt der Tragkorb, mit Blättern vor dem Regen geschützt. Lehm und Harz spielen eine grosse Rolle,

besonders an dem eingestülpten Hinterteil platzt die Rinde gern und lässt Wasser eintreten. Dank ihrer grossen Gewandtheit als Piloten schiessen die Bakairi ohne Gefahr auch durch den Schwall der Katarakte; doch wären die Strudel mit stärkerem Gefälle flussabwärts im Gebiet der Yuruna durch die niedrigen und gebrechlichen Rindenkanus nicht zu überwinden — ein beachtenswertes Hindernis für die Verschiebung unserer Stämme nach Norden. Vielleicht nicht weniger schlimm wäre der Wellenschlag auf dem breitern Strom, den jeder heftige Wind bringt. Dagegen bieten die Rindenkanus den gewaltigen Vorteil, dass sie in kürzester Frist herzustellen sind. Deshalb begnügte man sich sogar bei der Fazenda S. Manoel mit einem von den Bakairi gelieferten Kanu, das nur einen Tag Arbeit kostete. Sie sind leicht aus dem Wald an das Ufer zu tragen; Bastringe schützen die Schultern.

Gefischt wird während der Fahrt soviel als nur möglich, desgleichen gegessen. Rauchen und Singen unterwegs ist unbekannt.

Fischereigerät. Das Schiessen der Fische mit Pfeil und Bogen liefert eine der Zahl nach nur geringe Beute. Ich habe berichtet über die Zäune oder Stakets, mit denen der Fluss bei dem zweiten Bakairidorf gesperrt war, über die »Chiqueiras«, das Sperrwerk mit Zweigen, das Bachmündungen oder Lagunenarme abschloss, über die Steinkreise, die nahe bei den Stromschnellen im flachen Flussbett oft in grosser Zahl gelegt waren, und wo die Fische durch eine schmale Oeffnung oben eintraten und flussabwärts gescheucht, beim gegenüberliegenden Ausgang in Netzen abgefangen wurden, sowie endlich über das Fischen der Bakairi in der seichten Kamplagune mit Fangkörben. Gern fischt man zwischen den Steinen, in dunkeln Nächten bei Fackellicht. Von einer Vergiftung der Fische haben wir Nichts gesehen.

Dass die Angel sämtlichen Stämmen so verschiedenen Ursprungs unbekannt war, Stämmen, die so eifrige Fischer waren, ist eine Thatsache von hohem Wert. Sie spricht beredt für die mehrfach aufgestellte Behauptung, dass die Angel im Norden und Süden des Amazonas überhaupt erst durch die Europäer eingeführt worden ist. Ist dies nicht der Fall, bleibt nur der Ausweg, dass unsere Stämme sich von ihren Ursitzen entfernt haben, ehe die Angel dort bekannt war. Denn wer, wie ich, gesehen hat, mit welchem Interesse die Eingeborenen unsere Angeln kennen lernten, der wird, wenn irgendwo, hier über das Ansinnen lächeln, dass die degenerierten Indianer eine ihnen früher — als sie noch dem Ausgangspunkt der Karaiben oder der Nu-Aruak oder der Tupí oder der Ges näher waren — wohlbekannte Erfindung vergessen hätten. Es lässt sich begreifen, dass Indianer unter friedlichen Verhältnissen keine Keulen mehr machen, es liesse sich verstehen, dass der eine oder andere unserer Stämme vom Amazonas hereingewandert wäre und das Holzkanu aufgegeben habe, weil er am Oberlauf mit den mühelos zu machenden Rindenkanus vortrefflich auskäm, aber dass Fischer, die früher geangelt haben, in einer Gegend, wo sie die Kunst mit grösstem Nutzen weiter treiben könnten, davon abgekommen seien, und ihre Nachkommen sich von uns neu belehren lassen müssen, das glaube wer kann. Im Guaraní und Tupí heisst

Haken und besonders Angelhaken *pinda*, und nach diesem Wort wird in beiden Dialekten Xylopia frutescens, die die Angelrute liefert, *pinda-iba* = Haken-Rute genannt. Die Kamayurá, die gewiss an Tupí-Reinheit nichts zu wünschen übrig lassen, und denen wir beim Vergleichen der uns gemeinsamen Wörter als Stammesbrüder erschienen, versagte die Uebereinstimmung gerade bei dieser Pflanze: sie kannten *pindaiba* nicht und nannten sie *ivira* oder *ivit*, das *ymbira* des Tupí oder *hybir* des Guaraní (»Hautbaum«), nach Martius »Name verschiedener Bombaceen und Xylopien«. Die dekadente Gesellschaft hat auch den Pflanzennamen »Haken-Rute« vergessen, obwohl er für sie so leicht zu behalten war.

Die Netze, nur kleine Handnetze, waren aus der gedrillten, sehr widerstandsfähigen Tukumpalmfaser geflochten. Sie hingen als Beutel von einem Stück mit beiden Enden rundoval zusammengebogener Schlingpflanze. Von Reusen wurden zwei Arten unterschieden, eine *puroschi* der Bakaïrí, breiter, voller, mit horizontalen rechteckigen Zwischenräumen, und die andere, *tamaschi*, schmal, lang, mit weiten hohen Vertikalmaschen. Der Fangkorb *kutu* war ein stumpfkegeliges, oben und unten offenes Flechtgerüst aus spitzen Reiserstöcken. Ich sah Paleko zu, wie er, um einen Fangkorb zu bauen, ein Bündel bereits zugespitzter Stöcke, die noch verschiedene Länge hatten, gleich machte. Er hatte folgende Art Massstab. Er nahm ein Stück Schaftrohr a—b und ein anderes c—d, band sie untereinander parallel bei b und c zusammen und gebrauchte nun das freie Stück von c—d zum Messen, indem er den zu messenden Stock entlang legte, bei b aufstutzte, bei d scharf umritzte und abbrach.

Abb. 30. Bratständer (Trempe). (1/20 nat. Gr.)

Die Indianer ziehen häufig für einige Tage aus, um dem Fischfang obzuliegen. Sie bringen gebackene Fische mit nach Hause, doch scheinen sie auch schon damit zufrieden zu sein, sich einmal draussen recht satt zu essen. Die Pyramide des Bratrosts, »Trempe« der Brasilier, die man fast immer findet, wo die Indianer sich zum Fischen oder Kanubauen über die Nacht hinaus aufgehalten haben, ist im Nu fertig. Drei Stöcke werden wie Gewehre zusammengestellt und oben mit Bast vereinigt, etwas unterhalb der Mitte wird von einem Stock zu den beiden Nachbarn je ein Stäbchen quer gespannt und angeflochten, und dieser Winkel

mit anderen Stäbchen bedeckt, sodass ein dreieckiger horizontaler Rost entsteht. Die Fische öffnet man, indem man einen Längsschnitt in die Mittellinie anlegt und einen seitlichen Querschnitt ansetzt; die Klappe aufschlagend nimmt man die Därme heraus, und die Fische kommen auf den Bratständer.

Flechten. Das Material lieferten die Bakayuva-, die Buritî-, die Akuri- und die Carandasinha-Palme, Bambusrohr und Marantastengel, die gespalten wurden, die Kletterpalme Urumbamba (Desmoncus) und die unentbehrlichen Schlingpflanzen. Die Männer waren es, die flochten. Sie bedienten sich beider Füsse zur Aushilfe, indem der eine die Quer- und der andere die Längshalme festhielt. Die Korbflechterei stand auf keiner hohen Stufe. Es gab Stehkörbchen und Hängekörbchen, dichtgeflochtene und weitmaschige, in denen man den Kleinkram aufbewahrte, Fische trug u. dgl., allein über die allgemein bekannten Formen hatte man es nicht hinausgebracht. Einige Abwechslung wurde dadurch erreicht, dass man schwarz gefärbte Streifen einflocht. Die Mehinakú und Auetó hatten grössere viereckige, trogartige Stehkörbe, die sich durch ein schmuckes Aussehen auszeichneten, auch mit Troddeln an den Ecken verziert waren, und zum Aufbewahren von Kürbissen u. dgl. dienten. Diese Körbe wurden von den Mehinakú *mayiku* genannt, ein Wort, das die Bakaïrí für die Kiepen, also für den ganz anders gebauten Tragkorb gebrauchten. Die nebenstehende Abbildung zeigt den dreiwandigen bei allen Stämmen benutzten Tragkorb, den „*maydku*" der Bakaïrí, während die Art, wie er mit der Bastschlinge am Kopfe hängend getragen wurde, auf dem Bilde Tumayaua's, Tafel 6, zu ersehen ist. Der Inhalt wurde mit Blättern, die auch zum Auskleiden der Innenseiten benutzt werden, zugedeckt; dann band man die Seitenwände möglichst nahe aneinander fest. Kleine Kiepen wurden schon den Kindern aufgehängt.

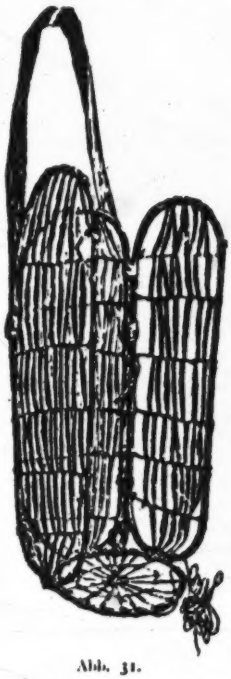


Abb. 31.
Tragkorb. (1/7 nat. Gr.)

Zu gedenken ist der Vorratkörbe für das Mandiokamehl. Während die unteren Stämme plumpe, an die Form der Kiepen erinnernde Proviantkörbe hatten, waren die der Bakaïrí *(oidu)* ein Erzeugnis sorgfältiger Arbeit. Fünf oder sechs mannshohe dünne Stangen waren mit ein paar Querringen von Schlingpflanzen zu einem kreisrunden, irgendwie gestützten Gerüst zusammengestellt, dieses wurde innen mit Helikonienblättern, deren mehrere mit Faden übereinandergereiht waren, ausgelegt und aussen mit rötlichem Pindahybabast von unten nach oben, indem man den Bast von Stück zu Stück fortknotete, in wagerechten Kreistouren umwunden. Während diese Art also ungeflochtene Körbe waren, gab es andere mit offenem sechseckigem

Maschengeflecht, die ebenfalls mit Blättern austapeziert waren. Die Körbe wurden an Embirastreifen aufgehängt.

Das Mattenflechten spielte keine grosse Rolle. Ganz niedlich waren kleine fächerförmige oder viereckige Matten, um das Feuer anzufachen. Grössere Matten zum Schlafen fehlten, da man die Hängematten hatte. Bei der Mehlbereitung wurden Matten gebraucht, einmal aus Palmblatt geflochtene Trockenmatten und dann aus vierkantigen, mit Querfäden aneinander geschlungenen Rohrstäbchen bestehende Siebmatten zum Durchseihen und Auspressen der auf palmstachelbesetzten Reibbrettern zerkleinerten Wurzel. Aehnliche Stäbchenmatten dienten als Mappen zum Aufbewahren von Federschmuck. Die Federn wurden wie in einen Aktendeckel hineingelegt; die Matte erhielt man dann steif durch drei Klammern, je eine oben, unten und in der Mitte, indem man gespaltene Rohrstengel zusammenbog, mit der Schnittseite anliegend quer hinüberspannte und die überstehenden Enden rechts aneinanderband.

Abb. 32. Feuerfächer. (1/9 nat. Gr.)

Die Rohrdiademe und geflochtenen Tanzanzüge werde ich in dem Maskenkapitel besprechen.

Textilarbeiten. Das Material: Ananasseide, Aloehanf, Palmfaser von der Tukum und Buriti, und Baumwolle. Die Fasern werden in feinen Bündeln aufgelegt, auf dem Schenkel gedrillt, die Baumwollflocken dagegen durch die ebenfalls auf dem Schenkel rapid in Drehung versetzte und dann frei tanzende Spindel zum Faden ausgezogen. Nur die Frauen spinnen und weben. Die Faserschnüre dienen als die eigentlichen Bindfäden und Stricke; Fischnetze, Tragnetze und in bestimmten Fällen die Hängematten, endlich Bogensehnen bestehen daraus. Man strickt mit Bambusstäbchen oder langen Holznadeln, die offene Oehre haben.

Die Spindel ist eine Scheibe, durch die ein dünnes, zuweilen an der Spitze abgekerbtes, nicht immer sehr gerades und glatt bearbeitetes Stöckchen gesteckt wird. An ihm wird eine von den Kernen befreite Baumwollflocke befestigt, alsdann der Wirtel rasch auf dem Oberschenkel gedreht und das Ganze hängen gelassen; infolge der gleichmässigen Rotation dreht sich die Baumwolle zum Faden aus. Der Fäden wird auf das Stöckchen gewunden, bis ein dicker kegelförmiger Knauel dem Wirtel, der das Abgleiten verhindert, anliegt. Durchmesser der Wirtelscheibe 5½—6 cm, Länge des Spindelstocks 30—35 cm. Der Wirtel besteht meist aus einem Stück vom Bauchpanzer der Schildkröte, häufig aus Holz und nur bei den Bakaïri aus einer gewöhnlich plumpen Thonscheibe, die man unter Umständen aus einem alten Topfboden brach und zuschliff. Von den auf

den beiden ersteren Arten eingeritzten Mustern werde ich später sprechen; die Bakaïrí lassen ihre Holz- und Thonscheiben unverziert, Schildkrötenwirtel haben wir bei ihnen nicht gefunden. Die Frauen puderten sich zum Schutz gegen den Schweiss den Oberschenkel erst mit weissem, kreidigem Thon ein. Sie bewahrten das Material in Form kindskopfgrosser Kugeln auf, von denen sie zum Gebrauch ein wenig mit einer Muschel abkratzten.

Der Faden wird in zweierlei oder dreierlei Stärke hergestellt und in Knäueln, die in grüne Blätter eingeschlagen werden, aufbewahrt. Die Knäuel sind beliebte Gastgeschenke der Bakaïrí und Mehinakú, die sie uns beim Empfang ebenso überreichten, wie dies Columbus schon den 12. Oktober 1492 von seinen Insulanern berichtet.

Der »Webstuhl« ist so primitiv wie nur möglich. Zwei niedrige Pfosten, die keinen halben Meter hoch zu sein brauchen, in gehörigem Abstand, das ist Alles. Der Ursprung des Webens aus dem Flechten ist noch klar ersichtlich. Um die Pfosten wird als Kette ein dicker Strang Baumwolle geschlungen, ein Faden ohne Ende; mit leitenden Stöckchen werden die Querfäden durchgezogen.

Die Bakaïrí-Hängematte stellt ein ziemlich lockeres Netz dar, lang rechteckig, $2^1/_8$ m × $1^1/_4$ m. Die Längsreihen sind in einem Abstand von unregelmässig 2—3,5 cm von Querreihen durchsetzt, in den Zwischenräumen kann man bequem einen Finger durchstecken. Die Art des Gewebes ist sehr einfach. Zwei Längsfäden, 2—3 mm dick, sind jedesmal durch die dünneren, nur 1 mm dicken Querfäden umschlungen, und zwar sind der Querfäden vier, von denen zwei wellenförmig vor, zwei hinter den Längsfäden herlaufen, indem sie sich zwischen den letzteren durchkreuzen. Wo die Querfäden beiderseits ausmünden, werden sie verknotet; so findet man an jeder Längsseite einige 70 Knoten mit den vier abgeschnittenen Fadenenden. Die an jedem Pfosten freibleibende Schlinge wird in der Mitte umwickelt, sodass einerseits eine Oese zur Aufnahme der Hängeseile entsteht, und andrerseits von diesem festen Punkt aus die hier noch auf eine Strecke von 30—35 cm undurchkreuzten Längsfäden beim Aufspannen nach dem Netz hin divergieren.

Ausser dieser typischen Baumwollhängematte giebt es eine Hängematte, bei der die Kette aus Buritípalmfaserschnur und nur der Einschlag aus Baumwolle besteht. Und zwar kann sich dieser Baumwolleneinschlag auf ein paar Querfäden beschränken, die bei den Mehinakú in 10—20 cm Abstand verliefen. Die Buritî-Hängematte ist bei den Nu-Aruakstämmen zu Hause. Die zahmen Bakaïrí am Paranatinga besassen sie ebenfalls, und sie gaben mir an, dass ihr alter Häuptling Caetano sie erst eingeführt habe. Die Palmfaserhängematten waren gewöhnlich von derselben Länge oder auch länger (bis $2^3/_4$ m) als die Baumwollhängematten, aber keinen Meter breit, sodass die bequeme Diagonallage, die der Brasilier mit Recht einzunehmen liebt, fast ausgeschlossen war.

Eine dritte Art entstand dadurch, dass reichlicher Baumwolle benutzt wurde. So sahen wir bei den Auetö alle Uebergänge von 6—7 cm Abstand der Baum-

TAFEL XV.

KOCHTÖPFE UND AUETÖGRAB.

v. d. Steinen, Zentral-Brasilien

[facing p. 240]

wollquerfäden bis 1—2 oder gar 1/2 cm. Endlich aber waren die Baumwollfäden so eng zusammengedrückt, dass man die Palmfaser nicht mehr sah und ein festes Tuch, fast so dicht wie Segelleinen gearbeitet, entstand. Hier war der etwa 1,5 mm breite Palmfaser-Längsfaden von zwei Paar Baumwoll-Querfäden umschlungen, die sich zwischen ihm und dem nächsten Längsfaden nicht einfach, sondern doppelt durchkreuzten. Die Längsseiten der Hängematte waren naturgemäss dicht mit Knoten besetzt; an den vier Enden liess man die Stränge ein Stück herabhängen und in Quasten endigen. Mehrfach waren auch in Abständen von etwa 40 cm blauschwarze Querstreifen durch Verwendung gefärbter Baumwolle erzielt worden. Uebrigens waren alle Hängematten braun; die Baumwollhängematte wie die von Palmfaser, die schon in der Naturfarbe lichtbraun war, färbten sich schmutzig braun an dem mit Urukúrot geölten Körper.

Die Hängematten aus reiner Baumwolle waren eine Spezialität der Bakairí; auch bei ihnen fanden sich am Kulisehu schon Buriti-Hängematten. Das festeste Tuch arbeiteten die Aueto. Eigentümlich waren Hängematten für kleine Kinder bei den Nahuqua: nur ein oben und unten zusammengebundenes und aufgehängtes Halmbündel.

So waren die verschiedensten Formen gegeben und in der Ausgleichung begriffen. Die Suyá schliefen noch nach der alten Sitte der Ges auf grossen Palmstrohmatten; sie waren, als wir sie besuchten, gerade im Begriff, die Hängematte bei sich einzuführen, hatten davon ein paar Exemplare und webten auch schon selbst. Vielleicht rührte die Kunst von Trumaifrauen her, die sie bei sich hatten. Ich habe schon nach der Reise von 1884 auf den Parallelismus zwischen dem Schingúgebiet und den Guyanas aufmerksam gemacht, dass dort wie hier die Baumwollhängematte bei den Karaiben, die Palmfaser-Hängematte bei den Nu-Aruak heimisch zu sein scheint, dass dieser ethnographischen Uebereinstimmung ferner die linguistische genau entspricht. Die Technik geht in beiden Fällen aus dem Flechten hervor, nur das Material ist verschieden. Am weitesten zurück waren die Bakairí, die das tuchartige Gewebe nicht besassen. Auch ist es auffallend, dass ihre Spinnwirtel, obwohl sie ihren Zweck völlig erfüllten, kunstloser waren als bei den übrigen Stämmen.

Eine gleichgerichtete Technik zeigte sich bei einer Art **Siebmatten**. Die Stengel wurden mehr oder weniger dicht mit Baumwollgarn übersponnen, sodass steife und doch zugleich sehr bewegliche dichte Matten entstanden, zwischen denen die Mandioka trocken gepresst wurde. Auch sahen wir Stücke Tuch zu demselben Zweck verwendet.

Kürbisgefässe. Die Früchte der Crescentia Cuyeté und die Cucurbita Lagenaria liefern die mannigfaltigsten Formen von Gefässen. Da finden sich solche von Kugelform, Gurkenform, Flaschenform, Sanduhrform, sowie manche andere unregelmässiger Art; nach ihrem Durchschneiden erhält man entsprechend gestaltete Schalen. Man schnürt die noch grünen Früchte so ein, wie man sie wünscht; namentlich ist die Sanduhrform ein Erzeugnis dieser Methode. Um sie

in Schalen zu zerteilen, umschnürt man die frischen Früchte mit Palmfaser und ritzt mit einer Muschel entlang. Zerspringt eine Schale beim Gebrauch, so wird sie genäht; man bohrt die Löchelchen mit dem spitzen Zahn des Hundsfisches und nimmt zum Nähen einen mit Wachs gewichsten Buritifaden, dessen Knoten die messerscharf geschliffene Zahnkante hart an der Schale beschneidet. Mit demselben Zahn werden auch die Zeichnungen eingeritzt, die die Oberfläche verzieren, wenn man nicht vorzieht, sie mit einem glühenden Stäbchen einzubrennen. Den Trinkschalen und kleinen Schöpfkuyen oder Löffeln giebt man innen einen schwarzen Lacküberzug. Der Lack ist der Russ von verbranntem Buritischaft, vermischt mit dem gelben klebrigen Wasserauszug der geraspelten Rinde des Ochogohi-Baums aus dem Campo cerrado. Besondere kleine kugelige Kürbisse dienten zur Aufnahme des Oels, mit dem man den Körper einrieb, und wurden mit einem Pfropfen verschlossen; die Bakaïrí nannten die Frucht *péru*. Sie hingen zuweilen in einem eng angeflochtenen Netz. Der Rassel-Kürbisse habe ich bei der Tanzmusik zu gedenken.

Töpferei. Ich habe in dem Kapitel über die »Steinzeit«-Kultur, vgl. Seite 215 ff., über den Ursprung der Töpfe in unserm Gebiet, über das Monopol der Nu-Aruak-stämme und über die nur auf das weibliche Geschlecht beschränkte Herstellung ausführlich gehandelt. Ich bin erst in dem späteren Kapitel über die Plastik, wenn die Entwicklung der indianischen Kunst verständlich geworden ist, in der Lage, über die ornamentale Gestaltung der Töpfe zu reden.

Es gab drei nach Grösse und Zweck unterschiedene Arten Töpfe. Einmal die mächtigen *mawukúru* der Mehinakú, in denen die zerriebene Mandiokawurzel gekocht wurde; sie hatten einen Durchmesser von fast $^3/_4$ m. Wir haben keinen dieser Töpfe heimbringen können, aber bei den Auetö eine Photographie aufgenommen, aus der ihre Gestalt und, da ein Mann — von Rechtswegen hätte es eine Frau sein sollen — daneben hockt, auch ihre Grösse deutlich wird. Vgl. Tafel 15. Die grössten und schönsten Töpfe werden von den Waurá geliefert. Beim Kochen wurden sie auf drei niedrige Thonfüsse gestellt von zilindrischer, unten anschwellender Form.

Eine zweite Art, der Kochtopf für Obst und kleine Fischchen, hatte einen Durchmesser von 18—20 cm, eine Höhe von etwa 12 cm; er war rund, mit ziemlich steiler, leicht ausgebauchter Wandung und hatte zuweilen einen $2^1/_2$ cm breiten, wagerecht nach aussen umgebogenen Rand. Diese Töpfe waren nicht, wie man vermuten sollte, die gewöhnlichsten, sondern die seltensten. Ich glaube kaum, dass in jedem Wohnhaus einer vorhanden war. Das Kochen spielte keine Rolle ausser für die Mehlbereitung, und dazu bedurfte man der grossen Kessel. Dagegen war eine dritte Art ziemlich zahlreich zu finden. Dies sind die vielgestaltigen Wärm- und Essnäpfe von 10—24 cm Durchmesser, die auf den beiden Tafeln »Keramische Motive« 23 und 24 in typischen Beispielen dargestellt sind. Ein Blick auf die beiden Tafeln lehrt die wichtige Thatsache, dass die Grundform dieser mit Randzacken besetzten Töpfe die der rundovalen Gefässfrucht ist, deren

Wölbung sie beibehalten haben, obwohl man für den Topf einen platten Boden wünschen sollte. Die Wölbung aber hat wiederum das plastische Motiv des Tierkörpers ermöglicht. Diese Thonnäpfe, wie man sie wohl am besten nennen würde, waren auch keineswegs zahlreich in den Häusern vorhanden. Am wenigsten sahen wir von ihnen bei den Auetö und Kamayurá. Von den Trumaí erhielten wir nur zwei kleine Rundtöpfchen, allein hieraus folgt Nichts, da sie auf der Flucht waren. Wir fahndeten wegen des künstlerischen Wertes auf jedes Exemplar, wir haben in unserer Sammlung einige 80 mitgebracht, und wenn ich nun schätze, dass in den von uns besuchten Dörfern doppelt so viele überhaupt vorhanden gewesen wären, so bin ich sicher, eine zu grosse Zahl zu nehmen. Es werden durchschnittlich kaum 3 Töpfchen auf jedes Haus kommen. Die Kuyen behaupteten noch den Vorrang. Es gab da natürlich jeden Uebergang in der Grösse wie im Gebrauch zu den kleinen Kochtöpfen. Man ass aber immer auch aus den Thonnäpfen, während man den Inhalt der Kochtöpfe verteilte. Mit Vorliebe gebrauchte man die Thonnäpfe für die Kinder.

Wie Kesseltöpfe geformt wurden, haben wir leider nicht beobachtet. Wir haben nur die äusserst einfache Art gesehen, wie eine Mehinakú-Frau im Nahuquá-Dorf einen kaum mittelgrossen Topf machte. Sie brachte einen mit Lehm gefüllten Korb herbei — er interessierte mich mit Rücksicht auf die Entstehungsgeschichte der Töpfe mehr als alles Andere — setzte dem Thon Wasser zu und drückte das überschüssige durch ein Sieb aus. Sie formte knetend und streichend und brauchte bei der Kleinheit des Topfes die Wandung nicht aus den sonst allgemein beschriebenen, übereinander gelegten dünnen Thonzylindern aufzubauen. Sie glättete die Wand mit einem Stück Kuye, nicht mit einem Stein. Die ornamentalen Randzacken, die Körperteile eines Tieres darstellten, modellierte sie und setzte sie dann an; mit einem Bambusstäbchen ritzte sie Augen und Nase ein. Als Modell für den Topfboden nimmt man gern einen alten ausgebrochenen Boden oder eine Beijúschüssel.

Der Thon ist weissgrau bis graugelb. Nur die Waurá-Töpfe haben einen schönen hellroten Thon. Der neue Topf wird in der Sonne ordentlich getrocknet und alsdann umgestülpt auf ein stark russendes Feuer gesetzt; es wird dafür die grüne Rinde eines Kampbaums genommen, den die Bakairí *kutére* nennen, oder des mit klebrigem Harz getränkten Guanandí (Calophyllum). So wird der Topf wie der Kürbis innen geschwärzt.

[p. 243]

X. KAPITEL.

I. Das Zeichnen.

Ursprung aus der zeichnenden Geberde. Beschreibendes Zeichnen über als künstlerisches. Sandzeichnungen. Bleistiftzeichnungen. Erklärung der Tafeln. Profilstellung. Proportionen. Fingerzahl. Rindenzeichnungen.

Die einfachste Zeichnung, die wir beobachten können, ist wohl diejenige, die unmittelbar an eine erklärende Geberde anknüpft. Wie der Eingeborene zur Veranschaulichung für den Gehörsinn geschickt die charakteristischen Stimmtöne eines Tieres wiedergiebt und bei irgendwie belebter Erzählung dies zu thun immer versucht ist, so ahmt er das Tier auch für den Gesichtssinn in Haltung, Gang, Bewegungen nach und malt zum besseren Verständnis irgend welche absonderlichen Körperteile wie Ohren, Schnauze, Hörner in die freie Luft oder, indem er seine eigenen Körperteile mit der Hand entsprechend umschreibt. Die zeichnende Geberde geht dem Nachahmen der Tierstimme auf das Genaueste parallel. Sobald aber das Verfahren nicht ausreicht, zeichnet man auf die Erde oder in den Sand. Ich habe bei der Aufnahme der Wörterverzeichnisse mich ausserordentlich oft überzeugen können, dass sich die innere Anschauung unwillkürlich und ohne von mir dazu herausgefordert zu sein, in eine erklärende Sandzeichnung umsetzte. Es geschah freilich zumeist, wenn auch die Gestalt des Tieres besonders dazu geeignet war, wie bei Schlangen, einem Alligatorkopf und bei Fischen, wo ausserdem eine Stimme nicht nachgeahmt werden konnte. Es ist ferner ohne Weiteres zuzugeben, dass der Antrieb für den Bereich des Gehörsinns bei diesen Jägern ungleich kräftiger wirkte, und auch, dass man sich für den Gesichtssinn im Verkehr untereinander gewiss auf die zeichnende Geberde beschränkte. Ja, wirklich beschränken konnte. Mir gegenüber trat der Gedanke hinzu: »wie wollen wir, da der Mann unsere Sprache nicht versteht, in diesem Fall nur hinreichend deutlich sein?« und man zeichnete in den Sand.

Es genügt, wenn man aus dem Verhalten der Indianer zu schliessen berechtigt ist, dass sich die zeichnende Geberde auf einer Stufe, wo sie noch eine nicht unwesentliche Ergänzung der Sprache bildet, mit Leichtigkeit zu wirklichem Zeichnen

verstärkt. Wir sehen, und das ist das Wichtige, dass hier bei Naturvölkern das Zeichnen, wie die Geberde gebraucht wird, um eine Mitteilung zu machen und nicht, um zierliche Formen wiederzugeben, und ich glaube nach dem persönlichen Eindruck, den ich von der Unmittelbarkeit des erklärenden Zeichnens gewonnen habe, dass es älter ist als das ornamental-künstlerische. Man wendet vielleicht ein, die Schingú-Indianer seien bereits Künstler, die alles Gerät mit Zeichnungen und Ornamenten bedecken, und deshalb liege ihnen das Ausdrucksmittel der Zeichnung besonders nahe. Darauf kann ich nur erwidern, dass die Bororó, die ich überhaupt in diesem Zusammenhang vorgreifend mehrfach erwähnen möchte, zwar prächtigen Federschmuck verfertigten, aber von den darstellenden Künsten so gut wie Nichts wussten, und dass nun eben sie eine grössere Geschicklichkeit und grössere Lust hatten, zur Erklärung in den Sand zu zeichnen, als die Schingúleute. Sie waren jedoch unstäte Gesellen, die von der Jagd lebten, sie hatten nie die Musse gefunden, Malerei und Plastik zu üben wie jene, die zwar noch Jagd und Fischfang trieben, aber schon zu sesshaftem Feldbau vorgeschritten waren.

So sage ich, das mitteilende Zeichnen ist das ältere. Unser deutsches Wort »Zeichnen« spiegelt den Gang vortrefflich wieder. Am Anfang steht das »Zeichen« und dessen sich zu bedienen, war den Jägervölkern uralte Berufsache, in gleicher Weise den Vorfahren der Eingeborenen vom Kulisehu und denen der vom S. Lourenço. Sie brachten mitteilende Zeichen an, um sich und Andere zu orientieren, sie knickten die Zweige auf ihrem Pfad, zunächst um sich Raum zu schaffen, und dann zweckbewusst, um den Weg zu markieren. Sie fanden sich nach alten Spuren zurecht und machten, um sich zurecht zu finden, Spuren absichtlich. Der in Stein geritzte Fuss, der den Nachkommenden die Wegrichtung anweist, ist ein Erzeugnis genau dieser Entwicklung. Der Fortschritt von der Baummarke zur dargestellten Fussspur ist der von der Kerbe zum Umriss, von dem Zeichen zur Zeichnung, und er vollzieht sich durch die Vermittlung der Geberde, die auch erklärt und mitteilt, aber eben mit Umrissen erklärt und mitteilt; nun konnte die Geberde, die vorher nur in der Luft beschrieben wurde, z. B. im Sand ein dauernd sichtbares Bild hinterlassen.

Auch das Vergnügen an der darstellenden Nachahmung, von dem alle selbstständige Weiterentwicklung abhängt, ist bis zu einem gewissen Grade schon bei jenem Anfang helfend thätig, denn die Geberden sind um so lebhafter, je mehr das der innern Anschauung vorschwebende Objekt Interesse erregt. Ja, rein zum Vergnügen, dass sich nicht minder mitteilen will als praktisches Bedürfnis, hat auch schon der kulturärmste Mensch die Orte seiner Anwesenheit markiert; darin braucht man ihn wahrlich nicht — andere Völker, andere Sitten — seinem getreuen vierbeinigen Jagdgenossen nachzustellen. Gerade in Brasilien ist durch geheimnisvolle Deutungen der »Bilderschriften« unendlich viel Unsinn zu Tage gefördert worden, und ich freue mich, dem Widerspruch Richard Andree's gegen diese Manie, in jeder müssigen »Verewigung« eine wichtige Mitteilung zu vermuten, voll beipflichten zu können. Gewiss denkt man sich etwas bei einem Einfall, den man in einer

Zeichnung, so gut als bei einem, den man in Worten wiedergiebt, aber mit dem Spass, den er macht, ist man auch vollständig zufrieden und dieser ist nur grösser, wenn er trotz der Schwierigkeiten des Materials gelingt. Auf Zeit kommt es dabei nicht an; ein Einfall wird dadurch nicht tiefsinnig, dass man ein paar Monate lang tief in Stein schneidet. Dass die Indianer die Fähigkeit besässen, sich in »Bilderschrift« auszudrücken, will ich keineswegs bezweifeln — ich habe selbst gesehen, wie ich sogleich berichten werde, dass sie durch Bilder Mitteilungen machten. Dass den Felszeichnungen aber der Sinn einer zusammenhängenden Mitteilung fehlt, geht aus der grossen Regellosigkeit hervor, in der die Bilder über den Raum zerstreut sind; man sieht deutlich, die eine Person hat diesen, die andere jenen Beitrag geliefert, der deshalb, weil wir das betreffende Bild nicht immer zu erklären vermögen, nichts Besonderes zu bedeuten braucht. Die Regellosigkeit ist weit stärker, als sie in den Reproduktionen erscheint, weil wenigstens in den meisten Fällen nur eine Auswahl der Bilder geliefert wird, dagegen die dem Sammler gleichgültig erscheinenden und für die Erklärung des Ganzen doch sehr wichtigen Nebendinge, z. B. Schleifrillen für Steinwerkzeuge, ausgelassen werden. Ausnahmen aber mag es ja geben.

Nun darf ich wohl zur einleitenden Uebersicht schon weiter skizzieren, was ich nach meinen Beobachtungen über den ferneren Entwicklungsgang der Schingú-Kunst folgern zu müssen glaube. Nachdem man aus sich selbst heraus dazu gekommen war, Umrisse der die Aufmerksamkeit lebhaft beschäftigenden Dinge zu gestalten, nachdem man so gelernt, äussere Bilder der inneren Anschauung zu sehen und den Begriff des Bildes erst erworben hatte, da hat sich bei jedweder Technik bis zu der des Flechtens herunter die Herz und Sinn erfreuende Neigung geltend gemacht, die bei behaglicher Arbeit entstehenden Aehnlichkeiten zu allerlei interessierenden Originalen der Natur zu bemerken, sie zu steigern und neue hervorzurufen. Besonders bei den Töpfen werden wir den Zusammenhang zwischen der Form des Gefässes und dem Motiv der Nachbildung deutlich erkennen. Aus diesen konkreten Nachbildungen endlich ist bei einer sich vom Original mehr und mehr in künstlerischem Sinn entfernenden Tradition unter dem Einfluss je der Arbeitsmethode und des Arbeitsmaterials das stilisierte Kunstwerk geworden, das im Geist unserer Indianer noch auf das Engste mit dem älteren Abbild verknüpft ist. Im Gebiet der Malerei begegnen wir solchen Erzeugnissen in der Form der geometrischen Ornamente. Punkte und Striche können dem alten Markieren gleichwertig sein. Aber schon so »einfache« Figuren wie Dreiecke und Vierecke, von denen man glauben möchte, dass sie freiweg auch von dem primitivsten Künstler konstruiert werden könnten, sie sind erst durch Stilisierung aus Abbildungen entstanden, und haben nur, da sie sich der Technik von selbst als Typen empfahlen, im Kampf um das Dasein mit komplizierten Gebilden wie spielend den Sieg davongetragen.

Nun noch ein Wort über die Motive unserer indianischen Kunst. Sie sind ganz ausschliesslich dem Tierreich entlehnt. Andree hebt in seinem bekannten

Aufsatz über »Das Zeichnen bei den Naturvölkern« *) hervor, dass die Pflanze nur selten eine Rolle spielt und fügt hinzu: »Um zum Verständnis dieser Erscheinung zu gelangen, brauchen wir uns blos daran zu erinnern, dass auch bei unsern Kindern, wenn sie die ersten selbständigen Versuche zum Zeichnen auf der Schiefertafel machen, zunächst Tiere und Menschen in rohen Formen dargestellt werden; das lebendige bewegliche Tier fesselt eher ihre Aufmerksamkeit, ist in seiner ganzen Figur auch schneller zu erfassen als die aus zahlreichen Blättern und Blüten bestehende Pflanze.«

Diese zutreffende Bemerkung steht im besten Einklang zu dem Zusammenhang von Geberde und Zeichnen, den ich behaupte. Durch Geberden ahme ich ein Tier nach, keinen Baum, und nicht nur deshalb, weil dieser sich nicht aktiv bewegt. Denn durch Geberden Teile des Tierkörpers zu umschreiben, wird mir leicht, weil ich dabei, von meinem eignen Körper ausgehend, wenn ich z. B. ein paar Eselsohren oder ein Geweih zeichnen wollte, sofort den Platz und die Art des Organs angebe, dagegen vermag ich Pflanzenteile durch Geberden nicht auszudrücken, es sei denn, dass ich Worte zu Hülfe nehme. Indessen ist bei unsern Indianern das Zeichnen nur ein Spezialfall, das Tiermotiv beherrscht seine ganze Gedankenwelt in jeder Kunst und Wissenschaft, wie sie auch heisse, und dafür kann es keinen andern Grund geben als sein Jägertum.

Dem formellen oder ästhetischen Interesse am Tier geht das materielle voraus. Die Blume steht in der Kunst genau so in zweiter Linie, wie sie es beim Schmuck thut: erst die Feder im Ohr und dann das Sträusschen am Hute. In der »Bilderschrift« des Virador in Rio Grande do Sul sah ich Araukarien dargestellt. Eine Palme wäre gerade so leicht zu zeichnen als eine Fichte, aber keine Palme liefert im Norden eine so unentbehrliche Nahrung wie die Araukarie früher dem »Bugre« jener Südprovinz. Ehe die Kunst, wenn ich den Sinn des Satzes ein wenig variieren darf, nach Brod ging, ist sie nach Fleisch und Fisch gegangen. Ich werde auf dieses Thema namentlich bei den keramischen Kunsterzeugnissen zurückzukommen haben.

Sandzeichnungen. Sie sind wie Worte zunächst eine Form der Mitteilung. Wie die beschreibende Geberde sich gern und leicht zum Bild vervollständigte, habe ich berichtet. Am häufigsten war Kartenzeichnen. Unsere zweite Reise ist durch die Sandzeichnung der oberen Schingúverteilung, mit der der Suyá-geograph seine Angaben erläuterte, entstanden; vgl. S. 153. »Er zählte alle die Stämme auf, welche an dem obern Schingú sesshaft sind, er zeichnete, um recht deutlich zu sein, mit dem Finger den Flusslauf in den Sand. Zu unserer grössten Ueberraschung malte er den Batovy, den einzigen, den er so und zwar ganz aus eigener Initiative so darstellte, mit korkzieherartig gewundenem Lauf.« (»Durch Centralbrasilien«, S. 213). Der Batovy war, wie wir zu unserm Leidwesen erfahren hatten, ein wahrer Mäander.

*) Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche, Neue Folge, Leipzig 1889, p. 59.

Das Gleiche sahen wir bei den Kulischustämmen. Durch Querstriche wurde die Anzahl markiert, bald der Stämme, bald der Stromschnellen. Kreise waren Häuser, Kränze von Kreisen Dörfer, der wirklichen Anordnung der runden Häuser um den grossen Platz entsprechend. Alle diese Figuren wurden auch mit Bleistift uns in's Buch gezeichnet, wobei die zugehörigen Wörter diktiert wurden. Eine gewisse Individualisierung wie oben des Batovy durch Zickzack- oder Schlangenlinien schien häufiger vorzukommen, war aber nicht von uns zu kontrollieren. Sie hat nichts Auffallendes nach dem, was wir Seite 133 von dem Kartenbild im Kopfe des Indianers gehört haben. So sehen wir in der Abbildung 33 eine Bleistiftzeichnung von Flussläufen, die ein Bakairi Wilhelm in's

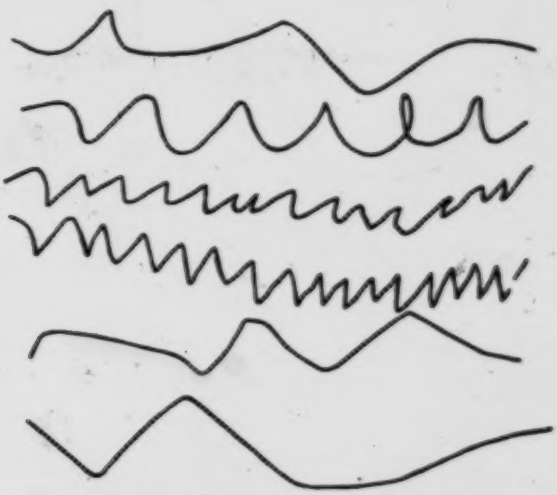


Abb. 33. Bleistiftzeichnung von Flüssen. (⁴/₅ nat. Gr.)
Von oben nach unten: *kulisu*, *kusakayulu*, *asini*, *asiyé*, *paranayubi*, *paraguá*.

Skizzenbuch machte; von den Namen kennen wir nur den des Kuluene, des Hauptquellflusses, *paranayubi* ist Tupí — gelber Fluss. Auch wurden, um an Bächen liegende Dörfer zu versinnbildlichen, Zickzacklinien gezeichnet, denen je eine Reihe von Kreisen entlang lief. Sie malten am liebsten ganze Seiten voll. Ein mit parallelen kurzen Strichen bedecktes Blatt war den Stromschnellen gewidmet. Dazwischen wurden im Geplauder andere Angaben gemacht, z. B. die verschiedenen Wörter aufgezählt, mit denen verschiedene Stämme »Wasser« oder »Beijú« benannten. Kreise auf dem Boden bezeichneten bei den Nahuquá die Stelle, wo unreif vom Baum gefallene Piki-früchte, die apfelrund sind, eingegraben waren.

Auf der Rückfahrt kam unser Kanu eines Tages an einem Sandstrand vorbei, den die indianischen Begleiter schon vor uns passiert hatten; zu unserem

2: Steinen SP7 Bacairi

Erstaunen sahen wir dort zwei Fische in den Sand gezeichnet, die Antonio für Matrinchams erklärte. Wir machten Halt fischten und fingen auch Matrinchams! Es war so gut als ob das Wort dort angeschrieben gewesen wäre, und eine Antonio mit voller Absicht übermittelte Aufforderung, dort ebenfalls sein Glück zu versuchen. Unklarer als dieses lehrreiche Beispiel ist mir ein anderer Fall geblieben. Ziemlich genau in der Mitte des Weges zwischen dem Hafen und der Ortschaft der Mehinakú fand ich einen Rochen und einen Pakúfisch in den Sand gezeichnet. Der schmale Waldpfad erweiterte sich an dieser Stelle zu einer kleinen kreisförmigen Fläche. Meine Begleiter, zwei Bakairí, setzten sich sofort nieder, auszuruhen. Ich weiss nicht, ob ein müder Wanderer vor uns, der dort auf der Heimkehr vom Fluss verweilt, die beiden Tiere zum blossen Zeitvertreib oder, weil er gerade mit Rochen und Pakús zu thun gehabt, so säuberlich hingezeichnet hatte, und finde es offen gestanden ziemlich gleichgültig, ob zufällig das Eine oder das Andere zutrifft.

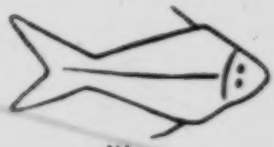


Abb. 34.
Matrincham-Sandzeichnung.

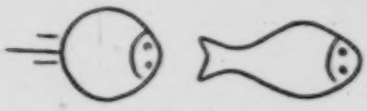


Abb. 35.
Rochen- und Paku-Sandzeichnung.

Noch unerklärlicher nach ihrem genauen Sinn war die in den Sand gezeichnete Kreisfigur, die in der Abbildung 36 wiedergegeben ist, und die sich unter einem schönen Baum etwa einen halben Kilometer vor dem Mehinakúdorf befand. Sie wurde *aturud* genannt und hatte $4^1/_2$ m Durchmesser. Als wir das Dorf in Begleitung mehrerer Männer verliessen, machten sie innerhalb des Kreises einen Rundgang beiderseits bis dicht an das Maschenwerk und sangen *ha ä ä . . .*; auch Spuren früherer Rundgänge waren reichlich vorhanden. Da die Männer an dieser Stelle umkehren wollten und von den Frauen sprachen, handelte es sich wohl hier an der Waldgrenze oder ein Viertelstündchen von Hause um eine Beziehung zu Ankunft oder Abschied der Gäste. Das Maschenwerk der Zeichnung war dem Dorf zugewandt. Die beiden Bogen kommen ähnlich als Tätowiermuster und aussen auf dem Boden der grossen Töpfe der Mehinakú (vgl. die Tafel 15) vor. In meinem Tagebuch habe ich die Figur einige Tage früher abgezeichnet, als mein Vetter sie gesehen hat; dort sind an Stelle des kleinen Zentralkreises mit den beiden Stützen zwei Kreise abgebildet, die sich berühren, der untere ist etwas grösser und geht in das Netz über, man könnte an Kopf und Leib denken.

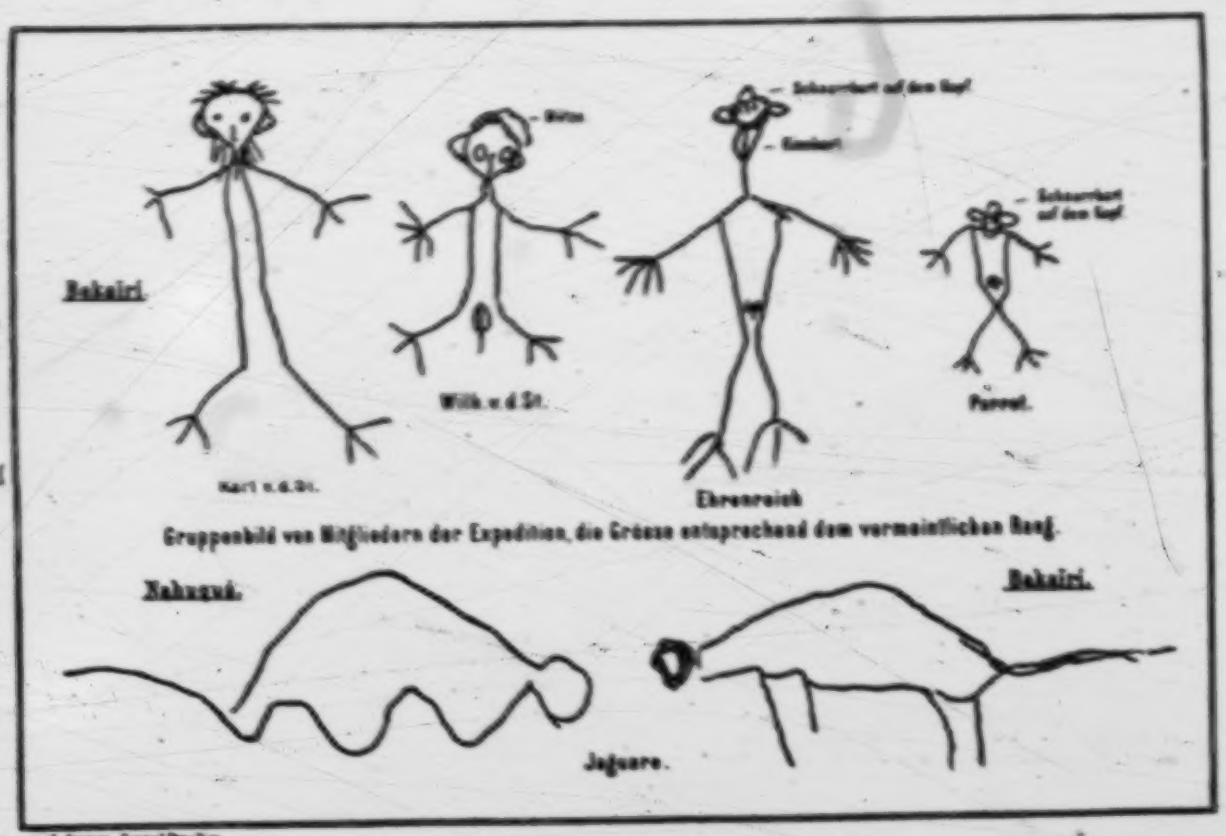
Abb. 36.
Sandzeichnung der Mehinakú. ($^1/_{100}$ nat. Gr.)

Die Bororó, die ich hier bereits anschliesse, lieferten nicht nur rein erläuternde, sondern auch schon halb künstlerische Darstellungen im Sand, deren wir am Schingú

keine zu sehen Gelegenheit hatten. Abends im Mondschein machte es ihnen ein Hauptvergnügen, uns Jagdtiere und Jagdszenen in den Sand zu malen. Ich sage »Szenen«, denn ihr Dilettantismus schreckte auch vor einer schwierigen Komposition keineswegs zurück. Sie begnügten sich aber auch nicht, in Umrissen zu zeichnen, sie schaufelten mit der Hand den Sand aus dem Umriss des darzustellenden Tieres der Fläche nach weg und füllten diese Vertiefung von der Gestalt z. B. eines Jaguars oder Tapirs mit grauweisslicher Asche aus: so erhielten sie den Körper mit seinen Extremitäten als ein weisslich schimmerndes Gemälde. Mit dunklem Sand wurde das Auge und die Fleckenzeichnung der Haut eingetragen. Da die Figuren mindestens Lebensgrösse hatten, machten sie in dem Zwielicht der Nacht einen überraschend lebendigen Eindruck; es sah aus, als wenn riesige, schimmernde und flimmernde Felle auf dem Boden ausgebreitet wären.

Bleistiftzeichnungen. Schon 1884 haben wir die Suyá mit Bleistift in unsere Hefte zeichnen lassen. Sie hatten selbst ihren Spass daran, waren auch nicht ungeschickt und hielten nur überflüssiger Weise zu Anfang, ihrerseits mit harzgetränkten Stäbchen zu zeichnen gewohnt, die Bleistiftspitze in die Flamme. Sie zeichneten rautenförmige Muster, ähnlich denen auf ihren Kürbisschalen, die ich damals mit dem Schema »geometrische Figuren« abfertigte. Wir haben dieses Mal eine Reihe bestimmter Personen und Dinge abzeichnen lassen, die ungemein lehrreich ausgefallen sind. Auf den vier Tafeln 16—19 sind die noch recht verbesserungsfähigen Kunsterzeugnisse peinlichst genau wiedergegeben; man findet dort Portraits der Expeditionsmitglieder, namentlich von mir, ferner seitens der Kulisehu-Indianer zwei Jaguare und ein Weiberdreieck mit zugehöriger Topographie, sowie seitens der Bororó einen Soldaten, eine Frau, eine Pfeife, ein Schwirrholz, zwei Jaguare, einen vom Hund verfolgten Tapir, einen Affen, ein Kolibri und drei Schildkröten. Die Tierbilder der Bororó sind, wie die Sandzeichnungen mit Asche bedeckt wurden, innerhalb der Umrisse schwarz ausgefüllt und bekunden, dass diese Künstler schon höhere Ansprüche an sich stellten, obwohl sie in ihrer spärlichen Ornamentik nicht mehr leisteten als das Schwirrholz zeigt.

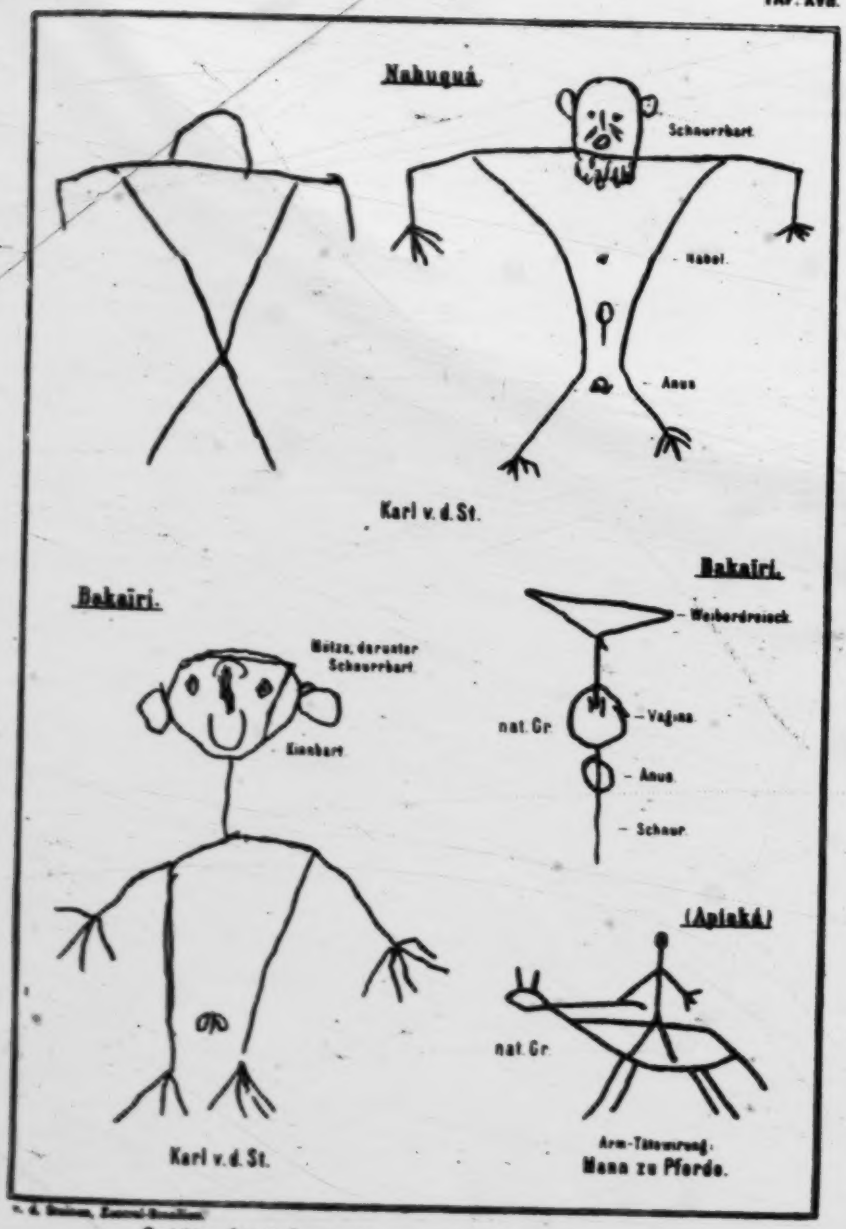
Man wird durch die Bleistiftzeichnungen zunächst lebhaft an die Bilder aus dem Schreibheft des kleinen Moritz erinnert. In der That sind in dem interessanten Büchlein von Corrado Ricci, l'arte dei bambini, Bologna 1887, das über Studien an vielen Kinderzeichnungen berichtet, zahlreiche Uebereinstimmungen zu finden, und mehr als der Verfasser selbst, wenn er der Zeichnungen bei Naturvölkern gedenkt, voraussetzt. Die Kinder beschreiben den Menschen, anstatt ihn künstlerisch wiederzugeben, »wie sie ihn mit Worten beschreiben würden«. Bei ihren ersten Versuchen sind sie mit den unvollkommensten Geschöpfen, die nur Kopf und Beine haben, zufrieden, bald aber streben sie danach, den Menschen in seiner Vollständigkeit darzustellen; sie wissen, er hat zwei Beine und zeichnen sie, unbekümmert, ob es sich um Profilstellung oder um eine Situation zu Pferde oder im Boot handelt. Die räumliche Anordnung ist ihnen Nebensache, die Arme



Originalzeichnungen vom Kulisehu. I. ¾ nat. Gr.

[p. 248-A]

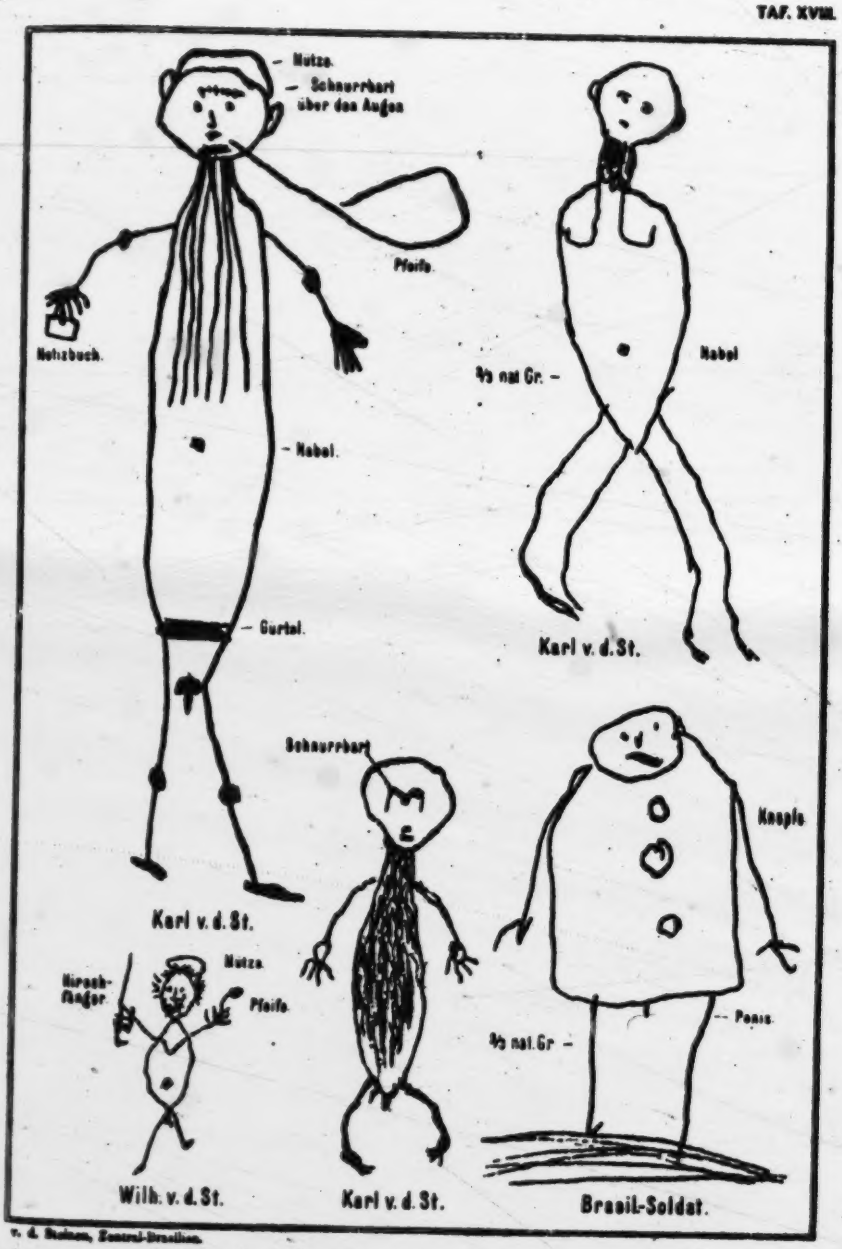
TAF. XVII.



Originalzeichnungen vom Kulisehu. II. ⅔ nat. Gr.

[p. 248-B]

TAF. XVIII.

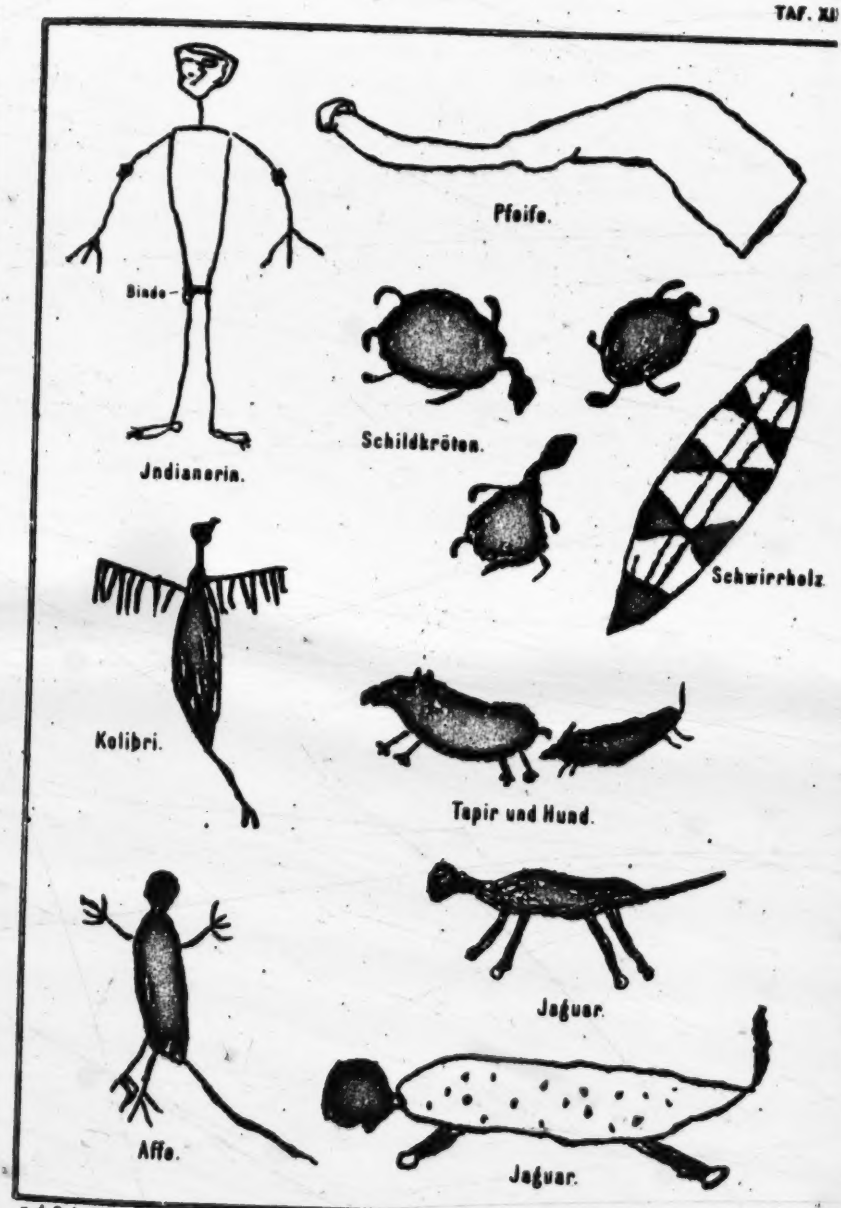


v. d. Steinen, Zentral-Brasilien.

Originalzeichnungen der Bororó. I. Nat. Grösse.

[p. 248-C]

TAF. XI



v. d. Steinen, Zentral-Brasilien.

Originalzeichnungen der Bororó. II. Nat. Grösse.

[p. 248 - D]

können am Kopf, am Hals und gar an den Hüften sitzen, wenn sie nur da sind, die Proportionen sind ihnen im höchsten Grade gleichgültig. Dagegen legen sie den grössten Wert auf Attribute, die sie interessieren, und so ist das Ideal des Knaben stets der Herr mit Pfeife oder Zilinderhut oder Flinte und Säbel, das Ideal des Mädchens die Dame mit dem Blumenstrauss oder dem Sonnenschirm, unerbittlich nach der neuesten Mode gekleidet.

Auch die Indianer beschreiben. Ich kann mich auf ihren Standpunkt sofort versetzen, wenn ich mir die Aufgabe vorlege, aus dem Kopf und ohne besonderes Nachsinnen eine Karte von Afrika zu zeichnen. Dann bringe ich ein schief birnenförmiges Ding zu Papier, ziehe im dicken Teil rechts eine senkrecht von oben nach unten und links eine quer verlaufende Schlangenlinie, sowie etwas tiefer eine Bogenlinie: Nil, Niger und Kongo, flicke endlich einen Stiel hoch oben rechts an, die in der Luft schwebende Landbrücke nach Arabien hinüber. So würde ich einem Indianer Afrika zeichnen, meine Kollegen würden es auch erkennen. Und verlangt man Vervollständigung, so punktiere und tüpfele ich das Oberteil aus, um die Sahara darzustellen, erinnere mich auch der neueren Forschung und setze neben den Winkel von Nil und Kongo ein paar teils schmale, teils rundliche Kringel ein, die Seen des dunklen Erdteils; dabei fällt mir noch das Schmerzenskind der Kolonialpolitik ein und ein langes Inseloval erscheint, an Grösse mindestens Madagaskar ebenbürtig, während ich Madagaskar selbst ganz vergesse. In diesem uns gewiss leicht verständlichen Beispiel steckt die ganze Psychologie der indianischen Bleistiftzeichnungen. Wenn ein Afrikareisender Widerspruch erhebt, so bitte ich ihn verbindlichst, dafür ein Bild von Südamerika zu entwerfen. Wenden wir uns dann endlich mit diesen Erzeugnissen vertrauensvoll an Herrn Dr. Bruno Hassenstein in Gotha, so wird dieser, so liebenswürdig er sonst ist, dasselbe grausam mitleidige Lächeln kaum unterdrücken können, das uns die Portraits der Eingeborenen entlockten.

Auf Tafel I vom Kulisehu stehen vier Expeditionsmitglieder nebeneinander, eine Aufnahme aus dem dritten Bakairndorf. Dort bin ich erkennbar als der grösste und mit dem längsten Bart, der zweite, mein Vetter, ist durch die verwogene kleine Mütze gekennzeichnet, der dritte ist Ehrenreich mit kürzerem Vollbart und mir an Körpergrösse am nächsten, der vierte, ganz klein und niedlich, ist Leutnant Perrot, dem man einen geringeren Rang zuschrieb, weil er bei den Untersuchungen zurückstand. Ich habe hier wie an den meisten Zeichnungen die Probe gemacht und sie andern Indianern nachher vorgelegt, mit der Frage, wer das sei? Sie bestimmten die Personen richtig, hoffentlich nicht nach der Aehnlichkeit, sondern nach den als auffällig gegebenen Merkmalen. Wirklich ganz befriedigend auch für unsere Ansprüche, sind (Bororó II) die Schildkröten und der Tapir der Bororó, während der verfolgende Hund wohl nur erkannt werden konnte, weil er ein hinter dem Tapir herlaufender Vierfüssler war, der wegen des Schwanzes und des mangelnden Rüssels ein zweiter Tapir nicht sein konnte. Der Schluss per exclusionem muss oft mithelfen.

Interessant sind (Kulisehu II) die beiden von einem Nahuquá gemachte Konterfeis, die mich darstellen. Der Mann zeichnete merkwürdiger Weise zuer eine Horizontallinie, die ununterbrochene Schulterlinie und die Oberarme en haltend, setzte eine Art Halbkreis darauf, zwei schräg gekreuzte Linien darunt und reichte mir dieses nichtswürdige Bild als fertig zurück. Hiergegen empör ich mich, ich machte ihn darauf aufmerksam, dass ich mit Augen, Ohren u. s. w normal ausgestattet sei und verlangte eine neue gänzlich umgearbeitete Auflag die er, mich aufmerksam betrachtend, auch anfertigte. Er schlug nun in andere Extrem um und zeichnete mehr, nicht nur als er sah, sondern auch als hätte sehen können.

In ähnlichem Kontrast sind die beiden von zwei verschiedenen Leuten g zeichneten Bilder oben auf der Bororótafel I: rechts bin ich ohne Arme un Füsse geboren, links erscheine ich auf das Liebevollste ausgeführt und ausgestatte Hier habe ich ausser allen Gliedern, einschliesslich — wie auch bei der Indianer Bororó II — knubbelförmiger Gelenke: Mütze, Pfeife, Notizbuch, Gürtel un Schuhe. Ebenso sind dem lustigen Kerlchen darunter, meinem Vetter, Mütz Pfeife und der schöne Hirschfänger mitgegeben. Kinder, denen das Rauchen sich merkwurdig erscheint, würden der Pfeife einen kräftigen Qualm entsteige lassen, die Indianer aber interessierte nur das Gerät. Rechts in der Ecke d brasilische Soldat hat eine Uniform mit drei Knöpfen erhalten, das heisst n den Rock, aus dem die gewöhnlichen Armstriche ärmellos austreten. Die armlo Figur darüber ist die einzige, bei der es versucht ist, unsern Beinkleidern gerec zu werden, sogar auf Kosten der Füsse.

Das Hauptattribut der Männer, namentlich bei den äusserlich sparsam ausgestatteten Porträts Kulisehu I und II, ist das ihnen von der Natur zuerkannt Da haben wir völlig Kinderstandpunkt, dass es dem Zeichnenden einerlei ist, er das auch mit Augen sieht, was er sich für verpflichtet hält anzubringen, w er weiss, dass es da ist. Für den unbekleidet gehenden Indianer liegt hier d charakteristische Merkmal und so giebt er es; er fügt es sogar zu, wo er au drücklich die Kleidung zeichnet, vgl. den Soldaten. So ist auch häufig der Nab berücksichtigt. Ja der Nahuquá, von dem ich Vollständigkeit verlangte, (Ku sehu II), mochte nun selbst den After nicht vergessen.

Die räumliche Anordnung ist den Indianern nicht ganz so nebensächli wie den kleinsten Kindern, allein es wird Merkwürdiges darin verübt. Dass d Pfeife (Bororó I) neben dem Mund steht, will Nichts besagen, wenn man demselben Bild den Schnurrbart über den Augen erblickt. Ich würde il als ein paar vereinigter Brauen, was Göthe Räzel nennt, angesprochen habe allein ich wurde ausdrücklich belehrt, dass der Strich den Schnurrbart vorstell Bei der kleinen Mittelfigur darunter ist Gleiches der Fall. Und die Bakaïrí th dasselbe mit dem ungewohnten Schnurrbart. Auf der Kulisehu-Tafel II lin unten sehen wir den Schnurrbart unter der nachlässig durch einen Querstri vom Kopfrund abgeschnittenen Mütze, und, durch eine grosse Nase von ihm g

trennt, bleibt der Kinnbart ganz innerhalb des Gesichtes. Dieser Kopf ist genau meine Karte von Afrika mit den gleichmütig nördlich oder südlich von den Kongo- und Nilquellen eingetragenen Seeen, ohne jedes Verhältnis erscheinen wie meine Landenge von Suez der fürchterliche Halsstrich, wie meine Sansibarinsel die ungeheuern Ohrwatscheln. Und nachdem ich von einem hochgestellten deutschen Beamten gehört habe, dass Brasilien und Rio de Janeiro auf der Westseite des Kontinents am Stillen Ozean liegen, gebe ich mich auch damit zufrieden, dass die Bakaïrí, vgl. Kulisehu-Tafel I, den Herren Ehrenreich und Perrot den Schnurrbart gar oben auf dem Kopf aufsitzen lassen. In diesen beiden Fällen war der Schnurrbart nachgetragen worden. Die Indianer selbst rupfen alles Barthaar aus und gleichgültig, wo das Barthaar sitzt, unterscheiden sie nach ihrem ersten Eindruck, ohne sich genauere Rechenschaft zu geben, ein hängendes und ein quer liegendes Barthaar, sie geben jenes, wenn sie nicht (vgl. Bororó I und die Nahuquá-Zeichnung Kulisehu II) die Haare in grösserer Anzahl einzeln zeichnen, durch eine nach oben offene, dieses durch eine nach unten offene Bogenlinie wieder. Das Wo kümmert sie nur für die gröbste Topographie, der Bart bleibt ja bei Kopf und Gesicht, und, worauf es ihnen ankommt, ist nur, dass sie das Merkmal überhaupt bringen. Wenn es ihnen einfällt, den After zu zeichnen, so setzen sie ihn auch in die Vorderansicht, obwohl sie hier doch die Erfahrung, die ihnen beim Bart mangelt, dass er an eine andere Stelle gehört, haben müssen.

Was fehlt, was da ist, es hängt vom Interesse ab. Der Kopf, der Bart, die Sexualia werden mit Lust und Liebe gezeichnet — mag das Uebrige sehen, wo es unterkommt, oder wegbleiben. Wirft man nicht dem grössten Meister des Bildnisses und genialsten Charakteristiker der Physiognomie vor, dass er die Hände vernachlässigt? Die Gegensätze berühren sich, Franz Lenbach und die Kulisehu-Indianer sind Zeitgenossen. Nehmen diese oder die Bororó den Bleistift zur Hand, so machen sie ihre mehr oder minder vollständigen Angaben, ihre Aufzählung der Körperteile, und was sie interessiert, wird betont, was sie in dem Augenblick gleichgültig lässt, wird salopp behandelt oder ausgelassen. Bei den Tieren sind die Umrisse wichtig, Augen hat nicht eines von allen uns überhaupt gezeichneten mit Ausnahme der in den Sand gezeichneten Fische, vgl. Abbildung 34 und 35; bei diesen kommt man wol eher dazu, weil der Kopf, nur durch den Kiemenbogen abgesetzt, zu wenig charakterisiert erscheint. Der Nahuquá, Kulisehu I, giebt dem Jaguar eine lauernde Stellung mit mächtigem Katzenbuckel und dem langen Schweif, die Extremitäten bilden eine Wellenlinie: das Bild wurde von Andern stets mühelos als Jaguar erkannt. Wenn bei allen Bororótieren die Gesichter einfach schwarz ausgefüllt sind, so kann man dies der malenden Manier der Zeichner zur Last legen und darauf hinweisen, dass der ganze übrige Körper ebenso behandelt ist, aber auch der Bakaïrí auf der Kulisehu-Tafel I verkritzelt das Gesicht seines Jaguars. Die Indianerin, Bororó II, die von sämtlichen Figuren die besten Proportionen zeigt, hat einen ganz verkritzelten

Kopf. Ueber dem schönen, den Rumpf bedeckenden Bart der Mittelfigur unten, Bororó I, sind Augen, Nase, Ohren vergessen, die Beine sind zu Käferzangen verkümmert. Bei keinem der fünf Bakaïriporträts ist der Mund gezeichnet, bei keinem fehlt die Nase, die der Bakaïri durchbohrt. Dagegen kann es dem Bororó, der die Unterlippe durchbohrt, nicht geschehen, dass er den Mund auslässt, während er die Nase zweimal vergessen hat.

Profilstellung, in der Kunst der Kinder so beliebt, fehlt bei den indianischen Zeichnungen der Menschen und ist bei den vierfüssigen Tieren konstant. Jenes ist zu bedauern, da der Vergleich mit den Fällen fortfällt, wo die Kinder dem Profil zwei Augen und nun, wenn sie sich erinnern, dass die Nase zwischen den Augen sitzt, gelegentlich auch zwei Nasen geben, wo sie ferner die Arme, deren man ja zwei vorzeigen muss, auf der zugekehrten Seite doppelt anbringen und dergleichen mehr. Hoffentlich wären diese Leistungen des kindlichen Gemüts den Indianern doch schon unmöglich. Immerhin haben wir unter den Sandzeichnungen ein der kindlichen Kunst genau entsprechendes Beispiel aufzuweisen. Der Matrincham (Abb. 34) besitzt zwei Augen neben dem Kiemenbogen; ebenso ist der Pakú (Abb. 35) im Profil mit zwei Augen gezeichnet. Dass es Profilstellungen sind, geht bei dem Matrincham hervor aus der Angabe der Seitenlinie des Kiemenbogens, (gerade wie bei den Holzfischen), der Flossen- und endlich, was auch für den Pakú zutrifft, der Schwanzstellung. Bei dem Rochen sind die zwei Augen berechtigt, da der Indianer das Problem, ihn von der Seite zu zeichnen, natürlich vermeidet.

Auf Kulisehu-Tafel II befindet sich die Zeichnung einer Arm-Tätowierung, die wir in Cuyabá bei einem Manne des am oberen Tapajoz wohnenden Tupístammes der Apiaká beobachteten, und die ich hier in Parenthese anfüge. Hier sind genau wie bei Kinderzeichnungen von »Reitern zu Pferde« die zwei Beine auf derselben Seite. Die Beine des Pferdes sind genau gleich denen des Jaguars, Bororó II, hintereinander gestellt. Schön sind auch die langen Ohren des Tieres.

Warum sind alle Menschen en face, alle Vierfüssler im Profil gezeichnet? Der Grund kann nur der sein, dass bei jenen der Umriss als selbstverständlich gegeben gleichgültig und die Charakteristik der nach beiden Seiten zu verteilenden oder in ihrer ganzen Breite von vorn besser zu beurteilenden Details, bei diesen der im Profil leichter zu kennzeichnende Umriss entscheidend war. Der Affe, Bororó II, nach Beinen und Schwanz Profil, zeigt die Arme symmetrisch, kann aber mit Drehung des Oberkörpers nach vorn aufgefasst sein. Der Jaguar mit dem getüpfelten Fell ist von einem Mann gezeichnet worden, der sich offenbar bewusst war, dass das Tier an einer Seite nur zwei Beine hat: er liess die Beine der rechten Seite aus.

Die Proportionen sind mangelhaft. Pfeife und Notizbuch der Hauptfigur Bororó I standen in Wirklichkeit in umgekehrtem Grössenverhältnis. Es störte den Künstler in keiner Weise, dass Rumpf und Extremitäten sich verhielten wie bei einer emporgerichteten Eidechse. Prächtig ist auch das Missverhältnis auf

Kulisehu-Tafel II bei dem Nahuquáporträt. Während der Hals mehrfach einer Stange ähnelt, geht hier die Schulterlinie wie auch bei Perrot, Kulisehu I, quer durch die Mundgegend. Sie verbreitert sich zum Fünffachen der Hüftbreite, die allerdings in der ersten Auflage nebenan sogar auf einen Punkt zusammenschrumpft. Die Beine kommen überall am schlechtesten fort. In der schlimmsten Missgeburt, Kulisehu II links unten, fehlen sie, nach der sonstigen Lage der Sexualia zu urteilen, und die Zehen sitzen am Rumpf. Man könnte, wenn nur dieses eine Bildnis vorläge, die Seitenlängsstriche auch für Beine erklären, die in der Achselhöhe entsprängen, allein der Rumpf ist seltsamer Weise bei allen Kulisehuporträts unten nicht geschlossen, ja bei meinem und Wilhelm's Porträt, Kulisehu I, auch nicht der Kopf! Nur der Nahuquá behandelt, wenigstens in seiner ersten Aufnahme, den Leib als ein Dreieck. Die Seitenkonturen des Rumpfes schwenken, ohne sich zu vereinigen, im Winkel nach aussenhin ab — bei Wilhelm, Kulisehu I, fast horizontal — erhalten nach kurzem Verlauf, ohne Knie, ohne Fuss, am Ende jederseits ein Strichelchen angesetzt, und diese dreizehigen Hühnerläufe sind dann menschliche, sind meine Beine. »Du gleichst dem Geist, den du begreifst, nicht mir!« Bei ihrer Kürze sind die Beine meist noch ungleich, auch wo der Rumpf geschlossen ist, vgl. den fidelen Wilhelm, Bororó I.

Die Zahl der Finger und Zehen verdient besondere Aufmerksamkeit. Sollte Jemand von uns, der Jäger ist, einen Hirschkopf skizzieren, so wird er darauf bedacht sein, ihn mit einer bestimmten Geweihform, welche immer ihm grade vorschweben mag, auszustatten. Ein beliebiger Anderer dagegen achtet kaum auf ein Weniger oder Mehr der Sprossen, nicht einmal, wenn er ein vorhandenes Vorbild flüchtig abzeichnet, er ist zufrieden, wenn er eine Anzahl Sprossen in einer sehr fragwürdigen Art der Verästelung dem Kopf aufgesetzt hat. Nur wird es seinem Anspruch an ein Hirschgeweih nicht genügen, zwei Gabeln zu zeichnen, er wird mindestens je drei Sprossen anbringen. Ebenso wenn ich eine kleine Tanne schematisiere, so sind hier mein Minimum drei Paar an einem Vertikalstrich symmetrisch angesetzter Schrägstriche, das Ganze unten durch eine Horizontallinie abgeschlossen; zwei Paar würden schon ein Bäumchen, aber noch kein Tännchen sein. Also ohne dass ich zähle, liefere ich doch meiner innern Anschauung gemäss ein Minimum von Teileinheiten. Unsere auf die Fünfzahl der Finger früh eingedrillten Kinder werden ihr schon bei Zeichnungen gerecht, die sonst die gröbsten Sünden enthalten, und wo sie noch nicht daran denken, die Hand wiederzugeben, zeichnen sie bereits richtig fünf Finger. Bei Zeichnungen der Naturvölker, begegnen wir der Unsicherheit über die Fingerzahl und namentlich der Dreizahl der Finger mit einer Regelmässigkeit, dass wir hier wie bei dem Hirschgeweih und der Tanne ein Gesetz anerkennen müssen. Sie haben sicherlich nicht 1, 2, 3 nachgezählt, und was zu Grunde liegt, kann nur sein, dass sie sich gedrängt fühlen, mehr als zwei Striche zu liefern, um ihre vage innere Anschauung wenigstens soweit zu bestimmen, dass keine Gabelung herauskommt.

Betrachten wir die fünf Bakairiporträts, so haben wir, wenn wir die Zahlen der Finger in den Zähler und die der Zehen in den Nenner setzen, folgende Verhältnisse: $\frac{3}{3}$ $\frac{3}{3}$, $\frac{5}{3}$ $\frac{3}{3}$, $\frac{5}{3}$ $\frac{5}{3}$, $\frac{3}{3}$ $\frac{3}{3}$ (Kulisehu I) und $\frac{4}{3}$ $\frac{5}{4}$ (Kulisehu II). Ich liess mir an meiner Hand zeigen, welche Finger sie abgezeichnet hatten; sie fassten mir Daumen, Kleinfinger und Mittelfinger an und deuteten auf die entsprechenden Striche so, dass der Kleinfinger der innen gelegene der drei wurde, der in meinem Konterfei von der Vierergruppe zufällig der längste war. Ehrenreich ist mit zwei fünffingrigen Armen, Wilhelm wenigstens mit einem solchen ausgestattet. Die untern Extremitäten haben drei Zehen mit Ausnahme meines Porträts, Kulisehu II, wo auf einer Seite vier vorhanden sind. Der Nahuquá auf derselben Tafel hat, nachdem seine erste Aufnahme getadelt worden war, in der zweiten die Zahl der Finger richtig gezeichnet, freilich nicht aus dem Kopf, sondern mit genauer Betrachtung des beleidigten Originals.

Bei den Bororó finden wir auf Tafel I, abgesehen von meinem armlosen Porträt, Wilhelm mit je fünf Fingern, den Soldaten mit je drei und ebenso auf Tafel II die Indianerin mit drei Fingern. Im Uebrigen ist hier ein grosser Fortschritt anzuerkennen. Es erscheinen nicht nur Ellbogen- und Kniegelenke in Gestalt von dicken Knoten, sondern auch Hände und Füsse. Eine rührende Sorgfalt ist auf dem klassischen Bild, das mich mit Pfeife und Notizbuch darstellt, dem linken, mit der Hand zu einer dicken Masse vereinigten Daumen gewidmet worden: an der rechten Hand bemerken wir zu unserer Ueberraschung sieben Finger, finden aber volle Aufklärung in dem Umstand, dass die beiden Extrafinger das Büchlein festhalten müssen; die Beine stehen auf Schuhen, wie auch die Wilhelm's darunter. Der Soldat ist mit zwei Beinstrichen in den Boden eingepflanzt. Die Mittelfigur daneben hat höchst merkwürdige Hände und Füsse, aber hat doch welche; sie erinnern ausserordentlich an die blutsaugenden Zecken. Man bemerkt bei ihr auch die Neigung, den Extremitäten eine zweite Dimension zu geben. Die Füsse der Indianerin, Bororó II, sind, ein drolliger Kontrast zu den fehlenden Händen, in vortrefflichem Umriss und in guter Horizontalstellung gezeichnet; man würde sie für Schuhe halten, wenn ihnen nicht je drei Zehen, kurzen Haaren nicht unähnlich, eingepflanzt wären.

Von den Tierbildern haben nur bei den Bororó Tapir und Affe gegliederte Füsse. Die Jaguarbeine enden in runden Knöpfen — Katzenpfoten. Stets ist der Schwanz charakterisiert, nur bei dem gefleckten Jaguar muss man sich billig wundern über den buschigen Stummel. Bei dem fliegenden Kolibri, dessen Beine fehlen und ja auch fehlen dürfen, sehen wir einen langen und geteilten Schwanz, wie er bei dieser Vogelart häufiger vorkommt.

Rindenzeichnungen. Ziemlich selten, ausgenommen bei den Nahuquá, wo sie zahlreich waren, fanden sich an dem vom Fluss zum Dorf führenden Waldpfad in den Bäumen menschliche Figuren eingeschnitten, das heisst in den Umrisslinien eingeritzt oder der Fläche nach aus der Rinde abgeschält. Es waren, soviel ich

Abb. 37. Rindenfigur der Bakaïrí.

Abb. 38. Rindenfiguren der Nahuquá.

mich erinnere, 1887 ausschliesslich Männer, doch haben wir 1884 eine männliche über einer weiblichen vor dem ersten und eine weibliche Figur vor dem zweiten Batovydorf der Bakaïrí angetroffen, »mit schelmischer Benutzung einer in der Rinde vorhandenen Vertiefung«. An der nebenstehenden Rindenfigur der Bakaïrí ist durch den Flächenschnitt ein grosser Fortschritt im Vergleich zu den Strichzeichnungen erreicht. Wo die Finger deutlich ausgeführt waren, entsprachen sie ganz den drei der Bleistiftzeichnungen; die Zehen dagegen waren niemals genauer behandelt. Die Beine liefen unförmlich strumpfartig aus. Besonders fielen uns die Baumfiguren an dem Waldweg der Nahuquá auf, sie hatten Eselohren ähnliche, doch etwas längere Gebilde an beiden Seiten des Kopfes, die Ohrfedern darstellten. Auch die eine oder andere Tierfigur war vorhanden. Wenn ich hinzurechne, dass auf dem hohlen, vor der Festhütte des dritten Bakaïridorfes liegenden mächtigen Trommelbaum menschliche Figuren eingeschnitten waren, so ergiebt sich die beachtenswerte Thatsache, dass sich die Verwendung der Menschenfigur in der Zeichenkunst nur an Bäumen vorfand. Die Bleistiftzeichnungen wurden meiner Aufforderung gemäss gemacht.

Bei den Auetó sahen wir Tierfiguren im Innern der »Künstlerhütte« auf den Pfosten eingekratzt und geschwärzt. Es sind alles den Pfosten entsprechend lange und meist schmale Figuren. Die erste scheint eine Schlange zu sein, die den Rachen aufsperrt; sie wurde *nanyetá* genannt. Eine gewöhnliche Schlange sehen wir in der letzten Figur, *mói* der Auetó und Kamayurá, *agáu* der Bakaïrí und *ái* der Töpferstämme. Wir haben ferner in der ersten Figur der zweiten Reihe eine

TAF. XX.

1. Sukuri-Schlange. 2. Rochen I.

3. Pakú-Fische. 4. Panzerfisch.

5. Fischgräten.

6. Pintado-Fisch (Wels).

7. Rochen II. 8. Nuki-Fische.

9. Pakú-Fisch.

10. Fledermäuse.

v. d. Steinen, Zentral-Brasilien.

Bakaïri-Ornamente I.

[p. 256-A]

TAF. XXI.

11. Jiboya-Schlange.

12. Aßau-Schlange mit Kopf

13. Frauen-Dreieck. 14. Matrincham 15. Kurimatá

14. Frauen-Dreiecke (Uluri)

15. Frauen-Dreiecke (Uluri).

16. Frauen-Dreiecke. (Uluri).

17. Palmito-Blätter.

v. d. Steinen, Zentral-Brasilien.

Bakaïri-Ornamente II.

[p. 256-B]

Eidechse, von den Auetó *tetá* genannt, *teiú* der Tupí und *Teius* des Zoologen. Dagegen stellt die letzte Figur der ersten Reihe trotz ihrer Windungen einen Pakú-Fisch dar. Noch wunderbarer mutet es uns an, wenn die Leute erklären, dass die zweite Figur, einem Käfer nicht unähnlich, der sich die Beine aneinander juckt, eine »kleine Schildkröte« bedeute, *tarikayua-i*, Emys Tracaxa. Hier sind die beiden Beine so behandelt wie der Schwanz des Pakúfisches. Das Nachbartier der kleinen Schildkröte, ein Vierfüssler, wurde von den Auetó und Kamayurá *kumayú* genannt. Bei dieser Uebereinstimmung darf das Wort als ein echtes Tupíwort gelten. Doch lässt sich damit nur das Stacheltier *kuandú* des Tupí zusammenbringen, was lautlich um so mehr gerechtfertigt wäre, als *yu* Stachel heisst, und nur schwer glaublich erscheint nach dem Bilde, das keine Aehnlichkeit mit dem Original hat, und dem sogar

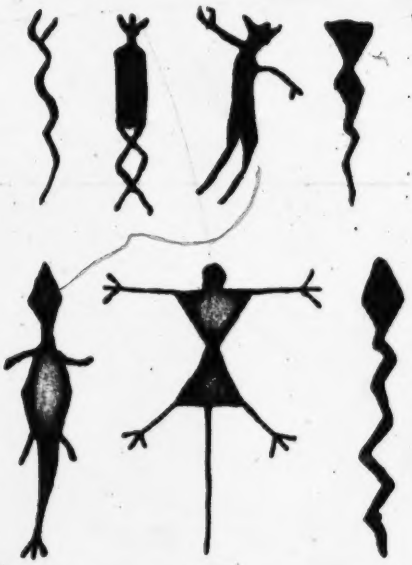


Abb. 39.
Pfostenzeichnungen der Auetó. (1/14 nat. Gr.)
Schlange, Kleine Schildkröte, Kumayú, Pakú-Fisch, Eidechse, Affe, Schlange.

Abb. 40. Flöte der Mehinakú mit zwei Affen. (1/7 nat. Gr.)

Abb. 41. Tokandira-Ameise. (1/14 nat. Gr.)

ein Hauptmerkmal des Tieres fehlen würde. Denn der Kuandú oder Greifstachler, Cercolabes prehensilis, hat einen Schwanz fast halb so lang wie sein übriger Körper. Er ist in Brehms Tierleben, Säugetiere II, Seite 575 abgebildet, aber ich bezweifle, dass Herr Mützel seine Illustration mit der des indianischen Künstlers irgendwie vereinen kann.

Da ist es tröstlich, in der Mittelfigur der untern Reihe keine Schwierigkeit zu finden. Sie stellt einen Makako oder Cebusaffen dar und ist durch die menschenähnlichen Gliedmassen mit den üblichen drei Zehen und dem langen Schwanz wohl gekennzeichnet. Zum Vergleich füge ich die Abbildung einer Flöte

2: Steinen SP7 Bacairi

der Mehinakú bei, wo derselbe Affe — nicht unpassend, da er selbst Flötentöne von sich giebt — erscheint und ganz ähnlich behandelt ist, sich nur auch eines Halses erfreut.

Auf einem Pfosten war (Abb. 41) ein sehr merkwürdiges Wesen dargestellt, eine Art weiblicher Gestalt mit Reitkleid und Wespentaille, zweifingerigen Armen und dreieckigem Gesicht unter einer Hutkrempe. Dies ist *Cryptocerus atratus*, die Tokandira, Tokanteira, Tokangira der Brasilier, eine riesige Ameise, die nicht gesellig lebt, sondern in Einzelexemplaren auf Baumstämmen umherspaziert.

Im Hafen der Mehinakú endlich fanden sich an den Bäumen die noch zu besprechenden Mereschumuster.

II. Zeichenornamente.

Ornamentaler Fries der Bakairí. Mereschu und Uluri. Die Auetö-Ornamente. Folgerungen. Verwendung der Ornamente. Kalabassen, Beijäwender, Spinnwirtel. Bemalung der Töpfe.

Ich habe auf Seite 90—91 bei dem Bericht über den Besuch im zweiten Bakairídorf des grossen Wandfrieses von weiss bemalten Rindenstücken Erwähnung gethan, der sich in dem Häuptlingshause in einer Länge von etwa 56 m und an mehreren Stellen zweireihig ringsum zog; die Breite der Rindenstücke schwankte etwa zwischen 15 bis 40 cm. Unser erster Eindruck war der gewesen, dass es sich bei diesen Zickzacks, Tüpfeln, Ringen, Ketten von Rauten und Dreiecken um ornamentale Einfälle handle, die niedlich und nett seien, die aber weiter nichts bedeuteten. Die mit Russ geschwärzte Rinde entstammte einem Waldbaum, den die Bakairi *noischi* nannten, der weisse, mehrfach auch gelbliche Lehm war mit den Fingern aufgetragen, sodass man zarte Linien bei diesen Freskoschmierereien nicht erwarten durfte. Als ich mit den Namen der Ornamente mein Wörterverzeichnis vermehren wollte, wurde ich überrascht, mehrere mir bekannte Fischnamen zu hören, sodass ich der Sache nun auf den Grund ging. Für jedes Muster erhielt ich den Namen einer konkreten Vorlage, und je mehr wir uns hier und bei den andern Stämmen mit den Ornamenten auf dem Hausgerät beschäftigten, desto mehr stellte sich heraus, dass es allüberall derselbe Hergang war. Ehrenreich hat die Frage dann auch bei den Araguayindianern weiter verfolgt und dort zu meiner Freude nur Bestätigung gefunden.

Auf den beiden Tafeln 20 und 21, Bakairí-Ornamente I und II, die von allen Rindenstücken die charakteristischen Proben liefern, sehen wir zunächst in den Nummern 14 und 15*) zwei gut gemalte Fische, den schon oft genannten Lieblingsfisch der Bakairí, den Matrincham, und den grätenreichen Kurimatá,

*) Auf Tafel 21 kommen durch ein Versehen die Nummern 14 und 15 doppelt vor.

Salmo curimatá. Sie sind der ganzen Fläche nach aufgestrichen. Das *aorótu ikúto*, »Bild des Matrincham«, war geradezu elegant und flott hingesetzt. Daneben haben wir in Nr. 13 ein *ulúri ikúto*, das Bild des Frauendreiecks. Und in dieser Weise wurde jedes Ornament für ein *ikúto* erklärt. Zuweilen sind die einzelnen durch kurze Vertikalstriche abgegrenzt, vgl. 3 und 4 oder 7 und 8 auf Tafel I. Nur ein einziges Bild ist dem Pflanzenreich entlehnt, Nr. 17. Es stellt die Blätter einer kleinen »Kohl« liefernden Waldpalme *yemaridli* dar, ein Wort, das Handblatt bedeutet. Wir sehen eine Anzahl Fiederpaare abwechselnd nach oben und unten gerichtet und geradeso angeordnet wie die Uluris in Nr. 16; für uns macht die Abbildung den Eindruck eines Flechtmusters.

Allein unsere Deutungsversuche würden überhaupt bald Schiffbruch erleiden. Wir bemerken unter den Ornamenten solche, wo die natürliche Hautzeichnung eines Tieres wiedergegeben wird, solche, wo die Umrisse des Tieres gezeichnet sind, und solche, wo Beides vereinigt wird. Nr. 6 enthält die Tüpfel- und Tupfenzeichnung eines Welses *schurúi*, dessen bunte Haut den portugiesischen Namen »Pintado« veranlasst hat. Wir werden ihm bei den Maskenanzügen wieder begegnen. Nr. 7 wurde als die Tüpfelzeichnung eines Rochen *pinubíi* vorgestellt, während in Nr. 2 eine zweite Rochenart *schiuéri* (ein bei den Nordkaraiben als *schibali*, *aipuri*, *chuparé* u. dgl. allgemein vorhandenes Wort) mit den charakteristischen Ringeln und Tüpfeln ihrer Haut auftritt.

Zickzacke und Wellenlinien sind Schlangen, denen man die Merkmale der Hautzeichnung, die auf dem dünnen Streifen wol keinen Platz hatten, kaltblütig in der Umgebung beifügt. So hat Nr. 12, eine gewöhnliche Landschlange oder Cobra der Brasilier, links das Schwanzende und rechts den deutlich erkennbaren, mir als solchen auch bezeichneten Kopf; die Tüpfel sind zwischen den Zickzacks angebracht. Dem Künstler fiel, als er die Schlange gezeichnet hatte, noch ein, sie durch ihre Flecken zu charakterisieren. Ein Gleiches ist in Nr. 1 bei der Sukuri-Wasserschlange oder Anakonda, Boa Scytale, geschehen. Dagegen sehen wir in Nr. 11, dem Bild der Boa constrictor, die in zahlreichen kleinen Dreiecken abgesetzte Zeichnung der Schlangenhaut, sie zieht sich an den beiden Rändern des Brettes entlang, und zwar beide mal so, dass die Dreiecke mit ihren Spitzen nach innen vorragen und den unbemalten Grund zu einer Kette von schwarzen Rauten umgrenzen. Die Schlange hat nach meinen Notizen einen Kopf, doch ist es schwer zu verstehen, wie das Figurenstück links, mit dem die Zeichnung beginnt, einen solchen darstellen soll.

Ohne Weiteres verständlich ist Nr. 5, *kúna igúri ikúto*, das Fischgrätenbild. Es hatte die ansehnliche Länge von $3^1/_4$ m. Der Panzerfisch Nr. 4, der mit dem Trennungsstrich zusammenläuft, stellt grössere Ansprüche an die Einbildungskraft. Dieser *tupúra* der Bakaïri ist der *akuri* der Tupi und Acara oder Panzerwels des Zoologen, der Cascudo der Brasilier. Dagegen werden uns in Nr. 3 die Pakú-Fische, Prochilodus, *pâte-ikúto*, wenn wir sie auch als Fische kaum erkannt hätten, von dem Bild des Kurimatá her, *kualú ikúto* (Nr. 15), wohl verständlich. Die Fisch-

figur, in Nr. 15 der Fläche nach gedeckt, erscheint in 3 nur im schematischen Umriss, der Körper wird zur Raute, der Schwanz zum Dreieck, und beide werden in beliebiger Zahl nebeneinander oder jedes allein rein ornamental verwendet. So sehen wir in Nr. 3 links zwei Körperrauten und ein Schwanzdreieck des Pakú, während rechts sich drei Rauten folgen. An den beiden Rauten links setzt der Kiemenbogen den Kopf ab, wie in den Abbildungen 34 und 35 und auch bei den geschnitzten Rindenfischen. Dasselbe wiederholt sich in Nr. 8, *nûki-ikuto*, dem Bild des nicht näher festzustellenden, nach einem sehr ähnlichen Auetômuster aber vielleicht als ein Harnischwels aufzufassenden Nuki-Fisches, wo rechts sich Dreieck, Raute, Raute, Dreieck folgen, als ob sich zwei Fische mit dem Maul berührten, und links vier Schwanzdreiecke aneinandergereiht sind. Anscheinend in der Hautzeichnung des Nuki-Fisches ist es begründet, wenn ihn die weiss ausgefüllten Dreiecke vom Pakú unterscheiden. Der Pakú ist dagegen durch kleine Tüpfel gekennzeichnet; in Nr. 9 sehen wir links ein Musterstück seiner Haut und rechts daneben eine Anzahl von Körperrauten, deren jede ein Tüpfelchen in der Mitte hat und die wir, wenn wir sie mit Fischen in Zusammenhang bringen wollten, wohl zweifellos für das Bild einer panzerartigen Schuppenhaut erklären würden, die der Pakú gar nicht hat.

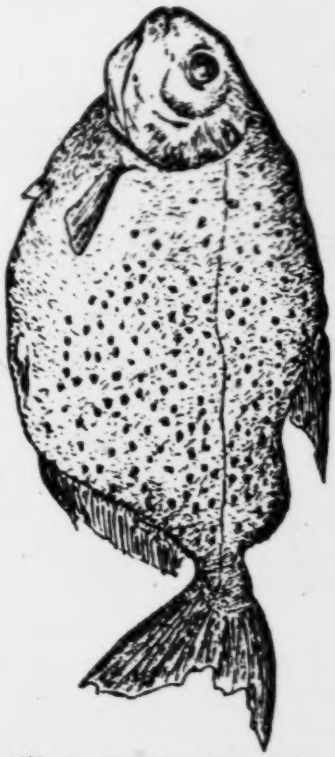


Abb. 42. Meroschu. (1/3 nat. Gr.)

Ich muss gestehen, ich wusste nicht recht, ob ich über unsern gutmütigen Erklärer lachen oder ob ich mich der Empfindung der stillen Verblüfftheit hingeben sollte, die sich in den Ausruf zusammendrängen lässt »wie anders malt in diesen Köpfen sich die Welt!« Nr. 10 *semimo ikuto*, Bilder von Fledermäusen! Aneinander gereihte Rauten. Kopf, Extremitäten, Schwanz, wo sind sie? Wir werden den Fledermäusen aber auch noch in andern Zeichnungen und besonders bei den Töpfen begegnen, wo sie zur gleichen Rautenform reduziert werden. Im Brehms Tierleben, I, 1890, findet sich auf Seite 363 eine Abbildung von Vesperugo noctula, dem Abendsegler, die uns bei dem in eine Flughaut eingeschlagenen, allerdings hängenden Exemplar links einen einigermassen ähnlichen Umriss zeigt; stilisiert würde er sich auch zur Raute entwickeln können. —

Stellen wir nun fest, dass wir auf diesen beiden Tafeln Rauten in drei Mustern haben: die des Pakú, entweder Kontur- oder punktiertes Flächenmuster, die des Nuki mit diagonalen Dreiecken und die einfach gedeckte der Fledermaus. Die Negativzeichnung der Fledermäuse Nr. 10 wäre ganz genau Nr. 11, die Boa constrictor oder Jiboya-Schlange. Man sieht jedenfalls ein, dass man auf sehr verschiedenem Wege zu der geometrischen Figur der Raute gelangen kann.

Mereschu und Uluri.

Merkwürdiger Weise fehlte in dem Fries des Bakairí-Hauses ein Muster, das nicht nur bei den Bakairí, sondern bei allen Stämmen des obern Schingú das gewöhnlichste ist. Auf der ersten Reise haben wir es häufig genug bemerkt, haben es aber nicht gewürdigt und verstanden. In meinem Bericht »Durch Centralbrasilien« findet es sich Seite 163 als Trinkschalenmuster der Bakairí und Seite 213 als Bleistiftzeichnung der Suyá in schönster Ausprägung: Rauten, deren Ecken durch kleine Dreiecke ausgefüllt sind. Erst nachdem die Entdeckung in dem zweiten Bakairídorf gemacht worden, ergab sich die Erklärung. Die Vorlage des Ornaments ist ein kleiner platter Lagunenfisch, ein Serrasalmo oder Myletes, den Piranyas verwandt. Das von Wilhelm gezeichnete maß in der Länge 19 cm, in der Breite 9,5 cm und war silbergrau mit braunen Punkten. Kein Künstler hat jemals mit einem Bild grössern Erfolg gehabt als Wilhelm mit dieser Zeichnung. Die Leute drängten sich herbei und Alle waren geradezu glücklich, es zu betrachten. Und dies wiederholte sich bei sämtlichen Stämmen. Sogar die Paresí in Cuyabá freuten sich seiner und bestimmten ihn. Wir haben den Bakairínamen des wichtigen Fischleins, den wir zuerst kennen lernten, für unsern Bedarf beibehalten. Das Tier heisst in den Kulischusprachen folgendermassen: Bakairí *mereschu* (das betonte *e*

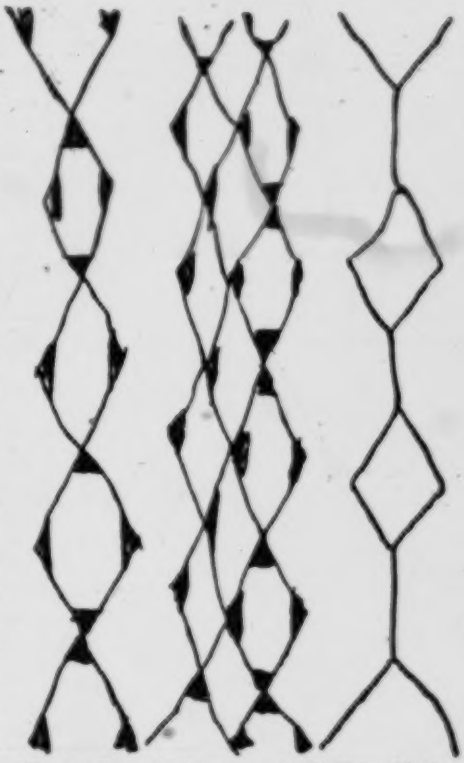


Abb. 43. Mereschu-Muster, mit Bleistift gezeichnet. (1/1 nat. Gr.)

lang). Nahuquá *iriado*, Mehinakú *kulupé*, Kustenaú *kulupéi*, Waurá *wurjái* (französisches *j*). Yaulapíti *mariétipi*, Auetó *pirapéuá*, Kamayurá *tapuhá*, Trumai *pulí*. Ueberall hat das Muster den Namen des Fisches.

In der Abbildung 43 ist das erste und zweite Muster von den Bakairi, das dritte von einem Nahuquá mit Bleistift gezeichnet. Der edle Nahuquá hat sich die Sache genau wie mit meinem Portrait auf Tafel 17 sehr leicht gemacht, indem er sich mit dem denkbar einfachsten Umriss begnügte, doch steht er in dieser nachlässigen Genialität allein da. Die Nahuquá beziehen das Muster ausser auf den Mereschu-Fisch *iriado* noch auf einen Verwandten Namens *iru* oder *iuu*. Aehnliches liegt wohl dem Umstand zu Grunde, dass die Waurá ein anderes Wort haben als die Mehinakú und die Kustenaú.

Die Abbildung 44 der Bakairi-Holzmaske zeigt das Mereschu-Muster in typischer Weise. Gerade bei der Bemalung der Masken spielt es die grösste Rolle. Die Raute entspricht dem Körper des Fisches und die vier ausgefüllten Ecken sind Kopf, Schwanz, Rücken- und Afterflosse. Die Ausführung der Ecken ist verschieden reichlich, sodass innen bald ein Achteck, bald ein Viereck übrig bleibt. Nach unserm Gefühl kann ein so ausgefülltes Dreieck nur dem Kopf entsprechen, die in die Raute hineingezeichneten Flossen stellen wir uns zur Not auch noch aufgesetzt und nicht eingezeichnet vor, aber mit dem Schwanz, der als Dreieck seine Spitze nach innen und nicht nach aussen richten sollte, wissen wir uns vorläufig nicht abzufinden, doch werden wir später die Erklärung finden.

Abb. 44.
Holzmaske mit Mereschu-Muster.
(Mus. Bakairi). (⅔ nat. Gr.)

Wie das Mereschu als Flächenmuster erscheint, zeigen typisch die beiden Auetó-Masken, Abb. 45 und 46, von denen die eine das Ornament auf Holz, die andere auf tochartigem Stoff aufweist. Die Mereschus sind durch Striche eingerahmt, sie sind in ein Netz mit rautenförmigen Maschen eingelagert: »Fische im Netz«, sagte der Bakairi. Der Ausdruck Netz ist, wie wir sehen werden, keineswegs bildlich, sondern entspricht einem Fischnetz.

Trotz des rein ornamentalen Charakters der Figur, die unserm Sinn den Ausdruck »Abbildung« völlig verbietet, ist der Indianer sich auf das Entschiedenste noch der konkreten Bedeutung bewusst. Wo das Muster eine Maske oder einen Spinnwirtel bedeckte, wurde doch immer jede Masche mit ihrem Mereschu einzeln an das benachbarte angesetzt und keineswegs durch Kreuzung von Linien zuerst ein Netz erzeugt. Höchstens die Auetó, die es in der schematischen Ornamentik,

wie wir sehen werden, am weitesten gebracht hatten, waren zu der reinen Konstruktion im Stande, wie denn auch die Uebung bei einer geradezu handwerksmässig betriebenen Herstellung allmählich von selbst dazu führen sollte; man sieht an der Zeichnung der Holzmaske deutlich, dass der Künstler die mathe-

Abb. 45.
Holzmaske der Auetö. (1/7 nat. Gr.)

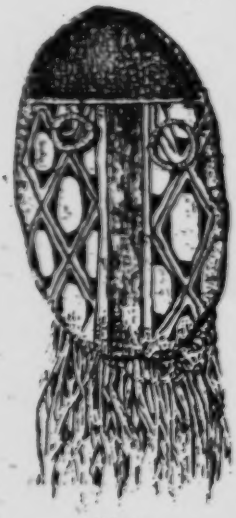
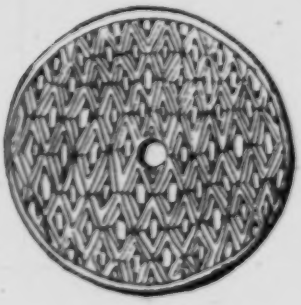
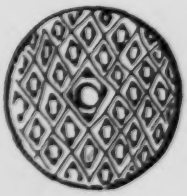


Abb. 46.
Tuchmaske der Auetö.
(1/6 nat. Gr.)



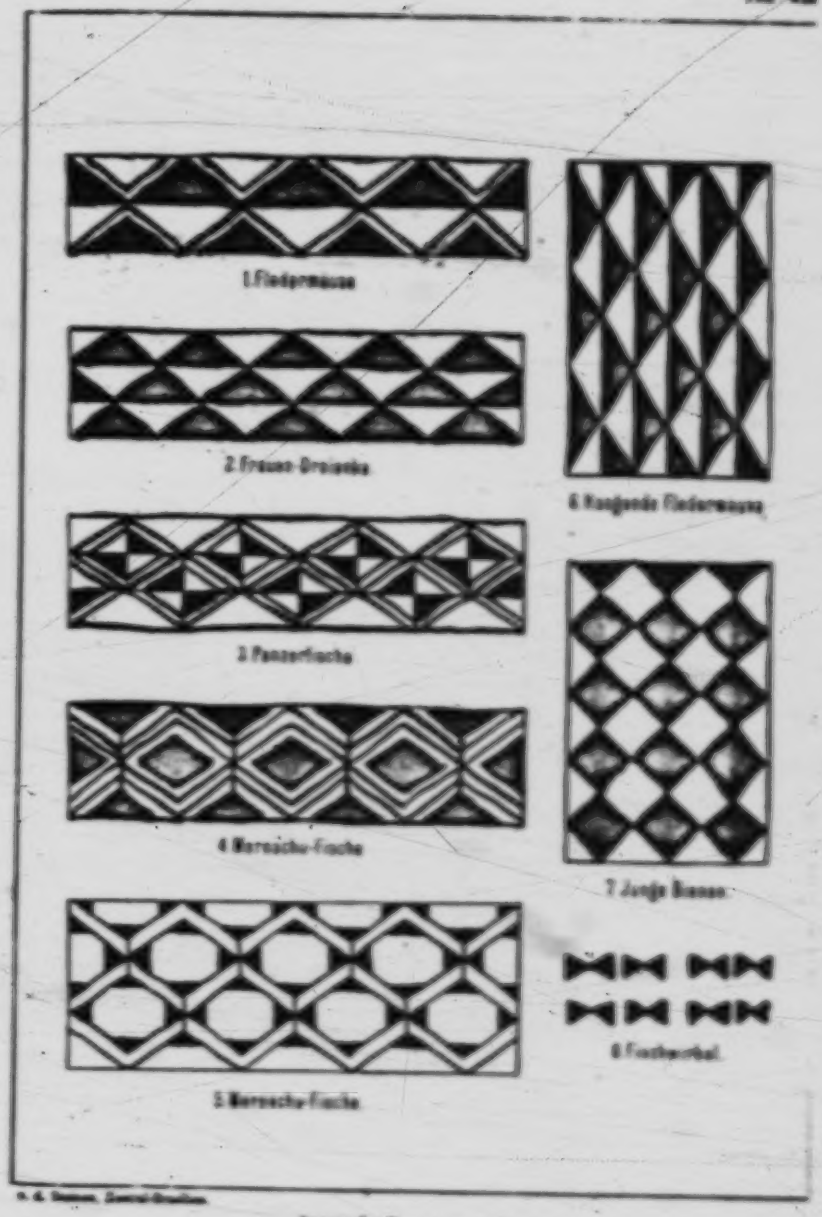
(1/6 nat. Gr.)



(1/2 nat. Gr.)

Abb. 47. Spinnwirtel der Mehinakú.

matische Art der Raumeinteilung nicht geübt hat, während man bei der Tuchmaske zweifeln möchte. Die Bakairí waren jedenfalls von jenem Fortschritt noch weit entfernt. Auch die beiden Spinnwirtel der Mehinakú (Abb. 47), in deren einem das Loch in der Mitte von einem Mereschu umschlossen wird, zeigen, wie die



Aueté-Ornamente

[facing p. 264]

einzelnen Fische aneinander gereiht sind, und lassen bei näherer Betrachtung zahlreiche kleine Unregelmäßigkeiten entdecken. Es machte viel Vergnügen, den Leuten bei diesem Kritzeln zuzuschauen. Ich vermag nur nicht zu denken, daß dieses «Muster», das den hohen Grad der ethnologischen Angleichung zwischen den Stämmen am besten zum Ausdruck bringt, ein Erzeugnis jüngerer Zeit sei. Wenn das Maß der Stilisierung als relativer Zeitmaß dienen dürfte, wäre die Auch- am längsten in seinem Besitz.

Man kann nicht etwa sagen, die Leute haben rautenförmige Figuren, in denen sie Striche sich in gleichen Abständen kreuzen lassen, gezeichnet, die Ecken gespitzt, nun genügt: «das sieht ja aus wie ein Mereuchu-Fisch, ist mereuchuförmig oder dgl.» und hätten also das Muster dem Vergleich gemäß mit dem Namen belegt. Das wird widerlegt durch die Art der Herstellung, die Stück für Stück die Figuren nacheinander setzt, und durch den einfachen Umstand, daß das Muster nicht mehr mereuchuförmig ist, sondern sich von dem konkreten Vorbild, wie unmöglich die Schwanzeche bewiesen, bereits entfernt hat. Er wäre für keinen von uns überhaupt als Fisch zu erkennen. Der Pakidisch lebt in Nr. 3 (Tafel 20) ist noch als Abbildung eines Fisches mit Hilfe von dem Kreuzmuster Nr. 15 verständlich, obwohl bereits zwei Rautenkörper mit dem Schwanzdreieck verbunden sind, aber von den Rautenkörpern rechts in Nr. 3 kann kein Zeichner sagen, daß sie zufällig in den Händen entstehen, sie erinnerten ihn an einen Pakidisch, sondern es ist schlechterdings nur der umgekehrte Weg von dem Bild einer konkreten Vorlage zur Schematisierung möglich. Von Nr. 9, den punktierten Kasten Pakidischen mit Tupfelung oder den Federmustern nicht zu reden.

Die Bezeichnung zum originalen Vorbild ist gerade das, was dem Indianer die Freude an der Zeichenkunst gibt, wie übrigens sehr natürlich ist. Es macht den Spaß, daß er mit wenigen Strichen einen Fisch zeichnen kann. Nun ist aber wahrscheinlich ein technisches Moment von Bedeutung gewesen. Das Zeichnen war in den meisten Fällen ein Ritzen, kein Malen. Der geritzte Strich wurde erst mit Farbe gefüllt. Auf Spinnwirteln und Kürbissen werden die Muster geritzt, wenn es den Masken werden sie mit einem Bambusstäbchen aus dem zuvor aufgetragenen weißen Thongrund herausgeritzt. Da ist es ein Wunder, daß Muster wie die Raute des Mereuchu und das Dreieck des gleich zu besprechenden Uheri mit ihren scharfen Ecken so gewaltig die Oberhand gewonnen haben und in ewiger Wiederholung überall wiederkehren. Auskratzen lassen sich die scharfen Ecken ebenfalls besonders leicht. Man hatte bereits Arbeiten als mit Kerben und Wellenlinien, die doch auch Tiere darstellen konnten. Das Kratzen drängte von selbst zur Stilisierung.

Bei dem Uheri, dem Wolfsdreieck, ist uns das Vergnügen am konkreten Vorbild vielleicht leichter verständlich als bei einem wohlschmeckenden Fischlein. Vgl. Abbildung 18, Seite 194. Auch wir stehen ja noch heute auf dem Standpunkt der Kolibris-Indianer. Nur haben wir civilisierten Menschen die zoomorphe Vorlage stilisiert, wo sich der roheren Naturvölker mit dem einfachen «Kleinkehrs»

begnügten. Und seltsamer Weise ist es die hier so viel besprochene Raute, die wir an Stelle des Uluri haben. Der Bakairi-Forschungsreisende würde — ich weiss nicht, ob in allen Teilen Deutschlands — auf unsern Bäumen, Mauern, Thüren geschnitzt, geritzt und gemalt, genau so wie er es macht, zu seiner wahrscheinlich grossen Befriedigung in zahllosen Exemplaren seinen Pakúfisch, die Raute mit dem zentralen Punkt, wiederfinden. Wehe dem, der sich einmal daran gewöhnt hat, dieses indianische Pakúmuster bei uns überall, wo es angebracht wird, auch zu sehen. Wollte er ihm entfliehen, so dürfte er keinen Bahnhof, keine Allee, keinen Aussichtspunkt, kurz keinen Ort, wo Menschen passieren, mehr betreten, denn es hat den Anschein, als ob eine unbekannte geheimnisvolle Gesellschaft sich verschworen hätte, ihn damit zu verfolgen; er trifft es in der Rinde uralter Waldriesen, er trifft es im frischgefallenen Schnee.

Die Kulischu-Indianer machten aus ihrem Vergnügen an dem Uluri kein Hehl; eine formlose Bastbinde hatte ihnen das Vorbild nicht geboten. Wenn sie die geometrische Vorstellung eines Dreiecks haben, so verdanken sie sie ein dem Uluri. Von sich heraus würden sie nicht darauf verfallen sein, Dreiecke zu zeichnen. Unter den Bleistiftzeichnungen findet sich auf Tafel 17 ein Uluri, das mir ein Bakairi unaufgefordert in mein Buch konterfeite. In dem Fries, Tafel 21, zeigt sich in Nr. 13 ein grosses Einzelstück, in 14 sehen wir die Uluris zu einem flach gehaltenen Zackenband vereinigt. Nr. 15 bietet sie in sonderbarer Reihenfolge derart, dass sich je zwei benachbarte nur mit einer Ecke abwechselnd am obern und am untern Rand des Rindenbrettes berühren. In Nr. 16 liegen vier Uluris abwechselnd mit ihrer Basis dem untern und dem obern Rande an und sind durch schräge Balken, die von Basis zu Basis ziehen, ein Stückchen auseinandergehalten. Die Balken stellen die grob verdickten Leinenschnüre dar und sind dem Mereschu-Fischnetz analog.

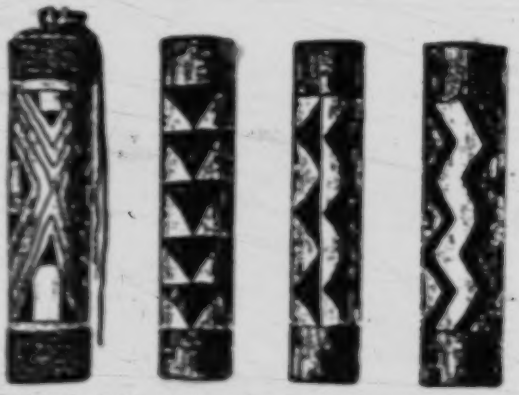


Abb. 48. Rückenhölzer der Bakairi mit den Mustern: Mereschu, Uluri, Fledermaus und Schlange. (⅔ nat. Gr.) Vgl. folgende Seite.

Wenn ich den Bakairi ein gleichseitiges Dreieck vorzeichnete, so lachten sie vergnügt und riefen „uluri". Auf ihren Trinkschalen erschien es vielfach, die ganze Fläche in zierlicher Anordnung bedeckend, und die Trennungslinien waren oft auch mit dem Bewusstsein, dass es ursprünglich Schnüre waren, hingesetzt.

Die vier Rückenhölzer der Abbildung 48, Holzzilinder, die im dritten Bakaïrídort zum Festschmuck an Schnüren auf dem Rücken getragen wurden und stilisierte Mandioka-Grabhölzer darstellten, bringen uns verschiedene schwarz aufgemalte Muster in hübscher Ausführung. Das erste zeigt Mereschu-Fische, das dritte hängende Fledermäuse, die wir auch bei den Auetó antreffen werden, das vierte die der Nr. 12 der Tafel 21 entsprechende Agauschlange, das zweite Uluris. Niemals, so viel ich mich erinnere, kommt das Uluridreieck als ein nur aus drei Umrisslinien zusammengesetztes Dreieck vor, ausgenommen in der Bleistiftzeichnung auf Tafel 17. Das Dreieck ist stets ausgefüllt und ruft so den Eindruck der konkreten Vorlage noch mit grösserer Unmittelbarkeit hervor.

Abb. 49. Rückenholz mit Heuschrecke. (1/9 nat. Gr.)

Abb. 50. Rückenholz mit Vögeln. (1/9 nat. Gr.)

Auf Schwirrhölzern der Nahuquá, vgl. Kapitel »Maskenornamentik und Tanzschmuck, III« die Abbildung, kommen Zickzacks derselben Art wie auf dem Rückenholz vor und gelten auch hier als Bild der Schlange.

Zwei sehr merkwürdige Ornamente lieferten uns ebenfalls noch die Rückenhölzer. Das eine für unser Auge von dem Mereschu nur durch die Kleinheit der ausgefüllten Ecken zu unterscheiden, war eine Heuschrecke, *töeiga* der Bakaïrí, *tukúra* der Tupí. Das Muster war mit dem des Mereschu-Fisches vereinigt; die langen, von den Ecken der Raute ausgehenden Striche sind die Heuschreckenbeine.

Das andere Ornament bezieht sich auf einen »kleinen Vogel«, *yaritamáze* der Bakaïrí, den ich nicht näher bestimmen kann. Dass es einen fliegenden Vogel darstellt, begreift man ohne Weiteres. Aber die Indianer verlangen mehr; sie bestehen auf dem *yaritamáze*.

Die Auetó-Ornamente zeichnen sich durch die weitest gehende Stilisierung aus. In der »Künstlerhütte« des Dorfes fanden sich über den Thüren und an den Wandpfosten zahlreiche Muster aufgemalt, deren bemerkenswerteste auf der Tafel 22 »Auetó-Ornamente« vereinigt sind. Sie sind sämtlich aus Dreiecken und Rauten zusammengesetzt. Während die Bakaïrí mit weissem Lehm auf geschwärzte Rinde malten, trugen die Auetó schwarze Farbe auf hellem Holzgrund auf oder schnitten die Muster ein und rieben mit Farbe nach. Mein Vetter pflegte deshalb die Kollegen Auetó Schwarzkünstler und die Kollegen Bakaïrí Pleinairisten zu nennen.

Nr. 5 ist das echte, recht gefällige Mereschu-Muster. Auch Nr. 4 soll Mereschu-Fische darstellen. Es wurde für beide dasselbe Wort *tepirapevetú* angegeben. Dies ist freilich das einzige Beispiel, wo die Mereschu-Raute nicht nur an den Ecken, sondern ganz ausgefüllt ist. Dafür ist aber das Netz, in dessen Maschen die Fische eingetragen sind, ausführlicher behandelt.

Nr. 3 sind Panzerfische *akará*. Sie haben dieselbe Form wie auf der Tafel 20 der Bakaïrí die Nuki-Fische Nr. 8, sodass auch diese vielleicht eine Art Cascudos sind. Nun haben die Panzerwelse nicht wie die Mereschus ein rhomboide Form, sondern sind langgestreckt. Da wir den ebenfalls nicht rhomboiden Pakú auch als Raute erblicken, da selbst Nr. 14 und 15 der Tafel 21, die nicht schematisch gezeichneten Fische ein wenig mehr als der Wirklichkeit entspricht, rhomboid aussehen, so erkennen wir, dass der Fischkörper in der Stilisierung überhaupt als Raute gilt, ob es für die betreffende Art zutreffend ist, wie eigentlich nur für den mit ganz überwiegender Vorliebe überall angebrachten Mereschu oder nicht. Zur näheren Charakterisierung werden eingetragen, beim Pakú die Tüpfel und bei den Panzerwelsen die scharf abgesetzten harten Schuppen, die vieleckig sind, aber gerade in den grösseren Stücken als ein wenig übereinander geschobene Dreiecke erscheinen (vgl. Brehm, Fische, p. 244 die Abbildung).

In Nr. 2 sehen wir die Uluridreiecke, die auch bei den Auetó mit dem entsprechenden Wort für das Frauendreieck *(umpám)* benannt werden. Es ist jammerschade, dass wir die Trumaí, die einzigen, deren Frauen eine Bastbinde tragen, nicht in Ruh und Frieden haben kennen lernen; freilich haben sie soviel von ihren Nachbarn entlehnt, dass sie auch deren Weiberdreieck im Ornament besitzen mögen. In dem Flötenhaus der Auetó war unterhalb der Dachwölbung ein ziemlich langer Fries angebracht, wo man auf schmalen Streifen hellen Holzes eine ganze Serie von Umpams oder Uluris in Schwarz aufgemalt hatte.

Nun aber Nr. 1. Zwei Reihen von Dreiecken übereinander, genau wie die Uluris, doch über die Dreiecke läuft eine die obern Seiten umrändernde Zickzacklinie hinweg, die bei Uluris niemals vorkommt. Dies sind auf einmal Fledermäuse, *tatniá* der Auetó und zwar *tatniá pevú* »flache«, »platte Fledermäuse«. Desgleichen sind Fledermäuse in Vertikalstellung dieselben Dreiecke, die wir horizontal in Nr. 2 als Uluris anerkennen müssen, es fehlt ihnen auch die begleitende Zickzacklinie von Nr. 1, nur werden sie als hängende Fledermäuse bezeichnet. So sind auch die *semimo*, die Fledermäuse der Bakaïrí, auf dem dritten Rückenholz der Abbildung 48, als hängende Fledermäuse aufgefasst. Gedenke ich der fliegenden Hunde, die wie Schinken im Baum hängen, so begreife ich das dreieckige Ornament vollkommen, und auch Andere sehe ich damit einigermassen einverstanden; allein Niemand will mich verstehen, wenn ich jetzt auch auf fliesenbedecktem Boden oder in den Kacheln über einem Spülstein u. s. w. überall Fledermäuse zu erblicken behaupte.

Vielleicht noch überraschender ist *mura-yót*, das Muster von »jungen« oder »kleinen« Bora-, oder Vogelbienen: die schwarzen Felder eines auf einer Ecke

stehend gehaltenen Schachbretts! Ein Muster, das uns allenthalben umgiebt und das trotzdem die grösste Einbildungskraft sich nicht als das Bild der von dem Indianer leidenschaftlich gern verspeisten jungen Biene oder auch nur ihrer Zelle vor die Seele rufen würde. Im Vergleich zu ihnen sind die Fischwirbelchen, Nr. 8, je zwei mit einer Spitze vereinigte gleichseitige Dreieckchen, stilisierten Sanduhren ähnlich, von packender Realistik.

Folgerungen. Was wir geometrische Figuren nennen, bezeichnet der Indianer mit Namen konkreter Vorlagen. Man wird sich noch einmal fragen müssen, ob es vielleicht nicht nur Namen sind, die er des Vergleiches halber anwendet. Doch das ist auf keine Weise aufrecht zu erhalten. Auch wir haben zwar keinen bessern Ausdruck als »Schlangenlinie«, aber dafür zeichnen wir auch niemals die Tüpfel daneben und unterscheiden nicht nach der Zahl oder Anordnung der Tüpfel Schlangenlinien, die verschiedenen Schlangenarten entsprechen, wie die Bakairi in Nr. 1 und 12 der Tafeln 20 und 21 thun. In Nr. 12 haben wir die Abbildung mit Tüpfeln, auf dem vierten Rückenholz Seite 265 dieselbe Schlange in der nach unserer Ansicht rein geometrischen Figur der Schlangenlinie. Doch ist auch diese dem Eingeborenen noch keine geometrische Figur; der gewiss unausbleibliche Folgezustand, dass sich das konkrete Ding in eine Abstraktion verwandelte, begann höchstens erst einzusetzen. Von den Dreiecken könnte der Indianer sagen, sie sind »uluriförmig«, aber einmal nennt er sie, obwohl seine Sprache den Vergleich sogar adjektivisch wohl auszudrücken vermag, schlechthin Uluris, und dann verbindet er sie gelegentlich auch, wie in Nr. 16, durch die Leistenschnüre. Noch zwingender ist aber der Beweis für das Mereschumuster, wenn der Eingeborene mir das umgebende Netz als Fischnetz, die ausgefüllten Ecken der Raute als Kopf, Schwanz und Flossen erklärt und die Entwicklungsstufen der Fischstilisierung in Nr. 15, Nr. 3 und Nr. 9 nebeneinander auf demselben Fries überliefert, wenn er endlich die Rauten dort, wo sie eine breite Fläche bedecken, dennoch Stück für Stück zeichnet und nicht durch Kreuzung paralleler Linien erzeugt. Ich mache mich anheischig, das Mereschumuster beliebig vielen unbefangenen und phantasiebegabten Personen vorzulegen und glaube, dass von hundert nicht Einer es als einen Fisch deutet. Die Sache geht ja so weit, dass wir überhaupt froh sein dürfen, wenn wir die Figuren einigermassen verstehen, nachdem wir wissen, wie der Indianer sie nennt; wollen wir aber behaupten, dass er die Namen nach Aehnlichkeiten geschaffen habe, so sollten wir doch selbst vorher die Aehnlichkeit bemerkt haben. Wie das Mereschumuster aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach entstanden ist und seine allgemeine Verbreitung gewinnen konnte, vermag ich erst in dem nächsten Kapitel zu erörtern, vgl. unter II.

Umgekehrt ist nichts leichter zu verstehen als die Entwicklung der geometrischen Figur aus einer Abbildung. Bestimmte Dinge machten den Leuten Vergnügen, und vorausgesetzt, dass sie solche Dinge malen — einerlei jetzt, wie sie überhaupt zum Malen fortgeschritten sind —, so muss sich bald aus den Einfällen der verschiedenen Künstler, wie wir sie bei dem Bakairifries noch in

buntem Durcheinander sehen, der eine oder andere allgemeinere Geltung verschaffen, wenn das betreffende Objekt wegen seiner natürlichen Einfachheit der Umrisse leichter zu erkennen ist. Ein rhomboider Fisch wird unter ungeübten Händen mehr Aehnlichkeit bewahren als irgend ein Vierfüssler. Eine Reihe von Uluris wird im Anfang in ihrer Anordnung noch individuell variiert, wie die Nummern 16, 15 und 14 vortrefflich zeigen, aber aus der Menge der individuellen Variationen gewinnt wieder diejenige den Sieg, die das Nebenwerk abstösst, die Aehnlichkeit der Einfachheit opfert und sich am leichtesten, wenn ich so sagen darf, fabrikmässig herstellen lässt. Je weniger man zu überlegen braucht, desto lebensfähiger ist die Form, denn sie wird auch geringeren Talenten erreichbar. Die Kunst macht hier noch einen Fortschritt, wenn sie die ewig zu wiederholende Schablone gewinnt; nur so kann sie Fuss fassen und ein allgemeines Bedürfnis werden und sich von Generation zu Generation erhalten. In diesem Stadium sind wir bei den Auetö, die Bakairi bewegen sich zum Teil noch unter seinem Niveau und lassen uns den Weg erkennen, der sich bei jenen nur noch in den Namen verrät.

Bei den Auetö ist die künstlerische Form schon Hauptsache, bei den Bakairi liegt der Nachdruck noch darauf, dass die Schemata Abbildungen sind. Mehr

Abb. 91. Ruder der Bakairi. (1/3 nat. Gr.) — Rochenringe. — Mereschu-Fische im Netz. — Pakú-Fisch. — Kuómi-Fische.

als alle Erörterung wird der seltsame Zustand bei den Bakairi durch ein Beispiel von vielen, die nebenstehende Abbildung eines mit primitiven »Kritzeleien« bedeckten Ruders erläutert. Die vier Kreise sind die Ringzeichnung eines Rochen, jenseit des Trennungsstriches folgen Mereschus in Netzmaschen, dann ein Pakú- und endlich mehrere »Kuómi«-Fische, ein sonst nicht vorhandenes Muster, dessen natürliches Vorbild ein mir unbekannter Fisch ist: *pinukii, merischu, páte, kuómi.* Ich bin weit entfernt, behaupten zu wollen, dass diese vier Muster in ihrer Zusammenstellung einen Sinn haben, glaube höchstens, dass es dem Verfertiger nahe gelegen hat, gerade auf einem Ruder Fische anzubringen. Aber es ist ungemein lehrreich zu sehen, dass von diesen Kritzeleien, wenn sie in ihrem Zusammenhang auch gewiss nichts bedeuten, also keine Bilderschrift sind, doch jede einzelne keineswegs ein beliebiger Schnörkel, sondern das Schema eines ganz bestimmten Dinges ist, also in der That das Element einer Bilderschrift darstellt. Niemals würden wir diese Schemata durch Ueberlegung richtig erklären, man muss von den Leuten selbst erfahren, was sie bedeuten, oder ruhig verzichten. Ich meinerseits bin ausserordentlich bescheiden im Deuten geworden, halte es auf der andern Seite aber für sehr oberflächlich, Figuren, die wir nicht verstehen, als Schnörkel abzufertigen. Wo

Figuren sich regelmässig wiederholen, wo es sich gar um Muster handelt, da darf man sicher sein, dass die ersten Leute, die sie zeichneten, auch ein bestimmtes Vorbild vor Augen hatten, dessen Sinn aber die Nachkommen vernachlässigt und unter dem Einfluss sprachlicher Differenzierung der nunmehr technischen Wörter auch ganz vergessen haben mögen.

Der Kulturmensch beginnt heute schon seine ersten Stümpereien in der Zeichenkunst mit Dreiecken, Vierecken, Kreisen, unsere Vorfahren haben an diesen und ähnlichen Figuren die Wissenschaft, die als die höchste gilt, entwickelt, er erblickt auch nirgendwo in der umgebenden Natur Linien und geometrische Figuren — folglich, schliesst er, sind diese fundamentalen Begriffe seinem eigenen reichen Innern entsprungen. Dass sie aus den Vorlagen von Schamschürzen, Fledermäusen, Fischen entstanden sein könnten, scheint ihm nicht nur unwürdig, sondern auch ein lächerlicher Umweg. Denn was ist leichter als ein Dreieck zu zeichnen? Was ist leichter, erwidere ich, als bis fünf zu zählen? Der Bakairi erklärt noch jetzt jedes Dreieck, das ich ihm zeichne, für eine Abbildung des Uluri, er kann die Dinge noch nicht zählen, ohne seine Finger zu Hülfe zu nehmen. Das Zahlwort »5« Hand, das sich noch bei vielen Naturvölkern findet, entspricht genau dem Uluri Dreieck, in beiden Fällen ist die innere Anschauung des Schemas oder die Abstraktion erst von dem Objekt gewonnen worden, in beiden hat das konkrete Vorbild noch lange Zeit sein Recht behauptet. Weder unsere Leichtigkeit, mit diesen Begriffen umzuspringen, noch die Thatsache, dass der Sinn unserer Zahlwörter aller spürenden Philologie entzogen bleibt, beweist, dass unsere Vorfahren einen andern Gang gegangen sind als die Naturvölker.

Der Lehrer der Geometrie braucht heute gewiss nicht mehr an einem Uluri besonderes Vergnügen zu haben, damit er ein Dreieck konzipieren könne. Das Uluri ist so eine Art Archaeopteryx der Mathematik. Wie sollte der fliegende Vogel anerkennen wollen, dass er von den kriechenden, bestenfalls flatternden Reptilien abstamme? Dennoch beweist die Unfähigkeit des Vogels, diesen Ursprung zu verstehen, nicht das Allergeringste dagegen. So beweist es auch nichts, wenn wir ausgezeichneten Flieger in den Höhen der Mathematik uns kaum vorzustellen vermögen, dass frühere Menschen sich noch nicht zu der kleinen Leistung aufschwingen konnten, ein simples Dreieck aus sich selbst hervorzuholen.

Verwendung der Ornamente. An den Gebrauchswaffen — es gab ja nur Bogen und Pfeile — waren gemalte Muster kaum anzubringen. Auch das Wurfholz wurde nur durch Umflechtung verziert; ein Korkkegel, der einem Pfeilschaft als Spitze aufsass, zeigte den Schmuck des Mereschumusters, vgl. die Abbildung Seite 109. Sonst darf man behaupten, dass aller Festputz, soweit er geeignete Flächen darbot, ausnahmslos mit Mustern bemalt war. Am meisten bemerkbar ist dieses an den Masken, für die sämtliche Stämme das Mereschu mit grosser Vorliebe verwendeten, wie sich bei Beschreibung der Masken des Näheren ergeben wird.

Ich will kurz die am meisten charakteristischen Beispiele der Verzierung mit Mustern aufführen. Bei den Bakaïrí sahen wir ein Kanu mit den Rochenringen und dem Zickzack der Anakonda bemalt. Von Rudern haben wir ausser dem der Abbildung 51 nur noch eins gefunden, wo ein Schlangenmuster angebracht war oder sich erhalten hatte. Dem im dritten Bakaïridorf liegenden Trommelbaum hatte man ausser den unter den Rindenzeichnungen erwähnten Mereschufiguren eine lange Fischgrätenzeichnung wie die der ersten Ornamententafel aufgemalt. Im Hafen der Mehinakú, wie ich ebenfalls schon angeführt habe, trugen mehrere Bäume hübsche Mereschumuster eingeritzt.

In erster Linie waren es bei den Bakaïrí die Kürbisse, die mit Mustern geschmückt waren, sowohl die Trinkschalen als die kugelförmigen Kalabassen als die flaschenförmigen, die zum Aufbewahren von Federn dienten. Netzförmig bedeckte sie bald das Uluri- bald das Mereschumuster; entsprechend der am Stiel ausgeschnittenen Scheibe der Kalabassen und ebenso gegenüber war ein Kreis gezeichnet, zu dem die Muster konvergierten, und von dem bei den durchschnittenen Kuyen an der Seite ein Halbkreis übrig blieb. Wir sahen in einem Beispiel, dass die Mereschus an einer Ecke übereinander geschoben waren, wodurch der Eindruck des Geflechts entstand. Gelegentlich wechselten Mereschus und Fledermäuse und waren nur dadurch unterschieden, dass bei diesen die Ecken nicht ausgefüllt waren, analog Nr. 10 auf Tafel 20. Die Rückenhölzer waren alle, wie beschrieben, mit Mustern dicht bedeckt. Vgl. Seite 266.

Abb. 52. Trinkkürbis (Bakaïrí) mit Mereschu- und Fledermausmuster. (1/7 nat. Gr.)

Abb. 53. Federkürbis (Bakaïrí) mit Mereschumuster. (1/8 nat. Gr.)

Bei den Nahuquá sind uns ebenfalls besonders die verzierten Kürbisse aufgefallen, nur dass hier hauptsächlich die beim Tanz verwendeten Rasselkürbisse verziert waren. Ihre ganze Malerei war nicht weither. Doch ist es möglich, dass ich sie unterschätze, weil sie ihren Hausrat bei unserm ersten Besuch ausgeräumt und bei unserm zweiten vielleicht auch noch zum Teil zurückgehalten hatten. Immerhin ist dies letztere nicht besonders wahrscheinlich, da sie dringend wünschten, mit uns Geschäfte abzuschliessen.

Vor den Mehinakú und Kamayurá, zumal den ersteren, zeichneten sich die Auetó als eifrige Maler aus. Bei den Mehinakú traten die Kürbisse, die bei den Kamayurá mit hübschen Mustern versehen wurden, gegen die Töpfe zurück. Die Mandioka-Grabhölzer waren durch Mereschumuster und, wie wir sehen werden, auch durch Schnitzwerk verziert. Beides ist auch auf die Beijúwender, mit denen die Fladen von einer Seite auf die andere geworfen wurden, auszudehnen. Ich gebe

das Beispiel eines Beijúwenders der Kamayurá (a) und eines der Yaulapiti (b), dieser armen Teufel, die uns vier hölzerne Beijúwender und nur einen steinharten Beijú anzubieten hatten. Der Kamayurá-Künstler hatte grösseres Gefallen daran, die Zwischenlinien zu zeichnen als die Mereschus, die er mit vier Hälften abfertigt. Man sieht an diesem hübschen Fall, der sogleich sein Gegenstück finden wird, so recht, wie das ursprüngliche Motiv im vollen Sinn des Wortes beiseite geschoben wird, und die Ornamentik um ihrer selbst willen bestehen will. Der Beijúwender der Yaulapiti zeigt oben und unten einen halben Mereschu und in der Mitte das Panzerfisch-Ornament der Auetö, von dem ich aber nicht wie vom Mereschu weiss, ob es bei den Yaulapiti gleichen Sinn hat.

Das reichhaltigste Material an Zeichnungen bieten bei den Mehinakú, Auetö und Kamayurá in gleicher Weise die Spinnwirtel. Während die Bakaïrí Wirtel

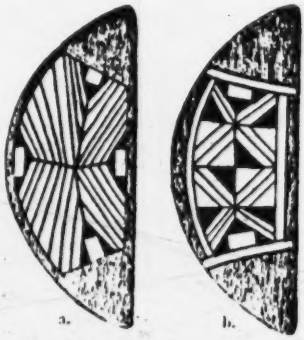


Abb. 54. Beijúwender.
a. der Kamayurá, b. der Yaulapiti.
(1/4 nat. Gr.)

Abb. 55. Spinnwirtel mit Mereschumuster (Mehinakú). (1/1 nat. Gr.)

aus Holz und Thon hatten, wurde hier überwiegend eine aus dem Bauchpanzer der Schildkröte herausgeschnittene Scheibe benutzt und fast immer auf einer, nicht selten auf beiden Seiten verziert. Das Muster wurde mit dem Zahn des Hundsfisches eingeritzt und mit Speichel und Kohle verschmiert.

Ich habe auf Seite 263 bereits zwei Schildkröten-Spinnwirtel der Mehinakú wiedergegeben. Einen gleicher Art von Holz zeigt die Abbildung 55. Der Zeichner ist mit seinen Trennungsstrichen sehr in die Enge geraten. Dieser Typus ist der gewöhnliche. Vereinzelt aber fanden wir Wirtel, die grossen Fortschritt bekunden. Auf der kleinen Arbeitsfläche bildet sich die Sicherheit der Hand und es entstehen rein künstlerische Motive. Man hatte, um die Mereschus ringsum abzugrenzen, dicht an dem Rande des Wirtels einen konzentrischen Kreis gezogen und diesen Raum zwischen Kreis und Scheibenrand freigelassen. Aber auch er wird jetzt gefüllt, man begleitet den Kreis wie den Scheibenrand mit Uluris und verbindet deren nach innen vorragende Spitzen. So sehen wir an dem Spinnwirtel der

Kamayurá, Abb. 56, den mit Mereschus gefüllten Innenkreis mit einem Kranz von Perlen, möchten wir fast denken, umgeben, doch sind diese eckigen Perlen nur die Zwischenräume zwischen den alten guten Uluris.

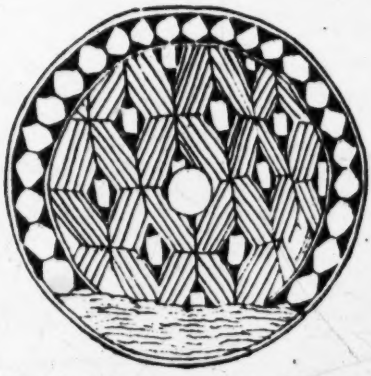


Abb. 56. Spinnwirtel der Kamayurá mit Mereschu- und Ulurimuster. Unteres Stück zerstört. (3/1 nat. Gr.)

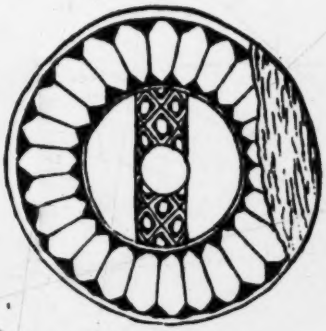


Abb. 57. Spinnwirtel mit Mereschu- und Ulurimuster. Seitenabschnitt rechts zerstört. Mehinakú. (3/1 nat. Gr.)

An einem Wirtel der Mehinakú, Abb. 57, haben wir genau dasselbe Verhalten, nur ist der verzierte Rand breiter gelassen, die Abstände der Uluris sind grösser und so umschliesst ein aus sechseckigen Täfelchen zierlich gebildeter Kranz den Innenkreis. Hier aber ist eine seltsame Variation dadurch entstanden, dass nur ein rechteckiger Streifen, dessen Mitte das Loch einnimmt, mit Mereschus ausgefüllt ist.

Die Leute kommen jetzt, wie in den Kränzen von Perlen und Täfelchen, zu Motiven, von denen sie selbst noch nichts wissen. Wehe diesen Erzeugnissen, wenn der Indianer sie nicht selbst erklären kann, und sie in die Hände eines durch seine Kulturbrille schauenden weissen Mannes geraten! Auf einem Wirtel der Auetó sind Mereschus im Kreise um die Mitte so angeordnet, dass sie sich mit den Seitenecken berühren: es entsteht eine »Rosette« oder ein zierlicher »Blumenkelch«.

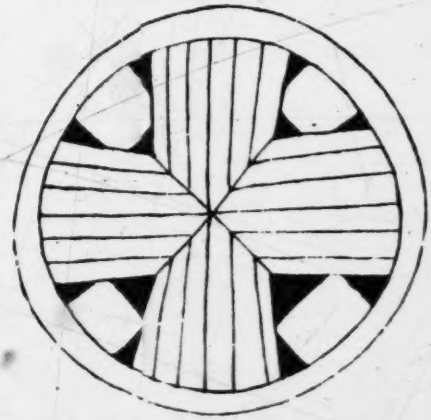


Abb. 58. Schmuckwirtel der Auetó mit Mereschumuster. (3/1 nat. Gr.)

Nachdem wir mit dem Mereschu mehr als zur Genüge vertraut worden sind, blicken wir ohne Aufregung auf die Scheibe, Abbildung 58, mit dem aufrechten Kreuz. Die Figur entsteht nur dadurch, dass der Künstler, wie der Kamayurá oben beim Beijúwender Abbildung 54a, die Trennungsstriche als Hauptsache behandelt, während der Unbefangene, der nur diese Scheibe sähe, umgekehrt

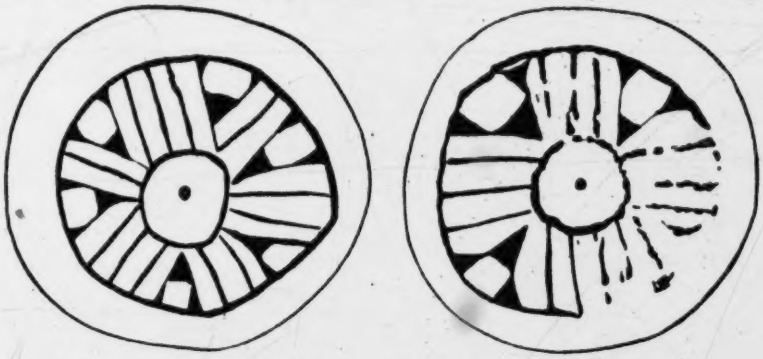


Abb. 59. Spinnwirtel der Kamayurá mit Mereschumuster. (1/1 nat. Gr.)

sich wenig darum kümmern würde, dass zwischen den Armen des Kreuzes noch einige ornamentale Dreiecke angebracht sind. Die Vierarmigkeit ist nur ein Zufall. Zwei andere herzlich kunstlose Stücke zeigen, Abbildung 59, ohne Weiteres, dass es sich um nichts als die Zwischenräume zwischen den radial gerichteten Mereschus handelt. Doch sind diese drei Scheiben keine wirklichen Spinnwirtel, sondern Nachahmungen derselben zum Festschmuck. Leichte Korkscheiben bei den Auetö, Stücke Schildkrötenknochen bei den Kamayurá sind mit schwarzer Farbe ohne Ritzung bemalt. Sie werden um den Hals gehängt. In dem Kreuzmuster hat man das Loch des Wirtels ausgelassen. Dagegen hat man es auf den beiden andern Scheiben gross und breit hingemalt und sie in der Mitte nur für den Aufhängefaden durchbohrt.

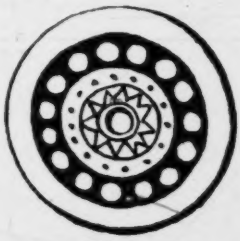


Abb. 60. Schmuckwirtel der Auetö mit Wirtelmotiven.

Ein Kunstwerkchen gleicher Art, in dem das Loch wirklich wie für die Aufnahme des Spindelstocks breit gebohrt ist, zeigt uns in der Mitte das Bild eines vielstrahligen Sterns, ferner eines diesen umschliessenden schwarz punktierten Kreisbandes und endlich eines ringsum laufenden schwarzen Kranzes, in dem neben jedem der schwarzen Punkte ein weisses Scheibchen ausgespart bleibt. Die durchlöcherte Sonne von 15 schwarzen Sternen und 15 weissen Vollmonden umgeben: für den Symboliker mag es schwer zu entscheiden sein, ob sich mehr die

Erklärung empfiehlt, dass hier ein Zauberer der Auetó den Weltuntergang prophezeit, oder die, dass er eine geheimnisvolle Ursage seines Volkes über die Schöpfung des Firmaments verkündet. In der That ist die niedliche Schmuckscheibe ein rein ornamentales Erzeugnis. Nur sind die Motive nicht ganz so weit hergeholt. Sie werden uns in roherer Ausführung auf den beiden Seiten eines anderen Schmuckwirtels, Abbildung 61, einzeln verständlich überliefert.

Vorher betrachte man sich noch einmal die beiden Wirtel von Abbildung 59, wo das eckig runde Loch von Mereschus umgeben dargestellt ist. Die Schmuckwirtel enthalten die Bestandteile der Arbeitswirtel nach Auswahl. Auf der grossen Kreuzmusterscheibe war das Loch ausgelassen, in Abbildung 61 bilden neben den Uluris die Lochkreise von 59 das Motiv. Während auf den Arbeitswirteln die Zeichnung erst eingeritzt und mit Farbe verschmiert wurde, hat auf den Schmuckwirteln bei direktem Aufmalen die Farbe grössere Freiheit; breit werden um das

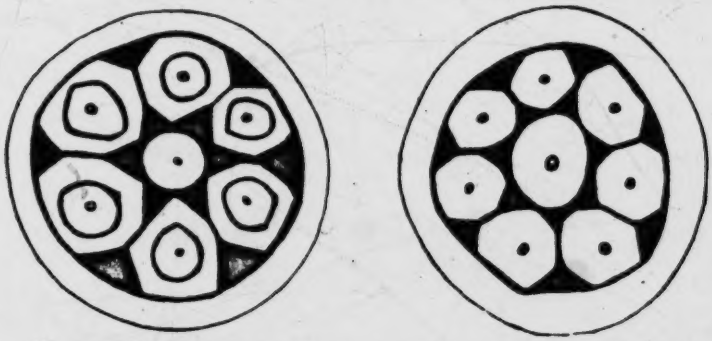


Abb. 61. Schmuckwirtel der Kamayurá. Vorder- und Rückseite. (3/4 nat. Gr.)

zentral gemalte Loch die Uluris hingesetzt (Abb. 61) und mit ebenso vielen am Randkreis durch Schnüre verbunden; in die freibleibenden Vielecke werden das eine mal ringsum sechs Lochkreise mit den Bohrlöchern, das andere mal sieben Bohrlöcher eingetragen. Abgesehen von diesen Zusätzen ist die Grundanlage der beiden Schmuckwirtel bereits in dem Arbeitswirtel mit dem getäfelten Kranz (Abb. 57) gegeben, dessen schon reduziertes Mereschumuster nur ganz fortfällt und dessen zahlreiche Uluris auf 7 oder 6 vermindert sind. So kommen die Uluris dazu, einen »Stern« zu bilden, dessen Spitzen freilich mit ihrer Verlängerung zum Rand hinüber an diesen beiden Schmuckscheiben noch der geometrischen Reinheit Hohn sprechen. Stern, Lochkreis und Bohrloch sind nun von dem Künstler der kosmologischen Schmuckscheibe (Abb. 60) in freier Komposition, die jedem Element eine eigene Stelle anwies, nach der Reihe abgezeichnet worden.

Die hölzernen Spinnwirtel waren sehr selten mit Ritzmustern verziert. Doch haben wir auch zwei gefunden, auf die man ein Muster geschnitzt hatte.

Ich schliesse die Abbildung des einen hübscheren, der auf beiden Seiten geschnitzt war, hier an; aus der üblichen Ritzkunst der Wirtel hervorgegangen, stellt die Arbeit den einzigen Fall von Flachschnitzerei dar. Die zuerst abgebildete Seite wolle man mit dem Kreuzwirtel vergleichen, Seite 273. Die vier dreieckigen Segmente sind die halben Mereschus; die Strichkontouren der Zeichnung wurden erhaben herausgeschnitzt, die so entstehenden Seitenleisten nach der Mitte geführt und die fünfeckigen Felder, die sich uns wiederum als die Hauptsache aufdrängen möchten und die doch nur von der Mereschu- und Lochumrandung übrig bleiben, vollständig geebnet. Auf der andern Seite des Wirtels sind zwischen den vier halben vier ganze Mereschus ausgeschnitten, und das Loch umgiebt, wie oft auch bei den Ritzmustern, ein fünftes zentrales.

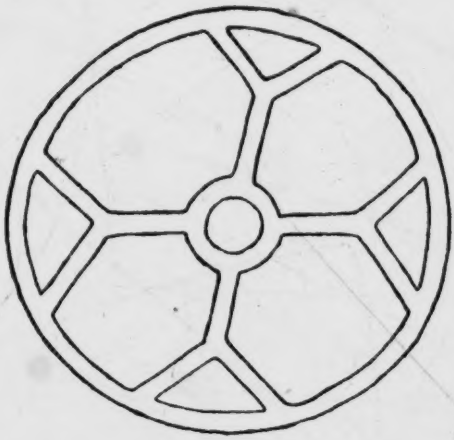


Abb. 62. Geschnitzter Holzwirtel der Aueto. Ober- und Unterseite. (1/1 nat. Gr.)

Bemalung der Töpfe. An den Thonnäpfen, die Tiere darstellen, ist gelegentlich, vgl. die Abbildung 87 des Eidechsentopfes in dem Abschnitt über die keramische Plastik, die Zeichnung des Tieres nachgeahmt. Häufiger sind die mittelgrossen und grossen Töpfe bemalt und zwar an der Aussenwandung mit parallelen senkrechten Streifen und mit Mustern ausser auf dem Boden. Besonders häufig sieht man die Tätowierungslinien der Mehinakú angebracht, die die Schulterblätter in Winkeln oder in Bogen innen umziehen. Die Tafel 15 mit den grossen Töpfen zeigt uns auf dem Topfboden links oben dieses Motiv in bereits reicherer Gestaltung, indem die Bogen nicht nur doppelt sind, wie auch bei der Tätowierung selbst

schon vorkommt, sondern dreifach und zwischen die beiden inneren Tüpfel und zwischen die beiden äusseren Schlangen-Zickzacke gemalt sind. Kleinere Bogen, wie die Frauen sie auf den Armen tätowiert haben, sind oberhalb des mit Farbe ausgefüllten Mittelfeldes angebracht. Der Topfboden im Vordergrund enthält einen Mittelkreis mit Netzwerk und ringsum das Schlangen-Zickzack sowie ein paar Striche in der Richtung der Seitenstreifen. Die Zeichnung ist unregelmässig genug, um uns davor zu bewahren, dass wir in ihr einen »Stern« erblicken, an den die Indianerin nicht gedacht hat.

III. Plastische Darstellung und Keramik.

Einleitung. Kettenfigürchen. Strohfiguren. Lehmpuppen. Wachsfiguren. Holzfiguren (Tanz-Vögel und -Fische, Mandioka-Grabhölzer, Beijäwender, Kämme, Schemel). Töpfe.

Die Kunst der Indianer, körperliche Formen nachzuahmen, ist ungleich weiter fortgeschritten als die der Zeichnung. Sie hat von vornherein, wie Ricci auch für die Versuche der Kinder hervorhebt, den grossen Vorteil, dass die perspektivischen Schwierigkeiten wegfallen. Die Teile mögen ungeschickt herausgearbeitet sein, sitzen aber doch an ihrer richtigen Stelle, es ist nicht nötig, sie an einen falschen Platz zu setzen, um sie zu zeigen. Genau so wie in der Zeichnung, ja, da die Zahl der Motive weit ansehnlicher ist, in grösserem Umfang tritt hier das Tiermotiv hervor. Abgesehen davon, dass Töpfe als Kürbisse dargestellt werden, aus denen sie wahrscheinlich hervorgegangen sind, handelt es sich ganz allein um Nachahmung von Tieren. Nur in der Tanzkunst tritt noch eine gleich unerschöpfliche Fülle von Motiven hervor, die der Freude am Jägerleben und seinen Beobachtungen entspringen.

Auch in der plastischen Kunst lässt sich noch deutlich erkennen, dass sie von Haus aus nur beschreibend ist. Wir dürfen hier nicht erwarten, den Weg soweit zurückverfolgen zu können, wie bei der Zeichnung, deren beste Leistungen noch eine Art kartographische Aufzählung der charakteristischen Merkmale bleiben und diese selbst noch in der geometrischen Umgestaltung konservieren, allein wir haben hier einen andern Hinweis, der nicht minder deutlich ist. Bei dem Bilden körperlicher Formen tritt das zu bearbeitende Material in viel höherem Grade in den Vordergrund als beim Einritzen von Linien. Wie der Reim häufig den Gedanken liefert, so liefert auch eine schon vorhandene Form häufig das Motiv. Da zeigt sich denn eine ganz auffallende Genügsamkeit in den charakteristischen Merkmalen, die beansprucht werden; eine beliebige kleine Aehnlichkeit reicht aus, um das Objekt für ein bestimmtes Geschöpf zu erklären. Auf einer höhern Stufe schmückt der Eingeborene einen Gebrauchsgegenstand durch ein frei erfundenes Motiv, und dieses verfällt alsdann der geometrischen Stilisierung genau so wie die Zeichnungen.

Kettenfigürchen. Die knappe Charakterisierung fällt am meisten bei den Figürchen auf, die an den Halsketten, zumeist der Säuglinge und kleinsten Kinder, zwischen den Samenkernen, Muschel- und Nussperlen aufbewahrt werden. Das Material ist ganz gleichgültig. Ein Stück aus der Windung der rosafarbigen Schneckenschale hat einen Rand, der in unregelmässigen Vorsprüngen und Ausbuchtungen verläuft: das ist ein Krebs. Aus der Schale des Caramujo branco, Orthalicus melanostomus, schneiden die Bakairi Vögel und Fische aus. Wir sehen ein schildförmiges Stück, den Rumpf, das sich unten in einen schmäleren Schwanz und oben in eine Art Halsstück fortsetzt (Abb. 63). Dieses »Halsstück« ist aber der Kopf, häufig seitlich durchbohrt, um die Schnur aufzunehmen, und erscheint ganz nebensächlich behandelt. Ist das Schwanzstück wie eine Flosse eingeschnitten, so haben wir statt des Vogels einen Fisch vor uns.

Abb. 63. Vogelfigur aus Muschelschale. (2/3 nat. Gr.)

So sind auch kleine Stücke des grünlichen, schwarzgesprenkelten Steins der Steinbeile: Fische, wenn sie platt sind, oder Vögel, wenn sich der walzenrunde Leib zum Schwanz abplattet. Der Natur wird durch Schleifen etwas nachgeholfen. In der Abbildung 64, Seite 279, zeigen die beiden ersten Ketten durchbohrte Steinscheiben (Durchmesser 2—3 cm) und Steinzylinder (3 cm lang) zwischen den Nussperlen, wie sie die Tumai und Yaulapiti herstellen, in der dritten sind diese Gebilde von den Nahuquá aus Thon, in der vierten von ihnen aus dem durchsichtigen bernsteinartigen Jatobá-Harz (Hymenaea) nachgeahmt; auch die dritte Kette enthält eine Harzperle. An der ersten und vierten Kette ist ein Vogel aufgereiht. Der Steinvogel, bei dem ein Knöpfchen als Schnabel erkennbar ist, wird als Taube bezeichnet. Auch die birnenförmigen Steine der Wurfpfeile werden in kleinem Format an den Ketten getragen, angebunden, nicht durchbohrt, und zwar fanden wir sie auch bei den Mehinakú importiert, die weder die Steine noch überhaupt Wurfhölzer haben.

Aus Nussschale und Knochen werden ähnliche Figuren geschnitzt. Bei den Mehinakú erwarben wir ein 7 cm langes Stück Bagadúfisch-Knochen, ein Viereck mit bogenförmig ausgeschweiften Seiten, das einen Vierfüssler darstellt, während ein kleineres Stück einen Rochen mit Schwanz und daneben den Bauchflossen wiedergiebt. Leider habe ich zu spät erfahren, dass den Figuren stets ein bestimmter Sinn unterlegt wurde, und kann deshalb von manchen nicht sagen, was sie bedeuten. Hier ist alles Raten zwecklos.

Strohfiguren. Wer sich noch zutraut, die Bilder und Figuren des Indianers immer deuten zu können, den hätte ich gern in der Hütte der Bakairi, die den grossen Fries enthielt, neben mir gehabt, nicht einmal so sehr wegen der aufgemalten Ornamente als wegen eines Flechtmusters, das sich über der Türe befand. Als uns der Hausherr die Abbildungen erklärt hatte, führte er uns vor

diese Thüre als ob er sagen wollte: »nun habe ich hier noch ein kleines Kunstwerk«. Es befand sich dort ein Flechtwerk aus dünnen, querliegenden schwarzen Reisern und vertikal gespanntem gelbem Stroh. Man erblickte zwei Reihen von Quadraten zwischen drei Stangen, in diagonaler Richtung abwechselnd von links oben nach rechts unten und von rechts oben nach links unten so geteilt, dass jedes von ihnen durch ein schwarzes Reiserdreieck und ein gelbes Strohdreieck zusammengesetzt war. Diese Dreiecke erklärte der Bakairi für »Schwalbenfedern« „*tàriga yuchàto*". Die *tàriga* ist eine schwarzgelbe Schwalbe*), während die *iri* schwarzweiss ist. Offenbar stellten die gelben Dreiecke des Musters die Flügel dar. Es handelt sich keineswegs um ein zufälliges Muster, denn danach war weder der besondere Hinweis, noch die umgebenden Abbildungen, noch die Zusammensetzung mit den Reisern angethan. Allein jeder Zweifel schwand, als der Indianer uns im Innern von zwei Quadraten, die sonst nur aus querliegenden Reisern gebildet waren, mehrere schmale, an und für sich ganz zwecklose Flechttouren zeigte, wo ein wenig gelbes Stroh aufgewickelt war, und nun erklärte: »Kapivara-Zähne«. Zähne also von Hydrachoerus capybara oder Wasserschwein, dem grossen Nagetier, das sich durch gewaltige Schneidezähne, die Meissel der Eingeborenen, auszeichnet. So ungefähr konnte man zugeben, waren die Umrisse ähnlich, allein von selbst wäre kein Europäer auf diese richtige Deutung verfallen. Endlich sahen wir im Kunstlerhaus der Aucto einen geflochtenen Streifen, den sie uns als »Fischgräten« bezeichneten. Es war dieselbe Figur wie Nr. 5, Tafel 20.

Abb. 64. Kettenfigürchen. (½ nat. Gr.)

Ich würde diese Beispiele schon früher bei den Zeichnungen und nicht hier angeführt haben, wenn sie sich nicht an eigentümliche Flechtfiguren oder -puppchen anschlössen, die wir bei den Nahuquá fanden. Von den beiden Abbildungen 65 und 66 ist die eine leicht verständlich und für den Kindergarten brauchbar, sie stellt eine

*) In meinem Buch »Die Bakairi-Sprache«, p. 39, irrtümlich als halb schwarz, halb weiss angegeben.

Kröte vor; die andere jedoch würde ich wenigstens, und wenn ich ein Jahr darüber nachgedacht hätte, nicht richtig gedeutet haben. Wir haben in ihr ein Reh anzuerkennen! Es ist in der That auch ganz einfach. Erstens darf ich davon ausgehen, das es ein Tier ist; dann muss das kräftiger herausgehobene Eckstück rechts der Kopf sein, und ich habe somit ein vierfüssiges Tier, während ich mich um die drei Rückengipfel nicht mehr kümmere, da ein Nahuquá kein Dromedar oder Kameel, geschweige ein Tier mit drei Erhöhungen auf dem Rücken kennt. Es muss ferner ein solches vierfüssiges Tier sein, für das der Schwanz, weil er fehlt, nicht charakteristisch sein sollte. Was ich aber von Füssen sehe, ist den Hufen des Rehs am ehesten entsprechend. So hinke ich mit meinen Schlüssen langsam hinter denen des Nahuquá her, während der Indianer eines anderen Stammes nach kurzem Besinnen von selbst die richtige Lösung findet.

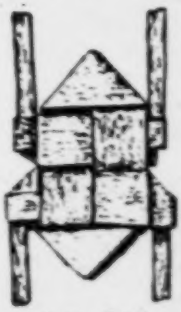


Abb. 65. Kröte. Nahuquá. (1/3 nat. Gr.)

Wie ich bei den Zeichnungen schon der Bororó gedacht habe, möge deren analoges Fröbelspielzeug auch in diesem Zusammenhang vorgenommen werden. Das gefaltete Stückchen Palmblatt, Abb. 67 links, stellt eine »Bororó-Frau« vor, das heisst es ist nichts als die Schambinde mit dem sie festhaltenden Rindengürtel. Ein »Bororó-Mann« wurde dargestellt, indem man den Palmblattstreifen auf gleiche Art faltete und nun nur einen Faden quer darum band, die Leibschnur, die er neben seinem Stulp trägt und auch lange vor Erfindung des Stulps getragen hat.

Abb. 66. Reh. Nahuquá. (1/3 nat. Gr.)

Eine besondere Gruppe von Strohfiguren sind die der Bakairi-Tanzfeste. Ich werde sie bei den Masken zu besprechen haben. Sie stellten Tiere dar und wurden auf dem Kopf getragen. Spannenlange Puppen dienten als Kinderspielzeug und wurden auch im Dach der Festhütte an einer Stange aufgesteckt zum Zeichen, dass man Mummenschanz feiere; sie verkündeten aller Welt: »Heute grosses Tanzvergnügen«. Die beiden Puppchen der Abbildung 68 scheinen sehr ausdrucksvoll zur Fröhlichkeit aufzufordern. Grösseren Strohfiguren, die nicht als Kopfaufsätze dienten, begegneten wir 1884 vor dem zweiten Bakairidorf am Batovy. »Kurz vor dem Ausgang des Waldes trafen wir eine wunderbare Aufstellung von ungefähr einem Dutzend Tiergestalten längs einer Seite des Pfades, wahrscheinlich Ueberbleibsel eines Festes.« (Sie sollten die Teilnehmer der Nachbardörfer begrüssen). »Sie waren aus Laub und Stroh verfertigt.

Abb. 67. Frauen- und Männerfiguren. Bororó. (1/3 nat. Gr.)

meist Vierfüßler mit langem, dünnem Körper, fast nur aus Wirbelsäule und hohen Beinen bestehend; die größten reichten uns bis an die Hüften. Ein Ding, das offenbar ein Affe sein sollte, kletterte eine Stange hinauf.« (Durch Central-brasilien, p. 168.)

Ungemein charakteristisch für das Vergnügen in der Kunst sind die Maisfiguren, beinahe ausschließlich Vögel, die wir am schönsten im zweiten Bakairidorf trafen. Dort hingen sie fast trübsalsgroß von der Wölbung der Kuppel an einer langen Schnur herunter, ein seltsamer Anblick für den Eintretenden, der gewiß an Idole und Fetische dachte. Aber diese braven Vögel waren nichts als liebevoll zusammengestellte Maiskolben, die in ihrer natürlichen Strohhülle aufbewahrt wurden. Ich habe Figuren verzeichnet von der Harpyia destructor, einer großen und einer kleinen Falkenart, dem Schlangenhalsvogel und dem Jabiru (oder Riesenstorch). Eine menschenähnliche Figur, eine Puppe mit einem Kopf oben statt des Kopfes, stellte den Imoto-Tänzer in seinem Strohanzug dar. Sonst waren es immer Vögel und zwar große Vögel. Oefters waren ein paar echte Schwanzfedern eingesteckt oder dem Maisstroh einige farbige Bänder aufgemalt. Die nebenstehende Harpyia destructor (Abb. 69) ist durch den starken Schnabel und die Haube gekennzeichnet, die Schwanzfedern sind schwarz gebändert; mit Liebe sind die Zehen aus gedrehtem Stroh verfertigt und, wo der Lauf aus dem Gefieder der Schenkel hervortritt, befindet sich eine Abschnürung. Imponierter war der Tuyujústorch; er hing mit ausgebreiteten Flügeln!

Abb. 68. Aufbewahrung von Tonkolben. Bakairi. (1/6 nat. Gr.)

Abb. 69. Maisfigur: Harpyia destructor. Bakairi. (1/10 nat. Gr.)

Ein dicker Maiskolben bildete als Mittelstück den Körper; nur an ihm war der Stiel nicht abgeschnitten, sondern bildete weit vorragend den etwas dünnen, aber langen Schnabel. Auf jeder Seite waren elf Maiskolben nebeneinander zwischen ein paar Reisern eingepaßt, und diese schien schwebende Brücke stellte nunmehr die Mycteria americana dar, deren einzelne Teile nach der Reihe abgebrochen und gerichtet wurden. Nichts Geheimnisvolles, nichts Symbolisches, nur ein Scherz, den der Bakairi dem erstaunten Europäer kaum zu lachen gern bereit war.

Lehmpuppen. Eine ähnliche unerwartete Verbindung des Schönen und Nützlichen zeigt eine rote schwere Lehmpuppe, 30 cm lang, 24 cm breit und 7 cm dick, Abb. 70. Vier rundliche Stummel, die durch zwei seitliche und eine untere Ausbuchtung des Körperklumpens erzeugt werden, sind die Extremitäten, ein kolbiger ungegliederter Vorsprung das Haupt. Zwei Löchlein die Augen, eine Vertiefung der stark abwärts gerunzelte Mund und ein Löchlein wiederum der Nabel. Dieser rote Lehmmann ist eine ernsthafte Kinderpuppe. Er besteht aus dem Stoff, von dem die Bakairi sagen, daß ihre Großväter ihn verzehrten, bevor sie die Manioka kannten. Heute wird der schwere fette Teig wohl kein geschätzter Leckerbissen mehr sein. Zum Spielen ist die Puppe nach ihrem Gewicht auch wenig geeignet. Daß die Kinder daran schlickten, wurde mir angegeben. Doch haben wir ähnliche Puppen aus weißlichem, härterem, nicht erdhaftem Lehm gebrannt und hat den Kolische-Indianern nichts vom Lehmesse bemerkt, während ich bei den Bororó allerdings gesehen habe, daß sie von der Wand des Stammhauses, vor der wir plaudernd standen, wie in Gedanken Stückchen abbrachen und aufessen.

Abb. 70. Lehmpuppe. Bakairi. (1/3 nat. Gr.)

Abb. 71. Tonpuppe. Aweiö. (1/3 nat. Gr.)

Bei den Bakairi entdeckten wir eine kleine weibliche Puppe aus gebranntem Ton, die sie den Aweiö zuschreiben, die einzige ihrer Art. Bei den Aweiö selbst fanden wir nichts Aehnliches. Die Arme sind dicht am Anzatz, die Beine etwas tiefer unmittelbar unterhalb des ziemlich ausgeschwellenen Oberschenkel abgebrochen.

Von dieser Elephantiasis abgesehen ist die Modellierung gar nicht so übel. Besonders der Rumpf ist lobenswert, der Nabel sitzt an der richtigen Stelle, und der Rücken erscheint sowohl in seinem Verlauf mit der Furche der Wirbelsäule als dort, wo er aufhört, mit einer etwas tief eingeschnittenen Teilung frei von allem Schematismus. Der Kopf erinnert an den eines Eskimo in der runden Kapuze, was einmal von dem Fehlen des Halses herrührt und dann an der flachen Vertiefung liegt, die unterhalb des Haarrandes für das Gesicht gegraben wurde und in der man die Nase stehen liess. An dem Lehmmann der Bakairi ist bei genauerem Zusehen zu erkennen, dass man auch eine (nur äusserst flache) Vertiefung für das Gesicht angelegt hat.

Abb. 72. Wachsfigur: Nabelschwein. Mehinaku. (1/3 nat. Gr.)

Wachsfiguren. Wiederum wie beim Mais nur eine kunstvolle Art, das Material aufzubewahren. Das schwarze Wachs wurde, und zwar am hübschesten bei den Mehinaku, zu niedlichen Tiergestalten geformt und so aufgehängt oder auch in den Korb gelegt, bis man es gebrauchte. Bei den Bakairi fanden wir eine menschliche Figur, besser als die Lehmpuppen modelliert. Die zivilisierten und zum Christentum bekehrten Indianer haben den alten Brauch dahin verändert, dass sie Heiligenbildchen aus Wachs herstellen und verkaufen. Am bildsamen Wachs zeigte sich am besten, was die Künstler vermögen. Einige Tiere waren sehr gut modelliert, so das kleine, 6,5 cm lange Pekari oder Nabelschwein der Abbildung 72, Dicotyles torquatus. Die Augen sind durch ein paar Muschelplättchen wiedergegeben, die Nasenlöcher der Rüsselschnauze tief eingestochen. Von den Säugetieren sahen wir sonst noch den grossen Sumpfhirsch und einen Brüllaffen als Wachsfiguren. Häufiger waren die hängenden Vögel, oft rot bemalt. In der Illustration 73 sehen wir eine Karijo-Taube; die Figur, 15 cm lang, mit den kurzen Flügelstummeln, war recht steif geraten.

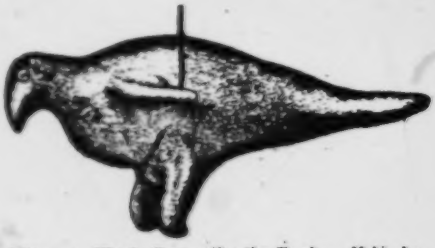


Abb. 73. Wachsfigur: Karijo-Taube. Mehinaku. (1/3 nat. Gr.)

Holzfiguren. Beim Tanzschmuck werde ich die geschnitzten und bemalten Holzmasken für sich behandeln. Die Bakairi, deren Festputz zumeist aus Strohmützen, Strohanzügen und auf dem Kopf getragenen Strohtieren bestand, schnitzten für ihre Kopfaufsätze Vögel aus leichtem Holz. Vom Batovy haben wir 1884 ein wundersames Kopfgerüst mitgebracht (abgebildet »Durch Centralbrasilien« p. 322), wo sieben buntbemalte Vögel drei langen mit Baumwollflocken

umwundenen Stäbchen aufsitzen, Vogel, die ich damals für Schwalben hielt, mittlerweile aber als Sanyawi (Tanagra Sayaca Neuw.) bestimmen konnte. Aehnliche Vögel sind auch die in Nr. 74 abgebildeten, von denen der grössere einen Falken, der kleine den hastigen Strandvogel Maguarico (Calidris arenaria) darstellt, sie waren zahlreich im dritten Bakairidorf am Kulisehu vorhanden. Der Hals ist scharf vom Körper abgesetzt, einige Linien versinnbildlichen der Zeichnung des Gefiders und ein rechts und links durch den Leib gesteckter und unten wieder mit seinen Enden zusammengebundener langer Halm stellt die Beine dar.

Abb. 74. Medicinpfeifen. Bakairi und Mawaiaiwa. Bakairi. (⅔ nat. Gr.)

Am Batovy haben wir (Abb. 75) aus harter Rinde plump geschnitzte, zum Aufhängen durchbohrte Fische gefunden, 30—40 cm lang, platt und breit mit Flossen oder handartig ohne Flossen und den Kiemendeckel durch einen Bogen markiert, wie an den Rostzeichnungen der Fische eine Erhöhung angefüllt ist, um den Kopf darzustellen. Aehnliche Fische finden wir 1887 bei den Nahuqua. Hier sind es aber Schweinsbilder, die ich in dem Kapitel „Medicinwesen und Tanzschmuck, III.“ unter den Medicinpfeifen besprochen werde.

Abb. 75. Holzfisch der Batovy-Bakairi. (⅔ nat. Gr.)

Die Mandioka-Grabholzer zeigen bei den Mehinaku eine geschnitzte Verzierung von grossem Interesse. Das gewöhnliche Grabholz ist ein 60—65 cm langer, glatter und spitzer Stock aus hartem Holz genau von derselben Form wie das mit dem Moreschlamm versehene und mehrfach umflochtene Schmuckholz der Abbildung 56. Diese spitzen Hölzer ersetzten den Spaten. Nun fällt es einigen Gewässern bei, an dem stumpfen Oberende des Stockes eine Grabwespe, ein Tierchen,

Abb. 76. Mandiokagraber als Rückenholz. Bakairi. (⅓ nat. Gr.)

das auch den Sand aufwirft, mit Kopf und einem Teil des Leibes zu schnitzen. Vgl. Abb. 77. Das erste Bild der Serie zeigt uns dieses Motiv im ersten Stadium, wir sehen den eingeschnürten Leib scharf abgesetzt und darum den Kopf mit jederseits einem Auge aus Wachs (vgl. auch Abb. 78). In den drei folgenden Bildern ist die Figur stilisiert, das letzte, eine einfache Spitze, scheint mit dieser Entwicklung nicht zusammenzuhängen, doch fällt es auf, wie das

Spitzenstück auf feinem Rand abgerutscht ist. Figur 2, 3 und 4 sind also stilisierte Grabwerkzeuge; sie waren ebenso wenig als solche noch zu erkennen wie die Pferdekopfe auf manchen Gebieten der pommerschen Bronzeklingen, wenn man ihre Ge-

Abb. 77. Grabwerkzeuge-Modell der Bacairi-Indianer. Mehinaku. (¾ nat. Gr.)

schichte nicht kennen, und würden ohne diese gewiss für rein ornamental gehalten. In unserm Fall ist das Modell wirklich motiviert, die Indianer machten nur lachend vor, dass sie selbst den Boden auflockern, wie die Grabwerkzeuge wühlt und den Sand umgewirft. Die Mehinaku nennen sie *Iabiri*, die Bakairi *Ainghéing*.

Die halbmondförmigen Beijéwender, die auf beiden Seiten herauf zu wenden pflegen, erhielten bei den Mehinaku einen in Tiergestalt gearbeiteten Griff. Der Schnabel des Beijéwenders gilt somit als Vogelkopfen, der sich in einem langen Hals mit Kopf fortsetzte. In der Abbildung 78 ist der Kopf einer Lilliedrossel, *Turdus Ajaja*, dargestellt. Dieselbe befindet sich eine Schlange mit dem bekannten Zickzack, diesmal in Holz. Der Beijéwender misst meist 12 oder 13 cm breit, und mit dem Griff 30—35 cm lang. Das grösste Stück der Sammlung, eine Schaufel ohne Griff, ist 43 cm lang und 19½ cm breit. Bei den Mehinaku, den Meisterern der Kulturbau, fanden wir noch ein Unikum von Beijéwender, der eher eine Kelle zu sein schien. Dieser Kochenangelschaufel war ein schmales, 86 cm langes, 11 cm breites Brett, dessen beide Seiten wellenförmig ausgeschnitten waren.

Abb. 78. Beijéwender und Mundschabeeb. Mehinaku. (¾ nat. Gr.)

Die Kämme waren bei den Mehinaku und Nahuqua durch Schnitzerei verziert. Harte Holzstäbchen bilden die Zähne, sind in deren mittleren Teil zu einandergeflochten und zwar häufig mit hübschem Rautenmuster, und wurden oberhalb wie unterhalb des Geflechts noch durch ein Paar querer Bambusbänder

zusammengebunden. Vgl. den Auetö-Kamm, Abb. 79. Eine fortgeschrittene Technik erreicht der zusammengebundenen Leisten durch Querbinden, in denen eine Langplatte eingeschnitten ist; durch diese wird der Kamm hindurchgeschoben. Solchen bis zu 18 cm langen Kammbalken werden an jedem Ende Tierfigurchen aufgesetzt, wobei ein Kamm deren vier hat. Die Leute konnten aber mit diesem Handwerkszeug von Fischchen und Mouchels keine ähnlichen Figurchen zu Stande bringen. Der Kopf blieb meist, wie die Bronzepferde unserer Denkmäler sich häufig einen Pfeiler in den Leib gerammt zu haben scheinen, durch einen Zwischenraum mit der Basis verbunden; wurden die Kamme ausgegraben, so lieferte man die unbekannten Vorderfüßer schleunigst zum Gegenstand umgewandelt wie, wo es Elephanten oder Wildsau gibt. Die Figuren des in Nr. 80 abgebildeten Kamms der Meinakó und Jaguar, zierlicher und für uns nicht minder schwer zu bestimmen, der Nahuqui stellen den Agutí, Dasyprocta Agutí, ein springendes, hasenartiges Nagetierchen vor. Auch hier sind die Motive für den Kamm verständlich. Der bunte Jaguar und der Agutí ruhen, wie es seinen kostbaren Fellen wegen auch wohl lieret, der Goldhase, einer der schmucksten Glieder der Familie (Perlen, Stagetiere II p. 583), dessen lebhaft glänzendes Haar bei den Bewegungen des Tieres oder wechselnder Beleuchtung ein ähnliches Farbenspiel zeigt, sind beide durch vollendet schöne Behaarung ausgezeichnet. Dabei paßt sich der Agutí noch eifriger als der Kitac.

Abb. 79. Kamm. Auetö. 1/1, ob. Gr.

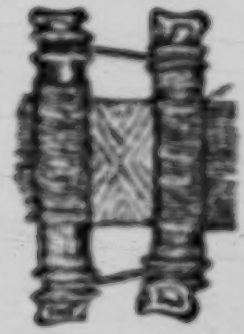


Abb. 80. Kamm von Jaguarete. Nahuqui. 1/1, ob. Gr.

Abb. 81. Schemel. 1/10, ob. Gr.

Die Hauptwerke der Schnitzkunst sind die Sitzschemel. Es ist bemerkenswert, daß die Bakairi sie *apéde* und die Auetö und Kamayurá *apédip* nennen; jenes erinnert an das Lehnwort, da das Tupí den zugehörigen Verbalstamm *apyy* «sich setzen» etc. besitzt. Die einfachste Form (Abb. 81) besteht aus einer rechteckigen leicht konkaven Sitzplatte und zwei dazu in Linie nach gerichteten Stützbrettchen mit schaufelartiger Verlängerung vorn und hinten, alles jedoch aus einem

Stück gearbeitet. 42 cm lang, 19 cm breit und 14 cm hoch ist eine Durchschnittsgröße; es gab kleine Dinger 21 × 10 cm und 7 cm hoch, auf denen zu sitzen ein Kunststück war. Weder von diesen einfachen noch von den kunstvolleren waren viele Exemplare vorhanden, sie fanden sich jedoch immer in dem Häuptlingshause und wurden dem Gast angeboten. Die Sitzplatte erhielt zuweilen eine

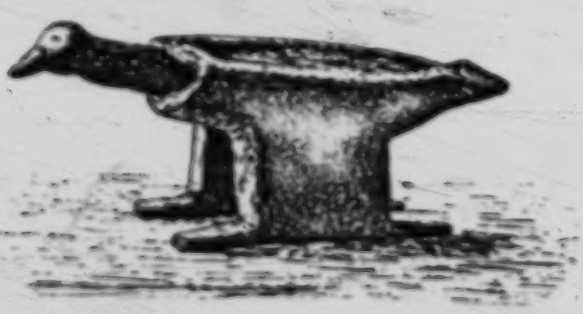


Abb. 82. Tujuju-Schemel. Kamayurá. (⅕ nat. Gr.)

mehr ovale Form, die sich vorn und hinten in ein dreieckiges Schwanzstück verlängerte, und stellte einen Fisch dar.

Am häufigsten sahen wir Vogelgestalten. So erwarben wir bei den Kamayurá (Abb. 82) einen Tujuju-Storch, Mycteria americana, und bei den Mehinakú (Abb. 83) einen Nimuerutú, Tantalus loculator, von den Brasilern Jabiru oder João grande, der grosse Hans genannt. Die beiden Tiere sind hauptsächlich durch den Schnabel unterschieden, der den Nimuerutú so lächerlich gebogen. Mit Vorliebe stellte man die grössten und ansehnlichsten Vögel dar. So

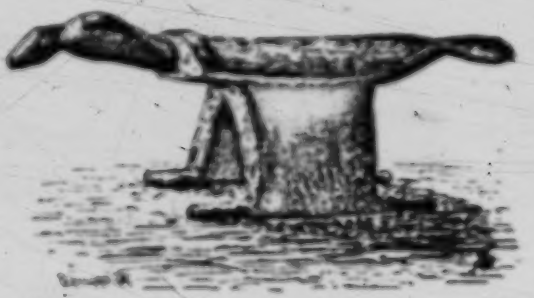


Abb. 83. Nimuerutú-Schemel. Mehinakú. (⅕ nat. Gr.)

finden wir bei den Mehinakú einen prächtigen Königsgeier, Sarcoramphus papa, oder roten Urubú. Die roten Warzen, die dieser prächtige Raubvogel zwischen dem Schnabel und den Augen hat, waren sorgfältig geschnitzt. Der hier abgebildete Schemel der Trumai (Abb. 84) soll den weissen Urubú darstellen; ihm fehlen die Warzen. Merkwürdigerweise hat man ihm zwei Hälse und Köpfe gegeben, sodass wir hier den Stuhl des Häuptlings in Gestalt eines Doppeladlers sehen; es sollen Männchen und Weibchen sein. Etwas prosaisch ist dem gegenüber die

Vertiefung auf dem Rückenschild, sie dient als Napf zum Zerkleinern und Anrühren des Färbharzes. Bei allen Vögeln sind die mit Schienen versehenen Stützbretter des einfachen Schemels erhalten geblieben, sie stehen nur mehr gespreizt und erscheinen in der Mittellinie des Bauches angesetzt. Stützbretter und Sitzplatte bestehen aus einem Stück. Die Oberfläche ist äusserst sorgsam geglättet. Von dem Doppelgeier sind die Maasse, die mit denen der übrigen übereinstimmen, folgende: 61 cm lang, 24 cm breit, 25 cm hoch.

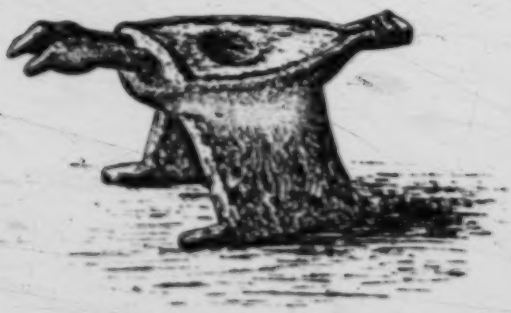


Abb. 84. Doppelgeier-Schemel. Tramel. (⅓ nat. Gr.)

Abb. 85. Affen-Schemel. Nahuquá. (⅓ nat. Gr.)

Zwei Vierfüsler haben wir gefunden. Auch hier hat man höhere Typen gewählt. Die Stützbretter sind in vier Füsse umgewandelt. Bei den Nahuquá erhielten wir einen nicht sehr anschaulichen Affen, 46 cm lang, charakterisiert durch Ohren, Nase und den langen horizontalen Schwanz. Der Rücken hat seine natürliche Rundung. Das Tier wurde bei den andern Stämmen

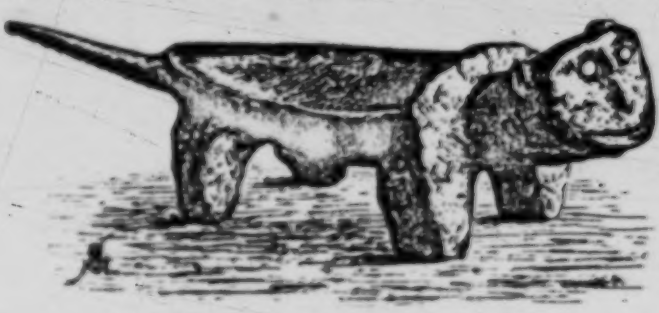
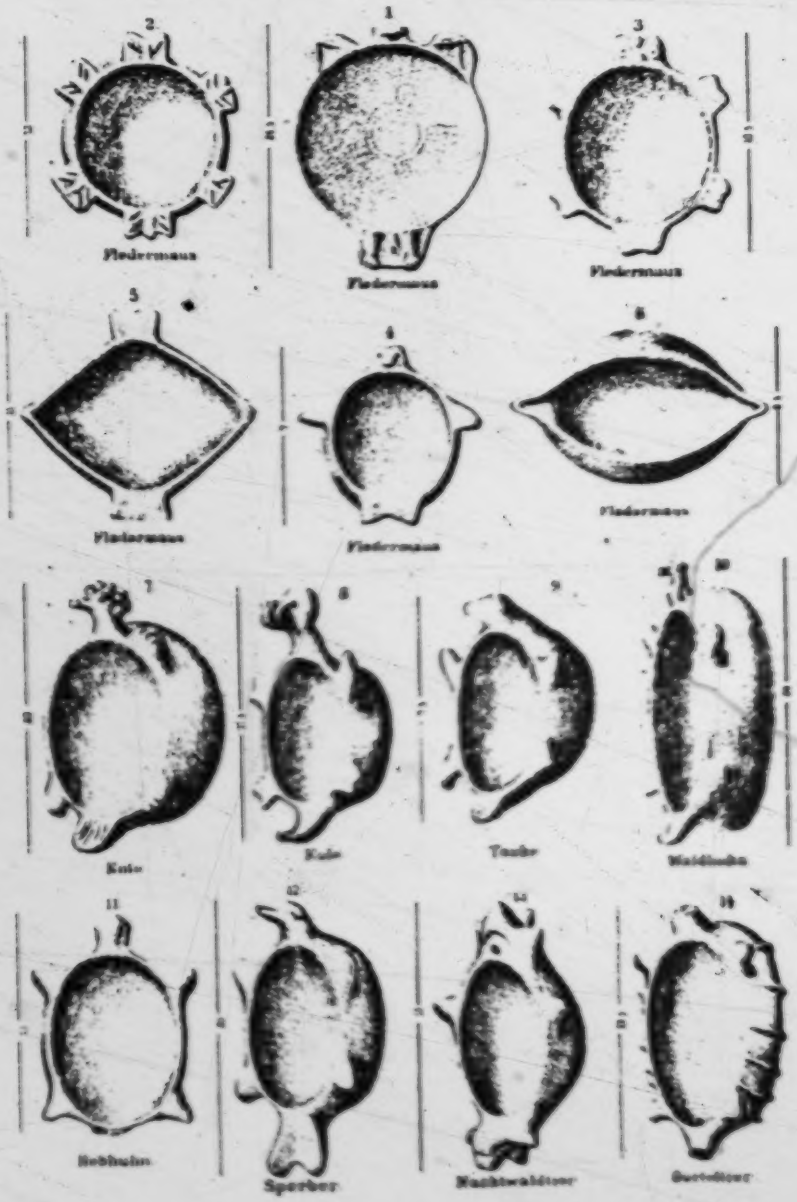


Abb. 86. Jaguar-Schemel. Mehinakú. (⅓ nat. Gr.)

stets sofort richtig bestimmt. Das Prachtexemplar unserer Sammlung ist jedoch der Jaguar der Mehinakú, ein klotziges Geschöpf, 90 cm lang und 18 cm breit,

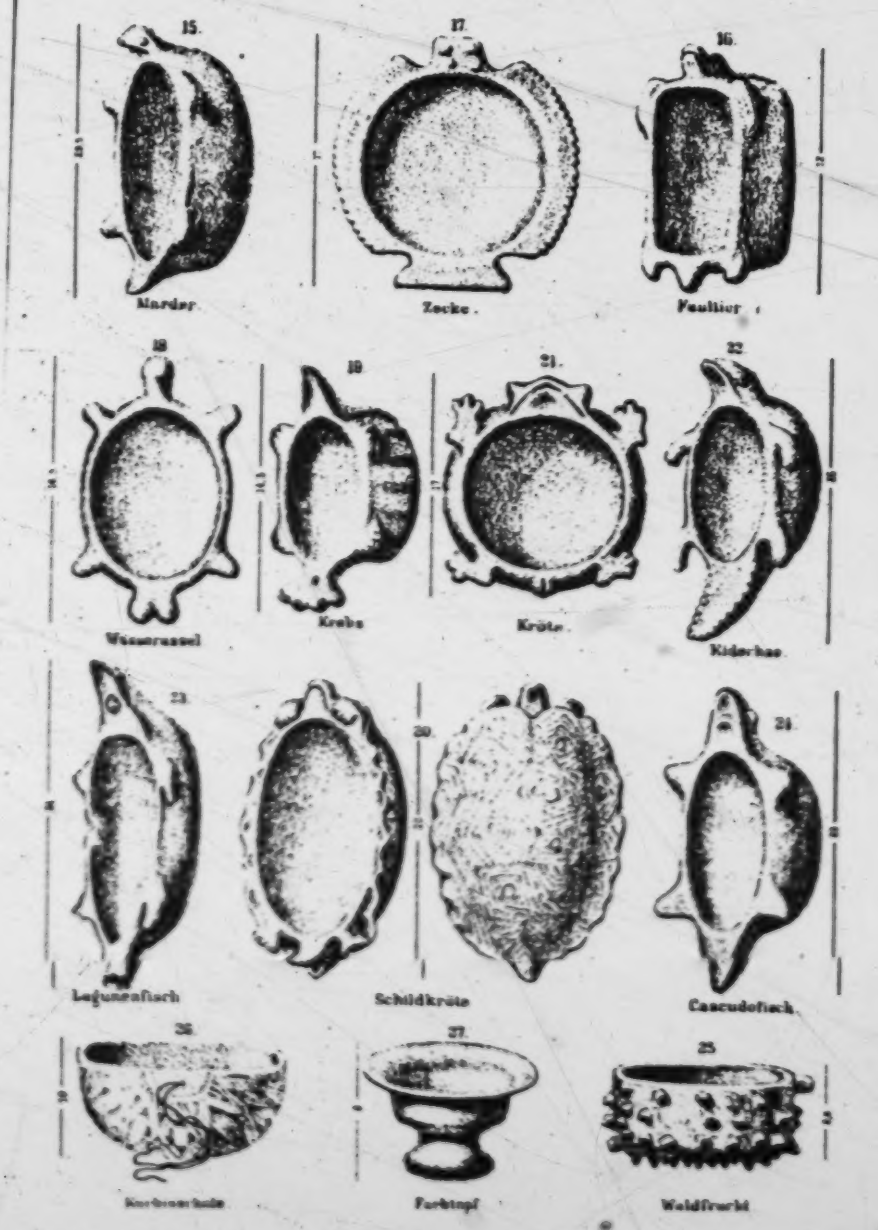
TAF. XXIII.



Töpfe vom Kulisehu.

[P-288-A]

TAF. XXIV.



v. d. Steinen, Zentral-Brasilien.

Druck v. Loeper & Kraatz, Berlin.

Töpfe vom Kulisehu.

Maasse in Centimetern

del. u. lith. F. Fiore, Berlin.

[p.288-B]

mit einem plumpen Kopf nebst wohlausgearbeitetem Hals, einem langen schildartigen Rücken und einem langen etwas aufgerichteten Schwanz. Vortrefflich sind die Katzenohren wiedergegeben, die Nase beschränkt sich auf eine unbestimmte Erhöhung, das Maul ist eine breite Querrinne und die Augen sind ein paar runde Unio-Muschelstücke mit Perlmutterglanz.

Töpfe. Die Grundform der Thonnäpfe (vgl. Seite 241, 242), mit denen wir es hier allein zu thun haben, ist wie die der Kuyen halbkugelig bis fast halbeiförmig. Die auf den beiden Tafeln 23 und 24 gezeichneten Töpfe befinden sich sämtlich im Berliner Museum für Völkerkunde. Sie stammen aus beliebigen Dörfern, sind aber ausschliesslich von Nu-Aruakfrauen gemacht worden. Mit Ausnahme der Nummern 25, 26, 27 der zweiten Tafel sind alle Formen Tiermotive. Den Topf Nr. 26 erhielten wir bei den Mehinakú, er wurde den Wauráfrauen zugeschrieben, den Hauptkünstlerinnen der Nu-Aruakgruppe; er besteht aus rötlichem Thon, was die Aehnlichkeit mit einer wirklichen Kuye noch steigert, ist mit einem zierlichen Mereschu-Muster bedeckt und hat eine Schnur angebunden. Nr. 25, die stachlige Schale einer Waldfrucht, erwarben wir von der Familie der Yanumakapü-Nahuquá, die wir im Auctö-Hafen kennen lernten. Als Farbtöpfchen der Waurá, aussen am Rand gekerbt, gilt Nr. 27 mit der »Pokalform«. Becher und Pokal sind noch nicht zu unsern Indianern gedrungen; auch diese Form enthält ein Kuyenmotiv, das ihr allerdings weniger anzusehen als anzuhören ist. Die flache Kugel am Grund ist nicht etwa nur für den bequemen Griff angesetzt, sondern stellt eben den wesentlichen Teil der plastischen Leistung dar, einen Rasselkürbis. Sie birgt im Innern ein paar Steinchen oder Kerne, die ein ziemlich schwaches Rasseln ertönen lassen, wenn man den »Pokal« schüttelt.

Während diese drei Töpfe einen freien Rand haben, sind alle übrigen durch eine kleinere oder grössere Zahl von Zacken ausgezeichnet. Diese auf sehr verschiedene Art modellierten Zacken charakterisieren das dargestellte Tier. Fast überall ist noch die Kürbiswölbung beibehalten, ja es ist unverkennbar, dass sie gerade der künstlerischen Idee die Richtung gegeben hat. Wie die gewöhnlich einfach, halbmondförmigen Scheiben der Beijüwender den Tierkörper darstellen, sobald man einen als Hals und Kopf geschnitzten Griff ansetzt, genau so wird hier die gewölbte Schale zum Tierleib, wenn man mit den Randzacken Kopf und Gliedmassen ansetzt. Das ist also eine klare und eindeutige Entwicklungsgeschichte. Sobald einmal das neue künstlerische Element gewonnen ist, entfaltet es sich in selbständiger Freiheit, drängt zu wechselnder Gestaltung und verfällt in den beliebtesten und oft wiederholten Formen rasch der Stilisierung.

Die häufigste, weitaus häufigste Form des Topfes ist die mit dem Fledermausmotiv. Offenbar wird der indianische Sinn nicht von unsern verfeinerten Geschmacksrücksichten geleitet. Unsere Damen würden nicht angenehm berührt sein, wenn sie aus Fledermäusen, Kröten und Zecken speisen sollten; wir Männer können aber unsere Hände in Unschuld waschen, denn es sind Frauen, die jene unzarten Einfälle gehabt haben. Zu ihren Gunsten nehme ich an, dass sie in

ihrem Realismus durch die Farbe und Form der Originaltiere beeinflusst und solche auszuwählen geleitet worden sind, deren Nachahmung bei Töpfen am glücklichsten ausfallen musste. Die Fledermaus hat ausser ihrem rundlichen Rumpf genau die Farbe des Thons, und die ebenfalls nicht seltene Kröte (Nr. 21) kam in dem kreisrunden bauchigen Topf vorzüglich zur Geltung. Gürteltiere und Schildkröte sind ja überhaupt nur wandelnde Topfschalen und wurden deshalb auch der Nachbildung des Panzers an der Topfwölbung gewürdigt. Die mit dem angebundenen Schwanz von der Hängematte baumelnde Eidechse empfiehlt sich als gutes Haustier der freundlichen Beachtung. Endlich kamen noch der Kaiman und Cascudo-Fisch, beide panzerbewehrt, in mehreren Exemplaren vor. Die übrigen Motive sind Unica.

Wir haben die folgenden Tiere in Nachbildungen gefunden und der Sammlung einverleibt.

Säugetiere: Zwei Arten Fledermaus (1—6), Reh Seite 291, Eichhörnchen, Irara-Marder (*Galictis barbara*) (15), Faultier (16), kleiner Ameisenbar oder Tamanduá mirim (*Myrmecophaga tetradactyla*), Gürteltier: sowohl ein kleines Tatú (14), als Tatú Canastra oder Riesengürteltier (*Dasypus Gigas*), endlich ein nächtliches Waldtier, das einem Gürteltier ähnlich sein sollte (13).

Vögel: Weisser Sperber (*Buteo pterocles*) (12), Coruja-Eule (8), Taube (9), Makuko-Waldhuhn (*Trachypelmus brasiliensis*) (10), Inyambú-Rebhuhn (11), Ente (7) und ein unbestimmter fliegender Vogel.

Kriechtiere und Lurche: Trakajá-Flussschildkröte (*Emys Tracaxa*) (20), Kágado-Schildkröte (*Emys depressa*), Jabuti-Waldschildkröte (*Testudo tabulata*), Kaiman, Eidechse (22), Sinimbú oder Chamäleon (*Anolis*), Kröte (21).

Fische: Cascudo, Akará oder Harnischwels (*Loricaria*) (24), Lagunenfisch (23), Rochen.

Insekten und niedere Tiere: Karapato oder Zecke (*Ixodes*) (17), Krebs (19), Wasserassel (18).

Das schönste Exemplar, die Trakajá-Schildkröte, Nr. 20, ist wirklich ein Kunstwerk, nicht so sehr, weil die Panzerzeichnung so sorgfältig eingeritzt ist, sondern wegen der ungemein glücklichen Modellierung von Kopf, Schwanz und Gliedmassen. Besonders die Vorderfüsschen legen sich so weich und natürlich um, dass man über das Formtalent und die Beobachtungsgabe der unbekannten Mehinakúfrau in Staunen gerät. Ich muss zu ihren Ehren feststellen, dass sie die Natur getreuer kopiert hat als der Berliner Zeichner und Lithograph ihre Nachbildung.

Bei einigen Tieren darf man eher von einem unmittelbaren Modell mit Höhlung als von einem Topf mit anatomischer Gliederung sprechen. So die Schildkröte 20, die Kröte 21, die Fledermaus 1, die Eidechse 23, für die in der Zeichnung meines Vetters, Abbildung 87, auch noch die Körperbemalung sichtbar wird. Die Fledermaus ist besonders wegen der aufgespannten Flughaut, aus der die hinteren Extremitäten sorgfältig herausgearbeitet sind, bemerkenswert. In

Nr. 3 sind die Zacken einfach geritzt, der Kopf mit den Augen hat ein Paar Striche für die Augen, die übrigen Zacken haben zwei Paar Striche für die Linien der Flughaut erhalten. Diese Striche können fehlen, man sieht nur einen sechszackigen Topf und ist erstaunt, ihn regelmässig und bei den verschiedensten Stämmen als »Fledermaus« bezeichnet zu hören. In Nr. 3 und 4 sind die Gesichtsteile noch genauer dargestellt, in Nr. 3 ist der Schwanz breiter als die Extremitäten-Zacken, in Nr. 4 sind die Beine und der Schwanz innerhalb der Flughaut wie in Nr. 1 vereinigt und nicht mehr markiert. Auch Nr. 5 und 6 waren Fledermäuse, doch sagte man, es sei eine andere, kleinere Art als die runden, sechszackigen Töpfe. Wir werden sofort an die gezeichneten Fledermaus-Rauten der Bakairi, Tafel 20, erinnert.

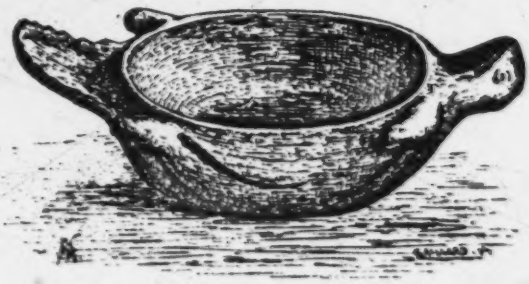


Abb. 87. Eidechsen-Topf. (1/3 nat. Gr.)

Bei genauerer Betrachtung der Töpfe wird man bei den meisten wenigstens einigermassen verstehen können, was als charakteristisches Unterscheidungsmerkmal gilt. Wenigstens eins der drei Elemente Kopf, Gliedmassen, Schwanz ist immer mit einem steckbrieflichen »besondern Merkmal« versehen. Dabei ist nie der Schluss per exclusionem zu vergessen.

Nr. 15, die marderähnliche Galictis, ist wohl am schwersten anzuerkennen. Die Schnauze ist an dem Original spitzer. Das Faultier 16 ist durch die Kopfform und die Stellung der vier Beine an den Ecken bestimmt. Aber mit den vierfüssigen Säugetieren war es offenbar nicht leicht. So ist bei ihnen auch die einzige Ausnahme entstanden, dass man ein Reh (Durchmesser 6,5 × 13,5 cm) auf seine Beine gestellt und die Höhlung vom Rücken her offen gelegt hat. Abb. 88. Kopfform, Schwanz und die Stellung liessen auch fremde Indianer das Töpfchen sofort als Reh bestimmen. Der glückliche Gedanke, der die Darstellung in ganz neue Bahnen lenken könnte, ist uns in keinem andern Beispiel begegnet.

Abb. 88. Reh-Topf. (2/3 nat. Gr.)

Bei den Vögeln sind Flügel- und Beinstummel nicht unterschieden; in dem Schwanz werden, vgl. 7 und 12, die Federn geritzt, der des Sperbers ist aus-

gebuchtet. Der Kopf des Erpels 7 und der Eule 8 sind wohl gekennzeichnet, bei der Taube 9 erscheint dieselbe Kopfform wie auf den Figürchen der Halssteine, der Sperber 12 hat einen kräftigen Schnabel und dem Makuku 10 ist ein niedlich ausgebildetes Köpfchen angesetzt. Bei den undeutlichen Rebhuhn 11 ist der Schwanz abgebrochen.

Fische waren äusserst selten. Nr. 23 hatte eien langen Schwanz, an dem das Ende schon abgebrochen war, als wir den Tof erhielten, doch hat er auf der Reise noch ein neues Stück verloren. Die Kopfformen von 23 und 24 sind der der Eidechse ähnlich, sie haben aber ein besondere Maul.

Die Zecke 17 hat auf dem Kopf vier Knöpfe, die wohl Kiefertasten und Mundteile darstellen sollen. Höchst belustigend ist der gezackte Rand, er giebt den Gesamteindruck von dem Gekribbel und Gekabbel der acht gekrümmten Beine, die bei vollgesogenen Tieren einen Kranz auf der Kuppe des Beutels bilden, gar nicht übel wieder. Ob die Assel 18 zoologischer Prüfung Stand hält, weiss ich nicht. Sie ist augenlos wie die Wasserasseln, deren sie, soviel ich meine Erklärer begriff, eine darstellen soll. In Nr. 19, dem Krebs, bemerken wir reich ausgezackte Extremitäten und eine Schwanzbasse. Er hat als Augen ein paar Knöpfchen, in die ein feines Löchlein eingestochen ist.

Abb. 89. Suyá-Kröten-Topf. (2/3 nat. Gr.)

Zum Schluss bringe ich noch einen Topf (Durchmesser 10 × 15 cm) mit Menschendarstellung! Es ist allerdings nicht zu verlangen, dass Jemand an ihm etwas Menschliches vermutet. Die Künstlerin, die ihn uns überlieferte, schüttelte sie selbst vor Lachen über ihr Erzeugnis. Sie hatte einen Krötentopf machen wollen und schon die Schwanz- und Beinzacken sowie auch bereits den Kopf mit den dicken Augen der Bildung des Krotentiers entlehnt. Als sie nun das breite faul modellierte und ihr dies zunächst die offenen Zustand anstatt in geschlossenem geriet, bemerkte sie die Aehnlichkeit mit der viel verspotteten Lippenscheibe der verhassten Suyá, die diesen Indianern wie eine bewegliche Untertasse vor den Zähnen steht. Sie lachte darüber, setzte die steife Maulklappe hübsch senkrecht zum Krötengesicht und erklärte den Topf für eine »Suyá-Figur«. So ist denn auch einmal von den Frauen ein Mannerzierrat zum Motiv genommen, analog dem Uluri-Motiv, das bei den Herren Malern so beliebt war.

IV. Verhältnis des Tiermotivs zur Technik.

Was bei dem Suyá-Topf nur in einem Scherz zu Tage tritt, der Einfluss der Technik auf die Bestimmung des Motivs, macht sich in grossem Umfang als ein gesetzmässiger Vorgang geltend. Man betrachte noch einmal die Liste der in Töpfen dargestellten Tiere. Sie ist interessant wegen der Tiere, die nicht da sind. Man könnte sagen, es sei schon derselbe Unterschied bemerkbar wie durchschnittlich in den modernen Motiven von Künstlern und Künstlerinnen, zumal der Stillleben: auf der einen Seite Blumen, Früchte, Schmetterlinge, Fliegen, Marktfische und Schinken, auf der andern Wildpret und Heringe. Denn unter den Tieren der Töpfe herrscht das kleinere und, mit Ausnahme der Zecken, zahmere Getier bedeutend vor. Dass in der grossen Auswahl Jaguar, Tapir, Schwein und die den Federschmuck liefernden, doch zu Hause gehaltenen Papageienvögel ganz fehlten, ist jedenfalls bemerkenswert. Aber diese Tiere fehlen auch — wieder aus einem besondern, später anzuführenden Grunde — bei den Maskentieren der Männerfeste und es ist mehr hervorzuheben, dass man den bereits erwähnten Zusammenhang zwischen Motiv und der Form der Darstellung von der negativen Seite noch deutlicher sieht.

Schlangen und Affen waren mit ihren gestreckten Leibern ganz ungeeignet für die irdenen Kürbisse, während jene sich den langen Rindenbrettern des Frieses oder dem schwertförmigen Schwirrholz oder dem Kanu und diese sich einem Huttenpfosten oder einer Flöte vorzüglich anpassten. Der Griff am Halbmond des Beijuwenders verwandelte sich leicht in einen Vogelhals oder das Vorderteil einer Schlange, aber er wurde beispielsweise kein Fisch, mit dem der Halbmond und eine einseitige Verlängerung schlechterdings nicht zu vereinen sind. Ein Fisch wurde dagegen das Schwirrholz mit seiner langen schmalen Gestalt (vgl. Kapitel XI unter III), und man wickelte den Strick vortrefflich an dem Schwanzende auf; das Loch für den Strick befindet sich deshalb nicht etwa in den Augen am Kopfende. Der gezeichnete und eingeritzte Fischkörper wird zur Raute, das Mereschumuster beherrscht die ganze Zeichenkunst, eine Waurá-Frau ritzt es auch in den Kürbistopf, aber nicht eine verfällt darauf, einen Mereschu als Topf darzustellen! Warum? Der Mereschu hat in dem Kampf um's Dasein unter den Ritzmustern gesiegt, weil eine durch scharfe und leicht auszukratzende Ecken charakterisierte Figur sich am bequemsten ritzen liess; sie war leicht zu machen und blieb doch ähnlich. Ebenso das Uluri. Gelegentlich, vgl. Topf 5, ist auch ein rautenförmiger Topf entstanden, doch tritt er in die Entwicklungsserie der Fledermausformen ein, während sich für die Fische hier, wo ihn auch andere Tiere haben, der natürlichere Ovalumriss behaupten kann, vgl. 23 und 24.

Da liegt klar ein Gesetz ausgesprochen. Nicht symbolische Tüftelei lenkt den Kunsttrieb. Weder im Kleinen, noch im Grossen. Weder scheut die Künstlerin davor zurück, einen Krötentopf zu machen, weil die Kröte ein unappetitliches Vieh

ist, noch wählt sie die Fledermaus, weil dieses Geschöpf auch in der Mythologie der Indianer vorkommt. Tiermotive überhaupt sind bei der Rolle, die das Tier in dem geistigen Leben des Indianers spielt, als selbstverständlich gegeben. Die Auswahl jedoch kann erstens durch die Beschaffenheit oder Thätigkeit des Tieres angeregt werden: dem Topf entspricht der Panzer der Schildkröte, die Grabwespe ziert das Mandioka-Grabholz, das schmuckhaarige Agutí den Kamm, das Bild der zischenden Schlange das Schwirrholz, das des flötenden Affen die Flöte. Dann aber, sobald erst die Kunstthätigkeit kräftig genug gehandhabt wird, wirken auch Form und Grösse und Farbe des Objekts bestimmend, indem das Tier, das sich ihnen am besten anpasst, für die Nachbildung gewählt wird. Der Künstler braucht sich dessen gar nicht bewusst zu werden, es macht sich schon von selbst geltend, wenn entgegengesetzt gerichtete Versuche unbefriedigend ausfallen. Am meisten tritt diese Erscheinung für die Wiedergabe der Vögel hervor: gemalt haben wir nur einen kleinen Vogel auf einem Rückenholz gesehen, dagegen waren die plastischen Vögel — geschnitzt, aus Wachs geformt oder als Maisstrohpuppen — äusserst zahlreich. Es war den Indianern leichter die Umrisse von Kopf, Schnabel und Schwanz sowie die Proportionen in plastischer als in zeichnerischer Reproduktion charakteristisch zu gestalten.

Zum Schluss stelle ich die von uns beobachteten Tiermotive zusammen und füge bei, auf welche Art sie vorkommen. Es bedeuten: *F* Flechtwerk, *M* Maisvögel, *S* Schnitzerei, *T* Töpfe, *W* Wachs, *Z* Zeichnung, Ritzung oder Malerei.

Saugetiere: Affen (Makako) *Z*, *S*; (Brüllaffe) *W*. Fledermaus (mehrere Arten) *Z*, *T*. Jaguar *Z*, *S*. Irara-Marder *T*. Eichhörnchen *T*. Agutí *S*. Kapivara(zähne) *F*. Greifstachler *Z*. Faultier *T*. Gürteltiere (Riesengürteltier, kleine Arten) *T*. Kleiner Ameisenbär *T*. Sumpfhirsch *W*. Reh *F*, *T*. Pekari *W*.

Vögel: Königgeier (roter Urubú) *S*. Weisser Urubú *S*. Harpyie *M*. Falk, Sperber *M*, *S*, *T*. Eule *T*. Singvögel *S*. Schwalbe *F*, *Z*. Taube *S*, *T*, *W*. Rebhuhn *T*. Waldhuhn *T*. Mavarico *S*. Riesenstorch *M*, *S*. Tujujústorch *M*, *S*. Löffelreiher *S*. Schlangenhalsvogel *M*.

Kriechtiere und Lurche: Schildkröten (Trakayá, Jabuti, Kágado) *T*, *Z*. Kaiman *Z*. Leguan auch (Lehmfigur) *T*. Eidechsen (mehrere Arten) *T*, *Z*. Schlange (mehrere Arten) *S*, *Z*. Kröte *F*, *T*.

Fische: Harnischwels *Z*. Kuomi *Z*. Kurimatá *Z*. Lagunenfische *T*, *Z*. Matrincham *Z*. Mereschu *Z*. [illegible] Rochen (zwei Arten) *Z*, *S*. Unbestimmte *S*, *Z*. Gräten *F*, *Z*.

Insekten und niedere Tiere: Heuschrecke *Z*. Grabwespe *S*. Tokandira-Ameise *Z*. Zecke *T*. Krebs *S*, *T*. Wasserawel *T*.

Mancherlei neue Motive treten noch in den Masken hinzu.

[p. 295]

XI. KAPITEL.

Maskenornamentik und Tanzschmuck.

Vorbemerkung. I. Masken. Tanzen und Singen. »Idole?« Gesänge und Einladungen. Teilnahme der Frauen. Arten der Vermummung. Bakairí-Tänze (Mahantri) und -Masken. Nahuquá (Fischaots-Tanz), Mehinakú (Kaimaa-Tanz). Aucté (Koahóla-, Yakuñatú-Tanz). Kamayurá (Hávát-Tanz). Trunai. II. Gemeinsamer Ursprung der Masken und des Meresche-Musters. Die Aucté als Erfinder der Gewebmaske und des Meresche-Ornaments. III. Sonstiger Putzapparat. Kamayurá-Tänze. Tanzkeulen. Schmuckwirtel etc. Musikinstrumente. Schwirrhölzer. Federschmuck. Diademe. Spiele der Jugend.

»Einfach und nur zur Befriedigung der notwendigsten Bedürfnisse gebildet sind die Gerätschaften der Steinzeit. Mit der Kunst, die Metalle zu formen, erwacht der Sinn für Schmuck und Zierrat.« So schreibt O. Schrader in seinem ausgezeichneten Buch »Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte« (p. 215), und so etwas kann auch wohl nur ein ausgezeichneter Philologe schreiben, dem der Gedanke fern liegt, dass solche Urteile, auch wenn sie das indogermanische Urvolk betreffen, in dem modernen Museum für Völkerkunde geprüft werden müssen. Jener Satz hat ungefähr denselben Wert als der, dass der Mensch angefangen habe Tradition zu bilden, als er schreiben lernte. So gewiss es ist, dass die Befriedigung der notwendigsten Bedürfnisse älter ist als die Entwicklung des Sinnes für Schmuck und Zierrat, so haben diesen doch auch bereits die metallosen Naturvölker nach dem ganzen Umfang ihrer Mittel ausgebildet; ja es ist sehr wohl darüber zu diskutieren, ob nicht mehrfach gerade umgekehrt er das Interesse an den Metallen erst wachgerufen hat — und auch wachrufen konnte, weil er eben schon hoch ausgebildet war. Ich glaube in dem Kapitel über die Zeichenornamente und die Plastik ausführlich bewiesen zu haben, wenn ich aus meinem Indianern in einem vorläufigen, der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin abgestatteten Bericht (Verhandlungen 1888, p. 386) erklärte: »sie haben eine Sucht geradezu, alle Gebrauchsgegenstände zu bemalen, eine Leidenschaft für das Kunsthandwerk«, und habe den Beweis nunmehr zu vervollständigen für die festlichen Tage, wo sich der Mensch über die Befriedigung der notwendigsten Bedürfnisse mit vollem Bewusstsein erhaben fühlt und alle Kunstfertigkeiten in den Dienst der Kunst stellt, sich zu schmücken.

I. Masken.

Auf der zweiten Reise ist unsere Ausbeute an Tanzschmuck und vor allem an Gesichtsmasken bedeutend grösser gewesen als auf der ersten. Es ist dies um so wichtiger, als die Masken, die doch über die ganze Erde in den verschiedensten Formen und den verschiedensten Zwecken dienend verbreitet sind, die auch bei den Indianern des nördlichen Amerika eine so bedeutende Rolle spielen, bisher nur in verhältnismässig geringem Umfang in Südamerika beobachtet wurden. Es scheint, dass ihr Vorkommen besonders dem Amazonasgebiet angehört, aber es scheint wohl nur. Alle Stämme haben ihre Tanzfeste, alle haben Pantomimen, in denen Tiere dargestellt werden, man stattet sich mit dem natürlichen Fell- oder Federschmuck aus, ahmt die Stimme und Bewegungen nach, und gelangt von selbst zur charakterisierenden Vermummung, durch die das Spiel wirkungsvoller gestaltet wird. Die technische Geschicklichkeit der Vermummung und ihrer Charakterisierung ist gewiss verschieden, aber bis zu dieser Stufe, die wir bei den Schingú-Stämmen in auch recht verschiedener Ausbildung der mimischen Mittel antreffen, sind wohl alle Jägervölker gelangt. Wir sind nur deshalb so schlecht darüber unterrichtet, weil die Gelegenheiten, in ungestörten Verhältnissen lebende Stämme zu erforschen, selten sind und bei einem flüchtigen Besuche auch nur oberflächlich ausgenutzt werden können. Unsere eigene Reise ist das beste Beispiel. Aus einem Gebiet, in dem wir 1884 zwar sonderbare Kopfaufsätze mit Tiernachbildungen aus Stroh u. dgl., aber nur zwei hölzerne Taubenmasken kennen lernten, haben wir 1887 eine stattliche Sammlung von Gesichtsmasken hereingebracht, die jetzt im Berliner Museum für Völkerkunde einen interessanten Vergleich mit den dort vorhandenen grotesken Tiermasken der Tekuna vom oberen Amazonenstrom gestatten. Auch Ehrenreich hat von den Karayá am Araguay eine Reihe von mächtigen, in bunteste Weise mit Federn geschmückten Tanzmasken mitgebracht, die in ihrer Bauart auf das auffallendste an den Duck-Duck der Südsee erinnern.

Jeder Stamm nicht nur, jedes Dorf hat seine eigenen Maskentänze. Der Mittelpunkt ist immer das »Flötenhaus«. In ihrem Charakter gleichen sich die Tänze in ganz Brasilien außerordentlich. Stets das Umherlaufen im Kreise und der dem Stampfen entsprechende stammelnde Gesang. Es ist ungemein charakteristisch, dass die Beobachter die Tänze nur »singen« dasselbe Wort haben. »Der Sinn der Gesänge«, sagt Martius, »ist einfach: Lob der Kriegs- und Jagdthaten Einzelner oder Horden, Aufzählung gewisser Tiere und Erwähnung von deren Eigenschaften. Erscheinen Masken beim Feste, welche meistens Tiere vorstellen, so ahmen die Träger deren Stimmen nach.«

Nichts haben wir beobachtet, was uns den Schluss erlaubte, dass die Masken irgendwie heilig gehalten werden. Zumal alle von Palmstroh geflochtenen Stücke wurden nach dem Gebrauch achtlos beiseite geworfen. Man hat zwar die Masken zuweilen vor uns versteckt, aber nur auf dieselbe Art, wie man in der Angst

vor Beraubung alle beweglichen Geräte und Schmucksachen vor uns verborg. Hatten die Leute erst Zutrauen zu uns gewonnen, so überliessen sie uns ihre Masken ohne jeden Anstand und fertigten neue auf Bestellung. Sie wurden uns demonstriert mit Scherzen und Lachen wie hübsches Spielzeug.

Bei den zahmen Bakairí am Paranatinga und Rio Novo pflegt das Hauptfest im April stattzufinden. Ich, mit meinen zivilisierten Vorstellungen, fahndete auf die Idee eines Dankfestes und dachte an die Möglichkeit, dass jenes zur Erntezeit abgehaltene Fest irgendwie irgendwelchen freundlichen Mächten, die als Spender des Guten gälten, zu Lob und Preis gefeiert werde. Ich suchte also von Antonio herauszubekommen, ob sich dergleichen feststellen lasse. Antonio blieb aber meiner Suggestion unzugänglich; »wir feiern das Fest um die Zeit der Ernte,« erklärte er, »weil wir dann etwas zu feiern haben; in der Trockenzeit müssen wir sparen, in der Regenzeit würde alles verschimmeln.« Materiell, aber verständlich *).

Nach Allem, was uns von den Eingeborenen über die Feste erzählt wurde, kam es ihnen in erster Linie auf ein nach ihren Begriffen schwelgerisches Schmaus- und Trinkgelage an. Die Bakairi-Legende schildert uns in gleichem Sinne die Entstehung. Kame, der Stammvater der Arinostämme, hat das erste Flötenhaus erbaut, die erste Flöte geschnitzt, seine Freunde zum Tanz eingeladen und mit Stärkekleister bewirtet. Keri, der Stammvater der Bakairi, der mit Kame im Erfinden eifrigst konkurrierte, lud seinerseits Kame zum Tanze ein; die Legende berichtet uns, auf welche Art das Fest sich vollzog, und nennt als die Erfindung Keri's das Makanari und den Imeo, die Strohanzüge ohne Gesichtsmasken, aber mit charakterisierenden, teilweise vermummenden Kopfaufsätzen.

»Auch Keri rief die Seinen herbei. Gegen Abend gingen sie tanzen auf dem Dorfplatz. Darauf holte Keri vom Hause Pogu zu trinken. Sogleich erst flochten sie Makanari. Keri rief Kame. Viele Leute kamen und Keri war Herr des Tanzes. Sie tanzten den ganzen Tag. Gegen Abend ruhten sie aus. Nach Dunkelwerden tanzten sie die ganze Nacht. Früh Morgens gingen sie zum Fluss baden. Nach dem Bad kamen sie zum Flötenhaus. Sie begannen mit dem Imeo und tanzten den ganzen Tag. Ebenso tanzten sie die ganze Nacht. — Darauf war das Fest zu Ende.«

Ein beachtenswerter Zug der Legende ist der Umstand, dass sich die verschiedenen Stämme zum Tanzfest vereinigten. Es ist allgemeine Sitte, dass sich die Dörfer zu den grossen Festen gegenseitig einladen. Auch entfernt lich befreundete Stämme entsenden zahlreiche Teilnehmer. Als wir [illegible] mit den vereinigten Trumai und Kamayurá (vgl. Seite 118) zusammentrafen, hatten die beiden Stämme gerade ein gemeinsames Fest gefeiert.

Einmal versteht man unter diesen Umständen, dass ein Austausch und eine Angleichung zwischen den Bräuchen und Tanzgeräten der Stämme stattfindet.

*) »Mutterrat gibt ein Ueberfluss an Vorräten für die Gemeinde Veranlassung zum Feste,« sagt Martius; »wo aber die europäische Gesittung sich Geltung verschafft hat und Christen neben den Indianern wohnen, da wird wohl auch der Tag eines Heiligen dafür gewählt.«

Jeder Stamm kannte die Lieder der Nachbarstämme, ohne dass er ihren Inhalt genau verstand, wie wir an zahlreichen Beispielen erfahren haben; ein Stamm lernte vom andern auch neue Arten Masken kennen, und endlich gewann das Messchnurmuster, auf das ich nach Beschreibung der Masken zurückkommen werde, seine allgemeine Verbreitung.

Dann aber ist es ferner leicht begreiflich, dass die Frauen von den feierlicheren Tänzen streng ausgeschlossen sind und das Flötenhaus, das Haus der Männer, wo die fremden Besucher empfangen und bewirtet werden, nicht betreten dürfen. In diesem Sinn ist wohl auch der eigentümliche Mummenschanz aufzufassen, den wir im zweiten Bakairidorf erlebten, als die Speisen und Getränke für unsere Flötenhaus-Gesellschaft durch einen maskierten Indianer der ersten Dorfes von den Frauen, die sie nicht hätten bringen dürfen, geholt wurden. Vgl. Seite 89 *). Dem Scherz lag das ernsthafte Motiv zu Grunde, dass Fremde und Frauen in ihrem Verkehr beschränkt werden sollen. Der Mohammedaner schlägt den umgekehrten Weg ein, indem er seine Frauen maskiert und in besonderen Gemächern abschliesst.

In dem Ursprung der Tänze selbst liegt ferner ein wesentlicher Grund gegen die Teilnahme des weiblichen Geschlechts. Es sind «männliche» Vergnügungen, die aus Jagerfesten hervorgegangen sind. Immerhin scheint es Unterschiede zu geben. Bei den grossen Festen beteiligen sich die Frauen niemals, sagten die Bakairi, wohl aber bei kleinen; auch sollen sie gelegentlich ohne Männer für sich tanzen. Die Suyá aber scheinen anders zu denken; wenigstens äusserten sich die Bakairi sehr geringschätzig über den Usdag, dass dort «Männer mit Frauen tanzten». Vielleicht ist es nützlich, endlich noch hervorzuheben, dass von irgendwelchen Geheimnissen und Mysterien oder irgend einer besonderen Beziehung der Medizinmänner zu den Tänzen, die vor den Frauen geheim gehalten werden sollten, auch nicht die leiseste Spur zu finden war.

Es ist auch zum Schutz gegen die weibliche Neugier, wenn die Eingänge der Flötenhäuser am Kolumbu so niedrig gemacht sind, dass man nur in sehr gebückter Haltung eintreten kann oder gar auf den Knieen hineinkriechen muss. Ich weiss nicht, wie weit das Verbot für die Frauen im Alltagsleben praktisch durchgeführt wird, aber wir erhielten nicht die Erlaubnis, sie im Flötenhaus zu sehen, und gewiss ist, dass es hiess, «die Frauen würden getötet, wenn sie in das Flötenhaus gingen» — eine ziemlich grobe Variante des «nolen intrant in ecclesia». Dass der Gebrauch auch noch bei den zahmen Bakairi vor einem 30 oder 40 Jahren ernst genommen wurde, geht am besten aus einer Erfahrung hervor, die nach der Erzählung eines alten Bakairi die das Christentum bringenden Patres machen mussten. Diese hatten nichts natürlicher gefunden als die neue Gemeinde in dem für Kirchenzwecke so geeigneten, weil unbewohnten

*) Am Verweben ist an dieser Stelle ein Fehler unterlaufen geblieben. Auf einem Blatte von sehr eingegriffenen Gedichten enthält — der Schlüssel, dass verhindert ein Zusammenstoßen mit dem Gebrauch des Allbesonnenen verhindert ist.

Flötenhause zu versammeln. Die Männer kamen auch bereitwillig, die Frauen aber blieben draussen und konnten nur sehr schwer bewogen werden, um dem Seelenleide wüten leibliche Gefahr zu leiden.

Bei allen Stämmen wird der Körper zum Maskentanz durch Schurze oder Mantel halb oder ganz verhüllt. Blattstreifen von Buritiblatt oder trockene Grashalme von etwa Meterlänge werden zu einer Schnur zu einer breiten Schnur aufgereiht und werden in mehreren Touren um den Hals geschlungen, wobei sie von den Schultern herabhängen, oder um die Hüften, wobei sie bis auf die Knöchel reichten, oder in beiderlei Gestalt vereinigt. Die Hauptverschiedenheit bezieht sich auf den Aufputz des Kopfes. Gemeinsam ist allen die Beziehung auf Tiere. Hier können wir unterscheiden:

1. Tierschlüsselungen werden aufgesetzt. Bakairi.

2. Strohmützen mit langem Federbusch, zum Teil Attribute des Tieres tragend. Bakairi.

3. Fischnetz vor dem Gesicht. Nahuquá.

4. Strohgitter nach Art der Siebhüte in ovalen Reifen. Ohne Gesichtsmaske. Bakairi. Nahuquá. Gesichtsmaske aus Wachs. Aweiki.

5. Mit Netz. Baumwollgeflecht und gewebe überspannte ovale Rahmen. Gesichtsmaske aufgeklebt aus Wachs. Augen von Baumwollflocken. Bakairi. Aweiki. Kamayurá. Trumai.

6. Helmmasken. Viereckige Holzplatten mit nischig vorspringender Stirnwölbung und Nase menschlicher Bildung. Aufgemalt: natürliche Zeichnung des Tieres, Umrisse des Tieres, Körperteile des Tieres (Flügel, Flossen), stilisierte Tierformen. Augen aus Menschenhaar, Mund mit Wachs angeklebten Fischgräten, dieser wie jene wiederum menschlicher Bildung. Bakairi. [illegible] hatten nur Helmmasken. Eine Uebergangsform zwischen 5. und 6. bei den Aweiki ohne Stirnvorsprung und oval.

Abb. 40. Tiere-Tänzer. Bakairi.

Bei den Maskentänzen macht sich unverkennbar Entlehnung von fremden Stämmen, die durch die Bewohner oder gelegt wird, und lokale Pflege besonderer Varietäten. Auch Köln, Düsseldorf, Mainz und Trier haben in dem Karnevalsgesellschaften verschiedene Mützen, verschiedene Orden, verschiedene Gebräuche

in den Strophen, verschiedene Lieder, verschiedene Schlagwörter und verschiedene Motive für die Wagen des Zuges. Auch hier werden für die Betätigung des weiblichen Geschlechts besondere «Darreichungen» angesagt, und die Frauen würden sich schwer hüten, zur unpassenden Zeit im «Flötenhaus» zu erscheinen, wenn sie auch hoffen dürften, lebendig oder leichtestens nur halb tot wieder herauszukommen. Auch dem Fastbing am Kuhehe folgt eine Festzeit, denn er hört — der Grund ist keiner den Kaiso — nicht eher auf, als bis man möglichst Alles gegessen und getrunken hat, was da ist. Die Frauen haben gewaltige Arbeit, um den Ansprüchen an Brijio und Getränken zu genügen, sie müssen unaufhörlich stampfen, kochen und backen, und diese Notwendigkeit hat wohl auch ein wenig dazu beigetragen, dass man sie vom Tacuar fernhielt, damit sie wahrendessen ihren Pflichten nachkommen konnten.

Bakairi. Am Rio Novo und Paranatinga werden die alten Bräuche noch gepflegt: «Alles tanzt wie die wilden Bakairi», sagte Antonio, «trotz dass man keine Bakairi kennen». Er berichtete mir das im letzten April gehaltene Fest, wie die vom Rio Novo der vom Paranatinga eingeladen hatten. Man tanzte den Vetoka-Tanz, den Mokanari und den Iroco. Vetoka ist ein Flötenrohr; Flöte aus Holz werden auf dem Kopf getragen, besonders der schwarze Pikó und der Matrinchan; mit schwarz-weiss oder schwarz-rot bemalten Kalebassen werden Mannes- und Frauenköpfe hergestellt, die von Baumrindenbast umgeben sind.

Mokanari ist ein weiter Begriff. Mokanari sagt der Bakairi fast zu Allem und Jedem, was zu seinem Tanzrechnen gehört, Mokanari nennt er bestimmte Tänze. *Bakairi mokanari ciri*, der Bakairi ist Herr des Mokanari. Es ist der Tanz seines Stammes. Der Iroco ist eine Art Mokanari, eine bestimmte Tour. Es scheint überhaupt, dass der Begriff des Mokanari ursprünglich enger gefasst ist und sich auf einen bestimmten Tanz mit Strohgeflechten bezogen hat. Bei den anderen Bakairi geht es keine Holzmasken. Hier ist das Hauptmaskenspiel der Federmonstren, und zwar zweien, der kleinen, und ebei, der grossen Federmonstren. Antonio sagte mir den Text des Ebei-Tanzes*), doch war es mir trotz vieler Bemühungen unmöglich, eine Uebersetzung oder nur eine Erklärung des Inhalts zu erhalten. Er selbst verstehe die alten Worte nicht mehr. Dass Antonio einen Wahrsager war und dass er mir nicht nur in seiner Ueberlieferung eine Ausbeute anbrachte, glaube ich deshalb, weil schon ebei selbst gar kein Bakairi oder Karaiben, sondern ein Ne-Aruakwort ist. (Vgl. auch die Anmerkung Seite 61.) Vielleicht ist der Text zum Teil auch altaruakisch — unverstanden eben,

*) Einer singt: [illegible] ebei [illegible] Kalebasse [illegible] Bakairi [illegible] ebei [illegible] ebei [illegible] ebei [illegible] ebei [illegible] ebei [illegible] Von Alle im Kreuzbeil: ebei [illegible] ebei [illegible] ebei [illegible] ebei [illegible] ebei [illegible]

siehlen man ihn bei gemeinsamen Festen sowieso gewagen hatte, übernommen und mit Bakairiwerten gemischt worden.

Den Imo-Mokazari ist allen Bakairi gemeinsam. Aus Kalisiu kommt noch als verwandte Figur der Imóto, Imóto bisu. Imo ist ein weiser Tier, das in der verzweigten Buritipalme lebt — soviel ich begriffen habe, eine Palmbohrer-Käferlarve; Imoto ein verwandtes Gewürzpf, rötlich, mit schwarzem Kopf. Eine seltsame Auswahl, die ein wenig an den Sommernachtstraum erinnert. Allein sie erklärt sich, wenn man bedenkt, dass das Material für die Tanzkostüme in erster Linie von der Buritipalme geliefert wird, die jenes Insekt bewohnt. Und dieses ist vielleicht auch ebendrein ein guter Hexen. Andere Tiere treten ebenfalls in diesem Mokazari auf, namentlich Heuschrecken und der Pietado-Wels, Abb. 91. Letzterer Maske ist leicht verständlich. Ein aus grobem, hartem Gras geflochtener Anzug bedeckt den Körper, durch das Flechtwerk kann der Träger ohne Mühe hindurchsehen, und ein langer Stück Schlingpflanzen charakterisiert die Barthäbe des Fisches. Für die übrigen Figuren des Tanzes bewirkt die Tracht aus einer über den ganzen Kopf herabgezogenen Strohmütze mit langem Federbehang eingesetzt und einem aus Baumbaststreifen geflochtenen Gewand, das wir schon 1884 am Batovy gefunden haben. Strohmützen ohne Stiel gehören dem weiteren oder Flederermantanzer, der Imóto (siehe auf der Abbildung 92) hat an der Mütze einen Stiel mit einer oder auch zwei komplizierten Verdickungen, der Imo (siehe auf der Abbildung 97) ein Bündel geknüpfter Stäbe. Der Imóto wurde auch als Maispuppe (vgl. Seite 261) in der Hütte aufgehängt. Eine Mütze endlich mit fand in den Stiel eingeflochtenen pandiformig angeordneten Kokosnüsschen wurde nunmehr gemacht, dem ist jedoch der Name des Holzes, aus dem die Flöten gemacht werden. Die Maske bezeichnete einen flötenden Vogel, den ich nicht bestimmen konnte. Von dieser Mütze seien die Maße angeführt: Gesamtlänge 66 cm, Aufsatz 11.5 cm, eigentliche Mütze 22.5 cm, Behang 43 cm.

Abb. 91. Wels-Maske. Bakairi. (1/10 nat. Gr.)

Sehr merkwürdig ist das Bestäwamm des Insektenzuges mit fransenbesetzten Aermeln und Hosen, Abb. 92. Wir fanden noch einzelne Aermel, die in Verbindung mit dem losen Strohbehang getragen wurden. In den Anzug steigt man am Hals hinein, der Weite beträgt dort 1½ m und ein Strick zum Zuschnüren ist eingenäht. Die Bakairi verachten europäische Hemden mit gleicher Unentbehrlichkeit anzulegen. Zwischen der Hosen befindet sich ein mit einem dünnen Strick zu

verschnürender Schlitz. Falls unsere Kleidung ihren Ursprung dem Schamgefühl verdankt, hat der Bakairi einen andern Weg eingeschlagen oder müsste als böser Satiriker gelten, denn er hat bei einigen Exemplaren einen aus einem Stückchen Maiskolben bestehenden Penis nebst Testikeln aus Flechtwerk aussen angehängt. Unwillkürlich fühlen wir uns so zu der Annahme gedrängt, es würde uns damit auch ein menschliches Individuum vorgeführt. Dieses ist aber gar nicht nötig, denn dem Indianer erscheint es umgekehrt für selbstverständlich, dass das dar-

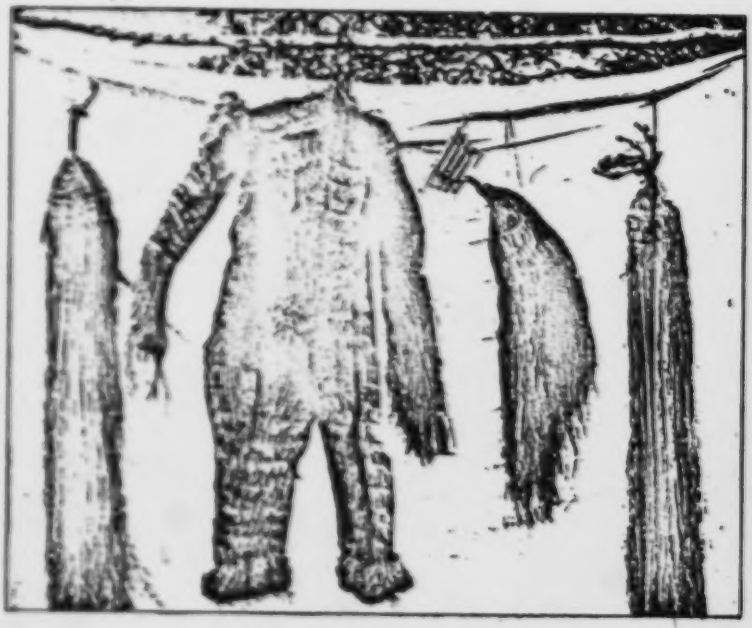


Abb. 92. Makanari der Bakairi.

gestellte Tier im Besitz aller menschlichen Eigenschaften auftritt und handelt und giebt auch den Gesichtsmasken seiner Tiere menschliche Züge.

Imiga wird der Tanz am Batovy genannt, dessen Festschmuck wir 1884 im Flötenhaus des zweiten Bakairidorfes fanden. (Vergl. »Durch Centralbrasilien« p. 170.) Da gab es bemalte Kürbisse, mit Federn beklebt, unten offen, aus denen geschnitzte Vögel hervorschauten, den ausgestopften Balg eines Kampfuchses und einer Fischotter, ein Halmgerüst, in dem zwischen Baumwollflocken Sanyassa-Vögelchen sassen, aus Stroh geflochtene Eidechsen, sowie zwei schwarz und weiss bemalte schwertartige Holzstücke, die Klapperschlangen vorstellten —

Alles, die kreisförmig angeschnittenen Kopfkürbisse ausgenommen, zum Aufsetzen auf den Kopf mit Strohtrichtern versehen. Dazu Rasselkürbisse und Fensklappers aus harten Fruchtschalen.

Von Masken erhielt ich in Maigéti eine längsovale Netzgeflechtmaske, mit einem Bart aus Buritifasern, einem Gehäng von Orthalicusmuscheln und einer mit Hokkofedern besetzten weitmaschigen Netzkapuze. In dem oberen Drittel, das von einem weissen Streifen senkrecht durchsetzt, sonst aber rot bemalt und schwarz betüpfelt ist, befanden sich die beiden Augen in Gestalt zweier Strohringe; ein Strohstreifen umgrenzt die nasenförmige Nase, die oberhalb der Augen am Rande sitzt. Die beiden unteren Drittel haben weissen Lehmgrund und zeigen darauf in zierlicher Zeichnung das Meretschu-Muster schwarz aufgetragen. Das Auffälligste aber ist das Bild eines Piava-Fisches, *tuiuiri*, der in der Fortsetzung des mittleren Gesichtsstreifens mitten in dem Meretschu-Muster steht. Auf ihn bezieht sich auch wohl die schwarze Tüpfelung des Oberteils.

Abb. 95.
Netzgeflecht-Maske mit Piava-Fisch. Bakairi. (1/10 nat. Gr.)

Wir haben acht Holzmasken erhalten, alle mit schwarzer, roter und meist auch weisser Bemalung. Es sind schwere und mühsam mit dem Steinbeil bearbeitete flache Holzplatten, aus denen der Stirnteil mit starker Wölbung vorspringt. Auch tragen sie eine mächtige Nase von menschlicher Form, die mit dem übrigen aus einem Stück geschnitzt ist. Der Mund besteht aus einem mit Wachs angeklebten Piranya-Gebiss. Die Augen sind kleine Löcher, mit Perlmutterstückchen verziert, oder erscheinen in zwei Masken als ein paar in der Mitte durchbohrte Flussmuscheln. Den Holzplatten sind Kapuzen zum Aufsetzen auf den Kopf angeflochten, von denen wie immer ein langer Strohbehang niederwallt. Die Bakairi pflegten an der den Ohren entsprechenden Stelle je zwei schön gelbe Japú-Federn (Cassicus), die sie selbst als eine Art Stammesmerkmal tragen, einzustecken. Diese Federn bemerkt man auch bei dem Mann im Kostüm mit der Imeo-Mütze, (vergl. Seite 299).

Sechs der Masken sind uns als Vogel-Masken bestimmt worden. Wir haben erstens eine Maske, Abb. 94, die eine Taube, *Pipudori*, darstellt, zweitens eine

Abb. [illegible]
Papageien-Tucan. Schnabel.
([illegible] nat. Gr.)

Abb. [illegible] Weißkehl-. Schnabel.
([illegible] nat. Gr.)

Abb. [illegible]
Königs-Vogel. Schnabel.
([illegible] nat. Gr.)

Abb. [illegible] Tawaiwa-Vogel. Schnabel.
([illegible] nat. Gr.)

Aulu heißt, vorhanden ist. Jedenfalls gehört zu dem nicht die *Tiwirtiwi*-Maske, die sich der um vorbeiziehende Kriegshorde schlichte, sondern eine *Aulu*-Siebmatte. Eine Siebmatte, aus zusammengebundenen Rohrstäbchen bestehend, war mit Federschmuck versehen und wurde so vor dem Gesicht getragen. Diese Bewegmaske oder Kaule lag jedoch in Fetzen auf dem Boden.

Nahuqua. Den Ereno-Tanz, den uns die Nahuqua vorführten und zu dem auch eine Frau mitmachte, habe ich Seite 99 geschildert. Sehr gut gelte die Tafel 7 den Bilzu Schauspiel wieder. Der Tänzer, der mit Netzen vor dem Gesicht in stark gebückter Haltung nebeneinander vorbeitrippelt und dem grünen Zweige

Abb. 98. Kaulibo-Tänzer mit Tiwirtiwi-Maske. Bakairi.

im Takt zusammenschlagen, verwechselnden mit dem Pantomime des Fischfangs, wie er in der Flußbucht oder an ähnlichen geeigneten Stellen betrieben wird, die Fische werden an dem engen Ausgang zusammengetrieben und sterben in der dort bereit gehaltenen Netze. Ebenfalls habe ich über den grossen Kostüme, den sie Aruakkhati nennen, Seite 99 berichtet; bei den spielte sichtlich der von den Nahuqua bewohnten weit gebliebene Kulturrest eine Hauptrolle.

Gerade wenig und die Masken, die wir mit Mili und Nu erhielten. Es ist überhaupt zu bezweifeln, dass wir nur ein einziges Dorf der Nahuqua besucht haben, und dass die Hauptmasse dieses Volkes einige Tagereisen im Osten am Kulisehu sitzt, wo es im Tanz und nach Mudanqipid, wenn wir die von gegebenen

Andeutungen richtig verstanden haben, nicht leiden will. Verdächtig ist es, dass sie die Marke nur mit dem Tupiwort *pokúdio* benannten. Wir haben bei ihnen auch wie bei den dritten Bakairi einige nach Art der Mandiokaküfer geflochtene Gewichtsmarken angetroffen; leider aber waren diese Hieroglyphen, da das Fest bereits einige Zeit vor unserem Eintreffen stattgefunden hatte, nachlässig in die Erde geworfen, zertreten und zerstreut, sodass wir die traurigen Ueberreste nicht mehr gebrauchen konnten.

Abb. 99. Nahuqui-Marke. (⅓ nat. Gr.)

Wir haben von den Nahuqui vier Marken heimgebracht. Drei sind mit Jaboticaba, mit gut und schwarz bemalten Gewichtsrinden und mit dem schwarzen Marawiko-Mastix auf weissem Grund in dem unteren Zwischenraum der Platte versehen. Sie sind schlecht geschnitzt, wir hatten die Indianer gebeten, um, wenn wir auf der Rückfahrt vorsprächen, schöner *pokúdio* zu holen. Da erhielten wir denn die drei charakteristischen Hieroglyphen, deren schönste die Abbildung 99 zeigt, und von denen wir fest behaupteten, dass sie wenig Nahuqui-Eigenart enthielten. Wirklich originell war eine kleine Marke, Abb. 100, die wir unterwegs von einem Gaikuri-Nahuqui bekamen. Auch sie war in der Erde, wenn nicht geschnitzt, so doch hergerichtet; man hatte den naturfarbenen Hintergrund ohne Anwendung von weissem Lehm benutzt. Sogar die Augen waren nur schwarze Tupfen. In dieser Ausstattung wäre sie gewiss niemals zum Fest gebraucht worden, da man wusste, dass wir Marken haben wollten. Infolge man ist hier gewachsen Schnupf. Die Marke zeigt je eine schwarze Raute in den gewöhnlichen Seitenfeldern. Der alte Bakairi Fabian, dem ich sie vorlegte, sagte nur *ellelemanu*, dass aber *yakuidati*-Gewichte.

Abb. 100. Gaikuri-Marke. (⅓ nat. Gr.)

Mehinaku. Die Mehinaku nannten ihre Marken *mamai* oder *mamai*. Doch sprachen sowohl die Kamaiurá als die Waurá und Yaulapiti, auch von *kuakale*-Marken mit dem Aweti-Wort für die Geflechtmarken. (Die Yaulapiti sagten statt *mamai* für Holzmarken wieder *pokúdio*.) Bei den Mehinaku fanden sich ausnahmsweise schwere Holzmarken, die mit einem Schwerfuss in der Festhütte aufgehängt, einen stattlichen Anblick gewährten. Allen, wer ich von der ihnen innewohnenden Bedeutung zu sagen wäre, ist dies ist zu einem Kaiuaio-Tum gehören. Neben dem Eingang der Festhütte, erinnere ich mich, befanden sich zwei in Erde modellierte Leguane oder Aruáis, die in Bemalung gewöhnlich mit dem Tupiwort Sinimbú bezeichneten Schuppenrücken.

Wir suchten uns die acht schönsten Masken aus und erhielten sie ohne Schwierigkeit. In einem Wohnhaus entdeckten wir noch ein wahres Ungetüm. Nicht viel breiter als die andern, war es fast dreimal so lang und reichte dem

Abb. 102. Wichunkiri-Maske mit der heraufhängenden Lappen. (1/6 nat. Gr.)

Abb. 103. Wichunkiri-Maske mit Zierrahmen. (1/6 nat. Gr.)

Träger bis auf den Nabel herab. Unverhältnismäßig auf eine der Mund, von der Nase um diese unterhalbfache Länge entfernt. Links und rechts von der Nase zieht sich ein breiter roter Querstreifen. Vgl. Abb. 103.

Die Mehrzahl der Masken enthält das Meyuchu-Muster. Auf die Kiewemaske sind nur Ranten ohne Eckenausbildung und dazwischen eine Netzzeichnung gemalt. In den Abbildungen sind die rot bemalten Teile an der lichten Strichelung leicht zu erkennen.

Keine Maske ist der andern gleich. Wir sehen mehrere mit einem roten Hals- oder Mittelstreif unter der Nase, doch hat in Abb. 104 die eine rechts und links neben der Nasenspitze ein Stück roten Querstreifens, und wird bei der andern der Seitenstreif mediian durch einen roten Bogenstreifen abgegrenzt. Bei einer dritten (Abb. 106) ist in der Höhe der Augen ein Randfeld rot bemalt. Bei einer vierten (Abb. 105) fehlt der Mittelstreif und ist durch ein halbes Meyuchu ersetzt, dessen eine Spitze zwischen Mund und Nase sitzt, während rechts und links auf dieser schwarz-weissen Maske wieder eine bogenförmige Begrenzung der gemalterten Seitenfelder stattfindet. Wir kennen solche Bogenstreifen bereits von den Typhon und Spinnwirteln. Jeder Mann hatte seine Maske und erkannte sie an der Zeichnung, welche dem Eigentümer markierte, ob er man so beschaffen war oder dadurch, dass jeder seine Maske selbständig entwarf, sich von selbst so machte.

Abb. 103. Kamayurá-Maske.
(¼ nat. Gr.)

Ich weiss nicht, inwieweit man berechtigt wäre, Attribute des Kaimans in einem Teil der Bemalung zu erkennen. Sehr wenig verdeutlicht dass der Zusammenhang, dass die mit der grossen Buchstabenart wiedergegebenen schwarz-weissen Muster Seite 101 quer durchsetzt. Es könnte das Nachzuschildern den Kaiman gut entsprechen, um so mehr als es nur bei den Kaimanmasken auftritt. Die Maske rechts in Abbildung 106 ist immer durch zwei Reihen wie spitzer roter Dreiecke ausgezeichnet, die abwechselnd deren Spitze nach oben und unten kehren. Es liegt

wenn man die gekochtenen Kapivara-Zähne der Bakairi gesehen hat, sehr nahe, an die Zähne des Kaiman zu denken; die des Ober- und Unterkiefers

Abb. 209. Kaiman-Muster. Nahambu. $\frac{1}{2}$—$\frac{1}{3}$ nat. Gr.)

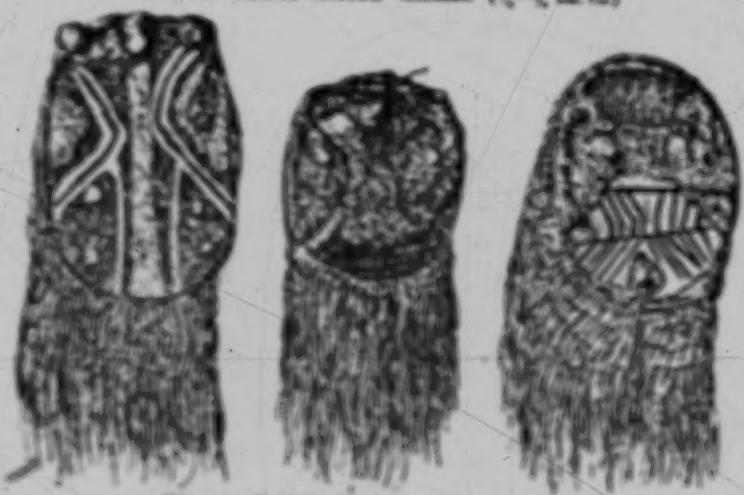
gehen in ganz deutlicher Weise übereinander. Hier im Profil gezeichnete Marke Sente jetzt connect mit dem Seitendreieck unter- und innerhalb der Augen an der Firnyamunde der Bakairi, vgl. S. 180, und wird gleichfalls die Hals- oder Wangenzeichnung eines Tieres darstellen.

Abb. 210. Kaiman-Muster. Nahambu. ($\frac{1}{3}$ nat. Gr.)

Anmerk. Der Aweti unterscheidet zwei Arten Marken: I. *kodiolo* und II. *pokiolo*, erstere Gesicht und Gewehr, letztere Hohlmuster.

I. *Kodiolo*. Unter den Gesicht- und Gewehrmarken leben drei sehr eigenartige auf, weil sie in einer sonst nicht vorkommenden Weise Wuchs andeuten, Abb. 209. Die erste und zweite dieser Kodiolo-Marken sind nichts anderes, wie an der Mittelfigur deutlich zu sehen ist, als Gitter aus Rohrstäbchen, von derselben Art mit der Technik der Siebmatte, die wir bei den Bakairi und Nahuqua beobachtet haben. Bemerkenswert ist auch die Art, wie die ersten Gesicht- und Gewehrmarken gemacht werden. Sie stehen senkrecht hintereinander vor dem Gesicht, wie unsere Marken, wo die Gesichtsmarke den dahinter liegenden Teilen des menschlichen Antlitzes der Lage nach entsprechen, sondern liegen schräg nach oben gerichtet dem Vorderkopf und der

[illegible] Kalapalo-Weiber. Wahnaka. ([illegible] nat. Gr.)



[illegible] Kuikúro-Weiber. Dasin. ([illegible] nat. Gr.)

Stirn des Trägers auf, der unterhalb der ovalen Maske durch den angeflochtenen Strohbehang hindurchblickt.

Von den drei Wachsmasken, Abb. 107, ist die primitivste die Mittelfigur. Das Stäbchengitter ist mit Wachs bedeckt, die Seitenteile aber sind dicker aufgelegt und enthalten die Augen, zwei weiße Wollpfröpfchen, ursprünglich mit schwarzen Wachspupillen versehen, die aber verloren gegangen sind. Die Nase, ein dicker Wachsklumpen, sitzt höher als die Augen. Bei der völlig mit Wachs überzogenen Maske links sind die Augen Wachsklumpchen, die auf kleine Perlmutterstückchen aufgesetzt sind. Rote Wangenbrüche und ein roter Mittelstreif werden von

Abb. 106. Kurbiche-Wachs-Maske. Aussen. (1/6 nat. Gr.)

Abb. 107. Kurbiche-Wachs-Maske. Innen. Holzgitter. (1/6 nat. Gr.)

groß abstehenden weißen Lasern umzogen, in den unteren Seitenfeldern finden sich zwei rote Tupfen. Die Augen stehen unterhalb weit auseinander und dem Rande näher als der Mittellinie, die Nase wieder hoch oben, und beiderseits von der erscheint ein Wachsknopf. Einen Mund haben die drei Wachsmasken nicht, doch mag er nur zufällig fehlen, weil wir die Masken nehmen, wie wir sie gerade in den Hütten finden.

Am interessantesten ist die Maske rechts, Abb. 107. Hier ist ein gewebtes Tuch, das oben frei liegt, in den Rahmen gespannt. Zwischen den beiden Wachswangen steht ein rollenmaßiger Mundstreifen, und an dem Gesicht die Augen und einige Behaarungen. Die untere Hälfte der Maske zeigt die Kennzeichen in Gestalt feiner oder breiter einiger Verzierungen. Unten hängt ein ½ m langer Baumwollzopf herab, aber dessen Ansatz ein Stück Wachs aufgedrückt ist.

Ausser den Wachsmasken fanden sich zum Kuahilotanz gehörige Gesichtsmasken mit schwarzem oder rotem Stirnsegment, Mittelstreifen und Mereschu-Muster, Abb. 108. Vgl. auch die Maske Seite 263, Abb. 46. Röhrlinge erscheinen zur Einfassung sowohl der Wachsaugen (Perlmutterreinlage) als des Wachsmundes mit den Piranyazähnen. Eine ganz gleichartige Maske, Abb. 109, besteht intermanter Weise aus einer Holzplatte, die oval ist wie der Reifen der Geflechtmasken; Löcher sind ringsum angebracht, wo die Kapuze eingebunden ist. So haben wir also eine Holzmaske noch genau von der Ausstattung und der Form der Geflechtmasken.

Ich suchte mit Hülfe der Bakairi den Sinn des Kuahilotanzes herauszubekommen, erfuhr aber nur, dass es sich um einen Fisch oder Fische handelt. Die Bakairi sagten, dass die Maske dem *kuibi*, vgl. Seite 306, entspreche, das sie selbst im dritten Dorf zum Kuahibe-Tanz tragen. Darum möchte ich aber Kuahilo und Kuahibe, die doch verschiedene Wörter sind, nicht in Zusammenhang bringen — um so weniger, weil ich bei den Auetö auch noch die Formen *kuakahilo*, *kuakahalati* und als für die Kamayurá geltend *kuahiki* gehört habe. Jedenfalls bedeutete *kuahilo* im praktischen Gebrauch nur den zum Fischtanz gehörenden Gesang und wurde dem *uarahi* der Kamayurá gegenübergestellt.

Der Auetö-Häuptling führte uns den Tanz vor, indem er einen Bogen und Pfeil zur Hand nahm, die Maske, wie beschrieben, aufsetzte und auf und nieder schreitend mit sehr hoher Stimme sang: *„ahá kaha ka ahi. Hitáiere uantakáre á kuapipi, kuapipi kuapipi. Hitáiere kuatpáre á kuapipi.“* Das bezieht sich auf Frauen *„kuapi“*, was die Bakairi auch mit *pakita* übersetzten. Dagegen singen die Kamayurá ihre *„uarahi“*: *„gemiau karahi, gimeru ramahui gerá pitá pitá gimeru ramahui gemiau karahi . . .“*

II. Yakuikoto. *pakó* ist ein kleiner oder junger Jaboti, Schildkr. Das Wort *pakó* bezeichnet die den Hokkohühnern nichtverwandten Hühnervögel der Penelopeen. Vgl. Brehm's Tierleben, Vögel II, p. 628. *kuto*, gut, wird im Tupi in den verschiedensten Bedeutungen angehängt, denen gewöhnlich zu Grunde liegt, dass etwas wohlgefällt, Vergnügen macht, sodass wir es in diesem Fall am besten mit »Vergnügen«, »Spass«, »Fest« übersetzen. Die Kamayurá nannten den Tanz und die Masken sowohl *pakohuto* als schlechtweg *pakó*. Diesem Tupiwort war sämtlichen Stämmen geläufig, nur sagten die Bakairi *pakohiti*, wahrscheinlich, weil sie es *ihrem* eigenen *apiti* (Fett) anhängten. Der Yakui-Tanz ist der Originaltanz der Auetö und Kamayurá, der Tupistämme.

Die hierbei gebrauchten Auetömasken sind Holzmasken. Einen Uebergang zu ihnen sehen wir schon bei den Geflechtmasken, vgl. Abbildung 109, es fehlte der Stirnvorsprung, die Maske war auch flacher gewölbt als die Holzmasken sonst sind — wenn wirr die tabelartigen Bakairimasken annehmen wollen, die nur eine Stirnwölbung besitzen. Schon sind die Auetö auf dem Wege, holzerne Fischmasken wie die Kamayurá zu machen.

Abb. [illegible] Tabaiöna-Gesichter der Kamaiurá.

Alle Holzmasken (vgl. die Vollbilder) haben einen roten Mittelstreifen, Muschelaugen, die durchbohrt sind, und das Meretsche-Muster mit schöner Netzzeichnung. Die beiden Masken von Abbildung 111 haben neben den Augen in schöner Ausprägung die Flügelzeichnung. Auch tritt auf vier Masken das Zackenband, wie es in der Tawetawe-Maske der Bakairi auf der Schulterzeichnung

(⅓ nat. Gr.)

(⅓ nat. Gr.)

Abb. 111. Yakaiuá-Masken mit Flügelzeichnung. Aweni.

der Lagunen-Vogels bezogen wird, unweit quer als auch senkrecht auf und charakterisiert auch hier die Tapuami des Gefieders, indem es die bekannte Wellenzeichnung wiedergibt, die namentlich auf Brust, Steiss und Schwanzen der jungen Vögel erscheint. Der Hals oder Mittelstreifen fehlt in dreifacher Ausprägung und gemalt, weil die andere Kehle den Jaku dieser Färbung besitzt.

Kamayurá. Die Kamayurá pflegten hauptsächlich den Yoouri oder Waelbrettaus, zu dem keine Maske gehört, es ist ein Kongtaus. Sie gebrauchten das Wort *pawri* um gegenüber dieser auch schlechthin für Tanz. Es ist unerwünschlich schwer, Verwechslungen zu vermeiden, weil die Indianer, wenn man nach dem Namen eines Dinges fragt, immer sagen, wozu es dient. So heisst *aowabá*, das im Tupi stets mit «Kwaib» übersetzt wird, der Gesang und die Musik, bei dem der Kamal gebraucht wird. So glaubten wir immer, „gebrauchte" heisse «Maske», während es «Jaku-Fest» heisst. Von Masken kannten unterscheiden wir 1. Yakoi und 2. Hawai. Das Wort *kawai* Gesamtgepäck bedeutet «Wasser-Bewohner», wie das Kamayurá Schwein der «Land-Gespiel-Bewohner» ist. Wir glaubten zunächst, *kawai* sei «Hüllen-der».

Das Hawai war der Fischtanz der Kamayurá, wie der Kwaiabo der Fischtanz der Aweti war, während dem Yakoi-Vogeltanz beide hatten.

Wir haben bei den Kamayurá keine eigentlichen Yakoi-Masken erhalten, sie verglichen diesen Vogeltanz mit dem Tawetawe-Tanz der Bakairi. Sie ver-

wendeten in gleicher Weise Gewebe- und Holzmasken für den Hoviti-Tanz, beschränkten den Fischtanz also nicht, wie die Aweti noch durchgängig zu tun scheinen, auf die ersteren. Auf beiden ist der Fisch durch die Seitenlinien, die wir auch schon auf einer Fischzeichnung Seite 248, Abb. 44, kennen gelernt haben, charakterisiert. Sie reichen hinaus die Augen und gewähren in Abbildung 112 den Eindruck einer Brille ohne Steg. Auf einer Holzmaske waren die Brustflossen wiedergegeben, indem unterhalb und seitlich der Nase jedesmals unter dem Querstrich eine Zeichnung angebracht war, die sowohl wie eine Kiemen, wohl auch neben gerichtete Zange oder Klappe.

Abb. 112. Gewebemaske der Bacairi. (1/5 nat. Gr.)

Gewebe- und Holzmasken hatten dieselbe Anordnung: Stirnrit, Augen mit der Seitenlinie, Mittelstreif und seitlich von den Mundwinkeln. Auf der Nase der Holzmasken, Abb. 113 und 114 erscheint eine T-Figur, die wahrscheinlich die Zeichnung eines bestimmten Fisches wiedergibt. Die Holzmasken waren nebenbei breit, 37 : 37 cm. An den Gewebemasken (Abb. 112) waren Hartfedern der Fische in Gestalt von Bogenverbiegungen angebracht, die von dem Reifen herabhingen und die Bestimmung auflagen. Auch in dem Gewebe selbst wurde man Fischdessins zu sehen. Wir sahen einen ersten, mit Baumwolle gewebt, übrigens ähnlich Reifen, der vor

Abb. 113. Holzmaske. Bacairi. (1/5 nat. Gr.)

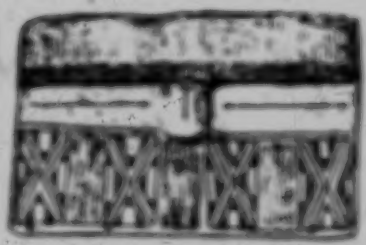


Abb. 114. Holzmaske. Bacairi. (1/5 nat. Gr.)

die Gewebe gemalten wurde und besonders Bemalung, aber in der Weise selbst ein Fischgrätenmuster trug. Ähnlich erschien in anderen Gewebemasken, die bei der Fertigkeit des Webens als Tuchmasken gelten konnten, unter dem

gemalten Meretschu-Muster und ohne sich genau mit ihm zu decken, ein schwach erhaben gewebtes Kammmuster. Eine Hirsch-Helmmaske endlich (Abbildung 115) mit rotem Stirnband, ebenfalls sehr bunt, war wegen zweier roter, senkrecht auf schwarzem Grund stehender Fische auffallend, die neben den Augen aufgemalt waren. Jeder Fisch erschien als eine Raute mit bunt angesetztem Schwanzdreieck.

Bei dem Hirsch-Tanz wird an den beiden Bäumen geklopft zum Zeichen, dass das Fest beginnt und dass die Frauen sich zu entfernen haben. Frauen und Kinder werden selbst zu der Pantomime herangezogen, als Einer sich auf dem Dorfplatz eine Helmmaske aufsetzte, um uns den Tanz zu zeigen. Es sieht toll genug aus. Die Maske mit ihrem bunten, leinenhaften Gesicht gewinnt bei den leichtfertigen Bewegungen unwillkürlich eine bestimmte Physiognomie. Ich wurde lebhaft an die Illustrationen zu «Graf aus dem Wirtshaus...» erinnert, wo die Hexen, die Pumpen, die Laternen genau derselben Gesichter zeigen.

Abb. 115. Helmmaske aus Flechtwerk. Kamayurá. (¼ nat. Gr.)

Ausser den Hirsch-Masken fand sich bei den Kamayurá noch ein einziges, an der Kopfbinde der Bakairi erinnerndes Gebilde vor, das ungefähr die Form einer Pfeife mit Hand und Stiel hatte. In dem Hut, der aber eines grossen Querreifs gebrochen war, nun der Oberkörper des Trägers bis ungefähr zum Nabel, während der Stiel den Pfeife von dem herabhängenden Stirnbandes gebildet wurde. Ein Quadrat der Hutkrempe, durch fühlerartige Stäbe Schlangenkopf abgegrenzt, war mit dem Meretschu-Muster bemalt; an der Spitze war noch, ähnlich wie bei dem Inno der Bakairi, ein Stiel auf, aber dick aufbauschen, mannshohenmalt und in einer Gewegnaster endigend. Das Ding wurde Tawai genannt; im Gantsui bedeutet dort «Kleider im Wasser bleiben Gewaschen», während es im Tupi auch Mutter Tonfiguren, Blattwesen, bedeuten.

Tramai. Ausschliesslich Baumwollgeflechtmuster, Bakairi, ausgenommen, dass dabei gemischt, wo ich den verschiedenen Sinn nicht zu bestimmen weiss. Es ist zu bedauern, dass wir die Leute auf der Flucht gemalten haben, und dass wir Holzmasken vorzüglichen haben bekäßen. Auch mag es daher kommen, dass eine sehr grosse Maske ohne Gesichtsteile nur als ein mit Baumwollgeflecht jahrem, mit rotem Mittelstreifen) überzogener und auch mit einer unvollkommenen Bakairi-Kopfzier versehen eingewebter Kalebasse erscheint. Trotz der Baumwolle kann man nicht von «Wolken» reden, die Strange waren grob wie bei Strohmatten geflochten. Ein

Teil der Gesichtsmasken hat denselben Typus wie bei den Aweti und Kamayurá, doch ist meistens die ganze Fläche des Gewebes mit dem schwarzen Meandro-Muster auf weissem Grund bedeckt, in einem Fall mit liegenden Rauten und ohne Hals- oder Mittelstreifen, während dieser letztere sich bei andern auf eine schwarze Linie reduziert.

Abb. 108. Trumai-Maske, schematisiert. (1/4 nat. Gr.)

Abb. 109. Trumai-Maske mit Meandro-muster. (1/4 nat. Gr.)

Augen und Nase sind gewöhnlich drei gleich grosse Wachsblumenbeete in einer Linie nebeneinander, mit einem Stachelschweinpfeil angeheftet. Nur auf einer Maske sind ein paar blonde Menschenhaarbüschel den Augenblumenbeeten aufgedrückt. Der Mund ist ein schwarzer Wachsring von dem Aussehen einer Pennarium- und so gross, dass Nase und Augen darin Platz haben. Alle Gesichtsteile sind auf die obere Hälfte, ja auf das obere Drittel des Ovals beschränkt.

Die Bemalung ist bei einer Reihe der Masken einfach ein schwarzer Grund mit weissen oder ein weisser Grund mit schwarzem Mittelstreifen, in dem Nase und Mund liegen oder der nur bis zum Mund reicht.

Bei drei Masken findet sich dies mehr. Bei Nr. 1: Schwarzer Grund, weisser Mittelstreif, begleitet jederseits von einer weissen Linie; an sie stösst der dreieckige Wangenteil an, der sich zusammensetzt aus einem roten, einem weissen Streifen, dem schwarzen Grundstreifen und einem roten Randbeleck. Die Maske erinnert sehr an die erste Wachsmaske der Aweti Abb. 107. Nr. 2: schwarzer

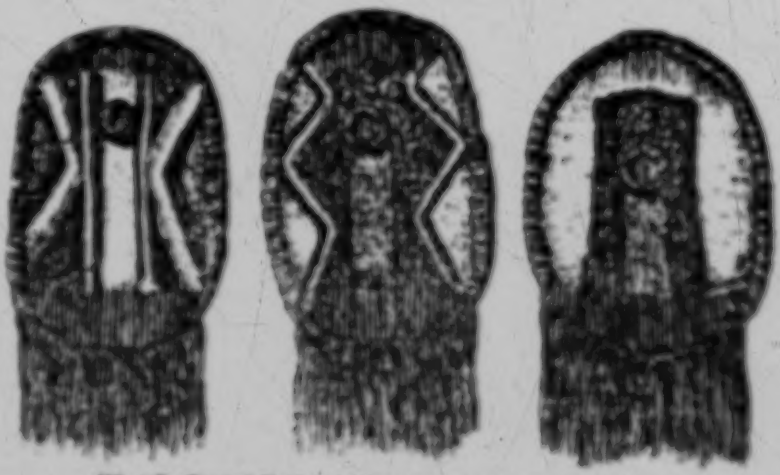


Abb. 118. Tremembé-Masken: schwarzer Grund, weisser Streifen. (1/3 nat. Gr.)

Grund, roter Mittelstreif, jederseits zwei weisse Randbeleche, von einer weissen Zickzacklinie umschlossen. Nr. 3: oben und unten weisser Grund, dann in der Breite und bis zur Höhe einschliesslich der Augen schwarzer Grund mit rotem Mittelstreif bis zum Mundloch.

II. Gemeinsamer Ursprung der Masken und des Mereschu-Musters.

Wir erwähnten einen Wehrem der Bakairi, der sich aus Stroh geflochtene Tierfiguren und Köpfe vom Tierhälgen anfertigte, aber ungemein bedrohend wurde, es uns erzählten, dass auf den Tiermasken die Gesichtszüge menschlicher Bildung sind. Man sollte erwarten, dass z. B. eine Trauermaske einen Schnabel hätte und nicht eine Nase mit einem Mund darunter. Man hat einem solchen Tiere gegenüber das Gefühl, als wollte er von gemordeten sprechen: «Denkt nur nicht, dass ich wirklich eine Trauer sei, ich bin ein Mensch wie Ihr und will nur eine

Tode verteidigen, wie Ihr an meinem Kokoyabem hört und Euch auch an den aufgeweckten Federtupfen abzuzeichnen könnt.«

«So wusst denn, dass ich Euer Schmuck, der Schreiner bin,
Kein wilder Löw' fürwahr und keines Löwen Wild.«

Ja, die Masken sind keineswegs nur Gesichtsmasken. Augen, Nase und Mund sind auf den obern Teil des Feldes beschränkt, und der Mittelwulst markiert die Fortsetzung des Körpers mit dem Hals, Flügel, Pfeife, Schwänze, Hals- und Schulterwickelung erscheinen daneben. Auf dem Flechtenkranz der Bakairi, das eine sauberst bebemalt und sorgfältig gemachte Arbeit ist, vermissen wir den Mund und oben einen grauen Fleck inmitten des Moruebu-Musters. Die Aussi- endlich scheinen unter dem Masken durch die Kopfe hindurch, nicht minder ist ein grauer Teil der Holzmasken-Augen so beschaffen, dass die Lücken so klein sind und nicht die richtige Entfernung von einander haben, um für das Durchblicken geeignet zu sein; sie sind für den Zuschauer, nicht für den Träger vorhanden.

Welchen Dienst sollen wir nun nun von der Entwickelungsgeschichte der Masken machen? Nehmen wir vom Ausgangspunkt die Strichfiguren der Bakairi und den Potundo-Masken Satze pro. Diese Voraussetzung war schon ein grosser Fortschritt gegen die Anschauung mit einem Turbaig und einem Gehänge von Strichstreifen. Die Leute haben sich Tiere gefunden, unterm sich die einen auf den Kopf und kreuzen in der andern binein. Aus den Erzeugnissen der Zeichenkunst und von den Flechtgegenstände hier wissen wir, wie wenig dazu gehört, um zu charakterisieren. Sie sagen ein Stück Schlingpflanze durch den Chemiel des Anzugs, die warm Bastfäden und geeignet für die Verwendung einer Potundo-Fischen. Sie haben es nicht ewig, die Nachbildung weiterzutreiben, sie bedurften auch heute noch keiner Potundo-Gesichtsmasken. Aber die Indianer eingeprägten die Wirkung dieser Strichfiguren, indem sie wiederum Augen, Nase und Mund diesen anbrachten und einen Reifen aufbrachten, der ein Gesichtsoval umgrenzte. Unsere Maske war mehr dekorativ als mimisch; sie wurde vom Strichgitter zum Fadengeflecht, das Leben annahm und sich bewegen kann, vervollkommnet, sie wurde mit dem Flechtwerke verwebt oder mit der Zeichnung einer Tapire oder ein Tier wurde aufgemalt.

Dass Fische die Hauptrolle spielen, ist sehr natürlich, weil sie bei dem Zuge in Mawe gefangen werden und so die Gelegenheit zum allgemeinen Fest geben. Auch der Yakui-Tanz, der Tanz der kleinen Schaki-Hühner, zeug es reichlich Jagdbeute mitmachen. «Alle grösseren Arten haben sich einander, die kleineren gewöhnlich in starken Flügen zusammen, die bis zu hundert und mehr Stück zusammen kommen.« (Bedeutsam Tierkleben, Vogel II, p. 416). Sie wundern wir uns noch nicht, dass wir nichts vom Jaguar oder Tapir oder anderen jagdbaren Insgesamt hören, die bei den Tekuna-Masken erscheinen, diese leiteten nur Gelegenheitsdienste, während gerade die Menge des Anlass zu einem mit vielen Nachbarn gebeurten Festschmaus dabei.

Wenn man sich jedoch erinnert, wie die Nahuqui bei ihrem Kreuz-Tanz den Kopf mit einem Fischnetz verhüllen, und in dem Pantomime das Zusammenziehen der Fische durch eine Gesellschaft darstellen, wird man auch den Gedanken nicht von der Hand weisen, dass die ovale Gewebemaske mit dem in gleicher Form in einen Reifen gespannten Fischnetz mehr als die bisherige Anhänglichkeit gemein hat. Wollen der Indianer von der Form des Gesichtes ausgehend auf den Maskenreifen verfallen wäre, so hätte er das ganze Feld auch für das Gesicht benutzt, während dieses jetzt nur einen Teil des Raumes einnimmt und mit geringerer Sorgfalt behandelt ist als die Umrahmung. Der Fischmaskenrest der Bakairi ist nichts als ein ungemeinfiges und dadurch zur Anhängung der Lehmes geeignetes Netz. Die dicken abstehenden Nähfäden können heute von der Federmaske selbst da sein, da die Federn in die Maschen eingeflochten werden können, aber darum ist es doch ebenso gut möglich, dass das Netz über ist als die Federn, die erst an den Kopfteil kähme. Vielleicht ist also unsere älteste ovale Gesichtsmaske nur das in den Strohreif eingefügte und dekorativ gestaltete Fischnetz. Dass ist es weit leichter zu verstehen, dass die Charakterisierung der Tiere so wenig ausgesprochen ist, dass Nase verzerrt und auch charakteristisch verzerrt, aber es war nicht um einer naturnahen Nachbildung willen in den Kontext aufgenommen.

Auch erhalten wir damit eine Erklärung des Mayoruna-Mosaiks. Das Maskenfischnetz wurde ungeschickt gebildet, weil es besser verhüllte, und liess sich nun bemalen. Aber man malte das alte weitmaschige Netz auf und setzte die Fischchen hinein. Es gibt einen Punkt, der mir so bewiesen scheint, dass ich Recht habe, der, an und für sich sehr scheint, dass leicht einfach erklärt wurde. Der Indianer malt das Mayoruna-Mosaik immer, worauf auch mein Vetter Wilhelm aufmerksam gemacht hat, stehend, das heisst die grössere Diagonale der Raute senkrecht, die kleinere querliegend. Das runden Spinnwirtelchen ist dieser Umstand nicht mehr anzusehen, wenn sie fertig sind, aber wir haben beim Bitara zuweilen beobachtet, dass die Figur stehend gemacht wurde, und gerade dieselbe gewinkelt bei den Bleistiftzeichnungen. Ich habe deshalb die Figur Seite 181, Abb. 43, nicht, wie es vielleicht näher gelegen hätte, horizontal gelegt drehen, habe deshalb auch alle Spinnwirtel auf verkehrten Mosaiken umgerichtet und endlich, allerdings unter den Schmerzen halber, auch den Original-Mosaiken, Seite 180, auf den Schwanz gestellt.

Wie kommt der Künstler zu dieser Sonderbarkeit? Auf dem Fries, vgl. Tafel 21, sind die Fische doch so gemacht, wie sie schwimmen. Nun, auf den Mosaiken stehen die Fische ja auch auf dem Schwanz: man sehe *gar* den Fischmaskenrest der Bakairi Seite 303 und die schwarze Kamayurá-Maske Seite 317. Ja, das einzige Mal, wo uns der Mayoruna-Fisch als einziges Individuum unabhängig dem Nützen entgegentritt, auf der Mitaru-Maske der Bakairi Seite 181, Abb. 44, steht er senkrecht. Auf den Gewebemasken aber, auf der er als der übrigen erkennen, wurde der Fisch in seiner an und für sich unnatürlichen Lage gemalt.

* J. Steinen, Zeitschriftenbau.

weil sie dem Gesicht entsprechend liegende Stellung haben; man denke sich die Fiere des Fischmalmari Seite 303 horizontal und man wird empfinden, erstens, dass dadurch der Fisch bewegt wäre, zweitens, dass das Durchschwimmen des Gesichts wegen des Widerspruchs gegen die Hauptrichtung geradezu unmöglich sowäre. Ein Blick auf Fenster- und Thürumrahmung zeigt für uns dasselbe Bedürfniss.

Es wurden also Netz und Fischer mit stehenden Rudern auf die liegende Marke gemalt. Man gehe die grosse Anzahl der mit dem Mercucho-Muster ausgestatteten Marken-Abbildungen durch: überall dieselbe Stellung. Wir haben nur eine Ausnahme gewiss und sie bestätigt die Regel eher als dass sie ihr widerstrebt. Dies ist eine Tucunaí-Marke. Allein die guten Tucunaí haben die Marken von den Kamayurá entlehnt, wie sie die Bemerwelle und die Sirbemarke bei denen bereits gelernt haben und mit den Tupinamba bewiesen. Sie haben den Entwicklungsgang nicht mitgemacht.

Wir verstehen jetzt auch den engen Zusammenhang zwischen Netz und Mercucho-Fisch und die Mannichfaltigkeit der Verbildung grade dieses Fisches. In jede Marke zeichnete man einen Fisch, der klein sein mochte, da er nicht an den Platz nicht passte, der auch dieselbe rhomboide Gestalt hatte wie die Netzmasche. Wir verstehen endlich, wie bei der einfachen Arbeit die Darstellung von Kopf, Flossen und Schwanz zur Ausbildung der Ecken wurde. Kurz, es stimmt Alles so vortrefflich zusammen für das Muster wie für den Entwicklungsgang der Marken, dass ich den Beweis, soweit er überhaupt möglich ist, für erbracht ansehe.

Das Muster ist heute ein ornamental geworden. Zwischen den Mandioka-Grabhöhlen und dem kleinen Lagunenfisch giebt es keinen direkten innern Zusammenhang. Indessen wird man Eins zugestehen müssen. Die Bedeutung des Fischfangs wurde über seine ursprüngliche weit hinaus, weil er an die höchsten Festtage erinnerte; alle Industrie beschäftigte sich seiner, der mit Trinken, Schmausen und Schmücken zu thun hatte. So hatte er seinen guten Sinn, wenn die grossen Kürbisse und Kalebassen, in denen der Pajé kredenzt wird, wenn die Beijawunder, mit denen der gastliche Gebrauch an solchen Tagen unerschöpflich angedeutet wird, wenn die Kayen, in denen die prächtigen Federn aufbewahrt werden, wenn die zum Tanz geschwungenen Rasselschlüsse, wenn die Spinnwirtel, mit denen der Faden für die Gewebe-Arbeiten gesponnen wurde, wenn alle diese und ähnliche Sachen mit dem Mercucho-Fisch verziert wurden. Der Ursprung der Ausschmückung liegt in einem motivirten Gefühl, und erst, wenn dieses Manifestiren zahlreich und trivial geworden sind, sieht kein Mensch mehr etwas Anderes als Figur und Farbe. Die Lieblingsbildchen unseres Volks kommen schliesslich auf die besten Taschentücher. Das Mercucho-Muster hat sich von Stamm zu Stamm verbreitet und überall einbürgern können, gerade weil es aus den Festtagen, zu denen sich die Stämme vereinigten, hervorgewachsen ist.

Demnach darf nicht vergessen werden, dass sich der Indianer heute noch des konkreten Vorbildes bewusst bleibt. Der Bakairi setzt keinen Meruchu-Fisch auf seine Masken mit Ausnahme der Möven-Maske, Abb. 44, und des Fischmakanari, Abb. 93, und so sind auch bei den andern Stämmen — man vergleiche die Wachsmasken der Auetö und die schwarzweissroten Masken der Trumai — deutliche Unterschiede vorhanden, die ich nur nicht näher zu bestimmen weiss. Im Anfang hat der Fisch noch nicht überallhin gepasst, wo sich die Kaste heute schon eingedrängt hat oder bald eindringen wird.

Man muss sich nun die Frage vorlegen: giebt es, wenn die Gewebmasken und das Meruchu-Muster auf das Fischnetz zurückgehen, irgendwelche Anhaltpunkte, um zu entscheiden, welcher Stamm der Erfinder gewesen ist? Der Meruchu-Fisch ist mir als ein «Lagunenfisch» bezeichnet worden, (wir haben ihn bei den Yaulapiti gegessen), doch kommt er überall in unserm Gebiet, selbst im Paranatinga, vor. Der Fischfang mit Netzen ist auch bei allen Stämmen gepflegt. Hier ist also Nichts zu entscheiden. Immerhin ist die ethnologische Ausgleichung mit dem Meruchu-Muster und den Masken noch nicht so ganz und gar vollzogen, als dass sich nicht wenigstens für ein paar Stämme ein Negatives folgern liesse. Die Bakairi, glaube ich, kommen nicht in Frage. Sie sind die «Herren des Makanari und des Imono», der geflochtenen Ausgüsse, und die zahmen Bakairi hatten gar keine eigentlichen Masken. Die Bakairi hatten auch nicht die mit dem Meruchu verzierten Spinnwirtel. Bei den Nahuquá haben wir keine Gewebmasken und nur schlechte Holzmasken gefunden, die sie mit dem Namen Tukuhuá des Tupí-Tanzes bezeichneten; sie mögen zu Kolumbus mehr hatten, allein wir dürfen ihnen nach dem, was wir bis jetzt von ihnen wissen, kaum so viel und gewiss nicht mehr zutrauen als den Bakairi. Den Trumai habe ich bereits früher die Originalität absprechen müssen.

Bleiben die Mehinakú mit Verwandten und die Tupí-Stämme. Jene haben uns nur Holzmasken sehen lassen. Die Holzmasken zeigen die gleiche Anordnung wie die Gewebmasken mit Mittelstreif und Muster, sodass sie keine eigenartige Entstehung verraten und nur einen technischen Fortschritt bedeuten. Die Mehinakú waren, wie die Schemel beweisen, die besten Schnitzer, und so möchte ich ihnen am ersten die Erfindung der Holzmaske zutrauen. Sie mögen auch, ich weiss es nicht, Tänze mit Gewebmasken haben, da das Wort *Anakiló* den Kamayurá und Waurá, die ich im Aweilindo befragte, auch geläufig war; die Entscheidung ist unmöglich, weil der eine Stamm die Tänze des andern kannte. Die Tupí-Stämme der Kamayurá und Auetö, namentlich die letzteren, verdienen wohl die meiste Beachtung. Die Auetö hatten die meisten Geflecht- und Gewebmasken, ihr Wort *„Anakiló"* war an die Nu-Aruakstämme übergegangen, bei ihnen waren auch alle Holzmasken mit dem Meruchu bemalt, sie waren die besten Malkünstler, die rein stilisierte Zeichnungen lieferten, bei ihnen und den Kamayurá war namentlich auch das feinst gewebte Tuch vorhanden. So sehen wir bei ihnen die höchste Uebung gerade der Künste, die hier verlangt

werden, des Webens und Malens, während die Mehinakú in Keramik und Schnitzerei mehr leisten. Darum geht meine unmaßgebliche Meinung dahin, dass die Wahrscheinlichkeit zu Gunsten der Auetó spricht, und dass sie die Erfinder der Gewebmaske und damit auch des Mereschu-Musters sind.

III. Sonstiger Festapparat.

Die Kamayurá zählten uns Abends auf dem Dorfplatz sieben verschiedene Tänze auf und stellten Einzelheiten daraus pantomimisch dar. 1. *yauari*. Der Wurfbrett-Tanz. Mit grossem plastischen Talent wurde dargestellt, wie ein Krieger verwundet wird und tot zusammenbricht. Dem sterbenden Aegineten fehlte nur der Schild. 2. *mucuracuá* Maskentanz. 3. *ieiruaú* mit Federschmuck und Buritírock, den Pfeil über der Schulter. 4. *amurikumá* mit kleinen Tanzkeulen. Vgl. die Abbildung 119. *ihóhó ihochehé ihóho ehihé nuyuhilu horómotáng motík.* 5. *tacúrusumá*. Grüne Zweige auf den Armen, Netzmütze, Ohrfedern, Federdiademe, Buritírock. Dem Fischtanz der Nahuquá entsprechend. 6. *wamiakóit*, wenn den etwa fünfjährigen Knaben die Ohrlöcher gestochen werden. 7. *kunyi murahi*, wenn den Mädchen das Uluri angelegt wird.

Abb. 119. Tanzkeule. Kamayurá. (1/3 nat. Gr.)

Auch hörten wir noch mehr von begleitenden Gesängen, die alle stereotyp zu sein scheinen. Ich notierte Manches davon, vermag sie aber nicht zu übersetzen. Die am häufigsten wiederkehrenden Refrains waren *kahi hiyi, kahi hiyeóne*. Jedenfalls spielt der Yauarí-Tanz die grösste Rolle und hat auch mancherlei Touren; *yauari* hörte man bei den Kamayurá ebenso oft wie *makunári* bei den Bakairí, nur dass *marahi* soviel als »Tanz« oder »Gesang« war, ihr Haupttanz also *yauari-marahi* hiess. Einer gab auch eine merkwürdige Vorstellung, indem er gebückt und zwei Pfeile über den Boden reibend tanzte, eine Frau hinter ihm: *kurahi he*.

Die Frauen, *kunyi*, die ja als die beste Beute gelten, wurden vielfach in den Gesängen erwähnt. In der Tanzpantomime wurde oft verdeutlicht, namentlich beim Amurikumá-Tanz, dass die Frauen Fische überreichten. Die Tänze beginnen am frühen Morgen und dauern bis Sonnenuntergang.

Tanzkeulen, ähnlich wie die abgebildete der Kamayurá, zum Teil hübsch umflochten, fanden wir auch bei den Trumaí. Bei den Auetó erhielten wir einen Tanzschmuck, dessen Form an den Rosschweif eines Tambourmajors erinnerte: von einem Reifenstück hingen je an der Seite und in der Mitte Schwänze von Buritifasern fast 1/3 m lang herab.

Zum Tanz mit den Huvátmasken bei den Kamayurá gehörten zwei Stäbe *kuiuti*, 80 cm lang, an deren Spitze das Gebiss eines Hundsfisches in einem drei-

eckigen Aufsatz so eingeflochten war, dass die beiden langen spitzen Zähne, die beliebten Bohr- und Schneideinstrumente des Indianers oben herausschauten.

Abb. 120.
Handfloch-Tanzstab.
Kamayurá. (1/6 nat. Gr.)

Man sieht, der Tanz hat seine psychologische Entwicklung. In ihm spiegeln sich die Fortschritte der Kultur deutlich wieder. Im Anfang wird das Tier in der Pantomime vorgeführt, seine Stimme nachgeahmt und seine Gestalt in der Strohvermummung nachgebildet, aus dem Fischnetz entwickelt sich die Maskenkunst mit ihren für alle Malerei fruchtbaren Motiven — hier ist bereits das Gerät mit seiner Technik gegenüber der Tierfigur in den Vordergrund des Interesses getreten. Das Wurfbrett und die Keule, sie sterben aus als Waffen bei dem friedlicher gesinnten Feldbebauer, aber sie erhalten sich als Tanzschmuck, die Wurfsteine werden am Pfeil durch Wachsklumpen ersetzt und kleine hängen als Amulette am Hals der Kinder. Der Bakairi macht zum Mittelpunkt seiner Tänze mit Buritiflechtwerk zwei in der Palme lebende Insekten. Der Kamayurá trägt das Gebiss des Hundefisches beim Fischtanz als Fetischerat, er und der Aweté macht sich auch Schmuckwirtel an Stelle der Arbeits-Spinnwirtel und kommt sofort zu neuen Mustern, weil er sie für den Zweck des Augenblicks nur mit vorgänglichen Mustern zu bemalen braucht (vgl. Seite 274). der Bakairi schafft sich aus den Mandioka-Grabstöcken in den Rückenhölzern einen eigenartigen Tanzschmuck und auch hier entstehen in der freien Kunstübung neue Motive, sowohl der Form, indem sich der spitze Holzzylinder verwandelt, als der Zeichenmuster (vgl. Seite 265, 266, 284).

Ueberall finden wir hier noch vor dem Schmuck die nüchterne, nützliche Thätigkeit, sei es Jagd, Fischfang oder andere Arbeit. Noch einmal wollen wir es uns klar machen, der Mensch schmückte sich nicht, indem er sich in der freien Natur umschaute nach dem, was schön aussah und sich dies an seinem Körper anbrachte, sondern er entdeckte die Schönheit erst, nachdem er das Material um nützlicher Zwecke gesucht und in Gebrauch genommen hatte. Aber jetzt hat er mittlerweile einen grossen Vorrat an Form- und Farbenmotiven gewonnen, er sucht sie allerorts zu verwenden und hat das Schmücken selbst zu einer Art Kunst erhoben, die sich bei Tanz und Festspiel, wo der Ueberschuss der Kraft zur Geltung kommt, am freiesten entfaltet.

Musikinstrumente. »Am lebhaftesten tritt in der Musik des Indianers das Gefühl für den Rythmus hervor, dagegen bringt er es nur zu schwachen Bruchstücken von Melodieen und von der das Gemüt ergreifenden Kraft der Harmonie

scheint er keine Ahnung zu haben.« Ich stiere hier Martius schon deshalb, weil ich nicht sicher bin, ob die Indianer nicht musikalischer sind als ich selbst. In der That war Alles, was wir gehört haben, nur Ausdruck von Takt und Rythmus. Ich rechne deshalb auch die Klapperer, die nur Geräusche hervorbringen, zu deren musikalischen Instrumenten. Sie hatten Fussklapperer, Bündel harter Fruchtschalen, besonders auch halbreife Pili-Kerne, die der Tänzer um die Knöchel des aufstampfenden Fusses gebunden trug. (Vgl. die Abbildung 90, Seite 299.) Klirrende Muschel- und Nussschalengehänge, die von Halsschnüren an Baumwollquasten herabhingen, dem Musikbündel des Fischmakanari der Bakairi dienten gleichem Zweck.

Der Kurse und Musikbehälterartige enthaltende, von einem Bambusstäbchen durchbohrte Rasselkürbis, der mit der Hand im Takt geschüttelt wurde, hatte bei den Bakairi, Nahuquá und Kamayurá denselben Namen wie die Fussklapper.*) Ein wunderbarer Anblick für uns, wenn der erwachsenen Leute mit grossem Eifer das Musikinstrument unserer Singlinge schwingen. Vergeblich würde man die Rassel bei Kindern suchen. Während wir bei den Bakairi keine Rasselkürbisse gesehen haben, waren sie sehr zahlreich und mit mannigfachen Zierraten von Federbüschen, Wachsklumpchen und Baumwollbüschelchen ausgestattet bei den Nahuquá. Wir fanden auch eine junge Schildkröte an Stelle des Kürbis auf ein Stäbchen aufgespannt und bei den Aueti sogar das blaue, wie poliert aussehende Ei einer Hühnervogels mit mehr als ½ m langem Stiel. Gelegentlich waren zwei Rasselkürbisse an einem Stiel.

Kürbisse von Flaschenform dienten zum talismanischen Aufbewahren. Rinde mit eingeweichtem Bambusrohr bildeten eine Art Uebergang zur Flöte.

Im dritten Bakairidorf und bei den Kamayurá wurde als Pauke ein hohler Baum, der auf der Erde lag, benutzt.

Flöten. Eine hohle, mit zwei Löchern versehene, 6 cm lange Palmnuss, in der man hineinblies, diente als Pfeifchen. Die beliebteste und vollkommenste Flöte ⅔—1 m lang, 6 cm dick, hatte bei den Bakairi *ulwi*, während sie bei den übrigen Stämmen folgende, anscheinend sämtlich verwandte Namen führte: Mehinaku *kulwi*, Kustenau *kulwi*, Trumai *kui* (Fussklapper *kuwki*), Nahuquá *kulwi*, *kuwie*, Kamayurá *kuwui*, *kuwui*, Aueti *kulwi*. In ein Rohr ist an einem Ende ein dicker Wachspfropf eingelassen, indem daneben der Wandung entlang ein Kanal offen bleibt. Hier wird eben hineingeblasen, der Kanal führt zu einem viereckigen Luftloch in der Rohrwandung. Im unteren Viertel der Flöte befinden sich vier Grifflöcher für Zeige- und Mittelfinger beider Hände; die am unteren Ende abschliessende Querwand ist durchbohrt. Zuweilen besteht das Rohr aus zwei mit Wachs der ganzen Länge der Flöte nach verklebten Hälften; Umwickelung mit Rindcontrolen, Rohr oder Baumwolle. Auch findet sich Abschrägung des Mundstücks. Etuis gaben die aus Bastfetzen geflochtenen Tauschmuster ab. Kleinere

*) Aueti bei den Kamayurá, nicht *uapiba* wie im Tupí, das bei ihnen den Gesang und Tanz bezeichnet. Aueti *kuwui* und Fussklapper *uiuiba*, wie mit *uapiba* verwandt oder klingt.

Pfeiten (bis 80 cm lang) aus Bambus sind weniger sorgfältig behandelt. Pfeilspitzen kommen vor vom einfachen Holzstäbchen an bis zu einiger Größe. So fanden wir 1884 bei den Suyá ein Exemplar mit drei Rohren von 1⅔, 1 und ⅔ m Länge, 1⅔, 15 und 5 cm Umfang; im obern Teil ist seitlich ein rechteckiges Luftloch angebracht und hinter hinauf noch ein 10 cm langes gewölbtes Stück Bambus aufgeklebt, das nur unten offen steht und den hier aus dem rechteckigen Loch austretenden Luftstrom fängt.

Schwirrhölzer. Neben den Tanzmasken hing im Fürstenhaus der Mehinakú ein 60 cm langes Schwirrholz von der Form einer Schwertklinge, schwarz gefärbt mit rotem Mittelstück, vgl. Abb. 121. Das schmale Brett, an einem Strick durch die Luft geschwungen, erzeugt ein brummendes oder schwirrendes Geräusch, das einen etwas unheimlichen Eindruck macht, weil es wie von selbst stärker anschwellend scheint, und kann dabei mit einer Wucht saausen oder brausen, die man hinter dem unscheinbaren und unspeziellen Ding nicht erwarten würde. Bei den Nahuquá erhielten wir die in Nr. 122 abgebildeten Schwirrhölzer, von denen das eine mit dem Schlangenornament versehen ist, während man das andere schwarz angestrichen und dabei eine Reihe von Fisch- oder Fischbeinzähnen eingepaßt hat. Diese beiden Schwirrhölzer sind 34 und 36 cm lang, sie haben die Gestalt von Fischen, die zweckentsprechend ist, da man einen Teil des 3 m langen Strickes um die Fischbeinzähne am Schwanzende wickelt. Ebenso wenig als betreffs der Masken hatten wir irgendwelche Schwierigkeit, der Schwirrhölzer zu erhalten. Die Nahuquá zeigten uns den Gebrauch auf offenem Dorfplatz in aller Unbefangenheit wie den eines beliebigen Geräts und ohne daß die Frauen weggejagt wurden. Es ist dies deshalb von großem Interesse, weil das Schwirrholz, das in unsern Kulturstaaten heute nur ein Kinderspielzeug ist, eine große Bedeutung in den religiösen Mysterien bei den verschiedensten Völkern der Erde gehabt hat oder noch hat. Wir werden dem bei den Bororó und zwar auch in einer geheimnisvollen Bedeutung, die am Kolowéu fehlt, wieder begegnen und deshalb sich dort erst auf sie einzugehen haben.

Abb. 121. Schwirrholz. Mehinakú. (⅙ nat. Gr.)

Abb. 122. Schwirrhölzer (Fischform). Nahuquá. (⅙—⅛ nat. Gr.)

Die Nahuquá und die Mehinakú haben für das Schwirrholz dasselbe Wort, denn diese nennen es *matipu* und jene *matíla*. Bei den Aweti, Kamayurá und

Trommel haben wir den Gerät nicht gesehen. Die Bakairi geben dem den Namen *gelu, ipulu*, den heimat für die Blitz und Donner gemeinsamen Wort, etwa «Gewitter». Wollen wir in diesem Sinn sprechen, müssen wir es nicht, wie ich früher gethan habe, «Blitz», sondern auch unsern Gerätnamen «Donner» nennen. Durch diesen Bakairiwort erhalten wir auch die Aufklärung, warum das Schwirrholz bei den australischen Medicinmännern, die auf dem vom Himmel Regen bringen und die Figuren von Wasserblumen darauf einschnitzen, gerade vom Regenmachen gebraucht wurde. Sie erzeugten Donner und Gewitter mit dem Zauberholz, das hier den Regen ist erst erkundet.

Federschmuck und Diademe. Die wichtigsten Federschmuck lebender Vögel habe ich bereits Seite 208 aufgezählt. Die Federn werden verarbeitet als Diademe, hauptsächlich die des Arara, der Papageien, des *Japú* (Cassicus) und der Falken. Die Schwanzfedern der Arara wählen gewöhnlich als Mittelstück des Diadems aufgebracht, wo sie über die anderen kleineren hoch emporragen. Die unteren Kielende werden eingeschlagen und auf Schnur gebunden; um die zarten Spulen zu verdecken, legt man ringsum ein aus roten oder gelben Federchen gebildetes Band. Auf einem Stäbchen aufgebundene Federn winden sich zu einem den Kopf umhüllenden Federkranz zusammen. Federbuschen entwenden dadurch, dass Federn (zum Unterschied von Kolben und Stäbchen, mit bunten Federchen durchwebt), und zwar die grünen, oder der Mitte in den Mischen einen Baumwollstrang eingebunden wurden; wird dies Netz über den Kopf gezogen, richten sich die Federn zu einer Hülle auf. Federbänder wurden getragen zur Deckung des Diademrandes, um die Stirn und hauptsächlich zu sinnlich bunter Verknüpfung um die Oberarme.

Abb. 113. Ohrfedern. Kamayurá. (1/3 nat. Gr.)

Ohrfedern. Die Bakairi trugen mit Vorliebe gelbe Cassicusfedern, vgl. die Merkes Seite 304 und Tafel 6. Die Ohrfedern werden in Höhen gesteckt oder an kleinen oder grossen Rohrröschchen befestigt. Sehr einfach und bunt sind die 24 cm langen Federstäbe der Kamayurá; die Abbildung 113 kann leider die prachtigen Farben nicht wiedergeben. Die Nasenfedern der Bakairi habe ich Seite 181 besprochen.

Federmantel hatten nur die Kamayurá, einfeiger langer Federrotan, die von einer Hänchnur über den Rücken herabhingen, zusammengesetzt aus Federn von Geier, Sperber, Arara, Storch und Jabutinga. Sie gehörten in einer Linie «zum Yabutanzs», *gelu-ip*. Vorn über die Stirn fiel ein langer Burtigshange. Die Kamayurá hatten auch 30—40 cm lange Büschel menschlichen Haares, die einem Kopfnetz angeflochten waren und beim Yawari-Tanz gebraucht wurden. Ferner trugen sie auch kleine Tierbälge und aufgeqquaste Fellstücke bis etwa 1/2 m Länge zum Tanz.

Prächtige Diademe werden aus Rohr geflochten, vgl. Tafel 6. Besonders die Bakairi und Nahuquá begnügten sich mit diesem Putz, den sie komplettirt zur Parte oder Akuri- oder meist Wimpel-Strahlen flechten und durch Abwechslung mit schwarzgefärbten Strahlen belebten. Bei den Nahuquá waren auch Rohrstäbchen in strahlenförmiger Anordnung vor der langen Mittelfeder der Federdiademe aufgesetzt. Auch sahen wir endlich Stücke harten Stroes (von Palm de leq) diademartig umgebunden; der Aputi-Häuptling trug ein Stück Jaguarfell als Diadem, vgl. das Bild Seite 108. Die Kamayurá endlich hatten Baumwollbinden, die, wie die Rohrdiademe aus Federdiadem, derweis, wie die Technik zeigt, aus der Federhaube hervorgegangen waren.

Aller Federschmuck, mit Ausnahme etwa einer gelegentlich, sowol bei den Bakairi, als Ohr gesteckten Feder gehört zu festlichen Gelegenheiten, vorzüglich den feierlichen Empfängen. Es ist mit den Federn ebenso wie mit der Körperbemalung.

Spiele der Jugend. Bei den Bakairi sahen wir Fangbälle aus Maisstroh zusammengeballt; statt der sonst üblichen langen Feder war ein Schweif Mais stroh angebunden. Gummibälle, jedoch massiv, fanden sich bei den Aweti. Der Saft einer Figueira oder der Mangaba wird auf der Brust zu einer kleinen Kugel geballt, mit Aschenwasser gebeizt und der Ball ringsum zu eingeschnitten, dann er sonnen mit einem Gebacht überzogen erwärmt. Die Bälle werden mit Urubu ent gefärbt.

Kassiri liefert die unreife Ketten- (Arachis hypogaea) oder Mandelnüsse. Doppelt kreuzbergrum wurde sie durchbohrt auf ein Bambusstäbchen gerichtet, nahm dieses nur wenig vorschnitt, und hier durch Umwickeln mit einem Baumwollfäschchen vor dem Abrutschen gesichert. Die Frucht tauchte den langen Stiel nach oben. Man setzte anderer solcher Kassiri in einen Topf und liess sie rumsumsen lassen.

Den Seite 110 beschriebenen Ringkampf massen wir schon den Spielen der Erwachsenen zurechnen, doch übten sich die Kinder gern im Ringen. Desgleichen natürlich im Bogenschiessen. Auch haben wir Kinder-Wurfbretter gesehen. Mit den schweren Thonpuppen wurde von älteren Kindern gespielt. Von nur verlangte man einige Mal eine Art Kraftprobe dergestalt, dass ich einen Jüngling mit freiem Arm in die Höhe heben sollte. Hier kann ich noch die Beobachtung anfügen, dass die Indianer es nicht fertig brachten, eine Stange auf einem Finger balancirend zu lassen.

[p. 390]

XII. KAPITEL.

I. Recht und Sitte. II. Zauberei.

I. Eigentum. Verwandtschaft. Ehe. Mord. Totschlag. Strafen. Gebete. Gewohnheit und durch Erziehung. Begriffe.

II. Hexerei in verschiedener Form. Geister und Seelen. Geister und verschiedene Wahrnehmungen. Traumerlebnisse. Das Medizinhaus. Seine Medizinen. Medizin in der Medizin. Der Medizinmann im Himmel. Gebete. Wasserbeschwörung.

I.

Die Gesetze der Bacairi gelten wohl als Gesetze des Gehorsams der Stämme und natürlich. «Unter den Nachbarstämmen» wurden wir unterwegs regelmäßig belästigt. Der eine Häuptling gebiete auch z. B. dem Nahuqué, der andere dem Meinaku. Der Fluß [illegible] mit Pfeil und Bogen auf dem Fluß stand Jedermann frei.

Die Pflanzung [illegible] ein gemeinsamer Eigentum, im Haus hatte Jeder persönliches Eigentum, auch die [illegible] Tiere, die wir als Eingriff erhielten usw., dann man sie Jawen gebe, man [illegible] gehört es auf seine Kinder, Neffen und Töchter. Häufig aber beobachteten wir, daß [illegible] Pfeilen, denen wir Perlen und dgl. gegeben hatten, sie an den Häuptling [illegible] nicht [illegible].

Die Gewalt des Häuptlings war nicht groß. Es gab in allen größeren Dorfern mehrere Häuptlinge, die in verschiedenen Häusern wohnten; von gegenüber repräsentierte [illegible] nur Einer. «Repräsentation» war die wichtigste Verpflichtung in Frieden [illegible]. Der Häuptling hatte die Leitung der Pflanzgemeinde, er sorgte dafür, daß der einzige Mahlbaum angelegt wurde, er ließ die Beijú backen und die Gäste bedienen bei allen festlichen Gelegenheiten und bei Fremdenbesuch. Er war allerdings ein Haarsträuber in größerem Stil, durfte aber nicht sehr sparsam [illegible], wenn dem um die Wiederbelebung seiner Mitbürger, geschweige seiner Stammesmitbürger, zu thun war. So war der Häuptling des ersten Bororydorfes *Aerique*, schlecht – gnädig. Er ließ nur wenige Beijú für die Gäste backen. [illegible] gilt als hässlichster Eigenschaft. Aber diese Art Regierens muß schwer sein. Antonio erzählte mir von einem gewissen João Cadete im Paranaíbagebiet, der an der Reihe war, Häuptling zu werden, lehnte aber ab, wanderte «zum nächsten» trotzdem gewählt, in der Angst, Leute bewirten zu müssen.

andere Frage an seine Stelle trat. Ist die Gemeinde mit ihrem Oberhaupt unzufrieden, so weiss sie sich zu helfen: sie zerreist sich von ihm und zieht einfach an einen andern Ort. Die Wirde ist erblich, deshalb nicht immer in den besten Händen, und gilt auf den Sohn und, wenn keiner da ist, auf den Sohn der Schwester über. In Meiginí war der Häuptling gestorben und hatte nur eine Tochter hinterlassen, unreine Zehnjährige, in der Bakairi-Idylle. Häuptling wurde nun vorläufig Tamuyuna, der Bruder der Witwe, während das Mädchen sich verheiratete, trat der Gatte an seine Stelle. Sie empfing eine Menge von Perlen, die wir Anderen gegeben hatten, ihr gehörte der Häuptling-Schmuck.

In dem Wenigen, was ich von diesen Verhältnissen berichten kann, sind einige Züge der Mutterrechts erkennbar. Die Söhne gehören zum Stamme der Mutter; Antonio erklärte, wenn einer der mit Paranábiuna verheirateten Bakairí Kinder hätte, so wären das Paraná. Was freilich bei gemischten Frauen wohl nur sehr theoretisch genommen wird kann. Zwischen Mehinakú und Nahuquá, zwischen Aweté und Yaulapití, wie auch zwischen Kamayurá und Aweté, zwischen Kamayurá und Mehinakú, zwischen Bururí-Bakairí und Kustenaí, zwischen Kalatho-Bakairí und Nahuquá kamen zu unserer Zeit ehelichen Verbindungen vor. Wie bei den Nahuquá Mehinakúfrauen lebten, hatten Aweté-Männer Yaulapitifrauen geheiratet und wohnten in zwei Häusern bei dem Aweté-dorf etwas abseits, sie wurden «Aweté» genannt.*) Dagegen lebten ein Kamayurá- und ein Nahuquá-Mann bei den Bakairí verheiratet, während wir den Umgekehrten, dass Bakairí-Frauen in einem anderen Stamme hineingeheiratet hätten, niemals beobachtet haben. Fischaga aus dem ersten Bakairídorf am Batovy hatte eine Tochter Aweté's aus Meiginí zur Frau und kam, als seine Gattin dem Entbindung entgegensah, mit ihr in Aweté's Haus am Kulowiu, damit er oder vielmehr sie beide, wie wir sahen werden, die Wochenstuben bei dem Schwiegersohne bezögen. Der Bruder der Mutter galt immer noch, obwohl der Lenkr in Kindes lebten und der Vater das Oberhaupt der Familie war, als ein dem Vater gleichwertiger Beschützer des Kindes und trat jedenfalls alle Pflichten an, wenn der Vater starb, bis die Zeit bis die Kinder erwachsen waren. Er verfügte über ihr Eigentum, nicht der Mutter.

Älterer und jüngerer Bruder hatten bei allen Stämmen eine verschiedene Bezeichnung. Der jüngere Bruder stand auf gleicher Stufe mit dem Vetter und hatte mit ihm den Namen gemeinsam. Die Bakairí nannten mich «kleiner Bruder», später im Aritiu Dorf auch «Grosvater», die Mehinakú «Onkel» (Mutterbruder). Meine Reisegefährten hiessen stets meine «jüngeren Bruder oder Vetter», wurden auch von den Indianern selbst so angeredet.

Heiraten werden ohne Hochzeitsfeierlichkeiten abgeschlossen, die Eltern, zuerst der Vater, dann der Mutter, bereden die Sache, der Vater der Braut erhält

*) Die erwähnte wurde von dem Aweté-Häuptling nach der Xavá-Häuptling genannt, der um 1884 die Kette des Flussbeds gegriffen hatte. Sein unbeholfener kleiner Lippenpflock wird damit erklärt, dass er die Operation später unmöglich hätte, seine geographischen Kenntnisse hätte er selbst auf eigene Kosten zahlen.

Pfeile und Steinbeile, die Bemalungen usw. noch mit in der Kosung erhalten, usw. so weiter, dass er es verstehe, er hängt seine Hängematte über der den Mädchen und und Alles ist in Ordnung. Dass ältere Weiber junge Frauen, jüngere Weiber ältere Frauen haben, war vor am Paranatinga deutlich ausgesprochen, am Kulisehu dagegen nicht, (dieses Verzicht der Alten tritt hier also erst bei dem Verfall des Stammes auf). Wenigstens waren die paar Hängematschaften, die ich in Maugiri gesehen besassen, gleichartig zusammengefügt. Die Scheidung erfolgt bei den Bakairi ohne Umstände, auch wenn der Mann nicht damit einverstanden ist. «Die Frau geht fort, vielleicht erwacht er zur wieder.»

Ueber die Arbeitsteilung zwischen den Geschlechtern habe ich bereits früher gesprochen, vgl. S. 214 ff. Die Frau nahm keine unwürdige Stellung ein. Der Mann kann sie nicht Last tragen, als er selbst trug, er holt sie fern von dem Flüsschen, wo die Männer bestimmt, rauchen, Feste begingen, und wo die Fremden beherbergt wurden, er war der Herr und Gebieter — und tat, was sie wollte. Wenn Martius sagt, dass die Frau «trotz äusserlicher Unterordnung in Folge der besseren Geschicklichkeit» keine niedere Stellung einnehme, so trifft das für unsere Indianer vollkommen mit der Maßgabe zu, dass die äusserliche Unterordnung stark zurücktrat. Die Frau bedurfte des Schutzes einmal, weil sie schwach war und bei jedem Gelage «weinte», dann, weil sie vor fremden Gottheiten bewahrt werden musste. Sie ging bei der Neuanlage von der Pflanzung auch Hauptsächlich vor dem Manne, da sie schwer bepackt auch vorwärts eilte und Alles sicher war, im Walde ging sie hinter ihm, damit er einer etwaigen Gefahr zuerst begegne. Vor fremden Gottheiten wurde sie behütet, und wenn sie zweifelhafter Natur waren war sie, so liefen die Weiber und Kinder in den Wald.

Was bei Ehebruchsdramen geschieht, weiss ich nicht. Wir haben überhaupt keine Gelegenheit gehabt, etwas zu beobachten, was in den Gebiet der Justizpflege gehörte. Wenn ich mich bei Antonio nach Verbrechen irgendwelcher Art erkundigte, so antwortete er immer, dergleichen sei früher wohl geschehen, kommen aber jetzt nicht mehr vor.

Diebstahl war jedenfalls nur gegenüber sehr lieb, ausgenommen bei den Bakairi, wo indem Freund Lucio zur Zeit, da er uns in der Independencia besuchte, nicht mehr recht sicher war. Als die Verwirrung im Trumalager entstand, weil ich ein Glas mir gestohlener Arzneikapillen zurückverlangen musste, sahen wir, dass die mit uns gekommenen Yaulapiti Steinbeile der Trumai zu erwischen suchten. Immer und ganz ohne Ausnahme sollte es ein Fremder gewesen sein, der gestohlen hatte. Die gemeinsam wohnenden Leute haben auch wenig, was sie sich untereinander wegnehmen könnten, und der Dieb könnte dessen kaum froh werden, ohne dass man ihn entdeckte. Nichts ist also natürlicher, als dass sich der Begriff von Moral auf das Gemeinsame an der Stammesangehörigkeit anlehnt. Bei den Bakairi heisst hard «wir», «wir alle», «unser» und gleichzeitig «gut» (unsere Leute), *hardpa* «nicht wir», «nicht unser» und gleichzeitig «schlecht, grosig, ungesund». Alles Uebel kommt

von Fremden, nicht zum wenigsten Krankheit und Tod, die von Zauberern drüben geweckt werden.

Wie wichtig gute Beziehungen zu den Nachbarstämmen von einem, erhellt aus der, man kann fast sagen, Notwendigkeit des Tauschverkehrs. Der eine Stamm ist reich, Hier drüben, der andere jenen Artikeln. Die Wichtigste derselben habe ich auf den Seiten 223, 224, 225 ausführlich aufgezählt. Die Bakairi besitzen als Spezialität die Halskettchen mit weissen rechteckigen Muschelstücken, Muschelperlen, Urubú, Bauwollfäden und Hängematten, die Nahuqué Kettchen, weiße Kettchen mit roten Muschelstücken und Tukanperlen, die Meinakó und Verwandte Tüpfe und feinen Baumwollfäden, die Trumai und Suyá Steinbeile und Tabak, die Trumai und vielleicht auch die Yaulapiti Kettchen mit durchlöcherten Steinen. Auch war das ein Handelsartikel bevorzugte Salz der Trumai bei anderen Stämmen beliebt. Dies waren Alles Handelsartikel. Sie machten zum Teil den weiten Weg von den Bakairi bis zu den Suyá, von Stamm zu Stamm wandernd. Die Suyá verkehrten mit den Kamayurá, diese mit den Uipurúnamen, von den letzteren standen die Meinakó im engeren Verkehr mit den Nahuqué, und die Kretamá mit den Bakairi den Bateré. Die ältesten Bakairi der Kalutehu erhielten den Suyá-Steinbeile und Kretamá-Tüpfe von ihren Bateré-Verwandten und die Bakairi der dritten Kalutehu-Dorfes von den Nahuqué, mit denen sie engst Beziehungen unterhielten. Als wir 1884 den Bakairi am Bateré von unserm Kerabewachen gegeben hatten, benutzte der Häuptling den ersten Urlaub der günstigen Konjunktur und trat eine Gesellschaftsreise in die untere Gebiet der Kalutehu an, wo besonders gelegentlich auch nicht benachbarte Stämme in Handelsverkehr. Die von den Suyá für Steinbeile eingetauschten Artikel und Hängematten, Muschelketten, Armbänder und Tüpfe.

Wer ein aber und unverwüstlicher Tauschhandel vorhanden, so fehlte doch, jedenfalls bis zu einem gewissen Grade, der Begriff des Wertes. Der Ankommende brachte dies oder jenes mit und lieferte es ab, wenn er zum Empfang bereitet wurde. In kleinerer Menge beim Empfang, in größerer beim Abschied erhielt er die gewünschte Gegengabe. Wir haben bei dem Abschied in Maigiri das typische Beispiel erlebt, vgl. Seite 131, wir wurden hingesetzt und erhielten dann einen Korb Mehl. So überreichen die ältesten Bakairi den portugiesischen *engenhar* chaufeur mit *gebaldo* sich setzen. Der Handel ist also noch ein Austausch von Geschenken. Allein das ist nur in der Kulturstufe, nicht in dem edelmütigen Charakter begründet. Der Indianer ist keineswegs gastfreundlich in dem Sinn, dass er sich durch den Besuch reich geehrt und schlechthin verpflichtet fühlte, mit Speise und Getränken verschwenderisch zu bewirten. Er möchte schon für diese Leistung eine Gegenleistung haben, er wird bald ungeduldig, wenn der Gast nur bleibt, um billig zu leben, und bittet die eilenberg, das Dorf zu verlassen. Schon in der Bakairisagenzeit wird gleichzeitig mit der Erfindung des Tanzes berichtet, dass die Eingeborenen und Bewohnen Vieh und Bindfaden geschenkt hätten. Unsere Reisegefährten boten uns unterwegs Fisch sicher

sie sie, wenn sie selbst satt waren, und es waren nicht die besten Bissen, die sie uns überliessen. Die ewige Unterhaltung auch unter ihnen selbst, ob dieser oder jener Stamm „bueno" sei, zeigte deutlich, dass man nichts weniger als sein gut frei war; es ereigne stets der grösste Beleidigung, wenn wir einen Stamm für „bueno" erklärten, weil das von unserer Seite bedeutete, dass wir mit jenem weniger Geschäfte gemacht hätten. Man hätte sich selbst zu stark, als dass der Empfängende an die reine Tugend des uneigennützigen Wilden hätte glauben können.

Unsere nächsten gewöhnlichsten Art, der Umtausch von Gegenstand um Gegenstand, war allen Stämmen im Anfang völlig neu. Sie lernten aber rasch. Doch kamen die personlichsten Unglaublichkeiten vor. Einer raffte eine Handvoll Mangaren auf und verlangte dafür unpraktisch ein grosses Messer. Einer wollte Perlen dafür haben, dass man ihm die Hand verbunden hatte. Nur wenn man ihnen erklärte, dass man selbst den Gegenstand nur in einem einzigen Exemplar besitze, wurde man nicht weiter belästigt.

Namen. Der Sohn erhält bald nach der Geburt den Namen des Grossvaters, Oheims oder eines Vorfahren, nicht den des Vaters. Die Namen sind bei den Bakairi zum Teil, oft gleicher jedoch nur zum kleinen Teil, Tiernamen. Dies sind die einzigen, deren Sinn ich verstehe; so ist Lulio eine Wasserschlange, der Häuptling Reginaldo ist Ko Nono Iuwa mit seinem eingeborenen Namen Iuwa. Kamaso, ein Alter in Iguti Iuwa *pine* — schwarze Pfeifen. Eine von den Frauen im Paranaguaboi hiess *nadeio* — Tapirbrust. Die Namen der Männer waren meist eine Schwierigkeit zu erfahren, zuweilen ging ein leichtes Strahlen voraus, und man sah vor, wenn ein Freund die Mitteilung machte. Ein Bakairi hatte angeblich keinen Namen, weil seine Eltern früh gestorben seien. Von den Frauen am Kulisehu erhielt ich immer nur die Antwort: ich bin eine Frau-, ich habe allerdings versucht, dritte Personen zu befragen. Die Sitte des Namenstausches habe ich beschrieben, vgl. S. 125 und 129. Sie erklärt, warum die Indianer so wenig Schwierigkeiten machen, sich der christlichen Taufe zu unterwerfen. Sie verstehen darunter nur eine Zeremonie, durch die sie ihren alten Namen verlieren.

Geburt und Couvade. Abortieren soll häufig stattfinden. Die Frauen flüchten sich vor der Niederkunft. Bei den Bakairi machen sie sich einen Thro aus der Wurzel einer Kampfbaumes, namens Perosinha. Wahrscheinlich treten auch mechanische Prozeduren hinzu. Die Frau kommt in knieender Stellung auf dem Boden nieder, indem sie sich an einem Pfosten schlummert. Die Hängematte soll nicht beschmutzt werden. Frauen, die um den pantomimisch verzeichnlichten und die es zur Erfahrung wussten, erklärten mit Entschiedenheit, dass die Schmerzen gross seien. Sie stehen aber bald auf und gehen an die Arbeit und der Mann macht die berühmte Couvade, das männliche Wochenbett, durch, indem er strenge Diät hält, die Waffen nicht berührt, und den grössten Teil der Zeit in der Hängematte verbringt. Bei der Rückkehr sahen wir eine solche Couvade in Magiri in Paleko's Haus. Man hatte eine wirkliche Wochen-

[illegible] eingerichtet, indem man von einem [illegible] aus zwei [illegible] Wände aus langgerollten Bastblättern [illegible] Aussenwand gespannt hatte. So war ein Kreisbrunch abgegrenzt. Man schnitt nur gerade den Eingang, durch ich dem Kinde Platz schaffte. Drinnen waren Hängematten angespannt, zwei Frauen mit Säuglingen und zwei Männer beschäftigt. Starker Pfeifgeruch, von Einreibungen herrührend, erfüllte den Raum. Die Säuglinge waren dunkel, kraftlos, schwach, wie die Eltern blieben. Die Mütter und Väter waren [illegible] ruhig, sie [illegible], und zwar in [illegible] Gesichtern mit fast geschlossenen Mund, die noch während der ersten folgenden Nächte [illegible] Augenblick unterbrochen wurden. Die Ehemänner [illegible] die Hütte nur für die Befriedigung der Notdurft, sie [illegible] unmittelbar von diesem Platz, in Wasser [illegible] Mundschnallen. Aber Anderwärts dem Kind schlafen, es wird gerade so, als ob das Kind selbst Fleisch, Fisch oder Frucht [illegible].

Nun ist nichts [illegible] als die [illegible] Sitte, die den Frauen so Gute kommt, mit dem jugendlichen [illegible] Zusammenhang zu bringen; der Mann sollte Frau und Kind während der schweren Stunden der ersten Tage [illegible] sein, und nicht dreimal unterwerfen, dafür gab es im besseren Mittel, als wenn man das auf Diät setzte. Und, wie auch die Sie [illegible] wie einige, dass sie dieses Verfahren dachten, ist klar, und es ist [illegible] wohl verständlich, dass die Frauen die [illegible] waren und sie sich [illegible]. Allein am [illegible] Pfeifenkopf, wo sie [illegible] wird, [illegible] Frauen [illegible], nicht weil sie, sondern weil die Kinder darunter litten. Was sie den Frauen [illegible], so ist das auch kein Grund dafür, dass sich die Mütter für [illegible] hatten. Und die Mütter unterwerfen sich dir doch so allgemein und mit solcher Unterwerfung, dass man [illegible], es handelt sich um ein tief eingewurzeltes, [illegible] Element der Volksglauben. Es ist sehr zweifelhaft, ob es [illegible] irgend einen [illegible] Indianerstamm gibt, der sie nicht grobe [illegible] Mütter [illegible] Entschlüsse [illegible] selbst an Stämmen [illegible], die doch [illegible] Verhältnissen angetroffen wurden und sind nicht nur Reste der [illegible] Einwirkungen bewahrt haben. Die Inselkaraiben essen und trinken gewöhnlich nichts in den ersten fünf Tagen, beschränken sich die folgenden vier auf ein [illegible] aus gekochter Mandioka, werden dann [illegible], enthalten sich aber [illegible] Monate [illegible] Umständen. «Es ist nicht wahrscheinlich», sagt der [illegible] Pater Breton, «dass der Ehemann auch schon vor der Frau in Kindesnöten, ich habe sie im Gegenteil heimlich und versteckter Weise von drinnen hinaus sehen, etwa Monat nach der Geburt, um in der Zwischengrenzzeit die Frauen zu begehen.» Sie verachten diejenigen, die die Sitte nicht ehren, [illegible], sich selbst dabei besser zu befinden und älter zu werden; und glauben [illegible] durch übertriebene Sitte erzeugten Krankheiten bei Unterlassung des Gebrauchs auf die Kinder übergingen.

Bei unsern Indianern bewegt der Vater das Kind, die Frau geht aber wieder an die Arbeit. Dass der Vater dabei vielleicht in der Hängematte liegt, verursacht sich bei dem Mangel an Nahrung und [illegible], weil er zu Hause bleibt, von

selbst. Wann beginnt man die Geburtsarbeit und wann hört sie auf? Der Vater durchschneidet die Nabelschnur des Neugeborenen, bindet streng, pflegt das Kind und ist wieder ein Teil seiner Mutter, wenn der Rest der Nabelschnur abfällt. Er durchschneidet die Nabelschnur bei den Bakairi den Knaben mit Kambayawurzeln, den Mädchen mit Tukumarlanzen.

Vergleichen wir hiermit die Notiz bei Martius über die Panos, wo die Geburtsarbeit besonders klar als medizinisches zu erkennen sind, wenn die Jungfrau beim Eintritt der Menses einen Monat fastet, die Wöchnerin einen Monat im Dunkeln bleibt, und, wenn der Gatte, auf die Kost von Mandioka, Bejiji und Weißwurzel angewiesen ist. Der Gatte liebt sich schwach und bleibt während der ganzen Tragzeit oder bei dem Säuglinge die vertrockneten Nabelschnur abfällt (meist bis acht Tage), in der Hängematte. Er selbst pflegt die Nabelschnur mit den Zähnen oder scharfen Steinen zu durchschneiden, wenn er keine Messer hat.« Besonders wichtig ist jedoch nur um in der Klosterbibliothek von Evora, der Hauptstadt der portugiesischen Provinz Alemtejo, erhaltenen Manuskript des Jesuiten Fernão Cardim von 1584 *), das viele eventuelle Beobachtungen enthält. »Die Frauen gebären auf dem Boden, sie heben das Kind nicht auf, sondern der Vater hebt es auf oder irgend eine Person, die sie zum Gevatter erbitten und mit denen sie Freundschaft halten wie die Gevatters unter den Christen. Der Vater verschneidet die Nabelschnur mit den Zähnen oder mit zwei Steinen, einen über dem andern, und sogleich darauf legt er sich zu Bette, bis die Nabel abfällt, was gewöhnlich bis zu 8 Tagen währt, und bis er dies nicht abfällt, lassen sie nicht das Fasten, und beim Abfallen macht er, wenn es ein Knabe ist, einen Bogen mit Pfeilen und bedeutet die an dem Strickbündel der Hängematte, und an dem andern Strickbündel bedeutet er viele Kriegsbündel, die die Feinde sind, die sein Sohn töten und verzehren soll, und nachdem diese Zeremonien vorbei sind, machen sie Wein, an dem sich alle erlustigen.«

Man kannte den Vater nach diesen wertvollen Angaben, die genau mit denen am Schingu übereinstimmen, für den behandelnden Arzt erklären, der etwa auch heute wie der studierende Medizinmann, durch anderen Verhalten seine Kur geleitet und dem Kinde erhalten würde. Allein nicht nur der Schingubeute, sondern auch viele andere Stämme sagen, der Vater dürfe Fisch, Fleisch und Früchte nicht essen, weil es dasselbe ist als wenn das Kind selbst es esse, und es ist nicht einzusehen, warum man den Eingeborenen nicht glauben soll, dass sie das glauben. Auch stünde der Medizinmann den Dingen immer zur Verfügung, und er wird in allen anderen Fällen gerufen, wenn Mutter oder Kind erkranken.

Der Vater ist Patient, insofern er sich mit dem Neugeborenen eins fühlt. Wer er dann kommt, ist doch auch wirklich nicht so schwer zu verstehen.

*) Do princípio e origem dos Indios do Brasil. Rio de Janeiro. 1885.

Von der menschlichen Eizelle und dem Graf'schen Follikel kann der Kaqiberum nicht gut etwas wissen, er kann nicht wissen, dass die Mutter das den Eiern der Vögel entsprechende Gebilde beisteuert. Für ihn ist der Mann der Träger der Eier, die er, um es kurz und klar zu sagen, in die Mutter legt und die diese während der Schwangerschaft bereitet. Man betrachte sich Tafel 16 und 17, wo die Indianer die mannichfaltigen Eier gezeichnet haben. Wo das sprachliche Material ausreicht, sehen wir sofort, wie dieser leichte sinnliche Vergleich, die Zeugung zu erklären, auch in den Wörtern für Vater, Hoden und Ei erhalten wird. Im Guarani heisst sich Vater, Eugen, Eier, tapiti Eier, und „tapi" selbst, der Name des Stammes, ist nur, mit -i kleine zusammengezogen, kleiner Vater oder Eier oder Kinder wie man will, der Vater ist Ei und das Kind ist der kleine Vater. Die Sprache sagt es selbst, dass das Kind nichts ist als der Vater. Bei den Tupi bestand auch der Sitte, dass der Vater nach der Geburt jedes neuen Sohnes einen neuen Namen annahm, es ist bezeichnend genug, um dies zu erklären, anzunehmen, dass die „Seele" des Vaters jedesmal in den Sohn hinüberlebte. Im Kiriehochen gewinnt dieselbe, dass ist Ei oder Hoden oder Vater oder Kind, bezeichnen bei einigen Stämmen bereits deutlich differenziert.

Ipovanto heisst Ei, Bakairi Hoden, Tawanako Vater, Mokondi heisst Samen, mit dem Possessivsuffix -ro finden wir sowohl Kind bei verschiedenen Stämmen: Kamayurá wie mein Vater, wie dein Vater, Nahuquá wie mein Kind, wie dein Kind. Selbstverständlich kommt man überall dazu, bestimmende Zusätze zu setzen oder die ursprünglich identischen Wörter, den Zusammenhang vergessend, künstlich von einander zu entfernen. So hat das Kamayurá gewiss mein Vater, apiti Eier, gewissermassen meine Hoden, das Aweti i-tapiti meine Hoden, wapiti meine Eier, die Langua gerad pappi Hoden, papiti Ei. So heisst bei den Bakairi Kind und klein iwiri, das Kind des Häuptlings pirua iwiri; wir können nach Belieben übersetzen «das Kind des Häuptlings» oder «der kleine Häuptling» und werden uns bei der letzteren Form, die wir vom Sohne mehr scherzweise erklären konnten, nicht bewusst, dass bei dem Indianer das Kind auch wirklich nur der kleine Häuptling selbst ist, eine kleine Ausgabe vom grossen. Seltsam und kaum fasslich ist diese Vorstellung auch für unser Gefühl wohl nur für den Fall, dass es sich um ein Mädchen handelt. Aber auch das Mädchen ist der kleine Vater und nicht die kleine Mutter; es ist nur vom Vater gemacht. Im Bakairi giebt es keine besonderen Wörter für «Sohn» und «Tochter», sondern es wird, wenn man den Unterschied verlangt, das Geschlecht hinzugefügt. „pirua iwiri" kann sowohl der Sohn als die Tochter des Häuptlings heissen. Die einzige Tochter des Häuptlings ist die Erbin von Besitz und Rang, was beides mit dem eigenen Besitz an den Gatten übergeht.

Der kleine Vater kommt zur Welt, der Nabelschnur wird durchschnitten, der grosse Vater fastet mindestens so lange, bis die Wunde geheilt ist und damit das neue Menschlein als ein selbständiges Wesen gelten kann. Der Vater wurde sicherlich keine Vorsichtsmassregeln beobachten, wenn das Kleine zugleich

wie ein Kokon gewaltig anschwillt, aber es bleibt auf schwebte in Gefahr, da es ja nicht einmal abgebunden wird. Die Sache ist gar nicht so schlimm, wenn die Mutter nur als Brutmaschine aufgefasst wird. Schon während der Schwangerschaft (vgl. Pires, Das Kind, II. Kap.) [illegible] der Vater vielfach und verursacht schwere Arbeit, um dem Kinde nicht zu schaden. Aber auch der Geburt fühlt er sich verbunden bis zu dem Augenblick, dass der Rest der Nabelschnur abfällt, auch in theilweisem «Zusammenhang» mit dem Kinde, und verdankens während der Tage, dass das Leben des kleinen Vaters schliesslich gefährdet erscheint, muss Diät eingehalten und ruhen gegenüber werden, was der eine Teil nicht vertragen kann. Es ist auch durchaus nicht unumgänglich notwendig, dass die Entbindung im Beisein des Vaters stattfindet, damit er zum Pater gezwungen wird, und so kann das Bedürfnis seiner Anwesenheit auch nicht der letzte Grund des Vaters sein. Wie sinnt, haben die Bewohnerinnen des Gewalds noch einen Monat später auch. Bei den Ipurina am Purus kommt die Frau, von einigen ihrer Weiber unterstützt, in einer Waldhütte nieder und kehrt erst vier oder fünf Tage später zu dem Manne zurück, der jetzt erst das Kind sehen darf und während dieser Zeit strenge Diät halten musste. Noch ein ganzes Jahr lang darf der Mann weder Schweine- noch Tapirfleisch genießen. Ehrenreich, der dies berichtet, fügt hinzu: «ein wirkliches Mutterschaftsfieber ist nicht üblich.» Nein, doch wohl nur insofern nicht, als der Vater nicht in der Hängematte zu liegen braucht, was, wenn es nicht nur eine Nebenerscheinung ist, jedenfalls eine der unnützesten Kurverschriften ist. Diese falsche Nahrung für das Kind in erster Linie schädlich ist, wenn auch der Indianer, und darum ist es das Wichtigste, Diät zu halten. Alles Andere ist mehr oder minder nur Beiwerk. Entscheidend ist endlich das Verhalten der Beteiligten. Die Mutter kommt im Walde nieder, und der Vater, der sonnst dabei ist, leistet nicht nur, er nimmt auch, wie wir von dem durch bestimmten Apotheker der bresilischen Militärkolonie erfahren, wenn das Kind krank ist, die Medizin ein, die dem für das Kind übergeben wird.

Das Verhalten der Mutter kann, während alle Stimmen für den Vater ein gleiches Verhalten einschlagen, recht verschieden sein, je nachdem sie als mehr oder minder leidend erachtet wird. Sie geht dem Geschäften wieder nach, soweit sie die Kraft fühlt, und singt das Kind, aber damit ist es auch genug. Zwischen Vater und Kind besteht keine mysteriöse Wechselbeziehung, das Kind ist eine Verviefältigung von dem, der Vater ist doppelt geworden und muss sich für die erbärmliche, unermüdige Kreatur, die seine Mutterzeugnisse darstellt, selbst wie ein Kind verhalten, das nicht Schaden nehmen darf. Gestatt das Kind stirbt in den ersten Tagen, wie konnte der Vater, der von solcher Anschauung erfüllt ist und schwer verdauliche Sachen gegessen hat, zumal alle Krankheit durch Schuld eines Anderen entsteht, zweifeln, dass er selbst die Schuld trage? Was wir «pars pro toto» nennen, beherrscht den Volksglauben überall in Betreff der Hexen- oder der Hexenkunst, obwohl ich nicht glaube, dass der Zauberude

die blaue Verwandlung einen «Tode» hat, mit dem er arbeitet. Die «Gesundheit» verfährt nach genau derselben Logik, nur dem hier ein Fall gegeben ist, wo das Gesetz für den «Tod» eintritt. Es ist dasselbe, ob ich dem Hirsch den Feinden vergifte und ihn dadurch dem Sachtum nimmt, oder ob ich an Ungarnten den von mir hingeblasenen Kindern Speisen gewinne, die es überhaupt noch nicht und jedenfalls noch nicht in den Tagen, wo die Lösung hergestellt wird, vertragen könnte.

Begräbnis. Alle Stämme den Kalaubs bestatten den Toten, der Körper liegt West-Ost so, dass der Kopf nach Sonnenaufgang schaut. (Die Suyá setzen den Toten nach Angabe der Kamayurá in hockender Stellung bei, den Kopf mit dem Federschmuck zurückgebeugt und den Blick nach Sonnenuntergang gerichtet.) Das Grab befindet sich auf dem Dorfplatz. Wir sahen bei den Mehinákú vor der Festhütte einen Reisighaufen, unter dem sich in geringer Tiefe die Grabhöhle befinden sollte; aus Löchern in der Erde kroschen dicke Käfer hervor und es wimmelte von Fliegen. Bei den Aweti war ein Gewölbe vor der Festhütte mit dickem, mehrfachem, durch Flechtwerk verbundenem Pfosten abgesteckt. Es ist auf Tafel 15 photographiert, ich weiss nicht, ob es ein Zufall ist, dass die zwei ausgezeichneten Seiten des Gewölbes an die charakteristische Form der Grifflatte des Wurfbrettes erinnern. Bei den Yaulapiti sahen wir einen quadratförmigen Grabesen.

Der Körper ist in die Hängematte eingewickelt *). Die Beigaben sind für den Mann Bogen und Pfeile, für die Frau Siebmatte, Spindel und Topf. Die erdachte Arbeitsteilung dauert auch im Jenseits fort. Die Kamayurá berichteten uns die Bestattung eines Häuptlings. Sie graben, um das Grab zu machen, zwei Gruben und verbinden sie durch einen Gang, wohin die Anlage Hustenkleen hat. Während Alles weint und klagt, werden Feuer angezündet, jeder Mann erhält sein Wurfbrett und die zugehörigen Pfeile und wirft sie in das Feuer. Die nächsten Verwandten fasten einige Zeit **), dann aber schmückt man sich festlich, die Trauer wird erneuert, der Körper mit Genipapo, das die Kamayurá dem Urukú vorziehen, schwarz bemalt. Die Witwe geht mit geschorenem Haupt. Das Grab, das wir bei den Aweti sahen (vgl. Tafel 15), hatte die Frau eines Häuptlings, eine Kamayurá-Frau; nur Bestattung eines von alten Stammes Leidtragende gekommen.

II.

Zauberei und Medizinmänner.

Man pflegt sich den Zauberer und Hexen der Naturvölker als einer Kunst vorzustellen, die uns ganz fern liegt. Geht man jedoch von dem Wesen dieser

*) In Cayabi wurden Skiwen und Arme aus dem Mauritiaba-Hauptel in Hängematte oder Decke begraben. Ein Sarg hat die Form einer langen Kiste, deren Boden und Querwände aus Latten bestehen; dieses Gerüst ist innen mit einem wissen, innen mit einem schwarzen Tuch überspannt.

**) Vgl. die Beerdigung bei den Paresi.

Kunst zur, so ist Nichts gewöhnlicher auch im Leben der Kulturmenschen als das Hexen, freilich ein unsystematisches, laienhaftes Hexen. Wer kennt, heut, Er ist nicht an den Ort und die Gestalt gebunden und ist so beliebigen Leistungen mit jeder Person oder Sache behilflich. Lebhafte Spiele der Einbildungskraft und vor quantitativ, nicht qualitativ vom Traumhaften unterschieden. Wer das Bild der Geliebten hat, bereitet sich zum Hexen vor. Wer seinen fern weilenden Schatz durch die Luft einen Kuss zuwirft, macht sich der Hexerei schon dringend verdächtig, denn er nicht so beliebtes, dass er glaubt, der süsse Hauch erreiche die Adresse und werde dort empfunden. Wer über, wie der grosse Zauberer Goethe seinem Freunden Eckermann, erklärt: «ich habe in meiner Jugendjahren Fälle genug erlebt, wo auf einzelnen Spaziergängen ein mächtiges Verlangen nach einem geliebten Mädchen mich überfiel und ich so lange an sie dachte, bis sie mir wirklich entgegenkam», der hat schon nach allen Regeln der Kunst. Vollständig im Besitze der echten Hexerei steht, wer auch nur eine Sekunde lang, wenn denn die Ohren klingen, sich der Ueberzeugung hingibt, dass man Gutes oder Schlechtes von dem gesprochen habe, oder wer sich von seinem Freunde den Dienstes halber hält, damit dem irgend etwas gelinge, oder wer seinem Wiesechen die Kraft entzieht, den Abbild angenehmer oder unangenehmer Geschehnisse zu beeinflussen.

Unsere Indianer haben wie viele andere Naturvölker die feste Ueberzeugung, die sich übrigens auf unserer Zivilisationsstufe noch bei Kindern und Betrunkenen und nicht nur bei Ihnen beobachten lässt, dass sie die lebhaften Traum-Wirklichkeit erleben, man geht auf die Jagd, schwimmt Fische, fällt Bäume, wenn man schläft, während der Körper in der Hängematte bleibt. Bei den Bakairi haben wir, wie ich berichten werde, erlebt, dass das ganze Dorf fliehen wollte, weil Einer im Traum bevorstehende Feinde gesehen hatte. Die Bakairi lassen den «Schatten» des Menschen — was wir dann mit «Seele» übersetzen — im Traum umherwandern. (Vgl. auch über dies und Anhängliches das Parawi-Kapitel.) Antonio, den allein, nämlich in den Cuyabaner Monaten, ich genügend studieren konnte, um die meisten der später folgenden Angaben zu gewinnen, hatte auch die besondere von den Malaien her bekannte Besorgnis, dass es gefährlich sei, einen Schlafenden plötzlich zu wecken. Der «Schatten», der vielleicht in fernen Gegenden wandert, könne nicht schnell genug zurückkehren, und der Schlafende werde in einen Toten verwandelt. Durch das Abbetten des zurückkehrenden Schattens erklärte er zu meiner Ueberraschung auch die Kopfschmerzen, die man nach zu kurzem nächtlichen Schlummer bekomme. Wir dürfen den Indianern ihren rein auf der unmittelbaren Erfahrung der Sinne gegründeten Glauben nicht so übel nehmen, wenn wir bedenken, dass es der höheren spekulativen Philosophie gar nicht so einfach erscheint, zu bestimmen, ob das Leben ein Traum oder der Traum ein Leben sei, ob wir während des Wachens oder während des Schlafes Wirkliches erleben, und dürfen nicht vergessen, dass die Wirklichkeit nach dem Erwachen häufig volle Bestätigung bringt.

Wie entsteht nun eine solche Auffassung und was hat sie für Folgen? Der Zauberende ist sich bewusst, Dinge gesehen und gehört zu haben. Er hat sie mit voller Deutlichkeit wahrgenommen. Alles waren sie da. Hat der Körper des Schlafenden während in der Hypnosestätte gelegen, so fällt es deshalb Niemandem ein, die Frage aufzuwerfen, ob das Gesehene und Gehörte wirklich sei. Keinem der Hypnotisierenden kommt es in den Sinn, an dem wahrhaftigsten Bericht zu zweifeln; man sucht vielmehr im Lauf der Zeiten eine Art Erklärungsversuch, indem man die thatsächlich vom Körper nicht unter einmaligen Gesichtsbedingung z. B. dem Schlafen verbracht, allein das ist allein wirklich und besitzt sozusagen den Eindruck von dem grade vorhandenen Fall. Denn dass man Etwas nicht versteht, ist kein Grund, die wirkliche Erfahrung des Sinnes zurückzuweisen. Es ist nur ein Grund, dass man gewissenhafter Ereignisse, die ein allgemeineres Interesse haben, grosse Wichtigkeit beimisst, dass sich Alle darüber einigen, dass Gesehenes ist etwas Bewusstes, und der es erlebt hat, kann mehr als die Anderen. Wir sehen, dass es für die Entscheidung, was wirklich sei, nicht so Bedeutsamen bewirkt, ob Sinneseindrücke von unsern Sinnen unmittelbar entstehen, oder ob solche, die schon vom Früher als Erinnerungsbilder aufgespeichert waren, in erregtem Zustand der alte einstige Kraft wieder erhalten. Eine Verwechslung von Gefühl und Leistung ist aber, wenn das jetzige Vorgestellte für wirklich gilt, ganz unvermeidlich. Denn der erlebte Phantom kann ja so Wirkung alle Dinge belebig gewinnen, aber Etwas, was er erlebt ist, das ernst Unmögliche. Er selbst ist überzeugt und der Andere bewundert den wegen seiner von ihm selbst berichteten Thaten, vielfacher falscher Schlüsse über die Verknüpfung der Gesichtsbilder und auch das Spiel der Zufälligkeiten werden übereinstimmend in gleicher Richtung. Alles beruht auf den verschiedenen Formen der Suggestion.

Sie, die in der Wirklichkeit so schwer zu überwinden ist, die räumliche Entfernung, wird nun, wo Gefühle stark erregt werden, mit Sicherheit überwunden. Nicht nur im Traum und in visionärem Zustand. Wie der kritisch prüfende Goethe als rätselhaft empfindet, aber doch auch glaubt, der Naturmensch empfindet es in weit grösserem Umfang als für den Bereich der ernsten Beziehungen zwischen zwei Personen und glaubt es natürlich. An einem jeden mit starkem Gefühl der Liebe, des Hasses, der Furcht, der Bewunderung betrachteten Gegenstand vollzieht sich das Wunder. Wie man im Traum die grösste Entfernung im Nu zurücklegt und den stärksten Feind durch Berührung mit dem kleinen Finger niederstrecken kann, so rennt auch eine erregte Einbildungskraft das Hindernis der räumlichen Trennung hinweg, wird unter leichten Manipulationen mit jedem Widerstand fertig und lässt umgekehrt jedes beliebigen Zuwachs an Stärke oder Geschicklichkeit entstehen. Verfluche ich z. B. einen etwas vom Leib des Feindes, so verfluche ich einen den Feind im Guten und im Schlechten, ich habe einen Talisman oder ein Mittel, das trotz der Entfernung zu versuchen. Gewöhnlich denkt man sich, der Hergang sei so, dass der Zauberende den Teil

mit dem Ganzen verwechsle, pars pro toto, und den Irrtum hege, das dem Teil zugefügte Leid wache zu einem Leid für das Ganze an, allein dies ist gar nicht nötig. Der Teil hebt, sobald das Gefühl erregt ist, ja in der That die ganze Associationsgruppe heraus; man kann vor einem Bild oder einem Stück Alles empfinden, was man vor dem Original oder dem Ganzen zu empfinden vermag. Dass der Talisman- oder Zauberglaubige z. B. Fähigkeiten, die nur dem Ganzen zukommen, in den Teil, den er besitzt, hineinverlegt, rührt einfach daher, dass von letzterem die Gefühle angeregt werden, die sich auf das Ganze beziehen und die deshalb auch eine Kraftsteigerung bei ihm hervorrufen, als wenn er das Ganze besäse. Gewiss sind Teile geeigneter dazu, die zu der erwünschten Wirkung eine Beziehung haben wie Krallen und Zähne zur Körperstärke oder ein Stück Haut zur Vergiftung, aber wesentlich ist diese Bedingung nicht. Der Heilende nimmt, was er bekommen kann, wird aber immer geneigt sein, die Wirkung, die er erreicht, von den Eigenschaften des betreffenden Teils entspringen zu lassen. Bald wird nun auch die Erfahrung des Einzelnen zum Allgemeingut; es entstehen die von Generation zu Generation empfohlenen »Mittel«, über die kein Mensch mehr nachdenkt.

Wir brauchen wahrlich nur um uns zu blicken, um zu erkennen, dass wir uns noch auf keine Weise von der überzeugenden Macht der Gefühle haben befreien können. Wirkung in die Ferne und Talismane haben wir in Hülle und Fülle, wir haben nur andere Namen dafür und schieben Zwischenglieder ein zwischen Anfang und Ende des Processes, durch deren Vorhandensein der Ursprung aus unserm eigenen Selbst verdeckt wird. Nehmen wir nur die trivialsten Beispiele.

Der Medizinmann, der einen Abwesenden dadurch umbringt, dass er einen vergifteten Pfeil in seiner Richtung wirft, oder der Verliebte, der die entfernte Freundin küsst, sie unterscheiden sich durch Nichts. Der Poet, der im glücklichen Besitz eines von Schiller benutzten Tintenfasses wie Schiller dichtet, und der Eingeborene, der mit einer Kette von Jaguarkrallen um den Hals wie ein Jaguar stark ist, sie unterscheiden sich durch Nichts. Die Uebereinstimmung reicht sogar bis zum Erklärungsversuch. Denn der Gelehrte, der die Seele, sei es als ein einziges selbstthätiges Ding, sei es als eine Vielheit von persönlich geschäftigen Zentren im Gehirn' einquartiert, und der Indianer, der den Schatten im Schlaf Fische fangen lässt, auch sie unterscheiden sich durch Nichts. Wenn der Medizinmann glaubt, er habe das gethan, was er geträumt oder halluziniert hat, so darf er, ohne Schwindler zu sein, sich für einen Wundermann halten und darf auch von Andern mit Recht dafür gehalten werden. Er kann dann thatsächlich mehr als die Andern. Der Schwindel mag in der berufsmässigen Geschäftsübung und in ihrer Uebertragung durch Unterricht auf jüngere Kräfte sich häufig bald einstellen, jedoch ist es äusserst oberflächlich, darum die aus der ganz naturnotwendigen Verwechslung von Gefühl und Leistung hervorgegangene Erscheinung des Zauberers mit dem Wort Humbug abzufertigen. Steckt ein solcher Schwindler doch in Jedem von uns, so nüchtern er sein mag.

Die Medizinmänner werden als gute und böse unterschieden. Es giebt ihrer nach Antonio »wenig bei den Bakairi und Auetó, mehr bei den Nahuquá, viele bei den Mehinakú und zu viele bei den Kamayurá«. Am Paranatinga lebte zur Zeit keiner. Jedermann kann es werden, es ist nur sehr schwer. »Man muss sehr viel lernen.« Man soll vier Monate hindurch nur Starkebrühe trinken*), kein Salz geniessen und nichts von Fleisch, Fisch oder Früchten essen, man soll nicht schlafen, sondern sich unaufhörlich mit den Fäusten auf den Schädel trommeln, sodass die geschwollenen Augen am Morgen heftig schmerzen, viel baden, sich Arm und Brust blutig kratzen u. s. w. Antonio wollte gern Medizin studieren, hatte aber Angst vor diesem bösen Semester, Felipe machte in gleichem Bestreben einen guten Anfang, kam aber nicht zurecht, da er keinen Lehrer hatte. Die Hauptkunst des fertigen Hexenmeisters bewährt sich im Gebrauch der Gifte. Mit ihnen tötet er Andere und tötet er auch sich selbst, um sich in andere Gestalt verwandeln zu können. Wir werden da eine Auffassung des Todes kennen lernen, an die man sich erst etwas gewöhnen muss, die aber in unmittelbarster Uebereinstimmung mit dem Leben des Schattens während des Schlafes steht.

Hören wir zunächst, wie Krankheit und Tod in die Welt kommen trotz des guten Medizinmanns des eigenen Dorfes, der den bösen des fremden Dorfes nach Kräften bekämpft. Der böse ist ein schlechter Mensch, den Niemand leiden mag, weil er tötet, statt zu heilen, er mischt Gift von Wespen, von der Tocandyra-Ameise und mehr derartigen Tieren mit Oel und Harz von Alumesca und Pindahyba in einer Kalabasse. Von dem Mann, den er übel will, verschafft er sich entweder Haar, indem er darauf tritt, wenn es geschnitten wird, es auch selbst abschneidet, wenn jener schläft, oder ein bischen Blut, indem er ein Zweiglein mit feiner Spitze von Jatobá, Bindahyba oder Pau de olho nach ihm hinwirft und es dann aufhebt. Dies Haar oder Blut kommt in die Giftkalabasse, die verschlossen wird, und sofort erkrankt der ursprüngliche Besitzer. Haar wird angeblich genommen, »weil dadurch Kopfschmerzen erzeugt werden« — in Wahrheit wohl deshalb, weil es am bequemsten zu erlangen ist. Hat der Hexenmeister kein Haar oder Blut, so tränkt er ein Pindahybazweiglein oder Wollfädchen mit dem Gift und versteckt es in eine Ritze des Hauses oder unter den Thonfuss, auf dem der Kochtopf steht, oder wirft es heimlich — denn es fliegt sehr weit — nach dem Verfolgten oder schiesst es mit einem Pfeil**) in einen Baum, wo Jener wohnt. Der gute Medizinmann findet es aber häufig, denn er sucht überall und steigt auch in den Baum hinauf, um es herabzuholen, legt es in Wasser und macht es dadurch unschädlich; er erhält dafür von dem Genesenden auch z. B.

*) Dieses Fasten ist auch sehr gut, wenn man es in der Kunst, Fische zu schiessen weit bringen will, und hier genügt es, wenn man einen Monat hindurch nichts als Starkebrühe genossen. Nahuquá hat es so gemacht und war mit dem Erfolg sehr zufrieden.

**) Man kann zwischen diesem Zauberpfeil und der den Indianern unbekannten Waffe der Gebyóla den scharfen Unterschied machen, dass jener nicht eigentlich vergiftet ist, sondern nur das vergiftete Stück bedeutet.

eine Hängematte, da er ein schönes Geschenk verdient. Hat das vergiftete Zweiglein den Patienten geritzt, so entdeckt der gute Medizinmann — und nur er — die Stelle, wo es eingetreten ist, saugt so lange, bis das Zweiglein oder Wollfädchen erscheint, und spukt es aus.

Wir haben also eine Methode, wo etwas vom Leibe vergiftet wird, und eine, wo das Gift nur in seine Nähe gebracht wird. Es giebt eine dritte, wo aller Zusammenhang mit ihm fehlt, dafür aber gleichzeitig ein Tier getötet wird. Sie bezweckt niemals nur Krankheit, sondern immer den Tod. Der zu tötende Mann wird *ámapö* oder *omápö* genannt. In diesem Fall bedarf der Hexenmeister ein Stück Haut vom Mittelfinger einer beliebigen Leiche und eine Ugá-Eidechse; er trocknet die Haut am Feuer, zerreibt sie mit seinem Zaubergift, stopft die Mischung tief in den Schlund der Eidechse, die um den Hals und den Leib, damit jene nicht herauskann, fest umschnürt wird, wirft das so präparierte Tier in einen Topf mit Wasser, verschliesst ihn wohl und hängt ihn über das Feuer: wenn das Wasser zu kochen beginnt, so erkrankt und, wenn die Eidechse stirbt, so stirbt der Amápö.

Alle Krankheiten sind durch Hexerei verursacht; »es soll Leute geben, die den Medizinmännern auftragen, ihre Feinde zu vergiften«. Mit seinem Friseur darf man sich am Schingú nicht verfeinden. So sei es, warf ich Antonio scherzend ein, eigentlich von mir sehr unvorsichtig gewesen, dass ich mir die Haare von ihm habe schneiden lassen. »Nein«, erwiderte er, »ich bin nicht schlecht, ich bin kein *omoito* (*omo-ito* Gifthexer).« »Also alle Krankheiten rühren von den Omcotos her?« »Alle.« »Hast Du jemals einen gesehen?« »Nicht bei den Bakairi, wir wurden so schlechte Menschen verjagen.« »Aber bei den Kamayurá?« »Pode sein, kann sein.« »Hast Du schon gute Medizinmänner (*pöje*, französisches j) gesehen?« »Ja, mehrere am Kulisehu. Pakurali war einer. Früher auch am Paranatinga. Der Auetö-Häuptling Auayato war einer.« Es ist sehr charakteristisch, dass alle schlechten (*kyoné-pu* nicht unser) Zauberer in fremden Dörfern wohnen. Die Ausdrücke *omoito* und *pöje* scheinen übrigens nicht streng geschieden. Jedenfalls sind die löblichen besseren Medizinmänner von berufsmässigem Schwindel längst nicht mehr nicht frei, da sie sich nicht gut einbilden können, aus dem Kranken die vergifteten Baumwollfäden, die sie ausgespucken, herausgesaugt zu haben. Aber der reinere Ursprung ihrer Kunst im Sinn der einleitenden Ausführungen ist noch leicht zu erkennen.

Noch deutlicher als an der Askese des medizinischen Studiums tritt es an den praktischen Leistungen zu Tage, dass Zaubern nichts ist als Erregung der Einbildungskraft. Die Schmerzen sagen dem Kranken, dass er von Jemandem angegriffen wird. Man sieht nicht, dass es Jemand im Dorf thut; hier ist auch Keiner so schlecht. Also ist der Feind draussen. Wer mit ihm fertig werden will, muss erstens stärker sein als er und zweitens den Unsichtbaren erreichen können. Beides wird für den, der nicht anders weiss als dass die im Traum vollbrachten Wunder Wirklichkeit sind, durch einen Arzt ermöglicht, der sich in

einen starken Erregungszustand versetzt, denn dieser allein leistet, was man mit den gewöhnlichen Mitteln zu leisten nicht vermag. So kommt die drollige Verkehrung zu Stande, dass der Arzt einnimmt, um zu heilen. Er ist um so stärker, je mehr er vertragen kann. Er kennt allerlei Gifte, die berauschen, und gebraucht sie: Tabak, *ãgoturiddu* oder (cipó de cobra) Schlangen-Schlingpflanze, *ortsi* oder *Tiabó*-Schlingpflanze (Paullinia pinnata), die Blätter des Waldbaums *ãrido*. Alles lauscht andächtig dem unverständlichen Zeug, das er während seiner Benommenheit zum Besten giebt, oder den seltsamen Erlebnissen, die er nach dem Erwachen aus tiefer Narkose von seinem Schatten berichtet. Er wird ein grosser Mann, er freut sich der Bewunderung und der Geschenke, er lässt sich wie viele andere grosse Männer erst zu kleinen Uebertreibungen verleiten und hilft dann auch seinen Leistungen, wo sie nicht ganz ausreichen, ein wenig nach, um das dumme Volk nicht zu enttäuschen. Bei den Bororó wird als Zauberarzt anerkannt, wer bei dem solennen Trinkgelage zur Zeit des besten Palmweins die grössten Quantitäten vertilgt und dem Rausche am sieghaftesten widerstehend die längsten Reden hält; die Begriffe Doktorschmaus und Doktorexamen fallen noch zusammen.

Die Tabaknarkose des Arztes ist bei allen unsern Stämmen wie auch bei vielen andern die gewöhnlichste Medizin des Patienten; der kranke Leib wird mit mächtigen Wolken angeblasen, gleichzeitig heftig bespuckt und zwischendurch unter furchterlichem, das ganze Dorf durchhallenden Stöhnen nicht des Patienten, sondern des Doktors, mit Aufwendung aller Muskelkraft geknetet. Das dauert eine lange Zeit, der Arzt gönnt sich im Kneten nur wenige Ruhepausen, während deren er laut jammert und gleichzeitig leidenschaftlich raucht. Die Zigarren werden von der Familie geliefert. Schliesslich beginnt er zu saugen und spuckt unter krampfhaftem Prusten die Ursache des Leidens aus.

Der Auetó-Häuptling hatte schon Pflanzengifte getrunken, aber die kräftigste Probe, die in »früheren« Zeiten öfters vorkam, Schlangengift zu nehmen, war er noch schuldig geblieben. Es wird ausdrücklich hervorgehoben, dass die giftige Kalabasse des Hexenmeisters dem guten Medizinmann nichts anhaben kann, aber freilich nicht erklärt, wie denn auch dieser zu erkranken im Stande ist. Der Auetó-Häuptling war schon tot gewesen. Wenn der Medizinmann die starken Gifte einnimmt, so »stirbt er«. Er liegt »tot« in der Hängematte, bis sein Schatten zurückkommt. Ich möchte vorläufig beiseite lassen, was für die Auffassung des Todes aus dieser Auffassung der Bewusstlosigkeit folgt. Während seiner Narkose kann sich der Zauberarzt in jede beliebige Tiergestalt verwandeln und jeden beliebigen Ort sofort erreichen. Die Verwandlung findet so statt, dass er in das Tier »hineingeht«. Nun sind diejenigen noch heute die besten Aerzte, die Gift trinken und sich im Rausch verwandeln. »Diese Piajes, die *ãgoturiddu* trinken und zum Himmel gehen,« sagte Antonio wörtlich, »sind sehr gut, diese heilen Alles, und die Andern, die kein Gift nehmen, die nur mit Tabak anblasen, auch sie heilen, aber starke Krank-

heit heilen sie nicht.« Klarer kann der Ursprung und der Sinn des Zauberns nicht ausgesprochen werden: man versetzt sich in einen Erregungszustand, um sich zu einem sonst Unmöglichen zu befähigen, man vollbringt Wunder, an die Alles glaubt, indem man seine Einbildungskraft steigert; der Urgrund alles Hexens ist die Ueberzeugung von der Wirklichkeit des Geträumten oder des Eingebildeten.

Besser jedoch als meine Deutung werden die Angaben Antonio's im genauen Wortlaut über den Besuch eines narkotisierten Piaje im Himmel die Sachlage erlautern. Die zahmen Bakari haben einige christlichen Vorstellungen, ich kann nur sagen, aufgeschnappt, und besitzen sie nun in seltsamster Verzerrung; mir wenigstens ist es herzlich schwer geworden, ernst zu bleiben, als vor meinen erstaunten Augen plötzlich Christus, Maria und die Engel in Schingútracht unter Beijús und umgeben von den mit Starkekleister und gelber Pikíbrühe gefüllten Kurbissen auftauchten. Daneben aber wird uns versichert, dass auch die noch unchristlichen Vorfahren, die »antigos« des erzahlenden Piaje den Himmel aufsuchten und Gift trinkend sich in allerlei wilde Tiere verwandelten. Ich erhielt die Geschichte, als ich die Vorstellungen über den Himmel zu gewinnen suchte.

»Der Himmel hat einen Boden wie hier. Der Piaje sagt es, der da war.« »??...« »Er trank Schlingpflanzengift und starb. Er war dann nicht mehr wie Menschen, er konnte in eines Jaguar oder eine Cobra-Schlange oder eine Sukuri-Schlange oder einen Geier hineingehen. Er stieg zum Himmel, kehrte zuruck, erwachte als ein Mensch und war wieder wie vorher. Dies geschah am Paranatinga. Dasselbe geschah auch fruher bei den Antigos und dasselbe erzahlten auch die Leute vom Tamitotoala (Batovy).« Alsdann berichtete Antonio sein bestimmtes Beispiel. »Er trank das Gift in der Hängematte selbst, er trank aus einer Kuye, in der viel Wasser gemischt war, er starb in der Hangematte. Er ging in den Himmel und traf dort die Antigos. Er traf auch jenen ....., wie heisst er doch?« (Sucht vergeblich nach dem Namen.) »Ach, seine Mutter war ja auch nach dem Himmel.« »Jesu Christo?« »Eben den. Mit dem unterhielt er sich lange Zeit. Dieser Krito liess ihn auf einen Schemel niedersitzen und brachte ihm Kalabassen mit Pogu und Pikíbrühe. Es gab sehr viel davon. Sie unterhielten sich sehr lange. Dieser Krito verschaffte ihm Ararafedern zum Fliegen. Dann blies er ihn an. Dann liess er ihn zurückkehren. Er erwachte in der Hangematte.« Ich wollte Naheres wissen, wie er herausgekommen sei. »Der Schatten stieg ein wenig über den Himmel empor, sah gut nach dem Loch aus, wo man aus dem Himmel herauskommt, und flog hierher.« »So war der Schatten im Himmel gewesen?« »Da der Leib nicht geht und nicht steigen kann, da der tot ist, so geht der Schatten.«

Die Verwandlung findet also im Traum statt; der durch ein narkotisches Mittel herbeigefuhrt ist. Sie wird als wirklich genommen und die Geschichte eines solchen ganz oder heutzutage in der professionellen Ausübung nur sehr teilweise wahren Traums liefert das Material für den Glauben an die Kunst der

Zauberärzte. Ihr eigentliches Verdienst ist nur die Kenntnis der Betäubungsmittel, und namentlich von unserm Standpunkt aus, die der Tabaknarkose.*) Antonio sagte mir, dass es zwei Arten von »Tabak« gebe; der Tabak, den man zu seinem Vergnügen rauche, sei ein anderer als der, der kuriere, und viel schwächer. In den Kuren, die ich gesehen habe, wurde der gewöhnliche Tabak verwendet; wahrscheinlich giebt es andere Blätter, die stärker betäuben. Die Schingüzigarette in grünem aromatischen Wickelblatt ist wohl noch eine der einfachsten Formen des geregelten Qualmgenusses. Tabakrauch kuriert Alles; ich habe entzündete Augen, Hüftgelenksentzündung, Brandwunden, Leibschmerzen und mehr dergleichen damit behandeln sehen. Die Suyá bliesen ihn mir in die Ohren und redeten laut in sie hinein, damit ich ihre Sprache besser verstehe. Vielleicht ist auch bei einem lange Zeit hindurch mit starken Qualmwolken angepusteten Patienten ein leichter Dusel zu erzielen, aber in jedem Fall muss dieser, ohnehin leidend, durch das unermüdliche eintönige Jammern und Kneten in einen dumpfen Zustand verfallen, in dem er ebenso gut Verwandlungen erleben kann als der Medizinmann. Angaben oder Beispiele habe ich aber dafür nicht erhalten.

In dem folgenden Kapitel habe ich eine einfachere Art des Anblasens zu besprechen, durch die sich der Zauberer nicht selbst, sondern durch die er Andere verwandelt, und die ohne Tabakrauch stattfindet.

Wiederum bläst der Medizinmann oder auch irgend Jemand sonst auf andere Art, wenn er das Gewitter durch Blasen verjagt. Man prustet den Speichel in einem Sprühtrichter gegen die Wolken; ich habe selbst mehrfach gesehen, dass das Mittel half, und mich dann geärgert, dass ich in allzu grosser Vorsicht trotz dringender Bitten der Indianer nicht mitgeprustet hatte. Mir hatte die Einbildungskraft gefehlt.

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*) Die Gelegenheit, die betäubende Wirkung kennen zu lernen, ist wohl die beim Anfachen des glimmenden Feuers gewesen. Man muss sich trockene Blätter im Walde suchen, die aufgeschüttet werden, die qualmen und mehr oder minder rasch aufflammen, wenn man hineinbläst. Mit aromatischem oder betäubendem Rauch verbrennende Blätter werden der feinen Nase des Indianers beim Anblasen aufgefallen und von ihm für seine medizinische Hexenküche brauchbar befunden worden sein. Er athmete den Rauch ein und verschluckte ihn (daher bei den Entdeckern Amerikas stets der Ausdruck »trinken«).

[p. 348]

XIII. KAPITEL.

Wissenschaft und Sage der Bakaïri.

I. Die Grundanschauung.

Der Mensch muss nicht sterben. Wissen von der Fortdauer nach dem Tode. Naturerklärung durch Geschichten. Tiere — Personen. Tiere liefern wirklich die Kultur, daher gleiche Erklärung auf unbekannte Herkunft übertragen. Entstehung der erklärenden Geschichte. Gestirne, die ältesten Dinge und Tiere. Bedeutung der Milchstrasse. Verwandlung. Männer aus Pfeilen, Frauen aus Maiskampfern. Keri und Kame und die Ahnensage. Die Namen Keri und Kame. Die Zwillinge und ihre Mutter sind keine tiefsinnigen Personifikationen.

Als ich im Verlauf meiner sprachlichen Aufnahme Antonio*) den Satz vorlegte: »Jedermann muss sterben«, schwieg er zu meinem Erstaunen geraume Zeit. Es entstand dieselbe lange Pause, die ich jedesmal zu überwinden hatte, wenn ich ihm eine der ihm so fremdartigen, uns so geläufigen Abstraktionen auftischte. Da lernte ich denn zum ersten Mal, der Bakaïri kennt kein Müssen, er ist noch nicht dazu gelangt, aus einer Reihe immer gleichförmig wiederkehrender Erscheinungen die allgemeine Notwendigkeit abzuleiten, ganz besonders aber versteht er auch gar nicht, dass der Mensch sterben muss. Fern liegt ihm der Gedanke, den wir uns auf den untersten Gymnasialklassen**) einprägen, »nemo mortem effugere potest«. Die Uebersetzung Antonio's, die das Wort »müssen« umging, aber doch zeigte, dass er meine Ansicht richtig verstanden hatte, lautete nach viertelstundigem Nachdenken etwas verzwickt: »ich sterbe nur (und) wir (sterben).« Der Dolmetscher schüttelte aber unbefriedigt den Kopf; er hatte den Zweifel, den auch wir etwa kaum unterdrücken möchten, wenn da behauptet wurde: »alle Menschen müssen ermordet werden.« Nur aussen in einem bösen Streich sucht der Indianer die Ursache des Todes. Gäbe es nur gute Menschen, so gäbe es weder Kranksein noch Sterben. Nichts weiss er von einem natürlichen Ablauf des Lebensprozesses.

*) Bakaïri-Grammatik, p. 185.

**) Ich habe als Knabe daran in meinem Innern durchaus nicht glauben wollen und viele Jahre, so lange ich das Wesen des Todes noch nicht genauer kennen gelernt hatte, eigensinnig an der Hoffnung festgehalten, dass doch ich vielleicht eine Ausnahme machen und nicht sterben würde, wie es sonst in der Weltgeschichte üblich ist.

Ein zweiter nicht unwesentlicher Unterschied zwischen der Auffassung unserer Indianer und der Kulturvölker betrifft die Fortdauer nach dem Tode. Dass die Guter der Erde ungleich verteilt sind und der Arme dereinst die Wonne des Ueberflusses erfahren möge, dass die Gerechtigkeit hienieden unvollkommen ist und der Gute dereinst belohnt, der Böse gestraft werden müsse, diese ethischen Forderungen sind in den einfachen sozialen Verhältnissen des Eingeborenen nicht entstanden. Seine Vorstellung von der Fortdauer nach dem Tode entspringt keinem Hoffen und Vertrauen. Allerdings verbindet sie sich mit dem Gedanken an angenehme Verhältnisse insofern, als bei dem spätern Zusammenleben mit den »Antigos« im Himmel Fische, Wildpret und Pikibrühe sehr reichlich bemessen sein werden und nimmt auch Rücksicht auf das Verhalten nichtswürdiger Gesellen, da diese, nicht etwa weil sie »verflucht« wären, sondern weil sie ihre Schlechtigkeiten an anderem Orte natürlich fortsetzen, sich als übelwollende Geister *kiuin-ároiku* Furcht und Schrecken verbreitend Nachts im Walde umhertreiben.

Allein die Wurzel der Ueberzeugung von der Fortdauer liegt für den Eingeborenen, so untrennbar die beiden auch verbunden sind, nicht im Gemüt, sondern im Verstande. Sie ist, für seine Erkenntnisstufe, ein Wissen. Nach der Vorstellung der Kulturvölker entfernt sich die Seele beim Tode zum ersten Mal aus dem Körper, es geschieht etwas ganz Neues, von dem sie durch Erfahrung und Beobachtung, es sei denn durch spiritistische, Nichts wissen; eben um dieses unbekannten Neuen willen können sie die Unsterblichkeit nicht beweisen, sondern müssen anheimgeben, sie aus ethischen Gründen zu glauben. Dem Indianer dagegen ist der Vorgang der Trennung von Leib und Seele nicht neu, er erfährt ihn tagtäglich, wie wir gesehen haben, wenn der Schatten im Traum von dannen eilt und den Körper in der Hängematte zurücklässt. Der gewöhnliche Tod ist eine tiefe Bewusstlosigkeit (Koma) infolge des Giftes, das der Hexenmeister beibringt, und vom Schlaf nur dadurch verschieden, dass der Schatten zu weit enteilt, um zurückzukehren. Nur der Medizinmann, der sich selbst vergiftet, wird wieder lebendig. »Wirklich« waren schon während des Schlafes die Erlebnisse des Schattens, »wirklich« sind ebenso gut seine »Erlebnisse« nach dem Tode. Man kennt diese Wirklichkeit, die nur ein Leben an anderm Ort ist, aus der täglichen Erfahrung, und erhält sie zum Ueberfluss noch bestätigt durch die Gestorbenen, mit deren Schatten unser eigener während des Traumes verkehrt, und durch die gelegentlich das Totenreich besuchenden Zauberer; in diesen kann Hamlet die Wanderer finden, die aus dem Bezirk des unbekannten Landes wiederkehren. To die to sleep, no more.

Die Schatten der toten Bakairi gehen in den Himmel zu den Vorfahren. Der Himmel ist zunächst nicht das Land der Zukunft, sondern das der Vergangenheit, die Alten sind noch da, wo nämlich alle Geschichte begonnen hat. Der Himmel, in dem die ersten Bakairi lebten, lag früher neben der Erde und man konnte bequem auf diese hinüber gelangen. Es starben dort aber zu

viele Leute, so siedelte man auf die Erde über und der Himmel stieg dahin empor, wo er jetzt ist, und wo die Tiere, die Oerter, die Sachen, die in den alten Geschichten vorkommen, noch heute zu sehen sind. »Alles ist geblieben, wie es war.« »Bakairi hat es immer gegeben, aber im Anfang waren es sehr wenige.« Man muss nur an einigen bestimmten Punkten festhalten und man erkennt trotz aller Spiele der Phantasie und trotz aller Verarbeitung durch die Tradition einen Kern naiver, gesunder Logik in der Naturerklärung des Indianers.

Die Indianer kennen kein Müssen. Sie betrachten jeden Vorgang in der Natur noch als einen Einzelvorgang oder richtiger als eine Einzelhandlung. Gesetze sind ja auch in der That nur durch die gemeinsame Arbeit Vieler — solcher, die da leben und gelebt haben — zu erkennen. Und solange es keine Gesetze und höchstens Gewohnheiten giebt, steht jeder Einzelne im Mittelpunkt der Welt, die nur die Gesamtheit seiner persönlichen Eindrücke darstellt. Nicht die Naturerscheinung an und für sich mit ihren Bedingungen ist der Gegenstand des Nachdenkens, sondern der Eindruck, den man vor ihr empfängt; eine Geschichte genügt noch, sie zu erklären. Aus der Sprache erkennen wir denselben Zustand; jede Art hat ihren Namen, aber die Zahl der übergeordneten Begriffe ist äusserst gering. Gering ist also die Zahl der Scheidewände und Schubfächer und darum macht es nicht viel aus, wenn ein Ding aus dem einen Fach in ein anderes gerät. Es fällt entschieden auf, es ist etwas Besonderes geschehen, aber eine innere Unmöglichkeit ist nirgends vorhanden.

Man gestatte einen Vergleich mit dem undeutlichen Sehen. Fern auf dem Waldweg bemerken wir etwas, was wir genau zu erkennen noch gar nicht in der Lage sind. Jeder sieht, was er zu sehen erwartet — einen Stein, ein Reh, einen Holzhaufen, eine Botenfrau, was weiss ich. Es regt uns an, wenn sich von den Gestalten im Wald auch eine vor unsern Augen in die andere verwandelt, aber — und da liegt der grosse Unterschied — wir glauben nicht an eine Verwandlung, sondern schliessen, dass wir uns beim ersten Anblick getäuscht haben, weil wir unsere Wahrnehmung sofort den uns bekannten allgemeinen, jene Möglichkeit ganz ausschliessenden Gesetzen opfern. Doch können wir uns bei einer lebhaften Täuschung vielleicht vorstellen, dass unser Hindernis für unwissende Menschen nicht da ist. Ich hörte von einem Fall, dass ein flüchtiger Negersklave verfolgt wurde, er lief in ein kleines Dickicht, einen Capão; man suchte ihn vergeblich und fand nur eine grosse Jabuti-Schildkröte. Der Anführer der Leute nahm die Schildkröte auf sein Pferd, liess sie aber unterwegs aus Furcht fallen und gab sie frei: die ganze Gesellschaft schwor darauf, der Neger habe sich in die Schildkröte verwandelt. Dass man den Sklaven trotz emsigen Suchens nicht gefunden hatte, dass nur die Schildkröte zu entdecken war, diese persönliche Erfahrung entschied. Die Thatsache war einfach vorhanden; wenn sie ungewöhnlich war, so konnte man sie leicht dadurch erklären, dass der Neger ein Hexenmeister gewesen war.

Dass man jedoch alle »ungewöhnlichen« Dinge einfach durch Zauberei erklären kann, liegt eben daran, dass der Begriff der Gesetzmässigkeit fehlt. Man ist noch nicht in der Lage, scharf zu sehen. Ja, je ungewöhnlicher der Vorgang ist, desto lieber hört man von ihm erzählen und desto fester wird er deshalb geglaubt.

Bei Weitem der wichtigste Fall von dem Mangel begrifflicher Scheidewände, der unserm Empfinden und Denken gleichzeitig am schwersten zugänglich ist, betrifft das Verhältnis des Menschen zu den Tieren und der einzelnen Tiergattungen zu einander. Wir sagen, der Eingeborene anthropomorphisiert in seinen »Märchen«, er lässt die Tiere reden und handeln wie Menschen. Das ist von unserm Standpunkt aus richtig, aber wenn wir glauben wollten, er statte die Tiere nur zu dem Zweck, eine hübsche Geschichte zu erzählen, mit menschlichen Eigenschaften aus, so wäre das ein gewaltiges Missverstehen, es hiesse nicht mehr und nicht weniger, als ihm all sein Glauben und Wissen wegdisputieren. Sein Glauben: denn in die wunderbaren Geschichten, die er von den Tieren berichtet, setzt er dasselbe Vertrauen, wie jeder überzeugte Christ in die Wunder der Bibel; sein Wissen: denn er könnte die ihn umgebende Welt ohne seine Märchentiere ebenso wenig begreifen als der Physiker die Kraftzentren ohne Stoffatome — si parva licet componere magnis.

Wir müssen uns die Grenzen zwischen Mensch und Tier vollständig wegdenken. Ein beliebiges Tier kann klüger oder dümmer, stärker oder schwächer sein als der Indianer, es kann ganz andere Lebensgewohnheiten haben, allein es ist in seinen Augen eine Person genau so wie er selbst, die Tiere sind wie die Menschen zu Familien und Stämmen vereinigt, sie haben verschiedene Sprachen wie die menschlichen Stämme, allein Mensch, Jaguar, Reh, Vogel, Fisch, es sind alles nur Personen verschiedenen Aussehens und verschiedener Eigenschaften. Man braucht nur ein Medizinmann, der Alles kann, zu sein, so kann man sich von einer Person in die andere verwandeln, so versteht man auch alle Sprachen, die im Wald oder in der Luft oder im Wasser gesprochen werden. Der tiefere Grund für diese Anschauung liegt darin, dass es noch keine ethische Menschlichkeit giebt; es giebt ein Schlechtsein und Gutsein nur in dem groben Sinn, dass man Andern Unangenehmes oder Angenehmes zufügt, aber die sittliche Erkenntnis und das ideale, weder durch Aussicht auf Lohn, noch durch Furcht vor Strafe geleitete Wollen fehlt ganz und gar. Wie sollte da eine unübersteigliche Kluft zwischen Mensch und Tier angenommen werden? Die äusserliche Betrachtung der Lebensgewohnheiten, auf die sich der Indianer beschränkt, kann dem Menschen höchstens die Stellung des primus inter pares zuweisen. Das Tier hat freilich nicht Pfeil und Bogen und Maisstampfer, aber das ist auch der Hauptunterschied in den Augen des Indianers, und deshalb entstehen die Männer aus Pfeilen, die Frauen aus Maisstampfern, doch hat es z. B. auch ebenso wie der Mensch wichtige Werkzeuge wie Zähne und Klauen, die er ihm ja erst wegnimmt.

Es fehlt dem Indianer ferner unsere Abgrenzung der Arten gegeneinander, insofern sich dieseine nicht mit der andern vermischt. Dieser Unterschied, den die Er

fahrung gewiss leicht erkennen lässt, wird wiederum vollständig verwischt, weil das in unsern anatomischen Kenntnissen begründete Hindernis wegfallt. Man bedenke einen Augenblick, was unser Volksglaube, das Versehen betreffend, in dieser Beziehung leistet; da bekommt man auch ein wirkliches Mausefell, einen wirklichen Hundefuss u. s. w. Wenn der Indianer durch die Vermischung von verschiedenen Tierarten untereinander oder durch die von Tier und Mensch irgend etwas erklären kann, so hindert ihn nichts, sie zu behaupten, so sieht er sie im Gegenteil bewiesen und schliesst höchstens, dergleichen geschieht jetzt nicht mehr, wo es nicht mehr nötig ist. Heute, sagen unsere Gelehrten, giebt es keine generatio aequivoca mehr; aber einst hat es sie sicherlich gegeben. Der Unterschied ist um so mehr verwischt, als der Eingeborene das bequeme Erklärungsprinzip der Verwandlungen im grössten Umfang benutzen muss. Es kommt endlich hinzu, dass er sich mit der Fortpflanzung innerhalb der Art, da das Kind nichts anderes ist als der Vater, nicht weiter beschäftigt: die Art oder der Stamm ist wie ein einziges Individuum, das immer unter demselben Namen erscheint; verschiedene Unterarten, z. B. die Jaguarkatzen, grosse und kleine und der Farbe nach verschiedene, sind Brüder. Aber jeder dieser »Jaguare« nach seinem Namen, »Kampfuchs«, »Reh«, »Ameisenbär« — sie erscheinen in beliebigen Geschichten und Niemand fragt, ob es etwa Kampfuchs »V« oder Kampfuchs »XXIII« war. Das ist auch genau dasselbe für die menschlichen Stammväter der Ahnensage; man setzt meist die Frauen und immer die Stammgenossen, die jene begleiten, als gegeben voraus.

Ich wiederhole, der Ausdruck »anthropomorphisieren« ist nur als Schema für uns berechtigt, und er wird falsch, wenn man ihn so fassen wollte, als ob der Indianer sagte »ich bin ein Mensch und lasse auch die Tiere wie Menschen handeln.« Das Umgekehrte, dass Menschen Tiere sind, kommt ebenso vor, und zwar im guten und im schlechten Sinn. Die Trumaí sind Wassertiere, weil sie auf dem Grund des Flusses schlafen. So sagen die Bakairí in allem Ernst. Wir begegnen dem gleichen Glauben an Menschen, die im Wasser leben, auch bei andern Stämmen. Die Bororó behaupten, man könne Stunden lang, wenn man gewisse Blätter kaut, unter der Oberfläche des Wassers verweilen und Fische fangen. Ich habe nichts Besonderes von dem »Wasserleben« der Trumaí mehr erfahren können, als dass sie mit Vorliebe andere Stämme auf dem Fluss angreifen und die Gefangenen mit gefesselten Armen in das Wasser werfen sollen. Ich weiss nicht, ob sie früher wie die Guató Flussnomaden gewesen sind; den Feldbau haben sie jedenfalls von den Nachbarn erst erlernt. Was auch den Glauben der Bakairí über sie angeregt habe, er wird nicht etwa durch die Schlussfolgerung entkräftet, die wir auf Grund unserer Naturgesetze aufstellen: »aber die Trumaí sind doch keine Tiere, keine Fische«, sondern der Bakairí schliesst, weil die Trumaí im Flusse schlafen, sind sie Wassertiere und verspottet und verachtet sie, wie jedem Stamm mit fremdartigen Sitten geschieht. Die Bororó rühmen sich selbst, dass sie rote Araras seien. Sie gehen nicht nur nach dem Tode

in Araras über, wie auch in gewisse andere Tiere, nicht nur sind die Araras Bororó und werden entsprechend behandelt — sie drücken ihr Verhältnis zu dem farbenprachtigen Vogel kaltblütig auch so aus, dass sie sich selbst als Araras bezeichnen, wie wenn eine Raupe sagte, dass sie ein Schmetterling sei, und wollen sich damit durchaus nicht nur einen von ihrem Wesen ganz unabhängigen Namen zulegen.

Also die Trumai sind Wassertiere, weil sie eine Gewohnheit der Wassertiere haben, die Bororó sind Araras, weil sich ihre Toten in Araras verwandeln. Man sucht solche und ähnliche Erscheinungen durch die in der Tradition leicht vorkommende Verwechslung von Namen und Sache zu deuten. Das trifft bei unsern Indianern entschieden nicht zu. Obwohl gern zugegeben werden mag, dass sich, wo die Grundanschauung vorhanden ist, derlei Verwechslungen von selbst einfinden, so muss doch die unzweifelhaft vorhandene Grundanschauung als die Hauptsache vorangestellt werden. Oder würden wir, denen sie fehlt und denen Verwechslungen auch widerfahren können, unsern Geographen und Historikern jemals glauben, dass die Finnen ein Volk von Blasenwürmern seien?

Mangelt aber der Wesensunterschied, so liegt die Sache ganz anders. Dann steht Nichts im Wege, dass der Kampfuchs, der nächtliche Räuber, der in seinen im Dunkel leuchtenden Augen ja Feuer hat, dieses Feuer, indem er es sich aus den Augen herausschlug, den Menschen geben konnte. Oder, um eine häufige Variante der Ahnensage zu nehmen, dann steht Nichts im Wege, dass der Jaguar der Urahn eines menschenfressenden Stammes gewesen ist; denn immer wird ausdrücklich berichtet, dass dieser Stammvater »Jaguar« Vorfahren des eigenen Stammes, Bakairi oder Paressi, getödtet und gefressen habe. Ich darf auf das Bestimmteste versichern, dass mein Gewährsmann felsenfest überzeugt war, dass der betreffende böse Stammvater der Legende ein Jaguar war, obwohl er mit Pfeilen schoss, und nicht nur so hiess. Dass die frühere Zeit, in der die Legende entstanden ist, nur symbolisiert und Nachkommen, Namen und Sache verwechselt hätte, ist eine bequeme Unterstellung, aber eine unzulässige, weil alsdann die ganze Tradition nur aus Verwechslungen bestehen würde. Die frühere Generation hatte dieselbe Grundanschauung wie die heutige. Sie erklärte sich die kannibalische Sitte des Nachbarstammes durch die Abstammung vom Jaguar, dessen Kennzeichen es ist, dass er Menschen frisst. Sie kannte den Stammvater nicht, weil man ihn von keinem Stamm, obwohl er immer da gewesen sein muss, kennen kann. Sie hatte, da der Wesensunterschied zwischen Mensch und Tier fehlt, keine Schwierigkeit, zu schliessen, weil diese Leute immer Menschen, unsere eigenen Vorfahren, gefressen haben, deshalb ist der Stammvater ein Jaguar gewesen, und ihr Kausalbedürfnis war befriedigt — was viel wesentlicher war als der etwaige Einwand, heute ist der Sohn eines Jaguar doch auch stets ein Jaguar, und heute schiesst doch kein Jaguar, wie es allerdings die Vorfahren des feindlichen Stammes gethan haben, mit Bogen und Pfeil.

Wir verstehen, dass der Indianer insofern Tiere wie Personen auftreten lässt, als er von ihren Unterhaltungen berichtet, denn man weiss, dass sich die Tiere gegenseitig rufen und in liebenden oder drohenden Tönen verständigen, allein die Ausstattung der Tiere mit Kulturerzeugnissen und Geräten scheint uns doch das Maass des Erlaubten zu übersteigen. Ja, der Mensch soll gemäss den indianischen Ahnensagen alles mögliche Gute, das er besitzt, von den Tieren erworben haben. Da sind die mannigfaltigsten Tiere »Herren« oder »Besitzer« davon gewesen und ihnen hat es der Kulturheros genommen. Herr des medizinischen Tabaks und der Baumwolle war der Wickelbär, *Cercolepes caudivolvulus*, Herr des gewöhnlichen Rauchtabaks der Zitteraal, Herr der Mandioka der Bagadúfisch *Phractocephalus*, Herr des Schlafes und der Buritihängematte die Eidechse, Herr der mit Wasser gefüllten Töpfe, nach deren Zerschlagen der Ronuro und der Paranatinga flossen, die Ochobi-Flussschlange, Herr der Sonne der Königsgeier, *Sarcoramphus papa*, und mehr dergleichen. Wie ist ein solcher Unsinn möglich? Das Alles ist natürlich symbolisch gemeint, erklärt der Träger der Kulturbrille und hält die Frage für erledigt. Ich kann nur herzlich lachen, wenn ich mir die indianischen, an der Anschauung klebenden Jäger und Fischer mit symbolischen Tieren hantierend denke wie die Dichter, Maler und, um auch der niederen Geister nicht zu vergessen, die ihre Trade-mark erfindenden Patentinhaber unserer zivilisierten Welt — die allerdings sämtlich zu den Originalen ihrer Symboltiere nicht in dem Verhältnis naher persönlicher Bekanntschaft zu stehen pflegen.

Nein, Antonio und seine Stammesgenossen hätten unsere Art Symbole nicht begriffen, geschweige selbst welche erfunden. Ich leugne es nicht, mir hat während unserer Unterhaltung zuweilen der Verstand stillgestanden, wenn mir der treuherzige Glaube an die Wirklichkeit der »Märchen«-Tiere und ihres Kulturbesitzes in seiner ganzen Urwüchsigkeit entgegentrat, allein ich habe mich von seiner Echtheit auch so genau überzeugt, dass ich mich für verpflichtet halte, jede Erklärung, die ihn nicht voll anerkennt, zurückzuweisen. Ich meine auch, die Sache sei einfach genug zu verstehen. Der Indianer hat ja in Wahrheit die wichtigsten Teile seiner Kultur von den Personen erhalten, die wir Tiere nennen, und ihnen muss er sie noch heute wegnehmen. Zähne, Knochen, Klauen, Muscheln sind seine Werkzeuge, ohne die er weder Waffe noch Haus noch Gerät herstellen könnte. Er verdankt, was er leisten kann der Piranya, dem Hundsfisch, dem Affen, dem Kapivara, dem Aguti, dem Riesengürteltier, den Mollusken, und von allen ihnen berichtet die Legende Nichts, weil jedes Kind weiss, dass diese Tiere, deren Jagd die wichtigste Vorbedingung für jene Leistungen bildet, noch heute die unentbehrlichsten Dinge liefern. Was ist natürlicher als dass er auch die schönen und guten Dinge, von deren Herkunft er Nichts oder wie von den Kulturpflanzen, nur Unbestimmtes weiss, ebenfalls von Tieren herleitet, sobald er darüber nachdenkt? Was ist natürlicher, als dass die Eidechse, die mehrere Monate verschläft, den Schlaf (er wurde ihr aus den Augen gezogen)

oder dass der Kampfuchs, dessen Augen im Dunkel leuchten, wenn er Nachts auf Beute ausgeht, das Feuer geliefert hat; als dass die Sonne, deren Beschaffenheit wir noch kennen lernen werden, im Besitz des Herrschers der Lüfte, des Königgeiers, den die übrigen Geier streng respektieren, und dass das Wasser im Besitz einer grossen Flussschlange war? Mit dem Schlaf hat die Eidechse auch die Hangematte hergeben müssen, die dazu gehört. Jetzt hat sie keine mehr, sie ist ihr eben weggenommen worden, und sie war auch sehr böse. Alle jene Errungenschaften wurden mit Gewalt oder List geraubt; darum fehlen sie den Tieren heutzutage. So wird das Kausalbedürfnis der alten naiven Jäger auf das Angenehmste befriedigt und zwar durchaus auf dem Boden der Grundanschauung, dass Tiere und Menschen nur verschieden aussehende und verschieden ausgestattete Personen sind.

Es ist der modernen Forschung gelungen, eine Anzahl der gefährlichsten Krankheiten auf das Vorhandensein von Bazillen zurückzuführen, und was ist die Folge? Alle möglichen Krankheiten, deren Ursache noch verborgen ist, werden auch Bazillen zur Last gelegt; Tausende von Leuten, die niemals einen Mikroorganismus gesehen haben, geschweige dass sie nur eine Ahnung davon hätten, wie die bösen Tiere es eigentlich anfangen, die Krankheit hervorzurufen, wittern sie jetzt in Allem, was sie geniessen, und erscheinen mit ihnen vertraut wie mit Spinnen und Schnaken. Jene nachgewiesenen Krankheitserreger möchte ich den Tieren vergleichen, die dem Indianer wirklich die nützlichsten Dinge geliefert haben, und jene andern, die nur in der Legende existieren, den Märchentieren, denen er, in gleichem Denkgeleise vorwärts strebend, die Dinge unbekannter Herkunft zuschreibt. Es ist ein natürlicher Vorgang, dass man das Unbekannte genau so erklärt wie das Bekannte.

Sonne, Feuer, Wasser, Schlaf sind Dinge, deren erste Besitzer rein erdacht werden müssen; für sie giebt es keine, auch noch so verblasste historische Tradition. Anders kann es — nötig ist es nicht — mit Kulturpflanzen sein. Der medizinische Tabak, erinnert man sich dunkel, ist aus dem Norden gekommen. Unzweifelhaft hat ihn, sagen wir, ein benachbarter Stamm geliefert; allein die Bakairi haben längst die wirkliche und in ihren Einzelheiten sehr gewöhnliche Begebenheit vergessen; seit vielen Generationen weiss man nichts mehr, als dass man dort wo der Wickelbär lebt, zuerst mit Tabak kuriert hat. Der Wickelbär ist sehr selten im Gebiet der Bakairi. Antonio hatte noch keinen gesehen, er wusste aber genau, wie er aussah und seine in allen Einzelheiten sehr bestimmte Beschreibung nebst dem Namen *suedri* gab mir die Möglichkeit, ihn als das lautlich identische *yawari* der Makuschi in Guyana zu erkennen, von dem Schomburgk bei seinem Bericht zufügt, dass das Vorkommen des *yawari* nach v. Tschudi in Peru bis zum zehnten Grad südlicher Breite bekannt sei! So lieferte der Wickelbär als die für die Gegend, wo der Tabak herkam, charakteristische Person den Tabak ebenso, wie der Königsgeier die Sonne geliefert hat als die Person, die in die Gegend der Sonne hinkommt.

Der Wickelbär interessierte die Bakairi mehr als der verschollene Nachbarstamm, und er blieb durch die Jahrhunderte hindurch derselbe, er war der Herr des nördlichen Gebietes, und was dorther kam, ob Tabak oder Baumwolle, stammte von ihm; Jäger, die einen Streifzug über die gewöhnlichen Grenzen hinaus nach Norden ausdehnten, fanden ihn dort oder er selbst machte gelegentliche Besuche im Süden bei den Bakairi. Die Geschichte der Herkunft von medizinischem Tabak und Baumwolle wurde nach dem üblichen und natürlichen Schema, dass das charakteristische Tier als ursprünglicher Besitzer galt, behandelt: setzen wir, um den obigen Vergleich mit unserm ähnlichen Verfahren durchzuführen, Baumwolle und Tabak gleich zwei Krankheiten, so war der Bacillus legendarius der Wickelbär. Die von ihm erzählte Geschichte ist nur die Antwort auf die Frage: »wie kommt es, dass wir früher keinen Tabak hatten?« Zuerst hat man noch gewusst, »der und der bestimmte Stamm hat ihn uns gegeben«, dann vergass man im Lauf der Zeit Namen und nähere Umstände und eine spätere Generation hörte noch vielleicht, »wir haben ihn von irgend Jemanden dort, wo der Wickelbär lebt, bekommen«, allein eine solche Auskunft musste dem üblichen Schema schon in dem Augenblick verfallen, wenn die liebe Neugier weiter fragte: »woher hatten denn jene Leute selbst den Tabak?« Da gab es, die Grundanschauung vorausgesetzt, keine bessere Antwort als »eben vom Wickelbär« und man war sehr zufrieden.

Ebenso wird, wie wir sehen werden, die Herkunft des gewöhnlichen Rauchtabaks auf einen Fisch, der im Paranatinga nicht vorkommt, sondern im »Tabakfluss« lebt, und die Herkunft der Mandioka auf einen ebenfalls im Paranatinga nicht vorkommenden Fisch, der den »Beijüfluss« bewohnte, zurückgeführt. Ich habe Antonio zuweilen — nicht oft, denn er wurde wie jeder Gläubige durch Zweifel, deren richtigen Kern er selbst nicht verkennen konnte, empfindlich berührt — meinen skeptischen Einwurf nicht vorenthalten. Dann schwieg er entweder verletzt, oder er erklärte den gegenwärtigen Zustand durch Verzauberung oder — und zwar in der Mehrzahl der Fälle — er sagte einfach: »jetzt ist es nicht mehr so, aber es war früher so«.

»Es war einmal,« (das stets wiederkehrende *pai* der Tupflegenden) ist auch die Signatur der Indianer-»Märchen«. Der weitaus grösste Teil der Legenden will die Entstehung von irgend etwas erklären, es handelt sich also stets um Vorgänge in alter Zeit, und da sie nun immer nur dadurch zu erklären sind, dass etwas Besonderes geschehen ist, so musste sich aus alledem die Anschauung festsetzen, dass es einmal eine Zeit gegeben hat, wo das Aussergewöhnliche Regel war. Man gelangte mit der schönsten Logik der Welt zu Situationen, aus denen man immer nur durch menschliche Handlungen der Tiere den Ausweg fand, dann aber auch vortrefflich fand. Es ist sehr leicht, die Entstehung der häufig mit vielem Humor gewürzten Geschichten zu verstehen, wenn man nur die Pointe, die bewiesen wird, zum Ausgangspunkt nimmt; es ist ja klar, dass die zu erklärende Thatsache nicht zu der Geschichte gekommen sein kann, sondern nur die Geschichte zu der Thatsache.

In einem am Amazonas sehr verbreiteten Märchen*) macht der Urubú-Geier mit der Jabuti-Schildkröte eine Wette, wer rascher nach dem Himmel, wo gerade ein Fest gefeiert wurde, gelangen könne. Die Schildkröte schmuggelt sich in den Proviantkorb des Geiers ein, kommt glücklich an und empfängt den Geier, als dieser von einem Spaziergang durch das festliche Treiben zurückkehrt, mit der Behauptung, dass sie bereits seit langer Zeit oben sei und auf ihn warte. Die Wette ist unentschieden, man erneuert sie für die Rückreise, wer zuerst auf der Erde ankomme. Der Geier fliegt hinunter, aber die Schildkröte lässt sich fallen und gewinnt. Im Fall hat sie sich abgeplattet und ihre Schale ist geplatzt, wie man noch heute sieht.

Wie hat man sich diese Erfindung zu denken? Sie ist die Antwort auf die Frage: »wie kommt die Schildkrötenschale zu der Spalte, aus der wir das Fleisch mühsam hervorholen?« Heute haben alle Schildkröten diese Spalte, er muss lange her sein, dass sie entstanden ist. Damals muss der Stammvater der Schildkröten einen schweren Fall gethan haben; die Schale ist ja auch davon unten ganz abgeplattet. Dann ist die Schildkröte aber, meint Einer bedenklich, mindestens vom Himmel heruntergefallen. Ja, aber wie ist sie da hingekommen? Nun, der Geier hat sie mitgenommen. Aber wie? — Man hat die Schildkröte in eine Situation gebracht, die von allen Erfahrungen aus dem Leben der Schildkröten abweicht, aber die dahin führenden Schlüsse sind zwingend und jetzt erst beginnt die Erfindung, der wiederum aus dem entgegengesetzten Wesen der beiden in eine gemeinsame Situation gebrachten Tiere, des schnellen Vogels und des langsamen Reptils, ein deutlicher Weg zu dem beliebten Auskunftsmittel der Wette gewiesen ist. Wenn der Indianer nun obendrein einen Wesensunterschied zwischen Tier und Mensch nicht kennt, so stösst die Lösung des Problems mit Hülfe des menschlichen Wettens und des menschlichen Proviantkorbs nicht auf die geringste Schwierigkeit, zumal die Geschichte in der berühmten alten Zeit spielt, wo es anders war als heute. Der Proviantkorb des Indianers, der die Schildkröte zum Himmel bringt, ist gerade so berechtigt, wie unser Aether, in dessen Wellen sich das Himmelslicht fortpflanzt. Wenn wir durchaus unser Kausalbedürfnis befriedigen wollen, so müssen wir in den beiden Fällen, jeder auf seiner Stufe, uns ein Transportmittel schaffen, dessen Eigenschaften der Erklärung angepasst werden.

Gestirne. Der Indianer betrachtet die Figuren am Himmel und sieht in ihnen Dinge, die er kennt. Der »früher so nahe« Himmel ist jetzt sehr, sehr hoch. Nur Vögel, die lange fliegen, können vielleicht dorthin gelangen; der Medizinmann ist dort im Augenblick, für ihn ist er »nicht höher als ein Haus«. Die Eigenschaften des Feuers werden himmlischen Körpern nicht zuerkannt. Die Sonne ist ein grosser Ball von Federn des roten Arara und des Tukan, dessen Gefieder ebenfalls prachtiges Orange und Rot aufweist, der Mond ein Ball von den gelben Schwanzfedern des Webervogels (Cassicus, Japú), die der Bakairi in

*) Barbosa Rodrigues, Poranduba Amazonense. Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional, Bd. XIV, 1 Seite III. Rio de Janeiro, 1890.

Ohr trägt. Die Sonne wird am Abend mit einem grünen Topf zugedeckt, der am Morgen wieder gelüftet wird. Ich lasse die Person, die das besorgt, noch beiseite; sie ist auch höchst gleichgültige Zuthat oder Ergänzung bei dem Anfang der Entwickelung, denn wenn die Sonne ein Federball ist, und dieser Federball eine Zeitlang verschwindet, so ist es eben selbstverständlich, dass jemand ihn so lange bedeckt, ob nun mit einem Topf, wie die Bakairi behaupten, oder dadurch, dass sie in einen Kürbis gelegt wird, wie die Parewi meinen.

In der Regenzeit, wo die Tage lang sind, wird die Sonne von einer Schnecke (Bulimus), in der Trockenzeit, wo sie kurz sind, von einem Kolibri getragen; bekanntlich ist der Flügelschlag dieses Vögleins so schnell, dass ihn das Auge nicht zu folgen vermag. Während der Nächte ist der Dienst der Tiere umgekehrt, in der Regenzeit schleppt das Kolibri und in der Trockenzeit die Schnecke den zugedeckten Sonnenball an den alten Ort zurück. Für die Phasen des Mondes geht der Bakairi vom Vollmond aus, wo wir den Ball ganz sehen. Zuerst kommt eine Eidechse, die wir den Rand entlang bemerken, um ihn mitzunehmen, am zweiten Tage ein gewöhnliches Gürteltier und dann ein Riesengürteltier, dessen dicker Körper uns die gelben Federn bald ganz verbirgt. Es ist zu bemerken, dass die Gürteltiere oder Tatús eine gewölbte Form haben, Nachttiere sind und bei Mondschein gejagt werden.

Die Eklipsen werden ähnlich erklärt. Aber Antonio fasste die Erscheinung keineswegs als gesetzmässige auf und erklärte sie von Fall zu Fall. So hat sich einmal, als er noch klein war, am Paranatinga ein Zauberer in einen Anú, einen blauschwarzen Vogel (Crotophaga), verwandelt und mit den Flügeln die Sonne eine Zeitlang verdeckt. Am 28. Januar 1888 war eine Mondfinsterniss, auf die ich Antonio aufmerksam machte. Er kam jedoch, durch meine Vorhersage der Ueberraschung beraubt, mit seiner gewöhnlichen Erklärung aus, dass die Eidechse und die Tatús an der Arbeit waren. Ich liess ihn den Mond durch ein Opernglas betrachten und wollte Auskunft über die Berge haben. »Es ist ein bischen Schmutz von dem Tatú zurückgeblieben«, antwortete er. So kam mit dem Graben und Wühlen ein neuer Umstand hinzu, der die alten Bakairi veranlasste, die gewölbte Form des unbeleuchteten Teils gerade für das Gürteltier anzusehen.

In diesen Erklärungen liegt jedoch ein entschiedener Widerspruch zu den Anschauungen des karaibischen Grundvolks, die uns durch die Wörter für Sonne überliefert wird*), und in gleicher Weise widersprechen die Erklärungen der heutigen Parcesi, die auch die Federn und die Gürteltiere haben, den bei dem Grundvolk der Nu-Aruak vorauszusetzenden Anschauungen. Die Wörter für »Feuer« und »Sonne« haben gleiche Wurzeln und sind teilweise nur durch Reduplikation unterschieden oder auch von einem Stamm zum andern sogar identisch. Man muss also bei der Wortbildung von den Eigenschaften der Sonne zuerst Wärme und Licht aufgefasst haben. Auch ist der Topf, mit dem die Bakairi die Sonne

*) Vgl. »Bakairi-Grammatik«, die Tabelle für »Feuer, Sonne, Holz, Baum«, p. 278 und p. 279 bis 281, sowie »Durch Centralbrasilien«, p. 306.

Nacht» bedecken lassen, noch eine Anlehnung an den Herd, und er beweist uns, da die Bakairi früher keine Töpfe hatten, die verhältnismäßig späte Ausstattung der Hypothese. Ich warf Antonio bescheidentlich ein, »aber die Sonne ist doch heiss und Federn sind es nicht?« Ein Einwurf, den ich kaum dann er dem Munde entflohen war, auch bitter bereute. Denn das Gemüt Antonio's, der klug genug war, den Widerspruch, sobald er ihm gezeigt wurde, auch zu empfinden, war sichtlich verletzt. »Es kann sein«, erklärte er endlich verdrossen, »dass später durch Verzauberung Feuer hinzugekommen ist; früher war keins da«. Darin irrt er also. Die Hitze ist nicht, wie Antonio meint, hinzu, sondern im Gegenteil weggezaubert worden. Allein die heutige Bakairi-Wissenschaft wurzelt in der Anschauung, dass Sonne und Mond Federbälle sind, und liefert uns, wann immer und wo immer sie entstanden sein mag, ein gutes Beispiel, um das Denken der Indianer zu verstehen.

Dass ein Ding aussieht wie ein anderes, mehr vertrautes, genügt für die Erklärung. Die Sonne ist ein Federball in dem Augenblick, wo man findet, dass sie dem ähnlicher sei als einem lodernden Feuer. Sei der Schluss ein Analogieschluss, er hat auf dieser Stufe volle überzeugende Kraft, und die weiteren Erklärungen über das Dunkelwerden und den Lauf am Himmel entwickeln sich, von der aus gegebenen Anregung aus, organisch. Wir sagen, da oben können keine Tiere sein, also sind die Himmelskörper auch keine Tiere, der Bakairi dagegen sieht die Tiere oder die Federn und fragt nicht, ob sie da sind, sondern nur, wie sie hingekommen sind.

Ueber die Kometen erhielt ich keine Auskunft; nur meinte Antonio geringschätzig: »den Portugiesen (nur so werden die Brasilier genannt) sollen sie Böses thun, den Bakairi thun sie Nichts«. Von Planeten bekam ich nur den Namen für Venus, der nicht zu übersetzen war.

Antonio wusste am Himmel ausgezeichnet Bescheid. Er begriff auch die Weise meiner Sternkarte ohne Mühe. Als ich ihm das erste Mal einige Konstellationen gezeigt hatte, gingen wir hinaus und suchten sie am Himmel auf. Wir kehrten in das Zimmer zurück und sofort fand er den Sirius auf der Karte wieder. Dieser wird mit dem Orion, dem Aldebaran und den Plejaden als eine zusammengehörige Gruppe aufgefasst. Der Orion ist ein grosses Gestell, auf dem Manioka getrocknet wird, die grösseren Sterne sind die Pfostenköpfe, und so bezeichnet der Sirius das Ende eines grossen Querbalkens, durch den das Gestell von der Seite her gehalten wird. Die Plejaden, offenbar der Ausgangspunkt der ganzen Auffassung, sind ein Haufen beiseite gefallener Mehlkörner, ein dickerer Klumpen der »Vater des Haufens«, ist der Aldebaran. »Es giebt am Himmel Manioka Pflanzungen, Wald, Alles, Alles.« Auch Festschmuck. Capella ist eine kleine Hütte wie sie die Bakairi im Ohr tragen, um vorn eine Feder hineinzustecken, zwei andere Sterne des Fuhrmanns sind die Hütten der Kayabi, deren Federn nach hinten gesteckt werden. Ein Stern, unsicher, welcher, aber wie mir schien Prokyon, ist ein Ohrlochbohrer oder richtiger wohl das von ihm gebohrte Loch. Die Zwilling

sind die Löcher einer grossen Flöte. Der Canopus hatte keinen Namen. Das südliche Kreuz war eine Vogelschlinge an einer Gerte und die beiden grossen Sterne des Centaur stellten zwei dazu gehörige Stöckchen dar. Mit der Schlinge war ein Mutum cavallo (Crax) gefangen worden, den man in einer dunkeln Stelle der Milchstrasse näheber erkennt; wieder löst eine Anregung die andere aus und das Eine und das Andere bestätigen sich gegenseitig. Auch steht nicht fern, ungefähr den Sternen der Fliegenden Fische und der Argo entsprechend, ein Sokko-Reiher mit einem Körbchen voller Fischchen: Lambari, Trahira, Jejum. Der Skorpion ist ein Tragnetz für Kinder.

Weitaus die meiste Aufmerksamkeit hatte entschieden die Milchstrasse mit ihren lichten und dunklen Teilen erregt und sie scheint geradezu neben Sonne und Mond die Hauptmasse des Rohstoffs für die ganze Sagenbildung geliefert zu haben. Während die Sterne Körner, Löcher, Netzknoten, Pflöcke und Pfostenenden sind, erscheinen hier auch Tiergestalten wie das erwähnte Mutumgahn und der Sokkoreiher. Die Milchstrasse selbst ist ein mächtiger Trommelbaum, der am Boden liegt, »so wie der in dritten Dorf am Kulischu«, auf dem auch oben zum Fest getrommelt wurde; seine Wurzeln sieht man im Süden auseinanderlaufen. Keri und Kame, die beiden Kulturheroen, von denen die Bakairi ihre Festtanze gelernt haben, vollbrachten alle ihre Jugendthaten, die uns noch beschäftigen werden, in der Nähe dieses »Sata«-Baumes. Im Zenith befindet sich das dunkle Loch, das man nur in den klarsten Nächten sieht, wo der Königgeier, der den Federball der Sonne in den Klauen trug, hervorkam, durch das auch der von Christus bewirtete Medizinmann (vgl. S. 346) wieder zur Erde flog. Die sternleere Stelle im Osten des Kreuzes, der Kohlensack, ist das Loch, das Keri und Kame gegraben haben, um zuzuschauen, wie ihre tote Grossmutter Mero verbrannt wurde. Sie hatten das Feuer — man sieht es noch jetzt in der grossen Magelhães'schen Wolke — selbst angelegt, während ein anderes, die kleine Magelhães'sche Wolke, durch ihre Unvorsichtigkeit entstand, wie ich näher angeben werde. Namentlich Keri ist der Held aller der Geschichten, er hat den Mutung mit der Vogelschlinge gefangen, er hat den Königgeier des Sonnenballs beraubt, indem er die Gestalt eines Tapirs annahm, dessen dunkle Formen man noch jetzt in dem Argo-Teil der Milchstrasse deutlich unterscheidet. Neben dem Tapir erblickt man ferner einen Jaguar und einen Ameisenbär der Sage. Man braucht in der That nicht Indianer zu sein, um die Tiere zu bemerken; besonders den Tapir habe auch ich genau wiedererkannt.

Dass der Fingerbovenz dort oben ganz vorwiegend Tiere sieht, geschieht aus demselben Grunde, weshalb er sie hier unten in allen möglichen Dingen sieht, die ihn nur durch irgend ein kleines Merkmal an irgend ein Tier erinnern; er kann gar nicht anders, weil er hauptsächlich nach seinen Jagerinnerungen apperzipiert. Dass die Tiere und Dinge am Himmel ein anderes Aussehen haben als die Originale auf Erden, nach denen sie benannt sind, ist ihm aber nicht ent-

gangen. Es sind nur Figuren. Und dennoch sind sie auch wieder mehr. Denn mögen sie auch irgendwann gemacht sein, als Kunstwerke wie seine Tierschemel oder Sandzeichnungen kann er sie nicht auffassen, weil sie sich bewegen und inmitten eines höchst wechselvollen Treibens von Wind, Wolken und Wetter befinden, das sich selbständig, ohne dass man irgend einen Menschen sieht, abspielt. Sie müssen verzaubert sein.

Um so mehr, als man auf andern Wege zu gleichem Ergebnis gelangt. Sie sind notwendig die ältesten Tiere und Dinge, die es giebt. Jedes frühere Geschlecht, was es auch von ihnen dachte, hat sie ebenso fertig gesehen wie die Gegenwart, während nach aller heutigen und früheren Erfahrung die Flüsse und Bäume und Bewohner der Erde aller Art erst klein sind und dann gross werden. Nun sind die sämtlichen Vorfahren verschwunden, es verschwinden Jahr aus, Jahr ein immer wieder solche, die sterben — wo sollen die ältesten Leute anders sein als bei den ältesten Dingen? Sterben aber ist verhext und verwandelt werden, wie sich der Medizinmann, der Gift nimmt und stirbt, in beliebige Tiergestalt verwandelt. Ergo haben wir da oben die verzauberten ältesten Leute und Dinge. Der Federball, der Geier, der Jaguar, der Tapir beweisen dem Indianer Thaten der ältesten Medizinmänner. Zum vollen logischen Abschluss wurde nur noch gehören, dass er in jedem Traum einen verzauberten Zustand erblickte.

Wie der verbindende Text der Sagen, ehe noch eine verblasste historische Tradition besondern Stoff liefert, zu Stande kommt, habe ich bereits an den Märchen von Geier und Schildkröte besprochen. »An Material fehlt es nicht, da die verschiedenen Tiere und Dinge, die man dort oben nebeneinander sieht, nach ihren Eigenschaften mannigfaltige Einfälle, die ihr Zusammensein erklären, anregen müssen. So berichtet die Sage, dass der Königsgeier, ehe ihm Keri die Sonne wegnahm, mit ihr in dem dunkeln Loch der Milchstrasse erschien und dann am Himmel umherflog. Nun, die Sonne wird als ein Federball apperzipiert, sie erreicht am Tage die höchsten Höhen des Himmels, wo man Nachts ein dunkles Loch erblickt, und der »rote Urubu« oder prachtvoll gefärbte Königsgeier, »der Fürst und Beherrscher seiner Sippschaft (Brehm)« ist dort der auffallendste Bürger im Reich der Luft — ist dieser Stoff gesammelt, so bedarf es nur der neugierigen Frage und die Verknüpfung kann nicht ausbleiben. Mit dem Mond giebt man sich nicht viel Mühe. Er war »zuerst mit der Sonne zusammen«; später teilten sich Keri und Kame in die Federn.

Von fünf Sternen im Perseus erhielt ich folgende Geschichte. Das Riesengürteltier — wir haben gesehen, dass es als grösstes, der Schmutz hinterlassenden, kugligen Tatüs den Mond zuletzt bedeckt — traf Keri auf seinem Wege. Es trug einen Korb mit Pikifrüchten, gab Keri davon und ging. Keri rief ihm nach, es hielt an, gab Keri noch einmal und sagte: »mehr gebe ich nicht.« Da packte er das Tatü, die Früchte rollten umher, und das Tatü wühlte sich in den Boden. Keri machte sich Klauen aus Jatobahaarz und grub es aus. Es wühlte sich wieder

ein, er grub es wieder aus. Das geschah im Ganzen fünf mal und die fünf Löcher sind die fünf Sterne. Da haben wir also nur eine Begegnung zwischen Keri und dem schon gegebenen Tatú, wir wissen ferner von der Flöte (Zwillinge), dass Sterne als Löcher aufgefasst werden, was ist natürlicher als dass das Tatú, bekannt wegen seines schnellen Einwühlens, sobald es dem Verfolger entwischt, eine Gruppe jener Sternlöcher gemacht hat. Es fehlte nur der Streit, um das Spiel vom Entwischen und Verfolgen zu begründen, und der »Zankapfel«, wofür wieder die beliebteste Frucht gewählt ist, die rund ist und ein buttergelbes Fleisch hat, aber auch irgend eine andere hätte gewählt werden können. Kurz, die Geschichte entsteht ohne grosse Erfindungsgabe, indem zwischen den Eigenschaften eines der durch die natürliche Anregung dargebotenen Himmelstiere und einer geeigneten Sterngruppe, die dem forschenden Sinn auffällt, die Verbindung hergestellt wird. Nun lautet der Name »das Riesengürteltier kommt heraus«. Es muss nur das Interesse da sein, das die Frage erzeugt, und die erklärenden Einfälle sind unvermeidlich.

Die eine Generation mag diesen, die andere jenen beigesteuert haben. Die Analyse bis in die letzten Einzelheiten zu verfolgen, ist schlechterdings schon deshalb unmöglich, weil das Vergleichsmaterial mit anderen karaibischen Stämmen sehr gering ist.

Verwandlung. Ein grosser Teil der Naturerklärung der Bakairi beruht auf der Voraussetzung des Hexens. Sie haben keine Entwicklung, sondern nur Verwandlung. Diese findet auf zwei Arten statt.

Die erste ist die, dass ein Toter angeblasen und lebendig wird, oder auch, dass ein Ding angeblasen und lebendig wird. Dem Toten wird der Atem, der ihm fehlt, zurückgegeben, dem Ding wird erst Atem und damit Leben mitgeteilt. Dieses aus dem natürlichsten Belebungsversuch hervorgegangene Blasen und das Tabakblasen des modernen Medizinmanns dürfen nicht verwechselt werden. Die schwachen Neugeborenen in Maigéri (vgl. S. 335), für deren Leben man fürchtete, wurden Tag und Nacht angeblasen, aber nicht mit Tabak. Erst in der Praxis sind die beiden Methoden in einander übergegangen. Zu dem Rauchen des Arztes — was nur, wie wir gesehen haben (vgl. S. 345), die leichteste und angenehmste der verschiedenen, sonst durch Trinken zu Stande kommenden Arten von Narkose ist, in deren Anwendung seine Kunst begründet erscheint, — ist das Anblasen des Patienten mit dem Tabaksqualm erst durch Uebertragung hinzugetreten. Längst hat man vielleicht vergessen, dass man mit dem Blasen den Atem einhauchen wollte. Aber belebt werden Tote und Dinge in den Legenden stets durch einfaches, aber auch unerlässliches Anblasen und der Bakairi übersetzt *epekeni* blasen in das Portugiesische zuweilen mit *rezar* beten, segnen, während er gewöhnlich *sopra* blasen oder *soprar* anblasen gebraucht, wie auch das zu *epekeni* zugehörige Substantiv *epekéu* Wind heisst.

Wenn ich nun gesagt habe, die Dinge werden durch Blasen lebendig oder belebt, so ist das bei genauerem Zusehen ein recht unzutreffender Ausdruck. Der

Zauberer leistet weit mehr, als dass er ihnen eine »Seele« oder wie dem Toten »Leben« einhauchte. Wir lernen dies an dem wichtigsten Beispiel, dass Menschen aus Dingen gemacht werden: Männer aus Pfeilen, Frauen aus Maisstampfern, nachdem zuerst die nötigen Pfeile und Stampfer aus Rohr und Holz geschnitzt sind. Die Bakairi sind zwar immer da gewesen, aber wenn Mangel an ihnen eintrat, machte der Kulturheros neue, indem er aus Ubärohr Pfeile verfertigte, sie in den Boden steckend aufrecht stellte und anblies. Ebenso sind die andern Stämme je aus dem Pfeilrohr gemacht worden, das sie heute noch führen und das sie also heute noch unterscheidet; der Europäer ist aus einem dem Schaft der Flinte ähnlichen Holz gemacht worden. Die grundlegende Beobachtung, die später, wie immer, als die Bestätigung für den erzählten Hergang gilt, ist die, dass sich die Stämme durch ihre Pfeile unterscheiden. Der Pfeil ist ferner das charakteristische Merkmal des Mannes. Die Frauen dagegen entstehen, indem Maisstampfer geschnitzt, aufrecht an den Mörser gestellt werden und durch Anblasen den Lebenshauch gewinnen; die aus gutem Holz geschnitzten fangen sofort an zu arbeiten, andere faulenzen.

Weder Pfeilen noch Stampfern wird eine »Seele« mitgeteilt, sondern die ganze »Person«. Wenn der Zauberer fertig ist, steht der Mann neben seinem Pfeil, die Frau neben ihrem Stampfer. Ganz geheuer scheint dem Erzähler selbst bei dem Vorgang nicht zu sein; denn der Zauberer, sobald er geblasen hat, »geht ein wenig beiseite« und findet die Männer oder Frauen bei seiner Rückkehr fertig. Ein Insekt, das durch Mimikry das Aussehen eines Jatobäblattes erhalten hat und von den Bakairi »Jatobäblatt« genannt wird, ist durch Anblasen des Blattes entstanden; wir können sagen, »es ist lebendig geworden« oder nennen es ein »wandelndes Blatt«. Es wird zu dem bereits vorhandenen Rohr, Holz, Blatt die Person hinzugeliefert.

Ich meine, diese Fälle seien wesentlich von denen verschieden, wo in den Legenden Dinge »personifiziert« werden, das heisst ebenso sprechen und handeln wie Tier und Menschen. Die herabfallende Schildkröte der Amazonassage sieht einen Felsblock in ihrer Fallrichtung und ruft ihm zu: »mach', dass Du wegkommst!« Gehorsam entfernt sich der Stein und sie fällt auf weichen Boden. Der Stein, der ihre Worte versteht, hätte auch etwas antworten können. Keri streitet sich mit dem Himmel herum und geht erzürnt mit seinen Leuten auf die Erde hinüber, wo die Bakairi deshalb heute wohnen. Der Wind wird gerufen, einen Baum umzureissen. Hier wird nicht geblasen oder gezaubert. Der Erzähler lässt die Dinge hören, sprechen, um auszudrücken, dass sie irgend etwas wollen oder nicht wollen, gefügig sind oder sich widersetzen, und braucht sich nicht darüber klar zu sein, wie wir es sind, dass er ihnen damit eine »Seele« zuschreibt. »Wie konnte denn der Himmel sprechen?« »Ich weiss es nicht, damals hat er gesprochen.« Mehr war von Antonio nicht zu erfahren. Wenn heute im alltäglichen Leben ein Ding plötzlich Schaden anstiftet, so ist das Schuld eines bösen Zauberers, während ein Tier aus sich selbst heraus handelt.

Die zweite Art der Verwandlung ist die des Zauberers selbst in eine beliebige Tiergestalt. Wie er das macht, scheint man nicht zu wissen. Er wird aber nicht eigentlich das Tier selbst, er geht stets in das Tier hinein und steckt stets in dem Tier, ja er kann in dem Fusse eines Tapirs sein und den Geier packen. Tritt nun die »Seele« aus der einen Person in die andere hinein? Allein dann dürfen wir wenigstens nicht fragen, weder, wo die Seele des Tieres noch wo der Körper des Kulturheros bleibt, noch ob der »Schatten«, der ja bei dem modernen in der Hängematte liegenden, narkotisierten Medizinmann für die Verwandlung in Jaguar oder Schlangen den Körper verlässt, vorher »im Innern« des Medizinmanns war, noch ob der Schatten in das Innere eines Tieres geraten kann — ich glaube, wir thun leicht des Guten ein wenig zu viel, wenn wir von dem Treiben der »Seele« bei den Naturvölkern reden. Ich wenigstens habe nur den Eindruck gewonnen, dass die Indianer betreffs der »Seele« bald an den Schatten, bald an den Atem denken, sich aber über alle genaueren Einzelheiten gar keine Rechenschaft geben, sondern immer die Vorstellung der ganzen »leibhaftigen« Persönlichkeit behalten. Am nächsten, scheint mir, kommt man dem richtigen Verhältnis, wenn man sich den Zauberer in einem Tier ungefähr so veranschaulicht, wie den Indianer in einer Tiermaske, der nun z. B. eine Taube ist und sich in Stimme und Bewegung wie eine Taube geberdet, dennoch aber der Stammgenosse N. N. bleibt und so, obwohl er ein Vogel ist, eine Kürbisschale mit Pogu bei den Frauen holen kann.

Keri und Kame und die Ahnensage. Die allgemeine Grundlage der Weltanschauung des Bakairi ist sein Verhältnis zum Tierleben. Sie aber vorausgesetzt, könnte man sagen, dass seine Wissenschaft und Poesie himmlischen Ursprungs ist. Die ältesten Bakairi lebten im Himmel; das wird uns bewiesen durch Alles, was wir von Sonne und Mond wissen, und Alles, was wir dort oben sehen, die Figuren der Milchstrasse, die sternleeren Stellen und die leuchtenden Magelhäesschen Wolken. Merkwürdiger Weise war von Vorstellungen, die bei andern Völkern in ähnlichem Sinn fruchtbar sind, über Gewitter, Sturm, Wolken, Regen Nichts zu erfahren. Es machte den Eindruck, als ob die Meteorologie noch ganz unbearbeitet sei. Immer blieben es die astronomischen Himmelstiere, zu denen die Personen der Ahnensage hinzutraten. In den Erinnerungen des Stammes fliesst die zweite Hauptquelle des Sagenstoffes, aber die beiden Zuflüsse mischen sich so innig, dass es kaum möglich ist zu unterscheiden, was von dem einen und was von dem andern ursprünglich geliefert ist. Der Jaguar, hinter dem sich ein kannibalischer Nachbarstamm der alten Zeit verbirgt, ist mit dem Jaguar der Milchstrasse eins geworden und die zoologischen Varietäten der Jaguarfamilie stehen obendrein als eine Anzahl von Brüdern zur Verfügung.

Dass fremdem, und zwar aruakischem Einfluss eine bedeutende Rolle zugefallen ist, geht aus den Namen Keri und Kame hervor. Es sind die Namen für Mond und Sonne der Nu-Aruakstämme, sie sind gar keine karaibischen

Wörter *). Ein Zufall ist völlig ausgeschlossen, weil die beiden Namen immer zusammengehen, sowohl als Mond und Sonne bei den Nu-Aruak wie in der Bakairí-Legende, wo die beiden Helden Zwillinge sind. Nur ist *kéri* Mond und *kúme*, *kúmu* Sonne, während in der Bakairí-Legende Keri die Hauptperson ist, Kame gewöhnlich den »Dummen« spielt, und Keri die Sonne, Kame den Mond zuerteilt bekommt. Endlich scheint auch in der ältesten Person der Legende, in Kamuschiai, das *kumu*, Sonne enthalten zu sein. Es ist ein wichtiger Umstand, dass die Tradition mit Vorliebe von den Frauen fortgepflanzt wird. Antonio hatte alle Sagen von seiner Mutter und erklärte mir, so sei es die Regel. Dann ist eine fortwährende Differenzierung notwendig vorauszusetzen, denn fremde Frauen sind im Lauf der Zeiten zahlreich in den Bakairístamm aufgenommen worden. Keri erscheint in der Legende als der Kulturheros der Bakairí, Kame als derjenige der Arinosstämme. Der alte Caetano bezeichnete die Beiden auch schlechthin mit den Bakairíwörtern für Sonne und Mond in der Form von Eigennamen: Tschischi und Nuna. Es war drollig genug, wenn er in Bakairí sagte: »Keri nahm *tschischi*«, und in Portugiesisch: »Tschischi tomou o *sol*.«

Mit den beiden Brüdern gelangen wir allmählich zu dem andern Ende der Schöpfungslegende, dem Ausgang in die eigentliche Ahnensage oder Stammesgeschichte. Nachdem die Vorgänge im Himmel zu Ende geführt sind, das heisst, nachdem Keri und Kame geboren und erzogen sind und ihre Thaten vollbracht haben, denen der Besitz des Tageslichtes, des Tausches von Himmel und Erde, des Schlafes, des Feuers, der Flüsse zu verdanken ist, kommen sie zum Paranatinga, beziehen den alten Sitz der Bakairí am Salto, machen aus Pfeilen verschiedene Stämme, lehren Festtänze, verschaffen Tabak, Mandioka u. dergl. mehr, und ziehen endlich von dannen, um nicht wiederzukehren. Wo hört hier die reine Legende auf und beginnt die Geschichte, von der in den Angaben über die Flüsse, über das Verhältnis zu anderen Stämmen und über die Herkunft der Kulturgewächse doch einiges Thatsächliche erhalten sein sollte? Ja, die Kayabí treten auf, als es noch Nacht ist auf Erden, ehe die Sonne von Keri geholt worden ist!

Ich wäre froh, wenn ich die Frage nur einigermassen befriedigend beantworten könnte. Antonio wusste mir die Namen seiner Vorfahren bis zum Ururgrossvater Mariukara aufzuzählen, der nahe am Salto des Paranatinga gewohnt haben soll; das würde, die Generation zu 30 Jahren gerechnet, bis vor die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts zurückgehen. Nehmen wir die Zuverlässigkeit der Mitteilung an, so hätten wir, was bei einem schriftlosen und nicht mit besonderen Trägern der Tradition versehenen Stamm auch die natürliche Grenze sein dürfte, eine mündliche Ueberlieferung persönlich bis zum Grossvater; und da dieser ebenso

*) Vgl. Bakairí-Grammatik p. 57. Die Inselkaraiben haben eine gute »Gottheit« *ischeiri*, was sich lautlich mit *keri* kaum vereinigen lässt; wenn ein Zusammenhang besteht und *ischeiri* altkaraibisch ist, möchte man lieber denken, dass das Bakairíwort mit dem Aruakwort zusammengefallen wäre.

von seinem Grosvater noch belehrt sein konnte, mittelbar bis zum Grossvater des Grossvaters zurück. Geben wir, der verschiedenen Lebenszeiten gedenkend, auch noch zwei Generationen mehr zu, so wird das Aeusserste von Glaubwürdigkeit zugestanden sein. Keiner unserer Indianer zweifelt daran, dass wir mit diesen Ahnen bei der Zeit anlangen, wo Keri und Kame die Sonne holten. Bakairi hat es zwar vorher schon gegeben und auch Kayabí waren bereits vorhanden, ehe der Himmel mit der Erde vertauscht wurde. So geneigt ich bin, von den guten Bakairi das Beste zu denken, so meine ich nach allem, dass wir ihnen völlig gerecht werden, wenn wir sie seit undenklich langer Zeit am Paranatinga sitzen und sie dort die Kenntnis von Mandioka und Tabak gewinnen lassen.

Sind nun Keri und Kame die Namen zweier bestimmten Häuptlinge, die vor einigen Jahrhunderten wirklich gelebt haben und denen man nun mit Uebertreibung das Verdienst zuschreibt, den Lauf der Sonne geregelt und den Bakairi und ihren Nachbarn Schlaf, Feuer, Flüsse u. s. w. verschafft zu haben? Die Geschichte unserer seit Jahrhunderten als grosse Familien dahinlebenden Jägerstämme ist sehr wenig geeignet, Persönlichkeiten zu erzeugen, deren Namen nicht vergessen werden könnten. Aber hiervon abgesehen, wäre nur der eine Name »Mond« vorhanden, so möchte man noch an einen wirklichen Vorfahren dieses Namens denken können, aber dass wir nun gerade zwei mit dem Namen »Sonne« und »Mond« voraussetzen, sollen, ist etwas viel verlangt.

Können wir denn Keri und Kame nicht für eine Personifikation von Sonne und Mond halten? Allein sie waren nicht Mond und Sonne oder Federbälle, sondern hiessen nur so; die Himmelskörper Sonne und Mond sind nicht aus Bakairiknochen entstanden. Nun, die ältesten Dinge und die ältesten Menschen gehören zusammen; der Stammvater ist der natürliche Besitzer der Sonne. Mag ich ihn, um seinen Ursprung zu erklären, aus irgend einem Material hervorgehen und ihn beleben lassen, zu personifizieren ist da nichts, sondern nur zu benennen. Die Person wird von dem geschichtlich ganz unbekannten, aber sicher vorauszusetzenden Begründer des Stammes ganz von selbst geliefert; es fragt sich also nur, woher der Name genommen wird.

Es ist in erster Linie zu erwägen, ob die Namen nicht einen geographischen Sinn haben. Orientieren wir uns! Die Töpferstämme des Kulisehu sind in unsern Breiten die östlichsten Vorposten der Nu-Aruak. Das mächtige Gros sitzt im Westen von dem Arinos, dem Nebenfluss des Tapajoz. Hier haben wir zunächst im Quellgebiet des Arinos und Juruena die früher zahlreiche, aus vielen einzelnen Stämmen vereinigte Paressígruppe, von denen wir wissen, dass sie sich heute südwärts verschoben haben. Weiter nach Westen sind gewaltige Gebiete von Nu-Aruak besetzt. Die Paressí, die uns in Cuyabá besuchten, nannten die Sonne *kamii* und den Arinos als den Fluss in Sonnenaufgang, der ihr Gebiet östlich begrenzte, *kame-uhina* = Sonnen-Fluss. Doch kann es irgend ein anderer Stamm der Paressígruppe, es können durchaus auch Vorfahren der heute

2: Steinen SP7 Bacairi

bis zum Kulisehu nach Osten vorgeschobenen Mehinakústämme*) gewesen sein, von denen die Anregung für die Bakaïrí in jetzt längst entschwundener Zeit ausgegangen ist, es ist möglich, dass der Stamm, dessen Frauen einst die Bakaïrí-Tradition so stark beeinflusst haben, längst nicht mehr in einer selbständigen Form existiert — alle diese Einzelheiten sind nicht festzustellnn. Aber es kommt auch wenig darauf an. Freilich, dass der Arinos bei den Paressí Sonnen-, Kame- oder Ostfluss heisst, könnte von Bedeutung sein. Denn die Stämme, die der Heros Kame nach Angabe der Bakaïrí gemacht hat, sind »toda gente de Arinos,« »die sämtlichen Leute des Arinos!« Es wurden aufgezählt die Paressí, Apiaká, Mundurukú, Suyá (früher am Arinos), Maué (am Tapajoz). Keri dagegen hat gemacht »Bakaïrí, Mehinakú, Nahuquá, Bororó, Kayapó, Kayabí, das heisst die östlich und südlich vom Arinos wohnenden Stämme. Die Teilung hat nicht das Geringste mit einer Unterscheidung nach Sprachen zu thun, es finden sich Nu-Aruak und Gés auf beiden Seiten, sie umfasst zwei grosse, räumlich zusammengehörige Gruppen, die keineswegs streng westlich-östlich gelagert sind; die eine enthält West-, Nordwest- und Nordstämme vom Standpunkt der Bakaïrí, die andere Ost-, Südost- und Südstämme. Aber die Hauptvertreter der beiden Gruppen, die Bakaïrí und die Paressí wohnen in der That so, dass jene östlich von diesen leben. Wir haben somit das folgende Verhältnis: 1. Kame = Nu-Aruak »Sonne«, dagegen bei den Bakaïrí Heros zweiten Ranges und Herr des Mondes, ist der Stammvater der westlichen und nördlichen Stämme und 2. Keri = Nu-Aruak »Mond«, dagegen bei den Bakaïrí auf das Stärkste bevorzugter Heros und Herr der Sonne, ist der Stammvater der östlichen und südlichen Stämme.

Hier möchte ich ein interessantes Beispiel heranziehen, das sich bei Alexander von Humboldt**) findet. In der Nähe von Maipure, dem nach dem Namen eines Nu-Aruakstammes benannten Ort, stehen zwei Felsen in den Katarakten des Orinoko, von denen der eine »der sogenannte Keri oder Mondfelsen«, wegen eines weissen, weithin glänzenden Flecks, wahrscheinlich eines Quarzknotens, berühmt ist, »in dem die Eingeborenen ein Bild des Vollmonds sehen wollen»; gegenüber wird auf einem andern Felsen ein ähnlicher weisser Fleck »mit geheimnisvoller Wichtigkeit« gezeigt, er »ist scheibenförmig, und, sie sagen, es sei das Bild der Sonne, Camosi«. »Vielleicht hat die geographische Lage dieser beiden Dinge Veranlassung gegeben, sie so zu benennen; Keri liegt gegen Untergang, Camosi gegen Aufgang.« Es wird nicht angegeben, ob nicht auch die eine Scheibe grösser ist als die andere, aber es ist richtig, wenn zwei gleiche Scheiben Mond und Sonne darstellen sollen, so wird man der in Sonnenaufgang das Bild der Sonne zuweisen und somit der andern das des Mondes, obwohl der Westen an und für sich nicht mehr mit dem Mond zu thun

*) Gerade sie haben »Sonne« und »Mond in der unveränderten Form „*kame*" und „*keri*", während die Paressí von Diamantino, was freilich für die in zahlreiche Unterstämme zersplitterten alten Paressí nicht viel bedeuten will, *kamai* Sonne, aber *kayõ* Mond hatten.

**) Reise in die Aequinoktial-Gegenden, III. p. 173.

haf als mit der Sonne. So könnte es ja auch geschehen, dass, wenn von zwei ost-westlich gelagerten Gruppen von Stammen die eine östliche die der Sonne genannt wird, die andere die des Mondes genannt würde.

Leider geraten wir aber in unserm Fall mit dem gleichen Schluss in eitel Verwirrung. Vom Standpunkt der alten westlichen Nu-Aruak, denen der Arinos der Ost- und Sonnenfluss war, wohnten die Keristämme noch mehr nach Osten als die Kame-Arinosstämme. Vom Standpunkt der Bakairí wohnten die Kamestämme gerade westlich und die Keristämme östlich. Die Bedeutung der Himmelsrichtungen wäre also vertauscht.

Lassen wir aber die Richtungen vorläufig beiseite und versetzen wir uns einmal in die Situation, als die Mythen entstanden! Es war ein alter Verkehr vorhanden, es vollzog sich gelegentlich auch eine engere Vereinigung von Nu-Aruak und Bakairí. Das muss geschehen sein, wenn die Namen Keri und Kame in das Bakairi aufgenommen wurden. Die beiden Elemente fühlten sich deshalb brüderlich verwandt und führten ihre Geschichte auf zwei Brüder zurück, die in ältester Zeit zusammen lebten. Die beiden Brüder haben ihren Stämmen Alles Gute verschafft, dessen sie sich heute erfreuen. Bevor sie dies aber auf Erden vollbringen konnten, müssen sie im Himmel gewohnt haben, der älteren Welt, die wir mit allen ihren verzauberten Tieren und Dingen erhalten sehen. Dort sind sie geboren und haben mit den dort sichtbaren Tieren die Geschichten erlebt, die damals passiert sein müssen, damit es so aussieht, wie es jetzt aussieht. Die Beiden haben auch die Federbälle Sonne und Mond unter den Topf oder in die Kuye gelegt, in denen sie jetzt noch immer eine Zeitlang verdeckt sind. Sie haben dafür gesorgt, dass Tag und Nacht richtig abwechseln, damit wir immer regelmässig unsere Schlafenszeit bekommen. Wenn die beiden das nicht gemacht hätten, wären wir übel daran; vorher ist es sicher nicht so regelmässig hergegangen, da waren die beiden Balle noch ein einziger, ein grosser roter Vogel flog damit in allen möglichen Gegenden herum und nur, wo er gerade hinkam, wurde es hell. Dann haben sie die Federn aber für uns weggenommen, haben sie untereinander verteilt und haben den ordentlichen Dienst eingerichtet, der jetzt Tag für Tag und Nacht um Nacht mit Sonne und Mond so genau abläuft, dass wir in der Nacht unsere Ruhe haben und uns am Tage überall sicher zurechtfinden. Deshalb nennen wir den einen Ball auch heute »Sonne« und den andern »Mond«, wie sie selber hiessen.

Vielleicht stutzt der freundliche Leser, da er erwartete, ich werde sagen: deshalb wurden sie auch selber »Sonne« und »Mond« genannt. Mag sein, dass die Beiden nach Sonne und Mond genannt wurden, wie Rotkäppchen nach seiner roten Kappe. Ich weiss es nicht. Allein ich kann mir nur schwer vorstellen, dass die alten Indianer so gedacht haben, ich würde dann immer auf eine bewusste Namenstaufe stossen, wie sie für Kinder stattfindet, wie z. B. etwa ein Eingeborener, dem Zwillinge geboren werden, sie »Sonne« und »Mond« nennen könnte. Wenn er uns aber die Herkunft von Dingen erklärt, so erzählt er

eine Geschichte, zu der die Eigenschaften des Dinges den Stoff liefern, von einer Person dieses Namens, — Jemand muss es doch gebracht haben und der Betreffende hiess so, wie auch das Ding seitdem heisst: in dem Namen des Dinges, den der Zuhörer kennt, steckt der Beweis für die Wahrhaftigkeit der Geschichte und ihm entspringt die Befriedigung der Wissbegierde. So hat es bei den Tupí eine Häuptlingstochter Mani gegeben, die unter besondern Umständen starb und aus deren Grab im Hause des Vaters eine Pflanze herauswuchs; die Vögel berauschten sich an den Blüten, man grub nach und fand eine Wurzel mit berauschendem Saft, die man seither »Mani's Haus« (*óku*) oder »Mandioka« nennt. In gleicher Weise, würde ich lieber denken, sind auch ein paar Zwillinge geboren, die Keri und Kame »hiessen« und die, als sie herangewachsen waren, Sonne und Mond für uns herbeischafften, die natürlich schon, bevor sie irgend etwas von Sonne und Mond wussten, Keri und Kame genannt waren. Der Name der beiden besten Dinge, die sie uns, den Bakaïri und Aruak gebracht haben, ist der, den sie selber besassen, und daher wissen wir nun, wo die beiden Dinge herkamen.

Jedenfalls bestreite ich durchaus, dass Sonne und Mond personifiziert wurden. Wenn ich freilich nicht bestimmt festgestellt hätte, dass sie als Federbälle und Dinge gelten, die im Besitz von Personen sind, wenn wir nur die Namen der Kulturheroen »Sonne« und »Mond« hätten, so würde ich zusehen müssen, dass man auch diesen Fall nach dem bequemen Schema der Personifikation erledigte. Das ist aber hier ausgeschlossen. Der Indianer schliesst, Jemand muss die Dinge gebracht haben, und das sind natürlich die beiden Stammväter, die es notwendig gegeben haben muss. Und deren Namen findet er auch vorrätig.

Der alte Caetano sagte, sie heissen Tschischi oder Keri und Nuna oder Kame. Er gebrauchte die karaibischen und die aruakischen Wörter für Sonne und Mond als Eigennamen beliebig durcheinander, nur dass er seinen Bakaïri (trotz des *kéri* = Mond) die Hauptperson Keri als Sonne vorbehielt. Keri ist immer der Kluge in den Geschichten und Kame der Dumme! »Kame«, sagte Antonio, »ist ein Tölpel (*é gente bobo*) und macht Alles verkehrt, Keri nicht, o nein!« Mit diesem für jeden Stamm selbstverständlichen Bestreben erreiche ich wieder den Anschluss an die geographische Verteilung und auch die Erklärung. Zwei Brüder »Sonne« und »Mond« waren die Stammväter der in einer gewissen Periode seit altersher gemeinsam lebenden Nu-Aruak und Bakaïri. Selbstverständlich erkor jeder Stamm »Sonne« zu seinem Helden und gab »Mond« dem andern. Die Aruak-Frauen sagten, unser Kame (Sonne) und euer Keri (Mond), die Bakaïri-Männer unser Tschischi (Sonne) und euer Nuna (Mond). So wurde für die Kinder der beiden, die Vorfahren der heutigen Bakaïri, die von beiden belehrt wurden und sich um die Thaten der Helden mehr kümmerten als um die Worterklärung, der Besitzer der Sonne Tschischi, wie ihn die Väter, oder Keri, wie ihn die Mutter nannten, der Besitzer des Mondes Nuna, wie ihn die Väter, oder Kame, wie ihn die Mütter nannten. Tschischi-Keri haben die Bakaïri und ihre Nachbarn, Nuna-Kame die Aruak und ihre Nachbarn ge-

macht, also Kame die mit den Paressí nordwestlich wohnenden Arinosleute und Keri die mit den Bakaïrí südlich und östlich wohnenden Stämme. Von einer bewussten primären Unterscheidung auf Grund der Himmelsrichtung aber ist keine Rede; diese Unterscheidung könnte nur sekundär auf dem Umweg entstanden sein, dass Keri schon zur Hauptperson und dem Besitzer der Sonne geworden war; denn die Kinder konnten nicht ohne Weiteres Osten und Sonne nennen, was die Mütter Westen und Mond nannten, und nicht ein unbegreifliches Missverständnis ist es (wie ich anfangs selbst geglaubt habe), das den Umtausch der Namen hervorgebracht hat, sondern der sehr verständliche Anspruch auf beiden Seiten, dem bedeutenderen der beiden brüderlichen Vorfahren zu entstammen.

Ich glaube, der Stoff der astronomischen Beobachtungen und der der geschichtlichen Erinnerungen sind auf genau dieselbe Weise verarbeitet worden: in beiden Fällen sind die Träger der Handlung hinzugedichtet worden, wie die Männer zu den Pfeilen und die Frauen zu den Maisstampfern. Die Handlung ist geschichtlich, die Personen sind es nur insofern, als sie die Häuptlinge, Medizinmänner oder Stammväter sind, die man für den Anfang voraussetzen muss.

Betrachten wir einige wichtige Einzelheiten der Sage: Keri und Kame sind Zwillinge. Ihre Mutter ist mit dem Jaguar »verheiratet«, aber es wird besonders hervorgehoben, dass sie nur seine Pflegesöhne sind und dass die Mutter, wenn sie also auch nicht Jungfrau zu sein braucht, sie dennoch nicht von ihrem Gatten empfangen hat; sie verschluckte zwei Fingerknochen von Bakaïrí, die der Jaguar als Pfeilspitzen im Hause aufbewahrt, und wurde davon schwanger. Gleichen Zügen begegnen wir in vielen amerikanischen Sagen. Es werden erstens mehrere Brüder als Urväter geboren, und zweitens ist die Mutter dann oft jungfräulich. Es fehlt nicht an tiefsinnigen Deutungen. Bei den Paressí sind es zehn Brüder, bei andern Stämmen vier; die Zahl richtet sich entweder nach dem Bedarf, wie viel selbständige Stammbäume nötig waren für die Stämme, die nebeneinander lebten und sich im letzten Grunde verwandt und verschwägert fühlten, oder sie wird auf die eine oder andere Weise nach den Himmelsrichtungen reguliert. Dass die Mutter jungfräulich ist, versteht sich bei der Auffassung des Indianers von der Vaterschaft ziemlich von selbst. Der Sohn ist immer der kleine Vater; der erste der Reihe darf, wenn er wirklich der erste sein soll, natürlich keinen Vater haben. Eine Mutter kann vorhanden sein, das Problem ist nur, wie sie schwanger wird. In unserm Fall ist es sehr glücklich gelöst; Keri und Kame entstehen jeder aus einem Knochen, der in den Leib der Mutter gerät, aber diese Knochen sind Pfeilspitzen und somit bleibt die gewöhnliche Entstehung des Mannes aus dem Pfeil auch hier gewahrt. Dass die Knochen Bakaïríknochen sind, ist eine Inkonsequenz, die wohl für die Verschmelzung verschiedener Sagen spricht. »Bakaïrí waren immer da«, auch Ewaki, Keri's und Kame's Tante, gehört schon zur »Verwandtschaft der Bakaïrí«, und Keri macht nur Bakaïrí, wenn Mangel eintritt. Keri bleibt aber immer der »Grossvater der Bakaïrí«.

Was die Mutter selbst betrifft, so ist sie aus einem, richtiger zu einem Maisstampfer, der aus Pikiholz geschnitzt war, hinzugemacht worden, und damit sollte in der klaren Analogie zum Ursprung der Männer aus Pfeilen die rein menschliche Auffassung ihres Wesens genügend gewährleistet sein. Wer aber in ihr trotzdem eine Personifikation z. B. der Morgendämmerung erblicken will, aus der die Sonne hervorbricht, der äussert damit meines Erachtens einen vortrefflichen Gedanken, dem nur der Fehler anhaftet, dass er ihn und nicht der Indianer ihn gehabt hat. Gern will ich aber zur Mythenbildung über den Mythus beitragen: es wurden fünf Maisstampfer belebt, zwei der so hervorgezauberten Frauen wollten nicht arbeiten und wurden sofort getötet, während die zukünftige Mutter der Zwillinge eine der fleissigen war; hier ist also der Fleiss personifiziert und der Fleiss hat die nächste Beziehung, die man nur verlangen kann, zur Morgendämmerung, wo er sich schon kräftig regt, wenn die Faulheit noch schläft.

Die Morgendämmerung verschwindet in dem Licht des Tages und deshalb wird erklärt, stirbt die Mutter der Kulturheroen. Ich finde es sehr grausam, dass die Mutter nicht als Abenddämmerung wieder lebendig wird. Doch muss ich anerkennen, dieser in den amerikanischen Schöpfungssagen oft beobachtete Zug vom Tode der Mutter trifft allerdings auch hier zu. Und da ist es freilich mit meiner schönen Erklärung vom Fleiss nichts, denn der sollte mit dem anbrechenden Tage erst recht zum vollen Leben erwachen. So glaube ich, ist es besser, auf die Allgemeinheit jenes Schicksals der Mutter keinen allzu hohen Wert zu legen — es stirbt sich in den Mythen überhaupt sehr leicht — sondern in jedem einzelnen Fall zu prüfen, wie weit der Tod den Zwecken des Erzählers förderlich ist. In unserm Fall ist sowohl der Tod selbst als Motiv für die Fortsetzung der Geschichte als auch die Art, wie er mit der Geburt kombiniert wird, sehr nützlich. Die Mutter wird von der Schwiegermutter getötet, weil sie als eine Bakaïrí gilt und die Schwiegermutter und ihr Stamm mit den Bakaïrí verfeindet waren und ihrer möglichst viele auffrassen. An ihr rächen sich Keri und Kame, auch sie wird getötet und indem sie verbrannt wird, entstehen die Magelhães'schen Wolken; dieses Feuer spielt auch wieder eine wichtige Rolle für die Entwicklung der Helden. Dann aber wurden Keri und Kame aus der toten Mutter herausgeschnitten, und das ist doch ein Umstand, der eine auffälligere Beziehung aufweist zu der wunderbaren, für die Mutter freilich verhängnisvollen Geburt zweier grossen Medizinmänner, die bald so Vieles leisten, als zu dem Tod der personifizierten Morgendämmerung! Die Morgendämmerung wird übrigens wie die Sonne als Federn betrachtet, die der Geier herbeibringt, um nicht die Sonne selbst hergeben zu müssen.

Wollten wir die Legenden doch mehr nehmen als das, was sie dem Indianer selbst sind, denn als das, was sie uns sein könnten, was sie im Aufschwung einer höheren, die kindlichen Ursprünge mit tausend Arabesken ausschmückenden Kultur, wie ich gewiss zugebe, auch jenem werden könnten. Der Indianer denkt sich die Sonne als einen Federball — und das thuen nicht nur

die Bakairí und Paressí, sondern auch die Bororó — und er soll sich das abstrakte »Licht« als eine Person vorstellen!

Der »Lichtgott« bringt in den amerikanischen Sagen die »Kultur« und man erblickt darin eine Erinnerung an eine Wanderung aus dem Osten oder einen Ursprung der Kultur aus dem Osten. Es ist in der That merkwürdig, wie mächtig die Kultur schon in unvordenklichen Zeiten von dem Zug nach dem Westen ergriffen war; sollen doch auch alle die Stämme, die ihre Toten, da man ihnen keinen Kompass ins Grab legen kann, mit dem Antlitz nach Sonnenaufgang hin bestatten, von Osten herbeigezogen sein. »Wo wohnt Keri?« fragte ich Antonio. »Im Himmel.« »Aber in welcher Richtung?« »Im Osten; dort bewahrt er doch die Sonne auf. Der Topf, der sie Nachts bedeckt, steht in seinem Hause.« Der alte Caetano nannte Keri den »Imperador« und auch er liess ihn im Osten wohnen, nämlich in Rio de Janeiro. Ich sehe nicht den geringsten Grund, den ersten Akt im Himmel der Kerisage mit einer Wanderungssage zu verquicken. Die Sonne war vor Keri da, er hat nur ihren Lauf geregelt. Wenn er mit der Sonne geht, muss er im Osten oder im Westen wohnen, die Bakairí haben sich für den Osten entschieden und hätten nun leicht zu dem Schluss kommen können, den sie nicht gemacht haben, dass ihre Vorfahren von dorther gekommen seien. Aber die Vorfahren können nicht gut überall, wo dieser Schluss gemacht wird, im Osten gelebt haben. Dass aber Keri mit der Sonne geht, kann nicht Wunder nehmen, weil er ja nur die Person ist, die zur Sonne erklärend hinzugedichtet ist, und da diejenige Person hinzugedichtet ist, die den Begründer des Stammes darstellen soll und auf den die wichtigsten Errungenschaften bezogen werden, so muss der Kulturheros auch der »Lichtgott« sein.

II. Die Texte.

Die Eltern von Keri und Kame. Entstehung und Tod der Mutter. Letzterer gerächt. Sonne, Schlaf und Burití-Hängematte. Himmel und Erde vertauscht. Feuer. Flüsse. Zum Salto des Paranatinga. Haus, Fischfang, Festtänze, Stämme. Abschied von Keri und Kame. Tabak und Baumwolle. Mandioka; Rehgewein. Der hässliche Strauss. Keri und der Kampfuchs auf der Jagd. Der Jaguar und der Ameisenbär.

Die Originaltexte der Bakairí-Sagen habe ich in der Bakairí-Grammatik mit Interlinearübersetzung veröffentlicht. Ich will versuchen, ihren Inhalt, der zum Verständnis wesentlicher, von Antonio gelieferter Ergänzungen bedarf, hier zu erzählen. Sie selbst bestehen aus sehr kurzen Sätzen und haben eine ungemein knappe Form des Ausdrucks.

Die Eltern von Keri und Kame. Der erste Teil der Legende spielt im Himmel. Damals war ungefähr Alles vorhanden, was es jetzt auf Erden giebt. Von einer eigentlichen Schöpfung wird Nichts berichtet, es wird nur erzählt, wie die Helden Keri und Kame allerlei gute und wichtige Dinge von Andern erwerben. Waren doch selbst Bakairí immer da, wenn auch »im Anfang

nur wenige«. Ebenso gab es Leute von anderer Stammeszugehörigkeit, namentlich die verschiedenen Jaguare und ihre Verwandten, die viele Bakaïrí töteten und verzehrten. So war auch Kamuschini, mit dem die Geschichte beginnt, »von einem andern Volk«.

Kamuschini begegnete, da er im Walde Blätter der Tukumpalme suchte, um sich Schnur für Bogensehnen zu verschaffen, dem Jaguar Oka, fürchtete sich vor ihm und versprach, ihm Frauen zu machen, wenn er ihn verschone. Zuerst fällte er Bäume mit rotem Holz *(sawéti)*, brachte die Klötze nach Hause, stellte sie in einen Maismörser, blies sie an und zog sich ein Weilchen zurück. Als er wiederkam waren es aber lauter Männer geworden, die Pfeile schnitzten! Er tötete sie, ging wieder fort und fällte nun mit seinem Steinbeil 5 oder 6 andere Bäume, verfuhr damit ebenso wie mit den ersten und fand diesesmal, als er die Angeblasenen sich ein Weilchen überlassen hatte, dass es Frauen geworden waren. Sie sagten alle »Papa« zu ihm und mit Ausnahme der letzten, die faul da sassen und die er deshalb erzürnt sofort tötete,*) stampften sie eifrig Mais —, »Mandioka soll es damals noch nicht gegeben haben« — und machten Beijús und Getränke. Die beiden ältesten, Nimagakaniro und Ichoge, gab Kamuschini dem Jaguar Oka und dieser führte sie nach Hause. Unterwegs aber verunglückte Ichoge, sie kletterte auf eine Buritipalme, um sich Nüsse zu holen, und stürzte hinab.

Nimagakaniro verschluckte zwei Bakaïrí-Fingerknochen, von denen viele im Hause waren, weil Oka sie für seine Pfeilspitzen gebrauchte und viele Bakaïrí tötete, deren Fleisch er ass. Von den Fingerknochen und nur von diesen, nicht von Oka wurde die Frau schwanger. Jetzt aber nahte ihr Schicksal in Gestalt der Schwiegermutter Mero, deren Gatte unbekannt ist und die ausser Oka (der grossen Onça pintada, dem bunten Jaguar) noch zwei Jaguarsöhne hatte, Kuára (die »Canguçú-« Varietät der Brasilier) und Zaupányua (eine »rotfarbige« Abart). Mero kam zu Besuch, als Oka auf Jagd war; »sie wollte nicht, dass er von einer Bakaïrí Söhne habe«, denn sie hasste und ass die Bakaïrí. Sie riss Nimagakaniro mit ihren Krallen die Augen aus und ging wieder. Nimagakaniro starb, aber der Oheim Kuára — ein Jaguar, der im Himmel an einer Toten die Sectio Caesarea ausführt! — schnitt den Leib auf, holte die Zwillinge Keri und Kame hervor und legte sie in eine Kalabasse wie junge Papageien. Dann schnitten er und seine Leute Nimagakaniro in Stücke, brieten und verzehrten sie und setzten den Rest dem heim-

*) Von fünf erhielt ich die Namen Nimagakaniro, Atanumagale, Ichoge, Koyaka und Tawagüri. Bakaïrí-Grammatik, p. 226 habe ich irrtümlich angegeben, dass Kamuschini fünf Pikíbäume fällte, und obendrein das Unrecht begangen, Kamuschini einen Irrtum vorzuwerfen. Er fällte zuerst zwei Pikíbäume, aus denen Nimagakaniro und Ichoge entstanden. In Ichoge steckt *ipó* Pikí (= *iχó-po* mit Pikí). Auch Tawagüri ist der Name des Baums, aus dem die beiden Faulenzerinnen gemacht wurden, portugiesisch olho de boi, Ochsenauge. Koyaka (= *koyó-ke* mit *koyó!*) entstand aus einem Baum mit rauher Rinde und gelben Früchten. Atanumagale's Baumursprung wusste Antonio nicht näher zu bestimmen. Sie und Koyaka wurden ebenfalls Frauen und Mütter von Jaguaren, obwohl dies (K. 36) als unbestimmt hingestellt wird. Atanumagale wurde später als Kuára's, des Sohnes der Mero, Gattin bezeichnet.

kehrenden Oka vor, der ihn ahnungslos ass. Heftig erzürnt, als er den Hergang erfuhr, lief er Mero zu töten, stand aber davon ab, weil sie sagte: »ich bin deine Mutter.« Keri und Kame zog der Pflegevater Jaguar auf, er liess sie auf seinen Rücken reiten und lehrte sie mit Pfeilen schiessen. Nun fragten sie ihn aber nach ihrer Mutter; er hatte von ihrem Tod geschwiegen, weil er sich schämte, von ihrem Fleisch gegessen zu haben, und gab auch jetzt keine Auskunft. Doch die Grossmutter oder Tante Ewaki, die zum Geschlecht der Bakaïri gehörte und hier zum ersten Mal genannt wird, berichtete die Unthat Mero's. Keri und Kame gingen hin und töteten Mero, obwohl diese sie freundlich mit dem Gruss »o meine Enkel« empfing.

»Mero *safada*, die verdammte Mero« (Antonio hasste sie von Herzensgrund) »wurde nicht beerdigt, o nein, die wurde verbrannt«. Keri und Kame trugen Scheiter zusammen und legten Feuer an, dann gruben sie sich ein Loch um zuzuschauen. Mero brannte *bopopopo*..... Man sieht das Feuer noch heute in der grossen Magelhães'schen Wolke. Zu jener Zeit hatte Keri und Kame noch keine menschliche Gestalt. Kame kroch aus seinem Loch neugierig hervor und fing Feuer. Er verbrannte, starb. Keri blies ihn an und machte ihm Nase und Hände und Füsse wie die Menschen haben. Aber auch Keri fing Feuer (die kleine Magehães'sche Wolke ist das Feuer von Keri und Kame), verbrannte, starb, wurde von Kame lebendig geblasen und menschlich gestaltet. Da kamen drei Tierarten, die man auch noch am Himmel sieht, die kleine Fischotter, die sich den Schwanz, die grosse (Ariranya), die sich Hände und Füsse, und der Tukan, der sich den Schnabel von Keri und Kame nahm. Keri hatte einen grösseren Schnabel gehabt als Kame.

Jetzt sind die beiden also erst menschlichen Aussehens und beginnen bald ihre Thätigkeit zum Nutzen der heute Lebenden. Wie sahen denn Kamuschini, Mero und Oka aus? »Oka ist doch der bunte Jaguar?« »Ja«. »Und er schoss mit Pfeilen? »Ja, damals schoss der Jaguar mit Pfeilen.« »Er schoss die Bakaïri und frass sie auf.« Mero hatte »etwas vom Joho« (Crypturus noctivagus) »und Makuku« (Tinamus brasiliensis), zwei Waldhühnern. Aber ihre Krallen waren so gross wie Daumen. »Also die Mutter der Jaguare ist ein Vogel gewesen?« »Ja, man sagt, dass der Jaguar noch heute keinen Johó und Makuku frisst.« Da ist wieder eine echt indianische Begründung des unsinnigen Verwandtschaftsverhältnisses zwischen der Sippe Jaguar und der Sippe Waldhuhn. Wenn hier etwas Historisches zu Grunde liegt, so ist es mit dem Zoologischen untrennbar verquickt. »Mero frass so viele Bakaïri, dass kaum welche übrig blieben. Keri musste neue machen.«

Kamuschini's Person endlich wird auch mit einer Tierbeobachtung in Zusammenhang gebracht, und stellt, obwohl wir seinen Aufenthalt im Himmel begreifen lernen, noch grössere Ansprüche an unsere Einbildungskraft. Er hat »ein schwarzes Fell, ist mässig behaart, er macht Fäden wie die Spinne«. »Die Spinnen kommen jedes Jahr im Juli und kriegen dann Kinder; im August und

September, wenn der Regen kommt, machen sie Fäden und dann gehen sie zum Himmel und der Faden fliegt hinterher. Kamuschini ist wie diese Spinnen.«

Keri und Kame dagegen sind nunmehr menschlich gestaltet. Sie rächen den Tod der Mutter jetzt auch an dem Pflegevater. Aber sie scheuen doch davor zurück und wollen die That durch andere ausführen lassen. Sie bitten den Jaguar, ihnen Pfeile zu machen, stellen sie in einem Kreis aufrecht in den Boden und blasen sie an. »Es kamen« die Kayabí, die Nachbarn der Paranatinga-Bakaïri, die mit ihnen früher in Frieden gelebt haben sollen, aber um der Steinbeile und Frauen willen ihre Todfeinde geworden sind. Die Pfeile, die der Jaguar für Keri und Kame machte, und zu denen diese die Kayabí hinzuzauberten, waren Stiele von Buritíblättern, denn damals waren Keri und Kame noch Kinder und gebrauchten Kinderpfeile. Keri hiess die Kayabí auf Oka schiessen, aber sie fehlten. Da schoss Keri selbst, der Pfeil drang in das Knie des Jaguar ein, »der Jaguar stürzte sich ins Wasser und entkam.« Die Legende sagt einfach: »darauf töteten sie ihren Vater«, Antonio aber machte diese abweichende Angabe und fügte hinzu: »wenn der Jaguar getötet worden wäre, so gäbe es heute keinen mehr.«

Sonne. Keri und Kame empfingen nun von ihrer Tante Ewaki den Auftrag, die Sonne zu holen, die der rote Urubú oder Königsgeier besass. Alles bisher Erzählte hat sich während der Nacht abgespielt, wenn nicht etwa der Königsgeier mit der Sonne erschien. Im Zenith giebt es ein schwarzes Loch, das den Urubús gehörte. In dieses Loch stürzte der Tapir, den man in der Milchstrasse sieht, weil es finstere Nacht war. Keri sah den Tapir und ging in seinen Vorderfuss hinein.*) Kame aber ging in einen kleinen gelben Singvogel, ähnlich dem Bemtevi und setzte sich auf einen Ast; er sollte Keri, der Nichts sehen konnte, von Allem was vorging, unterrichten. Der rote Geier öffnete die Sonne, es wurde hell und so erblickten die Urubús den Tapir. Die ganze »Urubusiada«, schwarze und weisse Geier — nur der rote blieb noch fern — stürzten sich auf den Tapir. Sie holten Schlingpflanzenstricke herbei, zogen ihn mit aller Mühe aus dem Loch und wollten ihn zerteilen. Da machte Kame auf seinem Ast »neng, neng, neng« Keri blies und die Geier konnten mit ihren Schnäbeln den Tapir nicht öffnen. Sie riefen den Königsgeier zu Hülfe, er kam und Kame hörte auf »neng, neng, neng« zu machen. Der rote Geier öffnete den Tapir mit seinem Schnabel und in diesem Augenblick ergriff ihn Keri, ihn so fest packend, dass er fast starb. Nur wenn er die Sonne hergebe, solle er am Leben bleiben. Da schickte der Königsgeier seinen Bruder, den weissen Geier, die Sonne zu holen. Diese brachte die Morgenröte. »Ist das recht?« fragte Kame Keri, der festhalten musste. »Nein, nicht die Morgenröte«, erwiderte Keri. Da brachte der weisse Urubú den Mond. »Ist das recht?« fragte Kame. »Ach was!« erwiderte Keri. Nun

*) Der alte Castano erzählte, Keri habe den Tapir aus ába, einem wie Mandioka weiche Holz gemacht, und habe dann kleine Fliegen gemacht, die dem Tapir einen übeln Geruch gebe und den Urubú anziehen sollten.

brachte der weisse Urubú die Sonne, und als Kame fragte: »ist das recht?« antwortete Keri: »jetzt, ja«. Dann gab er den roten Urubú frei, der sehr erzürnt war.

»Der Mond bestand damals aus Japú-Federn, die Sonne aus Federn des Tukan und des roten Arara, die Morgenröte aus Tukan-Federn. So haben es die Alten gewusst. Wenn es jetzt, wie Ihr sagt, anders sein soll, so weiss ich davon Nichts und Niemand weiss es. Dann muss man geblasen haben, dass sie wie Feuer geworden ist.«

Keri sann und sann, was er nun mit der Sonne und dem Mond anfangen sollte. Es war immer hell. Ewaki wusste ihm auch nicht zu raten. Endlich machte er einen grossen Topf und stülpte ihn darüber. Da war es dunkel. Er gab den Mond Kame. Sonne und Mond waren beide unter dem Topf. Wenn der Topf aufgehoben wird, ist es Tag. — Ueber den Dienst des Kolibri und der Schnecke, sowie der Eidechse und der Gürteltiere vgl. Seite 358.

Schlaf und Buriti-Hängematte. Ob das Bedürfnis sich mit der langedauernden Helle der noch nicht untergebrachten Sonne einstellte, ich weiss es nicht, aber Keri und Kame wollten gern schlafen und konnten zu ihrem Leidwesen nicht. Sie gingen zu Ewaki und die immer gut unterrichtete Tante sagte ihnen, wo sie den Schlaf holen sollten. Po, die Eidechse, war im Besitz des Schlafes. Sie empfing Keri und Kame freundlich und sagte »o, meine Enkel.« Sie blieben in ihrem Hause, legten sich in die Buriti-Hängematte und schliefen. Als sie erwachten, fühlten sie sich wieder wohl. Am andern Morgen sagten sie Lebewohl und zogen mit der Hängematte, die ihnen die Eidechse geschenkt hatte, von dannen. *) Unterwegs, als sie eine Legua gegangen waren, wollten sie nun das Schlafen versuchen. Sie legten sich in die Hängematte und versuchten, aber es ging nicht. Sie quälten sich vergebens. Da gingen sie wieder zum Haus der Eidechse zurück, ergriffen sie und zogen ihr das Augenlid aus. Sie nahmen sich ein grosses Stück und die Eidechse war sehr böse. Nun hatten sie Augenlider und konnten schlafen.

Himmel und Erde vertauscht. Um diese Zeit ist es auch geschehen, dass Keri den Himmel verliess. »Zuerst war die Erde der Himmel; hier, wo wir jetzt sind, wurden keine Bakaïri geboren. Der Himmel hat einen Boden, auf dem es gerade so aussieht wie hier auf der Erde. Himmel und Erde waren ganz nahe beieinander; man konnte auf die Erde hinübergehen.« Keri sagte zum Himmel: »Du sollst nicht hier bleiben. Hier sterben meine Leute. Und Du willst hier bleiben? Du bist gut! Aber ich will nicht, dass meine Leute sterben.« Der Himmel antwortete: »Ich will hier bleiben.« Da sagte Keri: »Dann tausche ich.« Er ging mit allen seinen Leuten auf die Erde und der Himmel stieg in die Höhe dahin, wo er jetzt ist, und wo man noch heute sieht, dass alles so geschehen ist, wie es die Bakaïri erzählen.

*) Ehe es eine Hängematte gab, wurde ein andermal erzählt, schliefen die Leute im Stehen, indem sie mit dem Rücken an die Bäume anlehnten. Der Schutz vor Schlangen und Ungeziefer auf dem Boden ist in der That ein Hauptvorteil der Hängematte.

Feuer. Keri und Kame gingen zu Ewaki und diese befahl ihnen, das Feuer zu holen. Der Kampfuchs war der Herr des Feuers. Er hatte es in den Augen und schlug es sich heraus, wenn er Holz anzünden wollte. Der Kampfuchs (Canis vetulus »fängt Krebse und Krabben,« Brehm Säugetiere II S. 57) hatte eine Reuse ausgelegt, um Fische zu fangen. Zu der Reuse gingen Keri und Kame; sie fanden darin einen Jejum-Fisch und eine Caramujo-Schnecke. Keri ging in den Jejum (einen glatten, spannenlangen Lagunenfisch) und Kame ging in die Muschel. »Beide waren gut darin versteckt.« Singend kam der Kampfuchs gegangen und machte Feuer an. Dann sah er nach, was in der Reuse war, holte den Fisch und die Schnecke und legte sie in das Feuer, um sie zu braten. Aber die beiden gossen Wasser in das Feuer. Erzürnt ergriff der Kampfuchs die Schnecke, die hüpfte aber in den Fluss und holte neues Wasser und goss es in's Feuer, dass dieses beinahe ganz verlöschte. Der Kampfuchs ergriff sie wieder und wollte sie auf einem Holz in Stücke schlagen, die Schnecke aber entglitt ihm und fiel auf die andere Seite. Das wurde dem Kampfuchs zuviel; ärgerlich lief er davon. Keri und Kame aber bliesen das Feuer wieder an und gingen damit zu Ewaki.

Flüsse. Ewaki schickte die beiden Knaben aus, das Wasser zu holen. Sie wanderten drei Tage. Sie fanden drei Töpfe, die der Ochobi-Wasserschlange gehörten. In den Töpfen war Wasser, in zweien war gutes Wasser, aber in dem dritten war schlechtes, von dem man nicht trinken kann, ohne zu sterben. Diesen dritten Topf liessen sie ganz, sie wollten gutes Wasser haben. Die zwei andern Töpfe zerschlugen sie; das Wasser, das aus dem einen abfloss, war der Paranatinga, das Wasser des anderen der Ronuro und Kulisehu.*) Keri nahm sich des Paranatingawassers, Kame des Ronuro-Kulisehuwassers an. Beide Flüsse liefen weiter und Keri und Kame liefen jeder hinter dem seinen; sie riefen einander zu, damit sie sich nicht verlören. Auf einmal hörte Kame's Rufen auf. Keri schrie und schrie, doch die Antwort blieb aus. Da liess er den Paranatinga stillstehen und warten und ging zum Ronuro. Der dumme Kame hatte sich den schlechtesten Fluss ausgesucht, er konnte nicht mit ihm fertig werden, das Wasser wurde gross und breit und Kame ertrank. Ein gewaltiger Jahú-Fisch verschluckte ihn. Keri kam und fand den Ronuro stillstehend, Kame verschwunden. Sogleich gab er sich an's Fischen; er fing drei Jahús und einer war dick geschwollen. Dem riss er den Bauch auf und erblickte nun Kame, der tot war. Er legte die Leiche auf grosse, grüne Blätter und blies sie an. Da stand Kame auf und sagte: »ich habe gut geschlafen.« »Nein,« rief Keri, »Du hast ganz und gar nicht geschlafen! Ein Jahú hatte Dich gefressen.« Mit dem Ronuro wollten sie nichts mehr zu thun haben; Keri liess eine Ente kommen und befahl ihr, das Wasser mitzunehmen. So geleitete die Ente den Fluss wieder weiter und die beiden Knaben — sie hatten zu dieser Zeit das Alter, wie Antonio zum Vergleich zeigte,

*) Der Text der Legende nennt nur den Ronuro, Antonio fügte zu »dabei war das Wasser des Kulisehu.«

des Sohnes eines uns bekannten Deutschen in Cuyabá, etwa 8 Jahre — begaben sich zu Keri's Paranatinga, der noch geduldig wartete. »Das ist das Wasser,« sagte Keri, »das wir mitnehmen wollen.«

Drei Tage liefen sie mit ihm thalwärts. Da kamen sie zum Salto des Paranatinga, allein es war noch kein Wasserfall, sondern nur trockener Fels. Sie selbst brachten jetzt das Wasser zum Salto und liessen es jenseit des Falles warten. Aber da sie nun hier blieben, liess Keri bald Enten und Tauben kommen und andere Vögel, die das Wasser mitnahmen und weiterführten.

Haus, Fischfang, Festtänze, Stämme. Am Salto wohnte nämlich Tumehi oder Tumeng, ein Grossvater von Keri. Er war der Mann von Grossmutter oder, wie wir sie bisher genannt haben, Tante Ewaki (Mutter und Tante, Grosstante und Grossmutter haben gleichen verwandschaftlichen Wert). Tumehi war eine Fledermaus und hatte ein schwarzgraues Fell. Der alte Caetano nannte ihm durcheinander Semimo (Bak. *semimo* Fledermaus) und Rei de Congo! Den König vom Kongo, einen Begriff, den er der Himmel weiss wie, von Negern flüchtigen Sklaven oder Arbeitern auf den Fazendas, aufgegriffen und auf den schwarzen Tumehi übertragen hatte. Tumehi gehört zu der ältesten Sippe der Kamuschini, Mero und Ewaki, und sein richtigster Name ist wohl Semimo; denn *tumehi*, *tumeng* ist ein Adjektivum. Der Salto war, ehe das Wasser hinkam, sein steinernes Haus gewesen; wir können uns nicht wundern, dass gerade die Fledermaus, die in den Felsspalten mit Vorliebe »haust«, als der Erbauer der steinernen Kluft und diese selbst mit dem einen oder andern überhängenden Felsdach als Haus gilt. Tumehi also war pedreiro, Steinhauer.

Keri und Kame liessen sich von Tumehi auch je ein steinernes Haus machen. Dieser verschaffte sich die Steine, indem er Termiten anblies: so entstanden die Steine.

Allein sie lernten noch Anderes von Tumehi am Salto. Der kundige Grossvater zeigte ihnen, wie man Reusen verfertigt und anlegt und darin Matrincham-Fische fängt, wie man ferner den Bratständer flicht und die Fische brät.

Jetzt sind Keri und Kame so weit, dass sie selbst als erwachsene Menschen gelten, sie haben Alles erworben, was man gebraucht: Sonne und Mond, Hängematte und Schlaf, Feuer, den besten Fluss mit dem Salto und seinen Fischen, Haus und Bratständer. Beginnen musste ihr Leben im Himmel und fortgeführt ist es nun bis zu dem Zeitpunkt, wo die eigentliche **Stammesgeschichte** an dem ältesten Wohnort der Bakairí, am Salto des Paranatinga, anhebt.

Die Bakairí wohnten mit Keri zusammen: Keri's Haus lag auf der östlichen Seite des Salto. Beide machten auch zusammen einen Hügel auf der westlichen Seite des Parantinga, von dem man eine weite Umschau hatte.

Kame baute zuerst eine Festhütte und schnitzte zuerst eine Flöte. Er lud Keri und seine Leute ein. Nach dem Klang der Flöte tanzten Alle, aufstampfend und die Arme im Takt schwenkend, von den Wohnhäusern zum Flötenhaus und wieder zurück. Kame setzte seinen Gästen Pogugetränk und

Beijús vor. Sie gaben dafür Geschenke von Pfeilen und Baumwollfaden.

Keri rief nun auch seine Leute zum Tanzfest zusammen; sie tanzten und tranken auch Pogu, Nachmittags auf dem grossen freien Platz, den man noch am Salto sieht; dann flochten sie aus Buriti Makanari- und Imiga-Anzüge, schwangen die Rassel, bliesen die Flöte. Nun konnte Keri auch Kame und seine Leute einladen. Viele kamen, Keri war Herr des Imeo-Tanzes, und man tanzte zwei Tage und zwei Nächte hintereineinander, nur Abends ein wenig ruhend und Morgens sich durch ein Bad im Fluss erfrischend.

Aber um der Leute willen brach bei dem Fest ein Streit zwischen den Brüdern aus. Keri hatte viele Bakaïrí aus Ubárohr gemacht, aber Kame hatte nichts gemacht. Keri warf ihm seine Faulheit vor, sie zankten sich und Kame, der Schwächere, entfloh. Er flüchtete sich nach Süd-Westen, machte einen Hügel am Rio Beijaflor (Kolibri), einem linken Nebenfluss des Paranatinga, und machte dort auch Stämme: Apiaká, Paressí und Guaná. Es ist recht interessant, dass hier auch die Guaná genannt werden, ein in mehrere Abteilungen zersplitterter Paraguay-Stamm, von deren Anwesenheit in diesem Landstrich nie etwas verlautet hat; in sehr, sehr alten Zeiten haben sie auch am »Beijaflor gewohnt.«

Keri stieg auf seinen Hügel am Paranatinga und entdeckte den Rauch in der Ferne. Er ging Kame aufsuchen und fand viele, viele Leute. Zornig fuhr er Kame an: »Warum hast Du so viele Leute gemacht?« Abermals gerieten sie in Streit, aber Kame verliess die Paressí, mit denen er zusammen war, und begleitete Keri zum Salto zurück. Nicht lange dauerte es, dass wieder Streit wegen der Leute ausbrach. Keri hatte neue gemacht und Kame entfloh, aber diesmal zum Arinos. Keri suchte ihn auf, fand ihn und brachte ihn wieder zum Paranatinga-Salto zurück. Es scheint, dass dieses Streiten und Umherziehen geschildert wird, um die Möglichkeit zu geben, dass jeder der Beiden eine Anzahl weit von einander wohnender Stämme gemacht habe. Schliesslich hat Keri gemacht: Bakaïrí, Kayabí, Bororó, Nahuquá, Mehinakú, und Kame: Apiaká, Paressí, Guaná, Maué, Suyá, Mundurukú, »sämtliche Arinosstämme«. Dass man diese Gruppierung im Wesentlichen als eine östliche für Keri und eine westliche für Kame ansehen könne, habe ich bereits (vgl. S. 366) erörtert und ich habe erwähnt, dass, wenn hier eine Unterscheidung nach Sonne Osten und Mond – Westen vorliegt, Keri trotz seiner aruakischen Bedeutung Mond in der That auch als Herr der »östlichen« Stämme zu verstehen wäre (vgl. Seite 369), indem der Bakaïriheld mit dem ihm von den Aruakfrauen nur gegönnten Mondnamen für die Bakaïrí selbstverständlich der Besitzer der Sonne Osten war. Alle Stämme wurden aus Pfeilrohr gemacht, der Portugiese aus einem dunkeln von der Farbe des Flintenschafts. Keri hatte die Flinte zuerst den Bakaïrí (natürlich!) gegeben. Aber sie wussten nicht damit umzugehen, einer schoss dem andern am Ohr vorbei. Sie fürchteten sich vor dem Schiessen ebenso, »wie wir noch bei den Leuten am Kulischu gesehen haben«. Da gab Keri die Büchse den Karaiben.

Abschied von Keri und Kame. Keri und Kame verlassen wieder den Salto und Keri setzt als Häuptling über die dort bleibenden Bakairí den Arimoto ein. Arimoto war auch am Salto geboren. Dieser Häuptling aber missbrauchte seine Stellung und tötete viele Bakairi. »War er denn nicht selbst ein Bakairí?«, fragte ich. »Wahrscheinlich, aber er war ein niederträchtiger Bösewicht. Wenn er gut gewesen wäre, so wären seine Nachkommen noch heute Häuptlinge der Bakairí.« Keri und Kame waren diesesmal zum Kulisehu gegangen. Die Bakairí folgten ihm in ihrer Not und klagten über Arimoto. Sofort kehrten Keri und Kame zurück und töteten den Ungetreuen, der sich heftig wehrte und seinerseits Keri zu töten suchte.

Hiermit sind wir am Ende der Thatigkeit von Keri und Kame, soweit sie die Hauptlegende berichtet. Sie liessen den Bakairí reichlich Matrinchanis zurück, stiegen auf einen Hügel, von dem aus sie noch einmal zu den lebhaft antwortenden Bakairí hinunterriefen und »gingen dahin auf dem Wege. Wohin sie dort gingen, weiss Keiner. Die Vorfahren wussten nicht, wohin sie gegangen. Heute weiss man erst recht nicht, wo sie sind.«

Obgleich indessen die Legende so schwermütig ausklingt, hatten die Leute ihre eigene Ansichten. Tumehi — um diese alte Fledermaus nicht zu vergessen — ist mit Keri weggegangen. Was ist aus Kame geworden? »Er war immer mit Keri zusammen. Vielleicht ist er jetzt tot.« Und Keri? Der göttliche Greis Caetano, der sich mit den neuen Verhältnissen vortrefflich abzufinden verstand, erklarte, Keri sei der Imperador in Rio de Janeiro, der Kaiser Pedro Segundo. Die guten Bakairí antworteten geduldig auf alle meine unzähligen Fragen, weil ich ihnen gesagt hatte, ich musse das Alles wissen, um es dem Imperador zu berichten. Daran war ihnen viel gelegen. Ich machte den Einwurf, »wenn nun der Imperador in Rio de Janeiro stirbt?« »Wenn der Imperador stirbt«, lautete die Antwort, deren Richtigkeit inzwischen leider widerlegt sein muss, »so sterben auch alle Bakairí.«

Der Hauptling Felipe machte mir eine andere Angabe. »Keri ist mit hundert Mann zum Ronuro und Kulisehu gegangen. Er ist den Fluss abwärts gefahren bis zum Meer. So erzählen auch die Leute am Batovy!«

Antonio hielt sich an den Text der Sage, wie er ihn von seiner Mutter gelernt habe. Allein in anderm Zusammenhang gab er an, Keri wohne im Himmel, sein Haus sei dort, wo die Sonne aufgehe. »Ist Keri denn ‚Gott' (Deus), von dem Euch die Portugiesen gesprochen haben?« »Nein, das ist ein Anderer, von dem wir Nichts wissen. Keri ist der Grossvater der Bakairí.«

Tabak und Baumwolle. Ausserhalb der zusammenhängenden Legende, deren Inhalt ich bis hierher erzählt habe, wurden gelegentlich noch andere Leistungen von Keri mitgeteilt. So hat er dem Sawari den Tabak, mit dem man Leute kuriert, weggenommen. Sawari wollte ihn nicht hergeben, es sei sehr guter Tabak. Keri aber nahm den Samen weg und gab ihn den Bakairí. Wenn man eine Zigarre von diesem Tabak macht und Leute anbläst, so sterben sie;

kommen dann jedoch andere Leute und blasen den Toten an, so wird er wieder lebendig und geht weiter. Auch die Baumwolle und die daraus gewebte Hängematte kommt vom Sawari. Woher der Sawari den Tabak und die Baumwollhängematte bekommen hat, weiss man nicht. Er ist sehr selten und lebt gesellig den Paranatinga abwärts. Er ist ein Tier des Campo cerrado, das etwas kleiner ist und eine etwas spitzere Schnauze hat als der ihm verwandte Irara (Galictis, marderähnlich, vgl. Brehm, Säugetiere I, Seite 641), er klettert und schläft während des Tages in Baumlöchern; es giebt solche, die mehr schwarz, und solche, die mehr weiss sind. Die Beschreibung passt genau auf den Wickelbär, Cercoleptes caudivoloulus, der dem Irara in seinem ganzen Bau, obwohl er ihm nicht verwandt ist, ausserordentlich ähnlich ist (vgl. die Abbildung Brehm, Säugetiere II, Seite 287 mit der des Irara an der zitierten Stelle). Bei den Makuschi, die den Bakairi sprachlich nah verwandt sind, heisst der Wickelbär Yawari.*) Nach Brehm »wissen wir, dass der Wickelbär weit verbreitet ist. Er findet sich im ganzen nördlichen Brasilien, in Peru und nordwärts bis nach Mexiko, ja noch im südlichen Louisiana und Florida.«

Sawari hatte auch den Tabak, den man raucht. Die Bakairi haben diesen aber von dem *kuruáto* — »Herrn der Fische« bekommen, einem grossen Fisch, den es im Kulisehu giebt, aber nicht im Paranatinga. Antonio hat ihn auch im Kulisehu gesehen, »aber nicht gut«. Ich selbst habe ihn in Maigéri, wo mir Tumayaua ein Stück *kuruáto* gab, gegessen; er war sehr fett. Nach der Beschreibung handelt es sich um einen Zitteraal, doch kann ich die Deutung nicht als ganz sicher hinstellen. Der Karasoto, von dem die Bakairi den Rauchtabak erhielten, wohnte im »Tabakfluss«. »Er hatte den Tabak, man weiss nicht woher, bekommen, aber gab den Bakairi davon, wenn sie ihn in seinem Hause besuchten«. Es ist wohl unverkennbar, dass man die Tiere als geographische Merkmale benutzte. Stammesnamen waren »Schall und Rauch«, die Tiere blieben immer verständlich.

Mandioka; Rehgeweih. Keri hat die Mandioka von dem Kampreh oder portugiesisch Veado (Cervus simplicicornis) bekommen. Vorher aber müssen wir wissen, wie das Reh selbst in den Besitz der Mandioka gelangt ist. Sie gehörte dem Bagadúfisch (Phractocephalus, vgl. die Abbildung »Durch Centralbrasilien« S. 221), auch Pirarara genannt, einem häufig von uns gefangenen, aber nicht gerade gern gegessenen, fetten Fisch. Der Bagadú (*kyáto*) lebte im »Beijúfluss.« »Vielleicht«, fügte Antonio hier von selbst hinzu und brachte mich damit zum ersten Mal auf die Fährte der »geographischen« Tiere, »war es ein Arm des Ronuro; denn dort giebt es Bagadú, im Paranatinga giebt es keinen.« »Der Beijúfluss lag im Osten.« Wie das Reh die Mandioka vom Bagadú bekam, wird folgendermassen erzählt.

*) Schomburgk, Rich. Versuch einer Fauna und Flora von Britisch-Guiana, Leipzig 1848, Band II, S. 435: »Von Tschudi giebt seine geographische Verbreitung bis 10° S. Br. an. Die Kolonisten nennen ihn Yamanack, die Arawaks Wawula, die Macusis Yawali, die Warraus Uvari.«

Das Reh hatte Durst und suchte sich Wasser. Da fand es den Bagadú (in einem Seitenarm des Flusses, wo er bei hohem Wasserstand hineingegangen war und jetzt bei niedrigem nicht mehr herauskonnte). Der Bagadu lag auf dem Trocknen und schnappte nach Luft. Da sagte er zum Reh: »Trag mich! Flicht eine Bastschlinge, um mich zu tragen.« Nachdem das Reh sie aus Embira geflochten, packte es den Bagadú auf seinen Rücken und brachte ihn zum Abhang des Beijú-Flusses. »Hier möchte ich gern ausruhen,« sagte es. (Das Reh furchtete sich, auf den Grund des Flusses hinunterzugehen.) Der Bagadú aber hatte keine Lust. So sprachen sie und schritten den Abhang hinab. Unten stürzten sie sich in den Fluss. Das Reh fühlte sich wohl in den Wellen. So nahm der Bagadú das Reh mit zu seiner Wohnung. Als sie angelangt waren, trank das Reh Pogu. Auch ass es Beijú. (Beides waren ihm noch unbekannte Genüsse.) Der Bagadú nahm das Reh mit auf die Mandiokapflanzung; es lief hinter ihm drein. Als sie die Mandioka sahen, brachen sie Zweige ab und banden drei zusammen. Nun gingen sie nach Hause. »Morgen will ich gehen,« sagte das Reh und schlief die Nacht noch im Hause des Bagadú. Am andern Morgen sagte der Bagadú: »Nimm die Mandiokazweige mit. Fälle Holz, und dann pflanze sie.« »Wenn sie gut gepflanzt sind, hast Du bald die Mandioka«, erklärte er. »Lebewohl!« sagte der Bagadú zum Reh. Es stieg aus dem Wasser heraus. »Wohlan, so geh!« »Ich kehre heim«, sagte es. Doch legte es die Zweige auf einen Haufen zusammen am Ufer nieder; es wurde allein damit nicht fertig und kam auch erst spät am Abend nach seiner Wohnung. Bald kehrte es an den Ort zurück mit seinem Sohne und beide trugen die Zweige nach Hause. Sie ruhten sich eine Weile aus, dann fällten sie Holz im Kamp. (Eine grosse Dummheit in den Augen der Bakairi, über die herzlich gelacht wurde.) Die Mandioka gedeiht aber nicht im Kamp. Darum fällten sie nun Bäume im Wald. Sie machten Feuer, brannten das Holz ab und pflanzten.

Jetzt war das Reh Herr der Mandioka. Keri begegnete ihm und wollte davon haben. Denn der Beijú Keri's war bis dahin aus der roten Erde gewesen, die es am Salto des Paranatinga giebt. Aber als die Beiden darüber sprachen, gerieten sie in Streit. Das Reh wollte die Mandioka nicht hergeben. Da wurde Keri böse, packte das Reh am Hals und blies: da hatte es auf einmal sein Geweih. Keri aber lachte und rief: »So sieht der Herr der Mandioka aus«, nahm die Mandioka mit und schenkte sie den Frauen der Bakairi und zeigte ihnen, wie er vom Reh gelernt hatte, was sie machen mussten, damit sie nicht an dem Gift starben. »Das Reh aber hat jetzt sein Geweih, frisst Blätter und nagt Rinde von den Zweigen.«

Dem Reh hat man also, weil es Blätter und Rinde frisst, am ersten die Fähigkeit zugetraut, das Gift aus der Mandioka zu entfernen. Antonio war fest überzeugt, dass das Reh die Behandlung der Mandioka genau gekannt und Keri gezeigt habe. Erst von Keri lernten es die Bakairifrauen.

Der häusliche Strauss. Der südamerikanische Strauss oder Nandú (*Rhea*) der Zoologen wird in Brasilien Ema genannt, und ein anderer Vogel, die Seriema, Sariema der Brasilier, gilt, weil sie ebenfalls den Kamp in schnellem Lauf durcheilt, als sein Verwandter, obwohl die Zoologen sie als *Dicholophus cristatus* der Ordnung der Kranichvögel unter dem Familiennamen Schlangenstörche zurechnen. Vgl. die Abbildung Brehm, Vögel II, S. 686. Hier findet sich auch ein Zitat von Burmeister, dass die Seriema »schneller dahinrenne, als ein Pferd zu traben vermöge, und nur im Galopp eingeholt werden könne.«

Keri lief mit der Seriema um die Wette. Die Seriema hielt ein Augenblickchen an. Keri eilte an ihr vorüber und die Seriema blieb zurück. Darauf forderte er den Strauss heraus. Sie liefen und Keri blieb zurück, der Strauss eilte weiter. Keri war sehr erzürnt über den Strauss. Er holte sich Blätter von der Uakumá-Palme, er griff den Strauss und züchtigte ihn. Da verlor der Strauss seine schönen Federn; heute hat er nur kleine häusliche Federn.

Keri und der Kampfuchs auf der Jagd. Keri begegnete dem »Grosspapa« Kampfuchs und vereinigte sich mit ihm zur Jagd, indem der Kampfuchs als Herr des Feuers das Mauergegras im Kreis anzündete. Was von Getier eingeschlossen war, sollte verbrennen. Nun war der dumme Kame gerade in eine Maus gegangen. »Keri wusste Nichts davon; er dachte, Kame sei draussen.« Das Feuer hörte auf und die Beiden streiften umher, ob sie Beute fänden. Keri fand keinen Braten. Der Fuchs fand eine verbrannte Maus und aas sie auf. Dann trafen sich die Beiden wieder. »Grosspapa, was für Braten hast Du gegessen?« »Nur eine Maus habe ich gegessen.« Da merkt Keri, dass der Kampfuchs den Bruder verschluckt hat und ersinnt ein merkwürdiges Mittel, ihn, ohne den Kampfuchs töten und aufschneiden zu müssen, zurück zu erhalten. »Lass uns rennen, Grosspapa,« sagte Keri. »Jawohl, mein Enkelkind.« Sie rannten eine lange Strecke. Sie standen still. Als der Fuchs stillstand, erbrach er. Nachdem er erbrochen, lief er eiligst davon. Keri ging dorthin, wo der Fuchs erbrochen hatte. Er sah die Mauerknochen und sammelte sie. Nachdem er sie gesammelt, blies er. Nachdem er geblasen, erhob sich Kame. »Ich habe gut geschlafen,« sagte er. »Du hast ganz und gar nicht geschlafen! Der Kampfuchs hatte Dich gegessen.«

Der Jaguar und der Ameisenbär. Diese merkwürdige Geschichte hat mit Keri und Kame nichts mehr zu thun. Doch behandelt sie denselben Gegensatz des Klugen und Dummen. Der Dumme ist der starke Jaguar, der Kluge der jenem an Körperkraft und Gewandtheit nicht ebenbürtige grosse Ameisenbär, Tamanduá bandeira (gestreifter) der Brasilier und Myrmecophaga jubata der Zoologen. Das Verhältnis der beiden Tiere interessiert die brasilischen Jäger in hohem Grade; sie behaupten, der Ameisenbär nehme es zwar nicht draussen im Kamp, aber wohl im Wald, mit dem Jaguar sehr gut auf, indem er sich nach Art unserer Bären aufrichte und den Jaguar umarme. Zuweilen soll dieser Kampf Beiden das Leben kosten.

Unser Märchen beschäftigt sich aber noch mit dem besonderen Umstand, dass der Jaguar nur Wildpret und der Ameisenbär nur Ameisen frisst, und bringt ihn in recht drastischer Weise zur Geltung, das Schema der Wette auf einen ganz ungewöhnlichen Fall anwendend. Von diesem Punkt abgesehen, handeln die Tiere ganz und gar als Menschen; sie zünden Feuer an, braten, wandern mit der Kiepe umher, tanzen, der Ameisenbär scheert sich eine Tonsur (das Haar des Kopfes ist sehr kurzborstig), ja, der kleine Ameisenbär, Myrmecophaga tetradactyla, der zum Schluss erscheint, vergiftet den Jaguar mit dem in einer Kalebasse enthaltenen Zaubergift der Medizinmänner. Dass List und Klugheit den Sieg über körperliche Kraft davontragen, diese wichtigste Erfahrung des Jägerlebens ist die Moral dieses Märchens, in dem sich der humorvolle Sinn des Indianers prächtig wiederspiegelt. Der Jaguar wird bald *atóto* mit dem allgemeinen Namen der Art, bald *ébu* mit dem Namen der Onça pintada genannt, unter dem wir ihn als Keri's und Kame's Pflegevater kennen gelernt haben.

Der Ameisenbär begegnete dem Jaguar. Da sagte der Ameisenbär: »lass uns kacken, mein Freund, mit geschlossenen Augen«. Sie schlossen die Augen und kackten. Während der Jaguar die Augen geschlossen hatte, legte der Ameisenbär Oka's Haufen sich unter. Seinen eigenen Haufen legte der Ameisenbär dem Jaguar unter. Nachdem er sie schön zurecht gelegt hatte, sagte der Ameisenbär: »lass uns die Augen aufmachen«. »Lass uns unsere Haufen besehen«, sagte der Ameisenbär zum Jaguar. Der Ameisenbär rief aus: »ich habe Fleisch gegessen!« Der Ameisenbär sagte zum Jaguar: »Du hast Termiten gegessen!« »»Termiten esse ich nicht!«« sagte der Jaguar zum Ameisenbär.

Der Tapir kam dahin, wo sie kackten. Als der Jaguar den Tapir gesehen, forderte er den Ameisenbär auf, er solle doch gehen und den Tapir tödten. (Nun hatte der Ameisenbär Gelegenheit, seine Renommisterei, dass er Fleisch esse, zu erweisen.) Wie befohlen, ging der Ameisenbär auf die Spur des Tapirs. Einen Baum! tödtete der Ameisenbär. Darauf ging der Jaguar den Tapir zu tödten. Der Jaguar tödtete den Tapir wirklich. Der Ameisenbär war indess Termiten essend weiter gegangen und kehrte erst zurück, als der Tapir todt war. »Wohin ist denn der Tapir gegangen, mein Freund?« fragte der Jaguar den Ameisenbär. »»Ich habe ihn nicht gesehen«, sagte der Ameisenbär zum Jaguar. »»Hast denn du ihn nicht gesehen?«« sagte der Ameisenbär zum Jaguar und fuhr fort: »»ich esse kein Fleisch, ich esse stets Termiten; Fleisch esse ich nicht««. »Ich habe ihn getödtet«, sagte der Jaguar. Der Jaguar weidete den Tapir aus und gab (eine grobe Revanche, als wollte er sagen: »da hast du auch so einen Fleischfresser«) den Koth des Tapirs dem Ameisenbär. »Zünde Feuer an, mein Freund«, sagte der Jaguar. Der Ameisenbär zündete Feuer an. Der Jaguur stellte den Bratrost auf und briet.

»Ich habe Durst«, sagte der Ameisenbär. »Wasser giebt es hier nicht!« sagte der Jaguar. »Wohl giebt es«, sagte der Ameisenbär, »es sind dort wilde Buriti-Palmen.« Der Ameisenbär ging, er ging weit, aber Wasser fand er nicht.

Da pisste er, trank seinen Urin und wusch sich auch damit. In seinem Urin drinnen fand er ein Lambaré Fischchen. (Der Erzähler macht es sich etwas leicht, den Ameisenbär mit einem Beweisstück für seine Behauptung auszustatten). Er ging zum Lagerplatz zurück und, als er ankam, fragte der Jaguar: »Hast Du Wasser getrunken, mein Freund?« »Ich habe getrunken«, sagte der Ameisenbär. »Sieh den Lambaré, den ich gefangen!« »Auch ich gehe trinken. Ist es weit?« »Es ist ein bischen weit«, sagte der Ameisenbär. Der Jaguar ging, Wasser zu trinken. Als der Jaguar schon weit gegangen war, rief er: »Wo ist das Wasser, wo?« »Weiterhin! Weiterhin!«

Als der Ameisenbär den fernen Jaguar nicht mehr hörte, legte er den Tapirbraten in eine Kiepe hinein und kletterte auf einen Jatobá-Baum. Der Jaguar kam zum Bratrost zurück; da gab es keinen Tapirbraten mehr. Der Jaguar ging auf der Spur und sah den Ameisenbär oben auf der Jatobá. »Komm, wir wollen essen!« sagte der Jaguar zum Ameisenbär. Der Ameisenbär ass den Tapir und — die Reihe war wieder an ihm, den Andern zu verhöhnen — die Tapirknochen warf er dem Jaguar zu. Der Jaguar, (der auf den hohen, schlanken Stamm der Jatobá nicht hinaufklettern konnte und nachsann, wie er den Ameisenbär herunterhole,) rief die Beissameisen. Die Beissameisen kletterten auf die Jatobá. Aber der Ameisenbär blies. Da gingen die Beissameisen wieder fort. Nun rief der Jaguar den Wind. Der Wind kam, den Baum zu brechen. Er kam zum Ameisenbär und entwurzelte die Jatobá. Die Jatobá stürzte. Der Ameisenbär entfloh. Wohl packte der Jaguar zu, aber er ergriff nur ein Termitennest, das auf der Jatobá sass.

Der Jaguar machte sich auf den Weg und suchte. Endlich traf er den Ameisenbär, wie er Termiten ass. Der Ameisenbär hatte sich eine Glatze geschoren. »Du, mein Freund, meinen Braten hast Du gegessen.« »Deinen Braten?« sagte der Ameisenbär, »Deinen Braten ass ich nicht.« »Grade Du hast meinen Braten soeben aufgegessen, sagte der Jaguar zum Ameisenbär. »Einer, der mir ähnlich sieht, hat ihn gegessen. Matawiwe (ein kleiner Artgenosse), der hat Deinen Braten gegessen,« sagte der Ameisenbär. »Habe ich etwa so ausgesehen?« fragte der Ameisenbär. »Du willst mich betrügen. Du hast Dir eine Glatze geschoren«, sagte der Jaguar.

(Der Fall ist nicht zu entscheiden, so schlägt der Ameisenbär eine Wettleistung vor; wer gewinnt, hat Recht. Er fühlte sich bei dieser Art zu »tanzen«, sehr sicher, und der Jaguar hatte auch anfangs keine Lust, darauf einzugehen). Nun sagte der Ameisenbär: »Lass uns ordentlich tanzen, mein Freund.« »Wir wollen das Tanzen bleiben lassen,« sagte der Jaguar. »Aber, so lass uns nur tanzen,« sagte der Jaguar. Zuerst trug der Jaguar den Ameisenbär. Dann trug der Ameisenbär den Jaguar. Wieder trug der Jaguar den Ameisenbär. (Er konnte den Ameisenbär öfter tragen, als dieser ihm zugetraut hätte, und war daran, zu gewinnen). Da riss der Ameisenbär dem Jaguar die Augen aus und entfloh. Das Pindoreiro-Vögelchen sah den Ameisenbär weglaufen.

Das Agutí (*Dasyprocta aguti*, ein sehr geschickt spürendes, hübsches Nagetierchen, »Goldhase«,) fand die Augen und setzte sie dem Jaguar wieder ein. Als seine Augen eingesetzt waren, stand der Jaguar auf und ging dahin, wo der Ameisenbär gegangen war. Der Ameisenbär war im Berg drinnen und sang. Der Jaguar ging in das Haus hinein. Singend kam der Ameisenbär mit dem Rücken auf die Thür zu. Wie er kam, packte ihn der Jaguar. Er ass von seinem Bein. Als er gegessen hatte, liess er los und ging nach Hause. Den Ameisenbär machten die Termiten gesund. Als er geheilt war, erhob sich der Ameisenbär.

Der kleine Ameisenbär (*Myrmecophaga tetradactyla*) sagte, er werde den Jaguar töten. »Ach was, du bist kein Riese«, erklärten ihm die Leute. »Dann nimm Zaubergift mit«, sagten ihm die Leute. Wie sie gesagt hatten, that der kleine Ameisenbär; er nahm Zaubergift in einem Kürbis mit zu Oka's Haus und legte den Kürbis vor die Thür. Oka ging aus. Als er den Kürbis erblickte, sagte er: »da ist etwas Hübsches für mich« und öffnete ihn. Da wurde Oka krank. Der Jaguar starb.

[p. 387]

XIV. KAPITEL.

Zur Frage über die Urheimat der Karaiben.

I. Geschichtliches von den Bakaïri.

Westbakaïri nenne ich im Gegensatz zu den erst durch unsere Expedition von 1884 und 1887 gefundenen Ostbakaïri des Schingú die den Brasiliern längst bekannten Bakaïri westlich des Paranatinga. Heute gibt es von ihnen ein Dorf, dem unser Antonio angehörte, am linken Ufer des Paranatinga, und ein zweites an dem kleinen Nebenbach des Arinos, dem Rio Novo, wo Reginaldo als Häuptling schaltete, und wo wir 1884 die erste Bekanntschaft des Stammes machten. Einzelne Individuen, die man jedoch an den Fingern aufzählen kann, finden sich als Arbeiter auf der einen oder anderen Fazenda im westlichen Quellgebiet des Paranatinga; auch sollen ein paar am Rio Preto in der Nähe von Diamantino leben, die den Rest einer früheren Ansiedelung darstellen. Jedenfalls sind die Westbakaïri, da Arinos und Paranatinga in den Tapajoz fliessen, sämtlich Bewohner des östlichen Quellgebietes des Tapajoz und finden sich nur im Gebiet der Hochebene oberhalb der Stromschnellen und Wasserfälle, die der Thalfahrt nach dem Amazonas hinunter schwere Hindernisse in den Weg legen.

Die Westbakaïri sind seit den ersten Streifzügen der »Paulisten«, der von der Provinz S. Paulo auf ihren Sklavenjagden am Beginn des vorigen Jahrhunderts kühn vordringenden Entdecker des Matogrosso bekannt. Schon Antonio Pires de Campos, von dem wir aus dem Jahre 1723 einen Bericht*) »nach der Erfahrung so vieler Jahre« besitzen, hat von ihnen gehört; nachdem er (Seite 448) die — heute längst verschollenen — Stämme des obern Cuyabá und des in ihn einmündenden Rio Manso kurz gekennzeichnet hat, fährt er fort: »alle diese haben gleiche Lebensweise, gleiche Art der Waffen und alles Uebrige gleich, sie sind Wanderstämme und gelangen mit ihren Streifzügen dahin, Uebles zuzufügen dem Heidenvolk des Namens Bacayris, die an den Zuflüssen des Maranhão (sic!) wohnen; und von dort weiter folgen sich verschiedene Stationen von Heiden

*) Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico XXV, p. 448. Rio de Janeiro 1862.

mit unzähligen Dörfern, wie ich Nachricht habe, und alles sehr kriegerische Leute und Meister ihrer Waffen.«

Die Bakairi werden auch in einem Bericht über eine Fahrt von Pará bis in das Quellgebiet des Madeira aus dem Jahre 1749 erwähnt, und so mag es noch weiterhin in mancher alten Notiz über die Entstehung der matogrossenser Goldminen geschehen. Es handelt sich immer nur um flüchtige Nennung des Stammnamens, die uns weitere Belehrung nicht bietet. Höchstens lässt sich aus diesen Zitaten der Schluss ableiten, dass die Bakairi im vorigen Jahrhundert zahlreicher gewesen sein müssen und vielleicht etwas mehr nach West und Südwest vorgeschoben waren als heutzutage. Das wird aber deutlicher aus ihrer eigenen Tradition hervorgehen.

Eine engere Berührung mit den Brasiliern hat erst in dem Anfange der zwanziger Jahre unseres Säkulums stattgefunden. Damals gelangte der »Padre« Lopes bis in die Gegend des Paranatinga und bekehrte die Westbakairi zum Christentum. Lopes war ein verwegener Goldsucher, von dem der Maler der Langsdorff'schen Expedition*) 1828 bemerkt, dass er in Begleitung von Apiaká-Indianern den Rio dos Peixes, einen Nebenfluss des Arinos, hinaufgegangen sei und »mit vielen Wilden gekämpft habe«. Jedenfalls gelten die Westbakairi seit seinem Besuch, der dem Grossvater Reginaldo's und Anderen das Leben kostete, als Christen. Wie überflüssig die Gewaltthätigkeiten des edlen Lopes gewesen sind, geht am besten aus den folgenden Worten des Geographen Ayras de Cazal in seiner Corographia Brasilica vom Jahre 1817, also vor Lopes, hervor: »Die Baccahirys, welche die dem Rio das Mortes benachbarten Gebiete bewohnen, unterhalten einen unaufhörlichen Krieg gegen alle Arten Vierfüssler und Vögel. Bis heute hat dieses Volk den Christen keine Feindseligkeiten zugefügt. Man sagt, dass sie weiss seien und freundlich: ein Grund, weshalb man sie für eine Horde der Paricys ansieht.«

Der eigentliche Grund, weshalb man die Bakairi für eine Horde der Paresí ansehen konnte, wie auch von Martius geschieht, ist einfach der, dass man weder von dem einen noch von dem andern der benachbarten Stämme genauere Kenntnis hatte. Wenn die Eingeborenen gelegentlich in kleiner Zahl nach Cuyabá kamen, um sich einige Geschenke von Eisenwaaren, Hemden, Hosen, Decken bei der Regierung zu erbetteln, empfand man sie als lästige Gäste, die man so rasch als möglich los zu werden suchte, und um deren Sprache oder Eigenthümlichkeiten sich kein Beamter zu kümmern brauchte. Sie wohnten nicht etwa in der Nähe einer zwei Hauptorte verbindenden Verkehrsstrasse, sondern sassen im Gegenteil hinter den allerletzten kleinen und selbst schon gering geachteten Kolonisten, dort, wo die Welt mit Brettern zugenagelt war, sie thaten keinem dieser Nachbarn etwas zu Leide und boten deshalb der Regierung gar kein Interesse dar. Der gute Häuptling Felipe im Paranatingadorf zerbrach sich vergeblich den Kopf, wie

*) Hercules Florence, vgl. Revista Trimensal Bd. 38 II, p. 280.

2: Steinen SP7 Bacairi

es komme, dass die das Land mit Brand und Plünderung heimsuchenden Bororó, sobald man einiger Individuen habhaft wurde, reiche Geschenke erhielten, und dass er selbst mit seinen Stammesgenossen, die sich seit Generationen der schönsten Friedfertigkeit befleissigt hatten, noch von seinem letzten Besuch des grossen Kapitäns mit leeren Händen habe zurückkehren müssen.

Fast Alles, was wir aus brasilischen Quellen über die Westbakaïri erfahren können, findet sich in einem Bericht der Directoria dos Indios, vgl. den Auszug im Anhang, vom Jahre 1848 vereinigt.*) Die Bakaïri des Paranatinga und Rio Novo haben sich in ihren beiden armen Dörfern erhalten; sie wurden gelegentlich von Goldsucherexpeditionen besucht, die alsdann eine kleine Massentaufe veranstalteten und Syphilis und Masern einführten. An den Masern sind Viele zu Grunde gegangen; nicht nur wird die bei uns verhältnissmässig harmlose Krank-

*) Im Jahrgang 1862 der Petermannschen Mittheilungen findet sich p. 437 ein Referat über einen Aufsatz, den Dr. Amédée Moure in den »Nouvelles Annales des Voyages« über 33 Stämme der Provinz Mato Grosso nach eigenen Erfahrungen und Erlebnissen veröffentlicht hat. Der Referent hat die Angaben Dr. Moure's in einer nach Stamm, Kopfzahl und Wohnsitzen geordneten Tabelle übersichtlich vereinigt. Wir begegnen unter den Stämmen solchen, die mit einer Kopfzahl von 20,000, 30,000, ja 50,000 angesetzt sind. Addiert man die Minima und Maxima der Schätzungen zusammen, so erhält man das Ergebniss, dass die Zahl der Indianer des Mato Grosso 241,800 bis 282,000 beträgt. Wenn man heute die Gesamtzahl der matogrossenser Bevölkerung aller Farben, aller zahmen und wilden Bewohner jeglicher Kulturstufe auf etwa 70,000 zu schätzen pflegt, so kommt man zweifellos der Wahrheit um Vieles näher. Der Originalaufsatz von Dr. Moure (Nouvelles Annales des Voyages de la géographie, de l'histoire et de l'archéologie, Tome II 1862 p. 5—19, 323—341, III p. 77—100, Paris) enthält auch kleine sachliche Ungeheuerlichkeiten, wie z. B. die, dass die Cambixis, die in den Campos dos Parecis wohnen und einen reinen Nu-Aruak-Dialekt haben, die peruanische Kechua-Sprache reden, indessen sind viele Einzelheiten doch von solcher Bestimmtheit, dass eine gute Information zu Grunde liegen musste. Die Quelle des Herrn Dr. Moure habe ich in Cuyabá wieder aufgefunden; sie bietet buchstäblich und wörtlich den allergrössten Teil seiner sachlichen Angaben, weiss aber nichts von den übertriebenen Zahlen, die man auch kaum vor einem Cuyabaner aussprechen konnte, ohne ein ungläubiges Lächeln bei ihm hervorzurufen.

Diese Quelle ist das »Archiv« der »Directoria dos Indios«, einer den 12. Mai 1840 in einem Gutachten des Präsidenten (vgl. Bd. IX der Rev. Trim; dieses zählt die damals bekannten Indianerdörfer in der Zahl von 21 auf, ohne der Bakairi Erwähnung zu thun) beantragten Aufsichtsbehörde. Der Direktor hat, um den Indianerhäuptlingen imponieren zu können, den Rang eines Brigadegenerals — er war zu unserer Zeit ein bescheidener Bürger mit spärlichem Gehalt, dem indessen, wenn er zu Grabe getragen wird, auch die seinem Rang gebührenden militärischen Ehren erwiesen werden. Das Archiv, dessen Einsicht mir verstattet wurde, war ein dünnes Folioheft; die Aufzeichnungen begannen mit dem 1. Oktober 1848. In der ersten Begeisterung hat der Direktor Joaquim Alvez Ferreira am 2. Dezember 1848 eine Uebersicht über 33 Stämme mit erläuternden Zusätzen zusammengestellt und sich dadurch ein grosses Verdienst um seine Nachfolger erworben: Keiner gab sich später die Mühe selbständig zu prüfen, und wenn man für die Behörden neuer Zahlennachweise bedurfte, schrieb man vertrauensvoll den Bericht von 1848 ab. So beschränken sich auch Dr. Moure's eigene Erfahrungen und Erlebnisse auf eine wortgetreue Uebersetzung des Aktenstücks; nur hat er die Seelenzahl von 13,020 verzwanzigfacht! Klassisch ist eine neue, sauber geschriebene Tabelle der Direktorial-Akten vom 13. März 1872. Es war nötig geworden, den gewaltigen und allgemein bekannten Veränderungen, die der Paraguay-Krieg im Süden der Provinz hervorgerufen hatte, Rechnung zu tragen. Von den 1848 unter No. 3—15 aufgezählten Stämmen wurden drei gestrichen, die Gesamtsumme wurde von 13,020 auf 8070 herabgesetzt, dagegen wurde für die Stämme 1, 2, 16—33 der alte Bericht wieder wörtlich abgeschrieben, sodass hier in den 24 Jahren kein Mensch geboren und gestorben zu sein scheint.

heit den Indianern überhaupt leicht verhängnissvoll, sie haben auch die üble Gewohnheit, sich mitten im stärksten Fieber in den Fluss zu stürzen und trocknen sich nicht ab, wenn sie das kühle Bad verlassen.

Ich habe mich bemüht, von dem uralten Caetano, Häuptling a. D., und seinem Nachfolger Felipe am Paranatinga wie von Antonio Genaueres über die Geschichte des Stammes zu erfahren. Da lässt sich nun eine Geschichte der neueren Zeit deutlich abtrennen, während deren sich eine Verschiebung nach Südwesten vollzogen hat. Während die Vorfahren am Salto des Paranatinga, einige Tagereisen unterhalb des heutigen Dorfes und etwas oberhalb der Einmündung des von links kommenden Rio Verde wohnten, haben die Westbakairí mindestens seit der Mitte des vorigen Jahrhunderts das Grenzgebiet zwischen den Quellflüssen des Arinos, Cuyabá und Paranatinga besetzt gehalten, wo sich jetzt noch das Dorf am Rio Novo befindet. Am Ribeirão Caixão gab es mehr als sechs Dörfer, ein grosses Dorf befand sich am Ribeirão da Pedra. Die erste Taufe von Bakairí hat in Diamantino stattgefunden. Der aller Schätzung nach noch im vorigen Jahrhundert geborene Caetano erblickte das Licht der Welt an der Einmündung des Rio Beijaflor in den Paranatinga. Das heute oberhalb gelegene Paranatingadorf ist eine Schöpfung der neuesten Zeit durch den Goldsucher Correa veranlasst. Die den fabelhaften Goldminen der Martyrios nachspürenden Expeditionen konnten hier am besten über den Paranatinga setzen und wünschten die Kanus der Bakairí zu benutzen wie auch von ihnen Lebensmittel zu erhalten. Antonio wurde, frühestens Ende der funfziger Jahre, in Limoeiro, einer kleinen Ansiedelung, geboren.

Eine chronologische Handhabe wird in den Vorfahren Antonio's geboten. Sein Vater Seseriari hatte auch noch einen portugiesischen Namen, sein Grossvater hiess, wie auch ein Indianer in dem ersten Batovy-Dorf, Karawako, der Urgrossvater Yakauka, der Ururgrossvater Kupare und der letzte, dessen Namen Antonio noch kannte, also der Ururgrossvater Mariukara. Dieser wohnte nahe am Salto des Paranatinga. Die Reihenfolge könnte, die Generation zu 30 Jahren gerechnet, bis vor die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts zurückgehen. Der wahrscheinlich um 1790 geborene Caetano sollte, was ich leider nicht mehr feststellen konnte, noch sechs oder sieben Vorfahren bei Namen nennen können, so dass seine Genealogie bis in die Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts reichen würde. Caetano's Vater wurde am Paranatinga, oberhalb des Salto, erst sein Grossvater am Salto selbst geboren. Jedenfalls sind die Angaben der Bakairí in bester Uebereinstimmung mit der Nachricht des Antonio Pires, dass die Bakairí am Anfang des vorigen Jahrhunderts mit den Stämmen am Oberlauf des Cuyabá in Berührung waren.

Es ist nicht unwichtig, die Tradition, soweit sie noch nicht als Legende und Märchen erscheint, nach Kräften festzustellen, weil es sehr wünschenswerth ist zu wissen, ob die heutigen Westbakairí, die Bewohner des Tapajoz-Quellgebietes, oder die Ostbakairí im Quellengebiet des Schingú die älteren Wohnsitze innehaben.

Die Westbakaïrí verlegen die Urheimat des ganzen Stammes mit Bestimmtheit an den Salto des Paranatinga, sodass unser Karaibenstamm ursprünglich dem Tapajoz angehören würde. Aber die westlichen Quellflüsse des Schingú und die östlichen des Paranatinga liegen in so unmittelbarer Nachbarschaft, dass es rein vom Zufall abhängt, wohin flussabwärts ziehende Stämme geraten. »Einer der Grossväter« Caetano's wurde im Walde von einem andern Bakaïrí erschlagen; innerhalb des Stammes herrschten damals böse Streitigkeiten und die Folge war — so lautet der Bericht der Paranatingaleute — dass ein Teil der Bakaïrí vom Salto zum Kulisehu zog.

Auch zwischen Paranatinga und Ronuro giebt es eine den Westbakaïrí bekannte »Tapeira«, eine verfallene Ansiedelung, aus vergangener Zeit. Vom Salto hat einstmals ein Weg bis zu den Auetó am Kulisehu geführt, der also den Ronuro oder seine Quellflüsschen und den Batovy passieren musste. Auf diesem Weg seien die Bakaïrí geflohen und hätten sich teilweise am Batovy, teilweise am Kulisehu niedergelassen. Von den Nahuquá hätten sie Mandiokazweige, Bataten und Caräfrüchte zum Anpflanzen erhalten.

Das sind also ganz bestimmte Angaben. Wann sich aber die Trennung zwischen West- und Ostbakaïrí vollzogen hat, und ob sie in mehreren Schüben vor sich gegangen ist, ist schwer zu sagen. Wie eben schon der Stamm der Auetó und der Nahuquá in der Ueberlieferung des Paranatingadorfes erscheint, so habe man dort auch noch von den Zeiten der Grossväter Caetano's her Namen der übrigen Kulisehustämme, der Mehinakú, Yaulapiti, Kustenaú, Waurá, Kamayurá und Trumaí gekannt. Im dritten Bakaïrídorf am Batovy haben wir ein kleines Stück Eisen gefunden, das früher vom Pakuneru, dem Paranatinga, gebracht worden sei; so mögen gelegentliche Besuche zwischen hüben und drüben noch vorgekommen oder wenigstens dann und wann noch Paranatinga-Bakaïrí an den Schingú gelangt sein.

Aber im Allgemeinen habe ich den Eindruck gewonnen, dass die eigentliche Trennung der beiden Bakaïrígruppen sich spätestens um die Mitte oder den Anfang des vorigen Jahrhunderts vollzogen hat, als die Brasilier sich im Matogrosso festsetzten und grosse Verschiebungen der Stämme veranlassten. Wahrscheinlich hat es sich nicht nur um eine einzelne innere Fehde der Anwohner des Salto, sondern auch um die bösen Nachbarn gehandelt, von denen die friedfertigeren Bakaïrí bedrängt und gelegentlich vertrieben wurden.

In den brasilischen Quellen werden als Feinde der Bakaïrí angegeben die Nambiquara, Tapanhuna und Kayabí, über die aber keine näheren Mitteilungen vorliegen. Die Nambiquara und Tapanhuna, Feinde der Apiaká, wohnten im Arinosgebiet; von den Tapanhuna giebt Joaquim Ferreira Moutinho*) an, dass sie die Bakaïrí-Sprache redeten; leider sind niemals überhaupt Aufzeichnungen von der Sprache der Bakaïrí, geschweige von der der Tapanhuna

*) Noticia da Provincia de Mato Grosso, S. Paulo 1869, p. 216.

gemacht worden, und leider hat der Verfasser, wie wir bei den Bororó sehen werden, keinen Anspruch auf irgendwelche Glaubwurdigkeit in diesen Dingen.

Eine erwähnenswerte Angabe im 40. Bande des Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico (Rio de Janeiro 1877, II, p. 97) bezieht sich auf den einst weit und breit gefürchteten Stamm der Mundrukú, die heute am mittlern und untern Tapajoz sitzen, früher aber höher hinauf wohnten. Antonio Manoel Gonçalves Tocantins, der sie 1875 besuchte, bemerkt: »in früheren Zeiten schlugen sie auch die Bakairí, die sie Mureufuátes nennen, und die sie zwangen, in das Matogrosso zu gehen, wo sie (»aldeiert«) in Dörfern angesiedelt wurden.« Der letztere Zusatz zeigt, dass es sich nur um Ereignisse verhältnismässig jüngerer Zeit, aus der brasilischen Aera, handeln kann. Auch muss man nach dieser Stelle nicht etwa glauben, dass die Bakairí in der Provinz Pará gewohnt hätten; »Matogrosso« heisst bei den Ansiedlern des untern Tapajoz das Gebiet des Oberlaufs und der Quellarme Juruena und Arinos; die Mundrukú wohnten selbst neben den Apiaká in der Provinz Matogrosso, wo sie Sarumá heissen, und haben alle Stämme des Arinos- und Schingúgebietes mit ihren Angriffen beunruhigt. Die Bakairí, die sie »Mandurukú« nannten, hatten sie in lebhafter Erinnerung, gaben aber an, dass ihre Einfälle jetzt nicht mehr vorkämen, da sie nach Norden gezogen seien.

Die Hauptfeinde der Westbakairí und wahrscheinlich, sofern die Tradition Recht hat, schon der vereinigten Bakairí waren die Kayabí. »Unbezwungene Wilden in der Nähe des Salto«, sagt der Bericht der Directoria dos Indios. Was ich bei den Bakairí über sie allmählich in Erfahrung zu bringen vermochte, ist das Folgende. Die Kayabí nennen sich selbst Paruá, sie seien, was aber der Bestätigung bedarf, ihrer Sprache nach Verwandte der Kamayurá am Kulisehu, würden also ein Tupí-Stamm sein. Sie sind starke Leute und, wie der nahebei wohnende Tupí-Stamm der Apiaká, Liebhaber der Anthropophagie. Sie pflanzen Mandioka, Mais, Bataten, Mandubí u. s. w. grade wie die übrigen. Sie haben hübsch gearbeitete, umflochtene Keulen von Bakayuva-Palmholz, die etwa $1^1/_2$ m lang, von der Form flacher Stäbe sind und in einem Strick am Arm getragen werden. Auch darin würden sie mit den Kamayurá übereinstimmen. Die Pfeile sind von Kambayuva-Rohr wie die der Yuruna, aber kleiner. Sie besitzen keine Wurfbretter — ein wichtiger Unterschied von den Kamayurá.

Die Kayabí wohnen am Rio Verde, dessen Quellen zwischen dem Rio Novo- und dem Paranatingadorf der Bakairí liegen, und der rechts in den Paranatinga unterhalb des berühmten Salto einfliesst. Ihre Nachbarschaft zu den Bakairí ist also freilich die allernächste. Seit uralter Zeit besteht die Feindschaft. Nur ganz im Anfang hatte man sich vertragen: die Kayabí seien bei den Bakairí erschienen, um bei ihnen zu wohnen, und hätten sich an einem Bach in ihrer Nähe angesiedelt; dann kam es zur Fehde. Ich erinnere an die Kayabí der Kerisage; hier treten sie bereits im Himmel auf, vgl. S. 375. Die alten Bakairí seien den Paranatinga bis unterhalb des Rio Verde hinabgezogen, und

hätten sich aus Furcht vor den Kayabí wieder zurückbegeben. Die Kayabí seien im Besitz der Steinbeile gewesen und das habe Anlass zu Streitigkeiten geboten.

Von Zusammenstössen aus jüngerer Zeit wurde mir Genaueres berichtet. Die Kayabí haben den Vater des Felipe getötet, sie griffen zur Nacht an und nahmen auch ein Kind mit. Antonio's Grossvater, Vater und Oheim drangen bis zur Mündung des Rio Verde vor; die Kayabí waren dort auf der Jagd und suchten Muscheln. Die Bakairí kamen Nachmittags an und hielten sich vorsichtig zurück, aber früh am Morgen, als die Kayabí noch in der Hängematte lagen, machten sie einen Ueberfall und töteten zwei, während die Andern davonliefen. Die Kayabí waren mit Arimesca-Oel (aus einer Schlingpflanze) und Urukú eingerieben und stanken wie der Teufel. Sie hatten Kürbisschalen bei sich, eine andere Art Urukú, Bogen und Pfeile. Im Paranatingadorf fanden wir 1884 zwei Kayabífrauen, die leider kein Wort ihrer Muttersprache mehr wussten, Maria und Luisa Kayabí*). Einige zwanzig Bakairí hatten den Raubzug an die Mündung des Rio Verde unternommen und die beiden kleinen Mädchen eingefangen nebst einer Schwester von Luisa, die aber so heftig um sich biss, dass sie getötet werden musste.

Wenn ich also neben der Lesart, dass Zwistigkeiten unter den Bakairí selbst einen Exodus nach dem Schingú veranlasst haben, auch die andere empfing, dass eine Anzahl Bakairí vor den Kayabí dorthin geflohen seien, so ist es ja wohl möglich, dass beide berechtigt sind und sich auf verschiedene Gelegenheiten beziehen.

Eine Verschiebung in gleicher Richtung, die mich nicht wenig überraschen musste, wurde mir für die Suyá berichtet. Die Suyá, die wir 1884 am Oberlauf des Schingú gefunden haben, sind ein echter Ges-Stamm und sprachlich den Apinages der Provinz Goyaz zwischen Tocantins und Araguay am nächsten verwandt. Sie hätten ebenfalls am Rio Verde westlich vom Paranatinga gewohnt und seien von dem nahen Arinos dorthin gekommen. Sie müssten also, da wir an ihrem östlichen Ursprung festhalten dürfen, zuerst über den Schingú und Paranatinga hinüber nach Westen verschlagen worden sein und dann eine rückläufige Bewegung gemacht haben. Die Bakairí erzählen, dass sie sich mit den Kayapó, die ausgezeichnete Schützen wären, verbündet und die Suyá aus der Nachbarschaft am Rio Verde vertrieben hätten. Eine Menge Suyá seien getötet worden, und der Stamm habe sich an den Schingú geflüchtet. Hyacintho, der älteste Indianer des Rio Novodorfes, sei mit Antonio's Grossvater noch Teilnehmer des Kampfes gewesen, sodass die Begebenheit frühestens in das erste Viertel unseres Jahrhunderts fiele.

Im Süden und Südosten sind die Westbakairí in anscheinend freundlichem Verkehr mit dem Gês-Stamm der Kayapó gewesen. Aus brasilischen Quellen, die aber überhaupt die Ausdehnung dieses Stammes unterschätzen, ist nichts da-

*) Vgl. »Durch Centralbrasilien« p. 283 und die Körpermessungen Tabelle hinter Seite 304. Hier irrtümlich *Cajibi* geschrieben.

ruber bekannt, dass die Kayapó bis in diese Gegend gereicht haben. Sie melden nur von Angriffen der »Coroados« auf die Fazendas am obern Cuyabá, die Bakairí aber, die es besser wissen mussten, bezeichneten diesen Stamm als »*kayizo*« Kayapó, und sie nennen auch den am weitesten von Osten kommenden Quellfluss des Paranatinga den Kayapófluss. Dieselben Kayapó sind östliche oder südöstliche Nachbarn der Kulisehu-Bakairí, wie diese mir berichteten.

Ich habe endlich zu erfahren gesucht, wie weit der Gesichtskreis der West-Bakairí nach Westen reiche: die Paressí sind ihnen als alte Nachbarn wohlbekannt. Westlich jenseits von Diamantino hinter den Paressí wohnen noch, gab man an, die »Woimaré« und »Eneurá«. Sie seien keine Verwandten der Paressí, eine Behauptung, die für die »Woimaré« nicht zutrifft, wie wir bei den Paressí sehen werden. Die »Eneurá« sind sonst unbekannt. Noch viel weiter wohnen die ebenfalls unbekannten »Pekoban«. Die Vorfahren seien bis dahin vorgedrungen und hätten erzählt, es gebe dort einen grossen Fluss und die Pekoban lebten jenseits desselben. Das könnte nur der Guaporé, der Oberlauf des Madeira, sein.

Sehr bemerkenswerth ist schliesslich eine Notiz über die Guaná; sie hätten in sehr, sehr alten Zeiten am Rio Beijaflor gewohnt, einem linken Nebenfluss des Paranatinga, der noch oberhalb des Rio Verde einmündet. Vgl. Seite 379.

Das ist alles, was ich aus dem Munde der Westbakairí über die Geschichte des Stammes und seine Beziehungen zu den Nachbarn erfahren konnte. Fasse ich die Traditionen zusammen, so waren die ältesten Bakairí am Salto des Paranatinga ansässig, gehörten also jedenfalls dem Quellgebiet des Tapajoz an, und von dort aus wanderte ein Teil von ihnen an den Batovy und Kulisehu in das Quellgebiet des Schingú. Nach der Sage sind sie aus dem Paranatinga- und Ronuro-Quellgebiet an den Salto gelangt.

Die Trennung der West- und Ostbakairí würde unter allen Umständen mindestens in des vorige Jahrhundert zurückverlegt werden müssen und vor die Zeit fallen, als die Bakairí sich nach Südwesten in das Quellgebiet des Cuyabá ausdehnten. Die sprachliche Vergleichung steht mit diesen Schlüssen in gutem Einklang; die beiden Gruppen der Bakairí reden eine nach Form und Inhalt identische Sprache mit geringen mundartlichen Verschiedenheiten. Einige Fische und Bäume werden verschieden bezeichnet; der Name der Akuri-Palme des Kulisehu ist der der Oaussú-Palme vom Paranatinga und umgekehrt. Von Seiten der Schingú-Bakairí steht vollkommen fest, dass sie niemals in irgend eine Berührung mit dem weissen Mann getreten sind.

Durch unsere Expedition von 1884 kamen West- und Ostbakairí wieder zusammen. Antonio erzählte nach seiner Heimkehr an den Paranatinga von den Stammesgenossen am Batovy, und der praktische Häuptling Felipe verfiel auf den Gedanken, dass er versuchen müsse, sie zur Ansiedelung am Paranatinga zu bewegen. Er machte sich mit Antonio und einem Andern im September 1886 auf den Weg, sie erreichten den Batovy in drei Tagen und gebrauchten weitere drei Tage den Fluss entlang bis zum ersten Dorfe.

Der Häuptling Luku war *kuripu* und bewirtete sie nicht so glanzend, wie sie sich versprochen hatten, allein mehrere Ostbakairi, unser »Professor« von 1884 an der Spitze, begleiteten sie nach dem Paranatinga. Grosse Furcht hatten die Besucher vor dem Rindvieh, doch grosse Freude auch an den Gastgeschenken, mit denen Felipe nicht kargte. Ich erkundigte mich genau nach dem, was sie mitbekommen hätten. »Alles Eisen, was wir hatten, Hühner (was aber später bestritten wurde), kleine Bananenpflanzen, Mandiokazweige, Mais und Reis haben wir ihnen gegeben.« Da sieht man also, wie sofort die erste Gelegenheit benutzt wird, um die Kulturgewächse zu verpflanzen! Falls der Versuch gelungen ist, werden unsere Nachfolger am Schingú Bananen essen können!

Felipe begab sich im Januar 1887 frohgemut nach Cuyabá, um sich neue Eisenwaaren schenken zu lassen, allein dort hatte man kein Verständnis für seine Hoffnungen und schickte ihn mit leeren Händen heim. Tumayaua erzählte uns 1887, dass die Bakairi des ersten Batovydorfes von Neuem nach dem Paranatinga gegangen seien; sie müssen dort kurze Zeit nach unserm Abmarsch eingetroffen sein. Näheres darüber zu erfahren, hatte ich später keine Gelegenheit mehr.

II. Verschiebung der Karaiben nach Norden.

Hauptsächlich auf sprachliche Beweise gestützt, habe ich schon nach den Ergebnissen der ersten Schingú-Expedition die Hypothese zu vertheidigen gesucht, dass die neu entdeckten Karaiben im Quellgebiet des Tapajoz und Schingú den Ursitzen des Stammes näher wohnten als die Karaiben nördlich des Amazonas, dass diese von Süden her in die Guyanas eingewandert und von hier auf die Kleinen Antillen übergesetzt seien.

Eine gleich gerichtete Bewegung stellte ich nur für die immer neben den Karaiben erscheinenden Nu-Aruak vor, obgleich ich mir wohl bewusst blieb, dass hier eine weit grössere Unsicherheit vorliege, als bei den Karaiben. Vergl. »Durch Centralbrasilien«, S. 297. »Ob nun die gemeinsamen Urväter im Norden oder Süden des Streifens gewohnt haben, über den wir die Enkel verbreitet finden, ist bei dem heutigen Stand unserer Kenntnisse ziemlich gleichgültig. Mein Gefühl — das ist alles — findet sich besser mit der Annahme zurecht, dass die Bewegung von der Hochebene ausgegangen sei.« Mein Gefühl hatte mich nun für einen wichtigen Bestandteil der Nu-Aruakgruppe, die Paresí, von denen ich nach Cuyabaner Berichten falsche Vorstellungen hatte, durchaus betrogen; denn wenigstens sie sind nach den Angaben, die ich 1888 aus ihrem Munde erhielt, mit Sicherheit von Norden nach Süden vorgedrungen, mag die Grenze, wie weit ihre Heimat nach Norden zu verlegen ist, auch unbestimmt sein. Die Frage ist für die Nu-Aruak heute noch gar nicht zu übersehen, wir wissen zu wenig von den Moxos und den verwandten Stämmen in Bolivien und Westbrasilien, wir wissen noch weniger von den Chaco-Stämmen und müssen von den Aruak in den

Guyanas jedenfalls festhalten, dass sie hier eine ältere Kultur besassen als die Karaiben. Auch am Kulisehu trifft dies zu, selbst innerhalb der bescheideneren Verhältnisse, die dort vorliegen. Es ist recht wohl möglich, dass ihre Hauptbewegung von der der Karaiben sehr verschieden war.

Dagegen hat die bestimmter ausgesprochene karaibische Zentralhypothese seit 1884 neue Stützen erhalten. Die Beweise sind teils indirekte, wie ein kurzer Rückblick zeigen wird, teils direkte.

Das Problem, wo die Urheimat der Karaiben zu suchen sei, ist ungefähr so alt als die Entdeckung Amerikas. Dass schon die ersten Besucher der neuen Welt sich diese Frage vorlegen mussten, lässt sich leicht verstehen: denn das weitverbreitete Volk, das man zuerst auf den Kleinen Antillen und später an der nahen Küste Südamerikas kennen lernte, vor allen andern Indianern durch Tapferkeit, Stolz und Grausamkeit ausgezeichnet und alle die anderen mit Krieg, Mord und Plünderung heimsuchend, hatte die Inselkette des heute noch nach ihm benannten Meeres vor nicht allzulanger Zeit erst besetzt und erschien Allen als ein von ausser eingedrungenes Eroberervolk.

Derselbe Geschichtsschreiber, bei dem sich der Name »Karaibe« zum ersten Mal erwähnt findet und dessen berühmtes Buch 10 Jahre nach dem Tode des Kolumbus erschien, Petrus Martyr, spricht sich bereits für den fremden Ursprung des Namens aus und möchte ihn nach Nordamerika zurückleiten. Und dieser Gedanke hat sich lange behauptet; er drängte sich wie von selber auf, da man unwillkürlich bestrebt war, die Völkerschaften der beiden Kontinente auf dem Weg über die natürliche Brücke der Antillen zu verbinden; er hatte etwas ungemein Einleuchtendes auch insofern, als den Jägerstämmen des Nordens kein anderer Typus nach Charakter und Körperbildung in gleichem Maass verwandt erschien wie der der Karaiben.

Man berief sich auf zwei Sagen des nordamerikanischen Festlandes, die von der Vertreibung eines Stammes aus seinem alten Wohnsitz berichteten, man identifizierte die Karaiben mit den Vermissten, obwohl man weder in Florida, noch auf den Bahamainseln oder Grossen Antillen echt karaibische Elemente antraf. Ja, man vernahm bei der Mehrheit der Eingeborenen selbst die bestimmte Behauptung, sie seien von dem südlichen Festland gekommen, und ihre genauesten Kenner hoben dies mit Recht hervor.

Es verlohnte sich kaum, bei der nordamerikanischen, hauptsächlich von dem Engländer Bristock und dem Franzosen de Rochefort ausgebildeten und ausgeschmückten Hypothese zu verweilen, wenn sie nicht merkwürdigerweise zu später Zeit noch in Alexander von Humboldt einen Verteidiger gefunden hätte; dieser gesteht grade ihr die grösste Wahrscheinlichkeit zu und erklärt nur die Berechnung, dass die Wanderung um das Jahr 1100 vor sich gegangen sei, für willkürlich und unstatthaft.

War aber Humboldt mit dieser Meinung auf dem Irrweg, so ist doch die festere Umgrenzung des Begriffs »Karaibe«, so weit sie zu jener Zeit möglich

war, sein unbestrittenes Verdienst. Man hatte bis zu seiner Reise geglaubt, die Karaiben seien ausgestorben — und auf den Inseln waren sie allerdings namentlich in Kämpfen mit den Franzosen — zu Grunde gegangen oder hatten sich mit Negersklaven vermischt; die letzten Reste waren von den Engländern Ende des vorigen Jahrhunderts nach einer Insel im Golf von Honduras befördert worden.

Durch Humboldt wurde die Aufmerksamkeit nun erst wieder auf die Festland-Karaiben gelenkt, die in einer auf 40 000 Seelen veranschlagten Gesamtzahl sämtlich im Norden des Amazonenstroms zwischen seinen von links kommenden Nebenflüssen oder im weiten Gebiet des Orinoko sassen. Den damals bekannten Stämmen hat die neuere Zeit nicht wenige Namen hinzufügen können.

So musste naturgemäss die Ansicht zu Wort kommen, dass die Karaiben in demjenigen Lande, in dem sie am dichtesten vereinigt erscheinen, in dem Gebiet der Llanos von Venezuela und in dem heutigen Guyanas, also im Norden oder Nordosten des südamerikanischen Kontinents, von wo aus sie zu den Inseln übergesetzt waren, wahrscheinlich auch ihre Heimat hätten.

Indess diese Lösung war nicht befriedigend. Bei aller Verwandtschaft wiesen die Stämme nicht nur eine allgemein auffallende und stark ausgeprägte Verschiedenheit der Sprachen auf, sie verleugneten auch in ewigem Kampf mit andern Völkerschaften, besonders mit den altangesessenen Aruak nirgendwo den Charakter erobernder Eindringlinge. Hatte man also von den Inselkaraiben eingesehen: sie kamen vom südlich gelegenen Festland, traf man Karaibenstämme dort auch wirklich in unerwartet grosser Menge an, — so musste man sich doch jetzt sagen: auch hier sind sie nicht zu Hause.

Es blieb die Möglichkeit: sie sind vom Süden her eingewandert, sie haben den Amazonenstrom überschritten, sind einem oder mehreren seiner mächtigen Süd-Nebenflüsse entlang nach Norden vorgedrungen und entstammen irgend einem Gebiet der ungeheueren brasilischen Ländermasse. Doch gelangte man zu dieser Erwägung eigentlich nur, weil man sich nicht anders zu helfen wusste. Leider kannte man gar keine Karaiben in Brasilien; nur bei einem kleinen Stamm hoch im Nordosten des Reiches, bei den Pimenteira, hatte man in der Sprache deutlich karaibische Elemente finden können, aber so abscheulich entstellt und verstümmelt, dass sie keinen sicheren Anhaltspunkt gewährten. Das Einzige, was man als eine Stütze der neuen Vermutung vorbringen konnte, war ein Motiv mehr subjektiver Natur. Ueber das heutige Brasilien, der Küste entlang wie weit durch das tiefste Innere zerstreut, über das Paraguay-La-Plata-Gebiet bis nach Bolivien hinein und zum obern Amazonas waren die Tupívölker verbreitet, nicht minder seetüchtig, nicht minder wanderlustig als die Karaiben; diese Tupí konnten nun ja die Verwandten und Stammväter der Karaiben sein. Der Vorschlag fand seine besten Anwälte in einem Orbigny und vor allem in der Person des ausgezeichneten Begründers der brasilischen Ethnographie, in Martius, einem Manne, der sich um die Erforschung der amerikanischen Menschheit ungleich höhere Verdienste erworben hat als Humboldt. »Woher sind die Karaiben ursprünglich

gekommen?« fragt Martius. Wir wagen hierüber nur die Vermutung aufzustellen, dass sie Tupí waren. Auch diese haben, über einen grossen Teil Brasiliens sich ausbreitend, eine Oberherrschaft über andere Horden behauptet und lange Zeit eine athletische Körperbildung und heroische Gemütsart erhalten. Es ist nicht unwahrscheinlich, dass in früherer Zeit — vielleicht Jahrhunderte vor Ankunft der Europäer in der neuen Welt — Berührungen und Vermischungen zwischen den Tupí und den Bewohnern des Karaibenlandes stattgefunden haben, aus welcher die sogenannten Karaiben hervorgegangen sind, nicht als ein besonderes Volk, sondern als Leute von einer eigentümlichen Lebensweise, als Räuber, Piraten und Menschenschlächter.«

Ich habe bereits Seite 158 angeführt, dass die Verwandtschaft der Tupí und Karaiben auf das nicht aus dem Wege zu räumende Hindernis der bis in die Wurzelwörter hinein bestimmt ausgeprägten Verschiedenheit der Sprachen stösst. Da giebt es keine Brücke. Wenn die Untersuchung der Bakairísprache und ihre Vergleichung mit den nordkaraibischen Indianern dieses sichere Ergebnis geliefert hat, so ist andrerseits durch das nun erwiesene Vorhandensein einer karaibischen Bevölkerung im Innern des Kontinents die Südhypothese dennoch gerettet worden, und Lucien Adam, der sich in neuerer Zeit auf Grund seiner sorgfältigen Untersuchung der Karaibenidiome für die Heimat im Süden des Amazonas ausgesprochen hatte, darf sich der besten Bestätigung freuen.

Inzwischen ist auch bereits vor uns ein karaibischer Stamm im Süden des Amazonas gefunden worden. Ueber ihn, die »Palmellas«, berichtet in einer in Europa kaum bekannt gewordenen Reisebeschreibung der brasilische Arzt João Severiano da Fonseca *), der sie 1877 bei dem Destakament von Pedras Negras (12° 51′ 11″, 22 s. Br. und 19° 44′ 22″, 65 W. von Rio de Janeiro) am Guaporé kennen lernte und ein kleines Vokabular aufnahm. Einige 7 oder 8 Leguas entfernt in den letzten Ausläufern der Paressí-»Cordillere« wohnte dieser »Stamm von zahmen Indianern, der erst vor wenigen Jahren erschienen und mit den Bewohnern des Destakaments und den Flussfahrern in Verkehr getreten ist. Sie reden ein von dem der Guaporé-Stämme verschiedenes, mit portugiesischen und spanischen Wörtern vermengtes Idiom und können ihre Herkunft oder ihren Ursprung nicht angeben. Es ist aber bemerkenswert, dass eine grosse Anzahl ihrer Wörter dem Galibí-Dialekt gleich oder ähnlich sind.« Severiano erfuhr von drei Palmellas, die im Destakament waren, dass sie bis vor längerer Zeit (aber höchstens 80 Jahre zurück) bei der Mission S. Miguel der Baures angesiedelt gewesen und dorthin auch schon von anderswoher, aber sie wussten nicht mehr, aus welcher Gegend, als Flüchtlinge gekommen seien. Sie zählten etwa 400 Individuen, hätten jedoch bei einer Epidemie viele Leute durch Tod und Flucht verloren. Es waren friedliche Ackerbauer, wenig zur Jagd und Fischfang geneigt, sie bauten Mais, Mandioka, Igname, Erdnüsse, Kürbis, Zucker-

*) Viagem ao redor do Brasil 1875—1878 Rio de Janeiro, 1880. Bd. II, 190 ff.

rohr, Apfelsinen, Melonen und züchteten Hühner und Enten. Nach Angaben der Handelsleute seien unter den Indianern »einige wirklich weiss, mit rötlichem oder kastanienbraunem Haar wie die Herisobocones im Baures-Distrikt, die Tukunapeba und die Arara des untern Schingú«. Eine weisse Indianerin mit blauen Augen und einem Benehmen, das Spuren von Zivilisation erkennen lasse, werde unter dem Namen der »Senhora« von Allen ehrerbietig behandelt. Leider erfahren wir nicht den wirklichen Namen des Stammes und müssen uns mit dem »Palmella« begnügen, wie sie ein Cuyabaner Kautschukhändler zu taufen für gut fand. Ist der Stamm nun auch in den Baures-Distrikt erst von aussen eingewandert und seine Herkunft unbekannt, so bleibt die Thatsache doch sehr bemerkenswert, dass hier Karaiben in ansehnlicher Volkszahl im Quellgebiet des Madeira erscheinen.

Nun sind im östlichen Quellgebiet des Tapajoz und im westlichen des Schingú die Bakaïrí und die Nahuquá hinzugekommen. Sind die Westbakaïrí heute stark reduziert, so ist doch von ihrem jetzt verlassenen Salto des Paranatinga und von dem Gebiet zwischen Paranatinga und Ronuro aus die Verbreitung nach Osten zum Batovy und Kulisehu erfolgt, wo sie die fischreiche Gegend der Katarakte besetzt haben. Die Nahuquá sind die Herren des Kuluene, des Hauptquellarms des Schingú, dessen Untersuchung die wichtigste Aufgabe unserer Nachfolger bildet. Sie fallen mit ihren zahlreichen Dörfern so stark ins Gewicht, dass man den Satz aussprechen darf: es sind die Karaiben, die die Hauptmasse der Bevölkerung des Schingú-Quellgebiets darstellen.

Durch die Kulisehu-Bakaïrí und die Nahuquá ist das der Expedition von 1884 noch entgegenzuhaltende Bedenken, dass die Zahl unserer karaibischen Elemente zu gering sei, um für die vom Centrum des Kontinents her nach Norden gerichtete verwertet zu werden, beseitigt.

Was nun das Verhältnis von Bakaïri und Nahuquá zueinander betrifft, so ist festzuhalten, dass die beiden Stämme sich sprachlich nicht näher stehen als die Guyana-Karaiben untereinander. Ja, die Bakaïrí stehen den Makuschí oder Rukuyenn näher als den Nahuquá. Der Einfluss der benachbarten Nu-Aruak, der Töpferstämme des Kulisehu, auf die Sprache der Nahuquá ist deutlich ausgesprochen und dieser Verkehr, wie es heute der Fall ist, gewiss schon seit sehr langer Zeit enger und herzlicher gewesen als mit den Bakaïri. Dieser Umstand steht ganz im Einklang mit der Geschichte und Sage der Westbakaïri, wenn sie behaupten, dass der Ursitz ihres Stammes zwischen Ronuro und Paranatinga liege.

Die neueste Errungenschaft für die Karaibenfrage endlich und eine wegen der räumlichen Vermittlung, die sie gestattet, sehr wichtige sind die Apiaká. Martius spricht bereits von »Apiaká« im Strombecken des Tokantins, indem er sie neben den Karajá nennt und als Tupí betrachtet, wie es die in weit entlegenem Gebiet wohnenden, ebenfalls »Apiaká« genannten Indianer des obern Tapajoz in der That sind. Ehrenreich hat 1888, nachdem er den Araguay-Tokantins hinabgefahren war, einige Apiaká in Praia Grande getroffen und fest-

gestellt, dass es Karaiben sind. Er war überrascht durch die grosse körperliche Aehnlichkeit mit den Bakairí. Die Leute erzählten, dass sie von den Suyá vertrieben worden seien. Sie hatten sich nach Norden geflüchtet und sitzen jetzt westlich der letzten Strecke des untern Tokantins, wahrscheinlich in dem obern Gebiet des Uanapu und Pacayá, etwa auf dem 3. Grad südl. Br. Ehrenreich vermutet, dass die Wanderung erst vor einigen Jahrzehnten stattgefunden habe. Es liegt nahe, sie mit der Ortsveränderung in Beziehung zu setzen, die die Suyá selbst vorgenommen haben, indem sie in den ersten Jahrzehnten dieses Jahrhunderts (vgl. Seite 393) von dem Paranatingagebiet nach dem Schingú verdrängt wurden. Wir wissen auch noch nichts Näheres, ob nun die Apiaká westlich oder östlich des Schingú gesessen haben, allein die wichtige Thatsache, dass hier ein historischer Beleg für die Verschiebung von Karaiben aus Süden nach Norden vorliegt, wird dadurch nicht berührt. Die Breitenverschiebung ist auch sehr beträchtlich; denn die Suyá wohnen heute auf dem 11. Breitengrade und haben vorher am Rio Verde noch erheblich südlicher gewohnt, die Apiaká dagegen sitzen bereits in dichter Nachbarschaft des Amazonenstroms.

Die sprachliche Verwandtschaft der Apiaká und Bakairí ist eng, aber nicht enger als die einiger Karaibenstämme nördlich des Amazonas und der Bakairí! Es ist sehr interessant, dass die Apiaká bereits vielfach konsonantischen Auslaut und innerhalb des Worts Doppelkonsonanten haben. Aus den Ehrenreich'schen Vokabular, das noch nicht veröffentlicht ist, führe ich einige Wörter an. Das Pronominalpraefix der ersten Person ist *i-*, das im Bakairí teils der ersten, teils der dritten Person angehört.

Zahn *irri*, Bak. *yéri*, allgemein karaibisch;
Zunge *elo* (*e* wenig hörbar), Bak. *ilu* (3. Person);
Hand *omiat*, Bak. *omdri* (2. Person);
Fuss *ipun*, Bak. *ixálu* (3. Person);
Oberschenkel *iwet*, Bak. *ewéti* (3. Person);
Unterschenkel *iptchin*, Bak. *ischinári* (3. Person);
Nase *inum*, Bak. *inári* (3. Person);
Ohr *iwanan*, Bak. *iwanatári* (3. Person);
Knochen *itpun*, Bak. *ipúri*;
Wasser *paru*, Bak. *pâru* Wasser, Fluss;
Fluss *paru ime*, Bak. *pâru ima* grosser Fluss;
Sonne *tschitschi*, Bak. *tschischi*;
Mond *nuno*, Bak. *nûnu*;
Himmel *kubo*, Bak. *kxáu*;
Regen *kongpo*, Bak. *kxápũ*;
Feuer *kumpot* (Bak. *pito*), Rukuyenne und andere *wapoto*, *apoto*, vergl. Tabelle Bakairí-Grammatik S. 278.
Baum, Holz, *yei*, Bak. *ie*, Makuschí *yeh*, *yéi*;
Vater *ongmã*, Bak. *iyâme*;

Mutter *iãnã*, Bak. *ino*;
Oheim *koko* (patruus, matruus), Bak. *kχógo* matruus;
Grossvater *tamko*, Bak. *itíme*, Galibi *tamoko*;
Pfeil *pirom*, Bak. *pũlu*, *pirdu*;
Bogen *topkat*, Bak. *tikχo*;
Tabak *tiwo* (*o* kaum hörbar), Bak. *tdwo*;
Mais *ãnat*, Bak. *andzi*;
Beijú *abat*, Bak. *awdtu*;
Batate *nabiot*, Bak. *nówi*;
Banane *uomium*, Zahme Bak. *banano*;
Fisch *uot*, Nordkar. *boto*, *uoto* Fisch, Bak. *póto* Wildpret;
Piranya *ponã*, Bak. *pũne*;
Schlange *ogoi*, Bak. *agáu*;
Jaguar *ogro*, Bak. *ãkã*.

Hier habe ich allerdings recht deutliche Entsprechungen, auf die es zunächst ankommt, ausgewählt. Die Banane wird wieder mit einem neuen, allen Karaibenidiomen fremden Wort bezeichnet; die Apiaká haben in ihrem zentralen Sitz die Frucht ebenso wenig gekannt als die Suyá, vor denen sie flüchteten, und sie wahrscheinlich erst in dem Gebiet zwischen Schingú und Araguay kennen gelernt.

Zahlreiche Nebenflüsse des Tapajoz, Schingú und Araguay sind noch ganz unerforscht. Ich hege die gute Zuversicht, dass dort noch manches Karaibenvölkchen haust. Verdächtig wegen ihrer Tätowierung sind die Arara westlich vom Unterlauf des Schingú. Die östlichste Spur der Karaiben liefern die schon erwähnten Pimenteira in der Provinz Piauhy. Sie brachen, berichtet Martius, seit dem Jahre 1775 von Zeit zu Zeit zwischen den Quellen des Piauhy und des Gorguea hervor und beunruhigten die Gehöfte von Ober-Piauhy. »Glieder dieser Horde waren schon früher in Quebrobro am Rio de S. Francisco angesiedelt gewesen.« *) »Der grösste Theil schweift noch unabhängig umher, und die Fazendeiros haben das Recht, sich derjenigen von ihnen, welche sie gefangen nehmen können, auf zehn Jahre als Sklaven zu bedienen oder sie zu verkaufen.« **) Es wäre dringend zu wünschen, dass ein Teil der Eingeborenen diesem schönen System vom Anfang des Jahrhunderts entgangen wäre und einer gründlichen Erforschung zugänglich würde. Das kurze Vokabular, das Spix und Martius in Piauhy aufgenommen haben (Glossar, S. 219) und in dem schon Martius Uebereinstimmungen mit Karaibendialekten — er nennt das Tamanako — erkannte, würde Ansprüche an Reinkaraibisch allerdings nicht im Geringsten befriedigen. Dennoch sind bei aller Vermischung mit Gês- oder Tupistämmen die karaibischen Elemente unverkennbar und zahlreicher, als Martius wahrscheinlich vermutet hat. Es sind die Wörter für: Zahn, Zunge, Arm, Brust, Oberschenkel, Zehe, Oheim, Vater, Bruder, Kind, Gefährte, Sonne, (Mond), Holz, Feuer, Erde, Donner, Pfeil,

*) Zur Ethnographie Amerikas, zumal Brasiliens, S. 348, 349. Leipzig 1867.
**) Spix und Martius. Reise in Brasilien, II., S. 805. München 1828.

Mandioka, Tabak (-pfeife), schlafen. Nur wimmelt es da so von *ö*, *ä*, *ü*, dass Wohlbekanntes stark entstellt erscheint, z. B. Mandioka, Bak. *ichére*, Pim. *ütschöré* oder Arm, Tamanako *japuri* (Bak. Flügel *saurüri*), Pim. *söbarök*.

Erscheinen die Palmella und die Pimenteira nach Allem, was wir bisher wissen, einigermassen isoliert in fremder Umgebung, so repräsentieren die vereinigten Bakairi und Nahuquá einen sehr stattlichen Komplex und gleichzeitig ist ihre geographische Lage in dem Quellgebiet von Tapajoz und Schingú für die Hypothese der Verschiebung nach Norden insofern vorzüglich zutreffend, als die südlichsten der Nordkaraiben auf dem linken Ufer des Amazonas eben gegenüber den Mündungen von Tapajoz und Schingú unmittelbar anschliessen. Es liegt mir nichts ferner, als die Bakairi oder Nahuquá etwa als die Reste des unveränderten karaibischen Grundvolkes zu betrachten, sondern ich glaube nur, es spricht Alles dafür, dass sie dem Ursitz des Grundvolkes am nächsten wohnen. Dass es ein solches Grundvolk gegeben hat, und mag es am letzten Ende nur ein kleiner Stamm gewesen sein, ist ein unabweisliches Postulat der Sprachvergleichung. Trotz aller Differenzierung im Lauf der Zeiten durch Vermischung mit sehr verschiedenen Elementen giebt es noch heute eine grosse Einheit karaibischer Stämme, deren jeder einen grösseren oder kleineren Schatz von Grundwörtern besitzt. Sie haben ihre lautliche Differenzierung in genau gleichgerichteter Bewegung, aber unabhängig von einander vollzogen. Wir kommen also, ob wir Wanderzüge oder langsame Verschiebung annehmen, stets auf eine ursprüngliche Gemeinschaft zurück, wo man z. B. noch die unerweichten Stammanlaute hatte. Dass sehr viele Jahrhunderte ins Land gegangen und sehr viele Tropfen den Amazonas hinuntergeflossen sind, seit die Ausstrahlung von dem Ursprungszentrum stattgefunden hat, folgt aus der ungeheuren räumlichen Ausdehnung, die der karaibischen Spracheinheit heute zukommt. Damit ergiebt es sich denn von selbst, dass auch solche Karaiben, die noch in nächster Nähe der Urheimat sässen, alle Veränderungen, die gewaltige Zeitperioden auch unter den friedlichsten Verhältnissen mit sich bringen, erlitten haben müssen. Man darf niemals vergessen, dass das »Grundvolk«, wenngleich es für den der Untersuchung unterworfenen stark verzweigten Baum eine Art Stamm oder gar Wurzel abgiebt, doch selbst nur ein Zweig vom Baume gewesen ist; wie jeder beliebige Vorfahr oder Stammvater auch nur ein Glied in einer unendlich langen Reihe ist. »Urkaraiben« sind die Bakairi also keinenfalls. Die suchen hiesse für die Juden den noch lebenden Erzvater Abraham suchen.

Das karaibische Grundvolk hatte bereits Mais, Mandioka, Tabak, Igname, Pfeffer, Baumwolle, Orléansstrauch. Vgl. die Nachweise in dem Vokabular meiner Bakairi-Grammatik. Man mag sich drehen und wenden, aber man kann dem Schluss nicht ausweichen, dass die mit jenen Pflanzen gegebene Kultur den Karaiben bereits vor sehr, sehr langer Zeit gehörte. Es ist wahrlich wichtig, dies zu beherzigen, wenn man das richtige Verhältnis zur Ahnensage gewinnen will. Die sichere historische Tradition mit bestimmten Namen umfasst

keine zwei Jahrhunderte? Da darf man es den Bakairí wirklich nicht übel nehmen, wenn sie uns den Stamm, der ihnen Tabak und Baumwolle gab, nicht mehr nennen können und sich auf den im Norden lebenden Wickelbär berufen. Allein, dass diese Erzeugnisse von Norden gekommen sind, ist bei dem Ueberblick über die Verhältnisse, den wir nun haben, von allergrösstem Interesse.

Nur zweierlei ist möglich. Entweder man fertigt die Wickelbärsage als Ammenmärchen ab, dann ist die Angelegenheit erledigt. Ich vermag mich nicht dazu zu entschliessen, weil ich nicht begreife, mit welchem Recht man eine bestimmte, in Nichts unwahrscheinliche und mit den pflanzengeographischen Forderungen wohl übereinstimmende Angabe zurückweisen könnte. Das Unwahrscheinliche liegt nur für uns in der Person des Wickelbären, allein sie ist doch gerade auch eine Gewähr für die Richtigkeit, da sich die Tradition eben mit der Beziehung auf ein auch schon vor vielen Jahrhunderten an der Nordgrenze des Bakairí-Gebiets lebendes Tier wirklich erhalten konnte. Dass wir uns keinen Tabak rauchenden Wickelbären vorzustellen im Stande sind, dafür können die Bakairí nichts.

Ich glaube also wie Antonio an den Wickelbären, von dem Tabak und Baumwolle stammt, und sehe mich dann nur der zweiten Möglichkeit gegenüber, dass die Urheimat der Karaiben im Süden des Wickelbärreviers liegt. Denn das Grundvolk besass bereits Tabak und Baumwolle.

Ich lege sogar auf diesen Beweis viel mehr Wert als auf die Tradition, dass in alten Zeiten Bakairí — man weiss nicht wohin — ausgewandert sind. Ich bezweifele keineswegs ihre Richtigkeit, ich halte es auch für möglich, dass aus solchen früheren Bakairí der eine oder andere Karaibenstamm hervorgegangen sei, den wir heute im Norden finden, aber unbestimmt bewiesen würde dadurch nur, was garnicht bewiesen zu werden braucht. Es ist wohl, auch wenn keine Tradition davon berichtete, nicht anders denkbar, als dass sich von jedem Stamm während der Jahrhunderte, zumal bei einem Stamm, der wie die Bakairí vom Fischfang lebt, kleinere oder grössere Gruppen in andere Gebiete dem Lauf der Flüsse entlang entfernt haben und dann auch durch Berührung mit neuen Stämmen körperlicher und sprachlicher Differenzierung entgegengegangen sind. Es braucht ebenso wenig bewiesen zu werden — wie es durch die Nu-Aruak-*kerri* und *-kuma* in der That bewiesen wird — dass die Bakairí im Lauf der Jahrhunderte von ihren Nachbarn, mit denen sie sich vermischten, beeinflusst wurden. Ich wiederhole, die Bakairí sind keine Urkaraiben, sie werden es leider nicht einmal, da ihr Todesurteil schon besiegelt ist, für Nachkommen späterer Jahrhunderte werden.

Ich resumiere. Von jeher hat das Postulat bestanden, dass die Karaiben im Norden des Amazonas von auswärts in ihre Sitze gelangt seien. Man ist dahin gedrängt worden, dass die Einwanderung nur von Süden her erfolgt sein könne. Die Bakairí oder Nahuquá, die man hätte erfinden müssen, wenn sie nicht vorhanden gewesen wären, sie sind in ansehnlicher Zahl nachgewiesen und

stehen zur Verfügung in einem Gebiet, das dem Erklärungsbedürfnis auch des Geographen vortrefflich genügen muss. Isolierter erscheinen Palmella und Pimenteira. Das »missing link« für die räumliche Entfernung ist in den Apiaká geliefert; die Suyá, die sie vertrieben haben, wohnen nördlich von den Schingú- und Paranatinga-karaiben. Der physische Habitus der Südkaraiben und der Apiaká wie auch derer nördlich des Amazonas, die wir wenigstens nach Abbildungen vergleichen können — ich gedenke hier besonders der Crevaux'schen Rukuyenn und einiger Galibi, die im Jahre 1892 eine Kunstreise in Europa machten — zeigt auffallende Uebereinstimmung. Die Tradition der Bakairi weist darauf hin, dass Tabak und Baumwolle, die das Grundvolk besessen hat, von Norden gekommen sind. Was man noch verlangen möchte, dass Sprache und Kultur bei den der Urheimat näheren, somit geringerer Differenzierung ausgesetzten Stämmen reiner und einfacher geblieben sind, beides habe ich zu erweisen gesucht: für die Sprache in der Bakairi-Grammatik, für die Kultur in diesem Buche.

[p. 405]

XV. KAPITEL.

I. Die Zählkunst der Bakaïri und der Ursprung der 2.

Die Zahlwörter der übrigen Stämme. — Namen der Finger. Herzugen der Zahlwörter mit Fingergebärden. Zählen von Gegenständen über 6; idem unter 6. Die rechte Hand tastet. Fälle des praktischen Gebrauchs und Fehlen geratenzeiger Zahlen. Fingergebärde nicht mimisch, sondern rechnend. Rätsel der »2.« »5«. »Hand« kein Vorbild, sondern eine (spätere) Erfahrungsgrenze. Entstehung der »5« durch Zerlegung eines Ganzen in seine Hälften. Die Dinge liefern die Erfahrungsgrenze der »5«-Geberde. Abhängigkeit vom Tastsinn. Bestätigung durch die Etymologie.

Die Bakairi hatten die Kunst des Zählens am wenigsten entwickelt. Betreffs der übrigen Stämme beschränke ich mich, da ich die Zahlen in den Wörterverzeichnissen mitteile, auf wenige Bemerkungen.

Alle Stämme zählten erst die Finger der beiden Hände und dann die Zehen der beiden Füsse ab. Sie begannen, mit Ausnahme der Bakairi, vom Daumen der rechten Hand ab, zählten an den Fingern bis 5, gingen zum Daumen der linken Hand über, rechneten hier bis 10 und wiederholten das Verfahren genau so für die Füsse.

Wenn man die Zahlwörter auf ihre Bildung hin ansieht, so bemerkt man bei allen Stämmen dass sie besondere Wörter für 1, 2, 3 haben, mit Ausnahme der Bakairi, die ich vorläufig beiseite lasse, und der Trumaí, deren Aufnahme aber viel Unsicheres enthält; bei den Trumaí steckt das Wort für 2 *kurs* in dem für 3 *kurstamé*. Dagegen haben die Trumaí und mit ihnen nur die Waurá (unsicher) und die Kamayurá ein ganz neues Wort für 4, während bei allen übrigen die 4 eine durch einen Zusatz veränderte 2 darstellt.

Für 5 haben die Trumaí und die Auetö ein neues Wort, das nichts mit »Hand« zu thun hat. Bei allen Andern, immer abgesehen von den Bakairi, steckt die Hand in der 5. Die Kamayurá sagen »Hand hört auf« *genqó momip* (Guaraní *mombik* aufhören), die Töpferstämme sagen »1 Hand«, die Nahuquá »Hand« schlechthin.

Die Zahlen 6, 7, 8, 9 sind aus 1, 2, 3, 4 mit einem Zusatz gebildet. Nur bei den Kamayurá lautet dieser anders für 6 und 7 als für 8 und 9. Für 6 und 7 1 und 2 + *ororuik* scheint die Bedeutung (Guaraní *guyobiy*) zu sein: 1 oder 2 werden vertauscht, wechseln.

10 enthält bei den Töpferstammen und wahrscheinlich auch bei den Auetó die Hände, bei den andern ist das Wort ein neues.

Mit 11 tritt bei allen, durch einen Zusatz bestimmt, der Fuss ein und 12, 13, 14 sind = 2, 3, 4 + dem Fuss und diesem Zusatz. Die Nahuquá verwenden allerdings statt ihres Wortes für Fuss ein Wort *víro*, das aber aus der Vergleichung mit andern karaibischen Sprachen als ein Stamm gleicher Bedeutung zu erkennen ist.*) und zählen nun von 11—15: »1, 2, 3, 4, 5 Fuss« an den rechten Zehen und von 16—20 an den linken »1, 2, 3, 4, 10 Fuss.«

Von 15—19 gehen die Sachen ziemlich stark durcheinander, mit 15 erscheint meist ein neuer Zusatz und die Bildungen laufen denen der zweiten Hand von 6—9 oder denen des ersten Fusses von 11—14 parallel. Bei den Yaulapiti, deren Zahlen sehr regelmässig gebildet sind, heisst 1 Fuss: 15, bei den Mehinakú dagegen: 11, jenes also, weil der Fuss fertig ist, dieses, weil er nun beginnt. So kommt bei den Mehinakú folgendes Kuriosum zu Stande: 5 = 1 Hand, 11 = 1 Fuss, 12 = 2 Fuss, 13 = 3 Fuss, 14 = 4 Fuss und (da 5 = 1 Hand) 15 = 1 Hand, Fuss!

Alle haben in der 20 die Füsse, ausgenommen die Auetó. Bei den Yaulapití ist derselbe Zusatz, der mit Hand = 10 war, mit dem Fuss = 20. Bei den Kustenaú ist die 15 der 20 bedenklich ähnlich.

Wenden wir uns nun zu den tiefer stehenden Bakairí, mit denen ich mancherlei arithmetische Uebungen gepflogen habe.

Die Namen ihres Rechenapparates, der Finger haben mit Zahlen nichts zu thun. Der Daumen heisst »Vater«, der Kleinfinger »Kind« oder »Kleiner«, der Mittelfinger wie bei uns der »Mittlere«, Zeigefinger und Ringfinger werden jener der »Nachbar« — das ist wenigstens die wahrscheinliche Deutung — des »Vaters«, dieser der »Nachbar« des »Kleinen« genannt.

Sie zählen in Worten bis 6:

1 = *tokále*	4 = *ahége ahége*
2 = *ahége*	5 = *ahége ahége tokále*
3 = *ahége tokále* oder *ahewéio*	6 = *ahége ahége ahége*

Man sieht, dass sie nur für die Zahlen von 1 bis 3 eigene Wörter haben und die Zahlen von 4 bis 6 aus *ahége* und *tokále* zusammensetzen. Das Wort *ahewéio* für 3 lernte ich erst auf der zweiten Expedition kennen, hörte aber ebenso häufig die aus 2 und 1 zusammengesetzte Form. Der Schluss, dass *ahewéio* vielleicht ein neueres Wort sei, wäre falsch, denn die Sprachvergleichung ergiebt, dass es auch bei mehreren Karaibenstämmen im Norden des Amazonenstromes vorhanden ist und ein hohes Alter besitzen muss. Es fällt aber auf, dass diese 3 in keins der höheren Zahlwörter, nicht einmal in die 6 eintritt.

Sehen wir von dem nicht obligatorischen *ahewéio* ab, so zählt der Bakairí also: eins, zwei, zwei-eins, zwei-zwei, zwei-zwei-eins, zwei-zwei-zwei.

Er beginnt mit dem Kleinfinger der linken Hand und sagt „*tokále*", fasst Finger IV an, vereinigt ihn mit V und sagt „*ahége*", geht zu III über und sagt,

*) *víro* = *epu-la*, (*-la* pronominales Suffix), Makusí, Inselkaraiben *epu* Fuss.

indem er ihn getrennt neben V und IV hält, „*ahége tokále*“, geht zu II über, vereinigt ihn mit III und sagt „*ahége ahége*“, fasst den Daumen an und sagt „*ahége ahége tokále*“, legt den Kleinfinger der rechten Hand heran und sagt „*ahége ahége ahége*“. Hinter »6« ist der Bakairí mit den Zahlwörtern zu Ende und fährt nun bei IV, III, II, I der rechten Hand fort, indem er jeden Finger nach der Reihe berührt und einfach „*méru*“, »dieser« hinzufügt. So berührt er auch die Zehen des linken und des rechten Fusses und erklärt jedesmal „*méru*“. Ist er noch nicht zu Ende, so greift er sich in die Haare und zieht sie nach allen Richtungen auseinander.

Man muss sich sagen, wenn sie die 7 mit „*ahége ahége ahége tokále*“ hätten bezeichnen wollen, so hätten sie schon zählen müssen, um zu zählen, die Zahlen selbst zählen müssen. So konnte, selbst wenn es sich nicht um tiefere Gründe handelte, schon der Mangel eines höheren Zahlwortes als 2 oder 3 an und für sich ein Hindernis bilden. Offenbar hatten sie jenseits der 6 nur die vage Anschauung einer grösseren Summe. Man denke sich Jemand, der die Stufen einer Treppe zählen will, unterwegs aber an einer Stelle aus irgend einem Grunde die Zahl der zurückgelegten Stufen nicht mehr genau weiss; höher und höher steigend bleibt er sich bewusst, dass es immer mehr wird, aber einmal aus dem Konzept gebracht, wird er sich immer unklarer, wie viel Stufen es mehr werden und wie viele es zusammen sind. So kletterten die Bakairí an ihrer Treppe von 20 Stufen bis zu Ende empor und hatten gewiss alle Sicherheit, dass sie bei dem ersten Fuss weiter waren, als bei der zweiten Hand und bei dem zweiten Fuss weiter als bei dem ersten, allein dass sie nun etwa nach dem Abgreifen von 10 Fingern und 5 Zehen eine präzise Vorstellung gehabt hätten wie wir mit dem Wort »fünfzehn« verbinden, davon konnte auch nicht die Rede sein.

Ihre Begriffe endeten bei »6«, und auch die Anschauung jenseits der »6« war nur einigermassen bestimmt, so lange sie an der Betrachtung und Befühlung der Finger und Zehen haftete. Sobald bestimmte Gegenstände gezählt werden sollten, ging ihre Kunst kaum weiter als ihre Begriffe, das heisst die Zahlwörter. Ich habe mit Paleko und Tumayaua eine Menge — ich greife mir bei der Erinnerung in die Haare — Versuche gemacht und will zunächst das immer gleiche Ergebnis bei einer grösseren Anzahl von Maiskörnern oder dergl. erwähnen. Legte ich zehn Körner hin und fragte „*âtúra?*“, »wie viele?«, so zählten sie auf die noch zu beschreibende Art und Weise langsam, aber richtig bis »6«. Das 7te, 8te Korn wurde zur Not noch auf die Finger IV und III der rechten Hand bezogen und entsprechend „*méra*“, „*méru*“ gesagt, aber sie zeigten sich dann abgespannt und unlustig; sie erinnerten mich an Leute, die ohne Interesse Karten spielen oder Rätsel lösen sollen und bald gähnend ausrufen: »ach, ich habe für dergleichen gar kein Talent«. Sie gähnten auch, und wenn ich sie nötigte, so lachten sie einfaltig oder machten ein verdrossenes Gesicht, klagten über „*kinarichu ewáao*“, was bezeichnend »Kopf-Arbeit« oder »Kopf-Schmerz« bedeutet, und liefen womöglich davon, in jedem Fall streikten sie.

Ich fragte Paleko gelegentlich, ob das Dorf der Nahuquá gross sei. Er gab sich zur Antwort daran, eine Anzahl Kreise in den Sand zu zeichnen und deutete mit zufriedener Miene auf das Bild. Seine Absicht war, mir die unbestimmte Vielheit der Häuser, von deren genauerer Anzahl er auch kaum sichere Kenntnis haben konnte, zu veranschaulichen, und er war sich nicht im Entferntesten bewusst, dass er, Kreis um Kreis hinsetzend, mir doch eine begrenzte Anzahl überlieferte. Dass es Menschen giebt, die ein Dutzend Kreise als 12 Kreise präzisieren können, davon hatte Paleko keine Ahnung.

Wie zählten sie Dinge, deren Anzahl nicht über 6 betrug? Legte ich 1 Maiskorn hin, so antwortete der Bakairi sofort „*tokíle*", fasste gewöhnlich dabei das Korn und dann den linken Kleinfinger an, beides aber so flüchtig und mechanisch, dass selbst, wenn er es that, der Vorgang entbehrlich schien. Bei 2 Körnern unterliess er es schon selten, die Finger beider Hände zu Hilfe zu nehmen. Besonders wenn ich die Körner in einigem Abstand hinlegte, so schob er sie immer zusammen und fasste dann auch immer links Kleinfinger und Ringfinger an, ehe er die Zahl aussprach. Legte ich 3 Körner hin und fragte nach der Anzahl, so habe ich auch nicht ein einziges Mal weder von Paleko und Tumayaua noch von Andern, mit denen ich weniger übte, Antwort bekommen, ohne dass das Häufchen in 2 und 1 zerlegt worden wäre: das Körnerpaar wurde zuerst angefasst, häufig noch einmal prüfend gelockert, dann links Finger V und IV angefasst und gesagt „*ahége*"; das einzelne Korn wurde angefasst, Finger III links zu IV und V herangeschoben, „*tokíle*" gesagt und schliesslich verkündet: „*ahége tokíle*". Ebenso verliefen die Proben weiter bis 6. Immer wurden Häufchen von 2 Körnern gebildet, immer wurden sie angefasst und dann erst die Finger eingestellt.

Die rechte Hand tastete, die linke Hand rechnete. Ohne die Finger der rechten Hand zu gebrauchen, nur nach einer Betrachtung der Körner an den Fingern der linken Hand zu zählen, war schon bei 3 Stück ganz unmöglich. Das Zweierhäufchen musste mit der Hand zurechtgelegt werden. Ich habe Tumayaua 3, 4, 5, 6 Körner vorgelegt, ihn die Häufchen bilden lassen, aber die linke Hand festgehalten: nur selten zählte, oder besser wohl: riet er bei 3 richtig, für die übrigen gab er beliebige Ansammlungen von „*ahége*" zum Besten. Beide Hände waren also unentbehrlich, wenn 3 Dinge gezählt werden sollten; zur Not mochte es noch ohne die linke gehen, aber niemals ohne die rechte.

In den Sagen und Märchen der Bakairi kommen, um dessen hier zu gedenken, Zahlenangaben mit 2 öfters vor.

Auch die 3 erscheint; das Reh erhält 3 Mandiokazweige von dem Bagadú-Fisch, die es anpflanzen soll. Kamuschini fällte 5 Bäume, vgl. Seite 373. Der Erzähler hat 3 Sätze nötig, um uns diese Mitteilung zu machen. »Er fällte zwei Pikibäume. Er fällte wieder zwei ebenso. Er fällte einen.« Kamuschini bringt die 5 Bäume in das Haus und stellt sie an einen Mörser. Wieder 3 Sätze, und

zwar wird hier, mitten in der Aufzählung, das zweite Paar der Bäume nicht durch das Zahlwort „*ahége*", sondern durch das unbestimmte „*zagóno*", der oder die andern, ausgedrückt. Die drei Sätze lauten also: »Er stellte 2 an den Mörser. Er stellte ebenso die andern an den Mörser. Der einzelne kam an den Mörser.« Freilich brauchte die Sache in diesem Fall nicht ganz so schlimm zu sein, wie sie aussieht. Kamuschini fällte Bäume verschiedener Art, wie mir Antonio nebenher berichtete. So mögen dem Erzähler in jedem jener drei Sätze auch die verschiedenen Bäume vorgeschwebt haben. Doch würde er bei 5 gleichartigen Bäumen nicht anders verfahren sein, wie ich bei den 5 Sternen des Perseus, vgl. Seite 361, sah.

Es steht natürlich nichts im Wege, dass sie selbst von 5 Dingen genau berichten, da sie Zahlwörter bis »6« haben.

Eine der stereotypen Unterhaltungen betraf die Anzahl der Kinder. Auch die vom zweiten Dorf eintreffenden, mit meinen Versuchen noch nicht gequälten Bakaïri vertrauten mir in der ersten Viertelstunde an, dass sie 1, 2 oder gar 3 Kinder hätten und bedienten sich dabei ausnahmslos der Finger. Dass Jemand „*ahége ahége*" Sprösslinge sein eigen nenne, schien bei den Bakaïri unerhört. Man kam also mit den Zahlwörtern und den Fingern sehr gut aus.

Ueberhaupt bedurften sie keine höheren Zahlen als sie besassen. In ihren kleinen Verhältnissen, die durch keine schweren Besitzfragen bedrängt wurden, spielte eine Stückzahl über sechs hinaus keine Rolle. Aus eigenem Antrieb nannten sie mir Zahlen für die eben erwähnte Kinderstatistik und die Tagereisen am Fluss, die von Stamm zu Stamm stets unter jener Grenze blieben. Ihr mangelhaftes Rechnen bedeutet Mangel an Intelligenz nur insofern, als er freilich einen beschränkten ökonomischen Horizont verbürgt, hat aber mit geringer Begabung unmittelbar gar nichts zu schaffen. Es bedeutet Mangel an Uebung. Sie haben keinen Viehstand, dessen Stückzahl zu überwachen wäre, sie haben keinen Handel mit Waaren, die gezählt oder auf eine Werteinheit bezogen werden müssten, sie haben sich nur hier und da über Personenzahl, über die Zahl der Tiere, denen sie begegnet sind, die sie erlegt haben, die sie unter sich verteilen, über die Bäume, die sie fällen, und was es von ähnlicher Arbeit im Haushalt und alltäglichen Leben giebt, zu verständigen, wobei ihre Zahlwörter ausreichen oder mit andern Ausdrucksmitteln in Wort und Geberde eine unbestimmte Vielheit angegeben werden kann. Das Prinzip des Zählens, die Abstraktion der Zahl besitzen sie, hat schon in uralten Zeiten das karaibische Grundvolk besessen, und von da aufwärts ist die Weiterentwicklung nur vom Interesse abhängig. Ihr geringes Bedürfnis, sich mit der Zahl der Dinge abzugeben, wird meines Erachtens noch mehr als durch den Mangel der Zahlwörter durch den Mangel des Plurals gekennzeichnet. Baum, Bäume und Holz ist alles „*ai*", Haus, Häuser und Dorf immer nur „*ta*".

Wir, die wir in Zahlen leben und weben, weil sie das Gerüst all unseres Wissens darstellen, besitzen eine Menge angelernter Kenntnisse, in denen alle ge-

wöhnlichen, »gesetzmässig« wiederkehrenden Zahlenverhältnisse einbegriffen sind, und bedürfen in sehr vielen Einzelfällen nicht der selbständigen Beobachtung. Schwerlich haben wir unsere Zehen jemals gezählt, aber es ist richtig, es sind ihrer 10. Eine Weste können wir ein Jahr lang tragen, täglich an- und ausziehen und haben keine Ahnung, wieviel Knöpfe daran sind. Nun klebt der Naturmensch an jeder Einzelerscheinung und weiss nichts von Gesetzen. Wenn man ihn fragt, wie viele Finger er hat, so thut er uns gern den Gefallen, sie zu zählen. Er nimmt die Frage genau so wie ein Europäer die nach den Westenknöpfen.

Wie die Zählkunst der Bakairí, die ausserordentlich ähnlich der australischer Stämme ist, sich regelmässig hätte weiter entwickeln können, sehen wir an einem häufig zitierten Beispiel bei ihren nahen, wenn auch räumlich sehr entfernten Verwandten, den Tamanako des Orinoko. Diese haben den bekannten Fortschritt vollzogen und ein Zahlwort für »5« von der Hand entnommen: »ganze Hand;« »10« sind »beide Hände«, »15« ein »ganzer Fuss« und »20« »ein Mann«. In der »4« der Tamanako ist die »2«, dasselbe Wort wie bei den Bakairí, noch enthalten, aber sie haben ihm eine den Sinn bestimmende Endung gegeben und sagen nicht mehr »zwei-zwei«. Wir erkennen genau das Fingergeberden-System der Bakairí wieder, das sich aber bereits die zugehörigen Zahlwörter geschaffen hat.

Ich habe mir, während Paleko Körbe flocht oder wenn ich mich Nachts oft lange schlaflos in der Hängematte schaukelte, viel über die Art ihres Zählens den Kopf zerbrochen. Sollte man auch hier, wo die Verhältnisse so einfach liegen wie möglich, dem merkwürdigen Geheimnis nicht auf die Spur kommen, wie die Abstraktion der Zahl im menschlichen Geiste entstanden ist?

Ueberall hat man bei den Naturvölkern bemerkt, dass sie in erster Linie mit den Fingern zählen, und damit weiter kommen als mit den Zahlwörtern. Man hat aus dieser allgemeinen Erfahrung den Schluss gezogen, dass die Zahlgeberden älter sind als die Zahlwörter und dass diese erst aus jenen hervorgegangen sind. Nur darf man, wenn von Fingergeberden die Rede ist, nicht meinen, dass es sich blos um Geberden handle, mit denen dem Frager die Zahl mitgeteilt werden soll, als wenn sie zunächst den Zweck hätten, für ihn eine lebhaftere Verdeutlichung zu bewirken; wie etwa der Italiener, sobald er »3« sagt, auch 3 Finger vorstreckt. Der Eingeborene rechnet mit seinen Fingern, wie man die Kugeln an den Drähten einer Rechenmaschine anfasst. Es ist wahr, beim Zählen von einem oder zwei Dingen berührt er die Finger der linken Hand oft so flüchtig, dass die Bewegung den Charakter einer rein mitteilenden Geberde annimmt. Hat man aber der sorgfältigen und peinlichen Arbeit zugeschaut, die das Zählen von 3 Maiskörnern darstellt, wie der Bakairí erst die Körner und dann die Finger links betastet, so wird man nicht zweifeln, dass die linke Hand seine Rechenmaschine ist. Und so tastet er auch jenseit der »6« die Finger und Zehen wie die Kugeln einer Rechenmaschine ab, und es liegt ihm fern, nur mitteilend darauf zu deuten oder gar, soweit das mechanisch möglich wäre, sie frei mit mimischer Veranschaulichung vorzustrecken.

Aber damit, dass man die Zählkunst bis auf die niedrigste Stufe zurückführen kann, wo man noch die »2« oder »3« an den Fingern mühsam abtasten muss, ist für das eigentliche Verständnis des Zählens nicht das Geringste gewonnen. Bei der »2« fängt das Rätsel erst an, denn wie in aller Welt sind die Menschen überall dazu gekommen, zu denken: 1 + 1 = 2, also zwei einzelne gleichartige Gegenstände in einer neuen Einheit zusammenzufassen? Die Natur zeigt nur Dinge in endloser Wiederholung; es ist leicht verständlich, dass man auf ein Ding nach dem andern hindeutete, dabei einen Finger und irgend ein demonstratives Wort gebrauchte, es hat auch keine Schwierigkeiten bei der Rolle, die der Geberdensprache zukam, sich vorzustellen, wie man gedachte Dinge Stück für Stück sich selbst an den Fingern veranschaulichte und jedesmal auf einen Finger als den sinnlich wahrnehmbaren Stellvertreter hinwies. So kann man allerdings wissen und ausdrücken, dass alle Dinge da sind, oder dass welche fehlen, und in diesem Sinn auch bereits zählen, aber man gelangt nur zu einer Aufzählung gegenwärtiger und abwesender Objekte mit demonstrierenden Geberden und demonstrativen Wörtern, jedoch noch nicht zu dem zwei einzelne Dinge zusammenfassenden Einheitsbegriff der »2«.

Man hat gesagt, die »2« sei aus dem Wechselverkehr der ersten und zweiten Person entstanden = »ich + du«. Den beiden gegenüber seien alle übrigen Personen »Viele« gewesen = »3«. Mir ist diese Erklärung völlig unverständlich. Ich begreife, dass »ich + du« »wir«, oder dass »mein und dein« »unser« wird, aber »2«? Was hat das Verhaltnis von »ich und du« auch nur vergleichsweise mit 2 Pfeilen, die ich in der Hand habe, mit 2 Frauen, denen ich begegne, zu thun? Ich kann mir nicht einmal denken, dass man, um »ich und du« mit einer Geberde auszudrücken, auf 2 Finger hinwies — falls man nicht das Zählen erfinden wollte — sondern glaube, dass man auf sich und den Andern zeigte.

Man hat gehofft, durch die Etymologie der Zahlwörter vorwärts zu kommen, und sich durch das verbreitete »5« = »Hand« leiten lassen. Wenn der ursprüngliche Sinn der Zahlwörter für »1« und »2« dunkel sei, so habe man doch Grund anzunehmen, dass er sich auf ein ähnliches Vorbild des Körpers bezogen habe. Falls man auf diese Art nur Zahlwörter erklären wollte, die gewiss aus einer Vergleichung hervorgegangen sein könnten, wäre gegen die Möglichkeit nichts einzuwenden. Dagegen wird über den Ursprung einer »2« bedeutenden Fingergeberde durch den Vergleich mit der »Hand« = »5« gar kein Licht verbreitet. Bedenken wir, »5« = »Hand« ist ein sehr später Gewinn. Es giebt eine ganze Reihe zählender Naturvölker, die ihn noch nicht erreicht haben. Die Bakaïri, die nachweisbar seit vielen Jahrhunderten rechnen müssen, besitzen das Wort heute noch nicht, das die Tamanako also erst nach der Trennung von dem karaibischen Grundvolk erworben haben. Wenn wir hieraus lernen, dass eine lange Zeit fertigen Zählens ohne »5« = »Hand« bestehen kann, so wundern wir uns nicht, dass diese Bedeutung eines Tages aufkam, aber wir dürfen daraus auch nichts mehr folgern, als dass man eben an den Fingern gerechnet hat. Die Hand

war zunächst kein Vorbild, sie war eine bestimmte Grenze der praktischen Zählerfahrung. Eine natürliche Abgrenzung aber, wie sie an der Hand für die »5« in der That gegeben ist, ist hier für die »2« leider nicht gegeben. Bis zur 5 hinauf lieferte die Hand nur einzelne Finger, deren jeder einen gegenwärtigen oder gedachten Gegenstand mit einer Geberde veranschaulichen konnte, lieferte aber nicht das Vorbild einer Einheit aus zwei Fingern, das sich etwa beim Tasten von selbst dargeboten hätte.

Sollten denn nicht das einfachste »Vorbild« einer natürlichen Einheit für »2« die paarigen Organe gewesen sein? Gewiss, sobald man zählen konnte, und dann ohne Mühe. Schon ehe er zählte, muss sich dem Menschen die Beobachtung aufgedrängt haben, dass Auge und Auge, Flügel und Flügel gleiches Aussehen hatten, aber diese Beobachtung erzeugt doch nicht die Geberde, dass er hinter »augen« Fingern eine Grenze absteckte und die Abstraktion auf beliebige Dinge machte. Er verglich nur Auge mit Auge, Flügel mit Flügel und hatte keine Veranlassung, auch nur die beiden Augen mit den beiden Flügeln oder Armen zu vergleichen, geschweige in der längeren Reihe von Fingern, Pfeilen, Fischen, die ihm begegneten, bei passenden Gelegenheiten eine vergleichende Bestimmung nach »Augen« oder »Flügeln« zu machen, es sei denn, er erklärte: »jetzt will ich zählen«. Es ist auch immer zu betonen, dass der Eingeborene den Finger betastet, wenn er zählt. Dass er ursprünglich ein Augen- oder Flügelpaar befühlend und die Empfindung auf die Finger übertragend die erste »2« konzipiert habe, wird selbst von dem wildesten Symboljäger nicht phantasiert werden.

Ebenso wenig hatte er die »1« als erste Zahlvorstellung von »Nase« oder »Mund« zu abstrahieren vermocht, während er sie danach benennen konnte, wenn er die Abstraktion schon besass. Ob er aber auch den Finger an die Nase oder die Nase an den Finger legte, es hatte ihn, wie bereits erörtert, in der Zählkunst nicht gefördert, denn mit solchen 1, 1, 1, 1, die ohne die »2« nicht besser gewesen wären als das Demonstrativum *„mira"* der Bakaïrí, wäre er niemals auf die erste Summe gekommen. Seine »1« können immer nur ein unbestimmtes »Viel« zusammengesetzt haben.

Ist es nun nicht zu verstehen, wie der zahlenlose Mensch aus 1 + 1 die »2« gemacht hat, so wäre die Lösung des Problems vielleicht die, dass er sie aus einem Einzigen gemacht hat?

Der Bakaïrí zählt sowohl in der Finger- wie in der Wortsprache nach folgendem Schema:

I· II· II I· II II· II II I· II II II und zwar: I *tokíle*, II *ahége*.

Obgleich er ein besonderes Wort für »3« besitzt, wendet er es doch nur in beschränktem Umfang an. Die »2« kann ihr ursprüngliches Uebergewicht nicht verleugnen und hat nicht einmal die Bildung von einem *„ahewúo ahewúo"* = »6« geduldet. Die Gegenstände, die gezählt werden, werden in Paare eingeteilt. Bei der »3« und der »5« bildet er nicht I II *„tokíle ahége"* und I II II *„tokíle ahége ahége"*, sondern II I *„ahége tokíle* und II II I *„ahége ahége tokíle"*. Es sieht

also fast so aus, als wenn die »2« nicht nur vor der »3«, sondern auch vor der »1« dagewesen wäre!

Durch diesen Einfall kam ich auf den Weg, den ich für den richtigen halte. Dieser Weg muss ein überall wiederkehrender, gesetzlich und entsetzlich einfacher Vorgang sein und muss für sich selbst sprechen, was auch die Etymologie sage, er muss derart beschaffen sein, dass wir ihn vorauszusetzen haben, wo wir die Zahlwörter gar nicht kennen.

Wenn die Einheit »2« nun von dem Menschen gewonnen wurde, indem er ein Ganzes in zwei Stücke teilte? Wenn er, statt mit der »Stückzahl« von »2« mit der Zahl von 2 Stücken begonnen hätte? Adam und Eva, nehme ich an, zählten schon im Paradiese bis »2«, denn es war ein lustiger Baum, der klug machte. Allein sie sonderten nicht aus der Zahl der gepflückten Aepfel »2« ab, indem sie einander in die Augen blickten und dann auf die Aepfel schauten und endlich 2 Finger anfassten, oder indem sie »mein und dein« Apfel sagten, sondern Eva wollte als liebenswürdige Frau Adam von demselben Apfel essen lassen, den sie ass, und da machte sie sofort die merkwürdige Beobachtung, dass sie, so viele Aepfel sie auch in dieser Art anbot, jedes und jedes Mal, wenn sie einen Apfel zerbrach oder zerschnitt, ihn mit dem ersten Schnitt in — gleiche oder ungleiche — aber immer in »2« Stücke teilte. Und wenn sie eins der Stücke zerschnitt, so teilte sie es mit diesem Schnitt wieder in 2 Stücke, kurz sie machte es wie die Bakairi: aus | wurde ||, sie zerschnitt das eine, | und erhielt || |, zerschnitt das andere | und erhielt || ||, zerschnitt wieder ein | und erhielt || || |, zerschnitt noch einmal und hatte jetzt || || ||.

Wenn sich nun Eva, die in ihren Reden etwas weitschweifig war, die alle Einzelheiten der Reihe nach gründlich erörterte und sich mit lebhaften Geberden veranschaulichte, den Vorgang noch einmal vor die Seele rief, so sagte sie: »ich habe einen Apfel zerschnitten, da hatte ich dies Stück« und dabei tippte sie sich auf den ersten Finger der linken Hand — »ich hatte dies Stück« und dabei tippte sie sich auf den Ringfinger daneben; »die Stücke waren sehr gross, ich schnitt wieder, da hatte ich dies Stück« und dabei tippte sie sich auf den Mittelfinger der linken Hand — »und ich hatte dabei dies Stück« und dabei tippte sie sich auf den Zeigefinger daneben. Stets war bei solcher Veranschaulichung einer jeden und jeden Zerteilung die erste Grenze hinter dem Ringfinger. So konnte sie auf keine Weise verhindern, dass sie die Einheit »2« immer wieder in der Hand hatte, denn jedesmal, wenn sie 2 Stücke herstellte, sah sie die beiden zusammen, ehe sie sie verteilte, und bei jeder Veranschaulichung eines jeden solchen Vorgangs durch Fingergeberden, entsprach diesem »zusammen« dieselbe Grenze. Sie hatte die konkreten zwei Stücke durch die Teilung und die »2« des zukünftigen bewussten Rechnens durch die Erinnerung, unterstützt durch die Geberde, gewinnen müssen. Sie las an den Fingern die Paare ab, die sie gebildet hatte, ob nun ein Paar oder anderthalb Paar oder zwei Paare.

Kehren wir aus dem Paradies in die Gegenwart zurück, so können wir den Gedankengang folgendermassen resümieren:

Wenn an den Fingern keine natürliche Grenze für die »2« vorhanden ist, und der eine Stamm vom Kleinfinger, ein anderer vom Daumen ab, der der Coroados nach Martius sogar an den Fingergelenken rechnet, so ist das Zählen der »2« nicht, wie es mit der »5« denkbar wäre, an einem Vorbild in der Anlage der Hand selbst erlernt. Dann ist aber wohl festzuhalten, dass der Bakairi links nur berechnet, was er rechts betastet. Er kann die Anzahl der Körner mit dem Blick allein nicht auf die linken Finger übertragen, sondern muss sie sich erst zurechtlegen. Sein Zählen zerfällt in zwei Prozesse: den der Einteilung der Objekte in 2 Stück und den der Veranschaulichung an den Fingern von Paaren und Einzelstücken. Aber er teilt oder zählt doch schon mit der rechten Hand bis zu 2 und holt sich nur an der linken Hand, wenn ich so sagen darf, die Abstraktion. Jene wichtige Vorstufe, die bisher, wie ich glaube, unbeachtet geblieben ist, geht aus einer Tastwahrnehmung hervor. Notwendig ist alsdann den Dingen, die er anfasste und irgendwie mit den Händen bearbeitete, die erste Einheit der »2« zu verdanken: diese Dinge müssen ein Gesetz enthalten, das bei ihrer Bearbeitung die konkrete »2« lieferte und das bei der gewohnten Veranschaulichung an den Fingern die Abstraktion der »2« mit Sicherheit herbeiführte, weil sich bei allen Dingen die gleiche Beobachtung wiederholte.

Man kann ein Objekt in viele Trümmer schlagen, indessen Alles, was man auf regelmässige Art zerbricht oder zerschneidet, zerbricht oder zerschneidet man zuerst in 2 Stücke. Ich kann 1, 2, 3, 4 Stöcke in die Hand nehmen und Nichts lehrt mich, die einzelnen unter Zahleinheiten zusammenzufassen, ich nehme aber einen Stock und zerbreche ihn — man wird zugeben, so lange die Menschheit lebt, und wo sie auf der Erde Stöcke zerbrach, hat sie jeden Stock jedesmal zuerst in »2« Stücke zerbrochen. Zerbricht man weiter das erste Stück in 2 und das zweite Stück in 2, so erhält man die Zahlenfolge mit dem Zweiersystem der Bakairi oder der Australier. Bei der Vergegenwärtigung des regelmässig sich auf dieselbe Art abspielenden Vorganges durch die bei aller Veranschaulichung von primitiven Völkern geübten Fingergeberden zeigte der Urbakairi immer zuerst auf Kleinfinger und Ringfinger und dann bei Fortsetzung auf Mittelfinger und Ringfinger, der Coroado immer zuerst auf die beiden oberen Fingergelenke eines Fingers: hier wurde, ganz einerlei wo an den Fingern, eine erste Grenze, aber eine bei demselben Volk konstant bleibende Grenze, eine Erfahrungsgrenze abgesteckt. Das war die Fingergeberde »2« und das Wort »zusammen« »fertig« »vieles« — da giebt es x konventionelle Möglichkeiten — das den ersten Vorgang abschloss, wurde das Zahlwort »2«, und an den ersten Vorgang reihte sich ein zweiter gleicher für 3 und 4.

Die Vorstellung der »2« hat sich zuerst an Stücken gebildet und geübt. Sie mag bald auf sonst gleichartige Dinge, die der Mensch in den Händen hatte

und die sich untereinander glichen wie sich zwei Stücke gleichen, ausgedehnt worden sein; die Zwei-Einheit sah und fasste sich bei zwei Ganzen ebenso an wie bei 2 Stücken. $2 : (1 + 1) = 1 : (^1/_2 + ^1/_2)$. Sie musste sich mit diesem Fortschritt auch von dem Vorgang des Zerschneidens und Zerbrechens lösen und auf andere Vorgänge, wie des Gebens und Nehmens und Verteilens, die sich mit den Händen und auf dieselbe Art mit Stücken oder Ganzen abspielten, übergehen.

Die Thätigkeit des Zerlegens war immer dieselbe, die Dinge wechselten beliebig, so kam man dazu, von ihrer Natur abzusehen und hatte die Abstraktion der Zahl »2«. Aber nur durch die Thätigkeit war sie gewonnen, nicht durch die blosse Erscheinung der Dinge, wie sie etwa die paarigen Organe des Körpers darboten. Die erste feste Grundlage war nun in der Erfahrung begründet, dass man ein Ganzes ohne Rechnen in zwei Hälften zerlegen konnte: wenn man ein einzelnes Stück zerbrach, brauchte man nicht mehr zu tasten und zu markieren, man wusste, dass es »2« gebe. Um die Hälften eines Ganzen handelte es sich aber in erster Linie bei den paarigen Organen. Man hatte sie nach aller Erfahrung als ein zusammengehöriges Ganzes aufgefasst, es gab keine ein- oder dreiäugigen, keine ein- oder dreibeinigen Menschen und man hatte in der Anschauung, wenn man es auch nicht begrifflich präzisierte, immer gewusst, dass man nicht mehr, nicht weniger hatte.

Die klare anfängliche Grenze, die wir bei dem Bakaïrí noch heute bestimmt erkennen, ist die Zerlegung des Ganzen in seine Hälften. Denn sobald es zur 3 kommt, muss er nicht nur die Rechenmaschine, sondern auch den Tastsinn zu Hülfe nehmen. Er weiss noch heute ohne Ueberlegung nicht einmal, dass er fünf Finger hat, obwohl er sie zählen kann; nur bis zur »2« ist die Kenntnis sicher, wie auch durch die Zeichnungen, die ich die Leute machen liess, bewiesen wird. Bei beliebigen gleichartigen Objekten steht er noch heute einer unbestimmten Vielheit gegenüber und deshalb wiederholt er, wenn ich ihm 2 Maiskörner, die nicht 2 Hälften eines Ganzen sind, zum Zählen vorlege, den alten Vorgang und lässt die Finger sie anfassen; hier ist der Bakaïrí freilich schon im Stande, ohne Finger zu zählen, thut es aber selten genug. Bei 3 Maiskörnern kann er mit dem besten Willen nicht sagen, dass es 3 sind, wenn er sie nur betrachtet und nicht auch befühlt und aus 2 + 1 an der Linken addiert.

Nur die Tastwahrnehmung hat im Anfang die einzelnen Gegenstände abgegrenzt, die gezählt wurden. Um das Ermüden der Bakaïrí zu verstehen, müssen wir uns vorstellen, dass wir im Dunkeln zählten und nur die Zahlwörter 1 und 2 hätten. Wir sind so daran gewöhnt, mit den Augen zu zählen, dass wir kaum begreifen können, es sei dies erst eine durch die lange Uebung erworbene Fertigkeit, die nur im Besitz der höheren Zahlwörter und durch deren lautes oder leises, das Fingerabgreifen ersetzendes Aussprechen erreichbar war. Dennoch brauchen wir nur statt der Augen die Ohren zu nehmen und wir merken bald, wie alles nur von der Uebung abhängt und wie wir in einem gleichwertigen Sinnesgebiet ungefähr ebenso schlecht registrieren oder zählen als der Bakaïrí

die Maiskorner. Wer zahlt nicht laut oder leise mit, wenn er die Schläge einer Uhr, von denen er natürlich nicht vorauswissen soll, wie viele es sind, zählen will? Und nun denke man sich einen Augenblick, man habe keine Reihe von Zahlwörtern zur Verfügung, in der jedes einzelne uns der Mühe überhebt, die vorhergehenden zu behalten, sondern habe nur die Wörter für 1 und 2; wird man nicht sofort die Finger zu Hilfe nehmen, um sie bei 6 oder 8 Schlägen um die Summe genau so zu befragen, wie der Bakairí in seinem Fall? Dass Schlag auf Schlag verklingt, ändert nichts Wesentliches an dem Vergleich: auch den Blick muss ich von Objekt zu Objekt hinüberbewegen. Stellen wir uns umgekehrt Jemanden vor, der eine grosse Uebung darin besässe, Gehörseindrücke zu registrieren; wird er begreifen können, dass Unsereins sagen kann, er habe die Uhr schlagen hören, wisse aber nicht wie oft? Wie mitleidig würde er über unser lautes Mitzählen lächeln! Und auch er würde die Finger zu Hilfe nehmen müssen, wenn er in seinen Zahlwörtern keine höheren Einheiten als 2 und 3 hätte.

Wie wir nicht geübt sind mit dem Gehör, ist der Bakairí nicht gewöhnt, mit den Blicken zu zählen. Er ist noch fast ganz auf das Ergebnis der Tastwahrnehmung beschränkt. Die Grundlage, auf der sich, durch Interesse und Bedürfniss angeregt, die Weiterentwicklung und die Bildung höherer Einheiten hätte vollziehen müssen, war schon seit zahlreichen Generationen vorhanden, allein wie gering waren Interesse und Bedürfnis im primitiven Familienleben! Schon zum Verteilen, das doch — denken wir unwillkürlich — zuerst herausforderte, »Rechenschaft« abzulegen, bedurfte man kaum je des Zählens: man gab ja und bekam ja und das Stück in der Hand bewies mehr als die Finger an der Hand.

Wenden wir uns jetzt noch einmal zu den Zahlwörtern der Bakairí und sehen nach, wie deren Etymologie, soweit sie einige Sicherheit bietet, mit der aus den Versuchen erschlossenen Entwicklung übereinstimmt. Die Vergleichung ist deshalb nicht ohne Wert, weil beiderlei Studien ganz unabhängig voneinander gemacht worden sind, und die Erklärung der Zahlwörter nur auf phonetische Begründung und Sprachvergleichung gestützt ist.

Mit „*ahewáo*" »3« weiss ich nichts anzufangen. Es kommt bei einer Reihe von Stämmen des Nordens vor, teilweise in stark veränderten Formen, die aber doch wohl zu vermitteln sind. Mit der grossen Unsicherheit, die die Bakairí noch im 3-zählen bekunden, mag der seltsame Luxus von zwei Zahlenausdrücken zusammenhängen; die Bestimmung der Paare ist noch Hauptsache, und nur, was über das Bestimmen des ersten Paars, den gewöhnlichsten Fall, hinausgeht, hat ein besonderes Wort. Bei dem schwierigen Zählen von Gegenständen, das über »3« hinausging, habe ich wohl nur „*ahúge tokúle*" gehört, sodass die beiden Ausdrücke etwa wie »zwölf« und »Dutzend« gebraucht werden und dem „*ahewáo*" vielleicht noch etwas Unbestimmtes von seiner Urbedeutung innewohnt. Daher es denn auch zu keiner Zusammensetzung höherer Zahlen verwendet wird. Im Kamayura heisst »3« *moapüt*, ein genau zu bestimmendes Wort. Es setzt sich zusammen aus dem Kausativum *mo-*, *mbo-* und *apüt*, *apy* Gipfel, Spitze. Der höchste

oder der Gipfel-Finger ist der Mittel-Finger, der die »3« markiert, also schon eine natürliche Grenze wie 5 = Hand. Im nahverwandten Auetó heisst 1 und 3 ganz anders als im Kamayurá-Tupí, während 2 übereinstimmt. Das ist sehr ähnlich dem Verhältnis bei den verschiedenen Karaibenstämmen.

Glücklicherweise ist der Sinn des wichtigsten Zahlwortes „*ahége*" sicher. Es hat auch den grössten sprachvergleichenden Wert, denn es findet sich, meist wenig differenziert, bei allen gutkaraibischen Volksschaften wieder und ist geradezu ein Leitwort. Phonetisch geht es zurück auf „*atike*". Man muss es zerlegen in erstens das demonstrative *a-*, das auch das Pronominalpraefix der zweiten Person bildet und sich auf das ausserhalb des eigenen Körpers Nächstliegende bezieht und zweitens die Postposition „*-take*", „*-sake*", „*-hage*", »mit, samt« = »da-bei«, »damit«, »zusammen«. Es steckt also nichts von Hand oder Fingern darin und nichts von Augen, Flügeln und Armen.

»Viel« heisst „*aígi*", auch schon „*ígi*" und ist, da ich einmal auch „*ahígi*" aufgeschrieben habe und zwischen den beiden *a* jedenfalls ein Konsonant gestanden haben muss, sehr wahrscheinlich mit dem „*ahége*" »2« von Haus aus identisch — eine Identität, die sich dem Sprachgefühl des modernen Bakaírí längst entzogen hat. Somit hätten sich die Bedeutungen »2« und »viel« von dem ältesten heute noch nachweisbaren Wortsinn »dabei«, etwa unserm »miteinander« oder »zusammen« abgespaltet und das Wort für die bestimmte Zahl und das für die unbestimmte Menge wären nur lautliche Differenzierungen derselben Stammform.*)

Wir sehen, dass die Geschichte des Bakaírí-Zahlwortes für 2 mit der vorausgesetzten Entstehung überhaupt der Zahlanschauung in vollem Einklang steht. Wir würden hier nur noch hinzulernen, dass die Beobachtung, wie ein regelrecht zerbrochenes Ding in »2« Stücke zerfällt, längere Zeit nicht abgesondert wurde von der, dass man bei unregelmässigem Zerbrechen beliebig viele Stücke »miteinander« in der Hand hatte. Nun fällt aber umgekehrt von unserer psychologischen Entwicklung ein seltsamer Lichtschein auf die Etymologie. Der Ursprung der Postposition „*-sake*" „*-hage*", die etwas wie »Gemeinsamkeit«, um es recht schön abstrakt auszudrücken, bedeuten muss, bleibt aufzuklären. Da gibt es auch in dem aufgezeichneten Material einen Verbalstamm, der gleichlautend ist, den aber Niemand mit dem Begriff »Gemeinsamkeit« in Verbindung bringen würde: Holz schlagen! Die Arbeit des Steinbeils, die den Stamm zerteilt. Das ist mindestens interessant, und man möchte wohl glauben, dass sich bei einem Karaiben die Bedeutungen: „*Holz zerbrechen, Holzstücke* oder *Reisig*, (*Gemeinsamkeit*), *zusammen*, *zwei*" auseinander entwickeln können, wennschon unser „*zusammen*, *samt*, *sammeln*", sowie Sanskrit *sama*, Zend *hama*, englisch *same derselbe*,

*) So ist im Deutschen derselbe Stamm *paar* »2« und »einige« nicht einmal lautlich, sondern nur syntaktisch und für den, der »Paar« und »par« schreibt, graphisch geschieden; die Syntax ist sogar noch nicht konsequent durchgeführt. Weil man »das Paar Handschuhe« oder »ein Paar Handschuhe« sagt, sagt man auch »die par Leute« oder »ein par Leute waren da«, statt folgerichtig wie »wenige Leute«, auch ohne Artikel »par Leute waren da« zu sagen.

griechisch *ἁμά zugleich, ἁμός derselbe*, etc. eines Ursprungs sind. In diesem Fall würde die Sprache das letzte fehlende Glied, sie würde den Beweis für die Entstehung der ersten Zahlabstraktion »2« aus dem konkreten Vorbild des Zerbrochenen liefern und damit die Reihe der Schlussfolgerungen aus meinen Experimenten, die nur bis auf den Nachweis der Entstehung aus der Hände Arbeit zurückreicht, zu einer lückenlosen induktiven Beweiskette ergänzen.

Im Tupí heisst »2« *mokói*, zusammengesetzt mit dem Kausativum *mo-*; *koi* wird übersetzt »Paar«. Also »2« »macht Paar«. Aber was ist *koi?* Da ist es nun merkwürdig genug, dass *kopi* — dem Bakaïrí *sake* genau entsprechend — Holz fällen heisst! Zwischen den beiden Vokalen in *koi* ist ein erweichter Konsonant ausgefallen; nehmen wir an, es sei aus *kowi*, *kobi* entstanden, was ein sehr gewöhnlicher Vorgang wäre, so hätten wir denselben Ursprung der »2«, wie er im Bakaïrí denkbar wäre.

Ich habe endlich noch des „*tokále*" »1« zu gedenken. Es setzt sich zusammen aus „*toka*" und der Verstärkungspartikel „*-le*". „*tóka*" heisst »Bogen«. Der Bogen ist, da jeder Mann nur einen Bogen hat, oder da auf jeden Bogen viele Pfeile kommen, das einfachste Vorbild für die »1« unter allem Gerät. Die Ableitung ist ein wenig bedenklich, weil sie etwas zu schön ist. Allerdings ist „*toku*" phonetisch auch so beschaffen, dass es sich nach den im Bakaïrí herrschenden Lautgesetzen nicht zu verändern braucht. In hohem Grade auffällig erscheint es, wie wenige Entsprechungen für „*tokále*" bei den Karaiben des Nordens vorhanden sind; sie sind geringer an Zahl als die für „*ahewáo*" und weit geringer als die für „*ahége*". Es ist wohl erlaubt, hier einen Zufall auszuschliessen und in diesem Umstand auch seitens der Sprache ein Zeugnis dafür zu erblicken, dass man das eigentliche, begriffliche Zählen mit der »2« begonnen hat.

II. Farbenwörter.

Vorhandene Farbstoffe. Uebereinstimmend die Zahl der Farbenwörter. Sonderbare Angaben durch Etymologie verständlich. Farbstoffe älter als Bedürfnis nach Farbenwörtern. Verwendung bei Tier- und Pflanzennamen. Grün niemals blauschwarz.

Nicht minder als an den Zahlen ist an den Farbenwörtern zu erkennen, wie die Entwicklung vom Interesse abhängt.

Es sind, wie zumeist bereits erwähnt, die folgenden Farbstoffe am Schingú in Gebrauch.

Das Weiss ist kreidig weisse Thonerde, die in den Hütten in Form von kindskopfgrossen Kugeln zum Vorrat aufbewahrt wird. Die Frauen reiben sich beim Spinnen damit den rechten Oberschenkel ein, auf dem sie den Faden drillen. Sie wird nur mit Wasser angerührt. Zum Bemalen des Körpers wird sie niemals gebraucht; auch bei Geräten tritt sie sehr zurück und erscheint fast nur auf den Masken, deren Bemalung nur wenige Tage vorzuhalten brauchte, auf bemalten Rindenstücken u. dgl.

Holzkohle und Russ, die Beerenpulpa des Genipapo-Baums (*Genipa*) und mehrere Harze liefern Schwarz. Zum Schwärzen der Innenseite der Kürbisschalen wird Kohle von der Rinde des Buritischaftes genommen.

Der gelbrote bis braunrote Lehm scheint durch den Urukú-Farbstoff verdrängt zu sein. Er wurde früher gegessen und wird noch zu schweren Kinderpuppen geformt, auch noch auf die Ritzwunden eingerieben.

Holzkohle und Russ werden unmittelbar wie das Weiss eingerieben, oder auch wie das Urukú mit Flüssigkeit angerührt. Entweder nimmt man Oel aus der Pikifrucht (*Caryocar butyrosum*) oder den gelben, kautschukhaltigen Extrakt von einem Baum des Campo cerrado, den die Bakairí Ochogohi nennen und dessen Rinde geraspelt und mit Wasser ausgezogen wird. Die Farben werden in einer Kürbisschale oder einem Topf, oder, wo ein hartes Harz mit der Beilklinge zerkleinert wird, am bequemsten in der napfförmigen Vertiefung eines Schemels angerührt. *Das Urukú* findet sich immer in den Handwerkskörbchen neben der Hängematte, als Paste in Blättern verpackt.

Die Farbstoffe, die den Eingeborenen zur Verfügung stehen, sind also Weiss, Schwarz, Rot und Gelb. Das Genipapo-Schwarz ist blauschwarz, das Urukú-Rot ein Ziegelrot bis Orange, das mit dem gelben Ochogohisaft gemischt von Rot viel verliert. Blaue und grüne Farbstoffe sind nicht vorhanden.

Die Theorie, dass sich der Farbensinn bei der Menschheit allmählich entwickelt habe, begründet durch die Thatsache, dass die Unterscheidung der Farben in der Sprache bis zu den hohen Kulturstufen hinauf mangelhaft ist und dass besonders blau und grün ausserordentlich häufig mit demselben Worte bezeichnet werden, ist heute verlassen worden. Man hat bei allen Naturvölkern, die man untersuchte, gefunden, dass sie die verschiedenen Farbeneindrücke mit dem Auge vortrefflich sondern, dass sie z. B. aus einem Haufen zahlreicher Wollbündelchen die gleichfarbigen Nuancen mit normaler Sicherheit auswählen, von Farbenblindheit also keine Rede sein kann, dass aber in der sprachlichen Bezeichnung freilich mit erstaunlicher Regelmässigkeit blau und grün zusammengeworfen wird. Die richtige Lösung ist von Ernst Krause (Carus Sterne) angegeben worden. Der Mensch, nach natürlicher Anlage jederzeit für den energischen Eindruck von Rot am meisten empfänglich, hat gerade für diese Farbe auch mineralische und vegetabilische Pigmente am reichlichsten vorgefunden. Der nächsthäufig fertig gebildete Farbstoff ausser Schwarz und Weiss ist gelb, während die grünen und blauen Farbstoffe erst späte Erzeugnisse der Färbetechnik sind. Entsprechend dem Gebrauch hat man auch die Farbennamen entwickelt.

Auf ein Blatt meines Tagebuchs hatte mir Wilhelm farbige Flecke eingetragen von Ultramarin, Kobaltblau, Smaragdgrün, Saftgrün, Karmin, Rosakrapp, Zinnober, Orange, Kadmiumgelb, gebrannter Siena, Sepia und Elfenbeinschwarz. Der Versuch, die Farbennamen durch Vorlegen lebhaft gefärbter Dinge zu erhalten, schlug gänzlich fehl. Man gab die gegenständlichen Namen oder diese mit Farbennamen durcheinander, und Nichts stand im Wege, ein ergötzliches Ver-

zeichnis dieser Wörter anzulegen, deren keins eine Farbe bezeichnete. Ein Waurá brachte mich schier zur Verzweiflung, und gerade er schien für blau und grün verschiedene Wörter zu besitzen. Allein auch wenn dieser Irrtum — und zwar geschah dies am besten durch Benutzung der bereits sicher gewonnenen Farbennamen des Nachbarstammes — ausgeschlossen war, wenn die Leute sich wirklich im richtigen Geleise bewegten, wurde die Aufnahme meist zur wahren Geduldsprobe. Sie besannen sich, schwankten hin und wieder, waren sich zuweilen uneinig: es war klar, dass ich sehr Ungewöhnliches verlangte. Nur die Auetó, die eifrigen Maler, zeigten sich anstellig. Dann aber lag auch eine Schwierigkeit bei mir selbst, da ich mich nicht nur daran erst gewöhnen musste, für Smaragdgrün und Ultramarin dasselbe Wort zu hören, sondern auch andere verblüffende Auskunft bekam, die ich erst nach sprachlichen Studien verstehen konnte.

Allen gemeinsam war, dass sie je ein Wort hatten für 1) rot und orange, 2) gelb, 3) weiss, 4) schwarz. Das ist also genau im Einklang mit ihren Farbstoffen. Die Auetó hatten dasselbe Wort, das »Weiss« der Tupí-Sprache, für weiss und hellgelb. Die Trumaí waren die Einzigen, die für blau und grün zwei Wörter besassen, die Uebrigen bezeichneten diese beiden Farben mit demselben Worte. Doch ist bei den Bakaïri *tamagenéng* blau schwarz und dunkelbraun, und grün heisst *tukuéng*; es ereignete sich, dass Einer *tukuéng* auch für blau gebrauchte, aber nicht, dass *tamagenéng* für grün gebraucht wurde. Vereinzelt kamen die sonderbarsten Dinge vor. Ein Trumaí und ein Nahuquá bezeichneten blau mit demselben Wort wie Kadmiumgelb, ein Bakaïri und ein Mehinakú grün ebenso wie rot — wenn man wollte, entdeckte man die verschiedenen Arten der Farbenblindheit bei den ersten besten, die man untersuchte.

Den Schlüssel für diese Erscheinungen kann nur die Sprachforschung geben. Bei einer Anzahl der Farbenwörter vermag ich die ursprüngliche Bedeutung anzugeben, und sie genügen, um derartige Möglichkeiten zu erklären. Ganz sicher ist das Wort der Kamayurá »blau« oder »grün« *i-tsovü-maé* »perikitofarben« von *tsovü*, dem Namen der Conurusarten oder Perikitos. Diese Papageien haben in ihrem Gefieder sowohl Grasgrün wie Indigoblau. Im Tupí lautet dasselbe Farbenwort *çúgui, çy*, und der Perikito heisst *tovi, tui, çioi, çiui*. Dank der Kamayuráform *i-tsovü-mae* ist der im Tupí bereits verwischte Ursprung von *çugui* noch gerettet. Ob ich dem Indianer einen blauen oder einen grünen Klex, eine blaue Perlschnur oder ein grünes Blatt zeigte, er traf mit seiner Antwort »perikitofarben« ja das Richtige. Es kommt nur darauf an, welcher Teil der Färbung ihm vorschwebte. Das Auetówort *i-kõr-atú* »grün« oder »blau« entspricht vielleicht dem aus *keru* erweichten *jeru* »Papagei« des Tupí, so dass wir hier ein »papageifarben« hätten.

Das *tukuéng* »grün« der Bakaïri geht ebenfalls auf den Perikito *zugú-ri**) zurück. Da es nun eine von den Eingeborenen in den Häusern gehaltene Peri-

*) Der Name des Perikito ist onomatopoetisch, daher sehr ähnlich bei Bakaïri, Tupí und Bororó.

kitenart giebt, die einen schönen roten Fleck neben dem Schnabel hat, so nehme ich an, dass eine Bakaïrí-Frau sich dieses Tierchens erinnerte, als sie mir zu meinem Erstaunen hintereinander smaragdgrün, zinnober und ultramarin als *tukuéng* bezeichnete! Dann stimmte Alles, ich selbst aber hatte damals keine Ahnung von dem Zusammenhang und brachte das Ergebnis kopfschüttelnd mit grossen Ausrufungszeichen zu Papier. Ein wahres Glück, dass die Leute nicht von dem roten Arara des unteren Schingú einen Farbennamen abgeleitet haben, sie würden eine Palette mit ungefähr sämtlichen schreienden Farben dem verdutzten Europäer mit einem Wort haben erklären können. Möglich wenigstens ist es ferner, dass das Wort für rot der Bakaïrí und Nordkaraïben »fruchtfarben« bedeutet; in diesem Falle könnte schon einmal Jemand, der keineswegs rotblind ist, das Wort ausnahmsweise auch für grün (smaragdgrün und saftgrün) gebrauchen, während die Andern es allgemein für Orange, Zinnober und Karmin anwandten. Wohl zu vertheidigen ist die Ableitung des Tupíwortes *ti, ting, tingu* für »weiss« von *ty* Urin, Saft, Brühe; alsdann könnte es gewiss nicht Wunder nehmen, wenn die Auetó damit weiss und hellgelb bezeichnen.

Das Wort für weiss der Bakaïrí ist »salz«farben, das für schwarz »russ«farben. Letzteres dient, wie erwähnt, auch für blau und dunkelbraun, und, während grün = perikitofarben auch »blau« sein konnte, konnte blau = russfarben nicht »grün« sein.

Somit ergiebt sich, einige der Farbennamen können mehrdeutig sein. Es ist klar, dass, wo dies der Fall ist, der Gebrauch sich allmählich für eine Qualität entscheiden wird; worauf es ankommt, ist eben nur der Gebrauch, der das Bedürfnis der Unterscheidung entwickelt. Das Bedürfnis, Farben zu unterscheiden, macht sich am nächsten geltend für die Farbstoffe selbst. Es scheint keineswegs gewöhnlich zu sein, dass der Farbnamen vom Farbstoff abgeleitet wird, da ich dies nur im Bakaïrí für schwarzblau = russfarben zu finden vermag; so ist auch bei den Tupí *una* schwarz = »verbrannt«, und die den Tieren häufig zugewiesene Form *piachuna* bedeutet »verbrannte Haut«. Auch dieses Wort wird für »blau« gebraucht; der prachtvoll blaue Arara ist als »Psittacus ararauna« = *arara una* in die Zoologie übergegangen. Nirgendwo ist das Urukúwort in dem Farbenwort rot, das Wort für den weissen Thon in dem Farbenwort weiss enthalten. Ich glaube, die Farbstoffe sind weit älter als das Bedürfnis, sie nach ihren Farben zu unterscheiden. Dies wird für die Bakaïrí durch zwei Punkte wahrscheinlich: die Farbenadjektiva gehören einmal mit einziger Ausnahme des »rot, orange« nicht zum Inventar der karaïbischen Grundsprache, dann zeigt ihre Zusammensetzung nach dem Schema *t-Stamm-éng* das Gepräge neuerer Bildung.

Ich darf ein solches Verhalten wohl auch zu Gunsten der früheren Ausführung über den Ursprung des persönlichen Farbenschmucks verwerten (vgl. Seite 184 ff.). So uralt und eingeboren gewisslich die Freude an den Farben sein mag, so spricht doch der Umstand, dass sich das Bedürfnis, die Farben der Farbstoffe mit Wörtern zu unterscheiden, erst spät geregt hat, zu Gunsten der Ansicht,

dass der farbige Schmuck zuerst nicht um der Farben willen auf den Körper gebracht worden ist. Da das, was als Trophäe oder zu praktischen Zwecken auf dem Körper getragen wurde, sich thatsächlich durch wechselnde Farben auszeichnete, die Wohlgefallen erregen mussten, so kam man von selbst dazu, sie auch um des Vergnügens willen anzuwenden, und von dieser Zeit an begann die früheste Unterscheidung durch Farbennamen; innerhalb deren wiederum wurde die erste Sicherheit gewonnen für die auch bearbeiteten Farben, während das Bedürfnis für die Unterscheidung von grün und blau noch durch vage Wörter wie »perikitofarben« befriedigt wurde.

Noch eins darf nicht vergessen werden. Der Indianer bildet keine Allgemeinurteile, wie »die Bäume sind grün, der Himmel ist blau«. Nichts veranlasst ihn, diese ihm von der Aussenwelt gebotene Anschauung zu zergliedern, sie interessiert seine Person bei keiner Thätigkeit und ist ein selbstverständlich Gegebenes, wie, dass das Wasser nass ist. Was ihn aber nach Farben zu unterscheiden interessiert, sind Tiere und Pflanzen. Hier liegt die Hauptverwendung der erworbenen Farbennamen und hier ist es nötig zu verfolgen, wie er im eigenen Gebrauch mit den Farbennamen verfährt.

Ich habe daraufhin die Liste der Tiernamen in dem Glossarium von Martius durchgesehen, in die einige 1300 aus der gesamten Literatur zusammengetragen sind. »Perikitofarben« *cugui* für »blau und grün«, wird nur ein einziges Mal bei einer Boa-Schlange verwendet, die Martius »viridis vel azureus Coluber aestivus L.« nennt. Die gewöhnlichen Unterscheidungen nach Farben, deren Zahl geringer ist als man erwarten sollte, ist schwarz, weiss, rot und gelb; ich zähle, ohne auf absolute Genauigkeit Wert zu legen, 28 Vögel, 23 Fische, 9 Säugetiere, 4 Schlangen und 12 niedere Tiere, die nach jenen vier Farben unterschieden sind. Nun kommen aber noch zwei Wörter für »bunt« vor, von denen das eine *pinima*, mit dem Verbum »malen« gleichen Stammes, für 4 Fische, 3 Vögel, den Jaguar, 1 Schlange, 1 Eidechse, 1 Krebs gebraucht wird, und das andere *paragou*, schlechthin »Papagei« bedeutet und auch einen Papagei-Fisch und eine Papagei-Schlange liefert. Reines »grün« ist immer papagei- oder perikitofarben; wo ein »blau« zu bestimmen ist, wird das Tier auch mit dem Zusatzwort *uau* (verbrannt) = schwarz oder dunkel versehen.

Deutlicher kann es nicht ausgesprochen sein, dass sich die Indianer nur da zu einer scharf bestimmten Farbenunterscheidung veranlasst fühlen, wo es sich um die ihnen von den Farbstoffen her geläufigen Farbenqualitäten handelt, dass also die eigene Praxis, nicht der Farbensinn, das Material der fest abgegrenzten Begriffe liefert.

Die Liste der Pflanzennamen von Martius, etwas über 1000 an der Zahl, bietet einen interessanten Vergleich. 8 Pflanzen erhalten das Prädikat schwarz, 7 weiss, 7 rot, 2 gelb. Dass bei den Pflanzen »grün« kein unterscheidendes Merkmal bildet, ist klar. Doch begegnen wir auch hier einmal dem bald mit grün, bald mit blau übersetzten *cugui* oder »perikitofarben«, und zwar entspricht

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es einem entschiedenen Blau, da es sich auf *Indigofera Anil L.* bezieht. 3 Pflanzen sind »bunt«, aber „*pinimu*"; die Papageienbuntheit (*paragoq*) fehlt.

Die Eingeborenen hätten Indigo aus der soeben erwähnten Pflanze gewinnen können, doch haben sie es nicht verstanden. Bei der Fabrikation des Indigo bedienen sich brasilische Industrielle indianischer Hände, bezeugt Martius; sie sei erst von den Portugiesen eingeführt worden und liefere eine wenig begehrte Sorte. Das Genipapo-Schwarz hat einen blauen Ton und entspricht so vortrefflich der Anlehnung des Blau in den Farbenbezeichnungen an Schwarz. Aus dem Schwarz geht auch das Blau der Tätowierung hervor. Man betrachte sich die Sammlungen im Museum für Völkerkunde, die noch frei sind von blauen Stickperlen und Zeugen, und man wird mit einem Blick das ganze Verhältnis verstehen. Dort finden sich an den bemalten Gerätschaften nur Rot, Gelb, Weiss und Schwarz und der Federschmuck zeigt auch Grün und Blau, er zeigt auch beide Farben in herrlicher Reinheit, aber ungesichtet, in beliebiger Zusammenstellung untereinander und mit den übrigen Farben in einem leuchtenden Gesamtbild, das einlädt allgemein zu bewundern, aber nicht genau zu zergliedern. Farbensymphonie nennt man das in der modernen Kunst, und es ist begreiflich, dass man aus einer Symphonie keine Tonleiter lernt. Wie in den Vitrinen, sieht es in der Seele des Indianers aus. Blaues und Grünes hat er nicht anders zu Hause als in Gestalt seiner Perikitos und Papageien oder ähnlicher Schmuckvögel und so nimmt er deren Namen zum Farbennamen, der für blau und grün ausreicht.

Einen Unterschied zwischen blau und grün hat er entschieden immer gemacht, und das ist der, dass er Blaues, aber nicht Grünes dem Schwarzen oder Dunkeln anreihte. Warum nennt er nicht auch gelegentlich ein Grün »schwarzdunkel«? Der Grund dafür scheint nur zu sein, dass die Fälle, wo ein Grün so auffallend ist, dass es als unterscheidendes Merkmal für die Bezeichnung herangezogen wird, abgesehen von den Papageien selbst, wie die Listen zeigen, sehr selten sind, und dass es sich dann immer um ein leuchtendes Papageiengrün handelt. Dagegen herrscht bei dem mit »schwarzdunkel« blau unterschiedenen Tieren immer das dunkelblau vor; so hat selbst das wohl hellste von ihnen, der Ararauna, nach Brehm »alle oberen Teile nebst den Schwanzdecken dunkel himmelblau«; die Federn haben sogar vielfach im äussern Teil der Fahne einen ganz schwärzlichen Ton, und nur, wenn der Vogel vom vollen Sonnenlicht beschienen dahinfliegt, kommt ein helleres duftiges Azur zur Geltung.

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XVI. KAPITEL.

Die Paressi.

Zur Geschichte der Paressi und ihnen verwandter Stämme. Unser Besuch. Sprache. Anthropologisches. Zur Ethnographie (Tracht, ethnographische Ausbeute, berauschende Getränke, Tanzfeste). Lebensgang. Beerdigung. Medicinmänner. Die Seele des Träumenden und des Toten. Firmament. Ahnensage. Schöpfung. Ursprung der Kulturgewächse. Abstammung der Bakairí. Das Leben im Himmel. Fluss- und Waldgeister. Heimat der Paressi.

Zur Geschichte. Im Nordwesten von Kuyabá liegen die »Campos dos Parecis«, wo die Quellflüsse des Paraguay wie die des Tapajoz und Madeira entspringen. Von den alten Paressi-Indianern sind nur verhältnismässig geringe Ueberreste vorhanden, die in mehrere Stämme zerfallen. Sie führen mit Ausnahme der Kabischí, die häufiger die Umgegend der Stadt Matogrosso unsicher machen, ein friedliches Dasein. Da es uns unmöglich war, die Paressí zu besuchen, weil uns der Wunsch, die Bororó kennen zu lernen, in fast entgegengesetzte Richtung führte, mussten die Paressí schon zu uns kommen. Glücklicher Weise fanden wir bei dem damaligen Präsidenten der Provinz, dem Obersten Francisco Raphael de Mello Rego, eine äusserst liebenswürdige und verständnisvolle Aufnahme aller unserer Wünsche. Ihm und seiner ausgezeichneten Gemahlin, Donna Carmina, die uns als vollendete Dame inmitten der Cuyabaner und Cuyabanerinnen wie ein Wesen aus einer andern Welt erschien, sind wir für ihr reges Interesse zu grösster Dankbarkeit verpflichtet. Am 10. Januar überreichte ich dem Präsidenten das Gesuch, dass er einige Paressí nach der Hauptstadt zitiere; auch wurde privatim nach Diamantino geschrieben, da man behauptete, die einflussreichen Leute dort seien »liberal« und würden sich um die Ordre eines »konservativen« Präsidenten nicht kümmern. Am 19. Februar trafen die Indianer ein.

Ueber die Paressi sind uns wichtige Mitteilungen eines ihrer Entdecker selbst erhalten. Der Kapitän Antonio Pires de Campos*) entwirft uns im Jahre 1723 und zwar nach einer Bekanntschaft »de tantos annos« ein Bild von ihrem »reino« oder Reich, wie wir es aus den jetzt noch erhaltenen Trümmern niemals zusammensetzen könnten.

*) Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico XXV, p. 443. Rio de Janeiro 1862.

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»Auf jenen ausgedehnten Hochebenen bewohnen die Paresi ein weites Reich, und alle Wasser fliessen nach Norden. (Er rechnet sie danach also nur nach nen Quellgebiet des Tapajos und Madeira). Diese Leute sind in solcher Menge vorhanden, dass man ihre Ansiedelungen oder »Städte« nicht zählen kann; häufig kommt man zu einem Marschlag durch 10 oder 12 Dörfer, und in jedem von diesen giebt es 10 bis 30 Häuser, und unter diesen Häusern finden sich einige von 30 bis 40 Schritt Breite, und sie sind rund von der Gestalt eines Backofens, sehr hoch und jedes eine dieser Häuser, hinein wir, beherbergt eine ganze Familie. Alle leben von dem Feldbau, welche sie unermüdlich sind, und so sind zahlreiche Leute, und die Pflanzen, die sie hauptsächlich bauen, sind Mandioka, einiger Mais und Bohnen, Bataten, viele Jaguas (kein Wort von Bananen!), und einmal in bewundernswerter Ordnung gepflanzt, von denen pflegen sie ihre Weine zu machen. Und sie legen auch von Fluss zu Fluss den Kamp ein, innerhalb dieses Gebietes machen sie viele Gruben, wenn sie viele Reh, Strauss und viele andere Tiere jagen. Diese Heiden sind nicht kriegerisch und verteidigen sich nur, wenn man sie verfolgen will; ihre Waffen sind Bogen und Pfeil und sie gebrauchen auch ein sehr starkes Holz und machen daraus lange Bäume, die dem als Schwerter dienen, und sie haben auch ihre ganz kleinen Spieme, um ihre Thüren zu verteidigen, die sie so klein machen, dass man nur auf allen Vieren hineinkommen kann. Und diese Indianer gebrauchen auch Idole; diese haben ein besonderes Haus, mit vielen Figuren von mannigfachen Gestalten, wo es nur den Männern erlaubt ist einzutreten, diese Figuren sind ganz fürchterlich und alle haben ihre Kähletrompeten, die, wie diese Heiden sagen, den Figuren gehören, und die Weiberschaft bestimmt die Gesetze so, dass sie nicht einmal nach diesem Hause hinzulaufen pflegen, und nur die Männer finden sich dorin ein in jenen Tagen des Vergnügens, die sie bestimmen, um ihre Tänze zu begehen, und an denen sie sich reich kleiden. Die gewöhnliche Tracht dieser Heiden ist, dass die Männer ein Stückchen Stroh an den Schamteilen tragen und die Frauen ihre »Röcke« bis zum halben Oberschenkel, deren Stoff sie selbst aus einem Gewebe von Fasern machen (ungenauerige Note mit eingeknüpften Fasern), und mit prächtigen Farben. Alles sehr schwer und Arbeiten mannigfacher Art und Gestalt, und die Neugier ist bei Männern und Weibern eine Innerstes; sie sind sehr sauber und vollkommen in Allem bis auf ihre Strumpfen, die sie gewebe und bereit machen und so rein und in guten Stande haben, dass man dort auch nicht ein Haar finden wird.«

Antonio Pires lobt weiter die hellfarbigen Baumwollen und in allen Arbeiten geschickten Frauen, erwähnt die Kunst, die Federn der Papageien und anderer Vögel willkürlich zu färben, und bewundert die Arbeiten in Stein und hartem Holz, die ohne Hilfe von Eisen und Stahl gemacht werden. Die Häuptlinge tragen am Halse jaspisähnliche, marmorglatt geschliffene Steine von der Form eines Malteserkreuzes. Er hält das durch zahlreiche Häuptlinge beherrschte Volk, das ein ungeheures Gebiet mit fruchtbarem Boden und angenehmen Klima bewohne, für das dankbarste Ziel der katholischen Mission zu Ehren des portugiesischen Namens. Im Gegensatz zu den Paresi gelten ihm die »Cavibis«, die Kabischi, als umherstreifende wilde Barbaren, die seine Leute trotz ihrer 130 Feuergewehre in die Flucht trieben, und in deren Hütten er einmal mit Menschenfleisch gefüllte Töpfe und Geräte voller Schädel und Knochen gefunden habe. Jenseits der Paresi wohnten im Norden ebenso zahlreich, und in dem ganzen Kulturzustande ihnen ebenbürtig die »Mahibarez«, deren Sprache sich nur in wenigen Wörtern unterscheide; sie unternahmen viele Raubzüge gegen die Paresi, tödteten die Männer und entführten die Weiber.

So waren die Verhältnisse am Anfang des vorigen Jahrhunderts. Den Sklavensuchern folgten die Gold- und Diamantensucher, die die Indianer zu harter Frohne zwangen. Heute ist Diamantino,*) einst der Mittelpunkt der Abenteurer,

*) Lage nach Chandless 14°24'33" südl. Br. und 57°8'30" östl. von Greenwich.

nur noch ein trauriges Nest — 1874 hatte die ganze Parochie 1876 Seelen, und einige Jahre später erklärte der Geograph Melgaço: »der Verfall hält an und grenzt fast an Marasmus« — aber auch die Indianer sind zu Tausenden zu Grunde gegangen und nur die, die sich vor der Zivilisation und Bekehrung zu retten wussten, erfreuen sich noch einiger Gesundheit.

In dem Aktenheft der Directoria dos Indios von Cuyabá finde ich aus dem Jahre 1848 folgende Angaben über die Stämme in den »Campos dos Parecis«:

1. Barbados; 400 Seelen in einem Dorf am Abhang der Serra an den Quellen des Rio Vermelho, einem Quellflüsschen des Paraguay, bauen Mais, Mandioka, Batatas, Cará. Werkzeuge aus Stein und hartem Holz. Ohne Viehzucht und Industrie. Verräterisch, greifen zuweilen Reisende zwischen Diamantino und Villa Maria an. 2. Parecsi; 200—250 Seelen, verschiedene Gruppen in dem Distrikt von Diamantino und Matogrosso, erscheinen zuweilen zum Austausch mit Sieben, Körben, Hängemattenstricken, Federn, Kayeu und Tabak, den sie herrichten und mit Urumbamba umwickeln, und der von Rauchern sehr geschätzt wird. Wenige verstehen und sprechen portugiesisch. Sie begehen keine offenen Feindseligkeiten, gesellen sich aber gelegentlich zu den Kabischi, um Unthaten zu verüben. 3. Maimbaré; 400 Seelen, in Familiengruppen durch den Sertão zerstreut, haben Beziehungen mit den Parexi. Jagd, Mais, Mandioka, Bananen, Batatas, Cará. 4. Kabischi, zahlreich, auf 500 Seelen geschätzt, in verschiedenen Dörfern, 15—20 Leguas nordwestlich von dem Arraial de S. Vicente. Feindlich, Raub- und Brandzüge gegen die Stadt Matogrosso hin.

Die hier mitgetheilten Zahlen haben nach andern, besser zu beurteilenden zu schliessen, keinen Wert. Ueber die Barbados gehen allerlei seltsame Geschichten um, sie seien vom und Abkömmlinge von Paulisten, die keine Annäherung erlaubten. Betreffs der Kabischi habe ich einen handschriftlichen Bericht (Juni 1888) des Kapitän Antonio Annibal de Motta gelesen, der durch Vermittlung der Parexi am Rio Sepotuba 12 Eingeborene jener Stämme, darunter den Häuptling Lodomadi kennen lernte. Von den Parexi, von denen er drei Dörfer an den Quellen des Rio Sepotuba, Rio Formoso und Rio João zählt, bemerkt der Kapitän, dass sie Kautschuk und Ipecacuanha nach S. Luiz de Cáceres verhandelten, dass sie mit den kriegerischen Nambiquara des Rio Juruena in Fehde lebten, mit den »zahmen« Kabischi verkehrten, aber nicht mit den »wilden«, die 10 Tagereisen jenseits der zahmen im Walde wohnten. Die zahmen haben vier Dörfer am Rio Cabaçal, einem rechten Nebenfluss des Paraguay, jedes unter einem besonderen Häuptling. Ihre Sprache bis auf einige dialektische Verschiedenheiten und ihre Sitten und Gebräuche sind denen der Parexi gleich, beide Stämme pflanzen Mandioka, Tabak und Baumwolle. Die Hängematten sind verschieden, insofern die Parexi sie aus Baumwolle und die Kabischi sie aus Faser der kleinen Tukumpalme (Astrocaryum) machen. Pfeile und Werkzeuge sind gleich. Die Männer tragen sehr fest gewebte Baumwollbinden um Oberarm und

Unterschenkel, die Frauen Kautschukbänder. »Allgemein fehlen Männern und Frauen die oberen Schneidezähne.« Der Kapitän hält die »zahmen« Kabischí für dieselben, die zuweilen die Landstrassen des benachbarten Gebietes unsicher machen.

Unser Besuch. Das Dorf der für uns zitierten Paressi liegt im Distrikt von Diamantino am Rio St. Anna, einem rechten Nebenflüsschen des Paraguay. Hier sind seit Mitte des vorigen Jahrhunderts Gold- und Diamantenminen gewesen und die Vorfahren unserer Besucher zur Arbeit herangezogen worden. Die Leute selbst nannten ihren Fluss Zaikuriviá und rechneten drei Tage nach Diamantino.

Es waren im Ganzen 12 Individuen, 9 Männer und 3 Frauen. Nur vier von ihnen nannten sich Paressi, vier waren Waimaré von dem oben als Maimbaré bezeichneten Stamm, und vier, unter ihnen die drei Frauen, Kaschiniti. Sie verteilten sich mit ihren portugiesischen und einheimischen Namen folgendermassen:

Paressi: João Battista *Kaundeli*, Manoel Bito (Brito) *Hubiaõ*, Bayano (aus Bahia) *Tottiguaõ*, Manoel Bibiano *Dololariki*, Waimaré: Manoel Chico (von Francisco) *Dolitio*, José de Oliveira Santo *Darrudriki*, ferner Waimaré-Vater, Paressi-Mutter: João Baixo (Hans Kurz) *Kokiari* und Manoel Antonio (mein Hauptgewährsmann) *Zaruliari*, sowie Kaschiniti: Miguel *Waitikari*, Maria Kalalta (Clara) *Kumrouai*, Maria Theresa *Kumrauali*, Antonia (vgl. Abbildung 125) — *Kakairi*. Die Männer waren mit Ausnahme von zweien mehr als 25 Jahre alt, der älteste vielleicht 50; Antonia war ein Mädchen nahe an 20 Jahren, die beiden andern 40—50jährige Frauen.

Welche ursprünglichen Unterschiede dieser Einteilung in Stämme zu Grunde liegen, weiss ich nicht anzugeben. Die Waimaré wohnten früher nördlich von den Paressi. Es scheint mit der Zeit des Niedergangs eine Verschmelzung stattgefunden zu haben. So sagten unsere Waimaré, ihre Vater seien Waimaré, ihre Mütter Paressi gewesen, woraus erhellt, dass die Stammbezeichnung sich hier nicht nach den Müttern richtet, in deren Ort aber immerhin die Väter wohnten. Die Unterscheidung als Kaschiniti wurde nebensächlicher behandelt; es gebe jetzt keinen selbständigen Kaschinitistamm mehr. Es war mir nicht möglich, näher in diese Feinheiten einzudringen, die erst in den letzten Augenblicken entdeckt wurden. Unser Zusammensein beschränkte sich leider auf nur zwei Tage; länger waren die Leute nicht zu halten.

Sprache. Dass die Sprachunterschiede zwischen Paressi und Waimaré nur dialektischer Art sind, konnte ich noch feststellen. Vater P. *ahi*, W. *hawi*, Mutter P. *ami*, W. *mami*, Wasser P. *oai*, W. *uai*, Feuer P. und W. *irigati*, Oheim P. *kakire*, W. *kakó*, älterer Bruder P. und W. *ará*. Mein Vokabular ist teils von dem Häuptling der Paressi, João Battista, teils von den Waimaré Manoel Chico aufgenommen und somit gemischten Inhalts.

Die Sprache gehört zu den Nu-Aruaksprachen und besitzt das typische Pronominalpräfix *ao-* der ersten Person. Die Verwandtschaft des Wortschatzes

ist erheblich grösser zu den Mehinakú und Genossen am Kulischu als zu dem grossen Nu-Aruakstamm der Moxos in Bolivien, von denen sie durch das Quellgebiet des Guaporé-Madeira getrennt sind. Sehr schön ist der Wechsel von Mehinakú *p* und Paresi *h*, sowie häufig von *t* und *s* (in beiden Richtungen) ausgesprochen: Fisch Meh. *kupiti*, Par. *kohusi*, Oberschenkel M. *nupiti*, P. *nuhúse*, Carafrucht M. *piku*, P. *hukí*, Knochen M. *inipiti*, P. *enihe*, Haus M. *pii*, P. *hati*, du M. *pitii*, P. *hisi*, Kuye M. *pitui*, P. *hrschischu*. Bemerkenswert ist die Uebereinstimmung von Beil M. *yuwiti*, P. Eisenbeil *zuniti*, und Salz M. *echéu*, P. *séice*. Andrerseits fehlen auch lexikalische Uebereinstimmungen einfachster Art, die man erwarten möchte, sodass an nahe Beziehungen zwischen der Paresi- und Mehinakúgruppe in jüngerer Zeit gar nicht zu denken ist.

Anthropologisches. Das Material reicht nicht im Entferntesten aus, um etwaige Unterschiede zwischen Paresi, Waimaré und Kaschiniti zu bestimmen. Die Frauen waren alle drei Kaschiniti, die Waimaré nannten sich Söhne von Paresimüttern, und überdies waren einige miteinander familienverwandt.

Körperhöhe.

9 Männer: Max. 166,3 Min. 153,0 Mitt. 160,5 3 Frauen: Max. 152,3 Min. 150,5 Mitt. 151,4

Die Männer stehen also an der Grenze zum kleinen Wuchs. Machen wir bei diesem Mass einmal die Unterscheidung nach den Stammesabteilungen, so erhalten wir:

4 Paresi-Männer:	Max. 161,3	Min. 153,0	Mitt. 158,0
4 Waimaré- »	166,3	160,5	» 162,8
1 Kaschiniti-Mann.	»	»	» 161,3

Das wäre kleiner Wuchs für die Paresi. Der kleinste aller Männer war der Paresi-Hauptling und der grösste war der Waimaré-Hauptling.

Klafterweite. A. Körperhöhe 100.

9 Männer: Max. 109,4 Min. 101,4 Mitt. 106,6 3 Frauen: Max. 103,9 Min. 101,3 Mitt. 102,9

B. Absolut.

9 Männer: Max. 15,2 Min. 2,2 Mitt. 10,8 3 Frauen: Max. 5,9 Min. 2,0 Mitt. 4,4

Das Minimum ist bei einem Paresi, das Maximum bei dem Kaschiniti.

Schulterbreite. A. Körperhöhe 100.

9 Männer: Max. 26,2 Min. 23,5 Mitt. 25,0 3 Frauen: Max. 24,9 Min. 23,6 Mitt. 24,3

B. Absolut.

9 Männer: Max. 43,0 Min. 37,5 Mitt. 40,2 3 Frauen: Max. 38,0 Min. 35,5 Mitt. 36,8

Brustumfang. A. Körperhöhe 100.

9 Männer: Max. 59,2 Min. 53,3 Mitt. 55,4 3 Frauen: Max. 57,1 Min. 52,5 Mitt. 54,8

B. Absolut.

9 Männer: Max. 97,0 Min. 84,5 Mitt. 89,0 3 Frauen: Max. 86,0 Min. 80,0 Mitt. 83,0

Kopfhöhe. Körperhöhe 100.

9 Männer: Max. 15,6 Min. 13,5 Mitt. 14,7 3 Frauen: Max. 15,8 Min. 13,7 Mitt. 14,7

Kopfumfang. Körperhöhe 100.

9 Männer: Max. 35,5 Min. 32,4 Mitt. 34,4 3 Frauen: Max. 37,8 Min. 34,4 Mitt. 36,1

Das Mass 37,8 (57,5 cm bei 152,3 cm Körperhöhe) von Maria Clara erscheint mir verdächtig. Nur ein Mann hatte absolut mehr, 58,0 cm, bei 163,9 cm Körperhöhe.

Längenbreiten-Index des Kopfes.

9 Männer: Max. 80,7 Min. 75,1 Mitt. 77,5 3 Frauen: Max. 76,8 Min. 75,3 Mitt. 76,0

Von den Kulischu-Stämmen stehen den Paressí die Mehinakú am nächsten, wo das Mass für 6 Männer zwischen 79,2 und 75,2 schwankte und das Mittel 77,7 betrug. Vgl. Seite 164.

Verhältnis von Kopflänge zur Ohrhöhe. Kopflänge 100.

9 Männer: Max. 66,5 Min. 59,0 Mitt. 62,8 3 Frauen: Max. 62,9 Min. 61,5 Mitt. 62,4

Kieferwinkel. Haarrand—Kinn 100.

9 Männer: Max. 57,6 Min. 48,6 Mitt. 54,3 3 Frauen. Max. 58,2 Min. 57,1 Mitt. 57,7

Jochbogen. Haarrand—Kinn 100.

9 Männer. Max. 77,8 Min. 68,6 Mitt. 73,5 3 Frauen: Max. 75,8 Min. 73,4 Mitt. 74,5

Wangenbeinhöcker. Haarrand—Kinn 100.

9 Männer: Max. 44,8 Min. 40,7 Mitt. 40,5 2 Frauen: Max. 45,7 Min. 40,7 Mitt. 43,2

Mittelgesicht. Nasenwurzel—Kinn 100.

9 Männer: Max. 66,7 Min. 57,7 Mitt. 62,9 3 Frauen: Max. 62,2 Min. 52,5 Mitt. 58,3

Nasenhöhe. Nasenlänge 100.

8 Männer: Max. 101,9 Min. 93,0 Mitt. 97,6 3 Frauen: Max. 105,1 Min. 97,0 Mitt. 101,7

Nasenbreite. Nasenhöhe 100.

9 Männer: Max. 84,9 Min. 71,7 Mitt. 79,2 3 Frauen: Max. 95,1 Min. 83,8 Mitt. 90,5

Schulterhöhe. Körperhöhe 100.

8 Männer: Max. 84,9 Min. 82,6 Mitt. 83,7 3 Frauen: Max. 84,8 Min. 83,4 Mitt. 84,0

Nabelhöhe. Körperhöhe 100.

9 Männer: Max. 61,2 Min. 53,9 Mitt. 59,4 3 Frauen: Max. 59,9 Min. 58,0 Mitt. 58,9

Symphysenhöhe. Körperhöhe 100.

9 Männer: Max. 51,1 Min. 47,7 Mitt. 50,3 3 Frauen. Max. 50,4 Min. 48,3 Mitt. 49,2

Darmbeinkammhöhe. Körperhöhe 100.

9 Männer: Max. 60,8 Min. 58,9 Mitt. 59,9 3 Frauen: Max. 61,4 Min. 59,0 Mitt. 60,2

Armlänge. Körperhöhe 100.

9 Männer: Max. 49,3 Min. 45,4 Mitt. 47,4 3 Frauen: Max. 47,3 Min. 45,5 Mitt. 46,1

Handlänge. A. Körperhöhe 100.

9 Männer: Max. 11,3 Min. 9,7 Mitt. 10,4 3 Frauen: Max. 9,8 Min. 9,3 Mitt. 9,6

B. Armlänge 100.

9 Männer: Max. 24,0 Min. 20,8 Mitt. 22,0 3 Frauen: Max. 21,4 Min. 20,4 Mitt. 20,9

Längenbreiten-Index der Hand. Handlänge 100.

9 Männer: Max. 51,4 Min. 43,5. Mitt. 46,9 3 Frauen: Max. 53,5 Min. 46,0 Mitt. 50,8

Trochanterhöhe.

9 Männer: Max. 53,4 Min. 51,1 Mitt. 51,9 3 Frauen: Max. 53,8 Min. 49,8 Mitt. 51,9

Fusslänge: Körperhöhe 100.

9 Männer: Max. 16,5 Min. 15,4 Mitt. 15,8 3 Frauen: Max. 15,0 Min. 13,8 Mitt. 14,5

Längenbreiten-Index des Fusses. Fusslänge 100.

9 Männer: Max. 42,6 Min. 34,9 Mitt. 39,2 3 Frauen: Max. 45,7 Min. 39,6 Mitt. 42,6

Die Hautfarbe wurde nach den Radde'schen Tafeln mit 33 m bis n bestimmt für Stirn und Wange, die Stirn einmal mit 33 o, die Brust mit 33 m, nur einmal mit 33 l. Unter dem Baumwollband des Oberarms 33 n. Zumal die Brust hatte einen kräftigen Lehmton, der besser als mit allen den stets zu sehr glänzenden Farbenproben der Tafeln mit Scherben von Blumentöpfen zu bestimmen wäre.

Haar schwarz, straff, schlicht; bei den vier Kaschiniti, Mann und drei Frauen, wellig bis lockig. Bei Einigen spärliche Barthaare.

Gesicht durchgängig hoch, oval, mässig breit. Stirn bei den Paressi schräg, niedrig, bei den Waimaré schräg, hoch, mit Wülsten, bei den Frauen schräg, niedrig, voll. Wangenbeine vortretend. Iris dunkelbraun, Lidspalte hoch, mandelförmig, horizontal, bei Einigen leicht schräg gestellt. Nase bei den Paressi Wurzel schmal, Rücken grade oder leicht gebogen, Flügel schmal, Löcher oval, bei den Waimaré Wurzel, Rücken und Flügel breit, Löcher gross und elliptisch nach vorn stehend, bei den Kaschiniti und den Frauen Rücken breit, wenig vorspringend, Spitze dick und Löcher weit elliptisch nach vorn gerichtet. Lippen bald voll, bald zart, geschwungen. Zähne vielfach defekt und unregelmässig, meist opak und gelblich. Nur eine Frau hatte ein schönes Gebiss mit regelmässig gestellten, weissen, durchscheinenden, kleinen Zähnen. Prognathie nur mässig, mit Ausnahme eines Waimaré mit stark abgekauten Oberzähnen, der durch einen höheren Grad, zumal des Unterkiefers, auffiel.

Die Paressi im engern Sinne, die kleiner waren, hatten einen feineren Gesichtsschnitt; sie erinnerten entschieden an die Bakairi, es bestand sogar eine gewisse Aehnlichkeit zwischen João Battista und dem Häuptling Felipe des Paranatingadorfes.

Zur Ethnographie. Die Paressi erschienen barfuss in der gewöhnlichen Kleidung der matogrossense Landbevölkerung, sie trugen freilich darunter noch einen Teil der ursprünglichen Tracht.

Das Haar der Männer hatte den Topfformschnitt wie bei den Schingú-Indianern, aber ohne Tonsur. Die Tonsur (*ɛaɛa*) sei bei den Grossvätern allgemein üblich gewesen; sie ist also nicht nur nicht nach dem Muster der Padres entstanden, sondern im Gegenteil seit der Bekanntschaft mit ihnen, ebenso wie bei den zahmen Bakairi aufgegeben. Das Haar der älteren Frauen wurde ganz nach alter Art getragen, das des Mädchens war gescheitelt, das Stirnhaar nicht abgeschnitten. Brauen, Wimpern, das spärliche Barthaar und das Körperhaar waren nicht entfernt.

Die Ohrläppchen waren bei beiden Geschlechtern durchbohrt, während Antonio mir angegeben hatte, dass bei den Männern nur die Nase durchbohrt

sei. Als Ohrschmuck wurde — jetzt nicht mehr, zur Zeit der Grossväter — ein dreieckiges Stück schwarzer Kokosschale getragen (*kokoré*). Die Nasenscheidewand war bei einigen Männern zur Aufnahme einer Tukan- oder Ararafeder durchbohrt. Die Lippe wird und wurde niemals durchbohrt.

Tätowierung (*nokotú*) war bei einigen Männern auf Oberarm und Oberschenkel in Gestalt von zwei queren Bogenstückchen nur schlecht erkennbar vorhanden. Die Frauen sind es, die tätowieren. Sie nehmen dazu einen Gravatádorn (Bromelia) und Genipapotinte oder den Extrakt des Pauablattes. Auch bei einer Frau fand sich eine Strichzeichnung oberhalb des Knies.

Statt der von Antonio Pires noch beschriebenen Hüftschnur trugen die Männer ein aus importirtem buntem Baumwollfaden fest gewebtes, 1,5 bis 3,5 cm breites Gürtelband oder Perlschnüre (*kunokuá*). Das Penis wurde hinter das Kunokuá hinauf geschlagen getragen; zum Schutz gegen die Reibung des Bandes oder der Schnur wurde zwischen ihn und letztere ein viereckiges, gewebtes und rot gestreiftes Läppchen (8 × 10 cm) gelegt, das zur Hälfte um die Schnur geklappt wurde (*daihasú*). Wie die Abbildung 124 zeigt, wurde das Scrotum und die Wurzel des Penis durch den Lappen nicht verhüllt. Es muss hierauf besonders hingewiesen werden, weil z. B. auch ein Paressí-Indianer (wie viele andere) in der »Revista da exposição anthropologica« (Rio de Janeiro 1882) p. 85 dem Leser zuliebe mit einem vollständigen Suspensorium dargestellt ist. Ueberhaupt wird diese Rücksicht auf uns zum Nachteil der Genauigkeit, die Wirklichkeit entstellend, vielfach, zumal in den Abbildungen, betreffs der brasilischen Ureinwohner geübt, wie Jedem, der den Gegenstand eingehender verfolgt, in den Reisewerken auffallen wird — daher denn irrige Vorstellungen über das Schamgefühl der Eingeborenen unvermeidlich sind. Widersprüche zwischen Text und Illustrationen sind sehr gewöhnlich.

Abb. 124. Daihasú. (Paressí).

Die Frauen, die sich ohne Umstände ihrer brasilischen Kleidung entledigten, trugen unter dieser eine eng gewebte, rot gefärbte »Leibbinde« von 30 cm Breite. Nur sass diese Leibbinde tief unterhalb des Nabels, den Bauch ganz freilassend, seitlich abwärts des Darmbeinkamms und vorn so tief, dass sie knapp, aber straff schliessend, kaum den Mons veneris bedeckte. Sie reichte über den halben Oberschenkel hinunter und wurde nur dadurch, dass sie elastisch war und festgespannt anlag, am Abrutschen verhindert. Es ist nicht genau zu verstehen, wie die »tipoinha« des Antonio Pires beschaffen war; nach dem Tupiwort und der Angabe, dass sie mit bunten Federn verziert war, zu urteilen, ist sie eine Art mit Federn versehenen Netzes gewesen. Heute ist jedenfalls im Gegensatz zur Schingütracht eine Hülle vorhanden, ein Kleidungsstück in unserm Sinn. Hier

ist nichts mehr von Verband oder Pelotte. Die Entwicklung, die wir am Schingú noch vermissen, ist also für die Frauen, nicht für die Männer vollzogen. Wir wissen aber auch nach dem Bericht des Antonio Pires, dass die alten Paressí — wenn wir auch dem tapfern Sklavenjäger, dessen Angaben den Eindruck der Wahrhaftigkeit machen, einige Uebertreibung zutrauen wollen — zahlreiche Ortschaften mit einer dichten Bevölkerung hatten und sich in sozialen Dingen deshalb von den grossen Familien am Schingú schon unterscheiden konnten.

Wie die Tracht der Paressí-Frauen ursprünglich ausgesehen hat, wäre wohl nur durch die Bekanntschaft mit »wilden« Paressí zu erfahren. In dem Dorf der von uns untersuchten Eingeborenen besteht seit anderthalb Jahrhunderten ein sehr viel engerer Verkehr mit den Brasiliern von Diamantino, da man die Leute zu Minenarbeiten und zur Tapajozschiffahrt gebrauchte, als in den Dörfern der zahmen Bakairí, deren Frauen auch längst keine Uluris mehr tragen. Es ist vielfach in Brasilien geschehen, dass die Indianerinnen, ganz abgesehen davon, dass sie Kleider anzogen, sehr rasch nach dem Erscheinen der Weissen ihre alte Tracht veränderten.*) Das Bedürfnis, sich gegen Blicke zu schützen, macht sich am ersten fühlbar bei dem Zusammentreffen mit fremden Männern, deren Begierde die Frauen nicht reizen sollen.

Abb. 125. Paressí-Mädchen.

Die Männer trugen um die Oberarme und an den Unterschenkeln unter dem Knie oder über den Knöcheln festgewebte und festanschliessende bis 10 cm breite Bänder, die seitlich mit den als ein freier Strang herabhangenden Endfaden zusammengeschnürt wurden, die Frauen dagegen knapp fingerbreite Kniebänder aus Kautschuk, die scharf einschnitten und unter denen die Haut überraschend hell war. Das Mädchen hatte einen dicken Wulst von Glasperlen um den Hals.

Unsere ethnographische Ausbeute war sehr gering, um so geringer, als die Paressí von dem Wenigen was sie mitgebracht, das Beste, namentlich

*) Ein sehr gutes Beispiel berichtet Prinz Wied von den Camacan. »Die Weiberschürze besteht in einem künstlich mit feinen Schnüren übersponnenen Stricke, mit ein Paar grossen Quasten an den Enden, von welchem eine Menge andere runde Schnüre herabhängen, um eine Schürze zu bilden; der Strick wird von den Weibern um die Hüften gebunden und es sind diese Schürzen das einzige Kleidungsstück derselben, da, wo sie noch in einem etwas rohen Zustande leben; früher kannten sie auch dies noch nicht, sondern gingen völlig nackt, oder späterhin mit einem um die Hüften gebundenen Stück Baumbast«. Reise nach Brasilien in den Jahren 1815—1817, II p. 216. Da haben wir also die Reihenfolge: Nacktheit, Bastbinde, Fadenschürze, europäische Kleidung.

einige sehr schöne, mit künstlerischen schwarzgelben Flechtmustern ausgestattete Sieb- und Korbschalen dem »Capitão grande« oder vielmehr der Donna Carmina verehrt hatten. Wie schon erwähnt, bilden die Siebe, die »penciras«, die Hauptspezialität der Paressí für den Tauschhandel mit den Brasiliern. Die Muster sind ähnlich denen der sprachverwandten Aruak in den Guyanas durch Reichhaltigkeit der Erfindung ausgezeichnet. Wir erhielten ausser den Stücken der Tracht eine Kiepe, *kohó*, beutelförmig, aus Bambusstreifen geflochten und an einem über die Stirn verlaufenden Baststreifen getragen, ein gewebtes Umhängetäschchen, eine Hängematte, ein paar aus fünf Röhren (grösstes 40, kleinstes 28 cm) zusammengesetzte Pansflötchen, eine mit Rohr umwickelte Rolle festgepressten Tabaks, wie man sie am Amazonas herrichtet, endlich einen Kinderbogen mit Kinderpfeilen. Die Hängematte war aus Baumwolle, nach Art der Bakairí-Hängematte gewebt, aber aus dünnen Fäden und deshalb ausserordentlich leicht. Bogen und Pfeile, sagten die Indianer, würden in ihrem Dorf fast nur noch von Kindern gebraucht. Die Pfeile waren aus sehr dünnem Kambayuva-Rohr (grösste 1,1 m), die Bogen, nicht ganz 1,6 m lang, auf dem Rücken konvex und flach auf der Sehnenseite.

Die Häuser scheinen die Bauart des brasilischen Rancho zu haben, mit langem Giebeldach. Die Kanus sind aus Jatobá-Rinde (*mísi*) oder Holz. Hängematten, Webstoffe, Töpfe werden von den Frauen, Siebe und Körbe von den Männern gemacht. Letztere roden den Wald, die Frauen pflanzen.

Die Unterhaltung mit den Indianern hatte grosse Schwierigkeiten, da sie zwar sehr bereitwillig und gutmütig waren, aber, von Cuyabaner Bürgern bewirtet, stark angezecht zu uns kamen, für ihre Dienste neuen Schnaps beanspruchten, diesen wie Limonade hinuntergossen und nun in einen andauernden Duselzustand gerieten. Auch Maria Kalara und Maria Theresa stolperten betrunken durch das Haus und sanken mit verklärt stupiden Gesichtern in einen unserer Lehnsessel. Glücklicher Weise waren sie auch durch andere Reizmittel zu gewinnen; Perlen liebten sie am meisten und leere Flaschen, die sie in grosser Anzahl mitnahmen.

Die berauschenden Getränke, die sie zu Hause verwenden und die den »Weinen« des Antonio Pires entsprechen, sind Mandioka oder Mais-»Kaschirí«; man stellt durch Kochen einen Absud von den Früchten her und regt die Gährung an, indem man gekaute Beijús oder Maiskörner zusetzt. Diese Getränke — sie machen schlechte Zähne, klagten die Paressí — werden in grossen Massen vertilgt. Die Hauptfeste sollen im Oktober und im April stattfinden. Es gebe Tänze für die Männer allein und solche mit Beteiligung der Frauen. Bei ihrer angeregten Stimmung machte es unsern Gästen viel Vergnügen, uns etwas vorzutanzen. Sie gingen zu dreien Arm in Arm, zwei bliesen auf der Pansflöte melodiös hingezogene Töne, indem sie leicht über die Flöte wegzublasen schienen, der dritte stampfte den Takt. Abwechselnd machten sie wenige Schritte vorwärts und zurück.

Die Tänze kommandieren die Häuptlinge, für die sie ausser den beiden Bezeichnungen *kariíi* und *amuri* bei dieser Gelegenheit noch eine dritte *kukuíritihé*

nannten. Man beginnt bei Tagesanbruch. Drei Arten wurden angegeben: der Zulanî-Tanz, wo Einer allein anhebt (*humenanê haronê ezananê kuakinu, nutô nutô nuhinê*, wovon ich nichts verstehe als *nutô* = ich) und der Chorus einfällt (*halô halô kutihe: timenatirê zolukutô kuhuhû* . . .) — der Holúta-Tanz mit Flötenmusik in schwirrend langgezogenen Tönen, die allmählich in der Ferne zu verklingen scheinen; dabei oder danach wird geschmaust, Fisch, Waldschwein, »tudo come, Alles isst« endlich der Walarosö-Tanz mit Flöte und Rassel (*wálu*).

Von Maskentänzen konnte ich nur erfahren, dass man aus Buritístroh »Brillen« oder dergleichen mache und mit Stangen (?) um das mit dem Kaschirî gefüllte Trinkkanu tanze. Antonio Pires hat die Masken natürlich als Idole aufgefasst und die Festhütte als Tempel.

Die Vernünftigsten und Mässigsten waren die beiden Häuptlinge João Battista und Manoel Chico, die ich Abends bei mir hielt und ausfragte. Leider war ihr Portugiesisch sehr mangelhaft; wohl auf bolivischen Import waren einige spanische Wörter zu beziehen, wie *muchacho*, Knabe, und *hoiyo* = *hiyo*, Sohn. Indessen erfuhr ich mancherlei Interessantes und bedauerte lebhaft, dass die Gesellschaft nicht länger zu halten war.

Die Paressi leben in Monogamie, die Heirat werde von den beiderseitigen Eltern ausgemacht und die Braut von ihren Eltern ohne Formalität, nachdem sie einige Geschenke erhalten hat, zu der Hängematte des Bräutigams geführt. Die Frau kommt, von ihrer Mutter um die Brust gefasst, in knieender Stellung nieder. Mann und Frau bleiben etwa fünf Tage, bis die Nabelschnur abfällt, zu Hause; der Vater darf nur mit Beijú angerührtes Wasser geniessen. Sonst würde das Kind sterben. Es erhält seinen Namen, den eines »Grossvaters«, mit etwa drei Jahren.

Die Toten werden im Hause mit dem Kopf im Osten beerdigt. In das Grab legt man Hängematte, Federschmuck, Armbänder, eine Halskette mit schwarzen Früchten und reichlichen Reiseproviant von Branntwein, Beijú, Fleisch von Waldschwein, Salz, einen kleinen Trinkkürbis. Die Verwandten schliessen das Haus ab und bleiben sechs Tage bei dem Grabe, während deren sie selbst strenge Fasten halten und nur »ein bischen Wasser« trinken. Wenn Einer isst, so »isst er den Mund des Toten«, so würde auch er sterben. Ist der Tote bis zum sechsten Tage nicht wieder lebendig geworden, so wartet man nicht länger, alsdann ist er im Himmel angekommen und kehrt nicht zurück. Man bereitet aus dem Saft des Kaiterú-Baums, indem man ihn die ganze Nacht hindurch quirlt, eine Flüssigkeit, zu der man das Urukúrot hinzusetzt, und am siebenten Morgen bemalt sich Alles festlich, schmaust und trinkt. Der Tod ist immer durch einen Hexenmeister *tihanile* hervorgerufen. Er bereitet den *feitiço*, das Zaubergift (portugiesischer Ausdruck, mit »Fetisch« identisch), oder *iházaré* und sucht es seinem Opfer, unter anderm auch durch Wurf, beizubringen. Er vergiftet auch den Branntwein, und der Trinker stirbt — einer so guten Sache wie dem reinen Schnaps wird die böse Wirkung nicht zugeschrieben. Der gute Medizinmann, sein Gegenpart, heisst *otuharifi*. Zur Zeit gebe es im Dorfe keinen. Er heilt die Kranken, die er mit

Tabakrauch anbläst. Er weiss Alles, er nimmt junge Leute auf, die bei ihm lernen wollen, die *swenekuari*, und wer am besten lernt, wird sein Nachfolger. Der Student muss fasten und einsam im Wald leben. Der Otuharití weiss auch den Weg zum Himmel, »ebenso gut wie der Padre in der Stadt«, während »die andern Leute ihn nicht kennen«.

Das portugiesische Wort alma, Seele, war dem Häuptling geläufig,*) er übersetzte es mit *niakó*. Während des Schlafes wandert das Niakó umher, es kehrt zurück und man erwacht. Sein Niakó, fügte er zu, sei in der vorigen Nacht bei seiner Frau und seinem Kind gewesen; er glaubte durchaus, das Dorf wirklich besucht zu haben. Das Niakó geht weit weg und tritt aus dem Körper (*nomelíki*, wie in allen unsern Sprachen Haut Körper) am Nacken aus. Ruft man den Schlafenden an und das Niakó ist noch in der Ferne, so »thut der ganze Kopf weh«. Den genaueren Sinn von „*niáko*« kenne ich nicht. Die Tiere haben es ebenso wie die Menschen.

Die »Seele« des Toten gebraucht sechs Tage, um im Himmel anzukommen. Christliche Vorstellungen scheinen hier bereits mit den ursprünglichen amalgamiert. Denn die bösen Menschen dringen nicht bis zum Himmel vor. Ein kleines Feuer auf dem Wege dahin, flackert hoch empor, wenn ein »Sünder« erscheint und verzehrt ihn. Mit ihm ist es zu Ende, wie die tote Mero in der Bakairisage verbrannt wird, damit sie töter als tot sei. »Sünder« (mit dem portugiesischen Wort) aber, die dem Feuer entrinnen, fallen in die Gewalt eines Ungeheuers halb menschlichen halb tierischen, hundeähnlichen Aussehens mit gewaltigen Ohren, des *iyuriú*, das zu dem Wanderer sagt »komm hierher mein Sohn« und ihm die Augen ausreisst, sodass es nun eigentlich erst »stirbt«. Im Himmel sind die ältesten Paressí, die den Ankommenden begrüssen, namentlich vier Brüder *noschiú*, die wir in der Ahnensage noch kennen lernen werden, an ihrer Spitze Waikomoné, der den Toten beim Empfang mit Urukú bemalt — eine gewiss körperlich gedachte Seele! Jeder bekommt dort oben einen *palatú*, d. h. einen Palast, wie ihn der Capitão grande in Cuyabá besitzt. Sie leben dort wie auf Erden und zeugen viele Kinder.

Firmament. Die Sonne besteht aus roten Ararafedern und gehört dem Molihutuaré, dessen Frau Kameró (*kamúi* Sonne) heisst. Es ist ihr Besitzer, »dono«. Er bewahrt sie Nachts in einem langen Federkürbis und öffnet diesen am Morgen. Doch wurden noch zwei andere Namen für den Besitzer der Sonne genannt, Kuitahé und Kaschíe, die jetzt tot seien, während ein Anderer sagte, Molihutuaré sei jetzt tot. Es handelt sich wohl um mehrere Namen, sei es der Kaschinití oder Waimaré oder sonstiger Teile der Stammesgruppe für dieselbe Person. Auch der Mond,**) der aus gelben Mutungfedern, wahrscheinlich von

*) Wahrscheinlich von dem »alma do outro mundo« (Seele der andern Welt) des brasilischen Volksglaubens. Der Ausdruck spielt eine grosse Rolle bei der niedern Bevölkerung.

**) *kayü* Mond, *kayé* Batate. Dass hier zwei verschiedene Worte zusammenfallen, zeigt Moxos *cahé* Mond, *coere* Batate.

Mutum pinima der Brasilier, dem bunten Mutung, *Crax discors*, besteht, hat einen Herrn; dieser heisst Kaimaré und seine Frau Uriálo oder Uruiáro. Von den beiden Besitzern wurde ausdrücklich gesagt, sie seien »como gente mesmo«, gerade wie Menschen.

Wie der Gang der Sonne am Himmel zu verstehen ist, ist mir unklar geblieben — »Molihutuaré setzt sie hierhin, dorthin, immer höher« — weil meine Frage, ob das Araragefieder als Schmuck oder sonstwie irdischer Verwendung ähnlich gedacht ist, nicht begriffen wurde. »Am Tage stellt er Ararafedern hin«, die grellrot sind, »in der Nacht stellt er Mutungfedern hin«, die bei mehreren Arten glänzend schwarz sind, und »es ist dunkel«. Ich glaube nicht, dass Jemand hier eine Personifikation des Lichtes wird annehmen wollen.

Die Mondphasen werden ganz ähnlich wie bei den Bakairí erklärt. Statt der Eidechse erscheint bei den Paressí zuerst eine dünne Spinne am Rand des Vollmondes, hierauf aber kommen nicht nur zwei, sondern vier Gürteltiere: erstens das Tatú cabelludo oder das haarige, zweitens das Tatú liso oder das glatte, drittens das Tatú bola, Kugelgürteltier, Dasypus tricinctus, und endlich das Tatú canastra, Dasypus gigas oder Riesengürteltier, hinter dem der Mond ganz verborgen ist. Ebenso wie bei den Bakaïrí haben die einfach beschreibenden Namen der Mondphasen mit diesen Erklärungen nichts zu thun und enthalten nichts von irgend welchen Tieren, sodass man sieht, wie dringend nötig es ist, besonders nachzufragen.

Von den Sternen habe ich eine kleine Anzahl Namen erhalten, die ich jedoch nicht zu übersetzen vermag, sodass ich nicht weiss, was die Paressí sich darunter vorstellen. Ueber dem südlichen Kreuz, das *zutukaré* heisst, befindet sich ein Strauss *aú*, dessen Gestalt in einer dunkeln Partie der Milchstrasse erkannt wird. Dort befinden sich auch ein »Jaguar, ein Seriema-Vogel (Dicholophus cristatus) und viele andere Tiere.« Ein Jaguar packt einen Sumpfhirsch. Die Milchstrasse selbst ist ein mit zahllosen gelben *kuti*-Früchten überstreuter Weg, die in der Lingoa geral *karikarú* heissen sollen, die ich aber nicht näher zu bestimmen vermag, obwohl Antonio behauptet, dass ich sie im Sertão an der Weihnachtslagune selbst gegessen habe.

Ahnensage. João Battista's, des Paressíhäuptlings, Vater heisst Uvanái und dessen Bruder Haraurusó. Sein Grossvater hiess Hazaré, sein Urgrossvater Kauviyé, dessen Vater Uvetökuharé, dessen Vater Zukahirí, dessen Vater Kahaduré, dessen Vater Oiyé, dessen Vater Kamoduré, und dessen Vater endlich war Uazále oder Wazalé oder Uazaré, der erste Paressí. Ich habe die Reihenfolge zu drei verschiedenen Malen abgefragt, sie stimmte immer. In der weitern Besprechung aber kam eine schier unerschöpfliche Fülle der Namen zu Tage; immer wieder tauchten neue Brüder oder Söhne von Uazale auf. Neben ihm spielt die grösste Rolle noch Vaikomoné, sein Neffe. Beide wohnen jetzt, nachdem sie gestorben sind, im Himmel.

Gehen wir nun aber, um Uazale's Ursprung zu erfahren, sofort auf die erste Person der Weltgeschichte zurück, die bei den Paressí eine Frau ist ohne Gatten. Wiederum sehen wir, dass die Frau nicht erklärt zu werden braucht, sie wird auch bei allen nachfolgenden Brüdern Uazale's, die Söhne haben, vorausgesetzt. Es hiess immer, dann wurde der und der geboren, ohne dass jemals der Geburt der Frau Erwähnung geschah, und als ich mich besonders erkundigte, »woher hatte er denn seine Frau?« lautete die Auskunft: »die war auch geboren worden«.

Maisó hat keine Eltern. Wer Freund von schönen Worten ist, nenne sie die »Allmutter«. Sie hat menschliche Gestalt und ist aus Stein, zu ihrer Zeit war es noch dunkel, es gab noch keine Flüsse, keine Erde, kein Holz. Sie nahm ein Stück Holz — woher weiss ich nicht — und steckte es in die Vagina: da floss aus ihrem Leib der Rio Cuyabá hervor, er war sehr schmutzig. Bald aber kam ein Wasser klar und schön, der Rio Paressí. Sie that Erde in das Wasser, es entstand der Boden.

Dann kamen »viele Leute« aus dem Leibe hervor, als erster Darúkavaiteré, alle Kopf, Arme, Brust u. s. w. aus Stein.

Darúkavaiteré hatte eine Frau Namens Uarahiulú oder Urulahiulú. Er ging nur in der Nacht aus, es gab noch keinen Tagesanbruch. Die Sonne, den Mond, den Strauss, den Jaguar, das Seriema, den Sumpfhirsch und was wir am Himmel sehen, hat Darúkavaiteré selbst mit seiner Frau gezeugt und dort »hingesetzt«. Mit seiner Frau zeugte er dann Papageienvögel und Schlangen. Uarahiulú gebar zuerst einen gewöhnlichen Perikito und zwei gleichfarbige Perikitoschlangen, dann zeugten sie wieder und die Frau gebar zuerst einen Blauen Arara, der schon ein menschliches Gesicht hatte, und danach auch eine Blaue Araraschlange, zum dritten Mal gebar sie einen Roten Arara, auch mit einem menschlichen Gesicht, und eine Rote Araraschlange, zum vierten Mal einen Marakaná-Papagei und eine Marakanáschlange. Schwiegermutter Maisó war sehr böse über diese verunglückten Versuche. »Immer nur Papageien und Schlangen«, schimpfte sie, »und noch keine Menschen!« Sie sann hin und her, nahm ihr Haar, legte es der Tochter auf den Leib, knetete diesen und wusch sie im Fluss; wieder zeugte Uarahiulú mit Darúkavaiteré und nun gebar sie Uazale, den Stammvater der Paressí, der menschliches Aussehen besass. Doch hatte Uazale schwarzes Haar über den ganzen Leib, einen kurzen Schwanz und eine Flughaut zwischen Armen und Beinen wie eine Fledermaus.

Urulahiulú erhielt nun noch neun Söhne von Darúkavaiteré, unter diesen die Stammväter der den Paressí verwandten Stämme. Ihre Söhne waren: 1. Uazale, 2. Zatemaré, 3. Kamahié, 4. Kamaikuré, (2, 3 und 4 bleiben ohne Nachkommen), 5. Kamázu, den Grossvater der Kabischí, die deshalb die Paressí als ältere Brüder gelten lassen müssen, 6. Zaluiá und 7. Zakálu, beides Grossväter der Waimaré, 8. Zauluré, der Grossvater der Kaschinití, die heute nicht mehr als selbständiger Stamm leben, 9. Aurumenaré ohne Nachkommen

und 10. Kuitihuré, den Grossvater der Portugiesen! Die Portugiesen oder Brasilier sind jüngere Brüder der Paressí.

Weiter zeugten Darúkavaiteré und Uarahiulú Söhne und zwar gebar letztere Eisenwaaren und Beile, darauf Pferde, Rindvieh, Schweine: Alles kam aus dem Leib der Uarahiulú.

Uazale ist der »erste Paressí« — »er war wie wir« — er wurde an einem Fluss im Norden geboren und ging später in den Himmel. Sein Sohn Kamoduré, auf den João Battista sich zurückführt, hatte sein Haus auf einem Berg, als eine grosse Ueberschwemmung stattfand; er hat zuerst Mais gepflanzt (vgl. weiter unten dessen Ursprung).

Anfangs assen die Leute Jatobáfrüchte, Buritínüsse, faules Holz und Erde. Einmal hatte sich Uazale als kleiner Junge im Walde verloren; er pfiff und pfiff, die Mutter hörte ihn nicht. Er lief tiefer in den Wald hinein und fand die wilde Mandioka. Er zog die Wurzel aus dem Boden, ass davon und brachte den Eltern Zweige mit. Es ist nicht uninteressant, dass ein Stamm aus der Arnakgruppe, die den meisten Anspruch von den lebenden Stammesgruppen auf die erste Kultur der Mandioka erheben dürfte, die Mandioka einfach im Walde finden und sie weder aus einem Grab hervorblühen, wie die Tupí, noch wie die Bakairí von einem Fluss bei dem Bagadufisch holen lässt.

Uazale pflanzte Haar von seinem Kopf und es wuchs Baumwolle, er begrub (ich bin nicht sicher, ob das nicht ein Missverständnis ist) ein kleines Kind und es wuchs Tabak. Auch der Mais ist damals entstanden. Uazale war sehr erzürnt über seine beiden Kinder Kolabiruné und Haralö, Bruder und Schwester, die in derselben Hängematte gelegen hatten, und tötete sie beinahe. Sie entflohen in den Wald und mit ihnen aus Angst auch noch zwei andere Söhne, Alahuré und Manié. Sie machten Feuer und der Wald geriet in Brand. Drei von den Vieren verbrannten, nur Alahuré blieb am Leben. Aus jenen aber wuchsen Pflanzen hervor: aus den Geschlechtsteilen von den beiden Männern entstand der schwarze (aus Kolabiruné) und der gelbe oder rote (aus Manié) Maiskolben, aus Haralo's, der Frau, Geschlechtsteilen entstand die *kumatá*-Bohne (fava), aus ihren Rippenknochen die *kumatahirí*-Bohne (feijão), aus dem Nabel die Batate, aus dem After die Mandubí-Erdnuss. Man sieht, dass die Aehnlichkeiten zwischen Körperteil und Frucht für die Auswahl entscheidend sind. Alahuré, der am Leben blieb, hat zuerst Mais gegessen.

Uazale hat auch die Frauen Töpfe machen gelehrt.

Ich wollte nun auch von den Paressí wissen, wie die Bakaïri entstanden seien, denen sie keineswegs hold gesinnt waren. Die Bakaïri hätten noch vor einigen Jahren auf dem Wege nach Diamantino die Paressí überfallen, um ihnen Frauen wegzunehmen, und viele getötet. Der Bruder des Manoel Brito sei damals um's Leben gekommen, und so ging in der That Manoel »Bito« zum Präsidenten, Herrn Mello Rego, um wider unsern Antonio, der zur Zeit der Begebenheit ungefähr 4 Jahre zählte, Klage zu führen. Uazale hatte einen Bruder Kamázu,

den schon erwähnten Grossvater der Kaschibí, und einen andern Tschenikauré, was soviel heisst als »grosser Jaguar«. Tschenikauré tötete den Kamázu und dessen Frau und verzehrte sie. Ihr Sohn Waikomoné wurde von der Grossmutter Araurirú aufgezogen; als er erwachsen war und mit Pfeilen schiessen konnte, erschoss er den grossen Jaguar und zog ihm das Fell mit dem langen Schwanz ab, das er in einem Sack mitnahm. Aus den sechs Pfeilen des Tschenikauré entstanden die Bakaïrí, die in der Paressísprache Matokozó genannt wurden. Zur Sippe des grossen Jaguars gehörten noch andere Stämme, die alle »bugre bravo«, Wilde seien und Menschenfleisch lässen! So beschuldigt ein Stamm den andern kannibalischer Sitten und schiebt ihm die Abstammung von dem menschenfressenden Jaguar zu.

Waikomoné scheint neben Uazale die grösste Bedeutung zu haben. Er habe mit ihm die Frau getauscht. Er wurde auch einmal als sein Sohn bezeichnet. Mit drei Brüdern Uazúlukuhiraré, Kerokamá und Uazulié ging er nach seinem Tode zum Himmel; sie empfangen dort die toten Paressí, die sie mit Urukú bemalen, schmücken und denen sie eine Tonsur scheeren. Diese vier werden als *noschinú* bezeichnet (*nóschi* Enkel) und gelten den christlichen Paressí als die »Engel«. »Ficarão bonito«, »sie wurden schön« und so wird auch jeder Paressí, der oben ankommt »bonito«. Im Himmel ist Alles »bonito mesmo«, sehr schön, »bonito como aquí na cidade«, schön wie hier in der Stadt! Waikomoné und seine drei Genossen vom Empfangscomité »não gostão de mulher«, haben (wahrscheinlich als asketische Medizinmänner) keinen Geschmack an Frauen, doch hat Waikomoné im Himmel sich einen Sohn aus Blättern gemacht, die er in die Hand nahm, und die wuchsen und wuchsen, bis es ein Mensch war, Hoholuré. Dieser Hoholuré verheiratet sich mit »allen hübschen Frauen«, die hier unten sterben und nach oben kommen. Ein Schwager von ihm heisst Duzuhayé, der auch im Himmel ist und viele Söhne besitzt, ein anderer Makakoaré. Die Fülle der Namen ist unerschöpflich; man sollte glauben, jeder Paressí sorge dafür, dass sein Grossvater im Himmel einen guten Posten hat.

Dagegen wimmelt es auf der Erde noch von allerlei Geschöpfen, die mit den Paressí nicht verwandt, verschwägert oder befreundet, sondern die ihnen im Gegentheil feindlich sind und sie zu fressen suchen. Sie fressen »nicht nur die Sünder, oh nein, auch gute Menschen«.

Iwakané, mit starkem Haarwust bis tief über die Augen, auf dem Grund der Flüsse. Man sieht ihn niemals, aber man hört ihn, wie er *hm, hm* oder *hum, hum* macht. Er ist in allen Flüssen, selbst in den Quellbächen. Er hat auch eine Frau.

Kokuimoró. Im Fluss. Sieht aus wie eine Fledermaus, hat eine Flughaut, einen Fledermausschwanz, einen Ararakopf. Fliegt des Nachts umher und schreit „*kwi kwi kwi*" mit einer feinen hohen Stimme, ähnlich dem Falkenruf. Früh Morgens taucht er in's Wasser.

Toluá. Im Fluss. Ziemlich klein, weisslich. Gluckst des Nachts „*turú, turú*" (daher der Name). Kommt aus dem Wasser hervor und begiebt sich in den Wald.

Severití. Im Wald. Sehr klein, wie eine fussgrosse Termite, hat kein Haar. Spricht nicht.

Hakasö. Im Wald. Sein Ruf abwechselnd: *kwa* . . . . . hochtönend und *kakahi* tief. Ist klein, hat einen Menschenkopf. einen starken Bart; die Beine sind nur Knochen.

Hakasö und Toluá fressen besonders den Mann, der die Couvade vernachlässigt und in den Wald geht, statt bei Frau und Kind zu Hause zu bleiben.

Heimat der Paressí. Wo ist Uazale und wo sind die ersten Paressí geboren? Ich habe mit João Battista und Manoel Chico die Geographie ihres Gebietes möglichst genau durchgenommen und eine Menge von Namen für kleine Bäche und Flüsschen erhalten, die kein weiteres Interesse darbieten. Aber schon bei der Aufzählung dieser Gewässer des Oberlaufs liess sich bestimmt feststellen, dass eine Verschiebung zum Süden stattgefunden hat. Ich nahm die mir bekannten Namen der Vorfahren, bei dem Vater und Grossvater beginnend, und fragte, an welchem Fluss sie geboren seien. Je mehr wir in der Reihenfolge der Ahnennamen aufrückten, desto mehr kamen wir auch nach Norden. Uazale's nächste Nachkommen wohnten oberhalb der Vereinigung von dem Juruena (dem entlang sich die Verschiebung nach Süden vollzogen hat) und dem Arinos, die beide zusammen den Tapajoz bilden. Uazale selbst ist am Matihurizá geboren, »wo es weder Land noch Wald giebt«, d. h. kein Ufer, »und er ist weit flussaufwärts gegangen«. Der Matihurizá ist der Tapajoz, wenn er nicht den Anazonas selbst vorstellt. Wenn also die Hauptbewegung der Karaibenstämme von Süden nach Norden gerichtet war, so hat sich wenigstens dieser Teil der Nu-Aruákgruppe von Norden nach Süden bewegt.

Freilich kommt es den guten Leuten auf den kleinen Widerspruch nicht an, dass Uazale aus fernem Norden gekommen ist, und dass seine Grosmutter Maisö zuerst von allen Flüssen den Rio Cuyabá gemacht hat!

[4.44]

XVII. KAPITEL.

Zu den Bororó.

I. Geschichtliches. Gründung der Kolonien.

Bororó da Campanha und do Cabaçal. »Coroados« Bororó. Verwirrung in der Literatur. Der kleine Sebastian. Martius. Beendigung der Fehde und Katechese. Raubwirtschaft in den Kolonien.

Man unterscheidet im Matogrosso zwei Gruppen von Bororó, die »Bororós da Campanha« oder der Ebene und die »Bororós Cabaçaes« oder des Rio Cabaçal. Die Bororós da Campanha leben in kleinen Ansiedlungen unterhalb Villa Maria, am rechten Ufer des Paraguay und Jaurú nach Bolivien hinüber, die Bororós do Cabaçal nicht weit von ihnen im Norden an den Ufern und im Quellgebiet des gleichnamigen Flusses sowie des Jaurú, die beide rechts in den obern Paraguay jener bei Villa Maria, dieser etwas südlicher, einmünden.

Diese Bororó sind nicht selten von Reisenden besucht worden; 1827 kamen sie mit der Langsdorff'schen Expedition in Berührung, in demselben Jahre hat der österreichische Naturforscher Natterer bei ihnen eine reiche, jetzt im Wiener Hofmuseum befindliche Sammlung angelegt, Graf Castelnau und sein Begleiter Weddell, die sich auf ihrer berühmten Durchquerung von Südamerika 1845 und 1846 im Matogrosso aufhielten, haben uns ein kleines Vokabular überliefert, der Ingenieur Rodolfo Waehneldt gibt eine sehr anschauliche Schilderung aus dem Jahre 1863 in der Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico, Band 27, endlich hat der Sammler Richard Rohde, der 1883—84 im Auftrag der Berliner Museums für Völkerkunde im südlichen Matogrosso reiste, in dem Heft I der »Original-Mittheilungen aus der ethnologischen Abtheilung der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin« (1885) einige Angaben niedergelegt.

Diese Bororó der Campanha und des Cabaçal gelten als Trümmer eines einst gewaltigen Stammes, der das Gebiet zwischen dem Rio Paraguay und Rio Cuyabá besetzt hielt, mit den Kolonisten in erbitterter Fehde lebte, namentlich den Verkehr zwischen Cuyabá und Villa Maria und Matogrosso empfindlich störte und in zahlreiche längst vernichtete Unterabteilungen zerfiel. In den zwanziger Jahren unseres Säkulums wurden zuerst die Bororó der Campanha von João

2: Steinen SP7 Bacairi

Pereira Leite, einem grossen Fazendeiro bei Villa Maria, der 6 Jahre mit ihnen gekämpft, 450 getötet und 50 gefangen hatte, zum Frieden bewogen und teilweise getauft *). Die Bororó des Cabaçal, die gewöhnlich beschriebenen, sind erst 1842 durch »milde Ueberredung und Geschenke« von dem Vikar in Matogrosso, José da Sa. Fraga am Jaurú seshaft gemacht worden; sie zeigten sich aber sehr widerspenstig gegen den Feldbau, pflanzten nur etwas Mais, Bataten und Bananen und zogen es vor, sich hauptsächlich von der Jagd mit Pfeil und Bogen zu ernähren. Heute sind die Bororó am rechten Paraguayufer eine elende, heruntergekommene Gesellschaft. Sie haben die Zivilisation mit Lues und Schnaps durchaus nicht vertragen können.

Von anderen Bororó erzählt uns die Kolonisationsgeschichte der Provinz schon in ihrer frühesten Epoche. 1742 zog Antonio Pires mit einer Schaar Paulisten und 500 befreundeten Bororó aus, die Kayapó im südlichen Teil der Provinz zu unterwerfen, machte auch mehr als 1000 Gefangene, legte einige Militärposten an und liess dort »eine Besatzung von Bororó« zurück.

Alle diese Bororó gehen ursprünglich aus dem Gebiet des Rio S. Lourenço hervor; von seinem untern Teil haben sich diese nomadisierenden Jäger in das Gebiet zwischen ihm und seinem Nebenfluss, dem Cuyabá, sowie über das seiner Einmündung gegenüberliegende rechte Paraguayufer verbreitet, während sie, von dem obern Teil des S. Lourenço ausgehend, uns im Osten und Südosten der Provinz an den Quellflüssen des Araguay, den »Contravertenten« des S. Lourenço, als Nachbarn und Feinde der nicht minder starken Kayapó begegnen.

Es ist schwer verständlich, warum über die Bororó sowohl unter den Matogrossensern selbst als in der Literatur die grösste Begriffsverwirrung geherrscht hat und noch herrscht. Von Castelnau erfahren wir, dass die Bororó des Cabaçal noch damals »Porrudos« genannt wurden; nun ist »der alte Name des Rio S. Lorenço, den er in seinem obern Teil noch jetzt führt«, wie der Geograph Melgaço angibt (Rev. Trim. Bd. 47, p. 459), »Rio dos Porrudos« **).

Die Indianer des S. Lourenço werden heute »Coroados«, die Geschorenen, genannt — ein Name, der allerdings zu Verwechslungen geradezu herausfordert. »Coroados« hätten wir auch die Schingüindianer nennen können, Coroados gab es vor Allem im Stromgebiete des Paraná und andere wiederum am Rio Xipotó an der Grenze der Provinzen Minas Geraes und Rio de Janeiro, Stämme, die nach Herkunft und Sprache sowohl voneinander als von den »Coroados« des Matogrosso durchaus verschieden sind.

In Cuyabá waren die »Coroados« bei unserer Ankunft der Gegenstand des allgemeinen Interesses. Nachdem sie immer als die schlimmsten Feinde der

*) Er selbst wurde Pate des Häuptlings, der die Tente, wie üblich, für einen Nasenstich hielt und jedermann stolz sagte: »Ich heisse João Pereira Leite.«

**) *Porra* heisst im Portugiesischen Penis; der Pessimismus der Bororó sagte den Namen zu. In die gleiche, in ganz Brasilien weit verbreitete Tracht »schwoll« diesen Namen nicht hervorgerufen hat, so liegt die Vermutung nahe, dass die Paulisten gerade hier, wo die Leute sagten, dass sie „Porro" hiessen, zu einem Kalauer verführt wurden.

2: Steinen SP7 Bacairi

ländlichen Bevölkerung in dem ganzen Gebiet zwischen dem Rio Cuyabá und S. Lourenço bis zur Grenze nach Goyaz hinüber gegolten hatten, waren sie endlich dank den Bemühungen des Präsidenten Galdino Pimentel im Jahre 1886 »pacificados« zur Ruhe gebracht und in zwei Militärkolonien am S. Lourenço angesiedelt worden.

Nun sind keineswegs alle Schandthaten, die den »Coroados« zur Last gelegt wurden, von diesen begangen worden. Man hat sie, zumal im Nordosten von Cuyabá, mit Kayapó verwechselt, die dort räuberische Einfälle machten. Dann aber wusste Niemand in der Hauptstadt, dass die gefürchteten »Coroados« gar nichts anderes waren als Stammesbrüder derselben Bororó, die schon seit langer Zeit in mehreren Dörfern rechts des Paraguay in friedlichen Verhältnissen und teilweise sehr herabgekommenem Zustande leben, ja auch Stammesbrüder derselben Bororó, die schon mit dem Gründer Cuyabás, Antonio Pires, vor der Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts verbündet und von ihm als Garnison verwendet worden waren!

Ich war nicht wenig erstaunt, als ich von »Atahualpa«, einem mit wenigen Genossen zur Taufe nach der Hauptstadt geführten »Coroado« erfuhr, dass sie sich selbst Bororó nennen.

So löste sich mir denn auch rasch ein anderes Rätsel, das die Unterhaltung mit Atahualpa darbot. Ich hatte gerade den Bericht über einige 1859 nach Cuyabá gebrachte gefangene »Coroados« (zwei Mädchen und einen Knaben) in dem Buch von Joaquim Ferreira Moutinho »Noticia da provincia de Mato Grosso« (S. Paulo 1869, 425 SS.) gelesen und dort eine Wörtersammlung (S. 191) gefunden, die ich nunmehr mit meiner eigenen Aufnahme vergleichen wollte. Zu meinem Erstaunen stimmte Nichts, gar Nichts. Der Autor hatte die Wörter von dem »Coroado«-Knaben erfahren, von dem er die rührendsten Geschichten erzählt und der in Cuyabá auf den Namen Sebastião getauft wurde. »Wir werden einige Wörter geben, die wir von ihm lernten.« Folgen 32 Wörter — abgeschrieben leider aus dem Glossar von Martius S. 195 ff., und herrührend leider von den »Coroados« am weit entfernten Rio Xipotó an der Grenze von Rio de Janeiro, die ebenso wenig als die »Coroados« von Paraná irgend etwas mehr als den unglücklichen portugiesischen Namen mit den »Coroados« des Matogrosso gemein haben! Ohne den Namen wäre die unangenehme Verwechslung *) unmöglich gewesen. Moutinho hat die Gelegenheit, sich besser zu unterrichten,

*) Moutinho erzählt: »Dem kleinen Sebastião zeigten wir einmal den Himmel. Er, die Hände zum Zeichen der Verehrung emporhebend, antwortete nur deutlich „Jopéng" (NB. Tupi-wort: Gewölbe, von den Missionaren als »Gott« erklärt und adoptiert). Wir zeigten ihm die Sonne — er sagte „ché" (»Coroados«-Wort vom Rio Xipotó — Sonne) und er zeigte den Kopf zum Beweis des Respekts.« Kein jemals in Cuyabá eingeschleppter »Coroados«-Kneble hat die Wörter Jopéng und ché, auch weniger aber hat jemals einer die von Moutinho so schön beschriebene Andacht gezeigt. Aber dergleichen Anekdoten werden von dem barnumesken Lenz als bunte Mäuse gewissermaßen und erhalten »illustrierende Kraft«. Wie gewaltig der Unsinn ist, den er wahrscheinlich erfindet, davon hat auch der Verfasser selbst keine Ahnung in seiner Unkenntnis.

thörichter Weise nicht benutzt, als er das Dorf der nicht »Coroados«, sondern richtig »Bororó« genannten Stammesabtheilung am Rio Cabaçal besuchte. Bei diesem Besuch, den er S. 169 ff. schildert, hätte er bemerken sollen, dass die Indianer einen Dialekt der Sprache des kleinen frommen Sebastian redeten. Wieder hat er seinen Martius zu Rate gezogen und dort S. 14 die »Bororés« gefunden und hier 40 Wörter, die wirklich den Bororó am Cabaçal gehören, abgeschrieben. Auch hier lässt uns sein Mingeschick die Quelle entdecken. Denn die Wörter, von der Castelnau'schen Expedition aufgenommen, haben leider nicht portugiesische, sondern französische Schreibweise, in der mehreren Doppelvokalen eine ganz andere Aussprache zukommt als in der portugiesischen, und stimmen in einer Weise überein, wie zwei voneinander unabhängige Aufnahmen niemals übereinstimmen.

Einer der Wenigen, der die Identität der »Coroados« und Bororó, wie ich später fand, richtig vorausgesetzt hat, ist der Baron Melgaço*) gewesen, ein ebenso tüchtiger Präsident (zum ersten Mal 1851) als Geograph des Matogrosso. »Die Coroados hausten im Quellgebiet des S. Lourenço; sie haben nichts gemein mit denen des Paranabeckens; ich vermute es seien Bororó gewesen.« Er hielt sie nur für ausgestorben.

Bei den Verwechslungen, die im Lande selbst vorkommen, kann es nicht Wunder nehmen, dass Martius von den Bororó sehr irrige Vorstellungen hat. Er behandelt sie unter den Central-Tupi,**) er zweifelt selbst mit Recht, dass sie einen Tupistamm darstellen, fällt aber dann den merkwürdigen Vorstellungen zum Opfer, die früher über die Zusammensetzung von Indianerstämmen geherrscht haben und die in seinem Lieblingswort »Collovies gentium« am besten zum Ausdruck kommen. »Es ist wahrscheinlich, dass unter Bororés überhaupt feindliche Indianer, ohne bestimmte Namensbezeichnung, ja vielleicht mitunter wohl auch eine Collovies gentium begriffen werde, die ohne scharf ausgeprägte und festgehaltene Nationalität in Sprache, Sitten und körperlicher Erscheinung, bis auf kleine Banden ohne festen Wohnort zerteilt, plündernd und mordend umherschweifen. In Mato Grosso und Goyaz mögen allerdings solchen räuberischen Gemeinschaften Individuen vom Tupistamme zu Grunde liegen. Indem sich aber denselben andere Indianer angeschlossen, haben sie ihre Sprache gleichsam zu einem Dieb-Idiome (?) umgeändert. Bei Casal (Corografia brasilica p. 302) werden zwei Horden Bororés: die Coroados oder Geschorenen und die Barbados, Bärtigen, angeführt. Die ersteren sind keine Schiffahrer, sondern nomadische Jäger, die südlich und südwestlich von der Stadt Cuyabá in unzugänglichen Einöden an den Quellen des Rio de S. Lourenço und des Rio das Mortes, eines Tributärs des Araguaya, hausen sollen.« Diese Angaben von Casal sind völlig genau und zutreffend und auch er erkannte also die »Coroados« als Bororó. Unter

*) Revista Trimensal Bd. 42 p. 300. Baron Melgaço hiess mit seinem bürgerlichen Namen Ang. Leverger und war französischer Abstammung.

**) Zur Ethnographie Amerika's, p. 109 ff., p. 113 Leipzig 1867.

den »Barbados«, führt Martius fort, seien vielleicht Guató zu verstehen, sie überfielen manchmal die von Goyaz nach Cuyabá ziehenden Karawanen und dehnten ihre Ueberfälle bis Diamantino aus. Die Guató sind jedoch niemals in diese Gegend gekommen, sie leben als Wassernomaden im oberen Paraguáygebiet; jene »Barbados« sind wahrscheinlich Kayapó oder auch Bororó gewesen.

Natürlich erklärt Martius den Namen Bororó aus der Lingoa geral, entweder, wenn von den Nachbarn herrührend, — »Kriegsmänner, Feinde,« oder, wenn von ihnen selbst ausgehend, — wir, die Herren des Bodens. Aber die Bororó wissen Nichts von der Lingoa geral und sie selbst nennen sich so.

Indem ich nunmehr den Namen »Coroado« ganz fallen lasse, berichte ich Einiges über die sogenannte »Katechese« oder Bekehrung dieses Bororó-Stammes, die lange Jahre vergeblich erstrebt war, aber auch kaum hatte gelingen können, weil die Versuche auf die verkehrteste Art betrieben worden waren. Als Stützpunkt diente eine am rechten Ufer des S. Lourenço eingerichtete Militärkolonie, die Ende der 70er Jahre der Major J. Lopez da Costa Moreira einrichtete.

1878 unternahm ein Kapitän Alexander Bueno mit 70 Terena-Indianern, einem zur Gruppe der Guaná gehörigen Stamme, eine Expedition, »um die Bororó zu verjagen«. Er hatte, wie mir versichert wurde, den geheimen Auftrag möglichst viele totzuschiessen und war auch so weit vom Erfolg begünstigt, als er dem Präsidenten einen Sack voll Ohren vorzeigen konnte. Von Lebenden brachte er zwei Frauen und zwei Kinder mit.

Am 9. Oktober 1880 überfielen die Bororó die Fazenda des José Martins de Figueiredo am Bananal (Rio Cuyabá) und töteten mehrere Personen. Darauf hin wurden mehrere gleichzeitige Expeditionen gegen sie ausgerüstet. Einer der Führer war Lieutenant Antonio José Duarte; er griff ein Dorf ohne Erfolg an und fing 5 Frauen und 12 Kinder. Mehr wurde nicht erreicht. In den Jahren 1875 — 1880 sollen von den Bororó 43 Häuser verbrannt, 204 Personen (134 Männer, 46 Frauen, 17 Kinder, 7 Sklaven) getötet und 27 Personen (11 Männer, 6 Frauen, 3 Kinder, 7 Sklaven) verwundet worden sein. Wie viele Bororó getötet worden sind, wird nicht angegeben. Dass die Gegenseitigkeit eine grosse Rolle spielte, unterliegt keinem Zweifel. Allgemein wurde hervorgehoben, dass die Eingeborenen die zäheste Ausdauer bewiesen, um ihre Racheplane ins Werk zu setzen. Ein Brasilier, der zwei Kinder sehr grausam umgebracht hatte, wurde über vier Jahre systematisch verfolgt, bis sie ihn endlich fingen und, wie er es verdient hatte, in Stücke rissen. Sie waren bei ihren Angriffen äusserst vorsichtig und spionierten Tage und Wochen lang, bis sich die Gelegenheit bot, dass nur wenige Personen auf dem Gehöft waren. Einzelne Reisende liessen sie gewöhnlich unbehelligt; nur kam es vor, dass diese, wenn sie an einem Orte ihr Nachtlager aufschlagen wollten, daran verhindert wurden, indem aus dem Walde der Ruf ertönte „*on endoru*" »geh fort«. Niemand liess sich blicken, doch hätte man eines Pfeilschusses gewärtig sein müssen, wenn man nicht gehorchte. Im Februar 1881 wurden von den Bororó bei Forquilha, 10 Leguas von Cuyabá,

2 Männer und 7 Kinder getötet, ja sie drangen bis Urubú bei der Pulverfabrik, 5 Leguas von der Hauptstadt, vor.

Jener Lieutenant Antonio José Duarte, den ich soeben erwähnt habe, führte endlich den glücklichen Umschwung in den unleidlichen Zuständen herbei. Er schickte gefangene Frauen mit reichen Geschenken zurück, versprach mehr, wenn die Männer kämen und so gelang endlich die Versöhnung. Im Januar 1887 brachte er gegen 400 Bororó nach Cuyabá. Es muss ein merkwürdiges Treiben in den Strassen der Stadt gewesen sein. Am meisten freute man sich der Kinder, die sich sehr burtig zeigten und kleinen Jaguaren verglichen wurden „*ainda não e dente*" »nur Krallen und Zähne«; die Frauen stiegen über die Gartenmauern und kletterten nach ihrer Gewohnheit auf die Bäume, um sich Früchte herabzuholen.

Die Provinz atmete auf, man schätzte die Bororó mit der üblichen Uebertreibung auf 10,000 Seelen und sah alle diese 10,000 bereits im Geiste Mandioka pflanzen und auf den Zuckermühlen arbeiten. Die Regierung stellte sofort 70 Contos (à 1000 Milreis) zur Verfügung der Katechese und die Bürgerschaft steuerte freiwillig 3 Contos bei, was zusammen damals etwa einigen 140,000 Mark entsprach. Die Ausgaben erhöhten sich in kurzer Zeit auf 118 Contos. Die Indianer wurden in zwei Kolonien angesiedelt; die eine an der Mündung des Prata in den S. Lourenço wurde Thereza Christina nach der Kaiserin, die andere, an der Mündung des Piquiry in den S. Lourenço, Izabel nach der Kronprinzessin und Gemahlin des Grafen d'Eu genannt. Auch gründete der Präsident ein »Collegio de Nossa Senhora da Conceição« für die Erziehung der Indianerkinder — ein Kolleg, das niemals von Schülern besucht worden ist.

Feierlich wurde die ganze Gesellschaft von dem Bischof getauft. Der damalige Präsident Don Alvaro Maronden und seine Gemahlin waren Pate und Patin für Alle; der Häuptling Moguyokuri, dessen persönliche Bekanntschaft wir noch machen werden — eine prachtvolle Indianergestalt in der That, 1,9 m hoch und trotz einiger angeborenen Brutalität ein ungemütlicher Biedermann —, empfing den Namen Alvaro. Sein Christentum hat sich freilich darauf beschränkt, dass er sich dieses Namens einige Tage noch erinnerte.

»Muguiocury«, berichtete das »Jornal do Commercio« in einem Cuyabaner Brief, »scheint mit der Sache der Zivilisation seines Stammes ganz indentifiziert, besucht fleissig den Palast, um den Präsidenten zu besuchen und ihm Geschenke zu bringen; er bezeigt für diesen die grösste Sympathie und nennt ihn »Pate«, indem er ihm die Hand küsst, so oft er ihn sieht. Jedesmal wenn er dem Präsidenten begegnet, trägt er seine Zufriedenheit mit vielem Lachen und wiederholtem Umarmen zur Schau.«

Difficile est, satiram non scribere. Es ist sogar sehr schwer. Der gute Moguyokuri hatte gewiss, soweit sein Verstand reichte, den besten Willen, wenn man es an Geschenken nicht fehlen liess. Der Indianer, der Offizier, der Lieferant, jeder auf seine Weise, will sich bereichern, das ist die Katechese. Die

Regierung giebt die Mittel mit vollen Händen her und was erreicht wird, ist einzig und allein, dass die Feindseligkeiten, an denen beide Teile gleich schuldig waren, aufhören. Christentum, Erziehung zur Arbeit, Unterricht der Jugend — meine Feder ermüdet sich, diese schönen Worte zu schreiben.

Wie von dem Gelde für die Indianer verwendet worden ist, ist so verwendet worden, dass das prachtvolle Menschen-Material mit Sicherheit zu Grunde gehen muss. Lieutenant Duarte, der Leiter von Thereza Christina, er war wirklich, wie die Cuyabaner sagten, «der Gott der Coroados»; er gab ihnen Alles, was sie haben wollten, und hielt sie mit dieser einfachen Methode ruhig, die ihn nicht viel kostete und die Kaufleute auch bekannten Methoden der Berechnung verdienen liess. Die Zahl der Indianer, für die der Staat per Kopf zahlte, pflegt natürlich sehr gross zu sein, und dass kommt der beträchtliche Gewinn, den der Offizier an dem gemeinen Soldaten macht, der von ihm oder von dem durch ihn engagierten Lieferanten die Lebensmittel kaufen muss. Nicht nur die von der Stadt, sondern auch die von den Arauanos auf dem Wege zur Kolonie gelegenen Faxendas gelieferten Artikel waren in der Kolonie für den armen Soldaten teurer als in der Stadt für den Bürger; die Farinha, die Bohnen, der Speck kosteten doppelt soviel!

Ich habe die folgenden Preise (1 Milreis = 1000 Reis = rund 2 Mark) aufgezeichnet:

	Stadt	Kolonie
1 Liter Farinha	600 Reis	200 Reis!
1 » Reis	160 »	500 » !
1 » Bohnen	160 »	300 »
1 Kilo Speck	800 »	1500 » !
1 Liter Salz	200 »	500 » !
1 Paket Zündhölzer	300 »	800 » !
Branntwein, Flasche	400 »	2000 » !
» Gläschen	80 »	250 » !
1 Kilo frisches Fleisch	300 »	500 »
1 » Dörrfleisch (carne seca)	400 »	500 »
1 Arroba Dörrfleisch	3000 »	8000 »
1 Kilo Paraguaythee	400 »	1000 »
Rapadura (Zucker-Ziegelstein)	120 »	250 »

Der Soldat bekam an Proviantgeldern pro Tag 600 Reis, was bei jenen Preisen für ihn und seine Hausgenossin sehr knapp war. Sold erhielt er pro Monat 3 Milreis nebst 3 Milreis Gratifikation.

«Ich weiss wohl,» sagte einer der Präsidenten, «Duarte hat da ein Kaffeewasser gefunden.» Aber auch der Präsident könnte Nichts ändern; kaum dass er die Verhältnisse übersieht, hat er den Posten zu verlassen, und je mehr er der Mißwirtschaft steuern will, um so rascher nur erfolgt der Wechsel, weil er sich an Alles, die dadurch verlieren, Feinde schafft. Auf die Hauptfrage, ob der

brasilische Soldat, den guten und ehrlichen eingeschlossen, der wahrlich nicht leichten Aufgabe überhaupt gewachsen wäre, die Indianer zu einem nützlichen Element des Gemeinwesens herauszubilden, lohnt es sich nicht einzugehen. Die folgenden Seiten mögen es lehren.

II. Bilder aus der Katechese.

Nach dem S. Lourenço. (Eine Sehenswürdigkeit: ein Theilnehmer in Cuyabá. Reise.) Die Bewohner (Chiquitos) und die Anfänge der Kolonie. Europäische Kleidung. Fröhlichen. Unsere Kindrücke. Nach und Wahrnehmungskampf (Mutis). Hemdenverteilung. Nächtlichen Klapperfeind. Vesperpulver. Skandal am Aramiche. Chaotisierung. Tränenkinge. Halbkinge-Neuanfrend (Jodoc). Kayapó. Drohende Auflösung der Kolonie. Schule. Die kindlichen Brüder. Disziplin. Duarte's Ankunft. »Velocissimo de guerra.« Freiheitsch und Neuende.

Nach dem S. Lourenço. Die ersten Bororó konnten wir schon im Juli 1887 in Cuyabá untersuchen; Duarte hatte Einige zur Taufe mitgebracht. Andere lernten wir Anfangs März 1888 kennen. Sie waren barfuss, aber sonst vorschriftsmässig bürgerlich angezogen und trugen an einer Schnur um den Hals einen grossen Karben von der Grösse einer Visitenkarte, auf dem ihr neuer Name in lesen stand: »Atahualpa«, »Montezuma«, »José Domingo« u. s. w. José Domingo hantete lustig, man sagte, er habe sich bei der Taufe erkältet. Unter der Kleidung trugen sie ihren heimischen Strohstulp; sobald sie vor den Mauern der Stadt waren, zogen sie Alles aus, packten die Herrlichkeit ein und behielten nur ihre grosse Karbe noch einige Tage am Halse zum Andenken an die Bekehrung.

Es waren grosse, stämmige Burschen, auffallend durch dicke Stirnwülste, ohne Brauen und Wimpern. Sie hatten grosse Freude an den Sehenswürdigkeiten von Cuyabá, wo man sie wie Kinder verwöhnte, nur dass man ihnen statt Süssigkeiten Aguardenta gab. Ihr besonderes Wohlgefallen erregte Wilhelm's Chapeau claque, sie begrüssten den Kauffleht mit hocherhaumigem *ha ha*-Lachen und schlugen Wilhelm anerkennend auf die Schulter. Bei uns im Hause wollten sie immer trinken oder essen »Mandioka« oder »Tapira«, was Rindfleisch und nicht Tapir bedeutete, oder schlafen oder sich frisieren. Ueberall fanden sie Freunde und wenn sie bei uns an der Hausthüre standen, nickte ihnen jede vorüberschreitende Negerin behaglich zu: »Ah, die Gevattern! Wie geht es, Gevatter? Está bom, compadre.«

Am 14. März 1888 brachen wir zum Besuch von Theresa Christina auf, während wir auf den Besuch von Isabel verzichten mussten. Duarte hatte noch längeren Aufenthalt in Cuyabá und wollte später nachkommen. Der Bakairi Antonio und die beiden Kameraden Carlos und Peter begleiteten uns. Die Maultiere waren wieder in so gutem Zustande, dass wir die besten als Reittiere gebrauchen konnten.

Unser erstes Ziel, die alte Militärkolonie, liegt 16° 32′, 6 südlicher Breite und 6° 39, 9 östlich von Cuyabá am rechten Ufer des S. Lourenço, ziemlich genau

TAFEL XXV.

v. d. Steinen, Funeral-Bacairi

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in Südostrichtung von Cuyabá. Wir hatten einige Nebenflüsse des Rio Cuyabá zu überschreiten, stiegen auf die Chapada und erreichten auf der Hälfte des Weges am 18. März die Fazenda S. José in einer Höhe von 555 m über dem Platz der cuyabaner Kathedrale oder Matriz. Südwestlich von ihr liegen tiefer hinab die Fazenden von Cupin und Palmeiras, die hauptsächlich die Kolonien versorgen. Jenseit S. José ist die Gegend unbesiedelt; das kleine weisse, festungsartig ummauerte Gehöft erscheint in tiefer Einsamkeit in einer Senkung zwischen kahlen, nur grasbedeckten Hängen. Ein einziger, aber hoher Baum stand an dem Bächlein, dessen Ufer von vielen jungen Buritipalmen eingefasst war. Es hatte Mut dazu gehört, hier zu wohnen und zu arbeiten. Ausser den Hofmauern von S. José hatte unterwegs kaum irgend etwas an die Kämpfe mit den Bororó erinnert. Nur waren uns zuweilen niedrige, enge Lauben aufgefallen, die man durch Zusammenstellen von krüppligen Sertãobäumchen aufgerichtet hatte; sie rührten von Soldaten her und hatten als Schutz während der Nacht gedient. Ueber entsetzlich öde Grasflächen gelangten wir am 19. März zu den ersten, noch wenige Meter breiten Bächen, die den S. Lourenço zuflossen. Wir fanden am Ribeirão Prata ein liebliches Landschaftsbildchen, das uns mit dem Wald und der saftigen Wiese und dem Silberband des Quellflusschens lebhaft die Heimat vor die Seele rief. Nur einige junge Palmen sprachen dawider und das Thermometer, das für das sehr erfrischende, »eiskalte« Wasser eigensinnig 22,8° angab. Am 21. März erfolgte der Abstieg von der Plateauterrasse an malerischen roten Sandsteinfelsen vorüber, und am Nachmittag erreichten wir die Apfelsinenhaine der Militärkolonie, wo der schöne, waldumsäumte S. Lourenço in einer Breite von 127 m vorbeiströmt. Wir wurden von den Kommandanten, Kapitän Serejo sehr gastfreundlich aufgenommen.

Am nächsten Tage traen wir in Thereza Christina ein. Es ist flussaufwärts gelegen, ebenfalls an rechten Ufer, nicht weit unterhalb der Einmündung des Prata, doch macht der S. Lourenço zwischen den beiden Kolonien starke Windungen und ist das Waldgebiet so sumpfig, dass man zu einem grossen Umweg landeinwärts gezwungen ist.

Ueber einem wenige Meter hohen Ufer eine ausgedehnte Waldrodung, auf dem freien, mit dürrem Unkraut überwucherten Platz noch mancher dicke alte Baumstumpf stehend und hier und da gehauene Stämme umherliegend, eine Menge niedriger, viereckiger, zum Teil langer Hütten mit palmstrohgedeckten Giebeldächern, die sofort über der Thüre ansetzen, Alles nüchtern und freudlos in demselben graugelblichen Ton von Stroh und Lehm, an drei Seiten von Wald umgeben, die vierte begrenzt von einem stattlichen, breiten Strom und drüben ein dunkler Streifen üppigen Waldes, über dem lang hingezogen ein flacher Hügelzug erscheint — das war Thereza Christina.

Der Vertreter Duarte's, der uns mit grosser Liebenswürdigkeit und Herzlichkeit empfing, war der »Kadett« Eliseo Pinto d'Annunciação. Kadetten sind in Brasilien Offiziersaspiranten, gewöhnlich Söhne von Beamten oder Offizieren,

die von der Pike auf dienen und deren Beförderung wesentlich von der Protektion abhängt. Unser Eliseo hatte Sergeantenrang und meinte, er würde sofort Leutnant werden, wenn ich mich für ihn in Rio verwendete. Er war ein guter und gewissenhafter Mensch und hätte Nützliches leisten können, wenn er das Recht gehabt hätte, nach seiner eigenen Meinung zu handeln. Ein zweiter Kadett mit Unteroffiziersrang hiess Caldas, ein junger Mann, musikalisch und für eine Zulage Magister der Bororóknaben. Er hatte auch ein Vokabular angelegt und war also der Repräsentant von Kunst und Wissenschaft. Dann gab es noch einen Kadetten Joáquim, den Apotheker und den Verwalter Ildefonso. Weitaus die wichtigste Persönlichkeit für mich aber war Clemente, der 13 Jahre in Gefangenschaft der Bororó gelebt hatte und jetzt etwa 28 Jahre zählte. Sein Vater Manoel Pedroso de Alvarenga wohnte am Peixe de couro, einem Nebenflusschen des in den S. Lourenço einmündenden Piquiry. Im September 1873 überfielen die Bororó dort 5 Kinder beim Baden; zwei wurden getötet, eins entkam, zwei wurden mitgenommen, Clemente und ein jüngerer Bruder. Er erzählte, man habe ihnen die Hände vor die Augen gebunden und sie fünf Tage ohne Aufenthalt auf dem Rücken zum Dorfe fortgeschleppt. Der Bruder sei bald gestorben. 1886 wurde Clemente von den Bororó wieder ausgeliefert. Allein er war inzwischen selbst Bororó geworden. Er ging nicht nur in ihrer Tracht mit Pfeil und Bogen, er hatte nicht nur fast all sein Portugiesisch vergessen, sondern er hatte, wie ich zu meinem Vorteil feststellen konnte, in seinem Denken und Wissen eine rein indianische Ausbildung erfahren. Auf der andern Seite hatte er mittlerweile wieder genug von seiner Muttersprache gelernt, um mir als brauchbarer Dolmetscher helfen zu können. Leider verliess er Thereza Christina vor uns, weil er dort »nichts lerne«. Die Offiziere wussten selbst nichts. Bei seinem Heimatort lebe ein Mann, der könne aber alle Kranken kurieren und jedes Schloss aufmachen.

Anlage der Kolonie. Das Hauptgebäude der Kolonie hatte zum Grundriss ein langes, sehr schmales Rechteck. Es bestand aus einer Anzahl von Stuben mit gestampftem Lehmboden, lehmbeworfenen Fachwerkwänden und niedrigem Strohdach; die Thüren gingen alle nach derselben Seite auf den Hauptplatz hinaus. Die Möbel beschränkten sich auf Tische, Stühle und Kasten. An dem einen Ende befand sich Duarte's einfenstriges Zimmer, ohne Thüre nach aussen; dann kam das Zimmer, wo gegessen wurde, wo Caldas am Morgen zuweilen Schule abhielt und wo man überhaupt zusammenkam, mit einer Thüre nach dem Platz, einer auch gegenüber nach hinten hinaus, links dem Eingang zu Duarte's Zimmer und rechts der Thüre zu einem Proviantraum, in dem der Branntwein aufbewahrt wurde und dessen Schlüssel im Verkehr mit den Indianern eine grosse Rolle spielte. Es folgten sich dann noch mit Thüren auf den Platz die Cadêa, eine kleine Arreststube für die Soldaten, die immer besetzt war, und deren Bewohner den Tag in der Hängematte verbringen musste, eine Stube für Eliseo und den Verwalter und Vorratsräume. Der Apotheker besass seine wohlverproviantierte Giftküche in einem Häuschen für sich, das wenige Schritte entfernt

gegenüberlag. Die Soldaten wohnten in kleinen Ranchos teils nach dem Fluss zu, teils am Waldrand. Ringsum schlossen sich die Indianerhütten an, dem Boden aufstehenden Giebeldächern vergleichbar, 6 Schritte breit, 10—13 Schritte lang; sie boten Schutz gegen Sonne und einigermassen gegen Regen, liessen an Einfachheit Nichts zu wünschen übrig und dienten zum Aufenthalt für je eine Familie.

In der Mitte der Kolonie blieb ein grosser Platz frei; hier erhob sich der sogenannte Ranchão, d. h. grosser Rancho oder Baitó der Indianer, vgl. die Tafel 25, 10 Schritt breit und 26 Schritt lang. Auch er war, obgleich mit Hülfe der Soldaten, ohne alle Kunst gebaut; die Langseiten bestanden aus Stangen, die nachlässig mit Palmblättern bekleidet waren und soweit Abstand hatten, dass man fast überall eintreten konnte; die Querseiten waren noch weiter offen. Die Abbildung zeigt, wie Indianer beschäftigt sind, das Dach mit Palmzweigen auszubessern. Im Baitó arbeiteten und schliefen die Junggesellen, hier war auch der Mittelpunkt aller Festlichkeiten, namentlich der Jagdgesänge und der Tänze und Klagegesänge bei Todesfällen und der Beratungen. Die Frauen hatten freien Zutritt und wurden, wie wir sehen werden, zum Teil mit Gewalt dorthin geschleppt.

Die Hütten waren überall bis dicht an den Rand des Waldes vorgeschoben. Zahlreiche schmale Pfade führten dort hinein; Bedürfnisanstalten auch nur primitivster Art waren in den Hausern ebensowenig als in Cuyabá vorhanden, und wie man in der Stadt den Garten, so suchte man in der Kolonie den Wald auf. Flussaufwärts lag die sogenannte Ziegelei, wo der Lehm geholt wurde, auch ein Brennofen gebaut, aber noch niemals gebraucht war, und fand sich in einer Lichtung das Wenige, was es von Pflanzung gab. Von Tieren erblickte man nur wenige Hunde und Hühner bei den Soldaten und einige rote Araras bei den Indianern. Auch trieben sich immer etliche schwarze Aasgeier in der Nähe umher. Das zu schlachtende Rindvieh wurde durch Vaqueanos draussen im Kamp, wo es in voller Freiheit lebte, eingefangen. Auch die Maultiere liess man laufen und suchte sie auf, wenn man sie gebrauchte oder kontrollieren wollte.

Es waren ungefähr 50 Brasilier in der Kolonie, dazu die Soldatenweiber; nur wenige waren hellfarbiger als die Bororó und viele dunkler. Die Anzahl der anwesenden Bororó schätzte ich auf einige 200 mit Weib und Kind. Doch war eine Gesellschaft auf einem Jagdzug begriffen und Duarte hatte an 20 mit nach Cuyabá genommen. Wenn es hoch kam, betrug die Gesamtseelenzahl 350, offiziell 450. Im Anfang sollen es bedeutend mehr gewesen sein — Eliseo gab an, einmal über 1000. In der That erklärte Clemente auch, dass sich die Bororó aus allen Dorfschaften vorgestellt hätten. So sehen wir, dass an die »10,000«, von denen man in Cuyabá spricht, in keinem Fall zu denken ist.

Europäische Kleidung. Der erste Eindruck, den wir von den Bororó empfingen, war wesentlich anders als der von den ordentlichen und fleissigen Schingú-Indianern. Nicht so sehr, was den Mangel an Kleidung betraf. Der

Häuptling Moguyokuri ging freilich meist im Hemde, selten mit Hose spazieren, nur der wüste Häuptling Arateba trug Hemd und Hose regelmässig; in ihre Schlafdecken hüllten sie sich an einem kälteren Tage oder gegen Abend gern ein, einige Frauen, zumal solche, die gerade mit den Herren ein intimes Verhältnis unterhielten, zeichneten sich durch grossblumig bedruckte Hemden, Jacken und Röcke aus, allein die mehr oder weniger Bekleideten waren für beide Geschlechter nur Ausnahmen. Die Männer trugen die Hüftschnur und den Strohstulp, die Frauen eine Hüftschnur oder einen Rindenstreifen mit Bastbinde. Beide Geschlechter liebten Hals- und Brustschmuck. Ich werde die Einzelheiten später besprechen. Moguyokuri überreichte ich ein Prachtstück, das seinen ganzen Beifall hatte: eine ziegelrote türkische, mit bunten Arabesken bestickte, weitärmlige Frauenjacke, die einst auf der Malkasten-Redoute in der Düsseldorfer Tonhalle gebraucht worden war. Der immer vergnügt grinsende Riese war in diesem eleganten Kostümstück ein Anblick für Götter.

Abb. 126. Bororó-Mädchen.

»Was sollen wir machen?« klagte Kapitän Serejo in der Militärkolonie. »Als die grosse Schaar nach Cuyabá eingeschifft wurde, hatte man 430 Anzüge beschafft. Viele kamen noch in Cubayá selbst hinzu. Und als die Indianer wiederkehrten, war von Allem nichts mehr vorhanden«. Einmal, weil die Kaufleute elenden Schund geliefert hatten, dünnes, schlecht gewebtes Zeug, dass sie sonst nicht abzusetzen wusten, dann weil die Kleider zu eng und zu kurz waren, die Hemden über der breiten Brust gar nicht schlossen und die Inexpressibles platzten, endlich aber, weil die Bororó die Geschenke der Zivilisation mit entsetzlicher Rücksichtslosigkeit behandelten. Sobald sie sich geniert fühlten, warfen sie die Kleidungsstücke fort, sobald sie einen Sack z. B. beim Forttragen von Fleisch oder Fischen gebrauchen konnten, nahmen sie dazu ihre Decken und Hemden. In Hängematten, deren Stücke sie abschnitten, und in Tischtücher — eine echt brasilische Gabe für nackte Indianer — wickelten sie ihre fettbeschmierten Körper ein. Sie selbst gebrauchen keine Hängematten, sondern schlafen auf Strohmatten. An Waschen der Wäsche dachten sie nicht im Traum; die Hemden erschienen lehmfarben wie ihre Leiber, die Erde, die Hütten.

Die guten Bororó waren derartig verwöhnt worden, dass wir mit unsern bescheidenen Tauschwaaren übel ankamen. Sie waren bereits soweit Kenner, dass sie nur nordamerikanische Aexte wollten, Am meisten Anklang fanden noch unsere Perlen, allein auch hier erschienen die Frauen recht wählerisch, und

bezeichneten die, die ihnen nicht gefielen, kurzweg mit dem uns sehr betrubenden portugiesischen Ausdruck, den die Katechese allgemein eingebürgert hatte, »porcaria«, »Schweinerei«, oder »merda«, »Kot«, der begleitenden »Diavo«-Flüche nicht zu gedenken.

Das Bekleiden der Indianer war also nicht durchzuführen.

Feldbau. Die Bororó sollten roden und pflanzen! In der Praxis dankten die Offiziere ihrem Schicksal, wenn es ihnen nur gelang, die von den Soldaten angelegten Pflanzungen vor den Bororó zu retten. Sobald die Eingeborenen im Besitz der Aexte waren, machte es ihnen weit mehr Spass, die Fikbäume umzuhauen, als hinaufzuklettern und die Früchte abzunehmen. In der Militärkolonie stand ein schöner Canavial, eine Anpflanzung von Zuckerrohr. Es musste eine Wache ausgestellt werden, um die Verwüstung zu verhindern. Allein die Indianer machten nächtliche Besuche und fanden ein Mittel, sie zu verheimlichen und ihre Gönner zu täuschen, indem sie die Pflanzen nicht brachen, sondern sich auf den Boden legten und das Rohr, wie es da stand, anbissen und behaglich auslutschten. Die Mandiokapflanzung wurde vollständig geplündert; die Frauen, des Wurzelgrabens vom Wald her gewöhnt, rissen die nicht meterlangen Sträucher aus und gruben fleissig nach, ob nicht noch Wurzeln im Erdreich versteckt seien. Dem Jägerstamm fehlte alles Verständnis für plannässiges Anpflanzen, namentlich aber die Geduld zu warten, bis die Wurzel ihre volle Entwicklung erreicht hatte.

Das Problem, diese Böcke zu Gärtnern zu machen, konnten die Soldaten nicht gut lösen. Die Aufgabe wäre auch für andere Männer, die nicht nur auf Kommando und von eigennützigen Wünschen erfüllt, sondern aus eigenem Antrieb um des humanen Zwecks willen und jeder Habsucht fern sich ihr gewidmet hätten, eine schwere Geduldsprobe gewesen. Dabei sahen die Indianer nur zu gut, dass Leben und Lebenlassen die einzige Parole ihrer Vorbilder war, dass von auswärts alles hübsch geliefert wurde, was man brauchte; für sie, die herzlich gern mit ihrer kriegerischen Vergangenheit brachen, sobald sie keinen Zweck mehr hatte, und die sich vor den Brasiliern genau ebenso gefürchtet hatten, wie diese sich vor ihnen, bedeutete die Kolonie nur ein bequemes und vergnügtes Dasein mit wenigen Pflichten, die darin bestanden, dass sie gelegentlich mit anfassten, und den brasilischen Häuptlingen Hausgenossinnen lieferten. Dass sie die wahren Herren der Kolonie waren und nicht der Leutnant „*Dynite*", dessen Macht sich darauf beschränkte, dass er in der Lage (thatsächlich in der Zwangslage) war, sie zu verwöhnen, ein Blinder hätte es sehen können.

Unsere Eindrücke. Ehe ich unsere Beobachtungen systematisch zusammenstelle, möchte ich die merkwürdigsten Szenen aus dem Leben und Treiben der Indianer und ihrer Lehrer, die wir erlebt haben, nach meinem Tagebuch zu schildern versuchen.

24. März. Wir speisen in unserer Messe bei offener Thüre. Während des Mahles ist ein fortwährendes Gehen und Kommen; zuweilen wimmelt die kleine Stube von Besuchern, obwohl wir ohnehin sehr eng zusammensitzen. Die Ver-

kehrssprache ist ein wunderbares Bororó-Portugiesich. Das Bororó wiegt in den gewöhnlichen Scherzreden vor, d. h. es werden die für den Fall nötigen Substantiva, deren den Brasilien bekannte Zahl schon ziemlich gering ist, mit zwei Dutzend pronominalen, adjektivischen, adverbialen, auch ein paar verbalen Ausdrücken in stereotyper Gleichmässigkeit verbunden, und die Eingeborenen selbst, namentlich die Frauen, passen sich diesem »Pidgeon-Bororó« auch in ihrem Sprechen bereitwillig an. Hauptperson ist der Häuptling Arateba im Zustande chronischer Betrunkenheit; diesem oder jenem wird ein Teller mit Resten überlassen. Das ewig Weibliche drängt sich sehr in den Vordergrund; die Freundinnen der Herren bekommen auch ihre Teller und je lauter und ungezwungener sie sich benehmen, desto heiterer ist die allgemeine Stimmung.

Heute drängte sich plötzlich mit pöbelhaftem Schimpfen die jüngere der beiden Gattinnen Moguyokuri's herein, eine grosse starkknochige Frau, die alle Kleidung zu verachten scheint. Sie hatte ein Bündel Mandiokawurzeln in der Hand und schleuderte sie wütend Eliseo vor die Füsse. War uns doch heute schon im Männerhaus das allgemeine Mandiokabraten aufgefallen; die Pflanzung war wieder einmal vor der Zeit der noch dünnen Wurzelstengel beraubt worden. Moguyokuri's Xanthippe war anscheinend mit Unrecht des Diebstahls bezichtigt worden; andere hatten ihr die Mandioka gegeben. Der Zank nahm immer grössere Dimensionen an und währte bis zum Abend. Es standen sich zwei feindliche Parteien unter den Frauen gegenüber. Den meisten Lärm machte »Maria«, Arateba's Schwester, die überhaupt von allen Indianerinnen die bedeutendste Rolle spielte. Maria war Duarte's Geliebte gewesen, man munkelte davon, dass er sie mit Reitkleid und Federhut ausgestattet habe; jedenfalls lief sie jetzt nur in ihrer Nationaltracht umher, eine kleine stramme, gewandte und nach unseren Begriffen massig hübsche Person mit funkelnden Augen.

Als das Gezänk im Innern einer Hütte seine Höhe erreicht hatte, sollte es durch eine Art Ringkampf ausgefochten werden. Man stürmte auf den Platz hinaus; Xantippe schien die Unparteiische zu sein. Unter lebhaften Reden und Geberden stellte sie drei Weiber auf die eine Seite und Maria ihnen allein gegenüber. Eine der drei sprang mit einem mächtigen Satz vor, Maria ihr entgegen. Sie fassten sich um den Leib und ein wüstes Ringen begann. Aber schon in wenigen Sekunden bildeten sie den Mittelpunkt eines dicken Knäuels von Neugierigen und Mitkämpfenden, eines Knäuels, der sich wieder inmitten und mit einer grösseren, loseren Menschenmasse den Häusern entlang wälzte; es war ein tolles Schieben und Drängen, die Männer lachend, springend, ausser sich vor Vergnügen, die Frauen um die Wette heulend, während die beiden Gegnerinnen sich fest umschlungen und in den Haaren gepackt hielten. Endlich riss man sie auseinander, doch das Wortgezeter begann um so heftiger, indem stets Mehrere gegen Mehrere anschrieen. Besonders eine Alte übertönte Alles mit ihrer gellenden Stimme. Caldas, der mit Schmerzen sah, dass seiner ebenfalls beteiligten Zeltgenossin die Brust zerkratzt wurde, drängte den grossen Häuptling

Moguyokuri hinein; mit ungeheurer Ruhe trat dieser in den lärmenden Haufen und da ward's auf einmal still. Lautlos still; sein gewaltiger Arm schob die drei gefährlichsten Weiber auf einmal beiseite. Maria hatte entschieden verloren, sie sprach kein Wort und stand finstern Blicks mit verschränkten Armen, die Brust heftig arbeitend, während eine Parteifreundin ihr das zerzauste Haar ordnete. Noch einmal versuchten Unzufriedene den Sturm zu entfesseln, doch das Lachen der Corona gewann die Ueberhand, man ging auseinander und in triumphierendem Lauf wurde die gellende Alte von drei Frauen abgeführt.

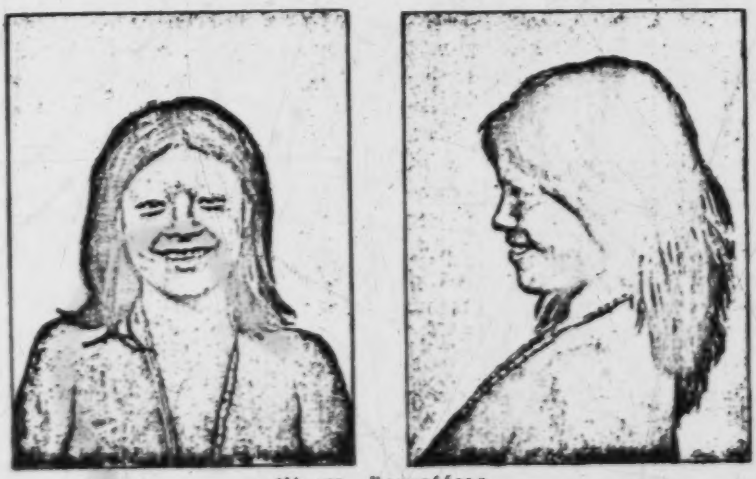

Abb. 127. Bororófrau.

Kopfschüttelnd lenkten wir die Schritte heimwärts nach unserm Schuppen, aber dort wurden wir auch von einem Heidenlärm zurückgetrieben. Die Soldaten tanzten und sangen in der Mondnacht mit ihren Mulattinnen und Indianerinnen, sie musizierten mit Harmonika, mit Gabel und Teller — Kirmess überall!

Ich ging zum Männerhaus zurück; zwei Männer übten sich im Ringkampf. Sie fassten sich stark gegeneinander gebeugt, unter den Armen an und verweilten lange in dieser Stellung, bis der Eine plötzlich versuchte, mit einem Bein oder der Ferse die Kniekehle des Andern einzudrücken und ihn zu Fall zu bringen: er wurde aber emporgehoben und hatte verloren. Kleine Feuerchen brannten dem Haus entlang. Die Männer lagen, den Kopf auf Holzklötze gestützt, einer neben dem andern in der Reihe, um dort draussen zu schlafen, schwatzten und zerbissen mit den Zähnen Zuckerrohrstangen, die Abfälle im Bogen hinter sich werfend. Es belustigte sie sehr, als ich am Feuer niederhockte und ihre Wörter aufschrieb. Seitab schliefen an Feuerchen auch Frauen mit ihren Männern; Kinder waren noch in später Nacht lustig auf den Beinen und tummelten sich über den Platz.

Fleischverteilung 26. März. Eine tüchtige Verwaltung würde in der Art der Verteilung der Lebensmittel einen vortrefflichen Weg finden, um die Indianer an Ordnung zu gewöhnen. An gerechte Gleichmässigkeit denkt aber Niemand weder beim Proviant noch bei den anderen Dingen. Alles Willkür. Die rohe Szene bei der Verteilung des *tapiru*, des Ochsen, deren wöchentlich etwa zwei geschlachtet werden und die im Matogrosso wahrlich ein billiges Lebensmittel darstellen, spottet jeder Beschreibung. Bequemer können es sich die Brasilier freilich nicht gut einrichten. Die Fleischstücke und zerhackten Knochen werden vor dem Haus auf einer Haut zu einem grossen Haufen übereinander geschichtet, die Indianer stehen, Männer und Frauen und grössere Kinder, zum Teil mit Körben bewaffnet, abwartend beiseite, einer der Kadetten giebt das Signal, und die ganze Gesellschaft stürzt sich wie ein Rudel Wölfe auf das Fleisch und die Knochen. Es war ein so widerlicher Anblick, dass mir der Humor versagte, obgleich ein Kreis von Zuschauern das Schauspiel mit einigem Genuss in sich aufnahm. Namentlich fesselte der Idiot Dyapokuri, der Typus eines Kretin, die allgemeine Aufmerksamkeit; mit tierischer Wildheit erkämpfte sich der Blödsinnige, der Deputierte des Männerhauses, drei gewaltige Stücke und schleppte sie mit triumphierendem Grunzen, während ihm der Speichel über den herabhängenden Unterkiefer troff, und mit glänzenden Augen von dannen. Wenn dies noch ein plumper Gelegenheitsscherz wäre, aber nein, es ist das regelmässige, ortsübliche Verfahren. Der Indianer wird dadurch zu Zuständen hinabgedrückt, die er in seinem Jägerleben seit undenklichen Zeiten überwunden hat; ist es doch einer der Hauptzwecke des Instituts der Bari oder Medizinmänner (wie wir sehen werden), der Uneinigkeit bei Verteilung der Beute vorzubeugen, ein Problem, das diese allerdings dadurch lösen, dass sie sich die besten Stücke sichern.

Nächtliches Klagegeheul. Abend für Abend ertönt aus mindestens vier oder fünf Hütten unausgesetztes Klagegeheul vereinzelter Frauen. Es sind Gattinnen der Männer, die auf dem Jagdzug begriffen sind und in wenigen Tagen zurückerwartet werden. *Bibela bibelu bá .... baba ih.* Tief in die Nacht hinein dauert das Klagen; es ist uns kaum möglich einzuschlafen. Es hat aber einen sehr bestimmten Zweck. Die Frauen erklären, sie erführen, wenn sie sich nachher zum Schlafen niederlegten, im Traum, wann ihre Männer zurückkehrten. Sie wissen es dann am nächsten Morgen. *Augenblicklich sind sie mit diesem Thema* um so mehr beschäftigt, als die Frau eines der Abwesenden, des Indianers »Coqueiro« (Kokospalme), gerade gestorben ist. Im Männerhaus hatte man die rote Decke der Toten ausgebreitet, einen Topf und zwei Arbeitsmuscheln von ihr hinzugefügt; zwei Baris liessen einen langen Klagegesang erschallen, während sich eine Anzahl trauernder Frauen im Hintergrund hielt.

Vespergebet. Um 8 Uhr Abends findet die »Reza«, das Vespergebet der Soldaten statt. Wir verfolgten den Hergang gestern genauer und stellten uns, als der Hornist sein Signal gab, vor der Gefängnisthüre auf, um zuzuschauen. Allmählich fanden sich 32 Mann neben der immer vorhandenen Schildwache am Haupthause

zusammen und »ordneten« sich in zwei Reihen, Gross und Klein, wie es gerade kam, in beliebigem Aufzug, aber Jeder mit seinem Comblain-Gewehr ausgerüstet. Der Vollmond ergoss sein mildes Licht über die seltsamen Gesellen. Vor der Front standen zwei Kadetten, der eine las beim Schein eines Kerzenlichts die Namen, der andere schnitt sich Stücke Zuckerrohr und lutschte gemütlich. Sobald ein Name aufgerufen wurde, antwortete der Inhaber mit einem, je nach seiner Stimmung, bald lauten, bald leisen »Pronto« »zur Stelle«. Zu unserm Erstaunen erklang plötzlich das »Pronto« auch hinter uns mit einer dumpfen Grabesstimme, die aus dem Arrestlokal hervordrang; durch einen Schlitz in der Thüre sahen wir mit Vergnügen an dem hin und wieder fahrenden Schatten, wie sich der Missethäter drinnen bei gutem Licht in der Hängematte schaukelte.

Nach dem Namensaufruf nahmen die Leute Mützen und Hüte ab und sangen oder vielmehr gröhlten, in dem eine helle Stimme vorsang: *O, virgem da conceppão, Maria immaculada, vós sois a advogada dos peccadores, cheia todos cheia de graça com a vossa feliz grandeza, vos sois dos céos princeza, do Espirito Santo esposa.*

Maria mãi de graça, mãi de misericordia, rogai Jesus por nos, recebai (!) *nos na hora da morte! Senhor Deus peçuri* (!), *Senhor, misericordia. Por vossa mãi, Maria Santissima, misericordia!* *)

Wie in das »Pronto«rufen fielen auch in den Gesang zufällig vorübergehende Indianer kräftig ein; im Hause drinnen übte sich Caldas auf der Violine. Zum Schluss knieten Alle, einschliesslich des Wachtpostens nieder, auch der Kadett mit dem Zuckerrohr. Die Bororó kümmerten sich nicht weiter um den ihnen längst bekannten Vorgang. Doch etwa eine Stunde später erschienen ein Dutzend Jungen vor unserer Thür und sangen — die Musik richtig, die Worte ausser dem Anfang unverständlich und unverstanden — „*O, Santa Maria, mãi de graça*“, **) indem sie sich kichernd umarmten und in einer Reihe aufgestellt schief aneinander lehnten.

Gegen 9 Uhr hatte sich Moguyokuri noch bei den Kadetten gemeldet, Branntwein fordernd. Zur Abwechslung trug der »sich ganz mit der Zivilisation seines Stammes identifizierende« Häuptling einen roten Frauenunterrock und eine weisse Leinenjacke; er bestand darauf, dass der Schlüssel zum Proviantraum geholt werde und erhielt auch seine Flasche; er erreichte seinen Zweck nicht minder, wenn er die Herren gelegentlich mitten in der Nacht heraustrommelte.

Skandal mit Arateba. Er ist wieder einmal total betrunken und verlangt nach mehr; der berühmte Schlüssel wird nun aber doch verweigert. Er alarmiert mit seinem Geschrei und Schimpfen die ganze Kolonie, eilt nach seiner Hütte und kommt zurück mit zwei »espadas«! Er fuchtelt wütend mit den Säbeln in der Luft umher und schwankt dabei von der einen Seite zur andern, lässt es aber beim Drohen bewenden. Er zieht sich erst das Hemd, dann die Hose aus

*) Spottvers: „*O, virgem da conceppão, Maria immaculada, peçai e nosso soldo, deixai da cagandal* (bezahl' uns unsere Löhnung und lass die faulen Witze).

**) »Mutter des Vetters« (spr. *graccha*).

und schleudert sie dem armen Eliseo vor die Füsse; er wendet sich an die Soldaten, die müssig umherstehen, und schüttet Alles, was er von Injurien kennt, über die Vorgesetzten aus, die ebenfalls müssig umherstehen. Es will fort und mit uns gehen, da man ihm hier den Branntwein vorenthalte. Endlich trollt er heim.

Am 30. März, Charfreitag. Der Wachtposten hält sein Gewehr abwärts gerichtet. Die Gewehre der übrigen Soldaten bleiben auf dem Boden liegen. Die Soldatenfrauen wandern in frisch geplätteten Sonntagskleidern mit Kreuzen und Kerzen zum Kirchhof. Das Gefängnis öffnet sich; zwei Arrestanten kommen heraus, der eine ein langer Neger, den Surrão — den Ledersack, der die Stelle des Tornisters vertritt — auf dem Rücken und in der Hand den Coxó, die Geige des Sertanejo, auf dem er fröhlich klimpert.

Schwer bepackt sind die Jäger zurückgekehrt und haben in ihren Tragkörben eine Menge Wildpret mitgebracht; Coqueiro, der neue Wittwer, weilt noch auf der Militärkolonie. Die Leiche seiner Frau ist ausgegraben. Die Knochen sind gereinigt und in einem Korb am Abend zum Männerhaus gebracht worden; daneben liegt eine neue Korbtasche, in die sie bei der eigentlichen Leichenfeier umgepackt werden sollen, und steht ein Topf mit Wasser. Der Raum ist dunkel, nur einige Feuerkohlen leuchten beiseit, an dem, wer raucht, die Zigarre anzündet. Viele Männer, Frauen, Kinder liegen bequem ausgestreckt auf dem Boden. Die Körbe aber und den Topf umgiebt ein dichter Halbkreis hockender Gestalten den Bari in der Mitte, sie singen einen einförmigen, doch laut hallenden Klagegesang. Der Bari schwingt unablässig die mit klirrenden Muschelscherben gefüllte Kurbisrassel, seine tiefe, bebende Stimme übertönt alle andern mit kräftigem Pathos, er lässt nicht nach mit Singen und Schwingen, bis ihm die Stimme und die Hand versagt; dann verstummt er und lässt die Rassel zitternd ausklappern, eine kleine Pause entsteht, während deren er in seiner Verzückung hastig eine Zigarre zum Munde führt und heftig einziehend den Rauch verschluckt. Wieder singt er und klappert er und raucht zwischendurch; bis nach einer kleinen Stunde die Pflicht erfüllt ist. Alles den Ranchão verlässt und sich draussen umhertreibt, schwatzend, lachend, wie fast alle Abende. In den Hütten hört man noch Mais stampfen, hier und dort knistert ein Feuerchen, eine malerische Gruppe beleuchtend, es wird gesungen, gelärmt, die Jungen balgen sich, Pärchen tauchen auf und verschwinden — kurz, Jahrmarkt vor dem Dorf, nur mit aussergewöhnlich vielen Buden, in denen Wilde Kaninchen fressen und Sterne anbeten.

Am Tag nach Charfreitag ist in Brasilien der sogenannte Halleluja-Sonnabend. Um zwölf Uhr Mittags hört die allgemeine Trauer auf, sie schlägt in helle Ausgelassenheit um, es wird überall geschossen und geknallt, der Verräter Judas, der an einem Baum hängt, wird gemisshandelt und vernichtet.

Auf der Kolonie erklärt man den Beginn des Halleluja um 8 Uhr Morgens, weil eine Kuh und ein Schwein geschlachtet werden muss. Der Fluss ist gestiegen, Fische waren bei dem vollen Strom für den Charfreitag nicht gefangen worden

und der Fleischtransport ist zu Ende. Der gute Eliseo entschuldigt sich allen Ernstes bei uns, wenn er unter diesen Umständen das Ende der Passion früher ansagen müsse; wir beruhigen ihn durch den Hinweis auf den Zeitunterschied mit Jerusalem.

An einem jungen Baum ist 1½ m hoch über dem Boden der Judas aufgehängt: weisser Drillichanzug, schöne enge Stiefel, Papiergesicht, die Wangen mit Urukúrot bemalt, Schnurrbart und Haar aus indianischem Frauenhaar, ausgestopft mit Sägespähnen. „*Kabobubi?*" »Was ist das?« fragen die verwunderten Bororó. Judas hält einen Holzsäbel in dem rechten Aermel, aus einer Tasche schaut der Hals einer Bierflasche vor, ein in den Rock geschobenes Stück Papier ist das Testament des Verräters. Um 8 Uhr aber treten die Soldaten blank und sauber in weissem Leinenanzug an; europäische Augen würden durch die nackten Füsse etwas befremdet. Eliseo trägt eine rote Schärpe. Der Koch steckt dem Judas eine Pulverpatrone in den Leib — ein Knall, Rauch quillt hervor und Judas beginnt langsam abzubrennen. Der Trompeter bläst eine Fanfare, während die Soldaten drei Salven los und in den Pausen gesellt sich der musikalischen Begleitung durchdringendes Klagegeheul aus einer Hütte; die Indianer, die in lichten Haufen umherstehen, halten sich die Ohren zu und gedenken der Zeit, wo in ihrem Wald die Schüsse knallten. Moguyokuri und sein Sohn, der ihn an Körperlänge noch übertrifft, treten vor, um auf die zerfallenden Reste von Judas Isaríoth noch einige Pfeile abzusenden. Vorsichtig, damit die Pfeile nicht verbrennen, löschen sie vorher. Die Soldaten treten ab; überall wird nun Pulver verknallt, auch unsere Kameraden können dem Gelüst nicht widerstehen, aus dem Küchenhof, wo das Schwein geschlachtet wird, erschallt mörderliches Geschrei, Freude herrscht überall: Halleluja!

Kayapó! Die Totenfeier für Coqueiro's Witwe, die ich noch in ihrer Einzelheiten schildern werde, fiel auf den Ostermontag (1. April); wir Gäste kamen aus dem Staunen nicht heraus über die seltsamen Kontraste, die jeder Tag in dem unruhigen Leben der Kolonie unsern Augen zur Schau stellte. Kaum war das Wehklagen verhallt, der Totenkorb weggeschafft, gab es neue Aufregung. Die Bororó wollten zwei Kayapó, die sie Kayámo nennen, im Wald gesehen haben, ihr Erbfeind in dicker Nähe der Kolonie! Noch am Abend die Kolonie räumen — es schien schier unglaublich — war die allgemeine Losung der Indianer. Die Soldaten mussten alarmiert werden, eine Patrouille wurde ausgeschickt und sollte an der verdächtigen Ecke im Walde ein Dutzend Schüsse abgeben. So beruhigte man sich vorläufig, doch schlief der grosse Häuptling Moguyokuri, der Schrecken des Matogrosso, die Nacht vorsichtigerweise nicht bei seinen beiden Frauen und seinen Kindern, sondern bei Eliseo.

Auch in der Nacht vom 2. auf den 3. April war Alles wach. Unsere indianischen Freunde holten uns zum Ranchão und luden uns ein, an einer Sitzung teilzunehmen, die den Zweck hatte, sich mit Musik in der Hoffnung auf einen Sieg über die bösen Kayapó zu stärken. Zu Anfang standen wir Alle und tanzten

auf der Stelle, während ein alter Häuptling in der Mitte sang und den Rasselkürbis wuchtig schüttelte. Wir Andern hielten uns die Hände vor den Mund und brüllten ein dumpfes *o, o* . . . hinein und knickten taktgemäss in die Kniee. Da wir merkten, wie sehr die Bororó dadurch getröstet wurden, liessen wir es an eifrigem Mitthun nicht fehlen. Unsere Schaar arbeitete im Dunkeln; nur zuweilen warf Einer ein wenig Stroh in's Feuer und die ernsten Gesichter wurden einen Augenblick grell beleuchtet. Das Tanzen dauerte eine halbe Stunde. Alsdann setzten wir uns nieder, rings um den alten Klapperer, der von der Anstrengung furchterlich zitterte und in mächtigen Zügen Wasser schlückte; wir mussten ihm den Topf vor den Mund halten, da er sonst nicht zum Ziele gelangt wäre. Nun waren wir aber auch alle mit frischem Mut erfüllt, der ehrwürdige Greis verbreitete sich in halb singendem Tone weiter über den Gegenstand der Tagesordnung und unser grosser Chor antwortete je nachdem entzückt „*aníme*" »sehr gut« oder grob lachend „*Aulaki*" oder entschlossen drohend „*ah* . . . ."

Am Mittag des 3. April stand die patriotische Begeisterung wider den unsichtbaren Feind auf der Höhe. Wir sassen beim Essen, als plötzlich 10 bis 12 Bororó in wildem Aufputz herbeistürmten. Voran Mogoyokuri, betrunken, das Gesicht erhitzt, in meiner türkischen Frauenjacke, bewaffnet, richtiger beladen, mit Bogen, Pfeilen, einem Mainstampfer und einer schweren Beilklinge ohne Griff, hinter ihm José Domingo, Gesicht und Leib bemalt, einen schönen, strauchdiergeschmückten Bogen schwingend, um das rechte Handgelenk zum Schutz gegen die anprallende Sehne eine schwarze Haarschnur, an einem Riemen um den nackten Leib einen Schleppzähel, und in ähnlicher Kriegsbereitschaft der Rest der Helden — last not least der Idiot Dyagokuri. Dieser unglückselige Narr hatte sich auch über und über mit Roco beschmiert, um den pathologischen Schädel hatte er wie ein Chinese den Zopf eine schwarze Haarschnur gewunden, auf dem Rücken hing ihm ein langes Kochenmesser und mit der Rechten wirbelte er einen Knüppel durch die Luft; einem Besessenen gleich, unartikulierte Laute ausstossend, sprang er unter zum Gelächter der Tochgesellschaft. Die schrecklichen Krieger zogen aus, die Fährten der Kayapó zu suchen. Bald schon kehrten sie zurück, sie hatten nichts Verdächtiges gefunden, das thörichte Volk schien Vernunft anzunehmen und die Episode beendet.

Im Männerhaus war man am Morgen sehr fleissig gewesen, den Nachmittag hindurch bis zum Abend beschäftigten sich ein Dutzend Bororó damit, ihren Gebeinen für die Mythe Hauptkamm, Gesicht und Leib [illegible] zu schmücken, und draussen spielte sich, als die Dunkelheit hereingebrochen war, wieder eine ganz anders geartete Scene ab. Ein etwa zweijähriges Kind, das schon seit 24 Stunden im Todeskampf lag und dessen Ende die Bari für heute vorausgesagt hatten, wurde vor die Hütte hinausgebracht. Die Mutter hielt es im Schoss, die Medicinmänner und Verwandten sassen ringsum und wehklagten. Hinter der Mutter hockte der Vater, eine Weile blieb er regungslos, dann — er machte gerade einer der Zuschauer Licht, um sich die Pfeife anzustecken —

führte er eine Schnur um den Hals des armen Wurms und brachte die Prophezeiung der Aerzte rasch in Erfüllung. Sofort erhob sich Alles ausser der Mutter, die Medicinmänner holten ihren Federschmuck und die Rasseln und begannen mit dröhnendem „*Arui* . . . *arui* . . .“-Gesang den Trauertanz.

Allein das Freudenfest im Rasthäo und die Trauerfeier draussen erlitten plötzlich eine gewaltige Störung, als zwei Schüsse vom Wald her hörbar wurden. Dort schoss man wieder gegen die Kayapó! Einer, der unsern Rauch ausschlief, hatte sie erblickt und schweien gehört! Erwacht schlug er Lärm und ein toller Wirrwarr war die Folge. Eiseo liess die Soldaten antreten; in kürzester Frist war der Platz gefüllt mit Männern, die eiligst Bogen und Pfeile, Knüppel und Axte trugen, mit Weibern, die in Traghörben ihre gesamte Habe aufgepackt hatten und dabei die Kinder schleppten oder vor sich herschoben, mit halbwüchsigen Jungen, die meistens auch bewaffnet waren. Nur die Frau mit dem kleinen toten Geschöpf im Schoss verharrte *auf* ihrem Platz, und ein paar Tauben mit dem grossen Strahlenrad der roten Arazinfedern um das Haupt stampften, sangen, rasselten unentwegt weiter oder kehrten, nachdem sie sich einen Augenblick in das Treiben gemischt hatten, zu ihrer Pflicht zurück.

Die Menge lustete wild durcheinander und umdrängte das Hauptgebäude. Dort standen die Soldaten in einer langen Reihe ausgerangiert; die Kadetten und Beamten vermochten sich kaum den Anstrom zu erwehren, und Niemand konnte ein eignes Wort verstehen. Dabei eine dunkle Nacht. Die Aufgeregten verlangten, dass man sofort auf das andere Flussufer übersetzte, ehe die Kayapó da wären; marschfertig war die ganze Schaar. Glücklicher Weise getraute man sich aber doch nicht, sich von den Soldaten zu trennen. Es war ein Wogen und Brausen, dass man nicht wusste, ob man noch seine fünf Sinne beisammen habe. Allmählig wurde der Wellenschlag etwas schwächer. Lauter erschallte das friedliche *Arui* . . . der Tausenden, die jungen Männer und ent bemalten Mädchen suchten wieder ihre Lagerstätten in dem mattt erhellten Rasthäo auf, das Gewimmel auf dem Platz verdichtete sich zu kleineren Gruppen; hier und da sah man glimmende Scheite in der Finsternis und beim Aufflackern eines Feuers erblickte man die starrenden Bogen und Pfeile, die Traghörbe, die Federn der Sänger, und hockend oder liegend Personen jedes Alters und Geschlechts, auf deren kräftigen Leibern die Vertheilung von Licht und Schatten für den Augenblick, dass sie beschienen wurden, unsicherste malerischste Wirkungen hervorbrachte.

Im Hauptgebäude waren alle Stuben gefüllt; bei Eiseo, Caldas und dem Verwalter überall Weiber und Kinder mit Sack und Pack, um den Tisch und auf dem Tisch bis in den letzten Winkel Gross und Klein, wie, von der Nachtheit abgesehen, eine Schaar Emigranten in engen Rahmenbetten. Einige der jüngeren und hübscheren Frauen fielen auf durch den Besitz weisser Kopftücher. Die Brasilier spöttelten und trösteten „*Acyiaue bobiar*“. »Die Kayapó sind nichts werth, die Indianer renommierten, dass sie keine Furcht hätten, legten mit dem

Bogen zu und duckten sich wie Kunststücke, die der Feind beschützten. Dazwischen bettelten wir um Tabak und Branntwein.

Noch einmal gab es grosses Lärm: ein Bororó war von den Kayapó getötet worden, dicht bei den letzten Häusern! Man brachte einen Mann mit blutender Nase, jammernd stützte sich über ihn die Gattin und untersuchte die Wunde. Wir thaten dergleichen. Ein paar Tropfen, eine kleine Schramme; der Verunglückte gab zu, er sei, als er ausgerutscht habe, mit einem spitzen Ochsenknochen geworfen worden. Ob ein feindlicher Freund sich einen schlechten Witz erlaubt, ob der Wurf wenn Kayapó gegolten hatte, ist ein Geheimnis der Schwerkraftwaffe geblieben.

Abb. 128. Bororó-Jungen.

Gegen 11 Uhr hielten wir es an der Zeit, uns zurückzuziehen. Neues war nicht mehr in Aussicht. Die Kadetten spielten Karten, die Häuptlinge waren schwer betrunken. Draussen war es auch ziemlich still geworden. Die Soldaten hatten es sich bequem gemacht, zuhelm lagen auf Fellen ihrer Frauen. Die Tatuschlinge [illegible] Sorte; im Wasserfalle [illegible] Ausdruck.

Schade. Verweilen wir uns einmal bei einem friedlichen Bilde. Die Bororó-Jungen waren meine speziellen Freunde. Von ihnen lernte ich die wichtigsten Elemente der Sprache kennen; sie waren ausserordentlich aufgeweckt, keck, ungeduldig wie kleine Naggerbuys und in körperlicher und geistiger Gewandtheit unserer verfeinerten Jugend Europa's entschieden über. Sie gefielen sich in ihrer Lehrerrolle ausserordentlich und drängten mich unablässig zum Aufschreiben: „*pupidje pupiu*", etwa „weiter auf dem Papiere". Bisen verdankte ich namentlich

2:Steinen SP7 Bacairi

die Kenntnis der Possessivpronomen für die Körperteile, die für jede Person verschieden lauten, und bald war es ihr Lieblingssport, in ihrer Sprache zu deklinieren «meine Nase, deine Nase, seine Nase, unsere Nase, eure Nase, ihre Nase» in allen möglichen Variationen. Besonders intelligent war die kleine Kunge in der Mitte auf Abbildung 128. Auch aus unserm Deutsch hörte er immer Brauch lernen. Es wurde der Ausdruck «papagaiemmiaig» gebraucht; zugleich erfand der Ausruf: „*papagaiemu*" — «wir baden». Als Ehrenreich eines Abends den Mond mit den Worten des Doktor Faust anredete und zu der Stelle kam: «in Deinem Thau gesund mich baden», fiel der Bengel sofort ein „*dein! ohne, da*" — «mein Haar, dein Haar, sein Haar». Dieses Spiel war um so origineller, als der Kadett Caldas, der Magister, der auch die Bororosprache beschreiben sollte, die unordentlichen Possessivpronomen, die ich suchte, für eitel Schwindel und für eine Erfindung der Jungen nach Art der Hühnersprache erklärte. Er blieb auch dabei, weil er in seinen Ansichten sehr zähe war. Urteilte er doch auch höchst abfällig über unsere Meinung, dass das Lateinische eine tote Sprache sei, denn es werde in Egypten gesprochen. Was aber viel schlimmer war, er behauptete, dass «Mulher» — der Himmel weiss, wo er die Kenntnis seiner einzigen deutschen Worten gewonnen hatte — ein französisches Wort sei, und bestand darauf, trotz der komischen Verzweiflung Ehrenreich's, der als geborener Sprachtheorer gegenüber solch unerhörtem Angriff auf das Berliner Adressbuch die Grundlage seines Denkens und Empfindens erschüttert fühlte.

Wenn Caldas, der für den Unterricht der Bororokaboclos eine besondere Zulage empfing, von seinen Schülern wenig lernte, so lernten diese doch wohl noch weniger von ihm. Es ist wahr, die Schlingel kamen nur ungern; sie kamen im Anfang sogar überhaupt nicht und wurden erst dadurch bezwungen, dass sich ein paar neugierige Väter mit in die Schule setzten. Die Art, wie die Widerstrebenden Morgens versammelt wurden, erinnerte lebhaft an das Spiel «Schweinchen in den Stall bringen». Dann waren sie auch äusserst unaufmerksam. Doch muss ich gestehen, die Methode hätte nicht schlimmer sein können. Ich dachte, die Kinder lernten zunächst einmal die portugiesischen Namen für die bekanntesten Dinge, Nutzpflanzen, Tiere, Geräte, an denen sie gewiss ihre Freude gehabt hätten, da sie mich zum freien Stückchen danach fragten. Ich dachte ferner, wenn sie dieselben besser lernen sollten — aber es ist wirklich ganz gleichgültig, wenn ich dachte, und besser, sich auf den Bericht zu beschränken.

Die Jungen hatten jeder einen von Caldas beschriebenen Bogen in der Hand. Darauf lasen wir — natürlich nicht sie — *al, al, il, al, ul, bal, bel, bil, bol, bul, dal, del, dil, dol, dul* u. s. w. über die ganze Seite. Der Lehrer sagte ihnen eine Zeile nach der andern vor, die Jungen mussten es nachsprechen. Stundenlang übten sie, ihr Papier heftig schwenkend, „*bal, bel, bil, bol, bul, dal, del, dil, dol, dul*". Weiter waren sie in mehreren Monaten allerdings noch nicht gekommen. Caldas selbst schien ungeduldig und fragte während der kurzen Zeit, die wir in der Vorstellung zubrachten, dreimal, wie viel Uhr es sei. Zwei Bororoväter sassen in der

Echo und murmelten auch zuweilen nicht ohne Andacht *bal, bel, bil, bol, bul.* Unter meinen sprachlichen Aufzeichnungen finde ich, dass die Bororó mir erzählten, »er lehrt die Jungen lesen«; der Satz lautet in wörtlicher Uebersetzung, dem Sachverhalt genau entsprechend, »er lehrt die Jungen auf das Papier sehen«. Caldas hoffte jedoch, bald weiter zu kommen; die Jungen seien eine ungezogene Gesellschaft, die zunächst Gehorsam lernen müssten. Er habe sie bisher mit einem Lineal auf die Finger geschlagen, wenn sie nicht aufpassten. Nun besitze er aber ein verbessertes System von *„palmatorios"*, die er uns auch in zwei Exemplaren vorwies. Sie sahen aus wie Holzlöffel, nur mit kreisförmig plattem Endstück, und dieses — hierin steckte die Verbesserung — war mit Löchern siebartig durchsetzt. Die Luft pfeife durch die Löcher und dadurch werde der Schmerz erhöht. Nun, ich hoffe, die neuen Palmatorios haben sich bewährt und die Jungen sind mittlerweile mindestens bis zum *zul, zel, zil, zol, zul* vorgedrungen. In unserer Zeit war das ganze Ergebnis immer nur *dal, del, dil, dol, dul.*

Die feindlichen Brüder. Am 9. April führte Arateba in der Betrunkenheit wieder eins seiner Spektakelstücke auf. Er reisst einer Witwe, die ihm nicht zu Willen sein will, zornentbrannt das Haus ein. Mit dieser Arbeit wird er auch leicht fertig, obgleich er bei jedem Ruck hintenüber zu schlagen droht. Sein Bruder und zwei einsichtige Freunde nehmen ihn auf die Schultern und bringen ihn nach seiner Hütte. Dort hat er eine Viertelstunde das heulende Elend, rafft sich aber, nachdem man ihn mit kaltem Wasser übergossen, wieder auf und erscheint vor der Kommandantur. Wie im Käfig ein brüllender Löwe schreitet er auf und nieder, und fordert den Bruder, den er vor allem Volk mit Schmähreden überschüttet, zum Kampf heraus. Der Bruder springt auf ihn los und hüpft gelockt vor ihm eine Weile hin und her; dann umfassen sie sich mit wütenden Griffen. Arateba wird viermal auf den Boden geworfen. Da mischt sich Maria, ihre Schwester, entschlossen hinein und umschlingt ihn so kräftig, dass er sich nicht zu rühren vermag. Man führt die Brüder in verschiedenen Richtungen ab. Aus Arateba's Hütte schallt wüstes Zanken, wieder erscheint der schwankende Sieger — er hat das reine Verbrechergesicht und obendrein den Kopf glatt geschoren — und dringt in die Hütte, wo man den Bruder versteckt hielt. Klatschende Schläge, tobende Stimmen, allgemeine Rauferei. Der aufgeregte Haufe, in dessen Mitte Mogoyukuri's Gestalt hervorragt, kommt nach draussen, mehrere ringen miteinander, Arateba liegt wieder auf der Erde, die Weiber stürzen sich nun mit Macht in das Getümmel, Maria überwältigt den Betrunkenen, er wird weggeschleppt, Alles lacht, man geht zum Ranchão zurück und Mehrere sagen nicht mit Unrecht: *„pipa**) *peyu"*, »der Schnaps ist eine schlechte Sache«.

Disziplin. Wie wäre es, wo solche Auftritte an der Tagesordnung waren, anders möglich gewesen, als dass auch eine schädliche Rückwirkung auf die Sol-

*) portugiesisch *pipa*, Tropfen. Vulgäre Bezeichnung des Branntweins.

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v. d. Steinen. Zentral-Brasilien.

[Facing p. 464]

dann erfolgte? Die Leute waren erbittert, weil der Indianer müssig ging und sie alle Arbeit thun mussten, weil der Indianer den Branntwein bis zum gröbsten Missbrauch umsonst erhielt und sie für eine Flasche 2 Milreis bezahlen mussten oder zuweilen so viel als in der Stadt, weil der Indianer den Offizieren ein verächtliches *jôko de pau* ungestraft in's Gesicht sagen durfte und sie für ihre Vergehen in die „Zadra"*) wandern mussten. Im Uebrigen war der gutmütige Elias, der das System nicht ändern konnte, schuldlos — ja er war z. B. nachsichtig genug, einem Mann zu verzeihen, der mit dem Messer auf ihn losging. Natürlich wurde der Sold im Kartenspiel verjubelt. Einer hatte, als der Löhnungstag kam, 100 Milreis im *Flute* o von oder *Triste* o von verloren. Hatten sie kein Geld, so verkauften sie ihr Hausgerät für einen Spottpreis.

Ihr Hass gegen den Verwalter steigerte sich zu einem kleinen Aufruhr, als einer ihrer Kameraden gefangen gesetzt wurde wegen der Verleumdung, dass jener seiner Hausgenossin Anträge gemacht und ihr ein neues Kleid aus seinem Magazin versprochen habe. Sie wollten das Arrestlokal stürmen und Ribeiroso, «dieses Familienvater», erschiessen. Es gelang, sie mit dem Hinweis auf Duarte's bevorstehende Ankunft, der den Streit entscheiden solle, zu beruhigen. Ribeiroso war aber sehr aufgeregt. Er habe dem Mädchen nur guten Tag gesagt. Früher, das wolle er nicht leugnen, hatte er sich dergleichen erlaubt, jetzt aber sei dies «das Werk nur Ideal».

Duarte's Ankunft. Am 11. April gegen Mittag lauter Geschrei und grosse Aufregung: *„Aqueles, Aqueles!"* Aus dem Walde kamen sie hervor — in keiner Operette wird Schöneres geboten. 14 Bacairi, einer hinter dem andern, barfuss, in schlotterigem Matrosenanzug, der mit roter Litze eingefasst war, in breitrandigen hellen Strohhüten, unter denen das lange schwarze Haar völlig hervorquoll, mit dicken roten Troddelquasten und flatternden roten Schleifen, darauf zu lesen *„Colonia Thereza Christina"*. Säbel mit verzierten Griffen und Griffen, grosse runde Schnupftaschen, vervollständigt ein aufgeputzter Sonnenschirm. Und dahinter Duarte zu Pferde und drei Häuptlinge hoch zu Maultier in marinblauer Uniform mit handbreiten roten Galons, die scharf gegen die blossen Füsse abstachen, ein Gewehr in der Hand und auf dem Armel ein blinkendes Messingschild mit der Inschrift *„Fidelissimo de patria"*. Es lebe Diana Carmina, die Prinzessin! Denn das ist die Kapelle der excellentissima Senhora! Prächtig genug sahen die strammen Burschen aus, wie sie im Sonnenschein dahergeschritten kamen und recht via auf das Hauptgebäude hinmarschierten; unverwandt starrten sie mit furchtbar ernsten Mienen geradeaus, wirklich «unverwandt», denn sie gönnten sich nicht einmal einen Seitenblick den laut lachenden Weibern und Kindern, die sich vor Freude wie toll anstellten.

Auch im Zeremonier bewahrten sie die feierliche Ruhe. Wie Fremde sassen sie auf den Bänken um den Tisch und an der Wand, ein grellen Gegensatz zu den

*) Das Arrestlokal. Eigentlich Schuldthurm.

laut lärmenden nackten Stammesgenossen. Vier Frauen namentlich wehklagten zum Erbarmen, das Gesicht in Tücher gehüllt und berichteten über die Geschehnisse seit der Trennung; die Aufgeregteste zerschnitt sich die Haut auf Brust, Armen und Beinen und wand sich in wüstem Jammer mit dem nassen, lehmgelben, blutüberströmten Leib vor dem in seinem Theaterkostüm steif auf der Bank sitzenden Gatten.

Am 12. April fügten dem Gehöfte der Kolonie noch zwei mächtige mit Wasser beladene Karren, deren jeder von einem Dutzend Ochsen gezogen wurde. Für die Soldaten trat eine Veränderung ein, indem im Abendbefehl bekannt gegeben wurde, dass der Verkauf von Branntwein, seitemal beim Eintreffen des Leutnants Viale betrunken gewesen sein, von jetzt ab aufgehoben werde.

Nachdem dergleichen Geschäfte erledigt waren, wurde Duarte am nächsten Tage erst eigentlich von seinen Untergebenen bewillkommnet. Zunächst beim Frühstück mit gutem Portwein. Zwei Kadetten tranken zwar aus einem Glase, doch an Stoff war kein Mangel. Duarte selbst war sehr mässig mit Rücksicht auf seine Leber. Dem Wein folgte eine Kollektion von Flaschen bellen Exportbiers, deren Schild uns heimatlich ansprach: die Brauerei war in Hannover. Sechs Toaste feierten Duarte, als Paraguayoldaten, als Familienvater u. s. w.; immer wieder hat man ihm eine neue Fülle von Lebensprüchen zu, die er alle mit freundlichem „*Obrigado*" «danke sehr» beantwortete.

Doch war diese Sitzung nur das Vorspiel zu der «Serenade» am Abend: Cabiás Violine, Duarte Gitarre, Idelfonso Cassi-Geige. Es wurde ein hübscher, heiterer Abend, und er erfüllte uns mit höchstem Respekt vor der brasilischen Trinkfestigkeit, normals hatte ich geglaubt, dass im Sertão so wacker gezecht werden könne. Zwei umfangreiche Herkules wurden bis auf den letzten Tropfen, ehe der Branntwein kam, dessen Inhalt entleigt. Endlosen auch aber strömte der Kaffeebus. Ich wahnte mein Hoch dem Begründer der Bororó-Kolonie, dem Fazendeiro Galdino Pimentel, dessen Schuld es nicht ist, wenn später falsche Wege eingeschlagen wurden, und verfiel auf diese Weise das Dilemma, zu lügen oder unhöflich zu erscheinen. Duarte nahm man auch das Wort und sprach recht gut. Mit der Regierung war er unzufrieden, es kam auf Rechnung des «Governo ingrato», was an der Vollkommenheit der Zustände noch fehlte. Es sei auch unrecht, dass Elseo noch nicht avanciert sei, allein er selbst habe abraten müssen, dass sein junger Freund, wie vorgeschlagen, die andere Kolonie Isabel übernehme, weil er sich durch einen Fehler der ganze Karriere verderben könne! Es war in der That für den Unbeteiligten unerhörwürdig, zu sehen, wie sehr die Kadetten seiner väterlichen Fürsorge, die nur ihm selbst zu Gute kam, vertrauten und ihm wahrhaft ergeben schienen. Ich schätze die Teilnehmer des Abends auf die Zahl von 30–35 und rechne deren über 20 auf Duarte's Wohlergehen. Ganz köstlich war der gutmütige Elseo. Er benutzte meiner die redegewandten Bleifüssen, für ihn zu sprechen, erhob sich nach einiger Zeit aber auch selbst, indem er entschlossen

anfing: „*mio tende o dezida intelligenzia*", ja, tauchte nun, als das Eis gebrochen war, wieder und wieder, jedesmal beginnend mit der Entschuldigung, dass er nicht im Besitz der nötigen Geisteskräfte sei, und jedesmal die *condjaouria* der Anwesenden zum Schluss anrufend, um *debaixo de todo enthusiasmo* nach der Reihe einzelne Familienmitglieder Duarte's, die Gattin in Cuyabá, den Bruder und namentlich die älteste Tochter hoch leben zu lassen. Je mehr Bier getrunken wurde, desto ergreifender und ernster wurden die Reden. Der Apotheker war Poet, er wusste gar Vieles von Blumen aller Art und verglich den ungeschlachten Kadetten Joaquim mit einer Kompe, er feierte die Frau, die — erster Teil — nur ein Kind, und für ihn — zweiter Teil — eine Gottheit sei, die uns Männern immerdar ein unergründlicher Geheimnis bleibe. Zur leisen Begleitmusik der Guitarre rezitierte Cablas schwungvolle Gedichte; die schönen Worte jagten sich oft mit unheimlicher Geschwindigkeit und ebenso schnell musste unser Empfinden vom Zarten zum Pathetischen, vom Starken zum Süssen überspringen. Tiefe Rührung bemächtigte sich Aller. Duarte wurde als Vater umarmt, Flávio kniete vor ihm nieder und erflehte seinen Segen, was der Vater aber mild mit einem „*não não*" an Freunde, nicht diese Töne abwehrte.

Noch habe ich der Bororó nicht Erwähnung gethan. Allein sie fehlten keineswegs und waren ganz bei der Sache. Zum ersten Mal sah ich einen andern Indianerhäuptling eine Flasche deutschen Exporthiers entkorken. Sie sprachen dem Saft der Gerste und des Zuckerrohrs redlich zu und tranken weit mehr als sie vertragen konnten, sie schwatzten in die sentimentalsten Reden, was aber Niemanden kümmerte, eifrig hinein, sie hoben ihre Flaschen, wenn die Gläser zusammenklangen, und stiessen mit an, sie erschöpften sich und uns mit zärtlichen Umarmungen. Mogoyokuri setzte sich auch hin und sang ein dröhnendes Lied und spielte die Guitarre, durch deren Saiten er wie ein Tapir durch den Dschungel fuhr. Nur die indianischen Frauen fehlten bei der Serenade. Zwei junge Personen freilich waren vor dem Beginn von Mogoyokuri ordnungsgemäss in Duarte's Zimmer gebracht worden. Duett schauten sie am nächsten Morgen zum Fenster hinaus und liessen sich bewundern, Schildpattkämme im Haar, Talmiketten um den Hals, rosafarbene Ringe um das Handgelenk und gewissermassen gekleidet in lange Hemden, die mit einem mächtigen, bonbonfarbenen Palmettenmuster bedeckt waren.

Ich darf hier wohl meinen Geschichten schliessen. Die Bilder werden sich nur wiederholen. Bis zu unserer Abreise am 18. April hatten wir nicht Gelegenheit zu bemerken, dass an unsern ungünstigen ersten Eindrücken die Abwesenheit des Leiters der Katechese schuld gewesen wäre. Ganz im Gegenteil. Duarte ging baden, machte einen Spaziergang zur Ziegelei oder dergleichen, kurz war er den Tag über in seiner Stube, in der sich immer zahlreiche Bororó aufhielten. Alle bettelten. Die einen erhielten Etwas, die andern erhielten Nichts. Betrunkene waren immer darunter. Für einen Nachmittag trugen die Soldaten die Holzer und die Palmblätter herbei, die sie im Wald beschafft hatten. Ein paar Bororó halfen

auch einmal ein wenig, weil sie Schnaps dafür erhielten. Wenn Nichtsthun und Zeitvertreib von Beamten und Indianern der Zweck der Kolonie war, so konnte sie als ein leuchtendes Vorbild gelten für alle andern.

III. Beobachtungen.

Anthropologisches. Tracht (Haar, Sprache, Künstliche Verletzungen, Bemalung, Schmuck). Die Arbeit. Jagd und Fischfang. Waffen. Arbeiten im Hause und Technik. Nahrung; Einwanderung durch die Bororó. Tanz und Spiel. Musikinstrumente; Schwirrhölzer. Zeichenkunst. Recht und Heirat (Stämme der Familie und des Männerhauses). Geburt; Namen. Totemismus. Stuhl und Feuerbrett nach dem Tode. Himmlische Flüsse; Sternbeobachtung.

Anthropologisches.

Körperhöhe

20 Männer: Min. 151,2 Max. 167,0 Mittel 159,8 — 6 Frauen: Min. 148,2 Max. 156,2 Mittel 154,4

Ein auffallender Unterschied von der Grösse der Schingú-Indianer! Die Bororó-Frauen entsprechen ungefähr den Bakairí-Männern. Das Mittel der 36 gemessenen Bororó beider Geschlechter beträgt 170,6, welche Zahl jedoch bei dem Mißverhältniß von 20 Männern zu 6 Frauen keinen Wert hat. Nach dem Topinard'schen Schema sind die Bororó Menschen hohen Wuchses, da deren untere Grenze 170,0 beträgt. In der von Topinard*) mitgetheilten Tabelle von Männer-Durchschnittszahlen würden die Bororó unter den 10 Volksstämmen hohen Wuchses die dritte Stelle einnehmen, von den Tehuelchen Patagoniens (178,1) und den Polynesiern (176,7) übertroffen werden und mit den Irokesen (173,5) fast gleich übereinstimmen.

Klafterweite : Körperhöhe 100.

20 Männer: Min. 113,2 Max. 109,9 Mittel 104,7 — 6 Frauen: Min. 101,4 Max. 97,4 Mittel 100,2

Das Maximum der Männer — 0,2 hatte der größte gemessene Bororó, der bei 191,2 Körperhöhe 191,0 klafterte. Bei 2 Frauen von den 6 war die Klafterweite geringer als die Körperhöhe: — 0,2 bei 156,2 Körperhöhe und — 4,2 bei 160,7 Körperhöhe.

Schulterbreite. A. Körperhöhe 100.

19 Männer: Min. 25,0 Max. 21,6 Mittel 23,8 — 6 Frauen: Min. 21,6 Max. 20,4 Mittel 21,8

B. Abwinkel.

19 Männer: Min. 42,3 Max. 38,5 Mittel 40,8 — 6 Frauen: Min. 38,0 Max. 32,5 Mittel 35,8

Das Maximum von B. gehört dem jungen Sohn Mogyokuaiu (Tafel 28), der mit 191,2 die größte Körperhöhe und für A. die Zahl 23,7 hatte. Die entsprechende Zahl für absolute Schulterbreite ist 45,5 bei einer relativen von 23,6. Vergleichen wir der Kalapalo-Indianer, Seite 162, so ist das absolute Bororó-Mittel 41,6 größer als das größte Mittel 41,4 dort der Mehinakú und das relative Bororó-Mittel 23,9 kleiner als das kleinste Mittel 24,1 dort der Nahuquá.

*) Anthropologie. Übersetzung von R. Neuhauss nach der III. französischen Auflage. Zweite Ausgabe. S. 500. Leipzig 1888.

Brustumfang. A. Körperhöhe = 100.

19 Männer: Max. 58.4 Min. 51.4 Mittl. 55.1 6 Frauen: Max. 55.8 Min. 47.0 Mittl. 50.2

B. Absolut.

19 Männer: Max. 100.8 Min. 90.0 Mittl. 95.4 6 Frauen: Max. 93.3 Min. 70.0 Mittl. 84.5

Vergleichen wir auch dieses Maß wie das vorige mit denen der Kulisehu-Indianer, Seite 162, 163, so finden wir wiederum das größte absolute Bororó-Mittel 95.4 größer als das größte Mittel der Mehinakú mit 95.1 und das kleinste relative Bororó-Mittel 55.1 gleich dem kleinsten Mittel dort der Nahuquá mit 55.1.

Kopfhöhe. Körperhöhe = 100.

18 Männer: Max. 19.4 Min. 12.8 Mittl. 14.8 6 Frauen: Max. 16.1 Min. 13.0 Mittl. 14.3

Zwei Männer haben sehr hohe Zahlen. Berechnen wir das Mittel ohne das Maximum 19.4 (37.0 cm) und die nächstgroße Zahl 16.8 (31 cm), so erhalten die 16 Männer ein um 0.4 geringeres Mittel mit nur 14.2, das kleiner ist als das Mittel der 6 Frauen.

Kopfumfang. Körperhöhe = 100.

20 Männer: Max. 34.4 Min. 31.1 Mittl. 32.8 6 Frauen: Max. 36.6 Min. 31.0 Mittl. 33.4

Das am Schingú gemessene Maximum der Männer — bei einem Trumai — betrug 32.4, vgl. Seite 163. Das Mittel der Bororó 32.9 ist niedriger als das niedrigste Mittel der dort beobachteten Serien, 33.7 der Kamayurá, und zwar ist die Differenz 0.8 genau gleich der Differenz zwischen dem niedrigsten und dem höchsten Mittel der Kulisehustämme (Kamayurá 33.7, Auetó 34.5).

Langenbreiten-Index des Kopfes.

20 Männer: Max. 85.6 Min. 75.0 Mittl. 80.8 6 Frauen: Max. 79.8 Min. 70.1 Mittl. 75.7

10 Männer unter dem Mittel: 75.0, 76.4, 77.0, 77.6, 77.8, 78.4, 79.6, 80.1, 80.3, 80.3, und 10 Männer über dem Mittel: 80.9, 81.3, 81.8, 82.3, 82.5, 84.0, 84.4, 84.8, 85.5, 85.6.

3 Frauen unter dem Mittel: 70.1, 76.6, 77.6, und 3 Frauen über dem Mittel: 77.9, 78.3, 79.8.

Ich habe die sämtlichen Einzelzahlen angeführt, um zu zeigen, daß die Mittelzahlen in diesem Fall ein richtiges Bild geben. Bei den Maßen ist der Abstand von Maximum und Minimum so gewaltig, daß man hieraus vielleicht gewinnen hätte. Das Frauen-Maximum ist niedriger als das Männer-Mittel und der Unterschied für die Geschlechter hat ein wesentlich anderes Aussehen als am Kulisehu, vgl. Seite 164. In dem Mittel schließen sich die Bororó-Männerzahlen den höchsten am Kulisehu an und werden nur durch den Index der Trumai 81.1 übertroffen.

Verhältnis von Kopflänge zur Ohrhöhe. Größte Länge des Kopfes = 100.

20 Männer: Max. 73.4 Min. 61.3 Mittl. 65.8 6 Frauen: Max. 69.4 Min. 62.1 Mittl. 66.2

Kieferwinkel. Hauptmaß—Kinn = 100.

19 Männer: Max. 65.0 Min. 51.7 Mittl. 58.3 6 Frauen: Max. 65.3 Min. 52.4 Mittl. 58.4

Jochbogen. Hauptmaß—Kinn = 100.

19 Männer: Max. 65.2 Min. 52.8 Mittl. 58.5 6 Frauen: Max. 64.0 Min. 50.3 Mittl. 58.3

Wangenbeinhöcker. Hauptmaß—Kinn = 100.

19 Männer: Max. 57.6 Min. 45.7 Mittl. 48.0 6 Frauen: Max. 49.1 Min. 42.7 Mittl. 46.8

Mittelgesicht. Nasenwurzel—Kinn = 100.

20 Männer: Max. 69,4 Min. 53,8 Mittl. 60,9 6 Frauen: Max. 68,0 Min. 58,0 Mittl. 62,3

Nasenhöhe. Nasenlänge = 100.

18 Männer: Max. 112,5 Min. 92,0 Mittl. 100,1 6 Frauen: Max. 111,0 Min. 102,3 Mittl. 106,8

Nasenbreite. Nasenhöhe = 100.

18 Männer: Max. 108,0 Min. 77,8 Mittl. 89,0 6 Frauen: Max. 95,1 Min. 73,3 Mittl. 83,2

Schulterhöhe. Körperhöhe = 100.

20 Männer: Max. 84,0 Min. 70,4 Mittl. 81,1 6 Frauen: Max. 83,3 Min. 80,3 Mittl. 82,0

Nabelhöhe. Körperhöhe = 100.

20 Männer: Max. 63,0 Min. 57,4 Mittl. 59,5 6 Frauen: Max. 63,0 Min. 58,0 Mittl. 60,4

Symphysenhöhe. Körperhöhe = 100.

19 Männer: Max. 53,0 Min. 47,1 Mittl. 50,9 6 Frauen: Max. 53,1 Min. 47,4 Mittl. 49,8

Darmbeinkammhöhe. Körperhöhe = 100.

20 Männer: Max. 62,3 Min. 53,8 Mittl. 58,8 6 Frauen: Max. 60,7 Min. 58,1 Mittl. 60,1

Armlänge. Körperhöhe = 100.

19 Männer: Max. 32,5 Min. 43,0 Mittl. 46,3 6 Frauen: Max. 46,2 Min. 42,9 Mittl. 44,8

Handlänge. A. Absolut.

19 Männer: Max. 19,1 Min. 16,1 Mittl. 17,8 6 Frauen: Max. 17,4 Min. 16,0 Mittl. 16,8

B. Körperhöhe = 100.

19 Männer: Max. 11,7 Min. 9,5 Mittl. 10,4 6 Frauen: Max. 11,3 Min. 9,8 Mittl. 10,4

C. Armlänge = 100.

20 Männer: Max. 24,1 Min. 19,3 Mittl. 22,1 6 Frauen: Max. 24,3 Min. 21,7 Mittl. 23,2

Langenbreiten-Index der Hand. Handlänge = 100.

19 Männer: Max. 50,5 Min. 41,6 Mittl. 45,0 5 Frauen: Max. 46,9 Min. 41,1 Mittl. 44,3

Trochanterhöhe. Körperhöhe = 100.

20 Männer: Max. 53,0 Min. 46,4 Mittl. 50,0 6 Frauen: Max. 53,6 Min. 47,9 Mittl. 50,0

Fußlänge. A. Absolut.

20 Männer: Max. 28,5 Min. 24,0 Mittl. 26,8 6 Frauen: Max. 27,9 Min. 25,1 Mittl. 26,0

B. Körperhöhe = 100.

20 Männer: Max. 17,4 Min. 14,1 Mittl. 15,8 6 Frauen: Max. 15,2 Min. 14,6 Mittl. 14,8

Langenbreiten-Index des Fußes. Fußlänge = 100.

20 Männer: Max. 43,3 Min. 30,8 Mittl. 35,4 6 Frauen: Max. 38,0 Min. 30,1 Mittl. 35,4

Fußhöhe. Trochanterhöhe = 100.

17 Männer: Max. 6,1 Min. 3,1 Mittl. 3,8 5 Frauen: Max. 3,9 Min. 4,8 Mittl. 3,4

Die Haut hatte eine ausgesprochene Lehmfarbe, doch kamen alle Nuancen von hellem, gelblichem (Wangi) bis zu dunklem, fast violettem (Brust) Tonen vor. Im Allgemeinen pendelt am besten Radde 33 m. Sein etwas rötlicher, auch (die Wangi desgleichen) mit 33 o und mit 33 o bestimmt.

Bei einigen Individuen fand sich eine Hautaffektion, die am stärksten bei Meyenduwi's Frau ausgeprägt war. Hier waren frei nur das Gesicht, das Hypogastrium abwärts der Nabels, wo die Haut bedeckt war, und der Fußrücken;

sonst zeigte sich die Epidermis durchsetzt von schuppigen Riffen, die sich in konzentrischen Windungen, Kreisen, Ellipsen, ungefähr der Zeichnung eines Achatschliffes vergleichbar, hinzogen.

Haar schwarz und ebenso häufig straff und schlicht als wellig, seltener — bei zwei von 20 Männer — lockig. Barthaar, wo nicht ausgerupft, spärlich an Kinn und Oberlippe.

Kopf allgemein hoch, gewöhnlich breit, mehrfach rund. Leisten des Hinterhauptkopfes kräftig entwickelt. Stirn niedrig, bei den Männern häufiger schräg, bei den Frauen häufiger gerade, nur ausnahmsweise hoch und gewölbt, oft behaart. Starke Wülste, zumal bei den Männern liefern ein auffallendes Merkmal. Gesicht durchgängig hoch und breit, selten hoch und schmal, meist oval, selten rund, ausnahmsweise quadratisch. Wangenbeine vortretend.

Iris dunkel kaffebraun, ausnahmsweise hellbraun. Abstand der Augen gross. Lidspalte häufig schräg, aber in der Mehrzahl der Fälle horizontal, durchgängig niedrig, mandelförmig, ausnahmsweise geschlitzt. Ohrläppchen klein oder sehr klein, mehrfach verwachsen. Nase: Wurzel öfter breit als schmal, öfter eingesenkt als vortretend, Rücken durchgängig breit, meist gerade oder leicht gewölbt, mehrfach auch sattelförmig, Flügel breit, gelegentlich dachförmig und bei den Männern kräftig, bei den Frauen fein, Spitze mässig stumpf, Löcher nach vorn gerichtet, rund. Lippen voll, geschwungen vortretend. Zähne regelmässig, massiv, opak, meist gelblich, doch nicht selten weiss, oft stark und bis zur Hälfte abgekaut. Prognathie mässig; Kinn selten weichend.

Brüste der Frauen, die geboren haben, hängend, mit grossem Warzenhof. Genitalien der Männer klein. Das Praeputium war durch die Manipulationen mit dem Stulp künstlich verlängert.

Hände und Füsse verhältnismässig klein; kurze Zeigefinger. Umfang des Oberschenkels gemessen bei einem Mann mit 1730 Körperhöhe 50 cm, der Waden 35 cm. Längste Zehe: bei 17 Männern 9 mal II, 7 mal I, 1 mal I = II, bei 5 Frauen 3 mal II, 2 mal I.

Tracht. Wimpern, Brauen, Barthaar und Körperhaar wurde ausgerupft oder rasiert. Die Wimpern begann man jetzt bei einzelnen Kindern stehen zu lassen, was ihnen nach unserm Geschmack zu grossem Vorteil gereicht.

Das Haupthaar wurde auf sehr verschiedene Weise, aber bei Männern und Frauen gleich willkürlich behandelt. Die Tonsur, die man nach dem Namen «Coroados» erwarten sollte, beschränkt sich auf eine gelegentlich vorhandene von 1 cm Durchmesser. Vielleicht rührt der Name von den grossen Federkronen her. Witwer und Witwe trugen das Haar kurz geschnitten. Die allgemeinste und ursprüngliche Art für beide Geschlechter war die, dass das Haar nur Stirn gekämmt und hier rechtschräg ausgeschnitten wurde, hinten aber frei herabhing, vergl. Tafel 16. Neben den Ohren wurde gelegentlich auch eine Strähne geschnitten oder ein Bündel pinselförmig zusammengebunden, zuweilen das Haar von den Männern hinten in einen Knoten geschlungen, oder ein

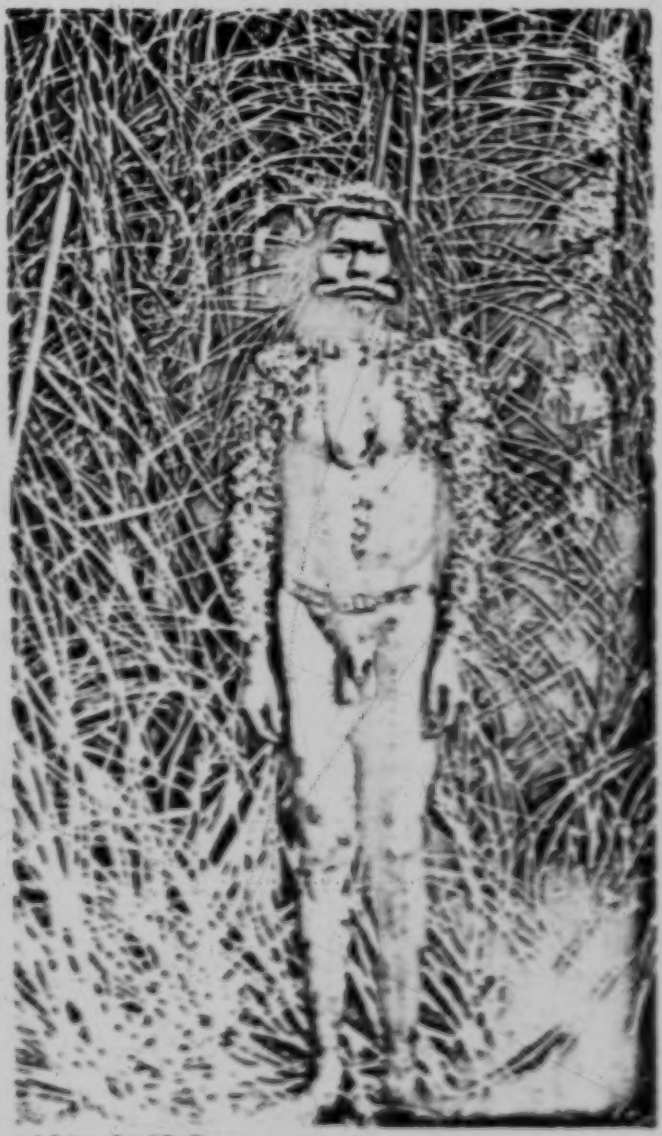
Bastband um den Kopf gewunden. Frauen, die sich brasilischen Sitten zugänglich erwiesen, scheitelten das Haar in der Mitte. Auch der eine oder andere Mann ging mit losem, ungeschnittenem und in der Mitte gescheiteltem Haar. Das Haar wurde jetzt meist mit der Scheere geschnitten, nach der alten Methode zwischen zwei Muschels. Der Kamm bestand aus spitzen Stäbchen, die an beiden Enden zugespitzt und in dem mittleren Teil durch rohes Flechtwerk mit einander verbunden waren; das Flechtwerk lag zwischen zwei an den überstehenden Enden zusammengebundenen Querleisten.

Die Männer trugen fast ausnahmslos eine Hüftschnur. Aber der eine oder andere ging doch ohne sie. Den Stulp, *inubi* (*u* Oannapalme, *bu* Eier, Scrotum), von den Brasilianern, *penis* genannt, habe ich bereits Seite 192 (mit Festfahne) abgebildet und besprochen. Man kann sich das Modell aus einem etwa 3 cm breiten und 14 cm langen Streifen Papier sehr einfach herstellen, indem man die beiden Enden einen Ring bildend übereinander legt, dann aber, das eine um 90° dreht und kurz unter das andere einschlägt. Wurde ein neuer oder ein etwas enger Stulp angelegt, so wurde das Praeputium vor der Glans mit einer Schnur umschlungen und durchgeholt; es wurde durch diese Manipulation und das Tragen des Stulps ziemlich stark gestreckt und verlängert. Die Fahne ist ein seitlich eingeschobener Strohstreifen bis 20 cm Länge. Auch der gefangene Clemente erhielt einen Stulp, und er klagte, dass damit Schmerzen und Schwellung verbunden gewesen seien. Die Langsdorff'sche Expedition berichtet von den Bororó des Campos aus dem Jahre 1827, dass «die Männer das Praeputium nach Art der Guató mit Embira-Bast, den sie als Gürtel tragen, anziehen pflegen; andere bedecken es mit einem Blattfutteral (*cartucho de folhas*)»*). Waehneldt's Bemerkung, der ebenfalls Zeugnis ablegt, dass die Hüftschnur ohne Stulp wie am Kulisehu genügt, habe ich bereits S. 130 zitiert. Rohde**) drückt sich inkorrekt aus, wenn er sagt: «die Männer gehen vollständig nackend, nur den Penis bekleiden sie mit einem Futteral aus Schilf, die Vorhaut binden sie zusammen, das Glied ist aufrecht am Körper befestigt.» Denn die Schilfetterale, die er dem Berliner Museum für Völkerkunde übergeben hat, sind genau die beschriebenen Stulpe, die nur insofern den Penis bekleiden, als die Glans ein Teil von ihm ist und der Rest in das Scrotum zurückgedrängt erscheint. Das Einklemmen in die Hüftschnur haben wir am S. Lourenço nicht gesehen, es wird auch nur für die behauptet, die keinen Stulp tragen. Daraus folgt, dass der Zweck des «Anbindens», beim Laufen anbindert zu sein, den Waehneldt anführt, nur ein Nebenzweck gewesen sein kann. Der eigentliche Zweck, den Hüftschnur und Stulp in gleicher Weise erfüllen, ist die Verlängerung des Praeputiums; nur nach der Methode verschieden, ist er bei der grossen Mehrzahl aller brasilianischen Stämme beobachtet worden.

*) Revista Trimensal 38 II, Seite 245.

**) Originalmitteilungen aus der Südsee. Hamburg 1. 8. 04.

TAF. XXVII.



BORORÓ MIT FEDERHAUBE

[facing p. 192]

Von den Frauen der Bororó meldet der Berichterstatter der Langsdorff'schen Expedition: »Die Frauen haben einen seltsamen Gebrauch, ich weiss nicht, ob um sich zu bedecken, in welchem Fall sie von der biblischen Absicht weit entfernt bleiben. Zunächst möchte ich sagen, dass sie aus diesem Grunde oder aus irgend einem andern die Taille mit einem 10 Zoll breiten Stück Baumrinde einschnüren und zwar mit solcher Gewalt, dass das Fleisch in der Höhe des Magens und über Leib und Hüften einen Vorsprung bildet, was dazu beiträgt, sie zu verunstalten; aber um auf den seltsamen Gebrauch zurückzukommen, habe ich auszusagen, dass von diesem Gürtel vorn und hinten zwei Stränge (*Abowetag*) von 2–3 Zoll Breite herabhängen.« Bei Waehacidt tragen die Frauen ein Stück Tapiriell, 1½ Spanne breit, um den Leib gebunden, »von ihm geht eine Baumrinde, ½ Spanne breit, aus, die ihre Geschlechtsteile bedeckt.« Kolbe schreibt: »Die Weiber gehen ebenfalls nackend, das einzige Bekleidungsstück ist ein schmaler Streifen Kakteenrinde, der nur den geringsten Teil der Schamteile verhüllt.«

Abb. 189. Weibe und Unehrbare. Bororó.

Betreffs unserer Bororófrauen habe ich Seite 193 ausgeführt, dass sie an einer Hüftschnur zwei 3–4 Finger breite, grüne und während der Menses eine ebenmäßig schwarze Baumrinde tragen, dass sie statt der Hüftschnur auch ein Stück harter Rinde gebrauchten, über das die

T-Binde vorn nach unten hinab und hinten nach oben hinauflief, beides noch durch eine Schnur oder Bastumwicklung gesichert. Jüngere Frauen schienen das »Korset« der Huftschnur vorzuziehen; der Leib war in dem starren Rindenpanzer fest eingespannt.

Der graue Bast stammte von dem Jangadeira-Baum (*Jangada* = Floss), dessen leichtes Holz zum Bau von Flössen gebraucht, der auch Embira branca genannt wird und dessen botanischer Name (aus der Familie der Tiliaceen) *Apeiba cyclobaluria* ist. Der schwarze Rindengürtel rührte von dem Jiquitiba- oder Topfbaum her, *Lecythis*, einer schönen Zierde des Urwalds mit gewaltiger Krone. Ein dickes Stück Rinde wurde von mittelgrossen Stämmen abgeschlagen und eine Woche ins Wasser gelegt. Dann liess sich innen ein sehr feiner, weicher Bast abziehen, der die hygienischen Binden lieferte. Er wurde in faulem Schlamm (Igiwu des Tupi) schwarz gefärbt. Die gröberen harten Aussenlagen boten den Stoff für die Gürtel, die eine Breite bis zu 28 cm hatten. Häufig waren schon 3–4 jährige Kinder, die sehr pomirlich darin aussahen, mit dem Gürtel angethan.

Nach dem, was wir gesehen haben, sollte man den Rindengürtel nur für einen Ersatz der Huftschnur halten, dessen festes Umschliessen, so lange die Mode nicht in Uebertreibung verfiel, vielleicht angenehm empfunden wurde. Nach der Langsdorff'schen Beschreibung jedoch erscheint der Gürtel als die Hauptsache, da Stränge frei herabhingen und keine zu befestigende Binde vorhanden war. An den Zweck der Verhüllung glaubt der Beobachter selbst nicht. Es war damit auch bei unsern Bororófrauen sehr schwach bestellt, und, was ihre Schamhaftigkeit anlangt, so blieb diese nicht nur teilweise, sondern ganz verborgen, oder richtiger, es war das offenbare Gegenteil davon vorhanden und war auch von Haus aus, ganz abgesehen von der Liederlichkeit der brasilischen Zivilsatoren, in reichem Masse vorhanden. Ich halte es nach Allem für nicht unmöglich, dass der breite Gürtel aus Rinde oder Tapirhaut ursprünglich einen andern Zweck hatte. Die Frauen trugen mit Palmnissen so schwer beladene Kiepen aus dem Walde heim, dass sie schier unter der Last zusammenzubrechen schienen und nicht zu gehen, sondern nur zu trippeln vermochten; dabei ruhte das Ende der Kiepe im Kreuz dem Gürtelstreifen auf, und dieser schützte hier die Haut ähnlich wie die Bastringe die Schultern der Kulisehu-Indianer beim Kanutransport. Zumal ein Stück Tapirhaut musste als Unterlage vortreffliche Dienste thun. Mittlerweile aber war daraus ein renommistisch eng geschnallter Panzer geworden.

Die Ohrläppchen wurden bei beiden Geschlechtern durchbohrt, indem geschah dies bei den Knaben im Alter von 8 bis 10 Jahren, wenn er anfing, sich ernstlich in der Jägergeschicklichkeit zu üben, von Seiten des Vaters, und bei den Mädchen, wie wir sehen werden, in ganz andern Sinn von Seiten des zukünftigen Mannes.

Die durchbohrte Unterlippe war das Stammesmerkmal der Männer. Ich habe erzählt, wie unser Antonio, den eine Frau als den ihr geweihten

Sohn reklamierte, daraufhin untersucht wurde. Waehneldt giebt von den Bororó des Jauru an, dass Einige auch eine Art »Zahnstocher« in der Nasenscheidewand tragen; in der durchbohrten Unterlippe fand sich bei einer Anzahl der Schmuck von Holzstücken. Unsere Bororó trugen im tagtäglichen Leben niemals irgend etwas in dem Loch der Unterlippe. Nur Knaben, vgl. Abb. 128, pflegten kleine Stifte, die das Loch offen hielten, anzuwenden: man sah Knochensplitter, z. B. vom Kaiman, gelegentlich einen Nagel, und Stifte aus Harz, an dem im Munde liegenden Ende mit einem Knöpfchen versehen. Erwachsene trugen zum Festschmuck Stifte gleicher Art, vgl. Tafel 27, oder die Lippenkette vgl. Tafel 1 und Abb. 130. Die Kette bestand aus einem Halbdutzend aneinander hängender länglicher Muschelplättchen mit einer kleinen Fadentroddel an dem unteren Ende, und war 12 cm lang.

Abb. 130. Lippenkette. Bororó. (⅔ nat. Gr.)

Abb. 131. Lippenbohrer. Bororó. (⅔ nat. Gr.)

Abb. 132. Kratzknochen. Bororó. (⅔ nat. Gr.)

Das Lippenloch wurde dem Säugling kurze Zeit nach der Geburt von dem Medizinmann gebohrt. Das zu der Operation gehörige Instrument *Baraguára*, war ein mit einer Knochenspitze endigender Federstab, vgl. Abb. 131, der sehr prunkvoll aussah und zum Schmuck bei festlichen Gelegenheiten im Haar getragen wurde: der Stab, an dem der Knochen mit Harz befestigt war, dicht bekleht mit abwechselnd roten und orangefarbenen Federchen, hier und da auch zartem, weissem Flaum dazwischen, und am oberen Ende auslaufend in eine lange blaue Ararafeder, während von deren Ansatzstelle ein Büschel grüntrüber Falken-, Papageien- und Ararafedern herabhing, von Spitze zu Spitze etwa 1 m lang. Der Medizinmann tanzte singend mit dem Baraguára in der Hand vor dem Säugling hin und wieder, auf ihn zuschreitend und zurückschreitend, und durchbohrte bei einer dieser Touren die Lippe.

Tätowieren war unbekannt; zufällig gefärbte Schmucknarben waren nicht selten. Ein dem Wundkratzer der Kulisehu-Indianer analoges Instrument haben wir nicht gesehen. Man ritzte die Haut nicht zu medizinischen Zwecken, sondern kratzte sie nur, wie alle Welt, wenn sie

juckte und hatte sogar für das Kratzen auf dem Rücken ein besonderes Gerät, 21 cm lang, einen Knochen, der mit Straussfedern geschmückt war, vgl. Abb. 132, und von den reichlich schwitzenden Fettkäsern auch mit Nutzen verwendet wurde. Die Schmiralben rührten von den Totenfesten her.

Bemalung und Federschmuck spielten, erstere eine geringe, letzterer eine gewaltige Rolle. Nicht mit Unrecht spricht **Waehneldt** von den »fast täglichen Festen« der Bororô. Die Bemerkung war auch für unsere Indianer durchaus zutreffend und zwar einfach deshalb, weil schon jede Jagd mit Tanz und Gesang begonnen wurde. Dann wurde das in das Männerhaus geschleppte Mädchen auf das Sorgfältigste von seinen Freunden bemalt. Endlich war es eine täglich geübte »Medizin«, sich mit **Federn zu bekleben**. Wechselfieber war in der Kolonie vielfach vorhanden, die Kinder waren jeden Augenblick *doente* (portugiesisch *doente*), und so wurde es für uns schlechterdings unmöglich zu sehen, wo die Grenze zwischen Medizin und Schmuck lag. Die Körperstellen, die »kamen«, wurden mit erhitztem Almeiroa-Harz bestrichen und mit Daunenfedern dicht beklebt. Wir sahen Kinder, die vollständige Aermel aus weissen Entenfederchen hatten. Das Pechharz war schwarz. Um das Gesicht mit Federn zu bekleben, trug man entlang der Haargrenze einen fingerbreiten Klebestreifen auf und verband die Enden neben den Ohren sowohl durch einen zwischen Nase und Lippe verlaufenden Querstreifen, sodass man, wenn der Streifen breit gemacht und nicht bekleibt wurde, eine zu einem Rahmen ausgeschnittene schwarze Halbmaske zu sehen glaubte. Der ursprünglich für die Federn angelegte Lackrahmen wurde auch ohne Federbekleibung verwendet.

Tafel 27 zeigt uns einen festlich mit Federn bekleibten Bororô. Die Arme sind ganz in grüne Papageienfederchen eingehüllt, wie auch der benachbarte Teil der Brust; über dem Nabel findet sich ein kleiner Federstreifen und auf dem Rücken, kann ich ruhigen, war ein Teil der Schultern und eine handbreite Stelle der Kreuzgegend bekleibt. Der schwarze Lackrahmen im Gesicht hat schon von »einer ernsten Schönheit und Bedeutung eingeborene, von Ohr zu Ohr zieht sich, einem mächtigen Schnurbart ähnlich, der mit rein weissen Federn bekleibte Querstreifen. Das Haar ist mit Urukú bestrichen und der Vorderrand mit roten Araufederchen fest bekleibt, beiderseits stehen rot bestrichene Pinsel ab; den Oberteil des Kopfes ziert, die Tonsur umgebend, ein rotes Krönchen von Araufedern und ringsum gestreut liegt eine Handvoll nur lose aufliegender Federchen. Bei den Frauen, die krank waren, sahen wir nicht selten kleine Stellen mit Federn bekleibt. Maria erschien eines Tages, über Fieber klagend, mit denselben Mittel »sicher behandelt, als sie es an Haar, Gesicht und Brust angewandt hatte. Die Gattin eines der nach langer Abwesenheit heimkehrenden Jäger, hatte sich zum Empfang das Gesicht und Haar wie die Rauchfrauenkleichen bemalen und die Haut des Oberkörpers so eine rote ellenlange Federjacke anwenden lassen. Mit Federn ähnlich dem Schmuck der Bororô auf Tafel 27, wird der Schädel der »skelettierten Toten vor der endgültigen Bestattung bekleibt, während der übrigen

Knochen mit Urukúöl eingeschmiert werden. Ob bei dieser Anschauung auch die verzweifelt aussichtslose Hoffnung auf einen medizinischen Erfolg mitgewirkt hat, vermag ich nicht zu sagen.

Das tägliche Anstreichen mit öligem Russ und Urukú wie am Schingú kam nicht vor. Auch werden die Farbstoffe für keinerlei Gerät als die Schmuckhülsen verwendet; statt ihrer sah man am S. Lourenço überall die Federn am Leib wie an den Geräten. Es fehlte aber auch die Plage der Moskitos und Stechfliegen; von allem Ungeziefer sahen oder hörten wir in der Kolonie nur die in dem Maisvorrat raschelnden zahlreichen Grillen. Das Urukú, von dem es nur sehr wenig gab, wurde mit Fischöl angerührt. Es wurde nur im bescheidensten Masse verwendet, ebenso wie die Bemalung mit Schwarz sich auf den Lackrahmen und das Bemalen von Gesicht und Körper, als man gegen die Kayapó lossog, beschränkte. Mit Urukú schminkte man das Rauchkonzertchen für die Nacht; es war auf einer roten Decke, daneben lag eine Muschel mit Fischöl und ein Stück Urukúpasta. Das Haar wurde dick beschmiert, der Oberkörper erhielt auch einen Anstrich, aber die Hauptsache, auf die man lange Zeit verwendete, war die Bemalung des Gesichts mit einem Halm oder schmalen Bambusstäbchen. So wurde die Stirn nicht mit einem Zug bestrichen, sondern man legte das mit Farbe getränkte Stäbchen auf und drückte es ab, mit diesem Verfahren allmählich einen Querstreifen über die Stirn legend. Man färbte auch die Lider, das Oberlid bis in die Falte hinein. Auf die Wangen malte man Dreiecke. Auf die Bedeutung der Querstreifen und der Dreiecke kommen ich später zurück, vgl. unter »Zeichenkunst« nach Besprechung der Schmuckhülsen, wo ich allein noch Gelegenheit habe, von Mustern zu reden.

Federschmuckarbeiten, um mich im Gegensatz zu der Federbekleidung so auszudrücken, wurden in prächtigster Art geliefert. Die Hauptarbeitsgebiete der Jägerkunst finden sich auf Tafel I bei dem Häuptling in Gala vereinigt.

Ein gewaltiges Strahlenrad aus blauen, auf der Rückseite gelben Arawaschwanzfedern erhebt sich, schief nach vorn gerichtet, auf dem Vorderkopf, der Parikó, vgl. Abb. 133. Die Arawafedern, 45 cm lang, stecken in einem umwickelten Holzkeilchen, das sich dem Kopf anpasst und mit einer Schnur angebunden wird; das untere Viertel der langen Federn ist mit roterzen Reihen roter und grüner Papageienfederchen bedeckt. Ein kleines Diadem, vgl. Tafel I, wird über die Stirn herabgeklappt. Auf dem Hinterkopf, schief nach hinten gerichtet und runder gewölbt als der Parikó, steht ein ihm an Grösse gleichkommendes Diadem aus quergebundenen Falkenfedern als Aufsatzpfau. Von den Ohren hängen bunte Lappen auf die Brust herab, die aus roten und gelben, in Querstreifen sinnlich angeordneten Federchen von der Brust des Tukans gebildet sind. (Auch die grossen Schnäbel der Tukane werden getragen.) Bündel von Flügelfedern des Aras, der Papageien und anderer Schmuckvögel hängen, wie vom Bugen oder vom Lippenbohrer, von den Oberarmen herab.

Doch gibt es noch mancherlei andere Federzierat. Namentlich ist der sehr schöne mehrfarbige (sehr Arara) zu gedenken. Araralederen mit wagrechten Strauschfedern und weissen Daunenquästen, zusammen zu einem Stäbchen vereinigt, das in das Loch des Oberlippchens oder in das Haar gesteckt wird, 56 cm lang, vgl. Abb. 134. Ebenso stecken man ein Stäbchengerüst von der Form der

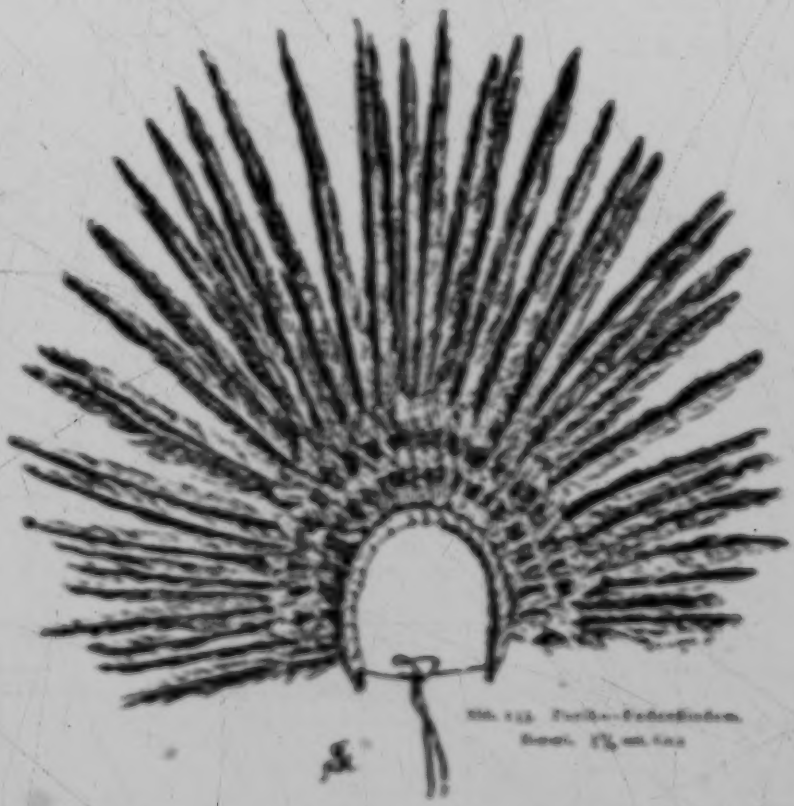


Abb. 133. Parikas-Federkronen. Bacairi. 1/8 nat. Gr.

Rosettenform, manchmal, in das Haar, das Gerüst war mit weissem Flaum belegt und darauf eine oder Ararafedern befestigt. Endlich sind die bekannten Gegenstände des Bacairimanns zu erwähnen. Der Hauptkopfschmuck wurde mit einem Federkranz versehen oder mit strahlenförmig hervorragenden Federn, vgl. Tafel 29 des Bacairi im Vordergrund, dicht besetzt.

Zahner werden namentlich zu Brustschmuck verarbeitet; am beliebtesten waren grosse Jaguarzähne, gewöhnlich 2 Paar nebeneinanderliegende, und kleine Affenzähne, in mehreren Quersträngen zu einem bis 30 cm breiten, fest über die

ganzer Brust reichenden Stück verbunden, vgl. Tafel I und Abb. 129. Dass auch Frauen diese Zierraten erhielten, kann nur äusserst selten vor und ist wohl, da von den anderen Bororó die gewöhnliche Thatsache, dass nur die Männer sich schmückten, berichtet wird, auf die Umwälzung durch die Kolonisation zurückzuführen. Charakteristisch war, dass der indianisch denkende und portugiesisch sprechende Clemente die auseinander gekrochenen Zähne rasirte, Rosenkränze nannte; die Indianer verbanden mit diesem Schmuck die Vorstellung, dass er stark und gewandt mache. Sie hatten noch lebendiges Gefangenen Zähne ausgerissen und sich damit behängt; dergleichen waren Unterkiefer des Feindes getragen worden. Einen Schutz versprach man sich gerade vom Haar der Verstorbenen, das man zu Fäden spann und dann zu Schnüren flocht, die nur sehr schwer zu erlangen waren. Haarbüschel hingen mit den Federn von den Armbändern herab.

Abb. 130. Lippen-Ohrfaden. Bororó. (1/3 nat. Gr.)

Klauen, kleiner von Nagetieren und grosse von dem Riesengürteltier wurden je zwei miteinander gewirbelt und bildeten so die Form einer Halbmondes; in der Mitte, wo sie zusammengebunden und mit Haar bedeckt waren, hing ein Bündel Fäden herab und waren auf dem Haar einige Muschelringelchen eingedrückt. In ganz ähnlicher Zusammensetzung haben wir die Klauen des Riesengürteltiers zum Kalebs nicht als Schmuckstück, sondern als Gerät kennen gelernt, vgl. Abb. 23, Seite 206. Den Klauenschmuck ahmten die Bororó nach, indem sie aus dem Blech bewährter Konservenbüchsen Stücke in derselben Form und Grösse anschnitten. Der Vorgang ist deshalb sehr interessant, weil der Blechhalbmondes in Nichts ihre Abstammung aus zwei Klauen verriethen und schon von einem Cayabaner, wie ich zu meiner Freude erlebte, als ein Beweis für die »Mondverehrung« der Bororó angesprochen wurden. Vgl. Abb. 133 den Oberschmuck der Mutter. Dies war die Art, wie die Indianer bereits Metall bearbeiteten. Auch Lippenteller wurden aus Blech geschnitten.

Abb. 133. Brustschmuck aus Gürteltierklauen. Bororó. (1/3 nat. Gr.)

Jugendliche wurden zu einem Kopfbande zusammengewirbelt, vgl. Abb. 126, ein Schmuck sehr ähnlich der Halskette des Auetíhauptlings aus gleichem Material in Abb. 5, Seite 108.

Ketten aus Muschel- und Nagelperlen, Knochenstäbchen, durchbohrten Samenkörnern waren vorhanden, standen aber an Bedeutung denen am Schlagwerkzeug nach. Am meisten schätzte man Perlen, die aus dem Gürteltiergepanzer verfertigt wurden. Näheres darüber werde ich bei der Schilderung der Tätigkeit im Männerhaus angeben. Dort besprechen ich auch Zierschnüre für beide Geschlechter, die wir «Hosenträger» zu nennen pflegten.

Abb. 138.
Kopfschmuck von Jugendlichen.
Bacairi. (1/3 nat. Gr.)

Die Arbeit. Der Mittelpunkt des Bororó-Lebens ist der Baitó, das Männerhaus, und neben dem unglaublich geräuschvollen Leben, dem sich hier Tag und Nacht abspielt, und der Familienhütten kaum etwas mehr als der Aufenthalt für Frauen und Kinder. Die vereinigten Männer heiraten wie und wenn mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die gemeinsame Jagd. In den, man darf ohne viel Uebertreibung sagen, fast jeden Tag und jede Nacht im Baitó ertönenden und weithin hallenden Gesängen ist wie nicht das dritte, sondern das zweite Wort, denn der Gesänge enthalten Anbetungen von Tieren und Dingen, deren jedem, sobald er gemeint ist, mindestens ein wie folgt. Gesungen wird zu allen Ereignissen, die irgendwie die Gefühle von Trauer oder Freude erregen, und zwar, soweit das möglich ist, auch sowohl an diesem Vorabend wie zur Nachfeier. Der Häuptling sagt am Abend für den folgenden Tag eine Jagd an: statt dem sich die Leute nun vernünftiger Weise schlafen legten, bis die frühe Stunde des Aufbruchs da ist, vereinigen sich die wie zu diesem Jagdgesang und die eifrigsten singen unentwegt bis zum Morgen. Der Staunen macht den Eindruck einer zur Jagdzeit zusammengewürfelten Musikgesangsgemeinde, deren Mitglieder sich verpflichten, solange sie nicht etwa 40 Jahre alt sind, nicht zu heiraten, sondern in diesem Klubhaus miteinander zu leben. Die älteren, mit Familie versehenen Genossen sind die angesehenen Träger von Amt und Würden und können deshalb auch nur wenig Zeit zu Hause zubringen; sie nehmen an den Jagdausflügen Teil oder halten im Klubhaus zu wirken, wo sie für Ordnung sorgen, die Gesänge leiten und an den bewilligten Tagen auch an dem Essen teilnehmen, das die Frauen bereiten.

TAFEL XXVIII.

SCHIESSENDER BORORÓ.

[facing p. 480]

Clemente versicherte, dass die Indianer in der Kolonie auf keine Weise anders lebten als in ihren Dörfen, dass hier im Gegenteil die gemeinsame Jagd, weil sie sich allen Unterhalt selbst zu beschaffen hatten, noch weit mehr im Vordergrund stehe. Danach ist also das Leben am Kulisehu wesentlich verschieden von dem im Bororódorf. Dort wohnte man in stattlichen Familienhäusern zusammen, hier besass jedes mit Kindern gesegnete Ehepaar seine kleine elende Hütte, dort bildeten die Junggesellen die Ausnahme, hier die Mehrheit, dort hatten die in Monogamie lebenden Männer ihr Flötenhaus, das keine Frau betrat, das zu gemeinsamen Beratungen und Tänzen diente, wo man aber nur arbeitete, soweit es Festschmuck zu verfertigen galt, hier wurden die Mädchen gewaltsam in das Männerhaus geschleppt, gerieten stets in den gemeinsamen Besitz von mehreren Genossen und die regelmässige Arbeit an Waffe und Gerät wurde in dem Männerhaus erledigt. Bei den Bororó war das Familienleben auf das Deutlichste nur eine Errungenschaft der Aelteren und Stärkeren. Der Lebensunterhalt konnte nur erworben werden durch die geschlossene Gemeinsamkeit der Mehrheit der Männer, die vielfach lange Zeit miteinander auf Jagd abwesend sein musste, was für den Einzelnen undurchführbar gewesen wäre. Dieser Lebensunterhalt war knapp, und die Jüngeren mussten zufrieden sein, wenn sie selbst satt wurden, sie konnten nicht so viel bekommen, um auch Weib und Kind zu versorgen. Mit dem friedlichen Feldbau, den die Frau der Kulisehustämme entwickelt oder erlernt hat, sind die Verhältnisse vollständig verändert worden, die Gemeinschaftlichkeit der Männer, der *aróe*, trat in den Hintergrund und konnte auf die für den Fischfang und Festtänze beschränkt werden. Der Zugang der Nahrungsmittel war jetzt so reichlich und regelmässig, dass ein Jeder genug erhielt für die Bedürfnisse wenigstens einer kleinen Familie — er sorgte dafür, dass die Familie klein blieb — und jetzt, wo die Thätigkeit der Frau die wichtigere Leistung wurde, war es umgekehrt vorteilhaft, wenn sich die Frauen in gemeinschaftlicher Arbeit zusammenfanden: man lebte familienweise in einem grossen Hause.

Jagd und Feldbau. »In der Regenzeit sind sie Tage und Tage ohne irgendwelches Essen«, *dias e dias sem nada para comer*, berichtete Clemente. Sie tranken dann viel mit Lehm angerührtes Wasser zur Stärkung, assen aber keinen Lehm. Sie pflanzten nur Tabak, Baumwolle und Kuyen und zwar thäten dies auch nur die im Quellgebiet des S. Lourenço an kleinen Flüsschen wohnenden oberen Bororó, die geschicktere Fischer seien. Von ihnen tauschten die unteren Dörfer jene pflanzlichen Erzeugnisse gegen Pfeile ein. Hier sehen wir also das Anpflanzen nicht mit den Nahrung liefernden Gewächsen beginnen! Unsere nun in Theresa Christina angesiedelten Bororó hatten überhaupt Nichts pflanzen gelernt. Kalabassen und lange zur Aufbewahrung der Federn geeignete Kuyen waren in der That nicht vorhanden, kleinere Kuyen selten und hauptsächlich als Rasselkürbisse für den Aróegesang oder als kleine Blaskürbisse verwendet. Die Männer auf Jagd bedurften keiner Gefässe, oder wussten sich mit Frucht-

schalen und Bambus zu helfen, ihre Federn bewahrten sie in grossen Bambusschachteln auf und zu Hause machten die Frauen Topfschalen und Wassertöpfe. Der Riesenbambus wachse auch nicht in der Nähe der Kolonie, sondern werde weiterher geholt; wir fanden Büchsen von 50—60 cm Länge und 9 cm Dicke, aus denen ein Längsdeckel ausgeschnitten war.

Für die grobe Verständnislosigkeit, die dem Bororó gegenüber der Feldkultur der Brasilier eigen war, habe ich Seite 453 drastische Beispiele angeführt. Die Männer zogen Tage und Wochen lang auf Jagd aus; zuweilen wurden sie von einigen Weibern begleitet. Es war also kein reines Nomadenleben, sondern Ansässigkeit war vorhanden. Sie wurde ermöglicht durch das Braten des Wildprets und den Fischfang.

Wir sahen eine Schaar heimkehrender Jäger; in Tragkörben brachten sie eine Menge Fleisch heim, sehr gut durchgebraten, schwarz, trocken, hauptsächlich Wildschwein, Geflügel, Schildkröten, dabei grosse verkohlte Stücke Haut mit nur wenig daran sitzendem Fleisch. Die Brasilier schätzten die Bororó als ausgezeichnete Fährtensucher; desertierende Soldaten wurden mit ihrer Hülfe rasch eingefangen.*)

Fische wurden mit Pfeilen geschossen oder mit Angeln, die sie nach dem brasilischen Vorbild aus gestohlenem Eisen und aus dem Panzer der Schildkröten fertigten, oder in Netzen gefangen, indem man einen Kreis bildete und die Fische zusammentrieb. Schmalere Flüsse sperrten sie auch mit Ästen und Gras, einige trichterförmige Eintrittslöcher übrig lassend, hinter denen eine Umzäunung mit Bambusstöcken angebracht war. In flachen Flüssen, erzählte Clemente, blieben die Indianer Nächte hindurch im Wasser, bei Palmfackeln arbeitend. Unverständlich ist mir die Behauptung geblieben, dass sie längere Zeit unter Wasser zu bleiben vermöchten. Sie kauten die bittern Blätter des »Dyorúbo« Baumes, bevor sie untertauchten, und spuckten sie nachher wieder aus. Unter Wasser fingen sie Fische. Er wisse von Einem, der etwa eine Stunde in der Tiefe geblieben und »mit einem Arm voll Pintados« zurückgekehrt sei.

Sicher ist, die Bororó hielten sich gern im Wasser auf. Die von der Jagd heimkehrenden sah man ein bis zwei Kilometer oberhalb der Kolonie im Fluss erscheinen und schwimmend oder bis an den Hals im Wasser watend die Strecke zurücklegen, statt den Landweg zu wählen und nur quer herüber zu schwimmen. Schon von ferner hörte man sie lachen und schwatzen; paarweise folgten sie sich in kurzem Abstand, alle die Bogen, an denen die Pfeilbündel oben horizontal angebunden waren, gleichmässig steil wie Kreuze emporhaltend und auf der Brust oder unter den Armen die erbeuteten Thiere tragend.

Ebenso schwammen auch die Frauen heim, die schwerbefrachtete Körbe voller Palmnüsse und Wurzeln oder mächtige Bündel langer Palmblätter für

*) Um die gegen sie angeschickten Truppen an dem Auffinden des Dorfes zu verhindern, wandten die Eingeborenen die List an, dass sie den letzten Teil des Weges nach Möglichkeit durch die Bäume zurücklegten.

Dach und Hauswand mitbrachten. Sie hatten die Traghöhe zu je vier Stück an Hölzer gebunden und banden sie zu Stricken wie die Pelota (vgl. S. 139). Die Traghöhe wurden auf dem Rücken in einer Bastschlinge getragen, die vorn über die Stirn oder den Vorderkopf lief.

Kanus hatten die Bororó nicht. Sie nannten die Fahrzeuge der Brasilier ibi — dasselbe Wort, das sie für Aexte und Zweige (nicht Baumstämme: ipi) gebrauchten, wie sie deren für die Beförderung der Last zu kleinen Flössen zusammenzubinden gewohnt waren.

Hunde, von denen wir uns nach dem Beispiel unserer Vorfahren vorzustellen pflegen, dass sie dem primitiven Jäger unentbehrlich seien, fehlten den Bororó nicht nur in ihrer Heimath, sie wurden auch jetzt kaum je gebraucht, wo sie ihnen leicht in grosser Zahl zur Verfügung gestanden hätten.

Auf die Vertheilung der Jagdbeute vermag ich erst später einzugehen.

Waffen. Bogen und Pfeile bezeichneten die höchste Entwickelung der Technik und waren mit einer ausserordentlichen Sauberkeit und Genauigkeit gearbeitet. Hier konnte man auf das deutlichste sehen, dass nur das Interesse da zu sein brauchte, damit es auch an den Leistungen nicht fehle. Der Bogen war mit Ausnahme der Keule auch die einzige Kriegswaffe. Von den Bororó des Campos wird berichtet, dass sie «eiserne» Lanzen gehabt hätten, mit Spitzen von Eisen, Knochen oder Stein. Die Keule des S. Lourenço war 1½ m lang, ein ziemlich platter Stock Palmholz, das 3—4 cm breit war und in ein Blatt von nur 5—6 cm Breite auslief.

Den gewöhnlichen Bogen *kaipo* zeigt uns Figur 5 der Abbildung 137. Er hat eine Länge bis zu 1,9 m und ist in einer Breite von ⅔ m mit einem Palmfaserstrick umwunden, eine Reservesehne, die gewöhnlich die Fortsetzung der eingespannten Sehne bildet, vgl. Tafel 28. Prachtigen Federschmuck haben die bei festlichen Gelegenheiten von Häuptlingen getragenen und als feierliches Geschenk geltenden Bogen, deren Ausschmückung Fig. 1 verdeutlicht. Das Holz ist aber und aber mit bunten, entweder rothen und gelben oder blauen und gelben Araralederchen und weissen Daunen dazwischen beklebt, und das aufwärts gehaltene Ende krönt ein Büschel von gleichfarbigen Federn. Das bunte Büschel ziert zuweilen auch den gewöhnlichen Jagdbogen. Der glückliche Erleger eines Jaguars endlich wird durch den Bogen von Fig. 2 ausgezeichnet; zu diesem sind ein Dutzend gelber Bündchen von Ouassi-Palmblatt (*Attalea speciosa*) angebracht. Die Bogen haben einen ziemlich flachen Rücken, während die der Sehne zugewendete Fläche mehr konvex ist, umgekehrt wie bei den Parexbogen.

Die Pfeile haben einen Schaft entweder aus Kambayuvarohr oder aus dem eleganten schwarzen Seriba-Palmstrch (*Astrocaryum*). Den bleistiftdünnen Seribaschäften ist ein Endstück aus Rohr angesetzt zu dem die Schwanzfedern befestigt sind; sie sind sorgsam mit durchlöcherten Bullmusmuscheln gehobelt und dann wie Sandpapier rauhen Lischablättern feiner geglättet.

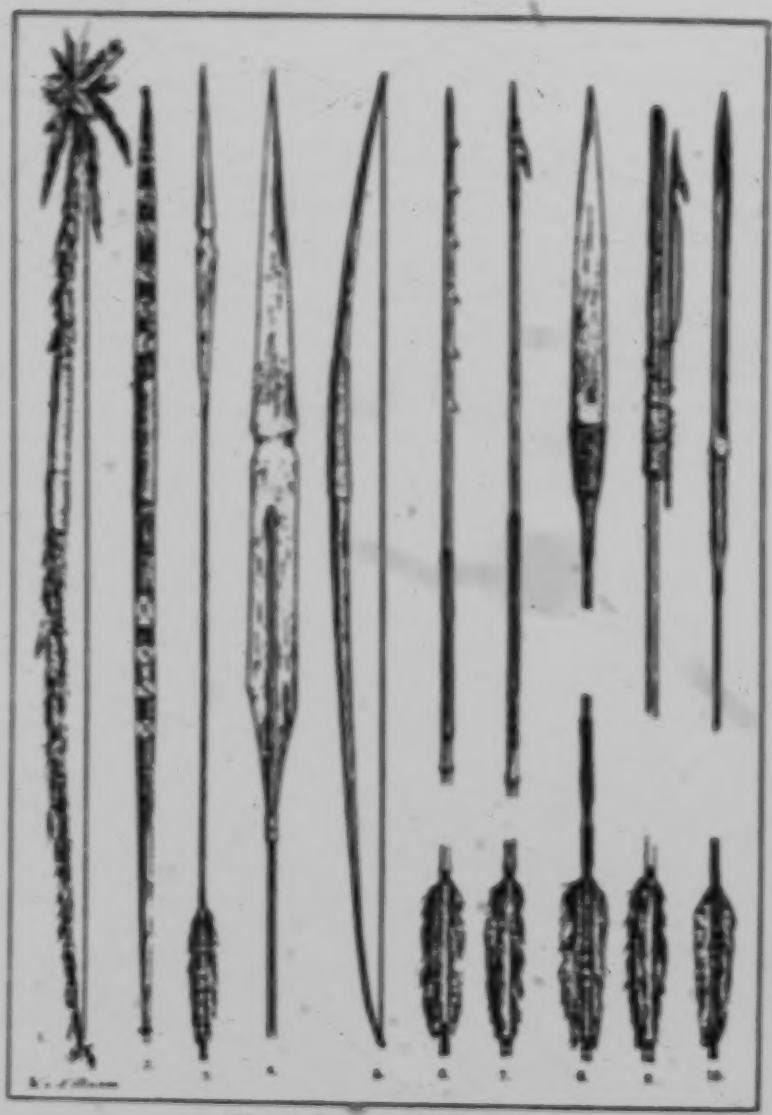


Abb. 133. Bogen und Pfeile. Bacairi.

1. Bogen der Mengilogo. 2. Der Japurinyatto. 3. Japurypfeil. 4. Gambiapfeiler von 3. 5. Gambiapfeil, Bogen. 6. und 7. Jagd- und Fischpfeil. 8. Schwirrpfeil. 9. Stumpfpfeil. 10. Kriegspfeil.

Allen Pfeilen gemeinsam sind die beiden in spiraliger Drehung eingewebten Schwungfedern, deren oberes und unteres Ende angebunden ist; man kann auf den Abbildungen sehen, wie der Schaft der Feder in leichter Krümmung vom Pfeilende absteht. Zwischen ihnen sind oft noch ein paar Ringe von ziemlich kleinen Federchen angebracht.

Die Pfeile sind 1½ bis 1⅔ m lang. Bei der gewöhnlichsten Art der Jagd- und Fischpfeile sind in das Kombayvorende spitze Holzstücke eingetrieben, denen ein eingeschliffenes Knochenstück aufsitzt. Oder es ist, Fig. 7, ein Knochen als Widerhaken angebringt, oder das Holz ist gebeilt, Fig. 6.

Abb. 158. Schiessender Bororó.

Die Knochen rühren vom Affen oder Tapir her. Für die Vogeljagd dienen Pfeile mit stumpfer Spitze; sie tragen einen Holzkegel, das breitere Ende nach oben und in der Mitte der Grundfläche mit einem Spitzknopf versehen.

Andere Pfeile haben als Spitzen geschärfte Bambusstücke; der Bambus wird lange Zeit in Rauch gehängt, damit er genügend austrocknet. Die einfachste Form, die zur Jagd auf Wildschweine gebraucht wird, zeigt Fig 8. Die 30—40 cm lange, 2½ cm breite, flache Bambuspitze ist an den Rohrschaft gebunden. Fig. 3 stellt den schönen Seribapfeil für die Jagd des Jaguars dar; der ganze Pfeil ist 1⅔ m lang, das befiederte Endstück 24 cm, die Bambuspitze 60 cm lang und 3 cm breit. Der Seribaschaft liegt in einer mit dem

Kapiranameiuel gebildeten Rinne der flachen Bambusspitze und ist nur lose mit etwas Harz und Faden befestigt, vgl. Fig. 4. Der Kriegspfeil, Fig 10, nach aus Santha geschnitzt, trägt ein sehr schmales (1—2 cm), rundes, aber nach seiner ganzen Länge (37 cm) zugespitztes Bambusstück. Die Bambusspitzen brechen im Körper ab.

Der Widerhakenpfeil ist für die Erbeutung von Alligatoren und grösseren Fischen mit Harpunenvorrichtung ausgestattet. Die Länge des Harpunenpfeils in Fig. 9 beträgt 1,78 cm, wovon 31 cm auf den an einen Stiel befestigten Widerhakenstock zu rechnen sind, der Schaft ein dicker Urbäcker, war auch in der Breite von 5/6 m unwichtig.

Die Spannung des Bogens geht aus der Momentphotographie in Abb. 138 und Tafel 28 hervor. Der hockende Schütze hält den Bogen horizontal, der stehende senkrecht. Ein Reservepfeil wird mit der linken Hand dem Bogen parallel gehalten. Der Pfeil liegt in letzterem Fall links vom Bogen auf dem Zeigefinger der linken Hand, der den Bogen hält. An seinem hinteren Ende wird er zwischen Daumen und Zeigefinger gelenkt, der Daumen liegt lax, der Zeigefinger in gebrochener Haltung stützt und richtet das gewaxte ein, die drei übrigen Finger, namentlich der Mittelfinger spannen die Sehne. Die Spannung ist also von der aus Kalusche (vgl. Seite 238) verschieden. Bei dem hockenden Schützen, wo der Pfeil dem Bogen aufliegt und hier durch die Spitze des Zeigefingers der linken Hand leicht angedrückt wird, ist die Haltung der spannenden rechten Hand wieder verschieden, als das hintere Ende des Pfeils zwischen dem fest anliegenden Daumen und dem gebogenen Zeigefinger gehalten wird.

Arbeiten im Männerhause und Technik. Jeder hatte seinen bestimmten Platz: wer nach dem Flusse zu wohnte, in der dem Fluss zugewendeten Ecke und so fort. Alle nach der Lage des Hauses der nächsten Verwandten. Hier, wo die Indianer unter sich waren, herrschte, abgesehen von den geschlechtlichen Vorgängen, eine auch nach unsern Begriffen anerkennenswerte Ordnung. Wer nichts zu thun hatte, faulenzte freilich mit grosser Ausdauer, aber wer an seinen Waffen, Schmucksachen und Geräthen Beschäftigung fand, arbeitete unverdrossen und arbeitete so sauber und sorgfältig, dass die Herren der Katechese ihre Freude daran hätten haben sollen. Selbst der Idiot Dyapokuri, wenn er zwischendurch auch ein Sprüchen freiwilliger oder unfreiwilliger Art zum Besten gab, war unausgesetzt thätig.

An Tagen, wo man sich nicht der Jagd widmete, waren gegen 40 Männer im Hause vergnügt bei der Arbeit. Die Frauen kochten währenddes in den Hütten, und ab und zu verschwand Einer, das Essen zu holen. Sobald er wiederkehrend in der Wand sichtbar wurde, ertönten vereinzelte »Ao« »Ao« der Anerkennung, und kaum dass auch der zuletzt erscheinende, das dampfende Gericht hoch emporhaltende Arm in das Innere nachgezogen war, erscholl mit allgemeinem gellenden *oh!* ein heller Jubelton der ganzen Gesellschaft. Umfangreiche Topfschalen waren mit verdeckt, säuerlichem Maisbrei oder Maisschleim gefüllt, oben-

auf lagen grosse Flussmuschels zum Aufschlitzen. Dann schnitt Mapyrokuat unter, legte einer Anzahl von Jungen oder Alten seine starke Hand auf die dicken Schnitzel, und die Auserwählten hockten um den Topf und stachen mit ihren Muschelbeilen heftig in den Brei. Wer diesen patriarchalische Bild mit der Szene der brasilischen Fleischverteilung (Seite 436) vergleicht, musste von heiligem Zorn gegen die schmutzige Wirtschaft erfüllt werden.

Der Idiot Dyapikuri bereitet das bei der »Fütterung der Tote« erbeutete Rindfleisch. Er hatte sich das Feuer in einer Hütte. Feuer brauchte jetzt mehr durch Reiben entzündet zu werden, denn die Verwaltung lieferte schwedische Streichhölzer. Die ursprüngliche Methode der Bororó war dieselbe wie am Kulisehu. Als bestes Holz gilt Cecropia bracteata, *Pseudocyclopelpha urvinae*.

Auch von Steinbeilen und schneidenden Fischzähnen war natürlich nichts mehr zu bemerken; Axte und Messer waren im Ueberfluss vorhanden. Allein es gab doch noch Manches aus der alten Zeit zu beobachten. So schnitten die Bororó beim Essen die Fleischstücke mit Bombonpahoco vor dem Munde ab, sie gebrauchten als Schabemesser den an ein Stäbchen befestigten, bis 8 cm langen Kapivarazahn, vgl. Abb. 26 vom Schingú und hierher gehörig Abb. 139, sie schliffen diesen Zahn mit dem Zahn des Paca (*Coelogenys paca*), einem kleinen Nagetiere, sie bohrten, glätteten, bohrten noch auf gut mühsamer Art.

Abb. 139. Kapivara-Meisel. Bororó. (1/3 nat. Gr.)

Ihr Hobel war eine Bohrmuschel, rund, 10 cm lang, vgl. Abb. 140 (und Abb. 27 vom Schingú), in der mit einer Gummiunterlage scharfrandige Löcher geschlagen waren. Sie glätteten ferner Holz z. B. der Schwirrhölzer, die für die Totenfeier gemacht wurden, indem sie es eine Viertelstunde mit einem rauen, glatten Stein strichen. Oder sie nahmen die rauhen Blätter des Lucha- und des Imbaubabaums. Sie rasten mit untergeschlagenen und gekreuzten Beinen und schnitten und bohrten die Gegenstände auf ihrem Fuss als Unterlage. An den auf dem Boden aufliegenden äusseren Knöchel fühlte ich vielfach kaltne Verdickungen und auch knorpelhafte verschiebliche Stücke. Affenknochen zu Kettenschmuck zerschnitten sie auf dem Fuss, sodass ich jeden Augenblick für ihre eigenen Knochen fürchtete.

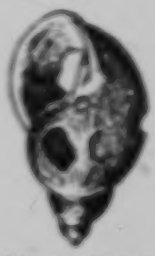


Abb. 140. Hobelmuschel. Bororó. (2/3 nat. Gr.)

Bohren geschah stets mit Quirlbewegungen. Ein Nagel war an einem Stäbchen von 1/2 m Länge befestigt und dieses wurde zwischen den beiden schnell auf- und niedergleitenden Händen gequirlt. So durchbohrten sie die Muschelplättchen für ihre Lippenketten, die sie so gewählten, dass sie eine Muschel zerhackten und die Kanten

der Stacke auf Steine schlüpfen. Sie durchbohrten sie die Zähne und klemmten solche, die klein waren, damit sie nicht ausglitten, so entstand schließlich ein ganz Gewimmer. Eigenartig war auch die Verfertigung der Perlen aus dem Panzer der Gürteltiere. Er stellt einen gewölbten, aus zahlreichen kleinen Polygonen zusammengesetzten Schild dar; an der Innenseite jedes Vielecks befindet sich eine natürliche punktförmige Vertiefung; in diese wurde der Quirlbohrer angesetzt, und erst nachdem so der ganze Schild regelmäßig wie ein Sieb durchlöchert war, wurde er in die einzelnen Plättchen zerbrochen, die man anfeilte und rund schliff.

Geflochtene runde Korbtaschen, in die bei den Totenfeiern die Knochen gepackt wurden, viereckige Feuerfächer, die man auch als Teller benutzte, oder wie ein Fächerchen an einem Stab band, um sie für die Abwehr von Moskitos zu verwenden, die grossen Schlafmatten (Durchgangsblätter 12 m lang, 3 m breit). Die beutelförmigen Tragkörbe scheinen von den Frauen geflochten zu werden.

Abb. 191. Bororó-Jäger mit Brustschmuck und Armbändern.

Die Männer spannen. Die Männer haben als Spinnstuhl! Ich gestehe, es machte mir einen abenteuerlichen Eindruck, als ich zum ersten Mal einen dieser Jäger Baumwollflocken durch Schwippen an einer Bogensehne lockern sah. Sie spannen Baumwolle und das Haar der Tiere, jedoch auf andere Art als die Frauen am Kalebas. Der Spinnwirtel, 4 bis 4½ cm im Durchmesser, war eine Muschel- oder Tonscheibe und saß im oberen Viertel des hochkantgerichteten Stäbchens. Während die linke Hand die langgezogene Flocke oder ein paar zusammengelegter Haare hielt und sie an dem kurzen Ende des Stäbchens befestigt hatte, wurde mit der rechten Hand der grössere Teil des Stäbchens unterhalb des Wirtels bei Schiefhaltung der Spindel auf dem rechten Oberschenkel gerollt; der Faden bildete sich also an dem kürzeren Teil des Stäbchens oberhalb des Wirtels. Den fertigen Faden wickelte man an dem längeren Teil unter dem Wirtel auf.

Die Haarfäden wurden zu einer Schnur geflochten, die man um das Kopfhaar, um den Leib oder zum Schutz gegen den Anprall der Sehne um das Handgelenk trug. Faserschnur drillte man mit der Hand auf dem Oberschenkel. Vielfach wurde bei den Faserarbeiten die grosse Zehe benutzt.

Eigentliches Weben, d. h. die Verschlingung sich rechtwinklig kreuzender Fäden war unbekannt. Die Männer verfertigten aus Baumwollfäden

schmale Bänder, in die Borsten vom Stachelschwein eingeflochten und die nach Art der Hauptringe, vgl. Abb. 141 und 139 als Brustschmuck von beiden Geschlechtern getragen wurden, sowie Armbänder durch künstliche Verschlingung der Fäden zwischen zwei dünnen Stäbchen.

Wie eifrig und oft die Männer arbeiteten, fiel namentlich bei dem Herrichten der Pfeile auf. Da gab es so manche kleine Geschicklichkeiten, die man nur zarten Frauenhänden zugetraut hätte. Dahin rechne ich besonders das Ausschmücken mit winzigen bunten Federchen, deren jedes Stück für Stück auf den Boden gelegt und sorgfältig zurechtgezupft wurde.

Auch kann in einer Spinnstube nicht mehr geschwatzt und gelacht werden als hier im Bororó. Gewiss war es wenig frauenhaft, wenn sich plötzlich der Abwechslung halber zwei der Arbeiter erhoben und einen regelrechten Ringkampf aufführten, der von den Übrigen mit grossem Interesse verfolgt wurde. Sie standen auf, rangen, warfen sich und nahmen ihre Arbeit wieder auf oder legten sich wieder zum Doktor für einige Zeit nieder. Denn behaglich Faulenzende fehlten niemals, selten fehlte es auch, während die Frauen sonst fern blieben, an einem Liebespärchen, das unter einer gemeinsamen roten Decke lag und schäkerte. Niemand kümmerte sich darum, ausser einigen von gelinder Eifersucht gepfeilten Freunden, der augenblicklich von der gemeinsamen Geliebten vernachlässigt wurden und zuletzten sein mussten, neben dem Paarchen zu sitzen und mit ihm zu plaudern.

Zuweilen gab Dyapukun einer Vorstellung. Man war weit davon entfernt, den Geisterschwachen, der nur lallen konnte, als ein höheres Wesen anzusehen. Mit Vorliebe stellte er den Zank der Weiber dar, indem er sich in den wüstesten Gebärden erging und das gegenseitige Kratzen und Haarausreissen kräftig vorzuschaudichten. In furchtbarlicher Aufregung geriet er aber selbst, als ein Soldat den wegen seines Auszugs zur Verfolgung der Kayapó (Seite 467) bemalte und, einen Stock über der Schulter, mit mächtig ausholenden Schritten daher hinkte: der arme Teufel schäumte vor Wut, warf seine brennenden Holzkohlen nach dem Spötter und, als er sich nicht mehr zu helfen wusste, griff er ein paar Holzkohlen vom Boden auf und markierte mit einer zähnefletschenden Grimasse unter unverständlichen Zornlauten — den Schnurbart des Soldaten. Nach einer Weile kam er wieder zur Ruhe und übte sich für die Totenfeier im Klappern mit zwei Rasselkürbissen und taktlosesten Arie-Grunzen.

Es waren lehrreiche und gemütliche Stunden im Kaschiá. Nur Eins war unleidlich, das unaufhörliche Betteln um Tabak. Meine Pfeife wanderte von Mann zu Mann. Die Leute diktierten mir Seiten lang Bororó, wobei jeder gerade sich abspielende Vorgang für die Sätze herhalten musste, überhäuften mich und lachten dann ebenso befriedigt wie die Bakairi. Je vertrauter wir miteinander wurden, desto auffälliger wurde überhaupt die Uebereinstimmung in Temperament und Charakter mit den Kulisehindianern. An einem Flusse im Männerhaus wurde auch, nachdem wir die anthropologischen Messungen vorge-

nommen hatten, meine Körpergrösse angezeichnet. Ein Stück Kohle wurde mit den Zähnen zerknuspert, mit Speichel in der Hand verrieben und über meinem Kopf ein schwarzer Ring um den Photo gemalt.

Nahrung: „Blumengang". Nach Clemente's Bericht hat trotz aller Jagen die vegetabilische, von den Frauen beschaffte Nahrung, weil sie regelmässiger und reichlich eingeht, die grösste Wichtigkeit. Die Frauen suchen Wurzeln mit einem spitzen Stock, klettern mit grosser Gewandtheit auf die Palmen, unter denen der Omenó und Akuri der Vorzug gebührt, versuchen die Nüsse, schneiden in der Krone den »Palmkohl«, suchen Jutahi- und Pfirsichbäume und dergleichen mehr. Die Palmnüsse werden geröstet oder im Mörser zerstampft und mit Wasser zu einem herrlichen Getränk verrührt, dem Erfrischungstrank, der dem Stachelbier oder der Pfirsichbier des Kulisehu entspricht und dem Gast kredenzt wird. Die Mandioca, das wir im Kuchiki kennen lernten, bildet in den Dorfschulten, ein es keinen Mais gibt. Die Frauen bereiten die vegetabilische Nahrung zu. Sie verfertigen auch die Töpfe, die nur in geringer Anzahl vorhanden waren. Es gab zwei Arten, eine offene Schale wohl, in der man kochte, und eine gut mit kurzem Hals und schmalem Boden, fast von der Form des Mörsers, der auch als Gefäss benutzt wurde, zur Aufbewahrung von Wasser. Sie waren sehr rob, schwach gebrannt, innen nicht lackiert. Der Mörser, plump geschnitzt, nur etwa 40 cm hoch, aber leicht transportabel, hatte ungefähr die Form eines Eies, von dem der eine Pol quer abgeschlagen ist und wurde beim Gebrauch in die Erde gesteckt. Ausser den Nüssen zerstampften sie darin auch Fleisch und Knochen.

Abb. 191. Wasserkrug und Topfschale. Bemerk. (1/3 nat. Gr.)

Wenn die Frauen nach Thereza Christina heimkamen, gaben sie den Männern »carne de coco«, Nuss-Fleisch, und erhielten, was übrig geblieben war, von »carne de gado«, Rindfleisch. Salz und Speck wurden verschmäht. Während Wildschwein ihre Lieblingsspeise war, wiesen sie das Fleisch des Hauschweins zurück, weil das Tier von seinem Besitzer aufgezogen war. Wenn ein Milchschweinchen bei den Offizieren aufgetragen wurde, liefen sie aus dem Zimmer. Diesen Skrupel hatten sie bei Sandflöhen, die sie sich auschüttelten, nicht (wir beobachten eine Indianerin, wie sie die kleine Operation mit einer, von unserm schon gedeckten Tisch weggenommenen Gabel erledigte). »Sandflöhe lassen sie,

da diese ja auch für Blut verantwortet«. Alles Wildpret wurde im Fell gebraten, nur die Darme gekocht; Kaltblütler waren die Spezialität von Dyspepsie. Gegessen wurde Alles, »was es im Wald und im Fluss gab«. Sehr beliebt waren die mit dem Harpunenpfeil geschossenen Kaimans. Kampfhühner wurden weder gegessen noch überhaupt gepflegt.

Nicht gegessen und gepflegt wurden zahme Aras. Sie fingen die Schwarzvögel jung ein, zogen sie auf und rupften ihnen die Federn aus. Chiquinho sagte, dass sie auch verstanden, die Aras gelb zu färben, indem sie die gerupften Stellen mit dem Saft eigen Baumes einrieben. Das vielen Indianern bekannte Verfahren ist also wahrscheinlich bei der medizinischen Behandlung der Tiere, die man gewaltsam ihrer Federn beraubt hatte, gefunden worden. Auf die lebendige Rücksichtnahme für Reh und Aras komme ich später zurück.

Verhinderte nun die Eifersucht der Bororó keineswegs wie die Bakairi und Karayá gemeinsam zu speisen, so hatten sie dafür andere ultrame Gebräuche, die deutlich zeigten, dass auf knappe Jagdbeute angewiesene Stämme sich auf die eine oder andere Weise nach Mitteln umsehnen müssen, Zank und Streit bei der Verteilung vermeiden. Da bestand zunächst eine höchst auffällige Regel: Niemand bringt das Wild, das er selbst geschossen hatte, sondern gab es einem Anderen zum Braten! Gleich seine Vorsicht wird für kostbare Felle und Zähne geübt. Nach Erlegung eines Jaguars wird ein grosses Fest gefeiert; das Fleisch wird gegessen. Das Fell und die Zähne erhält aber nicht der Jäger, sondern, worauf ich jetzt noch nicht eingehe, der nächste Verwandte des Indianers oder der Indianerin, die zuletzt verstorben sind. Der Jäger wird geehrt, er bekommt von Jedermann Arafedern zum Geschenk und den mit Chanai-Blättern geschmückten Bogen. Die wichtigste Massregel jedoch, die vor Unfrieden schützt, ist mit dem Amt des Medizinmannes verknüpft, von dem ich deshalb zunächst berichten muss.

Die Bororó unterscheiden den Bari und den Aroetaurari. Beide schliessen sich aber nicht aus, beide sind Medizinmänner, nur ist der Aroetaurari in erster Linie der Vorsänger und Vortänzer bei dem Aroe-Gesang oder -Tanz, der Bari in erster Linie der behandelnde Arzt. Die Brasilier nannten jenen »Padre«, diesen »Doutor«. Beschränken wir uns auf den Ausdruck Bari oder Medizinmann. Sein Lehrgang scheint weniger umständlich als es sonst der Fall zu sein pflegt; es kommt mehr auf die natürliche Veranlagung an. In der Trockenzeit — der Name bezieht sich eigentlich nicht auf den Durst — wird am meisten Akuripalmwein getrunken; man bohrt die Bäume an, lässt den Saft in einen Topf oder einen Mörser laufen und zieht aus Bambusbechern. Der Wein ist stösserlich, aber reichlich. Beide Geschlechter betrinken sich nach Kräften. Wer es am längsten aushält, wird Medizinmann. Wenn man von diesem sagt, dass ihn die Vögel im Walde verstehen, dass er sich mit Bäumen und mit Tieren aller Art in ihrer Sprache unterhält, so meint man damit hoffentlich

nicht einen noch vom Pajaweis erlernten Medizinen, wendete gelenkt den Studierenden in der Einsamkeit und den Aufgrenzungen, in dem die Tiere aufgerufen werden. Der Bari behandelt seine Kranken auf die bekannte Art: er sitzt, windet sich, ruscht und saugt die Krankheitsursache — hier pflegt er ein Knochen zu sein — aus dem Leib des Patienten. Zwischen ist dabei zu beobachten: einmal wird der Knochenrest geneigt und nicht aus der Hand gegeben, dann aber behandelt der Arzt zur Nachbe.

Wachnelidt berichtet von den Bororó am Jauri Entsprechendes. Es wurde kurzerst unter grossen Rauchwolken, unverständlichen Worten und, «der Hauptsache», konvulsivischen Bewegungen, sich wohnte der Kur einen wilchen Pulse bei, die darin bestand, dass er verschiedene Körperteile zerrugte, während er nebenher aus seiner Pfeife rauchte und den Mundstuck ansaugte. Nach jedem Saugen spuit er die abgekauten Stückchen Pfeife aus, dem Kranken einredend, dass es die Ursache seines Leidens sei. Ferner aber — und damit sind wir wieder bei der Jagdbeute — musste ein Kopfschwein erst im «Sanktuarium» von einem der 4 bis 6 Padres gesogen werden, bevor es gegessen oder nur berührt werden durfte. Die Bari schonen die besten Stücke ab und lassen den Übrigen den Rest.

Ebenso leben auch am S. Lourenço die Aerzte noch im gleichen Zeitalter. Es wäre unrecht, hier von einem ergötzlichen Auswuchs primitiver Therapie zu reden, denn der Bari ist kein «Padre», sondern ein «Doutor», der nur noch nicht mehr wusste as ein «Padre». Das «Einsaugen» vollzog sich auf genau dieselbe Art, wie man versucht, einen Toten in's Leben zurückzurufen. Die Logik ist sehr einfach. Die in erster Linie einsaugenden Tiere sind genau dieselben, in die gestorbene Bari eintreten, und die Bari verwandeln sich nach ihrem Tode in die Tiere, die als bestes Wildpret geschätzt sind! Da ist es notwendig, sich zu überzeugen, dass das erlegte Tier nicht mehr lebendig gemacht werden kann, und in diesem Versuch besteht die Einsaugung. Ein grosser Jabú-Fisch war gefangen worden und wurde zum Männerhaus gebracht, ein schon 1½ m langes Exemplar, das nicht in einem Stück gebraten werden konnte. Ein Bari lockte bei ihm nieder, verfiel in heftiges Zittern, schloss die Augen, wackelte fürchterlich mit der vor den Mund gepressten rechten Hand, begann dann zu blasen und ei ei zu schreien, warf den Kopf in den Nacken und «sniffte» Luft, blies darauf den Fisch von oben bis unten an, beklopfte ihn allerseits, bespritzte ihn mit Speichel, öffnete das Maul des Tiers, schrie und spritzte hinein, schloss es wieder — fertig. Ein Verfahren, das geschäftsmässig fast erledigt wurde und nach meiner Uhr nur drei Minuten währte. Dann ergriff er ein Messer, zerlegte den Fisch und nahm sich das Stück, das ich mir auch genommen haben würde.

Tiere, die unbedingt eingesogen werden müssen, sind die grossen Fische Jabú, Pintado-Wels und Dourado, Kapivara, Tapir, Kaiman. Besonders der Kopf des Tapirs bedarf der Zeremonie, Niemand als der Bari darf den Tapirrüssel,

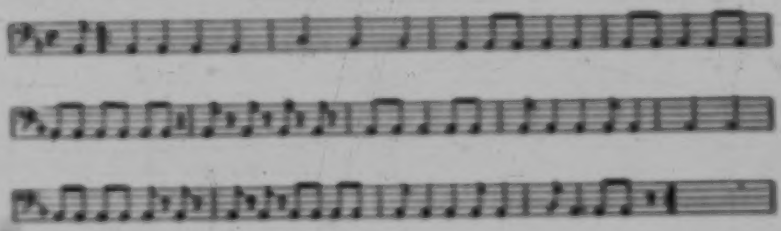
der das saftreiche Fleisch entfällt, und den Halsrücken vergessen; auch von den übrigen Teilen gebührt den Bestie «dem Bari und seinen Freunden», die es auch dem Bruten verteilen. Das Spinnen ist auch auf einige Früchte ausgedehnt worden: Pitá, Mangaba und Maia, wieder die beschwerlichen. Bei Akuriseuen ist die Frauenbar unnötig; mit dem Mais wird sie erst vollzogen, während die Brasilier das regelmäßig in der Kolonie taten. Ja, ein Bari muss dabei sein, wenn die Tiere erlegt werden! Gerät ein der amtlichen Fleischschau unterworfener Fisch in's Netz, wenn kein Bari dabei ist, so muss er freigelassen werden, und Clemente sagte, dies geschehe tatsächlich, kommt aber nur ausnahmsweise vor, weil es stets mehrere Baris gibt und diese überall dabei sein. Wer sich gegen die Bräuche vergeht, stirbt bald. Vgl. weiter unten «Seelenwanderung».

Tanz und Spiel. Nach dem Vorangehenden verliert der jede gemeinschaftliche Jagd und Fischerei eröffnende Anfangsgesang allen Wunderbaren. Der Bari, der die Beute am Ende feierlich verteilt, bewegt auch die feierliche Einleitung des Unternehmens. Die zu Grunde liegende Anschauung des Verhältnisses von Tier und Mensch, ohne die jene Zeremonien kaum anders als von Schwindlern hätten erfunden werden können, mit der aber sie in diesem Ursprung wohl gerechtfertigt werden, gibt uns hier noch nichts zu.

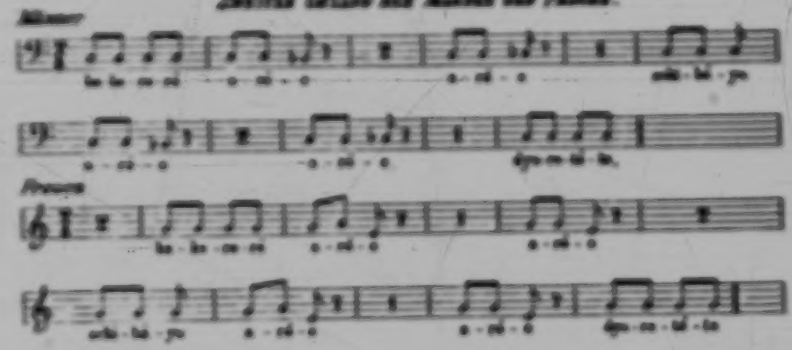
Der Jagdgesang ist derselbe, der bei der Totenfeier gesungen wird! Er macht einen sehr würdigen und in der Nacht, wenn man will, schaurigen Eindruck. Bei der Totenfeier singen Männer und Frauen zusammen, die Frauen freilich heimlich und im Hintergrund stehend und ihren monotonen, während die Männer sich lesen Pfeifen gesagt. Bei der nächtlichen Vorbereitung für die Jagd hörte man nur die tiefen hallenden Stimmen der Mannerchen. Dem Kadetten Caldas verdanke ich die unterstehenden Notes. Er unterschied einen ersten Gesang der Männer allein und einen zweiten von Männern und Frauen. Der Text, den er für den ersten aufgeschrieben hat, ist leider unbrauchbar. Er handelt von der Möve *ichibiga*, die auch im zweiten vorkommt, und ist trotz mehrfacher Wiederholungen nicht nur eine bloße Aufzählung von Namen. Dies letztere + *aríe* ist der Text des zweiten Gesanges und ist in langer Folge auch das, was gewöhnlich gesungen wird — im Text nicht viel weniger arm an Abwechslung als die Musik, die mir, obwohl ich von aller Sachkenntnis frei bin, in der «Einfachheit» das Mögliche zu leisten scheint. Folgende «Verse» sind von Clemente übersetzt und stehen in richtiger Reihenfolge: *kakaruré aríe, ehiga aríe, ichibiga aríe, karapiga aríe, kakaré aríe, imagari aríe, dyaratiá aríe, kapatiá aríe, manatiá aríe.* Die aufgezählten Worte bedeuten: Wasser (ein bestimmter? vom *pilo*), Dourado-Fisch, Möve, Falk, ein anderer Fische fressender Raubvogel, «seine Brust», Wasserschlange Sukuri, Mörser, Sumpfgras. Die Szene ist also am Wasser; mehr vermag ich nicht anzugeben; ob der Tote in der Nachbarschaft seines dort beigesetzten Skelettkorbs Allerlei erlebt, ob die im Fischfang konkurrierenden Tiere in den Mörser gewünscht werden, was aber

glücklich wurde ich bemüht es nicht zu Erhörung bringen. Abwechselnd mit diesem Lied wurde «Jaguar», «Kapivara», «Turkey» (Federtänzen) + *dal segno*, nur geschah dies wiederum nicht bei der Totenfeier, sondern allein in Beziehung zur Jagd.

Zweite Gesang zur Klanne.



Zweiter Gesang zur Klanne zur Flöte.



Rohde spricht von einem «Faraotanz», zu dem man sich mit Federkronen, Schellen und anderen Zierraten schmücke. Ein Vortänzer, in jeder Hand der Kürbisklapper, an den Fersen Schellen aus Hirschhufen, befindet sich in der Mitte eines Kreises, den die Männer bilden und den die Frauen mit einem grösseren Kreis umschliessen. Sie tanzen taktmässig, springen und klappern lange Zeit, endlich brülle der Vortänzer laut und mache einen wilden Schlussprung, den die ganze Gesellschaft nachahme. Wachneldt hat Tänze mit Tiernachahmungen gesehen und nennt besonders extravagant den Brüllaffentanz mit Nachahmung aller Laute und Bewegungen. «Am Jaguarfelltanz nehmen Männer und Frauen teil; letztere können niemals das Fell des Jaguars sehen, das Einer auf dem Rücken trägt, der es ihnen aber mit seinen Bewegungen bei jedem Schritt zu zeigen versucht.» Die Angst der Frauen ist die Pointe

den Tanzes. »Der Tanz, der darin bestand, dass sie die Gebräuche ihrer Vorfahren nachahmten (?), war ein wenig schwerfällig und begleitet von Gesängen in einer von der heutigen unterschiedenen Sprache. Der melancholischste und traurigste Tanz war dem Andenken ihrer Verstorbenen gewidmet; sie stellten darin diese als anwesend dar, unterhielten sich mit ihnen und erwiesen ihnen Liebkosungen aller Art.«

Den Tanz zur Ermutigung im Kampf gegen die feindlichen Kayapó, an dem wir theilnehmen mussten, habe ich Seite 459 geschildert. Einzelheiten über den Tanz und Gesang bei der Totenfeier werden sich bei dem besonderen Bericht über die Bestattung von Coquetoe's Gattin ergeben, und dort werde ich auch den Tanz am Vorabend beschreiben, bei dem die Hinterlassenschaft der Todten verbrannt wurde.

Einen komischen Tanz sahen wir am 8. April, den »Pare«-tanz. Vier junge Männer im Federschmuck erschienen hinter dem Raschlo, von Domingo geführt, der in jeder Hand einen Rasselkorbe schwang. Sie machten taktmässig kleine Sprünge mit gleichen Füssen und tanzten so im Kreis herum, ihre Füsse in plötzlichem Wechsel bald nach innen bald nach aussen kehrend. Dann kamen drei junge Mädchen, jede tanzte zaghaft hinter einem der Jünglinge, ihn an den Hüften anfassend. Die Zuschauer freuten sich, doch steigerte sich ihre Hinterhut bedeutend, als nun eine vierte kräftigere Person mit Rindergürtel und Baumbinde in den Kreis sprang, der trotz eines das Gesicht verhüllenden Kopftuches leicht als Mann zu erkennen war. Er trug Federschmuck um den Hals und in der Hand eine kleine Matte, mit der er im Takt dem Boden zu fächelte. Das Vergnügen dauerte etwa eine Viertelstunde, die Frauen, die zuerst zuerst, traten aus, die Männer tanzten noch einmal in beschleunigtem Tempo herum und gingen baden.

Ringkämpfe, friedliche, fanden nach folgenden Regeln statt. Wer Jemanden herausfordern will, fasst ihn an sein rechtes Handgelenk. Die Beiden treten einander gegenüber, und Jeder legt seine Hände unter den Schultern oder im Kreuz des Andern zusammen; in dieser Umarmung stehen beide mit fast wagerechten Leibern, ihre Füsse haben einen möglichst grossen Abstand und der Fuss blickt auf den Rücken des Andern. Lächelnd verweilen sie so eine Zeitlang in aller Ruhe, dann aber wird es ihnen plötzlich sehr ernst; die Aufgabe ist die, dass man dem Andern ein Bein stellt und ihn so zu Fall bringt. Einer eröffnet den Angriff, indem er seine Ferse in eine Kniekehle des Andern zu bringen und sie zu beugen sucht, dieser aber stellt das stramm durchgedrückte Bein so weit zurück, dass Jener keine Kraft anwenden vermag. Abwechselnd rasch folgen sich die Versuche bald von beiden Seiten, bis einer fällt. Revanche steht ihm immer zu Diensten. Vorzügliches leistete im Raschlo bei dieser Unterhaltung, indem er hintereinander drei oder vier der längsten Stammesgenossen warf, ein kleiner, gewandter, aber höflicher und einäugiger Mensch, den wir den Clown nannten, der jedoch mit seinem cayabaner Tauf-

wamos Cunhãs' hieß. Die da an Kleopatrens abstammenden und entfernten Rivalen pflegten das stets emporzuheben, hatten aber auch in demselben Augenblick unser Feuer in der Kaschähle und schlugen zu Boden.

Schießen mit dem Bogen auf dem freien Platz wurde öfters geübt. Dabei entstand auch die Photographie von Tafel 28 und Abb. 138.

Sehr beliebt bei Alt und Jung war die Bortko, eine Erfindung der Soldaten: ein wagerechter Balken mit kurzen Stricken an beiden Enden, der sich in der Mitte auf einem Pfosten drehte, vgl. Tafel 25, wo sich ein Schwarm Jungen an dem Spiel ergötzt. Der Balken wurde, während auf jedem Ende Einer sitzt und Andere an den Stricken mitziehen, von Jemanden, der noch einige Augenblicke am Pfosten blieb, in schneller und schneller wirbelnde Drehung versetzt, bis dann gewöhnlich die Reiter zur Erde flogen.

Abb. 143. Wurfholz und Federpeitsche. Bororó. (1/6 nat. Gr.)

In Abb. 143 ist zweierlei Kinderspielzeug vereinigt: *pagé*, der aus Mauritsch gefertigte Ball mit Arasfedern, und *tapiro*, eine Peitsche mit einer schwarzen Umhüllung aus Leder der Schnur, mit der Federpeitsche schwenkten die Jungen unter und gewannen das wenig zuträgliche Vergnügen, dass die Feder einen Augenblick auf den Boden senkrecht stehen blieb, wenn der Stiel der Peitsche aus dem Handgelenk heraus mit einem Ruck nach abwärts bewegt wurde. Zwei Jungen sah ich einmal, die einer Biene und einem Schmetterling an einen Faden flattern liessen.

Musikinstrumente; Schwirrhölzer. Im gewöhnlichen Gebrauch waren nur die bis 30 cm langen, grossen Rasselkürbisse und eine kleine *Hankuye pairi* zu finden. Das *Poari* diente als Signalhorn bei der Jagd; es war ein Kuchen von der Gestalt und Grösse eines grossen Apfels, hatte unten einen runden Ausschnitt und oben ein fingerlangen, dünnen Röhrchen angesetzt, in dem seitlich eine Zunge geschnitten war. Mit Büschelchen vom Haar der Verstorbenen behangen, waren die *Poaris* nur schwer von den Bororó zu erlangen.

Abb. 144. Totenflöte. Bororó. (1/10 nat. Gr.)

Die einzige Flöte oder Trompete, die wir gesehen haben, ist in Abb. 144 dargestellt; sie war 1,21 m gross und wurde bei dem Totenfest geblasen und als die Knochenkiste nach dem Hause zurückgetragen wurde. Eine Trommel, die bei derselben Feier im Kaschão gebraucht wurde, machte nicht den Eindruck

der Originalität, er war ein mit einem Stück Ochsenfell überspannter Holzzylinder, als Schlägel dienten ein paar Stäbchen aus Seriemapalmholz.

Von größerem Interesse sind die Schwirrhölzer, sowohl wegen der Geheimnisbestimmungen, die mit ihnen getrieben werden, als auch wegen der Bedeutung, die sie den einzigen bemalten Geräten darstellen. Wie die Schwirrhölzer gebraucht werden, habe ich Seite 327 berichtet. Während sie aber am Kulanehe nur für die fröhlichen Maskentänze oder auch sonst als Spielzeug dienen, werden sie am S. Lourenço nur bei den Gebräuchen der Totenfeier in Tätigkeit gesetzt, einmal wenn die Sachen des Toten verbrannt werden und in einem pantomimischen Tanz den Verstorbenen, der selbst erscheinen, klar gemacht wird, daß man nichts von ihm, seinen Gütern zurückbehält, daß er also auch künftighin im Dorf nichts mehr zu suchen haben, und daß man der Knochenkorb später weggeschafft wird und der Tote das Dorf verläßt. Der Grundgedanke aller Feierlichkeiten ist die Furcht, der Tote könne versuch, Lebende zu holen. Bei den Zeremonien, die zur Abwehr dieser Möglichkeit vorgenommen werden, schleicht man das schwächere Geschlecht ängstlich aus. Die Frauen laufen so lange in den Wald oder verbergen sich in den Häusern. Das Signal für sie gibt das Schwirrholz, dessen brummender Geräusch von Natur etwas wiederum oder unheimlichen Charakter hat. Wenden sie anwesend sein, so setzten sich der Gefahr zu, zu sterben. Bei Kanibalen ist alles logisch und natürlich. Nun aber geschieht ein Mehr als nötig wäre, es hat sich bei diesen Gebräuchen eine Gefahr für die Frauen schon mit dem bloßen Anblick des Schwirrholzes herausgebildet. Sie würden sterben, wenn sie es sähen.

Eine Verstärkung gewiß übertriebener Art, allein ohne irgend welche Unbegreiflichkeit. Man findet bei unsern Frauen ähnliche Ueberzeugungen in der Furcht vor Feuerwaffen; eine mir bekannte Dame hielt sich die Ohren zu, als ich ihr einen Revolver mit offener leerer Trommel zeigte, und flüchtete in einer Aufregung, die nichts hören und sehen wollte, ihn fortzubringen, da es — streng historisch ausgedrückt — oft genug vorkommt, daß die Dinger, auch wenn sie nicht geladen wären, losgingen. Wenn das Schwirrholz bei den Bacairi bei den genannten beiden Gelegenheiten ertönt, so entspricht das dem geladenen Revolver; es ist eine Gefahr für Männer und Frauen, aber die Besorgnis für die letzteren ist größer, weil es bei dem Indianer überhaupt zum Wesen der Frau gehört, daß sie immer weint, »zittert«, wenn Tiere, Feinde, ja nur Wasserfälle drohen, und daß sie immer des Schutzes bedürftig ist. Wenn der Frau nun sogar der Anblick des Schwirrholzes Gefahr bringt, so ist das zum Teil noch die Furcht vor dem garnicht geladenen Revolver, zum Teil schon eine durch in der Praxis von Generationen gewonnene gedankenlose Formel, die ohne Prüfung mit ängstlichem Eifer angewandt wird. Genau ebenso hat Wallace im Amazonasgebiet beobachtet, daß die Frauen fliehen, wenn die Flöten des Jurupari-Dämonentanzes ertönen, und sich berichten lassen, daß sie sterben

[illegible] wenn sie sie sehen; auch wurden dem die Frauen nur unter besonderen Umständen [illegible].

Endlich, wenn man liest, dass einem Reisenden von Australien mit den [illegible] Worten wir nur von den Bororó gesagt wurde, «die Frauen müssen sterben, der das Schwirrholz sehen», wenn dasselbe Schwirrholz bei den verschiedensten Völkerschaften der alten und der neuen Welt in Mysterien, von denen die Frauen ausgeschlossen waren, eine Rolle gespielt hat, so fällt man sich unwillkürlich wundernd herüber. Doch ist es in der That schwer begreiflich, dass man aus diesem Grunde an der [illegible] durch nichts beweisenden Bemerkungen [illegible] oder unmöglichen Art zwischen den heterogenen Elementen deuten konnte, dass man [illegible] der Einrichtung, dass ein Brett an einem Strick durch die Luft geschwungen wird, nicht für eine so hohe Leistung menschlichen Scharfsinns halten, dass sie nur einmal in der Weltgeschichte ausgedacht werden kann, und man [illegible] der Furcht vor Krankheit und Tod, die Erklärungsversuche für diese Phänomene, die Vorstellungen über die Fortdauer nach dem Tode, die Deutung der Traumerlebnisse u. s. w. in diesen Entsprechungen ebenfalls nicht so seltsam finden, dass ein Volk nur von einem andern seiner «Medicinübereinstimmen konnte. Man kommt auf diesem Wege, da sich für eine lange Reihe von Erfindungen und Sitten Gleiches beweisen lässt, zu einem ethnographischen Fetische der Menschheit — ein Weg, der für das Schwirrholz wohl abgeschnitten ist durch den lichtvollen Aufsatz «der Indianer» in Andrew Lang's «Custom and Myth» (London 1884). Die verschiedensten Stämme, erklärt Lang, haben dem Mysterium, sie benützten ein Signal, die richtigen Personen zu berufen und die unrichtigen zu warnen; dadurch, dass sie das Instrument vor den Frauen verbergen, erhalten sie doppelte Sicherheit, dass das neugierige Geschlecht sich scheu zeigt und fern hält. Bei den Bororó liegt der Fall etwas anders; man ist für die Frauen besorgt. Bei andern Stämmen kann es sich — und es will jeder Fall für sich untersucht sein, da die zufällige Uebereinstimmung nur zuweilen zu sein braucht — um eine Bedrohung der Frauen mit Todesstrafe handeln, wie die Kolschundsuaeria sich einer solchen Gefahr für Leib und Leben aussetzen würde, wenn sie das Flötenhaus der Männer betrete. Der Satz, dass «die Frauen sterben würden», kann zweierlei sehr verschiedene Bedeutung haben.

Es war uns bei den Bororó schier unmöglich, Schwirrbilder zu bekommen. Die Angst vor Missbrauch war nach dem Verhalten der Brasilier nur zu be-

Nr. 148. Schwirrholz. Bororó. 1/8 nat. Grösse.

gemacht. Man hat Wilhelm instandgesetzt, die von ihm gezeichneten Schwirrhölzer den Frauen nicht zu zeigen. Wenn wir Kaufangebote machten, wurden die eifrig versteckt. Die Männer hatten unwillkürlich selbst eine gewisse Angst, wenn wir von diesen Geräten wie von Bogen und Pfeilen und beliebigen anderen Gegenständen der Sammlung sprachen. Einer wandte sich ängstlich ab, als ich den Thema eifrig bearbeitete und bekundete deutlich, dass er lieber nichts davon hört; es war eng verknüpft mit der Furcht vor dem Tode. Wir erreichten unsern Wunsch nur durch drei ältere Jungen in den richtigen Flugzeiten, die auf kleiner roter Farbe ebenso versuchen wollten, wie wir auf der Schwirrhölzer. Sie schnitten und bemalten sie draussen im Walde. Bei Nacht und Nebel erschien der Erste sehr geheimnisvoll in unserer Stube und verlangte, dass wir Thür und Fensterläden schlössen. Dann kam der Zweite zeitsparend und endlich ebenso der Dritte. Jeder hatte unter einem Tuch ein Schwirrholz versteckt; sie flüsterten, dass wir sie unglüklich verbergen müssten. Frauen und Kinder würden sterben, wenn sie eine erblickten, sie bestandes ausdrücklich darauf, dass auch der Mamayé — der Schlüssel Tobiáks hatte grosse Angst vor seinem Vater Mogyokuri — nichts erfahren, weil sie «krank» würden und sie jämmerlich bauen würden. Wir nahmen auf diese Begründung auch alle Rücksicht und legten die drei geheimlichen Hölzer vor deren Augen in unsern Koffer dorthin, wo er ein tiefern war.

Die Form der Schwirrhölzer ist langoval, ihre Grösse 40—42 cm. An dem Schwirrende befindet sich eine Einkerbung und etwas davon entfernt in der Mittellinie des Bretts ein Loch, indem die zwischen Loch und Kerbe gespannte Schnur einen festen Halt hat, vgl. Abb. 145.

Zeichenkunst. Hier kann ich zunächst bei den Schwirrhölzern fortfahren. Auf Tafel 19 sehen wir eins mit Bleistift gezeichnet. Wie auf dem Bild der etwas spitz geratenen Ecken schwarz ausgefüllt sind, so sind auch die Enden der Schwirrhölzer schwarz angestrichen; zwischen ihnen ist die Fläche mit Urukúrot bestrichen und auf diesem roten Grund das Muster schwarz aufgemalt. Die Muster haben zu Motiven die beiden nachfolgenden. Auf dem Schwirrholz der Abbildung 146 nämlich, das bei der Totenfeier von Cuqueiro's Gattin von dem Bari gebracht wurde, sind Halbkreise mit Tupfeln gemalt: das mit den Federchen bekleidete Schnabeldach in seiner Ausschmückung für den Kaschekoeb. Auf andern ferner erschienen Stücke der Frauentracht, entweder in breiten, schwarzen Querbinden der Rindergürtel oder in Dreiecken die Bastbinde, vgl. Abb. 129, mit der Haltschnur. Letzteres Motiv befindet sich auf dem gezeichneten Schwirrholz der Tafel 19. Auf jeder Seite ist eine Haltschnur mit drei Bastbinden gezeichnet. Da hätten wir also das uns vom Uluri des Kolisebu bekannte Dreieck auch von der Bastbinde, deren entsprechende Nachbildung wir gern bei den Trumai erhalten hätten. Auf einem Schwirrholzexemplar, das auch Perlmutteraugen und dazwischen einen ungetüpfelten Halbkreis zeigt, sind nicht nur drei Rindergürtel als drei Querbinden, sondern dazwischen noch noch je ein kleiner Kreis, mit rechts und links einem Quadrat daneben aufgemalt.

Die Bedeutung ist unklar; wahrscheinlich stellen die Quadrate die Knochenkörbe und der Kreis den Schädel dar.

Die Mädchen im Ranchlo wurden im Gesicht mit den Bildern des Rindengürtels und der Bastbinde bemalt, ebenso wie ein Teil der Schwirrhölzer: derselbe Querstreifen über die Stirn und Schläfe, die Augen einschliessend und den Oberteil der Stirn freilassend, und dieselben Dreiecke auf den Wangen, jederseits eines. Nur wurde diese Malerei, vgl. Seite 477, mit dem fröhlicheren Urukurot ausgeführt. Die Leute hatten sich eines Tages den Scherz gemacht, auch uns eine kleine Bemalung im Gesicht angedeihen zu lassen, die uns begegnenden Mädchen hatten grossen Spass daran und riefen, was uns damals rätselhaft war, „*nidge*" «Schwirrhölzer». Sie setzten noch ein paar Dreieckchen hinzu, indem sie von einem geschminkten Bororó, der dabei stand, die Farbe abtupften. — Rotgestreift wurden endlich die Fahnen der Feststelze, vgl. Seite 192, Abb. 17.

Die Bleistiftzeichnungen der Bororó, vgl. Tafel 18 und 19, habe ich Seite 249 ff. im Zusammenhang mit denen der Kulisehuindianer besprochen.

Auch ihre Sandzeichnungen sind dort Seite 248, 249 beschrieben. Mit besonderer Vorliebe wurde ein Indianer, durch ein riesiges Membrum virile gekennzeichnet, auf der Tapirjagd dargestellt, wie er den Pfeil abschoss. Auch sahen wir einen Vaqueiro, der den Lasso warf. Am schönsten aber war das schimmernde Jaguargemälde. Wilhelms Zeichnungen erregten stets lebhaftes Interesse. Abends hatten wir öfter Besuch, der sie genauer studierte und neue Aufgaben stellte; Einer wünschte ein Bild seines Fingernagels zu sehen, ein Anderer fing eine Motte zur Vorlage und dergleichen mehr. Sie verstanden auch die landschaftliche Darstellung und erkannten einen bestimmten Baum bei einer Hütte, den Wilhelm in grösserem Maestabe gezeichnet hatte.

Recht und Heirat. Der Häuptling befiehlt im Krieg und sagt im Frieden die Jagd an, wie er am Kulisehu für die Pflanzung sorgte. Sonst ist sein Amt ohne Bedeutung; es ist erblich. Die Brasilier suchten seine Stellung möglichst zu befestigen, damit sie sich an eine bestimmte Person halten konnten, allein ein Ansehen, wie es Meguyokuri besass, war nach dem, was Clemente angab, ein künstlich gesteigertes. In Wirklichkeit war der Posten eines Medizinmannes weit besser; denn wenn die Brasilier den Häuptling in erster Linie mit Geschenken bedachten, so sah sich der Bari in der angenehmen Lage, für seine Einsegnungen jederzeit das Beste zu erhalten. Es war freilich auch ein anstrengendes Klappern, das zu seinem Handwerk gehörte.

Soviel ich die Dinge begriffen habe, teilte sich der Stamm in zwei grosse Klassen: die der Familienhütten und die des Männerhauses. Jene begriff die älteren Familienväter, die in geregeltem Ehestande lebten, diese die Junggesellen, die sich Mädchen einfingen und sie in kleineren Gruppen gemeinschaftlich besassen. Der Frauenraub, der sich von Stamm zu Stamm abspielt, erfolgte hier innerhalb des Stammes. Nur ein Teil der Stammesgenossen war im Dauerbesitz

von Frauen. Es ist sicher, dass diese merkwürdigen Verhältnisse nicht etwa ein zufälliges Erzeugnis der Kolonie waren. Clemente erklärte, dass es in den Dörfern genau ebenso hergehe, und was beweiskräftiger ist, die Gebräuche selbst zeigen, dass es sich um gewohnte Einrichtungen handelt. In Polygamie lebte in Theresa Christina anscheinend ausser dem brasilischen Häuptling Duarte mit seinen zwei Frauen nur Moguyokuri, und es war interessant genug, auf welche Art. Seine Gattinnen waren eine ältere Frau und deren Tochter aus erster Ehe; er heiratete eine Wittwe, die eine Tochter hatte, und als die Mutter häslich und die Tochter hübsch wurde, »heiratete« er auch die Tochter. In den Dörfern ist aber die Polygamie der Aelteren in grösserem Umfang Regel. Nur durch die Ansprüche der Brasilier bedingt, schien in der Kolonie ein gewisser Ausnahmezustand zu herrschen, indem sowohl für die Hütten wie für das Männerhaus ein Mangel an Frauen bestand.

Von den Bororó am Jauru berichtet Waehneldt: »bei ihren Heiraten haben sie keine andere Zeremonie als so viele Weiber zu nehmen als sie unterhalten können, oder richtiger gesagt, als dort (von auswärts) erscheinen; fast alle Ehemänner hatten viele Frauen, bis zu sechs, während in dem Dorf der Bororó bei S. Mathias daran so grosser Mangel war, dass Mädchen von acht und zehn Jahren als solche dienen mussten.« Ein Männerhaus war dort nicht vorhanden, sondern nur eine Umzäunung von 4½ m Durchmesser, in der die Padres ensegneten und die von Frauen und Kindern nicht betreten werden durfte, das »Sanktuarium«.

Eine Einwilligung der Eltern zur Heirat wird nicht verlangt. Die Eltern geben und empfangen auch Nichts. Widersetzen sie sich, so bricht Streit aus und Gewalt entscheidet. Wer unterliegt, verlässt das Dorf. Alles beruht auf dem Recht des Starkeren.

Die junge Frau bleibt mit ihren Kindern im Hause der Eltern. Der junge Ehemann bringt nur die Nacht dort im Hause zu und lebt am Tage, wenn er nicht auf Jagd ist, im Männerhaus. Die jungen Eheleute haben eine Feuerstelle für sich, etwas abseits sitzt die Grossmutter mit den Enkeln. So bleibt es bis zum Tode der Grosseltern. Die Grossmutter säugt, wenn die junge Frau mit dem Mann auf Jagd zieht oder im Wald Palmsonne holt; »sie haben immer noch Milch, wenn ihre Kinder heiraten«.

Junge Männer sehen sich bei Zeiten vor, dass sie eine Frau finden, und da giebt es zwei Gebräuche in Beziehung zur Tracht, die von grösstem Interesse sind. Die Ohrläppchen des Mädchens werden von ihrem zukünftigen Mann durchbohrt;*) wenn er sie nicht selbst heiratet, so wird sie von seinem Sohn geheiratet.

Wer ferner einem Knaben den Stulp anlegt, wird mit ihm »verschwägert« und heiratet seine Schwester oder seine Tante.

*) Die den Knaben vom Vater.

Nun die Sitten des Männerhauses. Die Brasilier behaupteten, es sei vorgekommen, dass 30 bis 40 Männer hintereinander dasselbe Weib, das an Armen und Beinen festgehalten wurde, genötigt hatten. Teilweise werden die Mädchen am Tage offenkundig geholt und, wie beschrieben, unter vielen Schikanen bemalt und geschmückt, teilweise wurden sie am späten Abend eingefangen. So sahen wir in einer Nacht, wie die vor dem Ranchão liegenden Junggesellen einen Angriff auf die von einer Klageversammlung heimkehrende Frauenschaar machten, zwei wurden unter lautlosem Ringen gefangen genommen, mit Decken umwickelt, sodass sie nicht zu erkennen waren, und in das Männerhaus geschleppt. Doch war die eine der beiden, wie wir am folgenden Morgen sahen, die an Erfahrungen reiche Maria, deren Sträuben nicht sehr ernst gemeint gewesen sein konnte. «Gestern hast Du Dich nicht verheiraten wollen?» fragte ich. «Jetzt habe ich mich schon verheiratet», antwortete sie gemütlich. Sie lag neben ihrem bevorzugten Mann in aller Behaglichkeit unter der roten Decke und beide knackten Palmnüsse. Moguyokuri sahen wir eines Tages die jungen Leute aneifern, die im Ringkampf so wilde und nun so demütige Maria zu schmücken. Sofort stürzten sich sechs auf sie zu und bemalten sie.

Den Ranchãofrauen wurden von ihren Liebhabern Pfeile mit langen Bambusspitzen gegeben. Jeder überreichte zwei, die das Mädchen hockend mit gleichgültiger Miene in Empfang nahm. Ich zählte, als ich einmal anwesend war, 18 Stück solcher Liebespfeile für ein Mädchen. Sie werden abgeliefert an den Bruder oder an den Bruder der Mutter. Die Ranchãomädchen verheiraten sich nicht mehr an einen Einzelnen; für etwaige Kinder gelten sämtliche Männer des Ranchão, mit denen sie verkehrt hat, als Vater. Das sind also ganz geregelte Verhältnisse, die aus der Uebermacht der Aelteren hervorgehen; diese leben im Besitz und beziehen aus den Mädchen, die dem Männerhaus überlassen werden und wegen deren sich diese einigen mögen, noch eine regelrechte Einnahme an Pfeilen oder auch Schmuckwachen, wie z. B. die Hosenträgerschnüre ebenfalls als Bezahlung gelten. Widernatürlicher Verkehr soll im Männerhaus nicht unbekannt sein, jedoch nur vorkommen, wenn der Mangel an Ranchãomädchen ungewöhnlich gross sei.

Wie geordnet die Eigentumsverhältnisse sind, haben wir schon an dem Umstand gesehen, dass die Jagdbeute nicht in den Händen dessen bleibt, der sie erworben hat. Ein grosser Verlust betrifft die Familie, aus der ein Mitglied stirbt. Denn Alles, was der Tote in Gebrauch hatte, wird verbrannt, in den Fluss geworfen oder in den Knochenkorb gepackt, damit er keinesfalls veranlasst sei, zurückzukehren. Die Hütte ist dann vollständig ausgeräumt. Allein die Hinterbliebenen werden neu beschenkt, man macht Bogen und Pfeile für sie und so will es auch die Sitte, dass, wenn ein Jaguar getötet wird, das Fell «an den Bruder der zuletzt gestorbenen Frau oder an den Oheim des zuletzt gestorbenen Mannes» gegeben wird; als der berufene Schützer der Frau trat uns immer ihr Bruder entgegen. Pfeile sind das wichtigste Wertobjekt; sie erhält der Bruder

des Ranchäomädchens, oder der Jaguartöter, sie sind die Gegenleistung beim Eintausch von Tabak und Baumwolle.

Gelegentliche Diebstähle wurden mit vielem Lärm, aber ergebnislos untersucht. Die Häuptlinge oder ältere Personen liefen überall umher, auf dem freien Platz wurden grosse Reden gehalten. So einmal, als Ehrenreich ein schönes Messer abhanden gekommen war. Man zog von Hütte zu Hütte, Alle mussten ihre Messer vorweisen und wir sahen zu unserm Erstaunen, dass deren in Hülle und Fülle vorhanden waren (bei einer Frau zählten wir 21 Stück). Indessen zum Schluss hiess es stets, dass der Gegenstand im Walde versteckt worden sei.

Geburt; Namen. Die Frau kommt im Wald nieder, angelehnt an „*pur*" den »Vater«, habe ich aufgeschrieben und weiss nicht, ob das nicht heissen müsste „*pur*", an den »Baum«. Das Kind wird fleissig auf die Augen geblasen, der Vater durchschneidet die Nabelschnur mit einem Bambuspahn und legt einen Faden an. Zwei Tage essen Vater und Mutter nichts, am dritten dürfen sie nur etwas warmes Wasser geniessen. Wenn der Mann ässe, würden er und das Kind krank werden. Die Nachgeburt wird im Walde vergraben. Bis zur Wiederkehr der Menstruation darf die Frau nicht baden, dann aber und auch sonst in diesen Tagen geschieht es fleissig. Abortieren mit Hülfe innerer Mittel soll häufig sein, zumal seitens der Ranchäofrauen. Wollen die Mütter nicht mehr nähren, so drücken sie die Brust aus und »trocknen die Milch über Feuer aus, worauf sie wegbleibt«. Medizin für die erkrankten Kinder, die der Apotheker bereitete, wurde von den Vätern eingenommen. Vgl. über die Couvade Seite 334 ff. Die Nebenfrage, ob der Vater in der Hängematte liege, erledigt sich bei den Bororó von selbst, da sie keine haben und doch die Couvade üben.

Der Name wird dem Knaben bald nach der Geburt gegeben, wenn die Unterlippe durchbohrt wird, vgl. Seite 475, was übrigens auch von anderen Personen als dem Medizinmanne geschehen kann. Der Operateur fragt, irgendwer schlägt vor und der Name wird angenommen. Die Mädchen wurden ebenfalls bald nach der Geburt von Verwandten benannt. Die Namen bezeichneten Tiere und Pflanzen; Moguyokuri sei ein dem Aguti verwandtes Tier.

Waehneldt hebt die grosse Liebe der Eltern zu den Kindern hervor. »Sie bewahren sie«, fährt er fort, »sorgfältig vor den Räubern; sofort als ich bei ihnen eintrat, verbargen sie alle und nur, nachdem sie sich überzeugt, dass nichts zu befürchten sei, erschienen sie alle wieder. Ein Indianer bat mich um ein Mittel für seinen kranken Sohn und sagte, er werde, falls dieser sterben solle, so viel Erde essen, bis er mit ihm beendigt werde.« Dass die Unterlippe durchbohrt wird, um den Kindern ein Merkmal zu geben, hat also auch bei den Bororó am Jauru seinen bestimmten Grund. Wir können uns über die Liebe zu den Kindern nur in ähnlicher Weise aussprechen; trotz der schweren Last wurde das Baby meist mit in den Wald genommen und thronte bei der Heimkehr auf den Schultern der Mutter, ihren Kopf zwischen den Beinen. Umgekehrt war der Respekt vor den Eltern weniger deutlich ausgesprochen; es

waren intelligente, aber unverschamte Rangen, die lieber eigensinnig als gehorsam waren.

Die Ausrüstung der Knaben mit Stulpen wird festlich begangen. Sie müssen den Tag vorher in dem Wald zubringen und bekommen nichts zu essen. Die jungen Krieger werden berauscht und müssen allerlei Schabernack aushalten; der Hauptspass ist, dass sich zwei Parteien an beiden Seiten eines Feuers aufstellen und die Jungen einander zuwerfen.

Totenfeier. Unterrichten wir uns zunächst bei Waehneldt über die Bororó am Jauru.

»Ihre Trauer- und Bestattungsfeierlichkeiten finden inmitten ihrer Dörfer statt, im Sanctuarium selbst (der Seite 501 erwähnten Umzäunung). Man zeigte uns die reinen Knochen des ältesten, vor wenigen Monaten gestorbenen Indianers, der, nachdem er sechs Monate beerdigt gewesen, wieder ausgegraben worden sei; die Knochen waren rein und vollzählig.

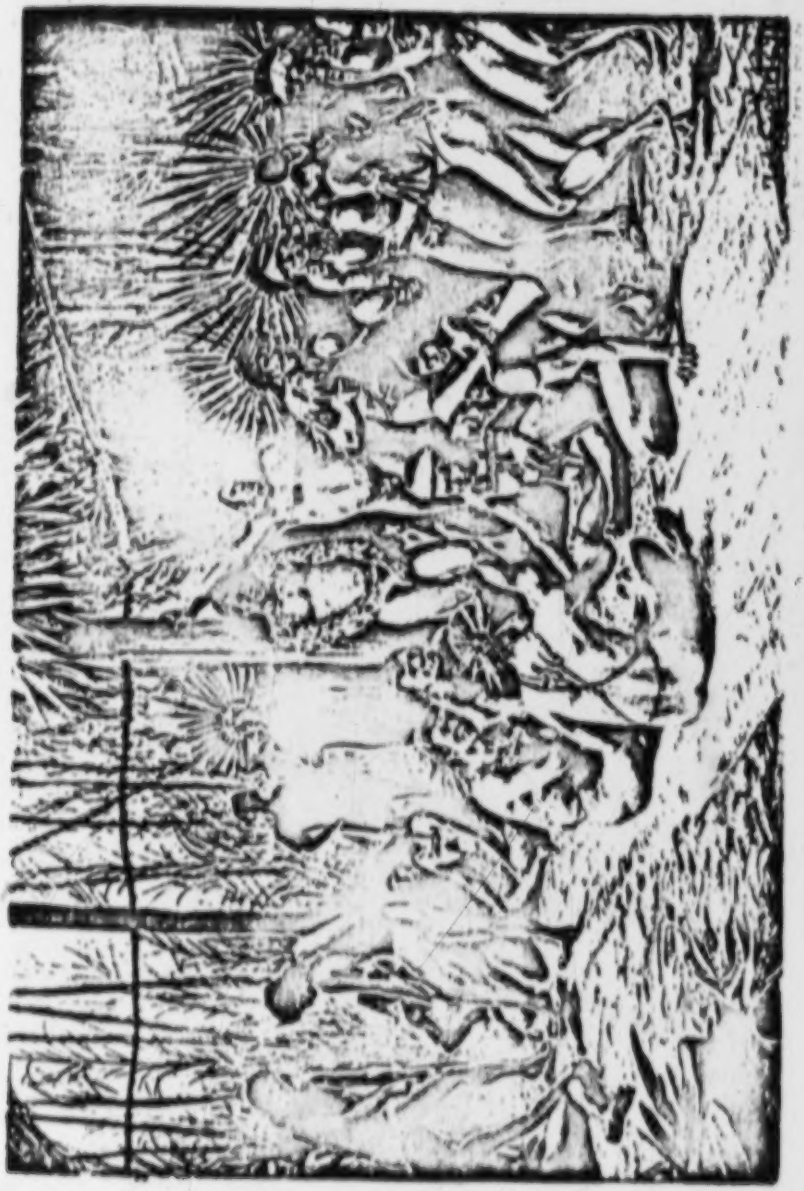
Alle Abende sangen sie an diesem Ort Trauergesänge und tanzten, während sie jeden Knochen mit bunten Federn bedeckten und den Schädel reich mit Arara- und anderen Federn schmückten.

Diese Zeremonien dauern mehrere Wochen, worauf die in einer Urne beigesetzten Knochen von Neuem beerdigt werden. Jedoch nicht allen Verstorbenen werden gleiche Ehren zu Teil.

Der Dahingeschiedene bleibt auf seinem Totenbett für die Dauer von drei Tagen unberührt, bis die Verwesung schon stark fortgeschritten ist und einen schlechten, Ekel erregenden Geruch verbreitet; am dritten Tage wird der Leichnam in Felle, Matten und grüne Blätter eingewickelt, in die Grube gelegt und diese wieder mit Erde, Palmblättern und Matten bedeckt.

Die Grabstätte befindet sich in der Mitte des Dorfes und wird sehr sauber gehalten; sie hatte das Aussehen eines europäischen Kirchhofs«.

In diesen wertvollen Angaben muss ein Punkt näher erörtert werden. Waehneldt hält bei seinem kurzen Besuch im Matogrosso die Bororó für alteingesessene Bewohner der Gegend und glaubt, weil er die Beisetzung in Urnen sah, dass auch Urnen, die sich »im Ueberfluss an alten, heute verachteten Wohnstätten, zum grossen Teil voller Knochen«, fanden, von den Vorfahren der Bororó herrührten. Seine Bororó sind jedoch dieselben, die von dem Fazendeiro Leite nach langen Kämpfen erst hier angesiedelt wurden; alte Urnenfriedhöfe gleicher Art giebt es in der Nachbarschaft von Villa Maria zahlreich; sie haben mit den modernen Bororó nichts zu schaffen und harren noch der Untersuchung. Waehneldt giebt auch selbst an, dass er nur »wenige Töpfe aus Thon, die von ihnen selbst waren, angetroffen habe und ausserdem einige grössere Gefässe, um verschiedene Gegenstände aufzubewahren, die indessen Erbstücke der Vorfahren waren, weil sie heute nicht mehr gemacht werden«. Entweder hatten sich die Bororó solche Urnen zum Muster genommen und ihre Knochenkörbe — noch eine Vor-



[Facing p. 504]

stäle der Urne — dadurch ersetzt, oder, was ich bei ihrer anerkannten geringen keramischen Leistungsfähigkeit, die der unserer Bororó genau entspricht, und der Angabe, dass auch sonst alte Urnen benutzt wurden, für wahrscheinlicher halte, sie setzten ihre Toten in den alten Urnen bei, die so reichlich und zum Teil schon leer an den heute verachteten alten Wohnstätten anzutreffen sind. Die ursprüngliche Sitte der Bororó ist dieselbe, wie die der Humboldt'schen Aturen, von denen der Reisende nur noch die Ueberreste in Gestalt von 600 wohlerhaltenen, in Körben aus Palmblattstielen wie in einem viereckigen Sacke verpackten, mit Urukú rotgefärbten Skeletten antraf und von deren Sprache nur noch ein alter Papagei der nahegelegenen Mission einige Worte zu plappern wusste. Auch die Aturen hatten der Tradition zufolge ihre Leichen zuerst einige Zeit in die Erde gelegt, das Fleisch verwesen lassen und die Skelette mit scharfen Steinen rein präparirt und den Körben übergeben.[1] Eine Anzahl der Toten war auch bereits in Henkelurnen bestattet.

Wir haben am S. Lourenço zwei Totenfesten beigewohnt; das erste war gerade bei unserer Ankunft im Gang, das zweite, das ich beschreiben möchte, haben wir von Anfang zu Ende gesehen.

Die erste Beerdigung findet am zweiten oder dritten Tage statt, wenn die Verwesung jeden Zweifel an dem Tode ausschliesst. Die Leiche wird nahe am Wasser im Walde begraben und nach etwa 14 Tagen entfleischt und die Hauptfeier veranstaltet, deren Zweck die Ausschmückung und Verpackung des Skeletts ist. In der Zwischenzeit unterhält man den Verkehr mit dem Toten sowohl während des Tages als auch und hauptsächlich während der Nacht durch Klagegesänge im Ranchão, die in unserm Fall (vgl. Seite 458) auf kleineren Umfang beschränkt werden konnten, da es sich nur um eine Frau handelte, die Gattin von »Kokospalme«.

Die Hauptfeier fiel auf den Ostersonntag. Am Tage vorher, den Hallelujasonnabend, wurden, als Judas beseitigt war, im Ranchão die Vorarbeiten eifrig betrieben, Schwirrhölzer gehobelt und bemalt, der Schmuck ausgebessert, dazwischen auch in einer Ecke ziemlich lässig von einem Bari im Federputz des Pariko ein wenig geklappert und gesungen; der Wittwer Coqueiro zerschnitt sich in seiner Hütte Arme und Beine, die sich mit Krusten geronnenen Blutes bedeckten, und am Spätnachmittage vollzog sich die feierliche Vernichtung der Habe der Verstorbenen, richtiger der Habe ihrer engeren Familie, die in einer Hütte mit ihr gewohnt hatte — ein Hergang mit sehr interessanter Pantomine, der eine genauere Schilderung verdient.

Mehrere Bororó erschienen hinter dem Männerhaus in voller Gala, Haar und Körper mit Urukú bestrichen, die Stirn von dem schwarzen Lackstreifen eingerahmt, den Feststulp mit der bemalten Fahne angethan, die Arme und das Haar mit grünen Papageienfedern beklebt und auf dem Kopf zwei Parikos und Baragaras, die Federräder und die federverzierten Lippenbohrer. Während zwei sich auf eine Matte setzten und klapperten, nahm Coqueiro selbst frischgrüne

Blatterbundel, band sie am Stiel pinselförmig zusammen und befestigte sie dem bestgeschmückten jungen Mann an den Schultern, wo er schwarze Theerflecke hatte, an den Armen, den Knieen, den Knöcheln. Dieser Bororó im grünen Laubschmuck stellte den Toten in seinem jetzigen Zustand dar, wo er unter einer Decke von grünen Blättern beerdigt war. Vier Männer traten mit einer Korbtasche hinzu, holten Kleider von Coqueiro's Gattin hervor und behingen damit den Grünen, der achzend dastand und in den Knieen wippte — ein Bild des Jammers, nach unseren Begriffen eine »arme Seele«, höchst seltsam anzuschauen in dem »überladenen« Kostüm von blauen Ararafedern, grünen Guirlanden und fünf bunten Kattunröcken. Auch die anderen behingen sich mit Röcken. Einer mit einem Jaguarfell, gaben dem Grünen ein mit weissen Federchen beklebtes Kürbisflötchen und veranstalteten nun einen Tanz. Ein Mann mit zwei Rasselkürbissen eröffnete den Reigen, hinter ihm tanzte der Grüne und hinter diesem die vier Andern. Alle sechs sangen im Chor und tanzten rechts hinübertretend, links hinübertretend erst nach dem Ranchão, wandten sich dann zurück und stampften tanzend auf dem Boden einen Kreis aus. Plötzlich schwenkten sie ab und rannten in regellosem Durcheinander zum Wäldchen hin, wo sie verschwanden.

Mit dem Kürbisflötchen rief der junge Tote zwei alte Tote, die schon längst in der Erde lagen. Sie sollten bei der Auslieferung der Habe anwesend sein, den neuen Genossen übernehmen und sich überzeugen, dass man ihm nichts vorenthalte, was er mit späteren unangenehmen Besuchen bei den Hinterbliebenen zu reklamieren hätte.

Nach einer Viertelstunde kehrte die Schaar im Sturmlauf mit fürchterlichem Halloh zurück, zwei trugen auf ihrem Rücken — hurra, die Toten reiten schnell — zwei in der That schauderhafte Gestalten, nackt, schmucklos, über und über vom Wirbel bis zur Zehe mit nassem Flusslehm beschmiert. Mit bestialischem Schreien sprangen die Lehmscheusale wilden Tieren gleich umher, wie ungeheure Brummfliegen summten und sausten drei Schwirrhölzer durch die Luft — kein weibliches Wesen war weithin sichtbar und die Hütten lagen wie unbewohnt, mit Matten verschlossen — inmitten des vorhin gestampften Kreises wurde mit grösster Geschäftigkeit ein helles Feuer entzündet, ein gewaltiger Kram von allem möglichen Hausrath herbeigeschleppt, Körbe, Feuerfächer, Bastbinden, Kindergürtel, eine rote Decke, viele Maiskolben, Kürbisse, Muscheln; Bogen und Pfeilbündel wurden zerbrochen und alles in einen Haufen zusammengeworfen. Bald kam eine gewisse Ordnung in die Szene; die Männer umgaben das Feuer in einem Kreis und bewegten sich mit gleichen Füssen aufspringend langsam rundum. Der Grüne wurde von den beiden Lehmgesellen, in denen wir im ersten Augenblick den braven Moguyokuri und den Hauptbari (den Schützen auf Tafel 28) kaum wiedererkannten, festgehalten und niedergedrückt. Die Kürbisse rasselten, die Schwirrhölzer summten, das Feuer brannte nun lichterloh. Der Grüne wurde losgelassen und er und ein zweiter im Pärfko hinter ihm warfen

die Sachen ringsum tanzend und immer bald rechts bald links zur Seite tretend in die Flammen. Mittlerweile — und das war meines Erachtens das Merkwürdigste des ganzen Schauspiels — kurierten die beiden alten Toten eine kranke Frau, die sich, ich weiss nicht wie, plötzlich eingefunden hatte. Sie bliesen sie an und gaben ihr wohl die tröstliche Versicherung, dass sie noch nicht so bald geholt werde. Mehrere liefen zum nahen Fluss und warfen dort Messer und Beile hinein. Coqueiro richtete das Feuer, Tanz und Gesang hörten auf, die Federschmucke wurden neben das Feuer gelegt und der Grüne legte seine Guirlanden hinzu, die Baris hockten in einer Reihe hintereinander und wurden mit Wasser begossen. Sogleich darauf grosser Lärm; der Hund eines Soldaten hat ein Kind gebissen, Moguyokuri, noch mit Lehm beschmiert, geht wütend auf den Besitzer los, der zu seiner eigenen Sicherheit in Arrest wandert; damit ist der Häuptling befriedigt und verschliesst mit seiner Hand den Mund der keifenden Mutter, die nun stumm, aber vergnügt grinsend und die Zunge ausstreckend abgeht.

In der folgenden Nacht ununterbrochenes Aróesingen bei den Indianern; Niemand blieb in den Hütten oder im Ranchão; Männer, Weiber, Kinder waren draussen. Ununterbrochenes Musizieren, Tanzen, Lachen und Plärren bei den Soldaten. Herrlicher Mondschein. Des Osterfestes erste Feierstunde sah gar wundersame Kontraste unter den Gruppen der Bestattung und der Auferstehung.

Am Morgen betrat, Moguyokuri an der Spitze, ein langer Zug den Ranchão, alle mit grünen Zweigen in den Händen, in der Mitte der Bruder der Toten mit der viereckigen Korbtasche, die die in der Frühe ausgegrabenen und gereinigten Skelettteile enthielt. Der Korb wurde auf eine Matte gelegt, vier Männer nahmen sich den Schädel und den Unterkiefer heraus, die blank und weiss wie die schönsten Präparate aussahen, und gaben sich daran, sie sowie eine neue Korbtasche mit Federn auszuschmücken. Moguyokuri sass auf einem Jaguarfell in voller Gala, Haar und Haut rot geschminkt, um die Hüfte einen Akuripalmzweig geschlungen, auf den Schultern schwarzblaue Mutungfedern angeklebt, die gelbrothen Lappen von Tukanfedern von den Ohren herabhängend, den schönsten Pariko auf dem Haupt, im Loch der Unterlippe die Muschelkette. Neben ihm standen vier mit den Parikos geschmückte Medizinmänner, die eifrig die Rasselkürbisse schüttelten und im Takt stampfend auf- und niedersprangen, die Augen geschlossen. Der ganze Ranchão war mit Menschen, hauptsächlich Frauen und Kindern, gefüllt; sie sangen mit und klatschten taktgemäss in die Hände. Mehrere der Frauen traten an den Knochenkorb heran, und legten die Hand darauf; die Aelteste ritzte sich die Arme mit Glasscherben in schnellen scharfen Schnitten, das Blut tröpfelte auf die Hände der Anderen und färbte das Palmstroh der Korbtasche.

Von den jungen Männern in der Mitte wurde zuerst der Unterkiefer mit Urukú bestrichen und mit weissen Flaumfederchen umhüllt. Neben sich auf der Matte hatten sie Urukúfarbe in einem Gürteltierschild, einen kleinen Topf mit Fischöl, eine Muschel mit Klebharz, eine Matte mit losen weissen und eine

grosse Topfschale mit purpurnen Federchen gefüllt. Den neuen Korb bestrichen sie innen und aussen reichlich mit Urukú und während die einen den Korb mit Federn beklebten, widmeten sich die andern dem Schädel, in den sie den Unterkiefer einsetzten und den sie, am Hinterhaupt beginnend, auf das Sorgfältigste mit den Purpurfederchen beklebten. Jedes Federchen wurde am Ende mit einem Harzstäbchen bestrichen und einzeln aufgesetzt.

Währenddessen kam auch Coqueiro mit einem Kind an der Hand. Er setzte sich still beiseit, schluchzte und weinte. Er trug keinen Schmuck als um den Leib die schwarze Schnur, die er sich aus dem Haar seines Weibes gesponnen und geflochten hatte. Seine Wangen waren thränennass, er kniff die Augen zusammen, wie wenn das Weinen schmerzhaft wäre.

Allmählich bedeckte sich das Schädelgewölbe mit einem roten Ararasammet. Wer die Hände abwischen musste, gebrauchte den Korb. Ein Teil der Anwesenden kümmerte sich bald nicht mehr um die Feier. Die Kinder sprangen munter umher, einige Männer knabberten an Maiskolben und arbeiteten, ein paar Frauen fingen sich gegenseitig Läuse, sangen dabei aber andächtig weiter. Es wurde auch leerer.

Man wurde auf die Dauer duselig von alle den schwirrenden und hallenden Tönen. Ein Trommler hatte sich hinzugesellt, die Arme mit einem Pelz von Papageienfederchen beklebt. Wieder füllte sich der Raum. Sieben Frauen traten an den alten Knochenkorb, ritzten sich und stellten die Füsse darauf, sodass auch ihr Blut das Stroh tränkte. Vgl. Tafel 29. Die Wunden waren 2—3 cm voneinander entfernt, ein rotes Netzgeäder bedeckte Beine und Arme, Brüste und Leib. Der Gesichtsausdruck blieb ruhig und bekundete keinen Schmerz; das Ritzen geschah mit ungemein schnellen Bewegungen. Alle wickelten ihren Glassplitter in ein Blatt, überreichten es Coqueiro und setzten sich zu ihm nieder. Neue Gruppen kamen sich zu ritzen, immer nur Frauen und Mädchen, und thaten wie die vorigen; jede führte den Splitter, bevor sie ritzte, nässend zum Munde. Brummend, schnarrend mischten sich zwei Flöten in die Musik der klappernden Kürbisse, der Trommel, des Gesanges und des Stampfens. Mit unglaublicher Ausdauer tanzten die Sänger. Auch Coqueiro hockte bei dem Korb nieder und ritzte sich die Arme, während eine Frau daneben stand mit ihrem Kind auf dem Rücken.

Gegen Mittag waren Schädel und Korb fertig. Bei jenem hatte man mit einer schönen gelben Querlinie, der Kranznaht entsprechend, die rote Sammetkappe unterbrochen. Der neue Korb war mit schneeig weissen Federchen beklebt, und auf jeder Seite innerhalb der weissen Fläche zwei Reihen von roten Rechtecken fensterartig angelegt. Es sah ganz allerliebst und zierlich aus, was die rohen Jäger da gearbeitet hatten. Nun wurde eine besondere Handlung veranstaltet, die »Einsegnung« von Schädel und neuem Korb. Man baute eine Art Kapelle oder Sanktuarium, indem man fünf Bogen im Halbkreis aufpflanzte, Matten anlehnte und Decken daran und darüber hing. In diese Nische stellte

man den geschmückten Korb, lehnte daran drei noch unbemalte Schwirrhölzer und legte den Schädel auf eine mit einem losen Federhaufen gefüllte Matte; der thätigste der Baris setzte sich in den Eingang, den sein Körper nebst dem hinter ihm stehenden Trommler — jetzt ohne Trommel — verschloss. Ihnen zum Trost waren auch zwei Töpfe mit Wasser, lehmgelbem Flusswasser, und drei Zigarren in die Nische gebracht worden. Langsam anhebend, mit tiefer Stimme, begannen die Beiden ihren Gesang, und der Bari schwang in jeder Hand die Rassel. Die Uebrigen sassen vergnügt herum, trieben kleine Späschen, bettelten um Tabak und brummten nur den Schlusstakt mit. Aber allmählig wurde der Gesang lebhafter, helle Frauenstimmen fielen kräftig ein, und die beiden Vorsänger an der Nische arbeiteten aus Leibeskräften, bis sie nach dreiviertel Stunden zu Tode erschöpft waren. Sie beugten sich in die Nische hinein, um zu trinken, doch ihr ganzer Körper schüttelte sich wie im Fieber, sodass der Wassertopf gehalten werden musste; sie wischten sich den Schweiss ab und vermochten nur noch ein paar unartikulierte Laute zu stammeln, die der Chor unisono mit mehrfachem, verhaltenem Anerkennungsbrummen beantwortete. Zitternd rauchten sie ihre Zigarren.

Die Decken werden abgenommen; sechs Männer, unter ihnen jetzt auch Coqueiro, schwangen die Rasseln, sangen und tanzten, stets mit geschlossenen Augen, ganz in sich selbst konzentriert. Auch wir tanzten und rasselten eine Weile mit, zur Freude der Indianer. Nur der Eine oder Andere pausierte gelegentlich ein Weilchen, rauchte währenddess mit grosser Hast an seiner Zigarre und strich den Schweiss herunter, der von den Leibern der sechs in Strömen floss. Zahlreiche Frauen sangen mit, sich die Zeit mit Lausen vertreibend, fächelten den Tänzern auch, hinter ihnen stehend, im Takte Kühlung zu; die Männer lagen in grosser Zahl der Wand entlang ausgestreckt und ruhten sich aus. Eine allgemeine Pause wurde nur einmal gemacht und der Gesang von lustigem Harmonikageklimper, das von den Soldatenhütten her erklang, abgelöst; doch schon nach drei oder vier Minuten rasselte Moguyokuri's Kürbis zum Zeichen der Fortsetzung. Alle Knochen werden einzeln mit Urukú bestrichen — nach der Reihe Oberschenkel, Oberarm, Unterarm, Unterschenkel, das in zwei Theile gespaltene Becken, die Rippen und Hand- und Fussknochen bis zum letzten Zehenknöchelchen. Mit einem Kind hat man leichtere Arbeit; es wird in toto verpackt. Trieften die Knochen zu sehr von dem Oel, so hielt man Decken und Matten unter; nichts durfte verloren gehen. An den mitgebrachten Palmzweigen wischte man sich die Hände ab. Sorgfältig wurden sämtliche Skeletteile, die kleinen Hand- und Fussknochen in besondere Blätter eingewickelt, in den Korb gelegt, Kleidungsstücke — drei Hosen (Frau Coqueiro!), eine Frauenjacke, drei Hemden — zugefügt, und endlich noch die gebrauchten Palmzweige in die zum Platzen gefüllte Korbtasche hineingestopft. Man vernähte sie mit fusslangen Holznadeln; Moguyokuri's kräftige Faust war nötig, um die Ränder zum Schluss zu bringen. Die an den beiden Ecken überstehenden Palmzweige wurden abgeschnitten.

Um 5½ Uhr war man fertig; man sang noch eine kleine Weile, allein es war in der letzten Stunde unheimlich leer geworden und ohne jeden feierlichen Abschluss ging die Handlung zu Ende: man hörte einfach auf. Moguyokuri bat sich meine Pfeife aus und schwatzte behaglich. Die Zeremonie war schon vergessen. Ein altes Weib nahm den Knochenkorb auf den Rücken, ein junger Bursche schritt ihr voraus, die grosse Totenflöte melancholisch blasend. Niemand beachtete sie. So gingen die beiden dahin in der beginnenden Dämmerung, die Jugend und das Alter — ein stimmungsvolles Abendbildchen wie aus einem Zaubermärchen. Sie gaben mit ein paar klagenden Lauten den Korb bei Coqueiro ab, der in seiner ausgeräumten Hütte sass, und kehrten eiligst zu den Uebrigen zurück. Und zwei Stunden später an diesem Ostersonntag brach der Kayapólarm los.

Coqueiro hatte Nichts behalten. Seine Freunde machten Bogen und Pfeile und schenkten sie ihm. Am dritten Morgen nach der Feier brachte er den Knochenkorb fort und eine Frau mit gleicher Bürde beladen, schritt hinter ihm. Denn es ist Sitte, dass ein Toter auf den nächsten wartet und die beiden zusammen das Dorf verlassen. Wieder schien sich Niemand um sie zu kümmern, und man hatte glauben können, es würden zwei Körbe mit Mandioka weggetragen. Doch kamen bald vier junge Leute ziemlich eilig daher und folgten jenen in den Wald, der erste schwang ein Schwirrholz, der zweite und dritte stiessen laute Schreckenstöne aus, der vierte schleifte hinter sich eine breite Strasse mit einem Palmblatt, um die Fusspuren zu verwischen und den Toten den Rückzug zu erschweren. Keine Frau liess sich sehen. Einer trug auch eine Hacke. Die Körbe wurden beerdigt; man glaubte, auf einer kleinen flussaufwärts gelegenen Insel.

Seele und Fortdauer nach dem Tode. Bei dem Wachenden giebt es eine Wirkung in die Ferne, die an unserm Glauben vom Ohrenklingen erinnert. Am Kulisehu sagte mir Tumayaua, als ich einmal nieste, meine Frau rufe mich, die traurig sei, weil ich noch nicht zurückkehre. Bei gleicher Gelegenheit wurde von den Bororó genau dasselbe behauptet; ein andermal, da ich neben einer Indianerin stand und nieste, stellte sie sofort Fragen nach den Namen meiner Verwandten: »Wie heisst Deine Mutter? Dein Bruder? Dein Schwager?«

Die »Seele« heisst *bápe*. Im Traum verlässt sie den Körper. Die Furcht, Schlafende zu wecken, war deutlich ausgesprochen. Auch Clemente glaubte, dass es sehr schädlich sei. Doch hat es auch sein Nützliches, wie wir einst im Ranchão sahen. Wilhelm wollte einen Schlafenden abzeichnen. Nun schien dies das grössere Uebel zu sein, offenbar, weil man mit dem Bild Hexenkünste treiben könnte; die Bororó sträubten sich meist gegen die Bemühungen Wilhelm's und andrerseits freuten sie sich später, wenn er ihnen heimlich gemachte Porträts vorzeigte. Das Abzeichnen jenes Schlafenden jedenfalls erschien ihnen bedenklich. Sie wollten ihn wecken und, als ich sie daran verhinderte und sie tadelte,

suchten auch sie heimlich (durch Spucken und Werfen von Holzstückchen) ihren Zweck zu erreichen.

Den genaueren Sinn von *bápe* kenne ich nicht. Während des Traumes fliegt die Seele in Gestalt eines Vogels von dannen. Sie sieht und hört dann Vieles. Fest wird an das geglaubt, was der Erwachende berichtet. Die Kayapó waren wirklich in der Nähe des Dorfes gewesen; Niemand zweifelte daran. Clemente bestätigte aus seiner Erfahrung die Richtigkeit ihrer Vorhersagungen. Wenn die im Dorf zurückgelassene Frau, während der Mann auf dem Jagdausflug abwesend war, die halbe Nacht allein in der Hütte sitzend ein paar Stunden laut geklagt und gejammert habe und sich dann zum Schlafen niederlege, so finde ihre Seele mit Sicherheit die Jäger und nach dem Erwachen machten die Frauen stets richtige Angaben, wo sie jetzt seien und wann sie wieder eintreffen würden. Die Nähe des Feindes werde im Traum erraten, man fliehe und er komme in ein verlassenes Dorf.

Sicher ist, dass die Baris den Tag des Todes bei einem Schwerkranken richtig voraussagen. Nicht nur das Kind, von dem ich Seite 460 erzählt habe, wurde, als die Zeit erfüllet war, getötet, auch bei Coqueiro's Gattin war künstlich nachgeholfen worden. Man hatte sie noch lebend in den Ranchão gebracht, ihr das Gesicht mit einem Tuch verdeckt und sie unter der Hülle erstickt. Es war der vierte Tag an dem sie den Bari-Aufolge sterben sollte, und sie starb auch. Ich glaube, man kann dieses Hightmpfeschen in Atropos' Handwerk gerade bei einem vielfach umherstreifenden Jägerstamm, auch wenn er nicht einmal so ernsthaft wie die Bororó Menschen und Tiere auf eine Stufe stellte, leicht daraus verstehen, dass sie sterbenden Tieren den Rest zu geben gewohnt und nicht beliebige Zeit an manchen Orten zu verweilen in der Lage sind. Dass die Baris aus dem Brauch Nutzen zu ziehen wissen, ist eine Sache für sich.

Die Vorstellungen über den Tod und die Fortdauer sind insofern wesentlich von denen der Kulisehuindianer verschieden, als die den Tod verschuldenden Medizinmänner nicht in einem Nachbardorf wohnen und dort Hexenkünste treiben, sondern in gewissen Tieren stecken, die man unglücklicher oder thörichter Weise tötet und die sich nun rächen, indem sie den Lebenden holen. Während sich der Medizinmann der Bakairi nur vorübergehend in der Narkose in Tiere zu verwandeln pflegt und nach dem Tode in menschlicher Gestalt zum Himmel geht, ist hier der Tod selbst nichts anderes, als eine Verwandlung in Tiere, ein Traum, dessen Wirklichkeit für Alle sichtbar geworden ist.

Das Gewöhnliche ist, dass der Bororó nach seinem Tode, Mann oder Frau, ein roter Arara wird, also ein Vogel wie die Seele im Traum. Das Fleisch und die Haut verfaulen, die Knochen werden in so feierlichem Schmuck abgeliefert, wie der Verstorbene es nur verlangen kann, seine Kleidung wird hinzugepackt oder verbrannt, die Verwandten geben den ganzen Hausrat her, den er mitbenutzt hat, sie geben ihm sogar von ihrem Blut — wenn er sich mit dem Allem die alte Gestalt wiederzugeben weiss, so haben ihm die Hinter-

bliebenen jedenfalls Nichts vorenthalten, mehr darf er nun aber auch nicht beanspruchen, er braucht den Weg nicht zurückzufinden und mag sich mit seinem Araraleben begnügen. Die roten Araras sind Bororó, ja, die Bororó gehen weiter, wie ich schon Seite 353 erwähnt habe, und sagen »wir sind Araras«. Dies ist entweder eine spätere Uebertreibung, die nur in auffälligster Weise zeigt, wie grenzenlos gleichgültig den Indianern die Skrupel unserer Zoologen sind, oder der Seelen-Vogel wird als Arara gedacht. Sie essen Araras niemals, sie töten zahme niemals, sie wehklagen, wenn einer stirbt, nur wilde werden um des Federschmucks willen getötet und um dessentwillen müssen sich auch die zahmen Brüder ein systematisches Ausrupfen gefallen lassen.

Die Verstorbenen anderer Stämme werden andere Vögel. Die Neger werden schwarze Urubús. Die Wahl ist nicht unglücklich; Farbe, Ausdauerung und Possirlichkeit können sie bei einem Böswilligen leicht anregen, und die Bororó hebten die Neger nicht. Ich fragte Maria, was ich nach meinem Tode wurde, und erhielt die schmeichelhafte, durchaus im Ernst gegebene Antwort »ein weisser Reiher«. Die Seele ist ja bereits während des Lebens ein Vogel und dies erscheint nicht weiter merkwürdig, da sie im Traum an ferne Orte mit grosser Geschwindigkeit gelangt und eine Person, die das kann, für den Jäger eben ein Vogel ist; es ist eine sekundäre Frage, welche Art Vögel dem einen und welche dem andern Stamm zukommen. Dass sich ein Stamm für sich selbst den schönsten Ziervogel aussucht, der nebenbei auch spricht, dessen Gefiedler dem Lebenden und dem Toten prächtigen Schmuck liefert, bietet dem Verständnis keine Schwierigkeit. Allein die Bororó sind nicht blaue Araras, sondern rote Araras, wie die Neger schwarze und die Weissen weisse Vögel sind oder werden.

Nun werden aber die Medizinmänner in nicht minder leicht verständlicher Erweiterung nach ihrem Tode auch andere Tiere als Vögel, und zwar Fische, Wels, Jahú und besonders Dourado, Fische, die sämtlich gross und wohlschmeckend sind. Der Bari muss deshalb dabei sein, wenn sie getötet werden, und muss sie einsegnen, vgl. Seite 492. Eine besondere Stellung kommt auch dem Reh zu. »Ich weiss nicht«, meinte Clemente, »welche Sympathie sie für das Reh haben; Einige essen es zwar, wenn es eingesegnet ist. Auch der Aroetsurari kann es nur essen, wenn es eingesegnet ist. Andere würden davon sterben; sie töten es sehr selten, auch wenn es ganz nahe kommt. Ich weiss nicht, ob es ein Heiliger von ihnen ist (*sino ani, ne é santo d'elles*).«

Nicht einmal ein Bororó, ein Hund nur tötete eines Tages ein Reh; Einer kostete von dem Fleisch, wurde an demselben Tage krank und starb nach einiger Zeit. Von einem andern Fall wusste Clemente zu erzählen, dass Einer einen grossen breiten Dourado getötet hatte und bald darauf starb. »Seht Ihr«, sagten die Bororó, als sie den Knochenkorb hergerichtet hatten, »der Dourado war ein Medizinmann und hat ihn auch getötet.«

TAFEL XXX.

v. d. Steinen, Zentral-Brasilien [facing p. 512]

2: Steinen SP7 Bacairi

Voraussetzung ist hier, wie wir sie auch bei den Kulturhindaaern kennen gelernt haben, die bei den Bororó in ihrem Jägerstadium noch in ursprünglichster Kraft blühende Anschauung, dass Tiere und Menschen nur verschiedene Personen sind. Der Tod eines der Ihrigen ist der Racheakt eines Getöteten. Ein Jäger wird krank oder stirbt — wem hat man diesen bösen Streich zur Last zu legen? Einer Tier-Person, die er selbst getötet hat und die sich rächt; so muss bei der immer vorhandenen Möglichkeit dieser Erklärung sich die allgemeine Anschauung bilden, dass der Tote den Lebenden holt. Wie macht das aber das getötete Tier? Ja . . . . ein Medizinmann hat dazu gesteckt . . . . Einer der Alles kann, ohne dass man weiss, wie er es macht.

So greifen die Erklärungsversuche ineinander, auf einen gelegentlichen Zirkelschluss kommt es auch nicht an, wo so viel Tradition und Affekt im Spiele ist. Es hiesse jedoch das Verständnis mehr erschweren als fördern, wenn man die Anschauung der Bororó über die Fortdauer mit dem Schema «Seelenwanderung» abfertigen wollte. «Seelenwanderung» erleben sie alle Nächte. Dass Tiere und Menschen nur verschiedene Personen sind, ist weit wichtiger als dass man sich nach späteren Rücksichten zu der einen oder anderen Tierperson in ein näheres Verhältnis setzt. Mir wird es wirklich am leichtesten, die Leute zu verstehen, wenn ich die Behauptung, die die spätere und verworrenste zu sein scheint, dass sie nämlich sagen «wir sind Vögel», mir als die frühere und einfachste zurechtlege, und nur nicht vorstelle, «ich werde ein Vogel», «sondern ich hatte, nicht im Sinne des Berliners» — habe einen Vogel, bin ein Vogel, der jetzt Nachts umherfliegt, aber einst, in hoffentlich ferner Zeit, nicht mehr zu seiner Familie zurückfliegen wird, wenn ihn eine andere Person, Mensch, Vogel oder Säugetier, die ich tödlich gekränkt habe, daran zu verhindern weiss, und der alsdann gezwungen sein wird, seine nächtliche Gestalt zu behalten, der man als weisser Reiher zu der Lagune Frycke fangen wird und ernstlich darauf rechnen möchte, dass Kind und Kindeskinder ihn nicht schiessen und aufessen, sondern ihm nur, falls es sein muss, die Federn zerzupfen.»

Himmlische Flüsse; Meteorbeschwörung. Sonne und Mond sind Araratedern. Welche Vorstellungen über ihre Besitzer vorhanden sind, gelang mir nicht zu erfahren. Aber die Bororó lachten mich aus, als ich sie fragte, ob Sonne und Mond wie Menschen waren, und wiederholten «Araratedern», Araratedern und nicht etwa Arara schlechthin, als ob sie Vögel sein könnten. Wir wohnen auf einer grossen Insel inmitten eines Flusses, der „*bururure*" — die Reduplikation von „*boru*", «Himmel» — heisst. Mond und Sonne (oder ihre Besitzer) sind auf der einen Seite und wandern durch den Fluss; wenn sie zusammenkommen, geht der Mond vorüber und es kommt Neumond.

Das südliche Kreuz sind die Zehen eines grossen Strauses, der Centaur ein zugehöriges Bein, der Orion ist eine Jabuti-Schildkröte und in dem nach dem Sirius zugelegenen Teil ein Kaiman, die Plejaden sind das Blütenbüschel des Angicobaumes, *Acacia*; die Bororó zeigten mir das Alles mit vielem Vergnügen

und stiessen dabei gern ein *á* . . . der Bewunderung aus, doch waren sie sich über die Deutung nicht immer einig, so dass es mir doppelt schwer wurde, sie auszuforschen. In Einem jedoch herrschte voller Einklang und dies war mir gerade das Erstaunlichste. Die gemeinen und nicht in besondere Konstellationen eingeschlossenen Sterne, wie sie über den Himmel zerstreut sind als kleine und grosse Punkte, die man auch als Sternschnuppen mit einem Satz das Firmament durcheilen sieht, das waren alles Sandflöhe; die Milchstrasse, in der sie sich am dichtesten zusammendrängen, war Asche und die Venus der »grosse Sandfloh«.

Wie bei den Bakairi liegt die Auffassung zu Grunde, dass die Himmelstiere durch Zauberei dort oben hinkommen und in ihrem Aussehen von den irdischen Geschöpfen abweichen; denn sobald eine besondere Erscheinung auftritt, ist auch die Erklärung mit dem Bari zur Stelle. Ein Bari ist die grosse bunte Wasserschlange, die wir Regenbogen nennen. Ein prachtiges Meteor, das während unserer Anwesenheit fiel, war die »Seele eines Bari«, die plötzlich auftauchte, um den Bororó mitzutheilen, dass er »Jägerfleisch« haben wolle und einem von ihnen Dysenterie schicken werde. Die Sterne, wie man das Unheil abzuwenden bemüht war, verdient in ihren Einzelheiten geschildert zu werden. Vgl. Tafel 30.

Das Meteor leuchtete am 14. April Abends 8 Uhr 26 Min. im Süden auf als eine Kugel von etwa ⅓ Mondgrösse; ein heller Schein flammte über den ganzen Platz. Es fiel sehr schnell in 45° nach Westen zu und hinterliess einen Streifen, etwa 4 Himmelshöhe erster Grösse breit und wie ein Stab in zwei Teile geteilt, dem freien Ende zu sternleuchtend, der Kugel zu brillant blau. Noch 4 Minuten lang meinte ich den Streifen, indem er mehr und mehr verblasste, als hell weisslichen Dunst zu sehen.

In demselben Augenblick, als das Meteor sichtbar wurde, erschallte von dem Indianerplatz her ein hundertstimmig gellendes, anhaltendes Geschrei. Von allen Seiten her starrte man nach dem Rauchlo, wo es eine Weile drinnen und draussen wie in einem aufgestörten Ameisenhaufen wimmelte. Dann wandte man sich nach dem zum Flussufer hin gelegenen Teil des Platzes, richtete ein paar Lagerfeuerchen her und bald sassen zahlreiche kleine, phantastisch beleuchtete Gruppen von Männern, Weibern, Kindern den Hütten entlang. Ich war einige Minuten beiseite gegangen und wurde durch lautes Lärm zurückgerufen. Zwei mit Urukú knallrot angestrichene Baris standen inmitten der Gesellschaft und pusteten in heiliger Aufregung ringsum zum Himmel hinauf, ein wenig Speichel von den Lippen spritzend, ähnlich wie die Kulischindianer die Gewitterwolken verjagten. Dabei zitterten und taumelten sie, dass man fürchten musste, sie würden ohnmächtig zu Boden stürzen. Indem sie sich nun dem Ort zuwandten, wo das Meteor erschienen war, heulten sie mit drohender, schreckhafter Stimme: *ouí! ouí!* die hohle rechte Hand vor den Mund pressend, streckten den linken Arm gen Himmel und hielten jeder ein Bündel spannenlanger Massigaretten empor. »Hier, sieh es wohl«, schienen sie zu sagen, »alle

diesen Tabak wenden wir daran, um das Uebel zu verscheuchen. Wehe Dir, wenn Du uns nicht in Ruhe lässt!«

Eine seltsame Mischung von Angst und Mut, welch' letzter jedoch leider etwas ebenso Künstliches an sich hatte wie der bei der Beschwörung der Kayapógefahr. Das Zittern nahm zu, ihr ganzer Körper vibrierte, der zurückgebogene Kopf wackelte, mit zuckenden Bewegungen tasteten und strichen sie sich über Brust und Leib, um alles Böse wegzudrücken.

Nachdem dies Schauspiel eine Weile gedauert hatte, nahm man ihnen die Zigarrenbündel aus der Hand und zündete sie am Feuer an, während sich die aufgeregten Aerzte einen Augenblick wimmernd und schaudernd verschnauften. Ein Halbdutzend Männer erhoben sich, rauchten zu Trost und Stärkung ein paar Züge und gaben die Zigarren an die Baris, die ihre Kur wieder aufnahmen. Sie rauchten an dem ganzen Bündel, heulten noch gellender und vorwurfsvoller als vorher gen Himmel empor, strichen sich noch eifriger über den Leib, kratzten sich heftig auf dem Kopf, schluckten wieder an ihrem Bündel, saugten sich krampfhaft an den Unterarmen, als wenn sie das Blut aus dem Innersten heraufholen wollten, schrieen immer lauter *ouí ouía ouía*, schüttelten sich und bliesen gegen die Sterne; die Gelenke schlotterten, die Muskeln flogen.

Endlich begannen sie auf einmal sich suchend in der Menge umzuschauen, sprachen mit den zunächst Stehenden, deuteten unter die Leute und gingen in die Hauptgruppe hinein, wo sie einen lebensschwachen Greis, den Häuptling Domingo, und mehrere der Angesehensten, um die es sich in so besonderem Falle nur handeln konnte, einer kurzen Kur unterzogen. Sie hoben ihnen den Kopf auf, schauten sie prüfend an, spritzen sie *psii psii* in's Gesicht und stiessen mit vorgehaltener hohler Hand wieder ihr drohendes *ouía* oder ein schrilles *kokoki* aus, nicht vergessend, ihr Bündel dabei aufzurauchen. Der Chor hatte sich im Allgemeinen ernst und still verhalten, nur hier und da war er in einstimmiges *kokó* ausgebrochen und wiederholte das jetzt triumphierend zum Schluss, als sich die zwei Doktoren zähneklappernd und ein fröstelndes *tóleele tóleele* murmelnd zurückzogen. Ardegesang ertönte die ganze Nacht hindurch.

Der Tabakrauch war hier ganz in derselben Weise wie das Pusten gegen den Gewitterstorm angewandt worden, und ich gewann den Eindruck, dass das Qualmen des Arztes einem Ausräuchern sehr ähnlich sehe. Vielleicht ist dies für den ursprünglichen Sinn der Heilmethode nicht zu unterschätzen.

Domingo hatte zwei Tage nach der Meteorbeschwörung einen Anfall von Schwäche. Am dritten, dem 17. April, war er krank und offenbar war ihm sehr unheimlich zu Mute. Er drückte sich ängstlich umher, die Hände in Lappen eingebunden und Kopf und Gesicht verhüllt, dass man ihn nicht erkennen solle. Da wir die Kolonie den 18. April verliessen, haben wir leider nicht verfolgen können, ob ihm dieses Mittel geholfen hat.

Ahnensage. Arigá-Bororó ist der Stammvater der Indianer. Er hatte eine Frau, *arigó* heisst der Puma. Später kamen zwei Männer und zwei Frauen

im Osten von dem *kurupuru*-Fluss (vgl. Seite 513) auf die Erde und gelangten an den S. Lourenço. Mehr habe ich nicht erfahren können. Clemente war hier ganz unbrauchbar, er selbst wusste nichts und legte sich nach seinen Kenntnissen von Brasilien jene Angaben so zurecht, dass die Bororó von Rio de Janeiro kämen. Soviel ich verstehen konnte, wohnten die Bororó seit der Zeit, dass sie den Himmel verlassen haben, an Quellflüssen des S. Lourenço und hat jene Herkunft aus dem Osten nichts mit Stammeswanderungen zu thun, sondern ist wieder nur das Ergebnis der sehr natürlichen Ueberlegung, dass die Sonne im Besitz der ältesten Leute war und dass die ältesten Leute deshalb auch dort gewohnt haben, wo die Sonne herkommt.

Moguyokuri *é muito criança* »ist das reine Kind«, erklärte Clemente, der wisse nichts, und dem entsprach auch die Thatsache, dass der Häuptling seinen Grossvater, wie er mir angab, nicht mehr gekannt hatte. Ein uralter Greis, der wirklich über die Schöpfung der Welt etwas wisse — denn er habe das Nähere noch von seinem Grossvater gehört, der selbst dabei gewesen sei — dieser kostbare Gewährsmann war unglücklicher Weise auf Jagd abwesend.

Selbst die Auskunft über andere Stämme, mit denen die Bororó in Berührung standen, war äusserst mager und beschränkte sich auf einige Angaben über die Kayapó, die glatte, kurze, aber sehr starke und harte Bogen, ziemlich kleine Pfeile aus Tacoarasinha mit angenähten Federn und zwei eisernen Widerhaken, sowie eine flache, 1 m lange, an einer Schnur um den Hals getragene Keule aus Seribaqualnholz von fischähnlicher Form hatten.

Doch gab es ausser ihnen noch merkwürdige Nachbarn in dem Stamm der Rarai, auch *barodgerugido* genannt. Man sieht sie nur zu zweien oder dreien, nur des Nachts; sie tragen Busttuch und sind schwärzlich, niemals von heller Hautfarbe. Es sind Affen. Sie haben Bororó an dem und dem Orte zu Boden geworfen und sind weggelaufen. Clemente — und das ist deshalb nicht wertlos, weil er genau die Angaben der Indianer selbst wiederholte — schwor Stein und Bein darauf, die Rarai seien Affen; Pfeile hätten sie nicht, sie griffen Steine oder Holz zum Werfen vom Boden auf und hätten namentlich auch *garrucha*, — »Pistolen«, wie sie die brasilischen Kameraden und deshalb auch die Neger und die flüchtigen Sklaven (vgl. z. B. unser Liebespaar Seite 23) ganz allgemein besassen. »Es sind Affen, und sie schiessen mit Pistolen?« »Ja, es sind Affen mit eisernen Pistolen.« Der Neger hat mithin die angenehme Wahl, als ein Affe oder als ein schwarzer Aasgeier zu gelten. Aber man muss es sich immer wieder vorhalten und klar machen, es giebt hier keine Grenze zwischen Mensch und Tier und auch der Besitz eines Kulturgeräts will nicht das Geringste besagen. Wenn die Affen Pistolen haben, so kann man doch nicht sagen, dass sie sie nicht haben.

Sprache. Das bei den Bororó gesammelte linguistische Material, das vielleicht ausreichen wird, um wenigstens die wichtigsten grammatischen Umrisse festzulegen, ist noch nicht bearbeitet. Bisher habe ich auch keine sprachliche

Verwandtschaft mit andern bekannten Idiomen finden können. Jedenfalls gehören die Bororó weder zu den Tupí noch zu den Gés, an die man zunächst denken möchte. Es wäre auch nicht weiter wunderbar, wenn alles Bemühen ergebnislos bleiben würde, weil die Nachbarschaft ihres Gebietes in weitem Umfange schon seit der ersten Besiedelung der Matogrosso sehr unruhige Zeitläufte erlebt hat. Im Norden zieht sich die Strasse nach Goyaz hin, die sie oft mit ihren Ueberfällen beunruhigt haben, im Süden erfolgte der Zuzug der Entdecker von der Provinz S. Paulo her, und hier wie dort haben langjährige Sklavenjagden stattgefunden.

Die Sprache ist wohllautend und für uns anscheinend leicht zu erlernen. Von Konsonanten fehlt nur *f*, abgesehen von *fatogiru*, Speichel, Doppelkonsonanten sind selten, der Auslaut ist vokalisch. Der Accent liegt im Allgemeinen auf der vorletzten Silbe. Eine Pluralendung für das Substantivum ist nicht vorhanden. Die selbständigen Personalpronomina lauten: 1. *inui* ich, 2. *ahi* du, 3. *ema*, *au* er, 4. *pagi* wir, 5. *tugi* ihr, 6. *emagi* sie. Die entsprechenden Pronominalsuffixe für Substantivum und Verbum sind:

1. *i-*, 2. *a-*, 3. —, 4. *pa-*, 5. *tu-*, 6. *e-*.

Bei ihrem Gebrauche treten verschiedene Formen des Lautwandels und Einflusse auf den Stammanlaut zu Tage. Ich gebe ein paar vorläufige Beispiele:

	Ohr	Nase	Kopf	gehen
1.	*i-uriga*	*i-kemo*	*i-tauru*	*i-tua*
2.	*a-uriga*	*a-kemo*	*a-kauru*	*a-tua*
3.	*higa**	*eno*	*kauru*	*tua*
4.	*pa-uriga*	*pa-geno*	*pa-gauru*	*pa-dua*
5.	*tu-uriga*	*tu-geno*	*tu-tauru*	*tu-dua*
6.	*e-uriga*	*e-kemo*	*e-tauru*	*e-tua.*

Die Zahlen gehen nach dem Schema der Bakairí: 1, 2, 2 . . 1, 2 . . 2, 2 . . 2 . . 1, 2 . . 2 . . 2. 1 heisst *mito*, 2 *pobe*. Wenn diese jedoch in den folgenden Zahlausdrücken erscheinen, so erhalten sie Zusätze, aus denen wir die Pronomina der dritten Person *ema* und *au* (dieser) abscheiden können. In der 3 ist noch die Negation *bóku*, *bokuire* enthalten: *pobíma du mattigu* (auch *mattiu*) *bokuire* und sie scheint zu bedeuten: hier habe ich 2, dort nicht mehr als 1. 4 *pobíma aigüre pobe* hier zwei; dort auch zwei, 5 *pobíma aigüre pobíma du mattigu bokuire*, 6 *aigüre pobíma aigüre pobíma aigüre pobe*. Mit Körnern wurde die Zweier-Häufchenbildung genau ebenso wie bei den Bakairí gemacht und wurden ebenso die Finger jedesmal zu Rate gezogen. Mein Wunsch, die Zahlwörter zu erfahren, wurde immer und ausnahmslos so gedeutet, als ob ich eine Aufzählung der Verwandten wünsche. Der Betreffende schlug sich auf die Brust, sagte »ich« und zählte Mutter, Vater, Mädchen, Junge mit oder ohne Beifügung von 1 und 2, indem er dabei jedem Finger ein Familienmitglied zuordnete. Ob die Finger als solche Verwandtennamen haben, konnte ich nicht erfahren; ich glaubte im Anfang der Daumen sei Mutter, bin darin aber irre geworden,

da jede Person andere Angaben machte und sich auf seine besonderen Familienverhaltnisse bezog. Hier lag ganz offenbar ihr Hauptinteresse am Zählen. Ich stelle mir deshalb die Entwicklung auch hier so vor, dass man eine Anzahl Personen an den Fingern markierend vorgeführt, dabei sei es Demonstrativa, sei es Pronomina, was ja für den Anfang auf eins hinauslauft, angewandt und die Grenze für 2 nicht an der Hand, sondern an den Dingen durch Zerbrechen eines Dings in zwei Teile bestimmt und auf die Finger rechnend ubertragen hat.

[pp. 519-521 not processed]

[p. 523]

Anhang.

I. Wörterverzeichnisse

der

1. Nahuquá, 2. Yanumakapü-Nahuquá, 3. Mehinakú, 4. Kustenaú, 5. Waurá, 6. Yaulapiti, 7. Auetö, 8. Kamayurá, 9. Trumaí, 10. Paressí, 11. Bororó.

Die nachfolgenden Listen, die ich möglichst gleichmässig angelegt habe, beschränken sich auf Substantiva, die persönlichen Fürwörter der ersten und zweiten Person, Farben, Zahlen, Negation. Mit allem Uebrigen würde ich mich notwendig auf grammatikalische Erörterungen einzulassen haben, die hier zu weit führen würden. Auch habe ich deshalb von aller Vergleichung absehen müssen. Wer sich mit den Wörtern etwas näher beschäftigt, wird leicht eine Anzahl von regelmässigen Formen des Lautwandels erkennen und sich von der wichtigen Thatsache überzeugen können, dass in den verschiedenen Gruppen — namentlich schön im Vergleich des Auetö und Kamayurá mit der Lingoa geral — dieselben Erweichungsvorgänge der Stammanlaute sich abspielen, die ich für das Bakairi und die karaibischen Idiome dargelegt habe. Ueberall, scheint es, kommen wir mit gesetzmässiger Sicherheit auf die drei Reihen der *p-*, *t-* und *k*-Anlaute als den ältesten Besitz der Grundsprachen.

Die Schreibung ist möglichst einfach gehalten. Zu bemerken nur:

d englisches *a* in *walk*.
g wie in *York*.
v deutsches *w*.
χ gutturaler Reibelaut, unser deutsches, am mittlern Gaumen gebildetes *ch*.
ś französisches *ch*.
s französisches *ç*.
z französisches *z*.

ϑ englisches *th*.

ʎ (Nahuquá) schwieriger Laut, zwischen *gl* und *ri*, ist stets silbenbildend und gleich einem *r* + reduziertem Vokal.

t, *p* bedeutet, dass diese Konsonanten, wie gelegentlich auch durch Einklammerung dargestellt wird, kaum hörbar sind.

Tilde ˜ bedeutet Nasalierung.

1. Nahuquá.

Wo der Accent nicht angegeben ist, wird die vorletzte Silbe betont.

Zunge *ãuru*.
Zahn *uoire*, *uoiʎ*.
Mund *untáʎ*.
Oberlippe *uoiturn*.
Unterlippe *ũpũtizo*.
Nase *uinatuʎ*, *uoinãtuʎ*.
Nasenloch *uinatuʎ atáʎ*.
Auge *uoinuru*, *uoiuru*.
Ohr *uoiñaʎ*, *uoinari*.
Ohrloch *uoiñaʎ atáʎ*.
Ohrläppchenloch *uoipopũʎ*.
Kopf *uoiterõ*, *uoiteru*.
Stirn *uoinrõ*.
Kopfhaar *uakõouru*.
Brauen *uoitãpitsõ*.
Wimpern *uoinopitsõ*.
Schnurrbart *uoõpitsõ*.
Kinnbart *uoikopitsõ*.
Hals *utinuʎ*, *uoiratu*.
Nacken *utinuʎ*.
Kehle (auf Schildknorpel) *ukãõoru*.
Kehle (über Schildknorpel) *uoitõʎ*.
Brust *utiõõuru*, *uoulohúru*.
Brustwarze ♂ *uoanitõõ*.
Brustwarze ♀ *itau anãtõõ*.
Bauch *utõouru*.
Nabel *uoinitõ*.
Penis *uoori*.
Scrotum *uoingotitu*.
Pudenda ♀ *itau irõri*, *õõ*.
After *uoaru*.
Oberarm *uoikuru*.
Ellbogen *uoeritsõuru*.
Unterarm *Oberarm*.
Hand *uoinaitõri*, *uõitõõ*.
Handfläche *uoiõitõri õritáʎ*.
Handrücken *uoiõitõri tovuro*.
Finger *Hand*.
Daumen *uõitõri otõ*.
Zeigefinger - *izéporo*.
Mittelfinger - -
Ringfinger - -
Kleinfinger *uõitõri ingukuru*.
Fingernagel *uoiõõpiri*, *uoigõbiru*.
Oberschenkel *uoitõ*, *uoitõ*.
Knie *uoiripuʎ*, *uoipaʎ*.
Unterschenkel *uoútizo*.
Ferse *utãmõtizo*.
Fuss *utápũʎ*, *utápũri*.
Fussrücken *utápũʎ tovuro*.
Sohle *utápũʎ õritáʎ*.
Zehe *Fuss*.
Zehe I—V *wie die Finger mit utápũri*.
Zehennagel *ulãmbiʎ*.
Haut *uoigõ*, *uoigo*.
Knochen *upũri*.
Sonne *iti*, *liti*, *riti*.
Osten *iti iminalele*.
Mittag *kúpura iti atá*.
Westen *iti kohotži*.
Mond *nune*.
Tag *minere mituta*.
Nacht *ukahurutile*.
Stern *tuti*, *dindinhoko*.
Himmel *kaõõ*, *kyaou*.
Regen *kondoho*, *kyóóoso*.
Regenbogen *okoto*.
Gewitter *ižilo*.
Wind *oite*.
Rauch *iritituʎ*.
Feuer *itó*.
Salz *aravõ*, *aragu*.
Wasser, Fluss *tuna*.
Tümpel *tunaka*.
Berg *uu*.
Wald *inú*.
Stein *tũqu*, *tehu*.
Erde *noro*, *ôro*.
Weisser Thon *eúne*.
Quarz *kururi*.
Vater *apa*.
Mutter *ama*.
Sohn *umuru*, *muru*.
Tochter *uindize*.

Grossvater *ápitai.*
Grossmutter *apitsi* (!).
Vaterbruder *dueu.*
Aelterer Bruder *uidano.*
Jüngerer Bruder *uize.*
Schwester *uirantau.*
Mann *utotu, utoto.*
Weib *itau.*
Knabe *utoto iñúrui.*
Mädchen *itau iñúrui.*
Säugling *inguru.*
Hauptling *anetõ, anétene.*
Medizinmann *oüiti.*
Medizin *oue.*
Fremder *kuráiba.*
Bogen *tauvaku, tavaúkuru.*
Pfeil *küré, güré* (s. Ubárohr).
Kanu *eueeu, äeu.*
Ruder *etene.*
Reuse *utu.*
Fangkorb *kunto, kuso, kuntu.*
Steinbeil *äh . . .*, ü (Mund geschlossen).
Messer *kuzé.*
Schabmuschel *eáetã.*
Wühlklaue von Dasypus gigas *arura.*
Wundkratzer *iriui.*
Farbe, schwarze *tieu.*
Haus *ine, äne.*
Dorf (?) *auáceto.*
Festhütte *kuákutu.*
Hangematte *ãtire, uoitira.*
Schemel *ari* (Affenschemel).
Kalabasse *tacu.*
Kuye, grosse *kuaro.*
Kuye, kleine *atuku, tuégingu.*
Oelkuye *kutsieuru.*
Oel *nyukuu.*
Beijúschüssel *alato.*
Topf, grosser *aeúkuru.*
Topf, mittelgrosser *ataro, atáe.*
Topf, kleiner *naúko.*
Topfuntersatz *unturi.*
Reibholz für Mandioka *nyuri, nyuu.*
Beijúwender *kutiro.*
Siebfilter *tuavi.*
Korb *auritsu.*
Körbchen *otuti.*
Buritíkorb *akánuei.*
Tragkorb *azagu, azungu.*
Bratständer *oro.*
Feuerfacher *türingu.*
Strick *uoiyuri.*
Baumwollfaden *ureunui.*
Spindel *eolu.*
Kamm *eanta.*
Sein Bambushalter *eantáeo* (*iro*).
Weiberdreieck *etuui, eturi.*
Steinkette *arukú.*
Muschelperle *idu.*
Thonkette *elinge.*
Orthalicus-Muschel *oike.*
Rohrdiadem *kuleku.*
Strahlenförmiger Aufsatz dazu *arakapu.*
Flöte *kuluta, karuto.*
Pansflötchen *atala.*
Rassel (auch Fussklappern) *anke.*
Ihr Bambusstiel *ieütizo.*
Schwirrholz *matavu.*
Netztanz *eremo.*
Rundtanz im Flötenhaus *amakakuti.*
Tanz *akituvo.*
Makanari *akanari.*
Maske *yakuikato.*
Bild, Figur *atoho, kutogu.*
Brüllaffe *kuouru.*
Makako *kuyá.*
Fledermaus, grosse *ayua.*
Fledermaus, kleine (?) *kuri.*
Jaguar *ikere.*
Fischotter *taro.*
Kapivara *pakürizu.*
Aguti *akuri.*
Ameisenbär, grosser *ariri.*
Ameisenbär, kleiner *tuavi.*
Reh *ahitaru.*
Sumpfhirsch *azá.*
Kaitetúschwein *ikine.*
Tapir *ayali.*
Arara *alala.*
Papagei (blauköpfig, gelbe Wange) *kuritsata.*
Perikito *kuaku.*
Mutung *kurzu.*
Mutum cavallo *pai.*
Kaiman *tarina.*
Flussschildkröte *eikutaeu, ale.*
Landschildkröte *aguè.*
Schlange *ekü.*
Kröte *azuti.*
Fisch *kara, kana* (fast *kúhana*).
Hundsfisch *aei.*
Piranya *akuakuère.*
Mereschu *irinko, iru, ino.*
Rochen *tieali.*
Biene *aeékeru.*
Ameise, fliegende *krake.*
Karapato *karinieku.*
Moskito *atake.*

Holz, Baum *i.*
Mais *ami.*
Maishülse *anaìpé.*
Mandioka *oätä.*
Puserego-Getränk *kuiliku.*
Pogu-Getränk *tiližinya.*
Beijú, grober *ikine.*
Beijú, feiner *kuelinyu.*
Igname, Kará *nari.*
Batate *aniżu.*
Bohne *kuatu.*
Pfeffer *homi, come.*
Jatobá *ucari.*
Mangave *kuturu.*
Piki *intse.*
Bakayuva-Palme *kucuru.*
Buriti-Palme *ikeni.*
Tabak *teninyu.*
Baumwolle *torökire.*
Bambus *toala, iro.*
Ubarohr *eüré* (vgl. Pfeil).
Sapégras *ingé.*
Lanzengras *ropu.*
Zweig beim Eremotanz (duftend) *keyitu.*
ich *ieei.*
du *uäre.*
wir *ukure.*
ihr *emuru.*
rot *tekaviinya.*
gelb (*inyundu* Pikiöl).
weiss *töverilinya.*
schwarz *tururutinya.*
blau, grün *tokumilinya, tukumilinyo.*
braun (*izomaniza*).
1 *iletii.*
2 *atake.*
3 *etila.*
4 *atatakereni, atakereni.*
5 *angätori.*
6 *aletä-ingkuetoro.*
7 *atäk-ingkuetoro.*
8 *etilu ingkuetoro.*
9 *tatakren-inkuetoro.*
10 *etimöro.*
11 *iletii euro* } am rechten Füss.
12 *atake euro*
13 *etilu euro*
14 *takreni euro*
15 *angate euro*
16—19 = 11—14 am linken Fuss.
20 *etimoro euro.*
Negation *ucüte.*

2. Yanumakapü-Nahuquá.

Ich habe für den Vergleich mit den Nahuquá unseres Dorfes von dem Mann im Auetöhafen (vgl. Seite 127) die folgenden Wörter für Körperteile abgefragt. Accent, wo nicht angegeben, auf der vorletzten Silbe.

Zunge *unuru.*
Zahn *uire.*
Lippe *uiruatize.*
Nase *uinatari.*
Nasenloch *uinatari utari.*
Auge *uinuru.*
Ohr *ucanari.*
Ohrloch *ucanari utari.*
Kopf *uritöri.*
Stirn *ucinite.*
Kopfhaar *umakucuru.*
Tonsur *uripoket-tevöre.*
Brauen *uinitapitse.*
Wimpern *uinopitse.*
Wangenbart *ucanatapitse.*
Schnurrbart *ucopitse.*
Kinnbart *ucikapitse.*
Hals *utiinäri.*
Nacken *ucuru* (vgl. After).
Kehle *ucitöre.*
Achselhöhle *uiyatare.*
Brust *utilucuru.*
Brustwarze ♂ *uinatöri.*
Rücken *utucuru.*
Bauch *utäcuru.*
Nabel *uconita.*
Penis *uröri.*
Scrotum *uiñotite.*
Pudenda ♀ *itau iröri*, die Frau: *uiröri.*
After *ucuru.*
Schulter *ätari.*
Oberarm + Unterarm *uikuru.*
Ellbogen *uariporuru.*
Hand *uiñatöre.*
Handfläche, rechte Hand *uiñatör-itoveüru.*
Handrücken, linke Hand *uiñatör-éritäri.*
Finger *uiñatöre.*
Daumen *uiñatöri otä.*
Zeigefinger *uiñatöri ericaköri.*
Mittelfinger *uiñatöri ericaköri.*
Ringfinger *uiñatöri ericaköri.*
Kleinfinger *uiñatöri emukuru.*
Fingernagel *uingambire.*
Oberschenkel *ucitu.*

Knie *uiripandri.*
Unterschenkel *uoutize.*
Ferse *utamotize.*
Fuss *utapüre.*
Fussrücken, rechter Fuss *utapür-itoováru.*
Sohle, linker Fuss *utapür-éritárü.*
Zehe *utapüri*, I—V wie bei den Fingern.
Zehennagel *ulómbire.*
Haut *uvigo.*

3. Mehinakú.

Wo der Accent nicht angegeben ist, wird die vorletzte Silbe betont.

Zunge *nuneri.*
Zahn *nuteve.*
Mund *nukirabi.*
Nase *nukiri.*
Nasenloch *nukirüako.*
Auge *nutitái.*
Ohr *nutulú.*
Ohrloch *nutulunako.*
Kopf *nuteu.*
Stirn *nuhehekiru.*
Kopfhaar *nuteukahe.*
Brauen *nuyahimiepe.*
Wimpern *nuyahiya.*
Schnurrbart *nukirżamapi, nukirżaapienu.*
Kinnbart *nupulanuma.*
Hals *nupin.*
Kehle *nulula.*
Brust *nupanatako.*
Brustwarze ♂ *nuhete.*
Brustwarze ♀ *tenerżu ihé.*
Rücken *nutanaku.*
Bauch *nitśikiu.*
Nabel *nutukunate.*
Penis *nupri.*
Scrotum *nukunyutapa.*
Pudenda ♀ *irża, ite* (Mund geschlossen).
Schamhaar *uiapüku.*
After *nikinte.*
Schulter *nuhenepu.*
Oberarm *nuana.*
Ellbogen *nuanatupuru.*
Unterarm + Handfläche *nuanatotako.*
Unterarm + Handrücken *nukunutapa.*
Hand *nukapu.*
Handfläche *nurżikutako.*
Handrücken *nukanutapa, nukapupenu.*
Finger *nukapütea.*
Fingernagel *nuhupatata.*
Oberschenkel *nuputi.*
Knie *nikieta.*
Schienbein *nuapü* (Knochen).
Wade *nukati.*
Unterschenkel vorn *nukatikiri.*
Ferse *nutipulu.*
Fuss *nukiłapa.*
Fussrücken *nukiłapapenu.*
Sohle *nukiłapatako, nukirżapatako.*
Zehen *nikitsiu.*
Zehennagel *nuhupatata.*
Haut *nuuái.*
Knochen *inapü.*

Von Fischen:

Piranya-Zähne *yakuakumá itree.*
Bagadú-Lippen *yumá kerżapi.*
Bagadú-Bartfaden *yumá-pulununa.*
Bagadú-Kiemen *yumá kulaürza.*
Piranya-Augen *yakuakumá inutitái.*
Bagadú-Vorderflosse *yumá iyuta.*
Bagadú-Rückenflosse I *yumá (i)eauyatu.*
Bagadú-Rückenflosse II *euuyatu zaputama.*
Piranya-Rückenflosse *yakuakumá (i)eauyatu.*
Piranya-Schwanz *yakuakumá inépiu.*
Bagadú-Haut *yumá uuái.*
Bagadú-Gräte *yumá inapü.*
Bagadú-Blut *yüma in(u)rżayu.*
Bagadú-Leber *yumá inupuma.*
Rochenstachel *yapu nukulu.*
Sonne *kume.*
Osten *kume gehitsu.*
Mittag *kuma tirizüku.*
Westen *gripieue.*
Mond *kerżi.*
Stern *kulonte, kapuhe.*
Tag *uuyakale.*
Nacht *nutieaku.*
Himmel *enunako, enu.*
Regen *öne* (Wasser).
Regenbogen *iyepe.*
Gewitter *enutsilyu.*
Wind *himia.*
Rauch *himialai.*
Feuer *tuéi, tuż.*
Asche *alapü.*
Salz *echéu, iżüu* (stark guttural), *eyöu.*
Wasser, Fluss *öne.*
Tümpel *yauako, yauaku.*
Hafen *unekiru, unekizu.*
Erde *kühü.* Stein *tépa.*

Weisser Lehm *eiiki, epitsiri.*
Töpferthon *kamalu.*
Vater *aeayu, papa.*
Mutter *mama.*
Sohn *nutai.*
Tochter *nutamitsai, nitiupalu.*
Kind *hauki, tai.*
Grossvater *atö.*
Grossmutter *atsiru.*
Mutterbruder *ui, hüu.*
Aelterer Bruder *atapüri.*
Jüngerer Bruder, Vetter *ugö, ugi.*
Aeltere Schwester *nutapüro.*
Jüngere Schwester *irzörzu.*
Schwester *nutukakulu.*
Mann *erimiu.*
Weib *teneru.*
Knabe *gamukai.*
Hauptling *amamu.*
Medizinmann *gatomu.*
Fremder *karäipa.*
Bogen *iätäi.*
Pfeil *aki.*
Knochenspitze *pakü-napü* (Affenknochen).
Kanu *itsai.*
Ruder *etene.*
Reuse *motu.*
Fangkorb *kulutu.*
Fischnetz *kapati mäi.*
Steinbeil *gaeäi*, kleines *gaeai tai.*
Gürteltierkralle *matalü ikupä.*
Schabmuschel *alatapu.*
Wundkratzer *piii.*
Haus *pai.*
Hangematte *amaku.*
Schemel *repi, zepi.*
Kalabasse *mutuku.*
Kuye *pitsu.*
Topf, grosser *makäi.*
Topf, mittelgrosser *makuhatuäi, makulu.*
Topf, kleiner *makulu tai.*
Reibholz f. Mandioka *imiä.*
Beijüwender *kutö.*
Siebfilter *tuapi.*
Korb *mayaku, gatulu.*
Tragkorb *atamayakulu* (Waldkorb).
Bratständer *gulukukati.*
Baumwollfaden *kugapi.*
Buritifaden *iätati.*
Spindel *kugapitsapu.*
Kamm *palatä.*
Wachs *mepehidyä.*
Bambusbüchse *ganati.*

Weiberdreieck *eapalaku.*
Federkrone *kulu* (Arara).
Federarmband *iturätapu.*
Ohrfederbüschel *tulm(u)tö.*
Kopfnetz *caikü.*
Muschel *pülahi.*
Flöte *kolutä.*
Pansflöte *eatamatü.*
Grosse Flöte *kauikä.*
Rasselkürbis *kayapä.*
Fussklapper *aeangu.*
Schwirrholz *matapu.*
Buritigehänge *zupana.*
Maske *mamutai, mamutai.*
Brüllaffe *kapulu.*
Makako *pahö.*
Fledermaus *alua.*
Jaguar *ganamuku.*
Fischotter *aeeze.*
Kapivara *ipiehü.*
Aguti *pekirzi, pekötu.*
Riesengürteltier *matalö.*
Ameisenbär, grosser *gaupö.*
Ameisenbär, kleiner *tuapi.*
Reh *gutä.*
Sumpfhirsch *agamu.*
Tapir *tämo.*
Vogel *marazalu.*
Arara *tirätapu.*
Papagei *zakulu.*
Japú *kurätimu.*
Johó *makukäua.*
Jakú *malahü.*
Mutung *imiamu.*
Riesenstorch *eakalu.*
Kaiman *gaká.*
Eidechse *mayuä.*
Leguan *ikipialalu.*
Flussschildkröte *ipiu.*
Landschildkröte *agaö, marazalu.*
Schlange *aä.*
Fisch *kapati.*
Hundszahn *aoapi.*
Piranya *gakuäkamä.*
Bagadú *gamä.*
Mereschu *kulapö, kulopö.*
Rochen *gapa.*
Biene *mimi.*
Ameise, flieg. *eri.*
Karapato *kapä.*
Moskito *ega.*
Holz, Baum *ata.*
Blatt *pana.*
Mais *mäiki.*

Mandioka *mukurú.*
Mandioka gekocht, zum Trocknen *ulepieti, ulêi.*
Puserego-Getränk *mukayú.*
Pogu-Getränk *ubikui.*
Beijú *ulápe.*
Igname, Kará *puku.*
Batate *uhu, uho.*
Pfeffer *ai.*
Jatobá *uyai.*
Mangave *ketula.*
Piki *akái.*
Pikibrühe *akuipiè.*
Bakayuva-Palme *pebutu.*
Buriti-Blatt *rapinamu.*
Tukum-Palme *yituulu.*
Tabak *kôkú.*
Urukú *yúiku.*
Baumwolle *ayupe.*
Bambus *yanati.*
Ubárohr *ukú.*
Sapúgras *ikiri.*
ich *natu.*
du *petsü.*
rot *mühirżú.*
gelb *veruya.*
weiss *hémiri, kisuú.*
schwarz *ärżi.*
blau, grün *ipiulú.*
1 *pauitza, pauitsu.*
2 *mepiáma.*
3 *kamayukule, kamayukula.*
4 *mepiamu auaku; patayakúuaku.*
5 *pauitsú urekú, pauitza urzikú* (eine Handfläche).
6 *pauitsú urekú, pauitzú taputú.*
7 *mepiama tavutú, mepiamu taputú.*
8 *kamayukula taputú.*
9 *mepiamu auaku, patayakúuaku.*
10 *palukaku nürżego tuvutú; mepiamuku nürżego tavutú; mamulu nurżiku.*
11 *pauitsu nukitsiu* (eine Zehe).
12 *mepiamu nukitsiu.*
13 *kamayukula nukitsiu.*
14 *patayakúuaku nukitsiu.*
15 *pauitsu urzikú nukitsiu.*
16 *pauitsu taputú nukitsiu.*
17 *mepiamu taputú nukitsiu.*
18 *kamayukula taputú nukitsiu.*
19 *patayakúuaku taputu nukitsiu.*
20 *mamulu taputú nukitsiu.*
Negation *ahitsu.*

4. Kustenaú.

Wo der Accent nicht angegeben ist, wird die vorletzte Silbe betont.

Zunge *nunéi.*
Zahn *nutévoe.*
Mund *nukanati.*
Lippe *nukirapi.*
Nase *nukiri.*
Nasenloch *nukiriako.*
Auge *nutitái.*
Ohr *nutulú.*
Ohrloch *nututunako.*
Kopf *nutéui, atéui.*
Stirn *nutuhipiu.*
Kopfhaar *nuteukúi.*
Brauen *nuyukimiepé.*
Wimpern *nuyukiú.*
Schnurrbart *nukizapi.*
Kinnbart *nupulanuma, nunumatakapi.*
Hals *nupiu.*
Nacken *nupiúte.*
Kehle *nualulú, nupiumaku.*
Brust *nupanutako.*
Brustwarze ♂ *nuhite.*
Rücken *nutunaku.*
Bauch *nutiitiu, nukuratúi.*
Nabel *nutukunu.*
Penis *nupei.*
Scrotum *nehulu.*
Pudenda ♀ *ôti.*
Schulter *nuhinepu.*
Oberarm *nuanú.*
Ellbogen *nuatipulu.*
Unterarm, Rücken *nukanutapu.*
Unterarm, Vorderseite *nuanazutaku.*
Hand *nuiriku.*
Handfläche *nukakitiui.*
Handrücken *nukanutapu.*
Finger *nukapitiu.*
Fingernagel *nupatatú.*
Oberschenkel *nuputi.*
Knie *nikietu.*
Unterschenkel *nukuti.*
Ferse *nutiputu.*
Fuss *nukitsapu.*
Fussrücken *nukitsapu.*
Sohle *nukitsupataku.*

Zehen *nukitsiui.*
Haut *numäi.*
Knochen *anapi.*
Sonne *kami.*
Mond *keri.*
Stern *kalutu.*
Himmel *enutaku.*
Wolke *öne.*
Regen *öne.*
Feuer *tüi.*
Salz *hiu.*
Wasser *öne.*
Vater *papi.*
Mutter *mamu, mumi.*
Kind *nutäi.*
Grossvater *atü.*
Grossmutter *atäi.*
Mutterbruder *ui.*
Aelterer Bruder *ezotapi.*
Jüngerer Bruder, Vetter *nizere.*
Schwester *nizeru.*
Mann *eniru, eniza.*
Weib *tineru.*
Häuptling *amanao.*
Medizinmann *gatoma.*
Fremder *kurüipu.*
Bogen *intai.*
Pfeil *neita.*
Kanu *itui.*
Ruder *etene.*
Steinbeil *äpi.*
Wundkratzer *piui.*
Haus *pie, päi.*
Hängematte *amakü.*
Tuch *amakuruti.*
Topf, grosser *nukäi.*
Topf, mittelgrosser *nukulu.*
Topf, kleiner *nukulu tui, nukuläi.*
Kalabasse *nutuku.*
Kuye *pitua.*
Beijüwender *utäze.*
Kamm *pulatü.*
Weiberdreieck *zapulaku.*
Flöte *kulutu.*
Maske *nunutui, koukulu.*
Brüllaffe *kupulu.*
Makako *pahö.*
Fledermaus *alua.*
Jaguar *gunamaku.*
Ameisenbär *yuupe.*
Reh *gutä.*
Tapir *täme.*
Papagei *zakalu.*

Japú *kurziuu.*
Jakú *marlahi.*
Kaiman *yakü*
Fisch *kupati.*
Piranya *yakuakumi.*
Mereschu *kulupei.*
Holz, Baum *atu.*
Blatt *pana.*
Mais *maiki.*
Mandioka *ulei.*
Mandioka, gekocht *tepiruti.*
Püserego-Getränk *nukugi.*
Pogu-Getränk *ulikui.*
Beijú *ulüje.*
Igname *paku.*
Batate *ahü.*
Pfeffer *ai.*
Mangave *getulu.*
Piki *akani.*
Bakayuva-Palme *pebulu.*
Tabak *hüki.*
Baumwolle *aynpe.*
Bambus *gemuti.*
ich *nato.*
du *pitsü.*
rot *hemirzü.*
gelb *(ipiulü), imi (?).*
weiss *kisuü.*
schwarz *ärze.*
blau, grün *pülatirzo, ipiulü.*
grau *tiuinui.*
1 *pauü.*
2 *mepiama.*
3 *kamaukulu.*
4 *mepiama auuku.*
5 *paua uziki.*
6 *papulukaku.*
7 *mepiama taputä.*
8 *kamaukulä taputä.*
9 *mepiama auuku taputä.*
10 *paua uziki taputä.*
11 *pauü taputä nukitsiui.*
12 *mepiama taputä nukitsiui.*
13 *kamaukulä taputä nukitsiui.*
14 *mepiama auuku taputä nukitsiui.*
15 *ekuma nehimakama.*
16 *papiluku nehimaku.*
17 *mepiama nehimaku.*
18 *kamaukulä nehimaku.*
19 *mepiama auuku nehimaku.*
20 *kumä nehimaku.*
Negation *aitzü.*

5. Waurá.

Wo der Accent nicht angegeben ist, wird die vorletzte Silbe betont.

Zunge *1. nunéi, 2. pingéi.*
Zahn *1. nitsere, 2. pitsere.*
Mund *nukirapi.*
Nase *nukidzi.*
Auge *1. nutitái, 2. purzitái.*
Ohr *1. nutulú, 2. pitulu.*
Ohrloch *nutulunago.*
Kopf *nuteurzutu.*
Stirn *nutuetyu.*
Kopfhaar *nuteve.*
Tonsur *eherżeke.*
Brauen *nuzuhemiepé, nużiepé.*
Wimpern *nuziá.*
Schnurrbart *numapi.*
Kinnbart *nupulanumá.*
Hals *nupuite.*
Nacken *nupununuku.*
Kehle *nuhulu(n)te.*
Brust *nupunutuku.*
Brustwarze ♂ *nuhé.*
Brustwarze ♀ *ziya, zi(n)yu.*
Bauch *nutsitiu, nitsityu.*
Nabel *nutukunute.*
Penis *nupeze.*
Scrotum *nukuntapu.*
Pudenda ♀ *etimabu, pinereti.*
After *nizitgiu.*
Oberarm *1. nunu, 2. pigunu.*
Ellbogen *nuuhemidyú.*
Hand *nukapi, nukabú.*
Handfläche *nurżikutago.*
Handrucken *nukunutubu.*
Finger *nukapi tingemidyú, nukupitái.*
Fingernagel *nukupiratu.*
Oberschenkel *nupute.*
Knie *nikyetu.*
Schienbein *nunabú* (Knochen).
Unterschenkel, *1. nukute, 2. pitiyuti.*
Ferse *nutipulu.*
Fuss *nukizapu, nikibapu.*
Sohle *nukirzapatagu.*
Zehe *nuparáta, nukuparáta.*
Zehennagel *nukupiratá.*
Haut *1. numái, 2. pimiyái.*
Knochen *inapú.*
Sonne *kame.*
Osten *iputuke.*
Mittag *katerereka.*
Westen *itapukén, yeipiéne.*
Mond *keżi, keri.*
Stern *kulunte, kulonte.*

Tag *muyakale.*
Nacht *mutivaka.*
Himmel *enunaku.*
Regen *uné.*
Regenbogen *iyápe.*
Gewitter *enutsityu.*
Wind *izimia.*
Rauch *simialái.*
Feuer *itsei.*
Salz *ichúve* (stark guttural).
Wasser *une.*
Stein *tepá.*
Erde *kahiti, kehúté.*
Weisser Lehm *epitsitsi.*
Töpferthon *kamalu.*
Vater *papaitsu.*
Mutter *mamáútsu.*
Tochter *nibupulu.*
Kind *nutái, hauku tái.*
Grossvater *batukuzi.*
Grossmutter *atsiru.*
Mutterbruder *uá.*
Aelt. Bruder *itapúri, itapúri.*
Jüng. Bruder, Vetter *ayú, tualái.*
Jüng. Schwester *irżeru.*
Mann *enyiu.*
Weib *teneru, tenezu.*
Knabe *enira tái.*
Mädchen *tineru tái.*
Häuptling *amunuu.*
Medizinmann *gutuuu.*
Fremder *karáipu.*
Bogen *itái.*
Pfeil *ukú, nukulu.*
Kanu *itsá.*
Ruder *etene.*
Reuse *mutu.*
Steinbeil *ápi, apái.*
Schabmuschel *ulutapu, ulu tái.*
Wundkratzer *piúa.*
Haus *pue, nupune.*
Hängematte *amaku.*
Tuch *amakaruto.*
Schemel *erpi.*
Kalabasse *mutuku.*
Kuye *iza.*
Topf, grosser *nukái.*
Topf, mittelgr. *makulu.*
Reibholz f. Mandioka *imyá.*
Beijúwender *utáruu.*
Siebfilter *tuapi, tuubi.*

Tragkorb *mayapatu.*
Bratständer *yulakakate.*
Baumwollfaden *kuapi.*
Spindel *tsapu, kuapi-tsapu.*
Stöckchen der Spindel *kuapigati.*
Kamm *palutu, palutumbü.*
Wachs *kerukuki.*
Weiberdreieck *zapalaku.*
Tätowierung *izepiulü* (Zahn-Blau).
Federarmband *ituritupu.*
Steinkette *ityuizatabi.*
Pansflöte *catuma.*
Fussklapper *nideyute.*
Maske *yakui, kouhahulu.*
Brüllaffe *kapulu.*
Makako *pahö.*
Jaguar *yanumaku.*
Kapivara *ipiehü.*
Agutí *pekörži.*
Ameisenbär *yunpé.*
Reh *yutá.*
Tapir *tämè.*
Arara *kažuruti.*
Papagei *zakaló.*
Japú *kuržima.*
Johó *makukuna.*
Jakú *marlahi.*
Mutung *yumü.*
Ente *upi.*
Kaiman *yuká.*
Leguan *ipitururža.*
Flussschildkröte *ipiu.*
Landschildkröte *marzuzulu, ayur.*
Schlange *ui.*
Fisch *kupati.*
Hundsfisch *eupi.*
Piranya *yakuukumá.*
Mereschu *varžai.*
Rochen *yapu.*
Biene *mimi.*
Ameise, flieg. *heri*
Ameise, grosse *kutá.*

Moskito *eyü.*
Holz, Baum *uta.*
Blatt *pana.*
Mais *mdiki.*
Mandioka *mukurú.*
Mandioka, gekocht *uléi.*
Püserego-Getränk *nukuyú.*
Pogu-Getränk *uzikui.*
Beijú *ulápe.*
Igname *paku.*
Batate *uhü.*
Pfeffer *ói.*
Jatoba *ucuii.*
Mangave *grtutu.*
Piki *akiii.*
Bakayuva-Palme *cepulu.*
Buritú-Palme *tunikyü.*
Tukum-Palme *yuuuhi.*
Tabak *höku.*
Urukú *yüku.*
Baumwolle *ayupe.*
Ubárohr *ukü.*
Sapégras *ikitai.*
ich *nutu.*
du *pitsü.*
rot *nukirži.*
gelb *eeruyú, eeruyayú.*
weiss *kizuú, (euekitži).*
schwarz *ürže, (yulaki).*
blau, grün *ityuulai, yulutiro.*
braun *eruyeyuki.*
1 *pauú.*
2 *mepiiuu.*
3 *kumaukula.*
4 *patuikuto, patupatutyuku.*
5 *pauu urzikü.*
6 *pauú tuputú.*
7 *mepiiuu tuputú.*
8 *kuumaukula tuputú.*
9 *patayaka tuputú.*
10 *ikumú.*
Negation *ahitou.*

8. Yaulapiti.

Wo der Accent nicht angegeben ist, wird die vorletzte Silbe betont. Es sei auf die interessanten Fälle von Lautwandel im Verhältnis zu Mehinakú etc. aufmerksam gemacht. Meh. *p* erscheint mehrfach als *t* und *r*. Vgl. Baumwollfaden, Siebfilter, Hundsfisch, weisser Lehm, Beijú, Kuye, du, blau etc.

Zunge *nungati, nyati.*
Zahn *nutuui, nutuur.*
Mund *nukirazi.*

Nase *nukirze, nukirži.*
Nasenloch *nukirze ritumbu.*
Auge *nuritü, nulitü.*

Ohr *nutoõru, nutoõre.*
Ohrloch *nutinakulaku.*
Ohrläppchenloch *nipühikuldutetiree.*
Kopf *nukuru, nukurżu, nupulakuratu.*
Stirn *nupaluuku, nuuuuuyute.*
Kopfhaar *nuputukuyuti.*
Brauen *nuynoporinyu.*
Wimpern *nuyeokuti.*
Schnurrbart *nuukiru.*
Kinnbart *nuuuuuu.*
Hals *nurhinyuti.*
Nacken *nurhinyu.*
Kehle *nurhinyureku.*
Brust *nuuurutirże.*
Brustwarze ♂ *nuhé.*
Brustwarze ♀ *tinàu ihé.*
Bauch *nitsityu, nutakö, nuuurutuku.*
Nabel *nutukunute, nutukunuti.*
Penis *nupuhi.*
Scrotum *nukulu, nukuri.*
Pudenda ♀ *tinàu ityu.*
After *nuyuuati, iyuuati.*
Schulter *nuanatinyu.*
Oberarm *nuuu.*
Ellbogen *nuanatieulu.*
Unterarm *nukunutupu.*
Hand *nuiriko.*
Handfläche *nuirikutuku.*
Handrücken *nukuuutupu.*
Finger *nukuritoobu, nukulitoobu.*
Fingernagel *nukupiratö,* (also *nukupi*).
Oberschenkel *nuputi, nupute.*
Knie *nutipulu.*
Unterschenkel *nukutinupi* (Wadenknochen).
Ferse *nutirzö puuuteti.*
Fuss *nutiżö, nutirö, nuti(r)ö.*
Sohle *nutirzöizuku.*
Zehen *nutirzubutö, nuti(r)öputö.*
Zehennagel *nutirżubaratu, nutiraüpuratu.*
Haut *nuuö.*
Knochen *nuuupi, inupi.*
Herz *nukuinge.*

Vom Fisch:

Kopf *ikuru, ikur(żu).*
Auge *inoritö.*
Zähne *itoö.*
Mund *ikirari.*
Schuppen *irutu.*
Flossen *iuur(ż)u.*
Schwanz *ikipina.*
Gräte *inupi.*

Sonne *kume.*
Mond *köri.*
Stern *uitsitsi.*
Milchstrasse *itynoönyu.*
Himmel *önyunuko.*
Wolke *u.*
Regen *u.*
Regenbogen *anurhi.*
Gewitter *enyuitoöku.*
Wind *irżinyu.*
Rauch *dzinyö.*
Tabakrauch *airinyu* (Tabak *airi*).
Feuer *zrö, żro* (Mund leicht offen, Unterkiefer zurück).
Salz *yutuké.*
Wasser *u.*
Stein *tobu.*
Erde *uupöti.*
Weisser Lehm *irhitziki.*
Vater *papu.*
Mutter *nanu.*
Sohn *nuhari.*
Tochter *nirżupulo.*
Kind *nuhö, arina.*
Grossvater *atu, atö.*
Grossmutter *nutiro, atti.*
Mutterbruder *uö, néua.*
Aelterer Bruder *itupüri.*
Jüngerer Bruder, Vetter *irżöri, irż(r)öri.*
Jüngere Schwester *irzörzu.*
Schwester (*tukunuti* auf den Nabel gezeigt).
Mann *örinuu, erina.*
Weib *tinàu.*
Knabe *yunöl(u)yetsö, yunölyutsö.*
Mädchen *tinerutsö.*
Häuptling *anuluo.*
Medizinmann *yutonu.*
Fremder *kurui.*
Bogen *itö.*
Pfeil *ukö.*
Wurfbrett *irulaku.*
Wurfpfeil *irulaku ukö.*
Kanu *irżru, i(r)żru.*
Ruder *tänu.*
Reuse *mutö.*
Fangkorb *kulutu.*
Steinbeil *ärzi,* beinahe *örzi, örhe.*
Schabmuschel *tunuyu.*
Wundkratzer *i(r)żiö.*
Haus *pa, nupina.*
Hängematte *amaku, amakaroti.*
Schemel *irözi.*
Kalabasse *mutuku.*

Kuye *tiržu.*
Topf, grosser *mukulú, žrúipi.*
Topf, kleiner *tiburutu.*
Reibholz für Mandioka *inyi.*
Beijúwender *kutzü.*
Siebfilter *tuari.*
Korb *mayuku.*
Tragkorb *mayapulu.*
Bratständer *gulú, gulu.*
Baumwollfaden *kugari.*
Spindel *kuyazizuku, kugurziruku.*
Kamm *pulutu.*
Weiberdreieck *imamati.*
Tätowierung *pukipü.*
Federarmband (Arara) *kulumupi.*
Ohrfeder *kuyuniru.*
Perlen *zerulutire, otuna.*
Flöte *cutanati.*
Fussklapper *žrelukú.*
Maske *yukú, yakuikutú, kuukulu.*
Brüllaffe *kupulu.*
Makako *kurzikurzi.*
Fledermaus *ulun.*
Jaguar *gnnumuku.*
Kapivara *irüti.*
Aguti *pikiri.*
Ameisenbar, grosser *unikiki.*
Ameisenbar, kleiner *kuyunulu.*
Reh *kuyutulu.*
Sumpfhirsch *uyunu.*
Kaitetúschwein *autü.*
Tapir *tsúnu.*
Arara *kulu.*
Papagei *tulün.*
Harpyie *kutiriukumú.*
Japú *kunu* (Bakairi).
Johó *uukukinu.*
Jakú *kugui.*
Jakutinga *tumululu.*
Mutung *kuyü.*
Mutum cavallo *kugu ityumú.*
Ente *upüelyu.*
Ibiyau *uciyu.*
Kaiman *yukú.*
Leguan *irutuuru.*
Flussschildkröte *irü, irzü.*
Landschildkröte *irukunulu.*
Schlange *ui.*
Fisch *kulutú.*
Hundsfisch *curi.*
Piranya *yakuukumú.*
Mereschu *uurirityi.*
Rochen *yapu.*
Lagunenfisch *uubutu.*
Biene *mapu.*
Honig *umpakunu.*
Wachs *marpužikibu.*
Moskito *uukukü.*
Holz, Baum *atu.*
Blatt *punu.*
Mais *uiiki.*
Mandioka *ulu.*
Püserego-Getränk *uukuyu.*
Pogu-Getränk *uluinyé.*
Beijú *uluzzi, uluri.*
Igname *puku.*
Batate *müinyu.*
Pfeffer *ui.*
Jatobá *uyi.*
Mangave *kutulu.*
Piki *aku.*
Bakayuva-Palme *pipulu.*
Buritî-Palme *ruguguti.*
Tabak *uiri.*
Urukú *iuriru, (yuku).*
Baumwolle *alinpü, uyupü.*
Bambus *yunuti.*
ich *nutu.*
du *tezu, tero.*
rot *kulutuukü.*
orange *kulutuukuyu.*
gelb *dziruunui.*
schwarz *(u)öri, (u)ériyu.*
weiss *kümetiki.*
blau, grün *tuiruki, dziruki.*
1 *punú.*
2 *purzinyunu* (Trumai *kuru*).
3 *kunuyukulu.*
4 *purzinyunu-ipukü.*
5 *pu-uiriku* (1 Hand).
6 *punu-ikirutú.*
7 *purzinyunu-ikirutú.*
8 *kunuyukul-ikirutú.*
9 *purzinyunu-ipukü-ikirutú.*
10 *papitukuku-uiriku.*
11 *tiržul-ikirutú* (Zehe I links).
12 *tiržuli purzinyunu-ikirutú.*
13 *tiržuli kunuyukul-ekirutú.*
14 *tiržuli purzinyunu-ipukü-ikirutú.*
15 *punú tiržuli* (1 Fuss).
16 *tiržul-ikirutú punú.*
17 *tiržul-ikirutú purzinyunu.*
18 *tiržul-ikirutú kunuyukutú.*
19 *tiržul-ikirutu purzinyunu-ipakü.*
20 *papitukuku-tiržuli.*
Negation *atu.*

7. Austó.

Wo der Accent nicht angegeben ist, wird die letzte Silbe betont.

Zunge *intengu.*
Zahn *indii.*
Mund *intembe.*
Nase *iambü(i).*
Nasenloch *iambüindwit.*
Auge *itetu.*
Ohr *intengumbe.*
Ohrloch *intengumbükwut.*
Kopfhaar *iup, geup.*
Tonsur *keupitekwent.*
Brauen *itetumpeup.*
Wimpern *intombembee.*
Schnurrbart *itiup.*
Kinnbart *iumpotup, 3. ambotup.*
Hals *itulebembo.*
Nacken *iutumpü.*
Kehle *iuikwut.*
Brust *ipožent.*
Brustwarze ♂ *inkum.*
Brustwarze ♀ *kungu-inkum.*
Bauch *itüe.*
Nabel *ipülup.*
Penis *itüp.*
Scrotum *itupin.*
Eier *mupiu.*
Pudenda ♀ *kungu-gumai.*
After *ipinkwut.*
Schulter *iu(e)rüp.*
Oberarm *itöeu.*
Ellbogen *itöeumpat.*
Hand *ipu.*
Handfläche *ipuaru.*
Handrücken *ipuupe.*
Finger *ipü.*
Fingernagel *iubou.*
Oberschenkel *iup.*
Knie *impüu.*
Unterschenkel *intenlemu.*
Ferse *ipütutuik.*
Fuss *ipokut.*
Fussrücken *ipüupe.*
Sohle *ipüroea.*
Zehe *ipükut.*
Zehennagel *impünta.*
Haut *ipit.*
Knochen *mikuinut.*
Feder *ucai.*
Fischzähne *ipiru-ti.*
Fischwirbel *ipiru-agudi.*
Flosse *mumpepu.*
Pintado-Schwanz *turui-edi.*

Sonne *kuat.*
Mond *tatü.*
Stern *tata-gät.*
Himmel *kümpit.*
Wolke *amun.*
Regen *amun.*
Regenbogen *trüp.*
Gewitter *tompu.*
Wind *iotü.*
Rauch *turuiing.*
Feuer *taru.*
Asche *turuipuk.*
Salz *tokot, tokät.*
Wasser *ü.*
Fluss *üito.*
Lagune *utu.*
Stein *kütu, kütu.*
Erde *utudi, ütii*
Weisser Lehm *tuin-tiing, tocentuin.*
Töpferthon *tuum.*
Vater *apii.*
Mutter *ange.*
Sohn *tutuiüt.*
Tochter *imembüt.*
Kind *imembüt.*
Grossvater *atu.*
Grossmutter *atii.*
Mutterbruder *aruuui.*
Aelt. Bruder *itererup.*
Jüng. Bruder, Vetter *itruü.*
Schwester *itutet.*
Mann *kuminut.*
Weib *kungu.*
Häuptling *mereknut.*
Medizinmann *mupu.*
Fremder *kurui.*
Bogen *rupat.*
Pfeil *müp.*
Wurfbrett *gumari, gumari-mupitup.*
Wurfpfeil *gumari-müp.*
Kanu *mumbe, mumpe.*
Ruder *enteu.*
Reuse *tuiu, tüiu.*
Fangkorb *kubutu.*
Meissel *amukutuba.*
Steinbeil *kü* (Mund geschlossen), *küup.*
Steinhammer *kete-gät.*
Mandiokagraber *tüt.*
Mörser *kengua.*
Schabmuschel *tut.*
Schabmuschel, grosse *kütu.*

Schabmesser, kleine *kuregure*, *kiitsu-get*, *kiitsumpuhet*.
Wundkratzer *tutsitsep*.
Haus *ol*.
Festhütte *atatá(ne)*.
Thüre *natsuepi*.
Hangematte *kruc*, *kruc(i)*, *iai*.
Tuch *iaiuhit*.
Schemel *upiikup*.
Kalabasse *kupuiiamet*.
Kuye, grosse *ii-ai*.
Kuye, kleine *o-git*, *aurupure*.
Oelkuye *kutukun*.
Beijäschaumel *tuaupiitai*.
Topf, grosser *mulule-ute*.
Topf, mittelgr. *tiuhtilu*.
Topf, kleiner *mulule-get*.
Reibholz f. Mandioka *kruc*, *pruc*.
Beijäwender *kiieru*.
Siebfilter *kuiit*.
Korb *aupuulu*.
Körbchen *ere*.
Proviantkorb *uiiel*.
Tragkorb *tuuite-aupuulu*, *tutitsu-aupuulu*.
Brat-ständer *aiiauagkuaupto*, *aiiauagaupto*.
Buritifaden *tatauit*.
Spindel *aupiito*, *aupiitu*.
Kamm *kiieup*.
Wachs *kilapet*.
Fett z. Einreiben *tratuapi*.
Weiberärmelreif *uaperu*.
Tätowierung *tatiupepuruup*.
Steinkette *aiipe*.
Kopfdiadem *aupup*.
Flöte *kulutu*, *kulúte*.
Panflöte *tuupiu-git*.
Kurbisrassel *tcruu*.
Fussklapper *aiauru*.
Spielball *puru*.
Maskenfeste *pulutiutu*, *kuukilu*.
Brüllaffe *uulidi*.
Makako *kupit*, *kuturu-git*.
Fledermaus *tutuie*.
Jaguar *tuucat*.
Koati *uuupitiret*.
Kapivara *kupiiret*.
Aguti *uulurii*.
Riesengürteltier *tatauta*.
Ameisenbär, grosser *tuuupai*.
Ameisenbär, kleiner *tuuupaiuiiar*.
Reh *tiruuta*.
Kettenschwein *tutulu*.
Tapir *tupiit*.
Vogel *uuru*.
Arara *tuculi*.
Papagei *uuculu*, *tuupiuet*.
Harpyie *uruuuta* (»grosser Vogel«).
Japú *uiiupu*, *aupu*.
Buyzu *uiiipu*.
Jabú *uupulup*, *uupulup*.
Feldhuhn *kupatiiriu*.
Inambú *tiiuu*.
Jaku *tulu-git*.
Jakutinga *tulupiing*.
Mutung *uuiutu*.
Mutum cavallo *uutiiiuup*.
Ente *uupet*.
Specht *uuuplung*.
Kaiman *tupupiiret*.
Eidechse *tetu*, *tuu*.
Leguan *uupiuit*.
Flussschildkröte *tuuuri*.
Landschildkröte *tuupit*.
Schlange *uui*.
Fisch *puuiit*.
Hundshaich *tutui*.
Piranya *puulupiuget*.
Meerschweinchen *piiupiiit*.
Paku *pulu*.
Piatado-Weib *tuui*.
Kochen *uuupu*.
Biene, Honig *uulit*.
Ameise (Schlupper-) *uuupiuuupit*.
Moskito *tuuri*.
Holz, Baum *iiiiu*, *ip*.
Brennholz *tupupu*.
Rinde *ipu*.
Samen *ui*.
Mais *uutui*, *kuuutui*.
Mandioka *uuuiul*, *uiu*.
Mandioka-Zweig *uuuiip*.
Stampfmehl *uupul*.
Pusuego-Getränk *uuuiulú*.
Pugu-Getränk *uuup*.
Beiju *gruuru*, *guuru*.
Igname *tutupupu*.
Batate *tuuiil*, *pulu*.
Pfeffer *tuuulit*.
Jatobá *uutuiip*.
Kastanie *ruuu*.
Mangave *truuir(ai)*, *uuiru*.
Piki *pituiu*, *pituupet*.
Bakayuva-Palme *uulua-git*.
Burití-Palme *turupu*.
Buritistreifen *tuupiuit*.
Buritistrub *tuupuiup*.

Tabak *pi, pili.*
Genipapo *tendipap.*
Urukikapseln *pendenapit.*
Baumwolle *eentiini.*
Sapégras *tetapr.*
Lanzengras *kidedeap.*
Bambus (Takoara) *tidau-teing.*
Uhrsche *wip.*
rot *tenapete* (Karmin), *tronaete* (Urukirot).
gelb, orange *tiereto.*
weiss, hellgelb *iatiinapete, iatiinapete.*
schwarz *tenete, tenite.*
blau, grün *tiiiete, kikiiete.*
braun *tienapete* (Sepia).
braunrot *iatenete.*
hellbraun *tienaiinapete* (gebrannte Siena = braun-weiss).
1 *enapete.*
2 *mendii.*
3 *menaitiriiki.*
4 *mendii mendii iapat.*
5 *matipete.*
6 *menaiirati maitatape.*
7 *mendii maitatape.*
8 *menaitiriiki maitatape.*
9 *mendii mendii iapit* (= 4).
10 *kaipapap.*
11 *menaiirata kaipiete.*
12 *mendii kaipiete.*
13 *menaitiriiki kaipiete.*
14 *mendii mendii kaipiete.*
15 *ainap kaipie.*
16 *menaiirata kaipi.*
17 *mendii tietipe kaipiete.*
18 *menaitiriiki tietipe kaipiete.*
19 *mendii mendii tietipe kaipiete.*
20 *tiiniapi.*
Negation *en, enear.*

8. Kamayurá.

Wo der Accent nicht angegeben ist, wird die letzte Silbe betont.

Zunge *gdn.*
Zahn *gnerrii, 2. ini.*
Mund *gerear.*
Nase *gnpi: gini* (Nasenspitze).
Nasenloch *gnpiiiuat, gnpiiiuat.*
Auge *gnen.*
Ohr *gnenni.*
Ohrloch *gnenniiuat.*
Ohrläppchenloch *gnenniiuarat.*
Kopf *gnehenp: gnepin* (Schädelnapfgrund).
Stirn *gnipiiiiiap.*
Kopfhaar *gnep.*
Brauen *gnenpiiiiap.*
Wimpern *gnepenap.*
Wangenhaut *nenniiapap.*
Schnurrbart *gnenniiap.*
Kinnbart *gnenap.*
Kinn *gnenian.*
Hals *gnepat.*
Nacken *gnetan.*
Kehle *gnniiat.*
Brust *gnpinin.*
Brustwarze ♂ *gnian.*
Brustwarze ♀ *kanga-kian.*
Bauch *gnenni.*
Nabel *gnpiiran.*
Penis *gnniiii.*
Scrotum *gnenin.*
Pudenda ♀ *kanga-ranan.*
After *gnenii.*
Schulter *gnenni.*
Oberarm *gnpian.*
Ellbogen *gnpanitiiipa.*
Unterarm + Handrücken *gnenapi.*
Hand *gnpa.*
Handfläche *gnpiipiiat.*
Handrücken *gnenpi.*
Finger *gnian.*
Daumen *gnian.*
Zeigefinger *gnian-ipipiat.*
Mittelfinger *gnian-mait.*
Ringfinger *gnian-ipipmat.*
Kleinfinger *gnian-i.*
Fingernagel *gnianap.*
Oberschenkel *gnep.*
Knie *gnpenian.*
Unterschenkel *gnenianap.*
Ferse *gnpiin.*
Fuss *gnpi.*
Fussrücken *gnianap.*
Sohle *gnpapiat.*
Zehen *gnpiii.*
Zehennagel *gnpiiap.*
Haut *gnpit.*
Knochen *iinapt.*

Von einem Vogel:

Schnabel *iini.*
Auge *kiipe.*
Flügel *ipepe.*
Rippe *nenianap.*
Bein *ipii.*
Kralle *ipiiape.*

Schwanz *uoãp.*
Schwanzfeder *wuepoüat.*
Schwungfeder *ipepohi.*
Haldeder *kuret.*
Schopf *ekunpati.*
Zunge *kiko.*
Nasenlöcher *kiapiwat.*
Haut *ipit.*
Darm *kepati.*
Magen *ekaiwepu.*
Leber *ipeeket.*
Lunge *ivivüiket.*
Herz *ipeti-ariiketing.*
Blut *kui.*
Hoden, Ei *upin.*
Sonne *kuat.*
Mond *pii.*
Stern *pantatei.*
Himmel *kiwal.*
Wolke *uuna.*
Regen *uuna, kuuna.*
Regenbogen *uunaüip.*
Gewitter *tupi.*
Wind *eräto, eräta.*
Hauch *iviteri.*
Rauch *kuteiing.*
Feuer *tuto.*
Salz *gakit, gakit.*
Wasser *i.*
Stein *ito.*
Quarz *ipakiur.*
Erde, Sand *ii.*
Weisser Lehm *taiputing.*
Vater *papa, l. gerep (= ge-tap).*
Mutter *kuna.*
Sohn *gwarwait, gerepit.*
Tochter *gwarwkuapa.*
Kind *kuwari.*
Grossmutter *kuwai.*
Grossmutter *ata.*
Mutterbruder *epe, ene.*
Älterer Bruder *gerewap.*
Jüngerer Bruder, Vetter *gerwait.*
Schwester *gerakit.*
Mann *ekuwai.*
Weib *kuapa.*
Knabe *awai airi.*
Mädchen *kuapa awaku.*
Häuptling *awirewait.*
Medicinmann *pajé.*
Freunder *kurak.*
Bogen *uruput.*
Bogen (äusserer Holz) *uruputaiwap.*
Bogen (innerer Holz) *eräuput.*

Sehne *uruputaiu.*
Pfeil (Uhä) *kiüp, kewete.*
Pfeil (Kambayuva) *kuuapip.*
Pfeil (Affenknochenspitze) *kuuapin.*
Pfeil (Buriti-Holzspitze) *uuritti-iei.*
Pfeil (Fischknochen-Spitze) *ekuuapip.*
Knochenspitze *kuuapuu.*
Schlingpflanze am Pfeil *eeiur-ieit.*
Wurfbrett *gawari uuuuap.*
Wurfpfeil *gawari kiüp.*
Keule *kiapu.*
Kanu *kiat.*
Ruder *gakaiwitap, gaakiitap.*
Reuse *gaku.*
Fangkorb *tutari.*
Fischnetz *piraüräk.*
Steinbeil *(d)yü* (mit u-Laut).
Kleines Steinbeil *(a)yüpi.*
Schalenmuscheln (vgl. S. 207, 208) *tpüai, ita, ita uuku, ita kuua, ita-i.*
Wundkratzer *gapap.*
Haus *kiä, ka(i), upiä.*
Hängematte (Baumwolle) *kwi,* (Buriti) *gerap.*
Schemel *apiäap, kapiäap.*
Kalabasse *kapakua.*
Kuye, grosse *kutiirua.*
Kuye, kleine *ä-a.*
Oelkuye *gawiru.*
Topf, grosser *ugur.*
Topf, kleiner *uuriäwi-i.*
Reibholz f. Mandioka *kiärka.*
Beipiwender *kiarp.*
Siebölter *tuuei.*
Korb *ripari, iriäwap.*
Körbchen *kiwapit.*
Tragkorb *pirapiata.*
Bastsack *ewiari-iip.*
Bratstander *tulauua.*
Baumwollfaden *kwaiua,* feiner *kwaiua-i.*
Spindel *kräu.*
Kamm *kiäap.*
Wachs *iruäi, gaäi.*
Weiberdreieck *tuuuap.*
Tatowierung *tpu.*
Federkopfschmuck (Japú) *gakuii.*
Federarmband *gawawait.*
Steinkette *uuit,* der einzelne Stein *uuiäta.*
Rote Muschelstücke *gatäta.*
Flöte *kuruta.*
Panflöte, grosse *kurua.*
Panflöte, kleine *kwiirua.*
Rohrflöte *gawiatatä*

Kürbisrassel *kumiti, kumiti.*
Tanz, Gesang *marako.*
Maskenfeste *gubu-i-kuru, kiuat.*
Tanzkeule *tamiko.*
Gebetstab *kututi.*
(Federneta) zum Tanz *gubeiup.*
Strohmaske *gomori-piang.*
Brüllaffe *akiki.*
Makako *kui.*
Fledermaus *oruo.*
Jaguar *gomot.*
Fischotter *gomipiou.*
Koati *kutui.*
Kapivara *kapiriti.*
Aguti *akutu.*
Paka *pubu.*
Gürteltier *tatu.*
Ameisenbär, grosser *tamanua.*
Ameisenbär, kleiner *tamanua-i.*
Reh *ikubu.*
Kaiettischwein *tagua.*
Tapir *tapiri.*
Vogel *kuru.*
Arara *kuaiur.*
Papagei *turuer.*
Urubu, weisser *oroumking.*
Harpyie *karupi.*
Falk *kugurn.*
Japú *gubu.*
Bayru *oirigo.*
Johó *mubulum.*
Feldhuhn *kugutui.*
Jaku *gubukiku, gubu-i.*
Jakutinga *gubuputing.*
Mutung *mutu.*
Mutum cavallo *mutukang.*
Ente *tuuri, tuiur.*
Jabirstorch *oromptang.*
Kaiman *gubuer.*
Eidechse *trypuruep, turui.*
Leguan (Sinimbu) *ruruui.*
Flussschildkröte (Trakaja) *turikugun.*
Landschildkröte *gomitipiti.*
Schlange *mii.*
Kröte *oratum.*
Fisch *ipiru.*
Hundefisch *tutui, tutui-i.*
Piranya *piranag, piraug.*
Meretschu *tupuku.*
Pikú *pubu.*
Pintado-Wels *tuuri.*
Rochen *gomirit.*
Biene *kui.*
Honig *kuiurup* (Bienen-Eier).

Ameise, fleg. *ituro-a.*
Ameise, grosse *kiga, kiku, tamkang.*
Moskito *pin, gutoin.*
Mutukabremse *mutuk.*
Sandwespe *tamkamuru.*
Grille *ikrgu.*
Leuchtkäfer *kuakuuri.*
Holz, Baum *iciru-i.*
Blatt *icu.*
Mais *arutui.*
Mandioka *mamuk*, grüne Wurzel *tuuia.*
Mandioka, durchgepresst *tupiru-uti*, gut trocknet *tupiru-utiku.*
Paverego-Getränk *mukut.*
Pogu-Getränk *kuui.*
Beiji *mugu*, fast *mugu.*
Igname *kuru.*
Batate *gotiti.*
Bohne *kuamuiri* (Pflanze), *kuiamutii* (Frucht).
Pfeffer *kiduri, iduri, iduang.*
Jatoba *gutuip.*
Mamona *mumgui.*
Marmeloda *mupang.*
Fruta de lobo *itoin.*
Mangave *mangup.*
Piki *pubri.*
Bakayuva-Palme *mukugip.*
Gariroba-Palme *piang.*
Buriti-Palme *mariti.*
Tukum-Palme *gomuru.*
Akurikern *tupiruer.*
Tabak *petim*, Wickelblatt *petimup.*
Genipapo *gumpup.*
Urukú *iriku.*
Baumwolle *mainiga.*
Sapigras *gupu.*
Mombecagras *gomi.*
Bambus (Takuara) *tubut.*
Ubaroba *kaip.*
Gravatá *pumuto.*
Pindahyba *iciru, irit.*
Peroba *turuku.*
Japekanga *turuturuto.*
Schlingpflanze *niam.*
Ximbuva *iimuip.*
Arika *tamigup.*
Ich *ge.*
du *kuu, uku.*
rot, orange *ainga-mui.*
gelb *igiro-mui.*
weiss *tainga-mui.*
schwarz *ipitoim-mui.*
blau, grün *itoro-mui.*

grau *kinyüma-sud.*
1 *gepete.*
2 *mokii.*
3 *mongüt.*
4 *mongoiru.*
5 *genepo-monop.*
6 *eerooum gepete, eerooak.*
7 *mokii eerooak.*
8 *kemomongüt.*
9 *kemogoiru.*
10 *genemai.*
11 *genepü-aü.*
12 *genepü-eumütet.*
13 *kemomongüt.*
14 *kemongoiru.*
15 *mai, genepü-ai.*
16 *amungutorooak.*
17 *genepü akimütet.*
18 *kemomongüt.*
19 *mongoiru.*
20 *genepü arehe.*
Negation *anite.*

9. Trumai.

Wo der Accent nicht angegeben ist, wird die letzte Silbe betont.

Zunge *gemum.*
Zahn *gemi.*
Mund *gengop.*
Lippe *gemumpümuku.*
Nase *gemuloin.*
Nasenloch *gemukgu.*
Auge *gemkon.*
Ohr *gemkojtü.*
Ohrloch *gemkopügui, gemkatgui.*
Kopf *gemkut, gekut.*
Stirn *gekokme.*
Kopfhaar *gemukura, ukug.*
Brauen *gekütipimukopukui, gekutupikukui.*
Wimpern *gekokui.*
Wangenbart *gemumukui.*
Schnurrbart *gemukylku.*
Kinnbart *gemumukui.*
Hals *gemut.*
Nacken *gemmen.*
Kehle *gemüjemut.*
Brust *gemtipat.*
Brustwarze ♂ *gemmiu.*
Brustwarze ♀ *ipui-amiü.*
Bauch *gemge.*
Nabel *gemtüj.*
Penis *gempi.*
Scrotum *gemtaj, gemti(u).*
Pudenda ♀ *ali.*
After *gempat.*
Schulter *gemmüku.*
Oberarm *gemulu.*
Ellbogen *gemukuku.*
Unterarm *gemkumpamurzu.*
Hand *gemkomp.*
Handfläche *gemkuchwag.*
Handrücken *gemkurui.*
Finger *gemlaktuku.*
Fingernagel *gemüji.*
Oberschenkel *gekut.*
Knie *gemmuk.*
Unterschenkel *gemukutu.*
Ferse *gemapütakut.*
Fuss *gemapitu.*
Sohle *gemapütafag.*
Zehen *gempitui.*
Zehennagel *gempütji.*
Haut *gempat.*
Knochen *taidet.*
Sonne *atelu, atelo.*
Mond *atelpak, atezbak.*
Stern *aui.*
Himmel *memene.*
Regen, Wolke *kouigu.*
Regenbogen *pupu.*
Gewitter *tu(o)ruku.*
Wind *eut.*
Rauch *ugdru.*
Feuer *ee.*
Salz *gakürü.*
Wasser, Fluss *uiau.*
Stein *liki.*
Erde *teuetue.*
Weisser Lehm *tuuutzin.*
Vater *pupu.*
Mutter *atuiu.*
Sohn *kepat.*
Tochter *mopu.*
Kind *agou, agua.*
Grossvater *ayli.*
Grossmutter *atuetu.*
Mutterbruder *eeme.*
Aelterer Bruder *apine.*
Jüngerer Bruder, Vetter *apiui.*
Aeltere Schwester *hukun (?).*
Jüngere Schwester *agout.*
Mann *kiki.*
Weib *ipue.*
Knabe *itudi.*

Mädchen *ugão.*
Häuptling *oté.*
Medizinmann *payé.*
Fremder *karaiwa.*
Bogen *tairikoma.*
Pfeil *kit.*
Wurfbrett *epep.*
Keule *ãitoto.*
Kanu *ai.*
Ruder *amat.*
Reuse *pütü.*
Fangkorb *tatori.*
Steinbeil *ãdoko*, ucin Stein *dokoiro.*
Schalmuschel *eidowa* (ã nach 8 hinaufer).
Wundkratzer *tatodakat.*
Haus *pütü.*
Festhütte
Hängematte (Buriti) *mauritiusi.*
Tuch *mauritiusi.*
Schemel *pakat.*
Kalabasse *kagikoro.*
Kaye *ãa.*
Topf, grosser *arat.*
Topf, mittelgrosser *aratpat.*
Reibholz für Mandioka *ui.*
Beijiwender *mauitai ãdowa.*
Siebfilter *tasoi.*
Korb *irapari.*
Tragkorb *karapata.*
Bratständer *tabwa.*
Baumwollfaden *awandya.*
Spindel *uwãri, uwãra.*
Kamm *kasoi.*
Weiber-Bastbinde *iparawat, iwat.*
Bast dafür *rasi.*
Steinkette *tatodola.*
Flöte *kat.*
Rasselkürbis *iau, rawaloto.*
Fussklapper *katpat.*
Maske und Tanz *kakrikiri, zarawandu, kaukaka.*
Tanzkeule *atoa.*
Brüllaffe *awar.*
Makako *parikiu.*
Fledermaus *kapa, kapai.*
Jaguar *frde.*
Koati *kautai.*
Aguti *ãdato.*
Ameisenbär, grosser *ãiko.*
Ameisenbär, kleiner *ãikowa.*
Reh *tatoit.*
Kattenschwein *iar.*
Tapir *awanto.*
Arara *arawa.*

Papagei *tarua.*
Japú *tãlaj.*
Buyau *tauto.*
Johó *kabal.*
Feldhuhn *ugikotoi.*
Jaku *auto.*
Jakutinga *waiwakwar.*
Mutung *karaiz.*
Mutum cavallo *karaiwakwai.*
Ente *kataudi.*
Kaiman *tapotar.*
Leguan *warnar.*
Flussschildkröte *tawal.*
Landschildkröte *arwa.*
Schlange *uwiãi.*
Fisch *kata.*
Hundefisch *kaapir.*
Piranya *ãiwakwar.*
Meerschu *pedi.*
Pakú *tatkat.*
Rochen *ãbd.*
Moskito *taiaui, taiaua.*
Holz, Baum *dri.*
Mais *kator.*
Mandioka *ãr.*
Pororogo-Getränk *ãrgu.*
Pugu-Getränk *arãg.*
Beijú *aurya.*
Iguame *gritwaiãrau.*
Batate *aurai.*
Pfeffer *kotoita.*
Jatoba *tagatai.*
Mangave *aurawa.*
Piki *taiaua.*
Bakayuva-Palme *auau.*
Buriti-Palme *mauritiusi.*
Tukum-Palme *dotkola.*
Baumwolle *awanya.*
Tabak *p.* Wickelblatt *ãkowa.*
Urukú *aurat.*
Sapégrau *zawal.*
Bambus (Takwara) *takwara.*
Ohrrohr *kit.*
ich *kai.*
du *ãa, ãka.*
rot, orange *tawaiz.*
gelb *tawiya.*
schwarz *taidato.*
blau *taiwa* (Kamayura: «Perikin»).
grün *gekiri.*
1 *uãiza.*
2 *kari.*
3 *karakwar.*
4 *karaatad.*

5 *kutkrl, ukutkrlau.*
6 *uikia-pu(i)pridau.*
7 *kuri-upidpridau.*
8 *kurutau-upidpridau.*
9 *kuamtul-upidpridau.*
10 *gypau-pidpridau.*
11 *uikia-pitau.*
12 *kuri-apitau.*
13 *kurutau-apitau.*
14 *kuamtukuapitau.*
15 *kutkrl uuuridkuakr.*
16 *pitaurauapikr.*
20 *pitukrl, ukutkrlau.*
Negation *atuk.*

10. Paressi.

Wo der Accent nicht angegeben ist, wird die letzte Silbe betont.

Zunge *anaiair.*
Zahn *uukiali.*
Mund *ukrlako.*
Nase *ukiiri.*
Nasenloch *ukiiri-zuru.*
Auge *andiur.*
Ohr *uutiuko.*
Ohrloch *uutiuko-zuru.*
Kopf *uuuriiri.*
Stirn *uuturi.*
Kopfhaar *uuuiir.*
Tupour *auiu.*
Wirbel *ukokau.*
Brauen *uutiiali.*
Wimpern *uukiur-uiruri.*
Bart *uuutrgolu.*
Hals, Nacken *ukiau.*
Hals unter Kinn *uulula.*
Kehle *uutuuukoki.*
Brust *uutikuli.*
Brustwarze ♂ *uutuuuiur.*
Brustwarze ♀ *uiuuuiko kutaur.*
Bauch *uuuupuki.*
Nabel *uutukiur.*
Penis *auur.*
Scrotum *uutukiur.*
Pudenda ♀ *kuzu, uiuuuiko kuzuur.*
After *auiiguur.*
Schulter *uutuguiui.*
Oberarm — Unterarm *ukkiau.*
Ellbogen *ukkiau-kukiruui.*
Hand *ukkiir.*
Finger *ukkiiri.*
Daumen *uutuliiri.*
Zeigefinger *ukkiiri.*
Mittelfinger *uuuiko kukki.*
Ringfinger *ukiitukiir.*
Kleinfinger *zuuuiiri.*
Fingernagel *uti.*
Oberschenkel *ukkiur.*
Knie *ukuuli.*
Unterschenkel *ukuuki.*
Ferse *ukiiiiukui.*
Fuss *ukiii.*
Sohle *ukiiiiui.*
Zehen *ukiii-ki.*
Zehennagel *uti, uuiti.*
Haut *uuuli, uuurliki.*
Knochen *uuuiki.*
Blut *uuiiiuuruui.*
Milch *tutuzu, tutuki.*

Von Tieren:

Feder *iiuur.*
Flügel *ukuuui, ukuuau.*
Gelenk *ukuutulu.*
Schwanz (Perikito, Hund) *ruiku.*
Schnabel *ukiri.*
Auge *ukuui.*
Zunge *ruukuri.*
Fuss *ukiii.*
Kralle *ruuta.*
Grate *ruuiki.*
Haut *ruuli.*
Fleisch *iurtu, urtü.*
Blut *itiuuruui.*
Herz *ruukiiau.*
Lunge *ukukuki.*
Magen *ruuiiri.*
Darm *ruuii.*
Leber *ukuur.*
Ei *ruuui.*
Sonne *kuuii.*
Osten *kikukau.*
Mittag *tukikiuau.*
Westen *iuu.*
Mond *kugi.*
5 Phasen: (Neumond) *gukiikiti, kiuuti-likiti, kurikukuui, tutukuui, tuiti.*
Stern *zukiui, zuri.*
Milchstrasse *kutuuikutiri.*
Jahr *kuuiiku.*
Tag *kurrugu.*

Nacht *maka.*
Himmel *enukua.*
Wolke *kaimeneti.*
Regen *ane, enuhati, ona turelugu.*
Gewitter *enuhare.*
Wind *kuhola.*
Rauch *iimère.*
Feuer *irigute.*
Salz *aiwé.*
Wasser, Fluss *one, une.*
Insel *kukikuruhé.*
Wald *kolüku.*
Berg *teiri, teire.*
Stein *aikali.*
Erde, Sand *eaikuhe.*
Lehm *kunike.*
Vater *baua, baea,* Waimaré *aba.*
Mutter *mama,* Waimaré *ama.*
Sohn *kori.*
Tochter *akiro.*
Kind, Säugling *dutehiro.*
Grossvater *ata, ätüta.*
Grossmutter *abe, abebe.*
Enkel *noii.*
Mutterbruder *kuku,* Waimaré *kukire.*
Tante *nakilu.*
Aelterer Bruder *azü, adezü.*
Jüngerer Bruder, Vetter *mizimuriui.*
Aeltere Schwester *kori.*
Jüngere Schwester *duzu.*
Mutter der Gattin *naiku.*
Mann *ena.*
Weib *nezunito, nizunito.*
Knabe *zuinu, enu-mugoü.*
Mädchen *akiro-mugoü.*
Häuptling *ainule, kariti.*
Medizinmann *atukuziti.*
Hexenmeister *tikunule.*
Fremder *eunuiti.*
Neger *kiere.*
Bogen *kolehugu.*
Sehne *alaua-hi.*
Pfeil *kale.*
Keule *aterikozü.*
Holzkanu *kütto; kanua* (portug.).
Rindenkanu *miau.*
Ruder *kalategulati.*
Axt *zauati.*
Steinbeil *korokuae.*
Flinte *kurenuau.*
Eisen *kanuitikiro.*
Gold *oiro* (portug.).
Diamant *diamante* (portug.).
Haus *kati* (Kulisehu *pai*).

Dach *ezütekiro.*
Thür *katiguaaü.*
Hängematte *naiku.*
Seil *alauahe.*
Faden *kunokiki.*
Spindel *tiro, olauari.*
Schemel *okuhakalati.*
Kalabasse *nautogo.*
Kuye *ketiüa.*
Topf *natalu.*
Reibholz f. Mandioka *tiauare.*
Siebfilter (peneira) *atou.*
Tragkorb *koko.*
Bratständer *koizate.*
Kamm *kalata.*
Hüftentuch ♀ *eniti.*
Schutztüchlein ♂ *duikuaü.*
Hüftschnur ♂ *kunokua.*
Perlgürtel *nukoalaki.*
Tätowierung *nakotü.*
Kautschukband (Knie) *iniiti.*
Baumwollband (Knie) *natahe.*
Baumwollband (Oberarm) *nukaloeani.*
Nasenfeder *nakiliakuaü.*
Ohrgehänge (Palmnuss) *kokoro.*
Federdiadem *kunakinko.*
Flöte, grosse *kiemagi.*
Flöte, kleinere *kolata.*
Pansflöte *dero.*
Kürbisrassel *aala.*
Maske *nadoanhugo, kalaruzu.*
Brüllaffe *alome.*
Makako *kuate.*
Koatá *augauele.*
Fledermaus *nahigue.*
Jaguar *tiene.*
Wolf *ahuzu.*
Kampfuchs *kunduru, urazulu.*
Fischotter *inaue.*
Koati *kuhi.*
Kapivara *oli.*
Gürteltier *nakuriua,* (cabelludo) *ulauuiru,* (bola) *iuretüaü,* (liso) *eunuuar.*
Riesengürteltier *nuriura.*
Ameisenbär, grosser *atipure.*
Ameisenbär, kleiner *uruvie.*
Reh *dotare.*
Sumpfhirsch *azuua.*
Kaitetúschwein *kauaraua.*
Bisamschwein *kale.*
Tapir *koite, kate.*
Vogel *kutelone.*
Arara (roter) *kulu, kuru,* (blauer) *tikue.*
Papagei *uarotu, aulu, zaru.*

Perikito *tukiri, kuiri* (rote Stirn).
Harpyie *kukui.*
Japú *kolomu.*
Taube *eaitaku.*
Feldhuhn *kodye.*
Huhn *taguiru.*
Jakú *marato.*
Mutung *kauiii.*
Strauss *uo, uu.*
Seriema *kulatu.*
Kaiman *iucukure.*
Eidechse *doki, zoki.*
Flussschildkröte *ikure.*
Landschildkröte *uudulubutu.*
Schlange *ui, uini.*
Klapperschlange *kuiriri.*
Sukurí *meuesö.*
Kröte *kuri.*
Fisch *kokóu.*
Hundsfisch *muzudure.*
Piranya *amage.*
Mereschu *kugale.*
Pakú *kuikure.*
Pintado-Wels *kudúli.*
Matrincham *kožigu.*
Piava *ucalaku.*
Lambaré *kuzaku.*
Rochen *ina.*
Biene *anui.*
Honig *maku.*
Wespe *ani.*
Schmetterling *mehele,*
Termite *munuli.*
Ameise *zuguzugu.*
Spinne *zou.*
Karapato *kokere.*
Moskito *aniotö.*
Stechfliege *tihenóle.*
Holz, Baum *atu.*
Brennholz *moisate.*
Blute *ikice.*
Stiel *ekutö.*
Frucht *iri.*
Samen, Wurzel *eö.*
Mais *kozoto.*
Mandioka *ketoso.*
Mandiokamehl *tuloke.*
Gährendes Getränk *kuiiri-uluinti.*
Mingau-Brei *kudulusu, kutudere.*
Beijú *zomo, domu.*
Igname *haku.*
Batate *kaye.*
Mandubí *ümele.*

Pfeffer-Bohne (feijão) *komatáikiró,* (faba) *komatu.*
Pfeffer *aridimoku.*
Jatobá *ozari.*
Mangave *katola.*
Pikí *kani.*
Bakayuva-Palme *mikole.*
Gariroba-Palme *uucukuri.*
Buritf-Palme *isóe.*
Akuri-Palme *ulukuri.*
Oaussú-Palme *kuii.*
Tukum-Palme *oláma.*
Baumwolle *konoke.*
Tabak *uzie, uzieko.*
Genipapo *dumu.*
Urukú *ukitö.*
Sapégras *tekele.*
Bambus *uuiimu.*
Ubárohr *tinu.*
Gravatá (Ananas) *uemore.*
Embira *atemu.*
Reis *arosu* (portug.).
Apfelsine *alalaiiu.*
Banane *banánu* (portug.).
Ipekakuanha *poaya.*
Goyava *muturi tiniri.*
Kautschuk *uwarisö.*
Bogenbaum (Ipé?) *kosö, alumu.*
Ich *nato.*
du *kiso.*
rot (Zinnober) *datere,* (Rosakrapp) *materere.*
orange *dütahiöerlé.*
gelb *oiikere.*
weiss *igumere.*
schwarz *kiere.*
blau, grün *tikole, tikorere.*
1 *kakido.*
2 *kinamu.*
3 *kunamu.*
4 *zalagueu.*
5 *kakahigi.*
6 *kasóegugué.*
7 *ehiritarigi.*
8 *ehiritarigi.*
9 *ehiritarigi.*
10 *kahiti dödá.*
Ich bin leider nur einmal dazu gekommen, die Zahlen abzufragen. Zum Fuss an die Zehen *nu-kiöchi* übergehend, sagte der Paressí von jeder Zehe *kiiiti-dödu.*
Negation *máisu.*

II. Bororó.

Wo der Accent nicht angegeben ist, wird die vorletzte Silbe betont.

Zunge *ikeru.*
Zahn *itá.*
Mund *indgua.*
Loch in d. Unterlippe *noguaboro.*
Nase *ikeno.*
Nasenloch *ikenoyaporu.*
Auge *yaku.*
Ohr *ieiyu.*
Ohrloch *ieiyayaporu.*
Kopf *itáuru, ikduru.*
Stirn *ieri.*
Kopfhaar *ituo.*
Brauen *yakoparirubá.*
Wimpern *yakobá.*
Schnurrbart *ikogubá.*
Kinn *ikoguru.*
Hals, Nacken *ikidorá.*
Kehle *iruo, irunoporo.*
Brust *imororu.*
Brustwarze ♂ *imoguro.*
Brustwarze ♀ *areme emoguro.*
Rücken *ikudziugi.*
Oberteil *iporu.*
Kreuz *imomoru.*
Bauch *ikuri.*
Nabel *ikönubo.*
Penis *iuaga.*
Scrotum *iuea, iuu.*
Pudenda ♀ *mago,*
After *irikuriyo.*
Schulter *ikundaru.*
Oberarm *ikuna.*
Ellbogen *ieigoru.*
Unterarm *itagaru.*
Hand *ikeru.*
Finger *ikeruko.*
Fingernagel *ikinage.*
Oberschenkel *ipobonu.*
Knie *ipogudu.*
Unterschenkel *itori.*
Knöchel *iurerupe.*
Ferse *iureda.*
Fuss *iure.*
Fussrücken *iurerá.*
Sohle *iureku.*
Zehen *iureko.*
Zehennagel *iureye.*
Haut *iwire.*
Knochen *ru.*
Eingeweide *peguro.*
Herz *uubo.*

Leber *aku.*
Blut *kogua.*
Same *boenubui.*
Speichel *kudoguro, jutoguro.*
Schweiss *buoru.*
Kot *epe.*

Von Tieren:

Schwanz (Jaguar) *ö (utuga-ö).*
Schnabel *oto, ato.*
Flügel *kuna.*
Schwanz (Vogel) *aiyeyu, euyu.*
Flügelfeder *ikönu.*
Kleine Feder *bu.*
Krallen *buregi.*
(Ochsen-) Horn *kiyu.*
Fleisch *kudo.*
Speiseröhre *ruu.*
Lunge *buri.*
Magen *kubiri.*
Niere *taude.*
Pankreas *iku.*
Blase *ikorudza.*
Sonne *meri.*
Osten *baru yuákudódu.*
Mittag *baratuyu bakedyeo.*
Westen *meriekódu.*
Mond *ari.*
Neumond *ariratu.*
Stern *kugedze.*
Milchstrasse *kugedze erugudu.*
Tag *merige.*
Nacht *buesudu.*
Himmel *baru.*
Wolke *buetugo.*
Regen *bubutö.*
Donner *bogaruta.*
Blitz *boiguba.*
Wind *bakuru.*
Rauch *geredutu.*
Feuer *goro.*
Asche *erugudu.*
Wasser, Fluss *piba.*
Berg, Stein *tori.*
Erde, Boden, Lehm *mato.*
Kies *turiguro.*
Sandstrand *kögoro.*
Vater *iugu.*
Mutter *imuga.*
Sohn *imedo,* (klein) *imedrogu.*
Tochter *aredo,* (klein) *aredrogu.*

Kind *itunureyedo.*
Grossvater *iedugu.*
Grossmutter, Tante *imuruyu.*
Vaterbruder *iugumunu.*
Mutterbruder *iure.*
Aelt. Bruder *iumu.*
Jüng. Bruder, Vetter *irie.*
Schwester *iture.*
Ehemann *iturelo.*
Ehefrau *itureludže.*
Junggeselle, Jungfrau *tuulo.*
Witwer, Witwe *iugulie.*
Schwager *imulou.*
Mann *ime.*
Weib *areme.*
Knabe *uredo.*
Mädchen *areelo.*
Jagermannschaft *urie.*
Mädchen, zusammen *uiguregugure.*
Knaben, zusammen *uegegugure.*
Häuptling *baimedzeru.*
Medizinmann *buri, arue-tumururi.*
Bogen *baiigu, bakiigu.*
Pfeil *tugo, to.*
» (Knochenspitze) *tügoru.*
» (Bambusspitze) *buttüigu, butbiigu.*
» (Harpune) *kugu.*
» (stumpfe Spitze) *tulubure.*
Kanu *iku.*
Fischnetz *buke.*
Angel *buudo.*
Flinte *boigu.*
Kugel, Schrot *boigulo.*
Pulver *uruguulo.*
Beil *puro.*
Eisenbeil *puro-merire.*
Messer *turigu.*
Federmesser *turiguugu.*
Scheere *pinui.*
Eisen *merule, merire.*
Eisentopf *ruulu-merire.*
Schabmuschel, grosse *uto.*
Schabmuschel, kleine *utredu.*
Grabholz *tuilu-butoru* (Seribapalme).
Klaue v. Riesengürteltier *kuborinugi.*
Haus *inui.*
Männerhaus, Ranchão *buito.*
Hangematte *kugu.*
Schlafmatte (Oaussú) *kuto.*
Matte *kekiko.*
Matte (Buriti) *be-to.*

Schemel *iri.*
Kalabasse *puuri.*
Kuye, grosse *pugogu.*
Kuye, kleine *imoreuge.*
Topf, grosser *uriu.*
Topf, kleiner *ruulu.*
Mörser *kuiu, kugu.*
Stampfer *kuiporu.*
Korb, kleiner *mitüigu, uuriuloro.*
Totenkorb *bukite.*
Körbchen (Maisstroh) *pupuu.*
Tragkorb *kutrubu.*
Feuerfächer *bukoreu.*
Baumwollfaden *ukigu.*
Spindel *utoru.*
Kamm *pudugu.*
Weiber-Bastbinde *kulubie, kulukie.*
Rindengürtel *pureueii.*
Penisstulp *inubi.*
Kleidung *uruguu.*
Hut *itutulou.*
Lippenkette *uruuleu.*
Lippen-Harzstift *bukulugu.*
Lippenbohrer *burugoru.*
Tätowierung *kurudzu.*
Lackstreifen *itugoru.*
Perlen *bouru.*
Federdiadem (Arara)*) *puriku, kurugügu* (Falk).
Ohrfeder (Araraschwanz) *unbuleugu.*
Kette von Jaguarzähnen *uigo-murieri.*
Riesengürteltier-Brustschmuck *bukudori.*
»Hosenträger«-Schnüre *ukigu.*
Flöte *iku.*
Kasselkürbis *bugu, bupurubugu.*
Kürbisflötchen *puuri.*
Schwirrholz *uidge.*
Maisbälle *pupuu.*
Federpeitsche *tugoru.*
Tanz im Kreise *kukité.*
Brüllaffe *pui.*
Makako *dyükuu.*
Fledermaus *kük.*
Jaguar *uduguu.*
Puma *uriguu, uiguu.*
Fischotter, grosse *ipie.*
Fischotter, kleine *dyouu.*
Wolf *ri-e.*
Kampfuchs *rupure.*
Koati *kulubu.*
Kapivara *ukiuu.*

*) Offenbar eigentlich vom Jaku *puriyogo.* Der Schmuck wird nahezu ausschliesslich bei allen unsern Indianern mit dem Namen des Tieres und seiner Teile, die ihn zusammensetzen, bezeichnet.

Aguti *mäh*.
Paka *apu*.
Gürteltier (liso) *rü*, *lü*, (cascudo) *akuari*
ruakuri.
Riesengürteltier *bokulori*.
Stachelschwein *i-ure*.
Ameisenbär, grosser *buke*.
Ameisenbär, kleiner *apugu*.
Kampreh *orogu*.
Waldreh *pobogu*.
Hirsch *atubu*.
Kaitetúschwein *dyui*.
Bisamschwein *dyugo*.
Tapir *ki*.
Rind *tapiru* (Lingoa geral).
Hund *kuioro* (portug.).
Pferd *kuauro* (portug.).
Esel *buro* (portug.).
Vogel *kiogorogo*.
Arara, roter *mburu*, blauer *kutoro*, mit gelber Brust *kuido*.
Papagei *kuruo*.
Perikito *kido*.
Urubú *poburco*.
Königsgeier *bii*.
Falk *kurugugu*, *burugu*.
Japú *tinuro*.
Ibiyau *petugugu*.
Tukan *apudo*.
Huhn *kogurigu*.
Johó *kuo*.
Feldhuhn *purikiogudo*, *tundo*.
Jakú *parigogo tierro*.
Jakutinga *parigogo*.
Mutung *kudge*.
Taube *metugu*.
Ente *trubure*.
Seriema *bü-u*.
Möve *tagunu*.
Strauss *puri*.
Kaiman *uai*.
Eidechse *amenu*, *tuugu*.
Leguan *irui*.
Flussschildkröte *upi*, *buigube*, *derregu*.
Landschildkröte *dörigige*.
Schlange *uugo*.
Kröte *ru*.
Fisch *) *kure*.
Hundsfisch *amigi*.
Piranya *biogo*, *buigogu*.
Matrincham *ururu morro*.
Dourado *akuge*.
Pakú *pobo*.
Pintado-Wels *orari*.
Rochen *meru*, *atumo*.
Biene, Honig *miuu*, Wachs *miuubori*.
Ameise *mitiege*.
Termite *kuiuro*.
Moskito *muie*.
Wespe *atuge*.
Fliege *ruke*.
Spinne *mukdigo*.
Holz, Baum *ipo*.
Wald *itoru*.
Pflanzung *bueju*.
Brennholz *yuriige*.
Blatt *laru*.
Stiel *itoru*.
Blüte *oku*.
Stamm *ukuu*.
Mais *kugedu*.
Maisbrod *amüreu*.
Mandioka *gürco*.
Farinha *yureokuto*.
(Batate) *otuco*, *pugudzi* etc. 7 Arten Knollen, die nicht Batata edulis sind.
Pfeffer *kumuru*.
Jatoba *bokundi*.
Mangave *buto*.
Piki *eko*.
Buriti-Palme *muritu*.
Buriti-Wein *uuro*.
Oaussú-Palme *mudo*.
Akuri-Palme *apido*.
Seriba-Palme *butoru*.
Tabak *mäh*.
Genipapo *biige*.
Urukú *nomugo*.
Gras *boko*.
Bambus (Takoara) *kudo*.
Ubárohr *uriru*.
Ananas *otie*.
Banane *mumuu* (portug.).
ich *imi* (vgl. Seite 517).
du *aki*.
rot, orange *kudzugoro*.
gelb *küro*, *ekuro*.
weiss *kipudro*.
schwarz *tierro*, *ierro*.
blau, grün *kuugruro*.
Zahlen vgl. Seite 517.
Negation *bükuu*, *bokuäre*.

*) Die Bororó des Männerhauses haben mir an 80 Fischnamen diktiert.

[p. 548]

II. Die matogrossenser Stämme nach cuyabaner Akten.

Da es sehr ungewiss ist, welches Schicksal dem Seite 389 in der Anmerkung besprochenen Archiv der Directoria dos Indios beschieden ist, halte ich es für geboten, meinen Auszug mitzuteilen. Ich beginne mit den Tabellen von 1848 und 1872.

			1848		1872
1		Caiuás	?	Umgebung des Rio Igualimy [1])	?
2		Chamococos	200	Paraguay rechts, bei Bahia Negra	200
3	Guaicurús	Cadiuéos	850	Paraguay abwärts Coimbra	850
4	Guaicurús	Beaquéos	500	Oestlich des Paraguay und südlich von Miranda	100
5	Guaicurús	Cotoguéos		Lalima [2]) bei Miranda	— [4])
6	Guaicurús	Guatiedeos	130	Albuquerque	— [5])
7	Guanás	Guanas	200	Albuquerque und bei Cuyabá	— [6])
8	Guanás	Kinikináos	1000	Matto grande bei Albuquerque-Miranda	—
9	Guanás	Terenas	2000	Miranda	—
10	Guanás	Laianas	300	Miranda	—
11		Guachis	?	Miranda	— [7])
12		Guatós	500	Paraguay und S. Lourenço, Lagoa Gaiba und und Uberaba	50 [8])
13		Bororós da Campanha	180	Westlich vom Paraguay bei dem Marco do Jaurú [3])	180
14		Bororós Cabaçaes	110	Registo do Jaurú und Campos da Calçara	40
15		Cayapós	200	Zwischen Quellen des S. Lourenço und des Taquary, zwischen Paraná und Paranahiba	400
16		Coroados	?	Quellgebiet des S. Lourenço	?

[1]) Der Rio Igualemy ist ein Nebenfluss des Paraná, in den er etwas oberhalb des Salto-Grande das Sete-quedas einmündet.

[2]) 6 Leguas südlich von Miranda.

[3]) Nebenfluss des Paraguay. Das Registro oder Registo (vgl. 14), die Zollstation, liegt auf der Strasse zwischen Cuyabá und Matto grosso.

[4]) Fehlen in der Liste.

[5]) Fehlen in der Liste.

[6]) Wurden durch die Paraguayer nach Asuncion gebracht und starben dort alle.

[7]) Fehlen in der Liste.

[8]) Sind infolge des Paraguaykriegs und der Pocken fast ausgestorben.

		1848		1872
17	Bacahiris	200	Quellgebiet des Paranatinga	200
18	Cajabis	?	Quellgebiet des Paranatinga	?
19	Barbados	400	Paraguay rechts und Serra dos Parecis	400
20	Pariciz	250		250
21	Maimbarés	400	Campos und Serra dos Parecis	400
22	Cabixis	500		500
23	Nambiquarás	600	Rio do Peixe (zum Arinos)	600
24	Tapanhunas	800	Ribeirão (Bach) dos Tapanhunas (zum Arinos)	800
25	Apiacaz	2700	Arinos und Juruena	2700
26	Mequens	?	Oestlich vom Guaporé	?
27	Guarayos	?	Westlich vom Guaporé	?
28	Cautarios	?	Beide Ufer des Mamoré und Madeira	?
29	Pacáz	?	Oestliches Ufer des Mamoré	?
30	Cenabós	?	Westliches Ufer des Mamoré	?
31	Jacarés	?		?
32	Caripunas	1000	Ufer des Mamoré und Madeira	1000
33	Aráras	?	Ufer des Madeira bis zum Jamari [1])	?
		13020		8670

Ich gebe weiterhin die Erläuterungen von 1848 und füge in Klammern das Wenige hinzu, was sich aus späteren Jahren von Wissenswerthem in dem sonst fast nur Personal- und Verwaltungsnotizen enthaltenden Heft der Directoria vorfand.

1. **Cayuás.** Wenig bekannt. Ziemlich zahlreich. Sind sesshaft und treiben Landbau.

2. **Chamococos.** Südlich von Coimbra nahe der Bahia Negra über einen grossen Waldbezirk in kleinen Gruppen verbreitet, die sich selten vereinigen. Stark, gute Arbeiter, wenig intelligent. Jäger, treiben ein wenig Pferdezucht. Nackt; die Frauen bedecken die Blösse mit einem Gewebe von embira de caraguata.*) Aus demselben Stoff werden Säcke für Lebensmittel verfertigt. Keine andere Industrie. Zuweilen im Krieg mit einem Stamm gleichen Namens im Westen. Verkaufen ihre Kinder an Guaycurús und Guanás für Beile, Pferde und Baumwolltuch. Nicht feindlich, aber nicht zum Anschluss geneigt; vier bis fünf sprechen portugiesisch. Höchstens einmal im Jahr kommen einige nach Miranda oder Albuquerque. Betrinken sich gern und stehlen auch.

3—6. **Guaycurús Cadiuéos.** Berühmt aus der Vorzeit wegen ihres Widerstandes. Etwa 800 auf beiden Ufern des Paraguay abwärts Coimbra. In verschiedenen Horden. Wohnen in Zelten, die aus Stangen und Fellen oder Matten bestehen. Jagd, Fischfang, kein Feldbau. Viele Pferde, etwas Wollvieh, Schweine, Hühner. Keine Industrie. Im ewigen Krieg mit den Nachbarn, mit Brasilien im Frieden. Stolz und heimtückisch; kommen mit Flechtarbeiten um Schnaps, Pferde u. s. w. einzutauschen.

[Bericht 1872: **Guaycurús Beaquéos.** Etwa 100 Individuen in einem Dorfe nahe bei Miranda. Jagd, Fischfang. Mais, Pororóca,**) Mandioka, Bataten, Cará, Kürbisse, Zuckerrohr. Einige Pferde, etwas Wollvieh, Vögel und Schweine. Nehmen den Chamococos wie auch den Enimás im benachbarten Paraguay Frauen und Kinder fort. Weben schöne Ponchos, Hängematten, Tragbänder und Gürtel. Stolz, zum Trunk und Diebstahl geneigt.]

[1]) Mündet in den Madeira 14 Leguas unterhalb des Katarakts von Santo Antonio.

*) Bromeliae spinosae, gewöhnlich »gravata«.

**) Auch Pipóca, eine Maisvarietät, die sich am besten für ein biskuitähnliches Backwerk eignet.

7. **Guanás.** Dorf bei Albuquerque und eine halbe Legua von Cuyabá.

8. **Guanás Kinikináos.** Etwa 800 in Dorf I in Matto grande 3 Leguas westlich von Albuquerque, Dorf II 200 bei Miranda.

9. **Guanás Terenas.** Leben angesiedelt in der Umgebung der Garnisonstadt (Prezidio) Miranda.

10. **Guanás Laianas.** Desgleichen.

[Bericht 1858: Guanás und Kinikináos in dem Dorf von *Nossa Senhora do Bom Conselho* unter dem vortrefflichen Bruder Mariano de Bagnaia, der mit Urlaub wegging und in S. Paulo blieb. Sie erfreuten sich eines Schullehrers, eines Musiklehrers und eines Schneidermeisters. Terenas und Laianas in der *Aldea da Villa de Miranda.*

Bericht 1861: Die Kinikináos wohnten in dem Sprengel von Albuquerque, 3 Leguas von der Stadt, in dem Dorf Nossa Senhora do Bom Conselho schon lange vor Begründung der Directoria. Diese suchte Ordnung zu schaffen durch die Mission des Frei Mariano. Für die Terenas, Laianas und Guachis — in der Zahl von 2500 — wurde eine Ansiedlung, eine Legua von der Villa de Miranda entfernt, den 30. April 1860 begründet. (Widerspruch mit dem Bericht von 1858.)]

11. **Guaxis.** Fast ausgestorbener Stamm. Verhalten sich ähnlich den Guanás und Guaycurus von Miranda, wo sie ebenfalls wohnen.

12. **Guatós.** Am rechten Paraguay-Ufer und an den Lagunen von der oberen Mündung des Paraguay-merim bis ein wenig abwärts von Escalvado, auch an der S. Lourenço- und Cuyabá-Mündung. Während der Regenzeit in dem überschwemmten Kampgebiet. Bauen kleine und niedrige Hütten, bleiben tagüber in den Kanus, die sehr gut gearbeitet, klein und schnell sind. Zuweilen sieht man einen Guató mit fünf oder sechs Kanus voller Frauen und Kinder. Gewöhnlich haben sie zwei Frauen, einige begnügen sich mit einer. Hier und da bauen sie etwas Mais, Mandioka und Früchte, aber mehr aus Leckerei als zum Lebensunterhalt. Sammeln auch den dort üppig wachsenden Waldreis (arroz silvestre), doch nur für den Bedarf des Augenblicks. Sehr geschickt mit Bogen und Pfeil; betreiben mit Speer und Wurfspiess die Jaguarjagd. Freundschaftlichster Tauschverkehr. Die Männer beginnen Hemd und Hose, die Frauen Unterröcke zu tragen. Sind treu, rechtschaffen, harmlos, haben aber zuweilen gezeigt, dass sie Widerstand leisten und Beleidigungen rächen können. Sehr zur Trunkenheit geneigt. Die Meisten verstehen unsere Sprache und viele Erwachsene sprechen sie.

[Bericht 1872: Dieser Stamm ist fast ausgestorben.]

13. **Bororós da Campanha.** Zwei Gruppen: 1) Dorf in Bolivien bei Salinas, 2) Dorf gegenüber Escalvado am rechten Paraguay-Ufer, eine Legua vom Fluss. Sind friedlich, treiben Feldbau, haben Schweine und Hühner. Baumwollhängematten. Einige reden portugiesisch. Haben öfters Sklaven und Deserteure von Bolivien zu den Garnisonplätzen eingebracht. 150—200.

[1858 heisst es: ein Teil lebt in den Campanhas de Marco und ein anderer jenseits des Corixa-Baches.]

14. **Bororós Cabaçaes.** Zwei Horden, bis vor Kurzem wild, die eine an den Quellen des Jaurú, die andere an denen des Cabaçal. Machten zahlreiche Angriffe auf der Strasse von Cuyabá nach Matto Grosso,*) so dass häufig Truppen gegen sie ausgesandt wurden, die Viele, ohne Unterschied des Alters und Geschlechts, töteten. Sie selbst wollten keine Gefangene machen, sondern töteten soviel sie konnten, ohne Unterschied des Geschlechts und Alters. Nähren sich von den Früchten, die der Boden freiwillig darbietet und pflanzen höchstens etwas Pururuca-Mais, den sie unreif essen, Bataten und Bananen. Keine Industrie.

*) Der spätere Name für Villa Bella am Guaporé.

Haben Bogen und Pfeile, schlechte Töpfe, Strohgeflechte, mit denen sie ihre Nacktheit zum Teil bedecken. 1842 gelang es dem ehrwürdigen Vikar von Matto Grosso, José da Sa Fraga durch Ueberredung und Milde und mittels Geschenken sie nach einer Fazenda von ihm im Registo do Jaurú zu locken; dort blieben sie alle, 177 an der Zahl, seit dem 1. April 1843, heute sind sie auf 81 zusammengeschmolzen. In diesen 3 Jahren bezeigten sie wenig Lust für den Feldbau und lebten nur von Pfeil und Bogen.

15. **Cayapôs.** Zwischen Paraná und Paranahyba und im Quellgebiet des S. Lourenço und Taquary. Einige sind in dem Destakament am Piquiry angesiedelt, andere in dem Porto do Paranahyba auf der Strasse nach S. Paulo, andere leben frei. Jagd, Fischfang, Bau von Mais, Reis, Mandioka, Bataten und Zuckerrohr. Machen etwas Rapadura (roh eingekochten Zucker). Haben Schweine, Hühner, sogar einige Kühe und Pferde. Sprechen grösstenteils portugiesisch. Viele verdingen sich. Wahrscheinlich sind einige Räubereien, die den Coroados zugeschrieben werden, von ihnen ausgeführt.

16. **Coroados.** An den Quellen von verschiedenen Zuflüssen des S. Lourenço. Von ihrer Anzahl und ihren Eigenschaften ist wenig bekannt; sie fliehen oder sind feindselig. Haben Brände angestiftet bis auf zwanzig Leguas Entfernung von Cuyabá; daher werden alle paar Jahre Truppen gegen sie ausgeschickt, die Erwachsene töten und Kinder gefangen nehmen, was die Bekehrung auf keine Weise fördert.

17. **Bacahiris.** Quellen des Paranatinga und Oberlauf des Arinos. Sind von hervorragend friedlicher Gesinnung. Fliehen vor den Angriffen ihrer Feinde, den Nambiquáras, Tapanhunas und Cajabis. Leben von Jagd und Fischfang, pflanzen Mais, Mandioka, Bataten, Cará, Gartenbohnen, Saubohnen und Zuckerrohr. Ihre Werkzeuge zum Feldbau sind aus Stein oder Kernholz. Ihre Industrie: Hängematten mit Maschen von Baumwolle oder Tucum, geflochtene Siebe und Körbchen. Nur sehr wenige (muito poucos) verstehen unsere Sprache, indessen verlangen sie danach. Die Senhora Donna Feliciana Guerobina Pereira Coelho, eine wohlhabende Landbesitzerin im Distrikt der oberen Serra*) nimmt sich ihrer freundlich an, beschenkt sie und äussert sich in günstiger Weise über die leichte Bekehrung. Sie sind Feinde der

18. **Cajabis,** unbezwungener Wilden in der Umgebung des Salto.

19. **Barbados.** Nur eine Ansiedelung am Abhang der Serra dos Pareciz bei den Quellen des Rio Vermelho, eines Nebenflusses des Paraguay, dem entlang sie bis zum Paraguay selbst umherziehen. Mais, Mandioka, Bataten, Cará. Werkzeuge von Stein und Kernholz. Keine Viehzucht oder Industrie. Mit Andern nicht im Kriege; fliehen die Brasilier, sind aber verrätherisch und haben zweimal Reisende zwischen Diamantino und Villa Maria angegriffen.

20. **Pareciz.** 200; einst berühmt und kriegerisch. Verschiedene Gruppen in der Serra und den Campos dos Pareciz zwischen Diamantino und dem Distrikt von Matto Grosso. Machen zuweilen Besuche und bringen als Tauschwaaren Siebe, Körbe, Hängemattenstricke, Federn, Trinkschalen und den von Rauchern sehr geschätzten Tabak, den sie fertig zurichten und mit Urumbamba**) einwinden. Wenige sprechen und verstehen portugiesisch. Sie begehen keine offenen Feindseligkeiten, gesellen sich aber zuweilen zu den Cabixis, um Unthaten zu verüben.

[Bericht von 1858: Durch die Sklavenjagden der Paulisten stark vermindert. Die Gründung des Dorfes bei der Stadt Diamantino ist von jungem Datum. 1856 erhielten sie die ersten Geschenke.]

21. **Maimbarés.** Zahlreicher als die Pareciz, mit denen sie Beziehungen haben und in deren Begleitung sie zuweilen erschienen, in Familiengruppen in den Einöden der Campos dos Pareciz. Jagd, Bau von Mais, Mandioka, Bananen, Bataten, Cará.

*) Nach Antonio bei Lagoinha.

**) Desmoncus rudentum, desmoncus macranthus Mart., Kletterpalmen.

22. **Cabixis.** Zahlreich in verschiedenen Dörfern, 15—20 Leguas nordwestlich von dem Arraial de São Vicente. Feindselig, ziehen mit Raub und Brand bis in die Nähe von Matto Grosso, so dass zuweilen Militär gegen sie aufgeboten wird.

23. **Nambiquarás.** 600 an der Vereinigung von dem Rio de Peixe und dem Arinos. Jagd, Fischfang, Früchte der Serra, Werkzeuge von Holz und Stein. Führen mit den Nachbarn gewohnheitsmässig Krieg, besonders mit den Apiacás. Wollen nichts mit den Brasiliern zu thun haben, greifen Kanus auf ihrem Wege nach Pará an, haben aber grosse Furcht vor den Feuerwaffen und leisten keinen offenen Widerstand.

25. **Tapanhunas.** Von derselben Art wie die vorigen. Etwa 800 an der Vereinigung von Tapajoz und Arinos.

24. **Apiacáz.** Anwohner des Juruena, besuchen auch die Ufer des Arinos. Sie besitzen Eisenwaren und treiben Feldbau, Jagd, Fischfang. Halten sich bei ihren Fehden mit den Nambiquarás und den Tapanhunas mehr in der Defensive, haben gleichwohl ihre ursprünglichen Anthropophagen-Sitten durchaus nicht abgelegt. Leisten den Reisenden Beistand, verkaufen Farinha von Mandioka, gerösteten Mais, Cará, Bataten, süsse Mandioka (Aypim), Bohnen, Wassermelonen, Kürbisse, Vögel und Honig, ferner weitmaschige Hängematten von Baumwolle oder Tucumpalme, Federschmuck.

26. **Mequens.** Am gleichnamigen Nebenfluss des Guaporé zwischen den Guaraios und Palmellas. Fliehen; Geschenke, die man in den Wald gelegt hatte, wurden nicht angenommen.

27. **Guaraios.** An einem Ort namens Pao Cerne, 50 Leguas von Matto Grosso. Mandioka, Bohnen, Mais; Jagd, Fischfang. Suchen Reisende auf.

[Bericht 1850: Von Pao Cerne herübergezogen 1852 nach der Aldea de Sta. Ignez etwas abwärts von Matto Grosso. 31 Stämme von 40 Familien = 1240, herrührend, wie man annimmt, aus einer Ansiedlung der bolivischen Provinz »Mofos« (nicht »Moxos«).]

28. **Cautarios.** An den gleichnamigen Flüssen zwischen dem Mamoré und Forte Principe. Fischfang, Jagd, wildwachsende Früchte, Mandioka. Thuen uns Böses an, so viel sie nur können. Sind Räuber, Verräter und Mörder.

29. **Pacaáz.** Oestlich am Mamoré von der Guaporé-Mündung bis zum ersten Katarakt. Ganz unbekannt.

30. **Senabós.** Westlich von Mamoré bis zum ersten Katarakt. Unbekannt. Im Krieg mit den Jacarés (31).

31. **Jacarés.** Westlich von den Mamoré-Katarakten bis zum Madeira. Zahm, leisten den Reisenden Beistand. Jagd, Fischfang, Feldbau.

32. **Caripunas.** Ueber 1000 gruppenweise in dem Kataraktgebiet des Mamoré und Madeira. Jagd, Fischfang, Anbau von Mais, Mandioka, Bananen, Zuckerrohr, Bataten. Friedfertig, ohne Mordgier, Diebstählen nicht ganz abgeneigt. Suchen uns auf und unterhalten seit langer Zeit mit uns freundschaftliche Beziehungen. Leisten hülfreiche Arbeit an den Katarakten, liefern den Reisenden auch Farinha von Mandioka, Werg, Theer, Gewürz, Guaraná. Grossenteils verstehen und reden sie unsere Sprache. Sie waren schon in dem Destakament do Ribeirão angesiedelt und Viele sind getauft worden.

33. **Araras.** Ziemlich zahlreich am Madeira von dem Salto do Girão bis zum Rio January. Jagd, Fischfang, Feldbau. Spinnen Baumwolle. Wild, in ewigem Krieg mit den Muras und andern Nachbarn, verzehren ihre gefangenen Feinde.

Chiquitos. In Casalvasco sind noch etwa 60 dieser Indianer von den früheren Auswanderungen aus Bolivien übrig geblieben. Bebauen das Land, spinnen und weben Baumwolle, einige sind als Rinderhirten auf der dortigen Fazenda Nacional angestellt.

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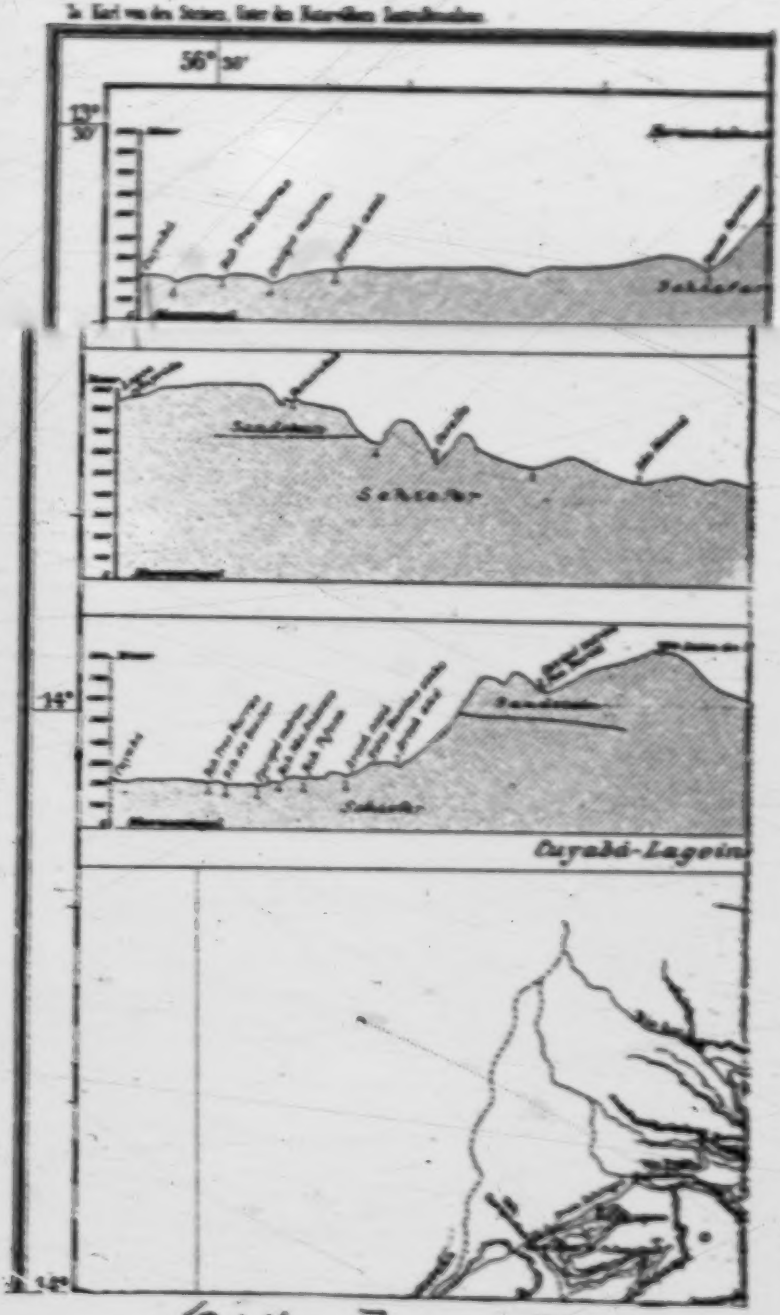
Seite 8 Zeile 35 anstatt »Gastreundlichste« »Gastfreundlichste«.
Seite 19 Zeile 30 anstatt »triften« »tristen«.
Seite 32 Zeile 41 anstatt »Heimweg« »Hinweg«.
Seite 57 Zeile 5 von unten muss es heissen »kamen nach einigen Tagen noch« und Zeile 4 von unten »unter ihnen Einer«.
Seite 70 Zeile 23 anstatt »dem« »den«.
Seite 89 Zeile 4—1 von unten fallen fort.
Seite 120 Zeile 1 von unten anstatt »Unterhaltung« »Untersuchung«.
Seite 122 Zeile 4 anstatt »aus« »auf«.
Seite 132 Zeile 4 anstatt »Indepedencia« »Independencia«.
Seite 133 Zeile 19 anstatt »gracia« »grazia«.
Seite 140 Zeile 13 anstatt »padelten« »paddelten«.
Seite 177 Zeile 6 von unten anstatt »wurden« »würden«.
Seite 203 Zeile 3 anstatt »herge-stellt« »herge-tellt«.
Seite 236 Zeile 3 anstatt »Die« »Den«.

[p. 571]

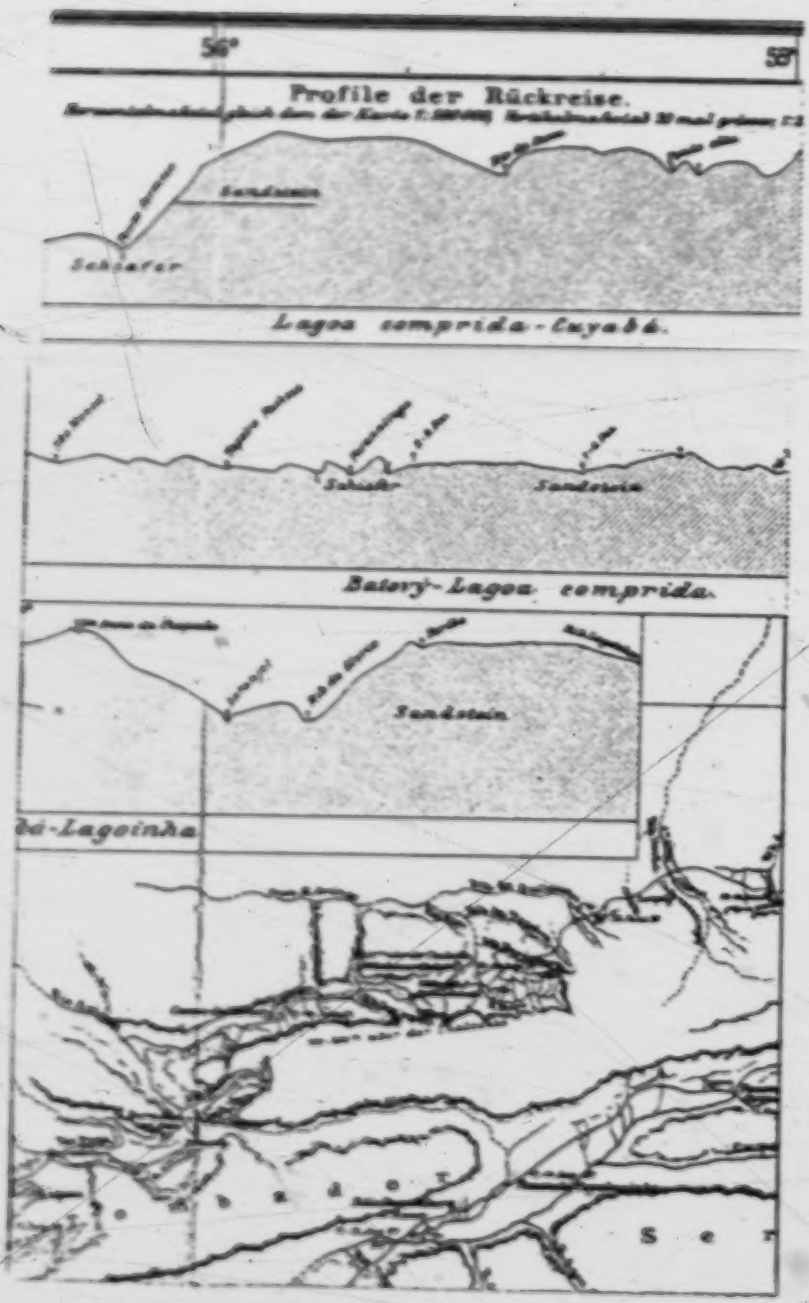
2: Steinen

SPT Bacairi

3a. Karl von den Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentralbrasiliens



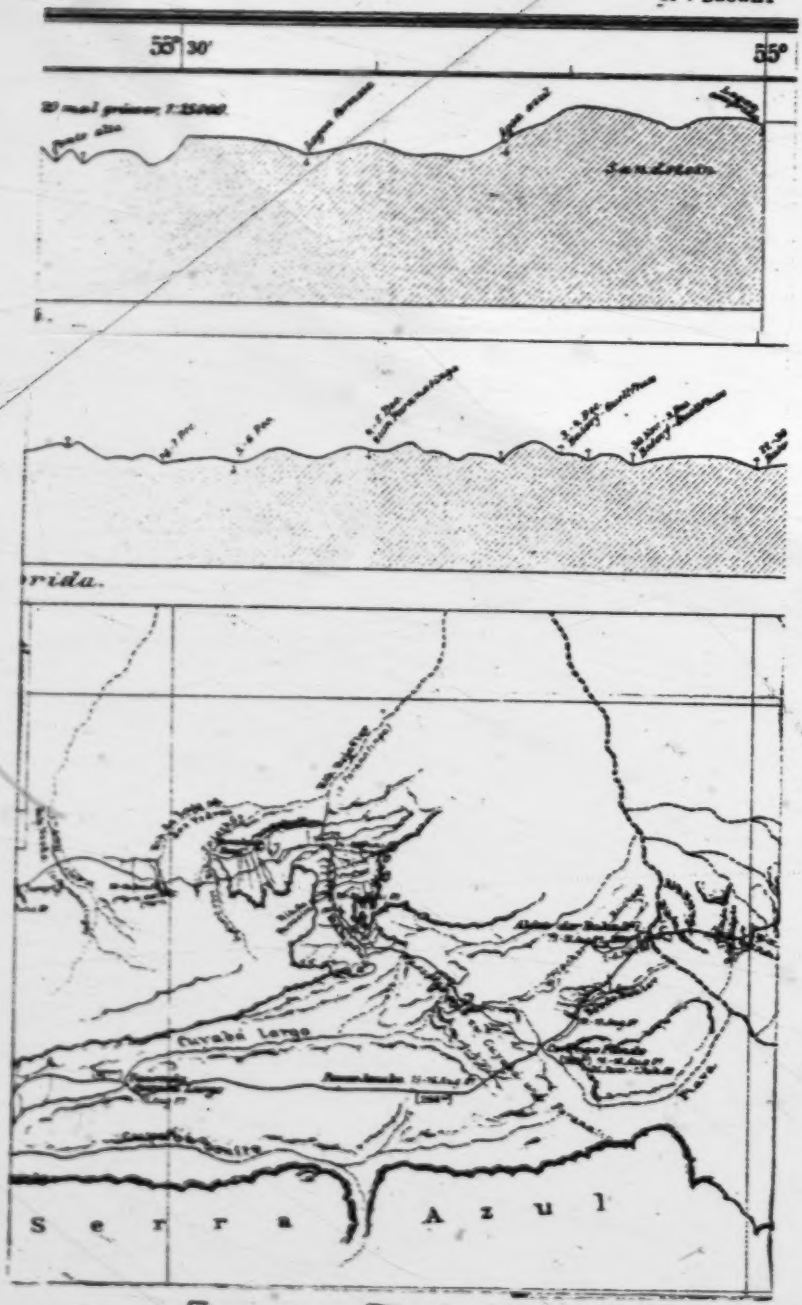
[Exhibit Map - A]


56°
57°
Profile der Rückreise.
Sandstein
Schiefer
Lagoa comprida-Cuyabá.
Schiefer
Sandstein
Batory-Lagoa comprida.
Sandstein
Lagoinha
S e

[Fold Map-B]

2: Steinen

SP7 Bacairi



[End Map-C]

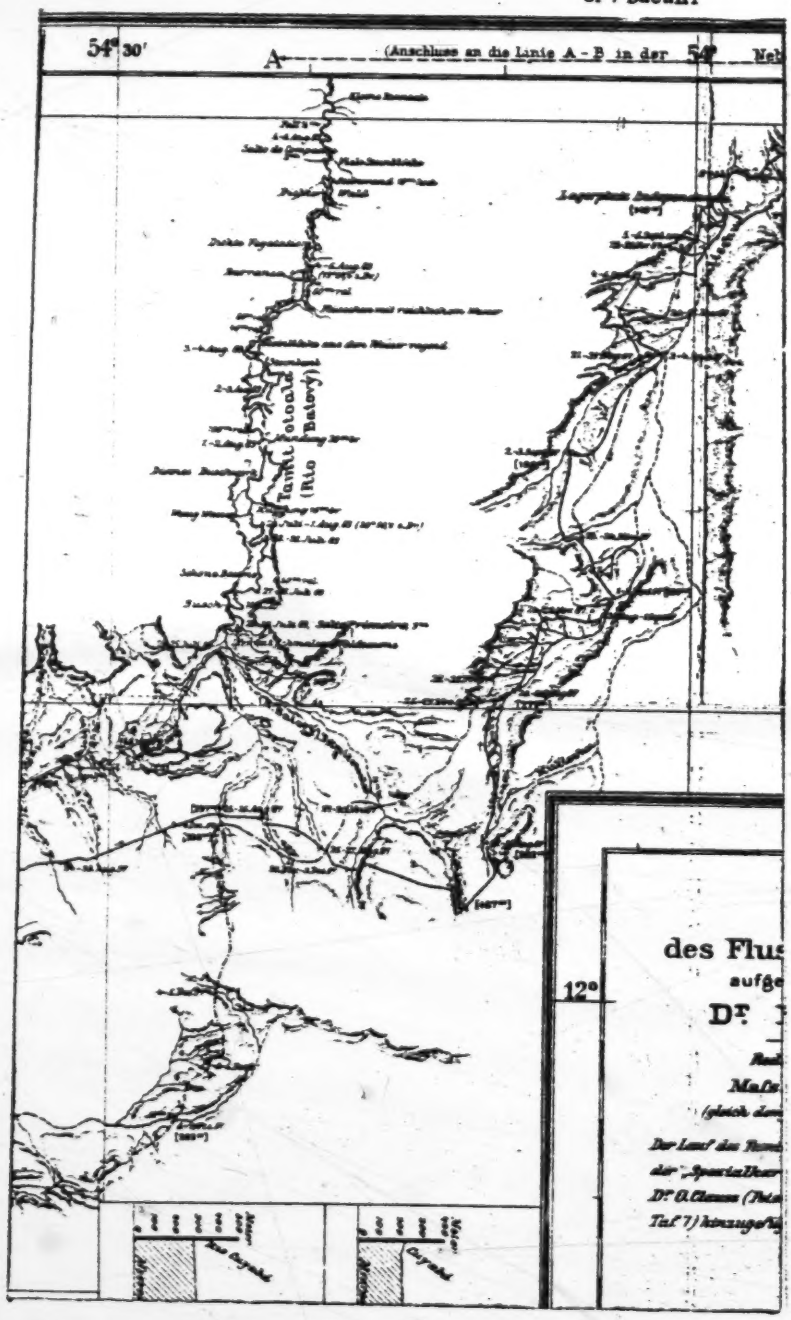
2: Steinen

SP7 Bacairi

[END MAP-D]

2: Steinen

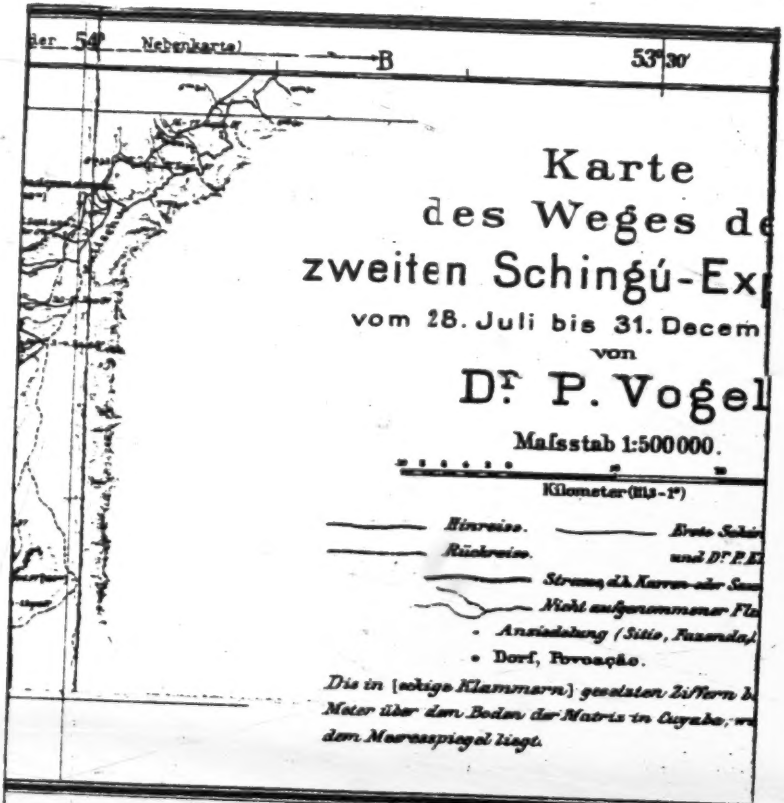
SP7 Bacairi



[End Map-E]

2: Steinen

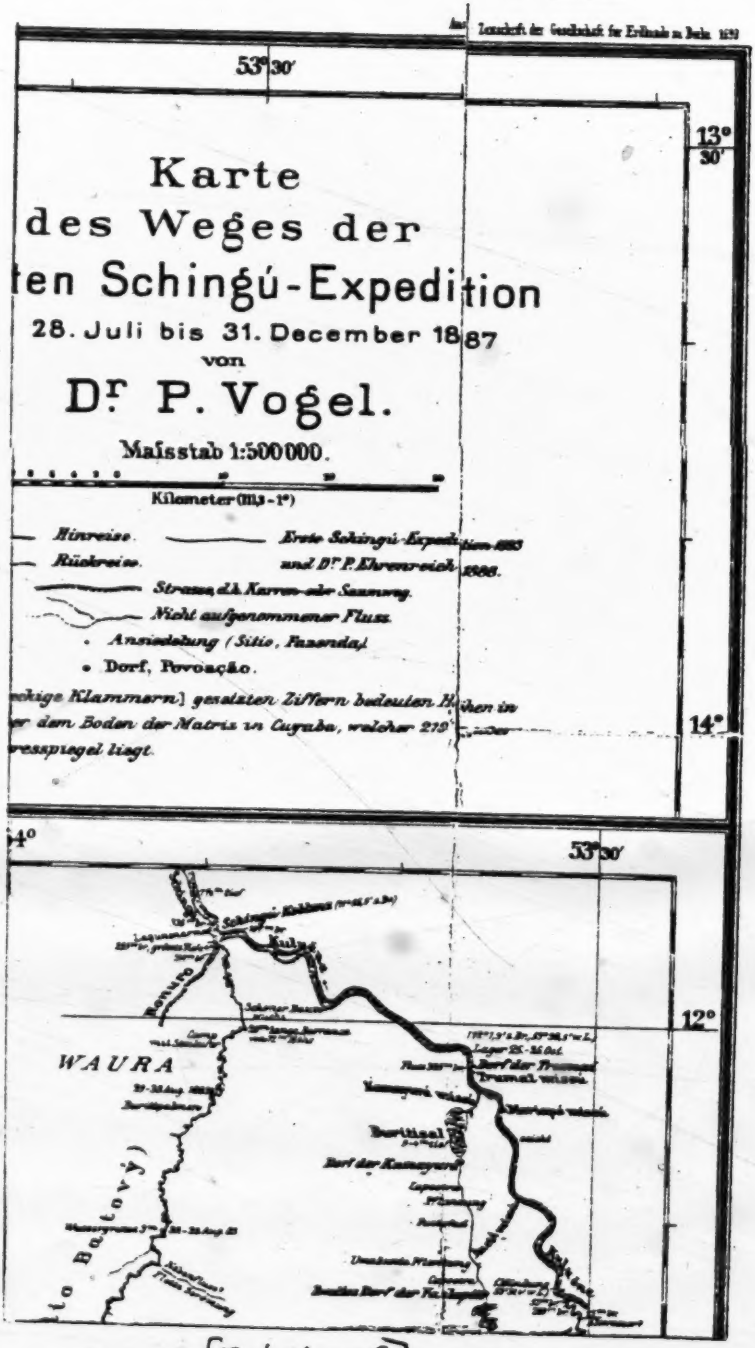
SP7 Bacairi



[Fold Map - F]

2: Steinen

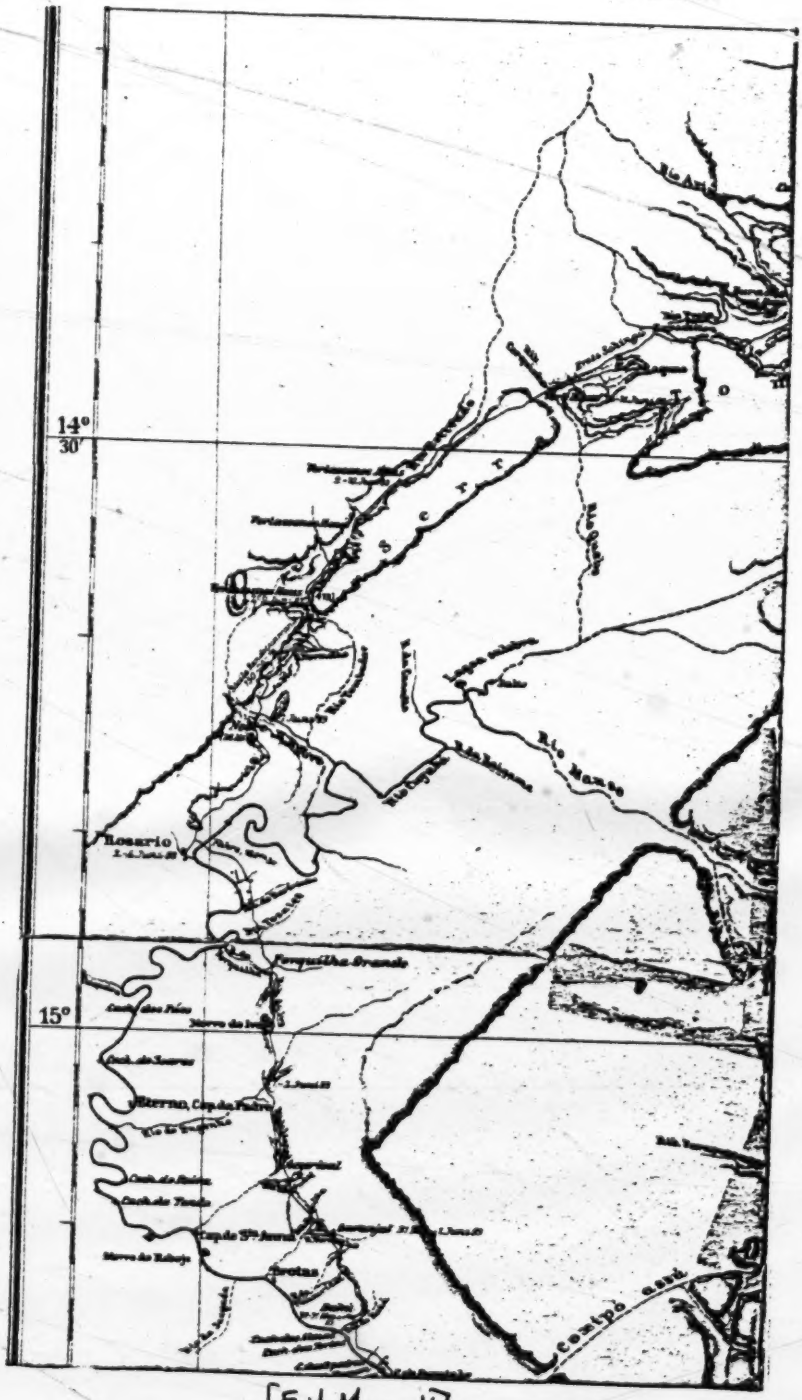
SP7 Bacairi



[End Map -G]

2: Steinen

SP7 Bacairi


14°
30'
15°
Rosario
Rio Manso
Rio Quebo
Rio Angelo
Rio Sangue
Rio Paraguay
Rio Cuiaba
Rio Jauru
Rio Paraguay
Rio Cuiaba
Rio Jauru
Rio Paraguay
Rio Cuiaba
Rio Jauru

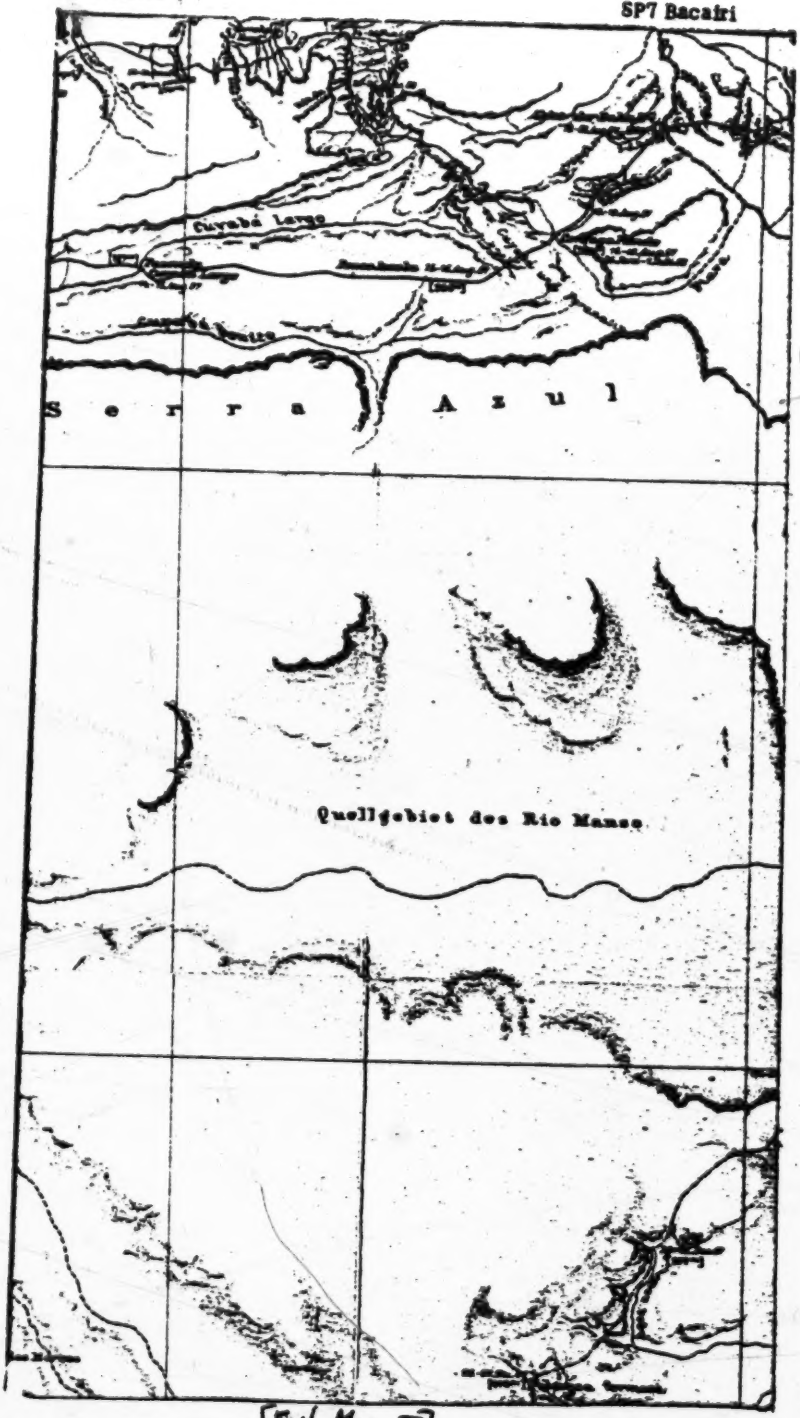
2: Steinen

SP7 Bacairi

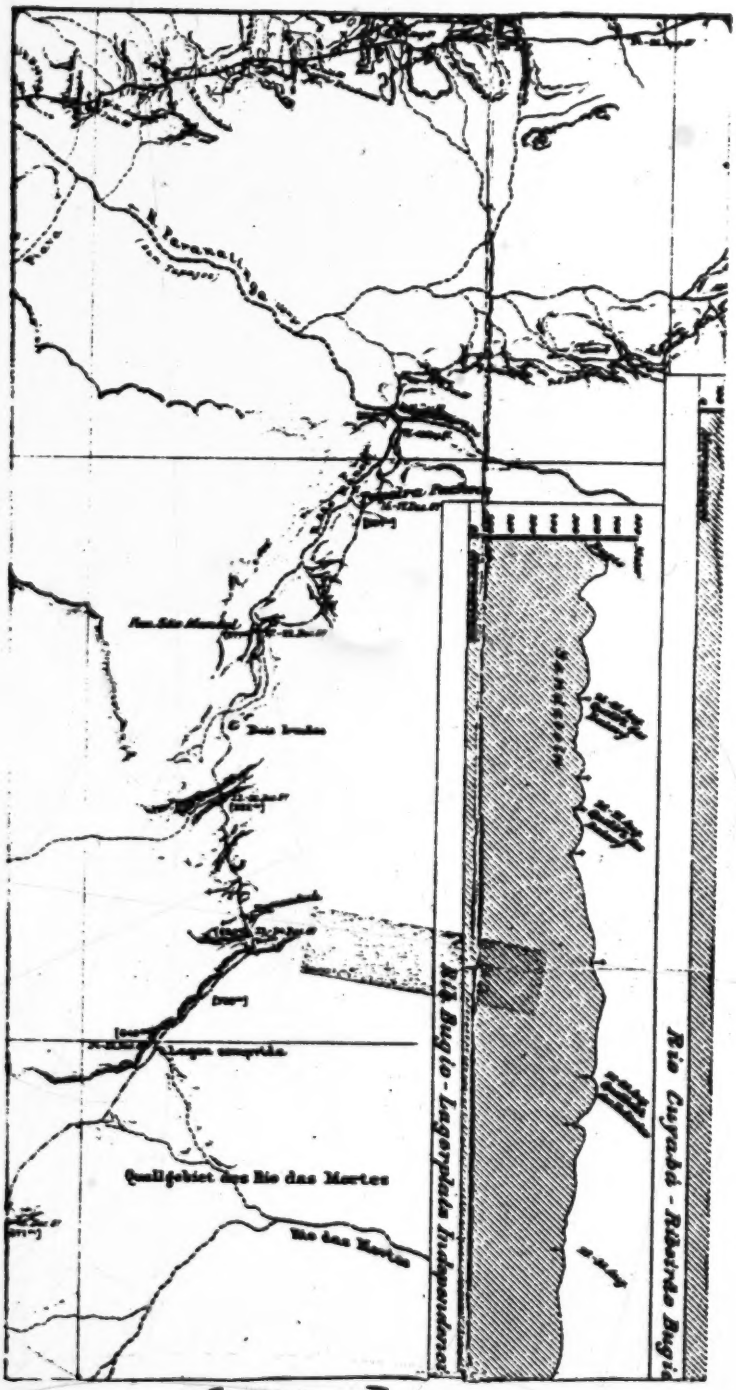
[End Map-I]

2: Steinen

SP7 Bacairi



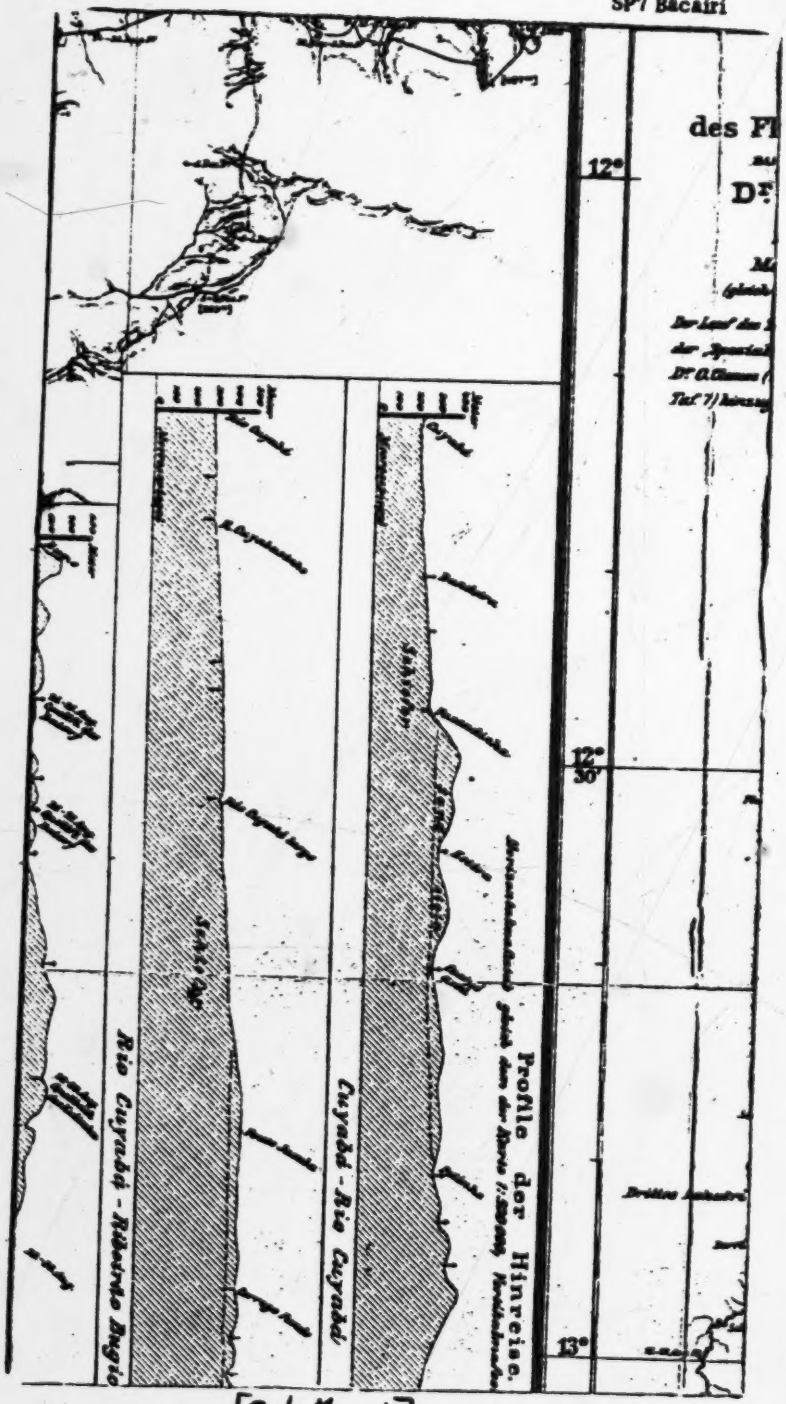
[End Map-J]


Rio Cuyabá - Ribeirão Bugre
Sandstein
Rio Bugre - Lagerplatz Independenci
Quellgebiet des Rio das Mortes
Rio das Mortes

[End Map-K]

2: Steinen

SP7 Bacairi



[Field Map - L]

2: Steinen

SP7 Bacairi

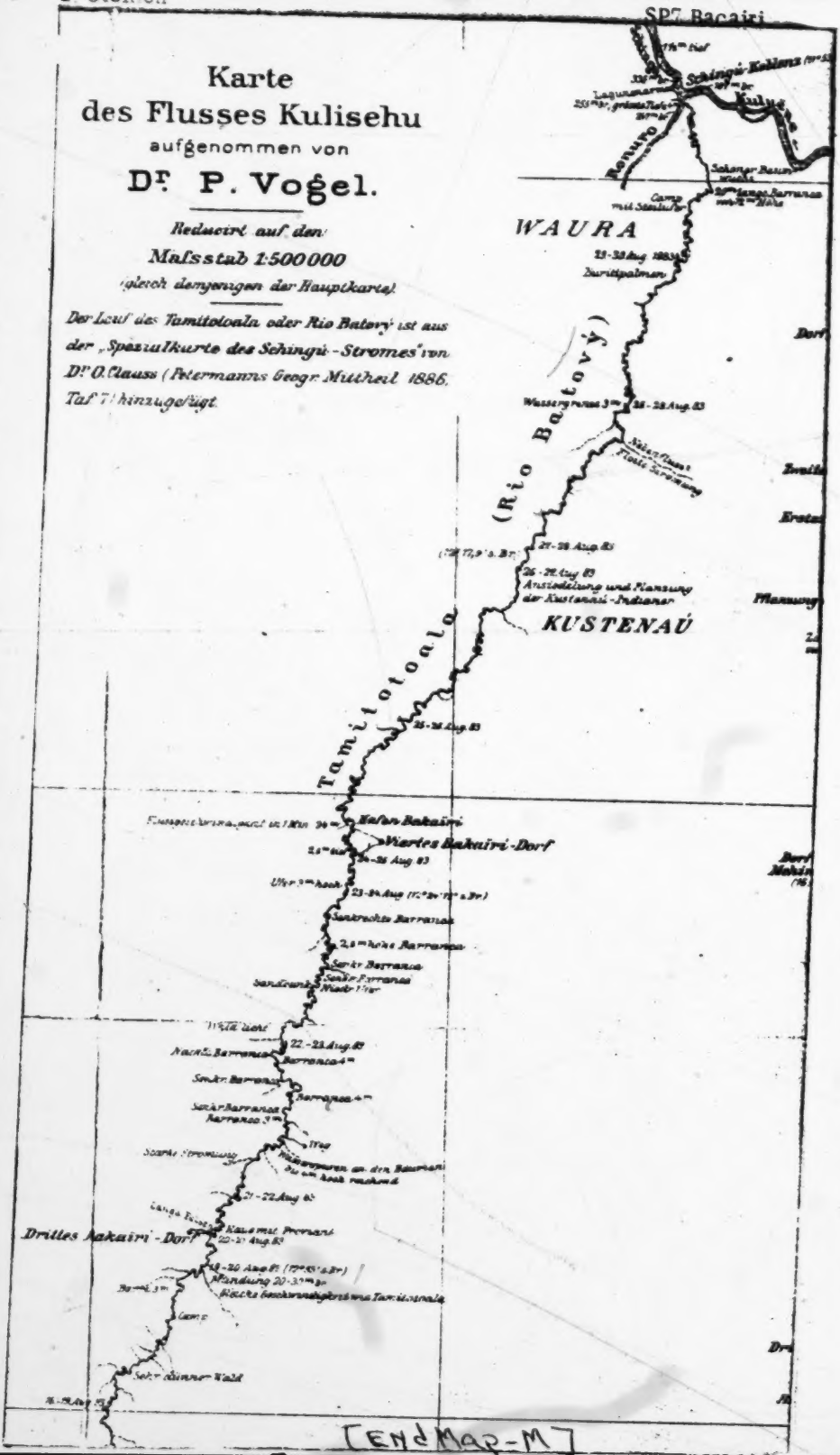
Karte des Flusses Kulisehu

aufgenommen von

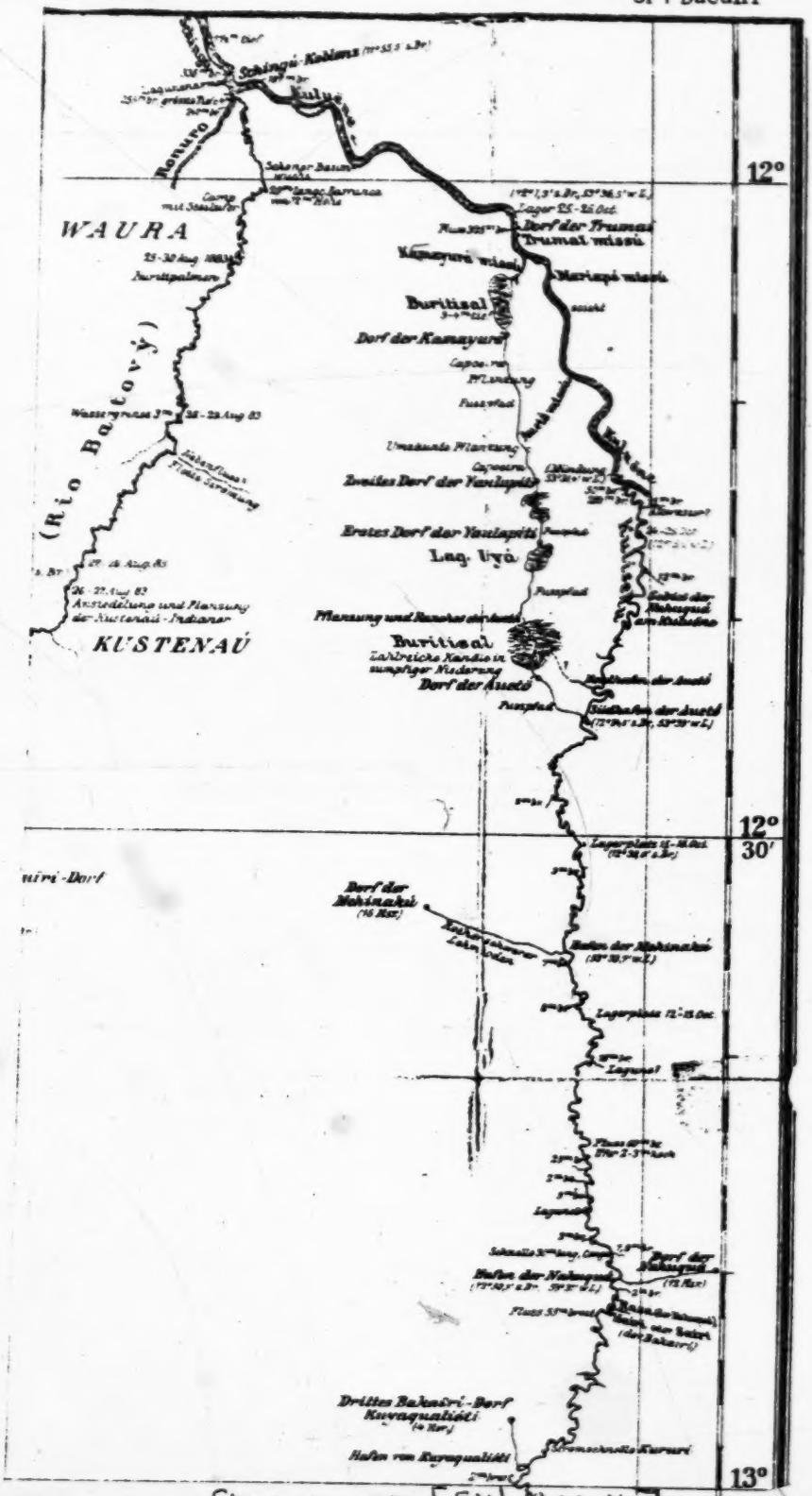
Dr. P. Vogel.

Reducirt auf den Maſsstab 1:500000 (gleich demjenigen der Hauptkarte)

Der Lauf des Tamitotoala oder Rio Batovi ist aus der „Spezialkarte des Schingú-Stromes" von Dr. O. Clauss (Petermanns Geogr. Mitheil. 1886, Taf. 7) hinzugefügt.



[End Map-M]


12°
12° 30'
13°
WAURA
(Rio Batovy)
KUSTENAÚ
Dorf der Trumai
Trumai-missú
Buritisal
Dorf der Kamayurá
Zweites Dorf der Yaulapiti
Erstes Dorf der Yaulapiti
Lag. Iyó
Buritisal
Dorf der Aueto
Dorf der Mehinaki
Dorf der Nahuquá
Dritte Bakairi-Dorf
Kuyaqualiéti
Hafen von Kuyaqualiéti
[END MAP-N]

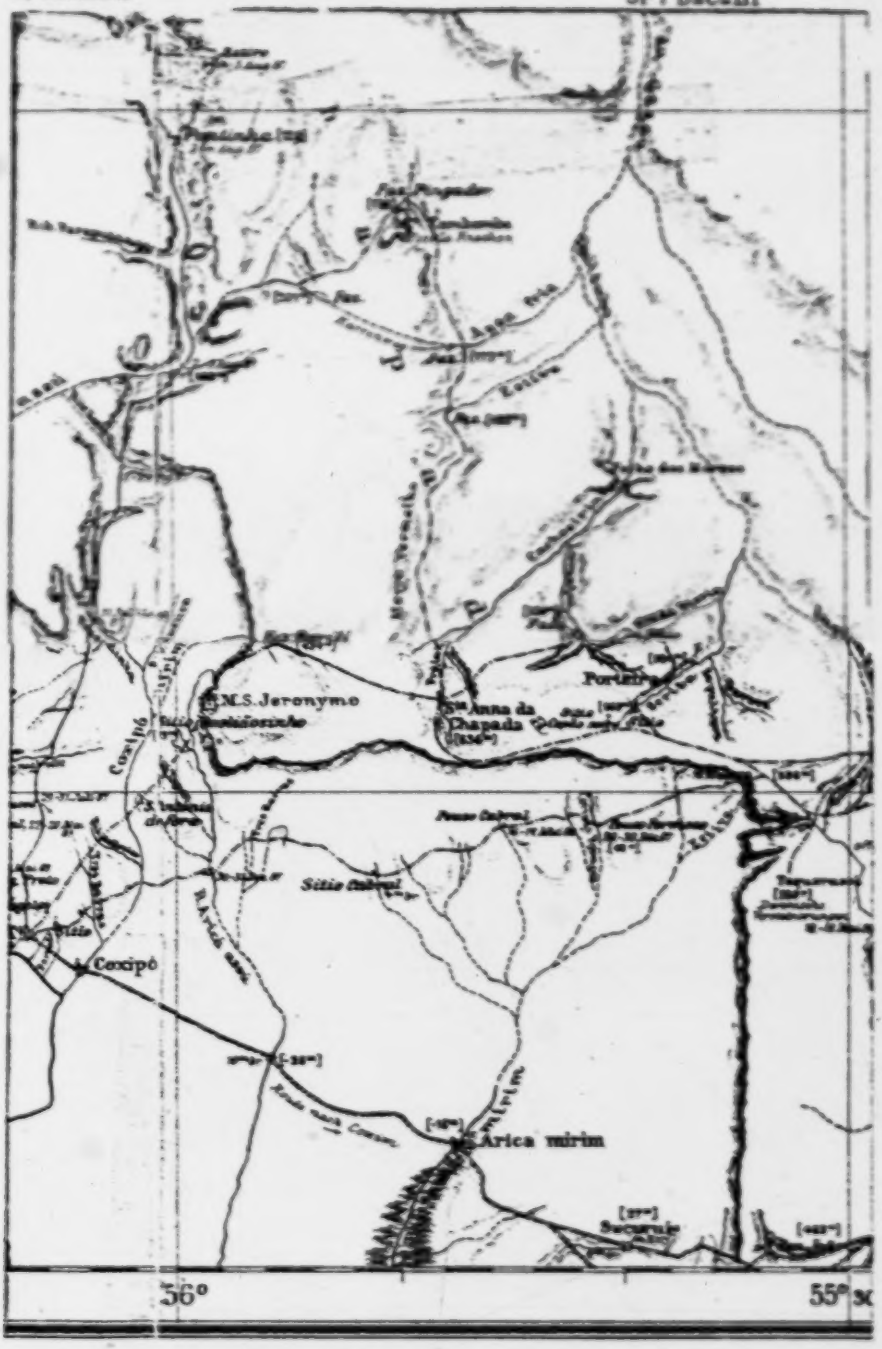
2: Steinen

Redigirt von Richard Kiepert. Ges. v. Richard Kiepert u. M. Limpricht.

[End Map-D]

2: Steinen

SP7 Bacairi

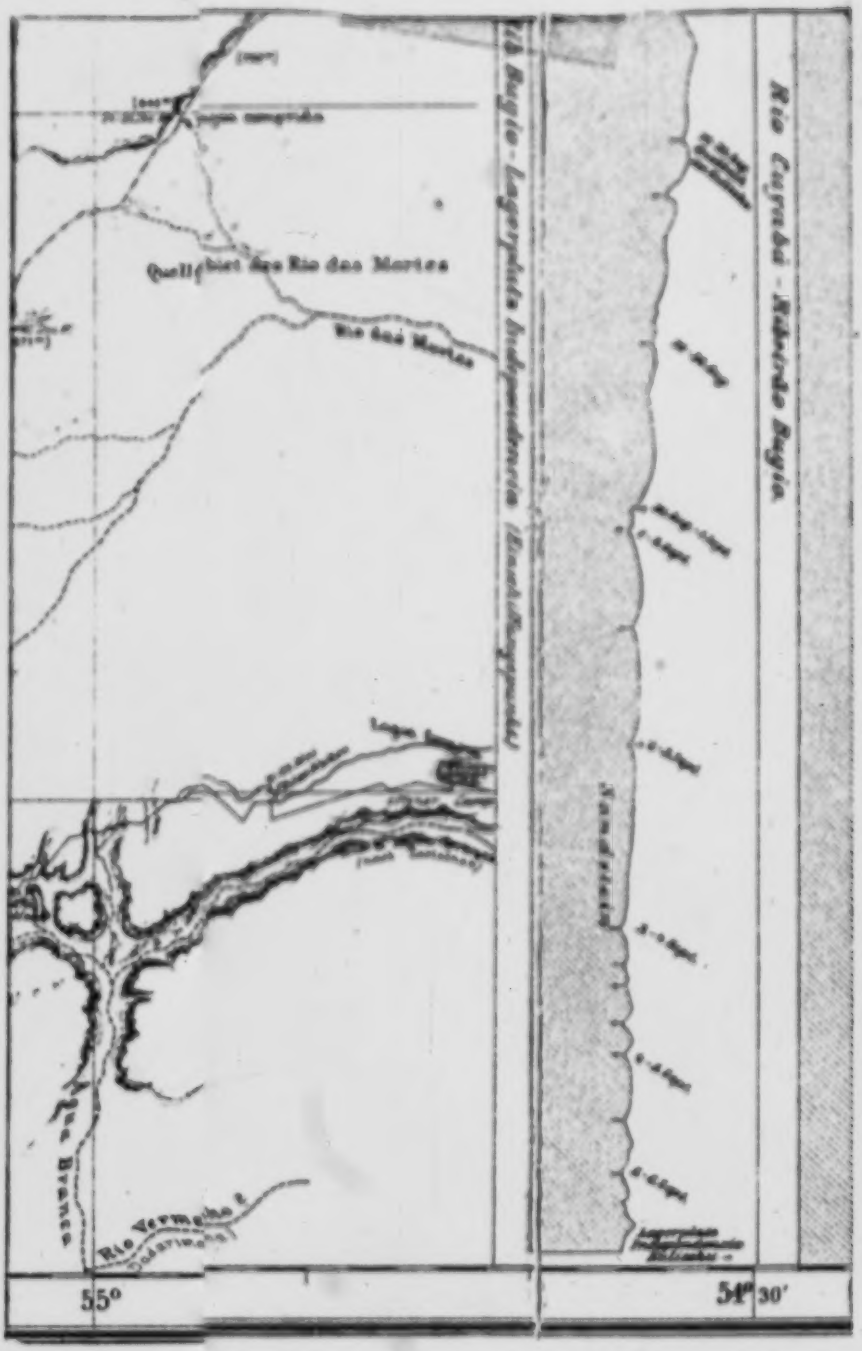


[End Map - P]

2: Steinen

S27 Bacaiel

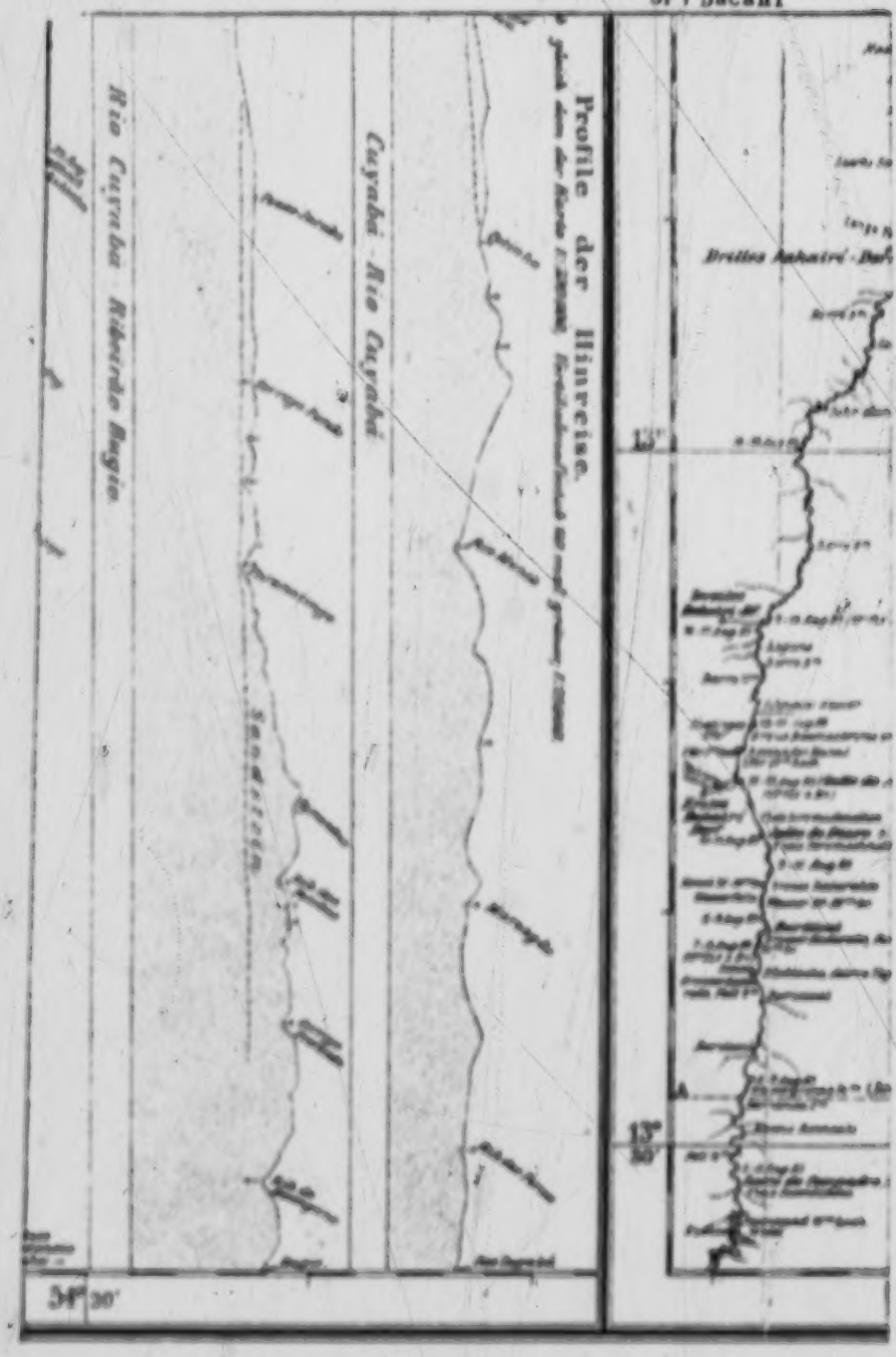
[End Map - Q]


Rio Cuyaba - Rikirdo Rugio
Sandstein
Rio das Mortes
Rio Vermelho
55°
54° 30'

[End Map-R]

2: Steinen

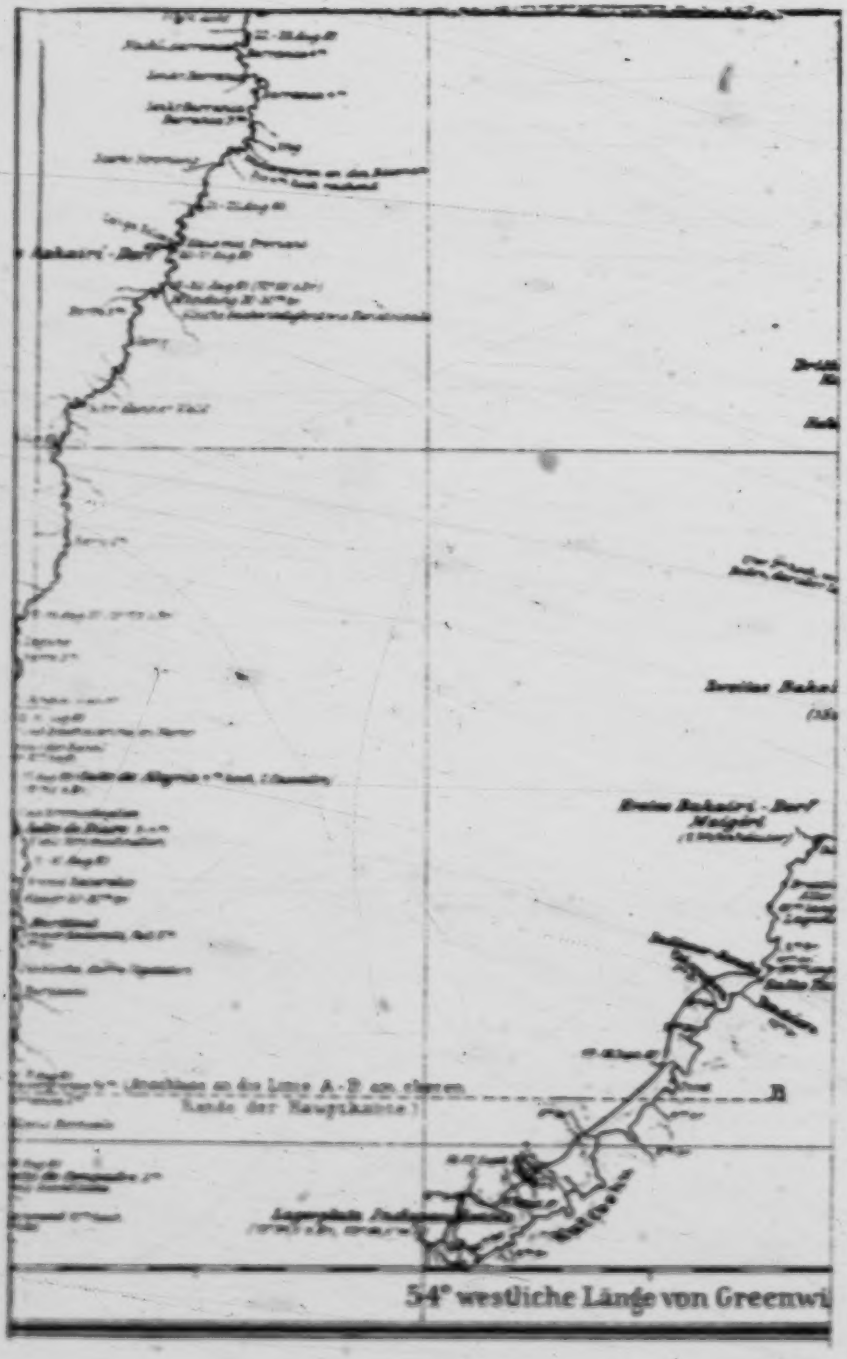
SP7 Bacairi



[End Map-5]

2: Steinen

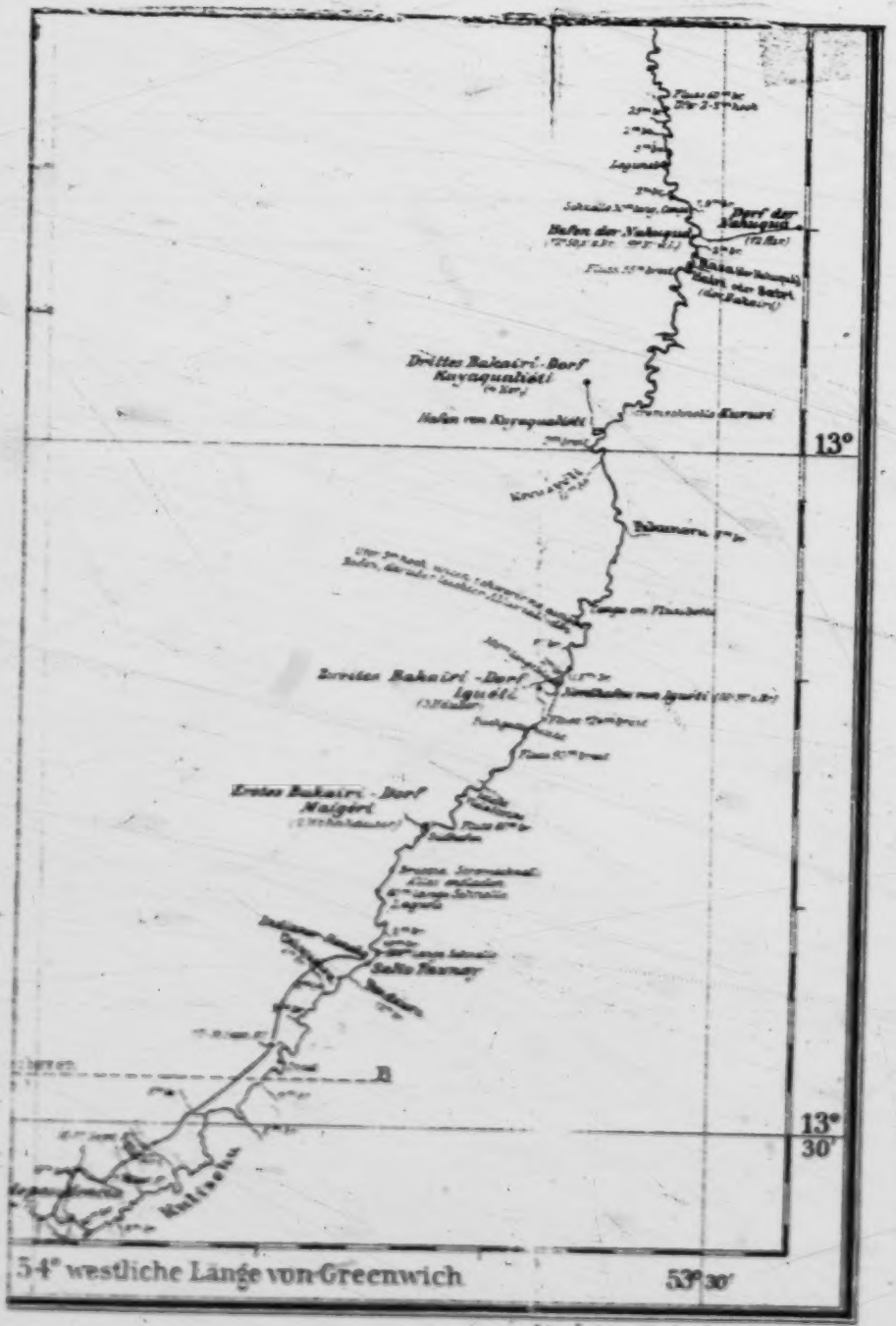
SP7 Bacairi



[End Map - T]

2: Steinen

SP7 Bacairi



[End Map-U]

3:Abreu E-5 (ca. 1892) 1938 SP7 Bacairi SP7

The Bacairi
[Os Bacaeris]

João Capistrano de Abreu

Rio de Janeiro: 1938
Ensaios e Estudos (Critica e Historia)
Third series, pp. 217-274

Translated from the Portuguese by A. Brunel

Human Relations Area Files

1966

[Title page]

/217/

The Bacaeris

000 /218/ Study published in the Revista Brasileira, Year 1, Vols. III and IV, 1895.

101 /219/ The Bacaeris

The Bacaeris /Bacairi/ are Indians who inhabit the headwaters of the Tapajoz /Tapajós/ and the Xingú in Mato Grosso. Their name, which first appears in the logbooks of the bandeirantes /members of armed bands/ of the early eighteenth century, is later found repeatedly in travel accounts, scholarly works, and newspaper items. Since 1884/85 they have attracted the interest of the scientific world, which they fully deserve on account of the language that they speak, the ethnographic group to which they belong, the characteristic customs that they retain, and the dual aspect that they present, already subdued along the Tapajoz, still completely savage along the Xingú.

114 It was Dr. Carlos von den Steinen--assisted by our government, which put at their disposal a military school between Cuyabá /Cuiabá/ and the lower Xingú and defended the expedition between those two points--who, by studying them, opened what may be called without exaggeration a new era for our native ethnography. The results of this expedition may be summarized in a few lines (1).

[113] 1. Durch Zentral Brasilien /Through Central Brazil; see 1:Steinen, this file/, Leipzig, 1886.

114 101 First of all, he delimited the rather vague concept of "Cariba" /Carib/, a designation which, as the German traveler states so well, was given by the Europeans to all kinds of Indians

114 /219 cont./
101 and by the Indians to all kinds of Europeans. Since the time of D'Orbigny and Martius there has been a tendency to identify /220/ them with the Tupis. Baptista Caetano, inclined to-
[197] ward the same view, stressed as the principal basis for it the impure character of the idiom spoken by the Caribas, denying Hervas' contention that it was one of the four principal ones of South America.

114 "In my opinion," he wrote, "Kariba is not and could not
197 be a mother language. According to a study which I undertook (and which I regrettably could not carry further), it looks to me like an extraordinary mixture of several dialects of diverse origins; it is a veritable jargon, amalgamated from various dialects, which sometimes offers several phrases with different radicals and words in order to express the same thing, and sometimes a total lack of designations for other things. It is so confused that it can only be compared to what is heard in certain circles in Rio de Janeiro, where during a conversation in Portuguese one hears at the same time a phrase in English, another in Italian, a bit of Spanish or German, and all this more or less basted with Gallicisms." (Introduction to the second edition of Arte de grammatica da lingua... Kiriri /Nature of the grammar of the language... Kiriri (Cariri)/, by Luiz Vicenzio Mamiani, Rio, 1877, p. XII.)

197 This, which is accurate with regard to the Island Caribas, whom we know through Breton's works (2), does not apply,

[113] 2. Cf. Du parler des hommes et du parler des femmes dans la langue caraïbe /On men's speech and women's speech in the Carib language/, by Lucien Adam, Paris, 1879.

/220 cont./

197 however, to the language of the Bacaeris, which seems pure, nor, for example, to the Cumanagotas /Cumanagoto/ and Chaymas /Chaima/ of Venezuela and Colombia, belonging to the same group, for which there have been printed grammars and texts since 1683.

114 /221/ The second result was the finding of Cariba tribes
101 south of the Amazon, when those that were known had been found only north of the great river, such as the Crixanás, /Crichana/, Macuxis /Macusi/, and others. Directly afterward, it was proved that these were not the only ones: between the S. Francisco and Parnahiba /Parnaíba/ rivers, Martius recorded a short glossary of the language of the Pimenteiras, who proved to be Caribas; the Palmelas /Palmella/, too, with whom Dr. Severiano da Fonseca dealt on the Guaporé, were Caribas; more Caribas were found later by Dr. von den Steinen himself on one of the tributaries of the Xingú, the Culisewi, and by Dr. Paulo Ehrenreich on the lower Tocantins, where they are called Apiacás.

114 A more detailed knowledge of the purely Cariba languages
174 and the existence of tribes that spoke them south of the
197 Amazon raised the question: might it not have been from south of the Amazon toward the Caribbean Sea that the migrations of these tribes took place--rather than the opposite, as was accepted until then? Almost simultaneously this was answered in the affirmative by Dr. Carlos von den Steinen and by Sr. Lucien Adam, who from 1882 on published various glossaries by Crevaux, among which were some Cariba ones.

114 In order to study the subject better, Dr. Carlos von den Steinen went a second time, in 1888 and, again assisted by our government, explored the Pakunera and Culisewi rivers down to their mouths in the Culuéne, the easternmost of the headwaters of the Xingú.

/222/ Two books resulted from this journey: a monograph on the language of the Bacaeris (3), published in 1892; and the

114 /222 cont./
[113]

3. Die Bakairi Sprache /The Bacairi Language/, Leipzig, 1892.

account published in 1894, the richly illustrated, brilliantly written, forcefully conceived volume in which are discussed the main subjects of the primitive history of mankind, to sum up in a word, the richest modern contribution on all that touches upon our aborigines (4).

[113]

4. Unter den Naturvoelkern Zentral-Braziliens /Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil; see 2:Steinen, this file/, Berlin, 1894.

114 At the same time that Dr. Steinen's book on the language
115 appeared, a Bacaeri was here, brought from the Paranatinga by Dr. Oscar de Miranda when he completed his difficult journey down that river to the Amazon. With this Indian, the author of these lines was able to study the German scholar's book word by word, and I cannot find words enough to express the admiration that was aroused in me by the exactitude of the phonetic transcription, the sharpness with which the grammatical forms had been discerned, and the thoroughness with which everything usable in the materials collected had been picked out. If the comparison be permitted in a country that boasts of being primarily agricultural, it might be said that his sugar mill, like one of the gigantic rollers in use today, squeezed out all the cane juice, leaving only the bagasse.

From that Indian, called Irineu, who will be designated with the initial "I," many texts were gathered--legends,
121 descriptions, traditions. The present /223/ work aims at a
114 partial presentation of this harvest. Based on the book by Dr. Steinen, whose system of phonetic transcription is adopted

/223 cont./

121 114 with slight variations, it is nevertheless more than a mere summary, for at several points our opinions differ, while at others heretofore unknown facts appear for the first time. This concerning the linguistic part, the subject of this first chapter. The divergence is even greater in the points that follow, which are based exclusively on what Irineu related.

/224/ I

The Language of the Bacaeris

197

[133] [103] The language of the Bacaeris (kxura itano, tohi itano, that is, language of people, exactly like abi ñeẽ, the language of the Tupis) is spoken on the Rio Novo (Yeneriri), a tributary of the Arinos; on the Paranatinga (Pakunéra) a tributary of the Tapajoz; on the Tamitatoala, one of the headwaters of the Xingú, called Batovi by the Germans in honor of the baron of the same name, president of Mato Grosso in 1884, the time of the first expedition; on the Culisewi, a tributary of the Culuene, also a headwater (the easternmost one) of the Xingú. On the Oronuro, the westernmost headwater, there are no Indians who speak this language. From an examination of the vocabularies and the grammatical forms, it was proved that the Bacaeris belong to the Carahiba or Carib group.

194 Of the letters of our alphabet, F is foun in only one word, possibly onomatopoeic, which precedes incatations: aúfá, perhaps an imitation of the blowing out of smoke. V is rare, and in any case it is not pronounced as it geerally is in Rio de Janeiro, but rather seems to be bilabil. R is always soft, that is, to use the description by Gonçáves Vianna, "the air is expelled at one time, without intrruption, as in caro /'dear' in Port./, and not intermittently, in successive contacts, more or less repeated, /225/ resuling from the vibration imparted by the active organ, as in carro /'cart' in Port./." G is slightly velar, and to differentiate it from ours

/225 cont./

194 the Greek y is used; it is always hard, as in gato /"cat" in Port./ and guerra /"war" in Port./. J is more like the English sound dj. X is always the French and our ch, German sch, English sh. Ç is preferred to S in order to avoid confusion. For the hard sound, K is substituted for C as well as Qu. H is always aspirated. Y and W are always used as semivowels. Ñ is our nh.

Sounds in no way similar to ours are the following:

λ, difficult to pronounce, and which perhaps only those who learned it as children can render satisfactorily: "I cannot define it any better than by saying that it stands between ri, ro, ru, on the one hand, and gl, on the other," writes Steinen (Bak. Spr., 255). Irineu utters it by raising his folded tongue to the upper teeth and then, or simultaneously, withdrawing it, or raising it, to the soft palate; it is thus a velar supradental. It appears only at the end of words, preceded by a which it lengthens considerably.

Kx is more velar than K.

x is velar and corresponds to the Spanish j.

ŋ, which Dr. Steinen regards as a special nasal, is our final m or n, preceded by a short i, like tambem as pronounced in Rio de Janeiro.

The vowels are the same as ours, pure or nasalized.

In addition there is ȧ, that is, a sound midway between open A and O, as in English "call," "all"; â, midway between á and ö; ö, corresponding to the German equivalent, or the French eu; /226/ ü, equivalent to the German and French u, but closer to i than to either of these.

The syllables consist either of a simple vowel or of consonants and a vowel.

Words end only in vowels, or in λ or ŋ. The final vowels are sometimes difficult to grasp because of their impurity, and it is necessary to resort to certain suffices, such as γe, lõ, mo, ba, in order to define them.

/226 cont./

194 There are no words beginning with b, except for bakaéri, or d, or x, or γ, or l, or r; two words given by Steinen with initial r are rendered more correctly: arapadura, Oronuro.

Initial p, m, t, k, kx, when transferred to the middle by the addition of prefixes and even of independent words, are transformed respectively into w, d, y. In the middle of words there is a frequent change of p to b, t to d, m to w, with nasalization of the preceding vowel; of y to ñ, l to r, r to n, ç to h.

The accent is put on the penult, except when the last syllable ends in λ or η, in which case the accent passes to it. The accent is also shifted when two words run together through elision: e.g., bakaéri, accent on the penult, on the é; bakaer'idamu, accent on the káe, as though spelled bakáeridámu.

There are no diphthongs, properly speaking, but vowels may be compressed together in such a way as to produce the impression of diphthongs.

128 Now that the reader knows more or less how to read Kxura-itano, he may practice on the following text, /227/ which is accompanied by an interlinear translation; it will serve as the basis for a brief grammatical outline, and it is unpublished, like all those that we shall present.

/227 cont./

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1 **Bakaéri, waráiu, kxaraiwa aceγebidúo**
Bakaeri Tapuia Brazilian when they quarreled

arinedili
they became.

2 **Kxiwimári iewirâpadili**
Our captain became angry

3 **Aγi amarémo tokedúo tohi**
Enough you /pl./ when he said people

ewánu iniγadili.
their illness made it.

4 **Iniγatúo idanára anaγido âγâ kxöiγeli**
When made it all animal with we died

5 **Ilapüriñe emedili wâγâ yamadili.**
Then dawn above became dark.

6 **Xixi eγacého yamu inenaxúli.**
Sun his coming out dark closed-it.

7 **Inenaxudúo iγawinu iniγadili.**
When closed it cold made it.

8 **Xixi eγacedúo yamadili.**
Sun when came out became dark.

9 **Yamatúo xirimúka eγacéli.**
When became dark star came out.

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10 **Aγö** **yamu** **iγawinu** **iniγadili.**
Quite dark cold made it.

11 **Aritúo** **udódo** **ahepanokeli.**
Then jaguar appeared.

12 **Péto** **aγö** **aγaetiño-modo** **iniγadili.**
Fire enough ancients made it.

13 **Taxo** **ahitokili** **püreu** **ahitokili.**
Knife played arrow played.

14 **Tãwi-γe** **iγedãri** **tunaneη**
Their hunger with those who did not die strong

niγe-pa **tohinóhe.**
die not remain.

15 **Ilapüriñe** **iwerâ-pa-itúo** **xixi** **eγacéli.**
Then today not being sun came out.

16 **Xixi** **kxurotaλ** **aγaetiño-modo** **amiduadili.**
Sun midday ancients ate.

17 **Ilapüriñe** **aγi** **xikidúo** **péto** **õro**
Then much slept fire earth

odákxa **eyaceli.**
inside came out.

18 **Xixi** **péto-ára** **idili.**
Sun fire like became.

19 **Ce** **adapikú-γe** **iγéli.**
Tree heat with died.

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20 **Páru çavéli.**
Water dried.

21 **Páru çavedúo kxãna iγéli.**
Water when dried fish died.

22 **Kxána iγedúo cenena kxana çani.**
Fish when dried urubu fish ate-it.

23 **Páru çavedúo anaγido iγéli páru tinenedili.**
Water when dried animal died water wanted to drink.

24 **Apa anáhi idanára iγéli.**
Mandioca maize all died.

25 **Áritibiñe kxõiγeli.**
Then we died.

26 **Kxõiγedúo cenerá-la kxani.**
When we died urubu ate us.

27 **Ãráγi kxapũráne be-ba awiliγe.**
Someone buries us is not thus.

28 **Idanára anaγido iγeli.**
All animals died.

29 **Aritibiñe ayi-pa kxitúo**
Then many not when we remained

192 /230/ kxiwimári parutába inepehenili.
193 our captain sea blessed it (blew).
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30 Aritúo parutába ayo-idili, péto enaxekili.
Then sea rose, fire put it out

31 Kxaraiwa idamú-do niõretudili.
Brazilian his grandfathers dreamed-it.

32 Mâra núna iwâγâ parutába ivehe
That moon over sea will swell

yamũra keli.
spirit said.

33 Tonudõ- na keduo miγewadili-la
His people for when said you lie

iunudo keli.
his people said.

34 Tunudo kedúo pi inanadili.
His people when said ax picked it up.

35 Pepi ima xiγace.
Canoe large made it.

36 Ata takxaheη pepi.
House high canoe.

37 Ilãe tipiniri inadili pepi odaλ.
Then his food takes it canoe inside.

38 Ilãe kxopáe timeri tiwũdi
Then at night his child his wife

/231/ áyà anela oxedili.
with alone sailed.

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39 Oxedibi-ñe parutaba çaloloxúli.
When he sailed sea rose.

40 Çaloloxuli kxopae.
Rose at night.

41 Aritúo idanara anayido ayà kxõiyẽli.
Then all animal with we died.

42 Tõiwedúo çayuno iniyadili.
When swelled sand made it.

43 Iwerâ-pa mâra tapiku wàyà çavelli.
Today not that heat above came down.

44 Çavedúo çayúno tuxũe
When came down sand stone to

aturyudili
turned.

45 Ilapũriñe õro acemakẽli.
Then the earth is exchanged.

46 Kxái-na õro idâli.
Sky to earth went.

45 /47/ Idâdúo kxáu ayá-na xirimúca idâli.
When went sky with star went.

48 Pimiri ara tawõyeŋ aturyudili.
Ant like flying thing became.

192 /232/49 **Tawõyen** **atuyudili** **kuunopio** **ara.**
193 Flying thing became little bird like.
539

50 **Idanàra** **anayido** **ara** **kxidatuyudili.**
All animals like we became.

51 **Ilapüriñe** **ayõkxitúo** **tohi ewanu-ye**
Then when we grew our work with

kxidacenomedadili.
we learned.

52 **Idu-pe-ba** **ilapüriñe** **pohi** **ara**
Forest there was not then grass like

idu **yahele.**
forest grew.

53 **Mâra** **adapiku** **wâyâ** **apa**
That heat over mandioca

ewili **ipüri-büri** **eyaheli**
its fruit its old seed germinated

pohi **amal.**
grass (campo) middle of.

193 Before giving the translation of this text, let us take it as the theme to accompany a few grammatical explanations.

One fact strikes us at once: the sentences follow one another, each usually with only one verb, without interdependence or subordination. In other words: as far as syntax is concerned, Kuza-itano uses parataxis exclusively. /233/ The greatest complexity attained by the sentence is that of apposition, enumeration, or parallelism, which does not exceed the scope of parataxis.

/233 cont./

193 In the sentence, the subject comes first, the verb last; the object, when required, is placed between the two. It may precede the subject when logically there is no possibility of confusion. Thus, a Bacaeri will say either Pohi ta/uhe pocéka, or poceka ta/uhe poji, or poceka pohi ta/uhe, because he knows that the pig eats grass and grass does not eat pig.

The reader will hardly overlook the frequency with which substantives and verbs end in l or r followed by a vowel. This is because K'ura-itano has a particle, which Steinen writes lô, used to indicate emphasis. In the language of the Chaymas it is also used: "And for the term meaning 'also' /tambien/, they were accustomed to add the syllable re to the ends of words, e.g., for vche, 'I,' they say vchére, 'I also'" /translated from the Spanish/. (Tauste, Arte y bocabulario de la lengua de los Indios Chaymas /Nature and vocabulary of the language of the Chaima Indians/, Madrid, 1680, reprinted in facsimile by Platzmann in Leipzig, 1888, p. 46). The same thing is noted with slight variations in all Carahiba languages. Lô may be changed to na, as in No. 47 /see p. 12/, or to ñe.

Also deserving of attention are the endings di-li, wi-li, ki-li of the verbs, different auxiliary forms, sometimes equivalent to the English "do," sometimes to "to have," "to be," "to become," sometimes merely emphatic. The early grammarians called their equivalent in other languages a substantive verb, a well chosen term; it should be noted, however, that they have nothing in common /234/ with the verb "to be"; sentences such as "The captain is rich" are expressed by the Bacaeri with a mere juxtaposition of the words, Pima tisehikkener.

The manner in which thought is expressed makes it plain that logical subordination is rudimentary. The Indian is carried along by a series of ideas and goes on with them up to a certain point; then he goes back and does likewise with the others; sentences far apart represent the same chronological moment; what would seem to us most natural if placed at the

193 /234 cont./
end is broached by them from the very beginning; in short, this is a formal parataxis which corresponds to the condominium of impressions and undulation of ideas.

From what has been said it can be readily deduced that there are neither conjunctions nor the conjunctive in Kxuraitano.

Passing now to the parts of speech, we note immediately that the substantive expresses, beside the idea of a thing or person, the idea of time. Tuxñe, No. 44, is a future or at least a supine: strictly speaking, it means--to stone /para pedra/. The supine of nouns is formed by adding to the word the suffix rõe, of which, however, only the e is retained, while the vowel that precedes it is nasalized. The present tense is the word alone, or with the mere addition of e. The past is formed by the addition of pũri, or bũri, which performs the same function as cuer or puer in the language of the Tupis and Guaranis.

One example will show this better: iwũdi, "married woman," expresses the present tense, iwũdie, the future; iwũdipũri designates a woman who has been married but is no longer, either because her husband died, in which case it is synonymous with "widow," or because she herself died, /235/ in which case it may be translated as "late wife," or simply because her husband left her.

In the same way as the particle cuer in aba-ñeẽ, so can pũri or bũri indicate the plural in the Bacaeri. From this may be drawn a conclusion so spontaneous and natural that it must perforce be false and cannot be trusted: the Indians regard the noun as representing one: imeri, 1 son: imeobũre, sons--ex.: 1 son. Subtleties of this kind are not alien to the American aborigines: "The Indian will say aypapa vaca and not vacaretá, because if he has counted them, there cannot be one" /translated from the Spanish/ (Restivo, Arte de la lengua guarany /Nature of the Guarani language/, p. 12, publ. Seybold, Stuttgart, 1892).

/235 cont./

193 [114] That the substantives have a plural has been contested; just recently, Sr. Lucien Adam maintained "that the Bakairi is the only one of the adequately known (Carib) dialects in which distinctions of number are not expressed by any suffix" /translated from the French/ (5); nevertheless they do exist

[113] 5. Matériaux pour servir à l'établissement d'une grammaire comparée des dialectes de la famille caribe /Materials to serve for setting up a comparative grammar of the dialects of the Carib family/, Paris, 1893, a book of extraordinary value for the study of difficult problems.

and there are no fewer than three endings which indicate plural. The first is modo: afaetiño, "ancient," afaetiño-modo, "ancients." The second one is mo: pekodo, "woman," pekodómo, "women." The third one is do: idamu, "his grandfather," idamudo, "his grandfathers." Let it be noted, however, that the Bacaeris, although they have a fine verb with which to count (imperative, capoteta), do not count beyond three, and thus numbers are of little importance to them. Let it be noted further that the word idanára means "[illegible]" and "entire", in /236/ other words, in their minds the concepts of plurality and totality have not been differentiated, resulting in many words, principally ending in do, in which the concept of plural does not exist, for example, yunu, "his blood," yunudo, "his people"--that is, "his bloods."

There is little to be said concerning gender.

There are words which may be called masculine, such as ubúrodo, "man," or feminine, such as arekuma, "hen." The sole vestige of grammatical gender, however, is found in the demonstratives: mîka, mîka, mera, êra, inara are used

193 /236 cont./
in connection with people or animate beings: mára, ara, hira, xira, awíre, ita, only with inanimate things.

The adjectival relation, or restrictive complement, as others call it, is expressed through the addition of the possessive index to the object possessed: thus, u/urodo eti = "man his house" = "the house of the man"; areíxuma ico = "hen her husband" = "husband of the hen," or rooster.

The possessive indices are divided into two series: one is--ic for the first person, i for the second, e for the third person; thus, ita, "house" in the absolute sense, without indicating the owner; ieti, "my house"; iti, "your house"; eti, "his house"; icwiri, "my arm"; iwiri, "your arm"; ewiri, "his arm." This must be the older form, which is being driven out by the other series: i for the first and third persons, i, a, ĩ, o for the second. For the third person there are also: ç as in çawiri, "his arm," n as in nyui, "his father," and x. In addition, there is the reciprocal: t, see Nos. 37 and 38 /see p. 11/.

The addition of the possessive almost always /237/ modifies the word's initial consonant. Thus, pepí, "canoe," without any designation of the owner, has the p changed to w if we wish to state who this is: pima iwepiri, "captain his canoe" = "canoe of the captain"; mayaku, "basket," uramudo, "boy," gives uramúdo iwayakíru, "boy his basket"; tunáia, "bath," piahi, "curer" (not "sorcerer"), piahi idunatari, "curer his bath" = "bath of the curer." We have already indicated above the other possible changes; the last appears in the names of objects possessed is the particle i or r followed by a vowel, which has already been referred to.

The most common personal pronouns are: for the first person, ura in the singular, kaura in the plural; for the second, ama; for the third, the determinatives already referred to with regard to the gender of the substantives. It can be questioned whether kaura and hina mean "we" or "people" /indefinite persons; Port., a gente/, French on, German man, and the old Portuguese homem, now obsolete. In any case, the concept of

/237 cont./

193 first-person plural inclusive and exclusive, familiar in the aba-Beß, is alien to the Kɨura-itano. Amaremo, "you," second person plural, is obviously of secondary formation: mo indicates plural, re is the emphatic particle, and ama is the pronoun for the second person singular.

Another series of lesser used pronouns: abe, mabe, kuidabe.

The adjective, generally put after the substantive, is, like the latter, affected by time and number. Comparatives are avoided. A concept close to that of the superlative is expressed either with the emphatic particle or by means of the addition of certain words such as ɨtɨru, "indeed" (comparable to the French bon, tout de /238/ bon, kɨura in the Bacairi has, among others, the meaning of "good"); Ewakukeba, "it is not a joke," etc.

193 The determinatives are affected by time and number.
801 There are only three cardinal numbers: tokale, "one"; ahaße, "two"; ahewak or ahewanela, "three." Steinen gave to Antonio, the Indian who was his informant in the Xingú region, the following sentence, "At first he (the child) walks like an animal, on all fours," and obtained only: ça/ɨkße anaßito ara ße iwodo adakɨtobodili, that is, "he walks with the two arms." To the minds of the Bacairis, rather than to produce a number four, it seemed easier to invent a whole story whereby Cemiamu (Morcego /bat/) had a son by the daughter of Pau de Morcego /"bat wood"; Andira/ (Pödiki), and, when he found out about the paternity, he became angry at the child, breaking its knees with an arrow; since then children walk first with the two arms before they walk with the two feet (6).

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6. The matter of knees seems to have caused the minds of the Bacairis much trouble. Mapinukai, one of their ancestors, had knees like those of a

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chicken; having won a race against Keri and Came, however, the latter broke them, and since then the knees of human beings have been as they are today.

193 As for adverbs, suffice it to say that they follow or precede the verb and may receive possesive and time.

Prepositions, which are numerous, always come after the substantive, and we shall give merely: da, which indicates "place where"; eina or eira, "place to where," generally elided to ra or na, with the preceding vowel nasalized; obe, ero, "upon"; ape, "with," meaning company, ye, "with," instrument. The preposition de /Port./, in the sense of the English "from" or the German aus, is represented by a complicated form.

/239/ An explanation of the verbs, however superficial, would take us far afield: many points are yet to be studied, and while we are familiar with the common forms, they are not yet sufficiently analyzed.

Steinen divides verbs into two classes, in one of which the preterit is formed with raki, in the other with taki; we may accept this classification, which, on the whole, is satisfactory and lends itself perfectly to our present purposes.

Verbs have two affirmative imperatives in the second person singular, and one negative; they also have what may be called an imperative of the first person plural.

The indicative has three past tenses, which may be called remote /remoto/, intermediate /médio/, and immediate /flagrante/, since the latter, which is formed with raki or taki, may also indicate the immediate future or present.

They would seem to have two present tenses: one, in which he or ce is added to the radical, and followed by the personal pronoun; the other, uniting personal pronouns, the radical of the verb, and the auxiliary of the substantive verb,

/239 cont./

193 which has already been mentioned. Regarding these possible present tenses, however, it should be borne in mind that they often express the past and the remote past, as in the passage copied above. It would be simpler to regard them as forms of the infinitive, chiefly because they admit postpositions and thus function as substantives; it should be borne in mind, however, that I, when designating an act carried out at the very moment when he was speaking, always used the form in combination with the auxiliary whenever the verb permitted it.

/240/ The future is formed with an auxiliary ice, which means "to like," added to the present, and it is seldom used.

There are active, passive, and supine participles.

In any tense, the endings are added following the radical and do not vary with the persons except when mo is added to indicate plural; the pronouns which precede the radical vary a great deal, however, presenting what the grammarians of the abaflel call "transitions." Thus, if we say "I kill," it is necessary to specify whom in the pronoun or pronouns which precede the radical, and this gives two possible forms, "I kill you," or "I kill him"; in the second person, three possible forms, "you kill me," "you kill him," "you kill us"; in the third person, four possible forms, "he kills me," "he kills you," "he kills him," "he kills us"; in the first person plural, two possible forms, "we kill you," "we kill him." The second person plural and the third do not differ from the singular. person plural and the third do not differ from the singular. We have, as a result, 11 possible forms for each tense, in principle; in reality, some of them have been obliterated and merged, if, indeed, they ever existed, and now there are not more than seven at the most, as we shall see below. Obviously, this is the case for only transitive verbs.

The transitive verbs that undergo least alteration are the reflexives, since the action can only be exercised upon the agent, which is itself the person, and the verbs such as "to tell," "to give," "to say," etc., which generally demand a complement of person, to whom one tells, gives, or says

/240 cont./

193 something. Since the acaeris indicate this person /241/ separately from the ve and clearly with postposition, and the thing told, said, or giv n is always third person, it follows that in such cases there are no transitions, and the forms are merely three for the si ular and one for the plural.

As for the reflexiv verbs and the transitive ones, which only take objects in th third person, the pronouns which precede the radical are k in the first person, m in the second, a vowel, usually i or n sic/, in the third, and kri or k/id in the first person plural.

Intransitive verbs en take ie or i in the first person, e or a in the second, y c i or n in the third, like the substantives accompanied by posse ives.

Verbs in raki and aki both have their special negative conjugation, the form in pūri, the latter in pa.

In the third perso singular there is a special form which has approximately a p ssive meaning: the object and the verb are used without the ject.

Now for the para gms of the principal tenses of two verbs which were selected liberately with almost identical radicals: ratu, "to run," and atu, "to tell, to narrate." The former pertains to the taki co ugation; the latter, to the raki conjugation--from which c ne the differences which are immediately apparent in the ten oral suffixe; postposed to the respective radicals. The former intransitive; the latter is uni-transitive, that is, it does not ha the 11 pronominal transitions, and from that is, it does eat differences in the personal affixe this come the equally great radicals which precede the respective radicals.

193 /242/ Radical: i-γatu, "to run." E-γatu, "to tell."

Imperative	2 s.	*i-γatu-γa, i-γatu-da*	e-γatú-γa, e-γatúra.
	1 pl.	kxa-γatúne	kxie-γatũ-re.
Neg.	2 s.	t-öγatú-hé-ba	kxoe-γátu.
Remote Past	1	yõ-γatũ-ma	c-eγatũwa.
	2	i-γatũ-ma	m-eγatũwa.
	3	e-γatũ-ma	n-eγatũ-wa.
	1 pl.	kxõ-γatũ-ma	kxi-eγatũ-wa.
Intermediate P.	1	ie-γatu-da	c-eγátu.
	2	i-γatu-da	m-eγátu.
	3	ne-γatu-da	n-eγátu.
	1 pl.	kxõ-γatu-da	kxi-eγátu.
Immediate P. A	1	ie-γatu-dai	c-eγatu-raki.
	2	i-γatu-dai	m-eγatu-raki.
	3	n-eγatu-dai	n-eγatu-raki.
	1 pl.	kxõ-γatu-dai	kxi-eγatu-raki.
Immed. Past B	1	ie-γatu-taki	
	2	i-γatu-taki	
	3	n-eγatu-taki	
	1 pl.	kxõ-γatu-taki	
Pres. A		ie-γatu-di-li	kxa-n-eγatú-li.
		i-γatu-di-li	ma-n-eγatu-li.
		e-γatu-di-li	i-n-eγatú-li.
		kxõ-γatu-di-li	kxi-n-eγatu-li.
Pres. B		γatú-he (for all persons)	eγatú-he (for all persons).
Negative Pres.	1	ie-γatu-bũra	kxa-n-eγatu-ba.
	2	i-γatu-bũra	ma-n-eγatu-ba.
	3	e-γatu-bũra	ma-n-eγatu-ba.
	3	n-eγatu-bũra	n-eγatu-ba.
	1 pl.	kxõ-γatu-bũra	kxi-n-eγatu-ba.
Act. Part.		γatu-heni	eγatu-heni.
Pass. Part.		γatu-dibi	eγatu-ribi.
Supine		γatu-dõe	eγatu-hõe.

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193 The verbs in raki and taki are governed by these two paradigms as far as the affixes postposed to the radical and indicative of tense are concerned; the paradigm for eyatu, "to tell," is used for the verbs which may be called unitransitive, either because they are reflexive and the action is communicated only to the subject performing it--identity of subject and object--or because, aside from the complement of thing they demand one of person, and while the former is expressed by incorporation in the radical, the latter, the only one which could change, is expressed by the Bacaeris separately from the radical of the verb.

The case of the multi-transitive verbs is complex, and demands the study of what the Jesuit grammarians--in spite of the defective method which led them to apply the standards of Latin to the idioms of the New World--minds of unusual linguistic discernment and insight, called transitions /transições/ in connection with the abá-ñeẽ.

Taking the radical çatõ (Bak. Sprache, 143), we find that çatõ-he is one of the indicative presents and means "I cut, you cut, he cuts, we cut, you cut, they cut." This is sufficient to show how right Steinen is when he considers it a grammatical myth to say that in the Cariba languages ç represents the first person pronoun. (B. Sp., 281/291).

If, however, we wish to say, "you cut me," we shall have i-atõhe, which also means "he cuts me." If we wish to say, "I cut you," we shall have a-tõ-he, which also means "he cuts you" or "we cut you." If we say ka-atõhe, it may mean either "you cut us" or "he cuts us," which leads one to conclude that "you cut us" or "he cuts us," which leads one to conclude that the /244/ ç in çatõ-he corresponds to the object in the third person, and that çatõhe means "I, you, he, we, you, or they cut it." This is indeed the case, which certainly does not [114] favor Steinen, when, in his admirable endeavor to reconstruct the primitive Cariba (Karaïbische Grundsprache) spoken by the various tribes before their separation, he classifies the ç, with its many phonetic variations, as a verb radical.

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193 To go on to the other present, we find for eʒatu the following forms: kχa-n-atö-li, ma-n-atöl-i, i-n-atö-li, Kχi-n-atö-li. We have already learned with respect to eʒatu that Kχ, m, i, Kχi mean respectively "I," "you," "he," "we"; since Kχanatöli, however, does not simply mean "I cut," but "I cut it," would it be rash to conclude that in these forms n represents the object in the third person? No, indeed, for if we wish to say "you or he cut me," we have iatöli, in which there is no n; "I, he, or we cut you," atöli; "you or he cuts us," Kχâtöli, in which there is no n either.

In summarizing these facts, we arrive at the following results:

1. In multi-transitive verbs, the present in he or ce may undergo only four modifications, since there are that number of possible personal objects which can be added to the verb radical, preceding it;

2. In the present in di-li, ki-li, wi-li, or simply lö, when the object is in the third person, there are four possible modifications, because the character of the language demands in such a case that, aside from the patient pronoun, /245/ which does not vary, the agent pronouns, which are four in number, be added to the radical, preceding it;

3. In the first and second persons singular and the first person plural, since it is a matter of the person who is speaking or spoken to, persons present, only the objective pronoun is used, and since there are only three, two for the singular and one for the plural, there are only three transitions.

Thus the transitions, which we referred to above as possibly adding up to 11, do not add up to more than seven in one case and four in the other; 11 in all, but in different categories.

Thus, after a long detour, we return once more to the pronouns.

[114] With much justification, the Jesuits claim that in the abá-ñeẽ the pronouns belong to two different classes.

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114 "The personal pronouns," says the greatly missed Baptista
193 Caetano, "are divided into two well characterized orders, namely: the first, of the agent or denominative pronouns, and the second, of the patient or accusative pronouns and of the governed cases. Both of them are preposed to the verbs, in accordance with the most general rule...And when both occur together, the patient one is the one immediately next to the verb" (7).

[113] 7. Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional, VI. 8, Rio, 1879.

193 The same is to be observed in the Kxura-itano. And the patient or objective pronouns are identical to the possessives, which is another proof of how little differentiation there is as yet between verb and substantive, transitive and intransitive verb, in this idiom.

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193 Here is now a list of the personal pronous, divided into the two classes of

	Agent Pronouns	Patient Pronouns
1	*u, ura, ahe, kx (a)*	*ie, i, u*
2	*m (a), ama, mahe*	*a, ai, e*
3	*a, e, i, a*	*é, i, n, ç*
4	*kxi (d), kxidahe, kxura, hina, ina*	*kx.*

The reciprocal is *t, d, ç, h, x.*

193 539 There follows a free translation of the passage given above (8), for which a good knowledge of kxur-itano is needed

8. From ewâri, "arm," which is the same as çawõli, "wing," comes the verb apari (Bakairi Sprache, pp. 82 and 108), which means "to swim." ikiwâru mean "the river is swimming"--rapids; kxudupi paru ohe yuwaru (B. Sp. p. 82), "the gourd is swimming in the river." It seems that aside from paru, which is very commo and tuna, retained only in tunata the Bacaeris also have for "water" i or ik, which we find in the preposition ikale, "inside," whic [illegible] Accord is applied only to water. Acc[illegible] ing to Irineu, when they wish to ask whether an animal lives in the river or on land, they commonly use the phrase: adik, õro par-ikano menoro. If it is a land animal, the answer is: par-ikano keba menoro. (Cf. B. S., p. 31.)

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539 [193] in order to understand the interlinear translation. Its subject matter is the destruction of the world by fire and flood.

This is what happened to the Bacaeris, the Brazilians, the Tapuias /Tapuya/ after they quarreled. --Our captain became angry;--enough, he said, and made the people's illness, and with the other animals we all died. --Then at dawn it became dark;--the darkness stopped the sun from coming out, --when it stopped it, it caused the cold;--after sun came out, the darkness continued;--with the darkness the stars came out;--the darkness caused much cold.

/247/ Then the jaguars appeared; the ancients made much fire; the knives fought with the knives, the arrows fought with the arrows;--those who did not die of hunger, the strong ones, do not die anymore, they remain. --Then, after a time, the sun came out; the ancients ate at midday. --Then, having slept for many nights, fire came out from inside the earth;--the fire was like the sun; the trees died from the heat; the rivers dried up; -when they dried up, the fish died, --and the urubu ate the fish. --When the rivers dried up, the animals died of thirst;--mandioca, maize, they died out altogether. --Then we ourselves died, --and the urubu ate us because there was no one to bury us. --All the animals died. --After we had been reduced to a few, our captain blessed the sea;--then the sea rose and put out the fire.

The grandfathers of the Brazilians dreamed;--in the next moon the sea will swell, the spirits said to them. When he told this to his people: you are lying, his people said to him. --Then he took his ax, --made a large canoe, - tall as a house; he took his food inside the canoe; at night, alone with his wife and children, he embarked. --When he embarked, the sea rose, it rose at night. Then with all the animals we died.

When the sea rose it made the sand. --After a year it came down--and the sand turned into stone. Then the sky

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539 and the earth changed places; the earth went to the sky, the sky came to the earth with the stars.

Flying things arose in the form of ants;--then the flying things became little birds;--we all turned into animals.--Then, when we grew, we learned to work;--there was no forest;--then the forest arose as grass.--In the next year the mandioca fruits burst out in the middle of the campo.

/248/ Before closing, here are a few indications concerning the formation of the words.

193 The derivative adjective is often formed by adding t to the substantive, and the ending neŋ or ɾeŋ to indicate presence, and neni or neri or ɾeni to indicate absence; for example, isehike, "goods, baggage," tisehikeneŋ, "rich," tisehikeneri, "poor"; odo or çodo, "lord," todoneŋ, "belonging to another" (literally, "has owner"); çawõri, "wing," tawõɾeŋ, "flying thing" (9).

9. The passage cited is not part of what has been published.

ɾe is also used to form adjectives, but its chief role is with verbs, to which it always lends the idea of destruction or dismantlement: thus, from itubi, "peeling," is made kzanituɾeli, "I peeled off"; acemakeɾa, "to run away" ("elude the grasp"); ikuru, "foot," ikuɾeli, "to fall."

The reflexive verbs are formed by adding to the radical the patient pronoun represented by h, for example, Kzahinaraki, "I remained" ("I left myself"), while xinoraki is active and means "I left him," ihipanãkeli, "appeared (himself)," inepanãkeli, "caused to appear," or they are represented by inepanakeli, "caused to appear," or they are represented by x or ç, for example, axodili, "is found," iniodili, "finds him," or by d or t, adãile, "comes to an end," inãili, "puts an end to it."

The idea of repetition is obtained by introducing nono between the verbal radical and the temporal index: eɾatuhe, "I tell," eɾatunono-he, "I again tell."

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128 These few lines indicate how much could be done on these grounds yet to be explored.

/249/ And now that this linguistic step has been overcome and the reader already has a slight idea of the sounds and forms of Kxura-itano, let us question the Bacaeris concerning their conception of the world, family, and society, their cultural acquisitions, their migrations, etc.

Four, or at most five points will suffice for this.

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II
The Conception of the World

The Bacaeris believe that man consists of two elements: kxa/atopüri, "our shadow, going /andadura/ or running /corrida/," and kxati, "our shirt," or kxutubi, "our skin." They may be translated as "body and soul," but the translation is inadequate.

The shadow puts on and takes off its shirt with ease and often, going out and coming in, now normally, now abnormally, now temporarily, now permanently.

The egress is normal when there is shouting, because the shadow, with the same speed with which it goes to the place where the echo rebounds, returns to its skin, or when one is sleeping and dreaming. When sleep becomes agitated, it indicates the ascent of hills, the fording of streams, or evil encounters. The person who is asleep is not awakened, for the shadow may not yet have put its shirt back on (10).

171, 774 576

10. Matias Ruiz Blanco in his Conversión de Piritú /Conversion of Piritu/, published in 1690, gives a variant of the same idea among the Indians of that region, who, like the Bacaeris, were also

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M1 774 576

Caribas: "The manner of greeting is for one to say to another, 'Is it you? Have you come? Have you arrived? Are you well?' and no one speaks to the guests upon their arrival, nor do they speak for a while, because they say that they are waiting for their souls to arrive, which is arrant nonsense." (Conv. en Piritú, 62, repr. Madrid, 1892.) The greeting between Bacaeris is ama, "you," to which one replies, ura, "I"; or mawiji, "you came," to which one replies, ee kyaufi, "yes I came."

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774 When we sleep, we dream says the piahi;--when we sleep, our shadow converses with the /251/ spirits (yamũra);--our shadow travels far,--when our shadow returns, we awaken;--when our shadow is afraid, at night, when it is time to sleep, we talk;--while our shadow sleeps, we dream;--we climb trees, we climb hills;--we walk with the yamũras,--we drink mingãu /a manioc gruel or paste/, we eat, etc.

The egress is abnormal, but temporary, when a person faints from fright, because, with much shouting and fanning with ipenakóro leaves, there is success in getting the shadow to return, or when one has offended the piahi; and yamũra, because, if duly propitiated, they pardon the crime and permit the shadow to return, as we shall see later.

It is abnormal and permanent at death.

[Kd]

It is abnormal and permanent at death.

The Bacaeris, in a very expressive phrase, claim that they do not fall ill from sickness itself (to-ewanũ-ye Bakaéri tõwane-pa); illness is always injected by sorcerers (ome-odo, "lord of poison"), and the poisons, all of vegetable origin, are

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75 /251 cont./
first and foremost jatobá /Hymnenaea/, then copaiba, the white or yellow trumpetbush /peúva de flôres brancas ou amarellas/, the vinhatico, the pindahiba /Xylopia/, etc. Knowing this, the first concern of the curer (piahi) called to treat the sick is to extract the sliver of wood that causes the discomfort, which is achieved by sucking on the patient.

764 795 [302] [301] Sometimes, in spite of the treatment, the latter dies. Then the dead man is painted with urucú (anoto); there are put in his ears and nostrils the feathers that adorned them in life; his belongings (icehiko) are gathered up, such as bow, arrows, etc., which are deposited along with their owner /252/ in the hole that will serve as grave, well covered with earth stamped down with the feet. In the afternoon the shadow rises in the guise of the curiangu (Pokurãu, Caprimulgus) and comes to drink mingãu, which was placed at the grave, on the spot that corresponds to the head. After a while it no longer returns.

795 The Bacaeris also speak of kɨadopa, which is equivalent to our hobgoblins or lost souls and, it would seem, are the shadows of those who died a violent death. The following passage describes most clearly what is said concerning these beings.

Kɨadopa goes wandering in the afternoon, say: the piahi; it is all bone; it has holes for eyes; it wanders through the forest; manioc is its food; it wanders in the cultivated clearings; caterpillars, bicho de pau /"wood insect"/ and ants are its food; it comes to the house to drink mingãu (porũ); take the food of the kɨadopa outside, take beiju /manioc cakes/ and piráo /boiled manioc root/ (pirɨa); at night, in order to sleep, burn rubber, rub it on the door, on the door bar (anaxu, "nose"); the kɨadopa does not come in, the rubber stinks and [533] he does not like the smell. Take his food to the grave; if you do not intone the song (erému) of the kɨadopa, he does

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775 not go to the sky. Because of this, having slept several days,
[533] put mingáu in two small gourds; put the mingáu on the middle of the grave; two persons armed with clubs intone the song; when the song is over the two gourds are smashed and they flee. Coming from afar, one gives a blessing, saying:
[539] Kxukxukú (come, take heart!). When stopping, there is a blessing, saying: Aúfá! Go inside the sky, to our people, to our mother, to our father, here there is no one, inside the sky it is good. go, we, too, are going to die, it is said, -- the piahi teaches.

/253/ Another passage has kxadopa in the form of a tatou (Mugaru, Dasypus) in the middle of an abandoned village /tapéra/ and advises that no one should walk where a fight took place.

For a while bodies and spirits wander through the world, and the words of the piahi contain repeated descriptions of dead men's heads that wander about at night, livers that sit in doorways, or intestines on which one might step at night. Finally the shadow is free, and it climbs to the sky on a ladder of spun cotton, which passes underneath the star Tuxoreg. At the entrance of the sky there is the Urubu with his trap; those who do not have pierced ears and nostrils and do not wear feathers are blessed by the Urubu, i.e., blown upon, and fall into the trap; those who are marked run no danger, and they go see Nakoeri.

19 Nakoéri is a word whose etymology cannot be explained
194 by means of kxura-itano; fortunately, the language of the
775 Acawoyos /Acawai/, Indians of British Guiana, Caribas like the Bacaeris, offers us a valuable hint in this connection. In the translation of the first part of Genesis, and of the Gospel according to St. Matthew, recently published in London (11)

11. I owe the acquisition of this book to the kindness of my friend, Dr. Eduardo Prado, to whom I repeat my thanks.

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19 by the "Society for promoting Christian Knowledge," one reads
174 the famous sentence, the spirit of God moved over the waters
775 (Genesis, 1, 2): Makochima "Yakwarri" otoupou tona poropohru, in which "Yakwarri" means "spirit." "Nakoeri" and "Yakwarri" are identical words, semantically and even phonetically, since the n in the former, like the y in the latter, are /254/ possessive indices of the third person; the double r in the English transcription must represent the same sound as the single r in our writing (12) and the transformation of a into o, o into w,

> 12. Any statement is risky concerning the English R. "The consonant R," writes Miss Laura Soames, "is the most perplexing element in our language. Dr. Ellis wrote in 1875, that after more than thirty years study, he was not certain whether he had yet mastered its protean intricacies" /cited in English/ (An introduction to Phonetics, 5d. London, 1891.)

is a common occurrence in the most diverse languages. We can thus translate Nakoeri in the same manner as Yakwarri, as "spirit."

19 The Akawoio //'cawa/ permits us to take another step
174 forward. Fiat lux in Akawoio is: Akwa weijima. Would not akwa, "light," be the radical of Nakoeri and Yakwarri, and would not these names signify originally "the shining one"? The answer is reserved for the grammarians; the continuation of this study may possibly prove that the affirmative is to be concluded from the Bacairi traditions.

SEP The Bacairi himself will explain further what he knows about Nakoeri.

/254 cont./

539 When there were no people here on earth, long ago, Nakoeri was born, when there was no sun, no moon, etc.; only Urubu existed, only Jaguar existed in the old days; then Nakoeri at first made only the Tamanôua, the Jaguar and the Pig, he made the animals because he was the lord of prayer (ureini);--then he made the clay for the grandfather of the Bacairis; --Nakoeri made the clay (orina) like people; when he finished doing this, he put it at the foot of a tree.--In those days, long ago, Nakoeri did not have a house. When he finished putting it at the foot of a tree, Nakoeri blessed it,--when he blessed it the grandfather of the Bacairis was born,--small as the animals was born the grandfather /255/ of the Bacairis; when they grew, the ancients ate dry wood and rotten wood; without arrows and without clubs the grandfathers of the Bacairis were born;--when they increased, the grandfathers of the Bacairis appeared each with his own people; men alone, women alone, etc., went the Bacairis;--when they grew, when he made the animals, Nakoeri made a cotton ladder,--of spun cotton Nakoeri made it;--under the ember star nakoroy and at the door of Nakoeri;--when he made his ladder, Nakoeri went to the sky;--this is why the souls of the Bacairis go to their captain Nakoeri;--when he reached the sky, Nakoeri made his house;--after he made his house, Nakoeri made a lake; cold is Nakoeri's lake; in the sky Nakoeri does not die;--at dawn Nakoeri goes to bathe in his waters; when Nakoeri goes, he undresses;--at dawn Nakoeri becomes a boy;--in the afternoon Nakoeri becomes an old man;--not on that day alone (i.e., every day) Nakoeri undresses;--Nakoeri's lake does not dry up, there are very many (a/i kuru) souls of the Bacairis in Nakoeri's village;--there are lorisets, there are urubus, there are large sparrow-hawks, there are white sparrow-hawks.

Wara bakairi una ine atuis, concluded I.; "this is how the Bacairi tells this story." Let us leave it, however, for it will be more to the point farther on.

/255 cont./

539 775 In the sky the shadow, which had already been changed previously into a Ekadopa or Caprimulgus, reaches its final evolution by transubstantiating into the Yamũra. For an explanation of this word, we need not go beyond the Bacaeri: Yamũra plainly comes from Yamu, "dark," and signifies the dark, gloomy principle.

It is natural to inquire whether the icekiko, that is, the belongings, the "baggage" as I. translated it, which are put with the dead man, /256/ undergo a transformation similar to that of the owner. The texts do not answer categorically, but lead one to understand that this is the case, because the yamũra own canoes, baskets, clubs, which are, however, in no way similar to those used on earth: they are animals. The reader may judge this according to the following passage.

537 LS Anta is the basket of Yamũra; Anta goes about on the back of Yamũra,--Yamũra goes to eat mandioca, to eat squash, to eat gourds, to eat beans; it is not the Anta that eats;--in the basket Yamũra gathers squash, gathers beans, gathers gourds, etc.; when he gathers Yamũra carries away.

Also the Queixada /white-lipped peccary/--the Queixada comes to the clearing to eat mandioca--the Queixada also comes on the back of Yamũra--it roots up mandioca, it roots up cará /Dioscorea/, it roots up batata,--when it roots up, Yamũra carries it away, the Queixada;--this is why Queixada is not to be found--Queixada does not appear because Yamũra hid it.

Also the Anta, etc.; at midday the Anta sleeps, it walks at night, etc.

Caitetú /collared peccary/ is also basket of Yamũra. Caitetú only goes in threes; it digs up tree roots, it digs up mandioca roots, it digs up cará roots, it digs up batata roots.

In his resting place, Yamũra makes mingáu, grates mandioca, cooks cará, cooks batata, bakes beijú.

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539 325 Tracajá /a species of turtle/ is the gourd of Yamũra;--inside the Tracajá he mixes and seasons his drink, he drinks his drink;--Tracajá is the maracá /gourd rattle/ of Yamũra, etc. Jahú /Paulicea lutkeni/ is the canoe of Yamũra--inside of Jahú he grates mandioca, extracts the polvilho /fine manioc flour/, prepares manipueira /milky juice of grated manioc/, etc.; this is why, when Jahú is caught, one pays--one pays with mingáu, one pays with pirão. Yamũra comes to drink mingáu in the house, --this is why one puts mingáu on the path, puts pirão, etc.

/257/ Also the Jacaré /cayman/: Jacaré is the grater of Yamũra--it grates mandioca, it grates cará, it grates batata, etc.

Also the Sucuri /water boa/ is the net with which Yamũra fishes--Yamũra catches deer /veado/, catches paca, catches cotia /agouti/, etc.; this is why, when Sucuri is killed, there is thunder, there is rain, etc.

The pintado fish is the club of Yamũra;--the Ray is the baking grill of Yamũra; on the top of the ray, Yamũra bakes his beijú, bakes his fermented mandioca, bakes his polvilho, toasts mudubim.

A naturalist might note in connection with this passage that the Cotia (Dasyprocta aguti) "spends most of the day hidden in a hollow trunk or in a hole underneath the roots and at nightfall goes out looking for food"; that the Paca (Coelogenys paca) "leads primarily a nocturnal existence, sleeping during the day in a hole which it digs itself, preferably underneath the roots of a tree, and comes out at nightfall"; that the Marsh Deer /Veado galheiro, "big-horned deer"/, at least, "in late afternoon, after sunset, during the night, and at dawn comes out in search of food"; that Queixada and Caitetú (Dycotyles) come out "now during the day, now at night, in search of food, digging the ground for roots"; that the Anta "in inhabited regions leads primarily a nocturnal life;

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539 in quiet areas, where there are no human beings, it is always
825 on the move in the morning and afternoon, except during the hot hours in the middle of the day which it "spends sleeping"; in other words, all of the phrases between quotation marks, taken from the book by Dr. Goeldi on the mammals of our land (pp. 92, 99, 103, and 106), confirm what has been said concerning the shadowy character of the Yamũras.

539 /258/ Other considerations, however, seem to us of
174 greater moment.

First of all, in the enumeration of the belongings of the Yamũras, we have a basis for a list of the cultural acquisitions of the Bacaeris. We learn that they had nets for fishing before
[227] they had nets /hammocks/ for sleeping, that they traveled by
[352] water when they did not yet have pestles, and that they proba-
[501] bly had maracá before they had the masks with which they
[412] appear at their festivals.
[532]

We also see that although theoretically the abode of the
539 Yamũra is in the sky, a large part of his existence is spent on
776 the earth from which he derives his sustainance. Subsistence, however, is not his sole concern; free of the contingencies of time and space, he travels swiftly as the wind, he is an envious being who spies upon all actions and weighs upon the living with crushing pressure. There is hardly an act that he does not influence: gestation, childbirth, alimentation, festivals, walking hours, everything falls within his inexorable reach, as we shall see later. It would seem that the Bacaeris could paint their bodies as they please. But this is not so.

776 Yamũra does not like urucú, --this is why one must not
789 scatter the urucú seed, says the piahi;--Yamũra goes into the
824 houses of people with children, --this is why we burn the juice
302 of the rubber tree--when it is burned it is rubbed on the door;--fathers of boys, when they go to the river, paint themselves with genipap, --paint themselves with urucú, --so Yamũra thinks that it is blood; if the boy's father does not paint himself

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776 and goes to the river. Yamíra throws himself in the water;--
789 he likes guanandi /Calophyllum brasiliense/ resin;--burned
824 cotton seed makes Yamíra run far /259/ away; Yamíra is very
302 fond of colored clay and loam;--he does not like copaiba resin;--when jatobá is burned Yamíra does not like it, says the piaiti.

796 Finally, since there are certain animals which for him are
825 a means of subsistence, his ferramenta /iron tools/, if it is permissible to say this in connection with peoples who have not reached the metal stage, it is natural that Yamíra should protect them with the same care and vigor with which a Bacairi
[784] would protect his canoe or his bow. There are animals whose injury is punished immediately: for example, the Sucuri, in one of the passages cited above, or the Topidhi, a little bird that will be dealt with more conveniently later on. These are truly tabú or tapú, an expression used in Australia, and which, being widely known, demands no explanation. It is possible to come to terms with regard to the others, and this is done in a most reasonable way, by giving to the Yamíra in prepared form the food that he would have to prepare in the campo. It is mandatory, however, that the dead animal be put to good
[782] use; otherwise antas, pacas, and pigs will attack clearings,
[796] destroying them; and to propitiate the Yamíra it is necessary
[532] to give a feast, naturally masked, which they attend incognito. After eating well, they regard themselves as satisfied and the scourge ceases.

325 The following passage expresses more clearly the idea of
796 payment, and, although it is somewhat repetitious, it is not
782 redundant.
796

If the Guariba /howler monkey/ (Mycetes) is killed, it must be paid for, says the piaiti; if the macaco Coatá /spider monkey/ (Ateles) is killed, if the Preguiça /three-toed sloth/

/259 cont./

825 (Bradypus) is killed, pay for them with mingáu;--if no payment
796 is made, Yamíra will seize our shadow; Imiga (Cebus?) /260/
782 is the domestic animal that is the creation (eri) of Yamíra;
796 if you cut down forest in which Yamíra dwells, pay for it;--
seek out a place to hold a festival; makanari is payment for
the forest (13);--then, when Yamíra had drunk mingáu, he

[114] [115]

13. After he had dictated this passage, I. expressed doubts as to whether the dance was the makanari or some other one.

goes far away (14).

[191] [114]

14. Matías Ruiz Blanco notes a variant of the same idea among the Indians of Pirirí (Colombia): "When the Indian brings in a deer or wild boar, the woman comes out with a tutuma of the drink that they make out of maize, and she opens the animal's mouth and gives it some to drink out of courtesy so that its soul will tell the others about the good treatment given to it" (Conversión de Pirirí, 64, Madrid reprint.).

796 Makanari is the name of one of their festivals, and this would be the proper place to discuss them, if unfortunately, the scanty information that exists concerning this were not deficient, concealing all the ritual and devotional aspect which is its essence. We shall return to it on another occasion.

/260 cont./

796 for now merely stressing the following on this point: the masked dances and festivals are true religious ceremonies.

796 756 Let us now consider the piahi, whose important role has already been indicated.

One word suffices to describe him: the piahi is a Yamũra.

Piahi is a word that, with slight variations, appears in several South American languages and, like Carahiba can be interpreted in various ways. In Bacaeri it is related perhaps to epiwado, "payment," an idea whose scope we have already had occasion to mention. Basically /261/ it means the curer, the doctor. Thus it must not be confused with "sorcerer": ome-odo, "the lord of poison," may take a person's health and life; amapõcodo, "the lord of the hand of the dead," can vanquish the "lord of poison"; but both are mortal, while the curer is immortal and controls the forces of nature.

756 A few examples taken at random will show how the piahi appears to the mind of the Bacaeri.

796 756 793 The son of a curer was walking with his father, when suddenly he was attacked by a jaguar. He defended himself as best he could, and, arriving home, he said: I have beaten a jaguar.--You are lying, said the curer, you have beaten me. This proves that the curer can get into the bodies of animals, or, to use the native expression, "make an animal his shirt."

Parutamido killed a tatou at the edge of a lake, cut it open, washed it, and refused to hand it over to the Yamũra who demanded it in the water, as an animal of his creation (✓). To punish him, the Yamũra drowned him. When some time had passed without news of him, a curer who was his brother-in-law dreamed of what had happened to him. He went into the lake, where the Yamũra explained why he had drowned Parutamido, treated him very well, presented him with mingau, with beijú, and taught him the dance of the Karaíwo. This shows what different relations the yamũras

/261 cont./

776 have with the piahi and with the common people (wanololo,
756 from waono, "first"; cf. Ger. "der erste der beste" /first come
773 first served/.

At the waterfalls of the Paranatinga, a fearsome place
776 where Keri and Came tossed the Mama, an enchanted red
778 stone /262/ with which they killed Mero and Arimoto, there
756 is underneath the Mama the dream (Vêdu) which they tore from the lizard's eyes. There dwells the father of smallpox (turi); those who come near him fall ill; when the time for the leaping of the matrimana /a kind of fish/ comes, anyone nearby who talks or laughs is thrown into the water. The curer runs no risk by coming near; if he becomes angry, he can bless the sleep and this one gets up and wanders off.

756 How does the curer reach this fullness of powers which in his discourses he so often hurls at those whom he contemptuously calls "common people"? Through a very long and painful apprenticeship, which few persons have the courage to undergo to the end and to the letter.

First of all, the curer candidate (piahi-be-ini) must find an experienced curer who will tell him what he must do and protect him against the enemies whom he is bound to encounter. On his part, in addition, the future curer must not leave a single breach through which the enemy, the Kaówi, might enter, the so envious and so evil yamiras, whose principal occupation, it would seem, is to go in search of the slightest carelessness in order to punish it inexorably.

Such is the object of the rigorous training to which he must submit if he wishes to rise to the heights where the true curer dwells.

[276 The novice begins by drinking various drugs, such as
825 timbo, pindova, vaimbé, and other cipos, in order to learn
262] the language of animals and of Kaówi, a sort of Curupira; he cannot eat piribo, mingéu, fat, meat, lambari /a kind of fish/, flying things, /263/ tamanduas, or honey; his food consists exclusively of beijú and polvilho broth.

/283 cont./

756 He does not live in the village, but in a house apart, the
[346] dance house (K'ladóeti), where festivals are held and guests accommodated, and where women may not enter; he cannot speak to the latter, and for greater safety, not only does the master curer frighten the novice by telling him that the voices he hears are not those of women but of Karówi, but he slings his hammock across the door so that his disciple cannot go out in an unguarded moment.

[825] After a time the master and disciple go wandering about, and the latter, who has easily learned the language of Karówi, begins to speak the language of the jaguar. This is a sign that the initiation is nearly over; the curer gives him the cipó de cobra /caapeba/ (aiukur-iolgu), the piahi candidate dies, becomes yamíra, and goes to the sky to present himself to Nakoeri.

796 Nakoeri, whom we already know, owns many domestic
825 animals: araras, pombas /Columbiformes/, rolas /small Columbiformes/, jacus, jacucaca, mutum, maracaña, parakeets, parrots, toucans, araçari, anums, chickens, tamanduas, etc. What these animals have in common, only a naturalist familiar with the Indians' way of thinking could state with any certainty. Some seem to have been chosen on account of the brilliance of the plumage, others for their early-rising habits, and others, finally, because of the fact that they disappear for a time, reappearing fatter, as though they had dwelt in greener pastures.

756 The differences between the curer and the common
796 yamíra begin after death: the latter, as has been seen, climbs /284/ a cotton ladder; the disciple and master climb together, but how this is done is not stated.

When the piahi-he-ini goes to see the sky, the sky dwellers see him coming from afar; Who goes there? the yamíras say to Nakoeri; then Nakoeri appears at the door;

/264 cont./

756 the piahi and his disciple draw near. Ah! It is you, you have
776 come? says Nakoeri;--Yes, it is I. I have come to see you, replies the disciple;--Yes, you did not like your drink, your beijú, your food, it is good, this is why you came, common people do not come to my village, says Nakoeri.

Then Nakoeri puts benches outside and talks outside to the disciple of the curer; first, he puts down a red bench; then he puts down two white benches; the disciple does not sit on the red bench; he brings out three red benches (five in all, with the red ones closer to the candidate, to tempt him); the candidate walks by the three red benches without sitting down (if he sat down, he would commit a crime and would not rise to piahi) and sits on the white bench. You are an upright man (ãrurodo-io), yes, you are brave, Nakoeri tells him.

Then Nakoeri fetches mandioca dough; he ties the tail of a red arara with cotton to the tip of the handle of the maracá, and he intones his song and plays the maracá; then the candidate's bench moves, and on the bench he goes inside the house; as he goes in, Nakoeri interrupts his song: You are going inside the sky, says Nakoeri.--Yes, Captain, I am, says the candidate.--Take him inside the sky, says Nakoeri to his companion, and he intones his song anew.

The bench goes to the sky, swirling; Nakoeri's companion holds on to the bench and instructs the candidate, who cannot see anyone. Here, Nakoeri's companion says, is the plaza of the old night; there, the /265/ plaza of the old heads, further on, the plaza of the old ribs, he goes on saying (15). The

[193] [196]

15. The word "old" in this passage corresponds to the suffix pũri or bũri, which, as we have already seen, indicates the past of the substantives.

candidate sees nothing, he merely hears the talk of Nakoeri's companion; in the sky darkness alone reigns, and thus he does not see anyone.

/285 cont./

756 After much wandering, the sky becomes cooler. We are
776 close to the village, says Nakoeri's companion. Then they reach the village of the hornets, and the candidate hears nothing but hornet language: Did you come, my brother? Did you come, my father? Did you come, my uncle? Did you come, my son? the candidate hears, but he sees nothing, because one cannot see through the darkness of the sky.

The bench moves on again, and then, as though awakening, they reach Nakoeri's house and go into it. You wandered much, says Nakoeri.--Yes, I did, Captain, answers the candidate.

After a short while, the candidate says to Nakoeri: Captain, I am going away. Yes, replies Nakoeri. You may go now; you will return again one day.

114 Let us now interrupt this passage in order to comment
115 upon it.

776 Dr. Carlos von den Steinen heard from Antonio something which probably referred to Nakoeri; he thought, however, that the story,--naturally poorly developed, since Antonio spoke in Portuguese, which he did not know well, and an Indian only narrates with pleasure and clarity in his native tongue--showed the influence of Christianity. Thus, when Antonio, unable to recall at once the name of the personage who dwelt in the sky, was searching for it in his own mind, the German traveler asked him if it might not be Jesus /286/ Christo.--"Crito mesmo /Christ himself/," said Antonio, possibly accepting the suggestion (16).

[113] 16. Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral Brasiliens /Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil/, 346 /see 2:Steinen, this file, p. 409/.

/266 cont./

776 174 177 Is Nakoeri really an adumbration of Christ, a vestige of Catholic catechesis? We are reluctant to believe it, because the animals that Nakoeri creates, the role that he fulfills in relation to the admission of shadows into his realm, his investiture of the curers, the division of the various dominions in the sky, the novel means by which one journeys there, all point to a structure in harmony with the idea of the world prevalent among the Bacaeris. Either the Christian idea is totally unrelated to the Bacaeri conception, or it was completely smothered by the native chick-peas in which it was sown.

776 Granting that Nakoeri is a spontaneous and not a foreign concept, it is fitting to inquire as to whether he is indeed a luminous deity, as was stated above.

The darkness of the sky would incline one to place him preferably among the dark powers; but his clear differentiation from the yamũras--which are, indeed, dark forces, as the name itself indicates--checks this first impulse. Further arguments are provided by the white benches on which the candidate must sit if he wants to rise to piahi; the use of cotton, a material so unpleasant to the yamũra that its burned seed drives them far from the houses that they haunt; and finally, the arara tail which he ties to the maracá. Actually in Bacaeri, kyavida tapabile[ ] ĩtu torokgo means two quite different things: the tail of the beautiful psittacine with which we are familiar, and the hour /267/ that immediately precedes the rising of the sun. "First appears maekudani (probably "anta deceiver" because the animal wakes up, thinking that day is near); then the yellow tail of the ikkalokua arara; then arises the tail of the red arara; the tail of the red arara is not yet finished and the sun has already risen (kyavida tapabile[ ] tautarowo nadtepala xixi ekaeli)," reads a text which we have before our eyes. Thus, both as a zoological object and as an astronomical moment, the tail of the arara proves that Nakoeri represents a luminous power.

/267 cont./

756 What remains of the story of the piahi candidate can be summarized in a few lines:

[974] After having spoken to Nakoeri, the candidate goes away; at the door of the sky, the shadow puts on its old shirt and, once in it, lies down and goes to sleep; no one can go where he is, except the curer who initiated him. In the afternoon he awakens.--Do you want mingáu, are you hungry? asks the curer; and when the candidate replies in the affirmative he goes to make him mingáu with sour dough. After having slept for three days, he eats fresh beijú, then polvilho and puherehó. The curer does not yet allow him to leave the dance house; in the next moon he eats pirão; after two moons he may go out a little, and then he eats game, matrinxã, and white urucú. Three months later, he is piahi; he wanders about, goes into a jaguar, into an anta, into a queixada, etc.

756 776 Once consecrated piahi, we have already seen some of the things that he is able to do. We shall give one more story, however, to show the difference between piahi and yamíra.

/268/ Both have died, and it is precisely from death that they acquire the power which makes them so feared by their countrymen; but after death the piahi returns to life by permission of Nakoeri, and then he never dies again, while the yamíra may appear on the earth, enter into the bodies of animals, even put on a human shirt as in the masked festivals, but in reality he never again lives down here below.

Both have almost unlimited powers over nature, but in reality the piahi is the more powerful, because the yamíra respects him and addresses him as "brother-in-law," and he has ways to placate the yamíra and even to scare him away, such as burning cotton seed, or painting with urucú the persons against whom the yamíra has been angered.

Both represent dark powers, but the piahi represents some luminosity which he acquired from his association with Nakoeri.

/268 cont./

756 776 774 It has been mentioned that in certaincases both the piahi and the yamũra can take the shadow of a person who has offended them; but only the piahi can return what he took; and, conversely, he can return the shadow stolen by a yamũra.

825 196 This leads us to mention Topiehe, a Mato Grosso bird which we were unable to identify and in whose name there is probably the same radical as is found in piahi and epiwado.

825 774 756 755 Topiehe, when killed, steals the person's shadow; this is why Topiehe is not killed; it takes a person's shadow far away; then the person dies. The house of Topiene is in the sky; the Topiehe does not die /269/ really, says the piahi. The one who (seemingly) killed the Topiehe becomes cold; when he reaches home, he falls ill; then the piahiis called, and when he arrives, the bench is washed very clean; then the tail of the azara is tied with cotton to the maracá. While the curer is doing this, no one speaks, and the fire is put out; the bench is placed at the door, and the curer holds it, plays he maracá, and then shouts. When he is not near, yamũra doe not come quickly. When he arrives, the bench moves and if he curer does not make it fast, it runs away; this is why thecurer does not let go of the bench, on which sits yamũra, with whom the piahi converses: Don't you see, relative, I amcalling, I am talking, I am singing, I am shouting, says the curer. I did this, because he committed this crime (ãutudohe, answers Topiehe.-- He is a human being, he does not know wat he is doing, that is why he killed you, answers the curer. When the piahi spoke, Topiehe said: Take him. When the corm was grasped our shadow is above and then the murderer gets well. After the return: I am going away. I heard your shout and this is why I came, says Topiehe. When Yamũra goesaway, the people talk, the curer goes to the patient; he wasick because he killed Topiehe; Topiehe is not to be killed, saythe curer.

/269 cont./

75 For his part, the curer can also steal the shadow of a person.

He takes advantage of the sleep of the one against whom he is angry (piahi iewirocenibüri), and, seizing the shadow that is passing by, he takes it to various places, asking it mercilessly whether it knows where it is. Soon the piahi iewirocení-büri feels cold and feverish and falls ill. The grandfather and the mother beg for the protection of the curer: Come to see my son, says the mother; come to see what is making this son of mine sick. If they do not say this, the piahi makes the person die. /270/ If they do say it, the piahi replies: "Your son is a coward, this is why he is ill; but he is lying only so that no one will know that it was he. In the afternoon he goes out shouting down the path; at night he returns home shouting, he orders the fire to be put out, and the ceremony is almost the same as for the Topiehe, and the curer's payment is a cotton netting.

At the end of this story which we are summarizing, the power of the curer is stressed once more.

756 Piahi wanders about with yamíra, wanders about with the jaguar (udo-ão, the same radical as udo, udorori, "enemy"), he goes to the sky, he goes to the water, he goes into the snake, he goes into the sucuri /=anaconda/, he goes into little birds, he goes into any flying thing; this is why he frightens us; inside the snake he bites us, inside the jaguar; he knows who dies; he goes like the wind, he goes into the village, he goes nearby, he tears down houses with a hook, he does all these things when he is angry.

76 Thus, the Bacairi sees three great forces in the world:
75 Nanoeti, inactive, kind, and remote, who requires no cult
75 because he does no harm; yamíras, souls of the ancestors, who have gone to the sky and, while able to do good, can likewise do evil and must be propitiated continuously; the piahi, yamíras

/270 cont./

of a higher order because they come back to life after they have died and return to live among men.

Aside from these three principles, we find unclear figures and concepts, probably vestiges of older ideas.

Dr. C. v. d. Steinen speaks of Kitaino oroiko, which he translates as "devil." I. is not familiar with such a being, but simply /271/ Kitaino, evil beings who dwell in the forest or in the hills, assume various forms, eat mice and small birds, do not pass water, hide dead game and the arrows shot, the things that fall from people's hands; answer the shouts of a person, and shout in order to mislead those who walk through the forest.

Of the same type are: Kitarowi, who goes about at night, carrying a toad for an ax, always animated by the desire to do evil to the Bacaeri, but usually duped by the latter, in short similar to the Curupiras of the Amazon as they appear in the stories collected by Barbosa Rodrigues; and Twanagoroto, the lord of the hunt, easy to identify because one side of his chest is larger than the other, and he hits against it the persons who offend him--a figure similar to the Caipora of the Tupi.

There is also mention of a lake where the grandfather of the cachorro fish, the grandfather of the piranha, the grandfather of the snake, the grandfather of the otter, the grandfather of the needlefish, the grandfather of drums, etc. dwell. Ghosts appear in the middle of the water. No anta, capybara, or queixada goes there, no flying thing flies across it. Ancient Bacaeris took a canoe there, but a whirlpool overturned it, the Kuarissio (a sort of exhausted otter) ate them, and only the dead men's bellies appeared.

The jaguar asuí, the horse asuí, the queixada asuí, the turtle asuí, the crab asuí of fresh water, etc. are also there. Everything is swinging at the edge of the water. The Kuarissio and the Kuaube shake their heads which sound like thunder, and those who hear this sound fall ill and die, and those who see the grandfathers of the animals also die. /272/ At the edge of the lake there is a swamp, and the lake is the semen of animals.

/272 cont./

829 The idea of "Lord" appears often, but it is not easy to
776 understand what it means. When a Bacairi states that the white
825 man is the lord of the mirror, naturally he means that he first saw this object in the hands of the Carahibas. What does he actually mean, however, when he states that the lord of the rain is the parakeet?

776 It also seems natural that, if certain things have lords, the latter be paid or granted some token of respect or homage. Only one such case is mentioned, however; those who make hammocks, before using them, sling them outside the house in homage to the Coanôû /coendou/, lord of hammocks, so that their hair will not turn white. A story about a great cataclysm brought about by the death of the newt, lord of the wind, is also told.

In view of all this, the following list of lords is of minor interest, since it will only be of use if new comparative data become available:

776 The lizard is the lord of sleep; the fox, the lord of fire;
825 the parakeet, of rain; the newt, of wind; the curiango /Caprimulgus/, of the fishing hook; the urubu is lord of the bench; the sea snail, of the sun; the sucuri, of the fishing net; the heron, of the boquiri (a type of basket); the uga (a kind of lizard), of the grater; the porcupine is lord of thorns; the kingfisher, lord of fish; the coendou, lord of smoke and also of the buriti net; the deer is lord of the mandioca, etc.

825 /273/ This shows that the Bacairi does not make a very
794 great distinction between human beings and animals. For
196 "to wish" they use two words: ieyi, first person, which is applied to an animal raised by a human being; and anayido, a generic term, simply the plural of anayi, which means "who" and "someone." There is nothing strange about this, considering that human beings and animals have shadows and speak in the same fashion.

824 The trees also have shadows and speak.
794

/273 cont./

824
539

The captains of the trees spoke first, the piahi relates; the yellow trumpetbush, the red trumpetbush, the jatobá, the copaiba, the pau de morcego spoke, the piahi relates--aúfá! let us all go, let us ripen our leaves, said the jatobá, the piahi relates; yes, let us do it, Captain, said his people, the piahi relates; when they said this, the leaves of the trees all ripened, the piahi relates; when the leaves were completely ripe, they spoke again, the piahi relates; aúfá! let us drop our leaves, my people, said the yellow trumpetbush, said the jatobá, the piahi relates; when the captain spoke, they all responded, the piahi relates; when they spoke again, all the leaves of the trees fell, the piahi relates; when they had all fallen, their captains spoke, the piahi relates; aúfá! let us flower, my people, said the yellow trumpetbush and the copaiba, the piahi relates; when the copaiba and the trumpetbush spoke, their people responded, all of us, yes, we shall do so, Captain, his people said, the piahi relates; when they said this, all the trees flowered, the piahi relates; when they all flowered the red trumpetbush, the yellow trumpetbush spoke, the piahi relates; now let us all drop our flowers, my people, said their captains, the piahi relates; yes, we shall do so, Captain, said their people, the /274/ piahi relates; when they said this, all the flowers of the trees fell, the piahi relates; let us go, let us bear fruit, my people, said the yellow trumpetbush, said the red trumpetbush, the piahi relates; when they spoke, they sprouted branches, they bore fruits, the piahi relates; the rubber tree, the red trumpetbush, the yellow trumpetbush, the pacatudo, the tarumacana da mata bore seeds, the piahi relates; when their seeds burst, the red trumpetbush, the yellow trumpetbush spoke, the piahi relates; let us go, now let us burst our seeds, my people, said their captains, the piahi relates; yes, we are doing so, Captain, said their people, the piahi relates; when they said this, at the time of drinking, they drank, the piahi relates; when they spoke, all the seeds of the trees burst, the piahi relates; when

/274 cont./

824 539 the seeds burst, they spoke once more, the piahi relates; let us all go, now let us grow! said their captains, the piahi relates.

This was not the only occasion when the trees spoke, says the piahi: (Mãra-ume neiõ-ba cé ʒeɣõli, sokebe piahi).

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/The incidental translation of Bacairi words as a result of grammatical analysis will be found in category 193./

J. Abreu SP7 Bacairi

J. CAPISTRANO DE ABREU

ENSAIOS E ESTUDOS

(CRITICA E HISTORIA)

2.ª SÉRIE

[title page]

EDIÇÃO
DA
SOCIEDADE CAPISTRANO DE ABREU
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1938

OS BACAERIS

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3: Abreu SP7 Bacairi

[c.3/8]

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OS BACAERIS

Os Bacaeris são indios que habitam as cabeceiras do Tapajoz e do Xingú em Mato Grosso. Seu nome, que primeiro apparece em roteiros dos bandeirantes de principios do seculo XVIII, encontra-se posteriormente repetido em narrativas de viagens, compendios e noticias avulsas de jornaes. Desde 1884/85 voltou-se para elles a curiosidade do mundo scientifico, que bem merecem pela lingua que falam, grupo ethnographico a que se filiam, costumes caracteristicos que conservam dupla face por que se apresentam, já domesticados no Tapajoz, ainda perfeitamente selvagens no Xingú.

Foi o Dr. Carlos von den Steinen, — auxiliado pelo nosso Governo que lhes concedeu uma escola militar entre Cuyabá e baixo Xingú e sustentou a expedição entre estes dois pontos, — quem, estudando-os, abriu o que não é exagero chamar uma nova epoca para nossa ethnographia selvagem. Os resultados desta expedição podem ser resumidos em breves linhas [1].

Primeiramente delimitou-se a noção pouco precisa do que é Cariba, denominação que, como muito bem diz o viajante allemão, foi dada pelos europeus a toda especie de indios e pelos indios a toda especie de europeus. Desde D'Orbigny e Martius pendia-se a identi-

(1) *Durch Zentral Brasilien*, Leipzig, 1900.

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fica-los com os Tupis. Baqueta Caetano, sympathico á mesma idéa, insistia para fundamenta-la principalmente sobre o caracter impuro do idioma falado pelos Caribas, negando contra Herrera que fosse um dos quatro fundamentaes da America do Sul.

"No meu entender, escrevia elle, o Kariba não é nem pode ser lingua matriz. Mediante algum estudo que della tenho feito (e que sinto não ter podido aprofundar), ella se me apresenta como uma mistura extraordinaria de muitos dialectos de varia procedencia; é uma verdadeira giria, amalgamada de diversos dialectos, que ora apresenta muitas phrases de radicaes e vozes differentes, para exprimir a mesma coisa, ora absoluta falta de designação para outras coisas. E' uma embrulhada tal, que apenas se pode comparar com o que se ouve em certos circulos do Rio de Janeiro, onde ao mesmo tempo, na conversação em portuguez vai uma phrase em inglez, outra em italiano, um pedaço em espanhol ou alemão, e tudo isso mais ou menos alinhavado de gallicismos". (Introducção á 2.ª edição da *Arte da grammatica da lingua... Kiriri* de Luiz Vicenzio Mamiani, Rio, 1877, pag. XII).

Isto que é exacto quanto aos Caribas insulares, que conhecemos pelos trabalhos de Breton [1], não se applica, porém, á lingua dos Bacaeris, que se apresentou pura, tanto como, por exemplo, a dos Cumanagotas e Chaymas de Venezuela e Colombia, pertencentes ao mesmo grupo, de que desde 1683 correm impressos grammaticas e textos.

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(1) Cf. *Du parler des hommes et du parler des femmes dans la langue caraïbe*, par Lucien Adam, Paris, 1879.

O segundo resultado foi encontrar-se ao sul do Amazonas tribus caribas, quando as que se conheciam demoravam só ao norte do grande rio, como Crixanás, Macunis e outras. Em seguida, verificou-se que não eram estas as unicas: entre os rios S. Francisco e o Parnahiba, apanhara Martius um pequeno glossario da lingua dos Pimenteiras que provaram Caribas; Caribas eram tambem os Palmelas, com quem o Dr. Severiano da Fonseca tratou no Guaporé; mais Caribas viram depois o proprio Dr. von den Steinen em um dos confluentes do Xingú, o Culisewi, e o Dr. Paulo Ehrenreich, no baixo Tocantins, onde se chamam Apiacás.

O conhecimento mais preciso de linguas puramente caribas, a existencia de tribus que as falavam ao sul do Amazonas, suscitaram a questão: não seria antes do sul do Amazonas, na direcção do mar das Antilhas, que se arrumaram as migrações destas tribus, — antes do que no sentido contrario, como até então se admittia? Simultaneamente quasi responderam pela affirmativa o Dr. Carlos von den Steinen e o Sr. Lucien Adam que desde 1882 publicara diversos glossarios de Crevaux, entre os quaes havia alguns caribas.

Para estudar melhor o assumpto, veiu segunda vez o Dr. Carlos von den Steinen em 1888, que, ainda auxiliado por nosso Governo, visitou os rios Pakunera e o Culisewi até sua foz no Culuéne, o mais oriental dos formadores do Xingú.

Dois livros são o fruto desta viagem: uma monographia sobre a lingua dos Bacairis [3], publicada em 92, a narrativa publicada em 94 em volume ricamente illustrado, brilhantemente escripto, vigorosamente pensado, em que se discutem avantajados capitulos de historia primitiva da humanidade: para resumir tudo em uma palavra, a mais opulenta contribuição moderna sobre quanto importa aos nossos selvicolas [4].

Ao mesmo tempo que apparecia o livro do Dr. Steinen sobre a lingua, estava aqui um Bacairi trazido de Paranatinga pelo Dr. Oscar de Miranda, quando realisou sua tão tormentosa viagem rio abaixo até o Amazonas. Com o mesmo indio pouco quem escreve estas linhas estudar o livro do sabio allemão, vocabulo por vocabulo, e não acha palavras bastantes para exprimir a admiração que lhe causam o exacto da transcripção phonetica, a agudeza com que foram penetradas as formas grammaticaes, a intensidade com que foi apurado tudo quanto nos materiaes colhidos havia de aproveitavel. Si, num paiz que blasona de essencialmente agricola, fosse permittida a comparação, poder-se-ia dizer que seu engenho, como uma das moendas gigantescas hoje em uso, esgotou todo o caldo da canna, deixando apenas o bagaço.

Com aquelle indio, chamado Iriqu, e que aqui será designado pela inicial I, foram apanhados muitos textos, — lendas, descripções, tradições. O presente

(3) *Die Bakairi Sprache*, Leipzig, 1892.
(4) *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*, Berlin, 1894.

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trabalho fita um relatorio parcial desta colheita. Assentando sobre o livro do Dr. Steinen, cujo systema de transcripção phonetica adopta com ligeiras variantes, mais que simples resumo é entretanto, pois em muitos pontos variam as opiniões, em outros apparecem pela primeira vez factos ainda não conhecidos. Isto quanto á parte linguistica, objecto deste primeiro capitulo. A independencia ainda é maior quanto aos artigos seguintes, pois funda-se exclusivamente no que disse Iriarte.

I

Da Lingua dos Bacairis

A lingua dos Bacairis (*bacira dipse, ashi dipse*, isto é, lingua de gente, exactamente como *ebá ñeé*, a lingua dos Tupis), é falada no rio Novo (Yemeriri), affluente do Arinos; no Paranatinga (Pakuéra) affluente do Tapajoz; no Tamitatoala, um dos formadores do Xingú, chamado Batovi pelos alemães, em honra do Barão do mesmo nome, presidente de Mato-Grosso em 1884, epoca da primeira expedição; no Culiseu, affluente do Culuene, tambem cabeceira, a mais oriental, do Xingú. No Oronuro, cabeceira mais occidental, não existem indios deste falar. Pelo exame dos vocabularios e das formas grammaticaes, ficou provado pertencerem os Bacairis ao grupo dos Carahibas ou Caribas.

Das letras de nosso alphabeto, F só se encontra numa palavra, talvez onomatopaica, que precede os encantamentos: *aifá*, talvez imitação da baforada de fumo. V é raro, em todo caso não se pronuncia como geralmente no Rio de Janeiro, e parece antes bilabial. R é sempre brando, isto é, para aproveitar a descripção de Gonçalves Vianna, "o *ar* é expellido de uma vez sem interrupção, como em *caro*, e não intermittentemente, por contactos successivos, mais ou menos repe-

[p.224]

tidos, resultantes da vibração communicada ao orgão activo como em *carro*". G é ligeiramente velar, e para distinguil-o do nosso emprego-se o *y* grego; é sempre duro, como em gato e guerra. J tem antes o som inglez. *dj*. X é sempre o *ch* francez e nosso, *ach* alemão, *sh* inglez. Ç é preferido a S para evitar confundes. Para o som duro C é substituido, assim como Qu, por K. H é sempre aspirado. Y e W são sempre usados como semivogaes. Z é o nosso *sh*.

Sons em nada parecidos com os nossos ha os seguintes:

λ, difficilimo de pronunciar, e que talvez só quem o aprendeu de pequeno possa dar satisfactoriamente: "não o posso definir melhor do que dizendo que fica entre *ri, ro, ru* de um lado e *gl* de outro", escreve Steinen (*Beb. Spr.*, 255). Iriuro prefere-o levando a lingua dobrada aos dentes superiores e depois, ou ao mesmo tempo, retirando-a, ou chegando-a, para o palato molle: é pois uma supradental-velar. Só apparece no fim das palavras precedido de *a* que torna muito longo.

Ku é mais velar que o K.

x é velar e corresponde ao *j* espanhol.

ŋ, que o Dr. Steinen considera nasal especial, é nosso *m* ou *n* final, precedido de breve *i*, como *tambem* na pronuncia fluminense.

Vogaes têm as nossas, puras ou nasaladas.

Ha mais o *ä*, isto é, a transição entre o A aberto e O como no inglez call, all; *ä*, transição entre *à* e *ó*; *ö*, correspondente ao equivalente alemão, ou *eu* fran-

ora: *ö*, equivalente ao alemão *e* e *u* francez, mais aproximado, porém, do *i* que qualquer delles.

As syllabas constam ou de simples vogal, ou de consoante com vogal.

As palavras só terminam por vogaes, ou por *l* ou *n*. As vogaes finaes são *às* vezes difficeis de apanhar-se por sua improveza, sendo preciso recorrer a certos suffixos como *yr*, *lö*, *ma*, *ha* para defini-las.

Não ha palavras começadas por *b*, excepto *bakairi*, nem *d*, nem *x*, nem *y*, nem *l*, nem *r*: duas palavras dadas por Steinen com *r* inicial escrevem-se mais correctamente: *aragahara*, Oromaro.

p, *m*, *t*, *k*, *ka* iniciaes, quando pela adjuncção de prefixos e suffixos de palavras independentes, passam para o meio, transformam-se respectivamente em *w*, *d*, *y*. No meio das palavras é frequente a mudança de *p* em *b*, de *t* em *d*, de *m* em *w*, com a vogal precedente nasalisada; de *y* em *d*, de *l* em *r*, de *r* em *n*, de *c* em *k*.

O accento colloca-se na penultima, excepto quando a ultima syllaba termina em *l* ou *n*, por que então para ella passa o accento. Póde este tambem deslocar-se, quando duas palavras se encontram, por elisão: ex. bakairi, accento na penultima, no *i*; bakair'idamo accento em *kár* como se estivesse escripto: *bakáriddámo*.

Diphtongos não os ha propriamente, mas as vogaes podem comprimir-se uma contra a outra, de modo a produzir a impressão de diphtongos.

Agora que o leitor já sabe pouco mais ou menos como se lê Kuera itano, exercite-se no seguinte texto.

que vai acompanhado de tradução interlinear; servirá de base a um ligeiro esboço grammatical e.c inedito, como alias todos os que addaiseram.

1 Bakairi, waráiu, kaiaiwa aiyebidio
Bakairi Tapuio brazileiro quando brigaram

aiwadili
se fizeram.

2 Kaiwimio irwirápadili
Nosso capitão se zangou

3 Ayi aiwaiwa tokedio tubi
Bastante vio quando disse gente

ewáiu iniyadili.
sua doença a fez.

4 Iniyatio ilunára amayido áyá kaiyeli
Quando a fez todos bichos com morreram

5 Bapiride ewadili wáyá yamadili
Depois amanhecer sobre escureceu.

6 Xixi eyacdio sanu inenaadi.
Sol sua sahida escuro a-fechou.

7 Inenaadio iyawinu iniyadili.
Quando a fechou frio o fez.

8 Xixi eyacdio yamadili.
Sol quando sahiu escureceu.

9 Yamatio xirimika eyacili.
Quando escureceu estrella sahiu.

10 Ayó yamu iyawinu [illegible].
Bastante escuro frio o fez.

11 Aritáo ukúdo ahepaukuli.
Depois onça apparecu.

12 Pito ayó ayuetiko-mmó [illegible].
Fogo bastante velhos o-fizeram.

13 Tano ahiteikili pówu ahiteikili.
Faca brincou-se flecha e brincou.

14 Tãwi-ye iyodiri [illegible]
Sua fome como quem não mutru [illegible]

uiyu-pa tuhimihe.
morre não fica.

15 Ilapirihe iwerá-pa-itáo xul cyacelli.
Depois hoje não sendo si sahiu.

16 Xizi kourotuá ayuetiko-mmó amiduelili.
Sol meio dia velhos comeram.

17 Ilapirihe ayi xikidáo pito ówo
Depois muito dormido fogo terra

oiákua cyacelli.
dentro sahiu.

18 Xizi pito-ára ilili.
Sol fogo como fizer.

19 Ce adapikú-ye yéli.
Arvore calor com terra.

[illegible] [illegible]

20 Piru çovili.
Agua secou.

21 Piru çovilio kaiusu iyili.
Agua quando secou peixe morreu.

22 Kaiusu iyolio ceneu kauru
Peixe quando secou urubú peixe

çuçi.
o-comeu.

23 Piru çovilio zuayido iyili piru
Agua quando secou bicho morreu agua

tinimilli.
querium beber.

24 Aqui uaibi idauára iyili.
Mandioca milho todo morreram.

25 Ariibide kaiiyili.
Depois morreram.

26 Kaiiyolio ceneú-la kauni.
Quando morreram urubú no comeu.

27 Ararí kaapiráru le-lu zuidye.
Algum ato enterra tem não [illegible].

28 Idauára zuayido iyili.
Todos bichos morreram.

29 Ariibide ayi-pa kaitio
Depois muitos não quando ficaram

koiwiniri parutiku iwpehedli.
mano capitão mar, - o lenço (sapeu).

30 Aritiu parutiku ayo-idili, pito emaxkili.
Depois mar crescem fogo o apagou

31 Kozaiwa ikumi-do nikretudili.
Brasileiro seus avós o-embarcam.

32 Mãru mimo iwãyá parutiku iwehe
Aqueles lua sobre mar se inchará

yamiru keli.
espírito disse.

33 Tomdli- su kedno mipewadili-la
Sua gente para quando dizer mentes

iomudo keli.
sua gente disse.

34 Tomudo kedno pi imamdili.
Sua gente quando-dizer machado o apanhou.

35 Pepi ima xiyace.
Canoa grande a fez.

36 Atu takuiheq pepi.
Casa alta canoa.

37 Ilie tipiniri imadili pepi odal.
Então sua comida a leva canoa dentro.

38 Ilie kaopie timeri tiwidi
Então de noite seu filho sua mulher

ayá awéa ouedíli.
com só se embarcou.

39 Ouedíli-ãe paratuba çakéwili.
Quando se embarcou mar se subiu.

40 Çakéwili kuçue.
Subiu de noite.

41 Aritúo idamora amayáde ayá kawçyli.
Depois todos bicho com morreram.

42 Tówobáo çayuno kuiçyalili.
Quando cacheu areia a fez.

43 Iwerá-pa mára tapáku wáyá çavelli.
Hoje não aquele calor sobre baixou.

44 Çavedáo çayúno tavdir
Quando abaixou areia pelra para

aturyalili
se-virou.

45 Itapiríde ére acenakali.
Depois a terra se troca.

46 Kaii-na ére idili.
Ceu para terra foi.

45 Idiábo kaiu ayá-na- xirimóra idili.
Quando foi ceu com estrella foi.

48 Pimiri ara tawóycq aturyalili.
Formiga como volatil se virou.

49 Tanápu atuyulili kamapio ara.
Voltaram se virem pensando como.

50 Manára anayúlo ara kúlutuyulili.
Tudo bichos como nos viramos.

51 Ilapúrife ayikaitáo tubi ewanu-pe
Depois quando crescemos nosso trabalho com

kúlipuwanululili.
aprendemos.

52 Ido-pe-ha ilapúrife pubi ara
Muito havia não depois capim como

ido yabele.
muita nasceu.

53 Mára ulapiku wiyá apa
Agorle cabe sobre mandioca

ewili ipiri-búri eyabeli
sua fruta seu caroço antigo nasceu

pubi amá.
capim (campo) meio em.

Antes de dar a traducção deste texto, seja permittido, tomando-o por thema, acompanha-lo de ligeiras noções grammaticaes.

Um facto gulpeia-nos desde logo: as orações succedem-se, geralmente com um verbo apenas, sem interdependencia ou subordinação. Em outros termos: o Kaura-itano, como syntaxe sua exclusivamente de pa-

ratase. A maior complicação a que a frase mingy é a da apposição, da enumeração ou parallelismo, que não ultrapassa a alguda parataxica.

Na phrase o sujeito occupa o primeiro logar, o verbo o ultimo; o objecto, quando exigido, insere-se entre os dois. Pode preceder o sujeito, quando logicamente não existe confusão possivel. Assim, um Bacairi diria indifferente: Pobi tayube porrka, ou porrka tayube pobi, ou porrka pobi tayube, porque elle sabe que o porco come capim e capim não come porco.

Difficilmente escapará ao leitor a frequencia com que os substantivos e verbos terminam em *l* ou *r* seguidos de uma vogal. E' que o Kanta-itano possue uma particula que Steinen escreve *li*, peculiar para indicar a emphase. Na lingua dos Chaymas é tambem empregada: "Y la voz significativa *también* la suelen usar, añadiendo a sus finales la sylaba *re*: v. g.: De *tebi*, yo, digo *tebire*, yo tambien". (Tamto, *Arte y Vocabulario* de la lengua de los Indios Chaymas, Madrid, 1680, facsimilada por Platzmann em Leipzig, 1888, pag. 46). O mesmo se nota com ligeiras variantes em todos os idiomas caribibas. *Lô* pode mudar-se em *ne*, como no n. 47 e &c.

Merece igualmente attenção a terminação *di-li*, *ni-li*, *ki-li* dos verbos, formas diversas de auxiliar, umas vezes equivalente ao *do* inglez, outras a *to have*, *to be*, *to become*, outras unicamente emphatica. Os primeiros grammaticos chamaram ao seu equivalente em outras linguas verbo substantivo, denominação que bem merece; note-se, porém, que nada tem de commum

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com o verbo *ser*; phrases como: o Capitão é rico, o Bacairi as exprime pela simples justaposição dos termos: Pinu tiuhikuerg.

Na forma de exprimir o pensamento é palpavel que a subordinação logica não galga os rudimentos. Deixa-se o indio levar por uma série de idéias e as impelle até certo ponto; volta depois e o mesmo faz ás outras; phrases muito distanciadas representam o mesmo momento chronologico; o que nos parece mais natural collocarmos no fim, desde o começo vão elles frisando; em summa, é parataxe formal, correspondo ao condominio das impressões e á ondulação das idéias.

Do que fica dito pode-se logo concluir que nem ha conjuncções nem conjunctivos no Kuara-ãua.

Passando agora ás partes do discurso, observaremos, desde logo, que o substantivo, além da idéa de coisa ou pessoa, consigna a do tempo. Tuuir, n. 44, é um futuro ou pelo menos um supino: rigorosamente significa — para pedra. O supino dos nomes forma-se juntando-se á palavra o suffixo *rúr*, do qual, porém, se conserva apenas *r*, ficando nasalada a vogal que a precede. O presente é a palavra nua, ou com o simples accrescimo de *r*. O passado forma-se pelo accrescimo de *pũri*, ou *bũri*, que representa a mesma funcção do *cuer* ou *puer*, na lingua dos Tupis e Guaranis.

Um exemplo patenteará isto melhor: *iwũdi*, mulher casada significa o presente, *iwũdir* o futuro; *iwũdipũri*, significa a mulher que já foi casada, mas não é mais, ou porque o marido morreu, e então é synonymo de viuva, ou porque foi ella quem morreu, e

então pode traduzir-se a finada esposa, ou simplesmente porque o marido a abandonou.

Do mesmo modo que no *aba-ikó* a partícula *cure*, pode *piri* ou *biri* em bacairi indicar o plural. E disto desprende-se espontaneo e naturalmente uma explicação, tanto que não pode deixar de ser falsa, e não ha confiar nella: o indio concebe o nome como representando um: *imeri*, 1 filho: *imeribiire*, filhos — ex.: 1 filho. Subtilezas destas não são estranhas aos aborigenes americanos. "Ayyapa vaca dirá el Indio y no vacaretá, porque si las contó, no pudo ser una". (Restivo, *Arte de la lengua guarani*, pag. 12, ed. Seybold, Stuttgard, 1892).

Que haja plural nos substantivos tem sido contestado; ainda ultimamente assegurava o Sr. Lucien Adam "que le Bakairi est le seul des dialectes (caribes) suffisamment connus dans le quel la distinction du nombre ne soit exprimée par aucun suffixe [1]"; entretanto existe, e não são menos de trez as terminações indicativas do plural. A primeira é em *modo*: *ayartião*, velho, *ayartião-modo*, velhos. A segunda é em *mo*: *pèkodo*, mulher, *pèkodómo*, mulheres; a terceira é em *do*: *idamu*, seu avô; *idamudo*, seus avós. Advirta-se, porém, que os Bacaeris, tendo embora um lindo verbo para contar (imperativo, *cápo;ypa*), não levam suas contas além de 3, e assim o numero para elles quasi nada pesa. Advirta-se ainda que a palavra *idandra* significa ao mesmo tempo todos e inteiro; em

(1) *Matériaux pour servir à l'établissement d'une grammaire comparée des dialectes de la famille caribe*, Paris, 1892, livro de extraordinario valor para o estudo de ardens problemas.

outros termos, ainda não se differenciaram em seu espirito os conceitos de pluralidade e totalidade, donde tantas palavras acabadas em *do* principalmente, em que a noção de plural não subsiste: exemplo *yuiu*, seu sangue, *yuudo*, sua gente, — isto é, seus sangues.

Pouco ha que dizer quanto ao genero.

Existem palavras que se podem dizer masculinas como *oyurodo*, homem, ou femininas, como *arekenua*, gallinha. De genero grammatical, porém, o unico vestigio se encontra nos demonstrativos: *máko*, *miáka*, *mera*, *éra*, *inara*, empregam-se com a gente ou seres animados; *mára*, *ara*, *kira*, *xira*, *anóre*, *ila*, só com seres inanimados.

A relação adjectiva, ou complemento restrictivo, como outros a appellidam, é representada pelo accrescimo do indice possessivo ao objecto possuido: assim *oyurode eti*, = homem sua casa = a casa do homem: *arekenua iço*, = gallinha seu marido = marido da gallinha ou o gallo.

Os indices possessivos dividem-se em duas séries: uma é — *ie* para a primeira pessoa, *i*, para a segunda, *e* para a terceira pessoa; assim *áta*, casa em absoluto, sem declarar o dono; *ieti*, minha casa; *iti*, tua casa; *eti*, sua casa; *ieteári*, meu braço; *itári*, teu braço; *eteári*, seu braço. E esta deve ser a fórma mais antiga, que vae sendo repellida pela outra série: *i* para a primeira e terceira pessoa, *á*, *a*, *ó*, *o* para a segunda. Para a terceira pessoa existem mais: *ç*, como em *çeteári*, seu braço, *u*, como *uyui*, seu pai e *x*. Ha além disso o reciproco: *t*, veja-se ns. 37 e 38.

O accrescimo do possessivo modifica quasi sem-

pre a consoante por que começa a palavra: assim *pepi*, canôa sem dono declarado, tem o *p* transformado em *w*, si quizermos dizer cuja é: *pimo iwepiri*, capitão sua canôa = canôa do capitão; *mayaku*, cesta, *iramudo*, menino, fica: *iramúdo iwayakúru*, menino sua cesta; *tunáta*, banheiro, *piahi*, curador (não feiticeiro), *piahi idunatari*, curador seu banheiro = banheiro do curador. Acima, já estão indicadas as principaes transformações phonetícas: a ultima syllaba nos nomes das coisas possuidas é a partícula *l* ou *r* seguida de vogal, a que já se fez referencia.

Os pronomes pessoaes mais communs, são: para a primeira pessoa *ura* do singular e *kuru* do plural; para a segunda *ano*; para a terceira os determinativos citados a proposito do genero dos substantivos. *Kuru* e *hinu*, póde duvidar-se si significam nós, ou a gente, *on* francez, *man* alemão, antigo *homem* portuguez, hoje obsoleto. Em todo o caso, a idéa de primeira pessoa do plural inclusiva e exclusiva, familiar no *aba-ãoi*, é alheia ao *Kuru-itano*. *Amarenu*, vós, 2.ª do plural, é evidentemente de formação secundaria: *nu* é signal de plural, *re* é a partícula emphatica, *amo* o pronome da segunda pessoa do singular.

Outra série de pronomes menos usados: *aho*, *nohe*, *koidahe*.

O adjectivo, geralmente collocado depois do substantivo, é, como este, susceptivel de tempo e de numero. Repugnam-lhe os comparativos. Idéa approximada do superlativo exprime-se ou mediante a partícula emphatica, ou pelo accrescimo de certas palavras como *kiúru* deveras (comp. em francez *bon*, *tout de*

bou, *kxura* em bacaeri tem entre outras a accepção de bom): *ãwakukeba*, não é caçoada, etc.

Os determinativos são susceptiveis de numero e tempo. Os cardinaes não passam de tres: *tokale*, um; *ahaγe*, dois; *ahewuà* ou *ahewuncla*, tres. Steinen deu a Antonio, o indio que lhe serviu de lingua na região do Xingú, a seguinte phrase: primeiro anda (o menino) como bicho, de quatro pés, e só obteve: *çaγuxõe anaγito ara-ãhe ïwodo adakxobodili*: isto é: anda com os dois braços. A' intelligencia dos Bacaerís afigurou-se mais facil do que formar o numero 4 inventar toda uma historia, segundo a qual Ceminu (Morcego) teve um filho da filha de Pau de Morcego (*Pôdiki*), e quando descoberta a paternidade, se zangou com o menino, quebrando-lhe os joelhos com uma flecha: desde então os meninos andam primeiro com os dois braços, antes de andar com os dois pés [6].

Quanto ao adverbio basta dizer que segue ou precede o verbo, e póde receber possessivo e tempo.

As preposições, numerosas, vêm sempre pospostas ao substantivo; daremos apenas: *da*, que indica lugar onde; *cina* ou *cira*, lugar para onde, geralmente elidida em *ra* ou *na*, com a nasalização da vogal precedente: *ahe*, *ãro*, sobre; *aγe*, com, significando companhia, *γe*, com, instrumento. A preposição *de*, no sentido do *from* inglez ou *aus* alemão, é representada por uma fórma complicada.

(6) A questão dos joelhos parece ter custado muito trabalho ao cerebro dos Bacaerís. Mapiouhai, um dos seus avós, tinha os seus como os de gallinha; venceudo, porém, Kari o Cane numa corrida, estes quebraram-lhes, e desde então ficaram os joelhos da gente com o geito que hoje têm.

A exposição, siquer superficial, do verbo, levaria muito longe; muitos pontos estão ainda por estudar, e si conhecemos as fórmas usuaes, ainda não se acham devidamente analysadas.

Steinen divide os verbos em duas classes, dos quaes uns fazem o preterito em *raki*, outros em *taki*, e podemos acceitar esta classificação que, no todo, é satisfactoria e se presta perfeitamente ao fim que aqui se tem em vista.

Os verbos têm dois imperativos affirmativos na segunda pessoa do singular e um negativo; têm tambem ao que se póde chamar um imperativo da primeira pessoa do plural.

No indicativo possuem tres passados que se podem chamar remoto, médio e flagrante, pois este, que é em *raki* ou *taki*, póde tambem indicar o presente ou o futuro immediatos.

Têm talvez dois presentes: um, com *he* ou *ce* accrescentado ao thema, e seguido do pronome pessoal; outro, incorporando pronomes pessoaes, o thema do verbo e o auxiliar do verbo substantivo, a que já se alludiu. A proposito destes presentes possiveis ha, porém, a ponderar que muitas vezes representam passado e passado remoto, como no trecho que acima fica transcripto. Mais simples seria considera-los fórmas do infinito, principalmente porque admittem posposições e, portanto, funccionam como substantivos; ha, porém, a attender-se ao facto de I. quando se trata de uma acção praticada no proprio momento em que se fala, empregar sempre a fórma combinada com o auxiliar quando o verbo o admitte.

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O futuro é composto de um auxiliar *ice*, que significa gostar, junto ao presente e poucas vezes se o emprega.

Ha participio activo, passivo e supino.

As terminações de qualquer tempo pospõem-se ao thema e não variam com as pessoas, excepto quando recebem *mo*, para indicar plural; os pronomes que precedem o thema variam, porém, muito, apresentando-nos ao que os grammaticos do *abañeẽ* chamam as transições. Assim si dissermos: eu mato, é preciso declarar a quem no pronome ou pronomes que precedem o thema, e d'ahi duas formas possiveis: eu *te* mato, ou eu *o* mato; na segunda pessoa, tres fórmas possiveis: tu *me* matas, tu *o* matas, tu *nos* matas; na terceira pessoa, quatro fórmas possiveis: elle *me* mata, elle *te* mata, elle *o* mata, elle *nos* mata; na primeira pessoa do plural, duas fórmas possiveis: *nós te* matamos, *nós o* matamos. A segunda pessoa do plural e a terceira não differem das do singular. Temos, por conseguinte, onze fórmas possiveis de cada tempo, em principio; na realidade já alguns se acham obliterados e confundidos, si é que algum dia existiram e, agora, não passam de sete na melhor hypothese, como veremos adiante. E' claro que isto se dá unicamente nos verbos transitivos.

Os verbos transitivos que menos alterações padecem são os reflexivos, pois a acção só póde exercer-se sobre o agente que é a propria pessoa, e os verbos como: contar, dar, dizer, etc., que geralmente exigem um complemento de pessoa, a quem se conta, diz ou dá qualquer coisa. Como os Bacaeris indicam esta pes-

sua separada do verbo e com posposição clara, e a coisa que se conta, diz ou dá é sempre de terceira pessoa, segue-se que, em taes casos, não ha transições, e as fórmas são apenas tres para o singular e uma para o plural.

Para os verbos reflexivos e para os transitivos, que só admittem objectivo de terceira pessoa, os pronomes que precedem o thema são *kz*, na primeira pessoa, *m* na segunda, uma vogal, geralmente *i* ou *u* na terceira, *kxi*, ou *kyid* na primeira do plural.

Os verbos intransitivos têm muitas vezes *ie*, ou *i* na primeira pessoa, *e* ou *a* na segunda, *y* ou *i* ou *u* na terceira, como os substantivos acompanhados de possessivos.

Os verbos em *raki* e *taki* têm ambos sua conjugação negativa especial áquelles, em *püri*, os outros em *pa*.

Na terceira pessoa do singular ha uma fórma especial, que tem aproximadamente significação passiva: empregam-se o objecto e o verbo sem o sujeito.

Agora os paradigmas dos tempos principaes de dois verbos que, de proposito, foram escolhidos com themas quasi identicos: *iyatu*, correr, *eyatu*, contar, narrar. Aquelle, pertence á conjugação de *taki*; este, á conjugação de *raki*: e dahi procedem as differenças que logo saltam aos olhos nos suffixos temporaes *postos* aos respectivos themas. O primeiro é intransitivo; o segundo é uni-transitivo, isto é, não tem as onze transições pronominaes, e dahi procedem as differenças não menos profundas nos affixos pessoaes que *precedem* os respectivos themas.

		Thema: *i-ɣatu*, correr.	*E-ɣatu*, narrar.
Imperativo	2 s.	*i-ɣatu-ɣa*, *i-ɣatu-da*	e-ɣatú-ɣa, e-ɣatúra.
	1 pl.	kxa-ɣatúne	kxie-ɣatũ-re.
Neg.	2 s.	t-ũɣatú-hé-ba	kxne-ɣátu.
Pass. remoto	1	yõ-ɣatũ-ma	e-eɣatũwa.
	2	i-ɣatũ-ma	m-eɣatũwa.
	3	e-ɣatũ-ma	n-eɣatũ-wa.
	1 pl.	kxõ-ɣatũ-ma	kxi-eɣatũ-wa.
P. médio	1	ie-ɣatu-da	e-eɣátu.
	2	i-ɣatu-da	m-eɣátu.
	3	ne-ɣatu-da	n-eɣátu.
	1 pl.	kxõ-ɣatu-da	kxi-eɣátu.
P. flagrante A	1	ie-ɣatu-dai	e-eɣatu-raki.
	2	i-ɣatu-dai	m-eɣatu-raki.
	3	n-eɣatu-dai	n-eɣatu-raki.
	1 pl.	kxõ-ɣatu-dai	kxi-eɣatu-raki.
Pass. flag. B	1	ie-ɣatu-taki	
	2	i-ɣatu-taki	
	3	n-eɣatu-taki	
	1 pl.	kxõ-ɣatu-taki	
Pres. A		ie-ɣatu-di-li	kxa-n-eɣatú-li.
		i-ɣatu-di-li	ma-n-eɣatu-li.
		e-ɣatu-di-li	i-n-eɣatú-li.
		kxõ-ɣatu-di-li	kxi-n-eɣatu-li.
Pres. B		ɣatú-he (para todas as pessoas)	eɣatú-he (para todas as pessoas).
Pres. negativo	1	ie-ɣatu-bũra	kxa-n-eɣatu-ba.
	2	i-ɣatu-bũra	ma-n-eɣatu-ba.
	3	n-eɣatu-bũra	n-eɣatu-ba.
	1 pl.	kxõ-ɣatu-bũra	kxi-n-eɣatu-ba.
Part. act.		ɣatu-heni	eɣatu-heni.
Part. pass.		ɣatu-dibi	eɣatu-ribi.
Supino		ɣatu-dõe	eɣatu-hõe.

Por estes dois paradigmas regulam-se os verbos de *raki* e *taki* em quanto se refere aos affixos pospostos ao thema e indicadores do tempo; pelo paradigma de *cyatu* narrar, correm os verbos que se podem chamar *unitransitivos*, ou porque são reflexivos, e a acção communica-se apenas ao sujeito que a exercita, — identidade de sujeito e objecto, — ou porque além do complemento de coisa pedem o de pessoa e, ao passo que exprimem aquelle por incorporação ao thema, este, unico que poderia mudar, os Bacaeris exprimem separado do thema do verbo.

O caso dos verbos *multi-transitivos* é diverso, e exige o estudo dos que os grammaticos jesuitas, — embora o methodo defeituoso que os induzia a applicarem nos idiomas do Novo Mundo a craveira do latim, — espiritos de rara sagacidade e intuição linguistica, chamaram *transições* a proposito do abá-ñeẽ.

Tomando o thema *çatõ* (*Bak. Sprache*, 143) temos que *çatõ-he* é um dos presentes do indicativo e significa eu corto, tu cortas, elle corta, nós cortamos, vós cortaes, elles cortam. Tanto basta para demonstrar quanta razão assiste a Steinen, quando considera um mytho grammatical dizer-se que nas linguas caribas *ç* representa pronome da primeira pessoa. (*B. Sp.*, 281/291).

Si, porém, quizermos dizer: tu *me* cortas, teremos *i-atõhe*, que tambem significa elle *me corta*. Si quizermos dizer eu *te* corto, teremos *a-tõ-he*, que tambem significa elle *te* corta ou nós *te* cortamos. Si dissermos *ke-atõhe*, tanto póde significar: tu *nos* cortas, como elle *nos* corta: donde se é levado a concluir que

ç de *çatö-he* corresponde ao objectivo da terceira pessoa, e que *çatohe* significa eu, tu, elle, nós, vós ou elles *o* cortamos. Isto de facto se verifica, o que certamente não milita a favor de Steinen, quando, no seu tentamen admiravel de reconstituir o cariba primitivo (Karaïbische Grundsprache), falado pelas diversas tribus antes de sua separação, leva o ç, com suas multiplas variações phoneticas, a conta do thema dos verbos.

Passando ao outro presente, encontraremos para *eγatu* as seguintes fórmas: *kxa-n-atö-li*, *ma-n-atöl-i*, *i-n-atö-li*, *Kxi-n-atö-li*. Por *eγatu* já ficamos sabendo que *Kx*, *m*, *i*, *Kxi* significam respectivamente eu, tu, elle, nós; significando porém, *Kxanatöli*, não simplesmente eu corto, mas eu *o* corto, será precipitado concluirmos que *n* representa em taes fórmas o objectivo da terceira pessoa? Tanto não é que, si quizermos dizer tu ou elle *me* corta, teremos *iatöli*, em que não se encontra *n*; eu, elle, ou nós *te* cortamos, *atöli*; tu ou elle *nos* cortam *Kxâtöli*, em que não se encontra tambem *n*.

Resumindo agora estes factos chegamos aos seguintes resultados:

1.° — Nos verbos multi-transitivos, o presente em *he* ou *ce* é passivel apenas de quatro modificações, pois tantos são os objectivos pessoaes possiveis de se incorporar ao thema dos verbos, precedendo-os;

2.° — No presente em *di-li*, *ki-li*, *tui-li* ou simplesmente *lö*, quando o objectivo é de terceira pessoa, ha quatro modificações possiveis, porque a indole da lingua exige em tal caso que além do pronome *paciente*,

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que não varia, se incorporem ao thema, procedendo-o, os pronomes agentes que são em numero de quatro;

3.° — Na primeira e segunda pessoas do singular, na primeira do plural, como se trata da pessoa que fala ou a quem se fala, pessoas presentes, só se attende ao pronome objectivo, e como estes reduzem-se a tres, dois para o singular e um para o plural, não passam de tres as transições.

Por isso, as transições, de que acima falámos como podendo elevar-se a onze, não vão a mais de sete, em um caso, de quatro, em outro; onze ao todo, mas em turmas differentes.

Assim, por um longo desvio, tornamos outra vez ao pronome.

Com grande razão affirmaram os Jesuitas que no *abi-ñeẽ* os pronomes se subordinam a duas classes. "Os pronomes pessoaes, diz o saudoso Baptista Caetano, "dividem-se em duas ordens bem caracterizadas, por serem: a primeira, dos pronomes agentes ou denominativo, e a segunda, dos pronomes pacientes ou de accusativo e dos casos regidos. Ambos elles são prepostos aos verbos, conforme a regra mais geral... E, quando concorrem ambos, o immediato ao verbo é o paciente" (7).

O mesmo se nota no Kxura-itano. E os pronomes pacientes ou objectivos são identicos aos possessivos, o que é mais uma prova de quão pouco differenciados se acham ainda o verbo e o substantivo, o verbo transitivo e o intransitivo neste idioma.

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(7) *Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional*, VI. 8, Rio, 1879.

Eis agora uma lista dos pronomes pessoaes, divididos pelas duas ordens de

	Pronomes Agentes	*Pronomes Pacientes*
1	*u, ura, ahc, kx (a)*	*ie, i, u*
2	*m (a), ama, mahc*	*a, ai, e*
3	*a, e, i, a*	*ć, i, n, ç*
4	*kxi (d), kxidahc, kxura, hina, xina*	*kx.*

O reciproco é *t, d, ç, h, x*.

Segue-se a traducção livre do trecho dado acima [8], e que é preciso já conhecer bastante kxura-itano para entender na traducção interlinear. Seu assumpto é a destruição do mundo pelo fogo e pelo diluvio.

Eis o que succedeu aos bacaeris, aos brasileiros, aos tapuias depois que brigaram. — Nosso capitão se zangou: — basta, disse, e fez a doença da gente, e todos com os outros bichos morremos. — Depois ao amanhecer escureceu: — as trevas fecharam a sahida do sol, — quando o fecharam fizeram o frio; — depois do sol sahir continuaram as trevas; — com as trevas sahiram as estrellas; — muito frio fizeram as trevas.

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(8) De *cwiri*, braço, que é o mesmo que *çawili*, asa, vem o verbo *aperi* (Bakairi Sprache p. 82 e 108), que significa nadar. *ikiréru*, significa o rio está nadando — *correiriru*: kuadupi paru ohe yuwaru, (B. Sp. p. 82), a cuia está nadando no rio. Parece que além da *paru*, muito commum, e *luna*, conservada apenas em tunala, os bacaeris possuiam tambem para agua *i*, ou *ik*, que encontramos na proposição ikale, dentro, só applicada á agua. Segundo Irineu, quando querem perguntar si um animal vive em rio ou em terra, é commum a phrase: udik, ôro par-ikano menoro. Si um animal é terrestre, responde-se: par-ikano heba menoro. (Cf. B. S. p. 31).

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Depois appareceram as onças; os antigos fizeram muito fogo: as facas lutaram contra as facas, as flechas lutaram contra as flechas; — quem não morreu de fome, os fortes, não morre mais, fica. — Depois, passados tempos, surgiu o sol; os antigos comeram ao meio dia. — Depois, muitas noites dormidas, o fogo sahiu de dentro da terra; — o fogo era como o sol; as arvores morreram com o calor; seccaram os rios; — quando seccaram, morreram os peixes, — e o urubú comeu os peixes. — Quando os rios seccaram morreram os bichos á sede; — A mandioca, o milho, morreram totalmente. — Depois morremos nós, — e o urubú nos comeu porque não havia quem nos enterrasse. — Todos os bichos morreram. — Depois de nós reduzidos a poucos, nosso capitão benzeu o mar; — depois o mar cresceu e apagou o fogo.

Os avós dos brasileiros sonharam; — na outra lua vae inchar o mar, disseram-lhes os espiritos. Quando contou-o á sua gente: estás mentindo, disse-lhe sua gente. — Então tomou o machado, — fez uma canôa grande, — alta como uma casa; para dentro da canôa levou sua comida; de noite, só com a mulher e filhos, se embarcou. — Quando embarcou o mar subiu, subiu de noite. Depois com todos os bichos morremos.

Quando o mar subiu fez a areia. — Passado um anno abaixou — e a areia fez-se pedra. — Depois ceu e terra trocaram-se; a terra foi para o ceu, o ceu veio para a terra com as estrellas.

Nasceram em fórma de formiga os volateis; — depois os volateis viraram passarinhos; — todos nós viramos bichos. — Depois, quando crescemos, aprendemos a trabalhar; — não havia mata; — depois a mata nasceu como capim. — No outro anno rebentou a fruta da mandioca no meio do campo.

Antes de terminar, algumas indicações sobre a formação das palavras.

O adjectivo derivado forma-se muitas vezes accrescentando *t* ao substantivo, e a terminação *ueŋ* ou *γeŋ* para indicar presença e *ueni*, ou *ueri* ou *γèni* para indicar ausencia; exemplo *ischike*, fato, trem, *tischikeneŋ*, rico, *tischikeneri*, pobre; *odo* ou *çodo*, senhor, *todoneŋ*, alheio (ao pé da lettra, tem dono); *çatuõri*, asa, *tatuõγeŋ*, volatil [9].

γe serve tambem para formar adjectivo, mas seu principal papel é nos verbos, aos quaes dá sempre a idéa de destruição ou desmancho: assim de *itubi*, casca, faz-se *kxanituγeli*, descasquei; *accuakeγa*, escapar-se (sahir das mãos), *ixuru*, pé, *ixuγeli*, cahir.

Os verbos reflexivos formam-se juntando-se ao thema o pronome paciente representado por *h*, exemplo *Kxahinaraki*, fiquei (me deixei), ao passo que *xinoraki* é activo e significa o-deixei; *âhipanâkeli*, (se) appareceu, *inepanâkeli*, fez apparecer, ou representado por *x* ou *ç*, exemplo: *axodili*, se encontra, *iniodili*, o encontra; ou por *d* ou *t*, *adâile*, se acaba, *indili*, o acaba.

A idéa de jteração obtem-se introduzindo *nono* entre o thema verbal e o indice temporal: *eyatuhe*, conto, *eyatunono-he*, torno a contar.

Estas ligeiras linhas indicam o muito que se póde fazer neste terreno ainda por explorar.

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(9) Não consta da publicação o trecho citado.

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E agora, que está vencido este passo da lingua e o leitor já tem uma idéa ligeira dos sons e das formas do Kaura-itano, interroguemos os bacaeris, sobre a sua concepção do mundo, a familia e a sociedade, as suas acquisições culturaes, as suas migrações, etc.

Quatro, quando muito cinco artigos, serão o sufficiente para isto.

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[p.250]

II

A Concepção do Mundo

Acreditam os Bacaeris que o homem consta de dois elementos: *kuayatopüri*, nossa sombra, andadura ou corrida, e *kuati*, nossa camisa, ou *kautubi*, nossa pelle. Póde-se traduzi-los: corpo e alma, mas a traducção é inadequada.

A sombra veste e despe a sua camisa com facilidade e muitas vezes, sahindo e entrando, ora normal, ora anormalmente, ora provisoria, ora definitivamente.

A sahida é normal quando se grita, pois a sombra com a mesma rapidez com que vae ao lugar onde o echo reboa torna á sua pelle; ou quando se dorme e sonha. O somno tornando-se agitado denuncia a subida de morros, a passagem de rios ou maus encontros. Não se acorda quem está dormindo, porque a sombra póde ainda não ter revestido sua camisa [10].

Quando dormimos sonhamos, diz o piahi; — quando dormimos nossa sombra conversa com os espi-

(10) Matias Ruiz Blanco na sua *Conversión de Piritú*, publicada em 1690, dá uma variante da mesma idéa entre os indios daquella região, que, como os Baraeris, eram tambem Caribas: "El estilo de saludar-se, es decirse uno a otro: Eres tu? has venido? llegaste? estás bueno?" y a los huéspedes en llegando nadie les habla, ni hablan hasta que ha pasado un rato, porque dicen están aguardando a que llegue su alma, disparate de marca mayor. (*Conv. en Piritú*, 62, reimp. Madrid, 1892). A saudação entre os Baraeris é: *amo*, tu, a que se responde: *ura*, eu; ou *mawili*, vieste, a que se responde: *ió lauwili*, sim vim.

ritos (*yamúra*); — nossa sombra passeia longe, — quando nossa sombra vem acordamos; — quando nossa sombra tem medo, á noite, na hora de dormir, falamos; — no tempo que nossa sombra dorme sonhamos; — trepamos arvores, trepamos morros; — nós passeiamos com os yamúras, — bebemos mingau, comemos, etc.

A sahida é anormal, porém temporaria, quando uma pessoa cae desfallecida de susto, porque com muitos gritos e abanando-a com folhas de *ipemakóro*, consegue-se que a sombra volte; ou quando se offende aos piahis e yamúra porque, sendo devidamente provocados, perdoam o crime, e permittem que a sombra torne, como veremos, adiante.

E' anormal e definitiva por morte.

Os Bacaeris em phrase de grande energia affirmam que não adoecem de molestia propria (*to-cuanúi-ye Bakaéri tõnanc-pa*): a doença é sempre inoculada por feiticeiros (*omc-odo*, senhor do veneno), e os venenos, todos de origem vegetal, são em primeira linha jatobá, depois coquihiba, peúva de flôres brancas ou amarellas, vinhatico, pindahiba, etc. Sabedor disso, o primeiro cuidado do curador (*piahi*), chamado para tratar de doente, consiste em extrahir a lasca de pau que produz o incommodo, o que consegue chupando o paciente.

A's vezes, apesar da medicação, este succumbe. Pinta-se então o morto de urucú (*anoto*); põem-se nas orelhas e narinas as pennas que as ornaram em vida; reunem-se os objectos de propriedade (*icchiko*) como arco, flechas, etc., que juntamente com o dono

são depositadas no buraco que lhe servirá de sepultura, bem coberto de terra, socada a pés. A' tarde, a sombra levanta-se sob a figura de Curiangu (*Pokerán*, Caprimulgus), e vem beber mingáu, que vão levar á cova, no lugar correspondente á cabeça. Passados tempos não volta mais.

Falam tambem os Bacaeris em *kuadopu*, que equivale aos nossos duendes ou almas penadas, e, segundo parece, são as sombras dos que succumbem de morte violenta. O seguinte trecho descreve o que de mais claro se diz a respeito destes entes:

Kuadopu anda passeiando á tarde, diz o piahi; é só osso; tem buraco nos olhos; passeia na mata; minhoca é sua comida; passeia na vargem; lagarta, bicho de pau, cascudo, é sua comida; vem á casa beber mingáu (*poyu*): leva tu para fóra a comida de kuadopu, leva beijú e pirão (*pabu*): de noite, para dormir, queima borracha, esfrega na porta, na tranca (*anuu*, nariz); kuadopu não entra, a borracha fede, e elle não gosta do cheiro. Leva sua comida para a sepultura; quando não entoas o canto (*crému*) de kuadopu, elle não vae para o céu. Por isso, muitos dias dormidos, põe mingáu em duas cuias pequenas; põe o mingáu no meio da sepultura; duas pessoas armadas de porretes entoam o canto; terminado o canto quebram-se as duas cuias e foge-se. Chegando de longe, benze dizendo: *Kuikuikú* (ora sus?). Quando se pára, benze-se, dizendo: Aúfá! vae para dentro do céu, para a nossa gente, para nossa mãe, para nosso pae, aqui não tem ninguem, dentro do céu é bom, vae, nós tambem vamos morrer, se diz, — ensina o piahi.

Outro trecho representa kuadoçu em fórma de tatú (*Mugaru*, Dasypus) no meio da tapéra, e aconselha que não se passe pelo lugar onde houve briga.

Algum tempo vagam corpos e espiritos pelo mundo, e nas palavras do piahi voltam descripções de cabeças de defuntos que passeiam de noite, figados que se sentam á entrada das portas ou tripas em que se pode pisar no escuro. Afinal a sombra se liberta, e por uma escada de algodão fiado, que passa por baixo da estrella *Tomorçu*, sobe ao céu. Á entrada do céu está o Urubú com o seu fojo; aquelle que não tem orelhas e narinas furadas, e não leva as pennas, o Urubú o benze, isto é, sopra-lhe, e cae dentro do fojo; nem um perigo soffre o que está assignalado e vae avistar-se com Nakoeri.

Nakoeri é palavra cuja etymologia não se pode explicar pelo kaura-itano; felizmente a lingua dos Acawoyos, indios da Guiana Ingleza, Caribas como os Bacaeris, offerece-nos a tal respeito uma indicação preciosa. Na traducção da primeira parte do Genesis, e do evangelho de S. Matheus, recentemente publicado em Londres [11] pela "Society for promoting Christian Knowledge", lê-se a celebre phrase: o espirito de Deus andava sobre as aguas (Genesis, I, 2): *Makonôinu* "Yakwarri" *etoupu tona poropoiro*, em que "Yakwarri" significa espirito. Nakoeri e Yakwarri são palavras identicas, semantica e até phoneticamente, pois o *u* da primeira como o *y* da segunda são indices

(11) Devo a aquisição desta livro á bondade do amigo Dr. Eduardo Prado, a quem rendo os meus agradecimentos.

possessivos da 3.ª pessoa; o *r* duplo na transcripção ingleza deve representar o mesmo som que o *r* singelo em nossa escripta [12] e a transformação de *a* em *o*, de *o* em *u* é facto trivial nas linguas mais diversas. Podemos, pois, traduzir Nakoeri do mesmo modo que Yakwarri por espirito.

O Akawoio ainda permitte dar um passo adiante. Fiat lux diz-se em Akawoio: *Abreu uvijima*. Não será *abreu*, luz, o radical de *Nakoeri* e *Yakwarri*, e não significariam estes nomes primitivamente o luminoso? Aos grammaticos fica reservada a resposta; que das tradições bacaeris conclue-se a affirmativa, quiçá a continuação deste estudo consiga demonstra-lo.

O proprio Bacaeri explicará melhor o que sabe de Nakoeri.

Quando não havia gente aqui na terra, antigamente, nasceu Nakoeri, quando não havia sol, não havia lua, etc.; só existia Urubú, só existia Onça antigamente; então Nakoeri fez primeiro só o Tamanduá, a Onça, e o Porco, fez os bichos porque era o Senhor da reza (*ureuri*); — depois fez o barro para avô dos Bacaeris; — como gente Nakoeri fez o barro (*erinu*); quando acabou de fazer, po-lo ao pé de uma arvore. — Naquelle tempo antigamente Nakoeri não tinha casa. Quando acabou de po-lo ao pé de uma arvore, Nakoeri benzeu-o, — quando o benzeu nasceu o avô dos Bacaeris, — pequeno como os bichos nasceu o avô

(12) Sobre o R inglês qualquer affirmação é temeraria. "The consonant R, observe Miss Laura Soames, is the most perplexing element in our language. Dr. Ellis wrote in 1875, that after more than thirty years study, he was not certain whether he had yet mastered its protean intricacies (*An introduction to Phonetics*, 56, London, 1881).

dos Bacaeris; quando cresceram, comeram pau secco e pau podre os antigos; sem flecha e sem porrete nasceram os avós dos Bacaeris; — quando augmentaram, os avós dos Bacaeris appareceram cada um para sua gente; homem só, mulher só, etc., andavam os Bacaeris; — quando cresceram, quando fez os bichos, Nakoeri fez uma escada de algodão, — de algodão fiado fe-la Nakoeri; — debaixo da estrella de braza *tonoreŋ* é a porta de Nakoeri; — quando fez sua escada, Nakoeri foi para o céu; — por isso as almas dos Bacaeris vão para seu capitão Nakoeri; — quando chegou ao céu, Nakoeri fez sua casa; — depois que fez sua casa, Nakoeri fez uma lagoa; fria é a lagoa de Nakoeri; no céu Nakoeri não morre; — ao amanhecer Nakoeri vae se banhar dentro de sua agua; quando vae Nakoeri se pella; — ao amanhecer Nakoeri vira-se em menino; — de tarde Nakoeri vira-se em velho; — naquelle dia só não (isto é, todos os dias) Nakoeri se pella; — não secca a lagoa de Nakoeri, muitissimas (*avi kuru*) almas de Bacaeris ha na aldeia de Nakoeri; — tem maribondos, tem urubús, tem gavião grande, tem gavião branco.

Wara bakaéri una ineyatuli, concluiu I.; "assim conta o Bacaeri esta historia". Deixemo-la, porém, de parte, que adiante voltará mais a proposito.

No céu a sombra, que antes já se transformara em Kuadopa ou Caprimulgo, attinge sua evolução final, transubstanciando-se em *Yamũra*. Para obter a explicação desta palavra, não temos de sair do bacaeri: *Yamũra* vem naturalmente de *Yamu*, escuro, e significa o principio tenebroso, lobrego.

E' natural inquerir se o *icehiko*, isto é, as alfaias, o trem, como traduz I., que se deposita com o defunto,

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passa por transformação analoga á do dono. Os textos não respondem categoricamente, mas dão a entender que assim é, porque os *yamũra* possuem canôas, cestas, porretes, mas em nada se assemelham aos que se usam na terra: são animaes. Julgue-o o leitor pelo trecho seguinte:

Anta é cesta de *Yamũra:* Anta passeia nas costas de *Yamũra*, — *Yamũra* vae comer mandioca, comer abobora, comer cuia, comer feijão; não é a Anta que come; — dentro da cesta *Yamũra* apanha abobora, apanha feijão, apanha cuia, etc.; quando apanha Yamũra leva.

Tambem o Queixada — o Queixada vem á roça comer mandioca, — tambem o Queixada vem nas costas de *Yamũra*, — arranca mandioca, arranca cará, arranca batata, — quando arranca, *Yamũra* a leva, á Queixada, — por isso Queixada não se encontra — Queixada não apparece porque Yamũra a escondeu.

Tambem a Anta, etc.; ao meio dia a Anta dorme, passeia de noite, etc.

Caitetú é tambem cesta de *Yamũra*. Caitetú só anda aos tres: cava raiz de arvore, cava raiz de mandioca, cava raiz de cará, cava raiz de batata.

No seu pouso *Yamũra* faz mingáu, rala mandioca, cozinha cará, cozinha batata, assa beijú.

Tracajá é a cuia de *Yamũra;* — dentro da Tracajá mistura e tempera sua bebida, bebe sua bebida; — Tracajá é o maracá de *Yamũra*, etc. Jahú é a canôa de *Yamũra*, — dentro de Jahú rala a mandioca, extrae o polvilho, aproveita a manipueira, etc.; por isso quando se pesca Jahú paga-se, — paga-se com mingáu, paga-se com pirão. *Yamũra* vem beber mingáu em casa, — por isso põe-se mingáu no caminho, põe-se pirão, etc.

Tambem o Jacaré: ralo de *Yamũra* é Jacaré, — rala mandioca, rala cará, rala batata, etc.

Tambem a Sucuri é a rede com que *Yamũra* pesca — *Yamũra* pega veado, pega paca, pega cotia, etc.; por isso quando se mata Sucuri, faz trovoada, faz chuva, etc.

O peixe pintado é o porrete de *Yamũra;* — Arraia é o assador de *Yamũra*: em cima da Arraia, *Yamũra* assa seu beijú, assa a sua mandioca puba, assa seu polvilho, torra mudubim.

Um naturalista neste trecho poderia reparar que a Cotia (*Dasyprocta aguti*) "leva a maior parte do dia escondida em algum tronco oco ou em buraco debaixo das raizes e ao anoitecer sae á procura de comida": que a Paca (*Coelogenys paca*) "leva existencia principalmente nocturna, dorme de dia num buraco que ella propria escava, de preferencia sob a raiz de uma arvore e sae ao escurecer": que o Veado galheiro, pelo menos, "á tardinha, depois de posto o sol, durante a noite e depois de madrugada sae á procura de alimentação": que Queixada e Caitetú (*Dycotyles*) saem "ora de dia ora de noite a procura de comida, fossando o chão a cata de raizes": que a Anta "em regiões habitadas leva vida principalmente nocturna; em trechos tranquillos, onde não ha gente, de manhã e á tarde está sempre em movimento, excepto ás horas quentes do meio-dia que passa dormindo": em outros termos, todas estas phrases entre aspas extrahidas do livro do Dr. Goeldi sobre os Mammiferos da nossa terra (pags. 92, 99, 103 e 106) confirmam o que fica dito sobre o caracter lobrego dos Yamũras.

Outras considerações parecem-nos, porém, de maior alcance.

Primeiramente na enumeração de trem dos *Yamüras* temos uma base para a seriação das acquisições culturaes dos Bacaeris. Ficamos sabendo que possuiam a rede de pescar antes da rede de dormir, que já navegavam quando ainda não tinham pilão, que provavelmente possuiam o maracá antes das mascaras com que apparecem em suas festas.

Depois vemos que si theoricamente a morada do *Yamüra* é no céu, grande parte de sua existencia se passa na terra donde lhe vem o sustento. Não é, porém, o sustento sua preoccupação unica; livre das contingencias do espaço e do tempo, anda rapido como o vento, é ente ciuso, que espia todos os actos e pesa com esmagadora pressão sobre os vivos. Quasi não ha acto sobre que não influa: gestação, nascimento, alimentação, festas, horas de passear, tudo cae sob sua alçaria inexoravel, como veremos mais tarde. Parece que os Bacaeris poderiam pintar o corpo a seu talante. Puro engano.

Yamüra não gosta de urucú, — por isso não percas a semente de urucú, diz o piahi; — *Yamüra* entra em casa das pessoas que têm filhos, — por isso queima-se leite de seringueira — quando se queima esfrega-se na porta; — pae de menino quando vae para o rio pinta-se com genipapo, — pinta-se com urucú, — por isso *Yamüra* pensa que é sangue; quando o pae do menino não se pinta e vae para o rio, *Yamüra* atira-se dentro d'agua; — gosta da resina de guanandi; — com caroço de algodão queimado *Yamüra* foge para

longe; — de tabatinga e barro *Yamüra* gosta muito; — de resina de copahiba não gosta; — quando se queima de jatobá *Yamüra* não gosta, diz o piahi.

Finalmente, havendo certos animaes que são para elle um meio de ganhar a vida, sua ferramenta, si é permittida a expressão em povos que não attingiram a edade metalica, é natural que *Yamüra* os defenda com o mesmo cuidado e a energia com que Bacaeri defenderia sua canôa ou seu arco. Animaes existem cuja violação é castigada immediatamente: por exemplo, o Sucuri em um dos trechos acima adduzidos, ou o Topichi, passarinho de que adiante tratar-se-ha mais a proposito. Estes são os verdadeiramente *tabú* ou *tapú*, expressão usada na Australia, e que, por muito conhecida, não exige explicação. A respeito de outros a transigencia é possivel, e fez-se de modo mui razoavel, dando já preparada ao *Yamüra* a comida que teria de preparar no campo. E', porém, indispensavel que o animal morto seja aproveitado, aliás antas, pacas, porcos atacam roças, estragando-as; e para propiciar os *Yamüra* é preciso dar uma festa, naturalmente mascarada, a que elles vêm assistir incognitos. Depois de ter comido bem, dão-se por satisfeitos e cessa a praga.

O seguinte trecho frisa melhor a idéa de pagamento e, comquanto contenha algumas repetições, não é redundante.

Morta a Guariba (*Mycetes*) paga-a, diz o piahi; morto o macaco Coatá (*Ateles*), morta a Preguiça (*Bradypus*), paga-os com mingáu: — quando não se paga, *Yamüra* agarra nossa sombra; Iniga (*Cebus ?*)

é o animal domestico creação (*eyi*) de *Yamũra*; — quando derribares matta em que mora *Yamũra*, paga-a; — procura um lugar para fazer festa; — makanari é a paga da matta [13]; — depois quando *Yamũra* beben mingáu vae para longe [14].

Makanari é o nome de uma de suas festas, e seria o lugar proprio para tratar dellas, si infelizmente as ligeiras informações que a tal respeito existem não fossem deficientes, encobrindo de todo o lado ritual e cultual que constitue a sua essencia. Voltaremos a ellas em outra occasião, chamando por agora apenas a attenção para este ponto: as danças e festas mascaradas são verdadeiras ceremonias religiosas.

Vejamos agora os Piahis, cujo papel importante já nos tem apparecido vagamente.

Uma palavra basta para defini-los: o piahi é um Yamũra.

Piahi é palavra que, com ligeiras variantes, apparece em diversas linguas sul-americanas e, como Carahiba, póde ser explicada de muitos modos. Em bacaeri liga-se talvez a *epituado*, pagamento, idéa cujo alcance já tivemos occasião de mencionar. Propria-

(13) Posteriormente ao ditado deste trecho, teve I. duvida si a dança é makanari ou outra qualquer.

(14) Uma variante da mesma idéia aponta Matias Ruiz Blanco entre os Indios de Perité (Colombia): "cuando el indio trae alguna venado ó jaboli del monte, sale la mujer con una tetama de la bebida que hacen del maiz y le abre la bora al animal y le da de beber por agasajo para que el alma de aquel refiera a los otros el buen trato que le han hecho" (*Conversión de Pirité*, 84, reimp. de Madrid).

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mente significa o curador, o medico. Não se confunda, pois, com feiticeiro: *ome-odo*, o senhor de veneno, póde tirar a saude e a vida a uma pessoa; *amapõçodo*, o senhor da mão do defunto, póde fazer estourar o senhor do veneno; mas ambos são mortaes, ao passo que o curador é immortal e domina as forças da natureza.

Alguns exemplos apanhados ao acaso mostrarão como o Piahi apparece á intelligencia dos Bacaeris.

O filho de um curador passeava com o pae, quando de subito foi acommettido por uma onça. Defendeu-se como poude, e chegando á casa contou: surrei uma onça. — Estás mentindo, disse o curador, surraste a mim. Isto prova que o curador póde entrar no corpo dos animaes, ou, para usar a expressão indigena, fazer de um animal sua camisa.

Parutamido matou um tatú á beira de uma lagoa, abriu-o, lavou-o, e não quiz entrega-lo ao Yamũra que dentro d'agua o reclamou, como animal de sua creação (*iyi*). Para castiga-lo, o Yamũra afogou-o. Passado tempo sem delle haver noticias, um curador seu cunhado, sonhou com o que lhe tinha succedido. Penetrou na lagoa, onde o Yamũra explicou o motivo por que afogara Parutamido, tratou-o muito bem, presenteou-o com mingáu, com beijús e lhe ensinou a dança do *Kxaritówo*. Isto mostra quão differentes são as attenções que os yamũras têm para os piahis e para a gente atôa (*wanololo, de waono*, primeiro; cf. al. *der erste der beste*).

No salto do Paranatinga, lugar terrivel em que Keri e Came atiraram a *Mama*, pedra vermelha e en-

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cantada, com que mataram Mero e Arimoto, está por baixo da Mama o sonho (*V'èdu*) que elles arrancavam dos olhos do lagarto. Lá assiste o pae das bexigas (*turi*): quem se approxima adoece; quando chega o tempo do salto dos matrinxans, quem perto fala ou ri é atirado á agua. O curador não corre perigo approximando-se: si fica zangado, póde benzer o sonno e este levanta-se e passeia.

Como attinge o curador a esta plenitude de poderes, que em seus discursos tantas vezes atira aos que desdenhosamente chama gente atôa? Por uma aprendizagem muito longa e penosa, que poucas pessoas têm a coragem de seguir até o fim e á risca.

Primeiramente, o candidato a curador (*piahi-heini*) precisa de encontrar um curador consummado, que lhe indique o que deve fazer, e o proteja contra os inimigos que nunca deixa de encontrar. O curador futuro precisa, além disso, de por sua parte não deixar uma só brecha por onde possa introduzir-se o inimigo, o Karówi, os yamúras tão ciosos e tão malvados, cuja occupação principal dir-se-ia andarem á cata dos minimos descuidos para castiga-los inexoravelmente.

E' este o objecto do regime rigoroso a que tem de submetter-se si quer elevar-se ás alturas em que paira o verdadeiro curador.

Começa o noviço bebendo diversas drogas como timbó, pindoba, vaimbé e outros cipós para aprender a lingua dos animaes, e de Karowi, especie de Curupira: não póde comer pirão, nem mingáu, nem gordura, nem carne, nem lambari, nem volatil, nem ta-

manduá, nem mel: sua alimentação é exclusivamente beijú e caldo de polvilho.

Não pode morar na aldeia, mas numa casa retirada, a casa de dança, (*Kxadócti*), onde se fazem as festas, se acolhem os hospedes e as mulheres não têm entrada: é preciso que com estas não fale, e para maior segurança não só o curador mestre amedronta o noviço dizendo que as vozes que ouve não são de mulheres mas de Karówi, como arma sua rede encostada á porta para que não possa sahir seu discipulo em qualquer momento de descuido.

Passados tempos, saem a passeio mestre e discipulo, e este, que facilmente aprendera a lingua de Karówi, começa a falar a lingua de onça. E' o signal de que a iniciação está quasi terminada; o curador dá-lhe o cipó de cobra (*aγukur-iokeu*), o candidato a piahi morre, torna-se yamüra e vae para o céu apresentar-se a Nakoeri.

Nakoeri, que já conhecemos, possue muitos animaes domesticos: araras, pombas, rolas, jacús, jacucaca, mutum, maracanã, periquito, papagaio, tucano, araçari, anuns, gallinha, tamanduá, etc. Que ha de commum nesta bicharia é o que só um naturalista acostumado á ideação dos Indios, poderia dizer com alguma segurança. Alguns parecem escolhidos pelo brilho da plumagem, outros por seus habitos matinaes, outros finalmente pela circumstancia de como que sumirem-se por algum tempo, reapparecendo mais gordos, qual se tivessem passado em pastos mais pingues.

Depois da morte começam as distincções entre o curador e o yamüra commum: este, como se viu, sobe

por uma escada de algodão; o discipulo e o mestre sobem juntos, não se declarando, porém de que modo.

Quando o piahi-he-ini vae vêr o céu, os moradores do céu avistam-no de longe que vem; quem vem ahi? dizem os yamũras para Nakoeri; então Nakoeri apparece na porta; o piahi e o seu discipulo aproximam-se: ah! és tu, vieste? diz Nakoeri; — sim, sou eu, vim para ti, responde o discipulo; — sim, não gostaste de tua bebida, de teu beijú, de tua comida, é bom, por isso vieste, gente atôa não vem para minha aldeia, diz Nakoeri.

Depois Nakoeri bota para fóra bancos e lá fóra conversa com o discipulo do curador; primeiro, põe um banco vermelho; põe depois dois bancos brancos; o discipulo não se senta no banco vermelho; põe para fóra tres bancos vermelhos (ao todo cinco, dos quaes os vermelhos mais proximos do candidato, para tenta-lo): o candidato passa pelos tres bancos vermelhos sem se sentar (si se sentasse commetteria um crime e não subiria a piahi) e senta-se no banco branco: és homem ás direitas (*uyurodo-lo*), tu sim, és valente, diz-lhe Nakoeri.

Depois Nakoeri vae buscar massa de mandioca: a cauda de arara vermelha amarra-a com algodão na ponta do cabo de maracá, e entoa seu canto e toca o maracá; então move-se o banco do candidato, e em cima do banco vae elle para dentro da casa; ao entrar, Nakoeri interrompe seu canto: vaes para dentro do céu, diz Nakoeri. — Sim, capitão, vou, diz o candidato. — Leva-o para dentro do céu, diz Nakoeri para seu companheiro, e novamente entoa seu canto.

O banco vae para o céu, rodando; o companheiro do Nakoeri vae segurando o banco e instruindo o candidato, que não vê ninguem: aqui, vae dizendo o companheiro de Nakoeri, é a praça da noite velha; ali a

praça das cabeças velhas, acolá a praça das costellas velhas, vae lhe dizendo [15]. O candidato nada vê, apenas ouve a lingua do companheiro de Nakoeri; no céu reina só o escuro, por isso não vê ninguem.

Depois de muito andar, o céu vae esfriando: estamos proximos da aldeia, diz o companheiro de Nakoeri. Depois chegam á aldeia dos maribondos, só lingua de maribondos ouve o candidato; vieste meu irmão? vieste, meu pai? vieste, meu tio? vieste meu filho? ouve o candidato, mas nada vê, porque o escuro do céu não se póde enxergar.

O banco põe-se novamente em movimento, e depois, como que acordando, chegam á casa de Nakoeri e entram por ella: andaste muito, diz Nakoeri. — Sim, andei, capitão, responde o candidato.

Passado pouco tempo, o candidato diz a Nakoeri: Capitão, vou-me embora. — Sim, responde Nakoeri; podes ir agora; qualquer dia virás outra vez.

Interrompamos agora este trecho, para sobre elle fazer algumas observações.

O Dr. Carlos von den Steinen ouviu de Antonio alguma coisa que provavelmente se referia a Nakoeri; pensou, porém, que na historia, — naturalmente pouco desenvolvida, porque Antonio falava em portuguez, de que não sabia muito, e um Indio só conta com gosto e clareza no idioma natal—se tinha insinuado a influencia do christianismo. E assim, quando Antonio não se lembrando de prompto do nome do personagem que habitava o céu, procurava rehave-lo da memoria perra, perguntou-lhe o viajante alemão si não seria Jesus

(15) A palavra *velho* neste trecho corresponde ao suffixo *pari* ou *bari*, que, já vimos, indica o passado dos substantivos.

Christo. — *Crito mesmo*, repetiu Antonio, acceitando talvez a insinuação [16].

Nakoeri será effectivamente uma adumbração de Christo, sedimento de catechese catholica? Repugna-nos acredita-lo, porque nos animaes que Nakoeri cria, no papel que desempenha quanto á adopção das sombras em seu reino, na investidura que dá aos curadores, na distribuição dos diversos dominios do céu, no modo original por que lá se viaja, em tudo se nota uma construcção de accordo com a concepção do mundo vigente entre os Bacaeris. Ou a idéa christan é inteiramente alheia á concepção bacaeri, ou foi totalmente suffocada pelo ervanço indigena em que a semearam.

Admittido que Nakoeri é concepção espontanea e não alienigena, convém investigar si de facto elle é divindade luminosa, como acima ficou dito.

A escuridão do céu inclinaria a colloca-lo de preferencia entre os poderes lobregos; mas a sua distincção clara dos yamüras — que, estes sim são forças lobregas como o proprio nome está indicando —, reprime este primeiro impulso. E novos argumentos nos fornecem os bancos brancos em que o candidato deve sentar-se si quizer subir a piahi; o emprego do algodão, materia pouco agradavel ao yamüra, tanto que a semente queimada os enxota para longe das casas que perseguem; e finalmente a cauda de arara que elle amarra ao maracá. De facto em bacaeri *kwavida tapabileč ixu torokwo* significa duas coisas muito diversas: a cauda do lindo Psittacide que conhecemos, e a hora

(16) *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral Brasiliens*, 346.

que precede immediatamente o nascer do sol. "Primeiro apparece *maekudani* (provavelmente engana anta, porque o animal acorda, pensando que o dia está proximo); depois a cauda amarella da arara *kualokua*; depois nasce a cauda da arara vermelha; ainda não acaba a cauda da arara vermelha e já nasce o sol (*kuazida tapabilet, ixutaroxo nadãcpala xixi cyaceli*)" diz um texto que temos á vista. Assim, quer como objecto zoologico, quer como momento astronomico, a cauda de arara é prova de que Nakoeri representa um poder luminoso.

O que resta da historia do candidato a piahi resume-se em poucas linhas.

Depois de ter falado com Nakoeri, o candidato vae embora; na porta do céu, a sombra reveste a camisa antiga e quando nesta, se deita e dorme; ninguem póde ir onde elle está, excepto o curador que o iniciou. A' tarde acorda: — queres mingáu, estás com fome? pergunta o curador; e quando o candidato responde que sim, vae fazer-lhe mingáu de massa azeda. Tres dias dormidos come beijú fresco, depois polvilho e *puhereyo*. O curador não o deixa ainda sahir da casa da dança; na outra lua come pirão; passadas duas luas póde sahir um pouco, e então come caça, matrinxã, pacú branco. Tres mezes mais tarde, é piahi, passeia, entra em onça, entra em anta, entra em queixada, etc.

Consagrado piahi, já vimos algumas das coisas que é capaz de fazer. Daremos, porém, ainda uma historia, para que se veja a distincção entre piahi e yamũra.

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Ambos elles morreram, e exactamente da morte vem a força que os torna tão temidos de seus conterraneos; mas depois de morto, o piahi torna á vida por concessão de Nakoeri e então nunca mais morre, ao passo que o yamüra póde apparecer na terra, entrar no corpo de animaes, vestir mesmo a camisa de homem como nas festas mascaradas, mas na realidade nunca mais vive cá em baixo.

Ambos têm poder quasi illimitado sobre a natureza, mas na realidade o piahi é o mais poderoso, porque o yamüra o respeita, trata-o por cunhado, e elle tem meios de abrandar o yamüra e até de espanta-lo, como queimando caroço de algodão ou pintando de urucú as pessoas contra quem yamüra está irritado.

Ambos representam potencias lobregas, mas o piahi representa alguma coisa de luminoso que apanhou de sua convivencia com Nakoeri.

Ficou dito que, em certos casos, tanto piahi como yamüra podem retirar a sombra de pessoa que os offendeu; mas só o piahi póde restituir o que elle tirou; e, ao contrario, póde restituir a sombra roubada pelo yamüra.

Leva-nos isto a tratar de Topiehe, ave mato-grossense que não foi possivel identificar, e em cujo nome está provavelmente o mesmo radical que se encontra em *piahi* e *epiwado*.

Topiehe, quando se mata, rouba a sombra da gente; por isso não se mata Topiehe: leva a sombra da gente para longe; depois a gente morre. Dentro do céu é a casa de Topiehe; o Topiehe não fica morto

realmente, diz o piahi. Quem matou (apparentemente) o Topiehe fica com frio; quando chega em casa adoece; depois se chama o piahi, e quando elle chega, lava-se bem limpo o banco; depois se amarra com algodão a cauda da arara, no maracá. Emquanto isto faz o curador, a gente não fala, apaga-se o fogo; bota-se o banco na porta, e o curador segura-o, toca o maracá e depois grita. Quando não está perto, *yamüra* não vem depressa; quando chega, o banco se move e si o curador o não segura foge, por isso o curador não larga o banco, no qual se senta *yamüra*, com quem o piahi conversa: Não vês, parente, estou chamando, estou falando, estou cantando, estou gritando, diz o curador. Fiz isto, porque commetteu este crime (*inutudohe*), responde Topiehe — E' gente, não sabe o que faz, por isso te matou, responde o curador. Quando o piahi falou: toma-o, diz Topiehe. Quando se agarrou ao algodão nossa sombra fica em cima e então o assassino fica bom. Depois da entrega: vou-me embora, ouvi teu grito e por isso vim, diz Topiehe. Quando Yamüra sae, a gente conversa, o curador vae para o doente; adoeceu porque matou Topiehe; Topiehe não se mata, diz o curador.

Por sua parte póde tambem o curador roubar a sombra de qualquer pessoa.

Aproveita o somno daquelle contra quem está zangado (*piahi iewiroceni-büri*) e agarrando a sombra que passeia, leva-a a diversos lugares, perguntando-lhe implacavel se sabe por onde anda. Logo o piahi iewiroceni-büri sente frio e febre, e adoece. O avô e a mãe imploram a protecção do curador: Vem ver meu filho, diz a mãe: vem ver de que aquelle meu filho está doente. Si não dizem isto, o piahi faz morrer a pessoa.

Si dizem, o piahi responde: Teu filho é um medroso, por isso é que está doente; mas está mentindo, é só para que não se saiba que foi elle. De tarde sae gritando pelo caminho; á noite volta para casa gritando, manda apagar o fogo, e a ceremonia é quasi a mesma que com o Topiche, e o pagamento do curador é uma rêde de algodão.

No fim desta historia, que resumimos, insiste-se mais uma vez sobre o poder do curador.

Piahi passeia com yamüra, passeia com onça (*udo-đa*, o mesmo radical do *udo, udoréri*, inimigo), vae para o céu, vae para a agua, entra em cobra, entra em sucuri, entra em passarinho, entra em qualquer volatil; por isso nos faz medo; dentro de cobra nos morde, dentro de onça; sabe quem morre; passeia feito vento, passeia dentro da aldeia, passeia perto, derruba casas com gancho, tudo isto faz quando está zangado.

Assim, o Bacaeri vê no mundo tres grandes forças: Nakoeri, inerte, bondoso e afastado, que não precisa de culto, porque não faz mal; yamüras, almas dos paes, que foram para o céu, e podendo fazer o bem, podem igualmente fazer o mal e devem ser propiciados continuamente; os piahi, yamüras de ordem superior, porque ressuscitam depois de mortos e vêm novamente viver entre os homens.

Ao lado destes tres principios, encontramos figuras e noções pouco claras, provavelmente restos de idéas mais antigas.

O Dr. C. v. d. Steinen fala de *Kilaino oroiko*, que traduz por diabo. I. não conhece tal entidade, mas sim-

3: Abreu SP7 Bacairi

plesmente Kilàino, entes maleficos, que moram no mato ou no morro, assumem fórmas differentes, alimentam-se de ratos e passarinhos, não passam agua, escondem a caça morta e as setas atiradas, as coisas que caem das mãos da gente; respondem aos gritos de uma pessoa, e gritam para transviar quem anda no mato.

Do mesmo genero são: Kxarowi, que anda á noite, trazendo por machado um sapo, animado sempre do desejo de fazer mal ao Bacaeri, mas geralmente ludibriado por este, em summa similhante aos Curupiras do Amazonas, quaes nos apparecem nos contos colhidos por Barbosa Rodrigues; e Yvanaguroro, o senhor da caça, facil de conhecer-se, porque tem um peito maior que o outro, contra o qual mata as pessoas que o offendem, figura similhante ao Caipora dos Tupis.

Trata-se tambem de uma lagoa, onde assistem o avô do peixe cachorro, o avô da piranha, o avô da cobra, o avô da lontra, o avô do peixe agulha, o avô do tambor, etc. No meio da agua apparecem phantasmas. Lá não vae anta nem capivara, nem queixada, nem volatil a atravessa. Antigos Bacaeris levaram para lá uma canôa, mas um redomoinho virou-a, o Kxurixio (especie de lontra encantada) comeu-os, só apparecendo dos mortos as barrigas.

Existem lá tambem a onça-assú, o cavallo-assú, o queixada-assú, o cágado-assú, o carangueijo-assú d'agua doce, etc. A borda d'agua tudo está balançando. O *Kxurixio* e os *Kxuxobe* agitam suas cabeças que soam como trovões, e quem ouve tal som adoece e morre, e quem vê os avós dos animaes tambem morre.

Á borda da lagoa existe um brejo, e a lagoa é de semen de animaes.

A idéa de Senhor apparece repetidas vezes, sem que seja possivel compreender bem o que significa. Quando Bacaeri affirma que o homem branco é o senhor do espelho, naturalmente quer com isto dizer que foi em mãos dos Carahibas que primeiro viu este objecto. Que diz, porém, realmente quando affirma que o senhor da chuva é o periquito ?

Tambem parece natural que, desde que certas coisas têm senhores, se pague a estes ou se lhes preste qualquer prova de respeito ou homenagem. Entretanto, só um caso deste genero se menciona: quem faz rêde, ántes de usa-la, arma-a fóra de casa em homenagem ao Coandú, senhor da rêde, para não ficar de cabellos brancos. Conta-se tambem a historia de um grande cataclismo produzido pela morte da lagartixa, senhora do vento.

Nestas condições, pouco interesse apresenta a seguinte lista de senhores, que só poderá ser aproveitada si apparecerem novos elementos comparaveis:

O lagarto é senhor do somno; a raposa senhor do fogo; o periquito da chuva; a lagartixa do vento; o curiango do anzol; o urubú é senhor do banco; caramujo, do sol; o sucuri, da rede de pescar; o socó, do boquité (especie de cesta); a uga (especie de lagarto) do ralo; o ouriço, é senhor do espinho; o martim pescador, senhor do peixe; o coandú, senhor do fumo e tambem da rede de buriti; o veado, é senhor da mandioca, etc.

Por aqui póde ver-se que Bacairi não faz distincção muito profunda entre homens e animaes. Para *designar* estes usam de duas palavras: *icyi* primeira pessoa, que se applica ao animal que uma pessoa criou, e *anayido*, termo generico, simples plural de *anayi* que significa quem e alguem. E nada ha a estranhar desde que do mesmo modo os homens e os animaes têm sombra e falam.

Tambem as arvores têm sombra e falam.

Os capitães das arvores falaram primeiramente, conta o piahi; a peúva de flores amarellas, a peúva de flores vermelhas, o jatobá, a copahiba, o pau de morcego, falaram, conta o piahi; — aufa! vamos todos, amadureçamos nossas folhas, disse o jatobá, conta o piahi; sim façamo-lo, capitão, disseram suas gentes, conta o piahi; quando disseram, as folhas das arvores amadureceram de todo, conta o piahi; quando as folhas acabaram de amadurecer, falaram de novo, conta o piahi; aufa! derribemos nossas folhas, minha gente, disse a peúva de flores amarellas, disse o jatobá, conta o piahi; quando os capitães falaram, todos responderam, conta o piahi; quando falaram outra vez, todas as folhas das arvores cahiram, conta o piahi; quando acabaram de cahir, seus capitães falaram, conta o piahi; aufa ! vamo-nos, floresçamos, minha gente, disseram peúva amarella e copahiba, conta o piahi; a copahiba e a peúva quando falaram suas gentes responderam: todos nós sim o faremos, capitão, disse sua gente, conta o piahi; quando disseram todas as arvores floresceram, conta o piahi; quando todos floresceram a peúva de flores vermelhas, a peúva de flores amarellas falaram, conta o piahi; agora todos derribemos nossas flores, minha gente, disseram seus capitães, conta o piahi; sim fazemos, capitão, disseram suas gentes, conta o

3: Abreu SP7 Bacairi

piahi; quando disseram, todas as flores das arvores cahiram, conta o piahi; vamos, frutifiquemos, minha gente, disse a peúva de flores amarellas, disse a peúva de flores vermelhas, conta o piahi; quando falaram, brotaram ramos, brotaram frutos, conta o piahi; a seringueira, a peúva de flores vermelhas, a peúva de flores amarellas, o paratudo, a tarumarana da mata criaram caroço, conta o piahi; quando seu caroço se quebrou, a peúva de flores vermelhas, a peúva de flores amarellas falaram, conta o piahi; vamos, agora quebremos nossos caroços, minha gente, disseram seus capitães, conta o piahi; sim, assim fazemos, capitão, disseram suas gentes, conta o piahi; quando disseram, no tempo da bebida beberam, conta o piahi; quando falaram, todos os caroços das arvores se quebraram, conta o piahi; quando os caroços se quebraram, falaram outra vez, conta o piahi; vamos todos, agora cresçamos! disseram seus capitães, conta o piahi.

Não foi só aquella vez que as arvores falaram, diz o piahi: (*Mára-ume nelõ-ba cé areyeli, tohehe piahi*).

4:Schmidt E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

The Bacairi

[Los Bakairi]

Max Schmidt

São Paulo, 1947
Revista do Museu Paulista
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Human Relations Area Files

1966

[Title Page]

/11/

I. Historical Data on the Bakairí /Bacairi/

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The same title which I have given to the present part of this publication was given by Karl von den Steinen to Chapter 14 of his book, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens /Among the Natives of Central Brazil/ (1) in which he deals at

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1. Karl von den Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens. Berlin, 1894, pp. 387-395.

length with the history of the Bakairí up to the year of his second expedition, carried out in the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River in the year 1887, based on comparative literature and on information received from the Bakairí themselves.

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There follows from the research of Karl von den Steinen that in the time prior to his first expedition to the Xingu River, very little was known on the Bakairí, although the western part of these Indians, that is to say, the Bakairí who lived on the Rio Paranatinga and the Rio Novo, had lived for a long time in fairly active contact with the Brazilians and came occasionally to the capital, Cuiabá, to sell the rubber they had produced and to ask for some donatives from the government. Martius, too, knows almost nothing about them, and treats them as if they were a Paressi group. (2) It is noteworthy that Martius

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2. Martius, Zur Ethnographie Amerikas zumal Brasiliens /Toward an Ethnography of the Americas, especially of Brazil/, Vol. I, 1867, p. 779.

already mentions the existence of Bakairí in the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River: "Bacahiri, Bacchyri also live on the southern headwaters of the Xingu River"; (3) but with

3. Ibid., p. 382.

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114 101 133 respect to this piece of information we must keep in mind the fact that in those times the Rio Paranatinga was regarded as a tributary of the Xingu River.

From an objective standpoint I have nothing to add to Karl von den Steinen's full account. I merely propose to com- [121] plement it in time and to add what we know of the more recent history of the Bakairí since that period when Karl von den Steinen wrote his history of the Bakairí. I feel impelled to carry out this mission, especially in view of the fact that of my two expeditions, in which I had the most extensive contact with the Bakairí, the first took place 26 years before the second, so that I had a good opportunity to observe personally a great part of the change in the living conditions of the Bakairí in the times after Karl von den Steinen's publication. The Bakairí [115] Andrés, who was my faithful companion /12/ on the trip from the Simões Lopes Post to the Pedro Dantas Post, established to civilize the Kayabí /Cayabi/, and on the return to Cuiabá, was the son of a Bakairí, born on the Rio Kulisehu and called Chico, who had been one of my traveling companions to the Rio Kulisehu in the year 1901. I also encountered in the year 1927 many old acquaintances among whom I had lived 26 years before in their village, Maimaieti, on the Rio Kulisehu. They all still remembered well the time we had spent together in the past. During my later stay in Cuiabá, up to the year 1931, the Bakairí boys who went to school in Cuiabá visited my house often, so that it enabled me to keep informed up to that date about all that went on among the Bakairí.

114 648 175 Karl von den Steinen's two expeditions to the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River should be noted as an important event not only in the general history of discoveries but also, especially, in the history of the Bakairí. Through them was re-established the long broken connection between the Bakairí living on the Rio Paranatinga and their fellow countrymen on [197] the Batovy and Kulisehu rivers. This fact had such an incisive

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influence on the later development of these Indians, with their very marked feeling of nationality, that they changed their primordial customs completely during the 50 years following Karl von den Steinen's second expedition carried out in the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River. Thanks to a series of data on events among the Bakairí in this interval, we find ourselves in the fortunate position of being able to investigate that transformation. We are oriented in detail on the personality and life history of several Bakairí who have influenced in a special way the later development of their tribe, like Cacique Reginaldo and, especially, Cacique Antonio and his stepson José Coroado, so that we can give our historical report on the Bakairí a more personal character than would be possible with respect to other Indian tribes.

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If we differentiate, according to Karl von den Steinen, the Bakairí who live west of the Rio Paranatinga (in later times officially Rio Telles Pires) as western Bakairí and the eastern Bakairí, who have their homes in the regions east of this river, on the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, it can be said that in the period of Karl von den Steinen's first expedition to the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River, no contacts took place between these two Bakairí groups, and certainly none had [115] taken place for a long time. Old Cacique Reginaldo told Karl von den Steinen that he still remembered, from the days of his youth, that traveling from the Rio Paranatinga eastward, one would reach a big river on which it was said that Bakairí also lived, but that at the present date they did not know anything about this region. (4) Certainly no contacts had taken

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4. Karl v.d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien /Through Central Brazil/. Leipzig, 1886. p. 182.

place between the western Bakairí and those of the east from the time when the former established closer contact with the

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174 Brazilians, for otherwise the Bakairí of the Batovy and Kulisehu
177 rivers could not have remained so totally free of /13/ any Euro-
619 pean influence. In my book, Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien
114 (5), I discussed at length the causes of this long isolation of the
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5. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien. Erlebnisse und Ethnologische. Ergebnisse einer Reise in den Jahren 1900-1901 /Indian Studies in Central Brazil. Adventure and Ethnology. Results of a Journey in the Years 1900-1901/. Berlin, 1905, p. 320.

eastern Bakairí, and among these causes I especially emphasized the hostility which existed between the Bakairí and their neighbors the Kayabí /Cayabi/, who long made unsafe the region located between the settlements of the western and eastern Bakairí. Contact between these two Bakairí groups was re-established when Karl von den Steinen took along with him on his first expedition to the Xingu River, the Bakairí, Antonio, who later became cacique of the Bakairí, so that he had the opportunity to become acquainted with his fellow countrymen who lived on the Rio Batovy. Already in the year 1886, that is, before Karl von den Steinen's second expedition, the Bakairí, Felipe, who was then cacique of the Paranatinga Bakairí, had on his part visited, along with the above-mentioned Antonio and another Bakairí, his fellow countrymen on the Rio Batovy and had succeeded in getting some of them to make, in turn, a visit to the Rio Paranatinga.

128 In order to make a connection with Karl von den Steinen's
101 historical report, I shall first refer in a few words to the conditions in which this author found the Bakairí at the time of his second expedition in the year 1887. I shall first deal with the

128 /13 cont./ I shall first deal with the
101 western Bakairí, most of whom lived in two aldeas about two
361 leagues apart, located on the Corrego Sant'Anna, a tributary
of the Rio Novo, and the rest on the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles
361 Pires). (6) The Bakairí of the Rio Paranatinga lived at that time

6. Cf. the map drawn by Vogel and published in Karl v.d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit.

in a single aldea, located 17 kilometers downriver from the mouth of the Piava and right in the narrow river valley. (7)

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7. Cf. Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa, Exploração do Rio Parataninga e seu levantamento topographico bem como o dos Rios S. Manoel e Telles Pires /Exploration of the Rio Parataninga and Its Topographic Survey as well as that of the São Manuel and Telles Pires Rivers/, Commissão de Linhas Telegraphicas, etc., Publication No. 34, Appendix No. 2. Rio de Janeiro, 1916, pp. 35 and 61.

Besides these Bakairí of the Rio Novo and the Rio Paranatinga, it was said that there were some of these Indians living on the Rio Preto in the vicinity of Diamantino, the remainder of the inhabitants of a settlement of former times, (8) and a few

8. Karl v.d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., p. 387.

individuals working on one ranch or another in the western region of the headwaters of the Rio Paranatinga.

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161 Going on from the Rio Preto Bakairí, on whom we do not have more precise data than that they were few, the remaining Bakairí population and, especially, those of the Rio Paranatinga was also very scant in this period. As Karl von den Steinen, [114] on his second expedition to the Xingu River in the year 1887, [175] did not have the opportunity to visit the Bakairí of the Rio Novo, we have no precise data concerning their population in this year. We only know that their population three years earlier, in the year 1884, was 55, among whom were 16 men, 19 women, [131] and 20 children. In the same year the population of the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí was much smaller because these Indians had been hit, some six years before, by a measles epidemic. The entire population of the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí at the time consisted of only 10 men, eight women, and four children, of whom five men, three women, and a boy were /14/ absent, [563] and some of these were not expected to return.(9) This number

9. Karl v.d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 120. Idem., Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens, loc. cit., p. 25.

is increased, however, if we add the two Paressí women and the two Kayabí women who were married to Bakairí men. When Karl von den Steinen visited this Bakairí village again, in the year 1887, one Bakairí man had died in the interval, some had moved to the ranches, and no increase by birth had occurred. If we add up the above-mentioned figures and include the four Paressí and Kayabí women, the total number for all the Bakairí of the Rio Novo and the Rio Paranatinga reaches 81 individuals.

175 The above-mentioned aldeas of the western Bakairí were 622 at this time under the Indian Superintendent in Cuiabá, and the 648 administration of the state of Mato Grosso has exerted repeated influence on the various Bakairí units, increasing the authority of the caciques or strengthening it with insignia. Thus Cacique

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175 Reginaldo, who ruled the two Bakairí villages on the Rio Novo,
622 held the grade of "captain" and his intended successor, Joaquim,
648 was a "lieutenant." In the village on the Rio Paranatinga the administration had deprived old chief Caetano, whose age was calculated at 80 years, of the chiefship and had entrusted it to a younger man called Felipe who had the rank of "captain," in the year 1882.

105 The way of life of the western Bakairí, at the time of Karl
[177] von den Steinen's expeditions differed little from that of the Brazilian campesinos. Already from the year 1820 they had all been baptized. Men's and women's dress was similar in general to that of the campesinos as the style of their rectangular houses was similar to the Brazilian rancho. Besides some dogs many pigs and chickens were raised. Cattle was also raised, and they had some milch cows and a herd of oxen. They planted manioc, maize, porotos /var. of French bean, from Quechua purutu/, rice, sweet potatoes, bananas, sugar cane, and a little tobacco. This agriculture was carried out to a sufficient degree to permit them to sell a surplus to the cattle ranch at Corrego Fundo. An important element of nourishment was provided the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí by the abundance of fish in the river, and especially the excellent matrinchan that was caught in the season of its collective migration upriver. (10) These western Bakairí worked then

10. Karl von den Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 23.

on a temporary basis for neighboring ranches, but they also produced rubber for their own use and brought the product with their herds of oxen to Cuiabá.

105 In spite of this almost complete assimilation of the western
177 Bakairí to the ways of life of Brazilian campesinos, they still
178 kept some of their ancestral customs. Above all they kept their
[191] native language, and only a few understood and spoke some Portuguese.

/14 cont./

105 Portuguese. The lobes of their ears and the nasal septa were
177 still perforated, and Cacique Reginaldo sometimes wore, in
178 addition to his captain's uniform, the little sticks adorned with feathers in his ear lobes as well. In the aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí there still stood in the year 1884, besides the /15/ rectangular houses in the Brazilian rancho style, a round hut built like the houses of the eastern Bakairí who live in the regions of the headwaters of the Xingu River, in which lived an old Bakairí man with a young Kayabí woman. Bows and arrows were still used, occasionally, for hunting and fishing, and among the plaited objects had been kept the ancestral forms of the large twig baskets, sieves, and hammocks.

175 In the aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí the order of things
622 was gravely disturbed at the time of Karl von den Steinen's
648 expeditions (11) because the occupants of this village felt greater
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11. Karl v.d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 120.

loyalty to the old cacique, Caetano, than to Cacique Felipe, installed as cacique instead of the former by the Mato Grosso government. The Bakairí, Antonio, who accompanied Karl von
[115] den Steinen on his expeditions to the Xingu River and who later became the most important figure in the history of the Bakairí, was then a youth.

175 The western Bakairí were at that time the Indians to whom
648 had come the most remote shoots of European culture in these regions. What was farther on was still unexplored land, with free Indians, because of whom the mobility of the Bakairí was hampered to a high degree. It seems that the Bakairi to the south and southwest had peaceful relations with the Kayapó /Cayapo/ with whom, in earlier times, they had once been allied in order jointly to expel the Suyá from the Rio Verde region. (12) This friendship is interesting in so far as the Kayapó

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12. Karl v.d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, l. c., p. 393.

of this period were marked enemies of the Brazilian campesinos, and to whom we must attribute the attacks against the ranches of the upper Cuiabá River, attributed in Brazilian documents to the "Coroado." (13) The incursions of the Mundurukú

13. Ibid., p. 394.

/Mundurucu/, who had extended farther south in earlier times, were still clearly remembered by the western Bakairí, but in this period the former did not appear. The principal enemies were undoubtedly the Kayabí of the Rio Verde with whom they
173 had long lived in a state of intense hostility. The Bakairí
361 place their ancestral land at the famous falls of the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires), located upriver from the mouth of the Rio Verde. They said that old Cacique Caetano's had been born in the old aldea situated at the falls. It was said that at that time the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí had traveled to just below the mouth of the Rio Verde but had later returned from fear of the Kayabí. Cacique Caetano's father had already
172 been born in an aldea situated farther upriver. Antonio Pyrineus
361 de Sousa, in his expedition down the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires), found habitation ruins below the mouth of the Beija-flor near the Cerro de Piquirizal and on the right side of the river, where it was said that the Bakairí had had a large
173 aldea in former times. It is also said that they fought with the
648 Kayabí and the Tapanhuna /Tapanyuna/ when they lived in this
726 place. (14) Undoubtedly the Bakairí had /16/ lived closer to

14. A. Pyrineus de Sousa, loc. cit., p. 69.

173 /16 cont. /undoubtedly the Bakairí had /16/ lived closer To
648 the Kayabí than in later times, because they had moved their
726 aldea successively farther upriver. But hostilities with their
727 enemies then had still lasted. One night in a raid the Kayabí
361 had killed Felipe's father and carried away a child. On this
account some 20 Bakairí men had undertaken an expedition for revenge and had killed two Kayabí men and carried away two girls, who were living at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions in the aldea situated on the Paranatinga River, where they were married to two Bakairí men and were called Luiza and Maria. When I met Luiza, in the year 1927, among the Bakairí of Simões Lopes, she was an old woman. Given the fact that the population of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga River had dwindled to so few individuals, even at their later location, the Kayabí remained a danger for them.

648 The Bakairí were known by the Paressí as old neighbors,
727 and the Paressí, Charlotta, who was the wife of Cacique Felipe, had been carried away from Diamantino by the Bakairí. (15)

15. Karl v. d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 122. Idem., Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., p. 3 4.

174 From the extraordinary concordance of the legends of the Paressí
648 with those of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga River, noted by
177 Karl von den Steinen, it follows that in earlier times, there was extensive contact between the western Bakairí and the
174 Paressí. (16) Unfortunately we do not know the legends of the
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16. Karl v. d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., pp. 364 and 365.

eastern Bakairí, who live in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River, so that we do not know to what extent their legends

/16 cont./

174 correspond to those of their western fellow countrymen. From
184 the fact that the names of the two legendary heroes, Keri and
648 Kame, who represent in Bakairí legends the sun and the moon,
793 are not words of the Bakairí language (which belongs to the
177 Karaíb /Carib/ group) but words of the Aruak /Arawak/ linguistic group, it follows that the Paressí, who belong to this linguistic group, were, in this case, the authors of these legends rather than the Bakairí, and thus that the legends of the Paranatinga Bakairí were influenced by the Paressí; just as the Bakairí are mentioned in the legends of the Paressí, the latter are also mentioned in the legends of the Bakairí. According to Paressí legends, the Bakairí, or Matokoso as they are called by them, belong with other enemy tribes to the kin group of Chinikálore (Tchenikauré according to Karl v. d. Steinen), the big jaguar, who killed his brother Kamázo and the latter's wife, but then became the victim of Uakomo, the son of Kamázo, who avenged his father when he grew up. (17) We also find

17. Ibid., p. 431.

this tale of Chinikálore in the texts of Paressí legends. In these legends Chinikálore, from whose six arrows the Bakairí were born, appears as a distinctly hostile hero. Thus it may be assumed that the Bakairí, who belonged to his kin group, were also enemies of the Paressí. On this basis, relations between the Bakairí and the Paressí were already hostile in former times, and this hostility still persisted at the time of /17/ Karl von den
175 Steinen's expeditions. Some years earlier, the Bakairí had
726 attacked the Paressí on the road that leads to Diamantino, to
727 capture their women, and had killed many of them /i.e., Paressí men/. (18) As already mentioned above, besides the
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18. Ibid., p. 438.

two Kayabí women, two Paressí women were also living among

175 /17 cont./
722 the Paranatinga Bakairí, one of whom, named Charlotta, was
722 the wife of Cacique Felipe. To the influence of such women,
[563] captured in hostile encounters with the Paressí, we must
[177] attribute, in the first place, the extensive assimilation of the legends of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga River. (19)

19. Ibid., p. 365.

173 According to the statements of the western Bakairí, the
166 origin of the Bakairí who live in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River was due to the fact that, as a result of quarrels among the Bakairí, who were still living in former times by the falls, part of them broke away and emigrated to the Rio Kulisehu. (20) We do not know whether this represents

20. Ibid., p. 391.

a historical fact or merely legendary superstitions of the
175 Paranatinga Bakairí. For lack of any objective knowledge of the presence of these Indians in former times on the two tributaries of the Xingu River, the Batovy and the Kulisehu, and for lack of any statements about their former life by these /Indians/ themselves, the history of these eastern Bakairí begins only at the time of Karl von den Steinen's first expedition to the Xingu River in the year 1884, which brought attention upon them for the first time and was their first historical event. As for the first effects of this event, so important for the subsequent fate of the eastern Bakairí, Karl von den Steinen was already able to recognize them himself and make use of them in his
175 section "History of the Bakairí." The first mutual visits be-
619 tween the Bakairí of the Paranatinga and their fellow country-men on the Rio Batovy marked the beginning of relations between these two Bakairí groups. In what follows we shall deal
[128] with the manner in which these relations gradually increased, extending also to the Bakairí of the Rio ~~Kulisehu~~ and influencing

175 /17 cont./
619 in subsequent times to a high degree the history of the two
128 groups of the Bakairí tribe, so different one from the other.

After Karl von den Steinen's second expedition to the
175 Xingu River, the next event in the history of the Bakairí, and especially of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga, was the lost expedition of Captain Telles Pires in the year 1889. This explorer, accompanied by Lieutenant Oscar Miranda and 26 boatmen, among whom were also Paranatinga Bakairí, had endeavored to go down the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires) from the mouth of the Rio S. Manuel /São Manuel River/.
175 Among the 21 companions who perished with Telles Pires in
622 this undertaking was Cacique Felipe of the Paranatinga Bakairí, who died of fever on the way. The Bakairí, Irineo, raised and adopted by this cacique, who had accompanied his father, was not heard of again after this excursion and it was supposed
175 that he also had perished. When the Bakairí got the news of
622 their cacique's death, they burned their houses /18/ and abandoned their aldea to settle farther upriver. The harbor of
166 the new aldea, situated like the previous aldea on the left
361 side of the river, was 18 kilometers downriver from the mouth
[103] of the Rio S. Manuel on the Rio Paranatinga, or Rio Telles Pires as it was officially named after the ill-fated undertaking of Captain Telles Pires, and the aldea itself was 1,600 meters inland from the riverbank and 200 meters from the small Corrego do Tatú /"Armadillo Stream"/. (21)

21. A. Pyrineus de Sousa, loc. cit., pp. 61, 68, and 69.

175 Who the first cacique of the aldea was after Felipe's death
622 I do not know. At the close of the last decade of the past century, when Antonio Correa da Costa was president of the state of Mato Grosso (in the years from 1895 to the beginning of 1898, with a gap in the year 1897), the cacique of the aldea

/18 cont./

175 of the Paranatinga Bakairí was already the same Antonio who
622 had accompanied Karl von den Steinen on his two expeditions to the Xingu River and who had become acquainted on his return from the first of these expeditions with Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires. President Antonio Correa da Costa confirmed his
[648] caciqueship, extending his authority over the whole region of the Indians who lived on the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, naming him the comandante of all the Indians of the upper
175 Xingu River. This extension of the authority of Cacique Antonio
622 by the president of the state was instigated, according to
648 Herrmann Meyer, (22) by the same Paulo Castro who, in the
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22. Dr. Herrmann Meyer, "Uber seine zweite Reise in Central-Brasilien (IV. Xingú-Expedition) /On His Second Journey in Central Brazil (IV. Xingu Expedition)/," aus einem Brief an Herrn Prof. Dr. Karl von den Steinen /From a letter to Prof. Karl von den Steinen/, Cuiabá, d. March 5, 1899, (Verh. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin. Vol. XXVI, 1899, pp. 261-265), p. 265.

years following his participation in Karl von den Steinen's expedition to the Xingu River, traveled through these regions several times in his tireless search for the "martyrs," and thus had had the opportunity to meet the Bakairí of the Paranatinga. Cacique Antonio then for a long time was the most influential figure in the subsequent development not only of the western Bakairí but also of the eastern Bakairí. He had been born in the Limoeira handicrafts center and came from a family who had lived for a long time in the Rio Paranatinga aldea. The most remote ancestors of whom he had knowledge had still

/18 cont./

175 lived in the vicinity of the falls. His grandfather, Karavako,
159 and his father, Seseriari, had participated in the above-
622 mentioned expedition for revenge undertaken against the Kayabí,
648 in which the two Kayabí women who lived in the Rio Paranatinga aldea were captured. At the time of Karl von den Steinen's expedition, his parents were no longer living, but he had an older brother living with his wife and with a small son in the Paranatinga aldea. As a companion to Karl von den Steinen in the year 1888, Antonio had met in the Reducción de Bororo de Thereza Christina, situated on the Rio S. Lourenzo /São Lourenço River/, the Bororo Indian woman Rosa, well known for the fact that while a prisoner of Officer Duarte, she had undertaken to mediate in the agreement /?conivencia/ between Bororo and Brazilians so that it became possible to establish the above-mentioned Bororo reducción /pueblo of Christianized Indians/. She was a widow at the time and Antonio took her along toward the Paranatinga. Rosa brought with her a small son, five or six years of age, who was raised in the house of Cacique Antonio and who later, under the name of José /19/ Coroado, achieved a certain stature in the Bakairí community of the Paranatinga, so that I must refer to him several times in what follows.

175 Already in the last decade of the past century, when
166 Herrmann Meyer passed the aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí in his two expeditions to the Xingu River in the years 1896 and 1899, much activity was taking place there. (23) Antonio with

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23. Dr. Herrmann Meyer, "Über seine Expedition nach Zentral-Brasilien /On His Expedition toward Central Brazil/," March 6, Verhandl. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde z. Berlin, Vol. XXIV, 1897, pp. 172-198. Idem., "Bericht über seine zweite

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Xingú-Expedition /Report on His Second Xingu Expedition/," February 3, 1900, Verh. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde z. Berlin, Vol. XXVII, 1900, pp. 112-128. Idem., "Uber seine zweite Reise in Central-Brasilien," loc. cit.

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Antonio with his stepson José Coroado, already an adult, had then visited several times the Bakairí in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River, and a big part of these had moved in with their fellow countrymen of the Rio Paranatinga, so that Theodor Koch, a participant in Herrmann Meyer's second expedition to the Xingu River, estimated the population of the aldea of the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí, at this date, at more than 60 individuals.(24)

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24. Dr. Theodor Koch, "Reise in Matto Grosso (Brasilien). Expedition in das Quellgebiet des Xingú /Journey in Mato Grosso (Brazil). Expedition to the Region of the Headwaters of the Xingu/." Communication, d. K. K. Geogr. Ges. in Vienna, p. 335.

175 [501] [504] [439]

At this time, the Rio Batovy Bakairí had canoes and also a port on the Rio Jatobá. Also the Nahukuá /Nahuqua/ had then risked for the first time the journey to the Rio Paranatinga and had carried away from there sugar cane and porotos /French beans/ for planting. (25)

25. Dr. Herrmann Meyer, "Bericht uber seine zweite Xingú-Expedition," loc. cit., p. 127.

/19 cont./

175 648 I must also mention here an expedition of five North Americans who, half a year before Herrmann Meyer's second expedition, went down the Rio Kulisehu to look for rubber. No doubt, like the other expeditions to these regions, they took along Bakairí Indians. The details of the tragic outcome of this expedition, whose five participants were all massacred by the Suyá with clubs, were told me several times by the Bakairí and the Auetö in the same way, and I have noted down the particulars of this event with care in my book, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien. (26)

26. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 42.

In the year 1900, Paulo Castro had once more entered the region east of the Rio Paranatinga, this time as head of an expedition outfitted in grand style by the Mato Grosso government, as they said, to prepare, at the top of the water divide between the Xingu and Araguaya rivers, a route that would lead to the Amazon River, in order to facilitate the transportation of livestock from Mato Grosso to Pará. Shortly before the return of my expedition to the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River in June, 1901, the survivors of Paulo Castro's expedition, which had been a total failure, returned to Cuiabá. The great hardships of this last expedition of Paulo Castro caused this explorer, untiring in his search for the "martyrs," never to be well until his death.

114 In the year 1901 I led my own expedition to the region of the source of the Xingu River, when I had the opportunity to become acquainted with the conditions of the life of the Bakairí of the Rio Novo and the Rio Paranatinga, and also, especially, of those of the Bakairí of the Rio Kulisehu.

114 36 /20/ Shortly before crossing the Rio Novo I passed one of the two aldea of the Rio Novo Bakairí, but I had only a passing

/20 cont./

114 look at this settlement situated on the left side of the Rio Novo.
36) The main aldea of these Indians, which consisted of five ranchos, was at a distance of three turns of the river from the small Brazilian pueblo of Rio Novo situated on the right side of the
[648] river. At this place I met Mr. Eliseu, who then held the title of subdirector over the Bakairí.

114 Conditions among the Rio Novo Bakairí had hardly changed
178 since the time when Karl von den Steinen described them.
622 Also, the population, which I estimated at 60 individuals, was
[162] more or less the same. Reginaldo, who had meanwhile become an old man, was still cacique of the two communities of Rio Novo Bakairí. Plate V of my book Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien presents a photograph taken in the aldea of these Indians showing Cacique Reginaldo with his wife in the midst of several other Bakairí, standing in front of the door of his house. The book which he holds in his hand is the work Durch Centralbrasilien, published by Karl von den Steinen, in which he is also represented in a drawing and at which he is
114 looking with great interest. In the aldea there were still various
178 objects which were products of typical Bakairí work, such as for
[285] example the large baskets of twigs /banastas/ woven in the an-
531 cestral way, and other kinds of baskets which matched exactly
784 in terms of technique and decoration those made by the Bakairí
[411] of the tributaries of the Xingu River. (27) The Rio Novo Bakairí

27. Cf. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., Fig. 174, p. 347.

also still used, besides firearms, bows and arrows for hunting, and these corresponded exactly to those of their fellow country-
177 men of the Xingu River region. But outside of these objects,
231 made in native fashion, these Bakairí had been changed completely into Brazilian campesinos as a result of the fact that

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177 231 Reginaldo and his people had a large number of cattle and several saddle horses. Although among themselves they spoke [191] only in the Bakairí language, all of the men knew the Brazilian language, and it was said that Cacique Reginaldo knew how to 619 read and speak some French. The Rio Novo Bakairí maintained at the time active relations with their fellow countrymen on the Rio Paranatinga. With the eastern Bakairí they hardly had any contacts, except for the Bakairí Joaquim who was the uncle of Cacique Antonio of the Paranatinga aldea and who had a young Bakairí from the Rio Batovi river in his service.

Different were the conditions of the Bakairí in the Rio 114 Paranatinga aldea at the time of my visit. While the popu- 161 lation at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions had dwindled in such a way that Karl von den Steinen foresaw the end of this community, the population of the aldea had increased in the meantime with the addition of numerous Bakairí from the Xingu River region. The number of these Bakairí, called by their Paranatinga fellow countrymen Xinguanos, climbed to 34 at the time of my stay with these Indians. The 622 leader of the community was Antonio, who was at this time at 554 the peak of his power. The only insignia /21/ of his rank as comandante of the Indians of the upper Xingu River region, [648] officially granted by the Mato Grosso government, were a pair [411] of red soldier's trousers with a wide white stripe which ran down the side of each leg, but a more practical symbol of his power were several good firearms hanging in his house, which he also used occasionally, according to the Mato Grosso men, against insubordinate fellow countrymen. The majority of the Xinguanos then living in his aldea were totally dependent upon him with regard to economic conditions and made up a valuable component of his power, for he had supplied the most trustworthy men among them with firearms. This small military 701 force was important above all to insure contact between the 648 Rio Paranatinga and the tributaries of the Xingu River against the Kayabí who had unquestionably begun at this time to

/21 cont./

701 disturb the Brazilian campesinos in these regions. According to
648 Herrmann Meyer (28) they had already wreaked serious destruction

28. Herrmann Meyer, "Bericht uber seine zweite Xingú-Expedition," loc. cit., pp. 115 and 116.

in the region of the Serra Trombador and killed several inhabitants. At the time of my stay on the Corrego Fundo ranch, the Kayabí had penetrated the mountains above the Rio Paranatinga up to some six leagues from Corrego Fundo and attacked Cacique Antonio as he was looking for rubber with his people for Señor Jange Soares, the owner of the ranch. But Antonio had driven them back with his armed people and killed a Kayabí on this occasion.

622 Cacique Antonio's big house where I visited him had been
342 built a year earlier. It consisted of a large middle room which communicated on the left side of the entrance with two other rooms which formed the dwelling house proper of the cacique and Doña Rosa, and on the right side with a large room for guests that fulfilled exactly the functions of the house for fiestas
622 of the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River regions. All the men
342 and boys of the aldea could go in and out of it as they pleased.
574 This room also served for dancing, and during my stay in it,
[302] from time to time, some Xinguanos would enter, their faces
[533] painted in red and black, and sing their monotonous melodies
[535] as they danced around the post set in the middle of the room.
[352] Cacique Antonio's own dwelling already had at this time quite
[123] a modern appearance. In the "dining room" there was a table and a large armchair as well as dishes and spoons, and I was entertained at his table in the Brazilian manner with a dish of
622 meat with rice and flour. He obviously enjoyed renewing old
115 memories of the journeys he had made with Karl von den Steinen. He looked with great interest at Karl von den Steinen's works about his travels and, on his part, showed me some photographs

/21 cont./

622 that he still kept from those days. Antonio had no children by
115 Doña Rosa. I had the opportunity to become acquainted with
[123] her when, returning in poor health from the Rio Kulisehu, I was most generously accommodated in her house although Antonio was away.

342 José Coroado's house, situated in front of his stepfather
352 Antonio's house, was just as large and built in the same style.
353 Its interior gave much more of a native impression than Antonio's house. In the half-dark rooms several women lay in the hammocks /22/ among them one with Jose's little daughter, who was only a few weeks old. All the walls in the house showed in the upper part, directly under the ceiling, boards painted in black and white. These friezes made by the Xinguanos showed the typical paintings of the Bakairí. All of the decorations known to the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River regions appeared in these paintings, such as, for example, the figures called
159 uluri, merechu, and maimai. José, in spite of his youth, had
191 already had a great deal of experience. The hole in his lower lip at once recalled his early childhood among his own fellow
[871] countrymen, the Bororo, whose idiom he still knew. As already mentioned above, he had come with his mother to the house of Cacique Antonio when he was a boy of five or six, but he had received part of his education in the capital, Cuiabá, so that he was better acquainted than any other Rio Paranatinga Bakairí with the Portuguese language, which he also used in
159 talking with his mother. When he was an adult, Cacique
619 Antonio had taken him along on a trip to the Batovy and Kulisehu
484 rivers. Already at that time he had had trouble with his stepfather because he had become too involved with the pretty girls of the first aldea of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí and had thus damaged the good relations with the inhabitants of that aldea. The anger of the inhabitants of the first Rio Kulisehu aldea caused by José Coroado's behavior still continued at the time of my journey to the Rio Kulisehu, and José did not dare to accompany me to that aldea because he had learned that its

/22 cont./

159 619 inhabitants planned to poison him. So he remained in the port near our canoes. But the difficulties this caused me were compensated for by the fact that during his visit to the second aldea of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí, he had married a local Indian girl and taken her to the Rio Paranatinga.

159 593 114 José was already trying then in every possible way to become independent from his stepfather. I found this out primarily from a conversation between José and his mother which I overheard during my stay in Antonio's house. Already then he had several Xinguanos working in his service, and although they were not as numerous as the Xinguanos in the service of Cacique Antonio, this competition could be seen as a factor that was beginning to curtail Antonio's power, which had reached its zenith at the time, and that threatened sooner or later to lead to a violent outcome. This discord between Antonio and his son-in-law /sic/ was important to the outcome of the expedition I had undertaken to the Rio Kulisehu insofar as José Coroado was ready to accompany me with his brother-in-law Chico, who was from the second Bakairí aldea on the Rio Kulisehu, while Antonio made his help to my undertaking contingent on inordinately high demands which far exceeded my then rather scant resources for travel. Finally I was able to persuade Antonio to let me have two of his people to accompany me to the embarkation point on the Rio Kulisehu and then to return with my pack oxen to the Rio Paranatinga.

619 182 As a result of the active and close contact which had prevailed since the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions between the Bakairí of the Paranatinga and their fellow countrymen of the upper Xingu River region, the /23/ way of life of the former had regained a more native character. I have already 353 mentioned that José Coroado's large house showed friezes with 619 paintings of a purely Bakairí nature. Antonio was again partici- 182 pating, painted above the waist, in native dances and because 756 of the frequency of illnesses at the time among the Paranatinga Bakairí, he wanted to induce a doctor from the second Bakairí

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182 /23 cont./
756 aldea on the Rio Kulisehu to settle with his arts on the Paranatinga.

When I was with the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí in May and June
177 of 1901, 14 years had elapsed since their first contact with
178 articles of European culture. After Karl von den Steinen's
[114] expedition, other explorers had also passed through their land. They had become familiar with iron axes, knives, scissors, matches, and other objects of modern culture, and by bartering their native products they had become amply provided with such objects, but their natures and their way of life had barely
[411] changed. They had become acquainted with the firearms of the Europeans and of their fellow countrymen of the Rio Paranatinga, but they still regarded them with a certain mis-
[226] giving and did not use them either. Fishing, which had been of the greatest importance in the economy of these Indians, was still carried out on a broad scale and in the ancestral way,
[224] fishhooks not being used. In hunting, too, they only used their
241 arrows and long bows built like the ones of old. Agriculture
412 was also carried out in the same manner and with the same digging sticks, with the mere exception that the work of clearing was made much easier by the numerous iron axes that replaced the stone axes of times past. I did not see any more stone axes among these Indians. Undoubtedly they had all been replaced by the far more useful iron axes brought by the explorers who
241 passed through these regions. There were large plantations in
114 the vicinity of the aldeas or at a distance from them, and I myself had the opportunity to observe in the aldea of Maimaieti, situated on the Rio Kulisehu, the way in which a big part of the mountain was cleared for a future plantation. The Indians proudly showed me a spot planted in sweet /mansa, "mild"/ manioc, of which they had received cuttings from the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí. During my stay among the Bakairí of Maimaieti aldea there was never a scarcity of manioc, and I and my companions were always generously provided with
[648] manioc cakes /beijús/. I mention this fact especially, because

/23 cont./

241 it contrasts with Herrmann Meyer's observation, made two
114 years before in the year 1899, on his own experiences among
648 the same Bakairí. (29) To account for the fact that it was

29. Herrmann Meyer, "Bericht uber seine zweite Xingú-Expedition," loc. cit., pp. 126 and 127.

absolutely impossible for him to obtain provisions from the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí, he said that these Indians depended for their subsistence almost entirely on their fellow countrymen of the Rio Paranatinga and that their agriculture had almost completely disappeared. When Meyer passed by the aldeas of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí, conditions for his expedition, which comprised a large number of participants, were very precarious, especially because of lack of provisions, and no doubt the fact that he was unable to get from the Bakairí the provisions he had asked for was for him a severe disappointment. It is possible that the Bakairí at this time could not /24/ supply such large quantities of provisions to accommodate such a large number of strangers. Since it is certain that the Bakairí at the time of my stay among them possessed large plantations, it does not seem possible that their agriculture, two years earlier,
114 should have been at the vanishing point. Nor can I corroborate
342 Herrmann Meyer's comment that the Bakairí of the first two aldeas on the Rio Kulisehu, at the time of his expedition, had changed their good houses for "miserable huts." The two aldeas of the Kulisehu Bakairí which I visited each consisted of four large houses of kin folk, built in the same form with an oval base as the houses had in former times. All of the houses in Maimaieti aldea were quite new and made a good impression
231 inside and outside. About one league from Maimaieti were the then abandoned houses of the old aldea which the Bakairí of Maimaieti had still occupied a short time earlier and where a large bird of prey, a kind of harpy eagle /arpía/, was kept on

/24 cont./

231 a table made of vertigas and provided regularly with meat, if possible monkey meat.

178 Among the various crafts of the Kulisehu Bakairí, pottery-
[323] making, plaiting, and spinning were still maintained in the
[285] ancestral form. Food preparation was also still the same as
[283] described by Karl von den Steinen for times past. The only
[252] essential difference appeared in regard to woodworking, for
177 which at this time metal tools were used, so that this craft no
[322] longer depended on stone axes, drills with stone points, shells,
[412] and the teeth of fish or other animals. Another acquisition from
[301] the various expeditions which had passed through their territory were ear pendants of multicolored glass beads with which many women and children, especially, were well provided. European
[291] clothing was seen only in exceptional cases. Thus the first man who came out of his house in Maigeri aldea to greet me had on trousers which he had been given at the time of a visit to the Rio Paranatinga aldea and which surely had never been washed since. As a rule the uluri (small triangle of bark) was the sole
[291] national garment of the women and young girls, and a fine thread belt and body paint the men's apparel.

114 When Karl von den Steinen visited the Rio Kulisehu Indians,
361 the first Bakairí aldea, called Maigeri, consisted of only two
342 large houses of kinsfolk and one small house for fiestas with an
345 oval base, while the second and third aldeas each consisted of three large houses of kinsfolk and of one house for fiestas. Thus
[161] the number of houses in Bakairí aldeas at the time of my stay among these Indians had increased, and for this reason I do not hold as correct Herrmann Meyer's observation that this tribe was
114 already "greatly declining" at the time. (30) No doubt there
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30. Herrmann Meyer, Ibid., p. 126.

were then only two Bakairí aldeas on the Rio Kulisehu, the first, Maigeri, already mentioned by Karl von den Steinen, and the

/24 cont./

114 second, Maimaieti, also called Murika, but for a short /25/
161 time there was also an aldea called Bodoku in the region that
361 extends between the Kulisehu and Batovy rivers. From the fact that the wife of the Bakairí, Mayukú, who was the head of one of the Maimaieti houses, lived in that aldea, it follows that there were intimate relations between the inhabitants of these two aldeas.

Unfortunately I was unable to obtain, during my journey to the Rio Kulisehu, exact data on the population of the first aldea of Maigeri and of Bodoku aldea situated between the Kulisehu and Batovy rivers, just as it is not possible to determine exactly the population movement of the Bakairí of the Rio Kulisehu in the period of time which elapsed between Karl von den Steinen's expedition and my stay among these Indians in the year 1901. But I can still recall clearly that the population of Maigeri aldea had more than the 21 individuals it had at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expedition. Also, from the fact that the aldea consisted at the time of my trip of four houses of kinsfolk instead of the two houses that Karl von den Steinen found, it can be concluded that the population had increased considerably in the interval. As for the inhabitants of the second Rio Kulisehu aldea, Karl von den Steinen estimated them at some 40 individuals, which corresponds more or less to the population of Maimaieti aldea in later times, which I estimated at 45 individuals. The population of the third Bakairí aldea, which had formerly existed on the Kulisehu, numbered, according to Karl von den Steinen, some 100 individuals, a figure that seems very high compared with the number (three) of houses in this aldea and with the population of the other aldeas. If we add up the figures estimated and noted by Karl von den Steinen for the population of the Bakairí aldeas which existed at the time of his expedition on the Rio Kulisehu, we get a total of some 160 Bakairí who lived on the Rio Kulisehu. When I was in Maimaieti there were 45 individuals present in this aldea, but they said that a number of the inhabitants were

/25 cont./

114 temporarily absent at the time, so we must take into account
161 a population in Maimaieti of more than 45 persons. I have
361 already mentioned above that the population of Maigeri aldea at the time of my trip was much larger than Karl von den Steinen estimated it to be at an earlier time. Still to be added is the population of the aldea recently founded between the Kulisehu and Batovy rivers, whose total we do not know, because it should undoubtedly be regarded as having been founded by Rio Kulisehu Bakairí and a part of the Xinguanos, who have moved temporarily or for longer to the Rio Paranatinga.

115 It is certain that the epilogues of the expeditions made to
681 the regions of the sources of the Xingu River have been played out with regard to the subsequent history of the Bakairí of the Kulisehu and Batovy rivers. Thus, Cacique Tumayaua of the first aldea on the Kulisehu, who had first helped Karl von den Steinen in his undertaking in these regions, had been assassinated by his own fellow countrymen shortly before the time of my expedition. I have already mentioned that the inhabitants of this same aldea had lain in wait for José Coroado because he had become too involved /26/ with the women.

648 Another consequence of these expeditions was the fact that the
178 relations of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí with the other tribes that lived farther down this river, especially the Nahukuá and the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, had already become strained at the time because these Indians envied the Bakairí for having received the lion's share of the precious articles brought by the explorers. But, in short, the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí, after their first contact with the whites, had gone on living as before without being discommoded by others. Their social organization, their legal ideas, the form of their economy, their customs, and their crafts were at the time of my stay among them still almost the same as in former times.

114 We received the first information on the Bakairí, after
361 my journey, in the year 1915 through Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa, who, on the occasion of his expedition devoted to measuring

/26 cont./

114 the Rio S. Manuel and the Rio Paranatinga (officially named
361 Rio Telles Pires), encountered the Bakairí of the Rio Novo and the Rio Paranatinga and those who had settled at the "Cabeceira do Chapadão." (31)

31. Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa, loc. cit., p. 70.

361 In the aldea situated on the Rio Novo there still lived at
622 this time the old cacique, Reginaldo, who then wore a long, white beard. He had good plantations, he carried on some
[249] raising of cattle and horses, and he had a stand of rubber trees
361 from which he had rubber sought. (32) A small group of

32. Ibid.

Bakairí from the Arinos region lived at this time on the Cabeceira do Pilão, a tributary of the Rio Arinos. They were the Bakairí,
[423] André, and four fellow tribesmen who owned plantations and
[464] worked as rubber workers. (33)

33. Ibid., pp. 70 and 71.

159 Meanwhile changes had taken place among the Rio
622 Paranatinga Bakairí. Antonio was still cacique of the aldea,
593 which was still at the same place, slightly downriver from the
361 mouth of the São Manuel River on the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires), where it had been set up after the death of Cacique Felipe. Since the aldea consisted at this time of seven houses, it may be assumed that Antonio still commanded a relatively large number of Bakairí. But he was no longer the
159 sole ruler of all the Paranatinga Bakairí. The differences which
593 had already existed for a long time between Antonio and his stepson, José Coroado, had become intensified, and after a
361 serious quarrel between them, José Coroado had left Antonio's

/26 cont./
159 aldea and established with his people his own village, situated
593 13 kilometers downriver on the right side of the Rio Paranatinga
361 (Rio Telles Pires) and four kilometers from the main river on the small Ribeirão Azul. This was the same place where at the time of my trip in the year 1927 the Puesto de Simões Lopes /Simões Lopes Post/ was.

159 Through Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa we know that Doña Rosa
593 Bororo, José Coroado's mother and for many years Cacique Antonio's wife, had died in January, 1913 in her son's village.
[174] /27/ From this piece of information it may be deduced, on the one hand, that José Coroado's move to the Ribeirão Azul had already taken place before the year 1913, and on the other hand, that Rosa Bororo, in the quarrel between her husband and her son, followed the latter and left Antonio. The latter had already married in 1915 a young woman who, according to Antonio Pyrineus, was a daughter of old Cacique Reginaldo by
[114] a Kayabí woman. Possibly Antonio Pyrineus made a mistake with respect to this piece of information, for we know through Karl von den Steinen that the cacique who had married young Luisa Kayabí was old Caetano, who was then cacique of the aldea situated on the Rio Paranatinga, while I never heard it said that the wife of Cacique Reginaldo, whom I knew in person, was a Kayabí. If the information that the second wife of Cacique Antonio was a Kayabí is correct, I would presume that she was the daughter of Luisa Kayabí, who was still living at the time of my trip in the year 1927, at the Simões Lopes Post and thus the legitimate daughter, although presumably not the natural daughter, of old Cacique Caetano.

162 A considerable increase in the population of the Rio
361 Paranatinga had been caused by the fact that Cacique Kurutú
166 of the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River had moved with 180 Xinguanos to the Rio Paranatinga. Cacique Kurutú's new aldea was situated eight kilometers downriver from Cacique Antonio's aldea, on the left side of the Rio Paranatinga and some 200 meters from the river. But of these 180 Xinguanos, already in

/27 cont./

162 the year 1915, no more than nine men with some women and
361 children lived with their cacique in the new aldea. The rest
166 had died or had moved to the other Bakairí aldeas situated on the Rio Paranatinga.

178 According to Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa's description, the
433 Bakairí of the Rio Novo and Rio Paranatinga still had in the
622 year 1915 a life with sufficient means of subsistence. Cacique
[361] Antonio, whose authority of former times had undoubtedly de-
[241] creased through José Coroado's defection with his people and
[231] through the independent stand of Cacique Kurutú, was still chief of the old aldea on the Rio Paranatinga, which still consisted of seven houses and whose inhabitants planted manioc, maize, sugar cane, bananas, and aboborra /gourds/, and raised
[231] many pigs and chickens. In former times they had also devoted
[648] themselves to the raising of cattle and horses, but the rancher Jange Soares had made them give this up. Already at this time, Antonio was urgently pressing his rights in the region bound by the Serra Azul, the Ribeirão Bananal, and the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires) and occupied for many years by the Bakairí. (34)

34. A. Pyrineus de Sousa, loc. cit., p. 64.

184 José Coroado's aldea consisted of three well-built houses.
361 He had large plantations of manioc and maize and raised some
241 pigs and chickens. (35) The inhabitants of Cacique Kurutú's
231

35. Ibid., p. 65.

aldea, which consisted of three large houses, also had good plantations and lived comfortably.

178 /28/ At that time, also, the customs and ideas of the
[535] Rio Paranatinga Bakairí were largely Indian. When dancing,
[291] the men were nude except for a small coarse apron, rectangular

/28 cont./

178 [535] [291] [302] [754] in form, placed in front under the belt, which consists of glass beads strung on a thread. Face and body were painted with urucú and genipap in red and black. At this time, too, cases of illness were imputed to the influence of some sorcerer, and shortly before the expedition of Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa a Paranatinga Bakairí had been shot to death because the Indians ascribed the consequences of a flu epidemic to his witchcraft.

114 In his book Unter Indianern und Riesenschlangen (36)

[113] 36. Hintermann, Heinrich, Unter Indianern und Riesenschlangen /Among Indians and Boa Constrictors/, Zurich and Leipzig, 1926.

Heinrich Hintermann relates the incidents and outcome of a journey to the region of the upper Xingu River tributaries. He had the opportunity to accompany a military expedition led by the Brazilian, Captain Vicente de Vasconcellos, which was carried out in the year 1924 for the Commissão de Linhas Telegr. Est. de Matto Grosso ao Amazonas to measure the Rio Ronuro and establish relations between the administration of the new Simões Lopes Post, established by the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios /Indian Protection Service/, and the Indians of the Kulisehu and Kuluene rivers. We know from Hintermann that [166] already at that time, all the Kulisehu Bakairí had moved to the Simões Lopes Post, which was established at the same place where José Coroado had already set up his aldea before.

During my journey carried out in the year 1927 I had the opportunity to become personally acquainted once more, after an interval of 26 years, with the conditions of the Bakairí. (37)

[113] 37. Cf. the preliminary reports on the results of this trip: Max Schmidt, "Ergebnisse meiner zweijährigen Forschungreise in Matto Grosso.

/28 cont./

114 [113] Sept. 1926 bis Aug. 1928
/Results of My Two Year Exploratory
Trip in Mato Grosso. Sept. 1926
to Aug. 1928/," pp. 86-88.
Zeitschrift fur Ethnologie,
Annual Set 60, Heft 1/3.

114 In Cuiabá I had already encountered some Bakairí
115 who had come from Simões Lopes with a herd of oxen to the capital. Since at that time the revolutionaries, led by /Luiz Carlos/ Prestes, were passing through Mato Grosso and also were making the vicinity of Cuiabá insecure, these Bakairí were prevented from undertaking their return journey for the same reason I was unable to carry out my projected trip to Simões Lopes. They were four men and one boy of ten, and when they visited me one day in my house, it turned out that one of these Indians, called Marcellino Caminago, or by his native name, Palugude, came from the second Bakairí aldea on the Rio Kulisehu. At the time of my stay in this aldea 26 years earlier, he had been a small boy, but he still remembered me well. It was interesting to note how this memory gradually came back to him when I played on my violin the same melody that I had played many times in the Maimaieti aldea among the Kulisehu Bakairí. He asked one of the other Bakairí what my name was, and when I told him that my name was "Doctor Macimo," he knew at once that his memory had not deceived him and he
[551] greeted me as an old acquaintance. Naturally, from this
[191] moment on he frequented my house with his small son, Lorenzo,
[126] whose native name was Kaiura, and with the other Bakairí, and since some /29/ of these Bakairí were quite familiar with the Portuguese language I had a good chance to take down linguistic notes and to obtain at this time exact data on the changes which had taken place with respect to conditions among the Bakairí
[622] since my former journey. Among other news they told me that
[159] old Cacique Reginaldo had lived on for a long time and had

/29 cont./

114 died a short time before. Cacique Karía, who in times past
115 had received me so hospitably in Maimaieti aldea, was still
159 living but very old. He was quite isolated, for his wife as well
622 as his two daughters, whom I had known as little girls, had
died. Cacique Antonio was also still alive but was also already
old and had remained with his family and a few people at the
location of the old Bakairí aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí.
622 Antonio always clung stubbornly to the idea that the land bound
159 by the Serra Azul, the Riberão Bananal, and the Rio Paranatinga
619 belonged to him and his Bakairí, and he did not want to leave
648 his aldea so as not to lose the right to this region. As for the
114 changes brought about by the establishment of the Simões Lopes
Post, he maintained a very cautious attitude and did not recognize the authority of the Post administration, according to which the Bakairí, Pires, was named cacique of the Xinguanos in his place and appointed to administer the affairs of this part of the Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post. When I later met Cacique Antonio, he told me repeatedly that he was still Capitão and the legitimate chief of his fellow tribesmen. Among other news received from the Bakairí in Cuiabá, I heard that José Coroado and his brother-in-law Chico, who had accompanied me with the latter on my expedition to the Rio Kulisehu, had died since.

114 In the course of the journey which I finally undertook,
622 leaving Cuiabá on January 27, 1927, I was able to make only
159 a passing visit to Cacique Antonio in his aldea, but he himself
[123] visited me at Simões Lopes several times. (Cf. Fig. 1.) I was
very well received in his house as an old friend and treated to
a glass of guarana drink. Whereas Antonio had no issue by Rosa
Bororo, he had after her death three sons by his second wife.
The photograph shown in Figure 2 shows Antonio before his
house with his family, and his horse on the right. The condition
of his house, in contrast with that of previous times when I
visited him at the height of his power, conveyed an impression
114 of poverty. In a small house situated close to Antonio's, I also
115

/29 cont./

114 met one of the Bakairí who had accompanied me in the year
115 1901 on my journey to the Rio Kulisehu. He too was already
[164] very old and he was ill, his body being covered with tumors.

When I reached the Simões Lopes Post I met with highly
114 unfavorable circumstances. My pack oxen were the first to
361 reach Simões Lopes after the long interruption of all traffic between this post and the capital Cuiabá caused by the revolutionaries
[731] led by Prestes. For this reason there was at that time a scarcity of /30/ provisions, and in addition there was among the Indians a bad epidemic of malaria, which the head of the post, Señor Benedito, and his family also had. The post at the time was still at the same location where it was first established, where José Coroado had had his aldea before, and thus 13 kilometers downriver from the old aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí and four kilometers inland on the right side of the river near the small Riberão Azul. It consisted of some administrative buildings (cf. Figure 3) and some 20 ranchos for the Bakairí Indians (cf. Figures 4, 6, and 7). There is no doubt that all the Bakairí lived at this time in areas near the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires) and had relations with the Simões Lopes Post, but only part of them lived at the post, and since the plantations of the individual Indian families were rather far from the settlement, the Indians who lived at the post also stayed temporarily in their small houses built near their plantations.

361 In the middle of the post was the house of the Bakairí, Pires,
622 whom the administration had entrusted with the caciqueship over
166 the Bakairí who had moved from the region of the upper Xingu
101 River and who were called Xinguanos. (Cf. Figures 4 and 5.)

In one of the houses of the post I met the Bakairí, Luchu,
114 who came from the first aldea on the Rio Kulisehu, who with
115 Cacique Tumayaua had accompanied Karl von den Steinen on his expedition and who is shown in a photograph in the book
[177] Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens. As shown in the photograph in Figure 8, he had grown quite old since and was

/30 cont./

114 dressed in European manner, and with his rough beard he bears
115 little resemblance to the photograph taken by Karl von den
[177] Steinen some 39 years earlier. In another house there still lived Luisa Kayabí, whom Karl von den Steinen had met when she was the young wife of old Cacique Caetano.

114 Most of the Bakairí whom I had known 26 years before in
731 Maigeri and Maimaieti aldeas had perished in a flu epidemic
753 that had wreaked havoc among the population of Mato Grosso
648 some years earlier. Since the high number of deaths among
361 the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River was attributed to the witch-
[166] craft of evil neighboring tribes, especially the Mehinakú and the Nahukuá, who had been envious of the economic benefits derived by the Bakairí from their contact with civilization, all the Bakairí of the Batovy and Kulisehu rivers had moved to the Rio Paranatinga. Undoubtedly petty jealousies and other discords had caused these Bakairí, called Xinguanos, not to get along with their fellow natives on the Paranatinga, and for this reason they had settled at some distance from the post, farther downriver. I found the first of these Xinguano settlements at the place where the Riberão Azul enters the Rio Paranatinga. It was situated on the right side of this river and consisted of four small houses. (Cf. Figures 21 and 22.) A little farther downriver I reached a Bakairí plantation near which was a rancho occupied by some people. (Cf. Figure 20.)

361 /31/ From there a path led to the principal settlement of
622 the Bakairí who had moved from the Rio Kulisehu. It consisted
159 of two rather large houses. (Cf. Figure 17.) I was told that a
114 little farther downriver there were some more settlements, and
[487] among them also that of my old friend from Maimaieti aldea, Karía. I had already encountered Karía when I visited Cacique
622 Antonio, and he had recognized me. He was no longer cacique,
159 and I was told that at the time of my stay in Maimaieti he had
114 merely been a temporary cacique in the place of his brother who was then away. He had grown much older and no longer

/31 cont./

622 had people at his command so that he no doubt lived in great
159 poverty. Some time later he visited me at the Simões Lopes
114 Post and brought me a beautiful bow with arrows and an old-style necklace made of stone and shell beads.

114 During my stay at Simões Lopes I twice visited the Xinguano
115 settlement situated on the Rio Paranatinga, and each time I was received very kindly and entertained well by the inhabitants, among whom I still found some acquaintances from Maimaieti. There I again met Marcellino Caminage and his family (cf. Figures 15-17), and also the son of the Bakairí, Chico, who had accompanied me on my previous trip from the Rio Paranatinga to Maimaieti aldea and who had since died. The son of this Chico, called André, had been raised on the ranch of Jange Soares so that he was good at the tasks related to a trip with pack oxen. I hired him for the rest of my journey, and I must mention here that he was always a good and faithful companion on my trip to the Kayabí Post, Pedro Dantas, and on the return to Cuiabá, at one time being my only companion and going through many difficulties with me. I still remember one day, when things were going very badly for us, he said to me, "My father, before, always stayed near you on your trip, and so now I stay near you too."

361 Also on the right side of the Rio Paranatinga but some dis-
622 tance from the river and beyond the Rio Vermelho that flows
[166] into the river below the Simões Lopes Post, was the settlement of the Bakairí who had moved from their two aldeas situated on the Rio Novo. The cacique of this group of Bakairí was at this time a man of advanced age called Roberto. (Cf. Figure 12.) The settlement consisted of 11 houses, only three of which were occupied at this time. But besides these houses Roberto also had a house at the Simões Lopes Post itself, where he occasionally
114 stayed with his people. On leaving Simões Lopes to continue my journey to the Pedro Dantas Post, I had the opportunity to visit the houses of the Bakairí who had come from the Rio Novo,

/31 cont./

114 but unfortunately I encountered only a few inhabitants of this aldea because Roberto was busy at the plantations with most of his people.

114 At the Simões Lopes Post itself there lived several Bakairí
115 who had been for some time in the employ of the Post administration and who were familiar with the tasks involved with traveling with pack oxen. (Cf. /32/ Figures 9-11.) One of these was employed especially as a carpenter. (Cf. Figure 9.) It was interesting for me to meet one of these Bakairí, called Bernardino, who with some other Bakairí had accompanied Colonel Fawcett on his last trip to the tributaries of the Xingu River, and who for this reason could give me some exact data on the last events prior to the disappearance of this unfortunate explorer. According to this information, already before /his disappearance/ the Colonel's behavior had seemed very strange
114 to the Bakairí. They said that before his last trip he had undertaken a journey to the Rio Paranatinga region with some Bakairí, pushing blindly in a certain direction until his pack oxen fell exhausted, so that he had to abandon all his equipment on the plain. Returning to Simões Lopes, he had hired Leonardo and some other Bakairí to lead him with his son and another youth, who was said to have been ill already, to the tributaries of the Xingu River. From there he had then ordered all his guides to return because he wished to continue the journey accompanied only by his son and by the above-mentioned fellow countrymen. Since that time there had been no news of him, and all those who are familiar with conditions in these regions insofar as its pestiferous climate, impenetrable forests, rapids, and total lack of available game in many of its parts are concerned, will share my opinion that these conditions preclude the possibility of Fawcett still being alive. It is probable that but a short time after the departure of the Bakairí he and his two companions dropped exhausted and helpless somewhere on the plain or a hill, so that we need not assume necessarily that their death was brought about through the violence of some

/32 cont./

114 enemy Indian. Just as an untiring search for the "martyrs" in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River finally broke the health of Officer Paulo Castro 25 years before, so too Colonel Fawcett perished in the same regions in his fantastic race for the "mysterious city."

177 178 Although in the year 1927 nearly all the Bakairí dressed in European-type garments and lived in Brazilian-style ranchos, and although they had also adopted many other articles of European culture, there survived among them various articles of their native culture with which I shall deal in the section that follows.

361 Already at the time of my stay among the Bakairí at Simões Lopes there was frequent talk of an imminent move of the post. [312] The Indians were not satisfied with their present location because in times of drought there was no water available except at a [241] great distance, and because there was no ground suitable to make plantations in the immediate vicinity of the post. As for the selection of a place for the new post, the opinions of the Indians differed a great deal, and it was interesting to note that the Xinguanos especially wanted the location to be closer to the capital, Cuiabá, while the Paranatinganos, on the contrary, wanted a place which would be beyond the Rio Paranatinga.

[114] /33/ We learned a few details concerning the later conditions of the Bakairí who lived in the new Simões Lopes Post from Vincent M. Petrullo, who in the year 1931 undertook a journey carried out in part with pack oxen, by water, and in part by air to the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, passing this Indian post along the way. (38) According to

[113] 38. Vincent M. Petrullo, "Primitive Peoples of Matto Grosso, Brazil," The Museum Journal, Vol. XXIII, Number 2, Philadelphia, pp. 127-130.

361 /33 cont./ According To
648 Petrullo the new post is situated on top of a mountain some distance from the edge of the Rio Paranatinga. The post itself consisted of some excellent administrative buildings, and at some distance from these stood the Bakairí aldea, so that the Indians
[871] kept a certain independence. The post had a school which tried to teach the Bakairí youth to read and write in the Portuguese language and the rudiments of arithmetic. The administration
[231] kept a herd of cattle, and each of the Bakairí wished to have some oxen and cows.

114 Without wishing to malign Petrullo's precious information,
648 I must note below some points on which I cannot quite agree
177 with his opinions, because they contradict my experiences
241 among these Indians. I believe that a false impression of the previous living conditions of the Bakairí in the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River led to Petrullo's interpretations when he says that the post administration had not experimented in order to change the Bakairí, who in former times had led a seminomadic life, into a sedentary group of agriculturalists. The Bakairí of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River were, like all the other Indian tribes of the Rio Kulisehu, with the possible exception of the Trumaí, a typical agricultural people. The tasks related to agriculture made up the chief part of their activities, and they had extensive plantations in the vicinity of their houses. They led a totally sedentary existence in their aldeas, even moving these closer to their plantations when the latter, owing to the successive exploitation of the land on the closest hill, were little by little moved too distant
[231] from their houses. Livestock they did not have, so that there has been a change in their way of life at the post, with the transformation of a previously agricultural people into a people who raise cattle, no doubt to get a bigger income.

226 Also, I cannot believe that the unusual abundance of fish
114 in the Rio Paranatinga, extolled in former times by the Bakairí, should have dwindled so thoroughly as to warrant Petrullo's observation, "There are practically no fish in the Paranatinga,

/33 cont./

226 at least up to where the post is located /cited in English/."
114 At the time of Karl von den Steinen's expedition, the matrinchãn fish was held as the most precious boon in the country of the Paranatinga Bakairí, and in its honor they held their most beautiful fiesta. (39) When Karl von den Steinen suggested to

39. Karl v. d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., pp. 24 and 25.

Cacique Felipe that his aldea, which seemed to be losing all its population then, should be moved closer to Cuiabá, his sole reply was /34/ matrinchãn. Later at the aldea, then situated
[123] farther upriver, I was treated almost every day to a tasty matrinchãn, and when I visited the Xinguanos in the year 1927 in their settlement on the Rio Paranatinga, they also offered me fish. Of course, it may be that this abundance of fish in the Rio Paranatinga is restricted to certain times of the year.

114 I also regard as incorrect Petrullo's observation that the
177 Bakairí of the post had substituted hammocks made of cotton
283 thread for the ancestral ones of buriti fiber. From the beginning
352 the hammock made of cotton thread was typical especially of the Bakairí of the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, in contrast to the hammocks woven of buriti fiber used by the other tribes in this region. But already at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions, (40) the Bakairí of the Rio

40. Ibid., p. 239.

Paranatinga had hammocks made of buriti fiber, which, they said, old Cacique Caetano had introduced among them. As for
114 Petrullo's opinion that the custom of filing the upper incisors
177 is ancestral with the Bakairí and that they still retain it, I must
304 contest it with the fact that the Bakairí of the region of the

/34 cont./

114 tributaries of the upper Xingu River never had this custom, but
177 that I had the opportunity to observe it among several of my
304 Mato Grosso attendants, who had presumably adopted it through African influences. If the present-day Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post file their teeth, this is no doubt an innovation brought about by foreign influences.

165 We know through Petrullo that the high mortality of the
164 Paranatinga Bakairí unfortunately has continued in spite of the
[648] care of the Inspectoria da Protecção aos Indios /Indian Protection Service/. (41) It seems that fevers are rapidly diminishing the

41. Vincent M. Petrullo, loc. cit., pp. 128 and 129.

Bakairí population. According to Petrullo, syphillis, caught through contact with the whites, probably has also caused high mortality among these Indians.

622 Finally, I must still mention the last news I received when
159 I had already left Mato Grosso. It was the news of the death
178 of the man who had withdrawn from all innovations at the close of his life because he wished to retain his independence but who nevertheless will remain the best-known Bakairí in Bakairí history: the death of Cacique Antonio.

184 II. Change and Continuity in the Cultural Goods
178 of the Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post
177

In discussing in the preceding section the history of the Bakairí, I mention that the sedentary Bakairí on the Rio Paranatinga and the Rio Novo, before they entered into relations with their fellow countrymen of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, had still retained some of the articles of their /35/ ancestral culture although they had almost completely become Brazilian campesinos. Through contact with the Xinguanos and as a

/35 cont./

184 result of the latter's continuous movement to the Rio Parana-
178 tinga, Indian influence on the eastern Bakairí had increased
177 once more, and when in the year 1927 I visited the Simões Lopes Post, where in the interval all the Bakairí had settled either at the post itself or in its vicinity, it was still possible
126 to find there many ancestral implements and customs. In the
[178] Bakairí houses there were many objects made in the native manner, so that I was able to acquire a relatively large collection for the Berlin Ethnographic Museum. Among the objects
126 in this collection were, as already mentioned above, several
184 that came from the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu
[439] River itself, which the Xinguanos had brought with them when they had moved to the Rio Paranatinga or which these Indians had received later from Indians of other tribes as the latter
323 visited Simões Lopes. Among the objects from the region of
184 the upper Xingu River tributaries we may note especially the fired clay vessels which were imported in large quantities, because, according to the Bakairí, there was no clay suitable for making them at Simões Lopes. The large fired clay ollas found
[439] in large numbers in Bakairí houses and used to boil the pyserego drink were obtained from the Mehinakú. A good example of the small vessels that came from the region of the upper Xingu
323 River tributaries is shown in Figure 25. This vessel (V.B.
126 9870), (42) one of the appendages of which is characterized,
532

42. This is the catalog number of the Berlin Ethnographic Museum.

by the formation of a mouth, by an animal head, corresponds in shape to a specimen of such a vessel which I brought in the year 1901 from the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí (43) and to other similar

43. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brazilien, loc. cit., p. 401, Fig. 275 /257/.

323 /35 cont./
[126] specimens collected by Karl von den Steinen which were said to
[532] represent bats. To the basic, dark color of the outer surface of
[531] the vessel, brown paint is applied on the walls in parallel vertical strips and on the bottom of the vessel in curved lines emerging from the circumference of a circle whose center is the center of the pot bottom. The height of this pot reaches 10.5 cm. and the diameter of its upper rim, 26.5 cm. Two other fired-clay vessels, both smaller, are represented in Figures 26 and 27, one of which (V.B. 9877) has a height of 11.5 cm. and an upper rim diameter of 26 cm., and the other (V.B. 9874) a height of 12.5 cm. and an upper rim diameter of 20 cm. Of the other objects from the region of the upper Xingu River
301 most were ornaments. The necklace shown in Figure 24 (V.B.
126 9957) and made of small shell disks (diameter: 0.8 cm.) and a large stone bead was given to me in Simões Lopes by my old friend, the Bakairí, Karía, as a particularly precious object from former times. Other ornamental objects in my collection are shown in the following photographs:

Figure 24, a. A necklace of small shell plates /chapitas/ (V.B. 9956. Length of the plates, 2.5 cm.).

/36/ Figure 23, c. A necklace of shell disks with a zoomorphic (bird) pendant of fruit rind (V.B. 9954).

Figure 23, b. Zoomorphic stone pendant for a necklace.

Figure 23, a. Feather diadem. (V.B. 9968.) Length 36 cm. Width 8 cm.

285 Among the cultural goods of the Bakairí which we must
184 also regard as products of the native industry, but which, in contrast with those just described, were apparently made by the Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post themselves, we may point out first of all the various kinds of plaited objects, because they will serve to complement on various points my previous publications on Bakairí plaited objects. (44) For this reason I shall

[113] 44. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., pp. 330-371.

/36 cont./

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Cf. Idem., "Ableitung südamerikanischer Geflechtsmuster aus der Technik des Flechtens /Derivation of South American Plaiting Pattern from the Technique of Plaiting/." Zeitsch. f. Ethn., 1904, Heft 3 and 4, pp. 490-512. Idem., "Die technischen Voraussetzungen in der Ornamentik der Eingeborenen Südamerikas /The Technical Bases in the Ornamentation of the South American Natives/." Ipek. Jahrbuch für Prähistorische und Ethnographische Kunst, 1926, pp. 142-174.

discuss the plaited objects that I collected from the Simões Lopes Bakairí in a special section that follows. In addition to plaited objects I was primarily concerned with the acquisition of a mortar and its corresponding pestle and a triangular barbecue, because the relevant collections of the Berlin Ethnographic Museum did not include any specimen of these Bakairí objects which are to be found in almost every settlement of these Indians. The wooden mortar which I brought from Simões Lopes (V.B. 9883, called óro by the Kulisehu Bakairí) is shown in Figure 29. Its height reaches 38 cm. and the rim diameter 25 cm. From the irregular shape of the bottom it may be assumed that the lower part of the mortar was implanted in the ground. The corresponding pestle (V.B. 9884) has a length of 95 cm. and is shown in Figure 28. The barbecue shown in Figure 30 and called by the Kulisehu Bakairí si(r)ka has the usual triangular shape of Bakairí barbecues. The sticks of which this barbecue consists are bound together with tree bark. Its height reaches 105 cm.

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I found the dancing sticks shown in Figures 33 a-d and 34 a-d (V.B. 9942, 9943, 9945-9948, 9951, and 10071) in

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535 Cacique Pires' house, where they were used in the dance fiestas
126 staged at specific times by the Xinguanos. The fire-engraved
531 embellishments enhanced with black paint are wholly ancestral. Besides circles and spirals they also include other decorative elements of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí. The length of these sticks reaches from 76 cm. to 100 cm. and their diameter from 1.7 cm. to 4.5 cm.

532 Of the figures made of maize husks, such as the Bakairí
126 of the upper Xingu River tributaries had in former times, I found two specimens in the settlement of Xinguanos on the Rio Paranatinga, which represent birds (V.B. 9964 and 9965. Length 15 cm.) A ball made of husks of ears of maize (V.B. 9966. Length 21 cm.) such as was used by the Bakairí of the Kulisehu in general for their game with a ball, which they called tõju, is shown in Figure 31, b.

126 Small figures in the form of the human figure shown on
532 Figure 23, d (V.B. 9961. Length 10 cm.) were placed, in
751 Simões Lopes, around the /37/ necks of newborn babies to protect them from illness. I had acquired a good, old specimen of such a figure which was tied with an animal claw from the necklace of the little girl of a woman belonging to the Bakairí who had moved from the Rio Novo. A day later she came with her child to ask me to return to her the necklace with the pendant, because the child had fallen ill after the loss of the necklace. She exchanged the old figure for the new one shown in Figure 23, d.

211 Finally, I must still mention the notched board shown on
194 Figure 31, a (V.B. 9969. Length 23.5 cm.) Since such boards,
177 probably intended as mnemonic aids, are not found among the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River tributaries, we must assume that this case is an instance of foreign influence in later times.

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III. Plaited Objects of the Bakairí in Simões Lopes

Most of the plaited objects that I acquired from the Bakairí in Simões Lopes belong to that kind of plaiting which I called in my respective previous publications Stufengeflecht (stepped plaiting).

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The two fire fans shown in Figures 35 a and 35 b (a: (above) V.B. 9918. Length of the upper rim 45 cm. Width 19 cm. b. (below) V.B. 9919. Length of the upper rim 43 cm. Width 17.5 cm.) are similar in their external form to those, with which we are familiar, of the Kulisehu Bakairí of former times, but in regard to technique they already show certain signs of degeneration. In the chapter "Geflechte und Geflechtsornamentik im Xingú-Quellgebiet /Plaited Objects and Their Ornamentation in the Headwater Region of the Xingu/" in my already-mentioned book, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, I dealt at length with the technique used in the construction of such fire fans, because these plaited objects were especially suitable to show the dependence of the ornamentation of plaited objects on the technique of plaiting used in their construction. It is possible to determine exactly the specific units in the plaited object and the order in which they were successively fashioned, and the specimens shown in photographs in the work mentioned clearly reveal how the ornamental lines between these specific units of the plaited article and, successively, the overall ornamentation of the respective fans, are intimately bound to the technical conditions of the plaiting. Thus, in all fans of this kind /obtained/ from the Kulisehu Indians, the two triangular units of the plaited object, which begin with their bases on the two sides of the lower edge of the object, are striped horizontally, that is to say, parallel to the lower edge, while the middle part of the fan, which integrates /?/ the beginning of the plaited object and is shaped like a square resting on its corner, is usually striped vertically.

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285 As shown by the fan represented in the photograph in Figure 191
372 of the above-mentioned book, there are cases where this middle
531 part is striped horizontally without this leading to /38/ techni-
cal complications, and as in these cases also the two triangular units of the object, which begin with their bases on the two sides of the lower edge of the fan, are for technical reasons striped horizontally, all of these plaited units in this fan have the same ornamental striping. But the vertical striping that runs throughout the fan represented in Figure 154, a /35 top?/ and coming from Simões Lopes is incompatible with the technical conditions of the ancestral forms of these plaited objects. The structure of the plaiting of this fan shows that it, too, was plaited so that the work began in the middle part of the fan in the shape of a square resting on one corner, and then the two lower triangles were made by folding and plaiting the free
285 ends of the fibers used to make the middle part. Among the
372 numerous specimens of such fans at the Berlin Ethnographic
178 Museum, there are none whose triangular parts at the lower
531 base of the fan show striping going in a vertical direction, and the imperfection of the lower edge of the fan from Simões Lopes, in comparison with the firm, smooth edges of the fans from the Kulisehu Bakairí, clearly shows that in the case of the fan from Simões Lopes we are dealing with a degeneration of the Bakairí plaiting techniques, which in times past was more skillful and more dependent on certain principles. The fire fan shown in Figure 154, b /35 bottom?/ also contains, in spite of its superficial good looks, so many imperfections in the ornamentation and so many irregularities in the structure of the plaiting that its later origin is at once evident.

285 There is a great similarity, we might even say identity,
184 between the flat baskets acquired in Simões Lopes and those
171 which the Bakairi of the upper Xingu tributaries made in former
531 times. The flat basket shown in Figure 36 (V.B. 9909. Diameter 51 cm.) is surprisingly similar to such a basket collected by Herrmann Meyer from the Nahukuá and described

285 /38 cont./
184 by me elsewhere. (45) Both baskets are woven of the fibers of
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45. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, pp. 349-351 and Fig. 176.

buriti leaves, whose stalks protrude at one side of the basket, and the rim is emphasized by a wooden hoop. These two baskets differ only in their ornamentation: that of the basket from the Simões Lopes Bakairí consisting of a simple striping that runs through the entire basket in the same direction, whereas the plaiting of the specimen acquired by Herrmann Meyer from the Nahukuá consists of several units which contrast among themselves in the opposite orientation of their striping, so that on the surface of the basket appears the rhomboidal ornamentation common among those Indians. Although up to now a specimen of a basket similar to this one was unknown among the Bakairí, we should not regard the flat basket shown in Figure 36 as a product of the Nahukuá, because the cultural goods of these two tribes, which are also related with respect to language, shows on the whole great similarities.

285 /39/ The flat, round basket shown in Figure 37 and called
184 by the Kulisehu Bakairí apa (V.B. 9906. Diameter 36 cm.
531 Height 10 cm.) must be held in terms of technique and ornamentation as a faultless product of the ancestral Bakairí art of plaiting. The technique of this basket and its rhomboidal ornamentation running symmetrically over its entire surface and emphasized further by the different color of the respective fibers of the plaiting oriented vertically and horizontally, are similar to a specimen acquired by Herrmann Meyer from the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí shown in a photograph in my already-mentioned publication. (46) There are only unimportant

46. Ibid., p. 350, Fig. 177.

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285 differences in the ornamentation of these two flat baskets: the
184 small rhombs of the flat basket from Simões Lopes are white
531 with a black dot in the middle and are surrounded by two black squares and one white square, while the rhombs of the other basket are black with a white dot in the middle and are surrounded only by a white square and a black one. Technically, this difference is explained by the fact that each plaited unit of the basket from Simões Lopes, marked by the ornamental striping running in the same direction, consists of 12 fibers going vertically and 12 fibers going horizontally, whereas the number of each one of these two groups of fibers in the flat basket from the Rio Kulisehu is nine. Otherwise, the two baskets differ in the way in which one of the two groups of fibers (vertical or horizontal) of the plaiting has been colored black. Both baskets are plaited in such a way that the respective stem fibers in one of the two groups of these fibers are placed with their outer, smooth surface above and their inner, rough surface under, while the fibers of the other group, running vertically to the fibers of the first group, are placed with their rough surface above and their smooth surface under. But the way in which the black coloring of the rough surface of these fibers is done is different in the two baskets. In the flat basket from Simões Lopes the rough surface of the plaiting fibers is stained black before they are plaited, whereas the coloring of the flat basket from the Rio Kulisehu is done in such a way that the entire basket, plaited as described above but without prior dyeing of the rough surface of the respective fibers, is stained with soot and washed immediately. Through washing the soot disappeared from the parts of the surface of the basket formed by the smooth surface of the plaiting fibers, while the parts where the fibers appear with their rough surface at the surface of the basket remained black. The way of forming a pretty border with the free ends of the plaiting fibers emerging from its upper edge is the same in both baskets.

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The basket from the Simões Lopes Bakairí shown in Figure 38 (V.B. 9907. Diameter 26 cm. Height 6.5 cm.) must be held as a transitional product of a new age. In its /40/ external form and its rim, formed with the ends of the plaiting fibers, it is altogether similar to the basket just described. Its peculiarity consists in that, along with the rhomboidal ornamentation common among the Bakairí, it also presents a winding /given in Portuguese, meandro/ ornamentation. It was characteristic of the Bakairí of the upper Xingu tributaries that in the ornamentation of their plaited objects and in the ornamentation derived from the latter, the winding pattern was almost nonexistent, while this decoration is common, for example, in the ornamentation of the Kayabí, neighbors of the Bakairí, and also appears sporadically in the ornamentation of other tribes neighboring on the Bakairí, in the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River. Thus we must regard the winding pattern which appears on the surface of the flat basket from the Simões Lopes Bakairí as an element alien to typical Bakairí ornamentation and introduced to them through the influence of other tribes. Since there were Kayabí women among the Paranatinga Bakairí, it may be assumed that they introduced this new decoration to the Bakairí. The diagram in Figure 47 shows that in this basket, too, the winding lines of the ornamentation of the plaiting were formed in the usual way whereby in certain parts of the plaiting the individual square units are placed in such a way that four of them do not touch corners in the same spot, while in those areas of the work where this does occur, there appear the rhomboidal or cross-shaped decorations common among the Bakairí. The fact that in this case a foreign influence is involved is also derived from the various irregularities in the weaving structure, which contrasts to the well formed plaited work of the Bakairí in former times. The workmanship in this basket conveys the impression that the Bakairí in this case accepted the new decoration without being sufficiently familiar with its technical conditions to produce a more accomplished

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184 work, as also occurs often among other tribes in the process of
285 transition in their cultural goods. The diagram in Figure 47
177 shows that, in the middle of the basket, a secondary fiber was
531 added arbitrarily to the other fibers that formed the plaited
171 object, and that the triple mesh plaiting is changed several times into double mesh. Important irregularities occur, especially in the center of one of the rhomboidal figures.

285 The basket shown in Figure 39 and called by the Bakairí
531 humureba (V.B. 9885. Height 14 cm. Width of the bottom 20 cm. Width of the upper rim 28 cm.) is a good example of those plaited objects from the Simões Lopes Bakairí which were made strictly in accordance with ancestral Bakairí technique. I have dealt at length elsewhere (47) with this type of basketry, which

47. Max Schmidt, "Die technischen Voraussetzungen in der Ornamentik der Eingeborenen Südamerikas," loc. cit., pp. 157-158. Idem., Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 355, Fig. 180.

is also common among other Indian tribes, and shown that in such cases the beginning of the plaiting consists of a square flat piece the middle part of which forms the bottom of the basket, while the four corners are folded upward to form the four walls of the basket. In order to obtain uniform striping of the four walls, the square piece which forms the beginning of the basket must consist of at least four square units marked /41/ by two changes of the direction of the striping and with their four inner corners meeting in the middle of the bottom of the basket so that, in accordance with the two combination possibilities, the common decorative elements of the rhomboidal form or the shape of a cross results. If the surface of the bottom of the basket shows the rhomboidal ornamentation, as does the basket from Simões Lopes (see diagram for Figure 39), the

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285 walls of the resulting basket will show uniform striping running
531 horizontally, while a basket the walls of which show striping running vertically will result if the surface of the bottom has a cross-shaped decorative element. (Cf. the basket shown in a photograph in my above-mentioned book (48).)

48. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 354, Fig. 180.

285 Already on my trip made in the year 1901, I found among
184 the Kulisehu Bakairí a kind of basket which, in its external
531 form, corresponds to the basket just described but which, in terms of the structure of the plaiting of its bottom suggests a completely different beginning of the plaiting. (49) A hoop

49. Ibid., pp. 360-362.

for adorning the head brought by me from the same Bakairí shows, instead of the usual decorative elements of these Indians, the special figure that appears in the middle of the bottom of
[114] these baskets.(50) See the diagram shown in Figure 50. On my
[126]

50. Ibid., p. 414, Fig. 272.

last trip, made in the year 1927, I acquired from the Bakairí of Simões Lopes several specimens of such baskets. Of the three specimens of baskets of this kind shown in Figures 40 (V.B. 9890. Height 17 cm. Width of the bottom 30 cm. Width of the upper rim 33 cm.), 41 (V.B. 9889. Height 18 cm. Width of the bottom 21 cm. Width of the upper rim 28.5 cm.), and 42 (V.B. 9880. Height 25 cm. Width of the bottom 21 cm. Width of the upper rim 33 cm.), each shows a different structure of plaiting in the center of the bottom of the basket: that of the basket shown in Figure 40 has four

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285 184 531 three-step figures (cf. diagram in Figure 51), that of the basket in Figure 41, four four-step figures (cf. diagram in Figure 52), and that of the basket in Figure 42, four five-step figures (cf. diagram in Figure 50).

With the whole leaf of the buriti palm, the Simões Lopes Bakairí made, besides the flat baskets described above, ordinary baskets also, and this in two different forms depending on whether only one palm leaf or two palm leaves were used to make the plaited object.

[126] Of such baskets made from a single leaf, no specimens are known from the Bakairí of the upper Xingu tributaries, but I acquired such a specimen in the year 1901 from the Rio Novo Bakairí, which I have described and shown in a photograph in the above-mentioned work. (51) But it is likely that the Bakairí

51. Ibid., pp. 347-348
Figs. 174-175.

of the upper Xingu tributaries also had baskets of this type in former times and that this was not noted by the respective explorers. The /42/ Kulisehu Bakairí called this kind of basket very common among the Bakairí of Simões Lopes, korá. Of the specimens acquired in Simões Lopes, one is shown in Figure 43 (V.B 9900. Height 24 cm. Width 25 cm.). The making of such baskets proceeds as follows: the leaf strands are divided into two groups and the strands in the first group are plaited with those in the second group, in twill fashion and beginning with the middle strands. The plaiting, of single mesh to quadruple mesh, presents the characteristic striping of strip plaiting, at first going in a vertical direction but passing to the horizontal direction in the second unit of plaiting formed on the front side on the edge of the leaf by folding the free ends of the strands and plaiting them in the opposite direction. Cf. the diagram shown in Figure 53.

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Of the baskets plaited of two buriti palm leaves, called by the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí bo'idéju, several specimens were already known from the Bakairí of the upper Xingu tributaries, which are similar with respect to their form and manner of plaiting, on the whole, to the baskets which I acquired from the Simões Lopes Bakairí. In these baskets, too, of which three specimens are shown in photographs in Figures 44-46 (V.B. 9899. Height 36 cm. Width 32 cm. V.B. 9904. Height 32 cm. Width 34 cm. V.B. 9901. Height 37 cm. Width 34 cm.), the plaiting consists of single mesh or triple mesh. I have described the plaiting technique used in these baskets at length in my above-mentioned book, (52) with the aid of a diagram,

52. Ibid., pp. 356-359, Figs. 182-184.

and I have shown that the beginning of the plaiting is formed by two square plaited units, of which one situated at the front side of the basket (square ABCD in the diagram in Figure 48) is plaited from the strands of half of each of the two leaves, and the other unit, situated at the back side of the basket (square AEIG in the diagram), /is woven/ from the other half of each of the two leaves. These two square units of plaiting, placed corner to corner, and, in their original position, placed one before the other, are united by two other units of plaiting made from the free fibers of the first two units (squares ADHG and ABFE in the diagram), in such a way that these four square units together form one unit (square HIFC in the diagram) the size of which is twice that of the two original units. While the four corners of this unit of plaiting (square HIFC in the diagram) are folded upward in a vertical position (triangles DBC, BFE, EIG, and GDH in the diagram) and serve as parts of the four walls of the basket, the bottom of the basket is formed by the middle part of this unit (square GEBD in the diagram) which

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285 184 53 [126] remains in a horizontal position. The plaiting of the basket acquired by me from the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí and that of the Simões Lopes basket shown in Figure 44 consist solely of such a square plaited unit whose corners are folded upward to serve as walls for the basket, without the addition of other plaited units to /43/ complete the four walls of the basket. But the two baskets from Simões Lopes shown in Figures 45 and 46 present a more advanced form of this type of basketry in so far as the four blank spaces which appear between the four triangular parts folded upward to serve as part of the walls are filled secondarily to complete the plaiting up to the upper rim of the basket. Since the free ends of the fibers in a plaiting done in this manner all come out at the upper rim of the basket, it is possible, in order to secure them in this place, to fashion a very even and solid rim from which emerge, on both front sides, the ends of the stalks of the two buriti leaves used in the plaiting.

An interesting contribution to the problem of the dependence of basketry ornamentation on technique, and of the derivation of ornamentation from technique, is furnished by a comparison of the two baskets from Simões Lopes shown in Figure 45 and 46. The ornamentation of these two baskets is basically different from that of baskets of which plaiting is formed by loose fibers, such as that of the baskets shown in Figures 39-42. These baskets are also plaited in such a way that a flat square forms the beginning of the basket with the middle part forming the bottom of the basket and the four corners, folded upward, forming parts of the four walls. But by the fact that this flat square of plaiting is composed, in turn, of four plaited units marked by different directions of the striping of its ornamentation, uniform striping is achieved for all four walls, since in this case the striping in the four corners of the main unit, when folded upward, runs in the same direction. With regard to the Bakairí baskets woven of two buriti leaves, such uniformity in the

/43 cont./
285 striping of the walls has not been achieved because the square
184 unit which forms the beginning of the object, in this case,
531 contains only one diagonal stripe running in the same direction. The binding of the strands to the stalks of the leaves, which determines to a large degree the formation of the beginning of the basket, has placed a limitation, in this case, on the development of the formation of more complex units of the plaiting. The diagram in Figure 48 shows that of the four triangular corners of the flat square striped in only one direction, when folded upward, one pair (triangles GDH and BEF) present striping going in a horizontal direction and the other pair (triangles DBC and EGI in the diagram), striping going in a vertical direction. This condition also holds for the two baskets shown in Figures 45 and 46. In order to explain this more easily, I refer once more to the diagram in Figure 48. In this diagram the square GEBD comprises the plaited unit that forms the bottom. In the basket shown in Figure 46, the part of the front wall which is striped vertically corresponds to triangle DBC in the diagram, and the corresponding part of the back wall, not visible in the photograph, to triangle GEI. The corresponding parts of the two lateral walls of the basket present, in accordance with triangles EBE and DGH in the diagram, horizontal striping which also continues in the plaited complements done to fill out the remaining gaps in the four walls of the basket, /44/ so that the parts of the walls which must be regarded as accessory supplements to them present horizontal striping. The ornamentation of the basket shown in Figure 45 differs from that of the basket just described in the direction of the striping in specific parts of the walls, with those parts which are striped vertically in the basket shown in Figure 46 being striped horizontally, and vice versa. This variation of the ornamentation is brought about by the way in which the diagonal striping in the flat square which forms the beginning of the plaiting goes toward the other diagonal line in this square unit, so that the middle part of the front wall and that of the back wall present striping running in a horizontal

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184 direction, while the corresponding parts of the lateral walls and corresponding plaited supplements have vertical striping.

285 Examples of the kind of plaiting called by me in my
227 respective previous publications Doppelfadengeflechte (double-
184 thread plaiting) are represented by the fish trap shown in Figure 54 and the flat basket shown in Figure 55. Fish traps like the one shown in Figure 54 (V.B. 9914. Length 54 cm. Diameter of the upper rim 25 cm.) were very common among the Bakairí of the upper Xingu tributaries, and the Berlin Ethnographic Museum possesses several specimens collected by Karl von den Steinen, who mentions them briefly in his above-mentioned book, Unter den Natürvolkern Zentral-Brasiliens. (53) He says

53. Karl v.d. Steinen, Unter den Natürvolkern Zentral-Brasiliens, loc. cit., p. 236.

there: "As for fish traps, there were two kinds: one called by the Bakairí puroschi was broader and had rectangular intermediary spaces, while the other, called tanaschi, was narrow and long and had high, large meshes oriented vertically." In Karl von den Steinen's book, there is no drawing or photograph of such
[126] a fish trap. The specimen which I got from the Simões Lopes Bakairí and which they call tikíshi consists of slender twigs bound at regular intervals by a double strand which, starting at the bottom, goes through the twigs in spiral fashion. A funnel-shaped entrance made of thicker twigs is placed at the upper edge.

285 The flat basket shown in Figure 55 (Length 65 cm. Width 37 cm.) serves to store fish and consists of a wooden hoop filled in with double-thread plaiting in the form of a small mat like those the Bakairí used to strain their liquids.

Finally, I must mention the small basket shown in Figure 56 (V.B. 9891. Height 20 cm. Width of the upper rim 19 cm.)

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285 which belongs with regard to technique to the third main group of South American basketry, made in such a way that two groups of fibers, of which those in the first group are placed vertically to those in the second group, are interwoven with a third group of fibers oriented in a different direction. Only the walls of the basket are plaited by this technique, while its bottom consists of "step plaiting," done in the usual way with /45/ double mesh. Apart from its bottom the basket is [171] similar with respect to form and technique to a specimen of such a Nahukuá basket shown in a photograph in my above-mentioned book. (54)

54. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 370, Fig. 200.

000 /Pages 45-58, containing a vocabulary and texts, have been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

4:Schmidt--59 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate I

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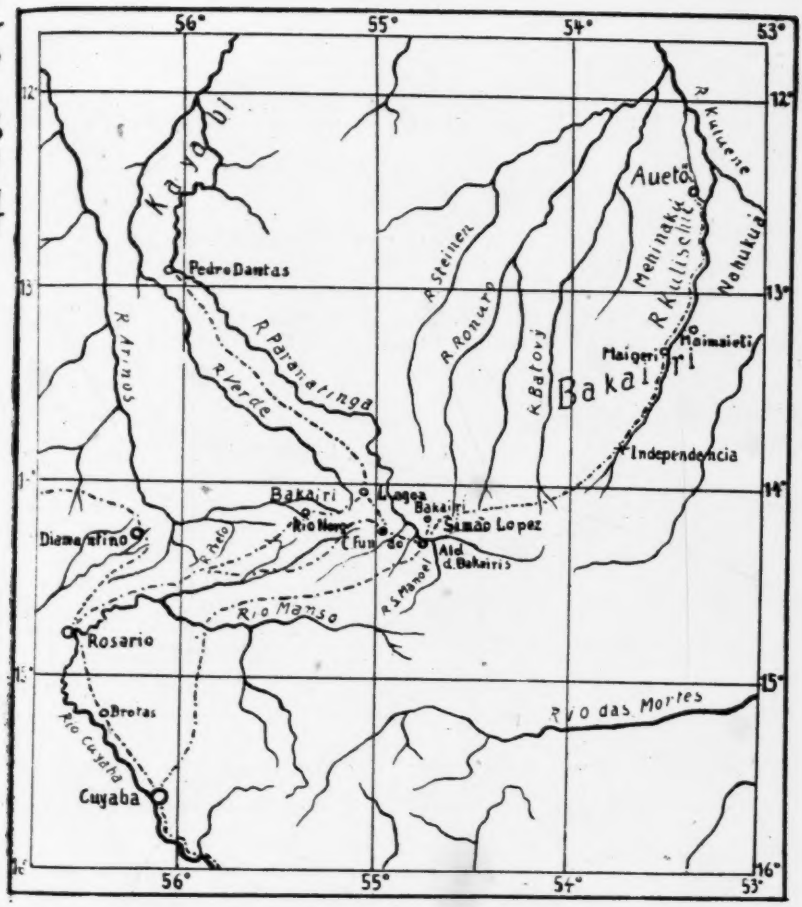

Territory of the Bakairí

— — — Itinerary of the author.

4:Schmidt--60 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate II

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Fig. 1. Captain Antonio, Cacique of the Paranatinga Bakairi, in the year 1927.

4:Schmidt--61 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate III

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Fig. 2. Captain Antonio with his family in front of his house, in the year 1927.

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Fig. 3. Administration building at the Simões Lopes Post.

Plate IV

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Fig. 4. House of the Bakairí, Pires, cacique of the Xinguanos in Simões Lopes.

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Fig. 5. Cacique Pires with his family in front of his house in Simões Lopes.

4:Schmidt--63 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate V

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Fig. 6. Bakairí house, in Simões Lopes.

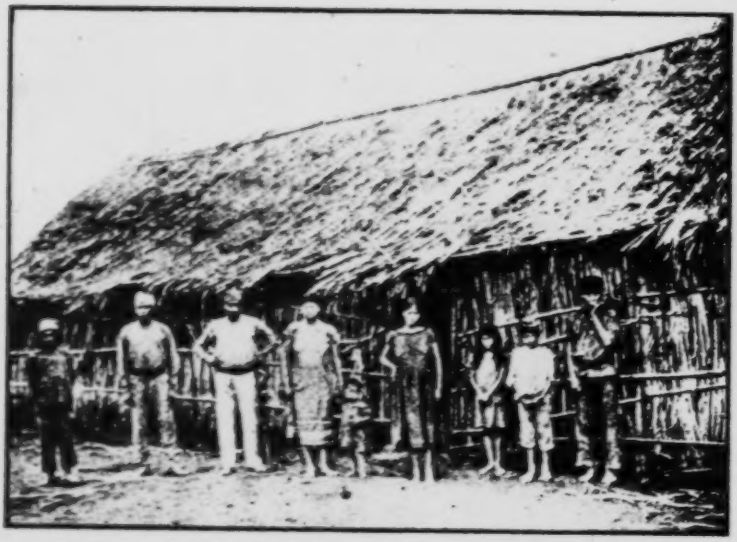

Fig. 7. House of the family of the old Bakairí, Luju, in Simões Lopes.

4:Schmidt--64 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate VI

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Fig. 8. The old Bakairí, Luju, from Maigeri aldeia, in Simões Lopes.

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Fig. 9. The Bakairí, Joaquim Carpintero, in Simões Lopes

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Fig. 10. Bakairí Afonso, Luju's son, in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 11. Bakairí Hieronymo, in Simões Lopes.

622
142
291
516
302

Fig. 12. Cacique Roberto, from the Rio Novo, with his family, in Simões Lopes.

4:Schmidt--66 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate VIII

142
291
302

Fig. 13. Bakairí, son of the Xinguano Kapinage, in Simões Lopes.

114
342
291
516

Fig. 14. The author with Xinguanos in front of their house, situated near the Paranatinga.

4:Schmidt--67 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

142
291
516
302

Fig. 15. Xinguano Patagude with his son Ka'iura, in Cuiabá.

Fig. 16. Xinguano Ka'iura.

342
291
516

Fig. 17. Xinguanos in front of their house, situated near the Rio Paranatinga.

142
291
516
302

Fig. 18. Xinguano Kapinage, in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 19. Paranatinga Xinguano boys.

Fig. 20. Rio Paranatinga Xinguanos.

4:Schmidt--69 E-5 (1901 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate XI

342
516
291
854

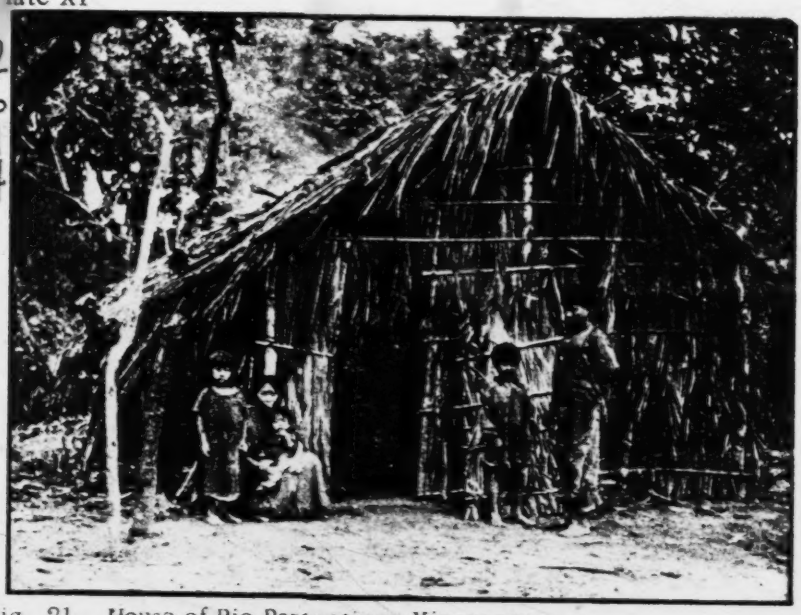


Fig. 21. House of Rio Paranatinga Xinguanos.

Fig. 22. Bakairí João Pedroso with his family in front of his house situated near the Rio Paranatinga

Plate XII

301
237

Fig. 23. a. Diadem of feathers.
b. Pendant for a necklace.
c. Shell necklace.
d. Pendant for a necklace, of a human figure.
Bakairí-Xinguanos in Simões Lopes.

301

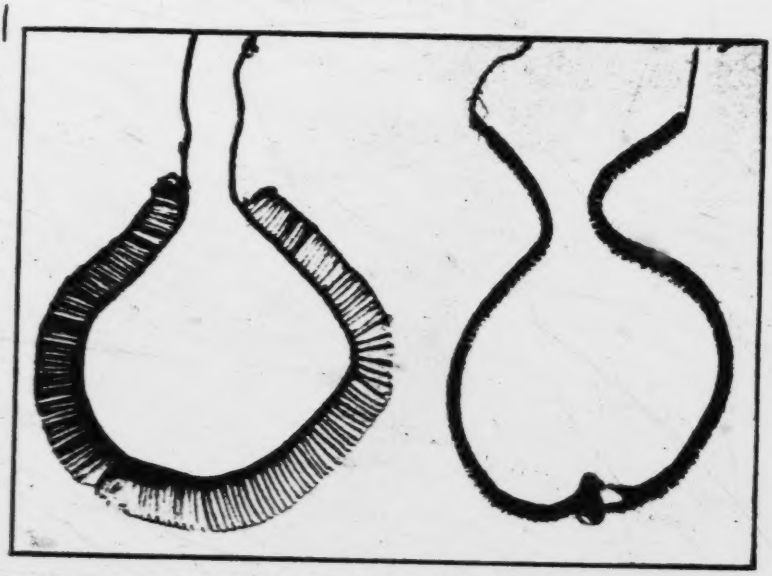


Fig. 24. a-b. Necklaces of Bakairí-Xinguanos, in Simões Lopes.

Plate XII

415
532
←

412
→

Fig. 25. Baked clay vessel (bat). Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 28. Pestle for a mortar. Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

415

[412]
→

Fig. 26. Baked clay vessel. Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 29. Wooden mortar. Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 27. Baked clay vessel. Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

252
417
←

211
→

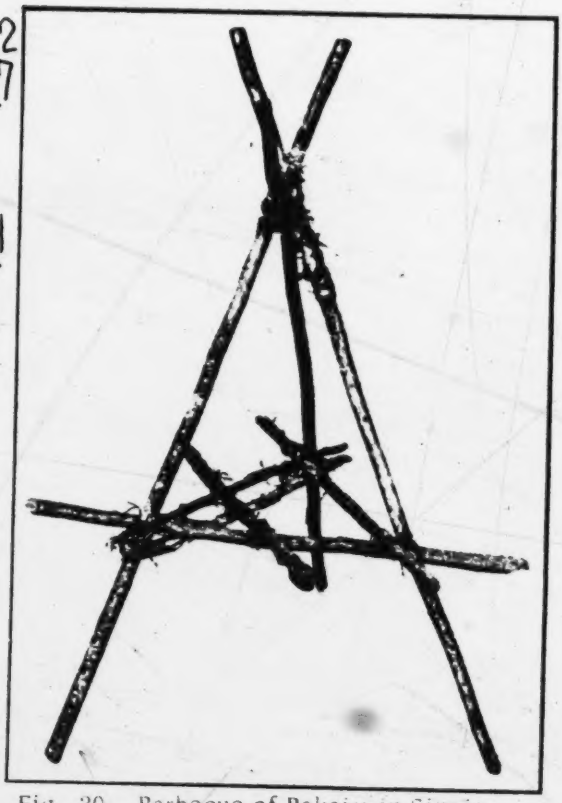


Fig. 30. Barbecue of Bakairi in Simões Lopes.

Plate XIV

Fig. 31. a. Notched board for remembering numbers. b. Ball of an ear of maize. Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

532
824

Fig. 32. Figures in the form of birds, made from maize husks. Bakairí-Xinguanos of the Rio Paranatinga.

Plate XV

535
531

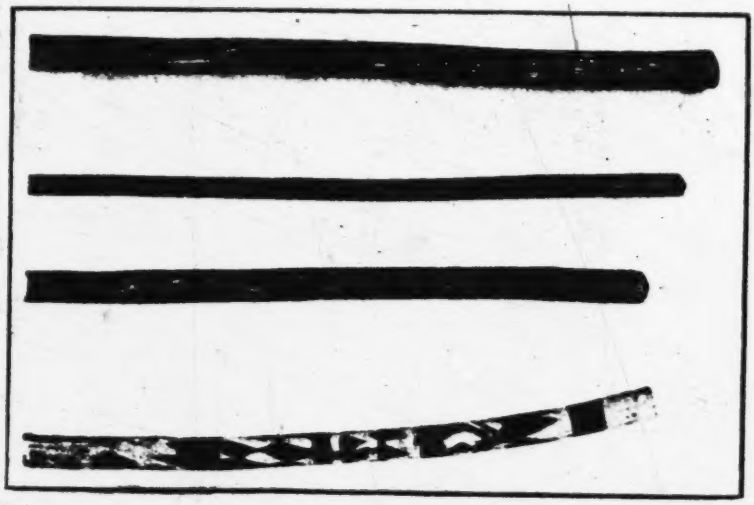


Fig. 33. a-d. Dance sticks of the Xinguanos in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 34. a-d. Dance sticks of the Xinguanos in Simões Lopes.

Plate XVI

285
372

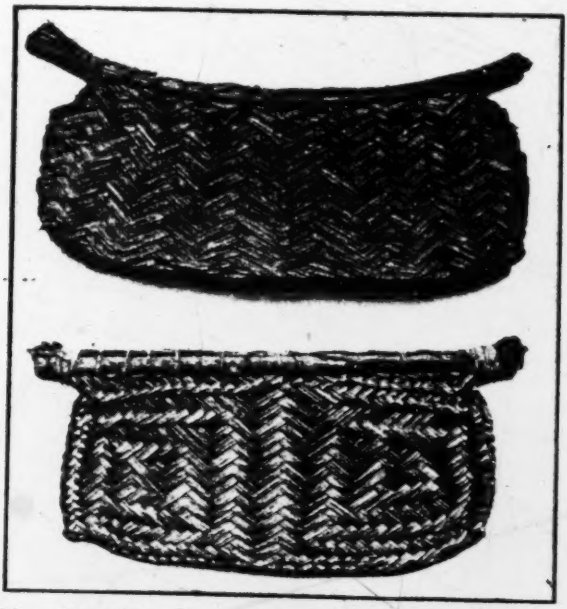


Fig. 35. Fire fans. Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

285

Fig. 36. Flat basket made from two buriti leaves. Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

4:Schmidt--75 F-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate XVII

285
531

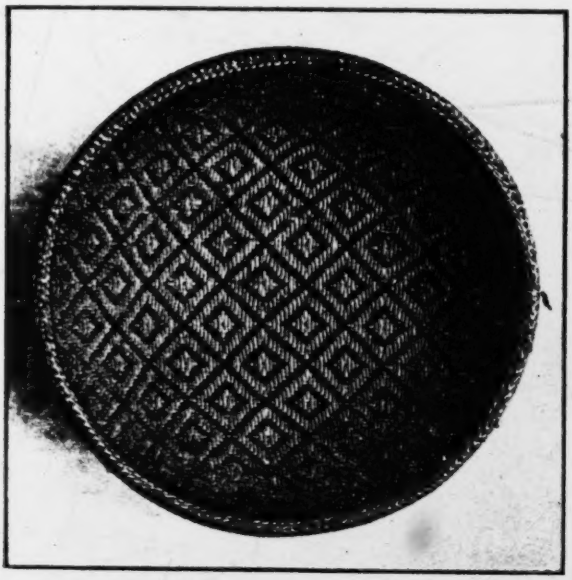


Fig. 37. Flat basket. Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

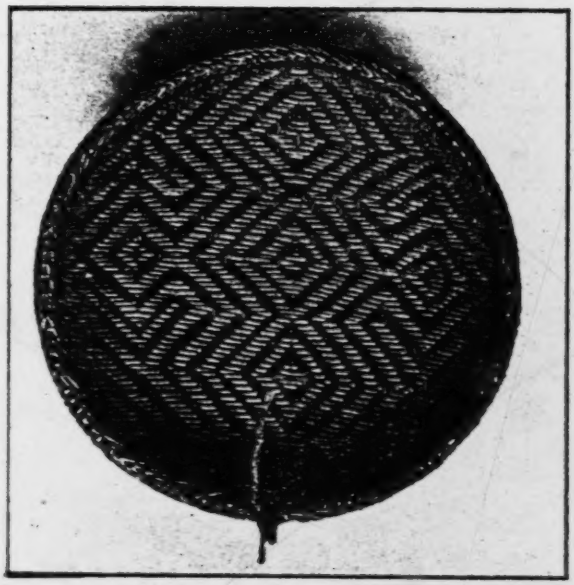


Fig. 38. Flat basket. Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

4:Schmidt--76 E-5 (1904, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate XVIII

285

Fig. 39. Basket of the Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 40. Basket of the Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

Plate XIX

285

Fig. 41. Basket of the Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 42. Basket of the Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

Plate XX

Fig. 43. Basket woven from one buriti leaf. Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 44. Basket woven from two buriti leaves. Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 45. Basket woven from two buriti leaves. Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

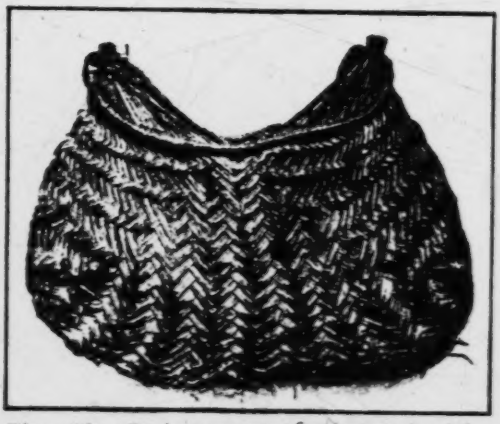


Fig. 46. Basket woven from two buriti leaves. Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

4:Schmidt--79 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate
XXI

285
531

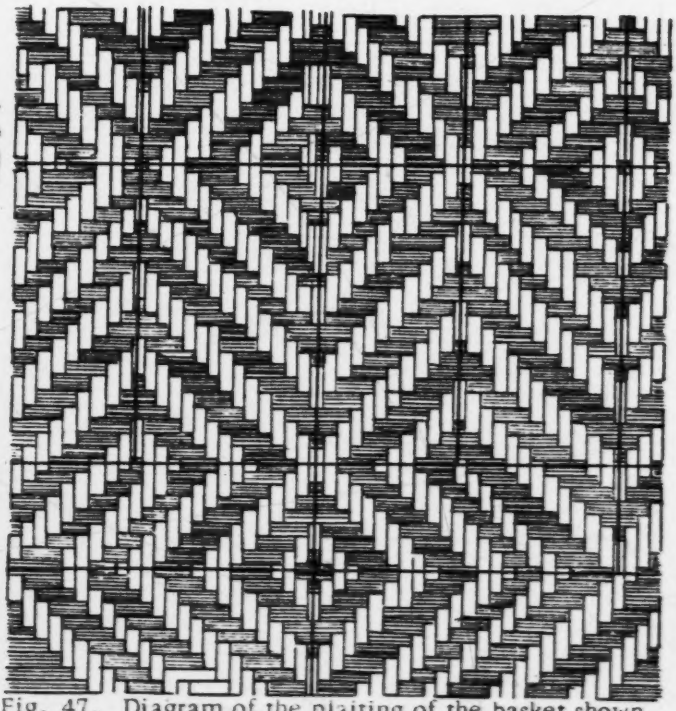


Fig. 47. Diagram of the plaiting of the basket shown in Fig. 38.

285

Fig. 48. Diagram of the technique of the baskets plaited from two buriti leaves.

285
531

Plate XXII

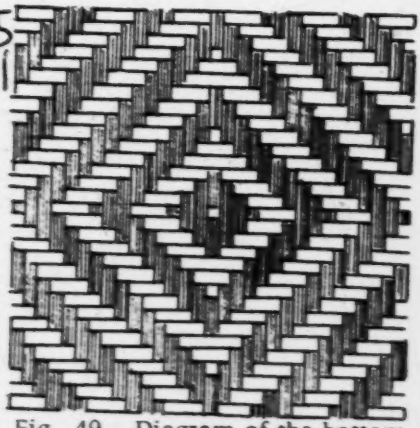


Fig. 49. Diagram of the bottom of the basket shown in Fig. 39.

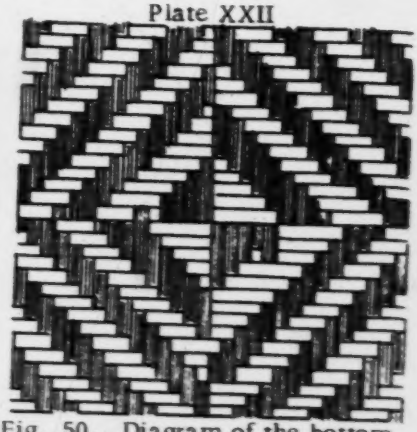
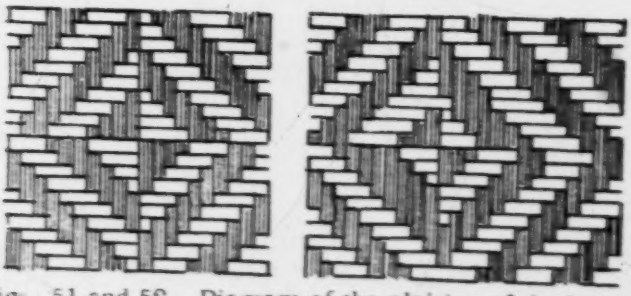


Fig. 50. Diagram of the bottom of the basket shown in Fig. 42.



Figs. 51 and 52. Diagram of the plaiting of the bottom of the baskets shown in Figs. 40 and 41, respectively.

285

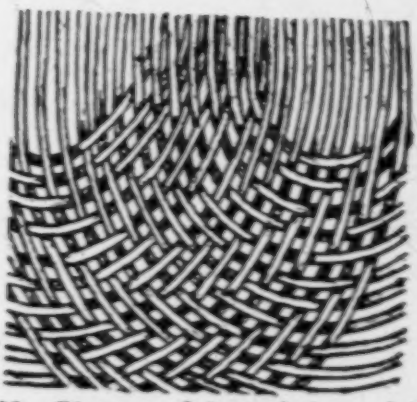


Fig. 53. Diagram of the technique of the baskets woven from only one buriti leaf.

Plate XXIII

285
227

Fig. 54 Fish trap of the Bakairi in Simões Lopes

Fig. 55 Flat basket for keeping fish Bakairi in Simões Lopes.

285

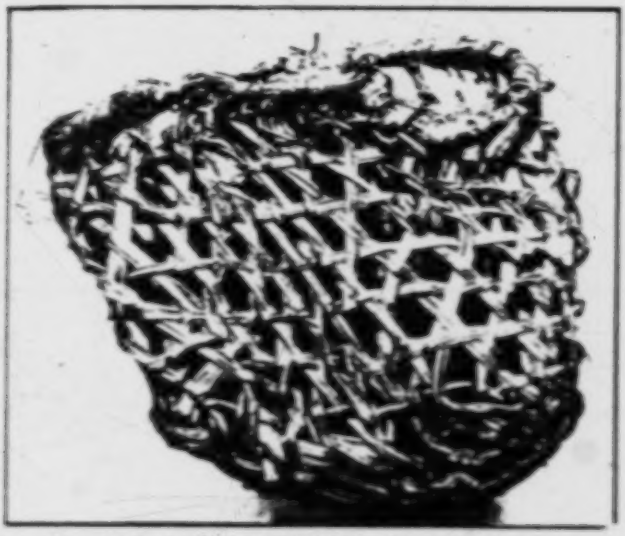
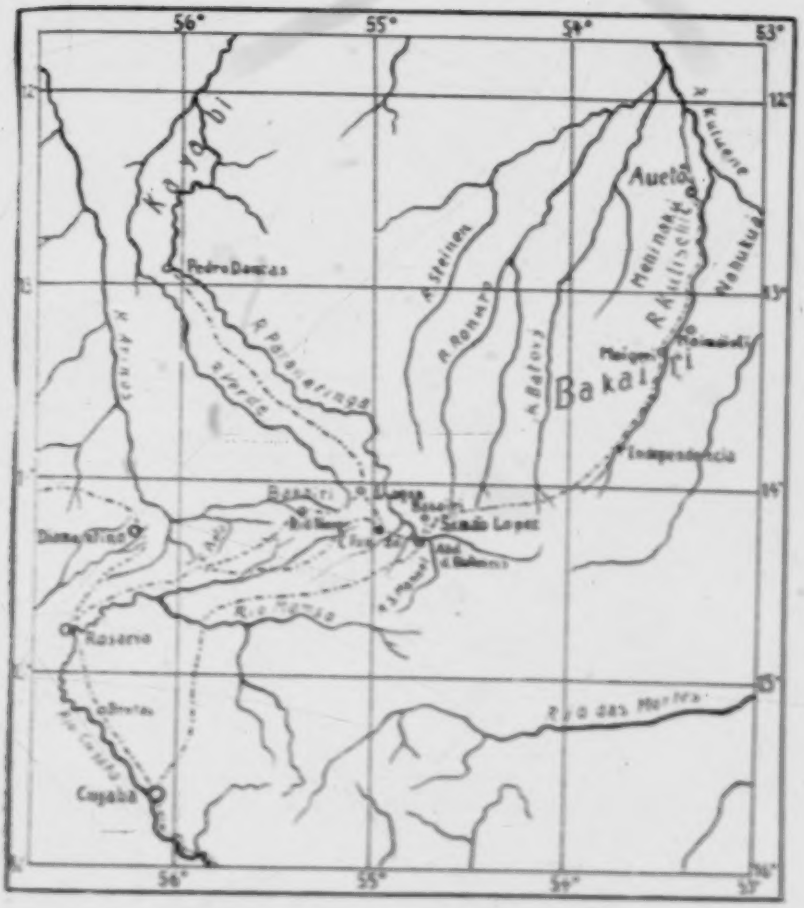


Fig. 56 Basket of the Bakairi in Simões Lopes.



Territorio de los Bakairi
— — — Itinerario del autor

[End Plate I]

Fig. 1. Capitão Antonio, Cacique dos Bakairi do Paranatinga, em o ano de 1927.

[End Plate 2]

Fig. 2. Capitán Antonio con su familia delante de su casa, en el año de 1927.

Fig. 3. Casa de administración en el Puesto de Simões Lopes.

[End plate 3]

Fig. 4. Caso del Bakairi Pires, cacique de los "Kinguanos" en Simões Lopes.

Fig. 5. Cacique Pires con su familia delante de su casa en Simões Lopes.

[End Plate 4]

Fig. 6. Casa de Bakairi, en Simões Lopes.

Fig. 7. Casa de la familia del viejo, Bakairi Lulu, en Simões Lopes.

[End Plate 5]

Fig. 8. El viejo Bakairi Luiz procedente de la aldea de Morgori, en Simões Lopes.

Fig. 9. El Bakairi Joaquim Carpinteiro, en Simões Lopes.

[End Plate 6]

Fig. 10. Bakairi Afonso, hijo de Luiza, en Simões Lopes.

Fig. 11. Bakairi Hieronymo, en Simões Lopes.

Fig. 12. Cacique Roberto, procedente del Rio Novo, con su familia, en Simões Lopes.

[End Plate 7]

Fig. 13. Bakairi, hijo del "Xinguano" Kapinage, en Simões Lopes.

Fig. 14. El autor con Xinguanos delante de la casa de éstos, situada sobre el Paranatinga.

[End Plate 8]

Fig. 15. Xinguano Palaguá con su hijo Ka'iuru en Cuyabá.

Fig. 16. Xinguano Ka'iuru.

Fig. 17. Xinguanos delante de su casa, situada sobre el Río Paranatinga.

[End plate 9]

Fig. 18. Xinguano Kapinage, en Simões Lopes.

Fig. 19. Muchachos Xingùanos del Paranatinga.

Fig. 20. Xinguanos del Rio Paranatinga.

[End Plate 10]

Fig. 21. Casa de Xinguanos del Rio Paranatinga.

Fig. 22. Bakairi João Pedroso con su familia delante de su casa situada sobre el Rio Paranatinga.

[End Plate 11]

Fig. 23. a. Diadema de plumas.
b. Pendiente para un collar.
c. Collar de concha.
d. Pendiente para un collar, de forma humana.
Bakairi-Xinguanos en Simões Lopes.

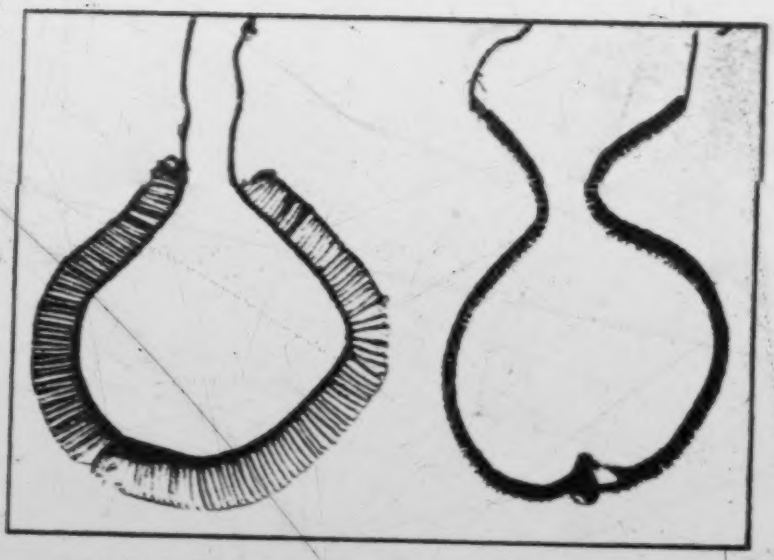


Fig. 24. a-b. Collares de los Bakairi-Xinguanos, en Simões Lopes.

[End Plate 12]

Fig. 25. Vasija de barro cocido (Murciélago). Bakairi en Simões Lopes.

Fig 28. Mano de Mortero, Bakairi en Simões Lopes.

Fig. 26. Vasija de barro cocido. Bakairi en Simões Lopes

Fig. 29. Mortero de madera. Bakairi en Simões Lopes.

Fig. 27. Vasija de barro cocido. Bakairi en Simões Lopes.

[End Plate 13]

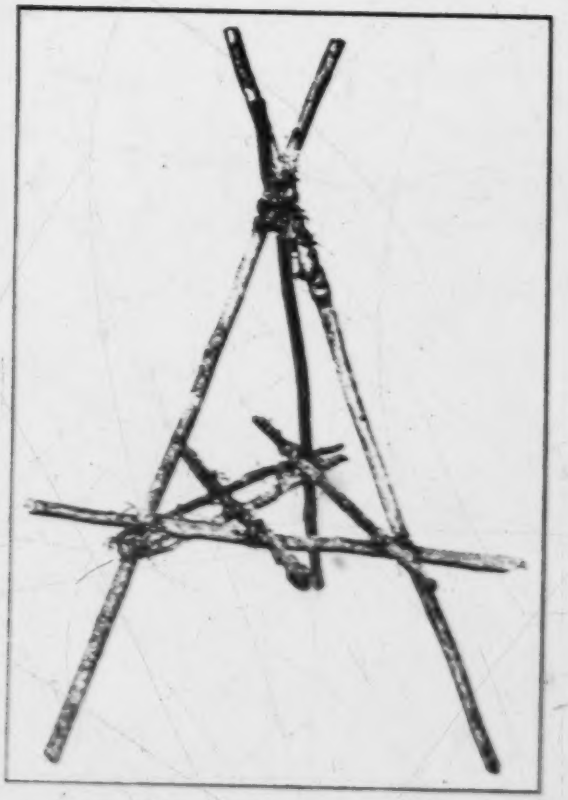


Fig. 30. Anzóis de rio. Bakairi en Simões Lopes.

Fig. 31. a. Tablita entallada para acordar números. b. Pelota de espiga de maiz. Bakairi en Simões Lopes.

Fig. 32. Figuras de forma de aves, hechas de hojas de espigas de maiz. Bakairi-Xinguanos del Rio Paranatinga.

[End Plate 14]

Fig. 33. a–d. Palos de baile de los Xinguanos en Simões Lopes.

Fig. 34. a–d. Palos de baile de los Xinguanos, en Simões Lopes.

[End Plate 15]

Fig. 35. Abanicos para soplar el fuego. Bakairi en Simões Lopes.

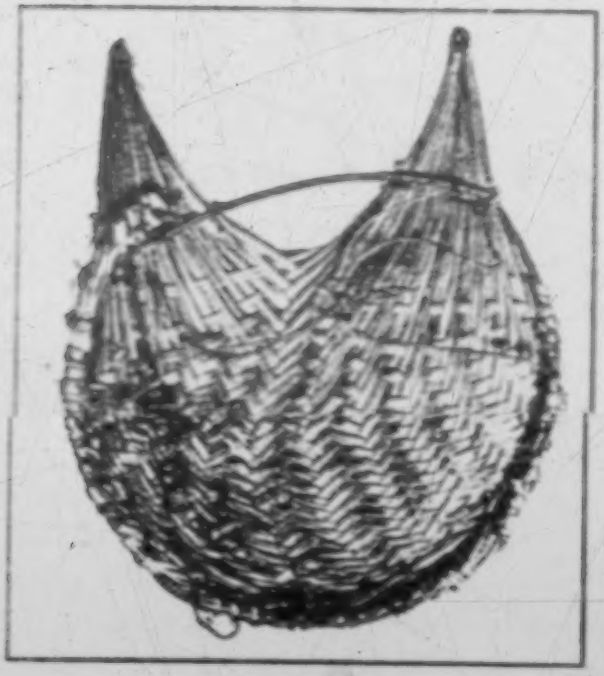


Fig. 36. Cesto chato, hecho de dos hojas de Buriti. Bakairi en Simões Lopes.

[End Plate 16]

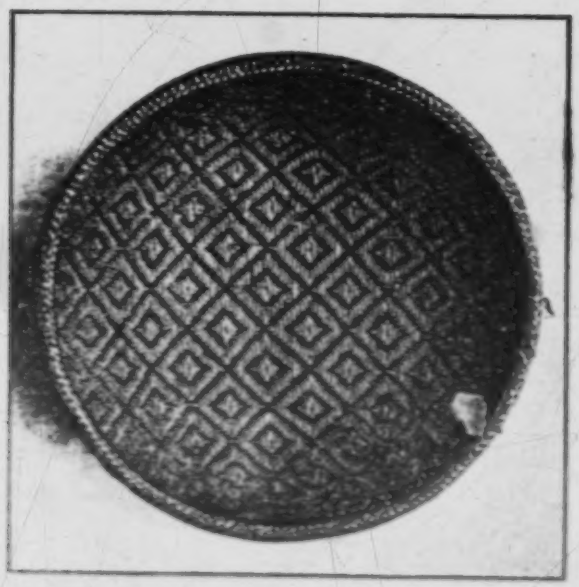


Fig. 37. Cesto chato Bakairi en Simões Lopes.

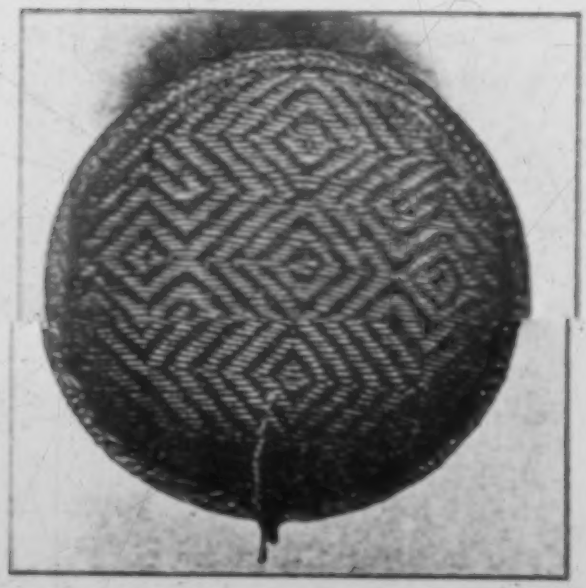


Fig. 38. Cesto chato. Bakairi en Simões Lopes.

[End Plate 17]

Fig. 39. Cesto de los Bakairi en Simões Lopes.

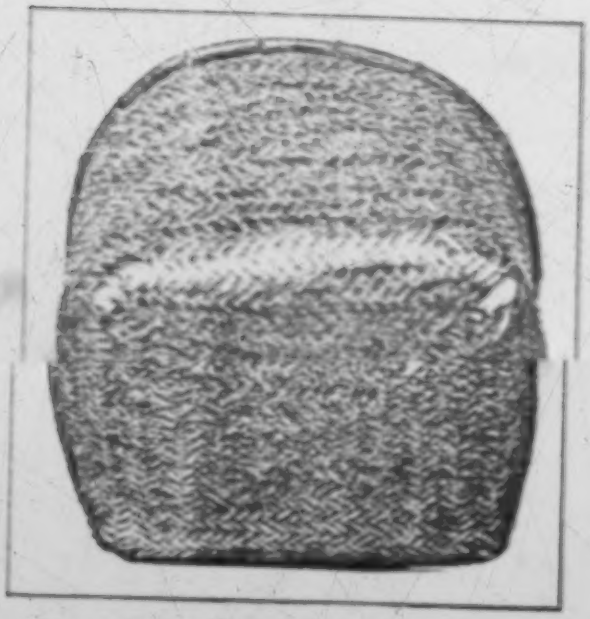


Fig. 40. Cesto de los Bakairi en Simões Lopes.

[End Plate 18]

Fig. 41. Cesto de los Bakairi en Simões Lopes.

Fig. 42. Cesto de los Bakairi en Simões Lopes.

[End Plate 19]

Fig. 43. Cesto, trenzado de una hoja de Burití. Bakairi en Simões Lopes.

Fig. 44. Cesto, trenzado de dos hojas de Burití. Bakairi en Simões Lopes.

Fig. 45. Cesto, trenzado de dos hojas de Burití. Bakairi en Simões Lopes.

Fig. 46. Cesto, trenzado de dos hojas de Burití. Bakairi en Simões Lopes.

[End Plate 20]

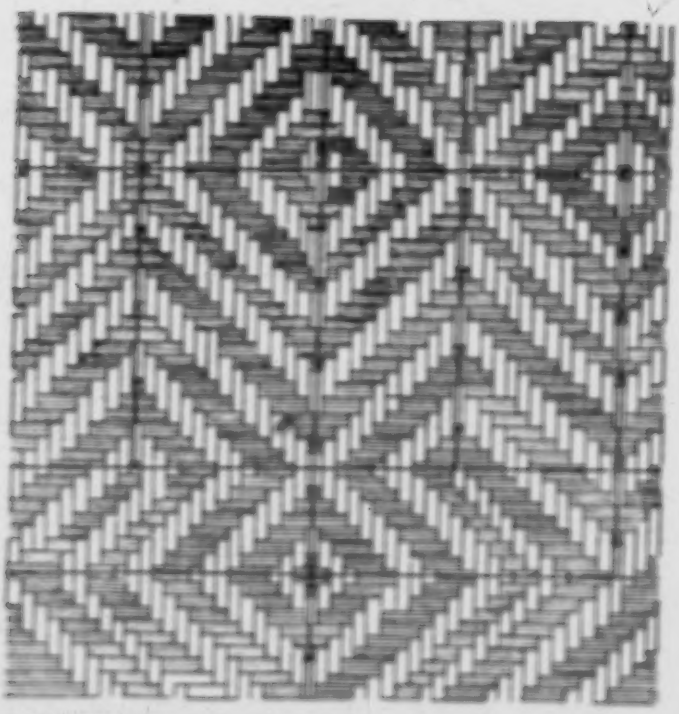


Fig. 47. Esquema del trenzado de la cesta mayor en la fig. 38.

Fig. 48. Esquema de la técnica de los cestos trenzados de dos hojas de Bacairi.

[End Plate 21]

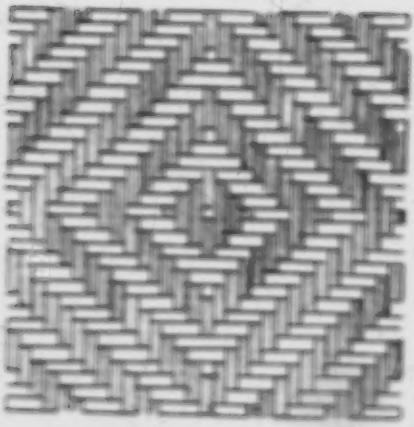


Fig. 49. Esquema del tramado de la cenefa negra en fig. 39

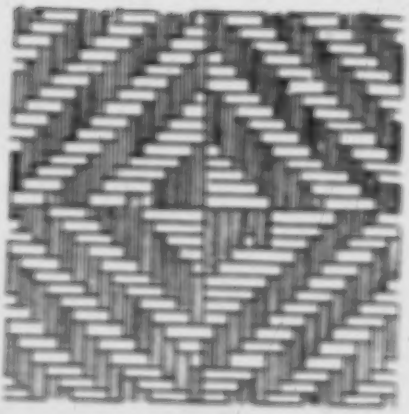
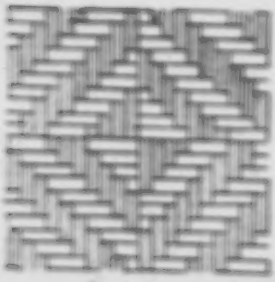


Fig. 50. Esquema del tramado de la cenefa negra en fig. 42.



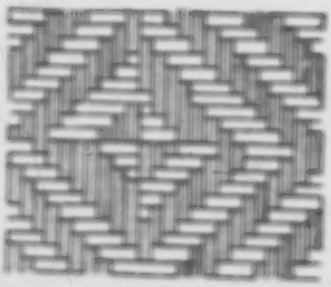


Fig. 51 y 52. Esquema del tramado de los fondos de las cenefas negras en las fig. 42 y 41 respectivamente

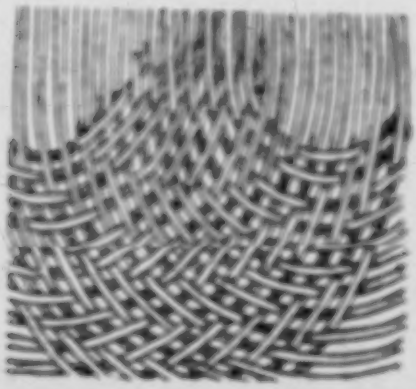


Fig. 53. Esquema de la textura de las cenefas tramadas de una hoja de burri seda.

[End Plate 22]

Fig. 54. Nasse de los Bakairi en Simões Lopes.

Fig. 55. Cesto chato para guardar pescados. Bakairi en Simões Lopes.

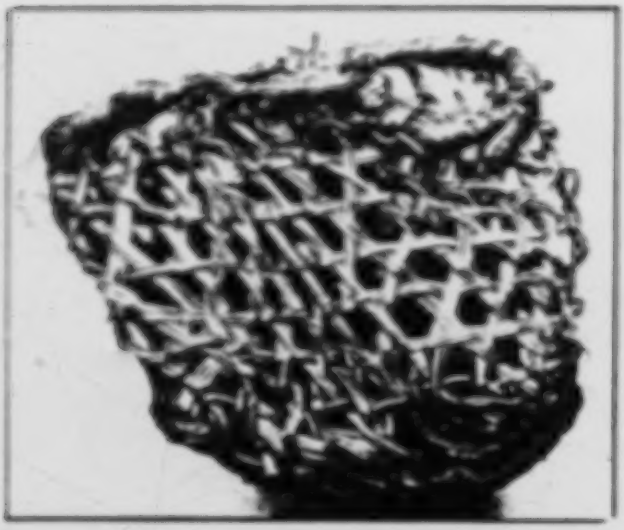


Fig. 56. Cesto de los Bakairi en Simões Lopes.

[End Plate 23]

4:Schmidt SP7 Bacairi

REVISTA DO MUSEU PAULISTA

NOVA SÉRIE
VOLUME 1

SAO PAULO
1947

[title page]

[p. 11]

LOS BAKAIRI

por

MAX SCHMIDT

I. DATOS HISTÓRICOS SOBRE LOS BAKAIRI

El mismo sobrescrito que yo puse al presente aparte de esa publicación, Karl von den Steinen lo ha puesto sobre el capítulo XIV de su libro: **Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens** (1) en que él trata, detenidamente, la historia de los Bakairi hasta el año de su segunda expedición, efectuada a la región de las fuentes del Río Xingú, en el año de 1887, a base de la relativa literatura y de las indicaciones recibidas de los mismos Bakairi. Resulta de las investigaciones de Karl von den Steinen que, en el tiempo anterior á su primera expedición ejecutada al Río Xingú, no se conoció sinó muy poco sobre los Bakairi, aunque la parte occidental de estos indios, quiere decir, los Bakairi que domiciliaban sobre el Río Paranatinga y el Río Novo, desde hacía mucho tiempo, vivían en conexiones bastante activas con los Brasileros y, ocasionalmente, venían hasta la Capital, Cuyabá, para vender el caucho, producido por ellos, y para pedir algunos donativos del gobierno. También Martius, no sabe casi nada sobre ellos, de modo que él los trata como si fueran de un grupo de los Paresí. (2) Es notable que Martius ya menciona la existencia de Bakairi en la región de las fuentes del Río Xingú: "También Bacairis, Bacchyris moran sobre las fuentes meridionales del Río Xingú". (3) pero respecto a esta indicación tenemos que pensar en el hecho de que, en aquellos tiempos, el Río Paranatinga era tenido por un afluente del Río Xingú.

Objetivamente no tengo que añadir nada a esta relación completa de Karl von den Steinen. Yo me he propuesto solamente complementarla en lo que respecta al tiempo y, añadir lo que sabemos de la historia más moderna de los Bakairi desde aquella época en que Karl von den Steinen escribió su historia de los Bakairi. Yo me siento provocado a cumplir esta misión, especialmente por el hecho de que de mis dos expediciones, en las que yo tuve las conexiones más amplias con los Bakairi, la primera tuve lugar 26 años antes de la segunda, de modo que yo tuve buena ocasión de conocer en persona una grande parte del cambio de las condiciones de vida de los Bakairi, en los tiempos posteriores a la respectiva publicación de Karl von den Steinen. El Bakairi Andrés que fué mi fiél compañero del

---

NOTA 1. Karl von den Steinen, UNTER DEN NATURVÖLKERN ZENTRAL-BRASILIENS. Berlin, 1894. p. 387-395.
NOTA 2. Martius: ZUR ETHNOGRAPHIE AMERIKAS ZUMAL BRASILIENS. Tomo I. 1867. p. 174.
NOTA 3. Idem. p. 282.

viaje, efectuado desde el Puesto de Simões Lopes, hasta el Puesto de Pedro Dantas, establecido para civilizar a los Kayabí, y, del regreso, hacia Cuyabá, era hijo de un Bakairí, nacido sobre el Río Kulisehu y llamado Chico, que había sido uno de mis acompañantes del viaje hacia el Río Kulisehu en el año de 1901. También me encontré en el año de 1927 con muchos de mis conocidos antiguos entre los cuales había vivido, hacia 26 años, en su aldea de Maimaieti sobre el Río Kulisehu. Ellos todos se recordaban todavía bién de nuestra convivencia de tiempos pasados. Durante mi estada posterior en Cuyabá, hasta el año de 1931, los muchachos Bakairí que entraban en Cuyabá en la escuela, frecuentaban mi casa, de modo que me podía instruir, hasta esta fecha sobre todo lo que pasaba entre los Bakairí.

Las dos expediciones de Karl von den Steinen hacia la región de las fuentes del Río Xingú las hemos de anotar como un acontecimiento importante no solamente de la historia de descubrimientos general sino también, especialmente, de la historia de los Bakairí. Por medio de ellas era restablecido el conexo, desde hacía mucho tiempo interrumpido entre los Bakairí viviendo sobre el Río Paranatinga y sus paisanos de los Ríos Batovy y Kulisehu. Este hecho ha influenciado tan incisivamente sobre el desarollo posterior de estos indios provistos de un sentimiento de nacionalidad muy marcado que ellos, han cambiado completamente sus costumbres primordiales durante los 50 años posteriores a la segunda expedición de Karl von den Steinen ejecutada hacia la región de las fuentes del Río Xingú. Por medio de una serie de datos sobre los sucedidos entre los Bakairí en este intervalo hallamosnos en la propicia situación de poder averiguar aquella transformación. Estamos orientados detalladamente sobre el personaje y el curso de la vida de varios Bakairí los que han influenciado de manera especial el desarollo posterior de su tribu, como el cacique Reginaldo y, sobre todo, el cacique Antonio y su hijastro José Corado, de modo que podemos dar a nuestra proposición histórica de los Bakairí un caracter más individual que lo que fuese posible respecto a otras tribus de indios.

Diferenciando, según Karl von den Steinen, a los Bakairí que viven al Oeste del Río Paranatinga (llamado en tiempos posteriores oficialmente Río Telles Pires) como Bakairí del Oeste a los Bakairí del Este que tienen sus domicilios en las regiones, al Este de ese río, sobre los afluentes del alto Río Xingú, se puede decir que en la época de la primera expedición de Karl von den Steinen, ejecutada hacia la región de las fuentes del Río Xingú, no tenían lugár conexiones entre estos dos grupos de Bakairí y, ciertamente, desde hacía mucho tiempo no habían tenido lugar. El viejo cacique Reginaldo dijó a Karl von den Steinen que él se recordaba todavía, del tiempo de su mocedad, de que, viajando desde el Río Paranatinga al Este, llegobase a un gran río sobre que, se decía, vivían también Bakairí, pero, a la fecha actual, ellos no sabían nada de esta región. (4) Ciertamente no habían tenido lugár conexiones entre los Bakairí del Oeste y aquellos del Este desde el tiempo de que aquellos tenían relaciones más íntimas con los Brasileros, porque de lo contrario, los Bakairí del Río Batovy y del Río Kulisehu, no pudieran haber quedado tan absolutamente intactos de cual-

(4) Karl v. d. Steinen. DURCH CENTRAL-BRASILIEN. Leipzig, 1886, p. 326.

quier influencia europea. En mi libro: **Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien**, (5) he tratado detenidamente las causas de este alejamiento de los Bakairí del Este desde del largo tiempo, y, de estas causas he acentuado especialmente la hostilidad existente entre los Bakairí y los Kayabí vecinos de estos, los que, desde mucho tiempo, hicieron insegura la región situada entre los domicilios de los Bakairí del Oeste y del Este. La conexión entre estos dos grupos de Bakairí fué restablecida entonces cuando Karl von den Steinen llevó consigo en su primera expedición, ejecutada al Rio Xingú, al Bakairí Antonio que fué, más tarde, cacique de los Bakairí, de modo que éste tuvo ocasión de conocer a sus paisanos domiciliados al Rio Batovy. Ya en el año de 1886, pues antes de la segunda expedición de Karl von den Steinen, el Bakairí Felipe que era entonces cacique de los Bakairí del Paranatinga, había visitado, por su lado, con el mencionado Antonio y un otro Bakairí a sus paisanos del Rio Batovy y había logrado incitar a algunos de éstos a hacer por su parte una visita al Rio Paranatinga.

Para alcanzar la conexión con la proposición histórica hecha por Karl von den Steinen, yo he de referirme al principio con pocas palabras a las condiciones en que este autor encontró a los Bakairí en la fecha de su segunda expedición en el año de 1887. Yo principio tratando en primer lugar a los Bakairí del Oeste de los cuales la mayór parte vivía en dos aldeas distantes más o menos dos leguas una a otra y situadas al Corrego Sant'Anna, fluente del Rio Novo, y la otra parte sobre el Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires). (6) Los Bakairí del Rio Paranatinga vivían en esa época en una aldea sola, situada 17 km. rio abajo de la embocadura del Piava y directamente a la baranca del rio. (7) Fuera de esos Bakairí del Rio Novo y del Rio Paranatinga se decía vivieseu algunos de estos indios sobre el Rio Preto en las cercanías de Diamantino, representando el resto de los habitantes de un domicilio de tiempos anteriores, (8) y algunos individuos trabajadores en la una o otra estancia de la región occidental de las fuentes del Rio Paranatinga.

Precidiendo de los Bakairí del Rio Preto de los cuales no tenemos datos más exactos que aquél de que ellos fuesen pocos, también la población de los demás Bakairí y, especialmente, de aquellos del Rio Paranatinga era muy escasa en esta época. Como Karl von den Steinen en su segunda expedición al Rio Xingú, en el año de 1887, no tenía ocasión de visitar a los Bakairí del Rio Novo, no tenemos datos exactos respecto a su población en ese año. Sabemos solamente que su población tres años antes, en el año de 1884, era 55 y entre éstos 16 hombres, 19 mujeres y 20 criaturas. En el mismo año la población de los Bakairí del Rio Paranatinga era mucho menór porque estos indios habían sido atacados, hacía unos seis años, de una epidemia de sarampión. La población entera de los Bakairí del Rio Paranatinga constaba entonces solamente de 10 hombres, 8 mujeres y 4 criaturas de los cuales 5 hombres, 3 mujeres y un muchacho estaban ausen-

NOTA 5. Max Schmidt. INDIANERSTUDIEN IN ZENTRALBRASILIEN. ERLEBNISSE UND ETHNOLOGISCHE ERGEBNISSE EINER REISE IN DEN JAHREN 1900-1901. Berlin, 1905, p. 335.

NOTA 6. Compare el mapa compuesto por Vogel y publicado en Karl v. d. Steinen, UNTER DEN NATURVÖLKERN. l. c. Compare Antonio Peixoto de Souza, "Exploração do Rio Paranatinga e seu transitamento navegavel, bem como o do Rio S. Manoel e Telles Pires". COMMISSÃO DE LINHAS TELEGRAPHICAS etc. Rio, 8.º (s. anno). (P. 2. Rio de janeiro, 1916, p. 33 y sig.

NOTA 8. Karl v. d. Steinen. UNTER DEN NATURVÖLKERN. l.c. p. 287.

4:Schmidt SP7 Bacairi

tes y, de una parte de ellos no se esperaba más regreso. (9) Este número se aumenta todavía sumando los dos mujeres Paresí y los dos mujeres Kayabí que estaban casados con hombres Bakairí. Cuando Karl von den Steinen visitó esta aldea de Bakairí otra vez, en el año de 1887, había fallecido en el intervalo un hombre Bakairí algunos habían se trasladado a los estancieros y un aumento por nacimientos no había tenido lugar. Sumando los números anotados en lo que precede y incluyendo las 4 mujeres de Paresí respectivamente de Kayabí asciende la suma total respecto a todos los Bakairí del Rio Novo y del Rio Paranatinga a 81 individuos.

Las aldeas mencionadas de los Bakairí del Oeste estaban en esa época bajo la jefatura del "Diretor dos Indios" en Cuyabá y la administración del Estado de Matto Grosso ha influenciado muchas veces las diversas unidades de Bakairí, aumentando la autoridad de los caciques o fortalecíendola por insianias. Así el cacique Reginaldo que reinaba las dos aldeas de Bakairí sobre el Rio Novo, tenía la categoría de un "Capitão" y su predestinado sucesor Joaquim era Teniente. En la aldea sobre el Rio Paranatinga la administración había privado al viejo jefe Caetano cuya edad se calculaba a 80 años, del caciczgo y encargado éste a un hombre más joven, llamado Felipe que tenía la credencial de Capitán, del año 1882.

La vida de los Bakairí del Oeste se diferenciaba, en la época de las expediciones de Karl von den Steinen, poco de la vida de los campesinos brasileros. Ya desde el año de 1820 todos estaban bautizados. El vestido de los hombres y de las mujeres correspondía por lo común a aquél de los campesinos y también el estilo de sus casas rectangulares a aquél del rancho brasilero. Además de algunos perros se criaban muchos puercos y gallinas. También había criación de ganado vacuno y ellos tenían a algunos vacas lecheras y una tropa de bueyes. Plantaban mandioca, maíz, porotos, arróz, batatas, bananas, caña de azucar y un poco de tabaco. Esta agricultura se efectuaba de un grado suficiente a poder vender sobrantes a la estancia de Corrego Fundo. Una atribución importante de la alimentación la suministraba a los Bakairí del Rio Paranatinga la abundancia de peces del rio y, sobre todo, el excelente "matrinchan" que era recolíido durante la estación de sus emigraciones colectivas rio arriba. (10) Temporaneamente estos Bakairí del Oeste trabajaban entonces en el servicio de los estancieros vecinos pero actuaban la producción del caucho también por su cuenta propia y traían el producto con su tropa de bueyes hacia Cuyabá.

A pesar de esta asimilación casi completa de los Bakairí del Oeste a las condiciones de la vida de campesinos brasileros, ellos habían conservado todavía algunos de sus costumbres primordiales. Sobre todo ellos habían retenido su lengua indígena y, solamente, pocos entendían y hablaban algun portugues. Los lóbulos de sus orejas y los tabiques de sus fosas nasales todavía estaban perforadas y el cacique Reginaldo llevaba, ocasionalmente, fuera de su uniforme de capitán también los palitos guarnecidos con plumas en sus lóbulos de las orejas. En la aldea de los Bakairí del Paranatinga existía todavía en el año de 1884, además de las casas rectan-

NOTA 9 Karl v. d. Steinen, DURCH CENTRAL-BRASILIEN, l.c. p. 126. Idem, UNTER DEN NATURVÖLKERN ZENTRAL-BRASILIENS, l.c. p. 35.

NOTA 10 Karl von den Steinen, DURCH CENTRAL-BRASILIEN, l.c. p. 89.

gulares de estilo de rancho brasilero, una cabaña redonda edificada de la manera de las casas de los Bakairi del Este viviendo en las regiones de las fuentes del Río Xingú, la que habitaba un viejo bakairi junto con una mujér joven Kayabí. Flechas y arcos encontrabanse todavía y eran empleados, ocasionalmente, para la caza o para la pesca y entre los trenzados se habían conservado formas primordiales de las bancatas, de las cestas, y cribas y de las bandeas.

En la aldea de los Bakairi del Paranatinga el orden estaba perturbado gravemente en la fecha de las expediciones de Karl von den Steinen (11) porque los habitantes de esta aldea se sentían más obligados al viejo cacique Caetano de que al cacique Felipe, instalado de cacique en lugar de aquél por el gobierno Matto-Grossense. El Bakairi Antonio que ha acompañado a Karl von den Steinen en sus expediciones al Río Xingú y que, en el tiempo posterior llegó a ser el personaje más importante de la historia de los Bakairi, era entonces un joven.

Los Bakairi del Oeste eran en esa fecha aquellos indios hasta los cuales habían avanzado las ramas más remotas de la cultura europea en estas regiones. Lo que estaba más adelante era todavía tierra incógnita, de indios independientes, por los que la movilidad de los Bakairi era perjudicada en alto grado. Parece que los Bakairi al Sud y al Sud-Oeste tenían conexiones pacíficas con los Kayapó con los que, en tiempos anteriores, una vez, fueron aliados, para expulsar en comun con éstos a los Suyá de la región del Río Verde. (12) Esta amistad es notable en cuanto que los Kayapó en esta época eran enemigos marcados de los campesinos brasileros y a los cuales tenemos que atribuir los ataques contra las estancias del Alto Río Cuyabá, atribuídos en documentos brasileros a los "Coroados". (13) De incursiones de los Mundurukú los que se extendían en tiempos anteriores más hacia el Sud, los Bakairi del Oeste se recordaban todavía vivamente, pero en ésta época aquellos no aparecieran. Sus enemigos principales eran, ciertamente, los Kayabí del Río Verde con que ellos, ya desde tiempos pasados, vivían en una violenta hostilidad. Los Bakairi ponen su país primordial al célebre salto del Río Paranatinga (Río Telles Pires) situado por río arriba de la embocadura del Río Verde. Dijeran que el abuelo del viejo cacique Caetano haya nacido en la aldea antigua situada sobre el Salto. Se dijó que en esa época los Bakairi del Río Paranatinga hubiesen viajado hacia abajo de la embocadura del Río Verde pero, más tarde, ellos hubiesen regresado de miedo a los Kayabí. El padre del cacique Caetano ya había nacido en una aldea situada más río arriba. Antonio Pyrineus de Souza, en su expedición ejecutada el Río Paranatinga (Río Telles Pires) abajo, encontró abajo de la embocadura del Beijo-flor una tapera situada cerca del Cerro de Piquiristal y al lado derecho del río, donde se dijo que los Bakairi hayan tenido, en tiempos anteriores una grande aldea. Se dice que ellos también hayan guerreado con los Kayabí y con los Tapanhuna cuando habitaban este lugar. (14) Ciertamente los Bakairi habían estado

NOTA 11. Karl v. d. Steinen, [illegible] Br. p. [illegible]
NOTA 12. Karl v. d. Steinen, [illegible] l.c. p. [illegible]
NOTA 13. [illegible] p. [illegible]
NOTA 14. A. Pyrineus de Souza, l.c. p. [illegible]

más vecinos a los Kayabí de que en tiempos posteriores, porque ellos habían trasladado sucesivamente su aldea más río arriba. Pero las hostilidades con sus enemigos entonces, habían subsistido todavía. Los Kayabí, una noche, habían matado en un asalto al padre de Felipe y llevado consigo a una criatura. Por eso unos 20 hombres de los Bakairí habían emprendido una expedición de venganza y habían matado a dos hombres Kayabí y llevado dos muchachas las que vivían en la época de las expediciones de Karl von den Steinen en la aldea situada sobre el Río Paranatinga, donde estaban casadas con dos hombres Bakairí y llamadas Luiza y María. Cuando me encontré con Luiza, en el año de 1927, entre los Bakairí en Simões Lopes ella era una anciana. Respecto al hecho de que la población de los Bakairí del Río Paranatinga se había disminuido hasta tan pocos individuos, también en su domicilio posterior, los Kayabí estaban siempre un peligro para ellos.

Los Bakairí eran conocidos por los Paresí como vecinos antiguos y, la Paresí Charlotta la que era la esposa del cacique Felipe, los Bakairí la habían llevado consigo de Diamantino. (15) De la concordancia sorprendente de las leyendas de los Paresí con las de los Bakairí del Río Paranatinga, apuntadas por Karl von den Steinen, resulta que, en tiempos anteriores, habían tenido lugar amplias relaciones entre los Bakairí del Oeste y los Paresí. (16) Por desgracia no conocemos leyendas de los Bakairí del Este, domiciliados en la región de los afluentes del Río Xingú, de modo que no sabemos hasta que grado las leyendas de éstos corresponden a las de sus paisanos del Oeste. Del hecho de que los nombres de los dos héroes legendarios "Ken" y "Kame", significando en la leyenda de los Bakairí el sol y la luna, no son vocablos de la lengua Bakairí (perteneciendo al grupo karaíb) pero sí, vocablos del grupo lingüístico aruak, resulta que los Paresí, pertenecientes a este grupo lingüístico, en ese caso eran los autores de estas leyendas y no, de contrario, los Bakairí, así pues que las leyendas de los Bakairí del Paranatinga han sido influenciadas por los Paresí. Como los Bakairí son mencionados en la leyenda de los Paresí, éstos también están mencionados en las leyendas de los Bakairí. Según la leyenda de los Paresí, los Bakairí o "Matokoso" como ellos son llamados por aquellos, pertenecen con otras tribus enemigas a la parentela del Chiniktóiore ("Tchenikauré", según Karl v. d. Steinen), del jaguar grande, que ha matado a su hermano Kamáso y a la mujér de éste, pero entonces ha sido victimado por Uakomo, el hijo entretanto adulto del Kamáso, que tomó venganza de su padre. (17) También en los textos de leyendas de los Paresí encontramos este cuento de Chiniktóiore. En estas leyendas aparece Chiniktóiore de cuyas 6 flechas los Bakairí nacieron, como un héroe expresivamente hostil. Por eso se puede suponer que los Bakairí pertenecientes a la parentela de éste, eran también enemigos de los Paresí. Según eso las relaciones entre los Bakairí y Paresí ya han sido hostiles en tiempos anteriores y, esta hostilidad tenía lugar todavía en la época de las expe-

NOTA 15. Karl v. d. Steinen. DURCH CENTRAL-BRASILIEN. l.c. p. 132. Vergl. ANTEN DER NATURVÖLKERN. l.c. p. 345.

NOTA 16. Karl v. d. Steinen. ANTEN DER NATURVÖLKERN. l.c. p. 344 y 345.

NOTA 17. Idem p. 420.

diciones de Karl von den Steinen. Algunos años antes, los Bakairí habían asaltado a los Paressí en el camino que conduce a Diamantino, para capturar a sus mujeres, y habían matado muchos de ellos. (18) Como ya mencioné en lo que precede, vivían además de dos mujeres Kayabí también dos mujeres Paressí entre los Bakairí del Paranatinga, de los cuales la una, llamada Charlotta, era la esposa del cacique Felipe. A la influencia de tales mujeres, capturadas en encuentros hostiles con los Paressí, tenemos que atribuir, en primer lugar, la amplia asimilación de las leyendas de los Bakairí del Rio Paranatinga. (19).

Según la indicación de los Bakairí del Oeste, el origen de los Bakairí domiciliados en la región de los afluentes del Rio Xingú, es motivado por el hecho de que a consecuencia de contiendas, producidas entre los Bakairí, viviendo en tiempos anteriores todavía juntos al Salto, una parte de éstos disgregóse y emigró hacia el Rio Kulisehu. (20) No sabemos si esta indicación significa un hecho histórico o solamente supersticiones legendárias de los Bakairí del Paranatinga. Por falta de cualquier conocimiento objectivo de tiempos anteriores respecto a aquellos indios viviendo sobre los dos afluentes del Rio Xingú, Batovy y Kulisehu, y por falta de cualesquier indicación relacionada a su vida anterior hechas por éstos mismos, la historia de estos Bakairí del Este principia solamente desde el momento de la primera expedición de Karl von den Steinen al Rio Xingú en el año de 1884, la que ha traído la primera noticia sobre ellos y ha sido su primer acontecimiento histórico. Los primeros efectos de ese suceso, tan importante para la suerte posterior de los Bakairí del Este, Karl von den Steinen pudo conocerlos todavía mismo y utilizarlos en su aparte "historia de los Bakairí". Eran las primeras visitas mútuas entre los Bakairí del Paranatinga y sus paisanos del Rio Batovy las que formaban el principio de relaciones entre estas dos parcialidades de los Bakairí. En lo que sigue trataremos la manera de que estas relaciones aumentaronse paulatinamente extendiéndose también a los Bakairí del Rio Kulisehu y influenciando, en tiempos posteriores, de alto grado la historia de los dos grupos de la tribu Bakairí, tan diferentes uno a otro.

Después de la segunda expedición de Karl von den Steinen al Rio Xingú era el próximo suceso en la historia de los Bakairí y, especialmente, de los Bakairí del Paranatinga la expedición trascendida del Capitán Telles Pires en el año de 1909. Este explorador, acompañado por el Teniente Oscar Miranda y 28 remeros, entre los cuales estaban también Bakairí del Paranatinga, había emprendido a navegar por el Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires) desde la embocadura del Rio S. Manuel abajo. Entre los 21 compañeros que perecieron con Telles Pires en esa empresa estaba también el cacique Felipe de los Bakairí del Paranatinga que había fallecido en el viaje de fiebre. Del Bakairí Irineo, criado y adoptado por ese cacique, que había acompañado a su padre, desde ese viaje no se había vuelto a saber de él y se suponía que él también haya perecido. Cuando los Bakairí habían recibido la noticia de la muerte de su cacique ellos quemaron sus casas

NOTA 18. Steinen 2: 438.
NOTA 19. Steinen 2: 302.
NOTA 20. Steinen 2: 391.

y abandonaron su aldea para establecerse rio más arriba. El puerto de la aldea nueva, situada como la aldea precedente al lado izquierdo del rio, estaba 18 kilómetros rio abajo de la embocadura del Rio S. Manuel en el Rio Paranatinga o Rio Telles Pires como era nombrado oficialmente después de la empresa infeliz del Capitán Telles Pires y, la aldea misma 1600 metros distante al margen del rio por tierra adentro y 200 metros distante al pequeño "Corrego do Tatú" (21).

Quién fué el primero cacique de la aldea después de la muerte de Felipe no lo sé. Al fin del último decenio del siglo pasado, cuando Antonio Correa da Costa era Presidente del Estado de Matto Grosso (en los años de 1895 hasta el principio del año de 1898, con un intervalo en el año de 1897) ya era cacique de la aldea de los Bakairi del Paranatinga aquel Antonio que había acompañado a Karl von den Steinen en sus dos expediciones al Rio Xingú y que había conocido en su regreso de la primera de esas expediciones Rio de Janeiro y Buenos Aires. El Presidente Antonio Correa da Costa le confirmó el cacicazgo extendiendo su autoridad hasta la region entera de los indios que vivian sobre los afluentes del alto Rio Xingú, nombrándole de comandante de todos los indios del Alto Rio Xingú. Esta extensión de la autoridad del cacique Antonio por el Presidente del Estado estuvo incitado, según Herrmann Meyer, (22) por aquel Paulo Castro que en los años posteriores a su participación a la expedición de Karl von den Steinen al Rio Xingú ha atravesado varias veces esas regiones en su busca infatigable de los "Martirios" y por eso había tenido ocasión de encontrarse con los Bakairi del Paranatinga. El cacique Antonio entonces, por largo tiempo, estaba el personaje más influyente en lo que respecta el desarrollo posterior no solo de los Bakairi del Oeste sino que también de los Bakairi del Este. El había nacido en el establecimiento de Limoeiro procediendo de una familia domiciliada desde largo tiempo en la aldea del Rio Paranatinga. Sus antepasados más antiguos de los cuales él sabía, habían vivido todavía en las cercanías del Salto. Su abuelo, Karavaka, y su padre, Seseviari, habían participado a la mencionada expedición de venganza emprendida contra los Kayabí en que fueron capturadas las dos mujeres Kayabí que vivían en la aldea del Rio Paranatinga. En la fecha de la expedición de Karl von den Steinen sus padres no vivían más, pero él tenía a un hermano mayor viviendo con su mujer y con un hijito también en la aldea del Paranatinga. Estando acompañante de Karl von den Steinen en el año de 1888 Antonio había conocido en la Reducción de Bororo de Thereza Christina, situada sobre el Rio S. Lourenzo, a la india Bororo Rosa notoria por el hecho de que ella estando prisionera del Oficial Duarte, había emprendido de mediar en la convivencia entre Bororo y Brasileros de modo que era posible establecer la mencionada Reducción de los Bororo. Ella estaba en esta fecha viuda y Antonio llevóla consigo hacia el Paranatinga. Rosa trajó consigo a un hijito de 5 o 6 años de edad que era criado en la casa del cacique Antonio y que, más tarde, conocido con el nombre José

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nota 21. A. Pereira de Souza, l. c. p. 55, 56 y 57.

nota 22. Dr. Herrmann Meyer, EINIGE SEITE BIEHER ÜBER DIE ZENTRAL-BRASILIEN ZUR KONGO-EXPEDITION. Auszug: Brief an Herrn Prof. Dr. Karl von den Steinen. Globus v. 5 März 1899. Nach: A. Ber. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin. Jg. 1899 (1899) p. 240-243.) p. 242.

Corocado, consiguió cierta importancia en la comunidad de los Bakairi del Paranatinga así que tengo de referirme de él varias veces en lo que sigue.

Ya en el último decenio del siglo pasado, cuando Herrmann Meyer pasó en sus dos expediciones, ejecutadas al Rio Xingú en los años de 1896 y 1899, la aldea de los Bakairi del Paranatinga, tenía lugar en ésta una grande actividad. (23) Antonio había visitado entonces con su hijastro José Corocado, ya adulto, varias veces a los Bakairi en la región de los afluentes del Rio Xingú y, una grande parte de éstos se habían trasladado a sus paisanos del Rio Paranatinga así que Theodor Koch participante de la segunda expedición de Herrmann Meyer al Rio Xingú, calcule la población de la aldea de los Bakairi del Rio Paranatinga, en esa fecha, a más de 60 individuos. (24) Los Bakairi del Rio Batovy tenían en esa fecha canoas y un puerto también sobre el Rio Jatobá. También los Nahukuá entonces habían arriesgado por la primera vez el viaje al Rio Paranatinga y llevado consigo de allí caña de azucar y porotos para plantarlos. (25)

He de mencionar en este lugar todavía una expedición de 5 Norteamericanos los que un medio año antes de la segunda expedición de Herrmann Meyer han descendido el Rio Kulisehu para explorar caucho. Sin duda ellos llevaron consigo como las demás expediciones, ejecutadas en esas regiones, a indios Bakairi. Los detalles del éxito trágico de esta expedición cuyos 5 participantes todos habían sido masacrados por los Suyá, con clavas, los Bakairi y los Auetó me los han contado varias veces de forma concordante y yo he apuntado las particularidades de este acontecimiento detenidamente en mi libro: **Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien.** (26)

En el año de 1900 Paulo Castro había penetrado otra vez en la región del Este del Rio Paranatinga y, esta vez, como jefe de una empresa equipada de gran estilo por el Gobierno Matto-Grossense, como decían, para preparar, encima de la división de las aguas entre los Rios Xingú y Araguaya, una ruta que condujera hasta el Amazonas para facilitar el transporte de ganado de Matto Grosso hacia Pará. Poco antes del regreso de mi expedición a la región de las fuentes del Rio Xingú, en Junio del año de 1901, los sobrevivientes de la expedición de Paulo Castro, completamente fracasada, habían regresado a Cuyabá. Los fatigas graves de esta ultima expedición de Paulo Castro hicieron que este explorador infatigable en lo que respecta a la busca de los "Martirios" nunca sanó más antes de su muerte.

En el año de 1901 tuvo lugar mi propia expedición a la región de las fuentes del Rio Xingú en que tuvo ocasión de conocer las condiciones de la vida de los Bakairi del Rio Novo y del Rio Paranatinga y también, especialmente, aquellas de los Bakairi del Rio Kulisehu.

NOTA 23. Dr. Herrmann Meyer, [illegible] EXPEDITIONEN NACH ZENTRAL-BRASILIEN, p. [illegible], Verlag[illegible]. [illegible] Ges. f. Erdkunde z. Berlin, Bd. [illegible] 1897, p. [illegible]; [illegible] EXPEDITIONEN, S. Februar 1900, Verh. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde z. Berlin, Bd. [illegible] 1900, p. [illegible]; [illegible] IN ZENTRAL-BRASILIEN, l.c.

NOTA 24. Dr. Theodor Koch, "Reise in Matto Grosso (Brasilien). Expedition in das Quellgebiet des Xingú", MITTEIL. d. K. K. GEOGR. GES. in WIEN, p. [illegible].

NOTA 25. Dr. Herrmann Meyer, BERICHT [illegible] EXPEDITION, l.c. p. 127.

NOTA 26. Max Schmidt, INDIANERSTUDIEN IN ZENTRAL-BRASILIEN, l.c. p. 42.

Poco ante el pasaje del Rio Novo yo pasé una de las dos aldeas de los Bakairi del Rio Novo, pero no he visto sino pasajeramente este domicilio situado al lado izquierdo del Rio Novo. La aldea principal de estos indios que constaba de 5 ranchos distaba tres vueltas del rio del pequeño pueblo brasilero de Rio Novo situado al lado derecho del rio. En este lugar yo me encontré con el señor Eliseu que tenia entonces el titulo de Subdirector sobre los Bakairi.

Las condiciones de los Bakairi del Rio Novo casi no se habian cambiado desde la fecha en que Karl von den Steinen las ha descrito. También la población que yo he calculado a 60 individuos, era más o menos la misma. Reginaldo, mientras tanto llegado a ser un hombre viejo, era todavía cacique de las dos comunidades de los Bakairi del Rio Novo. En lámina V de mi libro **Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien** está representada una fotografia hecha en la aldea de estos indios la que muestra al cacique Reginaldo con su mujér y en medio de varios otros Bakairi, estando a pié al frente de la puerta de su casa. El libro que él tiene en la mano es la obra **Durch Centralbrasilien** publicada por Karl von den Steinen en que también él está representado por dibujo y el que él miraba con gran interés. En la aldea se hallaban todavía varios objetos que eran productos de trabajo típico de los Bakairi, así por ejemplo las grandes banastas trenzadas de forma primordial, y otras especies de cestas las que correspondian en lo que respecta a su técnica y a su ornamentación completamente a aquellas fabricadas por los Bakairi de los afluentes del Rio Xingú. (27) También usaban los Bakairi del Rio Novo, además de sus armas de fuego, todavía arcos y flechas para cazar y éstos correspondian exactamente a aquellos de sus paisanos de la región del Rio Xingú. Pero fuera de esos objetos, hechos de forma indígena, estos Bakairi se habian cambiado completamente a ser campesinos brasileros lo que resulta del hecho de que Reginaldo y su gente tenian un gran número de ganado vacuno y a varios caballos de silla. Aunque ellos hablaban entre si exclusivamente la lengua Bakairi, todos los hombres sabian la lengua brasilera y se dijó que el cacique Reaunaldo supiese ler y hablar algo de la lengua francesa. Los Bakairi del Rio Novo mantenian en aquella época relaciones activas con sus paisanos del Rio Paranatinga. Con los Bakairi del Este apenas ellos tenian conexiones excepto el Bakairi Joaquim que era el tio del cacique Antonio de la aldea del Paranatinga y que tenia a un joven Bakairi del Rio Batovi en su servicio.

Otras eran en la fecha de mi visita las condiciones de los Bakairi de la aldea del Rio Paranatinga. Mientras que la población en la época de las expediciones de Karl von den Steinen se habia disminuido de tal manera que Karl von den Steinen previa el fin de esa comunidad, la aldea en lo entretanto habia recibido un aumento de su población de numerosos Bakairi llegados de la región del Rio Xingú. El número de estos Bakairi, llamados por sus paisanos del Paranatinga "Xinguanos", ascendia, en la época de mi estada entre estos indios, a 34. Jefe de la comunidad era Antonio que estaba en este tiempo a la cima de su potencia. La única insignia

nota 27: Compare: Karl Steinen, INDIANERSTUDIEN IN ZENTRAL-BRASILIEN, lá. Fig. 274, p. 347.

de su dignidad de Comandante de los indios de la región del Alto Rio Xingú, otorgadole oficialmente por el Gobierno Matto Grossense era un caiado coloreado de soldado, provisto de una ancha gaya blanca que descendia al costado de cada pierna, pero un símbolo más practico de su potencia eran varias buenas armas de fuego suspendidas en su casa, las que él usaba, como dijeron los Matto-Grossenses, ocasionalmente también contra algunos paisanos insubordinarios. La mayór parte de los "Xinguanos", entonces viviendo en su aldea, estaban respecto a sus condiciones económicas completamente sus dependientes y formaban un factor estimable de su potencia porque él habia provisto a los hombres de más confianza entre ellos de armas de fuego. Esta pequeña fuerza militar era sobre todo importante a la aseguranza de la conexión entre el Rio Paranatinga y los afluentes del Rio Xingú contra los Kayabi que, ciertamente en esa fecha, principiaron a inquietar a los campesinos brasileros de esas regiones. Según Herrmann Meyer (26) ellos ya habian hecho severas devastaciones en la región de la "Serra Trombador" y matado varios moradores. En la fecha de mi estada en la estancia de Corrego Fundo los Kayabi habian penetrado alli los montes sobre el Rio Paranatinga hasta unas de 6 leguas distante de Corrego Fundo y saltado al cacique Antonio que alli buscó con su gente caucho para señor Iange Soares, el propietário de la estancia. Pero Antonio los habia rechazado con su gente armada y matado en esa ocasión a un Kayabi.

La grande casa del cacique Antonio en que yo visitéle, fué edificada antes de un año. Ella constaba de una grande piezza medial con que se comunicaban al lado izquierdo de la entrada dos otras piezas que formaban el domicilio propio del cacique y de la Doña Rosa y, al lado derecho, un gran cuarto de forasteros que suplia completamente las funciones de la casa de fiestas de los Bakairi de las regiones del Alto Rio Xingú. Todos los hombres y muchachos de la aldea podian, a gusto, entrar y salir. También este cuarto servia de piezza de baile y, durante mi estada en él, entraban de tiempo a tiempo algunos Xinguanos, pintados las rostros en colorado y negro, y cantaron sus melodias monótonas bailando al rededór del poste armado en el medio de la piezza. La habitación del cacique Antonio mismo ya tenia en esa fecha una apariencia bastante moderna. En el "comedor" estaban una mesa y un sillón y también platos y cucharas y, yo estuve hospedado a su mesa á la manera brasilera con un plato de carne con arróz y harina. Evidentemente él gustó renovar recuerdos antiguos de sus viajes hechos con Karl von den Steinen. Con gran interés él miró las otras de viaje de Karl von den Steinen y mostróme de su lado algunas fotografias las que habia guardado todavia desde esos tiempos. De Doña Rosa Antonio no ha recibido descendientes. Yo tenia ocasión de conocerla cuando, regresando en mal estado del Rio Kulisehu estaba hospedado de manera más gentilosa en su casa aunque Antonio estaba muerto.

La casa de José Corvado, situada a frente de la casa de su padrastro Antonio, era tan grande y edificado en el mismo estilo como esta. Su interior provocaba mucho más la impresión indígena que él de la casa de Antonio. En las piezas medio oscuras estaban acostados en los hamacas

NOTA 26. Herrmann Meyer, Beobachtungen über Sitte und Charakter eines Indianerstammes, Ed. p. 123 y 124.

varias mujeres y entre ellas una con la hijita de José de pocas semanas de edad. "todas las paredes de la casa mostraban en su parte superior, directamente por debajo del techo tablas pintadas de blanco y negro. Esos frisos fabricados por los Xinguanos mostraban las pinturas típicas de los Bakairi. Todos los ornamentos conocidos de los Bakairi de las regiones del Alto Rio Xingú aparecían en estas pinturas, así, por ejemplo, las figuras llamadas "uluri", "merechu" y "maimai". José, apesar de su juventud, había ya conocido bastante. El agujero en su labio inferior recordaba luego su primera niñez, pasada entre sus propios paisanos, los Borora, cuyo idioma él lo sabía todavía. Como ya mencioné en lo que precede, él había dejado con su madre en la casa del cacique Antonio, estando muchacho de 5 o 6 años, pero él había recibido una parte de su educación en la capital, Cuyabá, de modo que él sabía mejor de todos los Bakairi del Rio Paranatinga la lengua portuguesa la que usaba también conversando con su madre. Estando adulto, el cacique Antonio lo había llevado consigo en viaje efectuado hacia los Rios Batovy y Kulisehu. Ya en esta fecha había tenido una escena con su padrastro porque él se había metido demasiado con las hermosas de la primera aldea de los Bakairi del Rio Kulisehu y había perjudicado por eso las buenas relaciones de los habitantes de esa aldea. El enfado de los habitantes de la primera aldea del Rio Kulisehu causado por el proceder de José Corado duraba todavía en la fecha de mi viaje al Rio Kulisehu y José no osaba ir conmigo a esa aldea, porque había conocido que sus habitantes querían envenenarlo. Por eso él quedóse en el puerto cerca de nuestras canoas. Pero las dificultades que eso me había causado, eran compensadas por el hecho de que él, durante su visita en la segunda aldea de los Bakairi del Rio Kulisehu, se había casado con una mita de ésta y llevándola al Rio Paranatinga.

José pretendió ya entonces con todos los medios a hacerse independiente de su padrastro. Eso yo conocí, sobre todo, de una conversación de José con su madre lo que yo escuché durante mi estada en la casa del Antonio. Ya entonces él hizo trabajar en su servicio a varios Xinguanos y, aunque el número de éstos no ascendía hasta a aquél de los Xinguanos estando en servicio del cacique Antonio, se podía conocer en esa concurrencia un factor que principió a limitar la potencia de Antonio lo que había alcanzado en esa época su cima y hizo tener, más tarde o más temprano, una decisión violenta. Esta discordia entre Antonio y su yerno tenía importancia al éxito de mi expedición emprendida hacia el Rio Kulisehu en cuanto que José Corado estaba listo a acompañarme con su cuñado Chico procediendo de la segunda aldea de los Bakairi del Kulisehu, mientras que Antonio lipaba la ayuda de mi empresa a pretenciones demasiado altas las que pasaron con mucho mis fondos de viaje, entonces bastante escasos. Al fin yo pude persuadir al Antonio a cederme a dos de su gente para acompañarme hasta el lugar de embarque al Rio Kulisehu y entonces revolver con mi tropa de bueyes al Rio Paranatinga.

A consecuencia del tráfico activo y íntimo que había desde la época de las expediciones de Karl von den Steinen entre los Bakairi del Paranatinga y sus paisanos que vivían en la región del Alto Rio Xingú, las con-

diciones de aquellos habían obtenido nuevamente un carácter más indígena. Ya mencioné que la grande casa de José Corvado mostraba frisos provistos de pinturas de carácter puramente Bakairi. Antonio nuevamente acompañaba con busto pintado las danzas indígenas y por causa de la frecuencia de enfermedades, que aparecieron en esa época entre los Bakairi del Paranatinga, él quiso promover a un médico de la segunda aldea de los Bakairi del Rio Kulisehu a establecerse con su arte al Paranatinga.

Cuando estuve en Mayo y Junio del año de 1901 entre los Bakairi del Rio Kulisehu, habían pasado 14 años desde su primera conexión con bienes de cultura europea. Después de la expedición de Karl von den Steinen habían pasado su terreno también otros exploradores. Ellos habían conocido hachas de hierro, cuchillos, tijeras, tinteros y otros objetos de la cultura moderna y, por medio de trueque por sus productos indígenas, estaban provistos ampliamente de tales objetos, pero su carácter y las condiciones de su vida apenas se habían cambiado. Ellos habían conocido las armas de fuego de los Europeos y de sus paisanos del Rio Paranatinga pero mirabanlas todavía con cierto recelo y tampoco usabanlas. La pesca que tenía la mayór importancia en la economía de estos indios era actuada todavía ampliamente y de forma primordial, no usandose anzuelos. También ellos empleaban para cazar exclusivamente sus flechas y arcos largos de la misma forma de los antiguos. También la agricultura se actuaba de la misma manera y con los mismos palos para grabar, excepto solamente el hecho de que el trabajo de rozar era mucho más facil con las numerosas hachas de hierro reemplazando las hachas de piedra de los tiempos pasados. Hachas de piedra yo no las he visto más entre estos indios. Ciertamente todas ellas estaban trocadas por las hachas de hierro mucho más aprovechables las que trajeron los expedicionarios que pasaban estas regiones. Habían plantaciones grandes en las cercanías o en las lejanías de las aldeas y yo mismo tuve ocasión de observar en la aldea de Maimaieri, situada sobre el Rio Kulisehu, la manera de que una grande parte del monte era rozado para una plantación futura. Orgullosos los indios me mostraron un lugar plantado de mandioca mansa cuyos plantones habían recibido de los Bakairi del Rio Paranatinga. Durante su estada entre los Bakairi de la aldea de Maimaieri, nunca habían tenido escasez de mandioca y también yo y mis compañeros recibimos siempre beijú con farguera. Yo he de mencionar este hecho especialmente, porque contrasta con la indicación de Herrmann Meyer apuntado dos años antes, en el año de 1899 sobre sus respectivas experiencias entre los mismos Bakairi. (29) Motivando el hecho de que era absolutamente imposible para él recibir víveres de los Bakairi del Rio Kulisehu, él dice que estos indios confiaban respecto a su subsistencia casi en todo al suministro de sus paisanos del Rio Paranatinga y que su agricultura hubiese desaparecido casi completamente. Cuando Meyer pasó las aldeas de los Bakairi del Rio Kulisehu las condiciones de su expedición que constaba de un gran número de participantes, estaban muy precarias, sobre todo, por causa de falta de víveres y, ciertamente, el hecho de que no pudo recibir de los Bakairi el recurso esperado de víveres, era una desilusión severa para él. Es posible que los Bakairi en ese hecho no podían entregar

NOTA 29 Hermann Meyer. [illegible] Kuliseh-Expedition. S.A. p. 136 y 137

cantidades tan grandes de sus víveres para proveer de éstos un gran número de forasteros. Persuadiéndose de que los Bakairi en la fecha de mi estada entre ellos poseían grandes plantaciones no parece posible que su agricultura, dos años antes, hubiese estado desaparecida casi completamente. Tampoco puedo confirmar la indicación de Hermann Meyer de que los Bakairi de las dos primeras aldeas del Río Kulisehu en la fecha de su expedición hubiesen cambiado sus casas buenas por "miserables cabañas". Las dos aldeas de los Bakairi del Kulisehu las que yo visité constaban cada una de cuatro casas grandes de parentelas, edificadas de la misma forma con base ovál como la tenían sus casas en tiempos anteriores. Todas las casas en la aldea de Maimaieti estaban bastante nuevas y provocaban en lo que respecta a su interior y a su exterior una buena impresión. Más o menos una legua distante de Maimaieti estaban las casas, entonces abandonadas, de la aldea antigua la que los Bakairi de Maimaieti habían habitado todavía hacia poco tiempo y donde estaba guardada en una tabla, hecha de vértigas, una grande ave de rapiña, especie de "arpía", la que era provista regularmente de carne y, si era posible, de carne de mono.

De las diversas técnicas de los Bakairi del Kulisehu la alfarería, las artes de trenzar y de hilar se habían conservado todavía de forma primordial. También la preparación de las comidas era todavía la misma la que Karl von den Steinen ha descrito de los tiempos pasados. Una diferencia esencial aparecía solamente en lo que respecta a la elaboración de la madera porque para esta se usaban en esa fecha utensilios de metal de modo que practicando esta arte no se dependía más de hachas de piedra, de barrenas provistas de punta de piedra, de conchas y de dientes de peces o otros animales. Una otra adquisición del lado de las varias expediciones que habían pasado su territorio eran pendientes de abalorios multicolores de los cuales estaban provistas abundantemente especialmente muchas mujeres y criaturas. Vestido de forma europea no aparecía sino en casos excepcionales. Así el primer hombre que en la aldea de Maigeri salió de su casa para saludarme estaba vestido de un calzón lo que él había recibido en la ocasión de una visita de la aldea del Río Paranatinga y que, ciertamente, nunca estaba lavado en lo entretanto. Generalmente el "uluri" (triángulo pequeño de corteza) era el único vestido nacional de las mujeres y moças y el hilo fino de cinta y pintura aplicado al cuerpo el vestido de los hombres.

Cuando Karl von den Steinen visitó a los indios del Río Kulisehu, la primera aldea de los Bakairi, llamada Maigeri, constaba solamente de dos grandes casas de parentelas y de una pequeña casa de fiestas con base ovál y, la segunda y la tercera aldea constaban cada una de tres grandes casas de parentelas y de una casa de fiestas. Así pues el número de las casas de las aldeas de los Bakairi en la fecha de mi estada entre estos indios se había aumentado y por eso no tengo por justa la indicación de Hermann Meyer de que esta tribu ya en esa época estuviese "muy cadente". (32) Ciertamente existían entonces sobre el río Kulisehu solamente dos aldeas de los Bakairi, la primera, Maigeri, ya mencionada por Karl von den Steinen y la segunda, Maimaieti, también llamada Muriká, pero, desde hacía poco

NOTA 32. Hermann Meyer Obra c. 126.

tiempo, había también una aldea, llamada Bodoku, en la región que se extiende entre el Rio Kulisehu y el Rio Batovy. Del hecho de que la mujer del Bakairi Mayukú el que era jefe de una de las casas de Maimaieti, vivia en aquella aldea, resulta que tenian lugar íntimas relaciones entre los habitantes de esas dos aldeas.

Por desgracia no pude recibir en mi viaje al Rio Kulisehu datos exactos sobre la población de la primera aldea de Maigeri y de la aldea de Bodoku, situada entre el Rio Kulisehu y el Rio Batovy, así que no se puede definir exactamente la moción de la población de los Bakairi del Rio Kulisehu en el intervalo comprendiendo el tiempo corrido desde la expedición de Karl von den Steinen hasta mi estada entre estos indios en el año de 1901. Pero yo puedo acordarme todavía bién de que la población de la aldea de Maigeri ascendía a más de los 21 individuos los que ella tenía en la época de la expedición de Karl von de Steinen. También del hecho de que la aldea constaba en la fecha de mi viaje de 4 casas de parentelas en vez de las dos casas las que Karl von den Steinen encontró se puede concluir que la población se hubiese aumentado considerablemente durante el intervalo. A los habitantes de la segunda aldea del Rio Kulisehu Karl von den Steinen calculólos a unos 40 individuos lo que corresponde más o menos a la población de la aldea de Maimaieti en tiempos posteriores la que yo he calculado a 45 individuos. La población de la tercera aldea de Bakairi la que había existido en tiempos anteriores al Kulisehu ascendía, según Karl von den Steinen, a unos cien individuos, que número parece muy alto comparándola con el número tres de las casas de esa aldea y con las poblaciones de las demás aldeas. Sumando los números, indicados calculadamente por Karl von den Steinen respecto a las poblaciones de las aldeas de Bakairi que existían en la fecha de su expedición sobre el Rio Kulisehu, resulta la suma de unos 160 Bakairi que vivían sobre el Rio Kulisehu. Cuando yo estuve en Maimaieti estaban presentes en esta aldea 45 individuos pero decían que entonces unos cuantos habitantes estuviesen temporaneamente ausentes así que tenemos que meter en cuenta una población de Maimaieti más alta de 45 individuos. Ya mencioné en lo que precede que la población de la aldea de Maigeri, en la fecha de mi viaje, era mucho más grande de que Karl von den Steinen la ha calculado en los tiempos anteriores. Agrégase todavía la población de la aldea, recién fundada entre los Rios Kulisehu y Batovy cuyo número no conocemos, porque hemos de tenerla, ciertamente, por una fundación de los Bakairi del Rio Kulisehu y, una parte de los Xinguanos trasladados, temporaneamente o a la larga al Rio Paranatinga.

Es cierto que las expediciones, ejecutadas hacia las regiones de las fuentes del Rio Xingú, habían efectuado sus epílogos en lo que respecta a la historia posterior de los Bakairi de los Rios Kulisehu y Batovy. Así, el cacique Tumayaua de la primera aldea del Kulisehu el que, en primer lugar, había auxiliado a Karl von den Steinen en sus empresas ejecutadas en esas regiones, había sido asesinado por sus propios paisanos, poco antes de la fecha de mi expedición. Ya mencioné que los habitantes de esta misma aldea asecharon al José Corvado porque él se había metido

demasiado con las mujeres. Una otra consecuencia de estas expediciones era el hecho de que las relaciones de los Bakairi del Rio Kuliseu a las demás tribus que vivían este no más abajo, así sobre todo a los Nahukuá y a los Mehinakú, ya entonces habían seguido a ser tensas porque estas indios envidiaban a los Bakairi por haber recibido la parte de león de las preciosidades traídas por las expediciones. Pero, en resumen, los Bakairi del Rio Kuliseu, después de su primera conexión con los blancos, habían seguido viviendo, sin estar incomodados por otros, como antes. Su organización social, sus perspectivas jurídicas, la forma de su economía, sus costumbres y sus artes estaban en la fecha de mi estado entre ellos todavía casi las mismas como en tiempos anteriores.

Las primeras noticias sobre los Bakairi, después de mi viaje, recibimos en el año de 1915 por Antonio Pyrineus de Souza que en ocasión de su expedición dedicada a la medición del Rio S. Manuel y del Rio Paranatinga (llamado oficialmente Rio Telles Pires) se encontró con los Bakairi del Rio Novo y del Rio Paranatinga y con aquellos que se habían establecido a la "Cabeceira do Chapadão" (31)

En la aldea situada sobre el Rio Novo vivía en esta fecha todavía el viejo cacique Reginaldo que llevaba entonces una barba larga y blanca. Tenía buenas plantaciones, activaba alguna criación de ganado vacuno y de ratallos y tenía un seringal del que él mandaba explorar caucho. (32) Un grupo pequeño de los Bakairi de la región del Arinos tenía en esta fecha su domicilio a la Cabeceira do Pilão, afluente del Rio Arinos. Eran el Bakairi André con cuatro paisanos los que tenían plantaciones y trabajaban como seringueros. (33)

Mientras tanto habían tenido lugar modificaciones entre los Bakairi del Rio Paranatinga. Antonio estaba todavía cacique de la aldea situada todavía al mismo lugar, poco no abajo de la embocadura del Rio S. Manuel en el Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires), donde estaba fundada después de la muerte del cacique Felipe. Como la aldea constaba en esa fecha de 7 casas se puede suponer que Antonio entonces disponía todavía de un número relativamente grande de Bakairi. Pero él no estaba más el soberano único sobre todos los Bakairi del Paranatinga. Las diferencias que habían tenido lugar ya desde hacía mucho tiempo entre Antonio y su hermano José Corrado se habían aumentado y, después de una serie continuada entre ambos, José Corrado había salido de la aldea del Antonio y fundado con su gente una propia aldea, situada 13 kilómetros más río abajo al lado derecho del Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires) y 4 kilómetros distante al río principal sobre el pequeño "Ribeirão Azul". Era el mismo lugar donde en la fecha de mi viaje del año de 1927 estaba el Posto de Simões Lopes.

Por Antonio Pyrineus de Souza conocemos que Dedo Novo Bororo, un sobrino de José Corrado y desde hacía muchos años la mujer del cacique Reginaldo, había fallecido en Enero del año de 1913 en la aldea de su hijo.

NOTA 31 Antonio Pyrineus de Souza 31 a 33
NOTA 32 Idem
NOTA 33 Idem p. 32 y 33

De esta indicación resulta, por un lado, que la traslación del José Corvado al Ribeirão Azul había tenido lugar ya antes del año de 1913 y, por otro lado, que Pawe Bororo, en la contienda producida entre su marido y su hijo, había asistido a éste y abandonado al Antonio. Este se había casado ya en el año de 1915 con una mujer todavía joven que, indica Antonio Pyrineus, fuese la hija del viejo cacique Reginaldo y de una mujer Kayabí. Posiblemente había lugar, respecto a esta indicación una equivocación de Antonio Pyrineus porque sabemos por Karl von den Steinen que el cacique que se había casado con la joven Luiza Kayabí era el anciano Caetano que estaba entonces cacique de la aldea situada sobre el Río Paranatinga mientras que nunca yo he oído hablar de que la mujer del cacique Reginaldo, la que yo he conocido en persona, fuese Kayabí. Si la indicación de que la segunda mujer del cacique Antonio era Kayabí, es justo yo puedo suponer que ella era la hija de la Luiza Kayabí, que vivía todavía en la fecha de mi viaje, en el año de 1927, en el Puesto de Simões Lopes y así pues la hija legítima, aunque verosimilmente no la hija natural, del viejo cacique Caetano.

Un aumento considerable de la población del Río Paranatinga la había obtenido por el hecho de que el cacique Kurutú de los Bakairi del Alto Río Xingú se había trasladado con 180 "Xinguanos" al Río Paranatinga. La nueva aldea del cacique Kurutú estaba situada a 8 kilómetros río abajo de la aldea del cacique Antonio, al lado izquierdo del Río Paranatinga y unos 200 metros distante al río. Pero de estos 180 Xinguanos, ya en el año de 1915, vivían con su cacique en la aldea nueva no más de 9 hombres con algunas mujeres y criaturas. Los demás habían muerto o se habían trasladado a las otras aldeas de Bakairi situadas sobre el Río Paranatinga.

Según la descripción de Antonio Pyrineus de Souza, los Bakairi del Río Novo y del Río Paranatinga han pasado todavía en el año de 1915 una vida provista de subsistencia suficiente. El cacique Antonio cuya autoridad de los tiempos anteriores, ciertamente, había sido disminuida por la separación del José Corvado con su gente y por la posición independiente del cacique Kurutú, era todavía jefe de la aldea viejo situada sobre el Río Paranatinga la que constaba entonces todavía de 7 casas y cuyos habitantes plantaban mandioca, maíz, caña de azucar, bananas y "abóbora" y criaban a muchos cerdos y gallinas. En tiempos anteriores ellos se habían dedicado también a criar ganado vacuno y a caballos, pero el extranjero Iorge Soares habían obligádolos a desistir de esta crianza. Ya entonces Antonio hacía valer urgentemente los derechos a la región limitada por la "Serra Azul", por el "Ribeirão Bonanzal" y por el Río Paranatinga (Río Telles Pires) y ocupada por muchos años por los Bakairi. (34)

La aldea de José Corvado constaba de tres casas bien edificadas. El tenía grandes plantaciones de mandioca y maíz y, algunas criadas, de cerdos y gallinas. (35) También los habitantes de la aldea del cacique Kurutú, la que constaba de tres casas grandes tenían buenas plantaciones y vivían en bienestar.

NOTA 34. A. Pyrineus de Souza, l.c. p. 40.
NOTA 35. Idem, p. 42.

También, en esta fecha las costumbres y las ideas de los Bakairi del Rio Paranatinga eran, por la mayór parte, indianas. Bailando, los hombres están desnudos fuera de un pequeño mandil de forma rectangular, puesto al lado anterior por debajo del cinto que consiste de abalorios enseartados en un hilo. Rostro y cuerpó estan pintados con urucú y genipapo en rojo y en negro. También en esa época casca de enfermedad son imputados a la influencia de cualquier hechicero y poco antes de la expedición de Antonio Pyrineus de Souza un Bakairi del Paranatinga habia sido fusilado porque los indios atribuyeron las consecuencias de una epidemia de gripe a sus hechicerías.

En su libro: **Unter Indianern und Hexenschlangen** (36) Heinrich Hintermann publica los nuevos y los resultados de un viaje en la región de los afluentes del Alto Rio Xingú. El tenia la ocasión de acompañar a una expedición militár la que, comandada por el Capitán Brasileiro Vicente de Vasconcellos, se habia ejecutado en el año de 1924 en el servicio de la "Commissão de Linhas Telegr. Estr. de Matto Grosso ao Amazonas", para hacer medicionas del Rio Roncuro y efectuar relaciones entre la administración del nuevo Puesto de Simões Lopes, establecido por el "Serviço de Proteção aos Indios", y los indios del Rio Kulisehu y del Rio Kuluene. Conocemos por Hintermann que, ya entonces, todos los Bakairi del Kulisehu se habian trasladado al Puesto de Simões Lopes el que estaba fundado al mismo lugár donde, ya antes, José Corvado habia establecido su aldea.

Durante mi viaje ejecutado en el año de 1927 yo tuve ocasión de conocer por otra vez, despuès de un intervalo de 28 años, en persona las condiciones de los Bakairi. (37) Ya en Cuyabá me habia encontrado con algunos Bakairi los que habian llegado de Simões Lopes con una tropa de bueyes hacia la capital. Como en esta fecha los revolucionarios, jefiados por Prestes, pasaron Matto Grosso y hicieron insegura también la región de las cercanías de Cuyabá, estos Bakairi estaban impedidos a efectuar su viaje de regreso de la mismo causa de que yo no pude emprender mi viaje projectado hacia Simões Lopes. Eran 4 hombres y un muchacho de 10 años y, cuando ellos, un dia, me visitaron en mi casa, resultó que uno de estos indios, llamado Marcellino Caminago o, con su nombre indígena, Paluguda, provino de la segunda aldea de los Bakairi del Rio Kulisehu. En la fecha de mi estada en esta aldea, yo hacia 28 años, él era un muchacho pequeño, pero él acordábase todavia bién de mi. Era interesante observar de que manera volvióle poco a poco este recuerdo cuando toqué con mi violin la misma melodia que yo habia tocado muchas veces en la aldea de Maimaieti entre los Bakairi del Kulisehu. El preguntó a un de los demás Bakairi sobre mi nombre y, cuando yo díjele que me llamase "Dotor Mariano", luego él supo que su recuerdo no le hubiese engañado y saludóme como a un conocido antiguo. Naturalmente, desde este momento él frequentó con su pequeño hijo, Lorenzo, llamado con su nombre indígena Kauuro, y con los demás Bakairi mi casa y, como algunos

NOTA 36: Hintermann, Heinrich. UNTER INDIANERN UND HEXENSCHLANGEN. Stuttgart und Leipzig, 1929.

NOTA 37: Excepto las comunicaciones preliminares sobre los resultados de este viaje, véase Schmidt, "Expedition zwischen Xingú und Paraguay". Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Jahrg. 62, Heft 1/3.

de estos Bakairi sabían bién la lengua portuguesa yo tenía una buena ocasión de efectuar apuntaciones lingüísticas y de obtener ya en esta fecha datos exactos sobre las transformaciones que habían tenido lugar en lo que respecta a las condiciones de los Bakairi en el intervalo corrido desde mi viaje anterior. De singularidades me contaron que el viejo cacique Reginaldo había vivido todavía por mucho tiempo y había fallecido hacía poco tiempo. El cacique Karía que, en tiempos pasados me había recibido en la aldea Maimaieti tan hospitalariamente estaba vivo todavía pero muy viejo. El vivía bastante retirado porque su mujer y también sus dos hijos los que yo había conocido de pequeños muchachos, habían fallecido. También el cacique Antonio estaba vivo todavía pero también viejo ya y había quedado con su familia y con poca gente al lugar de la aldea antigua de los Bakairi del Paranatinga. Siempre Antonio seguía aferrado a la idea de que el terreno limitado por la "Serra Azul", el "Ribeirão Bananal" y el Rio Paranatinga pertenecíese a él y a sus Bakairi y no quería dejar su aldea para que no perdiere el derecho a esta región. En lo que respecta a las transformaciones promovidas por la fundación del Puesto de Simões Lopes él se portaba muy reservado y no reconocía la disposición de la administración del Puesto según la que, en su lugar, estaba calificado de cacique de los "Xinguanos" y empleado a administrar los asuntos de esta parte de los Bakairi del Puesto de Simões Lopes el Bakairi Pires. Cuando, más tarde, me encontré con cacique Antonio, él me dijo por más de las veces que él fuese todavía "Capitão" y el jefe legítimo de sus paisanos. De otras singularidades recibí por los Bakairi en Cuyabá la noticia de que también José Corado y su cuñado Chico, que me había acompañado con éste en mi expedición al Rio Kulisehu, habían fallecido en lo entretanto.

En mi viaje que, por fin, emprendí, saliendo de Cuyabá el 27 de Enero de 1927, yo pudo hacer una visita al cacique Antonio en su aldea solamente de pasajero, pero él mismo me ha visitado en Simões Lopes por varias veces. (Compare la figura 1). Yo era recibido muy bién en su casa como amigo antiguo y hospedado con un vaso de guaraná. Mientras que Antonio no tenía descendencia de Rosa Bororo, él tenía después de la muerte de ésta tres hijos de su segunda mujér. La fotografía representada en la figura 2 muestra a Antonio delante de su casa con su familia y, al lado derecho, a su caballo. Las condiciones de su casa provocaron, en contraste con aquellas de tiempos pasados cuando yo visitéle estando a la cima de su potencia, una impresión muy pobre. En una pequeña casa, situada cerca de la casa de Antonio, yo me encontré también con uno de los Bakairi los que me habían acompañado en el año de 1901 en mi viaje hacia el Rio Kulisehu. También éste ya era muy viejo y estaba enfermo estando su cuerpo cubierto de tumores.

Cuando llegé en el puesto de Simões Lopes tenía de acordarme allí con circunstancias muy desfavorables. Mi tropa había sido la primera que había llegado hacia Simões Lopes después de la interrupción largo de todo tráfico entre este puesto y la capital de Cuyabá, causada por los revolucionarios jefiados por Prestes. Por eso había en aquella sazón escaséz de

víveres y fuera de eso había entre los indios una epidemia fuerte de malaria de la que estaba atacado también el jefe del Puesto, el señor Benedito, y su familia. El Puesto entonces estaba todavía al mismo lugar de su primera fundación donde, antes, José Coroado había tenido su aldea, así pues 13 kilómetros rio abajo de la aldea antigua de los Bakairí del Paranatinga y 4 kilómetros tierra adentro al lado derecho del rio cerca del pequeño "Riberão Azul". El constaba de algunas casas de administración (compare la figura 3) y unas 20 ranchos destinados a los indios Bakairí (compare las figuras 4, 6 y 7). Ciertamente vivían en esta sazón todos los Bakairí en las cercanías del Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires) y tenían relaciones con el Puesto de Simões Lopes pero solamente una parte de ellos tenía su domicilio en el Puesto y, como las plantaciones de las familias particulares de indios estaban bastante lejos del establecimiento también los indios domiciliados en el Puesto mismo quedabanse, temporaneamente en sus pequeñas casas edificadas cerca de sus plantaciones.

En el medio del Puesto estaba la casa del Bakairí Pires a quien la administración había empleado del cacicazgo sobre los Bakairí trasladados de la región del Alto Rio Xingú y llamados Xinguanos. (Compare las figuras 4 y 5).

En una de las casas del Puesto yo me encontré con el Bakairí Luchu, procedente de la primera aldea del Rio Kulisehu, el que había acompañado con el cacique Tumayaua a Karl von den Steinen en su expedición y está representado por fotografía en el libro: **Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens.** Como muestra la fotografía representado en la figura 8, él había envejecido bastante en el intervalo y estaba vestido de manera europea y, llevando las barbas hirsutas semejase poco a su fotografía hecha por Karl von den Steinen antes de hacía 39 años. En una otra casa vivía todavía Luisa Kayabí con la que Karl von den Steinen se había encontrado cuando era la mujer joven del viejo cacique Caetano.

La mayór parte de los Bakairí los que había conocido 26 años antes en las aldeas de Maigeri y de Maimaieti habían sucumbido a una epidemia de gripe la que había hecho grandes estragos entre los habitantes de Matto Grosso algunos años antes. Como atribujóse el gran número de casos de defunción entre los Bakairí del Alto Rio Xingú a los hechizos de las malas tribus vecinas y, especialmente a los Mehinakú y a los Nahukuá que hayan sido celosos por causa de los beneficios económicos de los Bakairí, conseguidos por su conexión con la civilización, todos los Bakairí del Rio Batovy y del Rio Kulisehu habían trasladado al Rio Paranatinga. Ciertamente celos mesquinos y otras discordias habían efectuado que estos Bakairí, llamados Xinguanos, no ligabanse bién con sus paisanos indígenas sobre el Paranatinga y, por eso, se habían establecido algun distante del Puesto, más rio abajo. El primero de estos domicilios de los Xinguanos yo lo encontré en el lugár de la embocadura del Riberão Azul en el Rio Paranatinga. Estaba situado al lado derecho de este rio y constaba de cuatro casas pequeñas. (Compare las figuras 21 y 22). Poco más rio abajo yo llegé a una plantación de los Bakairí cerca de la que estaba una casa de forma de un rancho habitada de alguna gente. (Compare la figura 20).

De allí salió una vereda hacia el domicilio principal de los Bakairí trasladados del Rio Kulisehu. Constaba de dos casas bastante grandes. (Compare la figura 17). Dijeron que, poco rio abajo, había algunos domicilios más y entre éstos también aquél del viejo amigo procedente de la aldea de Maimaieti, Karía. Yo me había encontrado ya con Karía, cuando visité al cacique Antonio y él me había reconocido. El no estaba más cacique y me dijeron que en la fecha de mi estada en Maimaieti él había estado solamente cacique transitorio en lugár de su hermano entonces ausente. El había envejecido mucho y no tenía más gente a su disposición de modo que vivía sin duda en grande pobreza. Algún tiempo después él me visitó en el Puesto de Simões Lopes y trajó para mi un lindo arco con flechas y un collar de estilo antiguo, hecho de cuentas de piedra y de concha.

Durante mi estada en Simões Lopes he visitado dos veces el domicilio de los Xinguanos situado sobre el Rio Paranatinga y, cada vez, yo era recibido muy amablemente y bién hospedado por los habitantes entre los cuales yo encontré todavía algunos conocidos de Maimaieti. Allí yo me encontré otra vez con Marcellino Caminage y con su familia (compare las figuras 15-17) y, también, con el hijo del Bakairí Chico que me había acompañado en mi viaje anterior, desde el Rio Paranatinga hasta la aldea de Maimaieti y que había fallecido en lo entretanto. El hijo de este Chico, llamado André, había sido criado en la estancia de Jange Soares de modo que sabía bién efectuar los trabajos relacionados a un viaje con una tropa. Yo contratéle para la prosecución de mi viaje y tengo de mencionar en este lugár que él estaba siempre un buen y fiél compañero de mi viaje, ejecutado hacia el Puesto de Kayabi, Pedro Dantas y, de regreso hacia Cuyabá estando temporaneamente mi único acompañante pasando conmigo muchas dificultades. Yo me recuerdo todavía de que, un dia cuando nosotros pasamos mucho mal, él dijóme: "Mi padre, antes, quedaba siempre junto con Ud. en tu viaje y, así, yo ahora quedo también contigo".

También al lado derecho del Rio Paranatinga pero algún distante del rio y para allá del Rio Vermelho que desemboca por rio abajo del Puesto de Simões Lopes, estaba el domicilio de los Bakairí que habían trasladadose de sus dos aldeas situadas sobre el Rio Novo. Cacique sobre este grupo de Bakairí era en esta fecha un hombré de edad adelantada, llamado Roberto. (Compare la figura 12). El domicilio constaba de 11 casas de las cuales solamente tres estaban habitadas en esta fecha. Pero, fuera de estas casas, Roberto tenía también una casa en el Puesto Simões Lopes mismo, donde él se detenía, ocasionalmente con su gente. Saliendo de Simões Lopes para proseguir el viaje hacia el Puesto de Pedro Dantas yo tenía ocasión de visitar las casas de los Bakairí procedentes del Rio Novo pero, por desgracia yo me encontré solamente con pocos habitantes de esta aldea porque Roberto estaba ocupado en las plantaciones con la mayór parte de su gente.

En el Puesto de Simões Lopes mismo vivían varios Bakairí que ya habían estado por algun tiempo empleados al servicio de la administración del Puesto y sabían los trabajos relacionados a viajes con una tropa (Com-

pare las figuras 9-11). Uno de éstos estaba ocupado especialmente de carpintero. (Compare la figura 9). Tenía interés para mí el encuentro con uno de estos Bakairí, llamado Bernardino que con algunos otros Bakairí había acompañado al Coronel Fawcett en su último viaje, ejecutado hacia los afluentes del Rio Xingú y, por eso, pudo comunicarme algunos datos exactos respecto a los últimos sucedidos precedentes al desaparecer de este infeliz explorador. Según estas indicaciones, ya antes el proceder del Coronel había extrañado mucho también a los Bakairí. Dijeron que ya antes de su último viaje él había emprendido un viaje en la región del Rio Paranatinga con algunos Bakairí proseguiendo, a ciegas, una dirección cierta hasta que sus bueyes de carga cayeron extenuados de modo que había de abandonar en el campo todo su equipaje. Regresado en Simões Lopes él había contratado a Leonardo y a algunos otros Bakairí para conducirle con su hijo y un otro joven que, dijeron, ya fuese enfermo, hacia los afluentes del Rio Xingú. De allí él había mandado, entonces, a todos sus prácticos volver porque quiso proseguir el viaje acompañado solamente por su hijo y el otro paisano mencionado. Desde esta fecha nunca más había noticia de él y, cada uno que conoce las condiciones de estas regiones en lo que respecta a su clima pestífero, a sus selvas intransitables, a sus cataratas y a la falta completa de caza asequible en muchos de sus distritos, asentirá mi opinión de que estas condiciones excluyen el hecho de que Fawcett sea todavía vivo. Es verosimil que, ya poco tiempo después de la salida de los Bakairí, él y sus dos acompañantes quedaronse exhaustos y desamparados en cualquier lugár del campo o del monte de modo que no hemos de suponer, desde un principio, que su muerte sea efectuado por la violencia de cualquier indio enemigo. Como la infatigable busca de los "Martirios" en la región de los afluentes del Rio Xingú, ya antes de 25 años, había al fin quebrado la salud del Oficiál Paulo Castro, así también el Coronel Fawcett ha sucumbido en las mismas regiones a su corrida fantástica atras la "misteriosa ciudad".

Aunque los Bakairí en el año de 1927, casi todos, tenían su vestido de forma europea y sus casas de estilo de ranchos brasileros y aunque habían aceptado también muchos otros bienes de la cultura europea, se habían conservado entre ellos varios bienes de su cultura indígena sobre las que yo trataré en el aparte que sigue.

Ya en la fecha de mi estada entre los Bakairí en Simões Lopes hablabase muchas veces de una traslación inminente del Puesto. Los indios no estaban contentos con su lugar actual porque durante la sequía el agua no era asequible sino de larga distancia y, porque no había en las cercanías inmediatas del Puesto terreno propio a hacer plantaciones. En lo que respectaba la elección del lugár para el Puesto nuevo las opiniones de los indios variaban mucho las unas a las otras y era interesante el hecho de que especialmente los Xinguanos querían que el respectivo lugar estuviera situado más cerca a la capital de Cuyabá mientras que los Paranatinganos", al contrario, gustaban un lugar que estuviera más allá del Rio Paranatinga.

Algunos detalles sobre las condiciones posteriores de los Bakairi domiciliados en el Puesto nuevo de Simões Lopes nosotros sabemos de Vincent M. Petrullo que en el año de 1931 emprendió un viaje, efectuado en parte con tropa respectivamente por agua y en parte en avión hacia la región de los afluentes del Alto Rio Xingú, pasando en esta ocasión también este Puesto de indios. (38) Según Petrullo el Puesto nuevo está situado sobre el Rio Paranatinga encima de una altura en alguna distancia, al margen del rio. El Puesto mismo constaba de algunos edificios excelentes de administración y, algun distante a éstos estaba situada la aldea de los Bakairi de modo que era reservada a los indios una cierta independencia. El puesto contenía una escuela en que se procuraba a enseñar a la juventud Bakairi ler y escribir en la lengua portuguesa y, los elementos de la aritmética. La administración sostenía una manada de ganado vacuno y, cada uno de los Bakairi deseaba poseer algunos bueyes y vacas.

No queriendo perjudicar las exhibiciones preciosos de Petrullo tengo que anotar en lo que sigue algunos puntos en los que no puedo asentir bién la opinión de Petrullo porque ellos contradicen a mis experiencias hechas entre estos indios. Creo que una impresión falsa de las condiciones anteriores de la vida de los Bakairi en la región de los afluentes del Alto Rio Xingú la provocan las exposiciones de Petrullo en las que se dice que la administración del Puesto no hubiese experimentado a transformar a los Bakairi los que en tiempos anteriores hubiesen pasado una vida medionómada en un pueblo sedentario de agricultores. Los Bakairi de los afluentes del Alto Rio Xingú eran, como todas las demás tribus de indios del Rio Kulisehu, excepto tal vez los Trumai, un pueblo típico de agricultures. Los trabajos relacionados a la agricultura constitulan la parte principál de su actividad y, ellos tenían esteneas plantaciones en las cercanías de sus casas. Ellos eran absolutamente sedenteros en sus aldeas trasladando éstas hacia más cerca de sus plantaciones cuando éstas, explotandose sucesivamente la tierra del monte más cercano, quedan poco a poco demasiado apartadas de sus casas. Cria ellos no la tenían de modo que ha tenido lugár en el Puesto un cambio de su vida, transformandose un pueblo, anteriormente, de agricultores en un pueblo activando la cria de ganado vacuno y eso, sin duda, para alcanzar una renta mayor.

También no puedo creer que la abundancia especial de peces del Rio Paranatinga, elogiada en tiempos anteriores por los Bakairi hayase perdido tan completamente que pudiese ser justa la indicación de Petrullo: "There are practicaly no fish in the Paranatinga, at least up to where the post in located". ("Practicamente no hay peces en el Paranatinga, por lo menos en el lugar donde está el Puesto"). En la época de la expedición de Karl von den Steinen el pez "Matrinchão" era tenido por el bién más precioso del país de los Bakairi del Paranatinga y, en su honor, ellos celebraron la más hermosa de sus fiestas. (39) Cuando Karl von den Steinen propusó al cacique Felipe a trasladar a su aldea que entonces parecía despoblarse completamente, a más cerca de Cuyabá, éste no contestó sino diciendo

NOTA 38. Vincent M. Petrullo, "Primitive peoples of Mato Grosso, Brazil". THE MUSEUM JOURNAL, Vol. XXIII Number 2, Philadelphia, p. 127-130.

NOTA 39. Karl v. d. Steinen, UNTER DEN NATURVÖLKERN, l.c. p. 24 y 25.

"Matrinchão". También yo estuve hospedado, más tarde, en la aldea, situada entonces más río arriba, casi todos los días con un apetecible Matrinchão y, también cuando visité en el año de 1927 a los Xingunos en su domicilio situado sobre el Río Paranatinga, ellos me ofrecieron pescado. Ciertamente puede ser que esta abundancia de peces del Río Paranatinga restrinjase a ciertas estaciones del año.

También no tengo por justa la indicación de Petrullo de que los Bakairi del Puesto hubiesen reemplazado la hamaca primordial fabricada de fibras de buriti por tales hechas de hilos de algodón. Desde el principio la hamaca hecha de hilos de algodón era típica especialmente a los Bakairi de la región de los afluentes del Alto Río Xingú al contraste con las hamacas trenzadas de fibras de buriti usadas por las demás tribus de esta región. Pero ya en la época de las expediciones de Karl von den Steinen (40) los Bakairi del Río Paranatinga tenían hamacas hechas de fibras de buriti las que, ellos dijeron, el viejo cacique Caetano había implantado entre ellos. A la opinión de Petrullo de que la costumbre de afilar los dientes incisivos superiores sea primordial de los Bakairi la que ellos hubiesen conservado todavía, tengo que oponer el hecho de que los Bakairi de la región de los afluentes del Alto Río Xingú nunca han tenido esta costumbre pero que pude observarla de varios de mis acompañantes Mato-grossenses los que han recibidola, verosimilmente, por influencia africana. Si los Bakairi actuales en el Puesto de Simões Lopes afilan sus dientes se trata, sin duda, de una innovación efectuada por influencias ajenas.

Sabemos por Petrullo que por desgracias la grande mortalidad de los Bakairi del Paranatinga ha progresado a pesar de los cuidados de la Inspectoria do Protecção aos Indios (41) Parece que fiebres disminuyan rapidamente la población de los Bakairi. Según Petrullo, probablemente, también la sífilis recibida por el contacto con los blancos, ha causado la grande mortalidad entre estos indios.

Al fin tengo que mencionar todavía la última noticia la que recibí cuando ya había salido de Matto Grosso. Es la noticia del fallecimiento de aquel hombre que se había retirado, al fin de su vida, de todas las innovaciones porque quiso sostener su independencia pero que, no obstante, quedará el Bakairi más conocido en la historia de los Bakairi, del fallecimiento del cacique Antonio.

II. TRANSFORMACION Y MANTENIMIENTO DE BIENES DE CULTURA ENTRE LOS BAKAIRI DEL PUESTO DE SIMÕES LOPES

Tratando en el aparte que precede la historia de los Bakairi yo mencioné que los Bakairi sedentarios sobre el Río Paranatinga y sobre el Río Novo antes de que entraron en relaciones a sus paisanos de los afluentes del Alto Río Xingú, habían mantenido todavía algunos de sus

NOTA (40) Steinen, p. 296
NOTA (41) Vieira de Petrullo 2.a p. 128 y 129

bienes de cultura primordiales aunque ellos habían llegado casi completamente a ser campesinos brasileros. Por la conexión con los "Xinguanos" y a consecuencia de la trasladación continua de éstos al Río Paranatinga la influencia indiana a los Bakairi del Este se había aumentado otra vez y, cuando yo visité en el año de 1927 el Puesto de Simões Lopes donde en el puesto mismo o en sus cercanías, en lo entretanto todos los Bakairi se habían instalado, se podían hallar allí todavía muchos utensilios y costumbres primordiales. En las casas de los Bakairi había muchos objetos hechos de manera indígena de modo que yo pude adquirir una colección relativamente amplia para el Museo de Etnología en Berlín. Entre los objetos de esta colección había, como ya mencioné en lo que precede, varios provenientes de la región de los afluentes del Alto Río Xingú mismo los que los Xinguanos habían llevado consigo cuando se habían trasladado al Río Paranatinga o los que estos indios habían recebido, más tarde, por indios de otras tribus en ocasión de visitas de éstos en Simões Lopes. De los objetos provenientes de la región de los afluentes del Alto Río Xingú son notables sobre todo las vasijas de barro cocido que eran importadas en grande cantidad, porque, como dijeron los Bakairi, no existía un barro propio en Simões Lopes a fabricarlas. Las grandes ollas de barro cocido las que había en gran cantidad en las casas de los Bakairi y las que servían a cocer la bebida "pyserego", provenían de los Mehinakú. Un buen ejemplo de las pequeñas vasijas provenientes de la región de los afluentes del Alto Río Xingú, lo representa la figura 25. Esta vasija (V. B. 9870) (42) uno de cuyos añadidos está caracterizado, por la formación de una boca, de cabeza de un animal, corresponde respecto a su forma a un ejemplar de tales vasijas que he traído en el año de 1901 de los Bakairi del Río Kulisehu (43) y a otros semejantes ejemplares coleccionados por Karl von den Steinen con la indicación de representación de un murciélago. Al color fundamental, escuro, del lado exterior de la vasija está aplicada una pintura de marrón la que consiste, a la paréd, de listas paralelas en dirección vértical y, al fondo de la vasija, de arcos de círculo saliendo de la circunferencia de un círculo cuyo centro es el centro del fondo de la vasija. La altura de la vasija asciende a 10,5 cm. y el diámetro de su borde superior a 28,5 cm. Dos otras vasijas de barro cocido, más pequeñas, están representadas en las figuras 26 y 27, la una de las cuales (V. B. 9877) tiene una altura de 11,5 cm. y un diámetro del borde superior de 26 cm. y, la otra (V. B. 9874) una altura de 12,5 cm. y un diámetro del borde superior de 20 cm. De los demás objetos, procedentes de la región del Alto Río Xingú, la mayor parte eran de adorno. El collar representado en la figura 24 (V. B. 9957) y hecho de pequeños discos de concha (diámetro: 0,8 cm.) y una grande cuenta de piedra, me regalólo, en Simões Lopes, mi viejo amigo el Bakairi Karía como preciosidad especial de tiempos anteriores. De otros objetos de adorno, de mi colección, están representados por fotografías los siguientes:

Fig. 24.a Un collar de chapitas de concha (V.B. 9956. Largór de las chapitas 2,5 cm.).

NOTA 42. Es el número del catálogo del Museo Etnográfico en Berlín.
NOTA 43. Max Schmidt, INDIANERSTUDIEN IN ZENTRAL-BRASILIEN. L.c. p. 463 Fig. 275.

Fig. 23 c. Un collar de dientes de ranchu y con un pendiente sobrepuesto (ave) de alacrán de Inuta (V.B. 9954).

Fig. 23 b. Pendiente de un collar, de piedra, sobrepuesto.

Fig. 23 a. Diadema de plumas (V.B. 9968). Largor 36 cm. Anchura 8 cm.

De los bienes de cultura de los Bakairi los que hemos de tener también por producciones de industria indígena, pero los que, en contraste con aquellos descritos en lo que precede, están fabricados, verosimilmente, por los Bakairi del Puesto de Simões Lopes mismos, son notables, en primer lugar, los diversos especies de trenzados, porque son propios a complementar en varios puntos mis publicaciones anteriores sobre los trenzados de los Bakairi (44). Por eso trataré los trenzados, los que coleccioné de los Bakairi en Simões Lopes, en un aparte especial que sigue. Fuera de los trenzados me importaba, sobre todo, la adquisición de un mortero con el mano correspondiente y de un asador de forma triangular, porque las respectivas colecciones del Museo Etnográfico en Berlín no contenían ningún ejemplar de estos objetos de los Bakairi existentes casi en todo domicilio de estos indios. El mortero de madera lo que he traído de Simões Lopes (V. B. 9982, llamado por los Bakairi del Kulisehu "oro") está representado en la figura 29. Su altura asciende a 38 cm. y el diámetro del borde a 25 cm. De la forma irregular del fondo se puede suponer que se hacía entrar la parte inferior del mortero en el suelo. El mano correspondiente (V. B. 9984), tiene un largor de 95 cm. y está representado en la figura 28. El asador, representado en la figura 30 y llamado por los Bakairi del Kulisehu "sirika" tiene la forma triangular común de los asadores de los Bakairi. Los palos de que este asador consta, están unidos con corteza de árbol uno a otro. Su altura asciende a 105 cm.

Los palos de baile, representados en las figuras 33 a-d y 34 a-d (V. B. 9942, 9943, 9945-9948, 9951 y 10071) yo hallélos en la casa del cacique Piwa donde ellos estaban empleados en fiestas de baile, puestos en acción en ciertos tiempos por los Xinguanos. Los ornamentos pirograbados respectivamente producidos con tinte negro son completamente primordiales. Fuera de circunferencias y espirales hay entre ellos también los demás elementos de ornamentación de los Bakairi del Río Kulisehu. El largór de estos palos asciende a 79 cm. — 100 cm. y su diámetro a 1.7 cm. — 4.5 cm.

De figuras hechas de hojas de espigas de maíz, como las tenían, en tiempos anteriores los Bakairi de los afluentes del alto Río Xingú, encontré dos ejemplares en el domicilio de los Xinguanos sobre el Río Paranatinga, los que representan a aves. (V. B. 9964 y 9965. Largor 15 cm.). Una pelota hecha de hojas de espiga de maíz (V. B. 9966. Largór 21 cm.), como la usaban los Bakairi del Kulisehu por general para su juego con pelota y la que ellos llamaban "tóiu", está representada en la figura 31 b.

Pequeñas figuras de forma de la figura humana representada en la figura 23 d. (V. B. 9961. Largór 10 cm.) eran puestos, en Simões Lopes, al

NOTA 44 Max Schmidt: INDIANERSTUDIEN IN ZENTRAL-BRASILIEN. l.c. p. 330-371. Compare: idem: "Indianer-Industrie-Artisten Gelegenheitsarbeiter auf der Tschaá des Fischers." ZEITSCH. F. ETHN. 1906, Heft 3 y 4, p. 498-512. Idem: "Die technischen Verwandtschaften in der Ornamentik der Eingeborenen Südamerikas." IPEK. JAHRBUCH FÜR PRÄHISTORISCHE UND ETHNOGRAPHISCHE KUNST. 1906, p. 242-274.

pescuezo de las criaturas recien nacidas para preservarlas de enfermedades. Yo había adquerido un ejemplar bueno y viejo de tales figuras que estaba en compañía de una uña animal ligado al collar de una chica criatura de una mujér perteneciente a los Bakairi trasladados del Rio Novo. Un dia más tarde, dela vino con su criatura a pedirme a restituirle el collar con el pendiente, porque la criatura hubiese enfermado despuès de la pérdida del collar. Ella trocó la figura vieja por la nueva, representada en la figura 23 d.

Al fin tengo que mencionar todavia la tabilna tallada representada en la figura 31 a (V. B. 9909. Largór 23,5 cm.) Como tales tabilitas, destinadas, esencialmente, para acordar nùmeros, no se encuentran de los Bakairi de los afluentes del Alto Rio Xingú, hemos de suponér que se trata en ese caso del producto de una influencia ajena de tempos posteriores.

III. LOS TRENZADOS DE LOS BAKAIRI EN SIMÕES LOPES

La mayór parte de los trenzados los que adquirí de los Bakairi en Simões Lopes pertenecen a aquella especie de trenzados la que he llamado en mis respectivas publicaciones anteriores "Stufengeflecht" (trenzado de grada).

Los dos abanicos para soplar el fuego, representados en la figura 35 a,y b (a (arriba) V. B. 9916. Largór del borde superior 45 cm. Anchura 19 cm. b (abajo) V. B. 9919. Largór del borde superior 43 cm. Anchura 17,5 cm.) corresponden, en lo que respecta a su forma exterior a aquellos los que conocemos de los Bakairi del Kulisehu en tempos anteriores, pero, respecto a la técnica, ellos muestran ya ciertas apariencias de degeneración. En el capítulo "Geflechte und Geflechtornamente im Xingú-Quellgebiet" de mi libro citado **Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien**, he tratado detenidamente la técnica aplicada en la fabricación de tales abanicos para soplar el fuego, porque estos trenzados eran especialmente propios a demostrar la dependencia de la ornamentación de los trenzados de la técnica de trenzar, aplicada en su fabricación. Se pueden fijar exactamente las unidades particulares del trenzado y la sucesión de que éstas están formadas sucesivamente y, los ejemplares, representados por fotografias en el lugar mencionado, hacen reconocer claramente de que modo las yagas de la ornamentación de estas unidades particulares del trenzado y, a la vez, la ornamentación entera del respectivo abanico está ligada intimamente a las condiciones técnicas del trenzado. Así, de todos los abanicos de esta especie procedentes de los indios del Kulisehu, las dos unidades triangulares del trenzado, las que principian con su base a los dos lados del borde inferior del trenzado están gayadas en dirección horizontal, es decir, en la dirección paralela al borde inferior, mientras que la parte mediana del abanico que integra el principio del trenzado, de forma de un cuadrado aplocado al canto, está gayada, por lo común, en dirección vértical. Como muestra el abanico representado por fotografía en la figura 191 de mi libro citado, hay casos en que esta parte mediana está gayada en dirección horizontal sin que procedan de eso com-

plicaciones respecto a la técnica y, como también en esos casos las dos unidades triangulares del trenzado los que principian con su base a los dos lados del borde inferior del abanico muestran por causas técnicas una gayadura en dirección horizontal, todas estas unidades del trenzado de tal abanico tienen la misma gayadura de la ornamentación. Pero, incompatible con las condiciones técnicas de las formas primordiales de estos trenzados es la gayadura en dirección vertical que pasa el trenzado entero del abanico representado en la figura 154.a y, procedente de Simões Lopes. La estructura del trenzado de este abanico muestra que también él está trenzado de manera de que el trabajo principia en la parte mediana del abanico, de forma de un cuadrado colocado al canto, y sigue formando los dos triángulos inferiores del trenzado por doblar y trenzar los extremos libres de las fibras que han formado la parte mediana. Entre los numerosos ejemplares de tales abanicos los que el Museo Etnográfico de Berlín posee no hay ninguno cuyas partes triangulares al base inferior del abanico muestren una gayadura dirigiéndose en dirección vertical y, la imperfección del borde inferior del respectivo abanico procedente de Simões Lopes, en comparación con los bordes firmes y lisos de los abanicos procedentes de los Bakairi del Kulisehu, muestra claramente que se trata, en el caso del abanico procedente de Simões Lopes de una decadencia de la técnica de trenzar, de los Bakairi, la que, en tiempos pasados, era más perfecta y dependiente de ciertas condiciones. También el abanico para soplar el fuego, representado en la figura 154.b, contiene, a pesar de su buena impresión exterior, tantas imperfecciones de la construcción y tantas irregularidades de la estructura del trenzado que se puede reconocer luego su procedencia posterior.

Grande semejanza y, se puede decir paridad, hay entre las cestas chatas adquiridas en Simões Lopes y aquellas las que los Bakairi de la región de los afluentes del Alto Rio Xingú fabricaban en tiempos anteriores. La cesta chata representada en la figura 36 (V. B. 9909. Diámetro 51 cm.) corresponde sorprendentemente a una respectiva cesta, coleccionada por Herrmann Meyer de los Nahukuá y descrita por mí en otro lugar. (45) El trenzado de ambas cestas es formado de fibras de hojas de Buriti cuyo pecíolo sobresale a un lado de la cesta y también su borde está afirmado por un aro de madera. Estas dos cestas se diferencian solamente en lo que respecta a su ornamentación, consistiendo ésta de la cesta procedente de los Bakairi en Simões Lopes de una simple gayadura que pasa el trenzado entero en la misma dirección mientras que el trenzado del ejemplar, adquirido por Herrmann Meyer de los Nahukuá, se compone de varias unidades, diferenciadas entre sí por la dirección contraria de su gayadura de modo que aparece a la superficie de la cesta el ornamento romboi, común entre estos indios. Aunque hasta aquí un ejemplar de cesta correspondiente a ésta no estaba conocido de los Bakairi no hemos de tener la cesta chata, representada en la figura 36 por una producción de los Nahukuá, porque los bienes de cultura de estas dos tribus, parientes también respecto al lenguaje, muestran por lo general una grande semejanza.

NOTA 45. Max Schmidt. FORSCHUNGSREISEN IN ZENTRAL-BRASILIEN. l.c. p. 349-352 y fig. 174.

La cesta chata y redonda, representada en la figura 37 y llamada por los Bakairí del Kulisehu "apo" (V. B. 9906. Diámetro 36 cm. Altura 10 cm.) hemos de tener en lo que respecta a su técnica y a su ornamentación por una producción irreprensible de la arte primordial de trenzar de los Bakairí. La técnica de esta cesta y su ornamentación romboíd extendiéndose simétricamente sobre la superficie entera y además marcada por la coloración diferente de las respectivas fibras del trenzado dirigidas en dirección vértical y horizontal, corresponden a un ejemplar adquirido por Herrmann Meyer de los Bakairí del Rio Kulisehu y representado por fotografía en su citada publicación. (48) Hay solamente diferencias sin importancia en lo que respecta la ornamentación de estas dos cestas chatas en cuanto que los pequeños rombos de la cesta chata proveniente de Simões Lopes son blancos mostrando un punto negro en el medio y están rodeados por dos cuadrados negros y un cuadrado blanco mientras que los rombos de la otra cesta son negros mostrando un punto blanco en el medio y están rodeados por un cuadrado blanco y un cuadrado negro solo. Técnicamente esta diferencia se explica del hecho de que cada una unidad del trenzado de la cesta proveniente de Simões Lopes, marcada por la dirección igual de la gayadura de la ornamentación, consta de 12 fibras dirigidas en dirección vértical y 12 fibras dirigidas en dirección horizontal, mientras que el número de cada uno de estos dos grupos de fibras de la cesta chata proveniente del Rio Kulisehu, asciende a 9. Fuera de eso, ambas cestas se diferencian por la manera de que está efectuada la coloración negra del uno de los dos grupos de fibras (vértícales y horizontales) del trenzado. Ambas cestas están trenzadas de manera de que las respectivas fibras de caña de uno de los dos grupos de estas fibras están colocadas con su superficie exterior y lisa por arriba y con su superficie interior y áspera por abajo mientras que las fibras del otro grupo estando dirigidas en dirección vértical a la dirección de las fibras del primer grupo, están colocadas con su superficie áspera por arriba y con su superficie lisa por abajo. Pero la manera de que la coloración negra de la superficie áspera de las fibras está efectuada, es diferente de ambas cestas. De la cesta chata proveniente de Simões Lopes la superficie áspera de las fibras del trenzado está teñida de negro antes de trenzarlas mientras que la coloración de la cesta chata proveniente del Rio Kulisehu está efectuada de modo de que la cesta entera, trenzada de la manera descrita pero sin que se haya teñido antes la superficie áspera de las respectivas fibras, está teñida con hollín y luego lavada. Por el lavar el hollín ha desaparecido de las partes de la superficie de la cesta las que están formadas por la superficie lisa de las fibras del trenzado mientras que las partes en que las fibras aparecen con su superficie áspera a la superficie de la cesta se han conservado de color negro. La manera de formar un lindo borde, de los extremos libres de las fibras del trenzado saliendo del canto superior de éste, es la misma de ambas cestas.

Por una producción de transición de un tiempo nuevo tenemos que tener la cesta proveniente de los Bakairí de Simões Lopes y representado en la figura 38. (V. B. 9907. Diámetro 26 cm. Altura 6.5 cm.) Respecto a su for-

NOTA 48. Ibidem, p. 550 Fig. 177.

ma exterior y su borde, formado de los extremos de las fibras del trenzado, ella corresponde completamente a la cesta descrita en lo que precede. Su singularidad consiste en que, junto al ornamento romboi de forma común entre los Bakairi, aparece también el ornamento "meandro". A los Bakairi de los afluentes del Alto Rio Xingú era característico el hecho de que en la ornamentación de sus trenzados y tampoco en su ornamentación, derivada de ésta, casi no aparecía el meandro, mientras que este ornamento es común, por ejemplo, en la ornamentación de los Kayabi, vecinos a los Bakairi, y aparece esporádicamente también en la ornamentación de otras tribus, vecinas a los Bakairi, en la región de los afluentes del Alto Rio Xingú. Pues hemos de tener el meandro, apareciendo en la superficie de cesta chata proveniente de los Bakairi de Simões Lopes, por un elemento ajeno de la ornamentación típica de los Bakairi y implantado a éstos por la influencia de otras tribus. Como había entre los Bakairi del Paranatinga mujeres Kayabi, se puede suponer que éstas hayan implantado el ornamento nuevo a los Bakairi. El esquema de la figura 47 muestra que también de esta cesta los meandros de la ornamentación del trenzado están formados de la manera común de que en ciertas partes del trenzado sus unidades cuadradas, particulares están colocadas de modo de no se encuentran cuatro de éstas a sus cantos en un punto solo mientras que en los lugares del trenzado en los que sucede eso, aparecen los ornamentos romboies o de forma de una cruz, comunes de los Bakairi. El hecho de que se trata en ese caso de una influencia ajena resulta también de las varias irregularidades de la estructura del tejido estando en contraste con los trenzados bien proporcionados de los Bakairi de tiempos anteriores. La hechura de la cesta provoca la impresión de que los Bakairi en ese caso hayan aceptado el nuevo ornamento sin que sabían las condiciones técnicas de este ornamento de tal grado que podían producir una obra más perfecta, como eso aparece muchas veces también de otras tribus en el curso de la transición de sus bienes de cultura. El esquema de la figura 47 muestra que, en el medio de la cesta, una fibra secundaria está añadida, arbitrariamente, a las demás fibras que forman el trenzado y, que el trenzado de mallas triplices se cambia varias veces en tal de mallas duplices. Grandes irregularidades aparecen especialmente en el centro de una de las figuras romboies.

La cesta representada en la figura 39 y llamada por los Bakairi "humureba" (V. B. 9885. Altura 14 cm. Anchura del fondo 20 cm. Anchura del borde superior 28 cm.) presenta un buen ejemplo de aquellos trenzados, procedentes de los Bakairi de Simões Lopes, cuya técnica aparece todavía puramente de forma primordial de los Bakairi. Yo he tratado detenidamente este tipo de cestas, común también entre otras tribus de indios, en otro lugar (47), exponiendo que en esos casos el principio del trenzado es formado por un plano cuadrado cuya parte mediana forma el fondo de la cesta, mientras que los cuatro cantos son doblados hacia arriba para servir de partes de las cuatro paredes de la cesta respectivamente. Para efectuar una gayadura uniforme de las cuatro paredes el plano cuadrado que forma el principio del trenzado debe constar por lo menos de cuatro unidades cuadradas marcadas

NOTA 47. Max Schmidt, "Die indianischen Verwandtschaften in der Ornamentik der Eingeborenen Südamerikas", l.c. p. 157 y 158. Idem INDIANERSTUDIEN IN ZENTRAL-BRASILIEN, l.c. p. 258 Fig. 186.

por las dos variaciones de la dirección de la gayadura cuyas cuatro caras interiores se encuentran en el medio del fondo de la cesta de modo que, correspondiendo a las dos posibilidades de combinación aparece el ornamento comun de forma romboi o el ornamento cosido de forma de una cruz. Si el plano del fondo de la cesta muestra la ornamentación rombol, como lo hace aquel de la respectiva cesta proveniente de Simões Lopes (compare el esquema de la figura 38) se formada una cesta cuyas paredes muestran una gayadura uniforme corriendo en dirección horizontal, mientras que se forma una cesta cuyas paredes muestran una gayadura corriendo en dirección vértical, si el plano del fondo muestra el ornamento de forma de una cruz. (Compare la respectiva cesta representada por fotografía en mi libro citado (48)).

Ya en mi viaje ejecutado en el año de 1901 encontré entre los Bakairi del Kulisehu una especie de cesta que respecto a su forma exterior corresponde a la cesta descrita en lo que precede, pero que en lo que respecta a la estructura del trenzado de su fondo hace suponer un principio completamente diferente, del trenzado. (49) Un aro de adorno para la cabeza, traído por mí de los mismos Bakairi muestra en lugar de los ornamentos comunes de estos indios la figura especial que aparece en el medio del fondo de estas cestas (50). Compare el esquema representado en la figura 50. En mi último viaje efectuado en el año de 1927 adquirí de los Bakairi de Simões Lopes varios ejemplares de tales cestas. De los tres ejemplares de cestas de esta especie, representados en las figuras 40 (V. B. 9890. Altura 17 cm. Anchura del fondo 30 cm. Anchura del borde superior 33 cm.) 41 (V. B. 9889. Altura 19 cm. Anchura del fondo 21 cm. Anchura del borde superior 28,5 cm.) y 42 (V. B. 9880. Altura 25 cm. Anchura del fondo 21 cm. Anchura del borde superior 33 cm.) cada una muestra una diferente estructura del trenzado en el centro del fondo de la cesta formando ésta de la cesta, representada en la figura 40, cuatro formaciones de tres gradas (compare el esquema de la figura 51), de la cesta, representada en la figura 41, cuatro formaciones de cuatro gradas (compare el esquema de la figura 52) y de la cesta, representada en la figura 42, cuatro formaciones de cinco gradas (compare el esquema de la figura 53).

De las hojas enteras de la palmera de Buriti los Bakairi de Simões Lopes fabricaban fuera de las cestas chatas descritas en lo que precede, también cestas comunes y eso de dos diferentes formas según que se emplee una hoja de palmera sola o dos hojas para efectuar el trenzado.

De las respectivas cestas, trenzadas de una hoja sola, no están conocidos ejemplares procedentes de los Bakairi de la región de los afluentes del Alto Rio Xingú pero sí, he adquirido en el año de 1901 tal ejemplar de los Bakairi del Rio Novo el que he descrito y representado por fotografía en el lugar citado. (51) Pero es muy verosimil que también los Bakairi de los afluentes del Alto Rio Xingú tuviesen en tiempos anteriores este tipo de cestas y esto fuese desatendido por los respectivos expedicionarios. Los Ba-

NOTA 48. Max Schmidt, ERGEBNISSE IN ZENTRAL-BRASILIEN. l.c. p. 204 Fig. 180.
NOTA 49. Idem, p. 360-362.
NOTA 50. Idem, p. 414 Fig. 272.
NOTA 51. Idem, p. 347 y 348. Fig. 174 y 175.

tean del Kulisehu fabrican esta especie de cesta, muy común entre los Bakairi de Simões Lopes, "kanti". De los ejemplares, adquiridos en Simões Lopes, uno está representado en la figura 43. (V. B. 9900. Altura 24 cm. Anchura 25 cm.) La fabricación de esta especie de cestas proceda de la manera de que las hojuelas de la hoja son divididas en dos grupos y las hojuelas del primer grupo son trenzadas con aquellas del segundo grupo, de manera del trenzado de grado y principiando con las hoyuelas medianas. El trenzado, de mallas simples hasta de mallas cuádruples, muestra la goyadura característica del trenzado de grado, dirigida, al principio, en dirección vértical pero pasando en dirección horizontal en la segunda unidad del trenzado formado al lado trastero al labio de la hoja por doblar los extremos libres de las hojuelas y trenzarlas en dirección contraria. Compare el esquema representado en la figura 53.

De las cestas trenzadas de dos hojas de la palmera de Buriti, fabricadas por los Bakairi del Rio Kulisehu "ko'ideju", estaban conocidas ya varios ejemplares de los Bakairi de la region de los afluentes del Alto Rio Xingú los que correspondem en lo que respecta a su forma y a la estructura de su trenzado, por lo general, a las respectivas cestas adquiridas por mi de los Bakairi de Simões Lopes. También de estas cestas de las cuales tres ejemplares están representados por fotografias en las figuras 44-46 (V. B. 9898. Altura 26 cm. Anchura 22 cm. V. B. 9904. Altura 32 cm. Anchura 34 cm. V. B. 9901. Altura 27 cm. Anchura 24 cm.) el trenzado consiste de mallas simples o de mallas triples. La tecnica de trenzar de estas cestas yo la he descrito brevemente en su libro citado (52) añadiendo un respectivo esquema y he demostrado el hecho de que el principio del trenzado es formado por dos unidades cuadradas de trenzado de las cuales la una situada al lado anterior de la cesta (cuadrado A B C D del esquema de la figura 48) está trenzado de las hojuelas de una mitad de cada una de las dos hojas y, la otra unidad, situada al lado posterior de la cesta cuadrado A E I G del esquema) de la otra mitad de cada una de las dos hojas. Estas dos unidades cuadradas del trenzado, puestas a su canto y, en su posición primordial, colocadas la una arriba la otra, están unidas por dos otras unidades del trenzado, formadas de las libras libres de las dos primeras unidades (los cuadrados A D H G y A B F E del esquema) de modo de que estas cuatro unidades cuadradas juntas forman una unidad (cuadrado H I F C del esquema) cuyo tamaño asciende al duplo de aquél de las dos unidades primeras, juntas. Mientras que los cuatro cantos de esta unidad del trenzado (cuadrado H I F C del esquema) son doblados hacia arriba en posición vértical (los trángulos D B C, B F E, E I G y G D H del esquema) y sirven de partes de las cuatro paredes de la cesta, el fondo de ésta es formado por la parte mediana de esa unidad (cuadrado G E B del esquema) que queda en posición horizontal. El trenzado de la respectiva cesta adquirida por mi de los Bakairi del Rio Kulisehu y también aquél de la cesta de Simões Lopes, representada en la figura 44 consiste solamente de tal unidad cuadrada de trenzado cuyos cantos están doblados hacia arriba para servir de paredes de la cesta, sin que estuviesen añadidas otras unidades de trenzado para com-

NOTA 52 Ibidem, p. 116-119 Fig. 182-184

platar las cuatro paredes de la cesta. Pero los dos cestos de Simões Lopes, representados en las figuras 45 y 46 muestran una forma más adelantada de este tipo de trenzados en cuanto que los cuatro vacíos que aparecen entre las cuatro partes triangulares dobladas hacia arriba para servir de partes de las paredes, están llenados, secundariamente, por completar el trenzado hasta el borde superior de la cesta. Como los extremos de las fibras libres del trenzado, hecho de esta manera, salen todos al borde superior de la cesta se puede efectuar por alfombrillas en ese lugar, un borde muy proporcionado y firme a que sobresalen a los dos lados fronteros los extremos de las pezones de las dos hojas de Buriti empleadas para el trenzado.

Una contribución interesante al problema de la dependencia de la ornamentación de los trenzados de la técnica de éstos y, de la procedencia de la ornamentación de la respectiva técnica la presenta una comparación de las dos cestas de Simões Lopes representadas en las figuras 45 y 46. La ornamentación de estas dos cestas es esencialmente diferente de las cestas cuyo trenzado está formado por fibras sueltas como aquél de las cestas representadas en las figuras 39 — 42. También estas cestas están trenzadas de la manera de que un plano cuadrado forma el principio del trenzado cuya parte mediana forma el fondo de la cesta y cuyos cuatro cantos, dobladas hacia arriba forman partes de las cuatro paredes, pero por el hecho de que este plano cuadrado del trenzado se compone, por su parte, de cuatro unidades del trenzado marcados por la dirección diferente de la gayadura de su ornamentación, se hizo posible la efectuación de una gayadura uniforme de las cuatro paredes porque, en ese caso, la gayadura de los cuatro cantos del plano principal en posición doblada hacia arriba se dirige en la misma dirección. Respecto a las cestas de los Bakairi, trenzadas de dos hojas de Buriti no se ha alcanzado tal uniformidad de la gayadura de las paredes porque el plano cuadrado que forma el principio del trenzado, contiene, en ese caso, solamente una gayadura diagonal de la misma dirección. La ligación de las hojuelas a los pezones de las hojas de la que depende en alto grado la formación del principio del trenzado, ha puesto término, en ese caso, al desarrollo de la formación de unidades del trenzado más complicadas. Del esquema, representado en la figura 48, resulta que de los cuatro cantos triangulares de un plano, cuadrado y gayado en una dirección sola, doblados hacia arriba, un par (triángulos G D H y B E F) muestran una gayadura que se dirige en dirección horizontal y el otro par (triángulos D B C y E G I del esquema) una gayadura que se dirige en dirección vértical. Esta condición tienen que cumpriría también las dos cestas representadas en las figuras 45 y 46. Para poder explicar eso más facilmente yo me refiero otra vez al esquema de la figura 48. En este esquema el cuadrado G E B D comprende la unidad del trenzado que forma el fondo. De la cesta, representada en la figura 46, la parte de la paréd anterior, gayada en dirección vértical, corresponde al triángulo D B C del esquema y la respectiva parte de la paréd posterior, no visible en la fotografía, al triángulo G E I. Las respectivas partes de las dos paredes laterales de la cesta muestran, en concordancia con los triángulos E B E y D G H del esquema una gayadura horizontal la que se continua también en la complementación del trenza hecho para cerrar los vacíos todavía subsistientes de las cuatro paredes de la cesta, de

modo que las partes de las paredes las que hacen de tener por suplementos accesorios de éstas, muestran una gayadura horizontal. La ornamentación de la cesta representada en la figura 45 se diferencia a aquella de la cesta descrita en lo que precede, por la dirección de la gayadura de las partes particulares de las paredes, mostrando aquellas partes de la cesta, representada en la figura 46, que tenían una gayadura vértical, una gayadura horizontal y viceversa. Esta variación de la ornamentación se efectua de la manera de que la gayadura diagonal del plano cuadrado que forma el principio del trenzado se dirige en la dirección de la otra linea diagonal de este plano cuadrado de modo que la parte mediana de la paréd anterior y aquella de la paréd posterior muestran la gayadura dirigida en dirección horizontal mientras que las respectivas partes de las paredes laterales y los correspondientes suplementos del trenzado tienen una gayadura vértical.

Ejemplos de la especie de trenzados, llamados por él en sus respectivas publicaciones anteriores "Doppelfadengeflechte" (trenzados de hilo doble) los presentan la nasa, representada en la figura 54 y la cesta chata representada en la figura 55. Nasas como aquella, representada en la figura 54 (V. B. 9914. Largór 52 cm. Diámetro del borde superior 25 cm.) eran muy comunes entre los Bakairi de los afluentes del Alto Rio Xingú y, el Museo Etnográfico de Berlín posee varios ejemplares de éstas coleccionados por Karl von den Steinen el que las menciona con pocas palabras en su libro citado **Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens.** (53) El dice en ese lugár: "De nasas se diferenciaban dos especies de las cuales la una, llamada por los Bakairi "puraché", era más ancha y tenía espacios intermedios rectangulares y la otra, llamada "tancaché", era estrecha y larga y tenía nallos altos de gran tamaño y dirigidos en dirección vértical". En el libro de Karl von den Steinen no está representada por dibujo o por fotografía tal nasa. El ejemplar de nasa el que yo recibí de los Bakairi de Simões Lopes y lo que éstos llamaban "tákiá" consiste de varias finas ligadas, en una distancia cierta, la una a la otra por medio de un hilo doble que, principiando al fondo, pasa las varias de forma de espiral. Al borde superior está colocada, de varias más gruesas, una entrada de forma de embudo.

La vasta chata, representada en la figura 55 (Largór 65 cm. Anchura 37 cm.) sirve para guardar pescados y consiste de un aro de madera llenado por un trenzado de hilo doble de forma de una pequeña estera como los Bakairi la usaban para colar sus líquidos.

Al fin tengo que mencionár todavía la pequeña cesta representada en la figura 56 (V. B. 9891. Altura 20 cm. Anchura del borde superior 19 cm.), que pertenece respecto a su técnica al tercer grupo principal de trenzados sudamericanos que están formados de la manera de que dos grupos de fibras de las cuales las del primer grupo están puestas en posición vértical a aquella del segundo grupo, está trenzadas con las fibras de un tercer grupo que [illegible] las que se dirigen en una otra dirección. De esta técnica están trenzadas, en ese caso, solamente las paredes de la cesta, mientras que su fondo consiste de un "trenzado de arada", hecho de la manera común, de

NOTA 53 Karl v. d. Steinen: UNTER DEN NATURVÖLKERN ZENTRAL-BRASILIENS. l. c. p. 236.

nalíze dobles. Fuera de su fondo la cesta correspondo en lo que respecta a su forma y su técnica a un ejemplar de tales cestas de los Nahukuá representado por fotografía en mi libro citado. (54)

IV. VOCABULARIO Y OTROS APUNTES LINGUISTICOS DE LOS BAKAIRI DEL RIO KULISEHU EN SIMÕES LOPES.

Por el libro de Karl von den Steinen: **Zweite Xingú-Expedition. Die Bakairí-Sprache.** (55) sabemos la lengua Bakairi. Según la indicación de Karl von den Steinen su intérprete principal de sus apuntes linguísticos, los que contienen fuera de un vocabulario amplios textos de leyendas y de otros cuentos, era el Bakairi Antonio, en tiempos posteriores, cacique de los Bakairi de la aldea del Rio Paranatinga de modo que se trata en ese caso de la lengua bakairi como la hablaban los Bakairi del Paranatinga en aquella época. El vocabulario de los Bakairi las locuciones y cuentos cortos, publicados en lo que sigue, yo los he obtenido de los Bakairi los que se habían trasladado, hacia algun tiempo, del Rio Kulisehu hacia el Rio Paranatinga. Estos, hasta la fecha de mi viaje del año de 1927, habían quedado bastante separados de los Bakairi originarios del Rio Paranatinga de modo que podemos suponer, tomando en cuenta, especialmente, su superioridad en lo que respecta al número de los individuos, que ellos hubiesen conservado todavía su lengua de la forma de que ellos la habían hablado en tiempos anteriores cuando vivían todavía sobre el Rio Kulisehu. Para poder comparar este dialecto de la lengua bakairi con aquél, hablado por los Bakairi del Rio Paranatinga he añadido a los vocablos de mi vocabulario, en una tercera columna, los respectivos vocablos apuntados por Karl von den Steinen. De la comparación de los respectivos vocablos resulta que, fuera de muchas concordancias hay bastante diferencias dialécticas de la lengua bakairi del Rio Kulisehu de aquél de los Bakairi originarios del Rio Paranatinga de modo que no debemos equipararlas.

De intérpretes del vocabulario y de las proposiciones y cuentos cortos, publicados en lo que sigue, me servieron algunos Xinguanos que habían llegado con una tropa de bueyes en Cuyabá y, por algun tiempo, no podían volver al Puesto de Simões Lopes por causa de los revolucionarios que hicieron, en esa fecha, la respectiva región inseguro.

De singularidades de la lengua bakairi he de mencionar que dos vocales sucesivas no forman sino pocas veces diptongo y, eso también si la vocal "i" sigue a la vocal "a" o a la vocal "o" o, si la vocal "u" sigue a la "a". Los diptongos "au" y "ai" aparecen en pocos vocablos y el diptongo "oi" no lo he encontrado ninguna vez.

En mis apuntaciones no aparecen las vocales "ö" y "ü". En los casos en que ellos aparecen en el vocabulario de Karl von den Steinen los respectivos sonidos están significados en mi vocabulário por "(u)in" o "(i)" por "u" y "(i)" por "o". La consonante " f " aparece en mi vocabulário, fuera del vocablo " ferro " hierro, recibido de

NOTA 54. Max Schmidt, UNTERSUCHUNGEN IN ZENTRAL-BRASILIEN. l.c. p. 370. Fig. 200.
NOTA 55. Leipzig, 1892.

la lengua portuguesa, solamente una vez, en el vocablo ulu = mantenerse al que Karl von den Steinen significa por Itsiu así que hemos de suponer que en esa zona hay una equivocación de mi apuntador y la consonante " I " no existe en la lengua Bakairi.

Los vocales acentuadas en mis apuntes equivalentemente de vocales largas están apuntadas con tipos negros y las vocales acentuadas equivalentemente de vocales breves con tipos negros en cursivas mientras que las vocales sin tal acentuación están apuntadas con tipos comunes.

Según lo que precede, el alfabeto aplicado a la apuntación de mi vocabulario de la lengua de los Bakairi del Río Kulisehu es el siguiente:

a, e, i, o, u Vocales sin acentuación respecto a su longitud

ai ei ii oi u Vocales largas

A, E, I, O, U Vocales breves

Ä, Ë, Ï Vocales nasales

ö ü ä en alemán (como en Bär = oso)

y, v, w sin digrafos

U' (apóstrofo) antes de la vocal "u" indica que dicha no forma digrafo con las vocales siguientes "i" o "u"

Las consonantes

b, d, f (particularmente no aparecen); g = g en alemán (como en Garten = jardín), ha en siempre aspirada como en guitarra; j = j en español (como en jabón); k, l, m, n, p, r (algunas veces muy reducida (r)), s = c' en español ante i como en cielo); t, v = w en alemán (como en Wagen = carro); y = y en "Nueva York" exclusivamente aplicada como consonante; z = z en francés; ch corresponde a la ch en español, sh = j en francés (como en je = yo)

En la apuntación de los respectivos vocablos del vocabulario de Karl von den Steinen ya había de hacer algunas variaciones insignificantes con atención a los tipos a los que dispone la respectiva imprenta. La consonante "w" = v en los vocablos de mi vocabulario ha sido conservado. Las consonantes "s" y "z" con un dingulo puesto encima de él están significadas por ch y sh respectivamente. La letra griega "lambda" empleada por Karl von den Steinen para significar un sonido que se asemeja a una l cerebral y forma siempre una sílaba, correspondiendo a una "r" con una vocal resumida, está reemplazada por una "l" cursiva y, la letra griega "eta" que significa un sonido nasal-gutural y corresponde a las consonantes "ng" en alemán, por estas consonantes "ng"

La vocal "a" con una pequeña circunferencia que corresponde a la "a" en pa (como en wall = paseo) está reemplazada por una "a" y una siguiente "o" en paréntesis

VOCABULARIO DE LA LENGUA BAKAIRI

Español.	Bakairi del Kulisehu	Bakairi del Paranatinga (según Karl v. d. Steinen)
1 lengua	iIlE. (=su lengua)	Ilu. (=su lengua)
2 boca	iIdri.	idri. (=mi boca)
3 labios	Epiri.	kAlpiri. (=nuestros l.)
4 diente	Iyöri.	yöri. (= mi diente)
5 nariz	yenerI. (=mi nariz)	yendri. (=mi nariz)
6 ventana de la nariz	enAlrdri	kjanatdri. (=nuestro v. d. l. n.)
7 ojo	yEnE.	dzu. (= los ojos)
8 oreja	iwantdri.	iwanatdri. (= mi oreja)
9 agujero del lóbulo	nkuwagIn	kjwanatartjo kigabdri.
10 orificio del conducto		

4:Schmidt

SP7 Bacairi

Español.	Bakairí del Kulisehu	Bakairí del Paranatinga (según Karl v. d. Steinen)
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (= nuestro o.)
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (= nuestros o.)
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (= nuestros o)
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (= nuestros o)
14 Barba (pelo)	[illegible]	[illegible] (= nuestro p.)
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible] (pelo interior del nariz)	[illegible]	
15 Hombro	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible], [illegible] (= nuestro h.)
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (= nuestro br.)
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
17 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (= nuestro br.)
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible], [illegible] (= nuestro a.)
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible], [illegible] (= nuestro d.)
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (= nuestro d.)
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (= nuestro d.)
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (= nuestro d.)
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (= nuestro d.)
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (= nuestro o.)
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (= nuestro p.)
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (= nuestro p.)
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (= nuestro p.)
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (= nuestro p.)
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (= nuestro d.)
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (= nuestro d.)
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (= nuestro d.)
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (= nuestro d

Español.	Bakairi del Kulisehu	Bakairi del Paranatinga (según Karl v. d. Steinen)
1 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible], [illegible]
2 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (= nuestro o.)
	[illegible]	[illegible] (= nuestro o.)
	[illegible]	[illegible] (= nuestro o.)
6 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (= nuestro o.)
7 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (= nuestro o.)
8 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (= nuestro o.)
9 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (= nuestro o.)
10 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible], [illegible] (= nuestro o.)
11 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
12 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible], [illegible]
13 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
14 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
15 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
16 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible], [illegible]
17 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
18 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
19 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
20 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
21 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
22 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
23 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
24 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
25 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
26 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
27 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
28 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
29 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
30 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
31 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
32 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
33 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
34 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
35 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
36 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
37 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
38 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
39 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
40 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
41 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
42 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
43 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
44 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
45 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
46 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
47 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
48 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
49 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
50 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
51 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
52 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
53 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
54 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
55 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
56 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
57 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
58 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
59 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
60 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
61 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
62 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
63 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
64 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
65 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
66 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
67 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
68 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
69 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
70 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
71 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
72 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
73 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
74 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
75 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
76 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
77 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
78 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
79 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
80 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
81 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
82 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
83 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
84 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
85 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
86 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
87 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
88 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
89 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
90 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
91 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
92 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
93 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
94 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
95 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
96 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
97 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
98 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
99 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
100 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
101 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
102 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
103 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
104 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
105 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
106 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
107 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
108 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
109 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
110 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
111 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
112 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
113 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
114 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
115 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
116 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
117 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
118 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
119 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
120 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
121 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
122 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
123 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
124 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
125 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
126 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible]
127 [illegible]	[illegible] = [illegible] = [illegible] = [illegible] = [illegible]	[illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible]
128 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible], [illegible]
129 [illegible]	[illegible]	
130 [illegible]	[illegible]	

Español.	Bakairí del Kulisehu	Bakairí del Paranatinga (según Karl v. d. Steinen)
131. cubrir del techo.	ne(e).	
132. tejado de hojas.	kAdiiÑ, ee(e)ki.	ee = madera, poste.
133. pared de la casa.	iklin.	
134. banco.	epa(r)kÃ.	
135. plancuelo.	ooo.	epako, tapiko.
136. hamaca de algodón.	kÃdak(i)rto).	oóto o(o)tokjóro, oóto, ótto, oóti, ewóto.
137. hamaca de fibras de palmeras.	okorího.	okorího.
138. huso	epiko	tewenko, tuiko.
139. tortero de huso.	to(u) oiiiO.	
140. algodón.	kÃ-ÃkÃro.	ewokjóro, o(o)tokjóro
141. ovillo de hilo de algodón.	kÃ-ÃkÃro ókipu.	
142. cordón de fibras de burití.	o'uÃ.	óóo. ÓÃuÃ.
143. cera.	kouÃ.	
144. hamaca grande de transporte.	ooʼóiko.	mayóko, moyóti.
145. cesta, hecha de una hoja de burití.	kerÃ.	tuto = cesta de provisión.
146. cesta, hecha de dos hojas de burití.	ke'iÑu	ooóo = cesta.
147. cesta chata, especie ornamentada.	hamarího.	potiko = cesta.
148. cesta de forma rectangular.	potiko	puyóo = cesta pequeña.
149. cesta chata.	epo.	poso = cesta pequeña.
150. cesta de técnica especial ("Rokokokörgeflecht")	tuiÑ	kingo = cesta pequeña con asa.
151. criba de forma de cesta.	mÃnóo.	monóro, monoiÑ.
152. esteira grande para secar la masa de mandioca.	pÃnÃjkÃi.	ponokóri, ponokjiÑ.
153. criba de forma de esteira.	kuóri, kua'ui	kjuóri.
154. rodillo de madera.	E'uplir)	kiki.
155. varitas para producir el fuego.	perigÃ.	perigo
156. varas vertical del utensilio para producir fuego.	ukmigÃ.	
157. vara horizontal del utensilio para producir fuego.	uiki.	
158. yesca.	iiÑiugu.	
159. abanico para soplar el fuego.	pe'uOrio, pe'u(u)ki.	ponokóti, pókóti.
160. cuya.	kodiqu, kodigi.	kiurigo.
161. calabaza.	ka'iiqiÑ.	kjuiiko, kjuiiiÑ.
162. olla grande de barro cocido.	ikmipi(r), (rimmigÃ.	omigo.
163. calabazas para grasa.	pérr.	
164. tabiña para volver beijiu.	epiiro	epiigo.
165. fuente.	ikanO	
166. vasija chata de barro cocido para hacer beijiu.	ÓÃdo, ÍÃdo.	oiodi, ÓÃdo.
167. cuchara.	ÓÃdo, ÍÃdo.	pokkio.
168. hacha.	ÓÃkÃnÃ'i.	pii. ugo.
169. hoja de hacha.	piuÃ(r)i.	
170. mango de hacha.	yerigÃ.	
171. vara para alabar la plantación.	ÓÃo	ÓÃ—wo
172. asilo de chamara, base para cargar llevadas encima de la cabeza.	ko'iyÃko, eyerujkÃi.	
173. cendar.	ainiko	
174. mortero.	ÓrO	oóo, ollo, tuóo.
175. mano de mortero.	orÃ'uo	ógo, ógo.
176. canoa de madera.	pÃjo.	pÃjÃ.

Español.	Bakairí del Kulisehu	Bakairí del Paranatinga (según Karl v. d. Steinen)
177. remo	ikupiho, pepiapiho.	ikubiho.
178. palo para empujar el canoa ("zapa")	ikmi(ag).	
179. arco	i(E)rko.	ikkio, ikkio, kkio, kkio.
180. cuerda del arco	i(i)rkA'uk.	kakjuk.
181. flecha	pr(E)rA'u.	piiéu, piéu.
182. flecha con punta de tacuara	kuava	
183. flecha con punta de hueso	pruakko.	piiéu, apiiiie.
184. asta de flecha, de Ubá	pukko.	
185. clava	nikli.	ewé(e)in, ówo.
186. red para pescar	Ale'uarikli.	pinu, pi(e)ao.
187. anzuelo	ikkki	purdoki, kandoki, ikkiki, kkjiki.
188. anzuelo	ki(i)	
189. hilo de anzuelo	eré'ri(i).	
190. escopeta	puA'u.	piiéu, pirdu.
191. pólvora	eiiiiu.	piiéu eiino
192. munición	nili.	piiéu enili.
193. vestido	Ore'kkiko	
194. cordón estrecho de cinto	uanhiri	enuahiri
195. cordón ancho de cinto	pachuk	
196. triángulo de cámara, llevado por las mujeres encima de las partes pudendas	uiiri.	uiin
197. sombrero	nirAnb(a)rili.	
198. camisa	kamian. (Port.)	
199. peine	rikiri.	eiiiuhu
	es peine=ikiri.	
	tu peine=yekiri.	
	nuestro peine=ehane'kiri.	
200. collar de cuentas	uanli.	pinanili.
201. varitas para las orejas	ontendiri	
202. flauta de tacuara	uiiri	kuto=flauta.
		mau=flauta grande
203. palo de baile	ne. Erike.	
204. flauta de Pan	nerurko'iperorugiri (?)	kiiiu
205. tablita para sumar	dile.	yeiii
206. peloto hecho de hojas de mazorca de maiz	tiiro	
207. baile, danza	ka'nIIE.	
208. canto	kanIO.	
209. matraca para pescar	pukiri.	piiiio
210. utensilio para raspar hendas	pu(e)ipo	pehiio
211. hombre	ugiri(O)ie	
212. hombre varón	ugiri(O)ie	uguriie
213. marido	IoO.	iao
214. padre	ichOgiri.	
215. padre (hablando el hijo)	pupu'i	ayua. (a anani)
216. suegro	nilili.	ninilian. ilanilian.
217. madre	eirbo	iae, ihe.
218. madre (hablando el hijo)	eirbo	eiiio, taigo, taiio
219. suegro (= madre del marido y madre de la esposa)	ine(e)yiiio	ununiian
220. criatura	uanido	uguanido
221. hijo	uiiri.	uiiri.
222. perro	anE(a)yu(ag)e	
223. sueto	Oriiri.	iwa, iwii.
224. mozo, joven	ra'nihO(?)	
225. muchacho	uiiri.	uguriio uiiri.
226. hermano mayor	Anidio	twiri.
227. hermano menor	iiiao	kiiao.
228. cuñado	iiiru	piiiao, iaaiipe.

Español.	Bakairí del Kulisehu	Bakairí del Paranatinga (según Karl v. d. Steinen)
229. hermano.	kapîri. (?)	kjóru.
230. hermano mayor.		ko, kjóru wunapûri.
231. hermano menor.	a'ui(ng)aÃ'unO(?)	ko, koruogunâcupûri.
232. cuñado.	ûÃ.	uenâpo.
233. mujer.	pehêti(r).	pekôto.
234. esposo.	Ohêgulaiã.	iwéte, iwth.
235. muchacho.	aunaÃ'unO. (i nasal)	
236. hija.	nÃdÃmi(n)pa.	pekôto imâri.
237. nuera.	imâgu.	
238. nieta.	nenÃ.	
239. viuda.	iÃyenÃ'uô.	
240. tio = hermano del padre.	kâgu.	tchâgo.
241. tio = hermano de la madre.	pémi(ng).	kjógu, kjúgo.
242. tia = hermana del padre.	iva'igêlu.	yegûri. (tuego: hablando la criatura)
243. tia = hermana de la madre.	ivêli.	ise = madre (tuégo: hablando la criatura.)
244. sobrino.	ivÃ'igêru.	perigo, kjêno, tikjôu.
245. sobrina.	ivîdi.	wâse, iwâse.
246. cuñado.	ArÃ'ui(ng)O.	
247. cuñada.	Ariplâ.	
248. primo.	imâri. (?)	perigo, kjêno, in (de la mujer).
249. prima.	nÃdÃmi(ng)pa. (??)	kjóru.
250. padre de la madre.	nigo. (?)	itâmu, itâmo. (tugo: hablando la criatura.)
251. padre del padre.		itâmu, itâmo. (tugo: hablando la criatura.)
252. madre de la madre.	imâyêdu.	inûtu, inâtu. (nigo: hablando la criatura).
253. madre del padre.	aÃ'u(n)du.	inûtu, inâtu. (nigo: hablando la criatura).
254. cacique.	pimâ.	pimo.
255. extranjero.	kare'lêo.	kjorâpo.
256. amigo.	auÃnôO.	iwéte, iwê(o)ta, iwâte.
257. enemigo.	ipemêku.	uturé(r).
258. hombre blanco.	ÃÃpekê'i(ng).	
259. hombre negro.	temogemê'i.	
260. casa de fieras.	ôi(I)rime'ivÃã.	kjonôiti, kjônôiti.
261. médico.	tÃ'ui(ng).	pâshe.
262. hechicero malo.	evêrnu.	omeôto.
263. enfermedad.	iuuayÃuvi(ng).	
264. cigarro.	iya'ulîpâ.	iawi gulipé
265. tabaco.	Ãdunukerêlu.	tâwe, tâwi.
266. sombra.	irÃdorpîã.	egutokûri
267. sonueño.	ikîã.	
268. mono.	mâgu.	mâgo.
269. mono chillón.	a'uri. (u nasal)	oâri.
270. murciélago.	iÃmimu.	semimo, semino.
271. jaguar, pintado.	uôôôO.	utôto.
272. jaguar, negro.	iAmigînê'i.	utôto tamogenâag.
273. ciervo del campo.	kOsî(r)kÃ.	kjosâka, kjabâka.
274. nutria.	Apê'u.	awôga = nutria grande. tjûki = nutria pequeña.
275. tapir.	ma'(I).	mâo.
276. carpincho.	hÃkiÃ.	pekjûi.
277. perezoso.	pérO.	
278. coati.	tchêhu.	jéu, chéo
279. oso hormiguero grande.	pemîk(I)r.	pohîka.
280. oso hormiguero pequeño.	uerîdi.	wariri
281. cuatetú. (espec. de puerco)	pôu.	pâhu.

Español.	Bakairí del Kulisehu	Bakairí del Paranatinga (según Karl v. d. Steinen)
282 caballo.	kavÃlo. (Port.)	kawálo.
283 ganado vacuno	vaka. (Port.)	wáka (= vaca.)
284 puerco	pos(I)rka.	posóka, pohóka.
285 perro	kachóro. (Port.)	kachóro.
286 gato	gato. (Port.)	tchiwi.
287 ratón	nOhOtIO	kjonokjóro, k,unojóro
288 víbora	kézi.	kohi.
289 anaconda	kurwŋE	
290 [illegible]	kÃnibÃ	kolimba.
291 tatú; armadillo.	mugáru.	mugáru, munggáru.
292 armadillo. Espec. Dasypus gigas.	puéiO	wóto, poóto.
293 huevo	nibau.	imóru.
294 arara (A. colorada y A. azul.)	kavida.	kjawita.
295 arara una.	alandra.	alaára.
296 "perequito"	chugári	shugári, karáchu.
297 papagayo.	téro.	téro.
298 mutum	mutu. (ĩ nasal)	máutu.
299 yacu	peqérA.	seitúme.
300 yacutinga	setúnE	nakuče.
301 urubú.	elÃhO	elóho.
302 avestruz	maripé.	marípe.
303 pato	chupÃ	tchúpi, júpi.
304 paloma	pápe.	pápo.
305 gallo	arakúma.	arakúma.
306 gallina	gÃlina. (Port.)	arakúma.
307 pollo.	arakúma imãri.	
308 "massaborro"	kOnOcéa.	ono-tóni.
309 tuyuyú.	ma(r)kÃle	yurtwa.
310 colibrí.	kerá'u(o)i.	kjenéwi.
311 somorguje.	pÃlapábA	pógopége, palapábo.
312 escamas de pez	ceÃlu	
313 [illegible] de pez.	igtlÃ	igúri.
314 [illegible]	chiwéiE	chiwéri.
315 "[illegible]" (pez)	chulèi	churúi, zurúi.
316 [illegible]	pÕli	pó(o)ne, pó(o)ni, pó(o)le.
317 [illegible]	pésIE	péte.
318 "matrucha" (pez.)	nOróke	noróku.
319 yaú (pez).	pórw	
320 yacaré.	iréna	icaná, isó.
321 tortuga del río.	pé(I)	pe.
322 tortuga de tierra.	mimas.	máimói.
323 culebra de cascabél.	i(r)gèhu	agúju.
324 curiyú	irqúdO	agúto = serpiente negra del agua.
325 rana	méshi	chinda.
326 sapo	pOtÃlu.	por�u, poréru
327 lagartija (verde)	pe(r)tigA	pe, peréiga.
328 lagarto	OñÓ	sañó
329 insecto	kirégA.	
330 comején	emÃ	ame.
331 mosquito.	mezAgE	mahége, mazége.
332 hormiga, espec. grande, "tocanguira".	irégi	iréga.
333 avispa.	i(r)gua. (u nasal)	agúa.
334 avispa, espec.	i(r)guÃti. (u nasal)	
335 abeja.	páshi	penayéki.
336 miél.	pira. (ĩ nasal)	péno.
337 mosca.	pemirA	peméra.
338 langosta, espec. con alas coloradas.	ségi	kajúli, téwiga = langosta.
339 mariposa.	kórókO	kjunoróko.
340 piojo.	(r)émi.	yenui.
341 concha.	trÃshi	urúchi.
342 concha de caracól.	p'ñu	pîu = caracól de tierra.
343 árbol	tuhoki(n).	se.
344 hoja	puéri. (?) (u nasal)	sári, sa(r).
345 rama	sa'uÃku. (1.ª u nasal)	iwatári
346 cáscara de arbol	sÃtúbi, septatúbi.	satúbi.
347 raíz	sésèvi(n)tu.	se-mite, se-iwite, wite.
348 espina	tiglIé i(n).	igúri.
349 semilla	evui.	ewile, ewíli, sewile = fruto.
350 resina	ãualégu. (1.ª u nasal)	

Español.	Bakairi del Kulisehu	Bakairi del Paranatinga (segun Karl v. d. Steinen)
351. flor.	seo'uãkũ. (1.° u nasal)	sowãkũ.
352. fruta.	eviã.	ta(o)wusõ, ewiã.
353. pasto.	pãzã.	põeke, põia.
354. maiz.	ãshi.	amãshi, amãhi, arãhi.
355. planta de maiz.	eshõue, arãgi. (?)	
356. mandioca.	to'i(n)z i(n).	
357. harina de mandioca.	to'i(n)zi(n)ãnu. (?)	o(o)pã, opã.
358. beijú.	ouãdu.	pangénga = harina.
359. banana.	banana (Port.)	awãtu, awãto.
360. batata.	nÃhõdO.	banãna.
361. cará, igname.	nã'uã.	nahõto.
362. zapallo.	tõju.	nãwi, nãwe.
363. pimienta.	pẽ(r)nu.	to(o)ju.
364. poroto.	ipãẽ.	po(o)no.
365. tacuara.	kõiO.	ipẽe.
366. caña de azucar.	kÃna. (Port.)	tatãpa, tũna.
367. urucú.	A'utO. (u nasal)	kjanawia.
368. buriti (palmera).	ãnã.	anõto, arõto.
369. acuri (palmera).	meÃ.	ãni.
		máa (sobre el Kulisehu)
		yajõto (sobre el Paranatinga)
370. tucúm (palmera).	kÃnã'iua.	úra.
371. "árbol de calabaza".	kedupi.	kjutũpi.
372. 1.	tOkalãli.	tokãle, tokalé-el.
373. 2.	azÃgre.	asãgé, ahãge.
374. 3.	azÃgre-tOkÃli.	ahãge-tokãle, asewão-ri.
375. 4.	azÃgre-azÃgre.	ahãge-ahãge.
376. 5.	azÃgre-azÃgre-tOkÃli.	ahãge-ahãge-tokãle.
377. 6.	azÃgre-azÃgre-azÃgre.	ahãge-ahãge-ahãge.
378. muchos.	ãgi, agiénÃ.	ahãgi, aãgi, ãgi.
379. yo.	ãre.	úra.
380. tú.	i(Ã)mÃ.	ãma.
381. él.	au(r)kẽ.	máka, ma(o)ka.
382. ellos.	dÃ(r)lã.	
383. nosotros (inclus. = yo y tu).	e'ikÃ.	kjura, kjure.
384. nosotros (exclus. = yo y él).	china.	china, zina, kuse.
385. mi arco.	uridirkÃli.	
386. tu arco.	umÃdirkÃli.	
387. su arco.	au(r)kÃdirkÃli.	
388. su arco (3 pers. Pl.).	idirkÃlidirlã.	
389. nuestra casa.	kõt(i)r, china'it(Ã)r.	
390. vuestra casa.	odikõ in. (??)	
391. grande.	imÃ.	imõe, ãma.
392. pequeño.	imẽ'ivlã.	iméri.
393. alto.	iuagẽnO.	iwagéno.
394. hondo.	tesaiuãgẽ.	
395. ancho.	tÃpiyẽ.	
396. gordo.	tÃkigi (2.° i nasal)	tadiyéng, tigahéni.
397. delgado.	ta'ilãze(ng).	tadiyeni.
398. pesado.	tÃmeré'i. (i nasal)	tamãne, tamaméi.
399. liviano.	tuornugẽ.	tamanéni.
400. viejo.	ara'itéhẽ.	agaitio, zagaitio, hagaitio.
401. joven.	zalOkuzenOmu.	igamúto, yamúto.
402. derecho.	kO'idã.	tõkarinéni.
403. redondo.	tdApÃni(ng).	titapanéi.
404. frio. (está frio).	igo'ulno.	tigawíne.
405. caliente.	OkObizãi.	otapike.
406. seco.	iledibi.	iladibi.
407. húmido.	Ezike'ibi.	iladáni.
408. sano.	dO(O)UnipÃ.	towanéni.
409. enfermo.	dO(O)Uni.	towanéi, towanéng.
410. muerto.	iyépi.	
411. ciego.	tInekÃbOligi(ng).	tapühe.
412. sordo.	tiventÃgibe.	tiwanatagéni.
413. mudo.	titanitmba.	titanéni.
414. embarazada.	murOdõ'i (i nasal).	
415. bueno.	iuakulukuru.	iwakurúe.
416. bonito.	iuakúru.	kjúra, iwãku.
417. estúpido.	pÃnOmIgibÃ.	kitatãni.
418. malo.	kurãpa.	kjurápa, iwakukéba.
419. blanco.	tÃpeke'i (i nasal)	tapekéng.
420. negro.	tãmaginé'i (i nasal)	tamagenéng.

Español.	Bakairi del Kulisehu	Bakairi del Paranatinga (según Karl v. d. Steinen)
421 oscuro	Ennigiha.	yámu.
422 puntiado	tiviné'i.	
423 rayado	nbeziné'i (i nasal)	
424 sucio	tukOrike	
425 colorado	tapabiié'i.	tapawiléng, tapabiléng.
426 azúl	tamAginé'i.	
427 verde	tukuó'i. (i nasal)	tukuéng.
428 amarillo	tapAduré'i.	tapaturéng, tapaduréng.
429 claro	sattinu.	tisénihéi.
430 ayer	epAiigE.	kjopaléka.
431 anteayer	kopaligovigituO.	
432 mañana	kOpaiigE.	kjopalekái.
433 pasado mañana	kOpaiigevigitiue	kopaléka púgetio.
434 hoy	ivikie.	iwére, iwéle, iwéra.
435 a la derecha	AhOmi.	ajóze.
436 a la izquierda	pOE'I.	póe.
437 sí	ehé.	ehé, hehé.
438 no	ipa	hoá, a(h).
439 trabajar	ZnevAnile	a(o)sewáni, ewani.
440 atentar	epa'i(gy)iii.	aiepaige.
441 levantarse	sa'udiii.	sau, hau, au
442 tomar baño		
Vamos tomar baño!	inOrogiha!	i.
Yo ya tomé baño	vitá'iiirzE.	
443 quemar	yadUii.	iuge, ahuge
444 traer	nyene'uiii.	ene, enewi.
445 comer	emiduAdiii.	amitua
yo como	taguzé'uiE.	
él comió	naquaki.	
nosotros comemos	chinanEguakiie	
vamos comer	kidó meduanE'	
él no ha comido:	ipa neg uAkiie	
ésto no lo he comido:	nEgápaEnize	
no quiero comer	chagázelápi(r)iie'áre	
446 caer	Ijiugiii.	ijuge.
447 [illegible]	sa'uAgudiii	awógu, qwomógamu.
448 [illegible] (del agua)	ijiiuru. (i.* u nasal)	
449 [illegible] frio		
yo estoy frio	tige'ineze	
no estoy frio	tige'inapAze	
450 hostezar	itadiii	itau.
451 dar	Ané	ahu, ahutu, jutu, nunu.
452 ir, andar		iia.
yo voy	udóii.	
yo no voy	OiApa'inéze	
adónde vas?	edienudi(r)ii	
nosotros (yo y tú)		
vamos	china'isedani	
nosotros (yo y él)		
vamos:	chinaiiisedani. (?)	
453 pasear	AdAkeberdiii.	ata(o)kjopo.
yo paseo:	AdAkebirzi.	
vamos, pasear!	inolokedatakobirua'	
454 pegar, golpear	igOkiii.	ha-ye.
455 tener hambre	evinti.	
456 venir	sA'indiii	ae, ai, aewi, ewi
457 reir	yélu.	eipa.
458 pintar	iventile	
459 triturar	sakóii.	sapóni.
460 estar cansado		ekohe, yeko, yekose.
estoy cansado.	ikóro agire	
estoy mucho cansado	apá'iekoriii(r)	
461 coser	zAkOiOdiii	sakóhi, sakóhiwa.
462 hablar	iiénu.	itani.
yo hablo:	agEzá'urE.	
tú hablas:	emo'iseagéni.	
Al habla:	anézi.	
nosotros hablamos:	chinasAgéni.	
vosotros hablais.	omaimesAgéni	
463 llover.		
llueve	kopoivIia.	
464 oler	yOnugudiii.	yanugu, ya(o)nogu.

Español.	Bakairi del Kulisehu	Bakairi del Paranatinga (según Karl v. d. Steinen)
465. remar:	ikAgIli.	ikake, hikake.
yo remo:	ikogeré'urE.	
tú remas:	ikogeré'uma.	
nosotros remamos:	kuréla'icha'ikogeni.	
ellos reman:	ikegerémo.	
466. llamar.	ré'ikA.	
467. dormir.	chikIli, tjkilima.	iqapa.
vamos dormir!	kikir(u)a.	iki, chiki.
468. atilar.	yevili.	yewi.
469. ver.	ógA.	o, oe, ohe, ase.
470. sentarse.	ikdá(I)r.	eka, ekana.
471. tatuar.	ecusÁvitu.	
472. matar.	tchi'ólı.	ja(o), tja(o), tja, ya.
473. beber.	EnIli.	eni, ine.
474. lavar (ropa).	tigokitu.	hago-i.
475. llorar.	IÓgánu	oguma, oguno, ogune.
476. echar, arrojar.	zumili.	zume, zuze.

LOCUCIONES DIVERSAS

1.	vamos!	inóro!
2.	suficiente!	alI!
3.	no hay más.	ipÁnÁdoñÁki, ipÁnÁdoñakitu.
4.	saludo.	ma'iulli.
5.	hasta luego!	edIrli.
6.	hasta mañana!	kopa'ilEge.
7.	solamente mañana!	kopá'ilIkilIlsE. (3.º i nasal)
8.	vamos ver!	sechóIlgE!
9	no quiero.	ma'iyE. (i nasal)
10	qué hay?	ódI?
11	yo no sé.	kaõtuhÁzE.
12.	yo me siento cansado.	tine'ate, apa'ino.
13.	es verdad lo que tú dices.	okEle amigIle.
14	beber agua.	ko'inilı(u)a. (3.º i nasal)
15	fumar cigarrillo.	ta'uikivuéne, (1.º u nasal) kise'uene.
16	después yo vengo.	meko'ito'i(n).
17.	nosotros llegamos hoy.	iverálitchinagá'indIll.
18.	pasado mañana queremos irnos.	kopa'IligipIgitokitÁni.
19	queremos ir hacia el Kulisehu.	inóro Kulisehu iná.
20.	ahora yo quiero ir en casa.	iveramancheyetina utIrli.
21.	vamos mirar!	inololegekizita!
22.	sopla el fuego!	petoyá tigiga!
23	vamos ascender fuego!	pitOguzE Obánane!
24.	has tú visto?	miramitá'ira?
25.	yo duermo en la hamaca.	tjkilio'idoti(r)i.
26.	hay muchos hombres y muchas mujeres:	vare agi pekóto agi ugón(o)to vare.
27	hemos recogido muchos peces.	a(I)gimavidjki.
28	en el territorio de los Nahukuá.	Nahukuá etIÁnÁsi.
29.	hacia la ciudad de Cuyabá.	udirli sidade odÁsi.
30.	yo vengo de la ciudad.	sidade odÁ'ipa kÁ'iulll.
31.	ellos matan a un buey.	tapiré'igi(r)Il.
32.	hay bejús en casa?	ti(r)la'uátu iti(r)edÁ'I?
33.	cuándo vas tú hacia Rosario?	edéra ichi midIll Rosario edási?
34.	es bueno comer sandias.	melansia ié'ine.
35.	ya es suficiente comer sandias.	ele miaklIE mihiseñakile.
36	compra sandias para que nosotros comamolas:	melansiake'i(n)lEénutóda.
37	vamos comprar sandias!	inore melasiá geÁnila.

CANTIGA DE LOS BAKAIRI DEL KULISEHU

e yarihÁni payakóne
e yarihÁni payakóne
ehe hoho
ehe hoho
yúraninavine yúraninavine
yúraninavine yúraninavine

Contenido de la cantiga comunicada en lo que precede:
Quien tiene a una mujer difunta lavala y pintala.

TEXTOS DE LOS BAKAIRI DEL KULISEHU.

Los dos textos comunicados el lo que sigue los apunté con ayuda de alaunos Bakairí (Xinguanos) que habían llegado con una tropa del Puesto de Simões Lopes hacia Cuyabá y no podían volver al Puesto por causa de los revolucionarios los que hicieron en esta fecha la respectiva región insegura. El primero texto trata una conversaxión fingida, entre mí y el cacique Karía en cuya casa yo había morado, hacia 27 años, en la aldea de Maimarí situada sobre el Rio Kulisehu y con quien había de encontrarme despues de tan largo tiempo en Simões Lopes. En el segundo texto los indios cuentan los sucesos de su viaje de Simões Lopes hacia Cuyabá. Por desgracia la traducción de los dos textos recibida por los Bakairí es poco exacta.

TEXTO I.

E (ego): odoralma Karía? tui(r)lauato ti(r)li Karía,
Cómo andas Karía? Tienes tú beijú en su casa Karía?

oyEpAmirámo Karía? tElEmirámo oyepÁmirámo Karía?
no has tú todavía fallecido, Karía? No has tú todavía fallecido Karía?

(iyópa oyepalObrIlEmirámA.
K (Karía): (Todavía no he fallecido, yo estoy vivo todavía.

(iyepaze
E: (Yo todavía no he fallecido. íverAkúru kidAchÓdIII.
Ahora es que nosotros encontramonos otra vez.

K: (íverAkúru miráIlgI kidAchÓdIII. (ivera=ahora, miralIgI = mismo)
(Es ahora, que nosotros encontramonos mismos.

(OdiámudArli?
(Adónde vas tú?

E: (Kulisehuina udIrli AdAkobIri udIrli Kulisehuina.
(Yo quiero pasear al Kulisehu.

(Adakubírzi udIrlI Nahukuáduázi udirli Karía?
(Quieres tú pasear conmigo hacia los Nahukuá, Karía?

(idÏ(r)zÏrmo Karía?
(O, no quieres tú, Karía?

(Nahukuá duÃzi AdAkobÍ(r)zE id(I)rzEámA Karía
(Hacia los Nahukuá ve conmigo, Karía

(inodóra giágÏ gigátayób(I)ria NakukuáuA
(Pues ve conmigo hacia los Nahukuá.

(ahuadukiaõgura Karía.
(Vamos comer beijús allí, Karía

TEXTO II.

chinÃraselE po china chikÊle Ot(I)dOnOberie,
Nosotros salimos de casa,

palegri(n)china'uili po chinachikiõdÏÏÏ.
Nosotros acampamos en este dia y proseguimos el viaje a la mañana.

china saotõdÏÏE chikirivi palegÏ chinÃ sa'uitodÏÏÏ.
Dormimos y salimos del campamento, prosiguiendo el viaje.

china chikÏÏÏ po palegÏ china sa'utõ(n)dÏÏÏ chikÏrivi.
Prosiguimos el viaje hacia un campamento.

kopa'ilegi(n)china sa'utõdili china kOsÏka iÃÏÏ china a'ivÏli chanripiri po chÍnÃ.

Prosiguimos el viaje, matamos a un venado, nosotros asamolo,

chikÏÏÏ kosika chinÃ ihóli chinÃ ñandÏÏÏ.
Nosotros comimolo en el campamento.

chinÃ a'iuvÏÏÏ opá'ilEgá'in chinÃ chuzadÏli,
Proseguimos el viaje a la otra mañana, nosotros erramos el camino,

otéb(I)r OdÃl chinÃ chikÏÏÏ.
nosotros acampamos cerca del ranco viejo.

ot(I)rbE odano bÍrie(n) chinÃ chikÏÏÏ pOntÏ AtánÃ.
Nosotros saljmos de la tapera y descansamos un dia.

pa'ilega'i(n)kína sa'udÏÏÏ chApAdánÃ chinÃ chikÏÏÏ.
Salimos de "Ponte Alta" y acampamos encima de la Chapada.

palega'i(n) chinÃ sa'utóndÏÏÏ chirikivi ArikánÃ.
De la Chapada proseguimos el viaje y acampamos en Arica.

palegá'i(n) chinÃ sa'utõ(n) dÏÏÏ chinÃ sa'ÍndÏÏÏ sidáde odachE.
Proseguimos el viaje y llegamos en la ciudad de Cuyabá.

chinÃ nodopob(I)ra a'uili uirdãni ĩũrga chinÃ not(I)rba a'uili.
Nosotros llegamos pero no pudimos volver por causa de los revolucionarios.

iverakúru kũrasibÃ kura isE od(I)ruãni ũrga kitãrba kipa'uiII.
Nosotros no podemos volver ahora por causa de los revolucionarios.

Dotor Estigarribia dotorãba itã(Ũ)ng(Ũ)e OdiãsE mata'unaze iverakúru mid(I)rpa mata'unaze.
Dr Estigarribia (Jefe de la "Protecção aos Indios" en Cuyabá) dice: ahora no vayáis porque ellos (los revolucionarios) matanos. Ahora no vayáis.

inEva'u kizãne vã'u a'IdIII.
Esperad, vamos ver lo qué pase.

thruile váu Noronha nõ'IdE agEIE vá'u kishidãnE.
Veiad llegar a Noronha (Subjefe de la Protecção aos Indios) vamos ver qué noticia sobre los revolucionarios él trajere.

ipa kedúo isE midÃlimo kishene'Ine vá'u Noronha agIle vá'u kishidãnE.
Vamos ver qué noticia sobre los revolucionarios Noronha trajere.

udadisE'Uita'Ize inÃda'IzE iver(I)rpataliuavili nadilina.
Yo tengo prisa a salir; yo estoy aborrecido por eso.

odá'ise midÃII bo'i ÊsE mudÃli Rozario dÃsi?
Cuándo quieres buscar a sus bueyes de Rosario?

kitÃhO'in posténa Odá'isi kipu(I)ra mÃdárE.
para que no havamos de quedar aquí sin que tengamos que hacer algo.

OdorÃchE kitÃli inAnazimA pár(I) sidãde odÃ'i oderogipulra mÃkÛri tari tiruanIpa mÃkÛri.

No podemos quedar aquí, estamos aborrecidos por causa de quedar aquí, no tenemos nada aquí para trabajar.

kitÃdÛr o'ua'uze odirózI mãkure kogIrzimarkIrzE OdiÕzi mÃkũle.
Si estuviéramos en viaje, los revolucionarios llevarían a todos nuestros bueyes y matarían.

ár: auiIIge kitárba kita'uIle iñakãaavIIIgi kitÃdÛr kisEzigE (I)rzemar-
Por eso no podemos ir; no podemos ir: si fuéramos ellos tomarían nuestro

k(I)rze
equipaje.

5:Altenfelder Silva E-4.5 (1947) 1950 SP7 Bacairi SP7

OOO

The Uanki State among the Bacairi
[O Estada de Uanki entre os Bakairí]

F. Altenfelder Silva

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[Title page]

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121 In order to protect themselves against the numerous
756 supernatural dangers that surrounded them, the Bakairí
784 /Bacairi/ made use of two methods: shamanism and the uanki state, or ritual seclusion. The aim of this article is to examine these two methods of Bakairí culture in the light of data gathered by us (1) and with the help of the existing relevant

[114]
[122]

1. The data that we present were gathered in 1947, during a visit to the Simões Lopes Indian Post of the Indian Protection Service, which was sponsored by the School of Sociology and Political Science of São Paulo in collaboration with the Institute of Social Anthropology of the Smithsonian Institution. Except where specifically mentioned in a footnote, the data mentioned were obtained from the Simões Lopes Indians.

114 literature. However, although the Bakairí have been visited
121 from an early date by several ethnologists and their customs have been mentioned in the literature to support ethnological theories, very little is yet known on their culture as a whole. Most of the reports left by scholars do not give a rounded view of Bakairí culture and focus rather on their technology. On
[177] the other hand, the present-day Bakairí are quite acculturated, and it is difficult to obtain complete data on their old culture. We shall attempt nevertheless to try to contribute here to a clarification of the problem.

161 The Bakairí now number about 250 individuals, according to the estimates of the Indian Protection Service, /260/
131 in 1947. They live in aldeas in Mato Grosso, at the Simões
361 Lopes Post of the Indian Protection Service, on the banks of the Paranatinga River, and in groups scattered along the

/260 cont./

131 Rio Novo, also in that state. The Simões Lopes Indians claim
361 that in the past all the Bakairí lived in aldeas by the Parana-
173 tinga River, moving later to the north under pressure of enemy
131 groups. (2) Later on the tribe divided as a result of internal
361
166
619

2. For a better discussion of the possible origins of the Bakairí, see Max Schmidt's article, "Los
[113] Bakairí" /The Bacairi/, Revista do Museu Paulista, New Series, Vol. I, pp. 11-58, São Paulo, 1947.

disputes; part moved to the banks of the Rio Culiseu, one of the sources of the Xingu, and the other part was distributed along the Rio Novo. Perhaps the truth about these reports can only be obtained with the help of archaeology. Meanwhile, the old villages of the Bakairí on the sources of the
619 Xingu no longer exist. The Xinguano Indians suffered a great
175 deal from repeated outbreaks of influenza, and the last
931 Bakairí found in that area were brought to the Simões Lopes
648 Post a few years ago by officials of the Indian Protection Ser-
166 vice. The Rio Novo Bakairí, practically as a whole, adopted
619 the customs of the neighboring Brazilian populations and live
177 independent of the control of the Indian Protection Service.
184 As for the Simões Lopes Indians, although they are quite
[178] acculturated, they still retain many traits of their old culture, they all still speak Bakairí, and some of them still remember the time when they lived in Xinguano aldeas, and make good informants.

114 As for the authors who have dealt with the Bakairí, we shall note among the best, Capistrano de Abreu and Karl von den Steinen. The former left us valuable information on the Bakairí language and on the beliefs of these Indians. The only weakness of his material is that it is based on only one

/260 cont./

114 informant. (3) Karl von den Steinen, on the other hand,

[113] 3. Capistrano de Abreu, "Os Bacaerys /The Bacairi/." Revista Brasileira, Year I, Volumes 3 and 4, Rio de Janeiro, 1895.

worked with several informants, and, what is more important in our opinion, personally visited Bakairí aldeas, (4) which

[113] 4. Karl von den Steinen. Durch Central-Brasilien /Through Central Brazil/. Leipzig, 1886; Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens /Among the Central Brazilian Primitive Peoples/. Berlin, 1894.

[127] Capistrano did not do. These documents, studied comparatively, permit us /261/ to support the conclusions we expect to reach on Bakairí beliefs and customs.

197 The Bakairí belong to the Karaib /Carib/ linguistic family. Their old aldeas consisted of large communal houses,
361 ellipsoidal in form, around a square. In each house there
[342] lived from two to five families. In the center of the aldea
[592] there was a house, kadoeti, where the ceremonial adornments
[344] of the men were kept and where visitors were lodged. Access to the kadoeti was open not only to the men but to women
[346] and children as well. Attached to the kadoeti was a small
[534] house, its entrance turned to the rising sun, where the flutes, buzzers or bull-roarer, and other sacred objects were kept.
[784] Access to this latter house was forbidden to women and children.

/261 cont./

352 The Bakairí slept in hammocks, amaka, woven of palm fiber.
[415] Their furnishings can be summed up as benches of a solid
[285] piece of wood, clay pots, mats and baskets. The diet rests
262 upon manioc, piquí, sweet potatoes, maize, and fish. How-
224 ever, the hunting of monkeys, wild pig, tapir, and other ani-
[241] mals was not scorned. Most of the food reserves, however, were of vegetable origin, and the most important harvests were made up of manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, and piquí. Yams /cará/, cotton, urucú, and tobacco were also planted.

342 The occupants of a communal house worked together on
476 the building of a new house, acquiring thereby the right to
622 reside in it. This construction work, however, was led by the individual who had the most prestige in the group, usually the old head of the house, who thus set himself up as the head of
241 the new house. The tasks of clearing fields and planting
476 generally depended on the participation of all the aldea. When
529 beginning a new clearing, the Bakairí would give a feast, kométe, with the distribution of food to the Indians who worked
501 on the field. The Bakairí made canoes from the bark of the
[824] jatobá tree, in the Xinguano way. This construction, as well as fishing, hunting, and agricultural activities, were accom-
[682] panied by propitiatory rituals.

Their products were bartered among neighboring groups
437 in the course of visits called tuliki which depended on the
574 presence of the chiefs of both aldeas. After the exchange of the objects desired, the visitors were honored with a feast called tulake.

621 /262/ The Bakairí were not a warlike people, and their
181 political organization does not seem very elaborate. Each
622 aldea had a chief, pima, assisted by a subchief, itáida. The
624 Bakairí do not remember the existence of a chief for the whole
[643] tribe, and there is no evidence that such a figure ever existed. The selection of the itáida was made by means of agreement of the aldea, but it generally fell on the son of the pima himself. The pima's functions were chiefly ceremonial, economic, and juridical.

/262 cont./

601 In their kinship system the Bakairí distinguished parallel
605 cousins (paigo and koro or iri and iia, for men or women, respectively for male or female Ego) from cross cousins (pama and imiapi or eisambi and ierudu, for men and women, respectively for male or female Ego). The former were
601 identified with brothers and sisters, respectively. The term
604 referring to the father, chogo, was extended to the father's brother, and the term referring to the mother, seko, was extended to the mother's sister. On the other hand, the mother's brother, kogo, and the father's sister, iupuri, got special
601 designations. There were special terms for male or female Ego, in Ego's generation (as we have already seen), and in the first descending generation. Thus the children of male Ego and those of Ego's brother were called imeri, without distinction of sex, while the children of Ego's sister were called tekau and uasi, respectively for the boy and girl. For female Ego, her children, as well as the children of Ego's sister, were called imeri, while Ego's brother's children were uadoin and uasi, respectively for boy and girl. In the second ascending
[603] generation, the grandparents were distinguished according to sex, being called tako and nigo, respectively, for man and woman. In the second descending generation a single term, iveri, designated all individuals.

582 Marriage between cross cousins was common but not preferential. According to the data we obtained, there do not
606 seem to have been among the Bakairí any special rules concern-
591 ing residence or taboos referring to the father-in-law or mother-in-law, or moieties or clans. Marriage was usually monogamous,
595 although polygamous unions were allowed. Judging by the Xinguano tribes, it is probable that such polygamous unions assumed the form of a sororate.

784 /263/ The life cycle of the Bakairí was characterized by a series of seclusions, or uanki ("confinement"), during which individuals were protected against the numerous supernatural dangers that surrounded them.

/263 cont./

000 dangers that surrounded them. Pregnancy, enokua, was
843 recognized by the cessation of the menstrual periods. When
262 the abdomen of the pregnant woman began to attain visible proportions, a diet based on vegetal foods and fish was initiated.
844 As the time of delivery drew near, a separate section was
[784] built inside the houses; the parturient was segregated and remained uanki. Female relatives helped in the delivery under the direction of an experienced woman. The parturient gave
[845] birth sitting on her heels. In difficult cases they washed her abdomen and sides with a hot infusion of cotton leaves. The umbilical cord was cut by the parturient herself or by her husband, and it was buried along with the placenta outside the
844 house. After the birth, eraseli, the child was washed and
784 handed over to the parents; later it would be given the name
846 of some dead relative. During the birth and for some time
[553] afterward, the child and its parents remained in a state of uanki. The end of the seclusion was signaled by the first
846 menstrual period of the parturient, and it was marked by a
796 feast called tadaumito. The restoration of the parents and the
784 child to the bosom of the community was accomplished by means of a feast called itabiénli.

When children reached puberty they were secluded, uanki, for a period of several months. They could not come out in daylight, and they were fed and looked after by their
[856] relatives. It was believed that the greater or lesser duration of the young people's uanki period would lead to their better
[622] or worse physical constitution. On the other hand, a chief's son had to remain in seclusion longer than usual. The period
881 of seclusion began for boys with the ritual of the perforation of
304 the ears (usually undergone in groups). Girls had their ears
784 perforated immediately after birth, and their seclusion was marked by the advent of the first menses. The end of the uanki
784 state was also celebrated with the tadaumito. The girls then
881 began to wear uluri, that is to say, triangular genital coverings
796 about three centimeters square made of tree bark.
881
291

/203 cont./

about three centimeters square made of tree bark. After the seclusion boys and girls were eligible for /264/ marriage. Marriage, todohokúinle, was joined by the parents of the young people by means of an exchange of gifts, and it does not seem to have merited any special ceremony.

The Bakairí do not seem to have believed in the possibility of a natural death. After death, which was always caused by the sorcery of some enemy, the corpse was painted and attired in the finery used in life. The corpse was rolled up in the hammock used by the deceased, and buried with the head pointing west and the feet east. There followed a mourning period, during which the closer relatives remained uanki and from which they emerged through the tadaunúto feast.

The world of the Bakairí was surrounded by supernatural beings, good and evil, such as the iamũra, topiehe, karoui, kadopa, and kilaimo. (5) Plants and animals were nothing but

5. Capistrano de Abeu, "Os Bacaerys," Revista Brasileira, Year I, Vol. 4, pp. 44, 45, 47, 48, 234, 240, 241. Rio de Janeiro, 1895.

drapery used by the iamura and kadopa. Hunting, fishing, and agricultural activities thus had to be accompanied by propitiatory activities intended to appease the anger of the iamũra deprived of their animals and plants. On the other hand, karoui and kilaimo wandered through the forest menacing the Bakairí. Against such beings the Indians required the protection of their sorcerer-doctors as well as periods of seclusion in the most dangerous moments.

The Bakairí believed that men had two souls: one called kati or kutitu, heavier and thicker, corresponding to a camisa worn by the second soul, kagatopuri, a more fluid element that

/264 cont./

774 survives death. (6) During sleep, kagatopuri leaves the body

6. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 43, 44.

and goes wandering through distant regions; on returning it
[513] causes the individual to awaken. To awaken a person sudden-
ly might kill him, for kagatopuri would not have time to re-
775 turn to the body. After death the fluid soul leaves the body
once and for all and changes into kadopa. The kadopa are
[776] wandering souls that continue in this way until their final
transformation into iamũra which occurred in the domains of
776 Nakoeri, the culture hero. Nakoeri was a combination culture
773 hero and creator god of the Bakairí. In a /265/ text obtained
by Capistrano de Abreu, Nakoeri first makes all the animals,
and, using a plaster of clay, creates the Bakairí. (7) Next he

7. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 47.

776
775 makes a cotton ladder and climbs to the sky.

776 The kadopa and iamũra suffer hunger and thirst and eat
like the other Indians. For this they use the bodies of animals.
775 When the kadopa disturbed the aldeas, rituals were performed
to try to attract the wandering souls in order next to frighten
them. One Bakairí account refers to the kadopa thus:

775 "... if you do not intone kadopa's song he does
789 not go to the sky. Because of this /after/ many
539 days of sleeping put manioc paste /mingáu/ in
two small clay cups /cũias/; put the paste in
the middle of the grave; two persons armed
with clubs intone the song; the cups are smashed
and they flee. Coming from afar, one gives
a blessing, saying ku ku ku (now, cheer up!).

/265 cont./

775 789 539 When finished, one gives a benediction... saying: Aufa! Go inside the sky, to our people, to our mother, to our father, here there is no one, inside the sky it is good, go, we also are going to pass away, it is said, the piahi teaches." (8)

8. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 44.

776 [775] In Nakoeri's aldea, the kadopa change into iamũra. But the iamũra also wander on the earth using the bodies of animals. Although their behavior was not intentionally malignant, the Bakairí had to take precautions when they went hunting or fishing or when they planted. On killing game or fish, the Indians left certain offerings for the iamũra portrayed by these animals. (9)

782 784 786 776

9. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 49.

776 756 By means of certain rituals a Bakairí might, while still alive, make contact with the iamũra, acquiring the corresponding powers, and become a sorcerer-doctor.

776 Capistrano de Abreu (10) and Karl von den Steinen (11)

10. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 235, 239, 240.

[113] 11. Karl von den Steinen, Entre os aborígenes do Brasil Central /Among the Aborigines of Central Brazil/, São Paulo, 1940, transl., p. 448.

mention yet other supernatural beings that surrounded the

/265 cont./

796 Bakairí: /266/ Kilaimo, Karoui, Iuanaguroro, and Topiehe. Kilaimo is a wandering spirit that wanders through the forest
[756] at night. Karoui is the sorcerer-doctor's enemy; he possesses
[224] an axe in the shape of a toad. Iuanaguroro is the lord of hunting; one of the sides of his chest is larger than the other, and he clasps against it and kills the Indians who offend him.
[825] Topiehe is a bird whose death would result inevitably in the
[823] death of the guilty party. There was also a lake inhabited by maleficent supernatural beings, and where animals reached gigantic proportions.

825 Capistrano de Abreu mentions the attribution of special powers to certain animals. Thus the lizard was the lord of sleep; the fox, of fire; the urubu, of benches; the sea snail, of the sun; the porcupine, of thorns; the kingfisher, of fishes; the deer, of manioc. (12)

12. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 242.

756 The sorcerer, piaji (piahi or piaje) performed very important functions among the Bakairí. Besides the function of curing illness, he performed such tasks as the prediction of enemy attacks, the localizing of game, the finding of lost objects, and interceding with supernatural beings when necessary.

753 For the Bakairí illness was always caused either by hostile
[754] sorcerers or those in the service of enemies, or by spirits such as the iamũra, topiehe, iuanaguroro, or karoui. On being
756 called to heal a sick person, the piaji requested the assistance
755 of his guardian iamũra with the help of a gourd which he shook in accompaniment to songs of invocation. On examining the patient, the piaji decided upon the cause of the illness, whether it had been induced by an enemy or by a spirit. In the second case, the piaji would intercede with the offended
000 spirit, appeasing it. But in the event the illness had been

754 /266 cont./ But in the event the illness had been
755 caused by another sorcerer, it would be necessary to find out first the vehicle of the disease. This might be a small piece of charred wood, a thin cotton thread, or a small piece of bone, tossed from a distance and thus introduced into the patient's body. The sorcerer would suck at the afflicted part, thus withdrawing the cause of the illness.

754 /267/ Our informants could tell us nothing about diseases
[114] caused by omeoto (evil sorcerers) mentioned by Karl von den
[753] Steinen. According to the latter, in order to injure an Indian, a sorcerer would cook in a pot a lizard into whose throat he had previously inserted the skin of the middle finger of a corpse. The agony and death of the lizard were matched simultaneously by the agony and death of the victim. (13)

13. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., p. 442.

[114] In our opinion, this method hardly seems to be indigenous and
[177] is probably the result of acculturation. However, our informants did not know about it.

756 In order to become a sorcerer, a youth had to undergo
[834] training for a period that lasted from six to 12 months, sub-
[262] mitting to rigorous sexual abstinence and an exclusively vegetal
[784] diet. Throughout the initiation period the candidate remained uanki, enclosed in the kadoeti. Part of the training, meanwhile, was carried out in distant places, where the novice learned the healing properties of certain roots, as well as the secrets related to the supernatural world. The training ended
[787] with the acquisition, on the candidate's part, of a guardian
[276] spirit, or iamüra. This acquisition was made during a trance into which the candidate has fallen by means of the ingestion of narcotic substances. After this the new sorcerer had to prove his power, either through small acts such as finding lost objects or by curing a sick person.

/267 cont./

756 In regard to initiation, Karl von den Steinen tells us that
262 the candidate had to subsist solely on starch broth, hit himself
785 continually on the head, and at the same time scratch his arms and chest until blood ran. (14) On the other hand,

14. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., pp. 440-441.

276 Capistrano de Abreu relates that the novice had to swallow "drugs such as timbo, pindova, vaimbé, and other cipos" and learn the language of karoui. On the day of the initiation the candidate would go for a walk with his master, who gave him the infusion to drink. (15)

15. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 235-238.

796 The Bakairí had quite an elaborate ceremonial system, as may be inferred from the information obtained /268/ the Indians of Simões Lopes. Dancing and singing were done not only when there was an abundance of food or when economic activities permitted it, but especially at times such as the maize harvest, or the occasion when the ears of the boys about to be secluded were pierced, or at times of the celebration of the tadaunúto, or end of the uanki state, the building of houses, the beginning of the clearing of a field, or finally the
574 distribution of cotton among the women. On those occasions neighboring groups were invited and the festivities lasted for
534 days. Bakairí musical instruments consisted of bamboo flutes and bells for the feet made of piquí shells. The informants recalled four kinds of flutes: enimi and kanagera, sacred flutes kept hidden from the eyes of women and children, and tadãua
531 and nakigoro, used in secular festivities. The Bakairí also had gourds filled with seeds or stones, called pako, and wooden sticks decorated with geometric designs.

/268 cont./

534 sticks decorated with geometric designs. These sticks are still used in Bakairí dances in Simões Lopes.

535 533 Our informants remembered the following dances and songs: oriko, a dance performed with the help of the adorned sticks, at no specific time; iauaisári, the maize song; mahulauari, performed at the time of the construction of a new house; pahoevatá, performed at the time of the ceremony of the perforation of the boys' ears, and the maize celebration, or anjéintabiénli.

535 532 825 [784] In the sacred dances, barred to women, masks representing various animals were used. In our opinion these masks did not represent the animals proper but rather the iamüra, lords of these animals. This would justify the fact that these representations are so far removed from reality, even in terms of native art.

773 The Bakairí myths related by Karl von den Steinen and Capistrano de Abreu mention Tchini (or Keri, the sun), Numa (or Kame, the moon), (16) and Nakoeri. (17) Tchina and Numa

16. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., pp. 447-492.

17. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 45-50, 235-240.

or Keri and Kame, the sun and the moon, are twin creator heroes of the Bakairí. The same task of /269/ creating the [616] Bakairí is attributed to Nakoeri. The nonexistence of moieties [174] among the Bakairí leads us to regard the myth of the twin heroes as a borrowed feature, since there does not seem to be a justifying correspondence in their social organization. The 539 Paranatinga Indians told us the following myth:

Iamadili or the Origin of the Day.

In the beginning the world was so dark and so cold that the Indians had to cover their bodies with

/269 cont./

539 fat in order to stay warm. The Indians wanted the sun to come out, and so they donned their apparel, painted their bodies, and began to ask Orimoto, the great spirit. Orimoto was not an Indian but a man who lived in a stone house with some animals which he had created. The Indians went on asking until finally the light broke out; but the Indians had already grown old and the children had already grown up.

776 The data at our disposal do not permit us to place in Bakairí cosmology beings such as Tchini-numa, Keri-kamé, or Orimoto and Nakoeri. Nevertheless, we prefer to regard Nakoeri as the supreme being of the Bakairí, leaving to Tchini-numa, Keri-kamé (the sun and the moon), and Orimoto the role of culture heroes, until new work clarifies their respective functions.

182 13 433 Compelled to deal with a hostile environment, such as the savannas and forests of the headwaters of the Xingu, and lacking an adequate technology, the Bakairí, like the other Xinguano Indians, depended to a large extent on uncertain factors such as the amount of rainfall and the resulting annual increase of waters, which led to a scarcity or an abundance of food. Lacking an adequate technology, they did not store 789 their produce but lived on a subsistence economy. Their hunting and fishing activities were followed by magic rituals with [224] [226] which they attempted to control the possibility of sudden future [241] calamities or even of illnesses. Thus agricultural activities [396] and the building of houses or canoes had to be followed by [782] propitiations. In order to utilize the vegetal or animal raw [262] materials, it was necessary to know how to control uncertain elements: How explain, for example, why one canoe splits and another does not, when both were made by the same craftsman? How explain how the same /270/ foods sometimes ap-
77 peared harmless and sometimes made people ill? The system of beliefs of the Bakairí seems to us an interpretation that

77 /270 cont./

satisfies effectively the cultural exigencies. The Bakairí lived in a world dominated by iamüra and other supernatural beings. Animals and plants were nothing more than draperies which were used by these supernatural beings. The Bakairi himself was a dual being: a spirit, kagatopüri, using a draping, the physical body, animated by another, denser spirit, kati. After death kagatopüri went through the stages of kadopa, a wandering spirit, and finally iamüra. For this reason the Bakairi did not appear to be afraid of their dead; bodies were more than vestments, but the kadopa were indeed dangerous.

784 182 In order to protect themselves against the innumerable dangers presented by the constellation of supernatural beings, such as iamüra, kadopa, topiehe, karoui, iuanaguroro, and kilaimo, the Bakairí used two methods. The first was seclusion, uanki, at the most difficult moments, such as birth, puberty, [796] death, and shamanistic initiation. Uanki was followed by the restoration of the individual /to the community/ through the 756 tadaunúto celebration. The other method was shamanism. 784 Shamanism was open to all and it must actually have consti- 182 tuted a normal stage in the life evolution of the Bakairí. Yet few of them managed to become sorcerers, for the trials they 756 had to undergo were not easy. Contact with the supernatural 787 was achieved by sorcerers through the use of tobacco or other 276 narcotic substances. In their trances the sorcerers came to control the iamüra and acquired the powers peculiar to these supernatural beings.

775 Finally, the post-mortem life of the Bakairí, in Nakoeri's large aldea, reflects as might be expected the organization of their aldeas. Once changed into iamüra, the Bakairí join their ancestors and old friends; the pleasures of eating and drinking are not denied them since they also feel hunger and thirst, but they are now invulnerable to the perils of the forest. They can use the animals and plants, at their pleasure, as wrappers for their wanderings through the air, in the rivers, or on the ground.

/270 cont./

000 /The bibliography on p. 271 has been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text. The following "Abstract" is given in English in the original text./

/271/ Abstract

105

Certain aspects of the culture of the Bakairi Indians of Mato Grosso are briefly described: their technology, kinship terminology, pantheon, cerimonies, shamanism, treatment of illness, and the series of ritualistic seclusions, or wanki, that occur at stated intervals during the life cycle: at birth, at puberty, at death and upon becoming a shaman. Ritualistic seclusion, or wanki, is one of the two means employed as defenses against harm of supernatural origin, the other means being shamanism.

5:Altenfelder Silva

SP7 Bacairi

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Escola de Sociologia e Politica de São Paulo e Museu Paulista

O ESTADO DE *UANKI* ENTRE OS BAKAIRI

F. ALTENFELDER SILVA

A fim de defender-se contra os numerosos perigos sobrenaturais que os rodeavam, os Bakairi lançavam mão de dois métodos: o xamanismo e o estado de *uanki*, ou seclusão ritual. É propósito dêste artigo examinar êstes dois métodos da cultura bakairi, à luz de informes por nós obtidos (1) e com auxílio da literatura existente a respeito. Contudo, embora os Bakairi tenham sido visitados de longa data por diversos etnólogos, e os seus costumes mencionados na literatura como testemunho de teorias etnológicas, muito pouco se sabe ainda sôbre a sua cultura como um todo. A maior parte dos relatos deixados pelos estudiosos não oferece uma visão global da cultura bakairi e se concentra de preferência em sua tecnologia. De outra parte, os Bakairi de hoje se acham bastante aculturados sendo difícil a obtenção de dados completos sôbre a antiga cultura. Pretendemos, não obstante, tentar contribuir aqui para o esclarecimento do problema.

Os Bakairi totalizam atualmente cêrca de 250 indivíduos, segundo as estimativas do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios,

(1) Os dados por nós apresentados foram obtidos em 1947, durante uma visita ao Pôsto Indígena Simões Lopes, do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, promovida pela Escola de Sociologia e Politica de São Paulo em colaboração com o Instituto de Antropologia Social da Smithsonian Institution. Salvo menção específica, em nota de rodapé, os dados mencionados foram obtidos dos índios de Simões Lopes.

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em 1947. Encontram-se êles aldeados em Mato Grosso, no Posto de Simões Lopes, do S.P.I., às margens do Rio Paranatinga, e em agrupamentos dispersos ao longo do Rio Novo, também naquele Estado. Os índios de Simões Lopes afirmam que outróra todos os Bakairí viviam aldeados junto ao Rio Paranatinga, deslocando-se, mais tarde, para o Norte, em virtude da pressão de grupos inimigos. (2) Posteriormente a tribo se dividiu em consequência de disputas internas; parte seguiu para as margens do Rio Culiseu, formador do Xingú, e outra parte distribuiu-se ao longo do Rio Novo. O que há de positivo nêsses relatos é algo que talvez sòmente a arqueologia poderá esclarecer. Entretanto as antigas aldeias dos Bakairí nas cabeceiras do Xingú já não mais existem. Os índios xinguanos muito sofreram com repetidos surtos de gripe e os últimos Bakairí que se encontravam naquela área foram trazidos para o Pôsto Simões Lopes, há poucos anos, pelos funcionários do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. Os Bakairí do Rio Novo, na sua quase totalidade, adotaram os costumes das populações brasileiras visinhas e vivem independentes do controle do S.P.I. Quanto aos índios de Simões Lopes, embora bastante aculturados, conservam êles ainda muitos traços de sua antiga cultura, todos falam ainda o bakairí, e alguns dêles ainda se recordam do tempo em que viveram nas aldeias xinguanas, constituindo bons informantes.

Quanto aos autores que se ocuparam dos Bakairí, destacamos, entre os melhores, Capistrano de Abreu e Karl von den Steinen. O primeiro deixou-nos valiosas informações sôbre a lingua bakairí e sôbre as crenças dêsses índios. A fraqueza única de seu material é que êle se baseia em um único informante. (3) Karl von den Steinen, de outra parte, consultou vários informantes, e, o que é mais importante a nosso ver, visitou pessoalmente as aldeias bakairí, (4) o que não fêz Capistrano. Tais documentos, examinados comparativamente, permitem-nos

(2) Para uma melhor discussão sôbre as possíveis origens dos Bakairí, ver o artigo de Max Schmidt, "Los Bakairí", *Revista do Museu Paulista*, nova série, vol. I, pp. 11-58, São Paulo, 1947.

(3) Capistrano de Abreu, "Os Bacaerys", *Revista Brasileira*, ano I, tomos 3 e 4, Rio de Janeiro, 1895.

(4) Karl von den Steinen, *Durch Central-Brasilien*, Leipzig, 1886; *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*, Berlin, 1894.

fortalecer as conclusões a que pretendemos chegar sôbre as crenças e costumes bakairi.

Os Bakairí pertencem à família linguística Karaib. Suas antigas aldeias eram constituidas por grandes casas comunais, de forma elipsoidal, ao redor de uma praça. Em cada casa viviam de duas a cinco famílias. No centro da aldeia havia uma casa, *kadoeti*, destinada a guardar os ornamentos cerimoniais dos homens, e onde eram alojados os visitantes. A entrada do *kadoeti* era franqueada tanto aos homens quanto às mulheres e crianças. Anexa ao *kadoeti* havia uma pequena casa, com a entrada voltada para o sol nascente, e onde se guardavam as flautas, zunidores ou berra-bois, e demais objetos sagrados. A entrada a esta última casa era vedada às mulheres e crianças. Os Bakairí dormiam em rêdes, *amaka*, tecidas de fibras de palmeira. O mobiliário se resumia em bancos de madeira inteiriça, panelas de barro, esteiras e cestos. A dieta baseava-se em mandioca, piquí, batata doce, milho e peixe. Entretanto, a caça de macacos, porco do mato, anta e outros animais não era desprezada. A maior parte das reservas alimentares era, porém, de origem vegetal, e as colheitas mais importantes constituidas pela mandioca, milho, batata doce e piquí. Plantavam êles, ainda, o cará, o algodão, o urucú e o fumo.

Os moradores de uma casa comunal trabalhavam juntos na construção de uma nova casa, adquirindo com isso o direito de nela residirem. Tal construção era contudo promovida pelo indivíduo de maior prestígio dêsse grupo, provàvelmente o antigo chefe da casa, que assim se constituia em chefe da nova casa. Os trabalhos de limpeza dos campos e de plantio contavam geralmente com a participação de tôda a aldeia. Ao iniciar uma nova roça, o Bakairí promoveria uma festa, *komète*, com distribuição de alimentos aos índios que trabalhavam no campo. Os Bakairí fabricavam canoas da casca do jatobá, à maneira xinguana. Tal construção, bem como as atividades de pesca, caça e agricultura, era acompanhada de rituais propiciatórios.

A troca dos produtos que obtinham era feita com os grupos vizinhos, mediante visitas denominadas *tuliki*, as quais contavam com a presença dos chefes de ambas as aldeias. Após a troca dos objetos desejados, os visitantes eram homenageados com uma festa denominada *tulake*.

Os Bakairi não eram um povo guerreiro e sua organização política não parece muito elaborada. Cada aldeia possuia um chefe, *pima*, assistido por um sub-chefe *itdida*. Não se recordam os Bakairi da existência de um chefe para tôda a tribo e não há indicios de que tal tenha ocorrido. A seleção do *itdida* era feita mediante o consenso da aldeia mas geralmente recaia sôbre o filho do próprio *pima*. As funções do *pima* eram principalmente cerimoniais, econômicas e judiciais.

No seu sistema de parentesco os Bakairi distinguiam os primos paralelos, (*paigo* e *koro* ou *iri* e *iia*, para homem ou mulher, respectivamente para *ego* masculino ou feminino) dos primos cruzados, (*pama* e *imiapi* ou *eisambi* e *ierudu*, para homem e mulher, respectivamente para *ego* masculino ou feminina). Os primeiros eram identificados com os irmãos e irmãs, respectivamente. O têrmo referente ao pai, *chogo*, era extensivo ao irmão do pai, e o têrmo referente à mãe, *seko*, extensivo à irmã da mãe. De outra parte o irmão da mãe, *kogo*, e a irmã do pai, *iupuri*, recebiam denominação especial. Havia têrmos especiais para *ego* masculino ou feminino, na geração de *ego* (como já vimos), e na primeira descendente. Assim os filhos de *ego* masculino e os do irmão de *ego* eram denominados *imeri*, sem distinção de sexo, ao passo que os filhos da irmã de *ego* eram denominados *tekau* e *uasi*, respectivamente para o menino e menina. Para *ego* feminino, seus filhos, bem como os filhos da irmã de *ego* eram denominados *imeri*, ao passo que os filhos do irmão de *ego* eram *uadoin* e *uasi*, respectivamente para o menino e menina. Na segunda geração ascendente, os avós eram distinguidos segundo o sexo, denominando-se *tako* e *nigo*, respectivamente para homem e mulher. Na segunda geração descendente um único têrmo, *iveri*, designava todos os indivíduos.

O casamento entre primos cruzados era comum mas não preferencial. De acôrdo com os informes que obtivemos, não parece ter havido entre os Bakairi regras especiais no tocante à residência nem tabús referentes ao sogro ou sogra, nem ainda metades ou clãs. Os casamentos eram geralmente monógamos embora as uniões polígamas fôssem admitidas. A julgar-se pelas tribos xinguanas, é provável que tais uniões polígamas assumissem a forma de sororato.

O ciclo de vida dos Bakairi caracterizava-se por uma série de reclusões ou *uanki* (prisão), durante as quais os indivíduos se protegiam contra os numerosos perigos sobrenaturais que os rodeavam. A gravidez, *enokua*, era conhecida pela interrupção das menstruações. Quando o ventre da mulher grávida começava a atingir proporções visíveis, iniciava-se uma dieta alimentar à base de vegetais e carne de peixe. Com a aproximação da época do parto, construia-se uma separação no interior das casas; a parturiente era segregada e permanecia *uanki*. Os parentes femininos ajudavam o parto sob a direção de uma mulher de experiência. A parturiente dava à luz sentando-se sôbre os calcanhares. Em casos difíceis faziam-se escaldamentos ao redor do ventre e das costas, com infusão de folhas de algodão. O cordão umbilical era cortado pela própria parturiente ou pelo marido, e era enterrado juntamente com a placenta, fóra da casa. Após o nascimento, *eraseli*, a criança era lavada e entregue aos pais; mais tarde ser-lhe-ia dado o nome de algum parente já falecido. Durante o parto e algum tempo após, a criança e os pais permaneciam em estado de *uanki*. O fim da seclusão era indicado pela primeira menstruação da parturiente, e era marcado por uma festa denominada *ladaunúto*. A reintegração dos pais e da criança no seio da comunidade se fazia mediante a festa denominada *itabiénli*.

Quando os jovens atingiam a puberdade eram reclusos, *uanki*, por um período de alguns meses. Êles não podiam sair à luz do dia e eram alimentados e tratados pelos parentes. Acreditava-se que a maior ou menor duração do período de *uanki* dos jovens resultasse na sua melhor ou pior constituição física. De outra parte, o filho de um chefe deveria ficar recluso por mais tempo que o comum. O período de seclusão, para os meninos, iniciava-se com o ritual da perfuração das orelhas (feito, geralmente, em grupos de jovens). As meninas tinham as orelhas perfuradas logo ao nascerem, e o início da seclusão era marcado pelo advento da primeira menstruação. O término do estado de *uanki* era celebrado, também, com o *ladaunúto*. As meninas passavam então a usar *uluri*, ou seja, coberturas genitais de forma triangular, de cêrca de 3 cm², feitas de casca de árvore. Após a seclusão meninos e meninas eram elegíveis para o casa-

mento. O casamento, *todohokúinle*, era combinado pelos pais dos jovens mediante a troca de presentes e não parece ter merecido cerimonial especial.

A crença na possibilidade de uma morte natural parece ter sido ignorada pelos Bakairi. Após a morte, sempre provocada pela magia de algum inimigo, era o cadáver pintado e enfeitado com os adôrnos usados em vida. O corpo era enrolado na rêde usada pelo morto, e sepultado com a cabeça voltada para o oeste e os pés para leste. Seguia-se um período de luto, durante o qual os parentes mais próximos permaneciam *uanki* e do qual se libertavam mediante a festa do *tadaunúto*.

O mundo dos Bakairi era rodeado por sêres sobrenaturais, bons e máus, tais como *Iamüra*, *Topiche*, *Karoui*, *Kadopa* e *Kilaimo*. (5) As plantas e animais não passavam de roupagens de que se serviam *iamüra* e *kadopa*. As atividades de caça, pesca e lavoura deviam, pois, ser acompanhadas de propiciações destinadas a aplacar a colera dos *iamüra* despojados de seus animais e plantas. De outra parte, *karoui* e *kilaimo* vagavam pelo mato ameaçando os Bakairi. Contra tais sêres precisavam os índios da proteção de seus médicos-feiticeiros bem como de períodos de seclusão nos momentos mais perigosos.

Os Bakairi acreditavam que o homem possuia duas almas: uma denominada *kati* ou *kululu*, mais pesada e mais densa, correspondendo a uma camisa que é vestida pela segunda alma, *kagatopuri*, princípio mais flúido que sobrevive à morte. (6) Durante o sono *kagatopuri* se destaca do corpo e vai passear em regiões distantes; ao regressar faz com que o indivíduo desperte. Despertar sùbitamente uma pessoa poderia provocar-lhe a morte pois *kagatopuri* não teria tempo de regressar ao corpo. Após a morte a alma fluida se separava definitivamente do corpo e se transformava em *kadopa*. Os *kadopa* eram almas errantes que assim permaneciam até sua transformação final em *iamüra*, o que ocorria nos domínios de *Nakoeri*, o herói-cultural. *Nakoeri* era um mixto de herói-cultural e deus criador dos Bakairi. Num

(5) Capistrano de Abreu, "Os Bacaerys", *Revista Brasileira*, ano I, tomo 4, pp. 44, 45, 47, 48, 234, 240, 241. Rio de Janeiro, 1895.

(6) Capistrano de Abreu, op. *cit.*, tomo 4, pp. 43, 44.

5:Altenfelder Silva SP7 Bacairi

texto obtido por Capistrano de Abreu, *Nakoeri* faz primeiro todos os animais e, usando uma argamassa de barro, cria os Bakairi. (7) Em seguida constrói uma escada de algodão e sóbe ao céu.

Os *kadopa* e *iamũra* sentem fome e sêde e se alimentam como os demais índios. Para tanto usam o corpo dos animais. Quando os *kadopa* importunavam as aldeias, realizavam-se rituais em que se procurava atrair as almas errantes para em seguida assustá-las. Um relato bakairi assim se refere aos *kadopa*:

"...quando não entoas o canto de *kadopa* ela não vai para o céu. Por isso muitos dias dormidos põe mingáu em duas cúias pequenas; põe o mingáu no meio da sepultura; duas pessoas armadas de porretes entoam o canto, quebram-se as duas cúias e foge-se. Chegando de longe, benze dizendo *kukuku* (ora sús!). Quando se pára, benze-se... dizendo: Aufa! Vai para dentro do céu, para nossa gente, para nossa mãe, para nosso pai, aqui não tem ninguém, dentro do céu é bom, vai nos também vamos correr, se diz, ensina o pinhi". (8)

Na aldeia de *Nakoeri*, *kadopa* se transforma em *iamũra*. Mas *iamũra* também vagueia pela terra usando o corpo dos animais. Embora sua ação não fôsse propositadamente maligna, os Bakairi precisavam tomar precauções quando caçavam, pescavam ou plantavam. Ao matar uma caça ou peixe, os índios deixavam certas oferendas para os *iamũra* representados por êsses animais. (9)

Através de certos rituais um Bakairi poderia, ainda em vida, entrar em contacto com os *iamũra*, adquirindo os poderes correspondentes, e transformando-se em médico-feiticeiro.

Capistrano de Abreu (10) e Karl von den Steinen (11) mencionam ainda outros sêres sobrenaturais que rodeavam os Ba-

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(7) Capistrano de Abreu, *op. cit.*, tomo 4, p. 47.

(8) Capistrano de Abreu, *op. cit.*, tomo 4, p. 44.

(9) Capistrano de Abreu, *op. cit.*, tomo 4, p. 49.

(10) Capistrano de Abreu, *op. cit.*, tomo 4, pp. 235, 238, 248.

(11) Karl von den Steinen, *Entre os aborígenes do Brasil Central*, São Paulo, 1940, trad., p. 448.

kairi: *Kilaimo*, *Karoui*, *Iuanagurero* e *Topiehe*. *Kilaimo* é um espírito errante que vagueia pelo mato, durante a noite. *Karoui* é inimigo dos médicos-feiticeiros; possui um machado com o formato de um sapo. *Iuanagurero* é o senhor da caça; possui um peito maior que o outro, contra o qual aperta e mata os índios que o ofendem. *Topiehe* é um pássaro cuja morte redundaria na morte inevitável do culpado. Havia ainda uma lagôa habitada por sêres sobrenaturais maléficos, e onde os animais adquiriam proporções gigantescas.

Capistrano de Abreu menciona a atribuição de poderes especializados a certos animais. Assim, o lagarto era o senhor do sono; a raposa, do fôgo; o urubú, do banco; o caramujo, do sol; o ouriço, do espinho; o martim-pescador, dos peixes; o veado, da mandioca. (12)

O médico-feiticeiro, *piaji* (*piahi* ou *piaje*) desempenhava funções de grande importância entre os Bakairi. Além das funções de curar doenças, cabiam-lhe tarefas tais como as de prever as incursões inimigas, localizar a caça, encontrar objetos perdidos e interceder junto aos sêres sobrenaturais quando necessário.

Para os Bakairi as doenças eram sempre causadas ou por médicos-feiticeiros inimigos ou a serviço de inimigos ou por espíritos tais como *iamüra*, *topiehe* ou *iuanagurero* e *karoui*. Ao ser chamado para curar um doente, o *piaji* solicitava o auxílio do seu *iamüra* protetor, com a ajuda de uma cabaça que agitaria acompanhando os cânticos de invocação. Ao examinar um doente o *piaji* decidiria qual a causa da doença, se provocada por um inimigo ou por um espírito. No segundo caso o *piaji* intercederia junto ao espírito ofendido, aplacando-o. No caso, porém, da doença ter sido causada por outro médico-feiticeiro, seria preciso descobrir, primeiramente, qual o veículo do mal. Êste poderia ser um pedacinho de madeira carbonizada, um fiozinho de algodão ou um pedacinho de ôsso, lançado através do espaço e assim introduzido no corpo do doente. O médico-feiticeiro sugaria a parte ofendida retirando a causa do mal.

(12) Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., tomo 4, p. 242.

Nossos informantes nada nos souberam dizer com referência às doenças causadas pelos *omeolo* (máus feiticeiros), mencionadas por Karl von den Steinen. Segundo o aludido autor, para fazer mal a um índio o médico-feiticeiro coseria dentro de um pote um lagarto, em cuja guela teria prèviamente introduzido a pele do dedo médio de um cadáver. A agonia e morte do lagarto era acompanhada simultaneamente da agonia e morte da vítima. (13) A nosso ver, tal técnica parece muito pouco indígena, sendo provàvelmente resultado da aculturação. Todavia, nossos informantes a ignoravam.

Para tornar-se médico-feiticeiro um jovem deveria ser treinado por um período que variava de seis a doze meses, submetendo-se a uma rigorosa abstinência sexual e dieta, baseada exclusivamente em vegetais. Durante todo o período de iniciação o candidato permanecia *uanki*, encerrado no *kudoeti*. Parte do treinamento, entretanto, se realizaria em lugares afastados, onde o noviço aprenderia as propriedades curativas de certas raízes, bem como os segrêdos relacionados com o mundo sobrenatural. O treinamento terminaria com a aquisição, por parte do candidato, de um espírito protetor, *iamúru*. Essa aquisição era feita durante um transe em que o candidato caía mediante a ingestão de narcóticos. O novo médico-feiticeiro deveria em seguida provar o seu poder, quer em atos menores tais como achar objetos perdidos, quer curando algum doente.

A propósito da iniciação Karl von den Steinen nos informa que o candidato deveria alimentar-se sòmente de caldo de amido, bater continuadamente contra a cabeça, no mesmo tempo em que arranhava os braços e peito até correr sangue. (14) De outra parte, Capistrano de Abreu relata que o noviço deveria ingerir "drogas como o timbó, pindoba, vaimbé, e outros cipós" e aprender a língua de *kuroui*. No dia da iniciação o candidato sairia a passeio com o seu mestre que lhe daria de beber a infusão. (15).

Os Bakairi possuíam um cerimonialismo bastante elaborado, conforme nos é possível depreender dos informes obtidos junto

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(13) Karl von den Steinen, *op cit.*, p. 442.

(14) Karl von den Steinen, *op. cit.*, pp. 440-441.

(15) Capistrano de Abreu, *op. cit.*, tomo 4, pp. 235-238.

aos índios de Simões Lopes. Danças e cantos eram executados não só quando havia abundância de alimentos ou quando as atividades econômicas o permitiam, mas especialmente em épocas tais como as da colheita do milho, ou na ocasião em que se furavam as orelhas dos meninos a serem reclusos, ou nas épocas de celebração do *tadaimito* ou cessação do estado de *uanki*, construção de casas, início da limpeza do campo para o plantio, ou finalmente distribuição do algodão entre as mulheres. Nessas ocasiões os grupos vizinhos eram convidados e as festas prolongavam-se por dias. Os instrumentos musicais dos Bakairi consistiam em flautas de bambú e chocalhos para os pés, feitos de caroços de piqui. Lembravam-se os informantes de quatro tipos de flautas: a *enimi* e *kanagera*, flautas sagradas conservadas longe das vistas das mulheres e crianças, e as *tadãua* e *nakigoro*, usadas nas festas profanas. Possuiam ainda os Bakairi cabaças cheias de sementes ou pedras, denominadas *pako*, e bastões de madeira, ornamentados com desenhos geométricos. Esses bastões ainda são usados nas danças bakairi em Simões Lopes.

Recordavam-se nossos informantes das seguintes danças e cantos: o *oriko*, dança executada com auxílio dos bastões enfeitados, e sem época fixa; o *iauaisari*, canto do milho; o *mahulauari*, executada por ocasião da construção de uma nova casa; a *pahoeuató*, executada por ocasião da cerimônia da perfuração das orelhas dos meninos, e a festa do milho ou *anjéintabiénli*.

Nas danças sagradas, vedadas às mulheres, usavam-se máscaras representando diferentes animais. Ao que acreditamos, essas máscaras não representavam pròpriamente os animais mas sim os *iamũra*, senhores desses animais. Isso justificaria o fato de serem as representações tão afastadas da realidade, mesmo para a arte indígena.

Os mitos bakairi relatados por Karl von den Steinen e Capistrano de Abreu mencionam *Tchini* (ou *Keri*, sol), *Numa* (ou *Kame*, lua), (16) e *Nakoeri*. (17) *Tchina* e *Numa* ou *Keri* e *Kame*, sol e lua, são heróis-gêmeos criadores dos Bakairi. A mesma tarefa de

(16) Karl von den Steinen, *op. cit.*, pp. 447-492.
(17) Capistrano de Abreu, *op. cit.*, tomo 4, pp. 45-50, 235-240.

criar os Bakairi é atribuida a *Nakoeri*. A não existência de metades entre os Bakairi leva-nos a considerar o mito dos heróis-gêmeos como tomado de empréstimo pelos Bakairi, desde que não parece haver em sua organização social uma correspondência justificadora. Os índios do Paranatinga relataram-nos o seguinte mito:

> *Iamadili* ou a origem do dia.
>
> No comêço o mundo era tão escuro e frio que os índios tinham de cobrir o corpo com gordura para mantê-lo quente. Os índios queriam que o sol saisse, e então êles vestiram seus enfeites, pintaram os corpos e começaram a pedir para *Orimoto*, o grande espírito. *Orimoto* não era índio mas um homem que vivia numa casa de pedra com alguns animais que êle havia criado. Os índios continuaram pedindo até que finalmente a luz surgiu; mas os índios já se tinham tornado velhos e as crianças já haviam crescido.

Os dados de que dispomos não nos permitem ordenar na cosmologia bakairi sêres tais como *Tchini-numa*, *Keri-kamé*, ou *Orimoto* e *Nakoeri*. Preferimos, contudo, considerar *Nakoeri* como o sêr supremo dos Bakairi, deixando a *Tchini-numa*, *Keri-kame* (sol e lua) e *Orimoto* os papéis de heróis-culturais, até que novos trabalhos venham esclarecer suas devidas funções.

Obrigados a enfrentar um ambiente hostil, como o das savanas e matas das cabeceiras do Xingú, e desprovidos de uma tecnologia apropriada, os Bakairi, como os demais índios xinguanos, dependiam grandemente de circunstâncias aleatórias tais como a quantidade de chuva e consequente enchente anual, redundantes em escassez ou abundância de alimentos. Sem uma tecnologia adequada, não acumulavam o que produziam, vivendo numa economia de subsistência. Suas atividades de caça e pesca eram seguidas de rituais mágicos com os quais procuravam controlar a possibilidade dos fracassos futuros ou mesmo de doenças. Assim também as atividades agrícolas e as de construção de casas ou canoas precisavam ser seguidas de propiciações. Para usar a matéria prima vegetal ou animal era preciso saber controlar os elementos incertos: Como explicar, por exemplo, que uma canoa rachasse e outra não, quando ambas foram feitas pelo mesmo artífice? Como explicar que os mesmos

alimentos ora se mostrassem inócuos ora provocassem doenças? O sistema de crenças dos Bakairi parece-nos uma interpretação que satisfazia, de maneira eficaz, as exigências da cultura. Viviam os Bakairi num mundo dominado por *iamũra* e outros sêres sobrenaturais. Os animais e plantas nada mais eram que roupagens de que se serviam êsses sêres sobrenaturais. O próprio Bakairi era um sêr dual: um espírito *kugatopũri*, usando uma roupagem, o corpo físico, animado por outro espírito, mais denso, *kati*. Após a morte *kugatopũri* passava pelos estágios de *kadopa*, espírito errante, e finalmente *iamũra*. Por isso os Bakairi não se mostravam amedrontados com os seus mortos; os corpos não passavam de vestimentas mas os *kadopa*, êstes sim, é que eram perigosos.

Para defender-se contra os inúmeros perigos representados pela constelação de sêres sobrenaturais, tais como *iamũra*, *kadopa*, *topieḥe*, *karoui*, *iwanoguroro* e *kilaimo*, os Bakairi lançavam mão de dois meios. O primeiro era o da seclusão, *uanki*, nos momentos mais difíceis tais como nascimento, puberdade, morte e iniciação xamanística. Ao *uanki* seguia-se a reintegração do indivíduo, mediante a festa do *ladaunũto*. O outro meio era o xamanismo. Era o xamanismo aberto a todos e deveria mesmo constituir um estágio normal na evolução de vida dos Bakairi. Poucos porém conseguiam tornar-se médicos-feiticeiros, pois as provas a que deveriam submeter-se não eram fáceis. O contacto com o sobrenatural era feito pelos médicos-feiticeiros mediante o uso do tabaco ou outros narcóticos. Em seus transes os médicos-feiticeiros passavam a controlar os *iamũra* e os poderes peculiares a êsses sêres sobrenaturais.

Finalmente, a vida *post-mortem* dos Bakairi, na grande aldeia de Nakoeri, reflete, como era de esperar-se, a organização de sues aldeias. Transformados em *iamũra* os Bakairi reunem-se aos seus antepassados e velhos amigos; os prazeres de comer e beber não lhes são negados pois êles também sentem fome e sêde, mas êles são agora invulneráveis aos perigos da floresta. Podem êles usar os animais e as plantas, ao seu bel prazer, como envoltórios para seus passeios no ar, nos rios ou na terra.

5:Altenfelder Silva SP7 Bacairi

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ABSTRACT

Certain aspects of the culture of the Bakairi Indians of Mato Grosso are briefly described: their technology, kinship terminology, pantheon, cerimonies, shamanism, treatment of illness, and the series of ritualistic seclusions, or *wanki*, that occur at stated intervals during the life cycle: at birth, at puberty, at death and upon becoming a shaman. Ritualistic seclusion, or *wanki*, is one of the two means employed as defenses against harm of supernatural origin, the other means being shamanism.

6: Oberg E-5 (1947) 1953 SP7 Bacairi

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by

KALERVO OBERG

WITH APPENDIX

ANTHROPOMETRY OF THE UMOTINA, NAMBICUARA, AND IRANXE, WITH COMPARATIVE DATA FROM OTHER NORTHERN MATO GROSSO TRIBES

By MARSHALL T. NEWMAN

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[Title Page]

amáka--hammocks
itabíenli--the ceremony, following childbirth, by means of which a woman is reintegrated into the life of the family and village
itâida--assistant to the village chief
jirâu--the storage space in the center of the house
kadoéti--ceremonial or flute house
kâiko--gourd vessels
komete--collective land clearing
píma--village chief
posegéiro--a period of seclusion at the time of puberty ranging from two months to a year
ransegéro--the ear-piercing ceremony (at puberty)
tadâinpudíli--wrestling matches
tadaunuto--the release from the state of ritual danger (following childbirth, puberty seclusion, etc.)
taséra--the central plaza
toinyaméli--a form of Indian football (soccer)
towise--houses
utanâri--a village
wanki--a state of ritual danger after childbirth, death, puberty, etc.

[P.69-A]

THE BACAIRI

114 This brief account of the Bacairí is based on
[101] field work done among the Bacairí living in the Government Indian Post on the Rio Paranatinga
[121] in June 1947. The field work was carried out in the course of a reconnaissance survey which the writer was then making of some of the central and northern Indian tribes of Mato Grosso.
[122] This and other trips at the time were made in a Ford truck put at the disposal of the writer by the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios. By using a truck the trip to the Paranatinga could be made over the Planalto do Matogrosense in 2 days in contrast to the old route along the Rio Cuiabá which, on horseback with pack oxen, takes from 2 to 3 weeks. The writer was accompanied by Fernando Altenfelder Silva of the Escola de Sociologia e Politica de São Paulo and by Rev. Thomas Young and Rev. W. L. Buckman of the South American Indian Mission. The Reverend Mr.
[115] Young, who has spent more than 10 years among the Bacairí, was of great help in selecting informants and in adding to our knowledge of the Bacairí.

161 According to estimates made in 1947 by the
361 Brazilian Indian Service (Serviço de Proteção aos Indios) there are between 200 and 250 Bacairí living in the northern part of Mato Grosso State, Brazil, divided between the Indian Post of Simão Lopes on the Rio Paranatinga and the village of
173 Rio Novo some distance to the northwest. The
361 Bacairí claim that the whole tribe originally
167 lived together on the Rio Paranatinga (headwaters
[648] of the Tapajoz River), but attacks by other Indians and Brazilians forced them to move about 90 years ago. Owing to a dispute the tribe split, one group moving north to settle on the banks of the Rio Kuliseu, a tributary of the Xingú River, the other moving to Rio Novo. After about 50 years in the Kuliseu Basin, this group moved to the present location of Simão Lopes, not far from the original Bacairí settlement
177 on the Rio Paranatinga. Although the Rio Novo
166 group has adopted Brazilian customs and manages
648 without Government help, some have moved to Simão Lopes where the Bacairí now live on reservation lands and receive assistance from the Brazilian Government.

THE BACAIRI [P. 69-B]

000 101 Brazilian Government. The information presented here was obtained at Simão Lopes from the Bacairí who lived on the Rio Kuliseu and relates to the life that they lived there about 40 years ago.

[197] Linguistically the Bacairí belong to the Carib-speaking family and appear to be closely related culturally to the other Carib-speaking tribes in 142 the Upper Xingú Basin. The Bacairí are short in stature, broad-shouldered and well-built. The head is broad, the nose straight or acquiline, the face narrow, the lips fairly thin. In physical [149] appearance the Bacairí remind one of the Arawak-speaking Paressí, but contrast sharply with the large-framed, coarse-featured Bororo, Umotina, and Guató living in the headwaters of the Paraguay River to the south.

175 131 The Bacairí Indians are first mentioned by Gonçalves da Fonseca in his account of his travels to the Madeira region in 1749. In the atlas of Thomas Jeffry, 1776, the "Bacahyris" are located on the Rio Paranatinga. Ayres de Casal, in 1817, refers to the "Baccahyris" as living in the region around the Rio das Mortes. Martins places them 175 in the headwaters of the Xingú. From 1820 on, 177 more or less permanent contact has been maintained with the Bacairí living on the Rio Novo and Rio Paranatinga. In 1820 a P. Lopez led an expedition in search for gold into the area and [79] with him came priests who began to convert the Bacairí to Christianity. With these contacts came disease and conflicts (Von den Steinen, 1942, p. 123).

175 101 131 361 The first scientific account of the Bacairí dates from the voyage of Von den Steinen down the Xingú River in 1884. Traveling over land from Cuiabá, he and his party reached the Christianized Bacairí living in the villages of Rio Novo and Paranatinga with whose help he continued his voyage down the Batoví River where he was the first to make contact with the four pagan villages of the Bacairí located between latitudes 13°30′ and 12°30′ S.

175 162 The following table gives size and number of inhabitants of the villages visited by Von den Steinen (1942, appendix, table 8, p. 418):

[P.70-A]

	House	Men	Women	Children	Total
175 Rio Novo	6	16	19	20	55
162 Paranatinga	7	6	8	3	17
On Rio Batovi:					
First village	3	10	7	9	26
Second village	4	18	17	7	42
Third village	3	13	12	19	44
Fourth village	7	27	18	8	53
Total	30	90	81	66	237

175 By the time Max Schmidt visited the Bacairí
161 in 1900–1901, the Bacairí settlement had dimin-
[162] ished. On the Paranatinga he met 34 Bacairí
and at Rio Novo, 60. On the Kuliseu River where
[361] Von den Steinen had visited four villages, Max
Schmidt was able to find only two.

ECONOMY

SHELTER

361 While in the Xingú watershed the Bacairí lived in villages built on the banks of the Rio Kuliseu. A village (*utandri*) consisted of three to eight houses (*towisę*) built in a circle around a central
342 plaza, *tasára*. The Bacairí house was a large communal building, oblong in shape, with rounded ends and with the roof thatching reaching to the
[592] ground. These large domelike buildings were occupied by three to five families.

346 In the center of every village there was a ceremonial or flute house (*kadołti*) in which the men kept their ornaments and musical instruments and in which visitors were entertained. Men, women, and children are permitted to enter the *kadołti*. Attached to the common house there was a smaller building, usually oriented in
[534] the direction of the rising sun, in which the sacred
[562] flutes were kept. Women were not permitted to enter this house, as they were not allowed to see
[487] the sacred flutes. The villages were connected by roads running along the river bank.

EQUIPMENT

251 In the center of each house there was a storage space (*jirau*) where maize, manioc meal, and
[415] other foods were kept in gourd vessels (*kdiko*).
343 Cooking was done in a small shed at the back of
264 the house, but food was eaten indoors. Around
352 the walls each family had its hammocks (*amáka*) in which the people slept. Other furnishings of
[415] the house consisted of mats, baskets, clay pots,

352 415 wooden benches, and dishes and cups made from gourds.

484 226 501 396 As the Bacairí were extensive travelers and depended upon fish for a considerable part of their food supply, canoes were an important part of their equipment. The Bacairí canoe (*pépi*) was made from the bark of the jatobá tree. The tough, heavy bark was first stripped from one-half of the tree. Small fires were then lighted on the inside of the bark trough to make it curl. Braces were placed at intervals along the entire length, the bow was tapered, and the stern was squared off by forcing the bark upward at one end. 501 Bacairí canoes varied in size, the larger ones being able to carry as many as 8 men. Canoes of jatobá bark are used by the Bacairí today and are the [171] predominant type among the Indians of the 415 Upper Xingú. The Bacairí also made large [824] tubs out of jatobá bark which were used as settling 252 vessels for manioc juice. The juice of the manioc contains a fine powder or starch which settles on the bottom of the vessel, to be gathered after the 241 liquid is poured off. For gardening, the Bacairí formerly used a digging stick made of hardwood. 411 For hunting, they used a bow (*túka*), round or 824 slightly oval in cross section and from 2 to 2½ meters in length, made from a yellow or reddish wood which was first matured by burying it in mud. The bowstring was made from the fibers of imbauba bark. Arrows (*piréu*) were made from [237] cane with hardwood or bone points. Hunting arrows had two feathers, but arrows used for shooting fish had serrated wooden points and no 412 feathers. The cutting tools of the Bacairí consisted of knives made from bamboo, stone, bones, and 489 shell. Transportation was by canoe, or if over 482 land, goods were carried in a wicker basket supported on the back by a tump line.

ORNAMENTS

291 While living on the banks of the Kuliseu River, [171] the Bacairí, in common with the other Upper Xingú River tribes, did not use clothing. Men sometimes wore a narrow cotton band (*onegín*) around the waist, with a few tassels hanging in front. Women, after puberty, wore the ulurí. 302 Men wore their hair cut short. Women wore their hair long at the back but cut straight across over [412] the forehead. Hair was cut with a knife made [237] by setting sharp fish teeth into a wooden stick,

302 412 and was combed with a comb (*aekáji*) made by weaving slender cane teeth into a cotton holder.

301 237 Although clothing, in the strict sense of the term, was nonexistent, the Bacairí used, on ceremonial occasions, beautiful, skillfully made ornaments. An important ornament was the *orógo*, a diadem or feather headdress strapped to the forehead. The *orógo* was made by fastening a row of green parrot feathers to a cotton band, above which was fastened another row of yellow weaver bird feathers. Two long blue macaw feathers were set in the center so as to stand straight up above the forehead. The *orógo* was worn only by men. These headdresses are still used, for some were seen in the village of Simão Lopes.

There were at least four kinds of necklaces. The *megesduwa* was made from small thin round disks of white or pink snail shell, as many as 400 being strung on a string. This necklace was worn around the neck by women and around the waist by men and girls. The *ikwihéno* was also made from snail shell, but the disks were oblong with holes in both ends through which strings were passed. Although the *ikwihéno* was particularly used by men, women sometimes wore it together with the *megesduwa*. The *sawalápi* was a necklace [P24] made from black disks of tucum palm nut and could be worn by both men and women at all times. Both men and women also wore necklaces made from the teeth or claws of the jaguar called the *dodojéri*. The Bacairí still use the *megesduwa*, *ikwihéno*, and the *sawalápi*.

Besides necklaces, the Bacairí used a variety of other ornaments. The *upauwi* were armlets and anklets of cotton material decorated with feathers of different colors. The armlets, which were about 2 inches wide, were fastened tightly above the [P26] biceps and were believed necessary for the development of the muscle, with similar bands worn below the knee and around the ankles. Both men and women used the bands. An American missionary who experimented with Bacairí arm bands claimed that they caused him a great deal of distress but he has observed no ill effects among the Indians. The *pai* was a feather ear ornament made from red toucan and yellow parrot feathers [304] suspended from the lobes of the ears. Holes in the ears were made with a sharpened jaguar bone or with a sharpened rhea feather. The *tajikaino*, worn only by men, consisted of two blue macaw feathers

301 placed in a hole in the septum of the nose, so that
237 the feathers swung one on each side of the head.
[304] Although the *páiko*, or scratcher, was not strictly
413 an ornament, it is mentioned here because it had
257 ritual meaning. The *páiko* was made by setting fish teeth into a gourd holder and was used for scarifying the skin of the arms, legs, chest, and back so as to cause bleeding. The wounds were first
[752] washed with water and later smeared with the juice of the *mukúna* vine. The *páiko* was used by
[881] boys and girls during puberty seclusion and by adults who had sores on their bodies. It was believed that the use of the *páiko* made people
304 strong and healthy. As far as could be ascertained the Bacairí did not mutilate the teeth, genitals, or other parts of the body. There was no sign of
[302] tattooing, but pubic hair was carefully pulled out by both men and women. Formerly the Bacairí
231 kept large birds, believed to belong to the eagle family, in their villages for their feathers. The Brazilians call the bird "harpía" and claim that it is still kept by the Indians in the Xingú Basin. The "harpía" was captured by shooting it with a blunted arrow, and it was kept in a special hut and fed. Villages often had several of these birds in captivity, the feathers being used particularly for feathering arrows. Parrots and macaws were also kept, their feathers being used only for ceremonial decorations.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

262 Vegetable foods formed the basis of Bacairí diet, with fish and meat taking second and third places.
224 The principal animals hunted were monkeys, deer, wild pigs, tapir, and the jaguar. The jaguar, however, was not eaten, but was hunted for its skin, teeth, and claws. The principal weapon used was the bow and arrow. Hunters would stalk game alone or in groups with the aid of dogs driving game into water or into steep rocky enclosures. There is no mention of the spear being used, but deadfalls and pitfalls were used. Many varieties
226 of large fish were shot with the bow and arrow, either from canoes or from the river bank. Lizards,
222 turtles, and a wide variety of wild fruits, roots, tender shoots, and honey were collected at certain seasons of the year.

241 The major part of the food supply, however, was obtained through agriculture. The Bacairí cultivated bitter manioc, *ópa;* sweet manioc, *taisę́;*

241 beans, *ipié;* peanuts, *oremí;* sweetpotatoes, *mahódo;* "cará," *návi;* maize, *ánji;* potatoes, *múla;* cotton, *kodokíra;* urucú, *ánto;* tobacco, *tauwí;* piqui fruit, *ípa.* Manioc, maize, and sweetpotatoes
248 were the principal food crops. Cotton was grown for making hammocks and the various belts and
276 strings used. Tobacco leaves, after being dried, were smoked by being rolled into cigars (*tapáki*).
[755] Tobacco seems to have had a ritual use, as the shamans smoked heavily before performing a rite.
252 Bitter manioc was shredded on a shredding board into which fish teeth or fine pieces of shell had been embedded. The pulp was squeezed in a piece of cotton cloth in order to remove the poisonous acids. The meal was then used for baking cakes. The fine powder or flour which settled at the bottom of the settling tub was also used for baking cakes after it was thoroughly dried. Maize was eaten boiled or roasted. Sweetpotatoes were
272 roasted over coals. Maize meal was prepared and mixed with wild honey and water to make a nonalcoholic beverage. The Bacairí claim not to have used any form of alcoholic beverage.

241 Cultivated plots were located outside the village, each large household usually having a continuous area. Maize and many other crops were planted in September and October when the rains began. Sweet manioc and sweetpotatoes could be planted the year around, especially on river banks after the rivers went down following the rainy season. April was the harvest month and also the beginning of the ceremonial season.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

592 The occupants of the large communal houses usually worked together in the fields, went hunting or fishing together, and generally cooperated in economic activities. Families could work individually if they wished or did not need the help
241 of others. It was the task of the men to burn and
462 prepare the fields for planting. As the men loosened the soil with the digging stick women planted the seeds, slips, or pieces of stalk, as the case might be. Women and children thereafter took care of the weeding.

462 Division of labor by sex existed to a certain
[285] extent. Women wove mats (*anegéu*) out of various
[286] fibers, and hammocks out of cotton yarn which was also spun by women. Men wove baskets.
[323] Both men and women made clay pots. Bacairí

Bacairí

323 pots are quite distinct from the pottery of the Indians living on the Upper Paraguay River. Bacairí pots are flat-bottomed and have straight vertical walls with everted rims. The pots in common use were, and still are, black in color, unglazed, and undecorated. Some of the pots [532] seen were made in the forms of frogs, turtles, fish, and birds. The Bacairí claim that they [531] formerly had decorated pottery called *amúga*, painted with black, gray, red, and brown designs.

476 The Bacairí also had economic activities in which the whole village, or a number of com-
241 munal houses, participated. The *kometé*, or col-
476 lective land clearing, was one of these. A man would invite a large number of relatives and friends to assist him in clearing a new piece of forest land. The women would participate by pre- [262] paring large amounts of food and honey beverage
423 for the workers. The new field would remain the
476 property of the man who initiated the *kometé*, obligating him to work in return if called upon, but sometimes the group of men who cleared the field would divide it among them.

342 House building was always an enterprise in
476 which the whole village took part. The group that was interested in raising the house cut the beams and poles necessary for the framework and prepared large quantities of food. While a certain number of men began to put up the framework, others went to gather grass for thatching. When they returned with the thatching they put [539] on their ceremonial decorations and danced the *mahulawári* dance. House building was thus not only an economic act but also a ceremonial occasion.

286 Hammock weaving was, at times, a collective
476 enterprise. A woman with a larger than usual cotton crop distributed cotton among her friends and when the work was completed she organized a feast and dance.

437 Ceremonial trading expeditions (*tulíki*) were
628 organized by the chief of the village. During
574 the rainy seasons, when the rivers were high and canoe travel easy, the men of a village would [622] collect whatever excess goods they had, such as bows, baskets, ornaments, hammocks, and even food, and would go to a neighboring village where the chief would receive them before the ceremonial house. The two chiefs would then supervise the exchange of commodities. After the trading was

[P. 73-A] After the trading war

437 over the chiefs organized wrestling matches be-
628 tween teams of the two villages. Before the
574 visitors left, a feast (*tuláki*, swallow feast) was
[526] given in their honor. The motives for these trading expeditions were both economic and ceremonial. They were organized by a chief when the villagers actually required certain economic goods, but even when there was no economic need, goods were exchanged and the men of the two villages participated in wrestling, dancing, and feasting.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

181 The Bacairí claim not to have been a warlike
721 people. They defended themselves if attacked, but say that they did not attack others. Each village had a chief (*píma*) who was assisted by an
622 *itáida*. There was no chief for the whole tribe.
624 The *itáida*, who was a young man, was selected by the chief with the consent of the villagers. The *itáida* could be the son of the chief but this is not a requirement, for any able young man was eligible for this position. At the death of the chief the *itáida* succeeded him.

622 The principal functions of the chief were economic, judicial, and ceremonial. As we have seen, the chief organized trading expeditions and participated in such activities as collective planting and house building. He also represented the people of his village when visitors arrived or when his own village made formal visits. If the
[624] village feared attack the *píma* selected a particularly brave man to lead the defense or to under-
[622] take retaliation. Discussions concerning disputes and other village affairs took place in the
[682] ceremonial bouse. Murderers were exiled or if a war was on the murderer was made to bear the
[68] brunt of the attack. Thieves, adulterers, and others who persisted in disturbing the peace and harmony of the village were exiled through the
[681] common action of the villagers. Exile was con-
[762] sidered severe punishment, for the Bacairí say that individuals who were exiled often committed suicide. Chiefs among the Bacairí, therefore, were not war leaders, nor was succession governed by descent. Chiefs seem, thus, to have been primarily leaders of social activities. The part which a chief played in ceremonial life will be described later.

61 There appears to be no evidence that the Bacairí
601 had clans or moieties. The kinship nomenclature is of the bifurcate merging type with parallel kin merged with lineal kin and with separate terms for mother's brother and father's sister and for cross cousins. (See chart 3.) The kinship terms in ego's generation and in the children's generation are dis-
582 tinct for men and women. Beyond the bar prohibiting marriage between anyone called brother, sister, parent, or child, there were no special rules governing marriage. Cross-cousin marriage was
591 common but not preferred. There were no resi-
606 dence rules or avoidances of the mother-in-law or father-in-law. As the Bacairí lived in large com-
592 munal houses, marriages often took place between
[582] young people brought up in the same house. After
[591] marriage they would take over a section of the house as their private quarters. The Bacairí say that families could move to another house with the
595 consent of the house elder. Although polygyny was permissible marriages were generally monog-
593 amous. The father and the father's brother had
604 great authority and were highly respected. Younger brothers were not permitted to joke or play rough with their eldest brother. The mother's brother and father's sister were also respected but
593 less than the eldest brother. The relationship
835 between brothers and sisters was one of great respect, the informant saying that incest was unthinkable.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH (ERASÊLLI)

843 Pregnancy (*enokúa*) was recognized as being
[842] caused by sexual intercourse. In advanced pregnancy a woman was not permitted to eat the flesh of such large animals as deer, capybara, or
844 tapir. When the time of delivery drew near a portion of the house was screened off, where the woman gave birth and remained secluded until the normal menses began. The expectant mother was assisted by her mother and other female relatives,
[256] a shaman being called only in cases of difficult birth.

A woman gave birth in a squatting position, the midwife holding her under the arms and gently pressing her stomach. Sometimes the stomach and back of the woman were bathed with poultices made from boiled cotton leaves. It was the duty of the woman's mother to cut the umbilical cord

844 with a bamboo sliver. The placenta was wrapped in a piece of cotton cloth and buried because it was believed that if it were picked at by birds it would cause sickness and misfortune to the mother and child. The child was then washed, wrapped, [553] and given to the mother. Later it was given the name of one of its ancestors.

846 During the seclusion period the mother and child were believed to be in a state of ritual danger (uzuki). They were not permitted to go out in daylight and had to be fed and cared for by the female relatives. The first menses released the mother and child from seclusion, this release being known as tadawuito. Shortly afterward the father invited the villagers to a ceremony (itubiesik) [533] during which the nokipóre and tadíawa flutes were [535] played and only the women danced. By means of this ceremony the mother was reintegrated into the life of the family and the village.

857 After 3 years of age both boys and girls began to 868 copy their elders, the boys playing with bows and arrows and the girls with spindles. By the time the boys and girls reached puberty they knew how to perform most adult activities.

PUBERTY RITES

881 When the girls had their first menses and the boys reached the age of 13 or 14, they had to go into seclusion (poserpíro) for a period of 2 months to a year. It was believed that the longer the young people stayed in seclusion the stronger they would become physically. The longer periods of seclusion were also believed to enhance the prestige of the family. The boys and girls were not permitted to come out in daylight, and were fed and cared for by their parents. While the boys and girls were in seclusion they made pots and baskets for family use.

889 With boys the seclusion was inaugurated by an 304 ear-piercing ceremony. A number of men with sons of about the same age would perform this rite collectively before invited guests. After eating [535] and drinking, the poisuéito song and dance were performed. The boys were now in a state of uzuki, ritual danger, and were secluded immediately after this rite. The girls' ears were pierced when they were babies, but the ear piercing of the boys corresponded to the period of the first menses of the girls.

[P.74-B]

881 The release from seclusion was signalized by the feast of tadowaiti. The parents of the young people accumulated much food and went on a big hunt on the day before the feast. The chief and all the villagers were invited to the ceremony during which all the Bacairi songs and dances were performed and the young people were presented gifts by the villagers. The girls would now take the strings of beads from around their waists and wear them around their necks and their mothers would give them cotton cords which they put around their hips and to which the aturi were attached. The boys and girls were now eligible for marriage.

[558] [559] [401] [301] [291] [512]

MARRIAGE (TODOHOKÜINLE)

584 Marriages were arranged by parents or by older brothers or sisters. The father and mother of the boy, for instance, would take presents of ornaments and food to the parents of the girl. If the parents of the girl accepted the gifts it meant that they favored the marriage, and if they refused it meant that the suitor was not acceptable. The marriage ceremony took place in the girl's home, the date being arranged by the parents. At the girl's house the young couple were seated side by side with linked arms. They were then given advice by their respective parents and relatives. Marriage was not considered a period of ritual danger, nor were extensive feasts given. It appears to have been an affair involving only the families of the young couple.

585

BURIAL (EPIODÍLE)

764 The body was painted, ornaments were put on, and then the body was wrapped in a hammock and buried in a grave with the feet to the east so that the face would be toward the rising sun.

768 Although old and worn objects were burnt, most of the property of the dead was shared among the relatives. The part of the house occupied by the dead person was washed, and clean sand was sprinkled on the floor. There was a mourning period (*logéne*) of 1 month, during which the immediate relatives were in a state of uduki.[1]

765

SHAMANISM

775 When a person died, the ghost (*kodipe*) went into the sky or into the water or sometimes wandered upon the earth. Ghosts of the dead often

[1] [ie. a state of ritual danger]

735 came back to the village to play tricks on people. The Bacairi did not believe that the ghosts of the dead caused death and, therefore, were not afraid 736 of them. They were, however, afraid of certain 761 evil spirits—for instance, *erudupire*, who caused 733 death and sickness.

756 To become a shaman (*pidji*), a young unmarried man would train with an old shaman for a period of 6 months to a year. During this period [745] sexual intercourse was forbidden, fasts were periodically observed, and the novice had to abstain from eating meat. Much of the training took place in the woods, where the old shaman would [755] teach the novice the curative properties of roots and herbs and, also, how to get in touch with the 756 ghosts of dead shamans. The training would be 757 complete when the novice acquired his own spirit [775] helper, which was always the ghost of a dead shaman. Sometimes the revelation was so powerful that the young novice would fall to the ground in a trance. The spirit that then appeared to him instructed him how to make a flute (either [534] *emini* or *kanapire*), which he kept in the sacred flute house, and gave him a special tune by which he could always call his spirit helper. The novice had then to prove himself by curing some sick person or by finding lost property. If he were successful he became a recognized shaman.

756 Before beginning a performance, shamans al- 765 ways fasted for several days and smoked heavily. In curing a sick person the shaman asked his spirit helper for instructions which usually were explanations of how to remove objects from the body which caused the illness. Besides removing 758 objects from the body the shamans prepared med- 757 icines. Headaches and pains in the body were cured by juice of the *pendire* tuber, and *tarapi* leaves were used for pains in the chest. For [765] healing the wounds made by the scratcher the juice made by boiling the *kawaddai* plant was used. The Bacairi also prepared aphrodisiacs [765] from the *kutdiae* plant and by mixing piqui nuts, honey, and turtle eggs.

GAMES

526 The Bacairi played, and still play, a form of Indian football called *tsiapendi*. The ball (*tsia*) [534] was made by covering a round gourd with native rubber, leaving a small opening. The gourd was

526 then crushed, the pieces were taken out through the hole, air was blown into the ball, and the hole was covered over with rubber. The balls varied in size from 3 to 8 inches in diameter. The game was played on a field about 50 yards square with four goals placed midway on each of the four sides. Small white circles (*skipiri*) marked the goals, and another circle about a yard in diameter (*petiri*) was placed in the center of the field.

The game was played by two teams with equal but varying numbers on each side. One team, called *pidto*, had the north and east goals, and the other team, called *tsafundo*, had the south and west goals. To score a point a team had to put the ball across the opponent's goal. The ball could not be carried in the hand but could be kicked over the goalkeeper. Each side had a leader who did not play but encouraged his players. The organizer of the game threw the ball from the center of the field to the *pidto* side at the beginning of the game or when the ball went out of bounds. The game lasted until the players were tired, the winners being the team with the greater number of points.

The Bacairi also organized wrestling matches called *taddinpudlli*. The object of the match was to knock down the opponent by pushing or hitting with the shoulders; grasping or hitting with the hands was not allowed. The loser was the one who had the greater number of falls.

CEREMONIALISM

527 Among the Bacairi ceremonialism was highly
796 developed. Although songs and dances were performed whenever the people had an abundance of food and economic activities permitted the leisure time, there were special occasions (the ripening of corn, ear piercing of boys preparatory to going into seclusion, the coming out of seclusion of a woman after childbirth, house building, the distribution of cotton by women) during which particular songs and dances had to be performed. At these times it was customary to invite people from neighboring villages to participate in the festivities.

534 The musical instruments of the Bacairi consisted of rattles and flutes. The drum does not appear to have been used. Rattles were of two kinds: the common gourd rattle (*pdlo*) and piqui

534 nut hulls tied together and fastened to the ankles of the dancers. There were at least four kinds of flutes. The *emíni* flute was made from two pieces of soft sapling hollowed out and fastened together with wax and string. This flute was about 3 feet long with four finger holes and a separate mouthpiece. The *kanagéra* flute was made like the *emíni* but was shorter and had a different sound. Both the *emíni* and the *kanagéra* were sacred flutes of the shamans and were always kept in the sacred flute house connected to the *kadoéti* where they were played only at night so as to prevent women from seeing them. If a woman were to see one of these flutes, misfortune would befall her. When the sacred flutes were played there was dancing but no singing. The *tadánwa* was a bamboo flute made in five different lengths without finger holes and was not sacred. The *nokigóra* was made by fastening four short tubes of bamboo of different lengths together. It was played in pairs, one player answering the other. This flute was not sacred and could be accompanied by singing. In addition to the rattles and flutes, the Bacairí used highly decorated sticks or batons called *kadóapurí* in some of their dances.

533 Besides the flutes and the dances performed to 535 their tunes, the Bacairí had songs and their corresponding dances which were not always accompanied by flute music; for instance, the *ortko* was a song and a dance performed with the decorated batons which could be performed at any time; the *pakoewáto*, another general song and dance which also could be performed at any time; the *yawaisári*, the corn song and dance in which neither the flutes nor batons were used; the *mahulawári*, performed during the house building ceremony without batons or flutes; and the *poinwáto*, sung and danced during the boys' ear piercing ceremony.

527 One of the most important ceremonial events of the year was the annual corn dance (*anjéintabtenli*), which was performed when the corn ripened in the fields. The man who had the largest corn crop was the organizer of the ceremony. In order to have enough corn, the Bacairí usually planted special fields, the yields of which were used on this occasion. On the day before the corn gathering all the men went on a big hunt in order to have large quantities of meat ready for the feast. Early in the morning of the following day everyone went out to the fields to

527 gather the ceremonial corn. Later in the day the women prepared large quantities of corn porridge and roasted ears.

On the morning of the third day the actual ceremony began in front of the *kadoiti*. The organizer of the dance distributed roasted ears or pieces of ears to all the villagers, children included. Then at a signal from the leader, the villagers began throwing the roasted corn in all directions and at one another. After the roasted corn was [262] disposed of, the people ate the corn porridge and meat prepared on the preceding day. They then washed themselves in the river and put on their paint and ornaments. When the villagers had again gathered before the *kadoiti* the dance leader took a piece of corn husk and went from man 527 to man asking for a song leader. The man who 533 took the offered corn husk then began the *yaweiadri*, or song in praise of corn. Little by little the others joined in the singing and eventually began to dance. The words of the song told how corn came to the Bacairi and how it made the people strong and healthy.

881 The *ranaegiro*, or ear-piercing ceremony, was 304 performed just before a boy went into puberty seclusion. It was customary for men who had sons of about the same age to cooperate in getting large quantities of food ready for the feast. After the feast was over the ears of the boys were pierced [533] and the *poiaudo* song was sung. When boys and girls came out of seclusion there was another ceremony during which all the songs and dances were performed with the exception of the sacred flute tunes.

342 The *mahulowdri* was performed during coopera- 476 tive house building in which the whole village participated. While the women prepared food and some men were putting up the frame, a certain [824] number of men went in search of palm fronds for thatching. When these men returned with the palm fronds they danced and sang before the new house with their loads on their backs and in full ceremonial regalia.

286 The custom of distributing cotton by a woman 577 with a good cotton crop and having other women weave hammocks for her has already been mentioned. When the women had completed their weaving and returned the hammocks to the donor of the cotton, she gave a feast during which the [533] women sang and danced the *yawalirina*. This

284 574 535 dance was given at night accompanied by flute playing.

When a woman came out of seclusion after the 548 535 birth of a child the women of the village danced 573 to the tunes of the *toddzuze* and *nokipóre* flutes.

ORIGIN MYTHS

773 [126] Although the Bacairí have many myths, only two were obtained. One of these is the *yemadilli*, or the origin of day: In the beginning it was so dark and cold in the world that the people had to cover their bodies with grease to keep warm. The people wanted the sun to come out, so they put on their ornaments and painted their bodies and began to pray to *orimóto*, the great spirit who lived in the north. The Bacairí believed that *orimóto* was not an Indian but just a man who lived in a stone house with some of the animals which he had created. The people continued praying to *orimóto* and when light finally came the people were old and the children had grown up.

Fewitihodike, or "those who died in the fire," is a story which tells about the origin of cultivated plants and the *pewiedri*, or corn dance: Once long ago there were a number of boys who were in puberty seclusion. At that time there were no cultivated plants, the people living by hunting and collecting wild plant foods. The boys were kept in seclusion so long and had so little to eat that they became very tired. One day when the relatives of the boys went out to collect food the boys all committed suicide. When the relatives returned and found the boys dead they were sorry and angry with themselves for neglecting them. They built a large fire and after dancing around the fire naked they jumped into the flames and were burned to death. The leader of this act was *pewiti*. Later the soul of *pewiti* returned and spoke through one of the living Indians. He explained to the Indians how to grow corn and other food crops and how to perform the corn dance. After that the corn dance (*pewiedri*) has always been performed.

773 171 [127] As the Bacairí formerly lived in association with the other Upper Xingú tribes, it is perhaps useful to compare their following origin myths as gathered by Von den Steinen with those of the Camayurá. There appears to be a close resemblance between *Kawaschini* of the Bacairí and

773 171 Mavutsiné of the Camayurá. Both are original personages. It is also interesting to note that the Bacairí myth speaks of a time when there was maize but no manioc. Camayurá legends speak of the origin of manioc only. All the tribes are made from uba cane. The Camayurá, as we noted, were made by Mavutsiné from *camiuwa* wood.

539 *The Parents of Keri and Kame.* The first part of this legend takes place in heaven. At that time there was almost everything that there is on earth today. They tell nothing of their own creation, they narrate only how it is that the heroes Keri and Kame obtain of other personages a part of the useful and important things. The Bakairí always existed, even if "in the beginning there were only a few." There were also other people that were not Bakairí, chiefly the different jaguar tribes and their relatives, who killed and ate many Bakairí. Kamuschiní, with whom the story begins, also was "of another people."

Kamuschiní went into the forest in search of tucum palm leaves to make bowstrings, where he met the jaguar Oka, whom he feared very much, and promised to get him some women if he were spared. First he felled red wood trees (*sewéti*), took the logs home, put them in a maize mortar, blew on them, and went away for a little while. But when he returned all the logs had turned into men who were busy making arrows. He killed them and went to fell five or six trees of another species which he handled as he had the other ones.

Returning, after a short absence, he saw that this time the trees had turned into women. They all called him "papa" and—with the exception of the last two, who, remaining seated without moving, infuriated him and he killed them immediately [a]—were busily grinding maize—"they say that at that time there was no manioc"—to make beijús and drinks. Kamuschiní gave the two eldest ones, Nimagakaniro and Ichoge, to the jaguar Oka, who took them home. On the way, however, Ichoge, climbing a burity palm for nuts, fell to the ground and died.

Nimagakaniro swallowed two Bakairí finger bones, which were spread around the house in great numbers as Oka used them to make arrowheads with which he killed many Bakairí, whose flesh he ate. It was due to these bones, only these, not Oka, which made her pregnant. Now, however, destiny threatened her in the person of her mother-in-law, Mero. Her husband is not known and besides Oka she had two other jaguar sons, Kuára

[114] [a] I obtained the names of five women: Nimagakaniro, Atanumagale, Ichoge, Koyaka, and Tawaguri. In my Bakairí grammar, p. 238, I erroneously wrote that Kamuschiní felled five piqui trees and committed the injustice of attributing to him a mistake. The name Ichoge contains *ipé* piqui (*ité* - *pe*, with piqui). Tawaguri also is the name of a tree, of which the two lazy ones were made, in Portuguese it is called "olho de Boi" (bull's eye). Koyaka (*koyá-ka*, with *koyá?*) grew out of a tree with rough bark and yellow fruit. About Atanumagale's tree origin Antonio could give no further information. Both she and Koyaka were also wives and mothers of jaguars, although this information is given as uncertain. Later on Atanumagale is designated as the wife of Kuára, Mero's son.

539 and Zuapányua. One day Mero visited her daughter-in-law while Oka was out hunting; "she did not want him to have sons by a Bakairí woman," because she hated and ate them. With her claws she tore out Nimagakaniro's eyes and went away. Nimagakaniro died, but uncle Kuára—a jaguar, who in heaven practices the "Caesarian operation" on a dead woman—opened her womb and took out the twins Keri and Kame whom he put in a calabash like young parrots. Then he and his men cut Nimagakaniro into pieces, roasted and ate her. When Oka came home, they offered him the leftovers which he ate unsuspectingly. After he heard what had happened, Oka became very angry and ran to kill Mero but desisted when she said "I am your mother." A jaguar foster father raised Keri and Kame; he let them ride on his back and taught them to shoot with arrows. One day they asked him about their mother; he had not told them about her death because he was ashamed to have eaten of her flesh, and even then he did not tell them. However, their grandmother, or Aunt Ewaki, who belonged to the Bakairí race, and who is mentioned here for the first time, told the two about Mero's crime. Keri and Kame went and killed Mero although she received them kindly, greeting them, "Oh, my grandsons."

"Damned Mero (Antonio hated her with all his heart) was not buried, oh, no, she was burned." Keri and Kame made a stake, lighted it, then they dug a hole from where they could watch. Mero burned *bopopopo* . . . The fire can still be seen today in the big Magalhães cloud. At that time Keri and Kame did not yet have human form. Kame was curious and crawled out of his hole and caught on fire. He burned and died. Keri blew on him and made him a nose and hands and feet as men have. But Keri too caught on fire (the small Magalhães cloud is the fire of Keri and Kame), burned and died. Kame blew on him making life return to him and gave him a human form. Then there came three animals which can still be seen in the sky, the small otter which took Keri and Kame's tails, the big otter (ariranha) who took their hands and feet, and the toucan took their beaks. Keri's beak was bigger than Kame's.

Now the two appeared in human form and began, shortly, their activities in benefit of the living. But then what did Kamuschiní, Mero and Oka look like? "Oka is the spotted jaguar?" "Yes." "And he shot with arrows?" "Yes, then the Jaguar shot with arrows." "He shot the Bakairí and ate them." Mero had some resemblance to the jaó (*Crypturus noctivagus*) and the macuco (*Tinamus brasiliensis*), two gallinaceous birds. But her claws were as big as thumbs. "Then the mother of the jaguars was a bird?" "Yes, they say that even today the jaguars will not eat jaó nor macuco." This again is a typical Indian reason for an absurd relationship between the jaguar and the wild forest hens. Should there be a historical reason it is inseparably amalgamated with the zoological one. "Mero ate so many Bakairí, that hardly any were left. Keri had to make new ones."

Kamuschiní is also connected with animal life and although we can conceive his story in heaven we need an even greater imagination to understand it. He "is black,

539 has sparse hair, and makes threads like a spider." "Spiders come every year in July and breed; in August and September, when the rains come, they make threads and go up to heaven leaving the thread hanging down behind them."

Keri and Kame now have human forms. Now also they avenge the death of their mother on their foster father. But they do not dare do it and want others to do it for them. They ask the jaguar to make arrows for them. The two brothers put these upright in the ground in a circle and blow on them. "Thus came" the Kayabí, neighbors of the Paranatinga Bakairí, who, so we are told, lived in peace with one another in former times but became deadly enemies because of stone axes and women. The arrows, which the jaguar made for Keri and Kame and to which by magic, they added the Kayabí; were stems of burity leaves, for at that time Keri and Kame were still children and used children's arrows. Keri told the Kayabí to shoot Oka but they missed him. In view of this, Keri resolved to shoot him; the arrow went into the jaguar's knee, "the jaguar jumped into the water and escaped." The myth then says simply that "then they killed their father," but Antonio added "if the jaguar had been killed there would not be any today."

The Sun. Then, Ewaki, the aunt of Keri and Kame, ordered them to get the sun, who was kept by the red urubú or urubú-rei (vulture.) Everything that was told up to now took place during the night before the urubú-rei came. In the zenith there was a red hole which belonged to the urubús. Because it was a dark night, the tapir, which can be seen in the Milky Way, fell into the hole. Keri saw the tapir and went in as his paw.[44] Kame, however, went in as a small yellow singing bird, which resembles the bemteví, and sat on a branch from where he would be able to inform Keri, who could not see, of all that happened. The red urubú opened the sun, it became light and the urubús discovered the tapir. All the urubús, black ones and white ones—only the red one still stayed at a distance—attacked the tapir. They brought cipó cords, with which, after much work, they pulled him out of the hole. Then they wanted to cut him up. At that moment, Kame, who saw everything from his branch, sang "nem, nem, nem". Keri blew and the urubús could not open the tapir with their beaks. They asked the urubú-rei to help them. When he came near Kame stopped saying "nem, nem, nem". The urubú-rei opened the tapir with his beak but at that moment Keri attacked him and held him so firmly that he nearly killed him. Keri told him he would let him live if he would give up the sun. Then the urubú-rei sent his brother, the white urubú, to bring the sun. The white urubú returned, bringing the red of the sunset. "Is this right," Kame asked Keri who had to hold the urubú-rei. "No, it was not the red of the sunset that I asked for," replied Keri. Then the white urubú brought the moon. "Is this right?" asked Kame. "Of course not!" replied Keri. Then the white urubú brought the sun and when Kame asked

[44] Old Caetano told me that Keri made the tapir of áka, a wood as soft a manioc, and then he made small flies which caused the tapir to small bad so that the urubú would be attracted.

539 again "Is this right?" Keri responded "Now it is." Then Keri let go the red urubú who was furious.

At that time the moon was made of japú feathers, the sun of toucan and red arara feathers and the red of the sunset of toucan feathers. This was what the ancient ones were taught. If it is different now, as you say, I know nothing about it, nor does anyone else. Then someone had to blow in order to make the sun turn to fire.

Keri thought for a long time about what he should do with the sun and the moon. It was always day. Ewaki, also, could not tell him what to do. At last he made a big pot and put it over them. Then it was dark. Keri gave the moon to Kame. When he took away the pot it was day. . . .

Sleep and Burity Hammocks. I do not know if the necessity to sleep manifested itself with the long continuation of clear irradiation by the sun when it was still uncovered, but in any case Keri and Kame wanted badly to sleep, but they did not know how. Discontented, they went to find Ewaki, their always well-informed aunt, who told them where they could find sleep. Po, the lizard, owned sleep. He received Keri and Kame kindly and said, "Oh, my grandsons." They stayed at his house and lay in a hammock of burity and slept. When they awoke, they felt better. The next morning they said goodby and went away taking the hammock which the lizard had given them.[46] On the road, after they had walked a league, they wanted to try to sleep. They lay down in the hammock but were not able to sleep. They tried and tried in vain. They returned then to the lizard's house, they caught him and pulled out his eyelids, of which they took a very large piece. The lizard became very angry but Keri and Kame now had eyelids and were able to sleep.

Exchange of Heaven and Earth. It was also at that time that Keri left the heaven. "At first the earth was heaven; here, where we are now, the Bakairí were not born. The heaven has a floor, the [illegible] as the earth. Heaven and earth are very close to one another; from there one can cross over to here." Keri said to heaven, "You should not stay here. My people die here. And you want to stay here? You are good. But I do not want my people to die." Heaven responded, "I want to stay here." Keri said then, "Then I move." He went with all the people to the earth and the heaven went there where it is now, and where today one is able to see that everything happened as the Bakairí say.

Fire. Keri and Kame went to Ewaki who sent them to go and get fire. The fox owned the fire. He had it in his eyes where it gave a leap when he wanted to light a fire. The fox (*Canis vetulus* "catches crayfish and crabs," Brehm *Saugeterie II* S. 57) had put out a bow-net to catch fish. Keri and Kame went there and found in the bow-net a "jejum" fish and a snail. Keri entered the "jejum" (a smooth lake fish about 4 inches long) and Kame entered the shell. "Each was well hidden in his animal." The fox came, singing, and made a fire. Then he went to see

[46] Another time I was told that before there were hammocks, people slept standing up, leaning against trees. Protection against snakes and malignant insects is really one of the greatest advantages of the hammock.

[32 P.25]

539 what was in the net and took the fish and the shell putting them on the fire to roast. But the two brothers poured water on the fire. Furious, the fox picked up the snail, but it jumped into the river and brought more water, poured it on the fire almost extinguishing it. The fox caught him again and wanted to cut him into pieces on a piece of wood, but the snail escaped to the other side. With this, the fox lost patience, and went away very angry. Keri and Kame blew on the almost extinct fire and took it to Ewaki.

Rivers. Ewaki sent the two boys to get some water. They wandered about for 3 days. There they found three pots which belonged to Ochobi, a watersnake. There was water in the pots; two of them contained good water, but the third, bad water, which one could not drink without dying. They did not touch this third pot, because they only wanted good water. They broke the other two pots, the water which flowed from one was the Paranatinga, and of the other, the Ronuro and Kuliseu.[48] Keri took care of the Paranatinga, and Kame of the Ronuro. Both rivers continued to flow and Keri and Kame ran each after his river; they each called to the other, so that they would not get lost. Suddenly Kame's voice could no longer be heard. Keri shouted and shouted, but no answer came. Then he made the Paranatinga stand still and wait, and went to the Ronuro. Silly Kame had chosen the worse river, and could not master it, the water had spread and grown and Kame was drowned. An enormous jahú fish swallowed him. Keri came and found the Ronuro standing still, Kame having disappeared. At once he began to fish, he caught three jahús, one of which was swollen. He opened his belly and saw Kame, who was dead. He laid the corpse on big green leaves and blew on it. Kame got up and said "I slept very well." "No" exclaimed Keri, "You certainly did not sleep. A jahú devoured you." They were bored with the Ronuro and so Keri called a duck and told her to lead the water on. Thus the duck conducted the river farther on and the two boys—who, then, were about 8 years old, as Antonio ascertained, comparing them with the son of a German whom we had met in Cuiabá—returned to the Paranatinga, which was patiently waiting. Keri said, "This is the water which we shall take along."

For three days they walked on with the river toward the valley. Then they came to the fall of the Paranatinga, which was not yet a waterfall but only a dry rock. They took the water up to the falls and then let it wait on the other side. As they wanted to stay where they were, Keri called ducks and pigeons and other birds, which took the water forward.

House, Fishing, Ceremonial Dances, Tribes. The reason why they stayed at the waterfall was because Tumehi or Tumeng, a grandfather of Keri, lived there. He was the husband of the grandmother, or as we have called her up to now Aunt Ewaki (mother and aunt, great-aunt and grandmother have the same value in kinship relationships). Tumehi was a bat and had a gray-black skin. Old Caetano referred to him sometimes as Semimo (Bak. *semimo*

[48] In the myth, only the Ronuro is mentioned, but Antonio added "that was the water of the Kulisen River."

539 morcego) and sometimes as King of the Congo. The latter expression the old man had heard from the fugitive slaves or farm workers and applied it to the black Tumehi. Tumehi belongs to the oldest kinship group just as Kamuschiní, Mero and Ewaki and probably his real name is Semimo, since *tumehi* and *tumeng* are adjectives. Before the water reached the falls, this was his stone house; it is not astonishing that the bat should be considered the builder of clefts, as it prefers these clefts for its "habitat" and that these with one or the other outstanding rock above them be considered a house. Tumehi was also a mason.

Keri and Kame asked Tumehi to build a stone house for each of them. Tumehi, in order to obtain stones, blew on termites: it was thus that stones originated.

They also learned other things from Tumehi at the waterfall. The grandfather, rich in knowledge, showed them how to make and lay out bow-nets and how to catch fish, matrinchã, in them. He taught them, also, how to make a grill to roast the fish.

Keri and Kame had now come so far that they might be taken for adult men, they had obtained everything they needed: the sun and the moon, the hammock and sleep, the fire, the best river with a waterfall and fish, houses and fireplaces. Their life had started in heaven and is told up to the time when the real history of the tribe begins in the oldest Bakairí settlement near the Paranatinga Falls.

The Bakairí lived with Keri: his house was on the east side of the falls. They made a hill on the western side from where they could overlook the whole area. First, Kame built a ceremonial hut and a flute. He invited Keri and his people. Everyone danced to the tune of the flute, stamping with their feet and shaking their arms in response to the music, marching from their houses to the flute house and back again. Kame offered his guests pogu and beijús. In exchange they gave him arrows and cotton thread.

After this, Keri also called his people together for a dance; they danced and drank pogu in the afternoon in the big square, which still can be seen near the falls; then they made garments of burity, makanari and imiga, shook their rattles and played the flute. Now Keri, too, could invite Kame and his people. Many of them came and Keri was the owner of the imeo dance, which lasts two days and nights, refreshing themselves in the morning with a bath in the river.

But because of the people the brothers began to fight during the dance. Keri had made many Bakairí of ubá cane, whereas Kame had made none. Keri blamed him for his laziness; they quarreled and Kame, the weaker one, fled. He escaped to the southwest, made a hill at the Beijaflor River, a left tributary of the Paranatinga, and there he made the tribes: Apiaká, Paressí, and Guaná. It is very interesting to note that the Guaná are also mentioned here, being a widely spread tribe, from Paraguay, of whose existence, in this part of the country nobody had heard; a very, very long time ago, they also lived along the Beijaflor River.

Keri climbed a hill at the Paranatinga and from there he could see the smoke far away. He went to visit Kame

539 and there found many, many people. He scolded Kame, furiously, "Why did you make so many people?" Once again they began to quarrel, but Kame abandoned the Paressí with whom he was living, and returned with Keri to the falls. Within a short time a new misunderstanding arose because of the people. Keri had made more, and Kame escaped, but this time to the Arinos. Keri looked for him, found him and brought him back again to the Paranatinga Falls. It seems that these fights and wanderings are narrated to give both of them the possibility to create a number of different tribes, which live at great distances. Keri created the Bakairí, Kayabí, Bororó, Nahuquá and Mehinakú; and Kame the Apiaká, Paressí, Guaná, Maué, Suyá, Mundurukú, and all "Arinos tribes." I have already given consideration to the fact that all eastern tribes may be assigned to Keri and all western ones to Kame (. . .) and mentioned that there exists a difference between sun-east and moon-west and that Keri, although his name in Arawak means moon, really should be taken as chief of the eastern tribes (. . .) as the Bakairí hero with his moon name, which he received from Arawak women, naturally would be the owner of the sun-east, for the Bakairí. All tribes were made out of reeds, of which arrows are made, and the Portuguese of a dark kind of the color of a gun stock. In the first place, Keri, of course, gave the gun to the Bakairí, but they did not know how to handle it, one shot past another person's ear. They were so scared of shooting as "we saw among the people on the Kuliseu." Then Keri gave the gun to the Caraibas.

Parting of Keri and Kame. Keri and Kame leave the falls and Keri names Arimoto chief of the remaining Bakairí. Arimoto was also born at the Falls. This chief abused his position and killed many Bakairí. "Was he not himself a Bakairí?" I asked. "Probably but he was a vile scoundrel. Had he been good, his descendants would still be the chiefs of the Bakairí." This time Keri and Kame went to the Kuliseu. The Bakairí, in great need, followed them and accused Arimoto. Keri and Kame returned at once, killed the traitor who defended himself violently and tried to kill Keri.

This is the end of the deeds of Keri and Kame, according to the principal myth. They left the Bakairí with many matrinchãs and went up the hill, from where they once more answered the wildly crying Bakairí and then "went along the trail. No one knows where they went. The ancient ones did not know where they had gone. Today we know much less where they went."

Even though the myth has such a tragic ending, the people had their own opinion about it. Tumehi—not to forget the old bat—left together with Keri. What happened to Kame? "He was always together with Keri. Perhaps he is dead now." And Keri? The divine ancient Caetano, who could adjust himself excellently to new conditions, declared that Keri was the Emperor in Rio de Janeiro, D. Pedro II. The good Bakairí patiently answered all my innumerable questions, because I had told them that I had to report everything to the emperor. And this was of great importance to them. I inquired "and what if the emperor in Rio de Janeiro should die?" "If the

539 emperor die, then all Bakairí will die too." was the answer, which fortunately, in the meantime, proved to be wrong.

Chief Felipe gave me a different account. "Keri went with a hundred men to the Ronuro and Kuliseu. He sailed down the river into the ocean. This the people at the Batoví also say."

Antonio believed in the text of the myths as he had

539 learned it from his mother. But in a different context he maintained that Keri lived in heaven, his house being there where the sun rose. "Is Keri the god about whom the Portuguese told you?" "No, that is somebody else, about whom we do not know anything. Keri is the grandfather of the Bakairí [Von den Steinen, 1894, ch. 13, pp. 373–381].

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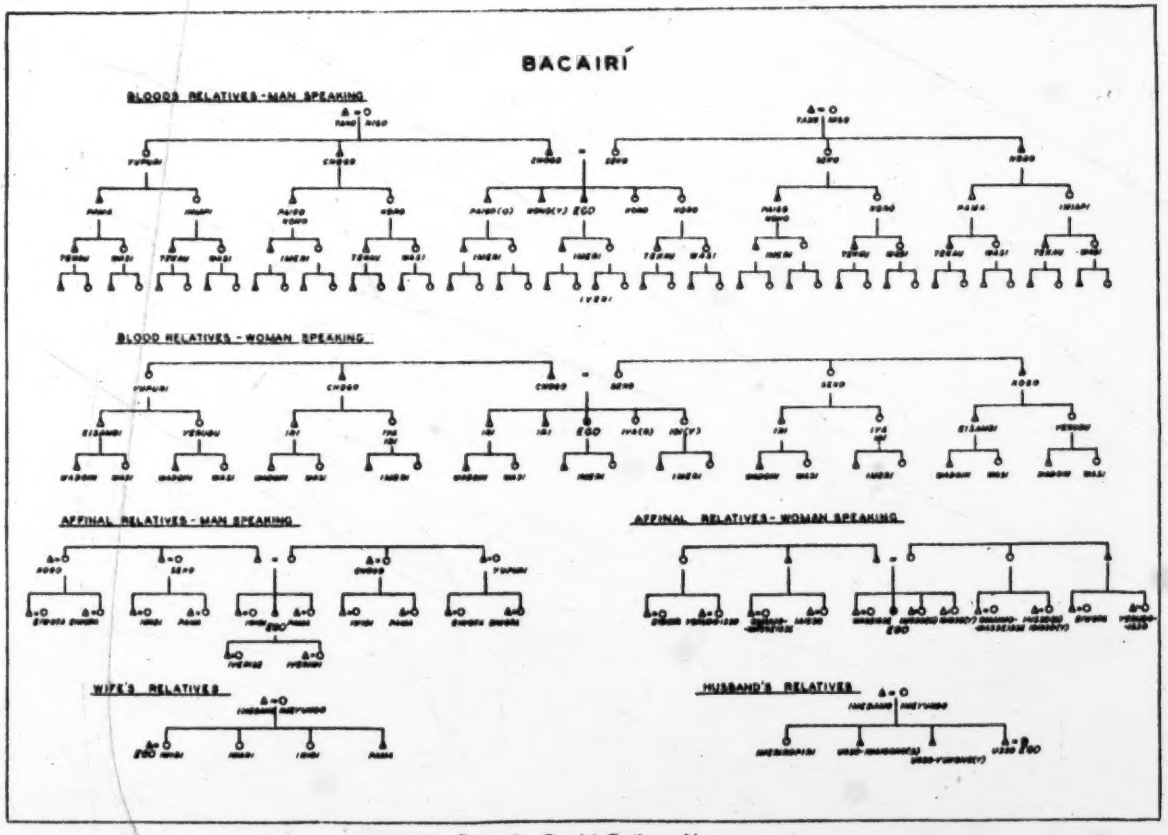

CHART 3.—Bacairi, Carib-speaking.

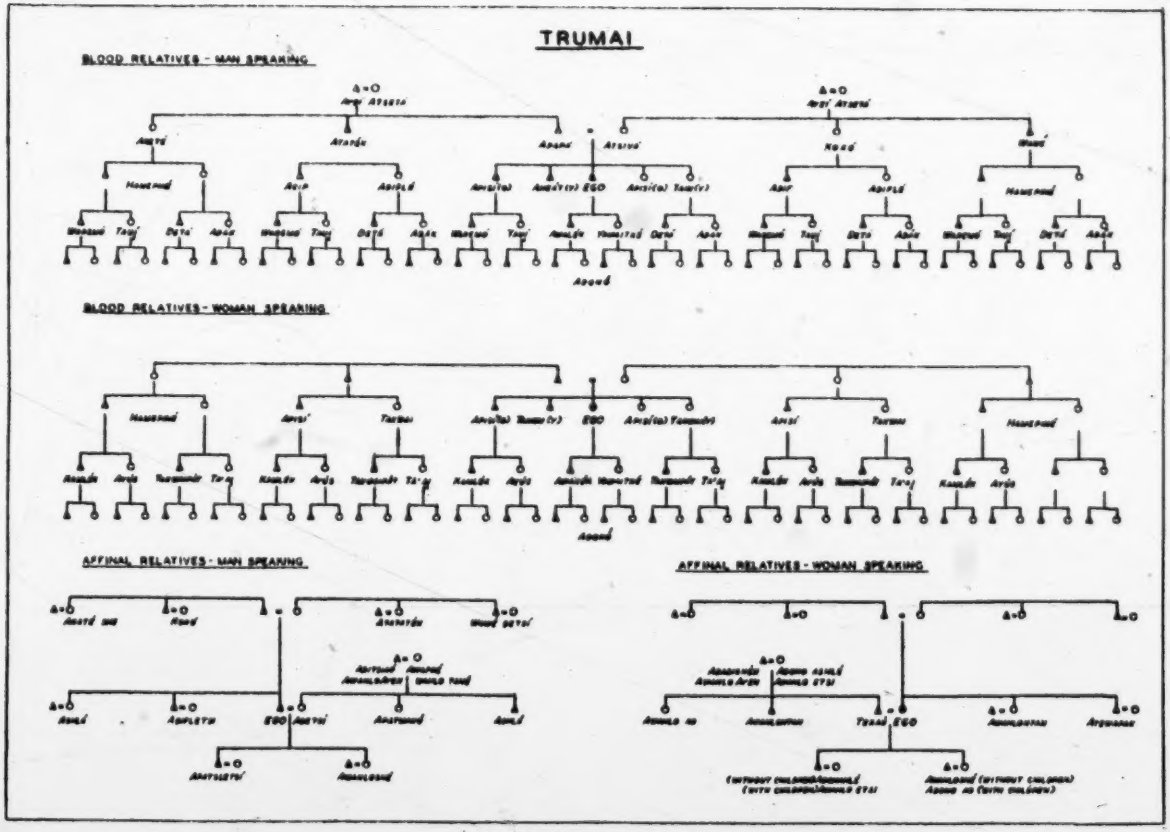

CHART 9.—Trumai, unrelated.

6; Oberg E-5 (1947) 1953
[P. 121]
SP7 Bacairi
Bororo spp
109

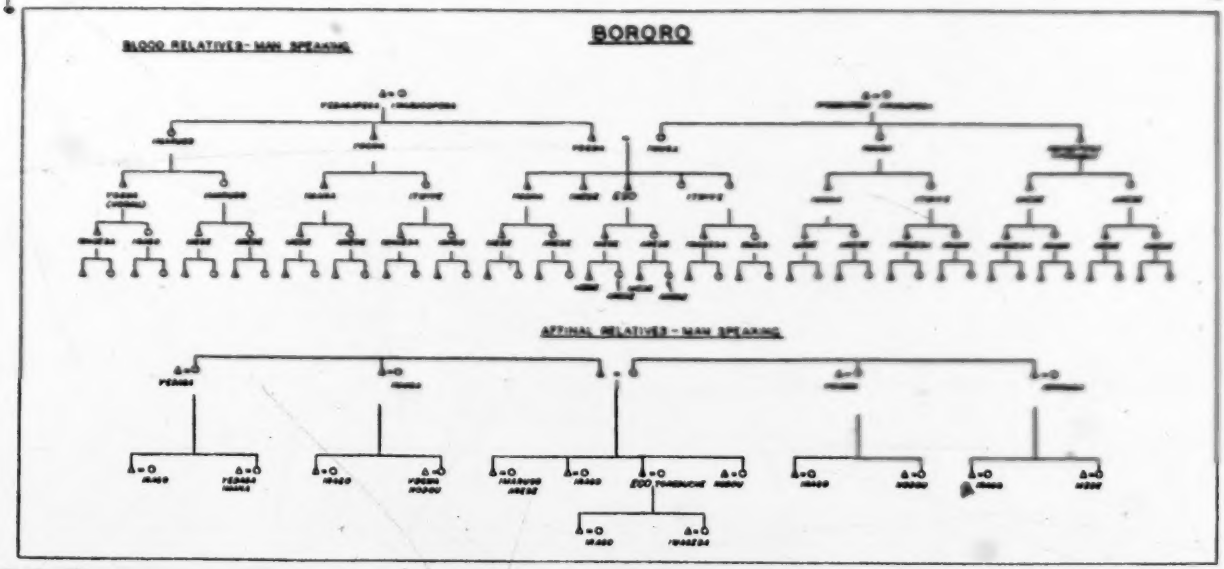

CHART 11.—Bororo, unrelated. (See Appendix 2.)

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6.Oberg E-5 (1947)1953 SPI Bacairi
Bororo SPI
[P.129-A]

APPENDIX 2

BORORO KINSHIP SYSTEM

616 The Bororo are divided into two exogamous
621 matrilineal moieties—*Cherúde* and *Tugarége*. A man in the *Tugarége* moiety calls all men of his own moiety *tugarége* and all women *tugarére*. He calls men of the *Cherúde* moiety *cherúi* and women *cherére*. One's opposites can be collectively called *yorubóiere*, or if they are small children, *yorubóierédogo*; *dógo* meaning little.

There are actually few classificatory terms in the Bororo kinship system. In a general way all men of the opposite side are fathers (*póguo*). Generation lines are largely ignored. If the *póguo* is old he becomes a grandfather (*póguopépa*). If one marries *póguo's* sister he becomes one's brother-in-law (*nodóu*). Men younger than one's self are called *mede* (boy) or son of the opposite moiety.

Women of the opposite side are called mothers-in-law (*imarúga*). They are potential wives. If old they are grandmothers (*imarúgapega*). That is, one's father's mother is *imarúgapega*, one's father's sister is *imarúga*, her daughter is *imarúga*. Women younger than one's self are termed *aréde*, girl or daughter of the opposite moiety. One of these women one marries, she may be *imarúga* or *aréde*, and she becomes one's *toredúche*, wife. Her mother becomes *imarúga*.

In one's own moiety the men are generally classed as brothers (*imána*) with distinctions for younger and older brother (initiated or uninitiated). Older men are *imánapega* or *yedága*, father-in-law or initiator. Grandfather is *yedágapega;* mother's brothers are *yedága;* father's sister's

[P.127-B]

APPENDIX 2

BORORO KINSHIP SYSTEM

6/6 daughter's husband is also *pedége*. Boys are *made*
6/1 girls are *aráde*. When they get married one's sister's children become *iwagéde*, moiety-son; and *irdgo*, moiety-daughter. *Iwagéde* is also one's son-in-law (daughter's husband).

In one's own moiety women are mothers, *iwége*; sisters before puberty, *ibége*; and sisters after puberty, *irdgo*.

[2/1] Children before puberty are just *made* (boy) and *aráde* (girl); after puberty boys and girls of one's own moiety become *iwagéde* and *irdgo*, moiety-son and moiety-daughter or son-in-law and daughter-in-law. One's own son and daughter are called *made* and *aráde*. These terms are extended to brother's sons and daughters and to sister's sons and daughters. They mean boy and girl especially when *drógo* (little) is added.

[2/1] At puberty a boy goes through an initiation rite which incorporates him into his own moiety. After this, sister's son is called *iwagéda*. After the
[2/4] ear-piercing ceremony sister's daughter is called *irdgo*.

6/6
6/4

Cherdide clans

1. Bokodóri.
2. Bakóro.
3. Badójebage.
4. Kiédo.
5. Borótcherá.
6. Ócbera.

Tugarédo clans

1. Arári.
   a. Arurécha bógi wógi.
   b. Arurécha tehíbógiwógi.
2. Iwágudodgi.
   a. Tobóreu.
   b. Kódjagureu.
3. Apibóregi.
4. Ipayédo.

G.Oberg 8-5 (1947)1953 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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/vii/

Foreword

114 In September of the year 1883 His Majesty's ship "Marie" safely delivered in Montevideo the German South Polar Expedition returning from the island of South Georgia. While the rest of the members returned home, Dr. Claus and I remained at La Plata in order to take advantage of the favorable opportunity for a journey of exploration into the interior of South America, together with my cousin, Wilhelm von den Steinen, who was already awaiting us there, as had been arranged.

121 After my initially cherished plan to explore the Rio Pilcomayo was thwarted as a result of the expedition of Herr Thouar, which had just then been successfully completed, we turned our attention to the Schingú /Xingu/, the largest still unknown river of the South American continent, which promised interesting disclosures, especially from an anthropological point of view.

122 The German Minister-Resident in Buenos Aires, Herr Baron von Holleben, supported us in the most active and gracious manner. Through the good offices of the Brazilian Chargé d'Affaires, Herr Cavalcanti Lacerda, the Imperial Ministry was induced to provide us with a military escort.

114 Our trio was not unfavorably constituted for the purpose. Dr. Claus was a physicist, my cousin a painter. The anthropological-ethnological part of the program fell to me as a physician who had already gathered some experiences from a journey around the world. My cousin had brought along the necessary instruments. He had prepared himself for a few months at the Hamburg Naval Observatory, under the kind supervision of the Privy Admiralty Councilor, Professor Dr. Neumayer; he was also helped by the latter's advice in the selection and procurement of the instruments.

[122] Since the president of the province of Mato Grosso, Herr Baron von Batovy, agreed to our wishes with the greatest readiness, success could not be lacking. Thus, we set out from Cuyabá /Cuiabá/ at the end of May in the year 1884 and reached Paxí at the end of October.

/50 cont./

000 carriages, the lighted shops, the bustling crowd, and I gladly returned to my dark river in the primeval forest.

But are they so easily dispensed with, I asked myself in my reverie, these things that dominate and animate our whole world of feeling? One thing, at least, was certain: if the miracle, which did not happen, had happened, and a pair of the most luscious lips had suddenly smiled at me seductively from the bushes -- I would have smoked and graciously asked permission to go on smoking. The best thing, I concluded, seems to be if we are able, in the memory of finer enjoyments, to find quiet happiness in the simplest things: the philosopher of Wiedensahl is right once again: "Contentment is pleasure in things that we do not get."

And yet I would not have exchanged Berlin for the Schingú /Xingu/ simply and solely for the brown beans or the wilderness and river rapids; without a loftier purpose, that is, a hope which is rooted in serious concepts of culture, even the most unspoiled nature would very soon become intolerable. It is odd enough that our like should come over from Germany and perhaps risk [21] his precious life here -- in order to look for the home of the Karaiben /Caribs/! "What is Hecuba to him?" What is Cuyabá and Karíiba to me?

Yet there are problems so puzzling and unfathomable that one is unable to solve them with an empty stomach, and it was fortunate that Carlos at the fire finally shouted his triumphant "pronto." The beans stood ready on the ground, the little bag of farinha /manioc flour/ lay beside them, a remnant of muting beckoned benevolently from the rammed-in wooden spike -- let the crickets go on chirping in the forest.

114 At 6:30 (10 September 1887) we departed, eager for the things which, according to the indications of yesterday, were 133 to come today. After 20 minutes a river flowed into ours from the right side, a stream as quiet /51/ as it was and only a little narrower. Later it was named for us as the Ponekuru. The predominant direction of the combined waterways was north to northeast: the same as the one that our earlier route had tried to

/56 cont./

122 On the following day, 11 September 1887, I sent Antonio
[439] and Carlos back to Independencia with the news. In exchange
for a bush knife I had acquired one of the two canoes that the
Bakaïrí possessed. I myself wanted to remain behind to have
a new canoe made and, for the sake of my studies, to take ad-
vantage of the rare opportunity to stay alone among these chil-
[361] dren of nature. I heard that in the second Bakaïrí village lying
downstream there were three canoes and we could perhaps ob-
tain two of them. While a good rancho was to be built for those
remaining behind at our permanent quarters, one or two men
who were now to be fetched by Antonio and Carlos were to
ride with me to the second Bakaïrí village; there we could
complete our outfitting and then, if all went well, row back
to Independencia with four canoes, in order finally to com-
mence the actual river journey. Moreover, to save time,
Antonio and Carlos were to leave their canoe at the first large
cachoeira and find Independencia overland. Thus, along with
the experiences gained in the meantime by the gentlemen at
Independencia, the terrain would be thoroughly explored and
the question settled as to whether the permanent quarters could
not be pushed forward closer to the first Bakaïrí village.

123 After I had brought the two worthies to the harbor and they
had soon disappeared in the nearest bend of the river, I returned
to my new friends and soon felt so comfortable in their midst
that without hesitation I count those idyllic days among the
[121] happiest that I have experienced. I shall try to do them justice
in a little sketch; this will give me the opportunity to report
many little traits of the good people which could not be put in
a purely scientific report, but which nevertheless are not without
value, because they reveal the Indians to us not wholly as we are
accustomed to imagine them. Not a little of this disappeared
when the larger group arrived later; the complete unconcern
which they showed toward me as a single individual did not
remain, and their behavior more closely resembled the well-
114 known pattern customarily described in books. And here I
157 should immediately like to enter a protest, with regard to my

B /395 cont./
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[484]
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In January of 1887 Felipe gaily set out for Cuyabá to let himself be presented with more iron goods, but his hopes were not appreciated there, and he was sent home empty-handed. Tumayaua told us in 1887 that the Bakaïri of the first Batovy village had again gone to the Paranatinga; they must have arrived there shortly after our departure. I had no further opportunity to hear more details about this later.

II. Shift of the Karaiben to the North.

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Chiefly relying on linguistic evidence, I attempted, on the basis of the results of the first Schingú /Xingu/ expedition, to defend the hypothesis that the newly discovered Karaiben /Carib/ in the source region of the Tapajoz /Tapajós/ and Schingú lived closer to the original seats of the tribe than did the Karaiben north of the Amazonas, that the latter immigrated from the south into the Guianas and from there crossed over to the Lesser Antilles.

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I advanced a movement in the same direction only for the Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ always appearing next to the Karaiben, although I was well aware that there was far greater uncertainty here than in the case of the Karaiben. Cf. Durch Centralbrasilien, page 297 /omitted in 1:Steinen of this file, a translation of the work cited/. "Whether the common ancestors lived in the northern or southern part of the stretch of country over which we find the grandchildren distributed is rather unimportant considering the present state of our knowledge. My feeling -- that is all -- is more inclined to assume that the movement started from the plateau." My feeling, however, deceived me for an important part of the Nu-Aruak group, the Paressí, of whom I had erroneous ideas based on reports of Cuyabans; for, at least according to the statements that I obtained from them directly in 1888, they definitely advanced from north to south, even though the boundary may be uncertain with regard to how far north their homeland is to be shifted. At the present time the problem concerning the Nu-Aruak is not yet to be taken in at a glance: we know too little about the Moxos /Mojo/ and

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/418 cont./

171 386 [283] White is chalky white clay, a supply of which is kept in the huts in the form of balls the size of a child's head. The women, when they spin, rub it on the right thigh, on which they twist the thread. It is simply mixed with water. It is never used to paint the body; it also falls far back for the implements and appears almost solely on the masks, the painting of which need last but a few days, on painted bark pieces, and the like.

/419/ Charcoal and soot, the berry-pulp of the genipap tree, (Genipa) and a number of resins furnish black. In order to blacken the inside of the gourd shells charcoal from the bark of the buriti shaft is used.

The yellowish-red to brownish-red loam seems to have been driven out by the urucú dyestuff. It was formerly eaten and is still molded into heavy dolls for children and is rubbed on wounds for scarification. [262] 524 [304]

Charcoal and soot are rubbed in directly, like the white, or they are also mixed with liquid, like the urucú. Either the oil from the pikí fruit (Caryocar butyrosum) is used, or the yellow extract containing caoutchouc from a tree of the campo cerrado, which the Bakaïrí call ochogohi and the bark of which is grated and made into an extract with water. The colors are mixed in a gourd shell or a pot or, when a hard resin is broken up with the ax blade, most conveniently in the cup-shaped depression of a stool. Urucú is always found as a paste wrapped in leaves in the little workbasket beside the hammock. [824]

The dyestuffs available to the natives are therefore white, black, red, and yellow. The genipap-black is blue-black, the urucú-red a brick-red to orange, which, mixed with the yellow ochogohi juice, loses a good deal of its red. There are no blue or green dyestuffs.

• 121 196 The theory that the color sense developed gradually for human beings, based on the fact that color distinction in language is inadequate up to a high level of culture and that blue and green in particular are extraordinarily often designated with the same word, has now been abandoned. It was found among all the primitive peoples investigated that they distinguish excellently

/419 cont./

121 the various color impressions with their eyes, that, for example,
196 they choose with normal accuracy like-colored shades out of a pile of many little bunches of wool, so there can be no question of color blindness, but that, as far as language is concerned, blue and green are mixed up with astonishing regularity. The correct solution was given by Ernst Krause (Carus Sterne). The human being, by natural inclination always most susceptible to the vivid impression of red, has found mineral and vegetable pigments in greatest abundance for this particular color. The next most frequent naturally formed dyestuff besides black and white is yellow, whereas green and blue dyestuffs are late products of the coloring technique. Color names were developed in accordance with use.

125 On a leaf of my journal Wilhelm entered colored spots of
171 ultramarine, cobalt blue, emerald green, sap green, carmine,
196 rose madder, vermillion, orange, cadmium yellow, burnt sienna, sepia, and ivory black. The attempt to obtain the names of colors by laying out vividly colored objects was a complete failure. They gave the names of the objects or these confused with the color names, and nothing stood in the way of drawing up an amusing list /420/ of these words, not one of which designated a color. A Waurá almost made me despair, and he in particular seemed to have different words for blue and green. But even if this misconception was eliminated -- and, to be sure, this was done best by the use of the definite color words already obtained from the neighboring tribe -- even if the people were really on the right track, the experiment usually became a veritable trial of patience. They would think it over, vacillate, sometimes disagree with each other; it was obvious that I was demanding something very unusual. Only the Auetö, the enthusiastic painters, proved amenable. But there was one difficulty that I was responsible for, since I not only had to become accustomed to hearing the same word for emerald green and ultramarine, but was also given other baffling information which I understood only after linguistic studies.

114 /222 cont./
[113]

3. Die Bakairi Sprache /The Bacairi Language/, Leipzig, 1892.

account published in 1894, the richly illustrated, brilliantly written, forcefully conceived volume in which are discussed the main subjects of the primitive history of mankind, to sum up in a word, the richest modern contribution on all that touches upon our aborigines (4).

[113]

4. Unter den Naturvoelkern Zentral-Braziliens /Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil; see 2:Steinen, this file/, Berlin, 1894.

114 At the same time that Dr. Steinen's book on the language
115 appeared, a Bacaeri was here, brought from the Paranatinga by Dr. Oscar de Miranda when he completed his difficult journey down that river to the Amazon. With this Indian, the author of these lines was able to study the German scholar's book word by word, and I cannot find words enough to express the admiration that was aroused in me by the exactitude of the phonetic transcription, the sharpness with which the grammatical forms had been discerned, and the thoroughness with which everything usable in the materials collected had been picked out. If the comparison be permitted in a country that boasts of being primarily agricultural, it might be said that his sugar mill, like one of the gigantic rollers in use today, squeezed out all the cane juice, leaving only the bagasse.

From that Indian, called Irineu, who will be designated with the initial "I," many texts were gathered--legends,
● 121 descriptions, traditions. The present /223/ work aims at a
114 partial presentation of this harvest. Based on the book by Dr. Steinen, whose system of phonetic transcription is adopted

/223 cont./

121 114 with slight variations, it is nevertheless more than a mere summary, for at several points our opinions differ, while at others heretofore unknown facts appear for the first time. This concerning the linguistic part, the subject of this first chapter. The divergence is even greater in the points that follow, which are based exclusively on what Irineu related.

/224/

I

The Language of the Bacaeris

197

The language of the Bacaeris (kxura itano, tohi itano, [133] [103] that is, language of people, exactly like abá ñeẽ, the language of the Tupis) is spoken on the Rio Novo (Yemeriri), a tributary of the Arinos; on the Paranatinga (Pakunéra), a tributary of the Tapajoz; on the Tamitatoala, one of the headwaters of the Xingú, called Batovi by the Germans in honor of the baron of the same name, president of Mato Grosso in 1884, the time of the first expedition; on the Culisewi, a tributary of the Culuene, also a headwater (the easternmost one) of the Xingú. On the Oronuro, the westernmost headwater, there are no Indians who speak this language. From an examination of the vocabularies and the grammatical forms, it was proved that the Bacaeris belong to the Carahiba or Cariba group.

194 Of the letters of our alphabet, F is found in only one word, possibly onomatopoeic, which precedes incantations: aúfá, perhaps an imitation of the blowing out of smoke. V is rare, and in any case it is not pronounced as it generally is in Rio de Janeiro, but rather seems to be bilabial. R is always soft, that is, to use the description by Gonçalves Vianna, "the air is expelled at one time, without interruption, as in caro /'dear' in Port./, and not intermittently, in successive contacts, more or less repeated, /225/ resulting from the vibration imparted by the active organ, as in carro /'cart' in Port./." G is slightly velar, and to differentiate it from ours

/11 cont./

114 101 133 respect to this piece of information we must keep in mind the fact that in those times the Rio Paranatinga was regarded as a tributary of the Xingu River.

From an objective standpoint I have nothing to add to Karl von den Steinen's full account. I merely propose to complement it in time and to add what we know of the more recent history of the Bakairí since that period when Karl von den Steinen wrote his history of the Bakairí. I feel impelled to carry out this mission, especially in view of the fact that of my two expeditions, in which I had the most extensive contact with the Bakairí, the first took place 26 years before the second, so that I had a good opportunity to observe personally a great part of the change in the living conditions of the Bakairí in the times after Karl von den Steinen's publication. The Bakairí Andrés, who was my faithful companion /12/ on the trip from the Simões Lopes Post to the Pedro Dantas Post, established to civilize the Kayabí /Cayabi/, and on the return to Cuiabá, was the son of a Bakairí, born on the Rio Kulisehu and called Chico, who had been one of my traveling companions to the Rio Kulisehu in the year 1901. I also encountered in the year 1927 many old acquaintances among whom I had lived 26 years before in their village, Maimaieti, on the Rio Kulisehu. They all still remembered well the time we had spent together in the past. During my later stay in Cuiabá, up to the year 1931, the Bakairí boys who went to school in Cuiabá visited my house often, so that it enabled me to keep informed up to that date about all that went on among the Bakairí.

114 648 175 Karl von den Steinen's two expeditions to the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River should be noted as an important event not only in the general history of discoveries but also, especially, in the history of the Bakairí. Through them was re-established the long broken connection between the Bakairí living on the Rio Paranatinga and their fellow countrymen on the Batovy and Kulisehu rivers. This fact had such an incisive

/12 cont./

114 648 175 [177] 114 121

influence on the later development of these Indians, with their very marked feeling of nationality, that they changed their primordial customs completely during the 50 years following Karl von den Steinen's second expedition carriedout in the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River. Thanks to a series of data on events among the Bakairí in this interval, we find ourselves in the fortunate position of being able o investigate that transformation. We are oriented in detail on the personality and life history of several Bakairí who have influenced in a special way the later development of their tribe, like Cacique Reginaldo and, especially, Cacique Antonio andhis stepson José Coroado, so that we can give our historical report on the Bakairí a more personal character than would be possible with respect to other Indian tribes.

114 101

If we differentiate, according to Karl von den Steinen, the Bakairí who live west of the Rio Paranatinga (in later times officially Rio Telles Pires) as western Bakairí andthe eastern Bakairí, who have their homes in the regions east of this river, on the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, it can be said that in the period of Karl von den Steinen's first expedition to the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River, no contacts took place between these two Bakairí groups, and certainly none had taken place for a long time. Old Cacique Reginaldo told Karl von den Steinen that he still remembered, from the days of his youth, that traveling from the Rio Paranatinga eastward, one would reach a big river on which it was said that Bakairí also lived, but that at the present date they did not know anything about this region. (4) Certainly no contact had taken

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174 177 619 [113]

4. Karl v.d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien /Through Central Brazil/. Leipzig, 1886. p. 182.

place between the western Bakairí and those of the east from the time when the former established closer contact with the

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121 756 784 In order to protect themselves against the numerous supernatural dangers that surrounded them, the Bakairí /Bacairi/ made use of two methods: shamanism and the uanki state, or ritual seclusion. The aim of this article is to examine these two methods of Bakairí culture in the light of data gathered by us (1) and with the help of the existing relevant

[114] [122]

1. The data that we present were gathered in 1947, during a visit to the Simões Lopes Indian Post of the Indian Protection Service, which was sponsored by the School of Sociology and Political Science of São Paulo in collaboration with the Institute of Social Anthropology of the Smithsonian Institution. Except where specifically mentioned in a footnote, the data mentioned were obtained from the Simões Lopes Indians.

114 121 literature. However, although the Bakairí have been visited from an early date by several ethnologists and their customs have been mentioned in the literature to support ethnological theories, very little is yet known on their culture as a whole. Most of the reports left by scholars do not give a rounded view of Bakairí culture and focus rather on their technology. On [177] the other hand, the present-day Bakairí are quite acculturated, and it is difficult to obtain complete data on their old culture. We shall attempt nevertheless to try to contribute here to a clarification of the problem.

161 The Bakairí now number about 250 individuals, according to the estimates of the Indian Protection Service, /260/ 131 in 1947. They live in aldeas in Mato Grosso, at the Simões 361 Lopes Post of the Indian Protection Service, on the banks of the Paranatinga River, and in groups scattered along the

[P.69-A]

THE BACAIRI

114 This brief account of the Bacairí is based on
[101] field work done among the Bacairí living in the Government Indian Post on the Rio Paranatinga
[121] in June 1947. The field work was carried out in the course of a reconnaissance survey which the writer was then making of some of the central and northern Indian tribes of Mato Grosso.
[122] This and other trips at the time were made in a Ford truck put at the disposal of the writer by the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios. By using a truck the trip to the Paranatinga could be made over the Planalto do Matogrosense in 2 days in contrast to the old route along the Rio Cuiabá which, on horseback with pack oxen, takes from 2 to 3 weeks. The writer was accompanied by Fernando Altenfelder Silva of the Escola de Sociologia e Politica de São Paulo and by Rev. Thomas Young and Rev. W. L. Buckman of the South American Indian Mission. The Reverend Mr.
[115] Young, who has spent more than 10 years among the Bacairí, was of great help in selecting informants and in adding to our knowledge of the Bacairí.

161 According to estimates made in 1947 by the
361 Brazilian Indian Service (Serviço de Proteção aos Indios) there are between 200 and 250 Bacairí living in the northern part of Mato Grosso State, Brazil, divided between the Indian Post of Simão Lopes on the Rio Paranatinga and the village of
173 Rio Novo some distance to the northwest. The
361 Bacairí claim that the whole tribe originally
167 lived together on the Rio Paranatinga (headwaters
[648] of the Tapajoz River), but attacks by other Indians and Brazilians forced them to move about 90 years ago. Owing to a dispute the tribe split, one group moving north to settle on the banks of the Rio Kuliseu, a tributary of the Xingú River, the other moving to Rio Novo. After about 50 years in the Kuliseu Basin, this group moved to the present location of Simão Lopes, not far from the original Bacairí settlement
177 on the Rio Paranatinga. Although the Rio Novo
166 group has adopted Brazilian customs and manages
648 without Government help, some have moved to Simão Lopes where the Bacairí now live on reservation lands and receive assistance from the Brazilian Government.

122

/For information on the author's problems of obtaining food and supplies on the expedition, his difficulties with his field aides, and other problems dealing with the organization of his party, see category 116, pp. 11-13, 23-30./

/vii/

Foreword

114 In September of the year 1883 His Majesty's ship "Marie" safely delivered in Montevideo the German South Polar Expedition returning from the island of South Georgia. While the rest of the members returned home, Dr. Clauss and I remained at La Plata in order to take advantage of the favorable opportunity for a journey of exploration into the interior of South America, together with my cousin, Wilhelm von den Steinen, who was already awaiting us there, as had been arranged.

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Seventh Chapter

000 March from Cuyabá to the Docile Bakaïrí on the Rio Novo

/Pages 80-98 are omitted in the translation./

/98/

132 14 June. 6:40 A.M.: dry. 18.9, wet. 18.2, strat. 8, S 2-3. Like yesterday, the south wind brings low-moving cloud masses.

● 122 Today the men are ready very quickly; off shortly before seven o'clock in the morning.

[137] [487] Predominantly meadow, a narrow, hard path leads through it, on which one can merrily trot. A number of oxen greet us as the first emissaries. A wide expanse of campo has been freshly burned off; it is said that wild animals like to seek out these "quemadas" /see the glossary, p. 172 / because of the salty [136] ashes. A number of curicacas (ibis); in the distance an ostrich, which Pedro and the dogs pursue in vain.

361 At nine o'clock we see the "aldeamento"[1] /see the glossary, p.170 / of the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ in the distance; four houses; the sunshine gives the illusion of slate roofs; a few naked torsos hasten inside, clothed persons step outside. In the immediate [342] vicinity the settlement shrinks to actual palm-straw huts.

622 /99/ Daniel is on the spot and introduces us to "Captain Reginaldo." Reginaldo da Silva Nogueira, from the walnut forest /Nusswald/. A man in his forties with a broad chest, long, curly black hair, a friendly look, but silent; hat, shirt, trousers in good condition.

594 General handshaking. A half dozen, mostly young, broad-shouldered men, likewise in their Sunday best, sit on the fence of the cattle yard. The crown of creation is absent. -- Gradually the procession draws up, and everyone settles down at home. By way of greeting, sugar cane is sucked and a swallow of liquor permitted.

[1] [i.e. village -- Analyst]

/100 cont./

101 to the Christians. It is said that they are white and friendly:
175 one reason why they are regarded as a horde of the Paricys."
[199] Martius has them living at the southernmost sources of
[131] the Schingú and also lists them at the sources of the Arinos and Juruena. He also classifies /101/ them under the Parecí /Paressi/ who are scattered across the watershed between Tapajoz, Madeira, and Paraguay.

101 Now it turns out that placing the Parecí and the Bakaïrí together in this way was erroneous. The well-known closest relatives of the Bakaïrí, as I wish to point out briefly in advance, are settled north of the Amazon River, and a tribe somewhat more distantly related to them, but belonging to the same group, lives in the source region of the Madeira.
•122 I myself was familiar only with the note of Martius, and on the journey I had no idea how interesting this little tribe was

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Bakaïrí village.

122 and how many hours I would later spend pondering over its past.

115 It was a very fortunate circumstance that Reginaldo --
123 who was always ready to smoke a cigarette with me and
[191] warmed up more and more and gradually became highly amused by my notations -- had an amazing gift of quick perception and was able to express himself clearly for practical purposes in a somewhat crude Portuguese. Such an opportunity
[622] never came again later. Reginaldo was a good person, intelligent, and held the reins of his chieftainship in strong, paternal hands.

/103 cont./

151 only Reginaldo, who joined us, laughed and said definitely that the person approaching was Clauss coming on foot. And he was right.

191 They all understood at least a few scraps of Portuguese.

648 They are on good terms with the Coroá, who, they said, call themselves Kayacho. It seems that they impress them because of their rifles. Reginaldo did not like to talk about this point. One had the impression that, according to his inner feeling, he was, after all, on the side of the wild Indians and against the Whites. As a clever man, he took advantage of the benefits offered by the Brazilians and did not fall out with the barbarians.

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302

João and Joaquina.

648 The Bakairí mansos /meek Bacairi/ bow to authority; in their hearts they are the same people as the antiguos.

126 /104/ We were busy for a number of days: Clauss worked out the itinerary and took the ground temperature, Wilhelm drew, I took body measurements and made the glossary that ap-
[115] pears in the appendix. Besides Reginaldo, I was aided in particular by good-natured Antonio, who put up with everything and would have given anything to go with us. But he did not even dare ask the strict captain for permission. Castro, too,
122 was busy with notes. We shared the hut with him and the cadet.

/104 cont./

122 The cadet was familiar with only two forms of activity: he slept or ate. It was indeed a pleasure, however, to sleep within four walls once more, although at night the wind often whistled through strongly. And there were all kinds of things to eat that were
262 not furnished on the march. There was plenty of sugar cane; the cooked mandioca root with roasted bacon cubes was a dish for the gods; a piglet was slaughtered; a few chickens forfeited their lives;
[224] the young chaps had also killed a tapir one day under a regular volley of small shot; it furnished a very tasty ragout. The women sent fresh, crisp "beijús," a simple baked product made of mandioca

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Antonio

Quirino

262 flour, of the shape and approximately the taste of matzoth. Since
272 there was no shortage of rapadura /a crude form of sugar; see the glossary, p.172 /, "jacuba" was constantly being prepared as refreshment; in a gourd bowl a plentiful amount of rapadura, a plentiful amount of farinha /manioc flour; see the glossary p.171 /,
231 and water as desired. Even milk appeared. In the evening the
526 calves were separated from their mothers; the herd was driven into the "curral" /corral; see glossary, p.170 /, and the calves were lassoed with a great hullabaloo, while a large and appreciative
526 audience /105/ sat all around on the fence. That was something

/105 cont./

533 sounds not unpleasant, and has something both gentle and fascinatingly eerie about it at the same time, just as the wailing night-wind blowing down the chimney is described when the storyteller /106/ first gives thanks to God that he is lying warm and safe in his snug bed, but is again and again obliged to listen to the weird lament and finally sees in a dream the ghost of a
• 122 friend who lies dying. We sat crowded against one another in the
[354] small room; a gourd filled with fat, in which a wick was burning, lay upon the floor. I was glad when the gourd also started to burn and we were able to step outside where the stars glistened and we shook ourselves -- the shuddering was over.

562 The women held out until 19 June; then they came; Reginaldo fetched them; a dozen in number, they walked one behind the other across the campo, the father of the tribe in the lead.

[609] On this afternoon, however, not one of them would let herself be looked at closely; the procession entered the big house and disappeared. Reginaldo came to ask us for an opera glass that he wanted to show to the women. Toward evening they appeared again and left single file as before. During the night they slept in the forest, a brief half an hour away.

292 On 20 June they appeared again; Reginaldo looked superb
[301] at their head; he wore his gray felt hat, his blue captain's uniform and white trousers, walked barefoot, and had a blue-white
123 feather stuck crosswise in each ear lobe. He was very agreeable
[126] that Wilhelm should sketch him in all his glory. Moreover, he assumed, and we daily encouraged him in this, that we were conducting all inquiries concerning the Bakairí only in order to report them again to the Emperor of Brazil -- at least the man understood that and for this purpose he was glad to oblige.

[291] He also accompanied us to the women; they were barefoot, of course, but otherwise wore the complete costume of the female rural inhabitant; the majority were of a mature age; I liked best one big, strong girl whom Homer would have called βοῶπις -- The captain's wife, christened Ines, was quiet and pious and looked as though she had had many a care. We tried to

/106 cont./

123 shake hands with each one, but they evidently did not know the purpose of this; when we put bracelets and earrings on them, however, they understood this immediately. The children had to have something too.

[124] Wilhelm was allowed to sketch Frau Ines behind the house; as yet I did not dare think about taking the measurements of the women, and then fate knocked on the door.

122 Very unpleasant discoveries about the condition of the supplies changed the entire situation.

On 18 June we had already reached an agreement with

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302

Bakairi boy.

122 Camp to wait at most three more days for Tupy. In view of our uncertain /107/ future it was not to be justified if we did not use the favorable time of year better. The Bakairi figured five days more to the Paranatinga. another stop was necessary in the second aldeament, let Tupy follow us there. As far as the lost iron goods [501] were concerned, we had become less worried. Daniel had first called our attention to the bark canoes of the Bakairi. on the Rio Novo there was only a very small one that was being used as a trough; we were to see them on the Paranatinga. If we could make up our minds to make do with these bark canoes, we would need only a few tools, which perhaps could be obtained from a fazendeiro /see "Fazenda" in the glossary, p.171 / living near the Paranatinga. The advice was good.

/108 cont./

122 The supply would not last a month longer, and we were at 14° 13' 6" south latitude; the Schingú sources were supposed to be two degrees of longitude eastward, and hence Melgaço lay perhaps only at 11° south latitude.

000 /109/ We did some figuring, and we counted our cash; each of us had taken along a few pounds sterling in case we should conceivably land somewhere else on our travels than at the Schingú mouth; our total wealth amounted to about 300 milreis (600 marks). We had the advantage that we were able to choose the best people, and we set great store by this circumstance; for if a few of our traveling companions up to this point belonged to the bad elements of the Mato Grosso garrison, it was also certain that some of the people positively deserved high marks chiefly for the qualities of reliability, skill, and stamina.

Castro willingly agreed to our plans; 12 people were to go home, the sergeant and the cadet at their head; we provisioned them as far as Rosario and gave them two oxen which in any case did not seem to have the ambition to bear the burden of life as far as the Schingú sources.

In Tupy's escort there were the old cavalry hero Januario and the soldier Gabriel from the picket.

114 The names of those who went on with us were the following: Clementino, the active butcher-boy and José Maria from the picket, the sergeant Norberto, Israel, Satyr, Quintiliano, Merellet, Irineo, Rufino, Braga, Chico, Manoel, the Cometa, all of Negro, mulatto, or pure Indian descent, except three. Irineo was Paraguayan and spoke the lingoa geral /universal language/.

122 We planned to provision ourselves at the fazenda on the Paranatinga; from there on the mules were to be used only as beasts of burden, and the staff as well as the men were to go on foot.

/110 cont./

132 19 June. 7:00 A.M.: dry. 14.8, wet. 13.3, clear.
10:20 P.M.: I 734.0, II 724.2.
2:10 P.M.: dry. 31.7, wet. 19.0, ground rod. 44.2, ground temp. (60 centimeters) 26.0.
10:20 P.M.: dry. 18.0.

20 June. 7:00 A.M.: dry. 14.1, wet. 13.0, strat. W., wind = 0.
8:00 A.M.: ground temp. 25.6, radiation 15.6 since 6:30 A.M.
2:00 P.M.: dry. 31.0, wet. 19.4, cum. S, N. 1-3, ground radiation max. 44.9 since 12:30 P.M.
9:30 P.M.: dry. 17.9, wet. 16.3, clear.

21 June. 7:00 A.M.: dry. 14.4, wet. 13.0, clear.

/Pages 110-118, covering June 21 to June 27, are omitted in the translation./

/118/

28 June. (Corrego fundo) 7:00 A.M.: dry. 10.0, wet. 9.1, clear, calm.
10:00 A.M.: I 736.5, II 725.6. Hypsometer 98.660, air 25.0.
2:15 P.M.: dry. 30.1, wet. 17.0, clear, calm.

122 Lengthy transactions over iron goods. The fazendeiro is obstinate and suspicious, like an Indian. He dragged out all the discarded tools that he had in the house, in order to sell them at the purchase price. As a matter of fact, he can scarcely dispense with the better ones himself, even for a short time. He liked to use the comparison that the loss of these implements was equal to cutting off a leg. We luckily bought the most important things, a few axes and hatchets.

The people were busy slaughtering and pounding maize; Joaquim and Daniel made their way to the aldeament yesterday. Wilhelm and I with a few soldiers likewise wanted to go there today in order to study the Bakairí and also start procuring supplies among them.

/119/

000 Clauss, Castro, and the majority stayed at the fazenda. The owner, for his part, rode to a compadre /Gavatter in the Ger.: in the original source, p. 191 (translated p. 72) "compadre" is translated as the Ger. Gevatter; the latter term is given in the glossary of Brazilian expressions, p. 171 / eight legoas away, who was supposed to sell farinha. Thus everyone was busy.

133 Wilhelm and I arrived at twilight after a four-hour march over a series of hilly ranges, having crossed a few small tributaries of the Paranatinga. We could have sworn that we were in the Bergischen /a hilly countryside near the Rhine/ or Westphalia - farm houses in front of the bush, the quemada like potato fields; -- in the gathering darkness we also began to indulge in fancies: on a barren hill in the distance we clearly saw a lunatic asylum in the latest pavilion style.

[22] [42] [91] [30] [42] [41]

Captain Caetano "Mêmo."

231 The dreadful dogs that hastened toward us, barking, were ill-suited to bringing us back to a clear and sober conception of reality. These curs, small, skeletal specimens, with pointed snouts, light whitish-yellow fur, and glassy, watery eyes, looked as though they scratched up the dead out of the graves in the cemetery at night.

●:22 +85 Received by old Captain Caetano and a few young chaps, we were put up in the guest house. The term is synonymous with guest room or guest stall. The only furniture a trough-like, unfinished bark canoe on a stand in the corner, which we were permitted to use as a dresser and table.

/130 cont./

000 Captain Castro will report to Your Excellency the specific details of the disagreeable scenes that we had with Captain Tupy after his arrival. It will be superfluous for us seriously to protest against being accompanied by a man whom we, without hesitation, declare to be absolutely unreliable and quite incapable of understanding the important tasks of such an expedition. /131/ Captain Tupy expressed himself to the effect that it was all the same to him whether or not we had confidence in him; he had the courage to make the whole enterprise dependent on himself by misusing Your Excellency's order which gave him command of the men. Your Excellency entrusted this post to the respected officer, not to the guilty man who arrives here with 40 milreis and is ready to lead 37 persons into the sertão without being able to pay for the supplies for one week. He said that he counted on our private means.

It should be noted that in Cuyabá he borrowed the small sum of 50 milreis from us and the following day, after receiving the ration monies for the soldiers, was in a position to cover about 600 milreis of gambling debs.

A fortunate coincidence has saved us before our plans were thwarted; now, however, with a commander whom we trust implicitly, and with a smaller, but truly choice body of men, we are commencing the journey in the firm hope of success.

Deus guarde a V. Exc.

Virtue triumphed. Let us bless the iron-goods or and forgive the miserable sergeant who let it run away.

122 In order to occupy the men, the crossing was begun immediately. The liveliest activity everywhere; the fazendeiro came with the remainder of the delivery; in the aldeament work continued even during the night; the maize pestle pounded and the sugar press squeaked incessantly.

The lack of farinha is made up for with rice; there are beans in abundance, we can confidently face the future. The tobacco situation is serious, since the fazenda was unable to spare any. We have a few gold pieces left, not many.

/131 cont./

122 At night we write busily; two benches serve as tables; for
[534] sitting, knapsack and hammock. Outside the frogs are croaking;
the Bakaïrí João, whom we call the minnesinger, is improvising
on his violin; he cannot be parted from it and even takes it along
to bathe. Thus, for the time being, the last night under a roof.

[133] 5 July. It was late afternoon before the staff crossed over.
The river was about 150 meters wide. On either side is a barranca
[501] about five meters high. The long bark canoes give a confidence-
inspiring impression. We shall have to become accustomed to
[123] them. Antiono already feels completely at home with us; he has
fallen in love with a mouth organ that I gave him.

[136] 6 July. The river sent up mists in the early morning. Pedro
caught a big pirahyba (Bagrus reticulatus). He is parading around
in a soldier's coat, under which, and, to be sure, over his trousers,
he is wearing an old flannel shirt of mine. Our ladies would take
him for a curly-haired Neapolitan boy with a gentle, melancholy
disposition, and yet the youth is only interested /132/ in killing
everything that creeps and flies, and in between times in sucking
sugar cane.

123 First Caetano came, in order to have breakfast with us once
more. A number of women followed, brought us more beijûs,
and squatted to one side, the two Carlottas combing their long
hair. The over-jackets had already disappeared on the second day.
122 Luis appeared last of all, when all the canoes were already at
our shore; he went as far as the last sandstone slab, took off his
clothes, and tried to wade across naked. But he was afraid and
stood irresolute. "Well, come along," cried Felipe's wife.
The minnesinger finally went after him. /Illustration appears
here./

At ten o'clock we set out; for a long time the laughing and
shouting of the women sounded behind us.

132 I am supplying the missing meteorological data for the stay
in Corrego fundo and the Bakaïrí village:

/157/

Eleventh Chapter

The Wild Bakaïrí. The Kustenaú /Custenau/.

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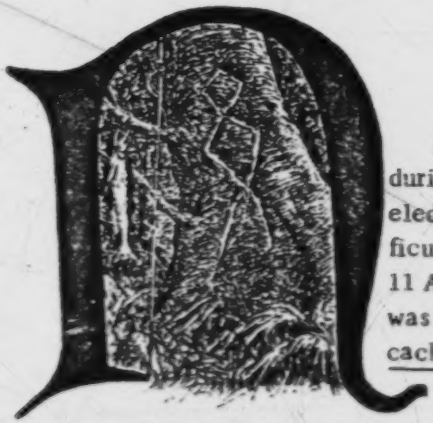
133



After all kinds of troubles during the morning, we traveled for a stretch without difficulties on the afternoon of 11 August, and again there was heard the rumble of the cachoeira /cataract; see the glossary, p. 170 /, which by this time had become positively gruesome for us all. To our joyous amazement we found an Indian canoe on the left shore. Below a beautiful waterfall poured forth on two ledges; poles and steps were set in it; it foamed and churned in a basin, only to form another level farther below.

[487]

122 For the moment, however, we have no eye for the salto; where are the Indians? We all gather, leave behind three men to guard the canoes, and push forward, gun in hand. -- The ground is strewn with jatobá /see the glossary, p. 171 / fruits; a well-trod path leads inland. We pass by a tree, into the bark of which the outlines, one-half life-sized, of a man above and a woman below have been crudely carved.

[137] [487] [532]

241 Silently our column marches through the forest -- the narrow path stops -- a clearing. There is thick smoke and steam rising from the tree stumps that stand there like broken pillars, in between a tangle of trunks and boughs on the ground, everything in

/157 cont./

241 the process of being charred. The pillar of smoke that had drawn our attention for several days is explained: the forest was
122 being cleared in order to lay out a planting. Eagerly scouting, we climb up, and again we are wandering along the forest path.

/158/ "Beijú," somebody cries in a suppressed voice and
[262] triumphantly points to a few crumbs, which give us the prospect of new provisions; "they have beijús," each one murmurs to the man behind him.

[411] There -- a feather-decorated arrow leans against a tree
824 -- the tube of ubá, the wood from which the Imperador /emperor/
173 of the legend created the Bakaïrí. We become more serious, and even the Negroes, who, when they are afraid, like to try to give themselves courage by chattering march on silently. Now and then small fires, alive or burned out. We have already been
[137] walking three-quarters of an hour. But see there, a new clearing -- a charming grove of nut-bearing bacayuva palms -- a few kernels of maize on the ground, again a bit of forest and: "Casas -- houses," the first man cries.

361 Three houses of the form of a beehive become visible; in
342 the first hut, which blocks our path, the low door stands open; in the dark we make out a few heads. A completely naked
609 Indian steps out, young, well built, closes the door, and comes
[291] toward us, in his hand a long arrow shaft without a point, which he holds horizontally in front of him.

I instruct Antonio to call out a greeting to him in Bakaïrí. "Kyulino," cries Antonio almost breathless, and -- hail to the antiguos -- the Indian answers in Bakaïrí. Eagerly he steps up to Antonio, leans against him, and both embrace as they walk on -- both talking at the same time, both trembling all over with fear and excitement.

[302] A joyful feeling of release overcame us all, and when Manoel, discovering that our dear savage wears a nicely shaved tonsure, now finally recovers his speech and cries out, "Oh, why that's a priest, the compadre is a parson," general laughter breaks out, and everybody talks at once.

/160 cont./

437 carried each piece that she captured to a secret repository lying
439 back off the road, immediately most hurriedly hastening forth
[554] for new deeds.

609 At noon Wilhelm and I went to the aldea;[1] Antonio accompanied us, but, suspicious of his fellow tribesmen, he could not make up his mind to stay with them during the night and returned to the river in the evening.

•122 We set up housekeeping in the festival hut, and, alone with the charming little people, we felt indescribably content. When toward evening the mosquitoes started to annoy us, we took a
[137] walk to the roça.[2] Greedily we looked about for the "frutas de lobo," apple-round fruits which were present in numbers on gray-green shrubs, but unfortunately not ripe; the Bakaïrí boys are no different from ours. A magnificent estate; the horizon was bordered by a dark park, behind which the sun was setting in
291 reddish orange. We met Pauhaga, as our apostle of peace is
177 called, and his relatives on the plaza between the three huts, trying on clothes in great embarrassment. They urgently needed our help; not only did they put the trousers on in reverse and upside down over the legs, but they also tried to draw them up over their arms and wanted to stick their legs into a shirt. Putting on a coat alone was an impossible thing. They were unaware of the most obvious offenses against the elements of propriety. A safety pin was hugely admired, but most of all a pair of scissors with which
412 one could so conveniently cut one's nails. Their tool, the stone ax -- a ground stone is wedged into a wooden handle -- with which they fell trees and make posts, deserves our appreciation no less, from the standpoint of how much can be accomplished with the simplest means, even though in the unspoken accompanying thought that we ourselves /161/ might have to go back to this
[411] stage there is a slight admixture of horror. They have no spears,
[231] no bananas, no dogs, and tobacco is nowhere to be found. Bones,
[276] teeth, shells must serve them as tools, along with the stone ax.
[237] /Illustration appears here./

[1] [i.e. village -- Analyst]
[2] [i.e. Cultivated field -- Analyst]

[Text continues on p. 40]

/166 cont./

252 brick shape -- puvas, used for mingau. They boilthe strained liquid in large pots, whereby the finest flour is depsited -- polvilho; this makes the best beijús.

501 Back in the afternoon. Four canoes were acuired with an
[437] ax, shirt, and trousers. We are not in good shape in spite of all that. Quintilian's canoe burst when it was hauled own. The
[531] Bakaïrí canoes differ from ours only in their more areful workmanship; one of them is painted with black rings on th outside of the longitudinal sides. The oars, the size of a wating stick, have a crook-shaped handle, shaft, and a long lance-sh̄ped blade, which is slightly hollowed out like a shovel.

133 The height of the two uppermost levels of th salto amounts to four meters; two meters more may be figuredor the falls
[226] below. Baskets for catching fish hang on ropes, nich, in turn, are held by stakes standing in the middle of the uirlpool.

We call this waterfall the Salto da Alegria Our happiness
136 is only slightly marred by a swarm of bees and wps; among the latter, the kind that sting very painfully. -- Theransport of the
●122 canoes, for which there is a route, is completed. /Illustration appears here./

/167/

132 15 Aug. φ 13° 11'.7, λ 5'.7, km. 6.41, tot 130.85.
122 7:00 A.M.: dry. 11.8, wet. 9.9, cle, calm.

000 We have only nine canoes; one is very batred. Castro and I separated, he is traveling with Manoel, I wh Compadre Valentin. Off about 9:30 A.M.; immediately a accident happened. At a small rapids Wilhelm's boat capsized, and the foolish Negro Chico behaved as clumsily as possible. With the knapsack and the suitcase in his hands, he stood in the middle of the water, which was flowing over the baggage as though over a mill wheel, as bewildered as a porter in a railroad station who has lost sight of his stranger. He almost drowned, but was luckily pulled out by Clementino. We dried out on both shores. Delay until 1:00 in the afternoon.

[Text continues on P. 48--Analyst]

/167 cont./

133 Instead of the cachoeiras, the simple rapids now cause us worries. With effort Antonio saved his canoe from capsizing; he escaped with a load of water.

We pass a canal three-fourths of a meter wide, which leads 226 through a meadow to a lagoon. There, when the water is higher, the Bakaïrí seize the fish passing through the canal. They are not familiar with hooks and catch the fish either in traps or kill them with arrows.

137 Attractive park landscape. Many tree skeletons in the water. Width 35-45 meters. We were merrily rowing along and 000 already thinking of picking out an attractive campsite when necessity chose one for us. Wilhelm's canoe with Israel and Chico was shipwrecked a second time, but, to be sure, at a less dangerous spot, after the rapids had already been passed. Everything disappeared in an instant in the waves. Poor Israel, who could not swim, held on to a tree branch jutting up from the bottom; the canoe was quickly righted, and three men safely dragged to shore the unlucky one who, on account of his bittersweet expressions and at the same time irresolute behavior, had to put up with general laughter on top of everything. Valentin caught the tripod of the theodolite, and everybody swam, dived, and paddled with the current; little by little the entire cargo was brought to light, with the exception of the bundle made up of Wilhelm's poncho, blanket, and hammock. All searching remained unsuccessful.

226 The Bakaïrí have set up for themselves here a natural fish treasury; on the edge of the river bed, boulders are placed loosely beside one another in a circle; the water flows in and out through two larger openings. -- We bring two canoes in, which are to be made flexible and tomorrow bent into shape.

/168/

●122 16 Aug. φ 13° 7'.6, λ 5'.9, km. 10.90, total 141.75.
132 7:00 A.M.: dry. 11.1.
10:00 A.M.: I 742.2, II 733.6, dry. 24.7.
5:40 P.M.: I 741.0, II 732.8, dry. 24.9, water 25.0.

/168 cont./

126 During the night there was heavy dew; in the forenoon we dried Wilhelm's things; it is a pity the way the drawings look, the sheets are stuck together and bent. How could we have brought photographic chemicals through here?

136 At 1:00 in the afternoon slowly off. Several times a sandy shore 20 meters wide; masaricos, small black-white, red-legged shore-birds. Numerous traces of the tracajá turtle; the people poke in the sand with an arrow or generally simply follow the tracks of the tracajá and with their hands dig up the shallow pit that shows the impression of their bodies. In one nest there are 17 eggs, in another 15; the egg is white and gradually shades to gray; 4.9 centimeters long, 3.2 centimeters wide. Temperature of the sand 57°.4. The verdict about the empty nests, merely in passing by, is often: "Here the lizard has fed."

It is wondrously summer-like: current, sun, charming leafy shores, yellow butterflies, and no mosquitoes or wasps. Many novatos. Endless meanderings; we covered about two legoas.

Valentin caught a large pintado fish; see the glossary, p. 171/; Satyr was almost pulled out of the canoe by a pirahyba that was supposedly as long as he was. Loud buzzing and chirping in the night air. The sabiá was singing.

● 122 17 Aug. φ 13° 7'.3, λ 6'.1, km. 0.57, total 142.32.
132 6:35 A.M.: dry. 11.3, water 23.5.
7:30 P.M.: II 732.0, dry. 21.0.

Shivering I awoke during the night and believed that I had [361] fever. It was the cold. Very soon we arrived in the harbor of the second village.

227 A fisherman's hut lies at the entrance of the forest; here are baskets shaped somewhat like an elongated spiked helmet, into which, from the inner rim, a small collecting funnel with a narrow 487 opening leads inside. The path stretches inland one legoa and is very similar to the one from the first village.

594 After a few steps we were received by two good acquaintances from Aldea I, who had gone overland to announce us to their fellows. One of them in blue trousers and red striped shirt, the

/171 cont./

534
171

1. (cont.)
so that it rattles. They rattle with it when they sing and dance, and call it tammaraka." The soothsayer lets the rattle speak "and just a word so that one cannot really perceive whether the rattle is doing it or whether he is doing it. And the other people think that the rattle is doing it... but when I saw the fraud, I went out of the hut; I thought, what a poor, deluded people that is."

361 The aldea was otherwise similar to the first in everything. All around puva racks, cotton, spear grass, fruta de lobo, and
162 nearby a brook running over white sand. We counted 18 men, 17 women, 7 children; it is possible, however, that one or another has been counted twice; again the small number of children is very striking. Toward evening we returned to the river; I had done some good bartering.

●122 18 Aug, φ 12° 59'.9, λ 7'.7, km. 22.10, total 164.42.
[132] 7:30 A.M.: dry. 14.0, water 22.7.
5:35 P.M.: I 742.8, II 733.4, dry. 25.0.

From the wool /Wolle," wool, down, hair, cotton"/ obtained in the village fish lines were twisted. During the night
[134] five pirararas /see the glossary, p. 172/ and nine piranhas were caught. The former has the bad habit, when it is hauled on land, of emitting a farewell sound, which is audible far and wide, with the part that leaves the water last. It tastes fatty; the broth is somewhat strong; it is also supposed to produce ulcers. -- The
[482] professor went home again; besides arrow, bow, and the treasured mirror, he carried his hammock on his back in a net held by a forehead band; this is the way the Bakairí goes traveling. -- A young, handsome chap accompanies us to the next village. He
[291] wears a red-black flannel shirt and around his head a green cloth with the Brazilian coat of arms. At the campsite he removes this clothing.

/171 cont./

122 19 Aug. φ 12° 53'.0, λ 12'.4, km. 31.03, total 195.45.
132 6:35 A.M.: dry. 15.0, water 24.3.
5:43 P.M.: I 742.2, dry. 26.1, water 26.0.
9:30 P.M.: I 742.8, dry. 21.1.

137 /172/ The river landscape changes its physiognomy somewhat. Shrubs and light-green, fine-leaved bushes, which form tall bowers or rounded, dense masses, occupy the foreground. Willow-like trees often stand as though planted, with delicate, slender trunks. We have not exactly come out of the forest river into a meadow river, but the low-plain character predominates. The sand barranca is steep. Easterly direction of the river.

122 20 Aug. φ 12° 51'.1 λ 12'.8, km. 6.27, total 201.72.
132 7:00 A.M.: dry. 19.3, water 25.1, at night 2-3:00 thunderstorm in NW.

Today the sky is covered with strato-cumulus and the air is showery damp.

133 At an early hour we reached a branch stream 20 meters wide, emptying in quietly from the right. Finally a tributary.

361 The third aldea, located on the left bank, is not quite two
[342] kilometers from the Batovy. There are three huts, lower, smaller,
and less conical than previously. We three again install ourselves
122 for a night among the good people, and even Antonio, who has given up his mistrust, sleeps along with us.

364 As agreeable as this "little village" is, it must be called
345 the dirtiest of the three. The floor of the festival hut is covered with dry grass and refuse of all kinds; the sun shines through the roof, so that inside we are able to light our pipe with the burning-
[592] glass. It is obviously still unfinished and new; besides a few arrows and several rattles, flat wooden fish are stuck on the walls as the products of local artistic activity.

162 Census: 13 men, 12 women and -- the most favorable
proportion so far -- 19 children. Among them there are a man
and a woman of another tribe whom we are to meet farther
142 downstream, the Kustenaú /Custenau/. In type I am unable to see any essential differences; in fact, the more Bakairí we meet, the more uncertain I am in abstracting the common features.

/173 cont./

535 In the evening there was a musical performance. A flickering fire of twigs faintly illuminated the night. The men appeared
[534] in pairs with menis, the meter-long flutes; one had the rattling shells tied around his foot. One pair stationed themselves near us, the other one in front of the opposite house. The former started to blow, stamping rhythmically with the right foot in one spot, our two dipped the menis in water and cried loudly "uh -- uh," then started to blow also and began moving toward the hut at the left, beating time regularly with the right foot. The ones across the way came blowing toward us, while the others, without ceasing their melancholy wail, stood still again, stamping and bending their bodies forward. Finally this pair, too, returned to their starting point; during the finale the lament of the night wind whistling in the chimney increased to the most miserable wail, and the quartet
[292] was at an end. Courteously we were then immediately served the strengthening mingau.

This was the "tŏtŏdidlte," a word infinitely jollier than the dance itself, which it designates.

•122 21 Aug. ♀ 12° 49'.3, λ 14'.3, km. 11.08, total 212.80.
132 /174/ 11:00 A.M.: I 745.8, II 736.4, dry. 29.0.
5:20 P.M.: I 743.6, II 734.2, dry. 27.0, wet. 24.1, water 25.8.

000 Back to the camp early. During the night the bottom of Israel's canoe split with a bang and the load sank. Some of Wilhelm's things, among them the oil sketches of the place of embarkation, were destroyed. The beans lay in the water for hours.

122 Off at 1:00 in the afternoon. Soon there was a port on the right; we noticed a hut which we investigated; it did not seem to
[415] be finished or else was merely a supply station. A number of well-filled baskets, pots, bags with gourd vessels, a rack for the puvas, and bunches of urucú capsules, whose angular seeds furnish the red pigment, were completely abandoned. The path to a roça led into the woods.

/174 cont./

122 22 Aug. φ12° 42'.0, λ16'.4, km. 29.44, total 242.24.
132 6:45 A.M.: dry. 17,0, wet. 16.1, clear, calm.
7:15 A.M.: I 742.8.
6:00 P.M.: I 743.6, II 734.2, dry. 27.1, wet. 24.3, clear, calm, water 26.5.

133 The river is 70 meters wide. Three rapids. It has much
226 swampy terrain and forms small lagoons. Tall scaffolds have been erected for passage and for catching fish. When the lagoon has filled up in the rainy season, a mat plaiting is fastened to the poles, through which the water partly flows off later, but the fish are held back. -- A hunt for two tapirs was in vain.

122 23 Aug. φ12° 34'.5, λ19'.2, km. 32.70, total 274.94.
132 6:35 A.M.: I 744.0, II 736.2, dry. 20.0, wet. 19.4, alto-c. 8, wind = 0, water 25.3.
5:45 P.M.: I 744.4, II 735.4, dry. 26.1, wet. 23.8, clouds = 0, wind = 0, water 27.0.
10:20 P.M.: I 744.0, dry. 19.1.

During the night, 2-3:00, a light rain fell. Sheet lightning. Early the sky is cloudy; not until 9:00 does the sun break through. --
133 The river makes meandering windings; two brooks flow in on the right, one is 20 meters wide. There is often sandy beach and willow brush in the water. Farther on comes campo. We see six
136 herons. -- A dog dives in pursuit of a capybara. The meat of the latter has the taste of machine oil.

122 24 Aug. φ 12° 32'.6, λ19'.6, km. 7.13, total 282.07.
132 6:30 A.M.: I 743.2, II 735.2, dry. 14.7, wet. 14.0, clear, calm, water 25.2.

000 During the night the frango de agua made an uproar; toads performed a cantanet concert.

/177 cont./

122 By way of farewell we wanted to drink sweet mingau -- [272] pisiregu -- in the main house; it was bubbling in a big pot. I was /178/ so foolish as to dip a piece of beijú prematurely into the foam -- the old cook leaped up and they all screamed at once, horrified -- the foam was still poisonous. That I did not know this was probably inconceivable to them; but I thought it best to refrain from producing a miracle for them.

500 It was lasting too long for us; Claus had to calculate an occultation of Mars that was taking place today. Unfortunately the event which we had long anticipated with pleasure and which would have been doubly important for us so near the Schingú took place before twilight set in.

Our Bakairí visits had come to an end.

[134] In the evening an inferno of mosquitoes. Wilhelm's and my hands and lower arms have for some time been covered with flat, slow-healing sores. They start with a dark blister the size of a pinhead, which contains thin pus, then they become enlarged and discharge a thin, milky secretion. It looks as though they came from the bites of small flies. In connection with the discharge, red scars remain after healing.

122 25 Aug. φ 12° 26'.2, λ 21'.7, km. 28.83, total 310.90.
132 6.50 A.M.: I 743.2, II 735.2, dry. 14.0, wet. 13.1, mares' tails 3°, wind - 0, water 25.1.
5.30 P.M.: I 744.6, II 735.2, dry. 25.4, wet. 23.3, clear.

133 Heaven only knows when the "Schingú" is finally supposed to appear. After two days there is a river coming from the left, that is no doubt certain, and later on a larger river -- but when? Concerning this there are the most varied interpretations.

At a width of 70-80 meters we measured the speed of the Batovy at 1,416 meters per hour. Barranca three and one-half
137 meters. Water dirty yellow, as always. Campo, tucum and carandá palms. Low brush on the shore and individual copses about 18 meters high. Aratic5, blossoming paranudo.

1: Steinen
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SP7 Bacalzi SP7

A	B	C	D	E	F
G	H	I	J	K	L

Chart of Positions of End Map /Facing p. 173/

1- Steinen--173), E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Special map of the Schingú River. From the records and position-findings of Dr. O. Clauss, reduced to the scale of 1:500,000.

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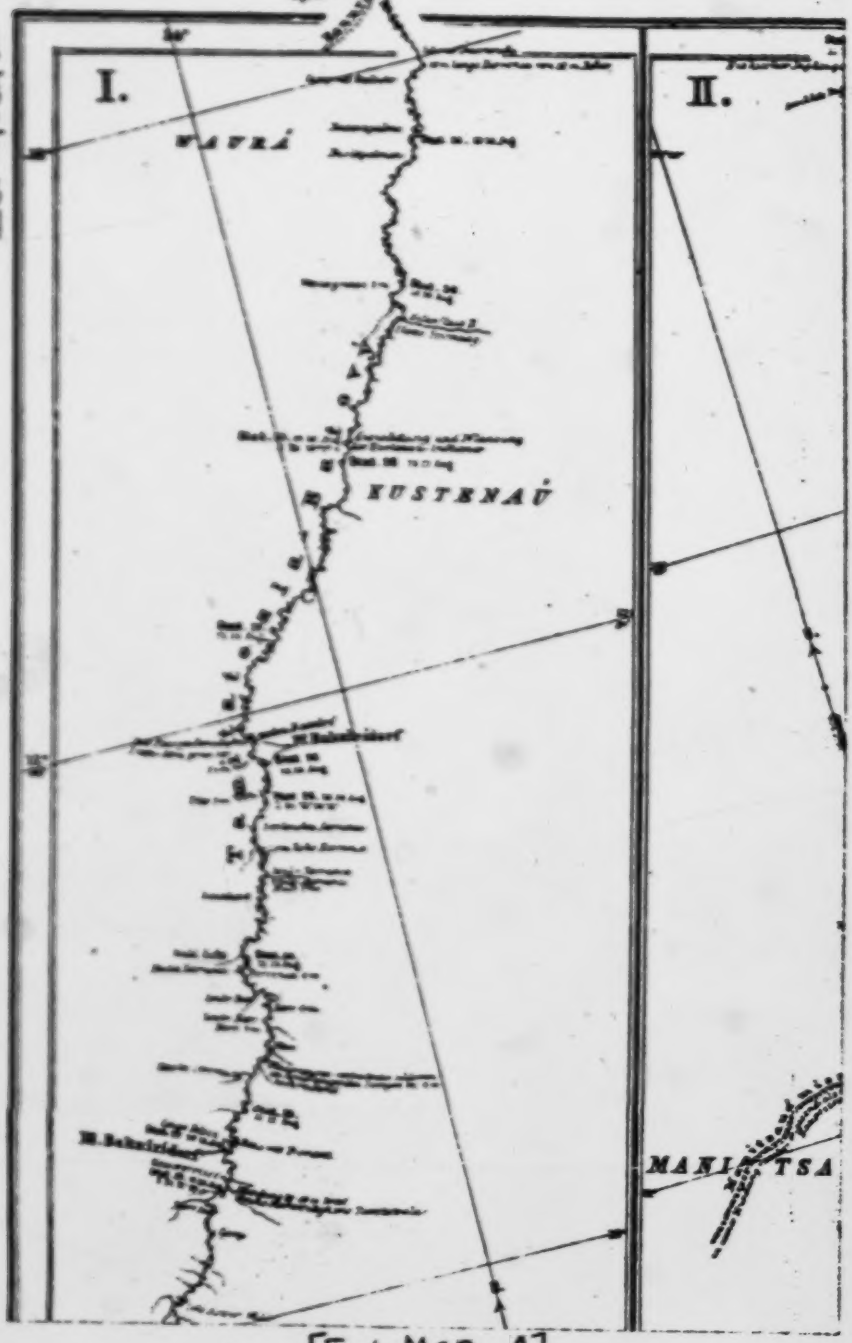

[End Map, A]

1: Steinen--174 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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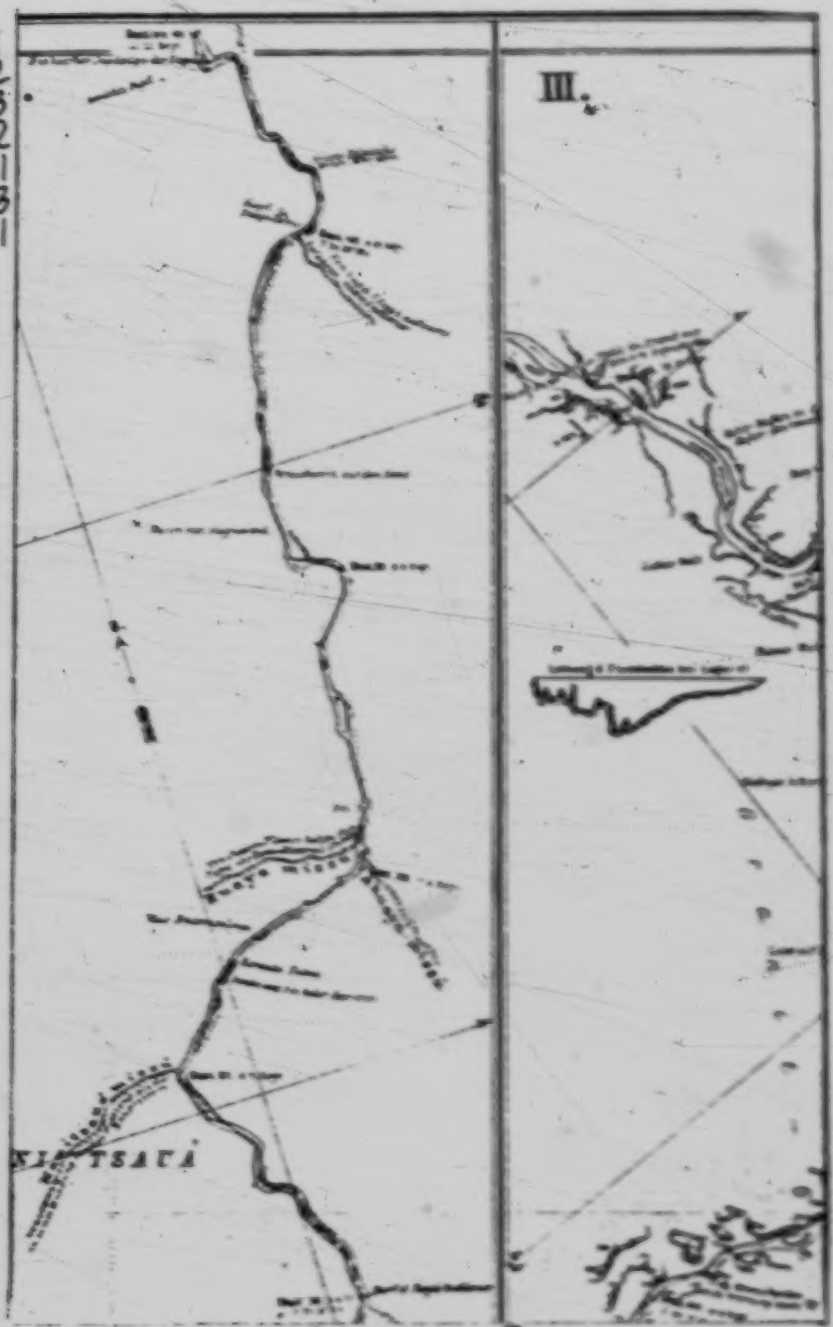

[End Map, B]

L. Steine: 175)(E-S (1894) 1896 SP7 Bacani SP7

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[End Map, C]

1. Steinen--176 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SPT Bacair SP7

Explanation:

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route of the v. d. Steinen Expedition 1884.

Δ Stat. 34 Stopping places on it, with dates 4, 5 Oct.

In the case of stations determined by astronomical calculations, the latitude that was ascertained is added.

camp = treeless land overgrown with tall grass

= forest

o Seringeiro = Brazilian caoutchouc gatherer

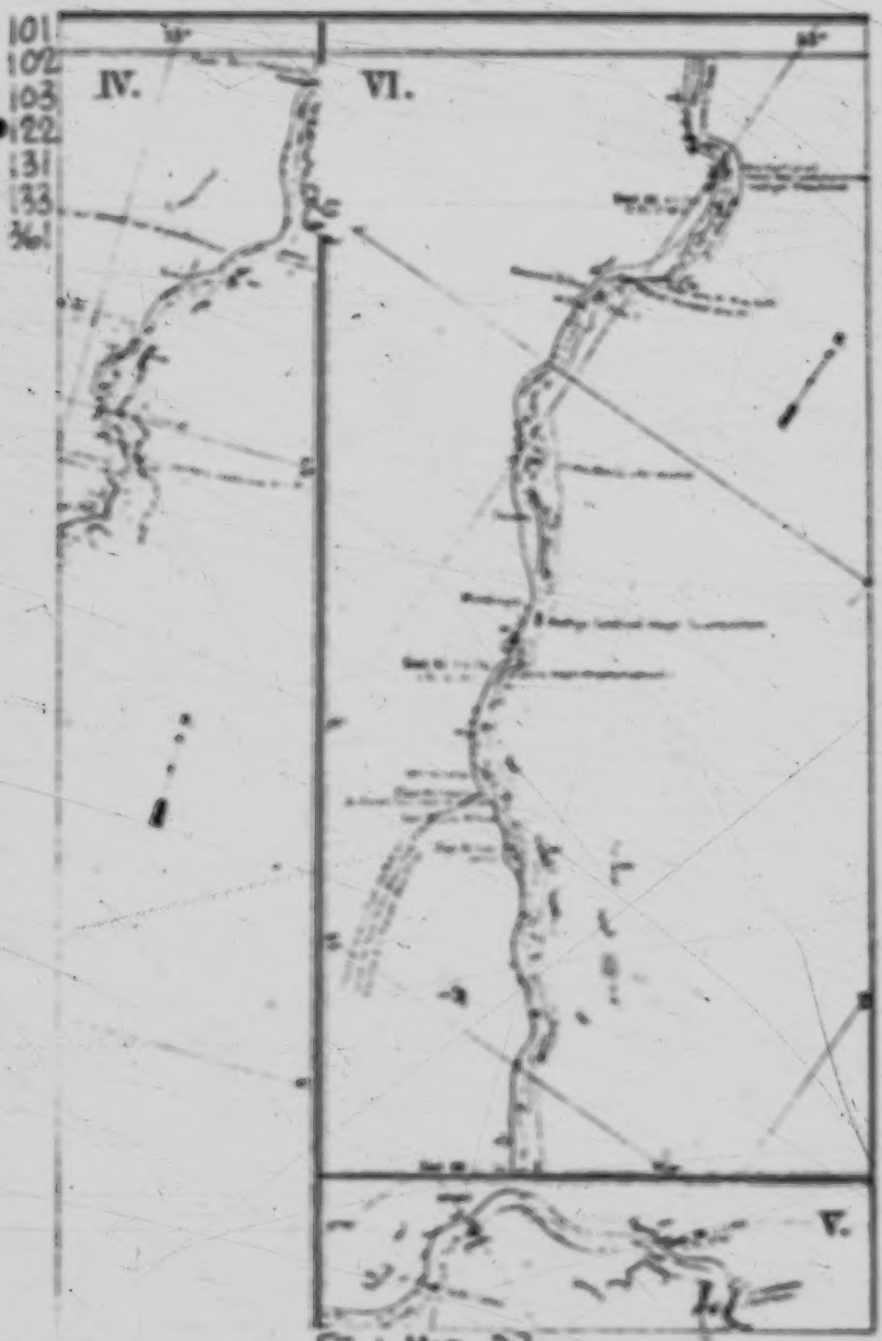
cataracts and rapids

rocks, partly covered with plant growth. Barranca = steep, sandy shore

sand banks

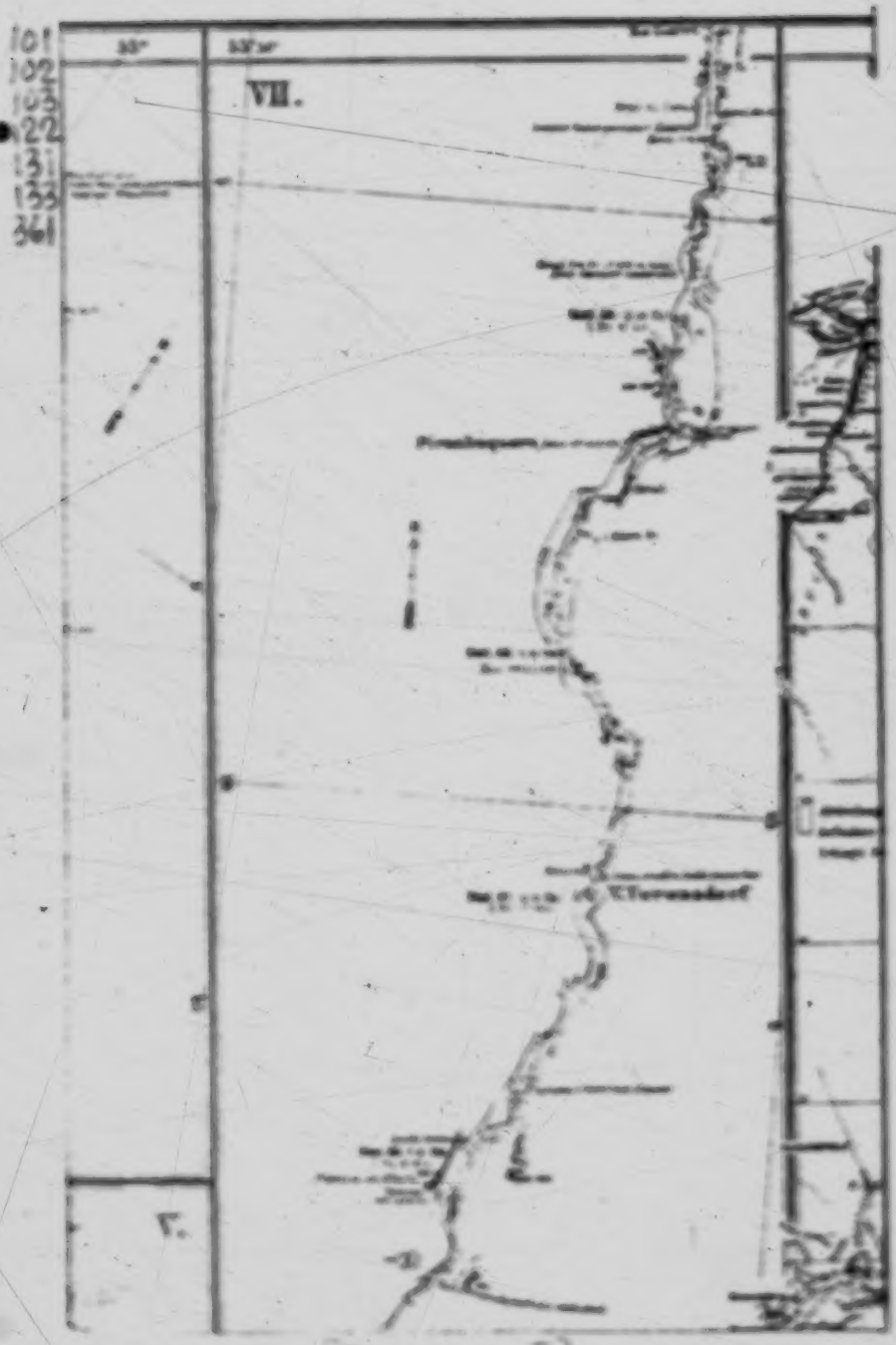
[Legend Appearing Below Scale on End Map, C]

1 Section-177 λ 1-5 (1994) 1996 SP7 Decair: SP7



[End Map, D]

1: Sect.(p) 178 D E-5 (1884) 1886 SP (NAMED) SP7



[Map, E]

I: Stellwagen--179 D E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Recall SP7

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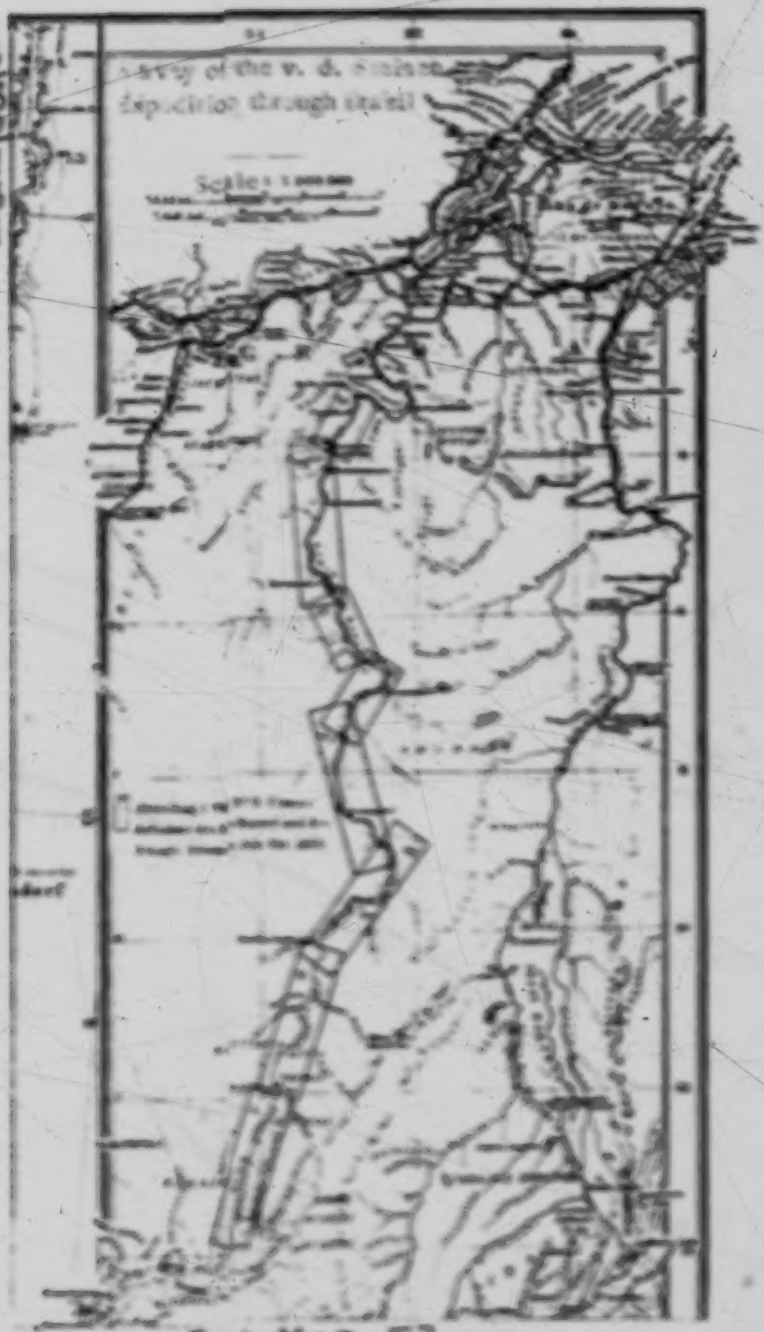
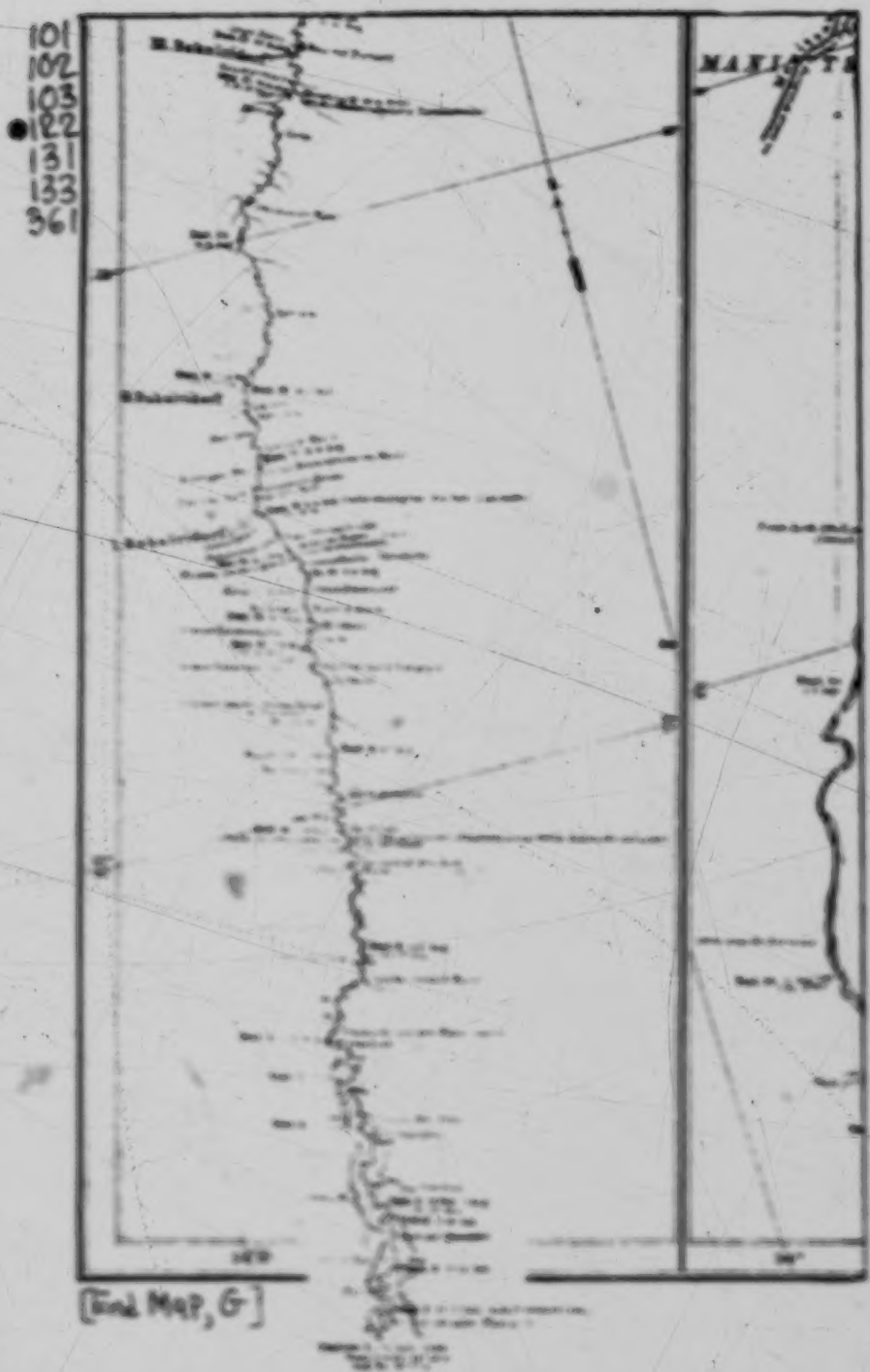


[End MAP, F]



[End Map, G]

1: Steinen--181), E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacaizi SP7

[End Map, H]

1: Steinen--182 DE-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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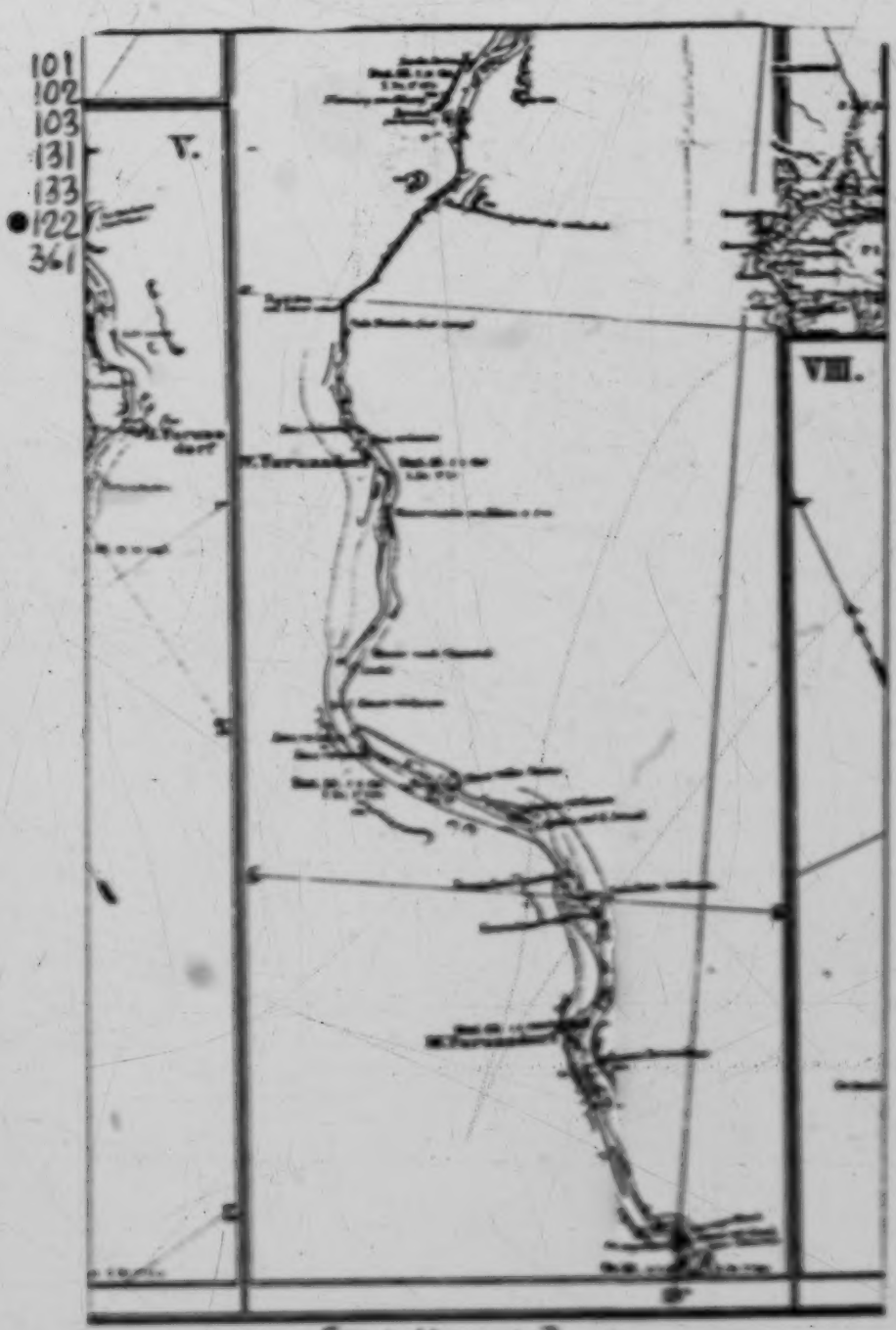
[End MAP, I]

1: Stemen--183 E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacain SP7

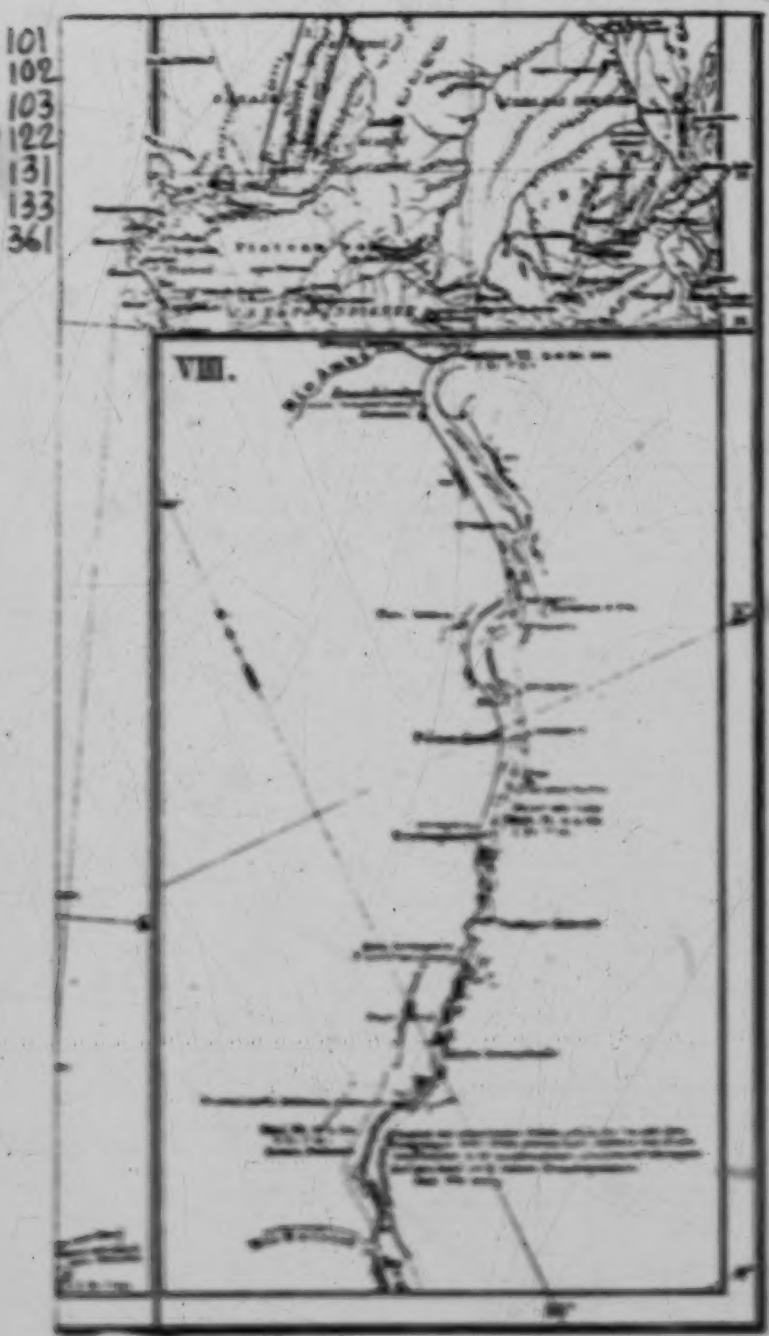
[End Map, J]

1: Steinen--184 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Iacairi SP7



[End Map, K]

1- Sections 185 DJ-3 (1884) 1886 SET BACKS SP7



/vi cont./

122 [113] Simultaneously with the appearance of this book, Professor Vogel is publishing his results in the organ of the Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin/Geographical Society of Berlin/ which deserves credit in connection with our journey for supporting him from the funds of the Karl Ritter Foundation. I cordially thank the president, Privy Councilor Baron von Richthofen, for his kind permission to add to my account the map drawn and edited by Dr. Richard Kiepert's trusted hand. I myself experienced substantial assistance through the Humboldt Foundation of the Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin /Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences of Berlin/, and on this occasion, too, I beg the Board of Trustees to accept my most sincere gratitude.

In the course of the journey we were given numerous demonstrations of hospitality by Brazilians as well as by countrymen in Brazil and the La Plata states, both by simple private persons and by persons in high office, who have put us most deeply under obligation to them. Though we can show our appreciation to the sons of the country to a certain extent by helping to open up the interior of a little explored province, we remain wholly indebted to our countrymen. Were I merely to mention the localities where they live, I would have to recapitulate the entire route, except for the Indian paths. Thus, to all to whom these lines find their way, whether they import and export in trade or lead in a political position, or whether, as intrepid colonists, they live far from the coast, I extend the most cordial greetings and wish them the safeguard of peace and orderly conditions for their work.

123 [102] The maize has already bloomed six times since we left the source region of the Schingú -- "two two two, ahége ahége ahége," counts the Bakairí, and finds no words in his language [113] to express a larger number. The report has been delayed longer than I intend; I was held back primarily by preliminary linguistic studies (Die Bakairí-Sprache /The Bacairi Language/, K. F. Köhler, Leipzig, 1892), but I learned many things from them and gained a broader and firmer foundation than was the

/49 cont./

the village. The scars on the brush, however, were supposed to be a month old. We made our midday stop here, roasted the mutung along with the fish retrieved from the otter, spiced our luncheon with hopeful conjectures, and, after I had permitted Carlos, for dessert, the pleasure of digging out a fat sand-flea for me, pushed off in a happy mood. Borrachudos, the small stinging flies, accompanied us in a thick cloud; on account of the infernal itching, I was obliged to wind a handkerchief around my bare feet. It was sultry and rainy. Soon a violent thunderstorm broke out and forced us to seek shelter for more than an hour on a steep, slippery bank-slope where a few piles of rock jutted out. After that, however, it became mild and sunny, and our woolen underwear was soon dry. My hunter's clothing was indeed not beautiful or socially proper, but I found it light and practical, and the Indians had no right to rebuke me for traveling only in shirt and underpants.

The nearness of the "compadres," or Gevatterm /Ger., "sponsor, godparent, close friend," used here, as in compadre, to refer to the Indians/, became more and more obvious. For at 3:00, as we were looking for a camping place, we came -- at just the right hour -- to the mouth of a brook, which, on the left bank of the river, led, to our delight, to clear, cool water and showed a barricade of branches, crude, to be sure, but made by human hands, a "chiqueira." This is what the Brazilians call one of the simplest fish-traps, often accidently formed by nature itself, at the mouth of a brook or the outlet of an arm of a lagoon; at high water the fish enter unimpeded and when the water is low they cannot get back again. We climbed up the steep embankment and on top found an excellent spot for our night's lodging, free of underbrush and with moderately large trees well spaced. But our men complained, after they had pushed the canoe up into the chiqueira brook, that in the mud on the bank they had picked up "bichas," painful swellings such as they said occur when one steps into capybara dung, fluke filth, and similar pleasant things. They stamped their feet in pain for a while and rubbed them with salt.

/S1 cont./

133 follow despite the many windings. Even before the appearance of the tributary, however, our entire attention was drawn to a gradually increasing roar which we recognized only too well from 1884: we were nearing a large "cachoeira" /cataract/. We passed a few rocky islands which consisted of sandstone boulders and were overgrown with low bushes and thin shrubs; the tumult and roar increased tremendously and suddenly we looked down on the widened stream bed filled with huge deposits of stone, in which the surge of the masses of water, foaming and churning over a great distance, plunged downhill. Our subsequent Salto Taunay.

● 122 We stopped for an hour. The canoe was pushed down the steps, the baggage carried on shoulders along the edge of the bank. I would have liked to see myself: straw hat with aras feathers, shirt, underpants, leather belt, shoulder bag, gray linen Basque shoes, over my left arm the folded oxhide, and in my right hand our four tin plates, the uppermost one filled with the leftover cooked beans; and all the while eagerly looking

226 around and watching for anything suspicious. At a cachoeira like this one there is ample opportunity for fishing; and, sure enough, we found clear footprints and on the stones half-burned palm

OED torches whose gray, fine ash was still intact. We estimated the age of the shelter-hut in the Independencia camp at one year, the age of the torn-off branches on the spot where the capybara had been cut up, at one month; and it could scarcely have been more than a week since these torches had been burning. the situation was therefore now getting scorched and burning in the boldest sense of the word.

133 In contrast to the scantier cataracts of the Batovy in the same latitude, the beautiful cachoeira already had the more grandiose character of the true Schingú cataract throughout, and down below, where the river again flowed onward, calm and clear, the water was beautifully dark and bottle-green. After only a quarter of an hour, however, a new, good-sized cachoeira appeared, lower than the first, where I again had to climb out

226 and wend my way overland. Here, too, some fishing was done.

/53 cont./

123 was assured. Tumayaua, as I now learned from Antonio, had
Bom been no little disconcerted by my call; he had answered that he
was a Bakairí, but that we were not Bakairí. Obligingly, the
good man offered us his canoe, he himself climbed into ours,
and took charge of guiding us. But we chatted no less busily
101 than we rowed. The Bakairí of the Batovy were Tumayaua's
114 relatives and friends. There was wonderful news about the first
village that we had visited in 1884. The old Indian whom we
at that time had called the "professor" was on his way to the
Paranatinga with a few others! They wanted to pay a new visit
to Antonio and his tribal brothers. Paulhaga, the first Bakairí
whom we had greeted on the Batovy on our previous journey,
lived at the moment in Tumayaua's community, and a strange
coincidence thus decreed that we were to see him again likewise
131 in the very first village of the Kulisehu. Were we really on the
103 Kulisehu? Yes, the river was called Kulisehu, Kulisêu, or
Kulihêu, since "h" and "s" are interchangeable in Bakairí, and
all the tribes that we were looking for apparently also lived
on its shores.

133 Cachoeiras, however, interrupted the conversation. We
had set out at 12:00; after half an hour there came a low rock-
cachoeira 60 meters long, through which we laboriously wound
our way; then shortly after 1:00 No. 4 of this day's series, where
we had to unload and stop for half an hour. At 2:45 we came
to the fifth and last, which poured over the boulders in a mighty
• 122 surge. Here, however, the pilot went on strike against going
any farther in our canoe, which was succumbing to acute
dropsy. We took him aboard as a fourth and left the corpse to
its fate. Tumayaua, we had to acknowledge approvingly, had
truly come our way at a good time; it is highly improbable that
we three with our baggage and without knowing the way would
have reached the village through the final cachoeiras in the
miserable canoe that could no longer carry the single Indian.
Certainly we would not have reached this goal today. At 3:15
we landed on the left bank; we were in the "harbor."

/53 cont./

122 Who was more pleased, Tumayana, who hurried on ahead in order to announce us and rapidly disappeared from view, or we ourselves, is difficult to say. We trudged behind one another along the narrow path in the terrain cleared by burning, stepped into the forest after a few minutes, heard loud shouting and /54/ a confusion of calls, and a few hundred feet farther, after we had crossed a crystal-clear brook on a tree trunk serving as a bridge, we came in sight of three beehive-like huts which had an open space between them. Awaiting us there, with Tumayana enthusiastically gesticulating at the head, was a naked, brown band of men and, in the rear guard, of women and children, all gathered in a tight group and half embarrassed, half joyful, but in any case most surprised. The men stepped toward us, stretching out the right hand, and said "ïma = "you," "that is you," or "ïma kkaïïbe" = "you, the Karaïbe /Carib/."

[489] [541] [542] 609 [596]

829 Not they, but we are the "Karaïben" in their eyes, and I, who among us speak of the Karaïben tribe of the Bakaïrí, was called there the "ïma kkaïïbe," the chief of the Karaïben.

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/55/

Chapter V.

Bakaïrí Mýt.

I.

Information about Kulisehu and Kuludne. Antonio and Carlos back. A part of the world in which there is no laughing. Village layout. Introduction of the persons. My flute-house. In Paleko's house. Hospitality. Bean-cooking and dance songs. External appearance of the Indians. Nakedness and feeling of modesty. Eating and feeling of modesty. Tobacco club. Pantomime: river journey, days' journeys, tribes, work with the stone axe. Presentation of "mät" and "wawan." Tobacco planting. Fishing in the lagoon. Canoe-building.

/36 cont./

122 On the following day, 11 September 1887, I sent Antonio
[439] and Carlos back to Independencia with the news. In exchange for a bush knife I had acquired one of the two canoes that the Bakairí possessed. I myself wanted to remain behind to have a new canoe made and, for the sake of my studies, to take advantage of the rare opportunity to stay alone among these children of nature. I heard that in the second Bakairí village lying
[34] downstream there were three canoes and we could perhaps obtain two of them. While a good rancho was to be built for those remaining behind at our permanent quarters, one or two men who were now to be fetched by Antonio and Carlos were to ride with me to the second Bakairí village. There we could complete our outfitting and then, if all went well, row back to Independencia with four canoes, in order finally to commence the actual river journey. Moreover, to save time, Antonio and Carlos were to leave their canoe at the first large cachoeira and find Independencia overland. Thus, along with the experiences gained in the meantime by the gentlemen at Independencia, the terrain would be thoroughly explored and the question settled as to whether the permanent quarters could not be pushed forward closer to the first Bakairí village.

123 After I had brought the two worthies to the harbor and they had soon disappeared in the nearest bend of the river, I returned to my new friends and soon felt so comfortable in their midst that without hesitation I count those idyllic days among the
[121] happiest that I have experienced. I shall try to do them justice in a little sketch. This will give me the opportunity to report many little traits of the good people which could not be put in a purely scientific report, but which nevertheless are not without value, because they reveal the Indians to us not wholly as we are accustomed to imagine them. Not a little of this disappeared when the larger group arrived later, the complete unconcern which they showed toward me as a single individual did not remain, and their behavior more closely resembled the well-
124 known person customarily described in books. And here I
159 should immediately like to enter a protest, with regard to my

/56 cont./

114 Bakairí, against such views about their characteristics as are
197 found, typically expressed, in the following sentences by Oscar Peschel (Abhandlungen zur Erde- und Völkerkunde /Essays on Geography and Ethnology/, Leipzig, 1877, Vol. I, p. 421): "In no other continent on earth did one hear less happy laughter Before 1492 than in America. The so-called red man remains the same in all climates, /57/ everywhere he is gloomy, silent, withdrawn, and intent on a certain dignified bearing."

159 These assertions are in no way applicable to the Bakairí; they were gay, talkative, and trustful, as I observed them in their association with one another and as they acted toward me alone. I shall not fail to give examples of this. In this village I laughed and heard laughter almost as often as under the coconut palms of Samoa and Tonga. It is true, their temperament is less vivacious and their entire view of life less sunny than among the children of the South Seas, the girls do not dance in the moonlight and the men do not sing on canoe trips; shyness and mistrust are more easily aroused, but all this is a long way from the sadness and reserve which, like the black horsehair and the Mongolian eyes, are summarily attributed to the Indian on the basis of appearances, as though there were but a single family between the Bering Strait and the Strait of Magellan.

361 The "village" was very small. It consisted of two large
[342] round houses, in each of which several families lived, and a
[392] small, empty, somewhat dilapidated oblong house, in which I
[122] took up my residence. Between the houses stretched the "tadra,"
[401] an open place where a few racks stood for drying the white
[251] manioca flour spread out on mats, where in the center lay a
[241] long, slender log for sitting, and, toward the edge, there grew a few stalks of cotton, Orleans bushes (Bixa orellana), and
245 Ricinus plants. Numerous fruit trees were planted all around, bakayuva palms (Acrocomia), mangaba /fruit of the mangabeira/ (Hancornia speciosa), fruta de lobo (Solanum lycocarpum), and a
489 sort of avenue of stately piki trees (Caryocar butyrosum). Toward
[32] the east a path led to the "harbor" across the nearby brook, toward
[324]

/59 cont./

123 During the first two days I modestly restrained myself in order not to alarm the good people; I also noticed that one of the men was almost always detached for special duty near me and thus a sort of guard was established. When on the first night, after I had taken my leave, I wanted to stay up for a while with a light and write in my journal, old Paleko appeared at the door and asked me just as politely as urgently to go to sleep and blow out the candle. My discretion bore good fruit; they soon took me into the two large houses: in one Paleko and my intended were the chief occupants, in the other Tumayaua and his daughter. They took me out to fish, to the launching of [122] the new canoe, and the like, and everything could not have been better, if only I had not suffered from chronic hunger as a result of their hospitable, but for me absolutely inadequate board. I had to try to help myself by heavy smoking and in this [506] [512] respect achieved what was humanly possible, whereas almost the only time the Indians gave themselves up to this pleasure, but then in a body and with great enthusiasm, was during our nightly tobacco meeting outside on the plaza, the jolliest hours of the day.

345 My little house had served at the time of the festivals as [122] the dance house, "kxato-éti," or "flute house." Two reed [534] flutes hanging on the wall in a case made of buriti-palm straw were the only remains of past glory. For me, however, it was [562] better this way, for the women, who passed in and out of this ruin freely, may never enter the flute house of the men. It was seven paces wide and nine and a half long; the main posts in the center, standing two and a half paces apart, which supported the roof, were four and a half meters high. At the top, in the straw roof, a vent one meter and three and three-fourths meters long was left open. A couple of fish weirs stood in one corner, but otherwise there was nothing but the two posts, from one of which I had stretched the hammock over to the wall.

231 Besides my guard of honor, I also had the company of a japú (Cassicus), who seemed like a green tropical Jim Crow /Hans Huckebein/ to me; he was permitted to sit only up in the

/62/

342 Tumayaua's house was a little smaller; here Eva's children peeped out of the little hammocks, but otherwise the picture was the same.

122 262 The lodgings pleased me more than the second part of the room-and-board. As far as my diet was concerned, it was bad. I did not see meat at all during my stay in the village, if I except two mice that were shot. Fish was given to me rarely and in small portions as though it were one of the costliest of dishes: once a little pot of creatures the length of a little finger in a saltless broth with a corncob stalk as a spoon; twice a piece of [252] grilled fish barely hand-size and served on beijú as on a small plate; and once a piece of electric eel, almost too fat, but good and with a skin like smoked eel. Then once I was allowed to dip beijú in fish oil, which would not have been a special delicacy even for the Bakaïrí if in their childhood they had been obliged to take cod-liver oil. I do not find anything else recorded in my [252] journal -- on the other hand, on the first day my intended shared with me roasted maize kernels which she held in her lap as she squatted on the ground; occasionally she also brought me a couple of mangabas, and during the inquiry about vocabulary, Eva offered me ants, a palm-boring beetle which still had half a leg, and a fat larva, all of which were supposed to be "iwakulukulu," the superlative of everything good and fine in Bakaïrí. There was no 272 lack of mandioca flat-cakes or beijús and drinks. The festive drink, püserego, however, lasted for only two days; greenish gray like soapy water, warm and covered with bubbly foam, it never- 262 theless had a pleasant, insipid, sweet taste. The beijús were very different in quality, depending on the type of flour; they were usually crumbled and, mixed with water, taken as a drink.

[122] On the other hand, my hosts were heartily willing to relish the little that I had with me in the way of beans and salt and urgently begged for them. There was some difficulty with the beans. Paleko and I together cooked them, but both for the first time in our lives. I kindled the fire and he fetched sticks of wood; we set an earthen pot with the beans in it on three stones and cooked 533 122 away. Paleko sang to it, plaiting his basket and beating time softly

/74 cont./

226 and sought to drive the fish into them. It was an amusing sight: the girls extremely agile, the men less quick, fat Yapú in particular not at all in his element apparently, much laughing and splashing; in the air a few hovering dragonflies and humming bees without number, on the shore under the tree the busily commenting old Paleko, who leaned with his left hand on a stick and held pressed under his upper arm on the same side the very superfluous stone ax. The fish were called poniú or poriú, the jejú of the Brazilians.

482 [122] The bark canoe that I had ordered was ready on September 18; the stone ax had worked slowly, but very neatly. Four men carried the vessel to the river; on their shoulders they had placed rings plaited out of brown bast and with exactly the same appearance as those our market women wear on their heads.

123 [114] I had now been alone with the good Bakairi for more than a week and I noticed that they were becoming somewhat impatient. They asked far too often when the "younger brothers" were coming. What I had carried with me in the way of valuables was long since in their possession anyway; even my améma ikúto ("figure of the lizard"), a reptile with glass scales and ruby-red eyes, which they had greedily attempted to get belonged to them.

But our good understanding remained the same up to the final hour. If it had been up to me, I would have preferred to [262] spend the entire rainy season with them, although I could not get [122] rid of a sourish taste in my throat from the eternal starchy food 159 and I was also suffering from digestive upsets. My first impressions about the peaceable and sympathetic character of my hosts needed no correction. The elders were wise and solicitous, the young people vigorous and agile, the women industrious and domestic, all of them well-meaning, a little vain, and, with the exception of a few mothers absorbed by their duties, always gay and talkative. All were honest. No one ever took anything of mine, lost things were often brought to me, anything that I had received in trade was always regarded as my property.

2. Steinen--48E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/78 cont./

122 Simple communication referring to ordinary activities caused no difficulties. With 50-60 words one can, with a little practice, converse fluently in any foreign language: this /dieser (masc.)/, this /dieses (neuter)/ yes, no, is there, is not there, do not know, want, do not want, what is it called, what, where, when, how much, all, few, much, another, immediately, tomorrow, I, you, one, two, three, good, bad, large, small, near, far, up, down, with, for, in, toward, let us, give, take, bring, put, go, go away, come, arrive, stay, eat, drink, sleep, make, cut, stop, and the most important substantives. The otherwise so necessary "thank you" and "please" are unknown to the Brazilian native. With a small part of these words one can get along very well, and it would be too bad if it were otherwise. The fundamental grammatical differences, for example, between Portuguese and any Indian language of Brazil are so great that no colonist or soldier is ever able to penetrate its system: even the pronominal prefixes and the postpositions form an insurmountable obstacle. On account of them it is unfortunately not possible in many cases to separate out the word stem, which we, according to our linguistic feeling, require first of all, from the fusion made with those elements. The stem of the verb, besides its combination with pronominal prefixes, is joined and assimilated with adverbial expressions, in order to give what we call inflection, in such a way
193 that a poor devil of a beginner sinks into absolute despair. Since in Bakairí "zãte" and "kxanadíle" both mean "I am taking along," different forms of the same meaning, how am I supposed to guess that the verbal stem "za," which, according to the phonetic laws of the language, changes to "ha" and "a," is given in the "a" /79/ of kx-an-a-díle? Thus, with the (already altered) verb stem "e," to see, "you see" is "méta," and "you do not see" is manepũrãma" and is to be analyzed:

m	- e	- ta	and	m	an	- e	- pũra	- ama.
you	stem	inflection		you	inflection	stem	not	you.

2. Steinen--SJfD-3 (1884, 1887-1889) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/82/

Chapter VI.

1. Joint Departure and Visiting of the Three Bakairí Villages.

Independencia during my absence. Preparations for setting out. To the first Bakairí village. Photographs. Doll delivered. To the second Bakairí village. River journey. Hospitality. Mummery to fetch food. Nocturnal dance. Frieze in the house of the chief. To the third Bakairí village. Speeches of welcome. Collection. The first Nahuquá. Body measurements and heads.

122 On 19 September 1887 Ehrenreich and Vogel arrived. We traveled together to the second village of the Bakairí, where we acquired another canoe and returned to the first village. The former left for Independencia on 24 September and I followed them on the 25th, overtook them, for Carlos was ill with fever, and on the 26th we were all united again in Independencia. Tumayana and Luchu had accompanied me and were now able to study the
128 "wau-wau" in the original. I do not yet want to describe our visit with the second Bakairí here, but rather would like to include it in the report concerning the later, joint one, so that the crisscross routes will not make it difficult to get an over-all view.

I had been absent from Independencia from the 8th to the 26th of September. It may be imagined with what a feeling of relief Wilhelm and Perrot greeted our canoes.

The mules had caused them and old Januario a great deal of worry. Day after day first this one and then that one was missing. Once Januario had been obliged to fetch back an animal from the next-to-last campsite of the journey here and had thus always been on the go. Meanwhile fresh young grass had sprung up on the queimada and the future was thus assured. The donkeys were in good condition; they were already beginning to grow fat, were already becoming unmanageable, and came daily to drink at a pool. Only "Balisa," the "post," had come up with a hole filled with maggots in his back. "Tormenta" had been relieved of the pangs of existence. He could no longer stand on his legs, no longer ate the grass that was carefully cut up for him, and one morning lay dead on the sandy beach.

/64 cont./

000 We could thus be satisfied with our Independencia. It had a pleasant broad open plaza and one lower level where the clear brook emptied into the river, the small kitchen area shown on Plate 12 /omitted in the translation/. Several hammocks were also set up there, whereas Perrot's tent and the tents of the soldiers stood above, beside the "new construction." Everybody now worked busily to get a roof on this little house. A few loads of buriti leaves were fetched with the donkeys; unfortunately a great number of large ticks were also imported on them. Cross-rafters were lashed together with pindahyba bast to form a girão, a supporting framework, and above this the roof was covered with buriti leaves. The wooden saddles and the leather bags were stacked up in the house and the ethnological collection was sheltered on the framework under oxhides. A good-sized space remained for January for sleeping.

[122] The collection was a promising beginning. It already contained almost 120 specimens which were catalogued and provided with tin numbers. Less effort was required for the distribution of the food supplies. A small part was set aside for the return journey by land. The first experiments were now made with the Kemmerich tubes of meat; it turned out that they were best

• 122 cooked with vegetable cubes, Mélange d'Equipage. Tumayaua promised to see to it that manihoca flour was delivered from the village to those remaining behind, and January had before his eyes a bag of magnificent beads, turned over to him as a lure for the suppliers.

124 Tumayaua further promised to accompany us on our trip. We guaranteed him two fine axes, several shirts, and so many beads that he would be the richest /85/ man on the Kulisehu. He and Luchu, pampered on all sides, felt immeasurably content in their new environment. We showed them the campsite in Bengal light, which, in fact, looked magnificent, although the nightly illumination by thousands of fireflies which performed their torch dances in front of the dark background of the queimada perhaps created

[126] more of a mood. Tumayaua and Luchu unhesitatingly let themselves be photographed (Plate 6).[2] They did everything that was

[2] [See P. 40--Analysis]

2: Steinen--57 E D-S (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SPT Bacairi SPT

/95 cont./

[124] asked of them. Indeed, Tumayaua accepted without delay the invitation to mount Perrot's horse. I led the animal for a while and then let it trot: the noble chief rode and rode, for he did not know how to get back. But there was something of a historic moment in the picture: the South American of the Stone Age on the back of a horse for the first time. Luchu was not yet ripe for this idea: the young man could not to be persuaded to follow the example of the plucky uncle, who was highly pleased with the experience. Tumayaua also measured the horse by feeling the head and neck in comparison with his body size: obviously he wanted to furnish the tobacco club with a scientific description.

[122] With the help of the Indians, two more canoes had been made: on 29 September the oars were carved and on the 30th the canoes were experimentally loaded.

[103] To the First Bakairi Village (Maigdri).

On 1 October we got up at four o'clock and at six o'clock we set out. We were distributed in the five canoes: 1. Antonio, Wilhelm, I. 2. Ehrenreich, João Pedro; 3. Vogel, Perrot, Columna; 4. Carlos and Peter with heavy baggage; 5. Tumayaua and Luchu. "Adeus Januario, Raymundo, Satyro, Manoel! Até á volta, until our return! Take care of the animals, don't quarrel, and keep well!" "Feliz viagem!" called back the good fellows, in whose place I truly would not have liked to be and who were now going to count the days until our return would again give them their freedom.

We rowed busily, made a midday pause on a rocky island, and at a quarter to five our canoe was the first at the big cachoeira which we christened Salto Taunay in honor of Senator Taunay. I took a splendid bath in the whirlpool and then sat down at a lookout point: dusk was beginning to fall and no one came. At a quarter to seven, in the light of the full moon, the others appeared: they had remained at the island until three o'clock, sleeping and boiling maté. Fishing was made difficult by the all too bright night. It was not until eleven o'clock that the men

/95 cont./

000 brought three large fat bar[illegible] which traveled to the grill and well deserved being eaten; [illegible] even at the winching hour, in the scenery of the roaring wat[illegible]rfall gloriously illuminated by the moon.

122 On 2 October we set [illegible]ut at 6:30 and reached the Bakairi harbor at 2:15. Good Pale[illegible]ho was already standing there with a bowl of mandioca pasta. [illegible] Wilhelm and I immediately went to the

123 village. It was very enter[illegible]taining /96/ to observe how one wel-coming scene followed the [illegible]other, since the canoes arrived at intervals; new guests, agai[illegible]n and again new excitement, and a new rushing forth out of the fl[illegible]e-house, where we sat amidst bright

302 and calabashes. Some of the people had adorned themselves festively with colored dea[illegible]gs. Kulelule had decorated his face and upper body with orang[illegible]-red lines and dots, my intended had red serpentine lines on her [illegible] upper thighs, the Egyptian a red fire-head and nose, Tumayaua [illegible]'s small grandchildren were daubed and smeared black, their mot[illegible]er Eva appeared with her hair and skin

301 powdered white from her [illegible] work. Good-natured Awiã wore a cake knife, that is, a bei[illegible] turner, in her hair in a curious fashion.

628 There were also forei[illegible]n visitors present from Village II and

574 III; we counted 18 hamm[illegible]cks in Paleko's house and 13 in Tumayaua's

126 houses. Ehrenreich was ta[illegible]king photographs. For each shot the models were compensated [illegible] with a few beads. They were some-what afraid, but the bead[illegible] conquered the fear of danger. The women's group on Plate 5, [illegible] was obtained only with difficulty. The women had let themselves [illegible] be positioned and arranged, and Ehrenreich was on the poin[illegible]t of exposing the plate, when they suddenly discovered their [illegible]mirrored images in the lens and, astonished, fell upon the a[illegible]pparatus in order to examine it more closely. The photographer [illegible] in dire distress! Tumayaua had gained possession of a useless plat[illegible] of glass -- "pinu" - water - and with it, following Vogel's direc[illegible]tions, he set the first window in the straw dome of his house.

123 On this fine day I wan[illegible]ted to present a gift of honor to my hosts. Two young ladies o[illegible] Berlin had given me a pretty blond doll to bring along, which they themselves had fitted out with a

[See p. 28--Analist]

/10 cont./

grandeur. We had to move the stones laboriously out of the way at the edge of the pilings in order to pass through even with our narrow canoes. Behind this a width of 124 meters.

At the last rapids Vogel was shipwrecked. The instruments remained dry, but the condensed-soup tablets suffered a premature

Fig. 3. Bird cage.

soaking. So we utilized the opportunity to brew, for once, an extravagantly strong soup from the hopelessly softened pieces. We stopped behind the site of the accident, from here visited the Balalif village on the next day, 4 October, and meanwhile had the canoes transported to the harbor. On this stretch, too, Vogel's canoe hit a stone and went under. On this occasion a water thermometer given us by Herr von Danckelman sank into the depths, true to its destiny, but remained below, never to be seen again, and eluded a reading.

/93 cont./

126 taken on him. With lively gesticulations and a /94/ memory
153 worthy of appreciation, he repeated the entire procedure: the head from front to back, from side to side, the nose from top to bottom, the space between the eyes, the length of the extremities and their parts, the height of the navel above the ground, etc., etc., and after each pantomime he stretched out his hand toward the katakuf, the beads. There was nothing for it, the man's claim must be admitted, but I was obliged to compensate him with small embroidery beads. for when I started to pay him, he faithfully went over the number of measurements again after each pair of beads, first pointing to the letter, then to the corresponding part of the body, and he did not rest until the long list was quite carefully brought to an end. If these instances pile up, I said to myself, and if the Bakairi produce many such critical natures, their art of counting will make rapid progress. Here, indeed, was a tangible example of how trade fructifies and develops arithmetical gifts!

126 The women offered some resistance. It was quite impossible
345 to take the readings on them in the flute-house. They were not
522 permitted to enter it, although the noble building was already half in ruins. Hence they were measured and photographed on the plaza.

123 We carefully packed up our bartered treasures and asked Porisa to keep them for us in his house until our return. We did not dare overload our canoes and had to provide room for the collection among the tribes living downstream. Porisa, before our eyes, showed the bundles onto a high cross-beam between the center posts and promised that no one would touch them.

At 4:30 we then set out, very satisfied, for the harbor once
226 more. Antonio with eight Indians had gone out in front of the
(199) inlet where fishing was more rewarding and there demonstrated the use of the hook and line. His companions were able to set out homeward toward the village with a heavy load of piranhas, a
122 bagadó, and a pintado. We traded one of our small canoes for a better, larger one.

/127 cont./

B 103 133 T [84] luggage. They reached the place where the Kulisehu empties /128/ into the beautiful wide Kuluéne in seven hours, passed a tributary on the left, a canal of the Mariapé-Nahuquá on the right, found on the right bank the Trumaí villages in the condition described on page 114, and from here were able in all of four hours -- in eight hours from the emptying of the Kulisehu -- to reach Schingú-Koblenz at the junction of the Kuluéne and Romuro, that large sandy beach where our meeting with the Trumaí was enacted in 1884.

At that time the Trumaí had thus come down on their Kuluéne, and this large river, of which we knew only the mouth, was designated for us as the "Kulisehu." A strange development! On our new expedition we had sought the "Kulisehu" and had found and traveled the Kulisehu as well, but we had meant the Kuluéne. Even the Trumaí live below V T [83] the Kulisehu mouth, farther up on the Kuluéne lived the Nahuquá tribes, which fortunately, however, were also settled on the Kulisehu at the village visited by us.

Vogel and Ferrot had bad weather. On account of the cloud cover, the astronomical latitude could not be determined either at the mouth of the Kulisehu or in Koblenz. The Kuluéne was 241 meters wide below the Kulisehu mouth, 289 meters somewhat above it. From Koblenz they had gone up the Romuro, had passed the Batovy mouth in a scant half hour -- where on 30 August 1884 we had emerged from the endlessly winding forest stream and for the first time were able to enjoy with some certainty the hope that we had actually found the Schingú -- and had finally continued the journey on the Romuro for two kilometers farther upstream. The Romuro had an average width of 250 meters and a depth of three to six meters. the Kuluéde, above Koblenz, measured only 187 meters and the main river at our sandy beach, 366 meters.

B /122 If we did not wish to jeopardize all of our success, the thought of traveling up the Kuluéne and visiting the other Nahuquá villages was completely out of the question. The rainy period had set in in earnest, the journey upstream was becoming

/129 cont./

B 122 increasingly difficult, the provisions were exhausted, and before us lay the prospect of a long land march made exceedingly more difficult by the rise of the waters. The food supplies that had been brought along were practically exhausted, except for salt, Paraguayan tea, and a little coffee. The soup tablets had disappeared, there were two containers of vegetables left, and the rest consisted of a little bottle of Kemmerich bouillon, two small containers of peptone, and three bottles of liquor. Only Kemmerich meat powder had made it possible for us to stay in the Indian villages; the last two containers of it had been cooked in the Aueró village.

B 122 123 On 31 October we set out on the return journey. Without the help of the Indians we should have been unable to transport the collection to Independencia, for we did not have enough canoes. For this service, however, we had carefully saved a number of attractive and useful trade items. First /Pl. XI appears here/ /129/ five Aueró accompanied us to the Mehinakú B 122 123 in several canoes filled with our loads; the Mehinakú helped us on to the Nahuquá, with the Nahuquá we reached the third Bakairí. Bakairí from all three villages took part in the transport that increased from village to village, and on 13 November we drew up, a small fleet of 13 canoes with 14 Bakairí, in front of the kitchen site of Independencia.

W 126 I should like to sketch briefly what is still to be reported from the second visit to the villages. The two Mehinakú days were very pleasant and instructive. Photographs and measurements had to be taken, since Ehrenreich had been ill at the time of our first visit. During the measuring, the women trem- W 163 bled all over their bodies. They had remarkably many children: in the case of one woman we counted the unheard of number of six, another had four daughters. Later I shall have to W 323 sing the praises of these Nu-Aruak women, the inventors of the pots, and the best benefactors of the mandioca industry. An ex- W 123 cellent picture of the company is shown on Plate 8, "Demonstration of a bird whistle" /see p. 85/. They are listening to the swelling tones which the native sitting in front of me is drawing out of the new silver object. The gesture of the little girl in the

[Text continues on p. 122]

PLATE XI

/130 cont./

rained by buckets, and the shower bath was quite cold, scarcely more than 13°. Our good Mehinaki were unhappy that we did not follow their example and puff against the heavenly sluices; they hastily built a primitive roof, probably more to keep busy, and complained incessantly "ulkpe, ulkpe!"

In the harbor of the Mehinaki we acquired another canoe; meanwhile the Aueti who had accompanied us thus far had disappeared without a trace. Vogel's hunting knife was also missing.

The Nahuquá village was in the middle of the piki harvest. Like cannon balls in an arsenal, the piki lay in piles outside and inside. Racks had been set up in the houses to dry the seeds, the women were busy peeling the fruit, cooking it, and scraping the seeds, human beings and utensils butter yellow -- Caryocar butyrosum. No pogo, but piki juice; the piki seeds with an almond-like taste, an electuary "piki herb" not at all bad in moderate doses. Many sick in the hammocks, stomach and skin affected, one old baldhead, face and head covered with sores. Tumayaua was given piki as a parting gift for the trip. Only one newborn child, which the mother brought to us so that we would blow on it, seemed to know nothing yet about piki.

In Bakairí village III, which, by the way, the Nahuquá accompanying us did not want to enter, the old festival hut had burned down and the people were very much afraid of the previously greatly admired matches. But we did find magnificent bird-masks and fish-masks. Of the two canoes we ordered, one was not yet finished and the other had been wrecked.

Bakairí village II seemed deserted. The occupants were in part absent, why remained unclear; also, we had apparently seen foreign guests the first time and included them. Chief Aramóke, however, was gracious as ever and had set before us beijú which we could have offered the most distinguished tea guests at home. It was only with great difficulty that we found a few men to transport part of the collection for some distance overland. It was always said that they had to stay with the children. Then in the chief's house lay a woman with burns on

/259/

121 In order to protect themselves against the numerous
056 supernatural dangers that surrounded them, the Bakairí
174 /Bacairi/ made use of two methods: shamanism and the uanki
state, or ritual seclusion. The aim of this article is to examine these two methods of Bakairí culture in the light of data gathered by us (1) and with the help of the existing relevant

[114] [122]

1. The data that we present were gathered in 1947, during a visit to the Simões Lopes Indian Post of the Indian Protection Service, which was sponsored by the School of Sociology and Political Science of São Paulo in collaboration with the Institute of Social Anthropology of the Smithsonian Institute. Except where specifically mentioned in a footnote, the data mentioned were obtained from the Simões Lopes Indians.

114 literature. However, although the Bakairí have been visited
121 from an early date by several ethnologists and their customs have been mentioned in the literature to support ethnological theories, very little is yet known on their culture as a whole. Most of the reports left by scholars do not give a rounded view of Bakairí culture and focus rather on their technology. On
[179] the other hand, the present-day Bakairí are quite acculturated, and it is difficult to obtain complete data on their old culture. We shall attempt nevertheless to try to contribute here to a clarification of the problem.

161 The Bakairí now number about 250 individuals, according to the estimates of the Indian Protection Service, /260/
131 in 1947. They live in aldeas in Mato Grosso, at the Simões
361 Lopes Post of the Indian Protection Service, on the banks of the Paranatinga River, and in groups scattered along the

[269-A]

THE BACAIRI

This brief account of the Bacairi is based on field work done among the Bacairi living in the Government Indian Post on the Rio Paranatinga in June 1947. The field work was carried out in the course of a reconnaissance survey which the writer was then making of some of the central and northern Indian tribes of Mato Grosso. This and other trips at the time were made in a Ford truck put at the disposal of the writer by the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios. By using a truck the trip to the Paranatinga could be made over the Planalto do Matogrosense in 2 days in contrast to the old route along the Rio Cuiabá which, on horseback with pack oxen, takes from 2 to 3 weeks. The writer was accompanied by Fernando Altenfelder Silva of the Escola de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo and by Rev. Thomas Young and Rev. W. L. Buckman of the South American Indian Mission. The Reverend Mr. Young, who has spent more than 10 years among the Bacairi, was of great help in selecting informants and in adding to our knowledge of the Bacairi.

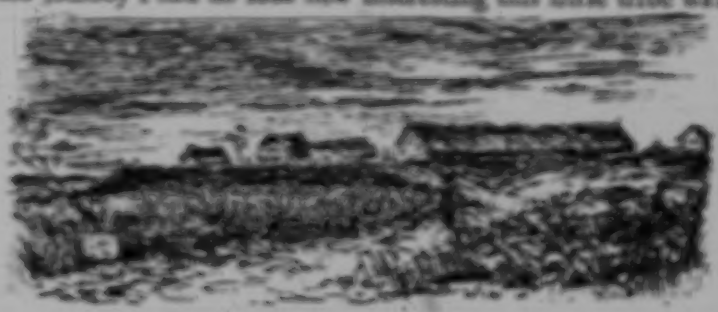
According to estimates made in 1947 by the Brazilian Indian Service (Serviço de Proteção aos Indios) there are between 200 and 250 Bacairi living in the northern part of Mato Grosso State, Brazil, divided between the Indian Post of Simão Lopes on the Rio Paranatinga and the village of Rio Novo some distance to the northwest. The Bacairi claim that the whole tribe originally lived together on the Rio Paranatinga (headwaters of the Tapajos River), but attacks by other Indians and Brazilians forced them to move about 90 years ago. Owing to a dispute the tribe split, one group moving north to settle on the banks of the Rio Kuliseu, a tributary of the Xingú River, the other moving to Rio Novo. After about 50 years in the Kuliseu Basin, this group moved to the present location of Simão Lopes, not far from the original Bacairi settlement on the Rio Paranatinga. Although the Rio Novo group has adopted Brazilian customs and manages without Government help, some have moved to Simão Lopes where the Bacairi now live on reservation lands and receive assistance from the Brazilian Government.

/100 cont./

121 to the Christians. It is said that they are white and friendly; one reason why they are regarded as a horde of the Paricys."

Martius has them living at the southernmost sources of the Schingú and also lists them at the sources of the Arinos and Juruena. He also classifies /101/ them under the Parecí /Parexi/ who are scattered across the watershed between Tapajos, Madeira, and Paraguay.

101 Now it turns out that placing the Parecí and the Bakairí together in this way was erroneous. The well-known closest relatives of the Bakairí, as I wish to point out briefly in advance, are settled north of the Amazon River, and a tribe somewhat more distantly related to them, but belonging to the same group, lives in the source region of the Madeira. 122 I myself was familiar only with the note of Martius, and on the journey I had no idea how interesting this little tribe was



Bakairí village.

122 and how many hours I would later spend pondering over its past.

It was a very fortunate circumstance that Reginaldo -- who was always ready to smoke a cigarette with me and warmed up more and more and gradually became highly amused by my notations -- had an amazing gift of quick perception and was able to express himself clearly for practical purposes in a somewhat crude Portuguese. Such an opportunity never came again later. Reginaldo was a good person, intelligent, and held the reins of his chieftainship in strong, paternal hands.

/105 cont./

533 sounds not unpleasant, and has something both gentle and fascinatingly eerie about it at the same time, just as the wailing night-wind blowing down the chimney is described when the story-teller /106/ first gives thanks to God that he is lying warm and safe in his snug bed, but is again and again obliged to listen to the weird lament and finally sees in a dream the ghost of a
122 friend who lies dying. We sit crowded against one another in the
[354] small room; a gourd filled with fat, in which a wick was burning, lay upon the floor. I was glad when the gourd also started to burn and we were able to step outside where the stars glistened and we shook ourselves -- the shuddering was over.

562 The women held out until 19 June; then they came; Reginaldo fetched them; a dozen in number, they walked one behind the other across the campo, the father of the tribe in the lead.

[609] On this afternoon, however, not one of them would let herself be looked at closely. The procession entered the big house and disappeared. Reginaldo came to ask us for an opera glass that he wanted to show to the women. Toward evening they appeared again and left single file as before. During the night they slept in the forest, a brief half-an hour away.

292 On 20 June they appeared again; Reginaldo looked superb
[301] at their head; he wore his gray felt hat, his blue captain's uniform and white trousers, walked barefoot, and had a blue-white
123 feather stuck crosswise in each ear lobe. He was very agreeable
[126] that Wilhelm should sketch him in all his glory. Moreover, he assumed, and we daily encouraged him in this, that we were conducting all inquiries concerning the Bakairí only in order to report them again to the Emperor of Brazil -- at least the man understood that and for this purpose he was glad to oblige.

[291] He also accompanied us to the women; they were barefoot, of course, but otherwise wore the complete costume of the female rural inhabitant; the majority were of a mature age; I liked best one big, strong girl whom Homer would have called βοῶπις -- The captain's wife, christened Ines, was quiet and pious and looked as though she had had many a care. We tried to

/106 cont./

123 shake hands with each one, but they evidently did not know the purpose of this; when we put bracelets and earrings on them, however, they understood this immediately. The children had to have something too.

[126] Wilhelm was allowed to sketch Frau Ines behind the house; as yet I did not dare think about taking the measurements of the women, and then fate knocked on the door.

122 Very unpleasant discoveries about the condition of the supplies changed the entire situation.

On 18 June we had already reached an agreement with

142
291
302

Bakaïrí boy.

122 Castro to wait at most three more days for Tupy. In view of our uncertain /107/ future it was not to be justified if we did not use the favorable time of year better. The Bakaïrí figured five days more to the Paranatinga; another stop was necessary in the second aldeament. Let Tupy follow us there. As far as the lost iron goods [501] were concerned, we had become less worried. Daniel had first called our attention to the bark canoes of the Bakaïrí; on the Rio Novo there was only a very small one that was being used as a trough; we were to see them on the Paranatinga; if we could make up our minds to make do with these bark canoes, we would need only a few tools, which perhaps could be obtained from a fazendeiro /see "Fazenda" in the glossary, p.171 / living near the Paranatinga. The advice was good.

/123 cont./

162 Agosta. -- A boy Irineo (parents dead).
621 Luis (Bolivian), Martin (Brazilian) with wife Carlotta (Paraguayan) and child.

126 I could not rejoice enough about the fortunate circumstance
115 that I was able to make the linguistic survey on the Rio Novo. Even with the intelligent Reginaldo it had been difficult enough to determine phonetically the inimitable tongue exercises that make up the Bakaïrí language, but with Captain Mêmo, who did nothing but nod contentedly, and the others who either laughed or grew impatient, nothing could be done.

On the other hand, I am indebted to Caetano for the legends which I shall retell later.

342 The largest house, which Captains Caetano and Felipe oc-
824 cupied together, was 21 paces long and 9 1/2 paces wide. The roof and walls, the latter supported by cross rods of tacoara /bamboo; see the glossary, p. 172 / consisted entirely of burití /see the glossary, p.170 / straw. Only Miguel owned a round house, the inner frame of tacoara covered with burití leaves.
[343] There were seven houses and two new buildings. In addition two pig huts. In the case of one new building, I inquired about the timber that made up the frame. Two tall aruera posts supported the uppermost longitudinal roof-beam of aricá wood (also cunhão de porco). The sloping side-beams of the roof likewise cunhão de porco, the two longitudinal beams guanandí. The smaller posts that supported the roof beams: timbó, peuva, carvão, branco. One roof was also covered with campo grass.

164 I visited Miguel, who had an attack of fever, in his bee-
352 /124/ hive. He lay in his cotton hammock and let himself be waited on by pretty Maria. The whole room hung full of
353 calabashes, rice and farinha baskets, skins, arrows -- things left by his grandfather; it was far more comfortable in this still true heathen affair than in the characterless huts of the adherents of
123 a mock civilization. With dreadful gestures of disgust, the old
[152] man swallowed the bitter quinine and buried his fever-reddened
[283] face in the hammock. Maria, in gratitude, baked me a beijú [C.f. glossary on p. 170 --Analyst]

/124 cont./

123 and showed me how the raw cotton, merely cleaned of seeds, is
283 twisted into thread with the spindle. The cotton plants stand
241 between the huts everywhere; beside them grows mamona /castor
[372] oil plant/, whose oil serves us for wretched illumination in the
[251] evening, and peppers. Mats are spread out on racks in order to dry the mandioca farina.

The roça,* the cultivated field, lies some distance away. The Bakairi plant mandioca, beans, rice, sweet potatoes, sugar, and deliver to the Fazenda Corrego fundo. Their rapadura was
272 excellent; the melada, a honey-sweet syrup, moved us to exclamations of admiration. The sugar cane is pressed between
249 two cylinders in the simplest way. (Cf. the vignette at the be-

342

Old-style hut.

[249] ginning of this chapter /see p. 2/).

We found Caetano's hut divided into three rooms: Caetano received us in the high, airy center room and shut the door, behind which little Luiza was doing housework. Felipe and Carlotta
354 Parecí lived in the corner room opposite. Three canga blocks
482 formed the hearth. Plaited back-baskets, which are carried by a forehead band and in which the women are said to carry up to six
412 arrobas. Graters to grate the mandioca: hard little spikes from
824 the rib of the buriti leaf are neatly set into the middle part of a narrow piece of wood almost a meter long.

/125/

648 Carlotta showed us the captain's commission (from 1882) of her absent husband. As a seal an imitation gold capsule with a bas-relief cross, which had lost its shine, was set on a piece of pink ribbon; in addition, a chest bow in the Brazilian colors.

574 553 Luis, whose new house is not yet finished, is hospitably taken in by Carlotta, who, during Felipe's absence, claims most of the space; his real affection, however, is for his namesake, 837 Luisa Cajibí. He said that he and Maria Cajibí had had a little son who had died. "And did Miguel know about it?" I asked timidly. "Oh, he," replied the vain mulatto, whose face in comparison with that of the Indians is like roasted coffee as against unroasted, "he was completely in favor of the affair and, of course, he immediately knew of the Brazilian descent of the child by its light skin and its hair."

563 Luis is extremely satisfied with his life among the Bakaïrí who are so far beneath him; he says that he has everything that he needs, does not owe anybody a copper, and the Indians are [829] good people; later on he would perhaps like to go to Lisbon, because, according to what a friend told him, it must be the most 123 beautiful city in the world. He was impertinent enough to interfere with quite unjustifiable demands in the transaction concerning the delivery of rice which Daniel had made with Caetano on the first day. Daniel, who is easily aroused, seized his comblain and hit him over the head with the butt; the philosopher hastily bolted on his long brown legs and, standing bent over in the doorway of the chief's hut, exchanged a flood of compliments with Daniel, while that good creature, old Captain Mêmo, in his tattered, coarse cotton suit, which apparently came from the prison, squatted on the floor and stared forward with a friendly expression.

Our idyll was unpleasantly interrupted on 1 July by the news that Tupy had appeared the evening before at the fazenda. On the way he had met the men sent back by us, commanded them to return, and rode on ahead of them. The sergeant, hunting pigs, had lost the correspondence in the forest.

/131 cont./

122 At night we write busily; two benches serve as tables; for
[534] sitting, knapsack and hammock. Outside the frogs are croaking;
the Bakaïrí João, whom we call the minnesinger, is improvising
on his violin; he cannot be parted from it and even takes it along
to bathe. Thus, for the time being, the last night under a roof.

[133] 5 July. It was late afternoon before the staff crossed over.
The river was about 150 meters wide. On either side is a barranca
[501] about five meters high. The long bark canoes give a confidence-
inspiring impression. We shall have to become accustomed to
[123] them. Antiono already feels completely at home with us; he has
fallen in love with a mouth organ that I gave him.

[136] 6 July. The river sent up mists in the early morning. Pedro
caught a big pirahyba (Bagrus reticulatus). He is parading around
in a soldier's coat, under which, and, to be sure, over his trousers,
he is wearing an old flannel shirt of mine. Our ladies would take
him for a curly-haired Neapolitan boy with a gentle, melancholy
disposition, and yet the youth is only interested /132/ in killing
everything that creeps and flies, and in between times in sucking
sugar cane.

123 First Caetano came, in order to have breakfast with us once
more. A number of women followed, brought us more beijús,
and squatted to one side, the two Carlottas combing their long
hair. The over-jackets had already disappeared on the second day.
122 Luis appeared last of all, when all the canoes were already at
our shore; he went as far as the last sandstone slab, took off his
clothes, and tried to wade across naked. But he was afraid and
stood irresolute. "Well, come along," cried Felipe's wife.
The minnesinger finally went after him. /Illustration appears
here./

At ten o'clock we set out; for a long time the laughing and
shouting of the women sounded behind us.

132 I am supplying the missing meteorological data for the stay
in Corrego fundo and the Bakaïrí village:

/161 cont./

123 They brought fire to us in the hut and withdrew after they had examined our candle closely. One or another, however, constantly came to have coat or trousers put on. One young man appeared and, pointing to his chest, complained, "tuck, tuck, tuck," about heart palpitations.

/162/ I gave him a powder, curious as to whether he would not reject it. After I reassured him a bit and patted him encouragingly on the shoulder, he drank the mixture slowly and fearfully, but drank it to the last drop. An unsuspecting little people. The procedure was described to new visitors, who listened with close attention; the little powder-paper was observantly looked over; but the curative power, which soon made its appearance, was apparently attributed to the knife with which I mixed the medicine. -- Wilhelm had Chinese fireworks with him; this suddenly went off in the yard and frightened them almost more than the shots. He secretly lighted a leftover little tube in the interior of the hut -- how it was possible is still a puzzle to me now -- but at the same instant the five persons present all started at the same time through the low door opening to the outside.

132 13 August. 7:00 A.M.: dry. 13.1, wet. 12.5.

123 Writing uncomfortable. Filling in from yesterday, I am
126 sitting outside on a dry beam that lies bare in the sand. It is still quiet. The professor has just carefully picked up the fireworks cases; he is standing in back of me and is looking admiringly at what I am doing. Scarcely a sound comes from the huts. A blue-
231 yellow arara on the roof has the floor; it pronounced the λ, on which I almost sprain my tongue, just as accurately and yet vaguely blurred as the natives. The tame pavão do rio clucks and gobbles in strange tones that seem to come from a music box; bored by the morning mood, a green parrot is sitting on a bare branch of shrubbery. I hear with displeasure that someone is drinking in the house, mingau again?

/168 cont./

574 other, the professor, naked, but, along with bow and arrow, one of our mirrors in his hand. We were undoubtedly well recommended.

532 Shortly before the exit from the woods we came across a wonderful display of about a dozen animal figures along one side of the path, /169/ probably the remains from a festival. They were made of leaves and straw, mostly quadrupeds with long, thin bodies, consisting of practically nothing but spinal column and long legs; the tallest ones reached to our hips. Something that was evidently supposed to be a monkey was climbing up a pole. A human figure was incised in a tree, with roguish use of a depression present in the bark. Such is the beginning of art in the primeval forest.

361 After we had passed a roça and low shrub planting, we saw
[241] four huts, two large ones and two small ones, lying correspondingly opposite each other. The nobility was assembled on the
574 plaza; a friendly "am(b)á" (that is you) with raised hand wel-
[576] comed each one. Then, one after the other, we were grasped
[345] at the wrists by our hosts, mostly by two at the same time, and led before the festival hut, where beam and stool were ready.

Here we sat is long rows with our guns, and immediately the serving of mingau began. Then we did our tricks, cut nails,
[123] let them look through the opera glasses, lighted a match with fire steel, etc. The professor beamed; he was reaping honor with us.

[301] A sturdy young man, a diadem of stiff jaguar skin over his
[624] forehead, seemed to be acting as herald. He poured busily, screamed louder than the others, and grasped everything most quickly. I had the feeling that we were traveling circus artists and were being informally received and treated in a club. One
302 of the younger sportsmen had had his body painted with black
531 squares, which were joined at the edges with short lines. The drawing on the upper thigh of another -- a black wavy line and in the depressions of it black dots -- definitely resembled the skin marking of a fish, the pintado.

/176 cont./

433 It is clear that here agriculture falls behind hunting and
181 fishing; Aldea IV is military in character and forms the frontier
648 defense against alien tribes.

763 In one hut lay an ancient, paralytic little woman emaciated to a skeleton, whose soul seemed to say "ãla Bakaïrí" (it is enough Bakaïrí) and was trying impatiently to flutter away. The hammock was resting partly on the ground; two women squatted beside it and, as garrulous cronies, explained to us the suffering of the dying little mother.

231 Of tame animals we found a heron, small parrots, a kingfisher and the socõ-morena.

345 The festival hut was 18 meters long, nine meters wide.
532 There were clumsily carved wooden fish hanging there, as well as a few finless specimens, wound bands which perhaps represented the electric eel.

Two square pieces of wood, painted red and white, with modeled nose and two eye sockets were striking; they are held in front of the face and represent doves, whose voice the artist can imitate better than the head (1).

1. Cf. the second ethnological plate /see p. 165/.

534 /177/ Four menis and a number of rattles were stuck in the
353 side walling.

624 Only in the festival hut did the herald put down his bow and arrows, but he did not part with them during our entire stay, even
[296] when he handed us a few bundles of tobacco. The latter, by the way, was better than among the earlier Bakaïrí. A few modest old
622 people were there, none with gray hair; among them the chief and, if I understood correctly, a vice-chief, the authority during the time the former is absent.

● 123 A shooting demonstration on the plaza filled them with
152 terror; they jumped with fright and turned away convulsively, most of all the mighty herald. His "ãla, ãla" was very humble and urgent.

/51 cont./

226 Beyond the cachoeira we counted 13 so-called "currals" /corrals/, circles of boulders in shallower places in the river bed; the fish can enter through a gap in the circle and are then herded together by the Indians and shot. I was not a little surprised when, 823 151 farther downstream in quiet water, Antonio suddenly stated that a canoe had been here yesterday or the day before; all I noticed was a quantity of small white bubbles near the shore. The foam of the oar stroke is preserved in a path on calm water; not destroyed by waves, the air bubbles remain on the water and are gradually driven to the shore by the wind.

500 /52/ For two hours we rowed on vigorously, spoke but little and with a soft voice, and, cautiously on the lookout, proceeded into each new bend close to the inner edge. But all [137] signs had ceased. On either side lay tall, silent forest, the river glistened in the sunlight, nothing living stirred within a wide radius, and only a yellow butterfly fluttered past here and [133] there. Shortly before midday the stream bed opened into a rather wide inlet; one could not quite make out whether this was a lagoon or an island formation and the river divided into two types. we landed and I sent the two off to cross the bit of woods that separated us from the lagoon and to examine the course of the water beyond.

123 I sat on the beach waiting; Carlos was already coming 609 back, when suddenly I notice a canoe a gunshot downstream. [501] A single naked Indian is standing in it and swiftly making for the shore. there he steers the vessel behind the skeleton of a fallen tree and cautiously crouches down in the shelter of it. "Bakaïrí, Bakaïrí," I cried with all my might, "kúra Bakaïrí, áma Bakaïrí, úra Bakaïrí, we are Bakaïrí, you are a Bakaïrí, I am a Bakaïrí, the Bakaïrí are good" -- in short, I shout in joyful excitement whatever is inspired in me by the ghost of reminiscences from the greeting formulas of that particular tribe. And behold: "Bakaïrí, Bakaïrí, Bakaïrí" comes resounding back. Other words are added, which unfortunately I do not understand, but the high voice, rising in uncertainty, bears an unhappily anxious and mistrustful expression, and the arms swing wildly in the air behind

/52 cont./

123 609 the tree skeleton, as though the man were dancing there like a cannibal in a show booth. "Bakaïrí . . . ," I commence once more, when luckily Antonio comes bounding up with mighty leaps, and, half out of breath from excitement, he for his part now shouts a long explanation downriver, which again I do not understand, but which releases a grateful howl of exultation on the part of the entrenched hero and clarifies the situation as though by a stroke of magic.

The canoe shot out of its hiding place and hastened [501] at once, a fine, long, dry bark-canoe, toward our sad, [29] crooked, wax-plastered, loam-smeared vessel laved with [411] dirty water -- truly, I thought, we were the ones who were entering the sphere of a higher culture here; even though the noble boatman was dressed with only a belt-cord and carried with him nothing but the neatly worked, feather-trimmed arrows and the bow which lay on the floor of the canoe beside a calabash filled with honey, nevertheless in its trimness and cleanliness this total picture gliding toward us contrasted most advantageously with us ragged bearers of civilization beside the piece of wet-rot bark that was called our boat. Well, the newcomer clearly showed by his facial expression that for his part he nevertheless admired us.

123 152 He did not behave at all like the silent, gloomy Indian whose soul, as I might have expected on the basis of our school-wisdom, reflected the monotonous, oppressive environment of the tropical forest; rather, he laughed /53/ and chatted with his fellow tribesman Antonio as though he had [576] grown up in a fortunate country of the temperate zone. In a few minutes we were good friends; at my urging he even told us his name, which, of course, according to the custom of his country, he could not do without modest hemming and 551 622 hawing. His name was Tumayaua and he was the chief of a village of the Bakaïrí a few hours away.

123 609 Thus actually of the Bakaïrí! The hope of the past weeks was fulfilled, we entered our research area among a good-natured little people well known to us, and our debut

/53 cont./

123 [609] was assured. Tumayaua, as I now learned from Antonio, had been no little disconcerted by my call; he had answered that he was a Bakaïrí, but that we were not Bakaïrí. Obligingly, the good man offered us his canoe, he himself climbed into ours, and took charge of guiding us. But we chatted no less busily
101 than we rowed. The Bakaïrí of the Batovy were Tumayaua's
114 relatives and friends. There was wonderful news about the first village that we had visited in 1884. The old Indian whom we at that time had called the "professor" was on his way to the Paranatinga with a few others! They wanted to pay a new visit to Antonio and his tribal brothers. Pauhaga, the first Bakaïrí whom we had greeted on the Batovy on our previous journey, lived at the moment in Tumayaua's community, and a strange coincidence thus decreed that we were to see him again likewise
131 in the very first village of the Kulisehu. Were we really on the
103 Kulisehu? Yes, the river was called Kulisehu, Kulisëu, or Kulihëu, since "h" and "s" are interchangeable in Bakaïrí, and all the tribes that we were looking for apparently also lived on its shores.

133 Cachoeiras, however, interrupted the conversation. We had set out at 12:00; after half an hour there came a low rock-cachoeira 60 meters long, through which we laboriously wound our way; then shortly after 1:00 No. 4 of this day's series, where we had to unload and stop for half an hour. At 2:45 we came to the fifth and last, which poured over the boulders in a mighty
122 surge. Here, however, the pilot went on strike against going any farther in our canoe, which was succumbing to acute dropsy. We took him aboard as a fourth and left the corpse to its fate. Tumayaua, we had to acknowledge approvingly, had truly come our way at a good time; it is highly improbable that we three with our baggage and without knowing the way would have reached the village through the final cachoeiras in the miserable canoe that could no longer carry the single Indian. Certainly we would not have reached this goal today. At 3:15 we landed on the left bank; we were in the "harbor."

/56 cont./

122 On the following day, 11 September 1887, I sent Antonio
[437] and Carlos back to Independencia with the news. In exchange for a bush knife I had acquired one of the two canoes that the Bakaïrí possessed. I myself wanted to remain behind to have a new canoe made and, for the sake of my studies, to take advantage of the rare opportunity to stay alone among these chil-
[361] dren of nature. I heard that in the second Bakaïrí village lying downstream there were three canoes and we could perhaps obtain two of them. While a good rancho was to be built for those remaining behind at our permanent quarters, one or two men who were now to be fetched by Antonio and Carlos were to ride with me to the second Bakaïrí village; there we could complete our outfitting and then, if all went well, row back to Independencia with four canoes, in order finally to commence the actual river journey. Moreover, to save time, Antonio and Carlos were to leave their canoe at the first large cachoeira and find Independencia overland. Thus, along with the experiences gained in the meantime by the gentlemen at Independencia, the terrain would be thoroughly explored and the question settled as to whether the permanent quarters could not be pushed forward closer to the first Bakaïrí village.

● 123 After I had brought the two worthies to the harbor and they had soon disappeared in the nearest bend of the river, I returned to my new friends and soon felt so comfortable in their midst that without hesitation I count those idyllic days among the
[121] happiest that I have experienced. I shall try to do them justice in a little sketch; this will give me the opportunity to report many little traits of the good people which could not be put in a purely scientific report, but which nevertheless are not without value, because they reveal the Indians to us not wholly as we are accustomed to imagine them. Not a little of this disappeared when the larger group arrived later; the complete unconcern which they showed toward me as a single individual did not remain, and their behavior more closely resembled the well-
114 known pattern customarily described in books. And here I
157 should immediately like to enter a protest, with regard to my

162 /58 cont./ unfortunately, she scratched her head far too often,
621 and though this may occasionally have occurred out of embarrassment,
515 nevertheless lice had their visible part in it.

Eva's friend, about twelve years old, "my intended" (Pl. 5, third
[262] from the right),* was in the habit of picking them out and eating them.
162 In general this one had all the good things in the village, and many
62
[301]
142
291
302

Fig. 2. "Eva," Tumayana's daughter.

162 beads that I had given others & later found around her neck. She was the
621 little daughter of the deceased chief and his /59/ heiress. Her uncle
[622] Tumayaua was only the provisional chief; if I had followed Paleko's
[123] very seriously meant suggestion and had married his niece, he would have had to turn over the government to me. Even today I cannot deny that,
[291] quite apart from the excellent match with which there was associated no greater demands in the way of dress than a string of beads and a piece of bark-bast the size of a small human ear, a better opportunity of becoming acquainted with the ethnology of the Kuliseha could scarcely have been imagined. I saw little of the other women, with the exception,
[142] perhaps, of the "Egyptian," who also came over from the second village, a tall greedy person with an Egyptian profile and almond-shaped eyes (Pl. 5, second from the right).

*[See P. 28--Analyst]

/59 cont./

● 123 During the first two days I modestly restrained myself in order not to alarm the good people. I also noticed that one of the men was almost always detached for special duty near me and thus a sort of guard was established, when on the first night, after I had taken my leave, I wanted to stay up for a while with a light and write in my journal, old Paleko appeared at the door and asked me just as politely as urgently to go to sleep and blow out the candle. My discretion bore good fruit; they soon took me into the two large houses: in one Paleko and my intended were the chief occupants, in the other Tumayaua and
[122] his daughter. They took me out to fish, to the launching of the new canoe, and the like, and everything could not have been better, if only I had not suffered from chronic hunger as a result of their hospitable, but for me absolutely inadequate
[206] board. I had to try to help myself by heavy smoking and in this
[512] respect achieved what humanly possible, whereas almost the only time the Indians gave themselves up to this pleasure, but then in a body and with great enthusiasm, was during our nightly tobacco meeting outside on the plaza, the jolliest hours of the day.

345 My little house had served at the time of the festivals as
[122] the dance house, "kxato-éti," or "flute house." Two reed
[534] flutes hanging on the wall in a case made of buriti-palm straw were the only remains of past glory. For me, however, it was
[562] better this way, for the women, who passed in and out of this ruin freely, may never enter the flute house of the men. It was seven paces wide and nine and a half long; the main posts in the center, standing two and a half paces apart, which supported the roof, were four and a half meters high. At the top, in the straw roof, a vent one meter and three and three-fourths meters long was left open. A couple of fish weirs stood in one corner, but otherwise there was nothing but the two posts, from one of which I had stretched the hammock over to the wall.
231 Besides my guard of honor, I also had the company of a japú (Cassicus), who seemed like a green tropical Jim Crow /Hans Huckebein/ to me; he was permitted to sit only up in the

/59 cont./

231 rafters of the smoke vent, and, if he suddenly shot down and raced around us like a wild animal, he was quickly chased back to his observation post, where he locked down, his head bent inquisi-
224 tively and his beak open. /60/ Sometimes one of the little mice
[262] so busily active at night came spying about and, if it did not scamper away in time, was shot with a child's arrow and brought
136 to the women as a roast. Almost constant guests were large black-white striped bees, which, like a butterfly that now and then fluttered into the entrance, would calmly let themselves be seized and put aside. On a hot noonday I often had the feeling of sitting in the midst of a beehive filled with buzzing and droning.

● 123 It was at this hour on the third day that I fled from the bees
[342] and flies to Paleko's large house and entered it for the first time. It was wonderfully cool and comfortable in there and no annoying insects. Only ants laden with grains of flour marched
[519] down their street to the mandioca pestle. The men were swing-
[574] ing in the hammocks, their chief occupation at home, and
[352] after I had sat a while, for the sake of politeness, on the stool of honor, which was as high as a cigar box, I soon followed their example.

342 One had the feeling of being in a huge beehive, fortunately without the bees. The ground plan was almost circular with a diameter of 15 meters, two mighty posts standing nine meters high and three and a half meters apart, supported in the center the huge straw dome, the framework of which consisted of horizontal bamboo rings and over these vertical poles bent upward toward the vent. It was smoke-blackened, glistening like tar. The walling all around, above which it rose, a tightly closed ring of posts one and a half meters high, interrupted only by two door entrances opposite each other, which were much
[352] too low for me. From the wall towards the interior, in the direction of the radii, the hammocks were stretched, fastened on either end to particularly strong posts, so that the outer space
353 was divided into a number of rooms, albeit open. The large center space around the main posts and under the vent, which

/63 cont./

533 note)/: kuyšuhu kuyšuhuhũ -- kirũhayẽ kiruhayẽ (four times) --
539 kuyšuhu kuyšu.

Softly and rather muffled, solemnly slow, lingering a long time on the au.

The principal song that we were to sing together often was the following: yawĩ yawĩ nakũ -- novĩ ritõ hahẽ -- ohõ hohũ, nikẽ wekẽ nikẽ, nikẽ wekẽ nikẽ, notũ arĩte nõhuhẽ, ohõhuhõ huhũ, nikẽ wekẽ nikẽ, notũ arĩte õhohu, ohõhuhõ, etc.

Muffled and softly, but faster and faster with a stamped beat and a jerky emphasis that impels one to stride forward, the õhohu... is repeated until one is almost out of breath, and then one recovers on the more solemn: nõ tũ hã -- notũ arĩte nõhuhẽ nuhã hahũ -- notũ arĩte nõhuhẽ nuhã hahũ nõ tũ hã, nõ tũ hã -- õho hũ hu.

533 A greater contrast can scarcely be imagined than between a jolly students' drinking song and these songs whose rendition was scarcely to be called singing, but seemed merely intended to accompany the dancing march of the feet with suppressed tones. I
• [123] sang, too, of course, running the risk of not giving the good people a generally valid idea of our music, since I have at my disposal only "my own melodies." I achieved a small moral success, but they were a little overwhelmed because of the unfamiliar noise connected with the volume of tone. Natural sounds, however, such as "rudirallala," my friend Paleko liked exceptionally well; he was passionately eager to learn them and bent double laughing when he could not follow quickly enough.

291 Feeling of modesty. In this narrative part I wish to avoid
[128] describing clothing and ornaments in detail and shall limit myself, as far as personal appearance is concerned, to the remark that both sexes went about unclothed, that the women, as may
289 be seen from Plate 5,$\frac{2}{3}$ wore the "ulũri," a yellowish brown piece
301 of bark-bast folded in a triangle and fastened to strings, and around their necks a string with pieces of shell, pieces of stalks, and seeds, that the men always wore a hip cord, with or without such ornaments, and frequently bast /64/ or cotton bands around

* [See P. 28 --Analyst]

/64 cont./

291 the upper arms or under one knee or above one ankle. One youth
[301] or another would also stick a feather into his pierced ear-lobe;
[304] one must not think, however, that the Indian always appears in his entire festive array, as on tobacco-store signs.

000 I should like, however, to say a few words at this point about the general impression that the "nakedness" makes on the unself-conscious visitor. One does not see this evil nakedness at all after a quarter of an hour, and if one then purposely reminds oneself of it and asks whether the naked human beings, father, mother, children, who are innocently standing or walking around there ought to be condemned or pitied because of their lack of modesty, one must either laugh about it as about something incredibly silly or raise a protest against it as against something contemptible. From the aesthetic standpoint the lack of covering has its pros and cons, like all truth; youth and vigor often looked delightful in their unconstrained movements, old age and disease
291 often dreadful in their decay. Our clothing seemed as strange
123 to the good people as their nakedness seemed to us. I was accompanied by men and women when I went to bathe and was obliged to submit to having all my onion skins examined in the greatest detail. They lacked any understanding of the embarrassed feeling that I was well-bred enough to feel with respect to their curiosity; they thoughtfully examined myPolynesian tattooing, especially a blue kiwi of New Zealand, but, to my satisfaction, they were obviously disappointed by the fact that there were not greater wonders hidden under the careful and unusual packing.

123 They themselves, of course, also wore something resem-
535 bling clothes for their masquerade and dance, apparel plaited out of palm straw, the name of which is éti = house, and thus my shirt was given the grand name of "back-house"; I had a "head-house" and a "leg-house." Since the women do not dance and only the men may use this apparel in their flute-house, Eva's question as to whether "karšiba pekôto," the women of the Karaiben, also wore clothes, "houses," was probably not so un-
000 justified. -- How quickly one can become accustomed to the naked

/64 cont./

surroundings, even in the regions of the unconscious, is best shown by the fact that from the 15th to the 16th of September, as well as during the following night, I dreamed of my German home and saw all my acquaintances there just as naked as the Bakaïrí; I myself was astonished about it in my dream, but my table partner at a dinner party, a highly respectable lady in whom I took an interest, reassured me immediately by saying: "Everyone goes around that way now."

123 291 The purpose that we associate with clothing remained hidden from them; there was no doubt about that when one saw in what naïve fashion they put on the parts of my apparel that they got hold of for a while. And how could they know any more about the rigors of our climate than about the third chapter of the first book of Moses? They played with my garments /Pl. V appears here/ /65/ like vain children. Luchu was happy when I loaned him my poncho, and with it and my hat he walked proudly about the village plaza like the most conceited fop.

291 In the ethnographic description of the Kulisehu tribes I shall have to come back to the subject of clothing and the feeling of modesty; here I can only truthfully report that in my association with these people I did not see anything of our feeling of modesty, but I did observe another kind, absolutely foreign to us, about which I shall report presently.

124 192 831 During the inquiry into the vocabulary, the parts of the body represented important and easily handled material. The Bakaïrí found it very amusing that I wanted to know everything, but, on the other hand, were very proud that their language was so rich and that the Bakaïrí had a word for each part. They became very merry at this point in my questioning and were not wanting in prompt answers where, according to our conceptions, they should have been ashamed and if possible answered in Latin or in the language of children. Considerately -- for at this time I, of course, was looking through my cultural spectacles and saw that they were naked -- I had waited for a moment when the women had gone out of the hut. I was astonished by the fact that the answer that was due suddenly came from the outside, from a very amused girl's voice. My caution had been purposeless. It was the caution of,

[TEXT Continues on p. 29]

/66 cont./

264 and licked them off as he swung himself, but no one bothered
276 another with his company. In eating beijú they were perhaps a little more liberal, at least toward me, but in the evening I often saw the men turn aside individually to consume a piece. Later Ehrenreich /67/ found something similar among the Karajá /Caraja/ on the Araguay /Araguaia/. "Etiquette demands that each one eat by himself, turned away from the other. Anyone who violates this must endure the mockery of the others."

264 Now among the Bakaïrí this etiquette was definitely
276 stricter, certainly in relation to the guest at least, for they com-
123 pletely lost their sense of humor over my lack of manners. I certainly did many things that were not the practice of the country, I sang loudly, I asked men and women their names, I refused the delicate beetle larvae and committed similar quite inexcusable things, but I never noticed that people were ashamed. In this case, however, it was more a matter of something improper: I had been indecent. There can be no doubt about that.

264 If we must admit, along with Heine, that we all are naked
267 inside our clothes and may be granted only relative justification for our feeling of modesty, the Bakaïrí, too, cannot be offended in his nobler feelings by the mere fact of eating, insofar as the individual takes care of the process for himself. Involuntarily one thinks of some animal that carries its portion of the meal to one side, but obviously out of the fear that another will take it away.
[46] I do believe that fish and meat were relatively scarce among the Bakaïrí, who, with a certain indolence, limited themselves more to mandioca and maize than they themselves liked; I am certain that if I had stayed there a week longer I would voluntarily have sat down in a quiet corner with every good morsel that I had justly or unjustly got hold of, in order to consume it protected from the glances of the others. Even at that time, I am afraid, I was casting hungry glances toward the others. The origin of the feeling of modesty described, however, must be rooted in ancient times.

000 Good heavens, when we were on short rations on the expedition, how we so-called civilized human beings checked each other's portions, I can only say with greed and envy, although we

/70 cont./

823 305 [539] norõku, pône, it is now -- as though we were to say "Jahré" /the German word for "years," but with the accent on the final syllable/ -- transferred to the last one "noroků," "poné," and the arrow flies, tsök, tsök, from the bow.

Beyond the Nahuquá, however, where the knowledge of details becomes vague, only the days' journeys themselves are given. The right hand, slowly rising in even motion, describes an arc from east to west, arrives down there, and suddenly is laid on the cheek coming up to meet it, remains there while the eyes are wearily closed, and then grasps the little finger of the left hand: sleep once. Then again the same figure, but the ring finger is grasped with the little finger and both are drawn aside: sleep twice, and so forth. Be attentive, noble listener, for woe to you if you ask a question -- there is no other way to help you but to begin again from the beginning.

• 123 But revenge is sweet. My turn also came, for they wanted to know how far it is to Cuyabá, my starting point. Their faces [802] were priceless when I counted off, first, the fingers of my left hand, then my right, then, exactly according to their method of counting, went over the toes of the left foot and those of the right, traveled and slept between each two fingers and each two toes in the prescribed way, and finally had to grasp my hair, pulling it apart, to demonstrate that the number of days still did not extend far enough and was more than 20! Then they murmured their "kõu, kõu" of amazement or "õko, õko, he õko" more and more impatiently; all talked at once and finally joined in the hearty laughter of sheer disbelief.

186 /71/ Individual Indian tribes were also ridiculed in vivid pantomime on account of their peculiarities; the Nahuquá were funny because of their beards, the Suyá, or, as the Bakaïrí say, Schuyá, had to bear the brunt because of their cork-disk which they wore in the lower lip, for which the actors stretched their lower lip far forward and produced a made-up jargon of snapping tones; the Trumaí were imitated with a horrible "huhuhuhu" and, because of their barbaric habit of tossing war captives into the river with their hands tied behind them, were presented as objects partly of scorn or disgust, partly of fear.

/71 cont./

201 No activity with a tool of metal, stone, tooth, or wood
412 was discussed without the appearance also of the appropriate sounds
[536] to portray it. It is true that a good part of this was to communicate with me, who knew only the rudiments of their language; they were more sparing with these /72/ sounds and gestures in their own conversation, but they nevertheless had at their disposal in ample measure the auxiliary language of expressive movement and used it in their communications with other tribes, as I saw later, in exactly the same way as with me. Thus the disadvantage that each tribe speaks a different language is of little concern, understanding was possible without difficulty even for a Karaiben, for the gestures, stereotyped, to be sure, nevertheless contain full clarity and still are not reduced to conventional abbreviations.

● 123 They also manifested an attentive interest in the inter-
153 jections and gestures peculiar to me, which, of course, involun-
201 tarily took on a livelier expression than at home. If I accompanied any feeling with a sound that was strange to them, it was imitated; if I whistled softly to myself, I could soon hear one of them whistling happily along with me. Particularly if I laughed loudly and struck my leg, there was general acknowledgement: they would immediately slap their naked thighs, and Homeric laughter filled the village plaza.

126 My linguistic notes of the day, which I would bring out, were gone over once more in our tobacco club and were enriched by small contributions. The constellations, the names of animals, the inexhaustible material for parts of the body, and whatever the moment offered were noted down, read aloud, and confirmed with approval.

123 I, too, however, offered mimic performances, for which my interesting exhide offered the first occasion; I demonstrated our domestic animals to them and achieved a greater measure of success among my small, but grateful public than could ever have fallen to the lot of even the author of "Tierleben" /Animal Life/ or much-admired performing artists. Above all they became acquainted with cattle, sheep, and dogs, whose size and characteristics I described graphically to them as best I could,

/72 cont./

123 and whose language "itáno" evoked loud outbursts of merriment and jubilation.

Then "muh," "mäh," "wauwau," and "miau" in all tones rang out from me and from them. Especially effective was the variation between the peculiar "mäh" of the old sheep and the pitiful "mäh" of a little lamb seeking its mother, between the barking of big curs and that of little yappers. Incidentally I commanded a rather good pronunciation in these itános, so that the shrewd experts on animal languages had no need to doubt the authenticity. I also tried to make clear to them the character of the animals by having different kinds, such as cat and dog, appear together, tried to explain to them that a dog, for example, obeys man, and was now in a position to instruct them about the origin
[153] of my woolen clothing -- mäh. They were attentive pupils who very soon mastered the subject matter completely and practiced assiduously.

The memorable session of our tobacco club in which I gave the first lecture about European domestic animals had extended far into the night, /Plate VI appears here/ /73/ but I took leave of happy men on whose faces was written: that was a fine evening. Luchu barked in exemplary fashion; he ran into the two houses from which a great deal of bright laughter had already been heard and ran around there with a wild wau-wau.

I was already lying half asleep in my hammock and believed the citizenry to be resting in their accustomed peace, when once more Eva's voice from over yonder roused me with a loud "mäh." So I replied "mäh" for a good ending from my sheep stall; there was giggling again everywhere behind the straw walls, and finally quiet actually came, until -- mäh, mäh even before sunrise -- I started up, cursing.

128 One day went by like the next. In the next chapter I shall relate fully how we worked together in my hut, how the Bakaïrí learned Portuguese and I Bakaïrí, while I shall add here what I have to report about our life together.

[text continues on p. 41]

/73 cont./

123 Tumayaua had me plant tobacco in front of his house, a
[249] proposal that astonished me somewhat until I realized that with my assistance he anticipated an excellent harvest or quality; hence I asked only that he start it, and then I crushed the capsules and put the seed into the ground, as though I had been a tobacco
[226] planter all my life. With Kulekule I had to go to the cataract
[179] below the village and help him with the fishing rod; he must not suspect that I had not swung this implement since grammar school days, when I had trouble rescuing it from the police.

226 One forenoon we took a very pleasant fishing excursion with
123 half a dozen persons, among them a few women, to the saímo, a pond that lay in the campo about two and a half kilometers from
[301] the village. We walked a short distance through the woods, the
[412] women carrying fishing baskets and weirs, Paleko with a section of fish teeth on a string around his neck, and under his arm a stone ax that he had sharpened on a stone at the river, during which he
[271] moistened it with saliva at his mouth. Meanwhile it was amusing to see how my intended and her sister drank out of the Kulisehu: mouth in water, supported on their two little hands, one leg in the air, not unlike young monkeys. On the way we sang together our ohohó ohohú hu in restrained tones, and I disturbed the morning quiet with a few louder songs. Alakuai took the liberty of removing my hat, but he was so happy with this adornment that in the name of all the saints I exposed my head to the pitiless campo sun.

226 Far away, to the edge of the wooded shore, stretched a queimada /burned clearing/ covered with fresh grass; only a single shade-giving tree stood beside the pond. In the middle of the knee-deep swampy water were set three weirs, half of which, with their mouths, protruded out. Then, with the fishing baskets, kútu, which had the shape of a blunted cone open at the top and bottom and were put together out of thin, pointed sticks, /74/ several persons walked through the pond in a bent position and stabbed the ground quickly: the kútu were inverted over the little fish and the latter pulled out from the top with the hand and placed in a hanging basket. After they had been working in this fashion for a while, they converged from various sides toward the center, where the weirs lay,

/74 cont./

226 and sought to drive the fish into them. It was an amusing sight: the girls extremely agile, the men less quick, fat Yapü in particular not at all in his element apparently, much laughing and splashing, in the air a few hovering dragonflies and humming bees without number, on the shore under the tree the busily commenting old Paleko, who leaned with his left hand on a stick and held pressed under his upper arm on the same side the very superfluous stone ax. The fish were called poniũ or poriũ, the jejú of the Brazilians.

482 [122] The bark canoe that I had ordered was ready on September 18; the stone ax had worked slowly, but very neatly. Four men carried the vessel to the river; on their shoulders they had placed rings plaited out of brown bast and with exactly the same appearance as those our market women wear on their heads.

123 [114] I had now been alone with the good Bakaïri for more than a week and I noticed that they were becoming somewhat impatient. They asked far too often when the "younger brothers" were coming. What I had carried with me in the way of valuables was long since in their possession anyway; even my amẽma ikũto ("figure of the lizard"), a reptile with glass scales and ruby-red eyes, which they had greedily attempted to get belonged to them.

But our good understanding remained the same up to the final hour. If it had been up to me, I would have preferred to [262] spend the entire rainy season with them, although I could not get [122] rid of a sourish taste in my throat from the eternal starchy food 157 and I was also suffering from digestive upsets. My first impressions about the peaceable and sympathetic character of my hosts needed no correction. The elders were wise and solicitous, the young people vigorous and agile, the women industrious and domestic, all of them well-meaning, a little vain, and, with the exception of a few mothers absorbed by their duties, always gay and talkative. All were honest. No one ever took anything of mine, lost things were often brought to me, anything that I had received in trade was always regarded as my property.

/74 cont./

157 In short, Bakaïrí kúra, the Bakaïrí are good. It would be foolish to misunderstand them in the Rousseau sense, for there was not a trace of any kind of idealism; they were nothing but the product of very simple and undisturbed conditions and gave the visitor who approached with eyes accustomed to motion and strife
000 a picture of an "idyl." Whether one comes from Giessbach, river, or sea, one will feel the magic of a quiet lagoon, that is all.

/75/

II.

Psychological notes about the attitude of the Bakaïrí toward new things. Limits of understanding. Studies with the one on special duty. Difficulties of understanding and of linguistic recording: substantives, verbs, superordinate concepts.

● 123 I have reported about the interest that the Bakaïrí took in
152 my clothing. It gradually turned to the pockets in particular, and they soon knew exactly what was hidden in this one and what in that one.

"Had I made shirt and trousers myself?" This question, which annoyed me, always came up. "Had I made the hammock, the moskiteiro myself?" They were strangely affected by the fact that there was nothing that came to light in all my property for which I had answered in the affirmative. It was clearly to be seen that the objects whose origin they could picture to themselves to a certain extent also more actively occupied their attention. The texture of the Paraguayan hammock was felt and eagerly discussed every day.

They wanted to have everything. "Ura" "(it is) mine" was the simple explanation. The men preferred for themselves the practical thing, for wives and children the ornaments, for themselves knives, for the former beads. At sight of the beads, the women became positively excited and only my tin plate was sought with the same covetousness. "Buttons" seemed to be re-
301 garded as a kind of bead. Among several women I discovered
438 ornaments that came from our first expedition and had traveled

/77 cont./

115 157 The various men on detached duty were very different in their usefulness for my purposes. Some tired too quickly, others were too unsteady. Fat, peasant-like Yapü, for example, yawned after a few minutes, and his face seemed to say, "Sir, you are asking too much," and Luchu, the vain fop, only wanted to amuse himself. Of the younger ones, only the remarkable Kulekule was of any use to me. He was, in fact, taciturn and reserved, but he obviously liked to come, laughed quietly to himself, and then when he opened his mouth to speak, he answered better than the rest. He had received beads from me for a pot, but he had to give them up; I presented him with new ones and did not accept another pot that he brought me. He was happy about that, gave [123] me a bowl of the insipid pogu drink, and sat down beside me, leaning his head confidently against my shoulder. My most faithful guardian was Paleko; with his long hair sprinkled with gray, his fine old face, he could very well have been /78/ director emeritus of a Gymnasium. In fact, we were often reminded of European physiognomies, whose owners would perhaps protest at being compared to a naked Indian. Ehrenreich and I, for example, were jokingly and seriously in complete agreement that we recognized a couple of gentlemen from the Berliner Anthropologischen Gesellschaft on the Kulisehu; naturally these gentlemen did not resemble the Indians, but the Indians resembled the 123 gentlemen. I was alone with Paleko for half days at a time. Now and then, Eva or my intended or the Egyptian came alone or together, giving the two of us a little company.

461 Paleko plaited dainty little baskets, repaired weirs, twisted twine out of palm fibers, and did whatever else there was 126 in the way of such light tasks requiring patience. He gave me not 191 only words and sentences from his mother tongue, but also a list of Nahuquá words, which proved that he had associated a great deal 114 with these neighbors. He put less value on learning my language than the young people did. I would rather have given them German words instead of the Portuguese, but I regarded it as my duty not to confuse the poor souls for the future. Since my knowledge of Bakaïrí was still very meager, I progressed but slowly.

/85 cont./

000 brought three large fat barbados, which traveled to the grill and well deserved being eaten, even at the witching hour, in the scenery of the roaring waterfall gloriously illuminated by the moon.

122 On 2 October we set out at 6:30 and reached the Bakaïrí harbor at 2:15. Good Paleko was already standing there with a bowl of mandioca paste. Wilhelm and I immediately went to the
123 village. It was very entertaining /86/ to observe how one welcoming scene followed the other, since the canoes arrived at intervals; new guests, again and again new excitement, and a new rushing forth out of the flute-house, where we sat amidst beijús
302 and calabashes. Some of the people had adorned themselves festively with colored designs. Kulekule had decorated his face and upper body with orange-red lines and dots, my intended had red serpentine lines on her upper thighs, the Egyptian a red forehead and nose, Tumayaua's small grandchildren were daubed and smeared black, their mother Eva appeared with her hair and skin
301 powdered white from her beijú work. Good-natured Awiá wore a cake knife, that is, a beijú turner, in her hair in a curious fashion.

628 There were also foreign visitors present from Village II and
574 III; we counted 18 hammocks in Paleko's house and 13 in Tumayaua's
126 houses. Ehrenreich was taking photographs. For each shot the models were compensated with a few beads. They were somewhat afraid, but the beads conquered the fear of danger. The women's group on Plate 5 was obtained only with difficulty. The women had let themselves be positioned and arranged, and Ehrenreich was on the point of exposing the plate, when they suddenly discovered their mirrored images in the lens and, astonished, fell upon the apparatus in order to examine it more closely. The photographer in dire distress! Tumayaua had gained possession of a useless plate of glass -- "páru," water - and with it, following Vogel's directions, he set the first window in the straw dome of his house.

123 On this fine day I wanted to present a gift of honor to my hosts. Two young ladies of Berlin had given me a pretty blond doll to bring along, which they themselves had fitted out with a

[See p. 28--Analyst]

/86 cont./

123 gaily colored little dress and which, as the best item in our warehouse, was intended for "the most worthy one." I could not waver about its belonging by right to my intended, the heiress of the village and mistress of all the flour furnished me. The inquisitive question as to whether the wives of the Karaiben also had clothes should now be settled. I called the whole company together on the plaza and aroused sheer exultation when I exhibited the blue-eyed, rosy-cheeked little porcelain head, let them see and touch the genuine blond hair, and explained in turn the pretty clothes of the "kɣarãiba pekõto." And their ecstasy was increased when I then stepped up to my intended and said "ãma zõto," "it is yours." The little yellow-skin blushed with joy, and to my amazement the otherwise taciturn mother began speaking in a loud voice and talked and talked, professing all kinds of things which I did not understand, but which, even though the Indians have no word for "thank you," was nevertheless a speech of thanks. I do not know upon whom my intended of that time may meanwhile have bestowed her heart and hand and, as a dowry, the precious Karaiben woman -- by one of those strange twists which sometimes joins the links in the chain of fate, however, it has come to pass that in the meantime one of the two Berlin ladies has become the wife of the publisher of this book, and the other, the wife of its author.

133 /87/ We stayed until well after dark and then went to our camp at the so-called second harbor of the village. A long stretch of rapids lies between the upper and the lower harbor; the canoes had been hauled over it during the afternoon, so that we would not have to overcome the obstacle the following morning.

[103] To the Second Bakaĩrĩ Village (Iguẽti).

The journey from the first village to the second is very arduous because of the many rapids. It is characterized by long stretches where the river is filled with boulders, between which it was very low in view of the water level at that time. We called this type "stone cachoeiras"; they are regular cataracts which are probably more easily negotiated with a higher water level.

/90 cont./

535 and captivated me. Others placed themselves behind the three, sang and stamped along with them, more and more joined, and finally those nearest the door ran out, bent over and one following the other, the entire train trotted in a long chain over to the chief's house with uninterrupted ohúhoχó, came back to the flute-house, and back and forth across the plaza; we guests did not fail to take part in at least a few rounds of the musical marathon, but the good Bakaïrí ran, sang, stamped -- the whole night. It thus seems to be a very old custom to dance until broad daylight. Except that the men did the work by themselves. It was excellent to go to sleep by; like the familiar and often tested method of falling asleep by imagining an endless herd of sheep jumping over a fence and counting the individual leaping animals, their firm ohóhuχó hypnotized with deadly certainty.

On our second visit we saw nothing of the kind.

123 A small shooting demonstration aroused more fear than astonishment; the women ran behind the houses; a tall youth fled into the hammock and covered his ears. After the third shot the chief begged "ãle," "it is enough." Afterwards they again had a desire for it and set tasks, to hit birds circling high in the air, which only Cooper's hunters could have fulfilled. At any rate, one must beware of sending off a shot about which one is not certain.

The photographic apparatus was set up opposite the chief's house; Aramöke accepted the invitation, stuck his head under the black cloth, viewed the picture with great pleasure, and chattered enthusiastically about it. The others did not trust the thing.

342 Aramöke's house, a magnificent example of primitive architecture, was larger and more carefully built than Paleko's in
353 Maigéri. Many storage baskets were piled up between the center
531 posts, and from the dome hung numerous maize birds and cobs. What absorbed our interest primarily, however, was a frieze of crude drawings which ran all around, about two meters above the doors, to a total length of about 56 meters. /91/ On narrow sheets of blackened tree bark, dots, rings, linear patterns, and in between

/91 cont./

353 a couple of fish drawings were drawn on with white loam. To our
531 greatest astonishment, triangles and squares were meant as illustrations of concrete objects and were not merely "geometric
126 figures." Wilhelm copied the entire frieze with painstaking precision, as Plates 20 and 21 show.[1] I shall later compare the practices among the Bakaïrí with those among the rest of the Kulisehu tribes. Unfortunately it was not possible to bring home the originals. The loam was so loosely applied that it immediately crumbled off, and so coarse-grained that it could not be permanently fixed with a coating of collodion, as was done successfully with the masks.

000 Toward sundown, led by Aramöke, who was parading around in his red scarf, we went to the camp, which was now pitched at the actual harbor, and there, after the new shipwreck, we encountered a great "drying of laundry." Antonio's oar was also broken.

●123 A number of Indians stood and sat around on the slope of the shore when we set out on 6 October shortly after 7:00. João Pedro had ordered for himself half a dozen fresh beijús and was served promptly in the early morning, as by a civilized baker.

133 The powerful rapids called "kulúri" by the Bakaïrí, which we soon cut through without peril, was the last one on the Kulisehu: "túxu ãle," the stones are "all gone." On this stretch the river again greatly resembled the section beyond Independencia; many fallen trees in the water, frequent elevated sandy beaches or steep
[136] loam banks, the current somewhat faster. The small masarico with its little red legs came tripping rapidly toward us across the sand, called "go away, come, come," and flew ahead a little distance, to wait for us there again. The bends in the river were very numerous and the trip became a deadly bore. The sunlight was reflected glaringly by the light sand and the water glistened unbearably. At 2:45 we passed a right tributary-brook about eight meters wide, the Pakuneru. This is the same name that the Paranatinga bears among the Bakaïrí. At its source -- far away
[101] ih.... -- the kayãxo, the Kayapó /Cayapo/, are said to live;

[1] [See pp. 280-281 -- Analyst]

/92 cont./

574 night. We sat down in the middle of the large plaza in a long row. Each one was brought a drinking bowl; the largest, along
574 with a cigar, fell to me. Speeches of welcome were now ex-
576 changed with great volubility.

áma, you = that is you. ehé úra, yes, I = indeed, that is I. bakaïrí úra, I (am a) Bakaïrí. kχaráiba úra, I (am a) Karaibe. bakaïrí kχúra, (the) Bakaïrí (are) good. kχaráiba wakulukúlu, (the) Karaiben (are) very good. pí ma áma? (are) you (the) chief? pí ma úra, I (am the) chief.

●123 Opposite each Karaiben squatted a Bakaïrí and admired him and what he wore. The Swedish matches, knives, mirrors, buttons, beads -- it was always the same routine. Except that in the case of Porisa it was my notebook that was most appreciated, and it was not the written pages or those covered with drawings, but the white, empty sheets that elicited exclamations of delight from him. We also strode about the plaza in pairs, arm in arm, in affable conversation. We studied the geographical distribution of the Kalisehu tribes in detail, but the dwelling places of the Trumaí still remained as obscure as before.

345 The flute-house was large and spacious, its roof dilapidated, much straw lay on the floor inside, and here, as in the houses, we missed the cleanliness which pleased us so in the other vil-
534 lages. In front of the flute-house, resting on cross-sticks, lay a
[532] huge hollow tree-trunk -- a morcego (bat) tree our men called it -- /93/ irregularly painted with human figures and fish vertebrae. During festivals they drummed on this giant instrument with thick wooden clubs, similar to the mandioca pestles.

535 Inside there were handsome masks and a new form of dance costume; two huge crinolines ten meters in circumference, covered with straw, and comparable to small huts, koálu, which
126 the dancer wore on a ring on his shoulder. Soon enthusiastic
301 barter was under way everywhere. We obtained fine feather
237 ornaments, crowns made of arara feathers, which are light blue
534 on one side, yellow on the other, dainty mats in which they are
283

/93 cont./

126 taken on him. With lively gesticulations and a /94/ memory
153 worthy of appreciation, he repeated the entire procedure: the head from front to back, from side to side, the nose from top to bottom, the space between the eyes, the length of the extremities and their parts, the height of the navel above the ground, etc., etc., and after each pantomime he stretched out his hand toward the katakuá, the beads. There was nothing for it, the man's claim must be admitted, but I was obliged to compensate him with small embroidery beads; for when I started to pay him, he faithfully went over the number of measurements again after each pair of beads, first pointing to the latter, then to the corresponding part of the body, and he did not rest until the long list was quite carefully brought to an end. If these instances pile up, I said to myself, and if the Bakaïrí produce many such critical natures, their art of counting will make rapid progress. Here, indeed, was a tangible example of how trade fructifies and develops arithmetical gifts!

126 The women offered some resistance. It was quite impossible
345 to take the readings on them in the flute-house. They were not
562 permitted to enter it, although the noble building was already half in ruins. Hence they were measured and photographed on the plaza.

●123 We carefully packed up our bartered treasures and asked Porisa to keep them for us in his house until our return. We did not dare overload our canoes and had to provide room for the collection among the tribes living downstream. Porisa, before our eyes, shoved the bundles onto a high cross-beam between the center posts and promised that no one would touch them.

At 4:30 we then set out, very satisfied, for the harbor once
226 more. Antonio with eight Indians had gone out in front of the
[197] inlet where fishing was more rewarding and there demonstrated the use of the hook and line. His companions were able to set out homeward toward the village with a heavy load of piranhas, a
122 bagadũ, and a pintado. We traded one of our small canoes for a better, larger one.

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Yaruma SP25
Nahuqua

/94 cont./

II. To the Nahuquá.

000

Intercourse between the Bakaïrí and Nahuquá. Surprised in the harbor. Strange reception. Village vacated. A Yaurikumá. Overnight. Mehinakú in the village. Dances. Sad prospects for Professor Bastian. I go on ahead to the Mehinakú. Improvement of conditions. News about the battle between the Suyá and the Trumaí.

Y 648 B 191 648 Y [197]

Without question the Nahuquá have all kinds of intercourse with the Bakaïrí. Even from old Paleko I had learned a whole series of Nahuquá words and from these, to my great delight, was immediately able to tell that there was a new Karaiben /Carib/ tribe involved. Paleko told me that he had formerly lived for a time among the Nahuquá; Tumayaua, too, had already been among them and /95/ knew many words of their language, whereas all of the Bakaïrí of the Mehinakú living downstream from the Nahuquá did not know half a dozen words.

Y 123 361 B ●123 B Y 131 133 226

The Nahuquá who lived in the third village of the Bakaïrí accompanied us when, on 7 October 1887, we traveled from the harbor of the third Bakaïrí to his fellow tribesmen only a day's journey away, and late in the afternoon he climbed out at a place where a path led up, in order to announce us in the village. Three Bakaïrí from the harpy village, including Chief Porisa, had also /Fig. 4 appears here/ joined us. We had started off at 6:30 and were obliged to pass through another small rapid with a strong swell. It, with a few fish corrals, still belonged to the Bakaïrí, while a small brook to the right, two meters wide, which we passed about 9:00 and which was closed off by a fish fence, was already the property of the Nahuquá. At 11:00 another wide brook flowed in from the right, the Háiri of the Bakaïrí, or Ráza of the Nahuquá in whose territory it lay. Much high sandy beach, four to five meters above the water level in the dry season, willow bushes, countless dead and fallen trees. At 1:00 we made a /96/ halt at a place with abundant fish; the piranhas snapped so quickly that one had only to toss out the line and they were already caught; one large, meter-long bagadú that Antonio had caught with iguana

B 226

Y 123 241 /101 cont./ Wilhelm came across the Chief busy planting maize behind his hut; with a little stick he dug holes two to three inches deep and placed several kernels in them. When my cousin came along, the old man insisted that he plant the rest, an incident similar to my experience in the first Bakaïrí village.

Y 203 152 Soon afterwards great agitation suddenly broke out in the midst of the company. Wilhelm was led into the hut of the chief and found sitting there three newcomers who were staring darkly ahead while everyone was noisily talking at once and a few women were weeping. He could not make out what was happening and Y [302] realized only that there had been bad news, the bearers of which were the three red-painted strangers. Only later in the flute-house was the news made intelligible to him with much panto-mime. The bad Suyá had finally successfully carried out the plan T 648 to attack the Trumaí, for which they had sought our assistance in 1884. "Suyá Trumaí tok tok"; it was thus illustrated with lively gestures that the Suyá had struck down and overcome the Trumaí. It seemed that the former had pulled some of the Trumaí canoes toward them with hooks and tipped them over; arrows were shot Y at the swimmers, and others had their hands tied behind their backs. 203 101 The people who had brought the news were the Nahuquá living closest to the Trumaí, who were called Guikurú /Kuikuru/.

Y 122 On the forenoon of 11 October Wilhelm and Ehrenreich, whose indisposition was growing worse, returned to the harbor and rowed off on the morning of the 12th in order to catch up with me. Two of the Mehinakú, who lived below the Nahuquá and had correctly interpreted my disappearance, had already traveled after me the day before, but fortunately arrived a day later than I did.

000 /102/ III. To the Mehinakú.

Going ahead alone. Arrival and reception. Festival hut. Disturbed harmony and reconciliation. Prosperity. Flying ants. Ethnographic collection.

B 123 It had required some power of persuasion to induce Tumayaua and his companion, the "cab driver," who had fortunately once

B /102 cont./
123 been among the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, although he did not know their language, to carry out my plan, but one was encouraged by the example of the other.

W 122 We set out early on 10 October and reached the harbor of the
B 461 Mehinakú on 12 October at 11:00 in the forenoon. We had not hurried particularly; the two rowed best only when I provided a good example. The most dreadful thing to me was that they traced all the bends in the river and never cut off one of them by crossing it. There was not a fish, not a bird, that did not hold their attention. They shot at, without hitting, several gallinaceous birds, a capybara that was swimming across the river was wounded in its hind leg and, with the arrow, ran screaming into the woods. We slept that night beside an inlet with an abundance of fish and made a good catch. The two roasted fish all night long, carefully keeping the fire going under the wooden grill; they had set up their hammocks so close that they could comfortably reach out, turn the fish, occasionally consume a piece, and have the benefit of the fire's warmth.

W [142] [302] ←

B 252

Fig. 4. Mehinakú woman.

W 131 On the second morning they told me that the bank on the left
B 504 belonged to the Mehinakú, on the right to the Nahuquá. The harbor lay along a steep sandbank where a small brook emptied.
W [531] Rhomboid designs were scratched on the trees. The Bakairí shoved
B 581 the canoe far up into the brook and carefully concealed the oars and carrying baskets, which still contained remnants of fish and
B 576 beijús, in the woods. Tumayaua prepared a gift for the Mehinakú hosts and for this purpose hung a rosary-like cord around his neck,
B [757] on which were strung fruits with an oily content. The oil was rubbed on the skin scratched by the medicinal scarifier of the Indians.

/128 cont./

B 122 increasingly difficult, the provisions were exhausted, and before us lay the prospect of a long land march made exceedingly more difficult by the rise of the waters. The food supplies that had been brought along were practically exhausted, except for salt, Paraguayan tea, and a little coffee. The soup tablets had disappeared, there were two containers of vegetables left, and the rest consisted of a little bottle of Kemmerich boullon, two small containers of peptone, and three bottles of liquor. Only Kemmerich meat powder had made it possible for us to stay in the Indian villages; the last two containers of it had been cooked in the Auetõ village.

B 122 On 31 October we set out on the return journey. Without
123 the help of the Indians we should have been unable to transport the collection to Independencia, for we did not have enough canoes. For this service, however, we had carefully saved a
B number of attractive and useful trade items. First /Pl. XI ap-
122 pears here/ /129/ five Auetõ accompanied us to the Mehinakú
123 in several canoes filled with our loads, the Mehinakú helped us on to the Nahuquá, with the Nahuquá we reached the third Bakaïrí. Bakaïrí from all three villages took part in the transport that increased from village to village, and on 13 November we drew up, a small fleet of 13 canoes with 14 Bakaïrí, in front of the kitchen site of Independencia.

W I should like to sketch briefly what is still to be reported
126 from the second visit to the villages. The two Mehinakú days were very pleasant and instructive. Photographs and measurements had to be taken, since Ehrenreich had been ill at the
W time of our first visit. During the measuring, the women trem-
163 bled all over their bodies. They had remarkably many children: in the case of one woman we counted the unheard of num-
W ber of six, another had four daughters. Later I shall have to
323 sing the praises of these Nu-Aruak women, the inventors of the
W pots and the best benefactors of the mandioca industry. An ex-
123 cellent picture of the company is shown on Plate 8, "Demonstration of a bird whistle" /see p. 85/. They are listening to the swelling tones which the native sitting in front of me is drawing out of the new silver object. The gesture of the little girl in the

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 122]

/130 cont./

W 132 rained by buckets, and the shower bath was quite cold, scarcely
W more than 15°. Our good Mehinakú were unhappy that we did
[821] not follow their example and puff against the heavenly sluices;
they hastily built a protective roof, probably more to keep busy,
and complained incessantly "ulãpe, ulãpe!"

W 122 In the harbor of the Mehinakú we acquired another canoe,
meanwhile the Auetó who had accompanied us this far had dis-
appeared without a trace. Vogel's hunting knife was also
missing.

Y 245 The Nahuquá village was in the middle of the pikí harvest.
Like cannon balls in an arsenal, the pikí lay in piles outside
Y 251 and inside. Racks had been set up in the houses to dry the seeds,
the women were busy peeling the fruit, cooking it, and scraping
the seeds, human beings and utensils butter yellow --Caryocar
Y butyrosum. No pogu, but piki juice; the pikí seeds with an
[757] almond-like taste, an electuary "pikí herb" not at all bad in
Y 164 moderate doses. Many sick in the hammocks, stomach and skin
affected, one old baldhead, face and head covered with sores.
Y 123 Tumayaua was given pikí as a parting gift for the trip. Only
[431] one newborn child, which the mother brought to us so that we
would blow on it, seemed to know nothing yet about pikí.

B In Bakairí village III, which, by the way, the Nahuquá
Y 648 accompanying us did not want to enter, the old festival hut had
B 731 burned down and the people were very much afraid of the
previously greatly admired matches. But we did find magnifi-
B 532 cent bird-masks and fish-masks. Of the two canoes we ordered,
B 122 one was not yet finished and the other had been wrecked.
501

Bakairí village II seemed deserted. The occupants were
B in part absent, why remained unclear; also, we had apparently
●123 seen foreign guests the first time and included them. Chief
B Aramóke, however, was gracious as ever and had set before us
[822] beijú: which we could have offered the most distinguished tea
guests at home. It was only with great difficulty that we found
a few men to transport part of the collection for some distance
overland. It was always said that they had to stay with the
B 752 children. Then in the chief's house lay a woman with burns on

/130 cont./

her arm, who also needed company. A colleague with a very professional look on his face sat beside her and occasionally had a therapeutic seizure, during which, moaning pitiably, he blew clouds of tobacco smoke over the sick woman or, turned toward the wall, groaned dreadfully. The "cab driver," who, with Tumayaua, had accompanied us as far as the Auetö and who was a great witch-doctor, took leave of us here. He by all means had to take part in the treatment and was not to be persuaded to leave the case solely to his colleague, who was, after all, blowing extremely efficiently. As a reward for this civilized behavior, we provided him with a /131/ civilized exterior in the form of a shirt and head covering, which, along with a big knife, was the goal of his ambition. We solemnly dressed him up, along with Tumayaua, who had been parading about for a long time in a black and white checked shirt and white linen trousers underneath, and we photographed the two, as is shown in Figure 8 /see p. 125/. Wilhelm had been saving up a few prizes for the deserving travel companions, a magnificent Düsseldorf carnival-cap, worn by him himself as Prince Carnival on a high triumphal chariot, green, yellow, white, and red, with sparkling bells, likewise the medal of His Foolish Majesty, set with brilliants and worn around the neck -- these two pieces went to Tumayaua -- and a genuine carnival cap of the still gayer sister city on the Rhine, which we put over the tonsure of the cab-driver colleague, for want of a doctoral hood. /Figure 8 appears here./ In addition, Tumayaua was given a black frock-coat purchased by Wilhelm in Rio de Janeiro, an import from Paris et le dernier mot de la perfection /and the last word in perfection/. The illustration gives us a faint idea of how ghastly the two fools, puffed up with pride, appeared in their clothing, both certainly not the most handsome types, but now they suddenly looked positively ugly, bent and crooked, and the reason for this, more than the shabbiness of the costume, was that all the contour lines were obliterated and had lost their character. Tumayaua in shirt and trousers was as clumsy as on the first day; he would tear them in the forest, but then again

/131 cont./

would take exaggerated care of them by removing them on occasions when even for children it would not be necessary.

In the first Bakaïrí village the population had increased by one young soul. Pauhaga had become a father and was observing the lying-in period along with his wife. I shall come back to the scene, which seemed comical to us, in discussing the couvade. The maize was a succulent green: we were offered excellent, somewhat dry maize beijiu. My tobacco planting on village plaza had shot up tremendously and was fenced in all around by a palisade.

Fig. 8.
Indians disguised as Europeans.

But what did our astonished eyes catch sight of behind Paleko's house? A new construction, already far advanced, of a strange kind. Or rather, one of very familiar appearance. The Bakaïrí had taken our rancho at Independencia as a model and, instead of their beehive, had started a houle with a triangular gable /132/ and a two-sided roof. We had believed we were seeing something genuine in a remote corner, and already it was disappearing. "The first glimpse of light," says Bastian, "will also be the last."

Tumayaua, who was going along to Independencia, nevertheless carried out the official farewell in Maigéri. He handed me two large gourd bowls. A little while after that he came to fetch me, seized me vehemently by the arm, and, shouting loudly all around, led me from the hut to the beam in the middle of the plaza and, with a sort of enthusiasm, pushed me down on to the seat. Soon four Karaiben were sitting there in a row, side by side.

B /132 cont. /

123 Then he dragged up one of the nicely plaited storage baskets
431 three-quarters of a meter high and, boasting happily, put it be-
[235] fore us as a present. The best was yet to come, however. A
B round mat was placed on the ground, the chief called, and out
[262] of the houses all the women and children came running and
slapped a beijú onto the mat, each one running back immediately
to make room. The agile flurry with which the beijús came
flying was charming. Some 16 cakes were lying there. Then
"śle" was said and we were dismissed. We, of course, outdid
ourselves in praise of the hospitality of the Bakaïrí and secretly
made up our mind to pay them back handsomely in Independencia.

B Since a heavy thunderstorm broke out, we stayed in the vil-
123 lage the last night. It was raining in torrents outside and
Tumayaua was describing his journeys. We all sat for a long time
around the fire, which the Indians let blaze up wildly by reck-
lessly tearing bunches of straw out of the wall of the festival hut.
Luchu had taken possession of the black frock-coat as his sole
article of clothing; another man had decorated his ear with a
fishhook. My erstwhile intended - it pains me not to be able
to keep this a secret -- honored me with scarcely a glance.

The song of woman's constancy!

500 /The remainder of Ch. VI, pp. 132-137, and Ch. VII, pp. 138-
152, are omitted in the translation. /

/153/ Chapter VIII

I. Geography and Classification of the Tribes of the Schingú Source-region

B S 101 131 823 [115]

The old chief of the Suyá, distinguished from his companions
by an extremely modest lip-plug, had enumerated for us in 1884
the long list of tribes that were settled on the upper Schingú
/Xingu/ and with his finger had drawn in the sand the source
rivers on whose banks they lived. Cf. Durch Central-brasilien
/Through Central Brazil/, page 214 /see 1: Steinen, this file,
pp. 104-106/. His 13 tribal names had tempted us to undertake

/260 cont./

531 the world is pictured in these minds!" No. 10, semímo ikuto,
825 pictures of bats! Rhombuses strung together. Head, extremities, tail, where are they? We shall come across bats again, however, in other drawings and especially on the pots, where they are re-
[113] duced to the same rhombus form. In Brehm's Tierleben I, 1890, page 363, there is an illustration of Vesperugo noctula, the Abendsegler /"evening swift"/, which in the specimen on the left, wrapped in a wing membrane and hanging, shows us a somewhat similar outline; if it were stylized, it could also be developed into a rhombus. -- /261/ Let us now confirm the fact that on these two plates we have rhombuses in three patterns: that of the pakú, either an outline or spotted-surface design; that of the nuki, with diagonal triangles, and the one of the bat, which is simply filled in. The negative drawing of the bats, No. 10, would be exactly like No. 11, the Boa constrictor or jiboya snake. One sees, at any rate, that one can arrive at the geometric figure of the rhombus in very different ways.

171 Mereschu and uluri. /Fig. 43 appears here./ Strangely enough,
531 the frieze of the Bakaïrí house lacked a design which is the most
825 common one, not only among the Bakaïrí, but also among all the tribes of the upper Schingú. On our first journey we noticed it often enough, but did not appreciate and understand it. In my report Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/ it is found on page 163 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 42/ as a drinking-bowl design of the Bakaïrí and on page 213 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 104/ as a pencil drawing of the Suyá in the handsomest delineation: rhombuses whose corners are filled in with small triangles. Only after the discovery was made in the second Bakaïrí village was
[136] the explanation given. The original of the decoration is a small, flat lagoon fish, a Serrasalmo or Myletes, related to the piranhas. The one drawn by Wilhelm measured 19 centimeters in length, 9.5 centimeters in width, and was silver-gray with brown spots. No
[123] artist has ever had more success with a picture than did Wilhelm with this drawing. People came crowding up and all were positively happy to view it. And this was repeated among all the tribes. Even the Paressí in Cuyabá were delighted with it and

/296 cont./

*171 to the stamping. It is extremely characteristic that the Bakaïrí
532 have the same word for "dancing" and "singing." "The mean-
535 ing of the songs," says Martius, "is simple: praise of the warlike
[538] and hunting deeds of individuals or hordes, enumeration of certain animals and remarks about their characteristics. If masks appear at the festival, most of which represent animals, the wearers imitate their voices."

*171 We did not observe anything that would permit us to con-
●123 clude that the masks are in any way regarded as sacred. The
532 pieces plaited out of palm straw in particular were all heedlessly tossed aside after use. True, the masks were sometimes hidden from us, but only in the same way that /297/ all portable utensils and ornaments were hidden from us, out of fear of robbery. Once the people had gained confidence in us, they surrendered their masks to us without further ado and made new ones to order. They were demonstrated for us with joking and laughter, like a pretty toy.

529 Among the docile Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ on the Paranatinga and the Rio Novo the principal festival usually occurred in April. I, with my civilized conceptions, was pursuing the idea of a feast of thanksgiving and thought of the possibility that the festival held at harvest time was somehow being celebrated in praise and honor of some friendly powers regarded as the givers of good things. I therefore tried to find out from Antonio whether anything like that could be established. Antonio, however, did not respond to my suggestion. "We celebrate the festival around harvest time," he declared, "because then we have something to celebrate; in the dry period we must save, in the rainy season everything would become moldy." Materialistic, but understandable.*

*"Usually a surplus of supplies for the beverages is the occasion for the festival," says Martius, "but where European custom has asserted itself and Christians live next to Indians, a saint's day will probably be chosen for it."

*171 591 844 /331 cont./
see, could occupy the lying-in room at the home of the parents-
in-law. Although the people lived in monogamy and the father
*171 604 was the head of the family, the mother's brother was still re-
garded as equal to the father as a protector of the child and in
any case, if the father died, assumed all responsibilities until
[593] the children were grown. He, not the mother, was in charge of
their property.

*171 601 Among all the tribes, older and younger brothers had differ-
ent designations. The younger brother was on the same level as
the cousin and had a name in common with him. The Bakaïrí
*171 ● 123 602 called me "older brother" and later in the third village also
"grandfather"; the Mehinakú called me "uncle" (mother's
brother). My traveling companions were always called my
"younger brothers or cousins" and were also addressed in this way
by the Indians themselves.

*171 583 585 Marriages were concluded without wedding celebrations;
the parents, first the fathers, then the mothers, talk matters over,
and the father of the bride receives /332/ arrows and stone axes;
the bridegroom must also work with him in the clearing "to show
that he knows how," he hangs his hammock above that of the
girl, and everything is in order. That older men have young
*171 582 wives and younger men older wives was clearly pronounced only
on the Paranatinga, but not on the Kulisehu (this prerogative of
the old thus appears only with the decline of the tribe). At least
the few matrimonial unions with which I became more closely
586 acquainted in Maigéri were evenly matched. Divorce among the
Bakaïrí takes place without any trouble, it was said, even if the
husband is not in favor of it. "The woman leaves, perhaps he
will catch her again."

*171 592 [593] I have spoken earlier about the division of labor between the
sexes; cf. pp. 216 ff. The woman did not occupy an undignified
position. The husband let her carry a larger load than he himself
carried, he kept her away from the flute house where the
men consulted, smoked, celebrated festivals, and where strangers
were lodged, he was her lord and master -- and he did what she
wanted. When Martius says that the woman does not occupy an
inferior position "in spite of slavish subordination as a result of

/332 cont./

*171 562 the gay activity /der heitern Geschäftigkeit/," this is perfectly applicable to our Indians with the reservation that the slavish subordination was very much in the background. The woman needed protection, first, because she was weak and "wept" whenever there was danger, and then because she had to be protected from foreign lusts. In returning home from the plantings, she walked in front of her husband, since, heavily loaded, she hastened forward rapidly and everything was safe; in the forest she walked behind him so that he would be the first to meet any possible danger. She was protected from foreign guests, and, if they were of a dubious nature, as we were, the women and children ran into the forest.

*171 681 ● 123 674 What occurs in dramas of adultery I do not know. We had no opportunity to observe anything that belonged to the sphere of the administration of justice. If I asked Antonio about crimes of any kind, he always answered that such things probably happened in former times, but no longer occur now.

*171 123 674 Theft of things belonging to us was, in any case, very frequent, except among the Bakaïrí, although friend Luchu, at the time he visited us in Independencia, was no longer altogether trustworthy. When the confusion in the Trumaí camp arose [648] because I was obliged to demand the return of a glass of my stolen arsenic pills, we saw that the Yaulapiti, who had come with *171 186 us, were trying to snatch the stone axes of the Trumaí. Always and without exception it was supposed to have been a stranger who had done the stealing. The people living together also had little that they needed to take from one another, and the thief could scarcely have enjoyed it without being discovered. There is nothing more natural, therefore, than that the idea of morals rests most particularly on tribal affiliation. Among the Bakaïrí kurá means "we," "we all," "our" and at the same time "good" ("our people"); kurápa, "not we," "not our," and at the same time "bad, stingy, unhealthy." All evil comes /333/ from for- [754] eigners, and not least sickness and death, which are sent from outside sorcerers.

/333 cont./

*171 437 Bakaïrí translated the Portuguese word comprar, "to buy," as yekadile, "to sit down." Trade is therefore still an exchange of hospitable gifts. But this has its origin only in the level of culture, *171 574 577 not in nobility of character. The Indian is not at all hospitable in the sense that he feels greatly honored by the visit and feels absolutely obliged to entertain lavishly with beijús and drinks. For this effort he would certainly like a reciprocal one; he soon becomes impatient if the guest is staying only because living is cheap, and he frankly asks him to leave the village. It is even reported in the Bakaïrí legends, along with the invention of the dance, that the people who were invited and entertained had given gifts of arrows and string. Our travel companions undoubtedly offered us fish en route /334/ only when they themselves were satisfied, and it was not the best beijús which they left for us. [186] The endless talk among themselves as to whether this or that tribe was "kúra" clearly shows that they were only naïvely hospitable; there was always the greatest gratification when we declared a tribe to be "kurápa," because this meant that for our part we had done less business with that one. They praised themselves far too much for the recipient to be able to believe in the pure virtue of the unselfish savage.

*171 ●123 437 Our matter-of-fact, businesslike way of exchanging one object for another was at first completely new to all the tribes. They quickly learned, however. Nevertheless, the funniest enormities occurred. One man gathered up a handful of mangabas and then impetuously demanded a large knife. One wanted to have beads in exchange for the bandaging of his hand. Only if it were explained to them that one had but a single specimen of an object was one not bothered further.

*171 55 [553] Names. The son, soon after birth, is given the name of the grandfather, uncle, or an ancestor, not that of the father. The names among the Bakaïrí are animal names in part, but I believe only a small part. The following are the only ones whose meaning I understand: Luchu, for example, is a water snake; the native name of Chief Reginaldo on the Rio Novo was izána = cayman; an old man in Igueti was named póne = black piranha.

/394 cont./

173 source region of the Tapajoz, and from there some of them emi-
167 grated to the Batovy and Kulisehu in the source region of the Schingú. According to the legend, they reached the salto from the source region of the Paranatinga and Ronuro.

The separation of the West Bakaïrí and East Bakaïrí would under all circumstances have to be dated back to at least the previous century and before the time when the Bakaïrí spread to the southwest into the source region of the Cuyabá. The
174 linguistic comparison agrees well with these conclusions; the
197 two groups of Bakaïrí speak a language that is identical in form and content, with slight dialectal differences. A few fish and trees are designated differently; the name of the akurí palm of the Kulisehu is that of the oaussú palm of the Paranatinga, and
[177] vice versa. As far as the Schingú Bakaïrí are concerned, it is absolutely certain that they have never had any contact with the white man.

619 As a result of our expedition of 1884, West Bakaïrí and East
[123] Bakaïrí came together again. Antonio, after his return home
[166] to the Paranatinga, told of the fellow tribesmen on the Batovy, and the practical Chief Felipe had the idea that he must try to
[484] persuade them to settle on the Paranatinga. In September of 1886 he set out with Antonio and another man, they reached the Batovy in three days and required another three days along the river until they reached the first village.

/395/ Chief Luku was kurápa and did not entertain them as splendidly as they had expected, but several East Bakaïrí, our "professor" of 1884 in the lead, accompanied them to the
619 Paranatinga. The visitors had great fear of the cattle, but great
431 joy over the visitors-gifts, with which Felipe did not stint. I inquired specifically what they had been given to take along. "We gave them all the iron we had, chickens (this, however, was later denied), small banana plants, mandioca twigs, maize, and rice." Thus one sees how the first opportunity is immediately used to transplant the cultivated produce! If the experiment succeeded, our successors on the Schingú will be able to eat bananas!

/21 cont./

701 disturb the Brazilian campesinos in these regions. According to
648 Herrmann Meyer (28) they had already wreaked serious destruction

28. Herrmann Meyer, "Bericht uber seine zweite Xingú-Expedition," loc. cit., pp. 115 and 116.

in the region of the Serra Trombador and killed several inhabitants. At the time of my stay on the Corrego Fundo ranch, the Kayabí had penetrated the mountains above the Rio Paranatinga up to some six leagues from Corrego Fundo and attacked Cacique Antonio as he was looking for rubber with his people for Señor Jange Soares, the owner of the ranch. But Antonio had driven them back with his armed people and killed a Kayabí on this occasion.

622 Cacique Antonio's big house where I visited him had been
342 built a year earlier. It consisted of a large middle room which communicated on the left side of the entrance with two other rooms which formed the dwelling house proper of the cacique and Doña Rosa, and on the right side with a large room for guests that fulfilled exactly the functions of the house for fiestas
622 of the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River regions. All the men
342 and boys of the aldea could go in and out of it as they pleased.
574 This room also served for dancing, and during my stay in it,
[302] from time to time, some Xinguanos would enter, their faces
[533] painted in red and black, and sing their monotonous melodies
[535] as they danced around the post set in the middle of the room.
[352] Cacique Antonio's own dwelling already had at this time quite
[123] a modern appearance. In the "dining room" there was a table and a large armchair as well as dishes and spoons, and I was entertained at his table in the Brazilian manner with a dish of
622 meat with rice and flour. He obviously enjoyed renewing old
115 memories of the journeys he had made with Karl von den Steinen. He looked with great interest at Karl von den Steinen's works about his travels and, on his part, showed me some photographs

/21 cont./
622 that he still kept from those days. Antonio had no children by
115 Doña Rosa. I had the opportunity to become acquainted with
[123] her when, returning in poor health from the Rio Kulisehu, I was most generously accommodated in her house although Antonio was away.

342 José Coroado's house, situated in front of his stepfather
352 Antonio's house, was just as large and built in the same style.
353 Its interior gave much more of a native impression than Antonio's house. In the half-dark rooms several women lay in the hammocks, /22/ among them one with Jose's little daughter, who was only a few weeks old. All the walls in the house showed in the upper part, directly under the ceiling, boards painted in black and white. These friezes made by the Xinguanos showed the typical paintings of the Bakairí. All of the decorations known to the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River regions appeared in these paintings, such as, for example, the figures called
159 uluri, merechu, and maimai. José, in spite of his youth, had
191 already had a great deal of experience. The hole in his lower lip at once recalled his early childhood among his own fellow
[871] countrymen, the Bororo, whose idiom he still knew. As already mentioned above, he had come with his mother to the house of Cacique Antonio when he was a boy of five or six, but he had received part of his education in the capital, Cuiabá, so that he was better acquainted than any other Rio Paranatinga Bakairí with the Portuguese language, which he also used in
159 talking with his mother. When he was an adult, Cacique
619 Antonio had taken him along on a trip to the Batovy and Kulisehu
484 rivers. Already at that time he had had trouble with his stepfather because he had become too involved with the pretty girls of the first aldea of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí and had thus damaged the good relations with the inhabitants of that aldea. The anger of the inhabitants of the first Rio Kulisehu aldea caused by José Coroado's behavior still continued at the time of my journey to the Rio Kulisehu, and José did not dare to accompany me to that aldea because he had learned that its

/29 cont./

114 died a short time before. Cacique Karía, who in times past
115 had received me so hospitably in Maimaieti aldea, was still
159 living but very old. He was quite isolated, for his wife as well
622 as his two daughters, whom I had known as little girls, had
died. Cacique Antonio was also still alive but was also already
old and had remained with his family and a few people at the
location of the old Bakairí aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí.
622 Antonio always clung stubbornly to the idea that the land bound
159 by the Serra Azul, the Riberão Bananal, and the Rio Paranatinga
619 belonged to him and his Bakairí, and he did not want to leave
648 his aldea so as not to lose the right to this region. As for the
114 changes brought about by the establishment of the Simões Lopes
Post, he maintained a very cautious attitude and did not recognize the authority of the Post administration, according to which the Bakairí, Pires, was named cacique of the Xinguanos in his place and appointed to administer the affairs of this part of the Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post. When I later met Cacique Antonio, he told me repeatedly that he was still Capitão and the legitimate chief of his fellow tribesmen. Among other news received from the Bakairí in Cuiabá, I heard that José Coroado and his brother-in-law Chico, who had accompanied me with the latter on my expedition to the Rio Kulisehu, had died since.

114 In the course of the journey which I finally undertook,
622 leaving Cuiabá on January 27, 1927, I was able to make only
159 a passing visit to Cacique Antonio in his aldea, but he himself
visited me at Simões Lopes several times. (Cf. Fig. 1.) I was
● [123] very well received in his house as an old friend and treated to
a glass of guarana drink. Whereas Antonio had no issue by Rosa
Bororo, he had after her death three sons by his second wife.
The photograph shown in Figure 2 shows Antonio before his
house with his family, and his horse on the right. The condition
of his house, in contrast with that of previous times when I
visited him at the height of his power, conveyed an impression
114 of poverty. In a small house situated close to Antonio's, I also
115

/33 cont./

226 at least up to where the post is located /cited in English/."
114 At the time of Karl von den Steinen's expedition, the matrinchãn fish was held as the most precious boon in the country of the Paranatinga Bakairí, and in its honor they held their most beautiful fiesta. (39) When Karl von den Steinen suggested to

39. Karl v. d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., pp. 24 and 25.

Cacique Felipe that his aldea, which seemed to be losing all its population then, should be moved closer to Cuiabá, his sole reply was /34/ matrinchãn. Later at the aldea, then situated
[123] farther upriver, I was treated almost every day to a tasty matrinchãn, and when I visited the Xinguanos in the year 1927 in their settlement on the Rio Paranatinga, they also offered me fish. Of course, it may be that this abundance of fish in the Rio Paranatinga is restricted to certain times of the year.

I also regard as incorrect Petrullo's observation that the
114 Bakairí of the post had substituted hammocks made of cotton
177 thread for the ancestral ones of buriti fiber. From the beginning
283 the hammock made of cotton thread was typical especially of
352 the Bakairí of the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, in contrast to the hammocks woven of buriti fiber used by the other tribes in this region. But already at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions, (40) the Bakairí of the Rio

40. Ibid., p. 239.

Paranatinga had hammocks made of buriti fiber, which, they said, old Cacique Caetano had introduced among them. As for
114 Petrullo's opinion that the custom of filing the upper incisors
177 is ancestral with the Bakairí and that they still retain it, I must
304 contest it with the fact that the Bakairí of the region of the

/165 cont./

609 mix for him -- whereas the boy of a Brazilian colonist, to whom I was called in Rosario, leaped out of bed and fled from me into the forest.

186 The old sibyl joined us this evening on the open plaza.
823 She pointed to the west, "Bakaïrí!"; to the south, "Bakaïrí!"; to the north and east likewise "Bakaïrí!" and finally, describing a circle in the air, she summed up with proud satisfaction, "Bakaïrí!" In translation "All this is subject to me, admit that I am fortunate."

132 14 Aug. 6:00 A.M.: dry. 11.7, wet. 10.6.
2:00 P.M.: dry. 34.9, wet. 20.0, clear, NE 1.
4:05 P.M.: I 740.8, II 730.0, dry. 34.0, hypsom. 98.825.
9:00 P.M.: dry. 18.0, wet. 17.0.

126 /166/ I was fortunately able to measure three women.
[124] Antonio is very useless as an interpreter and causes more difficulties
[532] than the harmless people themselves. I also traded for a few maize-straw dolls, judging from the ease with which the transaction was made, there seemed to be no higher or in any sense a religious meaning attached to them.

592 We spent some time in Pauhaga's, or rather Chief Cavácos's house, it differed in nothing essential from that of the professor; there were no straw dolls.

137 We found inhame (Dioscorea, yams), which we greeted
252 with joy. -- The fish are grilled on just such racks as we came across on the Batovy; they are exposed to the fire until they are encased in a thick charcoal crust; capybara leg, which tasted like fat fish, and monkey steak were also charred on the outside in this fashion. The crisp charcoal gives the insipid-tasting meat, which is not salted, an -- faute de mieux -- improved flavor. The
[263] Bakaïrí are also familiar with a very medicinal tasting salt made from tree ashes, which, however, they do not seem to use in the preparation of food.

609 The soldiers, who were paying their farewell visit, were
431 given generous quantities of beijús, puvas, and polvilho /manioc
252 flour; see the glossary, p.172 / as presents. The grated and pounded mandioca is pressed through mats; the pulp is put into

/64 cont./

surroundings, even in the regions of the unconscious, is best shown by the fact that from the 15th to the 16th of September, as well as during the following night, I dreamed of my German home and saw all my acquaintances there just as naked as the Bakaïrí; I myself was astonished about it in my dream, but my table partner at a dinner party, a highly respectable lady in whom I took an interest, reassured me immediately by saying: "Everyone goes around that way now."

123 291 The purpose that we associate with clothing remained hidden from them; there was no doubt about that when one saw in what naïve fashion they put on the parts of my apparel that they got hold of for a while. And how could they know any more about the rigors of our climate than about the third chapter of the first book of Moses? They played with my garments /Pl. V appears here/ /65/ like vain children. Luchu was happy when I loaned him my poncho, and with it and my hat he walked proudly about the village plaza like the most conceited fop.

291 In the ethnographic description of the Kulisehu tribes I shall have to come back to the subject of clothing and the feeling of modesty; here I can only truthfully report that in my association with these people I did not see anything of our feeling of modesty, but I did observe another kind, absolutely foreign to us, about which I shall report presently.

124 192 831 During the inquiry into the vocabulary, the parts of the body represented important and easily handled material. The Bakaïrí found it very amusing that I wanted to know everything, but, on the other hand, were very proud that their language was so rich and that the Bakaïrí had a word for each part. They became very merry at this point in my questioning and were not wanting in prompt answers where, according to our conceptions, they should have been ashamed and if possible answered in Latin or in the language of children. Considerately -- for at this time I, of course, was looking through my cultural spectacles and saw that they were naked -- I had waited for a moment when the women had gone out of the hut; I was astonished by the fact that the answer that was due suddenly came from the outside, from a very amused girl's voice. My caution had been purposeless. It was the caution of,

[TEXT Continues on p. 29]

/65 cont./

124 say, an Arab, who would feel awkward about looking into the un-
83 veiled face of a European woman, or a Chinese, who would fall
[192] into the most anguished embarrassment if chance showed him her stockingless little foot. It is true, the subject that seems shocking to us gave the Bakaïrí, men and women, decided pleasure, and if a pedantic ponderer who wants to have modesty in our sense preserved at any price as the innate heritage of humanity would like to conclude from this increased measure of merriment that the bad conscience of a tribe that had sunk from a higher morality was stirring, I can only reply to him that their merry laughter was neither impudent nor did it give the impression of cloaking an inner embarrassment. On the other hand, it undoubtedly had a slightly erotic timbre, and, much as occasion and accompanying circumstances among true primitive peoples must differ, it altogether resembled the laughter that one hears at our spinning-party jokes, at games of forfeit, or other harmless entertainment in the intercourse between the two sexes. For from this same
[531] natural joy, as we shall see later, there resulted one of the most common ornaments in their painting, namely, the uluri of the women, represented on numerous implements as the original form of the triangle.

126 I wished to have the uluris made in larger quantities for the collection. Which aroused great merriment. Thus one afternoon there was lively tailoring. We were sitting behind Tumayaua's
[252] house, an old woman was baking beijús outside, pouring the flour
[524] on the pan, spreading it smooth, and /66/ skillfully tossing the
[283] finished flat-cake on a sieve, the children licked up püserego and
[287] played catch with feather-decorated maize balls, and four women and girls were twisting the threads out of palm fiber, folding the "little skirts" out of brownish-yellow leaves, and handing me the
126 neat work in quantity and in all sizes. The only thing that I must
291 add is that one woman was very baffled and looked about helplessly when I asked for an uluri that she was wearing. But no feeling of modesty related to the exposure had anything to do with this embarrassment; rather, what feeling of modesty was present should be called a physiological one, the existence of which I do not

/84 cont./

000 We could thus be satisfied with our Independencia. It had a pleasant broad open plaza and one lower level where the clear brook emptied into the river, the small kitchen area shown on Plate 12 /omitted in the translation/. Several hammocks were also set up there, whereas Perrot's tent and the tents of the soldiers stood above, beside the "new construction." Everybody now worked busily to get a roof on this little house. A few loads of buriti leaves were fetched with the donkeys; unfortunately a great number of large ticks were also imported on them. Cross-rafters were lashed together with pindahyba bast to form a girão, a supporting framework, and above this the roof was covered with buriti leaves. The wooden saddles and the leather bags were stacked up in the house and the ethnological collection was sheltered on the framework under oxhides. A good-sized space remained for Januario for sleeping.

[126] The collection was a promising beginning. It already contained almost 120 specimens which were catalogued and provided with tin numbers. Less effort was required for the distribution of the food supplies. A small part was set aside for the return journey by land. The first experiments were now made with the Kemmerich tubes of meat; it turned out that they were best
122 cooked with vegetable cubes, Mélange d'Equipage. Tumayaua promised to see to it that mandioca flour was delivered from the village to those remaining behind, and Januario had before his eyes a bag of magnificent beads, turned over to him as a lure for the suppliers.

● 124 Tumayaua further promised to accompany us on our trip. We guaranteed him two fine axes, several shirts, and so many beads that he would be the richest /85/ man on the Kulisehu. He and Luchu, pampered on all sides, felt immeasurably content in their new environment. We showed them the campsite in Bengal light, which, in fact, looked magnificent, although the nightly illumination by thousands of fireflies which performed their torch dances in front of the dark background of the queimada perhaps created
[126] more of a mood. Tumayaua and Luchu unhesitatingly let themselves be photographed (Plate 6).[1] They did everything that was

[1] [See P. 40--Analyst]

/85 cont./

124 asked of them. Indeed, Tumayaua accepted without delay the invitation to mount Perrot's horse. I led the animal for a while and then let it trot; the noble chief rode and rode, for he did not know how to get back. But there was something of a historic moment in the picture: the South American of the Stone Age on the back of a horse for the first time. Luchu was not yet ripe for this idea; the young man could not to be persuaded to follow the example of the plucky uncle, who was highly pleased with the experience. Tumayaua also measured the horse by feeling the head and neck in comparison with his body size: obviously he wanted to furnish the tobacco club with a scientific description.

122 With the help of the Indians, two more canoes had been made; on 29 September the oars were carved and on the 30th the canoes were experimentally loaded.

[103] To the First Bakaïrí Village (Maigéri).

On 1 October we got up at four o'clock and at six o'clock we set out. We were distributed in the five canoes: 1. Antonio, Wilhelm, I; 2. Ehrenreich, João Pedro; 3. Vogel, Perrot, Columna; 4. Carlos and Peter with heavy luggage; 5. Tumayaua and Luchu. "Adeus Januario, Raymundo, Satyro, Manoel! Até á volta, until our return! Take care of the animals, don't quarrel, and keep well!" "Feliz viagem!" called back the good fellows, in whose place I truly would not have liked to be and who were now going to count the days until our return would again give them their freedom.

We rowed busily, made a midday pause on a rocky island, and at a quarter to five our canoe was the first at the big cachoeira which we christened Salto Taunay in honor of Senator Taunay. I took a splendid bath in the whirlpool and then sat down at a lookout point; dusk was beginning to fall and no one came. At a quarter to seven, in the light of the full moon, the others appeared; they had remained at the island until three o'clock, sleeping and boiling maté. Fishing was made difficult by the all too bright night; it was not until eleven o'clock that the men

B /243 cont./
*171 one draws on the ground or in the sand. In taking down the
20 vocabulary, I was extraordinarily often able to convince myself
532 that the inner perception was converted into an explanatory
[124] sand-drawing involuntarily and without being demanded by me.
To be sure, it happened most often if the shape of the animal was particularly suitable for this, as in the case of snakes, an alligator head, and fish, where, in addition, a voice could not be imitated. Furthermore, it is to be freely admitted that the impulse for the realm of hearing was disproportionately stronger among these hunters, and also that in intercourse among themselves they undoubtedly confined themselves to the drawing gesture for the sense of sight. Indeed, they could actually limit themselves to this. Toward me there was the additional thought: "since the man does not understand our language, how can we in this case be adequately clear?" and they drew in the sand.

It is enough if one is justified in concluding from the behavior of the Indians that the drawing gesture, on the level where it still forms a not unessential supplement to the language, easily develops into actual drawing. /244/ We see, and this is the important thing, that here among primitive peoples drawing is used like gesture, to convey a message and not to reproduce graceful forms, and, on the basis of the personal impression that I gained from the directness of explanatory drawing, I believe
B that it is older than the ornamental-artistic kind. One may per-
[531] haps object that the Schingú /Xingu/ Indians are already artists who cover all their implements with drawings and ornamentation and that is why drawing as a means of expression is particularly
BO natural to them. To this I can only reply that the Bororó, whom
171 I should like to mention often in this connection in an anticipatory
532 way, made magnificent feather ornaments, to be sure, but knew practically nothing about the graphic arts, and that they were the very ones who had a greater skill and greater fancy for draw-
BO ing in the sand for explanation than did the Schingú people. They
[224] were restless fellows, however, who lived from the hunt; they had never found the leisure to practice painting and plastic art like those who, to be sure, still practiced hunting and fishing but had already advanced to sedentary farming.

/334 cont./

*171 55 [124] One of the women in the Paranatinga village was called makála = tujujú stork. The names of the men were usually obtained without difficulty; sometimes there was a little reluctance and it was preferred that a friend give the information. One Bakaïrí allegedly had no name because his parents had died early. From the women on the Kulisehu I always received only the answer, "I am a woman"; however, I neglected to ask a third person.

*171 553 797 I have described the custom of exchanging names; cf. pages 115 and 122. It explains why the Indians make so little fuss about submitting to Christian baptism. To them it means simply a ceremony by means of which they lose their old name.

*171 844 [849] [892] Birth and couvade. Abortions are said to take place frequently. The women are afraid of childbirth. Among the Bakaïrí they make a tea from the root of a campo tree called perovinha. Probably there are also mechanical procedures. The woman gives birth in a kneeling position on the floor, hanging on to a post. The hammock is not supposed to be soiled. Women who demonstrated this to us in pantomime and who knew about it from experience stated emphatically that the pains were great.

*171 846 They soon get up, however, and go to work, and the man goes through the well-known couvade, the male lying-in, during which he adheres to a strict diet, does not touch weapons, and spends most of his time in the hammock. On our return we saw such a couvade in Maigéri in Paleko's house. An actual lying-in room had been /335/ set up by stretching two man-high walls of hanging buriti leaves from one of the main posts to the outer wall. In this way a three-cornered segment was closed off. I was gladly allowed to enter so that I could give the child beads. Inside there were stretched four hammocks, sheltering two women with babies and two men. A strong odor of pikí, coming from rubbings, filled the room. The babies were kurápa, ill, weak, [855] the parents complained. The fathers and mothers were ceaselessly occupied with blowing on them, and, to be sure, with hollow-sounding noises with the mouth nearly closed, which was hardly interrupted for a moment throughout the following night. The [514] [862] husbands left the house only to relieve themselves; they lived exclusively on thin pogu, mandioca cakes crumbled in water.

/380 cont./

539 This brings us to the end of the activities of Keri and Kame insofar as the principal legend reports it. They left the Bakairí an abundance of matrinchams, climbed a hill, from which they called down once more to the Bakairí, who answered them animatedly, and "went forth on their way. No one knows where they went. The ancestors did not know where they went. Today one knows less than ever where they are."

Even though the legend ends in such a melancholy way, however, the people had their own ideas. Tumehi -- not to forget this old bat -- went away with Keri. What happened to Kame? "He was always together with Keri. Perhaps he is dead now." And Keri? Caetano, the grand old man, who knew how to adjust to the new conditions extremely well, said that Keri was the Imperador /emperor/ in Rio de Janeiro, Emperor Pedro Segundo. The good [124] Bakairí patiently answered all my innumerable questions because I had told them I needed to know everything in order to report it to the Imperador. That meant a great deal to them. I made the objection, "what if the Imperador in Rio de Janeiro dies?" "If the Imperador dies," ran the answer, the correctness of which, however, must unfortunately be refuted, "then all the Bakairí will die also."

Chief Felipe told me something else. "Keri went to the Ronuro and Kulisehu with a hundred men. He traveled downstream to the sea. That is what the people on the Batovy say too!"

Antonio adhered to the text of the legend as he had learned it from his mother. But in another connection he said that Keri lives in heaven, his house is there where the sun rises. "Then is Keri 'God' (Deus), about whom the Portuguese have told you?" "No, that is another, about whom we know nothing. Keri is the grandfather of the Bakairí."

539 Tobacco and cotton. Besides the coherent legends, the con-
825 tents of which I have told thus far, other achievements of Keri were occasionally mentioned. For example, he took from the sawari the tobacco with which people are cured. Sawari did not want to give it up; he said it was very good tobacco. Keri, however, took the seed away and gave it to the Bakairí. If one makes

/122 cont./

191 Unfortunately neither Carlotta nor Luisa and Maria spoke one syllable of their mother tongue.

837 The young men had the old women. It is therefore not improbable that Luis, who himself boasted of the conquest of three women's hearts, was not wrong when he maintained that occasional /123/ unfaithfulness is not uncommon and also is not

593 severely judged. The good-natured, aged Caetano, he said, even fell sick, to his astonishment, a short time after the visit of the Martyrios expedition, but he was unable to be sullen with his Luisinha for more than a few days.

162

Luisa Cajibí and Carlotta Parecí.

847 The use of abortive remedies is said to be common and to
161 explain the small number of children. The end of this community can clearly be foreseen.

162 The following was the result of my census:
621 Felipe (absent) married to Carlotta Parecí, childless.
[125] Caetano " " Luisa Cajibí, childless.
Miguel } brothers " " Feliciana, one small daughter.
Joaquim }
João } brothers
Antonio } (our companion).
Joaquina, sister of Miguel and Joaquim.
Marianna.

/407 cont./

802 altogether sure that with the first foot they were farther than with the second hand, and with the second foot farther than with the first, but after they had counted, say, 10 fingers and 5 toes, there was no question of their having a precise notion such as we associate with the word "fifteen."

Their concepts came to an end with "6," and the view beyond "6" was likewise definite only to a certain degree, as long as it was bound up with seeing and feeling the fingers and toes. As soon as specific objects were to be counted, their skill scarcely went further than their concepts, that is to say, the number words.

125 I made a great many experiments with Paleko and Tumayaua --
802 I tear my hair at the memory -- and shall first mention the invariable result with a large number of maize kernels or something similar. If I put down ten kernels and asked "åtúra?" "how many?" they counted, in the manner to be described, slowly but correctly up to "6." At the seventh and eighth kernel they would, if necessary, refer to fingers IV and III of the right hand and correspondingly say "méra," "méra," but then they acted tired and morose; they reminded me of people who are supposed to play cards or solve puzzles in which they are not interested and soon exclaim, yawning: "Oh, I have no talent for that sort of thing." They, too, yawned, and, when I pressed them, they laughed foolishly or made a sullen face, complained of "kinaráchu ewáno," which, significantly, means "head-work" or "head-pain," and, if possible, ran away; in any case they went on strike.

802 /408/ On one occasion I asked Paleko whether the Nahuquá village was large. In reply he set about drawing a number of circles in the sand and pointed to the picture with a satisfied expression. His purpose was to illustrate for me the indefinite multiplicity of houses, the more precise number of which he could scarcely have had any certain knowledge, and he was not in the least aware that, putting down one circle after another he was nevertheless giving me a limited number. Paleko had no idea of the fact that there are people who can specify a dozen circles as 12 circles.

/408 cont./

125 802 How did they count things that did not exceed 6 in number? If I put down 1 maize kernel, the Bakaïrí immediately answered "tokále," at the same time generally grasping the kernel and then the left little finger, but both so hastily and mechanically that, even if he did so, the process seemed needless. In the case of 2 kernels, he seldom omitted taking the fingers of both hands to assist. Particularly if I put down the kernels somewhat apart, he would always shove them together and then always grasp the left little finger and the ring finger before he pronounced the number. If I put down 3 kernels and asked the number, I was not once given the answer, either by Paleko and Tumayaua or others with whom I practiced less, until the little pile had been divided into 2 and 1: they would first touch the pair of kernels, frequently breaking them up, inspecting them, then on the left grasp fingers V and IV and say "ahége"; then they would grasp the single kernel, shove finger III to the left toward IV and V, say "tokále," and finally announce: "ahége tokále." The experiments proceeded in a similar manner up to 6. Little heaps of two kernels were always made, they were always touched, and only then the finger put to use.

The right hand touched, the left hand calculated. To count on the fingers of the left hand simply by looking at the kernels, without using the fingers of the right hand, was utterly impossible even with 3 items. The little heap of two had to be positioned properly with the hand. I placed 3, 4, 5, 6 kernels before Tumayaua, let him form the little heaps, but held his left hand: he would seldom count, or rather guess, correctly with 3; for the remainder he gave a random collection of "ahége" for good measure. Thus, both hands were indispensable when 3 items were to be counted; in an emergency one could do without the left, but never without the right.

801 802 In the legends and tales of the Bakaïrí, to keep this in mind here, the number 2 is often mentioned.

The 3 also appears; the bagadú fish gives the deer 3 mandioca twigs which he is supposed to plant. Kamuschini cuts down 5 trees; cf. page 445. The storyteller needs 3 sentences in order

/419 cont./

121 the various color impressions with their eyes, that, for example,
196 they choose with normal accuracy like-colored shades out of a pile of many little bunches of wool, so there can be no question of color blindness, but that, as far as language is concerned, blue and green are mixed up with astonishing regularity. The correct solution was given by Ernst Krause (Carus Sterne). The human being, by natural inclination always most susceptible to the vivid impression of red, has found mineral and vegetable pigments in greatest abundance for this particular color. The next most frequent naturally formed dyestuff besides black and white is yellow, whereas green and blue dyestuffs are late products of the coloring technique. Color names were developed in accordance with use.

125 On a leaf of my journal Wilhelm entered colored spots of
171 ultramarine, cobalt blue, emerald green, sap green, carmine,
196 rose madder, vermillion, orange, cadmium yellow, burnt sienna, sepia, and ivory black. The attempt to obtain the names of colors by laying out vividly colored objects was a complete failure. They gave the names of the objects or these confused with the color names, and nothing stood in the way of drawing up an amusing list /420/ of these words, not one of which designated a color. A Waurá almost made me despair, and he in particular seemed to have different words for blue and green. But even if this misconception was eliminated -- and, to be sure, this was done best by the use of the definite color words already obtained from the neighboring tribe -- even if the people were really on the right track, the experiment usually became a veritable trial of patience. They would think it over, vacillate, sometimes disagree with each other; it was obvious that I was demanding something very unusual. Only the Auetö, the enthusiastic painters, proved amenable. But there was one difficulty that I was responsible for, since I not only had to become accustomed to hearing the same word for emerald green and ultramarine, but was also given other baffling information which I understood only after linguistic studies.

/vii cont./

The German consul in this emporium of Amazonas, Herr Sesselberg, as well as the German ambassador in Rio de Janeiro, Herr Le Maistre, gave us the most gracious reception.

126 /viii/ The ethnological collection, which, despite all the difficulties of transport, we salvaged successfully and almost without loss, was given to the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde.

126 Herr Professor Baron Karl von Fritsch kindly undertook the
128 identification of the rock samples gathered on the trip, a considerable part of which, however, was unfortunately lost.

In working up the linguistic material I was enthusiastically assisted by my friend Herr Dr. Georg Wenker in Marburg.

The illustrations, with the exception of the ten separate pictures which Mr. Johannes Gehrts of Düsseldorf made, as well as a few photographs collected on the trip, were done by my cousin, Wilhelm von den Steinen, from his numerous travel sketches. In the case of the ethnographic plates, he was helped by a few photographs, for which I am indebted to the Assistant Director of the Berlin Museum, Herr Dr. von Luschan.

Besides an ethnographic and a simple survey map, a special map by Herr Dr. Clauss, which was made available by the
[113] publishing firm of Justus Perthes, was added to the book. The results of our meteorological and geographical studies were published by Dr. Clauss in detailed form in the May and June issue of Petermanns Mittheilungen for the year 1886. He also erected a small meteorological station in Cuyabá, in order to obtain a series of observations over a longer period; Herr
127 August Karstens, a German master tailor in residence there, has earned the most commendable merit for filling in as best he could the considerable gaps in our meteorological knowledge of central South America and has already sent in a continuous series of observations.

I am particularly indebted to Herr Capistrano de Abreu of Rio, the translator of "Wappaeus," who was indefatigably active in obtaining for me excerpts from older works in the Bibliotheca Nacional.

/103 cont./

151 only Reginaldo, who joined us, laughed and said definitely that the person approaching was Clauss coming on foot. And he was right.

191 They all understood at least a few scraps of Portuguese.
648 They are on good terms with the Coroá, who, they said, call themselves Kayacho. It seems that they impress them because of their rifles; Reginaldo did not like to talk about this point. One had the impression that, according to his inner feeling, he was, after all, on the side of the wild Indians and against the Whites. As a clever man, he took advantage of the benefits offered by the Brazilians and did not fall out with the barbarians.

142
291
302

João and Joaquina.

648 The Bakairí mansos /meek Bacairi/ bow to authority; in their hearts they are the same people as the antiguos.

126 /104/ We were busy for a number of days; Clauss worked out the itinerary and took the ground temperature, Wilhelm drew, I took body measurements and made the glossary that ap-
[115] pears in the appendix. Besides Reginaldo, I was aided in particular by good-natured Antonio, who put up with everything and would have given anything to go with us. But he did not even dare ask the strict captain for permission. Castro, too,
122 was busy with notes. We shared the hut with him and the cadet.

/105 cont./

533 sounds not unpleasant, and has something both gentle and fascinatingly eerie about it at the same time, just as the wailing night-wind blowing down the chimney is described when the storyteller /106/ first gives thanks to God that he is lying warm and safe in his snug bed, but is again and again obliged to listen to the weird lament and finally sees in a dream the ghost of a
122 friend who lies dying. We sat crowded against one another in the
[354] small room; a gourd filled with fat, in which a wick was burning, lay upon the floor; I was glad when the gourd also started to burn and we were able to step outside where the stars glistened and we shook ourselves -- the shuddering was over.

562 The women held out until 19 June; then they came; Reginaldo fetched them; a dozen in number, they walked one behind the other across the campo, the father of the tribe in the lead.

[609] On this afternoon, however, not one of them would let herself be looked at closely; the procession entered the big house and disappeared. Reginaldo came to ask us for an opera glass that he wanted to show to the women. Toward evening they appeared again and left single file as before. During the night they slept in the forest, a brief half an hour away.

292 On 20 June they appeared again; Reginaldo looked superb
[301] at their head; he wore his gray felt hat, his blue captain's uniform and white trousers, walked barefoot, and had a blue-white
123 feather stuck crosswise in each ear lobe. He was very agreeable
[126] that Wilhelm should sketch him in all his glory. Moreover, he assumed, and we daily encouraged him in this, that we were conducting all inquiries concerning the Bakaïrí only in order to report them again to the Emperor of Brazil -- at least the man understood that and for this purpose he was glad to oblige.

[291] He also accompanied us to the women; they were barefoot, of course, but otherwise wore the complete costume of the female rural inhabitant; the majority were of a mature age; I liked best one big, strong girl whom Homer would have called βοωπις. -- The captain's wife, christened Ines, was quiet and pious and looked as though she had had many a care. We tried to

/106 cont./

123 shake hands with each one, but they evidently did not know the purpose of this; when we put bracelets and earrings on them, however, they understood this immediately. The children had to have something too.

[126] Wilhelm was allowed to sketch Frau Ines behind the house; as yet I did not dare think about taking the measurements of the women, and then fate knocked on the door.

122 Very unpleasant discoveries about the condition of the supplies changed the entire situation.

On 18 June we had already reached an agreement with

142
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302

Bakaïrí boy.

122 Castro to wait at most three more days for Tupy; in view of our uncertain /107/ future it was not to be justified if we did not use the favorable time of year better. The Bakaïrí figured five days more to the Paranatinga; another stop was necessary in the second aldeament, let Tupy follow us there. As far as the lost iron goods [501] were concerned, we had become less worried; Daniel had first called our attention to the bark canoes of the Bakaïrí; on the Rio Novo there was only a very small one that was being used as a trough; we were to see them on the Paranatinga; if we could make up our minds to make do with these bark canoes, we would need only a few tools, which perhaps could be obtained from a fazendeiro /see "Fazenda" in the glossary, p.171 / living near the Paranatinga. The advice was good.

/120 cont./

144 mother, but that among his forefathers, as among Reginaldo's, mixture with "Brazilian" blood had taken place. This, however, seemed to be more a conclusion based on the wavy, soft hair of the two, rather than on definite knowledge. In any case, it was noteworthy that Luis declared the two brothers João and Antonio to be the purest Bakaïrí; to me, too, they had seemed the most typical physiognomies and most resembled the Rio Novo charac-
● 126 ter. Since Antonio is the one who was induced to accompany us
[142] and could thus be photographed in Rio, I may call attention to his picture as the most faithful reproduction of a true Bakaïrí.
[732] Unfortunately the handsome youth had a slightly shortened leg as the result of a fracture, so I contented myself with a bust portrait. The defect was not very pronounced, by the way, and /121/ /illustration appears here/ /122/ the awkwardness that Antonio, strength and agility themselves, presents in full figure amidst the group of Kameraden /see the glossary, p. 171 / (page 28) is largely due to the anxious moment in front of the photographer's apparatus.

Wilhelm made all the other portraits with the camera clara.

162 Carlotta was a Parecí brought back from Diamantino and the wife of the absent Captain Felipe; her small eyes and the root of her nose, which was flat from eyebrow level to the inner corner of the eye, distinguished her strikingly from the Bakaïrí women. The two Cajibí -- a tribe that lives on the lower Rio
[648] Verde, a left tributary of the Paranatinga -- had been caught in the forest as children. /Illustration appears here./ The two
[582] young and pretty creatures were given as wives to the two oldest matrimonial cripples of the tribe, Caetano and Miguel, for the immoral reason that the youngest, as the best workers, belong to the mightier ones. Delicate skin, fine little nose under the likewise flat root, eye slits narrowed and drawn up toward the outside, in connection with which, however, the sharply folded upper lid did not overlap, they reminded one of the Japanese type, especially Caetano's not very feminine little wife.

[TEXT continues on p. 20]

/123 cont./

162 Agosta. -- A boy Irineo (parents dead).
621 Luis (Bolivian), Martin (Brazilian) with wife Carlotta (Paraguayan) and child.

●126 I could not rejoice enough about the fortunate circumstance
115 that I was able to make the linguistic survey on the Rio Novo. Even with the intelligent Reginaldo it had been difficult enough to determine phonetically the inimitable tongue exercises that make up the Bakaïrí language, but with Captain Mêmo, who did nothing but nod contentedly, and the others who either laughed or grew impatient, nothing could be done.

On the other hand, I am indebted to Caetano for the legends which I shall retell later.

342 The largest house, which Captains Caetano and Felipe oc-
824 cupied together, was 21 paces long and 9 1/2 paces wide. The roof and walls, the latter supported by cross rods of tacoara /bamboo; see the glossary, p. 172 / consisted entirely of buritî /see the glossary, p.170 / straw. Only Miguel owned a round house, the inner frame of tacoara covered with buritî leaves.
[343] There were seven houses and two new buildings. In addition two pig huts. In the case of one new building, I inquired about the timber that made up the frame. Two tall aruera posts supported the uppermost longitudinal roof-beam of aricá wood (also cunhào de porco). The sloping side-beams of the roof likewise cunhào de porco, the two longitudinal beams guanandí. The smaller posts that supported the roof beams: timbó, peuva, carvão, branco. One roof was also covered with campo grass.

164 I visited Miguel, who had an attack of fever, in his bee-
352 /124/ hive. He lay in his cotton hammock and let himself be waited on by pretty Maria. The whole room hung full of
353 calabashes, rice and farinha baskets, skins, arrows -- things left by his grandfather; it was far more comfortable in this still true heathen affair than in the characterless huts of the adherents of
123 a mock civilization. With dreadful gestures of disgust, the old
[157] man swallowed the bitter quinine and buried his fever-reddened
[283] face in the hammock. Maria, in gratitude, baked me a beijú [Cf. glossary on p. 170 --Analyst

/161 cont./

123 They brought fire to us in the hut and withdrew after they had examined our candle closely. One or another, however, constantly came to have coat or trousers put on. One young man appeared and, pointing to his chest, complained, "tuck, tuck, tuck," about heart palpitations.

/162/ I gave him a powder, curious as to whether he would not reject it. After I reassured him a bit and patted him encouragingly on the shoulder, he drank the mixture slowly and fearfully, but drank it to the last drop. An unsuspecting little people. The procedure was described to new visitors, who listened with close attention; the little powder-paper was observantly looked over; but the curative power, which soon made its appearance, was apparently attributed to the knife with which I mixed the medicine. -- Wilhelm had Chinese fireworks with him; this suddenly went off in the yard and frightened them almost more than the shots. He secretly lighted a leftover little tube in the interior of the hut -- how it was possible is still a puzzle to me now -- but at the same instant the five persons present all started at the same time through the low door opening to the outside.

132 13 August. 7:00 A.M.: dry. 13.1, wet. 12.5.

123 Writing uncomfortable. Filling in from yesterday, I am
126 sitting outside on a dry beam that lies bare in the sand. It is still quiet. The professor has just carefully picked up the fireworks cases; he is standing in back of me and is looking admiringly at what I am doing. Scarcely a sound comes from the huts. A blue-
231 yellow arara on the roof has the floor; it pronounced the λ, on which I almost sprain my tongue, just as accurately and yet vaguely blurred as the natives. The tame pavão do rio clucks and gobbles in strange tones that seem to come from a music box; bored by the morning mood, a green parrot is sitting on a bare branch of
000 shrubbery. I hear with displeasure that someone is drinking in the house, mingau again?

/164 cont./

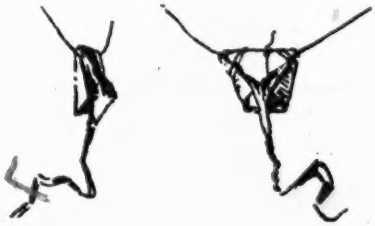
287 The triangular garment of the women, a folded piece of
291 bark bast, supposedly from the schischá tree, has a base of four centimeters and a height of one to one and a half centimeters.

A girl about ten years old is still completely naked.

302 The nasal septum of the men is not pierced; the beard hair,
[304] /165/ if a natural tendency for it is present, as well as all the hair (among the women, too) with the exception of the head hair, the eyebrows, and eyelashes, is carefully removed.

224 Around 10:00 in the forenoon Clauss came with Antonio; a
[622] few men also arrived from hunting, among them the chief, an older gentleman with an anxiously serious official face and a
162 fat little belly. We count ten men, seven women, five boys, four girls.

291



Clothing of the Bakaïrí women.

372 Pauhaga showed us how they make fire. They take two long, thin sticks of the same dry wood; into one a notch is scraped; while one man now holds this in position on the ground with two small sticks, a second man twirls the other stick rapidly between both hands in the notch. The dust that is rubbed loose glimmers.

126 We did some bartering; I measured a few men. They patiently allowed it to be done.

157 These "wild" Bakaïrí are alert, teachable, and certainly very good-natured. They do not steal, although we are carrying
[273] treasures with us. They have no intoxicating drink; they refuse
[276] tobacco. On the second day, together with their wives, they visit
609 us in our camp -- the "docile ones" on the Rio-novo, on the other hand, preferred to sleep with those in the bush as long as we were in the aldea. On the first evening a savage drinks a medicine that I

/165 cont./
609 mix for him -- whereas the boy of a Brazilian colonist, to whom I was called in Rosario, leaped out of bed and fled from me into the forest.

186 The old sibyl joined us this evening on the open plaza.
823 She pointed to the west, "Bakaïrí!"; to the south, "Bakaïrí!"; to the north and east likewise "Bakaïrí!" and finally, describing a circle in the air, she summed up with proud satisfaction, "Bakaïrí!" In translation "All this is subject to me, admit that I am fortunate."

132 14 Aug. 6:00 A.M.: dry. 11.7, wet. 10.6.
2:00 P.M.: dry. 34.9, wet. 20.0, clear, NE 1.
4:05 P.M.: I 740.8, II 730.0, dry. 34.0, hypsom. 98.825.
9:00 P.M.: dry. 18.0, wet. 17.0.

•126 /166/ I was fortunately able to measure three women.
[124] Antonio is very useless as an interpreter and causes more difficulties
[532] than the harmless people themselves. I also traded for a few maize-straw dolls; judging from the ease with which the transaction was made, there seemed to be no higher or in any sense a religious meaning attached to them.

592 We spent some time in Pauhaga's, or rather Chief Cavácos's house, it differed in nothing essential from that of the professor; there were no straw dolls.

137 We found inhame (Dioscorea, yams), which we greeted
252 with joy. -- The fish are grilled on just such racks as we came across on the Batovy; they are exposed to the fire until they are encased in a thick charcoal crust; capybara leg, which tasted like fat fish, and monkey steak were also charred on the outside in this fashion. The crisp charcoal gives the insipid-tasting meat, which is not salted, an -- faute de mieux -- improved flavor. The
[263] Bakaïrí are also familiar with a very medicinal tasting salt made from tree ashes, which, however, they do not seem to use in the preparation of food.

609 The soldiers, who were paying their farewell visit, were
431 given generous quantities of beijús, puvas, and polvilho /manioc
252 flour; see the glossary, p.172 / as presents. The grated and pounded mandioca is pressed through mats; the pulp is put into

/168 cont./

126 During the night there was heavy dew; in the forenoon we dried Wilhelm's things; it is a pity the way the drawings look, the sheets are stuck together and bent. How could we have brought photographic chemicals through here?

136 At 1:00 in the afternoon slowly off. Several times a sandy shore 20 meters wide; masaricos, small black-white, red-legged shore-birds. Numerous traces of the tracajá turtle; the people poke in the sand with an arrow or generally simply follow the tracks of the tracajá and with their hands dig up the shallow pit that shows the impression of their bodies. In one nest there are 17 eggs, in another 15; the egg is white and gradually shades to gray; 4.9 centimeters long, 3.2 centimeters wide. Temperature of the sand 57°.4. The verdict about the empty nests, merely in passing by, is often: "Here the lizard has fed."

It is wondrously summer-like: current, sun, charming leafy shores, yellow butterflies, and no mosquitoes or wasps. Many novatos. Endless meanderings; we covered about two legoas.

Valentin caught a large pintado fish; see the glossary, p. 171/; Satyr was almost pulled out of the canoe by a pirahyba that was supposedly as long as he was. Loud buzzing and chirping in the night air. The sabiá was singing.

122 132 17 Aug. φ 13° 7'.3, λ 6'.1, km. 0.57, total 142.32.
6:35 A.M.: dry. 11.3, water 23.5.
7:30 P.M.: II 732.0, dry. 21.0.

Shivering I awoke during the night and believed that I had [361] fever. It was the cold. Very soon we arrived in the harbor of the second village.

227 A fisherman's hut lies at the entrance of the forest; here are baskets shaped somewhat like an elongated spiked helmet, into which, from the inner rim, a small collecting funnel with a narrow 487 opening leads inside. The path stretches inland one legoa and is very similar to the one from the first village.

574 After a few steps we were received by two good acquaintances from Aldea I, who had gone overland to announce us to their fellows.* One of them in blue trousers and red striped shirt, the

/169 cont./

126 [301] I acquired cheaply some belt strings of round stone disks with the diameter of a thick pencil, as well as a necklace of jaguar claws, by hooking the fish hook, as an ornament, into the ear lobes of these people, who do not know how to appreciate it as a means of catching fish.

622 The chief was striking because of his stupid face and a big nose; he treated us with aristocratic indolence and indifference. -- 301 237 Several wore two yellow feathers in each ear; these were stuck in a little bunch of red feathers that protruded from a small husk. The most beautiful head-ornament, however, was a simple row of yellow feathers up to 12 centimeters long, in the center of which towered a long arara feather.

562 [554] Stealthily a few women appeared. There was an old woman here, too, who /170/ kept the tribe in order; she had curly hair. [302] One woman, who had a boy astride her right hip, was painted all over her body with a disgusting yellow pigment.

342 The two large huts were round, the two small ones ellipti- 345 cally long, resembling scales. In one of them, the festival hut, 353 we discovered strange things. Between the supporting beams, on cross-poles, hung a great number of the most diverse colorful 292 headpieces. They all had a straw frame for fitting them on the 532 head. The colors were white, black, red, and orange, all applied crudely. There were open cylinders of bast of the consistency of cardboard, red, set with black squares; two large gourd /illustration appears here/ vessels, one with small yellow feathers pasted over it, the other with small blue feathers, and smaller ones painted with red and white areas; on the edge buriti fibers one meter long hung down like a woman's hair; a stuffed hide of a little fox, likewise an otter, both with a straw frame for putting them on. Two black and white sword-like pieces of wood -- representing rattlesnakes, according to Antonio. A stiff frame of stalks, in which sat little swallows, with cotton stuffed in between everywhere. The birds, perfectly recognizable in shape, white, head and back of neck black, a few with yellow belly. A larger bird, painted red and black, was looking out of one of the cylinders (1).

1. Cf. the first ethnological plate /see pp. 160-162/.

/62/
342 Tumayaua's house was a little smaller; here Eva's children peeped out of the little hammocks, but otherwise the picture was the same.

122 The lodgings pleased me more than the second part of the
262 room-and-board. As far as my diet was concerned, it was bad. I did not see meat at all during my stay in the village, if I except two mice that were shot. Fish was given to me rarely and in small portions as though it were one of the costliest of dishes: once a little pot of creatures the length of a little finger in a saltless broth with a corncob stalk as a spoon; twice a piece of
[252] grilled fish barely hand-size and served on beijú as on a small plate; and once a piece of electric eel, almost too fat, but good and with a skin like smoked eel. Then once I was allowed to dip beijú in fish oil, which would not have been a special delicacy even for the Bakaïrí if in their childhood they had been obliged to
[252] take cod-liver oil. I do not find anything else recorded in my journal -- on the other hand, on the first day my intended shared with me roasted maize kernels which she held in her lap as she squatted on the ground; occasionally she also brought me a couple of mangabas, and during the inquiry about vocabulary, Eva offered me ants, a palm-boring beetle which still had half a leg, and a fat larva, all of which were supposed to be "iwakulukulu," the superlative of everything good and fine in Bakaïrí. There was no
272 lack of mandioca flat-cakes or beijús and drinks. The festive drink, püserego, however, lasted for only two days; greenish gray like soapy water, warm and covered with bubbly foam, it never-
262 theless had a pleasant, insipid, sweet taste. The beijús were very different in quality, depending on the type of flour; they were usually crumbled and, mixed with water, taken as a drink.

[122] On the other hand, my hosts were heartily willing to relish the little that I had with me in the way of beans and salt and urgently begged for them. There was some difficulty with the beans. Paleko and I together cooked them, but both for the first time in our lives. I kindled the fire and he fetched sticks of wood; we set an earthen pot with the beans in it on three stones and cooked
533 away. Paleko sang to it, plaiting his basket and beating time softly
122

/62 cont./

533 with one foot. I tried to get the words and read them back to
●[126] him, singing lustily in his fashion. Unfortunately I do not understand the text, and unfortunately the notes even less; I can only say that the rhythm was very pronounced and that, when only the old man sang, one thought one was hearing a whole company as they ran and stamped in a circle.

539 kuyé kuyé kutapayó kuyé -- kutapayó hohóhohohú
533 yaliwayáhahú ohohú uhó -- ohóhóho huhohohú ohóhóchú.

énu hitenó kuyé -- kutápayó yekútapá yekútapá ohó.

This verse contains something about eyes, a similar one with kámi hitenó etc., about the sun (*).

*kámo, sun. Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ word. The following yawalí is the name for the throwing stick and the throwing-stick dance of the Tupí tribes of the Kulisehu. The words are probably only partly Bakaïrí.

/63/ yáwalí, yáwalí i í ií pekóto, yawalí ii ii éh hé hé yawalílawí.

yáwalí pinakú yawalí eh he hé, yawalí henemánekabó yawalí eh he hé, yawáli he he he hé.

yawalí nawí ehé, yawalí nawí ehé, yawalí nawí ehé, yawalí nawí ehé-yä.

Like the yawali song there was another with endless repetition: wákutuyéh, wákutuyéh five times, wakú wákutuyéh etc. ad infinitum. Then Paleko also knew a song of the Nahuquá that referred to the beautiful sex, táu, woman: yámikú hezé hezémitáu -- yámikú erehezé mezé mitáu.

533 In spite of the rousing marching songs, no boiling and gurgling appeared in our bean pot; only modest bubbles of foam floated on top, and after two hours the slightly heated legumes were still raw. Not until my intended came along and took charge of the matter did the tempo of the beans become livelier. She, too, sang "kuyáuhu kuyáuhú (diphthong au) with a soft voice
[539] a little like the melody, "Wir hatten gebauet ein stattliches Haus" /"We built a stately house, "a German student-song (translator's

[See The discussion of the Throwing Stick on P. 239ff.--Analyst]

/65 cont./

124 say, an Arab, who would feel awkward about looking into the un-
83 veiled face of a European woman, or a Chinese, who would fall
[192] into the most anguished embarrassment if chance showed him her stockingless little foot. It is true, the subject that seems shocking to us gave the Bakairí, men and women, decided pleasure, and if a pedantic ponderer who wants to have modesty in our sense preserved at any price as the innate heritage of humanity would like to conclude from this increased measure of merriment that the bad conscience of a tribe that had sunk from a higher morality was stirring, I can only reply to him that their merry laughter was neither impudent nor did it give the impression of cloaking an inner embarrassment. On the other hand, it undoubtedly had a slightly erotic timbre, and, much as occasion and accompanying circumstances among true primitive peoples must differ, it altogether resembled the laughter that one hears at our spinning-

in the intercourse between the two sexes. For from this same
[531] natural joy, as we shall see later, there resulted one of the most common ornaments in their painting, namely, the uluri of the women, represented on numerous implements as the original form of the triangle.

● 126 I wished to have the uluris made in larger quantities for the collection. Which aroused great merriment. Thus one afternoon there was lively tailoring. We were sitting behind Tumayaua's
[252] house, an old woman was baking beijûs outside, pouring the flour
[524] on the pan, spreading it smooth, and /66/ skillfully tossing the
[283] finished flat-cake on a sieve, the children licked up püserego and
[289] played catch with feather-decorated maize balls, and four women and girls were twisting the threads out of palm fiber, folding the "little skirts" out of brownish-yellow leaves, and handing me the
126 neat work in quantity and in all sizes. The only thing that I must
291 add is that one woman was very baffled and looked about helplessly when I asked for an uluri that she was wearing. But no feeling of modesty related to the exposure had anything to do with this embarrassment; rather, what feeling of modesty was present should be called a physiological one, the existence of which I do not

/66 cont./

126 291 dispute. When I then asked several women at the same time for their uluris and precluded any misunderstanding by pointing to the collection, it was granted me unhesitatingly /"anandslos"/ and laughingly.

264 576 On the other hand, I observed a clear feeling of modesty on an entirely different occasion, and, to be sure, in -- eating. I had an opportunity to confirm it only among the men, and I should imagine that it is even less likely to be absent among the women.

On the evening of 13 September, outside on the plaza where we men stood talking beside the mandioca rack, Tumayaua offered me a piece of fish that I, overjoyed, wanted to eat immediately. All of them bowed their heads, looked down in front of them or turned away with expressions of painful embarrassment, and Paleko pointed to my hut. They were ashamed. Astonished and taken aback, I went into the flute-house to eat the fish. I had not yet finished my meal when Kulekule entered; he wanted to be shown in greater detail the use of a fishhook that had been presented to him. With a face that clearly said, "Ah, you are not yet finished," he sat down on the floor, silent, turned away and with head bowed, and waited. On the next evening I again received fish outside, but it was already dark; I ate, turning modestly toward the dark background of trees and thus did not seem to give offense.

When Paleko brought me the pot of little fish, we two were alone in the flute-house; he turned his back to me and did not say a word during the long time while I was struggling with the bones. I gave Tumayaua some of our bean dish; he took the portion and walked as far as his house, where he sat down, ate, and in between, but without turning his head, called over and took part in our conversation. He had thus quite purposely removed himself. In the house the women were eating, each by herself, in the vicinity of the fire; they brought the men their meal, and each one ate at his place. Alakuai, for instance, was making himself very comfortable; lying in his hammock, he reached down to the pot on the floor, dipped into it with his fingers,

/71 cont./

201 412 [536] No activity with a tool of metal, stone, tooth, or wood was discussed without the appearance also of the appropriate sounds to portray it. It is true that a good part of this was to communicate with me, who knew only the rudiments of their language. they were more sparing with these /72/ sounds and gestures in their own conversation, but they nevertheless had at their disposal in ample measure the auxiliary language of expressive movement and used it in their communications with other tribes, as I saw later, in exactly the same way as with me. Thus the disadvantage that each tribe speaks a different language is of little concern. understanding was possible without difficulty even for a Kazaiben, for the gestures, stereotyped, to be sure, nevertheless contain full clarity and still are not reduced to conventional abbreviations.

123 153 They also manifested an attentive interest in the interjections and gestures peculiar to me, which, of course, involuntarily any feeling with a sound that was strange to them, it was imitated; if I whistled softly to myself, I could soon hear one of them whistling happily along with me. Particularly if I laughed loudly and struck my leg, there was general acknowledgement: they would immediately slap their naked thighs, and Homeric laughter filled the village plaza.

126 My linguistic notes of the day, which I would bring out, were gone over once more in our tobacco club and were enriched by small contributions. The constellations, the names of animals, the inexhaustible material for parts of the body, and whatever the moment offered were noted down, read aloud, and confirmed with approval.

123 I, too, however, offered mimic performances, for which my interesting oxhide offered the first occasion; I demonstrated our domestic animals to them and achieved a greater measure of success among my small, but grateful public than could ever have fallen to the lot of even the author of "Tierleben" /Animal Life/ or much-admired performing artists. Above all they became acquainted with cattle, sheep, and dogs, whose size and characteristics I described graphically to them as best I could,

/77 cont./

115 157 The various men on detached duty were very different in their usefulness for my purposes. Some tired too quickly, others were too unsteady. Fat, peasant-like Yapü, for example, yawned after a few minutes, and his face seemed to say, "Sir, you are asking too much," and Luchu, the vain fop, only wanted to amuse himself. Of the younger ones, only the remarkable Kulekule was of any use to me. He was, in fact, taciturn and reserved, but he obviously liked to come, laughed quietly to himself, and then when he opened his mouth to speak, he answered better than the rest. He had received beads from me for a pot, but he had to give them up. I presented him with new ones and did not accept another pot that he brought me. He was happy about that, gave [123] me a bowl of the insipid pogu drink, and sat down beside me, leaning his head confidently against my shoulder. My most faithful guardian was Paleko, with his long hair sprinkled with gray, 000 emeritus of a Gymnasium. In fact, we were often reminded of European physiognomies, whose owners would perhaps protest at being compared to a naked Indian. Ehrenreich and I, for example, were jokingly and seriously in complete agreement that we recognized a couple of gentlemen from the Berliner Anthropologischen Gesellschaft on the Kulisehu; naturally these gentlemen did not resemble the Indians, but the Indians resembled the 123 gentlemen! I was alone with Paleko for half days at a time. Now and then, Eva or my intended or the Egyptian came alone or together, giving the two of us a little company.

461 Paleko plaited dainty little baskets, repaired weirs, twisted twine out of palm fibers, and did whatever else there was 126 in the way of such light tasks requiring patience. He gave me not 191 only words and sentences from his mother tongue, but also a list of Nahuquá words, which proved that he had associated a great deal 114 with these neighbors. He put less value on learning my language than the young people did. I would rather have given them German words instead of the Portuguese, but I regarded it as my duty not to confuse the poor souls for the future. Since my knowledge of Bakaïrí was still very meager, I progressed but slowly.

/79 cont./

193 The simple result is that all kinds of things that do not belong to it are regarded as part of the stem, and the form is used on all kinds of occasions where it is appropriate neither according to person, time sequence, or other nuances contained in it. The organic structure of words becomes rigid, and the sentence becomes a mosaic of the crudest sort made up of nothing but fragments. But there is provision for understanding; for the Indian, with his talent for the characteristic, the chopped-off fragment of a word suffices completely for the entire sentence, and, what is worse, if one wants to make progress in the language, it is all the more agreeable, of course, if one needs only the clumsy content of the communication; he himself soon adopts the new manner of expression: fluent conversations are carried on by barter with stamped coins instead with living words.

192 cumstance that the Bakairi did not understand my questioning tone.
[194] They imitated it instead of answering. Obtaining the names of
[153] the objects present was done without any trouble; they even anticipated the need, pointed to those I had not yet asked about,
126 and said the names. I went into great detail with the parts of the
193 body because they are always joined with pronominal prefixes; thus the Indian does not say, for example, "tongue," but always, with the addition of the person, "my tongue," "your tongue," "his tongue," and thus there is a grammatical value in this category of the list. It was therefore well to note whether the part of the body whose stem one was asking for was shown on oneself, on the person questioned, or on a third person, for the answer was accordingly: your ãlu, my ulu, his ilu, or in general kχulu, the tongue of all of us here.

126 Recording animal names was a pleasure, for here the imita-
192 tion with sounds and gestures was the most artful. A snake, an
536 alligator head, or the like was also drawn in the sand. The
825 quantity of the many individual statements was a hindrance to me, since I did not know enough about the voices and the behavior of their animals; they offered me subleties in the distinction of species which, to their surprise, I was unable to appreciate, and

/79 cont./

126 192 536 825 sometimes I am afraid I betrayed what to them were incredible gaps in the most ordinary education.

The most difficult problem lay in the verbs, and, to be sure, not only because of the complication of forms. If I succeeded in writing down short sentences in which something was said about an occurrence that was just going on, even if I myself performed all kinds of actions, such as eating and drinking now of this, now of that, which were supposed to give them the content of a sentence, /80/ gross errors were nevertheless unavoidable. Unfortunately, they often said things that were different from what they were supposed to say according to my request and criticized the action instead of naming it. They were thinking for themselves and not for me. And in these efforts their readiness to imitate was disturbing to a high degree. I thought nothing would be easier than to obtain at least those intransitive verbs that could be evoked by unequivocal mimicry on my part; I would indeed need only to sneeze, cough, weep, yawn, snore, only to get up, sit down, to fall, and so forth, in order to be immediately rewarded with the matching words. But they either clung to the contemplation of the process itself, thought I wanted to go away when I stood up, righteously joined in when I yawned, because they, too, were tired, or were royally amused at my strange doings, and, amidst much laughter, would likewise abandon themselves to sneezing, coughing, and snoring, without, however, saying the redeeming words.

126 192 153

I made the best progress when I gave them the Portuguese word and applied the formula: the Karaibe says it thus, how does the Bakairi say it? Here I finally almost always met with understanding and response, for they were mad about learning my language.

[811] They were very grieved that they did not understand me better, and, confusing hearing and understanding, they asked me to cure them. I had to put saliva on my fingers and with it rub the auditory entrance for them. Their comprehension of Portuguese was even more deficient than they themselves realized. They have

151 191 194

/84 cont./

We could thus be satisfied with our Independencia. It had a pleasant broad open plaza and one lower level where the clear brook emptied into the river, the small kitchen area shown on Plate 12 /omitted in the translation/. Several hammocks were also set up there, whereas Perrot's tent and the tents of the soldiers stood above, beside the "new construction." Everybody now worked busily to get a roof on this little house. A few loads of buriti leaves were fetched with the donkeys; unfortunately a great number of large ticks were also imported on them. Cross-rafters were lashed together with pindahyba bast to form a girão, a supporting framework, and above this the roof was covered with buriti leaves. The wooden saddles and the leather bags were stacked up in the house and the ethnological collection was sheltered on the framework under oxhides. A good-sized space remained for Januario for sleeping.

[124] The collection was a promising beginning. It already contained almost 120 specimens which were catalogued and provided with tin numbers. Less effort was required for the distribution of the food supplies. A small part was set aside for the return journey by land. The first experiments were now made with the Kemmerich tubes of meat; it turned out that they were best
122 cooked with vegetable cubes, Mélange d'Equipage. Tumayaua promised to see to it that mandioca flour was delivered from the village to those remaining behind, and Januario had before his eyes a bag of magnificent beads, turned over to him as a lure for the suppliers.

124 Tumayaua further promised to accompany us on our trip. We guaranteed him two fine axes, several shirts, and so many beads that he would be the richest /85/ man on the Kulisehu. He and Luchu, pampered on all sides, felt immeasurably content in their new environment. We showed them the campsite in Bengal light, which, in fact, looked magnificent, although the nightly illumination by thousands of fireflies which performed their torch dances in front of the dark background of the queimada perhaps created
[126] more of a mood. Tumayaua and Luchu unhesitatingly let themselves be photographed (Plate 6).[a] They did everything that was

[a] [See P. 40 - Analysis]

/85 cont./

000 brought three large fat barbados, which traveled to the grill and well deserved being eaten, even at the witching hour, in the scenery of the roaring waterfall gloriously illuminated by the moon.

122 On 2 October we set out at 6:30 and reached the Bakaïrí harbor at 2:15. Good Paleko was already standing there with a bowl of mandioca paste. Wilhelm and I immediately went to the
123 village. It was very entertaining /86/ to observe how one welcoming scene followed the other, since the canoes arrived at intervals; new guests, again and again new excitement, and a new rushing forth out of the flute-house, where we sat amidst beijús
302 and calabashes. Some of the people had adorned themselves festively with colored designs. Kulekule had decorated his face and upper body with orange-red lines and dots, my intended had red serpentine lines on her upper thighs, the Egyptian a red forehead and nose, Tumayaua's small grandchildren were daubed and smeared black, their mother Eva appeared with her hair and skin
301 powdered white from her beijú work. Good-natured Awiá wore a cake knife, that is, a beijú turner, in her hair in a curious fashion.

628 There were also foreign visitors present from Village II and
574 III; we counted 18 hammocks in Paleko's house and 13 in Tumayaua's
126 houses. Ehrenreich was taking photographs. For each shot the models were compensated with a few beads. They were somewhat afraid, but the beads conquered the fear of danger. The women's group on Plate 5 was obtained only with difficulty. The women had let themselves be positioned and arranged, and Ehrenreich was on the point of exposing the plate, when they suddenly discovered their mirrored images in the lens and, astonished, fell upon the apparatus in order to examine it more closely. The photographer in dire distress! Tumayaua had gained possession of a useless plate of glass -- "pãru," water - and with it, following Vogel's directions, he set the first window in the straw dome of his house.

123 On this fine day I wanted to present a gift of honor to my hosts. Two young ladies of Berlin had given me a pretty blond doll to bring along, which they themselves had fitted out with a

[see p. 28--Analist]

/91 cont./

353 a couple of fish drawings were drawn on with white loam. To our
531 greatest astonishment, triangles and squares were meant as illustrations of concrete objects and were not merely "geometric
126 figures." Wilhelm copied the entire frieze with painstaking precision, as Plates 20 and 21 show.[1] I shall later compare the practices among the Bakaïrí with those among the rest of the Kulisehu tribes. Unfortunately it was not possible to bring home the originals. The loam was so loosely applied that it immediately crumbled off, and so coarse-grained that it could not be permanently fixed with a coating of collodion, as was done successfully with the masks.

000 Toward sundown, led by Aramöke, who was parading around in his red scarf, we went to the camp, which was now pitched at the actual harbor, and there, after the new shipwreck, we encountered a great "drying of laundry." Antonio's oar was also broken.

123 A number of Indians stood and sat around on the slope of the shore when we set out on 6 October shortly after 7:00. João Pedro had ordered for himself half a dozen fresh beijús and was served promptly in the early morning, as by a civilized baker.

133 The powerful rapids called "kulúri" by the Bakaïrí, which we soon cut through without peril, was the last one on the Kulisehu: "tũxu ãle," the stones are "all gone." On this stretch the river again greatly resembled the section beyond Independencia; many fallen trees in the water, frequent elevated sandy beaches or steep
[136] loam banks, the current somewhat faster. The small masarico with its little red legs came tripping rapidly toward us across the sand, called "go away, come, come," and flew ahead a little distance, to wait for us there again. The bends in the river were very numerous and the trip became a deadly bore. The sunlight was reflected glaringly by the light sand and the water glistened unbearably. At 2:45 we passed a right tributary-brook about eight meters wide, the Pakuneru. This is the same name that the Paranatinga bears among the Bakaïrí. At its source -- far away
[101] ih.... -- the kayãxo, the Kayapó /Cayapo/, are said to live.

[1] [See pp. 280-281 -- Analyst]

/92 cont./

574 night. We sat down in the middle of the large plaza in a long row. Each one was brought a drinking bowl; the largest, along
574 with a cigar, fell to me. Speeches of welcome were now ex-
576 changed with great volubility.

ámа, you = that is you. ehé úra, yes, I = indeed, that is I. bakaïrí úra, I (am a) Bakaïrí. kχaráiba úra, I (am a) Karaibe. bakaïrí kχúra, (the) Bakaïrí (are) good. kχaráiba iwakulukúlu, (the) Karaiben (are) very good. píma áma? (are) you (the) chief? píma úra, I (am the) chief.

123 Opposite each Karaiben squatted a Bakaïrí and admired him and what he wore. The Swedish matches, knives, mirrors, buttons, beads -- it was always the same routine. Except that in the case of Porisa it was my notebook that was most appreciated, and it was not the written pages or those covered with drawings, but the white, empty sheets that elicited exclamations of delight from him. We also strode about the plaza in pairs, arm in arm, in affable conversation. We studied the geographical distribution of the Kulisehu tribes in detail, but the dwelling places of the Trumaí still remained as obscure as before.

345 The flute-house was large and spacious, its roof dilapidated, much straw lay on the floor inside, and here, as in the houses, we missed the cleanliness which pleased us so in the other vil-
534 lages. In front of the flute-house, resting on cross-sticks, lay a
[532] huge hollow tree-trunk -- a morcego (bat) tree our men called it -- /93/ irregularly painted with human figures and fish vertebrae. During festivals they drummed on this giant instrument with thick wooden clubs, similar to the mandioca pestles.

535 Inside there were handsome masks and a new form of dance costume; two huge crinolines ten meters in circumference, covered with straw, and comparable to small huts, koálu, which
●126 the dancer wore on a ring on his shoulder. Soon enthusiastic
301 barter was under way everywhere. We obtained fine feather
237 ornaments, crowns made of arara feathers, which are light blue
534 on one side, yellow on the other, dainty mats in which they are
283

/93 cont./.

126 stored, dark yellow reed diadems, such as Luchu is wearing on
534 Plate 6,[1] others with radiating tips, large Panpipes, an oar deco-
283 rated with drawings, spinning whorls of the simplest type, that
[301] is, disks made of potsherds, and a quantity of remarkable
[239] cylinder-shaped sticks, which are covered with ornamentation
177 and worn on the back at festivals. But in the equipment of these
third Bakaïrí it was clearly shown that we were with the section
of the tribe living next to the rest of the Kulisehu Indians; all
kinds of imported goods were present and were designated as such
439 here. The Bakaïrí do not make any pots themselves and do not
[323] themselves have a place where they might fetch stones for stone
axes, but here we were immediately told that the pots came
from the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ and the stone axes from the
Trumaí. Among the pots one in the shape of a turtle represented
an absolute masterpiece of primitive plastic art, on which the head,
tail, and feet, as well as the shell drawing, were magnificently
worked out. From the Aueto we found a half-broken clay doll;
also originating from the Mehinakú, balls of finely spun cotton;
from the Trumaí and Suyá, dainty feather caps. From our own
possessions of 1884 we discovered two iron chisels, parts of a
ramrod, which had been sharpened to a point on stones.

648 We met a Nahuquá in person; unfortunately, the man was
732 obviously an idiot and had little to offer for my purposes. It is
strange that this is not an isolated phenomenon: the Kustenaú
of 1884 had a simple-minded Bakaïrí among them, the Yuruna
likewise an Arara Indian definitely feeble-minded, and it seems
to me I often noticed similar instances. Do the people become
stupid in the new environment or are only the stupid specimens
entrusted to neighbors for their use?

126 In the flute-house anthropological measurements and photo-
graphs were taken in exchange for beads. In this village there
was a pronounced Semitic type, of which Plate 13[1] represents a
classic example. The people submitted to everything and called
the caliper compass núna, "moon." Only one man was indignant
when, after Ehrenreich had measured him from head to foot in
all directions, I handed him the fee of three beautiful, large
[153] beads. He wanted to have as many beads as there were measurements

[1] [See p. 138 -- Analyst]

/93 cont./

126 taken on him. With lively gesticulations and a /94/ memory
153 worthy of appreciation, he repeated the entire procedure: the head from front to back, from side to side, the nose from top to bottom, the space between the eyes, the length of the extremities and their parts, the height of the navel above the ground, etc., etc., and after each pantomime he stretched out his hand toward the katakuá, the beads. There was nothing for it, the man's claim must be admitted, but I was obliged to compensate him with small embroidery beads; for when I started to pay him, he faithfully went over the number of measurements again after each pair of beads, first pointing to the latter, then to the corresponding part of the body, and he did not rest until the long list was quite carefully brought to an end. If these instances pile up, I said to myself, and if the Bakaïrí produce many such critical natures, their art of counting will make rapid progress. Here, indeed, was a tangible example of how trade fructifies and develops arithmetical gifts!

126 The women offered some resistance. It was quite impossible
345 to take the readings on them in the flute-house. They were not
562 permitted to enter it, although the noble building was already half in ruins. Hence they were measured and photographed on the plaza.

123 We carefully packed up our bartered treasures and asked Porisa to keep them for us in his house until our return. We did not dare overload our canoes and had to provide room for the collection among the tribes living downstream. Porisa, before our eyes, shoved the bundles onto a high cross-beam between the center posts and promised that no one would touch them.

At 4:30 we then set out, very satisfied, for the harbor once
226 more. Antonio with eight Indians had gone out in front of the
[177] inlet where fishing was more rewarding and there demonstrated the use of the hook and line. His companions were able to set out homeward toward the village with a heavy load of piranhas, a
122 bagadú, and a pintado. We traded one of our small canoes for a better, larger one.

B 101 171 197 /159 cont./

and, in order not to do violence to the perfectly justified tribal names, as actually happened in the case of the Nahuquá, we may call them, where we need a comprehensive term, the potter tribes, according to their most important ethnological characteristic. Beside them stand the Yaulapiti as a closely related Nu-Aruak tribe, but one already clearly different in dialect and revealing other influences.

B T 101 197

Thus the arithmetical problem has been simplified to the extent that we have before us Karaiben in the Bakaïrí and Nahuquá, Nu-Aruak in the potter tribes and the Yaulapiti, Tupí in the Auetö and the Kamayurá, and, as an indivisible remainder, the Trumaí.

II. Anthropological.

B T 126 128 141

In order to have a record of the physical appearance of the Kulisehu Indians, insofar as was possible during our brief acquaintance with the individual tribes, a series of measurements were taken, which did not turn out to be very numerous and are not evenly distributed according to the different tribes or the two sexes, yet nevertheless offer interesting material. Possible sources of error on the part of the observer may be put down as constant, since the measurements were all taken by Ehrenreich. He also took a far greater number of photographs than could be reproduced here; some of them, however, became very spotty and difficult to reproduce.* He expects to make further use of the illustrative

B T 128 141

* As is shown in detail in the list of illustrations, the following are reproduced here in photographs: both sexes of the Bakaïrí, Mehinakú and Kamayurá, as well as only men of the Nahuquá and Auetö, while Yaulapiti and Trumaí are missing altogether.

material and to deal with the collected material of the measurements in detail and according to its comparative value for the

2: Steinen--154 ED-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
TRumaí SP23

/170 cont./

B T 141 The Trumaí have the lowest figure of all for stature, breadth of outspread arms, head circumference, hand length, the highest for head height, length-breadth and length-height index of the skull, navel height, the Mehinakú the lowest figure for the length-breadth index of the skull, for height of navel, symphysis, iliac crest, and trochanter, the highest, on the other hand, for stature, shoulder breadth (just as they are also rather outstanding for breadth of outspread arms and chest circumference), for zygomatic-arch breadth, and, although arms and legs are short, for the length of foot and hand. The Nahuquá do not have a 6 for any measure, but show relatively many 1's and 2's.

B T 142 126 /171/ The skin color is characterized by yellow-gray loam shades in all gradations; sunburn, dirt, and painting made it extremely difficult to determine the original color, and it was only under the cotton bindings on the upper arms or lower legs that one realized how light the Indians actually were. Wilhelm made a little color chart on the spot; according to it, the average shade falls between No. 30 and 33 of the Broca chart; the darker tones had a definite lilac-violet admixture, especially on chest and abdomen, the lighter tones a somewhat yellow one. We also used the Radde charts and found the greatest similarity for forehead and cheek with 33 m to n or also 33 o, the upper arms approximately 33 m.

B T 142 The head hair was black; especially among the Bakaïrí, Nahuquá, and Auetó, brownish black. The bluish-black shade did not occur. On the other hand, the hair, especially of the Bakaïrí children, looked strangely light and faded if the light struck it obliquely; at times it had a dark red shimmer. We never encountered "horsehair." The head hair was moderately thick and straight or, especially among the Bakaïrí and Nahuquá, decidedly wavy. To our surprise, we saw out-and-out curly heads among the Bakaïrí, such as, for example, the type shown on Plate 13. How much of it was nature, how much art, is difficult to say. At any rate, old Paleko in Maigéri, who had long since become superior to the vanity of youth, had short, curly hair. Among the Bakaïrí, the hair is wavy without artificial treatment. Sometimes the forehead was hairy almost to the eyebrows.

/184 cont./

000 skill, and only then did sensuous pleasure come into its own.

*171 302 [126] I entered in my journal each instance of body painting and was able to observe that even today there are two types of body painting here. /185/ The one which occurs to us first, that of external adornment, was the more uncommon and had one characteristic that distinguished it rather definitely from the other. This characteristic was that a design, simple or elaborate, was part of the adornment. A distinction must be made between daubing and painting the body. In daubing the useful is the decisive factor; in design painting, the beautiful. [822] The love of color is present in both cases, but secondary. Even the effect of urucú red is overestimated by us. If it had been so esteemed generally, all tribes could have used it. A person who lives with the truly gaudy adornment of the parrots is supposed to regard himself as particularly beautiful if he daubs himself with soot or even brick-red! Let us pause in front of the magnificent feather ornaments of tropical South America in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde and confidently compare with these the most beautiful and the most colorful things that our modern technology, which has certainly accomplished no little, is able to conjure up -- nature can still stand up under the comparison, and surely its feather splendor surpasses the modest black-white-red which charcoal, loam, and the orlean bush provide for the Indian.

*171 302 822 The Indians never use white for body painting! I already hear the answer: "he finds white not becoming to him." There is probably something in this. He valued our white beads less than the red ones; he preferred the blue ones to both, for they contrasted best with his skin. One could retort, to be sure, that he made these distinctions merely at a glance and before he saw the beads on his body, but it may be that he liked red better than white and blue better than all the rest, not because he preferred the, to him, more unusual colors, but purely as a matter of taste. But this still does not explain why he avoided white altogether; one would only understand why he used it

/216 cont./

*171 323 415 gourd bowls were blackened on the inside, we shall understand the connection.

Originally the Indian pot had nothing to do with cooking *171 and was merely a substitute for the gourd. The women fetched 174 water in the gourds to the huts or the campsites. How they 323 managed when they had no gourds we see to this day in the little 415 baskets smeared with loam, which are familiar from several tribes. The leaky canoe is also smeared with loam; the body is smeared with loam, the beginning of body painting, and the loam itself is transported in baskets, as we have observed, and that was probably the main thing. If gourds were often not available, the women soon learned to make their loam baskets more solid by a more lavish use of the plastic clay; moreover, they could dispense with the plaited work as soon as they noticed that the dried loam forms were sufficiently resistant by themselves. They set them in the sun or over the fire and thus found the cheapest source of supply for artificial gourds.

The women did not make this discovery, however, until sedentary times; the wife of the roving hunter could not have replaced the gourd with the heavy and breakable pot. Still less could the hunting man have been the inventor of the pot. It is exactly the same situation as for the origin of agriculture.

*171 The pot in the beginning is only a container, like a gourd, 174 or, in certain instances, a basket. When we hear that people 415 are buried in pots, all the associations that we have with our pots come to mind; we think of a sort of cooking pot and are inclined to feel an obscure connection with cremation. Thus it is important to learn that the hunter tribe of the Bororó laid the skeletons of their dead, not in big pots, like Humboldt's Aturen, but in feather-decorated basket-bags, so that here, too, the preliminary stage has been preserved.

/217/ Just as gourds were used for drinking and eating, pots were also used at first for only these purposes. The great number ●[126] of small and medium-sized pots which we brought back from the Kulisehu are almost all "bowls," not cooking pots. The filtrate

B /241 cont./
*171 bent outward horizontally. These pots were not, as one would
415 expect, the most common ones, but rather the rarest. I scarcely
B [252] believe that there was one in each dwelling. Cooking did not play an important part, except for the preparation of flour, and for that the large kettles were required. On the other hand, a third type was found quite abundantly. These are the many-shaped warming and eating bowls 10-24 centimeters in diameter, which are represented by typical examples on the two plates, 23 and 24, "Ceramic Motifs" /see pp. 328 - 329/. A glance at the two plates teaches us the important fact that the basic form of these pots studded with edge projections is that of the roundish-oval vessel-fruit, whose /242/ curvature they have retained, although a flat bottom should be preferable for the pot. On the other hand, the curvature has made possible the plastic motif of the animal body. These clay bowls, as they are probably best called, were also by no means numerous in the houses. We saw the smallest number of them among the Auetö and Kamayurá. From the Trumaí we acquired only two small round pots, but this does not mean anything because they were in flight. We
B [126] searched out every specimen because of their artistic value; we brought back some 80 in our collection, and if I now estimate that in the villages visited by us there might have been twice that many in all, I am sure the figure is too high. There are probably scarcely three small pots per household on the average. The gourd vessels still have precedence. There was, of course, every transition in size, as well as in use, to the small cooking
B [264] pots. Eating was always done, however, out of the clay bowls, while the contents of the cooking pots were dished out. The clay bowls were preferred for children.

W Unfortunately, we did not observe how the kettle-pots
323 were shaped. We saw only the extremely simple manner in which a Mehinakú woman in the Nahuquá village made a scarcely medium-sized pot. She brought out a basket filled with loam -- it interested me more than anything else in relation to the history of the origin of the pots -- added water to the clay, and pressed the superfluous water through a sieve. She shaped it, kneading and scraping it, and, in view of the smallness of the pot, did

/246 cont./

*171 mental world in every art and science, no matter what it is
18 called, and there can be no foundation for this other than their
825 hunting culture.

000 The material interest in the animal precedes the formal or esthetic interest. The flower in art is secondary, exactly as it is in ornamentation; first the feather in the ear and then the little bunch of flowers on the hat. I saw araucarias portrayed in the "picture writing" of the virador in Rio Grande do Sul. A palm tree would be just as easy to draw as a pine, but no palm in the north furnishes such indispensable food as the araucaria formerly provided for the "bugre" /wild Indian/ of that southern province. Before art went after bread, if I may alter the meaning of the sentence somewhat, it went after meat and fish. I shall have to come back to this subject, especially in connection with the products of the ceramic art.

*171 Sand drawings. They are at first a form of communication,
212 like words. I have spoken of how the descriptive gesture readily
532 and easily became a picture. Map drawings were the most com-
823 mon. Our second journey arose through the sand drawing of the arrangement of the upper Schingú, with which the Suyá geographer illustrated his statements; cf. page 126. "He enumerated all the tribes that are settled on the upper Schingú; in order to be quite clear, he drew the course of the river in the sand with his finger. To our greatest surprise, he drew the Batovy, the only one which he portrayed in this way, and, to be sure, entirely on his own initiative, with corkscrew-like, tortuous course." (Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, p. 213 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 104/.) The Batovy, as we learned to our sorrow, was a true River Meander.

*171 /247/ We saw the same thing among the Kulisehu tribes.
212 The number, sometimes of tribes, sometimes of rapids, was
532 indicated by dashes. Circles were houses; wreaths of circles, villages, corresponding to the actual arrangement of the circular
• [126] houses around the large plaza. All these figures were also drawn with pencil in our book, while the accompanying words were taken down as dictation. A certain individualization, as in the

BO /249 cont./
171 extremities look like a shimmering whitish painting. The eye and
532 the spotted markings of the skin were indicated with dark sand. Since the figures were at least life-sized, they gave a surprisingly lifelike impression in the evening twilight; it looked as though huge, shimmering and glistening skins were spread out on the ground.

B Pencil drawings. Even in 1884 we let the Suyá draw with
*171 pencil in our notebooks. They themselves were amused by it;
532 they were not awkward, and only at first did they superfluously
BO hold the pencil point into the flame, being accustomed, for their
171 part, to drawing with resin-saturated sticks. They drew rhombus-
532 shaped designs, similar to those on their gourd bowls, which at that time I dismissed with the label "geometric figures." This time
B we had them draw a series of persons and objects which turned out
BO to be extremely instructive. On the four plates, 16-19 /see pp.
[126] 265-268/, these artistic productions, which could still be considerably improved, have been reproduced with painful accuracy; there are portraits of the members of the expedition, especially of me, and furthermore two jaguars and a woman's triangle with the accompanying topography done by Kulisehu Indians, as well as a soldier, a woman, a pipe, a whizzer stick, two jaguars, a tapir pursued by a dog, a monkey, a hummingbird, and three turtles by the Bororó. The animal pictures of the Bororó, like the sand drawings covered with ashes, are filled with black inside the outline and show that these artists already had higher aspirations, although in their sparse ornamentation they did not achieve more than is shown by the whizzer stick.

ooo At first the pencil drawings vividly remind one of the pictures in the copybook of little Moritz. In fact, in the interesting little book by Corrado Ricci, l'arte dei bambini /The Art of Children/, Bologna, 1887, which reports on studies of many children's drawings, there are many correspondences, and more than the author himself assumes when he considers the drawings of primitive peoples. Children describe a human being, instead of reproducing him artistically, "just as they would describe him with words." In their first attempts they are satisfied with the most

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I. Masks.

*171 532 535 On the second journey our yield of dance ornaments and, above all, of face-masks was considerably larger than on the first. This is all the more important since the masks, which are, after all, distributed throughout the world in the most diverse forms and for the most diverse purposes, and which play such an important part among the Indians of northern America, have so far been observed only to a relatively slight extent in South America. It seems that they occur in particular in the Amazonas region, but it may only seem so. All the tribes have their dance festivals, all have pantomimes in which animals are portrayed, people adorn themselves with natural ornaments of skins or feathers, imitate the voices and movements, and spontaneously arrive at the characterizing mummery which makes the spectacle more effective. The technical skill of the mummery and its characterization certainly differs, but probably all hunting peoples reached the level which we come across among the Schingú tribes, again with an entirely different development of mimic devices. We are so poorly informed about this only because the opportunities to investigate living tribes in an undisturbed state are rare and can be only superficially exploited during a fleeting visit. Our own journey is the best example. In one region where [126] in 1884 we came across strange headgear with animal imitations of straw, etc., but only two wooden dove-masks, in 1887 we brought back a handsome collection of face masks which, now in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde, permit an interesting comparison with the grotesque animal masks of the Tekuna /Tucuna/ from the upper Amazon River that are present there. Ehrenreich, too, brought back from the Karayá /Caraja/ on the Araguay /Araguaia/ a number of huge dance masks adorned in the most colorful manner with feathers, which in their construction remind one most strikingly of the Duk-duk of the South Sea.

[184] [345] Not only each tribe, but each village has its own masked dances. The center is always the "flute house." In their character the dances are extraordinarily alike throughout Brazil. Always the running around in a circle and the jerky singing corresponding

/28 cont./

114 [113] Sept. 1926 bis Aug. 1928
/Results of My Two Year Exploratory
Trip in Mato Grosso. Sept. 1926
to Aug. 1928/," pp. 86-88.
Zeitschrift fur Ethnologie,
Annual Set 60, Heft 1/3.

114 115 In Cuiabá I had already encountered some Bakairí who had come from Simões Lopes with a herd of oxen to the capital. Since at that time the revolutionaries, led by /Luiz Carlos/ Prestes, were passing through Mato Grosso and also were making the vicinity of Cuiabá insecure, these Bakairí were prevented from undertaking their return journey for the same reason I was unable to carry out my projected trip to Simões Lopes. They were four men and one boy of ten, and when they visited me one day in my house, it turned out that one of these Indians, called Marcellino Caminago, or by his native name, Palugude, came from the second Bakairí aldea on the Rio Kulisehu. At the time of my stay in this aldea 26 years earlier, he had been a small boy, but he still remembered me well. It was interesting to note how this memory gradually came back to him when I played on my violin the same melody that I had played many times in the Maimaieti aldea among the Kulisehu Bakairí. He asked one of the other Bakairí what my name was, and when I told him that my name was "Doctor Macimo," he knew at once that his memory had not deceived him and he [551] greeted me as an old acquaintance. Naturally, from this [191] moment on he frequented my house with his small son, Lorenzo, whose native name was Kaiura, and with the other Bakairí, [126] and since some /29/ of these Bakairí were quite familiar with the Portuguese language I had a good chance to take down linguistic notes and to obtain at this time exact data on the changes which had taken place with respect to conditions among the Bakairí [622] since my former journey. Among other news they told me that [159] old Cacique Reginaldo had lived on for a long time and had

/35 cont./

184 result of the latter's continuous movement to the Rio Parana-
178 tinga, Indian influence on the eastern Bakairí had increased
179 once more, and when in the year 1927 I visited the Simões Lopes Post, where in the interval all the Bakairí had settled either at the post itself or in its vicinity, it was still possible to find there many ancestral implements and customs. In the
126 Bakairí houses there were many objects made in the native
[178] manner, so that I was able to acquire a relatively large collection for the Berlin Ethnographic Museum. Among the objects
126 in this collection were, as already mentioned above, several
184 that came from the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu
[439] River itself, which the Xinguanos had brought with them when they had moved to the Rio Paranatinga or which these Indians had received later from Indians of other tribes as the latter
323 visited Simões Lopes. Among the objects from the region of
184 the upper Xingu River tributaries we may note especially the fired clay vessels which were imported in large quantities, because, according to the Bakairí, there was no clay suitable for making them at Simões Lopes. The large fired clay ollas found
[439] in large numbers in Bakairí houses and used to boil the pyserego drink were obtained from the Mehinakú. A good example of the small vessels that came from the region of the upper Xingu River tributaries is shown in Figure 25. This vessel (V.B.
323 9870), (42) one of the appendages of which is characterized,
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42. This is the catalog number of the Berlin Ethnographic Museum.

by the formation of a mouth, by an animal head, corresponds in shape to a specimen of such a vessel which I brought in the year 1901 from the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí (43) and to other similar

43. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brazilien, loc. cit., p. 401, Fig. 275 /257/.

323 /35 cont./
[126] specimens collected by Karl von den Steinen which were said to
[532] represent bats. To the basic, dark color of the outer surface of
[531] the vessel, brown paint is applied on the walls in parallel vertical strips and on the bottom of the vessel in curved lines emerging from the circumference of a circle whose center is the center of the pot bottom. The height of this pot reaches 10.5 cm. and the diameter of its upper rim, 26.5 cm. Two other fired clay vessels, both smaller, are represented in Figures 26 and 27, one of which (V.B. 9877) has a height of 11.5 cm. and an upper rim diameter of 26 cm., and the other (V.B. 9874) a height of 12.5 cm. and an upper rim diameter of 20 cm. Of the other objects from the region of the upper Xingu River
301 most were ornaments. The necklace shown in Figure 24 (V.B.
126 9957) and made of small shell disks (diameter: 0.8 cm.) and a large stone bead was given to me in Simões Lopes by my old friend, the Bakairí, Karía, as a particularly precious object from former times. Other ornamental objects in my collection are shown in the following photographs:

Figure 24, a. A necklace of small shell plates /chapitas/ (V.B. 9956. Length of the plates, 2.5 cm.).

/36/ Figure 23, c. A necklace of shell disks with a zoomorphic (bird) pendant of fruit rind (V.B. 9954).

Figure 23, b. Zoomorphic stone pendant for a necklace.

Figure 23, a. Feather diadem. (V.B. 9968.) Length 36 cm. Width 8 cm.

285 Among the cultural goods of the Bakairí which we must
184 also regard as products of the native industry, but which, in contrast with those just described, were apparently made by the Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post themselves, we may point out first of all the various kinds of plaited objects, because they will serve to complement on various points my previous publications on Bakairí plaited objects. (44) For this reason I shall

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44. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., pp. 330-371.

/36 cont./

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[113]

Cf. Idem., "Ableitung südamerikanischer Geflechtsmuster aus der Technik des Flechtens /Derivation of South American Plaiting Pattern from the Technique of Plaiting/." Zeitsch. f. Ethn., 1904, Heft 3 and 4, pp. 490-512. Idem., "Die technischen Voraussetzungen in der Ornamentik der Eingeborenen Südamerikas /The Technical Bases in the Ornamentation of the South American Natives/." Ipek. Jahrbuch für Prähistorische und Ethnographische Kunst, 1926, pp. 142-174.

discuss the plaited objects that I collected from the Simões Lopes Bakairí in a special section that follows. In addition to
• 126 412 plaited objects I was primarily concerned with the acquisition of a mortar and its corresponding pestle and a triangular barbecue, because the relevant collections of the Berlin Ethnographic Museum did not include any specimen of these Bakairí objects which are to be found in almost every settlement of these Indians. The wooden mortar which I brought from Simões Lopes (V.B. 9883, called óro by the Kulisehu Bakairí) is shown in Figure 29. Its height reaches 38 cm. and the rim diameter 25 cm. From the irregular shape of the bottom it may be assumed that the lower part of the mortar was implanted in the ground. The corresponding pestle (V.B. 9884) has a length of 95 cm. and is shown in Figure 28. The barbecue shown in
252 417 Figure 30 and called by the Kulisehu Bakairí si(r)ka has the usual triangular shape of Bakairí barbecues. The sticks of which this barbecue consists are bound together with tree bark. Its height reaches 105 cm.

535 126 I found the dancing sticks shown in Figures 33 a-d and 34 a-d (V.B. 9942, 9943, 9945-9948, 9951, and 10071) in

/36 cont./

535 Cacique Pires' house, where they were used in the dance fiestas
126 staged at specific times by the Xinguanos. The fire-engraved
[531] embellishments enhanced with black paint are wholly ancestral. Besides circles and spirals they also include other decorative elements of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí. The length of these sticks reaches from 76 cm. to 100 cm. and their diameter from 1.7 cm. to 4.5 cm.

532 Of the figures made of maize husks, such as the Bakairí
126 of the upper Xingu River tributaries had in former times, I found two specimens in the settlement of Xinguanos on the Rio Paranatinga, which represent birds (V.B. 9964 and 9965. Length 15 cm.) A ball made of husks of ears of maize (V.B. 9966. Length 21 cm.) such as was used by the Bakairí of the Kulisehu in general for their game with a ball, which they called tóju, is shown in Figure 31, b.

126 Small figures in the form of the human figure shown on
532 Figure 23, d (V.B. 9961. Length 10 cm.) were placed, in
751 Simões Lopes, around the /37/ necks of newborn babies to protect them from illness. I had acquired a good, old specimen of such a figure which was tied with an animal claw from the necklace of the little girl of a woman belonging to the Bakairí who had moved from the Rio Novo. A day later she came with her child to ask me to return to her the necklace with the pendant, because the child had fallen ill after the loss of the necklace. She exchanged the old figure for the new one shown in Figure 23, d.

211 Finally, I must still mention the notched board shown on
194 Figure 31, a (V.B. 9969. Length 23.5 cm.) Since such boards,
177 probably intended as mnemonic aids, are not found among the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River tributaries, we must assume that this case is an instance of foreign influence in later times.

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III. Plaited Objects of the Bakairí in Simões Lopes

Most of the plaited objects that I acquired from the Bakairí in Simões Lopes belong to that kind of plaiting which I called in my respective previous publications Stufengeflecht (stepped plaiting).

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The two fire fans shown in Figures 35 a and 35 b (a: (above) V.B. 9918. Length of the upper rim 45 cm. Width 19 cm. b. (below) V.B. 9919. Length of the upper rim 43 cm. [178] Width 17.5 cm.) are similar in their external form to those, with which we are familiar, of the Kulisehu Bakairí of former times, but in regard to technique they already show certain signs of degeneration. In the chapter "Geflechte und Geflechtsornamentik im Xingú-Quellgebiet /Plaited Objects and Their Ornamentation in the Headwater Region of the Xingu/" in my already-mentioned book, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, I dealt at length with the technique used in the construction of such fire fans, because these plaited objects were especially suitable to show the dependence of the ornamentation of plaited objects on the technique of plaiting used in their construction. It is possible to determine exactly the specific units in the plaited object and the order in which they were successively fashioned, and the specimens shown in photographs in the work mentioned clearly reveal how the ornamental lines between these specific units of the plaited article and, successively, the overall ornamentation of the respective fans, are intimately bound to the technical conditions of the plaiting. [531] Thus, in all fans of this kind /obtained/ from the Kulisehu Indians, the two triangular units of the plaited object, which begin with their bases on the two sides of the lower edge of the object, are striped horizontally, that is to say, parallel to the lower edge, while the middle part of the fan, which integrates /?/ the beginning of the plaited object and is shaped like a square resting on its corner, is usually striped vertically.

/41 cont./

285 531 walls of the resulting basket will show uniform striping running horizontally, while a basket the walls of which show striping running vertically will result if the surface of the bottom has a cross-shaped decorative element. (Cf. the basket shown in a photograph in my above-mentioned book (48).)

48. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 354, Fig. 180.

285 184 531 Already on my trip made in the year 1901, I found among the Kuliseh'u Bakairí a kind of basket which, in its external form, corresponds to the basket just described but which, in terms of the structure of the plaiting of its bottom suggests a completely different beginning of the plaiting. (49) A hoop

49. Ibid., pp. 360-362.

for adorning the head brought by me from the same Bakairí shows, instead of the usual decorative elements of these Indians, the special figure that appears in the middle of the bottom of these baskets. (50) See the diagram shown in Figure 50. On my

[114] [126]

50. Ibid., p. 414, Fig. 272.

last trip, made in the year 1927, I acquired from the Bakairí of Simões Lopes several specimens of such baskets. Of the three specimens of baskets of this kind shown in Figures 40 (V.B. 9890. Height 17 cm. Width of the bottom 30 cm. Width of the upper rim 33 cm.), 41 (V.B. 9889. Height 18 cm. Width of the bottom 21 cm. Width of the upper rim 28.5 cm.), and 42 (V.B. 9880. Height 25 cm. Width of the bottom 21 cm. Width of the upper rim 33 cm.), each shows a different structure of plaiting in the center of the bottom of the basket: that of the basket shown in Figure 40 has four

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three-step figures (cf. diagram in Figure 51), that of the basket in Figure 41, four four-step figures (cf. diagram in Figure 52), and that of the basket in Figure 42, four five-step figures (cf. diagram in Figure 50).

With the whole leaf of the buriti palm, the Simões Lopes Bakairí made, besides the flat baskets described above, ordinary baskets also, and this in two different forms depending on whether only one palm leaf or two palm leaves were used to make the plaited object.

[26] Of such baskets made from a single leaf, no specimens are known from the Bakairí of the upper Xingu tributaries, but I acquired such a specimen in the year 1901 from the Rio Novo Bakairí, which I have described and shown in a photograph in the above-mentioned work. (51) But it is likely that the Bakairí

51. Ibid., pp. 347-348
Figs. 174-175.

of the upper Xingu tributaries also had baskets of this type in former times and that this was not noted by the respective explorers. The /42/ Kuikuchu Bakairí called this kind of basket very common among the Bakairí of Simões Lopes, korá. Of the specimens acquired in Simões Lopes, one is shown in Figure 43 (V.B. 9900. Height 24 cm.; Width 25 cm.). The making of such baskets proceeds as follows: the leaf strands are divided into two groups and the strands in the first group are plaited with those in the second group, in twill fashion and beginning with the middle strands. The plaiting, of single mesh to quadruple mesh, presents the characteristic striping of strip plaiting, at first going in a vertical direction but passing to the horizontal direction in the second unit of plaiting formed on the front side on the edge of the leaf by folding the free ends of the strands and plaiting them in the opposite direction. Cf. the diagram shown in Figure 53.

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Of the baskets plaited of two buriti palm leaves, called by the Rio Kolisehu Bakairí bo'idéju, several specimens were already known from the Bakairí of the upper Xingu tributaries, which are similar with respect to their form and manner of plaiting, on the whole, to the baskets which I acquired from the Simões Lopes Bakairí. In these baskets, too, of which three specimens are shown in photographs in Figures 44-46 (V.B. 9899. Height 36 cm. Width 32 cm. V.B. 9904. Height 32 cm. Width 34 cm. V.B. 9901. Height 37 cm. Width 34 cm.), the plaiting equals of single mesh or triple mesh. I have described the plaiting technique used in these baskets at length in my above-mentioned book, (32) with the aid of a diagram:

32. Ibid., pp. 356-359, Figs. 182-184.

and I have shown that the beginning of the plaiting is formed by two square plaited units, of which one situated at the front side of the basket (square ABCD in the diagram in Figure 48) is plaited from the strands of half of each of the two leaves, and the other unit, situated at the back side of the basket (square EFGH in the diagram), /is woven/ from the other half of each of the two leaves. These two square units of plaiting, placed corner to corner, and, in their original position, placed one before the other, are united by two other units of plaiting made from the free fibers of the first two units (squares ADHG and ABFE in the diagram), in such a way that these four square units together form one unit (square HEFC in the diagram) the size of which is twice that of the two original units. While the four corners of this unit of plaiting (square HEFC in the diagram) are folded upward in a vertical position (triangles DBC, BFE, EIG, and GDH in the diagram) and serve as parts of the four walls of the basket, the bottom of the basket is formed by the middle part of this unit (square GEBD in the diagram) which

/42 cont./

285 remains in a horizontal position. The plaiting of the basket
184 acquired by me from the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí and that of the
53 Simões Lopes basket shown in Figure 44 consist solely of such
[126] a square plaited unit whose corners are folded upward to serve as walls for the basket, without the addition of other plaited units to /43/ complete the four walls of the basket. But the two baskets from Simões Lopes shown in Figures 45 and 46 present a more advanced form of this type of basketry in so far as the four blank spaces which appear between the four triangular parts folded upward to serve as part of the walls are filled secondarily to complete the plaiting up to the upper rim of the basket. Since the free ends of the fibers in a plaiting done in this manner all come out at the upper rim of the basket, it is possible, in order to secure them in this place, to fashion a very even and solid rim from which emerge, on both front sides, the ends of the stalks of the two buriti leaves used in the plaiting.

An interesting contribution to the problem of the dependence of basketry ornamentation on technique, and of the derivation of ornamentation from technique, is furnished by a comparison of the two baskets from Simões Lopes shown in Figure 45 and 46. The ornamentation of these two baskets is basically different from that of baskets of which plaiting is formed by loose fibers, such as that of the baskets shown in Figures 39-42. These baskets are also plaited in such a way that a flat square forms the beginning of the basket with the middle part forming the bottom of the basket and the four corners, folded upward, forming parts of the four walls. But by the fact that this flat square of plaiting is composed, in turn, of four plaited units marked by different directions of the striping of its ornamentation, uniform striping is achieved for all four walls, since in this case the striping in the four corners of the main unit, when folded upward, runs in the same direction. With regard to the Bakairí baskets woven of two buriti leaves, such uniformity in the

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531 /44 cont./
184 direction, while the corresponding parts of the lateral walls and corresponding plaited supplements have vertical striping.

285 Examples of the kind of plaiting called by me in my
227 respective previous publications Doppelfadengeflechte (double-
184 thread plaiting) are represented by the fish trap shown in Figure 54 and the flat basket shown in Figure 55. Fish traps like the one shown in Figure 54 (V.B. 9914. Length 54 cm. Diameter of the upper rim 25 cm.) were very common among the Bakairí of the upper Xingu tributaries, and the Berlin Ethnographic Museum possesses several specimens collected by Karl von den Steinen, who mentions them briefly in his above-mentioned book, Unter den Natürvolkern Zentral-Brasiliens. (53) He says

> 53. Karl v.d. Steinen, Unter den Natürvolkern Zentral-Brasiliens, loc. cit., p. 236.

there: "As for fish traps, there were two kinds: one called by the Bakairí puroschi was broader and had rectangular intermediary spaces, while the other, called tanaschi, was narrow and long and had high, large meshes oriented vertically." In Karl von den Steinen's book, there is no drawing or photograph of such
126 a fish trap. The specimen which I got from the Simões Lopes Bakairí and which they call tikíshi consists of slender twigs bound at regular intervals by a double strand which, starting at the bottom, goes through the twigs in spiral fashion. A funnel-shaped entrance made of thicker twigs is placed at the upper edge.

285 The flat basket shown in Figure 55 (Length 65 cm. Width 37 cm.) serves to store fish and consists of a wooden hoop filled in with double-thread plaiting in the form of a small mat like those the Bakairí used to strain their liquids.

Finally, I must mention the small basket shown in Figure 56 (V.B. 9891. Height 20 cm. Width of the upper rim 19 cm.)

286 574 535 dance was given at night accompanied by flute playing.

When a woman came out of seclusion after the 246 535 533 birth of a child the women of the village danced to the tunes of the *tadánuo* and *nokigóru* flutes.

ORIGIN MYTHS

773 [126] Although the Bacairí have many myths, only two were obtained. One of these is the *yamodilli*, or the origin of day: In the beginning it was so dark and cold in the world that the people had to cover their bodies with grease to keep warm. The people wanted the sun to come out, so they put on their ornaments and painted their bodies and began to pray to *orimóto*, the great spirit who lived in the north. The Bacairí believed that *orimóto* was not an Indian but just a man who lived in a stone house with some of the animals which he had created. The people continued praying to *orimóto* and when light finally came the people were old and the children had grown up.

Yewítiladúke, or "those who died in the fire," is a story which tells about the origin of cultivated plants and the *yuwisóri*, or corn dance: Once long ago there was a number of boys who were in puberty seclusion. At that time there were no cultivated plants the people living by hunting and collecting wild plant foods. The boys were kept in seclusion so long and had so little to eat that they became very tired. One day when the relatives of the boys went out to collect food the boys all committed suicide. When the relatives returned and found the boys dead they were sorry and angry with themselves for neglecting them. They built a large fire and after dancing around the fire naked they jumped into the flames and were burned to death. The leader of this act was *yowíti*. Later the soul of *yowíti* returned and spoke through one of the living Indians. He explained to the Indians how to grow corn and other food crops and how to perform the corn dance. After that the corn dance (*yuwisóri*) has always been performed.

773 171 [127] As the Bacairí formerly lived in association with the other Upper Xingú tribes, it is perhaps useful to compare their following origin myths as gathered by Von den Steinen with those of the Camayurá. There appears to be a close resemblance between *Kawaschiní* of the Bacairí and

Geographically the post is situated ideally on a high land removed from the river and cleared of all vegetation, the jungle appearing only as a narrow fringe along the river banks. Like the rest of the high plateau it is wind swept, and generally pleasant. It must be added that contact with white people, such as is had when a small group of natives go to Cuyabá, has brought syphilis to them, and it may be their mortality is due to this.

One occupation enjoyed in former times is denied them, and that is fishing. There are practically no fish in the Paranatinga, at least up to where the post is located. Since meat is gotten only on rare occasions, and no hunting is done, the diet is mainly one of vegetables and considerably poorer than when they were living in their original state. This may also explain their lowered resistance to disease.

Very little museum material which represents their own products can be collected from the Bakairi. What has not been gotten from the Inspectoria has been brought back on excursions to the Kuluseu. Pottery has not been made since their coming to the post, according to them. The huge vessels that they possess either have been brought with them from their former homes or bartered from the tribes on the Kuluseu. It is claimed that the proper clay cannot be found in the neighborhood of Simõe Lopes.

Arrows are still being made, an iron nail generally being substituted for the old bone point, but most of the arrows also come from the Kuluseu.

For the old hammock made of palm-leaf fibre the cotton hammock has been substituted, but the same open net style has been kept.

Mussel shell ornaments have also been bought from the tribes of the Kuluseu. In brief, almost anything that is found in their village must bear the suspicion that it is not a Bakairi product.

However, they have preserved a few customs, such as filing the upper teeth to a point, wearing under the European clothing the gee string, and ceremonial use of the bull-roarer, and they probably remember many of their ceremonies.

The short time spent at the post was mostly devoted to taking anthropometric measurements, which were subsequently lost on the Kuluseu, but in some notes I do find the statement that in blood groupings most belong to groups three and four, the former predominating.

.1: Steinen--iii D E-5 (1884) 1886 . SP7 Bacairi SP7

/vii cont./

The German consul in this emporium of Amazonas, Herr Sesselberg, as well as the German ambassador in Rio de Janeiro, Herr Le Maistre, gave us the most gracious reception.

126 /viii/ The ethnological collection, which, despite all the difficulties of transport, we salvaged successfully and almost without loss, was given to the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde.

126 128 Herr Professor Baron Karl von Fritsch kindly undertook the identification of the rock samples gathered on the trip, a considerable part of which, however, was unfortunately lost.

In working up the linguistic material I was enthusiastically assisted by my friend Herr Dr. Georg Wenker in Marburg.

The illustrations, with the exception of the ten separate pictures which Mr. Johannes Gehrts of Düsseldorf made, as well as a few photographs collected on the trip, were done by my cousin, Wilhelm von den Steinen, from his numerous travel sketches. In the case of the ethnographic plates, he was helped by a few photographs, for which I am indebted to the Assistant Director of the Berlin Museum, Herr Dr. von Luschan.

Besides an ethnographic and a simple survey map, a special map by Herr Dr. Clauss, which was made available by the publishing firm of Justus Perthes, was added to the book. [113] The results of our meteorological and geographical studies were published by Dr. Clauss in detailed form in the May and June issue of Petermanns Mittheilungen for the year 1886. He also erected a small meteorological station in Cuyabá, in order to obtain a series of observations over a longer period; Herr 127 August Karstens, a German master tailor in residence there, has earned the most commendable merit for filling in as best he could the considerable gaps in our meteorological knowledge of central South America and has already sent in a continuous series of observations.

I am particularly indebted to Herr Capistrano de Abreu of Rio, the translator of "Wappaeus," who was indefatigably active in obtaining for me excerpts from older works in the Bibliotheca Nacional.

/388 cont./

177 in vain as to why /389/ it happened that the Bororó, who inflicted fire and pillage upon the land, received lavish gifts as soon as a few individuals were seized, whereas he himself, with his fellow tribesmen, who for generations had devoted themselves to the finest peaceableness, was obliged to return empty-handed even on his last visit to the great captain.

●127 [113] Almost everything that we can learn about the West Bakaïrí from Brazilian sources is summed up in a report of the Directoria dos Indios from the year 1848; cf. the excerpt in the appendix.*

* In Petermann's Mittheilungen for the year 1862, p. 437, there is a review of an article which Dr. Amédée Moure published in the Nouvelles Annales des Voyages about 33 tribes of the province of Mato Grosso on the basis of his own experiences and adventures. The reviewer gave a comprehensive summary of Dr. Moure's data in a table arranged according to tribe, number of persons, and places of residence. Under the tribes we find some listed with 20,000, 30,000, even 50,000 persons. If one adds the minima and maxima of the estimates, one obtains the result that the number of Indians of the Mato Grosso comes to 241,800 to 282,000. If today we estimate the total number of the Mato Grosso population of all colors, all the docile and savage inhabitants on every level of culture, at about 70,000, it will undoubtedly come much closer to the truth. The original article

[113] by Dr. Moure (Nouvelles Annales des Voyages de la géographie, de l'histoire et de l'archéologie, Vol. II, 1862, pp. 5-19, 323-341, III, pp. 77-100, Paris) also contains small factual atrocities such as, for example, that the Cambixis, who live in the Campos dos Parecis and have a pure Nu-Aruak dialect, speak the Peruvian Kechua

/389 cont./

127 /Quechua/ language, but many details are so accurate that they must have been based on good information. I rediscovered Dr. Moure's source in Cuyabá; it offers literally and verbatim the greater part of his factual data, but knows nothing of the exaggerated figures which, indeed, one could scarcely mention to a Cuyaban without eliciting from him a smile of disbelief.

This source is the "Archives" of the "Directoria dos Indios," an inspection board proposed in a report of the President dated May 12, 1846 (cf. Vol. IX of the Rev. Trim; this lists the Indian villages known at that time as 21 in number, without mentioning the Bakairí). The Director has the rank of Brigadier General, in order to be able to impress the Indian chiefs -- in our time he was a modest citizen with a meager salary, who, however, when he is borne to his grave, will be granted the military honors befitting his rank. The Archiv, which I was permitted to examine, was a thin folio booklet; the records began October 1, 1848. In the first flush of enthusiasm, on December 2, 1848, Director Joaquim Alvez Ferreira put together a survey of 33 tribes with explanatory additions and thereby did his successors a great service; none of them later took the trouble to check for himself, and, if a new record of figures was needed for the authorities, the report of 1848 was confidently copied. Thus, Dr. Moure's own experiences and adventures are also limited to a literal translation of the official document, except that he multiplied the census figure of 13,020 by 20! A new, neatly written table of the directorial documents dating

/389 cont./

•127 from March 13, 1872, is classic. It had become necessary to take into account the tremendous and widely known changes which the Paraguay war had brought about in the southern part of the province. Of the tribes listed as Nos. 3-15 in 1848, three were crossed out, the total figure was reduced from 13,020 to 8670; on the other hand, for tribes 1, 2, 16-33 the old report was again copied verbatim, so that no human being seems to have been born or died here in the 24 years.

175 The Bakaïrí of the Paranatinga and Rio Novo maintained them-
[177] selves in their two poor villages; they were occasionally visited
[164] by gold-seeker expeditions who would then arrange a small mass-baptism and introduce syphilis and measles. Many perished from
[157] measles; the disease, relatively harmless for us, is not only /390/ often fatal to the Indians, but they also have the bad habit of plunging into the river in the middle of the highest fever and not drying themselves after they leave the cool bath.

173 I made an effort to learn more details about the history of
[115] the tribe from the aged Caetano, retired chief, and his successor, Felipe, on the Paranatinga, as well as from Antonio. A history of more recent times can clearly be separated out, during which a shift to the southwest took place. Whereas the forefathers on the
173 salto of the Paranatinga lived several days' journey below the
131 present village and somewhat above the emptying of the Rio Verde
167 coming from the left, the West Bakaïrí, at least since the middle
361 of the previous century, have occupied the border area between the source rivers of the Arinos, Cuyabá, and Paranatinga, where the village on the Rio Novo is still to be found. On the Ribeirão Caixão there were more than six villages; there was a large village on the Ribeirão da Pedra. The first baptism of the Bakaïrí took place in Diamantino. Caetano, born in the previous century according to all calculations, first saw the light of the world where
[177] the Rio Beijaflor empties into the Paranatinga. The Paranatinga village now located above this is a creation of modern times,

2: Steinen--655E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Guana SK7
Terena
Bororo SP8

B
127
BO
G
131
161
175

/548/

II. The Mato Grosso Tribes according to Cuyaban Records.

Since the fate of the "Archives" of the Directoria dos Indios discussed in the footnote on page 467 is very uncertain, I regard it as necessary to give my excerpt. I shall start with the tables for 1848 and 1872.

			1848		1872
1		Caiuás	?	Vicinity of Rio Iguatimy (1)	?
2		Chamococos . . .	200	Paraguay on the right near Bahia Negra	200
3	Guaicurús	Cadiuéos . . .	850	Paraguay below Coimbra	850
4	Guaicurús	Beaquéos . . .	500	East of the Paraguay and south of Miranda	100
5	Guaicurús	Cotoguéos . . .		Lalima (2) near Miranda	– (4)
6	Guaicurús	Guatiedeos . . .	130	Albuquerque	– (5)
7	Guanás	Guanaz	200	Albuquerque and near Cuyabá	– (6)
8	Guanás	Kinikináos . . .	1000	Matto grande near Albuquerque-Miranda	–
9	Guanás	Terenas	2000	Miranda	–
10	Guanás	Laianas	300	Miranda	–
11		Guachís	?	Miranda	– (7)
12		Guatós	500	Paraguay and S. Lourenço, Lagoa Gaiba and Uberaba	50 (8)
13		Bororós da Campanha	180	West of the Paraguay near the Marco do Jaurú (3)	180

1. The Rio Iguatemy is a tributary of the Paraná, into which it empties somewhat above the Salto-Grande das Sete-quedas.

2. Six leagues south of Miranda.

3. Tributary of the Paraguay. The Registro or Registo (cf. 14), the customs station, lies on the road between Cuyabá and Matto Grosso.

4. Missing in the list.

5. Missing in the list.

6. Were brought to Asuncion by the Paraguayans and all died there.

7. Missing in the list.

8. Are almost extinct as a result of the Paraguay War and smallpox.

2: Steinen--657 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Guarani SM4
Zamuco SK14
Chamococos
Mbaya SK11
Guaicuru

/549 cont. /

B 128 127 I shall further give the comments of 1848 and, in brackets, add the little that is worth knowing from later years found in the booklet of the Directoria, which otherwise contained almost solely personal and administrative notes.

G 105 175 1. Cayuás. Little known. Rather numerous. Are sedentary and carry on agriculture.

Z 175 105 [131] [233] 2. Chamococos. Scattered over a large forest area south of Coimbra near Bahia Negra in small groups that seldom unite. Strong, good workmen, not very intelligent. Hunters, engage in a little horse-breeding. Naked; the women cover their nakedness with a fabric of embira de caraguata.* Bags for foodstuffs are

* Bromeliae spinosa, commonly "gravata."

made out of the same material. No other industry. Occasionally Z [439] at war with a tribe of the same name in the west. Sell their children to Guaycurús and Guanás for axes, horses, and cotton cloth. Not hostile, but not inclined to make contact; four or five speak Portuguese. Once a year, at most, a few come to Miranda or Albuquerque. Like to become intoxicated and to steal also.

M 175 105 [131] [162] [342] [231] 3-6. Guaycurús Cadiuéos. Famous in ancient times for their resistance. About 800 on both banks of the Paraguay below Coimbra. In various hordes. Live in tents made of poles and skins or mats. Hunting, fishing, no agriculture. Many horses, some wool-bearing animals, pigs, chickens. No industry. Eternally at war with their neighbors, at peace with Brazil. Proud and treacherous; come with plaited work to barter for whiskey, horses, etc.

M [131] [162] [Report 1872: Guaycurús Beaquéos. About 100 individuals in one village near Miranda. Hunting, fishing. Maize, pororóca,** mandioca, batatas, cará, gourds, sugar cane. A

** Also pipóca, a variety of maize most suitable for a biscuit-like pastry.

/260 cont./

114 informant. (3) Karl von den Steinen, on the other hand,

[113] 3. Capistrano de Abreu, "Os Bacaerys /The Bacairi/." Revista Brasileira, Year I, Volumes 3 and 4. Rio de Janeiro, 1895.

worked with several informants, and, what is more important in our opinion, personally visited Bakairí aldeas, (4) which

[113] 4. Karl von den Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien /Through Central Brazil/, Leipzig, 1886; Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens /Among the Central Brazilian Primitive Peoples/, Berlin, 1894.

[127] Capistrano did not do. These documents, studied comparatively, permit us /261/ to support the conclusions we expect to reach on Bakairí beliefs and customs.

197 The Bakairí belong to the Karaib /Carib/ linguistic
361 family. Their old aldeas consisted of large communal houses,
[342] ellipsoidal in form, around a square. In each house there
[512] lived from two to five families. In the center of the aldea
[344] there was a house, kadoeti, where the ceremonial adornments of the men were kept and where visitors were lodged. Access to the kadoeti was open not only to the men but to women
[346] and children as well. Attached to the kadoeti was a small
[534] house, its entrance turned to the rising sun, where the flutes,
[784] buzzers or bull-roarer, and other sacred objects were kept. Access to this latter house was forbidden to women and children.

[P. 77-A]

276 574 535 dance was given at night accompanied by flute playing.

When a woman came out of seclusion after the 276 535 533 birth of a child the women of the village danced to the tunes of the *taddnaen* and *nokipóru* flutes.

ORIGIN MYTHS

773 [126] Although the Bacairi have many myths, only two were obtained. One of these is the *yemadilli*, or the origin of day: In the beginning it was so dark and cold in the world that the people had to cover their bodies with grease to keep warm. The people wanted the sun to come out, so they put on their ornaments and painted their bodies and began to pray to *orindo*, the great spirit who lived in the north. The Bacairi believed that *orindo* was not an Indian but just a man who lived in a stone house with some of the animals which he had created. The people continued praying to *orindo* and when light finally came the people were old and the children had grown up.

Yewétihadíke, or "those who died in the fire," is a story which tells about the origin of cultivated plants and the *pewesiéri*, or corn dance: Once long ago there were a number of boys who were in puberty seclusion. At that time there were no cultivated plants, the people living by hunting and collecting wild plant foods. The boys were kept in seclusion so long and had so little to eat that they became very tired. One day when the relatives of the boys went out to collect food the boys all committed suicide. When the relatives returned and found the boys dead they were sorry and angry with themselves for neglecting them. They built a large fire and after dancing around the fire naked they jumped into the flames and were burned to death. The leader of this act was *pewiti*. Later the soul of *pewiti* returned and spoke through one of the living Indians. He explained to the Indians how to grow corn and other food crops and how to perform the corn dance. After that the corn dance (*pewesiéri*) has always been performed.

773 171 [128] As the Bacairi formerly lived in association with the other Upper Xingú tribes, it is perhaps useful to compare their following origin myths as gathered by Von den Steinen with those of the Camayurá. There appears to be a close resemblance between *Kawaschini* of the Bacairi and

/vii cont./

The German consul in this emporium of Amazonas, Herr Sesselberg, as well as the German ambassador in Rio de Janeiro, Herr Le Maistre, gave us the most gracious reception.

126 /viii/ The ethnological collection, which, despite all the difficulties of transport, we salvaged successfully and almost without loss, was given to the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde.

Herr Professor Baron Karl von Fritsch kindly undertook the 126 identification of the rock samples gathered on the trip, a con- 128 siderable part of which, however, was unfortunately lost.

In working up the linguistic material I was enthusiastically assisted by my friend Herr Dr. Georg Wenker in Marburg.

The illustrations, with the exception of the ten separate pictures which Mr. Johannes Gehrts of Düsseldorf made, as well as a few photographs collected on the trip, were done by my cousin, Wilhelm von den Steinen, from his numerous travel sketches. In the case of the ethnographic plates, he was helped by a few photographs, for which I am indebted to the Assistant Director of the Berlin Museum, Herr Dr. von Luschan.

Besides an ethnographic and a simple survey map, a special map by Herr Dr. Claus, which was made available by the publishing firm of Justus Perthes, was added to the book. The [113] results of our meteorological and geographical studies were published by Dr. Claus in detailed form in the May and June issue of Petermanns Mittheilungen for the year 1886. He also erected a small meteorological station in Cuyabá, in order to obtain a series of observations over a longer period; Herr 127 August Karstens, a German master tailor in residence there, has earned the most commendable merit for filling in as best he could the considerable gaps in our meteorological knowledge of central South America and has already sent in a continuous series of observations.

I am particularly indebted to Herr Capistrano de Abreu of Rio, the translator of "Wappaeus," who was indefatigably active in obtaining for me excerpts from older works in the Bibliotheca Nacional.

2: Steinen--IIIgD-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/vi cont./

122 [113] Simultaneously with the appearance of this book, Professor Vogel is publishing his results in the organ of the Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin/Geographical Society of Berlin/ which deserves credit in connection with our journey for supporting him from the funds of the Karl Ritter Foundation. I cordially thank the president, Privy Councilor Baron von Richthofen, for his kind permission to add to my account the map drawn and edited by Dr. Richard Kiepert's trusted hand. I myself experienced substantial assistance through the Humboldt Foundation of the Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin /Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences of Berlin/, and on this occasion, too, I beg the Board of Trustees to accept my most sincere gratitude.

In the course of the journey we were given numerous demonstrations of hospitality by Brazilians as well as by countrymen in Brazil and the La Plata states, both by simple private persons and by persons in high office, who have put us most deeply under obligation to them. Though we can show our appreciation to the sons of the country to a certain extent by helping to open up the interior of a little explored province, we remain wholly indebted to our countrymen. were I merely to mention the localities where they live, I would have to recapitulate the entire route, except for the Indian paths. Thus, to all to whom these lines find their way, whether they import and export in trade or lead in a political position, or whether, as intrepid colonists, they live far from the coast, I extend the most cordial greetings and with them the safeguard of peace and orderly conditions for their work.

128 [102] The maize has already bloomed six times since we left the source region of the Schingú -- "two two two, ahége ahége ahége," counts the Bakaïr, and finds no words in his language [113] to express a larger number. The report has been delayed longer than I liked; I was held back primarily by preliminary linguistic studies (Die Bakaïr-Sprache /The Bacairi Language/, K. F. Köhler, Leipzig, 1892), but I learned many things from them and gained a broader and firmer foundation than was the

/vi cont./

128 case with the considerably smaller amount of linguistic and ethnographic material from the first expedition. My love for the subject has only grown with my longer occupation with it, for in equal measure it necessarily strengthened the recognition of the truth propounded with flaming enthusiasm by our revered elder master, Adolf Bastian, that the decline of the little esteemed primitive peoples means the loss of irreplaceable information for the history of the human mind. There is no lack of confirmation in the following pages. And just as everyone who is deeply imbued with a conviction feels impelled to make propaganda for it, so I, too, should not care to address myself only to the narrow circle of specialists, and I have permitted myself the pleasure /vii/ of writing for general understanding. I must gratefully acknowledge here the courage and co-operation of the publishing firm, which granted my wish to set the price as low as possible and nevertheless did not stint in the layout.

May the reader be no more aware of the great interval of time than I am when I imagine myself back in those days. It cannot be denied, my sense of time functions a little defectively. I only wish the reason were that I truly succeeded in going deeply into the soul of our primitive peoples, these children of the moment -- to try to do this was my real task.

Neubabelsberg

Kazalbenhof, October 1893.

/63 cont./

533 note)/: kuyáuhu kuyáuhuhú -- kirúhayé kiruhayé (four times) --
539 kuyáuhu kuyáu.

Softly and rather muffled, solemnly slow, lingering a long time on the au.

The principal song that we were to sing together often was the following: yawí yawí naků -- noví ritó hahé -- ohó hohú, niké wéké niké, niké wéké niké, notú aríte nóhuhé, ohóhuhó huhú, niké wéké niké, notú aríte óhohu, ohóhuhó, etc.

Muffled and softly, but faster and faster with a stamped beat and a jerky emphasis that impels one to stride forward; the óhohu... is repeated until one is almost out of breath, and then one recovers on the more solemn: nó tú há -- notú aríte nóhuhé nuhá hahú -- notú aríte nóhuhé nuhá hahú nó tú há, nó tú há -- óho hú hu.

533 A greater contrast can scarcely be imagined than between a jolly students' drinking song and these songs whose rendition was scarcely to be called singing, but seemed merely intended to accompany the dancing march of the feet with suppressed tones. I [123] sang, too, of course, running the risk of not giving the good people a generally valid idea of our music, since I have at my disposal only "my own melodies." I achieved a small moral success, but they were a little overwhelmed because of the unfamiliar noise connected with the volume of tone. Natural sounds, however, such as "rudirallala," my friend Paleko liked exceptionally well; he was passionately eager to learn them and bent double laughing when he could not follow quickly enough.

291 Feeling of modesty. In this narrative part I wish to avoid [128] describing clothing and ornaments in detail and shall limit myself, as far as personal appearance is concerned, to the remark that both sexes went about unclothed, that the women, as may [287] be seen from Plate 5,* wore the "ulúri," a yellowish brown piece [301] of bark-bast folded in a triangle and fastened to strings, and around their necks a string with pieces of shell, pieces of stalks, and seeds, that the men always wore a hip cord, with or without such ornaments, and frequently bast /64/ or cotton bands around

* [See p. 28--Analyst]

/72 cont./

123 and whose language "itâno" evoked loud outbursts of merriment and jubilation.

Then "muh," "mäh," "waûwau," and "miau" in all tones rang out from me and from them. Especially effective was the variation between the peculiar "mäh" of the old sheep and the pitiful "mäh" of a little lamb seeking its mother, between the barking of big curs and that of little yappers. Incidentally I commanded a rather good pronunciation in these itânos, so that the shrewd experts on animal languages had no need to doubt the authenticity. I also tried to make clear to them the character of the animals by having different kinds, such as cat and dog, appear together, tried to explain to them that a dog, for example, obeys man, and was now in a position to instruct them about the origin [153] of my woolen clothing -- mäh. They were attentive pupils who very soon mastered the subject matter completely and practiced assiduously.

The memorable session of our tobacco club in which I gave the first lecture about European domestic animals had extended far into the night, /Plate VI appears here/ /73/ but I took leave of happy men on whose faces was written: that was a fine evening. Luchu barked in exemplary fashion; he ran into the two houses from which a great deal of bright laughter had already been heard and ran around there with a wild wau-wau.

I was already lying half asleep in my hammock and believed the citizenry to be resting in their accustomed peace, when once more Eva's voice from over yonder roused me with a loud "mäh." So I replied "mäh" for a good ending from my sheep stall; there was giggling again everywhere behind the straw walls, and finally quiet actually came, until -- mäh, mäh even before sunrise -- I started up, cursing.

128 One day went by like the next. In the next chapter I shall relate fully how we worked together in my hut, how the Bakaïrí learned Portuguese and I Bakaïrí, while I shall add here what I have to report about our life together.

[Text continues on p. 97]

/80 cont./

151 no f in their store of sounds and replace it with p. If I said fogo
191 (fire), fumo (tobacco), they would say pogo, pumo. But they
194 heard, or, more correctly, apperceived, the f also as p. they were, as far as I could see, firmly convinced that they were pronouncing the same sound that I had said to them. Their attitude was entirely different if, for example, I gave them too long a word, then they struggled and despaired of it, but with regard to fogo, fumo, f...., the more emphatically and loudly I said it, the more emphatically and loudly they joined in. pogo, pumo, p...., with decided indignation over my dissatisfaction.

● 128 I was obliged to be content with completing the vocabulary as much as possible and interpreting the sentences to the best of my knowledge. I did not achieve an actual translation that would do justice to the subtleties of their language; whatever I was able to offer in this respect in my book Die Bakairí-Sprache /The Bakairí Language/ (Leipzig, K. F. Köhler, 1892), I owe
192 to Antonio. I was especially very peculiarly touched by their joy over the richness of their stock of words. They manifested great pleasure at having a word for every object, as though the name itself were a sort of thing and piece of property. That the number of concepts depends primarily on interest was clearly evident. On the one hand, in comparison with our languages, an abundance of words, such as animal names or kinship terms; on the other hand, a poverty at first surprising. yêlo is "lightning" and "thunder"; kwópó, rain, /81/ thunderstorm, and cloud. Now of course, almost all rains in their region are associated with thunderstorm phenomena, and the cloud in the sky has interest for them only insofar as it means an approaching thunderstorm. The fact that, when they combine into one concept, in their word yêlo, the visual and audible aspect of the electrical discharge, thunder is the more essential part is shown by the fact that they also call the buzzing whizzer-stick yêlo. I, who proceeded from the idea of the magic instrument, according to the custom of mythologists, who was looking for the uncanny and recognized this primarily in the flashing streak, at first translated the word as "lightning" instead of "thunder."

/81 cont./

192 The real poverty is in the lack of superordinate concepts,
811 as among all primitive peoples. They have a word for "bird," which probably means "winged," but the North Karaiben have another stem toro- or tono-, which among the Bakaïr also means very ordinary birds, a species of parrot or wild chicken /Waldhuhn/. Each parrot has its particular name and the more general concept of "parrot" is completely lacking, just as the concept "palm" is lacking. They know the characteristics of each parrot and palm species very precisely, however, and cling so to these numerous individual facts that they pay no attention to the common features, which, to be sure, have no interest. Thus, one sees that their poverty is only a poverty of higher units; they are choked by the mass of material and cannot handle it economically. They deal only in small change, but in the number of pieces in their possession they should be called superrich rather than poor. In building up their thoughts they set their ideas together like an endless wall of uniform stones and as yet have scarcely any notion of architectonic structure.

811 Their ineptness at forming abstractions came out most clearly
in my efforts with regard to their art of counting. About this,
● 192 however, I should like to report later in a separate chapter, so that now I may finally take up once more the thread of our travel chronicle and return to Independencia, to my traveling companions. In my description of my Bakaïr idyl I have been very detailed to some extent, but will thus be saved many details in the later pernayal, since the picture among the other tribes was essentially the same, even though I was never again able to enjoy it so quietly.

2: Steinen--S3fD-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/82/

Chapter VI.

1. Joint Departure and Visiting of the Three Bakaïrí Villages.

Independencia during my absence. Preparations for setting out. To the first Bakaïrí village. Photographs. Doll delivered. To the second Bakaïrí village. River journey. Hospitality. Mummery to fetch food. Nocturnal dance. Frieze in the house of the chief. To the third Bakaïrí village. Speeches of welcome. Collection. The first Nahuquá. Body measurements and beads.

122 On 19 September 1887 Ehrenreich and Vogel arrived. We traveled together to the second village of the Bakaïrí, where we acquired another canoe and returned to the first village. The former left for Independencia on 24 September and I followed them on the 25th, overtook them, for Carlos was ill with fever, and on the 26th we were all united again in Independencia. Tumayaua and Luchu had accompanied me and were now able to study the
128 "wau-wau" in the original. I do not yet want to describe our visit with the second Bakaïrí here, but rather would like to include it in the report concerning the later, joint one, so that the criscross routes will not make it difficult to get an over-all view.

I had been absent from Independencia from the 8th to the 26th of September. It may be imagined with what a feeling of relief Wilhelm and Perrot greeted our canoes.

The mules had caused them and old Januario a great deal of worry. Day after day first this one and then that one was missing. Once Januario had been obliged to fetch back an animal from the next-to-last campsite of the journey here and had thus always been on the go. Meanwhile fresh young grass had sprung up on the queimada and the future was thus assured. The donkeys were in good condition; they were already beginning to grow fat, were already becoming unmanageable, and came daily to drink at a pool. Only "Balisa," the "post," had come up with a hole filled with maggots in his back. "Tormenta" had been relieved of the pangs of existence. He could no longer stand on his legs, no longer ate the grass that was carefully cut up for him, and one morning lay dead on the sandy beach.

5 /155 cont./ The Suyá geographer
101 already mentioned the "Kayuquará" as the outermost inhabitants, and I had assumed at that time, correctly it now seems, that by that the Kayaló-Kayapó were meant.

8 The long list of names looks worse than it actually is. Each
101 village has its name, and the stranger who hears it cannot at first
103 judge whether he should expect a new or a familiar tribe there.
621 The simplest example is the Nahuquá. For the Indian, "Nahuquá"
4 refers only to the inhabitants of the Kulisehu village; the
101 Yaurikumá, Guikurú, etc. do not call themselves Nahuquá, and
621 it was merely because of our happening to stop first among the "Nahuquá" that I am using this name as the tribal name. There
Y may be slight dialectal differences, but I was able to record a
[199] list of the most important words from the Yanumakapú and am convinced, and for the Yaurikumá and Guikurú as well, that their language corresponds throughout with the "Nahuquá." The
8 Bakairí are inspired by a strong feeling of nationality, for they
101 call themselves Bakairí whether they live in the source region of
62 the Arinos, the Paranatinga, the Batovy, or the Kulisehu. By
[619] analogy with the Nahuquá, the Bakairí of the Kulisehu would
[103] have to call themselves by their village names: Maigéri, Igufti, and Kuyaqualiéti.

8 It would have been a blessing for ethnography if all the
101 tribes had taken as a model this fine example of the Bakairí.
128 We have several clear examples here of how a family community,
197 or, if one wishes, a tribe, becomes scattered, how each separate
619 community is inclined to give up the old connection and therefore loses it irrevocably, must become a new "tribe" if the displacement continues, and closer relations are maintained, not with neighbors related by blood, but those of another extraction. Under these circumstances, there is nothing else for us to do /156/ but to determine first of all the linguistic relationships. They are not to be confused with blood relationships. But under the simple narrow circumstances which are involved here, linguistic relationship and blood relationship coincide far more than among more highly civilized peoples, who, through writing, possess a language that has developed a distinct character. If a

3 /156 cont. /
101 couple of foreign individuals enter one of these family communi
128 ties, they will, it is readily admitted, bring about a crossbreeding
197 which is not disclosed by a study of the language. But inter-
619 mixtures on a greater scale also change the language tremendously.
The foreign women who become mothers exert an influence on
the language of the children, which, in the Island Karaiben, for
660 example, is plainly evident. The children of the Karaiben men
and Anuak women did not by any means speak Karaiben, as the
young mulattoes in Brazil speak Portuguese, but rather spoke a
new language which had important grammatical elements and
phonetic peculiarities from the mothers. This is not very sur-
prising, for the cultural differences between the two tribes were
not basic, the number of foreign women was large, and they
brought all their local traditions into the marriage, since the
conquering men came from the outside. The children were com-
pelled both to make a compromise with the language materials
on the father's and the mother's side, and to choose between the
prefixes and suffixes offered by the one and the other, which are
of decisive importance for the alteration of the word roots as a
result of the influence on the stem's initial or final sound, and
they experienced the reciprocal effect, uncurbed by any school-
master culture, but instead freely active, of the phonetic laws
3 valid up to then in the two parental tribes. Among these primi-
101 tive peoples, the measure of linguistic differentiation will also
197 be roughly the measure of anthropological differentiation.

If we wish to cast about for linguistic relationship among the Kulisehu "tribes" and thus reduce the list, we must dwell for a moment on the linguistic groups occurring in the rest of Brazil.

T There are still many individual tribes who, either because
101 their linguistic relatives are no longer living or because we do
197 not know them, speak isolated languages. We must first of all put the Trumaí among them, in order to dispose of them immediately. I did not succeed in finding a place for them anywhere,
T [192] near or far. They have borrowed a good many words from the culture of their neighbors, the Kamayurá and Aweté, but the core vocabulary of the tribe is peculiar and of a different origin.

B 101 191 197 /159 cont./

and, in order not to do violence to the perfectly justified tribal names, as actually happened in the case of the Nahuquá, we may call them, where we need a comprehensive term, the potter tribes, according to their most important ethnological characteristic. Beside them stand the Yaulapiti as a closely related Nu-Aruak tribe, but one already clearly different in dialect and revealing other influences.

B 101 199

Thus the arithmetical problem has been simplified to the extent that we have before us Karaiben in the Bakairí and Nahuquá, Nu-Aruak in the potter tribes and the Yaulapiti, Tupí in the Aueto and the Kamayurá, and, as an indivisible remainder, the Trumaí.

II. Anthropological.

B 126 128 141

In order to have a record of the physical appearance of the Kulisehu Indians, insofar as was possible during our brief acquaintance with the individual tribes, a series of measurements were taken, which did not turn out to be very numerous and are not evenly distributed according to the different tribes or the two sexes, yet nevertheless offer interesting material. Possible sources of error on the part of the observer may be put down as constant, since the measurements were all taken by Ehrenreich. He also took a far greater number of photographs than could be reproduced here, some of them, however, became very spotty and difficult to reproduce.* He expects to make further use of the illustrative

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* As is shown in detail in the list of illustrations, the following are reproduced here in photographs: both sexes of the Bakairí, Mehinakú and Kamayurá, as well as only men of the Nahuquá and Aueto, while Yaulapiti and Trumaí are missing altogether.

material and to deal with the collected material of the measurements in detail and according to its comparative value for the

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other South American Indians; I shall limit myself here to a few preliminary studies and from the chief measurements give at least the bulk reduced to maximum, minimum, and arithmetical mean, in order to show merely in rough outlines the proportions of the Indian physique.

Virchow's instrumental equipment was used for the measurements: measuring staff with folding foot-board, calipers and beam compasses, as well as a steel /160/ tape measure. The measurements were entered on a printed Virchow form (cf. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie XVII, p. 100). The following were measured: Bakairí men 10, women 6; Nahuquá men 15, women 12; Mehinakú men 6, women 5; Kustenaú women 1; Waurá men 1, women 1; Auetó men 14, women 2; Kamayurá men 14, women 4; Trumaí men 8; a total of 68 men and 31 women. I shall always list the tribes in such a way that the arithmetical mean of the figures for the men increase from top to bottom.

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Body height.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Trumaí	8	163.0	155.0	159.1	–	–	–	–
Auetó	14	171.6	155.5	159.9	16	156.5	139.5	148.0
Kustenaú	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	150.0
Bakairí	10	166.3	154.5	160.8	6	161.2	140.5	151.6
Nahuquá	14	166.7	155.5	162.3	12	161.0	145.0	152.2
Mehinakú	6	169.2	159.0	164.1	5	153.7	145.3	151.4
Kamayurá	14	172.0	159.0	164.1	4	155.7	152.0	153.8
Waurá	1	–	–	165.7	1	–	–	147.5

The arithmetical mean of the body heights of all these 67 men, irrespective of tribe, amounts of 161.9.

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Without doubt, however, the number is too low. If we exclude all younger persons up to the estimated age of 25 and include the Nahuquá estimated at "50" years who represents the minimum of 155.5, as well as the "60"-year-old Kamayurá with a minimum height of 159.0, we obtain the following rearrangement of tribes and alteration of figures. The maxima remain unaffected.

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128 141 It is not likewise not really possible to exclude among the women all individuals up to those 25 years old exclusively, for in that case, at least for the Bakaïrí, there would be left only the tall Egyptian, who, moreover, in my opinion, if, given "25-30" years, is estimated too old. If we disregard all women up to those 20 years old inclusively and likewise a "60"-year-old Mehinakú of 151.0, we obtain:

	Women	Min.	Mean			
Waurá	1	–	147.5	as against		147.5
Auetö	2	139.5	148.0	"	"	148.0
Kuttenaú	1	–	150.0	"	"	150.0
Mehinakú	3	145.3	150.8	"	"	151.4
Nahuquá	10	145.0	152.0	"	"	152.2
Bakaïrí	3	145.5	153.9	"	"	151.6
Kamayurá	2	154.3	155.0	"	"	153.8

The arithmetical mean of these 22 women amounts to 152.1, the mean of the Mehinakú and Nahuquá, however, after the exclusion of the younger women, has become lower. The average difference between the two sexes would be 10.5 centimeters, in other words, the women on the average were 6.5% shorter than the men.

The most powerfully built Indians were to be found among the Mehinakú, cf. Plate 14 /see p. 163/, very sturdy chaps, and the Nahuquá, cf. the illustration on page 71. The most striking phenomenon about their physique is the broad and deep chest and the tremendous shoulder breadth of the men. The breadth of the pelvis seems smaller than the breadth of the thorax. Older men and children were commonly characterized by a little belly. The women did not have very broad hips, the calves were weak, and their feet were set inward somewhat, as though they were always walking on narrow paths, so that the walk, especially of the woman tripping along with a load, was by no means beautiful. Actually, we saw only one Indian woman whose figure, [142] even by our standards, was graceful and well proportioned; it is the slim Bakaïrí girl in the middle of the group on Plate 5, to whom the photograph, however, does not do justice.

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B 142 412 with these sharp edges, and they crush with their teeth the shells from which they make their beads, a type of mistreatment that is bound to be disastrous to better teeth, the mere sight of which pained me deeply.

/173/ Chapter IX.

I. Dress. Hair and Skin.

Preliminary remarks concerning clothing and ornamentation. The hair. Head hair, body hair, lashes. The skin. Piercing. Binding. Chains. Daubing and painting. Scratch-scars. Tattooing.

B 128 Since in this and the following chapter I shall try to go back as much as possible to the origin of the dress observed among our natives, I should like to begin with two fundamental remarks.

B *171 291 First, I consider it erroneous that clothing, arising out of a feeling of modesty, is required for man's humanity. We became acquainted with representatives for various tribal groups of the Indians on the upper Schingu, and they do not need clothing in this sense, as I deduce from the fact that they have no such clothing. Their devices, which from our custom we would be inclined to call pubic coverings, are by no means coverings, and the feeling of modesty that is supposed to have produced the coverings is not present. As early as 1584 the Jesuit Father Cardim wrote about the Brazilian natives: "All go naked, men as well as women, and have no clothing of any kind and in no case verecundant /feel shame/, but rather it seems that in this part they are in a state of innocence."

Secondly, I must explain my position somewhat with respect to the origin of ornamentation. It is established that nowadays among primitive peoples there are many types of ornament for which no real or imaginary use is apparent and which, at present, are solely articles of adornment. Nevertheless, it is probably impossible that the finer feelings were stirred before

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#171 301 [128] With this the most essential constituents of the chain ornaments have probably been enumerated; in the later chapter on the plastic art of our Indians I shall come back to details, insofar as all kinds of figures were also carved and ground.

[751] I am unable to say to what extent useful and therapeutic effects were attributed to individual objects. That the "ornament" was often "talisman" is shown by the fact that, as mentioned, children and pregnant women were the most bedecked. If the remains of a matchbox were also hung around, this, too, did not originate from a sense of beauty. The grass beads of the Bakairí greatly resembled fine fish-bones, but I obtained such a chain only with the greatest difficulty; in the eyes of their owners they were decidedly "more beautiful" than those with fish beads, because they were rarer.

#171 301 Daubing and painting. Why do the Indians daub themselves with oil color, either with black, like those who are less familiar with the orlean bush, or with red, as the others prefer? To frighten the enemy by means of display and disfigurement? This is certainly a practical use, but only for this particular instance.

[822] Could the love of color explain everything? If so, we are obliged to recognize the delight in black as a primary sensation of pleasure. In that case we should have to note #171 301 824 with amazement that a natural source has eluded our Indians, a source used so profusely in Polynesia, for example, and one that is abundantly available for this purpose even in the river-forest area which is relatively poor in flowers -- neither men nor women adorned themselves with flowers. I believe the only question that Antonio asked me of his own initiative was the following in Cuyabá: "Why do the women wear flowers in their hair?" The idea that it is done in order to adorn oneself with gay colors was worlds removed from his way of thinking. No, the gay parrot feathers only later developed into colored ornaments; first came the pleasure in the hunt or in animal life and the boastfulness concerning the hunter's

/190 cont./

*171 304 characteristically, wore on his arm the two tattoo lines of the Mehinakú women, painted on, to be sure, and not tattooed. I believe, but cannot maintain and prove, that there is a connection here with the system of matriarchy. According to the Indian [819] conception, the sons belong to the tribe of the mother, and in every case they visit the tribal village of the mother under peaceful circumstances. It is certain that the Mehinakú women and the Mehinakú pots bore their home stamp.

II. Sexualia.

*171 291 The devices among men and women are not coverings. Protection of the mucous membrane and benefits with the onset of puberty. Origin among the women, however, as bandage and cushion, among the men as gymnastic treatment for phimosis.

*171 291 83 Our natives do not have any secret body parts. They joke about them in word and picture with such complete ingenuousness that it would be foolish to call them indecent. They envy us for our clothing as though for a valuable ornament; they put it on and wear it in our company with such utter disregard of our simplest rules and such complete misunderstanding of all the devices designed for them that their paradisiacal naïveté is [801] most convincingly proved. Some of them celebrate /191/ the onset of puberty for both sexes with noisy folk festivals, in which general attention and boisterousness is demonstratively [802] concerned with the "private parts." If a man wishes to tell a [801] stranger that he is the father of another or a woman wishes to introduce herself as the mother of a child, they gravely acknowledge themselves as worthy begetters in that, with the most spontaneous and natural explanation in the world, they grasp the organs from which life issues.

● 128 Hence it is not possible to understand these people properly unless we leave aside our ideas of "clothing," unless we take them as they are and as they prove themselves in their own way. Keeping in mind as our point of departure the fact that they have

/191 cont./

128 only their natural skin and no artificial fabric cover over their bodies, we must ask ourselves first of all whether the skin, in its relation to an external world to which it is directly exposed, can be affected by the changes of sexual life, and we must in any case approach this subject with clinical frankness and not with the idea of a civilized human being who is suddenly required to undress. Let us begin with a survey of the various methods used among the individual tribes for the treatment of the partes pudendae from the time of maturity on, and only from this time on. They do not at any point apply to children.

§171 29 302 Among the Kulisehu tribes, with the exception of the Trumaí, the men do not show anything very special at first glance. The pubic hair is plucked; they wear only a belt-cord in the form of a cotton string on which are occasionally strung small pieces of stalks or bored seed kernels or tiny pieces of snail shell, but usually in such a way that the greater part of the string is left free. One might examine the photographs, for example, Plate 14 / see p. 163/: one finds the hip cord, without exception, on every man. Often, instead of the string, there is a hank of cotton, as in the case of one of the Nahuquá, page 71* or in the picture of the Bakairí Izuhu, Plate 6 /see

*The Nahuquá on the left lacks a hip cord because it came into our possession shortly before the picture was taken.

p. 40/. It was in the case of this particular youth, who had reached maturity a short while before and had not yet finished removing his pubic hair, that I learned about the purpose of the hip cord, which is of interest to us here. Up until then I had regarded it, along with the hank of cotton, as a carrying cord, often provided with decoration, for people who have no pockets, or as a supply of binding material that was always at hand, but in fact light tools, such as shells and fish teeth or the comb or knives given by us, were worn, not on the hip cord, but on the chest or back on a string around the neck. Also, the very

2. Steinen--1954, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP3

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III. Hunting, Agriculture, and "Stone Age" Culture.

Population figures. Location of the villages. Combination of ancient agriculture and the world view of hunters. Hunting and fishing must furnish the most important tools for the tribes lacking metal; for whom the expression "Stone Age" is incorrect. Stone-ax monopoly, teeth, bones, shells, feathers. List of useful plants and distribution according to tribes. No bananas. Plant names as evidence of continuous development. Lack of intoxicating flour-beverages proves that simplicity is not the same as degeneration. Combination of hunting and agriculture made possible through the division of labor of the sexes. Indian women do the agriculture, they invent pots to replace gourds; the men do the roasting, the women the boiling. Culture with agriculture, pottery, and the preparation of flour was spread and maintained by foreign women after wars, in particular by Na-Aruak women.

B 161 128 The population of the Schingú /Xingu/ source region probably amounts to approximately 2500-3000 souls. I am not in a position to give more than a very superficial estimate. Even in the third Bakairí village, the young women and girls fled into the woods when we arrived. Usually the fugitives gradually returned, to be sure, but we never knew for certain whether we were seeing before us the normal number of inhabitants. The opposite also occurred, namely, that visitors from the neighboring villages had come in, and the company surrounding us seemed too large. B 162 121 The smallest villages consisted of only two family-houses, the largest of almost 20. In general, it will be correct if one reckons for the villages, depending on their size, a population of 30 to 150 and, where it is high, up to 200 inhabitants.

J 341 181 Only the Trumaí and, beyond Schingú-Kobbenu, the Suyá lived along the river bank. These were the most warlike and restless tribes. One might regard the Suyá as the pike in a B [341] fish pond. The rest lived in peaceful security, often more than two hours of travel inland from the river. But while the river in B 33 439 the region of the Bakairí /Bacairi/ was still narrow and had

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580 fire-maker. I also remembered the stick of pressed dry cow dung which is allowed to glow for many hours on the decks of Indian ships for the use of smokers. Perhaps a corresponding use of wood dust is to be found here and there. Wood shavings were used by us in historical Germany up to the beginning of this century, along with flint and steel.

V. Weapons, Implements, Industry.

Bows and arrows. Throwing stick. Club. Canoe. Fishing implements. Plaiting and textile work. Burití and cotton hammocks. Gourd vessels. Pottery.

• 128 I have reported on the settlements, the way of life, and the tools of our Indians, insofar as they present peculiarities. What remains to be said about one implement or another will follow naturally within the framework of the description of arts and crafts, which, on account of the many new things, requires a special survey. On the other hand, it is advisable to say a little more about the appearance and the use of the weapons, as well as about the simplest craft skills.

• 171 411 Bows and arrows are the only weapon common to all our Indians. Clubs are used among the Suyá and Trumaí. Nowhere are there lances. Nowhere blowguns and poisoned arrows. Only [654] the sorcerer has a kind of theoretical poisoned arrow when, as we shall see, he secretly and with powerful witchcraft hurls poisoned twigs at his victim. At any rate, the idea of a projectile poison comes before us here.

/229/ Bows and arrows are distinguished by their size, the arrows by the extremely neat and pleasing workmanship. The length of the bows is more than two and a third meters, that of the arrows one and a half to almost two meters. The wood [424] of the bow is yellowish or light brown and comes from the arará tree, Tecoma, and others. We found palm wood in only a few [531] bows of the Tupí tribes. here, too, the bow was plaited round with cotton in an attractive pattern, something unknown among [533] the other tribes. The bowstring is twisted out of tucum fiber.

2 Steinen--249 Ep-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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I shall discuss the reed diadems and plaited dance costumes in the chapter on masks.

Textile work. The material: pineapple silk, aloe hemp, palm fiber from the tucum and buriti, and cotton. The fibers are put in neat bundles, and twisted on the thigh, but the cotton tufts, on the other hand, are drawn out into a thread by means of the spindle likewise made to turn rapidly on the thigh and then spinning freely. Only the women spin and weave. The fiber strings serve as the actual tie-threads and ropes; fish nets, carrying nets, in certain cases hammocks, and finally bowstrings are made of them. Knitting is done with bamboo rods or long wooden needles that have eyes.

Fig. 32. Fire fan (1/2 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

The spindle is a disk through which is stuck a thin, not very straight, and smoothly worked stick sometimes notched at the tip. To it is attached a tuft of cotton, bead of seeds, whereupon the whorl is rapidly turned on the thigh and the whole allowed to hang. As a result of the even rotation, the cotton is twisted into a thread. The thread is wound on the little stick, until a thick, cone-shaped ball rests against the whorl, which prevents it from slipping off. Diameter of the whorl-disk, five and a half to six centimeters, length of spindle shaft, 30-35 centimeters. The whorl usually consists of a piece of the ventral shell of the turtle,

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into bowls, the fresh fruits are wound with palm fiber and scratched along it with a shell. If a bowl cracks during use, it is sewed: the small holes are bored with the pointed tooth of the dogfish and the sewing is done with a buriti thread rubbed with wax, the knots of which are cut off close to the shell by the tooth edge ground knife-sharp. The drawings that decorate the surface are incised with the same tooth, unless one prefers to burn them in with a red-hot stick. The drinking bowls and small ladle-gourds or spoons are given a coating of black lacquer on the inside. The lacquer is the soot of the charred buriti shaft mixed with the yellow, sticky liquid extract of the grated rind of the ochogohi tree from the campo cerrado /densely covered campo/. Special small, spherical gourds served to hold the oil with which the body was rubbed and were closed with a stopper; the Bakairi called the fruit pitu. They sometimes hung in a closely plaited net. I shall consider the rattle gourd in connection with the dance music.

Pottery. In the chapter on the "Stone Age" culture, cf. pages 217 ff., I have discussed in detail the origin of the pots in our region, the monopoly of the Nu-Aruak tribes, and the manufacture limited to only the female sex. Only in the later chapter on the plastic arts, when the development of Indian art has become clear, shall I be in a position to speak of the ornamental aspect of the pots.

Three types of pots were distinguished according to size and purpose. First, the huge mawukizu of the Mehinaku, in which the grated mandioca root was cooked; they had a diameter of almost three-fourths of a meter. We were unable to bring home any of these pots, but took a photograph among the Auetö, from which their shape and, since a man -- by rights it should have been a woman -- is squatting beside it, also their size are clear. Cf. Plate 15 /see p. 253/. The largest and most attractive pots are furnished by the Waurá. For cooking they were set on three low clay feet of cylindrical shape and bulging at the bottom.

A second type, the cooking pot for fruit and small fish, had a diameter of 18-20 centimeters, a height of about 12 centimeters. It was round with rather steep, slightly bulging walls and sometimes had a rim two and a half centimeters wide and

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532 /286 cont./

On the Batovy we found fish (Fig. 75 /see p. 320/) crudely carved out of hard bark and pierced for hanging up, 30-40 centimeters long, flat and wide, with fins or band-like without fins, and the gill cover marked by a curve, just as in the thombes drawings of fish one corner is filled in to represent the head. We found similar fish in 1887 among the Nahuquá. Here, however, they are whizzer sticks, which I shall discuss under musical instruments in the chapter "Mask Ornamentation and Dance Ornaments, III" /see pp. 381 - 387/.

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The mandioca digging-sticks among the Mehinakú showed a carved decoration of great interest. The ordinary digging-stick is a smooth, pointed stick made of hard wood 60-65 centimeters long and of exactly the same shape as the ornamental stick of Fig. 76 /see p. 320/, which is decorated with the meranchu design and plaited round in several places. These pointed sticks take the place of the spade. Now it occurs to imaginative minds /Fig. 76 appears here/ to carve the head and part of the body of the digger wasp, a little animal that also throws up the sand, on the blunt end of the stick. See Fig. 77 /see p. 322/. The first picture of the series shows us this motif in the first stage. we see the constricted body sharply set off and on it the head with an eye of wax on either side (cf. also Fig. 78 /see p. 322/. In the three following pictures the figure is stylized, the last one, a simple point, does not seem to be connected with this development, but it is striking that the /285/ pointed piece is set off on a free edge. Figures 2, 3, and 4 are thus stylized digger wasps; they would be as little recognizable as such as are the horses' heads on many a gable of the farmhouses in Pomerania, if one /Fig. 77 appears here/ did not know their story, and without it they would certainly be regarded as purely ornamental. In our case the motif is truly motivated. the Indians laughingly demonstrated for me how they themselves tear up the ground, just as the /Fig. 78 appears here/ digger wasp burrows and throws up the sand. The Mehinakú called it kukili, the Bakairi kotogkoling.

2: Steinen--430E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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539 more natural than that the tatú, well known for quickly digging itself in, should, as soon as it eludes its pursuer, make a group of those star holes. All that was missing for establishing the game of escape and pursuit was the quarrel, and the "apple of discord," for which again is chosen the favorite fruit, which is round and has butter-yellow meat, but any other might have been chosen. In short, the story originates, without any great power of invention, by making a connection between the characteristics of one of the heavenly animals that presented itself through the natural stimulus and a suitable group of stars that attracts the attention of the inquiring mind. Then the name runs "the giant armadillo comes out." All that is required is the interest that produces the question, and the explanatory ideas are inevitable.

773 128 One generation may have contributed this, another generation that. To continue the analysis up to the final details is simply impossible, if one because the comparative material with other Karaiben tribes is very meager.

K1 655 S12 Transformation. A large part of the Bakairí explanation of nature rests on the supposition of sorcery. They have no development, but only transformation. This takes place in two ways.

The first is that a dead person is blown upon and comes to life, or that a thing is blown upon and comes to life. To the dead person the breath which he lacks is given back; to the thing, breath is imparted and with it life. This blowing, proceeding from the most natural attempt at resuscitation, and the tobacco-blowing of the modern medicine man must not be confused. The weak newborn babies in Maigéri (cf. p. 392), for whose life one feared, were blown upon day and night, but not with tobacco. It was only in practice that the two methods merged. The blowing of tobacco smoke on a patient was merely added by transference to the smoking of the doctor -- which, as we have seen (cf. p. 407), is merely the easiest and most pleasant of the various types of narcosis otherwise induced by drinking, on the use of which his art seems to be based. It has probably long been forgotten that by

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793 how powerfully, from time immemorial, civilization was seized by the attraction toward the west; all the tribes who bury their dead -- since they cannot place a compass in the grave -- with the face toward the rising sun, are supposed to have come from the east. "Where does Keri live?" I asked Antonio. "In heaven." "But in which direction?" "In the east; that is where he keeps the sun. The pot that covers it at night stands in his house." Old Caetano called Keri the "Imperador" /emperor/, and he, too, had him living in the east, namely, in Rio de Janeiro. I do not see the slightest reason for mixing up the first act in heaven of the Keri myth with a migration myth. The sun was there before Keri; he simply regulated its course. If he goes with the sun, he must live in the east or the west; the Bakaïrí decided on the east and could now have easily come to the conclusion, which they did not draw, that their ancestors came from there. The ancestors, however, could not very well have lived in the east wherever this conclusion is drawn. It need not cause surprise, however, that Keri goes with the sun, since he is merely the person who was added to the sun in the story by way of explanation, and since the person who is supposed to represent the founder of the tribe and who is linked with the most important achievements has been added to the story, the culture hero must also be the "god of light."

II. The Texts.

The parents of Keri and Kame. Origin and death of the mother. The latter avenged. Sun, sleep, and buriti hammock. Heaven and earth interchanged. Fire. Rivers. To the salto of the Paranatinga. House, fishing, festival dances, tribes. Departure of Keri and Kame. Tobacco and cotton. Mandioca; deer antlers. The ugly ostrich. Keri and the campo fox out hunting. The jaguar and the ant bear.

188 113 539 I have published the original texts of the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ legends, with interlinear translation, in the Bakaïrí-Grammatik.

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128 539 Here I shall try to relate their content, which, to be understood, requires the essential supplements furnished by Antonio. They themselves consist of very short sentences and have an extremely terse form of expression.

539 The parents of Keri and Kame. The first part of the legend takes place in heaven. Almost everything that is now on earth existed at that time. Nothing is reported about an actual creation; it is only told how the heroes Keri and Kame acquire all kinds of good and important things from others. There were always Bakaïrí present, though "at the beginning /373/ only a few." There were also people of other tribal affiliations, especially the various jaguars and their relatives, who killed and devoured many Bakaïrí. For example, Kamuschini, with whom the story begins, was also "of another people."

Kamuschini, when he was looking for leaves of the tucum palm in the forest in order to provide himself with cord for bowstrings, met the jaguar Oka, was afraid of him, and promised to make women for him if he would spare him. First he felled trees with red wood (sewéti), took the blocks home, set them in a maize mortar, blew on them, and withdrew for a while. When he returned, however, they had all turned into men who were carving arrows! He killed them, went out again and with a stone axe felled five or six other trees, proceeded with them as with the first, and, after he had left the ones blown upon to themselves for a while, found that this time they had become women. They all said "Papa" to him and, with the exception of the last ones who sat there lazily and whom he therefore angrily killed at once,* they were busily pounding maize -- "it is said that there

* For five of them I was given the names Nimagakaniro, Atanumagale, Ichoge, Koyaka, and Tawagüri. In Bakaïrí-Grammatik, p. 226, I erroneously said that Kamuschini felled five pikí trees, and besides that I was guilty of accusing Kamuschini of an error. He first felled two pikí trees, from which came

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000 a whole into its halves. Objects furnish the empirical limit of the "2" gesture. Dependence on sense of touch. Confirmation by etymology.

B 171 802 [128]

The art of counting was the least developed among the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/. With regard to the other tribes I shall limit myself to a few remarks, since I am giving the numbers in the word list /omitted in the translation; see the foreign text, pp. 524-547/.

B 171 802 I 171 802

All tribes counted the fingers of both hands first and then the toes of both feet. With the exception of the Bakaïrí, they commenced with the thumb of the right hand, counted up to 5 on the fingers, went over to the thumb of the left hand, counted up to 10 here, and repeated the procedure in exactly the same way for the feet.

If one regards the number words in terms of their formation, one observes among all the tribes that they have separate words for 1, 2, 3, with the exception of the Bakaïrí, whom I shall ignore for the time being, and the Trumaí, for whom, however, the records contain much that is uncertain; among the Trumaí the word for 2, hurs, is contained in the one for 3, hurstamé. On the other hand, the Trumaí and, besides them, only the Waurá (uncertain) and the Kamayurá /Camayura/ have an entirely new word for 4, whereas among all the others 4 is represented by 2 altered by an addition.

For 5 the Trumaí and the Auetó have a new word that has nothing to do with "hand." Among all the others, always with the exception of the Bakaïrí, "hand" is contained in the 5. The Kamayurá say "hand stops," yenepó momáp (Guaraní mombáb, to stop), the potter tribes say "1 hand," the Nahuquá simply "hand."

The numbers 6, 7, 8, 9 are formed out of 1, 2, 3, 4 with an addition. It is only among the Kamayurá that the latter is different for 6 and 7 than for 8 and 9. For 6 and 7 = 1 and 2 + verowák, the meaning (Guaraní guerobág) seems to be: 1 or 2 are interchanged, alternate.

/406/ Among the potter tribes and probably also the Auetó 10 contains the hands, among the others the word is a new one.

2: Steinen--657 E,D-5 (1894, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Guayaki SM4
Zamuco SK14
Chamacocos
Mbayá SK11
Guaicuru

/549 cont./

B 128 129 I shall further give the comments of 1846 and, in brackets, add the little that is worth knowing from later years found in the booklet of the Directoria, which otherwise contained almost solely personal and administrative notes.

G 105 145 1. Cayuás. Little known. Rather numerous. Are sedentary and carry on agriculture.

Z 175 105 [131] [233] 2. Chamococos. Scattered over a large forest area south of Coimbra near Bahia Negra in small groups that seldom unite. Strong, good workmen, not very intelligent. Hunters, engage in a little horse-breeding. Naked, the women cover their nakedness with a fabric of embira de caraguata.* Bags for foodstuffs are

* Bromeliae spinosa, commonly "gravata."

made out of the same material. No other industry. Occasionally at war with a tribe of the same name in the west. Sell their Z [439] children to Guaycurús and Guanás for axes, horses, and cotton cloth. Not hostile, but not inclined to make contact; four or five speak Portuguese. Once a year, at most, a few come to Miranda or Albuquerque. Like to become intoxicated and to steal also.

M 175 105 [131] 162 342 231 3-6. Guaycurús Cadiuéos. Famous in ancient times for their resistance. About 800 on both banks of the Paraguay below Coimbra. In various hordes. Live in tents made of poles and skins or mats. Hunting, fishing, no agriculture. Many horses, some wool-bearing animals, pigs, chickens. No industry. Eternally at war with their neighbors, at peace with Brazil. Proud and treacherous; come with plaited work to barter for whiskey, horses, etc.

M [131] [162] [Report 1872: Guaycurús Beaquéos. About 100 individuals in one village near Miranda. Hunting, fishing. Maize, pororóca,** mandioca, batatas, cará, gourds, sugar cane. A

** Also pipóca, a variety of maize most suitable for a biscuit like pastry.

/226 cont./

194 There are no words beginning with b, except for bakadri, or d, or k, or y, or l, or r; two words given by Steinen with initial r are rendered more correctly: arapadura, Otomuo.

Initial p, m, t, b, kx, when transferred to the middle by the addition of prefixes and even of independent words, are transformed respectively into w, d, y. In the middle of words there is a frequent change of p to b, t to d, m to w, with nasalization of the preceding vowel; of y to ñ, l to r, r to n, ç to h.

The accent is put on the penult, except when the last syllable ends in ã or ẽ, in which case the accent passes to it. The accent is also shifted when two words run together through elision: e.g., bakadri, accent on the penult, on the d; bakar'idamu, accent on the kãc, as though spelled bakãcidãmu.

There are no diphthongs, properly speaking, but vowels may be compressed together in such a way as to produce the impression of diphthongs.

128 Now that the reader knows more or less how to read Kuma-itano, he may practice on the following text, /227/ which is accompanied by an interlinear translation; it will serve as the basis for a brief grammatical outline, and it is unpublished, like all those that we shall present.

/248 cont./

123 These few lines indicate how much could be done on these grounds yet to be explored.

/249/ And now that this linguistic step has been overcome and the reader already has a slight idea of the sounds and forms of Kowa-itano, let us question the Bacairi concerning their conception of the world, family, and society, their cultural acquisitions, their migrations, etc.

Four, or at most five points will suffice for this.

/250/

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II
The Conception of the World

The Bacairi believe that man consists of two elements: kwãnopãri, "our shadow, going /andadurs/ or running /correndo/," and ketati, "our shirt," or kwãnubu, "our skin." They may be translated as "body and soul," but the translation is inadequate.

The shadow puts on and takes off its shirt with ease and often, going out and coming in, now normally, now abnormally, now temporarily, now permanently.

The egress is normal when there is shouting, because the shadow, with the same speed with which it goes to the place where the echo rebounds, returns to its skin, or when one is sleeping and dreaming. When sleep becomes agitated, it indicates the ascent of hills, the fording of streams, or evil encounters. The person who is asleep is not awakened, for the shadow may not yet have put its shirt back on (10).

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10. Matias Ruiz Blanco in his Conversión de Piritú /Conversion of Piritu/, published in 1690, gives a variant of the same idea among the Indians of that region, who, like the Bacairi, were also

/11/

I. Historical Data on the Bakairí /Bacairi/

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The same title which I have given to the present part of this publication was given by Karl von den Steinen to Chapter 14 of his book, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens /Among the Natives of Central Brazil/ (1) in which he deals at

[113]

1. Karl von den Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens. Berlin, 1894, pp. 387-395.

length with the history of the Bakairí up to the year of his second expedition, carried out in the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River in the year 1887, based on comparative literature and on information received from the Bakairí themselves.

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There follows from the research of Karl von den Steinen that in the time prior to his first expedition to the Xingu River, very little was known on the Bakairí, although the western part of these Indians, that is to say, the Bakairí who lived on the Rio Paraatinga and the Rio Novo, had lived for a long time in fairly active contact with the Brazilians and came occasionally to the capital, Cuiabá, to sell the rubber they had produced and to ask for some donatives from the government. Martius, too, knows almost nothing about them, and treats them as if they were a Parecis group. (2) It is noteworthy that Martius

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2. Martius, Zur Ethnographie Amerikas zumal Brasiliens /Toward an Ethnography of the Americas, especially of Brazil/. Vol. I, 1867, p. 779.

already mentions the existence of Bakairí in the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River: "Bacahiri, Bacchyri also live on the southern headwaters of the Xingu River"; (3) but with

3. Ibid., p. 382.

/12 cont./

174 177 619 Brazilians, for otherwise the Bakairí of the Batovy and Kulisehu rivers could not have remained so totally free of /13/ any Euro-
114 175 619 pean influence. In my book, Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien
[642] [113] (5), I discussed at length the causes of this long isolation of the

5. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien. Erlebnisse und Ethnologische. Ergebnisse einer Reise in den Jahren 1900-1901 /Indian Studies in Central Brazil. Adventure and Ethnology. Results of a Journey in the Years 1900-1901/. Berlin, 1905, p. 320.

eastern Bakairí, and among these causes I especially emphasized the hostility which existed between the Bakairí and their neighbors the Kayabí /Cayabi/, who long made unsafe the region located between the settlements of the western and eastern Bakairí. Contact between these two Bakairí groups was re-established when Karl von den Steinen took along with him on his first expedition to the Xingu River, the Bakairí, Antonio, who later became cacique of the Bakairí, so that he had the opportunity to become acquainted with his fellow countrymen who lived on the Rio Batovy. Already in the year 1886, that is, before Karl von den Steinen's second expedition, the Bakairí Felipe, who was then cacique of the Paranatinga Bakairí, had on his part visited, along with the above-mentioned Antonio and another Bakairí, his fellow countrymen on the Rio Batovy and had succeeded in getting some of them to make, in turn, a visit to the Rio Paranatinga.

•128 101 In order to make a connection with Karl von den Steinen's historical report, I shall first refer in a few words to the conditions in which this author found the Bakairí at the time of his second expedition in the year 1887. I shall first deal with the

128 101 361 361 /13 cont./ I shall first deal with the western Bakairí, most of whom lived in two aldeas about two leagues apart, located on the Córrego Sant'Anna, a tributary of the Rio Novo, and the rest on the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires). (6) The Bakairí of the Rio Paranatinga lived at that time

6. Cf. the map drawn by Vogel and published in Karl v.d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit.

in a single aldeia, located 17 kilometers downriver from the mouth of the Piava and right in the narrow river valley. (7)

[113]

7. Cf. Antonio Pyrineus de Souza, Exploração do Rio Paranatinga e seu levantamento topographico bem como o dos Rios S. Manoel e Telles Pires. /Exploration of the Rio Paranatinga and its Topographic Survey as well as that of the São Manoel and Telles Pires Rivers/. Commissão de Linhas Telegraphicas, etc., Publication No. 34, Appendix No. 2. Rio de Janeiro, 1916, pp. 35 and 61.

Besides these Bakairí of the Rio Novo and the Rio Paranatinga, it was said that there were some of these Indians living on the Rio Preto in the vicinity of Diamantino, the remainder of the inhabitants of a settlement of former times, (8) and a few

8. Karl v.d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., p. 387.

individuals working on one ranch or another in the western region of the headwaters of the Rio Paranatinga.

175 /17 cont./
the Paranatinga Bakairí, one of whom, named Charlotta, was
the wife of Cacique Felipe. To the influence of such women,
captured in hostile encounters with the Parecí, we must
attribute, in the first place, the extensive assimilation of the
legends of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga River. (19)

19. Ibid., p. 385.

173 According to the statements of the western Bakairí, the
166 origin of the Bakairí who live in the region of the tributaries
of the Xingu River was due to the fact that, as a result of
quarrels among the Bakairí, who were still living in former
times by the falls, part of them broke away and emigrated to
the Rio Kuliseho. (20) We do not know whether this represents

20. Ibid., p. 391.

a historical fact or merely legendary superstitions of the
175 Paranatinga Bakairí. For lack of any objective knowledge of
the presence of these Indians in former times on the two
tributaries of the Xingu River, the Batovy and the Kuliseho, and
for lack of any statements about their former life by these
/Indians/ themselves, the history of these eastern Bakairí begins
only at the time of Karl von den Steinen's first expedition to
the Xingu River in the year 1884, which brought attention upon
them for the first time and was their first historical event. As
for the first effects of this event, so important for the subsequent
fate of the eastern Bakairí, Karl von den Steinen was already
able to recognize them himself and make use of them in his
175 section "History of the Bakairí." The first mutual visits be-
619 tween the Bakairí of the Paranatinga and their fellow country-
men on the Rio Batovy marked the beginning of relations be-
tween these two Bakairí groups. In what follows we shall deal
• [128] with the manner in which these relations gradually increased,
extending also to the Bakairí of the Rio Kuliseho and influencing

175 /17 cont./
219 in subsequent times to a high degree the history of the two
128 groups of the Bakairí tribe, so different one from the other.

After Karl von den Steinen's second expedition to the
175 Xingu River, the next event in the history of the Bakairí, and especially of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga, was the last expedition of Captain Telles Pires in the year 1889. This explorer, accompanied by Lieutenant Oscar Miranda and 26 boatmen, among whom were also Paranatinga Bakairí, had endeavored to go down the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires) from the mouth of the Rio S. Manuel /São Manuel River/.
175 Among the 21 companions who perished with Telles Pires in
622 this undertaking was Cacique Felipe of the Paranatinga Bakairí, who died of fever on the way. The Bakairí, Bruno, raised and adopted by this cacique, who had accompanied his father, was not heard of again after this excursion and it was supposed
175 that he also had perished. When the Bakairí got the news of
622 their cacique's death, they burned their houses /18/ and abandoned their aldea to settle farther upriver. The harbor of
166 the new aldea, situated like the previous aldea on the left
361 side of the river, was 18 kilometers downriver from the mouth
[103] of the Rio S. Manuel on the Rio Paranatinga, or Rio Telles Pires as it was officially named after the ill-fated undertaking of Captain Telles Pires, and the aldea itself was 1,600 meters inland from the riverbank and 200 meters from the small Corrego do Tatú /"Armadillo Stream"/. (21)

21. A. Pyrineus de Souza, loc. cit., pp. 61, 68, and 69.

175 Who the first cacique of the aldea was after Felipe's death
622 I do not know. At the close of the last decade of the past century, when Antonio Correa da Costa was president of the State of Mato Grosso (in the years from 1895 to the beginning of 1898, with a gap in the year 1897), the cacique of the aldea

/269 cont./

539 fat in order to stay warm. The Indians wanted the sun to come out, and so they dusted their apparel, painted their bodies, and began to ask Orimoto, the great spirit. Orimoto was not an Indian but a man who lived in a stone house with some animals which he had created. The Indians went on asking until finally the light broke out; but the Indians had already grown old and the children had already grown up.

776 The data at our disposal do not permit us to place in Bakairí cosmology beings such as Tchini-ouma, Keri-kamé, or Orimoto and Nakoeri. Nevertheless, we prefer to regard Nakoeri as the supreme being of the Bakairí, leaving to Tchini-ouma, Keri-kamé (the sun and the moon), and Orimoto the role of culture heroes, until new work clarifies their respective functions.

182 13 433 Compelled to deal with a hostile environment, such as the savannas and forests of the headwaters of the Xingu, and lacking an adequate technology, the Bakairí, like the other Xinguano Indians, depended to a large extent on uncertain factors such as the amount of rainfall and the resulting annual increase of waters, which led to a scarcity or an abundance of food. Lacking an adequate technology, they did not store 78 their produce but lived on a subsistence economy. Their hunting and fishing activities were followed by magic rituals with 224 226 which they attempted to control the possibility of sudden future 241 calamities or even of illnesses. Thus agricultural activities 396 and the building of houses or canoes had to be followed by 782 propitiations. In order to utilize the vegetal or animal raw 262 materials, it was necessary to know how to control uncertain elements: How explain, for example, why one canoe splits and another does not, when both were made by the same craftsman? How explain how the same /270/ foods sometimes ap-
77 peared harmless and sometimes made people ill? The system of beliefs of the Bakairí seems to us an interpretation that

Geographically the post is situated directly on a high land removed from the river and cleared of all vegetation, the jungle appearing only as a narrow fringe along the river banks. Like the rest of the high plateau it is wind swept, and generally pleasant. It must be added that contact with white people, such as is had when a small group of natives go to Cayabá, has brought syphilis to them, and it may be their mortality is due to this.

Our occupation enjoyed in former times is denied them, and that is fishing. There are practically no fish in the Paranatinga, at least up to where the post is located. Game must be gotten only on rare occasions, and no hunting is done, the diet is mainly one of vegetables and considerably poorer than when they were living in their original state. This may also explain their lowered resistance to disease.

Very little museum material which represents their own products can be collected from the Bakairi. What has not been gotten from the Importuria has been brought back as curiosities to the Kalhawa. Pottery has not been made since their coming to the post, according to them. The large vessels that they primes called have been brought with them from their former homes or bartered from the tribes on the Kalhawa. It is claimed that the proper clay cannot be found in the neighborhood of Simão Lopes.

Arrows are still being made, an iron nail generally being substituted for the old bone point, but most of the arrows also come from the Kalhawa.

For the old hammock made of palm-leaf fiber the cotton hammock has been substituted, but the same open mill style has been kept.

Shell ornaments have also been brought from the tribes of the Kalhawa. In brief, almost anything that is found in their village must bear the suspicion that it is not a Bakairi product.

However, they have preserved a few customs, such as filing the upper teeth to a point, wearing under the European clothing the gee string, and ceremonial use of the bull-roarer, and they probably remember many of their ceremonies.

The short time spent at the post was mostly devoted to taking anthropometric measurements, which were subsequently lost on the Kalhawa, but as some notes I do find the statement that in blood groupings most belong to groups three and four, the former predominating.

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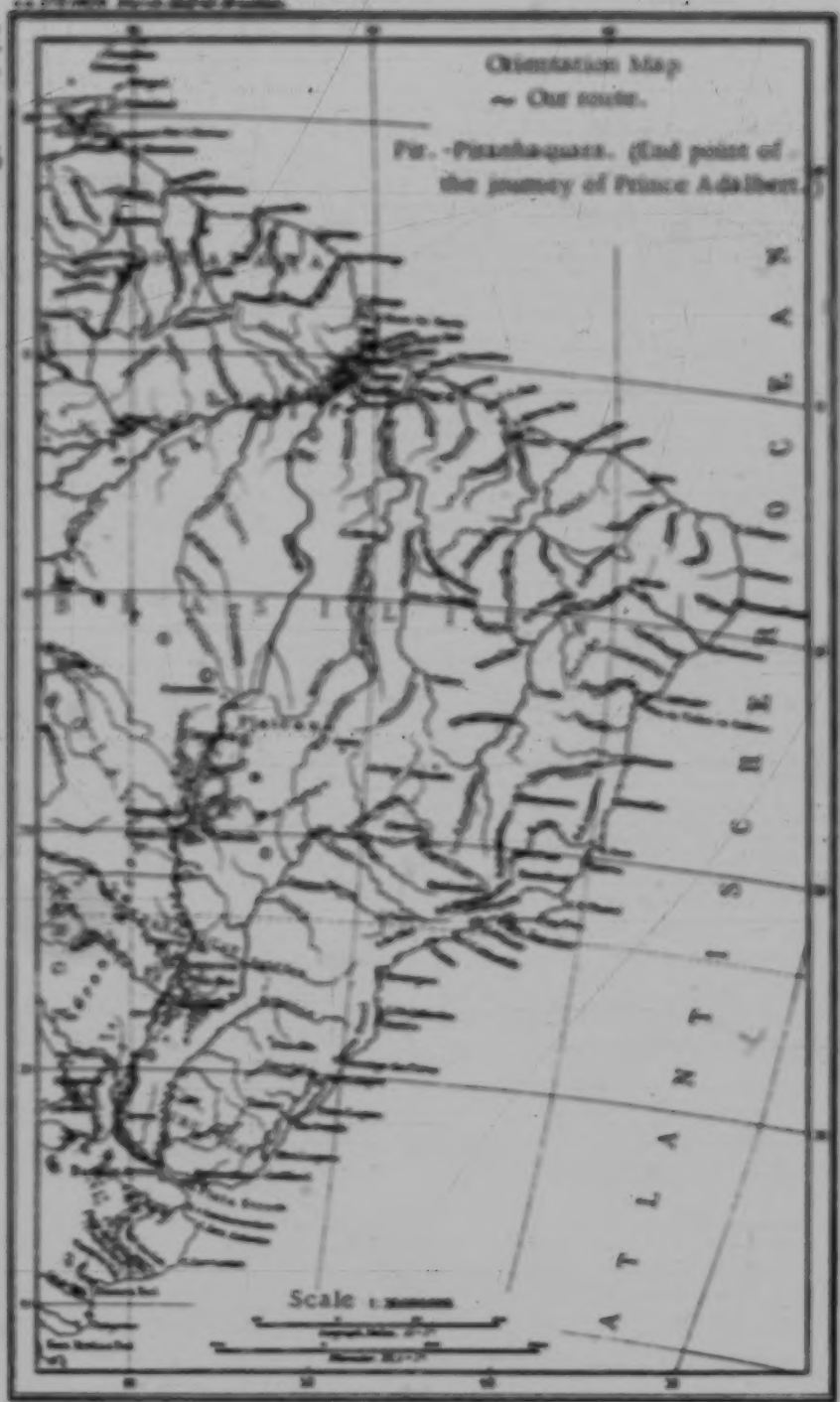

/100 cont./

101 to the Christians. It is said that they are white and friendly; one reason why they are regarded as a tribe of the Paresis."

Martius has them living at the southernmost sources of the Schingú and also lists them at the sources of the Arinos and Juruena. He also classifies /101/ them under the Parecí /Parexi/ who are scattered across the watershed between Tapajos, Madeira, and Paraguay.

101 Now it turns out that placing the Parecí and the Bakairí together in this way was erroneous. The well-known closest relatives of the Bakairí, as I wish to point out briefly in advance, are settled north of the Amazon River, and a tribe somewhat more distantly related to them, but belonging to the same group, lives in the source region of the Madeira. I myself was familiar only with the note of Martius, and on the journey I had no idea how interesting this little tribe was

Bakairí village.

122 and how many hours I would later spend pondering over its past.

It was a very fortunate circumstance that Reginaldo -- who was always ready to smoke a cigarette with me and warmed up more and more and gradually became highly amused by my notations -- had an amazing gift of quick perception and was able to express himself clearly for practical purposes in a somewhat crude Portuguese. Such an opportunity never came again later. Reginaldo was a good person, intelligent, and held the reins of his chieftainship in strong, paternal hands.

/101 cont./

361 [101] There were two settlements of "Jocile" Bakairí: the aldeament on the Rio Novo, as this first was called, after a tributary of the Arinos, and the aldeament on the Paranatinga. The two villages are not yet old; all the adults were born farther up the Paranatinga, on the "Salto" /waterfall; see the glossary, [131] p. 172 /; the Bakairí, however, were probably spread over this entire region in small hordes, as is shown by the fact that they were noted as far as the Rio das Mortes. In the Twenties, when [199] 648 [199] the gold-seeker expedition under the leadership of P. Lopez pushed into this region, they were converted to Christianity, on which occasion, as Reginaldo related, his grandfather and many others lost their lives.

823 /102/ We eagerly inquired as to whether he knew about a river beyond the Paranatinga? Today, he replied, this region is [131] [101] completely strange to them; he remembered from his youth, however, that one was supposed to come to a large river if one went from the Paranatinga toward the rising sun, and on this river there were said to be Bakairí still living, the "antiguos" /the ancients/, who were not Christians.

361 The two aldeamente are under the administration of the 648 [622] "Director dos Indios" in Cuyabá /Cuiabá/. Reginaldo is a Brazilian captain, his successor as chief of the tribe, Joaquim, 361 is a lieutenant. Our seeing no women was due to the fact that they were living in an aldeament two legoas away; the huts which we occupied were used only when the farm work required it or when there were visitors. Reginaldo /illustration appears here/ completely forgot to say how sorry he was that he could greet us only as a gran widower.

[162] The village numbered six huts; the population amounted 342 to 55: 16 men, 19 women, 20 children. The soldiers were usually quartered in the big house that Reginaldo otherwise occupied with a few others: a rectangle 57 paces long and five paces wide, which was divided into a number of separate rooms by means of partitions. We occupied the guest house -- it was only 17 paces [199] long. It was modern construction, learned from the colonists. Twenty minutes away we found two deserted old-style huts,

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Chart of Positions of Map A

/Facing p. 154/

1 Steinen (1884) 1886 SP7 Sacair SP7

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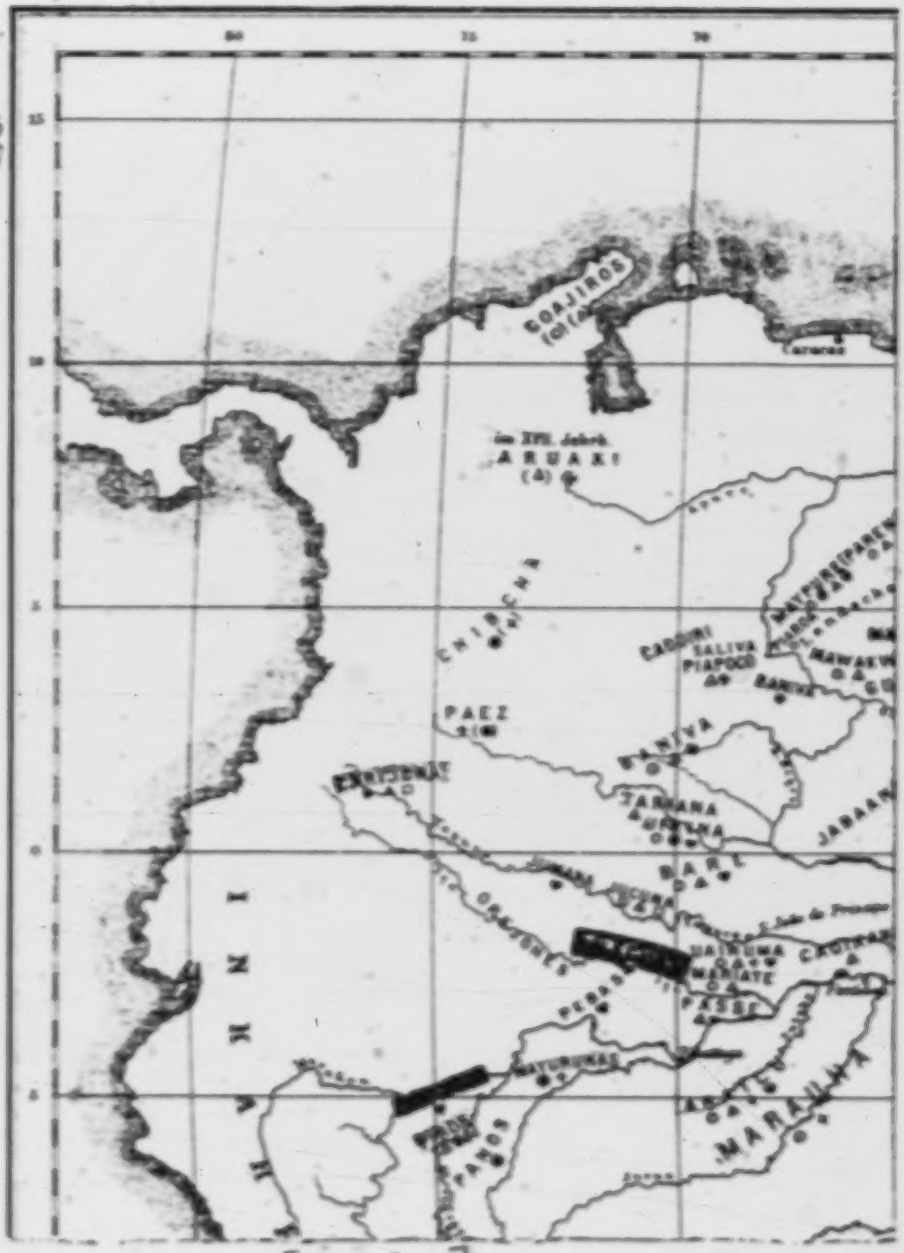

[MAP A-1]

1: Steinen--155 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacain: SP7

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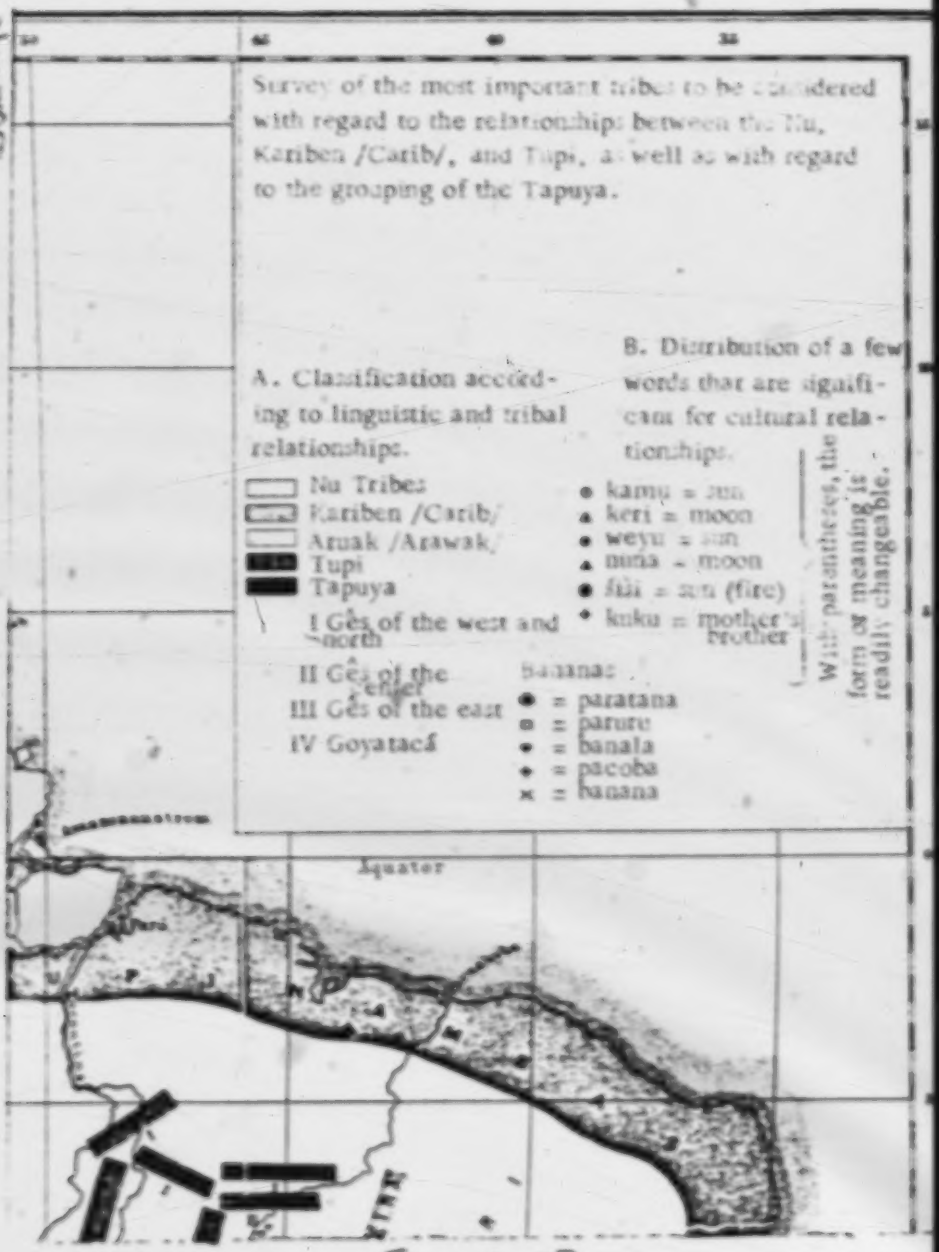
[Map A-2]

1: Steinen--1886 D,L-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 pages: SP7



[Map A-3]

1: Steinen--157 D,5-3 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacaiu SP7

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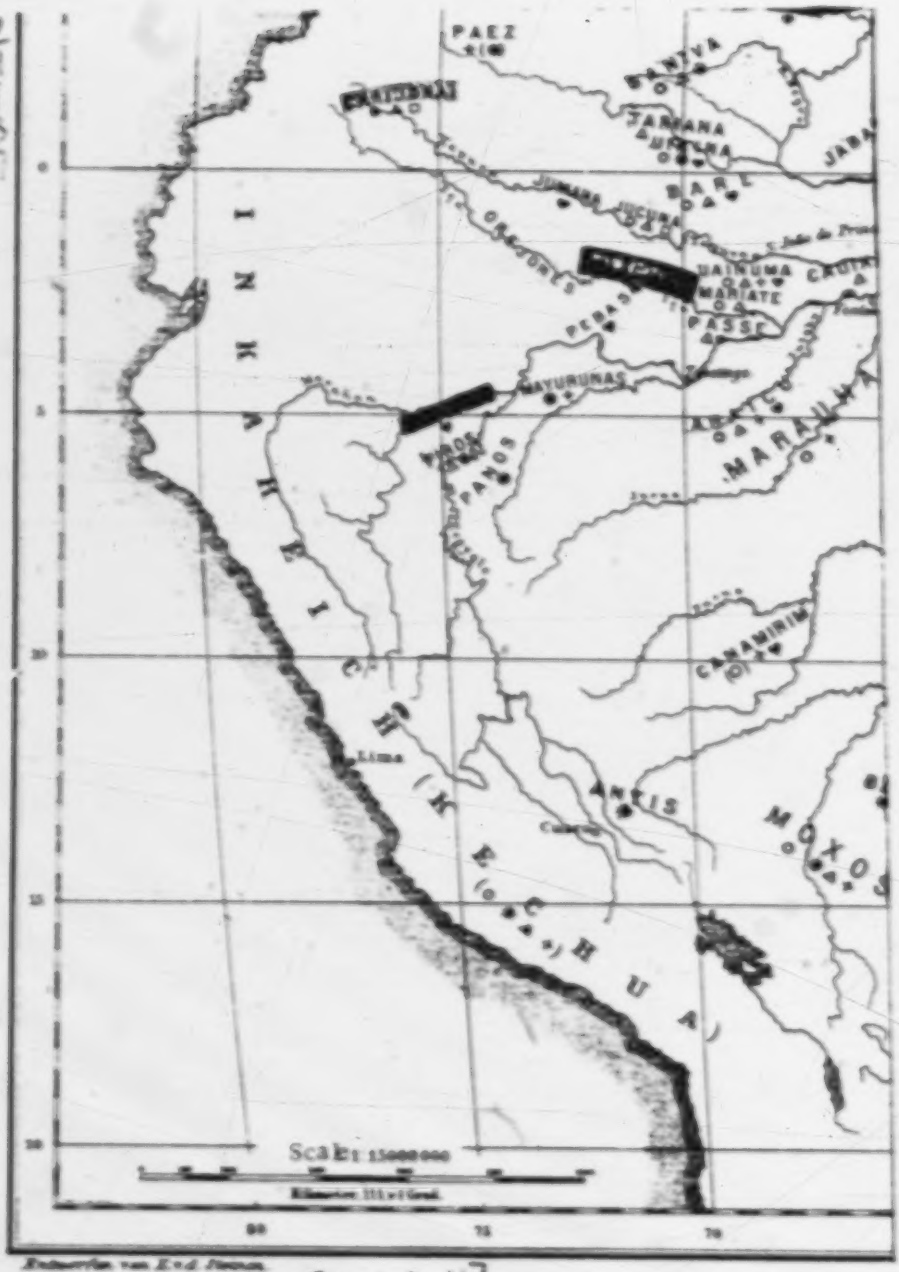

[Map A-4]

1: Steinen--158 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 - SP7 Baca SP7

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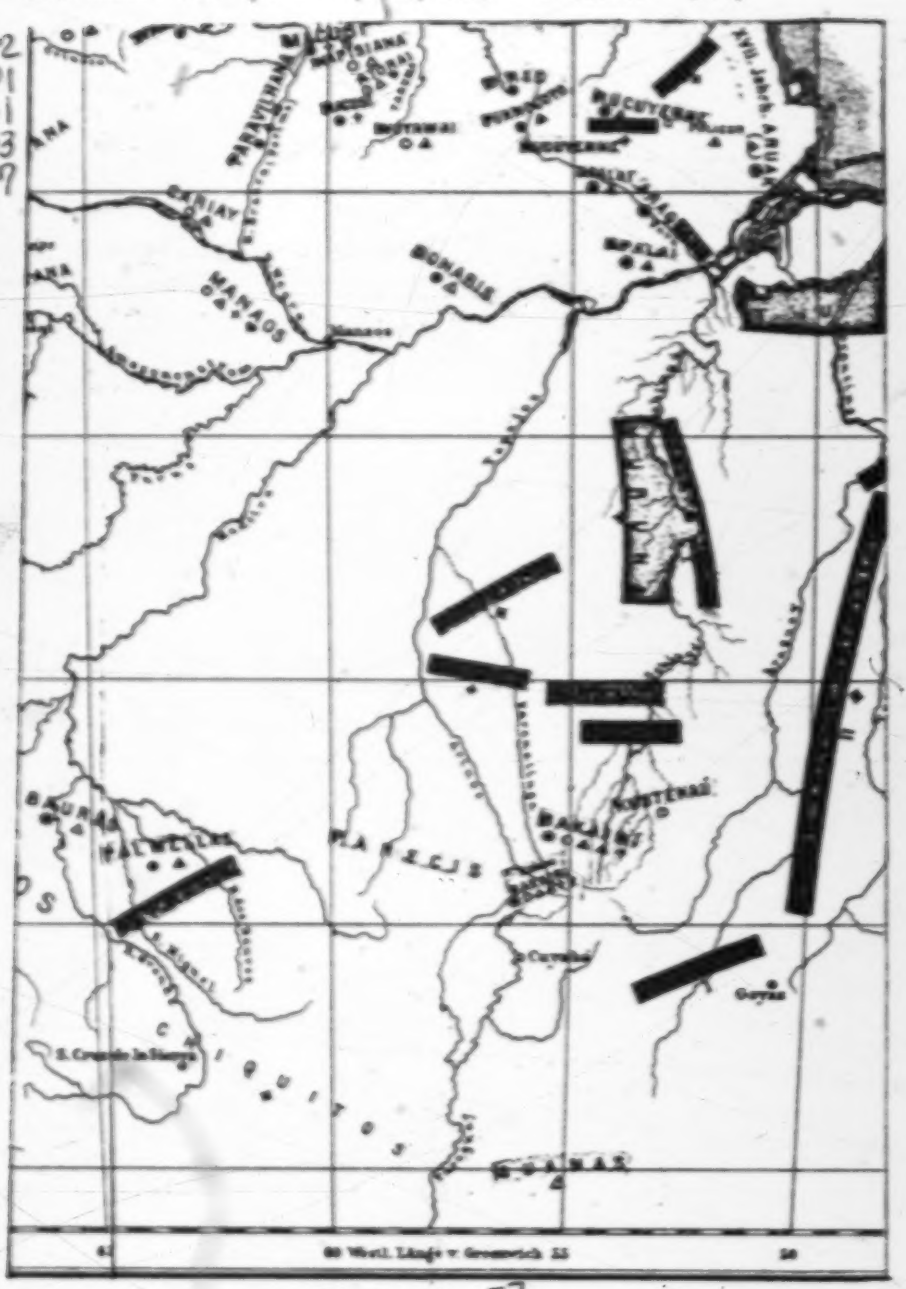

[Map A-5]

1: Steinen--159 D E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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[Map A-6]

1: Steinen
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SP7 Bacairi SP7

A	B	C	D	E	F
G	H	I	J	K	L

Chart of Positions of End Map /Facing p. 173/

I: Steinen--173 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Special map of the Schingú River. From the records and posten- findings of Dr. O. Claus; reduced to the scale of 1:500,000.

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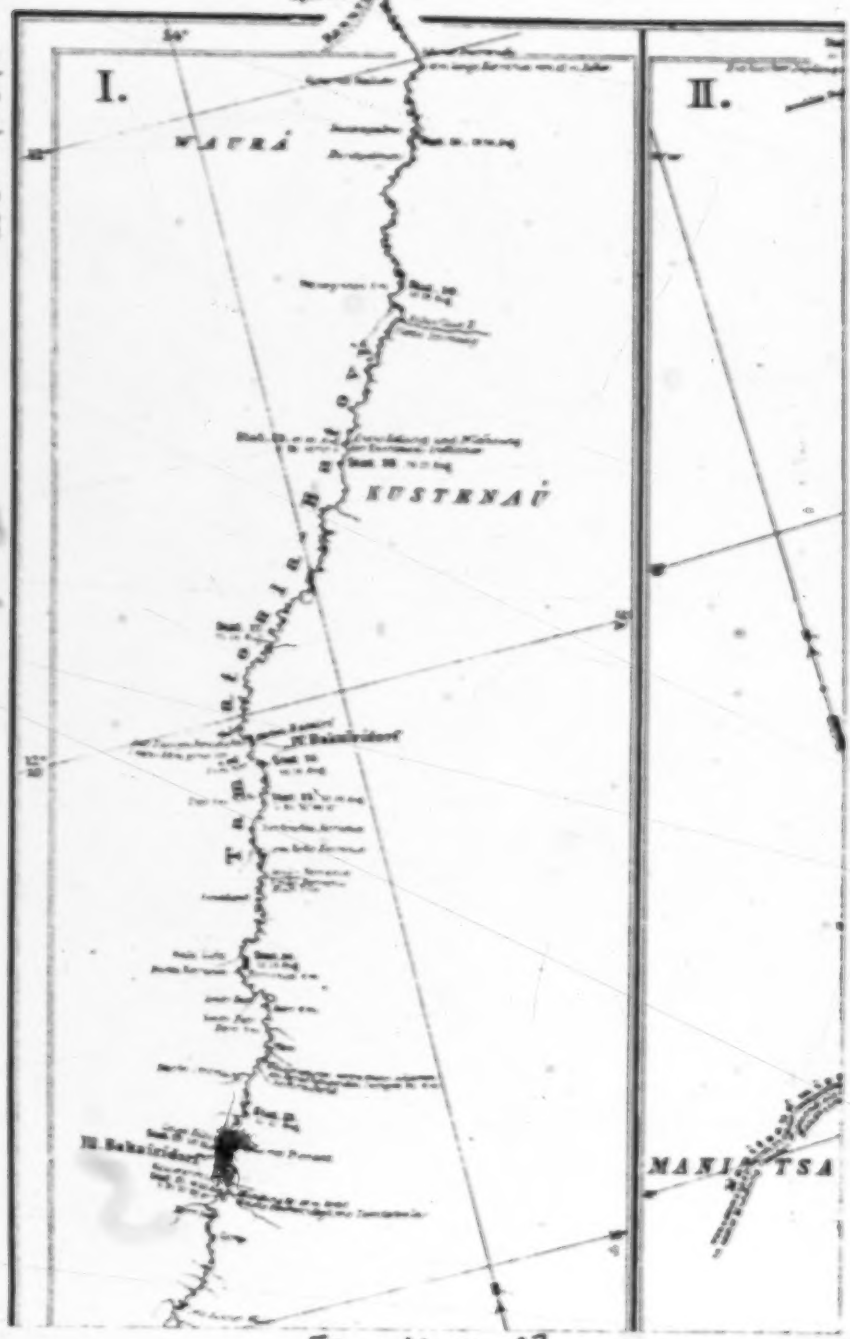

[End Map, A]

1: Steinen--174 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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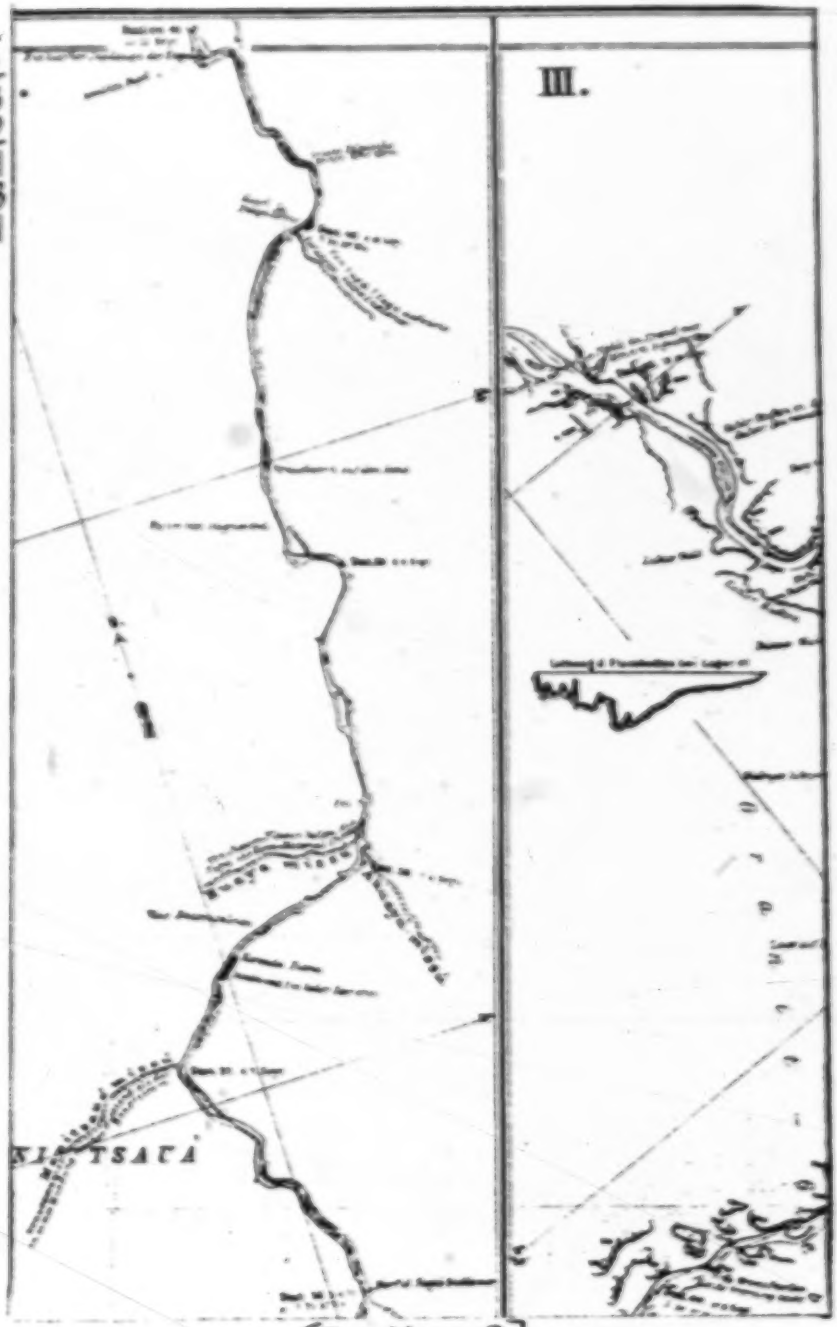

[End Map, B]

1: Steinen--175), E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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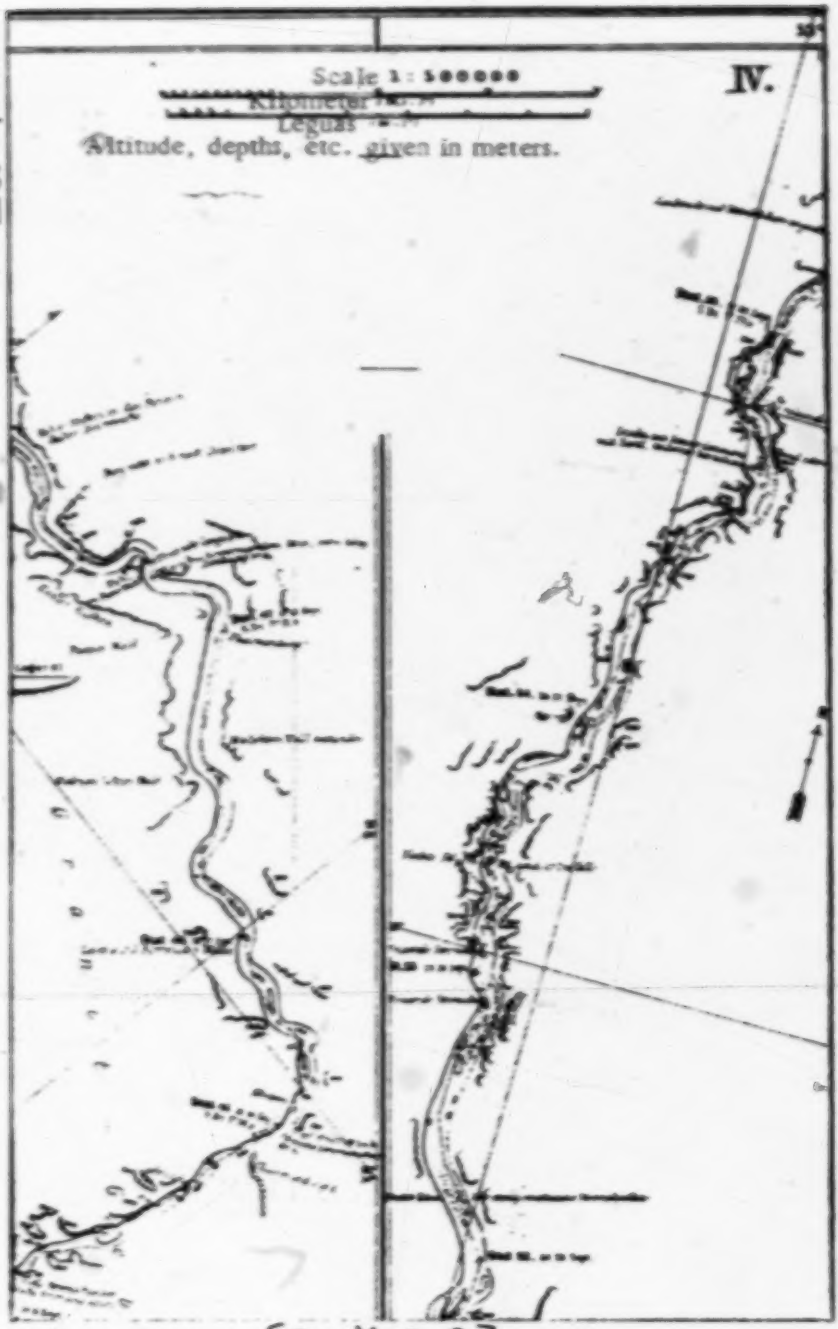

[End Map, C]

1: Steinen--176 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Explanation:

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route of the v. d. Steinen Expedition 1884.

Δ Stat. 34 Stopping places on it, with dates 4, 5 Oct.

In the case of stations determined by astronomical calculations, the latitude that was ascertained is added.

camp = treeless land overgrown with tall grass

= forest

o Seringeiro = Brazilian caoutchouc gatherer

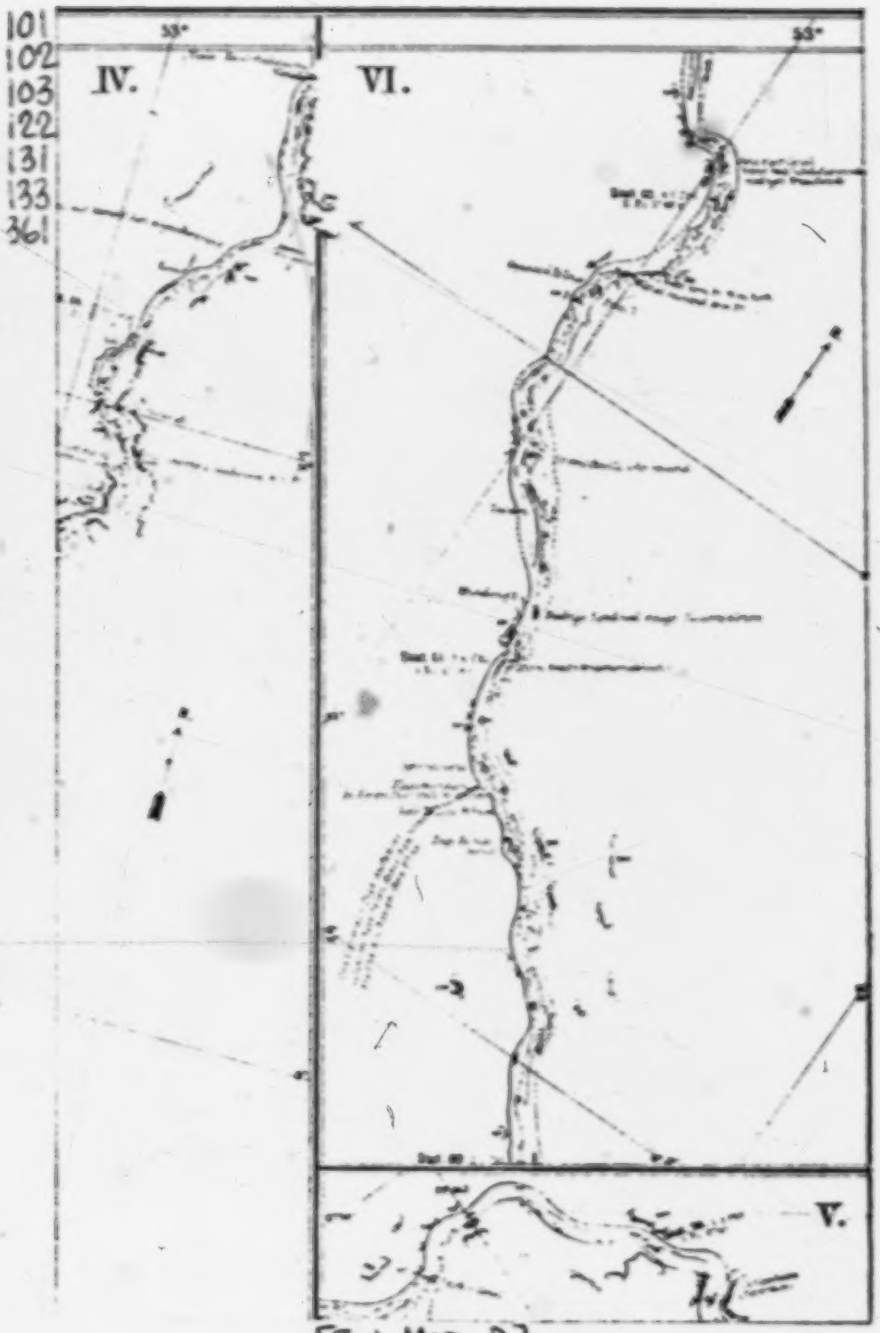
cataracts and rapids

rocks, partly covered with plant growth.
Barranca = steep, sandy shore

sand banks

[Legend Appearing Below scale on End Map, C]

1- Steinen--177 D E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7



[End Map, D]

1: Stellen, 178 DE-5 (1884) 1886 SP SP7

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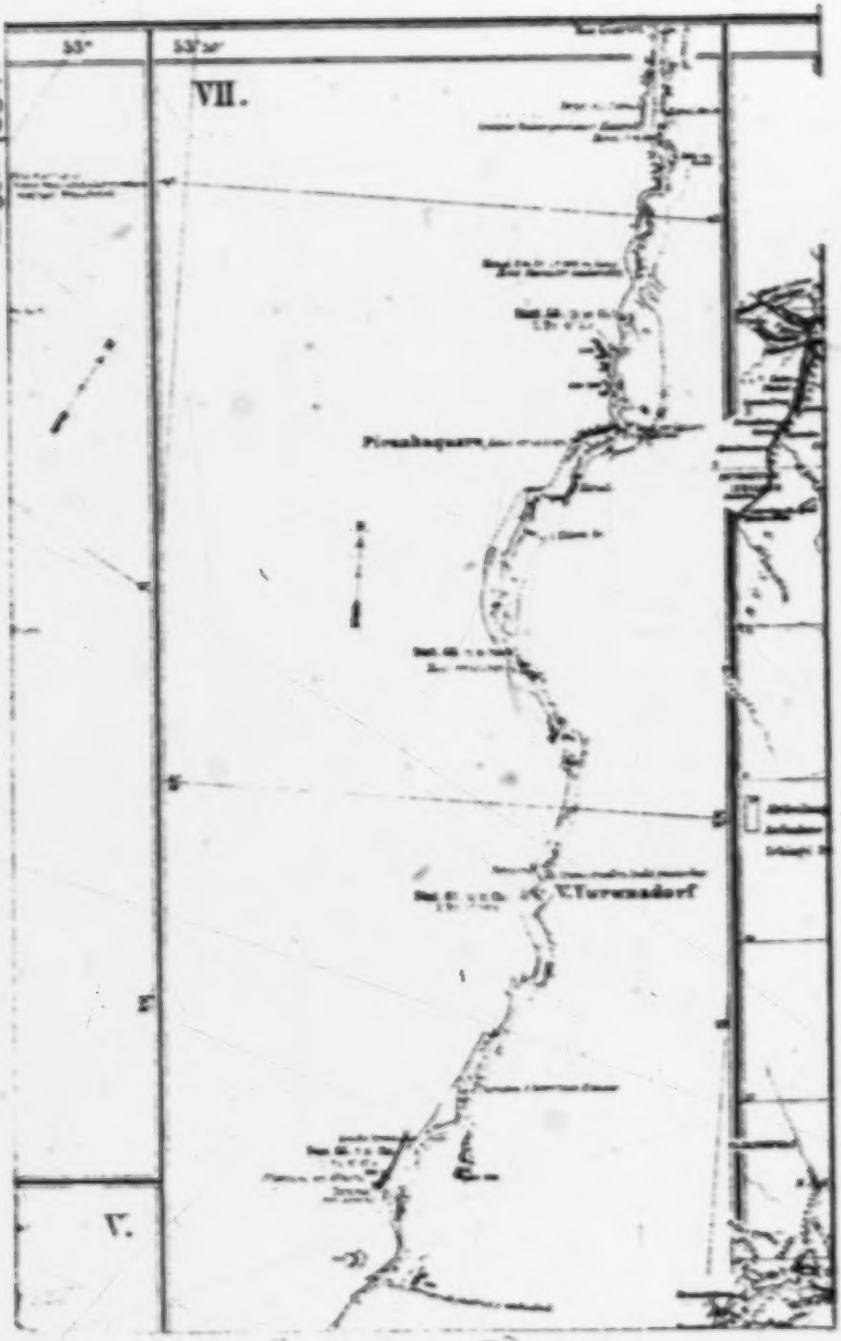

1: Stan--1--179 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Recap SP7

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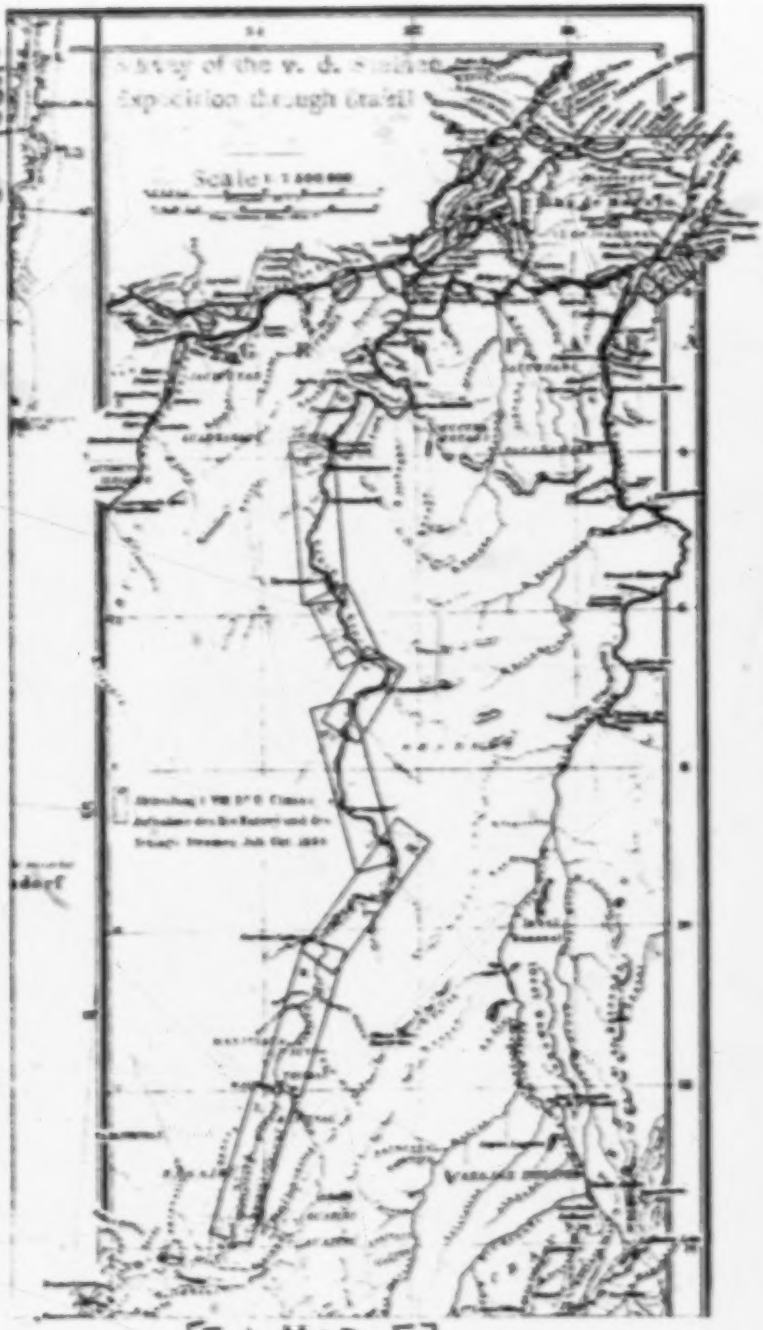

[End Map, F]

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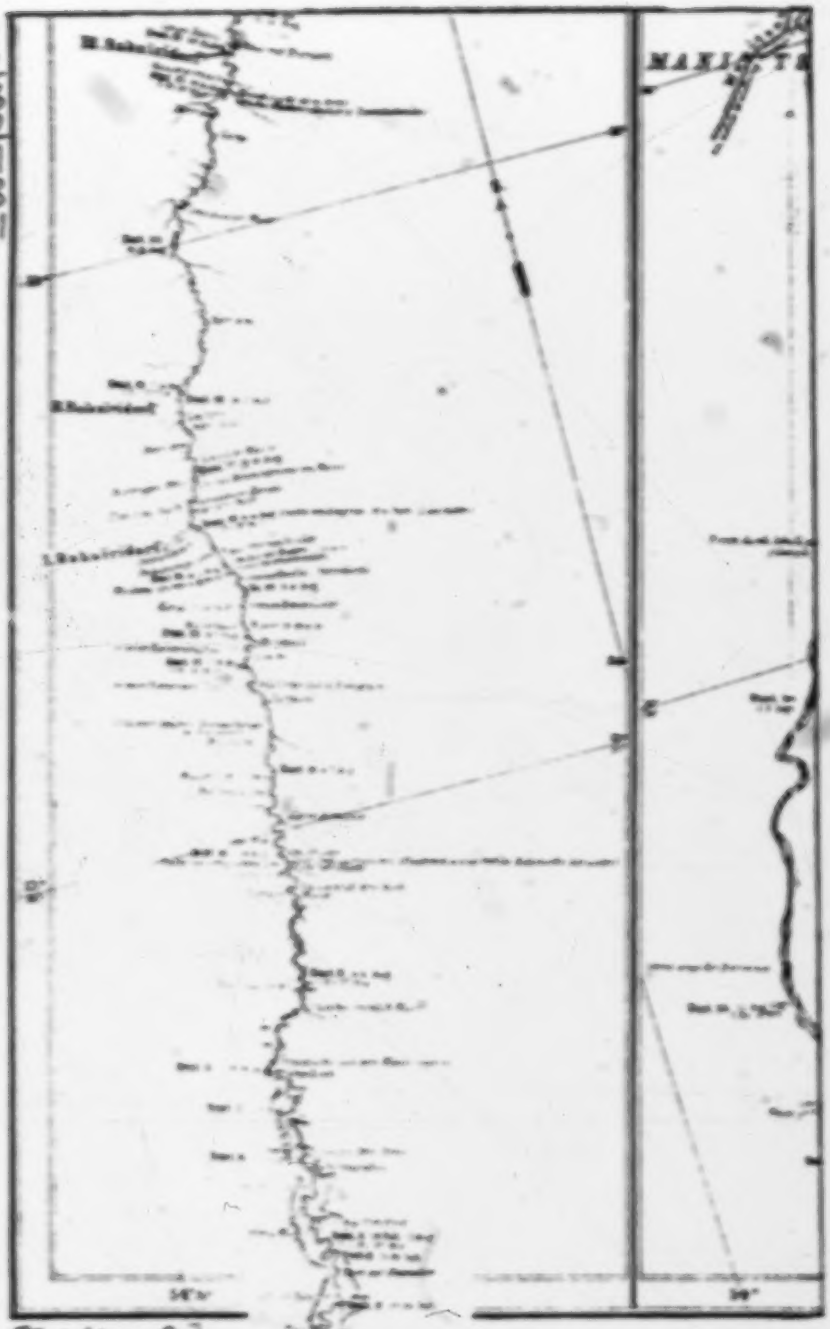

[End Map, G]

1: Stemen--181) E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Batch SP7

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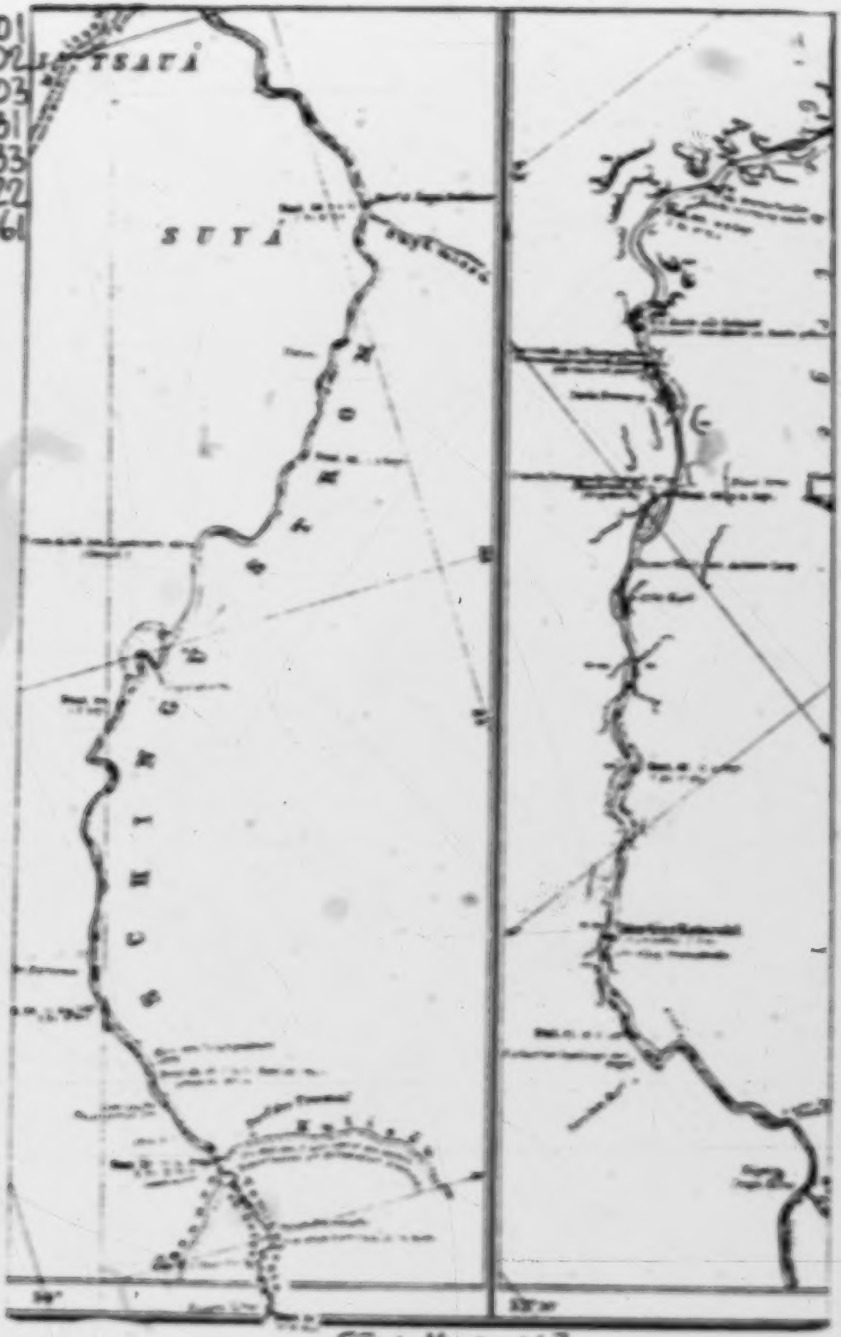

[End Map, H]

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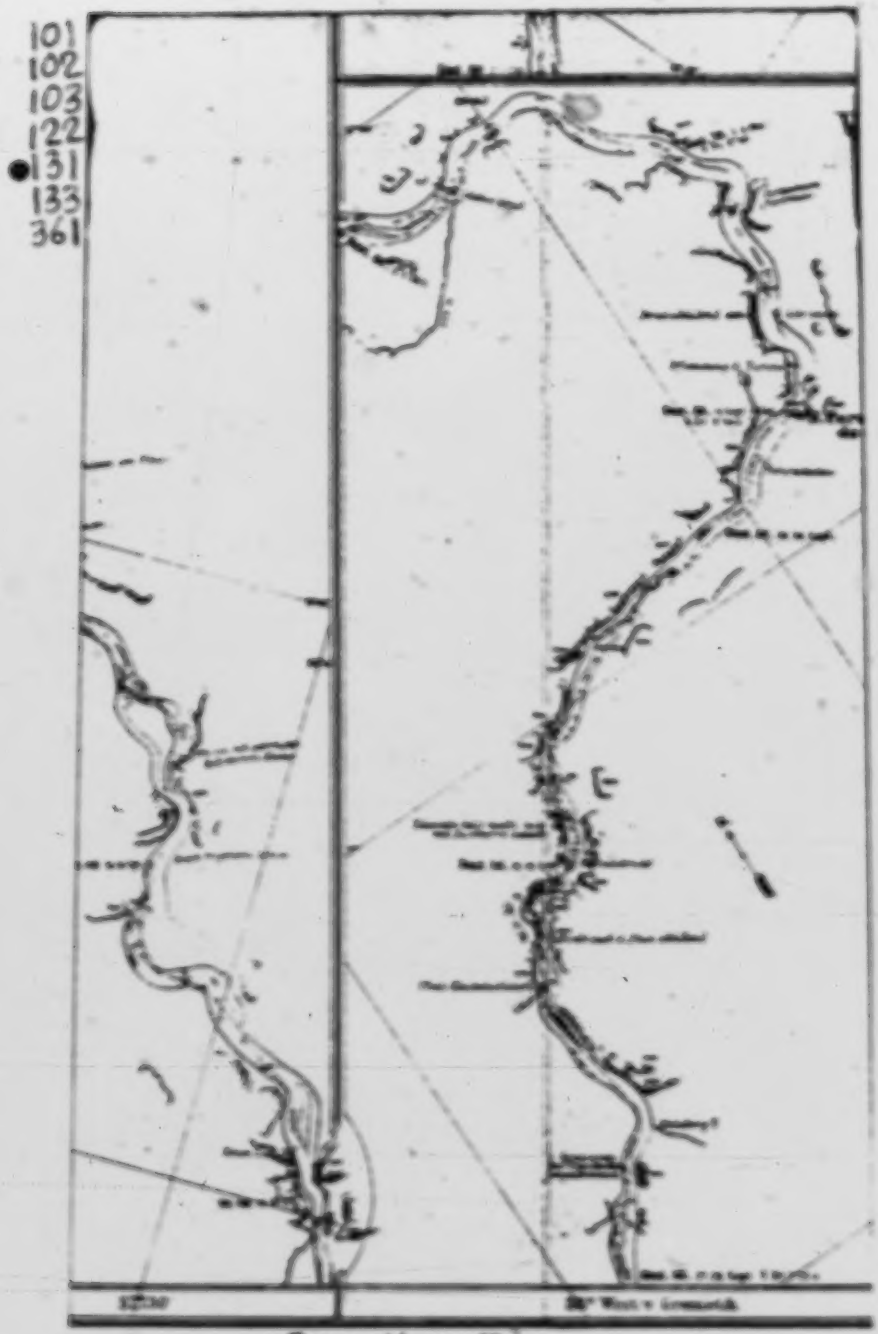
[End Map, I]

1: Steiner--183 D-5 (1884) 1886 SPT Bucket SP7



[End Map, J]

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[End Map, K]

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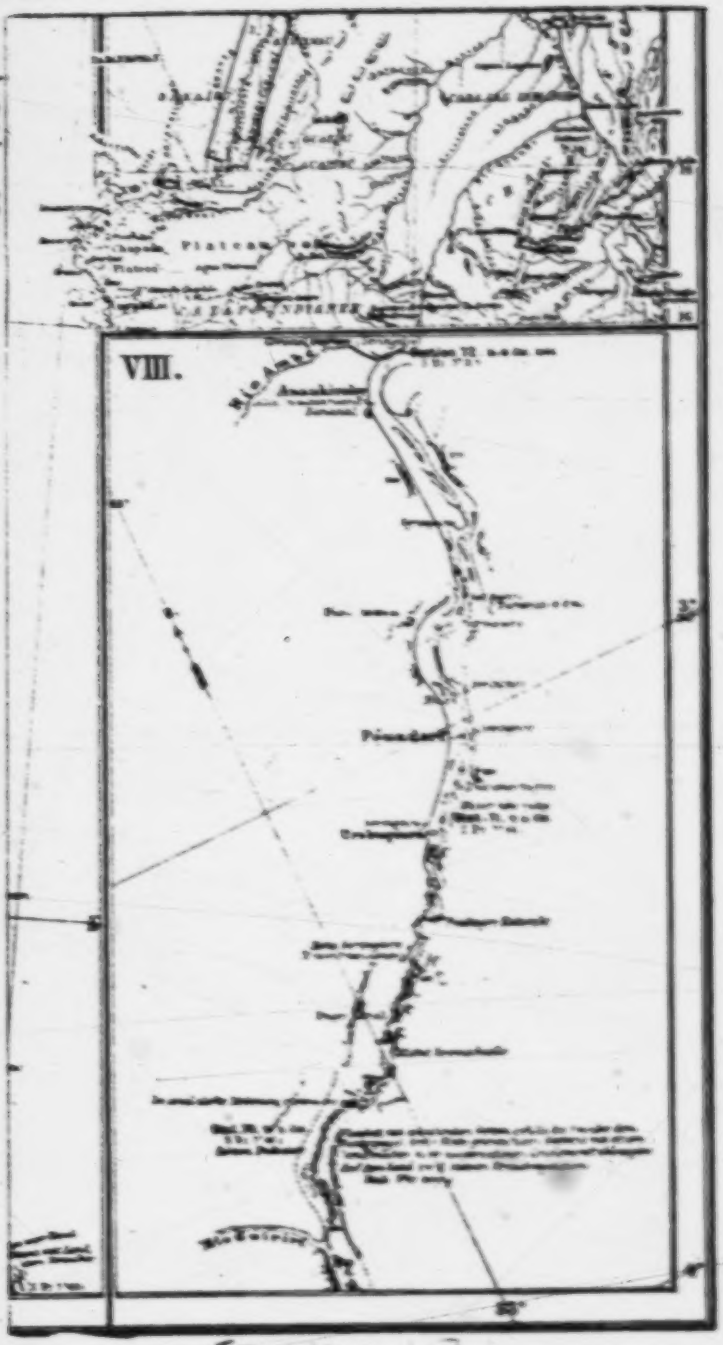


[End map, L]

/53 cont./

123 was assured. Tumayaua, as I now learned from Antonio, had
[609] been no little disconcerted by my call; he had answered that he
was a Bakaïrí, but that we were not Bakaïrí. Obligingly, the
good man offered us his canoe, he himself climbed into ours,
and took charge of guiding us. But we chatted no less busily
101 than we rowed. The Bakaïrí of the Batovy were Tumayaua's
114 relatives and friends. There was wonderful news about the first
village that we had visited in 1884. The old Indian whom we
at that time had called the "professor" was on his way to the
Paranatinga with a few others! They wanted to pay a new visit
to Antonio and his tribal brothers. Pauhaga, the first Bakaïrí
whom we had greeted on the Batovy on our previous journey,
lived at the moment in Tumayaua's community, and a strange
coincidence thus decreed that we were to see him again likewise
131 in the very first village of the Kulisehu. Were we really on the
103 Kulisehu? Yes, the river was called Kulisehu, Kulisēu, or
Kulihēu, since "h" and "s" are interchangeable in Bakaïrí, and
all the tribes that we were looking for apparently also lived
on its shores.

133 Cachoeiras, however, interrupted the conversation. We
had set out at 12:00; after half an hour there came a low rock-
cachoeira 60 meters long, through which we laboriously wound
our way; then shortly after 1:00 No. 4 of this day's series, where
we had to unload and stop for half an hour. At 2:45 we came
to the fifth and last, which poured over the boulders in a mighty
122 surge. Here, however, the pilot went on strike against going
any farther in our canoe, which was succumbing to acute
dropsy. We took him aboard as a fourth and left the corpse to
its fate. Tumayaua, we had to acknowledge approvingly, had
truly come our way at a good time; it is highly improbable that
we three with our baggage and without knowing the way would
have reached the village through the final cachoeiras in the
miserable canoe that could no longer carry the single Indian.
Certainly we would not have reached this goal today. At 3:15
we landed on the left bank; we were in the "harbor."

/55 cont./

B 101 131 361 On the very first evening I obtained a fairly clear conception of the Kulisehu dwellers whom we might see. There were three Bakaïrí villages; they were supposed to be followed by a village of the "Nahuquá," two villages of the "Minakú," a village of the "Auití," a village of the "Yaulapihü," and on the "Kuluëne" a village of the "Trumaí." Between the Kulisehu and the Tamitotoala-Batovy, the "Kamayulá" and the "Waurá" were said to be living. B 103 133 114 The meaning of the river name "Kuluëne," which I now heard for the first time, remained uncertain. Only gradually did I come to understand that it is the chief river in the east, larger than the Kulisehu which empties into it. Thus the river that we had seen in 1884 flowing in from the southeast at Schingú-Koblenz /Xingu-Coblenz/ was not actually the "Kulisehu," as we had understood at that time and had believed up to now, but rather the combined Kuluëne-Kulisehu; the name "Kuluëne" was retained for the Schingú itself below the large fork, so that the Suyá, for instance, lived on the Kuluëne. If one wished to go by the nomenclature of the natives, one would have to use the name "Kuluëne" instead of "Schingú" and now say that the Kuluëne first receives the Kulisehu and then, at "Koblenz," the Ronuro along with the Tamitotoala-Batovy.

B 823 It was a difficult piece of work to get these statements from the Bakaïrí; there was much drawing in the sand, much pantomime carried on, and, if a section of the route remained obscure, they always began again from the beginning. B 101 T 114 For the time being I knew enough; the individual tribes apparently did not live very far apart, at most a journey of three days. I was also given some bad news, and I confess that for me it spoiled the hitherto very pleasant memory of the first expedition: when the Trumaí /56/ at that time at Koblenz had dashed away from us in sheer flight, and our soldiers had pursued them in order to recover some of the objects that they had taken along in spite of their haste, a Trumaí had been killed, as I now learned, in the foolhardy shooting that the men had permitted themselves and that allegedly was only aimed into the air. We could therefore hardly count on a cordial welcome there.

/94 cont./

II. To the Nahuquá.

000

Intercourse between the Bakaïrí and Nahuquá. Surprised in the harbor. Strange reception. Village vacated. A Yaurikumá. Overnight. Mehinakú in the village. Dances. Sad prospects for Professor Bastian. I go on ahead to the Mehinakú. Improvement of conditions. News about the battle between the Suyá and the Trumaí.

Y 648 B 191 648 Y [197] Without question the Nahuquá have all kinds of intercourse with the Bakaïrí. Even from old Paleko I had learned a whole series of Nahuquá words and from these, to my great delight, was immediately able to tell that there was a new Karaiben /Carib/ tribe involved. Paleko told me that he had formerly lived for a time among the Nahuquá; Tumayaua, too, had already been among them and /95/ knew many words of their language, whereas all of the Bakaïrí of the Mehinakú living downstream from the Nahuquá did not know half a dozen words.

Y 123 361 The Nahuquá who lived in the third village of the Bakaïrí accompanied us when, on 7 October 1887, we traveled from the harbor of the third Bakaïrí to his fellow tribesmen only a day's journey away, and late in the afternoon he climbed out at a place B 123 where a path led up, in order to announce us in the village. Three Bakaïrí from the harpy village, including Chief Porisa, had also B /Fig. 4 appears here/ joined us. We had started off at 6:30 and Y were obliged to pass through another small rapid with a strong 131 133 226 swell. It, with a few fish corrals, still belonged to the Bakaïrí, while a small brook to the right, two meters wide, which we passed about 9:00 and which was closed off by a fish fence, was already the property of the Nahuquá. At 11:00 another wide brook flowed in from the right, the Háiri of the Bakaïrí, or Ráza of the Nahuquá in whose territory it lay. Much high sandy beach, four to five meters above the water level in the dry season, willow B 226 bushes, countless dead and fallen trees. At 1:00 we made a /96/ halt at a place with abundant fish; the piranhas snapped so quickly that one had only to toss out the line and they were already caught; one large, meter-long bagadú that Antonio had caught with iguana

B /132 cont./
123 Then he dragged up one of the nicely plaited storage baskets
431 three-quarters of a meter high and, boasting happily, put it be-
[235] fore us as a present. The best was yet to come, however. A
B round mat was placed on the ground, the chief called, and out
[262] of the houses all the women and children came running and
slapped a beijú onto the mat, each one running back immediately
to make room. The agile flurry with which the beijús came
flying was charming. Some 16 cakes were lying there. Then
"ále" was said and we were dismissed. We, of course, outdid
ourselves in praise of the hospitality of the Bakaïrí and secretly
made up our mind to pay them back handsomely in Independencia.
B Since a heavy thunderstorm broke out, we stayed in the vil-
123 lage the last night. It was raining in torrents outside and
Tumayaua was describing his journeys. We all sat for a long time
around the fire, which the Indians let blaze up wildly by reck-
lessly tearing bunches of straw out of the wall of the festival hut.
Luchu had taken possession of the black frock-coat as his sole
article of clothing; another man had decorated his ear with a
fishhook. My erstwhile intended - it pains me not to be able
to keep this a secret -- honored me with scarcely a glance.
The song of woman's constancy!

ooo /The remainder of Ch. VI, pp. 132-137, and Ch. VII, pp. 138-152, are omitted in the translation./

/153/ Chapter VIII

I. Geography and Classification of the Tribes of the Schingú Source-region

B
S
101 The old chief of the Suyá, distinguished from his companions
●131 by an extremely modest lip-plug, had enumerated for us in 1884
823 the long list of tribes that were settled on the upper Schingú
[115] /Xingu/ and with his finger had drawn in the sand the source
rivers on whose banks they lived. Cf. Durch Central-brasilien
/Through Central Brazil/, page 214 /see 1: Steinen, this file,
pp. 104-106/. His 13 tribal names had tempted us to undertake

B S 101 131 823 /153 cont./ the second journey. By and large, one must say, the statements of our informant were confirmed. His river branchings, it is true, cannot satisfy the cartographic demands of our Karaiben exactitude, but even here he was more accurate than we could realize when we mistook the Kulisehu for the Kuluëne. But the astronomical position of the localities in relation to one another turned out to be completely distorted, since the Suyá needed a very long line to show the large number along the one branch of the source and blithely extended it endlessly to the south.

B 101 131 We do not know the dwellers along the Ronuro; Vogel understood the Auetö chief who navigated the mouth at Schingü-Koblenz with him to say that there are Kabischí /Cabishi/ and Kayapó /Cayapo/ there. The Kabischí about whom anything is known live in the source region of the Tapajoz /Tapajós/ as part of the docile Paressí Indians, it would be most interesting and significant if the Paressí, like the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/, could be divided into a "docile" and a "wild" group, since it is precisely in this once populous and highly developed Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ tribe that the crude civilizing process has destroyed what cannot be replaced. It would not be surprising at all if the widely distributed Kayapó were on the Ronuro, since they frequently appeared on the Paranatinga and had merely been mistaken here for the Coroados-Bororó by the Brazilians.

B 101 103 131 361 Along the tributary of the Ronuro, the Batovy-Tamitotoala*,

* Formerly incorrectly written Tamitatoala. tamitóto, falcon, owl = they killed (schóle) a falcon, as the Bakaïrí themselves told me.

down which we traveled in 1884, there are four villages of the Bakaïrí. Its lower course and the adjacent region on the right belongs to the Kustenaü /Custenau/ and the Waurá.

/154/ There follows, toward the east, the Kulisehu. On its left bank we have the three villages of the Bakaïrí, Maigéri or "tapir died," Iguéti or sparrow-hawk village, Kuyaqualiéti or harpy village.

T /156 cont./
101 and essence of the idiom is peculiar and of a different origin,
197 just as their physical type is different from all Kulisehu tribes.

From the Cordilleras to the Atlantic Ocean, from the La
B Plata to the Antilles, there are four large linguistic families:
197 Tapuya, Tupí, Karaiben /Carib/, and Nu-Aruak /Arawak/.

/157/ The Tapuya are the east Brazilian aborigines, the
B forest dwellers of the coastal region and the occupants of the
197 interior as far as a western boundary, of which the Schingú may
101 be regarded as the main portion. They fall into two divisions,
131 a western one, the Gēs according to Martius, and an eastern one, to which belong the primitive forest tribes of the east and the Botokuden /Botocudo/. The western outposts of the Gēs are the Kapayó and Suyá. With the latter we need not concern ourselves further, in view of the report about our second expedition, except that now there must be added the interesting fact that formerly the Suyá lived still much farther west. They were settled west of the Paranatinga, along its left tributary, the Rio Verde, in the neighborhood of the Kayabí /Cayabi/ and Bakaïrí, and from here they were not long ago driven back, one might say, to the Schingú. The entire mass of Gēs has lived east of the Schingú from time immemorial, and the nearest relatives of the Suyá, the Apinagēs /Apinaye/, live in the angle where the Araguay /Araguaia/ and Tokantins /Tocantins/ flow together.

The Tupí are dispersed over vast areas. By and large their northern boundary lies along the northern tributaries of the Amazon; they occupied the coast from the mouth of the Amazon to that of the La Plata; the Guaraní of Paraguay merely speak a dialect of Tupí. We encounter Tupí on the upper course of the Schingú, of the Tapajoz, of the Madeira, even of the Maranhão. Their language was elevated by the Jesuits to be the language for communication, the "lingoa geral." A great practical benefit, but unfortunate for the science of language. The interest in Tupí has caused scholarship in Brazil to treat all other languages in a most stepmotherly fashion; countless volumes from ancient and modern times are devoted to it, there is nothing more than meager vocabularies from any of the Tapuya tribes, either the Botokuden or a Gēs tribe, the linguistic study of which would be one of the

/157 cont. /

199 101 131 world's most important, on account of the low cultural level, and which in reality formed the nucleus of the original population of eastern Brazil. The Brazilian scholar sees practically everything that has been thought about the natives as sub specie of the Tupí. He is happy to put Tupí in the closest relationship with the Aryans and derives from Tupí the other languages of his native land; these natives, however, are so widely distributed already that it is quite superfluous to put them in addition where they themselves have not yet been. On the Kulisehu, the Auetö and the Kamayurá, the latter in greater agreement with the lingoa geral, belong with them.

The Karaiben /Carib/ have been known north of the Amazon River since the times of the discoverers. On the Kulisehu we were the Karaiben; and thus probably originally, too, the first Karaiben were the first strangers who incorrectly understood the tribal name and made it the word that was used to refer to them themselves, as has happened in numerous other cases and is indeed often difficult to avoid during the noisy reception in an unknown language. The name, of course, is derived from the ancestral Tupí /Tupímanen/, not out of the Tupí spoken either in the Lesser Antilles or on the north coast of the continent. The Bakaïrí /158/ called us "Karáiba" with definite emphasis on the "a"; the word may be explained as "not like us" in their language, whereas the opposite, "like us," is called Karále. Let us ignore the very dubious etymology, however; it is enough for us that the word is Karaiben in our sense, was taken over by the Tupí of the Kulisehu in the already abbreviated form "karái" -- not in the form "karyb" of the lingoa geral! -- and, according to everything, must for us be "Karaibe" and not, as people are now largely in the habit of writing it, "Karibe." On the upper Schingú the Bakaïrí and the Nahuquá are Karaiben. Their language is radically different from Tupí, and the favorite hypothesis of several excellent researchers, namely, that the Tupí and Karaiben are related, has been conclusively eliminated by the two Schingú expeditions; the root words of the two languages show no correspondence.

/158 cont./

The Nu-Aruak fall into the subdivisions of the Nu tribes and the Aruak. "Nu-" is the characteristic fossil of these tribes, the pronominal prefix of the first person, highly characteristic for most of them, which we come across from Bolivia and the Mato Grosso to the Lesser Antilles. In the Guianas we see the Nu-Aruak in intimate contact with the Karaiben; on the Lesser Antilles, where the Aruak were attacked and oppressed by the Karaiben, a true amalgamation would in all probability have come about without the arrival of the Europeans, bringing destruction. Father Raymond Breton in 1665 left us a dictionary of the Island Karaiben, whose Indian-French part, unfortunately only this, has become generally available in a facsimile edition, thanks to Julius Platzmann (Leipzig, 1892), and strove earnestly to separate the words of the Karaiben men and the Aruak women, where they differed, but proved by his compilation that two languages were no longer spoken independently of each other, as was mentioned above, but that the Karaiben men had allowed the substance and form of their old "mother tongue" to be tremendously changed by the new "language of their mothers."

On the distant Kulisehu we met the exact mirror image of the conditions in the Guianas. The Mehinakú, Kustenaú, Waurá, and Yaulapiti are Nu-Aruak; their influence was clearly asserted in language and culture traits among the Nahuquá who had taken several Mehinakú women.

Therefore, according to linguistic investigation, the tribes of the Schingú source region are to be classified as follows (the number of villages in parentheses).

Karaiben: Bakaïrí (8), Nahuquá (9);
Nu-Aruak: Mehinakú (3), Waurá (1), Kustenaú (1), Yaulapiti (2);
Tupí: Kamayurá (4), Auetö (1);
Isolated: Trumaí (2).

/159/ Just as the Nahuquá embrace nine different "tribes," which correspond merely to nine different independent villages, we could likewise put the Mehinakú, Waurá, and Kustenaú together as one tribe. These three tribes speak exactly the same idiom. They also, as we shall see, form an ethnological unit,

/330 cont./

000 Their methods. To die in narcosis. The medicine man in heaven. Tobacco. Conjuration of the weather.

I.

*171 ●131 The boundaries between the regions of the tribes are natural ones. "This brook belongs to the neighboring tribe," we were regularly informed along the way. The one bank of the Kulisehu, for example, belonged to the Nahuquá, the other to the Mehinakú [226] /Mehinacu/. Fishing with bow and arrow on the river was open to everyone.

*171 The plantings were common property. Everyone had his 422 personal property in the house, even the women, who, we saw, [428] often objected to having it given to us; it was handed down to one's children, sons and daughters. We often observed, however, [622] that persons to whom we had given beads, etc. were obliged to hand them over to the chief.

*171 The power of the chief was not great. In all the larger vil- 622 lages there were several chiefs who lived in different houses; in dealings with us, there was always only one who appeared as representative. "Representation" was the most important obligation during peacetime. The chief directed the business connected with planting, he saw to it that the necessary supply of flour was put away, he had the beijús baked and the drinks prepared for all festive occasions and for the visits of strangers. He was apparently a family-father in greater style, but could not be very thrifty if he was concerned about the esteem of his fellow citizens, to say nothing of his neighboring tribesmen. Thus, the chief of the first Batovy village was "kurápa," bad = stingy. He had only a few [577] beijús baked for the guests. Stinginess is regarded as the ugliest trait. This type of rule must be difficult, however. Antonio told me about a certain João Cadete in the Paranatinga village, who was in line to become chief, but preferred to emigrate "com medo de tratar gente," for fear of having to entertain people, [621] /331/ so Felipe took his place. If the community is dissatisfied [626] with its chief, it knows a remedy: it breaks away from him and simply moves to another place. The office is hereditary, hence

/386 cont./

539 the jaguar stood up and went in the direction the ant bear had
P25 gone. The ant bear was inside the mountain and was singing. The jaguar went into the house. Singing, the ant bear came along with his back to the door. As he was coming, the jaguar seized him. He ate some of his leg. When he had eaten he let go and went home. The termites made the ant bear vell again. When he had recovered, the ant bear got up.

The little ant-bear (Myrmecophaga tetradactyla) said he would kill the jaguar. "Oh pshaw, you're no giant," the people said to him. "Then take magic poison along," the people told him. The little ant bear did as they said; he took magic poison in a gourd to Oka's house and placed the gourd in front of the door. Oka went out. When he caught sight of the gourd, he said, "That is something nice for me," and opened it. Then Oka became ill. The jaguar died.

/387/

Chapter XIV.

000

On the Question of the Original Home of the Karaiben.

I. Historical Data on the Bakaïrí.

101 In contrast to the East Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ of the Schingú, found first by our expedition of 1884 and 1887, I call the Bakaïrí west of the Paranatinga, long known to the Brazilians, the West
●131 Bakaïrí. Today there is one village of them, to which our
[361] Antonio belongs, on the left bank of the Paranatinga, and a second one on the small tributary stream of the Arinos, the Rio Novo, where Reginaldo ruled as chief and where in 1884 we made
[464] our first acquaintance with the tribe. A few individuals, whom one can count on one's fingers, however, are to be found as workers on one fazenda or another in the western source-region of the Paranatinga; there are also supposed to be a few on the Rio Preto in the vicinity of Diamantino, who represent the
131 remains of a former settlement. At any rate, since the Arinos
133 and Paranatinga flow into the Tapajoz /Tapajós/, the West

/387 cont./

131 Bakaïrí are all inhabitants of the eastern source-region of the
133 Tapajoz and are to be found only in the region of the plateau above the rapids and waterfalls that put great obstacles in the way of the journey downstream to the Amazonas /Amazon/.

175 The West Bakaïrí have been known since the first raiding
101 expeditions of the "Paulistas," the discoverers of the Mato Grosso who boldly pushed forward from the province of S. Paulo on their slave hunts at the beginning of the previous century. Even Antonio Pires de Campos, from whom we have a report* from the year 1723,

[113]

* Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico XXV, p. 448. Rio de Janeiro, 1862.

"after the experience of so many years," had heard of them; after he has briefly characterized (page 448) the tribes -- today long since disappeared -- of the upper Cuyabá and the Rio Manso emptying into it, he continues: "All these have the same way of life, the same type of weapons, and everything else the same, they are nomadic tribes and, with their raiding expeditions, succeed in causing harm to the heathen people named Bacayris, who live on the tributaries of the Maranhão (sic!); and from there on various stations of heathens /388/ with countless villages follow one another, as I have been informed, and all very warlike people and masters of their weapons."

The Bakaïrí are also mentioned in a report from the year 1749 about a trip from Pará into the source region of the Madeira, and furthermore it may also have happened in many an old note about the origin of the Mato Grosso gold mines. It is always only a casual mention of the tribal name, which does not offer us further information. At most we may conclude from these citations that in the previous century the Bakaïrí must have been more numerous and perhaps had advanced somewhat more to the west and southwest than is the case today. This will come out more clearly, however, from their own tradition.

175 Closer contact with the Brazilians did not take place until
797 the beginning of the 'twenties in our century. At that time

/389 cont./

127 from March 13, 1872, is classic. It had become necessary to take into account the tremendous and widely known changes which the Paraguay war had brought about in the southern part of the province. Of the tribes listed as Nos. 3-15 in 1848, three were crossed out, the total figure was reduced from 13,020 to 8670; on the other hand, for tribes 1, 2, 16-33 the old report was again copied verbatim, so that no human being seems to have been born or died here in the 24 years.

175 The Bakaïrí of the Paranatinga and Rio Novo maintained them-
[177] selves in their two poor villages; they were occasionally visited
[164] by gold-seeker expeditions who would then arrange a small mass-baptism and introduce syphilis and measles. Many perished from
[157] measles; the disease, relatively harmless for us, is not only /390/ often fatal to the Indians, but they also have the bad habit of plunging into the river in the middle of the highest fever and not drying themselves after they leave the cool bath.

173 I made an effort to learn more details about the history of
[115] the tribe from the aged Caetano, retired chief, and his successor, Felipe, on the Paranatinga, as well as from Antonio. A history of more recent times can clearly be separated out, during which a shift to the southwest took place. Whereas the forefathers on the
173 salto of the Paranatinga lived several days' journey below the
131 present village and somewhat above the emptying of the Rio Verde
167 coming from the left, the West Bakaïrí, at least since the middle
361 of the previous century, have occupied the border area between the source rivers of the Arinos, Cuyabá, and Paranatinga, where the village on the Rio Novo is still to be found. On the Ribeirão Caixão there were more than six villages; there was a large village on the Ribeirão da Pedra. The first baptism of the Bakaïrí took place in Diamantino. Caetano, born in the previous century according to all calculations, first saw the light of the world where
[177] the Rio Beijaflor empties into the Paranatinga. The Paranatinga village now located above this is a creation of modern times,

/390 cont./

131 brought about by the gold-seeker Correa. The expeditions in
173 search of the fabulous gold mines of the Martyrios were able to
177 cross the Paranatinga most conveniently here and wanted to use
167 the canoes of the Bakaïrí as well as to obtain food supplies from
361 them. Antonio was born toward the end of the fifties, at the earliest, in Limoeiro, a small settlement.

131 The ancestors of Antonio offer a chronological handle. His
173 father, Seseriari, also had a Portuguese name; his grandfather,
601 like an Indian in the first Batovy village, was called Karawako, his great-grandfather Yakauka, his great-great-grandfather Kupare, and the last one whose name Antonio still knew was his great-great-great-grandfather, Mariukara. The latter lived near the salto of the Paranatinga. If we estimate 30 years per generation, the succession might go back to before the middle of the eighteenth century. Caetano, probably born around 1790, was still supposed to be able to call by name six or seven ancestors, which I unfortunately could no longer confirm, so that his genealogy would reach back to the middle of the seventeenth century. Caetano's father was born on the Paranatinga, above the salto, it was his grandfather who was born on the salto itself. In any case, the statements of the Bakaïrí agree perfectly with the report of Antonio Pires that the Bakaïrí were in contact with the tribes on the upper course of the Cuyabá at the beginning of the previous century.

131 It is not unimportant to determine as much of the tradition
173 as possible, insofar as it does not yet appear as legend and fairy
[101] tale, because it is very desirable to know whether the present-day West Bakaïrí, the inhabitants of the Tapajoz source-region, or the East Bakaïrí in the source region of the Schingú /Xingu/ occupy the older habitations.

/391/ The West Bakaïrí definitely put the original home of the entire tribe at the salto of the Paranatinga, so that our Karaiben /Carib/ tribe would originally have belonged to the Tapajoz. But the western source-rivers of the Schingú and the eastern ones of the Paranatinga lie so close together that it is a matter of pure chance where the tribes moving downstream arrive. "One of the grandfathers" of Caetano was slain in the forest by

173 /391 cont./ "one of the grandfathers" of Caetano was slain in the forest by
131 another Bakaïrí; at that time there were serious conflicts within
[167] the tribe, and the result was -- according to the report of the Paranatinga people -- that one part of the Bakaïrí moved from the salto to the Kulisehu.

[361] Between the Paranatinga and the Ronuro, too, there is a "tapeira," a ruined settlement of bygone days, known to the West
[487] Bakaïrí. At one time a route led from the salto as far as the Auetö on the Kulisehu, which therefore must have led across the Ronuro or its source streams and the Batovy. The Bakaïrí are
[167] said to have fled along this route and to have settled in part on the Batovy, in part on the Kulisehu. They were said to have ob-
[177] tained mandioca twigs, batatas, and cará /Dioscorea/ fruits from the Nahuquá for planting.

These are, therefore, very definite statements. It is difficult to say, however, when the separation between West and East Bakaïrí took place and whether it occurred in several thrusts.
[101] Just as the tribe of the Auetö and of the Nahuquá appears in the tradition of the Paranatinga village, so have the names of the rest of the Kulisehu tribes, the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, Yaulapiti, Kustenaú /Custenau/, Waurá, Kamayurá /Camayura/, and Trumaí, been known there from the times of Caetano's grandfathers. In the third Bakaïrí village on the Batovy we found a small piece of iron that was said to have been brought in former times from the Pakuneru, the Paranatinga; thus occasional visits back and forth may have occurred, or at least Parantinga-Bakaïrí may now and then have reached the Schingú.

[167] In general, however, I gained the impression that the actual separation of the two Bakaïrí groups took place around the middle or the beginning of the previous century at the latest, when the Brazilians settled in the Mato Grosso and caused major shifts of the tribes. Probably it was not merely a matter of individual internal feuds among the people at the salto, but also of malevolent neighbors who oppressed and occasionally drove away the peaceable Bakaïrí.

175 In the Brazilian sources the Nambiquara /Nambicuara/,
648 Tapanhuna /Tapanyuna/, and Kayabí /Cayabi/ are given as

B /391 cont./
175 enemies of the Bakaïrí, but there is no more specific informa-
648 tion about them. The Nambiquara and Tapanhuna, enemies of the Apiaká, lived in the Arinos region; of the Tapanhuna, Joaquim Ferreira Moutinho* states that they spoke the Bakaïrí

B
[113]

* Noticia da Provincia de Mato Grosso, S. Paulo, 1869, p. 216.

language; unfortunately no notes were ever made on the language of the Bakaïrí, let alone on that of the Tapanhuna, /392/ and unfortunately the author has no claim to any credibility in these matters, as we shall see among the Bororó.

B A Statement in the fortieth volume of the Revista Trimensal
M do Instituto Historico (Rio de Janeiro, 1877, II, p. 97) is worth
175 mentioning: it refers to the tribe of the Mundrukú /Mundurucu/,
648 once feared far and wide, which today sits along the middle and
[113] lower Tapajoz, but formerly lived farther upstream. Antonio
M Manoel Gonçalves Tocantins, who visited them in 1875, remarks:
[131] "In former times they also overcame the Bakaïrí, whom they
B call Mureufuâtes and whom they forced to go into the Matogrosso
M where they ('aldeïert') settled in villages." The latter addition
[101] shows that this can only refer to events of relatively recent times, in the Brazilian era. Nor should one believe, on the basis of this passage, that the Baikirí lived in the province of Pará; among the dwellers along the lower Tapajoz, the region of the upper course and of the source arms Juruena and Arinos is called "Matogrosso"; the Mundrukú themselves lived next to the Apiaká in the province of Mato Grosso, where they are called Saruma, and harassed all the tribes of the Arinos and Schingú area with their attacks. The Bakaïrí, who called them "Mandurukú," re-
B M [131]
B M [101]
membered them vividly, but said that their attacks no longer occur, since they have moved to the north.

B The chief enemies of the West Bakaïrí, and probably even
A of the united Bakaïrí, if the tradition is correct, were the Kayabí.
173 "Unvanquished savages in the vicinity of the salto," says the
648 report of the Directoria dos Indios. The following is what I was

Y 131 /398 cont./ Several learned from three Palmellas who were in
167 the detachment that until some time ago (but at most 80 years)
they were settled near the mission of S. Miguel of the Baures
Y and had come there as refugees from elsewhere, but they no
161 longer knew from what region. They numbered about 400 in-
164 dividuals, but in an epidemic had lost many people through
Y death and flight. They were peaceful farmers, little inclined
181 to hunt and fish, they planted maize, mandioca, yams, peanuts,
241 squash, sugar /399/ cane, oranges, melons, and raised chickens
Y and ducks. According to accounts of traders, there were among
142 the Indians "a few truly white with reddish or chestnut-brown
143 hair, like the Herisobocones in the Baures district, the Tukunapeba
and the Arara of the lower Schingú." A white Indian woman with
blue eyes and behavior that showed traces of civilization was
Y treated respectfully by all under the name of "Senhora." Un-
101 fortunately, we do not learn the actual name of the tribe and
must be content with "Palmella," as a Cuyaban caoutchouc
Y trader saw fit to christen them. Now though the tribe only im-
167 migrated into the Baures district from the outside, and its origin
C is unknown, nevertheless the fact that here Karaiben appear in
131 considerable numbers in the source region of the Madeira re-
mains very noteworthy.

Ya In the eastern source region of the Tapajoz and in the west-
B ern one of the Schingú, the Bakaïrí and the Nahuquá were now
131 added. Though the West Bakaïrí are today considerably reduced,
174 they successfully spread from the now abandoned salto of the
B Paranatinga and from the region between the Parantinga and
[167] Ronuro toward the east to the Batovy and Kulisehu, where they
occupied the fish-rich region of the cataracts. The Nahuquá
Ya are the masters of the Kuluene, the chief source-branch of the
131 Schingú, the exploration of which will be the most important
133 task of our successors. With their numerous villages they are so
C very important that one may say: it is the Karaiben who rep-
Ya resent the chief bulk of the population of the Schingú source
361 region.
161

B Through the Kulisehu Bakaïrí and the Nahuquá, the considera-
174 tion causing the expedition of 1884 to object, namely, that the

2: Steinen--656 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP9
Bororo SP8
Icamb-Cuiva SP19
Pareess: SP19

/548 cont./

		1848	1872
14 Bororós Cabaçaes . .	110	Registo do Jaurú and Campos da Caiçara	40
15 Cayapós	200	Between sources of the S. Lourenço and the Taquary, between Paraná and Paranahiba	400
16 Coroados	?	Source region of the S. Lourenço	?
/549/			
17 Bacahirís	200	Source region of Paranatinga	200
18 Cajabís	?	Source region of Paranatinga	?
19 Barbados	400	Paraguay to the right and Serra dos Parecíz	400
20 Pariciz	250	Campos and Serra dos Parecíz	250
21 Maimbarés	400		400
22 Cabixís	500		500
23 Nambiquarás. . . .	600	Rio do Peixe (to the Arinos)	600
24 Tapanhunas	800	Ribeirão (brook) dos Tapanhunas (to the Arinos)	800
25 Apiacaz	2700	Arinos and Juruena	2700
26 Mequens	?	East of the Guaporé	?
27 Guarayos	?	West of the Guaporé	?
28 Cautarios	?	Both banks of the Mamoré and Madeira	?
29 Pacáz.	?	Eastern bank of the Mamoré	?
30 Cenabós	?	Western bank of the Mamoré	?
31 Jacarés	?		
32 Caripunas	1000	Bank of the Mamoré and Madeira	1000
33 Aráras	?	Bank of Madeira up to the Jamari (1)	?
	13020		8670

1. Empties into the Madeira 14 leagues below the cataract of Santo Antonio.

/259/

121 In order to protect themselves against the numerous
756 supernatural dangers that surrounded them, the Bakairí
784 /Bacairi/ made use of two methods: shamanism and the uanki state, or ritual seclusion. The aim of this article is to examine these two methods of Bakairí culture in the light of data gathered by us (1) and with the help of the existing relevant

[114] [122]

1. The data that we present were gathered in 1947, during a visit to the Simões Lopes Indian Post of the Indian Protection Service, which was sponsored by the School of Sociology and Political Science of São Paulo in collaboration with the Institute of Social Anthropology of the Smithsonian Institution. Except where specifically mentioned in a footnote, the data mentioned were obtained from the Simões Lopes Indians.

114 literature. However, although the Bakairí have been visited
121 from an early date by several ethnologists and their customs have been mentioned in the literature to support ethnological theories, very little is yet known on their culture as a whole. Most of the reports left by scholars do not give a rounded view of Bakairí culture and focus rather on their technology. On
[177] the other hand, the present-day Bakairí are quite acculturated, and it is difficult to obtain complete data on their old culture. We shall attempt nevertheless to try to contribute here to a clarification of the problem.

161 The Bakairí now number about 250 individuals, according to the estimates of the Indian Protection Service, /260/
131 in 1947. They live in aldeas in Mato Grosso, at the Simões
361 Lopes Post of the Indian Protection Service, on the banks of the Paranatinga River, and in groups scattered along the

/200 cont./

131 Rio Novo, also in that state. The Simões Lopes Indians claim
361 that in the past all the Bakairí lived in aldeas by the Paranatinga River, moving later to the north under pressure of enemy
193 131 groups. (2) Later on the tribe divided as a result of internal
361
166
619

2. For a better discussion of the possible origins of the Bakairí, see Max Schmidt's article, "Los Bakairí" /The Bacairi/, Revista do Museu Paulista, New Series, Vol. I, pp. 11-58, São Paulo, 1947.

[113]

disputes; part moved to the banks of the Rio Culiseu, one of the sources of the Xingu, and the other part was distributed along the Rio Novo. Perhaps the truth about these reports can only be obtained with the help of archaeology. Meanwhile, the old villages of the Bakairí on the sources of the
619 Xingu no longer exist. The Xinguano Indians suffered a great
175 deal from repeated outbreaks of influenza, and the last
931 Bakairí found in that area were brought to the Simões Lopes
648 Post a few years ago by officials of the Indian Protection Ser-
166 vice. The Rio Novo Bakairí, practically as a whole, adopted
619 the customs of the neighboring Brazilian populations and live
177 independent of the control of the Indian Protection Service.
184 As for the Simões Lopes Indians, although they are quite
[178] acculturated, they still retain many traits of their old culture, they all still speak Bakairí, and some of them still remember the time when they lived in Xinguano aldeas, and make good informants.

114 As for the authors who have dealt with the Bakairí, we shall note among the best, Capistrano de Abreu and Karl von den Steinen. The former left us valuable information on the Bakairí language and on the beliefs of these Indians. The only weakness of his material is that it is based on only one

THE BACAIRI [P. 69-B]

000 101 Brazilian Government. The information presented here was obtained at Simão Lopes from the Bacairí who lived on the Rio Kuliseu and relates to the life that they lived there about 40 years ago.

[192] Linguistically the Bacairí belong to the Carib-speaking family and appear to be closely related culturally to the other Carib-speaking tribes in 142 the Upper Xingú Basin. The Bacairí are short in stature, broad-shouldered and well-built. The head is broad, the nose straight or acquiline, the face narrow, the lips fairly thin. In physical [149] appearance the Bacairí remind one of the Arawak-speaking Paresí, but contrast sharply with the large-framed, coarse-featured Bororo, Umotina, and Guató living in the headwaters of the Paraguay River to the south.

175 The Bacairí Indians are first mentioned by 131 Gonçalves da Fonseca in his account of his travels to the Madeira region in 1749. In the atlas of Thomas Jeffry, 1776, the "Bacahyris" are located on the Rio Paranatinga. Ayres de Casal, in 1817, refers to the "Baccahyris" as living in the region around the Rio das Mortes. Martins places them 175 in the headwaters of the Xingú. From 1820 on, 177 more or less permanent contact has been maintained with the Bacairí living on the Rio Novo and Rio Paranatinga. In 1820 a P. Lopez led an expedition in search for gold into the area and [79] with him came priests who began to convert the Bacairí to Christianity. With these contacts came disease and conflicts (Von den Steinen, 1942, p. 123).

175 The first scientific account of the Bacairí dates 101 from the voyage of Von den Steinen down the 131 Xingú River in 1884. Traveling over land from 361 Cuiabá, he and his party reached the Christianized Bacairí living in the villages of Rio Novo and Paranatinga with whose help he continued his voyage down the Batoví River where he was the first to make contact with the four pagan villages of the Bacairí located between latitudes 13°30′ and 12°30′ S.

175 The following table gives size and number of 162 inhabitants of the villages visited by Von den Steinen (1942, appendix, table 8, p. 418):

Trumai SP23
Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25
Waura SP18
Mato Grosso SP1

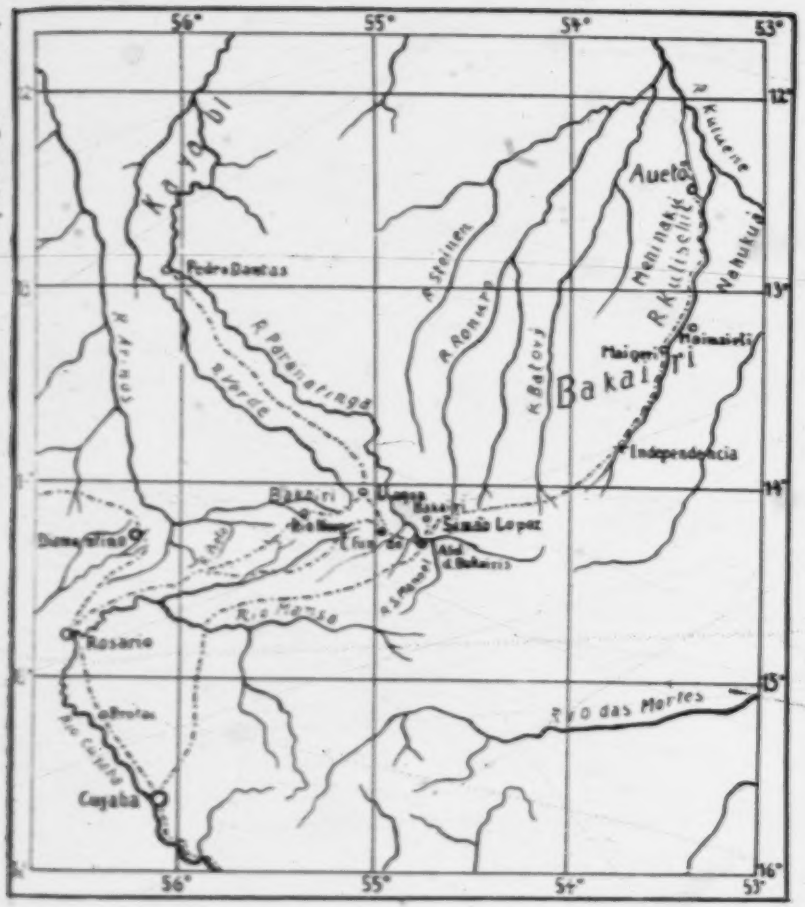
102, 131

/For a sketch map of the state of Mato Grosso showing the location of various ethnic groups, see 3:Petrullo, SP8 Bororo, category 116, map facing p. 180./

4:Schmidt--59 E=5 (1901. 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate I

102
103
131
133
361
114



Territory of the Bakairí

— — — Itinerary of the author.

Yaruma SP25
Waura SP18
Bacaini SP7
Aueto SP6

Y 361 moved to the Kuluseu. A comparison of the map with that of Von den Steinen will reveal that a number of changes have been made.

B Y W 361 131 Formerly the four Bakairi villages were to be found below the Taunay falls, being the first habitations that were encountered on descending the Kuluseu. These have now been abandoned, and the Bakairi peoples, including those of the Rio Novo who are almost extinct, have withdrawn to the Inspectoria's post on the Paranatinga. Thus, the first people to be met are the Anahukua, whose village is on the right bank, in about the same location as that given by Von den Steinen. Several days of paddling downstream is the port of the Mehinaku, on the left bank, and the village is as usual several hours' march away from the bank. This also is in the approximate location given by Von den Steinen. At the time of our visit, however, the Mehinaku were busily building a village on the right bank. Their fields were ready, the eagle house was built with the eagle in possession, and one house was almost completed. The reason given for the movement eastward was that there was necessity of seeking better fields. Another Arawak people, the Aura, also have a port on the west bank of the Kuluseu, below that of the Mehinaku, but their village must be close to the Batovy. A group of them that came to visit our camp came by way of the Batovy and Kuluene.

W A 131 361 Below the mouth of the Kuluseu there is a lagoon and buritisal on which are located three villages. The southernmost is that of the Auiti, a Tupi people, who have in addition a port on the Kuluseu. Next to them to the north are the Yawalapiti, who are Arawak, and close to the mouth are the Kamayula, also Tupi, a numerous and much-feared people. Fishing in the lagoon is restricted to members of each group within certain limits.

Y 361 648 The Kuluene river up to the rapids is in possession of Carib peoples. Just below the rapids are the Naravute, and then going northward are met the Kalapalu, the Kuikutl (Cuicuru) and the Tsuva, all having their villages on the west bank. These groups are in constant warfare with the Tapuya-speaking people that wander over the territory east of the Kuluene, and sweep westward, but to the south of the Naravute and Anahukua. It would seem that the Tapuya peoples actually surround the other peoples of different linguistic stocks that have more permanent settlement.

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932

SP8 Bororo SP8
Bacairi SP7

Ba
Bo
102
131
133
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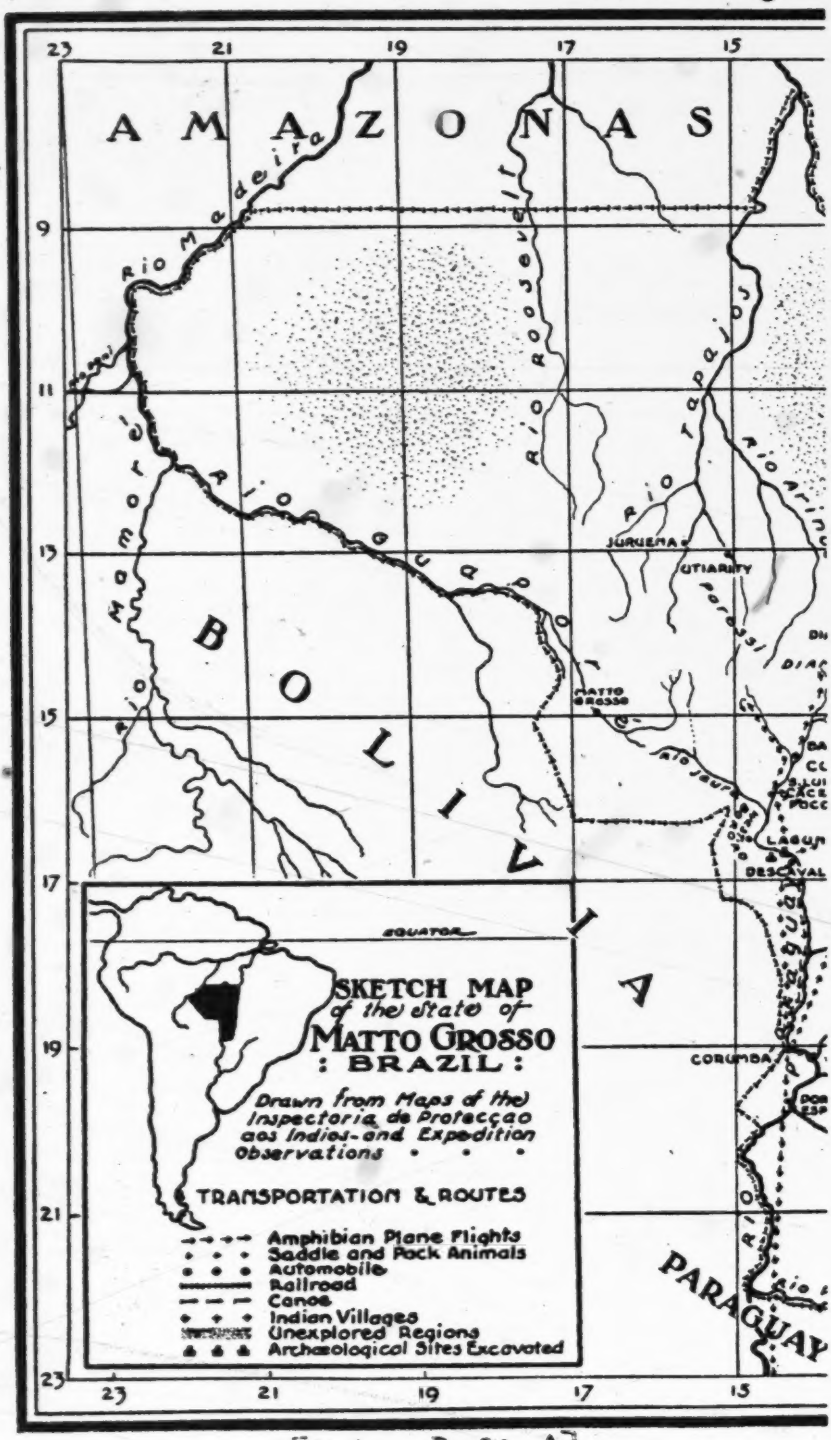
361



[Facing P 180-A]
[Plate XXV-A]

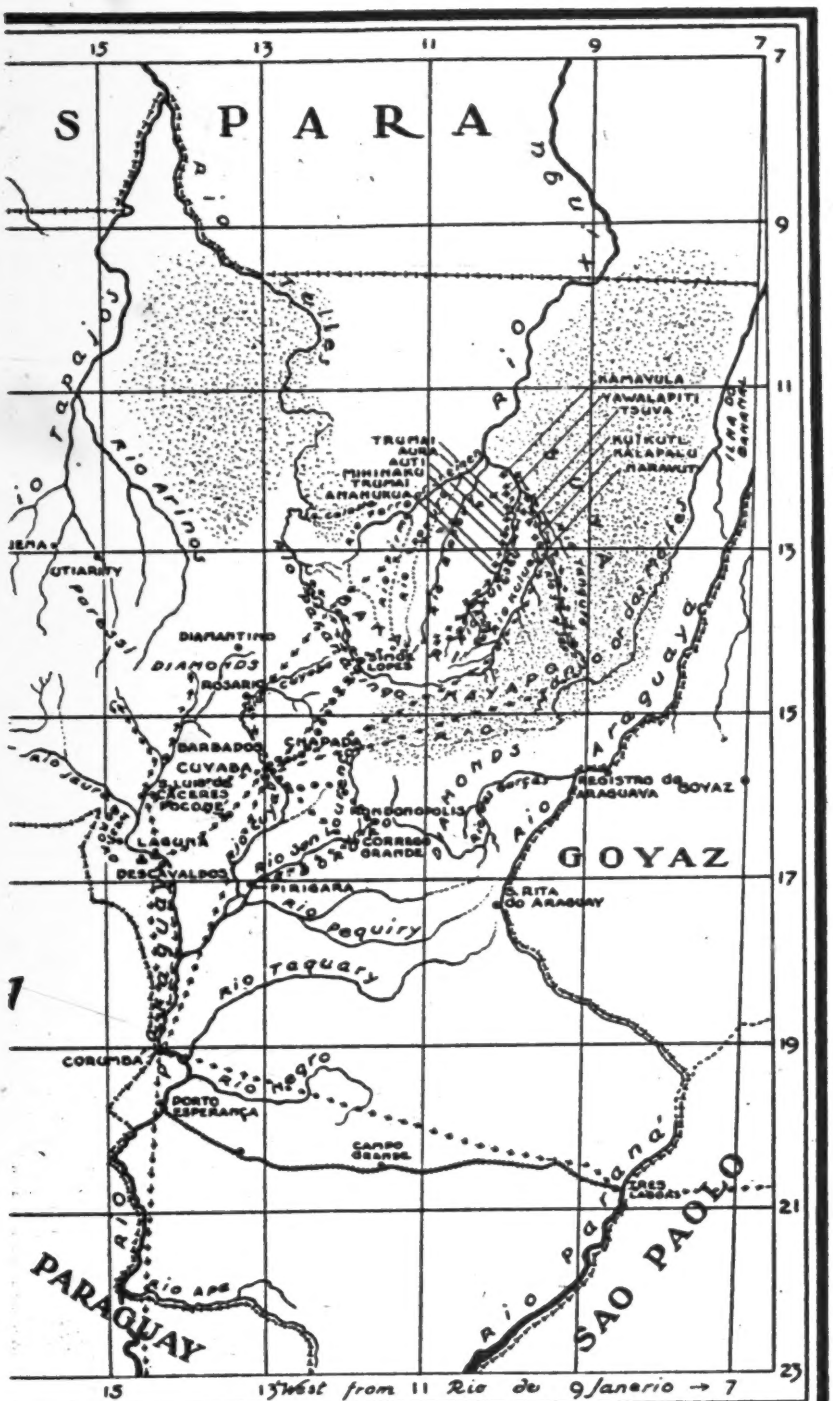
3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932

SP8 Bororo SP8

Bacairi SP7

PLATE XXV

Ba
Bo
102
131
133
172
361
487


S P A R A
Rio Guapore
Rio Tapajos
Rio Arinos
Rio Teles Pires
Rio Xingu
Rio Paraguay
Rio Araguaya
Rio Paraná
Rio Paraguay
Rio Pequiry
Rio Taquary
Rio Negro
Rio Apa
Rio Sao Lourenço
Rio Cuiaba
Rio Jauru
Rio Paraguay
Rio Paraná
Rio Sao Paulo
Rio Tocantins
Rio Ilha do Bananal
Rio Paranaiba
Rio Grande
Rio Paranaiba
Rio Sao Marcos
Rio Sao Lourenço
Rio Sao Lourenço
Rio Sao Lourenço

/80/

Seventh Chapter

000 March from Cuyabá to the Docile Bakaïrí on the Rio Novo

/Pages 80-98 are omitted in the translation./

/98/

●132 14 June. 6:40 A.M.: dry. 18.9, wet. 18.2, strat. 8, S 2-3. Like yesterday, the south wind brings low-moving cloud masses.

122 Today the men are ready very quickly; off shortly before seven o'clock in the morning.

[137] Predominantly meadow, a narrow, hard path leads through
[487] it, on which one can merrily trot. A number of oxen greet us as the first emissaries. A wide expanse of campo has been freshly burned off; it is said that wild animals like to seek out these "quemadas" /see the glossary, p. 172 / because of the salty
[136] ashes. A number of curicacas (ibis); in the distance an ostrich, which Pedro and the dogs pursue in vain.

361 At nine o'clock we see the "aldeamento"[7] /see the glossary, p.170 / of the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ in the distance; four houses; the sunshine gives the illusion of slate roofs; a few naked torsos hasten inside, clothed persons step outside. In the immediate
[342] vicinity the settlement shrinks to actual palm-straw huts.

622 /99/ Daniel is on the spot and introduces us to "Captain Reginaldo." Reginaldo da Silva Nogueira, from the walnut forest /Nusswald/. A man in his forties with a broad chest, long, curly black hair, a friendly look, but silent; hat, shirt, trousers in good condition.

574 General handshaking. A half dozen, mostly young, broad-shouldered men, likewise in their Sunday best, sit on the fence of the cattle yard. The crown of creation is absent. -- Gradually the procession draws up, and everyone settles down at home. By way of greeting, sugar cane is sucked and a swallow of liquor permitted.

[7] [i.e. village -- Analyst]

/109 cont./

132

Meteorological notes in the Bakaïrí village:

15 June. 7:00 A.M.: dry. 17.0 wet. 15.6, cum. s. 8, S 2-3.
8:00 A.M.: water of the brook 21.0, air 19.0.
2:00 P.M.: dry. 27.0, wet. 18.8, mares' tails 5°, S 2-3.
Ground radiation (maximum thermometer covered with a thin layer of clay): 41.0. Temperature 0.5 meters deep in the ground: 25.7 (ground opening 4 centimeters, not filled in.)
9:15 P.M.: dry. 19.0, wet. 15.8, clear, S 2-3.

16 June. 6:30 P.M.: ground radiation min. 13.0, ground temp. 25.5.
7:00 A.M.: dry. 12.4, wet. 11.7, clouds and wind = 0.
8:30 A.M.: water of the brook 19.5, air 14.0.
10:40 A.M.: I 734.6, II 725.4.
3:00 P.M.: dry. 32.2, wet. 19.0, ground radiation max. 40.0.
9:45 P.M.: dry. 16.3, wet. 15.0, clear.

17 June. 7:00 A.M.: dry. 14.0, wet. 13.1, clear, radiation min. 14.7.
/110/ 2:00 P.M.: dry. 32.8, wet. 20.2, cum. 3, NNE 2-3, ground (60 centimeters deep) 25.2 (hole covered with sand), radiation 46.2.
5:30 P.M.: water of the brook 20.5, air 21.7.
9:00 P.M.: dry. 18.0, wet. 16.6, cum. SW1, wind = 0.

18 June. 7:00 A.M.: dry. 15.7, wet. 14.8, ground radiation 15, ground temp. 25.2.
10:40 A.M.: I 735.4, II 725.4.
2:00 P.M. dry. 30.4, wet. 18.5, cum. s. 5, N 1-2; ground radiation max. 47.2, ground temperature (60 centimeters) 25.3.
4:00 P.M.: I 733.4, II 722.4.
9:00 P.M.: dry. 18.6, wet. 15.8, clear.

/110 cont./

132 19 June. 7:00 A.M.: dry. 14.8, wet. 13.3, clear.
10:20 P.M.: I 734.0, II 724.2.
2:10 P.M.: dry. 31.7, wet. 19.0, ground rod. 44.2, ground temp. (60 centimeters) 26.0.
10:20 P.M.: dry. 18.0.

20 June. 7:00 A.M.: dry. 14.1, wet. 13.0, strat. W., wind = 0.
8:00 A.M.: ground temp. 25.6, radiation 15.6 since 6:30 A.M.
2:00 P.M.: dry. 31.0, wet. 19.4, cum. 5, N. 1-3, ground radiation max. 44.9 since 12:30 P.M.
9:30 P.M.: dry. 17.9, wet. 16.3, clear.

21 June. 7:00 A.M.: dry. 14.4, wet. 13.0, clear.

/Pages 110-118, covering June 21 to June 27, are omitted in the translation./

/118/

28 June. (Corrego fundo) 7:00 A.M.: dry. 10.0, wet. 9.1, clear, calm.
10.00 A.M.: I 736.5, II 725.6. Hypsometer 98.660, air 25.0.
2:15 P.M.: dry. 30.1, wet. 17.0, clear, calm.

122 Lengthy transactions over iron goods. The fazendeiro is obstinate and suspicious, like an Indian. He dragged out all the discarded tools that he had in the house, in order to sell them at the purchase price. As a matter of fact, he can scarcely dispense with the better ones himself, even for a short time. He liked to use the comparison that the loss of these implements was equal to cutting off a leg. We luckily bought the most important things, a few axes and hatchets.

The people were busy slaughtering and pounding maize; Joaquim and Daniel made their way to the aldeament yesterday. Wilhelm and I with a few soldiers likewise wanted to go there today in order to study the Bakaïrí and also start procuring supplies among them.

/131 cont./

122 At night we write busily: two benches serve as tables; for
[534] sitting, knapsack and hammock. Outside the frogs are croaking; the Bakaïrí João, whom we call the minnesinger, is improvising on his violin; he cannot be parted from it and even takes it along to bathe. Thus, for the time being, the last night under a roof.

[133] 5 July. It was late afternoon before the staff crossed over.
[501] The river was about 150 meters wide. On either side is a barranca about five meters high. The long bark canoes give a confidence-
[123] inspiring impression. We shall have to become accustomed to them. Antiono already feels completely at home with us; he has fallen in love with a mouth organ that I gave him.

[136] 6 July. The river sent up mists in the early morning. Pedro caught a big pirahyba (Bagrus reticulatus). He is parading around in a soldier's coat, under which, and, to be sure, over his trousers, he is wearing an old flannel shirt of mine. Our ladies would take him for a curly-haired Neapolitan boy with a gentle, melancholy disposition, and yet the youth is only interested /132/ in killing everything that creeps and flies, and in between times in sucking sugar cane.

123 First Caetano came, in order to have breakfast with us once more. A number of women followed, brought us more beijús, and squatted to one side, the two Carlottas combing their long hair. The over-jackets had already disappeared on the second day.
122 Luis appeared last of all, when all the canoes were already at our shore; he went as far as the last sandstone slab, took off his clothes, and tried to wade across naked. But he was afraid and stood irresolute. "Well, come along," cried Felipe's wife. The minnesinger finally went after him. /Illustration appears here./

At ten o'clock we set out; for a long time the laughing and shouting of the women sounded behind us.

132 I am supplying the missing meteorological data for the stay in Corrego fundo and the Bakaïrí village:

/132 cont./

132 28 June. (Corrego fundo.) 4:00 P.M.: I 735.0, II 722.8, dry. 30.7, ground warming max. 41.2.
9:00 P.M.: dry. 16.4, wet. 13.1, clear, light wind.

29 June. 7:00 A.M.: dry. 12.6, wet. 11.5, clear, calm. Ground min. 14.1 (since 6:45 P.M., depth 50 centimeters).
10:00 A.M.: I 738.0, II 726.6.
2:45 P.M.: dry. 32.0, wet. 17.6, cum. 1. Since 10:00 /133/ NNW to 5, ground 24.0 (since 10:00, depth 60 centimeters), radiation surface max. 46.0.

501

132

Bark canoes on the Paranatinga.

4:20 P.M.: I 736.0, II 724.0.
9:10 P.M.: dry. 17.6, wet. 14.2, clear, calm.

30 June. 7:00 A.M.: dry. 12.2, wet. 11.7, clear, calm, radiation min. 14.8.
10:15 A.M.: I 738.0, II 726.2.
2:10 P.M.: dry. 31.2, wet. 18.4, cum. s. 4. Since 11:00 gusts from N. Radiation max. 47.8.

/132 cont./

132

4:00 P.M.: I 736.0, II 724.0.
10:30 P.M.: dry. 17.0, wet. 14.0, clear, calm.

2 July. (Bakairí village.) 10:00 A.M.: I 739.0, II 729.0, dry. 29.0.
2:10 P.M.: dry. 30.8, wet. 18.3, clear, N gusts to 4.
4:20 P.M.: I 737.8, II 729.0, dry. 30.0, hypsom. 98.660.
9:00 P.M.: dry. 18.2, wet. 14.7, clear, calm.

3 July. 7:20 A.M.: dry. 13.8, wet. 13.0, clear, calm.
2:00 P.M.: dry. 31.1, wet. 18.3, clear. Since 10:00 N.
10:15 A.M.: I 738.6, II 728.6, dry. 29.0.
4:00 P.M.: I 737.0, II 726.4.
9:00 P.M.: dry. 17.6, wet. 15.4, clear, calm.

4 July. 7:00 A.M.: dry. 13.4, wet. 12.6, clear, calm.
10:00 A.M.: I 737.6, II 728.0.
2:30 P.M.: dry. 31.0, wet. 17.6, NE cum. 1, E 1-2, forenoon N wind.
4:00 P.M.: I 735.2, II 724.8. -- 5:00 dry. 28.5. Hypsom. 98.605.

5 July. 7:00 A.M.: dry. 13.1, wet. 12.3, clear, calm.
10:00 A.M.: I 737.4, II 727.8, dry. 24.4.
2:00 P.M.: dry. 30.2, wet. 16.4, clear N. 2, forenoon to 4.
5:00 P.M.: I 736.0, II 725.6, dry. 29.0.

6 July. (Right bank of the Paranatinga.) 6:45 A.M.: I 737.0, II, 728.2, dry. 11.5.

000 /Chapters 9 and 10, pp. 134-156, are omitted in the translation./

/161 cont./

123 They brought fire to us in the hut and withdrew after they had examined our candle closely. One or another, however, constantly came to have coat or trousers put on. One young man appeared and, pointing to his chest, complained, "tuck, tuck, tuck," about heart palpitations.

/162/ I gave him a powder, curious as to whether he would not reject it. After I reassured him a bit and patted him encouragingly on the shoulder, he drank the mixture slowly and fearfully, but drank it to the last drop. An unsuspecting little people. The procedure was described to new visitors, who listened with close attention; the little powder-paper was observantly looked over; but the curative power, which soon made its appearance, was apparently attributed to the knife with which I mixed the medicine. -- Wilhelm had Chinese fireworks with him; this suddenly went off in the yard and frightened them almost more than the shots. He secretly lighted a leftover little tube in the interior of the hut -- how it was possible is still a puzzle to me now -- but at the same instant the five persons present all started at the same time through the low door opening to the outside.

● 132 13 August. 7:00 A.M.: dry. 13.1, wet. 12.5.

123 Writing uncomfortable. Filling in from yesterday, I am
126 sitting outside on a dry beam that lies bare in the sand. It is still quiet. The professor has just carefully picked up the fireworks cases; he is standing in back of me and is looking admiringly at what I am doing. Scarcely a sound comes from the huts. A blue-
231 yellow arara on the roof has the floor; it pronounced the λ, on which I almost sprain my tongue, just as accurately and yet vaguely blurred as the natives. The tame pavão do rio clucks and gobbles in strange tones that seem to come from a music box; bored by the morning mood, a green parrot is sitting on a bare branch of
ooo shrubbery. I hear with displeasure that someone is drinking in the house, mingau again?

/165 cont./

609 mix for him -- whereas the boy of a Brazilian colonist, to whom I was called in Rosario, leaped out of bed and fled from me into the forest.

186 823 The old sibyl joined us this evening on the open plaza. She pointed to the west, "Bakaïrí!"; to the south, "Bakaïrí!"; to the north and east likewise "Bakaïrí!" and finally, describing a circle in the air, she summed up with proud satisfaction, "Bakaïrí!" In translation "All this is subject to me, admit that I am fortunate."

●132 14 Aug. 6:00 A.M.: dry. 11.7, wet. 10.6.
2:00 P.M.: dry. 34.9, wet. 20.0, clear, NE 1.
4:05 P.M.: I 740.8, II 730.0, dry. 34.0, hypsom. 98.825.
9:00 P.M.: dry. 18.0, wet. 17.0.

126 /166/ I was fortunately able to measure three women.
[124] Antonio is very useless as an interpreter and causes more difficulties
[532] than the harmless people themselves. I also traded for a few maize-straw dolls, judging from the ease with which the transaction was made, there seemed to be no higher or in any sense a religious meaning attached to them.

592 We spent some time in Pauhaga's, or rather Chief Cavácos's house, it differed in nothing essential from that of the professor; there were no straw dolls.

137 We found inhame (Dioscorea, yams), which we greeted
252 with joy. -- The fish are grilled on just such racks as we came across on the Batovy; they are exposed to the fire until they are encased in a thick charcoal crust; capybara leg, which tasted like fat fish, and monkey steak were also charred on the outside in this fashion. The crisp charcoal gives the insipid-tasting meat, which is not salted, an -- faute de mieux -- improved flavor. The
[263] Bakaïrí are also familiar with a very medicinal tasting salt made from tree ashes, which, however, they do not seem to use in the preparation of food.

609 431 The soldiers, who were paying their farewell visit, were given generous quantities of beijús, puvas, and polvilho /manioc
252 flour; see the glossary, p.172 / as presents. The grated and pounded mandioca is pressed through mats; the pulp is put into

/166 cont./

252 brick shape -- puvas, used for mingau. They boil the strained liquid in large pots, whereby the finest flour is deposited -- polvilho; this makes the best beijús.

501 Back in the afternoon. Four canoes were acquired with an
[437] ax, shirt, and trousers. We are not in good shape, in spite of all that. Quintilian's canoe burst when it was hauled down. The
[531] Bakaïrí canoes differ from ours only in their more careful workmanship; one of them is painted with black rings on the outside of the longitudinal sides. The oars, the size of a walking stick, have a crook-shaped handle, shaft, and a long lance-shaped blade, which is slightly hollowed out like a shovel.

133 The height of the two uppermost levels of the salto amounts to four meters; two meters more may be figured for the falls
[226] below. Baskets for catching fish hang on ropes, which, in turn, are held by stakes standing in the middle of the whirlpool.

We call this waterfall the Salto da Alegria. Our happiness
136 is only slightly marred by a swarm of bees and wasps; among the latter, the kind that sting very painfully. -- The transport of the
122 canoes, for which there is a route, is completed. /Illustration appears here./

/167/

● 132 15 Aug. φ 13° 11'.7, λ 5'.7, km. 6.41, total 130.85.
122 7:00 A.M.: dry. 11.8, wet. 9.9, clear, calm.

000 We have only nine canoes; one is very battered. Castro and I separated, he is traveling with Manoel, I with Compadre Valentin. Off about 9:30 A.M.; immediately an accident happened. At a small rapids Wilhelm's boat capsized, and the foolish Negro Chico behaved as clumsily as possible. With the knapsack and the suitcase in his hands, he stood in the middle of the water, which was flowing over the baggage as though over a mill wheel, as bewildered as a porter in a railroad station who has lost sight of his stranger. He almost drowned, but was luckily pulled out by Clementino. We dried out on both shores. Delay until 1:00 in the afternoon.

[Text continues on P. 48--Analyst]

/167 cont./

133 Instead of the cachoeiras, the simple rapids now cause us worries. With effort Antonio saved his canoe from capsizing; he escaped with a load of water.

We pass a canal three-fourths of a meter wide, which leads 226 through a meadow to a lagoon. There, when the water is higher, the Bakaïrí seize the fish passing through the canal. They are not familiar with hooks and catch the fish either in traps or kill them with arrows.

137 Attractive park landscape. Many tree skeletons in the water. Width 35-45 meters. We were merrily rowing along and 000 already thinking of picking out an attractive campsite when necessity chose one for us. Wilhelm's canoe with Israel and Chico was shipwrecked a second time, but, to be sure, at a less dangerous spot, after the rapids had already been passed. Everything disappeared in an instant in the waves. Poor Israel, who could not swim, held on to a tree branch jutting up from the bottom; the canoe was quickly righted, and three men safely dragged to shore the unlucky one who, on account of his bittersweet expressions and at the same time irresolute behavior, had to put up with general laughter on top of everything. Valentin caught the tripod of the theodolite, and everybody swam, dived, and paddled with the current; little by little the entire cargo was brought to light, with the exception of the bundle made up of Wilhelm's poncho, blanket, and hammock. All searching remained unsuccessful.

226 The Bakaïrí have set up for themselves here a natural fish treasury; on the edge of the river bed, boulders are placed loosely beside one another in a circle; the water flows in and out through two larger openings. -- We bring two canoes in, which are to be made flexible and tomorrow bent into shape.

/168/

122 16 Aug. φ 13° 7' .6, λ 5' .9, km. 10.90, total 141.75.

132 7:00 A.M.: dry. 11.1.

10:00 A.M.: I 742.2, II 733.6, dry. 24.7.

5:40 P.M.: I 741.0, II 732.8, dry. 24.9, water 25.0.

/168 cont./

126 During the night there was heavy dew; in the forenoon we dried Wilhelm's things; it is a pity the way the drawings look, the sheets are stuck together and bent. How could we have brought photographic chemicals through here?

136 At 1:00 in the afternoon slowly off. Several times a sandy shore 20 meters wide; masaricos, small black-white, red-legged shore-birds. Numerous traces of the tracajá turtle; the people poke in the sand with an arrow or generally simply follow the tracks of the tracajá and with their hands dig up the shallow pit that shows the impression of their bodies. In one nest there are 17 eggs, in another 15; the egg is white and gradually shades to gray; 4.9 centimeters long, 3.2 centimeters wide. Temperature of the sand 57°.4. The verdict about the empty nests, merely in passing by, is often: "Here the lizard has fed."

It is wondrously summer-like: current, sun, charming leafy shores, yellow butterflies, and no mosquitoes or wasps. Many novatos. Endless meanderings; we covered about two legoas.

Valentin caught a large pintado fish; see the glossary, p. 171/; Satyr was almost pulled out of the canoe by a pirahyba that was supposedly as long as he was. Loud buzzing and chirping in the night air. The sabiá was singing.

-122 17 Aug. φ 13° 7'.3, λ 6'.1, km. 0.57, total 142.32.
●132 6:35 A.M.: dry. 11.3, water 23.5.
7:30 P.M.: II 732.0, dry. 21.0.

Shivering I awoke during the night and believed that I had [361] fever. It was the cold. Very soon we arrived in the harbor of the second village.

227 A fisherman's hut lies at the entrance of the forest; here are baskets shaped somewhat like an elongated spiked helmet, into which, from the inner rim, a small collecting funnel with a narrow 487 opening leads inside. The path stretches inland one legoa and is very similar to the one from the first village.

574 After a few steps we were received by two good acquaintances from Aldea I, who had gone overland to announce us to their fellows. One of them in blue trousers and red striped shirt, the

/171 cont./

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1. (cont.)
so that it rattles. They rattle with it when they sing and dance, and call it tammaraka." The soothsayer lets the rattle speak "and just a word so that one cannot really perceive whether the rattle is doing it or whether he is doing it. And the other people think that the rattle is doing it...but when I saw the fraud, I went out of the hut; I thought, what a poor, deluded people that is."

361 The aldea was otherwise similar to the first in everything. All around puva racks, cotton, spear grass, fruta de lobo, and
162 nearby a brook running over white sand. We counted 18 men, 17 women, 7 children; it is possible, however, that one or another has been counted twice; again the small number of children is very striking. Toward evening we returned to the river; I had done some good bartering.

122 18 Aug. φ 12° 59'.9, λ 7'.7, km. 22.10, total 164.42.
[132] 7:30 A.M.: dry. 14.0, water 22.7.
5:35 P.M.: I 742.8, II 733.4, dry. 25.0.

From the wool /Wolle," wool, down, hair, cotton"/ obtained in the village fish lines were twisted. During the night
[136] five pirararas /see the glossary, p. 172/ and nine piranhas were caught. The former has the bad habit, when it is hauled on land, of emitting a farewell sound, which is audible far and wide, with the part that leaves the water last. It tastes fatty; the broth is somewhat strong; it is also supposed to produce ulcers. -- The
[482] professor went home again; besides arrow, bow, and the treasured mirror, he carried his hammock on his back in a net held by a forehead band; this is the way the Bakairí goes traveling. -- A young, handsome chap accompanies us to the next village. He
[291] wears a red-black flannel shirt and around his head a green cloth with the Brazilian coat of arms. At the campsite he removes this clothing.

/171 cont./

122 19 Aug. φ 12° 53'.0, λ 12'.4, km. 31.03, total 195.45.
132 6:35 A.M.: dry. 15.0, water 24.3.
5:43 P.M.: I 742.2, dry. 26.1, water 26.0.
9:30 P.M.: I 742.8, dry. 21.1.

137 /172/ The river landscape changes its physiognomy somewhat. Shrubs and light-green, fine-leaved bushes, which form tall bowers or rounded, dense masses, occupy the foreground. Willow-like trees often stand as though planted, with delicate, slender trunks. We have not exactly come out of the forest river into a meadow river, but the low-plain character predominates. The sand barranca is steep. Easterly direction of the river.

122 20 Aug. φ 12° 51'.1 λ 12'.8, km. 6.27, total 201.72.
132 7:00 A.M.: dry. 19.3, water 25.1, at night 2-3:00 thunderstorm in NW.

Today the sky is covered with strato-cumulus and the air is showery damp.

133 At an early hour we reached a branch stream 20 meters wide, emptying in quietly from the right. Finally a tributary.

361 The third aldea, located on the left bank, is not quite two
[342] kilometers from the Batovy. There are three huts, lower, smaller, and less conical than previously. We three again install ourselves
122 for a night among the good people, and even Antonio, who has given up his mistrust, sleeps along with us.

364 As agreeable as this "little village" is, it must be called
345 the dirtiest of the three. The floor of the festival hut is covered with dry grass and refuse of all kinds; the sun shines through the roof, so that inside we are able to light our pipe with the burning-
[532] glass. It is obviously still unfinished and new; besides a few arrows and several rattles, flat wooden fish are stuck on the walls as the products of local artistic activity.

162 Census: 13 men, 12 women and -- the most favorable proportion so far -- 19 children. Among them there are a man and a woman of another tribe whom we are to meet farther
142 downstream, the Kustenaŭ /Custenau/. In type I am unable to see any essential differences; in fact, the more Bakairí we meet, the more uncertain I am in abstracting the common features.

/173 cont./

535 In the evening there was a musical performance. A flickering fire of twigs faintly illuminated the night. The men appeared
[534] in pairs with menis, the meter-long flutes; one had the rattling shells tied around his foot. One pair stationed themselves near us, the other one in front of the opposite house. The former started to blow, stamping rhythmically with the right foot in one spot, our two dipped the menis in water and cried loudly "uh -- uh," then started to blow also and began moving toward the hut at the left, beating time regularly with the right foot. The ones across the way came blowing toward us, while the others, without ceasing their melancholy wail, stood still again, stamping and bending their bodies forward. Finally this pair, too, returned to their starting point; during the finale the lament of the night wind whistling in the chimney increased to the most miserable wail, and the quartet
[212] was at an end. Courteously we were then immediately served the strengthening mingau.

This was the "tŏrŏdidlte," a word infinitely jollier than the dance itself, which it designates.

122 21 Aug. φ 12° 49'.3, λ 14'.3, km. 11.08, total 212.80.
•132 /174/ 11:00 A.M.: I 745.8, II 736.4, dry. 29.0.
5:20 P.M.: I 743.6, II 734.2, dry. 27.0, wet. 24.1, water 25.8.

ooo Back to the camp early. During the night the bottom of Israel's canoe split with a bang and the load sank. Some of Wilhelm's things, among them the oil sketches of the place of embarkation, were destroyed. The beans lay in the water for hours.

122 Off at 1:00 in the afternoon; soon there was campo on the right; we noticed a hut which we investigated; it did not seem to
[415] be finished or else was merely a supply station. A number of well-filled baskets, pots, bags with gourd vessels, a rack for the puvas, and bunches of urucũ capsules, whose angular seeds furnish the red pigment, were completely abandoned. The path to a roça led into the woods.

/174 cont./

122 22 Aug. φ12° 42'.0, λ16'.4, km. 29.44, total 242.26.
132 6:45 A.M.: dry. 17.0, wet. 16.1, clear, calm.
7:15 A.M.: I 742.8.
6:00 P.M.: I 743.6, II 734.2, dry. 27.1, wet. 24.3, clear, calm, water 26.5.

133 The river is 70 meters wide. Three rapids. It has much
226 swampy terrain and forms small lagoons. Tall scaffolds have been erected for passage and for catching fish. When the lagoon has filled up in the rainy season, a mat plaiting is fastened to the poles, through which the water partly flows off later, but the fish are held back. -- A hunt for two tapirs was in vain.

122 23 Aug. φ12° 34'.5, λ19'.2, km. 32.70, total 274.94.
132 6:35 A.M.: I 744.0, II 736.2, dry. 20.0, wet. 19.4, alto-c. 8, wind = 0, water 25.3.
5:45 P.M.: I 744.4, II 735.4, dry. 26.1, wet. 23.8, clouds = 0, wind = 0, water 27.0.
10:20 P.M.: I 744.0, dry. 19.1.

During the night, 2-3:00, a light rain fell. Sheet lightning. Early the sky is cloudy; not until 9:00 does the sun break through. --
133 The river makes meandering windings; two brooks flow in on the right, one is 20 meters wide. There is often sandy beach and
136 willow brush in the water. Farther on comes campo. We see six herons. -- A dog dives in pursuit of a capybara. The meat of the latter has the taste of machine oil.

122 24 Aug. φ 12° 32'.6, λ19'.6, km. 7.13, total 282.07.
132 6:30 A.M.: I 743.2, II 735.2, dry. 14.7, wet. 14.0, clear, calm, water 25.2.

000 During the night the frango de agua made an uproar; toads performed a castanet concert.

/177 cont./

122 By way of farewell we wanted to drink sweet mingau --
[172] piserogu -- in the main house, it was bubbling in a big pot: I was /178/ so foolish as to dip a piece of beijú prematurely into the foam -- the old cook leaped up and they all screamed at once, horrified -- the foam was still poisonous. That I did not know this was probably inconceivable to them; but I thought it best to refrain from producing a miracle for them.

300 It was lasting too long for us: Claus had to calculate an occultation of Mars that was taking place today. Unfortunately the event which we had long anticipated with pleasure and which would have been doubly important for us so near the Schingú took place before twilight set in.

Our Bakairí visits had come to an end.

[134] In the evening an inferno of mosquitoes. Wilhelm's and my hands and lower arms have for some time been covered with flat, slow-healing sores. They start with a dark blister the size of a pinhead, which contains thin pus; then they become enlarged and discharge a thin, milky secretion. It looks as though they came from the bites of small flies. In connection with the discharge, red scars remain after healing.

122 25 Aug. φ 12° 26'.2, λ 21'.7, km. 28.83, total 310.90.
●132 6:50 A.M.: I 743.2, II 735.2, dry. 14.0, wet. 13.1, mares' tails 3°, wind - 0, water 25.1.
5:30 P.M.: I 744.6, II 735.2, dry. 25.4, wet. 23.3, clear.

133 Heaven only knows when the "Schingú" is finally supposed to appear. After two days there is a river coming from the left, that is no doubt certain, and later on a larger river -- but when? Concerning this there are the most varied interpretations.

At a width of 70-80 meters we measured the speed of the Batovy at 1,416 meters per hour. Barranca three and one-half
137 meters. Water dirty yellow, as always. Campo, tucum and carandá palms. Low brush on the shore and individual copses about 18 meters high. Aratic5, blossoming paratudo.

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000 Clauss, Castro, and the majority stayed at the fazenda. The owner, for his part, rode to a compadre /Gavatter in the Ger.; in the original source, p. 191 (translated p. 72) "compadre" is translated as the Ger. Gevatter; the latter term is given in the glossary of Brazilian expressions, p. 171 / eight legoas away, who was supposed to sell farinha. Thus everyone was busy.

133 Wilhelm and I arrived at twilight after a four-hour march over a series of hilly ranges, having crossed a few small tributaries of the Paranatinga. We could have sworn that [622] we were in the Bergischen [142] /a hilly countryside near [291] the Rhine/ or Westphalia -- [301] farm houses in front of the [302] bush, the quemada like → potato fields; -- in the [241] gathering darkness ← we also began to indulge in fancies: on a barren hill in the distance we clearly saw a lunatic asylum in the latest pavilion style.

Captain Caetano "Mêmo."

231 The dreadful dogs that hastened toward us, barking, were ill-suited to bringing us back to a clear and sober conception of reality. These curs, small, skeletal specimens, with pointed snouts, light whitish-yellow fur, and glassy, watery eyes, looked as though they scratched up the dead out of the graves in the cemetery at night.

122 485 Received by old Captain Caetano and a few young chaps, we were put up in the guest house. The term is synonymous with guest room or guest stall. The only furniture a trough-like, unfinished bark canoe on a stand in the corner, which we were permitted to use as a dresser and table.

/131 cont./

122 At night we write busily: two benches serve as tables; for
[534] sitting, knapsack and hammock. Outside the frogs are croaking;
the Bakaïrí João, whom we call the minnesinger, is improvising
on his violin; he cannot be parted from it and even takes it along
to bathe. Thus, for the time being, the last night under a roof.

[133] 5 July. It was late afternoon before the staff crossed over.
The river was about 150 meters wide. On either side is a barranca
[501] about five meters high. The long bark canoes give a confidence-
inspiring impression. We shall have to become accustomed to
[123] them. Antiono already feels completely at home with us; he has
fallen in love with a mouth organ that I gave him.

[136] 6 July. The river sent up mists in the early morning. Pedro
caught a big pirahyba (Bagrus reticulatus). He is parading around
in a soldier's coat, under which, and, to be sure, over his trousers,
he is wearing an old flannel shirt of mine. Our ladies would take
him for a curly-haired Neapolitan boy with a gentle, melancholy
disposition, and yet the youth is only interested /132/ in killing
everything that creeps and flies, and in between times in sucking
sugar cane.

123 First Caetano came, in order to have breakfast with us once
more. A number of women followed, brought us more beijús,
and squatted to one side, the two Carlottas combing their long
hair. The over-jackets had already disappeared on the second day.
122 Luis appeared last of all, when all the canoes were already at
our shore; he went as far as the last sandstone slab, took off his
clothes, and tried to wade across naked. But he was afraid and
stood irresolute. "Well, come along," cried Felipe's wife.
The minnesinger finally went after him. /Illustration appears
here./

At ten o'clock we set out; for a long time the laughing and
shouting of the women sounded behind us.

132 I am supplying the missing meteorological data for the stay
in Corrego fundo and the Bakaïrí village:

Eleventh Chapter

The Wild Bakaïrí. The Kustenaú /Custenau/.

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After all kinds of troubles during the morning, we traveled for a stretch without difficulties on the afternoon of 11 August, and again there was heard the rumble of the cachoeira /cataract; see the glossary, p. 170 /, which by this time had become positively gruesome for us all. To our joyous amazement we found an Indian canoe on the left shore. Below a beautiful waterfall poured forth on two ledges; poles and steps were set in it; it foamed and churned in a basin, only to form another level farther below.

[487]

122 For the moment, however, we have no eye for the salto; where are the Indians? We all gather, leave behind three men to guard the canoes, and push forward, gun in hand. -- The ground is strewn with jatobá /see the glossary, p. 171 / fruits; a well-trod path leads inland. We pass by a tree, into the bark of which the outlines, one-half life-sized, of a man above and a woman below have been crudely carved.

[137] [487] [532]

241 Silently our column marches through the forest -- the narrow path stops -- a clearing. There is thick smoke and steam rising from the tree stumps that stand there like broken pillars, in between a tangle of trunks and boughs on the ground, everything in

/158 cont./

342 We were led into the smallest of the three huts; there we
353 sat down on a long trunk lying on the floor. Two supporting beams, adorned with a diadem of parrot feathers and wound at the bottom with a belt of dry grass stalks, held up the straw roof. Many elegantly worked arrows were sticking in the wall.

179 These Bakaïrí had never seen human beings of another color.
361 They said that there were a few more settlements downstream.
133 This was the last cachoeira, the one we passed here -- great news -- and the river -- naturally, we were eager to learn this -- runs north, it is called Tamitatoala; after 12 days' journey there comes another, larger one from the left, the Ronuro.

000 Thus all favorable circumstances seemed to converge and the hardships of the trip were amply outweighed.

162 We could not endure it much longer in the hut; outside /159/ others appeared, including two women -- one, whose youth and beauty were long gone, busily tripping about with
291 tousled hair. A triangular, straw-yellow leaf fastened to a string, which was slung around the hips and drawn through the perineum,
301 constituted her scanty clothing. Our friend who was doing the honors wore around his waist three strings, on which were alternately strung bits of stalks and black seeds, in each ear lobe two coquettish yellow feathers, and above the ankles a tight band of
302 bast. His hair had a dark reddish sheen; it was cut in Russian style around a bowl; the tonsure was as correct as in other well-known cases where the discoverers of a tribe were misled by it into believing that the heralds of Christianity must have been active
[142] here earlier. The type of physiognomy was without doubt in conformity with the Bakaïrí.

609 Soon a second principal figure appeared on the scene: a
[142] medium-sized Indian with a fine hooked nose and heavily painted
[302] red, who was coming from hunting; he drew near uneasily in a roundabout way, talking partly to himself and partly, parrying, to us; we called him the professor because of his incredibly dignified manner of examining every object most minutely, like a person who knows a thing thoroughly, but cannot quite understand why this or that does not fit.

/166 cont./

252 brick shape -- puvas, used for mingau. They boil the strained liquid in large pots, whereby the finest flour is deposited -- polvilho; this makes the best beijús.

501 Back in the afternoon. Four canoes were acquired with an
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[226] below. Baskets for catching fish hang on ropes, which, in turn, are held by stakes standing in the middle of the whirlpool.

We call this waterfall the Salto da Alegria. Our happiness
136 is only slightly marred by a swarm of bees and wasps; among the latter, the kind that sting very painfully. -- The transport of the
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/167/

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[Text continues on P. 48--Analyst]

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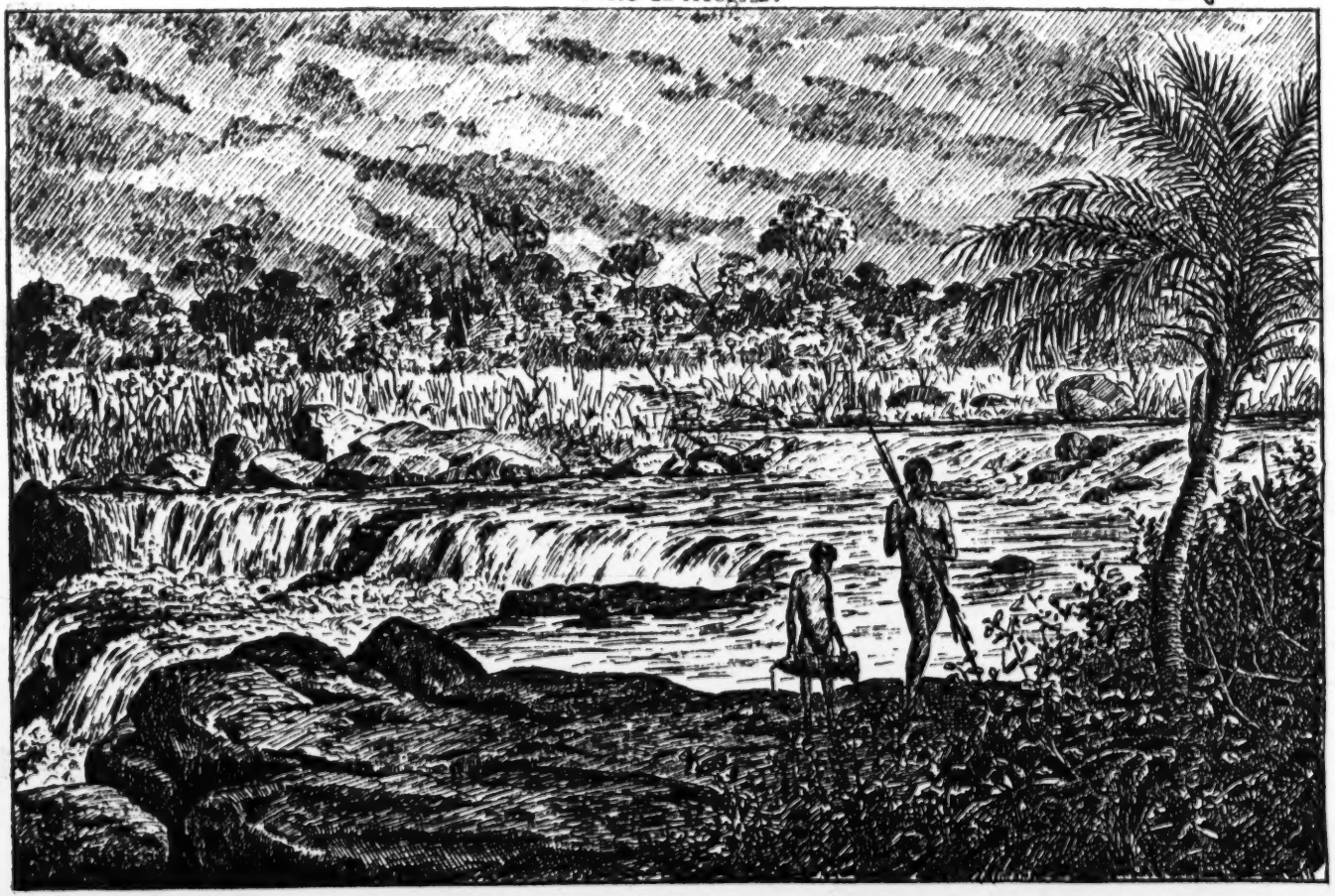
291

Salto da Alegria.



1: Steinen--47 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/167 cont./

133 Instead of the cachoeiras, the simple rapids now cause us worries. With effort Antonio saved his canoe from capsizing; he escaped with a load of water.

We pass a canal three-fourths of a meter wide, which leads 226 through a meadow to a lagoon. There, when the water is higher, the Bakaïrí seize the fish passing through the canal. They are not familiar with hooks and catch the fish either in traps or kill them with arrows.

137 Attractive park landscape. Many tree skeletons in the water. Width 35-45 meters. We were merrily rowing along and 000 already thinking of picking out an attractive campsite when necessity chose one for us. Wilhelm's canoe with Israel and Chico was shipwrecked a second time, but, to be sure, at a less dangerous spot, after the rapids had already been passed. Everything disappeared in an instant in the waves. Poor Israel, who could not swim, held on to a tree branch jutting up from the bottom; the canoe was quickly righted, and three men safely dragged to shore the unlucky one who, on account of his bittersweet expressions and at the same time irresolute behavior, had to put up with general laughter on top of everything. Valentin caught the tripod of the theodolite, and everybody swam, dived, and paddled with the current; little by little the entire cargo was brought to light, with the exception of the bundle made up of Wilhelm's poncho, blanket, and hammock. All searching remained unsuccessful.

226 The Bakaïrí have set up for themselves here a natural fish treasury; on the edge of the river bed, boulders are placed loosely beside one another in a circle; the water flows in and out through two larger openings. -- We bring two canoes in, which are to be made flexible and tomorrow bent into shape.

/168/

122 16 Aug. φ 13° 7' .6, λ 5' .9, km. 10.90, total 141.75.

132 7:00 A.M.: dry. 11.1.

10:00 A.M.: I 742.2, II 733.6, dry. 24.7.

5:40 P.M.: I 741.0, II 732.8, dry. 24.9, water 25.0.

/171 cont./

122 19 Aug. φ 12° 53'.0, λ 12'.4, km. 31.03, total 195.45.

132 6:35 A.M.: dry. 15.0, water 24.3.

5:43 P.M.: I 742.2, dry. 26.1, water 26.0.

9:30 P.M.: I 742.8, dry. 21.1.

137 /172/ The river landscape changes its physiognomy somewhat. Shrubs and light-green, fine-leaved bushes, which form tall bowers or rounded, dense masses, occupy the foreground. Willow-like trees often stand as though planted, with delicate, slender trunks. We have not exactly come out of the forest river into a meadow river, but the low-plain character predominates. The sand barranca is steep. Easterly direction of the river.

122 20 Aug. φ 12° 51'.1 λ 12'.8, km. 6.27, total 201.72.

132 7:00 A.M.: dry. 19.3, water 25.1, at night 2-3:00 thunderstorm in NW.

Today the sky is covered with strato-cumulus and the air is showery damp.

●133 At an early hour we reached a branch stream 20 meters wide, emptying in quietly from the right. Finally a tributary.

361 The third aldea, located on the left bank, is not quite two
[342] kilometers from the Batovy. There are three huts, lower, smaller, and less conical than previously. We three again install ourselves
122 for a night among the good people, and even Antonio, who has given up his mistrust, sleeps along with us.

364 As agreeable as this "little village" is, it must be called
345 the dirtiest of the three. The floor of the festival hut is covered with dry grass and refuse of all kinds; the sun shines through the roof, so that inside we are able to light our pipe with the burning-
[532] glass. It is obviously still unfinished and new; besides a few arrows and several rattles, flat wooden fish are stuck on the walls as the products of local artistic activity.

162 Census: 13 men, 12 women and -- the most favorable proportion so far -- 19 children. Among them there are a man and a woman of another tribe whom we are to meet farther
142 downstream, the Kustenaŭ /Custenau/. In type I am unable to see any essential differences; in fact, the more Bakaïrí we meet, the more uncertain I am in abstracting the common features.

/174 cont./

122 22 Aug. φ12° 42'.0, λ16'.4, km. 29.44, total 242.24.
132 6:45 A.M.: dry. 17.0, wet. 16.1, clear, calm.
7:15 A.M.: I 742.8.
6:00 P.M.: I 743.6, II 734.2, dry. 27.1, wet. 24.3, clear, calm, water 26.5.

•133 The river is 70 meters wide. Three rapids. It has much
226 swampy terrain and forms small lagoons. Tall scaffolds have been erected for passage and for catching fish. When the lagoon has filled up in the rainy season, a mat plaiting is fastened to the poles, through which the water partly flows off later, but the fish are held back. -- A hunt for two tapirs was in vain.

122 23 Aug. φ12° 34'.5, λ19'.2, km. 32.70, total 274.94.
132 6:35 A.M.: I 744.0, II 736.2, dry. 20.0, wet. 19.4, alto-c. 8, wind = 0, water 25.3.
5:45 P.M.: I 744.4, II 735.4, dry. 26.1, wet. 23.8, clouds = 0, wind = 0, water 27.0.
10:20 P.M.: I 744.0, dry. 19.1.

During the night, 2-3:00, a light rain fell. Sheet lightning. Early the sky is cloudy; not until 9:00 does the sun break through. --
133 The river makes meandering windings; two brooks flow in on the right, one is 20 meters wide. There is often sandy beach and
136 willow brush in the water. Farther on comes campo. We see six herons. -- A dog dives in pursuit of a capybara. The meat of the latter has the taste of machine oil.

122 24 Aug. φ 12° 32'.6, λ19'.6, km. 7.13, total 282.07.
132 6:30 A.M.: I 743.2, II 735.2, dry. 14.7, wet. 14.0, clear, calm, water 25.2.

000 During the night the frango de agua made an uproar; toads performed a castanet concert.

/175/

000 Off at 9:00. Soundlessly with Valentin in the lead; occasionally a bird is aroused in the bushes. Doves coo, otherwise deep silence. The last morning mists heavy on the water.

•133 From the shore a blue serra /sierra; see the glossary, p. 172/
361 visible in NW. At 10:00 we reached the harbor of Aldea IV.
Here we were already expected. It is the only one that lies on the right shore, about three kilometers inland. -- A half-dozen
609 older people received us with their "am(b)á" and accompanied us along the way. They stopped often in order to make clear to us, with many gestures of satisfaction, that they were Bakaïrí and masters of the entire region. Mostly through meadow and
[361] campo along the edge of the forest. -- It was the largest village, seven huts, and in the middle an open plaza. Twenty-four men stood there in several groups, foremost a heavily blackened fellow who swung bow and arrows wildly, beat on them clatteringly, and shouted with a stentorian voice: "Bakaïrí, Kɑ̨ura Bakaïrí" (we, the Bakaïrí). And the chorus joined in: "Kɑ̨ura Bakaïrí --
[624] Kustenaú...Trumaí hu-hu,"...other tribal names, incomprehensible words, triumphant gestures; finally the herald, with a gesture of his hand, invited us to pass. Apparently they were trying to make as forceful an impression as possible on us.

302 Only the hair of a few individuals was dyed red; otherwise they blackened their faces, chests, and legs. No one was dis-
[301] tinguished by special finery; they wore their belt strings, arm and leg bands of cotton or burití bast.

[142] The skin color seemed to me a little darker than among the other Bakaïrí, but I may have been misled by the black painting, which did not show any particular designs anywhere, but rather was manifested in a simple coating of the body. The spinal column was left free, and likewise the parts from which the color could rub off in sitting. Membrum virile parvum, praeputium longum.

142 The epidermis of several individuals was thickened ichthyosis-like and covered with hard, dry scales over the entire body. Many had curly hair.

/177 cont./

122 By way of farewell we wanted to drink sweet mingau --
[272] piseregu -- in the main house; it was bubbling in a big pot; I was /178/ so foolish as to dip a piece of beijú prematurely into the foam -- the old cook leaped up and they all screamed at once, horrified -- the foam was still poisonous. That I did not know this was probably inconceivable to them; but I thought it best to refrain from producing a miracle for them.

000 It was lasting too long for us; Clauss had to calculate an occultation of Mars that was taking place today. Unfortunately the event which we had long anticipated with pleasure and which would have been doubly important for us so near the Schingú took place before twilight set in.

Our Bakaïrí visits had come to an end.

[136] In the evening an inferno of mosquitoes. Wilhelm's and my hands and lower arms have for some time been covered with flat, slow-healing sores. They start with a dark blister the size of a pinhead, which contains thin pus; then they become enlarged and discharge a thin, milky secretion. It looks as though they came from the bites of small flies. In connection with the discharge, red scars remain after healing.

122 25 Aug. φ 12° 26'.2, λ 21'.7, km. 28.83, total 310.90.
132 6:50 A.M.: I 743.2, II 735.2, dry. 14.0, wet. 13.1, mares' tails 3°, wind - 0, water 25.1.
5:30 P.M.: I 744.6, II 735.2, dry. 25.4, wet. 23.3, clear.

•133 Heaven only knows when the "Schingú" is finally supposed to appear. After two days there is a river coming from the left, that is no doubt certain, and later on a larger river -- but when? Concerning this there are the most varied interpretations.

At a width of 70-80 meters we measured the speed of the Batovy at 1,416 meters per hour. Barranca three and one-half
137 meters. Water dirty yellow, as always. Campo, tucum and carandá palms. Low brush on the shore and individual copses about 18 meters high. Araticú, blossoming paratudo.

1: Steinen
102
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SP7 Bacairi SP7

1	2	3
4	5	6

Chart of Positions of Map A

/Facing p. 154/

1: Steinen 1:1 D, 2-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Sacair SP7

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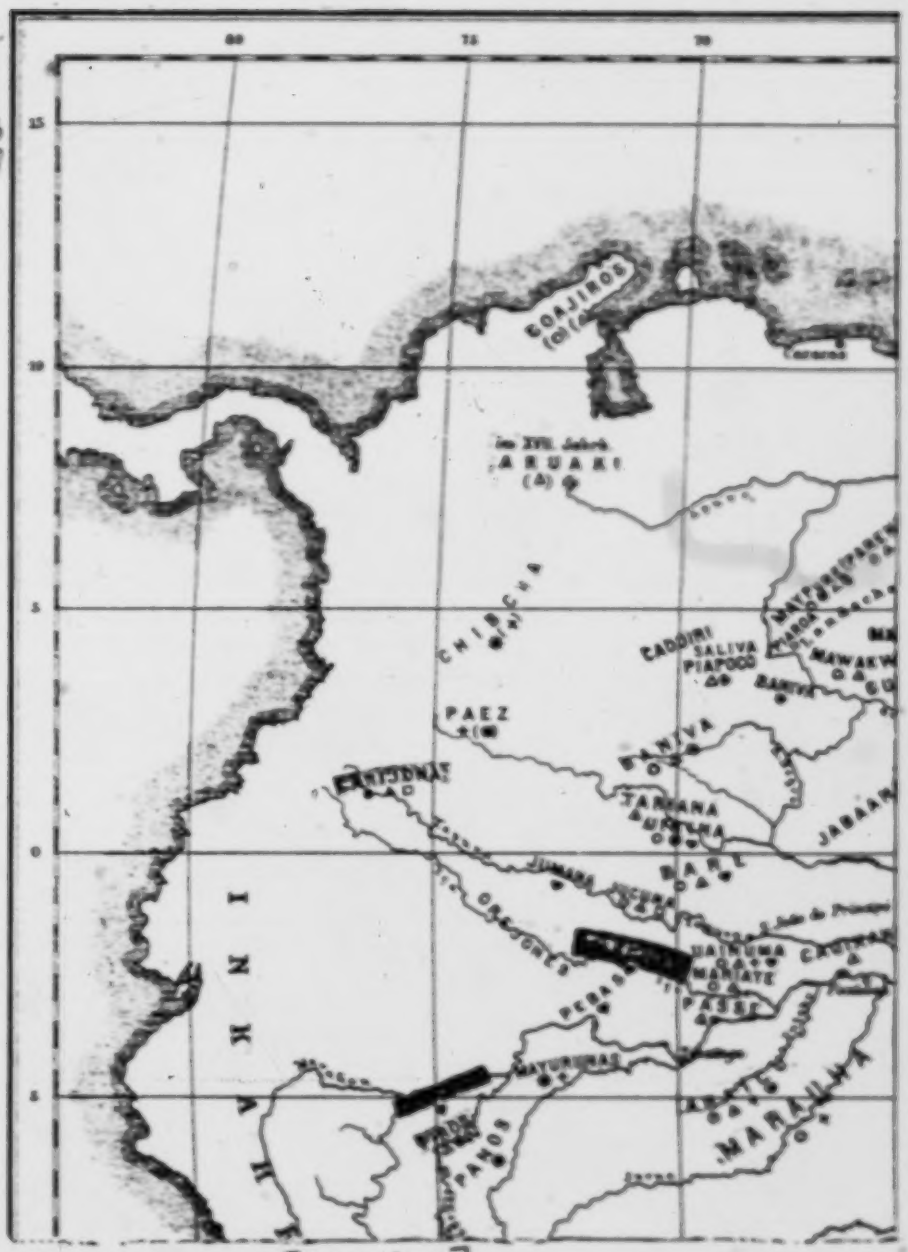

[Map A-1]

1: Steinen--155 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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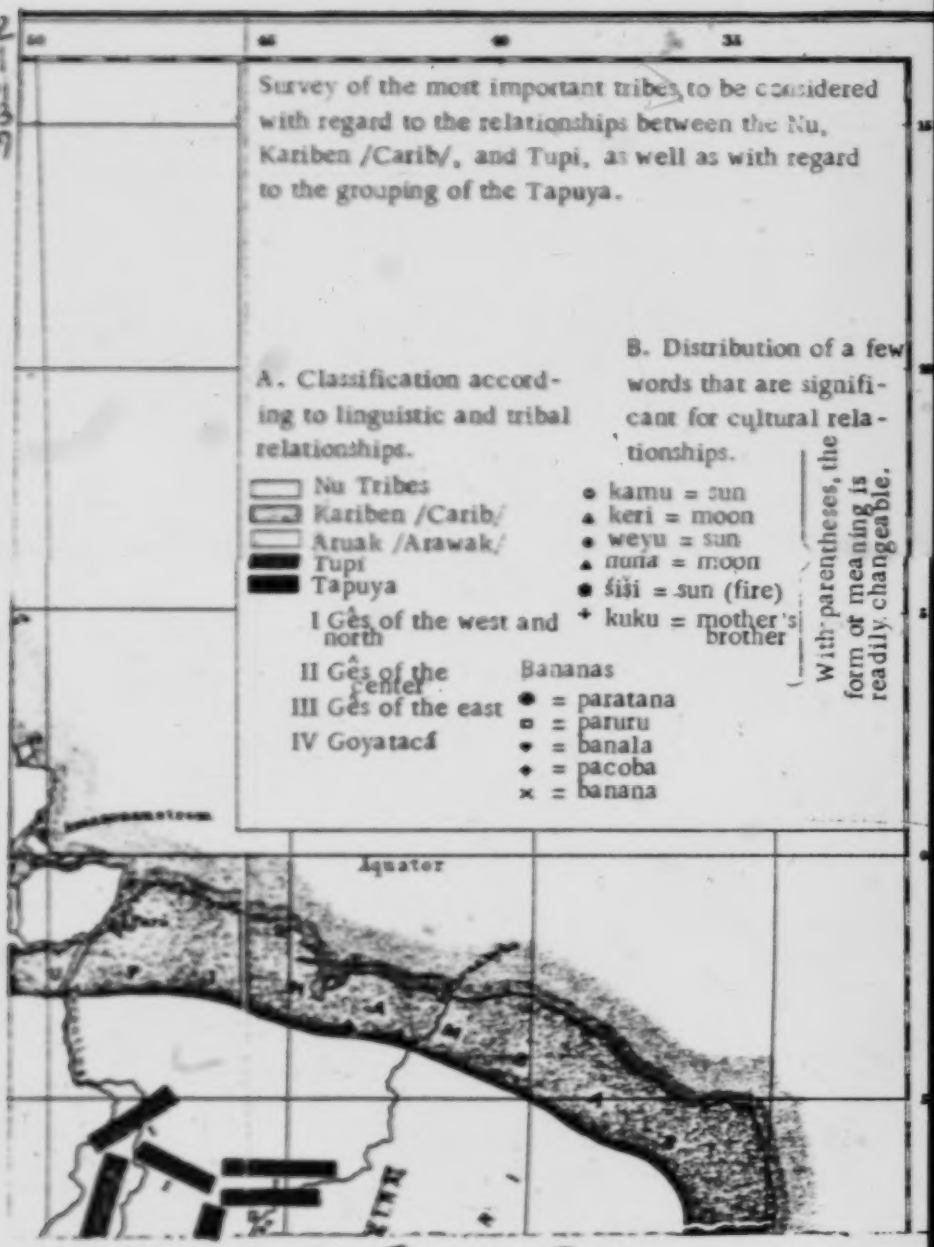
[Map A-2]

I: Steinen--156 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7



[Map A-3]

1: Steinen--157 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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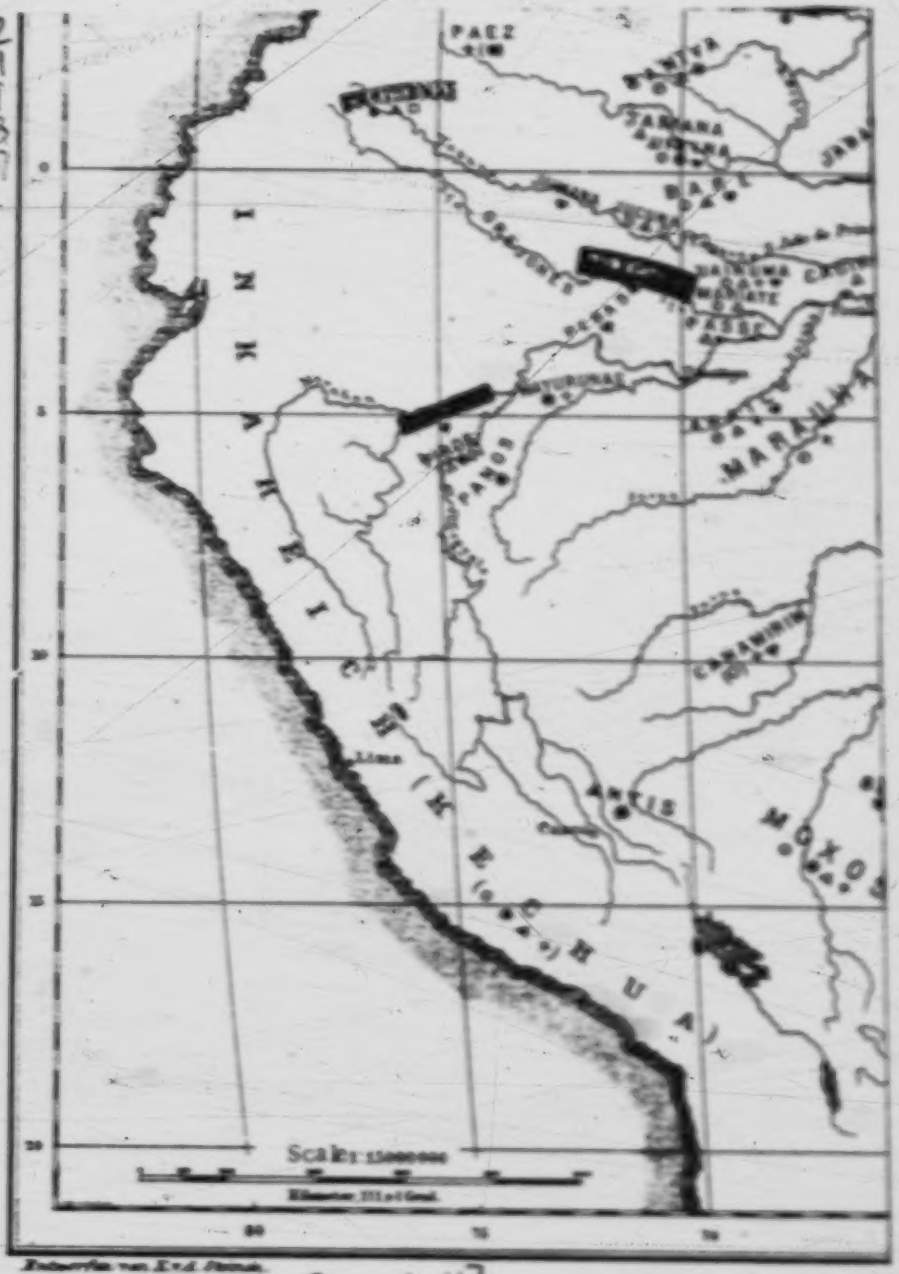

[Map A-4]

1. Steinen--158 Ⅲ E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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[Map A-5]

1. Steinen--159 D E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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[Map A-6]

1: Steinen

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SP7 Bacairi SP7

A	B	C	D	E	F
G	H	I	J	K	L

Chart of Positions of End Map /Facing p. 173/

1: Steinen--173 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Special map of the Schingú River. From the records and position-findings of Dr. O. Clauss, reduced to the scale of 1:500,000.

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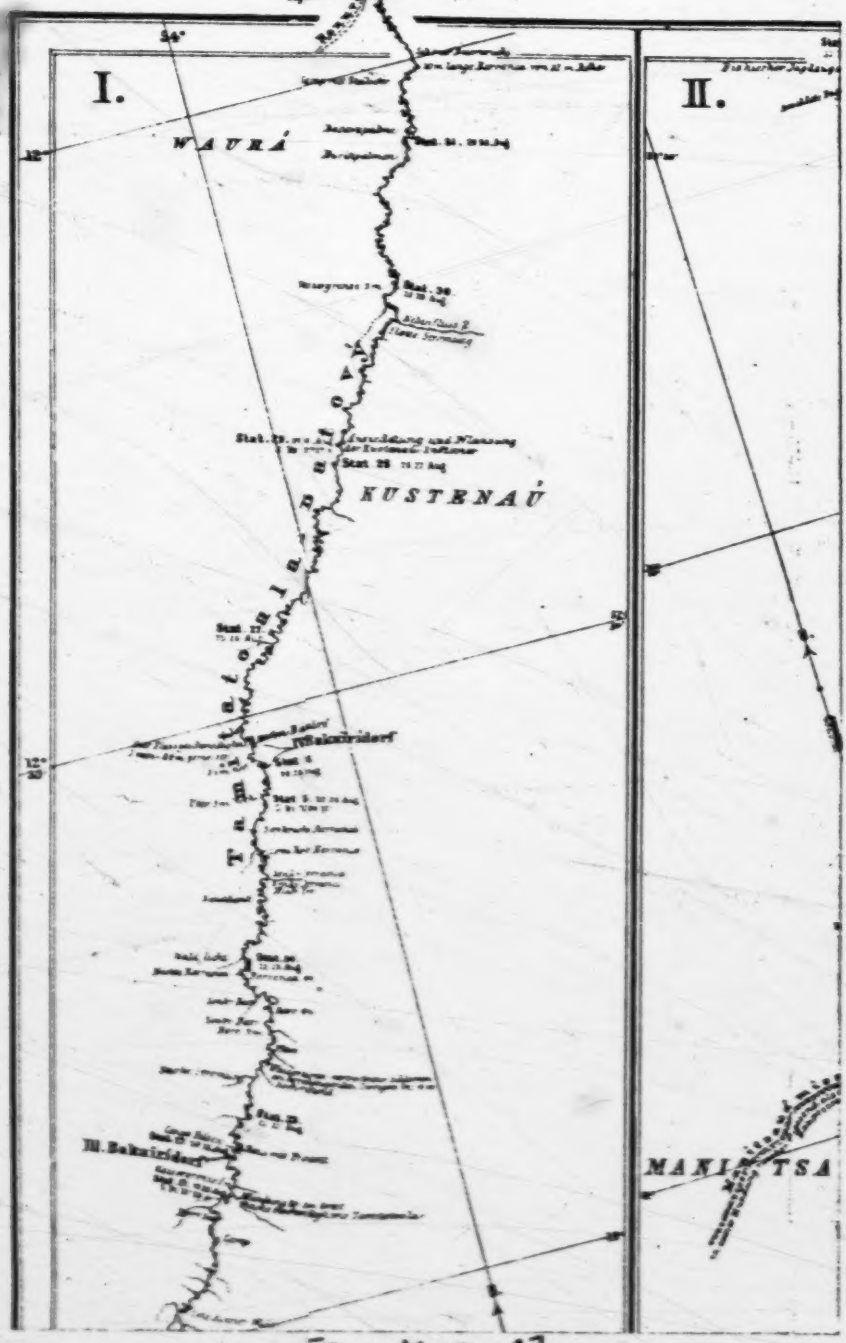

[End Map, A]

1: Steinen--174 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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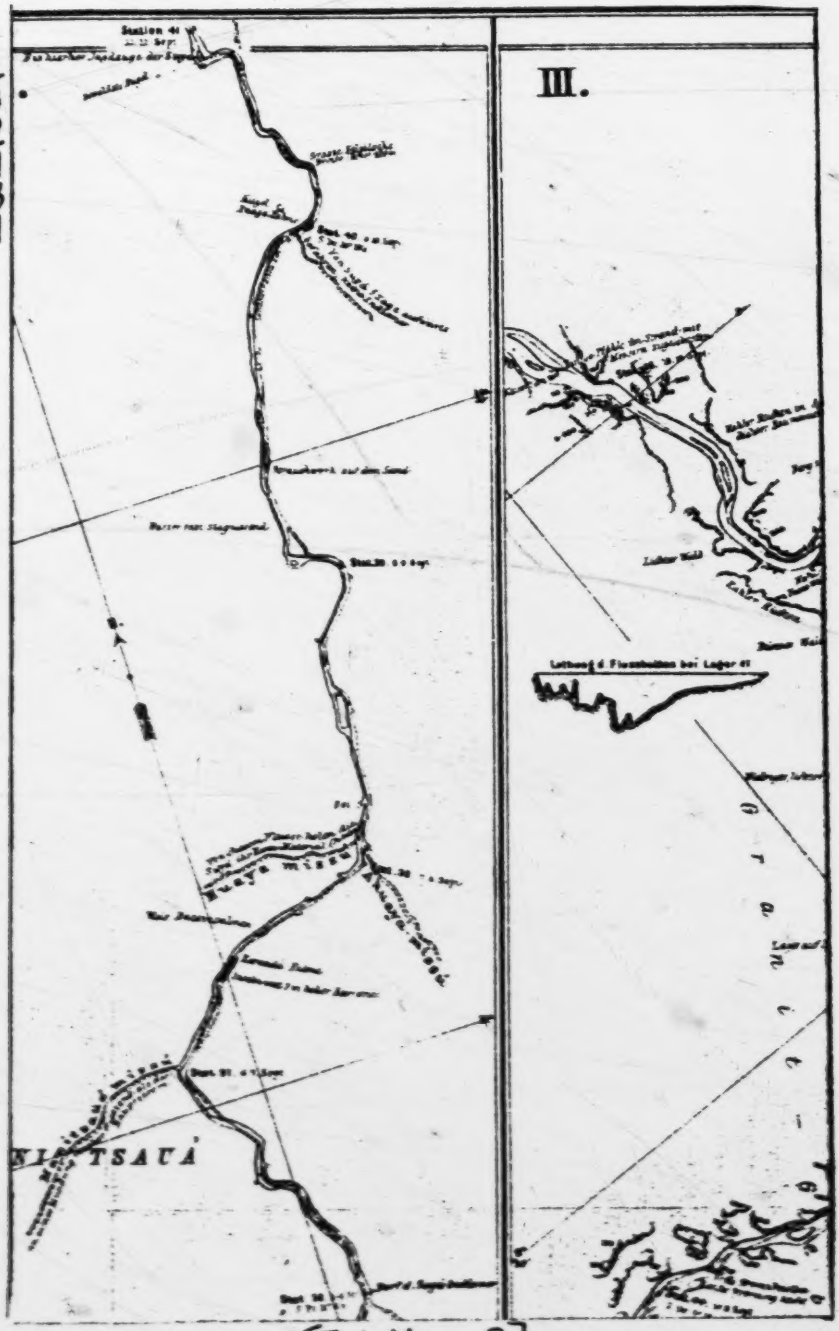

[End Map, B]

1: Steinen--175), E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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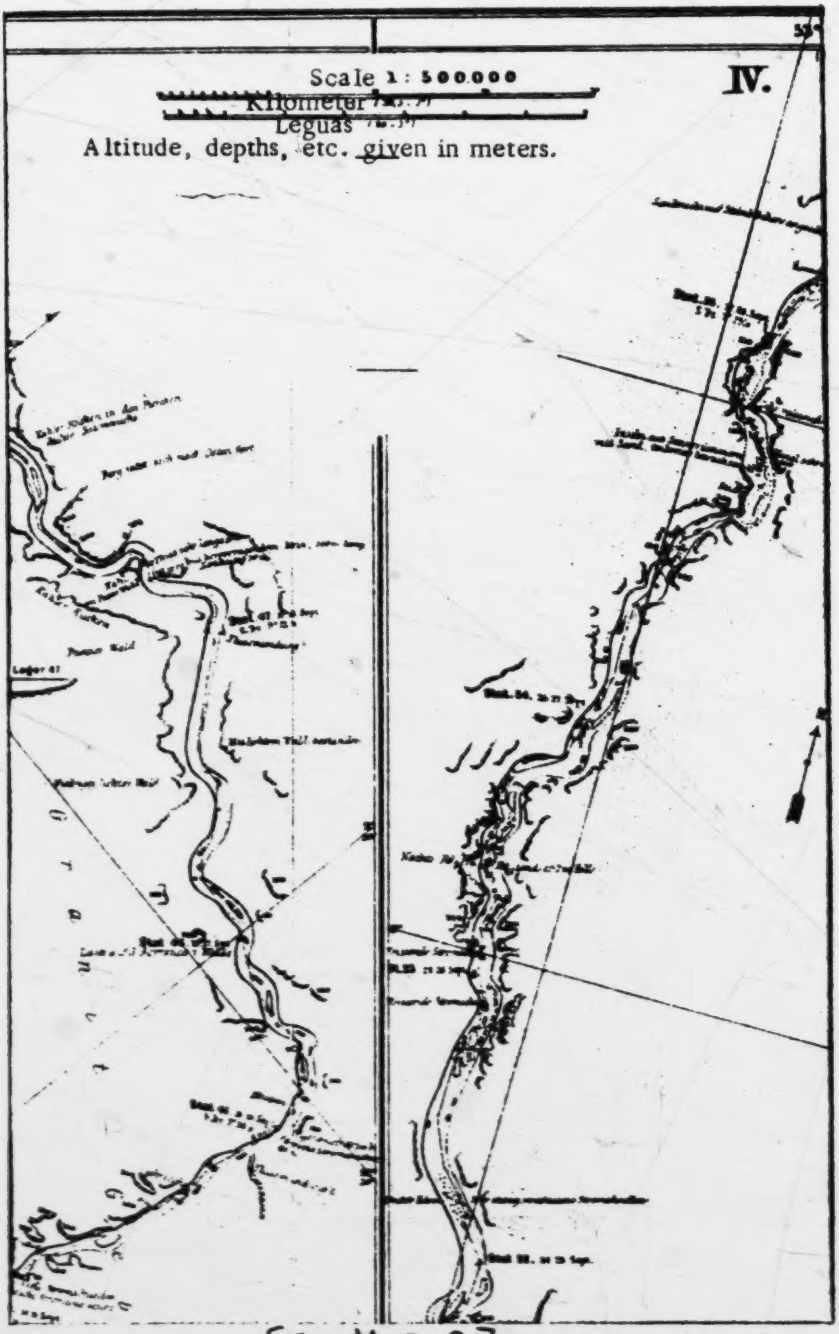

[End Map, C]

Explanation:

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route of the v. d. Steinen Expedition 1884.

Δ Stat. 34 Stopping places on it, with dates 4, 5 Oct.

In the case of stations determined by astronomical calculations, the latitude that was ascertained is added.

camp = treeless land overgrown with tall grass

= forest

Seringeiro = Brazilian caoutchouc gatherer

cataracts and rapids

rocks, partly covered with plant growth.
Barranca = steep, sandy shore

sand banks

[Legend Appearing Below scale on End Map, C]

1: Steinen--177 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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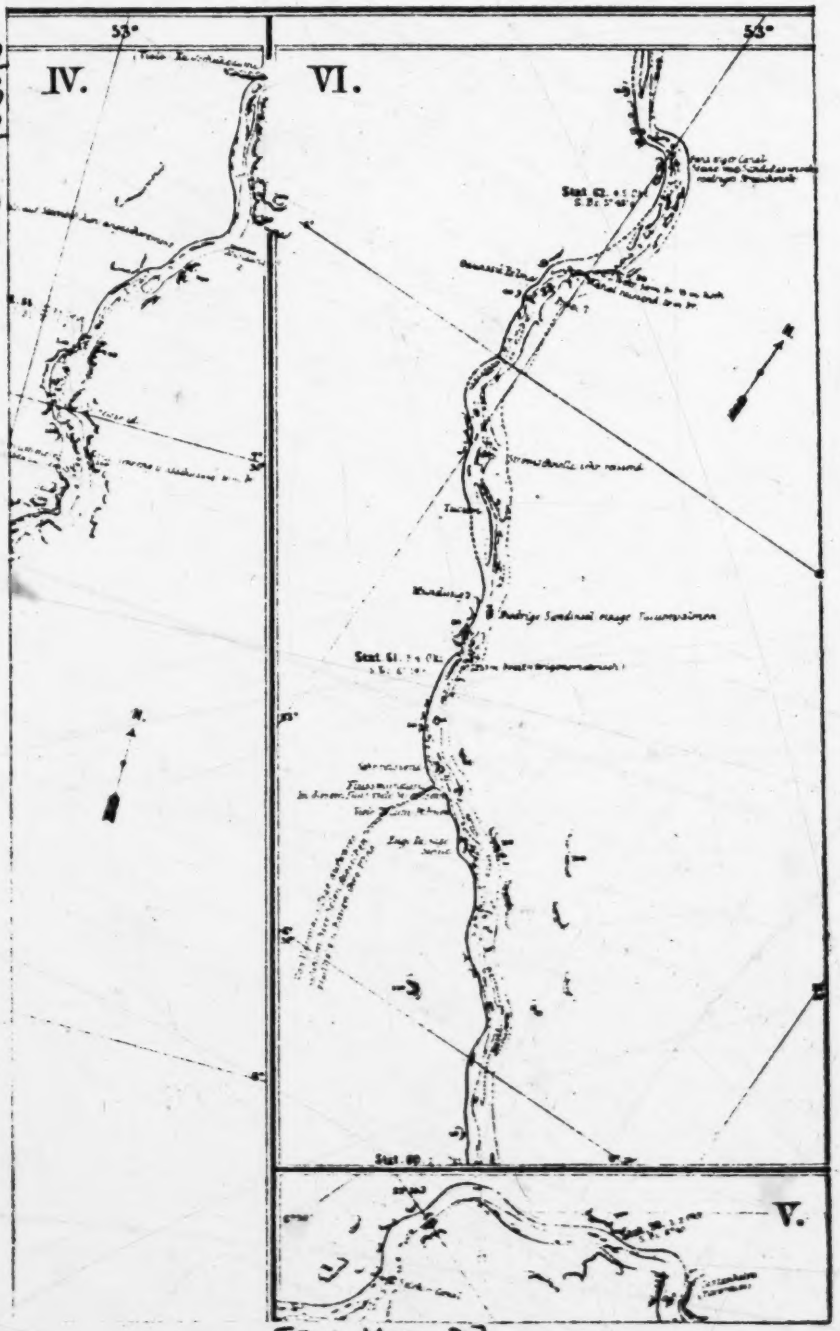

[End Map, D]

1: Steinen--178 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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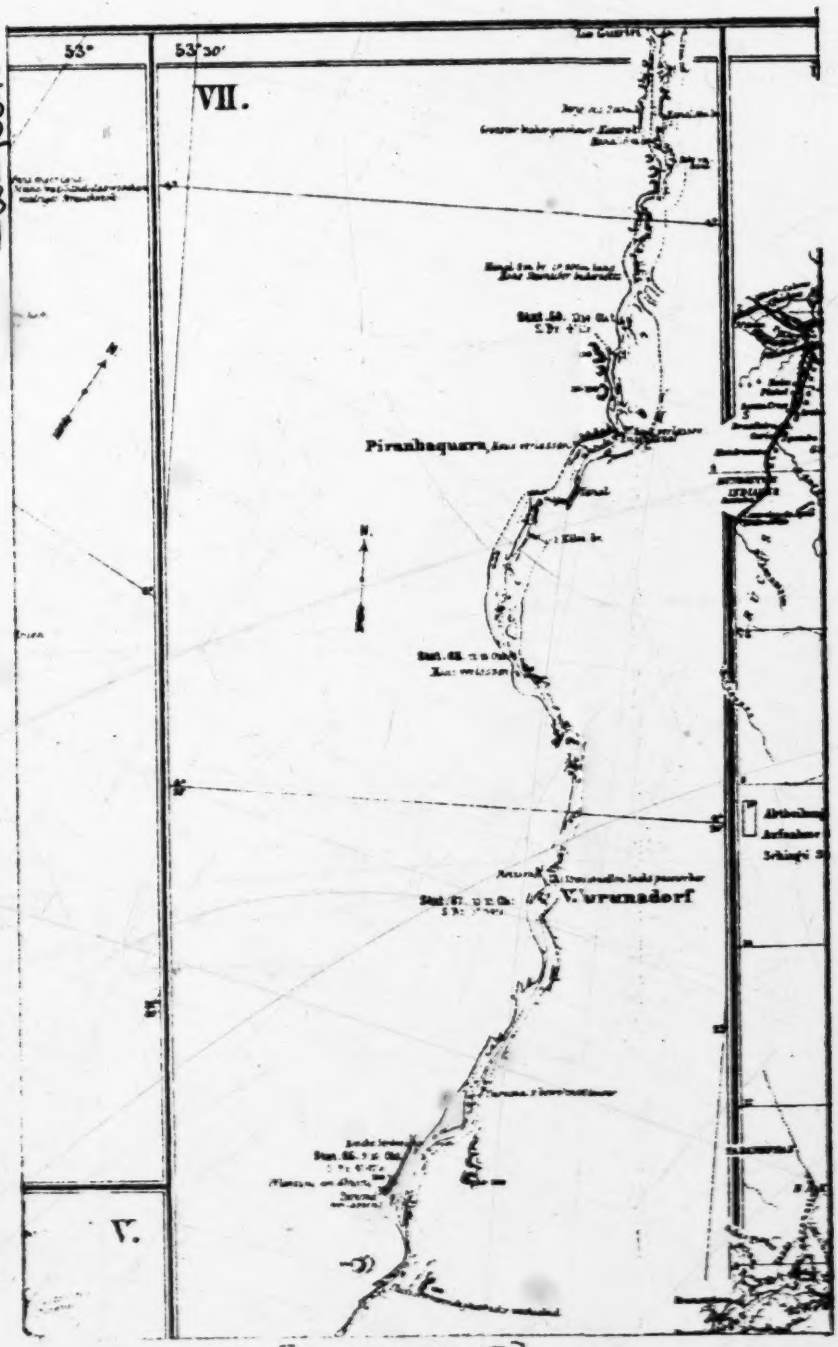

[EMA MAP, E]

1: Steinen--179 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacsin SP7

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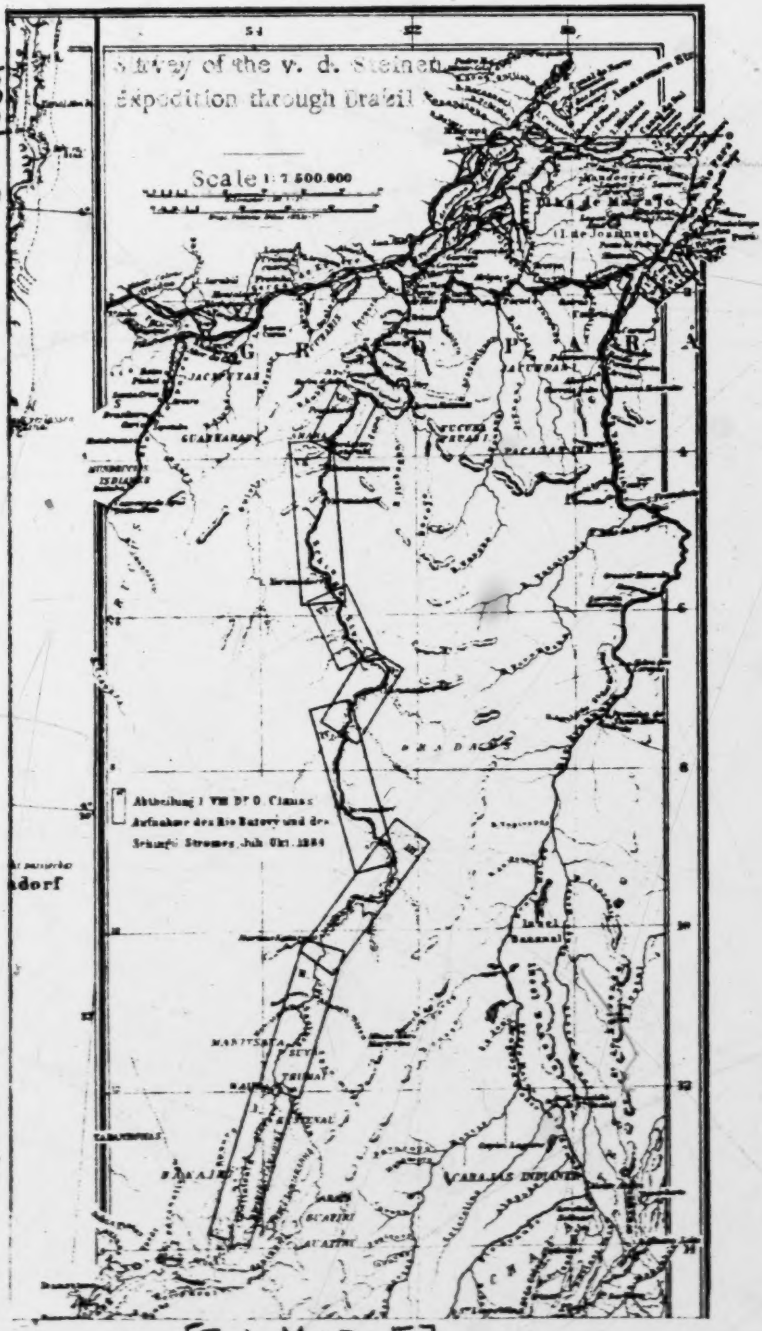

[End Map, F]

1: Steinen--180 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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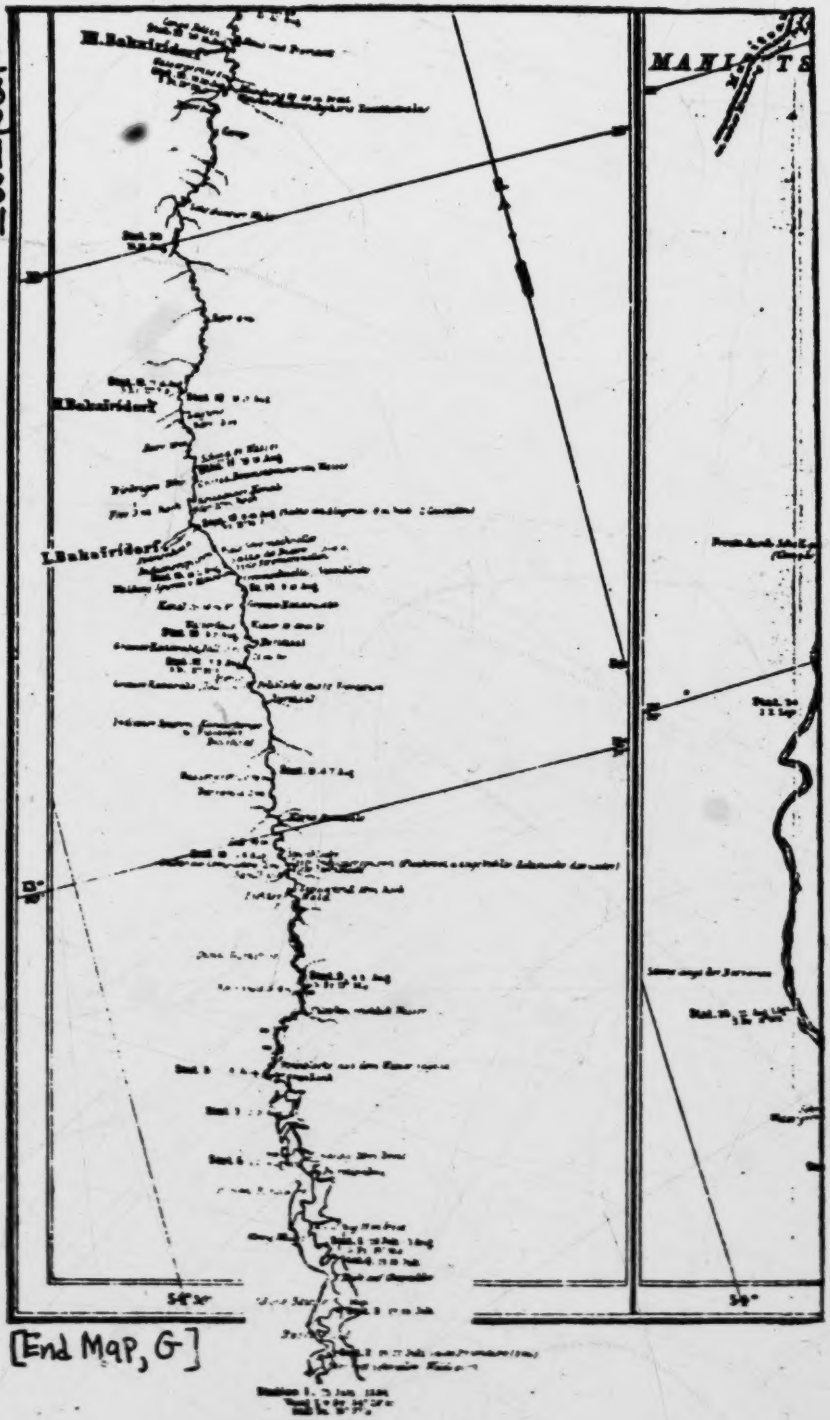

[End Map, G]

1: Steinen--181 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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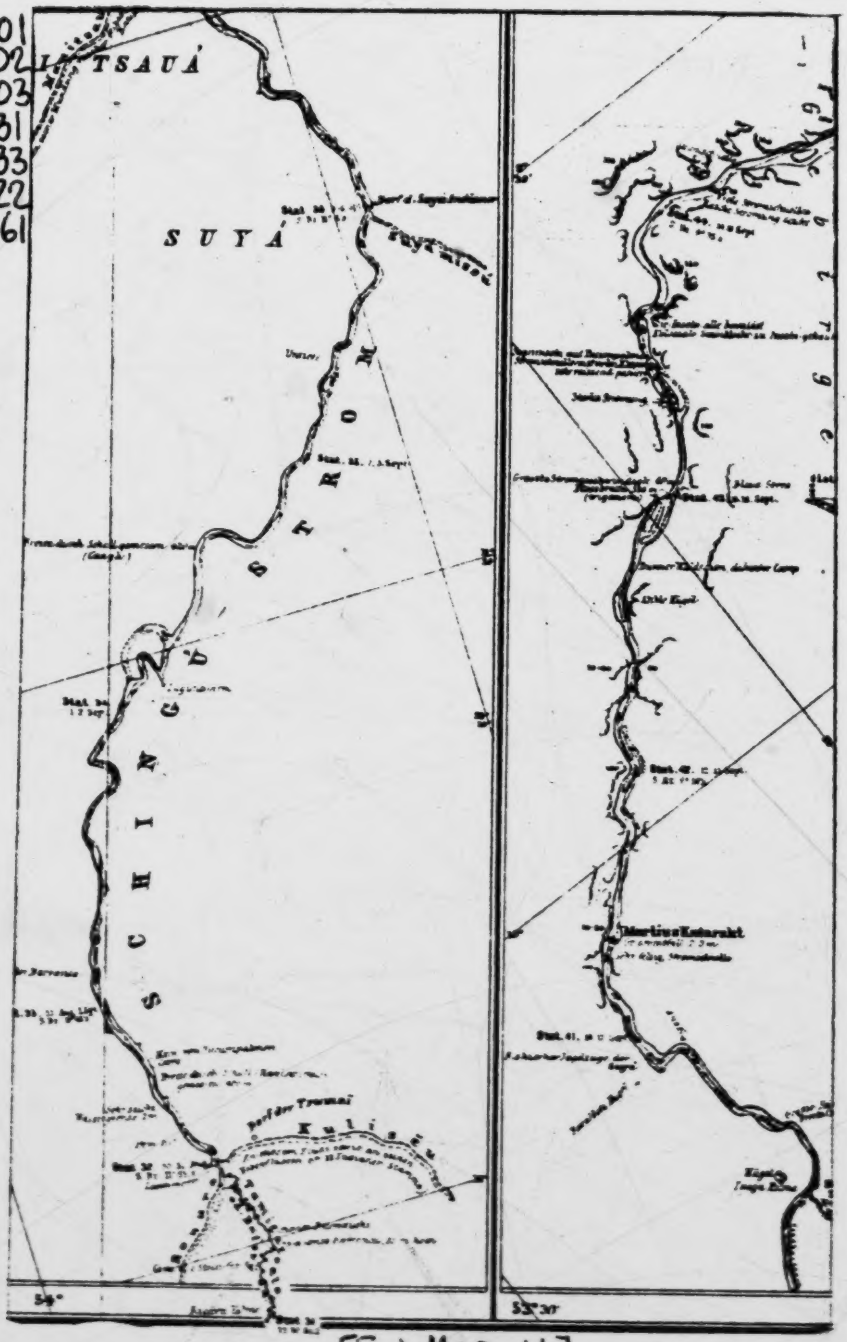

[End Map, H]

1: Steinen--182 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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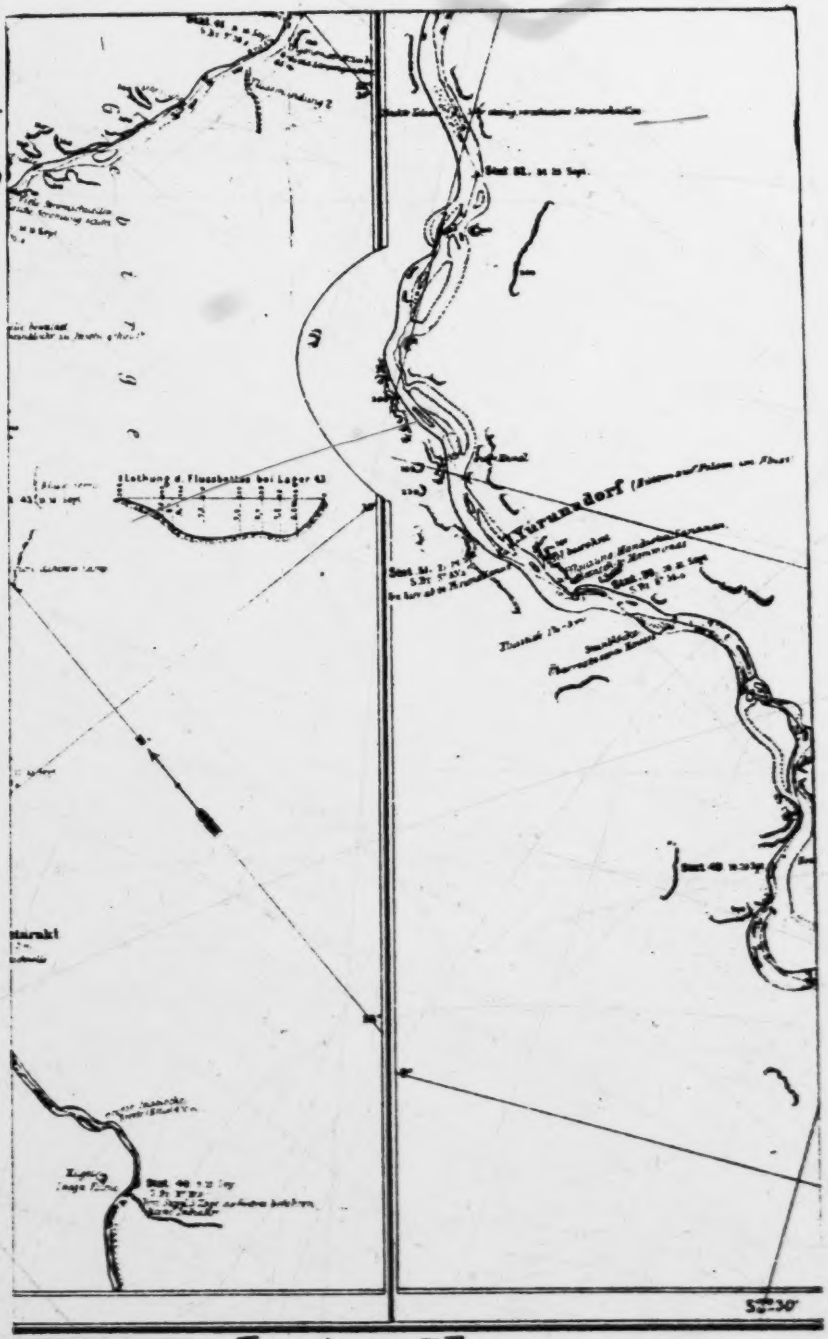

[End Map, I]

1: Steinen--183 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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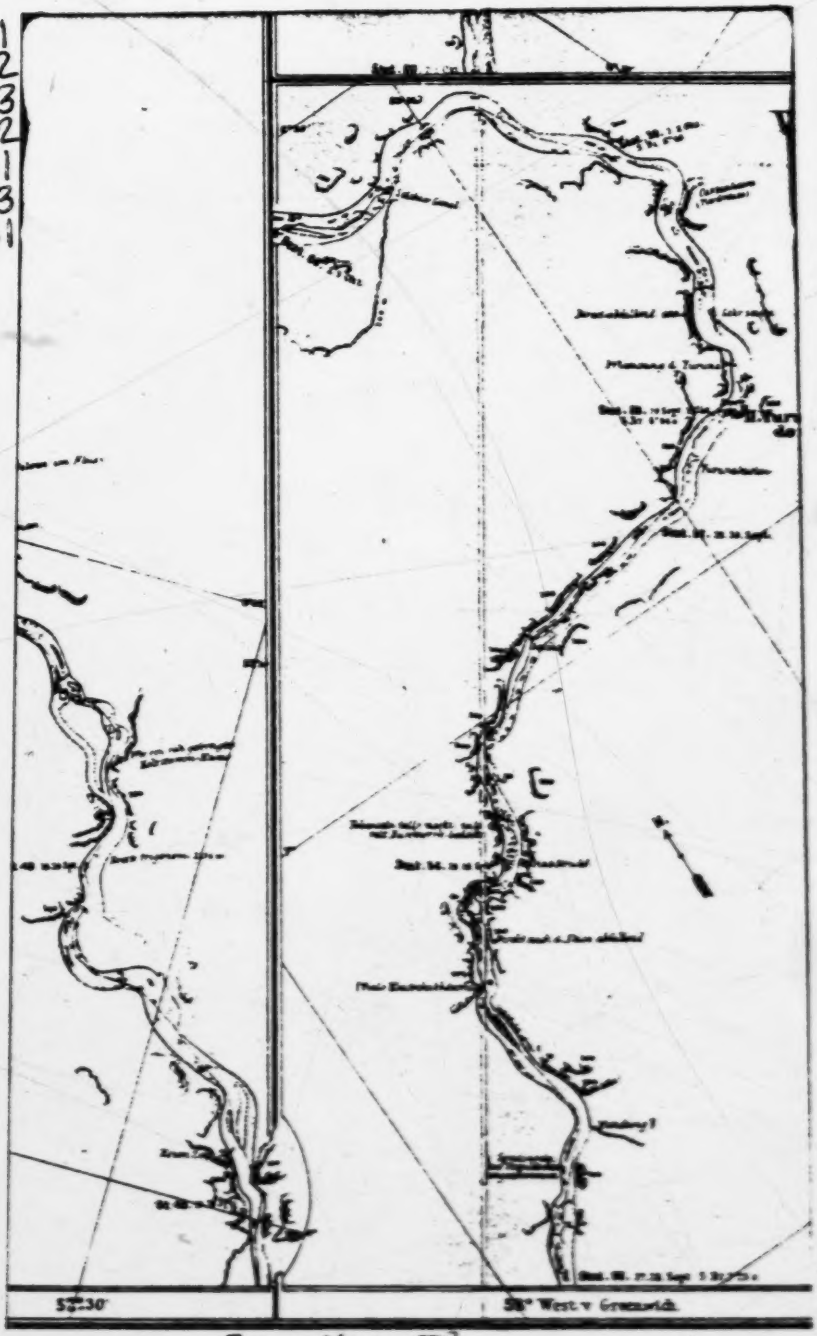

[End Map, J]

1: Steinen--184 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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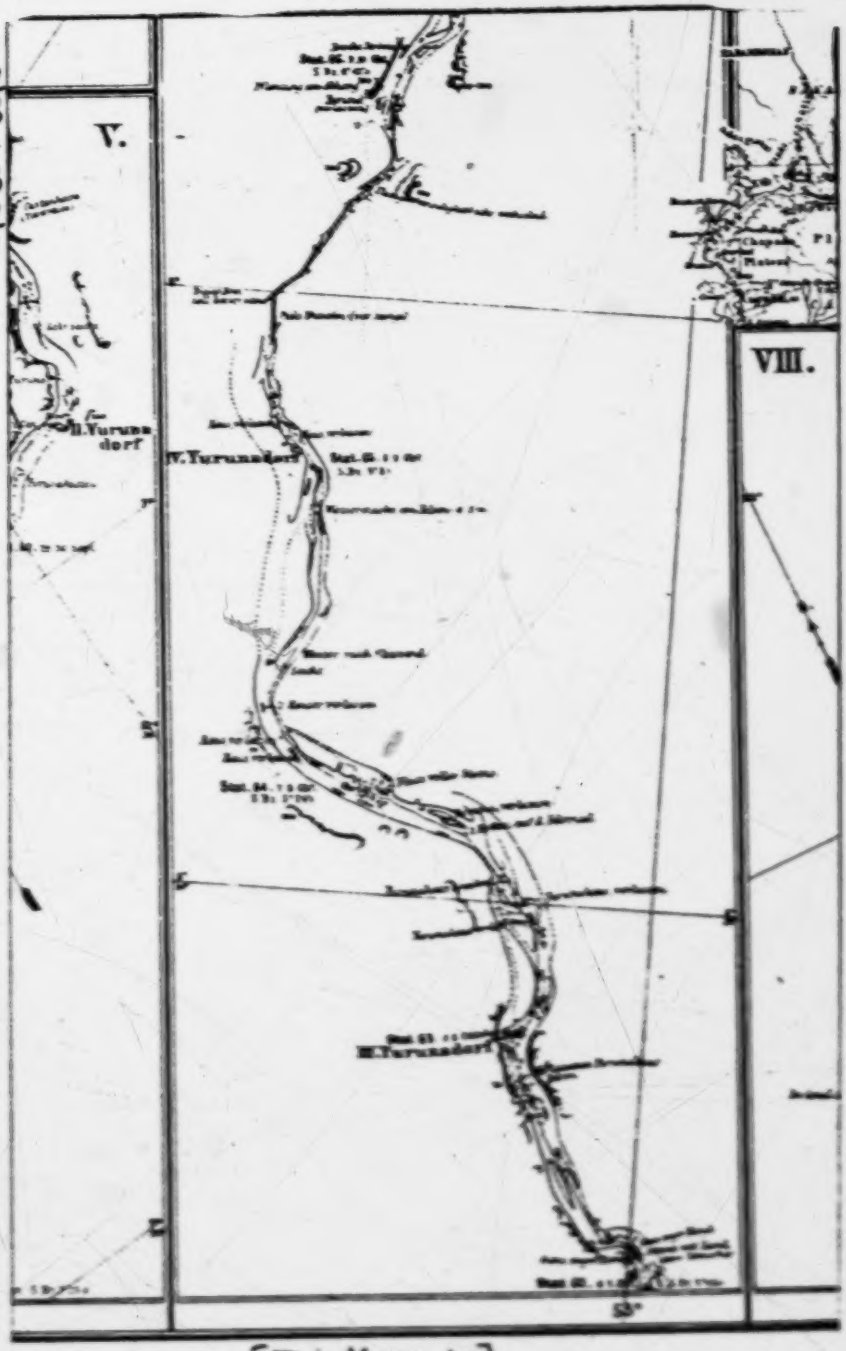

[End Map, K]

1: Steinen--185 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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[End MAP, L]

2: Steinen

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●133
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SP? Bacairi SP?

/For a map showing place names, location of settlements, physical relationships of the various tribes discussed in the text, and topographical features of the area covered by the second von den Steinen expedition, see category 116, pp. 664-684./

2. Steinen--5 E_1D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 NPT Decaini JP7

Pl. IV

133
137

Tumayasa Inlet

/50 cont./

050 carriages, the lighted shops, the bustling crowd, and I gladly returned to my dark river in the primeval forest.

But are they so easily dispensed with, I asked myself in my reverie, these things that dominate and animate our whole world of feeling? One thing, at least, was certain: if the miracle, which did not happen, had happened, and a pair of the most luscious lips had suddenly smiled at me seductively from the bushes -- I would have smoked and graciously asked permission to go on smoking. The best thing, I concluded, seems to be if we are able, in the memory of finer enjoyments, to find quiet happiness in the simplest things: the philosopher of Wiedenwahl is right once again: "Contentment is pleasure in things that we do not get."

And yet I would not have exchanged Berlin for the Schingú /Xingu/ simply and solely for the brown beans or the wilderness and river rapids, without a loftier purpose, that is, a hope which is rooted in serious concepts of culture, even the most unspoiled nature would very soon become intolerable. It is odd enough
[121] that our Lilo should come over from Germany and perhaps risk his precious life here -- in order to look for the home of the Karaiben /Caribs/! "What is Hecuba to him?" What is Cayabá and Kadiba to me?

Yet there are problems so puzzling and unfathomable that one is unable to solve them with an empty stomach, and it was fortunate that Carlos at the fire finally shouted his triumphant "pronto." The beans stood ready on the ground, the little bag of farinha /manioc flour/ lay beside them, a remnant of mutúng beckoned benevolently from the rammed-in wooden spike -- let the crickets go on chirping in the forest.

114 At 6:30 (10 September 1887) we departed, eager for the things which, according to the indications of yesterday, were
133 to come today. After 20 minutes a river flowed into ours from the right side, a stream as quiet /51/ as it was and only a little narrower. Later it was named for us as the Ponéhuru. The predominant direction of the combined waterways was north to northeast the same as the one that our earlier route had tried to

/51 cont./

133 follow despite the many windings. Even before the appearance of the tributary, however, our entire attention was drawn to a gradually increasing roar which we recognized only too well from 1884: we were nearing a large "cachoeira" /cataract/. We passed a few rocky islands which consisted of sandstone boulders and were overgrown with low bushes and thin shrubs; the tumult and roar increased tremendously and suddenly we looked down on the widened stream bed filled with huge deposits of stone, in which the surge of the masses of water, foaming and churning over a great distance, plunged downhill. Our subsequent Salto Taunay.

122 We stopped for an hour. The canoe was pushed down the steps, the baggage carried on shoulders along the edge of the bank. I would have liked to see myself: straw hat with arara feathers, shirt, underpants, leather belt, shoulder bag, gray linen Basque shoes, over my left arm the folded cowhide, and in my right hand our four tin plates, the uppermost one filled with the leftover cooked beans; and all the while eagerly looking

226 around and watching for anything suspicious. At a cachoeira like this one there is ample opportunity for fishing; and, sure enough, we found clear footprints and on the stones half-burned palm

OED torches whose gray, fine ash was still intact. We estimated the age of the shelter-hut in the Independencia camp at one year; the age of the torn-off branches on the spot where the capybara had been cut up, at one month; and it could scarcely have been more than a week since these torches had been burning; the situation was therefore now getting scorched and burning in the boldest sense of the word.

133 In contrast to the scantier cataracts of the Batovy in the same latitude, the beautiful cachoeira already had the more grandiose character of the true Schingú cataract throughout, and down below, where the river again flowed onward, calm and clear, the water was beautifully dark and bottle-green. After only a quarter of an hour, however, a new, good-sized cachoeira appeared, lower than the first, where I again had to climb out

226 and wend my way overland. Here, too, some fishing was done.

/51 cont./

226 Beyond the cachoeira we counted 13 so-called "currals" /corrals/, circles of boulders in shallower places in the river bed; the fish can enter through a gap in the circle and are then herded together by the Indians and shot. I was not a little surprised when, 823 151 farther downstream in quiet water, Antonio suddenly stated that a canoe had been here yesterday or the day before; all I noticed was a quantity of small white bubbles near the shore. The foam of the oar stroke is preserved in a path on calm water; not destroyed by waves, the air bubbles remain on the water and are gradually driven to the shore by the wind.

/52/ For two hours we rowed on vigorously, spoke but little and with a soft voice, and, cautiously on the lookout, proceeded into each new bend close to the inner edge. But all [131] signs had ceased. On either side lay tall, silent forest, the river glistened in the sunlight, nothing living stirred within a wide radius, and only a yellow butterfly fluttered past here and [133] there. Shortly before midday the stream bed opened into a rather wide inlet; one could not quite make out whether this was a lagoon or an island formation and the river divided into two types. we landed and I sent the two off to cross the bit of woods that separated us from the lagoon and to examine the course of the water beyond.

I sat on the beach waiting. Carlos was already coming 123 back, when suddenly I notice a canoe a gunshot downstream. 809 [501] A single naked Indian is standing in it and swiftly making for the shore. there he steers the vessel behind the skeleton of a fallen tree and cautiously crouches down in the shelter of it. "Bakaïrí, Bakaïrí," I cried with all my might, "kúra Bakaïrí, áma Bakaïrí, ína Bakaïrí, we are Bakaïrí, you are a Bakaïrí, I am a Bakaïrí, the Bakaïrí are good" -- in short, I shout in joyful excitement whatever is inspired in me by the ghost of reminiscences from the greeting formulas of that particular tribe. And behold: "Bakaïrí, Bakaïrí, Bakaïrí" comes resounding back. Other words are added, which unfortunately I do not understand, but the high voice, rising in uncertainty, bears an unhappily anxious and mistrustful expression, and the arms swing wildly in the air behind

/53 cont./

123 was assured. Tumayaua, as I now learned from Antonio, had
[609] been no little disconcerted by my call; he had answered that he
was a Bakaïrí, but that we were not Bakaïrí. Obligingly, the
good man offered us his canoe, he himself climbed into ours,
and took charge of guiding us. But we chatted no less busily
101 than we rowed. The Bakaïrí of the Batovy were Tumayaua's
114 relatives and friends. There was wonderful news about the first
village that we had visited in 1884. The old Indian whom we
at that time had called the "professor" was on his way to the
Paranatinga with a few others! They wanted to pay a new visit
to Antonio and his tribal brothers. Pauhaga, the first Bakaïrí
whom we had greeted on the Batovy on our previous journey,
lived at the moment in Tumayaua's community, and a strange
coincidence thus decreed that we were to see him again likewise
131 in the very first village on the Kulisehu. Were we really on the
103 Kulisehu? Yes, the river was called Kulisehu, Kulisēu, or
Kulihēu, since "h" and "" are interchangeable in Bakaïrí, and
all the tribes that we were looking for apparently also lived
on its shores.

● 133 Cachoeiras, however, interrupted the conversation. We
had set out at 12:00; after half an hour there came a low rock-
cachoeira 60 meters long through which we laboriously wound
our way; then shortly after 1:00 No. 4 of this day's series, where
we had to unload and stop for half an hour. At 2:45 we came
to the fifth and last, which poured over the boulders in a mighty
122 surge. Here, however, the pilot went on strike against going
any farther in our canoe, which was succumbing to acute
dropsy. We took him aboard as a fourth and left the corpse to
its fate. Tumayaua, we had to acknowledge approvingly, had
truly come our way at a good time; it is highly improbable that
we three with our baggage and without knowing the way would
have reached the village through the final cachoeiras in the
miserable canoe that could no longer carry the single Indian.
Certainly we would not have reached this goal today. At 3:15
we landed on the left bank; we were in the "harbor."

/55 cont./

B 101 131 361 On the very first evening I obtained a fairly clear conception of the Kulisehu dwellers whom we might see. There were three Bakaïrí villages; they were supposed to be followed by a village of the "Nahuquá," two villages of the "Minakú," a village of the "Auití," a village of the "Yaulapihũ," and on the "Kuluëne" a village of the "Trumaí." Between the Kulisehu and the Tamitotoala-Batovy, the "Kamayulá" and the "Waurá" were said to be living. B 103 The meaning of the river name "Kuluëne," which I now heard for the first time, remained uncertain. Only ● 133 114 gradually did I come to understand that it is the chief river in the east, larger than the Kulisehu which empties into it. Thus the river that we had seen in 1884 flowing in from the southeast at Schingú-Koblenz /Xingu-Coblenz/ was not actually the "Kulisehu," as we had understood at that time and had believed up to now, but rather the combined Kuluëne-Kulisehu; the name "Kuluëne" was retained for the Schingú itself below the large fork, so that the Suyá, for instance, lived on the Kuluëne. If one wished to go by the nomenclature of the natives, one would have to use the name "Kuluëne" instead of "Schingú" and now say that the Kuluëne first receives the Kulisehu and then, at "Koblenz," the Ronuro along with the Tamitotoala-Batovy.

B 823 It was a difficult piece of work to get these statements from the Bakaïrí; there was much drawing in the sand, much pantomime carried on, and, if a section of the route remained B 101 obscure, they always began again from the beginning. For the time being I knew enough; the individual tribes apparently did T 114 not live very far apart, at most a journey of three days. I was also given some bad news, and I confess that for me it spoiled the hitherto very pleasant memory of the first expedition: when the Trumaí /56/ at that time at Koblenz had dashed away from us in sheer flight, and our soldiers had pursued them in order to recover some of the objects that they had taken along in spite of their haste, a Trumaí had been killed, as I now learned, in the foolhardy shooting that the men had permitted themselves and that allegedly was only aimed into the air. We could therefore hardly count on a cordial welcome there.

/86 cont./

123 gaily colored little dress and which, as the best item in our warehouse, was intended for "the most worthy one." I could not waver about its belonging by right to my intended, the heiress of the village and mistress of all the flour furnished me. The inquisitive question as to whether the wives of the Karaiben also had clothes should now be settled. I called the whole company together on the plaza and aroused sheer exultation when I exhibited the blue-eyed, rosy-cheeked little porcelain head, let them see and touch the genuine blond hair, and explained in turn the pretty clothes of the "kχarãiba pekõto." And their ecstasy was increased when I then stepped up to my intended and said "ãma zõto," "it is yours." The little yellow-skin blushed with joy, and to my amazement the otherwise taciturn mother began speaking in a loud voice and talked and talked, professing all kinds of things which I did not understand, but which, even though the Indians have no word for "thank you," was nevertheless a speech of thanks. I do not know upon whom my intended of that time may meanwhile have bestowed her heart and hand and, as a dowry, the precious Karaiben woman -- by one of those strange twists which sometimes joins the links in the chain of fate, however, it has come to pass that in the meantime one of the two Berlin ladies has become the wife of the publisher of this book, and the other, the wife of its author.

● 133 /87/ We stayed until well after dark and then went to our camp at the so-called second harbor of the village. A long stretch of rapids lies between the upper and the lower harbor; the canoes had been hauled over it during the afternoon, so that we would not have to overcome the obstacle the following morning.

[103] To the Second Bakaïrí Village (Iguéti).

The journey from the first village to the second is very arduous because of the many rapids. It is characterized by long stretches where the river is filled with boulders, between which it was very low in view of the water level at that time. We called this type "stone cachoeiras": they are regular cataracts which are probably more easily negotiated with a higher water level.

/91 cont./

353 a couple of fish drawings were drawn on with white loam. To our
531 greatest astonishment, triangles and squares were meant as illustrations of concrete objects and were not merely "geometric
126 figures." Wilhelm copied the entire frieze with painstaking precision, as Plates 20 and 21 show.[1] I shall later compare the practices among the Bakaïrí with those among the rest of the Kulisehu tribes. Unfortunately it was not possible to bring home the originals. The loam was so loosely applied that it immediately crumbled off, and so coarse-grained that it could not be permanently fixed with a coating of collodion, as was done successfully with the masks.

000 Toward sundown, led by Aramöke, who was parading around in his red scarf, we went to the camp, which was now pitched at the actual harbor, and there, after the new shipwreck, we encountered a great "drying of laundry." Antonio's oar was also broken.

123 A number of Indians stood and sat around on the slope of the shore when we set out on 6 October shortly after 7:00. João Pedro had ordered for himself half a dozen fresh beijús and was served promptly in the early morning, as by a civilized baker.

133 The powerful rapids called "kulúri" by the Bakaïrí, which we soon cut through without peril, was the last one on the Kulisehu: "tũxu ãle," the stones are "all gone." On this stretch the river again greatly resembled the section beyond Independencia; many fallen trees in the water, frequent elevated sandy beaches or steep
[136] loam banks, the current somewhat faster. The small masarico with its little red legs came tripping rapidly toward us across the sand, called "go away, come, come," and flew ahead a little distance, to wait for us there again. The bends in the river were very numerous and the trip became a deadly bore. The sunlight was reflected glaringly by the light sand and the water glistened unbearably. At 2:45 we passed a right tributary-brook about eight meters wide, the Pakuneru. This is the same name that the Paranatinga bears among the Bakaïrí. At its source -- far away
[101] ih.... -- the kayãxo, the Kayapõ /Cayapo/, are said to live.

[1] [See pp. 280-281 -- Analyst]

/91 cont./

133 Tumayaua declared that he had heard them shout. It is probable
[101] that the fire glow which we had repeatedly noticed in the east, and which had been regularly observed in the evening at Independencia, came from them. Barely an hour later, the Kewayeli, about 12 meters wide, flowed in from the left. On both banks queimada and plantings.

484 From the second village Tumayaua had taken along as a companion Pakurali, a short, stocky old man who did not look as though he were a great sorcerer, and whom we, with a lack of respect, called the "cab driver." They did not have much
[482] luggage with them and easily packed it into the mayakus, their
[286] back-baskets for carrying loads. They had taken along on the journey, not cotton hammocks, but hammocks made of palm fiber, which are lighter and dry quickly if they become wet. /92/ The two made rapid progress, even though they were bent on fishing at every favorable spot. We had let the great sorcerer sniff a bottle of ammonia, which had horrified him no little. After that he could no longer be enticed to smell any of our things. If one of us calls from a corner that it stinks there, everybody runs over and sniffs.

103 To the Third Bakaïrí Village (Kuyaqualiéti).

361 The harbor at which we arrived at 4:45 lay at the end of a lateral inlet and would not have been found without a guide.

The next morning, 6 October, we departed at 7:00 for the village and reached it in three-quarters of an hour on the usual
[532] winding forest-trail. On the way we saw a large human figure carved in tree bark, with three fingers on the hands and stump-like feet.

Harpia village, "kuyaqualí-éti," also had only three houses and a flute-house, but was the liveliest of the three villages.
162 I counted 31 men and just about as many women and children.
621 Some of the latter, however, had run into the woods. There
574 were probably about 100 souls in the village. The chief, Porisa,
622 was a small, friendly gentleman, he had had beijú baked at night.

2: Steinen--70 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 S7 Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25
Nahuqua

/94 cont./

II. To the Nahuquá.

000

Intercourse between the Bakaïrí and Nahuquá. Surprised in the harbor. Strange reception. Village vacated. AYaurikumá. Overnight. Mehinakú in the village. Dances. Sad prospects for Professor Bastian. I go on ahead to the Mehinakú. Improvement of conditions. News about the battle between the Syá and the Trumaí.

Y 648 B 191 648 Y [197] Without question the Nahuquá have all kind of intercourse with the Bakaïrí. Even from old Paleko I had lerned a whole series of Nahuquá words and from these, to my geat delight, was immediately able to tell that there was a new Kraiben /Carib/ tribe involved. Paleko told me that he had formerly lived for a time among the Nahuquá; Tumayaua, too, had already been among them and /95/ knew many words of thei language, whereas all of the Bakaïrí of the Mehinakú living downream from the Nahuquá did not know half a dozen words.

Y 123 361 The Nahuquá who lived in the third villag of the Bakaïrí accompanied us when, on 7 October 1887, we aveled from the harbor of the third Bakaïrí to his fellow tribesmn only a day's journey away, and late in the afternoon he clirbed out at a place B 123 where a path led up, in order to announce us inthe village. Three Bakaïrí from the harpy village, including ChiePorisa, had also B /Fig. 4 appears here/ joined us. We had start off at 6:30 and Y 131 were obliged to pass through another small rapi with a strong swell. It, with a few fish corrals, still belonge to the Bakaïrí, 133 226 while a small brook to the right, two meters wie, which we passed about 9:00 and which was closed off by fish fence, was already the property of the Nahuquá. At 11:00 nother wide brook flowed in from the right, the Háiri of the Bakaïri, or kaza of the Nahuquá in whose territory it lay. Much high sandy beach, four to five meters above the water level in the dry season, willow B 226 bushes, countless dead and fallen trees. At 1:00 we made a /96/ halt at a place with abundant fish; the piranhas snapped so quickly that one had only to toss out the line and they were already caught; one large, meter-long bagadú that Antonio had caught with iguana

Y /127 cont./
53 upper end of the handle, which was thrust through the small
534 gourd, and in the case of one of them the gourd was replaced
237 by the shell of a young turtle.

Y The Nahuquá let us take them across the river. The Auetö,
123 too, often made demands on us. They found it decidedly con-
A venient that we were always at their disposal with our canoes.
123 The Auetö, however, were also excellent swimmers. Children
A who reached to their father's knees paddled about freely and
526 happily in the Kulisehu. We denied the trip to one young man who from the other side shouted in Auetö, "ferryman ahoy"; it was a pleasure to see how elegantly he crossed the river, his left hand stretched up high and holding hammock and bow.

A The farewell was difficult for us, much as we longed to get
123 away from the dirty and unhealthy campsite. Vogel and Perrot had returned from their trip on 29 October; on 30 October we worked busily and packed up the collection. Perrot made another trip to the Auetö village and bade a tender farewell;
A the women brought him their children and a little girl was
[553] given the name "Perro"; for all this love he of course had to show his appreciation in beads, and a young mother whose two children had received gifts from him called his attention, with lively gestures, to the fact that he should also remember a third that was in prospect.

000 VIII. Return to Independencia.

Vogel's trip to Schingú-Koblenz. Off from the Auetö harbor. Visiting the villages. Accompanied by Indians. Rhenish carnival on the Kulisehu. Farewell scene in Maigéri. The mountain trip: rowing. Suffering. Fever. Independencia day of rest. Solemn farewell from the Bakairí.

B
133 The excursion of Vogel and Perrot clarified the relationship
[103] between the Kulisehu and Kuluëne. Auayato, the Aueto chief,
[114] had accompanied them. They were absent from the harbor from 11:45, 24 October, to 7:00 in the evening, 29 October, and were able to make headway easily, since they carried no luggage.

/127 cont./

B T 103 133 T [361] luggage. They reached the place where the Kulisehu empties /128/ into the beautiful wide Kuluëne in seven hours, passed a tributary on the left, a canal of the Mariapé-Nahuquá on the right, found on the right bank the Trumaí villages in the condition described on page 114, and from here were able in all of four hours -- in eight hours from the emptying of the Kulisehu -- to reach Schingú-Koblenz at the junction of the Kuluëne and Ronuro, that large sandy beach where our meeting with the Trumaí was enacted in 1884.

At that time the Trumaí had thus come down on their Kuluëne, and this large river, of which we knew only the mouth, was designated for us as the "Kulisehu." A strange development! On our new expedition we had sought the "Kulisehu" and had found and traveled the Kulisehu as well, but we had meant the Kuluëne. Even the Trumaí live below the Kulisehu mouth; farther up on the Kuluëne lived the Nahuquá tribes, which fortunately, however, were also settled on the Kulisehu in the village visited by us.

Y T [31]

Vogel and Perrot had had weather. On account of the cloud cover, the astronomical latitude could not be determined either at the mouth of the Kulisehu or in Koblenz. The Kuluëne was 241 meters wide below the Kulisehu mouth, 289 meters somewhat above it. From Koblenz they had gone up the Ronuro, had passed the Batovy mouth in a scant half hour -- where on 30 August 1884 we had emerged from the endlessly winding forest stream and for the first time were able to enjoy with some certainty the hope that we had actually found the Schingú -- and had finally continued the journey on the Ronuro for two kilometers farther upstream. The Ronuro had an average width of 250 meters and a depth of three to six meters, the Kuluëne, above Koblenz, measured only 187 meters and the main river at our sandy beach, 366 meters.

B 122 If we did not wish to jeopardize all of our success, the thought of traveling up the Kuluëne and visiting the other Nahuquá villages was completely out of the question. The rainy period had set in in earnest, the journey upstream was becoming

2. Steinen--121 ED-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate XI

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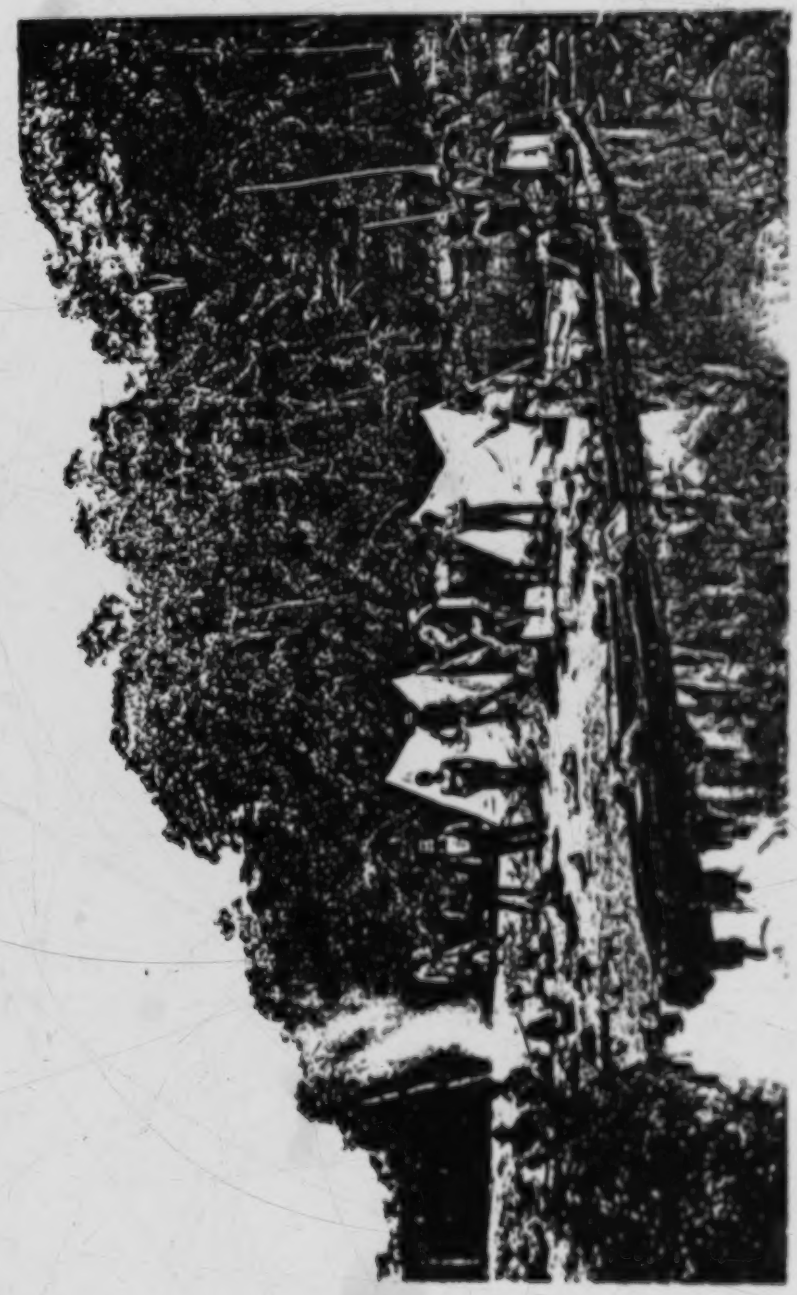

2: Steinen--195E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP23

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III. Hunting, Agriculture, and "Stone Age" Culture.

Population figures. Location of the villages. Combination of ancient agriculture and the world view of hunters. Hunting and fishing must furnish the most important tools for the tribes lacking metals, for whom the expression "Stone Age" is incorrect. Stone-ax monopoly, teeth, bones, shells, feathers. List of useful plants and distribution according to tribes. No bananas. Plant names as evidence of continuous development. Lack of intoxicating flour-beverages proves that simplicity is not the same as degeneration. Combination of hunting and agriculture made possible through the division of labor of the sexes. Indian women do the agriculture, they invent pots to replace gourds; the men do the roasting, the women the boiling. Culture with agriculture, pottery, and the preparation of flour was spread and maintained by foreign women after wars, in particular by Nu-Aruak women.

B 161 128 The population of the Schingú /Xingu/ source region probably amounts to approximately 2500-3000 souls. I am not in a position to give more than a very superficial estimate. Even in the third Bakairí village, the young women and girls fled into the woods when we arrived. Usually the fugitives gradually returned, to be sure, but we never knew for certain whether we were seeing before us the normal number of inhabitants. The opposite also occurred, namely, that visitors from the neighboring villages had come in, and the company surrounding us seemed too large. B 162 621 The smallest villages consisted of only two family-houses, the largest of almost 20. In general, it will be correct if one reckons for the villages, depending on their size, a population of 30 to

T 361 181 Only the Trumaí and, beyond Schingú-Koblenz, the Suyá lived along the river bank. These were the most warlike and restless tribes; one might regard the Suyá as the pike in a B [361] fish pond. The rest lived in peaceful security, often more than two hours of travel inland from the river. But while the river in B 33 487 the region of the Bakairí /Bacairi/ was still narrow and had

B /200 cont./
133 ceased its raging in the last cataracts, while dense campo wilder-
489 ness with sandy soil still prevailed in the landscape here, a vast network of canals and lagoons developed downstream and, for persons familiar with the winding waterways, in which the stranger could not find his way, made communication there effortless and extensive, not only from village to village, but also from the village to the plantings, and more fertile soil made work more rewarding.

B If we wish to use the schema of fisherman and hunter or
191 agriculturalist, we find a mixed situation among our natives.
433 The hunting of mammals naturally fell back before fishing among the sedentary river dwellers. The latter was important, both for the purpose of food and for that of use for technical requirement. Skins offered no advantages, since clothing for warmth was not worn; the skin of a slain mammal was usually not stripped off, but roasted as well, and to be sure, until it was charred, when it tasted pleasantly crisp and salty. Hunting, beyond that eagerly undertaken for large gallinaceous birds and the other inhabitants of the river-forest, yielded only occasional game and, if it were to have been carried on more seriously, /201/ would have required larger expeditions. We saw this later among the Bororó, who also lived on a river rich in fish, but among whom, conversely, the hunting of mammals predominated; they were away from home for weeks and returned with large quantities of roasted meat; they did not as yet practice agriculture.

B Mentally -- and this is a highly significant point -- the
191 Schingú Indians, in spite of intensive agriculture, still lived
825 completely on the true hunting level. At any rate, with regard to the Bakairí I can confirm this statement in its broadest sense. I have described with what attentiveness they observed, [illegible] occurrence in animal life that they chanced to see. Outside, on the campo or forest path, in the canoe, in the overnight camp, the Indian always felt that he was hunting. He was not aware of any gulf between him and the animal world. He saw

/386 cont./

539 the jaguar stood up and went in the direction the ant bear had
325 gone. The ant bear was inside the mountain and was singing. The jaguar went into the house. Singing, the ant bear came along with his back to the door. As he was coming, the jaguar seized him. He ate some of his leg. When he had eaten, he let go and went home. The termites made the ant bear well again. When he had recovered, the ant bear got up.

The little ant-bear (Myrmecophaga tetradactyla) said he would kill the jaguar. "Oh pshaw, you're no giant," the people said to him. "Then take magic poison along," the people told him. The little ant bear did as they said: he took magic poison in a gourd to Oka's house and placed the gourd in front of the door. Oka went out. When he caught sight of the gourd, he said, "That is something nice for me," and opened it. Then Oka became ill. The jaguar died.

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Chapter XIV.

On the Question of the Original Home of the Karaiben.

1. Historical Data on the Bakairí.

101 In contrast to the East Bakairí /Bacairi/ of the Schingú, found first by our expedition of 1884 and 1887, I call the Bakairí west of the Paranatinga, long known to the Brazilians, the West
131 Bakairí. Today there is one village of them, to which our
[364] Antonio belongs, on the left bank of the Paranatinga, and a second one on the small tributary stream of the Arinos, the Rio Novo, where Reginaldo ruled as chief and where in 1884 we made
[464] our first acquaintance with the tribe. A few individuals, whom one can count on one's fingers, however, are to be found as workers on one fazenda or another in the western source-region of the Paranatinga; there are also supposed to be a few on the Rio Preto in the vicinity of Diamantino, who represent the
131 remains of a former settlement. At any rate, since the Arinos
133 and Paranatinga flow into the Tapajos /Tapajós/, the West

/387 cont./

131 Bakairí are all inhabitants of the eastern source-region of the
133 Tapajos and are to be found only in the region of the plateau above the rapids and waterfalls that put great obstacles in the way of the journey downstream to the Amazonas /Amazon/.

195 The West Bakairí have been known since the first raiding
101 expeditions of the "Paulistas," the discoverers of the Mato Grosso who boldly pushed forward from the province of S. Paulo on their slave hunts at the beginning of the previous century. Even Antonio Pires de Campos, from whom we have a report* from the year 1723,

[ir3]

*Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico XXV, p. 448. Rio de Janeiro, 1862.

"after the experience of so many years," had heard of them; after he has briefly characterized (page 448) the tribes -- today long since disappeared -- of the upper Cuyabá and the Rio Manso emptying into it, he continues: "All these have the same way of life, the same type of weapons, and everything else the same, they are nomadic tribes and, with their raiding expeditions, succeed in causing harm to the heathen people named Bacaynis, who live on the tributaries of the Maranhão (sic?), and from there on various stations of heathens /388/ with countless villages follow one another, as I have been informed, and all very warlike people and masters of their weapons."

The Bakairí are also mentioned in a report from the year 1743 about a trip from Pará into the source region of the Madeira, and furthermore it may also have happened in many an old note about the origin of the Mato Grosso gold mines. It is always only a casual mention of the tribal name, which does not offer us further information. At most we may conclude from these citations that in the previous century the Bakairí must have been more numerous and perhaps had advanced somewhat more to the west and southwest than is the case today. This will come out more clearly, however, from their own tradition.

195 Closer contact with the Brazilians did not take place until
997 the beginning of the twenties in our century. At that time

/223 cont./

121 114 with slight variations, it is nevertheless more than a mere summary, for at several points our opinions differ, while at others hereofore unknown facts appear for the first time. This concerning the linguistic part, the subject of this first chapter. The divergence is even greater in the points that follow, which are based exclusively on what Ikuru related.

/224/

I

The Language of the Bacairi

199

The language of the Bacairi (ewura itano, nahi itano, that is, language of people, exactly like abá ñoã, the language of the Tupia) is spoken on the Rio Novo (Yemerirí), a tributary of the Arinos; on the Paranatinga (Fakundes), a tributary of the Tapajos; on the Tamitanaela, one of the headwaters of the Xingú, called Batovi by the Germans in honor of the baron of the same name, president of Mato Grosso in 1884, the time of the first expedition; on the Culiseu, a tributary of the Culiuene, also a headwater (the easternmost one) of the Xingú. On the Cremire, the westernmost headwater, there are no Indians who speak this language. From an examination of the vocabularies and the grammatical forms, it was proved that the Bacairi belong to the Caraíba or Carib group.

194 Of the letters of our alphabet, F is found in only one word, possibly onomatopoetic, which precedes incantations: afifã, perhaps an imitation of the blowing out of smoke. V is rare, and in any case it is not pronounced as it generally is in Rio de Janeiro, but rather seems to be bilabial. R is always soft, that is, to use the description by Gonçalves Vianna, "the air is expelled at one time, without interruption, as in caro /'dear' in Port./, and not unevenly, in successive vibrations, more or less repeated, /220/ resulting from the vibration imparted by the active organ, as in carro /'cart' in Port./." G is slightly velar, and to differentiate it from ours

/11/

I. Historical Data on the Bakairí /Bacairi/

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The same title which I have given to the present part of this publication was given by Karl von den Steinen to Chapter 14 of his book, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens /Among the Natives of Central Brazil/ (1) in which he deals at

[113]

1. Karl von den Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens. Berlin, 1894, pp. 387-395.

length with the history of the Bakairí up to the year of his second expedition, carried out in the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River in the year 1887, based on comparative literature and on information received from the Bakairí themselves.

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There follows from the research of Karl von den Steinen that in the time prior to his first expedition to the Xingu River, very little was known on the Bakairí, although the western part of these Indians, that is to say, the Bakairí who lived on the Rio Paranatinga and the Rio Novo, had lived for a long time in fairly active contact with the Brazilians and came occasionally to the capital, Cuiabá, to sell the rubber they had produced and to ask for some donatives from the government. Martius, too, knows almost nothing about them, and treats them as if they were a Paressi group. (2) It is noteworthy that Martius

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[113]

2. Martius, Zur Ethnographie Amerikas zumal Brasiliens /Toward an Ethnography of the Americas, especially of Brazil/, Vol. I, 1867, p. 779.

already mentions the existence of Bakairí in the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River: "Bacahiri, Bacchyri also live on the southern headwaters of the Xingu River"; (3) but with

3. Ibid., p. 382.

/11 cont./

114 101 133 respect to this piece of information we must keep in mind the fact that in those times the Rio Paranatinga was regarded as a tributary of the Xingu River.

From an objective standpoint I have nothing to add to Karl von den Steinen's full account. I merely propose to com- [121] plement it in time and to add what we know of the more recent history of the Bakairí since that period when Karl von den Steinen wrote his history of the Bakairí. I feel impelled to carry out this mission, especially in view of the fact that of my two expeditions, in which I had the most extensive contact with the Bakairí, the first took place 26 years before the second, so that I had a good opportunity to observe personally a great part of the change in the living conditions of the Bakairí in the times after Karl von den Steinen's publication. The Bakairí [115] Andrés, who was my faithful companion /12/ on the trip from the Simões Lopes Post to the Pedro Dantas Post, established to civilize the Kayabí /Cayabi/, and on the return to Cuiabá, was the son of a Bakairí, born on the Rio Kulisehu and called Chico, who had been one of my traveling companions to the Rio Kulisehu in the year 1901. I also encountered in the year 1927 many old acquaintances among whom I had lived 26 years before in their village, Maimaieti, on the Rio Kulisehu. They all still remembered well the time we had spent together in the past. During my later stay in Cuiabá, up to the year 1931, the Bakairí boys who went to school in Cuiabá visited my house often, so that it enabled me to keep informed up to that date about all that went on among the Bakairí.

114 648 175 Karl von den Steinen's two expeditions to the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River should be noted as an important event not only in the general history of discoveries but also, especially, in the history of the Bakairí. Through them was re-established the long broken connection between the Bakairí living on the Rio Paranatinga and their fellow countrymen on [197] the Batovy and Kulisehu river. This fact had such an incisive

4:Schmidt--SP E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SPT Bakairi SPT

Plate I

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103
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361
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Territory of the Bakairi

— — — Itinerary of the author.

1:Petrolio E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
Bacnal: SP7
Br
Bo
102
131
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[Facing P 180-A]
[Plate XXV-A]

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[Plate XIV-B] [Facing P. 180-B]

/162 cont./

512 I did them an injustice; at half-past seven a procession of seven comes around the corner in the fastest quickstep, one behind the other, the tribal sorceress at their head, all loaded with [482] manioca roots. The old woman is carrying a bundle of them loose on her head, and behind her runs a young woman with a heavy back-basket; is it her husband who is following her? Likewise bent under the load of a basket he walks forward, on his left [854] hip a straddling boy whom he clasps heedlessly, as though he had hurriedly picked him up from the ground.

592 We visit the house of the *professor*. In the moderately light [352] room one at first distinguishes only a number of vertical and [252] horizontal posts, brown hammocks; the old woman and a younger one are sitting on the floor most diligently scraping manioca with a shell, the naked legs buried in the parings.

[363] Two families have divided up in the space; the conjugal chambers are characterized by the fact that two hammocks are fastened, one above the other, to the same post. In the center there is an empty circle, and round about, /163/ radially, the "individual rooms" divided off, not by partitions, but merely by [364] the posts. The upper vault is blackened by smoke. Three or [251] four stones form the simple hearth. The floor is pot into huge [252] pot vessels (up to 77 centimeters in diameter); the *beijis* are [323] pressed on flat, rimless bowls. The clay is blackish brown, the vessels are made by hand by the women.

352 We sit on small, low benches; they are rectangular, slightly concave, made out of dark-brown palm-wood, usually in octavo form, and not a decimeter high.

412 The *mono* axes, which are sticking in the wall (the longest [353] 28 centimeters), all have the same shape: a thick wooden cylinder, offset at the bottom by a thinner handle. The *mono* is supposedly [135] found farther downstream (?). /Illustration appears here./

1. Here Prof. Arzruni of Aachen was kind enough to examine the material carefully and has identified it as *diabase*, a rock made up of augite, plagioclase, mica, chlorite, and

/163 cont./

412
135

1. (cont.)
magnetite, in which are embedded individual crystals of olivine and quite a number of quartz granules.

415 Tall storage baskets of biconcave profile (one meter 40 centimeters long, 35 centimeters wide at the top), wound with brown bast bands and lined in the interior with maize leaves, contain the flour and are very stout. The grating boards on which the mandioca is pulverized are about 115 centimeters long and 80 centimeters wide.

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531

Gourd-vessel (drinking-vessel) designs of the Bakairi.

251 High up a great quantity of dusty cornceobs.

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924

A number of strange dolls, which hang down from the vault on long strings, seem the most striking; they are plaited out of maize leaves: turkey-sized birds, projecting wings made out of one leaf and circularly twined legs with three toes; others are slender, human-like figures, /164/ a small head on top, broken up below into narrow frippery. In our house we found two lizards made of grass, whose four feet come together in a ring, so that one can put them on one's hand.

/215 cont./

*171 323

present provide the other tribes with cooking vessels in Guiana, although he says that the Aruak make abundant pots for their own use, but do not dispose of them as trade goods, like the Karaiben. Martius says of the Makuxchi, the most populous Karaiben tribe of the Rio Branco area: "All implements of these Indians are neatly and carefully made, the weapons decorated with feathers, and only in pottery are they inferior to the Indians of the coast."

ceramics, also from an artistic point of view, as we shall see.

At first, and before I knew that the peculiar dependency on the Nu-Aruak existed for all tribes, I believed that there happened to be no clay available. This was an error, however. There was suitable clay, not only among the Nahuquá, but also among the Bakairí, and the only thing I cannot say /216/ is whether the quality was a degree poorer than among the potter tribes, which, however, is probably of no concern for our problem.*

[35]

[312]

* The Bakairí were the only ones who fetched good drinking water from a crystal-clear brook; the Nahuquá and, even more, the Mehinakú and Auetó drank from muddy loam pools and stagnant canal water.

*171 325 315 [298]

But let us consider another circumstance: the Bakairí and Nahuquá had gourds and calabashes, which, on the other hand, were lacking among the potter tribes and which the latter obtained from the Nahuquá, where special care or better soil, I know not, produced splendid fruits for vessels. Finally, if we learn that the Waurá made very attractive pots of exactly the shape and size of the gourd vessels, with imitations of the drawings put on them, that the basic form of the pots is clearly that of the drinking bowl, the gourd, and that the pots as well as the

/80/

Seventh Chapter

000 March from Cuyabá to the Docile Bakairí on the Rio Novo

/Pages 80-98 are omitted in the translation./

/98/

132 14 June. 6:40 A.M.: dry. 18.9, wet. 18.2, strat. 8, S 2-3. Like yesterday, the south wind brings low-moving cloud masses.

122 Today the men are ready very quickly: off shortly before seven o'clock in the morning.

[137] [38] Predominantly meadow, a narrow, hard path leads through it, on which one can merrily trot. A number of oxen greet us as the first emissaries. A wide expanse of campo has been freshly burned off: it is said that wild animals like to seek out these "queimadas" /see the glossary, p. 172 / because of the salty ashes. A number of curicacas (ibis): in the distance an ostrich, which Pedro and the dogs pursue in vain.

[36]

361 At nine o'clock we see the "aldeamento" /see the glossary, p. 170 / of the Bakairí /Bacairi/ in the distance: four houses; the sunshine gives the illusion of slate roofs. a few naked torsos hasten inside, clothed persons step outside. In the immediate vicinity the settlement shrinks to actual palm-straw huts.

[342]

622 /99/ Daniel is on the spot and introduces us to "Captain Reginaldo." Reginaldo da Silva Nogueira, from the walnut forest /Nusswald/. A man in his forties with a broad chest, long, curly black hair, a friendly look, but silent: hat, shirt, trousers in good condition.

574 General handshaking. A half dozen, mostly young, broad-shouldered men, likewise in their Sunday best, sit on the fence of the cattle yard. The crown of creation is absent. -- Gradually the procession draws up, and everyone settles down at home. By way of greeting, sugar cane is sucked and a swallow of liquor permitted.

[i.e. village -- Analyst]

/131 cont./

122 At night we write busily; two benches serve as tables, for
[534] sitting, knapsack and hammock. Outside the frogs are croaking;
the Bakaïrí João, whom we call the minnesinger, is improvising
on his violin; he cannot be parted from it and even takes it along
to bathe. Thus, for the time being, the last night under a roof.

[133] 5 July. It was late afternoon before the staff crossed over.
The river was about 150 meters wide. On either side is a barranca
[501] about five meters high. The long bark canoes give a confidence-
inspiring impression. We shall have to become accustomed to
[123] them. Antonio already feels completely at home with us. He has
fallen in love with a mouth organ that I gave him.

[136] 6 July. The river sent up mists in the early morning. Pedro
caught a big piraíba (Bagrus reticulatus). He is parading around
in a soldier's coat, under which, and, to be sure, over his trousers,
he is wearing an old flannel shirt of mine. Our ladies would take
him for a curly-haired Neapolitan boy with a gentle, melancholy
disposition, and yet the youth is only interested /132/ in killing
everything that creeps and flies, and in between times in sucking
sugar cane.

123 First Caetano came, in order to have breakfast with us once
more. A number of women followed, brought us more beijú,
and squatted to one side, the two Carlotas combing their long
hair. The over-jackets had already disappeared on the second day.
122 Luiz appeared last of all, when all the canoes were already at
our shore. He went as far as the last sandbank slab, took off his
clothes, and tried to wade across naked. But he was afraid and
stood irresolute. "Well, come along," cried Felipe's wife.
The minnesinger finally went after him. /Illustration appears
here./

At ten o'clock we set out. For a long time the laughing and
shouting of the women sounded behind us.

132 I am supplying the missing meteorological data for the stay
in Cuiaba-funda and the Bakaïrí village:

/166 cont./

252 brick shape -- pavas, used for mingau. They boil the strained liquid in large pots, whereby the finest flour is deposited -- polvilho; this makes the best beijús.

501 [459] Back in the afternoon. Four canoes were acquired with an ax, shirt, and trousers. We are not in good shape, in spite of all that. Quintilian's canoe burst when it was hauled down. The [531] Bakairí canoes differ from ours only in their more careful workmanship: one of them is painted with black rings on the outside of the longitudinal sides. The oars, the size of a walking stick, have a crook-shaped handle, shaft, and a long lance-shaped blade, which is slightly hollowed out like a shovel.

133 The height of the two-uppermost levels of the salto amounts to four meters; two meters more may be figured for the falls [224] below. Baskets for catching fish hang on ropes, which, in turn, are held by males standing in the middle of the whirlpool.

We call this waterfall the Salto da Alegria. Our happiness 136 is only slightly marred by a swarm of bees and wasps; among the latter, the kind that sting very painfully. -- The transport of the 122 canoes, for which there is a route, is completed. /Illumination appears here./

/167/

139 [122] 15 Aug. φ 12° 11'.7, λ 5°.7, km. 6.41, total 130.85.
7:00 A.M.: dry. 11.8, wet. 9.8, clear, calm.

300 We have only nine canoes; one is very battered. Castro and I separated; he is traveling with Manoel, I with Compadre Valentin. Off about 9:30 A.M.; immediately an accident happened. At a small rapids Wilhelm's boat capsized, and the foolish Negro Chico behaved as clumsily as possible. With the knapsack and the suitcase in his hands, he stood in the middle of the water, which was flowing over the baggage as though over a mill wheel, as bewildered as a porter in a railroad station who has lost sight of his stranger. He almost drowned, but was luckily pulled out by Clementino. We dried out on both shores. Delay until 1:00 in the afternoon.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P 168--Analist]

/168 cont./

126 During the night there was heavy dew. In the forenoon we dried Wilhelm's things. It is a pity the way the drawings look, the sheets are stuck together and bent. How could we have brought photographic chemicals through here?

•136 At 1:00 in the afternoon slowly off. Several times a sandy shore 20 meters wide, maaricos, small black-white, red-legged shore-birds. Numerous traces of the macajá turtle; the people poke in the sand with an arrow or generally simply follow the tracks of the macajá and with their hands dig up the shallow pit that shows the impression of their bodies. In one nest there are 17 eggs, in another 15; the egg is white and gradually shades to gray. 4.9 centimeters long, 3.2 centimeters wide. Temperature of the sand 37°.4. The verdict about the empty nests, merely in passing by, is often: "Here the lizard has fled."

It is wondrously summer-like: current, sun, charming leafy shores, yellow butterflies, and no mosquitoes or wasps. Many novatas. Endless meanderings; we covered about two leguas.

Valentin caught a large pimaõe fish; see the glossary, p. 171/. Satyr was almost pulled out of the canoe by a piraiyba that was supposedly as long as he was. Loud buzzing and chirping in the night air. The uahú was singing.

122 17 Aug. ☾ 13° T. 3, λ 6°.1, km. 8.37, sunsl 142.32.
132 6:35 A.M. dry. 11.3, water 23.5.
7:30 P.M. ☉ 132.4, dry. 21.8.

Morning I awoke during the night and believed that I had fever. It was the cold. Very soon we arrived in the harbor of the second village.

(54)

229 A fisherman's hut lies at the entrance of the forest. Here are baskets shaped somewhat like an elongated spiked helmet, into which, from the inner rim, a small collecting funnel with a narrow opening leads inside. The path crosses island one league and is very similar to the one from the first village.

487

594 After a few steps we were received by two good acquaintances from Alto I, who had gone overland to announce us to their fellows. One of them in blue trousers and red striped shirt, the

/171 cont./

1. (cont.)
so that it rattles. They rattle with it when they sing and dance, and call it tammaraka." The medicineman lets the rattle speak "and just a word so that one cannot really perceive whether the rattle is doing it or whether he is doing it. And the other people think that the rattle is doing it...but when I saw the fraud, I went out of the hut. I thought, what a poor, deluded people that is."

361 The aldea was otherwise similar to the first in everything. All around pure cacho, cotton, spear grass, fruta de lobo, and nearby a brook running over white sand. We counted 19 men, 17 women, 7 children. It is possible, however, that one or another has been counted twice. Again the small number of children is very striking. Toward evening we returned to the river. I had done some good bartering.

122 18 Aug. ♀ 12° 39'.9, λ 7°.7, km. 22.10, sand 164.42.
[92] 7:30 A.M.: dry. 16.0, water 22.7.
3:35 P.M.: I 742.0, II 733.4, dry. 23.0.

From the wool /Wolle," wool, down, hair, cotton"/ obtained in the village fish lines were twisted. During the night five piranhas /see the glossary, p. 172/ and nine piranhas were caught. The farmer has the bad habit, when it is hauled on land, of emitting a farewell sound, which is audible far and wide, with the part that leaves the water last. It tastes fatty; the broth is somewhat strong. It is also supposed to produce ulcers. -- The professor went home again, besides arrow, bow, and the measured mirror, he carried his hammock on his back in a net held by a forehead band. This is the way the Bakairi goes traveling. -- A young, handsome chap accompanies us to the next village. He wears a red-black flannel shirt and around his head a green cloth with the Brazilian coat of arms. At the campsite he removes this clothing.

/174 cont./

122 22 Aug. φ 12° 42'.0, λ 16'.4, km. 29.44, total 242.34.
132 6:45 A.M.: dry. 17.0, wet. 16.1, clear, calm.
7:15 A.M.: I 742.8.
6:00 P.M.: I 743.6, II 734.2, dry. 27.1, wet. 24.3, clear, calm, water 28.5.

133 The river is 70 meters wide. Three rapids. It has much
226 swampy terrain and forms small lagoons. Tall scaffolds have been erected for passage and for catching fish. When the lagoon has filled up in the rainy season, a mat planking is fastened to the poles, through which the water partly flows off later, but the fish are held back. -- A Hunt for two tapirs was in vain.

122 23 Aug. φ 12° 34'.3, λ 19'.2, km. 32.70, total 274.94.
132 6:35 A.M.: I 744.0, II 736.2, dry. 20.0, wet. 19.4, alto-c. 8, wind = 0, water 25.3.
3:45 P.M.: I 744.4, II 735.4, dry. 26.1, wet. 23.8, clouds = 8, wind = 0, water 27.0.
10:20 P.M.: I 744.0, dry. 19.1.

During the night, 2-3:00, a light rain fell. Sheet lightning. Early the sky is cloudy; not until 9:00 does the sun break through. --
133 The river makes meandering windings; two brooks flow in on the right, one is 20 meters wide. There is often sandy beach and willow brush in the water. Farther on comes campo. We see the
136 heron. -- A dog dives in pursuit of a capybara. The meat of the latter has the taste of machine oil.

122 24 Aug. φ 12° 32'.6, λ 19'.6, km. 7.13, total 282.07.
132 6:30 A.M.: I 743.2, II 735.2, dry. 14.7, wet. 14.0, clear, calm, water 25.2.

000 During the night the fonga de agua made an uproar, toads performed a cantanet concert.

/177 cont./

122 By way of farewell we wanted to drink sweet mingau -- [172] piserogu -- in the main house. It was bubbling in a big pot. I was /178/ so foolish as to dip a piece of beijú prematurely into the foam -- the old cook leaped up and they all screamed at once, horrified -- the foam was still poisonous. That I did not know this was probably inconceivable to them, but I thought it best to refrain from producing a miracle for them.

500 It was lasting too long for us. Claus had to calculate an occultation of Mars that was taking place today. Unfortunately the event which we had long anticipated with pleasure and which would have been doubly important for us so near the Schingú took place before twilight set in.

Our Bakairí visits had come to an end.

[134] In the evening an inferno of mosquitoes. Wilhelm's and my hands and lower arms have for some time been covered with flat, slow-healing scars. They start with a dark blister the size of a pinhead, which contains thin pus, then they become enlarged and discharge a thin, milky secretion. It looks as though they came from the bites of small flies. In connection with the discharge, red scars remain after healing.

122 25 Aug. ☾ 12° 26'.2, ☽ 21'.7, δm. 28.93, sunset 310.90.
132 6.30 A.M.: I 763.2, II 735.2, dry. 14.0, wet. 13.1, mean with 3°, wind = 0, water 25.1.
5.30 P.M.: I 764.6, II 735.2, dry. 25.4, wet. 23.1, clear.

133 Heaven only knows when the "Schingú" is finally supposed to appear. After two days there is a river coming from the left, not is no doubt certain, and later on a larger river -- but when? Concerning this there are the most varied interpretations.

At a width of 70-80 meters we measured the speed of the flowing at 1,416 meters per hour. Sounding three and one-half 137 meters. Water dirty yellow, as always. Campo, sucuri and carandá palms. Low brush on the shore and individual copses about 16 meters high. Anatid, Mosquitos pacaudo.

/47 cont./

136 After our long foot journey through the lifeless wilderness of the stunted scrub woodland, we were doubly struck by the cheerful bird life on the river, and, indeed, twice as much after our privation. On the river journey one must divide the birds into those which one sees and those which one merely hears. We became very familiar with a whole series of feathered inhabitants of the forest which we nevertheless did not glimpse a single time; we knew their call, we imitated it, we had our companions tell us to what species they belonged, we read about them in books, but in a museum we would pass by these friends without recognizing them. Carlos, who in his former position had hunted and skinned countless birds of the Mato Grosso, was unfortunately far more expert than I. For his part he divided the birds into those that Herbert Smith "had" and those that he "did not have." To the latter category belonged the swallows, the ones that we had encountered in 1884 on the Batovy. Otherwise on this very first day we saw or heard such birds as doves, humming birds, small flocks of parakeets, aracas, kingfishers, the yellow bennen (Saurophagus sulphuratus), the inquisitive, nodding beach-runner mamaco (Calidris arenaria), the biguá (Carbo brasilianus), and sparrow-hawk species, divers of the air as well as of the water, /48/ and finally the Penelopinae aracuan and jacutinga, the tasty gallinaceous birds which we pursued with special zeal. Of fish we observed matrinchan, bagre, the sheatfish or piraiba, and agulha, the needlefish, which was found in the form of remains from an otter's meal. Yellow butterflies, which Smith "had by the thousands," as well as bees and crickets, were extraordinarily numerous on the sandy beach. Occasionally a iguanid, the iguana, plopped down from a branch into the water. On the sand ran tracks of turtles, pigs, and tapirs. Caymans, the "jacaré" of the Brazilians, seemed to be very rare; we saw a small species, however, and during the night Antonio -- so he said the next morning -- had an inquisitive representative of this tribe humbly have its teeth at him when he left his hammock because of the mosquitoes.

/66 cont./

We therefore named our camping place, which we had taken possession of shortly after 4:00, Ponto do Jakard. Antonio took charge of the unfortunate canoe; he showed it onto a low framework of forked supports, lighted a fire of brush under it, and heat the front part up as much as possible; he stuffed the crack with rags and smeared it with beeswax. Howling monkeys gave us an evening concert and carried on as dreadfully as though we were supposed to learn how to shudder.

We were glad to get up early the next morning; we cursed the mosquitoes and set out at 6:30 into the light mist floating over the water. The birds twittered and chirped noisily; a haired pig was swimming across the river in the distance. We rowed as soundlessly as possible between the shores covered with campo vegetation; much tall leafy brush and bamboo thicket, out of which rose the tree of the red ants, the imbauva. A fat Mutum cavallo with black plumage shimmering greenish-blue and a sealing-wax red crest was successfully caught and immediately plucked. Antonio carefully collected the wing and tail feathers, which, split and turned spirally, are set on the end of the arrow shaft, for his fellows on the Paranatinga, so that he would have something to bring them from the journey. A small piece of the meat served as bait when we passed through some rapids with exposed boulders and disturbed the matrichams, which allegedly sleep there between the stones. The two men threw out their lines and at each throw let them strike enticingly a couple of times; they were snapped at, but unfortunately there were no bites. They shot at a couple of playful arirambas, large fish otters that surface like seals, spit, disappear quick as lightning, and suddenly appear again somewhere far downstream.

Shortly after midday Antonio observed run-off branches on the right bank; we disembarked and, on closer investigation, saw that a piece of game, probably a capybara, had been placed on a bed of twigs and leaves in order to protect the meat from dust while it was being exhausted. There was neither hut nor evidence of fire; the booty had therefore been taken from this spot to the /?/. It appears that/ /67/ camping place or even to the village.

[Text Continues on P.6]

/49 cont./

the village. The scars on the brush, however, were supposed to be a month old. We made our midday stop here, roasted the mutung along with the fish retrieved from the otter, spiced our luncheon with hopeful conjectures, and, after I had permitted Carlos, for dessert, the pleasure of digging out a fat sand-flea [136] for me, pushed off in a happy mood. Borrachudos, the small stinging flies, accompanied us in a thick cloud; on account of the infernal itching, I was obliged to wind a handkerchief around my bare feet. It was sultry and rainy. Soon a violent thunderstorm broke out and forced us to seek shelter for more than an hour on a steep, slippery bank-slope where a few piles of rock jutted out. After that, however, it became mild and sunny, and [122] our woolen underwear was soon dry. My hunter's clothing was indeed not beautiful or socially proper, but I found it light and practical, and the Indians had no right to rebuke me for traveling only in shirt and underpants.

The nearness of the "compadres," or Gevattern /Ger., "sponsor, godparent, close friend," used here, as is compadre, to refer to the Indians/, became more and more obvious. For at 5:00, as we were looking for a camping place, we came -- at just the right hour -- to the mouth of a brook, which, on the left bank of the river, led, to our delight, to clear, cool water and showed a barricade of branches, crude, to be sure, but made [226] by human hands, a "chiqueira." This is what the Brazilians call one of the simplest fish-traps, often accidently formed by nature itself, at the mouth of a brook or the outlet of an arm of a lagoon; at high water the fish enter unimpeded and when the water is low they cannot get back again. We climbed up the steep embankment and on top found an excellent spot for our night's lodging, free of underbrush and with moderately large trees well spaced. But our men complained, after they had pushed the cance up into the chiqueira brook, that in the mud on the bank they had picked up "frieiras," painful swellings such as they said occur when one steps into capybara dung, mule filth, and similar pleasant things. They stamped their feet in pain for a while and rubbed them with salt.

/59 cont./

231 rafters of the smoke vent, and, if he suddenly shot down and raced around us like a wild animal, he was quickly chased back to his observation post, where he looked down, his head bent inquisi-
224 tively and his beak open. /60/ Sometimes one of the little mice
[262] so busily active at night came spying about and, if it did not scamper away in time, was shot with a child's arrow and brought
•136 to the women as a roast. Almost constant guests were large black-white striped bees, which, like a butterfly that now and then fluttered into the entrance, would calmly let themselves be seized and put aside. On a hot noonday I often had the feeling of sitting in the midst of a beehive filled with buzzing and droning.

123 It was at this hour on the third day that I fled from the bees
[342] and flies to Paleko's large house and entered it for the first time. It was wonderfully cool and comfortable in there and no annoying insects. Only ants laden with grains of flour marched
[517] down their street to the mandioca pestle. The men were swing-
[574] ing in the hammocks, their chief occupation at home, and
[352] after I had sat a while, for the sake of politeness, on the stool of honor, which was as high as a cigar box, I soon followed their example.

342 One had the feeling of being in a huge beehive, fortunately without the bees. The ground plan was almost circular with a diameter of 15 meters; two mighty posts standing nine meters high and three and a half meters apart, supported in the center the huge straw dome, the framework of which consisted of horizontal bamboo rings and over these vertical poles bent upward toward the vent. It was smoke-blackened, glistening like tar. The walling all around, above which it rose, a tightly closed ring of posts one and a half meters high, interrupted only by two door entrances opposite each other, which were much
[352] too low for me. From the wall towards the interior, in the direction of the radii, the hammocks were stretched, fastened on either end to particularly strong posts, so that the outer space
353 was divided into a number of rooms, albeit open. The large center space around the main posts and under the vent, which

2: Steinen--54 ED-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/83/

•136 Hunting and fishing had offered all kinds of variety. Except that the fishing was not as easy as one might think. Immediately after our return, Antonio caught seven sheatfish, pintados, of which, to our sorrow, he delivered all of four to the pair Tumayoua and Lucho and only three to our large kitchen; but the soldiers had never been so happy. On the other hand, there were all kinds of fowl shot, jakutingas and jakús mostly, excellent ducks, moreover, single specimens of johó, Mutum cavallo, pigeon, arara, and parrot. From the category of quadrupeds: monkey, deer, a tapir, a cervo de campo, which was scorned because of its musk odor, and a wildcat. Several pigs had been captured at two different times, but the second lot had become unusable because the animals were full of "worms" and had to be thrown into the river. Occasionally a turtle was found. "Buscar mel," looking for honey, was more enthusiastically practiced than hunting for bigger game, for the appetite for sweets was already very much in evidence. The various kinds of honey were differently appreciated. The bora honey had a sweetish-sour and very soapy taste; nevertheless Januario washed out the wax with water and relished the liquid the color of English mustard. The kupim honey, which sweetened the Paraguayan tea or was mixed with flour, found general favor.

The evenings passed slowly. With horror Wilhelm and Perrot caught themselves talking more about Cuyabá and the return journey than about the river trip and its prospects. Desperately they played sixty-six /a German card game/ and were annoyed by the mockery in the indefatigable call of the "João Cortapáo" (Jack, chop wood, Caprimulgus albicollis), to whom the Brazilian also attributes the words "manhã eu vou" = tomorrow I shall [136] go. They listened to the six-tone scale of the warbling urutau, a night swallow (Nyctibius aethereus), and the less pleasant cry of a heron species, the sokoboi, which is supposed to remind one of the voice of the jaguar. The comparison, however, was found not to be appropriate when the snarling of the big cat itself was heard. In addition to these sounds of lament from the forest, the nasal songs of the soldiers, who had carved themselves a "côxo"

/91 cont./

353 a couple of fish drawings were drawn on with white loam. To our
531 greatest amazement, triangles and squares were meant as illustrations of concrete objects and were not merely "geometric
126 figures." Wilhelm copied the entire frieze with painstaking precision, as Plates 20 and 21 show.[2] I shall later compare the practices among the Bakairí with those among the rest of the Kulisehu tribes. Unfortunately it was not possible to bring home the originals. The loam was so loosely applied that it immediately crumbled off, and so coarse-grained that it could not be permanently fixed with a coating of collodion, as was done successfully with the masks.

680 Toward sundown, led by Atamike, who was parading around in his red scarf, we went to the camp, which was now pitched at the actual harbor, and there, after the new shipwreck, we encountered a great "drying of laundry." Antonio's oar was also broken.

183 A number of Indians stood and sat around on the slope of the shore when we set out on 6 October shortly after 7:00. João Pedro had ordered for himself half a dozen fresh beijú and was served promptly in the early morning, as by a civilized baker.

133 The powerful rapids called "kulíri" by the Bakairí, which we soon cut through without peril, was the last one on the Kuliseha: "tíxu ʒie," the stones are "all gone." On this stretch the river again greatly resembled the section beyond Independencia; many fallen trees in the water, frequent elevated sandy beaches or steep
[136] loam banks, the current somewhat faster. The small maçarico with its little red legs came tripping rapidly toward us across the sand, called "go away, come, come," and flew ahead a little distance, to wait for us there again. The bends in the river were very numerous and the trip became a deadly bore. The sunlight was reflected glaringly by the light sand and the water glistened unbearably. At 2:45 we passed a right tributary-brook about eight meters wide, the Pakuneru. This is the same name that the Paranatinga bears among the Bakairí. At its source -- far away
[101] in.... - the kayíxo, the Kayapó /Cayapo/, are said to live.

[2] [See pp. 280-281 -- Analysis]

/195 cont./

naked Suyá women washed their sexual parts at the river in our presence.

If the glans constantly threatens to become exposed through erections and sexual intercourse, could the wish arise on the part of matrizing men to keep it covered for protection? There is much to be said in favor of this. To be sure this need for protection might least of all be related to underbrush and thorns. More seriously to be considered are the assaults of the animal kingdom. If the Trumaí, as was maintained of them, were animals who lived in the water and slept on the bottom of the river, they would be urgently required to close off the urethral opening against the little candiru fish (Cetopsis candiru). This transparent, span-long little monster, whose occurrence we noted in the Batovy in 1884, has the peculiar habit of penetrating the body openings accessible to it when human beings are in the water: it slips into the urethra, cannot get back because of its fins, and may easily cause the death of the unfortunate one who has no other recourse but, willy-nilly, to perform the urethrotomia externa with his knife.*

> *The Brazilians' fear of this fish, so harmless in and of itself, is thus probably justified: it is best characterized by a Munchausenism which an officer, with a perfectly straight face, reported to us as true: in the waters beside Villa Cáceres the candiru is so vicious and so consumed with its passion that even when a person relieves himself on the shore it quickly goes up in the jet of water.

Since, however, the amphibian nature of the Trumaí will justifiably encounter skepticism, and the stay in the water, even for the fisherman or the rower hauling his canoe through the cataracts, plays only an insignificant role, it is /196/ not necessary to grasp at the only occasional danger from the candiru. On

136 cont.

6a

the other hand, the swarm of "carapatos" (Ixodidae), the ticks stripped off and shaken down from leaves in great numbers as one goes through the forest, makes protection of the glans extremely desirable for the forest dwellers. These little parasites, in part very tiny, attach themselves to the skin, pump themselves full of blood, swell up to the size of peas as a result of their expansible body walls, and cling so tightly with the hooked tips of their maxillary feelers which sharply penetrate the skin that one tears them apart in trying to pluck them off, and painful inflammed areas are caused by the parts that remain behind. The Brazilian, who often comes out of the forest as though strewed with carapatos, hastily removes his clothing and shakes his shirt and trousers out over the campfire; if one of the parasites has bored into the glans, he goes after it with a burning cigarette as close to the body as his own sensitivity will permit, so that the little animal, tormented by the heat, will voluntarily give up its abode and withdraw from the mucous membrane without being torn apart. All of us, in spite of our clothing, have had to resort to this procedure at one time or another and have experienced the situation, before relief was achieved, as one of the most painful. I am also of the opinion that the protection which the Indians enjoy is more reliable than that of covering clothing.

How many other biting, pinching, sucking, increeping insects can in like manner afflict the South American forest dweller is familiar to every traveler who has sat on the ground in the Brazilian forest. These annoyances are most vividly made clear by the fact that it was the inhabitant of the South American tropical forest who was forced to invent the hammock, which the English and French still call "amáka" from the Nu-Aruak word. Forced certainly not only because of the wet ground of the Hylaea. The Indian very wisely averts such attacks somewhat by customarily sitting in a squatting position. The women, if they sit down flat during the scraping of mandioca roots and similar occupations which would be inconvenient to do in a squatting position, use a couple of flat pieces of bamboo, fastened together as an underlayer, even when they are in the house, which, of course, is crawling with ants. Their domestic tasks

/196-cont./

have made them less accustomed to squatting than the men, and they are therefore less protected. In the illustration on the next page /see p. 192/ a group of Bakairi from the second village shows very well the characteristic positions of both sexes in sitting or squatting.

In the case of the women, too, if protection of the mucous membrane was to be effected by their devices, this purpose would probably be achieved and certainly be achieved better than, say, the purpose of concealment. Furthermore, it should be realized that, assuming the purpose to be protection of the mucous membrane, a need for this was at least increased through sexual life, since in the case of the young /197/ women the mucous became more accessible, in the pregnant state more turgescent, and as a result of childbirth more slack.

Thus it would indeed be improper, on the basis of local conditions, to doubt that the methods described could offer the adults of both sexes protection against external assaults and that there was no lack of occasions when they were bound to be useful in this sense. It would also be natural for young people to be duly furnished with them as early as the onset of puberty when they began to work with the older men. The explanation, however, cannot possibly be exhaustive. For the importance and indispensableness of the devices are out of proportion to the idea /Fig. 19 appears here/ of protective apparatus. Why should they not have been removed more often, especially at night in the hammock? Why should the young men have been so intent on training the praeputium. Why should particular fuss have been made one day about wearing the uluri or the cuffs? The connections with sexual life must be direct and not merely indirect.

In the case of the female sex one encounters no difficulty. Suddenly bleeding appears: there is illness here. That the Indian thought this originally is clearly proved by the utterly superfluous medical treatment of the menstruating girl customary among most tribes, /198/ with isolation, fumigation, diet, incisions, and other remedies against the unknown foes. One neatly removed the pubic hair and donned a bandage, the bast loop, or a cushion, the uluri. The bast loop among the Trumai women --

/200 cont./

paké, while there are three rhombuses in succession on the right. In the two rhombuses on the left the gill arch sets off the head, as in Figures 34 and 35 /see p. 263/ and also in the carved bark fish. The same thing is repeated in No. 6, nikó-ikuma, the picture of the nikó fish, which cannot be identified more specifically, but, according to a very similar Aneityum design, may perhaps be regarded as a armored sharkfish, where, on the right, triangle, rhombus, rhombus, triangle succeed one another, as though two fishes were touching at their mouths, and, on the left, four tail-triangles are joined in a row. Apparently it is because of the skin marking of the nikó fish that it is distinguished from the paké by triangles filled in with white. The paké, on the other hand, is characterized by small dots. In No. 9 we see on the left a sample of the design on its skin and next to it, on the right, a number of body rhombuses, each of which has a little dot in the center, and which, if we wanted to associate them with fish, we should probably say were an illustration of an armor-like, scaly skin, which the paké does not have at all.

[36] Fig. 42. Meteschu. (2/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

I must admit that I did not quite know whether to laugh at our good-natured interpreter or to give in to a feeling of mute bafflement that may be summed up in the exclamation "how differently

/260 cont./

the world is pictured in these minds?" No. 10, *semiane Bunu*, pictures of hem. Rhombuses strung together. Head, extremities, tail, where are they? We shall come across hem again, however, in other drawings and especially on the pots, where they are reduced to the same rhombus form. In Brehm's *Tierleben* I, 1890, page 363, there is an illustration of *Vespertugo nocticula*, the *Abendbeutler* /"evening moth"/, which in the specimen on the left, wrapped in a wing membrane and hanging, shows as a somewhat similar outline; if it were stylized, it could also be developed into a rhombus. -- /261/ Let us now confirm the fact that on these two planes we have rhombuses in three patterns: that of the *paki*, either an outline or spotted-surface design, that of the *nuki*, with diagonal triangles, and the one of the hot, which is simply filled in. The negative drawing of the hem, No. 10, would be exactly like No. 11, the *Bue construtor* or *Abaya waabe*. One sees, at any rate, that one can arrive at the geometric figure of the rhombus in very different ways.

Mewachu and ahui. /Fig. 43 appears here./ Strangely enough, the frieze of the Bakairi house lacked a design which is the most common one, not only among the Bakairi, but also among all the tribes of the upper Schingú. On our first journey we noticed it often enough, but did not appreciate and understand it. In my report *Durch Centralbrasilien* /Through Central Brazil/ it is found on page 163 /see 1. Steinen, this file, p. 42/ as a drinking-bowl design of the Bakairi and on page 213 /see 1. Steinen, this file, p. 104/ as a pencil drawing of the Suyá in the handsomest delineation: rhombuses whose corners are filled in with small triangles. Only after the discovery was made in the second Bakairi village was the explanation given. The original of the decoration is a small, flat lagoon fish, a Serrasalmo or Myleter, related to the piranhas. The one drawn by Wilhelm measured 19 centimeters in length, 9.5 centimeters in width, and was silver-gray with brown spots. No artist has ever had more success with a picture than did Wilhelm with this drawing. People came crowding up and all were positively happy to view it. And this was repeated among all the tribes. Even the Paresí in Cuyabá were delighted with it and

/277 cont./

the animal motif is predominant here. Aside from the fact that the pots are made to look like gourds, from which they probably come, it is solely and entirely a matter of imitation of animals. Only in the dance art is there an equally inexhaustible abundance of motifs which arise from the joy in the hunting life and its observations.

The plastic art, too, still permits one clearly to recognize that it was originally merely descriptive. We must not expect to be able to trace its course back as far as in the case of drawing, the best efforts of which still remain a sort of cartographic enumeration of the characteristic features and preserve these even in the geometric modification, but we have here another indication which is no less clear. In the fashioning of bodily forms the material that is being worked on comes to the fore much more than in the incising of lines. Just as rhyme often furnishes the thought, so does a form already present often furnish the motif. Thus, there is a very striking frugality shown in the characteristic features that are retained. Any small resemblance is sufficient to define the object as a particular creature. On a higher level, the native [illegible] a utensil with a freely invented motif, and this then [illegible] into geometric stylization exactly like the drawings.

/278/ Small chain-figures. The meager characterization is most striking in the small figures which are kept on the neck chains, mostly those of babies and very small children, between the seed kernels, the shell beads, and the nut beads. The material is wholly unimportant. A piece of the convolution of the cone-colored snail shell has an edge which runs into irregular projections and indentations: that is a crayfish. The Bakairi cut birds and fish out of the shell of the caramujo branco, Ortalicus melanostoma. We see a shield-shaped piece, the body, which at the bottom continues into a narrower tail and at the top into a sort of neck piece (Fig. 63). This "neck piece," however, is the head, commonly pierced at the side to receive the string, and seems to be treated quite indifferently. If the tail piece is notched like a fin, we have before us a fish instead of a bird. /Figure 63 appears here./

/279 cont./

attention, nor the outstanding figures, nor the construction of twigs made this likely. All doubts vanished, however, when the Indian showed us, inside two squares, which were otherwise made up merely of crossing twigs, several narrow, and in themselves quite meaningless, stretches of plaiting on which was wound a little yellow straw, and then explained: "capybara teeth." In other words, teeth of Hydrochoerus capybara or water hog, the large rodent characterized by huge incisors, the chisel of the natives. One had to admit that the outlines were roughly similar, but no European would have hit upon this correct interpretation by himself. Finally, we saw in the artists' hut of the Aweró a plaited strip which they designated for us as "fish bones." It was the same figure as No. 5, Plate 20 /see p. 280/.

I would have referred to these examples earlier, along with the drawings, and not here if they had not been connected with peculiarly plaited figures or dolls which we found among the Nahuquá. Of the two illustrations 65 and 66 /see p. 315/, the one is easily understandable and suitable for a kindergarten. It represents a /280/ toad. The other, however, I, at any rate, would not have interpreted correctly even if I had thought about it for a year. We have to recognize it as a deer! And actually it is quite simple. First I need to start out that it is an animal, then the sharply protruding corner piece /Figs. 65-67 appear here/ to the right must be the head, and thus I have a four-footed animal, whereas I do not pay any attention to the three peaks on the back, since a Nahuquá is not familiar with a dromedary or a camel, to say nothing of an animal with three elevations on its back. It must, moreover, be a type of quadruped for which the tail, since it is missing, is not characteristic. What I see in the way of feet, however, corresponds most closely to the hoofs of the deer. Thus, I come slowly limping along behind the Nahuquá with my conclusions, while the Indian of another tribe, after brief reflection, finds the correct solution by himself.

Inasmuch as I considered the Bororó in connection with the drawings, their analogous Froebel toy might be taken up in this connection. The folded piece of palm leaf, Fig. 67 left /see p. 315/ represents a "Bororó woman," that is to say, it is

/305 cont./ The

532 handsome decoration of these two masks, however, are the
535 enormous sewa feathers inserted in the elongated nasal septum
525 and projecting far to the right and left. They are inserted into
237 a little bamboo rod decorated with tassels. Thus the Indians are so far from feeling obliged to give the animal represented an zoological physiognomy that they even pierce its nasal septum and adorn it with feathers, in accordance with their own custom.

535 We came across three fantastic dance costumes in the Dzee house of the third Bakalźf village. Only one, however, was still in good condition. It was called kualdhe and looked like a small hut. This straw costume was truly a small house, and hence it is probably on account of the straw covering that the Bakalźf call their dance costumes, including the bersti dolliet provided with monster legs and sleeves, "houses." The straw heads were also called "head houses." The expression, however, when the word was transferred to our woolen shirts and cloth blouses, became incomprehensible. The monster was much too heavy for us to take along. It was almost ten metres in circumference at the bottom. It was constructed like a huge crinoline with five cross-hoops heavily covered with straw, but was worn on the shoulder with two bast loops attached to the upper ring. One of the Indians obliged us by crawling into it. He put on the tlwetlwe mask and went into twisting and rocking movements. The hollow tree lying in front of the festival hut was beaten as an accompaniment to the kualdhe. "It is not a makanari," the Bakalźf say. I do not know whether they meant that it was of foreign origin. Also, I am unable to decide whether there is a connection between this dance
[134] and the kusmand fish (Salmo curimata), which in Bakalźf /306/
[530] is called kodhi. At any rate, the tlwetlwe mask, which the native dancing before us put on, does not go with it, but rather a kulh sleve-mat. A sleve-mat consisting of little reed rods plaited together was provided with feather ornaments and worn in front of the face. This rush mask, or kuabi, however, lay in shreds on the ground.

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streams. Under the hot sun this became hard work, but in general the month was a pleasant one. The start in the morning was made at about eight o'clock, unless some beast had wandered too far off, when there was some further delay. A few fog hid the tall grass from sight early in the morning, but soon afterwards it would lift. In the early afternoon would appear white clouds in the skies that had been perfectly clear, enough to enhance the beauty of the scenery, and no more. The region is windswept, so that though the sun was hot enough the heat was never unbearable. Camp was generally made in the middle afternoon, by some stream, in order to give the oxen a chance to graze. Skies were invariably clear at night. The temperature fell so suddenly that few days after midnight, were preferring to huddle around the fire, to talk and drink coffee, which I allowed. Precipitation was heavy during the night, so was attested by our blankets, which were wringing wet by morning. However, the nights were not so uncomfortable that it would have justified the carrying of heavy tarpaulins.

In this manner we traveled over the rolling country. Sometimes we surprised deer that bounded off before a shot could be had, though several fell to our guns. Steve Tepi, a short-haired New York fox terrier that accompanied us, caused a tapir; the other dogs joining in the chase, it was bayed and killed, a welcome event, for it supplied us with meat for several days. A pecca one day caused a great deal of excitement. On being seen, almost the entire personnel gave chase, whirling lassoes, shooting arrows, whooping, yelling and laughing. It was finally shot. Several cassiqui, birds whose meat was found to be excellent, were killed in the jungle patches bordering the streams.

We passed near two deserted village sites which the Bakairi identified as being Kayapó. Traveling on schedule, however, we were not able to stop to investigate archaeological possibilities.

On the sixth day from Sinaie Lagoa we entered more wooded country, necessitating cutting a way through, and on the seventh day we reached the banks of the Kuluene river below the mouth of the Preme. This last day was marked by an accident to one of the tame park oxen. It fell, breaking its back. For the wild steer that we had taken with us, its face covered with a leather mask so that it could not see where it was going, but naturally followed the other oxen, this was fortunate. The heart ox was killed and its meat dried. The steer was sent back to the post

/90/

Seventh Chapter

000 March from Cuyoté to the Docile Bakairí on the Rio Novo

/Pages 90-98 are omitted in the translation./

/98/

132 14 June. 6:40 A.M.: dry. 19.9, wet. 18.2, spec. 9, 5 2-3. Like yesterday, the south wind brings low-moving cloud masses.

122 Today the men are ready very quickly, off shortly before seven o'clock in the morning.

[139] [147] Predominantly meadow, a narrow, hard path leads through it, on which one can mostly trot. A number of oxen greet us as the first emissaries. A wide expanse of campo has been freshly burned off. It is said that wild animals like to seek out these "queimadas" /see the glossary, p. 172 / because of the salty ashes. A number of curicacas (ibis), in the distance an ostrich, which Pedro and the dogs pursue in vain.

[136]

361 At nine o'clock we see the "aldeamento"[1] /see the glossary, p. 170 / of the Bakairí /Bacairi/ in the distance: four houses, the sunshine gives the illusion of slate roofs, a few naked torsos hasten inside, clothed persons step outside. In the immediate vicinity the settlement shrinks to actual palm-straw huts.

[142]

622 /99/ Daniel is on the spot and introduces us to "Captain Reginaldo." Reginaldo da Silva Nogueira, from the walnut forest /Nunewahl/. A man in his forties with a broad chest, long, curly black hair, a friendly look, but silent; hat, shirt, trousers in good condition.

594 General handshaking. A half dozen, mostly young, broad-shouldered men, likewise in their Sunday best, sit on the fence of the cattle yard. The crown of creation is absent. -- Gradually the procession draws up, and everyone settles down at home. By way of greeting, sugar cane is sucked and a swallow of liquor permitted.

[1] [i.e. village -- Analyst]

Eleventh Chapter

The Wild Bakairí. The Kumenaú /Cuiseneu/.

122
133

After all kinds of troubles during the morning, we paveled for a stretch without difficulties on the afternoon of 11 August, and again there was heard the rumble of the cachoeira /cataract; see the glossary, p. 176 /, which by this time had become positively gruesome for us all. To our joyous amazement we found an Indian canoe on the left shore. Below a beautiful waterfall poured forth on two ledges; poles and steps were set in it; it foamed and churned in a basin, only to form another level farther below.

[489]

122 For the moment, however, we have no eye for the salto; where are the Indians? We all gather, leave behind three men to guard the canoes, and push forward, gun in hand. -- The ground is strewn with jatobá /see the glossary, p. 171 / fruits; a well-trod path leads inland. We pass by a tree, into the bark of which the outlines, one-half life-sized, of a man above and a woman below have been crudely carved.

[137] [489] [532]

241 Silently our column marches through the forest -- the narrow path stops -- a clearing. There is thick smoke and steam rising from the tree stumps that stand there like broken pillars, in between a tangle of trunks and boughs on the ground, everything in

/137 cont./

the process of being charred. The pillar of smoke that had drawn our attention for several days is explained: the forest was being cleared in order to lay out a planting. Eagerly scouting, we climb up, and again we are wandering along the forest path.

/138/ "Beijú," somebody cries in a suppressed voice and triumphantly points to a few crumbs, which give us the prospect of new provisions. "they have beijú," each one murmurs to the man behind him.

There -- a feather-decorated arrow leans against a tree -- the tube of ubá, the wood from which the Imperador /emperor/ of the legend created the Bakairí. We become more serious, and even the Negroes, who, when they are afraid, like to try to give themselves courage by chattering march on silently. Now and then small fires, alive or burned out. We have already been walking three-quarters of an hour. But see there, a new clearing -- a charming grove of nut-bearing bacayuva palms -- a few kernels of maize on the ground, again a bit of forest and "Casas -- houses," the first man cries.

Three houses of the form of a beehive become visible; in the first hut, which blocks our path, the low door stands open. In the dark we make out a few heads. A completely naked Indian steps out, young, well built, closes the door, and comes toward us, in his hand a long arrow shaft without a point, which he holds horizontally in front of him.

I instruct Antonio to call out a greeting to him in Bakairí. "Kyulino," cries Antonio almost breathless, and -- hail to the antiguos -- the Indian answers in Bakairí. Eagerly he steps up to Antonio, leans against him, and both embrace as they walk on -- both talking at the same time, both trembling all over with fear and excitement.

A joyful feeling of release overcame us all, and when Manoel, discovering that our dear savage wears a nicely shaved tonsure, now finally recovers his speech and cries out, "Oh, why that's a priest, the compadre is a parson," general laughter breaks out, and everybody talks at once.

/161 cont./

637 carried each piece that she captured to a secret repository lying
634 back off the road, immediately most humanly hastening forth
[564] for new deeds.

609 At noon Wilhelm and I went to the aldea[2] Ramono accompanied us, but, suspicious of his fellow villagers, he could not make up his mind to stay with them during the night and returned to the river in the evening.

122 We set up housekeeping in the festival hut, and, alone with the charming little people, we felt indescribably content. When toward evening the mosquitoes started to annoy us, we took a
[39] walk to the mesa.[3] Greedily we looked about for the "frutas de lobo," apple-round fruits which were present in numbers on gray-green shrubs, but unfortunately not ripe; the Sakadi boys are no different from ours. A magnificent sunset; the horizon was bordered by a dark park, behind which the sun was setting in
291 reddish orange. We met Foutago, as our apostle of peace is
197 called, and his relatives on the plaza between the three huts, trying on clothes in great embarrassment. They urgently needed our help: not only did they put the trousers on in reverse and upside down over the legs, but they also tried to draw them up over their arms and wanted to stick their legs into a shirt. Putting on a coat alone was an impossible thing. They were unaware of the most obvious offenses against the elements of propriety. A safety pin was hugely admired, but most of all a pair of scissors with which
412 one could so conveniently cut one's nails. Their tool, the stone ax -- a ground stone is wedged into a wooden handle -- with which they fell trees and make posts, deserves our appreciation no less, from the standpoint of how much can be accomplished with the simplest means, even though in the unspoken accompanying thought that we ourselves /161/ might have to go back to this
[411] stage there is a slight admixture of horror. They have no spears,
[231] no bananas, no dogs, and tobacco is nowhere to be found. Bones,
[206] teeth, shells must serve them as tools, along with the stone ax.
[239] /Illustration appears here./

[2] [i.e. village -- Analyst]
[3] [i.e. cultivated field -- Analyst]

[TEST continues on P. 40]

/163 cont. /

609 mix for him -- whereas the boy of a Brazilian colonist, to whom I was called in Roraima, leaped out of bed and fled from me into the forest.

186 The old sibyl joined us this evening on the open plaza. 823 She pointed to the west, "Bakaliří", to the south, "Bakaliří", to the north and east likewise "Bakaliří" and finally, describing a circle in the air, she summed up with proud satisfaction, "Bakaliří!" In translation: "All this is subject to me, admit that I am fortunate."

132 14 Aug. 6:00 A.M.: dry. 11.7, wet. 10.6.
2:00 P.M.: dry. 34.9, wet. 20.0, clear, NE 1.
4:05 P.M.: I 740.9, II 730.0, dry. 36.0, hygrom. 98.825.
9:00 P.M.: dry. 18.0, wet. 17.0.

126 /164/ I was fortunately able to measure these women.
[124] Antonio is very useless as an interpreter and causes more difficulties
[532] than the harmless people themselves. I also traded for a few maize-straw dolls, judging from the ease with which the transaction was made, there seemed to be no higher or in any sense a religious meaning attached to them.

592 We spent some time in Pashaga's, or rather Chief Cavéco's House. It differed in nothing essential from that of the proficuae; there were no straw dolls.

•139 We found inhame (Dioscorea, yams), which we greeted
252 with joy. -- The fish are grilled on just such racks as we came across on the Batovy; they are exposed to the fire until they are encased in a thick charcoal crust; capybara leg, which tasted like fat fish, and monkey steak were also charred on the outside in this fashion. The crisp charcoal gives the insipid-tasting meat, which is not salted, an -- faute de mieux -- improved flavor. The
[243] Bakaliří are also familiar with a very medicinal tasting salt made from tree ashes, which, however, they do not seem to use in the preparation of food.

609 The soldiers, who were paying their farewell visit, were
431 given generous quantities of beijú, puvas, and polvilho /manioc
252 flour; see the glossary, p.172 / as presents. The grated and pounded mandioca is pressed through mats; the pulp is put into

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226
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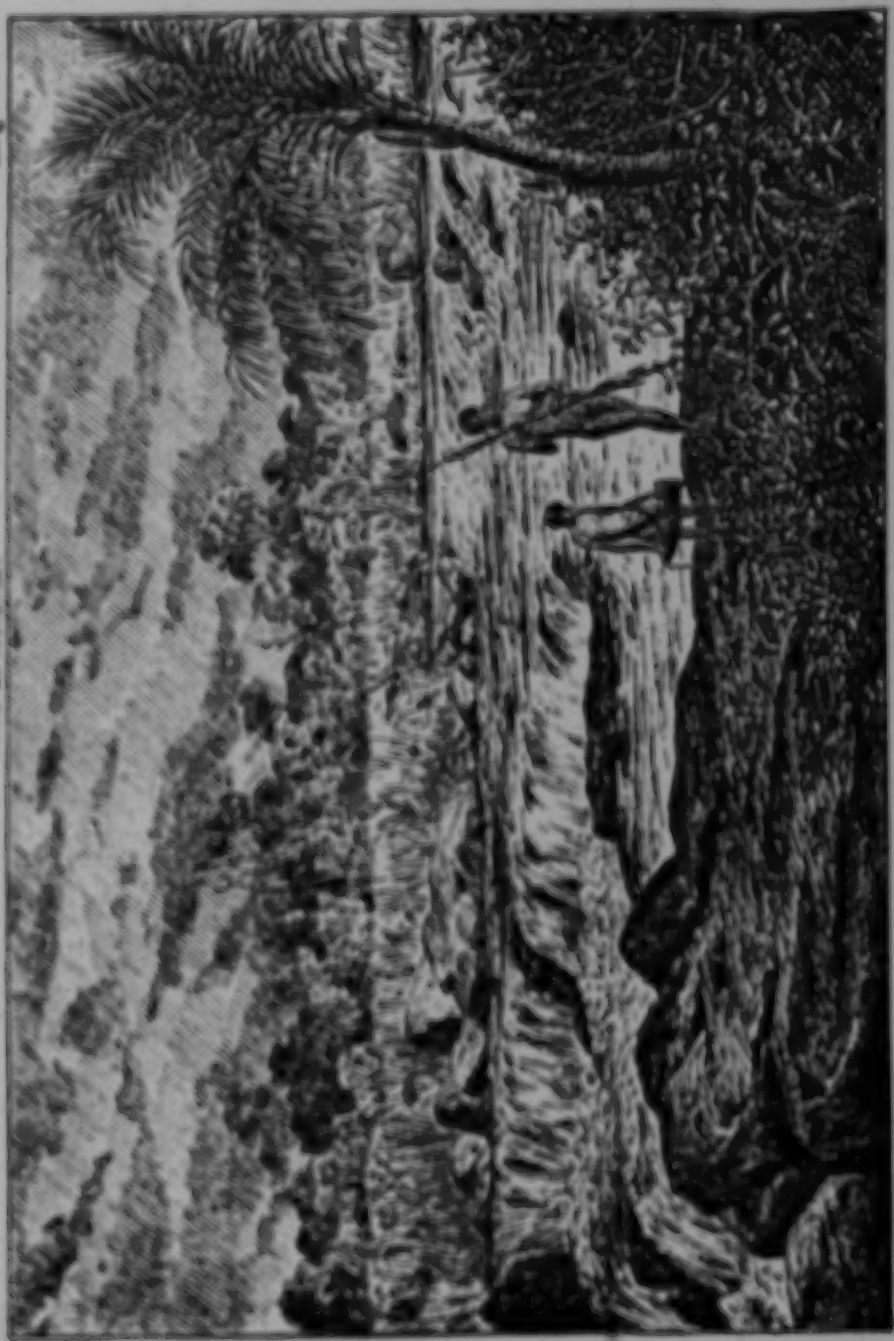

/167 cont./

133 Instead of the cachoeiras, the simple rapids now cause us worries. With effort Antonio saved his canoe from capsizing; he escaped with a load of water.

We pass a canal three-fourths of a meter wide, which leads 226 through a meadow to a lagoon. There, when the water is higher, the Bakairí seize the fish passing through the canal. They are not familiar with hooks and catch the fish either in traps or kill them with arrows.

• 137 Attractive park landscape. Many tree skeletons in the water. Width 35-45 meters. We were merrily rowing along and 000 already thinking of picking out an attractive campsite when necessity chose one for us. Wilhelm's canoe with Israel and Chico was shipwrecked a second time, but, to be sure, at a less dangerous spot, after the rapids had already been passed. Everything disappeared in an instant in the waves. Poor Israel, who could not swim, held on to a tree branch jutting up from the bottom; the canoe was quickly righted, and three men safely dragged to shore the unlucky one who, on account of his bitter-sweet expressions and at the same time irresolute behavior, had to put up with general laughter on top of everything. Valentin caught the tripod of the theodolite, and everybody swam, dived, and paddled with the current. little by little the entire cargo was brought to light, with the exception of the bundle made up of Wilhelm's poncho, blanket, and hammock. All searching remained unsuccessful.

226 The Bakairí have set up for themselves here a natural fish treasury; on the edge of the river bed, boulders are placed loosely beside one another in a circle; the water flows in and out through two larger openings. -- We bring two canoes in, which are to be made flexible and tomorrow bent into shape.

/168/

122 16 Aug. φ 13° 7'.6, λ 5'.9, km. 10.90, total 141.75.

132 7.00 A.M.: dry. 11.1.

10.00 A.M.: I 742.2, II 733.6, dry. 24.7.

5.40 P.M.: I 741.0, II 732.8, dry. 24.9, water 25.0.

/171 cont./

122 19 Aug. φ 12° 53'.0, λ 12'.4, km. 31.03, total 195.45.
132 6:35 A.M.: dry. 15.0, water 24.3.
5:43 P.M.: I 742.2, dry. 26.1, water 26.0.
9:30 P.M.: I 742.8, dry. 21.1.

● 137 /172/ The river landscape changes its physiognomy somewhat. Shrubs and light-green, fine-leaved bushes, which form tall bowers or rounded, dense masses, occupy the foreground. Willow-like trees often stand as though planted, with delicate, slender trunks. We have not exactly come out of the forest river into a meadow river, but the low-plain character predominates. The sand barranca is steep. Easterly direction of the river.

122 20 Aug. φ 12° 51'.1 λ 12'.8, km. 6.27, total 201.72.
132 7:00 A.M.: dry. 19.3, water 25.1, at night 2-3:00 thunderstorm in NW.

Today the sky is covered with strato-cumulus and the air is showery damp.

133 At an early hour we reached a branch stream 20 meters wide, emptying in quietly from the right. Finally a tributary.

361 The third aldea, located on the left bank, is not quite two
[342] kilometers from the Batovy. There are three huts, lower, smaller,
and less conical than previously. We three again install ourselves
122 for a night among the good people, and even Antonio, who has given up his mistrust, sleeps along with us.

364 As agreeable as this "little village" is, it must be called
345 the dirtiest of the three. The floor of the festival hut is covered with dry grass and refuse of all kinds; the sun shines through the roof, so that inside we are able to light our pipe with the burning-
[532] glass. It is obviously still unfinished and new; besides a few arrows and several rattles, flat wooden fish are stuck on the walls as the products of local artistic activity.

162 Census: 13 men, 12 women and -- the most favorable proportion so far -- 19 children. Among them there are a man and a woman of another tribe whom we are to meet farther
142 downstream, the Kustenaß /Custenau/. In type I am unable to see any essential differences; in fact, the more Bakairí we meet, the more uncertain I am in distinguishing the Cuiaba tribes.

/177 cont./

122 By way of farewell we wanted to drink sweet mingau -- [121] piseregu -- in the main house; it was bubbling in a big pot; I was /178/ so foolish as to dip a piece of beijú prematurely into the foam -- the old cook leaped up and they all screamed at once, horrified -- the foam was still poisonous. That I did not know this was probably inconceivable to them; but I thought it best to refrain from producing a miracle for them.

SOD It was lasting too long for us; Clauss had to calculate an occultation of Mars that was taking place today. Unfortunately the event which we had long anticipated with pleasure and which would have been doubly important for us so near the Schingú took place before twilight set in.

*Our Bakairí visits had come to an end.

[130] In the evening an inferno of mosquitoes. Wilhelm's and my hands and lower arms have for some time been covered with flat, slow-healing sores. They start with a dark blister the size of a pinhead, which contains thin pus; then they become enlarged and discharge a thin, milky secretion. It looks as though they came from the bites of small flies. In connection with the discharge, red scars remain after healing.

122 25 Aug. φ 12° 26'.2, λ 21'.7, km. 28.83, total 310.90.
132 6:50 A.M.: I 743.2, II 735.2, dry. 14.0, wet. 13.1, mares' tails 3°, wind - 0, water 25.1.
5:30 P.M.: I 744.6, II 735.2, dry. 25.4, wet. 23.3, clear.

133 Heaven only knows when the "Schingú" is finally supposed to appear. After two days there is a river coming from the left, that is no doubt certain, and later on a larger river -- but when? Concerning this there are the most varied interpretations.

At a width of 70-80 meters we measured the speed of the Batovy at 1,416 meters per hour. Barranca three and one-half
• 137 meters. Water dirty yellow, as always. Campo, tucum and carandá palms. Low brush on the shore and individual copses about 18 meters high. Aratic3, blossoming paratudo.

/48 cont./

880 We therefore named our camping place, which we had taken possession of shortly after 4:00, Pouso do Jakaré. Antonio took [396] charge of the unfortunate canoe; he shoved it onto a low framework of forked supports, lighted a fire of brush under it, and bent the front part up as much as possible; he stuffed the crack with rags and smeared it with beeswax. Howling monkeys gave us [136] an evening concert and carried on as dreadfully as though we were supposed to learn how to shudder.

136 We were glad to get up early the next morning; we cursed 137 the mosquitoes and set out at 6:30 into the light mist floating over the water. The birds twittered and chirped noisily; a kaitetú pig was swimming across the river in the distance. We rowed as soundlessly as possible between the shores covered with campo vegetation: much tall leafy brush and bamboo thicket, out of which rose the tree of the red ants, the imbauva. A fat Mutum cavallo with black plumage shimmering greenish-blue and a sealing-wax red crest was successfully caught and immediately plucked; Antonio carefully collected the wing and tail feathers, which, split and turned spirally, are set on the end of the arrow shaft, for his fellows on the Paranatinga, so that he would have something to bring them from the journey. A small piece of the meat served as bait when we passed through some rapids with exposed boulders and disturbed the matrinchams, which allegedly sleep there between the stones. The two men threw out their lines and at each throw let them strike enticingly a couple of times; they were snapped at, but unfortunately there were no bites. They shot at a couple of playful ariranhas, large fish otters that surface like seals, spit, disappear quick as lightning, and suddenly appear again somewhere far downstream.

224 Shortly after midday Antonio observed torn-off branches on the right bank; we disembarked and, on closer investigation, saw that a piece of slain game, probably a capybara, had been placed on a bed of twigs and leaves in order to protect the meat from sand while it was being eviscerated. There was neither hot nor evidence of fire. The booty had therefore been taken from this spot to the /Pl. 17 appears here/ /49/ camping place or even to the village.

[Text Continues on p.6]

2: Steinen--5 E_1D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Pl. IV

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● 137

Tumayaua Inlet

/51 cont./

226 Beyond the cachoeira we counted 13 so-called "currals" /corrals/, circles of boulders in shallower places in the river bed; the fish can enter through a gap in the circle and are then herded together by the Indians and shot. I was not a little surprised when, farther downstream in quiet water, Antonio suddenly stated that a canoe had been here yesterday or the day before; all I noticed was a quantity of small white bubbles near the shore. The foam of the oar stroke is preserved in a path on calm water; not destroyed by waves, the air bubbles remain on the water and are gradually driven to the shore by the wind.

823 151

/52/ For two hours we rowed on vigorously, spoke but little and with a soft voice, and, cautiously on the lookout, proceeded into each new bend close to the inner edge. But all signs had ceased. On either side lay tall, silent forest, the river glistened in the sunlight, nothing living stirred within a wide radius, and only a yellow butterfly fluttered past here and there. Shortly before midday the stream bed opened into a rather wide inlet; one could not quite make out whether this was a lagoon or an island formation and the river divided into two types; we landed and I sent the two off to cross the bit of woods that separated us from the lagoon and to examine the course of the water beyond.

[131] [133]

I sat on the beach waiting; Carlos was already coming back, when suddenly I notice a canoe a gunshot downstream. A single naked Indian is standing in it and swiftly making for the shore; there he steers the vessel behind the skeleton of a fallen tree and cautiously crouches down in the shelter of it. "Bakaïrí, Bakaïrí," I cried with all my might, "kúra Bakaïrí, áma Bakaïrí, úra Bakaïrí, we are Bakaïrí, you are a Bakaïrí, I am a Bakaïrí, the Bakaïrí are good" -- in short, I shout in joyful excitement whatever is inspired in me by the ghost of reminiscences from the greeting formulas of that particular tribe. And behold: "Bakaïrí, Bakaïrí, Bakaïrí" comes resounding back. Other words are added, which unfortunately I do not understand, but the high voice, rising in uncertainty, bears an unhappily anxious and mistrustful expression, and the arms swing wildly in the air behind

123 609 [501]

2. Steinen--121 Ed.5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate XI

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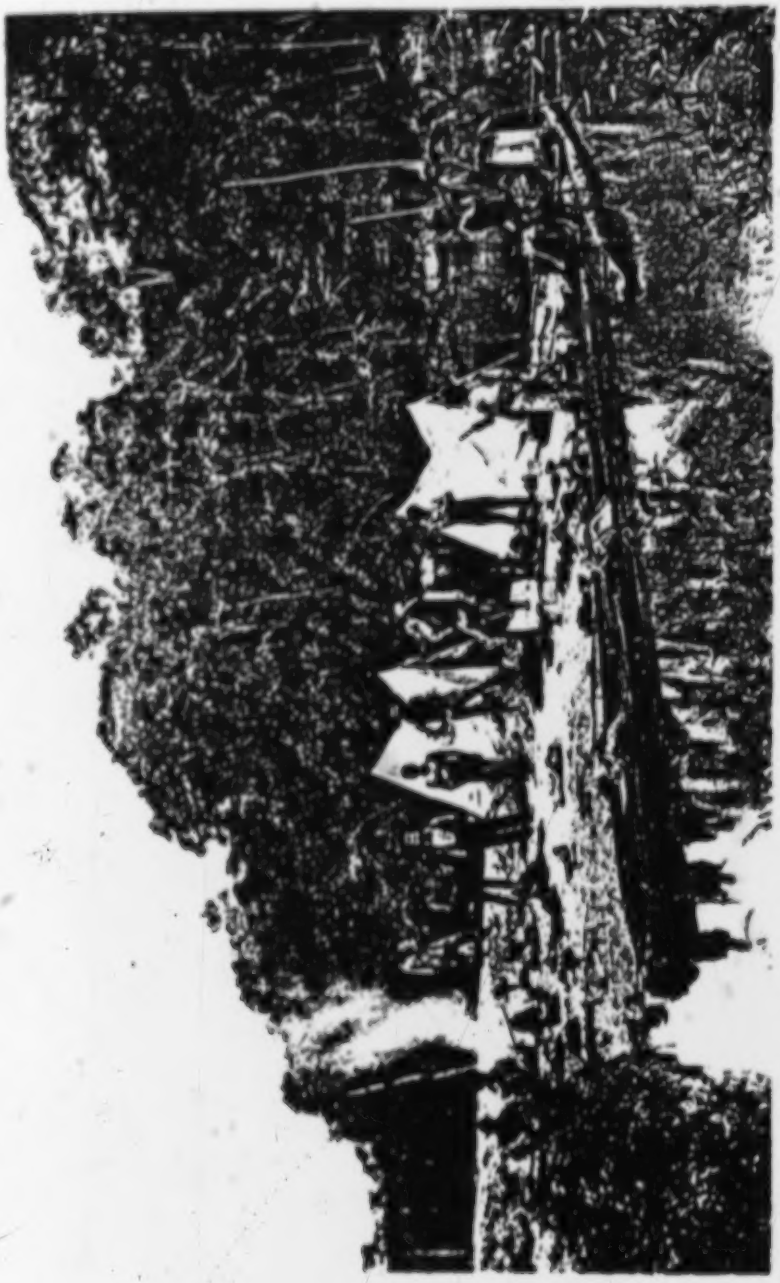

Wilhelm Sonnet.

/102 cont./

342 round, beehive-like. The larger one was 19 paces in diameter, covered high up on the outside with acuri straw, whereas the framework in the interior exhibited a circle of supporting posts one and a third meters high, upon which the basket of this structure, which actually consisted merely of a roof, rose with many horizontal bamboo rings. At the top was an air vent; a number of the /103/ framework poles crossing one another here extended to the outside. The entrance, a hole one and a half meters high, was surrounded by pepper plants. In any case, the interior space was far larger and finer than in the new houses.

433 241 The people led an idyllic existence; they carried on agri-

142 291 302 622

Captain Reginaldo and wife.

433 241 culture and stock-raising, went hunting, planted mandioca /manioc/, beans, maize, rice, and some tobacco and sugar cane. They were civilized, despite the pierced ear lobes and nasal septa. 197 304 Their average height was 1.65 meters, they were striking because 142 of their broad and powerful chests. Their skin was yellowish, 141 clay-colored, and rather light, the hair of most of them was black and slightly curly or wavy. In general they had beautiful, open 151 eyes. Reginaldo's excellent vision was demonstrated on one occasion in a way that amazed us all. We noticed far in the distance a /illustration appears here/ figure in the grass; with an excellent field-glass I took it to be Tupy riding up; the entire company, among them Daniel, who was seldom mistaken, agreed with me;

2. Steinen--135 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi, 097
Trumai SP22

B /159 cont./
101 and, in order not to do violence to the perfectly justified tribal
191 names, as actually happened in the case of the Nahuquá, we
197 may call them, where we need a comprehensive term, the potter tribes, according to their most important ethnological characteristic. Beside them stand the Yaulapiti as a closely related Nu-Aruak tribe, but one already clearly different in dialect and revealing other influences.

B T Thus the arithmetical problem has been simplified to the
101 extent that we have before us Karaiben in the Bakairí and
197 Nahuquá, Nu-Aruak in the potter tribes and the Yaulapiti, Tupí in the Auetó and the Kamayurá, and, as an indivisible remainder, the Trumaí.

II. Anthropological.

B T In order to have a record of the physical appearance of the
126 Kulisehu Indians, insofar as was possible during our brief acquaint-
128 ance with the individual tribes, a series of measurements were
141 taken, which did not turn out to be very numerous and are not evenly distributed according to the different tribes or the two sexes, yet nevertheless offer interesting material. Possible sources of error on the part of the observer may be put down as constant, since the measurements were all taken by Ehrenreich. He also took a far greater number of photographs than could be reproduced here; some of them, however, became very spotty and difficult
S T to reproduce.* He expects to make further use of the illustrative
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* As is shown in detail in the list of illustrations, the following are reproduced here in photographs: both sexes of the Bakairí, Mehinakú and Kamayurá, as well as only men of the Nahuquá and Auetó, while Yaulapiti and Trumaí are missing altogether.

material and to deal with the collected material of the measurements in detail and according to its comparative value for the

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/159 cont./

other South American Indians. I shall limit myself here to a few preliminary studies and from the chief measurements give at least the bulk reduced to maximum, minimum, and arithmetical mean, in order to show merely in rough outlines the proportions of the Indian physique.

Virchow's instrumental equipment was used for the measurements: measuring staff with folding foot-board, calipers and beam compasses, as well as a steel /160/ tape measure. The measurements were entered on a printed Virchow form (cf. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie XVII, p. 100). The following were measured: Bakaïrí men 10, women 6; Nahuqua men 15, women 12; Mehinakú men 6, women 5; Kustenaú women 1; Waurá men 1, women 1; Auetö men 14, women 2; Kamayurá men 14, women 4; Trumaí men 8; a total of 68 men and 31 women. I shall always list the tribes in such a way that the arithmetical mean of the figures for the men increase from top to bottom.

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Body height.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Trumaí	8	163.0	155.0	159.1	-	-	-	-
Auetö	14	171.6	155.5	159.9	16	156.5	139.5	148.0
Kustenaú	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	150.0
Bakaïrí	10	166.3	154.5	160.8	6	161.2	140.5	151.6
Nahuquá	14	166.7	155.5	162.3	12	161.0	145.0	152.2
Mehinakú	6	168.2	159.0	164.1	5	153.7	145.3	151.4
Kamayurá	14	172.0	159.0	164.1	4	155.7	152.0	153.8
Waurá	1	-	-	165.7	1	-	-	147.5

The arithmetical mean of the body heights of all these 67 men, irrespective of tribe, amounts of 161.9.

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Without doubt, however, the number is too low. If we exclude all younger persons up to the estimated age of 25 and include the Nahuquá estimated at "50" years who represents the minimum of 155.5, as well as the "60"-year-old Kamayurá with a minimum height of 159.0, we obtain the following rearrangement of tribes and alteration of figures. The maxima remain unaffected.

/160 cont./

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	Men	Min.	Mean			
Trumaí	4	155.0	155.8	as against		159.1
Bakaïrí	5	154.5	160.5	"	"	160.8
Auetö	9	155.5	160.7	"	"	159.9
Nahuquá	11	158.2	163.7	"	"	162.3
Kamayurá	6	159.7	165.5	"	"	164.1
Mehinakú	4	163.2	166.0	"	"	164.1

The arithmetical mean for these 39 men, who, according to the estimate, would be from 30-50 years of age, comes to 162.6. We see that now the Trumaí and Bakaïrí have a low mean, but the others a higher one, and, to be sure, the difference is greatest in the case of the Mehinakú.

If, with Topinard, we give 165 centimeters as the average height of the adult, the Kulisehu Indians on the average remain under the average size: below average height for all, with the exception of the Trumaí, who even go beyond the line set at 160 centimeters for small stature. The numbers agree with those which Topinard gives in his table, 162 for the Araukaner /Arawakans/ and Botokuden /Botocudo/, 160 for the Peruvians. The tallest man on the Kulisehu was a Kamayurá at 172.0, the shortest was the Bakaïrí with the Jewish facial type (Pl. 13) at 154.5. I obtained somewhat larger figures for the Bakaïrí in 1884: /Pl. XIII appears here/ /161/ on the Batovy the average of seven measurements was 163.6; on the Rio Novo and Paranatinga the average of 14 was 164.1. I should therefore like them to precede the Auetö in stature, as in the first table.

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The women were decidedly small in stature. The maximum 161.2 belonged to the tall Bakaïrí who appears in the group of women (Pl. 5), the "Egyptian" of the first village; the minimum of 139.5 to one of the only two Auetö women measured, while the other measured 156.5, but was particularly striking because of her small fingers and toes.

The arithmetical mean of 31 women measured, irrespective of age, comes to 151.7.

[Text continues on p.139]

/161 cont./

128 141 It is not likewise not really possible to exclude among the women all individuals up to those 25 years old exclusively, for in that case, at least for the Bakairí, there would be left only the tall Egyptian, who, moreover, in my opinion, if, given "25-30" years, is estimated too old. If we disregard all women up to these 20 years old inclusively and likewise a "60"-year-old Mehinakú of 151.0, we obtain:

	Women	Min.	Mean			
Waurá	1	–	147.5	as against		147.5
Auetö	2	139.5	148.0	"	"	148.0
Kustenaú	1	–	150.0	"	"	150.0
Mehinakú	3	145.3	150.8	"	"	151.4
Nahuquá	10	145.0	152.0	"	"	152.2
Bakairí	3	145.5	153.9	"	"	151.6
Kamayurá	2	154.3	155.0	"	"	153.8

The arithmetical mean of these 22 women amounts to 152.1, the mean of the Mehinakú and Nahuquá, however, after the exclusion of the younger women, has become lower. The average difference between the two sexes would be 10.5 centimeters; in other words, the women on the average were 6.5% shorter than the men.

The most powerfully built Indians were to be found among the Mehinakú, cf. Plate 14 /see p. 163/, very sturdy chaps, and the Nahuquá, cf. the illustration on page 71. The most striking phenomenon about their physique is the broad and deep chest and the tremendous shoulder breadth of the men. The breadth of the pelvis seems smaller than the breadth of the thorax. Older men and children were commonly characterized by a little belly. The women did not have very broad hips, the calves were weak, and their feet were set inward somewhat, as though they were always walking on narrow paths, so that the walk, especially of the woman tripping along with a load, was by no means beautiful. Actually, we saw only one Indian woman whose figure, [142] even by our standards, was graceful and well proportioned; it is the slim Bakairí girl in the middle of the group on Plate 5, to whom the photograph, however, does not do justice.

/161 cont./

Breadth of outspread arms. Body height = 100.

B T 141

The variations in details are great in each tribe, but move within similar boundaries, so that the difference in the arithmetical /162/ means of the series is less pronounced. The breadth of the outspread arms was less than the body height in one instance each among the Auetö (- 0.5), the Kamayurá (- 1.3), and the Trumaí (3.8).

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Trumaí	7	106.2	97.5	102.7	–	–	–	–
Nahuquá	14	105.7	100.2	103.5	12	108.8	100.3	103.8
Kamayurá	14	107.6	99.2	104.5	4	103.6	102.1	103.5
Bakairí	10	108.2	102.1	104.9	6	105.8	101.8	103.3
Kumenaú	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	105.0
Mehinakú	6	107.3	100.5	105.0	5	108.7	102.5	105.5
Auetö	14	108.4	99.7	105.2	2	106.0	101.8	103.9
Waurá	1	–	–	108.3	1	–	–	106.6

Here the Nahuquá, Kamayurá, Bakairí, Mehinakú, and Auetö appear in the same order as in the measurements of chest size.

Shoulder breadth. A. Body height = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Nahuquá	5	25.0	22.4	24.1	1	–	–	22.4
Kamayurá	4	24.9	23.6	24.4	2	22.7	21.5	22.1
Waurá	1	–	–	24.4	1	–	–	23.8
Auetö	4	25.7	23.6	24.5	2	23.7	23.0	23.4
Bakairí	10	26.2	23.9	24.7	5	24.1	23.4	23.7
Trumaí	1	–	–	24.9	–	–	–	–
Mehinakú	6	26.8	24.6	25.2	–	–	–	–

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/162 cont./

B. Absolute.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Auetö	4	40.0	38.0	39.0	2	36.0	33.0	34.5
Nahuquá	5	41.0	36.5	39.2	1	–	–	33.0
Waurá	1	–	–	39.5	1	–	–	35.0
Bakairí	10	42.0	38.0	39.7	5	39.0	33.0	35.0
Trumaí	1	–	–	40.0	–	–	–	–
Kamayurá	4	41.5	39.0	40.1	2	34.5	33.5	34.0
Mehinakú	6	44.5	39.5	41.4	–	–	–	–

Chest circumference. A. Body height = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Nahuquá	14	57.6	50.8	55.1	12	59.7	48.3	53.2
Kamayurá	4	59.0	53.0	55.9	2	56.6	50.3	53.5
Bakairí	10	58.8	54.4	56.5	6	59.1	50.0	54.0
Trumaí	1	–	–	56.6	–	–	–	–
Kuikuró	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	54.7
Mehinakú	6	60.3	56.4	57.9	5	59.6	50.7	55.5
Auetö	14	60.6	55.8	58.2	2	56.3	55.6	56.0

These figures are very high. According to Topinard, the Scots have 56.7, the North American Indians 56.5, the Germans 53.8. The extraordinarily strong development of the chest and the shoulder breadth is also the factor that stands out most prominently in the appearance of our Indians. Consider the Mehinakú on the left on Plate 14 /see p. 163/. Even the Nahuquá who /163/ show up the most unfavorably in the measurements are characterized by a strong thorax; see the illustration on page 71. The Auetö with their short stature have relatively the largest chest circumference.

2: Steinen--142 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP23

/163 cont./

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In view of the importance of this measurement, I am also giving the circumference

B. Absolute.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min	Mean
Nahuquá	14	96.0	83.5	89.5	12	89.5	70.0	80.0
Bakaïrí	10	94.9	84.0	90.9	6	86.0	75.5	81.7
Trumai	1	–	–	91.0	–	–	–	–
Kuikuró	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	82.0
Kamayurá	4	97.5	87.5	91.9	2	86.0	78.3	82.6
Aweto	14	99.0	87.0	93.1	2	87.0	78.5	82.7
Waurá	1	–	–	94.0	1	–	–	79.0
Mehinakú	6	101.5	91.5	95.1	5	90.0	78.0	84.0

Head height. Body height = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Kamayurá	4	15.6	12.4	13.8	2	14.2	13.7	14.0
Mehinakú	6	15.7	12.7	13.9	–	–	–	–
Nahuquá	4	15.8	12.7	13.9	1	–	–	14.5
Bakaïrí	10	15.3	13.1	14.2	6	14.4	13.0	13.6
Waurá	1	–	–	14.3	1	–	–	12.6
Aweto	4	14.8	14.1	14.3	2	15.8	13.1	14.5
Trumaí	1	–	–	14.5	–	–	–	–

The measurement thus fluctuates between one-seventh and one-eighth of the total height. The men have relatively lower heads than the women. The maximum, 15.8%, belongs to an Aweto woman, the minimum, 12.4%, to a Kamayurá man.

Head circumference. Body size = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Trumaí	1	–	–	32.4	–	–	–	–
Kamayurá	4	33.0	33.5	33.7	2	34.9	34.0	34.5
Bakaïrí	10	35.3	32.5	33.7	6	38.3	33.7	35.5
Mehinakú	6	34.9	32.8	33.8	–	–	–	–
Nahuquá	5	34.9	32.8	34.0	1	–	–	35.4
Waurá	1	–	–	34.3	1	–	–	32.2
Aweto	4	35.4	33.8	34.5	2	36.1	34.2	35.2

2: Steinen--143 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumai S723

/163 cont./

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The maximum of the totality was that of a Bakairí woman who was particularly small and whose body height was only 140.5 centimeters. The Waurá woman with 32.2 was 147.5 centimeters tall. She is followed in the minimum measure by the Trumaí man who was 160.7 in body height and whose head circumference was 52.0, so that the striking fact, even at a glance, of how small the heads of the Trumaí are relatively is clearly expressed in the 32.4 figure. The Auetó, on the other hand, also distinguished by their small stature, at least had heads large in circumference, just as they had chests large in circumference.

/164/

Length-breadth index of the head.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Waurá	1	–	–	77.4	1	–	–	84.9
Mehinakú	6	79.2	75.2	77.7	5	80.2	74.8	77.5
Kustenaú	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	78.5
Kamayurá	14	81.6	75.6	78.8	4	81.7	74.4	77.9
Bakairí	10	82.6	73.8	78.9	6	84.3	77.9	80.1
Auetó	14	83.2	73.0	79.4	2	80.3	77.5	78.9
Nahuquá	15	84.8	75.4	80.5	12	84.1	72.7	80.8
Trumaí	8	83.8	78.6	81.1	–	–	–	–

My measurements of the Bakairí in 1884 deviate not inconsiderably from these of the Kulisehu Bakairí. /Fig. 10 appears here./

	Max.	Min.	Mean
Six men on the Batovy	78.8	72.5	75.9
Four " " " Paranatinga	80.4	75.1	77.3
Six " " " Rio Novo	83.2	78.7	79.9

We see that differences in the mean are great between the individual tribes as well as between individuals of the same tribe, that in general the skulls are mesocephalic, and that the Trumaí are the ones who most definitely cross the boundary into brachycephaly. If one arranges according to means the women of the tribes for which there is a series, the sequence is the same as in the case of the men: Mehinakú, Kamayurá, Bakairí, Auetó, Nahuquá. Only in the case of the Bakairí is the index of the women consistently higher for maximum, minimum, and mean than that of the men.

2. Steinen--144ED-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Aueto SP6
Trumai SP23

/164 cont./

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Fig. 10. Auetó.

/165/

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Relationship of head length to ear height. Greatest length of the head = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Bakairí	10	69.7	59.0	64.7	6	71.2	59.1	65.8
Kamayurá	14	69.6	60.6	64.7	4	68.7	58.9	64.4
Auetó	14	70.3	60.9	65.4	2	63.4	62.0	62.7
Kustenaí	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	67.3
Mehinakú	6	71.0	63.9	65.8	5	68.7	59.4	65.3
Waurá	1	–	–	65.6	1	–	–	67.6
Nahuquá	15	71.5	62.8	67.4	12	76.0	65.9	69.9
Trumaí	8	72.6	68.0	70.5	–	–	–	–

The Nahuquá and the Trumaí, who have the broadest skulls, also have the highest.

2: Steinen--145 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP23

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Angle of the jaw. A. Edge of hair -- chin = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Bakaíri	9	58.3	49.1	47.8	6	61.6	50.6	56.1
Waurá	1	–	–	50.0	1	–	–	56.0
Trumaí	1	–	–	50.8	–	–	–	–
Kamayurá	4	62.4	42.7	54.5	2	56.8	54.5	55.7
Mehinakú	6	59.2	52.4	56.4	–	–	–	–
Nahuquá	5	64.5	53.3	58.0	1	–	–	59.8
Auetó	4	62.9	54.5	59.0	2	60.6	53.4	56.9

B. Nasal root -- chin = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Trumaí	1	–	–	79.1	–	–	–	–
Kamayurá	4	93.2	64.9	81.3	2	98.9	89.7	94.3
Bakaíri	8	88.7	80.5	84.5	6	98.9	81.3	88.1
Auetó	4	94.7	85.0	88.4	2	97.0	89.9	93.5
Mehinakú	6	96.4	85.5	89.8	–	–	–	–
Nahuquá	5	102.5	86.0	93.7	1	–	–	100.0
Waurá	1	–	–	100.0	1	–	–	86.6

The faces of the Nahuquá looked very square, especially on account of the width of the angle of the jaw.

Zygomatic arch. A. Edge of hair -- chin = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Waurá	1	–	–	67.5	1	–	–	87.3
Nahuquá	5	74.6	68.6	72.0	1	–	–	70.0
Trumaí	1	–	–	72.2	–	–	–	–
Bakaíri	9	76.6	67.7	72.9	6	83.0	71.9	76.9
Auetó	4	80.5	71.1	74.9	2	77.5	74.7	76.1
Kamayurá	4	81.2	74.5	77.8	2	76.9	74.3	75.6
Mehinakú	6	84.9	74.3	79.8	–	–	–	–

2: Steinen--146 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP23

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B. Nasal root -- chin = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Waurá	1	–	–	110.7	1	–	–	130.1
Nahuquá	9	122.7	103.4	113.2	12	130.0	116.3	125.0
Auetö	5	122.4	110.8	114.1	2	124.0	122.2	123.1
Bakairí	9	121.1	109.2	114.7	6	131.6	109.5	120.8
Kamayurá	14	126.4	105.2	115.0	4	134.7	108.3	123.1
Kustenaú	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	116.3
Trumaí	7	123.3	110.2	117.9	–	–	–	–
Mehinakú	6	134.3	121.4	127.4	5	141.8	127.0	131.3

/166/

Cheekbone protuberance. A. Edge of hair -- chin = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Trumaí	1	–	–	42.2	–	–	–	–
Bakairí	8	48.1	39.8	43.6	6	47.2	40.6	44.3
Waurá	1	–	–	44.5	1	–	–	51.3
Nahuquá	5	50.5	41.5	44.6	1	–	–	40.2
Auetö	4	47.2	45.6	46.1	2	48.8	45.0	46.9
Mehinakú	6	49.4	42.4	46.4	–	–	–	–
Kamayurá	4	53.5	41.5	46.9	2	44.3	42.6	43.5

B. Nasal root -- chin = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Trumaí	1	–	–	65.8	–	–	–	–
Auetö	4	72.6	65.2	69.1	2	79.8	72.0	75.9
Bakairí	7	75.8	62.7	69.4	6	71.8	65.4	69.3
Kamayurá	4	76.5	66.1	70.1	2	80.4	67.3	73.9
Nahuquá	5	80.3	64.5	71.8	1	–	–	67.3
Waurá	1	–	–	72.9	1	–	–	79.4
Mehinakú	6	77.3	69.0	73.5	–	–	–	–

2. Steinen--147 E D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP23

/166 cont./

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Middle face. Nasal root -- chin = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Nahuquá	5	64.9	56.8	61.0	–	–	–	–
Trumaí	1	–	–	61.7	–	–	–	–
Kamayurá	4	64.0	59.5	61.9	2	66.3	62.6	64.5
Mehinakú	6	66.7	58.2	62.0	–	–	–	–
Bakairí	8	68.6	56.1	62.4	6	65.4	59.0	61.8
Auetö	4	66.4	59.2	62.9	2	62.6	60.0	61.3
Waurá	1	–	–	65.7	1	–	–	61.9

Nasal height. Nasal length = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Mehinakú	6	106.6	83.9	96.7	–	–	–	–
Waurá	1	–	–	98.1	1	–	–	93.2
Bakairí	9	112.7	89.6	98.3	6	104.9	91.8	96.1
Kamayurá	4	104.4	93.3	100.7	2	107.5	107.1	107.3
Nahuquá	5	121.4	89.4	102.0	1	–	–	97.8
Trumaí	1	–	–	104.3	–	–	–	–
Auetö	4	113.0	96.2	105.5	2	95.2	93.3	94.2

Nasal breadth. Nasal height = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Waurá	1	–	–	73.1	1	–	–	82.9
Trumaí	1	–	–	75.5	–	–	–	–
Auetö	4	81.3	70.4	76.3	2	87.5	80.9	84.2
Kamayurá	4	83.3	74.5	79.9	2	86.0	68.9	77.5
Bakairí	10	100.0	66.7	81.0	6	95.0	66.0	79.3
Mehinakú	5	91.1	76.1	82.3	–	–	–	–
Nahuquá	5	102.2	74.5	86.9	1	–	–	76.7

2: Steinen--148 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP23

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Shoulder height. Body height = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Kustenaũ	1	–	–	80.4	–	–	–	–
Nahuquá	5	83.8	80.1	82.4	12	85.7	82.4	83.5
Kamayurá	14	85.7	81.1	83.0	4	84.2	81.9	83.0
Trumaí	1	–	–	83.3	–	–	–	–
Mehinakú	6	84.8	82.1	83.3	5	84.4	82.6	83.6
Auetó	14	86.0	81.4	83.4	2	83.1	81.2	82.2
Waurá	1	–	–	83.5	1	–	–	84.3
Bakaïrí	10	85.6	82.6	84.0	6	84.5	82.3	83.4

An Auetó has the maximum of 86.0 among the men, a Nahuquá the minimum of 80.1; among the women, conversely, the maximum of 85.7 is found on a Nahuquá, and the minimum of 81.2 on an Auetó. The difference between the sexes is thus greatest among the Nahuquá and the Auetó, on the average, the man among the Nahuquá would be shorter at the shoulders by 1.1% of the total height than the woman, and among the Auetó taller than the woman by 1.2%.

Navel height. Body height = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Mehinakú	6	60.1	58.0	58.5	–	–	–	–
Nahuquá	5	59.4	57.8	58.6	1	–	–	57.3
Kamayurá	4	61.6	58.0	59.5	2	60.5	59.7	60.1
Waurá	1	–	–	59.7	1	–	–	60.7
Bakaïrí	10	61.0	57.8	59.7	6	60.8	59.5	60.4
Auetó	4	61.5	59.5	60.6	2	59.4	59.1	59.3
Trumaí	1	–	–	60.6	–	–	–	–

Men: maximum 61.6, Kamayurá; minimum 57.8, Bakaïrí and Nahuquá. Women: maximum 60.8, Bakaïrí; and minumum 59.1, Auetó.

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Symphysis height. Body height = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Mehinakú	4	50.7	48.1	49.2	–	–	–	–
Nahuquá	5	50.9	50.3	50.7	1	–	–	49.9
Trumaí	1	–	–	50.8	–	–	–	–
Auetó	3	51.7	50.1	50.9	2	51.8	49.1	50.5
Kamayurá	4	52.4	49.7	51.1	2	51.0	48.8	49.9
Bakaïrí	10	52.5	49.8	51.5	6	51.1	49.0	50.4
Waurá	1	–	–	52.4	1	–	–	51.2

Here the arithmetical mean is less among the women than among the men of the same tribe everywhere. Unfortunately, the Mehinakú women are missing, but the minimum of the total figure for both sexes is among the Mehinakú men at 48.1. In the series for the men, maximum 52.5 Bakaïrí, minimum Mehinakú; in the series for the women, maximum 51.8 among the Auetó, minimum 48.8 among the Kamayurá.

Iliac-crest height. Body height = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Mehinakú	6	60.4	55.9	58.8	–	–	–	–
Nahuquá	14	61.7	57.8	59.7	1	–	–	59.6
Bakaïrí	10	61.9	58.3	60.0	6	60.7	57.9	59.7
/168/								
Trumaí	1	–	–	60.2	–	–	–	–
Kamayurá	4	62.3	58.6	60.5	2	62.0	59.9	60.1
Waurá	1	–	–	61.6	1	–	–	60.0
Auetó	4	61.3	59.3	60.0	2	61.0	59.1	60.0

Men's maximum 62.3 and women's maximum 62.0 among the Kamayurá.

Arm length. Body height = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Nahuquá	4	46.2	43.5	45.1	10	49.2	45.2	46.7
Mehinakú	6	46.0	43.6	45.4	5	48.0	43.5	46.3
Auetó	14	47.3	43.9	45.8	2	46.7	44.7	45.7
Trumaí	1	–	–	46.2	–	–	–	–
Kustenaú	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	45.7

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	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Kamayurá	14	49.3	44.6	46.2	4	47.1	44.3	45.5
Bakaïrí	10	47.6	45.2	46.2	6	46.6	45.2	45.6
Waurá	1	—	—	46.3	1	—	—	46.1

The long arms of the Nahuquá women are striking. Whereas the Nahuquá men have the shortest arms among the men, the arms of their women are not only longer than those of their male fellow-tribesmen, but the longest of the total figure in general; their maximum of 49.2 is exceeded only by one Kamayurá man with 49.3, and their minimum is higher than the mean of the Nahuquá men.

Hand length. A. Absolute.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Trumaí	1	—	—	15.3	—	—	—	—
Nahuquá	5	18.0	15.2	16.5	1	—	—	15.5
Bakaïrí	10	18.5	15.3	16.6	6	18.0	14.8	15.8
Kamayurá	4	18.5	16.5	17.0	2	16.5	16.3	16.4
Auetö	4	18.5	15.8	17.2	2	16.3	13.7	15.0
Mehinakú	6	19.0	16.5	17.4	—	—	—	—
Waurá	1	—	—	17.5	1	—	—	15.6

B. Body height = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Trumaí	1	—	—	9.5	—	—	—	—
Nahuquá	5	10.8	9.3	10.1	1	—	—	10.8
Bakaïrí	10	11.2	9.3	10.2	6	11.3	9.2	10.3
Kamayurá	4	11.1	10.0	10.3	2	10.8	10.4	10.6
Auetö	4	11.5	10.1	10.5	2	10.4	9.8	10.1
Mehinakú	6	11.4	10.0	10.6	—	—	—	—
Waurá	1	—	—	10.6	1	—	—	10.5

C. Arm length = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Trumaí	1	—	—	20.6	—	—	—	—
Bakaïrí	10	24.3	20.2	22.2	6	25.0	21.5	22.9
Kamayurá	4	24.5	20.5	22.5	2	24.2	23.0	23.6
Nahuquá	5	24.3	21.4	22.6	1	—	—	21.9
Auetö	4	24.9	22.3	23.4	2	22.3	22.0	22.2

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	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Mehinakú	6	25.1	21.7	23.4	–	–	–	–
Waurá	1	–	–	22.8	1	–	–	22.9

/169/ The hand of the Indians is relatively short, and the woman's hand for the most part relatively shorter than the hand of the man.

Length-breadth index of the hand. Hand length = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Bakaïrí	10	56.2	43.4	44.1	6	50.9	41.7	47.3
Nahuquá	5	52.6	47.8	45.3	1	–	–	45.2
Kamayurá	4	48.5	43.4	45.8	2	42.9	41.2	42.5
Mehinakú	6	51.5	48.0	50.2	–	–	–	–
Auetö	4	55.9	48.6	51.5	2	54.7	46.0	50.4
Waurá	1	–	–	54.3	1	–	–	51.3
Trumaí	1	–	–	55.6	–	–	–	–

The Mehinakú have relatively the longest hand and also a very broad one. The hand of the Bakaïrí and Nahuquá is short and narrow, that of the Auetö long and wide, that of the Kamayurá moderately long and narrow.

Trochanter height. Body height = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Kustenaú	1	–	–	50.3	–	–	–	–
Mehinakú	6	52.2	48.4	50.6	5	51.4	47.6	50.2
Auetö	14	53.6	47.2	50.6	2	52.4	48.7	50.5
Trumaí	1	–	–	51.0	–	–	–	–
Waurá	1	–	–	51.6	1	–	–	51.5
Nahuquá	5	52.4	50.7	51.7	12	52.1	50.2	51.2
Bakaïrí	9	52.7	50.7	52.0	6	54.3	51.1	52.6
Kamayurá	14	53.6	51.1	52.1	4	52.0	50.6	51.3

The maximum 54.3 of the total number is among the Bakaïrí women and the minimum 47.2 among the Auetö men.

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Foot length. A. Absolute.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Nahuquá	3	25.0	23.0	24.0	1	–	–	23.7
Trumaí	1	–	–	24.5	–	–	–	–
Auetö	4	25.8	23.5	24.6	2	22.0	20.5	21.3
Kamayurá	4	25.5	23.3	24.6	2	23.0	22.5	22.8
Bakaïrí	7	26.5	22.4	24.7	2	24.7	22.3	23.5
Mehinakú	5	27.5	24.5	25.7	–	–	–	–
Waurá	1	–	–	26.0	1	–	–	23.0

B. Body length = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Nahuquá	3	15.3	13.9	14.7	1	–	–	16.1
Kamayurá	4	16.0	14.1	15.0	2	14.8	14.8	14.8
Trumaí	1	–	–	15.2	–	–	–	–
Auetö	4	16.1	14.8	15.3	2	14.7	14.1	14.4
Bakaïrí	7	15.9	14.3	15.4	2	15.3	14.4	14.9
Mehinakú	5	16.3	14.8	15.6	–	–	–	–
Waurá	1	–	–	15.7	1	–	–	15.6

The foot length, like the hand length, is greatest among the Mehinakú and less among the Nahuquá, while the Bakaïrí have relatively longer feet than hands. It is a pity that we do not know whether the only Nahuquá woman measured, who is distinguished by such a remarkably long foot, was not /170/ perhaps a Mehinakú introduced into the tribe. Among all the Nahuquá women the toes were very short; in the case of the one measured, the fourth and fifth toes of the right foot were very short and crippled.

The second toe was frequently longer than the first, and in walking a space showed between the two. In the case of the standing foot, the space was sometimes rectangular in shape.

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Length-breadth index of the foot. Foot length = 100.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Waurá	1	–	–	40.4	1	–	–	38.2
Bakaïrí	7	43.1	39.6	41.2	2	40.4	38.5	39.5
Nahuquá	3	44.3	40.8	41.7	1	–	–	37.9
Mehinakú	5	44.9	37.5	41.7	–	–	–	–
Auetö	4	42.6	40.7	42.0	2	43.9	38.6	41.3
Kamayurá	3	44.0	40.8	42.4	2	40.0	37.0	38.5
Trumaí	1	–	–	42.9	–	–	–	–

In order to give something of a survey of the way the individual tribes differ according to their measurements, I am arranging the most important measurements of the six tribes for which we have limited series in such a way that I give each one the number corresponding to its place in the series: 1 represents the lowest measure value, 2 a higher one, and so on up to 6, the highest number of the order of succession. The columns are arranged according to body height.

	Trumaí	Auetö	Bakaïrí	Nahu-quá	Kama-yurá	Mehi-nakú
Body height	1	2	3	4	5	6
Breadth of outspread arms	1	6	4	2	3	5
Shoulder breadth	5	3	4	1	2	6
Chest circumference	4	6	3	1	2	5
Head height	6	5	4	3	1	2
Head circumference	1	6	3	5	2	4
Length-breadth index	6	4	3	5	2	1
Length-height index	6	3	1	5	2	4
Zygomatic-arch breadth	2	4	3	1	5	6
Shoulder height	3	5	6	1	2	4
Navel height	6	5	4	2	3	1
Symphysis height	3	4	6	2	5	1
Iliac-crest height	4	6	3	2	5	1
Arm length	4	3	6	1	5	2
Trochanter height	3	2	5	4	6	1
Hand length	1	5	3	2	4	6
Foot length	3	4	5	1	2	6

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B T 141 The Trumaí have the lowest figure of all for stature, breadth of outspread arms, head circumference, hand length, the highest for head height, length-breadth and length-height index of the skull, navel height, the Mehinakú the lowest figure for the length-breadth index of the skull, for height of navel, symphysis, iliac crest, and trochanter, the highest, on the other hand, for stature, shoulder breadth (just as they are also rather outstanding for breadth of outspread arms and chest circumference), for zygomatic-arch breadth, and, although arms and legs are short, for the length of foot and hand. The Nahuquá do not have a 6 for any measure, but show relatively many 1's and 2's.

B T 142 126 /171/ The skin color is characterized by yellow-gray loam shades in all gradations; sunburn, dirt, and painting made it extremely difficult to determine the original color, and it was only under the cotton bindings on the upper arms or lower legs that one realized how light the Indians actually were. Wilhelm made a little color chart on the spot; according to it, the average shade falls between No. 30 and 33 of the Broca chart; the darker tones had a definite lilac-violet admixture, especially on chest and abdomen, the lighter tones a somewhat yellow one. We also used the Radde charts and found the greatest similarity for forehead and cheek with 33 m to n or also 33 o, the upper arms approximately 33 m.

B T 142 The head hair was black; especially among the Bakaïrí, Nahuquá, and Auetó, brownish black. The bluish-black shade did not occur. On the other hand, the hair, especially of the Bakaïrí children, looked strangely light and faded if the light struck it obliquely; at times it had a dark red shimmer. We never encountered "horsehair." The head hair was moderately thick and straight or, especially among the Bakaïrí and Nahuquá, decidedly wavy. To our surprise, we saw out-and-out curly heads among the Bakaïrí, such as, for example, the type shown on Plate 13. How much of it was nature, how much art, is difficult to say. At any rate, old Paleko in Maigéri, who had long since become superior to the vanity of youth, had short, curly hair. Among the Bakaïrí, the hair is wavy without artificial treatment. Sometimes the forehead was hairy almost to the eyebrows.

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342 round, beehive-like. The larger one was 19 paces in diameter, covered high up on the outside with acuri straw, whereas the framework in the interior exhibited a circle of supporting posts one and a third meters high, upon which the basket of this structure, which actually consisted merely of a roof, rose with many horizontal bamboo rings. At the top was an air vent; a number of the /103/ framework poles crossing one another here extended to the outside. The entrance, a hole one and a half meters high, was surrounded by pepper plants. In any case, the interior space was far larger and finer than in the new houses.

433 24 The people led an idyllic existence; they carried on agri-

142 291 302 622

Captain Reginaldo and wife.

433 241 culture and stock-raising, went hunting, planted mandioca /manioc/, beans, maize, rice, and some tobacco and sugar cane. 177 They were civilized, despite the pierced ear lobes and nasal septa. 304 Their average height was 1.65 meters; they were striking because 142 of their broad and powerful chests. Their skin was yellowish, [141] clay-colored, and rather light, the hair of most of them was black and slightly curly or wavy. In general they had beautiful, open 151 eyes. Reginaldo's excellent vision was demonstrated on one occasion in a way that amazed us all. We noticed far in the distance a /illustration appears here/ figure in the grass; with an excellent field-glass I took it to be Tupy riding up; the entire company, among them Daniel, who was seldom mistaken, agreed with me;

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151 only Reginaldo, who joined us, laughed and said definitely that the person approaching was Clauss coming on foot. And he was right.

191 They all understood at least a few scraps of Portuguese.
648 They are on good terms with the Coroá, who, they said, call themselves Kayacho. It seems that they impress them because of their rifles. Reginaldo did not like to talk about this point. One had the impression that, according to his inner feeling, he was, after all, on the side of the wild Indians and against the Whites. As a clever man, he took advantage of the benefits offered by the Brazilians and did not fall out with the barbarians.

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João and Joaquina.

648 The Bakaïrí mansos /meek Bacairi/ bow to authority; in their hearts they are the same people as the antiguos.

126 /104/ We were busy for a number of days; Clauss worked out the itinerary and took the ground temperature, Wilhelm drew, I took body measurements and made the glossary that ap-
[115] pears in the appendix. Besides Reginaldo, I was aided in particular by good-natured Antonio, who put up with everything and would have given anything to go with us. But he did not even dare ask the strict captain for permission. Castro, too,
122 was busy with notes. We shared the hut with him and the cadet.

/104 cont./

122 The cadet was familiar with only two forms of activity: he slept or ate. It was indeed a pleasure, however, to sleep within four walls once more, although at night the wind often whistled through strongly. And there were all kinds of things to eat that were
262 not furnished on the march. There was plenty of sugar cane; the cooked mandioca root with roasted bacon cubes was a dish for the gods; a piglet was slaughtered; a few chickens forfeited their lives;
[224] the young chaps had also killed a tapir one day under a regular volley of small shot; it furnished a very tasty ragout. The women sent fresh, crisp "beijús," a simple baked product made of mandioca

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Antonio Quirino

262 flour, of the shape and approximately the taste of matzoth. Since
272 there was no shortage of rapadura /a crude form of sugar; see the glossary, p. 172 /, "jacuba" was constantly being prepared as refreshment; in a gourd bowl a plentiful amount of rapadura, a plentiful amount of farinha /manioc flour; see the glossary p. 171 /,
231 and water as desired. Even milk appeared. In the evening the
526 calves were separated from their mothers; the herd was driven into the "curral" /corral; see glossary, p. 170 /, and the calves were lassoed with a great hullabaloo, while a large and appreciative
526 audience /105/ sat all around on the fence. That was something

/105 cont./

526 for Pedro, to hang on by the tail of a cow rushing out at top speed and to maintain this seat as long as possible during the gigantic leaps -- that was something to laugh about.

533 As soon as darkness set in, the music-making began. The [177] Bakaïrí had learned from the colonist of Mato Grosso to carve [534] guitars for themselves, and they played them with enthusiasm. They improvised short "verses" in praise of dogs, bananas, the 534 moon, a house, etc. One evening they showed up with

•142 291 302

André

534 their original and peculiar tribal instruments. Characteristically enough, they had hidden them nearby in the forest.

They were large and small flutes, the meni and the kyanuaɪ ʃʌ. The latter has nothing special; it is made out of [824] bamboo, one might say bassoon-like. The meni, made out of vinhatico wood, is a little over a meter long; it is held with the feet. On the upper section there is a small hole into which the player blows. Not far below it there is a square opening in the tube, just as there is a series of smaller ones in the lower part.

533 The music is simple, but has to be learned. It consists of five tones,

/106 cont./

123 shake hands with each one, but they evidently did not know the purpose of this; when we put bracelets and earrings on them, however, they understood this immediately. The children had to have something too.

[126] Wilhelm was allowed to sketch Frau Ines behind the house; as yet I did not dare think about taking the measurements of the women, and then fate knocked on the door.

122 Very unpleasant discoveries about the condition of the supplies changed the entire situation.

On 18 June we had already reached an agreement with

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Bakairí boy.

122 Castro to wait at most three more days for Tupy. In view of our uncertain /107/ future it was not to be justified if we did not use the favorable time of year better. The Bakairí figured five days more to the Paranatinga; another stop was necessary in the second aldeament; let Tupy follow us there. As far as the lost iron goods

[501] were concerned, we had become less worried. Daniel had first called our attention to the bark canoes of the Bakairí; on the Rio Novo there was only a very small one that was being used as a trough; we were to see them on the Paranatinga; if we could make up our minds to make do with these bark canoes, we would need only a few tools, which perhaps could be obtained from a fazendeiro /see "Fazenda" in the glossary, p.171 / living near the Paranatinga. The advice was good.

/119/

CDD Claust, Castro, and the majority stayed at the fazenda. The owner, for his part, rode to a compadre /Gavatter in the Ger.: in the original source, p. 191 (translated p. 72) "compadre" is translated as the Ger. Gevatter; the latter term is given in the glossary of Brazilian expressions, p. 171 / eight legoas away, who was supposed to sell farinha. Thus everyone was busy.

133 Wilhelm and I arrived at twilight after a four-hour march over a series of hilly ranges, having crossed a few small tributaries of the Paranatinga. We could have sworn that we were in the Bergischen /a hilly countryside near the Rhine/ or Westphalia -- farm houses in front of the bush, the queimada like potato fields; -- in the gathering darkness we also began to indulge in fancies on a barren hill in the distance we clearly saw a lunatic asylum in the latest pavilion style.

[122] [142] [291] [301] [302] [241]

Captain Caetano "Mêmo."

231 The dreadful dogs that hastened toward us, barking, were ill-suited to bringing us back to a clear and sober conception of reality. These curs, small, skeletal specimens, with pointed snouts, light whitish-yellow fur, and glassy, watery eyes, looked as though they scratched up the dead out of the graves in the cemetery at night.

122 485 Received by old Captain Caetano and a few young chaps, we were put up in the guest house. The term is synonymous with guest room or guest stall. The only furniture a trough-like, unfinished bark canoe on a stand in the corner, which we were permitted to use as a dresser and table.

/120 cont./

[44] mother, but that among his forefathers, as among Reginaldo's, mixture with "Brazilian" blood had taken place. This, however, seemed to be more a conclusion based on the wavy, soft hair of the two, rather than on definite knowledge. In any case, it was noteworthy that Luis declared the two brothers João and Antonio to be the purest Bakairí; to me, too, they had seemed the most typical physiognomies and most resembled the Rio Novo character. Since Antonio is the one who was induced to accompany us [126] [142] and could thus be photographed in Rio, I may call attention to his picture as the most faithful reproduction of a true Bakairí. [132] Unfortunately the handsome youth had a slightly shortened leg as the result of a fracture, so I contented myself with a bust portrait. The defect was not very pronounced, by the way, and /121/ /illustration appears here/ /122/ the awkwardness that Antonio, strength and agility themselves, presents in full figure amidst the group of Kameraden /see the glossary, p. 171 / (page 28) is largely due to the anxious moment in front of the photographer's apparatus.

Wilhelm made all the other portraits with the camera clara.

162 Carlotta was a Parecí brought back from Diamantino and the wife of the absent Captain Felipe; her small eyes and the root of her nose, which was flat from eyebrow level to the inner corner of the eye, distinguished her strikingly from the Bakairí women. The two Cajibí -- a tribe that lives on the lower Rio [148] Verde, a left tributary of the Paranatinga -- had been caught in the forest as children. /Illustration appears here./ The two [182] young and pretty creatures were given as wives to the two oldest matrimonial cripples of the tribe, Caetano and Miguel, for the immoral reason that the youngest, as the best workers, belong to the mightier ones. Delicate skin, fine little nose under the likewise flat root, eye slits narrowed and drawn up toward the outside, in connection with which, however, the sharply folded upper lid did not overlap, they reminded one of the Japanese type, especially Caetano's not very feminine little wife.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 20]

1: Stoman--19 D,L-5 (1884, 1886 SP7 Bacani SP7

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/125 cont./

Soon they all arrived. I do not believe that in the strictly polite greeting which I had to offer Captain Tupy there was reflected any special joy at seeing him again. While he was installing himself at Caetano's, Claus told me that he had surprised them as they were taking the observations. Castro was just counting the seconds; the sun in the cross-threads and the hands of the clock were supposed to have taken strange leaps. He said that Tupy knew nothing; he still had 40 milreis as the remains of his funds, /126/ which were immediately drawn upon to pay the fazendeiro. The latter, after lengthy explanations, had in the end fortunately agreed to accept

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Hands of the Bakaïri

a Manoel Antonio b Magdalena.
c Antonio. d Generozo. e Leopoldino.

the English gold.

Discussion in the guest hut with the door closed; attentive public outside the straw wall.

Tupy had had to order iron goods from Cuyabá and waited for it in Rosario. (His companion Januario later testified that he had ordered this only after long delay; he still found time to dance at the festival of S. João in Rosario. also, the honest Januario maintained that at least part of the iron goods was paid for by one of

/126 cont./

000 Tupy's friends.) Be that as it may: Tupy stated, when we questioned him about the use of the money, that he had arrived in Rosario with only 300 milreis, had bought the iron goods, and had 40 milreis left over. Yet how the sum of almost 1,800 milreis could shrink to 300, although the outlay for the oxen and the ironware in Cuyabá was paid for with other funds, about this decisive point in the whole problem he refused to give evidence. He said that he would be able to account for it to the president. One may, however, figure as high and as much in his favor as one likes, not

• 142

Feet of the Bakairí.
a Manoel Antonio. b Magdalena. c Antonio.
d Generoso. e. Leopoldino.

000 half of those 1,800 milreis could have been spent for expedition purposes. All the more since he did not /127/ even make the purchases that he mentioned to us in Rosario.—Actually he admitted that on that occasion he had not informed us correctly about the provisions. Indeed, his own figures, immediately noted, prove this; he supposedly was sure that he could supplement them later on.

/158 cont./

342 We were led into the smallest of the three huts; there we
353 sat down on a long trunk lying on the floor. Two supporting beams, adorned with a diadem of parrot feathers and wound at the bottom with a belt of dry grass stalks, held up the straw roof. Many elegantly worked arrows were sticking in the wall.

159 These Bakairi had never seen human beings of another color.
361 They said that there were a few more settlements downstream.
133 This was the last cachoeira, the one we passed here -- great news -- and the river -- naturally, we were eager to learn this -- runs north, it is called Tamitatoala; after 12 days' journey there comes another, larger one from the left, the Romuro.

080 Thus all favorable circumstances seemed to converge and the hardships of the trip were amply outweighed.

162 We could not endure it much longer in the hut; outside /159/ others appeared, including two women -- one, whose youth and beauty were long gone, busily tripping about with
291 tousled hair. A triangular, straw-yellow leaf fastened to a string, which was slung around the hips and drawn through the perineum, constituted her scanty clothing. Our friend who was doing the
301 honors wore around his waist three strings, on which were alternately strung bits of stalks and black seeds, in each ear lobe two coquettish yellow feathers, and above the ankles a tight band of
302 hair. His hair had a dark reddish sheen; it was cut in Russian style around a bowl; the tonsure was as correct as in other well-known cases where the discoverers of a tribe were misled by it into believing that the heralds of Christianity must have been active
[142] here earlier. The type of physiognomy was without doubt in conformity with the Bakairi.

609 Soon a second principal figure appeared on the scene: a
142 medium-sized Indian with a fine hooked nose and heavily painted
302 red, who was coming from hunting. He drew near uneasily in a roundabout way, talking partly to himself and partly, parrying, to us; we called him the professor because of his incredibly dignified manner of examining every object most minutely, like a person who knows a thing thoroughly, but cannot quite understand why this or that does not fit.

/171 cont./

122 19 Aug. φ 12° 53'.0, λ 12'.4, km. 31.03, total 195.45.

132 6:35 A.M.: dry. 15.0, water 24.3.

5:43 P.M.: I 742.2, dry. 26.1, water 26.0.

9:30 P.M.: I 742.8, dry. 21.1.

137 /172/ The river landscape changes its physiognomy somewhat. Shrubs and light-green, fine-leaved bushes, which form tall bowers or rounded, dense masses, occupy the foreground. Willow-like trees often stand as though planted, with delicate, slender trunks. We have not exactly come out of the forest river into a meadow river, but the low-plain character predominates. The sand barranca is steep. Easterly direction of the river.

122 20 Aug. φ 12° 51'.1 λ 12'.8, km. 6.27, total 201.72.

132 7:00 A.M.: dry. 19.3, water 25.1, at night 2-3:00 thunderstorm in NW.

Today the sky is covered with strato-cumulus and the air is showery damp.

133 At an early hour we reached a branch stream 20 meters wide, emptying in quietly from the right. Finally a tributary.

361 The third aldea, located on the left bank, is not quite two
[342] kilometers from the Batovy. There are three huts, lower, smaller,
and less conical than previously. We three again install ourselves
122 for a night among the good people, and even Antonio, who has given up his mistrust, sleeps along with us.

364 As agreeable as this "little village" is, it must be called
345 the dirtiest of the three. The floor of the festival hut is covered with dry grass and refuse of all kinds; the sun shines through the roof, so that inside we are able to light our pipe with the burning-
[532] glass. It is obviously still unfinished and new; besides a few arrows and several rattles, flat wooden fish are stuck on the walls as the products of local artistic activity.

162 Census: 13 men, 12 women and -- the most favorable proportion so far -- 19 children. Among them there are a man and a woman of another tribe whom we are to meet farther
142 downstream, the Kustenaũ /Custenau/. In type I am unable to see any essential differences; in fact, the more Bakairí we meet, The more uncertain I am in abstracting the common features.

1: Steinen--56 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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Flute duet among the Bakairi.

/175/

000 Off at 9:00. Soundlessly with Valentin in the lead; occasionally a bird is aroused in the bushes. Doves coo, otherwise deep silence. The last morning mists heavy on the water.

133 From the shore a blue serra /sierra; see the glossary, p. 172 /
361 visible in NW. At 10:00 we reached the harbor of Aldea IV.
Here we were already expected. It is the only one that lies on the right shore, about three kilometers inland. -- A half-dozen
609 older people received us with their "am(b)á" and accompanied us along the way. They stopped often in order to make clear to us, with many gestures of satisfaction, that they were Bakaïrí and masters of the entire region. Mostly through meadow and
[361] campo along the edge of the forest. -- It was the largest village, seven huts, and in the middle an open plaza. Twenty-four men stood there in several groups, foremost a heavily blackened fellow who swung bow and arrows wildly, beat on them clatteringly, and shouted with a stentorian voice: "Bakaïrí, Kɑ̃ura Bakaïrí" (we, the Bakaïrí). And the chorus joined in: "Kɑ̃ura Bakaïrí --
[624] Kustenaú...Trumaí hu-hu,"...other tribal names, incomprehensible words, triumphant gestures; finally the herald, with a gesture of his hand, invited us to pass. Apparently they were trying to make as forceful an impression as possible on us.

302 Only the hair of a few individuals was dyed red; otherwise they blackened their faces, chests, and legs. No one was dis-
[301] tinguished by special finery; they wore their belt strings, arm and leg bands of cotton or burití bast.

[142] The skin color seemed to me a little darker than among the other Bakaïrí, but I may have been misled by the black painting, which did not show any particular designs anywhere, but rather was manifested in a simple coating of the body. The spinal column was left free, and likewise the parts from which the color could rub off in sitting. Membrum virile parvum, praeputium longum.

142 The epidermis of several individuals was thickened ichthyosis-like and covered with hard, dry scales over the entire body. Many had curly hair.

/57 cont./

487 the northeast a wide path through tall sapé grass, with which the
[824 houses are covered, to the river rapids below, toward the south
361] a path to the mandioca planting, and everywhere tall forest moved in close to the inhabited and planted clearing.

162 The community numbered nine men, seven women, five
621 children. The names of the men were: Tumayaua, the chief,
551 our guide, who was primarily responsible for the planting (Pl.
[463] 6).[1] Paleko, his father, a charming old gentleman, with whom I struck up a close friendship and who in his declining years plaited baskets and fish weirs, Alakuai, the shrewd carpenter and canoe-builder, Awia, the painter, Yapü, the fat one, Kalawaku, the modest one, and the young men Kulekule,
[574] Luchu (Pl. 6), and Pauhaga. After a few days a couple of visitors came from the second village, among them one whose parents had died young and who therefore -- had no name.

The names of the women were not to be discovered: "pekóto úra" was the regular answer, "I am a woman." Thus
162 I have had to /58/ invent my own designations here; there was,
621 as always, an old woman who had a great deal to say and who, with her lean wrinkled body, was not exactly beautiful, the "tribal witch," Paleko's wife (see Pl. 5, left).[2] Her antithesis was her granddaughter "Eva," Tumayaua's daughter, mother of two children and the youthful wife of the muscular, magnificently strongly built Kulekule, who, before I knew his name, seemed to me worthy of being called "Adam" in this little paradise and also possessed a fine yellowish-red loam color.
●[142] Eva had a finely chiseled European face with full lips, pale rosy cheeks which were closely framed with wavy hair, and the most beautiful eyes that I saw in Brazil -- and that is saying not a little -- large eyes whose sweet /Fig. 2 appears here/ glance contained no coquetry at all, but in whose radiant fire, with a full, naïvely tender upward glance, glowed that spark of innocent lust that must once upon a time have kindled the eternal fires of the universe; thus, with a body never mistreated by any lacing, she really looked like a young Mother Eva. Unfortunately, she scratched her head far too often,

[1] [See P. 40--Analyst]
[2] [See P. 28--Analyst]

162 /58 cont./ unfortunately, she scratched her head far too often,
621 and though this may occasionally have occurred out of embarrassment,
515 nevertheless lice had their visible part in it.

Eva's friend, about twelve years old, "my intended" (Pl. 5, third
[262] from the right),[1] was in the habit of picking them out and eating them.
162 In general this one had all the good things in the village, and many
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[301]
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Fig. 2. "Eva," Tumayana's daughter.

162 beads that I had given others I later found around her neck. She was the
621 little daughter of the deceased chief and his /59/ heiress. Her uncle
[622] Tumayaua was only the provisional chief; if I had followed Paleko's
[123] very seriously meant suggestion and had married his niece, he would have had to turn over the government to me. Even today I cannot deny that,
[291] quite apart from the excellent match with which there was associated no greater demands in the way of dress than a string of beads and a piece of bark-bast the size of a small human ear, a better opportunity of becoming acquainted with the ethnology of the Kulisehu could scarcely have been imagined. I saw little of the other women, with the exception,
[142] perhaps, of the "Egyptian," who also came over from the second village, a tall greedy person with an Egyptian profile and almond-shaped eyes (Pl. 5, second from the right).

[1] [See P. 28--Analyst]

2: Steinen--28 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate V

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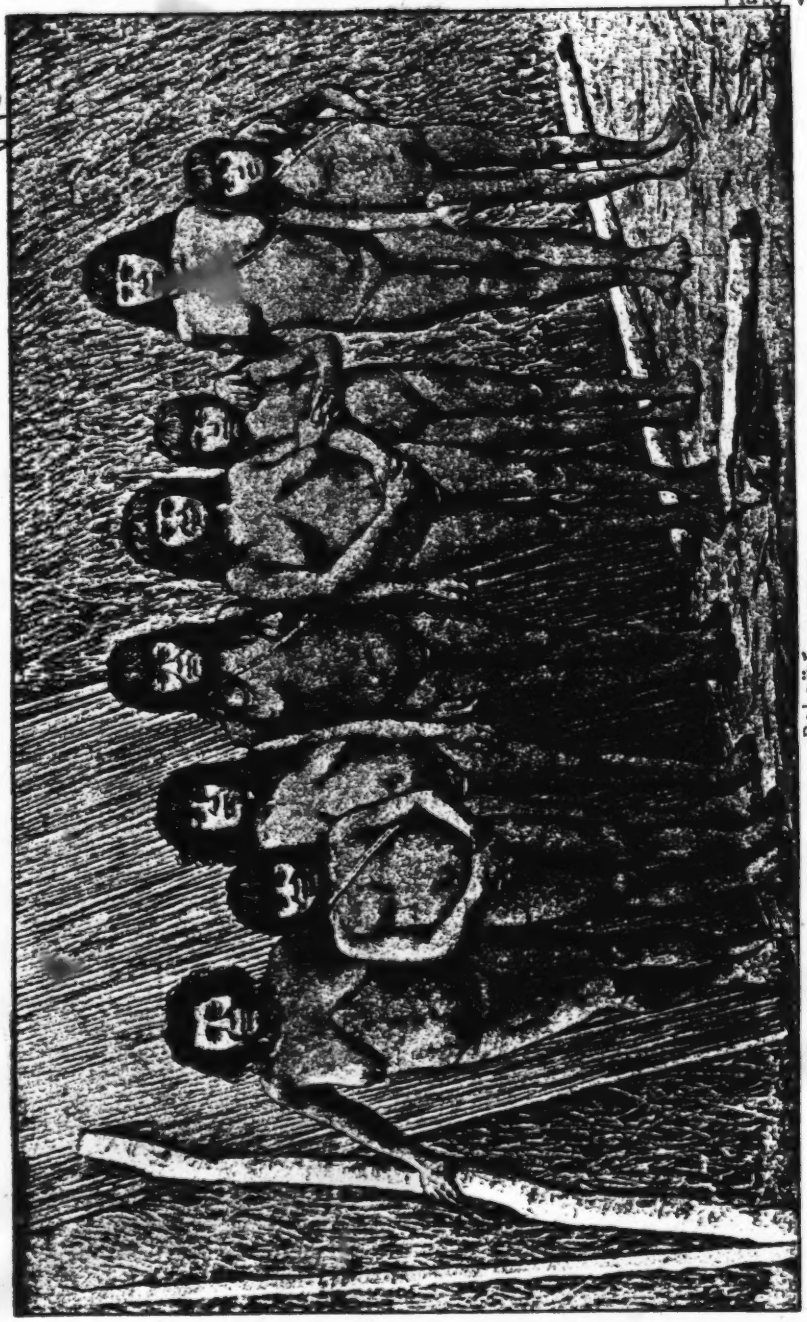

Bakairí women.

2: Steinen--40 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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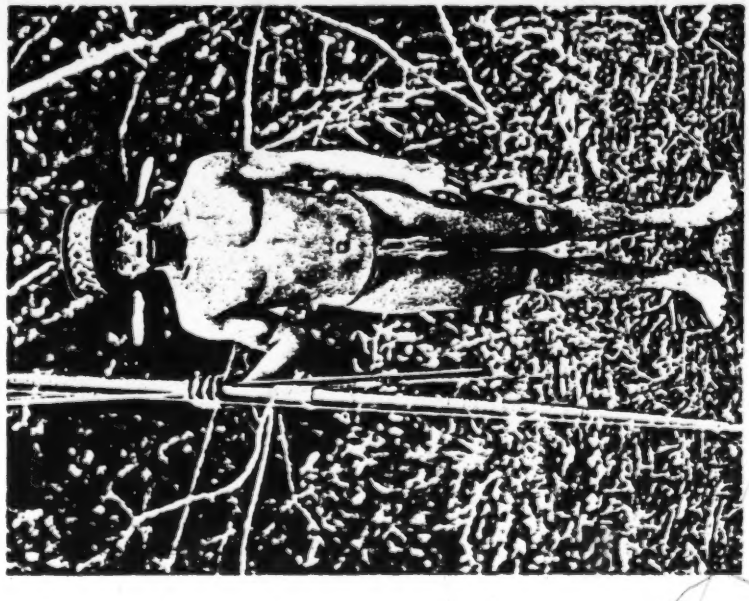
Plate VI

[482]

Tumayaua



Bakaïrí

Luchu

2: Steinen--138 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Pl. XIII

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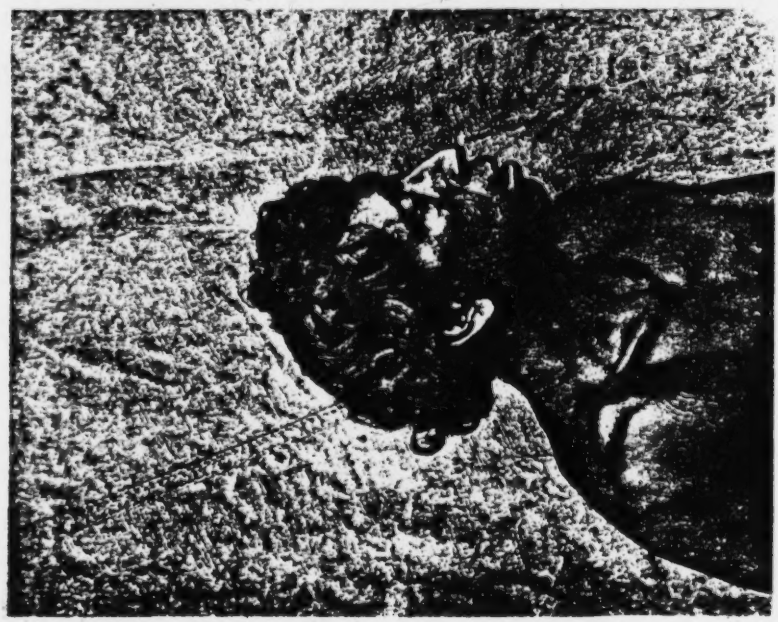

Bakairí "Izzy"

/161 cont./

128 141 It is not likewise not really possible to exclude among the women all individuals up to those 25 years old exclusively, for in that case, at least for the Bakaïrí, there would be left only the tall Egyptian, who, moreover, in my opinion, if, given "25-30" years, is estimated too old. If we disregard all women up to those 20 years old inclusively and likewise a "60"-year-old Mehinakú of 151.0, we obtain:

	Women	Min.	Mean			
Waurá	1	—	147.5	as against		147.5
Auetö	2	139.5	148.0	"	"	148.0
Kustenaú	1	—	150.0	"	"	150.0
Mehinakú	3	145.3	150.8	"	"	151.4
Nahuquá	10	145.0	152.0	"	"	152.2
Bakaïrí	3	145.5	153.9	"	"	151.6
Kamayurá	2	154.3	155.0	"	"	153.8

The arithmetical mean of these 22 women amounts to 152.1; the mean of the Mehinakú and Nahuquá, however, after the exclusion of the younger women, has become lower. The average difference between the two sexes would be 10.5 centimeters; in other words, the women on the average were 6.5% shorter than the men.

ooo The most powerfully built Indians were to be found among the Mehinakú, cf. Plate 14 /see p. 163/, very sturdy chaps, and the Nahuquá, cf. the illustration on page 71. The most striking phenomenon about their physique is the broad and deep chest and the tremendous shoulder breadth of the men. The breadth of the pelvis seems smaller than the breadth of the thorax. Older men and children were commonly characterized by a little belly. The women did not have very broad hips, the calves were weak, and their feet were set inward somewhat, as though they were always walking on narrow paths, so that the walk, especially of the woman tripping along with a load, was by no means beautiful. Actually, we saw only one Indian woman whose figure, [142] even by our standards, was graceful and well proportioned; it is the slim Bakaïrí girl in the middle of the group on Plate 5, to whom the photograph, however, does not do justice.

/170 cont./

B T 141 The Trumaí have the lowest figure of all for stature, breadth of outspread arms, head circumference, hand length, the highest for head height, length-breadth and length-height index of the skull, navel height, the Mehinakú the lowest figure for the length-breadth index of the skull, for height of navel, symphysis, iliac crest, and trochanter, the highest, on the other hand, for stature, shoulder breadth (just as they are also rather outstanding for breadth of outspread arms and chest circumference), for zygomatic-arch breadth, and, although arms and legs are short, for the length of foot and hand. The Nahuquá do not have a 6 for any measure, but show relatively many 1's and 2's.

B T 142 126 /171/ The skin color is characterized by yellow-gray loam shades in all gradations; sunburn, dirt, and painting made it extremely difficult to determine the original color, and it was only under the cotton bindings on the upper arms or lower legs that one realized how light the Indians actually were. Wilhelm made a little color chart on the spot; according to it, the average shade falls between No. 30 and 33 of the Broca chart; the darker tones had a definite lilac-violet admixture, especially on chest and abdomen, the lighter tones a somewhat yellow one. We also used the Radde charts and found the greatest similarity for forehead and cheek with 33 m to n or also 33 o, the upper arms approximately 33 m.

B T 142 The head hair was black; especially among the Bakaíri, Nahuquá, and Auetó, brownish black. The bluish-black shade did not occur. On the other hand, the hair, especially of the Bakaíri children, looked strangely light and faded if the light struck it obliquely, at times it had a dark red shimmer. We never encountered "horsehair." The head hair was moderately thick and straight or, especially among the Bakaíri and Nahuquá, decidedly wavy. To our surprise, we saw out-and-out curly heads among the Bakaíri, such as, for example, the type shown on Plate 13. How much of it was nature, how much art, is difficult to say. At any rate, old Paleko in Maigéri, who had long since become superior to the vanity of youth, had short, curly hair. Among the Bakaíri, the hair is wavy without artificial treatment. Sometimes the forehead was hairy almost to the eyebrows.

/171 cont./

§ 302 The lashes were plucked, especially among the Nahuquá until the last trace had disappeared. The same was true of the beard hair. We often, however, came across a moderate mustache or chin beard, occasionally even a cheek beard, mostly among the Kamayurá. Underarm and pubic hair was also plucked out.

B ●142 The facial type of the individual tribes showed certain differences which are difficult to define. There is a Bakairí face which I would be confident about not confusing with a face of any other Kulisehu tribe, but which has the greatest similarity with the Karaiben of the Guianas. I would immediately take for a Bakairí a Karaiber Apiaká /Apiaca/ of the Tokantins whom Ehrenreich photographed. Other Bakairí, however, could also belong to any of the other Kulisehu tribes on the basis of their physiognomy. The more Indians one became acquainted with, of course, the more uncertain one became. The Bakairí or Karaiben face that I am referring to almost has a European structure, the prognathism is slight, the forehead not high but well rounded, the nose has a somewhat wide bridge, pronounced alae, a rounded tip, wide upper lips, the eyes are beautifully almond-shaped and full. On the other hand, there is a second Bakairí type with strong prognathism, a markedly receding chin, low, sloping forehead, and a rather long nose with aquiline bridge, which we noticed particularly among the Bakairí of the Paranatinga. A peculiar specialty of the third Bakairí village was the distinct Jewish physiognomies. The photogravure Plate 12[a]/172/ shows us the best representative of this variety, who owed his name "Izzy" to our travel mood. Izzy was the smallest Bakairí, but very agile and strong and, as may be seen in the photograph, equipped with a powerful chest; he had black curly hair, a broad-bridged, aquiline nose, and would probably not be taken for an Indian by a naive person. If there are people today, aside from the Mormons, who would have the children of Israel immigrating to America and being the tribal fathers of the redskins, they may take Izzy's picture as excellent documentary proof. Probably a few Egyptians also joined the caravan of lost tribes; at any rate, a few women in their hair style,

a[See P. 138--Analysis]

/172 cont./

142 especially the "Egyptian woman" of the first village, with her narrow face and her long, slightly aquiline nose, showed great resemblance to the women of the ancient kingdom of the Nile, as these have come down to us.

142 Bulging foreheads were found here and there among all tribes, but they were typical of the Trumaf and doubly conspicuous among these little people. They also had the greatest prognathism and the most receding chins; they had a narrow nasal root and little space between the eyes, while the Mahinaki were striking because of their slight prognathism, protruding chin, wide, low faces, and eyes far apart. The faces of the Nahuqui differed from those of the Bakairi in their coarse character; in contrast to the oval shape of the latter, they had a somewhat square and thick-set one, with very prominent jaw angles. The most finely chiseled faces were to be found among the Kamayurá.

The iris was dark brown and only as an exception light brown; the Trumaf had relatively light eyes. We found one blue-eyed Nahuqui. He had nothing special in the way of hair and skin color; his hair was black and quite straight. He was the father of a young man with dark brown eyes, but his own eyes had a definitely blue iris. The position of the eyes was horizontal or slightly oblique, the form was almond-shaped; the eyelid among the Bakairi was commonly wide open, among the rest, especially among the Nahuqui and Kamayurá, rather small and low. We did not see Mongolian eyes; only one Kamayurá could be regarded as Mongoloid.

Beautiful teeth were extremely rare. They were more often opaque, rather than translucent, the color was yellowish and only as an exception white, the position largely irregular, they were rather bulky, but among the Mehinaki frequently small and fine. Almost everywhere they appeared greatly chewed down. One
[515] never sees the Indians brushing their teeth or rinsing their mouth, which would be very advisable in view of their starchy diet.
They use their teeth very incautiously if they do not have any
[512] fish teeth or shells at hand. Moreover, they bite a hole into the oyster-like, hard shells of river mussels, in order to smooth wood

/172 cont./

with these sharp edges, and they crush with their teeth the shells from which they make their beads, a type of mistreatment that is bound to be disastrous to better teeth, the mere sight of which pained me deeply.

/173/

Chapter IX.

I. Dress: Hair and Skin.

Preliminary remarks concerning clothing and ornamentation. The hair. Head hair, body hair, ladies. The skin. Piercing. Binding. Chains. Daubing and painting. Scratch-scars. Tattooing.

Since in this and the following chapter I shall try to go back as much as possible to the origin of the dress observed among our natives, I should like to begin with two fundamental remarks.

First, I consider it erroneous that clothing, arising out of a feeling of modesty, is required for man's humanity. We became acquainted with representatives for various tribal groups of the Indians on the upper Schingú, and they do not need clothing in this sense, as I deduce from the fact that they have no such clothing. Their devices, which from our custom we would be inclined to call pubic coverings, are by no means coverings, and the feeling of modesty that is supposed to have produced the coverings is not present. As early as 1584 the Jesuit Father Cardim wrote about the Brazilian natives: "All go naked, men as well as women, and have no clothing of any kind and in no case verecundiam /feel shame/, but rather it seems that in this part they are in a state of innocence."

Secondly, I must explain my position somewhat with respect to the origin of ornamentation. It is established that nowadays among primitive peoples there are many types of ornament for which no real or imaginary use is apparent and which, at present, are solely articles of adornment. Nevertheless, it is probably impossible that the first feelings were aimed before

/175 cont./
the cut devised by him, went a step further and cut off as the sons a part of the hair falling down in back and on the sides. The additional advantage connected with this was that, during combing, the hair could easily be evenly distributed on all sides. The tonsure of the Indians extended chiefly downward over the back of the head (cf. Fig. 14 /see p. 170/). The Suyá men, on the other hand, with their tonsure of Apostle Paul, went further in the removal of the hair falling over the forehead and, instead, wore their hair hanging down to their shoulders

Fig. 11. Bakairi girl.

in back or knotted up. Long back hair and the crown tonsure do not occur together. Copying the priests was not required for this simple procedure.

/176/ All the other body hair, with the exception of the eyebrows, was shaved or unhesitatingly plucked out. The lashes were not, as among the Yuruna on the lower Schingú, placed on a tucum thread and torn out all at once with a jerk, but were pulled out one by one as the earliest age of the children. The shaving of the tonsure was done with a tip of spear grass. These razor blades were kept planted near the house. The hair was cut with the teeth of the piranha fish. I never saw among

B /198 cont./

171 a combination of bandage and cushion -- is twisted like a rope, in
291 the case of the uluri wearers the narrow bark strip makes possible
841 the stretching over the perineum; in both bases there is provided a
T support pressing against the pubic symphysis, in the former case by
171 means of the little roll, in the latter case by means of the springy
291 triangle. One realizes that it was not cleanliness which prompted
841 the procedure, but the medical attempt to counteract the loss of blood. These are truly not inventions of modesty, such as aprons or similar loose hangings.

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Fig. 19. Squatting Bakairí.

similar loose hangings.

B In the case of the men, the explanation is not so obvious. Here,
171 too, an attempt has been made to preserve the connection with a
291 causative, primary sense of modesty. The view has been expressed
834 that shame was felt only when the glans of the penis was exposed to the gaze of others and therefore it alone was covered. Unfortunately, I did not observe anything that might settle the question directly. I saw that the people were not ashamed when they gave us their devices

B /399 cont./
174 number of our Karaiben elements is too small to account for the one going from the center of the continent to the north, is removed.

B As far as the relation of the Bakairí and Nahuquá to each
174 other is concerned, it should be noted that the two tribes are
199 linguistically no closer than the Guiana Karaiben are to one another. In fact, the Bakairí are closer to the Makuschí /Macuxi/ or Rukuyenn /Rucuyen/ than to the Nahuquá. The influence of the neighboring Ilu-Aruak, the porter tribes of the Kalisehu, on the language of the Nahuquá is already pronounced, and this relation, as is the case today, has undoubtedly been closer and more cordial for a very long time than with the
B Bakairí. This circumstance is in perfect accord with the history
[173] and legend of the West Bakairí when they maintain that the original seat of their tribe lies between the Roncro and the Paranatinga.

B The latest acquisition for the Karaiben question, finally,
A and a very important one on account of the spatial adjustment
174 which it permits, is the Apiaká /Apiaca/. Martius already
A speaks of "Apiaká" in the river basin of the Tokantins /Tocantins/.
[101] he mentions them beside the Karajá /Caraja/ and regards them
[131] as Tupí, as indeed the Indian of the upper Tapajoz living in a remote region and likewise called "Apiaká" actually are. In 1888, Ehrenreich, after he had traveled down the Araguay-Tokantins,
A met a few Apiaká in Praia Grande and /400/ identified them as
B Karaiben. He was surprised at their great physical resemblance
[142] to the Bakairí. The people said that they had been driven away by
A the Suyá. They had fled northward and are now living west of
[173] the last stretch of the lower Tokantins, probably in the upper
[167] region of the Uanapu and Pacayá, approximately on the third de-
[131] gree south latitude. Ehrenreich suspects that the migration took place only a few decades ago. It is obvious to link them up with the change of habitation which the Suyá themselves undertook when, in the first decades of this century (cf. page 474), they were driven from the Paranatinga region to the Schingú. Nor do
A we know anything more specific about whether the Apiaká lived
[167] to the west or east of the Schingú, but the important fact that

Plate II

Fig. 1. Capitão Antonio, Cacique of the Paranatinga Bakairi, in the year 1927.

Schmidt--62 F-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate IV

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Fig. 4. House of the Bakairí, Pires, cacique of the Xingu[illegible] in Simões Lopes.

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Fig. 5. Cacique Pires with his family in front of his house in Simões Lopes.

Plate VI

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Fig. 8. The old Bakairí, Luju, from Maigeri aldea, in Simões Lopes.

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Fig. 9. The Bakairí Joaquim Carpintero, in Simões Lopes

4:Schmidt--65 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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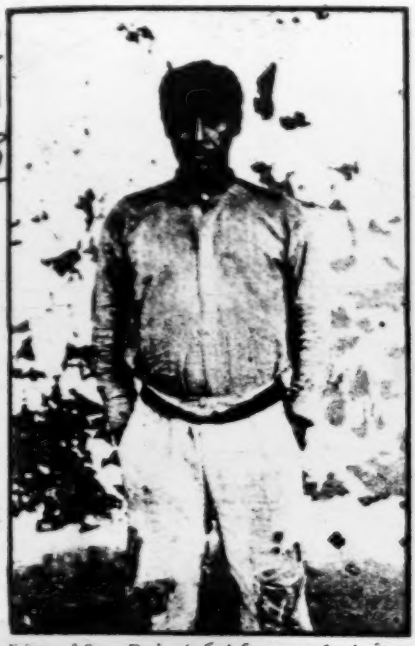

Fig. 10. Bakairí Afonso, Luju's son, in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 11. Bakairí Hieronymo, in Simões Lopes.

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Fig. 12. Cacique Roberto, from the Rio Novo, with his family, in Simões Lopes.

4:Schmidt--66 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate VIII

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Fig. 13. Bakairí, son of the Xinguano Kapinage, in Simões Lopes.

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Fig. 14. The author with Xinguanos in front of their house, situated near the Paranatinga.

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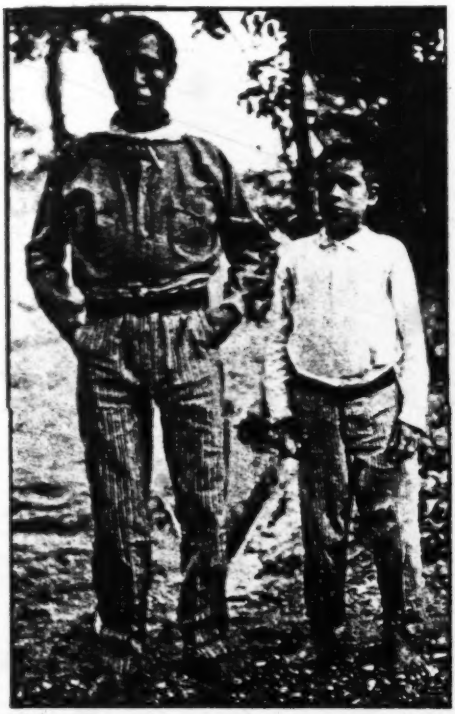

Fig. 15. Xinguano Patagude with his son Ka'iura, in Cuiabá.

Fig. 16. Xinguano Ka'iura.

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Fig. 17. Xinguanos in front of their house, situated near the Rio Paranatinga.

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Fig. 18. Xinguano Kapinage, in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 19. Paranatinga Xinguano boys.

Fig. 20. Rio Paranatinga Xinguanos.

THE BACAIRI [P. 69-B]

000 101 Brazilian Government. The information presented here was obtained at Simão Lopes from the Bacairí who lived on the Rio Kuliseu and relates to the life that they lived there about 40 years ago.

[197] Linguistically the Bacairí belong to the Carib-speaking family and appear to be closely related culturally to the other Carib-speaking tribes in ●142 the Upper Xingú Basin. The Bacairí are short in stature, broad-shouldered and well-built. The head is broad, the nose straight or acquiline, the face narrow, the lips fairly thin. In physical [148] appearance the Bacairí remind one of the Arawak-speaking Paressí, but contrast sharply with the large-framed, coarse-featured Bororo, Umotina, and Guató living in the headwaters of the Paraguay River to the south.

175 131 The Bacairí Indians are first mentioned by Gonçalves da Fonseca in his account of his travels to the Madeira region in 1749. In the atlas of Thomas Jeffry, 1776, the "Bacahyris" are located on the Rio Paranatinga. Ayres de Casal, in 1817, refers to the "Baccahyris" as living in the region around the Rio das Mortes. Martins places them 175 in the headwaters of the Xingú. From 1820 on, 177 more or less permanent contact has been maintained with the Bacairí living on the Rio Novo and Rio Paranatinga. In 1820 a P. Lopez led an expedition in search for gold into the area and [79] with him came priests who began to convert the Bacairí to Christianity. With these contacts came disease and conflicts (Von den Steinen, 1942, p. 123).

175 101 131 361 The first scientific account of the Bacairí dates from the voyage of Von den Steinen down the Xingú River in 1884. Traveling over land from Cuiabá, he and his party reached the Christianized Bacairí living in the villages of Rio Novo and Paranatinga with whose help he continued his voyage down the Batoví River where he was the first to make contact with the four pagan villages of the Bacairí located between latitudes 13°30′ and 12°30′ S.

175 162 The following table gives size and number of inhabitants of the villages visited by Von den Steinen (1942, appendix, table 8, p. 418):

Bacairi SP7

Geographically the post is situated ideally on a high land removed from the river and cleared of all vegetation, the jungle appearing only as a narrow fringe along the river banks. Like the rest of the high plateau it is wind swept, and generally pleasant. It must be added that contact with white people, such as is had when a small group of natives go to Cuyabá, has brought syphilis to them, and it may be their mortality is due to this.

One occupation enjoyed in former times is denied them, and that is fishing. There are practically no fish in the Paranatinga, at least up to where the post is located. Since meat is gotten only on rare occasions, and no hunting is done, the diet is mainly one of vegetables and considerably poorer *than when they were living in their original* state. This may also explain their lowered resistance to disease.

Very little museum material which represents their own products can be collected from the Bakairi. What has not been gotten from the Inspectoria has been brought back on excursions to the Kuluseu. Pottery has not been made since their coming to the post, according to them. The huge vessels that they possess either have been brought with them from their former homes or bartered from the tribes on the Kuluseu. It is claimed that the proper clay cannot be found in the neighborhood of Simõe Lopes.

Arrows are still being made, an iron nail generally being substituted for the old bone point, but most of the arrows also come from the Kuluseu.

For the old hammock made of palm-leaf fibre the cotton hammock has been substituted, but the same open net style has been kept.

Mussel shell ornaments have also been bought from the tribes of the Kuluseu. In brief, almost anything that is found in their village must bear the suspicion that it is not a Bakairi product.

However, they have preserved a few customs, such as filing the upper teeth to a point, wearing under the European clothing the gee string, and ceremonial use of the bull-roarer, and they probably remember many of their ceremonies.

The short time spent at the post was mostly devoted to taking anthropmetric measurements, which were subsequently lost on the Kuluseu, but in some notes I do find the statement that in blood groupings most belong to groups three and four, the former predominating.

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361 The aldeament on the Paranatinga was smaller than the
622 one on the Rio Novo. Moreover, the order of the community
578 seemed seriously disturbed. Old Captain Caetano, probably near
[197] his eighties, despite his black hair, /120/ had been divested of his sovereignty in favor of a younger man, Felipe, at the instigation of the Martyrios expedition, which, with the help of the Bakaïrí, had crossed the Paranatinga and passed through a section of the sertão /wilderness; see the glossary, p. 172/ in a northerly direction. The Bakaïrí, of course, felt more obligated to obey Captain Caetano than Captain Felipe, and the result was that each one made himself as independent as possible and worked on his own.
164 Moreover, the tribe had been hard hit about eight years before by sarampão /measles/, an epidemic disease; the Brazilians put part of the blame for the number of deaths on the Indians because, in the heat of the fever, they had always run into the river.

162 At the time of our visit the Bakaïrí population was made up
621 of five men, five women, three children -- not present were five men, three women, one boy, whose return was, in part, no longer expected. Moreover, there were two Parecí women, one of whom was numbered among those not present, and two Cajibí[1] women, who had been adopted into the tribe. Finally, two Brazilians, caoutchouc-seekers, who had recovered from the fever in the village, had attached themselves, a mulatto Luis and a certain Martin who had a Paraguayan, Carlotta, as a wife, with a small son. Altogether there were 20 individuals present.

115 Luis, who had lived an adventurous life, a "philosopho," as he called himself, a "conversador," as his friend Daniel called him, was intimately acquainted with conditions; he
[191] chattered endlessly and was probably not altogether reliable, but he made himself useful, since the Portuguese of Caetano, who best knew the language, consisted of an extremely modest stock by words; "esse mêmo" -- "stimmt auffallend" /that's it exactly/ in German -- was the quintessence of his knowledge, so that the
144 soldiers soon called him nothing but "Capitão Mêmo." Luis maintained that Caetano was the son of a Bakaïrí father and

[1] [Cajibí = Cayabi, a Tribe classified under SP2 Apiaca in The Outline of World Cultures -- Analyst]

/120 cont./

144 mother, but that among his forefathers, as among Reginaldo's, mixture with "Brazilian" blood had taken place. This, however, seemed to be more a conclusion based on the wavy, soft hair of the two, rather than on definite knowledge. In any case, it was noteworthy that Luis declared the two brothers João and Antonio to be the purest Bakaïrí; to me, too, they had seemed the most typical physiognomies and most resembled the Rio Novo charac-
126 ter. Since Antonio is the one who was induced to accompany us
[142] and could thus be photographed in Rio, I may call attention to his picture as the most faithful reproduction of a true Bakaïrí.
[732] Unfortunately the handsome youth had a slightly shortened leg as the result of a fracture, so I contented myself with a bust portrait. The defect was not very pronounced, by the way, and /121/ /illustration appears here/ /122/ the awkwardness that Antonio, strength and agility themselves, presents in full figure amidst the group of Kameraden /see the glossary, p. 171 / (page 28) is largely due to the anxious moment in front of the photographer's apparatus.

Wilhelm made all the other portraits with the camera clara.

162 Carlotta was a Parecí brought back from Diamantino and the wife of the absent Captain Felipe; her small eyes and the root of her nose, which was flat from eyebrow level to the inner corner of the eye, distinguished her strikingly from the Bakaïrí
[648] women. The two Cajibí -- a tribe that lives on the lower Rio Verde, a left tributary of the Paranatinga -- had been caught in the forest as children. /Illustration appears here./ The two
[582] young and pretty creatures were given as wives to the two oldest matrimonial cripples of the tribe, Caetano and Miguel, for the immoral reason that the youngest, as the best workers, belong to the mightier ones. Delicate skin, fine little nose under the likewise flat root, eye slits narrowed and drawn up toward the outside, in connection with which, however, the sharply folded upper lid did not overlap, they reminded one of the Japanese type, especially Caetano's not very feminine little wife.

[Text continues on p. 20]

THE BACAIRI [P. 69-B]

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175 162 The following table gives size and number of inhabitants of the villages visited by Von den Steinen (1942, appendix, table 8, p. 418):

/66 cont./

and licked them off as he swung himself, but no one bothered another with his company. In eating beijú they were perhaps a little more liberal, at least toward me, but in the evening I often saw the men turn aside individually to consume a piece. Later Ehrenreich /67/ found something similar among the Karajá /Caraja/ on the Araguay /Araguaia/. "Etiquette demands that each one eat by himself, turned away from the other. Anyone who violates this must endure the mockery of the others."

Now among the Bakairí this etiquette was definitely stricter, certainly in relation to the guest at least, for they completely lost their sense of humor over my lack of manners. I certainly did many things that were not the practice of the country. I sang loudly, I asked men and women their names, I refused the delicate beetle larvae and committed similar quite inexcusable things, but I never noticed that people were ashamed. In this case, however, it was more a matter of considering improper; I had been indecent. There can be no doubt about that.

If we must admit, along with Heine, that we all are naked inside our clothes and may be granted only relative justification for our feeling of modesty, the Bakairí, too, cannot be offended in his nobler feelings by the mere fact of eating, insofar as the individual takes care of the process for himself. Involuntarily one thinks of some animal that carries its portion of the meal to one side, but obviously out of the fear that another will take it away. [46] I do believe that fish and meat were relatively scarce among the Bakairí, who, with a certain indolence, limited themselves more to mandioca and maize than they themselves liked; I am certain that if I had stayed there a week longer I would voluntarily have sat down in a quiet corner with every good morsel that I had justly or unjustly got hold of, in order to consume it protected from the glances of the others. Even at that time, I am afraid, I was casting hungry glances toward the others. The origin of the feeling of modesty described, however, must be rooted in ancient times.

Good heavens, when we were on short rations on the expedition, how we so-called civilized human beings checked each other's portions, I can only say with greed and envy, although we

/102 cont./

ellent, beehive-like. The larger one was 19 paces in diameter, covered high up on the outside with acuri straw, whereas the framework in the interior exhibited a circle of supporting posts one and a third meters high, upon which the bother of this structure, which actually consisted merely of a roof, rose with many horizontal bamboo rings. At the top was an air vent; a number of the /103/ framework posts crossing one another here extended to the outside. The entrance, a hole one and a half meters high, was surrounded by pepper plants. In any case, the interior space was far larger and finer than in the new houses.

The people led an idyllic existence; they carried on agri-

Capitain Reginaldo and wife.

culture and stock-raising, went hunting, planted mandioca /manioc/, beans, maize, rice, and some tobacco and sugar cane. They were civilized, despite the pierced ear lobes and nasal septa. Their average height was 1.65 meters; they were striking because of their broad and powerful chests. Their skin was yellowish, clay-colored, and rather light, the hair of most of them was black and slightly curly or wavy. In general they had beautiful, open eyes. Reginaldo's excellent vision was demonstrated on one occasion in a way that amazed us all. We noticed far in the distance a /illustration appears here/ figure in the green; with an excellent field-glass I took it to be Tupy riding up; the entire company, among them Daniel, who was seldom mistaken, agreed with me,

/103 cont./

151 only Reginaldo, who joined us, laughed and said definitely that the person approaching was Claum coming on foot. And he was right.

191 They all understood at least a few scraps of Portuguese.
648 They are on good terms with the Coroá, who, they said, call themselves Kayacho. It seems that they impress them because of their rifles. Reginaldo did not like to talk about this point. One had the impression that, according to his inner feeling, he was, after all, on the side of the wild Indians and against the whites. As a clever man, he took advantage of the benefits offered by the Brazilians and did not fall out with the barbarians.

João and Joaquina.

648 The Bakairi mamun /meek Bacairi/ bow to authority. In their hearts they are the same people as the antigun.

126 /104/ We were busy for a number of days. Claum worked out the itinerary and took the ground temperature, Wilhelm drew, I took body measurements and made the glossary that ap-
[115] pears in the appendix. Besides Reginaldo, I was aided in particular by good-natured Antonio, who put up with everything and would have given anything to go with us. But he did not even dare ask the strict captain for permission. Castro, too,
122 was busy with notes. We shared the hut with him and the cadet.

/51 cont./

226 Beyond the cachoeira we counted 13 so-called "currals" /corrals/, circles of boulders in shallower places in the river bed; the fish can enter through a gap in the circle and are then herded together by the Indians and shot. I was not a little surprised when, 823 151 farther downstream in quiet water, Antonio suddenly stated that a canoe had been here yesterday or the day before; all I noticed was a quantity of small white bubbles near the shore. The foam of the oar stroke is preserved in a path on calm water; not destroyed by waves, the air bubbles remain on the water and are gradually driven to the shore by the wind.

/52/ For two hours we rowed on vigorously, spoke but little and with a soft voice, and, cautiously on the lookout, proceeded into each new bend close to the inner edge. But all [341] signs had ceased. On either side lay tall, silent forest, the river glistened in the sunlight, nothing living stirred within a wide radius, and only a yellow butterfly fluttered past here and [133] there. Shortly before midday the stream bed opened into a rather wide inlet; one could not quite make out whether this was a lagoon or an island formation and the river divided into two types. we landed and I sent the two off to cross the bit of woods that separated us from the lagoon and to examine the course of the water beyond.

123 I sat on the beach waiting. Carlos was already coming 609 back, when suddenly I notice a canoe a gunshot downstream. [501] A single naked Indian is standing in it and swiftly making for the shore. there he steers the vessel behind the skeleton of a fallen tree and cautiously crouches down in the shelter of it. "Bakaïrí, Bakaïrí," I cried with all my might, "kúra Bakaïrí, áma Bakaïrí, ína Bakaïrí, we are Bakaïrí, you are a Bakaïrí, I am a Bakaïrí, the Bakaïrí are good" -- in short, I shout in joyful excitement whatever is inspired in me by the ghost of reminiscences from the greeting formulas of that particular tribe. And behold: "Bakaïrí, Bakaïrí, Bakaïrí" comes resounding back. Other words are added, which unfortunately I do not understand, but the high voice, rising in uncertainty, bears an unhappily anxious and mistrustful expression, and the arms swing wildly in the air behind

/79 cont. /

126 192 536 825 sometimes I am afraid I betrayed what to them were incredible gaps in the most ordinary education.

The most difficult problem lay in the verbs, and, to be sure, not only because of the complication of forms. If I succeeded in writing down short sentences in which something was said about an occurrence that was just going on, even if I myself performed all kinds of actions, such as eating and drinking now of this, now of that, which were supposed to give them the content of a sentence, /80/ gross errors were nevertheless unavoidable. Unfortunately, they often said things that were different from what they were supposed to say according to my request and criticized the action instead of naming it. They were thinking for themselves and not for me. And in these efforts their readiness to imitate was disturbing to a high degree. I thought nothing would be easier than to obtain at least those intransitive verbs that could be evoked by unequivocal mimicry on my part. I would indeed need only to sneeze, cough, weep, yawn, snore, only to get up, sit down, to fall, and so forth, in order to be immediately rewarded with the matching words. But they either clung to the contemplation of the process itself, thought I wanted to go away when I stood up, righteously joined in when I yawned, because they, too, were tired, or were royally amused at my strange doings, and, amidst much laughter, would likewise abandon themselves to sneezing, coughing, and snoring, without, however, saying the redeeming words.

126 192 153

I made the best progress when I gave them the Portuguese word and applied the formula: the Karaibe says it thus, how does the Bakairi say it? Here I finally almost always met with understanding and response, for they were mad about learning my language.

[811] They were very grieved that they did not understand me better, and, confusing hearing and understanding, they asked me to cure them. I had to put saliva on my fingers and with it rub the auditory entrance for them. Their comprehension of Portuguese was even more deficient than they themselves realized. They have

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/94 cont./

161 191 194 no f in their store of sounds and replace it with p. If I said fogo (fire), fumo (tobacco), they would say pogo, pumo. But they heard, or, more correctly, apperceived, the f also as p. They were, as far as I could see, firmly convinced that they were pronouncing the same sound that I had said to them. Their attitude was entirely different if, for example, I gave them too long a word, then they struggled and despaired of it, but with regard to fogo, fumo, f...., the more emphatically and loudly I said it, the more emphatically and loudly they joined in. pogo, pumo, p...., with decided indignation over my dissatisfaction.

126 I was obliged to be content with completing the vocabulary as much as possible and interpreting the sentences to the best of my knowledge. I did not achieve an actual translation that would do justice to the subtleties of their language. Whatever I was able to offer in this respect in my book Die Bekaldi-Sprache /The Bekaldi Language/ (Leipzig, K. F. Köhler, 1892), I owe

192 to Antonio. I was especially very peculiarly touched by their joy over the richness of their stock of words. They manifested great pleasure at having a word for every object, as though the name itself were a sort of thing and piece of property. That the number of concepts depends primarily on interest was clearly evident. On the one hand, in comparison with our languages, an abundance of words, such as animal names or kinship terms, on the other hand, a poverty as face surprising: yéke is "lightning" and "thunder", kéfpó, rain, /81/ thunderstorm, and cloud. Now of course, almost all rains in their region are associated with thunderstorm phenomena, and the cloud in the sky has interest for them only insofar as it means an approaching thunderstorm. The fact that, when they combine into one concept, in their word yéke, the visual and audible aspect of the electrical discharge, thunder is the more essential part is shown by the fact that they also call the burning whitener-stick yéke. I, who proceeded from the idea of the magic instrument, according to the custom of mythologists, who was looking for the uncanny and recognized this primarily in the flashing stream, at first translated the word as "lightning" instead of "thunder."

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/176 cont./

I never saw among

the men the reciprocal and daily delousing practiced so happily by the women. The comb, plaited out of pointed bamboo sticks, hung on the hammock. The hair was not excluded from the painting with urucú red; sometimes it dripped with the red oil and designs might even be applied: one Austó who was in a festive mood had painted a stripe of urucú red two fingers wide along the lower edge of the calotte, while two stripes ran upward from the ears to the tonsure, so that Wilhelm, who was well-informed in matters of costume, was moved to compare it with a helmet of the early Middle Ages.

I often watched Tumayaua in particular when he plucked out his sparse beard hair. In the possession of a mirror, he could devote himself to this contemplative occupation with great concentration for hours at a time; he evidently did not feel any pain, but rather the enjoyment of an industrious man who loves his stimulating work. Accustomed to the procedure from childhood as a matter of course, he was scarcely acquainted with the more disagreeable part of the operation, the fear of it. The people are vain to a high degree, but it is improbable that the nerves of the Indians react more dully to begin with than ours, to judge from the behavior of children. The same man who, with an expression of only slight pain, scratched open his swollen skin with the scarifier to which I shall come back later, thinking that he would cure himself by this, cried out at the first unexpected feeling of pain when I held the burning-glass over his hand.

Undoubtedly, with regard to the plucking of hair, we are dealing today with an old custom, with a fashion for which no one would any longer think of asking the reason, or, more probably, the reasons. People practice the custom, are used to it, and therefore find ugly the strangers who do not know about it. It has been remarked that the beard is plucked precisely by those people who are already sparsely provided with this adornment by nature, and it was not enough to say that it is easier in this case to pluck them out; rather it was believed that the sparsity as such looked ugly to the people. My long and thick beard, however, really seemed ugly to the women, and one or another of the Indian women, tugging at it with familiar aversion, gave me the

/360 cont./

821 order to watch as their dead grandmother Mero was burned. They
993 had set the fire themselves -- one can still see it in the large Magellanic Cloud -- while another, the small Magellanic Cloud, arose through their carelessness, which I shall speak of later in detail. Keri in particular is the hero of all these stories: he caught the mutung with the bird snare; he robbed the king vulture of the sun-ball by assuming the shape of a tapir whose dark forms one can still clearly distinguish in the Argo part of the Milky Way. Besides the tapir, one can also see a jaguar and an ant bear of the legend. In fact, one need not be an Indian in order to observe the animals; I, too, distinctly recognized the tapir in particular.

821 The native predominantly sees animals up there for the
151 same reason that he sees them down here in all kinds of things that remind him of some animal merely by some small characteristic; he cannot do otherwise because he apperceives chiefly in accordance with his hunter interests. It did not escape him, however, that the animals and things in the sky have a different appearance than their originals on earth, according to which they are determined. /361/ They are only figures. And yet they are more. For even though they may have been made at some time, he cannot regard them as works of art like his animal stools or sand drawings, because they move and are in the midst of a highly variable shifting of wind, clouds, and weather that takes place independently without one's seeing any human being. They must be bewitched.

772 All the more so since the same result is reached in another
993 way. They are necessarily the oldest animals and things that there are. Each earlier generation, no matter what it thought of them, saw them as complete as does the present one, whereas, according to all present-day and earlier experience, the rivers and trees and inhabitants of the earth of all kinds are small at first and then grow big. Now all the ancestors have disappeared; year in, year out those who die are always disappearing -- where else should the oldest people be than among the oldest things? But to
[361] die is to be bewitched and transformed, just as the medicine man who takes poison and dies changes himself into any animal shape desired.

/159 cont./

262 574 It contributed no little to the enhancement of the holiday mood that plenty of beijús as well as puvas /see the glossary, p. 172/, brick-like pieces of dried mandioca pulp, and, above all, mingaus /see the glossary, p. 171/ were served. Everyone [272] was separately offered in large bowls three kinds: a whitish, thin, scarcely refreshing beaten paste of starch flour, another, yellow one, tasting of squash, and a third one, warm and pleasantly sweet, toward which everyone crowded in order to grant the palate this half forgotten quality of sensation.

609 Most delightful was the absolutely equal treatment that was given us and the soldiers. Chico, this African ape-man, even seemed to impress the little people particularly, and he, like all the others, leaning on his gun, accepted the homage with great dignity and drank in enormous draughts.

It cannot be said that the barbarians actually expressed great astonishment. In general they did not pay any attention to skin color and beard; true, they admired the clothing, the knives, the opera glass, but as children who are not experiencing this for the first time do with their presents at Christmas. A [152] demonstration shot filled them with terror; the women ran away, the men winced and, puzzed, joined in the laughter when they saw our gaiety. To avoid a repetition, however, they urgently begged "âla, âla -- it is enough." At the strange /160/ appearance of our dogs the profesor was so frightened that he manifested the best intention of shooting them dead.

12 August.

437 439 The Bakaïrí paid us a return visit with wife and child. They were heavily laden with beijús. Soon an enthusiastic barter with the soldiers was in progress the latter bartered for arrows or feathers and puvas in exchange for buttons and worn articles of clothing. The buttons, whch could be strung on the belt-string, were highly prized. The gests, however, especially preferred [554] knives, plates, and spoons. The tribal sorceress ran about busily; in vain she speculated on acooking pot, which she excitedly examined from all sides; bt she won a spoon, a tin plate, and

/176 cont./

433 It is clear that here agriculture falls behind hunting and
181 fishing; Aldea IV is military in character and forms the frontier
648 defense against alien tribes.

763 In one hut lay an ancient, paralytic little woman emaciated to a skeleton, whose soul seemed to say "ãla Bakaïrí" (it is enough Bakaïrí) and was trying impatiently to flutter away. The hammock was resting partly on the ground; two women squatted beside it and, as garrulous cronies, explained to us the suffering of the dying little mother.

231 Of tame animals we found a heron, small parrots, a kingfisher and the socó-morena.

345 The festival hut was 18 meters long, nine meters wide.
532 There were clumsily carved wooden fish hanging there, as well as a few finless specimens, wound bands which perhaps represented the electric eel.

Two square pieces of wood, painted red and white, with modeled nose and two eye sockets were striking; they are held in front of the face and represent doves, whose voice the artist can imitate better than the head (1).

1. Cf. the second ethnological plate /see p. 165/.

534 /177/ Four menis and a number of rattles were stuck in the
353 side walling.

624 Only in the festival hut did the herald put down his bow and arrows, but he did not part with them during our entire stay, even
[296] when he handed us a few bundles of tobacco. The latter, by the way, was better than among the earlier Bakaïrí. A few modest old
622 people were there, none with gray hair; among them the chief and, if I understood correctly, a vice-chief, the authority during the time the former is absent.

123 A shooting demonstration on the plaza filled them with
152 terror; they jumped with fright and turned away convulsively, most of all the mighty herald. His "ãla, ãla" was very humble and urgent.

/52 cont./

123 609 the tree skeleton, as though the man were dancing there like a cannibal in a show booth. "Bakaïrí ...," I commence once more, when luckily Antonio comes bounding up with mighty leaps, and, half out of breath from excitement, he for his part now shouts a long explanation downriver, which again I do not understand, but which releases a grateful howl of exultation on the part of the entrenched hero and clarifies the situation as though by a stroke of magic.

The canoe shot out of its hiding place and hastened [501] at once, a fine, long, dry bark-canoe, toward our sad, [29] crooked, wax-plastered, loam-smeared vessel laved with [411] dirty water -- truly, I thought, we were the ones who were entering the sphere of a higher culture here; even though the noble boatman was dressed with only a belt-cord and carried with him nothing but the neatly worked, feather-trimmed arrows and the bow which lay on the floor of the canoe beside a calabash filled with honey, nevertheless in its trimness and cleanliness this total picture gliding toward us contrasted most advantageously with us ragged bearers of civilization beside the piece of wet-rot bark that was called our boat. Well, the newcomer clearly showed by his facial expression that for his part he nevertheless admired us.

123 152 He did not behave at all like the silent, gloomy Indian whose soul, as I might have expected on the basis of our school-wisdom, reflected the monotonous, oppressive environment of the tropical forest; rather, he laughed /53/ and chatted with his fellow tribesman Antonio as though he had [576] grown up in a fortunate country of the temperate zone. In a few minutes we were good friends; at my urging he even told us his name, which, of course, according to the custom of his country, he could not do without modest hemming and 551 622 hawing. His name was Tumayaua and he was the chief of a village of the Bakaïrí a few hours away.

123 609 Thus actually of the Bakaïrí! The hope of the past weeks was fulfilled, we entered our research area among a good-natured little people well known to us, and our debut

/61 cont./

512 The tacitum Indians, men and women, chattered con-
[152] stantly, and Eva's delightful laughter rang out merrily. The
[278] women were all busy. One was scraping a reddish bark which, when cooked, furnishes a curative brew, a second was pounding mandioca grains in a mortar. Now and then a swallow was brought to one of the men in the hammock. A beautiful
[272] picture there by the flickering fire that leaped up at the enormous kettle; the naked woman with long hair was skimming off the milk-like, gently bubbling foam of the püserego in a little pot and pouring it back again and again with a vigorous swing of her arm. Others stepped up, yours truly as well, and tasted, licking their fingers. My intended looked very trim,
[231] too, her "raven-black Mongolian hair" had glints of faded light brown, and she was squatting in front of three discontentedly cawing green parakeets which she was feeding out of
[262] a little pot. Then my turn came; she placed a freshly baked, golden yellow beiiú flat-cake in front of me and did not forget to remark that it was her own handiwork.

Fat Yapü had fallen asleep. I, too, was overcome by a pleasant weariness in the unfamiliar, mood-evoking equableness of the domestic activity; I could not resist the pleasant invitation to take a midday nap, although in the largest hammock there I squirmed like a fish in the net.

I had slept soundly. The picture had changed. The women
[515] sat outside on the plaza, five in a row one behind the other, busily engaged in delousing. Anyone who caught a little
[262] animal placed it on the tip of the tongue and swallowed the delicacy or gave it to the original owner, who received it from the rear in her upturned right hand. The men were attentively watching swallows, "iri"; Luchu shot at them without hitting them; when a pair took its prey in the air, this aroused general interest, and good old Paleko furnished explanatory comments. Everywhere dolce far niente. Only the ants did not celebrate; large carregadores marched by, heavily laden with pieces of stalks and charcoal.

/74 cont./

157 In short, Bakaïrí kúra, the Bakaïrí are good. It would be foolish to misunderstand them in the Rousseau sense, for there was not a trace of any kind of idealism; they were nothing but the product of very simple and undisturbed conditions and gave the visitor who approached with eyes accustomed to motion and strife a picture of an "idyl." Whether one comes from Giessbach, river, or sea, one will feel the magic of a quiet lagoon, that is all.

/75/

II.

Psychological notes about the attitude of the Bakaïrí toward new things. Limits of understanding. Studies with the one on special duty. Difficulties of understanding and of linguistic recording: substantives, verbs, superordinate concepts.

123 152 I have reported about the interest that the Bakaïrí took in my clothing. It gradually turned to the pockets in particular, and they soon knew exactly what was hidden in this one and what in that one.

"Had I made shirt and trousers myself?" This question, which annoyed me, always came up. "Had I made the hammock, the moskiteiro myself?" They were strangely affected by the fact that there was nothing that came to light in all my property for which I had answered in the affirmative. It was clearly to be seen that the objects whose origin they could picture to themselves to a certain extent also more actively occupied their attention. The texture of the Paraguayan hammock was felt and eagerly discussed every day.

They wanted to have everything. "Ura" "(it is) mine" was the simple explanation. The men preferred for themselves the practical thing, for wives and children the ornaments, for themselves knives, for the former beads. At sight of the beads, the women became positively excited and only my tin plate was sought with the same covetousness. "Buttons" seemed to be regarded as a kind of bead. Among several women I discovered ornaments that came from our first expedition and had traveled

301 438

/71 cont./

201 No activity with a tool of metal, stone, tooth, or wood
412 was discussed without the appearance also of the appropriate sounds
[536] to portray it. It is true that a good part of this was to communicate with me, who knew only the rudiments of their language; they were more sparing with these /72/ sounds and gestures in their own conversation, but they nevertheless had at their disposal in ample measure the auxiliary language of expressive movement and used it in their communications with other tribes, as I saw later, in exactly the same way as with me. Thus the disadvantage that each tribe speaks a different language is of little concern; understanding was possible without difficulty even for a Karaiben, for the gestures, stereotyped, to be sure, nevertheless contain full clarity and still are not reduced to conventional abbreviations.

They also manifested an attentive interest in the inter-
123 jections and gestures peculiar to me, which, of course, involun-
●153 tarily took on a livelier expression than at home. If I accompanied
201 any feeling with a sound that was strange to them, it was imitated; if I whistled softly to myself, I could soon hear one of them whistling happily along with me. Particularly if I laughed loudly and struck my leg, there was general acknowledgement: they would immediately slap their naked thighs, and Homeric laughter filled the village plaza.

126 My linguistic notes of the day, which I would bring out, were gone over once more in our tobacco club and were enriched by small contributions. The constellations, the names of animals, the inexhaustible material for parts of the body, and whatever the moment offered were noted down, read aloud, and confirmed with approval.

123 I, too, however, offered mimic performances, for which my interesting oxhide offered the first occasion; I demonstrated our domestic animals to them and achieved a greater measure of success among my small, but grateful public than could ever have fallen to the lot of even the author of "Tierleben" /Animal Life/ or much-admired performing artists. Above all they became acquainted with cattle, sheep, and dogs, whose size and characteristics I described graphically to them as best I could,

/72 cont./

123 and whose language "itáno" evoked loud outbursts of merriment and jubilation.

Then "muh," "mäh," "wauwau," and "miau" in all tones rang out from me and from them. Especially effective was the variation between the peculiar "mäh" of the old sheep and the pitiful "mäh" of a little lamb seeking its mother, between the barking of big curs and that of little yappers. Incidentally I commanded a rather good pronunciation in these itános, so that the shrewd experts on animal languages had no need to doubt the authenticity. I also tried to make clear to them the character of the animals by having different kinds, such as cat and dog, appear together, tried to explain to them that a dog, for example, obeys man, and was now in a position to instruct them about the origin
[153] of my woolen clothing -- mäh. They were attentive pupils who very soon mastered the subject matter completely and practiced assiduously.

The memorable session of our tobacco club in which I gave the first lecture about European domestic animals had extended far into the night, /Plate VI appears here/ /73/ but I took leave of happy men on whose faces was written: that was a fine evening. Luchu barked in exemplary fashion; he ran into the two houses from which a great deal of bright laughter had already been heard and ran around there with a wild wau-wau.

I was already lying half asleep in my hammock and believed the citizenry to be resting in their accustomed peace, when once more Eva's voice from over yonder roused me with a loud "mäh." So I replied "mäh" for a good ending from my sheep stall; there was giggling again everywhere behind the straw walls, and finally quiet actually came, until -- mäh, mäh even before sunrise -- I started up, cursing.

128 One day went by like the next. In the next chapter I shall relate fully how we worked together in my hut, how the Bakaïrí learned Portuguese and I Bakaïrí, while I shall add here what I have to report about our life together.

[text continues on p. 41]

/75 cont./

301 from the Batovy to the Kulisehu. I was confronted by one
438 woman who wore nothing but a copper button on a string on her breast, and on this button was the 8 of the eighth Cuyaban battalion, to which our soldiers had belonged at that time. "Is it tuchú,
301 stone?" asked these living prehistorics. Of course, the beads were likewise stone, and, on account of their gay colors, they
●153 preferred them to gold, which left them quite indifferent. I
177 had given them a few pins and had also showed them a needle, the only one that I had with me: they brought a pin back to me and asked me to make a hole in it, like the one in the needle.

Most peculiar was the alacrity with which they classified the things unfamiliar to them among those that were familiar to them and also immediately assigned familiar names to them directly and without any restrictive additions. They cut their
[412] hair with sharp shells or the teeth of the piranha fish, and my
[237] scissors, the object of unreserved delight, which cut hair so smoothly and evenly, were simply called "piranha tooth." The mirror was "water!" "Show the water," they cried when they wanted to see the mirror. And I made a much slighter impression with it than I had expected.

The compass was called "sun," the watch "moon." I had showed them that, no matter how I turned and twisted the case, the needle always pointed to the highest position of the sun, and the very similar watch, whose spring they said was a hair, seemed to them the natural counterpart, for the /76/ special reason that it "did not sleep at night." Often in the middle of the conversation they would demand that I take out the watch, and then they would laugh very contentedly when it was actually awake and ticking.

Nothing would be more erroneous than to think that this sincere curiosity and admiration was based on an actual thirst for knowledge or a deeper need of understanding. They never got beyond the question: "Did you make that?" No, I simply did my circus act, I displayed my tricks, and they were pleased that at any moment I could show them in all elegance and never disgraced myself. The most baffling example of superficial satisfaction

/76 cont./

153 177 was later given by fat Yapü when Vogel showed him his gold watch and, in order to make him aware of the valuable gold, turned it over, by contrast, to the side with glass. Yapü happened to have in his hand a piece of beijú, a mandioca flat-cake, which is customarily baked well on only one side and thus had one beautiful golden yellow and one grayish white side; "Beijú," he said complacently and strode on. The appearance was familiar to him from the beijú, and there was really no point in delaying over it.

And here, too, I can recall their surprise when one of the gentlemen /Herren/ who was in a position to remove a set of false teeth put on this stunt. They marveled, but soon laughed, and a few days later when they were removing the teeth, their native "knives," from the piranha fish caught and were asked by one of the comrades /Kameraden, Ger. "comrades," the workers, the peons, on the trip, in contrast to the Herren, the "gentlemen" who were in charge of the expedition/ why they were doing this, one of them answered, not without wit: "So that we can help ourselves out, like the brother, when one day we grow old."

How would it have been possible actually to explain to them any of my apparatus or even a knife or a button? How should I have made a "machine" comprehensible to them? What they were obliged to do they did; they were very attentive and it was delightful to observe the liveliness and the air of importance with which a just demonstrated trick was described to a new arrival, an ignoramus in their eyes. Thus they quite accurately noted that my Swedish matches ignited only on the friction surface; with great enthusiasm a new arrival was instructed in Bakaïrí about "tända endast mot lådans plån." What lady among us would be able to say anything more about it? Not to mention the fact that none has any idea of what fire is. At first they were frightened, then they found the matter thrilling, then very nice and funny, and finally they reached the practical application and, when a fire was to be lighted, asked me to set fire to a thick chunk of wood with my Swedes. One woman, for whom the initial feeling probably continued to prevail, took an empty box and hung it around her baby's neck.

/76 cont./

153 Their need for probing into the nature of new things was
179 exhausted, except for the question as to whether I had made them, with the second one as to their names /77/ "Eséti?" "Eséti?" "What is that called?" cried the whole company in unison, and they all took honest pains to repeat after me the Portuguese words. One or another would often go on whispering the word to himself for a long time while the conversation went on. They were unable to pronounce two consonants in succession. But if now and then they succeeded in correctly reproducing the appropriate word, their joy was great, and I had the impression that the object itself now also seemed more familiar to them. "Papéra," from the Portuguese papel, "paper," was given as the name for my notebook, and whereas at first they could not examine and touch the incomprehensible thing enough, they could now quickly come to terms with it: it was quite simply "papéra."

522 Anywhere in the world a foreign language is encountered,
[192] one will very soon know what "a pretty girl" is. Their "pekõto iwãku" or the more endearing "pekõto iwakulukũlu" I could translate for them with the words "moça bonita," which they were well able to imitate and which they now practiced with delight. I had first taught my "moça bonita" to Eva; she laughed, blushed, and pronounced it daintily and distinctly. She continued to laugh, poked her husband Kulekule in the ribs -- just as a vigorous person who is pleased about a good idea would do among us -- the two whispered together, and I was asked to say what "a handsome man" might be. When I once imitated Tumayaua's attempts at Portuguese, which in truth were not very successful, even though he was chief, the entire chorus laughed so much that they were unable to talk for laughing; they fairly yodeled with abandon.

576 These were the gloomy and reserved Indians. If the talk became too much for them, everybody yawned openly and without holding the hand in front of the mouth. It was not to be denied that the wholesome reflex was catching here, too. Then one after another would stand up and I remained alone with my guard.

/79 cont./

193 The simple result is that all kinds of things that do not belong to it are regarded as part of the stem, and the form is used on all kinds of occasions where it is appropriate neither according to person, time sequence, or other nuances contained in it. The organic structure of words becomes rigid, and the sentence becomes a mosaic of the crudest sort made up of nothing but fragments. But there is provision for understanding; for the Indian, with his talent for the characteristic, the chopped-off fragment of a word suffices completely for the entire sentence, and, what is worse, if one wants to make progress in the language, it is all the more agreeable, of course, if one needs only the clumsy content of the communication; he himself soon adopts the new manner of expression; fluent conversations are carried on by barter with stamped coins instead with living words.

126 What made my recording not a little difficult was the cir-
192 cumstance that the Bakairi did not understand my questioning tone.
[194] They imitated it instead of answering. Obtaining the names of
[153] the objects present was done without any trouble; they even anticipated the need, pointed to those I had not yet asked about,
126 and said the names. I went into great detail with the parts of the
193 body because they are always joined with pronominal prefixes; thus the Indian does not say, for example, "tongue," but always, with the addition of the person, "my tongue," "your tongue," "his tongue," and thus there is a grammatical value in this category of the list. It was therefore well to note whether the part of the body whose stem one was asking for was shown on oneself, on the person questioned, or on a third person, for the answer was accordingly: your ilu, my ulu, his ilu, or in general kFulu, the tongue of all of us here.

126 Recording animal names was a pleasure, for here the imita-
192 tion with sounds and gestures was the most artful. A snake, an
536 alligator head, or the like was also drawn in the sand. The
825 quantity of the many individual statements was a hindrance to me, since I did not know enough about the voices and the behavior of their animals; they offered me subtleties in the distinction of species which, to their surprise, I was unable to appreciate, and

126 /79 cont./
192 sometimes I am afraid I betrayed what to them were incredible
192 gaps in the most ordinary education.
525
525 The most difficult problem lay in the verbs, and, to be
sure, not only because of the complication of forms. If I suc-
126 ceeded in writing down short sentences in which something was
192 said about an occurrence that was just going on, even if I myself
153 performed all kinds of actions, such as eating and drinking now
of this, now of that, which were supposed to give them the con-
text of a sentence, /80/ gross errors were nevertheless unavoidable.
Unfortunately, they often said things that were different from what
they were supposed to say according to my request and criticized
the action instead of naming it. They were thinking for them
selves and not for me. And in these efforts their readiness to
imitate was disturbing to a high degree. I thought nothing would
be easier than to obtain at least those intransitive verbs that could
be evoked by unequivocal mimicry on my part. I would indeed
need only to sneeze, cough, weep, yawn, snore, only to get up,
sit down, to fall, and so forth, in order to be immediately re-
warded with the matching words. But they either clung to the
contemplation of the process itself, thought I wanted to go away
when I stood up, righteously joined in when I yawned, because
they, too, were tired, or were royally amused at my strange
doings, and, amidst much laughter, would likewise abandon them-
selves to sneezing, coughing, and snoring, without, however, say-
ing the redeeming words.

I made the best progress when I gave them the Portuguese
word and applied the formula: the Karaibe says it thus, how does
the Bakairi say it? Here I finally almost always met with under-
standing and response, for they were mad about learning my lan-
guage.

[S11] They were very grieved that they did not understand me
better, and, confusing hearing and understanding, they asked me
to cut them. I had to put saliva on my fingers and with it rub
151 the ailing entrance for them. Their comprehension of Portuguese
141 was even more deficient than they themselves realized. They have
144

/93 cont./

moved, dark yellow reed diadems, such as Lucita is wearing on Plate 4, feathers with radiating tips, large Panpipes, an oar decorated with drawings, spinning wheels of the simplest type, that is, disks made of potsherds, and a quantity of remarkable cylinder-shaped sticks, which are covered with ornamentation and worn on the back at festivals. But in the equipment of these third Bakairí in we clearly shown that we were with the section of the tribe living next to the rest of the Kalisehu Indians. All kinds of imported goods were present and were designated as such here. The Bakairí do not make any pots themselves and do not themselves have a place where they might fetch stones for make axes, but here we were immediately told that the pots came from the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ and the stone axes from the Trumaí. Among the pots one is in the shape of a turtle represented an absolute masterpiece of primitive plastic art, on which the head, tail, and feet, as well as the shell drawing, were magnificently worked out. From the Auetó we found a half-broken clay doll, also originating from the Mehinakú, balls of finely spun cotton, from the Trumaí and Suyá, dainty feather caps. From our own possession of 1884 we discovered two iron chisels, parts of a cutlass, which had been sharpened to a point on stones.

We met a Nahuquá in person. Unfortunately, the man was obviously an idiot and had little to offer for my purposes. It is strange that this is not an isolated phenomenon: the Kuikuro of 1884 had a simple-minded Bakairí among them, the Yuruna likewise an Arara Indian definitely feeble-minded, and it seems to me I often noticed similar instances. Do the people become stupid in the new environment or are only the stupid specimens entrusted to neighbors for their use?

In the Sun-house anthropological measurements and photographs were taken in exchange for beads. In this village there was a pronounced Mongolic type, of which Plate 11 represents a classic example. The people submitted to everything and called the caliper compass ulue, "mum." Only one man was indignant when, after Ehrenreich had measured him from head to foot in all directions, I handed him the few of these beautiful, large beads. He wanted to have as many beads as there were measurements

[See p. 198 -- Analyst]

/93 cont./

124 taken on him. With lively gesticulations and a /94/ memory
53 worthy of appreciation, he repeated the entire procedure: the head from front to back, from side to side, the nose from top to bottom, the space between the eyes, the length of the extremities and their parts, the height of the navel above the ground, each, etc., and after each pantomime he stretched out his hand toward the kenkuf, the beads. There was nothing for it, the man's claim must be admitted, but I was obliged to compensate him with small embroidery beads, for when I started to pay him, he faithfully went over the number of measurements again after each pair of beads, first pointing to the letter, then to the corresponding part of the body, and he did not rest until the long list was quite carefully brought to an end. If these instances pile up, I said to myself, and if the Bakairí produce many such critical senses, their art of counting will make rapid progress. Here, indeed, was a tangible example of how trade fructifies and develops arithmetical gifts!

124 The women offered some resistance. It was quite impossible
53 to take the readings on them in the flute-house. They were not
54 permitted to enter it, although the noble building was already half in ruins. Hence they were measured and photographed on the plaza.

125 We carefully packed up our borrowed treasures and asked Paríse to keep them for us in his house until our return. We did not dare overload our canoes and had to provide room for the collection among the tribes living downstream. Paríse, before our eyes, stowed the bundles onto a high cross-beam between the center posts and promised that no one would touch them.

At 4:30 we then set out, very satisfied, for the harbor once
124 more. Antonio with eight Indians had gone out in front of the
(197) inlet where fishing was more rewarding and there demonstrated the use of the hook and line. His companions were able to set out homeward toward the village with a heavy load of piranhas, a
125 bagaill, and a jurumbi. We traded one of our small canoes for a better, larger one.

/359 cont./

§21 For Antonio, who was clever enough to recognize the contradiction as soon as it was pointed out to him, was visibly hurt. "It may be," he finally declared sullenly, "that fire was added later through magic; in olden times there was none there." He is wrong about that, however. The heat was not added by magic, as Antonio thinks, but on the contrary, was conjured away. Nevertheless, present-day Bakairí science is rooted in the belief that sun and moon are feather balls, and no matter when or where it may have arisen, it furnishes us with a good example for understanding the thinking of the Indians.

§11 §21 It is sufficient for the explanation that a thing looks like another, more familiar one. The sun is a feather ball the moment one finds that it looks more like that than like a blazing fire. Even if the conclusion is one by analogy, it is fully convincing on this level, and the further explanations about the growing darkness and the course in the sky develop organically from the stimulus which has now been given. We say that there cannot be any animals up there, hence the heavenly bodies are not animals; the Bakairí, on the other hand, sees the animals or the feathers and does not ask whether they are there, but merely how they got there.

§21 I obtained no information about comets: Antonio simply remarked disdainfully: "They are supposed to bring harm to the Portuguese (the Brazilians are named only in this way), they don't do anything to the Bakairí." As for the planets, I was given only the name for Venus, which could not be translated.

[153] Antonio was excellently informed about the heavens. He also understood the nature of my star map without any trouble. The first time I pointed out a few constellations to him, we went outside and looked for them in the sky. We returned to the room and he immediately found Sirius on the map. It along with Orion, Aldebaran, and the Pleiades are regarded as belonging together in a group. Orion is a large rack on which mandioca is dried, the larger stars are the knots of the posts, and thus Sirius marks the end of a large cross-beam by means of which the rack is held from the side. The Pleiades, apparently the starting point of the entire conception, are a heap of grains of flour that have fallen to one

/164 cont./

The triangular garment of the women, a folded piece of bark bast, supposedly from the schachf tree, has a base of four centimeters and a height of one to one and a half centimeters.

A girl about ten years old is still completely naked.

The nasal septum of the men is not pierced. The beard hair, /165/ if a natural tendency for it is present, as well as all the hair among the women, may with the exception of the head hair, the eyebrows, and eyelashes, is carefully removed.

Around 10:00 in the forenoon Chuma came with Amuzin. A few men also arrived from hunting, among them the chief, an older gentleman with an unusually sensitive official face and a fat little belly. We count ten men, seven women, five boys, four girls.

Clothing of the Bakadf woman.

Pashage showed us how they make fire. They take two long, thin sticks of the same dry wood. After one a notch is crosscut, while one man now holds this in position on the ground with two small sticks, a second man twirls the other stick rapidly between both hands in the notch. The dust that is rubbed loose glimmers.

We did some bartering. I measured a few men. They patiently allowed it to be done.

These "wild" Bakadf are alert, reactable, and certainly very good-natured. They do not steal, although we are carrying treasures with us. They have no intoxicating drink; they refuse tobacco. On the second day, together with their wives, they visit us in our camp -- the "docile ones" on the Rio-Nova, on the other hand, preferred to sleep with those in the bush as long as we were in the aldea. On the first evening a savage drinks a medicine that I

/16 cont./

122 On the following day, 11 September 1897, I sent Antonio
[139] and Carlos back to Independencia with the news. In exchange
for a bush knife I had acquired one of the two canoes that the
Bakairí possessed. I myself wanted to remain behind to have
a new canoe made and, for the sake of my studies, to take ad-
vantage of the rare opportunity to stay alone among these chil-
[140] dren of nature. I heard that in the second Bakairí village lying
downstream there were three canoes and we could perhaps ob-
tain two of them. While a good ranche was to be built for those
remaining behind at our permanent quarters, one or two men
who were now to be hired by Antonio and Carlos were to
ride with me to the second Bakairí village; there we could
complete our outfitting and then, if all went well, row back
to Independencia with four canoes, in order finally to com-
mence the actual river journey. Moreover, to save time,
Antonio and Carlos were to leave their canoe on the first large
cachoeira and find Independencia overland. Thus, along with
the experiences gained in the meantime by the gentlemen at
Independencia, the terrain would be thoroughly explored and
the question settled as to whether the permanent quarters could
not be pushed forward closer to the first Bakairí village.

123 After I had brought the two women to the harbor and they
had soon disappeared in the nearest bend of the river, I returned
to my new friends and soon felt as comfortable in their midst
[141] happiness that I have experienced. I shall try to do them justice
in a little sketch. This will give me the opportunity to report
many little traits of the good people which could not be put in
a purely scientific report, but which nevertheless are not without
value, because they reveal the Indians to us not wholly as we are
accustomed to imagine them. Not a little of this disappeared
when the larger group arrived later. The complete unconcern
which they showed toward me as a single individual did not
remain, and their behavior more closely resembled the well-
124 known person customarily described in books. And here I
[142] should immediately like to enter a protest, with regard to my

/16 cont./

Bakairí, against such views about their characteristics as are found, typically expressed, in the following sentences by Oscar Peschel (Abhandlungen zur Erde- und Völkerkunde /Essays on Geography and Ethnology/, Leipzig, 1877, Vol. I, p. 421): "In no other continent on earth did one hear less happy laughter before 1492 than in America. The so-called red man remains the same in all climates, /37/ everywhere he is gloomy, silent, withdrawn, and intent on a certain dignified bearing."

Those assertions are in no way applicable to the Bakairí; they were gay, talkative, and tuneful, as I observed them in their association with one another and as they acted toward me alone. I shall not fail to give examples of this. In this village I laughed and heard laughter almost as often as under the coconut palms of Samoa and Tonga. It is true, their temperaments is less vivacious and their entire view of life less sunny than among the children of the South Seas, the girls do not dance in the moonlight and the men do not sing on calm nights. Rhyness and mistrust are more easily aroused, but all this is a long way from the sadness and reserve which, like the black horsehair and the Mongolian eyes, are summarily attributed to the Indian on the basis of appearances, as though there were but a single family between the Bering Strait and the Strait of Magellan.

The "village" was very small. It consisted of two large [illegible] small, empty, somewhat dilapidated oblong house, in which I took up my residence. Between the houses stretched the "[illegible]," an open place where a few racks stood for drying the white manioca flour spread out on mats, where in the center lay a long, slender log for sitting, and, toward the edge, there grew a few stalks of cotton, Orleans bushes (Bixa orellana), and Ricinus plants. Numerous fruit trees were planted all around, bakayuva palms (Acrocomia), mangaba /fruit of the mangabeira/ (Hancornia speciosa), fruta de lobo (Solanum lycocarpum), and a sort of avenue of rarely pikí trees (Caryocar butyrosum). Toward the east a path led to the "lacher" across the nearby brook, toward

/74 cont./

226 and sought to drive the fish into them. It was an amusing sight: the girls extremely agile, the men less quick, fat Yapú in particular not at all in his element apparently, much laughing and splashing, in the air a few hovering dragonflies and humming bees without number, on the shore under the tree the busily commenting old Poleko, who leaned with his left hand on a stick and held pressed under his upper arm on the same side the very superfluous stone ax. The fish were called ponid or porid, the ceui of the Bacairiens.

482 [22] The bark canoe that I had ordered was ready on September 18: the stone ax had worked slowly, but very neatly. Four men carried the vessel to the river: on their shoulders they had placed rings plaited out of brown bast and with exactly the same appearance as those our market women wear on their heads.

[23 (114)] I had now been alone with the good Bakairi for more than a week and I noticed that they were becoming somewhat impatient. They asked for too often when the "younger brothers" were coming. What I had carried with me in the way of valuables was long since in their possession anyway: even my amdma ikdzo ("figure of the lizard"), a reptile with glass scales and ruby-red eyes, which they had greedily attempted to get belonged to them.

But our good understanding remained the same up to the final hour. If it had been up to me, I would have preferred to spend the entire rainy season with them, although I could not get [illegible] and I was also suffering from digestive upsets. My first impressions 151 about the peaceable and sympathetic character of my hosts needed no correction. The elders were wise and solicitous, the young people vigorous and agile, the women industrious and domestic, all of them well-meaning, a little vain, and, with the exception of a few mothers absorbed by their duties, always gay and talkative. All were honest. No one ever took anything of mine, lost things were often brought to me, anything that I had received in trade was always regarded as my property.

/74 cont./

● 157 In short, Bakairí lira, the Bakairí are good. It would be foolish to misunderstand tem in the Rousseau sense, for there was not a trace of any kind ofidealism. they were nothing but the product of very simple an undisturbed conditions and gave the visitor who approached wh eyes accustomed to motion and strife a picture of an "idyl." Whether one comes from Gienbach, river, or sea, one will feel the magic of a quiet lagoon, that is all.

/75/

II.

Psychological notes abouthe attitude of the Bakairí toward new things. Limits of understanding. Studies with the one on special duty. Difficulties of unerstanding and of linguistic recording substantives verbs, superordinate concepts.

123 152 I have reported aout the interest that the Bakairí took in my clothing. It gradual turned to the pockets in particular, and they soon knew exactly tat was hidden in this one and what in that one.

"Had I made this and trousers myself?" This question, which annoyed me, alwes came up. "Had I made the hammock, the mosquito myself?" They were strangely affected by the fact that there was nothing thi came to light in all my property for which I had answered in e affirmative. It was clearly to be seen that the objec... what origin they could picture to themselves to a certain extnt a... more actively occupied their attention. The texture ofhe Paraguayan hammock was felt and eagerly discussed every day.

They wanted to have everything. "Ura" "(it is) mine" was the simple explanation. The men preferred for themselves the practical thing, f wives and children the ornaments, for themselves knives, fthe former beads. At sight of the beads, the women became passively excited and only my tin plate was sought with the same overeagerness. "Buttons" seemed to be regarded as a kind of bed. Among several women I discovered ornaments that came on our first expedition and had traveled

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/77 cont./

115 The various men on detached duty were very different in
•157 their usefulness for my purposes. Some tired too quickly, others were too unsteady. Fat, peasant-like Yapã, for example, yawned after a few minutes, and his face seemed to say, "Sir, you are asking too much," and Luchu, the vain fop, only wanted to amuse himself. Of the younger ones, only the remarkable Kulekule was of any use to me. He was, in fact, taciturn and reserved, but he obviously liked to come, laughed quietly to himself, and then when he opened his mouth to speak, he answered better than the rest. He had received beads from me for a pot, but he had to give them up. I presented him with new ones and did not accept another pot that he brought me. He was happy about that, gave
[123] me a bowl of the insipid pogu drink, and sat down beside me, leaning his head confidently against my shoulder. My most faithful guardian was Paleko. With his long hair sprinkled with gray, his fine old face, he could very well have been /78/ director
emeritus of a Gymnasium. In fact, we were often reminded of European physiognomies, whose owners would perhaps protest at being compared to a naked Indian. Ehrenreich and I, for example, were jokingly and seriously in complete agreement that we recognized a couple of gentlemen from the Berliner Anthropologischen Gesellschaft on the Kulisehu; naturally these gentlemen did not resemble the Indians, but the Indians resembled the
123 gentlemen. I was alone with Paleko for half days at a time. Now and then, Eva or my intended or the Egyptian came alone or together, giving the two of us a little company.

Paleko plaited dainty little baskets, smoothed water
twined twine out of palm fibers, and did whatever else there was
126 in the way of such light tasks requiring patience. He gave me not
191 only words and sentences from his mother tongue, but also a list of Nahuquá words, which proved that he had associated a great deal
184 with these neighbors. He put less value on learning my language than the young people did. I would rather have given them German words instead of the Portuguese, but I regarded it as my duty not to confuse the poor souls for the future. Since my knowledge of Bakairí was still very meager, I progressed but slowly.

/18 cont./

175 622 of the Paranatinga Bakairí was already the same Antonio who had accompanied Karl von den Steinen on his two expeditions to the Xingu River and who had become acquainted on his return from the first of these expeditions with Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires. President Antonio Correa da Costa confirmed his [648] caciqueship, extending his authority over the whole region of the Indians who lived on the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, naming him the comandante of all the Indians of the upper 175 Xingu River. This extension of the authority of Cacique Antonio 622 by the president of the state was instigated, according to 648 Herrmann Meyer, (22) by the same Paulo Castro who, in the

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22. Dr. Herrmann Meyer, "Über seine zweite Reise in Central-Brasilien (IV. Xingú-Expedition) /On His Second Journey in Central Brazil (IV. Xingu Expedition)/," aus einem Brief an Herrn Prof. Dr. Karl von den Steinen /from a letter to Prof. Karl von den Steinen/, Cuiabá, d. March 5, 1899. (Verh. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin. Vol. XXVI, 1899, pp. 261-263), p. 263.

years following his participation in Karl von den Steinen's expedition to the Xingu River, traveled through these regions several times in his tireless search for the "martyrs," and thus had had the opportunity to meet the Bakairí of the Paranatinga. Cacique Antonio then for a long time was the most influential figure in the subsequent development not only of the western Bakairí but also of the eastern Bakairí. He had been born in the Limoeira handicrafts center and came from a family who had lived for a long time in the Rio Paranatinga aldea. The most remote ancestors of whom he had knowledge had still

/18 cont./

195 159 622 648

lived in the vicinity of the falls. His grandfather, Karavako, and his father, Severiari, had participated in the above-mentioned expedition for revenge undertaken against the Kayabí in which the two Kayabí women who lived in the Rio Paranatinga aldea were captured. At the time of Karl von den Steinen's expedition, his parents were no longer living, but he had an older brother living with his wife and with a small son in the Paranatinga aldea. As a companion to Karl von den Steinen in the year 1888, Antonio had met in the Reducão de Bororo de Thereza Christina, situated on the Rio S. Lourenzo /São Lourenço River/, the Bororo Indian woman Rosa, well known for the fact that while a prisoner of Officer Duarte, she had undertaken to mediate in the agreement /Provvencia/ between Bororo and Brazilians so that it became possible to establish the above-mentioned Bororo reduction /pueblo of Christianized Indians/. She was a widow at the time and Antonio took her along toward the Paranatinga. Rosa brought with her a small son, five or six years of age, who was raised in the house of Cacique Antonio and who later, under the name of José /19/ Cotunda, achieved a certain fame in the Bakairí community of the Paranatinga, so that I must refer to him several times in what follows.

195 166

Already in the last decade of the past century, when Hermann Meyer passed the aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí in his two expeditions to the Xingu River in the years 1896 and 1897, much activity was taking place there. (23) Antonio with

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23. Dr. Hermann Meyer. "Über seine Expedition nach Zentral Brasilien /On His Expedition toward Central Brazil/." Mitteil. d. Verhandl. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde z. Berlin. Vol. XXIV, 1897, pp. 172-198. Nota: "Berichte über seine zweite

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Xingú-Expedition /Report on His Second Xingu Expedition/." February 3, 1900. Verh. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde z. Berlin, Vol. XXVII 1900, pp. 112-128. Idem., "Uber seine zweite Reise in Central Brasilien." loc. cit.

175 Antonio with
166 his stepson José Corosado, already an adult, had then visited
159 several times the Bakairí in the region of the tributaries of the
622 Xingu River, and a big part of these had move in with their
162 fellow countrymen of the Rio Paranatinga, what Theodor Koch, a participant in Herrmann Meyer's second condition to the Xingu River, estimated the population of the idea of the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí, at this date, at more than 60 individuals. (24)

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24. Dr. Theodor Koch, "Reise in Mato Grosso (Brasilien). Expedition in das Quellgebiet des Xingú /Journey in Mato Grosso (Brazil). Expedition to the Region of the Headwaters of the Xingu/." Communication. d. K. K. Geogr. Ges. in Vienna, p. 335.

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At this time, the Rio Batovy Bakairí had canoes and also a port on the Rio Jatobá. Also the Nahuduá /Nahua/ had then visited for the first time the journey to the Rio Paranatinga and had carried away from there sugar cane al porotos /French beans/ for planting. (25)

25. Dr. Herrmann Meyer, "Bericht uber seine zweite Xingú-Expedition." loc. cit., p. 127.

/21 cont./

622 that he still kept from those days. Antonio had no children by
115 Doña Rosa. I had the opportunity to become acquainted with
[123] her when, returning in poor health from the Rio Kuliseku, I
was most generously accommodated in her house although
Antonio was away.

342 José Corondo's house, situated in front of his stepfather
352 Antonio's house, was just as large and built in the same style.
353 Its interior gave much more of a native impression than Antonio's
house. In the half-dark rooms several women lay in the ham-
mocks /22/ among them one with José's little daughter, who
was only a few weeks old. All the walls in the house showed in
the upper part, directly under the ceiling, boards painted in
black and white. These frezes made by the Xinguanos showed
the typical paintings of the Bakairí. All of the decorations
known to the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River regions appeared
in these paintings, such as, for example, the figures called
• 159 ukuri, merechu, and maimai. José, in spite of his youth, had
191 already had a great deal of experience. The hole in his lower
lip at once recalled his early childhood among his own fellow
[171] countrymen, the Bororo, whose idiom he still knew. As al-
ready mentioned above, he had come with his mother to the
house of Cacique Antonio when he was a boy of five or six, but
he had received part of his education in the capital, Cuiabá,
so that he was better acquainted than any other Rio Paranatinga
Bakairí with the Portuguese language, which he also used in
159 talking with his mother. When he was an adult, Cacique
619 Antonio had taken him along on a trip to the Batovy and Kuliseku
[619] [illegible] father because he had become too involved with the pretty girls
of the first aldea of the Rio Kuliseku Bakairí and had thus
damaged the good relations with the inhabitants of that aldea.
The anger of the inhabitants of the first Rio Kuliseku aldea
caused by José Corondo's behavior still continued at the time of
my journey to the Rio Kuliseku, and José did not dare to ac-
company me to that aldea because he had learned that its

159 619 /22 cont./
inhabitants planned to poison him. So he remained in the port near our canoes. But the difficulties this caused me were compensated for by the fact that during his visit to the second aldea of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí, he had married a local Indian girl and taken her to the Rio Paranatinga.

159 593 114 José was already trying then in every possible way to become independent from his stepfather. I found this out primarily from a conversation between José and his mother which I overheard during my stay in Antonio's house. Already then he had several Xinguanos working in his service, and although they were not as numerous as the Xinguanos in the service of Cacique Antonio, this competition could be seen as a factor that was beginning to curtail Antonio's power, which had reached its zenith at the time, and that threatened sooner or later to lead to a violent outcome. This discord between Antonio and his son-in-law /sic/ was important to the outcome of the expedition I had undertaken to the Rio Kulisehu insofar as José Conrado was ready to accompany me with his brother-in-law Chico, who was from the second Bakairí aldea on the Rio Kulisehu, while Antonio made his help to my undertaking contingent on inordinately high demands which far exceeded my then rather scant resources for travel. Finally I was able to persuade Antonio to let me have two of his people to accompany me to the embarkation point on the Rio Kulisehu and then to return with my pack oxen to the Rio Paranatinga.

619 182 As a result of the active and close contact which had prevailed since the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions between the Bakairí of the Paranatinga and their fellow country- [illegible] they were now so that the former had regained a more native character. I have already 353 mentioned that José Conrado's large home showed friezes with 619 paintings of a purely Bakairí nature. Antonio was again partici- 182 pating, painted above the waist, in native dances and because 756 of the frequency of illnesses at the time among the Paranatinga Bakairí, he wanted to induce a doctor from the second Bakairí

/26 cont./

114 361 the Rio S. Manuel and the Rio Paranatinga (officially named Rio Telles Pires), encountered the Bakairí of the Rio Novo and the Rio Paranatinga and those who had settled at the "Cabeceira do Chapadão." (31)

31. Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa, loc. cit., p. 70.

361 622 In the aldea situated on the Rio Novo there still lived at this time the old cacique, Reginaldo, who then wore a long, white beard. He had good plantations, he carried on some [249] raising of cattle and horses, and he had a stand of rubber trees 361 from which he had rubber sought. (32) A small group of

32. Ibid.

Bakairí from the Arinos region lived at this time on the Cabeceira do Pedão, a tributary of the Rio Arinos. They were the Bakairí, [423] [464] André, and four fellow tribesmen who owned plantations and worked as rubber workers. (33)

33. Ibid., pp. 70 and 71.

● 159 622 593 211 Meanwhile changes had taken place among the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí. Antonio was still cacique of the aldea, which was still at the same place, slightly downriver from the mouth of the São Manuel River on the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires), where it had been set up after the death of Cacique Felipe. Since the aldea consisted at this time of seven houses, it may be assumed that Antonio still commanded a relatively large number of Bakairí. But he was no longer the sole ruler of all the Paranatinga Bakairí. The differences which 159 593 361 had already existed for a long time between Antonio and his nephew, José Corondo, had become intensified, and after a serious quarrel between them, José Corondo had left Antonio's

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159 aldea and established with his people his own village, situated
593 13 kilometers downriver on the right side of the Rio Paranatinga
361 (Rio Telles Pires) and four kilometers from the main river on the small Ribeirão Azul. This was the same place where at the time of my trip in the year 1927 the Puesto de Simões Lopes /Simões Lopes Post/ was.

159 Through Antonio Pyrineus de Souza we know that Dona Rosa
593 Sororo, José Corosado's mother and for many years Cacique Antonio's wife, had died in January, 1913 in her son's village.
[194] /27/ From this piece of information it may be deduced, on the one hand, that José Corosado's move to the Ribeirão Azul had already taken place before the year 1913, and on the other hand, that Rosa Sororo, in the quarrel between her husband and her son, followed the latter and left Antonio. The latter had already married in 1915 a young woman who, according to Antonio Pyrineus, was a daughter of old Cacique Reginaldo by
[114] a Kayabí woman. Possibly Antonio Pyrineus made a mistake with respect to this piece of information, for we know through Karl von den Steinen that the cacique who had married young Luiza Kayabí was old Caetano, who was then cacique of the aldea situated on the Rio Paranatinga, while I never heard it said that the wife of Cacique Reginaldo, whom I knew in person, was a Kayabí. If the information that the second wife of Cacique Antonio was a Kayabí is correct, I would presume that she was the daughter of Luiza Kayabí, who was still living at the time of my trip in the year 1927, as the Simões Lopes Post
natural daughter, of old Cacique Caetano.

162 A considerable increase in the population of the Rio
361 Paranatinga had been caused by the fact that Cacique Kurunã
166 of the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River had moved with 180 Xinguanos to the Rio Paranatinga. Cacique Kurunã's new aldea was situated eight kilometers downriver from Cacique Antonio's aldea, on the left side of the Rio Paranatinga and some 200 meters from the river. But of these 180 Xinguanos, already in

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Sept. 1928 to Aug. 1929
/Results of My Two Year Exploratory
Trip in Mato Grosso. Sept. 1928
to Aug. 1929/." pp. 86-88.
Zeitschrift fur Ethnologie.
Annual Set 60. Heft 1/3.

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115

In Cuiabá I had already encountered some Bakairí who had come from Sundes Lopes with a herd of oxen to the capital. Since at that time the revolutionaries, led by /Luiz Carlos/ Prestes, were passing through Mato Grosso and also were making the vicinity of Cuiabá unsecure, these Bakairí were prevented from undertaking their return journey for the same reason I was unable to carry out my projected trip to Sundes Lopes. They were four men and one boy of mix, and when they visited me one day in my house, it turned out that one of these Indians, called Marcellino Cuminage, or by his native name, Tsingnie, came from the second Bakairí aldeia on the Rio Kuiseltu. At the time of my stay in this aldeia 26 years earlier he had been a small boy, but he still remembered me well. It was interesting to note how the memory gradually came back to him when I played on my violin the same melody that I had played many times in the Mairinaiés aldeia among the Kuikuru Bakairí. He asked one of the other Bakairí what my name was, and when I told him that my name was "Doctor Maximo," he knew at once that his memory had not deceived him and he greeted me as an old acquaintance. Naturally, from this [illegible] and my former with his cousin [illegible], whose native name was Kaiuru, and with the other Bakairí, and since some /29/ of these Bakairí were quite familiar with the Portuguese language I had a good chance to take down linguistic notes and to obtain at this time exact data on the changes which had taken place with respect to conditions among the Bakairí since my former journey. Among other news they told me that old Cacique Reginaldo had lived on for a long time and had

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114 died a short time before. Cacique Karib, who so kindly
115 had received me so hospitably in Murimaim aldeia, was still
159 living but very old. He was quite isolated, for his wife as well
622 as his two daughters, whom I had known as little girls, had
died. Cacique Antonio was also still alive but was also already
old and had remained with his family and a few people at the
location of the old Bakairi aldeia of the Paranatinga Bakairi.
622 Antonio always clung stubbornly to the idea that the land bound
159 by the Serra Azul, the Ribeirão Bonito, and the Rio Paranatinga
belonged to him and his Bakairi, and he did not want to leave
his aldeia so as not to lose the right to this region. As for the
114 changes brought about by the establishment of the Xingu Lower
Post, he maintained a very cautious attitude and did not recog-
nize the authority of the Post administration, according to
which the Bakairi Posto, was named cacique of the Kuikuro
in his place and appointed to administer the affairs of this part
of the Bakairi of the Xingu Lower Post. When I saw new
Cacique Antonio, he told me repeatedly that he was still
Capitão and the legitimate chief of his fellow tribesmen.
Among other news received from the Bakairi in Cuiabá, I heard
that José Cavalcante and his brother-in-law Chico, who had ac-
companied me with the latter on my expedition to the Rio
Kulisehu, had died since.

In the course of the journey which I finally undertook,
114 leaving Cuiabá on January 27, 1887, I was able to make only
122 a passing visit to Cacique Antonio in his aldeia, but he himself
159 visited me at Xingu Lower several times. (Cf. Fig. 1.) I was
(123) very well received in his house as an old friend and treated to
a glass of genuine drink. Whence Antonio had so name by Rosa
Soares, he had after her death three wives by his second wife.
The photograph shown as Figure 2 shows Antonio before his
house with his family, and his horse on the right. The condition
of his house, in contrast with that of previous times when I
visited him at the height of his power, conveyed an impression
114 of poverty. In a small house adjoining that to Antonio's, I also
115

Fil cont./

dressed in Sangrao manner, and with his rough beard he bore little resemblance to the photograph taken by Karl von den Steinen some 30 years earlier. In another house there still lived Lulu Kayabi, whom Karl von den Steinen had met when she was the young wife of old Cacique Cutrano.

Most of the Bakairí whom I had known 28 years before in Maugeri and Moimento aldeias had perished in a flu epidemic that had wreaked havoc among the population of Mato Grosso some years earlier. Since the high number of deaths among the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River was attributed to the witchcraft of evil neighboring tribes, especially the Mehinaká and the Nahuká, who had been envious of the economic benefits derived by the Bakairí from their contact with civilization, all the Bakairí of the Batovy and Kulisehu rivers had moved to the Rio Paranatinga. Undoubtedly petty jealousies and other discords had caused these Bakairí, called Kinguaxos, not to get along with their fellow natives on the Paranatinga, and for this reason they had settled at some distance from the post, farther downriver. I found the first of these Kinguaxo settlements on the place where the Kilombo Azul enters the Rio Paranatinga. It was situated on the right side of the river and consisted of two small houses. (Cf. Figures IX and XI.) A little farther downriver I reached a Bakairí plantation upon which was a rancho occupied by some people. (Cf. Figure XI.)

Fil/ From there a path led to the principal settlement of the Bakairí who had moved from the Rio Kulisehu. It consisted of two rather large houses. (Cf. Figure XI.) I was told that a little farther downriver there were some more settlements, and among them also that of my old friend from Moimento aldeia, Karla. I had already encountered Karla when I visited Cacique Simão, and he had recognized me. He was no longer cacique, and I was told that at the time of my stay in Moimento he had merely been a temporary cacique in the place of his brother who was then away. He had grown much older and no longer

[illegible]

had people at his command so that he no doubt lived in great poverty. Some time later he visited me at the Sundhu Lagoa Post and brought me a beautiful bow with arrows and an old-style necklace made of stone and shell beads.

During my stay at Sundhu Lagoa I twice visited the Kingwana settlement situated on the Rio Paranatinga, and each time I was received very kindly and entertained well by the inhabitants, among whom I still found some acquaintances from Mairaiuna. There I again met Macedilina Camungo and his family (cf. Figures 15-17), and also the son of the Bakairí, Chuva, who had accompanied me on my previous trip from the Rio Paranatinga to Mairaiuna aldeia and who had since died. The son of the Chuva, called Anabé, had been raised on the ranch of Jorge Lemos so that he was good at the tasks related to a trip with such cows. I hired him for the rest of my journey, and I must mention here that he was always a good and faithful companion on my trip to the Kayabi Post, Pedro Dantas, and on the return to Cuiabá, at one time being my only companion and going through many difficulties with me. I will remember one day, when things were going very badly for us, he said to me, "My father, Ketuya, always stayed long you on your trip, and so now I stay over you too."

Also on the right side of the Rio Paranatinga but some distance from the river and beyond the Rio Vermelho that flows into the river below the Sundhu Lagoa Post, was the settlement of the Bakairí who had moved from their two aldeias situated on the Rio Novo. The cacique of this group of Bakairí was at the time a man of advanced age called Roberto. (Cf. Figure 12.) The settlement consisted of 11 houses, only three of which were occupied at the time. But besides these houses Roberto also had a house at the Sundhu Lagoa Post itself, where he occasionally stayed with his people. On leaving Sundhu Lagoa to continue my journey to the Pedro Dantas Post, I had the opportunity to visit the houses of the Bakairí who had come from the Rio Novo.

/the cont. /

114 197 304 inhabitants of the upper Xingu River never had the custom, but that I had the opportunity to observe it among several of my Mato Grosso attendants, who had presumably adopted it through African influences. If the present-day Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post file their teeth, this is no doubt an innovation brought about by foreign influences.

165 204 648 We know through Petrullo that the high mortality of the Paranatinga Bakairí unfortunately has continued in spite of the care of the Inspectoria do Protecção ao Indio /Indian Protection Service/. (61) It seems that fevers are rapidly diminishing the

61. Vincent M. Petrullo, loc. cit., pp. 128 and 129.

Bakairí population. According to Petrullo, syphilis, caught through contact with the whites, probably has also caused high mortality among these Indians.

622 159 178 Finally, I must still mention the last news I received when I had already left Mato Grosso. It was the news of the death of the man who had withdrawn from all innovations at the close of his life because he wished to retain his independence but who nevertheless will remain the best-known Bakairí in Bakairí history: the death of Carugue Antonio.

184 198 199

E. Change and Continuity in the Cultural Goods of the Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post

In discussing in the preceding section the history of the Bakairí, I mention that the sedentary Bakairí on the Rio Paranatinga and the Rio Novo, before they entered into relations with their fellow countrymen of the settlements of the upper Xingu River, have still retained some of the articles of their /35/ ancestral culture although they had almost completely become Brazilian campesinos. Through contact with the Xinguanos and as a

/122 cont./

191 Unfortunately neither Carlotta nor Luisa and Maria spoke one syllable of their mother tongue.

837 The young men had the old women. It is therefore not improbable that Luis, who himself boasted of the conquest of three women's hearts, was not wrong when he maintained that occasional /123/ unfaithfulness is not uncommon and also is not

593 severely judged. The good-natured, aged Caetano, he said, even fell sick, to his astonishment, a short time after the visit of the Martyrios expedition, but he was unable to be rallen with his Luisinha for more than a few days.

162

Luisa Cajibí and Carlotta Parecí.

847 The use of abortive remedies is said to be common and to
• 161 explain the small number of children. The end of this community can clearly be foreseen.

162 The following was the result of my census:
62 Felipe (absent) married to Carlotta Parecí, children.
[125] Caetano " " Luisa Cajibí, children.
Miguel } brothers " " Feliciana, one small daughter.
Joaquim }
João } brothers
Antonio } (our companion).
Joaquina, sister of Miguel and Joaquim.
Marianna.

/200/

II. Hunting, Agriculture, and "Stone Age" Culture.

Population figures. Location of the villages. Combination of ancient agriculture and the world view of hunters. Hunting and fishing must furnish the most important tools for the tribes lacking metals, for whom the expression "Stone Age" is incorrect. Stone-as monopoly, teeth, bones, shells, feathers. List of useful plants and distribution according to tribes. No bananas. Plant names as evidence of continuous development. Lack of smoke-curing flour-beverages proves that simplicity is not the same as degeneration. Combination of hunting and agriculture made possible through the division of labor of the sexes. Indian women do the agriculture, they invent pots to replace gourds, the men do the roasting, the women the boiling. Culture with agriculture, pottery, and the preparation of flour was spread and maintained by foreign women after wars, in particular by Nu-Aruak women.

The population of the Schingú /Xingu/ source region probably amounts to approximately 2500-3000 souls. I am not in a position to give more than a very superficial estimate. Even in the third Bakairí village, the young women and girls fled into the woods when we arrived. Usually the fugitives gradually returned, to be sure, but we never knew for certain whether we were seeing before us the normal number of inhabitants. The opposite also occurred, namely, that visitors from the neighboring villages had come in, and the company surrounding us seemed too large. The smallest villages consisted of only two family-houses, the largest of almost 20. In general, it will be correct if one reckons for the villages, depending on their size, a population of 30 to 150 and, where it is high, up to 200 inhabitants.

Only the Trumaí and, beyond Schingú-Kathiene, the Suyá lived along the river bank. These were the most warlike and restless tribes. One might regard the Suyá as the pike in a fish pond. The rest lived in peaceful security, often more than two hours of travel inland from the river. But while the river in the region of the Bakairí /Bacairi/ was still narrow and had

/Sub cont./

			1940	1972
14 Dessois Cabaçaes		110	Regiao do Jauri and Campos da Caiçara	40
15 Coyapós		200	Between sources of the S. Lourenço and the Tequary, between Peranã and Paranatitiba	400
16 Cornelas		?	Source region of the S. Lourenço	?
/Sub/				
17 Bacaiaiás		200	Source region of Paranaíbinga	200
18 Capitã		?	Source region of Paranaíbinga	?
19 Barbados		400	Paraguay to the right and Serra dos Parecis	400
20 Paresis		200	Campos and Serra dos Parecis	200
21 Mainhanãs		400		600
22 Cabixis		200		200
23 Nambiquaras		400	Rio do Peixe (to the Aripuã)	600
24 Tapanhunas		600	Ribeirão (Iranã) dos Tapanhunas (to the Aripuã)	600
25 Apiacás		2700	Aripuã and Juruena	2700
26 Mequens		?	East of the Guaporé	?
27 Guaxeyns		?	West of the Guaporé	?
28 Canoeiros		?	Both banks of the Mamoré and Madeira	?
29 Pacás		?	Eastern bank of the Mamoré	?
30 Cavahibs		?	Western bank of the Mamoré	?
31 Jacarés		?		
32 Campinas		200	Both of the Mamoré and Madeira	1000
33 Aribas		?	Both of Madeira up to the Jamari (1)	?
		1 30020		66 70

1. Empires into the Madeira 14 leagues below the cataract of Santo Antonio.

/13 cont./

Going on from the Rio Preto Bakairí, on whom we do not have more precise data than that they were few, the remaining Bakairí population and, especially, those of the Rio Paranatinga was also very scant in this period. As Karl von den Steinen, on his second expedition to the Xingu River in the year 1887, did not have the opportunity to visit the Bakairí of the Rio Novo, we have no precise data concerning their population in this year. We only know that their population three years earlier, in the year 1884, was 53, among whom were 16 men, 19 women, and 20 children. In the same year the population of the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí was much smaller because these Indians had been hit, some six years before, by a measles epidemic. The entire population of the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí at the time consisted of only 10 men, eight women, and four children, of whom five men, three women, and a boy were /14/ absent, and some of these were not expected to return.(9) This number

9. Karl v.d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, op. cit., p. 120. Idem., Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens, op. cit., p. 25.

is increased, however, if we add the two Parecí women and the two Kayabí women who were married to Bakairí men. When Karl von den Steinen visited the Bakairí village again, in the year 1887, one Bakairí man had died in the interval, some had moved to the center, and an increase in birth had occurred. If we add up the above-mentioned figures and include the four Parecí and Kayabí women, the total number for all the Bakairí of the Rio Novo and the Rio Paranatinga reaches 61 individuals.

The above-mentioned aliens of the western Bakairí were, at the time under the Indian Superintendent in Cuiabá, and the administration of the zone of Mato Grosso has exerted repeated influence on the western Bakairí men, increasing the authority of the caciques or strengthening it with insignia. Thus Cacique

/21 cont./

Reguaiate and his people had a large number of cattle and several saddle horses. Although among themselves they spoke only in the Bakairí language, all of the men knew the Brazilian language, and it was said that Cacique Reguaiate knew how to read and speak some French. The Rio Novo Bakairí maintained at the time active relations with their fellow countrymen on the Rio Paranatinga. With the eastern Bakairí they hardly had any contacts, except for the Bakairí Joaquim who was the wife of Cacique Antonio of the Paranatinga aldeia and who had a young Bakairí from the Rio Sangue river in his service.

Different were the conditions of the Bakairí in the Rio Paranatinga aldeia at the time of my visit. While the population at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions had dwindled in such a way that Karl von den Steinen foresaw the end of this community, the population of the aldeia had increased in the meantime with the addition of numerous Bakairí from the Xingu River region. The number of these Bakairí, called by their Paranatinga fellow countrymen Xinguanos, climbed to 34 at the time of my stay with these Indians. The leader of the community was Antonio, who was at the time at the peak of his power. The only insignia /22/ of his rank as commandante of the Indians of the upper Xingu River region, officially granted by the Mato Grosso government, were a pair of red soldier's trousers with a wide white stripe which ran down the side of each leg, but a more practical symbol of his power were several good firearms hanging in his house, which he also used occasionally, according to the Mato Grosso men, against undesirable fellow countrymen. The majority of the Xinguanos then living in his aldeia were totally dependent upon him with regard to economic conditions and made up a valuable component of his power, for he had supplied the most trustworthy men among them with firearms. This small military force was important above all to cause contact between the Rio Paranatinga and the tributaries of the Xingu River against the Kayabí who had unpremeditatly begun at the time to

/2a cont./

231 a table made of vertes and provided regularly with meat, if possible monkey meat.

178 Among the varie crafts of the Kuikuru Bakairí, pottery-
323 making, plaiting, & spinning were still maintained in the
285 ancestral form. Fourpreparation was also still the same as
283 described by Karl von den Steinen for times past. The only
254 essential difference appeared in regard to woodworking, for
179 which at this time steel tools were used, so that the craft no
322 longer depended on one axe, drill with stone point, chisels,
412 and the teeth of fish or other animals. Another acquisition from
301 the various expeditio which had passed through their territory
were ear pendants ofmulticolored glass beads with which many women and children especially, were well provided. European clothing was seen on in exceptional cases. Thus the first man
291 who came out of houses in Morgori sides to greet me had on trousers which he haeeen given at the time of a visit to the Rio Paranatinga sluand which surely had never been washed since. As a rule theiar small triangle of bark was the sole
291 usual garment of a women and young girls, and a fine braid belt and bodyuint the men's apparel.

114 When Karl von a Steinen visited the Rio Kuikuru Indians,
361 the first Bakairí slue called Morgori, consisted of only two
314 large houses of kindo and one small house for Iwata with no
315 cowl hole, while thesecond and third sides each consisted of three large houses ofcadeb and of one house for Iwata. Thus the number of houses Bakairí sides at the time of my visit
161 among these Indians of interest, and for the reason I do not hold to correct Hermann Meyer's observation that the tribe was already "greatly decreasing" at the time. (30) No doubt there

114 361 161 30. Hermann Meyer, Ibid., p. 126.

were then only two Bakairí sides on the Rio Kuikuru, the first, Morgori, already mentioned by Karl von den Steinen, and the

/24 cont./

second, Mamaoeti, also called Muruka, but for a short /25/ time there was also an aldea called Bodoko in the region that extends between the Kulisehu and Batovy rivers. From the fact that the wife of the Bakaií, Mayuká, who was the head of one of the Mamaoeti houses, lived in that aldea, it follows that there were intimate relations between the inhabitants of these two aldeas.

Unfortunately I was unable to obtain, during my journey to the Rio Kulisehu, exact data on the population of the first aldea of Maigoni and of Bodoko aldea situated between the Kulisehu and Batovy rivers, just as it is not possible to determine exactly the population movement of the Bakaií of the Rio Kulisehu in the period of time which elapsed between Karl von den Steinen's expedition and my stay among these Indians in the year 1931. But I can well recall clearly that the population of Maigoni aldea had more than the 23 individuals it had at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expedition. Also, from the fact that the aldea consisted at the time of my trip of four houses of Kuduk instead of the two houses that Karl von den Steinen found, it can be concluded that the population had increased considerably in the interval. As for the inhabitants of the second Rio Kulisehu aldea, Karl von den Steinen estimated them at some 41 individuals, which corresponds more or less to the population of Mamaoeti aldea in later times, which I estimated at 41 individuals. The population of the third Bakaií aldea, which had formerly existed on the Kulisehu, northward, according to Karl von den Steinen, some 100 individuals, a figure that seems very high compared with the number (three) of houses in the aldea and with the population of the other aldeas. If we add up the figures estimated and noted by Karl von den Steinen for the population of the Bakaií aldeas which existed at the time of his expedition on the Rio Kulisehu, we get a total of some 164 Bakaií who lived on the Rio Kulisehu. When I was in Mamaoeti there were 41 individuals present in the aldea, but I heard that a number of the inhabitants were

/Sic cont./

114 163 361 temporarily absent at the time, so we must take into account a population in Mainaiem of more than 63 persons. I have already mentioned above that the population of Maigum aldea at the time of my trip was much larger than Karl von den Steinen estimated it to be at an earlier time. Still to be added is the population of the aldea recently founded between the Kuliseiu and Batovy rivers, whose total we do not know, because it should undoubtedly be regarded as having been founded by the Kuliseiu Bakairí and a part of the Kinguaxos, who have moved temporarily or for longer to the Rio Paranatinga.

115 681 It is certain that the epitaphs of the expeditions made to the regions of the sources of the Xingu River have been played out with regard to the subsequent history of the Bakairí of the Kuliseiu and Batovy rivers. Thus, Cacique Tumayoua of the first aldea on the Kuliseiu, who had first helped Karl von den Steinen in his undertaking in these regions, had been murdered by his own fellow countrymen shortly before the time of my expedition. I have already mentioned that the inhabitants of this same aldea had lain in wait for José Cacuado because he had become too involved /sic/ with the women. Another consequence of these expeditions was the fact that the relations of the Rio Kuliseiu Bakairí with the other tribes that lived farther down the river, especially the Nahukuá and the Nahuquá /Aluitsauá/, had already become strained at the time because these Indians envied the Bakairí for having received the lion's share of the precious articles brought by the explorers. But, in short, the Rio Kuliseiu Bakairí, after their first contact with the whites, had gone on living as before without being discommoded by others. Their social organization, their legal ideas, the form of their economy, their customs, and their crafts were at the time of my stay among them still almost the same as in former times.

114 362 We received the first information on the Bakairí, after my journey, in the year 1931 through Antonio Pyrineus de Souza, who, on the occasion of his expedition devoted to measuring

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In order to protect themselves against the numerous supernatural dangers that surrounded them, the Bakairi /Bacairi/ made use of two methods: shamanism and the social wave, or ritual seclusion. The aim of this article is to examine these two methods of Bakairi culture in the light of data gathered by us (1) and with the help of the existing relevant

1. The data that we present were gathered in 1947, during a visit to the Simões Lopes Indian Post of the Indian Protection Service, which was sponsored by the School of Sociology and Political Science of São Paulo in collaboration with the Institute of Social Anthropology of the Smithsonian Institution. Except where specifically mentioned as a footnote, the data mentioned were obtained from the Simões Lopes Indians.

literature. However, although the Bakairi have been visited from an early date by several ethnologists and their customs have been mentioned in the literature to support ethnological theories, very little is yet known on their culture as a whole. Most of the reports left by scholars do not give a rounded view of Bakairi culture and focus rather on their mythology. On the other hand, the present-day Bakairi are quite acculturated, and it is difficult to obtain complete data on their old culture. We shall attempt nevertheless to try to contribute here to a clarification of the problem.

The Bakairi now number about 200 individuals, according to the estimates of the Indian Protection Service, /205/ in 1947. They live in villages in Mato Grosso, at the Simões Lopes Post of the Indian Protection Service, on the banks of the Paranatinga River, and in groups scattered along the

[949-A]

THE BACAIRI

This brief account of the Bacairi is based on field work done among the Bacairi living in the Government Indian Post on the Rio Paranatinga in June 1947. The field work was carried out in the course of a reconnaissance survey which the writer was then making of some of the central and northern Indian tribes of Mato Grosso. This and other trips at the time were made in a Ford truck put at the disposal of the writer by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. By using a truck the trip to the Paranatinga could be made over the Planalto do Matogrosso in 2 days in contrast to the old route along the Rio Cuiabá which, on horseback with pack mules, takes from 2 to 3 weeks. The writer was accompanied by Fernando Altenfelder Silva of the Escola de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo and by Rev. Thomas Young and Rev. W. L. Buckman of the South American Indian Mission. The Reverend Mr. Young, who has spent more than 18 years among the Bacairi, was of great help in selecting informants and in adding to our knowledge of the Bacairi.

According to estimates made in 1947 by the Brazilian Indian Service (Serviço de Proteção aos Índios) there are between 200 and 250 Bacairi living in the northern part of Mato Grosso State, Brazil, divided between the Indian Post of Simão Lopes on the Rio Paranatinga and the village of Rio Novo some distance to the northwest. The Bacairi claim that the whole tribe originally lived together on the Rio Paranatinga (Sandwiches called the Tapajós River), but attacks by other Indians and Brazilians forced them to move about 80 years ago. Owing to a dispute the tribe split, one group moving north to settle on the banks of the Rio Kulisevu, a tributary of the Xingú River, the other moving to Rio Novo. After about 30 years in the Kulisevu Basin, this group moved to the present location of Simão Lopes, not far from the original Bacairi settlement on the Rio Paranatinga. Although the Rio Novo group has adopted Brazilian customs and manages without Government help, some have moved to Simão Lopes where the Bacairi now live on reservation lands and receive assistance from the

Brazilian Government.

[P 90-4]

	Men	Women	Girls	Boys	Total
Rio Novo	6	10	10	10	36
Paranatinga	7	6	5	8	27
On Rio Batovi:					
First village	5	10	7	6	28
Second village	6	10	17	7	40
Third village	5	13	13	10	41
Fourth village	7	17	10	6	40
Total	36	66	62	46	207

175 By the time Max Schmidt visited the Bacairi in 1900-1901, the Bacairi settlement had diminished. On the Paranatinga he met 24 Bacairi and at Rio Novo, 40. On the Kulu River where Von den Steinen had visited 8 villages, Max Schmidt was able to find only two.

ECONOMY

SHELTER

176 While in the Xingú watershed a Bacairi lived in villages built on the banks of a Rio Kulisevo. A village (*ainudri*) consisted, allowe to eight houses (*ewing*) built in a circle round a central plaza, *ainiu*. The Bacairi here was a large communal building, oblong in shape, with rounded ends and with the roof thatchingreaching to the ground. These large dwellingvillages were occupied by three to five families.

177 In the center of every village ere was a communal or Bororo house (*kadaiti*) which the men kept their ornaments and musical instruments and in which visitors were entertained. Men, women, and children are permitted to enter the *kadaiti*. Attached to the communal house there was a smaller building, only oriented in the direction of the rising sun, in wih the sacred Bororo were kept. Women were a permitted to enter this house, as they were endowed to see the sacred Bororo. The villages ere connected by roads running along the river ish.

HOUSEHOLD

178 In the center of each house the was a storage space (*jiriki*) where maize, meat meal, and other foods were kept in pouchsacks (*kidiki*). Cooking was done in a small shed the back of the house, but food was eaten inere. Around the walls each family had its hammocks (*ondiki*) in which the people slept. Oldfurnishings of the house consisted of mats, baits, clay pots,

/101 cont./

There were two settlements of "*Bacaba*" Bakairi: the *aldeamento* on the Rio Novo, as this first was called, after a tributary of the Arinos, and the *aldeamento* on the Paranatinga. The two villages are not yet old; all the adults were born farther up the Paranatinga, on the "Salto" /waterfall; see the glossary, p. 172/; the Bakairi, however, were probably spread over this entire region in small hamlets, as is shown by the fact that they were noted as far as the Rio das Mortes. In the twenties, when the gold-seeker expedition under the leadership of P. Lugar pushed into this region, they were conquered to Christianity, on which occasion, as Reginaldo related, his grandfather and many others lost their lives.

/102/ We vaguely inquired as to whether he knew about a river beyond the Paranatinga? Today, he replied, this region is completely strange to them. He remembered from his youth, however, that one was supposed to come to a large river if one went from the Paranatinga toward the rising sun, and on this river there were said to be Bakairi still living, the "*antigos*" /the ancients/, who were not Christians.

The two *aldeamentos* are under the administration of the "Inspetor dos Indios" in Cuiabá /Cuiabá/. Reginaldo is a Brazilian expert, his surname is chief of the tribe, Joaquim, is a lieutenant. Our owing to women was due to the fact that they were living in an *aldeamento* two leagues away; the huts which we occupied were used only when the farm work required it or when there were visitors. Reginaldo /Elucidation appears here/ completely forgot to say how sorry he was that he could greet us only as a poor widower.

The village numbered six huts; the population amounted to 50: 18 men, 19 women, 30 children. The soldiers were usually quartered in the big house that Reginaldo otherwise occupied with a few others: a rectangle 17 paces long and five paces wide, which was divided into a number of separate rooms by means of partitions. We occupied the guest house -- it was only 17 paces long. It was modern construction, learned from the colonists. Twenty minutes away we found two deserted old-style huts,

/119 cont./

The abatement on the Pacaisanga was smaller than the one on the Rio Novo. Moreover, the order of the community seemed seriously disturbed. Old Captain Cantano, probably near his eighties, despite his black hair, /120/ had been divested of his sovereignty in favor of a younger man, Felipe, at the instigation of the Mertynga expedition, which, with the help of the Bakaldi, had crossed the Pacaisanga and passed through a section of the mato /wilderness; see the glossary, p. 172./ in a northerly direction. The Bakaldi, of course, felt more obligated to obey Captain Cantano than Captain Felipe, and the result was that each one made himself as independent as possible and worked on his own. Moreover, the tribe had been hard hit about eight years before by sarampo /measles/, an epidemic disease. The Brazilians put most of the blame for the number of deaths on the Indians because, in the heat of the fever, they had always run into the river.

At the time of our visit the Bakaldi population was made up of ten men, five women, three children -- not present were five men, three women, one boy, whose return was, in part, no longer expected. Moreover, there were two Parecí women, one of whom was married among those not present, and two Cayabí women, who had been adopted into the tribe. Finally, two Brazilians, caucasoid-mestiços, who had recovered from the fever in the village, had installed themselves, a mulatto boy and a certain Martin who had a Paraguayan, Cafuzo, as a wife, with a small son. Altogether there were 20 individuals present.

Luis, who had lived an adventurous life, a "philosopho," as he called himself, a "conversador," as his friend Daniel called him, was intimately acquainted with conditions, he observed endlessly and was probably not altogether reliable, but he made himself useful, since the Portuguese of Cantano, who had been the language, consisted of an extremely modest stock by words, "sim senhor" -- "sinto enfadonho" /that's it exactly/ in German -- with the quintessence of his knowledge, so that the Indians soon called him nothing but "Capitão velho." Luis mentioned that Cantano was the son of a Bakaldi father and a [Cayabí-Cayapó. A Tribe Characterized Under SPT Records in the Course of Gerald Cadogan --Ed.]

/120 cont./

mother, but that among his forefathers, as among Reginaldo's, mixture with "Brazilian" blood had taken place. This, however, seemed to be more a conclusion based on the wavy, soft hair of the two, rather than on definite knowledge. In any case, it was noteworthy that Luiz declared the two brothers João and Antonio to be the purest Bakairi; to me, too, they had seemed the most typical physiognomies and most resembled the Rio Novo character. Since Antonio is the one who was induced to accompany us and could thus be photographed in Rio, I may call attention to his picture as the most faithful reproduction of a true Bakairi. Unfortunately the handsome youth had a slightly shortened leg as the result of a fracture, so I contented myself with a bust portrait. The defect was not very pronounced, by the way, and /121/ /Illustration appears here/ /122/ the awkwardness that Antonio, strength and agility themselves, possess in full figure amidst the group of Kamaiurá /see the glossary, p. 171 / (page 28) is largely due to the anxious moment in front of the photographer's apparatus.

Wilhelm made all the other portraits with the camera alone.

Carlotta was a Parecí brought back from Diamantino and the wife of the absent Captain Felipe. Her small eyes and the root of her nose, which was flat from eyebrow level to the inner corner of the eye, distinguished her strikingly from the Bakairi women. The two Caiabí -- a tribe that lives on the lower Rio Verde, a left tributary of the Paranaíba -- had been caught in the forest as children. /Illustration appears here./ The two young and pretty creatures were given as wives to the two oldest matrimonial cripples of the tribe, Cassiano and Miguel, for the immoral reason that the youngest, as the best workers, belong to the mightier men. Delicate skin, fine little nose under the likewise fine nose, eye slits narrowed and drawn up toward the outside, in connection with which, however, the sharply folded upper lid did not overlap, they reminded me of the Japanese type, especially Cassiano's not very feminine little wife.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 20]

/122 cont./

191 Unfortunately neither Cacluma nor Luisa and Nicia spoke one syllable of their mother tongue.

837 The young men had the old women. It is therefore not impossible that Luis, who himself boasted of the conquest of three women's hearts, was not wrong when he maintained that occasional /123/ unfaithfulness is not uncommon and also is not

923 severely judged. The good-natured, aged Cacaxe, he said, even fell sick, to his astonishment, a long time after the visit of the Mariquino expedition, but he was unable to be sullen with his Luisita for more than a few days.

162

Luisa Cajibí and Cacluma Pasnef.

[illegible] The use of abortive remedies is said to be common and to explain the small number of children. The end of this common use clearly be freedom.

162 The following was the result of my census:

[illegible] Felipe (absent) married to Cacluma Pasnef, children:

Cacaxe " " Luisa Cajibí, children:

Miguel, Joaquin, brothers " " Felicisima, one small daughter.

Juan, Antonio, brothers (and companions).

Joaquina, sister of Miguel and Joaquin.

Mariasia.

/123 con./

Agata. — A boy brave (parents dead).

Luis (Salinas), Maria (Brasilia) with wife Carlota (Paraguayan) and child.

I could not express enough about the fortunate circumstance that I was able to make the linguistic survey on the Ica Nova. Even with the intelligent linguistic it had been difficult enough to determine phonetically the innumerable tongue exercises that make up the Selesiff language, but with Captain Milton, who did nothing but nod commendly, and the others who either laughed or grew impatient, nothing could be done.

On the other hand, I am indebted to Cassano for the legends which I shall recall here.

The largest house, which Captain Cassano and Felipe occupied together, was 21 paces long and 9 1/2 paces wide. The roof and walls, the latter supported by cross rods of tacuara /bamboo, see the glossary, p. 172 / covered entirely of burit /see the glossary, p. 174 / straw. Only Miguel owned a round house, the inner frame of tacuara covered with burit leaves. There were seven houses and two new buildings. In addition two pig huts. In the case of one new building, I inquired about the timber that made up the frame. Two tall ananu poles supported the uppermost longitudinal roof-beam of ananu wood (also called de pacu). The sloping side-beams of the roof likewise (called de pacu), the two longitudinal beams guarandi. The smaller posts that supported the roof beams: ximbi, pacu, carapa, bacuri. The roof was also covered with carapa grass.

I visited Miguel, who had an attack of fever, in his ham- /124/ mock. He lay in his cotton hammock and let himself be waited on by pretty Maria. The whole room hung full of calabashes, rice and farinha baskets, skins, arrows — things left by his grandfather. Arrows for more comfortable in the still cool weather often flew in the characteristic hum of the adornments of a neck ornament. With dreadful gestures of disgust, the old man swallowed the bitter quinine and turned his fever-reddened face in the hammock. Maria, in gratitude, baked me a beautiful

(CA. GUERRERO ON P. 178 — Dwelly?

//30 cont.//

We were led into the smallest of the three huts. There we sat down on a long mat lying on the floor. Two supporting beams, adorned with a diadem of parrot feathers and wound at the bottom with a belt of dry grass mats, held up the straw roof. Many elegantly worked arrows were sticking in the wall.

These Beheld had never seen human beings of another color. They said that there were a few more settlements downstream. This was the last Chiliaeize, the one we passed here -- great town -- and the town -- naturally, we were eager to learn this -- runs north, it is called Tamiaraide. After 12 days' journey there comes another, larger one from the left, the Ramaro.

Thus all favorable circumstances seemed to converge and the hardships of the trip were amply outweighed.

We could not endure it much longer in the hut. Outside //32// others appeared, including two women -- one, whose youth and beauty were long gone, busily stripping shoots with flinted knives. A triangular, straw-yellow leaf fastened to a string, which was slung around the hips and drawn through the perineum, constituted her sole clothing. Our friend who was doing the honors wore around his waist three strings, on which were alternately strung bits of mats and black seeds, in each ear lobe two conspicuous yellow feathers, and above the middle a tight band of bark. His hair had a dark reddish sheen. It was cut in fashion style around a bowl, the tonsure was as correct as in other well-known cases where the discoverers of a tribe were guided by it into believing that the hands of Christianity must have been active here earlier. The type of physiognomy was without doubt in conformity with the Beheld.

Soon a second principal figure appeared on the scene: a medium-sized Indian with a fine hooked nose and heavily painted head, who was coming from hunting. He drew near unusually in a roundabout way, talking partly to himself and partly, jeering, to us. We called him the professor because of his incredibly dignified manner of examining every object most minutely, like a person who knows a thing thoroughly, but cannot quite understand why this or that does not fit.

//64 cont.//

The triangular garment of the women, a folded piece of back bark, apparently from the wilmelbi tree, has a base of four centimeters and a height of one to one and a half centimeters.

A girl about ten years old is still completely naked.

The nasal septum of the men is not pierced. The beard hair, of a natural tendency for it to promote, as well as all the hair among the women, was with the exception of the head hair, the eyebrows, and eyelashes, is carefully removed.

Around 10:00 in the forenoon Clouse came with Ambosia; a few men also escaped from hunting, among them the chief, an older gentleman with an eminently serious official face and a fat little belly. We counted ten men, seven women, five boys, four girls.

Clothing of the Bekadi women.

Pechuel-Loesche discussed in how they make fire. They take two long, thin sticks of the same dry wood, into one a notch is scraped, while one man now holds this in position on the ground with two small sticks, a second man twirls the other stick rapidly between both hands in the notch. The dust that is rubbed loose glimmers.

We did some bartering. I measured a few men. They patiently allowed it to be done.

These "wild" Bekadi are alert, teachable, and certainly very good-natured. They do not steal, although we are carrying treasures with us. They have no intoxicating drink; they refuse tobacco. On the second day, together with their wives, they visit us in our camp -- the "docile ones" on the Ba-nono, on the other hand, preferred to sleep with those in the bush as long as we were in the ellen. On the first evening a savage drink a medicine that I

/171 cont./

1. (cont.)

so that is rattles. They rattle with it when they sing and dance, and call it tammaraka." The sorcerer lets the rattle speak "and just a word so that one cannot really perceive whether the rattle is doing it or whether he is doing it. And the other people think that the rattle is doing it... but when I saw the fraud, I went out of the hut. I thought, what a poor, deluded people that is."

The akiwa was otherwise similar to the first in everything. All around puva racks, cotton, spear grass, fruta de lobo, and nearby a brook running over white sand. We counted 18 men, 17 women, 7 children. It is possible, however, that one or another has been counted twice. Again the small number of children is very striking. Toward evening we returned to the river. I had done some good bartering.

10 Aug. φ 12° 39'.9, λ 7°.7, km. [illegible].10, total 164.42.
7.30 A.M.: dry. 14.0, water [illegible].7.
3.30 P.M.: I 742.9, II 733.4, dry [illegible]

From the wool /"ulle," wool, down, hair, "cotton"/ obtained in the village fish lines were twisted. During the night five piranas /see the glossary, p. 172/ and nine piranhas were caught. The farmer has the bad habit, when it is hauled on land, of emitting a farewell sound, which is audible far and wide, with the part that leaves the water last. It tastes fatty; the broth is somewhat strong. It is also supposed to produce ulcers. -- The professor were home again, besides arrow, bow, and the measured arrow, he carried his hammock on his back in a net held by a forehead band. This is the way the Bakairi goes traveling. -- A young, handsome chap accompanies us to the next village. He wears a red-black flannel shirt and around his head a green cloth with the Brazilian coat of arms. At the campsite he removes this clothing.

/171 cont./

122 19 Aug. φ 12° 53'.0, λ 12'.4, km. 31.03, total 195.45.
132 6:35 A.M.: dry. 15.0, water 24.3.
5:43 P.M.: I 742.2, dry. 26.1, water 26.0.
9:30 P.M.: I 742.8, dry. 21.1.

139 /172/ The river landscape changes its physiognomy somewhat. Shrubs and light-green, fine-leaved bushes, which form tall bowers or rounded, dense masses, occupy the foreground. Willow-like trees often stand as though planted, with delicate, slender trunks. We have not exactly come out of the forest river into a meadow river, but the low-plain character predominates. The sand barranca is steep. Easterly direction of the river.

122 20 Aug. φ 12° 51'.1 λ 12'.8, km. 6.27, total 201.72.
132 7:00 A.M.: dry. 19.3, water 25.1, at night 2-3:00 thunderstorm in NW.

Today the sky is covered with strato-cumulus and the air is showery damp.

133 At an early hour we reached a branch stream 20 meters wide, emptying in quietly from the right. Finally a tributary.

361 The third aldea, located on the left bank, is not quite two
[342] kilometers from the Batovy. There are three huts, lower, smaller,
and less conical than previously. We three again install ourselves
122 for a night among the good people, and even Antonio, who has given up his mistrust, sleeps along with us.

364 As agreeable as this "little village" is, it must be called
345 the dirtiest of the three. The floor of the festival hut is covered with dry grass and refuse of all kinds; the sun shines through the roof, so that inside we are able to light our pipe with the burning-
[532] glass. It is obviously still unfinished and new; besides a few arrows and several rattles, flat wooden fish are stuck on the walls as the products of local artistic activity.

162 Census: 13 men, 12 women and -- the most favorable proportion so far -- 19 children. Among them there are a man and a woman of another tribe whom we are to meet farther
142 downstream, the Kustenaũ /Custenau/. In type I am unable to see any essential differences; in fact, the more Bakaïrí we meet, the more uncertain I am in abstracting the common features.

/175 cont./

168 We counted 27 men, 18 women, and eight children, but
621 as some of the men, who stayed longer than we, reported, a
609 whole troop of women and children later came out of the woods.

342 I measured the largest house more carefully. It was 40 paces long, 24 paces wide. In the center line stood four supporting beams, 8-8.5 meters high (!) and 30 centimeters in diameter, the middle ones five paces apart, the outer ones each six paces
[531] from these; they had several bands painted with geometrical designs.

The distance of the two outer supporting beams from each other, /176/ 17 paces according to the above, also gave the length of the roof timbers. All around, 72 posts, up to 25 centimeters thick, one meter 72 high, served to support the elliptical roof basket. This was also the height of the two entrances, 77 centimeters wide, which lay opposite each other on the long sides and were made somewhat lower by the straw hanging down from the outside.

The roof basket, made up of large horizontal bamboo rings fastened by vertical poles bent against them, which converged at the top and projected to the outside through an opening, was built with great skill and regularity. The covering was made of straw-dry palm leaves. The leaf ribs lay horizontally; the free ends of the individual leaf spears hanging down from them, however, were all bent inward around the bare rib, so that solid mats were produced in the simplest manner. These overlapped like roof tiles.

364 We make the rounds through all the huts. The sense of order of the peaceful professor is lacking. They are full of refuse. In-
353 stead of the fine supply baskets, balls of the massa /dough/ one
[251] meter long, a half meter thick, and packed in leaves are found
[227] on simple racks. Little maize. Many fish nets made of tucum fiber: a wide-meshed bag hangs from a ring 80 centimeters long, 35 centimeters wide, which sits on a long pole. They probably
226 get the fish out of the blocked-off lagoons with these nets from the top of their scaffold.

/57 cont./

the northeast a wide path through tall sapé grass, with which the houses are covered, to the river rapids below, toward the south a path to the mandioca planting, and everywhere tall forest moved in close to the inhabited and planted clearing.

The community numbered nine men, seven women, five children. The names of the men were: Tumayaua, the chief, our guide, who was primarily responsible for the planting (Pl. 6); Paleko, his father, a charming old gentleman, with whom I struck up a close friendship and who in his declining years plaited baskets and fish weirs, Alakuai, the shrewd carpenter and canoe-builder, Awia, the painter, Yapú, the fat one, Kalawaku, the modest one, and the young men Kulekule, Luchu (Pl. 6), and Pauhaga. After a few days a couple of visitors came from the second village, among them one whose parents had died young and who therefore -- had no name.

The names of the women were not to be discovered: "pekóto ira" was the regular answer, "I am a woman." Thus I have had to /58/ invent my own designations here. There was, as always, an old woman who had a great deal to say and who, with her lean wrinkled body, was not exactly beautiful, the "tribal witch," Paleko's wife (see Pl. 5, left). Her antithesis was her granddaughter "Eva," Tumayaua's daughter, mother of two children and the youthful wife of the muscular, magnificently strongly built Kulekule, who, before I knew his name, seemed to me worthy of being called "Adam" in this little paradise and also possessed a fine yellowish-red loam color. Eva had a finely chiseled European face with full lips, pale rosy cheeks which were closely framed with wavy hair, and the most beautiful eyes that I saw in Brazil -- and that is saying not a little -- large eyes whose sweet /Fig. 2 appears here/ glance contained no coquetry at all, but in whose radiant fire, with a full, naïvely tender upward glance, glowed that spark of innocent lust that must once upon a time have kindled the eternal fires of the universe; thus, with a body never mistreated by any lacing, she really looked like a young Mother Eva. Unfortunately, she scratched her head far too often,

[See P. 40--Analyst]
[See P. 28--Analyst]

/38 cont./ [illegible] and though this may occasionally have occurred out of embarrassment, nevertheless lice had their visible part in it.

Eva's friend, about twelve years old, "my intended" (Pl. 5, third from the right), was in the habit of picking them out and eating them. In general this one had all the good things in the village, and many

Fig. 2. "Eva," Tumayaua's daughter.

beads that I had given other: I later found around her neck. She was the little daughter of the deceased chief and his /59/ heiress. Her uncle Tumayaua was only the provisional chief; if I had followed Paleko's very seriously meant suggestion and had married his niece, he would have had to turn over the government to me. Even today I cannot deny that, quite apart from the excellent match with which there was associated no greater demands in the way of dress than a string of beads and a piece of bark-bast the size of a small human ear, a better opportunity of becoming acquainted with the ethnology of the Kulisehu could scarcely have been imagined. I saw little of the other women, with the exception, perhaps, of the "Egyptian," who also came over from the second village, a tall greedy person with an Egyptian profile and almond-shaped eyes (Pl. 5, second from the right).

[See P. 28--Analysis]

//68 cont./

361 The village could be reached in half an hour or an hour from
911 the river, depending on whether one landed sooner or later. It was surrounded by cultivated land to an extent that aroused our
241 greatest astonishment. On the three different paths that we followed, we came through long stretches where the forest had been cut down with the stone axe. In March and April the trees are felled and in September and October the wood which has dried in the meantime is burned. We examined with admiration a number of thick trunks, the cross-sections of which were covered with the dull blow-marks of the stone axes, and regretted that we could not saw off such a marked surface and take it along. I silently begged forgiveness of the Indians at whom I had often laughed when they were swinging themselves in their hammocks at home, as though their lives were one long holiday.

361 //69/ In Iquéu there were three large family-houses and a
345 very respectable dance-house in which many dance costumes made
535 of palm straw were hanging. On the village place a cage rose
343 up higher than a house, which consisted of long poles set together
231 in the form of a pointed cone. In it sat a mighty Harpia destructor, although the village is called ipu-ere = sparrow-hawk village.
231 The once heraldic bird had probably long since departed. The beautiful eagle was named after its favorite food, mdgu-ahu, kind
412 of the monkeys. Beside the chief's house lay a large whetstone
[191] for the stone axes. It gave me much pleasure because it showed the same grooves that we had observed in the ambaqui of Sta. Catharina.

621 The community numbered some 40 persons. They spoke of
162 three chiefs, but we met in this capacity only the good-natured,
622 very broad-shouldered Aramóke, who was characterized by a waddling walk. He had a sly expression and with his clumsy body was very polite, for, striding ahead of me in the forest, he broke off the branches, which might have snapped back in my face, more graciously than he probably would have for a woman. A large knife and a red scarf made him the happiest of mortals.
914 He showed us great hospitality. Fresh golden beijú were con-
437 stantly brought forth, a row of calabashes filled with pogu were

//Ms cont.//

[53] Tumayous declared that he had heard them shout. It is probable
[101] that the fire glow which we had repeatedly noticed in the east, and which had been regularly observed in the evening at Independencia, came from them. Barely an hour later, the Kwayeili, about 12 meters wide, flowed in from the left. On both banks quamada and plantings.

[104] From the second village Tumayous had taken along as a companion Pakuaili, a short, sturdy old man who did not look as though he were a great sorcerer, and whom we, with a lack of respect, called the "cab driver." They did not have much
[104] luggage with them and easily packed it into the mayakua, their
[104] back-baskets for carrying loads. They had taken along on the journey, not cotton hammocks, but hammocks made of palm fiber, which are lighter and dry quickly if they become wet. //E// The two made rapid progress, even though they were keen on fishing at every favorable spot. We had let the great sorcerer sniff a bottle of ammonia, which had horrified him no little. After that he could no longer be enticed to smell any of our things. If one of us calls from a corner that it stinks there, everybody runs over and sniffs.

103 To the Third Sakaiff Village (Kuyequalifu).

361 The harbor at which we arrived at 4:45 lay at the end of a lateral inlet and would not have been found without a guide.

The next morning, 6 October, we departed at 7:00 for the village and reached it in three-quarters of an hour on the usual
[532] winding forest-trail. On the way we saw a large human figure carved in tree bark, with three fingers on the hands and stump-like feet.

Harpia village, "kuyequali-fu," also had only three houses and a flute-house, but was the liveliest of the three villages.
162 I counted 31 men and just about as many women and children.
621 Some of the latter, however, had run into the woods. There
[574] were probably about 100 souls in the village. The chief, Purina,
622 was a small, friendly gentleman; he had had beiji baked at night.

/201/

III. Hunting, gardens, and "Stone Age" Culture.

Population figures. Lotus of the villages. Combination of ancient agriculture and world view of hunters. Hunting and fishing must furnish them important tools for the tribes lacking metals, for whom a expression "Stone Age" is incorrect. Stone as monopoly, salt, bones, shells, feathers. List of useful plants and distribute according to tribes. No bananas. Plant names as evidence of economic development. Lack of intoxicating flour-beverage/cows that simplicity is not the same as degeneration. Combation of hunting and agriculture made possible through the divion of labor of the sexes. Indian women do the agriculture, the lowest pots to replace gourds; the men do the hunting, the wom the fishing. Culture with agriculture, pottery, and the preparation of flour was spread and maintained by foreign women afterwards, in particular by Ba-Arawak women.

The population of a Schingu /Xingu/ source region probably amounts to approximately 2500-3000 souls. I am not in a position to give more in a very superficial estimate. Even in the third Bakairi village the young women and girls fled into the woods when we arrived. Usually the fugitives gradually returned, to be sure, but we never knew for certain whether we were seeing before us the normal mass of inhabitants. The opposite also occurred, namely, that users from the neighboring villages had come in, and the company surrounding us seemed too large. The smallest villages consisted of only two family-houses, the largest of almost 20. Ignoreal, it will be correct if one reckons for the villages, depending on their size, a population of 30 to 150 and, where it is big, up to 200 inhabitants.

Only the Trumai/ al. beyond Schingu-Lahiana, the Suyá lived along the river bas. These were the most warlike and restless tribes, one mig regard the Suyá as the pike in a fish pond. The rest live in peaceful security, often more than two hours of travel inlad from the river. But while the river in the region of the Bakairi/Bacairi/ was still narrow and had

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Kuqê-Expedition /Report on the second Kuqê Expedition/." February 5, 1901. Verh. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde z. Berlin, Vol. XXVII, 1900, pp. 112-120. Idem., "Über einige zweite Reise in Central-Brasilien," loc. cit.

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[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

Around 1917

He stayed last Cuiabá, already as adult, had then visited several times the Bakairí in the region of the tributaries of the Kuqê River, and a big part of these had moved in with their tribes countrymen of the Rio Paranatinga, so that Theodor Koch, a participant in Hermann Meyer's second expedition to the Kuqê River, estimated the population of the ahiba of the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí, at the date, at more than 60 individuals.(20)

[113]

20. Dr. Theodor Koch, "Reise in Mato Grosso (Brasilien). Expedition in das Quellgebiet des Kuqê /Journey in Mato Grosso (Brazil). Expedition to the Region of the Headwaters of the Kuqê/." Communication. d. K. K. Geogr. Ges. in Vienna, p. 331.

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At this time, the Rio Batovy Bakairí had canoes and also a port on the Rio Juruá. Also the Nahuquá /Nahuqua/ had then taken for the first time the journey to the Rio Paranatinga and had carried away from there sugar cane and paxiúba /French beans/ for planting. (21)

21. Dr. Hermann Meyer, "Bericht über seine zweite Kuqê-Expedition," loc. cit., p. 127.

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[114] [32] [2-48] [118] [178] [64] [62] [114] [178] [23] [54] [184] [411] [179] [23]

ment on the settlements situated on the left side of the Rio Novo. The main aldea of these Indians, which consisted of ten huts, was at a distance of three turns of the oxen from the small Brazilian portão of Rio Novo situated on the right side of the river. At this place I met Mr. Eliseu, who then held the rule of administrator over the Bakairí.

Conditions among the Rio Novo Bakairí had hardly changed since the time when Karl von den Steinen describing them. Also, the population, which I estimated at 60 individuals, was more or less the same. Arginaldo, who had meanwhile become an old man, was still cacique of the two communities of Rio Novo Bakairí. Plate V of my book Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien presents a photograph taken in the aldeia of these Indians showing Cacique Arginaldo with his wife in the midst of several other Bakairí, standing in front of the door of his house. The book which he holds in his hand is the work Durch Zentralbrasilien, published by Karl von den Steinen, in which he is also represented in a drawing and at which he is looking with great interest. In the aldeia there were still various objects which were products of typical Bakairí work, such as for example the large baskets of *wings /hamaca/* woven in the aroeira way, and other kinds of baskets which matched exactly in terms of technique and decoration those made by the Bakairí of the tributaries of the Xingu River. (27) The Rio Novo Bakairí

27. Cf. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., Fig. 174, p. 347.

also still used, besides firearms, bows and arrows for hunting, and these corresponded exactly to those of their fellow countrymen of the Xingu River region. But outside of these objects, made in native fashion, these Bakairí had been changed completely into Brazilian campesinos as a result of the fact that

/Pg cont./

159 aldea and contributed with his people his own village, situated
583 13 kilometers downriver on the right side of the Rio Paranatinga
361 (Rio Teles Pires) and four kilometers from the main road on the small Ribeirão Azul. This was the same place where at the time of my trip in the year 1927 the Posto de Sondes Lopes /Sondes Lopes Post/ was.

159 Through Antonio Pyrineu de Souza we know that Dofia Rosa
583 Bororo, José Cocodo's mother and for many years Cacique Antonio's wife, had died in January, 1963 in her son's village.
/57/ From this piece of information it may be deduced, on the
(194) one hand, that José Cocodo's move to the Ribeirão Azul had already taken place before the year 1963, and on the other hand, that Rosa Bororo, in the quarrel between her husband and her son, followed the latter and left Antonio. The latter had already married in 1963 a young woman who, according to Antonio Pyrineu, was a daughter of old Cacique Reginaldo by
(194) a Kayabí woman. Possibly Antonio Pyrineu made a mistake with respect to this piece of information, for we know through Karl von den Steinen that the cacique who had married young Luiza Kayabí was old Cassano, who was then cacique of the aldeia situated on the Rio Paranatinga, while I never heard or saw that the wife of Cacique Reginaldo, whom I knew in person, was a Kayabí. If the information that the second wife of Cacique Antonio was a Kayabí is correct, I would presume that she was the daughter of Luiza Kayabí, who was still living at the time of my trip in the year 1927, at the Sondes Lopes Post and thus the legitimate daughter, although presumably not the natural daughter, of old Cacique Cassano.

162 A considerable increase in the population of the Rio
361 Paranatinga had been caused by the fact that Cacique Kuruá
166 of the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River had moved with 180 Xinguanos to the Rio Paranatinga. Cacique Kuruá's new aldeia was situated eight kilometers downriver from Cacique Antonio's aldeia, on the left side of the Rio Paranatinga and some 200 meters from the river. But of these 180 Xinguanos, already in

/27 cont./

the year 1865, no more than nine men with some women and children lived with their cacique in the new aldea. The rest had died or had moved to the other Bakairí aldeas situated on the Rio Paranatinga.

According to Antonio Pyrineus de Souza's description, the Bakairí of the Rio Sete and Rio Paranatinga still had in the year 1865 a life with sufficient means of subsistence. Cacique Antonio, whose authority of former times had undoubtedly decreased through José Corombé's detection with his people and through the independent stand of Cacique Kuruti, was still chief of the old aldea on the Rio Paranatinga, which still consisted of seven houses and whose inhabitants planted manioc, maize, sugar cane, bananas, and abóboras /gourds/, and raised many pigs and chickens. In former times they had also devoted themselves to the raising of cattle and horses, but the rancher large horses had made them give this up. Already at this time, Antonio was urgently pressing his rights in the region around by the Serra Azul, the Ribeirão Sonanal, and the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Teles Pires) and occupied for many years by the Bakairí. (34)

34. A. Pyrineus de Souza, loc. cit., p. 64.

José Corombé's aldea consisted of three well-built houses. He had large plantations of manioc and maize and raised some pigs and chickens. (35) The inhabitants of Cacique Kuruti's

35. Ibid., p. 65.

aldea, which consisted of three large houses, also had good plantations and lived comfortably.

/28/ At that time, also, the customs and ideas of the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí were largely Indian. When dancing, the men were nude except for a small coarse apron, rectangular

THE BACAIRI

Brazilian Government. Vi information pre-
sented here was obtained chiefly Lopes from
the Bacairi who lived on 1 Rio Kulisen and
relates to the life that the lived there about
40 years ago.

Linguistically the Bacairi belong to the Carib-
speaking family and appear to closely related
culturally to the other Cariba-speaking tribes in
the Upper Xingú Basin. 1 Bacairi are short,
in stature, broad-shouldered well-built. The
head is broad, the nose erect or aquiline, the
face narrow, the lips fairthin. In physical
appearance the Bacairi resemble of the Arawak-
speaking Paresi, but contrast sharply with the
large-framed, coarse-feature Bororo, Tlaxiban,
and Guaicurú living in the hinterland of the Para-
guay River to the south.

The Bacairi Indians ordeal mentioned by
Gonçalves da Fonseca in hiscount of his travels
to the Madeira region in 18. In the atlas of
Thomas Jeffry, 1776, the "Bakairis" are located
on the Rio Paranatinga. Ayo do Canal, in 1817,
refers to the "Bacairis" living in the region
around the Rio das Mortes, further places them
in the headwaters of the Xyé. From 1820 on,
more or less permanent contact has been main-
tained with the Bacairi live on the Rio Novo
and Rio Paranatinga. In 18 a F. Lopes led an
expedition in search for go into the area and
with him came priests whoapes to convert the
Bacairi to Christianity. Wi these contacts came
disease and conflicts (Von e Steinen, 1942, p.
133).

The first scientific account the Bacairi came
from the voyage of Von d Steinen down the
Xingú River in 1884. Traveling over land from
Cuiabá, he and his party found the Christianized
Bacairi living in the village of Rio Novo and
Paranatinga with whose by he continued his
voyage down the Batovi Rier where he was the
first to make contact with 1 four pagan villages
of the Bacairi located between latitudes 12°20'
and 12°30' S.

The following table gives size and number of
inhabitants of the villagevisited by Von den
Steinen (1942, appendix, tab 8, p. 418):

	Men	Women	Girls	Boys	Total
On the Rio Kulawa	0	10	10	10	30
On the Pawanchiga	0	6	6	6	18
On the Kuisaw:					
First village	0	10	7	6	23
Second village	0	10	10	7	40
Third village	0	10	10	10	40
Fourth village	7	37	10	6	60
Total	10	80	41	30	207

By the time Miss Schmidt visited the Tsacatt in 1909-1910, the Tsacatt settlement had disintegrated. On the Pawanchiga he met 30 Tsacatt and on Rio Kuisaw, 60. On the Kulawa River where Von den Steinen had visited four villages, Miss Schmidt was able to find only two.

ECONOMY

DWELLING

While in the Xingú watershed the Tsacatt lived in villages built on the banks of the Rio Kulawa. A village (*ainaki*) consisted of three to eight houses (*ewiuj*) built in a circle around a central plaza, *mulu*. The Tsacatt house was a large communal building, oblong in shape, with rounded ends and with the roof thatching reaching to the ground. These large dwellings were occupied by three to five families.

In the center of every village there was a communal or Men's house (*kuiaki*) in which the men kept their ornaments and musical instruments and in which visitors were entertained. Men, women, and children are permitted to enter the *kuiaki*. Attached to the common house there was a smaller building, usually oriented in the direction of the rising sun, in which the sacred flutes were kept. Women were not permitted to enter this house, as they were not allowed to see the sacred flutes. The villages were connected by roads running along the river bank.

EQUIPMENT

In the center of each house there was a storage space (*ifrda*) where maize, manioc meal, and other foods were kept in gourd vessels (*kiike*). Cooking was done in a small shed at the back of the house, but food was eaten indoors. Around the walls each family had its hammocks (*ewuiku*) in which the people slept. Other furnishings of the house consisted of mats, baskets, clay pots,

//[illegible] //

The alinement on the Paranatinga was smaller than the one on the Rio Novo. Moreover, the order of the community seemed mildly disturbed. Old Captain Cattano, probably near his eighties, despite his black hair, //120// had been divested of his sovereignty in favor of a younger man, Felipe, as the instigator of the Martyrius expedition, which, with the help of the Bakairí, had crossed the Paranatinga and passed through a section of the [illegible] /wilderness, see the glossary, p. 171/ in a northerly direction. The Bakairí, of course, felt more obligated to obey Captain Cattano than Captain Felipe, and the result was that each one made himself as independent as possible and worked on his own. Moreover, the tribe had been hard hit about eight years before by [illegible] /measles/, an epidemic disease. The Brazilians put [illegible] of the blame for the number of deaths on the Indian [illegible], as the lives of the fewer, they had always run into the river.

As the time of our visit the Bakairí population was made up of five men, five women, three children -- not present were five men, three women, one boy, whose return was, in part, no longer expected. Moreover, there were two Pareci[1] women, one of whom was numbered among those not present, and two Capiká[2] women, who had been adopted into the tribe. Finally, two Brazilians, caoutchouc-seekers, who had recovered from the fever in the village, had attached themselves, a mulatto Luiz and a certain Manoel who had a Paraguayan, Cachina, as a wife, with a small son. Altogether there were 20 individuals present.

Luiz, who had lived an adventurous life, a "pilhanghe," as he called himself, a "[illegible]," as his friend Daniel called him, was intimately acquainted with conditions, he chattered endlessly and was probably not altogether reliable, but he made himself useful, since the Portuguese of Cattano, who best knew the language, consisted of an extremely modest stock by words. "[illegible]" -- "[illegible]" /that's it exactly/ in German -- was the quintessence of his knowledge, so that the soldiers soon called him nothing but "Capitão [illegible]." Luiz maintained that Cattano was the son of a Bakairí father and

[2] [Capiká: Cayabi, a Tribe classified under SPZ Africa in The Outline of World Cultures -- Analyst]

/[illegible] cont./

162 Agosto. -- A boy Bororo (parents dead).
621 Luis (Bolivian), Maria (Brazilian) with wife Cachera (Paraguayan) and child.

126 I could not express enough about the fortunate circumstance
125 that I was able to make the linguistic survey on the Rio Sono. Even with the intelligent Bogmalito it had been difficult enough to determine phonetically the innumerable tongue exercises that make up the Bakaiori language, but with Captain Mário, who did nothing but nod conventionally, and the others who either laughed or grew impatient, nothing could be done.

On the other hand, I am indebted to Cacetano for the legends which I shall recall later.

348 The largest house, which Captains Cacetano and Felipe oc-
824 cupied together, was 22 paces long and 9 1/2 paces wide. The roof and walls, the latter supported by cross rails of taquara /bamboo. see the glossary, p. 172 / covered entirely of burití /see the glossary, p. 172 / straw. Only Miguel owned a round house, the inner frame of taquara covered with burití leaves.

[345] There were seven houses and two new buildings. In addition two pig huts. In the case of one new building, I inquired about the timber that made up the frame. Two tall aroeira posts supported the uppermost longitudinal roof-beam of aroeira wood (also cunhão de pescoço). The sloping side-beams of the roof likewise cunhão de pescoço, the two longitudinal beams guarandú. The smaller posts that supported the roof beams: timbó, peuva, cavão, branco. One roof was also covered with campo grass.

164 I visited Miguel, who had an attack of fever, in his bee-
352 /126/ hive. He lay in his cotton hammock and let himself be
353 waited on by pretty Maria. The whole room hung full of calebashes, rice and farinha baskets, skins, arrows -- things left by his grandfather; it was far more comfortable in this still true heathen affair than in the characterless huts of the adherents of a mock civilization. With dreadful gestures of disgust, the old
123 [157] man swallowed the bitter quinine and buried his fever-reddened
[283] face in the hammock. Maria, in gratitude, baked me a beijú.
[Cf. Glossary on p. 170 --Analyst

/ 102 cont. /

127 from March 13, 1972, in closing. It had become necessary to take into account the economical and widely known changes which the Paraguay war had brought about in the southern part of the province. Of the tribes listed as Nos. 3-13 in 1948, three were crossed out, the total figure was reduced from 13,000 to 8870; on the other hand, for tribes 1, 2, 16-22 the old report was again copied verbatim, so that no human being seems to have been born or died here in the 24 years.

175 The Sakaiří of the Paranatinga and Rio Novo maintained themselves in their two poor villages, they were occasionally visited
[171] by gold-seeker expeditions who would then arrange a small mass
[169] baptism and introduce syphilis and measles. Many perished from
[159] measles, the disease, relatively harmless for us, is not only /70/ often fatal to the Indians, but they also have the bad habit of plunging into the river in the middle of the highest fever and so drying themselves after they leave the cool bath.

173 I made an effort to learn more details about the history of
[115] the tribe from the aged Caetano, retired chief, and his successor Felipe, on the Paranatinga, as well as from Antonio. A history of more recent times can clearly be separated out, during which a shift to the southwest took place. Whereas the forefathers on the 175 [illegible] of the Paranatinga lived several days' journey below the 131 present village and somewhat above the emptying of the Rio Ron 169 coming from the left, the West Sakaiří, at least since the middle 361 of the previous century, have occupied the border area between the source rivers of the Arinos, Cuyabá, and Paranatinga, where the village on the Rio Novo is still to be found. On the Ribeirão Caiuão there were more than six villages; there was a large village on the Ribeirão da Pedra. The first baptism of the Sakaiří took place in Diamantino. Caetano, born in the previous century according to all calculations, first saw the light of the world when
[177] the Rio Beijaflor empties into the Paranatinga. The Paranatinga village now located above this is a creation of modern times,

(Cont.)

met one of the Bakairí who had accompanied me in the year 1911 on my journey to the Rio Kulisehu. He was already very old and he was ill, his body being covered with tumors.

When I reached the Simões Lopes Post I met with highly unfavorable circumstances. My pack oxen were the first to reach Simões Lopes after the long interruption of all traffic between this post and the capital Cuiabá caused by the revolutionaries and by Prestes. For this reason there was at that time a scarcity of [illegible] provisions, and in addition there was among the Indians a bad epidemic of malaria, which the head of the post, Inácio Ferreira, and his family also had. The post at the time was still at the same location where it was first established, where José Cornelio had had his aldea before, and thus 15 kilometers downriver from the old aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí and four kilometers inland on the right side of the river near the small Ribeiro Azul. It consisted of some administrative buildings (cf. Figure 2) and some 20 ranchos for the Bakairí Indians (cf. Figures 4, 6, and 7). There is no doubt that all the Bakairí lived at this time in areas near the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Teles Pires) and had relations with the Simões Lopes Post, but only part of them lived at the post, and since the plantations of the individual Indian families were rather far from the settlement, the Indians who lived at the post also stayed temporarily in their small houses built near their plantations.

In the middle of the post was the house of the Bakairí, Pires, whom the administration had entrusted with the caciqueship over the Bakairí who had moved from the region of the upper Xingu River and who were called Xinguanos. (Cf. Figures 4 and 5.)

In one of the houses of the post I met the Bakairí, Lucho, who came from the first aldea on the Rio Kulisehu, who with Cacique Tumayaua had accompanied Karl von den Steinen on his expedition and who is shown in a photograph in the book Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens. As shown in the photograph in Figure 8, he had grown quite old since and was

/no cont./

tributaries of the upper Xingu River never had this custom, but that I had the opportunity to observe it among several of my Mato Grosso attendants, who had presumably adopted it through African influences. If the present-day Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post like their teeth, this is no doubt an innovation brought about by foreign influences.

We know through Ferreira that the high mortality of the Paranatinga Bakairí unfortunately has continued in spite of the care of the Inspectoria do Primeiro de Indios /Indian Protection Service/. (41) It seems that fewer are rapidly diminishing the

41. Vincent W. Ferreira, loc. cit., pp. 128 and 129.

Bakairí population. According to Ferreira, syphilis, caught through contact with the whites, probably has also caused high mortality among these Indians.

Finally, I must still mention the last news I received when I had already left Mato Grosso. It was the news of the death of the man who had withdrawn from all innovations at the close of his life because he wished to retain his independence but who nevertheless will remain the best-known Bakairí in Bakairí history: the death of Carlopo Antonio.

II. Change and Continuity in the Cultural Goods of the Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post

In discussing in the preceding section the history of the Bakairí, I mention that the sedentary Bakairí on the Rio Paranatinga and the Rio Novo, before they entered into relations with their fellow countrymen of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, had still retained some of the articles of their /35/ ancestral culture although they had almost completely become Brazilian campesinos. Through contact with the Xinguanos and as a

Bororo: 27
Photo Genaro 92

a wire fence enclosure. The effort of the Inspectoria has been to give aborigines the indication that they want and not to interfere in anything that they may do. The tribal organization is kept as of old, and the Bakairi lead their own life in their own way. They are not forced to stay at the post, or in any way bounded to do as the agent says. The agent is merely a teacher. He talks to them and advises them on any problem that may be facing them, but it is understood that they are free men and that they can do as they please.

The post maintains a school, the effort being made to teach every child to read and write Portuguese and to learn the rudiments of arithmetic. In addition to this, an attempt is made to teach them vocations, such as weaving on the loom, tailoring, shoemaking, barbering, and so forth. Generally, if a boy shows unusual talent he is taken to Cuyabá and even to Rio de Janeiro to be given further instruction. This education is not compulsory, however, though most of the Bakairi take advantage of the opportunity. It is the project of the Inspectoria to form good self-sustaining citizens of each groups of the native population as soon under the tutelage.

The post has a herd of cattle and the Indians are being taught the principles of cattle raising. It is the desire of every Bakairi to own cattle. No attempt is made to turn the Bakairi into a sedentary agricultural people, it being thought unwise to attempt to transform the manner of life of the Bakairi by tying them down to the soil, where they have been used to a semi-nomadic existence. On the other hand, they are encouraged to practice some agriculture, raising manioc, sweet potatoes, some maize and cotton. Each man clears his own land yearly, and plants his foods.

In spite of the liberal attitude and practice of the Inspectoria the Bakairi have been dying fast. Fevers seem to decimate them rapidly, though all efforts are made to keep medical supplies on hand and to supply medical attention. Their life is not as strenuous as formerly, because of the improved methods, and this may account for the lowered resistance. On the other hand, there is no doubt but that at the headwaters of the Paranatinga it is less healthy than in the region of their former homes. Even the Indians from the lower Kulisehu who followed our expedition on its return to the post suffered greatly from fevers upon reaching it, though it was the dry season and there were few insects.

Bacairi SP7

Geographically the post is situated ideally on a high land removed from the river and cleared of all vegetation, the jungle appearing only as a narrow fringe along the river banks. Like the rest of the high plateau it is wind swept, and generally pleasant. It must be added that contact with white people, such as is had when a small group of natives go to Cuyabá, has brought syphilis to them, and it may be their mortality is due to this.

One occupation enjoyed in former times is denied them, and that is fishing. There are practically no fish in the Paranatinga, at least up to where the post is located. Game meat is gotten only on rare occasions, and no hunting is done, the diet is mainly one of vegetables and considerably poorer than when they were living in their original state. This may also explain their lowered resistance to disease.

Very little museum material which represents their own products can be collected from the Bakairi. What has not been gotten from the Inspectoria has been brought back on excursions to the Kuluene. Pottery has not been made since their coming to the post, according to them. The huge vessels that they possess either have been brought with them from their former homes or bartered from the tribes on the Kuluene. It is claimed that the proper clay cannot be found in the neighborhood of Simão Lopes.

Arrows are still being made, an iron nail generally being substituted for the old bone point, but most of the arrows also come from the Kuluene.

For the old hammock made of palm-leaf fiber the cotton hammock has been substituted, but the same open net style has been kept.

Mussel shell ornaments have also been bought from the tribes of the Kuluene. In brief, almost anything that is found in their village must bear the suspicion that it is not a Bakairi product.

However, they have preserved a few customs, such as filing the upper teeth to a point, wearing under the European clothing the gee string, and ceremonial use of the bull-roarer, and they probably remember many of their ceremonies.

The short time spent at the post was mostly devoted to taking anthropometric measurements, which were subsequently lost on the Kuluene, but in some notes I do find the statement that in blood groupings most belong to groups three and four, the former predominating.

/34 cont./

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41. Vincent M. Petrullo, loc. cit., pp. 128 and 129.

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184 II. Change and Continuity in the Cultural Goods
198 of the Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post
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BACAIRI: SP7
Mato Grosso SP8

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SP8

/394 cont./

173 source region of the Tapajoz, and from there some of them emi-
169 grated to the Batovy and Kulisehu in the source region of the Schingú. According to the legend, they reached the salto from the source region of the Paranatinga and Ronuro.

The separation of the West Bakaïrí and East Bakaïrí would under all circumstances have to be dated back to at least the previous century and before the time when the Bakaïrí spread to the southwest into the source region of the Cuyabá. The
174 linguistic comparison agrees well with these conclusions; the
197 two groups of Bakaïrí speak a language that is identical in form and content, with slight dialectal differences. A few fish and trees are designated differently, the name of the akurí palm of the Kulisehu is that of the oausú palm of the Paranatinga, and
[199] vice versa. As far as the Schingú Bakaïrí are concerned, it is absolutely certain that they have never had any contact with the white man.

619 As a result of our expedition of 1884, West Bakaïrí and East
[123] Bakaïrí came together again. Antonio, after his return home
[166] to the Paranatinga, told of the fellow tribesmen on the Batovy, and the practical Chief Felipe had the idea that he must try to
[484] persuade them to settle on the Paranatinga. In September of 1886 he set out with Antonio and another man. they reached the Batovy in three days and required another three days along the river until they reached the first village.

/395/ Chief Luku was kuráipa and did not entertain them as splendidly as they had expected, but several East Bakaïrí, our "professor" of 1884 in the lead, accompanied them to the
619 Paranatinga. The visitors had great fear of the cattle, but great
431 joy over the visitors-gifts, with which Felipe did not stint. I inquired specifically what they had been given to take along. "We gave them all the iron we had, chickens (this, however, was later denied), small banana plants, mandioca twigs, maize, and rice." Thus one sees how the first opportunity is immediately used to transplant the cultivated produce! If the experiment succeeded, our successors on the Schingú will be able to eat bananas!

175 722 227 563 [170]

/17 cont./

the Paranatinga Bakairí, one of whom, named Charlotta, was the wife of Cacique Felipe. To he influence of such women, captured in hostile encounters wih the Pareasí, we must attribute, in the first place, the xtensive assimilation of the legends of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga River. (19)

19. Ibid., p. 365.

173 166

According to the statements f the western Bakairí, the origin of the Bakairí who live in te region of the tributaries of the Xingu River was due to thefact that, as a result of quarrels among the Bakairí, who ere still living in former times by the falls, part of them boke away and emigrated to the Rio Kulisehu. (20) We do notknow whether this represents

20. Ibid., p. 391.

a historical fact or merely legendry superstitions of the Paranatinga Bakairí. For lack of ny objective knowledge of the presence of these Indians in fomer times on the two tributaries of the Xingu River, theBatovy and the Kulisehu, and for lack of any statements about tei r former life by these /Indians/ themselves, the history f these eastern Bakairí begins only at the time of Karl von den Seinen's first expedition to the Xingu River in the year 1884, which brought attention upon them for the first time and was ther first historical event. As for the first effects of this event, a important for the subsequent fate of the eastern Bakairí, Karl vn den Steinen was already able to recognize them himself aid make use of them in his section "History of the Bakairí." The first mutual visits between the Bakairí of the Paranatiga and their fellow countrymen on the Rio Batovy marked th beginning of relations between these two Bakairí groups. n what follows we shall deal with the manner in which these rdations gradually increased, extending also to the Bakairí of th Rio Kulisehu and influencing

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175 /17 cont./
219 in subsequent times to a high degree the history of the two
128 groups of the Bakairí tribe, so different one from the other.

After Karl von den Steinen's second expedition to the
175 Xingu River, the next event in the history of the Bakairí, and especially of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga, was the lost expedition of Captain Telles Pires in the year 1889. This explorer, accompanied by Lieutenant Oscar Miranda and 26 boatmen, among whom were also Paranatinga Bakairí, had endeavored to go down the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires) from the mouth of the Rio S. Manuel /São Manuel River/.
175 Among the 21 companions who perished with Telles Pires in
622 this undertaking was Cacique Felipe of the Paranatinga Bakairí, who died of fever on the way. The Bakairí, Irineo, raised and adopted by this cacique, who had accompanied his father, was not heard of again after this excursion and it was supposed
175 that he also had perished. When the Bakairí got the news of
622 their cacique's death, they burned their houses /18/ and
166 abandoned their aldea to settle farther upriver. The harbor of
361 the new aldea, situated like the previous aldea on the left
[103] side of the river, was 18 kilometers downriver from the mouth of the Rio S. Manuel on the Rio Paranatinga, or Rio Telles Pires as it was officially named after the ill-fated undertaking of Captain Telles Pires, and the aldea itself was 1,600 meters inland from the riverbank and 200 meters from the small Corrego do Tatú /"Armadillo Stream"/. (21)

21. A. Pyrineus de Sousa, loc. cit., pp. 61, 68, and 69.

175 Who the first cacique of the aldea was after Felipe's death
622 I do not know. At the close of the last decade of the past century, when Antonio Correa da Costa was president of the state of Mato Grosso (in the years from 1895 to the beginning of 1898, with a gap in the year 1897), the cacique of the aldea

/18 cont./

175 lived in the vicinity of the falls. His grandfather, Karavako,
159 and his father, Seseriari, had participated in the above-
622 mentioned expedition for revenge undertaken against the Kayabí
648 in which the two Kayabí women who lived in the Rio Paranatinga
aldea were captured. At the time of Karl von den Steinen's
expedition, his parents were no longer living, but he had an
older brother living with his wife and with a small son in the
Paranatinga aldea. As a companion to Karl von den Steinen
in the year 1888, Antonio had met in the Reducion de Bororo
de Thereza Christina, situated on the Rio S. Lourenzo /São
Lourenço River/, the Bororo Indian woman Rosa, well known
for the fact that while a prisoner of Officer Duarte, she had
undertaken to mediate in the agreement /?conivencia/ between
Bororo and Brazilians so that it became possible to establish
the above-mentioned Bororo reducion /pueblo of Christianized
Indians/. She was a widow at the time and Antonio took her
along toward the Paranatinga. Rosa brought with her a small
son, five or six years of age, who was raised in the house of
Cacique Antonio and who later, under the name of José /19/
Coroado, achieved a certain stature in the Bakairí community
of the Paranatinga, so that I must refer to him several times in
what follows.

175 Already in the last decade of the past century, when
166 Herrmann Meyer passed the aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí
in his two expeditions to the Xingu River in the years 1896 and
1899, much activity was taking place there. (23) Antonio with

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23. Dr. Herrmann Meyer, "Über
seine Expedition nach Zentral
Brasilien /On His Expedition toward
Central Brazil/," March 6, Verhandl.
d. Ges. f. Erdkunde z. Berlin,
Vol. XXIV, 1897, pp. 172-198.
Idem., "Bericht über eine zweite

/19 cont./

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Xingú-Expedition /Report on His Second Xingu Expedition/." February 3, 1900, Verh. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde z. Berlin, Vol. XXVII, 1900, pp. 112-128. Idem., "Uber seine zweite Reise in Central-Brasilien," loc. cit.

175 Antonio with
166 his stepson José Coroado, already an adult, had then visited
159 several times the Bakairí in the region of the tributaries of the
622 Xingu River, and a big part of these had moved in with their
162 fellow countrymen of the Rio Paranatinga, so that Theodor Koch, a participant in Herrmann Meyer's second expedition to the Xingu River, estimated the population of the aldea of the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí, at this date, at more than 60 individuals.(24)

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24. Dr. Theodor Koch, "Reise in Matto Grosso (Brasilien). Expedition in das Quellgebiet des Xingú /Journey in Mato Grosso (Brazil). Expedition to the Region of the Headwaters of the Xingu/." Communication, d. K. K. Geogr. Ges. in Vienna, p. 335.

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At this time, the Rio Batovy Bakairí had canoes and also a port on the Rio Jatobá. Also the Nahukuá /Nahuqua/ had then risked for the first time the journey to the Rio Paranatinga and had carried away from there sugar cane and porotos /French beans/ for planting. (25)

25. Dr. Herrmann Meyer, "Bericht uber seine zweite Xingú-Expedition," loc. cit., p. 127.

/26 cont./

159 aldea and established with his people his own village, situated
593 13 kilometers downriver on the right side of the Rio Paranatinga
361 (Rio Telles Pires) and four kilometers from the main river on the small Ribeirão Azul. This was the same place where at the time of my trip in the year 1927 the Puesto de Simões Lopes /Simões Lopes Post/ was.

159 Through Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa we know that Doña Rosa
593 Bororo, José Coroado's mother and for many years Cacique Antonio's wife, had died in January, 1913 in her son's village. /27/ From this piece of information it may be deduced, on the
[174] one hand, that José Coroado's move to the Ribeirão Azul had already taken place before the year 1913, and on the other hand, that Rosa Bororo, in the quarrel between her husband and her son, followed the latter and left Antonio. The latter had already married in 1915 a young woman who, according to Antonio Pyrineus, was a daughter of old Cacique Reginaldo by
[114] a Kayabí woman. Possibly Antonio Pyrineus made a mistake with respect to this piece of information, for we know through Karl von den Steinen that the cacique who had married young Luiza Kayabí was old Caetano, who was then cacique of the aldea situated on the Rio Paranatinga, while I never heard it said that the wife of Cacique Reginaldo, whom I knew in person, was a Kayabí. If the information that the second wife of Cacique Antonio was a Kayabí is correct, I would presume that she was the daughter of Luiza Kayabí, who was still living at the time of my trip in the year 1927, at the Simões Lopes Post and thus the legitimate daughter, although presumably not the natural daughter, of old Cacique Caetano.

162 A considerable increase in the population of the Rio
361 Paranatinga had been caused by the fact that Cacique Kurutú
166 of the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River had moved with 180 Xinguanos to the Rio Paranatinga. Cacique Kurutú's new aldea was situated eight kilometers downriver from Cacique Antonio's aldea, on the left side of the Rio Paranatinga and some 200 meters from the river. But of these 180 Xinguanos, already in

/27 cont./

162 the year 1915, no more than nine men with some women and
361 children lived with their cacique in the new aldea. The rest
166 had died or had moved to the other Bakairí aldeas situated on the Rio Paranatinga.

178 According to Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa's description, the
433 Bakairí of the Rio Novo and Rio Paranatinga still had in the
622 year 1915 a life with sufficient means of subsistence. Cacique
[361] Antonio, whose authority of former times had undoubtedly de-
[241] creased through José Coroado's defection with his people and
[231] through the independent stand of Cacique Kurutú, was still chief of the old aldea on the Rio Paranatinga, which still consisted of seven houses and whose inhabitants planted manioc, maize, sugar cane, bananas, and aboborra /gourds/, and raised
[231] many pigs and chickens. In former times they had also devoted
[648] themselves to the raising of cattle and horses, but the rancher Jange Soares had made them give this up. Already at this time, Antonio was urgently pressing his rights in the region bound by the Serra Azul, the Ribeirão Bananal, and the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires) and occupied for many years by the Bakairí. (34)

34. A. Pyrineus de Sousa, loc. cit., p. 64.

184 José Coroado's aldea consisted of three well-built houses.
361 He had large plantations of manioc and maize and raised some
241 pigs and chickens. (35) The inhabitants of Cacique Kurutú's
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35. Ibid., p. 65.

aldea, which consisted of three large houses, also had good plantations and lived comfortably.

178 /28/ At that time, also, the customs and ideas of the
[535] Rio Paranatinga Bakairí were largely Indian. When dancing,
[291] the men were nude except for a small coarse apron, rectangular

/28 cont./

178 in form, placed in front under the belt, which consists of glass
535 beads strung on a thread. Face and body were painted with
291 urucú and genipap in red and black. At this time, too, cases
302 of illness were imputed to the influence of some sorcerer, and
754 shortly before the expedition of Antonio Pyrineus de Souza a Paranatinga Bakairí had been shot to death because the Indians ascribed the consequences of a flu epidemic to his witchcraft.

114 In his book Unter Indianern und Riesenschlangen (36)

[113] 36. Hintermann, Heinrich.
Unter Indianern und Riesenschlangen
/Among Indians and Boa Constrictors/.
Zurich and Leipzig, 1926.

Heinrich Hintermann relates the incidents and outcome of a journey to the region of the upper Xingu River tributaries. He had the opportunity to accompany a military expedition led by the Brazilian, Captain Vicente de Vasconcelios, which was carried out in the year 1924 for the Commissão de Linhas Telegr. Est. de Matto Grosso ao Amazonas to measure the Rio Ronuro and establish relations between the administration of the new Simões Lopes Post, established by the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios /Indian Protection Service/, and the Indians of the
[166] Kulisehu and Kuluene rivers. We know from Hintermann that already at that time, all the Kulisehu Bakairí had moved to the Simões Lopes Post, which was established at the same place where José Coroado had already set up his aldea before.

During my journey carried out in the year 1927 I had the opportunity to become personally acquainted once more, after an interval of 26 years, with the conditions of the Bakairí. (37)

[113] 37. Cf. the preliminary reports on the results of this trip: Max Schmidt. "Ergebnisse meiner zweijährigen Forschungreise in Matto Grosso.

/29 cont./

114 met one of the Bakairí who had accompanied me in the year
115 1901 on my journey to the Rio Kulisehu. He too was already
[164] very old and he was ill, his body being covered with tumors.

When I reached the Simões Lopes Post I met with highly
114 unfavorable circumstances. My pack oxen were the first to
361 reach Simões Lopes after the long interruption of all traffic between this post and the capital Cuiabá caused by the revolutionaries
[731] led by Prestes. For this reason there was at that time a scarcity of /30/ provisions, and in addition there was among the Indians a bad epidemic of malaria, which the head of the post, Señor Benedito, and his family also had. The post at the time was still at the same location where it was first established, where José Coroado had had his aldea before, and thus 13 kilometers downriver from the old aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí and four kilometers inland on the right side of the river near the small Ribeirão Azul. It consisted of some administrative buildings (cf. Figure 3) and some 20 ranchos for the Bakairí Indians (cf. Figures 4, 6, and 7). There is no doubt that all the Bakairí lived at this time in areas near the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires) and had relations with the Simões Lopes Post, but only part of them lived at the post, and since the plantations of the individual Indian families were rather far from the settlement, the Indians who lived at the post also stayed temporarily in their small houses built near their plantations.

361 In the middle of the post was the house of the Bakairí, Pires,
622 whom the administration had entrusted with the caciqueship over
166 the Bakairí who had moved from the region of the upper Xingu
101 River and who were called Xinguanos. (Cf. Figures 4 and 5.)

In one of the houses of the post I met the Bakairí, Luchu,
114 who came from the first aldea on the Rio Kulisehu, who with
115 Cacique Tumayaua had accompanied Karl von den Steinen on his expedition and who is shown in a photograph in the book
[177] Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens. As shown in the photograph in Figure 8, he had grown quite old since and was

/30 cont./

114 dressed in European manner, and with his rough beard he bears
115 little resemblance to the photograph taken by Karl von den
[199] Steinen some 39 years earlier. In another house there still lived Luisa Kayabí, whom Karl von den Steinen had met when she was the young wife of old Cacique Caetano.

114 Most of the Bakairí whom I had known 26 years before in
731 Maigeri and Maimaieti aldeas had perished in a flu epidemic
753 that had wreaked havoc among the population of Mato Grosso
648 some years earlier. Since the high number of deaths among
361 the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River was attributed to the witch-
[166] craft of evil neighboring tribes, especially the Mehinakú and the Nahukuá, who had been envious of the economic benefits derived by the Bakairí from their contact with civilization, all the Bakairí of the Batovy and Kulisehu rivers had moved to the Rio Paranatinga. Undoubtedly petty jealousies and other discords had caused these Bakairí, called Xinguanos, not to get along with their fellow natives on the Paranatinga, and for this reason they had settled at some distance from the post, farther downriver. I found the first of these Xinguano settlements at the place where the Ribeirão Azul enters the Rio Paranatinga. It was situated on the right side of this river and consisted of four small houses. (Cf. Figures 21 and 22.) A little farther downriver I reached a Bakairí plantation near which was a rancho occupied by some people. (Cf. Figure 20.)

361 /31/ From there a path led to the principal settlement of
622 the Bakairí who had moved from the Rio Kulisehu. It consisted
159 of two rather large houses. (Cf. Figure 17.) I was told that a
114 little farther downriver there were some more settlements, and
[487] among them also that of my old friend from Maimaieti aldea, Karía. I had already encountered Karía when I visited Cacique
622 Antonio, and he had recognized me. He was no longer cacique,
159 and I was told that at the time of my stay in Maimaieti he had
114 merely been a temporary cacique in the place of his brother who was then away. He had grown much older and no longer

/31 cont./

622 had people at his command so that he no doubt lived in great
159 poverty. Some time later he visited me at the Simões Lopes
114 Post and brought me a beautiful bow with arrows and an old-style necklace made of stone and shell beads.

114 During my stay at Simões Lopes I twice visited the Xinguano
115 settlement situated on the Rio Paranatinga, and each time I was received very kindly and entertained well by the inhabitants, among whom I still found some acquaintances from Maimaieti. There I again met Marcellino Caminage and his family (cf. Figures 15-17), and also the son of the Bakairí, Chico, who had accompanied me on my previous trip from the Rio Paranatinga to Maimaieti aldea and who had since died. The son of this Chico, called André, had been raised on the ranch of Jange Soares so that he was good at the tasks related to a trip with pack oxen. I hired him for the rest of my journey, and I must mention here that he was always a good and faithful companion on my trip to the Kayabí Post, Pedro Dantas, and on the return to Cuiabá, at one time being my only companion and going through many difficulties with me. I still remember one day, when things were going very badly for us, he said to me, "My father, before, always stayed near you on your trip, and so now I stay near you too."

361 Also on the right side of the Rio Paranatinga but some dis-
622 tance from the river and beyond the Rio Vermelho that flows
[166] into the river below the Simões Lopes Post, was the settlement of the Bakairí who had moved from their two aldeas situated on the Rio Novo. The cacique of this group of Bakairí was at this time a man of advanced age called Roberto. (Cf. Figure 12.) The settlement consisted of 11 houses, only three of which were occupied at this time. But besides these houses Roberto also had a house at the Simões Lopes Post itself, where he occasionally
114 stayed with his people. On leaving Simões Lopes to continue my journey to the Pedro Dantas Post, I had the opportunity to visit the houses of the Bakairí who had come from the Rio Novo.

/200 cont./

131 Rio Novo, also in that state. The Simões Lopes Indians claim
361 that in the past all the Bakairí lived in aldeas by the Paranatinga River, moving later to the north under pressure of enemy
193 137 groups. (2) Later on the tribe divided as a result of internal
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2. For a better discussion of the possible origins of the Bakairí, see Max Schmidt's article, "Los Bakairí" /The Bacairi/, Revista do Museu Paulista, New Series, Vol. I, pp. 11-58, São Paulo, 1947.

[113]

disputes; part moved to the banks of the Rio Culiseu, one of the sources of the Xingu, and the other part was distributed along the Rio Novo. Perhaps the truth about these reports can only be obtained with the help of archaeology. Meanwhile, the old villages of the Bakairí on the sources of the
619 Xingu no longer exist. The Xinguano Indians suffered a great
195 deal from repeated outbreaks of influenza, and the last
931 Bakairí found in that area were brought to the Simões Lopes
648 Post a few years ago by officials of the Indian Protection Ser-
166 vice. The Rio Novo Bakairí, practically as a whole, adopted
619 the customs of the neighboring Brazilian populations and live
199 independent of the control of the Indian Protection Service.
184 As for the Simões Lopes Indians, although they are quite
[178] acculturated, they still retain many traits of their old culture, they all still speak Bakairí, and some of them still remember the time when they lived in Xinguano aldeas, and make good informants.

114 As for the authors who have dealt with the Bakairí, we shall note among the best, Capistrano de Abreu and Karl von den Steinen. The former left us valuable information on the Bakairí language and on the beliefs of these Indians. The only weakness of his material is that it is based on only one

[P69-A]

THE BACAIRI

117 This brief account of the Bacairi is based on
[101] field work done among the Bacairi living in the Government Indian Post on the Rio Paranatinga
[102] in June 1947. The field work was carried out in the course of a reconnaissance survey which the writer was then making of some of the central and northern Indian tribes of Mato Grosso.
[103] This and other trips at the time were made in a Ford truck put at the disposal of the writer by the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios. By using a truck the trip to the Paranatinga could be made over the Planalto do Matogrosense in 2 days in contrast to the old route along the Rio Cuiabá which, on horseback with pack oxen, takes from 2 to 3 weeks. The writer was accompanied by Fernando Altenfelder Silva of the Escola de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo and by Rev. Thomas Young and Rev. W. L. Brockman of the South American Indian Mission. The Reverend Mr.
[105] Young, who has spent more than 10 years among the Bacairi, was of great help in selecting informants and in adding to our knowledge of the Bacairi.

16/ According to estimates made in 1947 by the
26/ Brazilian Indian Service (Serviço de Proteção aos Indios) there are between 200 and 250 Bacairi living in the northern part of Mato Grosso State, Brazil, divided between the Indian Post of Simão Lopes on the Rio Paranatinga and the village of
173 Rio Novo some distance to the northwest. The
26/ Bacairi claim that the whole tribe originally
167 lived together on the Rio Paranatinga (headwaters
[168] of the Tapajoz River), but attacks by other Indians and Brazilians forced them to move about 80 years ago. Owing to a dispute the tribe split, one group moving north to settle on the banks of the Rio Kulisu, a tributary of the Xingú River, the other moving to Rio Novo. After about 30 years in the Kulisu Basin, this group moved to the present location of Simão Lopes, not far from the original Bacairi settlement on the Rio Paranatinga. Although the Rio Novo
177 group has adopted Brazilian customs and manages
164 without Government help, some have moved to
168 Simão Lopes where the Bacairi now live on reservation lands and receive assistance from the

Brazilian Government.

/389 cont./

127 from March 13, 1872, is classic. It had become necessary to take into account the tremendous and widely known changes which the Paraguay war had brought about in the southern part of the province. Of the tribes listed as Nos. 3-15 in 1846, three were crossed out, the total figure was reduced from 13,020 to 9670; on the other hand, for tribes 1, 2, 16-33 the old report was again copied verbatim, so that no human being seems to have been born or died here in the 24 years.

175 [199] [164] [159] The Bakairí of the Paranatinga and Rio Novo maintained themselves in their two poor villages; they were occasionally visited by gold-seeker expeditions who would then arrange a small mass-baptism and introduce syphilis and measles. Many perished from measles, the disease, relatively harmless for us, is not only /390/ often fatal to the Indians, but they also have the bad habit of plunging into the river in the middle of the highest fever and not drying themselves after they leave the cool bath.

173 [115] I made an effort to learn more details about the history of the tribe from the aged Caetano, retired chief, and his successor, Felipe, on the Paranatinga, as well as from Antonio. A history of more recent times can clearly be separated out, during which a shift to the southwest took place. Whereas the forefathers on the 175 131 169 361 salto of the Paranatinga lived several days' journey below the present village and somewhat above the emptying of the Rio Verde coming from the left, the West Bakairí, at least since the middle of the previous century, have occupied the border area between the source rivers of the Arinos, Cuyabá, and Paranatinga, where the village on the Rio Novo is still to be found. On the Ribeirão Caimão there were more than six villages; there was a large village on the Ribeirão da Pedra. The first baptism of the Bakairí took place in Diamantino. Caetano, born in the previous century according to all calculations, first saw the light of the world where [177] the Rio Beijaflor empties into the Paranatinga. The Paranatinga village now located above this is a creation of modern times,

2. Steinen--470E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/300 cont./

131 brought about by the gold-seeker Correa. The expeditions in
173 search of the fabulous gold mines of the Martyrion were able to
177 cross the Paranatinga most conveniently here and wanted to use
167 the canoes of the Bakairí as well as to obtain food supplies from
361 them. Antonio was born toward the end of the fifties, at the earliest, in Limoeiro, a small settlement.

131 The ancestors of Antonio offer a chronological handle. His
173 father, Seseriari, also had a Portuguese name; his grandfather,
[201] like an Indian in the first Batovy village, was called Karawako, his great-grandfather Yakauka, his great-great-grandfather Kupare, and the last one whose name Antonio still knew was his great-great-great-grandfather, Matukara. The latter lived near the salto of the Paranatinga. If we estimate 30 years per generation, the succession might go back to before the middle of the eighteenth century. Caetano, probably born around 1790, was still supposed to be able to call by name six or seven ancestors, which I unfortunately could no longer confirm, so that his genealogy would reach back to the middle of the seventeenth century. Caetano's father was born on the Paranatinga, above the salto, it was his grandfather who was born on the salto itself. In any case, the statements of the Bakairí agree perfectly with the report of Antonio Pires that the Bakairí were in contact with the tribes on the upper course of the Cuyabá at the beginning of the previous century.

131 It is not unimportant to determine as much of the tradition
173 as possible, insofar as it does not yet appear as legend and fairy
[201] tale, because it is very desirable to know whether the present-day West Bakairí, the inhabitants of the Tapajos source-region, or the East Bakairí in the source region of the Schingú /Xingu/ occupy the older habitations.

/301/ The West Bakairí definitely put the original home of the entire tribe at the salto of the Paranatinga, so that our Kanaiten /Canib/ tribe would originally have belonged to the Tapajos. But the western source-rivers of the Schingú and the eastern ones of the Paranatinga lie so close together that it is a matter of pure chance where the tribes moving downstream arrive. "One of the grandfathers" of Caetano was slain in the forest by

/391 cont./ "one of the grandfathers" of Caetano was slain in the forest by another Bakairí, at that time there were serious conflicts within the tribe, and the result was -- according to the report of the Paranatinga people -- that one part of the Bakairí moved from the salto to the Kulisehu.

Between the Paranatinga and the Ronuro, too, there is a "tapera," a ruined settlement of bygone days, known to the West Bakairí. At one time a route led from the salto as far as the Auetö on the Kulisehu, which therefore must have led across the Ronuro or its source streams and the Batovy. The Bakairí are said to have fled along this route and to have settled in part on the Batovy, in part on the Kulisehu. They were said to have obtained mandioca twigs, batatas, and cará /Dioscorea/ fruits from the Nahuquá for planting.

These are, therefore, very definite statements. It is difficult to say, however, when the separation between West and East Bakairí took place and whether it occurred in several thrusts. Just as the tribe of the Auetö and of the Nahuquá appears in the tradition of the Paranatinga village, to have the names of the rest of the Kulisehu tribes, the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, Yaulapiti, Kustenaú /Custenau/, Waurá, Kamayurá /Camayura/, and Trumaí, been known there from the times of Caetano's grandfathers. In the third Bakairí village on the Batovy we found a small piece of iron that was said to have been brought in former times from the Pakuneru, the Paranatinga; thus occasional visits back and forth may have occurred, or at least Parantinga-Bakairí may now and then have reached the Schingú.

In general, however, I gained the impression that the actual separation of the two Bakairí groups took place around the middle or the beginning of the previous century at the latest, when the Brazilians settled in the Mato Grosso and caused major shifts of the tribes. Probably it was not merely a matter of individual internal feuds among the people at the salto, but also of malevolent neighbors who oppressed and occasionally drove away the peaceable Bakairí.

In the Brazilian sources the Nambiquara /Nambicuara/, Tapanhuna /Tapanyuna/, and Kayabí /Cayabi/ are given as

/393 cont./

B A 173 721 A [302] B [729]

lying in their hammocks, they made an assault and killed two, while the others ran away. The Kayabí were rubbed with arimesca oil (from a vine) and urucú and stank like the devil. They had with them gourd bowls, a different kind of urucú, and bows and arrows. In 1884 in the Paranatinga village we found two Kayabí women, Maria and Luisa Kayabí,* who unfortunately

* See Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, p. 283 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 151/, and the body measurements in the table following p. 364 /omitted in 1:Steinen/. Erroneously written Cajibi there.

no longer knew a word of their mother tongue. Some 20 Bakairí had undertaken the raid at the mouth of the Rio Verde and captured the two small girls along with a sister of Luisa, who, however, bit everyone around her so furiously that she had to be killed.

B 173 167

Although, in addition to the version that dissension among the Bakairí themselves necessitated an exodus to the Schingú, I was also given another one, that a number of Bakairí fled there from the Kayabí. It is quite possible that both are justified and refer to different occasions.

S 131 167 [101]

A shift in the same direction was reported to me for the Suyá, which necessarily surprised me no little. The Suyá, whom we found in 1884 on the upper course of the Schingú, are a true Gê tribe and linguistically are most closely related to the Apinagês /Apinaye/ of the province of Goyaz /Goiás/ between the Tocantins and Araguay /Araguaia/. They are likewise said to have lived on the Rio Verde west of the Paranatinga and to have come there from the nearby Arinos. They must therefore, since we may cling to their eastern origin, first have been driven across the Schingú and Paranatinga toward the west and then moved back. The Bakairí say that they joined the Kayapó /Cayapo/, who were excellent archers, and drove the Suyá out of the neighborhood along the Rio Verde. A great many Suyá

B [648] [173] S [648]

B 648 193 S 169 648 /393 cont./ A great many Suyá were said to have been killed and the tribe fled to the Schingú. Hyacintho, the oldest Indian of the Rio Novo village, was said to have taken part in the battle, along with Antonio's grandfather, so that at the earliest the event would have occurred in the first quarter of our century.

B 678 In the south and southeast the West Bakairí evidently had friendly relations with the Gê tribe of the Kayapó. In the B [175] Brazilian sources, which in general underestimate the extent of this tribe, there is nothing /394/ known about the Kayapó B 101 having extended into this region. They report only attacks of the "Coroados" on the fazendas of the upper Cuyabá, but the Bakairí, who were necessarily better informed, designated this tribe as "kayáko" = Kayapó, and they also call the source river of the Paranatinga coming farthest from the east the Kayapó River. The same Kayapó are eastern or southeastern neighbors of the Kulisehu Bakairí, as the latter informed me.

B 101 Finally, I tried to find out how far the sphere of the West Bakairí extends to the west: the Paresí are well known to them as old neighbors. To the west beyond Diamantino, behind the Paresí, live the "Woimaré" and "Eneirá," it was said. They allegedly are not relatives of the Paresí, a statement which is incorrect for the "Woimaré," as we shall see in the discussion of the Paresí. The "Eneirá" are otherwise unknown. Much farther still live the "Pekoban," likewise unknown. The ancestors pushed forward as far as that and said that there was a large river there and that the Pekoban lived beyond it. This could only be the Guaporé, the upper course of the Madeira.

In conclusion, a note about the Guaná is very remarkable; in very, very ancient times they were said to have lived on the Rio Beijaflor, a left tributary of the Paranatinga, which flows into it above the Rio Verde. Cf. page 454.

B 193 This is all that I could learn from the West Bakairí about 167 the history of the tribe and its relations to its neighbors. To summarize the traditions: the oldest Bakairí were settled at the salto of the Paranatinga, thus in any case belonged to the

/394 cont./

173 source region of the Tapajoz, and from there some of them emi-
● 167 grated to the Batovy and Kulisehu in the source region of the Schingú. According to the legend, they reached the salto from the source region of the Paranatinga and Roruro.

The separation of the West Bakaïrí and East Bakaïrí would under all circumstances have to be dated back to at least the previous century and before the time when the Bakaïrí spread to the southwest into the source region of the Cuyabá. The
174 linguistic comparison agrees well with these conclusions; the
197 two groups of Bakaïrí speak a language that is identical in form and content, with slight dialectal differences. A few fish and trees are designated differently. the name of the akurí palm of the Kulisehu is that of the oausú palm of the Paranatinga, and
[177] vice versa. As far as the Schingú Bakaïrí are concerned, it is absolutely certain that they have never had any contact with the white man.

619 As a result of our expedition of 1884, West Bakaïrí and East
[123] Bakaïrí came together again. Antonio, after his return home
[166] to the Paranatinga, told of the fellow tribesmen on the Batovy, and the practical Chief Felipe had the idea that he must try to
[484] persuade them to settle on the Paranatinga. In September of 1886 he set out with Antonio and another man. they reached the Batovy in three days and required another three days along the river until they reached the first village.

/395/ Chief Luku was kurápa and did not entertain them as splendidly as they had expected, but several East Bakaïrí, our "professor" of 1884 in the lead, accompanied them to the
619 Paranatinga. The visitors had great fear of the cattle, but great
431 joy over the visitors-gifts, with which Felipe did not stint. I inquired specifically what they had been given to take along. "We gave them all the iron we had, chickens (this, however, was later denied), small banana plants, mandioca twigs, maize, and rice." Thus one sees how the first opportunity is immediately used to transplant the cultivated produce! If the experiment succeeded, our successors on the Schingú will be able to eat bananas!

Yaruma SP25
Nahuqua SP7 Bacairi SP7
Yabuti SP24
Palmella
Cariban Indians SP7

Y 131 169 /398 cont./ several and learned from three Palmellas who were in the detachment that until some time ago (but at most 80 years) they were settled near the mission of S. Miguel of the Baures and had come there as refugees from elsewhere, but they no Y 161 longer knew from what region. They numbered about 400 in- 164 dividuals, but in an epidemic had lost many people through Y 181 death and flight. They were peaceful farmers, little inclined to hunt and fish, they planted maize, mandioca, yams, peanuts, 241 squash, sugar /399/ cane, oranges, melons, and raised chickens Y and ducks. According to accounts of traders, there were among 142 the Indians "a few truly white with reddish or chestnut-brown 143 hair, like the Herisobocones in the Baures district, the Tukunapeba and the Arara of the lower Schingú." A white Indian woman with blue eyes and behavior that showed traces of civilization was Y 101 treated respectfully by all under the name of "Senhora." Unfortunately, we do not learn the actual name of the tribe and must be content with "Palmella," as a Cuyaban caoutchouc Y trader saw fit to christen them. Now though the tribe only im- 167 migrated into the Baures district from the outside, and its origin C 131 is unknown, nevertheless the fact that here Karaiben appear in considerable numbers in the source region of the Madeira remains very noteworthy.

Ya B 131 174 B (167) In the eastern source region of the Tapajoz and in the western one of the Schingú, the Bakaïrí and the Nahuquá were now added. Though the West Bakaïrí are today considerably reduced, they successfully spread from the now abandoned salto of the Paranatinga and from the region between the Parantinga and Ronuro toward the east to the Batovy and Kulisehu, where they Ya occupied the fish-rich region of the cataracts. The Nahuquá 131 are the masters of the Kuluene, the chief source-branch of the 133 Schingú, the exploration of which will be the most important C task of our successors. With their numerous villages they are so Ya 361 very important that one may say: it is the Karaiben who rep- 161 resent the chief bulk of the population of the Schingú source region.

B 174 Through the Kulisehu Bakaïrí and the Nahuquá, the consideration causing the expedition of 1884 to object, namely, that the

6:Oberg E-5 (1947)1953 SP7 Bacairi SP7

[P69-A]

THE BACAIRI

114 This brief account of the Bacairí is based on
[101] field work done among the Bacairí living in the Government Indian Post on the Rio Paranatinga
[121] in June 1947. The field work was carried out in the course of a reconnaissance survey which the writer was then making of some of the central and northern Indian tribes of Mato Grosso.
[122] This and other trips at the time were made in a Ford truck put at the disposal of the writer by the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios. By using a truck the trip to the Paranatinga could be made over the Planalto do Matogrosense in 2 days in contrast to the old route along the Rio Cuiabá which, on horseback with pack oxen, takes from 2 to 3 weeks. The writer was accompanied by Fernando Altenfelder Silva of the Escola de Sociologia e Politica de São Paulo and by Rev. Thomas Young and Rev. W. L. Buckman of the South American Indian Mission. The Reverend Mr.
[115] Young, who has spent more than 10 years among the Bacairí, was of great help in selecting informants and in adding to our knowledge of the Bacairí.

161 According to estimates made in 1947 by the
361 Brazilian Indian Service (Serviço de Proteção aos Indios) there are between 200 and 250 Bacairí living in the northern part of Mato Grosso State, Brazil, divided between the Indian Post of Simão Lopes on the Rio Paranatinga and the village of
173 Rio Novo some distance to the northwest. The
361 Bacairí claim that the whole tribe originally
● 167 lived together on the Rio Paranatinga (headwaters
[648] of the Tapajoz River), but attacks by other Indians and Brazilians forced them to move about 90 years ago. Owing to a dispute the tribe split, one group moving north to settle on the banks of the Rio Kuliseu, a tributary of the Xingú River, the other moving to Rio Novo. After about 50 years in the Kuliseu Basin, this group moved to the present location of Simão Lopes, not far from the original Bacairí settlement
177 on the Rio Paranatinga. Although the Rio Novo
166 group has adopted Brazilian customs and manages
648 without Government help, some have moved to Simão Lopes where the Bacairí now live on reservation lands and receive assistance from the Brazilian Government.

113	
● 171	Tupi-Guarani SL6
192	Bacairi SP7 ●
197	Arawakan Indians SR6
825	Cariban Indians SR7
	Carib SR9
	Macusi SR11
	Rucuyen SR12
	Cumana SS9

/For information on the terminologies and nomenclatures in the native vernacular applied by the Carib-speaking and some other northern South American tribes to various species of mammalian fauna in their habitats, see 3: Simpson, SS16 Pemon, Category 116, particularly pp. 4A-10B./

/170 cont./

291 Besides these products of the most primitive carving art, /171/ the most interesting article was: a buritĩ shirt -- "the" shirt of the upper Schingú -- which proved the invention of [286] clothing even among the Bakaïrĩ. The fibers were knotted in meshes, following the method for the hammock; the doublet was wide at the neck in order to be stepped into; it had short sleeves and trousers, from the bottom edge of which long fibers hung down. Many simple, meter-long buritĩ-fiber 372 237 hangings seemed apron-like. Two triangular fire-fans had small downy feathers pasted on them. Hard, open shells,

535

345 352 353

In the Bakaïrĩ festival-hut.

535 the size of half-walnuts, were gathered into a rattling bundle 534 that is tied around the ankles for dancing. Another rattle instrument was a dried gourd shell, which contained seeds, impaled on a stick (1).

[171] 1. Hans Stadl (1556) tells of the "Tuppin Inbas": "They believe in a thing that grows like a gourd, is as large as a half-measure scoop. It is hollow inside; they stick a little stick through it, cut a little hole in it, like a mouth, and put little stones in it,

/171 cont./

534 171

1. (cont.)
so that it rattles. They rattle with it when they sing and dance, and call it tammaraka." The soothsayer lets the rattle speak "and just a word so that one cannot really perceive whether the rattle is doing it or whether he is doing it. And the other people think that the rattle is doing it... but when I saw the fraud, I went out of the hut; I thought, what a poor, deluded people that is."

361 The aldea was otherwise similar to the first in everything. All around puva racks, cotton, spear grass, fruta de lobo, and
162 nearby a brook running over white sand. We counted 18 men, 17 women, 7 children; it is possible, however, that one or another has been counted twice; again the small number of children is very striking. Toward evening we returned to the river; I had done some good bartering.

122 18 Aug; φ 12° 59'.9, λ 7'.7, km. 22.10, total 164.42.
[132] 7:30 A.M.: dry. 14.0, water 22.7.
5:35 P.M.: I 742.8, II 733.4, dry. 25.0.

From the wool /Wolle," wool, down, hair, cotton"/ obtained in the village fish lines were twisted. During the night
[136] five pirararas /see the glossary, p. 172/ and nine piranhas were caught. The former has the bad habit, when it is hauled on land, of emitting a farewell sound, which is audible far and wide, with the part that leaves the water last. It tastes fatty; the broth is somewhat strong; it is also supposed to produce ulcers. -- The
[482] professor went home again; besides arrow, bow, and the treasured mirror, he carried his hammock on his back in a net held by a forehead band: this is the way the Bakaïrí goes traveling. -- A young, handsome chap accompanies us to the next village. He
[291] wears a red-black flannel shirt and around his head a green cloth with the Brazilian coat of arms. At the campsite he removes this clothing.

/172 cont./

000 the more uncertain I am in abstracting the common features. The
171 Kustenaú has his foot and half of his lower thigh painted red, like
302 stockings; the upper thighs are covered with a socty black, in which, however, arched stripes are left blank. On his back he has two red stripes, and in addition black arm-bands. Numerous scratches, which are made with the tooth of the peixe-cachorro
302 (dogfish). The Bakaïrí, too, are painted more than usual with
[531] red; one has a black stripe on either side from eye to ear; another has painted himself black over the middle of his forehead, nose, lips, and chin, and bright brick-red on the sides of the forehead and the face. Among some, the hair, too, is saturated with the
301 red oil. Below the knees are bands of /Illustration appears here/ /173/ burití straw; a skein of cotton, colored a dirty reddish brown, is tied around the waist. Some have strings or bands of cotton wound over the ankles or under the knees, around the legs, or around the upper arms. There is no uniformity anywhere.

302 The tonsure is shaved with a bent piece of spear grass. Its
413 diameter is seven centimeters.

177 To our surprise we also found an iron chisel tip and on a child a little string of blue beads. We could not find out definitely how these had found their way here; I interpreted their descrip-
[721] tion and Antonio's unclear account to mean that they had been brought back from a tribe on the lower Paranatinga whom the grandfather had visited on a raiding expedition.

276 Even in Aldea II the men had become happily excited by the discovery of tobacco seed; smoking was also done here. The leaves were so dry that they could be rubbed almost to powder; they were rolled into cigarettes about two decimeters long, and the fresh green leaf of an unknown tree was split lengthwise and used as the wrapping. This wrapper burned with a pleasant, balsam odor. The smoke was inhaled.

262 The women made excellent beijú; it tasted like fresh French rolls. We also ate a fish ragout à la coquille, of which we would have liked to have had more than they gave us.

[Text continues on p. 57]

/183 cont./

124 Brother is symbolized by pointing to the navel of the one who is
601 the brother and to one's own navel, the word became certain because the Kustenaú immediately applied it to me: "I call you brother," he cried most enthusiastically and slapped me on the shoulder -- "mepiama teté, two brothers," he added. That one designates someone as son becomes absolutely clear, on the part of the father as well as of the mother, by a gesture which represents the height of naïveté, but whether the word spoken does not at the same time correspond to the given name of the son, etc. can be deduced only from a number of examples.

124 In answer to the question as to where we would be tomorrow,
[101] the Kustenaú always repeated, "Waurá." Whether that is a tribe or, as Antonio says, a tributary, we are unable to decide (1).

1. From the statements of the Suyá geographer it becomes clear that the Waurá are indeed a tribe on the Batovy, whom we did not find.

805 The number of days is nicely and simply elucidated. They point to the sun, describe an arc in the air which sumbolizes its daily course, nod their heads, and close their eyes -- one day; again they describe an arc, etc., depicting each day separately in this manner. The questioner does the adding.

802 /184/ The manner in which our Indians -- the Bakaïrí do
[171] exactly the same -- answer the question about a number, for example, of persons, is also very drastic. First they grasp and bend aside one finger after another of the left and then of the right hand; then comes the left foot and, if this is not enough, the right foot, toe by toe in sequence. If the number exceeds even 20, the Indian in the end grasps his hair with both hands, lifts a full bunch, and pulls it apart in all directions.

/For additional comparative data on the ethnography of other tribes along the Kulisehu River - especially the Aueto (SP6), the Kamayura (SP6), the Nahuqua (SP25), the Mehinaku (SP18), and Waura (SP18) - see category 116, pp. 157-410 passim. Data on the physical anthropology of these tribes may be found in categories 141 and 142./

/71 cont./

536 412 171 I may mention at once that the mimicry of the Bakaïrí mutatis mutandis with more or less temperament was repeated among all tribes, that only the interjections differed, but the gestures were exactly the same. Here in the tobacco club I also first became acquainted with the stone-ax pantomime which, though in itself very touching, we later had to endure in the case of each tribe to the point of boredom. It described the contrast between the stone ax and the iron ax, which was immediately demonstrated to them by Antonio, and to my feeling, before I became dulled by the repetition, indeed at the beginning, just because it was so inexorably repeated, it had something unusually gripping about it, like a sort of stammering protest of metal-less humanity against the crushing hammer blows of civilization, a protest which, as I still experienced it here, must have resounded unheard a thousand times in all the corners of the earth.

536 412 How the Bakaïrí tortures himself to fell a tree: early in the morning, when the sun, tschischi, rises -- it rises there in the east -- he starts to swing the stone ax. And tschischi travels upward and the Bakaïrí goes on striking bravely, tsök, tsök, tsök. His arms grow ever wearier -- they are rubbed and drop down limply, he blows a weak puff of air out of his mouth and passes his hand over his exhausted face; he goes on striking, no longer with tsök, tsök, but with a groan drawn from the depths of his chest. The sun stands high in the zenith; his stomach -- his flat hand rubs over it or is laid deep in a fold -- is empty; how hungry the Bakaïrí is -- his face is drawn into the most pitiful expression. Finally, when tschischi is already very low, a tree falls: tokále = one, the little finger points out. But you, the Karaibe -- suddenly everything about the mimic is alive and strong -- the Karaibe takes his iron ax, swings it aloft, brings it down heavily, tsök, tsök, pum -- ah..., there lies the tree, a hard stamp with the foot, on the ground already. And here and there and here again, one sees them falling everywhere. Conclusion for the Karaiben: give us your iron axes.

/88 cont./

361 The village could be reached in half an hour or an hour from
311 the river, depending on whether one landed sooner or later. It was surrounded by cultivated land to an extent that aroused our
241 greatest astonishment. On the three different paths that we followed, we came through long stretches where the forest had been cut down with the stone ax. In March and April the trees are felled and in September and October the wood which has dried in the meantime is burned. We examined with admiration a number of thick trunks, the cross-sections of which were covered with the dull blow-marks of the stone axes, and regretted that we could not saw off such a marked surface and take it along. I silently begged forgiveness of the Indians at whom I had often laughed when they were swinging themselves in their hammocks at home, as though their lives were one long Sunday.

361 /89/ In Iguéti there were three large family-houses and a
345 very respectable flute-house in which many dance costumes made
535 of palm straw were hanging. On the village plaza a cage rose
343 up higher than a house, which consisted of long poles set together
231 in the form of a pointed cone; in it sat a mighty Harpia destructor, although the village is called igu-eti = sparrow-hawk village.
231 The once heraldic bird had probably long since departed. The beautiful eagle was named after its favorite food, mégo-zóto, lord
412 of the monkeys. Beside the chief's house lay a large whetstone
● [171] for the stone axes; it gave me much pleasure because it showed the same grooves that we had observed in the sambaquis of Sta. Catharina.

621 The community numbered some 40 persons. They spoke of
162 three chiefs, but we met in this capacity only the good-natured,
622 very broad-shouldered Aramöke, who was characterized by a waddling walk. He had a sly expression and with his clumsy body was very polite, for, striding ahead of me in the forest, he broke off the branches, which might have snapped back in my face, more graciously than he probably would have for a woman. A large knife and a red scarf made him the happiest of mortals.
574 He showed us great hospitality. Fresh golden beijús were con-
437 stantly brought forth, a row of calabashes filled with pogu were

/158 cont./

The Nu-Aruak fall into the subdivisions of the Nu-Eline and the Aruak. "Nu-" is the characteristic fossil of these tribes, the pronominal prefix of the first person, highly characteristic for most of them, which we come across from Bolivia and the Mato Grosso to the Lesser Antilles. In the Guianas we see the Nu-Aruak in intimate contact with the Karaiben; on the Lesser Antilles, where the Aruak were attacked and oppressed by the Karaiben, a true amalgamation would in all probability have come about without the arrival of the Europeans, bringing destruction. Father Raymond Breton in 1665 left us a dictionary of the Island Karaiben, whose Indian-French part, unfortunately only this, has become generally available in a facsimile edition, thanks to Julius Platzmann (Leipzig, 1892), and strove earnestly to separate the words of the Karaiben men and the Aruak women, where they differed, but proved by his compilation that two languages were no longer spoken independently of each other, as was mentioned above, but that the Karaiben men had allowed the substance and form of their old "mother tongue" to be tremendously changed by the new "language of their mothers."

On the distant Kulisehu we met the exact mirror image of the conditions in the Guianas. The Mehinakú, Kustenaú, Waurá, and Yaulapiti are Nu-Aruak; their influence was clearly asserted in language and culture traits among the Nahuquá who had taken several Mehinakú women.

Therefore, according to linguistic investigation, the tribes of the Schingú source region are to be classified as follows (the number of villages in parentheses).

Karaiben: Bakairí (8), Nahuquá (9);
Nu-Aruak: Mehinakú (3), Waurá (1), Kustenaú (1), Yaulapiti (2);
Tupí: Kamayurá (4), Auetö (1);
Isolated: Trumaí (2).

/159/ Just as the Nahuquá embrace nine different "tribes," which correspond merely to nine different independent villages, we could likewise put the Mehinakú, Waurá, and Kustenaú together as one tribe. These three tribes speak exactly the same idiom. They also, as we shall see, form an ethnological unit,

/139 cont./

and, in order not to do violence to the perfectly justified tribal names, as actually happened in the case of the Nahuquá, we may call them, where we need a comprehensive term, the potter tribes, according to their most important ethnological characteristic. Beside them stand the Taulapiti as a closely related Nu-Aruak tribe, but one already clearly different in dialect and revealing other influences.

Thus the arithmetical problem has been simplified to the extent that we have before us Karaiben in the Bakairí and Nahuquá, Nu-Aruak in the potter tribes and the Taulapiti, Tupí in the Auetó and the Kamayurá, and, as an indivisible remainder, the Trumaí.

II. Anthropological.

In order to have a record of the physical appearance of the Kulisehu Indians, insofar as was possible during our brief acquaintance with the individual tribes, a series of measurements were taken, which did not turn out to be very numerous and are not evenly distributed according to the different tribes or the two sexes, yet nevertheless offer interesting material. Possible sources of error on the part of the observer may be put down as constant, since the measurements were all taken by Ehrenreich. He also took a far greater number of photographs than could be reproduced here, some of them, however, became very sporty and difficult to reproduce.* He expects to make further use of the illustrative

* As is shown in detail in the list of illustrations, the following are reproduced here in photographs: both sexes of the Bakairí, Mehinakú and Kamayurá, as well as only men of the Nahuquá and Auetó, while Taulapiti and Trumaí are missing altogether.

material and to deal with the collected material of the measurements in detail and according to its comparative value for the

/353 cont./

interpret it as though the Indian says, "I am a human being and let the animals behave like human beings too." The reverse, that human beings are animals, also occurs, and, to be sure, in the good and bad sense. The Trumaí are water animals because they sleep at the bottom of the river. The Bakairí say this in all seriousness. We likewise encounter among other tribes this same belief in human beings who live in the water. The Bororó maintain that if one chews certain leaves one can remain for hours under the surface of the water and catch fish. I was unable to learn anything more specific about the "water life" of the Trumaí, except that they like to attack other tribes on the river and supposedly throw captives in the water with their arms tied. I do not know whether they were formerly river nomads, like the Guaná; at any rate, they first learned agriculture from their neighbors. Whatever may have suggested this belief about them to the Bakairí, it will not be vitiated by any conclusion that we might draw on the basis of our natural law, "but, after all, the Trumaí are not animals, not fishes"; rather, the Bakairí concludes that because the Trumaí sleep in the river they are water animals, and he mocks and despises them, as happens to every tribe with strange customs. The Bororó pride themselves on the fact that they are red araras. They not only turn into araras after death, /353/ as well as into certain other animals, not only are the araras Bororó and treated accordingly -- they also express their relationship to the brilliant bird so cold-bloodedly that they designate themselves as araras as though a caterpillar were to say that it is a butterfly and, in doing so, do not at all wish to give themselves merely a name completely independent from their nature.

Thus, the Trumaí are water animals because they have a habit of water animals; the Bororó are araras because their dead are transformed into araras. One tries to interpret these and similar phenomena by the confusion of names and things which easily occurs in tradition. This is decidedly not the case among our Indians. Though it may be readily conceded that, where the basic view is present, such confusion automatically appears, nevertheless the basic view, undoubtedly present, must be put

/358 cont./

821 a sorcerer on the Paranatinga changed himself into an anú, a
773 bluish-black bird (Crotophaga) and covered the sun for a while with his wings. On January 28, 1888, there was an eclipse of the moon which I called to Antonio's attention. Deprived of surprise because of my announcement beforehand, he nevertheless made his usual explanation that the lizard and the tatú were at work. I let him look at the moon through an opera glass and wanted him to tell me about the mountains. "A little dirt from the tatú has remained behind," he replied. Thus, with the grubbing and digging there was added a new circumstance which induced the ancient Bakaïrí to see in the curved form of the unilluminated part the armadillo in particular.

● 171 In these explanations, however, there is a definite contra-
821 diction of the views of the Karaíben /Carib/ base-people /Grundvolk/, which are handed down to us in the words for sun.*

*Cf. Bakaïrí-Grammatik /Bakaïrí Grammar/, the table for "Fire, Sun, Wood, Tree," p. 278 and pp. 279 to 281, as well as Durch Central-brasilien /Through Central Brazil/, page 306 /omitted in the translation (1: Steinen, this file)/.

and in the same manner the explanations of the present-day Parecí, who also have the feathers and the armadillos, contradict the presumed views among the Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ base-people. The words for "fire" and "sun" have the same roots and are in part differentiated only by reduplication, or are even identical from one tribe to another. Thus, in the formation of the words, warmth and light must have been the first characteristics of the sun comprehended. The pot, too, with which the
821 Bakaïrí have the sun /359/ covered at night, is also a reference to the hearth, and it proves to us, since the Bakaïrí had no pots in former times, the comparatively late embellishment of the hypothesis. I modestly objected to Antonio: "But the sun is hot, after all, and there are no feathers, are there?" An objection which I hurriedly regretted as soon as it had escaped my lips.

/369 cont./

174 as the mothers called him, and the one who possessed the moon
173 Nuna, as the fathers called him, or Kame, as the mothers called him. The Bakairi and their neighbors made Tschischi-Keri, the Arusk and their neighbors made Nuña-Kame, /370/ in other words Kame, the Arinos people living to the northwest with the Paressí, and Keri, the tribes living with the Bakairí to the south and east. There is no question of a conscious, primary distinction on the basis of the directions; this distinction could only have arisen secondarily by the roundabout way of Keri's having already become the chief person and the possessor of the sun; for children could not have simply called east and sun what their mothers called west and moon, and it is not an incomprehensible misunderstanding (as I myself believed in the beginning) that brought about the exchange of names, but the very understandable claim on both sides to descent from the more important of the two fraternal ancestors.

[173] I believe that the material of the astronomical observations and that of the historical memories were handled in exactly the same way: in both cases the authors of the deed were added to the story, as were the men to the arrows and the women to the maize pestles. The deed is historical, the persons are only to the extent that they are the chiefs, medicine men, or tribal ancestors whom one must assume for the beginning.

173 Let us consider a few important details of the legend: Keri and Kame are twins. Their mother is "married" to the jaguar, but it is especially emphasized that they are only his foster sons and that their mother, even though she need not be a virgin, did not conceive them by her husband; she swallowed two finger bones from Bakairí, which the jaguar stored away at home as arrow points, and became pregnant from them. We come across the same features in many American legends. First of all, several brothers are born as the original ancestors, and, secondly, the mother is often virginal. There is no lack of profound interpre-
[191] tations. Among the Paressí there are ten brothers, among other tribes four; the number depends either on the need, how many independent family trees were necessary for the tribes who lived

/371 cont./

773 again as evening twilight. But I must admit, this feature of the death of the mother, often observed in the American creation legends, is appropriate here too. And there, to be sure, my beautiful explanation about diligence comes to nought, for with the break of day this should be awakened to full life. Thus, I believe it is better not to put too high a value on the generalization of any fate of the mother -- dying happens very readily in the myths -- but rather to examine in each individual case to what extent death is useful for the aims of the storytellers. In our case both death itself, as the motif for the continuation of the story, and the manner in which it is combined with birth are very useful. The mother is killed by the mother-in-law because she is regarded as a Bakairí, and the mother-in-law and her tribe were hostile to the Bakairí and devoured as many of them as possible. Keri and Kame take revenge on her: she, too, is killed, and when she is burned the Magellanic Clouds arise; this fire again plays an important role for the development of the heroes. Then, however, Keri and Kame were cut out of the dead mother, and that is, after all, a circumstance which has a more startling relation to the miraculous birth, albeit fearful to the mother, of two great medicine men who soon accomplish so much than it has to the death of the personified morning-twilight! The morning twilight, moreover, like the sun, is regarded as feathers which the vulture brings in order not to have to give up the sun itself.

If only we would take the legends as what they are to the Indian himself rather than as what they could be to us and, I must admit, what they could become for him, with the advancement of a higher culture embellishing the childlike origin with a thousand arabesques. The Indian imagines the sun as a feather ball -- and not only /372/ the Bakairí and Paresí do that, but also the Bororó -- and he is supposed to imagine abstract "light" as a person!

In the American legends the "god of light" brings "civilization" and there is seen in this a memory of a migration from the east or an origin of civilization from the east. It is indeed strange

/405 cont./

a whole into its halves. Objects furnish the empirical limit of the "2" gesture. Dependence on sense of touch. Confirmation by etymology.

The art of counting was the least developed among the Bakairí /Bacairi/. With regard to the other tribes I shall limit myself to a few remarks, since I am giving the numbers in the word list /omitted in the translation; see the foreign text, pp. 326-347/.

All tribes counted the fingers of both hands first and then the toes of both feet. With the exception of the Bakairí, they commenced with the thumb of the right hand, counted up to 5 on the fingers, went over to the thumb of the left hand, counted up to 10 here, and repeated the procedure in exactly the same way for the feet.

If one regards the number words in terms of their formation, one observes among all the tribes that they have separate words for 1, 2, 3, with the exception of the Bakairí, whom I shall ignore for the time being, and the Trumaí, for whom, however, the records contain much that is uncertain. Among the Trumaí the word for 2, hum, is contained in the one for 3, hummaná. On the other hand, the Trumaí and, besides them, only the Waurá (uncertain) and the Kamayurá /Camayura/ have an entirely new word for 4, whereas among all the others 4 is represented by 2 altered by an addition.

For 5 the Trumaí and the Auetó have a new word that has nothing to do with "hand." Among all the others, always with the exception of the Bakairí, "hand" is contained in the 5. The Kamayurá say "hand mapi," yenepá mondp (Guarani mombó), to stop, the power tribes say "1 hand," the Kalugá simply "hand."

The numbers 6, 7, 8, 9 are formed out of 1, 2, 3, 4 with an addition. It is only among the Kamayurá that the latter is different for 6 and 7 than for 8 and 9. For 6 and 7 = 1 and 2 + yewelá, the meaning (Guarani guerohó) seems to be: 1 or 2 are exchanged, alternate.

/406/ Among the power tribes and probably also the Auetó 10 contains the hands, among the others the word is a new one.

/406 cont./

B 171 802 171 802

With 11, among all of them, the foot enters, specified by an addition, and 12, 13, 14 are = 2, 3, 4 + foot and the addition. The Nahuquá, however, instead of their word for foot, use the word wíno, which, however, from a comparison with other Karaiben /Carib/ languages, is recognizable as a stem with the same meaning,* and now count from 11-15: "1, 2, 3, 4, 5 foot"

* wíno = upu-lu (-lu pronominal suffix);
Makuá, Island Karaiben, upu, foot.

on the right toes and from 16-20 on the left "1, 2, 3, 4, 10 foot."

From 15-19 matters are very confused: with 15 a new addition usually appears and the formations run parallel to those of the second hand from 6-9 or those of the first foot from 11-14. Among the Yaulapiti, whose numbers are formed very regularly, 1 foot means 15, whereas among the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ 11, in the former instance because the foot is finished, in the latter because it is just beginning. Thus, among the Mehinakú, the following oddity occurs: 5 = 1 hand, 11 = 1 foot, 12 = 2 foot, 13 = 3 foot, 14 = 4 foot and (since 5 = 1 hand) 15 = 1 hand, foot!

All have the foot in the 20 except the Auetó. Among the Yaulapiti the same addition which was with the hand = 10, is with the foot = 20. Among the Kamaiurá /Cam[illegible]/ 15 is precariously similar to 20.

B 802

Let us now turn to the more backward Bakairí, with whom I practiced all kinds of arithmetical exercises.

The names of their counting apparatus, the fingers, have nothing to do with numbers. The thumb means "father", the little finger, "child" or "little one", the middle finger, as among us, "the middle one"; index finger and ring finger are called the "neighbor" -- at least that is the probable meaning -- in the case of the former, of the "father," and, in the case of the latter, the "neighbor" of the "little one."

They count in words up to 6:

1 = tokíle	4 = ahíge ahíge
2 = ahíge	5 = ahíge ahíge tokíle
3 = ahíge tokíle or ahewíko	6 = ahíge ahíge ahíge

As may be seen, they have individual words only for the numbers from 1 to 3, and the numbers from 4 to 6 are made up out of ahíge and tokíle. It was only on the second expedition

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802 means lack of practice. They have no livestock whose numbers they would be obliged to watch, they have no trade in goods that would have to be counted or referred to a unit of value; they need only inform one another now and then about the number of persons, about the number of animals, which they have encountered, which they have killed, which they divided up among themselves, about the trees that they cut, and whatever similar work there is in the household and daily life, for which their number words are adequate or for which an indefinite multiplicity may be conveyed with other means of expression in word and gesture. They have the principle of counting, the abstraction of number; the Karaiben base-people already had this in ancient times, and from there upward the further development depends only on interest. Their limited need for concerning themselves [193] with the number of things is, in my opinion, characterized by the lack of a plural even more than by the lack of number words. Tree, trees, and wood are all "se," house, houses, and village always merely "éti."

000 We whose lives are full of numbers because they represent the framework of all our knowledge possess a great many acquired items of knowledge in which all /410/ ordinary, "regularly" recurring numerical relationships are included, and in very many individual cases we do not need independent observation. It is not likely that we ever counted our toes, but it is true, there are ten of them. We can wear a vest for a year, put it on and take it off daily, and yet have no idea how many buttons are on it. Now primitive man clings to each single phenomenon and knows nothing about laws. If one asks him how many fingers he has he is glad to do us the favor of counting them. He takes the question exactly as the European does the one about the vest buttons.

● 191 How the Bakairí art of counting, which is extraordinarily 802 similar to that of Australian tribes, could have developed further step by step can be seen in a frequently cited example among their near, though spatially very remote kinsmen, the Tamanako of the Orinoco. The latter have completed the

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171 802 familiar step forward and chose a number word for "5" from the hand: "whole hand"; "10" are "both hands," "15" a "whole foot," and "20" "a man." The "2," the same word as among the Bakaïrí, is still contained in the "4" of the Tamanako, but they have given it an ending determining the meaning and no longer say "two-two." We again recognize exactly the same finger-gesture system of the Bakaïrí, which, however, has already provided itself with proper number-words.

While Paleko plaited baskets or when I often swung sleepless in my hammock during the night, I would rack my brains about their method of counting. Was one to be unable to find even here, where conditions are as simple as possible, any trace of the remarkable secret of how the abstraction of number originated in the human mind?

It has been observed everywhere among primitive peoples that they count primarily with their fingers and get along better this way than with number words. From this general experience it was concluded that number gestures are older than number words and that the latter only came out of the former. Now, in speaking of finger gestures, one must not think that it is merely a matter of gestures with which the number is to be conveyed to the questioner as though they had the immediate purpose of giving him a more vivid elucidation, in the way an Italian, for example, as soon as he says "3," stretches out 3 fingers. The native calculates with his fingers, in the way one grasps the beads on the wires of an abacus. It is true, in counting one or two objects he often touches the fingers of the left hand so fleetingly that the movement takes on the character of a purely communicative gesture. If, however, one has watched the careful and punctilious [802] work which the counting of 3 maize kernels represents, how the Bakaïrí touches first the kernels and then the left fingers, one will not doubt that the left hand is his abacus. And in the same way beyond "6" he touches his fingers and toes one by one like the beads of an abacus, and he is far from pointing to them merely in an expressive way or even, if that were mechanically possible, from stretching them out in pantomimic demonstration.

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171 802 If there is no natural limit for the "2" in the fingers, and one tribe calculates by beginning from the little finger, another by beginning from the thumb, that of the Coroados even at the finger joints, according to Martius, then the counting of the "2" is not learned by means of a pattern in the arrangement of the hand itself, as would be conceivable with "5." It should be remembered, however, that the Bakaïrí only calculates on the left hand what he has touched with the right. With his glance alone he cannot transfer the number of kernels to his left fingers, but must first arrange them. His counting is divided into two processes: : that of the arrangement of the objects into 2 parts and that of the illustration on the fingers of pairs and individual pieces. But he already divides or counts up to 2 on his right hand and simply derives the abstraction, if I may express it thus, on his left hand. The important preliminary step, which, I believe, has been overlooked up to now, comes from the touch perception. Then, of necessity, the things he touched and somehow manipulated with his hands are responsible for the first unit of "2": these things must have in them a law that furnished the concrete "2" when they were manipulated and that with certainty produced the abstraction of "2" after the customary illustration with the fingers, because the same observation was repeated in the case of all objects.

000 One can break a thing into many fragments, but everything that one methodically breaks or cuts is first broken or cut into 2 pieces. I can take in my hand 1, 2, 3, 4 sticks and nothing teaches me to put the individual ones together in number units, but if I take a stick and break it -- it will be conceded that, as long as man has existed and wherever on earth he has broken sticks, he has always broken every stick first into "2" pieces. If one again breaks the first piece into 2 and the second piece into 2, one obtains the numerical order of the two-system of the Bakaïrí or the Australians. In the demonstration of the procedure regularly following the same course by means of the finger gestures used by primitive peoples for all illustration, the ancient Bakaïrí always pointed first to the little finger and ring finger and then, if he

/416 cont./

000 Conversely, let us imagine someone who has had a great deal of practice in registering aural impressions; will he be able to understand how someone like us could say he heard the clock strike but could not tell how often? How charitably he would smile at our audible counting! And he, too, would have to use his fingers to help out if among his number words he had no higher units than 2 and 3.

[802] Just as we are not practiced in hearing, so the Bakaïrí is not in the habit of counting with his eyes. He is still almost entirely limited to the result of touch perception. The foundation upon which further development, stimulated by interest and need, and the formation of higher units must have been accomplished had already been present for many generations, yet how slight were interest and need in primitive family life! Even in sharing, which -- we cannot help but think -- first of all demands "keeping accounts," one scarcely ever needed to count: it was give and take and the piece in the hand proved more than the fingers on the hand.

802 196 Let us turn once again to the number words of the Bakaïrí and see how their etymology, insofar as it offers any certainty, corresponds to the development revealed in the experiments. The comparison is not without value because the two studies were made quite independently of each other, and the explanation of the number words rests only on phonetic proof and linguistic comparison.

171 802 196 I do not know how to begin with "ahewáo," "3." It occurs among a number of tribes of the north, partly in greatly altered forms which nevertheless can probably be reconciled. The singular luxury of two numerical expressions may be bound up with the great uncertainty which the Bakaïrí still manifest in 3-counting; the important thing is still to determine the pairs and there is a separate word only for what exceeds the designation of the first pair, the most common case. In the difficult counting of objects that exceed "3," I heard only "ahége tokále," so that the two expressions are used somewhat like "twelve" and "dozen," and "ahewáo" perhaps still has something indeterminate adhering

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171 802 196 to it from its original meaning. For this reason it is not used for making up higher numbers. In the Kamayurá "3" is called moapüt, a word that can be definitely analyzed. It is made up of the causative mo-, mbo-, and apüt, apy, "peak," "point." The highest /417/ or peak finger is the middle finger, which marks the "3," in other words, already a natural limit, like 5 = hand. In the closely related Auetö, 1 and 3 are entirely different words than in the Kamayurá-Tupí, while 2 is the same. This is very similar to the relationship among the various Karaiben tribes.

Fortunately, the meaning of the most important number-word "ahége" is certain. It also has the greatest comparative value linguistically, for it occurs, for the most part little differentiated, among all the genuine Karaiben peoples and is a veritable guide-word. Phonetically it goes back to "atáke." It must be broken up into, first, the demonstrative a-, which also forms the pronominal prefix of the second person and refers to the nearest thing outside one's own body, and, secondly, the post-position "-take," "-sake," "-hage," "with /mit/, along with /samt/" = "there-by /da-bei/," "there-with /da-mit/," "together /zusammen/." Thus, there is nothing in it about hand or fingers, and nothing about eyes, wings, and arms.

"Many" is "aági," and even "ági," and, since I also once wrote down "ahági" and in any case there must have been a consonant between the two occurrences of a, was very probably originally identical with "ahége," "2" -- an identity which has long been lost in the linguistic feeling of the modern Bakaïrí. Consequently, the meanings "2" and "many" would have split off from the oldest meaning still demonstrable today, "therewith /dabei/," about like our "jointly /miteinander/" "together /zusammen/," and the word for the definite number and the one for the indefinite amount would be merely phonetic differentiations of the same stem form.*

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* For example, in German the same stem paar /pair/ = "2" and = "einige" /a few/ is not even phonetically differentiated, but only syntactically,

/418 cont./

802 reach back only to the proof of the origin from manual work, to
196 make an uninterrupted chain of inductive evidence.

In Tupí "2" is mokói, made up with the causative mo-; koi is translated "pair." Thus "2" = "makes pair." But what is koi? Now strangely enough, kopi -- the exact equivalent of the Bakaïrí sake -- means "to chop wood"! Between the two vowels in koi a softened consonant has been dropped; let us assume it arose from koui, kobi, which would be a very common process, and we would have the same origin of "2" as would be conceivable in Bakaïrí.

Finally I must also consider "tokále," "1." It is made up of "toka" and the augmentative particle "-le." "tóka" means "bow." Since each man has only one bow, or since many arrows go with one bow, the bow is the simplest example for "1" among all the implements. The derivation is a bit questionable because it is almost too perfect. To be sure, "toka" is so constructed phonetically that, according to the phonetic laws prevailing in the Bakaïrí, it need not change. It seems very striking that there are so few equivalents for "tokále" among the Karaiben of the north; they are fewer in number than those for "ahewáo" and far fewer than those for "ahége." It is surely permissible to exclude coincidence here and to see in this circumstance, as regards language as well, evidence that actual, conceptual counting began with the "2."

II. Color Words

000 Available dyestuffs. Corresponding to the number of color words. Strange statements intelligible through etymology. Dyestuffs older than the need for color words. Use in connection with the names of animals and plants. Green never = blue-black.

196 Color words, no less than number words, show how development depends on interest.

171 As has already been mentioned, the following dyestuffs are
386 used on the Schingú /Xingu/.

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171 White is chalky white clay, a supply of which is kept in the
386 huts in the form of balls the size of a child's head. The women,
[283] when they spin, rub it on the right thigh, on which they twist the thr[illegible] It is simply mixed with water. It is never used to paint the body; it also falls far back for the implements and appears almost solely on the masks, the painting of which need last but a few days, on painted bark pieces, and the like.

/419/ Charcoal and soot, the berry-pulp of the genipap tree, (Genipa) and a number of resins furnish black. In order to blacken the inside of the gourd shells charcoal from the bark of the buriti shaft is used.

The yellowish-red to brownish-red loam seems to have been
[262] driven out by the urucú dyestuff. It was formerly eaten and is
[524] still molded into heavy dolls for children and is rubbed on wounds
[304] for scarification.

Charcoal and soot are rubbed in directly, like the white, or
[824] they are also mixed with liquid, like the urucú. Either the oil from the pikí fruit (Caryocar butyrosum) is used, or the yellow extract containing caoutchouc from a tree of the campo cerrado, which the Bakaïrí call ochogohi and the bark of which is grated and made into an extract with water. The colors are mixed in a gourd shell or a pot or, when a hard resin is broken up with the ax blade, most conveniently in the cup-shaped depression of a stool. Urucú is always found as a paste wrapped in leaves in the little workbasket beside the hammock.

The dyestuffs available to the natives are therefore white, black, red, and yellow. The genipap-black is blue-black, the urucú-red a brick-red to orange, which, mixed with the yellow ochogohi juice, loses a good deal of its red. There are no blue or green dyestuffs.

121 The theory that the color sense developed gradually for
196 human beings, based on the fact that color distinction in language is inadequate up to a high level of culture and that blue and green in particular are extraordinarily often designated with the same word, has now been abandoned. It was found among all the primitive peoples investigated that they distinguish excellently

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121 the various color impressions with their eyes, that, for example,
196 they choose with normal accuracy like-colored shades out of a pile of many little bunches of wool, so there can be no question of color blindness, but that, as far as language is concerned, blue and green are mixed up with astonishing regularity. The correct solution was given by Ernst Krause (Carus Sterne). The human being, by natural inclination always most susceptible to the vivid impression of red, has found mineral and vegetable pigments in greatest abundance for this particular color. The next most frequent naturally formed dyestuff besides black and white is yellow, whereas green and blue dyestuffs are late products of the coloring technique. Color names were developed in accordance with use.

125 On a leaf of my journal Wilhelm entered colored spots of
●171 ultramarine, cobalt blue, emerald green, sap green, carmine,
196 rose madder, vermillion, orange, cadmium yellow, burnt sienna, sepia, and ivory black. The attempt to obtain the names of colors by laying out vividly colored objects was a complete failure. They gave the names of the objects or these confused with the color names, and nothing stood in the way of drawing up an amusing list /420/ of these words, not one of which designated a color. A Waurá almost made me despair, and he in particular seemed to have different words for blue and green. But even if this misconception was eliminated -- and, to be sure, this was done best by the use of the definite color words already obtained from the neighboring tribe -- even if the people were really on the right track, the experiment usually became a veritable trial of patience. They would think it over, vacillate, sometimes disagree with each other; it was obvious that I was demanding something very unusual. Only the Auetö, the enthusiastic painters, proved amenable. But there was one difficulty that I was responsible for, since I not only had to become accustomed to hearing the same word for emerald green and ultramarine, but was also given other baffling information which I understood only after linguistic studies.

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B 171 192 T 171 192 They all had in common a word each for 1) red and orange, 2) yellow, 3) white, 4) black. This therefore corresponds exactly with their dyestuffs. The Auetó had the same word, the "white" of the Tupí language, for white and light yellow. The Trumaí were the only ones who had two words for blue and green; the rest designated these two colors with the same word. Among the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/, however, tamagenéng blue - black and dark brown, and green is tukuéng; it also happened that one of them would use tukuéng for blue as well, but not tamagenéng for green. Now and then the strangest things occurred. A Trumaí and a Nahuquá designated blue with the same word as cadmium yellow, a Bakaïrí and a Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ designated green just the same as red -- if one wished, one could discover the various types of color blindness among any of them one happened to be investigating.

B 171 192 196 Only linguistic research can give the key for these phenomena. For a number of the color words I am able to give the original meaning, and they will suffice to explain possibilities of this kind. It is quite certain that the Kamayurá /Camayura/ word "blue" or "green" i-tsovü-maé = parakeet-colored" from tsovü, the name of the Conurus species or parakeets. These parrots have grass green as well as indigo blue in their feathers. In Tupí the same color word is cúgui, cy, and the parakeet is called tovi, tui, çivi, çiui. Thanks to the Kamayurá form, i-tsovü-mae, the origin of çugui, already obliterated in the Tupí, is still preserved. Whether I showed the Indian a blue or a green daub, a blue string of beads or a green leaf, his answer, "parakeet-colored," was, indeed, correct. It all depends on which part of the coloring he visualized. The Auetó word i-kör-etú, "green" or "blue," perhaps corresponds to the "parrot" of the Tupí, jeru, softened from keru, so that we would have here "parrot-colored."

The tukuéng "green" of the Bakaïrí also goes back to the parakeet zugú-ri.* Now since there is a parakeet species kept in

* The name of the parakeet is onomatopoetic, hence very similar among Bakaïrí, Tupí, and Bororó.

/420 cont./

171 the houses by the natives, /421/ one which has a beautiful red
192 spot next to the beak, I assume that one Bakaïrí woman recalled
196 this little animal when, to my astonishment, she designated emerald green, vermillion, and ultramarine, one after the other, as tukuéng! This was all correct, but at that time I myself had no idea of the connection, and, shaking my head, I put the result down on paper with big exclamation marks. Luckily, the people had not derived a color word from the red arara of the lower Schingú; they would have been able to give the baffled European a palette of practically all the clashing colors with one word. Moreover, it is at least possible that the Bakaïrí and North Karaiben word for red means "the color of fruit"; in this case one person who is by no means color-blind for red might, by way of exception, also use the word for green (emerald green and sap-green), whereas the others generally used it for orange, vermillion, and carmine. The derivation of the Tupí word ti, ting, tinga for "white" from ty, urine, sap, juice, can probably be defended; in that case it would surely not be surprising if the Auetó designate white and light yellow with it.

The Bakaïrí word for white is "salt"-colored, the one for black, "soot"-colored. The latter, as has been mentioned, also serves for blue and dark brown, and, whereas green = parakeet-colored could also be "blue," blue = soot-colored could not be "green."

Thus it follows that some of the color words may have more than one meaning. It is obvious that where this is the case usage will gradually be restricted to one quality; the important thing is merely usage which develops the need for distinction. The need to distinguish colors asserts itself first of all for the dyestuff itself. It seems to be by no means usual for the color word to be derived from the dyestuff, since I am able to find this in Bakaïrí only for blue-black = soot-color; among the Tupí, for example, una black = "burned," and the form often applied to animals, pischuna, means "burned skin." This word is also used for "blue"; the brilliant blue arara has gone over into zoology as "Psittacus ararauna" = arara una. Nowhere is the word for urucú contained

/421 cont./

171 in the color word for red, nor the word for the white clay in the
192 color word for white. I believe that the dyestuffs are far older
196 than the need for distinguishing them according to their colors.
[193] This is probable for the Bakaïrí because of two points: first, the color adjectives, with the single exception of "red, orange," do not belong to the inventory of the Karaiben base-language; secondly, their construction according to the schema t-stem-éng bears the stamp of a more recent formation.

000 I may doubtless also be permitted to use such a situation to support the earlier argument about the origin of personal color ornamentation (see pp. 172 ff.). No matter how ancient and innate the joy of color may assuredly be, nevertheless the circumstance that a need to distinguish the colors of the dyestuffs with words did not manifest itself until late speaks in favor of the view /422/ that colored ornamentation was not first used on the body for the sake of the colors. Since whatever was worn on the body as trophies or for practical purposes was actually distinguished by varying colors, which must have given pleasure, people quite naturally came to want to use them also for enjoyment, and from this time on the earliest distinctions by means of names for colors began; within these, in turn, the first certainty was gained also for the colors that were fashioned, whereas the need for distinguishing green and blue was satisfied by words which were still vague, such as "parakeet-colored."

171 One more thing must not be forgotten. The Indian does not
192 form general judgments, such as "the trees are green, the sky is
811 blue." Nothing induces him to analyze this view presented to him by the external world; it is of no interest to his person in any activity and is something taken for granted, such as that water is wet. What does interest him in making distinctions according to color is animals and plants. His principal application of the color names acquired is here and it is necessary to find out here how he proceeds with color names in his own usage.

171 With this in mind I looked through the list of animal names
192 in the glossary of Martius, in which some 1300 have been col-
825 lected from the total literature. "Parakeet-colored," cugui, for "blue and green" is used only a single time in the case of a

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171 boa-snake which Martius calls "viridis vel azureus Coluber
192 aestivus L." The ordinary distinctions according to color, the
825 number of which is smaller than one would expect, are black, white, red, and yellow; without placing any importance on absolute accuracy, I count 28 birds, 23 fish, 9 mammals, 4 snakes, and 12 lower animals which are differentiated according to those four colors. But now two more words occur for "colorful" /bunt, "gay-colored, mixed, spotted"/, one of which, pinima, with the verb "to paint" of the same stem, is used for fish, three birds, the jaguar, one snake, one lizard, one crayfish, and the other, paragoa, means simply "parrot" and also furnishes a parrot-fish and a parrot-snake. Pure "green" is always parrot-colored or parakeet-colored; where a "blue" is to be distinguished, the animal is also given the additional word una (burned) = black or dark.

171 It cannot be expressed more clearly that the Indian is in-
192 duced to make a sharp color-distinction only when it is a matter of color qualities familiar to him from the dyestuffs, in other words, that his own experience, not his sense of color, furnishes the material for the sharply defined concepts.

171 The list of plant names by Martius, somewhat over 1000 in
192 number, offers an interesting comparison. Eight plants are given
824 the title black, 7 white, 7 red, 2 yellow. It is obvious that among the plants "green" does not form a distinguishing mark. Yet here, too, we come across on one occasion the cugui or "parakeet-colored," sometimes translated "green," sometimes "blue," and, to be sure, it corresponds to /423/ a specific blue, since it refers to Indigofera anil L. Three plants are "colorful," but "pinima"; the parrot-colorfulness (paragoa) is lacking.

171 The natives could have obtained indigo from the plant just
386 mentioned, but they did not know how. Martius asserts that in the manufacture of indigo the Brazilian industrialists use Indian labor, that it was first introduced by the Portuguese and produces
[192] a not very desirable kind. Genipap-black has a blue tinge and
[304] thus corresponds very well to the referring of blue to black in the color designations. The blue of the tattooing also comes from the black.

/423 cont./

the black. If one examines the collections in the Museum für Völkerkunde, which are still free of blue embroidery beads and fabrics, one will understand the entire situation at a glance. There on the painted implements one finds only red, yellow, white, and black, and the feather ornamentation also shows green and blue; it shows both colors in brilliant purity, but unsorted, arbitrarily blended together in any fashion, and, with the other colors, in a luminous total picture which invites general admiration but not detailed analysis. In modern art this is called a color symphony, and it is understandable that from a symphony one does not learn scales. In the soul of the Indian it looks the same as in a shop window. The only blue and green he has at home is in the shape of his parakeets and parrots or similar ornamental birds, and so he takes their name for the color name, which suffices for blue and green.

He always definitely made one distinction between blue and green: he ranked blue, but not green, with black or dark. Why does he not sometimes also call a green "black-dark"? The only reason seems to be that cases where a green is so striking that it is used as the distinguishing feature of a designation are very rare, aside from the parrots themselves, as the lists show, and then it is always a matter of a luminous parrot-green. On the other hand, among the animals distinguished with "black-dark" = blue, the dark blue always predominates; thus, even the arararuna, probably the lightest of these, has, according to Brehm, "all upper parts along with the tail-coverts dark sky-blue"; the feathers often have even a very blackish shade on the outer part of the vane, and only when the bird is flying along bathed in full sunlight does a lighter, misty azure become notable.

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Chapter XVI.
The Paressí.

On the history of the Paressí and tribes related to them. Our visitors. Language. Anthropological. On the ethnography (dress, ethnographic yields, intoxicating beverages, dance

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123 These few lines indicate how much could be done on these grounds yet to be explored.

/249/ And now that this linguistic step has been overcome and the reader already has a slight idea of the sounds and forms of Kwura-itano, let us question the Bacairis concerning their conception of the world, family, and society, their cultural acquisitions, their migrations, etc.

Four, or at most five points will suffice for this.

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II
The Conception of the World

The Bacairis believe that man consists of two elements: kwarátopíri, "our shadow, going /andadura/ or running /corrida/," and ketati, "our shirt," or kyunahi, "our skin." They may be translated as "body and soul," but the translation is inadequate.

The shadow puts on and takes off its shirt with ease and often, going out and coming in, now normally, now abnormally, now temporarily, now permanently.

The egress is normal when there is shouting, because the shadow, with the same speed with which it goes to the place where the echo rebounds, returns to its skin, or when one is sleeping and dreaming. When sleep becomes agitated, it indicates the ascent of hills, the fording of streams, or evil encounters. The person who is asleep is not awakened, for the shadow may not yet have put its shirt back on (10).

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10. Matias Ruiz Blanco in his Conversión de Piritú /Conversion of Piritu/, published in 1690, gives a variant of the same idea among the Indians of that region, who, like the Bacairis, were also

/230 cont./

Caribas: "The manner of greeting is for one to say to another, 'Is it you? Have you come? Have you arrived? Are you well?' and no one speaks to the guests upon their arrival, nor do they speak for a while, because they say that they are waiting for their souls to arrive, which is arasi nemone." (Conv. en Paris, 62, repr. Madrid, 1892.) The greeting between Bacairis is ama, "you," to which one replies, ua, "I"; or mawili, "you came," to which one replies, ñé kawili, "yes I came."

When we sleep, we dream says the piatu;--when we sleep, our shadow converses with the /231/ spirits (yanilaja)--our shadow travels far,--when our shadow returns, we awaken;--when our shadow is afraid, at night, when it is time to sleep, we nap;--while our shadow sleeps, we dream--we climb trees, we climb hills;--we walk with the yanilaja,--we drink manjiu /a manioc gruel or paste/, we eat, etc.

The express is abnormal, but temporary, when a person faints from fright, because, with much chanting and fanning with yanilaja leaves, there is success in getting the shadow to return, or when one has offended the piatu and yanilaja, because, if duly propitiated, they pardon the crime and permit the shadow to return, as we shall see later.

It is abnormal and permanent at death.

The Bacairis, in a very expressive phase, claim that they do not fall ill from sickness itself (u-ewanli-ñé ñiñaño ñiwaie--pain illness is always injected by sorcerers (ome-ula, "ants of poison"), and the poisons, all of vegetable origin, are

/259 cont./

(tradition) is killed, pay for them with mungku--if no payment is made, Yaniko will seize our shadow; Imuga (Cebus?) /260/ is the domestic animal that is the creation (ori) of Yaniko; if you cut down forest in which Yaniko dwells, pay for it--seek out a place to hold a festival; makanari is payment for the forest (13)--then, when Yaniko had drunk mungku, he

[114] [115]

13. After he had dictated this passage, I expressed doubt as to whether the dance was the makanari or some other one.

gave far away (14).

[191] [114]

14. Martin Sure Blanco notes a variant of the same idea among the Indians of Pacoti (Colombia): "When the Indian brings in a deer or wild boar, the woman comes out with a nuruma of the drink that they make out of maize, and she opens the animal's mouth and gives it some to drink out of courtesy so that its soul will tell the others about the good treatment given to it" (Conversión de Pacoti, 6a. Medida reprint.).

Makanari is the name of one of their festivals, and this would be the proper place to discuss them, if unfortunately, the scanty information that exists concerning this were not deficient, concealing all the ritual and devotional aspect which is its essence. We shall return to it on another occasion.

/[illegible] cont. /

of a higher order because they come back to life after they have died and return to live among men.

Aside from these three principles, we find unclear figures and concepts, probably vestiges of older ideas.

Dr. C. v. d. Steinen speaks of Kiaino onoko, which he translates as "devil." I. is not familiar with such a being, but simply /[illegible]/ Kiiino, evil beings who dwell in the forest or in the hills, assume various forms, cat mice and small birds, do not pass water, hide dead game and the arrows that, the things that fall from people's hands; answer the shouts of a person, and shout in order to mislead those who walk through the forest.

Of the same type are: Kitawoi, who goes about at night, carrying a torch for an ax, always animated by the desire to do evil to the Indians, but usually duped by the latter, in short similar to the Curupiras of the Amazon as they appear in the stories collected by Barbosa Rodrigues and Twaagumno, the lord of the hunt, easy to identify because one side of his chest is larger than the other, and he kills against it the person who offend him--a figure similar to the Caipora of the Tupi.

There is also mention of a lake where the grandfather of the cachorro fish, the grandfather of the piranha, the grandfather of the snake, the grandfather of the otter, the grandfather of the needlefish, the grandfather of drums, etc. dwell. Chests appear in the middle of the water. No ants, capybara, or quetzals goes there, no flying thing flies across it. Ancient Bacairis took a canoe there, but a whirlpool overturned it, the Kourisio (a sort of enchanted otter) ate them, and only the dead men's bellies appeared.

The jaguar soul, the horse soul, the quetzals soul, the turtle soul, the crab soul of fresh water, etc. are also there. Everything is swinging at the edge of the water. The Kourisio and the Kuruobe shake their heads which sound like thunder, and those who hear this sound fall ill and die, and those who see the grandfathers of the animals also die. /[illegible]/ At the edge of the lake there is a swamp, and the lake is the women of a tribe.

/37 cont./

285 As shown by the fan represented in the photograph in Figure 191
372 of the above-mentioned book, there are cases where this middle
531 part is striped horizontally without this leading to /38/ techni-
cal complications, and as in these cases also the two triangular
units of the object, which begin with their bases on the two
sides of the lower edge of the fan, are for technical reasons
striped horizontally, all of these plaited units in this fan have
the same ornamental striping. But the vertical striping that
runs throughout the fan represented in Figure 154, a /35 top?/
and coming from Simões Lopes is incompatible with the techni-
cal conditions of the ancestral forms of these plaited objects.
The structure of the plaiting of this fan shows that it, too, was
plaited so that the work began in the middle part of the fan
in the shape of a square resting on one corner, and then the
two lower triangles were made by folding and plaiting the free
285 ends of the fibers used to make the middle part. Among the
372 numerous specimens of such fans at the Berlin Ethnographic
178 Museum, there are none whose triangular parts at the lower
531 base of the fan show striping going in a vertical direction, and
the imperfection of the lower edge of the fan from Simões
Lopes, in comparison with the firm, smooth edges of the fans
from the Kuliseiu Bakairí, clearly shows that in the case of
the fan from Simões Lopes we are dealing with a degeneration
of the Bakairí plaiting techniques, which in times past was
more skillful and more dependent on certain principles. The
fine fan shown in Figure 154, b /35 bottom?/ also contains,
in spite of its superficial good looks, so many imperfections in
the ornamentation and so many irregularities in the structure
of the plaiting that its later origin is at once evident.

285 There is a great similarity, we might even say identity,
184 between the flat baskets acquired in Simões Lopes and those
171 which the Bakairi of the upper Xingu tributaries made in former
531 times. The flat basket shown in Figure 36 (V.B. 9909.
Diameter 51 cm.) is surprisingly similar to such a basket col-
lected by Herrmann Meyer from the Nahukuá and described

285 184 171 531

/38 cont./

by me elsewhere. (45) Both baskets are woven of the fibers of

45. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, pp. 349-351 and Fig. 176.

buriti leaves, whose stalks protrude at one side of the basket, and the rim is emphasized by a wooden hoop. These two baskets differ only in their ornamentation: that of the basket from the Simões Lopes Bakairí consisting of a simple striping that runs through the entire basket in the same direction, whereas the plaiting of the specimen acquired by Herrmann Meyer from the Nahukuá consists of several units which contrast among themselves in the opposite orientation of their striping, so that on the surface of the basket appears the rhomboidal ornamentation common among those Indians. Although up to now a specimen of a basket similar to this one was unknown among the Bakairí, we should not regard the flat basket shown in Figure 36 as a product of the Nahukuá, because the cultural goods of these two tribes, which are also related with respect to language, shows on the whole great similarities.

285 184 531

/39/ The flat, round basket shown in Figure 37 and called by the Kulisehu Bakairí apa (V. B. 9906. Diameter 36 cm. Height 10 cm.) must be held in terms of technique and ornamentation as a faultless product of the ancestral Bakairí art of plaiting. The technique of this basket and its rhomboidal ornamentation running symmetrically over its entire surface and emphasized further by the different color of the respective fibers of the plaiting oriented vertically and horizontally, are similar to a specimen acquired by Herrmann Meyer from the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí shown in a photograph in my already-mentioned publication. (46) There are only unimportant

46. Ibid., p. 350, Fig. 177.

/39 cont./

The basket from the Simões Lopes Bakairí shown in Figure 30 (V.B. 1967, Diameter 26 cm. Height 6.5 cm.) must be held as a transitional product of a new age. In its /all/ essential form and its rim, formed with the end of the plaiting fibers, it is altogether similar to the basket just described. Its peculiarity consists in that, along with the chambendal ornamentation common among the Bakairí, [illegible] winding, given in Portuguese, meandro/ ornamentation. It was characteristic of the Bakairí of the upper Xingu tributaries that in the ornamentation of their plaited objects, and in the ornamentation derived from the latter, the winding pattern was almost nonexistent, while this decoration is common, for example, in the ornamentation of the Kayabí, neighbors of the Bakairí, and also appears sporadically in the ornamentation of other tribes neighboring on the Bakairí, in the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River. Thus we must regard the winding pattern which appears on the surface of the flat basket from the Simões Lopes Bakairí as an element alien to typical Bakairí ornamentation and introduced to them through the influence of other tribes. Since there were Kayabí women among the Paranatinga Bakairí, it may be assumed that they introduced this new decoration to the Bakairí. The diagram in Figure 31 shows that in this basket, too, the winding lines of the ornamentation of the plaiting were formed in the usual way whereby in certain parts of the plaiting the individual square units are placed in such a way that four of them do not touch corners in the same spot, while in those areas of the work where this does occur, there appear the chambendal or cross-shaped decorations common among the Bakairí. The fact that in this case a foreign influence is involved is also derived from the various irregularities in the weaving structure, which contrast to the well formed plaited work of the Bakairí in former times. The workmanship in this basket conveys the impression that the Bakairí in this case acquired the new decoration without being sufficiently familiar with its technical conditions to produce a more accomplished

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work, as also occurs often among other tribes in the process of transition in their cultural goods. The diagram in Figure 47 shows that, in the middle of the basket, a secondary fiber was added arbitrarily to the other fibers that formed the plaited object, and that the triple mesh plaiting is changed several times into double mesh. Important irregularities occur, especially in the corner of one of the rhomboidal figures.

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The basket shown in Figure 39 and called by the Bakairí *tumureba* (V.B. 9885. Height 14 cm. Width of the bottom 20 cm. Width of the upper rim 28 cm.) is a good example of those plaited objects from the Simões Lopes Bakairí which were made strictly in accordance with ancestral Bakairí technique. I have dealt at length elsewhere (47) with this type of basketry, which

47. Max Schmidt. "Die technischen Voraussetzungen in der Ornamentik der Eingeborenen Südamerikas." *loc. cit.*, pp. 157-158. *Idem.*, *Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien*, *loc. cit.*, p. 355, Fig. 180.

is also common among other Indian tribes, and shown that in such cases the beginning of the plaiting consists of a square flat piece the middle part of which forms the bottom of the basket, while the four corners are folded upward to form the four walls of the basket. In order to obtain uniform striping of the four walls, the square piece which forms the beginning of the basket must consist of at least four square units marked /41/ by two changes of the direction of the striping and with their four inner corners meeting in the middle of the bottom of the basket so that, in accordance with the two combination possibilities, the common decorative elements of the rhomboidal form or the shape of a cross results. If the surface of the bottom of the basket shows the rhomboidal ornamentation, as does the basket from Simões Lopes (see diagram for Figure 39), the

/44 cont./

285 which belongs with regard to technique to the third main group of South American basketry, made in such a way that two groups of fibers, of which those in the first group are placed vertically to those in the second group, are interwoven with a third group of fibers oriented in a different direction. Only the walls of the basket are plaited by this technique, while its bottom consists of "step plaiting," done in the usual way with /45/ double mesh. Apart from its bottom the basket is [171] similar with respect to form and technique to a specimen of such a Nahukuá basket shown in a photograph in my above-mentioned book. (54)

54. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 370, Fig. 200.

000 /Pages 45-58, containing a vocabulary and texts, have been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

352 415 wooden benches, and dishes and cups made from gourds.

494 As the Bacairí were extensive travelers and 226 depended upon fish for a considerable part of 501 their food supply, canoes were an important part of their equipment. The Bacairí canoe (*pépi*) 396 was made from the bark of the jatobá tree. The [P24] tough, heavy bark was first stripped from one-half of the tree. Small fires were then lighted on the inside of the bark trough to make it curl. Braces were placed at intervals along the entire length, the bow was tapered, and the stern was squared off by forcing the bark upward at one end. 501 Bacairí canoes varied in size, the larger ones being able to carry as many as 8 men. Canoes of jatobá bark are used by the Bacairí today and are the [171] predominant type among the Indians of the 415 Upper Xingú. The Bacairí also made large [824] tubs out of jatobá bark which were used as settling 352 vessels for manioc juice. The juice of the manioc contains a fine powder or starch which settles on the bottom of the vessel, to be gathered after the 241 liquid is poured off. For gardening, the Bacairí formerly used a digging stick made of hardwood. 411 For hunting, they used a bow (*túka*), round or 824 slightly oval in cross section and from 2 to 2½ meters in length, made from a yellow or reddish wood which was first matured by burying it in mud. The bowstring was made from the fibers of imbauba bark. Arrows (*piréu*) were made from [237] cane with hardwood or bone points. Hunting arrows had two feathers, but arrows used for shooting fish had serrated wooden points and no 412 feathers. The cutting tools of the Bacairí consisted of knives made from bamboo, stone, bones, and 489 shell. Transportation was by canoe, or if over 482 land, goods were carried in a wicker basket supported on the back by a tump line.

ORNAMENTS

291 While living on the banks of the Kuliseu River, [171] the Bacairí, in common with the other Upper Xingú River tribes, did not use clothing. Men sometimes wore a narrow cotton band (*onegín*) around the waist, with a few tassels hanging in front. Women, after puberty, wore the ulurí. 302 Men wore their hair cut short. Women wore their hair long at the back but cut straight across over [412] the forehead. Hair was cut with a knife made [237] by setting sharp fish teeth into a wooden stick,

286 574 535 dance was given at night accompanied by flute playing.

846 535 533 When a woman came out of seclusion after the birth of a child the women of the village danced to the tunes of the *tadánwa* and *nokigóra* flutes.

ORIGIN MYTHS

773 [126] Although the Bacairí have many myths, only two were obtained. One of these is the *yamadilli*, or the origin of day: In the beginning it was so dark and cold in the world that the people had to cover their bodies with grease to keep warm. The people wanted the sun to come out, so they put on their ornaments and painted their bodies and began to pray to *orimóto*, the great spirit who lived in the north. The Bacairí believed that *orimóto* was not an Indian but just a man who lived in a stone house with some of the animals which he had created. The people continued praying to *orimóto* and when light finally came the people were old and the children had grown up.

Yawétihadúho, or "those who died in the fire," is a story which tells about the origin of cultivated plants and the *yawoisári*, or corn dance: Once long ago there were a number of boys who were in puberty seclusion. At that time there were no cultivated plants, the people living by hunting and collecting wild plant foods. The boys were kept in seclusion so long and had so little to eat that they became very tired. One day when the relatives of the boys went out to collect food the boys all committed suicide. When the relatives returned and found the boys dead they were sorry and angry with themselves for neglecting them. They built a large fire and after dancing around the fire naked they jumped into the flames and were burned to death. The leader of this act was *yawíti*. Later the soul of *yawíti* returned and spoke through one of the living Indians. He explained to the Indians how to grow corn and other food crops and how to perform the corn dance. After that the corn dance (*yawoisári*) has always been performed.

773 171 [127] As the Bacairí formerly lived in association with the other Upper Xingú tribes, it is perhaps useful to compare their following origin myths as gathered by Von den Steinen with those of the Camayurá. There appears to be a close resemblance between *Kamuschiní* of the Bacairí and

773 Mavutsiné of the Camayurá. Both are original
971 personages. It is also interesting to note that the Bacairí myth speaks of a time when there was maize but no manioc. Camayurá legends speak of the origin of manioc only. All the tribes are made from uba cane. The Camayurá, as we noted, were made by Mavutsiné from *camiuna* wood.

539 *The Parents of Keri and Kame.* The first part of this legend takes place in heaven. At that time there was almost everything that there is on earth today. They tell nothing of their own creation, they narrate only how it is that the heroes Keri and Kame obtain of other personages a part of the useful and important things. The Bakairí always existed, even if "in the beginning there were only a few." There were also other people that were not Bakairí, chiefly the different jaguar tribes and their relatives, who killed and ate many Bakairí. Kamuschiní, with whom the story begins, also was "of another people."

Kamuschiní went into the forest in search of tucum palm leaves to make bowstrings, where he met the jaguar Oka, whom he feared very much, and promised to get him some women if he were spared. First he felled red wood trees (*sewéti*), took the logs home, put them in a maize mortar, blew on them, and went away for a little while. But when he returned all the logs had turned into men who were busy making arrows. He killed them and went to fell five or six trees of another species which he handled as he had the other ones.

Returning, after a short absence, he saw that this time the trees had turned into women. They all called him "papa" and—with the exception of the last two, who, remaining seated without moving, infuriated him and he killed them immediately [a]—were busily grinding maize—"they say that at that time there was no manioc"—to make beijús and drinks. Kamuschiní gave the two eldest ones, Nimagakaniro and Ichoge, to the jaguar Oka, who took them home. On the way, however, Ichoge, climbing a burity palm for nuts, fell to the ground and died.

Nimagakaniro swallowed two Bakairí finger bones, which were spread around the house in great numbers as Oka used them to make arrowheads with which he killed many Bakairí, whose flesh he ate. It was due to these bones, only these, not Oka, which made her pregnant. Now, however, destiny threatened her in the person of her mother-in-law, Mero. Her husband is not known and besides Oka she had two other jaguar sons, Kuára

[114] [a] I obtained the names of five women: Nimagakaniro, Atanumagale, Ichoge, Koyaka, and Tawaguri. In my Bakairí grammar, p. 226, I erroneously wrote that Kamuschiní felled five piqui trees and committed the injustice of attributing to him a mistake. The name Ichoge contains *ipá* piqui (*irá - ge*, with pique). Tawaguri also is the name of a tree, of which the two lazy ones were made. In Portuguese it is called "olho de Bol" (bull's eye). Koyaka (*koyá-ka*, with *koyá?*) grew out of a tree with rough bark and yellow fruit. About Atanumagale's tree origin Antonio could give no further information. Both she and Koyaka were also wives and mothers of jaguars, although this information is given as uncertain. Later on Atanumagale is designated as the wife of Kuára, Mero's son.

Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25

these cakes are packed in large carrying baskets, carefully covered with leaves and stored away. [Plate XII, 1, 2, 3.]

Y 105 171 252

Some of the grated manioc is made into farina, by sifting it through a basket sieve and baking it in a flat pottery pan. In this form it will keep indefinitely. If biiju is to be made, the grated manioc is sifted, but instead of baking it so as to dry it in small particles, it is spread out in the pan to form a sort of thin cake. This is the form in which most of the manioc is eaten. The biiju cakes keep for several days, and always form part of the traveller's baggage.

Y [484]

A non-intoxicating but nevertheless refreshing drink is made by mixing the unbaked grated and sifted manioc with water. This is the drink offered the visitors, on arrival at the village, by the women. It is served in large half gourds.

Y 105 171 272

Depending almost entirely on fish and manioc for food, great quantities of both are eaten, and eaten continuously. The women begin making biiju before sunrise, so that those setting out to fish will be able to take it along.

Y 105 171 262

In connection with the making of biiju fire, fans made from strips of palm leaves, or sometimes of grass, are used. To smooth out and turn the biiju cakes, wooden spatules are in use, generally made to suggest the representation of a snake or a bird.

[372] [412]

In the food quest, besides the cultivation of manioc, fishing occupies the attention of the men. Though the women assist by steering the canoe and paddling, not one of them was ever seen actually fishing, though the Bakairi informed me that the women are capable of it.

Y 105 171 226 [501] [462]

Shooting the fish with bow and arrow is the most common method. It is never done from the banks or by wading in, except in the rapids. The man doing the shooting stands up at the bow of the canoe while his companion, who may be his wife, perhaps with a baby at the breast at the same time, gently paddles, keeping the canoe close to the bank. To learn to shoot fish is not easy, since both the force with which the arrow is driven into the water, its deflection upon striking the water, the motion of the canoe, and the movements of the quarry must be gauged. The bow is held upright, the arrow in position but the string relaxed until the game is seen. In case of a miss, the arrow floating on the surface of the water is retrieved with the end of the bow, the arrow being caught between it and the string. No opportunity of getting fish

B [105 171 226]

[text continues on p. 153]

Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25

is ever lost. Our Bakairi were imbued with the same spirit, for often the paddle would be dropped and replaced with bow and arrow though we may not have needed the extra food. This anxiety to gather as much food as is encountered was also manifested in the case of turtle eggs found in the sand banks. For those days that we travelled, each canoe at the end of the day would have gathered at least thirty or forty eggs. This food was shared generously with everyone. [Plate XIII, 2.]

Y Ba 226 105 171 [222]

Another method of fishing was with a spear. Especially in the dry season, the fish withdraw to the deep pools where it is impossible to reach them with an arrow. A spear is usually made of two sections: a wooden shaft with a large conical bone point and a reed extension to the shaft. Both sections measure about seven metres in length. [Plate XIII, 1.]

Y [411]

Damming of the lagoons is resorted to. A dip net with a handle about three metres long is in use, and drag nets are apparently used in season.

Y [227]

Fish is eaten almost raw; the only method of cooking seen was barbecuing, either by placing it on a platform over a fire or by placing it on a framework close to the fire. Salt is unknown and not liked, as evidenced when they were asked to try our food, when though hungry, none would accept it if it had been seasoned with salt.

Y 105 171 252 [263]

Another food in usage, highly prized and carefully stored away is the fruit piki, which grows wild. The fruit is boiled in the large earthen pots, placed in cylindrical bark containers, about one and half metres to two metres in length and a third of a metre in diameter, sealed tight at both ends, and placed under water in some cool pool. These bark containers are reinforced with wooden slats. On ceremonial occasions they are opened and a quantity sufficient for the immediate needs is taken out to be distributed to every member of the village equally. It is mixed with water and drunk, without fermentation. Both the Yawalapiti and Naravute had these bark containers.

Y 105 171 251 415

Pottery

Pottery is poorly developed in the region. Neither in quantity nor variety, nor in technical perfection does it compare with that of the Bororo. The forms are simple though characteristic.

Y Bo 105 171 323

[text continues on p. 155]

Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25

Y
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171
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Seats

In front of the men's houses a log is usually kept, on which the men sit, and which guests occupy until bird stools, or in the case of the Naravute, bark stools are brought by the headmen of the village.

Y
[345]

In the houses the hammocks take the place of stools or mats, except when biiju is being prepared by the women. In the men's house there are two parallel logs running almost its entire length, lashed to the main posts.

Y
[285]
[531]

In the villages, sitting on the ground is avoided whenever possible. Mats, made of lengths of taquora, held together by two strings passed through holes in the individual pieces, are used. Such a mat is shown in Plate XXIV, 4. Often the upper surface is decorated with incised rectilinear geometric patterns, as shown in the sketch. These mats are especially used when making farina or biiju.

The bark stools seen among the Naravute which were brought to us, as the guests, in place of the bird stools, consist merely of a piece of bark about thirty centimetres long, bent inward and lengthwise. They bear no decorations of any kind.

Y
[231]
[532]

The bird stools are of the type shown in Plate XXIV, 10, 11. They are carved from one piece of wood, the head of the bird and the tail being easily recognized, although the style is extremely simple. The bird represented is the harpy eagle, and is in some way connected with the keeping of the bird in the cage in the village as described.

Y
[594]
[622]

Of the bark and bird stools there are but a few in the village, owned only by the headmen, and are used on those occasions when visitors arrive at the village.

Y
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[501]

In the canoes the occupants sit on sticks placed crosswise on the bottom. The paddlers hold the legs straight before them, or bent, but never under them.

When not sitting on stools, hammocks or mats, the men squat. The women double the legs under them as seen in Plate XII, 3. When standing they frequently lean on each other's shoulders, and also employ the crane's posture [Plate XII, 4].

Ba

Musical Instruments

Y
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Pan's pipes are known to all of the peoples on the Kulusen and Kuluene rivers, including the Bakairi. One type consists of five reeds

Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25
Waura SP18

of different lengths, closed at one end. Two or three of the pipes are played in unison. Though the intervals between the lowest note and the next two in the scale are well defined, there seems to be but a very slight difference, if any at all, in the pitch of the notes produced by the shorter pipes. This type is used for practicing the music and for personal amusement, but not in ceremonies. They are easily made and are carried about frequently. Though different sets may be pitched differently, the note intervals seem to be the same, at least in the three sets that are in the University Museum collection, though they were collected from the Bakairi, the Naravute and the Kalapalu. [Plate XIX, 7.]

Ba Y 105 171 534

In the Yawalapiti village, the two clowns used pipes made of bamboo. Instead of five, they consisted of three pieces, the longest of which measured over one and a half metres. The three notes produced, though different in pitch, corresponded to the three lowest notes produced on the pipes described above. In this particular ceremony, each of the men in turn played what may be called the lead part, while the other played the accompaniment.

W 522 534 533

Single end-blown flutes, such as are illustrated in Plate XIX, 6, are common to the entire area. They were seen in the Tsuva, Yawalapiti, and Naravute village, and apparently were known to the Bakairi and to peoples of the other villages. They are made of taquara, and to be played they must be well soaked in water. The upper part is so cut out that when the flute is played the chin rests on it. At the other end, there is a narrow aperture. Four holes control the pitch of the notes. It was noted that the note intervals were the same as those of the Pan's pipes. They are used strictly in the ceremonies, and the sight of them is prohibited to the women, death being feared for failure to observe the tabu. However, not only are the women permitted to listen to them, but they are listened to with great pleasure. It was the women that prohibited the men to sell them to us in the Tsuva village, and in the Yawalapiti village, the women pretended to weep when it was decided to let us have them. Three flutes are played together in the ceremony. Both the flutes and the office of playing them in the ceremonies seem to be inherited.

Ba Y 534 105 171 Y Ba [784 562]

W [425 562 152]

Another flute, smaller than the above mentioned, was obtained at the Yawalapiti village; it differs from the others in that close to the top

W 534

[text continues on p. 163]

Wauka SP18
Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25

there is a small aperture for blowing. This type need not be wet to play. [Plate XIX, 8.] W 534

The only other object that might be called a musical instrument, that was seen in use, was composed of a number of nut shells joined together by a string and worn by the dance leader on the right ankle. In the dance, the beat is always accentuated by the stamping of the right foot and these rattles help to make it more pronounced. Y 534 105 171 535

Gourd rattles were collected from the Bakairi, and they informed me of the existence among them of the bull roarer, which is tabu to the women, but neither of these were seen among the other peoples of the Kulusen-Kuluene area. Ba 534 784 171

The men were never heard to sing. In the ceremonies that are accompanied with singing, the women take that part, generally accompanying it with a dance, consisting of linking arms with the palms of the hands against each other and the fingers interlaced, and taking three steps forward and three backward, leading with the right foot. While traveling, the women were heard to sing softly to themselves, and apparently the repertoire is a large one. Y 105 171 533 484

Other Ceremonial Objects

The use of stools, flutes, and rattles, in connection with ceremonies has been noted. Although no ceremonies other than those described in the narrative were observed, a number of ceremonial objects were collected which show interesting features. Y 105 171 796

One of the Naravute masks consists of a piece of knotless netting with two splint rings sewed at the upper portion to represent the eyes, and with a painted geometric design in black and red to suggest the face. When worn, the net falls over the face and breast, and is kept in place by a string that is tied about the waist, and another about the head. Y 532 796

A Yawalapiti mask consists of a tightly woven piece of cloth, ovoid in shape, bearing a painted design in black and white, suggesting the face. Grass is attached to it on every side, so that when the mask is worn, the grass falls to the knees. W 532 796

Another Yawalapiti specimen consists of a conical shaped hat with grass attached to the sides, so that it falls over the face and neck to the shoulders.

/284 cont./

539 and whirled upward out of the water remain lying helpless and die.

Ochobi, Caetano relates, made a large basin in the source mountains of the Paranatinga, filled it with water, and let the latter run toward the noonday sun. This became the Pakuneru, the Paranatinga of the Brazilians. Farther toward the rising sun there flows parallel to it another river, which would perhaps be the Schingú which we sought. The Imperador, accompanied by Bakaïrí, and a white man went for a walk, the former along the Paranatinga, the other along the other river whose name is not known. The white man suddenly no longer answered when the Imperador called to him. A great fish, a jaú, had devoured him. Then Keri sent a duck which made the jaú spit out the

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Hieroglyphics on the Paranatinga.

539 white man again unharmed. He then wandered along the river farther and farther until he came to the great "poço" (spring, here perhaps lagoon, the sea is meant), where he embarked and later returned with the gun. -- Tumeng made the stone house on the salto, so that the Imperador would live there, and also made the fish trap, so that the countless urubús would find something to eat.

The distinction, clearly present, between a light /285/ and a dark sphere of gods forms the nucleus of these legends, insofar as it grew out of pre-Christian ideas. Furthermore, the gigantic animal figures, which are closely connected with the beginning

/285 cont./

539 of creation and in point of time precede the anthropomorphic gods, the creators of mankind, are a characteristic trait that is very widespread throughout the Indian myths.

172 Near the waterfall, on the shore, there is an old inscription; I am reproducing it just as it was copied by the Italian Luiz Oddi, who traveled down the Paranatinga to the salto a few years ago in the hope of finding the gold site of the Martyrios. Oddi thinks that the signs were scratched in with a knife and stem from the Paulistas, whose traces he endeavored to follow. Caetano, however, although he is unable to state anything definite, believes that the picture writing was made by Indian hands and is ancient. The presence of the "cross figure" does not prove anything opposing this view: it probably represents a human being and corresponds almost exactly to one of the drawings given in Wallace's book about Amazonas. /Chapters 19-24, pp. 286-329 in the original source, are omitted in the translation, except for the map facing p. 298, which appears in the translation as pp. 154 -159, and the illustrations facing pp. 322 and 326, which follow as pp. 160-164 and pp. 165 - 169, respectively. The "Appendix," pp. 330-366 in the original source, is omitted in the translation./

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932

SP8 Bororo SP8
Bacairi SP7

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[Facing P. 180-A]
[Plate XXV-A]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bureau SP8
Bureau SP8
PLATE XXV

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Plate XXV-B [Facing P. 180-B]

Pato Grande 94.
Bacairi 59

streams. Under the last was this because hard work, but in general the march was a pleasant one. The start in the morning was made at about eight o'clock, unless some beast had wandered too far off, when there was some further delay. A low fog hid the tall grass from sight early in the morning, but soon afterwards it would lift. In the early afternoon would appear white clouds in the skies that had been perfectly clear, enough to enhance the beauty of the sunsets, and no more. The region is windswept, so that though the sun was hot enough the heat was never unbearable. Camp was generally made in the middle afternoon, by some stream, in order to give the sun a chance to grass. Skies were invariably clear at night. The temperature fell so suddenly that few days after midnight, most preferring to huddle around the fire, to talk and drink coffee, which I allowed. Precipitation was heavy during the night, so we situated by our blankets, which were wringing wet by morning. However, the nights were not so uncomfortable that it would have justified the carrying of heavy tarpaulins.

In this manner we travelled over the rolling country. Sometimes we [illegible] a stop would be made, usually at noon, though several fell to our guns. Otavo Tapi, a short-haired New York fox terrier that accompanied us, caused a tapir; the other dogs joining in the chase, it was bayed and killed, a welcome event, for it supplied us with meat for several days. A peccary one day caused a great deal of excitement. On being seen, almost the entire personnel gave chase, whistling horses, shouting arrows, whooping, yelling and laughing. It was finally shot. Several mutung, birds whose meat was found to be excellent, were killed in the jungle patches bordering the streams.

We passed near two deserted village sites which the Bakairi identified as being Kayapó. Travelling on schedule, however, we were not able to stop to investigate archaeological possibilities.

On the sixth day from Simão Lopes we entered more wooded country, necessitating cutting a way through, and on the seventh day we reached the banks of the Kuluene river below the mouth of the Pranse. This last day was marked by an accident to one of the tame park cows. It fell, breaking its back. For the wild cows that we had taken with us, its face covered with a leather mask so that it could not see where it was going, but naturally followed the other cows, this was fortunate. The heart cow was killed and its meat dried. The cows was sent back to the post

/13 cont./

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12. Karl v. d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, l. c., p. 310.

of this period were marked enemies of the Brazilian companions, and to whom we must attribute the attacks against the settlers of the upper Cuiabá River, attributed in Brazilian documents to the "Cayapós." (13) The ancestors of the Bororó

13. Ibid., p. 324.

/Bororó/, who had extended farther south in earlier times, were still clearly remembered by the women Bakairí, but in this period the former did not appear. The principal enemies were undoubtedly the Kayapó of the Rio Verde with whom they had long lived in a state of intense hostility. The Bakairí place their ancestral land on the famous falls of the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Teles Pires), located upriver from the mouth of the Rio Verde. They said that old Caraque Caetano's had been born in the old aldeia situated on the falls. It was said that at that time the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí had traveled to just below the mouth of the Rio Verde but had later returned from fear of the Kayapó. Caraque Caetano's father had already been born in an aldeia situated farther upriver. Antonio Pyrineu de Souza, in his expedition down the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Teles Pires), found habitation ruins below the mouth of the Beija-Flor near the Cerro de Figueiral and on the right side of the river, where it was said that the Bakairí had had a large aldeia in former times. It is also said that they fought with the Kayapó and the Tapuíhuna /Tapayuna/ when they lived in this place. (14) Undoubtedly the Bakairí had /16/ lived closer to

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14. A. Pyrineu de Souza, loc. cit., p. 65.

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973 Karaiben, one would suppose that the Bakaïrí word would have agreed with the Aruak word.

out of the question, because the two names always go together, both as moon and sun among the Nu-Aruak, as well as in the Bakaïrí legend in which the two heroes are twins. Except that kéri is moon, and kâme, kâmu, sun, whereas in the Bakaïrí legend Keri is the chief person, Kame usually plays the "fool," and Keri is allotted the sun, Kame the moon. Finally, kamu, sun, seems to be contained in Kamuschini, the oldest person in the legend. It is an important circumstance that tradition is [542] transmitted preferably by the women. Antonio had all the myths from his mother and he told me that this was the rule. In that case a constant differentiation must necessarily be assumed: many alien women were taken into the Bakaïrí tribe in the course of time. In legend Keri appears as the culture hero of the Bakaïrí, Kame as the one of the Arinos tribes. Old Caetano also designated the two simply with the Bakaïrí words for sun and moon in the form of proper names: Tschischi and Nuna. It was amusing enough when he said in Bakaïrí: "Keri took tschischi," and in Portuguese: "Tschischi tomou o sol."

With the two brothers we gradually arrive at the other end of the legend of creation, its termination in the actual ancestor legend or tribal history. After the events in heaven have come to an end, that is to say, after Keri and Kame were born and brought up and accomplished their deeds, to which are owed the possession of daylight, the interchange of heaven and earth, sleep, fire, the rivers, they come to the Paranatinga, move to the old seat of the Bakaïrí at the salto /waterfall/, make various tribes out of arrows, teach festival dances, procure tobacco, mandioca, and the like, and finally depart, never to return. 973 Where in this is the end of pure legend and the beginning of 973 history, from which some actual facts are supposed to have been preserved in the accounts concerning the rivers, concerning the relationship to other tribes, and concerning the origin of cultivated

/365 cont./

plants? Indeed, the Kayabí /Cayabi/ appear when it is still night on earth, before the sun has been fetched by Keri!

I should be happy if I could answer the question even somewhat satisfactorily. Antonio was able to enumerate for me the names of his ancestors up to his great-great-great-grandfather Mariukara who was supposed to have lived near the salto of the Paranatinga; this, if one figures 30 years per generation, would go back to the middle of the eighteenth century. Assuming the reliability of the statement, we would have what would probably be the natural limit in the case of a tribe without writing and without any particular carriers of tradition, an oral tradition that extends personally to the grandfather and, since the latter likewise /366/ could have been instructed by his grandfather, to the grandfather of the grandfather. If, mindful of the various life spans, we allow two more generations, we shall probably have reached the limit of credibility. None of our Indians doubts that with these ancestors we arrive at the time when Keri and Kame fetched the sun. To be sure, there were Bakairí before that and Kayabí were also already present before the sky and earth were interchanged. Since I am inclined to think the best of the good Bakairí, I believe after all that we shall be completely fair to them if we have them living on the Paranatinga since time immemorial and have them learn there about mandioca and tobacco.

Now are Keri and Kame the names of two specific chiefs who really lived several centuries ago and who are now exaggeratedly credited with having regulated the course of the sun and providing the Bakairí and their neighbors with sleep, fire, rivers, etc.? The history of our hunter tribes living for centuries as extended families is not very well suited for creating personalities whose names could not be forgotten. But aside from this, if only the one name "moon" existed, one might still be able to imagine a real ancestor with this name, but it is asking too much for us to assume two with the names "sun" and "moon."

/386 cont./

993 Could we not regard Kani and Kanai as personifications of the
103 sun and moon? Only they were not moon and sun or further bells, but were merely called that. The celestial bodies sun and moon were not made out of Bakalif bones. Now, the oldest things and the oldest human beings belong together. The father of the tribe is the natural owner of the sun. If, in order to explain his origin, I have him come forth from some kind of substance and be announced, there is nothing there to be personified, but only to be named. The person is quite automatically furnished by the founder of the tribe, who is completely unknown historically, but is certainly to be taken for granted. It is therefore only a question of where the name came from.

101 In the first place one should consider whether the names do
174 not have a geographical meaning. Let us orient ourselves: The pelme tribes of the Kalinelu are, in our language, the easternmost outposts of the Siu'-Ainak. The huge main body lives to the west of the Atinon, the tributary of the Tapapoe. There we have first of all, in the source region of the Atinon and Junuma, the Paremd group, formerly numerous and made up of many separate tribes, of whom we know that today they have drifted southwards. Further to the west there are huge areas inhabited by the Siu'-Ainak. The Paremd who visited us in Cayeldi called the sun kanik and the Atinon, as the river toward the rising sun that bounded their territory to the east, kanu-ulibo = sun-river. Still, it could have been some other tribe of the Paremd group. It could certainly have been ancestors of the /387/ Mahmahi tribe, who today have advanced eastward as far as the Kalinelu,* from whom the stimulus

* They are the very ones who have "sun" and "moon" in the unclosed form "kanu" and "ulibo," while the Paremd of Dumaguete had kanai, sun, but kapil, moon, which, to be sure, does not mean much with respect to the old Paremd, who were split up into many subtribes.

/369 cont./

[74 773] as the mothers called him, and the one who possessed the moon Nuna, as the fathers called him, or Kame, as the mothers called him. The Bakairi and their neighbors made Tuchachi-Kari, the Aruak and their neighbors made Nuha-Kame, /774/ in other words Kame, the Arawa people living to the northwest with the Paresi', and Kari, the tribes living with the Bakairi' to the south and east. There is no question of a conscious, primary distinction on the basis of the directions. This distinction could only have arisen secondarily by the roundabout way of Kari's having already become the chief person and the possessor of the sun. For children could not have simply called east and sun with their mothers called west and moon, and it is not an incomprehensible misunderstanding (as I myself believed in the beginning) that brought about the exchange of names, but the very understandable claim on both sides to descent from the more important of the two historical ancestors.

[775] I believe that the material of the astronomical observations and that of the historical memories were handled in exactly the same way: in both cases the authors of the deed were added to the story, as were the men to the arrows and the women to the maize pestles. The deed is historical, the persons are only to the extent that they are the chiefs, medicine men, or tribal ancestors whom one must assume for the beginning.

[776] Let us consider a few important details of the legend. Kari and Kame are twins. Their mother is "married" to the jaguar, but it is especially emphasized that they are only his foster sons and that their mother, even though she need not be a virgin, did not conceive them by her husband. She swallowed two finger bones from Bakairi', which the jaguar stood away as bones as arrow points, and became pregnant from them. We come across the same features in many American legends. First of all, several brothers are born as the original ancestors, and, secondly, the mother is often virginal. There is no lack of profound interpretations. Among the Paresi' there are six brothers, among other tribes four, the number depends either on the need, how many independent family men were necessary for the tribes who lived

2: Steinen--453E,D-S (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/378 cont./

539 For three days they ran with it down toward the valley. Then they came to the salto of the Paranatinga, but it was not yet a waterfall, only dry rock. They themselves now brought the water to the salto and let it wait on the other side of the falls. But since they were now staying here, Keri soon had ducks and doves come and other birds who took the water with them and led it on.

House, fishing, festival dances, tribes. Tumehi or Tumeng, a grandfather of Keri, lived on the salto. He was the husband of the grandmother or, as we have called her up to now, Aunt Ewaki (mother and aunt, great-aunt and grandmother have the same meaning as kinsfolk). Tumehi was a bat and had a dark gray skin. Old Castano variously called him Semimo (Bak. semimo, bat) and Rei do Congo! The king of the Congo, a term which he got hold of, heaven knows how, from Negroes, fleeing slaves or workers on the fazendas, and applied to the black Tumehi. Tumehi belongs to the oldest kin-group of Kamuchini, Moro, and Ewaki, and his correct name is probably Semimo, for tumehi, tumeng, is an adjective. The salto had been his stone house before the water came; it should not be surprising to us that it is precisely the bat, which prefers to "keep house" in rock clefts, that is regarded as the builder of the stone chasm and that the latter, with one or another overhanging rock-roof, is regarded as a house. Thus, Tumehi was pedreiro, stonecutter.

Keri and Kame had Tumehi build each of them a stone house. The latter provided himself with stones by blowing on meruiben, that is how stones were produced.

They learned more from Tumehi on the salto, however. Their knowledgeable grandfather showed them how to make and to set weirs and catch mamuchiam fish in them, how to plant roasting racks and roast fish.

Now Keri and Kame have reached the stage where they are regarded as adult human beings, they have acquired everything one needs: sun and moon, hammock and sleep, fire, the best river with the salto and its fish, house, and roasting rack. Their life had to start in heaven, and now it has been carried forward to the time when the actual tribal history begins at the oldest residence site of the Bakairi, on the salto of the Paranatinga.

/389 cont./

127 from March 13, 1872, is classic. It had become necessary to take into account the tremendous and widely known changes which the Paraguay war had brought about in the southern part of the province. Of the tribes listed as Nos. 3-15 in 1848, three were crossed out, the total figure was reduced from 13,020 to 8670; on the other hand, for tribes 1, 2, 16-33 the old report was again copied verbatim, so that no human being seems to have been born or died here in the 24 years.

175 The Bakairí of the Paranatinga and Rio Novo maintained them-
[179] selves in their two poor villages; they were occasionally visited
[164] by gold-seeker expeditions who would then arrange a small mass-
baptism and introduce syphilis and measles. Many perished from
[159] measles, the disease, relatively harmless for us, is not only /390/
often fatal to the Indians, but they also have the bad habit of plunging into the river in the middle of the highest fever and not drying themselves after they leave the cool bath.

173 I made an effort to learn more details about the history of
[115] the tribe from the aged Caetano, retired chief, and his successor, Felipe, on the Paranatinga, as well as from Antonio. A history of more recent times can clearly be separated out, during which a shift to the southwest took place. Whereas the forefathers on the
175 salto of the Paranatinga lived several days' journey below the
131 present village and somewhat above the emptying of the Rio Verde
169 coming from the left, the West Bakairí, at least since the middle
361 of the previous century, have occupied the border area between the source rivers of the Arinos, Cuyabá, and Paranatinga, where the village on the Rio Novo is still to be found. On the Ribeirão Caivão there were more than six villages; there was a large village on the Ribeirão da Pedra. The first baptism of the Bakairí took place in Diamantino. Caetano, born in the previous century according to all calculations, first saw the light of the world where
[179] the Rio Beijaflor empties into the Paranatinga. The Paranatinga village now located above this is a creation of modern times.

/390 cont./

131 brought about by the gold-seeker Correa. The expeditions in
173 search of the fabulous gold mines of the Martyrios were able to
179 cross the Paranatinga most conveniently here and wanted to use
167 the canoes of the Bakaïrí as well as to obtain food supplies from
361 them. Antonio was born toward the end of the fifties, at the earliest, in Limoeiro, a small settlement.

131 The ancestors of Antonio offer a chronological handle. His
173 father, Seseriari, also had a Portuguese name; his grandfather,
601 like an Indian in the first Batovy village, was called Karawako, his great-grandfather Yakauka, his great-great-grandfather Kupare, and the last one whose name Antonio still knew was his great-great-great-grandfather, Mariukara. The latter lived near the salto of the Paranatinga. If we estimate 30 years per generation, the succession might go back to before the middle of the eighteenth century. Caetano, probably born around 1790, was still supposed to be able to call by name six or seven ancestors, which I unfortunately could no longer confirm, so that his genealogy would reach back to the middle of the seventeenth century. Caetano's father was born on the Paranatinga, above the salto, it was his grandfather who was born on the salto itself. In any case, the statements of the Bakaïrí agree perfectly with the report of Antonio Pire: that the Bakaïrí were in contact with the tribes on the upper course of the Cuyabá at the beginning of the previous century.

131 It is not unimportant to determine as much of the tradition
173 as possible, insofar as it does not yet appear as legend and fairy
[101] tale, because it is very desirable to know whether the present-day West Bakaïrí, the inhabitants of the Tapajoz source-region, or the East Bakaïrí in the source region of the Schingú /Xingu/ occupy the older habitations.

/391/ The West Bakaïrí definitely put the original home of the entire tribe at the salto of the Paranatinga, so that our Karaiben /Carib/ tribe would originally have belonged to the Tapajoz. But the western source-rivers of the Schingú and the eastern ones of the Paranatinga lie so close together that it is a matter of pure chance where the tribes moving downstream arrive. "One of the grandfathers" of Caetano was slain in the forest by

173 /391 cont. / "one of the grandfathers" of Caetano was slain in the forest by
131 another Bakaïrí; at that time there were serious conflicts within
[167] the tribe, and the result was -- according to the report of the Paranatinga people -- that one part of the Bakaïrí moved from the salto to the Kulisehu.

[361] Between the Paranatinga and the Ronuro, too, there is a "tapeira," a ruined settlement of bygone days, known to the West
[487] Bakaïrí. At one time a route led from the salto as far as the Auetõ on the Kulisehu, which therefore must have led across the Ronuro or its source streams and the Batovy. The Bakaïrí are
[167] said to have fled along this route and to have settled in part on the Batovy, in part on the Kulisehu. They were said to have ob-
[177] tained mandioca twigs, batatas, and cará /Dioscorea/ fruits from the Nahuquá for planting.

These are, therefore, very definite statements. It is difficult to say, however, when the separation between West and East Bakaïrí took place and whether it occurred in several thrusts.
[101] Just as the tribe of the Auetõ and of the Nahuquá appears in the tradition of the Paranatinga village, so have the names of the rest of the Kulisehu tribes, the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, Yaulapiti, Kustenaú /Custenau/, Waurá, Kamayurá /Camayura/, and Trumaí, been known there from the times of Caetano's grandfathers. In the third Bakaïrí village on the Batovy we found a small piece of iron that was said to have been brought in former times from the Pakuneru, the Paranatinga; thus occasional visits back and forth may have occurred, or at least Parantinga-Bakaïrí may now and then have reached the Schingú.

[167] In general, however, I gained the impression that the actual separation of the two Bakaïrí groups took place around the middle or the beginning of the previous century at the latest, when the Brazilians settled in the Mato Grosso and caused major shifts of the tribes. Probably it was not merely a matter of individual internal feuds among the people at the salto, but also of malevolent neighbors who oppressed and occasionally drove away the peaceable Bakaïrí.

[75 In the Brazilian sources the Nambiquara /Nambicuara/,
648 Tapanhuna /Tapanyuna/, and Kayabí /Cayabi/ are given as

2: Steinen- -472 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Apiaca SP2
Cayabi
Mundurucu SQ13

B /391 cont./
175 enemies of the Bakaïrí, but there is no more specific informa-
648 tion about them. The Nambiquara and Tapanhuna, enemies of the Apiaká, lived in the Arinos region; of the Tapanhuna, Joaquim Ferreira Moutinho* states that they spoke the Bakaïrí

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* Noticia da Provincia de Mato Grosso, S. Paulo, 1869, p. 216.

language; unfortunately no notes were ever made on the language of the Bakaïrí, let alone on that of the Tapanhuna, /392/ and unfortunately the author has no claim to any credibility in these matters, as we shall see among the Bororó.

BM A statement in the fortieth volume of the Revista Trimensal
175 do Instituto Historico (Rio de Janeiro, 1877, II, p. 97) is worth
648 mentioning: it refers to the tribe of the Mundrukú /Mundurucu/,
[113] once feared far and wide, which today sits along the middle and
M lower Tapajoz, but formerly lived farther upstream. Antonio
[131] Manoel Gonçalves Tocantins, who visited them in 1875, remarks:
BM "In former times they also overcame the Bakaïrí, whom they
[101] call Mureufuâtes and whom they forced to go into the Matogrosso where they ('aldeïert') settled in villages." The latter addition shows that this can only refer to events of relatively recent times, in the Brazilian era. Nor should one believe, on the basis of this
BM passage, that the Baikïrí lived in the province of Pará; among
[131] the dwellers along the lower Tapajoz, the region of the upper course and of the source arms Juruena and Arinos is called "Matogrosso"; the Mundrukú themselves lived next to the Apiaká in the province of Mato Grosso, where they are called Saruma, and harassed all the tribes of the Arinos and Schingú area with their attacks. The Bakaïrí, who called them "Mandurukú," re-
BM
[101] membered them vividly, but said that their attacks no longer occur, since they have moved to the north.

B The chief enemies of the West Bakaïrí, and probably even
A of the united Bakaïrí, if the tradition is correct, were the Kayabí.
173 "Unvanquished savages in the vicinity of the salto," says the
648 report of the Directoria dos Indios. The following is what I was

/392 cont./ The following is what I was
A 105 [101] gradually able to learn about them from the Bakaírí. The Kayabí call themselves Paruá; they are said to be -- but this requires confirmation -- relatives of the Kamayurá on the Kulisehu, according to their language, and would therefore be a Tupí tribe.
A [266] [241] They are strong people and, like the Tupí tribe of Apiaká living nearby, practitioners of anthropophagy. They plant mandioca, maize, batatas, mandubí, etc., just like the rest. They have
A [411] nicely worked clubs of bakayuva palm-wood with plaiting around them, which, about one and a half meters long, have the shape of flat staffs and are worn in a rope on the arm. In this respect, too, they would correspond with the Kamayurá. The arrows are of kambayuva reed, like those of the Yuruna, but smaller. They do not have throwing boards -- an important difference from the Kamayurá.

A [131] The Kayabí live on the Rio Verde, whose sources lie between the Rio Novo village and the Paranatinga village of the
B A [101] Bakaírí and which flows into the Paranatinga from the right, below the famous salto. They are therefore, of course, the very closest neighbors of the Bakaírí. The hostility has existed
B A 173 648 since ancient times. Only in the very beginning did they tolerate each other: it is said that the Kayabí appeared among the Bakaírí in order to live near them and settled along a brook in their vicinity; then the strife began. I recall the Kayabí of the Keri legend; there they already appear in heaven, cf. p. 448. The old Bakaírí are said to have traveled down the Paranatinga to below the Rio Verde and /393/ to have come back again out of fear of the Kayabí. The Kayabí possessed stone axes and that had given rise to conflicts.

B A 173 721 More specific information was reported to me about clashes in more recent times. The Kayabí killed the father of Felipe; they attacked at night and also took a child along. Antonio's grandfather, father, and uncle pushed forward as far as the mouth of the Rio Verde; the Kayabí were hunting there and looking for mussels. The Bakaírí arrived in the afternoon and cautiously held back, but early in the morning, when the Kayabí were still

/393 cont./

B A 173 721 A [302] B [729]

lying in their hammocks, they made an assault and killed two, while the others ran away. The Kayabí were rubbed with arimesca oil (from a vine) and urucú and stank like the devil. They had with them gourd bowls, a different kind of urucú, and bows and arrows. In 1884 in the Paranatinga village we found two Kayabí women, Maria and Luisa Kayabí,* who unfortunately

* See Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, p. 283 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 151/, and the body measurements in the table following p. 364 /omitted in 1:Steinen/. Erroneously written Cajibi there.

no longer knew a word of their mother tongue. Some 20 Bakaïrí had undertaken the raid at the mouth of the Rio Verde and captured the two small girls along with a sister of Luisa, who, however, bit everyone around her so furiously that she had to be killed.

B 173 167

Although, in addition to the version that dissension among the Bakaïrí themselves necessitated an exodus to the Schingú, I was also given another one, that a number of Bakaïrí fled there from the Kayabí, it is quite possible that both are justified and refer to different occasions.

S 131 167 [101]

A shift in the same direction was reported to me for the Suyá, which necessarily surprised me no little. The Suyá, whom we found in 1884 on the upper course of the Schingú, are a true Gês tribe and linguistically are most closely related to the Apinagês /Apinaye/ of the province of Goyaz /Goiás/ between the Tocantins and Araguay /Araguaia/. They are likewise said to have lived on the Rio Verde west of the Paranatinga and to have come there from the nearby Arinos. They must therefore, since we may cling to their eastern origin, first have been driven across the Schingú and Paranatinga toward the west and then moved back. The Bakaïrí say that they joined the Kayapó /Cayapo/, who were excellent archers, and drove the Suyá out of the neighborhood along the Rio Verde. A great many Suyá

B [648] [173] S [648]

B 648 173 S 167 648

/393 cont./ A great many Suyá were said to have been killed and the tribe fled to the Schingú. Hyacintho, the oldest Indian of the Rio Novo vilage, was said to have taken part in the battle, along with Antonio's grandfather, so that at the earliest the event would have occurred in the first quarter of our century.

B 648 B [175] B 101

In the south and southeast the West Bakaïrí evidently had friendly relations with the Gẽs tribe of the Kayapó. In the Brazilian sources, which in general underestimate the extent of this tribe, there is nothing /394/ known about the Kayapó having extended into this region. They report only attacks of the "Coroados" on the fazendas of the upper Cuiabá, but the Bakaïrí, who were necessarily better informed, designated this tribe as "kayáxo" - Kayapó, and they also call the source river of the Paranatinga coming farthest from the eas the Kayapó River. The same Kayapó are eastern or southeastern neighbors of the Kulisehu Bakaïrí, as the latter informed me.

B 101

Finally, I tried to find out how far the sphee of the West Bakaïrí extends to the west; the Paressí are well known to them as old neighbors. To the west beyond Diamantho, behind the Paressí, live the "Woimaré" and "Eneurá," it was said. They allegedly are not relatives of the Paressí, a statement which is incorrect for the "Woimaré," as we shall see inthe discussion of the Paressí. The "Eneurá" are otherwise unknown. Much farther still live the "Pekoban," likewise unknown. The ancestors pushed forward as far as that and said that there was a large river there and that the Pekoban lived beyond it. This could only be the Guaporé, the upper course of the Madeira.

In conclusion, a note about the Guaná is very remarkable; in very, very ancient times they were said to have lived on the Rio Beijaflor, a left tributary of the Paranatinga which flows into it above the Rio Verde. Cf. page 454.

B 173 167

This is all that I could learn from the WestBakaïrí about the history of the tribe and its relations to its neighbors. To summarize the traditions: the oldest Bakaïrí wee settled at the salto of the Paranatinga, thus in any case beonged to the

/394 cont./

173 source region of the Tapajoz, and from there some of them emi-
167 grated to the Batovy and Kulisehu in the source region of the Schingú. According to the legend, they reached the salto from the source region of the Paranatinga and Ronuro.

The separation of the West Bakaïrí and East Bakaïrí would under all circumstances have to be dated back to at least the previous century and before the time when the Bakaïrí spread to the southwest into the source region of the Cuyabá. The
174 linguistic comparison agrees well with these conclusions; the
197 two groups of Bakaïrí speak a language that is identical in form and content, with slight dialectal differences. A few fish and trees are designated differently; the name of the akurí palm of the Kulisehu is that of the oaussú palm of the Paranatinga, and
[177] vice versa. As far as the Schingú Bakaïrí are concerned, it is absolutely certain that they have never had any contact with the white man.

619 As a result of our expedition of 1884, West Bakaïrí and East
[123] Bakaïrí came together again. Antonio, after his return home
[166] to the Paranatinga, told of the fellow tribesmen on the Batovy, and the practical Chief Felipe had the idea that he must try to
[484] persuade them to settle on the Paranatinga. In September of 1886 he set out with Antonio and another man; they reached the Batovy in three days and required another three days along the river until they reached the first village.

/395/ Chief Luku was kurápa and did not entertain them as splendidly as they had expected, but several East Bakaïrí, our "professor" of 1884 in the lead, accompanied them to the
619 Paranatinga. The visitors had great fear of the cattle, but great
431 joy over the visitors-gifts, with which Felipe did not stint. I inquired specifically what they had been given to take along. "We gave them all the iron we had, chickens (this, however, was later denied), small banana plants, mandioca twigs, maize, and rice." Thus one sees how the first opportunity is immediately used to transplant the cultivated produce! If the experiment succeeded, our successors on the Schingú will be able to eat bananas!

B /399 cont./
174 number of our Karaiben elements is too small to account for the one going from the center of the continent to the north, is removed.

B As far as the relation of the Bakaïrí and Nahuquá to each
174 other is concerned, it should be noted that the two tribes are
197 linguistically no closer than the Guiana Karaiben are to one another. In fact, the Bakaïrí are closer to the Makuschí /Macusi/ or Rukuyenn /Rucuyen/ than to the Nahuquá. The influence of the neighboring Nu-Aruak, the potter tribes of the Kulisehu, on the language of the Nahuquá is clearly pronounced, and this relation, as is the case today, has undoubtedly been closer and more cordial for a very long time than with the
B Bakaïrí. This circumstance is in perfect accord with the history
[193] and legend of the West Bakaïrí when they maintain that the original seat of their tribe lies between the Ronuro and the Paranatinga.

B The latest acquisition for the Karaiben question, finally,
A and a very important one on account of the spatial adjustment
174 which it permits, is the Apiaká /Apiaca/. Martius already
A speaks of "Apiaká" in the river basin of the Tokantins /Tocantins/;
[101] he mentions them beside the Karajá /Caraja/ and regards them
[131] as Tupí, as indeed the Indians of the upper Tapajoz living in a remote region and likewise called "Apiaká" actually are. In 1888, Ehrenreich, after he had traveled down the Araguay-Tokantins,
A met a few Apiaká in Praia Grande and /400/ identified them as
B Karaiben. He was surprised at their great physical resemblance
[142] to the Bakaïrí. The people said that they had been driven away by
A the Suyá. They had fled northward and are now living west of
[173] the last stretch of the lower Tokantins, probably in the upper
[169] region of the Uanapu and Pacayá, approximately on the third de-
[131] gree south latitude. Ehrenreich suspects that the migration took place only a few decades ago. It is obvious to link them up with the change of habitation which the Suyá themselves undertook when, in the first decades of this century (cf. page 474), they were driven from the Paranatinga region to the Schingú. Nor do
A we know anything more specific about whether the Apiaká lived
[169] to the west or east of the Schingú, but the important fact that

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12. Karl v.d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, l. c., p. 393.

of this period were marked enemies of the Brazilian campesinos, and to whom we must attribute the attacks against the ranches of the upper Cuiabá River, attributed in Brazilian documents to the "Coroado." (13) The incursions of the Mundurukú

13. Ibid., p. 394.

/Mundurucu/, who had extended farther south in earlier times, were still clearly remembered by the western Bakairí, but in this period the former did not appear. The principal enemies were undoubtedly the Kayabí of the Rio Verde with whom they had long lived in a state of intense hostility. The Bakairí place their ancestral land at the famous falls of the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires), located upriver from the mouth of the Rio Verde. They said that old Cacique Caetano's had been born in the old aldea situated at the falls. It was said that at that time the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí had traveled to just below the mouth of the Rio Verde but had later returned from fear of the Kayabí. Cacique Caetano's father had already been born in an aldea situated farther upriver. Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa, in his expedition down the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires), found habitation ruins below the mouth of the Beija-flor near the Cerro de Piquirizal and on the right side of the river, where it was said that the Bakairí had had a large aldea in former times. It is also said that they fought with the Kayabí and the Tapanhuna /Tapanyuna/ when they lived in this place. (14) Undoubtedly the Bakairí had /16/ lived closer to

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14. A. Pyrineus de Sousa, loc. cit., p. 69.

173 648 726 727 361 /16 cont. /Undoubtedly the Bakairí had /16/ lived closer to the Kayabí than in later times, because they had moved their aldea successively farther upriver. But hostilities with their enemies then had still lasted. One night in a raid the Kayabí had killed Felipe's father and carried away a child. On this account some 20 Bakairí men had undertaken an expedition for revenge and had killed two Kayabí men and carried away two girls, who were living at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions in the aldea situated on the Paranatinga River, where they were married to two Bakairí men and were called Luiza and Maria. When I met Luiza, in the year 1927, among the Bakairí of Simões Lopes, she was an old woman. Given the fact that the population of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga River had dwindled to so few individuals, even at their later location, the Kayabí remained a danger for them.

648 727 The Bakairí were known by the Paresí as old neighbors, and the Paresí, Charlotta, who was the wife of Cacique Felipe, had been carried away from Diamantino by the Bakairí. (15)

15. Karl v. d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 122. Idem., Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., p. 3 4.

174 648 177 From the extraordinary concordance of the legends of the Paresí with those of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga River, noted by Karl von den Steinen, it follows that in earlier times, there was extensive contact between the western Bakairí and the Paresí. (16) Unfortunately we do not know the legends of the

174 184 648 773 177

16. Karl v. d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., pp. 364 and 365.

eastern Bakairí, who live in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River, so that we do not know to what extent their legends

175 /17 cont./
72 the Paranatinga Bakairí, one of whom, named Chariorta, was
729 the wife of Cacique Felipe. To the influence of such women,
563 captured in hostile encounters with the Paresí, we must
179 attribute, in the first place, the extensive assimilation of the legends of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga River. (19)

19. Ibid., p. 365.

173 According to the statements of the western Bakairí, the
166 origin of the Bakairí who live in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River was due to the fact that, as a result of quarrels among the Bakairí, who were still living in former times by the falls, part of them broke away and emigrated to the Rio Kuliseho. (20) We do not know whether this represents

20. Ibid., p. 391.

a historical fact or merely legendary superstitions of the
175 Paranatinga Bakairí. For lack of any objective knowledge of the presence of these Indians in former times on the two tributaries of the Xingu River, the Batovy and the Kuliseho, and for lack of any statements about their former life by these /Indians/ themselves, the history of these eastern Bakairí begins only at the time of Karl von den Steinen's first expedition to the Xingu River in the year 1884, which brought attention upon them for the first time and was their first historical event. As for the first effects of this event, so important for the subsequent fate of the eastern Bakairí, Karl von den Steinen was already able to recognize them himself and make use of them in his
175 section "History of the Bakairí." The first mutual visits be-
619 tween the Bakairí of the Paranatinga and their fellow country-
men on the Rio Batovy marked the beginning of relations between these two Bakairí groups. In what follows we shall deal
728) with the manner in which these relations gradually increased, extending also to the Bakairí of the Rio Kuliseho and influencing

/Still cont./

Rio Novo, also in that state. The Sordes Lapes Indians claim that in the past all the Bakairí lived in aldeias by the Paranatinga River, moving later to the north under pressure of enemy groups. (2) Later on the tribe divided as a result of internal

2. For a better discussion of the possible origin of the Bakairí, see Max Schmidt's article, "Los Bakairí" /The Bacairi/, Revista do Museu Paulista, New Series, Vol. I, pp. 11-38, São Paulo, 1947.

[113]

expansion part moved to the north of the Rio Culiseu, one of the sources of the Xingu, and the other part was distributed along the Rio Novo. Perhaps the truth about these reports can only be obtained with the help of archaeology. Meanwhile, the old villages of the Bakairí on the sources of the Xingu no longer exist. The Xinguano Indians suffered a great deal from repeated outbreaks of influenza, and the last Bakairí found in that area were brought to the Sordes Lapes Post a few years ago by officials of the Indian Protection Service. The Rio Novo Bakairí, practically as a whole, adopted the customs of the neighboring Brazilian population and live independent of the control of the Indian Protection Service. As for the Sordes Lapes Indians, although they are quite acculturated, they still retain many traits of their old culture, they all still speak Bakairí, and some of them still remember the time when they lived in Xinguano aldeias, and make good informants.

As for the authors who have dealt with the Bakairí, we shall only mention the best. Capistrano de Abreu and Karl von den Steinen. The former left us valuable information on the Bakairí language and on the beliefs of these Indians. The only weakness of his material is that it is based on only one

THE BACAIRI

This brief account of the Bacairi is based on field work done among the Bacairi living in the Government Indian Post on the Rio Paranatinga in June 1947. The field work was carried out in the course of a reconnaissance survey which the writer was then making of some of the central and northern Indian tribes of Mato Grosso. This and other trips at the time were made in a Ford truck put at the disposal of the writer by the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios. By using a truck the trip to the Paranatinga could be made over the Planalto do Matogrosense in 2 days in contrast to the old route along the Rio Cuiabá which, on horseback with pack cows, takes from 2 to 3 weeks. The writer was accompanied by Fernando Altenfelder Silva of the Escola de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo and by Rev. Thomas Young and Rev. W. L. Dunkum of the South American Indian Mission. The Reverend Mr. Young, who has spent more than 10 years among the Bacairi, was of great help in selecting informants and in adding to our knowledge of the Bacairi.

According to estimates made in 1947 by the Brazilian Indian Service (Serviço de Proteção aos Indios) there are between 200 and 250 Bacairi living in the northern part of Mato Grosso State, Brazil, divided between the Indian Post of Simão Lopes on the Rio Paranatinga and the village of Rio Novo some distance to the northwest. The Bacairi claim that the whole tribe originally lived together on the Rio Paranatinga (headwaters of the Tapajos River), but attacks by other Indians and Brazilians forced them to move about 80 years ago. Owing to a dispute the tribe split, one group moving north to settle on the banks of the Rio Kulisevu, a tributary of the Xingú River, the other moving to Rio Novo. After about 30 years in the Kulisevu Basin, this group moved to the present location of Simão Lopes, not far from the original Bacairi settlement on the Rio Paranatinga. Although the Rio Novo group has adopted Brazilian customs and manages without Government help, some have moved to Simão Lopes where the Bacairi now live on reservation lands and receive assistance from the

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only that all creatures behaved essentially as he did, that they had their family life, communicated with one another by means of sounds, had dwellings, sometimes fought with one another, and nourished themselves from hunting booty or from fruits. In short, he felt as though he were primus inter pares, not above them. He knew nothing about all those good things to the effect that there is a difference whether one draws conclusions in situational images or in concepts, and whether one acts purposefully according to associations which are inherited complete within the species, or according to tradition which is handed down by the parents by means of language. His myths and legends, which to us seem like pure fairy tales and animal fables and which he takes just as seriously as we do the sacred books with their doctrine, in which he lets human beings and animals mingle, would accordingly be only playful *pars* if he regarded himself as created out of a different substance than other creatures are. We can understand these human beings only if we regard them as the product of a hunting culture. They gathered the main body of their experiences from animals, and with these experiences primarily, since it is only through the old that one is capable of understanding the new, they explained nature, fashioned their world view. Accordingly, their erotic motifs, as we shall see, are borrowed, with amazing one-sidedness, from the animal kingdom. Indeed, their entire, surprisingly rich art is rooted in the hunting life and did not flower until a more peaceful existence provided protection for the huts. From the outset I cannot refer often enough to these conditions, since otherwise we should not properly evaluate the material culture of the natives and should not understand their mental culture at all.

On the other hand, it is a fact that the products of agriculture -- except in the case of the Tsunsé -- have been in the possession of our Indians since time immemorial. A comparison of the languages furnishes irrefutable proof. It teaches us first of all that the tribes of the Schingú belong to different language families. It teaches us furthermore that in the case of each one the breaking off from the basic people concerned took place

B /201 cont./
[171] in remote epochs, /202/ for the phonetic softening processes
[174] and the disappearance of the initial root-sounds, which are
[24] present everywhere in the individual dialects, show a development in the same direction, but in different gradations everywhere with respect to degree and limits, show only equivalence, not conformity, and therefore could have started only after the separation from the basic people. Nevertheless, even the basic peoples have names for the most important useful plants; they are entirely different from one basic people to another, but for the individual basic stock they are common among a greater or lesser number of branches. For the Karaiben /Carib/ I believe I have proved these statements in my Bakairí grammar, I can likewise maintain them for the Tupí after more recent studies; for the Nu-Aruak /Arawak/, where the material is inadequate and difficult, I reserve all judgment and merely point out that, on the basis of historical and ethnological data, we must conclude that the Nu-Aruak undoubtedly have an older culture than the Karaiben and certainly the Gês, and probably also an older
T [172] one than the Tupí. The Trumaí borrowed their names for the most important useful plants in part from the Nu-Aruak, in part from the Tupí.

B [181] Thus, we have a contradiction with respect to the common conception: ancient agriculture along with the world view of
B [173] hunters. The Bakairí said to me: "Our grandfathers did not
[261] know anything about maize and mandioca, instead they ate earth" -- which the present-day Indians only nibble. In the bagahi legend they say that mandioca was first given as a gift
BO [241] to the campo residents. In the Mato Grosso different stages of de-
[153] velopment are found side by side: in the case of the Bororó we shall become acquainted with a mighty tribe for whom the cultivation of food plants was an incomprehensible beginning, who, without need, most speedily pulled out and consumed the mandioca roots planted for them, before the roots were scarcely
T [241] more than thin young shoots -- we recognize from the language and
[174] also hear from the tradition that the Trumaí were taught agriculture only recently by their neighbors, and we find among them
extremely limited, extensive plantings--

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excellently tended, extensive plantings -- finally, we see the rest of the Schingû Indians dependent on the produce of the fields, but in their entire thinking and feeling filled with delight in the original hunters' calling.

But, according to the schema, the process could not have taken place so discontinuously in steps and more or less intermittently. In order to understand this we must approach still another problem. The Schingû tribes had no metal. It is said that they lived in the "Stone Age."

Unfortunately, the study of the pre-metallic period has quite predominantly been built on the mute evidence of excavations. Thus, first of all, there was permitted to arise such a confusion of concepts that "Stone Age" and "prehistory" are commonly regarded as identical terms, although the peoples who have written their own history did so only after they had long had metals, and although, side by side with them and at the same time, there lived metal-less peoples, "prehistorical" with historical peoples. Then, however, /203/ according to our prehistoric finds, one could distinguish an older period, in which stone implements were made by striking and splintering the stones, and a more recent period, in which they were produced by grinding, and, not content to limit this process -- I am not saying this process of development -- to the areas where it was observed, but, generalizing the experiences, it was concluded that man necessarily, in order to obtain his tools, began everywhere by breaking up flints and then progressed to grinding them. Whereas prehistory ought to pronounce the final word and furnish the definitions for the explanation of cultural beginnings only where observation among primitive peoples reaches its limits, nevertheless today the reports from Alaska or from a South Sea island are predominantly regarded as valuable material for the prehistorian who delightedly sees his perspicacious interpretations confirmed by reality, and when, on the other hand, the traveling /Fig. 20 appears here/ researcher comes to a place where people are unfamiliar with metal, he cries out that they are living in the "Stone Age" -- a folly which became clear to me because I myself frequently committed it. If, as is

//[illegible] cont. //

further found it. On the other hand, I share the opinion of [illegible], which I often expressed in lectures before I read his article, that the pipe in Brazil is of modern origin. Like the Eskimos.

[illegible] Pipe, the instrument [illegible] in medical treatment and is regarded as a very ancient acquisition of the antique heroes, who, as legend indicates, received it from the gods. The drinking bowls and calabashes, especially the Cucurbita lagenaria, represented a major problem for the Bakugé, a somewhat lesser one for the Bakaldi. The Bakugé and the Bakaldi had the bow-cotton. The wooden bull was valued above all by the Bakaldi, the Bakugé neglected it completely because carving it made too much work. The surprising circumstance upon my arrival in the village, namely, that no red-painted, but many black-painted figures were walking about, finds a very natural explanation.

Maize, represented among the Bakaldi by a species characterized by smallness of ears and a golden color of the kernels, and manioca were found everywhere, but the latter was planted to decidedly greater amounts among the Bakugé. They were the richest farmers of the upper Bakungi. Their word for manioca was also adopted by the Bakaldi. Of other plants, besides manioca, we saw yams of two kinds and bananas, which we first found in quantities among the Bakugé. [illegible] "[illegible]," plantation beans. Of edible gourds, shikoro //shikoro/, we saw only the seeds which the boys brought us in 1886 for eating, as we understand. The manioka present cultivated is a small species. There were definitely no guavas or bananas on the Bakungi.

In my report about the first journey I pointed out the absence of bananas and especially stressed that for the question as to whether or not the banana was introduced in America only after the arrival of the Europeans this must be all the more decisive since the different Bakungi tribes are of different origin and yet lay a single one brought along the banana from the previous [illegible] [i.e., The [illegible] — Bastian]

/[illegible] word./

plants of indication. After the examination of the second expedition I was only find my opinion confirmed. This time we also met one Tupí who did not have bananas. Among the Karayaná I sought in vain for the /[illegible]/ word "pitiña," which the Indian guest has to banana: they were unfamiliar with it. I gladly withdraw the suggestion that this word might be derived from the Portuguese. I no longer see any more by arbitrary etymologizing, more than at that time, however, I must lay much greater stress on the fact that among the individual tribes the names for banana do not conform to the linguistic derivation, but to territorial, local distribution. This is without precedent in the other useful plants. What is more, none of the five discoverers mentions the banana, and the Arawak of the Lower and the Island Carib reproduce the Spanish word "plátano" so unmistakably in their "pátanna" and "bátanana" that there is absolutely no doubt about the agreement. Finally, if we fully appreciate the fact that in a few cases we find representatives of all the large linguistic families with the most excellent names for all the cultivated plants, but without banana, that a plantain group of one of these tribes, and one associating with Europeans, the Arawak Island?, do have the banana and in their languages, otherwise very absolutely pure, simply call it "banana" (just like the Spanish), in the end, I believe that this proof is as forceful as linguistic proof can ever be. Humboldt and Martius for themselves are persuaded by the fact that they found the banana everywhere among the Indians, but the basis for their view has now become untenable, and the experiences of linguistics, as well as the actual absence of the banana in the entire region of the upper Silliman?, unfortunately nullify the opinion of the botanist, Alphonse de Candolle, that the banana was introduced into South America, though probably very soon after the appearance of Europeans.

It is worthwhile, for a better evaluation of the linguistic methods of proof, to give an example. Let us consider the words for "pepper" among I, the Ta-Arawak, II, the Karaíbe?, and III, the Tupí.

//III cont.//

I. On the Sahtugot, among the Sta-Anach, pepper is called ŝi, among the Mesquan on the Chimeo-ei, among the Mesca //Mesq// in Sutuela ambeiz, among the Ayuet Isamalk, among the women of the Island Kawchan ŝi, for the Tsuno of the island of Sadi-Chinde given ani, ani.

II. On the Sahtugot, among the Kawchan Sahadi, pepper is called pâno (with a nasal ŝ), among the Sahugot whne, hîmi, among the Island Kawchan pimi, pimu, among the Kawchan Chimeo tribe in Venezuela pimi, pimuy, in the Guiché generally whispered in Guiana pimi. Among the Pelmallo, a Kawchan tribe on the Mahaica, ephna.

III. Dom Tapf the Kamayurá on the Sahtugot have the word Sadig, the Omagua on the upper Amazon ehet, the Cuaxuí in Paraguay ŝiy, the Lingua geral has ipiá, ipinha, etc.

These phonetic equivalents, which are absolutely certain within the tribal groups and which do not show the slightest compatibility from tribal group to tribal group, //III// extend over more than half of South America and turn up in records that go back from 1697 to the middle of the sixteenth century. They teach us definitely that pepper was known since immemorial "prehistoric" times in each of the three tribal groups, whose various family members have preserved no equivalent on their wanderings, and none of them obtained it from any of the others. The situation with regard to the banana would cer-

because we are caught up in the delusion, not only that the South American peoples represent a linguistic chaos, but also that these "hordes" to which we were the first to bring metals are largely crude hunting peoples tossed hither and yon by unknown destinies, like rubble in rapids, somehow cemented together here and broken up in pieces there. In the clumsy names which in our eyes make up the "Stone Age," however, we shall have to become accustomed to distinguishing a multitude of regular, neatly deposited cultural layers.

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1971 275 word kaiñ for the simple refreshing drink made out of water and crumbled beijú in the same kauim which their Tupí fellow-tribesmen associating with Europeans or more advanced Americans use for intoxicating beverages and therefore have retained from the days of innocence in the transition to less innocuous pleasures. The absence of intoxicating beverages for which the material is available will not escape the over-ready explanation that the Indians formerly also possessed these fine products of civilization and have now simply forgotten them, and should, in this particular instance, perhaps for once induce the person who insists on tracing primitive conditions, without exception, back to retrogression and downfall to substitute virtue for demoralization and purity of morals for depravity. Anyone who has seen the Indian in Brazil celebrating kauim or kauiñaí festivals, who has been obliged to interrupt his best journey for the noble purpose and with neither money nor kind words has been successful in making the people disperse before the last drop has disappeared out of the full drink-canoe, will not believe otherwise than that a few tribes which really consumes only unfermented drinks at its festivals certainly does not have an inkling of the fermented ones and could never have had an inkling of them as far back as the most mythical forefathers and culture heroes. The practice of producing fermentation by chewing is so simple that one does not understand how it was forgotten or, what is more, could have been forgotten [illegible] of representatives of different tribal groups.

1974 I find, conversely, in the absence of intoxicating beverages, the surest guarantee of undisturbed conditions on the Schingú and believe it to be an imperative assumption that in the same way, before the invasion of Europeans, similar little cultural islands of the "Stone Age" must have been common throughout centuries and millenniums in the numerous, relatively isolated river valleys of the Amazon and Orinoco systems. People did not always get along with their neighbors (women! stone axes!), occasionally disturbers of the peace broke in and perhaps permanently demoyed one of the small centers, but new ones were established in their place, and this is how, in a small and modest

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way, always and at all times, what we call history was enacted. Here and there a tribe was driven away by attackers or was split by internal feuds, a long period of wandering took place before settlement again followed, but in general people shifted and intermingled from one river valley to another.

Nothing but an eternal alternation of isolation and unification, in which now the former, now the latter was more sharply pronounced, could have produced the multitude of simultaneous linguistic /214/ differences and conformities within the same family of languages; that, in spite of the changes, a true stability predominated, however, is shown by the surprisingly large number of congruences, particularly in view of the paucity of our material. Where it is possible to establish phonetic laws, we see the same certainty and regularity that we find in our European languages. That we may only conclude that there was an orderly course of development, despite occasional catastrophes. Even the tribes of hunters must have already had a form of settled, though most irregular existence, in order to acquire the splendid technique of bow and arrow. Only in the peaceful, day-by-day life for generations could the useful plants have been acquired, and it is not at all necessary that it was always large and mighty tribes that brought about progress. We see in the case of the Schingú people that primitive agriculture needed fishing and hunting, if only to furnish it with its tools. The realization that is now becoming a[illegible] and in North America, namely, that the restless redskins were sed[illegible] to a far greater extent than we should credit them with today, that these wild tribes of hunters are in part the product of the revolution stirred up by us, is perfectly in agreement with the conclusions forced upon us by our experiences along the Schingú.

For our Indians -- far be it from me to generalize -- there is a deeper and yet very simple reason that very well explains the juxtaposition of the bloody hunt and the peaceful tillage of the soil. To put it bluntly: the man practiced hunting and

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gourd bowls were blackened on the inside, we shall understand the connection.

Originally the Indian pot had nothing to do with cooking and was merely a substitute for the gourd. The women fetched water in the gourds to the huts or the campsites. How they managed when they had no gourds we see to this day in the little baskets smeared with loam, which are familiar from several tribes. The leaky canoe is also smeared with loam; the body is smeared with loam, the beginning of body painting, and the loam itself is transported in baskets, as we have observed, and that was probably the main thing. If gourds were often not available, the women soon learned to make their loam baskets more solid by a more lavish use of the plastic clay; moreover, they could dispense with the plaited work as soon as they noticed that the dried loam forms were sufficiently resistant by themselves. They set them in the sun or over the fire and thus found the cheapest source of supply for artificial gourds.

The women did not make this discovery, however, until sedentary times; the wife of the roving hunter could not have replaced the gourd with the heavy and breakable pot. Still less could the hunting man have been the inventor of the pot. It is exactly the same situation as for the origin of agriculture.

The pot in the beginning is only a container, like a gourd, or, in certain instances, a basket. When we hear that people are buried in pots, all the associations that we have with our pots come to mind; we think of a sort of cooking pot and are inclined to look for a closer connection with cremation. Thus it is impotant to learn that the hunter tribe of the Bororó laid the skeletons of their dead, not in big pots, like Humboldt's Aturen, but in feather-decorated basket-bags, so that here, too, the preliminary stage has been preserved.

/217/ Just as gourds were used for drinking and eating, pots were also used at first for only these purposes. The great number [924] of small and medium-sized pots which we brought back from the Kuliehu are almost all "bowls," not cooking pots.* The filtrate

/217 cont./ The filtrate

of the mandioca mass was boiled in huge pots, but otherwise only a jam of fruits was boiled and occasionally a dish of small fish which were not worth turning on the grill.

Soup meat and meat broth were unknown; the men knew only roasting. One may ask, perhaps, how did they happen to discover roasting? I shall prove in the next chapter that we have here a matter of experience of hunters and men. They set fire to the campo in a circle in order to overpower the animals being pursued, and there they found roasted small animals and found fruits which, though unripe, had been made edible and even tasty by the heat.

Now, since the men and hunters, in their sphere, do not yet know about cooking, boiling or cooking must have been invented in connection with the preparation of plant food. One often sees the women grilling all kinds of small fruits in quantities on the beijú pans. Only in this way does unripe fruit become edible, the crispness gives seeds and nuts greater tastiness. And they also began with the roasting of fruits. The roasting racks of the men for meat and fish, plaited out of climbing plants, let the fruits fall through the meshes; the base again may have been smeared with loam, and from that only a small step was lacking for the earthen frying pan, the subsequent beijú pan. On the other hand, if one wanted to "roast" fruits or roots soaked in water, the vessels filled with these, either natural ones -- the Bonicude cooks in bamboo sections -- or artificial ones covered with clay, were set on the fire, and thus one "cooked." Therefore, "cooking with water" was done only by the women.

If the mandioca industry was founded by one tribe whose descendants are still living and are included in the present classification, this was in all probability the Nu-Aruak. On the Schingú they most certainly deserve credit for its introduction, since the preparation of flour without earthen pots and beijú pans is impossible. Even in the northern regions, however, the Aruak are the best flour-workers and have always been the most

/217 cont./

skillful potters, although the Karaiben in Guiana have at present become the manufacturers for that region. That is to say, the women! When the Karaiben in the north of the Amazon River and on the Lesser Antilles subjugated the Arawak tribes and killed half the population, it was fortunate that this half was the men; the women with their agriculture, their potter's art, and their flour technique survived.

Thus, among our Indians we see how the higher culture surpassing hunting arose out of the natural division of labor, and it is also /218/ owing to this that, with feuds and with the formation of new tribal communities, it could be handed down to future generations. The woman was more than the working animal, she was also the working human being, just as the man developed the technique of weapons and of the tools arising out of hunting, she, with the same self-reliance, developed the cultural elements placed in her hands, such as gathering, carrying, preparing fruits and roots, the Indian owes his tasty flour-drink in the earthen vessels to the woman. The individual pieces of evidence put together for this conclusion, which might be more useful for a toast to the ladies than for the serious struggle of our women in order to work (a struggle rooted in modern necessity and not in posthumsy), are still preserved intact in the Ituxalian culture circle. The realization that -- at least here -- the possibility of becoming sedentary goes back to the obvious merit of the women's activity naturally forced into a certain direction by the hunter occupation of the men, elevates the female sex for this place of development at least up to the level of the male sex.

The hunter and agriculturalist schema only now comes alive; man and woman, both, represent a standing or a certain sum of technical knowledge. Thus it is very plain that the less advanced tribes of the Schingú could not make their pots, although they had loam. They lacked Nu-Arawak women, and the Nahuquá, who had taken some of them into their community, had thus taken the right path; they now began to make their own pots, whereas the Bakairí had not yet produced the smallest pot.

- /218 cont./

#171 174 433 I shall sum up. Ancient agriculture is most compatible with the type of hunting practiced here. The Indians were primarily fishermen. The yield in their area on the upper course of a river was not sufficient for pure ichthyophagy; on the other hand, it was not small during the months when the fish traveled upstream in the rising water and were found in all the canals and lagoons in great numbers, or when, as the water receded, the opportunity for a catch in the artificially barricaded part of the river branches became considerably greater. Fishing and hunting, furthermore, furnished the indispensable tools. There

#171 174 433 239 240 were no domestic animals in our sense; dogs were unfamiliar to the native. He took pleasure in the colored birds, whose feathers he sometimes pulled out, especially in the talking parrots and cawing macaws. He let those that he happened to catch young walk around in the village, woodpecker or hoam or curassow, and kept in huge pole-cages, for the edification of the community, the spitting eagle, Harpyia destructor, or some other predatory bird. He had lizards hanging by their tails from the hammock, so that they would clean up a bit among the annoying cockroaches -- he had not succeeded any further in the utilization of animals, and though wild plants were established near the village to be used as desired, the rearing of edible

425 262 animals was not considered. /219/ Indeed, the attitude that the Indian took toward the animal kingdom made him feel a definite repugnance about ultimately consuming animals that he had raised, just as we do not eat dogs.

174 433 fisherman could not become permanent until the women learned to plant, to make pots, and to prepare flour. Although agricul-

#171 174 24 ture on the Schingú had already reached respectable improvement, nevertheless there were small indications that showed, what its origin had been, at least here. People planted the useful plants found in the vicinity, each tribe acquired its own experience on its own soil, and they were disseminated by the

174 173 women who, in war or peace, came to other tribes. The fact that the Bakairí-Karaíben were once furthered in this way in

/219 cont./

their civilization by Nu-Anuak women is shown : their tribal legend, as I should like to mention here already, in a way that can scarcely be misinterpreted. They have two culture heroes, the twin brothers Kani and Kame, the former of-hom is strongly favored by the legend. The two names are the generally wide-spread Nu-Anuak words, always appearing together, for moon and sun, so that an influence from the Nu-Anuakside is obvious, however one explains the "personification." Kani is the leader of the Nu-Anuak and other tribes, Kani, of the Shelil. Everything that Kani and Kame undertake in the best person of the tribe is traced back to the advice of Aunt Ewaki, who takes the place of the mother, the woman who always firspoints out ways and means to them could not possibly, however, have been conceived as a stupid work-animal.

IV. Fire and the Discovery of Wooden Firemakers.

Introduction. Campo fires and the behavior of w dnimal kingdom. Ancient hunting. The "gestmada," a cooking place. The awe of primitive man. The myth of instruction by the moons. Fire-making and work methods. Fire-sticks on the Schingil. Origin of wood-rubbing. Stage of maintaining the fire and timber-technique. Prehistoric vegetation and Prometheus.

Conflagration by experiment

If I have already been sufficient in the present chapter to discuss my observations on the Schingil wi[illegible] to their general culture-historical value, I shall be evenc[illegible] doing so in connection with the subject that am about to take up. I am far from believing that the Schingindians were the first who produced fire by drilling or rubbingpieces of wood, I am not by any means yielding to the pleasantdelusion that I /220/ have discovered a paradisiacal ancestral seat where all the most important discoveries were made. I shild simply like to proceed from these little primitive people, to are still unfamiliar

/75.3 cont./

mentally assimilated only by a person who is already in possession of the separate processes. If now and then the storm actually started a fire, man probably quickly took a brand so that wind or rain would not extinguish it. Perhaps he also observed that a falling tree killed an animal and, happily frightened, seized the unexpected booty, but we would rather not deem from this lunatic moment his having reached for the club and found a weapon with which to kill animals. He must have learned these skills in some other way. Up to the present time such an extremely simple explanation for any primitive achievement has not been satisfactory. It has always seen been realized that there had been produced a more or less ingenious myth which lacked only the name of the originator to merit adoption in popular mythology. Today, too, the fancy of the speculative mythologist, praised or condemned, is perpetuated in all the literature, along with the Prometheus legend, and will, it seems, always be associated with it.

It is clear that we must not be led astray by the subsequent mystic, poetic, religious, or scientific conceptions related to fire and regard primitive man, who is a sober, limited, practical individual, as something he is not, either as a philosopher or a modern inventor. If we turn to living experience, the obstacle immediately disappears at the start, namely, the contradiction, which is not tenable except in an age of fully developed property concepts, that a thing will strike twice and at the same time become indispensable day and night.

For the last stage, with the origin of which we need not concern ourselves further here, when man reached the point of deliberately keeping the wild, free fire burning and making it permanently serviceable to himself by continuous transfer [illegible] the comparison that he established, tended, and tamed it, like a species of domestic animal, may not be inappropriate. But it is only with the further problem of how the method of producing fire came about that we find ourselves on firm ground among primitive peoples. We immediately see among them various methods for this work, and they must therefore be examined in connection with other work methods.

It was from this point of view that I tried to gather information

/223 cont./

[17] among the Schuyl Indians, and I believe I shall be able to
[174] prove how their way of producing fire must have originated. It
572 is the simplest one of the "fire drill," very widespread in America and other parts of the world, whereas in Polynesia a "stick" is rubbed in a "groove."

[17] /224/ The natives take two sticks not quite as thin as a
572 little finger, about three-fourths of a meter long, and will cement with the bark that keeps them dry, and cut a small depression into one with a shell. While one man lays this stick on the ground and keeps it firmly pressed down, a second man sets the other stick into the depression and twirls it with great speed between his hands which glide rapidly up and down on it. Through the twirling the little depression is enlarged, a fine dust is loosened, and this begins to glow and to smoke. Tinder is brought forth, blown upon, and immediately the flame is there. The small depression now appears extremely smooth and charred on the surface. The process from start to finish does not take a minute. The one who twirls really exerts himself. It would be an exaggeration to make more of it, although a person who is not practiced and allows small pauses to occur, which is detrimental to the result, will not succeed without a supreme effort. In an emergency, a single individual will manage very well with the procedure by holding the stick firmly on the ground with his feet.

[174] The fire sticks are usually two straight twigs from the alder bush or small, which have a light, porous wood. Other wood, too, has "fire in it," as the Indian understands it, especially old and hardened, the two types of arrow wood. If the hunter on his way has no fire with him and needs it, he knows how to help himself: he breaks an arrow and drills one piece like the other. The arrow is precious, however, and rubbing is strenuous. We several times observed that the men on their way to the harbor and into the forest took along burning chunks from the smoldering clearing, which they later heedlessly tossed aside. On excursions that involved an absence from home for days they took along with them in the canoe a huge smoldering piece of dry cotton wood from the forest.

/224 cont./

The tinder is a light brown, fine meshed bast tissue which is furnished best by the young uakumé palm (a Cocos species). In the campo, tinder from the guariroba palm (Cocos oleracea) or of dry grass and leaves also helps out. Its purpose is to furnish the flame with which one transfers the fire to the twigs. Ehrenreich reports from the Karayá /Carajá/, Im Thurn from the Warrau of Guiana, that their wood catches fire so easily that it does not need tinder. "It is itself furnishes the tinder."

As is seen, it is not necessary to have a hard and a soft wood for rubbing fire with the "drill" /tukuar, borer, drill, auger/. The Suhugó Indians always take only one kind, the Karayá drill bamboo is unsuf.

We find the movement of twirling very difficult. Indeed, we are scarcely acquainted with it in everyday life because our drills resemble a screw, and we do not use it at all for drilling, but for mixing, for example, in the kitchen, to mix yeast or eggs with milk, or in connection with the preparation of a cocktail. It is easy to understand how the drilling and twirling of the tetwen originated. At first holes were made with a pointed tooth or bone. /225/ When the object was very resistant, a turning pressure against and into it was tried, and this gradually and naturally developed into the twirl-drilling. If only one worked steadily and evenly so as not to split the object, clamped it down securely so as not to lose the point drilled on, and thus had both hands to work with. This twirl-drilling is practiced by the Indian with a tooth or particle of stone fastened to a little stick (cf. p. 201) for all piercing of shells, bone, stone, armadillo carapace, and hard wood. One very often sees him occupied with it, using his feet

with to explain how this fire-drilling with two pieces of wood could have originated. How did people happen to drill wood with wood if they were not purposely setting out to "invent fire?"

It has been said in all seriousness that in grinding or drilling tools out of wood, bone, and stone, people found by experience that friction produces warmth, they observed that the warmth increases the harder the rubbing, and they then tried to rub

/225 cont./

wood so hard that it would not only become warm, but also glowed, lighted, burned? If the gentlemen who make this suggestion about our revered ancestors were stranded on an uninhabited, wooded coral island -- I am willing to assume, with some pretext, that with their technical and theoretical knowledge they would hit upon the idea of rubbing wood with wood to make a campfire for themselves. The man of prehistoric times, however long he had had live fire and had known its value, could have been purposely forced to the discovery only if the wood warmed by rubbing had also glowed. Then he would perhaps have made the attempt to increase the glow to a flame. The Iroquois, for example, actually reasoned in this way. The campfire, they said, struck fire out of his eyes.

In the aforementioned suggestion for the solution of the problem, there is, however, a sound core, namely, that one should not allow too much room for chance concerning an invention. Actually, if one wishes to believe that people only incidentally, in connection with the making of tools, made the observation that fire is produced when wood is rubbed or drilled with wood, then it should at least be presented in a direct and intimate connection with the use of fire. If wood was drilled, it was undoubtedly drilled with teeth, bone, or stone, and although it is possible that on occasion, if this material were lacking, a hard piece of wood was used for twirl-drilling, which then produced a smoldering powder, this undeniable possibility does not seem quite convincing to me because it does not grow out of the fire technique itself. Nor can one see, for a practical case, if the customary [illegible] drive by boring through wood that they chose the laborious method and did not achieve their purpose more conveniently by tying or breaking or some other way. A little /226/ reflection and a few facts lead us to an approach that is possibly more promising.

Man had fire, kept it going, but could not produce it. It is clear that the first skill which had to be learned and was learned at this stage was to revive the fire and transfer it to another place.

/386 cont./

1973 1975 Could we not regard Kon and Kame as personifications of the sun and moon? Only they were not moon and sun or father-kelk, but were merely called that, the celestial bodies sun and moon were not made out of Selkelk bones. Now, the oldest things and the oldest human beings belong together: the father of the tribe is the natural owner of the sun. If, in order to explain his origin, I have him come forth from some kind of substance and be animated, there is nothing there to be personified, but only to be named. The person is quite automatically furnished by the founder of the tribe, who is completely unknown historically, but is certainly to be taken for granted. It is therefore only a question of where the name came from.

101 1974 In the first place one should consider whether the names do not have a geographical meaning. Let us orient ourselves! The pama tribes of the Kaliselu are, in our latitudes, the easternmost outposts of the Nu-Aonek. The huge main body lives to the west of the Aetnon, the tributary of the Tepelon. Here we have first of all, in the source region of the Aetnon and Iumma, the *Paesmf* group, formerly numerous and made up of many separate tribes, of whom we know that today they have shifted southwards. Farther to the west there are huge areas inhabited by the Nu-Aonek. The *Paesmf* who visited us in Cayelkl called the sun kamik and the Aetnon, as the river towards the rising sun that bounded their territory to the east, kame-uthla = sun-river. Still, it could have been some other tribe of the *Paesmf* group. It could certainly have been ancestors of the /387/ Mahuanai tribes, who today have advanced eastward as far as the Kaliselu,* from whom the simple

* They are also very close with the name "moon" in the unaltered form "kame" and "kéri," while the *Paesmf* of Diamantino had kamai, sun, but kayô, moon, which, to be sure, does not mean much with respect to the old *Paesmf*, who were split up into many subtribes.

[illegible]

(2) (174) to the Sekaiki could have come at a time that disappeared long ago. It is possible that the tribe whose women once influenced the Sekaiki tradition so profoundly has not existed in independent form for a long time — all these details are not to be determined. But it does not matter much. Of course, it could be significant that among the Fennel the Amon is called sui-tiwa, kana-tiwa, or sati-tiwa. For the tribes which, according to the (3) (174) Sekaiki, were made by the hero Kane are "nala gamo de Amon," (175) "all the people of the Amon." They enumerated the Fennel, Ayuki /Ayuwa/, Mudaweki /Mundawa/, Sayi (formerly on the Amon), Niaui (on the Tapajos). Kati, on the other hand, made "Sekaiki /Sawaq/, Mehaweki /Mehawa/, Nehuqui, Ewaui, Kayapi /Cayapo/, Kayaki /Cayaki/," that is to say, the tribes living east and south of the Amon. The division has nothing whatever to do with a distinction according to language, for there are Ta-hiuah and Lib on both sides. It embraces two large, partially affiliated groups which are to be means lying south-west-east, for one contains western, northwestern, and southern tribes, from the vantage point of the Sekaiki, the other eastern, southeastern, and southern tribes. The chief representatives of the two groups, however, the Sekaiki and Fennel, actually reside in such a way that the former live east of the latter. We thus have the following situation: 1. Kane = Ta-hiuah "sun," but among the Sekaiki born of the second rank and land of the moon, in the tribal economy of the western and northern tribes, and 2. Kati = Ta-hiuah "moon," but among the Sekaiki the two second born and land of the sun, in the tribal economy of the eastern and southern tribes.

(3) Here I should like to draw an interesting example found in Alexander von Humboldt.* In the vicinity of Maipure, the

(3) * Reise in die äquinoktialen Gegenden /Journey into the Equinoctial Regions/, III, p. 173.

place named after a Ta-hiuah tribe, stand two rocks in the stream of the Orinoco, one of which, "the so-called Kati or

[187 cont.]

and moon-rock," is known as moment of a white egg dishing far off, probably a lump of quartz, "in which the natives profess to see a parable of the full moon". opposite is an another rock a similar white spot "with mysterious importance" is pointed out, it "is disk-shaped and, they say, it is the picture of the sun, Cement." "Perhaps the geographical location of these two things has given rise to their being so named, East lies toward the setting sun, Cement toward the rising sun." It is not informed whether one disk is not also larger than the other, but the text that, if two equal disks should represent moon and sun, the one in the east will be regarded as the picture of the sun, the other that of the moon, although the west as such has no more to do with the moon [188] does with the sun. It could also happen that of two groups of stiles lying east-west, the one to the east would be called the eye of the sun, the other the eye of the moon.

● 194 Unfortunately, in no case we arrive at nothing but confusion with the same inference. From the standpoint of the old woman Ha-hsuan, for whom the future was the east-time and sun-time, the East tribes lived even more to the east than the Kuang-hsiun tribes. From the standpoint of the Intuitf, the Kuang tribes lived far west and the East tribes to the east. The equilibrium of the directions would thus be interchanged.

But let us, for the time being, ignore the directions and imagine ourselves in the situation at the time the myth originated. There existed ancient connexions and eventually also a close union between the Ha-hsuan and Intuitf. This must have happened if the names East and Kuang were adapted to the Intuitf. The two elements therefore lit typically related and trend back to two brothers who lived together in the most ancient times. The two brothers provided their tribes with all the good things that they enjoy today. But before they were able to accomplish this on earth they must have lived in heaven, the other world which we are preserved with all its bewitched animals and things. They were born there and, with the animals native there, experienced the events which must have happened at the time to make it appear as it does now. The two also put the

//[illegible] cont. //

another ball sun and moon under the pot or in the gourd vessel in which even now they are covered for a time. They saw to it that day and night alternate properly, so that we always have our regular time for sleeping. If the two had not done that we should be in difficulty. Before that things were surely not so well regulated, then the two balls were still a single one, a large red bird flew around with it into all kinds of regions, and only where it happened to be did it become light. Then, however, they took the feathers away for us, dividing them between each other, and established the regular service which now runs so precisely with the sun and moon day after day and night after night that so night we have not see and during the day find no way about safely wandering. That is why today we call one ball "sun" and the other "moon," as they themselves were called.

Perhaps the kind reader will be taken aback, since he expected me to say that is why they themselves were named "sun" and "moon." It may be that the two were named after sun and moon, like little red Ruling Good after her red head. I do not know. Only it is difficult for me to imagine that the ancient Indians thought that way. I should then always come up against a conscious name-giving, such as takes place for children. In America, if a native should have twins he might call them "sun" and "moon." But if he is telling us about the origin of things, he is telling //[illegible]// a story, the material for which is furnished by the characteristics of the thing, about a person of this name -- someone must have brought it and the person concerned was called not when the thing has been called since then. In the name of the thing, which is known to the listener, lies the evidence for the truth of the story and it satisfies the curiosity. Thus, among the Tupí there was a chief's daughter Maní who died [illegible] in the house of her father grew a plant, birds became intoxicated with its blossoms, people dig and found a root with intoxicating juice which since then has been called "Maní's house" (Tupí), or "manihot." In the same way, I should prefer to think that a

//Bill cont.//

174 pair of twins were born who "were called" Kani and Kame and who, after they were grown up, "brought" us sun and moon, which, naturally, before they knew anything about the sun and moon, were called Kani and Kame. The name of the two best things which they brought to us, the Bakairí and Anuak, is the one which they themselves had, and that is how we know where the two things came from.

In any case, I absolutely deny that sun and moon were personified. To be sure, if I had not definitely established that they are regarded as feather balls and as things which are in the possession of persons, if we had only the names of the culture heroes "Sun" and "Moon," I would have to see this case, too, sorted according to the conventional scheme of personification. But that is out of the question here. The Indian concludes that someone must have brought the things, and this is, of course, the two tribal ancestors, who must necessarily have existed. And whose names he finds at hand.

174 175 Old Cesario said they are called Tachiuchi or Kani and Nune or Kame. He used the Karaiben and Anuak words for sun and moon as proper names interchangeably at will, except that he reserved for his Bakairí (in spite of Ifiri = moon) the chief person, Kani, as the sun. Kani is always the eldest one in the stories and Kame the might one: "Kame," Amonde said, "is a bodoy (é guera bako) and does everything wrong, but not Kani, oh no!" With this exception, which is unusual for every tribe, I come back to the connection with the geographical distribution and also to the explanation. Two brothers, "Sun" and "Moon," were the tribal ancestors of the Ba-Anuak and Bakairí, who in olden times lived together at a certain period. Naturally, each tribe chose "Sun" for its hero and gave "Moon" to the other. The Anuak [illegible] said, our Kame (Moy) and your Kani (moon); the Bakairí men, our Tachiuchi (sun) and your Nune (moon). Thus, for the children of the two, the ancestors of the present-day Bakairí, who were taught by both and were more concerned about the deeds of the heroes than about the word explanation, called the one who possessed the sun Tachiuchi, as the Indians called him, or Kani,

/369 cont./

174 as the mothers called him, and the one who possessed the moon
173 Nuna, as the fathers called him, or Kame, as the mothers called him. The Bakairi and their neighbors made Tschischi-Keri, the Anuak and their neighbors made Nuña-Kame, /370/ in other words Kame, the Arinos people living to the northwest with the Paressí, and Keri, the tribes living with the Bakairí to the south and east. There is no question of a conscious, primary distinction on the basis of the directions; this distinction could only have arisen secondarily by the roundabout way of Keri's having already become the chief person and the possessor of the sun; for children could not have simply called east and sun what their mothers called west and moon, and it is not an incomprehensible misunderstanding (as I myself believed in the beginning) that brought about the exchange of names, but the very understandable claim on both sides to descent from the more important of the two fraternal ancestors.

[173] I believe that the material of the astronomical observations and that of the historical memories were handled in exactly the same way; in both cases the authors of the deed were added to the story, as were the men to the arrows and the women to the maize pestles. The deed is historical, the persons are only to the extent that they are the chiefs, medicine men, or tribal ancestors whom one must assume for the beginning.

173 Let us consider a few important details of the legend: Keri and Kame are twins. Their mother is "married" to the jaguar, but it is especially emphasized that they are only his foster sons and that their mother, even though she need not be a virgin, did not conceive them by her husband; she swallowed two finger bones from Bakairí, which the jaguar stored away at home as arrow points, and became pregnant from them. We come across the same features in many American legends. First of all, several brothers are born as the original ancestors, and, secondly, the mother is often virginal. There is no lack of profound interpre-
[191] tations. Among the Paressí there are ten brothers, among other tribes four; the number depends either on the need, how many independent family trees were necessary for the tribes who lived

/394 cont./

173 source region of the Tapajoz, and from there some of them emi-
167 grated to the Batovy and Kulisehu in the source region of the Schingú. According to the legend, they reached the xaho from the source region of the Paranatinga and Roncro.

The separation of the West Bakairí and East Bakairí would under all circumstances have to be dated back to at least the previous century and before the time when the Bakairí spread to the southwest into the source region of the Cuyabá. The
174 linguistic comparison agrees well with these conclusions; the
197 two groups of Bakairí speak a language that is identical in form and content, with slight dialectal differences. A few fish and trees are designated differently; the name of the akuri palm of the Kulisehu is that of the oaumá palm of the Paranatinga, and
[177] vice versa. As far as the Schingú Bakairí are concerned, it is absolutely certain that they have never had any contact with the white man.

619 As a result of our expedition of 1884, West Bakairí and East
[123] Bakairí came together again. Antonio, after his return home
[166] to the Paranatinga, told of the fellow tribesmen on the Batovy, and the practical Chief Felipe had the idea that he must try to
[484] persuade them to settle on the Paranatinga. In September of 1886 he set out with Antonio and another man. They reached the Batovy in three days and required another three days along the river until they reached the first village.

/395/ Chief Luku was kurápa and did not entertain them as splendidly as they had expected, but several East Bakairí, our "professor" of 1884 in the lead, accompanied them to the
619 Paranatinga. The visitors had great fear of the cattle, but great
431 joy over the visitors-gifts, with which Felipe did not stint. I inquired specifically what they had been given to take along. "We gave them all the iron we had, chickens (this, however, was later denied), small banana plants, mandioca twigs, maize, and rice." Thus one sees how the first opportunity is immediately used to transplant the cultivated produce! If the experiment succeeded, our successors on the Schingú will be able to eat bananas!

/300 cont./

In January of 1887 Felipe guly set out for Cayelli to let himself be presented with more iron goods, but his hopes were not approximated there, and he was sent home empty-handed. Tumayaia told us in 1887 that the Indians of the Ipec Savoy village had again gone to the Paramitings; they must have arrived there shortly after our departure. I had no further opportunity to hear more details about this issue.

II. Shift of the Karaiben to the North.

Chiefly relying on linguistic evidence, I attempted, on the basis of the results of the Ipec Schlingel /Kingu/ expedition, to defend the hypothesis that the newly discovered Karaiben /Caribs/ in the source region of the Tapajos /Tapajós/ and Schlingel lived closer to the original seat of the tribe than did the Karaiben north of the Amazonas, that the latter immigrated from the south into the Guianas and from there crossed over to the Lesser Antilles.

I advanced a movement in the same direction only for the Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ always appearing next to the Karaiben, although I was well aware that there was far greater uncertainty here than in the case of the Karaiben. Cf. Durch Central-Brasilien, page 19? /omitted in I Section of this file, a translation of the work cited/. "Whether the Caribean migration lived in the northern or southern part of the stretch of country over which we find the grandchildren distributed is rather unimportant considering the present state of our knowledge. My feeling -- that is all -- is more inclined to assume that the movement started from the plateau." My feeling, however, directed me for an important part of the Nu-Aruak group, the Paresi, of whom I had erroneous ideas based on reports of Cayelisia. For, at least according to the statements that I obtained from them directly in 1888, they definitely advanced from north to south, even though the boundary may be uncertain with regard to how far north their homeland is to be shifted. At the present time the problem concerning the Nu-Aruak is not yet to be taken in at a glance; we know too little about the Maxus /Maipu/ and

//305 cont.//

the related tribes in Florida and western Brazil, we know even less about the Chaco tribes, and concerning the Incas in the //306// Guianas we must in any case cling to the fact that here they had an older civilization than the Caribbs. This is also true of the Kalinda, even within the confines of the more modest conditions present there. It is indeed quite possible that their main movement was very different from that of the Caribbs.

On the other hand, the more definitely stated central hypothesis about the Caribbs has gained new support since 1884. The proofs are in part indirect ones, as a brief review will show, and in part direct ones.

The problem of where the original home of the Caribbs should be sought is about as old as the discovery of America. The fact that even the first visitors to the New World were obliged to ask themselves this question is easy to understand, for the widespread people first encountered in the Lesser Antilles and subsequently along the nearly coast of South America, distinguished from all the other Indians by their bravery, pride, and cruelty and inflicting war, murder, and plundering on all the others, had just occupied the chain of islands of the sea still named after them today not much too long before then and seemed to everyone to be a conquering people who had pushed in from the outside.

The same language is alive with the name "Caribs" is first mentioned and whose famous book appeared ten years after the death of Columbus, namely, Pietro Martyr, already spoke out for the foreign origin of the name and would have it back to South America. And this also prevailed for a long time. It first itself forward almost automatically, for southernmost people move to link the inhabitants of the two continents by way of the natural bridge of the Antilles, it was extremely plausible also because, as far as character and physical structure were concerned, there seemed to be no other type related to the Indian tribes of the north to the same degree as that of the Caribbs.

Two legends of the North American mainland, which reported the expulsion of a tribe from its ancient dwelling site, were appealed to, the Caribbs were identified as the missing tribe, although no Caribbs element was found either in Florida or

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on the Intercoastal or General Junction. In fact, from the majority of the native Guanahatabeys there was heard the definite assertion that they came from the southern mainland and those who have them best quite rightly pointed this out.

It would scarcely be worthwhile to linger over the North American hypothesis formulated and embellished chiefly by the Englishman Brinton and the Frenchman de Rochefort had it not, strangely enough, found a keen champion in Alexander von Humboldt. He gives it the greatest probability and mentions with the estimate that the migration took place around 1000 or arbitrary and unacceptable.

If, however, Humboldt was on the wrong track with this opinion, nevertheless he unquestionably deserves credit for the more rigorous definition of the term "Caribs," insofar as this was possible at the time. //187// Until his journey it was believed that the Caribbean had died out — and as the islands, it is true, they had been destroyed, especially in conflicts with the French — or had intermarried with Negro slaves, the last remnants had been transported by the English toward the end of the previous century to an island in the Gulf of Honduras.

It was through Humboldt that attention was again focused on the mainland Caribs, who, with an estimated total number of 40,000 souls, were all living north of the Orinoco River between its tributaries coming from the left or in the east area of the Orinoco. Most recent times have been able to add not a few names to the tribes known at that time.

Thus, there naturally came to be expressed the view that the Caribbean probably had their home in that country in which they seemed to be most densely concentrated, in the region of the Upper of Venezuela and in the present-day Guiana, namely, in the northern or northeastern part of the South American continent, from where they crossed over to the islands.

This solution was not satisfactory, however. With all their relationships, the tribes not only showed a generally striking and very pronounced diversity of languages, but even in their endless struggle with other peoples, especially the extremely established

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Brazil, they nowhere displayed the character of conquering invaders. Even though one therefore saw with regard to the island Caribbeans that they came from the mainland that lay toward the south, and though Caribbeans tribes were also actually found there in unexpectedly large numbers -- nevertheless it now had to be admitted: this is not their home either.

There remained the possibility: they immigrated from the south, they crossed the Amazon River, pushed northward along one or several of its mighty southern tributaries, and originate from some region of the vast Brazilian land mass. Actually, however, this consideration was arrived at only because there was no other way out. Unfortunately, no Caribbean at all were known in Brazil: only among a small tribe far up in the northwestern part of the empire, among the Pimentoiza, could definite Caribbean elements be found in the language, but so weakly discovered and garbled that they did not provide a reliable foothold. The only thing that could be offered to support the new conjecture was a motive of a more subjective nature. Throughout present-day Brazil, along the coast as well as scattered far across the deepest interior, throughout the Paraguay -- La Plata region and Bolivia and to the upper Amazonas, were spread the Tupí peoples, also seamen and inclined to roam no less than the Caribbeans. Now these Tupí could indeed be the identical ancestors of the Caribbeans. This proposal found its staunchest advocates in von Martiny and, above all, in the person of the distinguished founder of Brazilian ethnography, in Vianna, a man who deserves far more credit for his study of Brazilian man than Humboldt. "From where did the Caribbeans originally /108/ come?" asks Vianna. "Concerning this we venture to put forth only the surmise that they were Tupí. The latter, spreading out over a large part of Brazil, also created a supremacy over other tribes and for a long time preserved an athletic physique and a heroic nature. It is not improbable that in ancient times -- perhaps centuries before the arrival of the Europeans in the New World -- contact and intermarriage between the Tupí and the inhabitants of the Caribbean country took place, from which came the so-called

/108 cont./

Karaiben, not as a separate tribe, but as people with a peculiar way of life, as brigands, pirates, and slayers of men."

I have already mentioned, page 133, that the kinship of Tupí and Karaiben runs up against the irremovable obstacle of the diversity of languages, which is clearly marked even in the roots-words. There is no bridge here. Though the study of the Caribbi language and a comparison of it with the North Karaiben Indians furnished this positive result, on the other hand the southern hypothesis has nevertheless been saved by the now substantiated presence of a Karaiben population in the interior of the continent, and Lucien Adam, who in more recent times had spoken in favor of a homeland south of the Amazonas, on the basis of his careful investigation of Karaiben idioms, may thus enjoy the best confirmation.

Meanwhile a Karaiben tribe south of the Amazonas was found even before us. It, the "Paleselles," is reported in a travel account, scarcely known in Europe, by the Brazilian physician, João Severiano da Fonseca,* who became acquainted

* Viagem ao redor do Brasil 1875-1878
/Journey around Brazil, 1875-1878/, Rio de Janeiro, 1880. Vol. II, 186 ff.

with them in 1877 with the detachment of Pedro Segundo (12° 15' 12", 22 south latitude and 18° 40' 22", 63 west of Rio de Janeiro) on the Guaporé and recorded a small vocabulary. Some seven or eight leagues away in the low span of the Paresí "Cabiñas" lived the "tribe of docile Indians who appeared only a few years ago and established communication with the members of the detachment and the river traders. They speak an idiom different from that of the Guaporé tribes, mixed with Portuguese and Spanish words, and they cannot give their place of origin or descent. It is noteworthy, however, that a large number of their words are identical or similar to the Caribi dialect." Severiano learned from these Paleselles who were in

[illegible]

/500 cont./ [illegible] in the detachment that until some time ago (but at most 80 years) they were settled near the mission of S. Miguel of the Bauru and had come there as refugees from elsewhere, but they no longer know from what region. They numbered about 400 individuals, but in an epidemic had lost many people through death and flight. They were peaceful farmers, little inclined to hunt and fish. They planted maize, mandioca, yams, peanuts, squash, sugar /500/ cane, oranges, melons, and raised chickens and ducks. According to accounts of traders, there were among the Indians "a few truly white with reddish or chestnut-brown hair, like the Nambikwaras in the Bauru district, the Tukunyatba and the Arara of the lower Xingu." A white Indian woman with blue eyes and behavior that showed traces of civilization was dressed exquisitely by all under the name of "Indiana." Unfortunately, we do not learn the actual name of the tribe and can be content with "Tatuella," as a Cayabba counterhow trader saw fit to christen them. Now though the tribe only immigrated into the Bauru district from the outside, and its origin is unknown, nevertheless the fact that here Kaiabbas appear in considerable numbers in the source region of the Madeira remains very noteworthy.

In the eastern source region of the Tapajos and in the western one of the Xingu, the Iatauiti and the Iahugad were newly added. Though the west Iatauiti are today considerably reduced, they nevertheless spread from the now abandoned site of the Paranatinga and from the region between the Paranatinga and Renato toward the east to the Batovy and Kaiabbu, where they occupied the fish-rich region of the cataracts. The Iahugad are the remnant of the Kaiuwa, the chief source-branch of the Xingu, the exploration of which will be the most important task of our excursion. With their numerous villages they are so very important that one may say, it is the Kaiabbas who represent the chief bulk of the population of the Xingu source region.

Through the Kaiabbu Iatauiti and the Iahugad, the circumstance causing the expedition of 1884 to object, namely, that the

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number of our Karaiben elements is too small to account for the one going from the center of the continent to the north, is removed.

As far as the relation of the Bakairí and Nahuquá to each other is concerned, it should be noted that the two tribes are linguistically no closer than the Guaná Karaiben are to one another. In fact, the Bakairí are closer to the Mehinakú /Mainu/ or Kuikuro /Kuiyuro/ than to the Nahuquá. The influence of the neighboring Nu-Aruak, the parent tribes of the Kalisiku, on the language of the Nahuquá is clearly pronounced, and this relation, as in the case today, has undoubtedly been closer and more cordial for a very long time than with the Bakairí. This circumstance is in perfect accord with the history and legend of the West Bakairí when they maintain that the original seat of their tribe lies between the Xingu and the Paranatinga.

The latest acquisition for the Karaiben question, finally, and a very important one on account of the special adjustment which it permits, is the Apiaká /Apiaca/. Martius already speaks of "Apiaká" in the river basin of the Tocantins /Tocantins/; he mentions them beside the Kayapó /Caraja/ and regards them as Tupí, as indeed the Indians of the upper Tapajos living in a remote region and likewise called "Apiaká" actually are. In 1888, Ehrenreich, after he had traveled down the Araguaya-Tocantins, met a few Apiaká in Pará Grande and /illi/ identified them as Karaiben. He was surprised at their great physical resemblance to the Bakairí. The people said that they had been driven away by the Suyá. They had fled northward and are now living west of the lee stretch of the lower Tocantins, probably in the upper region of the Gurupi and Pacajá, approximately on the third degree south latitude. Ehrenreich suggests that the migration took place only a few decades ago. It is obvious to link them up with the change of habitation which the Suyá themselves undertook when, in the last decades of the century (cf. page 4[illegible]), they were driven from the Paranatinga region to the Schingú. Nor do we know anything more specific about whether the Apiaká lived to the west or east of the Schingú, but the important fact that

/810 cont./

there is historical proof here for the drift of the Karaiben from south to north is not affected by it. The drift of latitude is also very considerable, for today the Suyá live on the 11th degree of latitude and previously on the Rio Verde lived considerably farther south, whereas the Apinaié are already in close proximity to the Amazon River.

The linguistic relationship of the Apinaié and Bakairí is close, but no closer than that of several Karaiben tribes north of the Amazonas and the Bakairí. It is very interesting that in many cases the Apinaié already have consonant terminal sounds and double consonants within the word. I am presenting a few words from Ehrenreich's vocabulary, which has not yet been published. The pronominal prefix of the first person is $\frac{\text{t-}}{\text{d-}}$, which in Bakairí sometimes belongs to the first person, sometimes to the third.

Tooth ses, Bak. ŝiŝe, Karaiben in general.
Tongue ete (a slightly audible), Bak. ite (third person).
Hand ontar, Bak. ondar (second person).
Foot ipan, Bak. ipiña (third person).
Thigh ŝeat, Bak. ŝeañi (third person).
Lower leg ipolun, Bak. ipolunda (third person).
Nose ŝuam, Bak. ŝuañi (third person).
Ear ŝiŝam, Bak. ŝiŝañi (third person).
Water ipan, Bak. ipan.
Water pots, Bak. pots water, river.
River pots ipan, Bak. pots ipan large river.
Sun ŝeltanchi, Bak. ŝeltanchi.
Moon mano, Bak. mano.
Heaven kaim, Bak. kaiñ.
Rain kangan, Bak. kangan.
Fire kamper (Bak. pots), Bakairiana and other words, quote, cf. the table in Bakairí Grammar, p. 178.
Tree, wood, ses, Bak. se, Nahuatlé ŝeli, ŝeli.
Cotton engma, Bak. ingma.

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Mother ŝoŝe, Bak. ŝo.

/All cont./

Uncle [illegible] (patrus /father's brother/, matrus / mother's brother/), Bak. [illegible] matrus.
Grandfather [illegible], Bak. [illegible], Galibi [illegible].
Arrow [illegible], Bak. [illegible], [illegible].
Bow [illegible], Bak. [illegible].
Tobacco [illegible] (a scarcely audible), Bak. [illegible].
House [illegible], Bak. [illegible].
Devil [illegible], Bak. [illegible].
Sickness [illegible], Bak. [illegible].
Banana [illegible], Dwalie Bak. [illegible].
Fish [illegible], North Kar. [illegible], [illegible] Lik, Bak. [illegible] wild game.
Piranha [illegible], Bak. [illegible].
Snake [illegible], Bak. [illegible].
Jaguar [illegible], Bak. [illegible].

Even I have, of course, chosen very close correspondences, which is what matters at this point. The banana is again designated with a new word foreign to all Carribbean idioms; the Apurinã were so little familiar with the fruit in their central habitation as the Nyã from whom they fled, and they probably too made its acquaintance in the region between the Schingú and the Araguay.

Numerous villagers of the Tapajoz, Schingú, and Araguay are as yet completely unexplored. I am quite confident that there is still many a Carribbean people living there. The tribe one of the lower course of the Schingú are suspicious because of their isolation. The above-mentioned Rancherias in the province of Pando provide the easternmost trace of the Carribbean. Nordin reports that since the year 1773 they have broken out from time to time between the sources of the Pando and the Guapore and slaughtered the farms of the upper Pando. "Members of this band were already settled in former times in Quelimane along the Rio do San Francisco."* "The greater part of them is still roving

* Zur Ethnographie Amerikas, zumal Brasiliens /Ub the Ethnography of America, particularly Brazil/, pp. 348, 349. Leipzig, 1887.

/401 cont./

chest independently, and the inconsistent on the right to use those of them whom they can capture as sons for ten years or to sell them."* It is currently to be with that a part of the

* Spix and Martius, Reise in Brilien /Travels in Brazil/, II, p. 605. Munich,1828.

nation had escaped this fate system of dangerous of the century and were available for a thorough investigation. The brief vocabulary which Spix and Martius adduce in Paudy (Glossary, p. 110) and in which Martius only recognized correspondences with Karaiben dialects -- a mention Tamanaka -- would not in the least, however, satisfy the requirements for pure Karaiben. Nevertheless, with all the nurse with Gilli or Tupf tribes, the Karaibenwords are unmistakable and more numerous than most probably suspected. They are the words for: tooth, tongue, arrhead, thigh, tin, uncle, father, brother, child, companion, (moon), wood, fire, earth, thunder, snow, /401/ mandio, tobacco (pipe), to sleep. Only there is such a swarm of it, [illegible] familiar words were very distorted, for example, mandio, Sub. [illegible], Pan. [illegible], or arm, Tamanaka [illegible] (fist-leg, [illegible]), Pan. [illegible].

While the Palmella and the Panamiu according to everything that we know thus far, been Karaiben indeed in foreign surroundings, the united Bakairi [illegible] represent a very considerable complex, and as the so-called geographical location in the source region the Tapajos and Xingu is remarkably suitable for the hypothesis of the drift toward the north south as the southernmost the North Karaiben on the left bank of the Araguaia are direct adjacent just opposite the mouths of the Tapajos and Xingu. I am far from regarding the Bakairi or Nahuqua as, i. e., the remnants of the scattered Karaiben base-people /Urbevölk/, but rather I merely believe that everything suggests it they live closer to the original home of the base-people. Yet there was such a base-people, though perhaps, after all, small tribe, is an

/411 cont./

impressive province of the linguistic companions. In spite of all the differentiation in the course of time through intermixture with very diverse elements, there is still today a great unity of Karaiben tribes, each of which possesses a larger or smaller stock of radical words. They affected their phonetic differentiation along exactly the same lines, but independently of one another. Thus, whether we assume migrations or slow drift, we always come back to an original community where, for example, the unaffected initial sound of the word still existed. That very many centuries went by and very many drops flowed down the Amazonas since the radiation from the original center took place may be concluded from the vast spatial expansion which the Karaiben language unit has reached today. This is follows as a matter of course that even such Karaiben as may still be living in the closest proximity to the original home must have undergone all the changes which vast periods of time bring about, even under the most peaceful conditions. Our root cover longer than the "base-people," although it represents a sort of truth as even not to the many-branched tree that is being investigated, was itself merely a branch of the tree, just as any Carib or tribal member is also merely a link in an endless chain. Thus, the Bakaiří are by no means the "original Karaiben." To look for them would be as though the tree were to look for its still living parent-stem.

The Karaiben base-people already had maize, manioca, tobacco, yuca, pepper, cotton, aliens bull. Cf. the evidence in the vocabulary of my Bakaiří Grammar. In matter how old, twice and turn, one cannot escape the conclusion that the culture affected by these plants already belonged to the Karaiben a very, very long time ago. It is only important to bear this in mind if one wishes to profit by the proper relation with the ancient legend. Reliable historical tradition will definite cannot even not cover /411/ two hundred years. Thus one should really not blame the Bakaiří if they can no longer serve for us the tale which gave them tobacco and cotton and who to the Karaiben living in the north. But that these products came from

Fallows /

the north is of the greatest moment in view of the general picture that we now have of the situation.

Only two things are possible. Either one dismisses the Kitkatan legend as an old wives' tale, in which case the matter is settled. I am unable to decide in favor of this because I do not see how one has the right to reject a definite assertion which is in no way impossible and agrees perfectly with the plant-geographical requirements. The only impossible thing for us is the person of the Kitkatan, but it, too, is precisely a guarantee of accuracy, since, by referring to an animal that was already living many centuries ago on the northern border of Iroquoia territory, the tradition could actually be preserved. The Iroquois can do nothing about the fact that we are unable to imagine a tobacco-smoking kitkatan.

Thus, like Fassett, I believe in the kitkatan from whom tobacco and corn came and then we confronted only with the second possibility, namely, that the original home of the Cherokee lies in the southern part of Kitkatan country. For the time people already had tobacco and corn.

I even attach much greater importance to the evidence that is the tradition that is against since the Iroquois emigrated — or one tribe. I do not by any means doubt its accuracy. I also regard it as possible that one or another Cherokee tribe which we find in the north today may have come from such early Iroquois, but this would merely inconclusively prove what does not in the least need proving. Probably nothing else is conceivable, even though there is no tradition telling of it, but that throughout centuries smaller or larger groups from each tribe, especially a tribe that lived on hilling, like the Iroquois, wandered into other regions along the river courses and then, through contact with new tribes, also moved toward physical and linguistic differentiation. Yet so little need is to be proved — as in fact it is proved by the Tuscarora [illegible] and [illegible] — that the Iroquois were influenced in the course of the centuries by their neighbors with whom they intermingled. I repeat, the Iroquois are an original Iroquois, but unfortunately will they ever become such for their descendants in centuries to come, since their death sentence is already sealed.

/mis-com./

I shall sum up. From former times the pottiers has pointed that the Carolina north of the Amazonian arrived in they settlements from elsewhere. One was forced to conclude that the immigration could have proceeded only from the south. The Dakoki or Kalinagó, who would have had to be invented if they had not existed, have been confirmed in considerable numbers and /why/ are present in an area that must satisfy perfectly even the geographer's need for explanation. The Palmella and Pimenteira were more isolated. The "missing link" for the spatial distance is furnished by the Xipaiá, the Suyá, who drove them away, live north of the Kalinagó and Pimenteira Carolina. The physical appearance of the South Carolina and the Xipaiá, as well as of those north of the Amazonas, which we may compare at least on the basis of illustrations — I am thinking here particularly of Coudreau's Rubayana and a few Dakoki who in the year 1900 made an artistic tour of Europe — down strong correspondence. The tradition of the Dakoki point out that tobacco and cotton, which the Tupi people possessed, came from the north. What one should further like, namely, that the language and culture in the case of the tribes closer to the original home and therefore subject to less differentiation have remained more and simpler, I have endeavored to prove both with regard to language, in the Dakoki Comparatis, and with regard to culture, in the present book.

/why/

Chapter XX.

1. The Dakoki Ma of Counting and the Origin of the 5.

The number words of the other tribes, — Names of the fingers, finishing the number words with finger gestures. Counting of objects beyond 5. Objects below 5. The right hand teaches. Cases of practical use and lack of regular numbers. Finger gesture not mimic, but calculating. Dualism of the "5." "5" = "hand" not a model, but a (new) numerical term = Origin of "5" by dividing

/This page./

[197] however, to the language of the Saliqua, which seems pos-
sible, for example, to the Cumanagoto /Cumanagota/ and
Chaymac /Chaima/ of Venezuela and Colombia, belonging
to the same group, for which there have been printed grammars
and texts since 1882.

[198] /[illegible]/ The second result was the finding of Caribs sites
[199] south of the Amazon, sites from that were never had been
found only north of the great river, such as the Crenaks
/Crichana/, Macuna /Macuna/, and others. Directly after-
wards, it was proved that these were not the only ones be-
tween the S. Diamiano and Paraitito /Paraitito/ rivers.
Martius recorded a short glossary of the language of the
Pimenteiras, who proved to be Caribs; the Palmelas /Palmella/,
too, with whom Dr. Severiano de Almeida dwelt on the
Guapore, were Caribs; more Caribs were found here by
Dr. von den Steinen himself on one of the tributaries of the
Xingú, the Culiseu, and by Dr. Paulo Ehrenreich on the
lower Tocantins, where they are called Apinaiés.

[198] A more detailed knowledge of the purely Caribs languages
[199] and the existence of tribes that gave them south of the
[197] Amazon raised the question: might it not have been from
south of the Amazon toward the Caribbean Sea that the mi-
grations of these tribes took place--rather than the opposite,
as was accepted until then? Almost simultaneously the ans-
wered in the affirmative by Dr. Carlos von den Steinen
and by Dr. Lucien Adam, who from 1882 on published sever-
glossaries by Coroado, among which were some Caribs ones.

[198] In order to study the subject better, Dr. Carlos von den
Steinen went a second time, in 1888 and, again assisted by
the government, explored the Xingú and Culiseu rivers
down to their mouth in the Cuiabá, the southmost of the
tributaries of the Xingú.

[200] /[illegible]/ Two books resulted from the journey: a monograph
on the language of the Bacairis (?), published in 1892, and the

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[illegible] *I*

775 [533] not go to the sky. Because of this, having slept several days, put mingle in two small gourds; put the mingle on the middle of the grave; two persons armed with clubs intone the song; when the song is over the two gourds are smashed and they [534] flee. Coming from afar, one gives a blessing, saying: [illegible] (come, take heart). When stepping, there is a blessing, saying: [illegible]! Go inside the sky, to our people, to our mother, to our father. Save there is no one, inside the sky it is good. go, we, too, are going to die, it is said, -- the [illegible] reaches.

[illegible] Another passage has [illegible] in the form of a text [illegible]. Dwelling in the middle of an abandoned village [illegible] and admits that no one could walk where a fight took place.

For a white bodice and spirits wander through the world, and the words of the [illegible] contain repeated descriptions of dead men's heads that wander about at night. Even that at is doorways, or intersections on which one might sing at night. Finally the shadow is free, and it climbs to the sky on a ladder of spun cotton, which passes underneath the sun [illegible]. At the entrance of the sky there is the Urubu with its wings; those who do not have pierced ears and nostrils and do not wear feathers are blessed by the Urubu, i.e., blows upon, and fall into the trap; those who are marked run no danger, and they go on Kalawari.

[illegible] Kalawari is a word whose etymology cannot be explained by means of [illegible] familiarity, the language of the Arawakan [illegible], Indians of British Guiana. Caribee like the Barbados, offers as a valuable fact in this connection. In the translation of the first part of Genesis, and of the Gospel according to St. Matthew, recently published in London (1[illegible]

15. Even the acquisition of this book is the kindness of my friend,

Dr. Edwards Roth, to whom I repeat my thanks.

[illegible]

by the "Society for promoting Christian Knowledge," one reads the famous passage, the spirit of God moved over the waters (Genesis, 1, 2). Remembering "Tehwom" occupies two paragraphs, in which "Tehwom" means "spirit," "Tehom" and "Tehwom" are identical words, semantically and even phonetically, since the $_{\text{H}}$ in the former, like the $_{\text{H}}$ in the latter, are [illegible] possessive indices of the third person; the double $_{\text{H}}$ in the English transcription must represent the same sound as the single $_{\text{H}}$ in our writing (17) and the transformation of $_{\text{H}}$ into $_{\text{H}}$, $_{\text{H}}$ into $_{\text{H}}$,

> 12. Any statement is risky concerning the English R. "The consonant R," writes Miss Laura Soames, "is the most perplexing element in our language." Dr. Ellis wrote in 1875, that after more than thirty years study, he was not certain whether he had yet mastered its proper intonation." [Cited in English] (An Introduction to Phonetics, M. London, 1895.)

is a common occurrence in the most diverse languages. We can thus translate Tehwom in the same manner as Tehwom, as "spirit."

The Science [illegible] points us to take another step forward. For [illegible] is known as [illegible] writing. Would not [illegible], "light," in the notions of [illegible] and [illegible], and would not these notions signify originally "the shining one"? The answer is reserved for the grammarians; the continuation of this study may possibly prove that the affirmative is to be concluded from the Science [illegible].

The Science [illegible] will explain better what to know about Tehwom.

Part one 1

539 in quiet area, where there are no human beings. It is always
125 on the move in the morning and afternoon, except during the
two hours in the middle of the day which is spent sleeping"; in other words, all of the phrases between quotation marks, taken from the book by Dr. Gerald on the mentorals of our land (pp. 81, 85, 103, and 108), conform what has been said concerning the shadowy character of the Yanilos.

539 Other considerations, however, seem to us of
• 126 greater moment.

First of all, in the enumeration of the belongings of the Yanilos, we have a basis for a list of the cultural acquisitions of the Sarsens. We learn that they had zero for falling before they had zero, Pneumonia/ for sleeping, that they traveled by water when they did not yet have paddles, and that they probably had marriage before they had the roads with which they pamper us their footsteps.

539 We also see that although theoretically the abode of the
776 Yanilos is in the sky, a large part of his existence is spent on the earth from which he derives his sustenance. Substance, however, is not his sole concern; free of the contingencies of time and space, he travels swiftly as the wind, he is an envious being who spies upon all actions and weighs upon the living with crushing pressure. There is hardly an act that he does not influence: gestation, childbirth, circumcision, festivals, working hours, everything falls within his insuperable reach, so we shall see later. It would seem that the Sarsens could pass their bodies as they please. But this is not so.

776 Yanilos does not like crabs, --this is why one must not
769 scatter the crab meat, says the proverb--Yanilos goes into the houses of people with children, --this is why we burn the juice
129 of the rubber tree--when it is burned it is rubbed on the dusty--
162 bottom of boys, when they go to the river, paint themselves with gypsum, --paint themselves with crabs, --so Yanilos thinks that it is blood; if the boy's father does not paint himself

Text cont.

Is Tulkou really an adumbration of Christ, a vestige of Catholic catechism? We are reluctant to believe it, because the animals that Tulkou creates, the role that he fulfills in relation to the admission of darkness into his realm, his invention of the curse, the division of the various dominions in the sky, the novel means by which one journeys there, all point to a structure in harmony with the idea of the world prevalent among the Tucanos. Either the Christian idea is totally unknown to the Tucano conception, or it was completely unaltered by the native thought-pattern in which it was seen.

Granting that Tulkou is a spontaneous and not a foreign concept, it is fitting to inquire as to whether he is indeed a luminous deity, as was stated above.

The darkness of the sky would incline one to place him potentially among the dark powers; but his clear differentiation from the yanilos—which are, indeed, dark forces, as the same myth indicates—checks this first impulse. Further arguments are provided by the white bowlers on which the candidate must sit if he wants to rise to *pajés*; the use of cotton, a material so unknown to the *yanilos* that its burned seed drives them far from the houses that they haunt; and finally, the aura tail which he has to the *moxeé*. Actually in Tucano, *inpuila inpuila*, the vestige means two quite different things: the tail of the beautiful parrotlike with which we are familiar, and the hour *[illegible]* that immediately precedes the rising of the sun. "Tiny aspects *inpuila* (literally "aura deceiver" because the animal wakes up, thinking that day is nearly then the yellow tail of the *[illegible]* aura; then arises the tail of the red aura; the tail of the red aura is not yet finished and the sun has already risen *[illegible]*, *[illegible]* *[illegible]* *[illegible]*," reads a text which we have before our eyes. Thus, both on a mythological ground and on an astronomical context, the tail of the aura proves that Tulkou represents a luminous power.

/12 cont./

influence on the later development of these Indians, with their very marked feeling of nationality, that they changed their primordial customs completely during the 30 years following Karl von den Steinen's second expedition carried out in the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River. Thanks to a series of data on events among the Bakairí in this interval, we find ourselves in the fortunate position of being able to investigate that transformation. We are oriented in detail on the personality and life history of several Bakairí who have influenced in a special way the later development of their tribe, like Cacique Reginaldo and, especially, Cacique Antonio and his stepson José Cavalo, so that we can give our historical report on the Bakairí a more personal character than would be possible with respect to other Indian tribes.

If we differentiate, according to Karl von den Steinen, the Bakairí who live west of the Rio Paranatinga (in later times officially Rio Teles Pires) as western Bakairí and the eastern Bakairí, who have their homes in the regions east of this river, on the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, it can be said that in the period of Karl von den Steinen's first expedition to the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River, no contacts took place between these two Bakairí groups, and certainly none had taken place for a long time. Old Cacique Reginaldo told Karl von den Steinen that he still remembered, from the days of his youth, that traveling from the Rio Paranatinga eastward, one would reach a big river on which it was said that Bakairí also lived, but that at the present date they did not know anything about this region. (4) Certainly no contacts had taken

4. Karl v.d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien /Through Central Brazil/. Leipzig, 1886. p. 182.

place between the western Bakairí and those of the east from the time when the former established closer contact with the

/12 cont./

174 Brazilians, for otherwise the Bakairí of the Batovy and Kulisehu
177 rivers could not have remained so totally free of /13/ any Euro-
619 pean influence. In my book, Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien
114 (5). I discussed at length the causes of this long isolation of the
175
619
[642]
[113]

5. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien. Erlebnisse und Ethnologische. Ergebnisse einer Reise in den Jahren 1900-1901 /Indian Studies in Central Brazil. Adventure and Ethnology. Results of a Journey in the Years 1900-1901/. Berlin, 1905, p. 320.

eastern Bakairí, and among these causes I especially emphasized the hostility which existed between the Bakairí and their neighbors the Kayabí /Cayabi/, who long made unsafe the region located between the settlements of the western and eastern Bakairí. Contact between these two Bakairí groups was re-established when Karl von den Steinen took along with him on his first expedition to the Xingu River, the Bakairí, Antonio, who later became cacique of the Bakairí, so that he had the opportunity to become acquainted with his fellow countrymen who lived on the Rio Batovy. Already in the year 1886, that is, before Karl von den Steinen's second expedition, the Bakairí Felipe, who was then cacique of the Paranatinga Bakairí, had on his part visited, along with the above-mentioned Antonio and another Bakairí, his fellow countrymen on the Rio Batovy and had succeeded in getting some of them to make, in turn, a visit to the Rio Paranatinga.

128 In order to make a connection with Karl von den Steinen's
101 historical report, I shall first refer in a few words to the conditions in which this author found the Bakairí at the time of his second expedition in the year 1887. I shall first deal with the

173 /16 cont. /undoubtedly the Bakairí had /16/ lived closer to
648 the Kayabí than in later times, because they had moved their
726 aldea successively farther upriver. But hostilities with their
727 enemies then had still lasted. One night in a raid the Kayabí
361 had killed Felipe's father and carried away a child. On this account some 20 Bakairí men had undertaken an expedition for revenge and had killed two Kayabí men and carried away two girls, who were living at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions in the aldea situated on the Paranatinga River, where they were married to two Bakairí men and were called Luiza and Maria. When I met Luiza, in the year 1927, among the Bakairí of Simões Lopes, she was an old woman. Given the fact that the population of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga River had dwindled to so few individuals, even at their later location, the Kayabí remained a danger for them.

648 The Bakairí were known by the Paressí as old neighbors,
727 and the Paressí, Charlotta, who was the wife of Cacique Felipe, had been carried away from Diamantino by the Bakairí. (15)

15. Karl v. d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 122. Idem., Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., p. 3 4.

174 From the extraordinary concordance of the legends of the Paressí
648 with those of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga River, noted by
177 Karl von den Steinen, it follows that in earlier times, there was extensive contact between the western Bakairí and the
174 Paressí. (16) Unfortunately we do not know the legends of the
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773
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16. Karl v. d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., pp. 364 and 365.

eastern Bakairí, who live in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River, so that we do not know to what extent their legends

/16 cont./

correspond to those of their western fellow countrymen. Point the fact that the names of the two legendary heroes, Kaiu and Kame, who represent in Bakairí legends the sun and the moon, are not words of the Bakairí language (which belongs to the Karaíb /Carib/ group) but words of the Arawak /Arawak/ linguistic group, it follows that the Paresí, who belong to this linguistic group, were, in this case, the authors of these legends rather than the Bakairí, and thus that the legends of the Paranatinga Bakairí were influenced by the Paresí, just as the Bakairí are mentioned in the legends of the Paresí, the latter are also mentioned in the legends of the Bakairí. According to Paresí legends, the Bakairí, or Manikoro as they are called by them, belong with other enemy tribes to the kin group of Chunikiare (Tchunikaré according to Karl v. d. Steinen), the big jaguar, who killed his brother Kamáso and the lamy's wife, but then became the victim of Uakome, the son of Kamáso, who avenged his father when he grew up. (17) We also find

17. Ibid., p. 431.

this tale of Chunikiare in the texts of Paresí legends. In these legends Chunikiare, from whose six arrows the Bakairí were born, appears as a distinctly hostile hero. Thus it may be assumed that the Bakairí, who belonged to his kin group, were also enemies of the Paresí. On this basis, relations between the Bakairí and the Paresí were already hostile in former times, and this hostility still persisted at the time of /17/ Karl von den Steinen's expeditions. Some years earlier, the Bakairí had attacked the Paresí on the road that leads to Diamantino, to capture their women, and had killed many of them /i.e., Paresí men/. (18) As already mentioned above, besides the

18. Ibid., p. 438.

two Kayabí women, two Paresí women were also living among

/Sic cont./

159 583 361 tribe and constituted with his people his own village, situated 15 kilometers downriver on the right side of the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Teles Pires) and four kilometers from the main river on the small Ribeirão Kaul. This was the same place where at the time of my trip in the year 1927 the Posto de Sondes Lopes /Sondes Lopes Post/ was.

159 583 Through Antonio Pyrineu de Souza we know that Dofia Rosa Sacura, José Carondó's mother and for many years Cacique Antonio's wife, had died in January, 1913 in her son's village. /?/ From this piece of information it may be deduced, on the one hand, that José Carondó's move to the Ribeirão Kaul had already taken place before the year 1913, and on the other hand, that Rosa Sacura, in the quarrel between her husband and her son, followed the latter and left Antonio. The latter had already married in 1913 a young woman who, according to Antonio Pyrineu, was a daughter of old Cacique Reginaldo by a Kayabí woman. Possibly Antonio Pyrineu made a mistake with respect to this piece of information, for we know through Karl von den Steinen that the cacique, who had married young Luiza Kayabí was old Caetano, who was then cacique of the aldea situated on the Rio Paranatinga, while I never heard it said that the wife of Cacique Reginaldo, whom I knew in person, was a Kayabí. If the information that the second wife of Cacique Antonio was a Kayabí is correct, I would presume that she was the daughter of Luiza Kayabí, who was still living at the time of my trip in the year 1927, at the Sondes Lopes Post and thus the legitimate daughter, although presumably not the natural daughter, of old Cacique Caetano.

162 361 166 A considerable increase in the population of the Rio Paranatinga had been caused by the fact that Cacique Kurutí of the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River had moved with 180 Xinguanos to the Rio Paranatinga. Cacique Kurutí's new aldea was situated eight kilometers downriver from Cacique Antonio's aldea, on the left side of the Rio Paranatinga and some 200 meters from the river. But of these 180 Xinguanos, already in

[illegible]

[illegible] cm.]

[illegible] Carnaga Pavo" house, where they were used in the dance ceremonies held at specific times by the Kingwana. The low-engraved constellations coloured with black paint are clearly geometric. Besides circles and spirals they also include other decorative elements of the Ba Kalumba Bakaof. The length of these sticks varies from 74 cm. to 100 cm. and their diameter from 1.7 cm. to 4.5 cm.

[illegible] Of the figures made of maize husks, such as the Bakaof of the upper Xingu River tributaries had in former times, I found two specimens in the settlement of Kingwana on the Ba Farenaiuga, which represent birds (V.B. 3966 and 3967. Length 23 cm.) A ball made of bunch of ears of maize (V.B. 3968. Length 21 cm.) such as was used by the Bakaof of the Kalumba in general for their game with a ball, which they called [illegible], is shown in Figure 22, b.

[illegible] Small figures in the form of the human figure shown on Figure 23, a (V.B. 3962. Length 32 cm.) were placed, in bundles Lapa, around the [illegible] necks of newborn babies to protect them from illness. I had acquired a good, old specimen of such a figure which was tied with an animal claw from the necklace of the little girl of a woman belonging to the Bakaof who had moved from the Ba Nowa. A day later she came with her child to ask me to return to her the necklace with the pendant, because the child had fallen ill after the loss of the necklace. She exchanged the old figure for the new one shown in Figure 23, d.

[illegible] Finally, I must still mention the carved board shown on Figure 22, a (V.B. 3969. Length 23.5 cm.) Boards such boards, probably intended as mnemonic aids, are not found among the Bakaof of the upper Xingu River tributaries, we must assume that this case is an instance of foreign influence in later times.

/534 cont./

534 niche decorated with geometric design. These niche are still used in Bakairi dances in Sudden Lake.

535 536 The informants remembered the following dances and songs: ekiko, a dance performed with the help of the adorned sticks, at no specific time; uwalaki, the dance song; mululauri, performed at the time of the construction of a new house; pilowarik, performed at the time of the ceremony of the perforation of the boys' ears, and the dance celebration, or ungiunatdiri.

537 538 539 540 In the sacred dances, barred to women, masks representing various animals were used. In our opinion these masks did not represent the animals proper but rather the spirits, souls of these animals. This would justify the fact that these representations are so far removed from reality, even in terms of native art.

543 The Bakairi myth related by Karl von den Steinen and Capistrano de Abreu mention Tchiri (or Kori, the sun), Numa (or Kame, the moon), (16) and Vaiomei, (17) Tchiri and Numa

16. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., pp. 467-468.

17. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 6, pp. 45-50, 230-241.

or Kori and Kame, the sun and the moon, are twin creator heroes of the Bakairi. The same task of /543/ creating the Bakairi is attributed to Vaiomei. The concurrence of mythes among the Bakairi leads us to regard the myth of the twin heroes as a borrowed feature, since there does not seem to be a justifying correspondence in their social organization. The Paresintings Indians told us the following myth:

544 545 546 547 548 549 Ismaulik or the Origin of the Day.

In the beginning the world was so dark and so cold that the Indians had to cover their bodies with

Eighth Chapter

The Two Bolyglot Villages. — Search in the Pampangas. — The Second Bolyglot Village.

In the report of José Gonçalves de Fonseca about a trip from Pasil to the source region of the Mekkiton in the year 1768, I find, for the first time, mention of the name of the Bolyglot, who consequently must have been known already to the first generation of Nova Gonza discoverers. In discussing the probable origin of the Schingil (Kingu), he says that the stone lying between the sources of the Tapajos (Kayapó) and the Tocantins, called "Bocaiva" and "dos Mares," may undoubtedly be regarded as the source stone of the Schingil. — In the atlas of Thomas Jeffery of the year 1776, the "Bacaiyas" on the Paranatinga are recorded.

A year de Cassel notes about our tribe in 1817: "The Bacaiyas, who inhabit the regions adjacent to the Rio dos Mares, wage an incessant war against all kinds of quadrupeds and birds. [109] Up to the present time the people has not shown any hostility

[This drawing illustrates a Sugar Cane Press — C.A. P 22 — Analyst]

//100 words//

to the Chinese. It is said that they are often and friendly; one reason why they are regarded as a hands of the French."

Mention has been living on the southernmost section of the Salingé and also has been at the mouth of the Kinou and Senaya. He also classifies [illegible] them under the French //Tonkin,// who are scattered across the adjacent borders Tonkin, Siamese, and Hungary.

Now it turns out that placing the French and the Sakaldé together in this way was erroneous. The well known chiefs [illegible] of the Sakaldé, as I will to point out briefly in advance, are settled north of the Kinou River, and a tribe somewhat more distantly related to them, but belonging to the same group, lives in the coastal region of the Siamese. I myself was familiar only with the name of Mantia, and on the journey I had no idea how interesting this little tribe was

Sakaldé village.

and how many hours I would have spent pondering over its past.

It was a very fortunate circumstance that Ingimbo — who was always ready to smoke a cigarette with me and warmed up more and more and gradually became highly amused by my questions — had an amazing gift of quick perception and was able to express himself clearly for practical purposes in a somewhat crude Portuguese. Such an opportunity never came again later. Ingimbo was a good person, intelligent, and held the rank of his chieftainship in strong, personal hands.

//37 cont.//

Bakairi are all inhabitants of the sources region of the Teyuiuo and are to be found only in the region of the pioneers where the rapids and waterfalls that put great obstacles in the way of the journey downtown to the Arinos //Tapajoz//.

The Bakairi have been known since the late raiding expeditions of the "Bandeiras," the discoverers of the Mato Grosso who boldly pushed forward from the province of S. Paulo as they dare hunt at the beginning of the previous century. Dom Antonio Rico de Campos, from whom we have a report* from the year 1723,

* Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico
XXX, p. 448. Rio de Janeiro, 1867.

"after the experience of so many years," had heard of them. After he has briefly characterized (page 448) the tribes — today long since disappeared — of the upper Cuyabá and the Rio Vermo emptying into it, he continues: "All these have the same way of life, the same type of weapons, and everything else the same. They are nomadic tribes and, with their raiding expeditions, succeed in causing harm to the heathen people named Bacayris, who live on the tributaries of the Warantiba (?)[illegible], and from there on various nations of heathens //38// with countless villages follow one another, as I have been informed, and all very warlike people and masters of their weapons."

The Bakairi are also mentioned in a report from the year 1781 about a trip from Pará into the source region of the Madeira, and furthermore it may also have happened in many an old note about the origin of the Mato Grosso gold mines. It is always only a casual mention of the tribal name, which does not offer us further information. At most we may conclude from these citations that in the previous century the Bakairi must have been more numerous and perhaps had advanced somewhat more to the west and southwest than is the case today. This will come out more clearly, however, from their own tradition.

Closer contact with the Brazilians did not take place until the beginning of the 'twenties in our century. At that time

//[illegible] //

"Indio" Lopez traded so far as the region of the Paraentinga and converted the West Beladé to Christianity. Lopez was an adventurous gold seeker, about whom the pastor of the Longstaff Expedition* of 1828 remarks that, accompanied by

* Secretan Fleming, op. Revista Trimensal, Vol. 30, II, p. 180.

[illegible] //[illegible]// Indians, he had gone up the Rio dos Peixes, a tributary of the Arinos, and "fought with many savages." At any rate, since his visit, which was the limit of Bagnatelle's possession and others, the West Beladé have been regarded as Christians. How superficiale the hostilities of the white Lopez were comes out best from the following words of the geographer Pyrro de Cassel in his Geographia Brasileira /Geography of Brazil/ of the year 1837, therefore before Lopez. "The Beladé's who inhabit the regions adjacent to the Rio dos Mortos carry on constant warfare against all types of quadrupeds and birds. To this day these people have not engaged in any hostilities against the Christians. It is said that they are white and friendly; with reason why they are regarded as a branch of the Patoys."

The real reason why the Beladé could have been regarded as a branch of the Funeé, as happened in the case of Martius, is simply that there was no accurate information about either one of the neighboring tribes. If the natives occasionally came to Cuyabá in small numbers in order to beg for a few gifts of tobacco, dress, tobacco, or blankets from the government, they were felt to be annoying guests whom one tried to get rid of as quickly as possible, and about whose language or peculiarities no official needed to bother. They did not live, say, near an avenue of communication connecting two important towns, but rather, on the contrary, set behind the very last little colonies, who themselves received very little attention, there where there were no avenues at all; they did not do these neighbors any harm and were therefore of no interest whatever to the government. The good Chief Felipe in the Paraentinga village racked his brains

[illegible]

[illegible] from March 15, 1872, a clause it had become necessary to take into account circumstances and widely known changes which throughout was had brought about in the southeast of the province. Of the sixteen listed aldeias, [illegible] in 1848, four were crossed out, the totalgum was reduced from 13,[illegible] to 8874; on the left hand, for aldeias 1, 2, 14-15 the old numbers again regained validation, so that so here being seems to have been here or died here for 50 years.

[illegible] The Bakairi of the Paranatinga and Rio Ne remained themselves in their two post villages, they occasionally visited by gold-seeker expeditions who would discourage a small number, and introduce syphilis and measles many perished from measles, the disease, relatively harmless in us, is not only [illegible] often fatal to the Indians, but they also have the bad habit of plunging into the river in the middle of daughter fever and not drying themselves after they leave the cabaiti.

[illegible] I made an effort to learn more detailed the history of the tribe from the aged Caetano, retired chief, and his successor, Felipe, on the Paranatinga, as well as Bonifacio. A history of more recent times can clearly be reproduced, during which a drift to the southwest took place. Whereas Bonifacio on the valley of the Paranatinga lived several days journey below the present village and somewhat above the emptying of the Rio Verde coming from the left, the West Bakairi, about since the middle of the previous century, have occupied the other area between the source rivers of the Arinos, Cuyabá, Arinaretinga, where the village on the Rio Novo is still to be find. On the Ribeirão Cascão there were more than six villages, one was a large village on the Ribeirão do Pedra. The first basin of the Bakairi took place in Diamantino. Caetano, born in the previous century according to all calculations, first saw the fin of the world where the Rio Bezerra empties into the Paranatinga. The Paranatinga village now located above this is a creation of modern times.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

//[illegible]//

[illegible] enemies of the Bakairí, but there is no more specific information about them. The Bororó-Coroá and Tapuíanas, enemies of the Xyavé, lived in the Xingu region, of the Tapuíanas, Langsdorff-Taunay [illegible]* states that they spoke the Bakairí

[illegible]

* Journal de Voyage de Mato Grosso, 5. Paris, 1803, p. [illegible].

language. Unfortunately no notes even even made on the language of the Bakairí, no claim on that of the Tapuíanas, //[illegible]// and unfortunately the author has no claim to any credibility in these matters, as we shall see among the Bakairí.

A statement in the Bakairí volume of the Revista Trimensal do Instituto Histórico (Rio de Janeiro, 18[illegible], II, p. [illegible]) is worth mentioning: it refers to the tribe of the Mundurucú /Mundurucú/, once found far and wide, which today site along the middle and lower Tapajós, but formerly lived farther upstream. Antonio Manoel Gonçalves Tocantins, who visited them in 1871, remarks: "In former times they also dominate the Bakairí, whom they call Mawulhões and whom they forced to go into the Mangrove where they ([illegible]) settled in villages." The latter addition shows that this can only refer to events of relatively recent times, in the Brazilian sense. We should one believe, on the basis of this passage, that the Bakairí lived in the province of Pará, among the dwellers along the lower Tapajós, the region of the upper course and of the source area Juruena and Arinos is called "Mangrove", the Mundurucú themselves lived next to the Xyavé in the province of Mato Grosso, where they are called Juruna, and harassed all the tribes of the Arinos and Schingú area with their attacks. The Bakairí, who called them "Mawulhões," remembered them vaguely, but said that their attacks no longer occur, since they have moved to the north.

The chief enemies of the West Bakairí, and probably even of the united Bakairí, if the tradition is correct, were the Xyavé. "Unacquainted savages in the vicinity of the salto," says the report of the Documento dos Índios. The following is what I was

were said to have been killed and the rifle fled to the Ishongé. Dumontin, the chief Indian of the Ile Rouge village, was said to have taken part in the battle, along with Simonin's grandfather, so that as the nations the event could have occurred in the last quarter of our century.

In the south and southeast the West Bakaïri evidently had family relations with the Gilé tribe of the Kayapó. In the Brazilian sources, which in general underestimate the extent of the tribe, there is nothing known about the Kayapó having extended into this region. They report only attacks of the "Cayapós" on the Bororós of the upper Cuyabá, but the Bakaïri, who were necessarily better informed, designated the tribe as "Kaikáu" = Kayapó, and they also call the upper river of the Paranatinga running further from the east the Kayapó River. The same Kayapó are eastern or southeastern neighbors of the Kuikuiro Bakaïri, as the latter informed me.

Finally, I tried to find out how far the sphere of the West Bakaïri extends to the west - the Paresí are well known to them as old neighbors. To the west beyond Diamantino, behind the Paresí, live the "Waimaré" and "Enerá," it was said. They allegedly are the relations of the Paresí, a statement which is incorrect for the "Waimaré," as we shall see in the discussion of the Paresí. The "Enerá" are otherwise unknown. Much further still live the "Pelothas," likewise unknown. The ancestors pushed forward as far as that and said that there was a large river there and that the Pelothas lived beyond it. This could only be the Guaporé, the upper course of the Madeira.

In conclusion, a note about the Guaká is very remarkable. In very, very ancient times they were said to have lived on the Ilha Bananal, a left tributary of the Paranatinga, which flows into it above the Ilha Verde. C.E. page 434.

This is all that I could learn from the West Bakaïri about the history of the tribe and its relations to its neighbors. To summarize the traditions, the chief Bakaïri were settled at the salto of the Paranatinga, thus in any case belonged to the

	1840		1872
12 Sonora-Cabanas	110	Sugar in Maní and Campo de Calgara	60
13 Cayapá	200	Between mouth of the S. Lawrence and the Tuquerrí, between Pomeral and Pavanillas	600
14 Cocoma	?	Source region of the S. Lawrence	?
15 Bacabal	200	Source region of Paranaíba	200
16 Capitá	?	Source region of Paranaíba	?
17 Barbados	600	Paraguay to the right and Serra dos Parecis	600
18 Paraná	250	Campos and Serra dos Parecis	250
19 Mamboré	600		600
20 Caiboré	300		300
21 Sanfiguardo	600	Rio do Peixe (to the Amazon)	600
22 Tapajós	800	Ribeirão (Jamari) dos Tapajós (to the Amazon)	800
23 Xingú	2700	Xingú and Iririá	2700
24 Maguari	?	Left of the Guaporé	?
25 Guaporé	?	Wave of the Guaporé	?
26 Cuiaba	?	Both banks of the Mamoré and Madeira	?
27 Paraí	?	Eastern bank of the Mamoré	?
28 Caraiba	?	Western bank of the Mamoré	?
29 Jacaré	?		
30 Campinas	1000	Bank of the Mamoré and Madeira	1000
31 Aráras	?	Bank of Madeira up to the Jamari (1)	?
	13020		9670

1. Empties into the Madeira 14 leagues below the cataract of Santo Antonio.

[illegible]

and by means of gifts to lure them to a Reunião of 100 in the Engenho do Jesus. There they all stayed, 177 in number, from 1 April 1903. Today they have dwindled to 61. During these five years they showed little inclination for agriculture and lived only by hire and alms.

15. Cayapós. Between Paranã and Paranaíba and in the source region of the S. Lourenço and Taquary. Some are sent to the Destacamento / detachment of troops / on the Piquiry, others in the Porto do Paranaíba on the road to S. Paulo, who live independently. Hunting, fishing, cultivation of maize, rice, mandioca, beans, and sugar cane. Make some rapadu (raw sugar boiled down). Have pigs, chickens, even a few cow and horses. Speak Portuguese in large part. Many live themselves out. Some cultivation which are attributed to the Cayapós are probably carried out by them.

16. Cayapós. On the sources of the various tributaries of the S. Lourenço. Of their numbers and their characteristics little is known; they flee or are hostile. Set fires up to 20 leagues from Cuyabá. Hence troops are sent out against them every few years, who kill adults and take children captive, which in no way promotes converting them.

17. Bacairis. Sources of the Paranatinga and upper course of the Xingu. Are distinguished by a peaceful disposition. Flee from the attacks of their enemies, the Nambiquaras, Tapanhunas, and Cajabis. Live on hunting and fishing, plant maize, mandioca, beans, cará, garden beans, broad beans, and sugar cane. Their implements for agriculture are made of stone or hardwood. Their industry: hammocks with meshes of cotton or tucum, plaited sieves, and small baskets. Only a very few (muito poucos) understand our language, although they wish to. Senhora Donna Felicitas Gustoina Pereira Coelho, a well-to-do landowner in the district of the upper Serra* has a

* According to Antonio, near Lagoinha.

friendly interest in them, gives them gifts, and speaks favorably about their easy conversion. They are enemies of the

18. Cajabis, unconquered savages in the vicinity of the [illegible].

respect to the piece of information we must keep in mind the fact that in those times the Rio Paranatinga was regarded as a tributary of the Kuapa River.

From an objective standpoint I have nothing to add to Karl von den Steinen's full account. I merely propose to complement it in time and to add what we know of the main events history of the Bakairí since that period when Karl von den Steinen wrote his history of the Bakairí. I feel impelled to carry out this mission, especially in view of the fact that of my two expeditions, in which I had the most extensive contact with the Bakairí, the first took place 26 years before the second, so that I had a good opportunity to observe personally a great part of the change in the living conditions of the Bakairí in the times after Karl von den Steinen's publication. The Bakairí Anakiri, who was my faithful companion [illegible] on the trip from the Simões Lopes Post to the Pedro Dantas Post, constructed to conclude the Kayabi [illegible], and on the return to Cuiabá, was the son of a Bakairí, born on the Rio Kulisehu and called Chico, who had been one of my traveling companions to the Rio Kulisehu in the year 1901. I also encountered after the year 1927 many old acquaintances among whom I had lived 26 years before in their village, Mairinatsi, on the Rio Kulisehu. They all still remembered well the time we had spent together in the past. During my latest stay in Cuiabá, up to the year 1931, the Bakairí boys who went to school in Cuiabá visited my house often, so that it enabled me to keep informed up to that date about all that went on among the Bakairí.

Karl von den Steinen's two expeditions to the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River should be noted as an important event not only in the general history of discoveries but also, especially, in the history of the Bakairí. Through them was re-established the long broken connection between the Bakairí living on the Rio Paranatinga and their fellow countrymen on the Batovy and Kulisehu river. This fact had such an incisive

(112 cont.)

influence on the later development of these Indians, with their very marked feeling of nationality, that they changed these primordial customs completely during the 30 years following Karl von den Steinen's second expedition carried out in the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River. Thanks to a series of data on events among the Bakairi in this interval, we find ourselves in the fortunate position of being able to investigate that transformation. We are acquainted in detail on the personality and life history of several Bakairi who have influenced in a special way the later development of their tribe, like Carique Reginaldo and, especially, Carique Antonio and his stepson Ind Cariqueto, so that we can give our historical report on the Bakairi a more personal character than would be possible with respect to other Indian tribes.

If we differentiate, according to Karl von den Steinen, the Bakairi who live west of the Rio Paranatinga (in later times officially Rio Teles Pires) as western Bakairi and the eastern Bakairi who have their homes in the region east of this river, on the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, it can be said that in the period of Karl von den Steinen's first expedition to the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River, no contacts took place between these two Bakairi groups, and certainly none had taken place for a long time. Old Carique Reginaldo told Karl von den Steinen that he still remembered, from the days of his youth, that traveling from the Rio Paranatinga eastward, one would reach a big river on which it was said that Bakairi also lived, but that at the present date they did not know anything about this region. (4) Certainly no contact had taken

4. Karl v.d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien /Through Central Brazil/. Leipzig, 1886. p. 182.

place between the western Bakairi and those of the east from the time when the former established closer contact with the

/12 cont./

174 Brazilians, for otherwise the Bakairí of the Batovy and Kulisehu
177 rivers could not have remained so totally free of /13/ any Euro-
619 pean influence. In my book, Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien
114 (5). I discussed at length the causes of this long isolation of the
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[642]
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5. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien. Erlebnisse und Ethnologische. Ergebnisse einer Reise in den Jahren 1900-1901 /Indian Studies in Central Brazil. Adventure and Ethnology. Results of a Journey in the Years 1900-1901/. Berlin, 1905, p. 320.

eastern Bakairí, and among these causes I especially emphasized the hostility which existed between the Bakairí and their neighbors the Kayabí /Cayabi/, who long made unsafe the region located between the settlements of the western and eastern Bakairí. Contact between these two Bakairí groups was re-established when Karl von den Steinen took along with him on his first expedition to the Xingu River, the Bakairí, Antonio, who later became cacique of the Bakairí, so that he had the opportunity to become acquainted with his fellow countrymen who lived on the Rio Batovy. Already in the year 1886, that is, before Karl von den Steinen's second expedition, the Bakairí Felipe, who was then cacique of the Paranatinga Bakairí, had on his part visited, along with the above-mentioned Antonio and another Bakairí, his fellow countrymen on the Rio Batovy and had succeeded in getting some of them to make, in turn, a visit to the Rio Paranatinga.

128 In order to make a connection with Karl von den Steinen's
101 historical report, I shall first refer in a few words to the conditions in which this author found the Bakairí at the time of his second expedition in the year 1887. I shall first deal with the

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161 Going on from the Rio Preto Bakairí, on whom we do not have more precise data than that they were few, the remaining Bakairí population and, especially, those of the Rio Paranatinga was also very scant in this period. As Karl von den Steinen, [114] on his second expedition to the Xingu River in the year 1887, [175] did not have the opportunity to visit the Bakairí of the Rio Novo, we have no precise data concerning their population in this year. We only know that their population three years earlier, in the year 1884, was 55, among whom were 16 men, 19 women, and 20 children. [131] In the same year the population of the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí was much smaller because these Indians had been hit, some six years before, by a measles epidemic. The entire population of the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí at the time consisted of only 10 men, eight women, and four children, of whom five men, three women, and a boy were /14/ absent, [563] and some of these were not expected to return.(9) This number

9. Karl v.d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 120. Idem., Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens, loc. cit., p. 25.

is increased, however, if we add the two Paressí women and the two Kayabí women who were married to Bakairí men. When Karl von den Steinen visited this Bakairí village again, in the year 1887, one Bakairí man had died in the interval, some had moved to the ranches, and no increase by birth had occurred. If we add up the above-mentioned figures and include the four Paressí and Kayabí women, the total number for all the Bakairí of the Rio Novo and the Rio Paranatinga reaches 81 individuals.

175 The above-mentioned aldeas of the western Bakairí were 622 at this time under the Indian Superintendent in Cuiabá, and the 648 administration of the state of Mato Grosso has exerted repeated influence on the various Bakairí units, increasing the authority of the caciques or strengthening it with insignia. Thus Cacique

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175 Reginaldo, who ruled the two Bakairí villages on the Rio Novo,
622 held the grade of "captain" and his intended successor, Joaquim,
648 was a "lieutenant." In the village on the Rio Paranatinga the administration had deprived old chief Caetano, whose age was calculated at 80 years, of the chiefship and had entrusted it to a younger man called Felipe who had the rank of "captain," in the year 1882.

105 [177] The way of life of the western Bakairí, at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions differed little from that of the Brazilian campesinos. Already from the year 1820 they had all been baptized. Men's and women's dress was similar in general to that of the campesinos as the style of their rectangular houses was similar to the Brazilian rancho. Besides some dogs many pigs and chickens were raised. Cattle was also raised, and they had some milch cows and a herd of oxen. They planted manioc, maize, porotos /var. of French bean, from Quechua purutu/, rice, sweet potatoes, bananas, sugar cane, and a little tobacco. This agriculture was carried out to a sufficient degree to permit them to sell a surplus to the cattle ranch at Corrego Fundo. An important element of nourishment was provided the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí by the abundance of fish in the river, and especially the excellent matrinchan that was caught in the season of its collective migration upriver. (10) These western Bakairí worked then

10. Karl von den Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 23.

on a temporary basis for neighboring ranches, but they also produced rubber for their own use and brought the product with their herds of oxen to Cuiabá.

105 In spite of this almost complete assimilation of the western
177 Bakairí to the ways of life of Brazilian campesinos, they still
178 kept some of their ancestral customs. Above all they kept their
[19] native language, and only a few understood and spoke some Portuguese.

/14 cont./

105 Portuguese. The lobes of their ears and the nasal septa were
177 still perforated, and Cacique Reginaldo sometimes wore, in
178 addition to his captain's uniform, the little sticks adorned with feathers in his ear lobes as well. In the aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí there still stood in the year 1884, besides the /15/ rectangular houses in the Brazilian rancho style, a round hut built like the houses of the eastern Bakairí who live in the regions of the headwaters of the Xingu River, in which lived an old Bakairí man with a young Kayabí woman. Bows and arrows were still used, occasionally, for hunting and fishing, and among the plaited objects had been kept the ancestral forms of the large twig baskets, sieves, and hammocks.

175 In the aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí the order of things
622 was gravely disturbed at the time of Karl von den Steinen's
648 expeditions (11) because the occupants of this village felt greater
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11. Karl v.d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 120.

loyalty to the old cacique, Caetano, than to Cacique Felipe, installed as cacique instead of the former by the Mato Grosso government. The Bakairí, Antonio, who accompanied Karl von
[115] den Steinen on his expeditions to the Xingu River and who later became the most important figure in the history of the Bakairí, was then a youth.

175 The western Bakairí were at that time the Indians to whom
648 had come the most remote shoots of European culture in these regions. What was farther on was still unexplored land, with free Indians, because of whom the mobility of the Bakairí was hampered to a high degree. It seems that the Bakairi to the south and southwest had peaceful relations with the Kayapó /Cayapo/ with whom, in earlier times, they had once been allied in order jointly to expel the Suyá from the Rio Verde region. (12) This friendship is interesting in so far as the Kayapó

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12. Karl v.d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, l. c., p. 393.

of this period were marked enemies of the Brazilian campesinos, and to whom we must attribute the attacks against the ranches of the upper Cuiabá River, attributed in Brazilian documents to the "Coroado." (13) The incursions of the Mundurukú

13. Ibid., p. 394.

/Mundurucu/, who had extended farther south in earlier times, were still clearly remembered by the western Bakairí, but in this period the former did not appear. The principal enemies were undoubtedly the Kayabí of the Rio Verde with whom they had long lived in a state of intense hostility. The Bakairí place their ancestral land at the famous falls of the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires), located upriver from the mouth of the Rio Verde. They said that old Cacique Caetano's had been born in the old aldea situated at the falls. It was said that at that time the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí had traveled to just below the mouth of the Rio Verde but had later returned from fear of the Kayabí. Cacique Caetano's father had already been born in an aldea situated farther upriver. Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa, in his expedition down the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires), found habitation ruins below the mouth of the Beija-Flor near the Cerro de Piquirizal and on the right side of the river, where it was said that the Bakairí had had a large aldea in former times. It is also said that they fought with the Kayabí and the Tapanhuna /Tapanyuna/ when they lived in this place. (14) Undoubtedly the Bakairí had /16/ lived closer to

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14. A. Pyrineus de Sousa, loc. cit., p. 69.

/16 cont./

174 correspond to those of their western fellow countrymen. From
184 the fact that the names of the two legendary heroes, Keri and
648 Kame, who represent in Bakairí legends the sun and the moon,
773 are not words of the Bakairí language (which belongs to the
177 Karaíb /Carib/ group) but words of the Arwak /Arawak/ linguistic group, it follows that the Paressí, who belong to this linguistic group, were, in this case, the authors of these legends rather than the Bakairí, and thus that the legends of the Paranatinga Bakairí were influenced by the Paressí; just as the Bakairí are mentioned in the legends of the Paressí, the latter are also mentioned in the legends of the Bakairí. According to Paressí legends, the Bakairí, or Matokoso as they are called by them, belong with other enemy tribes to the kin group of Chinikálore (Tchenikaurê according to Karl v. d. Steinen), the big jaguar, who killed his brother Kamázo and the latter's wife, but then became the victim of Uakomo, the son of Kamázo, who avenged his father when he grew up. (17) We also find

17. Ibid., p. 431.

this tale of Chinikálore in the texts of Paressí legends. In these legends Chinikálore, from whose six arrows the Bakairí were born, appears as a distinctly hostile hero. Thus it may be assumed that the Bakairí, who belonged to his kin group, were also enemies of the Paressí. On this basis, relations between the Bakairí and the Paressí were already hostile in former times, and this hostility still persisted at the time of /17/ Karl von den
175 Steinen's expeditions. Some years earlier, the Bakairí had
726 attacked the Paressí on the road that leads to Diamantino, to
729 capture their women, and had killed many of them /i.e., Paressí men/. (18) As already mentioned above, besides the
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18. Ibid., p. 438.

two Kayabí women, two Paressí women were also living among

175 /17 cont./
722 the Paranatinga Bakairí, one of whom, named Charlotta, was
727 the wife of Cacique Felipe. To the influence of such women,
563 captured in hostile encounters with the Paressí, we must
177 attribute, in the first place, the extensive assimilation of the legends of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga River. (19)

19. Ibid., p. 365.

173 According to the statements of the western Bakairí, the
166 origin of the Bakairí who live in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River was due to the fact that, as a result of quarrels among the Bakairí, who were still living in former times by the falls, part of them broke away and emigrated to the Rio Kulisehu. (20) We do not know whether this represents

20. Ibid., p. 391.

a historical fact or merely legendary superstitions of the
175 Paranatinga Bakairí. For lack of any objective knowledge of the presence of these Indians in former times on the two tributaries of the Xingu River, the Batovy and the Kulisehu, and for lack of any statements about their former life by these /Indians/ themselves, the history of these eastern Bakairí begins only at the time of Karl von den Steinen's first expedition to the Xingu River in the year 1884, which brought attention upon them for the first time and was their first historical event. As for the first effects of this event, so important for the subsequent fate of the eastern Bakairí, Karl von den Steinen was already able to recognize them himself and make use of them in his
175 section "History of the Bakairí." The first mutual visits be-
619 tween the Bakairí of the Paranatinga and their fellow country-men on the Rio Batovy marked the beginning of relations between these two Bakairí groups. In what follows we shall deal
128 with the manner in which these relations gradually increased, extending also to the Bakairí of the Rio Kulisehu and influencing

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619 in subsequent times to a high degree the history of the two
128 groups of the Bakairí tribe, so different one from the other.

After Karl von den Steinen's second expedition to the
175 Xingu River, the next event in the history of the Bakairí, and especially of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga, was the lost expedition of Captain Telles Pires in the year 1889. This explorer, accompanied by Lieutenant Oscar Miranda and 26 boatmen, among whom were also Paranatinga Bakairí, had endeavored to go down the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires) from the mouth of the Rio S. Manuel /São Manuel River/.
175 Among the 21 companions who perished with Telles Pires in
622 this undertaking was Cacique Felipe of the Paranatinga Bakairí, who died of fever on the way. The Bakairí, Irineo, raised and adopted by this cacique, who had accompanied his father, was not heard of again after this excursion and it was supposed
175 that he also had perished. When the Bakairí got the news of
622 their cacique's death, they burned their houses /18/ and abandoned their aldea to settle farther upriver. The harbor of
166 the new aldea, situated like the previous aldea on the left
361 side of the river, was 18 kilometers downriver from the mouth
[103] of the Rio S. Manuel on the Rio Paranatinga, or Rio Telles Pires as it was officially named after the ill-fated undertaking of Captain Telles Pires, and the aldea itself was 1,600 meters inland from the riverbank and 200 meters from the small Corrego do Tatú /"Armadillo Stream"/. (21)

21. A. Pyrineus de Sousa, loc. cit., pp. 61, 68, and 69.

175 Who the first cacique of the aldea was after Felipe's death
622 I do not know. At the close of the last decade of the past century, when Antonio Correa da Costa was president of the state of Mato Grosso (in the years from 1895 to the beginning of 1898, with a gap in the year 1897), the cacique of the aldea

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175 622 of the Paranatinga Bakairí was already the same Antonio who had accompanied Karl von den Steinen on his two expeditions to the Xingu River and who had become acquainted on his return from the first of these expeditions with Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires. President Antonio Correa da Costa confirmed his [648] caciqueship, extending his authority over the whole region of the Indians who lived on the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, naming him the comandante of all the Indians of the upper 175 Xingu River. This extension of the authority of Cacique Antonio 622 by the president of the state was instigated, according to 648 Herrmann Meyer, (22) by the same Paulo Castro who, in the 159

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22. Dr. Herrmann Meyer, "Uber seine zweite Reise in Central-Brasilien (IV. Xingú-Expedition) /On His Second Journey in Central Brazil (IV. Xingu Expedition)/," aus einem Brief an Herrn Prof. Dr. Karl von den Steinen /From a letter to Prof. Karl von den Steinen/, Cuiabá, d. March 5, 1899, (Verh. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin. Vol. XXVI, 1899, pp. 261-265). p. 265.

years following his participation in Karl von den Steinen's expedition to the Xingu River, traveled through these regions several times in his tireless search for the "martyrs," and thus had had the opportunity to meet the Bakairí of the Paranatinga. Cacique Antonio then for a long time was the most influential figure in the subsequent development not only of the western Bakairí but also of the eastern Bakairí. He had been born in the Limoeira handicrafts center and came from a family who had lived for a long time in the Rio Paranatinga aldea. The most remote ancestors of whom he had knowledge had still

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175 lived in the vicinity of the falls. His grandfather, Kanavako,
159 and his father, Seseriari, had participated in the above-
622 mentioned expedition for revenge undertaken against the Kayabí,
648 in which the two Kayabí women who lived in the Rio Paranatinga aldea were captured. At the time of Karl von den Steinen's expedition, his parents were no longer living, but he had an older brother living with his wife and with a small son in the Paranatinga aldea. As a companion to Karl von den Steinen in the year 1888, Antonio had met in the Reducion de Bororo de Thereza Christina, situated on the Rio S. Lourenzo /São Lourenço River/, the Bororo Indian woman Rosa, well known for the fact that while a prisoner of Officer Duarte, she had undertaken to mediate in the agreement /?conivencia/ between Bororo and Brazilians so that it became possible to establish the above-mentioned Bororo reducion /pueblo of Christianized Indians/. She was a widow at the time and Antonio took her along toward the Paranatinga. Rosa brought with her a small son, five or six years of age, who was raised in the house of Cacique Antonio and who later, under the name of José /19/ Coroado, achieved a certain stature in the Bakairí community of the Paranatinga, so that I must refer to him several times in what follows.

175 Already in the last decade of the past century, when
166 Herrmann Meyer passed the aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí in his two expeditions to the Xingu River in the years 1896 and 1899, much activity was taking place there. (23) Antonio with

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23. Dr. Herrmann Meyer, "Über seine Expedition nach Zentral Brasilien /On His Expedition toward Central Brazil/," March 6, Verhandl. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde z. Berlin, Vol. XXIV, 1897, pp. 172-198. Idem., "Bericht über seine zweite

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Xingú-Expedition /Report on His Second Xingu Expedition/." February 3, 1900, Verh. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde z. Berlin, Vol. XXVII, 1900, pp. 112-128. Idem., "Uber seine zweite Reise in Central-Brasilien," loc. cit.

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Antonio with his stepson José Coroado, already an adult, had then visited several times the Bakairí in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River, and a big part of these had moved in with their fellow countrymen of the Rio Paranatinga, so that Theodor Koch, a participant in Herrmann Meyer's second expedition to the Xingu River, estimated the population of the aldea of the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí, at this date, at more than 60 individuals.(24)

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24. Dr. Theodor Koch, "Reise in Matto Grosso (Brasilien). Expedition in das Quellgebiet des Xingú /Journey in Mato Grosso (Brazil). Expedition to the Region of the Headwaters of the Xingu/." Communication, d. K. K. Geogr. Ges. in Vienna, p. 335.

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At this time, the Rio Batovy Bakairí had canoes and also a port on the Rio-Jatobá. Also the Nahukuá /Nahuqua/ had then risked for the first time the journey to the Rio Paranatinga and had carried away from there sugar cane and porotos /French beans/ for planting. (25)

25. Dr. Herrmann Meyer, "Bericht uber seine zweite Xingú-Expedition," loc. cit., p. 127.

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175 648 I must also mention here an expedition of five North Americans who, half a year before Herrmann Meyer's second expedition, went down the Rio Kulisehu to look for rubber. No doubt, like the other expeditions to these regions, they took along Bakairí Indians. The details of the tragic outcome of this expedition, whose five participants were all massacred by the Suyá with clubs, were told me several times by the Bakairí and the Auetö in the same way, and I have noted down the particulars of this event with care in my book, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien. (26)

26. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 42.

In the year 1900, Paulo Castro had once more entered the region east of the Rio Paranatinga, this time as head of an expedition outfitted in grand style by the Mato Grosso government, as they said, to prepare, at the top of the water divide between the Xingu and Araguaya rivers, a route that would lead to the Amazon River, in order to facilitate the transportation of livestock from Mato Grosso to Pará. Shortly before the return of my expedition to the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River in June, 1901, the survivors of Paulo Castro's expedition, which had been a total failure, returned to Cuiabá. The great hardships of this last expedition of Paulo Castro caused this explorer, untiring in his search for the "martyrs," never to be well until his death.

114 In the year 1901 I led my own expedition to the region of the source of the Xingu River, when I had the opportunity to become acquainted with the conditions of the life of the Bakairí of the Rio Novo and the Rio Paranatinga, and also, especially, of those of the Bakairí of the Rio Kulisehu.

114 36 /20/ Shortly before crossing the Rio Novo I passed one of the two aldea of the Rio Novo Bakairí, but I had only a passing

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131 Rio Novo, also in that state. The Simões Lopes Indians claim
361 that in the past all the Bakairí lived in aldeas by the Parana-
173 tinga River, moving later to the north under pressure of enemy
131 groups. (2) Later on the tribe divided as a result of internal
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2. For a better discussion of the possible origins of the Bakairí, see Max Schmidt's article, "Los
[113] Bakairí" /The Bacairi/, Revista do Museu Paulista, New Series, Vol. I, pp. 11-58, São Paulo, 1947.

disputes; part moved to the banks of the Rio Culiseu, one of the sources of the Xingu, and the other part was distributed along the Rio Novo. Perhaps the truth about these reports can only be obtained with the help of archaeology. Meanwhile, the old villages of the Bakairí on the sources of the
619 Xingu no longer exist. The Xinguano Indians suffered a great
175 deal from repeated outbreaks of influenza, and the last
931 Bakairí found in that area were brought to the Simões Lopes
648 Post a few years ago by officials of the Indian Protection Ser-
166 vice. The Rio Novo Bakairí, practically as a whole, adopted
619 the customs of the neighboring Brazilian populations and live
177 independent of the control of the Indian Protection Service.
184 As for the Simões Lopes Indians, although they are quite
[178] acculturated, they still retain many traits of their old culture, they all still speak Bakairí, and some of them still remember the time when they lived in Xinguano aldeas, and make good informants.

114 As for the authors who have dealt with the Bakairí, we shall note among the best, Capistrano de Abreu and Karl von den Steinen. The former left us valuable information on the Bakairí language and on the beliefs of these Indians. The only weakness of his material is that it is based on only one

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[P. 69-B]

000 101 Brazilian Government. The information presented here was obtained at Simão Lopes from the Bacairí who lived on the Rio Kuliseu and relates to the life that they lived there about 40 years ago.

[192] Linguistically the Bacairí belong to the Carib-speaking family and appear to be closely related culturally to the other Carib-speaking tribes in 142 the Upper Xingú Basin. The Bacairí are short in stature, broad-shouldered and well-built. The head is broad, the nose straight or acquiline, the face narrow, the lips fairly thin. In physical [144] appearance the Bacairí remind one of the Arawak-speaking Paressí, but contrast sharply with the large-framed, coarse-featured Bororo, Umotina, and Guató living in the headwaters of the Paraguay River to the south.

175 131 The Bacairí Indians are first mentioned by Gonçalves da Fonseca in his account of his travels to the Madeira region in 1749. In the atlas of Thomas Jeffry, 1776, the "Bacahyris" are located on the Rio Paranatinga. Ayres de Casal, in 1817, refers to the "Baccahyris" as living in the region around the Rio das Mortes. Martins places them 175 in the headwaters of the Xingú. From 1820 on, 177 more or less permanent contact has been maintained with the Bacairí living on the Rio Novo and Rio Paranatinga. In 1820 a P. Lopez led an expedition in search for gold into the area and [79] with him came priests who began to convert the Bacairí to Christianity. With these contacts came disease and conflicts (Von den Steinen, 1942, p. 123).

175 The first scientific account of the Bacairí dates 101 from the voyage of Von den Steinen down the 131 Xingú River in 1884. Traveling over land from 361 Cuiabá, he and his party reached the Christianized Bacairí living in the villages of Rio Novo and Paranatinga with whose help he continued his voyage down the Batoví River where he was the first to make contact with the four pagan villages of the Bacairí located between latitudes 13°30′ and 12°30′ S.

175 The following table gives size and number of 162 inhabitants of the villages visited by Von den Steinen (1942, appendix, table 8, p. 418):

[P. 90-A]

	Women	Men	Women	Children	Total
Rio Novo	6	16	19	20	55
Paranatinga	7	6	8	3	17
On Rio Batovi:					
First village	3	10	7	9	29
Second village	4	18	17	7	42
Third village	3	13	12	19	44
Fourth village	7	27	18	8	53
Total	30	90	81	66	237

By the time Max Schmidt visited the Bacairí in 1900–1901, the Bacairí settlement had diminished. On the Paranatinga he met 34 Bacairí and at Rio Novo, 60. On the Kuliseu River where Von den Steinen had visited four villages, Max Schmidt was able to find only two.

ECONOMY

SHELTER

While in the Xingú watershed the Bacairí lived in villages built on the banks of the Rio Kuliseu. A village (*utsudri*) consisted of three to eight houses (*towiŋ*) built in a circle around a central plaza, *tasóru*. The Bacairí house was a large communal building, oblong in shape, with rounded ends and with the roof thatching reaching to the ground. These large domelike buildings were occupied by three to five families.

In the center of every village there was a ceremonial or flute house (*kadoiti*) in which the men kept their ornaments and musical instruments and in which visitors were entertained. Men, women, and children are permitted to enter the *kadoiti*. Attached to the common house there was a smaller building, usually oriented in the direction of the rising sun, in which the sacred flutes were kept. Women were not permitted to enter this house, as they were not allowed to see the sacred flutes. The villages were connected by roads running along the river bank.

EQUIPMENT

In the center of each house there was a storage space (*jirdu*) where maize, manioc meal, and other foods were kept in gourd vessels (*kdiko*). Cooking was done in a small shed at the back of the house, but food was eaten indoors. Around the walls each family had its hammocks (*amáka*) in which the people slept. Other furnishings of the house consisted of mats, baskets, clay pots,

/292 cont./

*171 323 532 825 The tick, 17, has four knobs on its head, which are probably supposed to represent maxillary feelers and mouth parts. The notched edge is most amusing: it reproduces not at all badly the general impression of the creeping and crawling of the eight crooked legs, which, in the case of animals that have sucked their fill, form a wreath at the top of the sac. I do not know whether the isopod, 18, bears up under zoological scrutiny. It is eyeless, like the Asellus, one of which it is supposed to represent, as far as I understood my informants. In No. 19, the crayfish, we note richly scalloped extremities and a tail fin. For eyes it has a pair of small knobs in which is pierced a fine little hole.

*171 323 532 176

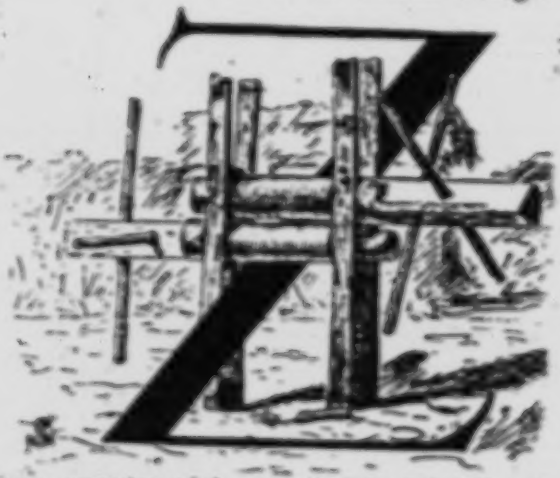
Fig. 89. Suyá toad-pot. (1/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

In conclusion I am adding a pot (diameter 10 x 15 centimeters) with a human representation! It is too much to demand, however, that anyone should suspect anything human about it. The woman artist who brought it to us shook with laughter over her creation. She wanted to make a toad-pot and had already copied the tail and leg projections, as well as the head with the bulging eyes of toad form. Then, when she was [301] [186] modeling the wide mouth and it happened to turn out open instead of closed, she noticed the similarity with the much-ridiculed lip disk of the despised Suyá, which stands out in front of the teeth of these Indians like a movable saucer. She laughed about it, set the stiff mouth flap neatly perpendicular to the toad face, and called the pot a "Suyá figure." Thus, for once, an ornament of the men was used as a motif by the women, analogous to the uluri motif, which was so popular among the gentlemen artists.

/100/

Eighth Chapter

The First Bakairí Village. -- March to the Paranatinga. -- The Second Bakairí Village.



In the report of José Gonçalves da Fonseca about a trip from Pará to the source region of the Madeira in the year 1749, I find, for the first time, mention of the name of the Bakairí, who consequently must have been known already to the first generation of Mata Grosso discoverers. In discussing the probable origin of the Schingú /Xingu/, he says that the rivers lying between the sources of the Tapajoz /Tapajós/ and the Tocantins, called "Bacaris" and "das Mortes," may undoubtedly be regarded as the source rivers of the Schingú. -- In the atlas of Thomas Jeffery of the year 1776, the "Bacahyris" on the Paranatinga are recorded.

Ayras de Cazal notes about our tribe in 1817: "The Baccahirys, who inhabit the regions adjacent to the Rio das Mortes, wage an incessant war against all kinds of quadrupeds and birds. Up to the present time this people has not shown any hostility

[This drawing illustrates a Sugar Cane Press — C.4. P 22 -- Analyst]

/100 cont./

101 to the Christians. It is said that they are white and friendly:
115 one reason why they are regarded as a horde of the Paricys."
[199] Martius has them living at the southernmost sources of
[131] the Schingú and also lists them at the sources of the Arinos and Juruena. He also classifies /101/ them under the Pareci /Paressi/ who are scattered across the watershed between Tapajoz, Madeira, and Paraguay.

101 Now it turns out that placing the Pareci and the Bakairí together in this way was erroneous. The well-known closest relatives of the Bakairí, as I wish to point out briefly in advance, are settled north of the Amazon River, and a tribe somewhat more distantly related to them, but belonging to the same group, lives in the source region of the Madeira.
122 I myself was familiar only with the note of Martius, and on the journey I had no idea how interesting this little tribe was

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Bakairí village.

122 and how many hours I would later spend pondering over its past.

115 It was a very fortunate circumstance that Reginaldo --
123 who was always ready to smoke a cigarette with me and
[191] warmed up more and more and gradually became highly amused by my notations -- had an amazing gift of quick perception and was able to express himself clearly for practical purposes in a somewhat crude Portuguese. Such an opportunity
[222] never came again later. Reginaldo was a good person, intelligent, and held the reins of his chieftainship in strong, paternal hands.

/101 cont./

361 [101] There were two settlements of "docile" Bakaïrí: the aldeament on the Rio Novo, as this first was called, after a tributary of the Arinos, and the aldeament on the Paranatinga. The two villages are not yet old; all the adults were born farther up the Paranatinga, on the "Salto" /waterfall; see the glossary, [131] p. 172 /; the Bakaïrí, however, were probably spread over this entire region in small hordes, as is shown by the fact that they 179 were noted as far as the Rio das Mortes. In the twenties, when 648 the gold-seeker expedition under the leadership of P. Lopez 797 pushed into this region, they were converted to Christianity, on which occasion, as Reginaldo related, his grandfather and many others lost their lives.

823 /102/ We eagerly inquired as to whether he knew about a river beyond the Paranatinga? Today, he replied, this region is [131] completely strange to them. he remembered from his youth, [101] however, that one was supposed to come to a large river if one went from the Paranatinga toward the rising sun, and on this river there were said to be Bakaïrí still living, the "antiguos" /the ancients/, who were not Christians.

361 The two aldeamente are under the administration of the 648 "Director dos Indios" in Cuyabá /Cuiabá/. Reginaldo is a [622] Brazilian captain, his successor as chief of the tribe, Joaquim, 361 is a lieutenant. Our seeing no women was due to the fact that they were living in an aldeament two legoas away; the huts which we occupied were used only when the farm work required it or when there were visitors. Reginaldo /illustration appears here/ completely forgot to say how sorry he was that he could greet us only as a grass widower.

[162] The village numbered six huts; the population amounted 342 to 55: 16 men, 19 women, 20 children. The soldiers were usually quartered in the big house that Reginaldo otherwise occupied with a few others: a rectangle 57 paces long and five paces wide, which was divided into a number of separate rooms by means of partitions. We occupied the guest house -- it was only 17 paces [199] long. It was modern construction, learned from the colonists. Twenty minutes away we found two deserted old-style huts,

/102 cont./

342 round, beehive-like. The larger one was 19 paces in diameter, covered high up on the outside with acuri straw, whereas the framework in the interior exhibited a circle of supporting posts one and a third meters high, upon which the basket of this structure, which actually consisted merely of a roof, rose with many horizontal bamboo rings. At the top was an air vent; a number of the /103/ framework poles crossing one another here extended to the outside. The entrance, a hole one and a half meters high, was surrounded by pepper plants. In any case, the interior space was far larger and finer than in the new houses.

433 24 The people led an idyllic existence; they carried on agri-

142 291 302 622

Captain Reginaldo and wife.

433 241 culture and stock-raising, went hunting, planted mandioca /manioc/, beans, máize, rice, and some tobacco and sugar cane. 197 They were civilized, despite the pierced ear lobes and nasal septa. 304 Their average height was 1.65 meters; they were striking because 142 of their broad and powerful chests. Their skin was yellowish, 141 clay-colored, and rather light, the hair of most of them was black and slightly curly or wavy. In general they had beautiful, open 151 eyes. Reginaldo's excellent vision was demonstrated on one occasion in a way that amazed us all. We noticed far in the distance a /illustration appears here/ figure in the grass; with an excellent field-glass I took it to be Tupy riding up; the entire company, among them Daniel, who was seldom mistaken, agreed with me;

/105 cont./

526 for Pedro, to hang on by the tail of a cow rushing out at top speed and to maintain this seat as long as possible during the gigantic leaps -- that was something to laugh about.

533 As soon as darkness set in, the music-making began. The [177] Bakaïrí had learned from the colonist of Mato Grosso to carve [534] guitars for themselves, and they played them with enthusiasm. They improvised short "verses" in praise of dogs, bananas, the 534 moon, a house, etc. One evening they showed up with

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André

534 their original and peculiar tribal instruments. Characteristically enough, they had hidden them nearby in the forest.

They were large and small flutes, the meni and the kyanuarílʌ. The latter has nothing special; it is made out of [824] bamboo, one might say bassoon-like. The meni, made out of vinhatico wood, is a little over a meter long; it is held with the feet. On the upper section there is a small hole into which the player blows. Not far below it there is a square opening in the tube, just as there is a series of smaller ones in the lower part. 533 The music is simple, but has to be learned. It consists of five tones,

/119 cont./

361 The aldeament on the Paranatinga was smaller than the
622 one on the Rio Novo. Moreover, the order of the community
578 seemed seriously disturbed. Old Captain Caetano, probably near
[199] his eighties, despite his black hair, /120/ had been divested of
his sovereignty in favor of a younger man, Felipe, at the instigation of the Martyrios expedition, which, with the help of the Bakaïrí, had crossed the Paranatinga and passed through a section of the sertão /wilderness; see the glossary, p. 172/ in a northerly direction. The Bakaïrí, of course, felt more obligated to obey Captain Caetano than Captain Felipe, and the result was that each one made himself as independent as possible and worked on his own.
164 Moreover, the tribe had been hard hit about eight years before by sarampão /measles/, an epidemic disease; the Brazilians put part of the blame for the number of deaths on the Indians because, in the heat of the fever, they had always run into the river.

162 At the time of our visit the Bakaïrí population was made up
621 of five men, five women, three children -- not present were five men, three women, one boy, whose return was, in part, no longer expected. Moreover, there were two Parecí women, one of whom was numbered among those not present, and two Cajibí[1] women, who had been adopted into the tribe. Finally, two Brazilians, caoutchouc-seekers, who had recovered from the fever in the village, had attached themselves, a mulatto Luis and a certain Martin who had a Paraguayan, Carlotta, as a wife, with a small son. Altogether there were 20 individuals present.

115 Luis, who had lived an adventurous life, a "philosopho," as he called himself, a "conversador," as his friend Daniel called him, was intimately acquainted with conditions; he
[191] chattered endlessly and was probably not altogether reliable, but he made himself useful, since the Portuguese of Caetano, who best knew the language, consisted of an extremely modest stock by words; "esse mêmo" -- "stimmt auffallend" /that's it exactly/ in German -- was the quintessence of his knowledge, so that the
144 soldiers soon called him nothing but "Capitão Mêmo." Luis maintained that Caetano was the son of a Bakaïrí father and

[1] [Cajibí = Cayabi, a Tribe classified under SP2 Apiaca in The Outline of World Cultures -- Analyst]

/158 cont./

342 We were led into the smallest of the three huts; there we
353 sat down on a long trunk lying on the floor. Two supporting beams, adorned with a diadem of parrot feathers and wound at the bottom with a belt of dry grass stalks, held up the straw roof. Many elegantly worked arrows were sticking in the wall.

179 These Bakaïrí had never seen human beings of another color.
361 They said that there were a few more settlements downstream.
133 This was the last cachoeira, the one we passed here -- great news -- and the river -- naturally, we were eager to learn this -- runs north, it is called Tamitatoala; after 12 days' journey there comes another, larger one from the left, the Ronuro.

000 Thus all favorable circumstances seemed to converge and the hardships of the trip were amply outweighed.

162 We could not endure it much longer in the hut; outside /159/ others appeared, including two women -- one, whose youth and beauty were long gone, busily tripping about with
291 tousled hair. A triangular, straw-yellow leaf fastened to a string, which was slung around the hips and drawn through the perineum,
301 constituted her scanty clothing. Our friend who was doing the honors wore around his waist three strings, on which were alternately strung bits of stalks and black seeds, in each ear lobe two coquettish yellow feathers, and above the ankles a tight band of
302 bast. His hair had a dark reddish sheen; it was cut in Russian style around a bowl; the tonsure was as correct as in other well-known cases where the discoverers of a tribe were misled by it into believing that the heralds of Christianity must have been active
[142] here earlier. The type of physiognomy was without doubt in conformity with the Bakaïrí.

609 Soon a second principal figure appeared on the scene: a
[142] medium-sized Indian with a fine hooked nose and heavily painted
[302] red, who was coming from hunting; he drew near uneasily in a roundabout way, talking partly to himself and partly, parrying, to us; we called him the professor because of his incredibly dignified manner of examining every object most minutely, like a person who knows a thing thoroughly, but cannot quite understand why this or that does not fit.

/160 cont./

437 carried each piece that she captured to a secret repository lying
439 back off the road, immediately most hurriedly hastening forth
[554] for new deeds.

609 At noon Wilhelm and I went to the aldea;[1] Antonio accompanied us, but, suspicious of his fellow tribesmen, he could not make up his mind to stay with them during the night and returned to the river in the evening.

122 We set up housekeeping in the festival hut, and, alone with the charming little people, we felt indescribably content. When toward evening the mosquitoes started to annoy us, we took a
[137] walk to the roça.[2] Greedily we looked about for the "frutas de lobo," apple-round fruits which were present in numbers on gray-green shrubs, but unfortunately not ripe; the Bakaïrí boys are no different from ours. A magnificent estate; the horizon was bordered by a dark park, behind which the sun was setting in
291 reddish orange. We met Pauhaga, as our apostle of peace is
177 called, and his relatives on the plaza between the three huts, trying on clothes in great embarrassment. They urgently needed our help; not only did they put the trousers on in reverse and upside down over the legs, but they also tried to draw them up over their arms and wanted to stick their legs into a shirt. Putting on a coat alone was an impossible thing. They were unaware of the most obvious offenses against the elements of propriety. A safety pin was hugely admired, but most of all a pair of scissors with which
412 one could so conveniently cut one's nails. Their tool, the stone ax -- a ground stone is wedged into a wooden handle -- with which they fell trees and make posts, deserves our appreciation no less, from the standpoint of how much can be accomplished with the simplest means, even though in the unspoken accompanying thought that we ourselves /161/ might have to go back to this
[411] stage there is a slight admixture of horror. They have no spears,
[231] no bananas, no dogs, and tobacco is nowhere to be found. Bones,
276 teeth, shells must serve them as tools, along with the stone ax.
[237] /Illustration appears here./

[1] [i.e. village -- Analyst]
[2] [i.e. Cultivated field -- Analyst]

[Text continues on P. 40]

/172 cont./

000 the more uncertain I am in abstracting the common features. The
171 Kustenaũ has his foot and half of his lower thigh painted red, like
302 stockings; the upper thighs are covered with a sooty black, in which, however, arched stripes are left blank. On his back he has two red stripes, and in addition black arm-bands. Numerous scratches, which are made with the tooth of the peixe-cachorro
302 (dogfish). The Bakaĩrí, too, are painted more than usual with
[531] red; one has a black stripe on either side from eye to ear; another has painted himself black over the middle of his forehead, nose, lips, and chin, and bright brick-red on the sides of the forehead and the face. Among some, the hair, too, is saturated with the
301 red oil. Below the knees are bands of /Illustration appears here/ /173/ buritĩ straw; a skein of cotton, colored a dirty reddish brown, is tied around the waist. Some have strings or bands of cotton wound over the ankles or under the knees, around the legs, or around the upper arms. There is no uniformity anywhere.

302 The tonsure is shaved with a bent piece of spear grass. Its
413 diameter is seven centimeters.

●177 To our surprise we also found an iron chisel tip and on a child a little string of blue beads. We could not find out definitely how these had found their way here; I interpreted their descrip-
[721] tion and Antonio's unclear account to mean that they had been brought back from a tribe on the lower Paranatinga whom the grandfather had visited on a raiding expedition.

276 Even in Aldea II the men had become happily excited by the discovery of tobacco seed; smoking was also done here. The leaves were so dry that they could be rubbed almost to powder; they were rolled into cigarettes about two decimeters long, and the fresh green leaf of an unknown tree was split lengthwise and used as the wrapping. This wrapper burned with a pleasant, balsam odor. The smoke was inhaled.

262 The women made excellent beijũ; it tasted like fresh French rolls. We also ate a fish ragout à la coquille, of which we would have liked to have had more than they gave us.

[Text Continues on P. 57]

/73 cont./

123 Tumayaua had me plant tobacco in front of his house, a
[249] proposal that astonished me somewhat until I realized that with my assistance he anticipated an excellent harvest or quality; hence I asked only that he start it, and then I crushed the capsules and put the seed into the ground, as though I had been a tobacco planter all my life. With Kulekule I had to go to the cataract
[226] below the village and help him with the fishing rod; he must
[177] not suspect that I had not swung this implement since grammar school days, when I had trouble rescuing it from the police.

226 One forenoon we took a very pleasant fishing excursion with
123 half a dozen persons, among them a few women, to the saímo, a pond that lay in the campo about two and a half kilometers from
[301] the village. We walked a short distance through the woods, the
[412] women carrying fishing baskets and weirs, Paleko with a section of fish teeth on a string around his neck, and under his arm a stone ax that he had sharpened on a stone at the river, during which he
[271] moistened it with saliva at his mouth. Meanwhile it was amusing to see how my intended and her sister drank out of the Kulisehu: mouth in water, supported on their two little hands, one leg in the air, not unlike young monkeys. On the way we sang together our ohohó ohohú hu in restrained tones, and I disturbed the morning quiet with a few louder songs. Alakuai took the liberty of removing my hat, but he was so happy with this adornment that in the name of all the saints I exposed my head to the pitiless campo sun.

226 Far away, to the edge of the wooded shore, stretched a queimada /burned clearing/ covered with fresh grass; only a single shade-giving tree stood beside the pond. In the middle of the knee-deep swampy water were set three weirs, half of which, with their mouths, protruded out. Then, with the fishing baskets, kútu, which had the shape of a blunted cone open at the top and bottom and were put together out of thin, pointed sticks, /74/ several persons walked through the pond in a bent position and stabbed the ground quickly: the kútu were inverted over the little fish and the latter pulled out from the top with the hand and placed in a hanging basket. After they had been working in this fashion for a while, they converged from various sides toward the center, where the weirs lay,

/75 cont./

301 from the Batovy to the Kulisehu. I was confronted by one
438 woman who wore nothing but a copper button on a string on her breast, and on this button was the 8 of the eighth Cuyaban battalion, to which our soldiers had belonged at that time. "Is it tuchũ,
301 stone?" asked these living prehistorics. Of course, the beads were likewise stone, and, on account of their gay colors, they
153 preferred them to gold, which left them quite indifferent. I
179 had given them a few pins and had also showed them a needle, the only one that I had with me: they brought a pin back to me and asked me to make a hole in it, like the one in the needle.

Most peculiar was the alacrity with which they classified the things unfamiliar to them among those that were familiar to them and also immediately assigned familiar names to them directly and without any restrictive additions. They cut their
[412] hair with sharp shells or the teeth of the piranha fish, and my
[237] scissors, the object of unreserved delight, which cut hair so smoothly and evenly, were simply called "piranha tooth." The mirror was "water!" "Show the water," they cried when they wanted to see the mirror. And I made a much slighter impression with it than I had expected.

The compass was called "sun," the watch "moon." I had showed them that, no matter how I turned and twisted the case, the needle always pointed to the highest position of the sun, and the very similar watch, whose spring they said was a hair, seemed to them the natural counterpart, for the /76/ special reason that it "did not sleep at night." Often in the middle of the conversation they would demand that I take out the watch, and then they would laugh very contentedly when it was actually awake and ticking.

Nothing would be more erroneous than to think that this sincere curiosity and admiration was based on an actual thirst for knowledge or a deeper need of understanding. They never got beyond the question: "Did you make that?" No, I simply did my circus act, I displayed my tricks, and they were pleased that at any moment I could show them in all elegance and never disgraced myself. The most baffling example of superficial satisfaction

/76 cont./

153 was later given by fat Yapü when Vogel showed him his gold
177 watch and, in order to make him aware of the valuable gold, turned it over, by contrast, to the side with glass. Yapü happened to have in his hand a piece of beijú, a mandioca flat-cake, which is customarily baked well on only one side and thus had one beautiful golden yellow and one grayish white side; "Beijú," he said complacently and strode on. The appearance was familiar to him from the beijú, and there was really no point in delaying over it.

And here, too, I can recall their surprise when one of the gentlemen /Herren/ who was in a position to remove a set of false teeth put on this stunt. They marveled, but soon laughed, and a few days later when they were removing the teeth, their native "knives," from the piranha fish caught and were asked by one of the comrades /Kameraden, Ger. "comrades," the workers, the peons, on the trip, in contrast to the Herren, the "gentlemen" who were in charge of the expedition/ why they were doing this, one of them answered, not without wit: "So that we can help ourselves out, like the brother, when one day we grow old."

How would it have been possible actually to explain to them any of my apparatus or even a knife or a button? How should I have made a "machine" comprehensible to them? What they were obliged to do they did; they were very attentive and it was delightful to observe the liveliness and the air of importance with which a just demonstrated trick was described to a new arrival, an ignoramus in their eyes. Thus they quite accurately noted that my Swedish matches ignited only on the friction surface; with great enthusiasm a new arrival was instructed in Bakaïrí about "tända endast mot lådans plån." What lady among us would be able to say anything more about it? Not to mention the fact that none has any idea of what fire is. At first they were frightened, then they found the matter thrilling, then very nice and funny, and finally they reached the practical application and, when a fire was to be lighted, asked me to set fire to a thick chunk of wood with my Swedes. One woman, for whom the initial feeling probably continued to prevail, took an empty box and hung it around her baby's neck.

/76 cont./

153 Their need for probing into the nature of new things was
177 exhausted, except for the question as to whether I had made them, with the second one as to their names /77/ "Eséti?" "Eséti?" "What is that called?" cried the whole company in unison, and they all took honest pains to repeat after me the Portuguese words. One or another would often go on whispering the word to himself for a long time while the conversation went on. They were unable to pronounce two consonants in succession. But if now and then they succeeded in correctly reproducing the appropriate word, their joy was great, and I had the impression that the object itself now also seemed more familiar to them. "Papéra," from the Portuguese papel, "paper," was given as the name for my notebook, and whereas at first they could not examine and touch the incomprehensible thing enough, they could now quickly come to terms with it: it was quite simply "papéra."

522 Anywhere in the world a foreign language is encountered,
[192] one will very soon know what "a pretty girl" is. Their "pekóto iwáku" or the more endearing "pekóto iwakulukúlu" I could translate for them with the words "moça bonita," which they were well able to imitate and which they now practiced with delight. I had first taught my "moça bonita" to Eva; she laughed, blushed, and pronounced it daintily and distinctly. She continued to laugh, poked her husband Kulekule in the ribs -- just as a vigorous person who is pleased about a good idea would do among us -- the two whispered together, and I was asked to say what "a handsome man" might be. When I once imitated Tumayaua's attempts at Portuguese, which in truth were not very successful, even though he was chief, the entire chorus laughed so much that they were unable to talk for laughing; they fairly yodeled with abandon.

576 These were the gloomy and reserved Indians. If the talk became too much for them, everybody yawned openly and without holding the hand in front of the mouth. It was not to be denied that the wholesome reflex was catching here, too. Then one after another would stand up and I remained alone with my guard.

/93 cont./

126 stored, dark yellow reed diadems, such as Luchu is wearing on
534 Plate 6,[1] others with radiating tips, large Panpipes, an oar deco-
283 rated with drawings, spinning whorls of the simplest type, that
[301] is, disks made of potsherds, and a quantity of remarkable
[239] cylinder-shaped sticks, which are covered with ornamentation
177 and worn on the back at festivals. But in the equipment of these
third Bakaïrí it was clearly shown that we were with the section
of the tribe living next to the rest of the Kulisehu Indians; all
kinds of imported goods were present and were designated as such
439 here. The Bakaïrí do not make any pots themselves and do not
[323] themselves have a place where they might fetch stones for stone
axes, but here we were immediately told that the pots came
from the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ and the stone axes from the
Trumaí. Among the pots one in the shape of a turtle represented
an absolute masterpiece of primitive plastic art, on which the head,
tail, and feet, as well as the shell drawing, were magnificently
worked out. From the Auetó we found a half-broken clay doll;
also originating from the Mehinakú, balls of finely spun cotton;
from the Trumaí and Suyá, dainty feather caps. From our own
possessions of 1884 we discovered two iron chisels, parts of a
ramrod, which had been sharpened to a point on stones.

648 We met a Nahuquá in person; unfortunately, the man was
732 obviously an idiot and had little to offer for my purposes. It is
strange that this is not an isolated phenomenon: the Kustenaú
of 1884 had a simple-minded Bakaïrí among them, the Yuruna
likewise an Arara Indian definitely feeble-minded, and it seems
to me I often noticed similar instances. Do the people become
stupid in the new environment or are only the stupid specimens
entrusted to neighbors for their use?

126 In the flute-house anthropological measurements and photo-
graphs were taken in exchange for beads. In this village there
was a pronounced Sémitic type, of which Plate 13[1] represents a
classic example. The people submitted to everything and called
the caliper compass núna, "moon." Only one man was indignant
when, after Ehrenreich had measured him from head to foot in
all directions, I handed him the fee of three beautiful, large
[153] beads. He wanted to have as many beads as there were measurements

[1] [See p. 138 -- Analyst]

/93 cont./

126 taken on him. With lively gesticulations and a /94/ memory
153 worthy of appreciation, he repeated the entire procedure: the head from front to back, from side to side, the nose from top to bottom, the space between the eyes, the length of the extremities and their parts, the height of the navel above the ground, etc., etc., and after each pantomime he stretched out his hand toward the katakuá, the beads. There was nothing for it, the man's claim must be admitted, but I was obliged to compensate him with small embroidery beads; for when I started to pay him, he faithfully went over the number of measurements again after each pair of beads, first pointing to the latter, then to the corresponding part of the body, and he did not rest until the long list was quite carefully brought to an end. If these instances pile up, I said to myself, and if the Bakaïrí produce many such critical natures, their art of counting will make rapid progress. Here, indeed, was a tangible example of how trade fructifies and develops arithmetical gifts!

126 The women offered some resistance. It was quite impossible
345 to take the readings on them in the flute-house. They were not
562 permitted to enter it, although the noble building was already half in ruins. Hence they were measured and photographed on the plaza.

123 We carefully packed up our bartered treasures and asked Porisa to keep them for us in his house until our return. We did not dare overload our canoes and had to provide room for the collection among the tribes living downstream. Porisa, before our eyes, shoved the bundles onto a high cross-beam between the center posts and promised that no one would touch them.

At 4:30 we then set out, very satisfied, for the harbor once
226 more. Antonio with eight Indians had gone out in front of the
[177] inlet where fishing was more rewarding and there demonstrated the use of the hook and line. His companions were able to set out homeward toward the village with a heavy load of piranhas, a
122 bagadú, and a pintado. We traded one of our small canoes for a better, larger one.

/130 cont./

her arm, who also needed company. A colleague with a very professional look on his face sat beside her and occasionally had a therapeutic seizure, during which, moaning pitiably, he blew clouds of tobacco smoke over the sick woman or, turned toward the wall, groaned dreadfully. The "cab driver," who, with Tumayaua, had accompanied us as far as the Auetö and who was a great witch-doctor, took leave of us here. He by all means had to take part in the treatment and was not to be persuaded to leave the case solely to his colleague, who was, after all, blowing extremely efficiently. As a reward for this civilized behavior, we provided him with a /131/ civilized exterior in the form of a shirt and head covering, which, along with a big knife, was the goal of his ambition. We solemnly dressed him up, along with Tumayaua, who had been parading about for a long time in a black and white checked shirt and white linen trousers underneath, and we photographed the two, as is shown in Figure 8 /see p. 125/. Wilhelm had been saving up a few prizes for the deserving travel companions, a magnificent Düsseldorf carnival-cap, worn by him himself as Prince Carnival on a high triumphal chariot, green, yellow, white, and red, with sparkling bells, likewise the medal of His Foolish Majesty, set with brilliants and worn around the neck -- these two pieces went to Tumayaua -- and a genuine carnival cap of the still gayer sister city on the Rhine, which we put over the tonsure of the cab-driver colleague, for want of a doctoral hood. /Figure 8 appears here./ In addition, Tumayaua was given a black frock-coat purchased by Wilhelm in Rio de Janeiro, an import from Paris et le dernier mot de la perfection /and the last word in perfection/. The illustration gives us a faint idea of how ghastly the two fools, puffed up with pride, appeared in their clothing, both certainly not the most handsome types, but now they suddenly looked positively ugly, bent and crooked, and the reason for this, more than the shabbiness of the costume, was that all the contour lines were obliterated and had lost their character. Tumayaua in shirt and trousers was as clumsy as on the first day; he would tear them in the forest, but then again

/131 cont./

would take exaggerated care of them by removing them on occasions when even for children it would not be necessary.

In the first Bakaïrí village the population had increased by one young soul. Pauhaga had become a father and was observing the lying-in period along with his wife. I shall come back to the scene, which seemed comical to us, in discussing the couvade. The maize was a succulent green; we were offered excellent, somewhat dry maize beijús. My tobacco planting on village plaza had shot up tremendously and was fenced in all around by a palisade.

But what did our astonished eyes catch sight of behind Paleko's house? A new construction, already far advanced, of a strange kind. Or rather, one of very familiar appearance. The Bakaïrí had taken our rancho at Independencia as a model and, instead of their beehive, had started a house with a triangular gable /132/ and a two-sided roof. We had believed we were seeing something genuine in a remote corner, and already it was disappearing. "The first glimpse of light," says Bastian, "will also be the last."

Fig. 8.
Indians disguised as Europeans.

Tumayaua, who was going along to Independencia, nevertheless carried out the official farewell in Maigéri. He handed me two large gourd bowls. A little while after that he came to fetch me, seized me vehemently by the arm, and, shouting loudly all around, led me from the hut to the beam in the middle of the plaza and, with a sort of enthusiasm, pushed me down on to the seat. Soon four Karaiben were sitting there in a row, side by side.

/210 cont./

114 276 [177] Antilles found it. On the other hand, I share the opinion of v. Ihering, which I often expressed in lectures before I read his article, that the pipe in Brazil is of modern origin. Like the fishhook.

*171 276 757 773 It plays an important part in medical treatment and is regarded as a very ancient acquisition of the culture heroes, who, as legend indicates, received it from the north. The drinking bowls and calabashes, especially the Cucurbita lagenaria, represented a major product for the

*171 249 [248] [302] Nahuquá, a somewhat lesser one for the Bakaïrí. The Mehinakú and the Bakaïrí had the best cotton. The orlean bush was valued above all by the Bakaïrí, the Mehinakú neglected it completely because watering it made too much work; the surprising circumstance upon my arrival in the village, namely, that no red-painted, but many black-painted figures were walking about, finds a very natural explanation.

*171 241 Maize, represented among the Suyá by a species characterized by smallness of ears and a golden color of the kernels, and mandioca were found everywhere, but the latter was planted in decidedly greater amounts among the Mehinakú. They were the richest farmers of the upper Schingú; their word for mandioca was also adopted by the Trumaí. Of tuber plants, besides mandioca, we saw yams of two kinds and batatas, which we first found in quantities among the Mehinakú. Our men designated beans as "feijaõ de vara," pole beans, or as "feijão de roça," plantation beans. Of edible gourds, abóbora /Abobra/, we saw only the seeds which the Suya brought us in 1884 for eating, so we understood. The mandubi peanut occurred in a small species. There were definitely no guavas or bananas on the Schingú.

*171 174 241 In my report about the first journey I pointed out the absence of bananas and especially stressed that for the question as to whether or not the banana was introduced in America only after the arrival of the Europeans this must be all the more decisive since the different Schingú tribes are of different origin and yet not a single one brought along the banana from the previous

[i.e., The Tobacco --Analyst]

/215 cont./

*171 462 satisfied with scant remains and would suffer hunger if they did not provide for themselves in time and stealthily set aside part of the contents of the cooking pots still during the cooking or eat already during their work." This among the modern Karaiben Makuschi [113] /Macusi/ in Guiana. Appun, Unter den Tropen /Below the Tropics/, II, p. 399, Jena, 1871, and among many other tribes.

was therefore dependent on the booty of plant foods that she herself could obtain. On the Schingú the men plaited the roast-[252] ing rack, roasted fish and meat, the women baked the beijús, boiled the beverages, the fruits, and grilled palm nuts -- what other meaning could this division into animal cookery by the men and vegetable cookery by the women have than that each of the two sexes had remained in its ancient sphere?

[252] The men did the roasting, but never the boiling. Starting *171 323 from this fact, we come by way of the same line of thought to a similar conclusion corroborated by quite analogous observations. Scarcely anything else on the Schingú seemed stranger to me at first than the fact that the art of making pots was limited [439] to the Nu-Aruak tribes. The Bakaïrí did not own a single pot that did not come from the Kustenaú or Mehinakú. The docile Bakaïrí [177] expressly told me that they had learned pottery from the Paressí, their Nu-Aruak neighbors. Thus old Caetano, in other words, the man, contrary to all original custom, made pots on the modern Paranatinga. The Nahuquá had pots from the Mehinakú and also made some themselves, as was demonstrated before our eyes by a woman kneading the moist clay; but this woman wore the tattooing of the Mehinakú women and had married into the Nahuquá; the art actually came from the Mehinakú. The Tupí tribes, too, had pots from the Nu-Aruak, especially from the Waurá. Thus, the one tribal group ** was the sole bearer of

** According to Im Thurn, the Karaiben at

/235 cont./

*171 226 on the fishing of the Bakaírí with catch-baskets in the shallow campo lagoon. The natives like to fish between the stones on dark nights by torchlight. We did not see any poisoning of fish.

*171 229 [177] It is a fact of great significance that the fishhook was unknown to all these tribes of such diverse origins, tribes of such avid fishermen. It argues persuasively for the frequent claim that the hook was introduced only by Europeans in the north and south of Amazonas. If this is not the case, the only way out is that our tribes left their original homes before the hook was known there. For, anyone who saw, as I did, with what interest the natives became acquainted with our fishhook will smile here, if anywhere, at the thought that the degenerate Indians have forgotten an invention well known to them formerly -- when they were still close to the point of departure of the Karaiben /Carib/ or the Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ or the Tupí or the Gẽs. It is understandable that Indians under peaceful circumstances no longer make any clubs, it would be understandable that one or another of our tribes had migrated here from Amazonas and gave up the wooden canoe because they got along excellently on the upper course with the easily constructed bark canoes, but that fishermen who had formerly fished with a hook and line gave it up in a region where they might continue practicing the skill to great advantage and that their descendants are obliged to let themselves be taught anew by us, let anyone believe that who can. In Guaraní and Tupí /236/ hook, and especially fishhook, is called pinda, and from this word, in both dialects, Xylopia frutescens, which furnishes the fishing rod, is called pinda-iba = hook-rod. For the Kamayurá, who certainly leave nothing to be desired in Tupí purity and to whom we seemed to be tribal brothers with the comparison of the words that we had in common, the correspondence failed for this particular plant: they did not know pindaiba and called it ivíra or ivít, the ymbira of the Tupí or hybir of the Guaraní (= "skin-tree"), according to Martius "name of various Bombaceae and Xylopia." The decadent company had also forgotten the plant name "hook rod," although it was so easy for them to remember.

/297 cont./

B 527 535 773 *[191] According to everything that the natives told us about the festivals, they primarily amounted to what they thought were riotous feasting and drinking bouts. Bakaïrí legend describes the origin to us in the same way. Kame, the tribal ancestor of the Arinos tribes, built the first flute house, carved the first flute, invited his friends to the dance, and served them starch-paste. Keri, the tribal ancestor of the Bakaïrí, who most eagerly competed with Kame in invention, for his part invited Kami to the dance; the legend tells us in what manner the festival took place and speaks of the makanari and the imeo, the straw costumes without face-masks, but with characterizing and partly disguising headdresses, as Keri's invention.

B 527 535 539 "Keri, too, called his people together. Toward evening they went dancing on the village plaza. Then from the house Keri fetched pogu to be drunk. Immediately thereafter they plaited makanari. Keri called Kame. Many people came and Keri was master of the dance. They danced all day. Toward evening they rested. After dark they danced all through the night. Early in the morning they went to the river to bathe. After the bath they came to the flute house. They began with the imeo and danced the whole day. They likewise danced all night. -- Then the festival was at an end."

B T 527 535 628 648 B *[191] A noteworthy feature of the legend is the circumstance that the different tribes united for the dance festival. It is a universal custom that the villages invite one another to the big festivals. Friendly neighboring tribes also send numerous participants. In 1884, when we met the Trumaí and Kamayurá /Camayura/ together (see p. 105), the two tribes had just celebrated a joint festival.

B *191 ●177 535 For one thing it is understandable under these circumstances that an exchange and leveling out between the customs and dance gear of the tribes takes place. /298/ Each tribe knew the songs of the neighboring tribes, without understanding their content precisely, as we learned in numerous cases; one tribe would also become acquainted with new types of masks from another, and finally the mereschu design, to which I shall come back after describing the masks, gained its general distribution.

2: Steinen--344E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888)1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/299 cont./

*171 535 5. Oval frames on which are stretched netting, cotton plaiting, and cotton weaving. Facial parts of wax pasted on, eyes of cotton flocks, beans, mother-of-pearl. Painted. Bakaïrí, Auetó, Kamayurá, Trumaí.

*171 532 635 6. Wooden masks. Square wooden plates with mighty bulging forehead and nose of human form. Painted on: natural markings of the animal, outline of the animal, body parts of the animal (wings, fins), stylized animal designs. Eyes of mussel shell, mouth with fish teeth pasted on with wax; the latter, like the former, again of human shape. Bakaïrí, Nahuquá, Auetó, Kamayurá, and, in the largest development, Mehinakú /Mehinacu/. The Mehinakú had only wooden masks. A transitional form between 5 and 6, without the forehead bulge and oval, among the Auetó.

Fig. 90. Imeo dancer. Bakaïrí.

*171 527 535 [177] In the masked festivals borrowings from foreign tribes, which are suggested through visits, and local cultivation of special variations are undoubtedly mixed.

Cologne, Düsseldorf, Mainz, and Trier also have, in their carnival societies, different caps, different insignia, different customs /300/ in the meetings, different songs, different slogans, and different motifs for the vehicles of the procession. Here, too, special "ladies' meetings" are announced for the participation of the female sex, and the women rigorously guard

/345 cont./

#171 755 774 man takes the strong poisons, "he dies." He lies "dead" in the hammock until his shadow returns. For the time being I should like to ignore what the result of this conception of loss of consciousness is for the conception of death. During his narcosis the witch doctor is able to transform himself into any animal form and immediately reach any place desired. The transformation occurs in such a way that he "enters" into the animal. Even today the best doctors are those who drink poison and transform themselves in the intoxicated state. "These piajes who drink âgokuriôku and go to heaven," said Antonio literally, "are very good, they cure everything, and the others who do not take poison, who merely blow with tobacco, they cure also, but they do not cure severe /346/ illness." The origin and the meaning of magic cannot be expressed more clearly; one puts himself into a state of excitement in order to make himself capable of what would otherwise be impossible, he works miracles, in which everyone believes, by stimulating his power of imagination; the ultimate basis of all sorcery is the conviction of the reality of what is dreamed or imagined.

Antonio's statements, in the literal wording, about the visit of a narcotized piaje in heaven will explain the situation better than my interpretation. The docile Bakaïrí have, I can only say, [177] snapped up a few Christian ideas and have made them their own in the most curious distortion; for me, at any rate, it was extremely difficult to remain serious when before my astonished eyes Christ, Mary, and the angels suddenly appeared in Schingú dress amidst beijûs and surrounded by gourds filled with starch-paste and yellow pikí juice. At the same time we were assured that the [775] [773] non-Christian ancestors, the "antigos" of the narrative piaje, visited heaven and, drinking poison, changed themselves into all kinds of wild animals. I was given the story when I tried to learn their ideas of heaven.

/364 cont./

754 imagines the sorcerer as being in an animal approximately like the
756 Indian in an animal mask, who now is a dove, for example, and
812 behaves like a dove in voice and movement, but remains fellow tribesman X and is therefore able to fetch a gourd bowl full of pogu from the women, although he is a bird.

713 [712] Keri and Kame and the ancestor legend. The general basis of the world view of the Bakaïrí is his relationship to animal life. It assumes, however, one might say, that his science and poetry are of heavenly origin. The oldest Bakaïrí lived in heaven; this is proved to us by all that we know about the sun and moon, and everything that we see up there, the figures of the Milky Way, the starless areas, and the shining Magellanic Clouds. Strangely enough, there was nothing to be discovered in the way of ideas about thunderstorms, windstorms, clouds, rain, which are productive in a similar sense among other peoples. One had the impression that meteorology was still quite unexplored. There always remained the astronomical heavenly animals, to which were added the personages of the ancestor legend. The second main source of legend material flows in the memories of the tribe, but the two streams are so tightly intermingled that it is scarcely possible to distinguish what was originally supplied by the one and what by the other. The jaguar, behind which is concealed a cannibalistic neighboring tribe of ancient times, has become one with the jaguar of the Milky Way and to top it all, the zoological varieties of the jaguar family are available as a number of brothers.

[771] The names Keri and Kame show that foreign, and, to be sure, Aruak influence has played a significant role. These are the names for moon and sun of the Nu-Aruak tribes; they are not Karaiben /365/ words at all.* A coincidence is completely

*Cf. Bakaïrí-Grammatik /Bakaïrí Grammar/, p. 57. The Island Karaiben have a benign "deity," ischeiri, which can scarcely be connected with keri phonetically; if there is a connection and ischeiri is ancient

2: Steinen--466E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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195 "Padre" Lopes reached as far as the region of the Paranatinga
197 and converted the West Bakaïrí to Christianity. Lopes was an adventurous gold-seeker, about whom the painter of the Langsdorff Expedition* of 1828 remarks that, accompanied by

[113] * Hercules Florence; cf. Revista Trimensal, Vol. 38, II, p. 280.

Apiaká /Apiaca/ Indians, he had gone up the Rio dos Peixes, a tributary of the Arinos, and "fought with many savages." At any rate, since his visit, which cost the lives of Reginaldo's grandfather and others, the West Bakaïrí have been regarded as
195 Christians. How superfluous the brutalities of the noble Lopes were comes out best from the following words of the geographer
[113] Ayras de Cazal in his Corographia Brasilica /Chorography of Brazil/ of the year 1817, therefore before Lopes: "The Baccahirys who inhabit the regions adjacent to the Rio das Mortes carry on ceaseless warfare against all types of quadrupeds and birds. To this day these people have not engaged in any hostilities against the Christians. It is said that they are white and friendly: one reason why they are regarded as a horde of the Paricys."

[101] The real reason why the Bakaïrí could have been regarded as a horde of the Paressí, as happened in the case of Martius, is simply that there was no accurate information about either one
[199] of the neighboring tribes. If the natives occasionally came to Cuyabá in small numbers in order to beg for a few gifts of ironware, shirts, trousers, or blankets from the government, they were felt to be annoying guests whom one tried to get rid of as quickly as possible, and about whose language or peculiarities no official needed to bother. They did not live, say, near an avenue of communication connecting two important towns, but rather, on the contrary, sat behind the very last little colonists, who themselves received very little attention, there where there were no avenues at all; they did not do these neighbors any harm and were therefore of no interest whatever to the government.
197 The good Chief Felipe in the Paranatinga village racked his brains

/388 cont./

177 in vain as to why /389/ it happened that the Bororó, who inflicted fire and pillage upon the land, received lavish gifts as soon as a few individuals were seized, whereas he himself, with his fellow tribesmen, who for generations had devoted themselves to the finest peaceableness, was obliged to return empty-handed even on his last visit to the great captain.

127 [113] Almost everything that we can learn about the West Bakaïrí from Brazilian sources is summed up in a report of the Directoria dos Indios from the year 1848; cf. the excerpt in the appendix.*

* In Petermann's Mittheilungen for the year 1862, p. 437, there is a review of an article which Dr. Amédée Moure published in the Nouvelles Annales des Voyages about 33 tribes of the province of Mato Grosso on the basis of his own experiences and adventures. The reviewer gave a comprehensive summary of Dr. Moure's data in a table arranged according to tribe, number of persons, and places of residence. Under the tribes we find some listed with 20,000, 30,000, even 50,000 persons. If one adds the minima and maxima of the estimates, one obtains the result that the number of Indians of the Mato Grosso comes to 241,800 to 282,000. If today we estimate the total number of the Matò Grosso population of all colors, all the docile and savage inhabitants on every level of culture, at about 70,000, it will undoubtedly come much closer to the truth. The original article [113] by Dr. Moure (Nouvelles Annales des Voyages de la géographie, de l'histoire et de l'archéologie, Vol. II, 1862, pp. 5-19, 323-341, III, pp. 77-100, Paris) also contains small factual atrocities such as, for example, that the Cambixis, who live in the Campos dos Parecis and have a pure Nu-Aruak dialect, speak the Peruvian Kechua

/389 cont./

127 from March 13, 1872, is classic. It had become necessary to take into account the tremendous and widely known changes which the Paraguay war had brought about in the southern part of the province. Of the tribes listed as Nos. 3-15 in 1848, three were crossed out, the total figure was reduced from 13,020 to 8670; on the other hand, for tribes 1, 2, 16-33 the old report was again copied verbatim, so that no human being seems to have been born or died here in the 24 years.

175 The Bakaïrí of the Paranatinga and Rio Novo maintained them-
[177] selves in their two poor villages; they were occasionally visited
[164] by gold-seeker expeditions who would then arrange a small mass-baptism and introduce syphilis and measles. Many perished from
[757] measles; the disease, relatively harmless for us, is not only /390/ often fatal to the Indians, but they also have the bad habit of plunging into the river in the middle of the highest fever and not drying themselves after they leave the cool bath.

173 I made an effort to learn more details about the history of
[115] the tribe from the aged Caetano, retired chief, and his successor, Felipe, on the Paranatinga, as well as from Antonio. A history of more recent times can clearly be separated out, during which a shift to the southwest took place. Whereas the forefathers on the
173 salto of the Paranatinga lived several days' journey below the
131 present village and somewhat above the emptying of the Rio Verde
167 coming from the left, the West Bakaïrí, at least since the middle
361 of the previous century, have occupied the border area between the source rivers of the Arinos, Cuyabá, and Paranatinga, where the village on the Rio Novo is still to be found. On the Ribeirão Caixão there were more than six villages; there was a large village on the Ribeirão da Pedra. The first baptism of the Bakaïrí took place in Diamantino. Caetano, born in the previous century according to all calculations, first saw the light of the world where
[177] the Rio Beijaflor empties into the Paranatinga. The Paranatinga village now located above this is a creation of modern times,

/390 cont./

131 brought about by the gold-seeker Correa. The expeditions in
173 search of the fabulous gold mines of the Martyrios were able to
177 cross the Paranatinga most conveniently here and wanted to use
167 the canoes of the Bakaïrí as well as to obtain food supplies from
361 them. Antonio was born toward the end of the fifties, at the earliest, in Limoeiro, a small settlement.

131 The ancestors of Antonio offer a chronological handle. His
173 father, Seseriari, also had a Portuguese name; his grandfather,
601 like an Indian in the first Batovy village, was called Karawako, his great-grandfather Yakauka, his great-great-grandfather Kupare, and the last one whose name Antonio still knew was his great-great-great-grandfather, Mariukara. The latter lived near the salto of the Paranatinga. If we estimate 30 years per generation, the succession might go back to before the middle of the eighteenth century. Caetano, probably born around 1790, was still supposed to be able to call by name six or seven ancestors, which I unfortunately could no longer confirm, so that his genealogy would reach back to the middle of the seventeenth century. Caetano's father was born on the Paranatinga, above the salto, it was his grandfather who was born on the salto itself. In any case, the statements of the Bakaïrí agree perfectly with the report of Antonio Pires that the Bakaïrí were in contact with the tribes on the upper course of the Cuyabá at the beginning of the previous century.

131 It is not unimportant to determine as much of the tradition
173 as possible, insofar as it does not yet appear as legend and fairy
[101] tale, because it is very desirable to know whether the present-day West Bakaïrí, the inhabitants of the Tapajoz source-region, or the East Bakaïrí in the source region of the Schingú /Xingu/ occupy the older habitations.

/391/ The West Bakaïrí definitely put the original home of the entire tribe at the salto of the Paranatinga, so that our Karaiben /Carib/ tribe would originally have belonged to the Tapajoz. But the western source-rivers of the Schingú and the eastern ones of the Paranatinga lie so close together that it is a matter of pure chance where the tribes moving downstream arrive. "One of the grandfathers" of Caetano was slain in the forest by

173 /391 cont./ "one of the grandfathers" of Caetano was slain in the forest by
131 another Bakaïrí; at that time there were serious conflicts within
[167] the tribe, and the result was -- according to the report of the Paranatinga people -- that one part of the Bakaïrí moved from the salto to the Kulisehu.

[361] Between the Paranatinga and the Ronuro, too, there is a "tapeira," a ruined settlement of bygone days, known to the West Bakaïrí. At one time a route led from the salto as far as the
[487] Auetö on the Kulisehu, which therefore must have led across the Ronuro or its source streams and the Batovy. The Bakaïrí are
[167] said to have fled along this route and to have settled in part on the Batovy, in part on the Kulisehu. They were said to have ob-
[177] tained mandioca twigs, batatas, and cará /Dioscorea/ fruits from the Nahuquá for planting.

These are, therefore, very definite statements. It is difficult to say, however, when the separation between West and East Bakaïrí took place and whether it occurred in several thrusts.
[101] Just as the tribe of the Auetö and of the Nahuquá appears in the tradition of the Paranatinga village, so have the names of the rest of the Kulisehu tribes, the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, Yaulapiti, Kustenaú /Custenau/, Waurá, Kamayurá /Camayura/, and Trumaí, been known there from the times of Caetano's grandfathers. In the third Bakaïrí village on the Batovy we found a small piece of iron that was said to have been brought in former times from the Pakuneru, the Paranatinga; thus occasional visits back and forth may have occurred, or at least Parantinga-Bakaïrí may now and then have reached the Schingú.

[167] In general, however, I gained the impression that the actual separation of the two Bakaïrí groups took place around the middle or the beginning of the previous century at the latest, when the Brazilians settled in the Mato Grosso and caused major shifts of the tribes. Probably it was not merely a matter of individual internal feuds among the people at the salto, but also of malevolent neighbors who oppressed and occasionally drove away the peaceable Bakaïrí.

175 In the Brazilian sources the Nambiquara /Nambicuara/,
648 Tapanhuna /Tapanyuna/, and Kayabí /Cayabi/ are given as

/394 cont./

173 source region of the Tapajoz, and from there some of them emi-
167 grated to the Batovy and Kulisehu in the source region of the Schingú. According to the legend, they reached the salto from the source region of the Paranatinga and Ronuro.

The separation of the West Bakaïrí and East Bakaïrí would under all circumstances have to be dated back to at least the previous century and before the time when the Bakaïrí spread to the southwest into the source region of the Cuyabá. The
174 linguistic comparison agrees well with these conclusions; the
197 two groups of Bakaïrí speak a language that is identical in form and content, with slight dialectal differences. A few fish and trees are designated differently; the name of the akurí palm of the Kulisehu is that of the oaussú palm of the Paranatinga, and vice versa. As far as the Schingú Bakaïrí are concerned, it is [177] absolutely certain that they have never had any contact with the white man.

619 As a result of our expedition of 1884, West Bakaïrí and East
[123] Bakaïrí came together again. Antonio, after his return home
[166] to the Paranatinga, told of the fellow tribesmen on the Batovy, and the practical Chief Felipe had the idea that he must try to
[484] persuade them to settle on the Paranatinga. In September of 1886 he set out with Antonio and another man; they reached the Batovy in three days and required another three days along the river until they reached the first village.

/395/ Chief Luku was kurápa and did not entertain them as splendidly as they had expected, but several East Bakaïrí, our "professor" of 1884 in the lead, accompanied them to the
619 Paranatinga. The visitors had great fear of the cattle, but great
431 joy over the visitors-gifts, with which Felipe did not stint. I inquired specifically what they had been given to take along. "We gave them all the iron we had, chickens (this, however, was later denied), small banana plants, mandioca twigs, maize, and rice." Thus one sees how the first opportunity is immediately used to transplant the cultivated produce! If the experiment succeeded, our successors on the Schingú will be able to eat bananas!

B /395 cont./
619
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In January of 1887 Felipe gaily set out for Cuyabá to let himself be presented with more iron goods, but his hopes were not appreciated there, and he was sent home empty-handed. Tumayaua told us in 1887 that the Bakaïri of the first Batovy village had again gone to the Paranatinga; they must have arrived there shortly after our departure. I had no further opportunity to hear more details about this later.

II. Shift of the Karaiben to the North.

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Chiefly relying on linguistic evidence, I attempted, on the basis of the results of the first Schingú /Xingu/ expedition, to defend the hypothesis that the newly discovered Karaiben /Carib/ in the source region of the Tapajoz /Tapajós/ and Schingú lived closer to the original seats of the tribe than did the Karaiben north of the Amazonas, that the latter immigrated from the south into the Guianas and from there crossed over to the Lesser Antilles.

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I advanced a movement in the same direction only for the Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ always appearing next to the Karaiben, although I was well aware that there was far greater uncertainty here than in the case of the Karaiben. Cf. Durch Centralbrasilien, page 297 /omitted in 1:Steinen of this file, a translation of the work cited/. "Whether the common ancestors lived in the northern or southern part of the stretch of country over which we find the grandchildren distributed is rather unimportant considering the present state of our knowledge. My feeling -- that is all -- is more inclined to assume that the movement started from the plateau." My feeling, however, deceived me for an important part of the Nu-Aruak group, the Paressí, of whom I had erroneous ideas based on reports of Cuyabans; for, at least according to the statements that I obtained from them directly in 1888, they definitely advanced from north to south, even though the boundary may be uncertain with regard to how far north their homeland is to be shifted. At the present time the problem concerning the Nu-Aruak is not yet to be taken in at a glance: we know too little about the Moxos /Mojo/ and

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776 Is Nakoeri really an adumbration of Christ, a vestige of
174 Catholic catechesis? We are reluctant to believe it, because
177 the animals that Nakoeri creates, the role that he fulfills in relation to the admission of shadows into his realm, his investiture of the curers, the division of the various dominions in the sky, the novel means by which one journeys there, all point to a structure in harmony with the idea of the world prevalent among the Bacaeris. Either the Christian idea is totally unrelated to the Bacaeri conception, or it was completely smothered by the native chick-peas in which it was sown.

776 Granting that Nakoeri is a spontaneous and not a foreign concept, it is fitting to inquire as to whether he is indeed a luminous deity, as was stated above.

The darkness of the sky would incline one to place him preferably among the dark powers; but his clear differentiation from the yamüras--which are, indeed, dark forces, as the name itself indicates--checks this first impulse. Further arguments are provided by the white benches on which the candidate must sit if he wants to rise to piahi; the use of cotton, a material so unpleasant to the yamüra that its burned seed drives them far from the houses that they haunt; and finally, the arara tail which he ties to the maracá. Actually in Bacaeri, kxavida tapabile ixu torokxo means two quite different things: the tail of the beautiful psittacine with which we are familiar, and the hour /267/ that immediately precedes the rising of the sun. "First appears maekudani (probably 'anta deceiver' because the animal wakes up, thinking that day is near); then the yellow tail of the kxalokua arara; then arises the tail of the red arara; the tail of the red arara is not yet finished and the sun has already risen (kxavida tapabile ixutaroxo nadãepala xixi eaceli)," reads a text which we have before our eyes. Thus, both as a zoological object and as an astronomical moment, the tail of the arara proves that Nakoeri represents a luminous power.

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114 respect to this piece of information we must keep in mind the
101 fact that in those times the Rio Paranatinga was regarded as a
133 tributary of the Xingu River.

From an objective standpoint I have nothing to add to
[121] Karl von den Steinen's full account. I merely propose to complement it in time and to add what we know of the more recent history of the Bakairí since that period when Karl von den Steinen wrote his history of the Bakairí. I feel impelled to carry out this mission, especially in view of the fact that of my two expeditions, in which I had the most extensive contact with the Bakairí, the first took place 26 years before the second, so that I had a good opportunity to observe personally a great part of the change in the living conditions of the Bakairí in the times after Karl von den Steinen's publication. The Bakairí
[115] Andrés, who was my faithful companion /12/ on the trip from the Simões Lopes Post to the Pedro Dantas Post, established to civilize the Kayabí /Cayabi/, and on the return to Cuiabá, was the son of a Bakairí, born on the Rio Kulisehu and called Chico, who had been one of my traveling companions to the Rio Kulisehu in the year 1901. I also encountered in the year 1927 many old acquaintances among whom I had lived 26 years before in their village, Maimaieti, on the Rio Kulisehu. They all still remembered well the time we had spent together in the past. During my later stay in Cuiabá, up to the year 1931, the Bakairí boys who went to school in Cuiabá visited my house often, so that it enabled me to keep informed up to that date about all that went on among the Bakairí.

114 Karl von den Steinen's two expeditions to the region of the
648 headwaters of the Xingu River should be noted as an important
175 event not only in the general history of discoveries but also, especially, in the history of the Bakairí. Through them was re-established the long broken connection between the Bakairí living on the Rio Paranatinga and their fellow countrymen on
[177] the Batovy and Kulisehu rivers. This fact had such an incisive

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114 influence on the later development of these Indians, with their
648 very marked feeling of nationality, that they changed their
175 primordial customs completely during the 50 years following
[177] Karl von den Steinen's second expedition carried out in the
114 region of the headwaters of the Xingu River. Thanks to a series
121 of data on events among the Bakairí in this interval, we find ourselves in the fortunate position of being able to investigate that transformation. We are oriented in detail on the personality and life history of several Bakairí who have influenced in a special way the later development of their tribe, like Cacique Reginaldo and, especially, Cacique Antonio and his stepson José Coroado, so that we can give our historical report on the Bakairí a more personal character than would be possible with respect to other Indian tribes.

114 If we differentiate, according to Karl von den Steinen, the
101 Bakairí who live west of the Rio Paranatinga (in later times officially Rio Telles Pires) as western Bakairí and the eastern Bakairí, who have their homes in the regions east of this river, on the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, it can be said that in the period of Karl von den Steinen's first expedition to the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River, no contacts took place between these two Bakairí groups, and certainly none had
[115] taken place for a long time. Old Cacique Reginaldo told Karl von den Steinen that he still remembered, from the days of his youth, that traveling from the Rio Paranatinga eastward, one would reach a big river on which it was said that Bakairí also lived, but that at the present date they did not know any-
174 thing about this region. (4) Certainly no contacts had taken
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4. Karl v.d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien /Through Central Brazil/. Leipzig, 1886. p. 182.

place between the western Bakairí and those of the east from the time when the former established closer contact with the

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174 Brazilians, for otherwise the Bakairí of the Batovy and Kulisehu
177 rivers could not have remained so totally free of /13/ any Euro-
619 pean influence. In my book, Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien
114 (5), I discussed at length the causes of this long isolation of the
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5. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien. Erlebnisse und Ethnologische. Ergebnisse einer Reise in den Jahren 1900-1901 /Indian Studies in Central Brazil. Adventure and Ethnology. Results of a Journey in the Years 1900-1901/. Berlin, 1905, p. 320.

eastern Bakairí, and among these causes I especially emphasized the hostility which existed between the Bakairí and their neighbors the Kayabí /Cayabi/, who long made unsafe the region located between the settlements of the western and eastern Bakairí. Contact between these two Bakairí groups was re-established when Karl von den Steinen took along with him on his first expedition to the Xingu River, the Bakairí, Antonio, who later became cacique of the Bakairí, so that he had the opportunity to become acquainted with his fellow countrymen who lived on the Rio Batovy. Already in the year 1886, that is, before Karl von den Steinen's second expedition, the Bakairí, Felipe, who was then cacique of the Paranatinga Bakairí, had on his part visited, along with the above-mentioned Antonio and another Bakairí, his fellow countrymen on the Rio Batovy and had succeeded in getting some of them to make, in turn, a visit to the Rio Paranatinga.

128 In order to make a connection with Karl von den Steinen's
101 historical report, I shall first refer in a few words to the conditions in which this author found the Bakairí at the time of his second expedition in the year 1887. I shall first deal with the

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175 Reginaldo, who ruled the two Bakairí villages on the Rio Novo,
622 held the grade of "captain" and his intended successor, Joaquim,
648 was a "lieutenant." In the village on the Rio Paranatinga the administration had deprived old chief Caetano, whose age was calculated at 80 years, of the chiefship and had entrusted it to a younger man called Felipe who had the rank of "captain," in the year 1882.

105 The way of life of the western Bakairí, at the time of Karl
[177] von den Steinen's expeditions differed little from that of the Brazilian campesinos. Already from the year 1820 they had all been baptized. Men's and women's dress was similar in general to that of the campesinos as the style of their rectangular houses was similar to the Brazilian rancho. Besides some dogs many pigs and chickens were raised. Cattle was also raised, and they had some milch cows and a herd of oxen. They planted manioc, maize, porotos /var. of French bean, from Quechua purutu/, rice, sweet potatoes, bananas, sugar cane, and a little tobacco. This agriculture was carried out to a sufficient degree to permit them to sell a surplus to the cattle ranch at Corrego Fundo. An important element of nourishment was provided the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí by the abundance of fish in the river, and especially the excellent matrinchan that was caught in the season of its collective migration upriver. (10) These western Bakairí worked then

10. Karl von den Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 23.

on a temporary basis for neighboring ranches, but they also produced rubber for their own use and brought the product with their herds of oxen to Cuiabá.

105 In spite of this almost complete assimilation of the western
177 Bakairí to the ways of life of Brazilian campesinos, they still
178 kept some of their ancestral customs. Above all they kept their
[191] native language, and only a few understood and spoke some Portuguese.

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105 Portuguese. The lobes of their ears and the nasal septa were
177 still perforated, and Cacique Reginaldo sometimes wore, in
178 addition to his captain's uniform, the little sticks adorned with feathers in his ear lobes as well. In the aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí there still stood in the year 1884, besides the /15/ rectangular houses in the Brazilian rancho style, a round hut built like the houses of the eastern Bakairí who live in the regions of the headwaters of the Xingu River, in which lived an old Bakairí man with a young Kayabí woman. Bows and arrows were still used, occasionally, for hunting and fishing, and among the plaited objects had been kept the ancestral forms of the large twig baskets, sieves, and hammocks.

175 In the aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí the order of things
622 was gravely disturbed at the time of Karl von den Steinen's
648 expeditions (11) because the occupants of this village felt greater
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11. Karl v.d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 120.

loyalty to the old cacique, Caetano, than to Cacique Felipe, installed as cacique instead of the former by the Mato Grosso government. The Bakairí, Antonio, who accompanied Karl von
[115] den Steinen on his expeditions to the Xingu River and who later became the most important figure in the history of the Bakairí, was then a youth.

175 The western Bakairí were at that time the Indians to whom
648 had come the most remote shoots of European culture in these regions. What was farther on was still unexplored land, with free Indians, because of whom the mobility of the Bakairí was hampered to a high degree. It seems that the Bakairi to the south and southwest had peaceful relations with the Kayapó /Cayapo/ with whom, in earlier times, they had once been allied in order jointly to expel the Suyá from the Rio Verde region. (12) This friendship is interesting in so far as the Kayapó

173 /16 cont. /undoubtedly the Bakairí had /16/ lived closer to
648 the Kayabí than in later times, because they had moved their
726 aldea successively farther upriver. But hostilities with their
727 enemies then had still lasted. One night in a raid the Kayabí
361 had killed Felipe's father and carried away a child. On this
account some 20 Bakairí men had undertaken an expedition for revenge and had killed two Kayabí men and carried away two girls, who were living at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions in the aldea situated on the Paranatinga River, where they were married to two Bakairí men and were called Luiza and Maria. When I met Luiza, in the year 1927, among the Bakairí of Simões Lopes, she was an old woman. Given the fact that the population of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga River had dwindled to so few individuals, even at their later location, the Kayabí remained a danger for them.

648 The Bakairí were known by the Paressí as old neighbors,
727 and the Paressí, Charlotta, who was the wife of Cacique Felipe, had been carried away from Diamantino by the Bakairí. (15)

15. Karl v. d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 122. Idem., Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., p. 3 4.

174 From the extraordinary concordance of the legends of the Paressí
648 with those of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga River, noted by
177 Karl von den Steinen, it follows that in earlier times, there was extensive contact between the western Bakairí and the
174 Paressí. (16) Unfortunately we do not know the legends of the

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16. Karl v. d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., pp. 364 and 365.

eastern Bakairí, who live in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River, so that we do not know to what extent their legends

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174 correspond to those of their western fellow countrymen. From
184 the fact that the names of the two legendary heroes, Keri and
648 Kame, who represent in Bakairí legends the sun and the moon,
773 are not words of the Bakairí language (which belongs to the
177 Karaíb /Carib/ group) but words of the Aruak /Arawak/ linguistic group, it follows that the Paressí, who belong to this linguistic group, were, in this case, the authors of these legends rather than the Bakairí, and thus that the legends of the Paranatinga Bakairí were influenced by the Paressí; just as the Bakairí are mentioned in the legends of the Paressí, the latter are also mentioned in the legends of the Bakairí. According to Paressí legends, the Bakairí, or Matokoso as they are called by them, belong with other enemy tribes to the kin group of Chinikálore (Tchenikauré according to Karl v. d. Steinen), the big jaguar, who killed his brother Kamázo and the latter's wife, but then became the victim of Uakomo, the son of Kamázo, who avenged his father when he grew up. (17) We also find

17. Ibid., p. 431.

this tale of Chinikálore in the texts of Paressí legends. In these legends Chinikálore, from whose six arrows the Bakairí were born, appears as a distinctly hostile hero. Thus it may be assumed that the Bakairí, who belonged to his kin group, were also enemies of the Paressí. On this basis, relations between the Bakairí and the Paressí were already hostile in former times, and this hostility still persisted at the time of /17/ Karl von den
175 Steinen's expeditions. Some years earlier, the Bakairí had
726 attacked the Paressí on the road that leads to Diamantino, to
727 capture their women, and had killed many of them /i.e., Paressí men/. (18) As already mentioned above, besides the
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18. Ibid., p. 438.

two Kayabí women, two Paressí women were also living among

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726 the Paranatinga Bakairí, one of whom, named Charlotta, was
727 the wife of Cacique Felipe. To the influence of such women,
[563] captured in hostile encounters with the Paressí, we must
[177] attribute, in the first place, the extensive assimilation of the legends of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga River. (19)

19. Ibid., p. 365.

173 According to the statements of the western Bakairí, the
166 origin of the Bakairí who live in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River was due to the fact that, as a result of quarrels among the Bakairí, who were still living in former times by the falls, part of them broke away and emigrated to the Rio Kulisehu. (20) We do not know whether this represents

20. Ibid., p. 391.

a historical fact or merely legendary superstitions of the
175 Paranatinga Bakairí. For lack of any objective knowledge of the presence of these Indians in former times on the two tributaries of the Xingu River, the Batovy and the Kulisehu, and for lack of any statements about their former life by these /Indians/ themselves, the history of these eastern Bakairí begins only at the time of Karl von den Steinen's first expedition to the Xingu River in the year 1884, which brought attention upon them for the first time and was their first historical event. As for the first effects of this event, so important for the subsequent fate of the eastern Bakairí, Karl von den Steinen was already able to recognize them himself and make use of them in his
175 section "History of the Bakairí." The first mutual visits be-
619 tween the Bakairí of the Paranatinga and their fellow countrymen on the Rio Batovy marked the beginning of relations between these two Bakairí groups. In what follows we shall deal
[128] with the manner in which these relations gradually increased, extending also to the Bakairí of the Rio Kulisehu and influencing

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114 look at this settlement situated on the left side of the Rio Novo.
36) The main aldea of these Indians, which consisted of five ranchos, was at a distance of three turns of the river from the small Brazilian pueblo of Rio Novo situated on the right side of the
[648] river. At this place I met Mr. Eliseu, who then held the title of subdirector over the Bakairí.

114 Conditions among the Rio Novo Bakairí had hardly changed
178 since the time when Karl von den Steinen described them.
622 Also, the population, which I estimated at 60 individuals, was
[162] more or less the same. Reginaldo, who had meanwhile become an old man, was still cacique of the two communities of Rio Novo Bakairí. Plate V of my book Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien presents a photograph taken in the aldea of these Indians showing Cacique Reginaldo with his wife in the midst of several other Bakairí, standing in front of the door of his house. The book which he holds in his hand is the work Durch Centralbrasilien, published by Karl von den Steinen, in which he is also represented in a drawing and at which he is
114 looking with great interest. In the aldea there were still various
178 objects which were products of typical Bakairí work, such as for
[285] example the large baskets of twigs /banastas/ woven in the an-
531 cestral way, and other kinds of baskets which matched exactly
784 in terms of technique and decoration those made by the Bakairí
[411] of the tributaries of the Xingu River. (27) The Rio Novo Bakairí

27. Cf. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., Fig. 174, p. 347.

also still used, besides firearms, bows and arrows for hunting, and these corresponded exactly to those of their fellow country-
● 179 men of the Xingu River region. But outside of these objects,
231 made in native fashion, these Bakairí had been changed completely into Brazilian campesinos as a result of the fact that

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197 231 [191] 619 Reginaldo and his people had a large number of cattle and several saddle horses. Although among themselves they spoke only in the Bakairí language, all of the men knew the Brazilian language, and it was said that Cacique Reginaldo knew how to read and speak some French. The Rio Novo Bakairí maintained at the time active relations with their fellow countrymen on the Rio Paranatinga. With the eastern Bakairí they hardly had any contacts, except for the Bakairí Joaquim who was the uncle of Cacique Antonio of the Paranatinga aldea and who had a young Bakairí from the Rio Batovi river in his service.

114 161 Different were the conditions of the Bakairí in the Rio Paranatinga aldea at the time of my visit. While the population at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions had dwindled in such a way that Karl von den Steinen foresaw the end of this community, the population of the aldea had increased in the meantime with the addition of numerous Bakairí from the Xingu River region. The number of these Bakairí, called by their Paranatinga fellow countrymen Xinguanos, climbed to 34 at the time of my stay with these Indians. The 622 leader of the community was Antonio, who was at this time at 554 the peak of his power. The only insignia /21/ of his rank as comandante of the Indians of the upper Xingu River region, [648] officially granted by the Mato Grosso government, were a pair [411] of red soldier's trousers with a wide white stripe which ran down the side of each leg, but a more practical symbol of his power were several good firearms hanging in his house, which he also used occasionally, according to the Mato Grosso men, against insubordinate fellow countrymen. The majority of the Xinguanos then living in his aldea were totally dependent upon him with regard to economic conditions and made up a valuable component of his power, for he had supplied the most trustworthy men among them with firearms. This small military 701 force was important above all to insure contact between the 648 Rio Paranatinga and the tributaries of the Xingu River against the Kayabí who had unquestionably begun at this time to

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756 aldea on the Rio Kulisehu to settle with his arts on the Paranatinga.

When I was with the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí in May and June
177 of 1901, 14 years had elapsed since their first contact with
178 articles of European culture. After Karl von den Steinen's
[114] expedition, other explorers had also passed through their land. They had become familiar with iron axes, knives, scissors, matches, and other objects of modern culture, and by bartering their native products they had become amply provided with such objects, but their natures and their way of life had barely
[411] changed. They had become acquainted with the firearms of the Europeans and of their fellow countrymen of the Rio Paranatinga, but they still regarded them with a certain mis-
[226] giving and did not use them either. Fishing, which had been of the greatest importance in the economy of these Indians, was still carried out on a broad scale and in the ancestral way,
[224] fishhooks not being used. In hunting, too, they only used their
241 arrows and long bows built like the ones of old. Agriculture
412 was also carried out in the same manner and with the same digging sticks, with the mere exception that the work of clearing was made much easier by the numerous iron axes that replaced the stone axes of times past. I did not see any more stone axes among these Indians. Undoubtedly they had all been replaced by the far more useful iron axes brought by the explorers who
241 passed through these regions. There were large plantations in
114 the vicinity of the aldeas or at a distance from them, and I myself had the opportunity to observe in the aldea of Maimaieti, situated on the Rio Kulisehu, the way in which a big part of the mountain was cleared for a future plantation. The Indians proudly showed me a spot planted in sweet /mansa, "mild"/ manioc, of which they had received cuttings from the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí. During my stay among the Bakairí of Maimaieti aldea there was never a scarcity of manioc, and I and my companions were always generously provided with
[648] manioc cakes /beijús/. I mention this fact especially, because

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231 a table made of vertigas and provided regularly with meat, if possible monkey meat.

178 Among the various crafts of the Kulisehu Bakairí, pottery-
[323] making, plaiting, and spinning were still maintained in the
[285] ancestral form. Food preparation was also still the same as
[283] described by Karl von den Steinen for times past. The only
[252] essential difference appeared in regard to woodworking, for
177 which at this time metal tools were used, so that this craft no
[322] longer depended on stone axes, drills with stone points, shells,
[412] and the teeth of fish or other animals. Another acquisition from
[301] the various expeditions which had passed through their territory were ear pendants of multicolored glass beads with which many women and children, especially, were well provided. European
[291] clothing was seen only in exceptional cases. Thus the first man who came out of his house in Maigeri aldea to greet me had on trousers which he had been given at the time of a visit to the Rio Paranatinga aldea and which surely had never been washed since. As a rule the uluri (small triangle of bark) was the sole
[291] national garment of the women and young girls, and a fine thread belt and body paint the men's apparel.

114 When Karl von den Steinen visited the Rio Kulisehu Indians,
361 the first Bakairí aldea, called Maigeri, consisted of only two
342 large houses of kinsfolk and one small house for fiestas with an
345 oval base, while the second and third aldeas each consisted of three large houses of kinsfolk and of one house for fiestas. Thus
[161] the number of houses in Bakairí aldeas at the time of my stay among these Indians had increased, and for this reason I do not hold as correct Herrmann Meyer's observation that this tribe was
114 already "greatly declining" at the time. (30) No doubt there
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30. Herrmann Meyer, Ibid., p. 126.

were then only two Bakairí aldeas on the Rio Kulisehu, the first, Maigeri, already mentioned by Karl von den Steinen, and the

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114 met one of the Bakairí who had accompanied me in the year
115 1901 on my journey to the Rio Kulisehu. He too was already
[164] very old and he was ill, his body being covered with tumors.

When I reached the Simões Lopes Post I met with highly
114 unfavorable circumstances. My pack oxen were the first to
361 reach Simões Lopes after the long interruption of all traffic be-
tween this post and the capital Cuiabá caused by the revolutionaries
[731] led by Prestes. For this reason there was at that time a scarcity
of /30/ provisions, and in addition there was among the Indians
a bad epidemic of malaria, which the head of the post, Señor
Benedito, and his family also had. The post at the time was
still at the same location where it was first established, where
José Coroado had had his aldea before, and thus 13 kilometers
downriver from the old aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí and
four kilometers inland on the right side of the river near the
small Ribeião Azul. It consisted of some administrative build-
ings (cf. Figure 3) and some 20 ranchos for the Bakairí Indians
(cf. Figures 4, 6, and 7). There is no doubt that all the Bakairí
lived at this time in areas near the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles
Pires) and had relations with the Simões Lopes Post, but only
part of them lived at the post, and since the plantations of the
individual Indian families were rather far from the settlement,
the Indians who lived at the post also stayed temporarily in their
small houses built near their plantations.

361 In the middle of the post was the house of the Bakairí, Pires,
622 whom the administration had entrusted with the caciqueship over
166 the Bakairí who had moved from the region of the upper Xingu
101 River and who were called Xinguanos. (Cf. Figures 4 and 5.)

In one of the houses of the post I met the Bakairí, Luchu,
114 who came from the first aldea on the Rio Kulisehu, who with
115 Cacique Tumayaua had accompanied Karl von den Steinen on
his expedition and who is shown in a photograph in the book
Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens. As shown in the
[177] photograph in Figure 8, he had grown quite old since and was

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114 dressed in European manner, and with his rough beard he bears
115 little resemblance to the photograph taken by Karl von den
[197] Steinen some 39 years earlier. In another house there still
lived Luisa Kayabí, whom Karl von den Steinen had met when
she was the young wife of old Cacique Caetano.

114 Most of the Bakairí whom I had known 26 years before in
931 Maigert and Maimaieti aldeas had perished in a flu epidemic
953 that had wreaked havoc among the population of Mato Grosso
648 some years earlier. Since the high number of deaths among
361 the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River was attributed to the witch-
[166] craft of evil neighboring tribes, especially the Mehinakú and
the Nahukuá, who had been envious of the economic benefits
derived by the Bakairí from their contact with civilization, all
the Bakairí of the Batovy and Kulisehu rivers had moved to the
Rio Paranatinga. Undoubtedly petty jealousies and other dis-
cords had caused these Bakairí, called Xinguanos, not to get
along with their fellow natives on the Paranatinga, and for this
reason they had settled at some distance from the post, farther
downriver. I found the first of these Xinguano settlements at the
place where the Ribeirão Azul enters the Rio Paranatinga. It
was situated on the right side of this river and consisted of four
small houses. (Cf. Figures 21 and 22.) A little farther down-
river I reached a Bakairí plantation near which was a rancho
occupied by some people. (Cf. Figure 20.)

/31/ From there a path led to the principal settlement of
361 the Bakairí who had moved from the Rio Kulisehu. It consisted
622 of two rather large houses. (Cf. Figure 17.) I was told that a
159 little farther downriver there were some more settlements, and
114 among them also that of my old friend from Maimaieti aldea,
487 Karía. I had already encountered Karía when I visited Cacique
Antonio, and he had recognized me. He was no longer cacique,
622 and I was told that at the time of my stay in Maimaieti he had
159 merely been a temporary cacique in the place of his brother
114 who was then away. He had grown much older and no longer

/32 cont./

114 enemy Indian. Just as an untiring search for the "martyrs" in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River finally broke the health of Officer Paulo Castro 25 years before, so too Colonel Fawcett perished in the same regions in his fantastic race for the "mysterious city."

177 178 Although in the year 1927 nearly all the Bakairí dressed in European-type garments and lived in Brazilian-style ranchos, and although they had also adopted many other articles of European culture, there survived among them various articles of their native culture with which I shall deal in the section that follows.

361 Already at the time of my stay among the Bakairí at Simões Lopes there was frequent talk of an imminent move of the post. [312] The Indians were not satisfied with their present location because [241] in times of drought there was no water available except at a great distance, and because there was no ground suitable to make plantations in the immediate vicinity of the post. As for the selection of a place for the new post, the opinions of the Indians differed a great deal, and it was interesting to note that the Xinguanos especially wanted the location to be closer to the capital, Cuiabá, while the Paranatinganos, on the contrary, wanted a place which would be beyond the Rio Paranatinga.

[114] /33/ We learned a few details concerning the later conditions of the Bakairí who lived in the new Simões Lopes Post from Vincent M. Petrullo, who in the year 1931 undertook a journey carried out in part with pack oxen, by water, and in part by air to the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, passing this Indian post along the way. (38) According to

[113] 38. Vincent M. Petrullo, "Primitive Peoples of Matto Grosso, Brazil," The Museum Journal, Vol. XXIII, Number 2, Philadelphia, pp. 127-130.

361 /33 cont. / According To
648 Petrullo the new post is situated on top of a mountain some distance from the edge of the Rio Paranatinga. The post itself consisted of some excellent administrative buildings, and at some distance from these stood the Bakairí aldea, so that the Indians
[871] kept a certain independence. The post had a school which tried to teach the Bakairí youth to read and write in the Portuguese language and the rudiments of arithmetic. The administration
[231] kept a herd of cattle, and each of the Bakairí wished to have some oxen and cows.

114 Without wishing to malign Petrullo's precious information,
648 I must note below some points on which I cannot quite agree with his opinions, because they contradict my experiences
•177 among these Indians. I believe that a false impression of the
241 previous living conditions of the Bakairí in the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River led to Petrullo's interpretations when he says that the post administration had not experimented in order to change the Bakairí, who in former times had led a seminomadic life, into a sedentary group of agriculturalists. The Bakairí of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River were, like all the other Indian tribes of the Rio Kulisehu, with the possible exception of the Trumaí, a typical agricultural people. The tasks related to agriculture made up the chief part of their activities, and they had extensive plantations in the vicinity of their houses. They led a totally sedentary existence in their aldeas, even moving these closer to their plantations when the latter, owing to the successive exploitation of the land on the closest hill, were little by little moved too distant
[231] from their houses. Livestock they did not have, so that there has been a change in their way of life at the post, with the transformation of a previously agricultural people into a people who raise cattle, no doubt to get a bigger income.

226 Also, I cannot believe that the unusual abundance of fish
114 in the Rio Paranatinga, extolled in former times by the Bakairí, should have dwindled so thoroughly as to warrant Petrullo's observation, "There are practically no fish in the Paranatinga,

/33 cont./

226 at least up to where the post is located /cited in English/."
114 At the time of Karl von den Steinen's expedition, the matrinchán fish was held as the most precious boon in the country of the Paranatinga Bakairí, and in its honor they held their most beautiful fiesta. (39) When Karl von den Steinen suggested to

39. Karl v. d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., pp. 24 and 25.

Cacique Felipe that his aldea, which seemed to be losing all its population then, should be moved closer to Cuiabá, his sole reply was /34/ matrinchán. Later at the aldea, then situated
[123] farther upriver, I was treated almost every day to a tasty matrinchán, and when I visited the Xinguanos in the year 1927 in their settlement on the Rio Paranatinga, they also offered me fish. Of course, it may be that this abundance of fish in the Rio Paranatinga is restricted to certain times of the year.

I also regard as incorrect Petrullo's observation that the
114 Bakairí of the post had substituted hammocks made of cotton
177 thread for the ancestral ones of buriti fiber. From the beginning
283 the hammock made of cotton thread was typical especially of
352 the Bakairí of the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, in contrast to the hammocks woven of buriti fiber used by the other tribes in this region. But already at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions, (40) the Bakairí of the Rio

40. Ibid., p. 239.

Paranatinga had hammocks made of buriti fiber, which, they said, old Cacique Caetano had introduced among them. As for
114 Petrullo's opinion that the custom of filing the upper incisors
177 is ancestral with the Bakairí and that they still retain it, I must
304 contest it with the fact that the Bakairí of the region of the

/34 cont./

114 tributaries of the upper Xingu River never had this custom, but
● 177 that I had the opportunity to observe it among several of my
304 Mato Grosso attendants, who had presumably adopted it through African influences. If the present-day Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post file their teeth, this is no doubt an innovation brought about by foreign influences.

165 We know through Petrullo that the high mortality of the
164 Paranatinga Bakairí unfortunately has continued in spite of the
[648] care of the Inspectoria da Protecção aos Indios /Indian Protection Service/. (41) It seems that fevers are rapidly diminishing the

41. Vincent M. Petrullo, loc. cit., pp. 128 and 129.

Bakairí population. According to Petrullo, syphillis, caught through contact with the whites, probably has also caused high mortality among these Indians.

622 Finally, I must still mention the last news I received when
159 I had already left Mato Grosso. It was the news of the death
178 of the man who had withdrawn from all innovations at the close of his life because he wished to retain his independence but who nevertheless will remain the best-known Bakairí in Bakairí history: the death of Cacique Antonio.

184 II. Change and Continuity in the Cultural Goods
178 of the Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post
177

In discussing in the preceding section the history of the Bakairí, I mention that the sedentary Bakairí on the Rio Paranatinga and the Rio Novo, before they entered into relations with their fellow countrymen of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, had still retained some of the articles of their /35/ ancestral culture although they had almost completely become Brazilian campesinos. Through contact with the Xinguanos and as a

/35 cont./

184 result of the latter's continuous movement to the Rio Parana-
178 tinga, Indian influence on the eastern Bakairí had increased
●177 once more, and when in the year 1927 I visited the Simões
Lopes Post, where in the interval all the Bakairí had settled
either at the post itself or in its vicinity, it was still possible
126 to find there many ancestral implements and customs. In the
[178] Bakairí houses there were many objects made in the native
manner, so that I was able to acquire a relatively large col-
lection for the Berlin Ethnographic Museum. Among the objects
126 in this collection were, as already mentioned above, several
184 that came from the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu
[439] River itself, which the Xinguanos had brought with them when
they had moved to the Rio Paranatinga or which these Indians
had received later from Indians of other tribes as the latter
323 visited Simões Lopes. Among the objects from the region of
184 the upper Xingu River tributaries we may note especially the
fired clay vessels which were imported in large quantities, be-
cause, according to the Bakairí, there was no clay suitable for
making them at Simões Lopes. The large fired clay ollas found
[439] in large numbers in Bakairí houses and used to boil the pyserego
drink were obtained from the Mehinakú. A good example of
the small vessels that came from the region of the upper Xingu
323 River tributaries is shown in Figure 25. This vessel (V.B.
126 9870), (42) one of the appendages of which is characterized,
532

42. This is the catalog number of the Berlin Ethnographic Museum.

by the formation of a mouth, by an animal head, corresponds in shape to a specimen of such a vessel which I brought in the year 1901 from the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí (43) and to other similar

43. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brazilien, loc. cit., p. 401, Fig. 275 /257/.

/36 cont./

535 Cacique Pires' house, where they were used in the dance fiestas
126 staged at specific times by the Xinguanos. The fire-engraved
[531] embellishments enhanced with black paint are wholly ancestral. Besides circles and spirals they also include other decorative elements of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí. The length of these sticks reaches from 76 cm. to 100 cm. and their diameter from 1.7 cm. to 4.5 cm.

532 Of the figures made of maize husks, such as the Bakairí
126 of the upper Xingu River tributaries had in former times, I found two specimens in the settlement of Xinguanos on the Rio Paranatinga, which represent birds (V.B. 9964 and 9965. Length 15 cm.) A ball made of husks of ears of maize (V.B. 9966. Length 21 cm.) such as was used by the Bakairí of the Kulisehu in general for their game with a ball, which they called tóju, is shown in Figure 31, b.

126 Small figures in the form of the human figure shown on
532 Figure 23, d (V.B. 9961. Length 10 cm.) were placed, in
751 Simões Lopes, around the /37/ necks of newborn babies to protect them from illness. I had acquired a good, old specimen of such a figure which was tied with an animal claw from the necklace of the little girl of a woman belonging to the Bakairí who had moved from the Rio Novo. A day later she came with her child to ask me to return to her the necklace with the pendant, because the child had fallen ill after the loss of the necklace. She exchanged the old figure for the new one shown in Figure 23, d.

211 Finally, I must still mention the notched board shown on
194 Figure 31, a (V.B. 9969. Length 23.5 cm.) Since such boards,
177 probably intended as mnemonic aids, are not found among the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River tributaries, we must assume that this case is an instance of foreign influence in later times.

/39 cont./

184 285 177 531 171

The basket from the Simões Lopes Bakairí shown in Figure 38 (V.B. 9907. Diameter 26 cm. Height 6.5 cm.) must be held as a transitional product of a new age. In its /40/ external form and its rim, formed with the ends of the plaiting fibers, it is altogether similar to the basket just described. Its peculiarity consists in that, along with the rhomboidal ornamentation common among the Bakairí, it also presents a winding /given in Portuguese, meandro/ ornamentation. It was characteristic of the Bakairí of the upper Xingu tributaries that in the ornamentation of their plaited objects and in the ornamentation derived from the latter, the winding pattern was almost nonexistent, while this decoration is common, for example, in the ornamentation of the Kayabí, neighbors of the Bakairí, and also appears sporadically in the ornamentation of other tribes neighboring on the Bakairí, in the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River. Thus we must regard the winding pattern which appears on the surface of the flat basket from the Simões Lopes Bakairí as an element alien to typical Bakairí ornamentation and introduced to them through the influence of other tribes. Since there were Kayabí women among the Paranatinga Bakairí, it may be assumed that they introduced this new decoration to the Bakairí. The diagram in Figure 47 shows that in this basket, too, the winding lines of the ornamentation of the plaiting were formed in the usual way whereby in certain parts of the plaiting the individual square units are placed in such a way that four of them do not touch corners in the same spot, while in those areas of the work where this does occur, there appear the rhomboidal or cross-shaped decorations common among the Bakairí. The fact that in this case a foreign influence is involved is also derived from the various irregularities in the weaving structure, which contrasts to the well formed plaited work of the Bakairí in former times. The workmanship in this basket conveys the impression that the Bakairí in this case accepted the new decoration without being sufficiently familiar with its technical conditions to produce a more accomplished

/40 cont./

184 work, as also occurs often among other tribes in the process of
285 transition in their cultural goods. The diagram in Figure 47
179 shows that, in the middle of the basket, a secondary fiber was
531 added arbitrarily to the other fibers that formed the plaited
171 object, and that the triple mesh plaiting is changed several times into double mesh. Important irregularities occur, especially in the center of one of the rhomboidal figures.

285 The basket shown in Figure 39 and called by the Bakairí
531 humureba (V.B. 9885. Height 14 cm. Width of the bottom 20 cm. Width of the upper rim 28 cm.) is a good example of those plaited objects from the Simões Lopes Bakairí which were made strictly in accordance with ancestral Bakairí technique. I have dealt at length elsewhere (47) with this type of basketry, which

47. Max Schmidt, "Die technischen Voraussetzungen in der Ornamentik der Eingeborenen Südamerikas," loc. cit., pp. 157-158. Idem., Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 355, Fig. 180.

is also common among other Indian tribes, and shown that in such cases the beginning of the plaiting consists of a square flat piece the middle part of which forms the bottom of the basket, while the four corners are folded upward to form the four walls of the basket. In order to obtain uniform striping of the four walls, the square piece which forms the beginning of the basket must consist of at least four square units marked /41/ by two changes of the direction of the striping and with their four inner corners meeting in the middle of the bottom of the basket so that, in accordance with the two combination possibilities, the common decorative elements of the rhomboidal form or the shape of a cross results. If the surface of the bottom of the basket shows the rhomboidal ornamentation, as does the basket from Simões Lopes (see diagram for Figure 39), the

/259/

121 In order to protect themselves against the numerous
756 supernatural dangers that surrounded them, the Bakairí
784 /Bacairi/ made use of two methods: shamanism and the uanki state, or ritual seclusion. The aim of this article is to examine these two methods of Bakairí culture in the light of data gathered by us (1) and with the help of the existing relevant

[114] [122]

1. The data that we present were gathered in 1947, during a visit to the Simões Lopes Indian Post of the Indian Protection Service, which was sponsored by the School of Sociology and Political Science of São Paulo in collaboration with the Institute of Social Anthropology of the Smithsonian Institution. Except where specifically mentioned in a footnote, the data mentioned were obtained from the Simões Lopes Indians.

114 literature. However, although the Bakairí have been visited
121 from an early date by several ethnologists and their customs have been mentioned in the literature to support ethnological theories, very little is yet known on their culture as a whole. Most of the reports left by scholars do not give a rounded view of Bakairí culture and focus rather on their technology. On
[177] the other hand, the present-day Bakairí are quite acculturated, and it is difficult to obtain complete data on their old culture. We shall attempt nevertheless to try to contribute here to a clarification of the problem.

161 The Bakairí now number about 250 individuals, according to the estimates of the Indian Protection Service, /260/
131 in 1947. They live in aldeas in Mato Grosso, at the Simões
361 Lopes Post of the Indian Protection Service, on the banks of the Paranatinga River, and in groups scattered along the

/260 cont./

131 Rio Novo, also in that state. The Simões Lopes Indians claim
361 that in the past all the Bakairí lived in aldeas by the Parana-
173 tinga River, moving later to the north under pressure of enemy
131 groups. (2) Later on the tribe divided as a result of internal
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619

2. For a better discussion of the possible origins of the Bakairí, see Max Schmidt's article, "Los
[113] Bakairí" /The Bacairi/, Revista do Museu Paulista, New Series, Vol. I, pp. 11-58, São Paulo, 1947.

disputes; part moved to the banks of the Rio Culiseu, one of the sources of the Xingu, and the other part was distributed along the Rio Novo. Perhaps the truth about these reports can only be obtained with the help of archaeology. Meanwhile, the old villages of the Bakairí on the sources of the
619 Xingu no longer exist. The Xinguano Indians suffered a great
175 deal from repeated outbreaks of influenza, and the last
231 Bakairí found in that area were brought to the Simões Lopes
648 Post a few years ago by officials of the Indian Protection Ser-
166 vice. The Rio Novo Bakairí, practically as a whole, adopted
619 the customs of the neighboring Brazilian populations and live
177 independent of the control of the Indian Protection Service.
184 As for the Simões Lopes Indians, although they are quite
[178] acculturated, they still retain many traits of their old culture, they all still speak Bakairí, and some of them still remember the time when they lived in Xinguano aldeas, and make good informants.

114 As for the authors who have dealt with the Bakairí, we shall note among the best, Capistrano de Abreu and Karl von den Steinen. The former left us valuable information on the Bakairí language and on the beliefs of these Indians. The only weakness of his material is that it is based on only one

754 /266 cont./ But in the event the illness had been
755 caused by another sorcerer, it would be necessary to find out first the vehicle of the disease. This might be a small piece of charred wood, a thin cotton thread, or a small piece of bone, tossed from a distance and thus introduced into the patient's body. The sorcerer would suck at the afflicted part, thus withdrawing the cause of the illness.

754 /267/ Our informants could tell us nothing about diseases
[114] caused by omeoto (evil sorcerers) mentioned by Karl von den
[753] Steinen. According to the latter, in order to injure an Indian, a sorcerer would cook in a pot a lizard into whose throat he had previously inserted the skin of the middle finger of a corpse. The agony and death of the lizard were matched simultaneously by the agony and death of the victim. (13)

13. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., p. 442.

[114] In our opinion, this method hardly seems to be indigenous and
[177] is probably the result of acculturation. However, our informants did not know about it.

756 In order to become a sorcerer, a youth had to undergo
[834] training for a period that lasted from six to 12 months, sub-
[262] mitting to rigorous sexual abstinence and an exclusively vegetal
[784] diet. Throughout the initiation period the candidate remained uanki, enclosed in the kadoeti. Part of the training, meanwhile, was carried out in distant places, where the novice learned the healing properties of certain roots, as well as the secrets related to the supernatural world. The training ended
[787] with the acquisition, on the candidate's part, of a guardian
[276] spirit, or iamüra. This acquisition was made during a trance into which the candidate has fallen by means of the ingestion of narcotic substances. After this the new sorcerer had to prove his power, either through small acts such as finding lost objects or by curing a sick person.

[P.69-A]

THE BACAIRI

114 This brief account of the Bacairí is based on
[101] field work done among the Bacairí living in the Government Indian Post on the Rio Paranatinga
[121] in June 1947. The field work was carried out in the course of a reconnaissance survey which the writer was then making of some of the central and northern Indian tribes of Mato Grosso.
[122] This and other trips at the time were made in a Ford truck put at the disposal of the writer by the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios. By using a truck the trip to the Paranatinga could be made over the Planalto do Matogrosense in 2 days in contrast to the old route along the Rio Cuiabá which, on horseback with pack oxen, takes from 2 to 3 weeks. The writer was accompanied by Fernando Altenfelder Silva of the Escola de Sociologia e Politica de São Paulo and by Rev. Thomas Young and Rev. W. L. Buckman of the South American Indian Mission. The Reverend Mr.
[115] Young, who has spent more than 10 years among the Bacairí, was of great help in selecting informants and in adding to our knowledge of the Bacairí.

161 According to estimates made in 1947 by the
361 Brazilian Indian Service (Serviço de Proteção aos Indios) there are between 200 and 250 Bacairí living in the northern part of Mato Grosso State, Brazil, divided between the Indian Post of Simão Lopes on the Rio Paranatinga and the village of
173 Rio Novo some distance to the northwest. The
361 Bacairí claim that the whole tribe originally
167 lived together on the Rio Paranatinga (headwaters
[648] of the Tapajoz River), but attacks by other Indians and Brazilians forced them to move about 90 years ago. Owing to a dispute the tribe split, one group moving north to settle on the banks of the Rio Kuliseu, a tributary of the Xingú River, the other moving to Rio Novo. After about 50 years in the Kuliseu Basin, this group moved to the present location of Simão Lopes, not far from the original Bacairí settlement
●177 on the Rio Paranatinga. Although the Rio Novo
166 group has adopted Brazilian customs and manages
648 without Government help, some have moved to Simão Lopes where the Bacairí now live on reservation lands and receive assistance from the Brazilian Government.

THE BACAIRI

[P. 69-B]

000 101 Brazilian Government. The information presented here was obtained at Simão Lopes from the Bacairí who lived on the Rio Kuliseu and relates to the life that they lived there about 40 years ago.

[197] Linguistically the Bacairí belong to the Carib-speaking family and appear to be closely related culturally to the other Carib-speaking tribes in 142 the Upper Xingú Basin. The Bacairí are short in stature, broad-shouldered and well-built. The head is broad, the nose straight or acquiline, the face narrow, the lips fairly thin. In physical [144] appearance the Bacairí remind one of the Arawak-speaking Paressí, but contrast sharply with the large-framed, coarse-featured Bororo, Umotina, and Guató living in the headwaters of the Paraguay River to the south.

175 131 The Bacairí Indians are first mentioned by Gonçalves da Fonseca in his account of his travels to the Madeira region in 1749. In the atlas of Thomas Jeffry, 1776, the "Bacahyris" are located on the Rio Paranatinga. Ayres de Casal, in 1817, refers to the "Baccahyris" as living in the region around the Rio das Mortes. Martins places them 175 in the headwaters of the Xingú. From 1820 on, 177 more or less permanent contact has been maintained with the Bacairí living on the Rio Novo and Rio Paranatinga. In 1820 a P. Lopez led an expedition in search for gold into the area and [792] with him came priests who began to convert the Bacairí to Christianity. With these contacts came disease and conflicts (Von den Steinen, 1942, p. 123).

175 101 131 361 The first scientific account of the Bacairí dates from the voyage of Von den Steinen down the Xingú River in 1884. Traveling over land from Cuiabá, he and his party reached the Christianized Bacairí living in the villages of Rio Novo and Paranatinga with whose help he continued his voyage down the Batoví River where he was the first to make contact with the four pagan villages of the Bacairí located between latitudes 13°30′ and 12°30′ S.

175 162 The following table gives size and number of inhabitants of the villages visited by Von den Steinen (1942, appendix, table 8, p. 418):

BAKAIRI SP7
MATO GROSSO SP1

B 361 648 a wire fence enclosure. The effort of the Inspectoria has been to give aborigines the isolation that they want and not to interfere in anything that they may do. The tribal organization is kept as of old, and the Bakairi lead their own life in their own way. They are not forced to stay at the post, or in any way bound to do as the agent says. The agent is merely a teacher. He talks to them and advises them on any problem that may be facing them, but it is understood that they are free men and that they can do as they please.

B 177 648 M 658 The post maintains a school, the effort being made to teach every child to read and write Portuguese and to learn the rudiments of arithmetic. In addition to this, an attempt is made to teach them vocations, such as weaving on the loom, tailoring, shoemaking, barbering, and so forth. Generally, if a boy shows unusual talent he is taken to Cuyabá and even to Rio de Janeiro to be given further instruction. This education is not compulsory, however, though most of the Bakairi take advantage of the opportunity. It is the project of the Inspectoria to form good self-sustaining citizens of such groups of the native population as come under its tutelage.

B 177 [233] The post has a herd of cattle and the Indians are being taught the principles of cattle raising. It is the desire of every Bakairi to own cattle. No attempt is made to turn the Bakairi into a sedentary agricultural people, it being thought unwise to attempt to transform the manner of life of the Bakairi by tying them down to the soil, when they have been used to a semi-nomadic existence. On the other hand, they B [241] are encouraged to practice some agriculture, raising manioc, sweet potatoes, some maize and cotton. Each man clears his own land yearly, and plants his foods.

B 164 [165] In spite of the liberal attitude and practice of the Inspectoria the Bakairi have been dying fast. Fevers seem to decimate them rapidly, though all efforts are made to keep medical supplies on hand and to supply medical attention. Their life is not as strenuous as formerly, because of the improved methods, and this may account for the lowered resistance. On the other hand, there is no doubt but that at the headwaters of the Paranatinga it is less healthy than in the region of their former homes. Even the Indians from the lower Kuluseu who followed our expedition on its return to the post suffered greatly from fevers upon reaching it, though it was the dry season and there were few insects.

Geographically the post is situated ideally on a high land removed from the river and cleared of all vegetation, the jungle appearing only as a narrow fringe along the river banks. Like the rest of the high plateau it is wind swept, and generally pleasant. It must be added that contact with white people, such as is had when a small group of natives go to Cuyabá, has brought syphilis to them, and it may be their mortality is due to this.

One occupation enjoyed in former times is denied them, and that is fishing. There are practically no fish in the Paranatinga, at least up to where the post is located. Since meat is gotten only on rare occasions, and no hunting is done, the diet is mainly one of vegetables and considerably poorer than when they were living in their original state. This may also explain their lowered resistance to disease.

Very little museum material which represents their own products can be collected from the Bakairi. What has not been gotten from the Inspectoria has been brought back on excursions to the Kuluseu. Pottery has not been made since their coming to the post, according to them. The huge vessels that they possess either have been brought with them from their former homes or bartered from the tribes on the Kuluseu. It is claimed that the proper clay cannot be found in the neighborhood of Simõe Lopes.

Arrows are still being made, an iron nail generally being substituted for the old bone point, but most of the arrows also come from the Kuluseu.

For the old hammock made of palm-leaf fibre the cotton hammock has been substituted, but the same open net style has been kept.

Mussel shell ornaments have also been bought from the tribes of the Kuluseu. In brief, almost anything that is found in their village must bear the suspicion that it is not a Bakairi product.

However, they have preserved a few customs, such as filing the upper teeth to a point, wearing under the European clothing the gee string, and ceremonial use of the bull-roarer, and they probably remember many of their ceremonies.

The short time spent at the post was mostly devoted to taking anthropometric measurements, which were subsequently lost on the Kuluseu, but in some notes I do find the statement that in blood groupings most belong to groups three and four, the former predominating.

Bacairi SP7
Mato Grosso SP1

B 464 [551] Nine canoemen, recommended by Major Noronha, were recruited from the Bakairi. The nine included Paghuli, or Marcellino, and Apacanu, both of whom had lived on the Kulusen before the withdrawal of the [191] [396] Bakairi to the post. Both of these men can speak Anahukua to some extent, and are the only men who know how to make bark canoes. Unfortunately, their Portuguese is poor, necessitating another interpreter. Their knowledge and skill in matters of river travel made them invaluable, however.

B 501 The Bakairi have the reputation of being the best canoemen of the region. The children are taught to paddle from infancy, and become extremely skillful in paddling the clumsy and heavy canoes. The paddle used is short and narrow, and a quick, short stroke is employed, the paddler shifting his paddle from one side to the other with every two or three strokes. Steering is accomplished more by the bowman than by the man in the stern. The use of the stern paddle as a rudder is not well understood. Poling is resorted to by the man in the bow when going up the stream, in which case the efforts of the man in the stern are given to guiding the canoe, which is accomplished by quick shifting of the paddling from one side to the other. Among the Bakairi, as indeed among all of the aborigines encountered, the women are as good paddlers as the men, but they never were seen poling.

* * * *

B M 114 As soon as our personnel was completed, with the addition of a young Italian explorer, Giacomo Anzil, who had been forced to abandon his project to reach the Amazon upon reaching the post, our baggage was transferred to the backs of oxen and mules, which were to transport it to the Kulusen river. The men not concerned with driving the oxen went afoot. It was indeed an odd caravan. Mounted men busy with the oxen, men afoot carrying bows and arrows and guns, long-horned oxen, small mules, filed in a long line across the wastes of the plateau. All of the men wore a red kerchief wound about the head, and the usual bantering conversation was carried on. The Bakairi, of course, wore trousers B [177] [29] and shirts, and even sandals made of old automobile tires, in imitation of the Brazilian camaradas.

As we moved eastward and slightly north, it became more often necessary to build bridges for the animals, across small but high-banked

/181 cont./

*171 contact, sometimes peaceful, sometimes hostile, with the western
304 Bakaïrí, of whom we still found two women, kidnapped as children,
[648] in the Paranatinga village. The Paressí pierced the ear lobes of their women so that they could always be distinguished from the Bakaïrí women, and their men pierced the nasal septum, inserted a little

[532]
[237]

Fig. 12. Wooden mask of the Bakaïrí, with ear and nose feathers.

piece of reed in it, and stuck into only one end of this a long arara feather or ordinary toucan feather, whereas the ear ornament of the women consisted of a little triangular piece of nut shell.

301 Among the Bakaïrí today feathers are no longer worn in the
304 nose, but we found masks with a hole in the elongated septum of
[178] the wooden nose, through which an arara feather stuck into a piece
[532] of reed projected out on either side. There is also a difference in the size of the hole among men and women, to which my attention was especially drawn by the Bakaïrí themselves; in it the men wear a thin piece of kambayuwa reed, in which the feather or a thin bone is inserted, the women a thick kambayuva peg or a thick bone or stone. The latter is never used by the men.

/14 cont./

175 Reginaldo, who ruled the two Bakairí villages on the Rio Novo,
622 held the grade of "captain" and his intended successor, Joaquim,
648 was a "lieutenant." In the village on the Rio Paranatinga the administration had deprived old chief Caetano, whose age was calculated at 80 years, of the chiefship and had entrusted it to a younger man called Felipe who had the rank of "captain," in the year 1882.

105 The way of life of the western Bakairí, at the time of Karl
[177] von den Steinen's expeditions differed little from that of the Brazilian campesinos. Already from the year 1820 they had all been baptized. Men's and women's dress was similar in general to that of the campesinos as the style of their rectangular houses was similar to the Brazilian rancho. Besides some dogs many pigs and chickens were raised. Cattle was also raised, and they had some milch cows and a herd of oxen. They planted manioc, maize, porotos /var. of French bean, from Quechua purutu/, rice, sweet potatoes, bananas, sugar cane, and a little tobacco. This agriculture was carried out to a sufficient degree to permit them to sell a surplus to the cattle ranch at Corrego Fundo. An important element of nourishment was provided the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí by the abundance of fish in the river, and especially the excellent matrinchan that was caught in the season of its collective migration upriver. (10) These western Bakairí worked then

10. Karl von den Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 23.

on a temporary basis for neighboring ranches, but they also produced rubber for their own use and brought the product with their herds of oxen to Cuiabá.

105 In spite of this almost complete assimilation of the western
177 Bakairí to the ways of life of Brazilian campesinos, they still
178 kept some of their ancestral customs. Above all they kept their
[191] native language, and only a few understood and spoke some Portuguese.

/14 cont./

105 Portuguese. The lobes of their ears and the nasal septa were
177 still perforated, and Cacique Reginaldo sometimes wore, in
178 addition to his captain's uniform, the little sticks adorned with feathers in his ear lobes as well. In the aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí there still stood in the year 1884, besides the /15/ rectangular houses in the Brazilian rancho style, a round hut built like the houses of the eastern Bakairí who live in the regions of the headwaters of the Xingu River, in which lived an old Bakairí man with a young Kayabí woman. Bows and arrows were still used, occasionally, for hunting and fishing, and among the plaited objects had been kept the ancestral forms of the large twig baskets, sieves, and hammocks.

175 In the aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí the order of things
622 was gravely disturbed at the time of Karl von den Steinen's
648 expeditions (11) because the occupants of this village felt greater
578

11. Karl v.d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 120.

loyalty to the old cacique, Caetano, than to Cacique Felipe, installed as cacique instead of the former by the Mato Grosso government. The Bakairí, Antonio, who accompanied Karl von
[115] den Steinen on his expeditions to the Xingu River and who later became the most important figure in the history of the Bakairí, was then a youth.

175 The western Bakairí were at that time the Indians to whom
648 had come the most remote shoots of European culture in these regions. What was farther on was still unexplored land, with free Indians, because of whom the mobility of the Bakairí was hampered to a high degree. It seems that the Bakairi to the south and southwest had peaceful relations with the Kayapó /Cayapo/ with whom, in earlier times, they had once been allied in order jointly to expel the Suyá from the Rio Verde region. (12) This friendship is interesting in so far as the Kayapó

/20 cont./

114 look at this settlement situated on the left side of the Rio Novo.
36) The main aldea of these Indians, which consisted of five ranchos, was at a distance of three turns of the river from the small Brazilian pueblo of Rio Novo situated on the right side of the
[648] river. At this place I met Mr. Eliseu, who then held the title of subdirector over the Bakairí.

114 Conditions among the Rio Novo Bakairí had hardly changed
• 198 since the time when Karl von den Steinen described them.
622 Also, the population, which I estimated at 60 individuals, was
[162] more or less the same. Reginaldo, who had meanwhile become an old man, was still cacique of the two communities of Rio Novo Bakairí. Plate V of my book Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien presents a photograph taken in the aldea of these Indians showing Cacique Reginaldo with his wife in the midst of several other Bakairí, standing in front of the door of his house. The book which he holds in his hand is the work Durch Centralbrasilien, published by Karl von den Steinen, in which he is also represented in a drawing and at which he is
114 looking with great interest. In the aldea there were still various
198 objects which were products of typical Bakairí work, such as for
[285 example the large baskets of twigs /banastas/ woven in the an-
531 cestral way, and other kinds of baskets which matched exactly
784 in terms of technique and decoration those made by the Bakairí
[411 of the tributaries of the Xingu River. (27) The Rio Novo Bakairí

27. Cf. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., Fig. 174, p. 347.

also still used, besides firearms, bows and arrows for hunting, and these corresponded exactly to those of their fellow country-
179 men of the Xingu River region. But outside of these objects,
231 made in native fashion, these Bakairí had been changed completely into Brazilian campesinos as a result of the fact that

619
182 /23 cont./
756 aldea on the Rio Kulisehu to settle with his arts on the Paranatinga.

When I was with the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí in May and June
177 of 1901, 14 years had elapsed since their first contact with
178 articles of European culture. After Karl von den Steinen's
[114] expedition, other explorers had also passed through their land. They had become familiar with iron axes, knives, scissors, matches, and other objects of modern culture, and by bartering their native products they had become amply provided with such objects, but their natures and their way of life had barely
[411] changed. They had become acquainted with the firearms of the Europeans and of their fellow countrymen of the Rio Paranatinga, but they still regarded them with a certain mis-
[226] giving and did not use them either. Fishing, which had been of the greatest importance in the economy of these Indians, was still carried out on a broad scale and in the ancestral way,
[224] fishhooks not being used. In hunting, too, they only used their
241 arrows and long bows built like the ones of old. Agriculture
[412] was also carried out in the same manner and with the same digging sticks, with the mere exception that the work of clearing was made much easier by the numerous iron axes that replaced the stone axes of times past. I did not see any more stone axes among these Indians. Undoubtedly they had all been replaced by the far more useful iron axes brought by the explorers who passed through these regions. There were large plantations in
241 the vicinity of the aldeas or at a distance from them, and I
114 myself had the opportunity to observe in the aldea of Maimaieti, situated on the Rio Kulisehu, the way in which a big part of the mountain was cleared for a future plantation. The Indians proudly showed me a spot planted in sweet /mansa, "mild"/ manioc, of which they had received cuttings from the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí. During my stay among the Bakairí of Maimaieti aldea there was never a scarcity of manioc, and I and my companions were always generously provided with
[648] manioc cakes /beijús/. I mention this fact especially, because

/24 cont./

231 a table made of vertigas and provided regularly with meat, if possible monkey meat.

178 Among the various crafts of the Kulisehu Bakairí, pottery-
[323] making, plaiting, and spinning were still maintained in the
[285] ancestral form. Food preparation was also still the same as
[283] described by Karl von den Steinen for times past. The only
[252] essential difference appeared in regard to woodworking, for
177 which at this time metal tools were used, so that this craft no
322 longer depended on stone axes, drills with stone points, shells,
412 and the teeth of fish or other animals. Another acquisition from
[301] the various expeditions which had passed through their territory were ear pendants of multicolored glass beads with which many women and children, especially, were well provided. European
[291] clothing was seen only in exceptional cases. Thus the first man who came out of his house in Maigeri aldea to greet me had on trousers which he had been given at the time of a visit to the Rio Paranatinga aldea and which surely had never been washed since. As a rule the uluri (small triangle of bark) was the sole
[291] national garment of the women and young girls, and a fine thread belt and body paint the men's apparel.

114 When Karl von den Steinen visited the Rio Kulisehu Indians,
361 the first Bakairí aldea, called Maigeri, consisted of only two
342 large houses of kinsfolk and one small house for fiestas with an
345 oval base, while the second and third aldeas each consisted of three large houses of kinsfolk and of one house for fiestas. Thus
[161] the number of houses in Bakairí aldeas at the time of my stay among these Indians had increased, and for this reason I do not hold as correct Herrmann Meyer's observation that this tribe was
114 already "greatly declining" at the time. (30) No doubt there
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30. Herrmann Meyer, Ibid., p. 126.

were then only two Bakairí aldeas on the Rio Kulisehu, the first, Maigeri, already mentioned by Karl von den Steinen, and the

/25 cont./

114 temporarily absent at the time, so we must take into account
161 a population in Maimaieti of more than 45 persons. I have
361 already mentioned above that the population of Maigeri aldea at the time of my trip was much larger than Karl von den Steinen estimated it to be at an earlier time. Still to be added is the population of the aldea recently founded between the Kulisehu and Batovy rivers, whose total we do not know, because it should undoubtedly be regarded as having been founded by Rio Kulisehu Bakairí and a part of the Xinguanos, who have moved temporarily or for longer to the Rio Paranatinga.

115 It is certain that the epilogues of the expeditions made to
681 the regions of the sources of the Xingu River have been played out with regard to the subsequent history of the Bakairí of the Kulisehu and Batovy rivers. Thus, Cacique Tumayaua of the first aldea on the Kulisehu, who had first helped Karl von den Steinen in his undertaking in these regions, had been assassinated by his own fellow countrymen shortly before the time of my expedition. I have already mentioned that the inhabitants of this same aldea had lain in wait for José Coroado because he had become too involved /26/ with the women.
648 Another consequence of these expeditions was the fact that the
178 relations of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí with the other tribes that lived farther down this river, especially the Nahukuá and the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, had already become strained at the time because these Indians envied the Bakairí for having received the lion's share of the precious articles brought by the explorers. But, in short, the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí, after their first contact with the whites, had gone on living as before without being discommoded by others. Their social organization, their legal ideas, the form of their economy, their customs, and their crafts were at the time of my stay among them still almost the same as in former times.

114 We received the first information on the Bakairí, after
361 my journey, in the year 1915 through Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa, who, on the occasion of his expedition devoted to measuring

/27 cont./

the year 1915, no more than nine men with some women and children lived with their cacique in the new aldea. The rest had died or had moved to the other Bakairí aldeas situated on the Rio Paranatinga.

According to Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa's description, the Bakairí of the Rio Novo and Rio Paranatinga still had in the year 1915 a life with sufficient means of subsistence. Cacique Antonio, whose authority of former times had undoubtedly decreased through José Coroado's defection with his people and through the independent stand of Cacique Kurutú, was still chief of the old aldea on the Rio Paranatinga, which still consisted of seven houses and whose inhabitants planted manioc, maize, sugar cane, bananas, and aboborra /gourds/, and raised many pigs and chickens. In former times they had also devoted themselves to the raising of cattle and horses, but the rancher Jange Soares had made them give this up. Already at this time, Antonio was urgently pressing his rights in the region bound by the Serra Azul, the Ribeirão Bananal, and the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires) and occupied for many years by the Bakairí. (34)

34. A. Pyrineus de Sousa, loc. cit., p. 64.

José Coroado's aldea consisted of three well-built houses. He had large plantations of manioc and maize and raised some pigs and chickens. (35) The inhabitants of Cacique Kurutú's

35. Ibid., p. 65.

aldea, which consisted of three large houses, also had good plantations and lived comfortably.

/28/ At that time, also, the customs and ideas of the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí were largely Indian. When dancing, the men were nude except for a small coarse apron, rectangular

/28 cont./

178 in form, placed in front under the belt, which consists of glass
[535] beads strung on a thread. Face and body were painted with
[291] urucú and genipap in red and black. At this time, too, cases
[302] of illness were imputed to the influence of some sorcerer, and
[754] shortly before the expedition of Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa a
Paranatinga Bakairí had been shot to death because the Indians
ascribed the consequences of a flu epidemic to his witchcraft.

114 In his book Unter Indianern und Riesenschlangen (36)

[113] 36. Hintermann, Heinrich,
Unter Indianern und Riesenschlangen
/Among Indians and Boa Constrictors/,
Zurich and Leipzig, 1926.

Heinrich Hintermann relates the incidents and outcome of a journey to the region of the upper Xingu River tributaries. He had the opportunity to accompany a military expedition led by the Brazilian, Captain Vicente de Vasconcellos, which was carried out in the year 1924 for the Commissão de Linhas Telegr. Est. de Matto Grosso ao Amazonas to measure the Rio Ronuro and establish relations between the administration of the new Simões Lopes Post, established by the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios /Indian Protection Service/, and the Indians of the
[166] Kulisehu and Kuluene rivers. We know from Hintermann that already at that time, all the Kulisehu Bakairí had moved to the Simões Lopes Post, which was established at the same place where José Coroado had already set up his aldea before.

During my journey carried out in the year 1927 I had the opportunity to become personally acquainted once more, after an interval of 26 years, with the conditions of the Bakairí. (37)

[113] 37. Cf. the preliminary reports on the results of this trip: Max Schmidt, "Ergebnisse meiner zweijährigen Forschungreise in Matto Grosso.

/32 cont./

114 enemy Indian. Just as an untiring search for the "martyrs" in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River finally broke the health of Officer Paulo Castro 25 years before, so too Colonel Fawcett perished in the same regions in his fantastic race for the "mysterious city."

177 178 Although in the year 1927 nearly all the Bakairí dressed in European-type garments and lived in Brazilian-style ranchos, and although they had also adopted many other articles of European culture, there survived among them various articles of their native culture with which I shall deal in the section that follows.

361 Already at the time of my stay among the Bakairí at Simões Lopes there was frequent talk of an imminent move of the post. [312] [241] The Indians were not satisfied with their present location because in times of drought there was no water available except at a great distance, and because there was no ground suitable to make plantations in the immediate vicinity of the post. As for the selection of a place for the new post, the opinions of the Indians differed a great deal, and it was interesting to note that the Xinguanos especially wanted the location to be closer to the capital, Cuiabá, while the Paranatinganos, on the contrary, wanted a place which would be beyond the Rio Paranatinga.

[114] /33/ We learned a few details concerning the later conditions of the Bakairí who lived in the new Simões Lopes Post from Vincent M. Petrullo, who in the year 1931 undertook a journey carried out in part with pack oxen, by water, and in part by air to the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, passing this Indian post along the way. (38) According to

[113] 38. Vincent M. Petrullo, "Primitive Peoples of Matto Grosso, Brazil," The Museum Journal, Vol. XXIII, Number 2, Philadelphia, pp. 127-130.

/34 cont./

114 tributaries of the upper Xingu River never had this custom, but
177 that I had the opportunity to observe it among several of my
304 Mato Grosso attendants, who had presumably adopted it through African influences. If the present-day Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post file their teeth, this is no doubt an innovation brought about by foreign influences.

165 We know through Petrullo that the high mortality of the
164 Paranatinga Bakairí unfortunately has continued in spite of the
[648] care of the Inspectoria da Protecção aos Indios /Indian Protection Service/. (41) It seems that fevers are rapidly diminishing the

41. Vincent M. Petrullo, loc. cit., pp. 128 and 129.

Bakairí population. According to Petrullo, syphillis, caught through contact with the whites, probably has also caused high mortality among these Indians.

622 Finally, I must still mention the last news I received when
159 I had already left Mato Grosso. It was the news of the death
178 of the man who had withdrawn from all innovations at the close of his life because he wished to retain his independence but who nevertheless will remain the best-known Bakairí in Bakairí history: the death of Cacique Antonio.

184 II. Change and Continuity in the Cultural Goods
178 of the Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post
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In discussing in the preceding section the history of the Bakairí, I mention that the sedentary Bakairí on the Rio Paranatinga and the Rio Novo, before they entered into relations with their fellow countrymen of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, had still retained some of the articles of their /35/ ancestral culture although they had almost completely become Brazilian campesinos. Through contact with the Xinguanos and as a

/35 cont./

184 result of the latter's continuous movement to the Rio Parana-
178 tinga, Indian influence on the eastern Bakairí had increased
179 once more, and when in the year 1927 I visited the Simões Lopes Post, where in the interval all the Bakairí had settled either at the post itself or in its vicinity, it was still possible to find there many ancestral implements and customs. In the
126 Bakairí houses there were many objects made in the native
[178] manner, so that I was able to acquire a relatively large collection for the Berlin Ethnographic Museum. Among the objects
126 in this collection were, as already mentioned above, several
184 that came from the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu
[439] River itself, which the Xinguanos had brought with them when they had moved to the Rio Paranatinga or which these Indians had received later from Indians of other tribes as the latter
323 visited Simões Lopes. Among the objects from the region of
184 the upper Xingu River tributaries we may note especially the fired clay vessels which were imported in large quantities, because, according to the Bakairí, there was no clay suitable for making them at Simões Lopes. The large fired clay ollas found
[439] in large numbers in Bakairí houses and used to boil the pyserego drink were obtained from the Mehinakú. A good example of the small vessels that came from the region of the upper Xingu
323 River tributaries is shown in Figure 25. This vessel (V.B.
126 9870), (42) one of the appendages of which is characterized,
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42. This is the catalog number of the Berlin Ethnographic Museum.

by the formation of a mouth, by an animal head, corresponds in shape to a specimen of such a vessel which I brought in the year 1901 from the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí (43) and to other similar

43. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brazilien, loc. cit., p. 401, Fig. 275 /257/.

/37 cont./

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III. Plaited Objects of the Bakairí in Simões Lopes

Most of the plaited objects that I acquired from the Bakairí in Simões Lopes belong to that kind of plaiting which I called in my respective previous publications Stufengeflecht (stepped plaiting).

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The two fire fans shown in Figures 35 a and 35 b (a: (above) V.B. 9918. Length of the upper rim 45 cm. Width 19 cm. b. (below) V.B. 9919. Length of the upper rim 43 cm. Width 17.5 cm.) are similar in their external form to those, with which we are familiar, of the Kulisehu Bakairí of former times, but in regard to technique they already show certain signs of degeneration. In the chapter "Geflechte und Geflechtsornamentik im Xingú-Quellgebiet /Plaited Objects and Their Ornamentation in the Headwater Region of the Xingu/" in my already-mentioned book, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, I dealt at length with the technique used in the construction of such fire fans, because these plaited objects were especially suitable to show the dependence of the ornamentation of plaited objects on the technique of plaiting used in their construction. It is possible to determine exactly the specific units in the plaited object and the order in which they were successively fashioned, and the specimens shown in photographs in the work mentioned clearly reveal how the ornamental lines between these specific units of the plaited article and, successively, the overall ornamentation of the respective fans, are intimately bound to the technical conditions of the plaiting. Thus, in all fans of this kind /obtained/ from the Kulisehu Indians, the two triangular units of the plaited object, which begin with their bases on the two sides of the lower edge of the object, are striped horizontally, that is to say, parallel to the lower edge, while the middle part of the fan, which integrates /?/ the beginning of the plaited object and is shaped like a square resting on its corner, is usually striped vertically.

[178]

[531]

/37 cont./

285 As shown by the fan represented in the photograph in Figure 191
372 of the above-mentioned book, there are cases where this middle
531 part is striped horizontally without this leading to /38/ technical complications, and as in these cases also the two triangular units of the object, which begin with their bases on the two sides of the lower edge of the fan, are for technical reasons striped horizontally, all of these plaited units in this fan have the same ornamental striping. But the vertical striping that runs throughout the fan represented in Figure 154, a /35 top?/ and coming from Simões Lopes is incompatible with the technical conditions of the ancestral forms of these plaited objects. The structure of the plaiting of this fan shows that it, too, was plaited so that the work began in the middle part of the fan in the shape of a square resting on one corner, and then the two lower triangles were made by folding and plaiting the free
285 ends of the fibers used to make the middle part. Among the
372 numerous specimens of such fans at the Berlin Ethnographic
178 Museum, there are none whose triangular parts at the lower
531 base of the fan show striping going in a vertical direction, and the imperfection of the lower edge of the fan from Simões Lopes, in comparison with the firm, smooth edges of the fans from the Kuliseihu Bakairí, clearly shows that in the case of the fan from Simões Lopes we are dealing with a degeneration of the Bakairí plaiting techniques, which in times past was more skillful and more dependent on certain principles. The fire fan shown in Figure 154, b /35 bottom?/ also contains, in spite of its superficial good looks, so many imperfections in the ornamentation and so many irregularities in the structure of the plaiting that its later origin is at once evident.

285 There is a great similarity, we might even say identity,
184 between the flat baskets acquired in Simões Lopes and those
171 which the Bakairi of the upper Xingu tributaries made in former
531 times. The flat basket shown in Figure 36 (V.B. 9909. Diameter 51 cm.) is surprisingly similar to such a basket collected by Herrmann Meyer from the Nahukuá and described

/260 cont./

131 Rio Novo, also in that state. The Simões Lopes Indians claim
361 that in the past all the Bakairí lived in aldeas by the Parana-
173 tinga River, moving later to the north under pressure of enemy
131 groups. (2) Later on the tribe divided as a result of internal
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2. For a better discussion of the possible origins of the Bakairí, see Max Schmidt's article, "Los Bakairí" /The Bacairi/, Revista do Museu Paulista, New Series, Vol. I, pp. 11-58, São Paulo, 1947.

[113]

disputes; part moved to the banks of the Rio Culiseu, one of the sources of the Xingu, and the other part was distributed along the Rio Novo. Perhaps the truth about these reports can only be obtained with the help of archaeology. Meanwhile, the old villages of the Bakairí on the sources of the
619 Xingu no longer exist. The Xinguano Indians suffered a great
175 deal from repeated outbreaks of influenza, and the last
731 Bakairí found in that area were brought to the Simões Lopes
648 Post a few years ago by officials of the Indian Protection Ser-
166 vice. The Rio Novo Bakairí, practically as a whole, adopted
619 the customs of the neighboring Brazilian populations and live
177 independent of the control of the Indian Protection Service.
184 As for the Simões Lopes Indians, although they are quite
[178] acculturated, they still retain many traits of their old culture, they all still speak Bakairí, and some of them still remember the time when they lived in Xinguano aldeas, and make good informants.

114 As for the authors who have dealt with the Bakairí, we shall note among the best, Capistrano de Abreu and Karl von den Steinen. The former left us valuable information on the Bakairí language and on the beliefs of these Indians. The only weakness of his material is that it is based on only one

Bacairi SP7

Geographically the post is situated ideally on a high land removed from the river and cleared of all vegetation, the jungle appearing only as a narrow fringe along the river banks. Like the rest of the high plateau it is wind swept, and generally pleasant. It must be added that contact with white people, such as is had when a small group of natives go to Cuyabá, has brought syphilis to them, and it may be their mortality is due to this.

One occupation enjoyed in former times is denied them, and that is fishing. There are practically no fish in the Paranatinga, at least up to where the post is located. Since meat is gotten only on rare occasions, and no hunting is done, the diet is mainly one of vegetables and considerably poorer than when they were living in their original state. This may also explain their lowered resistance to disease.

Very little museum material which represents their own products can be collected from the Bakairi. What has not been gotten from the Inspectoria has been brought back on excursions to the Kuluseu. Pottery has not been made since their coming to the post, according to them. The huge vessels that they possess either have been brought with them from their former homes or bartered from the tribes on the Kuluseu. It is claimed that the proper clay cannot be found in the neighborhood of Simõe Lopes.

Arrows are still being made, an iron nail generally being substituted for the old bone point, but most of the arrows also come from the Kuluseu.

For the old hammock made of palm-leaf fibre the cotton hammock has been substituted, but the same open net style has been kept.

Mussel shell ornaments have also been bought from the tribes of the Kuluseu. In brief, almost anything that is found in their village must bear the suspicion that it is not a Bakairi product.

However, they have preserved a few customs, such as filing the upper teeth to a point, wearing under the European clothing the gee string, and ceremonial use of the bull-roarer, and they probably remember many of their ceremonies.

The short time spent at the post was mostly devoted to taking anthropmetric measurements, which were subsequently lost on the Kuluseu, but in some notes I do find the statement that in blood groupings most belong to groups three and four, the former predominating.

/176 cont./

433 It is clear that here agriculture falls behind hunting and
●181 fishing; Aldea IV is military in character and forms the frontier
648 defense against alien tribes.

763 In one hut lay an ancient, paralytic little woman emaciated to a skeleton, whose soul seemed to say "ãla Bakaïrí" (it is enough Bakaïrí) and was trying impatiently to flutter away. The hammock was resting partly on the ground; two women squatted beside it and, as garrulous cronies, explained to us the suffering of the dying little mother.

231 Of tame animals we found a heron, small parrots, a kingfisher and the socó-morena.

345 The festival hut was 18 meters long, nine meters wide.
532 There were clumsily carved wooden fish hanging there, as well as a few finless specimens, wound bands which perhaps represented the electric eel.

Two square pieces of wood, painted red and white, with modeled nose and two eye sockets were striking; they are held in front of the face and represent doves, whose voice the artist can imitate better than the head (1).

1. Cf. the second ethnological plate /see p. 165/.

534 /177/ Four menis and a number of rattles were stuck in the
353 side walling.

624 Only in the festival hut did the herald put down his bow and arrows, but he did not part with them during our entire stay, even
[276] when he handed us a few bundles of tobacco. The latter, by the way, was better than among the earlier Bakaïrí. A few modest old
622 people were there, none with gray hair; among them the chief and, if I understood correctly, a vice-chief, the authority during the time the former is absent.

123 A shooting demonstration on the plaza filled them with
152 terror; they jumped with fright and turned away convulsively, most of all the mighty herald. His "ãla, ãla" was very humble and urgent.

B /200 cont./
133 ceased its raging in the last cataracts, while dense campo wilder-
487 ness with sandy soil still prevailed in the landscape here, a vast network of canals and lagoons developed downstream and, for persons familiar with the winding waterways, in which the stranger could not find his way, made communication there effortless and extensive, not only from village to village, but also from the village to the plantings, and more fertile soil made work more rewarding.

B If we wish to use the schema of fisherman and hunter or
*191 agriculturalist, we find a mixed situation among our natives.
433 The hunting of mammals naturally fell back before fishing among the sedentary river dwellers. The latter was important, both for the purpose of food and for that of use for technical re-
B [281] quirements. Skins offered no advantages, since clothing for
[252] warmth was not worn; the skin of a slain mammal was usually not stripped off, but roasted as well, and to be sure, until it was charred, when it tasted pleasantly crisp and salty. Hunting, beyond that eagerly undertaken for large gallinaceous birds and the other inhabitants of the river-forest, yielded only occasional game and, if it were to have been carried on more seriously, /201/ would have required larger expeditions. We saw this later
BO among the Bororó, who also lived on a river rich in fish, but
433 among whom, conversely, the hunting of mammals predomi-
[252] nated; they were away from home for weeks and returned with large quantities of roasted meat; they did not as yet practice agriculture.

B Mentally -- and this is a highly significant point -- the
181 Schingú Indians, in spite of intensive agriculture, still lived
825 completely on the true hunting level. At any rate, with regard to the Bakairí I can confirm this statement in its broadest sense. I have described with what attentiveness they observed, even in the village, every sound issuing from the forest, every occurrence in animal life that they chanced to see. Outside, on the campo or forest path, in the canoe, in the overnight camp, the Indian always felt that he was hunting. He was not aware of any gulf between him and the animal world; he saw

/201 cont./

181 825 only that all creatures behaved essentially as he did, that they had their family life, communicated with one another by means of sounds, had dwellings, sometimes fought with one another, and nourished themselves from hunting booty or from fruits; in short, he felt as though he were primus inter pares, not above them; he knew nothing about all those good things to the effect that there is a difference whether one draws conclusions in situational images or in concepts, and whether one acts purposefully according to associations which are inherited complete within the species, or according to tradition which is handed down by the parents by means of language. His myths and legends, which [773] to us seem like pure fairy tales and animal fables and which he takes just as seriously as we do the sacred books with their doctrine, in which he lets human beings and animals mingle, would necessarily be only playful jests if he regarded himself as created out of a different substance than other creatures are. We can understand these human beings only if we regard them as the product of a hunting culture. They gathered the main body of their experiences from animals, and with these experiences primarily, since it is only through the old that one is capable of understanding the new, they explained nature, fashioned their world view. [532] Accordingly, their artistic motifs, as we shall see, are borrowed, with amazing one-sidedness, from the animal kingdom; indeed, their entire, surprisingly rich art is rooted in the hunting life and did not flower until a more peaceful existence provided protection for the buds. From the outset I cannot refer often enough to these conditions, since otherwise we should not properly evaluate the material culture of the natives and should not understand their mental culture at all.

*171 174 241 On the other hand, it is a fact that the products of agriculture -- except in the case of the Trumaí -- have been in the possession of our Indians since time immemorial. A comparison of the languages furnishes irrefutable proof. It teaches us first of all that the tribes of the Schingú belong to different language families. It teaches us furthermore that in the case of each one the branching off from the basic people concerned took place

B /201 cont./
*171 in remote epochs, /202/ for the phonetic softening processes
174 and the disappearance of the initial root-sounds, which are
241 present everywhere in the individual dialects, show a development in the same direction, but in different gradations everywhere with respect to degree and limits, show only equivalence, not conformity, and therefore could have started only after the separation from the basic people. Nevertheless, even the basic peoples have names for the most important useful plants; they are entirely different from one basic people to another, but for the individual basic stock they are common among a greater or lesser number of branches. For the Karaiben /Carib/ I believe I have proved these statements in my Bakairí grammar, I can likewise maintain them for the Tupí after more recent studies; for the Nu-Aruak /Arawak/, where the material is inadequate and difficult, I reserve all judgment and merely point out that, on the basis of historical and ethnological data, we must conclude that the Nu-Aruak undoubtedly have an older culture than the Karaiben and certainly the Gês, and probably also an older
T [192] one than the Tupí. The Trumaí borrowed their names for the most important useful plants in part from the Nu-Aruak, in part from the Tupí.

B [181] Thus, we have a contradiction with respect to the common conception: ancient agriculture along with the world view of
B [173] hunters. The Bakairí said to me: "Our grandfathers did not
[261] know anything about maize and mandioca, instead they ate earth" -- which the present-day Indians only nibble. In the bagadú legend they say that mandioca was first given as a gift
BO to the campo residents. In the Mato Grosso different stages of de-
[241] velopment are found side by side: in the case of the Bororó we
[153] shall become acquainted with a mighty tribe for whom the cultivation of food plants was an incomprehensible beginning, who, without need, most speedily pulled out and consumed the
T mandioca roots planted for them, before the roots were scarcely
[241] more than thin young shoots -- we recognize from the language and
[179] also hear from the tradition that the Trumaí were taught agriculture only recently by their neighbors, and we find among them excellently tended, extensive plantings--

/202 cont./

excellently tended, extensive plantings -- finally, we see the rest of the Schingú Indians dependent on the produce of the fields, but in their entire thinking and feeling filled with delight in the original hunters' calling.

But, according to the schema, the process could not have taken place so discontinuously in steps and more or less intermittently. In order to understand this we must approach still another problem. The Schingú tribes had no metal. It is said that they lived in the "Stone Age."

Unfortunately, the study of the pre-metallic period has quite predominantly been built on the mute evidence of excavations. Thus, first of all, there was permitted to arise such a confusion of concepts that "Stone Age" and "prehistory" are commonly regarded as identical terms, although the peoples who have written their own history did so only after they had long had metals, and although, side by side with them and at the same time, there lived metal-less peoples, "prehistorical" with historical peoples. Then, however, /203/ according to our prehistoric finds, one could distinguish an older period, in which stone implements were made by striking and splintering the stones, and a more recent period, in which they were produced by grinding, and, not content to limit this process -- I am not saying this process of development -- to the areas where it was observed, but, generalizing the experiences, it was concluded that man necessarily, in order to obtain his tools, began everywhere by breaking up stones and then progressed to grinding them. Whereas prehistory ought to pronounce the final word and furnish the definitions for the explanation of cultural beginnings only where observation among primitive peoples reaches its limits, nevertheless today the reports from Alaska or from a South Sea island are predominantly regarded as valuable material for the prehistorian who delightedly sees his perspicacious interpretations confirmed by reality, and when, on the other hand, the traveling /Fig. 20 appears here/ researcher comes to a place where people are unfamiliar with metal, he cries out that they are living in the "Stone Age" -- a folly which became clear to me because I myself frequently committed it. If, as is

/245 cont./

associated with the older representation. In the field of painting, we come across such productions in the form of geometric ornamentation. Dots and dashes may be the equivalents of the old markings. But even such "simple" figures as triangles and squares, which one would think could be freely constructed by the most primitive artists, originated only through the stylization of representations, and, since they automatically recommended themselves to the technique as types, they easily won out over more complicated structures in the struggle for existence.

171 532 [113] Now just a word about the motifs of our Indian art. They have been borrowed exclusively from the animal kingdom. Andree in his well-known /246/ article, "Das Zeichnen bei Naturvölkern /Drawing Among Primitive Peoples/," points out

*Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche, n.s., Leipzig, 1889, p. 59.

that the plant only rarely plays a role and adds: "In order to arrive at an understanding of this phenomenon we need only remember that among our children, too, when they make their first independent attempts at drawing on the blackboard, animals and human beings in crude forms are represented first; the living, mobile animal is more apt to capture their attention, is also easier to grasp in its entire figure than the plant consisting of numerous leaves and blossoms."

This pertinent remark is in perfect accord with the relationship between gesture and drawing which I maintain. By means of gestures I imitate an animal, not a tree, and not only because the latter does not move actively. It is easy for me to express parts of the animal body by means of gestures, because in doing so, proceeding from my own body, if, for example, I wanted to depict a pair of donkey ears or some antlers, I would immediately indicate the position and the type of the organ, whereas I should be unable to express parts of a plant by means of gestures, unless I use words to help out. Among our Indians, however, drawing is only a special case; the animal motif dominates their entire

*171 ● 181 825

/246 cont./

*171 mental world in every art and science, no matter what it is
● 18 called, and there can be no foundation for this other than their
825 hunting culture.

000 The material interest in the animal precedes the formal or esthetic interest. The flower in art is secondary, exactly as it is in ornamentation; first the feather in the ear and then the little bunch of flowers on the hat. I saw araucarias portrayed in the "picture writing" of the virador in Rio Grande do Sul. A palm tree would be just as easy to draw as a pine, but no palm in the north furnishes such indispensable food as the araucaria formerly provided for the "bugre" /wild Indian/ of that southern province. Before art went after bread, if I may alter the meaning of the sentence somewhat, it went after meat and fish. I shall have to come back to this subject, especially in connection with the products of the ceramic art.

*171 Sand drawings. They are at first a form of communication,
212 like words. I have spoken of how the descriptive gesture readily
532 and easily became a picture. Map drawings were the most com-
823 mon. Our second journey arose through the sand drawing of the arrangement of the upper Schingú, with which the Suyá geographer illustrated his statements, cf. page 126. "He enumerated all the tribes that are settled on the upper Schingú; in order to be quite clear, he drew the course of the river in the sand with his finger. To our greatest surprise, he drew the Batovy, the only one which he portrayed in this way, and, to be sure, entirely on his own initiative with corkscrew-like, tortuous course." (Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, p. 213 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 104/.) The Batovy, as we learned to our sorrow, was a true River Meander.

*171 /247/ We saw the same thing among the Kulisehu tribes.
212 The number, sometimes of tribes, sometimes of rapids, was
532 indicated by dashes. Circles were houses; wreaths of circles, villages, corresponding to the actual arrangement of the circular
[126] houses around the large plaza. All these figures were also drawn with pencil in our book, while the accompanying words were taken down as dictation. A certain individualization, as in the

/295 cont./

Auetö as the inventors of the woven maß and the mereche ornamentation. III. Other festival apparatus. Kamayurá dances. Dance clubs. Ornamental whorl, etc. Musical instruments. Whizzer sticks. Feather ornaments. Diadems. Games of the young people.

"The artifacts of the Stone Age are simple and fashioned only for the satisfaction of the most essential needs. With the art of shaping metals, the feeling for ornamentation and adornment is awakened." Thus writes O. Schrader in his excellent book, Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte /Language Comparison and Prehistory/ (p. 215), and something like that could have been written only by a distinguished philologist to whom it does not occur that such judgments, even when they refer to Indo-European prehistoric peoples, must be tested in the modern museum of ethnology. That passage has about the same value as one to the effect that man began to establish traditions when he learned to write. Though it is true that the satisfaction of the most essential needs is older than the development of the feeling for ornamentation and adornment, nevertheless even primitive peoples, without metal developed this to the full extent of their means; in fact, one may very well argue that, quite the contrary, it might often have awakened -- and could awaken because it was already highly developed -- the interest in metals in the first place. In the chapter on ornamental drawing and plastic art, I believe I have proved in detail what I stated about our Indians in a preliminary report presented to the Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin /Geographical Society of Berlin/ (Verhandlungen, 1888, p. 386): "They have a positive mania for painting all implements, a passion for crafts," and I must now complete the evidence for the festival days when man quite consciously feels elevated above the satisfaction of the most essential needs and puts all his skill into the service of the art of adorning himself.

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352 The Bakairí slept in hammocks, amaka, woven of palm fiber.
415 These furnishings can be summed up as benches of a solid
[285] piece of wood, clay pots, mats and baskets. The diet rests
262 upon manioc, piqui, sweet potatoes, maize, and fish. How-
224 ever, the hunting of monkeys, wild pig, tapir, and other ani-
[241] mals was not scorned. Most of the food reserves, however,
were of vegetable origin, and the most important harvests
were made up of manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, and piqui.
Yams /ccrá/, cotton, urucú, and tobacco were also planted.

342 The occupants of a communal house worked together on
476 the building of a new house, acquiring thereby the right to
622 reside in it. This construction work, however, was led by the
individual who had the most prestige in the group, usually the
old head of the house, who thus set himself up as the head of
241 the new house. The tasks of clearing fields and planting
476 generally depended on the participation of all the aldea. When
529 beginning a new clearing, the Bakairí would give a feast,
komére, with the distribution of food to the Indians who worked
501 on the field. The Bakairí made canoes from the back of the
[324] pasobá tree, in the Xinguano way. This construction, as well
[182] as fishing, hunting, and agricultural activities, were accom-
panied by propitiatory rituals.

437 Their products were bartered among neighboring groups
574 in the course of visits called tuliki which depended on the
presence of the chiefs of both aldeas. After the exchange of
the objects desired, the visitors were honored with a feast
called tulake.

621 /262/ The Bakairí were not a warlike people, and their
181 political organization does not seem very elaborate. Each
622 aldea had a chief, pima, assisted by a subchief, itsida. The
624 Bakairí do not remember the existence of a chief for the whole
[243] tribe, and there is no evidence that such a figure ever existed.
The selection of the itsida was made by means of agreement
of the aldea, but it generally fell on the son of the pima him-
self. The pima's functions were chiefly ceremonial, economic,
and juridical.

[P. 73-A] After the trade-off war

over the chiefs organized wrestling matches between teams of the two villages. Before the visitors left, a feast (*tuldki*, swallow feast) was given in their honor. The motives for these trading expeditions were both economic and ceremonial. They were organized by a chief when the villagers actually required certain economic goods, but even when there was no economic need, goods were exchanged and the men of the two villages participated in wrestling, dancing, and feasting.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Bacairi claim not to have been a warlike people. They defended themselves if attacked, but say that they did not attack others. Each village had a chief (*pima*) who was assisted by an *itéide*. There was no chief for the whole tribe. The *itéide*, who was a young man, was selected by the chief with the consent of the villagers. The *itéide* could be the son of the chief but this is not a requirement, for any able young man was eligible for this position. At the death of the chief the *itéide* succeeded him.

The principal functions of the chief were economic, judicial, and ceremonial. As we have seen, the chief organized trading expeditions and participated in such activities as collective planting and house building. He also represented the people of his village when visitors arrived or when his own village made formal visits. If the village feared attack the *pima* selected a particularly brave man to lead the defense or to undertake retaliation. Discussions concerning disputes and other village affairs took place in the ceremonial house. Murderers were exiled or if a war was on the murderer was made to bear the brunt of the attack. Thieves, adulterers, and others who persisted in disturbing the peace and harmony of the village were exiled through the common action of the villagers. Exile was considered severe punishment, for the Bacairi say that individuals who were exiled often committed suicide. Chiefs among the Bacairi, therefore, were not war leaders, nor was succession governed by descent. Chiefs seem, thus, to have been primarily leaders of social activities. The part which a chief played in ceremonial life will be described later.

/22 cont./

159 619 inhabitants planned to poison him. So he remained in the port near our canoes. But the difficulties this caused me were compensated for by the fact that during his visit to the second aldea of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí, he had married a local Indian girl and taken her to the Rio Paranatinga.

159 593 114 José was already trying then in every possible way to become independent from his stepfather. I found this out primarily from a conversation between José and his mother which I overheard during my stay in Antonio's house. Already then he had several Xinguanos working in his service, and although they were not as numerous as the Xinguanos in the service of Cacique Antonio, this competition could be seen as a factor that was beginning to curtail Antonio's power, which had reached its zenith at the time, and that threatened sooner or later to lead to a violent outcome. This discord between Antonio and his son-in-law /sic/ was important to the outcome of the expedition I had undertaken to the Rio Kulisehu insofar as José Coroado was ready to accompany me with his brother-in-law Chico, who was from the second Bakairí aldea on the Rio Kulisehu, while Antonio made his help to my undertaking contingent on inordinately high demands which far exceeded my then rather scant resources for travel. Finally I was able to persuade Antonio to let me have two of his people to accompany me to the embarkation point on the Rio Kulisehu and then to return with my pack oxen to the Rio Paranatinga.

619 182 As a result of the active and close contact which had prevailed since the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions between the Bakairí of the Paranatinga and their fellow countrymen of the upper Xingu River region, the /23/ way of life of the former had regained a more native character. I have already [353] mentioned that José Coroado's large house showed friezes with 619 paintings of a purely Bakairí nature. Antonio was again participating, painted above the waist, in native dances and because 182 756 of the frequency of illnesses at the time among the Paranatinga Bakairí, he wanted to induce a doctor from the second Bakairí

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182 /23 cont./
756 aldea on the Rio Kulisehu to settle with his arts on the Paranatinga.

When I was with the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí in May and June
177 of 1901, 14 years had elapsed since their first contact with
178 articles of European culture. After Karl von den Steinen's
[114] expedition, other explorers had also passed through their land. They had become familiar with iron axes, knives, scissors, matches, and other objects of modern culture, and by bartering their native products they had become amply provided with such objects, but their natures and their way of life had barely
[411] changed. They had become acquainted with the firearms of the Europeans and of their fellow countrymen of the Rio Paranatinga, but they still regarded them with a certain mis-
[226] giving and did not use them either. Fishing, which had been of the greatest importance in the economy of these Indians, was still carried out on a broad scale and in the ancestral way,
[224] fishhooks not being used. In hunting, too, they only used their
241 arrows and long bows built like the ones of old. Agriculture
412 was also carried out in the same manner and with the same digging sticks, with the mere exception that the work of clearing was made much easier by the numerous iron axes that replaced the stone axes of times past. I did not see any more stone axes among these Indians. Undoubtedly they had all been replaced by the far more useful iron axes brought by the explorers who passed through these regions. There were large plantations in
241 the vicinity of the aldeas or at a distance from them, and I
114 myself had the opportunity to observe in the aldea of Maimaieti, situated on the Rio Kulisehu, the way in which a big part of the mountain was cleared for a future plantation. The Indians proudly showed me a spot planted in sweet /mansa, "mild"/ manioc, of which they had received cuttings from the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí. During my stay among the Bakairí of Maimaieti aldea there was never a scarcity of manioc, and I and my companions were always generously provided with
[648] manioc cakes /beijús/. I mention this fact especially, because

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539 fat in order to stay warm. The Indians wanted the sun to come out, and so they donned their apparel, painted their bodies, and began to ask Orimoto, the great spirit. Orimoto was not an Indian but a man who lived in a stone house with some animals which he had created. The Indians went on asking until finally the light broke out; but the Indians had already grown old and the children had already grown up.

776 The data at our disposal do not permit us to place in Bakairí cosmology beings such as Tchini-numa, Keri-kamé, or Orimoto and Nakoeri. Nevertheless, we prefer to regard Nakoeri as the supreme being of the Bakairí, leaving to Tchini-numa, Keri-kamé (the sun and the moon), and Orimoto the role of culture heroes, until new work clarifies their respective functions.

● 182 13 433 Compelled to deal with a hostile environment, such as the savannas and forests of the headwaters of the Xingu, and lacking an adequate technology, the Bakairí, like the other Xinguano Indians, depended to a large extent on uncertain factors such as the amount of rainfall and the resulting annual increase of waters, which led to a scarcity or an abundance of food. Lacking an adequate technology, they did not store 789 their produce but lived on a subsistence economy. Their hunting 224 and fishing activities were followed by magic rituals with 226 which they attempted to control the possibility of sudden future 241 calamities or even of illnesses. Thus agricultural activities 396 and the building of houses or canoes had to be followed by 782 propitiations. In order to utilize the vegetal or animal raw 262 materials, it was necessary to know how to control uncertain elements: How explain, for example, why one canoe splits and another does not, when both were made by the same craftsman? How explain how the same /270/ foods sometimes ap- 77 peared harmless and sometimes made people ill? The system of beliefs of the Bakairí seems to us an interpretation that

77 /270 cont./
satisfies effectively the cultural exigencies. The Bakairí lived in a world dominated by iamüra and other supernatural beings. Animals and plants were nothing more than draperies which were used by these supernatural beings. The Bakairi himself was a dual being: a spirit, kagatopüri, using a draping, the physical body, animated by another, denser spirit, kati. After death kagatopüri went through the stages of kadopa, a wandering spirit, and finally iamüra. For this reason the Bakairi did not appear to be afraid of their dead; bodies were more than vestments, but the kadopa were indeed dangerous.

784 In order to protect themselves against the innumerable
182 dangers presented by the constellation of supernatural beings, such as iamüra, kadopa, topiehe, karoui, iuanaguroro, and kilaimo, the Bakairí used two methods. The first was seclusion, uanki, at the most difficult moments, such as birth, puberty,
[796] death, and shamanistic initiation. Uanki was followed by the restoration of the individual /to the community/ through the
756 tadaunúto celebration. The other method was shamanism.
784 Shamanism was open to all and it must actually have consti-
182 tuted a normal stage in the life evolution of the Bakairí. Yet few of them managed to become sorcerers, for the trials they
756 had to undergo were not easy. Contact with the supernatural
787 was achieved by sorcerers through the use of tobacco or other
276 narcotic substances. In their trances the sorcerers came to control the iamüra and acquired the powers peculiar to these supernatural beings.

775 Finally, the post-mortem life of the Bakairí, in Nakoeri's large aldea, reflects as might be expected the organization of their aldeas. Once changed into iamüra, the Bakairí join their ancestors and old friends; the pleasures of eating and drinking are not denied them since they also feel hunger and thirst, but they are now invulnerable to the perils of the forest. They can use the animals and plants, at their pleasure, as wrappers for their wanderings through the air, in the rivers, or on the ground.

/335 cont./

*171 846 [262] Everything else would be harmful for the child: it would be exactly as though the child itself were eating meat, fish, or fruit.

Now nothing is more obvious than to connect the remarkable custom, which is beneficial to the women, with the hunting life; the man should stay near the wife and child during the difficult hours and the first days and should not roam about outside; there was no better means for this than to put him on a diet. And, no matter how the custom originated, it is clear that it afforded this advantage, and it is at least quite understandable that the women were in favor of it, and it became firmly established.

[183] On the modern Paranatinga, however, where it is being neglected, the women are discontented, not because theysuffer under it, but because the children do. Even though it benefited the women, that is no reason why the men would have submitted to it. And yet the men do submit to it so generally and with such conviction that one realizes that a deeply rooted, ancient element of popular belief is involved. It is very doubtful whether there is any Indian tribe in Brazil which has not practiced it. One must, if possible, investigate the institution among tribes that were found in undisturbed conditions and have not simply preserved the remnants of old institutions. The Island Karaiben /Island Carib/ usually did not eat or drink anything during the first five days, limited themselves in the following four to a drink made out of cooked mandioca, and then ate more abundantly, but abstained from a few kinds of meat for several months more. "It is not likely," says the excellent Father Breton, "that the husband also screams like the wife in labor; on the contrary, I sawthem coming from outside secretively and in a furtive manner one month after the birth, in order to keep their fast in seclusion." They are contemptuous of those who do not observe the custom; they say they feel better doing it and grow older, and they believe that if they omit the custom their illnesses caused by superfluous juices would be passed on to their children.

2: Steinen--339 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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I. Masks.

* 171 532 535 On the second journey our yield of dance ornaments and, above all, of face-masks was considerably larger than on the first. This is all the more important since the masks, which are, after all, distributed throughout the world in the most diverse forms and for the most diverse purposes, and which play such an important part among the Indians of northern America, have so far been observed only to a relatively slight extent in South America. It seems that they occur in particular in the Amazonas region, but it may only seem so. All the tribes have their dance festivals, all have pantomimes in which animals are portrayed, people adorn themselves with natural ornaments of skins or feathers, imitate the voices and movements, and spontaneously arrive at the characterizing mummery which makes the spectacle more effective. The technical skill of the mummery and its characterization certainly differs, but probably all hunting peoples reached the level which we come across among the Schingú tribes, again with an entirely different development of mimic devices. We are so poorly informed about this only because the opportunities to investigate living tribes in an undisturbed state are rare and can be only superficially exploited during a fleeting visit. Our own journey is the best example. In one region where [126] in 1884 we came across strange headgear with animal imitations of straw, etc., but only two wooden dove-masks, in 1887 we brought back a handsome collection of face masks which, now in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde, permit an interesting comparison with the grotesque animal masks of the Tekuna /Tucuna/ from the upper Amazon River that are present there. Ehrenreich, too, brought back from the Karayá /Caraja/ on the Araguay /Araguaia/ a number of huge dance masks adorned in the most colorful manner with feathers, which in their construction remind one most strikingly of the Duk-duk of the South Sea.

[184] [345] Not only each tribe, but each village has its own masked dances. The center is always the "flute house." In their character the dances are extraordinarily alike throughout Brazil. Always the running around in a circle and the jerky singing corresponding

173 /16 cont. /Undoubtedly the Bakairí had /16/ lived closer to
648 the Kayabí than in later times, because they had moved their
726 aldea successively farther upriver. But hostilities with their
727 enemies then had still lasted. One night in a raid the Kayabí
361 had killed Felipe's father and carried away a child. On this
account some 20 Bakairí men had undertaken an expedition for revenge and had killed two Kayabí men and carried away two girls, who were living at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions in the aldea situated on the Paranatinga River, where they were married to two Bakairí men and were called Luiza and Maria. When I met Luiza, in the year 1927, among the Bakairí of Simões Lopes, she was an old woman. Given the fact that the population of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga River had dwindled to so few individuals, even at their later location, the Kayabí remained a danger for them.

648 The Bakairí were known by the Paressí as old neighbors,
727 and the Paressí, Charlotta, who was the wife of Cacique Felipe, had been carried away from Diamantino by the Bakairí. (15)

15. Karl v. d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 122. Idem., Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., p. 3 4.

174 From the extraordinary concordance of the legends of the Paressí
648 with those of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga River, noted by
177 Karl von den Steinen, it follows that in earlier times, there was extensive contact between the western Bakairí and the
174 Paressí. (16) Unfortunately we do not know the legends of the
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16. Karl v. d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., pp. 364 and 365.

eastern Bakairí, who live in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River, so that we do not know to what extent their legends

/16 cont./

174 correspond to those of their western fellow countrymen. From
184 the fact that the names of the two legendary heroes, Keri and
648 Kame, who represent in Bakairí legends the sun and the moon,
773 are not words of the Bakairí language (which belongs to the
177 Karaíb /Carib/ group) but words of the Aruak /Arawak/ linguistic group, it follows that the Paressí, who belong to this linguistic group, were, in this case, the authors of these legends rather than the Bakairí, and thus that the legends of the Paranatinga Bakairí were influenced by the Paressí; just as the Bakairí are mentioned in the legends of the Paressí, the latter are also mentioned in the legends of the Bakairí. According to Paressí legends, the Bakairí, or Matokoso as they are called by them, belong with other enemy tribes to the kin group of Chinikálore (Tchenikauré according to Karl v. d. Steinen), the big jaguar, who killed his brother Kamázo and the latter's wife, but then became the victim of Uakomo, the son of Kamázo, who avenged his father when he grew up. (17) We also find

17. Ibid., p. 431.

this tale of Chinikálore in the texts of Paressí legends. In these legends Chinikálore, from whose six arrows the Bakairí were born, appears as a distinctly hostile hero. Thus it may be assumed that the Bakairí, who belonged to his kin group, were also enemies of the Paressí. On this basis, relations between the Bakairí and the Paressí were already hostile in former times, and this hostility still persisted at the time of /17/ Karl von den Steinen's expeditions. Some years earlier, the Bakairí had
175 attacked the Paressí on the road that leads to Diamantino, to
726 capture their women, and had killed many of them /i.e.,
727 Paressí men/. (18) As already mentioned above, besides the
[563]

18. Ibid., p. 438.

two Kayabí women, two Paressí women were also living among

/20 cont./

114 look at this settlement situated on the left side of the Rio Novo.
36) The main aldea of these Indians, which consisted of five ranchos, was at a distance of three turns of the river from the small Brazilian pueblo of Rio Novo situated on the right side of the
[648] river. At this place I met Mr. Eliseu, who then held the title of subdirector over the Bakairí.

114 Conditions among the Rio Novo Bakairí had hardly changed
178 since the time when Karl von den Steinen described them.
622 Also, the population, which I estimated at 60 individuals, was
[162] more or less the same. Reginaldo, who had meanwhile become an old man, was still cacique of the two communities of Rio Novo Bakairí. Plate V of my book Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien presents a photograph taken in the aldea of these Indians showing Cacique Reginaldo with his wife in the midst of several other Bakairí, standing in front of the door of his house. The book which he holds in his hand is the work Durch Centralbrasilien, published by Karl von den Steinen, in which he is also represented in a drawing and at which he is
114 looking with great interest. In the aldea there were still various
178 objects which were products of typical Bakairí work, such as for
[285] example the large baskets of twigs /banastas/ woven in the an-
531] cestral way, and other kinds of baskets which matched exactly
784] in terms of technique and decoration those made by the Bakairí
[411] of the tributaries of the Xingu River. (27) The Rio Novo Bakairí

27. Cf. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., Fig. 174, p. 347.

also still used, besides firearms, bows and arrows for hunting, and these corresponded exactly to those of their fellow country-
170 men of the Xingu River region. But outside of these objects,
231 made in native fashion, these Bakairí had been changed completely into Brazilian campesinos as a result of the fact that

/27 cont./

162 the year 1915, no more than nine men with some women and
361 children lived with their cacique in the new aldea. The rest
166 had died or had moved to the other Bakairí aldeas situated on the Rio Paranatinga.

178 According to Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa's description, the
433 Bakairí of the Rio Novo and Rio Paranatinga still had in the
622 year 1915 a life with sufficient means of subsistence. Cacique
[361] Antonio, whose authority of former times had undoubtedly de-
[241] creased through José Coroado's defection with his people and
[231] through the independent stand of Cacique Kurutú, was still chief of the old aldea on the Rio Paranatinga, which still consisted of seven houses and whose inhabitants planted manioc, maize, sugar cane, bananas, and aboborra /gourds/, and raised
[231] many pigs and chickens. In former times they had also devoted
[648] themselves to the raising of cattle and horses, but the rancher Jange Soares had made them give this up. Already at this time, Antonio was urgently pressing his rights in the region bound by the Serra Azul, the Ribeirão Bananal, and the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires) and occupied for many years by the Bakairí. (34)

34. A. Pyrineus de Sousa, loc. cit., p. 64.

184 José Coroado's aldea consisted of three well-built houses.
361 He had large plantations of manioc and maize and raised some
241 pigs and chickens. (35) The inhabitants of Cacique Kurutú's
231

35. Ibid., p. 65.

aldea, which consisted of three large houses, also had good plantations and lived comfortably.

178 /28/ At that time, also, the customs and ideas of the
[535] Rio Paranatinga Bakairí were largely Indian. When dancing,
[291] the men were nude except for a small coarse apron, rectangular

/34 cont./

114 tributaries of the upper Xingu River never had this custom, but
179 that I had the opportunity to observe it among several of my
304 Mato Grosso attendants, who had presumably adopted it through African influences. If the present-day Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post file their teeth, this is no doubt an innovation brought about by foreign influences.

165 We know through Petrullo that the high mortality of the
164 Paranatinga Bakairí unfortunately has continued in spite of the
[648] care of the Inspectoria da Protecção aos Indios /Indian Protection Service/. (41) It seems that fevers are rapidly diminishing the

41. Vincent M. Petrullo, loc. cit., pp. 128 and 129.

Bakairí population. According to Petrullo, syphilis, caught through contact with the whites, probably has also caused high mortality among these Indians.

622 Finally, I must still mention the last news I received when
159 I had already left Mato Grosso. It was the news of the death
178 of the man who had withdrawn from all innovations at the close of his life because he wished to retain his independence but who nevertheless will remain the best-known Bakairí in Bakairí history: the death of Cacique Antonio.

184 II. Change and Continuity in the Cultural Goods
198 of the Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post
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In discussing in the preceding section the history of the Bakairí, I mention that the sedentary Bakairí on the Rio Paranatinga and the Rio Novo, before they entered into relations with their fellow countrymen of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, had still retained some of the articles of their /35/ ancestral culture although they had almost completely become Brazilian campesinos. Through contact with the Xinguanos and as a

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/35 cont./

184 result of the latter's continuous movement to the Rio Paranatinga. Indian influence on the eastern Bakairí had increased
198 once more, and when in the year 1927 I visited the Simões
199 Lopes Post, where in the interval all the Bakairí had settled either at the post itself or in its vicinity, it was still possible to find there many ancestral implements and customs. In the
126 Bakairí houses there were many objects made in the native
[198] manner, so that I was able to acquire a relatively large collection for the Berlin Ethnographic Museum. Among the objects
126 in this collection were, as already mentioned above, several
184 that came from the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu
[439] River itself, which the Xinguanos had brought with them when they had moved to the Rio Paranatinga or which these Indians had received later from Indians of other tribes as the latter
323 visited Simões Lopes. Among the objects from the region of
184 the upper Xingu River tributaries we may note especially the fired clay vessels which were imported in large quantities, because, according to the Bakairí, there was no clay suitable for making them at Simões Lopes. The large fired clay ollas found
[439] in large numbers in Bakairí houses and used to boil the *pyrerego* drink were obtained from the Mehinakú. A good example of the small vessels that came from the region of the upper Xingu River tributaries is shown in Figure 25. This vessel (V.B.
323 9870), (42) one of the appendages of which is characterized,
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42. This is the catalog number of the Berlin Ethnographic Museum.

by the formation of a mouth, by an animal head, corresponds in shape to a specimen of such a vessel which I brought in the year 1901 from the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí (43) and to other similar

43. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 401, Fig. 275 /257/.

323 /35 cont./
[126 specimens collected by Karl von den Steinen which were said to
[532 represent bats. To the basic, dark color of the outer surface of
[531 the vessel, brown paint is applied on the walls in parallel vertical strips and on the bottom of the vessel in curved lines emerging from the circumference of a circle whose center is the center of the pot bottom. The height of this pot reaches 10.5 cm. and the diameter of its upper rim, 26.5 cm. Two other fired clay vessels, both smaller, are represented in Figures 26 and 27, one of which (V.B. 9877) has a height of 11.5 cm. and an upper rim diameter of 26 cm., and the other (V.B. 9874) a height of 12.5 cm. and an upper rim diameter of 20 cm. Of the other objects from the region of the upper Xingu River
301 most were ornaments. The necklace shown in Figure 24 (V.B.
126 9937) and made of small shell disks (diameter: 0.8 cm.) and a large stone bead was given to me in Simões Lopes by my old friend, the Bakairí, Karlá, as a particularly precious object from former times. Other ornamental objects in my collection are shown in the following photographs:

Figure 24, a. A necklace of small shell plates /Achapitas/ (V.B. 9916. Length of the plates, 2.5 cm.).

/36/ Figure 23, c. A necklace of shell disks with a zoomorphic (bird) pendant of fruit rind (V.B. 9934).

Figure 23, b. Zoomorphic stone pendant for a necklace.

Figure 23, a. Feather diadem. (V.B. 9968.) Length 16 cm. Width 8 cm.

285 Among the cultural goods of the Bakairí which we must
184 also regard as products of the native industry, but which, in contrast with those just described, were apparently made by the Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post themselves, we may point out first of all the various kinds of plaited objects, because they will serve to complement on various points my previous publications on Bakairí plaited objects. (44) For this reason I shall

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44. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., pp. 330-371.

/36 cont./

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(113)

Cf. Idem., "Ableitung südamerikanischer Geflechtsmuster aus der Technik des Flechtens /Derivation of South American Plaiting Pattern from the Technique of Plaiting/." Zeitsch. f. Ethn., 1904, Heft 3 and 4, pp. 490-512. Idem., "Die technischen Voraussetzungen in der Ornamentik der Eingeborenen Südamerikas /The Technical Bases in the Ornamentation of the South American Natives/." Ipek. Jahrbuch für Prähistorische und Ethnographische Kunst, 1926, pp. 142-174.

discuss the plaited objects that I collected from the Simões Lopes Bakairí in a special section that follows. In addition to
126 plaited objects I was primarily concerned with the acquisition
412 of a mortar and its corresponding pestle and a triangular barbecue, because the relevant collections of the Berlin Ethnographic Museum did not include any specimen of these Bakairí objects which are to be found in almost every settlement of these Indians. The wooden mortar which I brought from Simões Lopes (V.B. 9883, called óro by the Kulisehu Bakairí) is shown in Figure 29. Its height reaches 38 cm. and the rim diameter 25 cm. From the irregular shape of the bottom it may be assumed that the lower part of the mortar was implanted in the ground. The corresponding pestle (V.B. 9884) has a length of 95 cm. and is shown in Figure 28. The barbecue shown in
252 Figure 30 and called by the Kulisehu Bakairí si(r)ka has the
419 usual triangular shape of Bakairí barbecues. The sticks of which this barbecue consists are bound together with tree bark. Its height reaches 105 cm.

585 I found the dancing sticks shown in Figures 33 a-d and 34
126 a-d (V.B. 9942, 9943, 9945-9948, 9951, and ~~10071~~) in

/37 cont./

285 As shown by the fan represented in the photograph in Figure 19b
372 of the above-mentioned book, there are cases where this middle
531 part is striped horizontally without this leading to /38/ techni-
cal complications, and as in these cases also the two triangular
units of the object, which begin with their bases on the two
sides of the lower edge of the fan, are for technical reasons
striped horizontally, all of these plaited units in this fan have
the same ornamental striping. But the vertical striping that
runs throughout the fan represented in Figure 154, a /35 top?/
and coming from Simões Lopes is incompatible with the techni-
cal conditions of the ancestral forms of these plaited objects.
The structure of the plaiting of this fan shows that it, too, was
plaited so that the work began in the middle part of the fan
in the shape of a square resting on one corner, and then the
two lower triangles were made by folding and plaiting the free
285 ends of the fibers used to make the middle part. Among the
372 numerous specimens of such fans at the Berlin Ethnographic
178 Museum, there are none whose triangular parts at the lower
531 base of the fan show striping going in a vertical direction, and
the imperfection of the lower edge of the fan from Simões
Lopes, in comparison with the firm, smooth edges of the fans
from the Kutisehu Bakairí, clearly shows that in the case of
the fan from Simões Lopes we are dealing with a degeneration
of the Bakairí plaiting techniques, which in times past was
more skillful and more dependent on certain principles. The
fine fan shown in Figure 154, b /35 bottom?/ also contains,
in spite of its superficial good looks, so many imperfections in
the ornamentation and so many irregularities in the structure
of the plaiting that its later origin is at once evident.

285 There is a great similarity, we might even say identity,
184 between the flat baskets acquired in Simões Lopes and those
171 which the Bakairi of the upper Xingu tributaries made in former
531 times. The flat basket shown in Figure 36 (V.B. 9909.
Diameter 51 cm.) is surprisingly similar to such a basket col-
lected by Herrmann Meyer from the Nahukuá and described

285 /38 cont./
184 by me elsewhere. (45) Both baskets are woven of the fibers of
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45. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, pp. 349-351 and Fig. 176.

buriti leaves, whose stalks protrude at one side of the basket, and the rim is emphasized by a wooden hoop. These two baskets differ only in their ornamentation: that of the basket from the Simões Lopes Bakairí consisting of a simple striping that runs through the entire basket in the same direction, whereas the plaiting of the specimen acquired by Herrmann Meyer from the Nahukuá consists of several units which contrast among themselves in the opposite orientation of their striping, so that on the surface of the basket appears the rhomboidal ornamentation common among those Indians. Although up to now a specimen of a basket similar to this one was unknown among the Bakairí, we should not regard the flat basket shown in Figure 36 as a product of the Nahukuá, because the cultural goods of these two tribes, which are also related with respect to language, show on the whole great similarities.

285 /39/ The flat, round basket shown in Figure 37 and called
184 by the Kuikuru Bakairí apa (V. B. 9906. Diameter 36 cm.
531 Height 10 cm.) must be held in terms of technique and ornamentation as a faultless product of the ancestral Bakairí art of plaiting. The technique of this basket and its rhomboidal ornamentation running symmetrically over its entire surface and emphasized further by the different color of the respective fibers of the plaiting oriented vertically and horizontally, are similar to a specimen acquired by Herrmann Meyer from the Rio Kuikuru Bakairí shown in a photograph in my already-mentioned publication. (46) There are only unimportant

46. Ibid., p. 350, Fig. 177.

/39 cont./

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differences in the ornamentation of these two flat baskets: the small rhombs of the flat basket from Simões Lopes are white with a black dot in the middle and are surrounded by two black squares and one white square, while the rhombs of the other basket are black with a white dot in the middle and are surrounded only by a white square and a black one. Technically, this difference is explained by the fact that each plaited unit of the basket from Simões Lopes, marked by the ornamental striping running in the same direction, consists of 12 fibers going vertically and 12 fibers going horizontally, whereas the number of each one of these two groups of fibers in the flat basket from the Rio Kuluehu is nine. Otherwise, the two baskets differ in the way in which one of the two groups of fibers (vertical or horizontal) of the plaiting has been colored black. Both baskets are plaited in such a way that the respective stem fibers in one of the two groups of these fibers are placed with their outer, smooth surface above and their inner, rough surface under, while the fibers of the other group, running vertically to the fibers of the first group, are placed with their rough surface above and their smooth surface under. But the way in which the black coloring of the rough surface of these fibers is done is different in the two baskets. In the flat basket from Simões Lopes the rough surface of the plaiting fibers is stained black before they are plaited, whereas the coloring of the flat basket from the Rio Kuluehu is done in such a way that the entire basket, plaited as described above but without prior dyeing of the rough surface of the respective fibers, is stained with soot and washed immediately. Through washing the soot disappeared from the parts of the surface of the basket formed by the smooth surface of the plaiting fibers, while the parts where the fibers appear with their rough surface at the surface of the basket remained black. The way of forming a jagged border with the free ends of the plaiting fibers emerging from its upper edge is the same in both baskets.

/39 cont./

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The basket from the Simões Lopes Bakairí shown in Figure 38 (V.B. 9907. Diameter 26 cm. Height 6.5 cm.) must be held as a transitional product of a new age. In its /40/ external form and its rim, formed with the ends of the plaiting fibers, it is altogether similar to the basket just described. Its peculiarity consists in that, along with the rhomboidal ornamentation common among the Bakairí, it also presents a winding /given in Portuguese, meandro/ ornamentation. It was characteristic of the Bakairí of the upper Xingu tributaries that in the ornamentation of their plaited objects and in the ornamentation derived from the latter, the winding pattern was almost nonexistent, while this decoration is common, for example, in the ornamentation of the Kayabí, neighbors of the Bakairí, and also appears sporadically in the ornamentation of other tribes neighboring on the Bakairí, in the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River. Thus we must regard the winding pattern which appears on the surface of the flat basket from the Simões Lopes Bakairí as an element alien to typical Bakairí ornamentation and introduced to them through the influence of other tribes. Since there were Kayabí women among the Paranatinga Bakairí, it may be assumed that they introduced this new decoration to the Bakairí. The diagram in Figure 47 shows that in this basket, too, the winding lines of the ornamentation of the plaiting were formed in the usual way whereby in certain parts of the plaiting the individual square units are placed in such a way that four of them do not touch corners in the same spot, while in those areas of the work where this does occur, there appear the rhomboidal or cross-shaped decorations common among the Bakairí. The fact that in this case a foreign influence is involved is also derived from the various irregularities in the weaving structure, which contrast to the well formed plaited work of the Bakairí in former times. The workmanship in this basket conveys the impression that the Bakairí in this case accepted the new decoration without being sufficiently familiar with its technical conditions to produce a more accomplished

/40 cont./

184 285 179 531 171 work, as also occurs often among other tribes in the process of transition in their cultural goods. The diagram in Figure 47 shows that, in the middle of the basket, a secondary fiber was added arbitrarily to the other fibers that formed the plaited object, and that the triple mesh plaiting is changed several times into double mesh. Important irregularities occur, especially in the center of one of the rhomboidal figures.

285 531 The basket shown in Figure 39 and called by the Bakairí humureba (V.B. 9885. Height 14 cm. Width of the bottom 20 cm. Width of the upper rim 28 cm.) is a good example of those plaited objects from the Simões Lopes Bakairí which were made strictly in accordance with ancestral Bakairí technique. I have dealt at length elsewhere (47) with this type of basketry, which

47. Max Schmidt, "Die technischen Voraussetzungen in der Ornamentik der Eingeborenen Südamerikas," loc. cit., pp. 157-158. Idem., Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 355, Fig. 180.

is also common among other Indian tribes, and shows that in such cases the beginning of the plaiting consists of a square flat piece the middle part of which forms the bottom of the basket, while the four corners are folded upward to form the four walls of the basket. In order to obtain uniform striping of the four walls, the square piece which forms the beginning of the basket must consist of at least four square units marked /41/ by two changes of the direction of the striping and with their four inner corners meeting in the middle of the bottom of the basket so that, in accordance with the two combination possibilities, the common decorative elements of the rhomboidal form or the shape of a cross results. If the surface of the bottom of the basket shows the rhomboidal ornamentation, as does the basket from Simões Lopes (see diagram for Figure 39), the

/41 cont./

285 531 walls of the resulting basket will show uniform striping running horizontally, while a basket the walls of which show striping running vertically will result if the surface of the bottom has a cross-shaped decorative element. (Cf. the basket shown in a photograph in my above-mentioned book (48).)

48. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 354, Fig. 180.

285 184 531 Already on my trip made in the year 1901, I found among the Kuisehu Bakairí a kind of basket which, in its external form, corresponds to the basket just described but which, in terms of the structure of the plaiting of its bottom suggests a completely different beginning of the plaiting. (49) A hoop

49. Ibid., pp. 360-362.

for adorning the head brought by me from the same Bakairí shows, instead of the usual decorative elements of these Indians, the special figure that appears in the middle of the bottom of these baskets.(50) See the diagram shown in Figure 50. On my

[114] [126]

50. Ibid., p. 414, Fig. 272.

last trip, made in the year 1927, I acquired from the Bakairí of Simões Lopes several specimens of such baskets. Of the three specimens of baskets of this kind shown in Figures 40 (V.B. 9890, Height 17 cm. Width of the bottom 30 cm. Width of the upper rim 32 cm.), 41 (V.B. 9889, Height 18 cm. Width of the bottom 21 cm. Width of the upper rim 28.5 cm.), and 42 (V.B. 9880, Height 25 cm. Width of the bottom 21 cm. Width of the upper rim 33 cm.), each shows a different structure of plaiting in the center of the bottom of the basket: that of the basket shown in Figure 40 has four

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three-step figures (cf. diagram in Figure 51), that of the basket in Figure 41 four four-step figures (cf. diagram in Figure 52), and that of the basket in Figure 42 four five-step figures (cf. diagram in Figure 50).

With the whole leaf of the burití palm, the Simões Lopes Bakairí made, besides the flat baskets described above, ordinary baskets also, and this in two different forms depending on whether only one palm leaf or two palm leaves were used to make the plaited object.

[26] Of such baskets made from a single leaf no specimens are known from the Bakairí of the upper Xingu tributaries, but I acquired such a specimen in the year 1901 from the Rio Novo Bakairí, which I have described and shown in a photograph in the above-mentioned work (51). But it is likely that the Bakairí

51. Ibid., pp. 347-348
Fig. 174-175.

of the upper Xingu tributaries also had baskets of this type in former times and that they were not noted by the respective explorers. The /47/ Kuikuiche Bakairí called this kind of basket very common among the Bakairí of Simões Lopes, Mato. Of the specimens acquired in Simões Lopes, one is shown in Figure 43 (No. 9900, Height 24 cm., Width 25 cm.). The making of such baskets proceeds as follows: the leaf strand is divided into two groups and the strands in the first group are plaited with those in the second group, in twill fashion and beginning with the middle strand. The plaiting, of single one is triple-double mesh, proceeds the characteristic striping of strip plaiting, in first going in a vertical direction but passing to the horizontal direction in the second unit of plaiting formed on the first one on the edge of the leaf by folding the free end of the strands and plaiting them in the opposite direction. Cf. the diagram shown in Figure 53.

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Of the baskets plaited of two buriti palm leaves, called by the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí bo'idéju, several specimens were already known from the Bakairí of the upper Xingu tributaries, which are similar with respect to their form and manner of plaiting, on the whole, to the baskets which I acquired from the Simões Lopes Bakairí. In these baskets, too, of which three specimens are shown in photographs in Figures 44-46 (V.B. 9899. Height 36 cm. Width 32 cm. V.B. 9904. Height 32 cm. Width 34 cm. V.B. 9901. Height 37 cm. Width 34 cm.), the plaiting consists of single mesh or triple mesh. I have described the plaiting technique used in these baskets at length in my above-mentioned book, (52) with the aid of a diagram.

52. Ibid., pp. 356-359.
Figs. 182-184.

and I have shown that the beginning of the plaiting is formed by two square plaited units, of which one situated at the front side of the basket (square ABCD in the diagram in Figure 48) is plaited from the strands of half of each of the two leaves, and the other unit, situated at the back side of the basket (square MEG in the diagram), /is woven/ from the other half of each of the two leaves. These two square units of plaiting, placed corner-to-corner, and, in their original position, placed one before the other, are united by two other units of plaiting made from the free fibers of the first two units (squares ADHG and ABEF in the diagram), in such a way that these four square units together form one unit (square HEFC in the diagram) the size of which is twice that of the two original units. While the four corners of this unit of plaiting (square HEFC in the diagram) are bound upward in a vertical position (triangles DHC, BFE, EIG and GDH in the diagram) and serve as parts of the four walls of the basket, the bottom of the basket is formed by the middle part of this unit (square GEBD in the diagram) which

/42 cont./

285 remains in a horizontal position. The plaiting of the basket
184 acquired by me from the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí and that of the
53 Simões Lopes basket shown in Figure 44 consist solely of such
[126] a square plaited unit whose corners are folded upward to serve as walls for the basket, without the addition of other plaited units to /43/ complete the four walls of the basket. But the two baskets from Simões Lopes shown in Figures 45 and 46 present a more advanced form of this type of basketry in so far as the four blank spaces which appear between the four triangular parts folded upward to serve as part of the walls are filled secondarily to complete the plaiting up to the upper rim of the basket. Since the free ends of the fibers in a plaiting done in this manner all come out at the upper rim of the basket, it is possible, in order to secure them in this place, to fashion a very even and solid rim from which emerge, on both front sides, the ends of the stalks of the two buriti leaves used in the plaiting.

An interesting contribution to the problem of the dependence of basketry ornamentation on technique, and of the derivation of ornamentation from technique, is furnished by a comparison of the two baskets from Simões Lopes shown in Figure 45 and 46. The ornamentation of these two baskets is basically different from that of baskets of which plaiting is formed by loose fibers, such as that of the baskets shown in Figures 39-42. These baskets are also plaited in such a way that a flat square forms the beginning of the basket with the middle part forming the bottom of the basket and the four corners, folded upward, forming parts of the four walls. But by the fact that this flat square of plaiting is composed, in turn, of four plaited units marked by different directions of the striping of its ornamentation, uniform striping is achieved for all four walls, since in this case the striping in the four corners of the main unit, when folded upward, runs in the same direction. With regard to the Bakairí baskets woven of two buriti leaves, such uniformity in the

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striping of the walls has not been achieved because the square unit which forms the beginning of the object, in this case, contains only one diagonal stripe running in the same direction. The binding of the strands to the stalks of the leaves, which determines to a large degree the formation of the beginning of the basket, has placed a limitation, in this case, on the development of the formation of more complex units of the plaiting. The diagram in Figure 48 shows that of the four triangular corners of the flat square striped in only one direction, when folded upward, one pair (triangles GDH and BEF) present striping going in a horizontal direction and the other pair (triangles DBC and EGI in the diagram), striping going in a vertical direction. This condition also holds for the two baskets shown in Figures 45 and 46. In order to explain this more easily, I refer once more to the diagram in Figure 48. In this diagram the square GEBD comprises the plaited unit that forms the bottom. In the basket shown in Figure 46, the part of the front wall which is striped vertically corresponds to triangle DBC in the diagram, and the corresponding part of the back wall, not visible in the photograph, to triangle GEI. The corresponding parts of the two lateral walls of the basket present, in accordance with triangles EBE and DGH in the diagram, horizontal striping which also continues in the plaited complements done to fill out the remaining gaps in the four walls of the basket. /44/ so that the parts of the walls which must be regarded as accessory supplements to them present horizontal striping. The ornamentation of the basket shown in Figure 45 differs from that of the basket just described in the direction of the striping in specific parts of the walls, with those parts which are striped vertically in the basket shown in Figure 46 being striped horizontally, and vice versa. This variation of the ornamentation is brought about by the way in which the diagonal striping in the flat square which forms the beginning of the plaiting goes toward the other diagonal line in this square unit, so that the middle part of the front wall and that of the back wall present striping running in a horizontal

4:Schmidt--57 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) B47 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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direction, while the corresponding parts of the lateral walls and corresponding plaited supplements have vertical striping.

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Examples of the kind of plaiting called by me in my respective previous publications Doppelfadengeflechte (double-thread plaiting) are represented by the fish trap shown in Figure 54 and the flat basket shown in Figure 55. Fish traps like the one shown in Figure 54 (V.B. 9914. Length 54 cm. Diameter of the upper rim 25 cm.) were very common among the Bakairí of the upper Xingu tributaries, and the Berlin Ethnographic Museum possesses several specimens collected by Karl von den Steinen, who mentions them briefly in his above-mentioned book, Unter den Naturvolkern Zentral-Brasiliens. (53) He says

> 53. Karl v.d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvolkern Zentral-Brasiliens, loc. cit., p. 236.

there: "As for fish traps, there were two kinds: one called by the Bakairí purouchi was broader and had rectangular intermediary spaces, while the other, called tanauchi, was narrow and long and had high, large meshes oriented vertically." In Karl von den Steinen's book, there is no drawing or photograph of such

126

a fish trap. The specimen which I got from the Simões Lopes Bakairí and which they call tiáiíti consists of slender twigs bound at regular intervals by a double strand which, starting at the bottom, goes through the twigs in spiral fashion. A funnel-shaped entrance made of thicker twigs is placed at the upper edge.

285

The flat basket shown in Figure 55 (Length 65 cm. Width 37 cm.) serves to store fish and consists of a wooden hoop filled in with double-thread plaiting in the form of a small mat like those the Bakairí used to strain their liquids.

Finally, I must mention the small basket shown in Figure 56 (V.B. 9891. Height 20 cm. Width of the upper rim 19 cm.)

/260 cont./

131 Rio Novo, also in that state. The Simões Lopes Indians claim
361 that in the past all the Bakairí lived in aldeas by the Paraná-
193 tinga River, moving later to the north under pressure of enemy
131 groups. (2) Later on the tribe divided as a result of internal
361
166
619

2. For a better discussion of the possible origins of the Bakairí, see Max Schmidt's article, "Los Bakairí" /The Bacairi/, Revista do Museu Paulista, New Series, Vol. I, pp. 11-58, São Paulo, 1947.

[113]

disputes, part moved to the banks of the Rio Culiseu, one of the sources of the Xingu, and the other part was distributed along the Rio Novo. Perhaps the truth about these reports can only be obtained with the help of archaeology. Meanwhile, the old villages of the Bakairí on the sources of the
619 Xingu no longer exist. The Xinguano Indians suffered a great
195 deal from repeated outbreaks of influenza, and the last
931 Bakairí found in that area were brought to the Simões Lopes
248 Post a few years ago by officials of the Indian Protection Ser-
166 vice. The Rio Novo Bakairí, practically as a whole, adopted
619 the customs of the neighboring Brazilian populations and live
199 independent of the control of the Indian Protection Service.
184 As for the Simões Lopes Indians, although they are quite
[198] acculturated, they still retain many traits of their old culture. they all still speak Bakairí, and some of them still remember the time when they lived in Xinguano aldeas, and make good informants.

114 As for the authors who have dealt with the Bakairí, we shall note among the best, Capistrano de Abreu and Karl von den Steinen. The former left us valuable information on the Bakairí language and on the beliefs of these Indians. The only weakness of his material is that it is based on only one

/165 cont./

609 mix for him -- whereas the boy of a Brazilian colonist, to whom I was called in Rosario, leaped out of bed and fled from me into the forest.

186 823 The old sibyl joined us this evening on the open plaza. She pointed to the west, "Bakairi!"; to the south, "Bakairi!", to the north and east likewise "Bakairi!" and finally, describing a circle in the air, she summed up with proud satisfaction, "Bakairi!" In translation "All this is subject to me, admit that I am fortunate."

132 14 Aug. 6:00 A.M.: dry. 11.7, wet. 10.6.
2:00 P.M.: dry. 34.9, wet. 20.0, clear, NE 1.
4:05 P.M.: I 740.8, II 730.0, dry. 34.0, hygrom. 98.825.
9:00 P.M.: dry. 18.0, wet. 17.0.

126 /166/ I was fortunately able to measure three women.
[124] Antonio is very useless as an interpreter and causes more difficulties
[532] than the harmless people themselves. I also traded for a few maize-straw dolls, judging from the ease with which the transaction was made, there seemed to be no higher or in any sense a religious meaning attached to them.

592 We spent some time in Paubaga's, or rather Chief Cavéco's house, it differed in nothing essential from that of the proficuer; there were no straw dolls.

139 We found inhame (Dioscorea, yams), which we greeted
252 with joy. -- The fish are grilled on just such racks as we came across on the Batovy; they are exposed to the fire until they are encased in a thick charcoal crust; capybara leg, which tasted like fat fish, and monkey steak were also charred on the outside in this fashion. The crisp charcoal gives the insipid-tasting meat, which is not salted, an -- faute de mieux -- improved flavor. The
[123] bakairi are also familiar with a very medicinal tasting salt made from tree ashes, which, however, they do not seem to use in the preparation of food.

687 The soldiers, who were paying their farewell visit, were
451 given generous quantities of beijú, pirum, and polvilho /manioc
252 flour; see the glossary, p.172 / as presents. The grated and pounded manihoca is pressed through mats, the pulp is put into

/70 cont./

323 305 [539] nordku, pöse, it is now -- as though we were to say "jahrd" /the German word for "years," but with the accent on the final syllable/ -- transferred to the last one "noroká," "poné," and the arrow flies, mök, mök, from the bow.

Beyond the Nahuquá, however, where the knowledge of details becomes vague, only the days' journeys themselves are given. The right hand, slowly rising in even motion, describes an arc from east to west, arrives down there, and suddenly is laid on the cheek coming up to meet it, remains there while the eyes are wearily closed, and then grasps the little finger of the left hand: sleep once. Then again the same figure, but the ring finger is grasped with the little finger and both are drawn aside: sleep twice, and so forth. Be attentive, noble listener, for woe to you if you ask a question -- there is no other way to help you but to begin again from the beginning.

323 [302] But revenge is sweet. My turn also came, for they wanted to know how far it is to Cuyabá, my starting point. Their faces were priceless when I counted off, first, the fingers of my left hand, then my right, then, exactly according to their method of counting, went over the toes of the left foot and those of the right, traveled and slept between each two fingers and each two toes in the prescribed way, and finally had to grasp my hair, pulling it apart, to demonstrate that the number of days still did not extend far enough and was more than 20! Then they murmured their "ídu, ídu" of amazement or "ôko, ôko, he ôko" more and more impatiently, all talked at once and finally joined in the hearty laughter of sheer disbelief.

•186 /71/ Individual Indian tribes were also ridiculed in vivid pantomime on account of their peculiarities: the Nahuquá were funny because of their beards, the Suyá, or, as the Bakairí say, Schuyá, had to bear the brunt because of their cork-disk which they wore in the lower lip, for which the actors stretched their lower lip far forward and produced a made-up jargon of stopping tones, the Trumaí were imitated with a horrible "huhuhuhu" and, because of their barbaric habit of tossing war captives into the river with their hands tied behind them, were presented as objects partly of scorn or disgust, partly of fear.

T /124 cont./
123 pocket along the way. A certain amount was obviously missing; I hope it was distributed among various fanciers and taken by them with some success for the skin diseases particularly common among the Yaulapiti.

T
126 Much as we were urged to depart, we still had to undertake at least the most important body measurements and would not relent: seven men were measured in haste, in between our packing, and the only photographic plate left was used for a group shot -- unfortunately ruined later.

T
122 At 9:45 we set out in two canoes, accompanied by four Trumaí. Three times one would have to sleep, they said, before reaching their villages. The Mehinakú could also be reached by way of the canals and only one day was needed to their second village. At 11:00 we landed near the Aweté village, at a place other than where we had left. In the damp
T
[IX] leaves lay huge quantities of giant earthworms; wherever one put his foot, he stepped on them. The path led us to the two huts of the Yaulapiti-Aweté families.

T
361 It is advisable to insert here what Vogel and Perrot reported about the Trumaí villages after their return home from Schingi-Koblenz. They had not caught sight of an Indian, but below the place where the Kulisehu empties into the Kuluéne, on a bank five meters high, they had found one Trumaí village of eight houses and, a kilometer farther east, a second one of five
T
929 houses with buildings under construction among them. The Suyá had burned down all the houses and smashed whatever
T was left of large pots and utensils. There were plantings of re-
241 markably large size and careful cultivation directly adjoining the
T villages. About ten fresh graves were noted: judging from the
964 circular excavation, the corpses had been buried in a squatting position. They seemed to lie deep, at least they were /125/ not uncovered by some superficial subsequent digging. Antonio
B had been very alarmed when Perrot said to him: "o doutor Carlos
●186 precisa d'uma cabeça /Doctor Carlos wants a head/." It was only with great effort that Antonio had been persuaded to go along on the trip and expose himself to the possibility of meeting the deceased Trumaí.

/179 cont./

although he understood not a word of Bororó, was her son stolen years before by enemies, she wailed and lamented loudly all night long. then it was strange to see how the Bororó carefully undertook to examine on the half-laughing, half-enraged Antonio his lower lip, which among them is pierced as early as infancy and unanimously set him free when, instead of their little lip-hole, they found a pierced nasal septum. Thus among the Bakairí there were abducted Paresí women, among the Kuluqui, Mehinakú women, among the Suyá, the captured Mentmeuí, who were immediately distinguishable from the rest by the tribal marking. /180/ The artificial injury thus developed into a regular arrangement for expediency. Moreover, the foreign was regarded as ugly or comical, the indigenous as beautiful and noble.

The piercing of the ear lobes is generally widespread among the men of all tribes. It serves solely for feather ornaments. Among no tribe of the Kalisehu do the women have pierced ear-lobes, and no woman wears feather ornaments of any kind anywhere else on her body. the woman does not hunt -- the origin from the hunting trophy is still unmistakably distinct. The ear of the boy is pierced at the time when he begins to practice with a small-sized bow and arrow.* /Fig. 12 appears here./

*Among the Suyá men and women wear rolls of palm leaf strips in the slit-open ear-lobe, which is gradually extended into a long rein, but here, too, feather ornaments are confined to the men.

The piercing of the lower part of the nasal septum, so that the alae, slightly turned upward, rest on the object stuck through it, is found only among the Bakairí, on the Paranatinga and Sin Tiowa, on the Batovi, and in the first Kalisehu village among both sexes, in the second Kalisehu village only among the men, in the third neither among men nor women. This geographical distribution makes it seem not improbable to me that the custom is based on that of the Paresí, /181/ who were formerly in active

2. Suessen--194 D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP8
Bororo SP8

191 cont.

indutious women did not have a hip cord. Smaller boys were usually already provided with the cord, but then always had a couple of dainty trifles strung on it.

192 The purpose of the hip cord is to extend the praeputium. The penis is placed upward against the body and pushed under the hip cord in such a way that the uppermost section of the praeputium remains pinched off. The young man is made to do this when the first erections set in. He tries to adhere to the procedure for days and removes the annoying pubic hair.

The Trumai had a bizarre method which is also reported from other Brazilian tribes. They tied up the praeputium in front of the glans with a cotton string usually dyed red with urucú. The front end of the penis looked like the end of a sausage. Thus they achieved permanently what the others with their hip cord managed only temporarily. Unfortunately, we were unable to observe them in their village life under normal conditions. When we

Fig. 17. Penis cuff of the Bororó.

found them in the vicinity of the Aweti, on their flight from the Yuruá, we did not notice the strange string on all of the men, although those not provided with it showed the tying-off marks on the praeputium caused by its use. It would not be inconceivable that the men were somewhat embarrassed in front of the Aweti; at any rate, the rest of the tribes, when we spoke to them about the Trumai, always manifested very special amusement over the wool Wolle cord which they mocked and found as funny as we did. We met the company, however, when they were entirely

/192 cont./

The tick, 17, has four knobs on its head, which are probably supposed to represent maxillary feelers and mouth parts. The notched edge is most amusing. It reproduces not at all badly the general impression of the creeping and crawling of the eight crooked legs, which, in the case of animals that have sucked their fill, form a wreath at the top of the sac. I do not know whether the isopod, 18, bears up under zoological scrutiny. It is eyeless, like the Asellus, one of which it is supposed to represent, as far as I understood my informants. In No. 19, the crayfish, we note richly scalloped extremities and a tail fin. For eyes it has a pair of small knobs in which is pierced a fine little hole.

Fig. 89. Suyá toad-pot. (1/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

In conclusion I am adding a pot (diameter 10 X 15 centimeters) with a human representation. It is too much to demand, however, that anyone should suspect anything human about it. The woman artist who brought it to us shook with laughter over her creation. She wanted to make a toad-pot and had already copied the tail and leg projections, as well as the head with the bulging eyes of toad form. Then, when she was modeling the wide mouth and it happened to turn out open instead of closed, she noticed the similarity with the much-ridiculed lip disk of the despised Suyá, which stands out in front of the teeth of these Indians like a movable saucer. She laughed about it, set the stiff mouth flap neatly perpendicular to the toad face, and called the pot a "Suyá figure." Thus, for once, an ornament of the men was used as a motif by the women, analogous to the uluri motif, which was so popular among the gentlemen artists.

/332 cont./

the gay activity /der heitern Geschäftigkeit/," this is perfectly applicable to our Indians with the reservation that the slavish subordination was very much in the background. The woman needed protection, first, because she was weak and "wept" whenever there was danger, and then because she had to be protected from foreign lusts. In returning home from the plantings, she walked in front of her husband, since, heavily loaded, she hastened forward rapidly and everything was safe; in the forest she walked behind him so that he would be the first to meet any possible danger. She was protected from foreign guests, and, if they were of a dubious nature, as we were, the women and children ran into the forest.

What occurs in dramas of adultery I do not know. We had no opportunity to observe anything that belonged to the sphere of the administration of justice. If I asked Antonio about crimes of any kind, he always answered that such things probably happened in former times, but no longer occur now.

Theft of things belonging to us was, in any case, very frequent, except among the Bakaïrí, although friend Luchu, at the time he visited us in Independencia, was no longer altogether trustworthy. When the confusion in the Trumaí camp arose because I was obliged to demand the return of a glass of my stolen arsenic pills, we saw that the Yaulapiti, who had come with us, were trying to match the stone axes of the Trumaí. Always and without exception it was supposed to have been a stranger who had done the stealing. The people living together also had little that they needed to take from one another, and the thief could scarcely have enjoyed it without being discovered. There is nothing more natural, therefore, than that the idea of morals rests most particularly on tribal affiliation. Among the Bakaïrí kurí means "we," "we all," "our" and at the same time "good" ("our people"), kurípa, "not we," "not our," and at the same time "bad, stingy, unhealthy." All evil comes /333/ from foreigners, and not least sickness and death, which are sent from outside sorcerers.

/333 cont./

*171 437 Bakaïrí translated the Portuguese word comprar, "to buy," as yekadile, "to sit down." Trade is therefore still an exchange of hospitable gifts. But this has its origin only in the level of culture, *171 574 877 not in nobility of character. The Indian is not at all hospitable in the sense that he feels greatly honored by the visit and feels absolutely obliged to entertain lavishly with beijús and drinks. For this effort he would certainly like a reciprocal one; he soon becomes impatient if the guest is staying only because living is cheap, and he frankly asks him to leave the village. It is even reported in the Bakaïrí legends, along with the invention of the dance, that the people who were invited and entertained had given gifts of arrows and string. Our travel companions undoubtedly offered us fish en route /334/ only when they themselves were satisfied, and it was not the best beijús which they left for us. [186] The endless talk among themselves as to whether this or that tribe was "kúra" clearly shows that they were only naïvely hospitable; there was always the greatest gratification when we declared a tribe to be "kurápa," because this meant that for our part we had done less business with that one. They praised themselves far too much for the recipient to be able to believe in the pure virtue of the unselfish savage.

*171 123 437 Our matter-of-fact, businesslike way of exchanging one object for another was at first completely new to all the tribes. They quickly learned, however. Nevertheless, the funniest enormities occurred. One man gathered up a handful of mangabas and then impetuously demanded a large knife. One wanted to have beads in exchange for the bandaging of his hand. Only if it were explained to them that one had but a single specimen of an object was one not bothered further.

*171 55 [998] Names. The son, soon after birth, is given the name of the grandfather, uncle, or an ancestor, not that of the father. The names among the Bakaïrí are animal names in part, but I believe only a small part. The following are the only ones whose meaning I understand: Luchu, for example, is a water snake; the native name of Chief Reginaldo on the Rio Novo was izána = cayman; an old man in Igueti was named póne = black piranha.

B /352 cont./
772 interpret it as though the Indian says, "I am a human being and
811 let the animals behave like human beings too." The reverse,
that human beings are animals, also occurs, and, to be sure, in
B the good and bad sense. The Trumaí are water animals because
[186] they sleep at the bottom of the river. The Bakaïrí say this in
B all seriousness. We likewise encounter among other tribes this
[171] same belief in human beings who live in the water. The Bororó
BO maintain that if one chews certain leaves one can remain for
[827] hours under the surface of the water and catch fish. I was unable
to learn anything more specific about the "water life" of the
Trumaí, except that they like to attack other tribes on the river
and supposedly throw captives in the water with their arms tied.
I do not know whether they were formerly river nomads, like the
Guató; at any rate, they first learned agriculture from their
B neighbors. Whatever may have suggested this belief about them
[186] to the Bakaïrí, it will not be vitiated by any conclusions that we
might draw on the basis of our natural laws, "but, after all, the
Trumaí are not animals, not fishes"; rather, the Bakaïrí concludes
that because the Trumaí sleep in the river they are water animals,
and he mocks and despises them, as happens to every tribe with
BO strange customs. The Bororó pride themselves on the fact that
772 they are red araras. They not only turn into araras after death,
811 /353/ as well as into certain other animals, not only are the
[775] araras Bororó and treated accordingly -- they also express their
relationship to the brilliant bird so cold-bloodedly that they desig-
nate themselves as araras as though a caterpillar were to say that
it is a butterfly and, in doing so, do not at all wish to give them-
selves merely a name completely independent from their nature.

B Thus, the Trumaí are water animals because they have a
772 habit of water animals, the Bororó are araras because their dead
811 are transformed into araras. One tries to interpret these and
[171] similar phenomena by the confusion of names and things which
easily occurs in tradition. This is decidedly not the case among
our Indians. Though it may be readily conceded that, where the
basic view is present, such confusion automatically appears,
nevertheless the basic view, undoubtedly present, must be put

/232 cont./

775 [533] not go to the sky. Because of this, having slept several days, put mingáu in two small gourds; put the mingáu on the middle of the grave; two persons armed with clubs intone the song; when the song is over the two gourds are smashed and they flee. Coming from afar, one gives a blessing, saying: [539] kaukaiá (come, take heart!). When mopping, there is a blessing, saying: Aiéé! Go inside the sky, to our people, to our mother, to our father, here there is no one, inside the sky it is good, go, we, too, are going to die, it is said, -- the piahi teaches.

/233/ Another passage has ikindopa in the form of a tatou (Mogaru, Dasypus) in the middle of an abandoned village /tapéra/ and advises that no one should walk where a fight took place.

For a while bodies and spirits wander through the world, and the words of the piahi contain repeated descriptions of dead men's heads that wander about at night, livers that sit in doorways, or intestines on which one might step at night. Finally the shadow is free, and it climbs to the sky on a ladder of spun cotton, which passes underneath the star Tuiuorem. At the entrance of the sky there is the Urubu with his trap; those who do not have pierced ears and nostrils and do not wear feathers are blessed by the Urubu, i.e., blown upon, and fall into the trap; those who are marked run no danger, and they go see Nakoeri.

19 1974 775 Nakoéri is a word whose etymology cannot be explained by means of kiara-itano; fortunately, the language of the Acawoyos /Acawai/, Indians of British Guiana, Caribas like the Bacairis, offers us a valuable hint in this connection. In the translation of the first part of Genesis, and of the Gospel according to St. Matthew, recently published in London (11)

11. I owe the acquisition of this book to the kindness of my friend, Dr. Eduardo Prado, to whom I repeat my thanks.

/253 cont./

•19 by the "Society for promoting Christian Knowledge," one reads
174 the famous sentence, the spirit of God moved over the waters
775 (Genesis, I, 2): Makonàima "Yakwarri" ooupou tana pooopohru,
in which "Yakwarri" means "spirit." "Nakoeri" and "Yakwarri"
are identical words, semantically and even phonetically,
since the n in the former, like the y in the latter, are /254/
possessive indices of the third person; the double r in the English
transcription must represent the same sound as the single r in
our writing (12) and the transformation of a into o, o into w.

> 12. Any statement is risky concerning the English R. "The consonant R," writes Miss Laura Soames, "is the most perplexing element in our language. Dr. Elis wrote in 1875, that after more than thirty years study, he was not certain whether he had yet mastered its process intricacies" /cited in English/ (An introduction to Phonetics, 3d. London, 1891.)

is a common occurrence in the most diverse languages. We
can thus translate Nakoeri in the same manner as Yakwarri,
as "spirit."

19 The Akawoio /Pawsu/ permits us to take another step
174 forward. Fiat lux in Akawoio is: Akwa weijima. Would not
akwa, "light," be the radical of Nakoeri and Yakwarri, and
would not these names signify originally "the shining one"?
The answer is reserved for the grammarians; the continuation
of this study may possibly prove that the affirmative is to be
concluded from the Bacairi traditions.

539 The Bacairi himself will explain better what he knows
about Nakoeri.

/100 cont./

101 to the Christians. It is said that they are white and friendly
115 one reason why they are regarded as a horde of the Paiuya."
[99]

Martius has them living at the southernmost sources of
[31] the Schingú and also lists them at the sources of the Arinos
and Juruena. He also classifies /101/ them under the Paresí
/Parení/ who are scattered across the watershed between Tapajos,
Madeira, and Paraguay.

101 Now it turns out that placing the Paresí and the Bakairí
together in this way was erroneous. The well-known closest
relatives of the Bakairí, as I wish to point out briefly in ad-
vance, are settled north of the Amazon River, and a tribe
somewhat more distantly related to them, but belonging to
the same group, lives in the source region of the Madeira.
122 I myself was familiar only with the more of Martius, and on
the journey I had no idea how interesting this little tribe was

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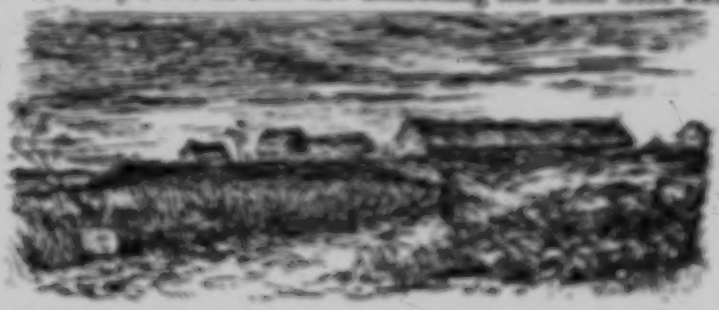
361



Bakairí village.

122 and how many hours I would later spend pondering over its past.

115 It was a very fortunate circumstance that Reginaldo --
123 who was always ready to smoke a cigarette with me and
[191] warmed up more and more and gradually became highly
amused by my notations -- had an amazing gift of quick per-
ception and was able to express himself clearly for practical
purposes in a somewhat crude Portuguese. Such an opportunity
[22] never came again later. Reginaldo was a good person, in-
telligent, and held the reins of his chieftainship in strong,
paternal hands.

/103 cont./

151 only Reginaldo, who joined us, laughed and said definitely that the person approaching was Claus coming on foot. And he was right.

•191 They all understand at least a few scraps of Portuguese.
648 They are on good terms with the Coroá, who, they said, call themselves Kayacho. It seems that they impress them because of their rifles. Reginaldo did not like to talk about this point. One had the impression that, according to his inner feeling, he was, after all, on the side of the wild Indians and against the Whites. As a clever man, he took advantage of the benefits offered by the Brazilians and did not fall out with the barbarians.

142
291
302

João and Joaquina.

648 The Bakairí manos /meek Bacairi/ bow to authority; in their hearts they are the same people as the antiguos.

126 /104/ We were busy for a number of days. Claus worked out the itinerary and took the ground temperature, Wilhelm drew, I took body measurements and made the glossary that ap-
[115] pears in the appendix. Besides Reginaldo, I was aided in particular by good-natured Antonio, who put up with everything and would have given anything to go with us. But he did not even dare ask the strict captain for permission. Castro, too,
122 was busy with notes. We shared the hut with him and the cadet.

/119 cont./

The aldeamento on the Paranatinga was smaller than the one on the Rio Novo. Moreover, the order of the community seemed seriously disturbed. Old Captain Caetano, probably near his eighties, despite his black hair, /120/ had been divested of his sovereignty in favor of a younger man, Felipe, at the instigation of the Marynica expedition, which, with the help of the Bakairí, had crossed the Paranatinga and passed through a section of the sertão /wilderness; see the glossary, p. 172/ in a northerly direction. The Bakairí, of course, felt more obligated to obey Captain Caetano than Captain Felipe, and the result was that each one made himself as independent as possible and worked on his own. Moreover, the tribe had been hard hit about eight years before by sarampão /measles/, an epidemic disease; the Brazilians put part of the blame for the number of deaths on the Indians because, in the heat of the fever, they had always run into the river.

At the time of our visit the Bakairí population was made up of five men, five women, three children -- not present were five men, three women, one boy, whose return was, in part, no longer expected. Moreover, there were two Parecí women, one of whom was numbered among those not present, and two Cajibí women, who had been adopted into the tribe. Finally, two Brazilians, caoutchouc-seekers, who had recovered from the fever in the village, had attached themselves, a mulatto Luiz and a certain Martin who had a Paraguayan, Carlotta, as a wife, with a small son. Altogether there were 20 individuals present.

Luiz, who had lived an adventurous life, a "philosopho," as he called himself, a "conversador," as his friend Daniel called him, was intimately acquainted with conditions; he chattered endlessly and was probably not altogether reliable, but he made himself useful, since the Portuguese of Caetano, who best knew the language, consisted of an extremely modest stock by words: "eine mêmo" -- "stimmt auffallend" /that's it exactly/ in German -- was the quintessence of his knowledge, so that the soldiers soon called him nothing but "Capitão Mêmo." Luiz maintained that Caetano was the son of a Bakairí father and

[Cajibí = Cayabi, a Tribe classified under SPZ Africa in The Outline of World Cultures -- Analyst]

/122 cont./

191 Unfortunately neither Caetano nor Luisa and Maria spoke one syllable of their mother tongue.

839 The young men had the old women. It is therefore not improbable that Luiz, who himself boasted of the conquest of these women's hearts, was not wrong when he maintained that occasional /122/ infidelities is not uncommon and also is not severely judged. The good-natured, aged Caetano, he said, soon fell sick, to his astonishment, a short time after the visit of the Mato,rino expedition, but he was unable to be rolling with his Lucrotha for more than a few days.

162

Luisa Cajibí and Carlotta Parecí.

847 161 The use of abortive remedies is said to be common and to explain the small number of children. The end of this community can clearly be foreseen.

162 621 [125] The following was the result of my census:

Felipe (absent) married to Carlotta Parecí, children.
Caetano " " Luisa Cajibí, children.
Miguel, Joaquim } brothers " " Feliciana, one small daughter.
João, Antonio } brothers (out companion).
Joaquina, sister of Miguel and Joaquim.
Marianna.

/77 cont./

115 157 The various men on detached duty were very different in their usefulness for my purposes. Some tired too quickly, others were too unsteady. Fat, peasant-like Yapi, for example, yawned after a few minutes, and his face seemed to say, "Sir, you are asking too much," and Luchu, the vain fop, only wanted to amuse himself. Of the younger ones, only the remarkable Kulekule was of any use to me. He was, in fact, taciturn and reserved, but he obviously liked to come, laughed quietly to himself, and then when he opened his mouth to speak, he answered better than the rest. He had received beads from me for a pot, but he had to give them up. I presented him with new ones and did not accept another pot that he brought me. He was happy about that, gave [123] me a bowl of the insipid pogu drink, and sat down beside me, leaning his head confidently against my shoulder. My most faithful guardian was Paleko. With his long hair sprinkled with gray, his fine old face, he could very well have been /78/ director emeritus of a Gymnasium. In fact, we were often reminded of European physiognomies, whose owners would perhaps protest at being compared to a naked Indian. Ehrenreich and I, for example, were jokingly and seriously in complete agreement that we recognized a couple of gentlemen from the Berliner Anthropologischen Gesellschaft on the Kulisehu; naturally these gentlemen did not resemble the Indians, but the Indians resembled the 123 gentlemen. I was alone with Paleko for half days at a time. Now and then, Eva or my intended or the Egyptian came alone or together, giving the two of us a little company.

461 Paleko plaited dainty little baskets, repaired weirs, twisted twine out of palm fibers, and did whatever else there was 126 in the way of such light tasks requiring patience. He gave me not ● 191 only words and sentences from his mother tongue, but also a list of Nahuquá words, which proved that he had associated a great deal 114 with these neighbors. He put less value on learning my language than the young people did. I would rather have given them German words instead of the Portuguese, but I regarded it as my duty not to confuse the poor souls for the future. Since my knowledge of Bakairí was still very meager, I progressed but slowly.

/79 cont./

126 192 232 325 sometimes I am afraid I betrayed what to them were incredible gaps in the most ordinary education.

The most difficult problem lay in the verbs, and, to be sure, not only because of the complication of forms. If I succeeded in writing down those sentences in which something was said about an occurrence that was just going on, even if I myself performed all kinds of actions, such as eating and drinking now of this, now of that, which were supposed to give them the content of a sentence, /80/ gross errors were nevertheless unavoidable. Unfortunately, they often said things that were different from what they were supposed to say according to my request and criticized the action instead of naming it. They were thinking for themselves and not for me. And in these efforts their readiness to imitate was disturbing to a high degree. I thought nothing would be easier than to obtain at least those intransitive verbs that could be evoked by unequivocal mimicry on my part. I would indeed need only to sneeze, cough, weep, yawn, move, only to get up, sit down, to fall, and so forth, in order to be immediately rewarded with the matching words. But they either clung to the contemplation of the process itself, thought I wanted to go away when I stood up, righteously joined in when I yawned, because they, too, were tired, or were royally amused at my strange doings, and, amidst much laughter, would likewise abandon themselves to sneezing, coughing, and moving, without, however, saying the redeeming words.

126 192 153

I made the best progress when I gave them the Portuguese word and applied the formula: the Karaibe say it thus, how does the Bakairi say it? Here I finally almost always met with understanding and response, for they were mad about learning my language.

They were very grieved that they did not understand me better, and, confusing hearing and understanding, they asked me to excuse them. I had to put saliva on my fingers and with it rub the auditory entrance for them. Their comprehension of Portuguese was even more deficient than they themselves realized. They have

[811]

151 191 194

/91 cont./

[5] no f in their store of sounds and replace it with p. If I said fogo
[97] (fire), fumo (tobacco), they would say pogo, pumo. But they
194 heard, or, more correctly, apperceived, the f also as p. they
were, as far as I could see, firmly convinced that they were pronouncing the same sound that I had said to them. Their attitude was entirely different if, for example, I gave them too long a word. then they struggled and despaired of it, but with regard to fogo, fumo, f...., the more emphatically and loudly I said it, the more emphatically and loudly they joined in pogo, pumo, p...., with decided indignation over my dissatisfaction.

128 I was obliged to be content with completing the vocabulary as much as possible and interpreting the sentences to the best of my knowledge. I did not achieve an actual translation that would do justice to the subtleties of their language, whatever I was able to offer in this respect in my book Die Bakairí-Sprache /The Bakairí Language/ (Leipzig, K. F. Köhler, 1892), I owe
192 to Antonio. I was especially very peculiarly touched by their joy over the richness of their stock of words. They manifested great pleasure at having a word for every object, as though the name itself were a sort of thing and piece of property. That the number of concepts depends primarily on interest was clearly evident. On the one hand, in comparison with our languages, an abundance of words, such as animal names or kinship terms; on the other hand, a poverty at first surprising. yêlo is "lightning" and "thunder"; kaôpê, rain, /81/ thunderstorm, and cloud. Now of course, almost all rains in their region are associated with thunderstorm phenomena, and the cloud in the sky has interest for them only insofar as it means an approaching thunderstorm. The fact that, when they combine into one concept, in their word yêlo, the visual and audible aspect of the electrical discharge, thunder is the more essential part is shown by the fact that they also call the buzzing whizzer-stick yêlo. I, who proceeded from the idea of the magic instrument, according to the custom of mythologists, who was looking for the uncanny and recognized this primarily in the flashing streak, at first translated the word as "lightning" instead of "thunder."

/94 cont./

2. To the Nahuqué.

Intercourse between the Bakairí and Nahuqué. Surprised in the harbor. Strange reception. Village vacated. A Tourinumdi. Overnight. Mehinakú in the village. Dances. Sad prospects for Professor Bastian. I go on ahead to the Mehinakú. Improvement of conditions. News about the battle between the Suyá and the Trumaí.

Without question the Nahuqué have all kinds of intercourse with the Bakairí. Even from old Paleko I had learned a whole series of Nahuqué words and from these, to my great delight, was immediately able to tell that there was a new Karaíben /Carib/ tribe involved. Paleko told me that he had formerly lived for a time among the Nahuqué. Tumayana, too, had already been among them and /95/ knew many words of their language, whereas all of the Bakairí of the Mehinakú living downstream from the Nahuqué did not know half a dozen words.

The Nahuqué who lived in the third village of the Bakairí accompanied us when, on 7 October 1887, we traveled from the harbor of the third Bakairí to his fellow tribesmen only a day's journey away, and late in the afternoon he climbed out at a place where a path led up, in order to announce us in the village. Three Bakairí from the harpy village, including Chief Porim, had also /Fig. 4 appears here/ joined us. We had started off at 6:30 and were obliged to pass through another small rapid with a strong swell. It, with a few fish corrals, still belonged to the Bakairí, while a small brook to the right, two meters wide, which we passed about 9:00 and which was closed off by a fish fence, was already the property of the Nahuqué. At 11:00 another wide brook flowed in from the right, the Hiari of the Bakairí, or Riza of the Nahuqué in whose territory it lay. Much high sandy beach, four to five meters above the water level in the dry season, willow bushes, countless dead and fallen trees. At 1:00 we made a /96/ halt at a place with abundant fish; the piranhas snapped so quickly that one had only to toss out the line and they were already caught, one large, meter-long bagadú that Antonio had caught with iguana

/14 cont./

175 Anguaiko, who ruled the two Bakairí villages on the Rio Novo,
622 held the grade of "captain" and his intended successor, Joaquim,
648 was a "lieutenant." In the village on the Rio Paranatinga the administration had deprived old chief Caetano, whose age was calculated at 80 years, of the chieftship and had entrusted it to a younger man called Felipe who had the rank of "captain," in the year 1942.

106 The way of life of the western Bakairí, at the time of Karl
[177] von den Steinen's expeditions differed little from that of the Brazilian campesinos. Already from the year 1920 they had all been baptized. Men's and women's dress was similar in general to that of the campesinos as the style of their rectangular homes was similar to the Brazilian ranchs. Besides some dogs many pigs and chickens were raised. Cattle was also raised, and they had some milch cows and a herd of oxen. They planted manioc, maize, porong /var. of French bean, from Quechua purun/, rice, sweet potatoes, bananas, sugar cane, and a little tobacco. This agriculture was carried out to a sufficient degree to permit them to sell a surplus to the cattle ranch at Corrego Funda. An important element of nourishment was provided the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí by the abundance of fish in the river, and especially the excellent matrinchan that was caught in the season of its collective migration upriver. (10) These western Bakairí worked then

10. Karl von den Steinen,
Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit.,
p. 23.

on a temporary basis for neighboring ranches, but they also produced rubber for their own use and brought the product with their herds of oxen to Cuiabá.

105 In spite of this almost complete assimilation of the western
177 Bakairí to the ways of life of Brazilian campesinos, they still
178 kept some of their ancestral customs. Above all they kept their
[19] native language, and only a few understood and spoke some Portuguese.

/20 cont./

Reguakão and his people had a large number of cattle and several saddle horses. Although among themselves they spoke only in the Bakairí language, all of the men knew the Brazilian language, and it was said that Cacique Reguakão knew how to read and speak some French. The Rio Novo Bakairí maintained at the time active relations with their fellow countrymen on the Rio Paranatinga. With the eastern Bakairí they hardly had any contacts, except for the Bakairí Joaquim who was the uncle of Cacique Antonio of the Paranatinga aldea and who had a young Bakairí from the Rio Sangue river in his service.

Different were the conditions of the Bakairí in the Rio Paranatinga aldea at the time of my visit. While the population at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions had dwindled in such a way that Karl von den Steinen foresaw the end of this community, the population of the aldea had increased in the meantime with the addition of numerous Bakairí from the Xingu River region. The number of these Bakairí, called by their Paranatinga fellow countrymen Xinguanos, climbed to 34 at the time of my stay with these Indians. The leader of the community was Antonio, who was at this time at the peak of his power. The only insignia /21/ of his rank as comandante of the Indians of the upper Xingu River region, officially granted by the Mato Grosso government, were a pair of red soldier's trousers with a wide white stripe which ran down the side of each leg, but a more practical symbol of his power were several good firearms hanging in his house, which he also used occasionally, according to the Mato Grosso men, against insubordinate fellow countrymen. The majority of the Xinguanos then living in his aldea were totally dependent upon him with regard to economic conditions and made up a valuable component of his power, for he had supplied the most trustworthy men among them with firearms. This small military force was important above all to insure contact between the Rio Paranatinga and the tributaries of the Xingu River against the Kayabí who had unquestionably begun at this time to

/21 cont./

622 that he still kept from those days. Antonio had no children by
115 Dulia Rosa. I had the opportunity to become acquainted with
[123] her when, returning in poor health from the Rio Kulisehu, I
was most generously accommodated in her house although
Antonio was away.

342 José Corado's house, situated in front of his stepfather
352 Antonio's house, was just as large and built in the same style.
353 Its interior gave much more of a native impression than Antonio's
house. In the half-dark rooms several women lay in the ham-
mocks /22/ among them one with José's little daughter, who
was only a few weeks old. All the walls in the house showed in
the upper part, directly under the ceiling, bands painted in
black and white. These friezes made by the Xinguanos showed
the typical paintings of the Bakairí. All of the decorations
known to the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River regions appeared
in these paintings, such as, for example, the figures called
159 ulari, merechu, and naimai. José, in spite of his youth, had
191 already had a great deal of experience. The hole in his lower
lip at once recalled his early childhood among his own fellow
[171] countrymen, the Suroro, whose idiom he still knew. As al-
ready mentioned above, he had come with his mother to the
house of Cacique Antonio when he was a boy of five or six, but
he had received part of his education in the capital, Cuiabá,
so that he was better acquainted than any other Rio Paranaringa
Bakairí with the Portuguese language, which he also used in
talking with his mother. When he was an adult, Cacique
159 Antonio had taken him along on a trip to the Batovy and Kulisehu
619 rivers. Already at that time he had had trouble with his step-
489 father because he had become too involved with the pretty girls
of the first aldea of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí and had thus
damaged the good relations with the inhabitants of that aldea.
The anger of the inhabitants of the first Rio Kulisehu aldea
caused by José Corado's behavior still continued at the time of
my journey to the Rio Kulisehu, and José did not dare to ac-
company me to that aldea because he had learned that its

/28 cont./

114 (113) Sept. 1926 to Aug. 1928
/Results of My Two Year Exploratory
Trip in Mato Grosso. Sept. 1926
to Aug. 1928/." pp. 86-88.
Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.
Annual Set 48. Heft 1/2

114 115 In Cuiabá I had already encountered some Bakairí who had come from Sangão Lagoa with a band of Guaicurú to the Cuiabá. Since at that time the revolutionaries, led by /Luiz Carlos/ Prestes, were passing through Mato Grosso and also were making the vicinity of Cuiabá insecure, these Bakairí were prevented from undertaking their return journey for the same reason I was unable to carry out my projected trip to Sangão Lagoa. They were four men and one boy of ten, and when they visited me one day in my house, it turned out that one of these Indians, called Marcellinho Cuminugo, or by his native name, "Singnar", came from the second Bakairí aldeia on the Rio Kurisebo. At the time of my stay in this aldeia, 26 years earlier, he had been a small boy, but he still remembered me well. It was interesting to note how the memory gradually came back to him when I played on my violin the same melody that I had played many times in the Mazmuiri aldeia among the Kuikuiro Bakairí. He asked one of the other Bakairí what my name was, and when I told him that my name was "Tornor Macimo," he knew at once that his memory had not deceived him and he greeted me as an old acquaintance. Naturally, from this moment on he frequented my house with his small son, Lorenzo, whose native name was Kaiori, and with the other Bakairí, and since some /29/ of these Bakairí were quite familiar with the Portuguese language I had a good chance to take down linguistic notes and to obtain at this time exact data on the changes which had taken place with respect to conditions among the Bakairí since my former journey. Among other news they told me that old Cacique Reginaldo had lived on for a long time and had

(551) (191) (126) (622) (159)

Bacia. SP9
Mato Grosso SP1

B
[SP]

Nine canoeists, recommended by Major Noronha, were received from the Rikbaktsa. The nine included Paglaiti, or Marcellino, and Iguarana, both of whom had lived on the Kabanes before the withdrawal of the Rikbaktsa to the post. Both of these men can speak Arikbaktsa to some extent, and are the only men who know how to make bark canoes. Unfortunately, their Portuguese is poor, necessitating another interpreter. Their knowledge and skill in matters of river travel made them invaluable, however.

B
SO1

The Rikbaktsa have the reputation of being the best canoeists of the region. The children are taught to paddle from infancy, and become extremely skillful in paddling the clumsy and heavy canoes. The paddle used is short and narrow, and a quick, short stroke is employed, the paddler shifting his paddle from one side to the other with every two or three strokes. Steering is accomplished more by the bowman than by the man in the stern. The use of the stern paddle as a rudder is not well understood. Poling is resorted to by the man in the bow when going up the stream, in which case the efforts of the man in the stern are given into guiding the canoe, which is accomplished by quick shifting of the paddling from one side to the other. Among the Rikbaktsa, as indeed among all of the aborigines encountered, the women are as good paddlers as the men, but they never were seen poling.

* * * *

B
M
114

As soon as our personnel was completed, with the addition of a young Italian explorer, Giovanni Amati, who had been forced to abandon his project to reach the Amazon upon reaching the post, our baggage was transferred to the backs of men and mules, which were to transport it to the Kabanes river. The men not concerned with driving the mules went about. It was indeed an odd caravan. Mounted men busy with the mules, men about carrying boxes and arrows and guns, long-haired men, small mules, filed in a long line across the waters of the plateau. All of the men wore a red kerchief wound about the head, and the usual humorous conversation was carried on. The Rikbaktsa, of course, wore trousers and shirts, and even sandals made of old automobile tires, in imitation of the Brazilian comrades.

B
[177]
[29]

As we moved eastward and slightly north, it became more often necessary to build bridges for the animals across small but high-banked

113	Tupi-Guarani SL6
171	Bacairi SP7 ●
● 192	Arawakan Indians SR6
197	Cariban Indians SR7
825	Carib SR9
	Macusi SR11
	Rucuyen SR12
	Cumana SS9

/For information on the terminologies and nomenclatures in the native vernacular applied by the Carib-speaking and some other northern South American tribes to various species of mammalian fauna in their habitats, see S: Simpson, S816 Pemon, Category 116, particularly pp. 4A-10B./

/64 cont./

surroundings, even in the regions of the unconscious, is best shown by the fact that from the 15th to the 16th of September, as well as during the following night, I dreamed of my German home and saw all my acquaintances there just as naked as the Bakaïrí; I myself was astonished about it in my dream, but my table partner at a dinner party, a highly respectable lady in whom I took an interest, reassured me immediately by saying: "Everyone goes around that way now."

123 291 The purpose that we associate with clothing remained hidden from them; there was no doubt about that when one saw in what naïve fashion they put on the parts of my apparel that they got hold of for a while. And how could they know any more about the rigors of our climate than about the third chapter of the first book of Moses? They played with my garments /Pl. V appears here/ /65/ like vain children. Luchu was happy when I loaned him my poncho, and with it and my hat he walked proudly about the village plaza like the most conceited fop.

291 In the ethnographic description of the Kulisehu tribes I shall have to come back to the subject of clothing and the feeling of modesty; here I can only truthfully report that in my association with these people I did not see anything of our feeling of modesty, but I did observe another kind, absolutely foreign to us, about which I shall report presently.

124 192 831 During the inquiry into the vocabulary, the parts of the body represented important and easily handled material. The Bakaïrí found it very amusing that I wanted to know everything, but, on the other hand, were very proud that their language was so rich and that the Bakaïrí had a word for each part. They became very merry at this point in my questioning and were not wanting in prompt answers where, according to our conceptions, they should have been ashamed and if possible answered in Latin or in the language of children. Considerately -- for at this time I, of course, was looking through my cultural spectacles and saw that they were naked -- I had waited for a moment when the women had gone out of the hut; I was astonished by the fact that the answer that was due suddenly came from the outside, from a very amused girl's voice. My caution had been purposeless. It was the caution of,

[Text Continues on p. 29]

/65 cont./

124 say, an Arab, who would feel awkward about looking into the un-
83 veiled face of a European woman, or a Chinese, who would fall
[472] into the most anguished embarrassment if chance showed him her
stockingless little foot. It is true, the subject that seems shocking
to us gave the Bakairí, men and women, decided pleasure, and
if a pedantic ponderer who wants to have modesty in our sense
preserved at any price as the innate heritage of humanity would
like to conclude from this increased measure of merriment that
the bad conscience of a tribe that had sunk from a higher morality
was stirring, I can only reply to him that their merry laughter was
neither impudent nor did it give the impression of cloaking an
inner embarrassment. On the other hand, it undoubtedly had a
slightly erotic timbre, and, much as occasion and accompanying
circumstances among true primitive peoples must differ, it
altogether resembled the laughter that one hears at our spinning-
party jokes, at games of forfeit, or other harmless entertainment
in the intercourse between the two sexes. For from this same
[531] natural joy, as we shall see later, there resulted one of the most
common ornaments in their painting, namely, the uluri of the
women, represented on numerous implements as the original form
of the triangle.

126 I wished to have the uluris made in larger quantities for
the collection. Which aroused great merriment. Thus one after-
noon there was lively tailoring. We were sitting behind Tumayaua's
[252] house, an old woman was baking beijú outside, pouring the flour
[524] on the pan, spreading it smooth, and /66/ skillfully tossing the
[283] finished flat-cake on a sieve, the children licked up pûserego and
[289] played catch with feather-decorated maize balls, and four women
and girls were twisting the threads out of palm fiber, folding the
"little skirts" out of brownish-yellow leaves, and handing me the
126 neat work in quantity and in all sizes. The only thing that I must
291 add is that one woman was very baffled and looked about helplessly
when I asked for an uluri that she was wearing. But no feeling of
modesty related to the exposure had anything to do with this em-
barrassment; rather, what feeling of modesty was present should
be called a physiological one, the existence of which I do not

/76 cont./

153 Their need for probing into the nature of new things was
197 exhausted, except for the question as to whether I had made them, with the second one as to their names /77/ "Eséti?" "Eséti?" "What is that called?" cried the whole company in unison, and they all took honest pains to repeat after me the Portuguese words. One or another would often go on whispering the word to himself for a long time while the conversation went on. They were unable to pronounce two consonants in succession. But if now and then they succeeded in correctly reproducing the appropriate word, their joy was great, and I had the impression that the object itself now also seemed more familiar to them. "Papéra," from the Portuguese papel, "paper," was given as the name for my notebook, and whereas at first they could not examine and touch the incomprehensible thing enough, they could now quickly come to terms with it: it was quite simply "papéra."

522 Anywhere in the world a foreign language is encountered,
[192] one will very soon know what "a pretty girl" is. Their "pekóto iwáku" or the more endearing "pekóto iwakulukúlu" I could translate for them with the words "moça bonita," which they were well able to imitate and which they now practiced with delight. I had first taught my "moça bonita" to Eva; she laughed, blushed, and pronounced it daintily and distinctly. She continued to laugh, poked her husband Kulekule in the ribs -- just as a vigorous person who is pleased about a good idea would do among us -- the two whispered together, and I was asked to say what "a handsome man" might be. When I once imitated Tumayaua's attempts at Portuguese, which in truth were not very successful, even though he was chief, the entire chorus laughed so much that they were unable to talk for laughing; they fairly yodeled with abandon.

576 These were the gloomy and reserved Indians. If the talk became too much for them, everybody yawned openly and without holding the hand in front of the mouth. It was not to be denied that the wholesome reflex was catching here, too. Then one after another would stand up and I remained alone with my guard.

/79 cont./

193 The simple result is that all kinds of things that do not belong to it are regarded as part of the stem, and the form is used on all kinds of occasions where it is appropriate neither according to person, time sequence, or other nuances contained in it. The organic structure of words becomes rigid, and the sentence becomes a mosaic of the crudest sort made up of nothing but fragments. But there is provision for understanding; for the Indian, with his talent for the characteristic, the chopped-off fragment of a word suffices completely for the entire sentence, and, what is worse, if one wants to make progress in the language, it is all the more agreeable, of course, if one needs only the clumsy content of the communication; he himself soon adopts the new manner of expression; fluent conversations are carried on by barter with stamped coins instead with living words.

126 What made my recording not a little difficult was the cir-
192 cumstance that the Bakaïrí did not understand my questioning tone.
[194] They imitated it instead of answering. Obtaining the names of
[153] the objects present was done without any trouble; they even anticipated the need, pointed to those I had not yet asked about,
126 and said the names. I went into great detail with the parts of the
193 body because they are always joined with pronominal prefixes; thus the Indian does not say, for example, "tongue," but always, with the addition of the person, "my tongue," "your tongue," "his tongue," and thus there is a grammatical value in this category of the list. It was therefore well to note whether the part of the body whose stem one was asking for was shown on oneself, on the person questioned, or on a third person, for the answer was accordingly: your ãlu, my ulu, his ilu, or in general kʔulu, the tongue of all of us here.

126 Recording animal names was a pleasure, for here the imita-
192 tion with sounds and gestures was the most artful. A snake, an
536 alligator head, or the like was also drawn in the sand. The
825 quantity of the many individual statements was a hindrance to me, since I did not know enough about the voices and the behavior of their animals; they offered me subleties in the distinction of species which, to their surprise, I was unable to appreciate, and

/79 cont./

126 192 536 825 sometimes I am afraid I betrayed what to them were incredible gaps in the most ordinary education.

The most difficult problem lay in the verbs, and, to be sure, not only because of the complication of forms. If I succeeded in writing down short sentences in which something was said about an occurrence that was just going on, even if I myself performed all kinds of actions, such as eating and drinking now of this, now of that, which were supposed to give them the content of a sentence, /80/ gross errors were nevertheless unavoidable. Unfortunately, they often said things that were different from what they were supposed to say according to my request and criticized the action instead of naming it. They were thinking for themselves and not for me. And in these efforts their readiness to imitate was disturbing to a high degree. I thought nothing would be easier than to obtain at least those intransitive verbs that could be evoked by unequivocal mimicry on my part; I would indeed need only to sneeze, cough, weep, yawn, snore, only to get up, sit down, to fall, and so forth, in order to be immediately rewarded with the matching words. But they either clung to the contemplation of the process itself, thought I wanted to go away when I stood up, righteously joined in when I yawned, because they, too, were tired, or were royally amused at my strange doings, and, amidst much laughter, would likewise abandon themselves to sneezing, coughing, and snoring, without, however, saying the redeeming words.

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[811] They were very grieved that they did not understand me better, and, confusing hearing and understanding, they asked me to cure them. I had to put saliva on my fingers and with it rub the auditory entrance for them. Their comprehension of Portuguese was even more deficient than they themselves realized. They have

151 191 194

/80 cont./

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194 heard, or, more correctly, apperceived, the f also as p: they were, as far as I could see, firmly convinced that they were pronouncing the same sound that I had said to them. Their attitude was entirely different if, for example, I gave them too long a word, then they struggled and despaired of it, but with regard to fogo, fumo, f...., the more emphatically and loudly I said it, the more emphatically and loudly they joined in: pogo, pumo, p...., with decided indigantion over my dissatisfaction.

128 I was obliged to be content with completing the vocabulary as much as possible and interpreting the sentences to the best of my knowledge. I did not achieve an actual translation that would do justice to the subtleties of their language; whatever I was able to offer in this respect in my book Die Bakaïrí-Sprache /The Bakaïrí Language/ (Leipzig, K. F. Köhler, 1892), I owe
192 to Antonio. I was especially very peculiarly touched by their joy over the richness of their stock of words. They manifested great pleasure at having a word for every object, as though the name itself were a sort of thing and piece of property. That the number of concepts depends primarily on interest was clearly evident. On the one hand, in comparison with our languages, an abundance of words, such as animal names or kinship terms; on the other hand, a poverty at first surprising: yélo is "lightning" and "thunder"; kxópö, rain, /81/ thunderstorm, and cloud. Now of course, almost all rains in their region are associated with thunderstorm phenomena, and the cloud in the sky has interest for them only insofar as it means an approaching thunderstorm. The fact that, when they combine into one concept, in their word yélo, the visual and audible aspect of the electrical discharge, thunder is the more essential part is shown by the fact that they also call the buzzing whizzer-stick yélo. I, who proceeded from the idea of the magic instrument, according to the custom of mythologists, who was looking for the uncanny and recognized this primarily in the flashing streak, at first translated the word as "lightning" instead of "thunder."

/81 cont./

•192 The real poverty is in the lack of superordinate concepts,
811 as among all primitive peoples. They have a word for "bird," which probably means "winged," but the North Karaiben have another stem toro- or tono-, which among the Bakaïrí also means very ordinary birds, a species of parrot or wild chicken /Waldhuhn/. Each parrot has its particular name and the more general concept of "parrot" is completely lacking, just as the concept "palm" is lacking. They know the characteristics of each parrot and palm species very precisely, however, and cling so to these numerous individual facts that they pay no attention to the common features, which, to be sure, have no interest. Thus, one sees that their poverty is only a poverty of higher units; they are choked by the mass of material and cannot handle it economically. They deal only in small change, but in the number of pieces in their possession they should be called superrich rather than poor. In building up their thoughts they set their ideas together like an endless wall of uniform stones and as yet have scarcely any notion of architectonic structure.

811 Their ineptness at forming abstractions came out most clearly in my efforts with regard to their art of counting. About this,
128 however, I should like to report later in a separate chapter, so that now I may finally take up once more the thread of our travel chronicle and return to Independencia, to my traveling companions. In my description of my Bakaïrí idyl I have been very detailed to some extent, but will thus be saved many details in the later portrayal, since the picture among the other tribes was essentially the same, even though I was never again able to enjoy it so quietly.

/176 cont./

*171 well-meaning advice that I should pluck it out. The lashes re-
302 moved so radically would not by any means grow scantily, as is proved by the magnificent lashes of the "docile" Indians. /Pl. XIV appears here./ /177/ Moreover, the grooming of the beard was by far the most neglected, and thus the custom of removing the hair probably did not start with it.

Regarding the pubic hair, which only the Suyá men did not remove, whereas their absolutely naked women did, one can expect the rather coarsely naïve natives to regard its presence as particularly ugly. Yet it is scarcely satisfactory to assume that it is only man's innate pleasure in a smooth skin which has prompted the unclothed native to carry on such energetic destructive warfare against all body hair. There is no lack of reasons why it often seems annoying. People say that even insects which are not eaten as lice are get into the beard, underarm, and pubic hair and mat it down, just as in our case bees in particular became entangled there; people remember the tubercles and blisters on perspiring skin, which are doubly sensitive in hair, the uncleanness caused by blood and dirt, the convenience of attack for underbrush as well as for the pugnacity of one's fellow men, and thus they find many situations in which the body hair of a naked person may cause more annoyance than pleasure. On
[517] the other hand, the pastime and enjoyment which plucking the hair and working over the bodies with small implements provide people in lazy hours must also be given their due. Finally, it is
[826] perhaps not entirely irrelevant that hair and feathers are regarded
[811] as a sort of plant growth. The word for hair and feathers among
[192] the Bakaïrí, and probably also in other languages, was originally the same as forest, and the concepts are basically related, regardless of whether the vegetative was taken from the corporeal, or vice versa. Hair and plants grow; they are also cleared away, at least the short weeds.

I should like to put foremost, however, a simple motive operating daily. Just as skin and hair belong together, I am thinking, in association with the custom of plucking, of a connection with the other custom of body painting, of cosmetics, which Joest maintains is older than bathing. For the painting of

[TEXT Continues on P. 164]

/187 cont./

*171 the Bakaïrí Luchu, in a pleasant idle hour, treat himself to a
302 serpentine line with dots beside it on his thigh, and just as plainer
751 people among us dress only modestly even on Sunday, so an Indian of more unassuming temperament is content to permit himself for the celebration of a joyful event merely a painting of the forehead and nose or of the calves, instead of a linear design. By and large, however, I find it clearly evident that daubing is done for utilitarian purposes and one decorates himself with designs for beautification purposes, and I conclude from this that cosmetics were not adornment at first. And this is all the
[822] more to be maintained inasmuch as to this day only secondary value is put on the color of their coloring materials, since they scorn white altogether, make no particular distinction between red and black, and since they have disproportionately more
[192] beautiful colors at their disposal in their feather ornaments. The development of color words, as we shall see, also speaks in favor of this view.

I need scarcely point out that among the purposes of daubing regarded as useful the medicinal ones were not lacking and encouraged the custom. I shall cite a specific and very common case presently in connection with the scarifier. When Moritona, the great medicine man of the Yaulapiti, smeared the remainder of our pea soup over a broad area of his chest, the motive of delight in color probably played only a minor part.

*171 The designs were of different kinds. Simple finger
302 strokes, bold stripes, for example, from eye to ear, or the beautifying of the same Moritona: a black stripe from the nose to the navel, stripes that followed the contours of the shoulder blades, dots on chest and arms, wavy lines along the thighs, dotted arcs across the chest, a zigzag down the back and legs, and the like. In part there was involved in this a bold outlining
[619] or intersection of the anatomical contours, in part imitation animal skin-design, but everything was the choice of the individual person and there were no tribal designs. The conspicuous painting of individual parts of the body, for instance, forehead and nose, may be regarded as a transition to the ordinary broader

/400 cont./

B A 1974 A [169] there is historical proof here for the shift of the Karaiben from south to north is not affected by it. The shift of latitude is also very considerable, for today the Suyá live on the 11th degree of latitude and previously on the Rio Verde lived considerably farther south, whereas the Apiaká are already in close proximity to the Amazon River.

B A [197] The linguistic relationship of the Apiaká and Bakaïrí is close, but no closer than that of several Karaiben tribes north of the Amazonas and the Bakaïrí! It is very interesting that A [194] in many cases the Apiaká already have consonant terminal sounds and double consonants within the word. I am presenting B A [113] a few words from Ehrenreich's vocabulary, which has not yet been published. The pronominal prefix of the first person is ï-, [193] which in Bakaïrí sometimes belongs to the first person, sometimes to the third.

B A 192 Tooth ieri, Bak. vëri, Karaiben in general;
Tongue elo (e slightly audible), Bak. ïlu (third person);
Hand omiat, Bak. omári (second person);
Foot ipun, Bak. ixúlu (third person);
Thigh iwet, Bak. ewéti (third person);
Lower leg iptchin, Bak. ischinári (third person);
Nose inam, Bak. inári (third person);
Ear iuanan, Bak. iwanatári (third person);
Bone itpun, Bak. ipiri;
Water paru, Bak. páru water, river;
River paru ime, Bak. páru ima large river;
Sun tschitschi, Bak. tschíschi;
Moon nuno, Bak. núna;
Heaven kabo, Bak. kxáu;
Rain kongpo, Bak. kxópö;
Fire kampot (Bak. péto), Rukuyenne and others wapoto, apoto, cf. the table in Bakaïrí-Grammatik, p. 278.
Tree, wood, yei, Bak. se, Makuschí yeh, yéi;
Father ongmä, Bak. iyúme;

/401/

Mother iämä, Bak. íse.

2: Steinen--485E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Apiaca SP2
Cariban Indians SR7

B
A
/401 cont./
192
Uncle koko (patruus /father's brother/, matruus / mother's brother/), Bak. kχûgo matruus;
Grandfather tamko, Bak. itãmo, Galibi tamoko;
Arrow pirom, Bak. pülĕu, pirãu;
Bow topkat, Bak. tãkχo;
Tobacco tawe (e scarcely audible), Bak. tãwe;
Maize ŝnat, Bak. anãzí;
Beijû abat, Bak. awãtu;
Batata nabiot, Bak. nãwi;
Banana uomium, Docile Bak. banana;
Fish uot, North Kar. boto, uoto fish, Bak. póto wild game;
Piranha ponã, Bak. pãne;
Snake ogoi, Bak. agãu;
Jaguar ogro, Bak. ŝkã.

B
A
174
192
A
[177]

Here I have, of course, chosen very clear correspondences, which is what matters at this point. The banana is again designated with a new word foreign to all Karaiben idioms; the Apiaká were as little familiar with the fruit in their central habitation as the Suyá from whom they fled, and they probably first made its acquaintance in the region between the Schingú and the Araguay.

C
174

Numerous tributaries of the Tapajoz, Schingú, and Araguay are as yet completely unexplored. I am quite confident that there is still many a Karaiben people living there. The Arara west of the lower course of the Schingú are suspicious because of their tattooing. The above-mentioned Pimenteira in the province of Piauhy provide the easternmost trace of the Karaiben. Martius reports that since the year 1775 they have broken out from time to time between the sources of the Piauhy and the Gorguea and alarmed the farms of the upper Piauhy. "Members of this horde were already settled in former times in Quebrobro along the Rio de San Francisco."* "The greater part of them is still roving

C
[113]

* Zur Ethnographie Amerikas, zumal Brasiliens /On the Ethnography of America, particularly Brazil/, pp. 348, 349. Leipzig, 1867.

C /401 cont./
174 about independently, and the fazendeiros have the right to use those of them whom they can capture as slaves for ten years or to sell them."** It is earnestly to be wished that a part of the

C
[113] ** Spix and Martius, Reise in Brasilien /Travels in Brazil/, II, p. 805. Munich, 1828.

natives had escaped this fine system of the beginning of the
C century and were available for a thorough investigation. The
192 brief vocabulary which Spix and Martius set down in Piauhy
197 (Glossary, p. 219) and in which Martius already recognized correspondences with Karaiben dialects -- he mentions Tamanako -- would not in the least, however, satisfy the requirements for pure Karaiben. Nevertheless, with all the mixture with Gẽs or Tupí tribes, the Karaiben elements are unmistakable and more numerous than Martius probably suspected. They are the words for: tooth, tongue, arm, chest, thigh, toe, uncle, father, brother, child, companion, sun, (moon), wood, fire, earth, thunder, arrow, /402/ mandioca, tobacco (pipe),
B to sleep. Only there is such a swarm of ö, ä, ü that familiar words
[192] seem very distorted, for example, mandioca, Bak. ichére, Pim. uütschörô, or arm, Tamanako japari (Bak. wing, sawöri), Pim. söbarõh.

B While the Palmella and the Pimenteira, according to
C everything that we know thus far, seem somewhat isolated in
174 foreign surroundings, the united Bakaïrí and Nahuquá represent a very considerable complex, and at the same time their geographical location in the source region of the Tapajoz and Schingú is remarkably suitable for the hypothesis of the shift toward the north insofar as the southernmost of the North Karaiben on the left bank of the Amazonas are directly adjacent just opposite the mouths of the Tapajoz and Schingú. I am far from regarding the Bakaïrí or Nahuquá as, say, the remnants of the unaltered Karaiben base-people /Grundvolk/; but rather I merely believe that everything suggests that they live closest to the original home of the base-people. That there was such a base-people, though perhaps, after all, a small tribe, is an

/420 cont./

B 171 192 T 171 192 They all had in common a word each for 1) red and orange, 2) yellow, 3) white, 4) black. This therefore corresponds exactly with their dyestuffs. The Auetó had the same word, the "white" of the Tupí language, for white and light yellow. The Trumaí were the only ones who had two words for blue and green; the rest designated these two colors with the same word. Among the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/, however, tamagenéng blue - black and dark brown, and green is tukuéng; it also happened that one of them would use tukuéng for blue as well, but not tamagenéng for green. Now and then the strangest things occurred. A Trumaí and a Nahuquá designated blue with the same word as cadmium yellow, a Bakaïrí and a Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ designated green just the same as red -- if one wished, one could discover the various types of color blindness among any of them one happened to be investigating.

B 171 192 196 Only linguistic research can give the key for these phenomena. For a number of the color words I am able to give the original meaning, and they will suffice to explain possibilities of this kind. It is quite certain that the Kamayurá /Camayura/ word "blue" or "green" i-tsovü-maé = parakeet-colored" from tsovü, the name of the Conurus species or parakeets. These parrots have grass green as well as indigo blue in their feathers. In Tupí the same color word is cúgui, cy, and the parakeet is called tovi, tui, cívi, ciui. Thanks to the Kamayurá form, i-tsovü-mae, the origin of cugui, already obliterated in the Tupí, is still preserved. Whether I showed the Indian a blue or a green daub, a blue string of beads or a green leaf, his answer, "parakeet-colored," was, indeed, correct. It all depends on which part of the coloring he visualized. The Auetö word i-kör-etú, "green" or "blue," perhaps corresponds to the "parrot" of the Tupí, jeru, softened from keru, so that we would have here "parrot-colored."

The tukuéng "green" of the Bakaïrí also goes back to the parakeet zugú-ri.* Now since there is a parakeet species kept in

* The name of the parakeet is onomatopoetic, hence very similar among Bakaïrí, Tupí, and Bororó.

/420 cont./

171 the houses by the natives, /421/ one which has a beautiful red
192 spot next to the beak, I assume that one Bakaïrí woman recalled
196 this little animal when, to my astonishment, she designated emerald green, vermillion, and ultramarine, one after the other, as nukuéng! This was all correct, but at that time I myself had no idea of the connection, and, shaking my head, I put the result down on paper with big exclamation marks. Luckily, the people had not derived a color word from the red arara of the lower Schingú; they would have been able to give the baffled European a palette of practically all the clashing colors with one word. Moreover, it is at least possible that the Bakaïrí and North Karaiben word for red means "the color of fruit"; in this case one person who is by no means color-blind for red might, by way of exception, also use the word for green (emerald green and sap-green), whereas the others generally used it for orange, vermillion, and carmine. The derivation of the Tupí word ti, ting, tinga for "white" from ty, urine, sap, juice, can probably be defended; in that case it would surely not be surprising if the Aueto designate white and light yellow with it.

The Bakaïrí word for white is "salt"-colored, the one for black, "soot"-colored. The latter, as has been mentioned, also serves for blue and dark brown, and, whereas green = parakeet-colored could also be "blue," blue = soot-colored could not be "green."

Thus it follows that some of the color words may have more than one meaning. It is obvious that where this is the case usage will gradually be restricted to one quality; the important thing is merely usage which develops the need for distinction. The need to distinguish colors asserts itself first of all for the dyestuff itself. It seems to be by no means usual for the color word to be derived from the dyestuff, since I am able to find this in Bakaïrí only for blue-black = soot-color; among the Tupí, for example, una black = "burned," and the form often applied to animals, pischuna, means "burned skin." This word is also used for "blue"; the brilliant blue arara has gone over into zoology as "Psittacus ararauna" = arara una. Nowhere is the word for urucú contained

/421 cont./

171 in the color word for red, nor the word for the white clay in the
192 color word for white. I believe that the dyestuffs are far older
196 than the need for distinguishing them according to their colors.
[193] This is probable for the Bakairí because of two points: first, the color adjectives, with the single exception of "red, orange," do not belong to the inventory of the Karaiben base-language; secondly, their construction according to the schema t-stem-éng bears the stamp of a more recent formation.

000 I may doubtless also be permitted to use such a situation to support the earlier argument about the origin of personal color ornamentation (see pp. 172 ff.). No matter how ancient and innate the joy of color may assuredly be, nevertheless the circumstance that a need to distinguish the colors of the dyestuffs with words did not manifest itself until late speaks in favor of the view /422/ that colored ornamentation was not first used on the body for the sake of the colors. Since whatever was worn on the body as trophies or for practical purposes was actually distinguished by varying colors, which must have given pleasure, people quite naturally came to want to use them also for enjoyment, and from this time on the earliest distinctions by means of names for colors began, within these, in turn, the first certainty was gained also for the colors that were fashioned, whereas the need for distinguishing green and blue was satisfied by words which were still vague, such as "parakeet-colored."

171 One more thing must not be forgotten. The Indian does not
192 form general judgments, such as "the trees are green, the sky is
811 blue." Nothing induces him to analyze this view presented to him by the external world; it is of no interest to his person in any activity and is something taken for granted, such as that water is wet. What does interest him in making distinctions according to color is animals and plants. His principal application of the color names acquired is here and it is necessary to find out here how he proceeds with color names in his own usage.

171 With this in mind I looked through the list of animal names
192 in the glossary of Martius, in which some 1300 have been col-
825 lected from the total literature. "Parakeet-colored," cugui, for "blue and green" is used only a single time in the case of a

/422 cont./

171 boa-snake which Martius calls "viridis vel azureus Coluber
192 aestivus L." The ordinary distinctions according to color, the
825 number of which is smaller than one would expect, are black, white, red, and yellow; without placing any importance on absolute accuracy, I count 28 birds, 23 fish, 9 mammals, 4 snakes, and 12 lower animals which are differentiated according to those four colors. But now two more words occur for "colorful" /bunt, "gay-colored, mixed, spotted"/, one of which, pinima, with the verb "to paint" of the same stem, is used for fish, three birds, the jaguar, one snake, one lizard, one crayfish, and the other, paragoa, means simply "parrot" and also furnishes a parrot-fish and a parrot-snake. Pure "green" is always parrot-colored or parakeet-colored; where a "blue" is to be distinguished, the animal is also given the additional word una (burned) = black or dark.

191 It cannot be expressed more clearly that the Indian is in-
192 duced to make a sharp color-distinction only when it is a matter of color qualities familiar to him from the dyestuffs, in other words, that his own experience, not his sense of color, furnishes the material for the sharply defined concepts.

171 The list of plant names by Martius, somewhat over 1000 in
192 number, offers an interesting comparison. Eight plants are given
824 the title black, 7 white, 7 red, 2 yellow. It is obvious that among the plants "green" does not form a distinguishing mark. Yet here, too, we come across on one occasion the cugui or "parakeet-colored," sometimes translated "green," sometimes "blue," and, to be sure, it corresponds to /423/ a specific blue, since it refers to Indigofera anil L. Three plants are "colorful," but "pinima": the parrot-colorfulness (paragoa) is lacking.

171 The natives could have obtained indigo from the plant just
386 mentioned, but they did not know how. Martius asserts that in the manufacture of indigo the Brazilian industrialists use Indian labor, that it was first introduced by the Portuguese and produces a not very desirable kind. Genipap-black has a blue tinge and
[192] thus corresponds very well to the referring of blue to black in the
[304] color designations. The blue of the tattooing also comes from the black.

/423 cont./

the black. If one examines the collections in the Museum für Völkerkunde, which are still free of blue embroidery beads and fabrics, one will understand the entire situation at a glance. There on the painted implements one finds only red, yellow, white, and black, and the feather ornamentation also shows green and blue; it shows both colors in brilliant purity, but unsorted, arbitrarily blended together in any fashion, and, with the other colors, in a luminous total picture which invites general admiration but not detailed analysis. In modern art this is called a color symphony, and it is understandable that from a symphony one does not learn scales. In the soul of the Indian it looks the same as in a shop window. The only blue and green he has at home is in the shape of his parakeets and parrots or similar ornamental birds, and so he takes their name for the color name, which suffices for blue and green.

He always definitely made one distinction between blue and green: he ranked blue, but not green, with black or dark. Why does he not sometimes also call a green "black-dark"? The only reason seems to be that cases where a green is so striking that it is used as the distinguishing feature of a designation are very rare, aside from the parrots themselves, as the lists show, and then it is always a matter of a luminous parrot-green. On the other hand, among the animals distinguished with "black-dark" = blue, the dark blue always predominates; thus, even the ararauna, probably the lightest of these, has, according to Brehm, "all upper parts along with the tail-coverts dark sky-blue"; the feathers often have even a very blackish shade on the outer part of the vane, and only when the bird is flying along bathed in full sunlight does a lighter, misty azure become notable.

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Chapter XVI.
The Paresí.

On the history of the Paresí and tribes related to them. Our visitors. Language. Anthropological. On the ethnography (dress, ethnographic yields, intoxicating beverages, dance

● 192

/The incidental translation of Bacairi words as a result of grammatical analysis will be found in category 193./

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1 **Bakaéri, waráiu, kxaraiwa aceγebidúo**
Bakaeri Tapuia Brazilian when they quarreled

arinedili
they became.

2 **Kxiwimári iewirâpadili**
Our captain became angry

3 **Aγi amarémo tokedúo tohi**
Enough you /pl./ when he said people

ewánu iniγadili.
their illness made it.

4 **Iniγatúo idanára anaγido âγâ kxõiγeli**
When made it all animal with we died

5 **Ilapũriñe emedili wâγâ yamadili.**
Then dawn above became dark.

6 **Xixi eγacého yamu inenaxúli.**
Sun his coming out dark closed-it.

7 **Inenaxudúo iγawinu iniγadili.**
When closed it cold made it.

8 **Xixi eγacedúo yamadili.**
Sun when came out became dark.

9 **Yamatúo xirimúka eγacéli.**
When became dark star came out.

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10 **Aγö** **yamu** **iγawinu** **iniγadili.**
Quite dark cold made it.

11 **Aritúo** **udódo** **ahepanokeli.**
Then jaguar appeared.

12 **Péto** **aγö** **aγaetiño-modo** **iniγadili.**
Fire enough ancients made it.

13 **Taxo** **ahitokili** **püreu** **ahitokili.**
Knife played arrow played.

14 **Tãwi-γe** **iγedãri** **tunaneη**
Their hunger with those who did not die strong

niγe-pa **tohinóhe.**
die not remain.

15 **Ilapüriñe** **iwerâ-pa-itúo** **xixi** **eγacéli.**
Then today not being sun came out.

16 **Xixi** **kxurotaλ** **aγaetiño-modo** **amiduadili.**
Sun midday ancients ate.

17 **Ilapüriñe** **aγi** **xikidúo** **péto** **õro**
Then much slept fire earth

odákxa **eyaceli.**
inside came out.

18 **Xixi** **péto-ára** **idili.**
Sun fire like became.

19 **Ce** **adapikú-γe** **iγéli.**
Tree heat with died.

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• 192
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20 **Páru** **çavéli.**
Water dried.

21 **Páru** **çavedúo** **kxãna** **iγéli.**
Water when dried fish died.

22 **Kxána** **iγedúo** **cenena** **kxana**
Fish when dried urubu fish

çani.
ate-it.

23 **Páru** **çavedúo** **anaγido** **iγéli** **páru**
Water when dried animal died water

tinenedili.
wanted to drink.

24 **Apa** **anáhi** **idanára** **iγéli.**
Mandioca maize all died.

25 **Áritibiñe** **kxöiγeli.**
Then we died.

26 **Kxöiγedúo** **cenerá-la** **kxani.**
When we died urubu ate us.

27 **Ãráγi** **kxapüráne** **be-ba** **awiliγe.**
Someone buries us is not thus.

28 **Idanára** **anaγido** **iγeli.**
All animals died.

29 **Aritibiñe** **ayi-pa** **kxitúo**
Then many not when we remained

192 /230/ **kxiwimári** **parutába** **inepehenili.**
193 our captain sea blessed it (blew).
539

30 **Aritúo** **parutába** **aɣo-idili,** **péto** **enaxekili.**
Then sea rose, fire put it out

31 **Kxaraiwa** **idamú-do** **niõretudili.**
Brazilian his grandfathers dreamed-it.

32 **Mâra** **núna** **iwâyâ** **parutába** **ivehe**
That moon over sea will swell

yamüra **keli.**
spirit said.

33 **Tonudõ-** **na** **keduo** **miɣewadili-la**
His people for when said you lie

iunudo **keli.**
his people said.

34 **Tunudo** **kedúo** **pi** **inanadili.**
His people when said ax picked it up.

35 **Pepi** **ima** **xiɣace.**
Canoe large made it.

36 **Ata** **takxaheŋ** **pepi.**
House high canoe.

37 **Ilãe** **tipiniri** **inadili** **pepi** **odaλ.**
Then his food takes it canoe inside.

38 **Ilãe** **kxopáe** **timeri** **tiwüdi**
Then at night his child his wife

/231/ áγâ anela oxedili.
with alone sailed.

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39 Oxedibi-ñe parutaba çalokxúli.
When he sailed sea rose.

40 Çalokxuli kxopae.
Rose at night.

41 Aritúo idanara anaγido aγâ kxöiγéli.
Then all animal with we died.

42 Tõiwedúo çaγuno iñiγadili.
When swelled sand made it.

43 Iwerâ-pa mâra tapiku wâγâ çavelli.
Today not that heat above came down.

44 Çavedúo çaγúno tuxũe
When came down sand stone to

atuγudili
turned.

45 Ilapüriñe õro acemakéli.
Then the earth is exchanged.

46 Kxái-na õro idâli.
Sky to earth went.

45 /47/ Idâdúo kxáu aγá-na xirimúca idâli.
When went sky with star went.

48 Pimiri ara tawöγeŋ atuγudili.
Ant like flying thing became.

● 192 /232/49 **Tawöγen atuγudili kxonopio ara.**
193 Flying thing became little bird like.
539

50 **Idanâra anaγido ara kxidatuγudili.**
All animals like we became.

51 **Ilapüriñe aγökxitúo tohi ewanu-γe**
Then when we grew our work with

kxidacenomedadili.
we learned.

52 **Idu-pe-ba ilapüriñe pohi ara**
Forest there was not then grass like

idu yahele.
forest grew.

53 **Mâra adapiku wâγâ apa**
That heat over mandioca

ewili ipüri-büri eγaheli
its fruit its old seed germinated

pohi anaλ.
grass (campo) middle of.

193 Before giving the translation of this text, let us take it as the theme to accompany a few grammatical explanations.

One fact strikes us at once: the sentences follow one another, each usually with only one verb, without interdependence or subordination. In other words: as far as syntax is concerned, Kxura-itano uses parataxis exclusively. /233/ The greatest complexity attained by the sentence is that of apposition, enumeration, or parallelism, which does not exceed the scope of parataxis.

/78 cont./

122 Simple communication referring to ordinary activities caused no difficulties. With 50-80 words one can, with a little practice, converse fluently in any foreign language: this /dieser (masc.)/, this /dieses (neuter)/ yes, no, is there, is not there, do not know, want, do not want, what is it called, what, where, when, how much, all, few, much, another, immediately, tomorrow, I, you, one, two, three, good, bad, large, small, near, far, up, down, with, for, in, toward, let us, give, take, bring, put, go, go away, come, arrive, stay, eat, drink, sleep, make, cut, stop, and the most important substantives. The otherwise so necessary "thank you" and "please" are unknown to the Brazilian native. With a small part of these words one can get along very well, and it would be too bad if it were otherwise. The fundamental grammatical differences, for example, between Portuguese and any Indian language of Brazil are so great that no colonist or soldier is ever able to penetrate its system; even the pronominal prefixes and the postpositions form an insurmountable obstacle. On account of them it is unfortunately not possible in many cases to separate out the word stem, which we, according to our linguistic feeling, require first of all, from the fusion made with those elements. The stem of the verb, besides its combination with pronominal prefixes, is joined and assimilated with adverbial expressions, in order to give what we call inflection, in such a way
193 that a poor devil of a beginner sinks into absolute despair. Since in Bakaïrí "záte" and "kχanadíle" both mean "I am taking along," different forms of the same meaning, how am I supposed to guess that the verbal stem "za," which, according to the phonetic laws of the language, changes to "ha" and "a," is given in the "a" /79/ of kχ-an-a-díle? Thus, with the (already altered) verb stem "e," to see, "you see" is "méta," and "you do not see" is manepürámа" and is to be analyzed:

m	- e	- ta	and	m	an	- e	- pür	a -	ama.
you	stem	inflection		you	inflection	stem	not		you.

/79 cont./

193 The simple result is that all kinds of things that do not belong to it are regarded as part of the stem, and the form is used on all kinds of occasions where it is appropriate neither according to person, time sequence, or other nuances contained in it. The organic structure of words becomes rigid, and the sentence becomes a mosaic of the crudest sort made up of nothing but fragments. But there is provision for understanding; for the Indian, with his talent for the characteristic, the chopped-off fragment of a word suffices completely for the entire sentence, and, what is worse, if one wants to make progress in the language, it is all the more agreeable, of course, if one needs only the clumsy content of the communication; he himself soon adopts the new manner of expression: fluent conversations are carried on by barter with stamped coins instead with living words.

126 What made my recording not a little difficult was the cir-
192 cumstance that the Bakaïrí did not understand my questioning tone.
[194] They imitated it instead of answering. Obtaining the names of
[153] the objects present was done without any trouble; they even anticipated the need, pointed to those I had not yet asked about,
126 and said the names. I went into great detail with the parts of the
193 body because they are always joined with pronominal prefixes; thus the Indian does not say, for example, "tongue," but always, with the addition of the person, "my tongue," "your tongue," "his tongue," and thus there is a grammatical value in this category of the list. It was therefore well to note whether the part of the body whose stem one was asking for was shown on oneself, on the person questioned, or on a third person, for the answer was accordingly: your ålu, my ulu, his ilu, or in general kχulu, the tongue of all of us here.

126 Recording animal names was a pleasure, for here the imita-
192 tion with sounds and gestures was the most artful. A snake, an
536 alligator head, or the like was also drawn in the sand. The
825 quantity of the many individual statements was a hindrance to me, since I did not know enough about the voices and the behavior of their animals; they offered me subleties in the distinction of species which, to their surprise, I was unable to appreciate, and

B A 174 A [167] /400 cont./
there is historical proof here for the shift of the Karaiben from south to north is not affected by it. The shift of latitude is also very considerable, for today the Suyá live on the 11th degree of latitude and previously on the Rio Verde lived considerably farther south, whereas the Apiaká are already in close proximity to the Amazon River.

B A [197] A [194] B A [13] [193]
The linguistic relationship of the Apiaká and Bakaïrí is close, but no closer than that of several Karaiben tribes north of the Amazonas and the Bakaïrí! It is very interesting that in many cases the Apiaká already have consonant terminal sounds and double consonants within the word. I am presenting a few words from Ehrenreich's vocabulary, which has not yet been published. The pronominal prefix of the first person is ĩ-, which in Bakaïrí sometimes belongs to the first person, sometimes to the third.

B A 192
Tooth ieri, Bak. vẽri, Karaiben in general;
Tongue elo (e slightly audible), Bak. ĩlu (third person);
Hand omiat, Bak. omári (second person);
Foot ipun, Bak. iχúlu (third person);
Thigh iwet, Bak. ewéti (third person);
Lower leg iptchin, Bak. ischinári (third person);
Nose inam, Bak. inári (third person);
Ear iuanan, Bak. iwanatári (third person);
Bone itpun, Bak. ipüri;
Water paru, Bak. páru water, river;
River paru ime, Bak. páru ima large river;
Sun tschitschi, Bak. tschíschi;
Moon nuno, Bak. núna;
Heaven kabo, Bak. kχáu;
Rain kongpo, Bak. kχópö;
Fire kampot (Bak. péto), Rukuyenne and others wapoto, apoto, cf. the table in Bakaïrí-Grammatik, p. 278.
Tree, wood, yei, Bak. se, Makuschí yeh, yéi;
Father ongmä, Bak. iyúme;
/401/
Mother iämä, Bak. íse;

/409 cont./

802 means lack of practice. They have no livestock whose numbers they would be obliged to watch, they have no trade in goods that would have to be counted or referred to a unit of value; they need only inform one another now and then about the number of persons, about the number of animals, which they have encountered, which they have killed, which they divided up among themselves, about the trees that they cut, and whatever similar work there is in the household and daily life, for which their number words are adequate or for which an indefinite multiplicity may be conveyed with other means of expression in word and gesture. They have the principle of counting, the abstraction of number; the Karaiben base-people already had this in ancient times, and from there upward the further development depends only on interest. Their limited need for concerning themselves [193] with the number of things is, in my opinion, characterized by the lack of a plural even more than by the lack of number words. Tree, trees, and wood are all "se," house, houses, and village always merely "éti."

800 We whose lives are full of numbers because they represent the framework of all our knowledge possess a great many acquired items of knowledge in which all /410/ ordinary, "regularly" recurring numerical relationships are included, and in very many individual cases we do not need independent observation. It is not likely that we ever counted our toes, but it is true, there are ten of them. We can wear a vest for a year, put it on and take it off daily, and yet have no idea how many buttons are on it. Now primitive man clings to each single phenomenon and knows nothing about laws. If one asks him how many fingers he has he is glad to do us the favor of counting them. He takes the question exactly as the European does the one about the vest buttons.

171 How the Bakaïrí art of counting, which is extraordinarily
802 similar to that of Australian tribes, could have developed further step by step can be seen in a frequently cited example among their near, though spatially very remote kinsmen, the Tamanako of the Orinoco. The latter have completed the

/421 cont./

171 in the color word for red, nor the word for the white clay in the
192 color word for white. I believe that the dyestuffs are far older
196 than the need for distinguishing them according to their colors.
[193] This is probable for the Bakaïrí because of two points: first, the color adjectives, with the single exception of "red, orange," do not belong to the inventory of the Karaiben base-language; secondly, their construction according to the schema t-stem-éng bears the stamp of a more recent formation.

000 I may doubtless also be permitted to use such a situation to support the earlier argument about the origin of personal color ornamentation (see pp. 172 ff.). No matter how ancient and innate the joy of color may assuredly be, nevertheless the circumstance that a need to distinguish the colors of the dyestuffs with words did not manifest itself until late speaks in favor of the view /422/ that colored ornamentation was not first used on the body for the sake of the colors. Since whatever was worn on the body as trophies or for practical purposes was actually distinguished by varying colors, which must have given pleasure, people quite naturally came to want to use them also for enjoyment, and from this time on the earliest distinctions by means of names for colors began; within these, in turn, the first certainty was gained also for the colors that were fashioned, whereas the need for distinguishing green and blue was satisfied by words which were still vague, such as "parakeet-colored."

171 One more thing must not be forgotten. The Indian does not
192 form general judgments, such as "the trees are green, the sky is
811 blue." Nothing induces him to analyze this view presented to him by the external world; it is of no interest to his person in any activity and is something taken for granted, such as that water is wet. What does interest him in making distinctions according to color is animals and plants. His principal application of the color names acquired is here and it is necessary to find out here how he proceeds with color names in his own usage.

171 With this in mind I looked through the list of animal names
192 in the glossary of Martius, in which some 1300 have been col-
825 lected from the total literature. "Parakeet-colored," cugui, for "blue and green" is used only a single time in the case of a

/227 cont./

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1 **Bakaéri, waráiu, kxaraiwa aceγebidúo**
Bakaeri Tapuia Brazilian .when they quarreled

arinedili
they became.

2 **Kxiwimári iewirâpadili**
Our captain became angry

3 **Aγi amarémo tokedúo tohi**
Enough you /pl./ when he said people

ewánu iniγadili.
their illness made it.

4 **Iniγatúo idanára anaγido âγâ kxöiγeli**
When made it all animal with we died

5 **Ilapüriñe emedili wâγâ yamadili.**
Then dawn above became dark.

6 **Xixi eγacého yamu inenaxúli.**
Sun his coming out dark closed-it.

7 **Inenaxudúo iγawinu iniγadili.**
When closed it cold made it.

8 **Xixi eγacedúo yamadili.**
Sun when came out became dark.

9 **Yamatúo xirimúka eγacéli.**
When became dark star came out.

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10 **Aγö** **yamu** **iγawinu** **iniγadili.**
Quite dark cold made it.

11 **Aritúo** **udódo** **ahepanokeli.**
Then jaguar appeared.

12 **Péto** **aγö** **aγaetiño-modo** **iniγadili.**
Fire enough ancients made it.

13 **Taxo** **ahitokili** **püreu** **ahitokili.**
Knife played arrow played.

14 **Tãwi-γe** **iγedãri** **tunaneη**
Their hunger with those who did not die strong

niγe-pa **tohinóhe.**
die not remain.

15 **Ilapüriñe** **iwerâ-pa-itúo** **xixi** **eγacéli.**
Then today not being sun came out.

16 **Xixi** **kxurotaλ** **aγaetiño-modo** **amiduadili.**
Sun midday ancients ate.

17 **Ilapüriñe** **aγi** **xikidúo** **péto** **õro**
Then much slept fire earth

odákxa **eyaceli.**
inside came out.

18 **Xixi** **péto-ára** **idili.**
Sun fire like became.

19 **Ce** **adapikú-γe** **iγéli.**
Tree heat with died.

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20 **Páru çavéli.**
Water dried.

21 **Páru çavedúo kxãna iγéli.**
Water when dried fish died.

22 **Kxána iγedúo cenena kxana çani.**
Fish when dried urubu fish ate-it.

23 **Páru çavedúo anaγido iγéli páru tinenedili.**
Water when dried animal died water wanted to drink.

24 **Apa anáhi idanára iγéli.**
Mandioca maize all died.

25 **Áritibiñe kxöiγeli.**
Then we died.

26 **Kxöiγedúo cenerá-la kxani.**
When we died urubu ate us.

27 **Ãráγi kxapüráne be-ba awiliγe.**
Someone buries us is not thus.

28 **Idanára anaγido iγeli.**
All animals died.

29 **Aritibiñe ayi-pa kxitúo**
Then many not when we remained

192 /230/ kxiwimári parutába inepehenili.
193 our captain sea blessed it (blew).
539

30 Aritúo parutába ayo-idíli, péto enaxekili.
Then sea rose, fire put it out

31 Kxaraiwa idamú-do niõretudíli.
Brazilian his grandfathers dreamed-it.

32 Mâra núna iwâγâ parutába ivehe
That moon over sea will swell

yamũra keli.
spirit said.

33 Tonudõ- na keduo miγewadili-la
His people for when said you lie

iunudo keli.
his people said.

34 Tunudo kedúo pi inanadili.
His people when said ax picked it up.

35 Pepi ima xiγace.
Canoe large made it.

36 Ata takxahen pepi.
House high canoe.

37 Ilãe tipiniri inadili pepi odaλ.
Then his food takes it canoe inside.

38 Ilãe kxopáe timeri tiwũdi
Then at night his child his wife

/231/ **áγâ anela oxedili.**
with alone sailed.

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39 **Oxedibi-ñe parutaba çaloxúli.**
When he sailed sea rose.

40 **Çaloxuli kxopae.**
Rose at night.

41 **Aritúo idanara anaγido aγâ kxöiγéli.**
Then all animal with we died.

42 **Tõiwedúo çaγuno iniγadili.**
When swelled sand made it.

43 **Iwerâ-pa mâra tapiku wâγâ çavelli.**
Today not that heat above came down.

44 **Çavedúo çaγúno tuxũe**
When came down sand stone to

atuγudili
turned.

45 **Ilapüriñe õro acemakéli.**
Then the earth is exchanged.

46 **Kxái-na õro idâli.**
Sky to earth went.

45 /47/ **Idâdúo kxáu aγá-na xirimúca idâli.**
When went sky with star went.

48 **Pimiri ara tawöγeη atuγudili.**
Ant like flying thing became.

192 /232/49 Tawõyen atuyudili kɔonopio ara.
193 Flying thing became little bird like.
539

50 Idanâra anayido ara kɔidatuyudili.
All animals like we became.

51 Ilapüriñe ayökɔitúo tohi ewanu-ye
Then when we grew our work with

kɔidacenomedadili.
we learned.

52 Idu-pe-ba ilapüriñe pohi ara
Forest there was not then grass like

idu yahele.
forest grew.

53 Mâra adapiku wâyâ apa
That heat over mandioca

ewili ipüri-büri eyaheli
its fruit its old seed germinated

pohi anaλ.
grass (campo) middle of.

193 Before giving the translation of this text, let us take it as the theme to accompany a few grammatical explanations.

One fact strikes us at once: the sentences follow one another, each usually with only one verb, without interdependence or subordination. In other words: as far as syntax is concerned, Kxura-itano uses parataxis exclusively. /233/ The greatest complexity attained by the sentence is that of apposition, enumeration, or parallelism, which does not exceed the scope of parataxis.

/233 cont./

•193 In the sentence, the subject comes first, the verb last; the object, when required, is placed between the two. It may precede the subject when logically there is no possibility of confusion. Thus, a Bacaeri will say either Pohi ta/uhe pocéka, or poceka ta/uhe poji, or poceka pohi ta/uhe, because he knows that the pig eats grass and grass does not eat pig.

The reader will hardly overlook the frequency with which substantives and verbs end in l or r followed by a vowel. This is because Kxura-itano has a particle, which Steinen writes lõ, used to indicate emphasis. In the language of the Chaymas it is also used: "And for the term meaning 'also' /tambien/, they were accustomed to add the syllable re to the ends of words, e.g., for vche, 'I,' they say vchére, 'I also'" /translated from the Spanish/. (Tauste, Arte y bocabulario de la lengua de los Indios Chaymas /Nature and vocabulary of the language of the Chaima Indians/, Madrid, 1680, reprinted in facsimile by Platzmann in Leipzig, 1888, p. 46). The same thing is noted with slight variations in all Carahiba languages. Lõ may be changed to na, as in No. 47 /see p. 12/, or to ñe.

Also deserving of attention are the endings di-li, wi-li, ki-li of the verbs, different auxiliary forms, sometimes equivalent to the English "do," sometimes to "to have," "to be," "to become," sometimes merely emphatic. The early grammarians called their equivalent in other languages a substantive verb, a well chosen term; it should be noted, however, that they have nothing in common /234/ with the verb "to be"; sentences such as "The captain is rich" are expressed by the Bacaeri with a mere juxtaposition of the words, Pima tisehikxenen.

The manner in which thought is expressed makes it plain that logical subordination is rudimentary. The Indian is carried along by a series of ideas and goes on with them up to a certain point; then he goes back and does likewise with the others; sentences far apart represent the same chronological moment; what would seem to us most natural if placed at the

• 193 /234 cont./
end is broached by them from the very beginning; in short, this is a formal parataxis which corresponds to the condominium of impressions and undulation of ideas.

From what has been said it can be readily deduced that there are neither conjunctions nor the conjunctive in Kxura-itano.

Passing now to the parts of speech, we note immediately that the substantive expresses, beside the idea of a thing or person, the idea of time. Tukñe, No. 44, is a future or at least a supine: strictly speaking, it means--to stone /para pedra/. The supine of nouns is formed by adding to the word the suffix rõe, of which, however, only the e is retained, while the vowel that precedes it is nasalized. The present tense is the word alone, or with the mere addition of e. The past is formed by the addition of pũri, or bũri, which performs the same function as cuer or puer in the language of the Tupis and Guaranis.

One example will show this better: iwũdi, "married woman," expresses the present tense, iwũdie, the future; iwũdipũri designates a woman who has been married but is no longer, either because her husband died, in which case it is synonymous with "widow," or because she herself died, /235/ in which case it may be translated as "late wife," or simply because her husband left her.

In the same way as the particle cuer in aba-ñeẽ, so can pũri or bũri indicate the plural in the Bacaeri. From this may be drawn a conclusion so spontaneous and natural that it must perforce be false and cannot be trusted: the Indians regard the noun as representing one: imeri, 1 son: imeobũre, sons--ex.: 1 son. Subtleties of this kind are not alien to the American aborigines: "The Indian will say aypapa vaca and not vacaretá, because if he has counted them, there cannot be one" /translated from the Spanish/ (Restivo, Arte de la lengua guarany /Nature of the Guarani language/, p. 12, publ. Seybold, Stuttgart, 1892).

/235 cont./

193 [114] That the substantives have a plural has been contested; just recently, Sr. Lucien Adam maintained "that the Bakairi is the only one of the adequately known (Carib) dialects in which distinctions of number are not expressed by any suffix" /translated from the French/ (5); nevertheless they do exist

[113]

5. Matériaux pour servir à l'établissement d'une grammaire comparée des dialectes de la famille caribe /Materials to serve for setting up a comparative grammar of the dialects of the Carib family/, Paris, 1893, a book of extraordinary value for the study of difficult problems.

and there are no fewer than three endings which indicate plural. The first is modo: aʔaetiño, "ancient," aʔaetiño-modo, "ancients." The second one is mo: pekodo, "woman," pekodómo, "women." The third one is do: idamu, "his grandfather," idamudo, "his grandfathers." Let it be noted, however, that the Bacaeris, although they have a fine verb with which to count (imperative, çapoʔeʔa), do not count beyond three, and thus numbers are of little importance to them. Let it be noted further that the word idanára means both "all" and "entire"; in /236/ other words, in their minds the concepts of plurality and totality have not been differentiated, resulting in many words, principally ending in do, in which the concept of plural does not exist, for example, yunu, "his blood," yunudo, "his people"--that is, "his bloods."

There is little to be said concerning gender.

There are words which may be called masculine, such as uʔurodo, "man," or feminine, such as arekʔuma, "hen." The sole vestige of grammatical gender, however, is found in the demonstratives: mâka, miâka, mera, êra, inara are used

/236 cont./

193 in connection with people or animate beings; mára, ara, hira, xira, awõre, ila, only with inanimate things.

The adjectival relation, or restrictive complement, as others call it, is expressed through the addition of the possessive index to the object possessed: thus, u'urodo eti = "man his house" = "the house of the man"; arekxuma iço = "hen her husband" = "husband of the hen," or rooster.

The possessive indices are divided into two series: one is--ie for the first person, i for the second, e for the third person; thus, ãta, "house" in the absolute sense, without indicating the owner; íeti, "my house"; iti, "your house"; eti, "his house"; iewâri, "my arm"; iwâri, "your arm"; ewâri, "his arm." This must be the older form, which is being driven out by the other series: i for the first and third persons, ã, a, â, o for the second. For the third person there are also: ç as in çawâri, "his arm," n as in nyui, "his father," and x. In addition, there is the reciprocal: t, see Nos. 37 and 38 /see p. 11/.

The addition of the possessive almost always /237/ modifies the word's initial consonant. Thus, pepí, "canoe," without any designation of the owner, has the p changed to w if we wish to state who this is: pima iwepiri, "captain his canoe" = "canoe of the captain"; mayaku, "basket," iramudo, "boy," gives iramúdo iwayakúru, "boy his basket"; tunáta, "bath," piahi, "curer" (not "sorcerer"), piahi idunatari, "curer his bath" = "bath of the curer." We have already indicated above the chief phonetic changes; the last syllable in the names of objects possessed is the particle l or r followed by a vowel, which has already been referred to.

The most common personal pronouns are: for the first person, ura in the singular, kxura in the plural; for the second, ama; for the third, the determinatives already referred to with regard to the gender of the substantives. It can be questioned whether kxura and hina mean "we" or "people" /indefinite persons; Port., a gente/, French on, German man, and the old Portuguese homem, now obsolete. In any case, the concept of

/237 cont./

193 first person plural inclusive and exclusive, familiar in the aba-ñeẽ, is alien to the Kxura-itano. Amaremo, "you," second person plural, is obviously of secondary formation: mo indicates plural, re is the emphatic particle, and ama is the pronoun for the second person singular.

Another series of lesser used pronouns: ahe, mahe, kxidahe.

The adjective, generally put after the substantive, is, like the latter, affected by time and number. Comparatives are avoided. A concept close to that of the superlative is expressed either with the emphatic particle or by means of the addition of certain words such as kxúru, "indeed" (comparable to the French bon, tout de /238/ bon, kxura in the Bacaeri has, among others, the meaning of "good"); ãwakukeba, "it is not a joke," etc.

193 The determinatives are affected by time and number.
801 There are only three cardinal numbers: tokale, "one"; ahaʔe, "two"; ahewaλ or ahewanela, "three." Steinen gave to Antonio, the Indian who was his informant in the Xingú region, the following sentence, "At first he (the child) walks like an animal, on all fours," and obtained only: çaʔuxõe anaʔito ara ãhe iwodo adakxobodili, that is, "he walks with the two arms." To the minds of the Bacaeris, rather than to produce a number four, it seemed easier to invent a whole story whereby Cemimu (Morcego /bat/) had a son by the daughter of Pau de Morcego /"bat wood"; Andira/ (Pödiki), and, when he found out about the paternity, he became angry at the child, breaking its knees with an arrow; since then children walk first with the two arms before they walk with the two feet (6).

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6. The matter of knees seems to have caused the minds of the Bacaeris much trouble. Mapinukai, one of their ancestors, had knees like those of a

/238 cont./

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chicken; having won a race against Keri and Came, however, the latter broke them, and since then the knees of human beings have been as they are today.

193 As for adverbs, suffice it to say that they follow or precede the verb and may receive possessive and time.

Prepositions, which are numerous, always come after the substantive, and we shall give merely: da, which indicates "place where"; eina or eira, "place to where," generally elided to ra or na, with the preceding vowel nasalized; ohe, õro, "upon"; aʒe, "with," meaning company, ʒe, "with," instrument. The preposition de /Port./, in the sense of the English "from" or the German aus, is represented by a complicated form.

/239/ An explanation of the verbs, however superficial, would take us far afield: many points are yet to be studied, and while we are familiar with the common forms, they are not yet sufficiently analyzed.

Steinen divides verbs into two classes, in one of which the preterit is formed with raki, in the other with taki; we may accept this classification, which, on the whole, is satisfactory and lends itself perfectly to our present purposes.

Verbs have two affirmative imperatives in the second person singular, and one negative; they also have what may be called an imperative of the first person plural.

The indicative has three past tenses, which may be called remote /remoto/, intermediate /médio/, and immediate /flagrante/, since the latter, which is formed with raki or taki, may also indicate the immediate future or present.

They would seem to have two present tenses: one, in which he or ce is added to the radical, and followed by the personal pronoun; the other, uniting personal pronouns, the radical of the verb, and the auxiliary of the substantive verb,

/239 cont./

193 which has already been mentioned. Regarding these possible present tenses, however, it should be borne in mind that they often express the past and the remote past, as in the passage copied above. It would be simpler to regard them as forms of the infinitive, chiefly because they admit postpositions and thus function as substantives; it should be borne in mind, however, that I, when designating an act carried out at the very moment when he was speaking, always used the form in combination with the auxiliary whenever the verb permitted it.

/240/ The future is formed with an auxiliary ice, which means "to like," added to the present, and it is seldom used.

There are active, passive, and supine participles.

In any tense, the endings are added following the radical and do not vary with the persons except when mo is added to indicate plural; the pronouns which precede the radical vary a great deal, however, presenting what the grammarians of the abañeẽ call "transitions." Thus, if we say "I kill," it is necessary to specify whom in the pronoun or pronouns which precede the radical, and this gives two possible forms, "I kill you," or "I kill him"; in the second person, three possible forms, "you kill me," "you kill him," "you kill us"; in the third person, four possible forms, "he kills me," "he kills you," "he kills him," "he kills us"; in the first person plural, two possible forms, "we kill you," "we kill him." The second person plural and the third do not differ from the singular. We have, as a result, 11 possible forms for each tense, in principle; in reality, some of them have been obliterated and merged, if, indeed, they ever existed, and now there are not more than seven at the most, as we shall see below. Obviously, this is the case for only transitive verbs.

The transitive verbs that undergo least alteration are the reflexives, since the action can only be exercised upon the agent, which is itself the person, and the verbs such as "to tell," "to give," "to say," etc., which generally demand a complement of person, to whom one tells, gives, or says

/240 cont./

193 something. Since the Bacaeris indicate this person /241/ separately from the verb and clearly with postposition, and the thing told, said, or given is always third person, it follows that in such cases there are no transitions, and the forms are merely three for the singular and one for the plural.

As for the reflexive verbs and the transitive ones, which only take objects in the third person, the pronouns which precede the radical are kx in the first person, m in the second, a vowel, usually i or n /sic/, in the third, and kxi or kʒid in the first person plural.

Intransitive verbs often take ie or i in the first person, e or a in the second, y or i or n in the third, like the substantives accompanied by possessives.

Verbs in raki and taki both have their special negative conjugation, the former in püri, the latter in pa.

In the third person singular there is a special form which has approximately a passive meaning: the object and the verb are used without the subject.

Now for the paradigms of the principal tenses of two verbs which were selected deliberately with almost identical radicals: iʒatu, "to run," and eʒatu, "to tell, to narrate." The former pertains to the taki conjugation; the latter, to the raki conjugation--from which come the differences which are immediately apparent in the temporal suffixes postposed to the respective radicals. The former is intransitive; the latter is uni-transitive, that is, it does not have the 11 pronominal transitions, and from this come the equally great differences in the personal affixes which precede the respective radicals.

193 /242/

		Radical: ɪ-ɣatu, "to run."	E-ɣatu, "to tell."
Imperative	2 s.	*i-ɣatu-ɣa, i-ɣatu-da*	e-ɣatú-ɣa, e-ɣatúra.
	1 pl.	kxa-ɣatúne	kxie-ɣatũ-re.
Neg.	2 s.	t-öɣatú-hé-ba	kxoe-ɣátu.
Remote Past	1	yö-ɣatũ-ma	c-eɣatũwa.
	2	i-ɣatũ-ma	m-eɣatũwa.
	3	e-ɣatũ-ma	n-eɣatũ-wa.
	1 pl.	kxö-ɣatũ-ma	kxi-eɣatũ-wa.
Intermediate P.	1	ie-ɣatu-da	c-eɣátu.
	2	i-ɣatu-da	m-eɣátu.
	3	ne-ɣatu-da	n-eɣátu.
	1 pl.	kxö-ɣatu-da	kxi-eɣátu.
Immediate P. A	1	ie-ɣatu-dai	c-eɣatu-raki.
	2	i-ɣatu-dai	m-eɣatu-raki.
	3	n-eɣatu-dai	n-eɣatu-raki.
	1 pl.	kxö-ɣatu-dai	kxi-eɣatu-raki.
Immed. Past B	1	ie-ɣatu-taki	
	2	i-ɣatu-taki	
	3	n-eɣatu-taki	
	1 pl.	kxö-ɣatu-taki	
Pres. A		ie-ɣatu-di-li	kxa-n-eɣatú-li.
		i-ɣatu-di-li	ma-n-eɣatu-li.
		e-ɣatu-di-li	i-n-eɣatú-li.
		kxö-ɣatu-di-li	kxi-n-eɣatu-li.
Pres. B		ɣatú-he (for all persons)	eɣatú-he (for all persons).
Negative Pres.	1	ie-ɣatu-büra	kxa-n-eɣatu-ba.
	2	i-ɣatu-büra	ma-n-eɣatu-ba.
	3	n-eɣatu-büra	n-eɣatu-ba.
	1 pl.	kxö-ɣatu-büra	kxi-n-eɣatu-ba.
Act. Part.		ɣatu-heni	eɣatu-heni.
Pass. Part.		ɣatu-dibi	eɣatu-ribi.
Supine		ɣatu-dõe	eɣatu-hõe.

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• 193 The verbs in raki and taki are governed by these two paradigms as far as the affixes postposed to the radical and indicative of tense are concerned; the paradigm for eyatu, "to tell," is used for the verbs which may be called unitransitive, either because they are reflexive and the action is communicated only to the subject performing it--identity of subject and object--or because, aside from the complement of thing they demand one of person, and while the former is expressed by incorporation in the radical, the latter, the only one which could change, is expressed by the Bacaeris separately from the radical of the verb.

The case of the multi-transitive verbs is complex, and demands the study of what the Jesuit grammarians--in spite of the defective method which led them to apply the standards of Latin to the idioms of the New World--minds of unusual linguistic discernment and insight, called transitions /transições/ in connection with the abá-ñeẽ.

Taking the radical çatö (Bak. Sprache, 143), we find that çatö-he is one of the indicative presents and means "I cut, you cut, he cuts, we cut, you cut, they cut." This is sufficient to show how right Steinen is when he considers it a grammatical myth to say that in the Cariba languages ç represents the first person pronoun. (B. Sp., 281/291).

If, however, we wish to say, "you cut me," we shall have i-atöhe, which also means "he cuts me." If we wish to say, "I cut you," we shall have a-tö-he, which also means "he cuts you" or "we cut you." If we say kɑ-atöhe, it may mean either "you cut us" or "he cuts us," which leads one to conclude that the /244/ ç in çatö-he corresponds to the object in the third person, and that çatöhe means "I, you, he, we, you, or they cut it." This is indeed the case, which certainly does not [114] favor Steinen, when, in his admirable endeavor to reconstruct the primitive Cariba (Karaïbische Grundsprache) spoken by the various tribes before their separation, he classifies the ç, with its many phonetic variations, as a verb radical.

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193 To go on to the other present, we find for eɣatu the following forms: kχa-n-atö-li, ma-n-atöl-i, i-n-atö-li, Kχi-n-atö-li. We have already learned with respect to eɣatu that Kχ, m, i, Kχi mean respectively "I," "you," "he," "we"; since kχanatöli, however, does not simply mean "I cut," but "I cut it," would it be rash to conclude that in these forms n represents the object in the third person? No, indeed, for if we wish to say "you or he cut me," we have iatöli, in which there is no n; "I, he, or we cut you," atöli; "you or he cuts us," Kχâtöli, in which there is no n either.

In summarizing these facts, we arrive at the following results:

1. In multi-transitive verbs, the present in he or ce may undergo only four modifications, since there are that number of possible personal objects which can be added to the verb radical, preceding it;

2. In the present in di-li, ki-li, wi-li, or simply lö, when the object is in the third person, there are four possible modifications, because the character of the language demands in such a case that, aside from the patient pronoun, /245/ which does not vary, the agent pronouns, which are four in number, be added to the radical, preceding it;

3. In the first and second persons singular and the first person plural, since it is a matter of the person who is speaking or spoken to, persons present, only the objective pronoun is used, and since there are only three, two for the singular and one for the plural, there are only three transitions.

Thus the transitions, which we referred to above as possibly adding up to 11, do not add up to more than seven in one case and four in the other; 11 in all, but in different categories.

Thus, after a long detour, we return once more to the pronouns.

[114] With much justification, the Jesuits claim that in the abá-ñeẽ the pronouns belong to two different classes.

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114 "The personal pronouns," says the greatly missed Baptista
193 Caetano, "are divided into two well characterized orders, namely: the first, of the agent or denominative pronouns, and the second, of the patient or accusative pronouns and of the governed cases. Both of them are preposed to the verbs, in accordance with the most general rule...And when both occur together, the patient one is the one immediately next to the verb" (7).

[113] 7. Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional, VI. 8, Rio, 1879.

193 The same is to be observed in the Kxura-itano. And the patient or objective pronouns are identical to the possessives, which is another proof of how little differentiation there is as yet between verb and substantive, transitive and intransitive verb, in this idiom.

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193 Here is now a list of the personal pronouns, divided into the two classes of

	Agent Pronouns	Patient Pronouns
1	*u, ura, ahe, kx (a)*	*ie, i, u*
2	*m (a), ama, mahe*	*a, ai, e*
3	*a, e, i, a*	*é, i, n, ç*
4	*kxi (d), kxidahe, kxura, hina, xina*	*kx.*

The reciprocal is *t, d, ç, h, x.*

193 539 There follows a free translation of the passage given above (8), for which a good knowledge of kxura-itano is needed

8. From ewâri, "arm," which is the same as çawöli, "wing," comes the verb apari (Bakairi Sprache, pp. 82 and 108), which means "to swim." ikiwáru means "the river is swimming"--rapids; kxudupi paru ohe yuwaru (B. Sp., p. 82), "the gourd is swimming in the river." It seems that aside from paru, which is very common, and tuna, retained only in tunata, the Bacaeris also have for "water" i or ik, which we find in the preposition ikale, "inside," which is applied only to water. According to Irineu, when they wish to ask whether an animal lives in the river or on land, they commonly use the phrase: adik, ōro par-ikano menoro. If it is a land animal, the answer is: par-ikano keba menoro. (Cf. B. S., p. 31.)

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539 [193] in order to understand the interlinear translation. Its subject matter is the destruction of the world by fire and flood.

This is what happened to the Bacaeris, the Brazilians, the Tapuias /Tapuya/ after they quarreled. --Our captain became angry;--enough, he said, and made the people's illness, and with the other animals we all died. --Then at dawn it became dark;--the darkness stopped the sun from coming out, --when it stopped it, it caused the cold;--after sun came out, the darkness continued;--with the darkness the stars came out;--the darkness caused much cold.

/247/ Then the jaguars appeared; the ancients made much fire; the knives fought with the knives, the arrows fought with the arrows;--those who did not die of hunger, the strong ones, do not die anymore, they remain. --Then, after a time, the sun came out; the ancients ate at midday. --Then, having slept for many nights, fire came out from inside the earth;--the fire was like the sun; the trees died from the heat; the rivers dried up; -when they dried up, the fish died, --and the urubu ate the fish. --When the rivers dried up, the animals died of thirst;--mandioca, maize, they died out altogether. --Then we ourselves died, --and the urubu ate us because there was no one to bury us. --All the animals died. --After we had been reduced to a few, our captain blessed the sea;--then the sea rose and put out the fire.

The grandfathers of the Brazilians dreamed;--in the next moon the sea will swell, the spirits said to them. When he told this to his people: you are lying, his people said to him. --Then he took his ax, --made a large canoe, --tall as a house; he took his food inside the canoe; at night, alone with his wife and children, he embarked. --When he embarked, the sea rose, it rose at night. Then with all the animals we died.

When the sea rose it made the sand. --After a year it came down--and the sand turned into stone. Then the sky

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539 and the earth changed places; the earth went to the sky, the sky came to the earth with the stars.

Flying things arose in the form of ants;--then the flying things became little birds;--we all turned into animals.--Then, when we grew, we learned to work;--there was no forest;--then the forest arose as grass.--In the next year the mandioca fruits burst out in the middle of the campo.

/248/ Before closing, here are a few indications concerning the formation of the words.

• 193 The derivative adjective is often formed by adding t to the substantive, and the ending neŋ or ɾeŋ to indicate presence, and neni or neri or ɾeni to indicate absence; for example, isehike, "goods, baggage," tisehikeneŋ, "rich," tisehikeneri, "poor"; odo or çodo, "lord," todoneŋ, "belonging to another" (literally, "has owner"); çawöri, "wing," tawöɾeŋ, "flying thing" (9).

9. The passage cited is not part of what has been published.

ɾe is also used to form adjectives, but its chief role is with verbs, to which it always lends the idea of destruction or dismantlement: thus, from itubi, "peeling," is made kχanituɾeli, "I peeled off"; acemakeɾa, "to run away" ("elude the grasp"); iχuru, "foot," iχuɾeli, "to fall."

The reflexive verbs are formed by adding to the radical the patient pronoun represented by h, for example, Kχahinaraki, "I remained" ("I left myself"), while xinoraki is active and means "I left him," åhipanâkeli, "appeared (himself)," inepanâkeli, "caused to appear," or they are represented by x or ç, for example, axodili, "is found," iniodili, "finds him," or by d or t, adãile, "comes to an end," inãili, "puts an end to it."

The idea of repetition is obtained by introducing nono between the verbal radical and the temporal index: eɾatuhe, "I tell," eɾatunono-he, "I again tell."

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756 the piahi and his disciple draw near. Ah! It is you, you have
776 come? says Nakoeri;--Yes, it is I, I have come to see you, replies the disciple;--Yes, you did not like your drink, your beijú, your food, it is good, this is why you came, common people do not come to my village, says Nakoeri.

Then Nakoeri puts benches outside and talks outside to the disciple of the curer; first, he puts down a red bench; then he puts down two white benches; the disciple does not sit on the red bench; he brings out three red benches (five in all, with the red ones closer to the candidate, to tempt him); the candidate walks by the three red benches without sitting down (if he sat down, he would commit a crime and would not rise to piahi) and sits on the white bench. You are an upright man (ururodo-lo), yes, you are brave, Nakoeri tells him.

Then Nakoeri fetches mandioca dough; he ties the tail of a red arara with cotton to the tip of the handle of the maracá, and he intones his song and plays the maracá; then the candidate's bench moves, and on the bench he goes inside the house; as he goes in, Nakoeri interrupts his song: You are going inside the sky, says Nakoeri.--Yes, Captain, I am, says the candidate.--Take him inside the sky, says Nakoeri to his companion, and he intones his song anew.

The bench goes to the sky, swirling; Nakoeri's companion holds on to the bench and instructs the candidate, who cannot see anyone. Here, Nakoeri's companion says, is the plaza of the old night; there, the /265/ plaza of the old heads, further on, the plaza of the old ribs, he goes on saying (15). The

[193] [196]

15. The word "old" in this passage corresponds to the suffix pũri or bũri, which, as we have already seen, indicates the past of the substantives.

candidate sees nothing, he merely hears the talk of Nakoeri's companion; in the sky darkness alone reigns, and thus he does not see anyone.

/79 cont./

193 The simple result is that all kinds of things that do not belong to it are regarded as part of the stem, and the form is used on all kinds of occasions where it is appropriate neither according to person, time sequence, or other nuances contained in it. The organic structure of words becomes rigid, and the sentence becomes a mosaic of the crudest sort made up of nothing but fragments. But there is provision for understanding; for the Indian, with his talent for the characteristic, the chopped-off fragment of a word suffices completely for the entire sentence, and, what is worse, if one wants to make progress in the language, it is all the more agreeable, of course, if one needs only the clumsy content of the communication; he himself soon adopts the new manner of expression: fluent conversations are carried on by barter with stamped coins instead with living words.

126 What made my recording not a little difficult was the cir-
192 cumstance that the Bakaïrí did not understand my questioning tone.
[194] They imitated it instead of answering. Obtaining the names of
[153] the objects present was done without any trouble; they even anticipated the need, pointed to those I had not yet asked about,
126 and said the names. I went into great detail with the parts of the
193 body because they are always joined with pronominal prefixes; thus the Indian does not say, for example, "tongue," but always, with the addition of the person, "my tongue," "your tongue," "his tongue," and thus there is a grammatical value in this category of the list. It was therefore well to note whether the part of the body whose stem one was asking for was shown on oneself, on the person questioned, or on a third person, for the answer was accordingly: your ålu, my ulu, his ilu, or in general kχulu, the tongue of all of us here.

126 Recording animal names was a pleasure, for here the imita-
192 tion with sounds and gestures was the most artful. A snake, an
536 alligator head, or the like was also drawn in the sand. The
825 quantity of the many individual statements was a hindrance to me, since I did not know enough about the voices and the behavior of their animals; they offered me subleties in the distinction of species which, to their surprise, I was unable to appreciate, and

/79 cont./

126 192 536 825 sometimes I am afraid I betrayed what to them were incredible gaps in the most ordinary education.

The most difficult problem lay in the verbs, and, to be sure, not only because of the complication of forms. If I succeeded in writing down short sentences in which something was said about an occurrence that was just going on, even if I myself performed all kinds of actions, such as eating and drinking now of this, now of that, which were supposed to give them the content of a sentence, /80/ gross errors were nevertheless unavoidable. Unfortunately, they often said things that were different from what they were supposed to say according to my request and criticized the action instead of naming it. They were thinking for themselves and not for me. And in these efforts their readiness to imitate was disturbing to a high degree. I thought nothing would be easier than to obtain at least those intransitive verbs that could be evoked by unequivocal mimicry on my part; I would indeed need only to sneeze, cough, weep, yawn, snore, only to get up, sit down, to fall, and so forth, in order to be immediately rewarded with the matching words. But they either clung to the contemplation of the process itself, thought I wanted to go away when I stood up, righteously joined in when I yawned, because they, too, were tired, or were royally amused at my strange doings, and, amidst much laughter, would likewise abandon themselves to sneezing, coughing, and snoring, without, however, saying the redeeming words.

126 192 153

I made the best progress when I gave them the Portuguese word and applied the formula: the Karaibe says it thus, how does the Bakaïrí say it? Here I finally almost always met with understanding and response, for they were mad about learning my language.

[811] They were very grieved that they did not understand me better, and, confusing hearing and understanding, they asked me to cure them. I had to put saliva on my fingers and with it rub the auditory entrance for them. Their comprehension of Portuguese was even more deficient than they themselves realized. They have

151 191 194

/80 cont./

151 no f in their store of sounds and replace it with p: if I said fogo
191 (fire), fumo (tobacco), they would say pogo, pumo. But they
194 heard, or, more correctly, apperceived, the f also as p; they were, as far as I could see, firmly convinced that they were pronouncing the same sound that I had said to them. Their attitude was entirely different if, for example, I gave them too long a word; then they struggled and despaired of it, but with regard to fogo, fumo, f...., the more emphatically and loudly I said it, the more emphatically and loudly they joined in: pogo, pumo, p...., with decided indigantion over my dissatisfaction.

128 I was obliged to be content with completing the vocabulary as much as possible and interpreting the sentences to the best of my knowledge. I did not achieve an actual translation that would do justice to the subtleties of their language; whatever I was able to offer in this respect in my book Die Bakaïrí-Sprache /The Bakaïrí Language/ (Leipzig, K. F. Köhler, 1892), I owe
192 to Antonio. I was especially very peculiarly touched by their joy over the richness of their stock of words. They manifested great pleasure at having a word for every object, as though the name itself were a sort of thing and piece of property. That the number of concepts depends primarily on interest was clearly evident. On the one hand, in comparison with our languages, an abundance of words, such as animal names or kinship terms; on the other hand, a poverty at first surprising: yélo is "lightning" and "thunder"; kxópö, rain, /81/ thunderstorm, and cloud. Now of course, almost all rains in their region are associated with thunderstorm phenomena, and the cloud in the sky has interest for them only insofar as it means an approaching thunderstorm. The fact that, when they combine into one concept, in their word yélo, the visual and audible aspect of the electrical discharge, thunder is the more essential part is shown by the fact that they also call the buzzing whizzer-stick yélo; I, who proceeded from the idea of the magic instrument, according to the custom of mythologists, who was looking for the uncanny and recognized this primarily in the flashing streak, at first translated the word as "lightning" instead of "thunder."

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121 114 with slight variations, it is nevertheless more than a mere summary, for at several points our opinions differ, while at others heretofore unknown facts appear for the first time. This concerning the linguistic part, the subject of this first chapter. The divergence is even greater in the points that follow, which are based exclusively on what Irineu related.

/224/ I

The Language of the Bacaeris

197

[133] [103] The language of the Bacaeris (kxura itano, tohi itano, that is, language of people, exactly like abá ñeẽ, the language of the Tupis) is spoken on the Rio Novo (Yemeriri), a tributary of the Arinos; on the Paranatinga (Pakunéra), a tributary of the Tapajoz; on the Tamitatoala, one of the headwaters of the Xingú, called Batovi by the Germans in honor of the baron of the same name, president of Mato Grosso in 1884, the time of the first expedition; on the Culisewi, a tributary of the Culuene, also a headwater (the easternmost one) of the Xingú. On the Oronuro, the westernmost headwater, there are no Indians who speak this language. From an examination of the vocabularies and the grammatical forms, it was proved that the Bacaeris belong to the Carahiba or Cariba group.

194 Of the letters of our alphabet, F is found in only one word, possibly onomatopoeic, which precedes incantations: aúfá, perhaps an imitation of the blowing out of smoke. V is rare, and in any case it is not pronounced as it generally is in Rio de Janeiro, but rather seems to be bilabial. R is always soft, that is, to use the description by Gonçalves Vianna, "the air is expelled at one time, without interruption, as in caro /'dear' in Port./, and not intermittently, in successive contacts, more or less repeated, /225/ resulting from the vibration imparted by the active organ, as in carro /'cart' in Port./." G is slightly velar, and to differentiate it from ours

/225 cont./

194 the Greek y is used; it is always hard, as in gato /"cat" in Port./ and guerra /"war" in Port./. J is more like the English sound dj. X is always the French and our ch, German sch, English sh. Ç is preferred to S in order to avoid confusion. For the hard sound, K is substituted for C as well as Qu. H is always aspirated. Y and W are always used as semivowels. Ñ is our nh.

Sounds in no way similar to ours are the following:

λ, difficult to pronounce, and which perhaps only those who learned it as children can render satisfactorily: "I cannot define it any better than by saying that it stands between ri, ro, ru, on the one hand, and gl, on the other," writes Steinen (Bak. Spr., 255). Irineu utters it by raising his folded tongue to the upper teeth and then, or simultaneously, withdrawing it, or raising it, to the soft palate; it is thus a velar supradental. It appears only at the end of words, preceded by a which it lengthens considerably.

Kx is more velar than K.

x is velar and corresponds to the Spanish j.

ŋ, which Dr. Steinen regards as a special nasal, is our final m or n, preceded by a short i, like tambem as pronounced in Rio de Janeiro.

The vowels are the same as ours, pure or nasalized.

In addition there is ȧ, that is, a sound midway between open A and O, as in English "call," "all"; â, midway between á and ö; ö̃, corresponding to the German equivalent, or the French eu; /226/ ü, equivalent to the German and French u, but closer to i than to either of these.

The syllables consist either of a simple vowel or of consonants and a vowel.

Words end only in vowels, or in λ or ŋ. The final vowels are sometimes difficult to grasp because of their impurity, and it is necessary to resort to certain suffices, such as γe, lõ, mo, ba, in order to define them.

/226 cont./

194 There are no words beginning with b, except for bakaéri, or d, or x, or γ, or l, or r; two words given by Steinen with initial r are rendered more correctly: arapadura, Oronuro.

Initial p, m, t, k, kx, when transferred to the middle by the addition of prefixes and even of independent words, are transformed respectively into w, d, y. In the middle of words there is a frequent change of p to b, t to d, m to w, with nasalization of the preceding vowel; of y to ñ, l to r, r to n, ç to h.

The accent is put on the penult, except when the last syllable ends in λ or ŋ, in which case the accent passes to it. The accent is also shifted when two words run together through elision: e.g., bakaéri, accent on the penult, on the é; bakaer'idamu, accent on the káe, as though spelled bakáeridámu.

There are no diphthongs, properly speaking, but vowels may be compressed together in such a way as to produce the impression of diphthongs.

128 Now that the reader knows more or less how to read Kxura-itano, he may practice on the following text, /227/ which is accompanied by an interlinear translation; it will serve as the basis for a brief grammatical outline, and it is unpublished, like all those that we shall present.

/416 cont./

000 Conversely, let us imagine someone who has had a great deal of practice in registering aural impressions; will he be able to understand how someone like us could say he heard the clock strike but could not tell how often? How charitably he would smile at our audible counting! And he, too, would have to use his fingers to help out if among his number words he had no higher units than 2 and 3.

[802] Just as we are not practiced in hearing, so the Bakaïrí is not in the habit of counting with his eyes. He is still almost entirely limited to the result of touch perception. The foundation upon which further development, stimulated by interest and need, and the formation of higher units must have been accomplished had already been present for many generations, yet how slight were interest and need in primitive family life! Even in sharing, which -- we cannot help but think -- first of all demands "keeping accounts," one scarcely ever needed to count: it was give and take and the piece in the hand proved more than the fingers on the hand.

802 196 Let us turn once again to the number words of the Bakaïrí and see how their etymology, insofar as it offers any certainty, corresponds to the development revealed in the experiments. The comparison is not without value because the two studies were made quite independently of each other, and the explanation of the number words rests only on phonetic proof and linguistic comparison.

171 802 196 I do not know how to begin with "ahewáo," "3." It occurs among a number of tribes of the north, partly in greatly altered forms which nevertheless can probably be reconciled. The singular luxury of two numerical expressions may be bound up with the great uncertainty which the Bakaïrí still manifest in 3-counting: the important thing is still to determine the pairs and there is a separate word only for what exceeds the designation of the first pair, the most common case. In the difficult counting of objects that exceed "3," I heard only "ahâge tokále," so that the two expressions are used somewhat like "twelve" and "dozen," and "ahewáo" perhaps still has something indeterminate adhering

/416 cont./

171 802 196 to it from its original meaning. For this reason it is not used for making up higher numbers. In the Kamayurá "3" is called moapüt, a word that can be definitely analyzed. It is made up of the causative mo-, mbo-, and apüt, apy, "peak," "point." The highest /417/ or peak finger is the middle finger, which marks the "3," in other words, already a natural limit, like 5 = hand. In the closely related Auetö, 1 and 3 are entirely different words than in the Kamayurá-Tupí, while 2 is the same. This is very similar to the relationship among the various Karaiben tribes.

Fortunately, the meaning of the most important number-word "ahége" is certain. It also has the greatest comparative value linguistically, for it occurs, for the most part little differentiated, among all the genuine Karaiben peoples and is a veritable guide-word. Phonetically it goes back to "atáke." It must be broken up into, first, the demonstrative a-, which also forms the pronominal prefix of the second person and refers to the nearest thing outside one's own body, and, secondly, the post-position "-take," "-sake," "-hage," "with /mit/, along with /samt/" = "there-by /da-bei/," "there-with /da-mit/," "together /zusammen/." Thus, there is nothing in it about hand or fingers, and nothing about eyes, wings, and arms.

"Many" is "aági," and even "ági," and, since I also once wrote down "ahági" and in any case there must have been a consonant between the two occurrences of a, was very probably originally identical with "ahége," "2" -- an identity which has long been lost in the linguistic feeling of the modern Bakaïrí. Consequently, the meanings "2" and "many" would have split off from the oldest meaning still demonstrable today, "therewith /dabei/," about like our "jointly /miteinander/" "together /zusammen/," and the word for the definite number and the one for the indefinite amount would be merely phonetic differentiations of the same stem form.*

ooo

* For example, in German the same stem paar /pair/ = "2" and = "einige" /a few/ is not even phonetically differentiated, but only syntactically,

/417 cont./

500 and graphically for the person who writes "Paar" and "par"; even the syntax is not consistently carried out. Because though one says, "das Paar Handschuhe" /the pair of gloves/ or "ein Paar Handschuhe" /a pair of gloves/, one also says, "die par Leute" or "ein par Leute waren da" /the few people or a few people were there/, instead of being consistent and saying "wenige Leute" /few people/ or, likewise without an article, "par Leute waren da."

802 196 We see that the history of the Bakaïrí number-word for 2 is wholly in keeping with the presumed origin in general of the outlook regarding numbers. We only learn here in addition that the observation of how an object broken with control falls into "2" pieces was not separated for a long time from the one that in the case of an object uncontrollably broken one has in one's hand any number of pieces "together." Now, however, contrary to our psychological development, a strange ray of light falls on the etymology. The origin of the postposition "-sake" "-hage," which must mean something like "collectivity /Gemeinsamkeit/" -- to express it in a nice abstract way -- remains to be elucidated. In the material recorded there is a verbal stem which is homonymic, but which no one would connect with the concept "collectivity": chopping wood! The work of the stone ax which splits the trunk. This is at any rate interesting, and one might believe that for a Karaiben the meaning "to chop wood, pieces of wood or sticks (collectivity), together, two" could develop divergently, even though our "zusammen, samt, sammeln /together, along with, to gather/," as well as the Sanscrit sama, Zend hama, English same, that is, derselbe /in Ger./, /418/ Greek ἅμα conjointly /zugleich/, ὁμός same /derselbe/, etc. have one origin. In this case the language would be the final missing link; it would furnish proof of the origin of the first number abstraction "2" from the concrete image of something broken and would thus complete the series of conclusions from my experiments, which

/418 cont./

802 reach back only to the proof of the origin from manual work, to
196 make an uninterrupted chain of inductive evidence.

In Tupí "2" is mokõi, made up with the causative mo-; koi is translated "pair." Thus "2" = "makes pair." But what is koi? Now strangely enough, kopi -- the exact equivalent of the Bakaïrí sake -- means "to chop wood"! Between the two vowels in koi a softened consonant has been dropped; let us assume it arose from koui, kobi, which would be a very common process, and we would have the same origin of "2" as would be conceivable in Bakaïrí.

Finally I must also consider "tokále," "1." It is made up of "toka" and the augmentative particle "-le." "tõka" means "bow." Since each man has only one bow, or since many arrows go with one bow, the bow is the simplest example for "1" among all the implements. The derivation is a bit questionable because it is almost too perfect. To be sure, "toka" is so constructed phonetically that, according to the phonetic laws prevailing in the Bakaïrí, it need not change. It seems very striking that there are so few equivalents for "tokále" among the Karaiben of the north; they are fewer in number than those for "ahewáo" and far fewer than those for "ahége." It is surely permissible to exclude coincidence here and to see in this circumstance, as regards language as well, evidence that actual, conceptual counting began with the "2."

II. Color Words

000 Available dyestuffs. Corresponding to the number of color words. Strange statements intelligible through etymology. Dyestuffs older than the need for color words. Use in connection with the names of animals and plants. Green never = blue-black.

196 Color words, no less than number words, show how development depends on interest.

171 As has already been mentioned, the following dyestuffs are
386 used on the Schingú /Xingu/.

/418 cont. /

171 White is chalky white clay, a supply of which is kept in the
386 huts in the form of balls the size of a child's head. The women,
[283] when they spin, rub it on the right thigh, on which they twist the thread. It is simply mixed with water. It is never used to paint the body; it also falls far back for the implements and appears almost solely on the masks, the painting of which need last but a few days, on painted bark pieces, and the like.

/419/ Charcoal and soot, the berry-pulp of the genipap tree, (Genipa) and a number of resins furnish black. In order to blacken the inside of the gourd shells charcoal from the bark of the buriti shaft is used.

The yellowish-red to brownish-red loam seems to have been
[262] driven out by the urucú dyestuff. It was formerly eaten and is
524 still molded into heavy dolls for children and is rubbed on wounds
[304] for scarification.

Charcoal and soot are rubbed in directly, like the white, or they are also mixed with liquid, like the urucú. Either the oil
[824] from the piki fruit (Caryocar butyrosum) is used, or the yellow extract containing caoutchouc from a tree of the campo cerrado, which the Bakaïrí call ochogohi and the bark of which is grated and made into an extract with water. The colors are mixed in a gourd shell or a pot or, when a hard resin is broken up with the ax blade, most conveniently in the cup-shaped depression of a stool. Urucú is always found as a paste wrapped in leaves in the little workbasket beside the hammock.

The dyestuffs available to the natives are therefore white, black, red, and yellow. The genipap-black is blue-black, the urucú-red a brick-red to orange, which, mixed with the yellow ochogohi juice, loses a good deal of its red. There are no blue or green dyestuffs.

121 The theory that the color sense developed gradually for
196 human beings, based on the fact that color distinction in language is inadequate up to a high level of culture and that blue and green in particular are extraordinarily often designated with the same word, has now been abandoned. It was found among all the primitive peoples investigated that they distinguish excellently

/419 cont./

121 the various color impressions with their eyes, that, for example,
196 they choose with normal accuracy like-colored shades out of a pile of many little bunches of wool, so there can be no question of color blindness, but that, as far as language is concerned, blue and green are mixed up with astonishing regularity. The correct solution was given by Ernst Krause (Carus Sterne). The human being, by natural inclination always most susceptible to the vivid impression of red, has found mineral and vegetable pigments in greatest abundance for this particular color. The next most frequent naturally formed dyestuff besides black and white is yellow, whereas green and blue dyestuffs are late products of the coloring technique. Color names were developed in accordance with use.

125 On a leaf of my journal Wilhelm entered colored spots of
171 ultramarine, cobalt blue, emerald green, sap green, carmine,
196 rose madder, vermillion, orange, cadmium yellow, burnt sienna, sepia, and ivory black. The attempt to obtain the names of colors by laying out vividly colored objects was a complete failure. They gave the names of the objects or these confused with the color names, and nothing stood in the way of drawing up an amusing list /420/ of these words, not one of which designated a color. A Waurá almost made me despair, and he in particular seemed to have different words for blue and green. But even if this misconception was eliminated -- and, to be sure, this was done best by the use of the definite color words already obtained from the neighboring tribe -- even if the people were really on the right track, the experiment usually became a veritable trial of patience. They would think it over, vacillate, sometimes disagree with each other; it was obvious that I was demanding something very unusual. Only the Auetö, the enthusiastic painters, proved amenable. But there was one difficulty that I was responsible for, since I not only had to become accustomed to hearing the same word for emerald green and ultramarine, but was also given other baffling information which I understood only after linguistic studies.

/420 cont./

B 171 192 They all had in common a word each for 1) red and orange, 2) yellow, 3) white, 4) black. This therefore corresponds exactly with their dyestuffs. The Auetó had the same word, the "white" of the Tupí language, for white and light yellow. The T 171 192 Trumaí were the only ones who had two words for blue and green; the rest designated these two colors with the same word. Among the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/, however, tamagenéng blue - black and dark brown, and green is tukuéng; it also happened that one of them would use tukuéng for blue as well, but not tamagenéng for green. Now and then the strangest things occurred. A Trumaí and a Nahuquá designated blue with the same word as cadmium yellow, a Bakaïrí and a Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ designated green just the same as red -- if one wished, one could discover the various types of color blindness among any of them one happened to be investigating.

B 171 192 196 Only linguistic research can give the key for these phenomena. For a number of the color words I am able to give the original meaning, and they will suffice to explain possibilities of this kind. It is quite certain that the Kamayurá /Camayura/ word "blue" or "green" i-tsovü-maé = parakeet-colored" from tsovü, the name of the Conurus species or parakeets. These parrots have grass green as well as indigo blue in their feathers. In Tupí the same color word is cúgui, cy, and the parakeet is called tovi, tui, civi, ciui. Thanks to the Kamayurá form, i-tsovü-mae, the origin of cugui, already obliterated in the Tupí, is still preserved. Whether I showed the Indian a blue or a green daub, a blue string of beads or a green leaf, his answer, "parakeet-colored," was, indeed, correct. It all depends on which part of the coloring he visualized. The Auetö word i-kör-etú, "green" or "blue," perhaps corresponds to the "parrot" of the Tupí, jeru, softened from keru, so that we would have here "parrot-colored."

The tukuéng "green" of the Bakaïrí also goes back to the parakeet zugú-ri.* Now since there is a parakeet species kept in

* The name of the parakeet is onomatopoetic, hence very similar among Bakaïrí, Tupí, and Bororó.

/420 cont./

171 the houses by the natives, /421/ one which has a beautiful red
192 spot next to the beak, I assume that one Bakaïrí woman recalled
196 this little animal when, to my astonishment, she designated emerald green, vermillion, and ultramarine, one after the other, as tukuéng! This was all correct, but at that time I myself had no idea of the connection, and, shaking my head, I put the result down on paper with big exclamation marks. Luckily, the people had not derived a color word from the red arara of the lower Schingú; they would have been able to give the baffled European a palette of practically all the clashing colors with one word. Moreover, it is at least possible that the Bakaïrí and North Karaiben word for red means "the color of fruit"; in this case one person who is by no means color-blind for red might, by way of exception, also use the word for green (emerald green and sap-green), whereas the others generally used it for orange, vermillion, and carmine. The derivation of the Tupí word ti, ting, tinga for "white" from ty, urine, sap, juice, can probably be defended; in that case it would surely not be surprising if the Auetö designate white and light yellow with it.

The Bakaïrí word for white is "salt"-colored, the one for black, "soot"-colored. The latter, as has been mentioned, also serves for blue and dark brown, and, whereas green = parakeet-colored could also be "blue," blue = soot-colored could not be "green."

Thus it follows that some of the color words may have more than one meaning. It is obvious that where this is the case usage will gradually be restricted to one quality; the important thing is merely usage which develops the need for distinction. The need to distinguish colors asserts itself first of all for the dyestuff itself. It seems to be by no means usual for the color word to be derived from the dyestuff, since I am able to find this in Bakaïrí only for blue-black = soot-color; among the Tupí, for example, una black = "burned," and the form often applied to animals, pischuna, means "burned skin." This word is also used for "blue"; the brilliant blue arara has gone over into zoology as "Psittacus arararauna" = arara una. Nowhere is the word for urucú contained

/421 cont./

171 in the color word for red, nor the word for the white clay in the
192 color word for white. I believe that the dyestuffs are far older
196 than the need for distinguishing them according to their colors.
[193] This is probable for the Bakaïrí because of two points: first, the color adjectives, with the single exception of "red, orange," do not belong to the inventory of the Karaiben base-language; secondly, their construction according to the schema t-stem-éng bears the stamp of a more recent formation.

000 I may doubtless also be permitted to use such a situation to support the earlier argument about the origin of personal color ornamentation (see pp. 172 ff.). No matter how ancient and innate the joy of color may assuredly be, nevertheless the circumstance that a need to distinguish the colors of the dyestuffs with words did not manifest itself until late speaks in favor of the view /422/ that colored ornamentation was not first used on the body for the sake of the colors. Since whatever was worn on the body as trophies or for practical purposes was actually distinguished by varying colors, which must have given pleasure, people quite naturally came to want to use them also for enjoyment, and from this time on the earliest distinctions by means of names for colors began, within these, in turn, the first certainty was gained also for the colors that were fashioned, whereas the need for distinguishing green and blue was satisfied by words which were still vague, such as "parakeet-colored."

171 One more thing must not be forgotten. The Indian does not
192 form general judgments, such as "the trees are green, the sky is
811 blue." Nothing induces him to analyze this view presented to him by the external world; it is of no interest to his person in any activity and is something taken for granted, such as that water is wet. What does interest him in making distinctions according to color is animals and plants. His principal application of the color names acquired is here and it is necessary to find out here how he proceeds with color names in his own usage.

171 With this in mind I looked through the list of animal names
192 in the glossary of Martius, in which some 1300 have been col-
825 lected from the total literature. "Parakeet-colored," cugui, for "blue and green" is used only a single time in the case of a

/423 cont./

B the black. If one examines the collections in the Museum für
171 Völkerkunde, which are still free of blue embroidery beads and
531 fabrics, one will understand the entire situation at a glance.
There on the painted implements one finds only red, yellow, white, and black, and the feather ornamentation also shows green and blue; it shows both colors in brilliant purity, but unsorted, arbitrarily blended together in any fashion, and, with the other colors, in a luminous total picture which invites general admiration but not detailed analysis. In modern art this is called a color symphony, and it is understandable that from a symphony one does not learn scales. In the soul of the Indian
B it looks the same as in a shop window. The only blue and green
[196] he has at home is in the shape of his parakeets and parrots or similar ornamental birds, and so he takes their name for the color name, which suffices for blue and green.

B He always definitely made one distinction between blue
171 and green: he ranked blue, but not green, with black or dark.
192 Why does he not sometimes also call a green "black-dark"?
196 The only reason seems to be that cases where a green is so striking that it is used as the distinguishing feature of a designation are very rare, aside from the parrots themselves, as the lists show, and then it is always a matter of a luminous parrot-green. On the other hand, among the animals distinguished with "black-dark" = blue, the dark blue always predominates; thus, even the ararauna, probably the lightest of these, has, according to Brehm, "all upper parts along with the tail-coverts dark sky-blue"; the feathers often have even a very blackish shade on the outer part of the vane, and only when the bird is flying along bathed in full sunlight does a lighter, misty azure become notable.

/424/ Chapter XVI.

P The Paressí.
128

On the history of the Paressí and tribes related to them. Our visitors. Language. Anthropological. On the ethnography (dress, ethnographic yields, intoxicating beverages, dance

/264 cont./

756 the piahi and his disciple draw near. Ah! It is you, you have
776 come? says Nakoeri;--Yes, it is I, I have come to see you, replies the disciple;--Yes, you did not like your drink, your beijú, your food, it is good, this is why you came, common people do not come to my village, says Nakoeri.

Then Nakoeri puts benches outside and talks outside to the disciple of the curer; first, he puts down a red bench; then he puts down two white benches; the disciple does not sit on the red bench; he brings out three red benches (five in all, with the red ones closer to the candidate, to tempt him); the candidate walks by the three red benches without sitting down (if he sat down, he would commit a crime and would not rise to piahi) and sits on the white bench. You are an upright man (u'urodo-lo), yes, you are brave, Nakoeri tells him.

Then Nakoeri fetches mandioca dough; he ties the tail of a red arara with cotton to the tip of the handle of the maracá, and he intones his song and plays the maracá; then the candidate's bench moves, and on the bench he goes inside the house; as he goes in, Nakoeri interrupts his song: You are going inside the sky, says Nakoeri.--Yes, Captain, I am, says the candidate.--Take him inside the sky, says Nakoeri to his companion, and he intones his song anew.

The bench goes to the sky, swirling; Nakoeri's companion holds on to the bench and instructs the candidate, who cannot see anyone. Here, Nakoeri's companion says, is the plaza of the old night; there, the /265/ plaza of the old heads, further on, the plaza of the old ribs, he goes on saying (15). The

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15. The word "old" in this passage corresponds to the suffix püri or büri, which, as we have already seen, indicates the past of the substantives.

candidate sees nothing, he merely hears the talk of Nakoeri's companion; in the sky darkness alone reigns, and thus he does not see anyone.

/268 cont./

756 776 774 It has been mentioned that in certain cases both the piahi and the yamũra can take the shadow of a person who has offended them; but only the piahi can return what he took; and, conversely, he can return the shadow stolen by a yamũra.

825 196 This leads us to mention Topiehe, a Mato Grosso bird which we were unable to identify and in whose name there is probably the same radical as is found in piahi and epiwado.

825 774 756 755 Topiehe, when killed, steals the person's shadow; this is why Topiehe is not killed; it takes a person's shadow far away; then the person dies. The house of Topiehe is in the sky; the Topiehe does not die /269/ really, says the piahi. The one who (seemingly) killed the Topiehe becomes cold; when he reaches home, he falls ill; then the piahi is called, and when he arrives, the bench is washed very clean; then the tail of the arara is tied with cotton to the maracá. While the curer is doing this, no one speaks, and the fire is put out; the bench is placed at the door, and the curer holds it, plays the maracá, and then shouts. When he is not near, yamũra does not come quickly. When he arrives, the bench moves and if the curer does not make it fast, it runs away; this is why the curer does not let go of the bench, on which sits yamũra, with whom the piahi converses: Don't you see, relative, I am calling, I am talking, I am singing, I am shouting, says the curer. I did this, because he committed this crime (inutudohe), answers Topiehe.--He is a human being, he does not know what he is doing, that is why he killed you, answers the curer. When the piahi spoke, Topiehe said: Take him. When the cotton was grasped our shadow is above and then the murderer gets well. After the return: I am going away, I heard your shout and this is why I came, says Topiehe. When Yamũra goes away, the people talk, the curer goes to the patient; he was sick because he killed Topiehe; Topiehe is not to be killed, says the curer.

/272 cont./

829 The idea of "Lord" appears often, but it is not easy to
776 understand what it means. When a Bacaeri states that the white
825 man is the lord of the mirror, naturally he means that he first saw this object in the hands of the Carahibas. What does he actually mean, however, when he states that the lord of the rain is the parakeet?

776 It also seems natural that, if certain things have lords, the latter be paid or granted some token of respect or homage. Only one such case is mentioned, however; those who make hammocks, before using them, sling them outside the house in homage to the Coandú /coendou/, lord of hammocks, so that their hair will not turn white. A story about a great cataclysm brought about by the death of the newt, lord of the wind, is also told.

In view of all this, the following list of lords is of minor interest, since it will only be of use if new comparative data become available:

776 The lizard is the lord of sleep; the fox, the lord of fire;
825 the parakeet, of rain; the newt, of wind; the curiango /Caprimulgus/, of the fishing hook; the urubu is lord of the bench; the sea snail, of the sun; the sucuri, of the fishing net; the heron, of the boquité (a type of basket); the uga (a kind of lizard), of the grater; the porcupine is lord of thorns; the kingfisher, lord of fish; the coendou, lord of smoke and also of the buriti net; the deer is lord of the mandioca, etc.

825 /273/ This shows that the Bacaeri does not make a very
774 great distinction between human beings and animals. For
196 "to wish" they use two words: ieyi, first person, which is applied to an animal raised by a human being; and anayido, a generic term, simply the plural of anayi, which means "who" and "someone." There is nothing strange about this, considering that human beings and animals have shadows and speak in the same fashion.

824 The trees also have shadows and speak.
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● 197
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Tupi-Guarani SL6
Bacairi SP7 ●
Arawakan Indians SR6
Cariban Indians SR7
Carib SR9
Macusi SR11
Rucuyen SR12
Cumana SS9

/For information on the terminologies and nomenclatures in the native vernacular applied by the Carib-speaking and some other northern South American tribes to various species of mammalian fauna in their habitats, see 3: Simpson, SS16 Pemon, Category 116, particularly pp. 4A-10B./

1: Steinen
102
101
131
● 197
133

SP7 Bacairi SP7

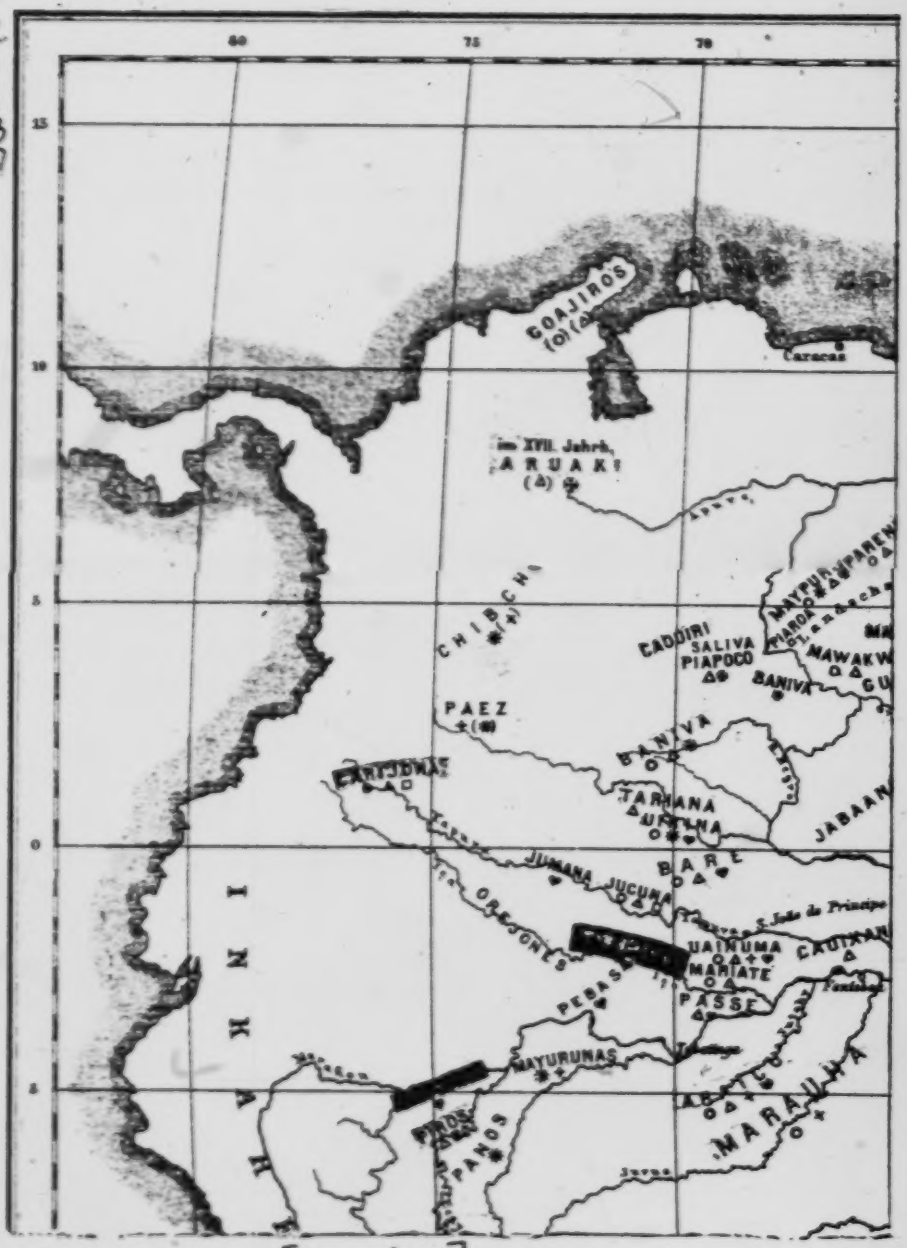
1	2	3
4	5	6

Chart of Positions of Map A

/Facing p. 154/

1: Steinen, 1884 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacair. SP7

102
101
131
133
197



[Map A-1]

1: Steinen--155 D, E-5 - (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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101
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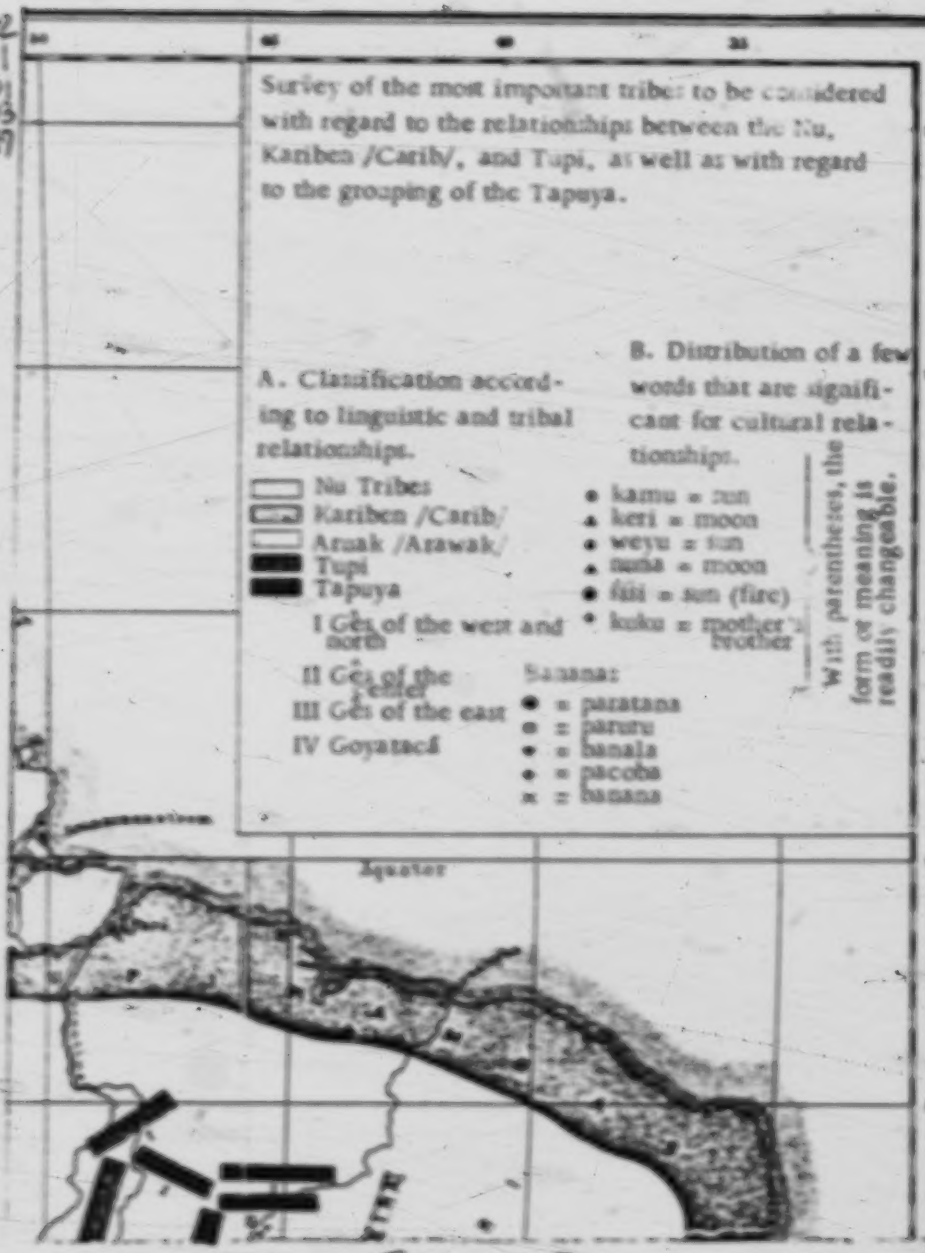
[Map A-2]

I: Steinen--1886 D,1-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 bacaiti SP7



[Map A-3]

1: Steinen--157 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacaini SP7

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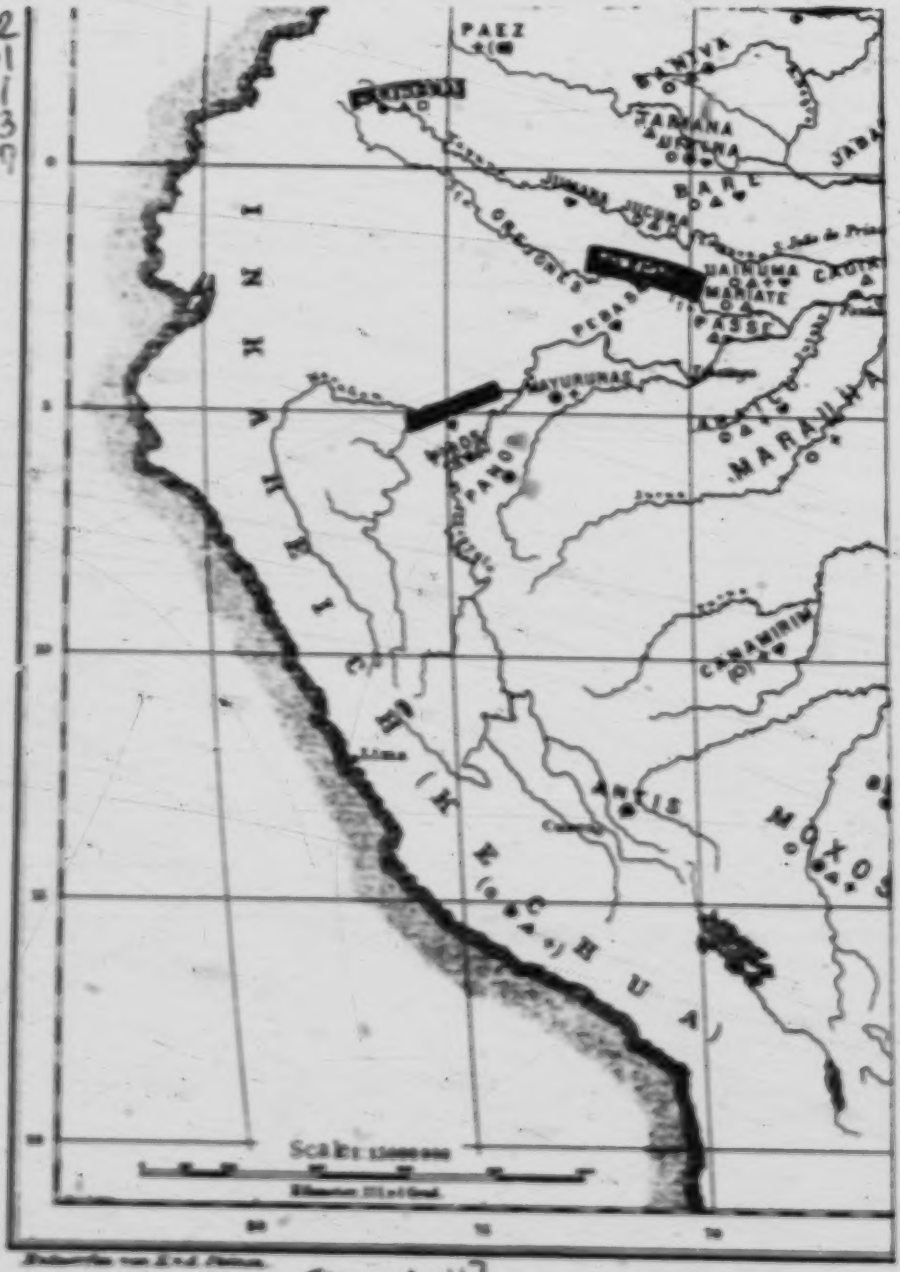

[Map A-4]

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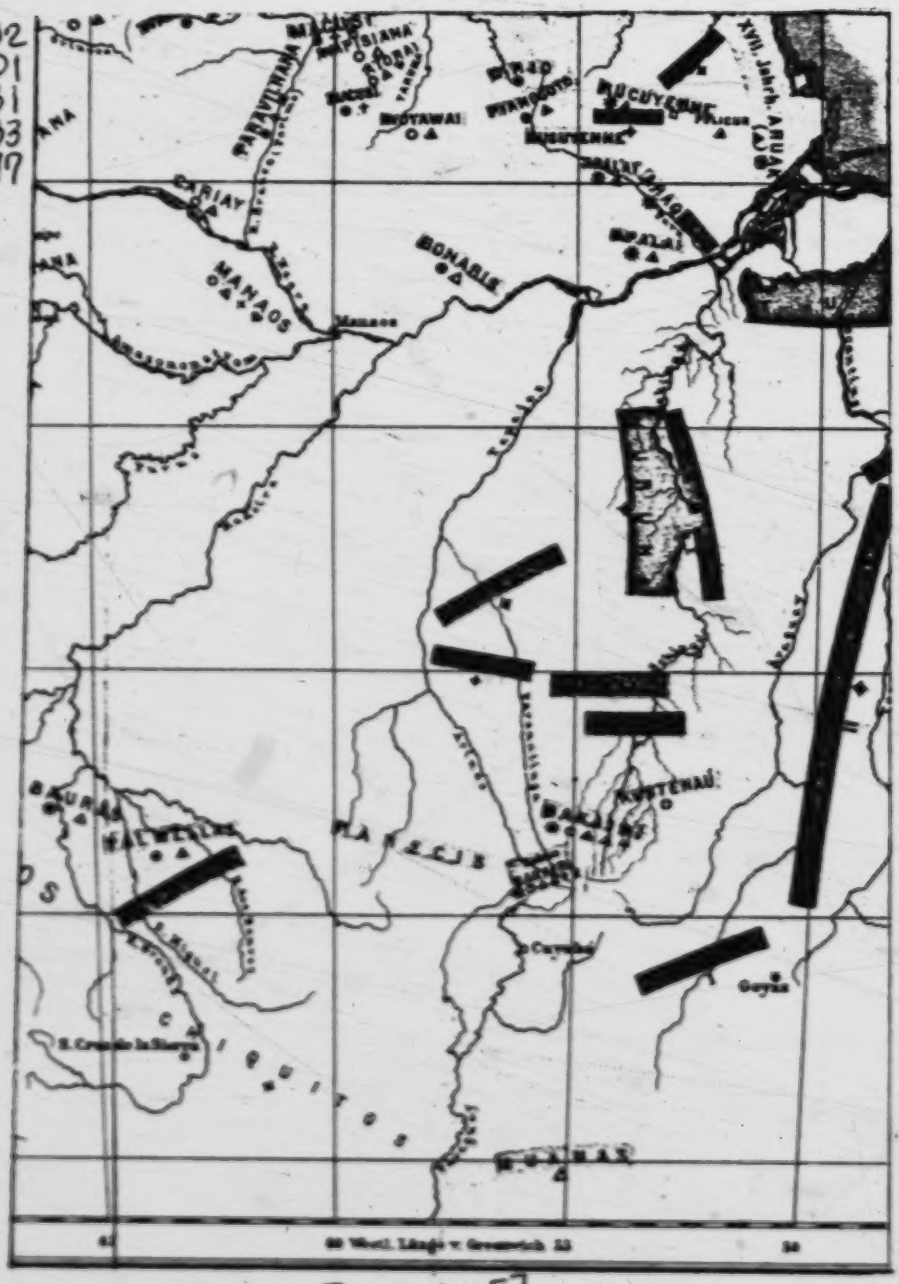
PARAVILHANA
MAPISIANA
BACAIRI
BUGYAWAI
WAIKUTS
BUCUYENNE
BUGUYENNE
CARIAY
MANAOS
BONARIE
BURAIAI
Manaos
BURAIAS
WALWELNE
PLANCIE
BAKAIRI
KUYTENAI
Cuyaba
Cuyaba
S. Miguel
S. Cruz do Sul
S. Cruz do Sul
S. Cruz do Sul

1: Steinen--159 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

102
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197

Äquator
Pará
PINENTEIRA
SABUJA
CORDADOS
Tocantins
Araguaia
Xingu
Tapajoz
Madeira
Rio Negro
Amazonas
Rio Branco
Boa Vista
Manaus
Santarem
Obidos
Gurupatuba
Cachoeira
Tocantins
Cuiaba
Diamantina
Rio Grande
Rio Preto
Rio Paranaiba
Rio Sao Francisco
Rio Paraguay
Rio Paraná
Rio Paraiba
Rio Grande do Norte
Rio Grande do Sul
Rio Uruguay
Rio Negro
Rio Pardo
Rio Jequitinhonha
Rio Doce

5 /155 cont./ The Suyá geographer
101 already mentioned the "Kayuquará" as the outermost inhabitants, and I had assumed at that time, correctly it now seems, that by that the KayaXó-Kayapó were meant.

B The long list of names looks worse than it actually is. Each
101 village has its name, and the stranger who hears it cannot at first
103 judge whether he should expect a new or a familiar tribe there.
621 The simplest example is the Nahuquá. For the Indian, "Nahuquá"
Y refers only to the inhabitants of the Kulisehu village; the
101 Yaurikumá, Guikurú, etc. do not call themselves Nahuquá, and
621 it was merely because of our happening to stop first among the "Nahuquá" that I am using this name as the tribal name. There
Y may be slight dialectal differences, but I was able to record a
[197] list of the most important words from the Yanumakapü and am convinced, and for the Yaurikumá and Guikurú as well, that their language corresponds throughout with the "Nahuquá." The
B Bakaïrí are inspired by a strong feeling of nationality, for they
101 call themselves Bakaïrí whether they live in the source region of
62 the Arinos, the Paranatinga, the Batovy, or the Kulisehu. By
[619] analogy with the Nahuquá, the Bakaïrí of the Kulisehu would
[103] have to call themselves by their village names: Maigéri, Iguéti, and Kuyaqualiéti.

B It would have been a blessing for ethnography if all the
101 tribes had taken as a model this fine example of the Bakaïrí.
128 We have several clear examples here of how a family community,
197 or, if one wishes, a tribe, becomes scattered, how each separate
619 community is inclined to give up the old connection and therefore loses it irrevocably, must become a new "tribe" if the displacement continues, and closer relations are maintained, not with neighbors related by blood, but those of another extraction. Under these circumstances, there is nothing else for us to do /156/ but to determine first of all the linguistic relationships. They are not to be confused with blood relationships. But under the simple narrow circumstances which are involved here, linguistic relationship and blood relationship coincide far more than among more highly civilized peoples, who, through writing, possess a language that has developed a distinct character. If a

B /156 cont./
101 couple of foreign individuals enter one of these family communi-
128 ties, they will, it is readily admitted, bring about a crossbreeding
197 which is not disclosed by a study of the language. But inter-
619 mixtures on a greater scale also change the language tremendously.
The foreign women who become mothers exert an influence on
the language of the children, which, in the Island Karaiben, for
080 example, is plainly evident. The children of the Karaiben men
and Aruak women did not by any means speak Karaiben, as the
young mulattoes in Brazil speak Portuguese, but rather spoke a
new language which had important grammatical elements and
phonetic peculiarities from the mothers. This is not very sur-
prising, for the cultural differences between the two tribes were
not basic, the number of foreign women was large, and they
brought all their local traditions into the marriage, since the
conquering men came from the outside. The children were com-
pelled both to make a compromise with the language materials
on the father's and the mother's side, and to choose between the
prefixes and suffixes offered by the one and the other, which are
of decisive importance for the alteration of the word roots as a
result of the influence on the stem's initial or final sound, and
they experienced the reciprocal effect, uncurbed by any school-
master culture, but instead freely active, of the phonetic laws
B valid up to then in the two parental tribes. Among these primi-
101 tive peoples, the measure of linguistic differentiation will also
197 be roughly the measure of anthropological differentiation.

If we wish to cast about for linguistic relationship among the Kulisehu "tribes" and thus reduce the list, we must dwell for a moment on the linguistic groups occurring in the rest of Brazil.

T There are still many individual tribes who, either because
101 their linguistic relatives are no longer living or because we do
197 not know them, speak isolated languages. We must first of all
put the Trumaí among them, in order to dispose of them im-
T mediately. I did not succeed in finding a place for them anywhere,
[192] near or far. They have borrowed a good many words from the
culture of their neighbors, the Kamayurá and Auetö, but the core
and essence of the idiom is peculiar and of a different origin.

T /156 cont./
101 and essence of the idiom is peculiar and of a different origin,
197 just as their physical type is different from all Kulisehu tribes.

B From the Cordilleras to the Atlantic Ocean, from the La
197 Plata to the Antilles, there are four large linguistic families: Tapuya, Tupí, Karaiben /Carib/, and Nu-Aruak /Arawak/.

B /157/ The Tapuya are the east Brazilian aborigines, the
197 forest dwellers of the coastal region and the occupants of the
101 interior as far as a western boundary, of which the Schingú may
131 be regarded as the main portion. They fall into two divisions, a western one, the Gēs according to Martius, and an eastern one, to which belong the primitive forest tribes of the east and the Botokuden /Botocudo/. The western outposts of the Gēs are the Kapayó and Suyá. With the latter we need not concern ourselves further, in view of the report about our second expedition, except that now there must be added the interesting fact that formerly the Suyá lived still much farther west. They were settled west of the Paranatinga, along its left tributary, the Rio Verde, in the neighborhood of the Kayabí /Cayabi/ and Bakaïrí, and from here they were not long ago driven back, one might say, to the Schingú. The entire mass of Gēs has lived east of the Schingú from time immemorial, and the nearest relatives of the Suyá, the Apinagēs /Apinaye/, live in the angle where the Araguay /Araguaia/ and Tokantins /Tocantins/ flow together.

The Tupí are dispersed over vast areas. By and large their northern boundary lies along the northern tributaries of the Amazon; they occupied the coast from the mouth of the Amazon to that of the La Plata; the Guaraní of Paraguay merely speak a dialect of Tupí. We encounter Tupí on the upper course of the Schingú, of the Tapajoz, of the Madeira, even of the Maranhão. Their language was elevated by the Jesuits to be the language for communication, the "lingoa geral." A great practical benefit, but unfortunate for the science of language. The interest in Tupí has caused scholarship in Brazil to treat all other languages in a most stepmotherly fashion, countless volumes from ancient and modern times are devoted to it, there is nothing more than meager vocabularies from any of the Tapuya tribes, either the Botokuden or a Gēs tribe, the linguistic study of which would be one of the

/157 cont./

197
10
131

world's most important, on account of the low cultural level, and which in reality formed the nucleus of the original population of eastern Brazil. The Brazilian scholar sees practically everything that has been thought about the natives as sub specie of the Tupí. He is happy to put Tupí in the closest relationship with the Aryans and derives from Tupí the other languages of his native land; these natives, however, are so widely distributed already that it is quite superfluous to put them in addition where they themselves have not yet been. On the Kulisehu, the Auetö and the Kamayurá, the latter in greater agreement with the lingoa geral, belong with them.

The Karaiben /Carib/ have been known north of the Amazon River since the times of the discoverers. On the Kulisehu we were the Karaiben; and thus probably originally, too, the first Karaiben were the first strangers who incorrectly understood the tribal name and made it the word that was used to refer to them themselves, as has happened in numerous other cases and is indeed often difficult to avoid during the noisy reception in an unknown language. The name, of course, is derived from the ancestral Tupí /Tupímanen/, not out of the Tupí spoken either in the Lesser Antilles or on the north coast of the continent. The Bakaïrí /158/ called us "Karáiba" with definite emphasis on the "a"; the word may be explained as "not like us" in their language, whereas the opposite, "like us," is called Karále. Let us ignore the very dubious etymology, however; it is enough for us that the word is Karaiben in our sense, was taken over by the Tupí of the Kulisehu in the already abbreviated form "karái" -- not in the form "karyb" of the lingoa geral! -- and, according to everything, must for us be "Karaibe" and not, as people are now largely in the habit of writing it, "Karibe." On the upper Schingú the Bakaïrí and the Nahuquá are Karaiben. Their language is radically different from Tupí, and the favorite hypothesis of several excellent researchers, namely, that the Tupí and Karaiben are related, has been conclusively eliminated by the two Schingú expeditions; the root words of the two languages show no correspondence.

B /158 cont./
197 The Nu-Aruak fall into the subdivisions of the Nu tribes
101 and the Aruak. "Nu-" is the characteristic fossil of these tribes,
131 the pronominal prefix of the first person, highly characteristic for most of them, which we come across from Bolivia and the Mato Grosso to the Lesser Antilles. In the Guianas we see the Nu-Aruak in intimate contact with the Karaiben; on the Lesser Antilles, where the Aruak were attacked and oppressed by the Karaiben, a true amalgamation would in all probability have come about without the arrival of the Europeans, bringing destruction. Father Raymond Breton in 1665 left us a dictionary of the Island Karaiben, whose Indian-French part, unfortunately only this, has become generally available in a facsimile edition, thanks to Julius Platzmann (Leipzig, 1892), and strove earnestly to separate the words of the Karaiben men and the Aruak women, where they differed, but proved by his compilation that two languages were no longer spoken independently of each other, as was mentioned above, but that the Karaiben men had allowed the substance and form of their old "mother tongue" to be tremendously changed by the new "language of their mothers."

B On the distant Kulisehu we met the exact mirror image
[171] of the conditions in the Guianas. The Mehinakú, Kustenaú, Waurá, and Yaulapiti are Nu-Aruak; their influence was clearly asserted in language and culture traits among the Nahuquá who had taken several Mehinakú women.

B Therefore, according to linguistic investigation, the tribes
101 of the Schingú source region are to be classified as follows (the
171 number of villages in parentheses):
197 Karaiben: Bakaïrí (8), Nahuquá (9);
361 Nu-Aruak: Mehinakú (3), Waurá (1), Kustenaú (1), Yaulapiti (2);
Tupí: Kamayurá (4), Auetö (1);
Isolated: Trumaí (2).

B /159/ Just as the Nahuquá embrace nine different "tribes,"
101 which correspond merely to nine different independent villages,
171 we could likewise put the Mehinakú, Waurá, and Kustenaú to-
197 gether as one tribe. These three tribes speak exactly the same idiom. They also, as we shall see, form an ethnological unit,

B /159 cont./
101 and, in order not to do violence to the perfectly justified tribal
171 names, as actually happened in the case of the Nahuquá, we
197 may call them, where we need a comprehensive term, the potter tribes, according to their most important ethnological characteristic. Beside them stand the Yaulapiti as a closely related Nu-Aruak tribe, but one already clearly different in dialect and revealing other influences.

B T 101 197 Thus the arithmetical problem has been simplified to the extent that we have before us Karaiben in the Bakaïrí and Nahuquá, Nu-Aruak in the potter tribes and the Yaulapiti, Tupí in the Auetö and the Kamayurá, and, as an indivisible remainder, the Trumaï.

II. Anthropological.

B T 126 128 141 In order to have a record of the physical appearance of the Kulisehu Indians, insofar as was possible during our brief acquaintance with the individual tribes, a series of measurements were taken, which did not turn out to be very numerous and are not evenly distributed according to the different tribes or the two sexes, yet nevertheless offer interesting material. Possible sources of error on the part of the observer may be put down as constant, since the measurements were all taken by Ehrenreich. He also took a far greater number of photographs than could be reproduced here; some of them, however, became very spotty and difficult to reproduce.* He expects to make further use of the illustrative

B T 128 141

* As is shown in detail in the list of illustrations, the following are reproduced here in photographs: both sexes of the Bakaïrí, Mehinakú and Kamayurá, as well as only men of the Nahuquá and Auetö, while Yaulapiti and Trumaï are missing altogether.

material and to deal with the collected material of the measurements in detail and according to its comparative value for the

/394 cont./

173 source region of the Tapajoz, and from there some of them emi-
167 grated to the Batovy and Kulisehu in the source region of the Schingú. According to the legend, they reached the salto from the source region of the Paranatinga and Ronuro.

The separation of the West Bakaïrí and East Bakaïrí would under all circumstances have to be dated back to at least the previous century and before the time when the Bakaïrí spread to the southwest into the source region of the Cuyabá. The
174 linguistic comparison agrees well with these conclusions; the
197 two groups of Bakaïrí speak a language that is identical in form and content, with slight dialectal differences. A few fish and trees are designated differently; the name of the akurí palm of the Kulisehu is that of the oaussú palm of the Paranatinga, and
[177] vice versa. As far as the Schingú Bakaïrí are concerned, it is absolutely certain that they have never had any contact with the white man.

619 As a result of our expedition of 1884, West Bakaïrí and East
[123] Bakaïrí came together again. Antonio, after his return home
[166] to the Paranatinga, told of the fellow tribesmen on the Batovy, and the practical Chief Felipe had the idea that he must try to
[484] persuade them to settle on the Paranatinga. In September of 1886 he set out with Antonio and another man; they reached the Batovy in three days and required another three days along the river until they reached the first village.

/395/ Chief Luku was kurápa and did not entertain them as splendidly as they had expected, but several East Bakaïrí, our "professor" of 1884 in the lead, accompanied them to the
619 Paranatinga. The visitors had great fear of the cattle, but great
431 joy over the visitors-gifts, with which Felipe did not stint. I inquired specifically what they had been given to take along. "We gave them all the iron we had, chickens (this, however, was later denied), small banana plants, mandioca twigs, maize, and rice." Thus one sees how the first opportunity is immediately used to transplant the cultivated produce! If the experiment succeeded, our successors on the Schingú will be able to eat bananas!

/398 cont./

B Karaiben, not as a separate folk, but as people with a peculiar
174 way of life, as brigands, pirates, and slayers of men."

I have already mentioned, page 133, that the kinship of Tupí and Karaiben runs up against the irremovable obstacle of the diversity of languages, which is clearly marked even in the root-words. There is no bridge here. Though the study of the
B [197] Bakaïrí language and a comparison of it with the North Karaiben Indians furnished this positive result, on the other hand the southern hypothesis has nevertheless been saved by the now substantiated presence of a Karaiben population in the interior of the continent, and Lucien Adam, who in more recent times had spoken in favor of a homeland south of the Amazonas, on the basis of his careful investigation of Karaiben idioms, may thus enjoy the best confirmation.

Y 181 Meanwhile a Karaiben tribe south of the Amazonas was found even before us. It, the "Palmellas," is reported in a
Y [131] travel account, scarcely known in Europe, by the Brazilian physician, João Severiano da Fonseca,* who became acquainted
Y [113]

* Viagem ao redor do Brasil 1875-1878 /Journey around Brazil, 1875-1878/, Rio de Janeiro, 1880. Vol. II, 190 ff.

with them in 1877 with the detachment of Pedras Negras (12° 15' 11", 22 south latitude and 19° 44' 22", 65 west of Rio de Janeiro) on the Guaporé and recorded a small vocabulary. Some
Y [177] seven or eight leagues away in the last spurs of the Paressí "Cordillere" lived this "tribe of docile Indians who appeared only a few years ago and established communication with the
Y 197 members of the detachment and the river-travelers. They speak an idiom different from that of the Guaporé tribes, mixed with Portuguese and Spanish words, and they cannot give their place of origin or descent. It is noteworthy, however, that a large number of their words are identical or similar to the Galibí
ooo dialect." Severiano learned from three Palmellas who were in

B /399 cont./
174 number of our Karaiben elements is too small to account for the one going from the center of the continent to the north, is removed.

B As far as the relation of the Bakaïrí and Nahuquá to each
174 other is concerned, it should be noted that the two tribes are
197 linguistically no closer than the Guiana Karaiben are to one another. In fact, the Bakaïrí are closer to the Makuschí /Macusi/ or Rukuyenn /Rucuyen/ than to the Nahuquá. The influence of the neighboring Nu-Aruak, the potter tribes of the Kulisehu, on the language of the Nahuquá is clearly pronounced, and this relation, as is the case today, has undoubtedly been closer and more cordial for a very long time than with the
B [173] Bakaïrí. This circumstance is in perfect accord with the history and legend of the West Bakaïrí when they maintain that the original seat of their tribe lies between the Ronuro and the Paranatinga.

B The latest acquisition for the Karaiben question, finally,
A and a very important one on account of the spatial adjustment
174 which it permits, is the Apiaká /Apiaca/. Martius already
A speaks of "Apiaká" in the river basin of the Tokantins /Tocantins/;
[101] he mentions them beside the Karajá /Caraja/ and regards them
[131] as Tupí, as indeed the Indians of the upper Tapajoz living in a remote region and likewise called "Apiaká" actually are. In 1888, Ehrenreich, after he had traveled down the Araguay-Tokantins,
A B met a few Apiaká in Praia Grande and /400/ identified them as
[142] Karaiben. He was surprised at their great physical resemblance to the Bakaïrí. The people said that they had been driven away by
A [173] the Suyá. They had fled northward and are now living west of
[167] the last stretch of the lower Tokantins, probably in the upper
[131] region of the Uanapu and Pacayá, approximately on the third degree south latitude. Ehrenreich suspects that the migration took place only a few decades ago. It is obvious to link them up with the change of habitation which the Suyá themselves undertook when, in the first decades of this century (cf. page 474), they were driven from the Paranatinga region to the Schingú. Nor do
A [167] we know anything more specific about whether the Apiaká lived to the west or east of the Schingú, but the important fact that

B A 174 A [167] /400 cont./
there is historical proof here for the shift of the Karaiben from south to north is not affected by it. The shift of latitude is also very considerable, for today the Suyá live on the 11th degree of latitude and previously on the Rio Verde lived considerably farther south, whereas the Apiaká are already in close proximity to the Amazon River.

B A [197] A [194] B A [113] [193] The linguistic relationship of the Apiaká and Bakaïrí is close, but no closer than that of several Karaiben tribes north of the Amazonas and the Bakaïrí! It is very interesting that in many cases the Apiaká already have consonant terminal sounds and double consonants within the word. I am presenting a few words from Ehrenreich's vocabulary, which has not yet been published. The pronominal prefix of the first person is í-, which in Bakaïrí sometimes belongs to the first person, sometimes to the third.

B A 192
Tooth ieri, Bak. vĕri, Karaiben in general;
Tongue elo (e slightly audible), Bak. ílu (third person);
Hand omiat, Bak. omári (second person);
Foot ipun, Bak. iχúlu (third person);
Thigh iwet, Bak. ewĕti (third person);
Lower leg iptchin, Bak. ischinári (third person);
Nose inam, Bak. inári (third person);
Ear iuanan, Bak. iwanatári (third person);
Bone itpun, Bak. ipüri;
Water paru, Bak. páru water, river;
River paru ime, Bak. páru ima large river;
Sun tschitschi, Bak. tschíschi;
Moon nuno, Bak. núna;
Heaven kabo, Bak. kχáu;
Rain kongpo, Bak. kχópö;
Fire kampot (Bak. péto), Rukuyenne and others wapoto, apoto, cf. the table in Bakaïrí-Grammatik, p. 278.
Tree, wood, yei, Bak. se, Makuschí yeh, yéi;
Father ongmä, Bak. iyúme;
/401/·
Mother iämä, Bak. íse;

114 /219 cont./
101 and by the Indians to all kinds of Europeans. Since the time of D'Orbigny and Martius there has been a tendency to identify /220/ them with the Tupis. Baptista Caetano, inclined to-
[197] ward the same view, stressed as the principal basis for it the impure character of the idiom spoken by the Caribas, denying Hervas' contention that it was one of the four principal ones of South America.

114 "In my opinion," he wrote, "Kariba is not and could not
197 be a mother language. According to a study which I undertook (and which I regrettably could not carry further), it looks to me like an extraordinary mixture of several dialects of diverse origins; it is a veritable jargon, amalgamated from various dialects, which sometimes offers several phrases with different radicals and words in order to express the same thing, and sometimes a total lack of designations for other things. It is so confused that it can only be compared to what is heard in certain circles in Rio de Janeiro, where during a conversation in Portuguese one hears at the same time a phrase in English, another in Italian, a bit of Spanish or German, and all this more or less basted with Gallicisms." (Introduction to the second edition of Arte de grammatica da lingua... Kiriri /Nature of the grammar of the language... Kiriri (Cariri)/, by Luiz Vicenzio Mamiani, Rio, 1877, p. XII.)

197 This, which is accurate with regard to the Island Caribas, whom we know through Breton's works (2), does not apply,

[113] 2. Cf. Du parler des hommes et du parler des femmes dans la langue caraïbe /On men's speech and women's speech in the Carib language/, by Lucien Adam, Paris, 1879.

/220 cont./

197 however, to the language of the Bacaeris, which seems pure, nor, for example, to the Cumanagotas /Cumanagoto/ and Chaymas /Chaima/ of Venezuela and Colombia, belonging to the same group, for which there have been printed grammars and texts since 1683.

114 /221/ The second result was the finding of Cariba tribes
101 south of the Amazon, when those that were known had been found only north of the great river, such as the Crixanás /Crichana/, Macuxis /Macusi/, and others. Directly afterward, it was proved that these were not the only ones: between the S. Francisco and Parnahiba /Parnaíba/ rivers, Martius recorded a short glossary of the language of the Pimenteiras, who proved to be Caribas; the Palmelas /Palmella/, too, with whom Dr. Severiano da Fonseca dealt on the Guaporé, were Caribas; more Caribas were found later by Dr. von den Steinen himself on one of the tributaries of the Xingú, the Culisewi, and by Dr. Paulo Ehrenreich on the lower Tocantins, where they are called Apiacás.

114 A more detailed knowledge of the purely Cariba languages
174 and the existence of tribes that spoke them south of the
197 Amazon raised the question: might it not have been from south of the Amazon toward the Caribbean Sea that the migrations of these tribes took place--rather than the opposite, as was accepted until then? Almost simultaneously this was answered in the affirmative by Dr. Carlos von den Steinen and by Sr. Lucien Adam, who from 1882 on published various glossaries by Crevaux, among which were some Cariba ones.

114 In order to study the subject better, Dr. Carlos von den Steinen went a second time, in 1888 and, again assisted by our government, explored the Pakunera and Culisewi rivers down to their mouths in the Culuéne, the easternmost of the headwaters of the Xingú.

/222/ Two books resulted from this journey: a monograph on the language of the Bacaeris (3), published in 1892; and the

/223 cont./

121 114 with slight variations, it is nevertheless more than a mere summary, for at several points our opinions differ, while at others heretofore unknown facts appear for the first time. This concerning the linguistic part, the subject of this first chapter. The divergence is even greater in the points that follow, which are based exclusively on what Irineu related.

/224/

I

The Language of the Bacaeris

• 197

133 103 The language of the Bacaeris (kxura itano, tohi itano, that is, language of people, exactly like abá ñeẽ, the language of the Tupis) is spoken on the Rio Novo (Yemeriri), a tributary of the Arinos; on the Paranatinga (Pakunéra), a tributary of the Tapajoz; on the Tamitatoala, one of the headwaters of the Xingú, called Batovi by the Germans in honor of the baron of the same name, president of Mato Grosso in 1884, the time of the first expedition; on the Culisewi, a tributary of the Culuene, also a headwater (the easternmost one) of the Xingú. On the Oronuro, the westernmost headwater, there are no Indians who speak this language. From an examination of the vocabularies and the grammatical forms, it was proved that the Bacaeris belong to the Carahiba or Cariba group.

194 Of the letters of our alphabet, F is found in only one word, possibly onomatopoeic, which precedes incantations: aúfá, perhaps an imitation of the blowing out of smoke. V is rare, and in any case it is not pronounced as it generally is in Rio de Janeiro, but rather seems to be bilabial. R is always soft, that is, to use the description by Gonçalves Vianna, "the air is expelled at one time, without interruption, as in caro /'dear' in Port./, and not intermittently, in successive contacts, more or less repeated, /225/ resulting from the vibration imparted by the active organ, as in carro /'cart' in Port./." G is slightly velar, and to differentiate it from ours

/260 cont./

114 informant. (3) Karl von den Steinen, on the other hand,

[113] 3. Capistrano de Abreu, "Os Bacaerys /The Bacairi/," Revista Brasileira, Year I, Volumes 3 and 4, Rio de Janeiro, 1895.

worked with several informants, and, what is more important in our opinion, personally visited Bakairí aldeas, (4) which

[113] 4. Karl von den Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien /Through Central Brazil/, Leipzig, 1886; Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens /Among the Central Brazilian Primitive Peoples/, Berlin, 1894.

[127] Capistrano did not do. These documents, studied comparatively, permit us /261/ to support the conclusions we expect to reach on Bakairí beliefs and customs.

197 The Bakairí belong to the Karaib /Carib/ linguistic
361 family. Their old aldeas consisted of large communal houses,
[342] ellipsoidal in form, around a square. In each house there
[592] lived from two to five families. In the center of the aldea
[344] there was a house, kadoeti, where the ceremonial adornments
[346] of the men were kept and where visitors were lodged. Access
[534] to the kadoeti was open not only to the men but to women
[784] and children as well. Attached to the kadoeti was a small house, its entrance turned to the rising sun, where the flutes, buzzers or bull-roarer, and other sacred objects were kept. Access to this latter house was forbidden to women and children.

&Oberg E-5 (1947)1953 SP7 Bacairi SP9

THE BACAIRI

[P. 69-B]

Brazilian Government. The information presented here was obtained at Simão Lopes from the Bacairí who lived on the Rio Kuliseu and relates to the life that they lived there about 40 years ago.

Linguistically the Bacairí belong to the Carib-speaking family and appear to be closely related culturally to the other Carib-speaking tribes in the Upper Xingú Basin. The Bacairí are short in stature, broad-shouldered and well-built. The head is broad, the nose straight or acquiline, the face narrow, the lips fairly thin. In physical appearance the Bacairí remind one of the Arawak-speaking Paresí, but contrast sharply with the large-framed, coarse-featured Bororo, Umotina, and Guató living in the headwaters of the Paraguay River to the south.

The Bacairí Indians are first mentioned by Gonçalves da Fonseca in his account of his travels to the Madeira region in 1749. In the atlas of Thomas Jeffry, 1776, the "Bacahyris" are located on the Rio Paranatinga. Ayres de Casal, in 1817, refers to the "Baccahyris" as living in the region around the Rio das Mortes. Martius places them in the headwaters of the Xingú. From 1820 on, more or less permanent contact has been maintained with the Bacairí living on the Rio Novo and Rio Paranatinga. In 1820 a P. Lopes led an expedition in search for gold into the area and with him came priests who began to convert the Bacairí to Christianity. With these contacts came disease and conflicts (Von den Steinen, 1942, p. 123).

The first scientific account of the Bacairí dates from the voyage of Von den Steinen down the Xingú River in 1884. Traveling over land from Cuiabá, he and his party reached the Christianized Bacairí living in the villages of Rio Novo and Paranatinga with whose help he continued his voyage down the Batovi River where he was the first to make contact with the four pagan villages of the Bacairí located between latitudes 13°30' and 12°30' S.

The following table gives size and number of inhabitants of the villages visited by Von den Steinen (1942, appendix, table 8, p. 418):

SP8 Bororo
Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25
Nauka SP18
Trumai SP23

Y
622 pleased. The women were as outspoken as the men, but it was noticed
554 that the younger women kept behind the older, peering over their shoul-
[562] ders, a custom that was observed among the Bororo and the Bakairi also.

Propelled by the outboard motor we covered a great distance, until
080 late in the afternoon three canoes were capsized by one of the men who lost his head. This occurred in one of the deepest pools in the river, and all our efforts to recover the canoes failed. Making an inventory of our resources we found that all of our dried meat was lost, most of the sugar, a good portion of the salt, beans, rice, and farina. For this last we were not concerned, for we could buy it from the Indians. More serious was the loss of most of the ammunition, some rifles, revolvers, knives, over half of our trade goods, including most of the hardware, the cameras, anthropometric instruments, Schick and Dick Test material, blood grouping sera, and all of my notes and specimens. We had lost enough beans and rice to last us some four weeks with care, and a sufficient quantity of coffee. I decided to go on anyway, but as a matter of fact we were not able to move in any direction, since the few small canoes would not carry all of the personnel.

On the second day after this event a Mehinaku appeared in a canoe with his wife and two children. Understanding our plight, he paddled to his people further down stream and the next day returned with men and canoes, having traveled day and night to reach us quickly. In the meantime the plane had flown by on its way to the meeting place, without having seen our smoke signals.

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Paddling all day and a good portion of the night, we arrived at the Mehinaku port of a village on the right bank, in the process of being built. Farina and bijju were given us and we found the people delighted and charming hosts. Putting up our hammocks under the trees, some of us retired, but the Bakairi, though tired, sat up most of the night conversing with the Mehinaku, though each other's language was mutually unintelligible.

On the opposite bank to the port of the Mehinaku, we found a group of about twenty-five Trumai men and women. They had no canoes, but the Mehinaku ferried them across. They were exceptionally small, being both short and thin, in contrast with other peoples that were met, but always appeared to be well nourished. In the morning, when we

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Aneto SP6
SP8 Bororo
Yaruma SP25
Nambiq SP8
Tapirapé SP23
Bacairi SP7
Y 361

that of the Naravute on the Kuluene, where the rapids end. Thus habitation of the banks of these two rivers begins where the rapids end, and the rivers become deep and, in the case of the Kuluene, broad. This seems the line likewise of the end of the open lands of the chapadão and the beginning of the forest belt that stretches northward to the Amazon. Thus the region occupied by the aborigines having permanent settlements is that which borders on deeper waters well stocked with large fish, where mammalian life is poorer, but bird life richer and the soil is better.

According to Von den Steinen, the Mehinaku, Aura and Yewalapiti speak Arawak; the Auiti and Kamayurá are Tupi, and the Bakairi and the Anahuka are Carib. The Trumai speak an isolated language. Keeping this classification, we must include in the Carib stock Naravute, Kuikutl (Cuicura) and Tonva, if the fact that these groups could converse freely with the Anahuka and that my Bakairi, who knew a little Anahuka, is an indication that they have a common language.

WATBY 197

Thus, three of the four linguistic stocks of South America that have the widest geographic distribution are well represented on these headwaters of the Xingu. The fourth, the Tapuya,[1] is spoken by tribes in the surrounding region, most of whom are scarcely known by name. It is generally held that the Tapuya are the oldest inhabitants of eastern Brazil and that they were dislodged by the Tupi. In this region, it seems that the Tupi, Carib and Arawak are holding the more desirable locations near the rivers, and that all of them have as their common enemies tribes speaking some form of Tapuya, who are kept away from the deep waters and the fish. The most numerous are the Carib, with five villages; the Tupi have two, and the Arawak have three. However, it must not be implied that because the villages speak languages which belong to the same stock that they are united politically. Each is a separate political community and apparently language affiliation plays little part in political or social alliances.

Since Von den Steinen's visit, the tribes have shifted their habitat somewhat. Changes of village site is often caused by the necessity of fresh manioc fields, death or warfare. The Anahuka, for instance, gave the information that their former home was to the east of the Kuluene, but that following a disastrous attack by the Jaruma they

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[1] [Tapuya means "enemy" in Tup. Perhaps this fourth stock is Ge. — Analyst]

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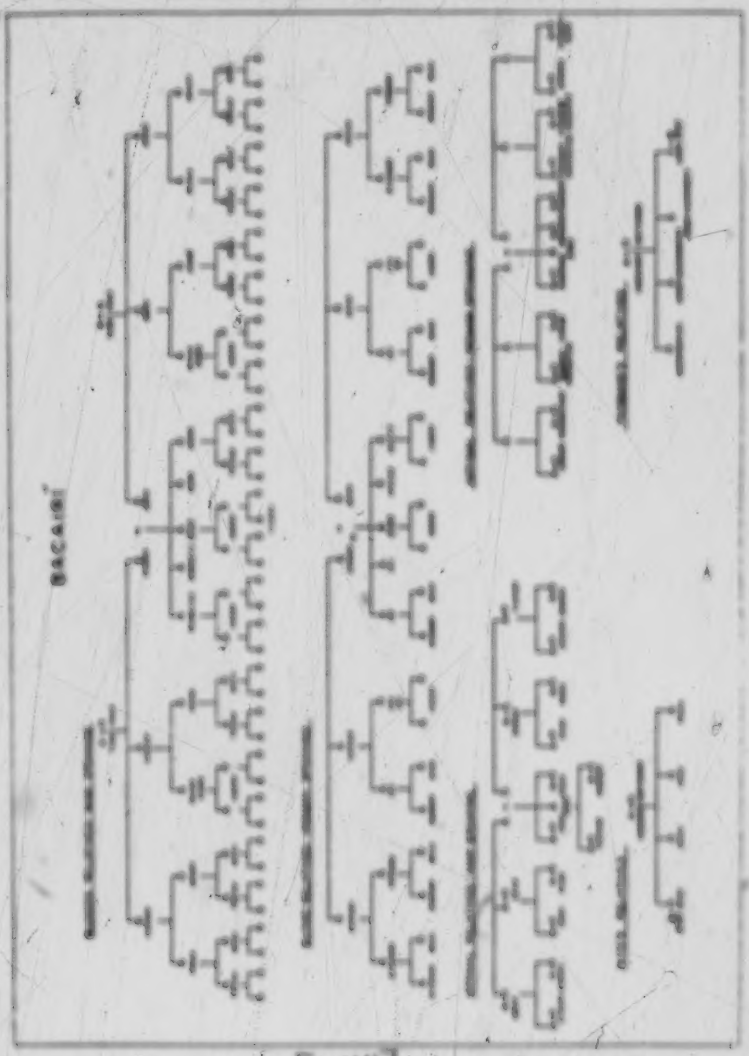

[p. 114]

/71 cont./

201 412 [536] No activity with a tool of metal, stone, tooth, or wood was discussed without the appearance also of the appropriate sounds to portray it. It is true that a good part of this was to communicate with me, who knew only the rudiments of their language; they were more sparing with these /72/ sounds and gestures in their own conversation, but they nevertheless had at their disposal in ample measure the auxiliary language of expressive movement and used it in their communications with other tribes, as I saw later, in exactly the same way as with me. Thus the disadvantage that each tribe speaks a different language is of little concern; understanding was possible without difficulty even for a Karaiben, for the gestures, stereotyped, to be sure, nevertheless contain full clarity and still are not reduced to conventional abbreviations.

123 153 201 They also manifested an attentive interest in the interjections and gestures peculiar to me, which, of course, involuntarily took on a livelier expression than at home. If I accompanied any feeling with a sound that was strange to them, it was imitated. If I whistled softly to myself, I could soon hear one of them whistling happily along with me. Particularly if I laughed loudly and struck my leg, there was general acknowledgement; they would immediately slap their naked thighs, and Homeric laughter filled the village plaza.

126 My linguistic notes of the day, which I would bring out, were gone over once more in our tobacco club and were enriched by small contributions. The constellations, the names of animals, the inexhaustible material for parts of the body, and whatever the moment offered were noted down, read aloud, and confirmed with approval.

123 I, too, however, offered mimic performances, for which my interesting oxhide offered the first occasion; I demonstrated our domestic animals to them and achieved a greater measure of success among my small, but grateful public than could ever have fallen to the lot of even the author of "Tierleben" /Animal Life/ or much-admired performing artists. Above all they became acquainted with cattle, sheep, and dogs, whose size and characteristics I described graphically to them as best I could,

/190 cont./

*171 304 characteristically, wore on his arm the two tattoo lines of the Mehinakú women, painted on, to be sure, and not tattooed. I believe, but cannot maintain and prove, that there is a connection here with the system of matriarchy. According to the Indian [619] conception, the sons belong to the tribe of the mother, and in every case they visit the tribal village of the mother under peaceful circumstances. It is certain that the Mehinakú women, and the Mehinakú pots bore their home stamp.

II. Sexualia.

*171 291 The devices among men and women are not coverings. Protection of the mucous membrane and benefits with the onset of puberty. Origin among the women, however, as bandage and cushion, among the men as gymnastic treatment for phimosis.

*171 291 83 Our natives do not have any secret body parts. They joke about them in word and picture with such complete ingenuousness that it would be foolish to call them indecent. They envy us for our clothing as though for a valuable ornament; they put it on and wear it in our company with such utter disregard of our simplest rules and such complete misunderstanding of all the devices designed for them that their paradisiacal naïveté is [881] most convincingly proved. Some of them celebrate /191/ the onset of puberty for both sexes with noisy folk festivals, in which general attention and boisterousness is demonstratively concerned with the "private parts." If a man wishes to tell a [602] stranger that he is the father of another or a woman wishes to [201] introduce herself as the mother of a child, they gravely acknowledge themselves as worthy begetters in that, with the most spontaneous and natural explanation in the world, they grasp the organs from which life issues.

128 Hence it is not possible to understand these people properly unless we leave aside our ideas of "clothing," unless we take them as they are and as they prove themselves in their own way. Keeping in mind as our point of departure the fact that they have

W /242 cont./
323 not have to build up the walls with thin clay cylinders put on top of one another as is ordinarily described. She smoothed the walls with a piece of gourd, not a stone. She modeled the ornamental edge-projections, which represented the body parts of an animal, and then put them on; she scratched in the eyes and nose with a little bamboo rod. An old broken-out bottom or a beijú pan is popularly taken as a model for the bottom of the pot.

B The clay is whitish-gray to grayish-yellow. Only the Waurá
*191 pots have a pretty, light red clay. The new pot is properly
323 dried in the sun and then turned upside down on a very sooty fire;
824 for that they use the green bark of a campo tree which the Bakaïrí call kutére, or of the guanandí (Calophyllum) saturated with sticky resin. Thus the pot, like the gourd, is blackened on the inside.

000 /243/

Chapter X.

I. Drawing.

Origin from the drawing gesture. Descriptive drawing older than artistic drawing. Sand drawings. Pencil drawings. Explanation of the plates. Profile position. Proportions. Number of fingers. Bark drawings.

B The simplest drawing that we can observe is probably the one
*191 directly connected with an explanatory gesture. Just as the na-
● 201 tive, to demonstrate the sense of hearing, cleverly reproduces
532 the characteristic voice sounds of an animal and is always tempted to do this in connection with any lively narrative, so also, with respect to the sense of sight, he imitates the animal in pose, walk, movements and, for better understanding, draws any peculiar body parts, such as ears, snout, or horns, in the air, or he outlines his own corresponding body parts with his hand. The drawing gesture is exactly parallel to the imitation of animal voices. As soon as this procedure is no longer adequate, however,

B /243 cont./
*171 one draws on the ground or in the sand. In taking down the
20 vocabulary, I was extraordinarily often able to convince myself
532 that the inner perception was converted into an explanatory
[124] sand-drawing involuntarily and without being demanded by me.
To be sure, it happened most often if the shape of the animal was
particularly suitable for this, as in the case of snakes, an alligator
head, and fish, where, in addition, a voice could not be imi-
tated. Furthermore, it is to be freely admitted that the impulse
for the realm of hearing was disproportionately stronger among
these hunters, and also that in intercourse among themselves
they undoubtedly confined themselves to the drawing gesture for
the sense of sight. Indeed, they could actually limit themselves
to this. Toward me there was the additional thought: "since
the man does not understand our language, how can we in this
case be adequately clear?" and they drew in the sand.

It is enough if one is justified in concluding from the be-
havior of the Indians that the drawing gesture, on the level where
it still forms a not unessential supplement to the language,
easily develops into actual drawing. /244/ We see, and this is
the important thing, that here among primitive peoples drawing
is used like gesture, to convey a message and not to reproduce
graceful forms, and, on the basis of the personal impression that
I gained from the directness of explanatory drawing, I believe
B that it is older than the ornamental-artistic kind. One may per-
[531] haps object that the Schingú /Xingu/ Indians are already artists
who cover all their implements with drawings and ornamentation
and that is why drawing as a means of expression is particularly
BO natural to them. To this I can only reply that the Bororó, whom
171 I should like to mention often in this connection in an anticipatory
532 way, made magnificent feather ornaments, to be sure, but knew
practically nothing about the graphic arts, and that they were
the very ones who had a greater skill and greater fancy for draw-
BO ing in the sand for explanation than did the Schingú people. They
[224] were restless fellows, however, who lived from the hunt; they
had never found the leisure to practice painting and plastic art
like those who, to be sure, still practiced hunting and fishing, but
had already advanced to sedentary farming.

BO 285 524 532

/280 cont./

nothing more than the pubic band with the bark belt holding it. A "Bororó man" was represented by a palm leaf strip folded in the same way and then only a thread tied around it, the waist cord, which he wears besides his cuff and wore long before the invention of the cuff.

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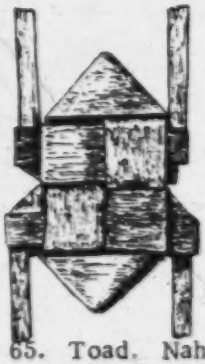

Fig. 65. Toad. Nahuquá. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

The straw figures of the Bakaïrí dance festivals are a special group. I shall have to discuss them in connection with the masks. They represented animals and were worn on the head. Span-long dolls served as children's toys and were also stuck on a pole in the roof of the festival

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hut as a sign that a masquerade was being celebrated; they announced to all the world: "Big dance entertainment today."

Fig. 66. Deer. Nahuquá. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

B 524

Fig. 67. Woman's and man's figure. Bororó. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

The two little dolls of Figure 68 /see p. 316/ seem to be very expressively summoning one for the merriment. In 1884 we came across larger straw figures, which were not used as headdresses, in front of the second Bakaïrí village

BO 285 524 532

on the Batovy. "Shortly before the exit from the woods we came across a wonderful display of about a dozen animal figures along one side of the path, probably the remains from a festival." (They

/36 cont./

535 Cacique Pires' house, where they were used in the dance fiestas
126 staged at specific times by the Xinguanos. The fire-engraved
[531] embellishments enhanced with black paint are wholly ancestral. Besides circles and spirals they also include other decorative elements of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí. The length of these sticks reaches from 76 cm. to 100 cm. and their diameter from 1.7 cm. to 4.5 cm.

532 Of the figures made of maize husks, such as the Bakairí
126 of the upper Xingu River tributaries had in former times, I found two specimens in the settlement of Xinguanos on the Rio Paranatinga, which represent birds (V.B. 9964 and 9965. Length 15 cm.) A ball made of husks of ears of maize (V.B. 9966. Length 21 cm.) such as was used by the Bakairí of the Kulisehu in general for their game with a ball, which they called tóju, is shown in Figure 31, b.

126 Small figures in the form of the human figure shown on
532 Figure 23, d (V.B. 9961. Length 10 cm.) were placed, in
751 Simões Lopes, around the /37/ necks of newborn babies to protect them from illness. I had acquired a good, old specimen of such a figure which was tied with an animal claw from the necklace of the little girl of a woman belonging to the Bakairí who had moved from the Rio Novo. A day later she came with her child to ask me to return to her the necklace with the pendant, because the child had fallen ill after the loss of the necklace. She exchanged the old figure for the new one shown in Figure 23, d.

211 Finally, I must still mention the notched board shown on
194 Figure 31, a (V.B. 9969. Length 23.5 cm.) Since such boards,
199 probably intended as mnemonic aids, are not found among the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River tributaries, we must assume that this case is an instance of foreign influence in later times.

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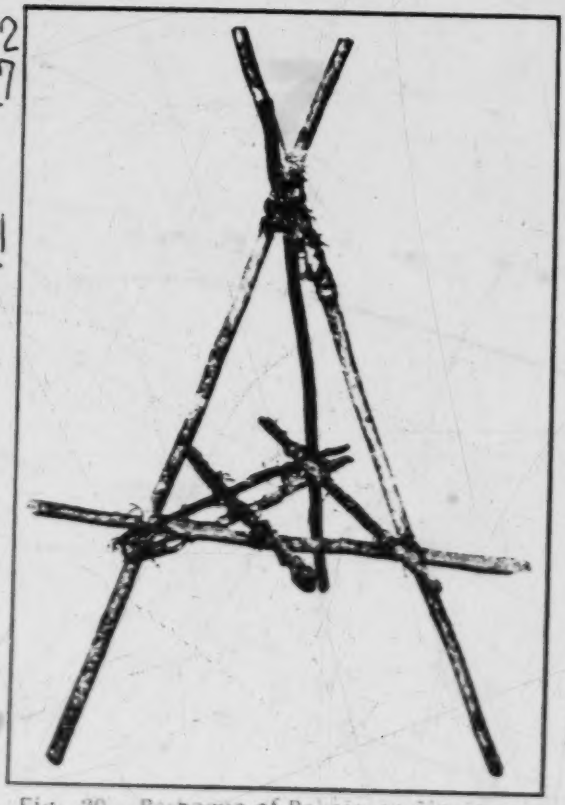

Fig. 30. Barbecue of Bakairi in Simões Lopes.

Plate XIV

Fig. 31 a. Notched board for remembering numbers. b. Ball of an ear of maize. Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

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Fig. 32 Figures in the form of birds, made from maize husks. Bakairi-Xinguanos of the Rio Paranatinga.

/246 cont./

*171 mental world in every art and science, no matter what it is
18 called, and there can be no foundation for this other than their
825 hunting culture.

000 The material interest in the animal precedes the formal or esthetic interest. The flower in art is secondary, exactly as it is in ornamentation; first the feather in the ear and then the little bunch of flowers on the hat. I saw araucarias portrayed in the "picture writing" of the virador in Rio Grande do Sul. A palm tree would be just as easy to draw as a pine, but no palm in the north furnishes such indispensable food as the araucaria formerly provided for the "bugre" /wild Indian/ of that southern province. Before art went after bread, if I may alter the meaning of the sentence somewhat, it went after meat and fish. I shall have to come back to this subject, especially in connection with the products of the ceramic art.

*171 Sand drawings. They are at first a form of communication,
212 like words. I have spoken of how the descriptive gesture readily
532 and easily became a picture. Map drawings were the most com-
823 mon. Our second journey arose through the sand drawing of the arrangement of the upper Schingú, with which the Suyá geographer illustrated his statements, cf. page 126. "He enumerated all the tribes that are settled on the upper Schingú; in order to be quite clear, he drew the course of the river in the sand with his finger. To our greatest surprise, he drew the Batovy, the only one which he portrayed in this way, and, to be sure, entirely on his own initiative with corkscrew-like, tortuous course." (Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, p. 213 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 104/.) The Batovy, as we learned to our sorrow, was a true River Meander.

*171 /247/ We saw the same thing among the Kulisehu tribes.
212 The number, sometimes of tribes, sometimes of rapids, was
532 indicated by dashes. Circles were houses; wreaths of circles, villages, corresponding to the actual arrangement of the circular
[126] houses around the large plaza. All these figures were also drawn with pencil in our book, while the accompanying words were taken down as dictation. A certain individualization, as in the

/247 cont./

* 171 case of the Batovy above, with zigzag or serpentine lines, seemed
● 212 to occur more often, but could not be controlled by us. It is
532 in no way remarkable after what we have heard on page 133 /untranslated/ about the map picture in the head of the Indian. Thus, in Figure 33 we see a pencil drawing of river courses, which a Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ made in Wilhelm's sketchbook; of the names we are only familiar with that of the Kuluëne, the main source river; paranayubá is Tupí = yellow river. Moreover, in order to symbolize villages lying along brooks, zigzag lines were drawn,

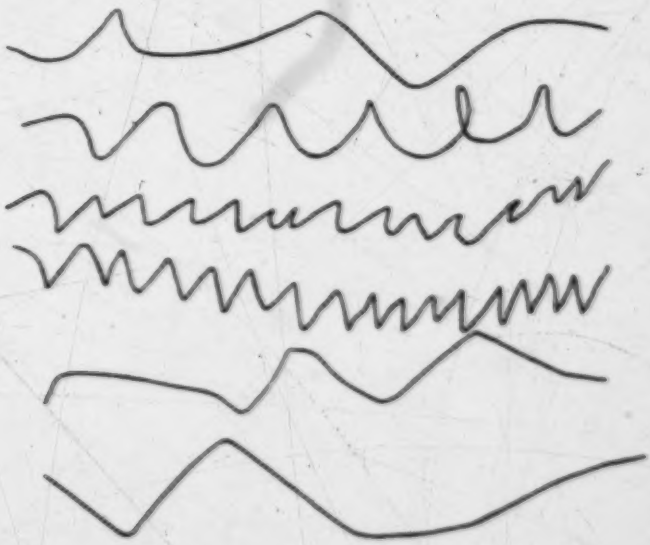

Fig. 33. Pencil drawing of the rivers. (2/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.) From top to bottom: kuluëne, kanikayuné, [illegible], [illegible], paranayuba, pareyutó.

along each of which extended a row of circles. They liked best to draw all over the page. One sheet covered with short parallel lines was devoted to the river rapids. Other statements were made between times in conversation; for example, the various words with which different tribes name "water" or "beijú" were enumerated.

/247 cont./

171 212 532 Among the Nahuquá, circles on the ground indicated the place where piki fruits, which are as round as apples, had fallen unripe from the tree and were buried.

[825] One day on the return trip our canoe passed a sandy beach which our Indian companions had already passed before us; there, to our /248/ surprise, we saw two fish drawn in the sand, which Antonio said were matrinchams. We stopped, fished, and actually caught matrinchams! It was just as though the word had been

Fig. 34.
Sand drawing of a matrincham.

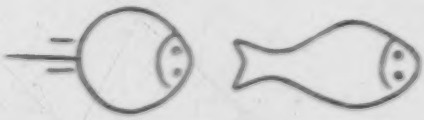

Fig. 35.
Sand drawing of a ray and paku.

Fig. 36.
Mehinaku sand-drawing. (1:130 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

written there, and an invitation to try his luck there too had been handed to Antonio quite intentionally. Another case remains more obscure to me than this instructive example. Almost exactly in the middle of the path between the harbor and the village of the Mehinaku /Mehinacu/ I found a ray and a pakú fish drawn in the sand. The narrow forest path widened at this spot into a small

B /248 cont./
*191 circular area. My companions, two Bakaïrí, immediately sat
212 down to rest. I do not know whether a weary wanderer before us
532 who stopped there on his way home from the river so neatly drew the two animals purely for diversion, or because he had just dealt with rays and pakûs, and, frankly, I find it quite immaterial whether the one or the other was the case.

Even more inexplicable as to its exact meaning was the circular figure drawn in the sand, which is shown in Figure 36 and which was found under a beautiful tree approximately half a kilometer from the Mehinakú village. It was called aturuá
B and was four and a half meters in diameter. When we left the
533 village accompanied by sevgal men, they made a round inside the circle on either side up to very near the network and sang ka ã ã..., there were also numerous traces of former rounds. Since the men wanted to turn back at this point and spoke of the women, there was probably some reference to the arrival or departure of guests here on the edge of the forest or a quarter of an hour from home. The network of the drawing was turned toward the village. The two curves occur similarly as tattoo patterns and on the outside on the bottom of the large pots of the Mehinakú (cf. Plate 15 /see p. 253/). I had copied the figure in my journal a few days before my cousin saw it; there, in place of the small central circle with the two supports, two circles are represented touching each other, the lower one being slightly larger and going over into the network; one might imagine head and body.

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191 The Bororó, whom I am including here, contributed not only
532 purely explanatory, but even semi-artistic pictures in the sand, which we /Plates XVI-XIX appear here/ /248/ had no opportunity to see on the Schingú. In the evening in the moonlight they took special pleasure in drawing hunting animals and hunting scenes in the sand for us. I say "women," for their [illegible] did not by any means shrink from a difficult composition. Nor were they content to draw in outlines; with their hands they shoveled the surface sand out of the outline of the animal being represented and filled this depression, shaped, for example, like a jaguar or a tapir, with grayish-white ashes; thus they made the body with its

[Text continues on p. 269]

[P.71-B]

placed in a hole in the septum of the nose, so that the feathers swung one on each side of the head. Although the pátko, or scratcher, was not strictly an ornament, it is mentioned here because it had ritual meaning. The pátko was made by setting fish teeth into a gourd holder and was used for scarifying the skin of the arms, legs, chest, and back so as to cause bleeding. The wounds were first washed with water and later smeared with the juice of the *mukúsa* vine. The pátko was used by boys and girls during puberty seclusion and by adults who had sores on their bodies. It was believed that the use of the pátko made people strong and healthy. As far as could be ascertained the Bacairí did not mutilate the teeth, genitals, or other parts of the body. There was no sign of tattooing, but pubic hair was carefully pulled out by both men and women. Formerly the Bacairí kept large birds, believed to belong to the eagle family, in their villages for their feathers. The Brazilians call the bird "harpía" and claim that it is still kept by the Indians in the Xingú Basin. The "harpía" was captured by shooting it with a blunted arrow, and it was kept in a special hut and fed. Villages often had several of these birds in captivity, the feathers being used particularly for feathering arrows. Parrots and macaws were also kept, their feathers being used only for ceremonial decorations.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Vegetable foods formed the basis of Bacairí diet, with fish and meat taking second and third places. The principal animals hunted were monkeys, deer, wild pigs, tapir, and the jaguar. The jaguar, however, was not eaten, but was hunted for its skin, teeth, and claws. The principal weapon used was the bow and arrow. Hunters would stalk game alone or in groups with the aid of dogs driving game into water or into steep rocky enclosures. There is no mention of the spear being used, but fishhooks and pitfalls were used. Many varieties of large fish were shot with the bow and arrow, either from canoes or from the river bank. Lizards, turtles, and a wide variety of wild fruits, roots, tender shoots, and honey were collected at certain seasons of the year.

The major part of the food supply, however, was obtained through agriculture. The Bacairí cultivated bitter manioc, *ipa*; sweet manioc, *tsiaj*;

Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25

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is ever lost. Our Bakairi were imbued with the same spirit, for often the paddle would be dropped and replaced with bow and arrow though we may not have needed the extra food. This anxiety to gather as much food as is encountered was also manifested in the case of turtle eggs found in the sand banks. For those days that we travelled, each canoe at the end of the day would have gathered at least thirty or forty eggs. This food was shared generously with everyone. [Plate XIII, 2.]

Another method of fishing was with a spear. Especially in the dry season, the fish withdraw to the deep pools where it is impossible to reach them with an arrow. A spear is usually made of two sections: a wooden shaft with a large conical bone point and a reed extension to the shaft. Both sections measure about seven metres in length. [Plate XIII, 1.]

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Damming of the lagoons is resorted to. A dip net with a handle about three metres long is in use, and drag nets are apparently used in season.

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Fish is eaten almost raw; the only method of cooking seen was barbecuing, either by placing it on a platform over a fire or by placing it on a framework close to the fire. Salt is unknown and not liked, as evidenced when they were asked to try our food, when though hungry, none would accept it if it had been seasoned with salt.

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Another food in usage, highly prized and carefully stored away is the fruit piki, which grows wild. The fruit is boiled in the large earthen pots, placed in cylindrical bark containers, about one and half metres to two metres in length and a third of a metre in diameter, sealed tight at both ends, and placed under water in some cool pool. These bark containers are reinforced with wooden slats. On ceremonial occasions they are opened and a quantity sufficient for the immediate needs is taken out to be distributed to every member of the village equally. It is mixed with water and drunk, without fermentation. Both the Yawalapiti and Naravute hail these bark containers.

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Pottery

Pottery is poorly developed in the region. Neither in quantity nor variety, nor in technical perfection does it compare with that of the Bororo. The forms are simple though characteristic.

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[text continues on p. 155]

/104 cont./

122 The cadet was familiar with only two forms of activity: he slept or ate. It was indeed a pleasure, however, to sleep within four walls once more, although at night the wind often whistled through strongly. And there were all kinds of things to eat that were
262 not furnished on the march. There was plenty of sugar cane; the cooked mandioca root with roasted bacon cubes was a dish for the gods. a piglet was slaughtered; a few chickens forfeited their lives; [229] the young chaps had also killed a tapir one day under a regular volley of small shot, it furnished a very tasty ragout. The women sent fresh, crisp "beijús," a simple baked product made of mandioca

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Antonio Quirino

262 flour, of the shape and approximately the taste of matzoth. Since
272 there was no shortage of rapadura /a crude form of sugar; see the glossary, p-172 /, "jacuba" was constantly being prepared as refreshment: in a gourd bowl a plentiful amount of rapadura, a plentiful amount of farinha /manioc flour; see the glossary p-171 /, and water as desired. Even milk appeared. In the evening the
231 526 calves were separated from their mothers; the herd was driven into the "curral" /corral; see glossary, p-170 /, and the calves were lassoed with a great hullabaloo, while a large and appreciative
526 audience /105/ sat all around on the fence. That was something

/164 cont./

289 The triangular garment of the women, a folded piece of
291 bark bast, supposedly from the schischi tree, has a base of four centimeters and a height of one to one and a half centimeters.

A girl about ten years old is still completely naked.

302 The nasal septum of the men is not pierced; the beard hair,
[304]/165/ if a natural tendency for it is present, as well as all the hair (among the women, too) with the exception of the head hair, the eyebrows, and eyelashes, is carefully removed.

224 Around 10:00 in the forenoon Claus came with Antonio; a
[222] few men also arrived from hunting, among them the chief, an older gentleman with an anxiously serious official face and a
162 fat little belly. We count ten men, seven women, five boys, four girls.

291

Clothing of the Bakairi women.

372 Paubaga showed us how they make fire. They take two long, thin sticks of the same dry wood, into one a notch is scraped, while one man now holds this in position on the ground with two small sticks, a second man twirls the other stick rapidly between both hands in the notch. The dust that is rubbed loose glimmers.

126 We did some bartering. I measured a few men. They patiently allowed it to be done.

157 These "wild" Bakairi are alert, teachable, and certainly very good-natured. They do not steal, although we are carrying
[273] treasures with us. They have no intoxicating drink; they refuse
[274] tobacco. On the second day, together with their wives, they visit
609 us in our camp -- the "docile ones" on the Rio-novo, on the other hand, preferred to sleep with those in the bush as long as we were in the aldea. On the first evening a savage drinks a medicine that I

2: Steinen--1 E, D-S (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/Chapter I-III, pp. 1-45, including Fig. 1 and Plates II and III, are omitted in the translation./

/46/

Chapter IV.

First Encounter with the Indians.

Bark canoes. Traces of Indians. My trip with Antonio and Carlos. Animal life. Reverie before supper. Mouth of the Ponekuru. Cataracts. Signs of colonization increase. Chief Tumayaua. To the first Bakairí village. Arrival of the "Karaiben."

After tapping several times in vain, Antonio found a jatobá (Hymenaea sp.) with serviceable bark. A pole scaffold is erected around the tree; a long rectangular strip of bark is loosened with ax blows and, carefully taken down, is placed on low supports; then the bark is made pliable with heat, a fire being lighted underneath and twigs also set afire on top, and the edges of the longitudinal sides are bent upward. In front a point is formed; in the rear the bark is pushed forward toward the inside to produce a slightly hollowed out bulkhead with acute-angled edges, at which the bark is soon likely to split. The canoe was to be finished in a day and brought to the water the next morning.

Antonio came home from his work noticeably pleased. I believed it was because the canoe had turned out well. I talked to him about it for a while and then, referring once more to our plans, said: "So you are not afraid that the river is without inhabitants?" "No," he replied in diminimal, "I've already found a rancho." "Why didn't you say so?" "Well, I intended to." In looking for wood for the oars, he had discovered a collapsed hunting-hut covered with palm straw; its posts showed the blunt gash-marks of a stone ax. Beside it lay charred logs still in the radial arrangement of the Indian campfire; adjacent jatobás had been tested with stone axes for their usefulness, a still recognizable path led through the brush to a "harbor" on the river. Antonio thought it was probably a year ago that the visitors had stopped here.

/48 cont./

880 We therefore named our camping place, which we had taken possession of shortly after 4:00, Pouso do Jakaré. Antonio took [394] charge of the unfortunate canoe; he shoved it onto a low framework of forked supports, lighted a fire of brush under it, and bent the front part up as much as possible; he stuffed the crack with rags and smeared it with beeswax. Howling monkeys gave us [136] an evening concert and carried on as dreadfully as though we were supposed to learn how to shudder.

136 137 We were glad to get up early the next morning. We cursed the mosquitoes and set out at 6:30 into the light mist floating over the water. The birds twittered and chirped noisily; a kaitetú pig was swimming across the river in the distance. We rowed as soundlessly as possible between the shores covered with campo vegetation: much tall leafy brush and bamboo thicket, out of which rose the tree of the red ants, the imbauva. A fat Mutum cavallo with black plumage shimmering greenish-blue and a sealing-wax red crest was successfully caught and immediately plucked. Antonio carefully collected the wing and tail feathers, which, split and turned spirally, are set on the end of the arrow shaft, for his fellows on the Paranatinga, so that he would have something to bring them from the journey. A small piece of the meat served as bait when we passed through some rapids with exposed boulders and disturbed the matrinchams, which allegedly sleep there between the stones. The two men threw out their lines and at each throw let them strike enticingly a couple of times; they were snapped at, but unfortunately there were no bites. They shot at a couple of playful arirambas, large fish otters that surface like seals, spit, disappear quick as lightening, and suddenly appear again somewhere far downstream.

224 Shortly after midday Antonio observed torn-off branches on the right bank; we disembarked and, on closer investigation, saw that a piece of dain game, probably a capybara, had been placed on a bed of twigs and leaves in order to protect the meat from sand while it was being eviscerated. There was neither hut nor evidence of fire; the booty had therefore been taken from this spot to the /P. IV appears here/ /49/ camping place or even to the village.

[Text continues on p.6]

/59 cont./

231 rafters of the smoke vent, and, if he suddenly shot down and raced around us like a wild animal, he was quickly chased back to his observation post, where he looked down, his head bent inquisitively and his beak open. /60/ Sometimes one of the little mice 224 [262] so busily active at night came spying about and, if it did not scamper away in time, was shot with a child's arrow and brought 136 to the women as a roast. Almost constant guests were large black-white striped bees, which, like a butterfly that now and then fluttered into the entrance, would calmly let themselves be seized and put aside. On a hot noonday I often had the feeling of sitting in the midst of a beehive filled with buzzing and droning.

123 It was at this hour on the third day that I fled from the bees [342] and flies to Paleho's large house and entered it for the first time. It was wonderfully cool and comfortable in there and no annoying insects. Only ants laden with grains of flour marched down their street to the mandioca pestle. The men were swing- [519] ing in the hammocks, their chief occupation at home; and [574] after I had sat a while, for the sake of politeness, on the stool [352] of honor, which was as high as a cigar box, I soon followed their example.

342 One had the feeling of being in a huge beehive, fortunately without the bees. The ground plan was almost circular with a diameter of 15 meters; two mighty posts standing nine meters high and three and a half meters apart, supported in the center the huge straw dome, the framework of which consisted of horizontal bamboo rings and over these vertical poles bent upward toward the vent. It was smoke-blackened, glistening like tar. The walling all around, above which it rose, a tightly closed ring of posts one and a half meters high, interrupted only by two door entrances opposite each other, which were much [352] too low for me. From the wall towards the interior, in the direction of the radii, the hammocks were stretched, fastened on either end to particularly strong posts, so that the outer space 353 was divided into a number of rooms, albeit open. The large center space around the main posts and under the vent, which

/220 cont./

The influence on the animal kingdom was strange and remarkable. All beasts of prey very deliberately made use of the occurrence, sought and found their victims, not so much near the blazing fire as on the smoking burned place where many a rodent was probably charred. Numerous falcons hovered over the dark clouds of the "queimada": wild game hastened to it from far away, to lick the salty ash, and preferred the night, perhaps because it could not hide on the bare expanse. The ground radiated an agreeable warmth.

Hunting by means of fire is found among many primitive peoples. The Schingú Indians no longer seemed to practice it, but in any case it was well known to the Bakairí, /221/ and the legend of "Kame in the Mouse" tells us that Keri went hunting with the possessor of fire, the campo fox, and the latter caught "only a burned mouse," inside of which was Keri's brother Kame:

Keri met the campo fox. "Let's make fire in the campo, grandpapa," said Keri. They set out to make fire; it burned all around. Kame was in a mouse. Keri did not know that he had gone inside. The fire burned down and stopped. Keri hunted, did not see a roast. The campo fox found a burned mouse. After he saw it, he ate it. He met Keri: "Grandpapa, what kind of roast did you eat?" "I ate only a mouse."

The "queimada," or burned place, furnished many experiences about the usefulness of fire: fleeing animals when the fire began, intoxicated animals and fruit, animals that came to it, salty ashes, warmth. Here the hunter could learn how to roast meat, which, on a smaller scale, took on the significance for him that fire preparation has for the field cultivator, roasting preserves. After many days roasted meat, which otherwise would long since have become putrid, is still tasty; the Bororó went out hunting for weeks and returned with a rich supply of roasted game; the Aweró were absent for several days on fishing expeditions and brought home a canoe basket laden with roasted fish; among the Mehinakú we saw baskets filled with very appetizing, golden yellow baked fish. Even today roasting is continued until the meat has a thick charcoal crust -- the burned skin -- with a very popular salty taste.

619
182 /23 cont./
756 aldea on the Rio Kulisehu to settle with his arts on the Paranatinga.

When I was with the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí in May and June
197 of 1901, 14 years had elapsed since their first contact with
178 articles of European culture. After Karl von den Steinen's
[114] expedition, other explorers had also passed through their land. They had become familiar with iron axes, knives, scissors, matches, and other objects of modern culture, and by bartering their native products they had become amply provided with such objects, but their natures and their way of life had barely
[411] changed. They had become acquainted with the firearms of the Europeans and of their fellow countrymen of the Rio Paranatinga, but they still regarded them with a certain mis-
[226] giving and did not use them either. Fishing, which had been of the greatest importance in the economy of these Indians, was still carried out on a broad scale and in the ancestral way,
[224] fishhooks not being used. In hunting, too, they only used their
241 arrows and long bows built like the ones of old. Agriculture
412 was also carried out in the same manner and with the same digging sticks, with the mere exception that the work of clearing was made much easier by the numerous iron axes that replaced the stone axes of times past. I did not see any more stone axes among these Indians. Undoubtedly they had all been replaced by the far more useful iron axes brought by the explorers who passed through these regions. There were large plantations in
241 the vicinity of the aldeas or at a distance from them, and I
114 myself had the opportunity to observe in the aldea of Maimaieti, situated on the Rio Kulisehu, the way in which a big part of the mountain was cleared for a future plantation. The Indians proudly showed me a spot planted in sweet /manna, "mild"/ manioc, of which they had received cuttings from the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí. During my stay among the Bakairí of Maimaieti aldea there was never a scarcity of manioc, and I and my companion were always generously provided with
[548] manioc cakes /beiju/. I mention this fact especially, because

/261 cont./

352 The Bakairí slept in hammocks, amaka, woven of palm fiber.
[415] Their furnishings can be summed up as benches of a solid
[285] piece of wood, clay pots, mats and baskets. The diet rests
262 upon manioc, piquí, sweet potatoes, maize, and fish. How-
224 ever, the hunting of monkeys, wild pig, tapir, and other ani-
mals was not scorned. Most of the food reserves, however,
[241] were of vegetable origin, and the most important harvests
were made up of manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, and piquí.
Yams /cará/, cotton, urucú, and tobacco were also planted.

342 The occupants of a communal house worked together on
476 the building of a new house, acquiring thereby the right to
622 reside in it. This construction work, however, was led by the
individual who had the most prestige in the group, usually the
old head of the house, who thus set himself up as the head of
241 the new house. The tasks of clearing fields and planting
476 generally depended on the participation of all the aldea. When
529 beginning a new clearing, the Bakairí would give a feast,
xométc, with the distribution of food to the Indians who worked
501 on the field. The Bakairí made canoes from the bark of the
[824] jacobá tree, in the Xingusano way. This construction, as well
as fishing, hunting, and agricultural activities, were accom-
[82] panied by propitiatory rituals.

437 Their products were bartered among neighboring groups
574 in the course of visits called tulíki which depended on the
presence of the chiefs of both aldeas. After the exchange of
the objects desired, the visitors were honored with a feast
called tulaée.

621 /262/ The Bakairí were not a warlike people, and their
181 political organization does not seem very elaborate. Each
622 aldea had a chief, puma, assisted by a subchief, ináida. The
624 Bakairí do not remember the existence of a chief for the whole
[243] tribe, and there is no evidence that such a figure ever existed.
The selection of the ináida was made by means of agreement
of the aldea, but it generally fell on the son of the puma him-
self. The puma's functions were chiefly ceremonial, economic,
and juridical.

/263 cont./

about three centimeters square made of tree bark. After the seclusion boys and girls were eligible for /264/ marriage. Marriage, todohokúinle, was joined by the parents of the young people by means of an exchange of gifts, and it does not seem to have merited any special ceremony.

The Bakairí do not seem to have believed in the possibility of a natural death. After death, which was always caused by the sorcery of some enemy, the corpse was painted and attired in the finery used in life. The corpse was rolled up in the hammock used by the deceased, and buried with the head pointing west and the feet east. There followed a mourning period, during which the closer relatives remained uanki and from which they emerged through the tadaunúto feast.

The world of the Bakairí was surrounded by supernatural beings, good and evil, such as the iamúra, topiehe, karoui, kadopa, and kilaimo. (5) Plants and animals were nothing but

5. Capistrano de Abreu, "Os Bacaerys," Revista Brasileira, Year I, Vol. 4, pp. 44, 45, 47, 48, 234, 240, 241. Rio de Janeiro, 1895.

drapery used by the iamura and kadopa. Hunting, fishing, and agricultural activities thus had to be accompanied by propitiatory activities intended to appease the anger of the iamúra deprived of their animals and plants. On the other hand, karoui and kilaimo wandered through the forest menacing the Bakairí. Against such beings the Indians required the protection of their sorcerer-doctors as well as periods of seclusion in the most dangerous moments.

The Bakairí believed that men had two souls: one called [illegible] or [illegible], heavier and thicker, corresponding to a camisa worn by the second soul, kagaogori, a more fluid element that

/265 cont./

775 789 539 When finished, one gives a benediction... saying: Aufa! Go inside the sky, to our people, to our mother, to our father, here there is no one, inside the sky it is god, go, we also are going to pass away, it is said, the piahi teaches." (8)

8. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 44.

776 [775] In Nakoeri's aldea, the kadopa change into iamiira. But the iamiira also wander on the earth using the bodies of animals. Although their behavior was not intentionally malignant, the Bakairí had to take precautions when they went hunting or fishing or when they planted. On killing game or fish, the Indians left certain offerings for the iamiira portrayed by these animals. (9)

782 774 776 776

9. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 49.

776 756 By means of certain rituals a Bakairí might, while still alive, make contact with the iamiira, acquiring the corresponding powers, and become a sorcerer-doctor.

776 Capistrano de Abreu (10) and Karl von den Steinen (11)

10. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 235, 239, 240.

[113] 11. Karl von den Steinen, Entre o aborígenes do Brasil Central /Among the Aborigines of Central Brazil/, São Paulo, 1940, transl., p. 448.

mention yet other supernatural beings that surrounded the

/265 cont./

796 Bakairí: /266/ Kitaimo, Karoui, Iuanaguroro, and Topiehe. Kitaimo is a wandering spirit that wanders through the forest at night. Karoui is the sorcerer-doctor's enemy; he possesses [756] an axe in the shape of a toad. Iuanaguroro is the lord of hunt- [224] ing; one of the sides of his chest is larger than the other, and he clasps against it and kills the Indians who offend him. Topiehe is a bird whose death would result inevitably in the [825] death of the guilty party. There was also a lake inhabited by [823] maleficent supernatural beings, and where animals reached gigantic proportions.

825 Capistrano de Abreu mentions the attribution of special powers to certain animals. Thus the lizard was the lord of sleep; the fox, of fire; the urubu, of benches; the sea snail, of the sun; the porcupine, of thorns; the kingfisher, of fishes; the deer, of manioc. (12)

12. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 242.

756 The sorcerer, piaji (piahi or piaje) performed very important functions among the Bakairí. Besides the function of curing illness, he performed such tasks as the prediction of enemy attacks, the localizing of game, the finding of lost objects, and interceding with supernatural beings when necessary.

753 For the Bakairí illness was always caused either by hostile [194] sorcerers or those in the service of enemies, or by spirits such as the iamiba, topiehe, iuanaguroro, or karoui. On being 756 called to heal a sick person, the piaji requested the assistance 755 of his guardian iamiba with the help of a gourd which he shook in accompaniment to songs of invocation. On examining the patient, the piaji decided upon the cause of the illness, whether it had been induced by an enemy or by a spirit. In the second case, the piaji would intercede with the offended 000 spirit, appeasing it. But in the event the illness had been

/269 cont./

539 fat in order to stay warm. The Indians wanted the sun to come out, and so they donned their apparel, painted their bodies, and began to ask Orimoto, the great spirit. Orimoto was not an Indian but a man who lived in a stone house with some animals which he had created. The Indians went on asking until finally the light broke out; but the Indians had already grown old and the children had already grown up.

796 The data at our disposal do not permit us to place in Bakairí cosmology beings such as Tchini-muma, Keri-kamé, or Orimoto and Nakoeri. Nevertheless, we prefer to regard Nakoeri as the supreme being of the Bakairí, leaving to Tchini-muma, Keri-kamé (the sun and the moon), and Orimoto the role of culture heroes, until new work clarifies their respective functions.

122 13 433 Compelled to deal with a hostile environment, such as the savannas and forests of the headwaters of the Xingu, and lacking an adequate technology, the Bakairí, like the other Xinguano Indians, depended to a large extent on uncertain factors such as the amount of rainfall and the resulting annual increase of warm, which led to a scarcity or an abundance of food. Lacking an adequate technology, they did not store 78 their produce but lived on a subsistence economy. Their hunt- 224 ing and fishing activities were followed by magic rituals with 226 which they attempted to control the possibility of sudden future 241 calamities or even of illnesses. Thus agricultural activities 396 and the building of houses or canoes had to be followed by 782 propitiations. In order to utilize the vegetal or animal raw 264 materials, it was necessary to know how to control uncertain elements: How explain, for example, why one canoe splits and another does not, when both were made by the same craftsman? How explain how the same /270/ foods sometimes ap- 77 peared harmless and sometimes made people ill? The system of beliefs of the Bakairí seems to us an interpretation that

placed in a hole in the septum of the nose, so that the feathers swung one on each side of the head. Although the *ptiko*, or scratcher, was not strictly an ornament, it is mentioned here because it had ritual meaning. The *ptiko* was made by setting fish teeth into a gourd holder and was used for scarifying the skin of the arms, legs, chest, and back so as to cause bleeding. The wounds were first washed with water and later smeared with the juice of the *wakina* vine. The *ptiko* was used by boys and girls during puberty seclusion and by adults who had scars on their bodies. It was believed that the use of the *ptiko* made people strong and healthy. As far as could be ascertained the Bacairi did not mutilate the teeth, genitals, or other parts of the body. There was no sign of tattooing, but pubic hair was carefully pulled out by both men and women. Formerly the Bacairi kept large birds, believed to belong to the eagle family, in their villages for their feathers. The Brazilians call the bird "harpia" and claim that it is still kept by the Indians in the Xingú Basin. The "harpia" was captured by shooting it with a blunted arrow, and it was kept in a special hut and fed. Villages often had several of these birds in captivity, the feathers being used particularly for feathering arrows. Parrots and macaws were also kept, their feathers being used only for ceremonial decorations.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Vegetable foods formed the basis of Bacairi diet, with fish and meat taking second and third places. The principal animals hunted were monkeys, deer, wild pigs, tapir, and the jaguar. The jaguar, however, was not eaten, but was hunted for its skin, teeth, and claws. The principal weapon used was the bow and arrow. Hunters would stalk game alone or in groups with the aid of dogs driving game into water or into steep rocky enclosures. There is no mention of the spear being used, but deadfalls and pitfalls were used. Many varieties of large fish were shot with the bow and arrow, either from canoes or from the river bank. Lizards, turtles, and a wide variety of wild fruits, roots, tender shoots, and honey were collected at certain seasons of the year.

The major part of the food supply, however, was obtained through agriculture. The Bacairi cultivated bitter manioc, *ipu*, sweet manioc, maize,

534 nut hulls tied together and fastened to the ankles of the dancers. There were at least four kinds of flutes. The *emini* flute was made from two pieces of soft sapling hollowed out and fastened together with wax and string. This flute was about 3 feet long with four finger holes and a separate mouthpiece. The *kanapire* flute was made like the *emini* but was shorter and had a different sound. Both the *emini* and the *kanapire* were sacred flutes of the shamans and were always kept in the sacred flute house connected to the *kadoiti* where they were played only at night so as to prevent women from seeing them. If a woman were to see one of these flutes, misfortune would befall her. When the sacred flutes were played there was dancing but no singing. The *tadiwere* was a bamboo flute made in five different lengths without finger holes and was not sacred. The *nakipire* was made by fastening four short tubes of bamboo of different lengths together. It was played in pairs, one player answering the other. This flute was not sacred and could be accompanied by singing. In addition to the rattles and flutes, the Bacairi used highly decorated sticks or batons called *kadiepari* in some of their dances.

[P.56] [346] [532] [533] [535]

533 Besides the flutes and the dances performed to 535 their tunes, the Bacairi had songs and their corresponding dances which were not always accompanied by flute music; for instance, the *ortiki* was a song and a dance performed with the decorated batons which could be performed at any time; the *pakawadiki*, another general song and dance which also could be performed at any time; the *pemiadori*, the corn song and dance in which neither the flutes nor batons were used; the *mai-aiwadori*, performed during the house building ceremony without batons or flutes; and the *poiwadiki*, sung and danced during the boys' ear piercing ceremony.

527 One of the most important ceremonial events of the year was the annual corn dance (*ungiiedebirdi*), which was performed when the corn ripened in the fields. The man who had the largest corn crop was the organizer of the ceremony. In order to have enough corn, the Bacairi usually planted special fields, the yields of which were used on this occasion. On the day before the corn gathering all the men went on a big hunt in order to have large quantities of meat ready for the feast. Early in the morning of the following day everyone went out to the fields to

[529] [528]

/166 cont./

252 brick shape -- pavas, used for mingau. They boil the strained liquid in large pots, whereby the finest flour is deposited -- polvilho; this makes the best beijú.

501 [439] Back in the afternoon. Four canoes were acquired with an ax, shirt, and trousers. We are not in good shape, in spite of all that. Quintilian's canoe burst when it was hauled down. The [531] Bakairi canoes differ from ours only in their more careful workmanship; one of them is painted with black rings on the outside of the longitudinal sides. The oars, the size of a walking stick, have a crook-shaped handle, shaft, and a long lance-shaped blade, which is slightly hollowed out like a shovel.

133 The height of the two uppermost levels of the salto amounts to four meters; two meters more may be figured for the falls [224] below. Baskets for catching fish hang on ropes, which, in turn, are held by males standing in the middle of the whirlpool.

We call this waterfall the Salto de Alegria. Our happiness 136 is only slightly marred by a swarm of bees and wasps; among the latter, the kind that sting very painfully. -- The transport of the 122 canoes, for which there is a route, is completed. /Illustration appears here./

/167/

132 15 Aug. ☿ 12° 11'.7, 13'.7, km. 6.41, total 130.05.
122 7:00 A.M.: dry. 11.8, wet. 9.8, clear, calm.

320 We have only nine canoes; one is very battered. Castro and I separated, he is traveling with Manoel, I with Compadre Valentim. Off about 9:30 A.M., immediately an accident happened. At a small rapids Wilhelm's boat capsized, and the foolish Negro Chico behaved as clumsily as possible. With the knapsack and the suitcase in his hands, he stood in the middle of the water, which was flowing over the baggage as though over a mill wheel, as bewildered as a porter in a railroad station who has lost sight of his stranger. He almost drowned, but was luckily pulled out by Clementino. We dried out on both shores. Delay until 1:00 in the afternoon.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 48--ANALEC]

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Salto da Alegria.

L: Gustavo--47 Dec-9 (1880) 1000 Sept 9 - 11 479

/167 cont./

133 Instead of the cachoeiras, the simple rapids now cause us worries. With effort Antonio saved his canoe from capsizing, he escaped with a load of water.

We pass a canal three-fourths of a meter wide, which leads
•226 through a meadow to a lagoon. There, when the water is higher, the Bakairí seize the fish passing through the canal. They are not familiar with hooks and catch the fish either in traps or kill them with arrows.

139 Attractive park landscape. Many tree skeletons in the water. Width 35-45 meters. We were merrily rowing along and
000 already thinking of picking out an attractive campsite when necessity chose one for us. Wilhelm's canoe with Israel and Chico was shipwrecked a second time, but, to be sure, at a less dangerous spot, after the rapids had already been passed. Everything disappeared in an instant in the waves. Poor Israel, who could not swim, held on to a tree branch jutting up from the bottom; the canoe was quickly righted, and three men safely dragged to shore the unlucky one who, on account of his bitter-sweet expressions and at the same time irresolute behavior, had to put up with general laughter on top of everything. Valentin caught the tripod of the theodolite, and everybody swam, dived, and paddled with the current. Little by little the entire cargo was brought to light, with the exception of the bundle made up of Wilhelm's poncho, blanket, and hammock. All searching remained unsuccessful.

226 The Bakairí have set up for themselves here a natural fish treasury. On the edge of the river bed, boulders are placed loosely beside one another in a circle; the water flows in and out through two larger openings. -- We bring two canoes in, which are to be made flexible and tomorrow bent into shape.

/168/

122 16 Aug. φ 13° 7' .6, λ 5' .9, hm. 10.90, total 141.75.

132 7.00 A.M.: dry. 11.1.

10.00 A.M.: I 742.2, II 733.6, dry. 24.7.

5.40 P.M.: I 741.0, II 732.8, dry. 24.9, water 25.0.

/174 cont./

122 22 Aug. φ12° 42'.0, λ16'.4, km. 29.44, total 242.24.

132 6:45 A.M.: dry. 17.0, wet. 16.1, clear, calm.
7:15 A.M.: I 742.8.
6:00 P.M.: I 743.6, II 734.2, dry. 27.1, wet. 24.3, clear, calm, water 26.5.

133 The river is 70 meters wide. Three rapids. It has much swampy terrain and forms small lagoons. Tall scaffolds have
226 been erected for passage and for catching fish. When the lagoon has filled up in the rainy season, a mat plaiting is fastened to the poles, through which the water partly flows off later, but the fish are held back. -- A hunt for two tapirs was in vain.

122 23 Aug. φ12° 34'.5, λ19'.2, km. 32.70, total 274.94.

132 6:35 A.M.: I 744.0, II 736.2, dry. 20.0, wet. 19.4, alto-c. 8, wind = 0, water 25.3.
5:45 P.M.: I 744.4, II 735.4, dry. 26.1, wet. 23.8, clouds = 0, wind = 0, water 27.0.
10:20 P.M.: I 744.0, dry. 19.1.

During the night, 2-3:00, a light rain fell. Sheet lightning. Early the sky is cloudy; not until 9:00 does the sun break through. --
133 The river makes meandering windings; two brooks flow in on the right, one is 20 meters wide. There is often sandy beach and
136 willow brush in the water. Farther on comes campo. We see six herons. -- A dog dives in pursuit of a capybara. The meat of the latter has the taste of machine oil.

122 24 Aug. φ 12° 32'.6, λ19'.6, km. 7.13, total 282.07.

132 6:30 A.M.: I 743.2, II 735.2, dry. 14.7, wet. 14.0, clear, calm, water 25.2.

000 During the night the frango de agua made an uproar; toads performed a castanet concert.

/175 cont./

162 We counted 27 men, 18 women, and eight children, but
621 as some of the men, who stayed longer than we, reported, a
609 whole troop of women and children later came out of the woods.

342 I measured the largest house more carefully. It was 40 paces long, 24 paces wide. In the center line stood four supporting beams, 8-8.5 meters high (!) and 30 centimeters in diameter, the middle ones five paces apart, the outer ones each six paces
[531] from these; they had several bands painted with geometrical designs.

The distance of the two outer supporting beams from each other, /176/ 17 paces according to the above, also gave the length of the roof timbers. All around, 72 posts, up to 25 centimeters thick, one meter 72 high, served to support the elliptical roof basket. This was also the height of the two entrances, 77 centimeters wide, which lay opposite each other on the long sides and were made somewhat lower by the straw hanging down from the outside.

The roof basket, made up of large horizontal bamboo rings fastened by vertical poles bent against them, which converged at the top and projected to the outside through an opening, was built with great skill and regularity. The covering was made of straw-dry palm leaves. The leaf ribs lay horizontally; the free ends of the individual leaf spears hanging down from them, however, were all bent inward around the bare rib, so that solid mats were produced in the simplest manner. These overlapped like roof tiles.

364 We make the rounds through all the huts. The sense of order of the peaceful professor is lacking. They are full of refuse. In-
353 stead of the fine supply baskets, balls of the massa /dough/ one
[251] meter long, a half meter thick, and packed in leaves are found
[227] on simple racks. Little maize. Many fish nets made of tucum fiber: a wide-meshed bag hangs from a ring 80 centimeters long, 35 centimeters wide, which sits on a long pole. They probably
226 get the fish out of the blocked-off lagoons with these nets from the top of their scaffold.

/49 cont./

(300) the village. The scars on the brush, however, were supposed to be a month old. We made our midday stop here, roasted the mutung along with the fish retrieved from the otter, spiced our luncheon with hopeful conjectures, and, after I had permitted Carlos, for dessert, the pleasure of digging out a fat sand-flea [136] for me, pushed off in a happy mood. Borrachudos, the small stinging flies, accompanied us in a thick cloud; on account of the infernal itching, I was obliged to wind a handkerchief around my bare feet. It was sultry and rainy. Soon a violent thunderstorm broke out and forced us to seek shelter for more than an hour on a steep, slippery bank-slope where a few piles of rock jutted out. After that, however, it became mild and sunny, and [122] our woolen underwear was soon dry. My hunter's clothing was indeed not beautiful or socially proper, but I found it light and practical, and the Indians had no right to rebuke me for traveling only in shirt and underpants.

The nearness of the "compadres," or Gevatteren /Ger., "sponsor, godparent, close friend," used here, as is compadre, to refer to the Indians/, became more and more obvious. For at 5:00, as we were looking for a camping place, we came -- at just the right hour -- to the mouth of a brook, which, on the left bank of the river, led, to our delight, to clear, cool water and showed a barricade of branches, crude, to be sure, but made [226] by human hands, a "chiqueira." This is what the Brazilians call one of the simplest fish-traps, often accidently formed by nature itself, at the mouth of a brook or the outlet of an arm of a lagoon; at high water the fish enter unimpeded and when the water is low they cannot get back again. We climbed up the steep embankment and on top found an excellent spot for our night's lodging, free of underbrush and with moderately large trees well spaced. But our men complained, after they had pushed the canoe up into the chiqueira brook, that in the mud on the bank they had picked up "frieiras," painful swellings such as they said occur when one steps into capybara dung, mule filth, and similar pleasant things. They stamped their feet in pain for a while and rubbed them with salt.

/51 cont./

133 follow despite the many windings. Even before the appearance of the tributary, however, our entire attention was drawn to a gradually increasing roar which we recognized only too well from 1884: we were nearing a large "cachoeira" /cataract/. \We passed a few rocky islands which consisted of sandstone boulders and were overgrown with low bushes and thin shrubs; the tumult and roar increased tremendously and suddenly we looked down on the widened stream bed filled with huge deposits of stone, in which the surge of the masses of water, foaming and churning over a great distance, plunged downhill. Our subsequent Salto Taunay.

122 We stopped for an hour. The canoe was pushed down the steps, the baggage carried on shoulders along the edge of the bank. I would have liked to see myself: straw hat with aram feathers, shirt, underpants, leather belt, shoulder bag, gray linen Basque shoes, over my left arm the folded oxhide, and in my right hand our four tin plates, the uppermost one filled with the leftover cooked beans; and all the while eagerly looking

226 around and watching for anything suspicious. At a cachoeira like this one there is ample opportunity for fishing; and, sure enough, we found clear footprints and on the stones half-burned palm

OBO torches whose gray, fine ash was still intact. We estimated the age of the shelter-hut in the Independencia camp at one year; the age of the torn-off branches on the spot where the capybara had been cut up, at one month; and it could scarcely have been more than a week since these torches had been burning: the situation was therefore now getting scorched and burning in the boldest sense of the word.

133 In contrast to the scantier cataracts of the Batovy in the same latitude, the beautiful cachoeira already had the more grandiose character of the true Schingú cataract throughout, and down below, where the river again flowed onward, calm and clear, the water was beautifully dark and bottle-green. After only a quarter of an hour, however, a new, good-sized cachoeira appeared, lower than the first, where I again had to climb out

226 and wend my way overland. Here, too, some fishing was done.

/31 cont./

226 beyond the cachoeira we counted 13 so-called "curuals" /coruals/, circles of boulders in shallower places in the river bed. the fish can enter through a gap in the circle and are then herded together by the Indians and shot. I was not a little surprised when, farther downstream in quiet water, Antonio suddenly stated that a canoe had been here yesterday or the day before. all I noticed was a quantity of small white bubbles near the shore. The foam of the oar stroke is preserved in a path on calm water, not destroyed by waves, the air bubbles remain on the water and are gradually driven to the shore by the wind.

/32/ For two hours we rowed on vigorously, spoke but little and with a soft voice, and, cautiously on the lookout, proceeded into each new bend close to the inner edge. But all signs had ceased. On either side lay tall, silent forest, the river glistened in the sunlight, nothing living stirred within a wide radius, and only a yellow butterfly fluttered past here and there. Shortly before midday the stream bed opened into a rather wide inlet; one could not quite make out whether this was a lagoon or an island formation and the river divided into two types. we landed and I sent the two off to cross the bit of woods that separated us from the lagoon and to examine the course of the water beyond.

I sat on the beach waiting. Carlos was already coming back, when suddenly I notice a canoe a gunshot downstream. A single naked Indian is standing in it and swiftly making for the shore. there he steers the vessel behind the skeleton of a fallen tree and cautiously crouches down in the shelter of it. "Bakairí, Bakairí," I cried with all my might, "kúra Bakairí, áma Bakairí, ira Bakairí, we are Bakairí, you are a Bakairí, I am a Bakairí, the Bakairí are good" -- in short, I shout in joyful excitement whatever is inspired in me by the ghost of reminiscences from the greeting formulas of that particular tribe. And behold: "Bakairí, Bakairí, Bakairí" comes resounding back. Other words are added, which unfortunately I do not understand, but the high voice, rising in uncertainty, bears an unhappily anxious and mistrustful expression, and the arms swing wildly in the air behind

/73 cont./

123 [349] Tumayaua had me plant tobacco in front of his house, a proposal that astonished me somewhat until I realized that with my assistance he anticipated an excellent harvest or quality; hence I asked only that he mark it, and then I crushed the capsules and put the seed into the ground, as though I had been a tobacco planter all my life. With Kulekule I had to go to the cataract [226] [349] below the village and help him with the fishing rod. he must not suspect that I had not swung this implement since grammar school days, when I had trouble rescuing it from the police.

226 123 One forenoon we took a very pleasant fishing excursion with half a dozen persons, among them a few women, to the sofino, a pond that lay in the campo about two and a half kilometers from the village. We walked a short distance through the woods, the [301] [312] women carrying fishing baskets and weirs, Paleko with a section of fish teeth on a string around his neck, and under his arm a stone ax that he had sharpened on a stone at the river, during which he moistened it with saliva at his mouth. Meanwhile it was amusing [291] to me how my intended and her sister drank out of the Kulisehu: mouth in water, supported on their two little hands, one leg in the air, not unlike young monkeys. On the way we sang together our ohohó ohohó hu in restrained tones, and I disturbed the morning quiet with a few louder songs. Alakuai took the liberty of removing my hat, but he was so happy with this adornment that in the name of all the saints I exposed my head to the pitiless campo sun.

226 Far away, to the edge of the wooded shore, stretched a queimada /burned clearing/ covered with fresh grass, only a single shade-giving tree stood beside the pond. In the middle of the knee-deep swampy water were set three weirs, half of which, with their mouths, protruded out. Then, with the fishing baskets, kítu, which had the shape of a blunted cone open at the top and bottom and were put together out of thin, pointed sticks, /74/ several persons walked through the pond in a bent position and stabbed the ground quickly: the kítu were inverted over the little fish and the latter pulled out from the top with the hand and placed in a hanging basket. After they had been working in this fashion for a while, they converged from various sides toward the center, where the weirs lay.

/74 cont./

•226 and sought to drive the fish into them. It was an amazing sight: the girls extremely agile, the men less quick, fat Tapé in particular not at all in his element apparently, much laughing and splashing, in the air a few hovering dragonflies and humming bees without number, on the shore under the tree the hearty commenting old Paleko, who leaned with his left hand on a stick and held pressed under his upper arm on the same side the very superfluous stone ax. The fish were called *ponú* or *pará*, the *yaú* of the Brazilians.

489 [422] The bark canoe that I had ordered was ready on September 18: the stone ax had worked slowly, but very neatly. Four men carried the vessel to the river: on their shoulders they had placed rings plaited out of brown bast and with exactly the same appearance as those our market women wear on their heads.

123 [114] I had now been alone with the good Bakairi for more than a week and I noticed that they were becoming somewhat impatient. They asked far too often when the "younger brothers" were coming. What I had carried with me in the way of valuables was long since in their possession anyway: even my *amúma ikúto* ("figure of the lizard"), a reptile with glass scales and ruby-red eyes, which they had greedily attempted to get belonged to them.

But our good understanding remained the same up to the final hour. If it had been up to me, I would have preferred to 262 spend the entire rainy season with them, although I could not get [422] rid of a sourish taste in my throat from the eternal starchy food 159 and I was also suffering from digestive upsets. My first impressions about the peaceable and sympathetic character of my hosts needed no correction. The elders were wise and solicitous, the young people vigorous and agile, the women industrious and domestic, all of them well-meaning, a little vain, and, with the exception of a few mothers absorbed by their duties, always gay and talkative. All were honest. No one ever took anything of mine, lost things were often brought to me, anything that I had received in trade was always regarded as my property.

/87 cont./

During the first few hours beyond Maigéri, the Kulisehu flowed along with heavenly calm. the canoe with its oars was unimpeded mirrored in the bottle-green surface, and a long trail of foam bubbles indicated the path. Sombre, but shot through with yellowish sunlight, the picture of the forest back-drop contrasted with the shimmering, glimmering surface. Clothed in full foliage, the tree outlines were rounded, and luxuriant light-green masses of bamboo filled all the gaps. Overhanging bushes and low trees, which, bending far over, seemed pushed back from the shore, spread out roofs of shade, in the shelter of which one enjoyed gliding along. Nothing is more beautiful than the universal silence of nature before the cachoeira comes; one knows that soon the roaring will be heard, at first far away and low, then louder and louder, and one enjoys the quiet which would overwhelm our spirit with oppressive boredom were it not for the prospect of the approaching, all too lively contrast. When we traveled the same stretch for the first time on 20 September, I had enjoyed the sight of graceful Lachu, who with bow and arrow, standing upright in the canoe, was looking for pakú fish. The Indian, to whom the fishhook was unfamiliar, nevertheless used bait. He tossed bean-sized bright red berries (wáulu) quite far out into the river, quickly stretched the bow, aimed at the berry, and sent off the arrow the moment the pakú shapped at it and the berry disappeared.

488 At that time we had comfortably reached Igaki in one day, for we left the canoes as soon as possible and went overland. This time we could not spare ourselves any of the rapids. There were eight of them in all up to the so-called harbor, but after the seventh, at 5:30, we already pitched our camp. It had taken us 40 minutes at the fourth one to push the canoes through the extensive maze of stones. Our canoe became stuck fast between two boulders and was half filled with water. It is an unpleasant feeling when the flexible floor of the vessel bends under one's feet like a wave. At 4:00 we found the entire /88/ river blocked and studded crosswise by high palings and stones, where the Bakairí can cut off and open a passage for the fish at their discretion. It was a very strange sight and, if one considers what they have to work with and the cultural progress of the Bakairí, not without

/93 cont./

126 taken on him. With lively gesticulations and a /94/ memory
153 worthy of appreciation, he repeated the entire procedure: the head from front to back, from side to side, the nose from top to bottom, the space between the eyes, the length of the extremities and their parts, the height of the navel above the ground, etc., etc., and after each pantomime he stretched out his hand toward the katakuí, the beads. There was nothing for it, the man's claim must be admitted, but I was obliged to compensate him with small embroidery beads, for when I started to pay him, he faithfully went over the number of measurements again after each pair of beads, first pointing to the latter, then to the corresponding part of the body, and he did not rest until the long list was quite carefully brought to an end. If these instances pile up, I said to myself, and if the Bakairí produce many such critical natures, their art of counting will make rapid progress. Here, indeed, was a tangible example of how trade fructifies and develops arithmetical gifts!

126 The women offered some resistance. It was quite impossible
[illegible] to take the readings on them in the flute-house. They were not
562 permitted to enter it, although the noble building was already half in ruins. Hence they were measured and photographed on the plaza.

123 We carefully packed up our bartered treasures and asked Porisa to keep them for us in his house until our return. We did not dare overload our canoes and had to provide room for the collection among the tribes living downstream. Porisa, before our eyes, showed the bundles onto a high cross-beam between the center posts and promised that no one would touch them.

At 4:30 we then set out, very satisfied, for the harbor once
126 more. Antonio with eight Indians had gone out in front of the
[199] inlet where fishing was more rewarding and there demonstrated the use of the book and line. His companions were able to set out homeward toward the village with a heavy load of piranhas, a
122 bagadó, and a pintado. We traded one of our small canoes for a better, larger one.

/96 cont./

II. To the Nahuquá.

Intercourse between the Bakairí and Nahuquá. Surprised in the harbor. Strange reception. Village vacated. A Tourihumá. Overnight. Mehinakú in the village. Dances. Sad prospects for Professor Bastian. I go on ahead to the Mehinakú. Improvement of conditions. News about the battle between the Suyá and the Trumaí.

Without question the Nahuquá have all kinds of intercourse with the Bakairí. Even from old Paleko I had learned a whole series of Nahuquá words and from these, to my great delight, was immediately able to tell that there was a new Karaíben /Carib/ tribe involved. Paleko told me that he had formerly lived for a time among the Nahuquá. Tumayaua, too, had already been among them and /95/ knew many words of their language, whereas all of the Bakairí of the Mehinakú living downstream from the Nahuquá did not know half a dozen words.

The Nahuquá who lived in the third village of the Bakairí accompanied us when, on 7 October 1887, we traveled from the harbor of the third Bakairí to his fellow tribesmen only a day's journey away, and late in the afternoon he climbed out at a place where a path led up, in order to announce us in the village. Three Bakairí from the harpy village, including Chief Porisa, had also /Fig. 4 appears here/ joined us. We had started off at 6:30 and were obliged to pass through another small rapid with a strong swell. It, with a few fish corrals, still belonged to the Bakairí, while a small brook to the right, two meters wide, which we passed about 9:00 and which was closed off by a fish fence, was already the property of the Nahuquá. At 11:00 another wide brook flowed in from the right, the Hiiri of the Bakairí, or Rifza of the Nahuquá in whose territory it lay. Much high sandy beach, four to five meters above the water level in the dry season, willow bushes, countless dead and fallen trees. At 1:00 we made a /96/ halt at a place with abundant fish; the piranhas snapped so quickly that one had only to toss out the line and they were already caught; one large, meter-long bagadú that Antonio had caught with iguana

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Yaruma 5P25
Nahuqua

B 226 B [239] Y 142 291 301 302

/96 cont./

bait pulled the happy fisherman out into the middle of the river, to our amusement. Several fish hooks were bitten off by the piranhas. After some examination, the Indians carefully removed the lower jaw, which

Fig. 4. Nahuqui.

B 226 239 Y 122 604

they use for cutting threads and also for hair cutting.

Wilhelm and I, whose boat, as usual, along with Tumayaua's, was ahead of the others, were the first to arrive at the actual harbor and there surprised three individuals who seemed not a little frightened: a good-looking, sturdy youth about 18 years old, the prototype of Crevaux's Rukuyenn /Rucuyen/ in Guiana, whom Tumayaua designated as pîna imêri, the son of a chief, a small boy, and, as the third, a young Mehinakû.

/230 cont./

Children's arrows are similar, but smaller, with wood and bone points or (those of the earliest youth) fragile, thin stalks split off from palm-leaf panicles.

The bow is usually held vertically. The arrow lies to the left of the bow. It is held between the index finger and the middle finger, which draw back the bowstring, while the fourth and fifth fingers also help to stretch the bowstring. The thumb is not used. This way of drawing the bow, corresponding to the Mediterranean draw of Edward S. Morse, is different from that of the Bororó. Devices to protect the fingers against the strong friction of the bowstring are not used. The rft hand, holding the bow, can also hold a second arrow in reserve.

The arrow is sighted at the target only at short distances; if the distance is great the bow is held up high, the arrow flies upward in a vertical direction toward the target and sinks down toward it. On the river, for example, if another playing in the distance is to be shot, an extremely fascinating sight, with the picturesque pose of the naked archer standing in the low canoe! /231/ In shooting fish the arrow point is frequently dipped into the water to test the degree of light refraction. No little practice is required for fish-shooting. The companion sitting in the rear rows slowly while the archer stands in front ready to shoot and sharply on the lookout. One of us does not see any more than the Indian would if he were to look into the microscope for the first time. A slight change of wave form already discloses the booty to him. With this he must remain as quiet as a mouse; the oar is soundlessly dipped. Many a shot, moreover, goes astray, and often two or three of the beautiful arrows drift sadly on the water until they are recovered. No wonder that our fishing rod seemed like a revelation to the Indian. Although they were not acquainted with the rod, they nevertheless knew about bait. But that floating freely. The archer tossed a scarlet berry into the river from the canoe; at the moment when a snout snapping at it from below tried to gulp it, the arrow whizzed from the bow. Anyone looking for a new spot might try it. The

/236 cont./

with a shaft and crook-handle (cf. the illustration /see Fig. 29, p. 243/). Holding the crook-handle with one hand and the lower part of the shaft with the other, the Indian pushes the oar down rather vertically by his side and levers it forward with powerful pressure. Often the thrusts follow one another very rapidly, the oar is thrown high in the air and changes hands with lightning speed. One of the rowers usually sits in front, the other in the rear; the one in the rear moves with his paddle, the one in front shoots at fish. The only place to sit is a low clamped-in piece of branch. In the center lies a carrying basket, protected from the rain with leaves. Loam and resin play a great part. /235/ the bark easily cracks, especially in the bent-in seam, and lets in water. Thanks to their great skill as pilots, the Bakairí shoot even through the swell of the cataracts without danger; the rapids with a greater fall downstream in the region of the Turuna, however, could not be surmounted with the low and fragile bark canoes -- a noteworthy obstacle against the shifting of our tribes toward the north. Perhaps no less difficult would be the beating of the waves on the broader stream, which every strong wind brings. On the other hand, the bark canoes have the tremendous advantage of being made in the shortest time. For this reason even the people at the Fazenda S. Manoel were satisfied with a canoe furnished by the Bakairí, which cost only one day's work. They are easy to carry out of the forest to the shore; bast rings protect the shoulders.

Fishing is done just as much as possible during a trip, and similarly eating. Smoking and singing en route are unknown.

Fishing implements. The shooting of fish with bow and arrow provides only a little booty, in terms of number. I have reported on the fences or palings with which the river was blocked off near the second Bakairí village, on the "chiqueiras," the barrier made with twigs that closes off the mouths of brooks or the arms of lagoons, on the stone circles that were laid out, often in great numbers, in the shallow river bed near rapids, and where the fish entered from above through a narrow opening and, driven downstream, were caught in nets at the opposite exit, and, finally,

/235 cont./

on the fishing of the Sokalif with catch-baskets in the shallow campo lagoon. The natives like to fish between the stones on dark nights by torchlight. We did not see any poisoning of fish.

It is a fact of great significance that the fishhook was unknown to all these tribes of diverse origins, tribes of such avid fishermen. It argues persuasively for the frequent claim that the hook was introduced only by Europeans in the north and south of Amazonas. If this is not the case, the only way out is that our tribes left their original homes before the hook was known there. For, anyone who saw, as I did, with what interest the natives became acquainted with our fishhook will smile here, if anywhere, at the thought that the degenerate Indians have forgotten an invention well known to them formerly -- when they were still close to the point of departure of the Karaiben /Carib/ or the Ma-Arauk /Arawak/ or the Tupí or the Gê. It is understandable that Indians under peaceful circumstances no longer make any clubs, it would be understandable that one or another of our tribes had migrated here from Amazonas and gave up the wooden canoe because they get along excellently on the upper course with the easily constructed bark canoes, but that fishermen who had formerly fished with a hook and line gave it up in a region where they might continue practicing the skill to great advantage and that their descendants are obliged to let themselves be taught anew by us, let anyone believe that who can. In Guaraní and Tupí /236/ hook, and especially fishhook, is called pinda, and from this word, in both dialects, Xylopia frutescens, which furnishes the fishing rod, is called pinda-iba = hook-rod. For the Kamayurá, who certainly leave nothing to be desired in Tupí purity and to whom we seemed to be tribal brothers with the comparison of the words that we had in common, the correspondence failed for this particular plant: they did not know pindaiba and called it iwíra or iwít, the ymbira of the Tupí or hybir of the Guaraní (= "skin-tree"), according to Martius "name of various Bombaceae and Xylopia." The decadent company had also forgotten the plant name "hook rod," although it was so easy for them to remember.

/322 cont./

*171 531 825 Nowadays the design has become purely ornamental. There is no direct, inherent connection between the manihoca digging sticks and the little lagoon fish. But one thing will have to be admitted. The significance of the little fish grew far beyond what it was originally because it recalled happy days of festivity; all industry having to do with drinking, feasting, and adornment stood upon it. Thus, there is good reason why the large gourds and calabashes in which the pogu is served, the beipi turners with which the hospitable cakes are tirelessly turned on such days, the gourd vessels in which the gorgeous feathers were kept, the rattle-gourds waved for the dance, the spindle whorls with which the thread for the woven masks was spun, why all these and similar things were decorated with the mereschu fish. The origin of ornamentation lies in a motivated feeling, and it is only when its manifestations have become numerous and trivial that no one sees anything but figure and color. The favorite pictures of our people appear after all on colored handkerchiefs. The mereschu design was able to spread from tribe to tribe and became established everywhere just because it grew out of the festival dances in which all the tribes joined.

/323/ Yet it should not be forgotten that the Indian even today remains aware of the concrete original. The Bakaïr does [604] [338] not put a mereschu fish on his masks, with the exception of the gull mask, Figure 44, and the fish makanari, Figure 23, and among other tribes too -- see the wax masks of the Auetö and the black, white, and red masks of the Trumaí -- there are distinct differences which I am unable to define more specifically. In the beginning, the fish was not appropriate in all the cases where today the rhombus has already crept in or will creep in soon.

*171 53 One must now ask the question: if the woven masks and the mereschu design go back to the fish net, are there any facts for determining which tribe was the inventor? The mereschu fish was designated to me as a "lagoon fish" (we ate it among the Yaulapiti), but it occurs everywhere in our area, even in the • [226] Paranatinga. Fishing with nets is also practiced by all tribes.

/330 cont./

CCD Their methods. To die in narcosis. The medicine men in heaven. Tobacco. Conjuration of the weather.

I.

171 131 The boundaries between the regions of the tribes are natural ones. "This brook belongs to the neighboring tribe," we were regularly informed along the way. The one bank of the Kulisehu, for example, belonged to the Nahuquá, the other to the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/. Fishing with bow and arrow on the river was open to everyone. [226]

171 The plantings were common property. Everyone had his personal property in the house, even the women, who, we saw, often objected to having it given to us. It was handed down to one's children, sons and daughters. We often observed, however, that persons to whom we had given beads, etc. were obliged to hand them over to the chief. 522 [428] [422]

171 The power of the chief was not great. In all the larger villages there were several chiefs who lived in different houses. In dealings with us, there was always only one who appeared as representative. "Representation" was the most important obligation during peacetime. The chief directed the business connected with planting, he saw to it that the necessary supply of flour was put away, he had the beijú baked and the drinks prepared for all festive occasions and for the visits of strangers. He was apparently a family-father in greater style, but could not be very thrifty if he was concerned about the esteem of his fellow citizens, to say nothing of his neighboring tribesmen. Thus, the chief of the first Batovy village was "hurípa," bad = stingy. He had only a few beijús baked for the guests. Stinginess is regarded as the ugliest trait. This type of rule must be difficult, however. Antonio told me about a certain João Cadete in the Paranatinga village, who was in line to become chief, but preferred to emigrate "com medo de tratar gente," for fear of having to entertain people, /331/ so Felipe took his place. If the community is dissatisfied with its chief, it knows a remedy: it breaks away from him and simply moves to another place. The office is hereditary, hence [917] [621] [626]

/343/

The medicine men are differentiated as good and bad. According to Antonio, there are "few among the Bakairí and Auenó, more among the Nahuquá, many among the Mehinakú, and too many among the Kamayurá." There were none living on the Paranatinga at the time. Anyone can become one, but it is very difficult. "One must learn a great deal." One is supposed to drink only starchy broth for four months,* enjoy no salt and eat no

* This fasting is also very good if one wants to excel in the art of shooting fish, and in this case it is sufficient if one does not eat anything but starch-paste for a month. Antonio did this and was very satisfied with the result.

meat, fish, or fruits, one is not supposed to sleep but to drum ceaselessly on the skull with the fists so that the swollen eyes are very painful in the morning, bathe a great deal, scratch arm and chest bloody, etc. Antonio wanted to study medicine, but was afraid of this difficult internship. Felipe made a good start in the same endeavor, but did not succeed, because he had no teacher. The chief art of the accomplished master of sorcery is exhibited in the use of poisons. With these he kills others and he even kills himself in order to be able to change himself into another shape. We are to become acquainted here with a conception of death which takes some getting used to, but which is in direct agreement with the life of the shadow during sleep.

Let us hear first how sickness and death come into the world, in spite of the good medicine-man of one's own village, who with all his might combats the evil one from the foreign village. The evil one is a bad person whom no one likes because he kills instead of healing, he mixes the poison from wasps, from the tocandyra ant, and from other such animals with oil and resin from the alsmeica and pindahyba in a calabash. From the man whom he wishes to harm he obtains either hair, by stepping on it when it is being cut or even cutting it himself when the man is asleep, or a bit of blood by tossing a finely pointed twig of jatobá, pindahyba, or pau de olho in his direction and then picking

/23 cont./

aldea on the Rio Kuliseiu to work with his axe on the Paranatinga.

When I was with the Rio Kuliseiu Bakairí in May and June of 1901, 14 years had elapsed since their first contact with articles of European culture. After Karl von den Steinen's expedition, other explorers had also passed through their land. They had become familiar with iron axes, knives, scissors, matches, and other objects of modern culture, and by bartering their native products they had become amply provided with such objects, but their natures and their way of life had hardly changed. They had become acquainted with the firearms of the Europeans and of their fellow countrymen of the Rio Paranatinga, but they still regarded them with a certain misgiving and did not use them either. Fishing, which had been of the greatest importance in the economy of these Indians, was still carried out on a broad scale and in the ancestral way, fishhooks not being used. In hunting, too, they only used their arrows and long bows built like the ones of old. Agriculture was also carried out in the same manner and with the same digging sticks, with the mere exception that the work of clearing was made much easier by the numerous iron axes that replaced the stone axes of times past. I did not see any more stone axes among these Indians. Undoubtedly they had all been replaced by the far more useful iron axes brought by the explorers who passed through these regions. There were large plantations in the vicinity of the aldeas or at a distance from them, and I myself had the opportunity to observe in the aldea of Maimaieti, situated on the Rio Kuliseiu, the way in which a big part of the mountain was cleared for a future plantation. The Indians kindly showed me a spot planted in sweet /mansa, "mild"/ manioc, of which they had received cuttings from the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí. During my stay among the Bakairí of Maimaieti aldea there was never a scarcity of manioc, and I and my companions were always generously provided with manioc cakes /beijús/. I mention this fact especially, because

361 648 /313 cont. / According To
Petrullo the new post is situated on top of a mountain some distance from the edge of the Rio Paranatinga. The post itself consisted of some excellent administrative buildings, and at some distance from these stood the Bakairí aldea, so that the Indians
[871] kept a certain independence. The post had a school which tried to teach the Bakairí youth to read and write in the Portuguese language and the rudiments of arithmetic. The administration
[231] kept a herd of cattle, and each of the Bakairí wished to have some oxen and cows.

114 648 197 241 Without wishing to malign Petrullo's precious information, I must note below some points on which I cannot quite agree with his opinions, because they contradict my experiences among these Indians. I believe that a false impression of the previous living conditions of the Bakairí in the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River led to Petrullo's interpretation when he says that the post administration had not experimented in order to change the Bakairí, who in former times had led a seminomadic life, into a sedentary group of agriculturalists. The Bakairí of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River were, like all the other Indian tribes of the Rio Kuliseu, with the possible exception of the Trumaí, a typical agricultural people. The tasks related to agriculture made up the chief part of their activities, and they had extensive plantations in the vicinity of their houses. They led a totally sedentary existence in their aldeas, even moving these closer to their plantations when the latter, owing to the successive exploitation of the land on the closest hill, were little by little moved too distant
[231] from their houses. Livestock they did not have, so that there has been a change in their way of life at the post, with the transformation of a previously agricultural people into a people who raise cattle, no doubt to get a bigger income.

226 114 Also, I cannot believe that the unusual abundance of fish in the Rio Paranatinga, extolled in former times by the Bakairí, should have dwindled so thoroughly as to warrant Petrullo's observation, "There are practically no fish in the Paranatinga,

/33 cont./

226 114 at least up to where the post is located /cited in English/."
At the time of Karl von den Steinen's expedition, the matrinchãn fish was held as the most precious boon in the country of the Paranatinga Bakairí, and in its honor they held their most beautiful fiesta. (39) When Karl von den Steinen suggested to

39. Karl v. d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., pp. 24 and 25.

Cacique Felipe that his aldea, which seemed to be losing all its population then, should be moved closer to Cuiabá, his sole reply was /34/ matrinchãn. Later at the aldea, then situated [123] farther upriver, I was treated almost every day to a tasty matrinchãn, and when I visited the Xinguanos in the year 1927 in their settlement on the Rio Paranatinga, they also offered me fish. Of course, it may be that this abundance of fish in the Rio Paranatinga is restricted to certain times of the year.

114 I also regard as incorrect Petrullo's observation that the 199 Bakairí of the post had substituted hammocks made of cotton 283 thread for the ancestral ones of buriti fiber. From the beginning 352 the hammock made of cotton thread was typical especially of the Bakairí of the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, in contrast to the hammocks woven of buriti fiber used by the other tribes in this region. But already at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions, (40) the Bakairí of the Rio

40. Ibid., p. 239.

Paranatinga had hammocks made of buriti fiber, which, they said, old Cacique Caetano had introduced among them. As for 114 Petrullo's opinion that the custom of filing the upper incisors 199 is ancestral with the Bakairí and that they still retain it, I must 304 contest it with the fact that the Bakairí of the region of the

/263 cont./

000 about three centimeters square made of tree bark. After the
582 seclusion boys and girls were eligible for /264/ marriage.
585 Marriage, todohokúinle, was joined by the parents of the young people by means of an exchange of gifts, and it does not seem to have merited any special ceremony.

761 The Bakairí do not seem to have believed in the possi-
764 bility of a natural death. After death, which was always caused
[754] by the sorcery of some enemy, the corpse was painted and attired in the finery used in life. The corpse was rolled up in the hammock used by the deceased, and buried with the head
764 pointing west and the feet east. There followed a mourning
784 period, during which the closer relatives remained uanki and from which they emerged through the tadaunúto feast.

776 The world of the Bakairí was surrounded by supernatural
775 beings, good and evil, such as the iamũra, topiebe, karoui,
[824] kadopa, and kilaimo. (5) Plants and animals were nothing but
[825]

[113] 5. Capistrano de Abeu, "Os Bacaerys," Revista Brasileira, Year I, Vol. 4, pp. 44, 45, 47, 48, 234, 240, 241. Rio de Janeiro, 1895.

224 drapery used by the iamura and kadopa. Hunting, fishing, and
226 agricultural activities thus had to be accompanied by propitiatory
229 activities intended to appease the anger of the iamũra deprived
776 of their animals and plants. On the other hand, karoui and
782 kilaimo wandered through the forest menacing the Bakairí.
784 Against such beings the Indians required the protection of their
756 sorcerer-doctors as well as periods of seclusion in the most dangerous moments.

774 The Bakairí believed that men had two souls: one called kati or kutulu, heavier and thicker, corresponding to a camisa worn by the second soul, kagatopuri, a more fluid element that

/265 cont./

775 789 539 When finished, one gives a benediction... saying: Aufa! Go inside the sky, to our people, to our mother, to our father, here there is no one, inside the sky it is good, go, we also are going to pass away, it is said, the piahi teaches." (8)

8. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 44.

776 [775] In Nakoeri's aldea, the kadopa change into iamũra. But the iamũra also wander on the earth using the bodies of animals. Although their behavior was not intentionally malignant, the Bakairí had to take precautions when they went hunting or fishing or when they planted. On killing game or fish, the Indians left certain offerings for the iamũra portrayed by these animals. (9)

782 784 776 776

9. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 49.

776 756 By means of certain rituals a Bakairí might, while still alive, make contact with the iamũra, acquiring the corresponding powers, and become a sorcerer-doctor.

776 Capistrano de Abreu (10) and Karl von den Steinen (11)

10. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 235, 239, 240.

[113] 11. Karl von den Steinen, Entre os aborígenes do Brasil Central /Among the Aborigines of Central Brazil/, São Paulo, 1940, transl., p. 448.

mention yet other supernatural beings that surrounded the

/269 cont./

539 fat in order to stay warm. The Indians wanted the sun to come out, and so they donned their apparel, painted their bodies, and began to ask Orimoto, the great spirit. Orimoto was not an Indian but a man who lived in a stone house with some animals which he had created. The Indians went on asking until finally the light broke out; but the Indians had already grown old and the children had already grown up.

776 The data at our disposal do not permit us to place in Bakairí cosmology beings such as Tchini-numa, Keri-kamé, or Orimoto and Nakoeri. Nevertheless, we prefer to regard Nakoeri as the supreme being of the Bakairí, leaving to Tchini-numa, Keri-kamé (the sun and the moon), and Orimoto the role of culture heroes, until new work clarifies their respective functions.

182 Compelled to deal with a hostile environment, such as
13 the savannas and forests of the headwaters of the Xingu, and
433 lacking an adequate technology, the Bakairí, like the other Xinguano Indians, depended to a large extent on uncertain factors such as the amount of rainfall and the resulting annual increase of waters, which led to a scarcity or an abundance of food. Lacking an adequate technology, they did not store
789 their produce but lived on a subsistence economy. Their hunt-
224 ing and fishing activities were followed by magic rituals with
226 which they attempted to control the possibility of sudden future
241 calamities or even of illnesses. Thus agricultural activities
396 and the building of houses or canoes had to be followed by
782 propitiations. In order to utilize the vegetal or animal raw
262 materials, it was necessary to know how to control uncertain elements: How explain, for example, why one canoe splits and another does not, when both were made by the same craftsman? How explain how the same /270/ foods sometimes ap-
77 peared harmless and sometimes made people ill? The system of beliefs of the Bakairí seems to us an interpretation that

352 415 wooden benches, and dishes and cups made from gourds.

494 As the Bacairí were extensive travelers and 236 depended upon fish for a considerable part of 501 their food supply, canoes were an important part of their equipment. The Bacairí canoe (*pépi*) 396 was made from the bark of the jatobá tree. The [824] tough, heavy bark was first stripped from one-half of the tree. Small fires were then lighted on the inside of the bark trough to make it curl. Braces were placed at intervals along the entire length, the bow was tapered, and the stern was squared off by forcing the bark upward at one end. 501 Bacairí canoes varied in size, the larger ones being able to carry as many as 8 men. Canoes of jatobá bark are used by the Bacairí today and are the [171] predominant type among the Indians of the 415 Upper Xingú. The Bacairí also made large [824] tubs out of jatobá bark which were used as settling 352 vessels for manioc juice. The juice of the manioc contains a fine powder or starch which settles on the bottom of the vessel, to be gathered after the 241 liquid is poured off. For gardening, the Bacairí formerly used a digging stick made of hardwood. 411 For hunting, they used a bow (*túku*), round or 824 slightly oval in cross section and from 2 to 2½ meters in length, made from a yellow or reddish wood which was first matured by burying it in mud. The bowstring was made from the fibers of imbauba bark. Arrows (*pirú*) were made from [237] cane with hardwood or bone points. Hunting arrows had two feathers, but arrows used for shooting fish had serrated wooden points and no 412 feathers. The cutting tools of the Bacairí consisted of knives made from bamboo, stone, bones, and 489 shell. Transportation was by canoe, or if over 482 land, goods were carried in a wicker basket supported on the back by a tump line.

ORNAMENTS

291 While living on the banks of the Kuliseu River, [171] the Bacairí, in common with the other Upper Xingú River tribes, did not use clothing. Men sometimes wore a narrow cotton band (*onegín*) around the waist, with a few tassels hanging in front. Women, after puberty, wore the ulurí. 302 Men wore their hair cut short. Women wore their hair long at the back but cut straight across over [412] the forehead. Hair was cut with a knife made [235] by setting sharp fish teeth into a wooden stick,

placed in a hole in the septum of the nose, so that the feathers swung one on each side of the head. Although the *páiko*, or scratcher, was not strictly an ornament, it is mentioned here because it had ritual meaning. The *páiko* was made by setting fish teeth into a gourd holder and was used for scarifying the skin of the arms, legs, chest, and back so as to cause bleeding. The wounds were first washed with water and later smeared with the juice of the *makúna* vine. The *páiko* was used by boys and girls during puberty seclusion and by adults who had sores on their bodies. It was believed that the use of the *páiko* made people strong and healthy. As far as could be ascertained the Bacairí did not mutilate the teeth, genitals, or other parts of the body. There was no sign of tattooing, but pubic hair was carefully pulled out by both men and women. Formerly the Bacairí kept large birds, believed to belong to the eagle family, in their villages for their feathers. The Brazilians call the bird "harpía" and claim that it is still kept by the Indians in the Xingú Basin. The "harpía" was captured by shooting it with a blunted arrow, and it was kept in a special hut and fed. Villages often had several of these birds in captivity, the feathers being used particularly for feathering arrows. Parrots and macaws were also kept, their feathers being used only for ceremonial decorations.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Vegetable foods formed the basis of Bacairí diet, with fish and meat taking second and third places. The principal animals hunted were monkeys, deer, wild pigs, tapir, and the jaguar. The jaguar, however, was not eaten, but was hunted for its skin, teeth, and claws. The principal weapon used was the bow and arrow. Hunters would stalk game alone or in groups with the aid of dogs driving game into water or into steep rocky enclosures. There is no mention of the spear being used, but deadfalls and pitfalls were used. Many varieties of large fish were shot with the bow and arrow, either from canoes or from the river bank. Lizards, turtles, and a wide variety of wild fruits, roots, tender shoots, and honey were collected at certain seasons of the year.

The major part of the food supply, however, was obtained through agriculture. The Bacairí cultivated bitter manioc, *ópa;* sweet manioc, *taisę́;*

Bacairi SP7

Geographically the post is situated ideally on a high land removed from the river and cleared of all vegetation, the jungle appearing only as a narrow fringe along the river banks. Like the rest of the high plateau it is wind swept, and generally pleasant. It must be added that contact with white people, such as is had when a small group of natives go to Cuyabá, has brought syphilis to them, and it may be their mortality is due to this.

One occupation enjoyed in former times is denied them, and that is fishing. There are practically no fish in the Paranatinga, at least up to where the post is located. Since meat is gotten only on rare occasions, and no hunting is done, the diet is mainly one of vegetables and considerably poorer than when they were living in their original state. This may also explain their lowered resistance to disease.

Very little museum material which represents their own products can be collected from the Bakairi. What has not been gotten from the Inspectoria has been brought back on excursions to the Kuluseu. Pottery has not been made since their coming to the post, according to them. The huge vessels that they possess either have been brought with them from their former homes or bartered from the tribes on the Kuluseu. It is claimed that the proper clay cannot be found in the neighborhood of Simõe Lopes.

Arrows are still being made, an iron nail generally being substituted for the old bone point, but most of the arrows also come from the Kuluseu.

For the old hammock made of palm-leaf fibre the cotton hammock has been substituted, but the same open net style has been kept.

Mussel shell ornaments have also been bought from the tribes of the Kuluseu. In brief, almost anything that is found in their village must bear the suspicion that it is not a Bakairi product.

However, they have preserved a few customs, such as filing the upper teeth to a point, wearing under the European clothing the gee string, and ceremonial use of the bull-roarer, and they probably remember many of their ceremonies.

The short time spent at the post was mostly devoted to taking anthropometric measurements, which were subsequently lost on the Kuluseu, but in some notes I do find the statement that in blood groupings most belong to groups three and four, the former predominating.

Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25

these cakes are packed in large carrying baskets, carefully covered with leaves and stored away. [Plate XII, 1, 2, 3.] Y 105 171 252

Some of the grated manioc is made into farina, by sifting it through a basket sieve and baking it in a flat pottery pan. In this form it will keep indefinitely. If biiju is to be made, the grated manioc is sifted, but instead of baking it so as to dry it in small particles, it is spread out in the pan to form a sort of thin cake. This is the form in which most of the manioc is eaten. The biiju cakes keep for several days, and always form part of the traveller's baggage. Y [484]

A non-intoxicating but nevertheless refreshing drink is made by mixing the unbaked grated and sifted manioc with water. This is the drink offered the visitors, on arrival at the village, by the women. It is served in large half gourds. Y 105 171 272

Depending almost entirely on fish and manioc for food, great quantities of both are eaten, and eaten continuously. The women begin making biiju before sunrise, so that those setting out to fish will be able to take it along. Y 105 171 262

In connection with the making of biiju fire, fans made from strips of palm leaves, or sometimes of grass, are used. To smooth out and turn the biiju cakes, wooden spatules are in use, generally made to suggest the representation of a snake or a bird. [372] [412] Y 105

In the food quest, besides the cultivation of manioc, fishing occupies the attention of the men. Though the women assist by steering the canoe and paddling, not one of them was ever seen actually fishing, though the Bakairi informed me that the women are capable of it. 171 226 [501] [462]

Shooting the fish with bow and arrow is the most common method. It is never done from the banks or by wading in, except in the rapids. The man doing the shooting stands up at the bow of the canoe while his companion, who may be his wife, perhaps with a baby at the breast at the same time, gently paddles, keeping the canoe close to the bank. To learn to shoot fish is not easy, since both the force with which the arrow is driven into the water, its deflection upon striking the water, the motion of the canoe, and the movements of the quarry must be gauged. The bow is held upright, the arrow in position but the string relaxed until the game is seen. In case of a miss, the arrow floating on the surface of the water is retrieved with the end of the bow, the arrow being caught between it and the string. No opportunity of getting fish B [105 171 226]

[text continues on p. 153]

Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25

is ever lost. Our Bakairi were imbued with the same spirit, for often the paddle would be dropped and replaced with bow and arrow though we may not have needed the extra food. This anxiety to gather as much food as is encountered was also manifested in the case of turtle eggs found in the sand banks. For those days that we travelled, each canoe at the end of the day would have gathered at least thirty or forty eggs. This food was shared generously with everyone. [Plate XIII, 2.]

Y Ba 226 105 171 [222]

Another method of fishing was with a spear. Especially in the dry season, the fish withdraw to the deep pools where it is impossible to reach them with an arrow. A spear is usually made of two sections: a wooden shaft with a large conical bone point and a reed extension to the shaft. Both sections measure about seven metres in length. [Plate XIII, 1.]

Y [411]

Damming of the lagoons is resorted to. A dip net with a handle about three metres long is in use, and drag nets are apparently used in season.

Y [227]

Fish is eaten almost raw; the only method of cooking seen was barbecuing, either by placing it on a platform over a fire or by placing it on a framework close to the fire. Salt is unknown and not liked, as evidenced when they were asked to try our food, when though hungry, none would accept it if it had been seasoned with salt.

Y 105 171 252 [263]

Another food in usage, highly prized and carefully stored away is the fruit piki, which grows wild. The fruit is boiled in the large earthen pots, placed in cylindrical bark containers, about one and half metres to two metres in length and a third of a metre in diameter, sealed tight at both ends, and placed under water in some cool pool. These bark containers are reinforced with wooden slats. On ceremonial occasions they are opened and a quantity sufficient for the immediate needs is taken out to be distributed to every member of the village equally. It is mixed with water and drunk, without fermentation. Both the Yawalapiti and Naravute had these bark containers.

Y 105 171 251 415

Pottery

Pottery is poorly developed in the region. Neither in quantity nor variety, nor in technical perfection does it compare with that of the Bororo. The forms are simple though characteristic.

Y Bo 105 171 323

[text continues on p. 155]

/168 cont./

126 During the night there was heavy dew; in the forenoon we dried Wilhelm's things; it is a pity the way the drawings look, the sheets are stuck together and bent. How could we have brought photographic chemicals through here?

136 At 1:00 in the afternoon slowly off. Several times a sandy shore 20 meters wide; masaricos, small black-white, red-legged shore-birds. Numerous traces of the tracajá turtle; the people poke in the sand with an arrow or generally simply follow the tracks of the tracajá and with their hands dig up the shallow pit that shows the impression of their bodies. In one nest there are 17 eggs, in another 15; the egg is white and gradually shades to gray; 4.9 centimeters long, 3.2 centimeters wide. Temperature of the sand 57°.4. The verdict about the empty nests, merely in passing by, is often: "Here the lizard has fed."

It is wondrously summer-like: current, sun, charming leafy shores, yellow butterflies, and no mosquitoes or wasps. Many novatos. Endless meanderings; we covered about two legoas.

Valentin caught a large pintado fish; see the glossary, p. 171/; Satyr was almost pulled out of the canoe by a pirahyba that was supposedly as long as he was. Loud buzzing and chirping in the night air. The sabiá was singing.

122 132 17 Aug. φ 13° 7'.3, λ 6'.1, km. 0.57, total 142.32.
6:35 A.M.: dry. 11.3, water 23.5.
7:30 P.M.: II 732.0, dry. 21.0.

Shivering I awoke during the night and believed that I had [361] fever. It was the cold. Very soon we arrived in the harbor of the second village.

•227 A fisherman's hut lies at the entrance of the forest; here are baskets shaped somewhat like an elongated spiked helmet, into which, from the inner rim, a small collecting funnel with a narrow 487 opening leads inside. The path stretches inland one legoa and is very similar to the one from the first village.

574 After a few steps we were received by two good acquaintances from Aldea I, who had gone overland to announce us to their fellows. One of them in blue trousers and red striped shirt, the

/175 cont./

162 We counted 27 men, 18 women, and eight children, but
621 as some of the men, who stayed longer than we, reported, a
689 whole troop of women and children later came out of the woods.

342 I measured the largest house more carefully. It was 40 paces long, 24 paces wide. In the center line stood four supporting beams, 8-8.5 meters high (!) and 30 centimeters in diameter, the middle ones five paces apart, the outer ones each six paces
[531] from these; they had several bands painted with geometrical designs.

The distance of the two outer supporting beams from each other, /176/ 17 paces according to the above, also gave the length of the roof timbers. All around, 72 posts, up to 25 centimeters thick, one meter 72 high, served to support the elliptical roof basket. This was also the height of the two entrances, 77 centimeters wide, which lay opposite each other on the long sides and were made somewhat lower by the straw hanging down from the outside.

The roof basket, made up of large horizontal bamboo rings fastened by vertical poles bent against them, which converged at the top and projected to the outside through an opening, was built with great skill and regularity. The covering was made of straw-dry palm leaves. The leaf ribs lay horizontally; the free ends of the individual leaf spears hanging down from them, however, were all bent inward around the bare rib, so that solid mats were produced in the simplest manner. These overlapped like roof tiles.

364 We make the rounds through all the huts. The sense of order of the peaceful professor is lacking. They are full of refuse. In-
353 stead of the fine supply baskets, balls of the massa /dough/ one
[251] meter long, a half meter thick, and packed in leaves are found
[227] on simple racks. Little maize. Many fish nets made of tucum fiber: a wide-meshed bag hangs from a ring 80 centimeters long, 35 centimeters wide, which sits on a long pole. They probably
226 get the fish out of the blocked-off lagoons with these nets from the top of their scaffold.

/208 cont./

*191 Feathers lend wings to the arrow, on whose shaft end two
239 split halves of feathers are sewed opposite each other in spiral
30 turns. Otherwise they seem to be used exclusively, but in great
[411] volume here, for ornaments, such as ear feathers, feather crowns,
[287] feather caps, feather arm bands, feather cloaks (among the Kamayurá), and in hundredfold decoration on small ornaments, where little colored bundles hung on hammocks, combs, gourd rattles, arrow throwers, masks, etc. The most magnificent ma-
[825] terial was available, from the yellow, blue, red, and green of the arara, toucan, weaver birds, and parrots, from the beautiful stripes or speckles of the curassows, falcons, and owls, to the shimmering white of the herons and storks or the black of the urubu vulture. The big, broad, black-and-white striped flag
[825] of the Harpyia destructor was magnificent.

*171 The spoils of hunting and fishing therefore offered an
[239] abundance of the most necessary things; in particular it furnished
[412] tools for cutting, scraping, polishing, piercing, boring, scratch-
[433] ing, and digging. Agriculture assured the natives a sedentary existence and improved their economic condition, but they still remained fishermen and hunters, though to a lesser extent. They were hunters without dogs, fishermen without hooks, farmers without plow and spade. They afford us an excellent example
[32] that teaches us how manifold the methods of work for the purpose of making a living could have been before the possession of any metal technique, an example that warns us about overestimating the importance of stone implements, which, of course are preserved the best and most plentifully for posterity, and about throwing indiscriminately into the great pot of the Stone Age everything that comes before the use of metal and, in comparison to the small span of time established for this, must embrace unimaginably long periods.

*171 If one judges culture according to the extent and thorough-
433 ness with which the surrounding nature is exploited by the human
511 beings, then our natives certainly did not stand on a low level.
[227] They hunted and fished with arrow /209/ and bow; they fished with nets, catch-baskets, and weir-baskets; they had their fish

/209 cont./

*171 433 511 229 hurdles in the river, planted the stream with fences and barriers, and closed off arms of lagoons in order to confine the fish. they worked hard to clear large stretches of forest; they built themselves splendid houses, piled up considerable supplies in them, filled them with a great variety of things from an industrious craftman's skill, arrayed themselves with gay body ornaments, and decorated all their implements with graceful design. In *171 511 view of the fact that the people of Cuyabá have showered me with angry newspaper articles to the effect that I have said the savages of the Schingú had neater and better homes than many people of the Mato Grosso, I should like, without comparing reasons, to set their minds at rest by adding that even in old Europe there are plenty of villages in the mountains and along the coast where people lead a more miserable life than on the Kulisehu.

*171 241 I shall list the cultivated useful plants which we observed among the Indians. They are arranged, under A, as those that were common in the northern part of South America before the Europeans appeared, and, under B, as those that grew wild in the immediate environment:

A.

Maize	Zea mays.	Cotton	Gossypium.
Mandioca	Manihot utilissima.	Cuyeté	Crescentia cuyeté
Batatas	Convolvus batatas.	Bottle gourd	Cucurbita lagenaria.
Cará	Dioscorea.	Edible gourd	Cucurbita.
Peanut	Arachis hypogaea.	Mamona	Ricinus.
Bean	Phaseolus.	Urucú shrub	Bixa orellana.
Pepper	Capsicum.	Tobacco	Nicotiana tabacum.

B.

Bakayuva palm	Acrocomia.	Genipapo	Genipa.
Pikí	Caryocar butyrosum.	Arrow reed, ubá	Ginerium parviflorum.
Mangaba	Hancornia speciosa.	Spear grass	Scleria.
Fruta de lobo	Solanum lycocarpum.	Pita bast-plant	Fourcroya? Agave?

/235 cont./

*171 226 on the fishing of the Bakaírí with catch-baskets in the shallow campo lagoon. The natives like to fish between the stones on dark nights by torchlight. We did not see any poisoning of fish.

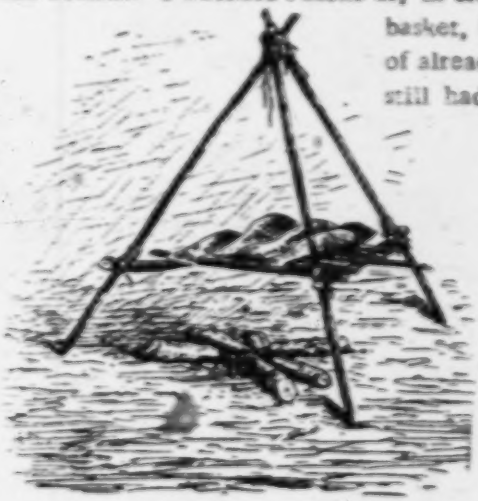
*171 229 [177] It is a fact of great significance that the fishhook was unknown to all these tribes of such diverse origins, tribes of such avid fishermen. It argues persuasively for the frequent claim that the hook was introduced only by Europeans in the north and south of Amazonas. If this is not the case, the only way out is that our tribes left their original homes before the hook was known there. For, anyone who saw, as I did, with what interest the natives became acquainted with our fishhook will smile here, if anywhere, at the thought that the degenerate Indians have forgotten an invention well known to them formerly -- when they were still close to the point of departure of the Karaiben /Carib/ or the Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ or the Tupí or the Gẽs. It is understandable that Indians under peaceful circumstances no longer make any clubs, it would be understandable that one or another of our tribes had migrated here from Amazonas and gave up the wooden canoe because they got along excellently on the upper course with the easily constructed bark canoes, but that fishermen who had formerly fished with a hook and line gave it up in a region where they might continue practicing the skill to great advantage and that their descendants are obliged to let themselves be taught anew by us, let anyone believe that who can. In Guaraní and Tupí /236/ hook, and especially fishhook, is called pinda, and from this word, in both dialects, Xylopia frutescens, which furnishes the fishing rod, is called pinda-iba = hook-rod. For the Kamayurá, who certainly leave nothing to be desired in Tupí purity and to whom we seemed to be tribal brothers with the comparison of the words that we had in common, the correspondence failed for this particular plant: they did not know pindaiba and called it ivíra or ivít, the ymbira of the Tupí or hybir of the Guaraní (= "skin-tree"), according to Martius "name of various Bombaceae and Xylopia." The decadent company had also forgotten the plant name "hook rod," although it was so easy for them to remember.

/236 cont./

*171 227 [286] The nets, merely small hand nets, were plaited out of the twisted, very resistant tucum palm fiber. They hung as a pouch from a piece of vine with both ends bent together in an oval.

*171 227 285 Two types of weir baskets were distinguished: the puroschi of the Bakairí, wider, fuller with horizontal, rectangular interstices, and the other, tamaschi, narrow, long, with wide, high vertical meshes. The catch-basket, kutu, was a plaited framework of pointed sticks, shaped like a truncated cone, and open at the top and bottom. I watched Paleko as, in order to make a catch-basket, he evened up a bundle of already pointed sticks which still had different lengths. He used the following measuring stick. He took a piece of shaft reed, a-b, and another, c-d, tied them together one under the other parallel at b and c, and now used the free piece from c-d for measuring, placing the stick to be measured alongside it, pressing it against b, cracking it sharply at d, and breaking it off.

*171 227 285 804



[252] Fig. 30. Roasting rack (trempe). (1/30 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

*171 251 252 The Indians often set out for a few days to engage in fishing. They bring home baked fish, but they also seem to be satisfied merely to eat their fill for once outside. The pyramid of the grill, the "trempe" of the Brazilians, which one almost always finds where the Indians have stayed overnight to fish or to build a canoe, is finished in no time. Three sticks are placed together like rifles and are joined at the top with bast, somewhat below the middle a little rod is placed crosswise from one stick to each of the two neighboring ones and is lashed, and this angle

/257 cont./

539 in quiet areas, where there are no human beings, it is always
825 on the move in the morning and afternoon, except during the hot hours in the middle of the day which it spends sleeping"; in other words, all of the phrases between quotation marks, taken from the book by Dr. Goeldi on the mammals of our land (pp. 92, 99, 103, and 106), confirm what has been said concerning the shadowy character of the Yamūras.

539 /258/ Other considerations, however, seem to us of
174 greater moment.

First of all, in the enumeration of the belongings of the Yamūras, we have a basis for a list of the cultural acquisitions of the Bacaeris. We learn that they had nets for fishing before [220] they had nets /hammocks/ for sleeping, that they traveled by [352] water when they did not yet have pestles, and that they proba- [501] bly had maracá before they had the masks with which they [412] appear at their festivals. [532]

We also see that although theoretically the abode of the
539 Yamūra is in the sky, a large part of his existence is spent on
776 the earth from which he derives his sustainance. Subsistence, however, is not his sole concern; free of the contingencies of time and space, he travels swiftly as the wind, he is an envious being who spies upon all actions and weighs upon the living with crushing pressure. There is hardly an act that he does not influence: gestation, childbirth, alimentation, festivals, walking hours, everything falls within his inexorable reach, as we shall see later. It would seem that the Bacaeris could paint their bodies as they please. But this is not so.

776 Yamūra does not like urucú, --this is why one must not
789 scatter the urucú seed, says the piahi;--Yamūra goes into the
824 houses of people with children, --this is why we burn the juice
302 of the rubber tree--when it is burned it is rubbed on the door;--fathers of boys, when they go to the river, paint themselves with genipap, --paint themselves with urucú, --so Yamūra thinks that it is blood; if the boy's father does not paint himself

285
531 /44 cont./
184 direction, while the corresponding parts of the lateral walls and corresponding plaited supplements have vertical striping.

285 Examples of the kind of plaiting called by me in my
227 respective previous publications Doppelfadengeflechte (double-
184 thread plaiting) are represented by the fish trap shown in Figure 54 and the flat basket shown in Figure 55. Fish traps like the one shown in Figure 54 (V.B. 9914. Length 54 cm. Diameter of the upper rim 25 cm.) were very common among the Bakairí of the upper Xingu tributaries, and the Berlin Ethnographic Museum possesses several specimens collected by Karl von den Steinen, who mentions them briefly in his above-mentioned book, Unter den Naturvolkern Zentral-Brasiliens. (53) He says

> 53. Karl v.d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvolkern Zentral-Brasiliens, loc. cit., p. 236.

there: "As for fish traps, there were two kinds: one called by the Bakairí puroschi was broader and had rectangular intermediary spaces, while the other, called tanaschi, was narrow and long and had high, large meshes oriented vertically." In Karl von den Steinen's book, there is no drawing or photograph of such
126 a fish trap. The specimen which I got from the Simões Lopes Bakairí and which they call tikíshi consists of slender twigs bound at regular intervals by a double strand which, starting at the bottom, goes through the twigs in spiral fashion. A funnel-shaped entrance made of thicker twigs is placed at the upper edge.

285 The flat basket shown in Figure 55 (Length 65 cm. Width 37 cm.) serves to store fish and consists of a wooden hoop filled in with double-thread plaiting in the form of a small mat like those the Bakairí used to strain their liquids.

Finally, I must mention the small basket shown in Figure 56 (V.B. 9891. Height 20 cm. Width of the upper rim 19 cm.)

Plate XXIII

285
227

Fig. 34 Fish trap of the Bakatin in Sindor Tope

Fig. 35 Flat basket for keeping fish Bakatin in Sindor Tope

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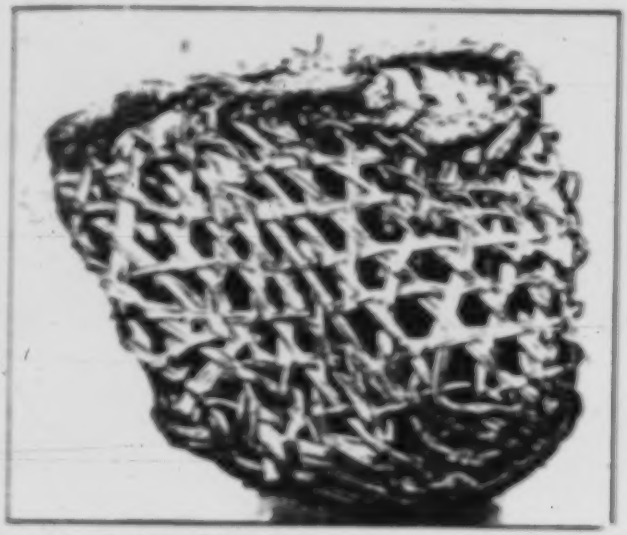

Fig. 36 Basket of the Bakatin in Sindor Tope

/104 cont./

122 The cadet was familiar with only two forms of activity: he slept or ate. It was indeed a pleasure, however, to sleep within four walls once more, although at night the wind often whistled through strongly. And there were all kinds of things to eat that were
262 not furnished on the march. There was plenty of sugar cane; the cooked mandioca root with roasted bacon cubes was a dish for the gods; a piglet was slaughtered; a few chickens forfeited their lives;
[224] the young chaps had also killed a tapir one day under a regular volley of small shot; it furnished a very tasty ragout. The women sent fresh, crisp "beijús," a simple baked product made of mandioca

142
291
302

Antonio

Quirino

262 flour, of the shape and approximately the taste of matzoth. Since
272 there was no shortage of rapadura /a crude form of sugar; see the glossary, p.172 /, "jacuba" was constantly being prepared as refreshment; in a gourd bowl a plentiful amount of rapadura, a plentiful amount of farinha /manioc flour; see the glossary p.171 /,
231 and water as desired. Even milk appeared. In the evening the
526 calves were separated from their mothers; the herd was driven into the "curral" /corral; see glossary, p.170 /, and the calves were lassoed with a great hullabaloo, while a large and appreciative
526 audience /105/ sat all around on the fence. That was something

/119/

000 Clauss, Castro, and the majority stayed at the fazenda. The owner, for his part, rode to a compadre /Gavatter in the Ger.; in the original source, p. 191 (translated p. 72) "compadre" is translated as the Ger. Gevatter; the latter term is given in the glossary of Brazilian expressions, p. 171 / eight legoas away, who was supposed to sell farinha. Thus everyone was busy.

133 Wilhelm and I arrived at twilight after a four-hour march over a series of hilly ranges, having crossed a few small tributaries of the Paranatinga. We could have sworn that [622] we were in the Bergischen [142] /a hilly countryside near [291] the Rhine/ or Westphalia - [301] farm houses in front of the [302] bush, the quemada like → potato fields; -- in the [241] gathering darkness ← we also began to indulge in fancies: on a barren hill in the distance we clearly saw a lunatic asylum in the latest pavilion style.

Captain Caetano "Mêmo."

231 The dreadful dogs that hastened toward us, barking, were ill-suited to bringing us back to a clear and sober conception of reality. These ours, small, skeletal specimens, with pointed snouts, light whitish-yellow fur, and glassy, watery eyes, looked as though they scratched up the dead out of the graves in the cemetery at night.

122 Received by old Captain Caetano and a few young chaps, we 485 were put up in the guest house. The term is synonymous with guest room or guest stall. The only furniture a trough-like, unfinished bark canoe on a stand in the corner, which we were permitted to use as a dresser and table.

/160 cont./
437 carried each piece that she captured to a secret repository lying
439 back off the road, immediately most hurriedly hastening forth
[554] for new deeds.

609 At noon Wilhelm and I went to the aldea;[1] Antonio accompanied us, but, suspicious of his fellow tribesmen, he could not make up his mind to stay with them during the night and returned to the river in the evening.

122 We set up housekeeping in the festival hut, and, alone with the charming little people, we felt indescribably content. When toward evening the mosquitoes started to annoy us, we took a
[137] walk to the roca.[2] Greedily we looked about for the "frutas de lobo," apple-round fruits which were present in numbers on gray-green shrubs, but unfortunately not ripe; the Bakaïrí boys are no different from ours. A magnificent estate; the horizon was bordered by a dark park, behind which the sun was setting in
291 reddish orange. We met Pauhaga, as our apostle of peace is
177 called, and his relatives on the plaza between the three huts, trying on clothes in great embarrassment. They urgently needed our help; not only did they put the trousers on in reverse and upside down over the legs, but they also tried to draw them up over their arms and wanted to stick their legs into a shirt. Putting on a coat alone was an impossible thing. They were unaware of the most obvious offenses against the elements of propriety. A safety pin was hugely admired, but most of all a pair of scissors with which
412 one could so conveniently cut one's nails. Their tool, the stone ax -- a ground stone is wedged into a wooden handle -- with which they fell trees and make posts, deserves our appreciation no less, from the standpoint of how much can be accomplished with the simplest means, even though in the unspoken accompanying thought that we ourselves /161/ might have to go back to this
[411] stage there is a slight admixture of horror. They have no spears,
[231] no bananas, no dogs, and tobacco is nowhere to be found. Bones,
[276] teeth, shells must serve them as tools, along with the stone ax.
[237] /Illustration appears here./

[1] [i.e. village -- Analyst]
[2] [i.e. Cultivated field -- Analyst]

[TEXT continues on P. 40]

/161 cont./

123 They brought fire to us in the hut and withdrew after they had examined our candle closely. One or another, however, constantly came to have coat or trousers put on. One young man appeared and, pointing to his chest, complained, "tuck, tuck, tuck," about heart palpitations.

/162/ I gave him a powder, curious as to whether he would not reject it. After I reassured him a bit and patted him encouragingly on the shoulder, he drank the mixture slowly and fearfully, but drank it to the last drop. An unsuspecting little people. The procedure was described to new visitors, who listened with close attention; the little powder-paper was observantly looked over; but the curative power, which soon made its appearance, was apparently attributed to the knife with which I mixed the medicine. -- Wilhelm had Chinese fireworks with him; this suddenly went off in the yard and frightened them almost more than the shots. He secretly lighted a leftover little tube in the interior of the hut -- how it was possible is still a puzzle to me now -- but at the same instant the five persons present all started at the same time through the low door opening to the outside.

132 13 August. 7:00 A.M.: dry. 13.1, wet. 12.5.

123 Writing uncomfortable. Filling in from yesterday, I am
126 sitting outside on a dry beam that lies bare in the sand. It is still quiet. The professor has just carefully picked up the fireworks cases; he is standing in back of me and is looking admiringly at what I am doing. Scarcely a sound comes from the huts. A blue-
231 yellow arara on the roof has the floor; it pronounced the λ, on which I almost sprain my tongue, just as accurately and yet vaguely blurred as the natives. The tame pavão do rio clucks and gobbles in strange tones that seem to come from a music box; bored by the morning mood, a green parrot is sitting on a bare branch of
000 shrubbery. I hear with displeasure that someone is drinking in the house, mingau again?

/176 cont./

433 It is clear that here agriculture falls behind hunting and
181 fishing; Aldea IV is military in character and forms the frontier
648 defense against alien tribes.

763 In one hut lay an ancient, paralytic little woman emaciated to a skeleton, whose soul seemed to say "ãla Bakaïrí" (it is enough Bakaïrí) and was trying impatiently to flutter away. The hammock was resting partly on the ground; two women squatted beside it and, as garrulous cronies, explained to us the suffering of the dying little mother.

●231 Of tame animals we found a heron, small parrots, a kingfisher and the socó-morena.

345 The festival hut was 18 meters long, nine meters wide.
532 There were clumsily carved wooden fish hanging there, as well as a few finless specimens, wound bands which perhaps represented the electric eel.

Two square pieces of wood, painted red and white, with modeled nose and two eye sockets were striking; they are held in front of the face and represent doves, whose voice the artist can imitate better than the head (1).

1. Cf. the second ethnological plate /see p. 165/.

534 /177/ Four menis and a number of rattles were stuck in the
353 side walling.

624 Only in the festival hut did the herald put down his bow and arrows, but he did not part with them during our entire stay, even
[276] when he handed us a few bundles of tobacco. The latter, by the way, was better than among the earlier Bakaïrí. A few modest old
622 people were there, none with gray hair; among them the chief and, if I understood correctly, a vice-chief, the authority during the time the former is absent.

123 A shooting demonstration on the plaza filled them with
152 terror; they jumped with fright and turned away convulsively, most of all the mighty herald. His "ãla, ãla" was very humble and urgent.

/59 cont./

123 During the first two days I modestly restrained myself in order not to alarm the good people; I also noticed that one of the men was almost always detached for special duty near me and thus a sort of guard was established; when on the first night, after I had taken my leave, I wanted to stay up for a while with a light and write in my journal, old Paleko appeared at the door and asked me just as politely as urgently to go to sleep and blow out the candle. My discretion bore good fruit; they soon took me into the two large houses: in one Paleko and my intended were the chief occupants, in the other Tumayaua and
[122] his daughter. They took me out to fish, to the launching of the new canoe, and the like, and everything could not have been better, if only I had not suffered from chronic hunger as a result of their hospitable, but for me absolutely inadequate
[276] board. I had to try to help myself by heavy smoking and in this
[512] respect achieved what was humanly possible, whereas almost the only time the Indians gave themselves up to this pleasure, but then in a body and with great enthusiasm, was during our nightly tobacco meeting outside on the plaza, the jolliest hours of the day.

345 My little house had served at the time of the festivals as
[122] the dance house, "kxato-éti," or "flute house." Two reed
[534] flutes hanging on the wall in a case made of buriti-palm straw were the only remains of past glory. For me, however, it was
[562] better this way, for the women, who passed in and out of this ruin freely, may never enter the flute house of the men. It was seven paces wide and nine and a half long; the main posts in the center, standing two and a half paces apart, which supported the roof, were four and a half meters high. At the top, in the straw roof, a vent one meter and three and three-fourths meters long was left open. A couple of fish weirs stood in one corner, but otherwise there was nothing but the two posts, from one of which I had stretched the hammock over to the wall.
● 231 Besides my guard of honor, I also had the company of a japú (Cassicus), who seemed like a green tropical Jim Crow /Hans Huckebein/ to me; he was permitted to sit only up in the

/59 cont./

231 rafters of the smoke vent, and, if he suddenly shot down and raced around us like a wild animal, he was quickly chased back to his observation post, where he looked down, his head bent inquisi-
224 tively and his beak open. /60/ Sometimes one of the little mice
[262] so busily active at night came spying about and, if it did not scamper away in time, was shot with a child's arrow and brought
136 to the women as a roast. Almost constant guests were large black-white striped bees, which, like a butterfly that now and then fluttered into the entrance, would calmly let themselves be seized and put aside. On a hot noonday I often had the feeling of sitting in the midst of a beehive filled with buzzing and droning.

123 It was at this hour on the third day that I fled from the bees
[342] and flies to Paleko's large house and entered it for the first time. It was wonderfully cool and comfortable in there and no annoying insects. Only ants laden with grains of flour marched
[517] down their street to the mandioca pestle. The men were swing-
[574] ing in the hammocks, their chief occupation at home, and
[352] after I had sat a while, for the sake of politeness, on the stool of honor, which was as high as a cigar box, I soon followed their example.

342 One had the feeling of being in a huge beehive, fortunately without the bees. The ground plan was almost circular with a diameter of 15 meters; two mighty posts standing nine meters high and three and a half meters apart, supported in the center the huge straw dome, the framework of which consisted of horizontal bamboo rings and over these vertical poles bent upward toward the vent. It was smoke-blackened, glistening like tar. The walling all around, above which it rose, a tightly closed ring of posts one and a half meters high, interrupted only by two door entrances opposite each other, which were much
[352] too low for me. From the wall towards the interior, in the direction of the radii, the hammocks were stretched, fastened on either end to particularly strong posts, so that the outer space
353 was divided into a number of rooms, albeit open. The large center space around the main posts and under the vent, which

/61 cont./

512 The taciturn Indians, men and women, chattered con-
[152] stantly, and Eva's delightful laughter rang out merrily. The
[278] women were all busy. One was scraping a reddish bark which, when cooked, furnishes a curative brew, a second was pounding mandioca grains in a mortar. Now and then a swallow was brought to one of the men in the hammock. A beautiful
[272] picture there by the flickering fire that leaped up at the enormous kettle; the naked woman with long hair was skimming off the milk-like, gently bubbling foam of the püserego in a little pot and pouring it back again and again with a vigorous swing of her arm. Others stepped up, yours truly as well, and tasted, licking their fingers. My intended looked very trim,
[231] too, her "raven-black Mongolian hair" had glints of faded light brown, and she was squatting in front of three discontentedly cawing green parakeets which she was feeding out of
[262] a little pot. Then my turn came; she placed a freshly baked, golden yellow beiiú flat-cake in front of me and did not forget to remark that it was her own handiwork.

Fat Yapü had fallen asleep. I, too, was overcome by a pleasant weariness in the unfamiliar, mood-evoking equableness of the domestic activity; I could not resist the pleasant invitation to take a midday nap, although in the largest hammock there I squirmed like a fish in the net.

I had slept soundly. The picture had changed. The women
[515] sat outside on the plaza, five in a row one behind the other, busily engaged in delousing. Anyone who caught a little
[262] animal placed it on the tip of the tongue and swallowed the delicacy or gave it to the original owner, who received it from the rear in her upturned right hand. The men were attentively watching swallows, "iri"; Luchu shot at them without hitting them; when a pair took its prey in the air, this aroused general interest, and good old Paleko furnished explanatory comments. Everywhere dolce far niente. Only the ants did not celebrate; large carregadores marched by, heavily laden with pieces of stalks and charcoal.

/88 cont./

361 The village could be reached in half an hour or an hour from
311 the river, depending on whether one landed sooner or later. It was surrounded by cultivated land to an extent that aroused our
241 greatest astonishment. On the three different paths that we followed, we came through long stretches where the forest had been cut down with the stone ax. In March and April the trees are felled and in September and October the wood which has dried in the meantime is burned. We examined with admiration a number of thick trunks, the cross-sections of which were covered with the dull blow-marks of the stone axes, and regretted that we could not saw off such a marked surface and take it along. I silently begged forgiveness of the Indians at whom I had often laughed when they were swinging themselves in their hammocks at home, as though their lives were one long Sunday.

361 /89/ In Iguéti there were three large family-houses and a
345 very respectable flute-house in which many dance costumes made
535 of palm straw were hanging. On the village plaza a cage rose
343 up higher than a house, which consisted of long poles set together
231 in the form of a pointed cone; in it sat a mighty Harpia destructor, although the village is called igu-eti = sparrow-hawk village.

231 The once heraldic bird had probably long since departed. The beautiful eagle was named after its favorite food, mégo-zóto, lord
412 of the monkeys. Beside the chief's house lay a large whetstone
[171] for the stone axes; it gave me much pleasure because it showed the same grooves that we had observed in the sambaquis of Sta. Catharina.

621 The community numbered some 40 persons. They spoke of
162 three chiefs, but we met in this capacity only the good-natured,
622 very broad-shouldered Aramóke, who was characterized by a waddling walk. He had a sly expression and with his clumsy body was very polite, for, striding ahead of me in the forest, he broke off the branches, which might have snapped back in my face, more graciously than he probably would have for a woman. A large knife and a red scarf made him the happiest of mortals.

974 He showed us great hospitality. Fresh golden beijûs were con-
437 stantly brought forth, a row of calabashes filled with pogu were

/218 cont./

*171 174 433 I shall sum up. Ancient agriculture is most compatible with the type of hunting practiced here. The Indians were primarily fishermen. The yield in their area on the upper course of a river was not sufficient for pure ichthyophagy; on the other hand, it was not small during the months when the fish traveled upstream in the rising water and were found in all the canals and lagoons in great numbers, or when, as the water receded, the opportunity for a catch in the artificially barricaded parts of the river branches became considerably greater. Fishing and hunting, furthermore, furnished the indispensable tools. There *171 174 433 were no domestic animals in our sense; dogs were unfamiliar to the native. He took pleasure in the colored birds, whose ●231 [343] feathers he sometimes pulled out, especially in the talking parrots and cawing araras; he let those that he happened to catch young walk around in the village, woodpecker or heron or curassow, and kept in huge pole-cages, for the edification of the community, the spitting eagle, Harpyia destructor, or some other predatory bird, he had lizards hanging by their tails from the hammock, so that they would clean up a bit among the annoying crickets -- he had not succeeded any further in the utilization of animals, and though wild plants were established near the village to be used as desired, the rearing of edible [825] animals was not considered. /219/ Indeed, the attitude that the [262] Indian took toward the animal kingdom made him feel a definite repugnance about ultimately consuming animals that he had raised, just as we do not eat dogs.

*171 174 433 The relative sedentariness connected with the life of the fisherman could not become permanent until the women learned to plant, to make pots, and to prepare flour. Although agricul- *171 174 241 648 ture on the Schingú had already reached respectable improvement, nevertheless there were small indications that showed what its origin had been, at least here. People planted the useful plants found in the vicinity, each tribe acquired its own experience on its own soil, and they were disseminated by the 174 773 women who, in war or peace, came to other tribes. The fact that the Bakaïrí-Karaiben were once furthered in this way in

/20 cont./

114 look at this settlement situated on the left side of the Rio Novo.
36) The main aldea of these Indians, which consisted of five ranchos, was at a distance of three turns of the river from the small Brazilian pueblo of Rio Novo situated on the right side of the
[648] river. At this place I met Mr. Eliseu, who then held the title of subdirector over the Bakairí.

114 Conditions among the Rio Novo Bakairí had hardly changed
178 since the time when Karl von den Steinen described them.
622 Also, the population, which I estimated at 60 individuals, was
[162] more or less the same. Reginaldo, who had meanwhile become an old man, was still cacique of the two communities of Rio Novo Bakairí. Plate V of my book Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien presents a photograph taken in the aldea of these Indians showing Cacique Reginaldo with his wife in the midst of several other Bakairí, standing in front of the door of his house. The book which he holds in his hand is the work Durch Centralbrasilien, published by Karl von den Steinen, in which he is also represented in a drawing and at which he is
114 looking with great interest. In the aldea there were still various
178 objects which were products of typical Bakairí work, such as for
[285] example the large baskets of twigs /banastas/ woven in the an-
531] cestral way, and other kinds of baskets which matched exactly
184] in terms of technique and decoration those made by the Bakairí
[411] of the tributaries of the Xingu River. (27) The Rio Novo Bakairí

27. Cf. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., Fig. 174, p. 347.

also still used, besides firearms, bows and arrows for hunting, and these corresponded exactly to those of their fellow country-
177 men of the Xingu River region. But outside of these objects,
231 made in native fashion, these Bakairí had been changed completely into Brazilian campesinos as a result of the fact that

/20 cont./

Reginaldo and his people had a large number of cattle and several saddle horses. Although among themselves they spoke only in the Bakairí language, all of the men knew the Brazilian language, and it was said that Cacique Reginaldo knew how to read and speak some French. The Rio Novo Bakairí maintained at the time active relations with their fellow countrymen on the Rio Paranatinga. With the eastern Bakairí they hardly had any contacts, except for the Bakairí Joaquim who was the uncle of Cacique Antonio of the Paranatinga aldea and who had a young Bakairí from the Rio Batovi river in his service.

Different were the conditions of the Bakairí in the Rio Paranatinga aldea at the time of my visit. While the population at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions had dwindled in such a way that Karl von den Steinen foresaw the end of this community, the population of the aldea had increased in the meantime with the addition of numerous Bakairí from the Xingu River region. The number of these Bakairí, called by their Paranatinga fellow countrymen Xinguanos, climbed to 34 at the time of my stay with these Indians. The leader of the community was Antonio, who was at this time at the peak of his power. The only insignia /21/ of his rank as comandante of the Indians of the upper Xingu River region, officially granted by the Mato Grosso government, were a pair of red soldier's trousers with a wide white stripe which ran down the side of each leg, but a more practical symbol of his power were several good firearms hanging in his house, which he also used occasionally, according to the Mato Grosso men, against insubordinate fellow countrymen. The majority of the Xinguanos then living in his aldea were totally dependent upon him with regard to economic conditions and made up a valuable component of his power, for he had supplied the most trustworthy men among them with firearms. This small military force was important above all to insure contact between the Rio Paranatinga and the tributaries of the Xingu River against the Kayabí who had unquestionably begun at this time to

/23 cont./

241 it contrasts with Herrmann Meyer's observation, made two
114 years before in the year 1899, on his own experiences among
648 the same Bakairí. (29) To account for the fact that it was

29. Herrmann Meyer, "Bericht uber seine zweite Xingú-Expedition," loc. cit., pp. 126 and 127.

absolutely impossible for him to obtain provisions from the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí, he said that these Indians depended for their subsistence almost entirely on their fellow countrymen of the Rio Paranatinga and that their agriculture had almost completely disappeared. When Meyer passed by the aldeas of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí, conditions for his expedition, which comprised a large number of participants, were very precarious, especially because of lack of provisions, and no doubt the fact that he was unable to get from the Bakairí the provisions he had asked for was for him a severe disappointment. It is possible that the Bakairí at this time could not /24/ supply such large quantities of provisions to accommodate such a large number of strangers. Since it is certain that the Bakairí at the time of my stay among them possessed large plantations, it does not seem possible that their agriculture, two years earlier,
114 should have been at the vanishing point. Nor can I corroborate
342 Herrmann Meyer's comment that the Bakairí of the first two aldeas on the Rio Kulisehu, at the time of his expedition, had changed their good houses for "miserable huts." The two aldeas of the Kulisehu Bakairí which I visited each consisted of four large houses of kin folk, built in the same form with an oval base as the houses had in former times. All of the houses in Maimaieti aldea were quite new and made a good impression
• 231 inside and outside. About one league from Maimaieti were the then abandoned houses of the old aldea which the Bakairí of Maimaieti had still occupied a short time earlier and where a large bird of prey, a kind of harpy eagle /arpía/, was kept on

/24 cont./

231 a table made of vertigas and provided regularly with meat, if possible monkey meat.

178 Among the various crafts of the Kulisehu Bakairí, pottery-
[323] making, plaiting, and spinning were still maintained in the
[285] ancestral form. Food preparation was also still the same as
[283] described by Karl von den Steinen for times past. The only
[252] essential difference appeared in regard to woodworking, for
177 which at this time metal tools were used, so that this craft no
322 longer depended on stone axes, drills with stone points, shells,
412 and the teeth of fish or other animals. Another acquisition from
[301] the various expeditions which had passed through their territory were ear pendants of multicolored glass beads with which many women and children, especially, were well provided. European
[291] clothing was seen only in exceptional cases. Thus the first man who came out of his house in Maigeri aldea to greet me had on trousers which he had been given at the time of a visit to the Rio Paranatinga aldea and which surely had never been washed since. As a rule the uluri (small triangle of bark) was the sole
[291] national garment of the women and young girls, and a fine thread belt and body paint the men's apparel.

114 When Karl von den Steinen visited the Rio Kulisehu Indians,
361 the first Bakairí aldea, called Maigeri, consisted of only two
342 large houses of kinsfolk and one small house for fiestas with an
345 oval base, while the second and third aldeas each consisted of three large houses of kinsfolk and of one house for fiestas. Thus
[161] the number of houses in Bakairí aldeas at the time of my stay among these Indians had increased, and for this reason I do not hold as correct Herrmann Meyer's observation that this tribe was
114 already "greatly declining" at the time. (30) No doubt there
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30. Herrmann Meyer, Ibid., p. 126.

were then only two Bakairí aldeas on the Rio Kulisehu, the first, Maigeri, already mentioned by Karl von den Steinen, and the

/27 cont./

162 the year 1915, no more than nine men with some women and
361 children lived with their cacique in the new aldea. The rest
166 had died or had moved to the other Bakairí aldeas situated on the Rio Paranatinga.

178 According to Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa's description, the
433 Bakairí of the Rio Novo and Rio Paranatinga still had in the
622 year 1915 a life with sufficient means of subsistence. Cacique
[361] Antonio, whose authority of former times had undoubtedly de-
[241] creased through José Coroado's defection with his people and
[231] through the independent stand of Cacique Kurutú, was still chief of the old aldea on the Rio Paranatinga, which still consisted of seven houses and whose inhabitants planted manioc, maize, sugar cane, bananas, and aboborra /gourds/, and raised
[231] many pigs and chickens. In former times they had also devoted
[648] themselves to the raising of cattle and horses, but the rancher Jange Soares had made them give this up. Already at this time, Antonio was urgently pressing his rights in the region bound by the Serra Azul, the Ribeirão Bananal, and the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires) and occupied for many years by the Bakairí. (34)

34. A. Pyrineus de Sousa, loc. cit., p. 64.

184 José Coroado's aldea consisted of three well-built houses.
361 He had large plantations of manioc and maize and raised some
241 pigs and chickens. (35) The inhabitants of Cacique Kurutú's
231

35. Ibid., p. 65.

aldea, which consisted of three large houses, also had good plantations and lived comfortably.

178 /28/ At that time, also, the customs and ideas of the
[535] Rio Paranatinga Bakairí were largely Indian. When dancing,
[291] the men were nude except for a small coarse apron, rectangular

361 /33 cont./ According To
648 Petrullo the new post is situated on top of a mountain some distance from the edge of the Rio Paranatinga. The post itself consisted of some excellent administrative buildings, and at some distance from these stood the Bakairí aldea, so that the Indians
[871] kept a certain independence. The post had a school which tried to teach the Bakairí youth to read and write in the Portuguese language and the rudiments of arithmetic. The administration
• [231] kept a herd of cattle, and each of the Bakairí wished to have some oxen and cows.

114 Without wishing to malign Petrullo's precious information,
648 I must note below some points on which I cannot quite agree
177 with his opinions, because they contradict my experiences
241 among these Indians. I believe that a false impression of the previous living conditions of the Bakairí in the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River led to Petrullo's interpretations when he says that the post administration had not experimented in order to change the Bakairí, who in former times had led a seminomadic life, into a sedentary group of agriculturalists. The Bakairí of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River were, like all the other Indian tribes of the Rio Kulisehu, with the possible exception of the Trumaí, a typical agricultural people. The tasks related to agriculture made up the chief part of their activities, and they had extensive plantations in the vicinity of their houses. They led a totally sedentary existence in their aldeas, even moving these closer to their plantations when the latter, owing to the successive exploitation of the land on the closest hill, were little by little moved too distant
[231] from their houses. Livestock they did not have, so that there has been a change in their way of life at the post, with the transformation of a previously agricultural people into a people who raise cattle, no doubt to get a bigger income.

226 Also, I cannot believe that the unusual abundance of fish
114 in the Rio Paranatinga, extolled in former times by the Bakairí, should have dwindled so thoroughly as to warrant Petrullo's observation, "There are practically no fish in the Paranatinga,

4:Schmidt--61 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate III

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Fig. 2. Captain Antonio with his family in front of his house, in the year 1927.

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Fig. 3. Administration building at the Simões Lopes Post.

4:Schmidt--62 F-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate IV

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Fig. 4. House of the Bakairí. Pires, cacique of the Xinguanos in Simões Lopes.

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Fig. 5. Cacique Pires with his family in front of his house in Simões Lopes.

301 placed in a hole in the septum of the nose, so that
237 the feathers swung one on each side of the head.
(004) Although the *pdiko*, or scratcher, was not strictly
413 an ornament, it is mentioned here because it had
257 ritual meaning. The *pdiko* was made by setting fish teeth into a gourd holder and was used for scarifying the skin of the arms, legs, chest, and back so as to cause bleeding. The wounds were first
[752] washed with water and later smeared with the juice of the *mukúna* vine. The *pdiko* was used by
[881] boys and girls during puberty seclusion and by adults who had sores on their bodies. It was believed that the use of the *pdiko* made people
304 strong and healthy. As far as could be ascertained the Bacairí did not mutilate the teeth, genitals, or other parts of the body. There was no sign of
[302] tattooing, but pubic hair was carefully pulled out by both men and women. Formerly the Bacairí
231 kept large birds, believed to belong to the eagle family, in their villages for their feathers. The Brazilians call the bird "harpía" and claim that it is still kept by the Indians in the Xingú Basin. The "harpía" was captured by shooting it with a blunted arrow, and it was kept in a special hut and fed. Villages often had several of these birds in captivity, the feathers being used particularly for feathering arrows. Parrots and macaws were also kept, their feathers being used only for ceremonial decorations.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

212 Vegetable foods formed the basis of Bacairí diet, with fish and meat taking second and third places.
224 The principal animals hunted were monkeys, deer, wild pigs, tapir, and the jaguar. The jaguar, however, was not eaten, but was hunted for its skin, teeth, and claws. The principal weapon used was the bow and arrow. Hunters would stalk game alone or in groups with the aid of dogs driving game into water or into steep rocky enclosures. There is no mention of the spear being used, but deadfalls and pitfalls were used. Many varieties
226 of large fish were shot with the bow and arrow, either from canoes or from the river bank. Lizards,
222 turtles, and a wide variety of wild fruits, roots, tender shoots, and honey were collected at certain seasons of the year.

241 The major part of the food supply, however, was obtained through agriculture. The Bacairí cultivated bitter manioc, *ópa;* sweet manioc, *taisę́;*

Bakairi SP7
Mato Grosso SP1

B 361 646

a wire fence enclosure. The effort of the Inspectoria has been to give aborigines the isolation that they want and not to interfere in anything that they may do. The tribal organization is kept as of old, and the Bakairi lead their own life in their own way. They are not forced to stay at the post, or in any way bound to do as the agent says. The agent is merely a teacher. He talks to them and advises them on any problem that may be facing them, but it is understood that they are free men and that they can do as they please.

B 177 648 M 658

The post maintains a school, the effort being made to teach every child to read and write Portuguese and to learn the rudiments of arithmetic. In addition to this, an attempt is made to teach them vocations, such as weaving on the loom, tailoring, shoemaking, barbering, and so forth. Generally, if a boy shows unusual talent he is taken to Cuyabá and even to Rio de Janeiro to be given further instruction. This education is not compulsory, however, though most of the Bakairi take advantage of the opportunity. It is the project of the Inspectoria to form good self-sustaining citizens of such groups of the native population as come under its tutelage.

B 177 [233]

The post has a herd of cattle and the Indians are being taught the principles of cattle raising. It is the desire of every Bakairi to own cattle. No attempt is made to turn the Bakairi into a sedentary agricultural people, it being thought unwise to attempt to transform the manner of life of the Bakairi by tying them down to the soil, when they have been used to a semi-nomadic existence. On the other hand, they are encouraged to practice some agriculture, raising manioc, sweet potatoes, some maize and cotton. Each man clears his own land yearly, and plants his foods.

B [241]

B 164 [165]

In spite of the liberal attitude and practice of the Inspectoria the Bakairi have been dying fast. Fevers seem to decimate them rapidly, though all efforts are made to keep medical supplies on hand and to supply medical attention. Their life is not as strenuous as formerly, because of the improved methods, and this may account for the lowered resistance. On the other hand, there is no doubt but that at the headwaters of the Paranatinga it is less healthy than in the region of their former homes. Even the Indians from the lower Kulusen who followed our expedition on its return to the post suffered greatly from fevers upon reaching it, though it was the dry season and there were few insects.

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/160 cont./

437 439 [554] carried each piece that she captured to a secret repository lying back off the road, immediately most hurriedly hastening forth for new deeds.

609 At noon Wilhelm and I went to the aldea.[7] Antonio accompanied us, but, suspicious of his fellow tribesmen, he could not make up his mind to stay with them during the night and returned to the river in the evening.

122 We set up housekeeping in the festival hut, and, alone with the charming little people, we felt indescribably content. When toward evening the mosquitoes started to annoy us, we took a [137] walk to the roça.[8] Greedily we looked about for the "frutas de lobo," apple-round fruits which were present in numbers on gray-green shrubs, but unfortunately not ripe; the Bakaïrí boys are no different from ours. A magnificent estate; the horizon was bordered by a dark park, behind which the sun was setting in 291 reddish orange. We met Pauhaga, as our apostle of peace is 197 called, and his relatives on the plaza between the three huts, trying on clothes in great embarrassment. They urgently needed our help, not only did they put the trousers on in reverse and upside down over the legs, but they also tried to draw them up over their arms and wanted to stick their legs into a shirt. Putting on a coat alone was an impossible thing. They were unaware of the most obvious offenses against the elements of propriety. A safety pin was hugely admired, but most of all a pair of scissors with which 412 one could so conveniently cut one's nails. Their tool, the stone ax -- a ground stone is wedged into a wooden handle -- with which they fell trees and make posts, deserves our appreciation no less, from the standpoint of how much can be accomplished with the simplest means, even though in the unspoken accompanying thought that we ourselves /161/ might have to go back to this [411] stage there is a slight admixture of horror. They have no spears, [231] no bananas, no dogs, and tobacco is nowhere to be found. Bones, [276] teeth, shells must serve them as tools, along with the stone ax. [237] /Illustration appears here./

[7] [i.e. village -- Analyst]
[8] [i.e. Cultivated field -- Analyst]

[Text continues on P. 40]

/164 cont./

415 Countless gourd vessels /cuyen; see glossary, p. 170 / and
531 calabashes, brownish-yellow, some of them painted black in designs not without taste.

411 In the lower roof-basket are stuck the arrows, averaging two meters long, and the bows, which almost reach a length of two and a half meters. The arrows, made of ubá, have simple wood or bone points; at the end of the shaft broad feathers are set spirally.

●237 Feathers, even bunches of them and whole tail rosettes,
415 are kept in mats placed together portfolio-like; spindles, pigment, bones, root pieces, shells, and the like are kept in small baskets and nets. On the cords of the hammocks are found as
412 decoration a couple of feathers or shells and -- the comb. This
[284] toilet article consists of small, narrow sticks placed next to one another and held together by two cross-sticks of bamboo by means of a plaiting of cotton threads; the hard sticks project beyond the lower cross-stick as the teeth of the comb.

286 The hammocks are (one can hardly say woven, but rather knotted. Two posts stand in the ground; they are wound with a skein of cotton in the way that our women wind knitting wool on a chair; through the horizontal, parallel threads, vertical threads are drawn at four-centimeter intervals with guide sticks and knotted; the parts of the skein which lie close to the post and are not knotted (the entire bundle of horizontal threads pressed together) form the loop that receives the hammock ropes.

285 A plaited matting above the door and sieves of alternating black and light straw are worked with a natural artistic sense. The fire is fanned with a triangular piece of matting.

302 The hair of the women, cut unevenly and longest behind the ears, hangs down to the shoulders; the forehead is almost completely covered. A young woman had the latter painted with thick red color during the visit on the river. No ornaments. Only
301 the old woman wears a string over her left shoulder, which goes under her right arm; three trouser buttons, which she cut off from us and the soldiers with her own hands, are strung on it.

/169 cont./

126 I acquired cheaply some belt strings of round stone disks with
[301] the diameter of a thick pencil, as well as a necklace of jaguar claws, by hooking the fish hook, as an ornament, into the ear lobes of these people, who do not know how to appreciate it as a means of catching fish.

622 The chief was striking because of his stupid face and a big nose; he treated us with aristocratic indolence and indifference. --
301 Several wore two yellow feathers in each ear; these were stuck
237 in a little bunch of red feathers that protruded from a small husk. The most beautiful head-ornament, however, was a simple row of yellow feathers up to 12 centimeters long, in the center of which towered a long arara feather.

562 Stealthily a few women appeared. There was an old woman
[554] here, too, who /170/ kept the tribe in order; she had curly hair.
[302] One woman, who had a boy astride her right hip, was painted all over her body with a disgusting yellow pigment.

342 The two large huts were round, the two small ones ellipti-
345 cally long, resembling scales. In one of them, the festival hut,
353 we discovered strange things. Between the supporting beams, on cross-poles, hung a great number of the most diverse colorful
292 headpieces. They all had a straw frame for fitting them on the
532 head. The colors were white, black, red, and orange, all applied crudely. There were open cylinders of bast of the consistency of cardboard, red, set with black squares; two large gourd /illustration appears here/ vessels, one with small yellow feathers pasted over it, the other with small blue feathers, and smaller ones painted with red and white areas; on the edge buriti fibers one meter long hung down like a woman's hair; a stuffed hide of a little fox, likewise an otter, both with a straw frame for putting them on. Two black and white sword-like pieces of wood -- representing rattlesnakes, according to Antonio. A stiff frame of stalks, in which sat little swallows, with cotton stuffed in between everywhere. The birds, perfectly recognizable in shape, white, head and back of neck black, a few with yellow belly. A larger bird, painted red and black, was looking out of one of the cylinders (1).

1. Cf. the first ethnological plate /see pp. 160-162/.

/170 cont./

291 Besides these products of the most primitive carving art, /171/ the most interesting article was: a buritĩ shirt -- "the" shirt of the upper Schingú -- which proved the invention of [286] clothing even among the Bakaïrí. The fibers were knotted in meshes, following the method for the hammock; the doublet was wide at the neck in order to be stepped into; it had short sleeves and trousers, from the bottom edge of which long fibers hung down. Many simple, meter-long buritĩ-fiber 372 hangings seemed apron-like. Two triangular fire-fans had 237 small downy feathers pasted on them. Hard, open shells, 535

345 352 353

In the Bakaïrí festival-hut.

535 the size of half-walnuts, were gathered into a rattling bundle 534 that is tied around the ankles for dancing. Another rattle instrument was a dried gourd shell, which contained seeds, impaled on a stick (1).

[171] 1. Hans Stadl (1556) tells of the "Tuppin Inbas": "They believe in a thing that grows like a gourd, is as large as a half-measure scoop. It is hollow inside; they stick a little stick through it, cut a little hole in it, like a mouth, and put little stones in it,

1: Steinen--162 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7 ●
Trumai SP23
Suya SP21
Yuruna SP26

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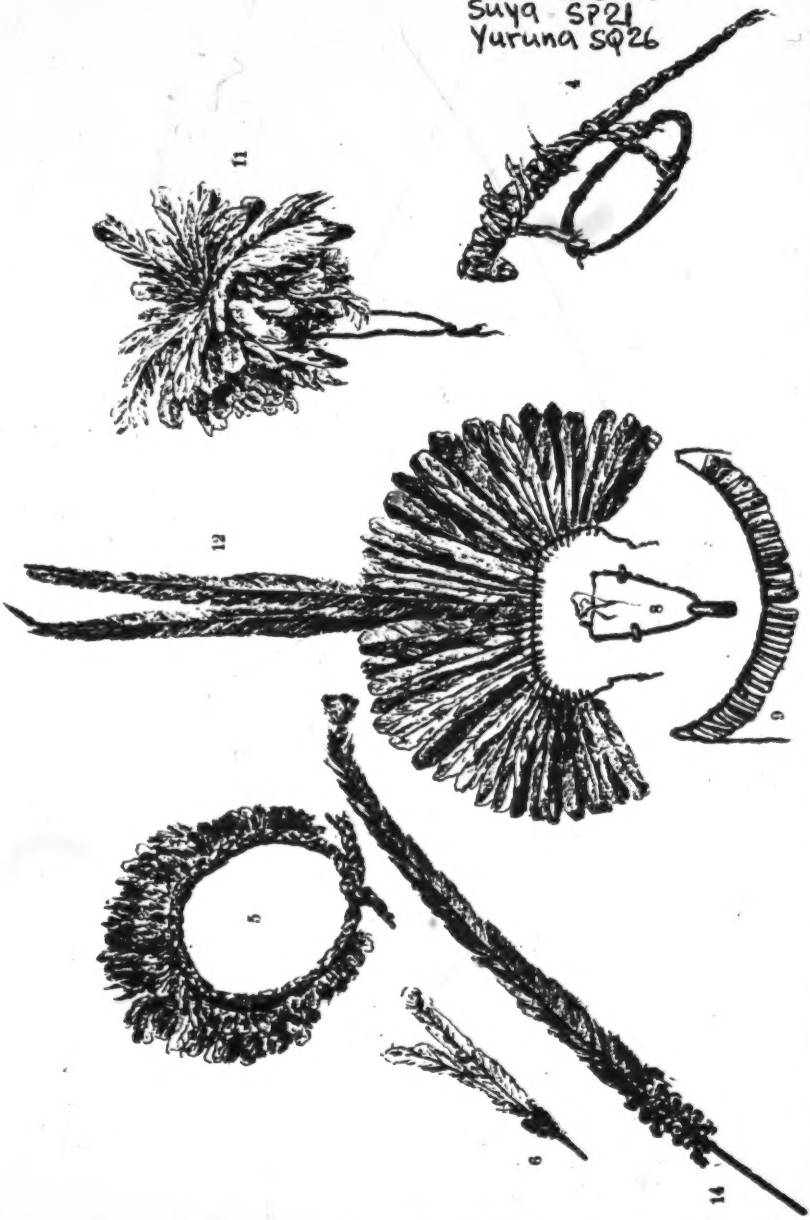

/See caption on following page./

1: Steinen--163 D E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP23
Suya SP21
Yuruna SQ26

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292
532 /From Ethnological Pl. I: 4, Bakaïrí headdress
301 from the festival hut; 5, Bakaïrí straw wreath
● 237 with feathers; 6, Bakaïrí ear feathers; 8-9,
T Bakaïrí necklaces (8, stone disks; 9, pieces of
292 shell and also popular among the Suyá); 11,
301 Trumaí feather-cap; 12, Suyá feather-diadem;
S 14, Yuruna ear-feather./
Y
301
237

1: Steinen--164 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Suya SP21

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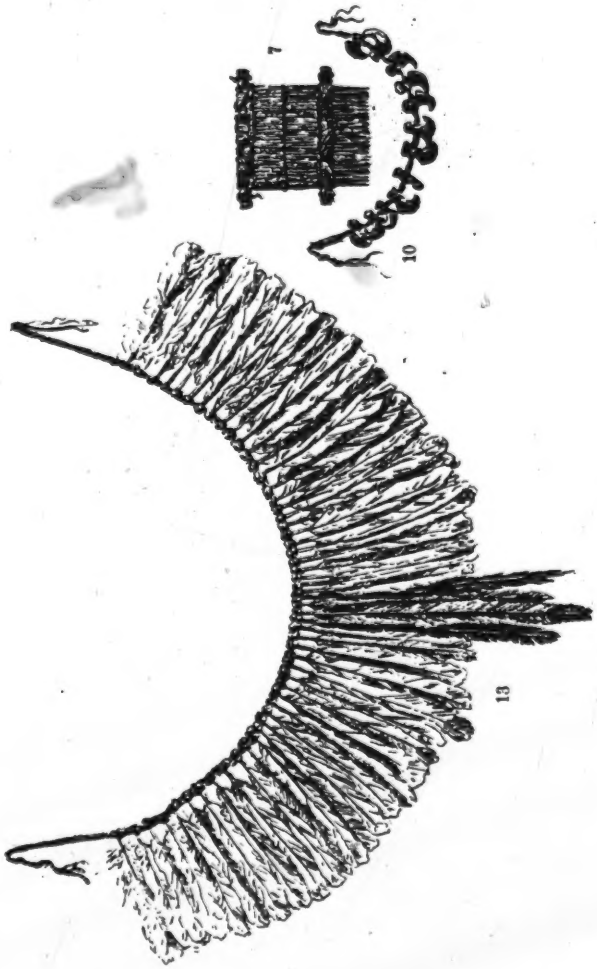

/From Ethnological Pl. I:
7, Bakaïrí comb; 10, Bakaïrí necklace of jaguar claws; 13, Suyá feather-diadem.

/75 cont./

301 from the Batovy to the Kulisehu. I was confronted by one
438 woman who wore nothing but a copper button on a string on her breast, and on this button was the 8 of the eighth Cuyaban battalion, to which our soldiers had belonged at that time. "Is it tuchũ,
301 stone?" asked these living prehistorics. Of course, the beads were likewise stone, and, on account of their gay colors, they
153 preferred them to gold, which left them quite indifferent. I
179 had given them a few pins and had also showed them a needle, the only one that I had with me: they brought a pin back to me and asked me to make a hole in it, like the one in the needle.

Most peculiar was the alacrity with which they classified the things unfamiliar to them among those that were familiar to them and also immediately assigned familiar names to them directly and without any restrictive additions. They cut their
[412] hair with sharp shells or the teeth of the piranha fish, and my
[237] scissors, the object of unreserved delight, which cut hair so smoothly and evenly, were simply called "piranha tooth." The mirror was "water!" "Show the water," they cried when they wanted to see the mirror. And I made a much slighter impression with it than I had expected.

The compass was called "sun," the watch "moon." I had showed them that, no matter how I turned and twisted the case, the needle always pointed to the highest position of the sun, and the very similar watch, whose spring they said was a hair, seemed to them the natural counterpart, for the /76/ special reason that it "did not sleep at night." Often in the middle of the conversation they would demand that I take out the watch, and then they would laugh very contentedly when it was actually awake and ticking.

Nothing would be more erroneous than to think that this sincere curiosity and admiration was based on an actual thirst for knowledge or a deeper need of understanding. They never got beyond the question: "Did you make that?" No, I simply did my circus act, I displayed my tricks, and they were pleased that at any moment I could show them in all elegance and never disgraced myself. The most baffling example of superficial satisfaction

/92 cont./

574 night. We sat down in the middle of the large plaza in a long row. Each one was brought a drinking bowl; the largest, along
574 with a cigar, fell to me. Speeches of welcome were now ex-
576 changed with great volubility.

ámа, you = that is you. ehé úra, yes, I = indeed, that is I. bakaïrí úra, I (am a) Bakaïrí. kχaráiba úra, I (am a) Karaibe. bakaïrí kχúra, (the) Bakaïrí (are) good. kχaráiba iwakulukúlu, (the) Karaiben (are) very good. píma áma? (are) you (the) chief? píma úra, I (am the) chief.

123 Opposite each Karaiben squatted a Bakaïrí and admired him and what he wore. The Swedish matches, knives, mirrors, buttons, beads -- it was always the same routine. Except that in the case of Porisa it was my notebook that was most appreciated, and it was not the written pages or those covered with drawings, but the white, empty sheets that elicited exclamations of delight from him. We also strode about the plaza in pairs, arm in arm, in affable conversation. We studied the geographical distribution of the Kulisehu tribes in detail, but the dwelling places of the Trumaí still remained as obscure as before.

345 The flute-house was large and spacious, its roof dilapidated, much straw lay on the floor inside, and here, as in the houses, we missed the cleanliness which pleased us so in the other vil-
534 lages. In front of the flute-house, resting on cross-sticks, lay a
[532] huge hollow tree-trunk -- a morcego (bat) tree our men called it -- /93/ irregularly painted with human figures and fish vertebrae. During festivals they drummed on this giant instrument with thick wooden clubs, similar to the mandioca pestles.

535 Inside there were handsome masks and a new form of dance costume; two huge crinolines ten meters in circumference, covered with straw, and comparable to small huts, koálu, which
126 the dancer wore on a ring on his shoulder. Soon enthusiastic
301 barter was under way everywhere. We obtained fine feather
237 ornaments, crowns made of arara feathers, which are light blue
534 on one side, yellow on the other, dainty mats in which they are
283

/93 cont./

126 stored, dark yellow reed diadems, such as Luchu is wearing on
534 Plate 6,[1] others with radiating tips, large Panpipes, an oar deco-
283 rated with drawings, spinning whorls of the simplest type, that
[301] is, disks made of potsherds, and a quantity of remarkable
[239] cylinder-shaped sticks, which are covered with ornamentation
177 and worn on the back at festivals. But in the equipment of these
third Bakaïrí it was clearly shown that we were with the section
of the tribe living next to the rest of the Kulisehu Indians; all
kinds of imported goods were present and were designated as such
439 here. The Bakaïrí do not make any pots themselves and do not
[323] themselves have a place where they might fetch stones for stone
axes, but here we were immediately told that the pots came
from the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ and the stone axes from the
Trumaí. Among the pots one in the shape of a turtle represented
an absolute masterpiece of primitive plastic art, on which the head,
tail, and feet, as well as the shell drawing, were magnificently
worked out. From the Auetó we found a half-broken clay doll;
also originating from the Mehinakú, balls of finely spun cotton;
from the Trumaí and Suyá, dainty feather caps. From our own
possessions of 1884 we discovered two iron chisels, parts of a
ramrod, which had been sharpened to a point on stones.

We met a Nahuquá in person; unfortunately, the man was
648 obviously an idiot and had little to offer for my purposes. It is
732 strange that this is not an isolated phenomenon: the Kustenaú
of 1884 had a simple-minded Bakaïrí among them, the Yuruna
likewise an Arara Indian definitely feeble-minded, and it seems
to me I often noticed similar instances. Do the people become
stupid in the new environment or are only the stupid specimens
entrusted to neighbors for their use?

126 In the flute-house anthropological measurements and photo-
graphs were taken in exchange for beads. In this village there
was a pronounced Sémitic type, of which Plate 13[1] represents a
classic example. The people submitted to everything and called
the caliper compass núna, "moon." Only one man was indignant
when, after Ehrenreich had measured him from head to foot in
all directions, I handed him the fee of three beautiful, large
[153] beads. He wanted to have as many beads as there were measurements

[1] [See p. 138 -- Analyst]

B /96 cont./
226 bait pulled the happy fisherman out into the middle of the river, to our
B amusement. Several fish hooks were bitten off by the piranhas. After
[237] some examination, the Indians carefully removed the lower jaw, which

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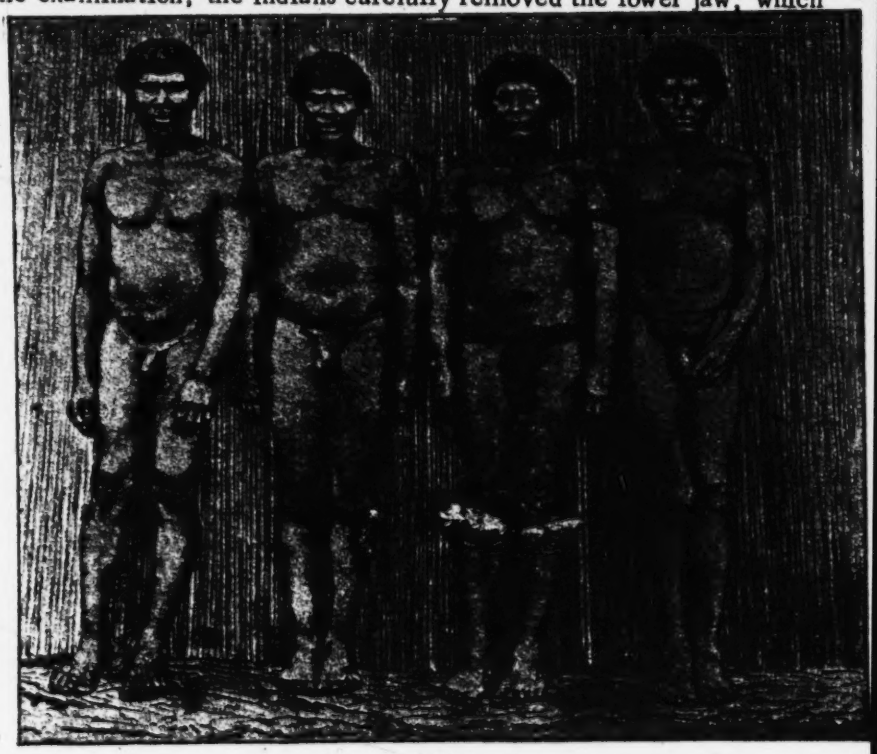

Fig. 4. Nahuquá.

B
226
237 they use for cutting threads and also for hair cutting.

Y Wilhelm and I, whose boat, as usual, along with Tumayaua's, was
ahead of the others, were the first to arrive at the actual harbor and
there surprised three individuals who seemed not a little frightened:
a good-looking, sturdy youth about 18 years old, the prototype of
Crevaux's Rukuyenn /Rucuyen/ in Guiana, whom Tumayaua designated
as pĩma iméri, the son of a chief, a small boy, and, as the third,
a young Mehinakú.

/175 cont./

*171 302 the cut desired by him, went a step further and cut off at the roots a part of the hair falling down in back and on the sides. The additional advantage connected with this was that, during combing, the hair could easily be evenly distributed on all sides. The tonsure of the Indians extended chiefly downward over the back of the head (cf. Fig. 14 /see p. 170/). The Suyá men, on the other hand, with their tonsure of Apostle Paul, went further in the removal of the hair falling over the forehead and, instead, wore their hair hanging down to their shoulders

[142] [301]

Fig. 11. Bakaïrí girl.

in back or knotted up. Long back hair and the crown tonsure do not occur together. Copying the priests was not required for this simple procedure.

/176/ All the other body hair, with the exception of the eyebrows, was shaved or unhesitatingly plucked out. The lashes were not, as among the Yuruna on the lower Schingú, placed on a tucum thread and torn out all at once with a jerk, but were pulled out one by one at the earliest age of the children. The shaving of the tonsure was done with a tip of spear grass; these razor blades were kept planted near the house. The hair was cut with the teeth of the piranha fish. I never saw among

[824] [442] [237]

/179 cont./

*171 although he understood not a word of Bororó, was her son stolen
304 years before by enemies; she wailed and lamented loudly all
619 night long; then it was strange to see how the Bororó carefully undertook to examine on the half-laughing, half-outraged Antonio his lower lip, which among them is pierced as early as infancy and unanimously set him free when, instead of their little lip-hole, they found a pierced nasal septum. Thus among the
[648] Bakaïrí there were abducted Paressí women; among the Nahuquá, Mehinakú women; among the Suyá, the captured Manitsauá, who were immediately distinguishable from the rest by the tribal marking. /180/ The artificial injury thus developed into a regu-
[186] lar arrangement for expediency. Moreover, the foreign was re-
*171 garded as ugly or comical, the indigenous as beautiful and noble.
304

The piercing of the ear lobes is generally widespread among
[301] the men of all tribes. It serves solely for feather ornaments.
[239] Among no tribe of the Kulisehu do the women have pierced ear-lobes, and no woman wears feather ornaments of any kind anywhere else on her body; the woman does not hunt -- the origin from the hunting trophy is still unmistakably distinct. The ear of the boy is pierced at the time when he begins to practice with a small-sized bow and arrow.* /Fig. 12 appears here./

*Among the Suyá men and women wear rolls of palm leaf strips in the slit-open ear-lobe, which is gradually extended into a long rein, but here, too, feather ornaments are confined to the men.

The piercing of the lower part of the nasal septum, so that the alae, slightly turned upward, rest on the object stuck through it, is found only among the Bakaïrí, on the Paranatinga and Rio Novo, on the Batovy, and in the first Kulisehu village among both sexes, in the second Kulisehu village only among the men, in the third neither among men nor women. This geographical
[648] distribution makes it seem not improbable to me that the custom is based on that of the Paressí, /181/ who were formerly in active

/181 cont./

*171 contact, sometimes peaceful, sometimes hostile, with the western
304 Bakaïrí, of whom we still found two women, kidnapped as children,
[648] in the Paranatinga village. The Paressí pierced the ear lobes of their women so that they could always be distinguished from the Bakaïrí women, and their men pierced the nasal septum, inserted a little

[532]
[237]

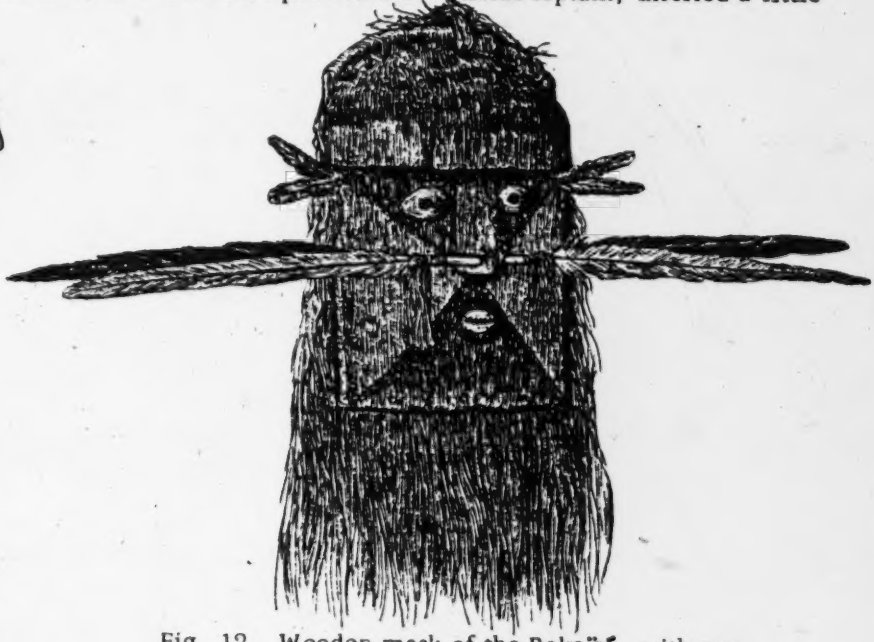

Fig. 12. Wooden mask of the Bakaïrí, with ear and nose feathers.

piece of reed in it, and stuck into only one end of this a long arara feather or ordinary toucan feather, whereas the ear ornament of the women consisted of a little triangular piece of nut shell.

301 Among the Bakaïrí today feathers are no longer worn in the
304 nose, but we found masks with a hole in the elongated septum of
[178] the wooden nose, through which an arara feather stuck into a piece
[532] of reed projected out on either side. There is also a difference in the size of the hole among men and women, to which my attention was especially drawn by the Bakaïrí themselves; in it the men wear a thin piece of kambayuwa reed, in which the feather or a thin bone is inserted, the women a thick kambayuva peg or a thick bone or stone. The latter is never used by the men.

/181 cont./

000 or stone. The latter is never used by the men. On the Kulisehu
*171 we collected a few ornamental stones made out of grayish white
301 quartzite with a dull shine, which were ground into the shape of
[324] a pointed spindle and were six centimeters long. We saw the
nose-spindle, natáko, in actual use only in the case of a preg-
nant woman, who also had many ornaments hanging around her
[319] neck. These stones came from the Batovy or the Ponekuro, the
right source-river of the Kulisehu; they were said to be rare, so
that ordinary bones or reed had to help out. We also obtained
● [237] bones of similar shape, eight and a half centimeters long, and
a spindle seven centimeters long and gleaming like mother-of-
pearl, which was cut out of a shell. The operation is performed
[304] in approximately the fifth year of life and is said to be accom-
panied by profuse bleeding on occasion.

000 I may add on here the binding of the extremeties, although

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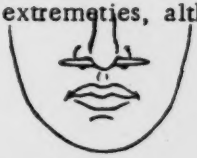

Fig. 13. Ornamental nose-stone of the Bakaïrí women.

*171 I may add on here the binding of the extremeties, although
301 it was still foreign to our Indians in the degree where it might
304 be spoken of as a bodily injury. It was much in use among all
826 the tribes. For this they used thick, wide straw binding, hanks
[283] of cotton, cotton ropes, or bands crocheted with wooden needles,
and wore them on the upper arm and below the knee or above
the ankle. The custom was most striking in the third Bakaïrí
village, where one saw chubby, almost swollen calves. We
never observed, however, such thick, protruding calves as are
shown in illustrations of the male or female Karaiben of the north.
We noticed the straw bindings especially among the Nahuquá
(cf. Fig. 4 /see p. 71/). /182/ Only the men made use of the
binding. It makes one strong, I was told by way of explanation.
[237] As dance ornaments bands decorated with colored feathers are
worn around the upper arm.

B /182 cont./
*171 Chains. Both sexes adorned themselves with neck chains; the
301 men also wore ornaments on their hip cord. Children and pregnant women had the most chain-ornaments hung on them. Our beads were also requested primarily for the children.

The Bakaïrí, with great pains, made very pretty neck chains, trophies of the kind of work that was quite popular among the other tribes, which we also found among the Suyá in 1884; cf. the
B
*171 Kamayurá of Figure 14. These are rectangular, slightly convex
301 pieces which are cut from a convolution of the shell of píu, Orthalicus
321 melanostomus (Prof. v. Martens), two to three centimeters long, one

A
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301
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Fig. 14. Kamayurá with shell chain.

B
*171 to one and a half centimeters wide, almost pure white, and known
301 as píu oráli. They overlap on the long side, like roof tiles, and are
321 generally pierced at the top and bottom, but fastened only at the
[283] top with small threads to the neck cord. Especially thick shells were
B chosen, broken, and ground on stones. They were pierced with the
[412] tooth of the dogfish or with the twirling stick, at the end of which was
[237] lashed a triangular splinter of stone; in this way a conical hole was formed.

B /183 cont./
*171 We found pieces of stalks, pieces of bark, seed kernels,
301 and berries of the most diverse kinds; nut beads from the large
824 and the small tucum palm, fruits of a climbing plant, of a campo tree takipé, of a plant called (Bakaïrí) udayáki, red and black seeds of Papilionaceae, of mamona-Ricinus, tonka beans (Dipteryx odorata), among the Auetö gourd seeds and almeisca kernels, and even a small, bottle-shaped gourd seven centimeters long.

B Among the Yaulapiti, Trumaí, and, coming from them,
*171 among their neighbors, stone chains were frequent: pierced
301 disks and cylinders which the Nahuquá imitated in the amber-
T like jatobá resin and in clay. It was the diorite of the stone
171 axes and throwing-stick arrows /Wurfholz-Pfeile/; it was
301 pierced with the stone chip fastened to the twirling stick and
B the addition of sand. Small, pear-shaped stones, such as go with
T the darts /Wurfpfeilen/, are popularly hung on children's chains
[321] by the Mehinakú and Auetö.

Thus there were distinct differences in the material, which were probably, as is certainly the case with the stones, locally conditioned. All chains made of white shell pieces went back to the Bakaïrí, all those of red to the Nahuquá, all those made of stones to the Trumaí or Yaulapiti.

B /184/ Animal material was found everywhere. There
*171 were horn beads and bone beads, the latter also in the form of
301 little rods; they were sometimes strung on individually, some-
● 237 times joined for whole chains, especially monkey teeth and
T jaguar teeth. Cf. the illustration of the Auetö chief, page 90.
171 Among the Nahuquá we procured a chain with jaguar teeth
301 and small, colored feathers. The Trumaí prized capybara
237 teeth. Among the Mehinakú in particular there was an abundance of children's ornaments, which were hung in bunches on infants; besides the others, monkey teeth in particular, teeth of the jaguatirica (Felis mitis), fish vertebrae, bones of the bagadú fish, once a huge, black beetle-horn. Also claws or hoofs of the tapir (Kamayurá), jaguar, and deer.

/187 cont./

*171 302 daubing. The cotton bands wound the upper arm or lower leg offered a not unpopular motif. One day I saw on the Bakaïrí Kulekule, who was an enthusiastic admirer of mine, a black horseshoe-like arc below either nipple, and when I jokingly asked him what it was, to my surprise he pointed to my boots, which impressed him very much: he had painted the heels on himself. A veritable work of art was displayed by a young Auetó who was solemnly decked out for the journey with us to Cuyabá -- his father ordered him to accompany us --, but who left us already among /188/ the Mehinakú, in spite of a pot of flour that had been given to take along as provisions. The mereschu lozenge-pattern, which I shall subsequently discuss in greater detail, covered his chest and sides down to the middle of the calves, in contrast to which the lower half of his face and the sides of his neck from the ear to the collarbone stood out with a coating of pure, deep black. Otherwise it was primarily on the festive occasion of a reception or, as among the Nahuquá, for the dance that people decorated themselves with designs. In everyday life there was practically nothing to be seen, just as little as of feather ornaments. When I appeared with my traveling companions from Independencia, almost all of the Bakaïrí of the first village, including the women, received us in a painted state; the smaller grandsons of Tumayaua had been carefully smeared over their whole bodies, and Tumayaua told me specifically that we were supposed to see how pleased the women were.

*171 304 Scratch-scars. Scratching the skin is a sort of panacea. It is used on young and old and in the same way among all the tribes. With the /Fig. 15 appears here/ scarifier, a triangular [237] [824] piece of gourd shell set with a row of small, pointed teeth of fish (trahira) or claws of rodents (agutí), the skin is scratched, allowed to bleed for a while, which is helped by stroking with a bone, and is then rubbed either with yellow loam or with soot or the juice of a fruit (natunsán among the Auetö). One sees the scratch-scars everywhere, especially on the arms. Actual

/205 cont./

say simply that our Indians were not yet familiar with metals and were, for the time being, dependent on shells, teeth, and wood in their work methods, if only because in large part they did not even have more suitable stones.

*171 433 239 And now I have come back to my point of departure. In spite of their agriculture and in spite of their land-clearing with the stone ax, the Schingú Indians were not only able to maintain their hunting, but they had to maintain it, because fishing and hunting provided them, aside from a change of diet, with the indispensable tools for making weapons and implements.

171 239 412 [525] Teeth. The sets of teeth of the piranha (Serrasalmo)

* There were two species, a smaller black "piranya preta" or "olho de fogo" (fire eye),

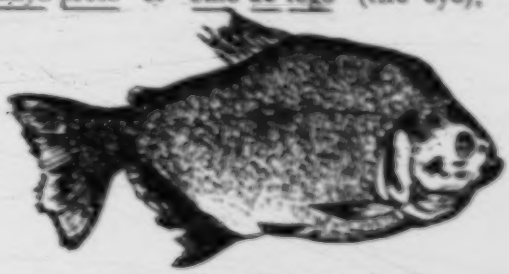

Fig. 22. Fire-eye piranha. (1/4 nat. size/ as shown in the original illustration/.)

and a larger "paço amarello" (yellow maw), whose "yellow" is a brilliant orange.

served for cutting. They were opened with any suitable wooden hook and carefully examined; the lower jaw, four centimeters long and containing 14 small, triangular teeth, was then cut out with a shell. Hard things and soft things, the spines of the buriti palms or human hair, but especially all threads and fibers, were cut with the sharp teeth. They called my scissors "piranha teeth." Bamboo and other reeds were scored with them until they could

/205 cont./

[171] be broken off evenly. A scarcely less important tool was furnished
[37] by the peixe cachorro, or dogfish, called Cynodon zoologically,
412 which has in its lower jaw two pointed teeth three to three and a
[529] half centimeters long, each projecting upward through a hole.
The edge of these teeth, ground knife-sharp, was used for cutting,
but chiefly for puncturing, for example, in connection with
tattooing, for scratching, for example, in decorating the tortoise
spindle disks, and for boring reeds, as in the case of the arrows,
in order to put through the threads for fastening the feathers and
[324] points. /206/ The triangular pieces of gourd which, as the
scarifier, represented the most important instrument in the little
surgery of the Indians, cf. Figure 15 /see p. 179/, were studded
with the small, pointed teeth of the trahira fish, Erythrinus. The
[325] little teeth of the agutí, Dasyprocta aguti, served the same pur-
pose. Of the rodents, the capybara, Hydrochoerus capybara, fur-
[284] nished indispensable scraping chisels with the front teeth of its
lower jaw. the tooth, six to eight centimeters long, was fastened
to a piece of ubá reed with cotton thread, or two teeth were lashed
together and cemented with a little wax. /Figs. 23-26 appear
here./ The arrow holes were likewise bored with the agutí tooth.
[301] Monkey teeth, pierced at the root and artfully plaited together
into a chain, were a favorite belt or neck ornament.

Bones. Arm and leg bones of monkeys, which were kept in
[411] thick bundles in the little tool basket at home, served as arrow-
heads. They were ground to shape and, with their hollow tubes,
mounted on the stick between the arrowhead and arrow shaft. The
tail radiation of the ray was likewise an arrowhead. Small, pointed
[304] bones were added as barbs. /207/ Mammal bones had many uses
the skin treated with the scarifier was rubbed with the thigh bone
of the deer; we saw a splinter of a jaguar bone pointed to pierce
ear lobes; the wax smeared over the lashing on arrowheads was
applied with a bone. The front claws of the giant armadillo,
[325] Dasypus gigas, served man, as well as the animal itself, for digging
and grubbing up the ground and were the earth hoe of our Indians.
The spindle disks in many cases came from the ventral piece of
the tortoise shell, which was broken to pieces with a stone. Jaguar

/207 cont./

Jaguar

*171 claws were worn as neck chains, fish vertebrae on the belt cord;
●237 a bone stuck crosswise through the nasal septum adorned the old
30 Bakaïrí.
304

Shells. Flat river shells were extensively used for cutting, less
*171 for cutting through than for scoring longitudinally, for scraping, planing,
237 smoothing. The work shells brought back from the Kamayurá /Fig. 27
412 appears here/ were identified by Herr Professor von Martens: tyutsí,
[325] Anodonta, was the shell for scraping the mandioca root, "maniôka pináp";
[324]

Fig. 23. Dogfish.
(1/1 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

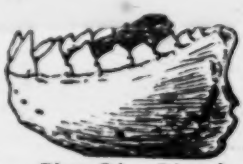

Fig. 24. Piranha.
(1/2 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

[284]
→

Fig. 25. Front claws of the giant armadillo. (Grubbing hoe.) (2/5 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 26. Capybara teeth. (Scraping chisel.) (1/2 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

the women sat on a couple of pieces of bamboo placed together, and they scraped, scrubbed, scratched, until their legs disappeared in the
[322] heap of parings. This shell also served as a plane to smooth the handle of the stone ax or the oar by means of finer scraping, not with the edge,

/207 cont./

[171] but with a hole made in the center. The people bit off the outer-
[239] most shell with their teeth and knocked the planing hole into it with
[412] the pointed akurí nut. Another type of Anodonta, ita-í, "little
[302] mussel," was also used for the fine scraping of wood. This and the
[415] other types were also used to store the pigment with which one painted himself red or black; they were usually hung on the hammocks. A second large shell for scraping roots was itá,
[825] "mussel," a variety of the Leila pulvinata Hupé, brought back from the Araguay /Araguaia/ by Castelnau. With the largest species, itá kuraá, /208/ Unio orbignanus, the bows were smoothed, and, to be sure, with the outer surface of the shell.

Fig. 27. Knife-shell and plane-shell.

[825] A flat Hyria, itá mukú, was interesting because it had a sharp, pointed extension with which pikí fruits, for example, were opened. It corresponds best to our pocketknife, an instrument that was regarded very disapprovingly by the Indians because they were able to open it only with indescribable effort; they were as clumsy with it as we with the unfamiliar twirl-borer. The shell was hung around the necks when one set out on journeys; the fish and game animals caught were cut open with it; the shell was used to hollow out the little depression in the fire-stick, in which a second stick was twirled to the glowing point; for
[301] all carving of wood it was indispensable. Snail shells were used in many ways: pieces of Bulimus shells were used for chain orna-
[825] ments. Cf. page 170. Orthalicus melanostomus sometimes dangled in thick hangings on the mask costume.

/208 cont./

*171 Feathers lend wings to the arrow, on whose shaft end two
● 237 split halves of feathers are sewed opposite each other in spiral
30 turns. Otherwise they seem to be used exclusively, but in great
[411] volume here, for ornaments, such as ear feathers, feather crowns,
[287] feather caps, feather arm bands, feather cloaks (among the Kamayurá), and in hundredfold decoration on small ornaments, where little colored bundles hung on hammocks, combs, gourd rattles, arrow throwers, masks, etc. The most magnificent ma-
[825] terial was available, from the yellow, blue, red, and green of the arara, toucan, weaver birds, and parrots, from the beautiful stripes or speckles of the curassows, falcons, and owls, to the shimmering white of the herons and storks or the black of the
[825] urubu vulture. The big, broad, black-and-white striped flag of the Harpyia destructor was magnificent.

*171 The spoils of hunting and fishing therefore offered an
[237] abundance of the most necessary things; in particular it furnished
[412] tools for cutting, scraping, polishing, piercing, boring, scratch-
[433] ing, and digging. Agriculture assured the natives a sedentary existence and improved their economic condition, but they still remained fishermen and hunters, though to a lesser extent. They were hunters without dogs, fishermen without hooks, farmers
[32] without plow and spade. They afford us an excellent example that teaches us how manifold the methods of work for the purpose of making a living could have been before the possession of any metal technique, an example that warns us about overestimating the importance of stone implements, which, of course are preserved the best and most plentifully for posterity, and about throwing indiscriminately into the great pot of the Stone Age everything that comes before the use of metal and, in comparison to the small span of time established for this, must embrace unimaginably long periods.

*171 If one judges culture according to the extent and thorough-
433 ness with which the surrounding nature is exploited by the human
511 beings, then our natives certainly did not stand on a low level.
[227] They hunted and fished with arrow /209/ and bow; they fished with nets, catch-baskets, and weir-baskets; they had their fish

/229 cont./

*171 411 The arrow is by no means a simple work of art; if one compares the arrows of our tribes, among whom an ethnographic leveling has taken place, with the arrows from neighboring regions, one always notices, on careful examination, differences of material or technique. The arrows of the Yuruna on the lower Schingú, those of the Karayá /Caraja/ in the east toward the Araguay /Araguaia/, those of the Paressí in the west, those of the Bororó in the south, as well as those of the Yarumá, always have their distinct characteristics. Like comparative linguistic research, it is possible to carry on comparative arrow research. When we came to a new tribe we often saw with what interest the specimens brought along from the neighbors were examined and judged; aside from our clothes, nothing seemed stranger to these people than our lack of bows and arrows. If it is diffi- [619] cult to understand how the Indian imagines that his culture heroes created the individual tribes by bewitchment of the arrow reed that they stuck into the ground, nevertheless it is easy to understand the basic idea that the arrow is the characteristic mark of the tribe; the great sorcerer also chooses for each tribe the type [824] of reed that distinguishes its arrows. The kambayuva reed furnishes more delicate, thinner shafts than the ubá reed; the docile Bakaïrí, since they have made the acquaintance of rifles, have given up the ubá reed commonly used on the upper Schingú and now have, if not exactly toy arrows, at any rate small arrows in comparison with those of the Schingú. The bows, (1.70 meters), too, have become smaller.

*171 411 The simplest arrow consists of the feathered reed shaft and, driven into it, a thin stick of wood which protrudes a third of a ● 237 meter and is slightly pointed. Below the point there is sometimes fastened a small barb, for which a small tooth or preferably the maxillary spike of the great ant-bear is used. Or else a long piece of hollow cylindrical bone from monkey arm or leg bones, whole bundles of which are collected at home and the bone ground down, is driven onto the wooden point at the top. Wax, which is applied with a bone, is used as a binding agent. The ray spine also makes an arrow point. Finally, the barb may be made by placing a curved, double pointed piece of bone into the

B /229 cont./
*171 laterally hollowed end of the wooden support, lashing it, and
411 covering it with resin.
[237]
Sometimes a pierced, hollow tucum nut is shoved up on the arrow shaft to slightly above the middle; one or two holes are cut into the nut on the side. In flight a high-pitched whirring or whistling is heard. /230/ While the noise-making arrows are used only for bird hunting, the others are intended for all hunting and the shooting of fish; those with barbs are exclusively
B fish arrows. Arrows with sawlike notched wooden points do not
[101] occur on the Schingú except among the Yarumá, whom we regard as a southern group of the Mundurukú /Mundurucu/ of the Tapajoz /Tapajós/.

T The Suyá and Trumaí had arrows with long pointed bamboo
171 knives for war and for hunting jaguar. Spindle-shaped bamboo
411 splinters up to 35 centimeters long and up to 36 millimeters wide,
[824] knife-sharp on the edges, are mounted on the wooden stick driven deep into the reed shaft; the wooden stick is embedded in a groove
T cut below along the inner surface of the splinter. And, to be
[284] sure, the pointed spindle is only loosely fastened with a little resin and thread; when shot it remains in the body that was hit, while the shaft with the wooden stick flies off behind it.

B The most remarkable thing about the arrow is the feathering
*171 at the lower end. Two feathers, more correctly two halves of
411 feathers, for the feather is split at the shaft, are carefully fastened
237 in a spiral twist which goes around one-fourth of the circumference; each flag stands with the plane of its upper part perpendicu-
B lar on that of its lower part, so that the flying arrow spirals
[284] through the air. The feathers are set in a row of small holes, which are made with an agutí tooth and enlarged with a pointed buriti splinter, and, one may say, are sewed onto the arrow; the cotton thread is wound around the ends and is itself protected by
B being wound with waimbé bark (Philodendron). Usually the
[825] feathers come from gallinaceous birds, jakú (Penelope) and mutung (Crax), from the falcon, and from the blue arara. Where the hand grasps the arrow shaft there is a wrapping of waimbé. At the bottom a notch is cut in parallel to the upper part of the feathers.

/238 cont./

128 I shall discuss the reed diadems and plaited dance costumes in the chapter on masks.

*171 Textile work. The material: pineapple silk, aloe hemp,
283 palm fiber from the tucum and buriti, and cotton. The fibers
286 are put in neat bundles, and twisted on the thigh, but the cotton tufts, on the other hand, are drawn out into a thread by means of the spindle likewise made to turn rapidly on the thigh and then
[462] spinning freely. Only the women spin and weave. The fiber strings serve as the actual tie-threads and ropes; fish nets, carrying nets, in certain cases hammocks, and finally bowstrings are made of them. Knitting is done with bamboo rods or long wooden needles that have eyes.

*171
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Fig. 32. Fire fan (1/9 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

*171 The spindle is a disk through which is stuck a thin, not very
283 straight, and smoothly worked stick sometimes notched at the tip. To it is attached a tuft of cotton, freed of seeds, whereupon the whorl is rapidly turned on the thigh and the whole allowed to hang; as a result of the even rotation, the cotton is twisted into a thread. The thread is wound on the little stick, until a thick, cone-shaped ball rests against the whorl, which prevents it from slipping off. Diameter of the whorl-disk, five and a half to six centimeters; length of spindle shaft, 30-35 centimeters. The
[239] whorl usually consists of a piece of the ventral shell of the turtle,

/272 cont./

A W 531 beijú turner of the Yaulapiti shows half a mereschu above and below and, in the center, the armored fish decoration of the Auetö, about which, however, I do not know, as I do in the case of the mereschu, whether it has the same meaning among the Yaulapiti.

A W 283 531 B [283] [531] [239] The spindle whorl offers the richest material in the way of drawings among the Mehinakú, Auetö, and Kamayurá, in equal fashion. While the Bakaïrí had whorls of wood and clay, a disk cut out of the ventral carapace of the turtle was used predominantly here and was almost always decorated on one side and not infrequently on both sides. The design was scratched in with the tooth of the dogfish and smeared with saliva and charcoal.

A W [412]

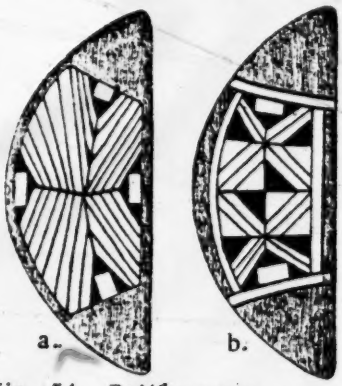

Fig. 54. Beijú turners.
a. Kamayurá, b. Yaulapiti.
(1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 55. Spindle whorl with mereschu design (Mehinakú.) (1/1 nat. size (as shown in the original illustration/.)

I have already reproduced two turtle spindle-whorls of the Mehinakú on page 291. A similar one of wood is shown in Figure 55. The designer ran into difficulties with his dividing lines. This type is the common one. Occasionally, however, we found whorls that show great progress. On the small work surface, a sure hand is developed and purely artistic motifs are produced. In order to demarcate the mereschus all around, a concentric circle used to be drawn close to the

/277 cont./

*171 532 825 the animal motif is predominant here. Aside from the fact that the pots are made to look like gourds, from which they probably arose, it is solely and entirely a matter of imitation of animals. [535] Only in the dance art is there an equally inexhaustible abundance of motifs which arise from the joy in the hunting life and its observations.

*171 532 The plastic art, too, still permits one clearly to recognize that it was originally merely descriptive. We must not expect to be able to trace its course back as far as in the case of drawing, the best efforts of which still remain a sort of cartographic enumeration of the characteristic features and preserve these even in the geometric modification, but we have here another indication which is no less clear. In the fashioning of bodily forms the material that is being worked on comes to the fore much more than in the incising of lines. Just as rhyme often furnishes the thought, so does a form already present often furnish the motif. Thus, there is a very striking frugality shown in the characteristic features that are stressed; any small resemblance is sufficient to define the object as a particular creature. On a higher level, the native adorns a utensil with a freely invented motif, and this then sinks into geometric stylization exactly like the drawings.

*171 301 532 /278/ Small chain-figures. The meager characterization is most striking in the small figures which are kept on the neck chains, mostly those of babies and very small children, between the seed kernels, the shell beads, and the nut beads. The material is wholly unimportant. [237] A piece of the convolution of the rose-colored snail shell has an edge which runs into irregular projections and indentations: that is a crayfish. The Bakaïrí [237] cut birds and fish out of the shell of the caramujo branco, [136] Orthalicus melanostomus. We see a shield-shaped piece, the body, which at the bottom continues into a narrower tail and at the top into a sort of neck piece (Fig. 63). This "neck piece," however, is the head, commonly pierced at the side to receive the string, and seems to be treated quite indifferently. If the tail piece is notched like a fin, we have before us a fish instead of a bird. /Figure 63 appears here./

/278 cont./

*171 301 532 [324] In like manner, small pieces of the greenish, black-speckled stone of the stone axes are: fish if they are flat, or birds if the roller-shaped body flattens out into a tail. Nature is helped along somewhat by grinding. In Figure 64, page 313, the first two chains show pierced stone disks (two to three centimeters in diameter) and stone cylinders (three centimeters long) between the nut-beads, such as are made by the Trumaí and Yaulapiti, in the third, the figures of the Nahuquá are made of clay; in the fourth copied by them out of the transparent, amber-like jatobá resin (Hymenaea); the third chain also contains an amber bead. A bird is strung on the first and fourth chain. The stone bird, with a small knob recognizable as a beak, is designated as a dove. The pear-shaped stones of the darts, in a small size, are also worn on the chains, tied on, not pierced, and, to be sure, we also found them imported among the Mehinakú, who have neither stones nor throwing sticks.

Similar figures are carved out of nut shells and bones. Among the Mehinakú we acquired a

[237] Fig. 63. Bird figure made out of mussel shell. (2/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

piece of bagadú fish-bone seven centimeters long, a square with bow-shaped flared sides, which represents a quadruped, while a smaller piece represents a ray with the tail and beside it the ventral fins. Unfortunately, I discovered too late that there was always a definite meaning attached to the figures and am therefore unable to say what some of them mean. All guessing is pointless here.

B /279 cont./
285 mention, nor the surrounding figures, nor the construction of
532 twigs made this likely. All doubts vanished, however, when the Indian showed us, inside two squares, which were otherwise made up merely of crosswise twigs, several narrow, and in themselves quite meaningless, stretches of plaiting on which was wound a
B little yellow straw, and then explained: "capybara teeth." In
[237] other words, teeth of Hydrachoerus capybara or water hog, the
[136] large rodent characterized by huge incisors, the chisel of the
[412] natives. One had to admit that the outlines were roughly
B similar, but no European would have hit upon this correct inter-
* [171] pretation by himself. Finally, we saw in the artists' hut of the Auetö a plaited strip which they designated for us as "fish bones." It was the same figure as No. 5, Plate 20 /see p. 280/.

Y I would have referred to these examples earlier, along with
285 the drawings, and not here if they had not been connected with
524 peculiarly plaited figures or dolls which we found among the
532 Nahuquá. Of the two illustrations 65 and 66 /see p. 315/, the one is easily understandable and suitable for a kindergarten, it represents a /280/ toad; the other, however, I, at any rate, would not have interpreted correctly even if I had thought about it for a year. We have to recognize it as a deer! And actually it is quite simple. First I need to start out that it is an animal; then the sharply protruding corner piece /Figs. 65-67 appear here/ to the right must be the head, and thus I have a four-footed animal, whereas I do not pay any attention to the three peaks on the back, since a Nahuquá is not familiar with a dromedary or a camel, to say nothing of an animal with three elevations on its back. It must, moreover, be a type of quadruped for which the tail, since it is missing, is not characteristic. What I see in the way of feet, however, corresponds most closely to the hoofs of the deer. Thus, I come slowly limping along behind the Nahuquá with my conclusions, while the Indian of another tribe, after brief reflection, finds the correct solution by himself.

BO Inasmuch as I considered the Bororó in connection with
285 the drawings, their analogous Froebel toy might be taken up in
524 this connection. The folded piece of palm leaf, Fig. 67 left
532 /see p. 315/ represents a "Bororó woman," that is to say, it is

/283 cont./

*171 524 532 its course with the furrow of the spine as well as where it ends with a somewhat deeply cut division, is free of all schematization. The head reminds one of that of an Eskimo in its round hood, which is the result, first of all, of the absence of a neck, and then of the shallow depression dug out below the hair line for the face and in which the nose was left standing. In the case of the loam man of the Bakaïrí, it can be seen on closer inspection that there was also a depression (but extremely shallow) for the face.

*171 ●237 532 825 Wax figures. Again, as in the case of maize, merely an artistic way of preserving the material. The black wax was shaped into pretty little animal figures, and, to be sure, most attractively among the Mehinakú, and thus hung up or placed in a basket until needed. Among the Bakaïrí we found a human figure better modeled than the loam dolls. The civilized Indians converted to Christianity have modified their saints out of wax and sell them. The plastic wax best revealed what the artists could do. Some animals were very well modeled, for instance, the small peccary or tayassu, 6.5 centimeters long, of Figure 72, Dicotyles torquatus. The eyes are represented by a pair of small plates of shell, the nostrils of the proboscis put in deeply. Of other mammals we also saw the large swamp deer and a howling monkey in the form of wax figures. More common were the hanging

[797] [832]

Fig. 72. Wax figure: peccary. Mehinakú. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration)./

Fig. 73. Wax figure: karijo dove. Mehinakú. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

/283 cont./

*171 birds, often painted red. In Illustration 73 /see p. 319/ we see
●237 a karijo dove; the figure, 15 centimeters long, with the short
532 wing stumps, turned out very stiff.
825

Wooden figures. In discussing the dance ornaments I shall
532 deal with the carved and painted wooden masks separately. The
535 Bakaïrí, whose festival finery consisted mostly of straw caps,
825 straw suits, and straw animals worn on the head, carved birds of light wood for their headpieces. In 1884 we brought back from the Batovy a wonderful head-structure (illustrated in Durch Centralbrasilien, page 322 /see 1:Steinen, this file, p. 16/), where seven colorfully painted birds are mounted on three long rods wound with flocks of cotton, /284/ birds which at that time I took to be swallows, but in the meantime have been able to identify as sanyassú (Tanagra sayaca Neuw.). Those shown in No. 74 are similar birds, the larger of which represents a falcon, the small one the nimble shore birds massarico (Calidris arenaria); there were many of them in the third Bakaïrí village on the Kulisehu. The neck is sharply set off from the body, a few lines show the markings of the feathers and a long stalk stuck

Fig. 74. Wooden figures: falcon and massarico. Bakaïrí. (1/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 75. Wooden fish of the Batovy Bakaïrí. (1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

[301]

Fig. 76. Mandioca digger as a back-stick. Bakaïrí. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

through the body on the right and left and with its ends coming together again at the bottom represents the legs.

/303 cont./

532 part projects with considerable curvature. They also have a huge
535 nose of human shape, which, along with the rest, is carved out
[237] of one piece. The mouth consists of a set of piranha teeth pasted on with wax. The eyes are small holes decorated with little pieces of mother-of-pearl, or they appear in two masks as a pair of river mussels pierced in the center. Hoods, from which, as always, long straw hangings flutter down, are plaited on the wooden
[237] plates for putting them on the head. In the places corresponding
[619] to the ears, the Bakaïrí were in the habit of inserting two beautiful yellow japú feathers (Cassicus), which they themselves wear as a sort of tribal mark. These feathers are also to be noted on the costume of the man with the imeo cap (cf. page 344).

532 Six of the masks were identified for us as bird masks. We
535 have, first of all, a mask, Fig. 94 /see p. 351/, which represents
825 a dove, papadüri, secondly a /304/ /Figs. 94-97 appear here/ /305/ gull mask, kakaya, see Fig. 44, page 289, thirdly the mask of a small bird unknown to us, which is said to live along lagoons and is called alapübe, Fig. 95, fourthly the arakuma mask, which represents a cock of the woods and is characterized by a wooden stem representing the head ornament of the animal, Fig. 96, and, finally, two tüwetüwe masks, one with a black indented decoration, the other with a red one, which refer to a songbird with a white head and red shoulder markings, Fig. 97. Of the bird masks described, only the gull mask (cf. the illustration on page 289) has the mereschu decoration, and it may doubtless be assumed that this is supposed to characterize the fish-catching water bird, since the mereschu is not shown in the net but separately.

The two most attractive masks were called yakuá-ikúto, that is, "piranha picture." They bear red cheek markings; on the one specimen we see two red triangles with the tips touching between nose and mouth, and the triangles are so large that each takes up one-fourth of the plate. (Cf. Fig. 12, p. 168.) By means of this painting the larger piranha species of those waters, the papo amarello (yellow throat) of the Brazilians, adorned with a brilliant orange, is reproduced. The eyes are pierced shells. The

[Text Continues on p. 352]

/305 cont./

532 The handsomest decoration of these two masks, however, are the
535 enormous arara feathers inserted in the elongated nasal septum
825 and projecting far to the right and left. They are inserted into
237 a little bamboo rod decorated with tassels. Thus the Indians are so far from feeling obliged to give the animal represented its zoological physiognomy that they even pierce its nasal septum and adorn it with feathers, in accordance with their own custom.

535 We came across three fantastic dance costumes in the flute house of the third Bakaïrí village. Only one, however, was still in good condition. It was called kualóhe and looked like a small hut. This straw costume was truly a small house, and hence it is probably on account of the straw covering that the Bakaïrí call their dance costumes, including the buriti doublet provided with trouser legs and sleeves, "houses." The straw hoods were also called "head houses." The expression, however, when the word was transferred to our woolen shirts and cloth trousers, became incomprehensible. The monster was much too heavy for us to take along; it was almost ten meters in circumference at the bottom. It was constructed like a huge crinoline with five cross-hoops heavily covered with straw, but was worn on the shoulder with two bast loops attached to the upper ring. One of the Indians obliged us by crawling into it; he put on the tüwetüwe mask and went into twisting and rocking movements. The hollow tree lying in front of the festival hut was beaten as an accompaniment to the kualóhe. "It is not a makanari," the Bakaïrí say. I do not know whether they meant that it was of foreign origin. Also, I am un-
[136] able to decide whether there is a connection between this dance and the kurimatá fish (Salmo curimata), which in Bakaïrí /306/
[532] is called koálu. At any rate, the tüwetüwe mask, which the native dancing before us put on, does not go with it, but rather a kuábi sieve-mat. A sieve-mat consisting of little reed rods plaited together was provided with feather ornaments and worn in front of the face. This rush mask, or kuabi, however, lay in shreds on the ground.

/321 cont./

*171 than external similarity in common with the fish net stretched in
532 a frame in the same shape. If the Indian had hit upon the idea of
535 the mask-hoop by starting from the shape of the face, he would have used the entire field for the face, whereas the latter now takes up only a part of the space and is treated with less care than the painting. The fish makanari of the Bakaïrí is nothing but a net with narrow meshes and thus suitable for holding the loam.
[237] The net hood attached to it could be there today for the sake of the feather ornamentation, since the feathers must be tied into the meshes, but for this reason it is just as likely possible that the net is older then the feathers, which are otherwise missing on the hoods. Perhaps our oldest oval plaited mask, therefore, is merely the fish net added to the straw costume and decoratively fashioned. In this case it is far easier to understand why the characterization of the animal is so little emphasized; the net was decorated and even characteristically decorated, but it was not incorporated into the costume for the sake of an anatomical likeness.

171 This also gives us an explanation of the mereschu design. The
53 mask -- fish-net was plaited more closely because it concealed better and could now be painted. But the old, wide-meshed net was painted on and the little fish set in. There is one point which seems to me to prove that I am right, a point which is very strange by itself, but would then be quite easily explained. My cousin Wilhelm pointed out to me that the Indian always paints the mereschu design standing, that is to say, the larger diagonal of the rhombus upright, the smaller one crosswise. This can no longer be seen on the round spindle whorls when they are finished, but we watched the incising and observed that the figure was made standing, and precisely the same thing happened in the pencil drawings. I could not therefore show the figure on page 288, Fig. 43, horizontally, which would probably have seemed more natural to us, I therefore also arranged all the spindle whorls with the mereschus horizontal, and lastly, though more for fun, I stood the original mereschu, page 286, on its tail.

/326 cont./ They had foot rattles, bunches of hard
*17 fruit shells, and in particular halved pikí seeds which the dancer
S04 wore tied around the ankle of the stamping foot. (Cf. Figure 90,
[824] page 344.) Clinking shell and nut-shell pendants that hung on cotton tassels from neck cords, the shell bundle of the fish makanari of the Bakaïrí, served the same purpose.

The rattle gourd containing seeds and pieces of mussel shells and pierced by a little bamboo stick, which was shaken rhythmically with the hand, had the same name as the foot rattles* among the Bakaïrí, Nahuquá, and Kamayurá. A strange

* kamitü among the Kamayurá, not maráka as in Tupí, which among them means song and dance. Auetö teruá and foot rattle aimára, which could be related to maráka.

sight for us when the adult people with great enthusiasm swing the musical instrument of our infants. One would seek in vain for the rattle among children. While we saw no rattle gourds among the Bakaïrí, they were very numerous among the Nahuquá and were provided with all kinds of decorations of small feathers, small lumps of wax, and cotton tassels. We
[237] also found a young turtle impaled on a small stick in place of the gourd, and among the Auetö even the blue, polished-looking egg of a gallinaceous bird, with a handle more than a third of a meter long. Occasionally there were two rattle gourds on one handle.

Bottle-shaped gourds were used for rhythmical stamping. Round ones with a bamboo tube inserted formed a sort of transition to the flute.

In the third Bakaïrí village and among the Kamayurá a hollow tree which lay on the ground was used as a drum.

Flutes. A hollow palm nut, six centimeters long, provided with two holes into which one blew, served as a little pipe. The most popular and accomplished flute, three-fourths to one meter long, six centimeters thick, was called méni among the Bakaïrí, while among the rest of the tribes it

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the implement. The Bakaïrí give it the name yélo, iyelo, which is their word for thunder and lightning combined, something like "thunderstorm." If we wish to speak as they do, we must not call it "lightning," as I did at first, but "thunder," according to its sound. By means of this Bakaïrí word we also gain an explanation as to why the whizzer stick was used precisely for rainmaking by the Australian medicine-men, who can fly to heaven with it and who carve figures of water flowers on it. They produced thunder and electrical storms with the magical stick; the idea of rain was secondary.

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Feather ornaments and diadems. I have already listed on page 207 the birds that furnish the most important feather ornaments. The feathers were worked into diadems, especially those of the arara, the parrot, the japû (Cassicus), and the falcon. The tail feathers of the arara were usually put on as the center section of the diadem, where they towered high above the other smaller ones. The lower quill end was turned in and tied to strings; in order to cover the exposed quills, a band made of small red or yellow feathers was placed all around. Feathers tied to a straw wreath were made into

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Fig. 123. Ear feathers. Kamayurá. (1/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

a feather wreath encircling the head. Feather hoods were made by tying the feathers (preferably white ones from herons and storks interspersed with small colored feathers), and, to be sure, the

B /328 cont./
*171 larger ones, near the center into the meshes of a cotton net;
237 when the net is pulled over the head, the feathers stand up in
301 a crest. Feather bands were worn for covering the edge of the diadem, around the forehead, and chiefly, rather loosely knotted, around the upper arms.

Ear feathers. The Bakaïrí preferred to wear yellow Cassicus feathers, cf. the masks on page 351 and Plate 6 /see p. 40/. The ear feathers are stuck into hulls or fastened to small or large
A sticks of reed. The 24-centimeter long feather staffs of the
[237] Kamayurá are very dainty and colorful; Figure 123 /see p. 383/,
[301] unfortunately, cannot reproduce the magnificent colors. I have discussed the nose feathers of the Bakaïrí on page 168.

A Only the Kamayurá had feather cloaks, or more properly long
171 feather nets, which hung down over the back from a neck cord
[235] and were put together with the feathers of the vulture, sparrow-
237 hawk, arara, stork, and jakutinga. They belonged primarily "to
301 the yakui dance," yakuí-áp. Long buriti hangings fell in front
[287] over the forehead. The Kamayurá also had bunches of human hair, 30-40 centimeters long, which were plaited on a head-net and used in the yauari dance. In addition they also wore small animal skins and stretched pieces of skin up to about one-fourth of a meter long for the dance.

B /329/ Cheaper diadems were plaited out of reed; see Plate
*171 6 /see p. 40/. The Bakaïrí and Nahuquá in particular were con-
301 tent with this adornment, which they skillfully plaited out of
[285] strips of buriti or akuri or mostly waimbé and enlivened by alternating
Y black-colored strips. Among the Nahuquá little reed rods were also
171 set on in a star-shaped arrangement, like the long center feathers
301 of the feather diadems. We also see plain pieces of hard bast
[285] (from pata de boi) tied around like a diadem; the Auetó chief
A wore a piece of jaguar skin as a diadem, cf. the illustration on
171 page 90. Finally, the Kamayurá had cotton caps which, like
301 the reed diadems out of the feather diadems, for their part de-
A veloped out of the feather hood, as the technique shows.
[292]

/329 cont./

*171 ●237 301 All feather ornamentation, except for an occasional feather stuck in the ear, especially among the Bakaïrí, belongs to festive occasions, including the solemn reception. It is the same with the feathers as with the body painting.

*171 524 Children's games. Among the Bakaïrí we saw catch-balls wadded together out of maize straw; instead of the usual long feather, a tail of maize straw was tied inside. There were rubber balls, huge ones, among the Auetö. The sap of a figueira /Ficus/ [314] or the mangabeira is rolled into a little ball on the chest, steeped in water with ashes, and the ball punctured all around in such a way that on the outside it looks as though it were covered with [386] plaiting. The balls are dyed red with urucú.

[824] Tops were made from the unripe peanut (Arachis hypogaea) or mandubí. Twice as big as a cherry, it was pierced and pushed onto a small bamboo stick so that only a small part of the latter emerged, and here it was wound with a tuft of cotton flocks to prevent it from sliding off. The fruit would spin upward on the long handle. Several such tops were set in a pot and made to spin together.

[526] We must count the wrestling described on page 93 among the games of the adults, but children liked to practice wrestling. The same was true, of course, of shooting the bow. We also saw children's throwing-sticks. Older children played with the heavy clay dolls. I was asked several times to perform a sort of test of strength in that I was supposed to lift a boy up in the air with my free arm. I may add here the observation that the Indians were unable to balance a pole on one finger.

/330/

Chapter XII.

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I. Law and Custom. II. Magic.

I. Property. Kinship. Marriage. Morals. Barter. Names. Birth. Couvade and its explanation. Burial.

II. Sorcery in various stages and on various levels of culture. Dream experiences. Pars pro toto. Good and bad medicine-men.

2: Steinen--419E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/354 cont./

773 is supposed to have acquired from the animals all kinds of goods
811 that he possesses. The most diverse animals were "masters" or
825 "owners" of them and the culture hero took them from them. The master of medicinal tobacco and of cotton was the kinkajou, Cercoleptes caudivolvulus; the master of ordinary smoking tobacco, the electric eel; the master of the mandioca, the bagadú fish Phractocephalus; the master of sleep and the buriti hammock, the lizard; the master of the pots filled with water, from which, after they were broken, flowed the Roncro and the Paranatinga, the ochobi river-snake; master of the sun, the king vulture, Sarcoramphus papa, and so on. How is such nonsense possible? All this, of course, is meant symbolically, says the wearer of the spectacles of civilization, and thus regards the question as answered. I can only laugh heartily when I think of the Indian hunters or fishermen, adhering to their view, as dealing with symbolic animals like the poets, painters, and, not to forget the lower spirits; the patentees of our civilized world inventing their trade-mark -- none of whom maintain close personal acquaintance with the originals of their symbolic animals.

773 No, Antonio and his fellow tribesmen would not have under-
811 stood our type of symbols, let alone discovered some themselves. I do not deny that I was sometimes dumbfounded during our conversation when I was confronted with the simple-hearted belief in the reality of the "fairy-tale" animals and their culture in all its originality, but I was also so thoroughly convinced of its genuineness that I feel duty-bound to reject any explanation that does not fully acknowledge it. I also think the matter is simple enough to understand. The Indian has, in truth, obtained the most important parts of his culture from the persons whom we call animals, and even today he must take them away from them. Teeth, [237] bones, claws, shells are his tools, without which he would be un-
[825] able to make weapon or house or implement. He owes whatever he can accomplish to the piranha, the dogfish, the monkey, the capybara, the agutí, the giant armadillo, the mollusks, and the legend reports nothing about any of them because every child knows that these animals, the hunting of which is the most important prerequisite for those accomplishments, furnish the most

4zSchmidt--70 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate XII

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Fig. 23. a. Diadem of feathers.
b. Pendant for a necklace.
c. Shell necklace.
d. Pendant for a necklace, of a human figure.
Bakairí-Xinguanos in Simões Lopes.

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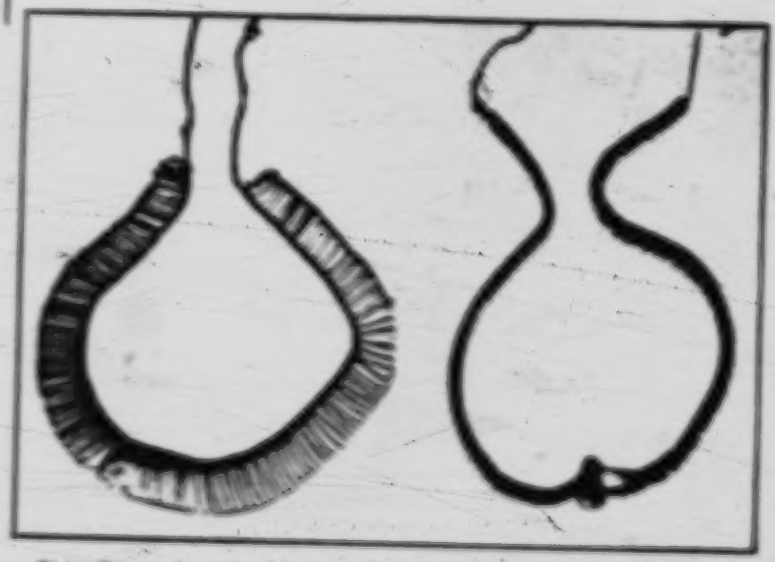


Fig. 24. a-b. Necklaces of Bakairí-Xinguanos, in Simões Lopes.

wooden benches, and dishes and cups made from gourds.

As the Bacairi were extensive travelers and depended upon fish for a considerable part of their food supply, canoes were an important part of their equipment. The Bacairi canoe (*pépi*) was made from the bark of the jatobá tree. The tough, heavy bark was first stripped from one-half of the tree. Small fires were then lighted on the inside of the bark trough to make it curl. Braces were placed at intervals along the entire length, the bow was tapered, and the stern was squared off by forcing the bark upward at one end. Bacairi canoes varied in size, the larger ones being able to carry as many as 8 men. Canoes of jatobá bark are used by the Bacairi today and are the predominant type among the Indians of the Upper Xingú. The Bacairi also made large tubs out of jatobá bark which were used as settling vessels for manioc juice. The juice of the manioc contains a fine powder or starch which settles on the bottom of the vessel, to be gathered after the liquid is poured off. For gardening, the Bacairi formerly used a digging stick made of hardwood. For hunting, they used a bow (*tóko*), round or slightly oval in cross section and from 2 to 2½ meters in length, made from a yellow or reddish wood which was first matured by burying it in mud. The bowstring was made from the fibers of imbauba bark. Arrows (*pirda*) were made from cane with hardwood or bone points. Hunting arrows had two feathers, but arrows used for shooting fish had serrated wooden points and no feathers. The cutting tools of the Bacairi consisted of knives made from bamboo, stone, bones, and shell. Transportation was by canoe, or if over land, goods were carried in a wicker basket supported on the back by a tump line.

ORNAMENTS

While living on the banks of the Kuliseu River, the Bacairi, in common with the other Upper Xingú River tribes, did not use clothing. Men sometimes wore a narrow cotton band (*maýia*) around the waist, with a few tassels hanging in front. Women, after puberty, wore the short. Men wore their hair cut short. Women wore their hair long at the back but cut straight across over the forehead. Hair was cut with a knife made by setting sharp fish teeth into a wooden stick,

302 412 and was combed with a comb (*aekáji*) made by weaving slender cane teeth into a cotton holder.

301 237 Although clothing, in the strict sense of the term, was nonexistent, the Bacairí used, on ceremonial occasions, beautiful, skillfully made ornaments. An important ornament was the *orógo*, a diadem or feather headdress strapped to the forehead. The *orógo* was made by fastening a row of green parrot feathers to a cotton band, above which was fastened another row of yellow weaver bird feathers. Two long blue macaw feathers were set in the center so as to stand straight up above the forehead. The *orógo* was worn only by men. These headdresses are still used, for some were seen in the village of Simão Lopes.

There were at least four kinds of necklaces. The *megesduwa* was made from small thin round disks of white or pink snail shell, as many as 400 being strung on a string. This necklace was worn around the neck by women and around the waist by men and girls. The *ikwilléno* was also made from snail shell, but the disks were oblong with holes in both ends through which strings were passed. Although the *ikwilléno* was particularly used by men, women sometimes wore it together with the *megesduwa*. The *sawulápi* was a necklace [124] made from black disks of tucum palm nut and could be worn by both men and women at all times. Both men and women also wore necklaces made from the teeth or claws of the jaguar called the *dodojéri*. The Bacairí still use the *megesduwa*, *ikwilléno*, and the *sawulápi*.

Besides necklaces, the Bacairí used a variety of other ornaments. The *upewuj* were armlets and anklets of cotton material decorated with feathers of different colors. The armlets, which were about 2 inches wide, were fastened tightly above the [125] biceps and were believed necessary for the development of the muscle, with similar bands worn below the knee and around the ankles. Both men and women used the bands. An American missionary who experimented with Bacairí arm bands claimed that they caused him a great deal of distress but he has observed no ill effects among the Indians. The *poi* was a feather ear ornament made from red toucan and yellow parrot feathers [307] suspended from the lobes of the ears. Holes in the ears were made with a sharpened jaguar bone or with a sharpened rhea feather. The *tajikeino*, worn only by men, consisted of two blue macaw feathers

301 placed in a hole in the septum of the nose, so that
237 the feathers swung one on each side of the head.
[304] Although the *pdiko*, or scratcher, was not strictly
413 an ornament, it is mentioned here because it had
757 ritual meaning. The *pdiko* was made by setting fish teeth into a gourd holder and was used for scarifying the skin of the arms, legs, chest, and back so as to cause bleeding. The wounds were first
[752] washed with water and later smeared with the juice of the *mukúna* vine. The *pdiko* was used by
[881] boys and girls during puberty seclusion and by adults who had sores on their bodies. It was believed that the use of the *pdiko* made people
304 strong and healthy. As far as could be ascertained the Bacairí did not mutilate the teeth, genitals, or other parts of the body. There was no sign of
[302] tattooing, but pubic hair was carefully pulled out
231 by both men and women. Formerly the Bacairí kept large birds, believed to belong to the eagle family, in their villages for their feathers. The Brazilians call the bird "harpía" and claim that it is still kept by the Indians in the Xingú Basin. The "harpía" was captured by shooting it with a blunted arrow, and it was kept in a special hut and fed. Villages often had several of these birds in captivity, the feathers being used particularly for feathering arrows. Parrots and macaws were also kept, their feathers being used only for ceremonial decorations.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

282 Vegetable foods formed the basis of Bacairí diet, with fish and meat taking second and third places.
324 The principal animals hunted were monkeys, deer, wild pigs, tapir, and the jaguar. The jaguar, however, was not eaten, but was hunted for its skin, teeth, and claws. The principal weapon used was the bow and arrow. Hunters would stalk game alone or in groups with the aid of dogs driving game into water or into steep rocky enclosures. There is no mention of the spear being used, but
226 deadfalls and pitfalls were used. Many varieties of large fish were shot with the bow and arrow, either from canoes or from the river bank. Lizards,
222 turtles, and a wide variety of wild fruits, roots, tender shoots, and honey were collected at certain seasons of the year.

241 The major part of the food supply, however, was obtained through agriculture. The Bacairí cultivated bitter manioc, *ópa;* sweet manioc, *toisi;*

/102 cont./

342 round, beehive-like. The larger one was 19 paces in diameter, covered high up on the outside with acuri straw, whereas the framework in the interior exhibited a circle of supporting posts one and a third meters high, upon which the basket of this structure, which actually consisted merely of a roof, rose with many horizontal bamboo rings. At the top was an air vent; a number of the /103/ framework poles crossing one another here extended to the outside. The entrance, a hole one and a half meters high, was surrounded by pepper plants. In any case, the interior space was far larger and finer than in the new houses.

433 241 The people led an idyllic existence; they carried on agri-

142 291 302 622

Captain Reginaldo and wife.

433 241 culture and stock-raising, went hunting, planted mandioca /manioc/, beans, maize, rice, and some tobacco and sugar cane. 177 They were civilized, despite the pierced ear lobes and nasal septa. 304 Their average height was 1.65 meters; they were striking because 142 of their broad and powerful chests. Their skin was yellowish, 141 clay-colored, and rather light, the hair of most of them was black and slightly curly or wavy. In general they had beautiful, open 151 eyes. Reginaldo's excellent vision was demonstrated on one occasion in a way that amazed us all. We noticed far in the distance a /illustration appears here/ figure in the grass; with an excellent field-glass I took it to be Tupy riding up; the entire company, among them Daniel, who was seldom mistaken, agreed with me;

/119/

000 Clauss, Castro, and the majority stayed at the fazenda. The owner, for his part, rode to a compadre /Gavatter in the Ger.; in the original source, p. 191 (translated p. 72) "compadre" is translated as the Ger. Gevatter; the latter term is given in the glossary of Brazilian expressions, p. 171 / eight legoas away, who was supposed to sell farinha. Thus everyone was busy.

133 Wilhelm and I arrived at twilight after a four-hour march over a series of hilly ranges, having crossed a few small tributaries of the Paranatinga. We could have sworn that [622] we were in the Bergischen [142] /a hilly countryside near [291] the Rhine/ or Westphalia -- [301] farm houses in front of the [302] bush, the quemada like potato fields; -- in the [241] gathering darkness we also began to indulge in fancies: on a barren hill in the distance we clearly saw a lunatic asylum in the latest pavilion style.

Captain Caetano "Mêmo."

231 The dreadful dogs that hastened toward us, barking, were ill-suited to bringing us back to a clear and sober conception of reality. These curs, small, skeletal specimens, with pointed snouts, light whitish-yellow fur, and glassy, watery eyes, looked as though they scratched up the dead out of the graves in the cemetery at night.

122 485 Received by old Captain Caetano and a few young chaps, we were put up in the guest house. The term is synonymous with guest room or guest stall. The only furniture a trough-like, unfinished bark canoe on a stand in the corner, which we were permitted to use as a dresser and table.

/124 cont./

123 and showed me how the raw cotton, merely cleaned of seeds, is
283 twisted into thread with the spindle. The cotton plants stand
241 between the huts everywhere; beside them grows mamona /castor
[372] oil plant/, whose oil serves us for wretched illumination in the
[251] evening, and peppers. Mats are spread out on racks in order to dry the mandioca farina.

The roça," the cultivated field, lies some distance away. The Bakairí plant mandioca, beans, rice, sweet potatoes, sugar, and deliver to the Fazenda Corrego fundo. Their rapadura was
272 excellent; the melada, a honey-sweet syrup, moved us to exclamations of admiration. The sugar cane is pressed between
249 two cylinders in the simplest way. (Cf. the vignette at the be-

342

Old-style hut.

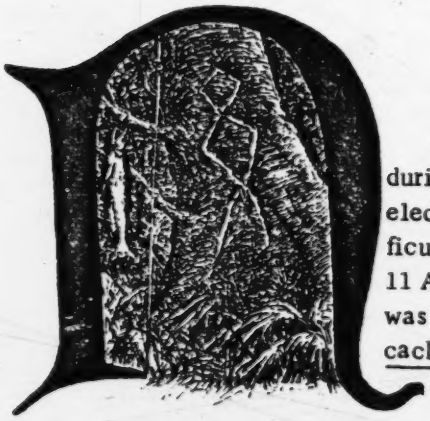
[249] ginning of this chapter /see p. 2/).

We found Caetano's hut divided into three rooms: Caetano received us in the high, airy center room and shut the door, behind which little Luisa was doing housework. Felipe and Carlotta
354 Pareci lived in the corner room opposite. Three canga blocks
482 formed the hearth. Plaited back-baskets, which are carried by a forehead band and in which the women are said to carry up to six
412 arrobas. Graters to grate the mandioca: hard little spikes from
824 the rib of the buriti leaf are neatly set into the middle part of a narrow piece of wood almost a meter long.

Eleventh Chapter

The Wild Bakaïrí. The Kustenaú /Custenau/.

122
133



After all kinds of troubles during the morning, we traveled for a stretch without difficulties on the afternoon of 11 August, and again there was heard the rumble of the cachoeira /cataract; see the glossary, p. 170 /, which by this time had become positively gruesome for us all. To our joyous amazement we found an Indian canoe on the left shore. Below a beautiful waterfall poured forth on two ledges; poles and steps were set in it; it foamed and churned in a basin, only to form another level farther below.

[487]

122 For the moment, however, we have no eye for the salto; where are the Indians? We all gather, leave behind three men to guard the canoes, and push forward, gun in hand. -- The ground is strewn with jatobá /see the glossary, p. 171 / fruits; a well-trod path leads inland. We pass by a tree, into the bark of which the outlines, one-half life-sized, of a man above and a woman below have been crudely carved.

[137] [487] [532]

241 Silently our column marches through the forest -- the narrow path stops -- a clearing. There is thick smoke and steam rising from the tree stumps that stand there like broken pillars, in between a tangle of trunks and boughs on the ground, everything in

/157 cont./

241 the process of being charred. The pillar of smoke that had drawn our attention for several days is explained: the forest was 122 being cleared in order to lay out a planting. Eagerly scouting, we climb up, and again we are wandering along the forest path.

/158/ "Beijú," somebody cries in a suppressed voice and [262] triumphantly points to a few crumbs, which give us the prospect of new provisions; "they have beijús," each one murmurs to the man behind him.

[411] There -- a feather-decorated arrow leans against a tree 824 -- the tube of ubá, the wood from which the Imperador /emperor/ [113] of the legend created the Bakaïrí. We become more serious, and even the Negroes, who, when they are afraid, like to try to give themselves courage by chattering march on silently. Now and then small fires, alive or burned out. We have already been walking three-quarters of an hour. But see there, a new clear- [137] ing -- a charming grove of nut-bearing bacayuva palms -- a few kernels of maize on the ground, again a bit of forest and: "Casas -- houses," the first man cries.

361 Three houses of the form of a beehive become visible; in 342 the first hut, which blocks our path, the low door stands open; in the dark we make out a few heads. A completely naked 609 Indian steps out, young, well built, closes the door, and comes [291] toward us, in his hand a long arrow shaft without a point, which he holds horizontally in front of him.

I instruct Antonio to call out a greeting to him in Bakaïrí. "Kyulino," cries Antonio almost breathless, and -- hail to the antiguos -- the Indian answers in Bakaïrí. Eagerly he steps up to Antonio, leans against him, and both embrace as they walk on -- both talking at the same time, both trembling all over with fear and excitement.

[302] A joyful feeling of release overcame us all, and when Manoel, discovering that our dear savage wears a nicely shaved tonsure, now finally recovers his speech and cries out, "Oh, why that's a priest, the compadre is a parson," general laughter breaks out, and everybody talks at once.

/168 cont./

574 other, the professor, naked, but, along with bow and arrow, one of our mirrors in his hand. We were undoubtedly well recommended.

532 Shortly before the exit from the woods we came across a wonderful display of about a dozen animal figures along one side of the path, /169/ probably the remains from a festival. They were made of leaves and straw, mostly quadrupeds with long, thin bodies, consisting of practically nothing but spinal column and long legs; the tallest ones reached to our hips. Something that was evidently supposed to be a monkey was climbing up a pole. A human figure was incised in a tree, with roguish use of a depression present in the bark. Such is the beginning of art in the primeval forest.

361 After we had passed a roca and low shrub planting, we saw
[241] four huts, two large ones and two small ones, lying correspondingly opposite each other. The nobility was assembled on the
574 plaza; a friendly "am(b)á" (that is you) with raised hand wel-
[576] comed each one. Then, one after the other, we were grasped
[345] at the wrists by our hosts, mostly by two at the same time, and led before the festival hut, where beam and stool were ready.

Here we sat is long rows with our guns, and immediately
[123] the serving of mingau began. Then we did our tricks, cut nails, let them look through the opera glasses, lighted a match with fire steel, etc. The professor beamed; he was reaping honor with us.

[301] A sturdy young man, a diadem of stiff jaguar skin over his
[624] forehead, seemed to be acting as herald. He poured busily, screamed louder than the others, and grasped everything most quickly. I had the feeling that we were traveling circus artists and were being informally received and treated in a club. One
302 of the younger sportsmen had had his body painted with black
531 squares, which were joined at the edges with short lines. The drawing on the upper thigh of another -- a black wavy line and in the depressions of it black dots -- definitely resembled the skin marking of a fish, the pintado.

/56 cont./

114 Bakaïrí against such views about their characteristics as are
157 found, typically expressed, in the following sentences by Oscar Peschel (Abhandlungen zur Erde- und Völkerkunde /Essays on Geography and Ethnology/, Leipzig, 1877, Vol. I, p. 421): "In no other continent on earth did one hear less happy laughter before 1492 than in America. The so-called red man remains the same in all climates, /57/ everywhere he is gloomy, silent, withdrawn, and intent on a certain dignified bearing."

157 These assertions are in no way applicable to the Bakaïrí; they were gay, talkative, and trustful, as I observed them in their association with one another and as they acted toward me alone. I shall not fail to give examples of this. In this village I laughed and heard laughter almost as often as under the coconut palms of Samoa and Tonga. It is true, their temperament is less vivacious and their entire view of life less sunny than among the children of the South Seas, the girls do not dance in the moonlight and the men do not sing on canoe trips; shyness and mistrust are more easily aroused, but all this is a long way from the sadness and reserve which, like the black horsehair and the Mongolian eyes, are summarily attributed to the Indian on the basis of appearances, as though there were but a single family between the Bering Strait and the Strait of Magellan.

361 The "village" was very small; it consisted of two large
[342] round houses, in each of which several families lives, and a
[592] small, empty, somewhat dilapidated oblong house, in which I
[122] took up my residence. Between the houses stretched the "taséra,"
[417] an open place where a few racks stood for drying the white
[251] mandioca flour spread out on mats, where in the center lay a
[241] long, slender log for sitting, and, toward the edge, there grew a
few stalks of cotton, Orleans bushes (Bixa orellana), and
245 Ricinus plants. Numerous fruit trees were planted all around, bakayuva palms (Acrocomia), mangaba /fruit of the mangabeira/ (Hancornia speciosa), fruta de lobo (Solanum lycocarpum), and a
487 sort of avenue of stately pikí trees (Caryocar butyrosum). Toward
361 the east a path led to the "harbor" across the nearby brook, toward
824

/88 cont./

361 The village could be reached in half an hour or an hour from
311 the river, depending on whether one landed sooner or later. It was surrounded by cultivated land to an extent that aroused our
●241 greatest astonishment. On the three different paths that we followed, we came through long stretches where the forest had been cut down with the stone ax. In March and April the trees are felled and in September and October the wood which has dried in the meantime is burned. We examined with admiration a number of thick trunks, the cross-sections of which were covered with the dull blow-marks of the stone axes, and regretted that we could not saw off such a marked surface and take it along. I silently begged forgiveness of the Indians at whom I had often laughed when they were swinging themselves in their hammocks at home, as though their lives were one long Sunday.

361 /89/ In Iguéti there were three large family-houses and a
345 very respectable flute-house in which many dance costumes made
535 of palm straw were hanging. On the village plaza a cage rose
343 up higher than a house, which consisted of long poles set together
231 in the form of a pointed cone; in it sat a mighty Harpia destructor, although the village is called igu-eti = sparrow-hawk village.
231 The once heraldic bird had probably long since departed. The beautiful eagle was named after its favorite food, mégo-zóto, lord
412 of the monkeys. Beside the chief's house lay a large whetstone
[171] for the stone axes; it gave me much pleasure because it showed the same grooves that we had observed in the sambaquis of Sta. Catharina.

621 The community numbered some 40 persons. They spoke of
162 three chiefs, but we met in this capacity only the good-natured,
622 very broad-shouldered Aramöke, who was characterized by a waddling walk. He had a sly expression and with his clumsy body was very polite, for, striding ahead of me in the forest, he broke off the branches, which might have snapped back in my face, more graciously than he probably would have for a woman. A large knife and a red scarf made him the happiest of mortals.
574 He showed us great hospitality. Fresh golden beijús were con-
437 stantly brought forth, a row of calabashes filled with pogu were

/131 cont./

000 would take exaggerated care of them by removing ~~them on~~ occasions when even for children it would not be necessary.

846 In the first Bakaïrí village the population had increased by one young soul. Pauhaga had become a father and was observing the lying-in period along with his wife. I shall come back to the scene, which seemed comical to us, in discussing the couvade. The maize was a succulent green; we were offered excellent, somewhat dry maize beijús. My tobacco planting on village plaza had shot up tremendously and was fenced in all around by a palisade.

241 262 249 417 [177] [291]

But what did our astonished eyes catch sight of behind Paleko's house? A new construction, already far advanced, of a strange kind. Or rather, one of very familiar appearance. The Bakaïrí had taken our rancho at Independencia as a model and, instead of their beehive, had started a house with a triangular gable /132/ and a two-sided roof. We had believed we were seeing something genuine in a remote corner, and already it was disappearing. "The first glimpse of light," says Bastian, "will also be the last."

177 342

Fig. 8.
Indians disguised as Europeans.

123 Tumayaua, who was going along to Independencia, nevertheless carried out the official farewell in Maigéri. He handed me two large gourd bowls. A little while after that he came to fetch me, seized me vehemently by the arm, and, shouting loudly all around, led me from the hut to the beam in the middle of the plaza and, with a sort of enthusiasm, pushed me down on to the seat. Soon four Karaiben were sitting there in a row, side by side.

[415]

/201 cont./

181 825 only that all creatures behaved essentially as he did, that they had their family life, communicated with one another by means of sounds, had dwellings, sometimes fought with one another, and nourished themselves from hunting booty or from fruits; in short, he felt as though he were primus inter pares, not above them; he knew nothing about all those good things to the effect that there is a difference whether one draws conclusions in situational images or in concepts, and whether one acts purposefully according to associations which are inherited complete within the species, or according to tradition which is handed down by the parents by means of language. His myths and legends, which [773] to us seem like pure fairy tales and animal fables and which he takes just as seriously as we do the sacred books with their doctrine, in which he lets human beings and animals mingle, would necessarily be only playful jests if he regarded himself as created out of a different substance than other creatures are. We can understand these human beings only if we regard them as the product of a hunting culture. They gathered the main body of their experiences from animals, and with these experiences primarily, since it is only through the old that one is capable of understanding the new, they explained nature, fashioned their world view. [532] Accordingly, their artistic motifs, as we shall see, are borrowed, with amazing one-sidedness, from the animal kingdom; indeed, their entire, surprisingly rich art is rooted in the hunting life and did not flower until a more peaceful existence provided protection for the buds. From the outset I cannot refer often enough to these conditions, since otherwise we should not properly evaluate the material culture of the natives and should not understand their mental culture at all.

*171 174 241 On the other hand, it is a fact that the products of agriculture -- except in the case of the Trumaí -- have been in the possession of our Indians since time immemorial. A comparison of the languages furnishes irrefutable proof. It teaches us first of all that the tribes of the Schingú belong to different language families. It teaches us furthermore that in the case of each one the branching off from the basic people concerned took place

B /201 cont./
*171 in remote epochs, /202/ for the phonetic softening processes
174 and the disappearance of the initial root-sounds, which are
241 present everywhere in the individual dialects, show a development in the same direction, but in different gradations everywhere with respect to degree and limits, show only equivalence, not conformity, and therefore could have started only after the separation from the basic people. Nevertheless, even the basic peoples have names for the most important useful plants; they are entirely different from one basic people to another, but for the individual basic stock they are common among a greater or lesser number of branches. For the Karaiben /Carib/ I believe I have proved these statements in my Bakaïrí grammar, I can likewise maintain them for the Tupí after more recent studies; for the Nu-Aruak /Arawak/, where the material is inadequate and difficult, I reserve all judgment and merely point out that, on the basis of historical and ethnological data, we must conclude that the Nu-Aruak undoubtedly have an older culture than the Karaiben and certainly the Gês, and probably also an older
T [192] one than the Tupí. The Trumaí borrowed their names for the most important useful plants in part from the Nu-Aruak, in part from the Tupí.

B [181] Thus, we have a contradiction with respect to the common conception: ancient agriculture along with the world view of
B [173] hunters. The Bakaïrí said to me: "Our grandfathers did not
[261] know anything about maize and mandioca, instead they ate earth" -- which the present-day Indians only nibble. In the bagadú legend they say that mandioca was first given as a gift
BO [241] to the campo residents. In the Mato Grosso different stages of de-
[153] velopment are found side by side: in the case of the Bororó we shall become acquainted with a mighty tribe for whom the cultivation of food plants was an incomprehensible beginning, who, without need, most speedily pulled out and consumed the
T mandioca roots planted for them, before the roots were scarcely
[241] more than thin young shoots -- we recognize from the language and
[179] also hear from the tradition that the Trumaí were taught agriculture only recently by their neighbors, and we find among them excellently tended, extensive plantings--

/202 cont./

*17 174 24 [181] excellently tended, extensive plantings -- finally, we see the rest of the Schingú Indians dependent on the produce of the fields, but in their entire thinking and feeling filled with delight in the original hunters' calling.

But, according to the schema, the process could not have taken place so discontinuously in steps and more or less intermittently. In order to understand this we must approach still [325] another problem. The Schingú tribes had no metal. It is said that they lived in the "Stone Age."

Unfortunately, the study of the pre-metallic period has quite predominantly been built on the mute evidence of excavations. Thus, first of all, there was permitted to arise such a confusion of concepts that "Stone Age" and "prehistory" are commonly regarded as identical terms, although the peoples who have written their own history did so only after they had long had metals, and although, side by side with them and at the same time, there lived metal-less peoples, "prehistorical" with historical peoples. Then, however, /203/ according to our prehistoric finds, one could distinguish an older period, in which stone implements were made by striking and splintering the stones, and a more recent period, in which they were produced by grinding, and, not content to limit this process -- I am not saying this process of development -- to the areas where it was observed, but, generalizing the experiences, it was concluded that man necessarily, in order to obtain his tools, began everywhere by breaking up stones and then progressed to grinding them. Whereas prehistory ought to pronounce the final word and furnish the definitions for the explanation of cultural beginnings only where observation among primitive peoples reaches its limits, nevertheless today the reports from Alaska or from a South Sea island are predominantly regarded as valuable material for the prehistorian who delightedly sees his perspicacious interpretations confirmed by reality, and when, on the other hand, the traveling /Fig. 20 appears here/ researcher comes to a place where people are unfamiliar with metal, he cries out that they are living in the "Stone Age" -- a folly which became clear to me because I myself frequently committed it. If, as is

/209 cont./

*171 433 511 229 hurdles in the river, planted the stream with fences and barriers, and closed off arms of lagoons in order to confine the fish; they worked hard to clear large stretches of forest; they built themselves splendid houses, piled up considerable supplies in them, filled them with a great variety of things from an industrious craftman's skill, arrayed themselves with gay body ornaments, and decorated all their implements with graceful design. In *171 511 view of the fact that the people of Cuyabá have showered me with angry newspaper articles to the effect that I have said the savages of the Schingú had neater and better homes than many people of the Mato Grosso, I should like, without comparing reasons, to set their minds at rest by adding that even in old Europe there are plenty of villages in the mountains and along the coast where people lead a more miserable life than on the Kulisehu.

*171 ●241 I shall list the cultivated useful plants which we observed among the Indians. They are arranged, under A, as those that were common in the northern part of South America before the Europeans appeared, and, under B, as those that grew wild in the immediate environment:

A.

Maize	Zea mays.	Cotton	Gossypium.
Mandioca	Manihot utilissima.	Cuyeté	Crescentia cuyeté
Batatas	Convolvus batatas.	Bottle gourd	Cucurbita lagenaria.
Carâ	Dioscorea.	Edible gourd	Cucurbita.
Peanut	Arachis hypogaea.	Mamona	Ricinus.
Bean	Phaseolus.	Urucú shrub	Bixa orellana.
Pepper	Capsicum.	Tobacco	Nicotiana tabacum.

B.

Bakayuva palm	Acrocomia.	Genipapo	Genipa.
Pikí	Caryocar butyrosum.	Arrow reed, ubá	Gincrium parviflorum.
Mangaba	Hancornia speciosa.	Spear grass	Scleria.
Fruta de lobo	Solanum lycocarpum.	Pita bast-plant	Fourcroya? Agave?

/209 cont./

#171 Category B could probably be considerably enlarged. It
● 241 depended on the need. The fruit trees under this were planted
245 with great care. I have mentioned that in the first Bakaïrí village there was a sort of avenue of pikí trees; the Nahuquá cultivated this species with great enthusiasm. The mangabas were popular and thrive especially well among the Bakaïrí, among the Kamayurá, and in particular, as was reported to me, among the Waurá, so that the Trumaí word "waurarú" seems to mean simply the Waurá fruit. The fruta de lobo was less fre-
#171 quently found near the village. Then, however, plants which
249 they needed in any way for their implements and weapons were set out as required, if they did not occur in the vicinity of the
[302] village. Thus they transplanted near the village the spear grass
[324] growing in swampy soil, with which they shaved themselves,
[248] the bast plants that /210/ furnished them thread, occasionally perhaps also the sapé grass with which the houses were covered. Most interesting, however, it seems to me, is the assurance that they planted the ubá arrow reed in larger quantities on the Batovy, so as not to have to fetch it from distant places.

Besides casual inclinations and knowledge of management, the nature of the soil apparently played an important role.
[296] Tobacco grew excellently among the Suyá and the Auetó and
000 was commonly smoked by the men, except in the first Bakaïrí village on the Batovy.* It plays an important part in medical

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296
[113]

* This circumstance may have occasioned H. v. Ihering to say: "v. d. Steinen missed tobacco among the Bakaïrí of the Upper Schingú just as completely as bananas or metals" [Zeitschrift f. Ethnologie, 1893, p. 195]. I describe, cf. Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, p. 173 /see I: Steinen, this file, p. 55/, for Village III of the Batovy-Bakaïrí, the real part played by smoking, as the discoverers of the

/210 cont./

114 296 [199] Antilles found it. On the other hand, I share the opinion of v. Ihering, which I often expressed in lectures before I read his article, that the pipe in Brazil is of modern origin. Like the fishhook.

It plays an important part in medical
*171 296 757 993 treatment and is regarded as a very ancient acquisition of the culture heroes, who, as legend indicates, received it from the north. The drinking bowls and calabashes, especially the Cucurbita lagenaria, represented a major product for the
*171 240 [248] [302] Nahuquá, a somewhat lesser one for the Bakaïrí. The Mehinakú and the Bakaïrí had the best cotton. The orlean bush was valued above all by the Bakaïrí, the Mehinakú neglected it completely because watering it made too much work; the surprising circumstance upon my arrival in the village, namely, that no red-painted, but many black-painted figures were walking about, finds a very natural explanation.

*171 241 Maize, represented among the Suyá by a species characterized by smallness of ears and a golden color of the kernels, and mandioca were found everywhere, but the latter was planted in decidedly greater amounts among the Mehinakú. They were the richest farmers of the upper Schingú, their word for mandioca was also adopted by the Trumaí. Of tuber plants, besides mandioca, we saw yams of two kinds and batatas, which we first found in quantities among the Mehinakú. Our men designated beans as "feijão de vara," pole beans, or as "feijão de roça," plantation beans. Of edible gourds, abóbora /Abobra/, we saw only the seeds which the Suya brought us in 1884 for eating, so we understood. The mandubi peanut occurred in a small species. There were definitely no guavas or bananas on the Schingú.

*171 194 241 In my report about the first journey I pointed out the absence of bananas and especially stressed that for the ~~question as to~~ whether or not the banana was introduced in America only after the arrival of the Europeans this must be all the more decisive since the different Schingú tribes are of different origin and yet not a single one brought along the banana from the previous

[i.e., the Tobacco --Analyst]

/210 cont./

*171 place of habitation. After the experiences of the second expedi-
174 tion I can only find my opinion confirmed. This time we also
● 241 met true Tupí who did not have bananas. Among the Kamayurá
I sought in vain for the /211/ word "pakóba," which the lingoa
geral has for banana; they were unfamiliar with it. I gladly with-
draw the suggestion that this word might be derived from the
Portuguese; I no longer set any store by arbitrary etymology;
today, more than at that time, however, I must lay much
greater stress on the fact that among the individual tribes the
names for banana do not conform to the linguistic derivation,
but to fortuitous, local distribution. This is without precedent
for the other useful plants. What is more, none of the first
[824] discoverers mentions the banana, and the Aruak of the coast
and the Island Karaiben reproduce the Spanish word "platano"
so unmistakably in their "pátrane" and "balatanna" that there
is absolutely no doubt about the agreement. Finally, if we fully
appreciate the fact that in a lost corner we find representatives
of all the large linguistic families with the most excellent names
for all the cultivated plants, but without banana, that a splinter
group of one of these tribes, and one associating with Europeans,
the docile Bakaïrí, do have the banana and in their language,
otherwise kept absolutely pure, simply call it "banana" (just like
the Paresí, by the way), I believe that this proof is as forceful
[114] as negative proof can ever be. Humboldt and Martius let them-
selves be *persuaded by the fact that they found the banana*
everywhere among the Indians, but this basis for their view has
now become untenable, and the experiences of linguistics, as
well as the actual absence of the banana in the entire region of
the upper Schingú, undoubtedly justify the opinion of the botanist,
Alphonse de Candolle, that the banana was introduced into South
America, though probably very soon after the appearance of
Europeans.

*171 It is worthwhile, for a better evaluation of the linguistic
174 methods of proof, to give an example. Let us consider the words
241 for "pepper" among I. the Nu-Aruak, II. the Karaiben, and III.
824 the Tupí.

2: Steinen--212 P D-S (1894, 1882-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacaini SP7

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/211 cont./

I. On the Schingú, among the Nu-Aruak, pepper is called ši, among the Maipure on the Orinoco ai, among the Moxos /Mojo/ in Bolivia ancheti, among the Aruak haatschi, among the women of the Island Karaiben šti, for the Taino of the island of Haiti Oviedo gives axi, aji.

II. On the Schingú, among the Karaiben Bakairí, pepper is called pãno (with a nasal ã), among the Nahuquá vôme, bômi, among the Island Karaiben pomi, pomui, among the Karaiben Orinoco tribes in Venezuela pomêi, pomuey, in the Galibí generally widespread in Guiana pomi. Among the Palmella, a Karaiben tribe on the Madeira, apômo.

III. From Tupí the Kamayurá on the Schingú have the word školing, the Omagua on the upper Amazon ekei, the Guaraní in Paraguay kiy, the lingua geral has kyiá, kyinha, etc.

These phonetic equivalents, which are absolutely certain within the tribal groups and which do not show the slightest compatibility from tribal group to tribal group, /212/ extend over more than half of South America and turn up in records that go back from 1887 to the middle of the sixteenth century. They teach us inveitably that pepper was known since immemorial "prehistoric" times in each of the three tribal groups, whose remotest family members have preserved its equivalent on their wanderings, and none of them obtained it from any of the others. The situation with regard to the banana words cannot be reconciled with this. These congruities surprise us simply because we are caught up in the delusion, not only that the South American peoples represent a linguistic chaos, but also that these "hordes" to whom we were the first to bring metals are largely crude hunting peoples tossed hither and yon by unknown destinies, like rubble in rapids, somehow cemented together here and broken up in pieces there. In the clumsy masses which in our eyes make up the "Stone Age," however, we shall have to become accustomed to distinguishing a multitude of regular, neatly deposited cultural layers.

/218 cont./

I shall sum up. Ancient agriculture is most compatible with the type of hunting practiced here. The Indians were primarily fishermen. The yield in their area on the upper course of a river was not sufficient for pure ichthyophagy; on the other hand, it was not small during the months when the fish traveled upstream in the rising water and were found in all the canals and lagoons in great numbers, or when, as the water receded, the opportunity for a catch in the artificially barricaded parts of the river branches became considerably greater. Fishing and hunting, furthermore, furnished the indispensable tools. There were no domestic animals in our sense; dogs were unfamiliar to the native. He took pleasure in the colored birds, whose feathers he sometimes pulled out, especially in the talking parrots and cawing aracas. He let those that he happened to catch young walk around in the village, woodpecker or heron or curassow, and kept in huge pole-cages, for the edification of the community, the spitting eagle, Harpyia destructor, or some other predatory bird. He had lizards hanging by their tails from the hammock, so that they would clean up a bit among the annoying crickets -- he had not succeeded any further in the utilization of animals, and though wild plants were established near the village to be used as desired, the rearing of edible animals was not considered. /219/ Indeed, the attitude that the Indian took toward the animal kingdom made him feel a definite repugnance about ultimately consuming animals that he had raised, just as we do not eat dogs.

The relative sedentariness connected with the life of the fisherman could not become permanent until the women learned to plant, to make pots, and to prepare flour. Although agriculture on the Schingú had already reached respectable improvement, nevertheless there were small indications that showed what its origin had been, at least here. People planted the useful plants found in the vicinity, each tribe acquired its own experience on its own soil, and they were disseminated by the women who, in war or peace, came to other tribes. The fact that the Bakairí-Karaíben were once furthered in this way in

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182 /23 cont./
756 aldea on the Rio Kulisehu to settle with his arts on the Paranatinga.

When I was with the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí in May and June
177 of 1901, 14 years had elapsed since their first contact with
178 articles of European culture. After Karl von den Steinen's
[114] expedition, other explorers had also passed through their land. They had become familiar with iron axes, knives, scissors, matches, and other objects of modern culture, and by bartering their native products they had become amply provided with such objects, but their natures and their way of life had barely
[411] changed. They had become acquainted with the firearms of the Europeans and of their fellow countrymen of the Rio Paranatinga, but they still regarded them with a certain mis-
[226] giving and did not use them either. Fishing, which had been of the greatest importance in the economy of these Indians, was still carried out on a broad scale and in the ancestral way,
[224] fishhooks not being used. In hunting, too, they only used their
241 arrows and long bows built like the ones of old. Agriculture
412 was also carried out in the same manner and with the same digging sticks, with the mere exception that the work of clearing was made much easier by the numerous iron axes that replaced the stone axes of times past. I did not see any more stone axes among these Indians. Undoubtedly they had all been replaced by the far more useful iron axes brought by the explorers who passed through these regions. There were large plantations in
241 the vicinity of the aldeas or at a distance from them, and I
114 myself had the opportunity to observe in the aldea of Maimaieti, situated on the Rio Kulisehu, the way in which a big part of the mountain was cleared for a future plantation. The Indians proudly showed me a spot planted in sweet /mansa, "mild"/ manioc, of which they had received cuttings from the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí. During my stay among the Bakairí of Maimaieti aldea there was never a scarcity of manioc, and I and my companions were always generously provided with
[648] manioc cakes /beijús/. I mention this fact especially, because

/23 cont./

241 114 648 it contrasts with Herrmann Meyer's observation, made two years before in the year 1899, on his own experiences among the same Bakairí. (29) To account for the fact that it was

29. Herrmann Meyer, "Bericht uber seine zweite Xingú-Expedition," loc. cit., pp. 126 and 127.

absolutely impossible for him to obtain provisions from the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí, he said that these Indians depended for their subsistence almost entirely on their fellow countrymen of the Rio Paranatinga and that their agriculture had almost completely disappeared. When Meyer passed by the aldeas of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí, conditions for his expedition, which comprised a large number of participants, were very precarious, especially because of lack of provisions, and no doubt the fact that he was unable to get from the Bakairí the provisions he had asked for was for him a severe disappointment. It is possible that the Bakairí at this time could not /24/ supply such large quantities of provisions to accommodate such a large number of strangers. Since it is certain that the Bakairí at the time of my stay among them possessed large plantations, it does not seem possible that their agriculture, two years earlier, should have been at the vanishing point. Nor can I corroborate 114 342 Herrmann Meyer's comment that the Bakairí of the first two aldeas on the Rio Kulisehu, at the time of his expedition, had changed their good houses for "miserable huts." The two aldeas of the Kulisehu Bakairí which I visited each consisted of four large houses of kin folk, built in the same form with an oval base as the houses had in former times. All of the houses in Maimaieti aldea were quite new and made a good impression 231 inside and outside. About one league from Maimaieti were the then abandoned houses of the old aldea which the Bakairí of Maimaieti had still occupied a short time earlier and where a large bird of prey, a kind of harpy eagle /arpía/, was kept on

/27 cont./

162 the year 1915, no more than nine men with some women and
361 children lived with their cacique in the new aldea. The rest
166 had died or had moved to the other Bakairí aldeas situated on the Rio Paranatinga.

178 According to Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa's description, the
433 Bakairí of the Rio Novo and Rio Paranatinga still had in the
622 year 1915 a life with sufficient means of subsistence. Cacique
[361] Antonio, whose authority of former times had undoubtedly de-
[241] creased through José Coroado's defection with his people and
[231] through the independent stand of Cacique Kurutú, was still chief of the old aldea on the Rio Paranatinga, which still consisted of seven houses and whose inhabitants planted manioc, maize, sugar cane, bananas, and aboborra /gourds/, and raised
[231] many pigs and chickens. In former times they had also devoted
[648] themselves to the raising of cattle and horses, but the rancher Jange Soares had made them give this up. Already at this time, Antonio was urgently pressing his rights in the region bound by the Serra Azul, the Ribeirão Bananal, and the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires) and occupied for many years by the Bakairí. (34)

34. A. Pyrineus de Sousa, loc. cit., p. 64.

184 José Coroado's aldea consisted of three well-built houses.
361 He had large plantations of manioc and maize and raised some
241 pigs and chickens. (35) The inhabitants of Cacique Kurutú's
231

35. Ibid., p. 65.

aldea, which consisted of three large houses, also had good plantations and lived comfortably.

178 /28/ At that time, also, the customs and ideas of the
[535] Rio Paranatinga Bakairí were largely Indian. When dancing,
[291] the men were nude except for a small coarse apron, rectangular

/32 cont./

114 enemy Indian. Just as an untiring search for the "martyrs" in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River finally broke the health of Officer Paulo Castro 25 years before, so too Colonel Fawcett perished in the same regions in his fantastic race for the "mysterious city."

177 178 Although in the year 1927 nearly all the Bakairí dressed in European-type garments and lived in Brazilian-style ranchos, and although they had also adopted many other articles of European culture, there survived among them various articles of their native culture with which I shall deal in the section that follows.

361 Already at the time of my stay among the Bakairí at Simões Lopes there was frequent talk of an imminent move of the post. [312] The Indians were not satisfied with their present location because in times of drought there was no water available except at a [241] great distance, and because there was no ground suitable to make plantations in the immediate vicinity of the post. As for the selection of a place for the new post, the opinions of the Indians differed a great deal, and it was interesting to note that the Xinguanos especially wanted the location to be closer to the capital, Cuiabá, while the Paranatinganos, on the contrary, wanted a place which would be beyond the Rio Paranatinga.

[114] /33/ We learned a few details concerning the later conditions of the Bakairí who lived in the new Simões Lopes Post from Vincent M. Petrullo, who in the year 1931 undertook a journey carried out in part with pack oxen, by water, and in part by air to the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, passing this Indian post along the way. (38) According to

[113] 38. Vincent M. Petrullo, "Primitive Peoples of Matto Grosso, Brazil," The Museum Journal, Vol. XXIII, Number 2, Philadelphia, pp. 127-130.

361 /33 cont. / According To
648 Petrullo the new post is situated on top of a mountain some distance from the edge of the Rio Paranatinga. The post itself consisted of some excellent administrative buildings, and at some distance from these stood the Bakairí aldea, so that the Indians
[871] kept a certain independence. The post had a school which tried to teach the Bakairí youth to read and write in the Portuguese language and the rudiments of arithmetic. The administration
[231] kept a herd of cattle, and each of the Bakairí wished to have some oxen and cows.

114 Without wishing to malign Petrullo's precious information,
648 I must note below some points on which I cannot quite agree
177 with his opinions, because they contradict my experiences
241 among these Indians. I believe that a false impression of the previous living conditions of the Bakairí in the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River led to Petrullo's interpretations when he says that the post administration had not experimented in order to change the Bakairí, who in former times had led a seminomadic life, into a sedentary group of agriculturalists. The Bakairí of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River were, like all the other Indian tribes of the Rio Kulisehu, with the possible exception of the Trumaí, a typical agricultural people. The tasks related to agriculture made up the chief part of their activities, and they had extensive plantations in the vicinity of their houses. They led a totally sedentary existence in their aldeas, even moving these closer to their plantations when the latter, owing to the successive exploitation of the land on the closest hill, were little by little moved too distant
[231] from their houses. Livestock they did not have, so that there has been a change in their way of life at the post, with the transformation of a previously agricultural people into a people who raise cattle, no doubt to get a bigger income.

226 Also, I cannot believe that the unusual abundance of fish
114 in the Rio Paranatinga, extolled in former times by the Bakairí, should have dwindled so thoroughly as to warrant Petrullo's observation. "There are practically no fish in the Paranatinga,

/261 cont./

352 The Bakairí slept in hammocks, amaka, woven of palm fiber.
[415] Their furnishings can be summed up as benches of a solid
[285] piece of wood, clay pots, mats and baskets. The diet rests
262 upon manioc, piquí, sweet potatoes, maize, and fish. How-
224] ever, the hunting of monkeys, wild pig, tapir, and other ani-
[241] mals was not scorned. Most of the food reserves, however, were of vegetable origin, and the most important harvests were made up of manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, and piquí. Yams /cará/, cotton, urucú, and tobacco were also planted.

342 The occupants of a communal house worked together on
476 the building of a new house, acquiring thereby the right to
622 reside in it. This construction work, however, was led by the individual who had the most prestige in the group, usually the old head of the house, who thus set himself up as the head of
241 the new house. The tasks of clearing fields and planting
476 generally depended on the participation of all the aldea. When
529 beginning a new clearing, the Bakairí would give a feast, kométe, with the distribution of food to the Indians who worked
501 on the field. The Bakairí made canoes from the bark of the
[824] jatobá tree, in the Xinguano way. This construction, as well
[782] as fishing, hunting, and agricultural activities, were accompanied by propitiatory rituals.

437 Their products were bartered among neighboring groups
574 in the course of visits called tuliki which depended on the presence of the chiefs of both aldeas. After the exchange of the objects desired, the visitors were honored with a feast called tulake.

621 /262/ The Bakairí were not a warlike people, and their
181 political organization does not seem very elaborate. Each
622 aldea had a chief, pima, assisted by a subchief, itáida. The
624 Bakairí do not remember the existence of a chief for the whole
[643] tribe, and there is no evidence that such a figure ever existed. The selection of the itáida was made by means of agreement of the aldea, but it generally fell on the son of the pima himself. The pima's functions were chiefly ceremonial, economic, and juridical.

/263 cont./

000 about three centimeters square made of tree bark. After the
582 seclusion boys and girls were eligible for /264/ marriage.
585 Marriage, todohokúinle, was joined by the parents of the young people by means of an exchange of gifts, and it does not seem to have merited any special ceremony.

761 The Bakairí do not seem to have believed in the possi-
764 bility of a natural death. After death, which was always caused
[754] by the sorcery of some enemy, the corpse was painted and attired in the finery used in life. The corpse was rolled up in the hammock used by the deceased, and buried with the head
764 pointing west and the feet east. There followed a mourning
784 period, during which the closer relatives remained uanki and from which they emerged through the tadaunúto feast.

776 The world of the Bakairí was surrounded by supernatural
795 beings, good and evil, such as the iamũra, topiehe, karoui,
[824] kadopa, and kilaimo. (5) Plants and animals were nothing but
[825]

5. Capistrano de Abeu, "Os Bacaerys," Revista Brasileira, Year I, Vol. 4, pp. 44, 45, 47, 48, 234, 240, 241. Rio de Janeiro, 1895.

[113]

224 drapery used by the iamura and kadopa. Hunting, fishing, and
[226] agricultural activities thus had to be accompanied by propitiatory
[229] activities intended to appease the anger of the iamũra deprived
776 of their animals and plants. On the other hand, karoui and
782 kilaimo wandered through the forest menacing the Bakairí.
784 Against such beings the Indians required the protection of their
756 sorcerer-doctors as well as periods of seclusion in the most dangerous moments.

774 The Bakairí believed that men had two souls: one called kati or kutuin, heavier and thicker, corresponding to a camisa worn by the second soul, kagatopuri, a more fluid element that

/269 cont./

539 fat in order to stay warm. The Indans wanted the sun to come out, and so they donned their apparel, painted their bodies, and began to sk Orimoto, the great spirit. Orimoto was not an Indian but a man who lived in a stone house with some armals which he had created. The Indians went on askig until finally the light broke out; but the Indians hadalready grown old and the children had already grownup.

776 The data at our disposal do not permit us to place in Bakairí cosmology beings such as Tchini-uma, Keri-kamé, or Orimoto and Nakoeri. Nevertheless, e prefer to regard Nakoeri as the supreme being of the Bakirí, leaving to Tchini-numa, Keri-kamé (the sun and te moon), and Orimoto the role of culture heroes, until new wok clarifies their respective functions.

122 13 433 Compelled to deal with a hostile nvironment, such as the savannas and forests of the headwats of the Xingu, and lacking an adequate technology, the Baairí, like the other Xinguano Indians, depended to a large ment on uncertain factors such as the amount of rainfall al the resulting annual increase of waters, which led to a scarcy or an abundance of food. Lacking an adequate technoloy, they did not store 789 their produce but lived on a subsistenceconomy. Their hunt- 224 ing and fishing activities were followedy magic rituals with 326 which they attempted to control the poibility of sudden future 241 calamities or even of illnesses. Thus agricultural activities followed by 396 and the building of houses or canoes had to be followed by 782 propitiations. In order to utilize the vegetal or animal raw 262 materials, it was necessary to know how to control uncertain elements: How explain, for example, why one canoe splits and another does not, when both were made by the same craftsman? How explain how the same /270/ foods sometimes ap- 77 peared harmless and sometimes made people ill? The system of beliefs of the Bakairí seems to us an interpretation that

352 415 wooden benches, and dishes and cups made from gourds.

494 As the Bacairí were extensive travelers and 226 depended upon fish for a considerable part of 501 their food supply, canoes were an important part of their equipment. The Bacairí canoe (*pépi*) 396 was made from the bark of the jatobá tree. The [124] tough, heavy bark was first stripped from one-half of the tree. Small fires were then lighted on the inside of the bark trough to make it curl. Braces were placed at intervals along the entire length, the bow was tapered, and the stern was squared off by forcing the bark upward at one end. 501 Bacairí canoes varied in size, the larger ones being able to carry as many as 8 men. Canoes of jatobá bark are used by the Bacairí today and are the [171] predominant type among the Indians of the 415 Upper Xingú. The Bacairí also made large [124] tubs out of jatobá bark which were used as settling 352 vessels for manioc juice. The juice of the manioc contains a fine powder or starch which settles on the bottom of the vessel, to be gathered after the ●241 liquid is poured off. For gardening, the Bacairí formerly used a digging stick made of hardwood. 411 For hunting, they used a bow (*tíka*), round or 124 slightly oval in cross section and from 2 to 2½ meters in length, made from a yellow or reddish wood which was first matured by burying it in mud. The bowstring was made from the fibers of imbauba bark. Arrows (*pirú*) were made from [237] cane with hardwood or bone points. Hunting arrows had two feathers, but arrows used for shooting fish had serrated wooden points and no 412 feathers. The cutting tools of the Bacairí consisted of knives made from bamboo, stone, bones, and 499 shell. Transportation was by canoe, or if over 482 land, goods were carried in a wicker basket supported on the back by a tump line.

ORNAMENTS

891 While living on the banks of the Kuliseu River, [171] the Bacairí, in common with the other Upper Xingú River tribes, did not use clothing. Men sometimes wore a narrow cotton band (*mapia*) around the waist, with a few tassels hanging in front. Women, after puberty, wore the aluri. 302 Men wore their hair cut short. Women wore their hair long at the back but cut straight across over the forehead. Hair was cut with a knife made [4] by setting sharp fish teeth into a wooden stick, [33]

301 placed in a hole in the septum of the nose, so that
237 the feathers swung one on each side of the head.
[304] Although the *pdiko*, or scratcher, was not strictly
413 an ornament, it is mentioned here because it had
757 ritual meaning. The *pdiko* was made by setting fish teeth into a gourd holder and was used for scarifying the skin of the arms, legs, chest, and back so as to cause bleeding. The wounds were first
[755] washed with water and later smeared with the juice of the *wukána* vine. The *pdiko* was used by
[881] boys and girls during puberty seclusion and by adults who had sores on their bodies. It was believed that the use of the *pdiko* made people
304 strong and healthy. As far as could be ascertained the Bacairí did not mutilate the teeth, genitals, or other parts of the body. There was no sign of
[302] tattooing, but pubic hair was carefully pulled out
231 by both men and women. Formerly the Bacairí kept large birds, believed to belong to the eagle family, in their villages for their feathers. The Brazilians call the bird "harpía" and claim that it is still kept by the Indians in the Xingú Basin. The "harpía" was captured by shooting it with a blunted arrow, and it was kept in a special hut and fed. Villages often had several of these birds in captivity, the feathers being used particularly for feathering arrows. Parrots and macaws were also kept, their feathers being used only for ceremonial decorations.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

212 Vegetable foods formed the basis of Bacairí diet, with fish and meat taking second and third places.
224 The principal animals hunted were monkeys, deer, wild pigs, tapir, and the jaguar. The jaguar, however, was not eaten, but was hunted for its skin, teeth, and claws. The principal weapon used was the bow and arrow. Hunters would stalk game alone or in groups with the aid of dogs driving game into water or into steep rocky enclosures. There is no mention of the spear being used, but deadfalls and pitfalls were used. Many varieties
224 of large fish were shot with the bow and arrow, either from canoes or from the river bank. Lizards,
222 turtles, and a wide variety of wild fruits, roots, tender shoots, and honey were collected at certain seasons of the year.

241 The major part of the food supply, however, was obtained through agriculture. The Bacairí cultivated bitter manioc, *ópa*; sweet manioc, *tsiej*;

241 beans, *ipié;* peanuts, *oremí;* sweetpotatoes, *mahódo;* "cará," *nári;* maize, *dnji;* potatoes, *múla;* cotton, *kodokíra;* urucú, *dunto;* tobacco, *tauwí;* piqui fruit, *ípa.* Manioc, maize, and sweetpotatoes
248 were the principal food crops. Cotton was grown for making hammocks and the various belts and
276 strings used. Tobacco leaves, after being dried, were smoked by being rolled into cigars (*tapdki*).
[755] Tobacco seems to have had a ritual use, as the shamans smoked heavily before performing a rite.
252 Bitter manioc was shredded on a shredding board into which fish teeth or fine pieces of shell had been embedded. The pulp was squeezed in a piece of cotton cloth in order to remove the poisonous acids. The meal was then used for baking cakes. The fine powder or flour which settled at the bottom of the settling tub was also used for baking cakes after it was thoroughly dried. Maize was eaten boiled or roasted. Sweetpotatoes were
272 roasted over coals. Maize meal was prepared and mixed with wild honey and water to make a nonalcoholic beverage. The Bacairí claim not to have used any form of alcoholic beverage.

241 Cultivated plots were located outside the village, each large household usually having a continuous area. Maize and many other crops were planted in September and October when the rains began. Sweet manioc and sweetpotatoes could be planted the year around, especially on river banks after the rivers went down following the rainy season. April was the harvest month and also the beginning of the ceremonial season.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

592 The occupants of the large communal houses usually worked together in the fields, went hunting or fishing together, and generally cooperated in economic activities. Families could work individually if they wished or did not need the help
241 of others. It was the task of the men to burn and
462 prepare the fields for planting. As the men loosened the soil with the digging stick women planted the seeds, slips, or pieces of stalk, as the case might be. Women and children thereafter took care of the weeding.

462 Division of labor by sex existed to a certain extent. Women wove mats (*snepíu*) out of various
[275] fibers, and hammocks out of cotton yarn which
[274] was also spun by women. Men wove baskets.
[323] Both men and women made clay pots. Bacairí

Bacairí

323 pots are quite distinct from the pottery of the Indians living on the Upper Paraguay River. Bacairí pots are flat-bottomed and have straight vertical walls with everted rims. The pots in common use were, and still are, black in color, unglazed, and undecorated. Some of the pots [532] seen were made in the forms of frogs, turtles, fish, and birds. The Bacairí claim that they [531] formerly had decorated pottery called *amúgu*, painted with black, gray, red, and brown designs.

476 The Bacairí also had economic activities in which the whole village, or a number of communal houses, participated. The *kometí*, or col- 241 476 lective land clearing, was one of these. A man would invite a large number of relatives and friends to assist him in clearing a new piece of forest land. The women would participate by pre- [262] paring large amounts of food and honey beverage 423 476 for the workers. The new field would remain the property of the man who initiated the *kometí*, obligating him to work in return if called upon, but sometimes the group of men who cleared the field would divide it among them.

342 House building was always an enterprise in 476 which the whole village took part. The group that was interested in raising the house cut the beams and poles necessary for the framework and prepared large quantities of food. While a certain number of men began to put up the framework, others went to gather grass for thatching. When they returned with the thatching they put [538] on their ceremonial decorations and danced the *makalawári* dance. House building was thus not only an economic act but also a ceremonial occasion.

286 Hammock weaving was, at times, a collective 476 enterprise. A woman with a larger than usual cotton crop distributed cotton among her friends and when the work was completed she organized a feast and dance.

437 Ceremonial trading expeditions (*tulíri*) were 629 organized by the chief of the village. During 574 the rainy seasons, when the rivers were high and [629] canoe travel easy, the men of a village would collect whatever excess goods they had, such as bows, baskets, ornaments, hammocks, and even food, and would go to a neighboring village where the chief would receive them before the ceremonial house. The two chiefs would then supervise the exchange of commodities. After the trading was

BACAIRI 517
MATO GROSSO 91

B 361 648 a wire fence enclosure. The effort of the Inspectoria has been to give aborigines the isolation that they want and not to interfere in anything that they may do. The tribal organization is kept as of old, and the Bakairi lead their own life in their own way. They are not forced to stay at the post, or in any way bound to do as the agent says. The agent is merely a teacher. He talks to them and advises them on any problem that may be facing them, but it is understood that they are free men and that they can do as they please.

B 177 648 M 658 The post maintains a school, the effort being made to teach every child to read and write Portuguese and to learn the rudiments of arithmetic. In addition to this, an attempt is made to teach them vocations, such as weaving on the loom, tailoring, shoemaking, barbering, and so forth. Generally, if a boy shows unusual talent he is taken to Cuyabá and even to Rio de Janeiro to be given further instruction. This education is not compulsory, however, though most of the Bakairi take advantage of the opportunity. It is the project of the Inspectoria to form good self-sustaining citizens of such groups of the native population as come under its tutelage.

B 177 [233] The post has a herd of cattle and the Indians are being taught the principles of cattle raising. It is the desire of every Bakairi to own cattle. No attempt is made to turn the Bakairi into a sedentary agricultural people, it being thought unwise to attempt to transform the manner of life of the Bakairi by tying them down to the soil, when they have been used to a semi-nomadic existence. On the other hand, they are encouraged to practice some agriculture, raising manioc, sweet potatoes, some maize and cotton. Each man clears his own land yearly and plants his foods.

B [241]

B 164 [165] In spite of the liberal attitude and practice of the Inspectoria the Bakairi have been dying fast. Fevers seem to decimate them rapidly, though all efforts are made to keep medical supplies on hand and to supply medical attention. Their life is not as strenuous as formerly, because of the improved methods, and this may account for the lessened resistance. On the other hand, there is no doubt but that at the headwaters of the Paranatinga it is less healthy than in the region of our former homes. Even the Indians from the lower Kuluseu who followed our expedition on its return to the post suffered greatly from fever upon reaching it, though it was the dry season and there were few insects.

500

534 nut hulls tied together and fastened to the ankles of the dancers. There were at least four kinds of flutes. The *ewini* flute was made from two pieces of soft sapling hollowed out and fastened together with wax and string. This flute was about 3 feet long with four finger holes and a separate mouthpiece. The *kenapiro* flute was made like the *ewini* but was shorter and had a different sound. Both the *ewini* and the *kenapiro* were sacred flutes of the shamans and were always kept in the sacred flute house connected to the *kadoiti* where they were played only at night so as to prevent women from seeing them. If a woman were to see one of these flutes, misfortune would befall her. When the sacred flutes were played there was dancing but no singing. The *tadiwee* was a bamboo flute made in five different lengths without finger holes and was not sacred. The *nakipiro* was made by fastening four short tubes of bamboo of different lengths together. It was played in pairs, one player answering the other. This flute was not sacred and could be accompanied by singing. In addition to the rattles and flutes, the Bacairi used highly decorated sticks or batons called *kadinyari* in some of their dances.

[P 5]
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533 Besides the flutes and the dances performed to
535 their tunes, the Bacairi had songs and their corresponding dances which were not always accompanied by flute music; for instance, the *ortiko* was a song and a dance performed with the decorated batons which could be performed at any time; the *pakowedio*, another general song and dance which also could be performed at any time; the *pewiedori*, the corn song and dance in which neither the flutes nor batons were used; the *mokowedori*, performed during the house building ceremony without batons or flutes; and the *poiwedio*, song and dance during the boys' ear piercing ceremony.

527 One of the most important ceremonial events of the year was the annual corn dance (*ingiiatokowedi*), which was performed when the corn ripened in the fields. The man who had the largest corn crop was the organizer of the ceremony. In order to have enough corn, the Bacairi usually planted special fields, the yields of which were used on this occasion. On the day before the corn gathering all the men went on a big hunt in order to have large quantities of meat ready for the feast. Early in the morning of the following day everyone went out to the fields to

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+171 244 In the cultivation of mandioca, which today, along with maize, is penetrating into the farthest corners of Africa, as though both of these purely American plants had been native there forever, the metal-less South American has gained achievement which need not fear any comparison with other parts of the world. Today there is a cultivated, harmless species, but the [852] [272] original root, which was found only on the Schingú, first had to be divested of its strongly toxic juice, the expressed flour, obtained by grating and pounding, first had to be roasted before a foodstuff was produced, and, to be sure, one of many uses, in a solid state and as a pappy drink, Manihot "utilissima." It far surpasses maize in importance in the household of our Indians. It furnishes the principal food and is really responsible [262] [412] for having forced the natives, who received it from more advanced tribes, to become sedentary, for its preparation presupposes a series of procedures requiring patience and presupposes implements, which, like the grating board studded with palm spines, could be produced only at a great cost of time and work with the [852] inferior tools. Unknown on the upper Schingú is the ingenious typyti, a tube plaited out of elastic stalks, which is filled with the grated mass and, pulled lengthwise by means of a weight, presses out the poisonous juice. Our Indians filtered and pressed the juice through plaited sieves.

+171 273 Of greater interest, however, is the fact that the method of fermenting larger quantities of extract by means of chewing balls of flour or kernels of maize, which is used today probably everywhere in South America where maize and mandioca are cultivated by natives, was still unknown in our region; also, nothing was known there about the preparation of paiauará, popular among the North Karaíbes, where the fresh beijú soaked in water are wrapped in leaves and buried for a few days. /213/ The piserego [272] of the Schingú does not have an intoxicating effect; it merely represents the tastiest pap-beverage, it is a soup, not an alcoholic drink. No palm wine is made either; one becomes intoxicated only with dancing or, if one wishes, with tobacco, and achieved what was humanly possible in the quantitative consumption of the pap-beverages. On the other hand, the Kamayurá

/56 cont./

114 Bakaïrí, against such views about their characteristics as are
157 found, typically expressed, in the following sentences by Oscar Peschel (Abhandlungen zur Erde- und Völkerkunde /Essays on Geography and Ethnology/, Leipzig, 1877, Vol. I, p. 421): "In no other continent on earth did one hear less happy laughter before 1492 than in America. The so-called red man remains the same in all climates, /57/ everywhere he is gloomy, silent, withdrawn, and intent on a certain dignified bearing."

157 These assertions are in no way applicable to the Bakaïrí; they were gay, talkative, and trustful, as I observed them in their association with one another and as they acted toward me alone. I shall not fail to give examples of this. In this village I laughed and heard laughter almost as often as under the coconut palms of Samoa and Tonga. It is true, their temperament is less vivacious and their entire view of life less sunny than among the children of the South Seas, the girls do not dance in the moonlight and the men do not sing on canoe trips; shyness and mistrust are more easily aroused, but all this is a long way from the sadness and reserve which, like the black horsehair and the Mongolian eyes, are summarily attributed to the Indian on the basis of appearances, as though there were but a single family between the Bering Strait and the Strait of Magellan.

361 The "village" was very small; it consisted of two large
[342] round houses, in each of which several families lives, and a
[592] small, empty, somewhat dilapidated oblong house, in which I
[122] took up my residence. Between the houses stretched the "tapéra,"
[417] an open place where a few racks stood for drying the white
[251] mandioca flour spread out on mats, where in the center lay a
[241] long, slender log for sitting, and, toward the edge, there grew a few stalks of cotton, Orleans bushes (Bixa orellana), and
● 245 Ricinus plants. Numerous fruit trees were planted all around, bakayuva palms (Acrocomia), mangaba /fruit of the mangabeira/ (Hancornia speciosa), fruta de lobo (Solanum lycocarpum), and a
487 sort of avenue of stately piki trees (Caryocar butyrosum). Toward
361 the east a path led to the "harbor" across the nearby brook, toward
824

/209 cont./

Category B could probably be considerably enlarged. It depended on the need. The fruit trees under this were planted with great care. I have mentioned that in the first Bakairí village there was a sort of avenue of pikí trees; the Nahuquá cultivated this species with great enthusiasm. The mangabas were popular and thrive especially well among the Bakairí, among the Kamayurá, and in particular, as was reported to me, among the Waurá, so that the Trumaí word "waurarí" seems to mean simply the Waurá fruit. The fruta de lobo was less frequently found near the village. Then, however, plants which they needed in any way for their implements and weapons were set out as required, if they did not occur in the vicinity of the village. Thus they transplanted near the village the spear grass growing in swampy soil, with which they shaved themselves, the bast plants that /210/ furnished them thread, occasionally perhaps also the sapé grass with which the houses were covered. Most interesting, however, it seems to me, is the assurance that they planted the ubá arrow reed in larger quantities on the Batovy, so as not to have to fetch it from distant places.

Besides casual inclinations and knowledge of management, the nature of the soil apparently played an important role. Tobacco grew excellently among the Suyá and the Aweté and was commonly smoked by the men, except in the first Bakairí village on the Batovy.* It plays an important part in medical

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Antilles found it. On the other hand, I share the opinion of v. Ihering, which I often expressed in lectures before I read his article, that the pipe in Brazil is of modern origin. Like the fishhook.

It plays an important part in medical treatment and is regarded as a very ancient acquisition of the culture heroes, who, as legend indicates, received it from the north. The drinking bowls and calabashes, especially the Cucurbita lagenaria, represented a major product for the Nahuquá, a somewhat lesser one for the Bakairí. The Mehinakú and the Bakairí had the best cotton. The orlean bush was valued above all by the Bakairí, the Mehinakú neglected it completely because watering it made too much work; the surprising circumstance upon my arrival in the village, namely, that no red-painted, but many black-painted figures were walking about, finds a very natural explanation.

Maize, represented among the Suyá by a species characterized by smallness of ears and a golden color of the kernels, and mandioca were found everywhere, but the latter was planted in decidedly greater amounts among the Mehinakú. They were the richest farmers of the upper Schingú. their word for mandioca was also adopted by the Trumaí. Of tuber plants, besides mandioca, we saw yams of two kinds and batatas, which we first found in quantities among the Mehinakú. Our men designated beans as "feijão de vara," pole beans, or as "feijão de roça," plantation beans. Of edible gourds, abóbora /Abobra/, we saw only the seeds which the Suya brought us in 1884 for eating, so we understood. The mandubi peanut occurred in a small species. There were definitely no guavas or bananas on the Schingú.

In my report about the first journey I pointed out the absence of bananas and especially stressed that for the question as to whether or not the banana was introduced in America only after the arrival of the Europeans this must be all the more decisive since the different Schingú tribes are of different origin and yet not a single one brought along the banana from the previous

[i.e., The Tobacco -- Analysis]

241 beans, *ipid*; peanuts, *ovenj*; sweetpotatoes, *makédo*; "cark," *nám*; maize, *dajn*; potatoes, *mála*; cotton, *kodokíre*; urucú, *dwnin*; tobacco, *tawrj*; piqui fruit, *ipu*. Manioc, maize, and sweetpotatoes were the principal food crops. Cotton was grown for making hammocks and the various belts and strings used. Tobacco leaves, after being dried, were smoked by being rolled into cigars (*tapdit*). Tobacco seems to have had a ritual use, as the shamans smoked heavily before performing a rite. Bitter manioc was shredded on a shredding board into which fish teeth or fine pieces of shell had been embedded. The pulp was squeezed in a piece of cotton cloth in order to remove the poisonous acids. The meal was then used for baking cakes. The fine powder or flour which settled at the bottom of the settling tub was also used for baking cakes after it was thoroughly dried. Maize was eaten boiled or roasted. Sweetpotatoes were roasted over coals. Maize meal was prepared and mixed with wild honey and water to make a nonalcoholic beverage. The Barakiri claim not to have used any form of alcoholic beverage.

Cultivated plots were located outside the village, each large household usually having a continuous area. Maize and many other crops were planted in September and October when the rains began. Sweet manioc and sweetpotatoes could be planted the year around, especially on river banks after the rivers went down following the rainy season. April was the harvest month and also the beginning of the ceremonial season.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

The occupants of the large communal houses usually worked together in the fields, went hunting or fishing together, and generally cooperated in economic activities. Families could work individually if they wished or did not need the help of others. It was the task of the men to burn and prepare the fields for planting. As the men loosened the soil with the digging stick women planted the seeds, slips, or pieces of stalk, as the case might be. Women and children thereafter took care of the weeding.

Division of labor by sex existed to a certain extent. Women were made (*ovapin*) out of various fibers, and hammocks out of cotton yarn which was also spun by women. Men wove baskets. Both men and women made clay pots. Barakiri

/124 cont./

123 and showed me how the raw cotton, merely cleaned of seeds, is
283 twisted into thread with the spindle. The cotton plants stand
241 between the huts everywhere; beside them grows mamona /castor
[392] oil plant/, whose oil serves us for wretched illumination in the
[251] evening, and peppers. Mats are spread out on racks in order to dry the mandioca farina.

The roça,* the cultivated field, lies some distance away. The Bakairí plant mandioca, beans, rice, sweet potatoes, sugar, and deliver to the Fazenda Corrego fundo. Their rapadura was
292 excellent; the melada, a honey-sweet syrup, moved us to exclamations of admiration. The sugar cane is pressed between
• 249 two cylinders in the simplest way. (Cf. the vignette at the be-

342

Old-style hut.

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We found Caetano's hut divided into three rooms. Caetano received us in the high, airy center room and shut the door, behind which little Luiza was doing housework. Felipe and Carlotta
354 Paresí lived in the corner room opposite. Three canga blocks
482 formed the hearth. Plaited back-baskets, which are carried by a forehead band and in which the women are said to carry up to six
412 arrobas. Graters to grate the mandioca, hard little spikes from
624 the rib of the buriti leaf are neatly set into the middle part of a narrow piece of wood almost a meter long.

/73 cont./

123 Tumayaua had me plant tobacco in front of his house, a
[249] proposal that astonished me somewhat until I realized that with my assistance he anticipated an excellent harvest or quality; hence I asked only that he start it, and then I crushed the capsules and put the seed into the ground, as though I had been a tobacco planter all my life. With Kulekule I had to go to the cataract
[226] [191] below the village and help him with the fishing rod; he must not suspect that I had not swung this implement since grammar school days, when I had trouble rescuing it from the police.

226 One forenoon we took a very pleasant fishing excursion with
123 half a dozen persons, among them a few women, to the salmo, a pond that lay in the campo about two and a half kilometers from
[301] [412] the village. We walked a short distance through the woods, the women carrying fishing baskets and weirs, Paleko with a section of fish teeth on a string around his neck, and under his arm a stone ax that he had sharpened on a stone at the river, during which he
[271] moistened it with saliva at his mouth. Meanwhile it was amusing to see how my intended and her sister drank out of the Kulisehu: mouth in water, supported on their two little hands, one leg in the air, not unlike young monkeys. On the way we sang together our ohohó ohohó hu in restrained tones, and I disturbed the morning quiet with a few louder songs. Alakuai took the liberty of removing my hat, but he was so happy with this adornment that in the name of all the saints I exposed my head to the pitiless campo sun.

226 Far away, to the edge of the wooded shore, stretched a queimada /burned clearing/ covered with fresh grass, only a single shade-giving tree stood beside the pond. In the middle of the knee-deep swampy water were set three weirs, half of which, with their mouths, protruded out. Then, with the fishing baskets, kitu, which had the shape of a blunted cone open at the top and bottom and were put together out of thin, pointed sticks, /74/ several persons walked through the pond in a bent position and stabbed the ground quickly: the kitu were inverted over the little fish and the latter pulled out from the top with the hand and placed in a hanging basket. After they had been working in this fashion for a while, they converged from various sides toward the center, where the weirs lay.

/131 cont./

would take exaggerated care of them by removing them on occasions when even for children it would not be necessary.

846 In the first Bakairi village the population had increased by one young soul. Pauhaga had become a father and was observing the lying-in period along with his wife. I shall come back to the scene, which seemed comical to us, in discussing the couvade. The maize was a succulent green. We were offered excellent, somewhat dry maize beijûs. My tobacco planting on village plaza had shot up tremendously and was fenced in all around by a palisade.

241 262 249 417 [177] [291]

But what did our astonished eyes catch sight of behind Paleko's house? A new construction, already far advanced, of a strange kind. Or rather, one of very familiar appearance. The Bakairi had taken our rancho at Independencia as a model and, instead of their beehive, had started a house with a triangular gable /132/ and a two-sided roof. We had believed we were seeing something genuine in a remote corner, and already it was disappearing. "The first glimpse of light," says Barnas, "will also be the last."

177 342

Fig. 8.
Indians dinguised as Europeans.

123 [415] Tamayaua, who was going along to Independencia, nevertheless carried out the official farewell in Maigdri. He handed me two large gourd bowls. A little while after that he came to fetch me, seized me vehemently by the arm, and, shouting loudly all around, led me from the hut to the beam in the middle of the plaza and, with a sort of enthusiasm, pushed me down on to the seat. Soon four Kacaiben were sitting there in a row, side by side.

/209 cont./

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[i.e., The Tobacco -- Analyst]

/26 cont./

114 361 the Rio S. Manuel and the Rio Paranatinga (officially named Rio Telles Pires), encountered the Bakairí of the Rio Novo and the Rio Paranatinga and those who had settled at the "Cabeceira do Chapadão." (31)

31. Antonio Pyrineus de Souza, loc. cit., p. 70.

361 622 In the aldea situated on the Rio Novo there still lived at this time the old cacique, Reginaldo, who then wore a long, white beard. He had good plantations, he carried on some [249] raising of cattle and horses, and he had a stand of rubber trees 361 from which he had rubber sought. (32) A small group of

32. Ibid.

Bakairí from the Arinos region lived at this time on the Cabeceira do Pedro, a tributary of the Rio Arinos. They were the Bakairí, [423] André, and four fellow tribesmen who owned plantations and [464] worked as rubber workers. (33)

33. Ibid., pp. 70 and 71.

159 622 593 361 Meanwhile changes had taken place among the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí. Antonio was still cacique of the aldea, which was still at the same place, slightly downriver from the mouth of the Rio Manuel River on the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires), where it had been set up after the death of Cacique Felipe. Since the aldea consisted at this time of seven houses, it may be assumed that Antonio still commanded a relatively large number of Bakairí. But he was no longer the sole ruler of all the Paranatinga Bakairí. The differences which 159 had already existed for a long time between Antonio and his 593 nephew, José Conrado, had become intensified, and after a 361 serious quarrel between them, José Conrado had left Antonio's

/124 cont./

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/162 cont./

512 I did them an injustice; at half-past seven a procession of seven comes around the corner in the fastest quicktep, one behind the other, the tribal sorceress at their head, all loaded with [482] mandioca roots. The old woman is carrying a bundle of them loose on her head, and behind her runs a young woman with a heavy back-basket; is it her husband who is following her? Likewise bent under the load of a basket he walks forward, on his left [554] hip a straddling boy whom he clasps heedlessly, as though he had hurriedly picked him up from the ground.

572 We visit the house of the professor. In the moderately light [352] room one at first distinguishes only a number of vertical and [252] horizontal poles, brown hammocks; the old woman and a younger one are sitting on the floor most diligently scraping mandioca with a shell, the naked legs buried in the parings.

[363] Two families have divided up in the space; the conjugal chambers are characterized by the fact that two hammocks are fastened, one above the other, to the same post. In the center there is an empty circle, and round about, /163/ radially, the "individual rooms" divided off, not by partitions, but merely by [364] the posts. The upper vault is blackened by smoke. Three or [251] four stones form the simple hearth. The flour is put into huge [262] pot vessels (up to 77 centimeters in diameter); the beijiù are [323] roasted on flat, rimless bowls. The clay is blackish brown, the vessels are made by hand by the women.

352 We sit on small, low benches; they are rectangular, slightly concave, made out of dark-brown palm-wood, usually in octave form, and not a decimeter high.

412 The stone axes, which are sticking in the wall (the longest [353] 24 centimeters), all have the same shape: a thick wooden cylinder, offset at the bottom by a thinner handle. The stone is supposedly [135] found farther downstream (1). /Illustration appears here./

1. Herr Prof. Arzruni of Aachen was kind enough to examine the material carefully and has identified it as diabase, a rock made up of augite, plagioclase, mica, chlorite, and

/163 cont./

412
135

1. (cont.)
magnetite, in which are embedded individual crystals of olivine and quite a number of quartz granules.

415. Tall manage baskets of biconcave profile (one meter 40 centimeters long, 35 centimeters wide at the top), wound with brown bast bands and lined in the interior with maize leaves, contain the flour and are very stout. The grating boards on which the manioca is pulverized are about 115 centimeters long and 80 centimeters wide.

412

415
531

Gourd-vessel (drinking-vessel) designs of the Bakairi.

25 High up a great quantity of dusty corncobs.

C82
553
824

A number of strange dolls, which hang down from the vault on long strings, seem the most striking: they are plaited out of maize leaves: turkey-sized birds, projecting wings made out of one leaf and circularly twisted legs with three toes, others are slender, human-like figures, /164/ a small head on top, broken up below into narrow fringes. In our house we found two lizards made of grass, whose four feet come together in a ring, so that one can put them on one's head.

/175 cont./

We counted 27 men, 18 women, and eight children, but as some of the men, who stayed longer than we, reported, a whole troop of women and children later came out of the woods.

I measured the largest house more carefully. It was 40 paces long, 24 paces wide. In the center line stood four supporting beams, 8-8.5 meters high (!) and 30 centimeters in diameter, the middle ones five paces apart, the outer ones each six paces from these. they had several bands painted with geometrical designs.

The distance of the two outer supporting beams from each other, /176/ 17 paces according to the above, also gave the length of the roof timbers. All around, 72 posts, up to 25 centimeters thick, one meter 72 high, served to support the elliptical roof basket. This was also the height of the two entrances, 77 centimeters wide, which lay opposite each other on the long sides and were made somewhat lower by the straw hanging down from the outside.

The roof basket, made up of large horizontal bamboo rings fastened by vertical poles bent against them, which converged at the top and projected to the outside through an opening, was built with great skill and regularity. The covering was made of straw-dry palm leaves. The leaf ribs lay horizontally, the free ends of the individual leaf spears hanging down from them, however, were all bent inward around the bare rib, so that solid mats were produced in the simplest manner. These overlapped like roof tiles.

We make the rounds through all the huts. The sense of order of the peaceful *pobreza* is lacking. They are full of refuse. Instead of the fine supply baskets, balls of the *massa* /dough/ one meter long, a half meter thick, and packed in leaves are found on simple racks. Little maize. Many fish nets made of tucum fiber: a wide-meshed bag hangs from a ring 80 centimeters long, 35 centimeters wide, which sits on a long pole. They probably get the fish out of the blocked-off lagoons with these nets from the top of their waffleid.

/56 cont./

114 Bakairi, against such views about their characteristics as are
197 found, typically expressed, in the following sentences by Oscar Peschel (Abhandlungen zur Erde- und Völkerkunde /Essays on Geography and Ethnology/, Leipzig, 1877, Vol. I, p. 421): "In no other continent on earth did one hear less happy laughter before 1492 than in America. The so-called red man remains the same in all climates, /57/ everywhere he is gloomy, silent, withdrawn, and intent on a certain dignified bearing."

159 These assertions are in no way applicable to the Bakairi; they were gay, talkative, and trustful, as I observed them in their association with one another and as they acted toward me alone. I shall not fail to give examples of this. In this village I laughed and heard laughter almost as often as under the coconut palms of Samoa and Tonga. It is true, their temperament is less vivacious and their entire view of life less sunny than among the children of the South Seas, the girls do not dance in the moonlight and the men do not sing on canoe trips. Shyness and mistrust are more easily aroused, but all this is a long way from the sadness and reserve which, like the black horsehair and the Mongolian eyes, are summarily attributed to the Indian on the basis of appearances, as though there were but a single family between the Bering Strait and the Strait of Magellan.

361 The "village" was very small. It consisted of two large
[342] round houses, in each of which several families lived, and a
[392] small, empty, somewhat dilapidated oblong house, in which I
[122] took up my residence. Between the houses stretched the "tadra,"
[401] an open place where a few sacks stood for drying the white
[251] manioca flour spread out on mats, where in the center lay a
[241] long, slender log for sitting, and, toward the edge, there grew a few stalks of cotton, Orinoco bushes (Bixa orellana), and
245 Ricinus plants. Numerous fruit trees were planted all around, bacayuva palms (Acrocomia), mangaba /fruit of the mangaba/ (Hancornia speciosa), fruta de lobo (Solanum lycocarpum), and a
419 sort of avenue of stately piki trees (Caryocar butyrosum). Toward
[32] the east a path led to the "harbor" across the nearby brook, toward
[424]

/60 cont./

353 remained free, was the kitchen and storage place for supply baskets, pots, earthen beiti pans, sieves, mats, back baskets, mortars, pestles, and calabashes. Sticks were plaited with vines onto the main posts, where again gourd bowls or bundles [582] of tobacco were hanging, from a cross beam dangled large [251] birds with straw-plaited legs and tails, which looked very mysterious and were solely for the purpose of storing the maize ears, out of which their insides and wings were constructed, in a manner pleasing to the eye. The floor was covered with a stone-hard deposit of the fine white mandioca flour, the mortars and pestles were flour-white, and the pots smoke-blackened. Above the doors, baskets with calabashes, basket-weirs, fishing nets, on the walls of the "rooms," bows, stone axes, the gaily feathered arrows projecting out of the straw of the dome, a stock of small baskets, drinking bowls, and smaller utensils, on the floor, white balls of loam, little pots, stools, pieces of wood, fire fans, and the ashes of the small fire which everyone maintains at night beside and almost under his hammock; hanging on the hammock, a small bunch of colorful feathers and the comb, here and there a pyramid made of rods with the grill. /61/ a couple of the sticks with which [372] fire is rubbed were also hung up and beside them was tied a small packet of the tinder bast.

354 In short: family dwelling in full operation, precisely as [353] much disorder as was required for comfort, everything clean [412] and nicely arranged, everything hung up, boxed, turned upside down, no iron nails and screws, but only cord and plaiting, all worked with stone axe, animal tooth, and shell. Total impression: the wall, the hammocks, the calabashes, the human beings, brown; brown in every shade, but harmoniously 342 toned, all crust /Kraut/. Here and there the sun shone through a crack in the straw dome, in front of the door the daylight was sharply cut off, and the lane between the doors lay in semishade; through the vent, which was quite tightly closed, a few bright rings and circles fell on the floor, and faint moves of sunlight danced in the ascending smoke.

/220 cont./

The influence on the animal kingdom was strange and remarkable. All beasts of prey very deliberately made use of the occurrence, sought and found their victims, not so much near the blazing fire as on the smoking burned place where many a rodent was probably charred. Numerous falcons hovered over the dark clouds of the "queimada"; wild game hastened to it from far away, to lick the salty ash, and preferred the night, perhaps because it could not hide on the bare expanse. The ground radiated an agreeable warmth.

Hunting by means of fire is found among many primitive peoples. The Schingú Indians no longer seemed to practice it, but in any case it was well known to the Bakaïrí, /221/ and the legend of "Kame in the Mouse" tells us that Keri went hunting with the possessor of fire, the campo fox, and the latter caught "only a burned mouse," inside of which was Keri's brother Kame:

Keri met the campo fox. "Let's make fire in the campo, grandpapa," said Keri. They set out to make fire; it burned all around. Kame was in a mouse. Keri did not know that he had gone inside. The fire burned down and stopped. Keri hunted, did not see a roast. The campo fox found a burned mouse. After he saw it, he ate it. He met Keri. "Grandpapa, what kind of roast did you eat?" "I ate only a mouse."

The "queimada," or burned place, furnished many experiences about the usefulness of fire: fleeing animals when the fire began, later charred animals and fruits, animals that came to it, salty ashes, warmth. Here the hunter could learn how to roast meat, which, on a smaller scale, took on the significance for him that flour preparation has for the field cultivator. Roasting preserves. After many days roasted meat, which otherwise would long since have become putrid, is still tasty; the Bororó went out hunting for weeks and returned with a rich supply of roasted game; the Aueto were absent for several days on fishing expeditions and brought home a canoe heavily laden with roasted fish; among the Mehinakú we saw baskets filled with very appetizing, golden yellow baked fish. Even today roasting is continued until the meat has a thick charcoal crust -- the burned skin --with a very popular salty taste.

/236 cont./

*171 227 [286] The nets, merely small hand nets, were plaited out of the twisted, very resistant tucum palm fiber. They hung as a pouch from a piece of vine with both ends bent together in an oval.

*171 227 285 Two types of weir baskets were distinguished: the puroschi of the Bakairí, wider, fuller with horizontal, rectangular interstices, and the other, tamaschi, narrow, long, with wide, high vertical meshes. The catch-basket, lutu, was a plaited framework of pointed sticks, shaped like a truncated cone, and open at the top and bottom. I watched Paleko as, in order to make a catch-basket, he evened up a bundle of already pointed sticks which still had different lengths. He used the following measuring stick. He took a piece of shaft reed, a-b, and another, c-d, tied them together one under the other parallel at b and c, and now used the free piece from c-d for measuring, placing the stick to be measured alongside it, pressing it against b, cracking it sharply at d, and breaking it off.

*171 227 285 804

[252] Fig. 30. Roasting rack (trempe). (1/30 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

*171 ● 251 252 The Indians often set out for a few days to engage in fishing. They bring home baked fish, but they also seem to be satisfied merely to eat their fill for once outside. The pyramid of the grill, the "trempe" of the Brazilians, which one almost always finds where the Indians have stayed overnight to fish or to build a canoe, is finished in no time. Three sticks are placed together like rifles and are joined at the top with bast, somewhat below the middle a little rod is placed crosswise from one stick to each of the two neighboring ones and is lashed, and this angle

/237/

*171 is covered with more small sticks, so that a triangular horizontal
● 251 grill is formed. The fish are opened with a longitudinal slash along
252 the middle line and a crosswise cut on the side; the flap is opened, the entrails removed, and the fish are placed on the roasting rack.

*171 Plaiting. The material was furnished by the
285 bakayuva, buriti, akuri, and
[524] carandaziuba palms, bamboo cane, and Maranta stalks, which were split, the climbing palm urumbamba (Desmoncus), and the indispensable vines. The men
[482] were the ones who plaited. They used both feet to help out, one foot holding the transverse stalks, the other the longitudinal ones. The basket plaiting was not on a high level. There were little standing and hanging baskets, closely plaited and wide-meshed, in
[482] which odds and ends were stored, fish carried, and the like, but there was no advance beyond the generally
[531] familiar forms. Some variety was achieved by plaiting in black-colored strips. The Mehinakú and Auetó had larger, rectangular, trough-like standing baskets, which were characterized by a neat appearance, were also decorated with tassels at the corners, and were used to store gourds and the like. The Mehinakú called these baskets mayáku, a word which the

Fig. 31. Carrying basket. (1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

/280 cont./

were meant to welcome the participants from the neighboring villages.) "They were made of leaves and straw, /281/ mostly quadrupeds with long, thin bodies, consisting of practically nothing but spinal column and long legs. the tallest ones reached to our hips. Something that was evidently supposed to be a monkey was climbing up a pole." (Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, page 168 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 50/.

Fig. 68. Invitation to the dance. Bakaïri. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

The maize figures, almost exclusively birds, are extremely characteristic of their enjoyment of art. we found the most attractive examples of them in the second Bakaïri village. There they hung, almost as large as turkeys, on a long string from the vault of the dome, a strange sight for the person entering, who undoubtedly

Fig. 69. Maize figure, Harpyia destructor. Bakaïri. (1/10 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

[251] would think of idols and fetishes. But these fine birds were nothing but lovingly trimmed maize ears which were stored in their natural straw husks. I listed figures of Harpia destructor, a large and a small species of falcon, the male

[P.90-A]

	Women	Men	Women	Men	Total
175 Rio Novo	5	18	10	30	63
162 Paranatinga	7	6	6	8	27
On Rio Bacairi:					
First village	3	18	7	9	37
Second village	4	18	17	7	46
Third village	3	13	12	10	44
Fourth village	7	27	16	6	56
Total	30	90	61	66	247

175 By the time Max Schmidt visited the Bacairi
162 in 1900-1901, the Bacairi settlement had dimin-
[63] ished. On the Paranatinga he met 34 Bacairi
[34] and at Rio Novo, 63. On the Kulisevo River where Von den Steinen had visited four villages, Max Schmidt was able to find only two.

ECONOMY

SHELTER

36 While in the Xingu watershed the Bacairi lived in villages built on the banks of the Rio Kulisevo. A village (*ainodri*) consisted of three to eight houses (*kwisi*) built in a circle around a central plaza, *tadre*. The Bacairi house was a large communal building, oblong in shape, with rounded ends and with the roof thatching reaching to the ground. These large domiciles buildings were occupied by three to five families.

3-4 [3-4]

39 In the center of every village there was a ceremonial or flute house (*kadedi*) in which the men kept their ornaments and musical instruments and in which visitors were entertained. Men, women, and children are permitted to enter the *kadedi*. Attached to the common house there was a smaller building, usually oriented in the direction of the rising sun, in which the sacred flutes were kept. Women were not permitted to enter this house, as they were not allowed to see the sacred flutes. The villages were connected by roads running along the river bank.

[5-1] [5-2] [5-3]

EQUIPMENT

25 In the center of each house there was a storage space (*jirde*) where maize, manioc meal, and other foods were kept in gourd vessels (*kiiko*). Cooking was done in a small shed at the back of the house, but food was eaten indoors. Around the walls each family had its hammocks (*ewaka*) in which the people slept. Other furnishings of the house consisted of mats, baskets, clay pots,

[6-5] 31 24 35 2 [6-5]

/162 cont./

512 I did them an injustice. At half-past seven a procession of seven comes around the corner in the female quickstep, one behind the other, the tribal sorcerer at their head, all loaded with
[482] manioca roots. The old woman is carrying a bundle of them loose on her head, and behind her run a young woman with a heavy back-basket; is it her husband who is following her? Like-
[654] wise bent under the load of a basket he walks forward, on his left hip a straddling boy whom he clasps tenderly, as though he had hurriedly picked him up from the ground.

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1. Herr Prof. Arzruni of Aachen was kind enough to examine the material carefully and has identified it as diabase, a rock made up of augite, plagioclase, mica, chlorite, and

/163 cont./

609 mix for him -- whereas the boy of a Brazilian colonist, to whom I was called in Rosario, leaped out of bed and fled from me into the forest.

184 823 The old sibyl joined us this evening on the open plaza. She pointed to the west, "Bakairi"; to the south, "Bakairi!", to the north and east likewise "Bakairi!" and finally, describing a circle in the air, she summed up with proud satisfaction, "Bakairi!" In translation: "All this is subject to me, admit that I am fortunate."

132 14 Aug. 6:00 A.M.: dry. 11.7, wet. 10.6.
2:00 P.M.: dry. 34.9, wet. 20.0, clear, NE 1.
4:00 P.M.: I 740.0, II 730.0, dry. 34.0, hygrom. 88.825.
9:00 P.M.: dry. 18.0, wet. 17.0.

126 /164/ I was fortunately able to measure three women.
[104] Armino is very useless as an interpreter and causes more difficulties
[532] than the harmless people themselves. I also traded for a few maize-straw dolls, judging from the ease with which the transaction was made, there seemed to be no higher or in any sense a religious meaning attached to them.

592 We spent some time in Paulaga's, or rather Chief Cavéco's House; it differed in nothing essential from that of the prokuar; there were no straw dolls.

139 We found inhame (Dioscorea, yams), which we greeted
252 with joy. -- The fish are grilled on just such racks as we came across on the Batovy; they are exposed to the fire until they are encased in a thick charcoal crust; capybara leg, which tasted like fat fish, and monkey steak were also charred on the outside in this fashion. The crisp charcoal gives the insipid-tasting meat, which is not salted, an -- faute de mieux -- improved flavor. The
[123] Bakairi are also familiar with a very medicinal tasting salt made from tree ashes, which, however, they do not seem to use in the preparation of food.

609 431 The soldiers, who were paying their farewell visit, were given generous quantities of beijú, puvas, and polvilho /manioc
252 flour; see the glossary, p.172 / as presents. The grated and pounded mandioca is pressed through mats; the pulp is put into

/166 cont./

252 brick shape -- *puxos*, used for *mingau*. They boil the strained liquid in large pots, whereby the finest flour is deposited -- *polvilho*; this makes the best *beijiu*.

501 [459] Back in the afternoon. Four canoes were acquired with an ax, shirt, and trousers. We are not in good shape, in spite of all that. Quintilian's canoe burst when it was hauled down. The

[531] Bakairi canoes differ from ours only in their more careful workmanship: one of them is painted with black rings on the outside of the longitudinal sides. The oars, the size of a walking stick, have a crook-shaped handle, shaft, and a long lance-shaped blade, which is slightly hollowed out like a shovel.

133 The height of the two uppermost levels of the *salto* amounts to four meters; two meters more may be figured for the falls

[224] below. Baskets for catching fish hang on ropes, which, in turn, are held by makes standing in the middle of the whirlpool.

We call this waterfall the Salto de Alegria. Our happiness

136 is only slightly marred by a swarm of bees and wasps; among the latter, the kind that stung very painfully. -- The transport of the

122 canoes, for which there is a route, is completed. /Illustration appears here./

/167/

132 15 Aug. φ 13° 11'.7, λ 5°.7, km. 6.41, total 130.85.

122 7:00 A.M.: dry. 11.8, wet. 9.9, clear, calm.

000 We have only nine canoes; one is very battered. Castro and I separated, he is traveling with Manoel, I with Compadre Valentin. Off about 9:30 A.M.; immediately an accident happened. At a small rapids Wilhelm's boat capsized, and the foolish Negro Chico behaved as clumsily as possible. With the knapsack and the suitcase in his hands, he stood in the middle of the water, which was flowing over the baggage as though over a mill wheel, as bewildered as a porter in a railroad station who has lost sight of his stranger. He almost drowned, but was luckily pulled out by Clementino. We dried out on both shores. Delay until 1:00 in the afternoon.

[Text continues on p. 48--Analist]

/122/

342 Tumayawa's house was a little smaller; here Eva's children peeped out of the little hammocks, but otherwise the picture was the same.

122 The lodgings pleased me more than the second part of the
262 room-and-board. As far as my diet was concerned, it was bad. I did not see meat at all during my stay in the village, if I except two mice that were shot. Fish was given to the rarely and in small portions as though it were one of the condiments of dishes: once a little pot of creatures the length of a little finger in a saltless broth with a corncob stalk as a spoon; twice a piece of
[852] grilled fish barely hand-size and served on beiju as on a small plate; and once a piece of electric eel, almost too fat, but good and with a skin like smoked eel. Then once I was allowed to dip beiju in fish oil, which would not have been a special delicacy even for the Bakairi if in their childhood they had been obliged to take cod-liver oil. I do not find anything else recorded in my
[852] journal -- on the other hand, on the first day my intended shared with me roasted maize kernels which she held in her lap as she squatted on the ground; occasionally she also brought me a couple of mangabas, and during the inquiry about vocabulary, Eva offered me ants, a palm-boring beetle which still had half a leg, and a fat larva, all of which were supposed to be "iwakuhkuhu," the superlative of everything good and fine in Bakairi. There was no
272 lack of manioca flat-cakes or beijus and drinks. The festive drink, piscrego, however, lasted for only two days; greenish gray like soapy water, warm and covered with bubbly foam, it never-
262 theless had a pleasant, insipid, sweet taste. The beijus were very different in quality, depending on the type of flour; they were usually crumbled and, mixed with water, taken as a drink.

[122] On the other hand, my hosts were heartily willing to relish the little that I had with me in the way of beans and salt and urgently begged for them. There was some difficulty with the beans. Paleko and I together cooked them, but both for the first time in our lives. I kindled the fire and he fetched sticks of wood; we set an earthen pot with the beans in it on three stones and cooked
533 away. Paleko sang to it, plaiting his basket and beating time softly
122

/63 cont./

124 say, an Arab, who would feel awkward about looking into the un-
297 veiled face of a European woman, or a Chinese, who would fall
[192] into the most anguished embarrassment if chance showed him her
mockingless little foot. It is true, the subject that seems shocking
to us gave the Bakalif, men and women, decided pleasure, and
if a pedantic pondrer who wants to have modesty in our sense
preserved at any price as the innate heritage of humanity would
like to conclude from this increased measure of merriment that
the bad conscience of a tribe that had sunk from a higher morality
was missing, I can only reply to him that their merry laughter was
neither impudent nor did it give the impression of choking an
inner embarrassment. On the other hand, it undoubtedly had a
slightly erotic timbre, and, much as occasion and accompanying
circumstances among true primitive peoples must differ, it
altogether resembled the laughter that one hears at our spinning-
party jokes, at games of forfeit, or other harmless entertainment
in the intercourse between the two sexes. For from this same
[538] natural joy, as we shall see later, there resulted one of the most
common ornaments in their painting, namely, the uluri of the
women, represented on numerous implements as the original form
of the triangle.

126 I wished to have the uluri made in larger quantities for
the collection. Which aroused great merriment. Thus one after-
noon there was lively tailoring. We were sitting behind Tumayaua's
[252] house, an old woman was baking beijis outside, pouring the flour
[529] on the pan, spreading it smooth, and /66/ skillfully tossing the
[283] finished flat-cake on a sieve, the children licked up pinezego and
[289] played catch with feather-decorated maize balls, and four women
and girls were twining the threads out of palm fiber, folding the
"little skirts" out of brownish-yellow leaves, and handing me the
126 neat work in quantity and in all sizes. The only thing that I must
291 add is that one woman was very baffled and looked about helplessly
when I asked for an uluri that she was wearing. But no feeling of
modesty related to the exposure had anything to do with this em-
barrassment; rather, what feeling of modesty was present should
be called a physiological one, the existence of which I do not

/102 cont./

been among the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, although he did not know their language, to carry out my plan, but me was encouraged by the example of the other.

We set out early on 10 October and reached the harbor of the Mehinakú on 12 October at 11.00 in the forenoon. We had not hurried particularly; the two rowed best only when I provided a good example. The most dreadful thing to me was that they traced all the bends in the river and never cut off one of them by crossing it. There was not a fish, not a bird, that did not hold their attention. They shot at, without hitting, several gallinaceous birds. A capybara that was swimming across the river was wounded in its hind leg and, with the arrow, ran screaming into the woods. We slept that night beside an inlet with an abundance of fish and made a good catch. The two roasted fish all night long, carefully keeping the fire going under the wooden grill; they had

Fig. 4. Mehinakú woman.

set up their hammocks so close that they could comfortably reach out, turn the fish, occasionally consume a piece, and have the benefit of the fire's warmth.

On the second morning they told me that the bank on the left belonged to the Mehinakú, on the right to the Nahuquá. The harbor lay along a steep sandbank where a small brook emptied. Rhomboid designs were scratched on the trees. The Bakaíri shoved the canoe far up into the brook and carefully concealed the oars and carrying baskets, which still contained remnants of fish and beijú, in the woods. Tumayaua prepared a gift for the Mehinakú hosts and for this purpose hung a rosary-like cord around his neck, on which were strung fruits with an oily content. The oil was rubbed on the skin scratched by the medicinal scarifier of the Indians.

/200 cont./
ceased its raging at the last cataracts, while dense campo wilderness with sandy soil still prevailed in the landscape here, a vast network of canals and lagoons developed downstream and, for persons familiar with the winding waterways, in which the stranger could not find his way, made communication there effortless and extensive, not only from village to village, but also from the village to the plantings, and more fertile soil made work more rewarding.

If we wish to use the schema of fisherman and hunter or agriculturalist, we find a mixed situation among our natives. The hunting of mammals naturally fell back before fishing among the sedentary river dwellers. The latter was important, both for the purpose of food and for that of use for technical requirement. Skin offered no advantages, since clothing for warmth was not worn; the skin of a slain mammal was usually not stripped off, but roasted as well, and to be sure, until it was charred, when it tasted pleasantly crisp and salty. Hunting, beyond that eagerly undertaken for large gallinaceous birds and the other inhabitants of the river-forest, yielded only occasional game and, if it were to have been carried on more seriously, /201/ would have required larger expeditions. We saw this later among the Bororó, who also lived on a river rich in fish, but among whom, conversely, the hunting of mammals predominated: they were away from home for weeks and returned with large quantities of roasted meat; they did not as yet practice agriculture.

Mentally -- and this is a highly significant point -- the Schingú Indians, in spite of intensive agriculture, still lived completely on the true hunting level. At any rate, with regard to the Bakairí I can confirm this statement in its broadest sense. I have described with what attentiveness they observed, even in the village, every sound issuing from the forest, every occurrence in animal life that they chanced to see. Outside, on the campo or forest path, in the canoe, in the overnight camp, the Indian always felt that he was hunting. He was not aware of any gulf between him and the animal world. He saw

/212 cont./

+171 244 In the cultivation of manioca, which today, along with maize, is penetrating into the farthest corners of Africa, as though both of these purely American plants had been native there forever, the metal-less South American has gained achievement which need fear any comparison with other parts of the world. Today there is a cultivated, harmless species, but the original root, which was found only on the Schingú, first had to be divested of its strongly toxic juice, the expressed flour, obtained by grating and pounding, first had to be roasted before a foodstuff was produced, and, to be sure, one of many uses, in a solid state and as a peppy drink, Manihot "utilissima." It far surpasses maize in importance in the household of our Indians. It furnishes the principal food and is really responsible for having forced the natives, who received it from more advanced tribes, to become sedentary, for its preparation presupposes a series of procedures requiring patience and presupposes implements, which, like the grating board studded with palm spines, could be produced only at a great cost of time and work with the inferior tools. Unknown on the upper Schingú is the ingenious tipiti, a tube plaited out of elastic stalks, which is filled with the grated mass and, pulled lengthwise by means of a weight, presses out the poisonous juice. our Indians filtered and pressed the juice through plaited sieves.

+171 293 Of greater interest, however, is the fact that the method of fermenting larger quantities of extract by means of chewing balls of flour or kernels of maize, which is used today probably everywhere in South America where maize and manioca are cultivated by natives, was still unknown in our region; also, nothing was known there about the preparation of pajuará, popular among the North Karaiben, where the fresh beijú soaked in water are wrapped in leaves and buried for a few days. /213/ The piserego of the Schingú does not have an intoxicating effect; it merely represents the tastiest pap-beverage, it is a soup, not an alcoholic drink. No palm wine is made either. one becomes intoxicated only with dancing or, if one wishes, with tobacco, and achieved what was humanly possible in the quantitative consumption of the pap-beverages. On the other hand, the Kamayurá

/215 cont./

*191 462

satisfied with scant remains and would suffer hunger if they did not provide for themselves in time and wealthily set aside part of the contents of the cooking pots still during the cooking or eat already during their work." This among the modern Karaiben Makuschi /Macusi/ in Guiana. Appun, Unter den Tropen /Below the Tropics/, III, p. 309, Jena, 1871, and among many other tribes.

[113]

was therefore dependent on the booty of plant foods that she herself could obtain. On the Schingú the men plaited the roasting rack, roasted fish and meat, the women baked the beijú, boiled the beverages, the fruits, and grilled palm nuts -- what other meaning could this division into animal cookery by the men and vegetable cookery by the women have than that each of the two sexes had remained in its ancient sphere?

[252]

[252] The men did the roasting, but never the boiling. Starting from this fact, we come by way of the same line of thought to a similar conclusion corroborated by quite analogous observations. Scarcely anything else on the Schingú seemed stranger to me at first than the fact that the art of making pots was limited to the Nu-Aruak tribes. The Bakairí did not own a single pot that did not come from the Kumenaú or Mehinakú. The docile Bakairí expressly told me that they had learned pottery from the Paresí, their Nu-Aruak neighbors. Thus old Caetano, in other words, the man, contrary to all original custom, made pots on the modern Paranatinga. The Nahuquá had pots from the Mehinakú and also made some themselves, as was demonstrated before our eyes by a woman kneading the moist clay; but this woman wore the tattooing of the Mehinakú women and had married into the Nahuquá; the art actually came from the Mehinakú. The Trapí tribes, too, had pots from the Nu-Aruak, especially from the Waurá. Thus, the one tribal group * was the sole bearer of

*191 323

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* According to Im Thurn, the Karaiben at

/217 cont./ The Climate

of the mandioca mass was boiled in huge pots, but otherwise only a jam of fruits was boiled and occasionally a dish of small fish which were not worth turning on the grill.

Soup meat and meat broth were unknown; the men knew only roasting. One may ask, perhaps, how did they happen to discover roasting? I shall prove in the next chapter that we have here a matter of experience of humans and men. They set fire to the campo in a circle in order to overpower the animals being pursued, and there they found roasted small animals and found fruits which, though unripe, had been made edible and even tasty by the heat.

Now, since the men and humans, in their sphere, do not yet know about cooking, boiling or cooking must have been invented in connection with the preparation of plant food. One often sees the women grilling all kinds of small fruits in quantities on the beijú pans. Only in this way does unripe fruit become edible, the cruppers given seeds and nuts greater tastiness. And they also began with the roasting of fruits. The roasting racks of the men for meat and fish, plaited out of climbing plants, let the fruits fall through the meshes; the base again may have been smeared with loam, and from that only a small step was lacking for the earthen frying pan, the subsequent beijú pan. On the other hand, if one wanted to "roast" fruits or roots soaked in water, the vessels filled with these, either natural ones -- the Botokude cooks in bamboo sections -- or artificial ones covered with clay, were set on the fire, and thus one "cooked." Therefore, "cooking with water" was done only by the women!

If the mandioca industry was founded by one tribe whose descendants are still living and are included in the present classification, this was in all probability the Nu-Aruak. On the Schingú they most certainly deserve credit for its introduction, since the preparation of flour without earthen pots and beijú pans is impossible. Even in the northern regions, however, the Aruak are the best flour-workers and have always been the most

/217 cont./

skillful potters, although the Karaiben in Guiana have at present become the manufacturers for that region. That is to say, the women! When the Karaiben in the north of the Amazon River and on the Lesser Antilles subjugated the Aruak tribes and killed half the population, it was fortunate that this half was the men; the women with their agriculture, their potter's art, and their flour technique survived.

Thus, among our Indians we see how the higher culture surpassing hunting arose out of the natural division of labor, and it is also /218/ owing to this that, with fauna and with the formation of new tribal communities, it could be handed down to future generations. The woman was more than the working animal, she was also the working human being. Just as the man developed the technique of weapons and of the tools arising out of hunting, she, with the same self-reliance, developed the cultural elements placed in her hands, such as gathering, carrying, preparing fruits and roots. The Indian owes his tasty flour-drink in the earthen vessels to the woman. The individual pieces of evidence put together for this conclusion, which might be more useful for a toast to the ladies than for the serious struggle of our women in order to work (a struggle rooted in modern necessity and not in prehistory), are still preserved intact in the Brazilian culture circle. The realization that -- at least here -- the possibility of becoming sedentary goes back to the obvious merit of the women's activity naturally forced into a certain direction by the hunter vocation of the men, elevates the female sex for this phase of development at least up to the level of the male sex.

[433] The hunter and agriculturalist scheme only now comes alive. Man and woman, both, represent a standing or a certain sum of [3/23] technical knowledge. Thus it is very plain that the less advanced tribes of the Schingú could not make their pots, although they had loam. They lacked Nu-Aruak women, and the Nahuquá, who had taken some of them into their community, had thus taken the right path: they now began to make their own pots, whereas the Bakairí had not yet produced the smallest pot.

/126 cont./

The nets, namely small hand nets, were plaited out of the twined, very resistant tucum palm fiber. They hung as a pouch from a piece of vine with both ends bent together in an oval. Two types of weir baskets were distinguished: the puracha of the Bakairí, wider, fuller with horizontal, rectangular interstices, and the other, tamacha, narrow, long, with wide, high vertical meshes. The catch-basket, kutu, was a plaited framework of pointed sticks, shaped like a truncated cone, and open at the top and bottom. I watched Paleko as, in order to make a catch-basket, he evened up a bundle of already pointed sticks which still had different lengths. He used the following measuring stick. He took a piece of shaft reed, a-b, and another, c-d, tied them together one under the other parallel at b and c, and now used the free piece from c-d for measuring, placing the stick to be measured alongside it, pressing it against b, cracking it sharply at d, and breaking it off.

Fig. 30. Roasting rack (tempe). (1/30 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

The Indians often set out for a few days to engage in fishing. They bring home baked fish, but they also seem to be satisfied merely to eat their fill for once outside. The pyramid of the grill, the "tempe" of the Brazilians, which one almost always finds where the Indians have stayed overnight to fish or to build a canoe, is finished in no time. Three sticks are placed together like rifles and are joined at the top with bast, somewhat below the middle a little rod is placed crosswise from one stick to each of the two neighboring ones and is lashed, and this angle

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is covered with more small sticks, so that a triangular horizontal grill is formed. The fish are opened with a longitudinal slash along the middle line and a crosswise cut on the side. The flap is opened, the entrails removed, and the fish are placed on the roasting rack.

Plaiting. The material was furnished by the bakapuka, buriti, akuri, and cirandauba palms, bamboo cane, and Maranta stalks, which were split, the climbing palm unumbamba (Desmoncus), and the indispensable vines. The men were the ones who plaited. They used both feet to help out, one foot holding the transverse stalks, the other the longitudinal ones. The basket plaiting was not on a high level. There were little standing and hanging baskets, closely plaited and wide-meshed, in which odds and ends were stored, fish carried, and the like, but there was no advance beyond the generally familiar forms. Some variety was achieved by plaiting in black-colored strips. The Mehinakú and Auetó had larger, rectangular, trough-like standing baskets, which were characterized by a neat appearance, were also decorated with tassels at the corners, and were used to store gourds and the like. The Mehinakú called these baskets mayáku, a word which the

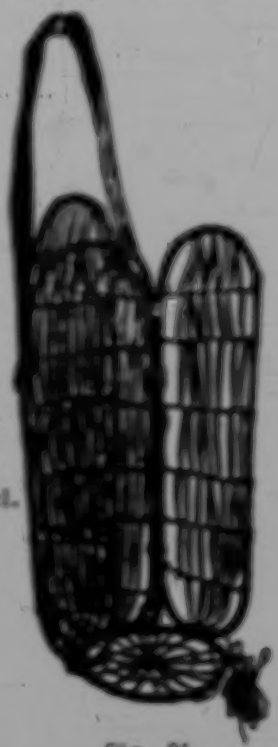

Fig. 31. Carrying basket. (1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

/237 cont./

#171 Bakairí used for the very differently constructed carrying basket. 85 The accompanying illustration /see Fig. 31, p. 247/ shows [492] the three-walled carrying basket used by all tribes, the "mayáku" of the Bakairí, while the manner in which it is carried, hanging from the head with a bast loop, may be seen in the picture of Tumayaua, Plate 6 /see p. 40/. The contents were covered with leaves, which are also used to line the inside; then the side walls were bound together as tightly as possible. Small back-baskets were even hung on children.

The storage baskets for the mandioca flour should also be mentioned. While the lower tribes had clumsy supply baskets, resembling the back-baskets in form, those of the Bakairí (oádu) were the product of careful work. Five or six thin poles as tall as a man were put together with a couple of cross-rings of vines to form a circular framework supported in some way, this was lined with Heliconia leaves, several of which were strung over one another with thread, spread out, and on the outside wound in horizontal circular turns with reddish pindahyba bast from bottom to top, with the bast knotted continuously from piece to piece. While this type of basket was therefore unplaited, there were others with an open, hexagonal /238/ mesh plaiting, which were likewise lined with leaves. The baskets were hung by strips of embira.

[372] The plaiting of mats did not play an important role. Small fan-shaped or square mats for fanning the fire were very pretty. [352] Larger mats for sleeping were lacking, since hammocks were [252] used. Mats were used in the preparation of flour, first of all drying mats plaited out of palm leaves, and then sieve-mats consisting of four-edged small reed rods knotted together with cross-threads for sifting and pressing out the roots grated on the grating boards studded with palm spines. Similar rod mats served as cases for storing feather ornaments. The feathers were placed in them as in a file folder, the mat was then held stiff by means of three clamps, one each on the top, on the bottom, and in the middle, made by bending split reed stalks together and, with the cut side lying against them, stretching them across transversally and tying the projecting ends together at the right.

B /241 cont./
*171 415 best outward horizontally. These pots were not, as one would expect, the most common ones, but rather the rarest. I scarcely
B [252] believe that there was one in each dwelling. Cooking did not play an important part, except for the preparation of flour, and for that the large kettles were required. On the other hand, a third type was found quite abundantly. These are the many-shaped warming and eating bowls 10-24 centimeters in diameter, which are represented by typical examples on the two plates, 23 and 24, "Ceramic Motifs" /see pp. 308 - 329/. A glance at the two plates teaches us the important fact that the basic form of these pots studded with edge projections is that of the roundish-oval vessel-fruit, whose /247/ curvature they have retained, although a flat bottom should be preferable for the pot. On the other hand, the curvature has made possible the plastic motif of the animal body. These clay bowls, as they are probably best called, were also by no means numerous in the houses. We saw the smallest number of them among the Auetö and Kamayurá. From the Trumaí we acquired only two small round pots, but this does not mean anything because they were in flight. We
B [122] searched out every specimen because of their artistic value; we brought back some 80 in our collection, and if I now estimate that in the villages visited by us there might have been twice that many in all, I am sure the figure is too high. There are probably scarcely three small pots per household on the average. The gourd vessels still have precedence. There was, of course, every transition in size, as well as in use, to the small cooking
B [264] pots. Eating was always done, however, out of the clay bowls, while the contents of the cooking pots were dished out. The clay bowls were preferred for children.

W 323 Unfortunately, we did not observe how the kettle-pots were shaped. We saw only the extremely simple manner in which a Mehinakú woman in the Nahuquá village made a scarcely medium-sized pot. She brought out a basket filled with loam -- it interested me more than anything else in relation to the history of the origin of the pots -- added water to the clay, and pressed the superfluous water through a sieve. She shaped it, kneading and scraping it, and, in view of the smallness of the pot, did

/281 cont./

235 bird, and the jabiru or giant stork. A human-like figure, a doll
532 with a knob on top instead of a head, represented the imoto
825 dancer in his straw garb. Otherwise there were always birds, and, to be sure, large birds. Often a pair of genuine tail feathers were stuck in or a few colored bands painted on the maize straw. The accompanying Harpia destructor (Fig. 69 /see p. 316/) is characterized by its strong beak and its crest, the tail feathers are banded with black; the toes are lovingly made out of twisted straw and where the foot emerges from the feathers of the leg there is a lashing. More impressive was the tujujú stork, it hung with wings outspread! A thick maize ear, as the center section, formed the body; only the stem was not cut off on it, but rather, projecting far out, formed the somewhat thin, but long beak. On either side eleven maize ears in
[258] a row were clamped between a couple of twigs, and this beautifully suspended bridge then represented Mycteria americana, the individual parts of which were broken off one by one and roasted. Nothing mysterious, nothing symbolic, only a stork which the Bakairí were very willing to roast crispy for the astonished European.

524 /282/ Loam dolls. A similar unexpected combination of
532 the beautiful and useful is shown by a heavy, red, loam doll,
261 30 centimeters long, 24 centimeters wide, and seven centimeters thick, Fig. 70 /see p. 318/. Four rounded stumps, which are produced by two lateral and one lower /Fig. 70 appears here/ indentation in the body lump, are the extremities; a clumsy, cube-shaped projection, the head. Two little holes, the eyes; a depression, the mouth sliding sharply downward, and another little hole, the navel. This red loam man is an edible doll for children. It consists of the material which the Bakairí say their grandfathers consumed before they were acquainted with mandioca. Today the heavy, fat dough is probably no longer a prized delicacy. The doll is also not very suitable as a plaything because of its weight. I was told that children licked it. We found similar dolls made of whitish, harder, nonedible loam, however, and saw nothing of loam being

/24 cont./

231 a table made of vertigas and provided regularly with meat, if possible monkey meat.

178 Among the various crafts of the Kulisehu Bakairí, pottery-
[323] making, plaiting, and spinning were still maintained in the
[285] ancestral form. Food preparation was also still the same as
[283] described by Karl von den Steinen for times past. The only
[252] essential difference appeared in regard to woodworking, for
177 which at this time metal tools were used, so that this craft no
322 longer depended on stone axes, drills with stone points, shells,
412 and the teeth of fish or other animals. Another acquisition from
[301] the various expeditions which had passed through their territory were ear pendants of multicolored glass beads with which many women and children, especially, were well provided. European
[291] clothing was seen only in exceptional cases. Thus the first man who came out of his house in Maigeri aldea to greet me had on trousers which he had been given at the time of a visit to the Rio Paranatinga aldea and which surely had never been washed since. As a rule the uluri (small triangle of bark) was the sole
[291] national garment of the women and young girls, and a fine thread belt and body paint the men's apparel.

114 When Karl von den Steinen visited the Rio Kulisehu Indians,
361 the first Bakairí aldea, called Maigeri, consisted of only two
342 large houses of kinsfolk and one small house for fiestas with an
345 oval base, while the second and third aldeas each consisted of three large houses of kinsfolk and of one house for fiestas. Thus
[161] the number of houses in Bakairí aldeas at the time of my stay among these Indians had increased, and for this reason I do not hold as correct Herrmann Meyer's observation that this tribe was
114 already "greatly declining" at the time. (30) No doubt there
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30. Herrmann Meyer, Ibid., p. 126.

were then only two Bakairí aldeas on the Rio Kulisehu, the first, Maigeri, already mentioned by Karl von den Steinen, and the

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Cf. Idem., "Ableitung südamerikanischer Geflechtmuster aus der Technik des Flechtens /Derivation of South American Plaiting Pattern from the Technique of Plaiting/." Zeitsch. f. Ethn., 1904, Heft 3 and 4, pp. 490-512. Idem., "Die technischen Voraussetzungen in der Ornamentik der Eingeborenen Südamerikas /The Technical Bases in the Ornamentation of the South American Natives/." Ipek. Jahrbuch für Prähistorische und Ethnographische Kunst, 1926, pp. 142-174.

discuss the plaited objects that I collected from the Simões Lopes Bakairí in a special section that follows. In addition to plaited objects I was primarily concerned with the acquisition of a mortar and its corresponding pestle and a triangular barbecue, because the relevant collections of the Berlin Ethnographic Museum did not include any specimen of these Bakairí objects which are to be found in almost every settlement of these Indians. The wooden mortar which I brought from Simões Lopes (V.B. 9883, called óro by the Kulisehu Bakairí) is shown in Figure 29. Its height reaches 38 cm. and the rim diameter 25 cm. From the irregular shape of the bottom it may be assumed that the lower part of the mortar was implanted in the ground. The corresponding pestle (V.B. 9884) has a length of 95 cm. and is shown in Figure 28. The barbecue shown in Figure 30 and called by the Kulisehu Bakairí si(r)ka has the usual triangular shape of Bakairí barbecues. The sticks of which this barbecue consists are bound together with tree bark. Its height reaches 105 cm.

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I found the dancing sticks shown in Figures 33 a-d and 34 a-d (V.B. 9942, 9943, 9945-9948, 9951, and 16071) in

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Plate XIV

Fig. 30. Barbecue of Bakairi in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 31 a. Notched board for remembering numbers. b. Ball of an ear of maize. Bakairi in Simões Lopes.

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Fig. 32 Figures in the form of birds, made from maize husks. Bakairi-Xingu-rios of the Rio Paranatinga.

352 415 wooden benches, and dishes and cups made from gourds.

424 As the Bacairí were extensive travelers and
226 depended upon fish for a considerable part of
501 their food supply, canoes were an important part of their equipment. The Bacairí canoe (*pipi*)
398 was made from the bark of the jatobá tree. The
[324] tough, heavy bark was first stripped from one-half of the tree. Small fires were then lighted on the inside of the bark trough to make it curl. Braces were placed at intervals along the entire length, the bow was tapered, and the stern was squared off by forcing the bark upward at one end.
501 Bacairí canoes varied in size, the larger ones being able to carry as many as 8 men. Canoes of jatobá bark are used by the Bacairí today and are the
[171] predominant type among the Indians of the
415 Upper Xingú. The Bacairí also made large
[324] tubs out of jatobá bark which were used as settling vessels for manioc juice. The juice of the manioc
352 contains a fine powder or starch which settles on the bottom of the vessel, to be gathered after the
241 liquid is poured off. For gardening, the Bacairí formerly used a digging stick made of hardwood.
411 For hunting, they used a bow (*tíku*), round or
324 slightly oval in cross section and from 2 to 2½ meters in length, made from a yellow or reddish wood which was first matured by burying it in mud. The bowstring was made from the fibers of imbauba bark. Arrows (*pirú*) were made from
[23] cane with hardwood or bone points. Hunting arrows had two feathers, but arrows used for shooting fish had serrated wooden points and no
412 feathers. The cutting tools of the Bacairí consisted of knives made from bamboo, stone, bones, and
489 shell. Transportation was by canoe, or if over
482 land, goods were carried in a wicker basket supported on the back by a tump line.

ORNAMENTS

291 While living on the banks of the Kuliseu River,
[171] the Bacairí, in common with the other Upper Xingú River tribes, did not use clothing. Men sometimes wore a narrow cotton band (*onoyia*) around the waist, with a few tassels hanging in front. Women, after puberty, wore the ulurí.
302 Men wore their hair cut short. Women wore their hair long at the back but cut straight across over
[412] the forehead. Hair was cut with a knife made
[235] by setting sharp fish teeth into a wooden stick,

6:Oberg E-5 (1947)1953 SP7 Bacairi 597
[P.72-A]

241 beans, *ipiú*; peanuts, *oremí*; sweetpotatoes, *makódo*;
"carú," *nóri*; maize, *duji*; potatoes, *mülü*; cotton,
kodokíru; urucú, *dunto*; tobacco, *tawerí*; piqui
fruit, *ipu*. Manioc, maize, and sweetpotatoes
249 were the principal food crops. Cotton was grown
for making hammocks and the various belts and
276 strings used. Tobacco leaves, after being dried,
were smoked by being rolled into cigars (*tupdki*).
[755] Tobacco seems to have had a ritual use, as the
shamans smoked heavily before performing a rite.
252 Bitter manioc was shredded on a shredding board
into which fish teeth or fine pieces of shell had
been embedded. The pulp was squeezed in a
piece of cotton cloth in order to remove the poisonous acids. The meal was then used for baking
cakes. The fine powder or flour which settled at
the bottom of the settling tub was also used for
baking cakes after it was thoroughly dried. Maize
was eaten boiled or roasted. Sweetpotatoes were
272 roasted over coals. Maize meal was prepared and
mixed with wild honey and water to make a non-
alcoholic beverage. The Bacairí claim not to have
used any form of alcoholic beverage.

241 Cultivated plots were located outside the village, each large household usually having a continuous area. Maize and many other crops were planted in September and October when the rains began. Sweet manioc and sweetpotatoes could be planted the year around, especially on river banks after the rivers went down following the rainy season. April was the harvest month and also the beginning of the ceremonial season.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

592 The occupants of the large communal houses usually worked together in the fields, went hunting or fishing together, and generally cooperated in economic activities. Families could work individually if they wished or did not need the help
241 of others. It was the task of the men to burn and
462 prepare the fields for planting. As the men loosened the soil with the digging stick women planted the seeds, slips, or pieces of stalk, as the case might be. Women and children thereafter took care of the weeding.

462 Division of labor by sex existed to a certain
[295] extent. Women wove mats (*anegéu*) out of various
[296] fibers, and hammocks out of cotton yarn which was also spun by women. Men wove baskets.
[323] Both men and women made clay pots. Bacairí

/66 cont./

264 and licked them off as he swung himself, but no one bothered
276 another with his company. In eating beijú they were perhaps a little more liberal, at least toward me, but in the evening I often saw the men turn aside individually to consume a piece. Later Ehrenreich /67/ found something similar among the Iarajá /Caraja/ on the Araguay /Araguaia/. "Etiquette demands that each one eat by himself, turned away from the other. Anyone who violates this must endure the mockery of the others."

264 Now among the Bakaïrí this etiquette was definitely
276 stricter, certainly in relation to the guest at least, for they com-
123 pletely lost their sense of humor over my lack of manners. I certainly did many things that were not the practice of the country, I sang loudly, I asked men and women their names, I refused the delicate beetle larvae and committed similar quite inexcusable things, but I never noticed that people were ashamed. In this case, however, it was more a matter of something improper; I had been indecent. There can be no doubt about that.

264 If we must admit, along with Heine, that we all are naked
261 inside our clothes and may be granted only relative justification for our feeling of modesty, the Bakaïrí, too, cannot be offended in his nobler feelings by the mere fact of eating, insofar as the individual takes care of the process for himself. Involuntarily one thinks of some animal that carries its portion of the meal to one side, but obviously out of the fear that another will take it away.
[146] I do believe that fish and meat were relatively scarce among the Bakaïrí, who, with a certain indolence, limited themselves more to mandioca and maize than they themselves liked; I am certain that if I had stayed there a week longer I would voluntarily have sat down in a quiet corner with every good morsel that I had justly or unjustly got hold of, in order to consume it protected from the glances of the others. Even at that time, I am afraid, I was casting hungry glances toward the others. The origin of the feeling of modesty described, however, must be rooted in ancient times.

000 Good heavens, when we were on short rations on the expedition, how we so-called civilized human beings checked each other's portions, I can only say with greed and envy, although we

B /201 cont./

[191] in remote epochs, /202/ for the phonetic softening processes
[194] and the disappearance of the initial root-sounds, which are
[241] present everywhere in the individual dialects, show a development in the same direction, but in different gradations everywhere with respect to degree and limits, show only equivalence, not conformity, and therefore could have started only after the separation from the basic people. Nevertheless, even the basic peoples have names for the most important useful plants: they are entirely different from one basic people to another, but for the individual basic stock they are common among a greater or lesser number of branches. For the Karaiben /Carib/ I believe I have proved these statements in my Bakairí grammar, I can likewise maintain them for the Tupí after more recent studies; for the Nu-Aruak /Arawak/, where the material is inadequate and difficult, I reserve all judgment and merely point out that, on the basis of historical and ethnological data, we must conclude that the Nu-Aruak undoubtedly have an older culture than the Karaiben and certainly the Gês, and probably also an older
T [192] one than the Tupí. The Trumaí borrowed their names for the most important useful plants in part from the Nu-Aruak, in part from the Tupí.

B [181] Thus, we have a contradiction with respect to the common conception: ancient agriculture along with the world view of
B [173] hunters. The Bakairí said to me: "Our grandfathers did not
[261] know anything about maize and mandioca, instead they ate earth" -- which the present-day Indians only nibble. In the bagadú legend they say that mandioca was first given as a gift
BO to the campo residents. In the Mato Grosso different stages of de-
[241] velopment are found side by side; in the case of the Bororó we
[153] shall become acquainted with a mighty tribe for whom the cultivation of food plants was an incomprehensible beginning, who, without need, most speedily pulled out and consumed the
T mandioca roots planted for them, before the roots were scarcely
[241] more than thin young shoots -- we recognize from the language and
[179] also hear from the tradition that the Trumai were taught agriculture only recently by their neighbors, and we find among them excellently tended, extensive plantings--

/281 cont./

285 532 825 bird, and the jabiru or giant stork. A human-like figure, a doll with a knob on top instead of a head, represented the imoto dancer in his straw garb. Otherwise there were always birds, and, to be sure, large birds. Often a pair of genuine tail feathers were stuck in or a few colored bands painted on the maize straw. The accompanying Harpia destructor (Fig. 69 /see p. 316/) is characterized by its strong beak and its crest, the tail feathers are banded with black; the toes are lovingly made out of twisted straw and where the foot emerges from the feathers of the leg there is a lathing. More impressive was the tujujú stork; it hung with wings outspread! A thick maize ear, as the center section, formed the body, only the stem was not cut off on it, but rather, projecting far out, formed the somewhat thin, but long beak. On either side eleven maize ears in [252] a row were clamped between a couple of twigs, and this beautifully suspended bridge then represented Mycteria americana, the individual parts of which were broken off one by one and roasted. Nothing mysterious, nothing symbolic, only a stork which the Bakaïrí were very willing to roast crispy for the astonished European.

524 532 261 /282/ Loam dolls. A similar unexpected combination of the beautiful and useful is shown by a heavy, red, loam doll, 30 centimeters long, 24 centimeters wide, and seven centimeters thick, Fig. 70 /see p. 318/. Four rounded stumps, which are produced by two lateral and one lower /Fig. 70 appears here/ indentation in the body lump, are the extremities; a clumsy, cube-shaped projection, the head. Two little holes, the eyes; a depression, the mouth sliding sharply downward, and another little hole, the navel. This red loam man is an edible doll for children. It consists of the material which the Bakaïrí say their grandfathers consumed before they were acquainted with mandioca. Today the heavy, fat dough is probably no longer a prized delicacy. The doll is also not very suitable as a plaything because of its weight. I was told that children licked it. We found similar dolls made of whitish, harder, nonedible loam, however, and saw nothing of loam being

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/282 cont./ we found similar dolls made of whitish, nonedible loam, however, and saw nothing of loam being eaten by the Kalusche Indians, whereas among the Bororó I saw that they absent-mindedly broke off and nibbled little pieces of the wall of the station house in front of which we stood talking.

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Fig. 70. Loam doll. Bakairí. (1/6-1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Among the Bakairí we discovered a small female doll of baked clay, which they attributed to the Auetö, the only one of its kind. Among the Auetö themselves we did not find anything similar. The arms are broken off close to the shoulder, the legs somewhat lower

Fig. 71. Clay doll. Auetö. (3/4 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

in the middle of the shapeless, swollen thighs. /283/ Aside from this elephantiasis, the modeling is not bad at all. The torso especially is praiseworthy, the navel is in the right place, and the back, both in

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171 754 956 The medicine men are differentiated as good and bad. According to Antonio, there are "few among the Bakairí and Auetó, more among the Nahuquá, many among the Mehinakú, and too many among the Kamayurá." There were none living on the Paranatinga at the time. Anyone can become one, but it is very [862] [785] difficult. "One must learn a great deal." One is supposed to drink only starchy broth for four months, enjoy no salt and eat no

[861] [826] * This fasting is also very good if one wants to excel in the art of shooting fish, and in this case it is sufficient if one does not eat anything but starch-paste for a month. Antonio did this and was very satisfied with the result.

meat, fish, or fruits; one is not supposed to sleep but to drum ceaselessly on the skull with the fists so that the swollen eyes are very painful in the morning, bathe a great deal, scratch arm and chest bloody, etc. Antonio wanted to study medicine, but was afraid of this difficult internship; Felipe made a good start in the same endeavor, but did not succeed, because he had no teacher. *171 754 The chief art of the accomplished master of sorcery is exhibited in the use of poisons. With these he kills others and he even kills himself in order to be able to change himself into another shape. We are to become acquainted here with a conception of death which takes some getting used to, but which is in direct agreement with the life of the shadow during sleep.

[828] Let us hear first how sickness and death come into the world, in spite of the good medicine-man of one's own village, who with all his might combats the evil one from the foreign village. [825] [824] The evil one is a bad person whom no one likes because he kills instead of healing, he mixes the poison from wasps, from the tocandyra ant, and from other such animals with oil and resin from the alimesca and pindahyba in a calabash. From the man whom he wishes to harm he obtains either hair, by stepping on it when it is being cut or even cutting it himself when the man is asleep, or a bit of blood by tossing a finely pointed twig of jatobá, pindahyba, or pau de olho in his direction and then picking

/104 cont./

122 The cadet was familiar with only two forms of activity: he slept or ate. It was indeed a pleasure, however, to sleep within four walls once more, although at night the wind often whistled through strongly. And there were all kinds of things to eat that were
262 not furnished on the march. There was plenty of sugar cane; the cooked mandioca root with roasted bacon cubes was a dish for the gods. a piglet was slaughtered, a few chickens forfeited their lives;
[225] the young chaps had also killed a tapir one day under a regular volley of small shot, it furnished a very tasty ragout. The women sent fresh, crisp "beijiu," a simple baked product made of mandioca

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Antonio Quirino

262 flour, of the shape and approximately the taste of matzoth. Since
292 there was no shortage of rapadura /a crude form of sugar; see the glossary, p.172 /, "jacuba" was constantly being prepared as refreshment; in a gound bowl a plentiful amount of rapadura, a plentiful amount of farinha /manioc flour; see the glossary p.171 /,
231 and water as desired. Even milk appeared. In the evening the
526 calves were separated from their mothers; the herd was driven into the "curral" /corral; see glossary, p.170 /, and the calves were lassoed with a great hullabaloo, while a large and appreciative
526 audience /105/ sat all around on the fence. That was something

/157 cont./

241 the process of being charred. The pillar of smoke that had drawn our attention for several days is explained: the forest was
122 being cleared in order to lay out a planting. Eagerly scouting, we climb up, and again we are wandering along the forest path.

/158/ "Beijû," somebody cries in a suppressed voice and
[262] triumphantly points to a few crumbs, which give us the prospect of new provisions; "they have beijûs," each one murmurs to the man behind him.

[41] There -- a feather-decorated arrow leans against a tree
[529] -- the tube of ubá, the wood from which the Imperador /emperor/
[175] of the legend created the Bakairí. We become more serious, and even the Negroes, who, when they are afraid, like to try to give themselves courage by chattering march on silently. Now and then small fires, alive or burned out. We have already been
[139] walking three-quarters of an hour. But see there, a new clearing -- a charming grove of nut-bearing bacayuva palms -- a few kernels of maize on the ground, again a bit of forest and "Casas -- houses," the first man cries.

341 Three houses of the form of a beehive become visible; in
342 the first hut, which blocks our path, the low door stands open, in the dark we make out a few heads. A completely naked
609 Indian steps out, young, well built, closes the door, and comes
[291] toward us, in his hand a long arrow shaft without a point, which he holds horizontally in front of him.

I instruct Antonio to call out a greeting to him in Bakairí. "Kpulino," cries Antonio almost breathless, and -- hail to the antiguos -- the Indian answers in Bakairí. Eagerly he steps up to Antonio, leans against him, and both embrace as they walk on -- both talking at the same time, both trembling all over with fear and excitement.

[302] A joyful feeling of release overcame us all, and when Manoel, discovering that our dear savage wears a nicely shaved tonsure, now finally recovers his speech and cries out, "Oh, why that's a priest, the compadre is a person," general laughter breaks out, and everybody talks at once.

/159 cont./

862 574 It contributed no little to the enhancement of the holiday mood that plenty of beijûs, as well as puvas /see the glossary, p. 172/, brick-like pieces of dried mandioca pulp, and, above all, mingaus /see the glossary, p. 171/ were served. Everyone [292] was separately offered in large bowls three kinds: a whitish, thin, scarcely refreshing beaten paste of starch flour, another, yellow one, tasting of squash, and a third one, warm and pleasantly sweet, toward which everyone crowded in order to grant the palate this half forgotten quality of sensation.

609 More delightful was the absolutely equal treatment that was given us and the soldiers. Chico, this African ape-man, even seemed to impress the little people particularly, and he, like all the others, leaning on his gun, accepted the homage with great dignity and drank in enormous draughts.

It cannot be said that the barbarians actually expressed great astonishment. In general they did not pay any attention to skin color and beard; true, they admired the clothing, the knives, the open glass, but as children who are not experiencing this for the first time do with their presents at Christmas. A [152] demonstration that filled them with terror; the women ran away, the men winced and, puzzled, joined in the laughter when they saw our gaiety. To avoid a repetition, however, they urgently begged "Ûa, Ûa -- it is enough." At the strange /160/ appearance of our dogs the podesaw was so frightened that he manifested the best intention of shooting them dead.

12 August.

437 439 The Bakairí paid us a return visit with wife and child. They were heavily laden with beijûs. Soon an enthusiastic barter with the soldiers was in progress, the latter bartered for arrows or feathers and puvas in exchange for buttons and worn articles of clothing. The buttons, which could be strung on the belt-string, were highly prized. The guests, however, especially preferred [554] knives, plates, and spoons. The tribal sorceress ran about busily; in vain she speculated on a cooking pot, which she excitedly examined from all sides; but she won a spoon, a tin plate, and

/172 cont./

000 the more uncertain I am in abstracting the common features. The
191 Kumenaê has his foot and half of his lower thigh painted red, like
302 stockings; the upper thighs are covered with a sooty black, in which, however, arched stripes are left blank. On his back he has two red stripes, and in addition black arm-bands. Numerous scratches which are made with the tooth of the peixe-cachorro
302 (dogfish). The Bakairí, too, are painted more than usual with
[531] red: one has a black stripe on either side from eye to ear; another has painted himself black over the middle of his forehead, nose, lips, and chin, and bright brick-red on the sides of the forehead and the face. Among some, the hair, too, is saturated with the
301. red oil. Below the knees are bands of /Illustration appears here/ /173/ burití straw; a skein of cotton, colored a dirty reddish brown, is tied around the waist. Some have strings or bands of cotton wound over the ankles or under the knees, around the legs, or around the upper arms. There is no uniformity anywhere.

302 The tonsure is shaved with a bent piece of spear grass. Its
413 diameter is seven centimeters.

197 To our surprise we also found an iron chisel tip and on a child a little string of blue beads. We could not find out definitely how these had found their way here. I interpreted their descrip-
[121] tion and Antonio's unclear account to mean that they had been brought back from a tribe on the lower Paranatinga whom the grandfather had visited on a raiding expedition.

296 Even in Aldea II the men had become happily excited by the discovery of tobacco seed; smoking was also done here. The leaves were so dry that they could be rubbed almost to powder, they were rolled into cigarettes about two decimeters long, and the fresh green leaf of an unknown tree was split lengthwise and used as the wrapping. This wrapper burned with a pleasant, balsam odor. The smoke was inhaled.

262 The women made excellent beijú, it tasted like fresh French roll. We also ate a fish ragout à la cornille, of which we would have liked to have had more than they gave us.

[Text Continues on P. 59]

162 /58 cont./ unfortunately, she scratched her head far too often,
621 and though this may occasionally have occurred out of embarrassment,
515 nevertheless lice had their visible part in it.

Eva's friend, about twelve years old, "my intended" (Pl. 5, third
[262] from the right), was in the habit of picking them out and eating them.
162 In general this one had all the good things in the village, and many
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Fig. 5. "Eva," Tumayana's daughter.

162 beads that I had given others I later found around her neck. She was the
621 little daughter of the deceased chief and his /59/ heiress. Her uncle
[122] Tumayana was only the provisional chief; if I had followed Paleko's
[123] very seriously meant suggestion and had married his niece, he would have
had to turn over the government to me. Even today I cannot deny that,
[291] quite apart from the excellent match with which there was associated no
greater demands in the way of dress than a string of beads and a piece
of bark-bast the size of a small human ear, a better opportunity of be-
coming acquainted with the ethnology of the Kuliseha could scarcely
have been imagined. I saw little of the other women, with the exception,
[142] perhaps, of the "Egyptian," who also came over from the second village,
a tall greedy person with an Egyptian profile and almond-shaped eyes
(Pl. 5, second from the right).

[See P. 28--Analysis]

/59 cont./

231 rafters of the smoke vent, and, if he suddenly shot down and raced around us like a wild animal, he was quickly chased back to his observation post, where he looked down, his head bent inquisi-
224 tively and his beak open. /60/ Sometimes one of the little mice
[262] so busily active at night came spying about and, if it did not scamper away in time, was shot with a child's arrow and brought
136 to the women as a roast. Almost constant guests were large black-white striped bees, which, like a butterfly that now and then fluttered into the entrance, would calmly let themselves be seized and put aside. On a hot noonday I often had the feeling of sitting in the midst of a beehive filled with buzzing and droning.

123 It was at this hour on the third day that I fled from the bees
[342] and flies to Paleko's large house and entered it for the first time. It was wonderfully cool and comfortable in there and no annoying insects. Only ants laden with grains of flour marched
[517] down their street to the mandioca pestle. The men were swing-
[574] ing in the hammocks, their chief occupation at home, and
[352] after I had sat a while, for the sake of politeness, on the stool of honor, which was as high as a cigar box, I soon followed their example.

342 One had the feeling of being in a huge beehive, fortunately without the bees. The ground plan was almost circular with a diameter of 15 meters; two mighty posts standing nine meters high and three and a half meters apart, supported in the center the huge straw dome, the framework of which consisted of horizontal bamboo rings and over these vertical poles bent upward toward the vent. It was smoke-blackened, glistening like tar. The walling all around, above which it rose, a tightly closed ring of posts one and a half meters high, interrupted only by two door entrances opposite each other, which were much
[352] too low for me. From the wall towards the interior, in the direction of the radii, the hammocks were stretched, fastened on either end to particularly strong posts, so that the outer space
353 was divided into a number of rooms, albeit open. The large center space around the main posts and under the vent, which

/61 cont./

512 The tacitum Indians, men and women, chattered con-
[152] stantly, and Eva's delightful laughter rang out merrily. The
[278] women were all busy. One was scraping a reddish bark which, when cooked, furnishes a curative brew, a second was pounding mandioca grains in a mortar. Now and then a swallow was brought to one of the men in the hammock. A beautiful
[272] picture there by the flickering fire that leaped up at the enormous kettle; the naked woman with long hair was skimming off the milk-like, gently bubbling foam of the pũserego in a little pot and pouring it back again and again with a vigorous swing of her arm. Others stepped up, yours truly as well, and tasted, licking their fingers. My intended looked very trim,
[231] too, her "raven-black Mongolian hair" had glints of faded light brown, and she was squatting in front of three discontentedly cawing green parakeets which she was feeding out of
[262] a little pot. Then my turn came; she placed a freshly baked, golden yellow beiiũ flat-cake in front of me and did not forget to remark that it was her own handiwork.

Fat Yapü had fallen asleep. I, too, was overcome by a pleasant weariness in the unfamiliar, mood-evoking equableness of the domestic activity; I could not resist the pleasant invitation to take a midday nap, although in the largest hammock there I squirmed like a fish in the net.

I had slept soundly. The picture had changed. The women
[515] sat outside on the plaza, five in a row one behind the other, busily engaged in delousing. Anyone who caught a little
[262] animal placed it on the tip of the tongue and swallowed the delicacy or gave it to the original owner, who received it from the rear in her upturned right hand. The men were attentively watching swallows, "iri"; Luchu shot at them without hitting them; when a pair took its prey in the air, this aroused general interest, and good old Paleko furnished explanatory comments. Everywhere dolce far niente. Only the ants did not celebrate; large carregadores marched by, heavily laden with pieces of stalks and charcoal.

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342 Tumayaua's house was a little smaller; here Eva's children peeped out of the little hammocks, but otherwise the picture was the same.

122 The lodgings pleased me more than the second part of the
● 262 room-and-board. As far as my diet was concerned, it was bad. I did not see meat at all during my stay in the village, if I except two mice that were shot. Fish was given to me rarely and in small portions as though it were one of the costliest of dishes: once a little pot of creatures the length of a little finger in a saltless broth with a corncob stalk as a spoon; twice a piece of
[252] grilled fish barely hand-size and served on beijú as on a small plate; and once a piece of electric eel, almost too fat, but good and with a skin like smoked eel. Then once I was allowed to dip beijú in fish oil, which would not have been a special delicacy even for the Bakaïrí if in their childhood they had been obliged to take cod-liver oil. I do not find anything else recorded in my
[252] journal -- on the other hand, on the first day my intended shared with me roasted maize kernels which she held in her lap as she squatted on the ground; occasionally she also brought me a couple of mangabas, and during the inquiry about vocabulary, Eva offered me ants, a palm-boring beetle which still had half a leg, and a fat larva, all of which were supposed to be "iwakulukulu," the superlative of everything good and fine in Bakaïrí. There was no
272 lack of mandioca flat-cakes or beijús and drinks. The festive drink, püserego, however, lasted for only two days; greenish gray like soapy water, warm and covered with bubbly foam, it never-
262 theless had a pleasant, insipid, sweet taste. The beijús were very different in quality, depending on the type of flour; they were usually crumbled and, mixed with water, taken as a drink.

[122] On the other hand, my hosts were heartily willing to relish the little that I had with me in the way of beans and salt and urgently begged for them. There was some difficulty with the beans. Paleko and I together cooked them, but both for the first time in our lives. I kindled the fire and he fetched sticks of wood; we set an earthen pot with the beans in it on three stones and cooked
533 away. Paleko sang to it, plaiting his basket and beating time softly
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/74 cont./

226 and sought to drive the fish into them. It was an amusing sight: the girls extremely agile, the men less quick, fat Yapü in particular not at all in his element apparently, much laughing and splashing, in the air a few hovering dragonflies and humming bees without number, on the shore under the tree the busily commenting old Paleko, who leaned with his left hand on a stick and held pressed under his upper arm on the same side the very superfluous stone ax. The fish were called poniũ or poriũ, the jejú of the Brazilians.

482 [122] The bark canoe that I had ordered was ready on September 18; the stone ax had worked slowly, but very neatly. Four men carried the vessel to the river; on their shoulders they had placed rings plaited out of brown bast and with exactly the same appearance as those our market women wear on their heads.

123 [114] I had now been alone with the good Bakaïri for more than a week and I noticed that they were becoming somewhat impatient. They asked far too often when the "younger brothers" were coming. What I had carried with me in the way of valuables was long since in their possession anyway; even my améma ikũto ("figure of the lizard"), a reptile with glass scales and ruby-red eyes, which they had greedily attempted to get belonged to them.

But our good understanding remained the same up to the final hour. If it had been up to me, I would have preferred to [262] spend the entire rainy season with them, although I could not get [122] rid of a sourish taste in my throat from the eternal starchy food 157 and I was also suffering from digestive upsets. My first impressions about the peaceable and sympathetic character of my hosts needed no correction. The elders were wise and solicitous, the young people vigorous and agile, the women industrious and domestic, all of them well-meaning, a little vain, and, with the exception of a few mothers absorbed by their duties, always gay and talkative. All were honest. No one ever took anything of mine, lost things were often brought to me, anything that I had received in trade was always regarded as my property.

/131 cont./

would take exaggerated care of them by removing them on occasions when even for children it would not be necessary.

In the first Bakaïrí village the population had increased by one young soul. Pauhaga had become a father and was observing the lying-in period along with his wife. I shall come back to the scene, which seemed comical to us, in discussing the couvade. The maize was a succulent green; we were offered excellent, somewhat dry maize beijús. My tobacco planting on village plaza had shot up tremendously and was fenced in all around by a palisade.

Fig. 8.
Indians disguised as Europeans.

But what did our astonished eyes catch sight of behind Paleko's house? A new construction, already far advanced, of a strange kind. Or rather, one of very familiar appearance. The Bakaïrí had taken our rancho at Independencia as a model and, instead of their beehive, had started a house with a triangular gable /132/ and a two-sided roof. We had believed we were seeing something genuine in a remote corner, and already it was disappearing. "The first glimpse of light," says Bastian, "will also be the last."

Tumayaua, who was going along to Independencia, nevertheless carried out the official farewell in Maigéri. He handed me two large gourd bowls. A little while after that he came to fetch me, seized me vehemently by the arm, and, shouting loudly all around, led me from the hut to the beam in the middle of the plaza and, with a sort of enthusiasm, pushed me down on to the seat. Soon four Karaiben were sitting there in a row, side by side.

B /132 cont. /
123 Then he dragged up one of the nicely plaited storage baskets
43] three-quarters of a meter high and, boasting happily, put it be-
[285] fore us as a present. The best was yet to come, however. A
B round mat was placed on the ground, the chief called, and out
[262] of the houses all the women and children came running and
slapped a beijú onto the mat, each one running back immediately
to make room. The agile flurry with which the beijús came
flying was charming. Some 16 cakes were lying there. Then
"ále" was said and we were dismissed. We, of course, outdid
ourselves in praise of the hospitality of the Bakaïrí and secretly
made up our mind to pay them back handsomely in Independencia.

B Since a heavy thunderstorm broke out, we stayed in the vil-
123 lage the last night. It was raining in torrents outside and
Tumayaua was describing his journeys. We all sat for a long time
around the fire, which the Indians let blaze up wildly by reck-
lessly tearing bunches of straw out of the wall of the festival hut.
Luchu had taken possession of the black frock-coat as his sole
article of clothing; another man had decorated his ear with a
fishhook. My erstwhile intended - it pains me not to be able
to keep this a secret -- honored me with scarcely a glance.

The song of woman's constancy!

ooo /The remainder of Ch. VI, pp. 132-137, and Ch. VII, pp. 138-
152, are omitted in the translation. /

/153/ Chapter VIII

I. Geography and Classification of the Tribes of the Schingú Source-region

B S 101 131 823 [115]

The old chief of the Suyá, distinguished from his companions
by an extremely modest lip-plug, had enumerated for us in 1884
the long list of tribes that were settled on the upper Schingú
/Xingu/ and with his finger had drawn in the sand the source
rivers on whose banks they lived. Cf. Durch Central-brasilien
/Through Central Brazil/, page 214 /see 1: Steinen, this file,
pp. 104-106/. His 13 tribal names had tempted us to undertake

/212 cont./

*171 244 In the cultivation of mandioca, which today, along with maize, is penetrating into the farthest corners of Africa, as though both of these purely American plants had been native there forever, the metal-less South American has gained achievement which need not fear any comparison with other parts of the world. Today there is a cultivated, harmless species, but the [252] original root, which was found only on the Schingú, first had to [272] be divested of its strongly toxic juice, the expressed flour, obtained by grating and pounding, first had to be roasted before a foodstuff was produced, and, to be sure, one of many uses, in a solid state and as a pappy drink, Manihot "utilissima." It far surpasses maize in importance in the household of our Indians. It furnishes the principal food and is really responsible [262] for having forced the natives, who received it from more ad- [412] vanced tribes, to become sedentary, for its preparation presupposes a series of procedures requiring patience and presupposes implements, which, like the grating board studded with palm spines, could be produced only at a great cost of time and work with the [252] inferior tools. Unknown on the upper Schingú is the ingenious typytí, a tube plaited out of elastic stalks, which is filled with the grated mass and, pulled lengthwise by means of a weight, presses out the poisonous juice; our Indians filtered and pressed the juice through plaited sieves.

*171 273 Of greater interest, however, is the fact that the method of fermenting larger quantities of extract by means of chewing balls of flour or kernels of maize, which is used today probably everywhere in South America where maize and mandioca are cultivated by natives, was still unknown in our region; also, nothing was known there about the preparation of pajauará, popular among the North Karaíben, where the fresh beijús soaked in water are wrapped in leaves and buried for a few days. /213/ The püserego [272] of the Schingú does not have an intoxicating effect; it merely represents the tastiest pap-beverage, it is a soup, not an alcoholic drink. No palm wine is made either; one becomes intoxicated only with dancing or, if one wishes, with tobacco, and achieved what was humanly possible in the quantitative consumption of the pap-beverages. On the other hand, the Kamayurá

/218 cont./

*171 174 433 I shall sum up. Ancient agriculture is most compatible with the type of hunting practiced here. The Indians were primarily fishermen. The yield in their area on the upper course of a river was not sufficient for pure ichthyophagy; on the other hand, it was not small during the months when the fish traveled upstream in the rising water and were found in all the canals and lagoons in great numbers, or when, as the water receded, the opportunity for a catch in the artificially barricaded parts of the river branches became considerably greater. Fishing and hunting, furthermore, furnished the indispensable tools. There *171 174 433 were no domestic animals in our sense; dogs were unfamiliar to the native. He took pleasure in the colored birds, whose 231 feathers he sometimes pulled out, especially in the talking [343] parrots and cawing araras; he let those that he happened to catch young walk around in the village, woodpecker or heron or curassow, and kept in huge pole-cages, for the edification of the community, the spitting eagle, Harpyia destructor, or some other predatory bird; he had lizards hanging by their tails from the hammock, so that they would clean up a bit among the annoying crickets -- he had not succeeded any further in the utilization of animals, and though wild plants were established near the village to be used as desired, the rearing of edible [825] animals was not considered. /219/ Indeed, the attitude that the [262] Indian took toward the animal kingdom made him feel a definite repugnance about ultimately consuming animals that he had raised, just as we do not eat dogs.

*171 174 433 The relative sedentariness connected with the life of the fisherman could not become permanent until the women learned to plant, to make pots, and to prepare flour. Although agricul- *171 174 241 648 ture on the Schingú had already reached respectable improvement, nevertheless there were small indications that showed what its origin had been, at least here. People planted the useful plants found in the vicinity, each tribe acquired its own experience on its own soil, and they were disseminated by the 174 773 women who, in war or peace, came to other tribes. The fact that the Bakaïrí-Karaiben were once furthered in this way in

/300 cont./

*171 527 535 against appearing in the "flute house" at an inappropriate time, though they may hope to come out again alive, or at most only half dead. Carnival on the Kulisehu is also followed by a period of fasting, for it does not end -- the reason is not one connected with the cult -- before everything that is there has been eaten [462] and drunk insofar as possible. The women have an enormous • [262] job satisfying the demands for beijús and drinks; they must pound, [272] boil, and bake incessantly, and this necessity has probably also contributed somewhat to their being kept away from the dancing, so that they could meanwhile carry out their duties.

535 Bakaïrí. On the Rio Novo and Paranatinga the old customs are still observed. "Everybody dances like the wild Bakaïrí," said Antonio, "tudo dansa como Bakaïrí brabo." He described to me the festival held last April, when the people from the Rio Novo had invited those of the Paranatinga. They danced the yatuka dance, the makanri, and the imeo. Yatuka is a fish dance; wooden fish are worn on the head, especially the black pakú and the matrincham; heads of men and women are made of calabashes painted black and white or black and red and surrounded with Bromelia hair.

Makanari is a general term. The Bakaïrí calls almost everything and anything that is part of his dance adornment makanari; he calls specific dances makanari. "bakaïrí makanári zóto," the Bakaïrí is master of the makanari. It is the dance of his tribe. The imeo is a type of makanari, a specific figure. In fact, it seems that the concept of makanari was originally narrower and [532] referred to a specific dance with straw plaiting. Among the docile Bakaïrí there are no wooden masks. Here the principal makanari is the bat dance, and, to be sure, semímo, the small [533] bat, and aluá, the large bat. Antonio recited the text of the aluá dance* for me, but, in spite of a great deal of trouble, it

535 539 *One man sings: ohuhaaha-áhá yumáa ohú.... yumarí uvanuká, yumari uvanuká huyaná vitá öö....yohohohú. Then another: mauá káua

/334 cont./

*171 One of the women in the Paranatinga village was called makála =
551 tujujú stork. The names of the men were usually obtained with-
[124] out difficulty; sometimes there was a little reluctance and it was preferred that a friend give the information. One Bakaïrí allegedly had no name because his parents had died early. From the women on the Kulisehu I always received only the answer, "I am a woman"; however, I neglected to ask a third person.

*171 I have described the custom of exchanging names; cf. pages 115
553 and 122. It explains why the Indians make so little fuss about
797 submitting to Christian baptism. To them it means simply a ceremony by means of which they lose their old name.

*171 Birth and couvade. Abortions are said to take place fre-
844 quently. The women are afraid of childbirth. Among the
[847] Bakaïrí they make a tea from the root of a campo tree called
[292] perovinha. Probably there are also mechanical procedures. The woman gives birth in a kneeling position on the floor, hanging on to a post. The hammock is not supposed to be soiled. Women who demonstrated this to us in pantomime and who knew about it from experience stated emphatically that the pains were great.

*171 They soon get up, however, and go to work, and the man goes
846 through the well-known couvade, the male lying-in, during which he adheres to a strict diet, does not touch weapons, and spends most of his time in the hammock. On our return we saw such a couvade in Maigéri in Paleko's house. An actual lying-in room had been /335/ set up by stretching two man-high walls of hanging buriti leaves from one of the main posts to the outer wall. In this way a three-cornered segment was closed off. I was gladly allowed to enter so that I could give the child beads. Inside there were stretched four hammocks, sheltering two women with babies and two men. A strong odor of pikí, coming from rubbings, filled the room. The babies were kurápa, ill, weak,
[755] the parents complained. The fathers and mothers were ceaselessly occupied with blowing on them, and, to be sure, with hollow-sounding noises with the mouth nearly closed, which was hardly interrupted for a moment throughout the following night. The
[514] husbands left the house only to relieve themselves; they lived
[262] exclusively on thin pogu, mandioca cakes crumbled in water.

/335 cont./

*171 Everything else would be harmful for the child; it would be
846 exactly as though the child itself were eating meat, fish, or fruit.
[262] Now nothing is more obvious than to connect the remarkable custom, which is beneficial to the women, with the hunting life; the man should stay near the wife and child during the difficult hours and the first days and should not roam about outside; there was no better means for this than to put him on a diet. And, no matter how the custom originated, it is clear that it afforded this advantage, and it is at least quite understandable that the women were in favor of it, and it became firmly established.

[183] On the modern Paranatinga, however, where it is being neglected, the women are discontented, not because they suffer under it, but because the children do. Even though it benefited the women, that is no reason why the men would have submitted to it. And yet the men do submit to it so generally and with such conviction that one realizes that a deeply rooted, ancient element of popular belief is involved. It is very doubtful whether there is any Indian tribe in Brazil which has not practiced it. One must, if possible, investigate the institution among tribes that were found in undisturbed conditions and have not simply preserved the remnants of old institutions. The Island Karaiben /Island Carib/ usually did not eat or drink anything during the first five days, limited themselves in the following four to a drink made out of cooked mandioca, and then ate more abundantly, but abstained from a few kinds of meat for several months more. "It is not likely," says the excellent Father Breton, "that the husband also screams like the wife in labor; on the contrary, I saw them coming from outside secretively and in a furtive manner one month after the birth, in order to keep their fast in seclusion." They are contemptuous of those who do not observe the custom; they say they feel better doing it and grow older, and they believe that if they omit the custom their illnesses caused by superfluous juices would be passed on to their children.

/343/

171 754 756 The medicine men are differentiated as good and bad. According to Antonio, there are "few among the Bakaïrí and Auetö, more among the Nahuquá, many among the Mehinakú, and too many among the Kamayurá." There were none living on the Paranatinga at the time. Anyone can become one, but it is very difficult. "One must learn a great deal." One is supposed to [262] [785] drink only starchy broth for four months, enjoy no salt and eat no

[261] [226] * This fasting is also very good if one wants to excel in the art of shooting fish, and in this case it is sufficient if one does not eat anything but starch-paste for a month. Antonio did this and was very satisfied with the result.

meat, fish, or fruits; one is not supposed to sleep but to drum ceaselessly on the skull with the fists so that the swollen eyes are very painful in the morning, bathe a great deal, scratch arm and chest bloody, etc. Antonio wanted to study medicine, but was afraid of this difficult internship; Felipe made a good start in the same endeavor, but did not succeed, because he had no teacher. *171 754 The chief art of the accomplished master of sorcery is exhibited in the use of poisons. With these he kills others and he even kills himself in order to be able to change himself into another shape. We are to become acquainted here with a conception of death which takes some getting used to, but which is in direct agreement with the life of the shadow during sleep.

[628] Let us hear first how sickness and death come into the world, in spite of the good medicine-man of one's own village, who with all his might combats the evil one from the foreign village. [825] [824] The evil one is a bad person whom no one likes because he kills instead of healing, he mixes the poison from wasps, from the tocandyra ant, and from other such animals with oil and resin from the alsmesca and pindahyba in a calabash. From the man whom he wishes to harm he obtains either hair, by stepping on it when it is being cut or even cutting it himself when the man is asleep, or a bit of blood by tossing a finely pointed twig of jatobá, pindahyba, or pau de olho in his direction and then picking

/380 cont./

539 a cigar out of this tobacco and blows on people, they die; /381/
825 but if other people then come and blow on the dead one, he will come to life again and go his way. Cotton, too, and the hammock woven from it come from the sawari. Where the sawari obtained the tobacco and the cotton hammock is not known. It is very rare and lives gregariously downstream on the Paranatinga. It is an animal of the campo cerrado, is somewhat smaller and has a slightly more pointed snout than the irara (Galictis, marten-like, cf. Brehm, Säugetiere /Mammals/ I, page 614) related to it; it climbs and sleeps during the day in tree holes; there are some that are more black, and some that are more white. The description exactly fits the kinkajou, Cercoleptes caudivolvulus, which in its entire build is extraordinarily like the irara, although it is not related to it (cf. the illustration in Brehm, Säugetiere II, page 287, with that of the irara at the place cited). Among the Makuschí /Macusi/, who are closely related to the Bakaïrí linguistically, the kinkajou is called yawari.* According to

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* Schomburgk, Rich. Versuch einer Fauna und Flora von Britisch-Güiana /Attempt at a Flora and Fauna of British Guiana/, Leipzig, 1848, Vol. II, p. 435: "Von Tschudi gives it geographical distribution up to 10° south latitude. The colonists call it yamanack, the Arawaaks wawula, the Macusis yawali, the Warraus uvari."

Brehm, "we know that the kinkajou is widely distributed. It occurs throughout northern Brazil, in Peru, and northward as far as Mexico, in fact, even in southern Louisiana and Florida."

Sawari also had the tobacco that one smokes. The Bakaïrí, however, had obtained this from the karazóto = "master of the fish," a large fish found in the Kulisehu, but not in the Paranatinga. Antonio had also seen it in the Kulisehu, "but not very well."
[262] I myself ate it in Maigéri, where Tumayaua gave me a piece of karazóto; it was very oily. According to the description, it is an electric eel, but I cannot give the meaning as wholly certain.

/418 cont./

171 White is chalky white clay, a supply of which is kept in the
386 huts in the form of balls the size of a child's head. The women,
[283] when they spin, rub it on the right thigh, on which they twist the thread. It is simply mixed with water. It is never used to paint the body; it also falls far back for the implements and appears almost solely on the masks, the painting of which need last but a few days, on painted bark pieces, and the like.

/419/ Charcoal and soot, the berry-pulp of the genipap tree, (Genipa) and a number of resins furnish black. In order to blacken the inside of the gourd shells charcoal from the bark of the buriti shaft is used.

The yellowish-red to brownish-red loam seems to have been
[262] driven out by the urucú dyestuff. It was formerly eaten and is
524 still molded into heavy dolls for children and is rubbed on wounds
[304] for scarification.

Charcoal and soot are rubbed in directly, like the white, or they are also mixed with liquid, like the urucú. Either the oil
[824] from the piki fruit (Caryocar butyrosum) is used, or the yellow extract containing caoutchouc from a tree of the campo cerrado, which the Bakaïrí call ochogohi and the bark of which is grated and made into an extract with water. The colors are mixed in a gourd shell or a pot or, when a hard resin is broken up with the ax blade, most conveniently in the cup-shaped depression of a stool. Urucú is always found as a paste wrapped in leaves in the little workbasket beside the hammock.

The dyestuffs available to the natives are therefore white, black, red, and yellow. The genipap-black is blue-black, the urucú-red a brick-red to orange, which, mixed with the yellow ochogohi juice, loses a good deal of its red. There are no blue or green dyestuffs.

121 The theory that the color sense developed gradually for
196 human beings, based on the fact that color distinction in language is inadequate up to a high level of culture and that blue and green in particular are extraordinarily often designated with the same word, has now been abandoned. It was found among all the primitive peoples investigated that they distinguish excellently

/261 cont./

776 have with the piahi and with the common people (wanololo,
756 from waono, "first"; cf. Ger. "der erste der beste" /first come
773 first served/.

At the waterfalls of the Paranatinga, a fearsome place
776 where Keri and Came tossed the Mama, an enchanted red
778 stone /262/ with which they killed Mero and Arimoto, there
756 is underneath the Mama the dream (Vèdu) which they tore from the lizard's eyes. There dwells the father of smallpox (turi); those who come near him fall ill; when the time for the leaping of the matrimxans /a kind of fish/ comes, anyone nearby who talks or laughs is thrown into the water. The curer runs no risk by coming near; if he becomes angry, he can bless the sleep and this one gets up and wanders off.

756 How does the curer reach this fullness of powers which in his discourses he so often hurls at those whom he contemptuously calls "common people"? Through a very long and painful apprenticeship, which few persons have the courage to undergo to the end and to the letter.

First of all, the curer candidate (piahi-he-ini) must find an experienced curer who will tell him what he must do and protect him against the enemies whom he is bound to encounter. On his part, in addition, the future curer must not leave a single breach through which the enemy, the Karówi, might enter, the so envious and so evil yamũras, whose principal occupation, it would seem, is to go in search of the slightest carelessness in order to punish it inexorably.

Such is the object of the rigorous training to which he must submit if he wishes to rise to the heights where the true curer dwells.

[276] The novice begins by drinking various drugs, such as
[825] timbo, pindova, vaimbé, and other cipos, in order to learn
[262] the language of animals and of Karowi, a sort of Curupira; he cannot eat pirão, mingáu, fat, meat, lambari /a kind of fish/, flying things, /263/ tamanduas, or honey; his food consists exclusively of beijú and polvilho broth.

/261 cont./

352 The Bakairí slept in hammocks, amaka, woven of palm fiber.
[415 Their furnishings can be summed up as benches of a solid
[285 piece of wood, clay pots, mats and baskets. The diet rests
262 upon manioc, piquí, sweet potatoes, maize, and fish. How-
224] ever, the hunting of monkeys, wild pig, tapir, and other ani-
[241] mals was not scorned. Most of the food reserves, however,
were of vegetable origin, and the most important harvests
were made up of manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, and piquí.
Yams /cará/, cotton, urucú, and tobacco were also planted.

342 The occupants of a communal house worked together on
476 the building of a new house, acquiring thereby the right to
622 reside in it. This construction work, however, was led by the
individual who had the most prestige in the group, usually the
old head of the house, who thus set himself up as the head of
241 the new house. The tasks of clearing fields and planting
476 generally depended on the participation of all the aldea. When
527 beginning a new clearing, the Bakairí would give a feast,
kométe, with the distribution of food to the Indians who worked
501 on the field. The Bakairí made canoes from the bark of the
[824] jatobá tree, in the Xinguano way. This construction, as well
[782] as fishing, hunting, and agricultural activities, were accom-
panied by propitiatory rituals.

437 Their products were bartered among neighboring groups
574 in the course of visits called tuliki which depended on the
presence of the chiefs of both aldeas. After the exchange of
the objects desired, the visitors were honored with a feast
called tulake.

621 /262/ The Bakairí were not a warlike people, and their
181 political organization does not seem very elaborate. Each
622 aldea had a chief, pima, assisted by a subchief, itáida. The
624 Bakairí do not remember the existence of a chief for the whole
[643] tribe, and there is no evidence that such a figure ever existed.
The selection of the itáida was made by means of agreement
of the aldea, but it generally fell on the son of the pima him-
self. The pima's functions were chiefly ceremonial, economic,
and juridical.

/263 cont./

000 dangers that surrounded them. Pregnancy, enokua, was
843 recognized by the cessation of the menstrual periods. When
262 the abdomen of the pregnant woman began to attain visible proportions, a diet based on vegetal foods and fish was initiated.
844 As the time of delivery drew near, a separate section was
[784] built inside the houses; the parturient was segregated and remained uanki. Female relatives helped in the delivery under the direction of an experienced woman. The parturient gave
[845] birth sitting on her heels. In difficult cases they washed her abdomen and sides with a hot infusion of cotton leaves. The umbilical cord was cut by the parturient herself or by her husband, and it was buried along with the placenta outside the
844 house. After the birth, eraseli, the child was washed and
784 handed over to the parents; later it would be given the name
846 of some dead relative. During the birth and for some time
[553] afterward, the child and its parents remained in a state of uanki. The end of the seclusion was signaled by the first
846 menstrual period of the parturient, and it was marked by a
796 feast called tadaunúto. The restoration of the parents and the
784 child to the bosom of the community was accomplished by means of a feast called itabiénli.

When children reached puberty they were secluded, uanki, for a period of several months. They could not come out in daylight, and they were fed and looked after by their
[856] relatives. It was believed that the greater or lesser duration of the young people's uanki period would lead to their better
[622] or worse physical constitution. On the other hand, a chief's son had to remain in seclusion longer than usual. The period
881 of seclusion began for boys with the ritual of the perforation of
304 the ears (usually undergone in groups). Girls had their ears
784 perforated immediately after birth, and their seclusion was marked by the advent of the first menses. The end of the uanki
784 state was also celebrated with the tadaunúto. The girls then
881 began to wear uluri, that is to say, triangular genital coverings
796 about three centimeters square made of tree bark.
881
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754 755 /266 cont./ But in the event the illness had been caused by another sorcerer, it would be necessary to find out first the vehicle of the disease. This might be a small piece of charred wood, a thin cotton thread, or a small piece of bone, tossed from a distance and thus introduced into the patient's body. The sorcerer would suck at the afflicted part, thus withdrawing the cause of the illness.

754 [114] [753] /267/ Our informants could tell us nothing about diseases caused by omeoto (evil sorcerers) mentioned by Karl von den Steinen. According to the latter, in order to injure an Indian, a sorcerer would cook in a pot a lizard into whose throat he had previously inserted the skin of the middle finger of a corpse. The agony and death of the lizard were matched simultaneously by the agony and death of the victim. (13)

13. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., p. 442.

[114] [177] In our opinion, this method hardly seems to be indigenous and is probably the result of acculturation. However, our informants did not know about it.

756 [834] [262] [784] In order to become a sorcerer, a youth had to undergo training for a period that lasted from six to 12 months, submitting to rigorous sexual abstinence and an exclusively vegetal diet. Throughout the initiation period the candidate remained uanki, enclosed in the kaJoeti. Part of the training, meanwhile, was carried out in distant places, where the novice learned the healing properties of certain roots, as well as the secrets related to the supernatural world. The training ended [787] with the acquisition, on the candidate's part, of a guardian spirit, or iamüra. This acquisition was made during a trance [276] into which the candidate has fallen by means of the ingestion of narcotic substances. After this the new sorcerer had to prove his power, either through small acts such as finding lost objects or by curing a sick person.

/267 cont./

756 [262] [785] In regard to initiation, Karl von den Steinen tells us that the candidate had to subsist solely on starch broth, hit himself continually on the head, and at the same time scratch his arms and chest until blood ran. (14) On the other hand,

14. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., pp. 440-441.

[276] Capistrano de Abreu relates that the novice had to swallow "drugs such as timbo, pindova, vaimbé, and other cipos" and learn the language of kacoui. On the day of the initiation the candidate would go for a walk with his master, who gave him the infusion to drink. (15)

15. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 235-238.

796 The Bakairí had quite an elaborate ceremonial system, as may be inferred from the information obtained /268/ the Indians of Simões Lopes. Dancing and singing were done not only when there was an abundance of food or when economic activities permitted it, but especially at times such as the maize harvest, or the occasion when the ears of the boys about to be secluded were pierced, or at times of the celebration of the tadaunito, or end of the uanki state, the building of houses, the beginning of the clearing of a field, or finally the distribution of cotton among the women. On these occasions [574] neighboring groups were invited and the festivities lasted for 534 days. Bakairí musical instruments consisted of bamboo flutes and bells for the feet made of piqui shells. The informants recalled four kinds of flutes: enimi and kanagera, sacred flutes kept hidden from the eyes of women and children, and tadiua and nakigovo, used in secular festivities. The Bakairí also had [531] gourds filled with seeds or stones, called paho, and wooden sticks decorated with geometric designs.

/269 cont./

539 fat in order to stay warm. The Indians wanted the sun to come out, and so they donned their apparel, painted their bodies, and began to ask Orimoro, the great spirit. Orimoro was not an Indian but a man who lived in a stone house with some animals which he had created. The Indians went on asking until finally the light broke out; but the Indians had already grown old and the children had already grown up.

77% The data at our disposal do not permit us to place in Bakairí cosmology beings such as Tchini-ruma, Keri-kamé, or Orimoro and Nakoeri. Nevertheless, we prefer to regard Nakoeri as the supreme being of the Bakairí, leaving to Tchini-ruma, Keri-kamé (the sun and the moon), and Orimoro the role of culture heroes, until new work clarifies their respective functions.

82 13 433 Compelled to deal with a hostile environment, such as the savannas and forests of the headwaters of the Xingu, and lacking an adequate technology, the Bakairí, like the other Xinguano Indians, depended to a large extent on uncertain factors such as the amount of rainfall and the resulting annual increase of waters, which led to a scarcity or an abundance of food. Lacking an adequate technology, they did not store 78 their produce but lived on a subsistence economy. Their hunting and fishing activities were followed by magic rituals with 224 which they attempted to control the possibility of sudden future 226 calamities or even of illnesses. Thus agricultural activities 241 and the building of houses or canoes had to be followed by 396 propitiations. In order to utilize the vegetal or animal raw 782 materials, it was necessary to know how to control uncertain 262 elements: How explain, for example, why one canoe splits and another does not, when both were made by the same craftsman? How explain how the same /270/ foods sometimes appeared harmless and sometimes made people ill? The system 77 of beliefs of the Bakairí seems to us an interpretation that

[P.91-B]

placed in a hole in the septum of the nose, so that the feathers swung out on each side of the head. Although the *pdiko*, or scratcher, was not strictly an ornament, it is mentioned here because it had ritual meaning. The *pdiko* was made by setting fish teeth into a gourd holder and was used for scarifying the skin of the arms, legs, chest, and back so as to cause bleeding. The wounds were first washed with water and later smeared with the juice of the *wukrina* vine. The *pdiko* was used by boys and girls during puberty seclusion and by adults who had sores on their bodies. It was believed that the use of the *pdiko* made people strong and healthy. As far as could be ascertained the Bacairi did not mutilate the teeth, genitals, or other parts of the body. There was no sign of tattooing, but pubic hair was carefully pulled out by both men and women. Formerly the Bacairi kept large birds, believed to belong to the eagle family, in their villages for their feathers. The Brazilians call the bird "harpia" and claim that it is still kept by the Indians in the Xingú Basin. The "harpia" was captured by shooting it with a blunted arrow, and it was kept in a special hut and fed. Villages often had several of these birds in captivity, the feathers being used particularly for feathering arrows. Parrots and macaws were also kept, their feathers being used only for ceremonial decorations.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Vegetable foods formed the basis of Bacairi diet, with fish and meat taking second and third places. The principal animals hunted were monkeys, deer, wild pigs, tapir, and the jaguar. The jaguar, however, was not eaten, but was hunted for its skin, teeth, and claws. The principal weapon used was the bow and arrow. Hunters would stalk game alone or in groups with the aid of dogs driving game into water or into steep rocky enclosures. There is no mention of the spear being used, but deadfalls and pitfalls were used. Many varieties of large fish were shot with the bow and arrow, either from canoes or from the river bank. Lizards, turtles, and a wide variety of wild fruits, roots, tender shoots, and honey were collected at certain seasons of the year.

The major part of the food supply, however, was obtained through agriculture. The Bacairi cultivated bitter manioc, *ôpa;* sweet manioc, *tsiej;*

Bacairí

323 pots are quite distinct from the pottery of the Indians living on the Upper Paraguay River. Bacairí pots are flat-bottomed and have straight vertical walls with everted rims. The pots in common use were, and still are, black in color, unglazed, and undecorated. Some of the pots [532] been were made in the forms of frogs, turtles, fish, and birds. The Bacairí claim that they [531] formerly had decorated pottery called *omégu*, painted with black, gray, red, and brown designs.

476 The Bacairí also had economic activities in which the whole village, or a number of communal houses, participated. The *kemetí*, or col-
241 476 lective land clearing, was one of these. A man would invite a large number of relatives and friends to assist him in clearing a new piece of forest land. The women would participate by pre- [262] paring large amounts of food and honey beverage
423 476 for the workers. The new field would remain the property of the man who initiated the *kemetí*, obligating him to work in return if called upon, but sometimes the group of men who cleared the field would divide it among them.

342 476 House building was always an enterprise in which the whole village took part. The group that was interested in raising the house cut the beams and poles necessary for the framework and prepared large quantities of food. While a certain number of men began to put up the framework, others went to gather grass for thatching. When they returned with the thatching they put [539] on their ceremonial decorations and danced the *makulsuíri* dance. House building was thus not only an economic act but also a ceremonial occasion.

286 476 Hammock weaving was, at times, a collective enterprise. A woman with a larger than usual cotton crop distributed cotton among her friends and when the work was completed she organized a feast and dance.

437 628 574 [622] Ceremonial trading expeditions (*tulíh*) were organized by the chief of the village. During the rainy seasons, when the rivers were high and canoe travel easy, the men of a village would collect whatever excess goods they had, such as bows, baskets, ornaments, hammocks, and even food, and would go to a neighboring village where the chief would receive them before the ceremonial house. The two chiefs would then supervise the exchange of commodities. After the trading was

527 gather the ceremonial corn. Later in the day the women prepared large quantities of corn porridge and roasted ears.

On the morning of the third day the actual ceremony began in front of the *kadoéti*. The organizer of the dance distributed roasted ears or pieces of ears to all the villagers, children included. Then at a signal from the leader, the villagers began throwing the roasted corn in all directions and at one another. After the roasted corn was [262] disposed of, the people ate the corn porridge and meat prepared on the preceding day. They then washed themselves in the river and put on their paint and ornaments. When the villagers had again gathered before the *kadoéti* the dance leader took a piece of corn husk and went from man 527 to man asking for a song leader. The man who 533 took the offered corn husk then began the *yawiadri*, or song in praise of corn. Little by little the others joined in the singing and eventually began to dance. The words of the song told how corn came to the Bacairí and how it made the people strong and healthy.

481 The *ransegéro*, or ear-piercing ceremony, was 304 performed just before a boy went into puberty seclusion. It was customary for men who had sons of about the same age to cooperate in getting large quantities of food ready for the feast. After the feast was over the ears of the boys were pierced [533] and the *poinandto* song was sung. When boys and girls came out of seclusion there was another ceremony during which all the songs and dances were performed with the exception of the sacred flute tunes.

342 The *mokulowdri* was performed during coopera- 476 tive house building in which the whole village participated. While the women prepared food and some men were putting up the frame, a certain [524] number of men went in search of palm fronds for thatching. When these men returned with the palm fronds they danced and sang before the new house with their loads on their backs and in full ceremonial regalia.

346 The custom of distributing cotton by a woman 574 with a good cotton crop and having other women weave hammocks for her has already been mentioned. When the women had completed their weaving and returned the hammocks to the donor of the cotton, she gave a feast during which the [535] women sang and danced the *yamaikúma*. This

Bacairi SP7

Geographically the post is situated ideally on a high land removed from the river and cleared of all vegetation, the jungle appearing only as a narrow fringe along the river banks. Like the rest of the high plateau it is wind swept, and generally pleasant. It must be added that contact with white people, such as is had when a small group of natives go to Cuyabá, has brought syphilis to them, and it may be their mortality is due to this.

One occupation enjoyed in former times is denied them, and that is fishing. There are practically no fish in the Paranatinga, at least up to where the post is located. Since meat is gotten only on rare occasions, and no hunting is done, the diet is mainly one of vegetables and considerably poorer than when they were living in their original state. This may also explain their lowered resistance to disease.

Very little museum material which represents their own products can be collected from the Bakairi. What has not been gotten from the Inspectoria has been brought back on excursions to the Kuluseu. Pottery has not been made since their coming to the post, according to them. The huge vessels that they possess either have been brought with them from their former homes or bartered from the tribes on the Kuluseu. It is claimed that the proper clay cannot be found in the neighborhood of Simõe Lopes.

Arrows are still being made, an iron nail generally being substituted for the old bone point, but most of the arrows also come from the Kuluseu.

For the old hammock made of palm-leaf fibre the cotton hammock has been substituted, but the same open net style has been kept.

Mussel shell ornaments have also been bought from the tribes of the Kuluseu. In brief, almost anything that is found in their village must bear the suspicion that it is not a Bakairi product.

However, they have preserved a few customs, such as filing the upper teeth to a point, wearing under the European clothing the gee string, and ceremonial use of the bull-roarer, and they probably remember many of their ceremonies.

The short time spent at the post was mostly devoted to taking anthropmetric measurements, which were subsequently lost on the Kuluseu, but in some notes I do find the statement that in blood groupings most belong to groups three and four, the former predominating.

/165 cont./

609 mix for him -- whereas the boy of a Brazilian colonist, to whom I was called in Rosario, leaped out of bed and fled from me into the forest.

186 The old sibyl joined us this evening on the open plaza.
823 She pointed to the west, "Bakaïrí!"; to the south, "Bakaïrí!", to the north and east likewise "Bakaïrí!"' and finally, describing a circle in the air, she summed up with proud satisfaction, "Bakaïrí!" In translation: "All this is subject to me, admit that I am fortunate."

132 14 Aug. 6:00 A.M.: dry. 11.7, wet. 10.6.
2:00 P.M.: dry. 34.9, wet. 20.0, clear, NE 1.
4:05 P.M.: I 740.8, II 730.0, dry. 34.0, hypsom. 98.825.
9:00 P.M.: dry. 18.0, wet. 17.0.

126 /166/ I was fortunately able to measure three women.
[124] Antonio is very useless as an interpreter and causes more difficulties
[532] than the harmless people themselves. I also traded for a few maize-straw dolls; judging from the ease with which the transaction was made, there seemed to be no higher or in any sense a religious meaning attached to them.

592 We spent some time in Pauhaga's, or rather Chief Cavaco's house; it differed in nothing essential from that of the professor; there were no straw dolls.

137 We found inhame (Dioscorea, yams), which we greeted
252 with joy. -- The fish are grilled on just such racks as we came across on the Batovy; they are exposed to the fire until they are encased in a thick charcoal crust; capybara leg, which tasted like fat fish, and monkey steak were also charred on the outside in this fashion. The crisp charcoal gives the insipid-tasting meat, which is not salted, an -- faute de mieux -- improved flavor. The
[263] Bakaïrí are also familiar with a very medicinal tasting salt made from tree ashes, which, however, they do not seem to use in the preparation of food.

609 The soldiers, who were paying their farewell visit, were
431 given generous quantities of beijús, puvas, and polvilho /manioc
252 flour; see the glossary, p.172 / as presents. The grated and pounded mandioca is pressed through mats; the pulp is put into

/66 cont./

126 dispute. When I then asked several women at the same time for
291 their uluris and precluded any misunderstanding by pointing to the collection, it was granted me unhesitatingly /"anstandslos"/ and laughingly.

264 On the other hand, I observed a clear feeling of modesty
576 on an entirely different occasion, and, to be sure, in -- eating. I had an opportunity to confirm it only among the men, and I should imagine that it is even less likely to be absent among the women.

On the evening of 13 September, outside on the plaza where we men stood talking beside the mandioca rack, Tumayaua offered me a piece of fish that I, overjoyed, wanted to eat immediately. All of them bowed their heads, looked down in front of them or turned away with expressions of painful embarrassment, and Paleko pointed to my hut. They were ashamed. Astonished and taken aback, I went into the flute-house to eat the fish. I had not yet finished my meal when Kulekule entered; he wanted to be shown in greater detail the use of a fishhook that had been presented to him. With a face that clearly said, "Ah, you are not yet finished," he sat down on the floor, silent, turned away and with head bowed, and waited. On the next evening I again received fish outside, but it was already dark; I ate, turning modestly toward the dark background of trees and thus did not seem to give offense.

When Paleko brought me the pot of little fish, we two were alone in the flute-house; he turned his back to me and did not say a word during the long time while I was struggling with the bones. I gave Tumayaua some of our bean dish; he took the portion and walked as far as his house, where he sat down, ate, and in between, but without turning his head, called over and took part in our conversation. He had thus quite purposely removed himself. In the house the women were eating, each by herself, in the vicinity of the fire; they brought the men their meal, and each one ate at his place. Alakuai, for instance, was making himself very comfortable; lying in his hammock, he reached down to the pot on the floor, dipped into it with his fingers,

/66 cont./

●264 and licked them off as he swung himself, but no one bothered
576 another with his company. In eating beijú they were perhaps a little more liberal, at least toward me, but in the evening I often saw the men turn aside individually to consume a piece. Later Ehrenreich /67/ found something similar among the Karajá /Caraja/ on the Araguay /Araguaia/. "Etiquette demands that each one eat by himself, turned away from the other. Anyone who violates this must endure the mockery of the others."

264 Now among the Bakaïrí this etiquette was definitely
276 stricter, certainly in relation to the guest at least, for they com-
123 pletely lost their sense of humor over my lack of manners. I certainly did many things that were not the practice of the country, I sang loudly, I asked men and women their names, I refused the delicate beetle larvae and committed similar quite inexcusable things, but I never noticed that people were ashamed. In this case, however, it was more a matter of something improper; I had been indecent. There can be no doubt about that.

264 If we must admit, along with Heine, that we all are naked
261 inside our clothes and may be granted only relative justification for our feeling of modesty, the Bakaïrí, too, cannot be offended in his nobler feelings by the mere fact of eating, insofar as the individual takes care of the process for himself. Involuntarily one thinks of some animal that carries its portion of the meal to one side, but obviously out of the fear that another will take it away.
[146] I do believe that fish and meat were relatively scarce among the Bakaïrí, who, with a certain indolence, limited themselves more to mandioca and maize than they themselves liked; I am certain that if I had stayed there a week longer I would voluntarily have sat down in a quiet corner with every good morsel that I had justly or unjustly got hold of, in order to consume it protected from the glances of the others. Even at that time, I am afraid, I was casting hungry glances toward the others. The origin of the feeling of modesty described, however, must be rooted in ancient times.

ooo Good heavens, when we were on short rations on the expedition, how we so-called civilized human beings checked each other's portions, I can only say with greed and envy, although we

B /241 cont./
*171 bent outward horizontally. These pots were not, as one would
415 expect, the most common ones, but rather the rarest. I scarcely
B [252] believe that there was one in each dwelling. Cooking did not play an important part, except for the preparation of flour, and for that the large kettles were required. On the other hand, a third type was found quite abundantly. These are the many-shaped warming and eating bowls 10-24 centimeters in diameter, which are represented by typical examples on the two plates, 23 and 24, "Ceramic Motifs" /see pp. 328 - 329/. A glance at the two plates teaches us the important fact that the basic form of these pots studded with edge projections is that of the roundish-oval vessel-fruit, whose /242/ curvature they have retained, although a flat bottom should be preferable for the pot. On the other hand, the curvature has made possible the plastic motif of the animal body. These clay bowls, as they are probably best called, were also by no means numerous in the houses. We saw the smallest number of them among the Auetö and Kamayurá. From the Trumaí we acquired only two small round pots, but this does not mean anything because they were in flight. We
B [126] searched out every specimen because of their artistic value; we brought back some 80 in our collection, and if I now estimate that in the villages visited by us there might have been twice that many in all, I am sure the figure is too high. There are probably scarcely three small pots per household on the average. The gourd vessels still have precedence. There was, of course, every transition in size, as well as in use, to the small cooking
B [264] pots. Eating was always done, however, out of the clay bowls, while the contents of the cooking pots were dished out. The clay bowls were preferred for children.

W Unfortunately, we did not observe how the kettle-pots
323 were shaped. We saw only the extremely simple manner in which a Mehinakú woman in the Nahuquá village made a scarcely medium-sized pot. She brought out a basket filled with loam -- it interested me more than anything else in relation to the history of the origin of the pots -- added water to the clay, and pressed the superfluous water through a sieve. She shaped it, kneading and scraping it, and, in view of the smallness of the pot, did

[P. 70-A]

	Houses	Men	Women	Children	Total
175 Rio Novo	6	16	19	20	55
162 Paranatinga	7	6	8	3	17
On Rio Batovi:					
First village	3	10	7	9	26
Second village	4	18	17	7	42
Third village	3	13	12	19	44
Fourth village	7	27	18	8	53
Total	30	90	81	66	237

175 By the time Max Schmidt visited the Bacairí
161 in 1900–1901, the Bacairí settlement had diminished. On the Paranatinga he met 34 Bacairí
[162] and at Rio Novo, 60. On the Kuliseu River where
[361] Von den Steinen had visited four villages, Max Schmidt was able to find only two.

ECONOMY

SHELTER

361 While in the Xingú watershed the Bacairí lived in villages built on the banks of the Rio Kuliseu. A village (*utanári*) consisted of three to eight houses (*towisę́*) built in a circle around a central
342 plaza, *tasára*. The Bacairí house was a large communal building, oblong in shape, with rounded ends and with the roof thatching reaching to the
[592] ground. These large domelike buildings were occupied by three to five families.

346 In the center of every village there was a ceremonial or flute house (*kadoéti*) in which the men kept their ornaments and musical instruments and in which visitors were entertained. Men, women, and children are permitted to enter the *kadoéti*. Attached to the common house there was a smaller building, usually oriented in
[534] the direction of the rising sun, in which the sacred flutes were kept. Women were not permitted to
[562] enter this house, as they were not allowed to see
[487] the sacred flutes. The villages were connected by roads running along the river bank.

EQUIPMENT

251 In the center of each house there was a storage space (*jirau*) where maize, manioc meal, and
[415] other foods were kept in gourd vessels (*káiko*).
343 Cooking was done in a small shed at the back of
264 the house, but food was eaten indoors. Around
352 the walls each family had its hammocks (*amáka*) in which the people slept. Other furnishings of
[415] the house consisted of mats, baskets, clay pots,

/73 cont./

123 Tumayaua had me plant tobacco in front of his house, a
[249] proposal that astonished me somewhat until I realized that with my assistance he anticipated an excellent harvest or quality; hence I asked only that he start it, and then I crushed the capsules and put the seed into the ground, as though I had been a tobacco
[226] planter all my life. With Kulekule I had to go to the cataract
[177] below the village and help him with the fishing rod; he must not suspect that I had not swung this implement since grammar school days, when I had trouble rescuing it from the police.

226 One forenoon we took a very pleasant fishing excursion with
123 half a dozen persons, among them a few women, to the saímo, a pond that lay in the campo about two and a half kilometers from
[301] the village. We walked a short distance through the woods, the
[412] women carrying fishing baskets and weirs, Paleko with a section of fish teeth on a string around his neck, and under his arm a stone ax that he had sharpened on a stone at the river, during which he
[271] moistened it with saliva at his mouth. Meanwhile it was amusing to see how my intended and her sister drank out of the Kulisehu: mouth in water, supported on their two little hands, one leg in the air, not unlike young monkeys. On the way we sang together our ohohó ohohú hu in restrained tones, and I disturbed the morning quiet with a few louder songs. Alakuai took the liberty of removing my hat, but he was so happy with this adornment that in the name of all the saints I exposed my head to the pitiless campo sun.

226 Far away, to the edge of the wooded shore, stretched a queimada /burned clearing/ covered with fresh grass; only a single shade-giving tree stood beside the pond. In the middle of the knee-deep swampy water were set three weirs, half of which, with their mouths, protruded out. Then, with the fishing baskets, kútu, which had the shape of a blunted cone open at the top and bottom and were put together out of thin, pointed sticks, /74/ several persons walked through the pond in a bent position and stabbed the ground quickly: the kútu were inverted over the little fish and the latter pulled out from the top with the hand and placed in a hanging basket. After they had been working in this fashion for a while, they converged from various sides toward the center, where the weirs lay,

/104 cont./

122 The cadet was familiar with only two forms of activity: he slept or ate. It was indeed a pleasure, however, to sleep within four walls once more, although at night the wind often whistled through strongly. And there were all kinds of things to eat that were
262 not furnished on the march. There was plenty of sugar cane; the cooked mandioca root with roasted bacon cubes was a dish for the gods; a piglet was slaughtered; a few chickens forfeited their lives;
[224] the young chaps had also killed a tapir one day under a regular volley of small shot; it furnished a very tasty ragout. The women sent fresh, crisp "beijús," a simple baked product made of mandioca

142
291
302

Antonio Quirino

262 flour, of the shape and approximately the taste of matzoth. Since
•272 there was no shortage of rapadura /a crude form of sugar; see the glossary, p.172 /, "jacuba" was constantly being prepared as refreshment; in a gourd bowl a plentiful amount of rapadura, a plentiful amount of farinha /manioc flour; see the glossary p.171 /,
231 and water as desired. Even milk appeared. In the evening the
526 calves were separated from their mothers; the herd was driven into the "curral" /corral; see glossary, p.170 /, and the calves were lassoed with a great hullabaloo, while a large and appreciative
526 audience /105/ sat all around on the fence. That was something

/124 cont./

123 and showed me how the raw cotton, merely cleaned of seeds, is
283 twisted into thread with the spindle. The cotton plants stand
241 between the huts everywhere; beside them grows mamona /castor
[372] oil plant/, whose oil serves us for wretched illumination in the
[251] evening, and peppers. Mats are spread out on racks in order to dry the mandioca farina.

The roca," the cultivated field, lies some distance away. The Bakaïrí plant mandioca, beans, rice, sweet potatoes, sugar, and deliver to the Fazenda Corrego fundo. Their rapadura was
● 272 excellent; the melada, a honey-sweet syrup, moved us to exclamations of admiration. The sugar cane is pressed between
249 two cylinders in the simplest way. (Cf. the vignette at the be-

342

Old-style hut.

[249] ginning of this chapter /see p. 2/).

We found Caetano's hut divided into three rooms: Caetano received us in the high, airy center room and shut the door, behind which little Luisa was doing housework. Felipe and Carlotta
354 Parecí lived in the corner room opposite. Three canga blocks
482 formed the hearth. Plaited back-baskets, which are carried by a forehead band and in which the women are said to carry up to six
412 arrobas. Graters to grate the mandioca: hard little spikes from
824 the rib of the burití leaf are neatly set into the middle part of a narrow piece of wood almost a meter long.

/159 cont./

262 It contributed no little to the enhancement of the holiday
574 mood that plenty of beijús, as well as puvas /see the glossary, p. 172/, brick-like pieces of dried mandioca pulp, and, above all, mingaus /see the glossary, p. 171/ were served. Everyone
[272] was separately offered in large bowls three kinds: a whitish, thin, scarcely refreshing beaten paste of starch flour, another, yellow one, tasting of squash, and a third one, warm and pleasantly sweet, toward which everyone crowded in order to grant the palate this half forgotten quality of sensation.

609 Most delightful was the absolutely equal treatment that was given us and the soldiers. Chico, this African ape-man, even seemed to impress the little people particularly, and he, like all the others, leaning on his gun, accepted the homage with great dignity and drank in enormous draughts.

It cannot be said that the barbarians actually expressed great astonishment. In general they did not pay any attention to skin color and beard; true, they admired the clothing, the knives, the opera glass, but as children who are not experiencing this for the first time do with their presents at Christmas. A
[152] demonstration shot filled them with terror; the women ran away, the men winced and, puzzled, joined in the laughter when they saw our gaiety. To avoid a repetition, however, they urgently begged "åla, åla -- it is enough." At the strange /160/ appearance of our dogs the professor was so frightened that he manifested the best intention of shooting them dead.

12 August.

437 The Bakaïrí paid us a return visit with wife and child. They
439 were heavily laden with beijús. Soon an enthusiastic barter with the soldiers was in progress; the latter bartered for arrows or feathers and puvas in exchange for buttons and worn articles of clothing. The buttons, which could be strung on the belt-string, were highly prized. The guests, however, especially preferred
[554] knives, plates, and spoons. The tribal sorceress ran about busily; in vain she speculated on a cooking pot, which she excitedly examined from all sides; but she won a spoon, a tin plate, and

/173 cont./

535 In the evening there was a musical performance. A flickering fire of twigs faintly illuminated the night. The men appeared
[534] in pairs with menis, the meter-long flutes; one had the rattling shells tied around his foot. One pair stationed themselves near us, the other one in front of the opposite house. The former started to blow, stamping rhythmically with the right foot in one spot, our two dipped the menis in water and cried loudly "uh -- uh," then started to blow also and began moving toward the hut at the left, beating time regularly with the right foot. The ones across the way came blowing toward us, while the others, without ceasing their melancholy wail, stood still again, stamping and bending their bodies forward. Finally this pair, too, returned to their starting point; during the finale the lament of the night wind whistling in the chimney increased to the most miserable wail, and the quartet
• [212] was at an end. Courteously we were then immediately served the strengthening mingau.

This was the "tŏtŏdidlte," a word infinitely jollier than the dance itself, which it designates.

122 21 Aug. φ 12° 49'.3, λ 14'.3, km. 11.08, total 212.80.
132 /174/ 11:00 A.M.: I 745.8, II 736.4, dry. 29.0.
5:20 P.M.: I 743.6, II 734.2, dry. 27.0, wet. 24.1, water 25.8.

000 Back to the camp early. During the night the bottom of Israel's canoe split with a bang and the load sank. Some of Wilhelm's things, among them the oil sketches of the place of embarkation, were destroyed. The beans lay in the water for hours.

122 Off at 1:00 in the afternoon; soon there was campo on the right; we noticed a hut which we investigated; it did not seem to
[415] be finished or else was merely a supply station. A number of well-filled baskets, pots, bags with gourd vessels, a rack for the puvas, and bunches of urucú capsules, whose angular seeds furnish the red pigment, were completely abandoned. The path to a roça led into the woods.

/177 cont./

122 By way of farewell we wanted to drink sweet mingau --
[272] piseregu -- in the main house; it was bubbling in a big pot; I was /178/ so foolish as to dip a piece of beijú prematurely into the foam -- the old cook leaped up and they all screamed at once, horrified -- the foam was still poisonous. That I did not know this was probably inconceivable to them; but I thought it best to refrain from producing a miracle for them.

500 It was lasting too long for us; Claus had to calculate an occultation of Mars that was taking place today. Unfortunately the event which we had long anticipated with pleasure and which would have been doubly important for us so near the Schingú took place before twilight set in.

Our Bakairí visits had come to an end.

[134] In the evening an inferno of mosquitoes. Wilhelm's and my hands and lower arms have for some time been covered with flat, slow-healing sores. They start with a dark blister the size of a pinhead, which contains thin pus; then they become enlarged and discharge a thin, milky secretion. It looks as though they came from the bites of small flies. In connection with the discharge, red scars remain after healing.

122 25 Aug. ♀ 12° 26'.2, ☽ 21'.7, km: 28.83, total 310.90.
132 6:50 A.M.: I 743.2, II 735.2, dry. 14.0, wet. 13.1, mares' tails 3°, wind - 0, water 25.1.
5:30 P.M.: I 744.6, II 735.2, dry. 25.4, wet. 23.3, clear.

133 Heaven only knows when the "Schingú" is finally supposed to appear. After two days there is a river coming from the left, that is no doubt certain, and later on a larger river -- but when? Concerning this there are the most varied interpretations.

At a width of 70-80 meters we measured the speed of the Batovy at 1,416 meters per hour. Barranca three and one-half
137 meters. Water dirty yellow, as always. Campo, tucum and carandá palms. Low brush on the shore and individual copses about 18 meters high. Araticú, blossoming paratudo.

/61 cont./

512 The taciturn Indians, men and women, chattered con-
[152] stantly, and Eva's delightful laughter rang out merrily. The
[278] women were all busy. One was scraping a reddish bark which,
when cooled, furnishes a curative brew, a second was pound-
ing mandioca grain in a mortar. Now and then a swallow
was brought to one of the men in the hammock. A beautiful
[292] picture there by the flickering fire that leaped up at the
enormous kettle; the naked woman with long hair was skimming
off the milk-like, gently bubbling foam of the pinerego in a
little pot and pouring it back again and again with a vigorous
swing of her arm. Others stepped up, yours truly as well, and
tasted, licking their fingers. My intended looked very trim,
[231] too, her "raven-black Mongolian hair" had gloss of faded
light brown, and she was squatting in front of three discon-
tentedly cawing green parakeets which she was feeding out of
[262] a little pot. Then my turn came: she placed a freshly baked,
golden yellow beiju flat-cake in front of me and did not forget
to remark that it was her own handiwork.

Fat Tapi had fallen asleep. I, too, was overcome by a
pleasant weariness in the unfamiliar, mood-evoking equable-
ness of the domestic activity. I could not resist the pleasant
invitation to take a midday nap, although in the largest ham-
mock there I squirmed like a fish in the net.

I had slept soundly. The picture had changed. The women
[515] sat outside on the plaza, five in a row one behind the other,
busily engaged in delousing. Anyone who caught a little
[642] animal placed it on the tip of the tongue and swallowed the
delicacy or gave it to the original owner, who received it from
the rear in her upturned right hand. The men were attentively
watching swallows, "ari": Luchu shot at them without hitting
them; when a pair took its prey in the air, this aroused general
interest, and good old Paleiko furnished explanatory comments.
Everywhere dolce far niente. Only the ants did not celebrate:
large carregadores marched by, heavily laden with pieces of
stalks and charcoal.

/162/

342 Tumayoua's house was a little smaller; here Eva's children peeped out of the little hammocks, but otherwise the picture was the same.

122 The lodgings pleased me more than the second part of the
262 room-and-board. As far as my diet was concerned, it was bad. I did not see meat at all during my stay in the village, if I except two mice that were shot. Fish was given to me rarely and in small portions as though it were one of the costliest of dishes: once a little pot of creatures the length of a little finger in a
[252] watery broth with a corncob stalk as a spoon; twice a piece of grilled fish barely hand-size and served on beijú as on a small plate; and once a piece of electric eel, almost too fat, but good and with a skin like smoked eel. Then once I was allowed to dip beijú in fish oil, which would not have been a special delicacy even for the Bakairí if in their childhood they had been obliged to
[252] take cod-liver oil. I do not find anything else recorded in my journal -- on the other hand, on the first day my intended shared with me roasted maize kernels which she held in her lap as she squatted on the ground; occasionally she also brought me a couple of mangabas, and during the inquiry about vocabulary, Eva offered me ants, a palm-boring beetle which still had half a leg, and a fat larva, all of which were supposed to be "iwakuhukuhu," the superlative of everything good and fine in Bakairí. There was no
272 lack of manioca flat-cakes or beijús and drinks. The festive drink, piñorogo, however, lasted for only two days; greenish gray like soapy water, warm and covered with bubbly foam, it never-
262 theless had a pleasant, insipid, sweet taste. The beijús were very different in quality, depending on the type of flour; they were usually crumbled and, mixed with water, taken as a drink.

[122] On the other hand, my hosts were heartily willing to relish the little that I had with me in the way of beans and salt and urgently begged for them. There was some difficulty with the beans. Paleko and I together cooked them, but both for the first time in our lives. I kindled the fire and he fetched sticks of wood; we set an earthen pot with the beans in it on three stones and cooked
533 away. Paleko sang to it, plaiting his basket and beating time softly
122

/212 cont./

+171 244 In the cultivation of mandioca, which today, along with maize, is penetrating into the farthest corners of Africa, as though both of these purely American plants had been native there forever, the metal-less South American has gained achievement which need not fear any comparison with other parts of the world. Today there is a cultivated, harmless species, but the [852] original root, which was found only on the Schingú, first had to [272] be divested of its strongly toxic juice, the expressed flour, obtained by grating and pounding, first had to be roasted before a foodstuff was produced, and, to be sure, one of many uses, in a solid state and as a pappy drink, Manihot "utilissima." It far surpasses maize in importance in the household of our Indians. It furnishes the principal food and is really responsible [269] for having forced the natives, who received it from more ad- [412] vanced tribes, to become sedentary, for its preparation presupposes a series of procedures requiring patience and presupposes implements, which, like the grating board studded with palm spines, could be produced only at a great cost of time and work with the [852] inferior tools. Unknown on the upper Schingú is the ingenious typytí, a tube plaited out of elastic stalks, which is filled with the grated mass and, pulled lengthwise by means of a weight, presses out the poisonous juice. our Indians filtered and pressed the juice through plaited sieves.

+171 243 Of greater interest, however, is the fact that the method of fermenting larger quantities of extract by means of chewing balls of flour or kernels of maize, which is used today probably everywhere in South America where maize and mandioca are cultivated by natives, was still unknown in our region; also, nothing was known there about the preparation of pajauará, popular among the North Karaiben, where the fresh beijús soaked in water are wrapped in leaves and buried for a few days. /213/ The püserego [272] of the Schingú does not have an intoxicating effect; it merely represents the tastiest pap-beverage, it is a soup, not an alcoholic drink. No palm wine is made either, one becomes intoxicated only with dancing or, if one wishes, with tobacco, and achieved what was humanly possible in the quantitative consumption of the pap-beverages. On the other hand, the Kamayurá

/300 cont./

*191 527 535 against appearing in the "flute house" at an inappropriate time, though they may hope to come out again alive, or at most only half dead. Carnival on the Kulisehu is also followed by a period of fasting, for it does not end -- the reason is not one connected with the cult -- before everything that is there has been eaten [462] and drunk insofar as possible. The women have an enormous [262] job satisfying the demands for beijûs and drinks; they must pound, [272] boil, and bake incessantly, and this necessity has probably also contributed somewhat to their being kept away from the dancing, so that they could meanwhile carry out their duties.

535 Bakaïrí. On the Rio Novo and Paranatinga the old customs are still observed. "Everybody dances like the wild Bakaïrí," said Antonio, "tudo dansa como Bakaïrí brabo." He described to me the festival held last April, when the people from the Rio Novo had invited those of the Paranatinga. They danced the yatuka dance, the makanri, and the imeo. Yatuka is a fish dance; wooden fish are worn on the head, especially the black pakú and the matrincham; heads of men and women are made of calabashes painted black and white or black and red and surrounded with Bromelia hair.

Makanari is a general term. The Bakaïrí calls almost everything and anything that is part of his dance adornment makanari; he calls specific dances makanari. "bakaïrí makanãri zûto," the Bakaïrí is master of the makanari. It is the dance of his tribe. The imeo is a type of makanari, a specific figure. In fact, it seems that the concept of makanari was originally narrower and [532] referred to a specific dance with straw plaiting. Among the docile Bakaïrí there are no wooden masks. Here the principal makanari is the bat dance, and, to be sure, semîmo, the small [533] bat, and aluã, the large bat. Antonio recited the text of the aluã dance* for me, but, in spite of a great deal of trouble, it

535 539 *One man sings: ohuhaaha-ihã yumãa ohã.....
yumarí uvanukã, yumari uvanukã huyanã vitã
ôô....yohohohû. Then another: manã kãua

/334 cont./

* 171 95 [124] One of the women in the Paranatinga village was called maldla - tujujú stork. The names of the men were usually obtained without difficulty; sometimes there was a little reluctance and it was preferred that a friend give the information. One Bakaïrí allegedly had no name because his parents had died early. From the women on the Kulisehu I always received only the answer, "I am a woman"; however, I neglected to ask a third person.

* 171 553 797 I have described the custom of exchanging names; cf. pages 115 and 122. It explains why the Indians make so little fuss about submitting to Christian baptism. To them it means simply a ceremony by means of which they lose their old name.

* 171 844 [849] [872] Birth and couvade. Abortions are said to take place frequently. The women are afraid of childbirth. Among the Bakaïrí they make a tea from the root of a campo tree called perovinha. Probably there are also mechanical procedures. The woman gives birth in a kneeling position on the floor, hanging on to a post. The hammock is not supposed to be soiled. Women who demonstrated this to us in pantomime and who knew about it from experience stated emphatically that the pains were great.

* 171 876 They soon get up, however, and go to work, and the man goes through the well-known couvade, the male lying-in, during which he adheres to a strict diet, does not touch weapons, and spends most of his time in the hammock. On our return we saw such a couvade in Maigéri in Paleko's house. An actual lying-in room had been /335/ set up by stretching two man-high walls of hanging buriti leaves from one of the main posts to the outer wall. In this way a three-cornered segment was closed off. I was gladly allowed to enter so that I could give the child beads. Inside there were stretched four hammocks, sheltering two women with babies and two men. A strong odor of pikí, coming from rubbings, filled the room. The babies were kurípa, ill, weak, [855] the parents complained. The fathers and mothers were ceaselessly occupied with blowing on them, and, to be sure, with hollow-sounding noises with the mouth nearly closed, which was hardly interrupted for a moment throughout the following night. The [514] [842] husbands left the house only to relieve themselves; they lived exclusively on thin pogu, mandioca cakes crumbled in water.

241 beans, *ipiẻ;* peanuts, *oremị;* sweetpotatoes, *mahódo;* "cará," *sáni;* maize, *ánji;* potatoes, *múla;* cotton, *kodokíra;* urucú, *ánto;* tobacco, *tauwị;* piqui fruit, *ípa.* Manioc, maize, and sweetpotatoes
248 were the principal food crops. Cotton was grown for making hammocks and the various belts and
276 strings used. Tobacco leaves, after being dried, were smoked by being rolled into cigars (*tapáki*).
[355] Tobacco seems to have had a ritual use, as the shamans smoked heavily before performing a rite.
252 Bitter manioc was shredded on a shredding board into which fish teeth or fine pieces of shell had been embedded. The pulp was squeezed in a piece of cotton cloth in order to remove the poisonous acids. The meal was then used for baking cakes. The fine powder or flour which settled at the bottom of the settling tub was also used for baking cakes after it was thoroughly dried. Maize was eaten boiled or roasted. Sweetpotatoes were
272 roasted over coals. Maize meal was prepared and mixed with wild honey and water to make a nonalcoholic beverage. The Bacairí claim not to have used any form of alcoholic beverage.

241 Cultivated plots were located outside the village, each large household usually having a continuous area. Maize and many other crops were planted in September and October when the rains began. Sweet manioc and sweetpotatoes could be planted the year around, especially on river banks after the rivers went down following the rainy season. April was the harvest month and also the beginning of the ceremonial season.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

592 The occupants of the large communal houses usually worked together in the fields, went hunting or fishing together, and generally cooperated in economic activities. Families could work individually if they wished or did not need the help
241 of others. It was the task of the men to burn and
462 prepare the fields for planting. As the men loosened the soil with the digging stick women planted the seeds, *alipá,* or pieces of stalk, as the case might be. Women and children thereafter took care of the weeding.

462 Division of labor by sex existed to a certain extent. Women wove mats (*anepíu*) out of various
[295] fibers, and hammocks out of cotton yarn which
[296] was also spun by women. Men wove baskets.
[323] Both men and women made clay pots. Bacairí

/164 cont./

287 The triangular garment of the women, a folded piece of
291 bark bast, supposedly from the schischá tree, has a base of four centimeters and a height of one to one and a half centimeters.

A girl about ten years old is still completely naked.

302 The nasal septum of the men is not pierced; the beard hair,
[304] /165/ if a natural tendency for it is present, as well as all the hair (among the women, too) with the exception of the head hair, the eyebrows, and eyelashes, is carefully removed.

224 Around 10:00 in the forenoon Clauss came with Antonio; a
[622] few men also arrived from hunting, among them the chief, an older gentleman with an anxiously serious official face and a
162 fat little belly. We count ten men, seven women, five boys, four girls.

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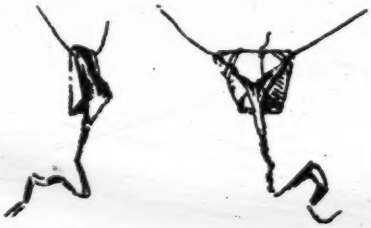

Clothing of the Bakaïrí women.

372 Pauhaga showed us how they make fire. They take two long, thin sticks of the same dry wood; into one a notch is scraped; while one man now holds this in position on the ground with two small sticks, a second man twirls the other stick rapidly between both hands in the notch. The dust that is rubbed loose glimmers.

126 We did some bartering; I measured a few men. They patiently allowed it to be done.

157 These "wild" Bakaïrí are alert, teachable, and certainly very good-natured. They do not steal, although we are carrying
[273] treasures with us. They have no intoxicating drink; they refuse
[276] tobacco. On the second day, together with their wives, they visit
609 us in our camp -- the "docile ones" on the Rio-novo, on the other hand, preferred to sleep with those in the bush as long as we were in the aldea. On the first evening a savage drinks a medicine that I

/212 cont./

*171 244 In the cultivation of mandioca, which today, along with maize, is penetrating into the farthest corners of Africa, as though both of these purely American plants had been native there forever, the metal-less South American has gained achievement which need not fear any comparison with other parts of the world. Today there is a cultivated, harmless species, but the [252] original root, which was found only on the Schingú, first had to [272] be divested of its strongly toxic juice, the expressed flour, obtained by grating and pounding, first had to be roasted before a foodstuff was produced, and, to be sure, one of many uses, in a solid state and as a pappy drink, Manihot "utilissima." It far surpasses maize in importance in the household of our Indians. It furnishes the principal food and is really responsible [262] for having forced the natives, who received it from more ad- [412] vanced tribes, to become sedentary, for its preparation presupposes a series of procedures requiring patience and presupposes implements, which, like the grating board studded with palm spines, could be produced only at a great cost of time and work with the [252] inferior tools. Unknown on the upper Schingú is the ingenious typytí, a tube plaited out of elastic stalks, which is filled with the grated mass and, pulled lengthwise by means of a weight, presses out the poisonous juice; our Indians filtered and pressed the juice through plaited sieves.

*171 ● 273 Of greater interest, however, is the fact that the method of fermenting larger quantities of extract by means of chewing balls of flour or kernels of maize, which is used today probably everywhere in South America where maize and mandioca are cultivated by natives, was still unknown in our region; also, nothing was known there about the preparation of pajauará, popular among the North Karaiben, where the fresh beijús soaked in water are wrapped in leaves and buried for a few days. /213/ The püserego [272] of the Schingú does not have an intoxicating effect; it merely represents the tastiest pap-beverage, it is a soup, not an alcoholic drink. No palm wine is made either; one becomes intoxicated only with dancing or, if one wishes, with tobacco, and achieved what was humanly possible in the quantitative consumption of the pap-beverages. On the other hand, the Kamayurá

/213 cont./

*171 word kauĩ for the simple refreshing drink made out of water and
● 273 crumbled beijú is the same kauim which their Tupí fellow-tribesmen associating with Europeans or more advanced Americans use for intoxicating beverages and therefore have retained from the days of innocence in the transition to less innocuous pleasures. The absence of intoxicating beverages for which the material is available will not escape the ever-ready explanation that the Indians formerly also possessed these fine products of civilization and have now simply forgotten them, and should, in this particular instance, perhaps for once induce the person who insists on tracing primitive conditions, without exception, back to retrogression and downfall to substitute virtue for demoralization and purity of morals for depravity. Anyone who has seen the Indian in Brazil celebrating kauim or kaschirĩ festivals, who has been obliged to interrupt his boat journey for this noble purpose and with neither money nor kind words has been successful in making the people disperse before the last drop has disappeared out of the full drink-canoe, will not believe otherwise than that a free tribe which really consumes only unfermented drinks at its festivals certainly does not have an inkling of the fermented ones and could never have had an inkling of them as far back as the most mythical forefathers and culture heroes. The practice of producing fermentation by chewing is so simple that one does not understand how it was forgotten or, what is more, could have been forgotten equally by representatives of different tribal groups.

174 I find, conversely, in the absence of intoxicating beverages, the surest guarantee of undisturbed conditions on the Schingú and believe it to be an imperative assumption that in the same way, before the invasion of Europeans, similar little cultural scenes of the "Stone Age" must have been common throughout centuries and millenniums in the numerous, relatively isolated river valleys of the Amazon and Orinoco systems. People did not always get along with their neighbors (women! stone axes!); occasionally disturbers of the peace broke in and perhaps permanently destroyed one of the small centers, but new ones were established in their place, and this is how, in a small and modest

/160 cont./

437 carried each piece that she captured to a secret repository lying
439 back off the road, immediately most hurriedly hastening forth
[554] for new deeds.

609 At noon Wilhelm and I went to the aldea;[1] Antonio accompanied us, but, suspicious of his fellow tribesmen, he could not make up his mind to stay with them during the night and returned to the river in the evening.

122 We set up housekeeping in the festival hut, and, alone with the charming little people, we felt indescribably content. When toward evening the mosquitoes started to annoy us, we took a
[37] walk to the roca.[2] Greedily we looked about for the "frutas de lobo," apple-round fruits which were present in numbers on gray-green shrubs, but unfortunately not ripe; the Bakaïrí boys are no different from ours. A magnificent estate; the horizon was bordered by a dark park, behind which the sun was setting in
291 reddish orange. We met Pauhaga, as our apostle of peace is
177 called, and his relatives on the plaza between the three huts, trying on clothes in great embarrassment. They urgently needed our help; not only did they put the trousers on in reverse and upside down over the legs, but they also tried to draw them up over their arms and wanted to stick their legs into a shirt. Putting on a coat alone was an impossible thing. They were unaware of the most obvious offenses against the elements of propriety. A safety pin was hugely admired, but most of all a pair of scissors with which
412 one could so conveniently cut one's nails. Their tool, the stone ax -- a ground stone is wedged into a wooden handle -- with which they fell trees and make posts, deserves our appreciation no less, from the standpoint of how much can be accomplished with the simplest means, even though in the unspoken accompanying thought that we ourselves /161/ might have to go back to this
[411] stage there is a slight admixture of horror. They have no spears,
[231] no bananas, no dogs, and tobacco is nowhere to be found. Bones,
[276] teeth, shells must serve them as tools, along with the stone ax.
[237] /Illustration appears here./

[1] [i.e. village -- Analyst]
[2] [i.e. Cultivated field -- Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 40]

/164 cont./

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A girl about ten years old is still completely naked.

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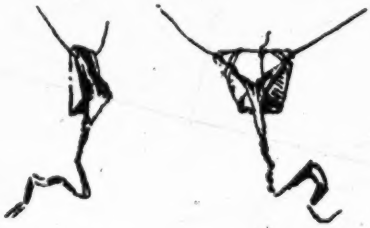

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/172 cont./

000 the more uncertain I am in abstracting the common features. The
171 Kustenaũ has his foot and half of his lower thigh painted red, like
302 stockings; the upper thighs are covered with a sooty black, in which, however, arched stripes are left blank. On his back he has two red stripes, and in addition black arm-bands. Numerous scratches, which are made with the tooth of the peixe-cachorro
302 (dogfish). The Bakaïrí, too, are painted more than usual with
[531] red; one has a black stripe on either side from eye to ear; another has painted himself black over the middle of his forehead, nose, lips, and chin, and bright brick-red on the sides of the forehead and the face. Among some, the hair, too, is saturated with the
301 red oil. Below the knees are bands of /Illustration appears here/ /173/ buritĩ straw; a skein of cotton, colored a dirty reddish brown, is tied around the waist. Some have strings or bands of cotton wound over the ankles or under the knees, around the legs, or around the upper arms. There is no uniformity anywhere.

302 The tonsure is shaved with a bent piece of spear grass. Its
413 diameter is seven centimeters.

177 To our surprise we also found an iron chisel tip and on a child a little string of blue beads. We could not find out definitely how these had found their way here; I interpreted their descrip-
[721] tion and Antonio's unclear account to mean that they had been brought back from a tribe on the lower Paranatinga whom the grandfather had visited on a raiding expedition.

• 276 Even in Aldea II the men had become happily excited by the discovery of tobacco seed; smoking was also done here. The leaves were so dry that they could be rubbed almost to powder; they were rolled into cigarettes about two decimeters long, and the fresh green leaf of an unknown tree was split lengthwise and used as the wrapping. This wrapper burned with a pleasant, balsam odor. The smoke was inhaled.

262 The women made excellent beijũ; it tasted like fresh French rolls. We also ate a fish ragout à la coquille, of which we would have liked to have had more than they gave us.

[Text Continues on P. 57]

1: Steinen--56 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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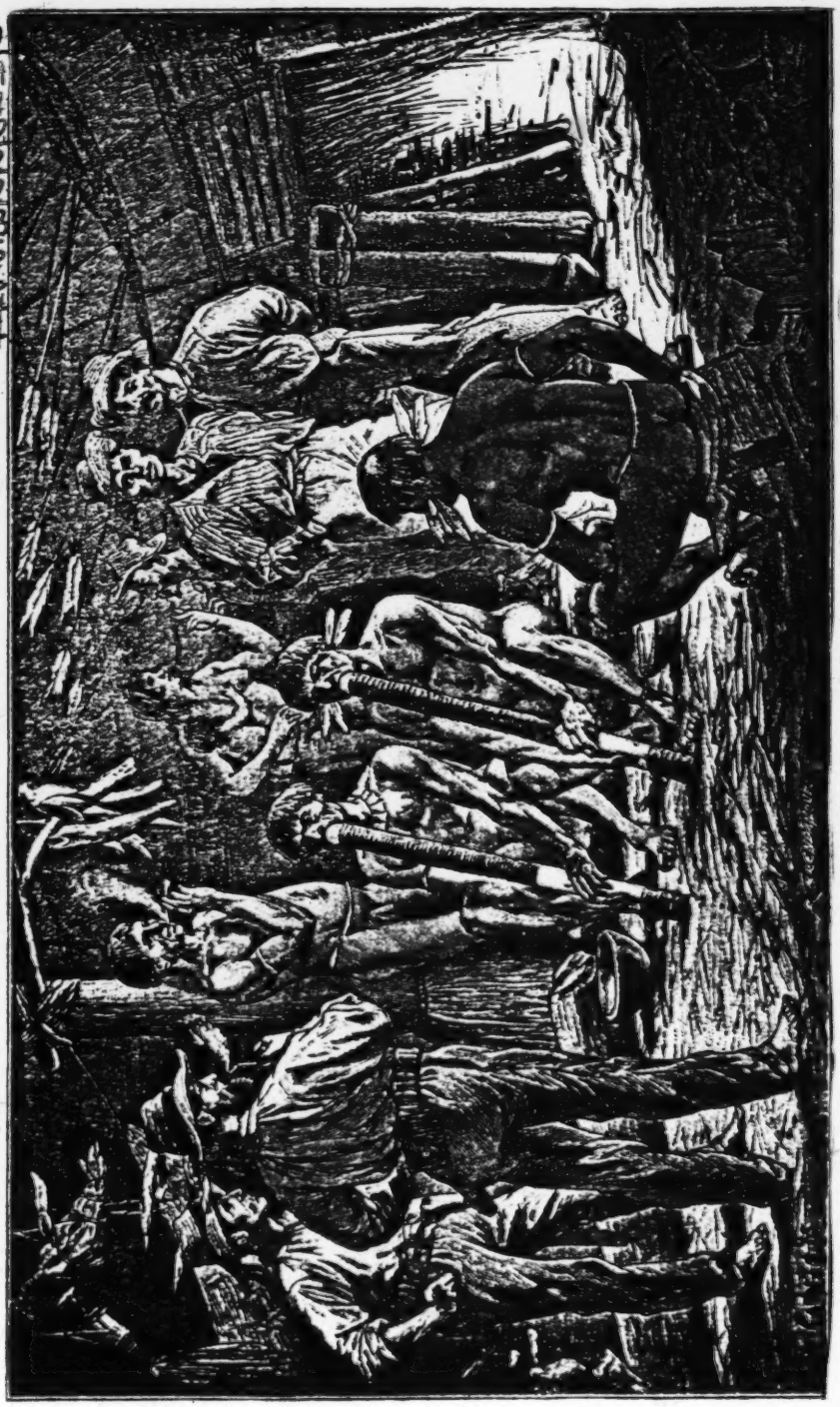

Flute duet among the Bakairi.

/176 cont./

433 It is clear that here agriculture falls behind hunting and
181 fishing; Aldea IV is military in character and forms the frontier
648 defense against alien tribes.

763 In one hut lay an ancient, paralytic little woman emaciated to a skeleton, whose soul seemed to say "ãla Bakaïrí" (it is enough Bakaïrí) and was trying impatiently to flutter away. The hammock was resting partly on the ground; two women squatted beside it and, as garrulous cronies, explained to us the suffering of the dying little mother.

231 Of tame animals we found a heron, small parrots, a kingfisher and the socó-morena.

345 The festival hut was 18 meters long, nine meters wide.
532 There were clumsily carved wooden fish hanging there, as well as a few finless specimens, wound bands which perhaps represented the electric eel.

Two square pieces of wood, painted red and white, with modeled nose and two eye sockets were striking; they are held in front of the face and represent doves, whose voice the artist can imitate better than the head (1).

1. Cf. the second ethnological plate /see p. 165/.

534 /177/ Four menis and a number of rattles were stuck in the
353 side walling.

624 Only in the festival hut did the herald put down his bow and arrows, but he did not part with them during our entire stay, even
[276] when he handed us a few bundles of tobacco. The latter, by the way, was better than among the earlier Bakaïrí. A few modest old
622 people were there, none with gray hair; among them the chief and, if I understood correctly, a vice-chief, the authority during the time the former is absent.

123 A shooting demonstration on the plaza filled them with
152 terror; they jumped with fright and turned away convulsively, most of all the mighty herald. His "ãla, ãla" was very humble and urgent.

/59 cont./

123 During the first two days I modestly restrained myself in order not to alarm the good people; I also noticed that one of the men was almost always detached for special duty near me and thus a sort of guard was established; when on the first night, after I had taken my leave, I wanted to stay up for a while with a light and write in my journal, old Paleko appeared at the door and asked me just as politely as urgently to go to sleep and blow out the candle. My discretion bore good fruit; they soon took me into the two large houses: in one Paleko and my intended were the chief occupants, in the other Tumayaua and [122] his daughter. They took me out to fish, to the launching of the new canoe, and the like, and everything could not have been better, if only I had not suffered from chronic hunger as a result of their hospitable, but for me absolutely inadequate [276] board. I had to try to help myself by heavy smoking and in this [512] respect achieved what was humanly possible, whereas almost the only time the Indians gave themselves up to this pleasure, but then in a body and with great enthusiasm, was during our nightly tobacco meeting outside on the plaza, the jolliest hours of the day.

345 My little house had served at the time of the festivals as [122] the dance house, "kχato-ẽti," or "flute house." Two reed [534] flutes hanging on the wall in a case made of buriti-palm straw were the only remains of past glory. For me, however, it was [562] better this way, for the women, who passed in and out of this ruin freely, may never enter the flute house of the men. It was seven paces wide and nine and a half long; the main posts in the center, standing two and a half paces apart, which supported the roof, were four and a half meters high. At the top, in the straw roof, a vent one meter and three and three-fourths meters long was left open. A couple of fish weirs stood in one corner, but otherwise there was nothing but the two posts, from one of which I had stretched the hammock over to the wall.

231 Besides my guard of honor, I also had the company of a japú (Cassicus), who seemed like a green tropical Jim Crow /Hans Huckebein/ to me; he was permitted to sit only up in the

/66 cont./

264 and licked them off as he swung himself, but no one bothered
576 another with his company. In eating beijú they were perhaps a little more liberal, at least toward me, but in the evening I often saw the men turn aside individually to consume a piece. Later Ehrenreich /67/ found something similar among the Karajá /Caraja/ on the Araguay /Araguaia/. "Etiquette demands that each one eat by himself, turned away from the other. Anyone who violates this must endure the mockery of the others."

264 Now among the Bakaïrí this etiquette was definitely
● 276 stricter, certainly in relation to the guest at least, for they com-
123 pletely lost their sense of humor over my lack of manners. I certainly did many things that were not the practice of the country, I sang loudly, I asked men and women their names, I refused the delicate beetle larvae and committed similar quite inexcusable things, but I never noticed that people were ashamed. In this case, however, it was more a matter of something improper; I had been indecent. There can be no doubt about that.

264 If we must admit, along with Heine, that we all are naked
261 inside our clothes and may be granted only relative justification for our feeling of modesty, the Bakaïrí, too, cannot be offended in his nobler feelings by the mere fact of eating, insofar as the individual takes care of the process for himself. Involuntarily one thinks of some animal that carries its portion of the meal to one side, but obviously out of the fear that another will take it away.
[146] I do believe that fish and meat were relatively scarce among the Bakaïrí, who, with a certain indolence, limited themselves more to mandioca and maize than they themselves liked; I am certain that if I had stayed there a week longer I would voluntarily have sat down in a quiet corner with every good morsel that I had justly or unjustly got hold of, in order to consume it protected from the glances of the others. Even at that time, I am afraid, I was casting hungry glances toward the others. The origin of the feeling of modesty described, however, must be rooted in ancient times.

ooo Good heavens, when we were on short rations on the expedition, how we so-called civilized human beings checked each other's portions, I can only say with greed and envy, although we

/68 cont./

intercourse between the two sexes goes back to a time when each man had to see to it that he had his wife for himself alone, sought to protect her from the lustful glances of his fellow tribesmen, and, for this purpose, used the clothing that developed either out of the pleasure of adornment or out of reasons of utility. Then clothing itself became sacred. It is certainly an interesting parallel if we regard the naked Indians as an indecent lot and imagine ourselves in the soul of a Bakairí who would not know what to do out of shame if he saw the dreadfully indecent Europeans united at a table d'hôte. He would quickly become accustomed to it, however, and would perhaps the very next night dream that he was back on the Kulisehu, would find old and young cozily gathered together dining on a tapir roast, and would be astonished to be informed by the chief: "We always eat together now."

276 [512] Tobacco club. My friends were most natural in the evening after the day's burden and toil, when we men sat together smoking on the village plaza. A more harmless conviviality could scarcely be imagined, although, or if one wishes, because, there was no drinking. Punctually, with his long pipe, like the first of the people of rank at the table reserved for the regular guests, stiff-legged old Paleko appeared, the spindle-shaped bundle of tobacco, a twig with leaves for wrapping, and a chunk of wood in his hands, and squatted down on the sitting beam, sighing con-
[516] tentedly. My back soon became sore in this sitting position a handbreadth above the ground, and I would drag my oxhide out of the hut. A couple of sticks were placed together radially, along with the glowing chunk of wood, and a small fire kindled. The clay pipe was unknown; /69/ they smoked cigars or regular cigarettes, albeit 25 centimeters long. The leaf wrapping was still green and was held over the fire for only a few seconds; it gave off a balsamy odor. The cigar went out frequently; it was held against the embers to light it again. Occasionally one would have fire given to him from the cigar of his neighbor, but in that case he handed him his own which the other would put

/69 cont./

276 in his mouth and light. The smoke was inhaled. They even smoked my heavy black tobacco in the same manner and in the same size, and they tolerated it without difficulty, although theirs was light as straw.

517 Not a sound came from the houses; the plaiting had been pushed in front of the entrance. Were the women not lying awake in the hammocks? The two araras, who during the day were in the habit of cawing from the roof poles, were asleep on a partly withered palm. No insects were annoying us. For two or three hours we sat under the star-studded dome of the heavens, surrounded all around by the dark mass of the woods. The smallest cloud that rose anywhere was observed and became the subject of a discussion about where from and where to. As soon as an animal sound became audible in the woods, everyone would be silent for a moment, waiting to see whether it was repeated, and then they would whisper to each other "a tapir," "an armadillo," or the like, while one man half mechanically whistled in imitation of the animal cry. There was also no lack of in-
517 voluntary sounds. Sucking sounds with saliva, belching, or break-
576 ing wind was not restrained. Bakaĩrĩ sum, nihil humani a me
[514] alienum puto. But the moment someone behaved too badly, there immediately followed, as a direct reflex movement of all the colleagues, a brief violent spitting to one side, without an interruption in the conversation. To be sure, if there were a
[626] repetition, Tumayaua or Paleko would mutter something that seemed to mean, "Confound it, we have a guest, after all," and the culprit would lose himself in the shadows six paces away. It was very patriarchal.

823 We discussed in detail the subject most important for me,
829 the geography of the Kulisehu. The river was drawn in the sand, the tribes were enumerated and designated with maize kernels. Thus I gradually learned to understand the correct relationship of the Kulisehu and Kuluëne and learned that the main body of the Nahuquá tribes, each of which was designated by a special
829 name, lived on the Kuluëne. All people were either good,
577 "kúra," or bad, "kurápa." The distinction was made chiefly,

/209 cont./

Category B could probably be considerably enlarged. It depended on the need. The fruit trees under this were planted with great care. I have mentioned that in the first Bakaïrí village there was a sort of avenue of pikí trees; the Nahuquá cultivated this species with great enthusiasm. The mangabas were popular and thrive especially well among the Bakaïrí, among the Kamayurá, and in particular, as was reported to me, among the Waurá, so that the Trumaí word "waurarí" seems to mean simply the Waurá fruit. The fruta de lobo was less frequently found near the village. Then, however, plants which they needed in any way for their implements and weapons were set out as required, if they did not occur in the vicinity of the village. Thus they transplanted near the village the spear grass growing in swampy soil, with which they shaved themselves, the bast plants that /210/ furnished them thread, occasionally perhaps also the sapé grass with which the houses were covered. Most interesting, however, it seems to me, is the assurance that they planted the ubá arrow reed in larger quantities on the Batovy, so as not to have to fetch it from distant places.

Besides casual inclinations and knowledge of management, the nature of the soil apparently played an important role. Tobacco grew excellently among the Suyá and the Auetó and was commonly smoked by the men, except in the first Bakaïrí village on the Batovy.* It plays an important part in medical

* This circumstance may have occasioned H. v. Ihering to say: "v. d. Steinen missed tobacco among the Bakaïrí of the Upper Schingú just as completely as bananas or metals" [Zeitschrift f. Ethnologie, 1893, p. 195]. I describe, cf. Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, p. 173 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 55/, for Village III of the Batovy-Bakaïrí, the real part played by smoking, as the discoverers of the

/210 cont./

Antilles found it. On the other hand, I share the opinion of v. Ihering, which I often expressed in lectures before I read his article, that the pipe in Brazil is of modern origin. Like the fishhook.

[illegible] plays an important part in medical treatment and is regarded as a very ancient acquisition of the culture heroes, who, as legend indicates, received it from the north. The drinking bowls and calabashes, especially the Cucurbita lagenaria, represented a major product for the Bakairí, a somewhat lesser one for the Bakairí. The Mehinakú and the Bakairí had the best cotton. The urucu bush was valued above all by the Bakairí, the Mehinakú neglected it completely because watering it made too much work. The surprising circumstance upon my arrival in the village, namely, that no red-painted, but many black-painted figures were walking about, finds a very natural explanation.

Maize, represented among the Suyá by a species characterized by smallness of ears and a golden color of the kernels, and mandioca were found everywhere, but the latter was planted in decidedly greater amounts among the Mehinakú. They were the richest farmers of the upper Schingú, their word for mandioca was also adopted by the Trumaí. Of tuber plants, besides mandioca, we saw yams of two kinds and batatas, which we first found in quantities among the Mehinakú. Our men designated beans as "feijão de vara," pole beans, or as "feijão de roça," plantation beans. Of edible gourds, abóbora /Abobra/, we saw only the seeds which the Suya brought us in 1884 for eating, so we understood. The mandubi peanut occurred in a small species. There were definitely no guavas or bananas on the Schingú.

In my report about the first journey I pointed out the absence of bananas and especially stressed that for the question as to whether or not the banana was introduced in America only after the arrival of the Europeans this must be all the more decisive since the different Schingú tribes are of different origin and yet not a single one brought along the banana from the previous

[i.e., the tobacco -- Analyst]

/345 cont./

by ordinary means. This brings about the amusing reverse situation whereby the doctor takes medicine in order to heal. The more he can bear, the stronger he is. He knows all kinds of poisons that intoxicate and he uses them: tobacco, ãgukuriõku or (cipó de cobra) snake-vine, seõwi or timbo vine (Paullinia pinnata), the leaves of the forest tree ãtiko. Everyone listens attentively to the unintelligible stuff that he offers during his stupor, or to the strange experiences that he reports about his shadow after he wakes up from deep narcosis. He becomes a great man, he enjoys the admiration and the gifts; like many other great men, he first permits himself to be led to slight exaggerations and then touches up his own achievements when they are not entirely adequate, so as not to disappoint the stupid folk. Among the Bororó, a person who, at the time of the best palm wine, consumes the largest quantities during the sumptuous drinking bouts and, most successfully withstanding the intoxication, makes the longest speeches is recognized as a witch doctor; the concepts of the doctoral banquet and the doctoral examination coincide.

The tobacco narcosis of the doctor is the most common medicine for the patient among all our tribes, as well as among many others: the sick body is blown upon with huge clouds, at the same time it is spat upon vigorously, and in between it is kneaded with the use of all the muscular strength amidst terrible groans reverberating throughout the village, not from the patient, but from the doctor. This goes on for a long time; the doctor permits himself only brief pauses in the kneading, during which he laments loudly and at the same time smokes passionately. The cigars are furnished by the family. Finally he starts to suck and, with convulsive outbursts, spits out the cause of the illness.

The Auetõ chief had drunk plant poisons, but he had not yet undergone the greatest test, taking snake poison, which was often done in "former" times. It is emphatically pointed out that the poison calabash of the sorcerer cannot harm the good medicine-man, but, of course, it is not explained how the latter can fall ill. The Auetõ chief had already been dead. When the medicine

/346 cont./

*191 755 994 995 539 "Heaven has a ground, as here. The piaje who was there says so." "??..." "He drank liana poison and died. He was then no longer like human beings, he could go into a jaguar or a cobra snake or a sukurf snake or a falcon. He ascended to heaven, came back, awoke as a human being, and was just as he was before. This happened on the Paranatinga. The same thing also happened formerly among the antigos, and the people of the Tamitotoala (Batovy) used to say the same thing." Thereupon Antonio reported his specific example. "He drank the poison in the hammock itself, he drank out of a gourd vessel in which there was mixed a great deal of water, he died in the hammock. He went to heaven and there met the antigos. He also met that one...., what is he called?" (This in vain to think of the name.) "Oh, his mother also went to heaven." "Jesu Christo?" "The same. He conversed with him for a long time. This Krito had him sit down on a stool and brought him calabashes with pogo and pikf juice. There was a great deal of it. They talked a very long time. This Krito provided him with arara feathers for flying. Then he blew on him. Then he let him return. He woke up in his hammock." I wanted to find out in greater detail how he had come out. "The shadow rose up a little above heaven, carefully looked for the holt by which one gets out of heaven, and flew back here." "So the shadow had been in heaven?" "Since the body does not go and cannot rise up because it is dead, the shadow goes."

191 755 296 The transformation thus takes place in the dream, which is induced by a narcotic. It is regarded as real and the story of such a dream, wholly true or nowadays only very much partially true in professional practice, furnishes the material for the belief in the art of the /347/ witch doctors. Their actual merit lies only in their knowledge of the narcotics, and in particular, from our point of view, that of tobacco narcotic. Antonio told me that

* The occasion for becoming acquainted with the narcotic effect was probably during the fanning of the smoldering fire. One must seek in the forest the dry leaves which are thrown on, which

2: Steinen--410 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SPT Bacairi 1/7

/347 cont./

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smoke and flare up more or less quickly when one blows on them. Leaves burning with an aromatic or stupefying smoke would strike the sensitive nose of the Indian while he was blowing on them and would be found useful by him for his medicinal sorcerer's kitchen. He inhaled the smoke and swallowed it (hence always the expression "drink" among the discoverers of America).

there are two kinds of "tobacco". the tobacco which one smokes for pleasure is different from the kind that cures and is much weaker. In the cures which I saw the ordinary tobacco was used; probably there are other leaves that have a stronger narcotic effect. The Schingl cigarette in its green aromatic leaf-wrapping is probably one of the simplest forms of regular smoking enjoyment. Tobacco smoke cures everything. I saw infected eyes, inflammation of the hip joint, burns, abdominal pains, and other such things treated with it. The boyé blew it into my ears and talked into them loudly, so that I would understand their language better. Perhaps if a patient is blown upon for a long time with a thick cloud of smoke a slight drowsiness is aimed at, but in each case the patient, already suffering, must lapse into a dull state as a result of the untiring, monotonous moaning and kneading, in which he may experience transformations just as well as the medicine man. I did not obtain any accounts or examples of this, however.

In the following chapter I must discuss a simpler method of blowing, by means of which the sorcerer transforms, not himself, but others, and which occurs without tobacco smoke.

* 171
989

The medicine man or anyone else blows in a different way when he drives away a thunderstorm by blowing. Saliva is puffed out through a spray funnel against the clouds. I myself saw the remedy work several times and was then sorry that in my overly great caution, in spite of the urgent requests of the Indians, I had not puffed along with them. I lacked the power of imagination.

/261 cont./

have with the piahi and with the common people (wanololo, from waono, "first"; cf. Ger. "der erste der beste" /first come first served/.

At the waterfalls of the Paranatinga, a fearsome place where Keri and Came tossed the Mama, an enchanted red stone /262/ with which they killed Meru and Arimoto, there is underneath the Mama the dream (Vbdu) which they tore from the lizard's eyes. There dwells the father of smallpox (nuri); those who come near him fall ill; when the time for the leaping of the matrimam /a kind of fish/ comes, anyone nearby who talks or laughs is thrown into the water. The curer runs no risk by coming near; if he becomes angry, he can bless the sleep and this one gets upand wanders off.

How does the curer reach this fullness of powers which in his discourses he so often hurls at those whom he contemptuously calls "common people"? Through a very long and painful apprenticeship, which few persons have the courage to undergo to the end and to the letter.

First of all, the curer candidate (piahi-he-ini) must find an experienced curer who will tell him what he must do and protect him against the enemies whom he is bound to encounter. On his part, in addition, the future curer must not leave a single breach through which the enemy, the Kanowi, might enter, the so envious and so evil yamiras, whose principal occupation, it would seem, is to go in search of the slightest carelessness in order to punish it unmerciffully.

Such is the object of the rigorous training to which he must submit if he wishes to rise to the heights where the true curer dwells.

The novice begins by drinking various drugs, such as niuba, pindava, vaimbd, and other cigar, in order to learn the language of animals and of Kanowi. a sort of Cerapina; he cannot eat piche, mingão, fat, meat, lambari /a kind of fish/, flying things, /263/ tamandua, or honey; his food consists exclusively of beiú and pelicilho bush.

754 755 /266 cont./ But in the event the illness had been caused by another sorcerer, it would be necessary to find out first the vehicle of the disease. This might be a small piece of charred wood, a thin cotton thread, or a small piece of bone, tossed from a distance and thus introduced into the patient's body. The sorcerer would suck at the afflicted part, thus withdrawing the cause of the illness.

754 114 753 /267/ Our informants could tell us nothing about diseases caused by omeoto (evil sorcerers) mentioned by Karl von den Steinen. According to the latter, in order to injure an Indian, a sorcerer would cook in a pot a lizard into whose throat he had previously inserted the skin of the middle finger of a corpse. The agony and death of the lizard were matched simultaneously by the agony and death of the victim. (13)

13. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., p. 442.

114 199 In our opinion, this method hardly seems to be indigenous and is probably the result of acculturation. However, our informants did not know about it.

756 834 262 784 In order to become a sorcerer, a youth had to undergo training for a period that lasted from six to 12 months, submitting to rigorous sexual abstinence and an exclusively vegetal diet. Throughout the initiation period the candidate remained nude, enclosed in the kajoeti. Part of the training, meanwhile, was carried out in distant places, where the novice learned the healing properties of certain roots, as well as the secrets related to the supernatural world. The training ended 787 with the acquisition, on the candidate's part, of a guardian spirit, or iamiba. This acquisition was made during a trance 296 into which the candidate has fallen by means of the ingestion of narcotic substances. After this the new sorcerer had to prove his power, either through small acts such as finding lost objects or by curing a sick person.

/267 cont./

756 In regard to initiation, Karl von den Steinen tells us that
[262] the candidate had to subsist solely on starch broth, hit himself
[785] continually on the head, and at the same time scratch his arms and chest until blood ran. (14) On the other hand,

14. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., pp. 440-441.

[276] Capistrano de Abreu relates that the novice had to swallow "drugs such as timbo, pindova, vaimbé, and other cipos" and learn the language of karoui. On the day of the initiation the candidate would go for a walk with his master, who gave him the infusion to drink. (15)

15. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 235-238.

796 The Bakairí had quite an elaborate ceremonial system, as may be inferred from the information obtained /268/ the Indians of Simões Lopes. Dancing and singing were done not only when there was an abundance of food or when economic activities permitted it, but especially at times such as the maize harvest, or the occasion when the ears of the boys about to be secluded were pierced, or at times of the celebration of the tadaunúto, or end of the uanki state, the building of houses, the beginning of the clearing of a field, or finally the
[574] distribution of cotton among the women. On those occasions neighboring groups were invited and the festivities lasted for
534 days. Bakairí musical instruments consisted of bamboo flutes and bells for the feet made of piquí shells. The informants recalled four kinds of flutes: enimi and kanagera, sacred flutes kept hidden from the eyes of women and children, and tadlua
[531] and nakigoro, used in secular festivities. The Bakairí also had gourds filled with seeds or stones, called paka, and wooden sticks decorated with geometric designs.

77 /270 cont./
satisfies effectively the cultural exigencies. The Bakairí lived in a world dominated by iamũra and other supernatural beings. Animals and plants were nothing more than draperies which were used by these supernatural beings. The Bakairi himself was a dual being: a spirit, kagatopũri, using a draping, the physical body, animated by another, denser spirit, kati. After death kagatopũri went through the stages of kadopa, a wandering spirit, and finally iamũra. For this reason the Bakairi did not appear to be afraid of their dead; bodies were more than vestments, but the kadopa were indeed dangerous.

784 182 In order to protect themselves against the innumerable dangers presented by the constellation of supernatural beings, such as iamũra, kadopa, topiehe, karoui, iuanaguroro, and kilaimo, the Bakairí used two methods. The first was seclusion, uanki, at the most dificult moments, such as birth, puberty, [796] death, and shamanistic initiation. Uanki was followed by the restoration of the individual /to the community/ through the 756 tadaunúto celebration. The other method was shamanism. 784 Shamanism was open to all and it must actually have consti- 182 tuted a normal stage in the life evolution of the Bakairí. Yet few of them managed to become sorcerers, for the trials they 756 had to undergo were not easy. Contact with the supernatural 787 was achieved by sorcerers through the use of tobacco or other • 276 narcotic substances. In their trances the sorcerers came to control the iamũra and acquired the powers peculiar to these supernatural beings.

795 Finally, the post-mortem life of the Bakairí, in Nakoeri's large aldea, reflects a might be expected the organization of their aldeas. Once changed into iamũra, the Bakairí join their ancestors and old friends; the pleasures of eating and drinking are not denied them since they also feel hunger and thirst, but they are now invulnerable to the perils of the forest. They can use the animals and plants, at their pleasure, as wrappers for their wanderings through the air, in the rivers, or on the ground.

241 beans, *ipié;* peanuts, *oremí;* sweetpotatoes, *mahódo;* "cará," *návi;* maize, *ánji;* potatoes, *múla;* cotton, *kodokíra;* urucú, *ánto;* tobacco, *tauwí;* piqui fruit, *ípa.* Manioc, maize, and sweetpotatoes
248 were the principal food crops. Cotton was grown for making hammocks and the various belts and
276 strings used. Tobacco leaves, after being dried, were smoked by being rolled into cigars (*tapáki*).
[755] Tobacco seems to have had a ritual use, as the shamans smoked heavily before performing a rite.
252 Bitter manioc was shredded on a shredding board into which fish teeth or fine pieces of shell had been embedded. The pulp was squeezed in a piece of cotton cloth in order to remove the poisonous acids. The meal was then used for baking cakes. The fine powder or flour which settled at the bottom of the settling tub was also used for baking cakes after it was thoroughly dried. Maize was eaten boiled or roasted. Sweetpotatoes were
272 roasted over coals. Maize meal was prepared and mixed with wild honey and water to make a nonalcoholic beverage. The Bacairí claim not to have used any form of alcoholic beverage.

241 Cultivated plots were located outside the village, each large household usually having a continuous area. Maize and many other crops were planted in September and October when the rains began. Sweet manioc and sweetpotatoes could be planted the year around, especially on river banks after the rivers went down following the rainy season. April was the harvest month and also the beginning of the ceremonial season.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

592 The occupants of the large communal houses usually worked together in the fields, went hunting or fishing together, and generally cooperated in economic activities. Families could work individually if they wished or did not need the help
241 of others. It was the task of the men to burn and
462 prepare the fields for planting. As the men loosened the soil with the digging stick women planted the seeds, slips, or pieces of stalk, as the case might be. Women and children thereafter took care of the weeding.

462 Division of labor by sex existed to a certain
[295] extent. Women wove mats (*anepéu*) out of various
[284] fibers, and hammocks out of cotton yarn which was also spun by women. Men wove baskets.
[323] Both men and women made clay pots. Bacairí

/61 cont./

512 The taciturn Indians, men and women, chattered con-
[152] stantly, and Eva's delightful laughter rang out merrily. The
[278] women were all busy. One was scraping a reddish bark which, when cooked, furnishes a curative brew, a second was pounding mandioca grains in a mortar. Now and then a swallow was brought to one of the men in the hammock. A beautiful
[272] picture there by the flickering fire that leaped up at the enormous kettle; the naked woman with long hair was skimming off the milk-like, gently bubbling foam of the püserego in a little pot and pouring it back again and again with a vigorous swing of her arm. Others stepped up, yours truly as well, and tasted, licking their fingers. My intended looked very trim,
[231] too, her "raven-black Mongolian hair" had glints of faded light brown, and she was squatting in front of three discontentedly cawing green parakeets which she was feeding out of
[262] a little pot. Then my turn came; she placed a freshly baked, golden yellow beiiú flat-cake in front of me and did not forget to remark that it was her own handiwork.

Fat Yapü had fallen asleep. I, too, was overcome by a pleasant weariness in the unfamiliar, mood-evoking equableness of the domestic activity; I could not resist the pleasant invitation to take a midday nap, although in the largest hammock there I squirmed like a fish in the net.

I had slept soundly. The picture had changed. The women
[515] sat outside on the plaza, five in a row one behind the other, busily engaged in delousing. Anyone who caught a little
[262] animal placed it on the tip of the tongue and swallowed the delicacy or gave it to the original owner, who received it from the rear in her upturned right hand. The men were attentively watching swallows, "iri"; Luchu shot at them without hitting them; when a pair took its prey in the air, this aroused general interest, and good old Paleko furnished explanatory comments. Everywhere dolce far niente. Only the ants did not celebrate; large carregadores marched by, heavily laden with pieces of stalks and charcoal.

B /200 cont./
133 ceased its raging in the last cataracts, while dense campo wilder-
487 ness with sandy soil still prevailed in the landscape here, a vast network of canals and lagoons developed downstream and, for persons familiar with the winding waterways, in which the stranger could not find his way, made communication there effortless and extensive, not only from village to village, but also from the village to the plantings, and more fertile soil made work more rewarding.

B If we wish to use the schema of fisherman and hunter or
*191 agriculturalist, we find a mixed situation among our natives.
433 The hunting of mammals naturally fell back before fishing among the sedentary river dwellers. The latter was important, both for the purpose of food and for that of use for technical re-
B [281] quirements. Skins offered no advantages, since clothing for
[252] warmth was not worn; the skin of a slain mammal was usually not stripped off, but roasted as well, and to be sure, until it was charred, when it tasted pleasantly crisp and salty. Hunting, beyond that eagerly undertaken for large gallinaceous birds and the other inhabitants of the river-forest, yielded only occasional game and, if it were to have been carried on more seriously,
BO /201/ would have required larger expeditions. We saw this later
433 among the Bororó, who also lived on a river rich in fish, but
[252] among whom, conversely, the hunting of mammals predominated; they were away from home for weeks and returned with large quantities of roasted meat; they did not as yet practice agriculture.

B Mentally -- and this is a highly significant point -- the
181 Schingú Indians, in spite of intensive agriculture, still lived
825 completely on the true hunting level. At any rate, with regard to the Bakaïrí I can confirm this statement in its broadest sense. I have described with what attentiveness they observed, even in the village, every sound issuing from the forest, every occurrence in animal life that they chanced to see. Outside, on the campo or forest path, in the canoe, in the overnight camp, the Indian always felt that he was hunting. He was not aware of any gulf between him and the animal world; he saw

/123 cont./

162 Agosta. -- A boy Irineo (parents dead).
621 Luis (Bolivian), Martin (Brazilian) with wife Carlotta (Paraguayan) and child.

126 I could not rejoice enough about the fortunate circumstance
115 that I was able to make the linguistic survey on the Rio Novo. Even with the intelligent Reginaldo it had been difficult enough to determine phonetically the inimitable tongue exercises that make up the Bakaïrí language, but with Captain Mêmo, who did nothing but nod contentedly, and the others who either laughed or grew impatient, nothing could be done.

On the other hand, I am indebted to Caetano for the legends which I shall retell later.

342 The largest house, which Captains Caetano and Felipe oc-
824 cupied together, was 21 paces long and 9 1/2 paces wide. The roof and walls, the latter supported by cross rods of tacoara /bamboo; see the glossary, p. 172 / consisted entirely of buritĩ /see the glossary, p.170 / straw. Only Miguel owned a round house, the inner frame of tacoara covered with buritĩ leaves.
[343] There were seven houses and two new buildings. In addition two pig huts. In the case of one new building, I inquired about the timber that made up the frame. Two tall aruera posts supported the uppermost longitudinal roof-beam of aricá wood (also cunhào de porco). The sloping side-beams of the roof likewise cunhào de porco, the two longitudinal beams guanandí. The smaller posts that supported the roof beams: timbó, peuva, carvão, branco. One roof was also covered with campo grass.

164 I visited Miguel, who had an attack of fever, in his bee-
352 /124/ hive. He lay in his cotton hammock and let himself be waited on by pretty Maria. The whole room hung full of
353 calabashes, rice and farinha baskets, skins, arrows -- things left by his grandfather; it was far more comfortable in this still true heathen affair than in the characterless huts of the adherents of
123 a mock civilization. With dreadful gestures of disgust, the old
[157] man swallowed the bitter quinine and buried his fever-reddened
[283] face in the hammock. Maria, in gratitude, baked me a beijú [Cf. glossary on p. 170 --Analyst

/124 cont./

123 and showed me how the raw cotton, merely cleaned of seeds, is
283 twisted into thread with the spindle. The cotton plants stand
241 between the huts everywhere; beside them grows mamona /castor
[372] oil plant/, whose oil serves us for wretched illumination in the
[251] evening, and peppers. Mats are spread out on racks in order to dry the mandioca farina.

The roca," the cultivated field, lies some distance away. The Bakairí plant mandioca, beans, rice, sweet potatoes, sugar, and deliver to the Fazenda Corrego fundo. Their rapadura was
272 excellent; the melada, a honey-sweet syrup, moved us to exclamations of admiration. The sugar cane is pressed between
249 two cylinders in the simplest way. (Cf. the vignette at the be-

342

Old-style hut.

[249] ginning of this chapter /see p. 2/).

We found Caetano's hut divided into three rooms: Caetano received us in the high, airy center room and shut the door, behind which little Luisa was doing housework. Felipe and Carlotta
354 Parecí lived in the corner room opposite. Three canga blocks
482 formed the hearth. Plaited back-baskets, which are carried by a forehead band and in which the women are said to carry up to six
412 arrobas. Graters to grate the mandioca: hard little spikes from
824 the rib of the burití leaf are neatly set into the middle part of a narrow piece of wood almost a meter long.

/65 cont./

124 say, an Arab, who would feel awkward about looking into the un-
831 veiled face of a European woman, or a Chinese, who would fall
[192] into the most anguished embarrassment if chance showed him her stockingless little foot. It is true, the subject that seems shocking to us gave the Bakaïrí, men and women, decided pleasure, and if a pedantic ponderer who wants to have modesty in our sense preserved at any price as the innate heritage of humanity would like to conclude from this increased measure of merriment that the bad conscience of a tribe that had sunk from a higher morality was stirring, I can only reply to him that their merry laughter was neither impudent nor did it give the impression of cloaking an inner embarrassment. On the other hand, it undoubtedly had a slightly erotic timbre, and, much as occasion and accompanying circumstances among true primitive peoples must differ, it altogether resembled the laughter that one hears at our spinning-party jokes, at games of forfeit, or other harmless entertainment in the intercourse between the two sexes. For from this same
[531] natural joy, as we shall see later, there resulted one of the most common ornaments in their painting, namely, the uluri of the women, represented on numerous implements as the original form of the triangle.

126 I wished to have the uluris made in larger quantities for the collection. Which aroused great merriment. Thus one afternoon there was lively tailoring. We were sitting behind Tumayaua's
[252] house, an old woman was baking beijûs outside, pouring the flour
[524] on the pan, spreading it smooth, and /66/ skillfully tossing the
[283] finished flat-cake on a sieve, the children licked up püserego and
[289] played catch with feather-decorated maize balls, and four women and girls were twisting the threads out of palm fiber, folding the "little skirts" out of brownish-yellow leaves, and handing me the
126 neat work in quantity and in all sizes. The only thing that I must
291 add is that one woman was very baffled and looked about helplessly when I asked for an uluri that she was wearing. But no feeling of modesty related to the exposure had anything to do with this embarrassment; rather, what feeling of modesty was present should be called a physiological one, the existence of which I do not

/92 cont./

574 night. We sat down in the middle of the large plaza in a long
row. Each one was brought a drinking bowl; the largest, along
574 with a cigar, fell to me. Speeches of welcome were now ex-
576 changed with great volubility.

ǽma, you = that is you. ehé úra, yes, I = indeed, that is I.

bakaïrí úra, I (am a) Bakaïrí. kχaráiba úra, I (am a) Karaibe.

bakaïrí kχúra, (the) Bakaïrí (are) good. kχaráiba iwakulukúlu,

(the) Karaiben (are) very good. pí ma ǽma? (are) you (the) chief?

píma úra, I (am the) chief.

123 Opposite each Karaiben squatted a Bakaïrí and admired him
and what he wore. The Swedish matches, knives, mirrors,
buttons, beads -- it was always the same routine. Except that
in the case of Porisa it was my notebook that was most appreciated
and it was not the written pages or those covered with drawings,
but the white, empty sheets that elicited exclamations of delight
from him. We also strode about the plaza in pairs, arm in arm,
in affable conversation. We studied the geographical distribution
of the Kulisehu tribes in detail, but the dwelling places of the
Trumaí still remained as obscure as before.

345 The flute-house was large and spacious, its roof dilapidated,
much straw lay on the floor inside, and here, as in the houses,
we missed the cleanliness which pleased us so in the other vil-
534 lages. In front of the flute-house, resting on cross-sticks, lay a
[532] huge hollow tree-trunk -- a morcego (bat) tree our men called
it -- /93/ irregularly painted with human figures and fish vertebrae.
During festivals they drummed on this giant instrument with thick
wooden clubs, similar to the mandioca pestles.

535 Inside there were handsome masks and a new form of dance
costume; two huge crinolines ten meters in circumference,
covered with straw, and comparable to small huts, koálu, which
126 the dancer wore on a ring on his shoulder. Soon enthusiastic
301 barter was under way everywhere. We obtained fine feather
237 ornaments, crowns made of arara feathers, which are light blue
534 on one side, yellow on the other, dainty mats in which they are
283

/93 cont./.

126 stored, dark yellow reed diadems, such as Luchu is wearing on
534 Plate 6,[1] others with radiating tips, large Panpipes, an oar deco-
283 rated with drawings, spinning whorls of the simplest type, that
301 is, disks made of potsherds, and a quantity of remarkable
[239] cylinder-shaped sticks, which are covered with ornamentation
177 and worn on the back at festivals. But in the equipment of these
third Bakaïrí it was clearly shown that we were with the section
of the tribe living next to the rest of the Kulisehu Indians; all
kinds of imported goods were present and were designated as such
439 here. The Bakaïrí do not make any pots themselves and do not
[323] themselves have a place where they might fetch stones for stone
axes, but here we were immediately told that the pots came
from the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ and the stone axes from the
Trumaí. Among the pots one in the shape of a turtle represented
an absolute masterpiece of primitive plastic art, on which the head,
tail, and feet, as well as the shell drawing, were magnificently
worked out. From the Auetó we found a half-broken clay doll;
also originating from the Mehinakú, balls of finely spun cotton;
from the Trumaí and Suyá, dainty feather caps. From our own
possessions of 1884 we discovered two iron chisels, parts of a
ramrod, which had been sharpened to a point on stones.

We met a Nahuquá in person; unfortunately, the man was
618 obviously an idiot and had little to offer for my purposes. It is
732 strange that this is not an isolated phenomenon: the Kustenaú
of 1884 had a simple-minded Bakaïrí among them, the Yuruna
likewise an Arara Indian definitely feeble-minded, and it seems
to me I often noticed similar instances. Do the people become
stupid in the new environment or are only the stupid specimens
entrusted to neighbors for their use?

126 In the flute-house anthropological measurements and photo-
graphs were taken in exchange for beads. In this village there
was a pronounced Sémitic type, of which Plate 13[2] represents a
classic example. The people submitted to everything and called
the caliper compass nína, "moon." Only one man was indignant
when, after Ehrenreich had measured him from head to foot in
all directions, I handed him the fee of three beautiful, large
[153] beads. He wanted to have as many beads as there were measurements

[1] [See p. 138.-- Analyst]

/181 cont./

000 or stone. The latter is never used by the men. On the Kulisehu
* 171 we collected a few ornamental stones made out of grayish white
301 quartzite with a dull shine, which were ground into the shape of
[324] a pointed spindle and were six centimeters long. We saw the nose-spindle, natáko, in actual use only in the case of a pregnant woman, who also had many ornaments hanging around her
[319] neck. These stones came from the Batovy or the Ponekuro, the right source-river of the Kulisehu; they were said to be rare, so that ordinary bones or reed had to help out. We also obtained
[237] bones of similar shape, eight and a half centimeters long, and a spindle seven centimeters long and gleaming like mother-of-pearl, which was cut out of a shell. The operation is performed
[304] in approximately the fifth year of life and is said to be accompanied by profuse bleeding on occasion.

000 I may add on here the binding of the extremities, although

301

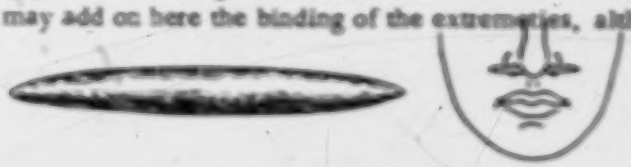


Fig. 13. Ornamental nose-stone of the Bakairí women.

* 171 I may add on here the binding of the extremities, although
301 it was still foreign to our Indians in the degree where it might
304 be spoken of as a bodily injury. It was much in use among all
324 the tribes. For this they used thick, wide straw binding, hanks
[253] of cotton, cotton ropes, or bands crocheted with wooden needles, and wore them on the upper arm and below the knee or above the ankle. The custom was most striking in the third Bakairí village, where one saw chubby, almost swollen calves. We never observed, however, such thick, protruding calves as are shown in illustrations of the male or female Karaíben of the north. We noticed the straw bindings especially among the Nahuquá (cf. Fig. 4 /see p. 71/). /182/ Only the men made use of the binding. It makes one strong, I was told by way of explanation.
[237] As dance ornaments bands decorated with colored feathers are worn around the upper arm.

B #171 301

/182 cont./

Chains. Both sexes adorned themselves with neck chains; the men also wore ornaments on their hip cord. Children and pregnant women had the most chain-ornaments hung on them. Our beads were also requested primarily for the children.

The Bakairí, with great pains, made very pretty neck chains, trophies of the kind of work that was quite popular among the other tribes, which we also found among the Suyá in 1884; cf. the Kamayurá of Figure 14. These are rectangular, slightly convex pieces which are cut from a convolution of the shell of *pfu*, *Orthalicus melanostomus* (Prof. v. Martens), two to three centimeters long, one

B #171 301 321

A 142 301 302

Fig. 14. Kamayurá with shell chain.

B #171 301 321 (383)

to one and a half centimeters wide, almost pure white, and known as *pfu ontíli*. They overlap on the long side, like roof tiles, and are generally pierced at the top and bottom, but fastened only at the top with small threads to the neck cord. Especially thick shells were chosen, broken, and ground on stones. They were pierced with the tooth of the dogfish or with the twirling stick, at the end of which was fashed a triangular splinter of stone; in this way a conical hole was formed.

B #172 (359)

/228 cont./

fire-maker. I also remembered the stick of pressed dry cow dung which is allowed to glow for many hours on the decks of Indian ships for the use of smokers. Perhaps a corresponding use of wood dust is to be found here and there. Wood shavings were used by us in historical Germany up to the beginning of this century, along with flint and steel.

V. Weapons, Implements, Industry.

Bows and arrows. Throwing stick. Club. Canoe. Fishing implements. Plaiting and textile work. Buriti and cotton hammocks. Gourd vessels. Pottery.

I have reported on the settlements, the way of life, and the tools of our Indians, insofar as they present peculiarities. What remains to be said about one implement or another will follow naturally within the framework of the description of arts and crafts, which, on account of the many new things, requires a special survey. On the other hand, it is advisable to say a little more about the appearance and the use of the weapons, as well as about the simplest craft skills.

Bows and arrows are the only weapon common to all our Indians. Clubs are used among the Suyá and Trumaí. Nowhere are there lances. Nowhere blowgun and poisoned arrows. Only the sorcerer has a kind of theoretical poisoned arrow when, as we shall see, he secretly and with powerful witchcraft hurls poisoned twigs at his victim; at any rate, the idea of a projectile poison comes before us here.

/229/ Bows and arrows are distinguished by their size, the arrows by the extremely neat and pleasing workmanship. The length of the bows is more than two and a third meters, that of the arrows one and a half to almost two meters. The wood of the bow is yellowish or light brown and comes from the ucuúbá tree, Tecoma, and others. We found palm wood in only a few bows of the Tupí tribes. Here, too, the bow was plaited round with cotton in an attractive pattern, something unknown among the other tribes. The bowstring is twisted out of tucum fiber.

/138 cont./

128 I shall discuss the reed diadems and plaited dance costumes in the chapter on masks.

1 171 Textile work. The material: pineapple silk, aloe hemp,
• 283 palm fiber from the tucum and buriti, and cotton. The fibers
284 are put in neat bundles, and twisted on the thigh, but the cotton
tufts, on the other hand, are drawn out into a thread by means
of the spindle likewise made to turn rapidly on the thigh and then
[142] spinning freely. Only the women spin and weave. The fiber
strings serve as the actual tie-threads and ropes; fish nets, carrying nets, in certain cases hammocks, and finally bowstrings are made of them. Knitting is done with bamboo rods or long wooden needles that have eyes.

1 171
372
285

Fig. 32. Fire fan (1/9 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

1 171 The spindle is a disk through which is stuck a thin, not very
283 straight, and smoothly worked stick sometimes notched at the tip.
To it is attached a tuft of cotton, freed of seeds, whereupon the whorl is rapidly turned on the thigh and the whole allowed to hang; as a result of the even rotation, the cotton is twisted into a thread. The thread is wound on the little stick, until a thick, cone-shaped ball rests against the whorl, ~~which prevents it~~ from slipping off. Diameter of the whorl-disk, five and a half to six centimeters; length of spindle shaft, 30-35 centimeters. The
[239] whorl usually consists of a piece of the ventral shell of the turtle,

/238 cont./

#171 it is often made of wood, and only among the Bakairí does it
●283 consist of an ordinary, crude clay disk which might have been broken out of the bottom of an old pot and ground to shape.

[531] /239/ I shall speak later of the designs incised on the first two types mentioned; the Bakairí leave their wood and clay disks undecorated, and we did not find any tortoise-shell whorls among them. The women powdered their upper thighs with white, chalky clay for protection against perspiration. They kept the material in the form of balls the size of a child's head, from which they scraped off a little with a shell for use.

The thread is made in two or three different thicknesses and kept in balls which are wrapped in green leaves. The balls [431] are popular hospitable gifts of the Bakairí and Mehinakú, which [574] were given to us likewise at the reception, just as Columbus reports this in the case of his islanders on 12 October 1492.

#171 The "loom" is as primitive as can be. Two low posts, which
286 need not be half a meter high, a good distance apart, that is all. The origin of the weaving from the plaiting is still clearly evident. A thick skein of cotton is wound around the posts as a warp, a thread without end; the cross-threads are pulled through with guide sticks.

286 The Bakairí hammock represents a rather loose net, long,
352 rectangular, two and a third meters by one and a quarter meters. The rows running lengthwise are broken at irregular intervals of two to three and a half centimeters by transverse rows; one can easily stick one's finger through the interstices. The type of weave is very simple. Two longitudinal threads, two to three millimeters thick, are wound around each time through the thinner transverse threads which are only one millimeter thick, and, to be sure, there are four transverse threads, of which two run wave-like in front of, and two in back of, the longitudinal threads, crossing between the latter. Where the transverse threads come out on either side, they are knotted; thus on each longitudinal side one finds some 70 knots with the four cut-off ends of the threads. The loop left free on either post is wound in the center, so that, on the one hand, an eyelet to receive the suspension

/261 cont./

#19 The hammocks of pure cotton were a specialty of the Bakairí; among them, too, burlap hammocks could be found even on the Kuliseu. The mosquito cloth was made by the Aweti. The hammocks for small children among the Bakairí were peculiar: merely a bundle of mats tied together at the top and bottom and hung up.

Thus, the most varied forms existed and were in the process of becoming uniform. The Suyá were still sleeping on large palm-straw mats following the custom of the Gês. When we visited them, they were on the point of adopting the hammock; they had a few specimens and were weaving some themselves. Perhaps the art came from the Trumaí women whom they had with them. After my journey of 1884 I pointed out the parallelism between the Schingú region and the Guianas, namely, that in both areas the cotton hammock seems to be native to the Caribes, the palm-fiber hammock to the Ne-Aruak, and that furthermore this ethnographic conformity corresponds exactly to the linguistic one. In both cases, the technique stems from plaiting, only the material is different. The Bakairí were the most backward: they did not have the cloth-like fabric. It is also striking that their spinning wheels, although they completely fulfilled their purpose, were less artistic than among the other tribes.

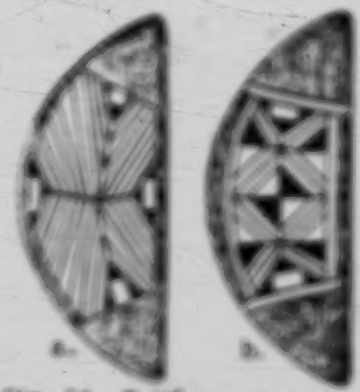
#19 A parallel technique was shown in a type of straw-mat. The [illegible] that stiff and at the same time very flexible, tight mats were produced, between which the manioca was pressed dry. We also saw pieces of cloth used for the same purpose.

#19 Gourd vessels. The fruits of Crescentia cujeté /Pc. cujete/ and the cucurbit Lagenaria provide vessels of the most diverse shapes. There are some that are ball-shaped, cucumber-shaped, bottle-shaped, hourglass-shaped, as well as many others of an irregular nature. After cutting them in two one obtains correspondingly shaped bowls. The green fruits are tied into the desired shape; the hourglass shape, in particular, is a product of this method. In order /Pl. XV appears here/ /261/ to divide them

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 254]

hand names of the Tsulequi drawn half a moneschu above and below and, in the center, the armored fish decoration of the Aunti, about which, however, I do not know, as I do in the case of the moneschu, whether it has the same meaning among the Tsulequi.

The spindle wheel often the richest material in the way of drawings among the Mutsunkd, Aunti, and Kamayuni, in equal fashion. While the Sokoki had wheels of wood and clay, a disk cut out of the central carapace of the turtle was used predominantly here and was almost always decorated on one side and not infrequently on both sides. The design was scratched in with the teeth of the dogfish and smeared with saliva and charcoal.



a. b.

Fig. 16. Hand names.
a. Kamayuni. b. Tsulequi.
(1/6 nat. size /as drawn in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 16. Spindle wheel with moneschu design (Mutsunkd.) (1/1 nat. size /as drawn in the original illustration/.)

I have already reproduced two turtle spindle-wheels of the Mutsunkd on page 291. A similar one of wood is drawn in Figure 16. The designer ran into difficulties with his dividing lines. This type is the common one. Occasionally, however, we found wheels that show great progress. On the much-worn surface, a sure hand is developed and purely artistic motifs are produced. In order to demarcate the moneschu all around, a concentric circle used to be drawn close to the

WEATHA 5P15
MARIWACHA
WT Bakairi 5P7
YAYUMA 5P25
MARIWACHA
AUETO 5P6
CAMAYURA

/313 cont./

B 191 53 Thus, nothing can be determined here. Nevertheless, the ethnological leveling with the moreuchu design and the masks has not yet gone so far that a negative conclusion cannot be reached, at least for a few tribes. The Bakaiří, I believe, are out of the question. They are the "masters of the makanari and the imeu," the painted costumes, and the docile Bakaiří did not have real masks at all. The Bakaiří also did not have the spindle whorls decorated with the moreuchu. Among the Nahuqua we did not find any woven masks and only poor wooden masks, which they designated with the same yakuikani of the Tupí dance; they may have more to offer on the Kulisehu, but on the basis of what we know about them up to now, we can scarcely give them as much credit as the Bakaiří and certainly not more. I have previously been obliged to deny originality for the Trumai.

B [258] V 532 191

B 191 53 The Mehinaki with their relatives and the Tupí tribes remain. The former permitted us to see only wooden masks. The wooden masks show the same arrangement as the woven masks with corner stripe and design, so they do not show any peculiar origin and signify only a cultural advance. The Mehinaki were the best carvers, as the masks show, and thus I should be inclined to give them first place for the invention of the wooden mask. I do not know but that they may also have danced with woven masks, since the word kuahlu was also familiar to the Kamayurá and Waurá whom I questioned in the Aweti tribe. It is impossible to decide, since one tribe would know the dances of the other.

B [322]

A 191 53 The Tupí tribes of the Kamayurá and Aweti, especially the latter, probably deserve the most consideration. The Aweti had the largest number of painted and woven masks, their word "kuahlu" had been passed on to the Nu-Aruak tribes, also all the wooden masks among them were painted with the moreuchu, they were the best painting artists who made purely stylized drawings, and among them and the Kamayurá in particular the most firmly woven cloth was present. Thus we see among them the oldest practice of the very arts which are required here, /324/ weaving and painting, while the Mehinaki accomplish more in ceramics and carving. Therefore it is my humble opinion that

[246]

B [324] [343]

/416 cont./

[19] [20] White is chalky white clay, a supply of which is kept in the hut in the form of balls the size of a child's head. The women, when they spin, rub it on the right thigh, on which they twist the thread. It is simply mixed with water. It is never used to paint the body. It also falls far back for the implements and appears almost solely on the masks, the painting of which need last but a few days, on painted bark pieces, and the like.

/419/ Charcoal and soot, the berry-pulp of the genipap tree, (Genipa) and a number of resins furnish black. In order to blacken the inside of the gourd shells charcoal from the bark of the buriti shaft is used.

The yellowish-red to brownish-red loam seems to have been driven out by the urucú dyestuff. It was formerly eaten and is still molded into heavy dolls for children and is rubbed on wounds for mortification.

[21] [22] Charcoal and soot are rubbed in directly, like the white, or they are also mixed with liquid, like the urucú. Either the oil from the piki fruit (Caryocar butyrosum) is used, or the yellow extract containing caoutchouc from a tree of the campo cerrado, which the Bakairi call ochogohi and the bark of which is grated and made into an extract with water. The colors are mixed in a gourd shell or a pot or, when a hard resin is broken up with the ax blade, most conveniently in the cup-shaped depression of a stone. Urucú is always found as a paste wrapped in leaves in the little workbasket beside the hammock.

The dyestuffs available to the natives are therefore white, black, red, and yellow. The genipap-black is blue-black, the urucú-red a brick-red to orange, which, mixed with the yellow ochogohi juice, loses a good deal of its red. There are no blue or green dyestuffs.

[23] [24] The theory that the color sense developed gradually for human beings, based on the fact that color distinction in language is inadequate up to a high level of culture and that blue and green in particular are extraordinarily often designated with the same word, has now been abandoned. It was found among all the primitive peoples investigated that they distinguish excellently

/24 cont./

231 a table made of vertigas and provided regularly with meat, if possible monkey meat.

198 Among the various crafts of the Kuikuru Bakairí, pottery-
323 making, plaiting, and spinning were still maintained in the
285 ancestral form. Food preparation was also still the same as
283 described by Karl von den Steinen for times past. The only
252 essential difference appeared in regard to woodworking, for
179 which at this time metal axes were used, so that this craft no
322 longer depended on stonemen, drills with stone points, shells,
412 and the teeth of fish or other animals. Another acquisition from
301 the various expeditions which had passed through their territory were ear pendants of multicolored glass beads with which many women and children, especially, were well provided. European
291 clothing was seen only in exceptional cases. Thus the first man who came out of his house in Mulgori aldea to greet me had on trousers which he had been given at the time of a visit to the Rio Paranatinga aldea at which surely had never been washed since. As a rule the ulu (small triangle of bark) was the sole
291 national garment of the women and young girls, and a fine thread belt and body paint the men's apparel.

114 When Karl von den Steinen visited the Rio Kuikuru Indians,
361 the first Bakairí aldea, called Mulgori, consisted of only two
342 houses: a [illegible] of one small house for females with an
345 oval base, while the [illegible] and three aldeas each consisted of three large houses of [illegible]

161 the number of houses Bakairí aldeas at the time of my stay among these Indians had increased, and for this reason I do not hold as correct Hermann Meyer's observation that this tribe was
114 already "greatly decreasing" at the time. (30) No doubt there
361
161

30. Hermann Meyer, Ibid., p. 128.

were then only two Bakairí aldeas on the Rio Kuikuru, the first, Mulgori, already mentioned by Karl von den Steinen, and the

/33 cont./

226 114 at least up to where the post is located /cited in English/."
At the time of Karl von den Steinen's expedition, the matrinchã
fish was held as the most precious boon in the country of the
Paranatinga Bakairí, and in its honor they held their most
beautiful fiesta. (39) When Karl von den Steinen suggested to

39. Karl v. d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., pp. 24 and 25.

Cacique Felipe that his aldea, which seemed to be losing all
its population then, should be moved closer to Cuiabá, his sole
reply was /34/ matrinchã. Later at the aldea, then situated
[123] further upriver, I was treated almost every day to a tasty
matrinchã, and when I visited the Xinguanos in the year 1927
at their settlement on the Rio Paranatinga, they also offered me
fish. Of course, it may be that the abundance of fish in the
Rio Paranatinga is restricted to certain times of the year.

I also regard as incorrect Petrullo's observation that the
114 199 283 352 Bakairí of the post had substituted hammocks made of cotton
thread for the ancestral ones of buriti fiber. From the beginning
the hammock made of cotton thread was typical especially of
the Bakairí of the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu
River, in contrast to the hammocks woven of buriti fiber used
by the Bakairí living in this region. But already at the time of
Karl von den Steinen's expedition, (40) the Bakairí of the Rio

40. Ibid., p. 229.

Paranatinga had hammocks made of buriti fiber, which, they
114 199 304 said, old Cacique Caetano had introduced among them. As for
Petrullo's opinion that the custom of filing the upper incisors
is ancestral with the Bakairí and that they still retain it, I must
comment it with the fact that the Bakairí of the region of the

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932

SP8 Bororo
Bacairi SP7
Waura SP19
Yaruma SP25

PLATE XXIV

Y
105
171
352
534
501
283
292

B
[283]

W
[501]
[412]

[p. 199]
[p. 180 is blank] [for captions, see cat. 116, p. 89]

/164 cont./

415 Countless gourd vessels /cuyen; see glossary, p. 170 / and
531 calabashes, brownish-yellow, some of them painted black in designs not without taste.

411 In the lower roof-basket are stuck the arrows, averaging two meters long, and the bows, which almost reach a length of two and a half meters. The arrows, made of ubá, have simple wood or bone points; at the end of the shaft broad feathers are set spirally.

237 Feathers, even bunches of them and whole tail rosettes,
415 are kept in mats placed together portfolio-like; spindles, pigment, bones, root pieces, shells, and the like are kept in small baskets and nets. On the cords of the hammocks are found as decoration a couple of feathers or shells and -- the comb. This
412 toilet article consists of small, narrow sticks placed next to one
[284] another and held together by two cross-sticks of bamboo by means of a plaiting of cotton threads; the hard sticks project beyond the lower cross-stick as the teeth of the comb.

286 The hammocks are (one can hardly say woven, but rather knotted. Two posts stand in the ground; they are wound with a skein of cotton in the way that our women wind knitting wool on a chair; through the horizontal, parallel threads, vertical threads are drawn at four-centimeter intervals with guide sticks and knotted; the parts of the skein which lie close to the post and are not knotted (the entire bundle of horizontal threads pressed together) form the loop that receives the hammock ropes.

283 A plaited matting above the door and sieves of alternating black and light straw are worked with a natural artistic sense. The fire is fanned with a triangular piece of matting.

302 The hair of the women, cut unevenly and longest behind the ears, hangs down to the shoulders; the forehead is almost completely covered. A young woman had the latter painted with thick red color during the visit on the river. No ornaments. Only
301 the old woman wears a string over her left shoulder, which goes under her right arm; three trouser buttons, which she cut off from us and the soldiers with her own hands, are strung on it.

/205 cont./

*171 be broken off evenly. A scarcely less important tool was furnished
[37] by the peixe cachorro, or dogfish, called Cyndon zoologically,
412 which has in its lower jaw two pointed teeth three to three and a
[325] half centimeters long, each projecting upward hrough a hole.
The edge of these teeth, ground knife-sharp, was used for cutting, but chiefly for puncturing, for example, in comection with tattooing, for scratching, for example, in deccating the tortoise spindle disks, and for boring reeds, as in the cae of the arrows, in order to put through the threads for fasteningthe feathers and
[324] points. /206/ The triangular pieces of gourd which, as the scarifier, represented the most important instrument in the little surgery of the Indians, cf. Figure 15 /see p. 17?/, were studded with the small, pointed teeth of the trahira fisl, Erythrinus. The
[325] little teeth of the agutí, Dasyprocta aguti, seved the same purpose. Of the rodents, the capybara, Hydrocherus capybara, fur-
[284] nished indispensable scraping chisels with the front teeth of its lower jaw, the tooth, six to eight centimeter long, was fastened to a piece of ubá reed with cotton thread, or wo teeth were lashed together and cemented with a little wax. /Fig. 25-26 appear here./ The arrow holes were likewise bored with the agutí tooth.
[301] Monkey teeth, pierced at the root and artfully plaited together into a chain, were a favorite belt or neck ornment.

Bones. Arm and leg bones of monkeys, which were kept in
[411] thick bundles in the little tool basket at home served as arrowheads. They were ground to shape and, with heir hollow tubes, mounted on the stick between the arrowhead ad arrow shaft. The [illegible] arrowead. Small, pointed
[304] bones were added as barbs. /207/ Mamma[illegible] had many uses the skin treated with the scarifier was rubbed with [illegible] of the deer; we saw a splinter of a jaguar bone pointed to pierce ear lobes; the wax smeared over the lashing on arrowheads was applied with a bone. The front claws of the giant armadillo,
[325] Dasypus gigas, served man, as well as the animal itself, for digging and grubbing up the ground and were the earth hoe of our Indians. The spindle disks in many cases came from the ventral piece of the tortoise shell, which was broken to pieces with a stone. Jaguar

/207 cont./

*171 237 301 304 claws were worn as neck chains, fish vertebrae on the belt cord; Jaguar a bone stuck crosswise through the nasal septum adorned the old Bakaïrí.

Shells. Flat river shells were extensively used for cutting, less *171 237 412 [305] [324] for cutting through than for scoring longitudinally, for scraping, planing, smoothing. The work shells brought back from the Kamayurá /Fig. 27 appears here/ were identified by Herr Professor von Martens: tyutsí, Anodonta, was the shell for scraping the mandioca root, "maniôka pinâp":

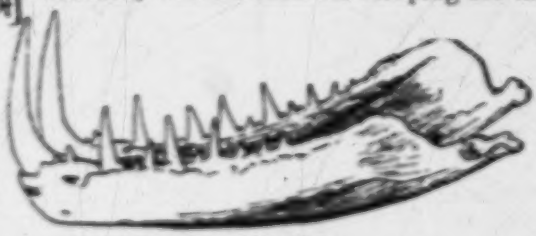


Fig. 23. Dogfish.
(1/1 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 24. Piranha.
(1/2 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

[284] →

[illegible] armadillo. (Grubbing hoe.) (2/5 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 26. Capybara tooth. (Scraping chisel.) (1/2 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

the women sat on a couple of pieces of bamboo placed together, and they scraped, scrubbed, scratched, until their legs disappeared in the heap of parings. This shell also served as a plane to smooth the handle [322] of the stone axe or the oar by means of finer scraping, not with the edge.

B /229 cont./
*191 laterally hollowed end of the wooden support, lashing it, and
411 covering it with resin.
[237]

Sometimes a pierced, hollow tucum nut is shoved up on the arrow shaft to slightly above the middle; one or two holes are cut into the nut on the side. In flight a high-pitched whirring or whistling is heard. /230/ While the noise-making arrows are used only for bird hunting, the others are intended for all hunting and the shooting of fish; those with barbs are exclusively fish arrows. Arrows with sawlike notched wooden points do not occur on the Schingú except among the Yarumá, whom we regard as a southern group of the Mundurukú /Mundurucu/ of the Tapajoz /Tapajós/.

B [101]

T The Suyá and Trumaí had arrows with long pointed bamboo
191 knives for war and for hunting jaguar. Spindle-shaped bamboo
411 splinters up to 35 centimeters long and up to 36 millimeters wide,
[324] knife-sharp on the edges, are mounted on the wooden stick driven deep into the reed shaft; the wooden stick is embedded in a groove cut below along the inner surface of the splinter. And, to be sure, the pointed spindle is only loosely fastened with a little resin and thread; when shot it remains in the body that was hit, while the shaft with the wooden stick flies off behind it.

T [324]

B The most remarkable thing about the arrow is the feathering
*191 at the lower end. Two feathers, more correctly two halves of
411 feathers, for the feather is split at the shaft, are carefully fastened
239 in a spiral twist which goes around one-fourth of the circumference, each flag stand: with the plane of its upper part perpendicular on that of its lower part, so that the flying arrow spirals through the air. The feathers are set in a row of small holes, which are made with an aguti tooth and enlarged with a pointed buriti splinter, and, one may say, are sewed onto the arrow; the cotton thread is wound around the ends and is itself protected by being wound with waimbé bark (Philodendron). Usually the feathers come from gallinaceous birds, jaú (Penelope) and mutum (Crax), from the falcon, and from the blue arara. Where the hand grasps the arrow shaft there is a wrapping of waimbé. At the bottom a notch is cut in parallel to the upper part of the feathers.

B [238]

B [325]

/164 cont./

415 Countless gourd vessels /cuyen: see glossary, p. 170 / and
531 calabashes, brownish-yellow, some of them painted black in designs not without taste.

411 In the lower roof-basket are stuck the arrows, averaging two meters long, and the bows, which almost reach a length of two and a half meters. The arrows, made of ubá, have simple wood or bone points; at the end of the shaft broad feathers are set spirally.

237 Feathers, even bunches of them and whole tail rosettes,
415 are kept in mats placed together portfolio-like; spindles, pigment, bones, root pieces, shells, and the like are kept in small baskets and nets. On the cords of the hammocks are found as decoration a couple of feathers or shells and -- the comb. This
412 toilet article consists of small, narrow sticks placed next to one
[284] another and held together by two cross-sticks of bamboo by means of a plaiting of cotton threads; the hard sticks project beyond the lower cross-stick as the teeth of the comb.

286 The hammocks are (one can hardly say woven, but rather knotted. Two posts stand in the ground; they are wound with a skein of cotton in the way that our women wind knitting wool on a chair; through the horizontal, parallel threads, vertical threads are drawn at four-centimeter intervals with guide sticks and knotted; the parts of the skein which lie close to the post and are not knotted (the entire bundle of horizontal threads pressed together) form the loop that receives the hammock ropes.

• 285 A plaited matting above the door and sieves of alternating black and light straw are worked with a natural artistic sense.
[illegible]

302 The hair of the women, cut unevenly and longest behind the ears, hangs down to the shoulders; the forehead is almost completely covered. A young woman had the latter painted with thick red color during the visit on the river. No ornaments. Only
301 the old woman wears a strung over her left shoulder, which goes under her right arm; three trouser buttons, which she cut off from us and the soldiers with her own hands, are strung on it.

B /132 cont. /
123 Then he dragged up one of the nicely plaited storage baskets
431 three-quarters of a meter high and, boasting happily, put it be-
[285] fore us as a present. The best was yet to come, however. A
B round mat was placed on the ground, the chief called, and out
[262] of the houses all the women and children came running and
slapped a beijú onto the mat, each one running back immediately
to make room. The agile flurry with which the beijús came
flying was charming. Some 16 cakes were lying there. Then
"ále" was said and we were dismissed. We, of course, outdid
ourselves in praise of the hospitality of the Bakairí and secretly
made up our mind to pay them back handsomely in Independencia.

B Since a heavy thunderstorm broke out, we stayed in the vil-
123 lage the last night. It was raining in torrents outside and
Tumayaua was describing his journeys. We all sat for a long time
around the fire, which the Indians let blaze up wildly by reck-
lessly tearing bunches of straw out of the wall of the festival hut.
Luchu had taken possession of the black frock-coat as his sole
article of clothing; another man had decorated his ear with a
fishhook. My erstwhile intended - it pains me not to be able
to keep this a secret -- honored me with scarcely a glance.

The song of woman's constancy!

000 /The remainder of Ch. VI, pp. 132-137, and Ch. VII, pp. 138-
152, are omitted in the translation. /

/153/

Chapter VIII

I. Geography and Classification of the Tribes of the Schingú Source-region

B The old chief of the Suyá, distinguished from his compa-
151 by an extremely modest lip-plug, had enumerated for us in 180
131 the long list of tribes that were settled on the upper Schingú
123 /Xingu/ and with his finger had drawn in the sand the source
[115] rivers on whose banks they lived. Cf. Durch Central-brasilien
/Through Central Brazil/, page 214 /see I. Steinen, this file,
pp. 104-106/. His 13 tribal names had tempted us to undertak-

/236 cont./

The nets, merely small hand nets, were plaited out of the twisted, very resistant tucum palm fiber. They hung as a pouch from a piece of vine with both ends bent together in an oval.

Two types of weir baskets were distinguished: the *paracki* of the Bakairí, wider, fuller with horizontal, rectangular interstices, and the other, *tamachi*, narrow, long, with wide, high vertical meshes. The catch-basket, *kuto*, was a plaited framework of pointed sticks, shaped like a truncated cone, and open at the top and bottom. I watched Paleko as, in order to make a catch-basket, he evened up a bundle of already pointed sticks which still had different lengths. He used the following measuring stick. He took a piece of thick reed, a-b, and another, c-d, tied them together one under the other parallel at b and c, and now used the free piece from c-d for measuring, placing the stick to be measured alongside it, pressing it against b, cracking it sharply at d, and breaking it off.

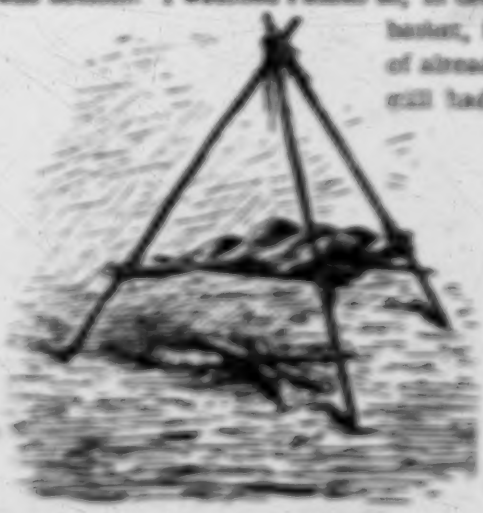


Fig. 30. Hunting rack (*mangue*). (1/20 nat. size /as drawn in the original illustration/.)

The Indians often set out for a few days to engage in fishing. They bring home baked fish, but they also seem to be satisfied merely to eat their fill for once outside. The pyramid of the grill, a "mangue" of the Brazilians, which one almost always finds where the Indians have stayed overnight to fish or to build a canoe, is finished in no time. Three sticks are placed together like rifles and are joined at the top with bast, somewhat below the middle a little rod is placed crosswise from one stick to each of the two neighboring ones and is lashed, and this single

/377/

is covered with more small sticks, so that a triangular horizontal grill is formed. The fish are opened with a longitudinal slash along the middle line and a crosswise cut on the side. The flap is opened, the entrails removed, and the fish are placed on the roasting rack.

Plaiting. The material was furnished by the bokayua, burití, aiouí, and carandauba palms, bamboo cane, and Marants stalks, which were split, the climbing palm unuhuntie (Desmoncus), and the inipunahie vines. The men are the ones who plaited. They used both feet to help out, one foot holding the transverse sticks, the other the longitudinal ones. The basket plaiting was not on a high level. There were little standing and hanging baskets, closely plaited and wide-meshed, in which nuts and ends were stored, fish carried, and the like, but there was no advance beyond the generally familiar forms. Some variety was achieved by [illegible] strips. The Mehinaki and Kuikuro had larger, rectangular, trough-like standing baskets, which were characterized by a new appearance, were also decorated with tassels at the corners, and were used to store gourds and the like. The Mehinaki called these baskets mayiku, a word which the

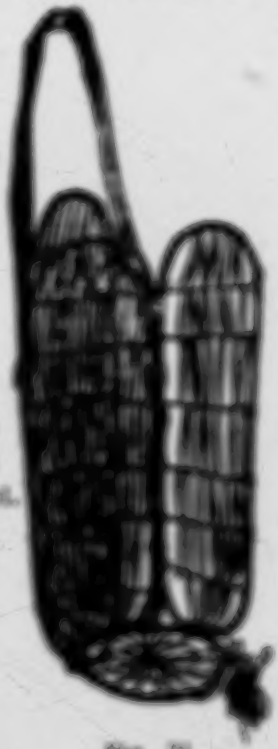


Fig. 31.
Carrying basket. (1/7 nat. size (as shown in the original illustration).)

/247 cont./

Bekaif used for the very differently constructed carrying baskets. The accompanying illustration /see Fig. 31, p. 247/ shows the three-walled carrying basket used by all tribes, the "mayiku" of the Bekaif, while the manner in which it is carried, hanging from the head with a bast loop, may be seen in the picture of Tumoyana, Plate 6 /see p. 46/. The contents were covered with leaves, which are also used to line the inside; then the side walls were bound together as tightly as possible. Small back-baskets were even hung on children.

The storage baskets for the manioca flour should also be mentioned. While the lower tribes had clumsy supply baskets, resembling the back-baskets in form, those of the Bekaif (ndiki) were the product of careful work. Five or six thin poles as tall as a man were put together with a couple of cross-slings of vines to form a circular framework supported in some way; this was lined with Calamus leaves, several of which were strung over one another with thread, spread out, and on the outside wound in horizontal circular turns with middle pinfish; the bast from bottom to top, with the bast fastened continuously from piece to piece. While this type of basket was therefore unplaited, there were others with an open, hexagonal /248/ mesh plaiting, which were likewise lined with leaves. The baskets were hung by strips of cordage.

The plaiting of mats did not play an important role. Small for-flour or square mats for forming the flat were very poorly. Larger mats for sleeping were lacking, since hammocks were used. Mats were used in the preparation of flour, first of all drying mats plaited out of palm leaves, and then sieve-mats consisting of four-edged small reed rods fastened together with cross-threads for sifting and pressing out the meal ground on [illegible] served as cases for storing feather ornaments. The feathers were placed in them as in a file folder, the mat was then held stiff by means of three clamps, one each on the top, on the bottom, and in the middle, made by bending split reed stalks together and, with the cut side lying against them, stretching them across transversally and tying the projecting ends together on the right.

/[illegible] cont./

I shall discuss the reed diadems and pleated dance costumes in the chapter on masks.

Textile work. The material: pineapple silk, also hemp, palm fiber from the tucum and buriti, and cotton. The fibers are put in neat bundles, and twisted on the thigh, but the cotton tufts, on the other hand, are drawn out into a thread by means of the spindle likewise made to turn rapidly on the thigh and then spinning freely. Only the women spin and weave. The fiber strings serve as the actual tie-threads and ropes; fish nets, carrying nets, in certain cases hammocks, and finally bowstrings are made of them. Knitting is done with bamboo rods or long wooden needles that have eyes.

Fig. 32. Fiber fan (1/2 nat. size /in the original dimension/.)

The spindle is a disk through which is stuck a thin, not very straight, and smoothly washed stick sometimes notched at the tip. To it is attached a tuft of cotton, lined of seeds, whereupon the wheel is rapidly turned on the thigh and the whole allowed to hang; as a result of the even rotation, the cotton is twisted into a thread. The thread is wound on the little stick, until a thick, cone-shaped ball rests against the wheel, which prevents it from slipping off. Diameter of the wheel-disk, five and a half to six centimeters, length of spindle shaft, 30-35 centimeters. The wheel usually consists of a piece of the ventral shell of the turtle,

/240 cont./

#191 The hammocks of pure cotton were a specialty of the Bakaïrí; among them, too, buriti hammocks could be found even on the Kulisehu. The stoutest cloth was made by the Auetö. The hammocks for small children among the Nahuquá were peculiar: merely a bundle of stalks tied together at the top and bottom and hung up.

Thus, the most varied forms existed and were in the process of becoming uniform. The Suyá were still sleeping on large palm-straw mats following the custom of the Gês. When we visited them, they were on the point of adopting the hammock; they had a few specimens and were weaving some themselves. Perhaps the art came from the Trumaí women whom they had with them. After my journey of 1884 I pointed out the parallelism between the Schingú region and the Guianas, namely, that in both areas the cotton hammock seems to be native to the Karaïben, the palm-fiber hammock to the Nu-Aruak, and that furthermore this ethnographic conformity corresponds exactly to the linguistic one. In both cases, the technique arises from plaiting, only the material is different. The Bakaïrí were the most backward: they did not have the cloth-like fabric. It is also striking that their spinning whorls, although they completely fulfilled their purpose, were less artistic than among the other tribes. [283]

#191 A parallel technique was shown in a type of sieve-mat. The stalks were covered more or less closely with cotton yarn, so that stiff and at the same time very flexible, tight mats were produced, between which the mandioca was pressed dry. We also saw pieces of cloth used for the same purpose.

#191 Gourd vessels. The fruits of Crescentia cuyeté /C. cujete/ and the cucurbit Lagenaria provide vessels of the most diverse shapes. There are some that are ball-shaped, cucumber-shaped, bottle-shaped, hourglass-shaped, as well as many others of an irregular nature; after cutting them in two one obtains correspondingly shaped bowls. The green fruits are tied into the desired shape; the hourglass shape, in particular, is a product of this method. In order /Pl. XV appears here/ /241/ to divide them

[Text Continues on P. 254]

/278 cont./

285 532 Straw figures. Anyone who still feels confident about always being able to interpret the pictures and figures of the Indians I should have liked to have had beside me in the hut of the Bakairí which contains the large frieze, not so much because of the painted decorations, as because of a plaited design above the door. When the master of the house had explained the pictures to us, he led us to /279/ this door, as though he wanted to say: "Now here I have another little work of art." There was a plaiting made out of thin, black twigs lying crosswise and yellow straw stretched vertically. One saw two rows of squares between three rods, divided alternately in a diagonal direction from top left to bottom right and from top right to bottom left in such a way that each of them was made up of a black triangle of twigs and a yellow triangle of straw. The Bakairí explained these triangles as "swallow feathers," "târíga yuchúto." The

*[171] [301] →

Fig. 64. Small chain-figures. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

târíga is a black and yellow swallow,* while the îri is black and white.

[114] * Erroneously described as half black, half "white" in my book, Die Bakairí-Sprache /The Bakairí Language/, p. 39.

Apparently the yellow triangles of the design represented the wings. It is by no means a matter of a casual design, for neither its special

/279 cont./

mention, nor the surrounding figures, nor the construction of twigs made this likely. All doubts vanished, however, when the Indian showed us, inside two squares, which were otherwise made up merely of crosswise twigs, several narrow, and in themselves quite meaningless, strechen of plaiting on which was wound a little yellow straw, and then explained: "capybara teeth." In other words, teeth of Hydrochoerus capybara or water hog, the large rodent characterized by huge incisors, the chief of the capybara. One had to admit that the outlines were roughly similar, but no European would have hit upon this correct interpretation by himself. Finally, we saw in the arms hut of the Aweró a plaited strip which they designated for us as "fish bones." It was the same figure as No. 3, Plate 20 /see p. 188/.

I would have referred to these examples earlier, along with the drawings, and not have if they had not been connected with peculiarly plaited figures or dolls which we found among the Nahuquá. Of the two illustrations 65 and 66 /see p. 315/, the one is easily understandable and suitable for a kindergarten. It represents a /280/ toad; the other, however, I, at any rate, would not have interpreted correctly even if I had thought about it for a year. We have to recognize it as a deer! And actually it is quite simple. First I need to state that it is an animal; then the sharply protruding corner piece /Figs. 65-67 appear here/ to the right must be the head, and thus I have a four-footed animal, whereas I do not pay any attention to the three peaks on the back, since a Nahuquá is not familiar with a dromedary or a camel, to say nothing of an animal with three elevations on its back. It must, moreover, be a type of quadruped for which the tail, since it is missing, is not characteristic. What I see in the way of feet, however, corresponds most closely to the hoofs of the deer. Thus, I come slowly limping along behind the Nahuquá with my conclusions, while the Indian of another tribe, after brief reflection, finds the correct solution by himself.

Inasmuch as I considered the Bororó in connection with the drawings, their analogous frontal toy might be taken up in this connection. The folded piece of palm leaf, Fig. 67 left /see p. 315/ represents a "Bororó woman," that is to say, it is

/200 cont./

nothing more than the palm: bend with the back belt holding it. A "bound man" was represented by a palm leaf strip folded in the same way and then only a thread tied around it, the waist cord, which he wears besides his cuff and were long before the invention of the cuff.

Fig. 65. Tied. Natural. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

The straw figures of the Ketabil dance festivals are a special group. I shall have to discuss them in connection with the masks. They represented animals and were worn on the head. Span-long dolls served as children's toys and were also stuck on a pole in the roof of the festival

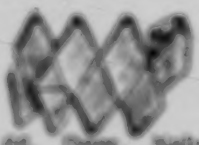


Fig. 66. Dove. Natural. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

but as a sign that a masquerade was being celebrated, they announced to all the world: "Big dance entertainment today."

Fig. 67. Woman's and man's figure. Burned. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

The two little dolls of Figure 68 /see p. 306/ seem to be very expressively summoning one for the monument. In 1894 we came across larger straw figures, which were not used as headdresses, in front of the second Ketabil village on the Bateway. "Shortly before the exit from the woods we came across a wonderful display of about a dozen animal figures along one side of the path, probably the remains from a festival." (They

//(Bd. cont.)/

were meant to welcome the participants from the neighboring villages.) "They were made of leaves and straw, //(Bd.)/ mostly quadrupeds with long, thin bodies, consisting of practically nothing but spinal column and long legs. The tallest ones reached to our hips. Something that was evidently supposed to be a monkey was climbing up a pole." Church Consecration //Through Central Brazil/, page 108 //see 1. Steinen, this file, p. 30//.

Fig. 68. Imitation to the dance. Bakaïri. (1/6 nat. size //as drawn in the original illustration//.)

The maize figures, almost exclusively birds, are extremely characteristic of their enjoyment of art. We found the most attractive examples of them in the second Bakaïri village. There they hung, almost as large as turkeys, on a long string from the vault of the dome, a strange sight for the person entering, who undoubtedly

Fig. 69. Maize figure: Harpyia destructor. Bakaïri. (1/10 nat. size //as drawn in the original illustration//.)

would think of birds and feathers. But these fine birds were nothing but lovingly trimmed maize ears which were bound in their natural straw husks. I found figures of Harpyia destructor, a large and a small species of falcon, the male

/26: cont./

hand, and the jaws or giant mask. A human-like figure, a doll with a knob on top instead of a head, represented the *inoto* dancer in his straw garb. Otherwise there were always beds, and, to be sure, large beds. Often a pair of genuine tail feathers were stuck in or a few colored beads pinned on the maize straw. The accompanying *Harpia destructa* (Fig. 69 /see p. 316/) is characterized by its strong beak and its crest, the tail feathers are banded with black, the toes are lovingly made out of twisted straw and where the foot emerges from the feathers of the leg there is a belting. More impressive was the *tupuli* mask. It hung with wings outspread. A thick maize ear, as the center section, formed the body, only the stem was not cut off as is, but rather, projecting far out, formed the somewhat thin, but long beak. On either side eleven maize ears in a row were clamped between a couple of twigs, and this beautifully suspended bridge then represented *Myctenia americana*, the individual parts of which were broken off one by one and mended. Nothing mysterious, nothing symbolic, only a mask which the Bakaëf were very willing to wear chippy for the schooled Europeans.

/28/ Loam dolls. A similar unexpected combination of the beautiful and useful is shown by a heavy, red, loam doll, 30 centimeters long, 20 centimeters wide, and seven centimeters thick, Fig. 70 /see p. 316/. Four rounded stumps, which are produced by two lateral and one lower /Fig. 70 appears here/ indentation in the body lump, are the extremities, a clumsy, cube-shaped projection, the head. Two little holes, the eyes, a depression, the mouth sinking deeply downward, and another little hole, the navel. This red loam man is an edible doll for children. It consists of the material which the Bakaëf say their grandfathers consumed before they were acquainted with manioca. Today the heavy, fat dough is probably no longer a prized delicacy. The doll is also not very suitable as a plaything because of its weight. I was told that children licked it. We found similar dolls made of which, harder, unedible loam, however, and saw nothing of loam being

/328 cont./

larger ones, near thereto into the median of a cotton net. When the net is pull over the head, the feathers stand up in a crest. Feather bab were worn for covering the edge of the diadem, around theorehead, and chiefly, rather heavily knotted, around the upper arm.

Ear feathers. In Bakaïri preferred to wear yellow Cassicus feathers. cf. the one on page 311 and Plate 6 /see p. 40/. The ear feathers attach-are bulb or fastened to small or large sticks of reed. Their centimeter long feather cuffs of the Kamayurá are very ugly and colorful. Figure 123 /see p. 301/, unfortunately, can reproduce the magnificent colors. I have discussed the nose fibers of the Bakaïri on page 168.

Only the Kamayurá had feather chokes, or more properly long feather ties, which hung down over the back from a neck cord and were put together with the feathers of the vulture, sparrow-hawk, macaw, duck, of jabiruga. They belonged primarily "to the yakui dance," yul-ilu. Long hair longings fell in front over the forehead. The Kamayurá also had bracelets of human hair, 30-40 centimeters lg, which were plaited on a head-net and used in the yakui dance. In addition they also wore small animal skins and special pieces of skin up to about one-fourth of a meter long for dance.

/329/ Cheaper adorns were plaited out of reed. see Plate 6 /see p. 40/. Tbakaïri and Nahuquá in particular were content with this adornment, which they skillfully plaited out of strips of bast or air or mostly varnished and enlivened by alternating black-colored strips. Among the Nahuquá little reed rolls were also set on in a star-shaped arrangement, like the long cotton feathers of the feather diadem. We also see plain pieces of hard bast (from yata to bat) to around like a diadem. The Auetö chief wore a piece of jaguar skin as a diadem, cf. the illustration on page 30. Finally, the Kamayurá had cotton caps which, like the reed diadems and the feather diadems, for their part developed out of the bast band, as the technique shows.

Pit cont./

look at the settlement situated on the left side of the Rio Novo. The main *aldeia* of these Indians, which consisted of five *ranchos*, was at a distance of three turns of the river from the small Brazilian *posto* of Rio Novo situated on the right side of the river. At this place I met Mr. Elias, who then held the *ofício* of subdirector over the Bakairí.

Conditions among the Rio Novo Bakairí had hardly changed since the time when Karl von den Steinen describing them. Also, the population, which I estimated at 60 individuals, was more or less the same. Reginaldo, who had meanwhile become an old man, was still *cacique* of the two communities of Rio Novo Bakairí. Plate V of my book *Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien* presents a photograph taken in the *aldeia* of these Indians showing Cacique Reginaldo with his wife in the midst of several other Bakairí, standing in front of the door of his house. The book which he holds in his hand is the work *Durch Zentralbrasilien*, published by Karl von den Steinen, in which he is also represented in a drawing and in which he is looking with great interest.[27] In the *aldeia* there were still various objects which were products of typical Bakairí work, such as for example the large baskets of reeds /*taquara*/ woven in the particular way, and other kinds of baskets which matched exactly in terms of technique and decoration those made by the Bakairí of the tributaries of the Kings River. (27) The Rio Novo Bakairí

27. Cf. Max Schmidt, *Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien*, *loc. cit.*, fig. 176, p. 341.

also still used, besides hammocks, bows and arrows for hunting, and these corresponded exactly to those of their fellow countrymen of the Kings River region. But outside of these objects, made in native fashion, these Bakairí had been changed completely into Brazilian *camponeses* as a result of the fact that

/24 cont./

a table made of *uwingu* and pounded regularly with meat, if possible monkey meat.

Among the various crafts of the Kalisehu Suiuh, pottery-making, *plaiting*, and spinning were still maintained in the traditional form. Food preparation was also still the same as described by Karl von den Steinen fifty years past. The only noticeable difference appeared in regard to woodworking, for which at this time metal tools were used, so that this craft no longer depended on stone axes, drills with stone points, shells, and the teeth of fish or other animals. Another acquisition from the various expeditions which had passed through their territory were the pendants of multicolored glass beads with which many women and children, especially, were well provided. European clothing was seen only in exceptional cases. Thus the first man who came out of his house in Mengeni *ulaya* to greet me had on nothing which he had been given at the time of a visit to the Rio Paranatinga *ulaya* and which surely had never been washed since. As a rule the *ulaya* (small triangle of bark) was the sole national garment of the women and young girls, and a line drawn with red body paint the men's apparel.

When Karl von den Steinen visited the Rio Kalisehu Suiuh, the five Suiuh *ulaya*, called Mengeni, consisted of only two large houses of kindleh and one small house for Suiuh with an open roof, while the second and third *ulaya* each consisted of three large houses of kindleh and of one house for Suiuh. Thus the number of houses in Suiuh *ulaya* at the time of my stay among these Suiuhs had increased, and for this reason I do not hold to Hermann Meyer's observation that the tribe was already "greatly declining" at the time. (36) No doubt there

36. Hermann Meyer, Ibid., p. 236.

were then only two Suiuh *ulaya* on the Rio Kalisehu, the first, Mengeni, already mentioned by Karl von den Steinen, and the

323 /35 cont./
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531

specimens collected by Karl von den Steinen which were said to represent bats. To the basic, dark color of the outer surface of the vessel, brown paint is applied on the walls in parallel vertical strips and on the bottom of the vessel in curved lines emerging from the circumference of a circle whose center is the center of the pot bottom. The height of this pot reaches 31.5 cm., and the diameter of its upper rim, 26.5 cm. Two other fired clay vessels, both smaller, are represented in Figures 26 and 27, one of which (V.B. 3877) has a height of 11.5 cm. and an upper rim diameter of 26 cm., and the other (V.B. 3876) a height of 12.5 cm. and an upper rim diameter of 20 cm. Of the other objects from the region of the upper Xingu River

301 most were ornaments. The necklace shown in Figure 24 (V.B.
126 3867) and made of small shell disks (diameter: 0.8 cm.) and a large stone bead was given to me in Sundex Lagoa by my old friend, the Bakairi, Karib, as a particularly precious object from former times. Other ornamental objects in my collection are shown in the following photographs:

Figure 24, a. A necklace of small shell pieces /Kagiyu/ (V.B. 3868. Length of the pieces, 2.5 cm.).

/36/ Figure 24, c. A necklace of shell disks with a zoomorphic (bird) pendant of fair size (V.B. 3866).

Figure 24, b. Zoomorphic stone pendant for a necklace.

Figure 25, a. Feather diadem. (V.B. 3868.) Length 16 cm. Width 8 cm.

● 255 Among the cultural goods of the Bakairi which we must
189 also regard as products of the native industry, but which, in contrast with those just described, were apparently made by the Bakairi of the Sundex Lagoa from themselves, we may point out first of all the various kinds of plaited objects, because they will serve to complement on various points my previous publications on Bakairi plaited objects. (36) For this reason I shall

(35) 36. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., pp. 330-371.

/36 cont./

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(113)

Cf. Idem., "Ableitung südamerikanischer Geflechtmuster aus der Technik des Flechtens /Derivation of South American Plaiting Patterns from the Technique of Plaiting/." Zeitschr. f. Ethn., 1904, nos. 3 and 4, pp. 481-512. Idem., "Die technischen Voraussetzungen in der Ornamentik der Eingeborenen Südamerikas /The Technical Bases in the Ornamentation of the South American Natives/." Ipek., Jahrbuch für Prähistorische und Ethnographische Kunst, 1928, pp. 142-174.

Among the planted objects that I collected from the Sindlen Iepen Bakairi in a special section that follows. In addition to planted objects I was primarily concerned with the acquisition of a mortar and its corresponding pestle and a triangular barbecue, because the relevant collections of the Berlin Ethnographic Museum did not include any specimens of these Bakairi objects which are to be found in almost every settlement of these Indians. The wooden mortar which I bought from Sindlen Iepen (V.B. 1965, called ôno by the Kuikuiru Bakairi) is shown in Figure 25. Its height reaches 30 cm. and the rim diameter 25 cm. From the irregular shape of the bottom it may be assumed that the lower part of the mortar was implanted in the ground. The corresponding pestle (V.B. 1966) has a length of 70 cm. and is shown in Figure 26. The barbecue shown in Figure 27 and called by the Kuikuiru Bakairi [illegible] has the usual triangular shape of Bakairi barbecues. The sticks of which the barbecue consists are bound together with tree bark. Its height reaches 101 cm.

I found the dancing sticks shown in Figures 28 a-d and 29 a-d (V.B. 1963, 1963, 1963-1964, 1962, and 1967) in

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III. Placed Objects of the Bakairí in Sundles Lopes

Most of the placed objects that I acquired from the Bakairí in Sundles Lopes belong to that kind of plaiting which I called in my respective previous publications Sulengéfacto (cropped plaiting).

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The two fire fans shown in Figures 31 a and 31 b (original V.B. 1910. Length of the upper rim 45 cm. Width 19 cm. b. (below) V.B. 1910. Length of the upper rim 45 cm. Width 17.5 cm.) are similar in their external form to those, with which we are familiar, of the Kuikuro Bakairí of former times, but in regard to technique they already show certain signs of degeneration. In the chapter "Geflechte und Geflechtornamente im Xingú-Quellgebiet /Placed Objects and Their Ornamentation in the Headwater Region of the Xingú/" in my already-mentioned book, Indianerstämme in Zentral-Brasilien, I dealt at length with the technique used in the construction of such fire fans, because these placed objects were especially suitable to show the dependence of the ornamentation of placed objects on the technique of plaiting used in their construction. It is possible to determine exactly the specific units in the placed object and to order in which they were successively fashioned, and the specimens shown in photographs in the work mentioned clearly reveal how the ornamental lines between these specific units of the second article and, successively, the overall ornamentation of the respective fans, are intimately bound to the technique of construction of the plaiting.

[531] Thus, in all fans of this kind /obtained/ from the Kuikuro Indians, the two triangular units of the placed object, which begin with their bases on the two sides of the lower edge of the object, are striped horizontally, that is to say, parallel to the lower edge, while the middle part of the fan, which comprises /1/ the beginning of the placed object and is shaped like a square resting on its corner, is mostly striped vertically.

/727 cont./

285 372 531 As shown by the fan represented in the photograph in Figure 191 of the above-mentioned book, there are cases where the middle part is striped horizontally without this leading to /28/ technical complications, and as in these cases also the two triangular ends of the object, which begin with their bases on the two sides of the lower edge of the fan, are for technical reasons striped horizontally, all of these plaited units in this fan have the same ornamental striping. But the vertical striping that runs throughout the fan represented in Figure 194, a /31 top?/ and coming from Sundhu Lapen, is incompatible with the technical conditions of the ancestral form of these plaited objects. The structure of the plaiting of the fan shows that it, too, was plaited so that the work begins in the middle part of the fan in the shape of a square resting on one corner, and then the two lower triangles were made by bending and plaiting the free ends of the fibers used to make the middle part. Among the numerous specimens of such fan in the Berlin Ethnographic Museum, there are none where triangular parts at the lower edge of the fan show striping going in a vertical direction, and the imperfection of the lower edge of the fan from Sundhu Lapen, in comparison with the firm, smooth edges of the fan from the Kuyuchu Island, clearly shows that in the case of the fan from Sundhu Lapen we are dealing with a degeneration of the Bassari plaiting technique, which in times past was more skillful and more dependent on certain principles. The fine fan shown in Figure 194, b /31 bottom?/ also contains, in spite of its superficial good form, so many imperfections in the ornamentation and so many irregularities in the structure of the plaiting that its later origin is at once evident.

285 372 531 There is a great similarity, we might even say identity, between the fan baskets acquired in Sundhu Lapen and those which the Bassari of the upper Kunje Kolmanson made in former times. The fan basket shown in Figure 36 (V.B. 5803, Diameter 55 cm.) is surprisingly similar to such a basket constructed by Hermann Meyer from the Kuhnelt and described

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by me elsewhere. (61) Both baskets are woven of the fibers of

61. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, pp. 349-351 and Fig. 176.

palm leaves, whose nodes protrude on one side of the basket, and the rim is emphasized by a wooden hoop. These two baskets differ only in their ornamentation: that of the basket from the Sumbre Lagoa Bakairi consisting of a simple striping that runs through the entire basket in the same direction, whereas the plaiting of the specimen acquired by Hermann Meyer from the Nahukuá consists of several sets which contrast among themselves in the opposite orientation of their striping, so that on the surface of the basket appears the chevronoid ornamentation common among these Indians. Although up to now a specimen of a basket similar to this one was unknown among the Bakairi, we should not regard the flat basket shown in Figure 36 as a product of the Nahukuá, because the cultural ties of these two tribes, which are also related with respect to language, stem on the whole quite similarly.

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/36/ The flat, round basket shown in Figure 37 and called by the Kalisehu Bakairi ago (V. 9. 3916; Diameter 36 cm. Height 10 cm.) must be held in terms of technique and ornamentation as a localized product of the ancestral Bakairi art of plaiting. The technique of the basket and its chevronoid ornamentation running symmetrically over its entire surface and emphasized further by the different color of the respective rows of the plaiting oriented vertically and horizontally, are similar to a specimen acquired by Hermann Meyer from the Sul Kalisehu Bakairi shown in a photograph in my already-mentioned publication. (62) There are only unimportant

62. Ibid., p. 348, Fig. 177.

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[29 cont.]

differences in the ornamentation of these two flat baskets: the small chevrons of the flat basket from Sundan Lepen are white with a black dot in the middle and are surrounded by two black squares and one white square, while the chevrons of the other basket are black with a white dot in the middle and are surrounded only by a white square and a black one. Technically, the difference is explained by the fact that each plaited unit of the basket from Sundan Lepen, marked by the ornamental zigzag running in the same direction, consists of 12 fibers going vertically and 12 fibers going horizontally, whereas the number of each one of these two groups of fibers in the flat basket from the Rio Kahaetu is nine. Otherwise, the two baskets differ in the way in which one of the two groups of fibers (vertical or horizontal) of the plaiting has been colored black. Both baskets are plaited in such a way that the respective dark fibers in one of the two groups of these fibers are plaited with their outer, smooth surface above and their inner, rough surface under, while the fibers of the other group, running vertically to the fibers of the first group, are plaited with their rough surface above and their smooth surface under. But the way in which the black coloring of the rough surface of these fibers is done is different in the two baskets. In the flat basket from Sundan Lepen the rough surface of the plaiting fibers is colored black before they are plaited, whereas the coloring of the flat basket from the Rio Kahaetu is done in such a way that the entire basket, plaited as described above but without prior dyeing of the rough surface of the respective fibers, is dyed with one and washed immediately. Though washing the dye disappears from the parts of the surface of the basket formed by the smooth surface of the plaiting fibers, while the parts where the fibers appear with their rough surface at the surface of the basket remained black. The way of forming a sturdy border with the free ends of the plaiting fibers emerging from its upper edge is the same in both baskets.

/10 cont./

The basket from the Sundo- Lopes Bakairi shown in Figure 10 (V.S. 1911?. Diameter 26 cm. Height c. 5 cm.) must be held as a transitional product of a new age. In its /its/ external form and its rim, formed with the ends of the plaiting fibers, it is altogether similar to the basket just described. Its peculiarity consists in that, along with the rhombohedal ornamentation common among the Bakairi, it also presents a winding /given in Portuguese, meandro/ ornamentation. It was characteristic of the Bakairi of the upper Xingu tributaries that in the ornamentation of their plaited objects and in the ornamentation derived from the latter, the winding pattern was almost unknown, while the decoration is common, for example, in the ornamentation of the Kayabi, neighbors of the Bakairi, and also appears peculiarly in the ornamentation of other tribes neighboring on the Bakairi, in the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River. Thus we must regard the winding pattern which appears on the surface of the flat basket from the Sundo- Lopes Bakairi as an element alien to typical Bakairi ornamentation and introduced to them through the influence of other tribes. Since there were Kayabi women among the Paranatinga Bakairi, it may be assumed that they introduced this new decoration to the Bakairi. The diagram in Figure 47 shows that in this basket, too, the winding lines of the ornamentation of the plaiting are limited in the usual way whereby in certain parts of the plaiting the individual square units are placed in such a way that two of them do not touch corners in the same spot, while in these areas of the work where this does occur, there appear the rhombohedal or cross-shaped ornaments common among the Bakairi. The fact that in this case a foreign influence is involved is also derived from the various irregularities in the weaving structure, which contrary to the well formed plaited work of the Bakairi in former times. The outmoding in the basket conveys the impression that the Bakairi in this case accepted the new decoration without being sufficiently familiar with its technical conditions to produce a more accomplished

/all cont./

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work, as also occurs often among other tribes in the *pueblos* of transition in their cultural *goals*. The diagram in Figure 67 shows that, in the middle of the basket, a secondary fiber was added arbitrarily to the other fibers that formed the plaited object, and that the triple mesh plaiting is changed several times into double mesh. Important irregularities occur, especially in the center of one of the rhomboidal figures.

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The basket shown in Figure 59 and called by the Bakairí *tumuchs* (V.B. 1885. Height 16 cm. Width of the bottom 21 cm. Width of the upper rim 28 cm.) is a *good* example of the plaited objects from the Xingu Lugar Bakairí which were most closely in accordance with ancestral Bakairí technique. I have dealt at length elsewhere (67) with this type of basketry, which

67. Max Schmidt. "Die technischen Veränderungen in der Ornamentik der Eingeborenen Südamerikas." *loc. cit.*, pp. 157-158. Idem., *Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien*, *loc. cit.*, p. 308, Fig. 180.

is also common among other Indian tribes, and shows that in such cases the beginning of the plaiting consists of a square flat piece the middle part of which forms the bottom of the basket while the four corners are bent upward to form the four walls of the basket. In order to obtain uniform striping of the four walls, the square piece which forms the beginning of the basket must consist of at least four square units marked /x/ by two changes of the direction of the striping and with their four inner corners meeting in the middle of the bottom of the basket so that, in accordance with the two combination possibilities, the common decorative elements of the rhomboidal form or the shape of a cross results. If the surface of the bottom of the basket shows the rhomboidal ornamentation, as does the basket from Xingu Lugar (see diagram for Figure 59), the

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285 531 walls of the cooking baskets will show uniform stripes running horizontally, while a basket the walls of which show stripes running vertically will result if the surface of the bottom has a cross-shaped decorative element. (Cf. the basket shown in a photograph in my above-mentioned book (48).)

48. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Central-Brasilien, 4ed., etc., p. 304, Fig. 280.

285 524 531 Already on my trip made in the year 1911, I found among the Kaiapós Bororó a kind of basket which, in its external form, corresponds to the basket just described but which, in view of the manner of the placing of its bottom suggests a completely different beginning of the plaiting. (49) A heap

49. Ibid., pp. 301-302.

in addition the head brought by me from the same Bororó shows, instead of the usual decorative elements of these Indians, the special figure that appears in the middle of the bottom of these baskets.(50) See the diagram shown in Figure 30. On my

(124 126)

50. Ibid., p. 434, Fig. 372.

last trip, made in the year 1927, I acquired from the Bororó of Sangão Lagoa several specimens of such baskets. Of the three specimens of baskets of this kind shown in Figures 41 (V.B. 3930), height 17 cm. Width of the bottom 30 cm. Width of the upper rim 33 cm.), 42 (V.B. 3929), height 18 cm. Width of the bottom 31 cm. Width of the upper rim 36.5 cm.), and 43 (V.B. 3928), height 21 cm. Width of the bottom 31 cm. Width of the upper rim 33 cm.), each shows a different structure of plaiting in the center of the bottom of the basket: that of the basket shown in Figure 41 has four

[illegible]

[illegible]

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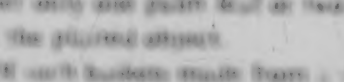
three-step figures pt. diagram in Figure 50), that of the basket in Figure 42, four four-step figures pt. diagram in Figure 50), and that of the basket in Figure 47, four five-step figures pt. diagram in Figure 50).

With the whole leaf of the bucchi palm, the Sunday Lapu Bukuri made, besides the flat baskets described above, ordinary baskets also, and this in two different forms depending on whether only one palm leaf or two palm leaves were used to make the pleated object.

[104] Of such baskets made from a single leaf, no specimens are known from the Bukuri of the upper Kings tribunaps, but I obtained such a specimen in the year 1903 from the Ria Tiava Bukuri, which I have described and shown in a photograph in the above-mentioned work (53). But it is likely that the Bukuri



50. Bind up bat hat
Fig. 174-175.

of the upper Kings tribunaps. A kind of basket of this type is known there, and that this was not made by the Sunday Bukuri. The [illegible] Kiriwina Bukuri called this kind of basket very common among the Bukuri of Sunday Lapu, but. Of the specimen obtained in Sunday Lapu, one is shown in Figure 47 (Height 24 cm., Width 26 cm.). The making of such baskets proceeds as follows: the leaf is cut, or divided into two groups, and the strands in the first group are plaited with those in the second group, in twill fashion and beginning with the middle strand. The plaiting, of single twill to quadruple twill, presents the characteristic weaving of step plaiting, or first going in a vertical direction but plaiting in the horizontal direction in the second unit of plaiting formed on the four rule on the edge of the leaf by folding the free end of the strands and plaiting them in the opposite direction. It is the diagram shown in Figure 50.

/62 cont./

Of the baskets plaited of two burnt palm leaves, called by the Ila Kalkatu Bukani ba'ulun, several specimens were already known from the Bukani of the upper Kingu subtribes, which are similar with respect to their form and manner of plaiting, on the whole, to the baskets which I acquired from the Sundbo Lapsi Bukani. In these baskets, two, of which these specimens are shown in photographs in Figures 60-66 (V. B. 3000, Height 36 cm. Width 32 cm. V. B. 3004, Height 32 cm. Width 34 cm. V. B. 3001, Height 37 cm. Width 36 cm.), the plaiting consists of single mesh or triple mesh. I have described the plaiting technique used in these baskets at length in my above-mentioned book, (32) with the aid of a diagram.

32. Ibid., pp. 308-309.
Figs. 182-184.

and I have shown that the beginning of the plaiting is formed by two square plaited units, of which one situated on the front side of the basket (square ABCD in the diagram in Figure 60) is plaited from the strands of half of each of the two leaves, and the other unit, situated on the back side of the basket (square MEC in the diagram), /is woven/ from the other half of each of the two leaves. These two square units of plaiting, placed corner to corner, and, in their original position, placed one behind the other, are united by two other units of plaiting made from the free fibers of the first two units (squares ADHG and ABFE in the diagram), in such a way that these four square units together form one unit (square HEFC in the diagram) the size of which is twice that of the two original units. While the four corners of this unit of plaiting (square HEFC in the diagram) are found upward in a vertical position (triangles DHC, BFE, EBC and GDH in the diagram) and serve as part of the four walls of the basket, the bottom of the basket is formed by the middle part of this unit (square GFHD in the diagram) which

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(120)

remains in a horizontal position. The plaiting of the basket acquired by me from the Rio Kuluehu Bakairí and that of the Sundles Lopes basket shown in Figure 44 consist solely of such a square plaited unit whose corners are folded upward to serve as walls for the basket, without the addition of other plaited units to /43/ complete the four walls of the basket. But the two baskets from Sundles Lopes shown in Figures 45 and 46 present a more advanced form of this type of basketry in so far as the four blank spaces which appear between the four triangular parts folded upward to serve as part of the walls are filled secondarily to complete the plaiting up to the upper rim of the basket. Since the free ends of the fibers in a plaiting done in this manner all come out at the upper rim of the basket, it is possible, in order to secure them in this place, to fashion a very even and solid rim from which emerge, on both front sides, the ends of the stalks of the two buriti leaves used in the plaiting.

An interesting contribution to the problem of the dependence of basketry ornamentation on technique, and of the derivation of ornamentation from technique, is furnished by a comparison of the two baskets from Sundles Lopes shown in Figure 45 and 46. The ornamentation of these two baskets is basically different from that of baskets of which plaiting is formed by loose fibers, such as that of the baskets shown in Figures 39-42. These baskets are also plaited in such a way that a flat square forms the beginning of the basket with the middle part forming the bottom of the basket and the four corners, folded upward, forming parts of the four walls. But by the fact that this flat square of plaiting is composed, in turn, of four plaited units marked by different directions of the striping of its ornamentation, uniform striping is achieved for all four walls, since in this case the striping in the four corners of the main unit, when folded upward, runs in the same direction. With regard to the Bakairí baskets woven of two buriti leaves, such uniformity in the

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/43 cont./

striping of the walls has not been achieved because the square unit which forms the beginning of the object, in this case, contains only one diagonal stripe running in the same direction. The binding of the strands to the stalks of the leaves, which determines to a large degree the formation of the beginning of the basket, has placed a limitation, in this case, on the development of the formation of more complex units of the plaiting. The diagram in Figure 48 shows that of the four triangular corners of the flat square striped in only one direction, when folded upward, one pair (triangles GDH and BEF) present striping going in a horizontal direction and the other pair (triangles DBC and EGI in the diagram), striping going in a vertical direction. This condition also holds for the two baskets shown in Figures 45 and 46. In order to explain this more easily, I refer once more to the diagram in Figure 48. In this diagram the square GEBD comprises the plaited unit that forms the bottom. In the basket shown in Figure 46, the part of the front wall which is striped vertically corresponds to triangle DBC in the diagram, and the corresponding part of the back wall, not visible in the photograph, to triangle GEI. The corresponding parts of the two lateral walls of the basket present, in accordance with triangles EBE and DGH in the diagram, horizontal striping which also continues in the plaited complements done to fill out the remaining gaps in the four walls of the basket, /44/ so that the parts of the walls which must be regarded as accessory supplements to them present horizontal striping. The ornamentation of the basket shown in Figure 45 differs from that of the basket just described in the direction of the striping in specific parts of the walls, with those parts which are striped vertically in the basket shown in Figure 46 being striped horizontally, and vice versa. This variation of the ornamentation is brought about by the way in which the diagonal striping in the flat square which forms the beginning of the plaiting goes toward the other diagonal line in this square unit, so that the middle part of the front wall and that of the back wall present striping running in a horizontal

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184 direction, while the corresponding parts of the lateral walls and corresponding plaited supplements have vertical striping.

285 Examples of the kind of plaiting called by me in my
227 respective previous publications Doppelfadengeflechte (double-
184 thread plaiting) are represented by the fish trap shown in Figure 54 and the flat basket shown in Figure 55. Fish traps like the one shown in Figure 54 (V.B. 9914. Length 54 cm. Diameter of the upper rim 25 cm.) were very common among the Bakairí of the upper Xingu tributaries, and the Berlin Ethnographic Museum possesses several specimens collected by Karl von den Steinen, who mentions them briefly in his above-mentioned book, Unter den Natürvolkern Zentral-Brasiliens. (53) He says

53. Karl v.d. Steinen, Unter den Natürvolkern Zentral-Brasiliens, loc. cit., p. 236.

there: "As for fish traps, there were two kinds: one called by the Bakairí puroschi was broader and had rectangular intermediary spaces, while the other, called tanaschi, was narrow and long and had high, large meshes oriented vertically." In Karl von den Steinen's book, there is no drawing or photograph of such
[126] a fish trap. The specimen which I got from the Simões Lopes Bakairí and which they call tikíshi consists of slender twigs bound at regular intervals by a double strand which, starting at the bottom, goes through the twigs in spiral fashion. A funnel-shaped entrance made of thicker twigs is placed at the upper edge.

285 The flat basket shown in Figure 55 (Length 65 cm. Width 37 cm.) serves to store fish and consists of a wooden hoop filled in with double-thread plaiting in the form of a small mat like those the Bakairí used to strain their liquids.

Finally, I must mention the small basket shown in Figure 56 (V.B. 9891. Height 20 cm. Width of the upper rim 19 cm.)

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285 which belongs with regard to technique to the third main group of South American basketry, made in such a way that two groups of fibers, of which those in the first group are placed vertically to those in the second group, are interwoven with a third group of fibers oriented in a different direction. Only the walls of the basket are plaited by this technique, while its bottom consists of "step plaiting," done in the usual way with /45/ double mesh. Apart from its bottom the basket is similar with respect to form and technique to a specimen of such a Nahuelquí basket shown in a photograph in my above-mentioned book. (54)

[191]

54. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 370, Fig. 200.

000 /Pages 45-58, containing a vocabulary and texts, have been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

Plate XVI

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Fig. 35. Five fans. Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

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Fig. 36. Fish basket made from two buriti leaves. Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

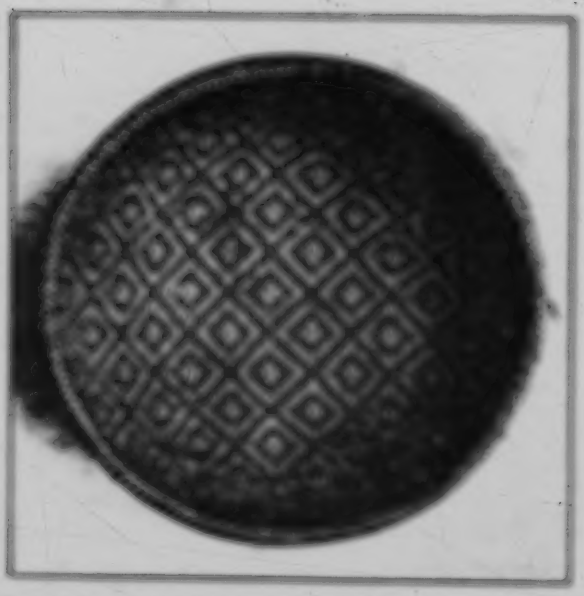

Fig. [illegible]. Flat basket. Bakkelaf in Sundes Lappe.

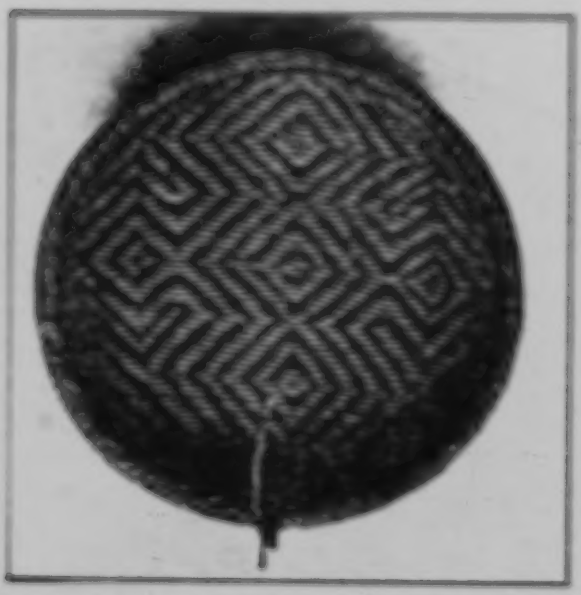

Fig. 38. Flat basket. Bakkelaf in Sundes Lappe.

Fig. 39. Rocket of the [illegible] in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 40. Rocket of the [illegible] in Simões Lopes

Fig. 41. Shell of the Brissid in Vendas Lagos.

Fig. 42. Base of the Brissid in Vendas Lagos.

Plate 9.8

Fig. 45. Basket woven from one palm leaf. Binding in similar layers.

Fig. 46. Basket woven from two palm leaves. Binding in similar layers.

Fig. 47. Basket woven from two palm leaves. Binding in similar layers.

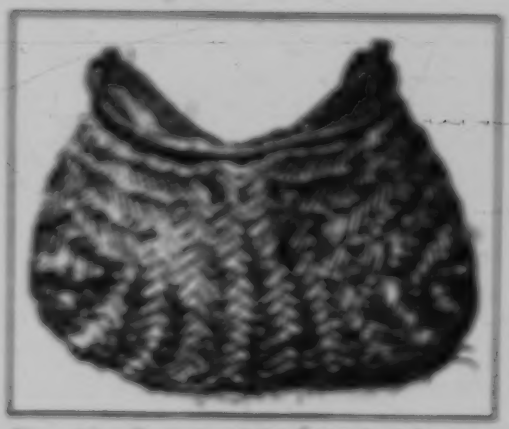

Fig. 48. Basket woven from two palm leaves. Binding in similar layers.

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Fig. 67. Diagram of the plaiting of the basket shown in fig. 38.

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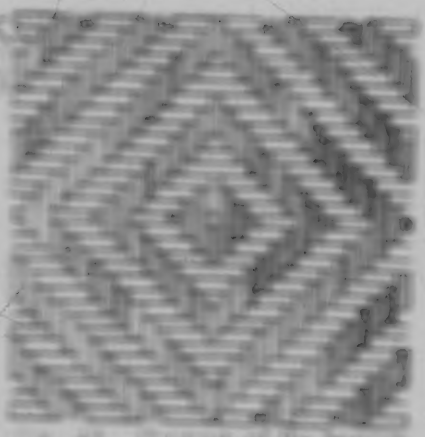
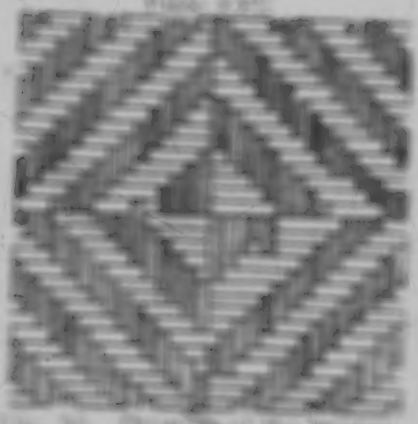
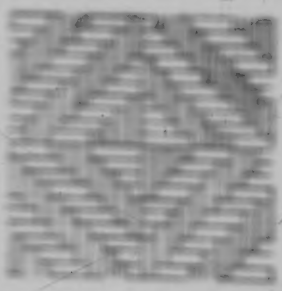
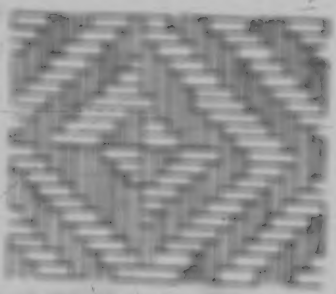
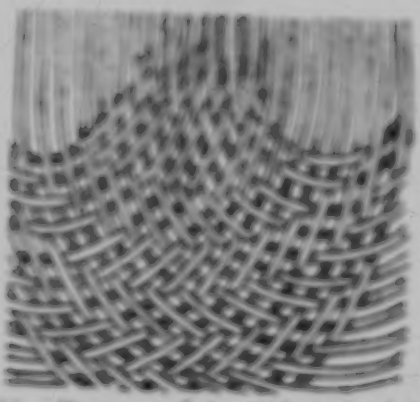
Fig. 68. Diagram of the technique of the basket plaited from two burnt leaves.

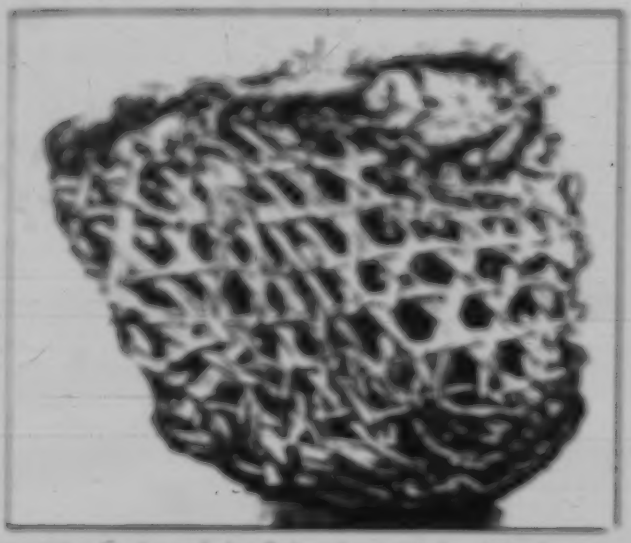












Dwellings

The Bakairi dwelt in hamlets, *aldeas*, consisting of palm trees. Their dwellings can be summed up a bundle of a solid piece of wood, clay pots, mats and baskets. The men were upon marriage, *ehuni*, wear penises, maize, and fish. However, the hunting of monkeys, wild pig, tapir, and other animals was not allowed. Most of the foodstuffs, however, were of vegetable origin, and the most important harvest were made up of maize, manioc, sweet potatoes, and *pupu*. Tattoo *urucu*, cotton, wheel, and tobacco were also planted.

The occupants of a communal house worked together on the building of a new house, acquiring thereby the right to reside in it. This construction work, however, was led by the individual who had the most prestige in the group, usually the old head of the house, who thus set himself up as the head of the new house. The tasks of clearing fields and planting generally depended on the participation of all the *aldeas*. When beginning a new clearing, the Bakairi would give a feast, *kumalu*, with the distribution of food to the Indians who worked on the fields. The Bakairi made canoes from the bark of the *ananá* tree, in the Singuano way. The construction, as well as fishing, hunting, and agricultural activities, were accompanied by propitiatory rituals.

Their products were bartered among neighboring groups in the course of visits called *tulikí* which depended on the presence of the chiefs of both *aldeas*. After the exchange of the objects desired, the visitors were honored with a feast called *tilaze*.

Chief The Bakairi were not a warlike people, and their political organization does not seem very elaborate. Each *aldea* had a chief, *puma*, assisted by a subchief, *ináula*. The Bakairi do not remember the existence of a chief for the whole tribe, and there is no evidence that such a figure ever existed. The selection of the *ináula* was made by means of agreement of the *aldeas*, but it generally fell on the son of the *puma* himself. The *puma*'s functions were chiefly ceremonial, economic, and juridical.

[illegible]

[illegible] beans (yu) peanuts, corn, sweetpotatoes, manioc, "earth," nuts, onions, dish, potatoes, white, cotton, [illegible], [illegible], [illegible],

/ [illegible] /

295 Countless giant vessels /[illegible]/ are glazed, p. 176 / and
296 varnished, brownish-yellow, some of them painted black in
designs not without taste.

411 In the lower roof bamboo are stuck the arrows, averaging
two meters long, and the bows, which almost reach a length of
two and a half meters. The arrows, made of [illegible], have simple
wood or bone points, on the end of the dark brown bamboo are
on spindly.

287 Feathers, even bunches of them and whole tail coverts,
415 are kept in mats placed together portfolio-like; spindles, pig-
ment, bows, wax pieces, shells, and the like are kept in small
baskets and sets. On the comb of the hammocks are found as
decoration a couple of bamboo or shells and -- the comb. This
302 latter actually consists of small, narrow sticks placed next to one
304 another and held together by two cross-sticks of bamboo by means
of a plaiting of cotton threads; the hard sticks project beyond
the lower cross-stick on the teeth of the comb.

286 The hammocks are gone can hardly say woven, but rather
knotted. Two posts stand in the ground; they are wound with a
skein of cotton in the way that our women wind knitting wool on
a chair. Through the horizontal, parallel threads, vertical threads
are drawn at four-centimeter intervals with guide sticks and
knotted; the part of the skein which lies close to the post and
are not knotted (the entire bundle of horizontal threads pressed
together) form the loop that receives the hammock ropes.

285 A plaited matting above the door and seven of alternating
black and light straw are worked with a natural artistic sense.
The fire is fanned with a triangular piece of matting.

302 The hair of the women, cut unevenly and longest behind
the ears, hangs down to the shoulders; the forehead is almost
completely covered. A young woman had the latter painted with
black red color during the visit on the river. No ornament. Only
301 the old woman wears a string over her left shoulder, which goes
under her right arm; three trouser buttons, which she cut off from
it and the soldiers with her own hands, are strung on it.

//[illegible] cont.//

241 Besides these products of the most primitive carving art, //[illegible]// the most interesting article was a burial dress -- "the" dress of the upper Selkirk -- which proved the invention of clothing even among the Selkirk. The linen was knotted [illegible] weight, following the method for the hammock; the doublet was made on the rack in order to be cropped into a tied dress sleeves and trousers, from the bottom edge of which long fibers hung down. Many simple, metre-long burial-fiber hangings seemed apron-like. Two triangular fox-furs had small downy feathers pasted on them. Hard, open shells,

In the Selkirk funeral-hut.

535 the size of half-walnuts, were gathered into a rattling bundle
534 that is tied around the ankles for dancing. Another rattle instrument was a dried gourd shell, which contained seeds, impaled on a stick (1).

[71]

1. Hans Staden (1556) tells of the "Tuppin Inhas". "They believe in a thing that grows like a gourd, is as large as a half-measure scoop. It is hollow inside. They stick a little stick through it, cut a little hole in it, like a mouth, and put little stones in it,

/31 cont./

Tumeyoua declared that he had heard them dance. It is probable that the fire-glow which we had repeatedly noticed in the east, and which had been regularly observed in the evening at Independencia, came from them. Barely an hour later, the Kawayali, about 12 meters wide, flowed in from the left. On both banks quitrada and plantings.

From the second village Tumeyoua had taken along as a companion Poiqwili, a short, stocky old man who did not look as though he were a great sorcerer, and whom we, with a lack of respect, called the "cab driver." They did not have much luggage with them and easily packed it into the mayakua, their back-baskets for carrying loads. They had taken along on the journey, not cotton hammocks, but hammocks made of palm fiber, which are lighter and dry quickly if they become wet. /32/ The two made rapid progress, even though they were keen on taking at every favorable spot. We had let the great sorcerer sniff a bottle of ammonia, which had horrified him so little. After that he could no longer be enticed to smell any of our things. If one of us calls from a corner that it stinks there, everybody runs over and sniffs.

To the Third Sakaiff Village (Kuyaqualifu).

The harbor at which we arrived at 4.45 lay at the end of a lateral inlet and would not have been found without a guide.

The next morning, 6 October, we departed at 7.00 for the village and reached it in three-quarters of an hour on the usual winding forest-trail. On the way we saw a large human figure carved in tree bark, with three fingers on the hands and stump-like feet.

Harpia village, "kuyaqualifu," also had only three houses and a flute-house, but was the liveliest of the three villages. I counted 31 men and just about as many women and children. Some of the latter, however, had run into the woods. There were probably about 100 souls in the village. The chief, Porisa, was a small, friendly gentleman. He had had beiji baked at night.

/[illegible] cont./

The cots, merely small hand cots, were plaited out of the twisted, very resistant tucum palm fiber. They hung as a pouch from a piece of wire with both ends bent together in an oval. Two types of wire benches were distinguished: the *pacuchi* of the Bakairi, wider, fitted with horizontal, rectangular interstices, and the other, *tamachi*, narrow, long, with wide, high vertical meshes. The catch-basket, *kutu*, was a plaited framework of pointed sticks, shaped like a truncated cone, and open at the top and bottom. I watched Paleiko as, in order to make a catch-basket, he evened up a bundle of already pointed sticks which still had different lengths. He used the following measuring stick. He took a piece of shaft reed, a–b, and another, c–d, tied them together one under the other parallel at b and c, and now used the free piece from c–d for measuring, placing the stick to be measured alongside it, pressing it against b, cracking it sharply at d, and breaking it off.

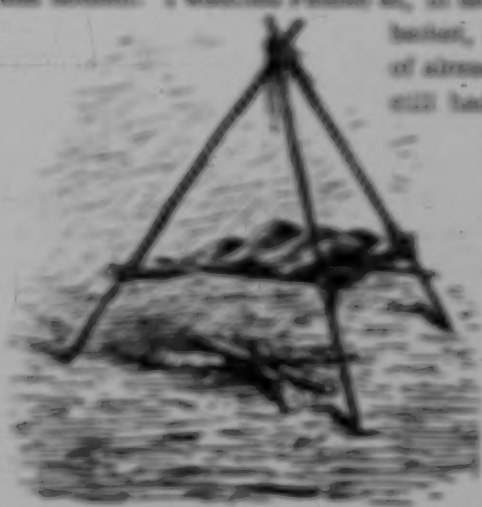


Fig. 30. Smoking rack (*tempe*). (1/30 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

The Indians often set out for a few days to engage in fishing. They bring home baked fish, but they also seem to be satisfied merely to eat their fill for once outside. The pyramid of the grill, the "*tempe*" of the Brazilians, which one almost always finds where the Indians have stayed overnight to fish or to build a canoe, is finished in no time. Three sticks are placed together like rifles and are joined at the top with bast, somewhat below the middle a little rod is placed crosswise from one stick to each of the two neighboring ones and is lashed, and this angle

/238 cont./

128 I shall discuss the reed diadems and plaited dance costumes in the chapter on masks.

*171 283 284 286 Textile work. The material: pineapple silk, aloe hemp, palm fiber from the tucum and buriti, and cotton. The fibers are put in neat bundles, and twilled on the thigh, but the cotton tufts, on the other hand, are drawn out into a thread by means of the spindle likewise made to turn rapidly on the thigh and then [142] spinning freely. Only the women spin and weave. The fiber strings serve as the actual tie-threads and ropes; fish nets, carrying nets, in certain cases hammocks, and finally bowstrings are made of them. Knitting is done with bamboo rods or long wooden needles that have eyes.

*171 392 285

Fig. 32. Fire fan (1/9 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

*171 283 The spindle is a disk through which is stuck a thin, not very straight, and smoothly worked stick sometimes notched at the tip. To it is attached a tuft of cotton, freed of seeds, whereupon the whorl is rapidly turned on the thigh and the whole allowed to hang; as a result of the even rotation, the cotton is twisted into a thread. The thread is wound on the little stick, until a thick, cone-shaped ball rests against the whorl, which prevents it from slipping off. Diameter of the whorl-disk, five and a half to six centimeters; length of spindle shaft, 30-35 centimeters. The [299] whorl usually consists of a piece of the ventral shell of the turtle,

/238 cont./

#171 it is often made of wood, and only among the Bakaïrí does it
283 consist of an ordinary, crude clay disk which might have been broken out of the bottom of an old pot and ground to shape.

[531] /239/ I shall speak later of the designs incised on the first two types mentioned. the Bakaïrí leave their wood and clay disks undecorated, and we did not find any tortoise-shell whorls among them. The women powdered their upper thighs with white, chalky clay for protection against perspiration. They kept the material in the form of balls the size of a child's head, from which they scraped off a little with a shell for use.

The thread is made in two or three different thicknesses and kept in balls which are wrapped in green leaves. The balls [431] are popular hospitable gifts of the Bakaïrí and Mehinakú, which [594] were given to us likewise at the reception, just as Columbus reports this in the case of his islanders on 12 October 1492.

#171 The "loom" is as primitive as can be. Two low posts, which
● 286 need not be half a meter high, a good distance apart, that is all. The origin of the weaving from the plaiting is still clearly evident. A thick skein of cotton is wound around the posts as a warp, a thread without end; the cross-threads are pulled through with guide sticks.

286 The Bakaïrí hammock represents a rather loose net, long,
352 rectangular, two and a third meters by one and a quarter meters. The rows running lengthwise are broken at irregular intervals of two to three and a half centimeters by transverse rows; one can easily stick one's finger through the interstices. The type of weave is very simple. Two longitudinal threads, two to three millimeters thick, are wound around each time through the thinner transverse threads which are only one millimeter thick, and, to be sure, there are four transverse threads, of which two run wave-like in front of, and two in back of, the longitudinal threads, crossing between the latter. Where the transverse threads come out on either side, they are knotted; thus on each longitudinal side one finds some 70 knots with the four cut-off ends of the threads. The loop left free on either post is wound in the center, so that, on the one hand, an eyelet to receive the suspension

/239 cont./

286 352 ropes is produced, and, on the other hand, the longitudinal threads, increased here for a length of 30-35 centimeters, diverge from this fixed point toward the net when it is stretched out.

*171 286 352 Besides this typical cotton hammock, there is a hammock in which the warp consists of buriti palm-fiber thread and only the woof is of cotton. And, to be sure, this cotton woof may be limited to only a few transverse threads, which ran at intervals of 10-20 centimeters among the Mehinakú. The buriti hammock is native among the Nu-Aruak tribes. The docile Bakaïri on the Paranatinga also had it, and they told me that their old chief, Caetano, had first introduced it. The palm-fiber hammocks were usually of the same length or even longer (up to two and three-fourths meters) than the cotton hammocks, but not one meter wide, so that the comfortable diagonal position which the Brazilian quite rightly likes to assume was almost impossible.

A third type was produced by the more abundant use of cotton. Thus, among the Auetö, we saw all the transitions from a space of six to seven centimeters between the /240/ cotton transverse threads to a space of one or two centimeters, or even half a centimeter. Finally, however, the cotton threads were pressed so closely together that one could no longer see the palm fiber, and a strong cloth, worked almost as tightly as sailcloth, was produced. Here the palm-fiber longitudinal thread, about one and a half millimeters wide, was wound with two pairs of cotton transverse threads that crossed, not singly, but doubled, between it and the next longitudinal thread. Naturally, the long sides of the hammock were densely studded with knots; at the four ends the strands were allowed to hang down a bit and [386] ended in tassels. In many cases, at intervals of about 40 centimeters, bluish-black transverse stripes were achieved by the use of dyed cotton. Otherwise all hammocks were brown; the cotton hammock, as well as the one of palm fiber, which was already light brown in its natural color, was colored a dirty brown by the bodies oiled with urucú red.

/240 cont./

*171 286 352 The hammocks of pure cotton were a specialty of the Bakaïrí; among them, too, buriti hammocks could be found even on the Kulisehu. The stoutest cloth was made by the Auetö. The hammocks for small children among the Nahuquá were peculiar: merely a bundle of stalks tied together at the top and bottom and hung up.

Thus, the most varied forms existed and were in the process of becoming uniform. The Suyá were still sleeping on large palm-straw mats following the custom of the Gês. When we visited them, they were on the point of adopting the hammock; they had a few specimens and were weaving some themselves. Perhaps the art came from the Trumaí women whom they had with them. After my journey of 1884 I pointed out the parallelism between the Schingú region and the Guianas, namely, that in both areas the cotton hammock seems to be native to the Karaiben, the palm-fiber hammock to the Nu-Aruak, and that furthermore this ethnographic conformity corresponds exactly to the linguistic one. In both cases, the technique arises from plaiting, only the material is different. The Bakaïrí were the most backward: they did not have the cloth-like fabric. It is [283] also striking that their spinning whorls, although they completely fulfilled their purpose, were less artistic than among the other tribes.

*171 285 415 A parallel technique was shown in a type of sieve-mat. The stalks were covered more or less closely with cotton yarn, so that stiff and at the same time very flexible, tight mats were produced, between which the mandioca was pressed dry. We also saw pieces of cloth used for the same purpose.

*171 415 [329] Gourd vessels. The fruits of Crescentia cuyeté /C. cujete/ and the cucurbit Lagenaria provide vessels of the most diverse shapes. There are some that are ball-shaped, cucumber-shaped, bottle-shaped, hourglass-shaped, as well as many others of an irregular nature; after cutting them in two one obtains correspondingly shaped bowls. The green fruits are tied into the desired shape; the hourglass shape, in particular, is a product of this method. In order /Pl. XV appears here/ /241/ to divide them

[TEXT Continues on P. 254]

6:Oberg E-5 (1947)1953 SP7 Bacairi SP7
[P.72-A]

241 beans, *ipiú*; peanuts, *oremí*; sweetpotatoes, *mahódo*;
"cará," *sóri*; maize, *daji*; potatoes, *mila*; cotton,
kodokíru; urucú, *dunto*; tobacco, *tsuri*; piqui
fruit, *ípa*. Manioc, maize, and sweetpotatoes
248 were the principal food crops. Cotton was grown
for making hammocks and the various belts and
276 strings used. Tobacco leaves, after being dried,
were smoked by being rolled into cigars (*topóki*).
[755] Tobacco seems to have had a ritual use, as the
shamans smoked heavily before performing a rite.
252 Bitter manioc was shredded on a shredding board
into which fish teeth or fine pieces of shell had
been embedded. The pulp was squeezed in a
piece of cotton cloth in order to remove the poisonous acids. The meal was then used for baking
cakes. The fine powder or flour which settled at
the bottom of the settling tub was also used for
baking cakes after it was thoroughly dried. Maize
was eaten boiled or roasted. Sweetpotatoes were
272 roasted over coals. Maize meal was prepared and
mixed with wild honey and water to make a non-
alcoholic beverage. The Bacairí claim not to have
used any form of alcoholic beverage.

241 Cultivated plots were located outside the village, each large household usually having a continuous area. Maize and many other crops were
planted in September and October when the
rains began. Sweet manioc and sweetpotatoes
could be planted the year around, especially on
river banks after the rivers went down following
the rainy season. April was the harvest month
and also the beginning of the ceremonial season.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

592 The occupants of the large communal houses
usually worked together in the fields, went hunting
or fishing together, and generally cooperated in
economic activities. Families could work individually if they wished or did not need the help
241 of others. It was the task of the men to burn and
462 prepare the fields for planting. As the men
loosened the soil with the digging stick women
planted the seeds, slips, or pieces of stalk, as the
case might be. Women and children thereafter
took care of the weeding.

462 Division of labor by sex existed to a certain
extent. Women wove mats (*anegéu*) out of various
[285] [286] fibers, and hammocks out of cotton yarn which
was also spun by women. Men wove baskets.
[323] Both men and women made clay pots. Bacairí

Bacairí

323 pots are quite distinct from the pottery of the Indians living on the Upper Paraguay River. Bacairí pots are flat-bottomed and have straight vertical walls with everted rims. The pots in common use were, and still are, black in color, unglazed, and undecorated. Some of the pots [532] seen were made in the forms of frogs, turtles, fish, and birds. The Bacairí claim that they [531] formerly had decorated pottery called *omúgo*, painted with black, gray, red, and brown designs.

476 The Bacairí also had economic activities in which the whole village, or a number of com-
241 munal houses, participated. The *kometí*, or col-
476 lective land clearing, was one of these. A man would invite a large number of relatives and friends to assist him in clearing a new piece of forest land. The women would participate by pre- [262] paring large amounts of food and honey beverage
423 for the workers. The new field would remain the
476 property of the man who initiated the *kometí*, obligating him to work in return if called upon, but sometimes the group of men who cleared the field would divide it among them.

342 House building was always an enterprise in
476 which the whole village took part. The group that was interested in raising the house cut the beams and poles necessary for the framework and prepared large quantities of food. While a certain number of men began to put up the framework, others went to gather grass for thatching. When they returned with the thatching they put [535] on their ceremonial decorations and danced the *mahulawári* dance. House building was thus not only an economic act but also a ceremonial occasion.

● 286 Hammock weaving was, at times, a collective
476 enterprise. A woman with a larger than usual cotton crop distributed cotton among her friends and when the work was completed she organized a feast and dance.

437 Ceremonial trading expeditions (*tulíki*) were
628 organized by the chief of the village. During
574 the rainy seasons, when the rivers were high and
[622] canoe travel easy, the men of a village would collect whatever excess goods they had, such as bows, baskets, ornaments, hammocks, and even food, and would go to a neighboring village where the chief would receive them before the ceremonial house. The two chiefs would then supervise the exchange of commodities. After the trading was

527 gather the ceremonial corn. Later in the day the women prepared large quantities of corn porridge and roasted ears.

On the morning of the third day the actual ceremony began in front of the *kadoéti*. The organizer of the dance distributed roasted ears or pieces of ears to all the villagers, children included. Then at a signal from the leader, the villagers began throwing the roasted corn in all directions and at one another. After the roasted corn was [262] disposed of, the people ate the corn porridge and meat prepared on the preceding day. They then washed themselves in the river and put on their paint and ornaments. When the villagers had again gathered before the *kadoéti* the dance leader took a piece of corn husk and went from man 527 to man asking for a song leader. The man who 533 took the offered corn husk then began the *yawaisári*, or song in praise of corn. Little by little the others joined in the singing and eventually began to dance. The words of the song told how corn came to the Bacairí and how it made the people strong and healthy.

881 The *ransegéro*, or ear-piercing ceremony, was 304 performed just before a boy went into puberty seclusion. It was customary for men who had sons of about the same age to cooperate in getting large quantities of food ready for the feast. After the feast was over the ears of the boys were pierced [533] and the *poinwáto* song was sung. When boys and girls came out of seclusion there was another ceremony during which all the songs and dances were performed with the exception of the sacred flute tunes.

342 The *mahulawári* was performed during coopera- 476 tive house building in which the whole village participated. While the women prepared food and some men were putting up the frame, a certain [824] number of men went in search of palm fronds for thatching. When these men returned with the palm fronds they danced and sang before the new house with their loads on their backs and in full ceremonial regalia.

286 The custom of distributing cotton by a woman 571 with a good cotton crop and having other women weave hammocks for her has already been mentioned. When the women had completed their weaving and returned the hammocks to the donor of the cotton, she gave a feast during which the [535] women sang and danced the *yamaikúma*. This

6:Oberg E-S (1947)1953 SP7 Bacairi

[P.77-A]

286 574 535 dance was given at night accompanied by flute playing.

When a woman came out of seclusion after the 846 535 533 birth of a child the women of the village danced to the tunes of the *tadáuwa* and *nokipóru* flutes.

ORIGIN MYTHS

773 [126] Although the Bacairí have many myths, only two were obtained. One of these is the *yumadilli*, or the origin of day: In the beginning it was so dark and cold in the world that the people had to cover their bodies with grease to keep warm. The people wanted the sun to come out, so they put on their ornaments and painted their bodies and began to pray to *orimóto*, the great spirit who lived in the north. The Bacairí believed that *orimóto* was not an Indian but just a man who lived in a stone house with some of the animals which he had created. The people continued praying to *orimóto* and when light finally came the people were old and the children had grown up.

Yawítihadúho, or "those who died in the fire," is a story which tells about the origin of cultivated plants and the *yawaisári*, or corn dance: Once long ago there were a number of boys who were in puberty seclusion. At that time there were no cultivated plants, the people living by hunting and collecting wild plant foods. The boys were kept in seclusion so long and had so little to eat that they became very tired. One day when the relatives of the boys went out to collect food the boys all committed suicide. When the relatives returned and found the boys dead they were sorry and angry with themselves for neglecting them. They built a large fire and after dancing around the fire naked they jumped into the flames and were burned to death. The leader of this act was *yawíti*. Later the soul of *yawíti* returned and spoke through one of the living Indians. He explained to the Indians how to grow corn and other food crops and how to perform the corn dance. After that the corn dance (*yawaisári*) has always been performed.

773 171 [127] As the Bacairí formerly lived in association with the other Upper Xingú tribes, it is perhaps useful to compare their following origin myths as gathered by Von den Steinen with those of the Camayurá. There appears to be a close resemblance between *Kamuschiní* of the Bacairí and

/164 cont./

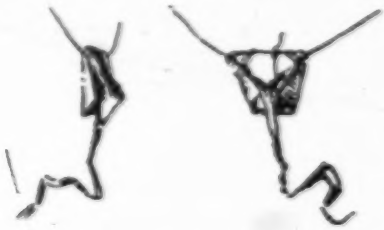
287 The triangular garment of the women, a folded piece of
291 bark bast, supposedly from the schischá tree, has a base of four centimeters and a height of one to one and a half centimeters.

A girl about ten years old is still completely naked.

302 The nasal septum of the men is not pierced; the beard hair,
[304] /165/ if a natural tendency for it is present, as well as all the hair (among the women, too) with the exception of the head hair, the eyebrows, and eyelashes, is carefully removed.

224 Around 10:00 in the forenoon Clauss came with Antonio; a
[622] few men also arrived from hunting, among them the chief, an older gentleman with an anxiously serious official face and a
162 fat little belly. We count ten men, seven women, five boys, four girls.

291



Clothing of the Bakaïrí women.

372 Pauhaga showed us how they make fire. They take two long, thin sticks of the same dry wood; into one a notch is scraped; while one man now holds this in position on the ground with two small sticks, a second man twirls the other stick rapidly between both hands in the notch. The dust that is rubbed loose glimmers.

126 We did some bartering; I measured a few men. They patiently allowed it to be done.

157 These "wild" Bakaïrí are alert, teachable, and certainly very good-natured. They do not steal, although we are carrying
[273] treasures with us. They have no intoxicating drink; they refuse
[276] tobacco. On the second day, together with their wives, they visit
609 us in our camp -- the "docile ones" on the Rio-novo, on the other hand, preferred to sleep with those in the bush as long as we were in the aldea. On the first evening a savage drinks a medicine that I

/63 cont./

533 note)/: kuyšuhu kuyšuhuhú -- kirúhayé kiruhayé (four times) --
539 kuyšuhu kuyšu.

Softly and rather muffled, solemnly slow, lingering a long time on the au.

The principal song that we were to sing together often was the following: yawí yawí nakú -- noví ritó hahé -- obó hohú, niké weké niké, niké weké niké, notú aríte nóhuhé, obóhuhó huhá, niké weké niké, notú aríte óhohu, obóhuhó, etc.

Muffled and softly, but faster and faster with a stamped beat and a jerky emphasis that impels one to stride forward; the óhohu... is repeated until one is almost out of breath, and then one recovers on the more solemn: nó tú há -- notú aríte nóhuhé nuhá hahú -- notú aríte nóhuhé nuhá hahú nó tú há, nó tú há -- óho hú hu.

533 A greater contrast can scarcely be imagined than between a jolly students' drinking song and these songs whose rendition was scarcely to be called singing, but seemed merely intended to accompany the dancing march of the feet with suppressed tones. I
[123] sang, too, of course, running the risk of not giving the good people a generally valid idea of our music, since I have at my disposal only "my own melodies." I achieved a small moral success, but they were a little overwhelmed because of the unfamiliar noise connected with the volume of tone. Natural sounds, however, such as "rudirallala," my friend Paleko liked exceptionally well; he was passionately eager to learn them and bent double laughing when he could not follow quickly enough.

291 Feeling of modesty. In this narrative part I wish to avoid
[128] describing clothing and ornaments in detail and shall limit myself, as far as personal appearance is concerned, to the remark that both sexes went about unclothed, that the women, as may
[287] be seen from Plate 5,* wore the "ulúri," a yellowish brown piece
[301] of bark-bast folded in a triangle and fastened to strings, and around their necks a string with pieces of shell, pieces of stalks, and seeds, that the men always wore a hip cord, with or without such ornaments, and frequently bast /64/ or cotton bands around

* [See p. 28 -- Analyst]

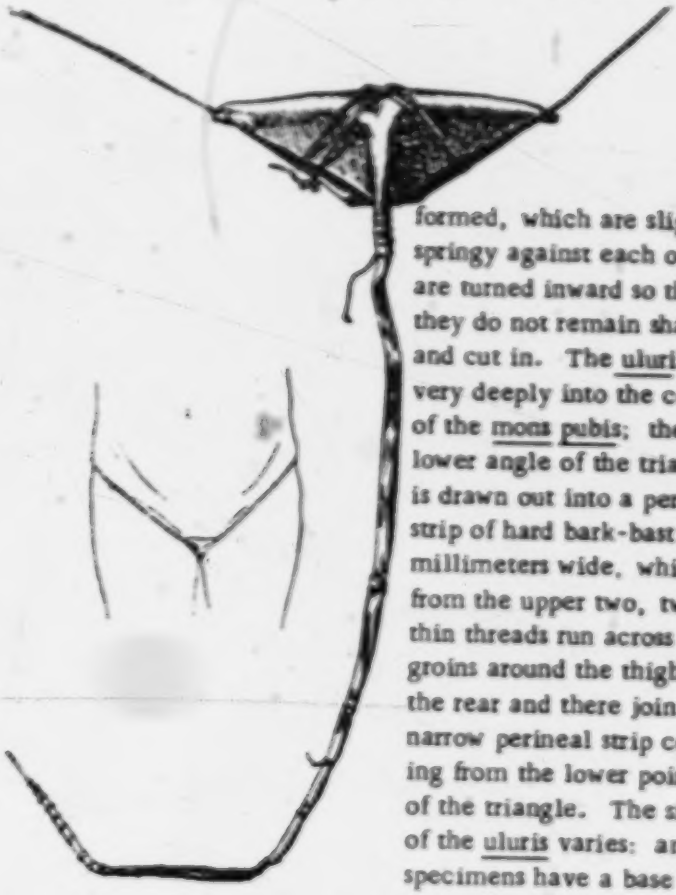
/65 cont./

124 say, an Arab, who would feel awkward about looking into the un-
831 veiled face of a European woman, or a Chinese, who would fall
[192] into the most anguished embarrassment if chance showed him her stockingless little foot. It is true, the subject that seems shocking to us gave the Bakaïrí, men and women, decided pleasure, and if a pedantic ponderer who wants to have modesty in our sense preserved at any price as the innate heritage of humanity would like to conclude from this increased measure of merriment that the bad conscience of a tribe that had sunk from a higher morality was stirring, I can only reply to him that their merry laughter was neither impudent nor did it give the impression of cloaking an inner embarrassment. On the other hand, it undoubtedly had a slightly erotic timbre, and, much as occasion and accompanying circumstances among true primitive peoples must differ, it altogether resembled the laughter that one hears at our spinning-party jokes, at games of forfeit, or other harmless entertainment in the intercourse between the two sexes. For from this same
[531] natural joy, as we shall see later, there resulted one of the most common ornaments in their painting, namely, the uluri of the women, represented on numerous implements as the original form of the triangle.

126 I wished to have the uluris made in larger quantities for the collection. Which aroused great merriment. Thus one afternoon there was lively tailoring. We were sitting behind Tumayaua's
[252] house, an old woman was baking beijús outside, pouring the flour
[524] on the pan, spreading it smooth, and /66/ skillfully tossing the
[283] finished flat-cake on a sieve, the children licked up püserego and
[289] played catch with feather-decorated maize balls, and four women and girls were twisting the threads out of palm fiber, folding the "little skirts" out of brownish-yellow leaves, and handing me the
126 neat work in quantity and in all sizes. The only thing that I must
291 add is that one woman was very baffled and looked about helplessly when I asked for an uluri that she was wearing. But no feeling of modesty related to the exposure had anything to do with this embarrassment; rather, what feeling of modesty was present should be called a physiological one, the existence of which I do not

/193 cont./

The women of the Karaiben /Carib/, the Nu-Aruak, and Tupí tribes of the Schingú /Xingu/ source region all wore the little triangular piece of rigid bark bast, which /194/ is most conveniently designated with its Bakairí name, "uluri." The uluris are made out of a square piece of rather hard, crumpled material folded diagonally; the edges of the two triangles thus



formed, which are slightly springy against each other, are turned inward so that they do not remain sharp and cut in. The uluri fits very deeply into the corner of the mons pubis; the lower angle of the triangle is drawn out into a perineal strip of hard bark-bast four millimeters wide, while, from the upper two, two thin threads run across the groins around the thighs to the rear and there join the narrow perineal strip coming from the lower point of the triangle. The size of the uluris varies: ample specimens have a base line

Fig. 18. Uluri (5/6-5/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

of seven centimeters, a height of three centimeters; most of them, especially for younger persons, are considerably smaller. They

/208 cont./

* 191 Feathers lend wings to the arrow, on whose shaft end two
[257] split halves of feathers are sewed opposite each other in spiral
30 turns. Otherwise they seem to be used exclusively, but in great
[411] volume here, for ornaments, such as ear feathers, feather crowns,
[287] feather caps, feather arm bands, feather cloaks (among the
Kamayurá), and in hundredfold decoration on small ornaments,
where little colored bundles hung on hammocks, combs, gourd
rattles, arrow throwers, masks, etc. The most magnificent ma-
[325] terial was available, from the yellow, blue, red, and green
of the arara, toucan, weaver birds, and parrots, from the beauti-
ful stripes or speckles of the curassows, falcons, and owls, to the
shimmering white of the herons and storks or the black of the
urubu vulture. The big, broad, black-and-white striped flag
[325] of the Harpyia destructor was magnificent.

* 171 The spoils of hunting and fishing therefore offered an
[234] abundance of the most necessary things; in particular it furnished
[412] tools for cutting, scraping, polishing, piercing, boring, scratch-
[433] ing, and digging. Agriculture assured the natives a sedentary
existence and improved their economic condition, but they still
remained fishermen and hunters, though to a lesser extent. They
were hunters without dogs, fishermen without hooks, farmers
without plow and spade. They afford us an excellent example
[32] that teaches us how manifold the methods of work for the purpose
of making a living could have been before the possession of any
metal technique, an example that warns us about overestimating
the importance of stone implements, which, of course are pre-
served the best and most plentifully for posterity, and about
throwing indiscriminately into the great pot of the Stone Age
everything that comes before the use of metal and, in comparison
to the small span of time established for this, must embrace
unimaginably long periods.

* 171 If one judges culture according to the extent and thorough-
433 ness with which the surrounding nature is exploited by the human
511 beings, then our natives certainly did not stand on a low level.
[227] They hunted and fished with arrow /209/ and bow; they fished
with nets, catch-baskets, and weir-baskets; they had their fish

/102 cont./

342 round, beehive-like. The larger one was 19 paces in diameter, covered high up on the outside with acuri straw, whereas the framework in the interior exhibited a circle of supporting posts one and a third meters high, upon which the basket of this structure, which actually consisted merely of a roof, rose with many horizontal bamboo rings. At the top was an air vent; a number of the /103/ framework poles crossing one another here extended to the outside. The entrance, a hole one and a half meters high, was surrounded by pepper plants. In any case, the interior space was far larger and finer than in the new houses.

433 241 The people led an idyllic existence: they carried on agri-

142 291 302 622

Captain Reginaldo and wife.

433 241 culture and stock-raising, went hunting, planted mandioca /manioc/, beans, maize, rice, and some tobacco and sugar cane. 192 They were civilized, despite the pierced ear lobes and nasal septa. 304 Their average height was 1.65 meters. they were striking because 142 of their broad and powerful chests. Their skin was yellowish, 241 clay-colored, and rather light, the hair of most of them was black and slightly curly or wavy. In general they had beautiful, open 151 eyes. Reginaldo's excellent vision was demonstrated on one occasion in a way that amazed us all. We noticed far in the distance a /illustration appears here/ figure in the grass; with an excellent field-glass I took it to be Tupy riding up. the entire company, among them Daniel, who was seldom mistaken, agreed with me;

/103 cont./

151 only Reginaldo, who joined us, laughed and said definitely that the person approaching was Claus coming on foot. And he was right.

191 They all understood at least a few scraps of Portuguese.

648 They are on good terms with the Coroá, who, they said, call themselves Kayacho. It seems that they impress them because of their rifles. Reginaldo did not like to talk about this point. One had the impression that, according to his inner feeling, he was, after all, on the side of the wild Indians and against the Whites. As a clever man, he took advantage of the benefits offered by the Brazilians and did not fall out with the barbarians.

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João and Joaquina.

648 The Bakairi manner /meek Bacairi/ bow to authority. In their hearts they are the same people as the antigos.

126 /104/ We were busy for a number of days. Claus worked out the itinerary and took the ground temperature, Wilhelm drew, I took body measurements and made the glossary that appears in the appendix. Besides Reginaldo, I was aided in particular by good-natured Antonio, who put up with everything and would have given anything to go with us. But he did not even dare ask the strict captain for permission. Carlzo, too, was busy with notes. We shared the bus with him and the cadet.

[115]

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/104 cont./

122 The cadet was familiar with only two forms of activity: he slept or ate. It was indeed a pleasure, however, to sleep within four walls once more, although at night the wind often whistled through strongly. And there were all kinds of things to eat that were
262 not furnished on the march. There was plenty of sugar cane; the cooked mandioca root with roasted bacon cubes was a dish for the gods; a piglet was slaughtered, a few chickens forfeited their lives;
[229] the young chaps had also killed a tapir one day under a regular volley of small shot; it furnished a very tasty ragout. The women went fresh, crisp "beijûs," a simple baked product made of mandioca

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Antonio Quirino

262 flour, of the shape and approximately the taste of matzoth. Since
272 there was no shortage of rapadura /a crude form of sugar; see the glossary, p.172 /, "jacuba" was constantly being prepared as refreshment: in a gourd bowl a plentiful amount of rapadura, a plentiful amount of farinha /manioc flour; see the glossary p.171 /,
231 and water as desired. Even milk appeared. In the evening the
526 calves were separated from their mothers; the herd was driven into the "curral" /corral; see glossary, p.170 /, and the calves were lassoed with a great hullabaloo, while a large and appreciative
526 audience /105/ sat all around on the fence. That was something

/105 cont./

526 for Pedro, to hang on by the tail of a cow rushing out at top speed and to maintain this seat as long as possible during the gigantic leaps -- that was something to laugh about.

533 As soon as darkness set in, the music-making began. The
[199] Sakaïrí had leapt from the colonist of Mato Grosso to carve
[534] guitars for themselves, and they played them with enthusiasm. They improvised short "verses" in praise of dogs, bananas, the
534 moon, a house, etc. One evening they showed up with

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André

534 their original and peculiar tribal instruments. Characteristically enough, they had hidden them nearby in the forest.

They were large and small flutes, the meni and the
[524] kanuarí. The latter has nothing special; it is made out of bamboo, one might say bassoon-like. The meni, made out of vinhatico wood, is a little over a meter long; it is held with the feet. On the upper section there is a small hole into which the player blows. Not far below it there is a square opening in the tube, just as there is a series of smaller ones in the lower part.
533 The music is simple, but has to be learned. It consists of five tones,

/105 cont./

533 sounds not unpleasant, and has something both gentle and fascinatingly eerie about it at the same time, just as the wailing night-wind blowing down the chimney is described when the storyteller /106/ first gives thanks to God that he is lying warm and safe in his snug bed, but is again and again obliged to listen to the weird lament and finally sees in a dream the ghost of a
122 friend who lies dying. We sat crowded against one another in the
[354] small room; a gourd filled with fat, in which a wick was burning, lay upon the floor; I was glad when the gourd also started to burn and we were able to step outside where the stars glistened and we shook ourselves -- the shuddering was over.

562 The women held out until 19 June; then they came; Reginaldo fetched them; a dozen in number, they walked one behind the other across the campo, the father of the tribe in the lead.

[609] On this afternoon, however, not one of them would let herself be looked at closely; the procession entered the big house and disappeared. Reginaldo came to ask us for an opera glass that he wanted to show to the women. Toward evening they appeared again and left single file as before. During the night they slept in the forest, a brief half an hour away.

292 On 20 June they appeared again; Reginaldo looked superb
[301] at their head; he wore his gray felt hat, his blue captain's uniform and white trousers, walked barefoot, and had a blue-white
123 feather stuck crosswise in each ear lobe. He was very agreeable
[126] that Wilhelm should sketch him in all his glory. Moreover, he assumed, and we daily encouraged him in this, that we were conducting all inquiries concerning the Bakairí only in order to report them again to the Emperor of Brazil -- at least the man understood that and for this purpose he was glad to oblige.

[291] He also accompanied us to the women; they were barefoot, of course, but otherwise wore the complete costume of the female rural inhabitant; the majority were of a mature age; I liked best one big, strong girl whom Homer would have called βοῶπις -- The captain's wife, christened Ines, was quiet and pious and looked as though she had had many a care. We tried to

/106 cont./

123 shake hands with each one, but they evidently did not know the purpose of this; when we put bracelets and earrings on them, however, they understood this immediately. The children had to have something too.

[126] Wilhelm was allowed to sketch Frau Ines behind the house; as yet I did not dare think about taking the measurements of the women, and then fate knocked on the door.

122 Very unpleasant discoveries about the condition of the supplies changed the entire situation.

On 18 June we had already reached an agreement with

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Bakairí boy.

122 Castro to wait at most three more days for Tupy. In view of our uncertain /107/ future it was not to be justified if we did not use the favorable time of year better. The Bakairí figured five days more to the Paranatinga; another stop was necessary in the second aldeament, let Tupy follow us there. As far as the lost iron goods

[501] were concerned, we had become less worried. Daniel had firm called our attention to the bark canoes of the Bakairí; on the Rio Novo there was only a very small one that was being used as a trough; we were to see them on the Paranatinga; if we could make up our minds to make do with these bark canoes, we would need only a few tools, which perhaps could be obtained from a fazendeiro /see "Fazenda" in the glossary, p.171 / living near the Paranatinga. The advice was good.

/119/

000 Clauss, Castro, and the majority stayed at the fazenda. The owner, for his part, rode to a compadre /Gavatter in the Ger.: in the original source, p. 191 (translated p. 72) "compadre" is translated as the Ger. Gevatter: the latter term is given in the glossary of Brazilian expressions, p. 171 / eight legoas away, who was supposed to sell farinha. Thus everyone was busy.

133 Wilhelm and I arrived at twilight after a four-hour march over a series of hilly ranges, having crossed a few small tributaries of the Paranatinga. We could have sworn that we were in the Bergischen /a hilly countryside near the Rhine/ or Westphalia -- farm houses in front of the bush, the quemada like potato fields; -- in the gathering darkness we also began to indulge in fancies on a barren hill in the distance we clearly saw a lunatic asylum in the latest pavilion style.

[122] [142] [291] [301] [302] [241]

Captain Caetano "Mêmo."

231 The dreadful dogs that hastened toward us, barking, were ill-suited to bringing us back to a clear and sober conception of reality. These curs, small, skeletal specimens, with pointed snouts, light whitish-yellow fur, and glassy, watery eyes, looked as though they scratched up the dead out of the graves in the cemetery at night.

122 485 Received by old Captain Caetano and a few young chaps, we were put up in the guest house. The term is synonymous with guest room or guest stall. The only furniture a trough-like, unfinished bark canoe on a stand in the corner, which we were permitted to use as a dresser and table.

/157 cont./

241 the process of being charred. The pillar of smoke that had drawn our attention for several days is explained: the forest was
122 being cleared in order to lay out a planting. Eagerly scouting, we climb up, and again we are wandering along the forest path.

/158/ "Beijú," somebody cries in a suppressed voice and
[262] triumphantly points to a few crumbs, which give us the prospect of new provisions; "they have beijús," each one murmurs to the man behind him.

[411] There -- a feather-decorated arrow leans against a tree
[324] -- the tube of uhf, the wood from which the Imperador /emperor/
[273] of the legend created the Bakaïrí. We become more serious, and even the Negroes, who, when they are afraid, like to try to give themselves courage by chattering march on silently. Now and then small fires, alive or burned out. We have already been walking three-quarters of an hour. But see there, a new clear-
[139] ing -- a charming grove of nut-bearing bacayuva palms -- a few kernels of maize on the ground, again a bit of forest and: "Casas -- houses," the first man cries.

361 Three houses of the form of a beehive become visible; in
342 the first hut, which blocks our path, the low door stands open; in the dark we make out a few heads. A completely naked
609 Indian steps out, young, well built, closes the door, and comes
[291] toward us, in his hand a long arrow shaft without a point, which he holds horizontally in front of him.

I instruct Antonio to call out a greeting to him in Bakaïrí. "Kyulino," cries Antonio almost breathless, and -- hail to the antiguos -- the Indian answers in Bakaïrí. Eagerly he steps up to Antonio, leans against him, and both embrace as they walk on -- both talking at the same time, both trembling all over with fear and excitement.

[302] A joyful feeling of release overcame us all, and when Manoel, discovering that our dear savage wears a nicely shaved tonsure, now finally recovers his speech and cries out, "Oh, why that's a priest, the compadre is a parson," general laughter breaks out, and everybody talks at once.

/158 cont./

342 We were led into the smallest of the three huts; there we
353 sat down on a long trunk lying on the floor. Two supporting beams, adorned with a diadem of parrot feathers and wound at the bottom with a belt of dry grass stalks, held up the straw roof. Many elegantly worked arrows were sticking in the wall.

179 These Bakaïrí had never seen human beings of another color.
361 They said that there were a few more settlements downstream.
133 This was the last cachoeira, the one we passed here -- great news -- and the river -- naturally, we were eager to learn this -- runs north, it is called Tamitatoala; after 12 days' journey there comes another, larger one from the left, the Ronuro.

000 Thus all favorable circumstances seemed to converge and the hardships of the trip were amply outweighed.

162 We could not endure it much longer in the hut; outside /159/ others appeared, including two women -- one, whose youth and beauty were long gone, busily tripping about with
291 tousled hair. A triangular, straw-yellow leaf fastened to a string, which was slung around the hips and drawn through the perineum,
301 constituted her scanty clothing. Our friend who was doing the honors wore around his waist three strings, on which were alternately strung bits of stalks and black seeds, in each ear lobe two coquettish yellow feathers, and above the ankles a tight band of
302 bast. His hair had a dark reddish sheen; it was cut in Russian style around a bowl; the tonsure was as correct as in other well-known cases where the discoverers of a tribe were misled by it into believing that the heralds of Christianity must have been active
[142] here earlier. The type of physiognomy was without doubt in conformity with the Bakaïrí.

609 Soon a second principal figure appeared on the scene: a
[142] medium-sized Indian with a fine hooked nose and heavily painted
[302] red, who was coming from hunting; he drew near uneasily in a roundabout way, talking partly to himself and partly, parrying, to us; we called him the professor because of his incredibly dignified manner of examining every object most minutely, like a person who knows a thing thoroughly, but cannot quite understand why this or that does not fit.

/160 cont./

437 carried each piece that she captured to a secret repository lying
439 back off the road, immediately most hurriedly hastening forth
[554] for new deeds.

609 At noon Wilhelm and I went to the aldea;[1] Antonio accompanied us, but, suspicious of his fellow tribesmen, he could not make up his mind to stay with them during the night and returned to the river in the evening.

122 We set up housekeeping in the festival hut, and, alone with the charming little people, we felt indescribably content. When toward evening the mosquitoes started to annoy us, we took a
[137] walk to the roca.[2] Greedily we looked about for the "frutas de lobo," apple-round fruits which were present in numbers on gray-green shrubs, but unfortunately not ripe; the Bakaïrí boys are no different from ours. A magnificent estate; the horizon was bordered by a dark park, behind which the sun was setting in
291 reddish orange. We met Pauhaga, as our apostle of peace is
177 called, and his relatives on the plaza between the three huts, trying on clothes in great embarrassment. They urgently needed our help; not only did they put the trousers on in reverse and upside down over the legs, but they also tried to draw them up over their arms and wanted to stick their legs into a shirt. Putting on a coat alone was an impossible thing. They were unaware of the most obvious offenses against the elements of propriety. A safety pin was hugely admired, but most of all a pair of scissors with which
412 one could so conveniently cut one's nails. Their tool, the stone ax -- a ground stone is wedged into a wooden handle -- with which they fell trees and make posts, deserves our appreciation no less, from the standpoint of how much can be accomplished with the simplest means, even though in the unspoken accompanying thought that we ourselves /161/ might have to go back to this
[411] stage there is a slight admixture of horror. They have no spears,
[231] no bananas, no dogs, and tobacco is nowhere to be found. Bones,
[276] teeth, shells must serve them as tools, along with the stone ax.
[237] /Illustration appears here./

[1] [i.e. village -- Analyst]
[2] [i.e. Cultivated field -- Analyst]

[Text continues on p. 40]

/164 cont./

287 The triangular garment of the women, a folded piece of
291 bark bast, supposedly from the schischá tree, has a base of four centimeters and a height of one to one and a half centimeters.

A girl about ten years old is still completely naked.

302 The nasal septum of the men is not pierced; the beard hair,
[304] /165/ if a natural tendency for it is present, as well as all the hair (among the women, too) with the exception of the head hair, the eyebrows, and eyelashes, is carefully removed.

224 Around 10:00 in the forenoon Clauss came with Antonio; a
[622] few men also arrived from hunting, among them the chief, an older gentleman with an anxiously serious official face and a
162 fat little belly. We count ten men, seven women, five boys, four girls.

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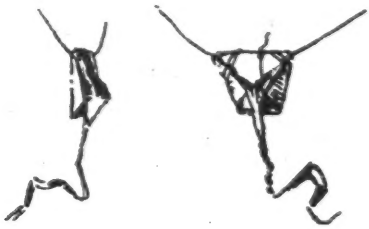

Clothing of the Bakaïrí women.

372 Pauhaga showed us how they make fire. They take two long, thin sticks of the same dry wood; into one a notch is scraped; while one man now holds this in position on the ground with two small sticks, a second man twirls the other stick rapidly between both hands in the notch. The dust that is rubbed loose glimmers.

126 We did some bartering; I measured a few men. They patiently allowed it to be done.

157 These "wild" Bakaïrí are alert, teachable, and certainly very good-natured. They do not steal, although we are carrying
[273] treasures with us. They have no intoxicating drink; they refuse
[276] tobacco. On the second day, together with their wives, they visit
609 us in our camp -- the "docile ones" on the Rio-novo, on the other hand, preferred to sleep with those in the bush as long as we were in the aldea. On the first evening a savage drinks a medicine that I

1: Steinen--47 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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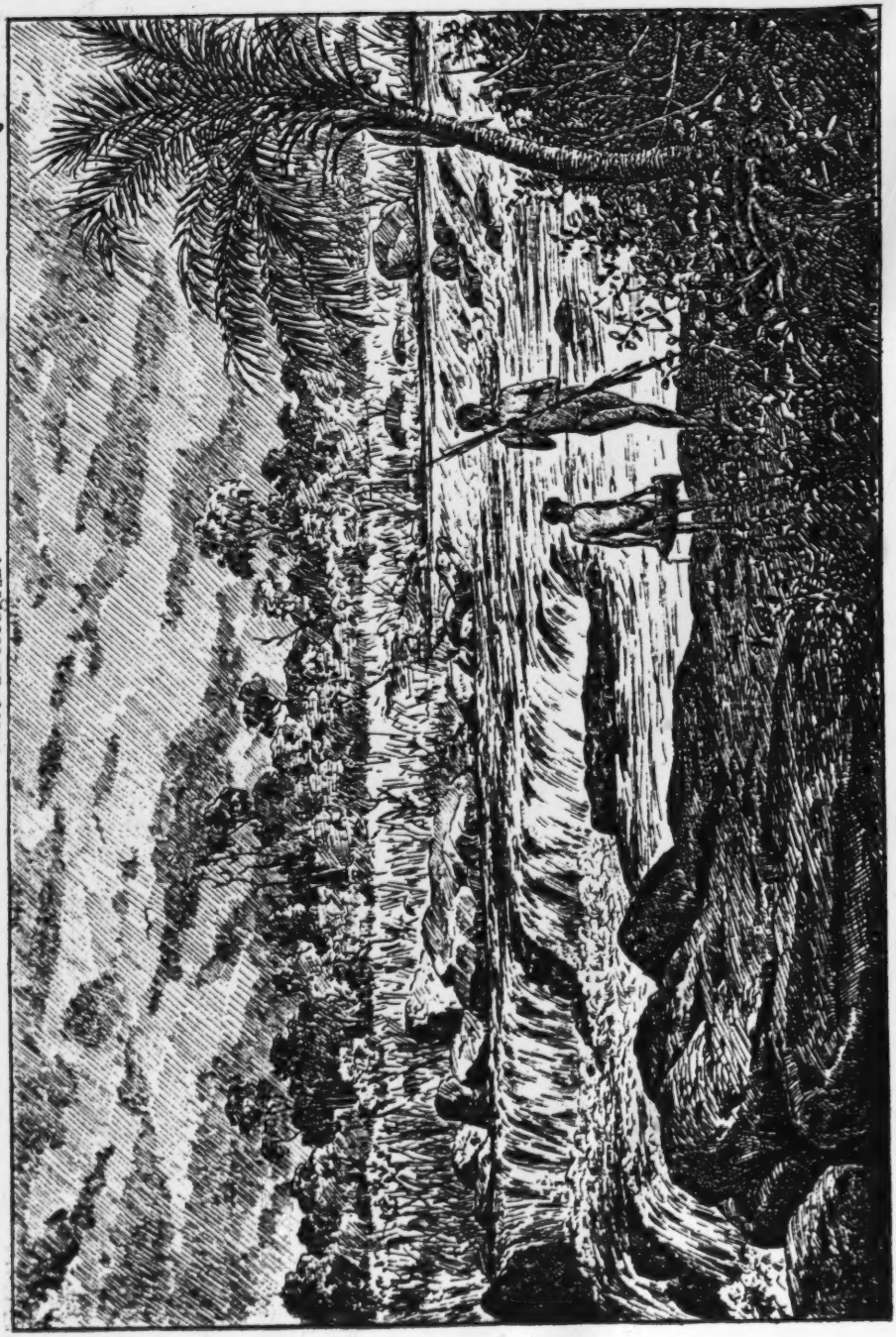

Salto da Alegria.

/170 cont./

●291 Besides these products of the most primitive carving art, /171/ the most interesting article was: a buritĩ shirt -- "the" shirt of the upper Schingú -- which proved the invention of [286] clothing even among the Bakaïrí. The fibers were knotted in meshes, following the method for the hammock; the doublet was wide at the neck in order to be stepped into; it had short sleeves and trousers, from the bottom edge of which long fibers hung down. Many simple, meter-long buritĩ-fiber 372 hangings seemed apron-like. Two triangular fire-fans had 237 small downy feathers pasted on them. Hard, open shells, 535

345 352 353

In the Bakaïrí festival-hut.

535 the size of half-walnuts, were gathered into a rattling bundle 534 that is tied around the ankles for dancing. Another rattle instrument was a dried gourd shell, which contained seeds, impaled on a stick (1).

[171] 1. Hans Stadl (1556) tells of the "Tuppin Inbas": "They believe in a thing that grows like a gourd, is as large as a half-measure scoop. It is hollow inside; they stick a little stick through it, cut a little hole in it, like a mouth, and put little stones in it,

/171 cont./

534 171 1. (cont.)
so that it rattles. They rattle with it when they sing and dance, and call it tammaraka." The soothsayer lets the rattle speak "and just a word so that one cannot really perceive whether the rattle is doing it or whether he is doing it. And the other people think that the rattle is doing it... but when I saw the fraud, I went out of the hut; I thought, what a poor, deluded people that is."

361 The aldea was otherwise similar to the first in everything. All around puva racks, cotton, spear grass, fruta de lobo, and 162 nearby a brook running over white sand. We counted 18 men, 17 women, 7 children; it is possible, however, that one or another has been counted twice; again the small number of children is very striking. Toward evening we returned to the river; I had done some good bartering.

122 18 Aug, φ 12° 59'.9, λ 7'.7, km. 22.10, total 164.42.
[132] 7:30 A.M.: dry. 14.0, water 22.7.
5:35 P.M.: I 742.8, II 733.4, dry. 25.0.

From the wool /Wolle," wool, down, hair, cotton"/ obtained in the village fish lines were twisted. During the night [136] five pirararas /see the glossary, p. 172/ and nine piranhas were caught. The former has the bad habit, when it is hauled on land, of emitting a farewell sound, which is audible far and wide, with the part that leaves the water last. It tastes fatty; the broth is somewhat strong; it is also supposed to produce ulcers. -- The [482] professor went home again; besides arrow, bow, and the treasured mirror, he carried his hammock on his back in a net held by a forehead band: this is the way the Bakaïrí goes traveling. -- A young, handsome chap accompanies us to the next village. He [291] wears a red-black flannel shirt and around his head a green cloth with the Brazilian coat of arms. At the campsite he removes this clothing.

1: Steinen--56 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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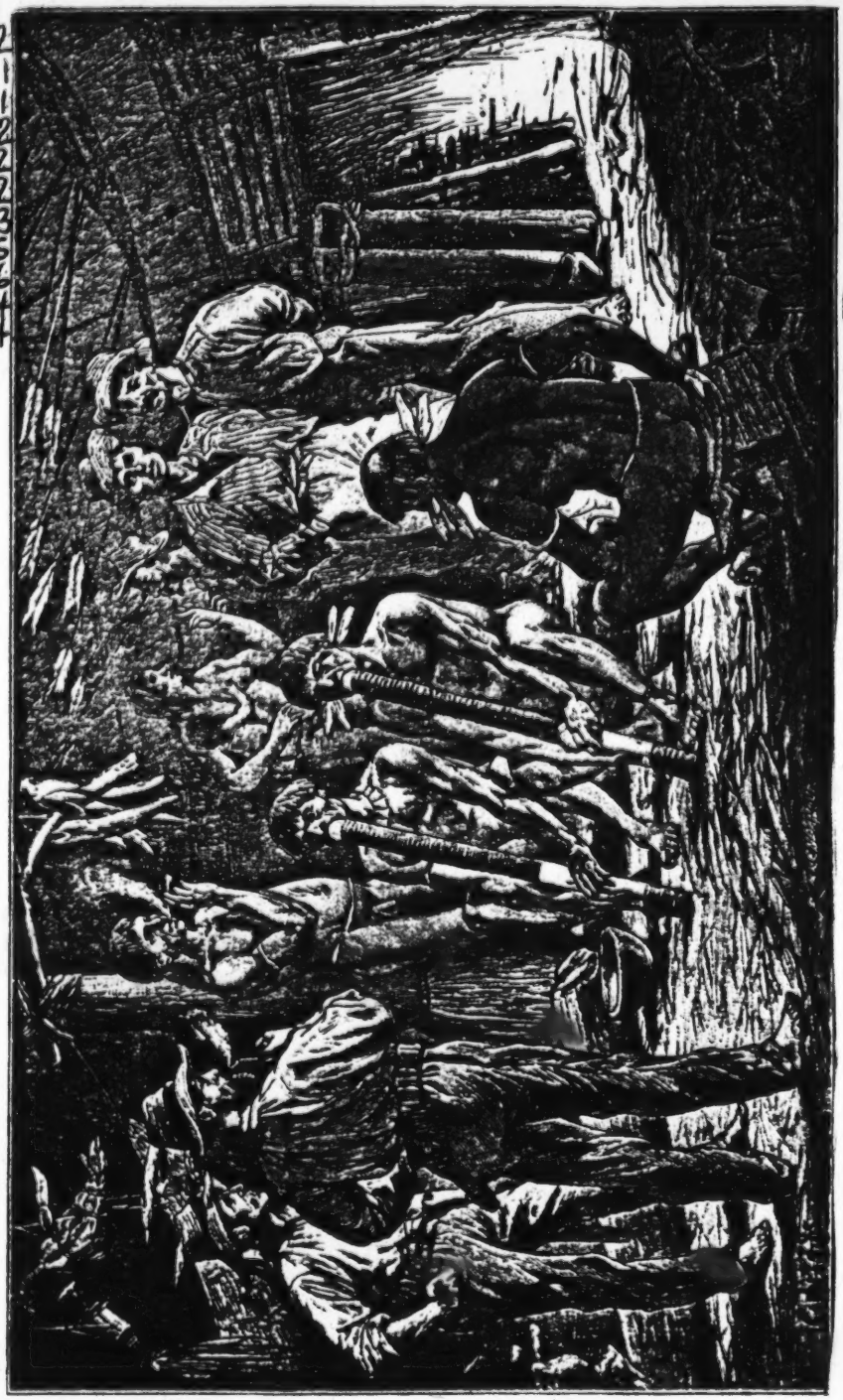


Flute duet among the Bakairi.

/52 cont./

123 the tree skeleton, as though the man were dancing there like
609 a cannibal in a show booth. "Bakaïrí ...," I commence once more, when luckily Antonio comes bounding up with mighty leaps, and, half out of breath from excitement, he for his part now shouts a long explanation downriver, which again I do not understand, but which releases a grateful howl of exultation on the part of the entrenched hero and clarifies the situation as though by a stroke of magic.

The canoe shot out of its hiding place and hastened
[501] at once, a fine, long, dry bark-canoe, toward our sad,
[29] crooked, wax-plastered, loam-smeared vessel laved with
[411] dirty water -- truly, I thought, we were the ones who were entering the sphere of a higher culture here; even though the noble boatman was dressed with only a belt-cord and carried with him nothing but the neatly worked, feather-trimmed arrows and the bow which lay on the floor of the canoe beside a calabash filled with honey, nevertheless in its trimness and cleanliness this total picture gliding toward us contrasted most advantageously with us ragged bearers of civilization beside the piece of wet-rot bark that was called our boat. Well, the newcomer clearly showed by his facial expression that for his part he nevertheless admired us.

123 He did not behave at all like the silent, gloomy Indian
152 whose soul, as I might have expected on the basis of our school-wisdom, reflected the monotonous, oppressive environment of the tropical forest; rather, he laughed /53/ and chatted with his fellow tribesman Antonio as though he had
[576] grown up in a fortunate country of the temperate zone. In a few minutes we were good friends; at my urging he even told us his name, which, of course, according to the custom of his country, he could not do without modest hemming and
551 hawing. His name was Tumayaua and he was the chief of
622 a village of the Bakaïrí a few hours away.

123 Thus actually of the Bakaïrí! The hope of the past
609 weeks was fulfilled, we entered our research area among a good-natured little people well known to us, and our debut

162 /58 cont./ unfortunately, she scratched her head far too often,
621 and though this may occasionally have occurred out of embarrassment,
515 nevertheless lice had their visible part in it.

Eva's friend, about twelve years old, "my intended" (Pl. 5, third
[262] from the right),[1] was in the habit of picking them out and eating them.
162 In general this one had all the good things in the village, and many
621
[301]

142
291
302

Fig. 2. "Eva," Tumayana's daughter.

162 beads that I had given others I later found around her neck. She was the
621 little daughter of the deceased chief and his /59/ heiress. Her uncle
[622] Tumayaua was only the provisional chief; if I had followed Paleko's
[123] very seriously meant suggestion and had married his niece, he would have had to turn over the government to me. Even today I cannot deny that,
[291] quite apart from the excellent match with which there was associated no greater demands in the way of dress than a string of beads and a piece of bark-bast the size of a small human ear, a better opportunity of becoming acquainted with the ethnology of the Kulisehu could scarcely have been imagined. I saw little of the other women, with the exception,
[142] perhaps, of the "Egyptian," who also came over from the second village, a tall greedy person with an Egyptian profile and almond-shaped eyes (Pl. 5, second from the right).

[1] [See P. 28--Analyst]

/63 cont./

533 note)/: kuyáuhu kuyáuhuhú -- kirúhayé kiruhayé (four times) --
539 kuyáuhu kuyáu.

Softly and rather muffled, solemnly slow, lingering a long time on the au.

The principal song that we were to sing together often was the following: yawí yawí nakú -- noví ritó hahé -- ohó hohú, niké weké niké, niké weké niké, notú aríte nóhuhé, ohóhuhó huhú, niké weké niké, notú aríte óhohu, ohóhuhó, etc.

Muffled and softly, but faster and faster with a stamped beat and a jerky emphasis that impels one to stride forward; the óhohu... is repeated until one is almost out of breath, and then one recovers on the more solemn: nó tú há -- notú aríte nóhuhé nuhá hahú -- notú aríte nóhuhé nuhá hahú nó tú há, nó tú há -- óho hú hu.

533 A greater contrast can scarcely be imagined than between a jolly students' drinking song and these songs whose rendition was scarcely to be called singing, but seemed merely intended to accompany the dancing march of the feet with suppressed tones. I
[123] sang, too, of course, running the risk of not giving the good people a generally valid idea of our music, since I have at my disposal only "my own melodies." I achieved a small moral success, but they were a little overwhelmed because of the unfamiliar noise connected with the volume of tone. Natural sounds, however, such as "rudirallala," my friend Paleko liked exceptionally well; he was passionately eager to learn them and bent double laughing when he could not follow quickly enough.

● 291 Feeling of modesty. In this narrative part I wish to avoid
[128] describing clothing and ornaments in detail and shall limit myself, as far as personal appearance is concerned, to the remark that both sexes went about unclothed, that the women, as may
[287] be seen from Plate 5,* wore the "ulúri," a yellowish brown piece
[301] of bark-bast folded in a triangle and fastened to strings, and around their necks a string with pieces of shell, pieces of stalks, and seeds, that the men always wore a hip cord, with or without such ornaments, and frequently bast /64/ or cotton bands around

* [See p. 28 -- Analyst]

/64 cont./

291 the upper arms or under one knee or above one ankle. One youth
[301] or another would also stick a feather into his pierced ear-lobe;
[304] one must not think, however, that the Indian always appears in his entire festive array, as on tobacco-store signs.

ooo I should like, however, to say a few words at this point about the general impression that the "nakedness" makes on the unself-conscious visitor. One does not see this evil nakedness at all after a quarter of an hour, and if one then purposely reminds oneself of it and asks whether the naked human beings, father, mother, children, who are innocently standing or walking around there ought to be condemned or pitied because of their lack of modesty, one must either laugh about it as about something incredibly silly or raise a protest against it as against something contemptible. From the aesthetic standpoint the lack of covering has its pros and cons, like all truth: youth and vigor often looked delightful in their unconstrained movements, old age and disease
291 often dreadful in their decay. Our clothing seemed as strange
123 to the good people as their nakedness seemed to us. I was accompanied by men and women when I went to bathe and was obliged to submit to having all my onion skins examined in the greatest detail. They lacked any understanding of the embarrassed feeling that I was well-bred enough to feel with respect to their curiosity: they thoughtfully examined my Polynesian tattooing, especially a blue kiwi of New Zealand, but, to my satisfaction, they were obviously disappointed by the fact that there were not greater wonders hidden under the careful and unusual packing.

123 They themselves, of course, also wore something resem-
535 bling clothes for their masquerade and dance, apparel plaited out of palm straw, the name of which is ẽti = house, and thus my shirt was given the grand name of "back-house"; I had a "head-house" and a "leg-house." Since the women do not dance and only the men may use this apparel in their flute-house, Eva's question as to whether "karĩiba pekõto," the women of the Karaiben, also wore clothes, "houses," was probably not so un-
ooo justified. -- How quickly one can become accustomed to the naked

/64 cont./

surroundings, even in the regions of the unconscious, is best shown by the fact that from the 15th to the 16th of September, as well as during the following night, I dreamed of my German home and saw all my acquaintances there just as naked as the Bakairí; I myself was astonished about it in my dream, but my table partner at a dinner party, a highly respectable lady in whom I took an interest, reassured me immediately by saying: "Everyone goes around that way now."

123 291 The purpose that we associate with clothing remained hidden from them; there was no doubt about that when one saw in what naïve fashion they put on the parts of my apparel that they got hold of for a while. And how could they know any more about the rigors of our climate than about the third chapter of the first book of Moses? They played with my garments /Pl. V appears here/ /65/ like vain children. Luchu was happy when I loaned him my poncho, and with it and my hat he walked proudly about the village plaza like the most conceited fop.

291 In the ethnographic description of the Kulisehu tribes I shall have to come back to the subject of clothing and the feeling of modesty; here I can only truthfully report that in my association with these people I did not see anything of our feeling of modesty, but I did observe another kind, absolutely foreign to us, about which I shall report presently.

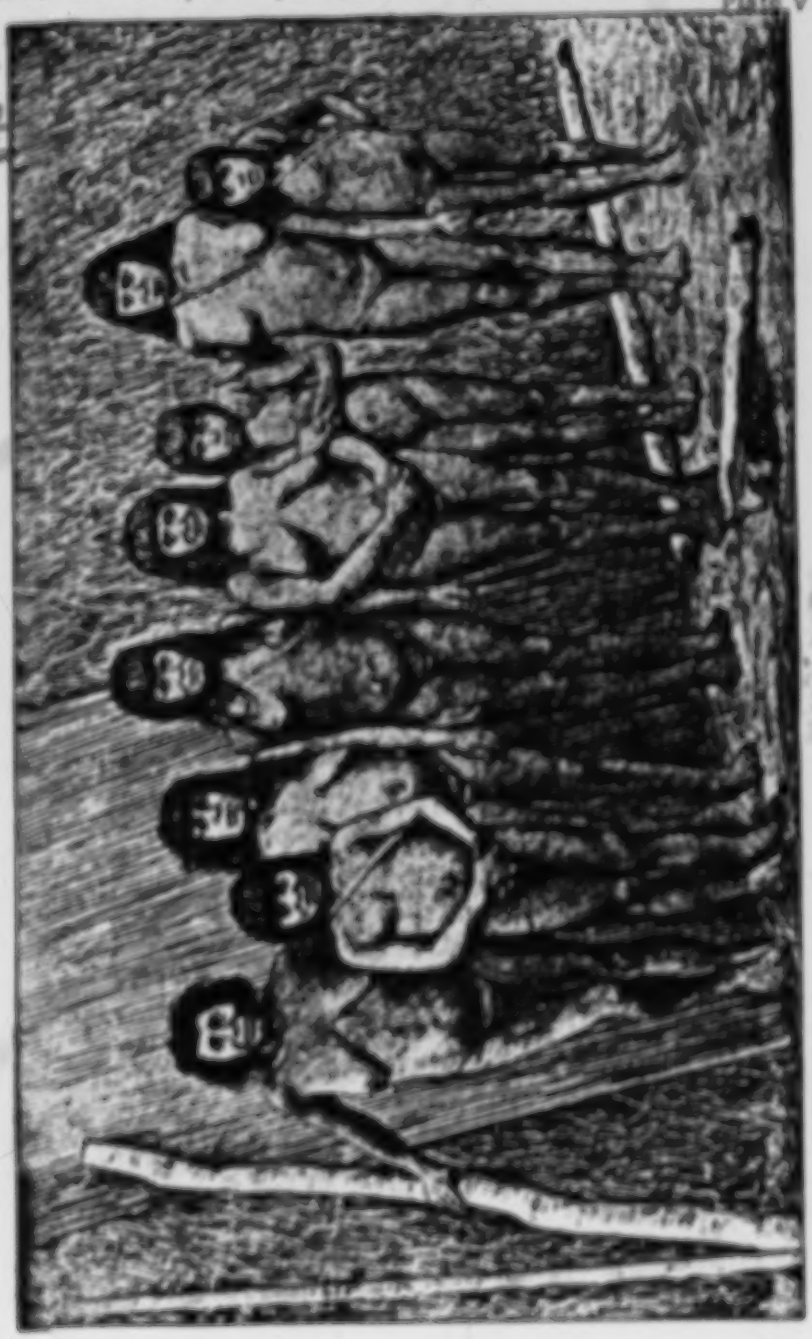
124 192 831 During the inquiry into the vocabulary, the parts of the body represented important and easily handled material. The Bakairí found it very amusing that I wanted to know everything, but, on the other hand, were very proud that their language was so rich and that the Bakairí had a word for each part. They became very merry at this point in my questioning and were not wanting in prompt answers where, according to our conceptions, they should have been ashamed and if possible answered in Latin or in the language of children. Considerately -- for at this time I, of course, was looking through my cultural spectacles and saw that they were naked -- I had waited for a moment when the women had gone out of the hut; I was astonished by the fact that the answer that was due suddenly came from the outside, from a very amused girl's voice. My caution had been purposeless. It was the caution of,

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 29]

D: Steinen--28 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate V

N2
R11
S02
S16



/65 cont./

124 say, an Arab, who would feel awkward about looking into the un-
531 veiled face of a European woman, or a Chinese, who would fall
[192] into the most anguished embarrassment if chance showed him her stockingless little foot. It is true, the subject that seems shocking to us gave the Bakairí, men and women, decided pleasure, and if a pedantic ponderer who wants to have modesty in our sense preserved at any price as the innate heritage of humanity would like to conclude from this increased measure of merriment that the bad conscience of a tribe that had sunk from a higher morality was stirring, I can only reply to him that their merry laughter was neither impudent nor did it give the impression of cloaking an inner embarrassment. On the other hand, it undoubtedly had a slightly erotic timbre, and, much as occasion and accompanying circumstances among true primitive peoples must differ, it altogether resembled the laughter that one hears at our spinning-party jokes, at games of forfeit, or other harmless entertainment in the intercourse between the two sexes. For from this same
[531] natural joy, as we shall see later, there resulted one of the most common ornaments in their painting, namely, the uluri of the women, represented on numerous implements as the original form of the triangle.

126 I wished to have the uluris made in larger quantities for the collection. Which aroused great merriment. Thus one afternoon there was lively tailoring. We were sitting behind Tumayaua's
[252] house, an old woman was baking beijûs outside, pouring the flour
[524] on the pan, spreading it smooth, and /66/ skillfully tossing the
[283] finished flat-cake on a sieve, the children licked up piserego and
[289] played catch with feather-decorated maize balls, and four women and girls were twisting the threads out of palm fiber, folding the "little skirts" out of brownish-yellow leaves, and handing me the
126 neat work in quantity and in all sizes. The only thing that I must
291 add is that one woman was very baffled and looked about helplessly when I asked for an uluri that she was wearing. But no feeling of modesty related to the exposure had anything to do with this embarrassment; rather, what feeling of modesty was present should be called a physiological one, the existence of which I do not

/66 cont./

126 dispute. When I then asked several women at the same time for
291 their uluris and precluded any misunderstanding by pointing to the collection, it was granted me unhesitatingly /"anstandslos"/ and laughingly.

264 On the other hand, I observed a clear feeling of modesty
576 on an entirely different occasion, and, to be sure, in -- eating. I had an opportunity to confirm it only among the men, and I should imagine that it is even less likely to be absent among the women.

On the evening of 13 September, outside on the plaza where we men stood talking beside the mandioca rack, Tumayaua offered me a piece of fish that I, overjoyed, wanted to eat immediately. All of them bowed their heads, looked down in front of them or turned away with expressions of painful embarrassment, and Paleko pointed to my hut. They were ashamed. Astonished and taken aback, I went into the flute-house to eat the fish. I had not yet finished my meal when Kulekule entered; he wanted to be shown in greater detail the use of a fishhook that had been presented to him. With a face that clearly said, "Ah, you are not yet finished," he sat down on the floor, silent, turned away and with head bowed, and waited. On the next evening I again received fish outside, but it was already dark; I ate, turning modestly toward the dark background of trees and thus did not seem to give offense.

When Paleko brought me the pot of little fish, we two were alone in the flute-house; he turned his back to me and did not say a word during the long time while I was struggling with the bones. I gave Tumayaua some of our bean dish; he took the portion and walked as far as his house, where he sat down, ate, and in between, but without turning his head, called over and took part in our conversation. He had thus quite purposely removed himself. In the house the women were eating, each by herself, in the vicinity of the fire; they brought the men their meal, and each one ate at his place. Alakuai, for instance, was making himself very comfortable; lying in his hammock, he reached down to the pot on the floor, dipped into it with his fingers,

2: Bielenz--40E,D-S (1884,1887-1889) 1894 SPI Beaini 727
142
.2911
516

Plate VI

Tumayous

Lucha

Bekolif

/130 cont./

her arm, who also needed company. A colleague with a very professional look on his face sat beside her and occasionally had a therapeutic seizure, during which, moaning pitiably, he blew clouds of tobacco smoke over the sick woman or, turned toward the wall, groaned dreadfully. The "cab driver," who, with Tumayaua, had accompanied us as far as the Auetö and who was a great witch-doctor, took leave of us here. He by all means had to take part in the treatment and was not to be persuaded to leave the case solely to his colleague, who was, after all, blowing extremely efficiently. As a reward for this civilized behavior, we provided him with a /131/ civilized exterior in the form of a shirt and head covering, which, along with a big knife, was the goal of his ambition. We solemnly dressed him up, along with Tumayaua, who had been parading about for a long time in a black and white checked shirt and white linen trousers underneath, and we photographed the two, as is shown in Figure 8 /see p. 125/. Wilhelm had been saving up a few prizes for the deserving travel companions, a magnificent Düsseldorf carnival-cap, worn by him himself as Prince Carnival on a high triumphal chariot, green, yellow, white, and red, with sparkling bells, likewise the medal of His Foolish Majesty, set with brilliants and worn around the neck -- these two pieces went to Tumayaua -- and a genuine carnival cap of the still gayer sister city on the Rhine, which we put over the tonsure of the cab-driver colleague, for want of a doctoral hood. /Figure 8 appears here./ In addition, Tumayaua was given a black frock-coat purchased by Wilhelm in Rio de Janeiro, an import from Paris et le dernier mot de la perfection /and the last word in perfection/. The illustration gives us a faint idea of how ghastly the two fools, puffed up with pride, appeared in their clothing, both certainly not the most handsome types, but now they suddenly looked positively ugly, bent and crooked, and the reason for this, more than the shabbiness of the costume, was that all the contour lines were obliterated and had lost their character. Tumayaua in shirt and trousers was as clumsy as on the first day, he would tear them in the forest, but then again

/131 cont./

000 would take exaggerated care of them by removing them on occasions when even for children it would not be necessary.

846 In the first Bakaïrí village the population had increased by one young soul. Pauhaga had become a father and was observing the lying-in period along with his wife. I shall come back to the scene, which seemed comical to us, in discussing the couvade. The maize was a succulent green; we were offered excellent, somewhat dry maize beijús. My tobacco planting on village plaza had shot up tremendously and was fenced in all around by a palisade.

241 262 249 417 [177] [291]

But what did our astonished eyes catch sight of behind Paleko's house? A new construction, already far advanced, of a strange kind. Or rather, one of very familiar appearance. The Bakaïrí had taken our rancho at Independencia as a model and, instead of their beehive, had started a house with a triangular gable /132/ and a two-sided roof. We had believed we were seeing something genuine in a remote corner, and already it was disappearing. "The first glimpse of light," says Bastian, "will also be the last."

177 342

Fig. 8.
Indians disguised as Europeans.

123 [415] Tumayaua, who was going along to Independencia, nevertheless carried out the official farewell in Maigéri. He handed me two large gourd bowls. A little while after that he came to fetch me, seized me vehemently by the arm, and, shouting loudly all around, led me from the hut to the beam in the middle of the plaza and, with a sort of enthusiasm, pushed me down on to the seat. Soon four Karaiben were sitting there in a row, side by side.

/172 cont./

B with these sharp edges, and they crush with their teeth the shells
142 from which they make their beads, a type of mistreatment that
412 is bound to be disastrous to better teeth, the mere sight of which pained me deeply.

/173/ Chapter IX.

000

I. Dress: Hair and Skin.

Preliminary remarks concerning clothing and ornamentation. The hair. Head hair, body hair, lashes. The skin. Piercing. Binding. Chains. Daubing and painting. Scratch-scars. Tattooing.

B Since in this and the following chapter I shall try to go back
128 as much as possible to the origin of the dress observed among our natives, I should like to begin with two fundamental remarks.

B First, I consider it erroneous that clothing, arising out of a
*171 feeling of modesty, is required for man's humanity. We became
291 acquainted with representatives for various tribal groups of the Indians on the upper Schingú, and they do not need clothing in this sense, as I deduce from the fact that they have no such clothing. Their devices, which from our custom we would be inclined to call pubic coverings, are by no means coverings, and the feeling of modesty that is supposed to have produced the coverings is not present. As early as 1584 the Jesuit Father Cardim wrote about the Brazilian natives: "All go naked, men as well as women, and have no clothing of any kind and in no case verecundant /feel shame/, but rather it seems that in this part they are in a state of innocence."

000 Secondly, I must explain my position somewhat with respect to the origin of ornamentation. It is established that nowadays among primitive peoples there are many types of ornament for which no real or imaginary use is apparent and which, at present, are solely articles of adornment. Nevertheless, it is probably impossible that the finer feelings were stirred before

/190 cont./

*171 characteristically, wore on his arm the two tattoo lines of the
304 Mehinakú women, painted on, to be sure, and not tattooed. I
believe, but cannot maintain and prove, that there is a connec-
tion here with the system of matriarchy. According to the Indian
[619] conception, the sons belong to the tribe of the mother, and in
every case they visit the tribal village of the mother under
peaceful circumstances. It is certain that the Mehinakú women
and the Mehinakú pots bore their home stamp.

II. Sexualia.

*171 The devices among men and women are not coverings. Protec-
● 291 tion of the mucous membrane and benefits with the onset of
puberty. Origin among the women, however, as bandage and
cushion, among the men as gymnastic treatment for phimosis.

*171 Our natives do not have any secret body parts. They joke
291 about them in word and picture with such complete ingenuous-
831 ness that it would be foolish to call them indecent. They envy us
for our clothing as though for a valuable ornament; they put it
on and wear it in our company with such utter disregard of our
simplest rules and such complete misunderstanding of all the
devices designed for them that their paradisiacal naïveté is
[881] most convincingly proved. Some of them celebrate /191/ the
onset of puberty for both sexes with noisy folk festivals, in
which general attention and boisterousness is demonstratively
[602] concerned with the "private parts." If a man wishes to tell a
[201] stranger that he is the father of another or a woman wishes to
introduce herself as the mother of a child, they gravely acknowl-
edge themselves as worthy begetters in that, with the most
spontaneous and natural explanation in the world, they grasp
the organs from which life issues.

128 Hence it is not possible to understand these people properly
unless we leave aside our ideas of "clothing," unless we take
them as they are and as they prove themselves in their own way.
Keeping in mind as our point of departure the fact that they have

/191 cont./

128 only their natural skin and no artificial fabric cover over their bodies, we must ask ourselves first of all whether the skin, in its relation to an external world to which it is directly exposed, can be affected by the changes of sexual life, and we must in any case approach this subject with clinical frankness and not with the idea of a civilized human being who is suddenly required to undress. Let us begin with a survey of the various methods used among the individual tribes for the treatment of the partes pudendae from the time of maturity on, and only from this time on. They do not at any point apply to children.

171 ● 291 [302] Among the Kulisehu tribes, with the exception of the Trumaí, the men do not show anything very special at first glance. The pubic hair is plucked; they wear only a belt-cord in the form of a cotton string on which are occasionally strung small pieces of stalks or bored seed kernels or tiny pieces of snail shell, but usually in such a way that the greater part of the string is left free. One might examine the photographs, for example, Plate 14 / see p. 163/: one finds the hip cord, without exception, on every man. Often, instead of the string, there is a hank of cotton, as in the case of one of the Nahuquá, page 71, or in the picture of the Bakaírí Luchu, Plate 6 /see

*The Nahuquá on the left lacks a hip cord because it came into our possession shortly before the picture was taken.

p. 40/. It was in the case of this particular youth, who had reached maturity a short while before and had not yet finished removing his pubic hair, that I learned about the purpose of the hip cord, which is of interest to us here. Up until then I had regarded it, along with the hank of cotton, as a carrying cord, often provided with decoration, for people who have no pockets, or as a supply of binding material that was always at hand, but in fact light tools, such as shells and fish teeth or the comb or knives given by us, were worn, not on the hip cord, but on the chest or back on a string around the neck. Also, the very

B /191 cont./
+171 industrious women did not have a hip cord. Smaller boys were
●291 usually already provided with the cord, but then always had a
couple of dainty trifles strung on it.

/192/ The purpose of the hip cord is to extend the praeputium. The penis is placed upward against the body and pushed under the hip cord in such a way that the uppermost section of the praeputium remains pinched off. The young man is made to do this when the first erections set in. He tries to adhere to the procedure for days and removes the annoying pubic hair.

T 291 [283] The Trumaí had a bizarre method which is also reported from other Brazilian tribes. They tied up the praeputium in front of the glans with a cotton string usually dyed red with urucú. The front end of the penis looked like the end of a sausage. Thus they achieved permanently what the others with their hip cord managed only temporarily. Unfortunately, we were unable to observe them in their village life under normal conditions. When we

BO [291] Fig. 17. Penis cuff of the Bororó.

found them in the vicinity of the Auetö, on their flight from the Suyá, we did not notice the strange string on all of the men, although those not provided with it showed the tying-off marks on the praeputium caused by its use. It would not be inconceivable that the men were somewhat embarrassed in front of the Auetö; at any rate, the rest of the tribes, when we spoke to them about the Trumaí, always manifested very special amusement over the wool /Woll/ cord which they mocked and found as funny as we did. We met the company, however, when they were entirely

B T [186]

BO /193 cont./
291 of the Paraguay that they wear, not the cuff, but the string:
17 "The men tie only the glans around their abdomen by means of
[283] a fine bast thread, so that they keep themselves free of insects and are not hindered in running."

B All methods, with slight variations, achieve the same re-
*17 sult, the covering of the glans, either by simply extending the
[291] praeputium or by tying it up besides and even also enclosing it in palm straw.

B As for the women, I have mentioned that they all remove
[302] the pubic hair.

B The Suyá women, who adorned themselves with neck chains
[30] and wore thick, rolled-up palm-leaf strips resembling tape meas-
[291] ures in their pierced ear-lobes, went about completely naked.

T The Trumaí women wore a band of soft, grayish-white
291 bast; it was twisted into a rope so that there was concealment
[287] only within the most modest limits and surely could not have been intentional, since merely a wider strip could have been used. They rolled a long, narrow, folded bast-strip up a little at one end, held this little roll with one hand pressed against the lower corner of the mons pubis, twisted the free strip around themselves several times with the other hand, and drew it up toward the back between the legs, came to the front again to the little roll, pressed it to them with the strip drawn across it, and turned back over the other hip to the small of the back, where they twisted in the free end and tied it securely.

BO The Bororó women likewise had the soft, gray bast band,
291 which they replaced by a black one during the menses, but they
[287] fastened the band to a hip cord. Twisted in there in front, three
[841] to four fingers wide, it ran, becoming narrower, over the fissure of the vulva and the perineum to the small of the back and was
BO again tied to the hip cord. In place of the hip cord, a wide,
[287] tightly embracing piece of bark was also worn around the body. See the illustration, "Bororó, Mother and Daughter" /see p.589 /.

/193 cont./

*171 ●29 [287] The women of the Karaiben /Carib/, the Nu-Aruak, and Tupí tribes of the Schingú /Xingu/ source region all wore the little triangular piece of rigid bark bast, which /194/ is most conveniently designated with its Bakaïrí name, "uluri." The uluris are made out of a square piece of rather hard, crumpled material folded diagonally; the edges of the two triangles thus formed, which are slightly springy against each other, are turned inward so that they do not remain sharp and cut in. The uluri fits very deeply into the corner of the mons pubis; the lower angle of the triangle is drawn out into a perineal strip of hard bark-bast four millimeters wide, while, from the upper two, two thin threads run across the groins around the thighs to the rear and there join the narrow perineal strip coming from the lower point of the triangle. The size of the uluris varies: ample specimens have a base line

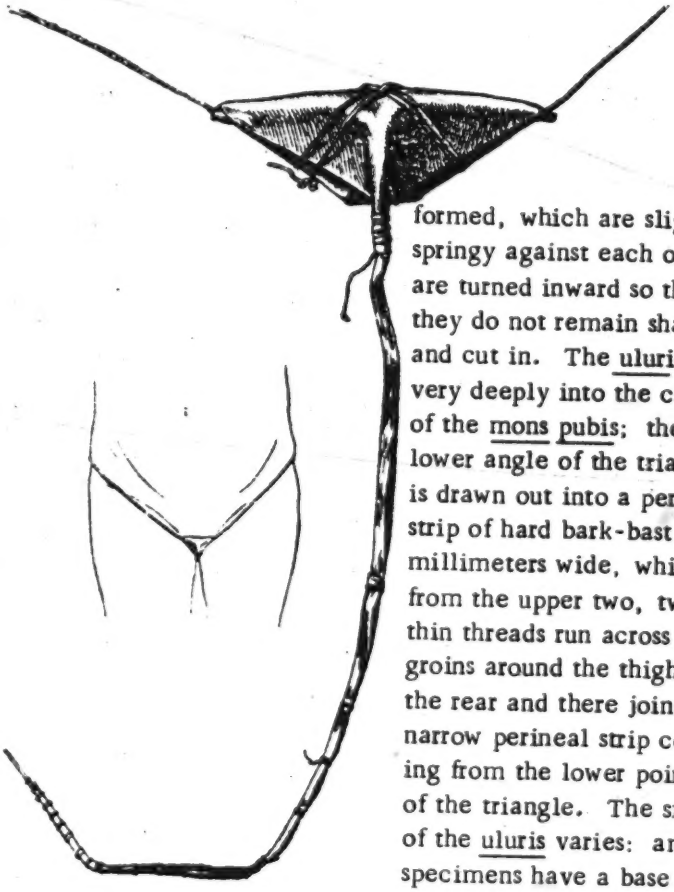


Fig. 18. Uluri (5/6-5/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

of seven centimeters, a height of three centimeters; most of them, especially for younger persons, are considerably smaller. They

/194 cont./

*171 just cover the beginning of the fissure of the vulva and fit closely
●291 against it. The introitus vaginae is not reached by the triangle, but is closed from front to rear or at least held back toward the inside by the total pressure, since the perineal strip embedded in the fissure between the unrestrained labia majora is drawn taut.

The uluris are made with great nicety and look quite coquettish when they are new. Their entire construction is so nicely thought out and especially the fastening of the groin cords, as well as that of the perineal strip, which are sewed to the triangles, are such neat work that one cannot explain them as a native product.

*171 What the various methods of the women have in common is
291 the closing, not the concealment. They hold back the mucous
831 membrane parts, just as among the men the glans is prevented from protruding. Holding back the mucous /195/ membrane is the common mechanical effect of all the devices of both sexes. The uluri achieves it by such an extreme reduction of the covering that concealment seems avoided as much as possible, rather than desired. The mucous membrane, since it is held back behind the praeputium in the case of the men, behind the labia majora in the case of the women, remains hidden from the outer world in general and thus also from the glances of the circle of acquaintances.

These devices can only facetiously be regarded as "articles of clothing" whose chief purpose would be to serve the sense of modesty. Sexual excitement was not concealed by them and was not kept secret, at least among the Bororó men. The little red thread of the Trumaí, the decorative uluris, the colored flag of the Bororó, like ornaments, invite attention instead of diverting it. To be sure, the notion of tracing the moral condition as well as these "remnants of earlier clothing" back to degeneration, during which the natives are supposed to have sunk from a higher level to the lower one of the present, will be a heartfelt need for some minds, but it cannot be reconciled either with the variety of devices dominated by one similar, clearly expressed purpose, or with the complete harmony with which they fit into the entire cultural level of the Indians otherwise. The absolutely

B /195 cont./
*171 naked Suyá women washed their sexual parts at the river in our
291 presence.
831

If the glans constantly threatens to become exposed through
B erections and sexual intercourse, could the wish arise on the
*171 part of maturing men to keep it covered for protection? There is
291 much to be said in favor of this. To be sure this need for pro-
136 tection might least of all be related to underbrush and thorns.
751 More seriously to be considered are the assaults of the animal
T kingdom. If the Trumaí, as was maintained of them, were
171 animals who lived in the water and slept on the bottom of the
291 river, they would be urgently required to close off the urethral
251 opening against the little candiru fish (Cetopsis candiru). This
136 transparent, span-long little monster, whose occurrence we noted in the Batovy in 1884, has the peculiar habit of penetrating the body openings accessible to it when human beings are in the water; it slips into the urethra, cannot get back because of its fins, and may easily cause the death of the unfortunate one who has no other recourse but, willy-nilly, to perform the urethrotomia externa with his knife.*

*The Brazilians' fear of this fish, so harmless in and of itself, is thus probably justified; it is best characterized by a Munchausenism which an officer, with a perfectly straight face, reported to us as true: in the waters beside Villa Cáceres the candiru is so vicious and so consumed with its passion that even when a person relieves himself on the shore it quickly goes up in the jet of water.

T Since, however, the amphibian nature of the Trumaí will
171 justifiably encounter skepticism, and the stay in the water,
136 even for the fisherman or the rower hauling his canoe through the
291 cataracts, plays only an insignificant role, it is /196/ not neces-
751 sary to grasp at the only occasional danger from the candiru. On

/196 cont./

*17 29 136 951 On the other hand, the swarm of "carapatos" (Ixodidae), the ticks stripped off and shaken down from leaves in great numbers as one goes through the forest, makes protection of the glans extremely desirable for the forest dwellers. These little parasites, in part very tiny, attach themselves to the skin, pump themselves full of blood, swell up to the size of peas as a result of their expansible body walls, and cling so tightly with the hooked tips of their maxillary feelers which sharply penetrate the skin that one tears them apart in trying to pluck them off, and painful inflammed areas are caused by the parts that remain behind. The Brazilian, who often comes out of the forest as though strewed with carapatos, hastily removes his clothing and shakes his shirt and trousers out over the campfire; if one of the parasites has bored into the glans, he goes after it with a burning cigarette as close to the body as his own sensitivity will permit, so that the little animal, tortured by the heat, will voluntarily give up its abode and withdraw from the mucous membrane without being torn apart. All of us, in spite of our clothing, have had to resort to this procedure at one time or another and have experienced the situation, before relief was achieved, as one of the most painful. I am also of the opinion that the protection which the Indians enjoy is more reliable than that of covering clothing.

How many other biting, pinching, sucking, increeping insects can in like manner afflict the South American forest dweller is familiar to every traveler who has sat on the ground in the Brazilian forest. These annoyances are most vividly made clear by the fact that it was the inhabitant of the South American tropical forest who was forced to invent the hammock, which the English and French still call "amáka" from the Nu-Aruak word. Forced certainly not only because of the wet ground of the Hylaea. The Indian very wisely averts such attacks somewhat by customarily sitting in a squatting position. The women, if they sit down flat during the scraping of mandioca roots and similar occupations which would be inconvenient to do in a squatting position, use a couple of flat pieces of bamboo, fastened together as an underlayer, even when they are in the house, which, of course, is crawling with ants. Their domestic tasks

*17 136 352 516 951

B /196 cont./

*171 136 516 751 have made them less accustomed to squatting than the men, and they are therefore less protected. In the illustration on the next page /see p. 192/ a group of Bakaïrí from the second village shows very well the characteristic positions of both sexes in sitting or squatting.

B *171 291 136 751 In the case of the women, too, if protection of the mucous membrane was to be effected by their devices, this purpose would probably be achieved and certainly be achieved better than, say, the purpose of concealment. Furthermore, it should be realized that, assuming the purpose to be protection of the mucous membrane, a need for this was at least increased through sexual life, since in the case of the young /197/ woman the mucosa became more accessible, in the pregnant state more turgescent, and as a result of childbirth more slack.

Thus it would indeed be improper, on the basis of local conditions, to doubt that the methods described could offer the adults of both sexes protection against external assaults and that there was no lack of occasions when they were bound to be useful in this sense. It would also be natural for young people to be duly furnished with them as early as the onset of puberty when they began to work with the older ones. The explanation, however,

B *171 291 83 751 cannot possibly be exhaustive. For the importance and indispensableness of the devices are out of proportion to the idea /Fig. 19 appears here/ of protective apparatus. Why should they not have been removed more often, especially at night in the hammock? Why should the young men have been so intent on training the praeputium. Why should particular fuss have been made one day about wearing the uluris or the cuffs? The connections with sexual life must be direct and not merely indirect.

B *171 291 84 T 171 291 841 In the case of the female sex one encounters no difficulty. Suddenly bleeding appears; there is illness here. That the Indian thought this originally is clearly proved by the utterly superfluous medical treatment of the menstruating girl customary among most tribes, /198/ with isolation, fumigation, diet, incisions, and other remedies against the unknown foes. One neatly removed the pubic hair and donned a bandage, the bast loop, or a cushion, the uluri. The bast loop among the Trumaí women --

B /198 cont./

*171 a combination of bandage and cushion -- is twisted like a rope, in
● 291 the case of the uluri wearers the narrow bark strip makes possible
841 the stretching over the perineum; in both bases there is provided a
T support pressing against the pubic symphysis, in the former case by
171 means of the little roll, in the latter case by means of the springy
291 triangle. One realizes that it was not cleanliness which prompted
841 the procedure, but the medical attempt to counteract the loss of blood. These are truly not inventions of modesty, such as aprons or similar loose hangings.

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Fig. 19. Squatting Bakairí.

000 similar loose hangings.

B In the case of the men, the explanation is not so obvious. Here,
*171 too, an attempt has been made to preserve the connection with a
291 causative, primary sense of modesty. The view has been expressed
834 that shame was felt only when the glans of the penis was exposed to the gaze of others and therefore it alone was covered. Unfortunately, I did not observe anything that might settle the question directly. I saw that the people were not ashamed when they gave us their devices

/198 cont./

*171 or occasionally took them off, just as a number of Trumaf did
● 291 not even wear the string, but the penis had always been pushed
834 back so far and the skin was so wrinkled that nothing was visible of the glans. I even believe, perhaps because, without corroborating material, I myself am gazing through the spectacles of civilization, that they would be ashamed to expose the glans to the eyes of another, especially a stranger. Except that I would regard this feeling of modesty as the result of the firmly rooted custom and not as its cause. I find it very strange, however, that a feeling given by temperament should be awakened for only a small anatomical part of an organ which in its function also claims other parts, and I should like to hear of a case having been observed, say, in which a person taken by surprise in a naked state covers himself, not with his hand, but with only two fingers. It should not be forgotten that erections are neither prevented nor concealed by the tying-off. Moreover, there are also
[304] circumcised persons who go naked or did.*

[113] *Cf. the example of the cacique of Gotera; R. Andree, Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche, new series, Leipzig, 1889, p. 202.

000 And here we have arrived at the point that must be considered above all. We must take into consideration the opposite treatment of the glans, which shortens or cuts open the praeputium. The majority of mankind has given preference to circumcision. Along with Ploss and Andree, ** I am of the opinion that the

** Op. cit., p. 212.

original meaning of circumcision was that of an "operative preparatory act for the sexual function of the man"; "one wants to make the young man at once mature and normal sexually, /199/ with it he is taken into the ranks of marriageable men." Now, if our primitives have decided on the opposite method, they could not have been impelled by an opposite motive, which would be irrational. One may well ask, however, whether their

/365 cont./

probably to his great satisfaction, would rediscover -- I do not know whether in all parts of Germany -- countless examples of his pakd fish, the rhombus with the center dot, incised, scratched, and painted on our trees, walls, doors, exactly as he makes it. Woe to him who has once formed the habit of seeing this Indian pakd design wherever it appears among us. If he wanted to get away from it, he could no longer set foot in a railroad station, an avenue of trees, a scenic spot, in short, any place where people pass by, for it seems as though an unknown, mysterious society had conspired to pursue him with it; he finds it in the bark of ancient forest giants, he finds it in freshly fallen snow.

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Fig. 48. Bakairí back-sticks with the designs: mereschu, uluri, bat, and snake. (1/4 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/. Cf. the following page /see p. 295/.

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[291]
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The Kuliseku Indians made no secret of their delight in the uluri; a shapeless bast band would not have offered them the model. If they have the geometric conception of a triangle, they owe it entirely to the uluri. It would not have spontaneously occurred to them to draw triangles. Among the pencil drawings on Plate 17 /see p. 266/ there is an uluri which a Bakairí, unasked, drew in my book for me. In the frieze, Plate 21 /see p. 281/, a large single specimen is shown in No. 13, in 14 we see the uluris joined into a flat zigzag band.

/24 cont./

231 a table made of vertigan and provided regularly with meat, if possible monkey meat.

198 Among the various crafts of the Kuikuiru Bakairí, pottery-
323 making, plaiting, and spinning were still maintained in the
285 ancestral form. Food preparation was also still the same as
283 described by Karl von den Steinen for times past. The only
252 essential difference appeared in regard to woodworking, for
177 which at this time metal tools were used, so that this craft no
322 longer depended on stone axes, drills with stone points, shells,
412 and the teeth of fish or other animals. Another acquisition from
301 the various expeditions which had passed through their territory were ear pendants of multicolored glass beads with which many women and children, especially, were well provided. European
291 clothing was seen only in exceptional cases. Thus the first man who came out of his house in Maigeri aldeia to greet me had on trousers which he had been given at the time of a visit to the Rio Paranatinga aldeia and which surely had never been washed since. As a rule the uluri (small triangle of bark) was the sole
291 national garment of the women and young girls, and a fine thread belt and body paint the men's apparel.

114 When Karl von den Steinen visited the Rio Kuikuiru Indians,
361 the first Bakairí aldeia, called Maigeri, consisted of only two
342 large houses of kindfolk and one small house for females with no
345 oval base, while the second and third aldeias each consisted of three large houses of kindfolk and of one house for females. Thus
161 the number of houses in Bakairí aldeias at the time of my stay among these Indians had increased, and for this reason I do not hold to correct Hermann Meyer's observation that this tribe was
114 already "greatly declining" at the time. (30) No doubt there
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30. Hermann Meyer. Ibid., p. 126.

were then only two Bakairí aldeias on the Rio Kuikuiru, the first, Maigeri, already mentioned by Karl von den Steinen, and the

/27 cont./

162 the year 1915, no more than nine men with some women and
36 children lived with their cacique in the new aldea. The rest
166 had died or had moved to the other Bakairí aldeas situated on the Rio Paranatinga.

178 According to Antonio Pyrineus de Souza's description, the
433 Bakairí of the Rio Novo and Rio Paranatinga still had in the
622 year 1915 a life with sufficient means of subsistence. Cacique
[341] Antonio, whose authority of former times had undoubtedly de-
[241] creased through José Conrado's defection with his people and
[231] through the independent stand of Cacique Kurumí, was still chief of the old aldea on the Rio Paranatinga, which still consisted of seven houses and whose inhabitants planted manioc, maize, sugar cane, bananas, and abóboras /gourds/, and raised
[23] many pigs and chickens. In former times they had also devoted
[69] themselves to the raising of cattle and horses, but the rancher large houses had made them give this up. Already at this time, Antonio was urgently pressing his rights in the region round by the Serra Azul, the Ribeirão Bananal, and the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Teles Pires) and occupied for many years by the Bakairí. (34)

34. A. Pyrineus de Souza, loc. cit., p. 64.

184 José Conrado's aldea consisted of three well-built houses.
361 He had large plantations of manioc and maize and raised some
241 pigs and chickens. (35) The inhabitants of Cacique Kurumí's
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35. Ibid., p. 65.

aldea, which consisted of three large houses, also had good plantations and lived comfortably.

178 /28/ At that time, also, the customs and ideas of the
[535] Rio Paranatinga Bakairí were largely Indian. When dancing,
[291] the men were nude except for a small cotton apron, rectangular

/28 cont./

in form, placed in front under the belt, which consists of glass beads strung on a thread. Face and body were painted with urucú and genipap in red and black. At this time, too, cases of illness were imputed to the influence of some sorcerer, and shortly before the expedition of Antonio Pyrineus de Souza a Paranatinga Bakairí had been shot to death because the Indians ascribed the consequences of a flu epidemic to his witchcraft.

In his book Unter Indianern und Riesenschlangen (36)

36. Hintermann, Heinrich.
Unter Indianern und Riesenschlangen
/Among Indians and Boa Constrictors/.
Zurich and Leipzig, 1928.

Heinrich Hintermann relates the incidents and outcome of a journey to the region of the upper Xingu River tributaries. He had the opportunity to accompany a military expedition led by the Brazilian, Captain Vicente de Vasconcellos, which was carried out in the year 1924 for the Commissão de Linhas Telegr. Est. de Matto Grosso ao Amazonas to measure the Rio Roncro and establish relations between the administration of the new Simões Lopes Post, established by the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios /Indian Protection Service/, and the Indians of the Kulisehu and Kuluene rivers. We know from Hintermann that already at that time, all the Kulisehu Bakairí had moved to the Simões Lopes Post, which was established at the same place where José Correa had already set up his aldea before.

During my journey carried out in the year 1927 I had the opportunity to become personally acquainted once more, after an interval of 26 years, with the conditions of the Bakairí. (37)

37. Cf. the preliminary reports on the results of this trip: Max Schmidt, "Ergebnisse meiner zweijährigen Forschungreise in Matto Grosso.

4:Schmidt--60 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate II

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Fig. 1. Captain Antonio, Cacique of the Paranatinga Bakairi, in the year 1927.

4:Schmidt--61 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SPT Sacairi SPT

Plate III

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Fig. 2. Captain Amonio with his family in front of his house, in the year 1927.

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Fig. 3. Administration building at the Simões Lopes Post.

Archmuat--82 F-6 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Racaxi SP7

Plate IV

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Fig. 4. House of the Subsuf, Pires, cacique of the Xingumano in Simões Lopes.

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Fig. 5. Cacique Pires with his family in front of his house in Simões Lopes.

4:Schmidt--63 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate V

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Fig. 6. Bakairi house, in Simões Lopes.

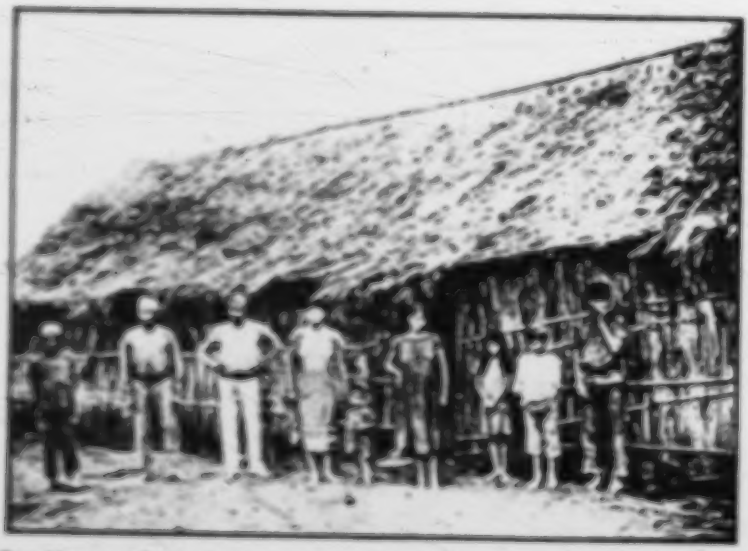

Fig. 7. House of the family of the old Bakairi, Lulu, in Simões Lopes.

4:Schmidt--64 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate VI

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Fig. 8. The old Bakairí, Luju, from Maigeri aldea, in Simões Lopes.

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Fig. 9. The Bakairí, Joaquim Carpintero, in Simões Lopes

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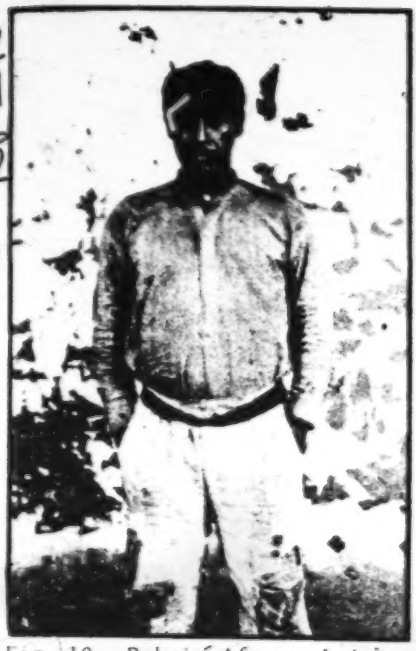

Fig. 10. Bakairí Afonso, Luju's son, in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 11. Bakairí Hieronymo, in Simões Lopes.

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Fig. 12. Cacique Roberto, from the Rio Novo, with his family, in Simões Lopes.

4:Schmidt--66 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate VIII

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Fig. 13. Bakairí, son of the Xinguano Kapinage, in Simões Lopes.

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Fig. 14. The author with Xinguanos in front of their house, situated near the Paranatinga.

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Fig. 15. Xinguano Patagudê with his son Ka'iura, in Cuiabá.

Fig. 16. Xinguano Ka'iura.

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Fig. 17. Xinguanos in front of their house, situated near the Rio Paranatinga.

4:Schmidt--68 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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Fig. 18. Xinguano Kapinage, in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 19. Paranatinga Xinguano boys.

Fig. 20. Rio Paranatinga Xinguanos.

Plate XI

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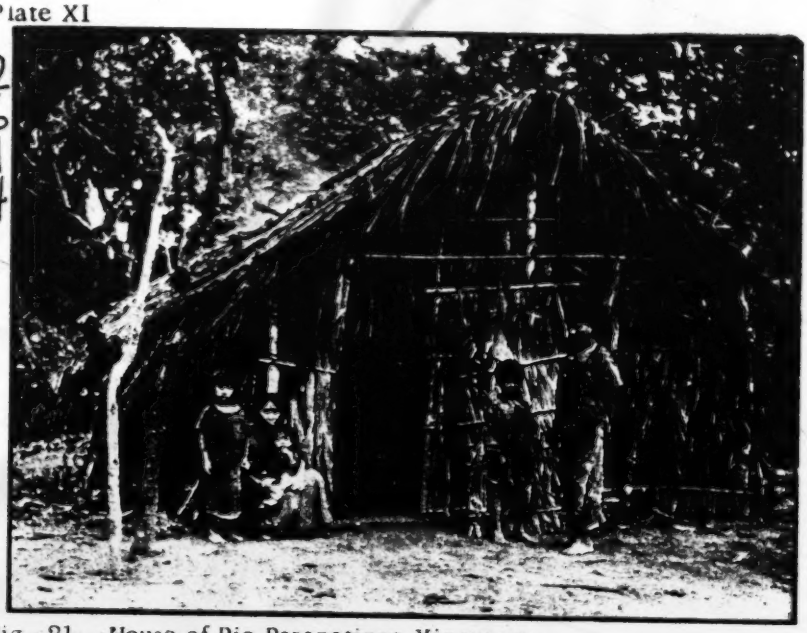

Fig. 21. House of Rio Paranatinga Xinguanos.

Fig 22. Bakairí João Pedroso with his family in front of his house situated near the Rio Paranatinga

/263 cont./

000 dangers that surrounded them. Pregnancy, enokua, was
843 recognized by the cessation of the menstrual periods. When
262 the abdomen of the pregnant woman began to attain visible
proportions, a diet based on vegetal foods and fish was initiated.
844 As the time of delivery drew near, a separate section was
[784] built inside the houses; the parturient was segregated and re-
mained uanki. Female relatives helped in the delivery under
the direction of an experienced woman. The parturient gave
[845] birth sitting on her heels. In difficult cases they washed her
abdomen and sides with a hot infusion of cotton leaves. The
umbilical cord was cut by the parturient herself or by her hus-
band, and it was buried along with the placenta outside the
844 house. After the birth, eraseli, the child was washed and
784 handed over to the parents; later it would be given the name
846 of some dead relative. During the birth and for some time
[553] afterward, the child and its parents remained in a state of
uanki. The end of the seclusion was signaled by the first
846 menstrual period of the parturient, and it was marked by a
796 feast called tadaunúto. The restoration of the parents and the
784 child to the bosom of the community was accomplished by
means of a feast called itabiénli.

When children reached puberty they were secluded,
uanki, for a period of several months. They could not come
out in daylight, and they were fed and looked after by their
[856] relatives. It was believed that the greater or lesser duration
of the young people's uanki period would lead to their better
[622] or worse physical constitution. On the other hand, a chief's
son had to remain in seclusion longer than usual. The period
881 of seclusion began for boys with the ritual of the perforation of
304 the ears (usually undergone in groups). Girls had their ears
784 perforated immediately after birth, and their seclusion was
marked by the advent of the first menses. The end of the uanki
784 state was also celebrated with the tadaunúto. The girls then
881 began to wear uluri, that is to say, triangular genital coverings
796 about three centimeters square made of tree bark.
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352 wooden benches, and dishes and cups made from
415 gourds.

404 As the Bacairí were extensive travelers and
226 depended upon fish for a considerable part of
501 their food supply, canoes were an important part
396 of their equipment. The Bacairí canoe (*pépi*)
[824] was made from the bark of the jatobá tree. The tough, heavy bark was first stripped from one-half of the tree. Small fires were then lighted on the inside of the bark trough to make it curl. Braces were placed at intervals along the entire length, the bow was tapered, and the stern was squared off by forcing the bark upward at one end.
501 Bacairí canoes varied in size, the larger ones being able to carry as many as 8 men. Canoes of jatobá bark are used by the Bacairí today and are the
[171] predominant type among the Indians of the
415 Upper Xingú. The Bacairí also made large
[824] tubs out of jatobá bark which were used as settling
352 vessels for manioc juice. The juice of the manioc contains a fine powder or starch which settles on the bottom of the vessel, to be gathered after the
241 liquid is poured off. For gardening, the Bacairí formerly used a digging stick made of hardwood.
411 For hunting, they used a bow (*túka*), round or
824 slightly oval in cross section and from 2 to 2½ meters in length, made from a yellow or reddish wood which was first matured by burying it in mud. The bowstring was made from the fibers of imbauba bark. Arrows (*piréu*) were made from
[237] cane with hardwood or bone points. Hunting arrows had two feathers, but arrows used for shooting fish had serrated wooden points and no
412 feathers. The cutting tools of the Bacairí consisted of knives made from bamboo, stone, bones, and
409 shell. Transportation was by canoe, or if over
482 land, goods were carried in a wicker basket supported on the back by a tump line.

ORNAMENTS

291 While living on the banks of the Kuliseu River,
[171] the Bacairí, in common with the other Upper Xingú River tribes, did not use clothing. Men sometimes wore a narrow cotton band (*onegín*) around the waist, with a few tassels hanging in front. Women, after puberty, wore the ulurí.
302 Men wore their hair cut short. Women wore their hair long at the back but cut straight across over
[412] the forehead. Hair was cut with a knife made
[237] by setting sharp fish teeth into a wooden stick,

881 The release from seclusion was signalized by the feast of *tadaunúto*. The parents of the young people accumulated much food and went on a big hunt on the day before the feast. The chief and all the villagers were invited to the ceremony during which all the Bacairí songs and dances were performed and the young people were presented gifts by the villagers. The girls would now take the strings of beads from around their waists and wear them around their necks and their mothers would give them cotton cords which they put around their hips and to which the ulurí were attached. The boys and girls were now eligible for marriage.

[533] [535] [431] [301] [291] [582]

MARRIAGE (TODOHOKÚINLE)

584 Marriages were arranged by parents or by older brothers or sisters. The father and mother of the boy, for instance, would take presents of ornaments and food to the parents of the girl. If the parents of the girl accepted the gifts it meant that they favored the marriage, and if they refused it meant that the suitor was not acceptable. The marriage ceremony took place in the girl's home, the date being arranged by the parents. At the girl's house the young couple were seated side by side with linked arms. They were then given advice by their respective parents and relatives. Marriage was not considered a period of ritual danger, nor were extensive feasts given. It appears to have been an affair involving only the families of the young couple.

585

BURIAL (EPIODÍLE)

764 The body was painted, ornaments were put on, and then the body was wrapped in a hammock and buried in a grave with the feet to the east so that the face would be toward the rising sun

768 Although old and worn objects were burnt, most of the property of the dead was shared among the relatives. The part of the house occupied by the dead person was washed, and clean sand was sprinkled on the floor. There was a mourning period (*logúno*) of 1 month, during which the immediate relatives were in a state of *wánki*.[1]

765

SHAMANISM

775 When a person died, the ghost (*kadópe*) went into the sky or into the water or sometimes wandered upon the earth. Ghosts of the dead often

[1] [ie. a state of ritual danger]

Geographically the post is situated ideally on a high land removed from the river and cleared of all vegetation, the jungle appearing only as a narrow fringe along the river banks. Like the rest of the high plateau it is wind swept, and generally pleasant. It must be added that contact with white people, such as is had when a small group of natives go to Cuyabá, has brought syphilis to them, and it may be their mortality is due to this.

One occupation enjoyed in former times is denied them, and that is fishing. There are practically no fish in the Paranatinga, at least up to where the post is located. Since meat is gotten only on rare occasions, and no hunting is done, the diet is mainly one of vegetables and considerably poorer than when they were living in their original state. This may also explain their lowered resistance to disease.

Very little museum material which represents their own products can be collected from the Bakairi. What has not been gotten from the Inspectoria has been brought back on excursions to the Kuluseu. Pottery has not been made since their coming to the post, according to them. The huge vessels that they possess either have been brought with them from their former homes or bartered from the tribes on the Kuluseu. It is claimed that the proper clay cannot be found in the neighborhood of Simõe Lopes.

Arrows are still being made, an iron nail generally being substituted for the old bone point, but most of the arrows also come from the Kuluseu.

For the old hammock made of palm-leaf fibre the cotton hammock has been substituted, but the same open net style has been kept.

Mussel shell ornaments have also been bought from the tribes of the Kuluseu. In brief, almost anything that is found in their village must bear the suspicion that it is not a Bakairi product.

However, they have preserved a few customs, such as filing the upper teeth to a point, wearing under the European clothing the gee string, and ceremonial use of the bull-roarer, and they probably remember many of their ceremonies.

The short time spent at the post was mostly devoted to taking anthropmetric measurements, which were subsequently lost on the Kuluseu, but in some notes I do find the statement that in blood groupings most belong to groups three and four, the former predominating.

Bacairi SP7
Mato Grosso SP1

B 464 [551] Nine canoemen, recommended by Major Noronha, were recruited from the Bakairi. The nine included Paghuli, or Marcellino, and Aparanu, both of whom had lived on the Kulusen before the withdrawal of the Bakairi to the post. Both of these men can speak Anahukua to some extent, and are the only men who know how to make bark canoes. Unfortunately, their Portuguese is poor, necessitating another interpreter. Their knowledge and skill in matters of river travel made them invaluable, however. [191] [396]

B 501 The Bakairi have the reputation of being the best canoemen of the region. The children are taught to paddle from infancy, and become extremely skillful in paddling the clumsy and heavy canoes. The paddle used is short and narrow, and a quick, short stroke is employed, the paddler shifting his paddle from one side to the other with every two or three strokes. Steering is accomplished more by the bowman than by the man in the stern. The use of the stern paddle as a rudder is not well understood. Poling is resorted to by the man in the bow when going up the stream, in which case the efforts of the man in the stern are given to guiding the canoe, which is accomplished by quick shifting of the paddling from one side to the other. Among the Bakairi, as indeed among all of the aborigines encountered, the women are as good paddlers as the men, but they never were seen poling.

* * * *

B M 114 As soon as our personnel was completed, with the addition of a young Italian explorer, Giacomo Anzil, who had been forced to abandon his project to reach the Amazon upon reaching the post, our baggage was transferred to the backs of oxen and mules, which were to transport it to the Kulusen river. The men not concerned with driving the oxen went afoot. It was indeed an odd caravan. Mounted men busy with the oxen, men afoot carrying bows and arrows and guns, long-horned oxen, small mules, filed in a long line across the wastes of the plateau. All of the men wore a red kerchief wound about the head, and the usual bantering conversation was carried on. The Bakairi, of course, wore trousers and shirts, and even sandals made of old automobile tires, in imitation of the Brazilian camaradas. B [177] [29]

As we moved eastward and slightly north, it became more often necessary to build bridges for the animals, across small but high-banked

/105 cont./

533 sounds not unpleasant, and has something both gentle and fascinatingly eerie about it at the same time, just as the wailing night-wind blowing down the chimney is described when the storyteller /106/ first gives thanks to God that he is lying warm and safe in his snug bed, but is again and again obliged to listen to the weird lament and finally sees in a dream the ghost of a
122 friend who lies dying. We sat crowded against one another in the
[354] small room; a gourd filled with fat, in which a wick was burning, lay upon the floor; I was glad when the gourd also started to burn and we were able to step outside where the stars glistened and we shook ourselves -- the shuddering was over.

562 The women held out until 19 June; then they came; Reginaldo fetched them; a dozen in number, they walked one behind the other across the campo, the father of the tribe in the lead.

[609] On this afternoon, however, not one of them would let herself be looked at closely; the procession entered the big house and disappeared. Reginaldo came to ask us for an opera glass that he wanted to show to the women. Toward evening they appeared again and left single file as before. During the night they slept in the forest, a brief half an hour away.

• 292 On 20 June they appeared again; Reginaldo looked superb
[301] at their head; he wore his gray felt hat, his blue captain's uniform and white trousers, walked barefoot, and had a blue-white
123 feather stuck crosswise in each ear lobe. He was very agreeable
[126] that Wilhelm should sketch him in all his glory. Moreover, he assumed, and we daily encouraged him in this, that we were conducting all inquiries concerning the Bakaírí only in order to report them again to the Emperor of Brazil -- at least the man understood that and for this purpose he was glad to oblige.

[291] He also accompanied us to the women; they were barefoot, of course, but otherwise wore the complete costume of the female rural inhabitant; the majority were of a mature age; I liked best one big, strong girl whom Homer would have called βοῶπις -- The captain's wife, christened Ines, was quiet and pious and looked as though she had had many a care. We tried to

/169 cont./

126 I acquired cheaply some belt strings of round stone disks with
[301] the diameter of a thick pencil, as well as a necklace of jaguar claws, by hooking the fish hook, as an ornament, into the ear lobes of these people, who do not know how to appreciate it as a means of catching fish.

622 The chief was striking because of his stupid face and a big nose; he treated us with aristocratic indolence and indifference. --
301 Several wore two yellow feathers in each ear; these were stuck
237 in a little bunch of red feathers that protruded from a small husk. The most beautiful head-ornament, however, was a simple row of yellow feathers up to 12 centimeters long, in the center of which towered a long arara feather.

562 Stealthily a few women appeared. There was an old woman
[554] here, too, who /170/ kept the tribe in order; she had curly hair.
[302] One woman, who had a boy astride her right hip, was painted all over her body with a disgusting yellow pigment.

342 The two large huts were round, the two small ones ellipti-
345 cally long, resembling scales. In one of them, the festival hut,
353 we discovered strange things. Between the supporting beams, on cross-poles, hung a great number of the most diverse colorful
292 headpieces. They all had a straw frame for fitting them on the
532 head. The colors were white, black, red, and orange, all applied crudely. There were open cylinders of bast of the consistency of cardboard, red, set with black squares; two large gourd /illustration appears here/ vessels, one with small yellow feathers pasted over it, the other with small blue feathers, and smaller ones painted with red and white areas; on the edge buritf fibers one meter long hung down like a woman's hair; a stuffed hide of a little fox, likewise an otter, both with a straw frame for putting them on. Two black and white sword-like pieces of wood -- representing rattlesnakes, according to Antonio. A stiff frame of stalks, in which sat little swallows, with cotton stuffed in between everywhere. The birds, perfectly recognizable in shape, white, head and back of neck black, a few with yellow belly. A larger bird, painted red and black, was looking out of one of the cylinders (1).

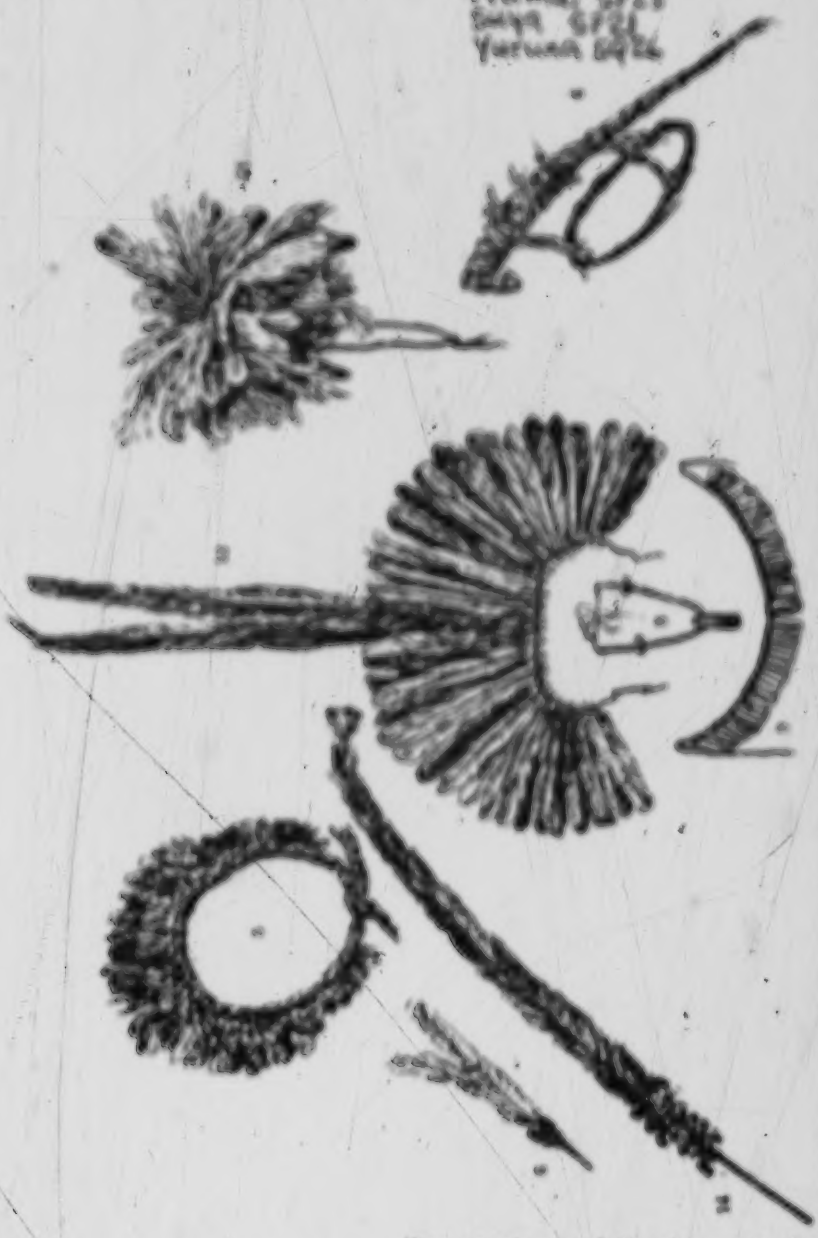
1. Cf. the first ethnological plate /see pp. 188-162/.

I: Berlin--100 A,E-2 (1884) 1886 MT Bacaini 577

Ethnological Plate I (reproduced on [illegible]). 1-10 Bakairi: 1-4, headdresses from festival hut. 5. Straw wreath with feathers. 6. Ear feathers. 7. Comb. 8-10. Necklaces: 8, little stone disks; 9, pieces of shell (also very popular among the Suyá); 10, jaguar claws. 11. Trumaí feather cap. 12 and 13. Suyá feather diadem. 14. Yuruna ear-feather.

/from Ethnological Pl. 1:
2 and 3, Relief headdresses
from the Kongwal hut. /

1. Siebeck--162 ZE-5 (1966) 1006 SPT Decals SPT
Trumpet SP23
Swing SP24
Vertical SP26



/See caption on following page./

I. Steinen--163 E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi
Trumai SP23
Suya SP21
Yuruna SQ26

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//from Ethnological Pl. I 4, Bakairí headdress from the festival hut. 5, Bakairí straw wreath with feathers. 6, Bakairí ear feathers. 8-9, Bakairí necklaces (8, stone disks; 9, pieces of shell and also popular among the Suyá); 11, Trumaí feather-cap; 12, Suyá leather-diadem; 14, Yuruna ear-feather.//

/105 cont./

533 sounds not unpleasant, and has something both gentle and fascinatingly eerie about it at the same time, just as the wailing night-wind blowing down the chimney is described when the storyteller /106/ first gives thanks to God that he is lying warm and safe in his snug bed, but is again and again obliged to listen to the weird lament and finally sees in a dream the ghost of a
122 friend who lies dying. We sat crowded against one another in the
[354] small room; a gourd filled with fat, in which a wick was burning, lay upon the floor; I was glad when the gourd also started to burn and we were able to step outside where the stars glistened and we shook ourselves -- the shuddering was over.

562 The women held out until 19 June; then they came; Reginaldo fetched them; a dozen in number, they walked one behind the other across the campo, the father of the tribe in the lead.

[609] On this afternoon, however, not one of them would let herself be looked at closely; the procession entered the big house and disappeared. Reginaldo came to ask us for an opera glass that he wanted to show to the women. Toward evening they appeared again and left single file as before. During the night they slept in the forest, a brief half an hour away.

292 On 20 June they appeared again. Reginaldo looked superb
[301] at their head; he wore his gray felt hat, his blue captain's uniform and white trousers, walked barefoot, and had a blue-white
123 feather stuck crosswise in each ear lobe. He was very agreeable
[126] that Wilhelm should sketch him in all his glory. Moreover, he assumed, and we daily encouraged him in this, that we were conducting all inquiries concerning the Bakairi only in order to report them again to the Emperor of Brazil -- at least the man understood that and for this purpose he was glad to oblige.

[291] He also accompanied us to the women; they were barefoot, of course, but otherwise wore the complete costume of the female rural inhabitant; the majority were of a mature age; I liked best one big, strong girl whom Homer would have called βοῶπις -- The captain's wife, christened Ines, was quiet and pious and looked as though she had had many a care. We tried to

/119/

000 Clauss, Castro, and the majority stayed at the fazenda. The owner, for his part, rode to a compadre /Gavatter in the Ger.; in the original source, p. 191 (translated p. 72) "compadre" is translated as the Ger. Gevatter; the latter term is given in the glossary of Brazilian expressions, p. 171 / eight legoas away, who was supposed to sell farinha. Thus everyone was busy.

133 Wilhelm and I arrived at twilight after a four-hour march over a series of hilly ranges, having crossed a few small tributaries of the Paranatinga. We could have sworn that [122] we were in the Bergischen [142] /a hilly countryside near [291] the Rhine/ or Westphalia [301] farm houses in front of the [302] bush, the quemada like potato fields; -- in the [241] gathering darkness we also began to indulge in fancies on a barren hill in the distance we clearly saw a lunatic asylum in the latest pavilion style.

Captain Caetano "Mêmo."

231 The dreadful dogs that hastened toward us, barking, were ill-suited to bringing us back to a clear and sober conception of reality. These curs, small, skeletal specimens, with pointed snouts, light whitish-yellow fur, and glassy, watery eyes, looked as though they scratched up the dead out of the graves in the cemetery at night.

122 485 Received by old Capain Caetano and a few young chaps, we were put up in the guest house. The term is synonymous with guest room or guest stall. The only furniture a trough-like, unfinished bark canoe on a stand in the corner, which we were permitted to use as a dresser and table.

/158 cont./

342 We were led into the smallest of the three huts; there we
353 sat down on a long trunk lying on the floor. Two supporting beams, adorned with a diadem of parrot feathers and wound at the bottom with a belt of dry grass stalks, held up the straw roof. Many elegantly worked arrows were sticking in the wall.

199 These Bakairí had never seen human beings of another color.
361 They said that there were a few more settlements downstream.
133 This was the last cachoeira, the one we passed here -- great news -- and the river -- naturally, we were eager to learn this -- runs north, it is called Tamitatoala; after 12 days' journey there comes another, larger one from the left, the Ronuro.

000 Thus all favorable circumstances seemed to converge and the hardships of the trip were amply outweighed.

162 We could not endure it much longer in the hut; outside /159/ others appeared, including two women -- one, whose youth and beauty were long gone, busily tripping about with
291 tousled hair. A triangular, straw-yellow leaf fastened to a string, which was slung around the hips and drawn through the perineum, constituted her scanty clothing. Our friend who was doing the
301 honors wore around his waist three strings, on which were alternately strung bits of stalks and black seeds, in each ear lobe two coquettish yellow feathers, and above the ankles a tight band of
302 bast. His hair had a dark reddish sheen; it was cut in Russian style around a bowl; the tonsure was as correct as in other well-known cases where the discoverers of a tribe were misled by it into believing that the heralds of Christianity must have been active
[142] here earlier. The type of physiognomy was without doubt in conformity with the Bakairí.

609 Soon a second principal figure appeared on the scene: a
[142] medium-sized Indian with a fine hooked nose and heavily painted
[302] red, who was coming from hunting; he drew near uneasily in a roundabout way, talking partly to himself and partly, parrying, to us; we called him the professor because of his incredibly dignified manner of examining every object most minutely, like a person who knows a thing thoroughly, but cannot quite understand why this or that does not fit.

/164 cont./

415 Countless gourd vessels /cuyen; see glossary, p. 170 / and
531 calabashes, brownish-yellow, some of them painted black in designs not without taste.

411 In the lower roof-basket are stuck the arrows, averaging two meters long, and the bows, which almost reach a length of two and a half meters. The arrows, made of ubá, have simple wood or bone points; at the end of the shaft broad feathers are set spirally.

237 Feathers, even bunches of them and whole tail rosettes,
415 are kept in mats placed together portfolio-like; spindles, pigment, bones, root pieces, shells, and the like are kept in small baskets and nets. On the cords of the hammocks are found as
412 decoration a couple of feathers or shells and -- the comb. This
[284] toilet article consists of small, narrow sticks placed next to one another and held together by two cross-sticks of bamboo by means of a plaiting of cotton threads; the hard sticks project beyond the lower cross-stick as the teeth of the comb.

286 The hammocks are (one can hardly say woven, but rather knotted. Two posts stand in the ground; they are wound with a skein of cotton in the way that our women wind knitting wool on a chair; through the horizontal, parallel threads, vertical threads are drawn at four-centimeter intervals with guide sticks and knotted; the parts of the skein which lie close to the post and are not knotted (the entire bundle of horizontal threads pressed together) form the loop that receives the hammock ropes.

285 A plaited matting above the door and sieves of alternating black and light straw are worked with a natural artistic sense. The fire is fanned with a triangular piece of matting.

302 The hair of the women, cut unevenly and longest behind the ears, hangs down to the shoulders; the forehead is almost completely covered. A young woman had the latter painted with thick red color during the visit on the river. No ornaments. Only
301 the old woman wears a string over her left shoulder, which goes under her right arm; three trouser buttons, which she cut off from us and the soldiers with her own hands, are strung on it.

/168 cont./

574 other, the professor, naked, but, along with bow and arrow, one of our mirrors in his hand. We were undoubtedly well recommended.

532 Shortly before the exit from the woods we came across a wonderful display of about a dozen animal figures along one side of the path, /169/ probably the remains from a festival. They were made of leaves and straw, mostly quadrupeds with long, thin bodies, consisting of practically nothing but spinal column and long legs; the tallest ones reached to our hips. Something that was evidently supposed to be a monkey was climbing up a pole. A human figure was incised in a tree, with roguish use of a depression present in the bark. Such is the beginning of art in the primeval forest.

361 After we had passed a roça and low shrub planting, we saw
[241] four huts, two large ones and two small ones, lying correspondingly opposite each other. The nobility was assembled on the
574 plaza; a friendly "am(b)á" (that is you) with raised hand wel-
[576] comed each one. Then, one after the other, we were grasped
[345] at the wrists by our hosts, mostly by two at the same time, and led before the festival hut, where beam and stool were ready.

Here we sat is long rows with our guns, and immediately
[123] the serving of mingau began. Then we did our tricks, cut nails, let them look through the opera glasses, lighted a match with fire steel, etc. The professor beamed; he was reaping honor with us.

[301] A sturdy young man, a diadem of stiff jaguar skin over his
[624] forehead, seemed to be acting as herald. He poured busily, screamed louder than the others, and grasped everything most quickly. I had the feeling that we were traveling circus artists and were being informally received and treated in a club. One
302 of the younger sportsmen had had his body painted with black
531 squares, which were joined at the edges with short lines. The drawing on the upper thigh of another -- a black wavy line and in the depressions of it black dots -- definitely resembled the skin marking of a fish, the pintado.

/169 cont./

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[301] the diameter of a thick pencil, as well as a necklace of jaguar claws, by hooking the fish hook, as an ornament, into the ear lobes of these people, who do not know how to appreciate it as a means of catching fish.

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237 in a little bunch of red feathers that protruded from a small husk. The most beautiful head-ornament, however, was a simple row of yellow feathers up to 12 centimeters long, in the center of which towered a long arara feather.

562 Stealthily a few women appeared. There was an old woman
[554] here, too, who /170/ kept the tribe in order; she had curly hair.
[302] One woman, who had a boy astride her right hip, was painted all over her body with a disgusting yellow pigment.

342 The two large huts were round, the two small ones ellipti-
345 cally long, resembling scales. In one of them, the festival hut,
353 we discovered strange things. Between the supporting beams, on cross-poles, hung a great number of the most diverse colorful
292 headpieces. They all had a straw frame for fitting them on the
532 head. The colors were white, black, red, and orange, all applied crudely. There were open cylinders of bast of the consistency of cardboard, red, set with black squares; two large gourd /illustration appears here/ vessels, one with small yellow feathers pasted over it, the other with small blue feathers, and smaller ones painted with red and white areas; on the edge buriti fibers one meter long hung down like a woman's hair; a stuffed hide of a little fox, likewise an otter, both with a straw frame for putting them on. Two black and white sword-like pieces of wood -- representing rattlesnakes, according to Antonio. A stiff frame of stalks, in which sat little swallows, with cotton stuffed in between everywhere. The birds, perfectly recognizable in shape, white, head and back of neck black, a few with yellow belly. A larger bird, painted red and black, was looking out of one of the cylinders (1).

1. Cf. the first ethnological plate /see pp. 161-162/.

/172 cont./

000 the more uncertain I am in abstracting the common features. The
171 Kustenaú has his foot and half of his lower thigh painted red, like
302 stockings; the upper thighs are covered with a sooty black, in which, however, arched stripes are left blank. On his back he has two red stripes, and in addition black arm-bands. Numerous scratches, which are made with the tooth of the peixe-cachorro
302 (dogfish). The Bakaïrí, too, are painted more than usual with
[53] red; one has a black stripe on either side from eye to ear; another has painted himself black over the middle of his forehead, nose, lips, and chin, and bright brick-red on the sides of the forehead and the face. Among some, the hair, too, is saturated with the
301 red oil. Below the knees are bands of /Illustration appears here/ /173/ burití straw; a skein of cotton, colored a dirty reddish brown, is tied around the waist. Some have strings or bands of cotton wound over the ankles or under the knees, around the legs, or around the upper arms. There is no uniformity anywhere.

302 The tonsure is shaved with a bent piece of spear grass. Its
413 diameter is seven centimeters.

177 To our surprise we also found an iron chisel tip and on a child a little string of blue beads. We could not find out definitely how these had found their way here; I interpreted their descrip-
[72] tion and Antonio's unclear account to mean that they had been brought back from a tribe on the lower Paranatinga whom the grandfather had visited on a raiding expedition.

276 Even in Aldea II the men had become happily excited by the discovery of tobacco seed; smoking was also done here. The leaves were so dry that they could be rubbed almost to powder; they were rolled into cigarettes about two decimeters long, and the fresh green leaf of an unknown tree was split lengthwise and used as the wrapping. This wrapper burned with a pleasant, balsam odor. The smoke was inhaled.

262 The women made excellent beijú; it tasted like fresh French rolls. We also ate a fish ragout à la coquille, of which we would have liked to have had more than they gave us.

[Text Continues on P. 59]

1: Steinen--56 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Flute duet among the Bakairí.

/175/

000 Off at 9:00. Soundlessly with Valentin in the lead; occasionally a bird is aroused in the bushes. Doves coo, otherwise deep silence. The last morning mists heavy on the water.

133 From the shore a blue serra /sierra; see the glossary, p. 172/ visible in NW. At 10:00 we reached the harbor of Aldea IV.

361 Here we were already expected. It is the only one that lies on the right shore, about three kilometers inland. -- A half-dozen

609 older people received us with their "am(b)á" and accompanied us along the way. They stopped often in order to make clear to us, with many gestures of satisfaction, that they were Bakaïrí and masters of the entire region. Mostly through meadow and

[361] campo along the edge of the forest. -- It was the largest village, seven huts, and in the middle an open plaza. Twenty-four men stood there in several groups, foremost a heavily blackened fellow who swung bow and arrows wildly, beat on them clatteringly, and shouted with a stentorian voice: "Bakaïrí, Kʊ́ura Bakaïrí" (we, the Bakaïrí). And the chorus joined in: "Kʊ́ura Bakaïrí --

[624] Kustenaú...Trumaí hu-hu,"...other tribal names, incomprehensible words, triumphant gestures; finally the herald, with a gesture of his hand, invited us to pass. Apparently they were trying to make as forceful an impression as possible on us.

302 Only the hair of a few individuals was dyed red; otherwise they blackened their faces, chests, and legs. No one was dis-

[301] tinguished by special finery; they wore their belt strings, arm and leg bands of cotton or burití bast.

[142] The skin color seemed to me a little darker than among the other Bakaïrí, but I may have been misled by the black painting, which did not show any particular designs anywhere, but rather was manifested in a simple coating of the body. The spinal column was left free, and likewise the parts from which the color could rub off in sitting. Membrum virile parvum, praeputium longum.

142 The epidermis of several individuals was thickened ichthyosis-like and covered with hard, dry scales over the entire body. Many had curly hair.

1: Steinen--162 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP23
Suya SP21
Yuruna SP26

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T
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B
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→

S
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B
Y
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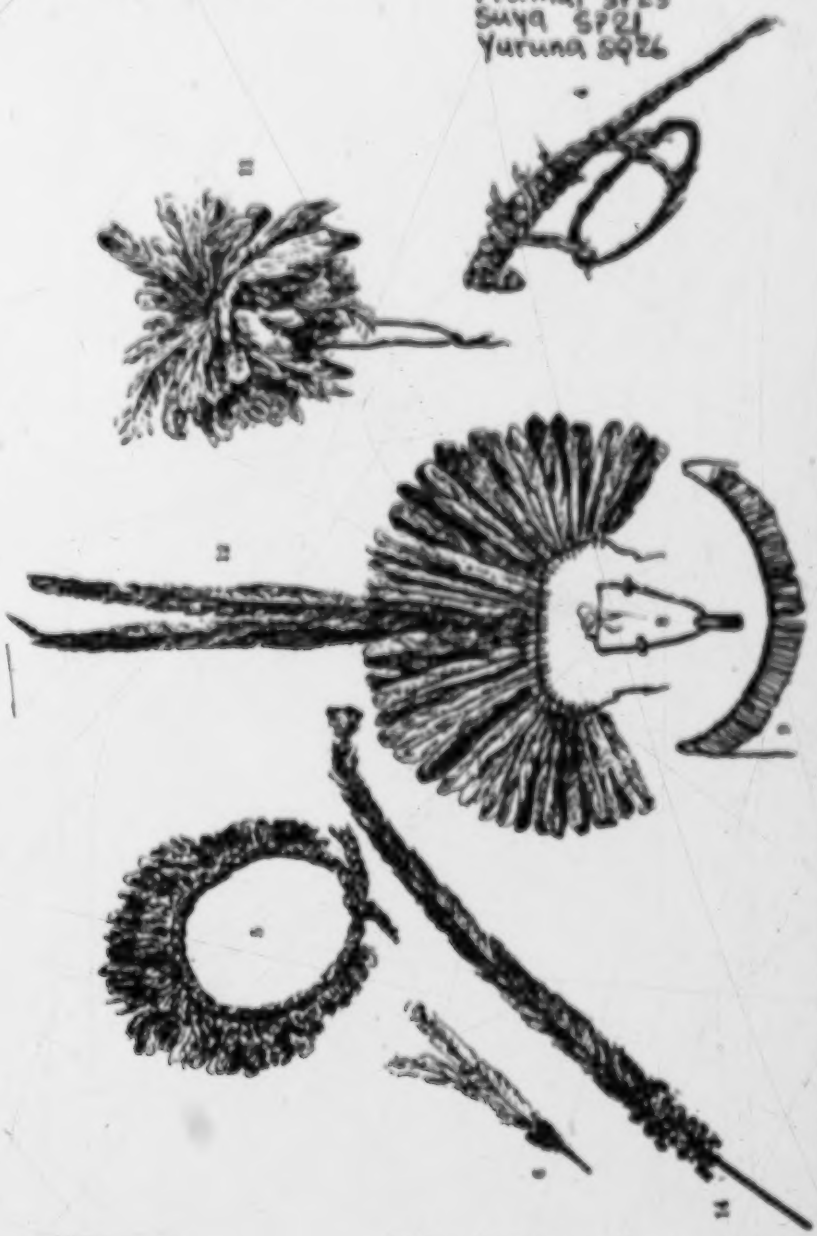
237



/See caption on following page./

1: Steinen--163 Ib,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi
Trumai SP23
Suya SP21
Yuruna SQ86

B
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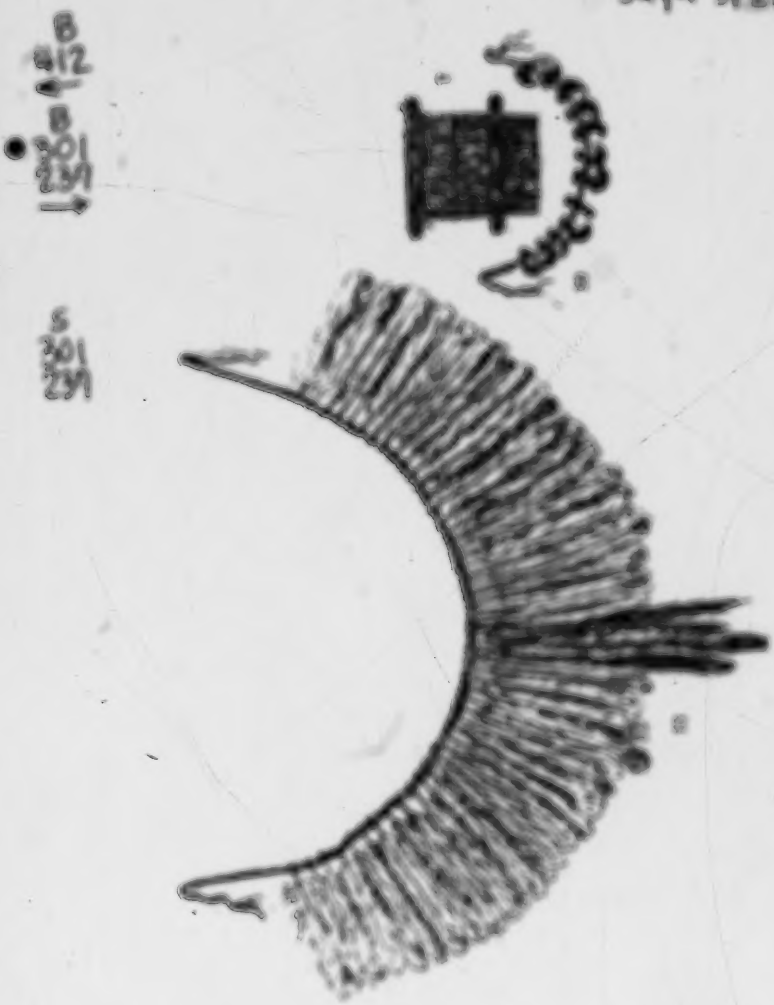
/From Ethnological Pl. 1: 4, Bakairí headdress from the festival hut; 5, Bakairí straw wreath with feathers; 6, Bakairí ear feathers; 8-9, Bakairí necklaces (8, stone disks; 9, pieces of shell and also popular among the Suyá); 11, Trumaí feather-cap; 12, Suyá feather-diadem; 14, Yuruna ear-feather./

1/ Stetten--164 B E-5 (1004) 1000 NPT Bexar Co
Seya Spel



/From Ethnological Pl. I/
7, Bakaïr comb. 10, Bakaïr necklace of jaguar claws. 13, Suyá feather-diadem.

/38 cont./ [illegible] and though this may occasionally have occurred out of embarrassment, nevertheless have had their visible part in it.

Eva's friend, about twelve years old, "my intended" (Pl. 5, third from the right), was in the habit of picking them out and eating them. In general this one had all the good things in the village, and many

Fig. 5. "Eva," Tumayaua's daughter.

beads that I had given others I later found around her neck. She was the little daughter of the deceased chief and his /39/ heiress. Her uncle Tumayaua was only the provisional chief; if I had followed Paleko's very intently meant suggestion and had married his niece, he would have had to turn over the government to me. Even today I cannot deny that, quite apart from the excellent match with which there was associated no greater demands in the way of dress than a string of beads and a piece of bark-bark the size of a small human ear, a better opportunity of becoming acquainted with the ethnology of the Kulisehu could scarcely have been imagined. I saw little of the other women, with the exception, perhaps, of the "Egyptian," who also came over from the second village, a tall greedy person with an Egyptian profile and almond-shaped eyes (Pl. 5, second from the right).

(See P. 58--Anschlag)

/63 cont./

533 note)/: kuyŝuhu kuyŝuhuhú -- kirúhayé kiruhayé (four times) --
539 kuyŝuhu kuyŝu.

Softly and rather muffled, solemnly slow, lingering a long time on the au.

The principal song that we were to sing together often was the following: yawí yawí nakú -- noví ritó hahé -- ohó hohú, nikê wekê nikê, nikê wekê nikê, notú arîte nóhuhé, ohóhuhó huhú, nikê wekê nikê, notú arîte ŝhohu, ohóhuhó, etc.

Muffled and softly, but faster and faster with a stamped beat and a jerky emphasis that impels one to stride forward; the ŝhohu... is repeated until one is almost out of breath, and then one recovers on the more solemn: nó tú há -- notú arîte nóhuhé nuhá hahú -- notú arîte nóhuhé nuhá hahú nó tú há, nó tú há -- ŝho hé hu.

533 A greater contrast can scarcely be imagined than between a jolly students' drinking song and these songs whose rendition was scarcely to be called singing, but seemed merely intended to accompany the dancing march of the feet with suppressed tones. I
[123] sang, too, of course, running the risk of not giving the good people a generally valid idea of our music, since I have at my disposal only "my own melodies." I achieved a small moral success, but they were a little overwhelmed because of the unfamiliar noise connected with the volume of tone. Natural sounds, however, such as "nadirallala," my friend Paleko liked exceptionally well; he was passionately eager to learn them and bent double laughing when he could not follow quickly enough.

291 Feeling of modesty. In this narrative part I wish to avoid
[128] describing clothing and ornaments in detail and shall limit myself, as far as personal appearance is concerned, to the remark that both sexes went about unclothed, that the women, as may
[129] be seen from Plate 5,* wore the "ulúri," a yellow~~ish brown~~ piece
[130] of bark-bast folded in a triangle and fastened to strings, and around their necks a string with pieces of shell, pieces of stalks, and seeds, that the men always wore a hip cord, with or without such ornaments, and frequently bast /64/ or cotton bands around

* [See p. 28 -- Analyst]

/64 cont./

291 the upper arms or under one knee or above one ankle. One youth
[301] or another would also stick a feather into his pierced ear-lobe;
[304] one must not think, however, that the Indian always appears in his entire festive array, as on tobacco-store signs.

ooo I should like, however, to say a few words at this point about the general impression that the "nakedness" makes on the unself-conscious visitor. One does not see this evil nakedness at all after a quarter of an hour, and if one then purposely reminds oneself of it and asks whether the naked human beings, father, mother, children, who are innocently standing or walking around there ought to be condemned or pitied because of their lack of modesty, one must either laugh about it as about something incredibly silly or raise a protest against it as against something contemptible. From the aesthetic standpoint the lack of covering has its pros and cons, like all truth: youth and vigor often looked delightful in their unconstrained movements, old age and disease
291 often dreadful in their decay. Our clothing seemed as strange
123 to the good people as their nakedness seemed to us. I was accompanied by men and women when I went to bathe and was obliged to submit to having all my onion skins examined in the greatest detail. They lacked any understanding of the embarrassed feeling that I was well-bred enough to feel with respect to their curiosity: they thoughtfully examined my Polynesian tattooing, especially a blue kiwi of New Zealand, but, to my satisfaction, they were obviously disappointed by the fact that there were not greater wonders hidden under the careful and unusual packing.

123 They themselves, of course, also wore something resem-
535 bling clothes for their masquerade and dance, apparel plaited out of palm straw, the name of which is ẽti = house, and thus my shirt was given the grand name of "back-house". I had a "head-house" and a "leg-house." Since the women do not dance and only the men may use this apparel in their flute-house, Eva's question as to whether "karíiba pekõto," the women of the Karaiben, also wore clothes, "houses," was probably not so un-
ooo justified. --How quickly one can become accustomed to the naked

/72 cont./

123 Tumayaua had one plant tobacco in front of his house, a
[94] proposal that amused me somewhat until I realized that with my assistance he anticipated an excellent harvest or quality; hence I asked only that he save it, and then I crushed the capsules and put the seed into the ground, as though I had been a tobacco
[226] planter all my life. With Kalelesie I had to go to the cataract
[99] below the village and help him with the fishing net. He must not suspect that I had not swung this implement since grammar school days, when I had trouble rescuing it from the police.

124 One forenoon we took a very pleasant fishing excursion with
125 half a dozen persons, among them a few women, to the mlima, a pond that lay in the campo about two and a half kilometers from
[301] the village. We walked a short distance through the woods, the
[42] women carrying fishing baskets and weirs, Pelelio with a necklace of fish teeth on a string around his neck, and under his arm a stone so that he had sharpened on a stone at the river, during which he
[291] muttered it with saliva at his mouth. Meanwhile it was amusing to see how my amended and her short dress out of the Kalimba mouth in water, supported on their two little hands, one leg in the air, not unlike young monkeys. On the way we sang together our chaká chaká lu so renowned tunes, and I disturbed the morning quiet with a few louder songs. Alekuyi took the liberty of removing my hat, but he was so happy with this adornment that in the name of all the saints I expound my head to the pitiless campo sun.

226 Far away, to the edge of the wooded shore, stretched a quemada /burned clearing/ covered with fresh grass, only a single shade-giving tree stood beside the pond. In the middle of the knee-deep swampy water were set three weirs, half of which, with their mouths, protruded out. Then, with the fishing baskets, kitu, which had the shape of a blunted cone open at the top and bottom and were put together out of thin, pointed sticks, /74/ several persons walked through the pond in a bent position and stabbed the ground quickly. the kitu were inverted over the little fish and the latter pulled out from the top with the hand and placed in a hanging basket. After they had been working in this fashion for a while, they converged from various sides toward the corner, where the weirs lay.

/To come./

197 In short, Bokeldi kiss, the Bokeldi are good. It would be foolish to misunderstand them in the Kommos sense, for there was not a trace of any kind of idealism. They were nothing but the product of very simple and undisturbed conditions and gave the visitor who approached with eyes accustomed to motion and with a picture of an "adyl." Whether one comes from Cuxhaven, Kiev, or me, one will feel the magic of a quiet lagoon, that is all.

/To/

II.

Psychological notes about the attitude of the Bokeldi toward new things. Limits of understanding. Studies with the one on special day. Differentiation of understanding and of linguistic recording abstractions, verbs, superordinate concepts.

193 192 I have reported about the interest that the Bokeldi took in my clothing. It gradually turned to the pockets in particular, and they soon knew exactly what was hidden in this one and what in that one.

"Did I make this and tousom myself?" This question, which annoyed me, always came up. "Did I make the hammock, the [illegible] myself?" They were naturally affected by the fact that there was nothing that came to light in all my property for which I had answered in the affirmative. It was clearly to be seen that the objects whose origin they could picture to themselves to a certain extent also more actively occupied their attention. The texture of the Pastgukyan hammock was felt and eagerly discussed every day.

They wanted to have everything. "Use" "(it is) mine" was the simple explanation. The men preferred for themselves the practical thing, for wives and children the ornament, for themselves knives, for the former beads. At sight of the beads, the women became positively excited and only my tin plate was sought with the same covetousness. "Buttons" seemed to be regarded as a kind of bead. Among several women I discovered ornaments that came from our first expedition and had traveled

301 438

/75 cont./

301 from the Batovy to the Kulisehu. I was confronted by one
458 woman who wore nothing but a copper button on a string on her
breast, and on this button was the 8 of the eighth Cuyaban battal-
301 ion, to which our soldiers had belonged at that time. "Is it nachd,
stone?" asked their living pedhistorics. Of course, the beads
were likewise stone, and, on account of their gay colors, they
153 preferred them to gold, which left them quite indifferent. I
199 had given them a few pins and had also showed them a needle,
the only one that I had with me: they brought a pin back to me
and asked me to make a hole in it, like the one in the needle.

Most peculiar was the alacrity with which they classified the things unfamiliar to them among those that were familiar to them and also immediately assigned familiar names to them directly and without any restrictive additions. They cut their
412 hair with sharp shells or the teeth of the piranha fish, and my
237 scissors, the object of unreserved delight, which cut hair so smoothly and evenly, were simply called "piranha teeth." The mirror was "water!" "Show the water," they cried when they wanted to see the mirror. And I made a much slighter impression with it than I had expected.

The compass was called "sun," the watch "moon." I had showed them that, no matter how I turned and twisted the case, the needle always pointed in the original position of the sun, and the very similar watch, whose spring they said was a hair, seemed to them the natural counterpart, for the /76/ special reason that it "did not sleep at night." Often in the middle of the conversation they would demand that I take out the watch, and then they would laugh very contentedly when it was actually awake and ticking.

Nothing would be more erroneous than to think that this sincere curiosity and admiration was based on an actual thirst for knowledge or a deeper need of understanding. They never got beyond the question: "Did you make that?" No, I simply did my circus act, I displayed my tricks, and they were pleased that at any moment I could show them in all elegance and never disgraced myself. The most baffling example of superficial satisfaction

/85 cont./

brought three large fat barbados, which traveled to the grill and well deserved being eaten, even at the witching hour, in the scenery of the roaring waterfall gloriously illuminated by the moon.

122 On 2 October we set out at 6:30 and reached the Bakaïri harbor at 2:15. Good Paleko was already standing there with a bowl of manioca paste. Wilhelm and I immediately went to the 123 village. It was very entertaining /86/ to observe how one welcoming scene followed the other, since the canoes arrived at intervals: new guests, again and again new excitement, and a new rushing forth out of the flute-house, where we sat amidst bright 302 and colorfulness. Some of the people had adorned themselves festively with colored designs. Kulekule had decorated his face and upper body with orange-red lines and dots, my intended had red serpentine lines on her upper thighs, the Egyptian a red forehead and nose, Tumayaua's small grandchildren were daubed and smeared black, their mother Eva appeared with her hair and skin 301 powdered white from her bright work. Good-natured Awili wore a cake knife, that is, a bright matter, in her hair in a curious fashion.

There were also foreign visitors present from Village II and 574 III: we counted 18 hammocks in Paleko's house and 13 in Tumayaua's 126 house. Ehrenreich was taking photographs. For each shot the models were compensated with a few beads. They were somewhat afraid, but the beads conquered the fear of danger. The women's group on Plate 3 was obtained only with difficulty. The women had let themselves be positioned and arranged, and Ehrenreich was on the point of exposing the plate, when they suddenly discovered their mirrored images in the lens and, astonished, fell upon the apparatus in order to examine it more closely. The photographer in dire distress! Tumayaua had gained possession of a useless plate of glass -- "*pira*," water - and with it, following Vogel's directions, he set the first window in the straw dome of his house.

123 On this fine day I wanted to present a gift of honor to my hosts. Two young ladies of Berlin had given me a pretty blond doll to bring along, which they themselves had fitted out with a

? [see p 28--Analysis]

/92 cont./

574 night. We sat down in the middle of the large plaza in a long
575 row. Each one was brought: drinking bowl; the largest, along
576 with a cigar, fell to me. Speeches of welcome were now ex-
changed with great volubility.

ama, you = that is you *ehé ama*, yes, I = indeed, that is I.

bakalif ama, I (am a) Bakalif. *kyaribe ama*, I (am a) Karaibe.

bakalif kyéma, (the) Bakalí (are) good. *kyaribe bekulidile*,

(the) Karaibes (are) very good. *pi'me ama?* (are) you (the) chief?

pime ama, I (am the) chief.

583 Opposite each Karaibe squatted a Bakalif and admired him
and what he wore. The Swedish matches, knives, mirrors,
buttons, beads -- it was always the same routine. Except that
in the case of Pastor it worry notebook that was most appreciated,
and it was not the written ages or those covered with drawings,
but the white, empty sheets that elicited exclamations of delight
from him. We also strolled about the plaza in pairs, arm in arm,
in affable conversation. We studied the geographical distribution
of the Kulimehu tribes in detail, but the dwelling places of the
Trumaí still remained as secure as before.

595 The flute-house was large and spacious, its roof dilapidated,
much straw lay on -- floor inside, and here, as in the houses,
we missed the cleanline[illegible] pleased us as in the other vil-
594 lages. In front of the ine-house, [illegible], lay a
[594] huge hollow tree-trunk - a *mucego* (bat) tree our men called
it -- /93/ irregularly paved with human figures and fish vertebrae.
During festivals they drummed on this giant instrument with thick
wooden clubs, similar to the mandioca pestles.

595 Inside there were indeed masks and a new form of dance
costume: two huge cruizuns ten meters in circumference,
covered with straw, accompanied to small hats, *kofis*, which
126 the dancer wore on a rig on his shoulder. Keen enthusiastic
101 barter was under way everywhere. We obtained fine feather
ornaments, crowns made of macaw feathers, which are light blue
on one side, yellow on the other, dainty mats in which they are

/93 cont./

moved, dark yellow reed diadems, such as Lucho is wearing on Plate 6, others with radiating tips, large Panpipes, an oar decorated with drawings, spinning whorls of the simplest type, that is, disks made of potsherds, and a quantity of remarkable cylinder-shaped sticks, which are covered with ornamentation and worn on the back at festivals. But in the equipment of these third Bakairí it was clearly shown that we were with the section of the tribe living next to the rest of the Kulisehu Indians: all kinds of imported goods were present and were designated as such here. The Bakairí do not make any pots themselves and do not themselves have a place where they might fetch stones for mano axes, but here we were immediately told that the pots came from the Mehinaki /Mehinacu/ and the mano axes from the Trumaí. Among the pots one in the shape of a turtle represented an absolute masterpiece of primitive plastic art, on which the head, tail, and feet, as well as the shell drawing, were magnificently worked out. From the Aweti we found a half-broken clay doll, also originating from the Mehinaki, balls of finely spun cotton, from the Trumaí and Suyá, dainty feather caps. From our own possessions of 1884 we discovered two iron chisels, parts of a carrot, which had been sharpened to a point on stones.

We met a Nahuquá in person: unfortunately, the man was obviously an idiot and had little to offer for my purposes. It is strange that this is not an isolated phenomenon: the Kamaiurá of 1884 had a simple-minded Bakairí among them, the Yuruna [illegible] to me I often noticed similar instances. Do the people become stupid in the new environment or are only the stupid specimens entrusted to neighbors for their use?

In the three-house anthropological measurement and photographs were taken in exchange for beads. In this village there was a pronounced Semitic type, of which Plate 13 represents a classic example. The people submitted to everything and called the caliper compass nina, "moon." Only one man was indignant when, after Ehrenreich had measured him from head to foot in all directions, I handed him the fee of three beautiful, large beads. He wanted to have as many beads as there were measurements

[See p. 138 -- Analysis]

/175 cont./
the cut desired by him, went a step further and cut off at the roots a part of the hair falling down in back and on the sides. The additional advantage connected with this was that, during combing, the hair could easily be evenly disturbed on all sides. The tonsure of the Indians extended chiefly downward over the back of the head (cf. Fig. 14 /see p. 170/). The Suyá men, on the other hand, with their tonsure of Apostle Paul, went further in the removal of the hair falling over the forehead and, instead, wore their hair hanging down to their shoulders

in back or knotted up. Long back hair and the crown tonsure do not occur together. Copying the priests was not required for this simple procedure.

/176/ All the other body hair, with the exception of the eyebrows, was shaved or unhesitatingly plucked out. The ladies wear not, as among the Turuna on the lower Schingú, placed on a tucum thread and torn out all at once with a jerk, but were pulled out one by one at the earliest age of the children. The shaving of the tonsure was done with a tip of spear grass. These razor blades were kept planted near the house. The hair was cut with the teeth of the piranha fish. I never saw among

/178 cont./

#171 826 If the eye is the most valuable of all human organs, these forest dwellers in quest of animals and fruits are dependent on it to the highest degree imaginable. Never have I heard an Indian complain and whimper as did the chief of the Yaulapiti bemoaning his blindness. Yet in treatment they do not necessarily develop [159] the insight that seems proper to us. Since tobacco smoke is the best medical remedy, a badly inflamed conjunctiva is blown full of smoke as forcefully as possible. Thus the idea that the lashes protect the eye is quite foreign to the Indians. They maintain that the lashes hinder the eye in seeing, especially if they want to peer sharply into the distance. That they are anxious to care for [159] [811] the precious organ according to the best of their knowledge is shown by the fact that the area around the eye of the boy who is to become a skilled archer is scratched bloody with the scarifier -- naturally because they believe in this "medicine" and not because [302] they want to harden him. In the case of the lashes in particular, the seemingly cruel plucking, since it is radical, is nevertheless a relatively mild procedure. To endure the cutting and shaving on the edge of the lid with fish teeth and shells would indeed be heroic.

#171 302 304 The skin. The skin is pierced to receive ornaments, it is painted with color, and it is scratched with spines or teeth. The two last methods have developed into artistic treatment, into body painting or tattooing -- one would only like to know what original purposes lie behind them.

#171 301 If we observe, on the basis of thousands of examples, to what degree coquetry and vanity triumph over physical discomfort in matters crude and fine among our pampered, civilized human beings, we shall not be surprised that the vanity of primitive peoples is even more reckless. The chief difference between us and them is merely that they are obliged to do on the skin what we are able to do with clothing. Among them, however, it was everywhere first of all the man who adorned himself. He began doing so as a hunter, and since there is the matter of manifesting the hunter's virtuosity, we may conclude that man first developed the idea of the beauty by not separating himself from the parts of the beasts that were inedible, /178/ yet could easily be preserved and

/179 cont./

carried, but rather saved them for acknowledgment by his contemporaries and attached them to his body. We find this all the more natural, since we know that with such parts, in his opinion, the characteristics of the game animal were acquired. Thus he wore claws, teeth, and feathers as trophy and talisman. While he could tie most of these things on a string, he was in difficulty with a feather which he wanted to keep as a memento of a good shot: he pierced his ear lobe and stuck it in there, where it was secure and did not get in his way. The ancestors of all our tribes hit upon this; some of them were soon not content with ear holes, but also pierced the nose and lips. For the idea of the trophy, at first applied only to the laborious attainment, was extended to a wearing not connected with much pain or labor. A new result, worthy of admiration, was produced, and a young man undoubtedly felt "better tailored," in the fullest sense of the expression, if he displayed his treasure in a hole in his nose, lip, or ear, than if he wore it around his neck on a string. Once the wearing of the trophy became habitual, it was inevitable that attention was turned to its external qualities as well, the previously secondary characteristics of color and form. Even objects that had merely been used to keep the holes open and prevent them from healing shut became ornaments and decorations. More or less vaguely felt perceptions of pleasing color contrasts were associated with ideas about the difficult, the unusual, the power-endowed.

[illegible] though the circumstance that it furnished a permanent distinguishing mark and thus shaped various forms of the custom. It was not only excellently suited for distinguishing brave and ruling persons within a tribe, who were usually also the most vain, but it often formed the consciously worn symbol of nationality from tribe to tribe. It provided the means for giving even children lasting marks. The Indians have always passionately engaged in kidnapping among foreign tribes in order to rear warriors and women. Hence children were marked so that they could be recognized, as the herd-owner stamps his livestock. When we were with the Suyá, an old woman swore by all that was holy that our Antonio,

/179 cont./

[171] 304 617 although he understood not a word of Bororó, was her son stolen years before by enemies; she wailed and lamented loudly all night long. then it was strange to see how the Bororó carefully undertook to examine on the half-laughing, half-outraged Antonio his lower lip, which among them is pierced as only as infancy and unanimously set him free when, instead of their little lip-hole, they found a pierced nasal septum. Thusamong the [248] Bakairí there were abducted Pareesí women; among the Nahuqué, Mehinakú women; among the Suyá, the captured Manitsaú, who were immediately distinguishable from the rest by the tribal marking. /180/ The artificial injury thus developed into a regular arrangement for expediency. Moreover, the foreign was regarded as ugly or comical, the indigenous as beautiful and noble.

[171] 304 [301] [239] The piercing of the ear lobes is generally widespread among the men of all tribes. It serves solely for feather ornament. Among no tribe of the Kulisehu do the women have pierced ear-lobes, and no woman wears feather ornament of any kind anywhere else on her body. the woman does not hunt -- the origin from the hunting trophy is still unmistakably distinct. The ear of the boy is pierced at the time when he begins to practice with a small-sized bow and arrow.* /Fig. 12 appears here./

> *Among the Suyá men and women wear rolls of palm leaf strips in the slit-open ear-lobe, which is gradually extended into long rein. [illegible] ornaments are confined to the men.

The piercing of the lower part of the nasal septum, so that the alae, slightly turned upward, rest on the object stuck through it, is found only among the Bakairí, on the Paranatinga and Rio Novo, on the Batovy, and in the first Kulisehu village among both sexes, in the second Kulisehu village only among the men, in the third neither among men nor women. This geographical [248] distribution makes it seem not improbable to me that the custom is based on that of the Pareesí, /181/ who were formerly in active

/181 cont./

#171 304 [648] contact, sometimes peaceful, sometimes hostile, with the western Bakairí, of whom we still found two women, kidnapped as children, in the Paranatinga village. The Paresní pierced the ear lobes of their women so that they could always be distinguished from the Bakairí women, and their men pierced the nasal septum, inserted a little

[592] [239]

Fig. 12. Wooden mask of the Bakairí, with ear and nose feathers.

piece of reed in it, and stuck into only one end of this a long macaw feather or ordinary toucan feather, whereas the ear ornament of the women consisted of a little triangular piece of nut shell.

● 201 [538] Among the Bakairí today feathers are no longer worn in the nose, but we found masks with a hole in the elongated septum of the wooden nose, through which an arara feather stuck in a piece of reed projected out on either side. There is also a difference in the size of the hole among men and women, to which my attention was especially drawn by the Bakairí themselves. In it the men wear a thin piece of kambeyuwa reed, in which the feather or a thin bone is inserted, the women a thick kambeyuwa peg or a thick bone or stone. This latter is never used by the men.

/181 cont./

or none. The latter is never used by the men. On the Kulisehu we collected a few ornamental stones made out of grayish white quartzite with a dull shine, which were ground into the shape of a pointed spindle and were six centimeters long. We saw the nose-spindle, natiko, in actual use only in the case of a pregnant woman, who also had many ornaments hanging around her neck. These stones came from the Batovy or the Ponhuro, the right source-river of the Kulisehu. they were said to be rare, so that ordinary bones or reed had to help out. We also obtained bones of similar shape, eight and a half centimeters long, and a spindle seven centimeters long and gleaming like mother-of-pearl, which was cut out of a shell. The operation is performed in approximately the fifth year of life and is said to be accompanied by profuse bleeding on occasion.

I may add on here the binding of the extremities, although

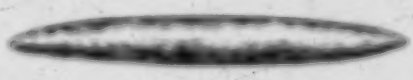


Fig. 13. Ornamental nose-stone of the Bakairi women.

I may add on here the binding of the extremities, although it was still foreign to our Indians in the degree where it might be spoken of as a bodily injury. It was much in use among all the tribes. For this they used thick, wide straw binding, bands of cotton, cotton ropes, or bands crocheted with wooden needles, [illegible] the ankle. The custom was most striking in the third Bakairi village, where one saw chubby, almost swollen calves. We never observed, however, such thick, protruding calves as are shown in illustrations of the male or female Karaiben of the north. We noticed the straw bindings especially among the Nahuquá (cf. Fig. 4 /see p. 71/). /182/ Only the men made use of the binding. It makes one strong, I was told by way of explanation. As dance ornaments bands decorated with colored feathers are worn around the upper arm.

2: Steinen--170 £ D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi 507
Aweto SP6
Camayura

B #171 301

/182 cont./

Chains. Both sexes adorned themselves with neck chains; the men also wore ornaments on their hip cord. Children and pregnant women had the most chain-ornaments hung on them. Our beads were also requested primarily for the children.

The Bakairí, with great pains, made very pretty neck chains, trophies of the kind of work that was quite popular among the other tribes, which we also found among the Suyá in 1884; cf. the Kamayurá of Figure 14. These are rectangular, slightly convex pieces which are cut from a convolution of the shell of pfn. Orthalicus melanostomus (Prof. v. Martens), two to three centimeters long, one

B #171 301 321

A 142 301 302

Fig. 14. Kamayurá with shell chain.

B #171 301 [illegible]

to one and a half centimeters wide, almost pure white, and known as pin chain. They overlap on the long side, like roof tiles, and are generally pierced at the top and bottom, but fastened only at the top with small threads to the neck cord. Especially thick shells were chosen, broken, and ground on stones. They were pierced with the tooth of the dogfish or with the twirling stick, at the end of which was lashed a triangular splinter of stone; in this way a conical hole was formed.

B #171 [illegible]

/182 cont./

*171 Another type consists of small disks or smooth beads only
● 301 one millimeter thick and three to five millimeters in diameter.
321 They are evenly circular, with a dull, whitish-gray to bluish sheen. The little pieces of the broken shell were bitten off with the teeth, made approximately even in size, and were pierced like the squares. The tiny little things are so evenly ground /183/ that on the string they form a thin, flexible coil. They are usually alternated with similarly shaped tucum beads [324] (Bacuri), which are bitten out of the shell of the palm nut. The tucum beads are likewise pierced with the teeth of the dogfish. For these and the small shell disks, the evenness is achieved by stringing the beads and, not grinding the roll on a stone, but rubbing and smoothing it between two pot sherds. The shell beads are a very natural product, if colored or shiny pieces of shell are saved at all. they are strung on a cord, since they are hard to fasten otherwise, and they are matched up, which is most easily accomplished if one simply grinds them
*171 all around. In this way the most diverse primitive peoples, with
301 their respective shell material, have arrived at beads that look
435 so much alike as to be mistaken for one another. The beads, however, also have all the characteristics required to circulate from tribe to tribe whereever intercourse takes place and provide the best opportunity to become acquainted with the extent of the intercourse, which some regard as unlimited. The Bakairí of the Batovy, more than those of the Kulisehu, are "zôro," kinds, of the shell chains.

*171 The tucum beads are made chiefly by the Nahuquá; the
2-4 latter had as shell beads the one-colored kinds with the sharp of Bulimus in particular, whose "zôro" they were, a single one of which interrupted the coil of the nut beads at short intervals. The Nahuquá were distinguished by a great wealth of chains, especially of plant material, which, moreover, also played a more important role among the Bakairí than among the tribes living downstream. The Bakairí of Maigéri greatly prized [324] "grass beads," kanaíkiu, which Antonio explained were fruits of a tall, rare grass growing along lagoons, each stalk of which produces only a few.

/163 cont./

We found pieces of stalks, pieces of bark, seed kernels, and berries of the most diverse kinds: nut beads from the large and the small tucum palm, fruits of a climbing plant, of a campo tree takipé, of a plant called (Bakairí) udeykki, red and black seeds of Papilionaceae, of manioma-dicinus, tonka beans (Dipteryx odorata), among the Aweté gourd seeds and almeinca kernels, and even a small, beetle-shaped gourd seven centimeters long.

Among the Yaulapiti, Trumaí, and, coming from them, among their neighbors, stone chains were frequent: pierced disks and cylinders which the Nahuquá imitated in the amber-like urubú resin and in clay. It was the disciples of the stone axes and throwing-stick arrows /Wurfholz-Pfeile/, it was pierced with the stone chip fastened to the twirling stick and the addition of sand. Small, pear-shaped stones, such as go with the darts /Wurfpfeilen/, are popularly hung on children's chains by the Mehinaká and Aweté.

Thus there were distinct differences in the material, which were probably, as is certainly the case with the stones, locally conditioned. All chains made of white shell pieces were back to the Bakairí, all those of red to the Nahuquá, all those made of stones to the Trumaí or Yaulapiti.

/164/ Animal material was found everywhere. There were horn beads and bone beads, the latter also in the form of little cups; they were sometimes strung on individually, sometimes joined for whole chains, especially monkey teeth and jaguar teeth. Cf. the illustration of the Aweté chief, page 10. Among the Nahuquá we procured a chain with jaguar teeth and small, colored beads. The Trumaí prized capybara teeth. Among the Mehinaká in particular there was an abundance of children's ornaments, which were hung in bunches on infants. Besides the others, monkey teeth in particular, teeth of the jaguatirica (Felis mitis), fish vertebrae, bones of the bagadi fish, once a huge, black beetle-horn. Also claws or hoofs of the tapir (Kamayurá), jaguar, and deer.

/106 cont./

With this the most essential constituents of the chain ornaments have probably been enumerated. In the later chapter on the plastic art of our Indians I shall come back to details, insofar as all kinds of figures were also carved and ground.

I am unable to say to what extent useful and therapeutic effects were attributed to individual objects. That the "ornament" was often "talisman" is shown by the fact that, as mentioned, children and pregnant women were the most bedecked. If the remains of a medicine were also hung around, this, too, did not originate from a sense of beauty. The green beads of the Bakaïri greatly resembled fine fish-bones, but I obtained such a chain only with the greatest difficulty. In the eyes of their owners they were decidedly "more beautiful" than those with fish beads, because they were rare.

Dyeing and painting. Why do the Indians dash themselves with oil color, either with black, like those who are less familiar with the crimson bush, or with red, as the others prefer? To frighten the enemy by means of display and disfigurement? This is certainly a practical use, but only for this particular interval.

Could the love of color explain everything? If so, we are obliged to recognize the delight in black as a primary emotion of pleasure. In that case we should have to note with amazement that a natural source has eluded our Indians, a source used so profusely in Polynesia, for example, and one that is abundantly available for this purpose even in the rainforest area which is relatively poor in flowers -- neither men nor women adorned themselves with flowers. I believe the only question that Ahanaio asked me of his own initiative was [illegible] "Why do the women [illegible] in their hair?" The idea that it is done in order to adorn oneself with gay colors was wholly removed from his way of thinking. No, the gay parrot feathers only later developed into colored ornaments. First came the pleasure in the hunt, or in animal life and the beautifulness concerning the hunter's

/193 cont./

of the Paraguay that they wear, not the cuff, but the string: "The men tie only the glans around their abdomen by means of a fine hair thread, so that they keep themselves free of insects and are not hindered in running."

§ All methods, with slight variations, achieve the same result, the covering of the glans, either by simply extending the prepuceum or by tying it up besides and even also enclosing it in its pubic hair.

§ As for the women, I have mentioned that they all remove the pubic hair.

§ The Xuyá women, who adorned themselves with neck chains and wore thick, rolled-up palm-leaf strips resembling tape measures in their pierced ear-lobes, went about completely naked.

The Trumai women wore a band of soft, grayish-white hair. It was twisted into a rope so that there was consistency only within the most modest limits and surely could not have been intentional, since merely a wider strip could have been used. They rolled a long, narrow, folded hair-strip up a little at one end, held this little roll with one hand pressed against the lower corner of the mons pubis, twisted the free strip around themselves several times with the other hand, and drew it up toward the back between the legs, came to the front again to the little roll, pressed it to them with the strip drawn across it, and turned back over the other hip to the small of the back, where they twisted to the free end and tied it securely.

The Bororó women likewise had the soft, gray hair band, which they replaced by a black one during the menses, but they lengthened the band to a hip cord. Twined in three to four, three to four fingers wide, it ran, becoming narrower, over the fissure of the vulva and the pectineum to the small of the back and was again tied to the hip cord. [illegible] A tightly embracing piece of bark was also worn around the body. See the illustration, "Bororó, Mother and Daughter" /see p.189 /.

/204 cont./

embedded individual crystals of alunite and quite a number of quartz granules. The blades, 11-21 centimeters long, are usually evenly cylindrical, but some are round in the center like a roller, taper toward the rear, and have a broad front end with a bow-shaped cutting edge. Without any lashing, they fit into a wooden handle 6.5 meters long on the average, which consists of a cylindrical upper piece based crosswise and a thinner handle set off from this like a reed shaft from its spike. The stone points inserted in the darts and the ornamental stones of the neck chains are made of the same diabase. The Tsumad ground the blades to a point on their stones and based the ornamental stones, besides them, only the neighboring Teulepin did this. The other tribes simply sharpened on the river sandstone the even that became dull. Shells and stones were bored with a twist-borer. A triangular, hard splinter of stone was clamped to a small staff, and, to be sure, at both ends so that one could alternate them, and was secured by cord lashing. The little staff was almost half a meter long and was twisted between the hands. If stone was to be bored, sand was added. This is all the Indians achieved in the working of stone. They had

Fig. 23.
Twist-borer.*
(1/2 nat. size/ as drawn in the original illustration/.)

*The twist-staff is represented diagrammatically.

//205 cont.//

be broken off evenly. A scarcely less important tool was furnished by the petse cachorro, or dogfish, called Cynodon zoologically, which has in its lower jaw two pointed teeth three to three and a half centimeters long, each projecting upward through a hole. The edge of these teeth, ground knife-sharp, was used for cutting, but chiefly for puncturing, for example, in connection with tattooing, for scarifying, for example, in decorating the tortoise spindle disks, and for boring reeds, as in the case of the arrows, in order to put through the threads for fastening the feathers and points. //206// The triangular pieces of gourd which, as the scarifier, represented the most important instrument in the little surgery of the Indians, cf. Figure 15 /see p. 178/, were studded with the small, pointed teeth of the wahine fish, Erythrinus. The little teeth of the aguti, Dasyprocta aguti, served the same purpose. Of the rodents, the capybara, Hydrochoerus capybara, furnished indispensable scraping chisels with the four teeth of its lower jaw. The tooth, six to eight centimeters long, was fastened to a piece of uhé reed with cotton thread, or two teeth were lashed together and cemented with a little wax. /Figs. 23-26 appear here.// The arrow holes were likewise bored with the aguti teeth. Monkey teeth, pierced at the root and artfully plaited together into a chain, were a favorite belt or neck ornament.

Bones. Arm and leg bones of monkeys, which were kept in thick bundles in the little tool basket at home, served as arrowheads. They were ground to shape and, with their hollow tubes, mounted on the stick between the arrowhead and arrow shaft. The tail radiation of the ray was likewise an arrowhead. Small, pointed bones were added as barbs. //207// Mammal bones had many uses: the skin wounded with the scarifier was rubbed with the thigh bone of the deer; we saw a splinter of a jaguar bone pointed to pierce ear tubes; the wax mixture over the lashing on arrowheads was applied with a bone. The front claws of the giant armadillo, Dasypus gigas, served man, as well as the animal itself, for digging and grubbing up the ground and were the earth hoe of our Indians. The spindle disks in many cases came from the ventral piece of the tortoise shell, which was broken to pieces with a stone. Jaguar

/297 cont./

Jaguar

*171 claws were worn as neck chains, fish vertebrae on the belt cord;
237 a bone stuck crosswise through the nasal septum adorned the old
● 30 Sakaíri.
304

Shells. Flat river shells were extensively used for cutting, less
* 171 for cutting through than for scoring longitudinally, for scraping, planing,
237 smoothing. The work shells brought back from the Kamayurá /Fig. 27
412 appears here/ were identified by Herr Professor von Martens: tyutsí,
[305] Anodonta, was the shell for scraping the mandioca root, "maniôka pináp";
[324]

Fig. 23. Dogfish.
(1/1 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 24. Piranha.
(1/2 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

[294]
→

Fig. 25. Front claws of the giant armadillo. (Grubbing hoe.) (2/5 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 26. Capybara teeth. (Scraping chisel.) (1/2 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

the women sat on a couple of pieces of bamboo placed together, and they scraped, scrubbed, scratched, until their legs disappeared in the
[322] heap of parings. This shell also served as a plane to smooth the handle of the stone ax or the oar by means of finer scraping, not with the edge,

/207 cont./

*[171] but with a hole made in the center. The people bit off the outer-
[839] most shell with their teeth and knocked the planing hole into it with
[412] the pointed akuri nut. Another type of Anodonta, ita-i, "little
[302] mussel," was also used for the fine scraping of wood. This and the
[415] other types were also used to store the pigment with which one
painted himself red or black; they were usually hung on the
hammocks. A second large shell for scraping roots was itá,
[825] "mussel," a variety of the Leila pulvinata Hupé, brought back
from the Araguay /Araguaia/ by Castelnau. With the largest
species, itá kuraá, /208/ Unio orbignanus, the bows were
smoothed, and, to be sure, with the outer surface of the shell.

Fig. 27. Knife-shell and plane-shell.

[825] A flat Hyria, itá mukú, was interesting because it had a sharp,
pointed extension with which pikí fruits, for example, were
opened. It corresponds best to our pocketknife, an instrument
that was regarded very disapprovingly by the Indians because
they were able to open it only with indescribable effort; they
were as clumsy with it as we with the unfamiliar twirl-borer.
The shell was hung around the necks when one set out on journeys;
the fish and game animals caught were cut open with it; the
shell was used to hollow out the little depression in the fire-stick,
in which a second stick was twirled to the glowing point; for
● [301] all carving of wood it was indispensable. Snail shells were used
in many ways: pieces of Bulimus shells were used for chain orna-
[825] ments. Cf. page 170. Orthalicus melanostomus sometimes
dangled in thick hangings on the mask costume.

/206 cont./

Feathers lend wings to the arrow, on whose shaft and two split halves of feathers are sewed opposite each other in spiral turns. Otherwise they seem to be used exclusively, but in great volume here, for ornaments, such as ear feathers, feather crowns, feather caps, feather arm bands, feather chaps (among the Kamayurá), and in hundredfold decoration on small ornaments, where little colored bundles hang on hammocks, combs, gourd rattles, arrow throwers, masks, etc. The most magnificent material was available, from the yellow, blue, red, and green of the macaw, toucan, weaver birds, and parrots, from the beautiful stripes or speckles of the cinnamous, falcons, and owls, to the shimmering white of the herons and storks or the black of the urubu vulture. The big, broad, black-and-white striped flag of the Harpia destructor was magnificent.

The spoils of hunting and fishing therefore afforded an abundance of the most necessary things. In particular it furnished tools for cutting, scraping, polishing, piercing, boring, scratching, and digging. Agriculture assured the natives a secondary eminence and improved their economic condition, but they still remained fishermen and hunters, though to a lesser extent. They were hunters without dogs, fishermen without hooks, farmers without plow and spade. They afford us an excellent example that teaches us how manifold the methods of work for the purpose of making a living could have been before the possession of any metal technique, an example that warns us about overestimating the importance of stone implements, which, of course are preserved the best and most plentifully for posterity, and about throwing indiscriminately into the great pot of the Stone Age everything that comes before the use of metal and, in comparison to the small span of time established for this, must embrace unimaginably long periods.

If one judges culture according to the extent and thoroughness with which the surrounding nature is explored by the human beings, then our natives certainly did not stand on a low level. They hunted and fished with arrow /208/ and bow, they fished with nets, catch-baskets, and weir-baskets, they had their fish

/263 cont./

probably to his great satisfaction, would not answer -- I do not know whether in all parts of Germany -- countless examples of his paid fish, the rhombus with the center dot, twisted, scrunched, and painted on our trees, walls, doors, exactly as he makes it. Woe to him who has once formed the habit of seeing this Indian paid design wherever it appears among us. If he wanted to get away from it, he could no longer set foot in a railroad station, an avenue of trees, a scenic spot, in short, any place where people pass by, for it seems as though an unknown, mysterious society had conspired to pursue him with it. He finds it in the back of ancient lower giants, he finds it in healthy fallen cows.

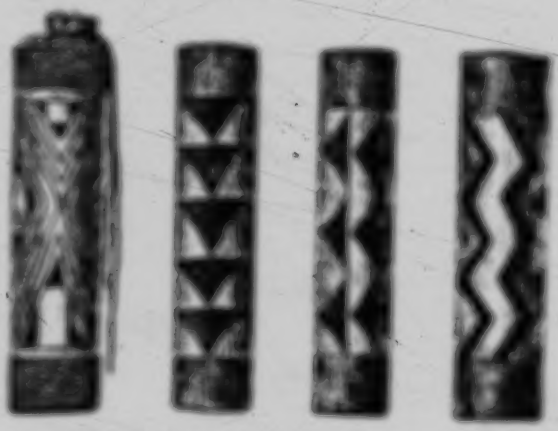


Fig. 60. Bakairí back-scrubs with the designs: *mawachu*, *ulum*, *ton*, and *mako*. (1/4 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/. Cf. the following page /see p. 378/.

The Kalapalo Indians made no secret of their delight in the *ulum*, a diagonal hair band that would not have offered them the model. If they have the geometric conception of a triangle, they owe it entirely to the *ulum*. It would not have spontaneously occurred to them to draw triangles. Among the pencil drawings on Plate 17 /see p. 386/ there is an *ulum* which a Bakairí, unasked, drew in my book for me. In the frieze, Plate 22 /see p. 391/, a large single specimen is shown in No. 13, in 14 we see the *ulum* joined into a fine zigzag band.

/263 cont./

[53] No. 15 draws them in a strange succession, two adjoining men touching only at one corner and alternately at the upper and lower edge of the back board. In No. 16 four ulurin lie with their bows alternately against the lower and upper edge and are separated somewhat by diagonal bars extending from bow to bow. The bars represent the grossly thickened grass strings and are analogous to the mereshu fish-net.

If I drew an equilateral triangle for the Bakadif, they laughed happily and cried "ulirr." It often appeared on their drinking bowls, covering the entire surface in a neat arrangement, and the dividing lines were put on with the awareness that they were originally strings.

[54] /266/ The four back-skirts of Figure 60 /see p. 194/, wooden cylinders which were worn on the back on strings for festival adornment in the third Bakadif village and represented stylized mendiora digging-sticks, show us various designs painted on in black in attractive execution. The first shows mereshu fish, the third hanging bars, which we shall also come across among the Aiwo, the fourth the egwa snake corresponding to No. 12 of Plate 21, the second ulurin. Never, as far as I remember, does the ulurr triangle occur as a triangle composed of only three lines, except in the pencil drawing on Plate 17. The triangle is always filled in and thus given an even more direct impression of the concrete original. /Figs. 60 and 50 appear here./

[55] On Nalingu whitewash sticks, cf. chapter "Mask Ornamentation and Dance Ornament," III, illustration /see Fig. 122, p. 302/, signage of the same kind as those on the back sticks occur and here, too, are regarded as the picture of a snake.

[56] The back sticks also gave us two more very strange decorations. One of them, to our eyes different from the mereshu only by the smallness of the filled-in corners, was a grasshopper, ululge of the Bakadif, nuidge of the Tagd. The design was combined with that of the mereshu fish, the long lines extending from the corners of the rhombus are the grasshopper legs.

/206 cont./

The other decoration refers to a "small bird," yaitamáce, of the Bakairí, which I cannot identify more specifically. One can easily see that it represents a flying bird. But the Indians demand more; they insist on the yaitamáce.

The Auetó decorations are characterized by the most extensive stylization. In the "artists' hut" of the village, numerous designs were painted over the doors and on the wall posts, the most remarkable of which are assembled on Plate 22, "Auetó ornamentation" /see p. 206/. All of them are made up of triangles and rhombuses. Whereas the Bakairí painted with white lines on blackened bark, the Auetó applied black color on a light wood background or incised the design and rubbed color on afterwards. My cousin therefore used to call his Auetó colleagues black-artists and his Bakairí colleagues plain-artists.

Fig. 40.
Bark stick with grasshopper. (1/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 38.
Bark stick with birds. (1/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

/207/ No. 3 is a genuine, quite pleasing mennailu design. No. 4, too, is supposed to represent mennailu fish. The same word, mpinqawenó, was given for both. This is, to be sure, the only example in which the mennailu rhombus is filled in, not only at the corners, but all over. On the other hand, the net, inside the meshes of which the fish are worked in, is treated in greater detail.

/Title cont./

Otherwise it may be of that all Senive adornment, insofar as it offered suitable areas, is without exception painted with designs. This is most noticeable the mode, for which all tribes greatly preferred the meanchu as will be shown in the more detailed description of mode.

/Fig./ I shall briefly enumerate the most characteristic examples of decoration of designs. Among the Bakairi we saw a house painted with thory rings and the signing of the ancestors. As for ours, apart from one in Figure 31, we found only one where the mode designs applied or had been preserved. On the drum-tree lying into third Bakairi village, besides the meanchu figures mentioned under back drawings, there was a long tail-bone drawing painted on, like that of the few place drawing ornamentation /Pl. XI on p. 194/. In the hatbox of the Mehinaki, as I have so mentioned, several trees been attractive meanchu designs scraped into them.

Among the Bakairi was primarily the gourds that were adorned with designs, a drinking bowls as well as the ball-shaped calabashes and the box-shaped ones that were used for storing feathers. /Figs. 32 and 33 appear here./ Sometimes the chief design, sometimes the meanchu design covered them box-shaped, corresponding to the six cut out at the ends of the calabashes, and also directly upon, there was drawn a circle toward which the designs converged of which a half-circle remained on the side when the gourds we cut in two for drinking bowls. On one specimen we saw that a meanchu had been pulled over one another in one corner, that gave the impression of plaiting. Occasionally meanchuand ben elsewhere and were differentiated only by the fact that the case of the latter the corners were not filled in, like No. 1 on Plate 20. The back-sticks were all closely covered with dgen, as described. Cf. page 198.

Among the Nafuqua we were likewise particularly struck by the decorated gourds, cups that here principally the cattle-gourds used in the dances decorated. Their whole painting did not amount to much. It is possible that I underestimate them, because during our forest they had moved out their household

/[illegible] cont./

the animal motif is predominant here. Aside from the fact that the pots are made to look like gourds, from which they probably arose, it is solely and entirely a matter of imitation of animals. Only in the dance art is there an equally inexhaustible abundance of motifs which arise from the joy in the hunting life and its adventures.

The plastic art, too, still permits one clearly to recognize that it was originally merely description. We must not expect to be able to trace its course back as far as in the case of drawing, the best efforts of which still remain a sort of cartographic enumeration of the characteristic features and preserve these even in the geometric modification, but we have here another indication which is no less clear. In the fashioning of bodily form the numerous that is being worked on comes to the fore much more than in the incising of lines. Just as rhyme often furnishes the thought, so does a form already present often furnish the motif. Thus, there is a very striking fragility shown in the characteristic features that are retained, any small resemblance is sufficient to define the figure as a particular creature. On a higher level, the union of one a unmoil with a finally invented motif, and this then quite into geometric stylization exactly like the drawings.

/[illegible]/ Small clay figures. The meager characterization is most striking in the small figures which are kept on the rock shrine, mostly those of heifers and very small children, between the wood kernels, the doll heads, and the nut heads. The material is wholly unimportant. A piece of the convolution of the cone-colored small doll has an edge which runs into irregular projections and indentations: that is a crayfish. The heads of nut heads and fit out of the dwell of the common house, Ophiolucus melanocromus. We see a dwell-shaped piece, the body, which at the bottom continues into a narrower tail and at the top into a sort of neck piece (Fig. 63). This "neck piece," however, is the head, commonly pierced at the side to receive the string, and seems to be treated quite indifferently. If the tail piece is hatched like a fin, we have before us a fish instead of a bird. /Figure 63 appears here./

/[illegible] cont./

In like manner, small pieces of the greenish, black-speckled stone of the stone axes are fish if they are flat, or birds if the roller-shaped body flattens out into a tail. Bishop is helped along somewhat by grinding. In Figure 64, page 303, the first two chains show pierced stone disks (two to three centimeters in diameter) and stone cylinders (three centimeters long) between the nut-beads, such as are made by the Tumaé and Tauloyéti, in the third, the figures of the Nahuqué are made of clay. In the fourth copied by them out of the transparent, amber-like pearly resin (Hymenaea), the third chain also contains an amber bead. A bird is strung on the first and fourth chain. The stone bird, with a small knob recognizable as a beak, is designated as a dove. The pear-shaped stones of the darts, in a small size, are also worn on the chains, tied on, not pierced, and, to be sure, we also found them imported among the Mehinaké, who have neither stones nor throwing darts.

Similar figures are carved out of nut shells and bones. Among the Mehinaké we acquired a

Fig. 63. Bird figure made out of mussel shell. (1/3 nat. size /as drawn in the original illustration./)

piece of bagaçó fish-bone seven centimeters long, a square with bow-shaped flared sides, which represents a quadruped, while a smaller piece represents a ray with the tail and beside it the ventral fin. Unfortunately, I discovered too late that there was always a definite meaning attached to the figures and am therefore unable to say what some of them mean. All guessing is positions here.

/270 cont./

Snow figures. Anyone who still feels confident about always being able to interpret the pictures and figures of the Indians I should have liked to have had beside me in the hut of the Bakaûl which contains the large Snow, not so much because of the painted decorations, as because of a plaited design above the door. When the master of the house had explained the pictures to us, he led us to /270/ this door, as though he wanted to say: "Now here I have another little work of art." There was a plaiting made out of thin, black twigs lying crosswise and yellow straw stretched vertically. One saw two rows of squares between these rods, divided alternately in a diagonal direction from top left to bottom right and from top right to bottom left in such a way that each of them was made up of a black triangle of twigs and a yellow triangle of straw. The Bakaûl explained these triangles as "swallow feathers," "ûdiga yuchiha." The

Fig. 64. Small Snow figures. (1/2 nat. size /as drawn in the original illustration/.)

ûdiga is a black and yellow swallow,* while the ûs is black and white.

* Commonly described as half black, half "white" in my book, The Bakaûl Language /The Bakaûl Language/, p. 38.

Apparently the yellow triangles of the design represented the wings. It is by no means a matter of a casual design, for neither its special

/283 cont./

birds, often painted red. In Illustration 73 /see p. 318/ we see a kanga dove; the figure, 13 centimeters long, with the short wing stumps, turned out very stiff.

Wooden figures. In discussing the dance ornaments I shall deal with the carved and painted wooden masks separately. The Sekaïd, whose festival finery consisted mostly of snow caps, snow mitts, and snow animals worn on the head, carved birds of light wood for their headpieces. In 1904 we brought back from the Sekaïd a wonderful head-structure (illustrated in Dueck Constellation, page 322 /see I. Swanton, this file, p. 146/), whose seven colorfully painted birds are mounted on three long rods wound with flocks of cotton, /284/ birds which at that time I took to be swallows, but in the meantime have been able to identify as ravens (Tanagra corax Neum.). Those shown in No. 74 are similar birds, the larger of which represents a falcon, the small one the nimble diver-bird nanaxion (Colaïtis nanaxion); there were many of them in the third Sekaïd village on the Kaiusha. The neck is sharply set off from the body, a few lines show the markings of the feathers and a long stalk stuck

Fig. 74. Wooden figures: falcon and nanaxion. Sekaïd. (1/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 75. Wooden fish of the Sekaïd Sekaïd. (1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

[301]

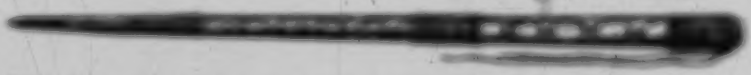


Fig. 76. Nanaxion digger on a back-stick. Sekaïd. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

through the body on the right and left and with its ends coming together again at the bottom represents the legs.

/292 cont./

The tick, 17, has four knobs on its head, which are probably supposed to represent maxillary feelers and mouth parts. The notched edge is most amusing. It reproduces not at all badly the general impression of the creeping and crawling of the eight crooked legs, which, in the case of animals that have sucked their fill, form a wreath at the top of the sac. I do not know whether the mopsi, 18, bears up under zoological scrutiny. It is cyclops, like the Amphia, one of which it is supposed to represent, as far as I understand my informant. In No. 19, the crayfish, we note richly scalloped extremities and a tail fin. For eyes it has a pair of small knobs in which is pierced a fine little hole.

Fig. 99. Suyé toad-pot. (1/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

In conclusion I am adding a pot (diameter 12 & 13 centimeters) with a human representation. It is too much to demand, however, that anyone should acquire anything human about it. The woman artist who brought it to us dwelt with laughter over her creation. She wanted to make a toad-pot and had already copied the tail and leg projections, as well as the head with the bulging eyes of toad form. Then, when she was modeling the wide mouth and it happened to turn out open instead of closed, she noticed the similarity with the much-tattooed lip disk of the despised Suyé, which stands out in front of the teeth of these Indians like a novelties source. She laughed about it, set the stiff mouth flap nearly perpendicular to the toad face, and called the pot a "Suyé figure." Thus, for once, an ornament of the men was used as a motif by the women, analogous to the chief motif, which was so popular among the gentlemen artists.

/328 cont./

the implement. The Dakelf give it the same *yilla*, *bula*, which in their word for thunder and lightning combined, something like "thundermare." If we wish to speak as they do, we must not call it "lightning," as I did at first, but "thunder," according to its sound. By means of this Dakelf word we also gain an explanation as to why the whitener stick was used precisely for rainmaking by the Australian medicine-men, who can fly to heaven with it and who carve figures of water flowers on it. They produced thunder and electrical storms with the magical stick; the idea of rain was secondary.

Fig. 122. Ear feathers. Kamayurá. (1/3 nat. size /as shown in the original Ehrenreich/.)

Feather ornaments and diadems. I have already listed on page 207 the birds that furnish the most important feather ornaments. The feathers were worked into diadems, especially those of the macaw, the parrot, the *mutú* (Cassicus), and the heron. The tail feathers of the macaw were usually put on as the center section of the diadem, where they towered high above the other smaller ones. The lower quill end was turned in and tied to strings. In order to cover the exposed quills, a band made of small red or yellow feathers was placed all around. Feathers tied to a straw wreath were made into a feather wreath encircling the head. Feather hooks were made by tying the feathers (preferably white ones from herons and storks accompanied with small-colored feathers), and, to be sure, the

/308 cont./

larger ones, near the center into the median of a cotton net. When the net is pulled over the head, the feathers stand up in a cross. Feather bands were worn for covering the edge of the diadem, around the forehead, and chiefly, rather loosely knotted, around the upper arms.

Ear feathers. The Bakaiří preferred to wear yellow Cassicus feathers, cf. the masks on page 301 and Plate 6 /see p. 41/. The ear feathers are stuck into balls or fastened to small or large masks of wood. The 24-centimeter long feather staffs of the Kamayurá are very dainty and colorful. Figure 123 /see p. 303/, unfortunately, cannot reproduce the magnificent colors. I have discussed the nose feathers of the Bakaiří on page 160.

Only the Kamayurá had feather cloaks, or more properly long feather nets, which hung down over the back from a neck cord and were put together with the feathers of the vulture, sparrow-hawk, macaw, duck, and plantings. They belonged primarily "to the yakui dance," yakuí-ky. Long black hangings fell in front over the forehead. The Kamayurá also had hanks of human hair, 20-40 centimeters long, which were plaited on a head-net and used in the yakuí dance. In addition they also wore small animal skins and stretched pieces of skin up to about one-fourth of a meter long for the dance.

/309/ Cheaper diadems were plaited out of reed, see Plate 6 /see p. 41/. The Bakaiří and Nahuquá in particular were concern with this adornment, which they skillfully plaited out of strips of bark or stuff or mostly wound and enlivened by alternating black-colored strips. Among the Nahuquá little reed rolls were also set on in a star-shaped arrangement, like the long cotton feathers of the feather diadems. We also see plain pieces of hard bast (from pele de bai) tied around like a diadem, the hard chief wore a piece of jaguar skin as a diadem, cf. the illustration on page 30. Finally, the Kamayurá had cotton caps which, like the reed diadems out of the feather diadems, for their part belonged out of the feather head, as the mulungue down.

/329 cont./

All feather ornamentation, except for an occasional feather stuck in the ear, especially among the Bakaldi, belongs to festive occasions, including the inform reception. It is the same with the feathers as with the body painting.

Children's games. Among the Bakaldi we saw cloth balls wadded together out of maize straw. Instead of the usual long feather, a tail of maize straw was tied inside. There were rubber balls, huge ones, among the Aunal. The sap of a figueira /Ficus/ or the mangabeira is rolled into a little ball on the chest, steeped in water with ashes, and the ball punctured all around in such a way that on the outside it looks as though it were covered with pimples. The balls are dyed red with urucú.

Tops were made from the unripe pennie (Anacardium humile) or mandubi. Twice as big as a cherry, it was pierced and pulled onto a small bamboo stick so that only a small part of the latter emerged, and here it was wound with a tuft of cotton finely to prevent it from sliding off. The top would spin upward on the long handle. Several such tops were set in a pot and made to spin together.

We must count the wrestling described on page 80 among the games of the adults, but children liked to practice wrestling. The same was true, of course, of shooting the bow. We also saw children's throwing sticks. Older children played with the heavy clay dolls. I was asked several times to perform a sort of test of strength in that I was supposed to lift a boy up in the air with my free arm. I must add here the observation that the Indians were unable to balance a pole on one finger.

/330/

Chapter XII.

I. Law and Custom. II. Magic.

I. Property. Kinship. Marriage. Morals. Social. Names. Birth. Crimes and its explanations. Social.

II. Sorcery in various stages and on various levels of culture. Dream experiences. Fear, joy, love. Good and bad medicine-men.

75 /214 cont./
first and foremost *ambá* /thymeleaf/, then *capaiba*, the white or yellow *sumpuchuh* /*pelva de fibra branca ou amarella*/, the *vuitanica*, the *pindaíba* /*Kyaysa*/, etc. Knowing this, the first concern of the *curer* (*pajé*) called to his aid in to extract the sliver of wood that causes the discomfort, which is achieved by sucking on the patient.

764 Sometimes, in spite of the treatment, the latter dies. 302 Then the dead man is painted with urucú (*anatto*); there are 303 put in his ears and nostrils the feathers that adorned them in life; his belongings (*pertiles*) are gathered up, such as bow, arrows, etc., which are deposited along with their owner /215/ in the hole that will serve as grave, well covered with earth stamped down with the feet. In the afternoon the shadow rises in the *guise* of the *curangu* (*Dakuchi*, *Cucumulgin*) and comes to drink *mingau*, which was placed at the grave, on the *qua* that corresponds to the head. After a while it no longer returns.

775 The Bacairis also speak of *kenkuru*, which is equivalent to our *bolgaibiu* or lost soul and, it would seem, are the shadows of those who died a violent death. The following passage describes more clearly what is said concerning these beings.

Kenkuru goes wandering in the afternoon, says the *pajé*; it is all hairy; it has holes for eyes; it wanders through the forest; manner is its food; it wanders in the cultivated clearings; *kenkuru*, *bulle de pau* /"wood insect"/ and ants are its food; it comes to the house to drink *mingau* (*pajé*) take the food of the *kenkuru* outside, take *beiju* /*manioc cake*/ and milk /*boiled manioc flour*/ (*pajé*), at night, in order to sleep, turn rotten, rot is at the door, on the door for (*pajé*), "here" is the *kenkuru* does not come in, the rotten stinks and he does not like the smell. Take his food to the grave; if you do not know the sing (*pajé*) of the *kenkuru*, he does

53½

/26 cont./

23 a table made of *wattles* and provided regularly with meat, if possible monkey meat.

178 Among the various crafts of the Kuikuiru Bakairí, pottery-
223 making, plaiting, and spinning were still maintained in the
286 ancestral form. Food preparation was also still the same as
283 described by Karl von den Steinen for times past. The only
254 essential difference appeared in regard to woodworking, for
179 which at this time metal tools were used, so that this craft no
322 longer depended on stone axes, drill with cane points, chisels,
412 and the teeth of fish or other animals. Another acquisition for
301 the various expeditions which had passed through their territory
were ear pendants of multicolored glass beads with which men
women and children, especially, were well provided. Europe
241 clothing was seen only in exceptional cases. Thus the first m
who came out of his house in Morgen *shirts* to greet me had a
neckerchief which he had been given at the time of a visit to the
Rio Paranatinga *shirts* and which newly had never been washed
once. As a rule the *aluc* (small triangle of bark) was the sole
291 national garment of the women and young girls, and a fine
braid belt and body paint the men's apparel.

114 When Karl von den Steinen visited the Rio Kuikuiru Indian
36 the first Bakairí *shirts*, called Morgen, consisted of only two
342 large houses of *xinfaik* and one small house for fiesta, with an
345 oval hut, while the second and third *shirts* each consisted of
three large houses of *xinfaik* and of one house for fiesta. Th
161 the number of houses in Bakairí *shirts* at the time of my visit
among these Indians had increased, and for this reason I do not
hold to correct Hermann Meyer's observation that this tribe w
114 already "greatly declining" at the time. (30) No doubt there
36
161

30. Hermann Meyer, *Ibid.*, p. 126.

were then only two Bakairí *shirts* on the Rio Kuikuiru, the first Morgen, already mentioned by Karl von den Steinen, and the

323 /Pls cont./

[126] specimens collected by Karl von den Steinen which often said to represent bats. In the basic, dark color of the outer surface of the vessel, brown paint is applied on the walls in parallel vertical strips and on the bottom of the vessel in curved lines emerging from the circumference of a circle whose center is the center of the pot bottom. The height of this pot reaches 22.5 cm. and the diameter of its upper rim, 26.5 cm. Two other fired clay vessels, both smaller, are represented in Figures 26 and 27, one of which (V.B. 9877) has a height of 11.5 cm. and an upper rim diameter of 20 cm., and the other (V.B. 9876) a height of 12.5 cm. and an upper rim diameter of 20 cm. Of the other objects from the region of the upper Kings River most were ornaments. The necklace shown in Figure 28 (V.B. 9907) and made of small shell disks (diameter: 0.8 cm.) and a large stone bead was given to me in Sindbo Lagoa by my old friend, the Bakari, Karlo, as a particularly precious object from former times. Other ornamental objects in my collection are shown in the following photographs:

301 [126]

Figure 29, a. A necklace of small shell pieces /Lingoma/ (V.B. 9906. Length of the pieces, 2.5 cm.).

/30/ Figure 29, c. A necklace of shell disks with a anthropomorphic (head) pendant of fruit rind (V.B. 9904).

Figure 29, b. Zoomorphic stone pendant for a necklace.

Figure 29, e. Feather diadem. (V.B. 9908.) Length 36 cm. Width 8 cm.

285 [189]

Among the cultural goods of the Bakari which we must also regard as products of the native industry, but which, in contrast with those just described, were apparently made by the Bakari of the Sindbo Lagoa Post themselves, we may point out first of all the various kinds of painted objects, because they will serve to complement on various points my previous publication on Bakari painted objects. (44) For this reason I shall

[113]

44. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., pp. 330-371.

Plate XII

301
237

Fig. 23. a. Diadem of feathers.
b. Pendant for a necklace.
c. Shell necklace.
d. Pendant for a necklace, of a human figure
Sukarnō-Kingsmen in Sandfly Lagoon.

301

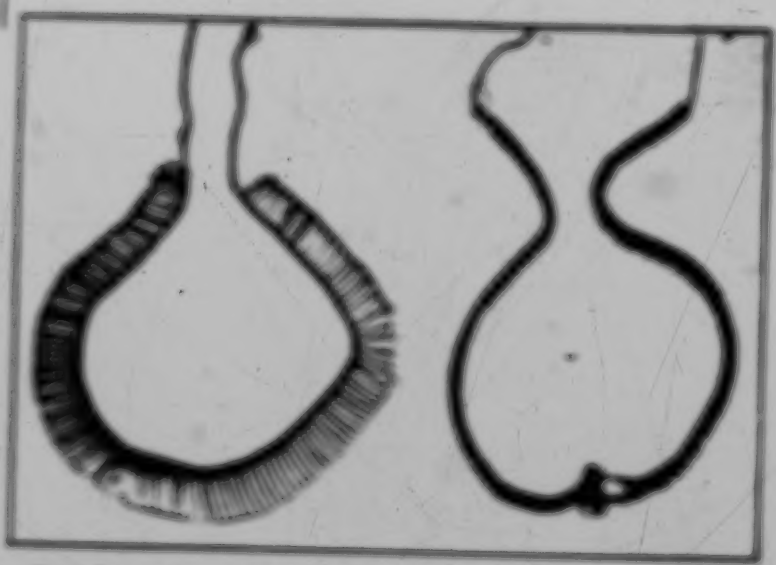


Fig. 24. a-b. Necklaces of Sukarnō-Kingsmen, in Sandfly Lagoon.

and was combed with a comb (*sadaji*) made by weaving slender cane teeth into a cotton holder.

Although clothing, in the strict sense of the term, was nonexistent, the Bacairí used, on ceremonial occasions, beautiful, skillfully made ornaments. An important ornament was the *eripe*, a diadem or feather headdress strapped to the forehead. The *eripe* was made by fastening a row of green parrot feathers to a cotton band, above which was fastened another row of yellow wagtail bird feathers. Two long blue macaw feathers were set in the center so as to stand straight up above the forehead. The *eripe* was worn only by men. These headdresses are still used, for some were seen in the village of Simão Lopes.

There were at least four kinds of necklaces. The *wapatiwa* was made from small thin round disks of white or pink snail shell, as many as 400 being strung on a string. This necklace was worn around the neck by women and around the waist by men and girls. The *dwidaiwa* was also made from snail shell, but the disks were oblong with holes in both ends through which strings were passed. Although the *dwidaiwa* was particularly used by men, women sometimes wore it together with the *wapatiwa*. The *aweidipi* was a necklace made from black disks of tucum palm nut and could be worn by both men and women at all times. Both men and women also wore necklaces made from the teeth or claws of the jaguar called the *dakipiri*. The Bacairí still use the *wapatiwa*, *dwidaiwa*, and the *aweidipi*.

Besides necklaces, the Bacairí used a variety of other ornaments. The *aparati* were armlets and anklets of cotton material decorated with feathers of different colors. The armlets, which were about 2 inches wide, were fastened tightly above the biceps and were believed necessary for the development of the muscle, while similar bands were below the knee and around the ankles. Both men and women used the bands. An American missionary who experimented with Bacairí arm bands claimed that they caused him a great deal of distress but he has observed no ill effects among the Indians. The *pei* was a feather ear ornament made from red macaw and yellow parrot feathers suspended from the lobes of the ears. Holes in the ears were made with a sharpened jaguar bone or with a sharpened ibis feather. The *tapiwiwa*, worn only by men, consisted of two blue macaw feathers

placed in a hole in the septum of the nose, so that the feathers swung one on each side of the head. Although the pátko, or scratcher, was not strictly an ornament, it is mentioned here because it had ritual meaning. The pátko was made by setting fish teeth into a gourd holder and was used for scarifying the skin of the arms, legs, chest, and back so as to cause bleeding. The wounds were first washed with water and later smeared with the juice of the wadéwa vine. The pátko was used by boys and girls during puberty seclusion and by adults who had scars on their bodies. It was believed that the use of the pátko made people strong and healthy. As far as could be ascertained the Bacairí did not mutilate the teeth, genitals, or other parts of the body. There was no sign of tattooing, but pubic hair was carefully pulled out by both men and women. Formerly the Bacairí kept large birds, believed to belong to the eagle family, in their villages for their feathers. The Brazilians call the bird "harpia" and claim that it is still kept by the Indians in the Xingú Basin. The "harpia" was captured by shooting it with a blunted arrow, and it was kept in a special hut and fed. Villages often had several of these birds in captivity, the feathers being used particularly for feathering arrows. Parrots and macaws were also kept, their feathers being used only for ceremonial decorations.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Vegetable foods formed the basis of Bacairí diet, with fish and meat taking second and third places. The principal animals hunted were monkeys, deer, wild pigs, tapir, and the jaguar. The jaguar, however, was not eaten, but was hunted for its skin, teeth, and claws. The principal weapon used was the bow and arrow. Hunters would stalk game alone or in groups with the aid of dogs driving game into water or into steep rocky enclosures. There is no mention of the spear being used, but deadfalls and pitfalls were used. Many varieties of large fish were shot with the bow and arrow, either from canoes or from the river bank. Lizards, turtles, and a wide variety of wild fruits, roots, tender shoots, and honey were collected at certain seasons of the year.

The major part of the food supply, however, was obtained through agriculture. The Bacairí cultivated bitter manioc, *dpu*; sweet manioc, *tsiel*;

881 The release from seclusion was signalized by the feast of *todowuto*. The parents of the young people accumulated much food and went on a big hunt on the day before the feast. The chief and all the villagers were invited to the ceremony during which all the Bacairí songs and dances were performed and the young people were presented gifts by the villagers. The girls would now take the strings of beads from around their waists and wear them around their necks and their mothers would give them cotton cords which they put around their hips and to which the aluri were attached. The boys and girls were now eligible for marriage.

[291] [301] [291] [512]

MARRIAGE (TODOHOKÚINLE)

584 Marriages were arranged by parents or by older brothers or sisters. The father and mother of the boy, for instance, would take presents of ornaments and food to the parents of the girl. If the parents of the girl accepted the gifts it meant that they favored the marriage, and if they refused it meant that the suitor was not acceptable. The marriage ceremony took place in the girl's home, the date being arranged by the parents. At the girl's house the young couple were seated side by side with linked arms. They were then given advice by their respective parents and relatives. Marriage was not considered a period of ritual danger, nor were extensive feasts given. It appears to have been an affair involving only the families of the young couple.

585

BURIAL (EPIODÍLE)

764 The body was painted, ornaments were put on, and then the body was wrapped in a hammock and buried in a grave with the feet to the east so that the face would be toward the rising sun

768 Although old and worn objects were burnt, most of the property of the dead was shared among the relatives. The part of the house occupied by the dead person was washed, and clean sand was sprinkled on the floor. There was a mourning period (*logúne*) of 1 month, during which the immediate relatives were in a state of *wánki*.[1]

765

SHAMANISM

775 When a person died, the ghost (*kodópe*) went into the sky or into the water or sometimes wandered upon the earth. Ghosts of the dead often

[1] [ie. a state of ritual danger]

Bacairi SP7

Geographically the post is situated ideally on a high land removed from the river and cleared of all vegetation, the jungle appearing only as a narrow fringe along the river banks. Like the rest of the high plateau it is wind swept, and generally pleasant. It must be added that contact with white people, such as is had when a small group of natives go to Cuyabá, has brought syphilis to them, and it may be their mortality is due to this.

One occupation enjoyed in former times is denied them, and that is fishing. There are practically no fish in the Paranatinga, at least up to where the post is located. Since meat is gotten only on rare occasions, and no hunting is done, the diet is mainly one of vegetables and considerably poorer than when they were living in their original state. This may also explain their lowered resistance to disease.

Very little museum material which represents their own products can be collected from the Bakairi. What has not been gotten from the Inspectoria has been brought back on excursions to the Kuluseu. Pottery has not been made since their coming to the post, according to them. The huge vessels that they possess either have been brought with them from their former homes or bartered from the tribes on the Kuluseu. It is claimed that the proper clay cannot be found in the neighborhood of Simão Lopes.

Arrows are still being made, an iron nail generally being substituted for the old bone point, but most of the arrows also come from the Kuluseu.

For the old hammock made of palm-leaf fibre the cotton hammock has been substituted, but the same open net style has been kept.

Mussel shell ornaments have also been bought from the tribes of the Kuluseu. In brief, almost anything that is found in their village must bear the suspicion that it is not a Bakairi product.

However, they have preserved a few customs, such as filing the upper teeth to a point, wearing under the European clothing the gee string, and ceremonial use of the bull-roarer, and they probably remember many of their ceremonies.

The short time spent at the post was mostly devoted to taking anthropometric measurements, which were subsequently lost on the Kuluseu, but in some notes I do find the statement that in blood groupings most belong to groups three and four, the former predominating.

/142 cont./

342 cupid, beehive-like. The larger one was 18 meters in diameter, covered high up on the outside with acuri straw, whereas the framework in the interior exhibited a circle of supporting posts one and a third meters high, upon which the basket of this structure, which actually consisted merely of a roof, rose with many horizontal bamboo rings. At the top was an air vent. a number of the /143/ framework poles crossing one another here extended to the outside. The entrance, a hole one and a half meters high, was surrounded by pepper plants. In any case, the interior space was far larger and finer than in the new houses.

433 The people led an idyllic existence: they carried on agri-

142 241 309 602

Captain Reginaldo and wife.

433 culture and mock-raising, went hunting, planted manduca
241 /manioc/, beans, maize, rice, and some tobacco and sugar cane.
193 They were civilized, despite the pierced ear lobes and nasal septa.
304 Their average height was 1.65 meters. they were striking because
142 of their broad and powerful chests. Their skin was yellowish,
241 clay-colored, and rather light, the hair of most of them was black and slightly curly or wavy. In general they had beautiful, open
151 eyes. Reginaldo's excellent vision was demonstrated on one occasion in a way that amazed us all. We noticed far in the distance a /illustration appears here/ figure in the grass; with an excellent field-glass I took it to be Tupy riding up. the entire company, among them Daniel, who was seldom mistaken, agreed with me;

/1113 cont./

151 only Reginaldo, who joined us, laughed and said definitely that the person approaching was Claus coming on foot. And he was right.

191 They all understood at least a few words of Portuguese.

648 They are on good terms with the Caroá, who, they said, call themselves Kayacho. It seems that they impress them because of their rifles. Reginaldo did not like to talk about this point. One had the impression that, according to his inner feeling, he was, after all, on the side of the wild Indians and against the Whites. As a clever man, he took advantage of the benefits offered by the Brazilians and did not fall out with the barbarians.

142
141
302

João and Joaquina.

648 The Bakairí manaa /meek Bacairi/ bow to authority. In their hearts they are the same people as the antigues.

126 /104/ We were busy for a number of days. Claus worked out the itinerary and took the ground temperature, Wilhelm drew, I took body measurements and made the glossary that ap-
[115] pears in the appendix. Besides Reginaldo, I was aided in particular by good-natured Antonio, who put up with everything and would have given anything to go with us. But he did not even dare ask the strict captain for permission. Cazzo, too,
122 was busy with notes. We shared the hut with him and the cadet.

/106 cont./

The count was familiar with only two forms of activity: he slept or ate. It was indeed a pleasure, however, to sleep within four walls once more, although at night the wind often whistled through strongly. And there were all kinds of things to eat that were not furnished on the march. There was plenty of sugar cane; the cooked mandioca root with roasted bacon cubes was a dish for the gods; a piglet was slaughtered; a few chickens forfeited their lives; the young chaps had also killed a tapir one day under a regular volley of small shot; it furnished a very tasty ragout. The women wore fresh, crisp "beijiis," a simple baked product made of mandioca

Antonio Quirino

flour, of the shape and approximately the taste of matzoth. Since there was no shortage of rapadura /a crude form of sugar; see the glossary, p-172 /, "jacuba" was constantly being prepared as refreshment: in a gourd bowl a plentiful amount of rapadura, a plentiful amount of farinha /manioc flour; see the glossary p-171 /, and water as desired. Even milk appeared. In the evening the calves were separated from their mothers; the herd was driven into the "curral" /corral; see glossary, p-170 /, and the calves were lassoed with a great hullabaloo, while a large and appreciative audience /105/ sat all around on the fence. That was something

/105 cont./

526 for Pedro, to hang on the tail of a cow rushing out at top speed and to maintain it seat as long as possible during the gigantic leaps -- that is something to laugh about.

533 As soon as darkne set in, the music-making began. The
[illegible] Inkalif had learned fro the colonists of Santa Cruzze to carve
[illegible] guitars for themselves, nd they played them with enthusiasm.
They improvised short songs" on pecies of dogs, bananas, the
534 moon, a house, etc., ie evening they showed up with

142
291
302

André

534 their original and peculiar tribal instruments. Characteristically enough, they hadidden them nearby in the forest.

They were large ad small flutes, the meni and the kramarin. The latterias nothing special; it is made out of
[924] bamboo, one might sayhatoon-like. The meni, made out of vinhatico wood, is a lite over a meter long; it is held with the feet. On the upper-secto there is a small hole into which the player blows. Not far blow it there is a square opening in the tube, just as there is a sries of smaller ones in the lower part.
533 The music is simple, bu has to be learned. It consists of five tones,

/108 verso./

123 shake hands with each one, but they evidently did not know the purpose of this. When we put bracelets and earrings on them, however, they understood this immediately. The children had to have something too.

124 Wilhelm was allowed to sketch Pena Jum behind the house, as yet I did not dare think about taking the measurements of the women, and then Ibir knocked on the door.

122 Very unknown discoveries about the condition of the supplies changed the entire situation.

On 18 June we had already reached an agreement with

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Bakairí boy.

122 Castro to wait at most three more days for Tupy. In view of our uncertain /107/ future it was not to be justified if we did not use the favourable time of year better. The Bakairí figured five days more to the Paranatinga. Another stop was necessary in the second aldeament. Let Tupy follow us there. As far as the lost iron goods

501 were concerned, we had become less worried. Daniel had first called our attention to the bark canoes of the Bakairí; on the Rio Novo there was only a very small one that was being used as a trough. We were to see them on the Paranatinga; if we could make up our minds to make do with these bark canoes, we would need only a few tools, which perhaps could be obtained from a fazendeiro /see "Fazenda" in the glossary, p.171 / living near the Paranatinga. The advice was good.

/119/

200 Cleum, Centro, and the majority stayed at the fazenda. The owner, for his part, rode to a campadre/ Cavatur in the Gen. in the original source, p. 181 (translated p. 72) "campadre" is translated as the Ger. Cavatur, the latter term is given in the glossary of Brazilian expressions, p. 179 / eight leagues away, who was supposed to sell farinha. Thus everyone was busy.

135 Wilhelm and I arrived at twilight after a four-hour march over a series of hilly ranges, having crossed a few small tributaries of the Pomerangs. We could have sworn that we were in the Bergischen /a hilly countryside near the Rhine/ or Westphalia -- farm houses in front of the bush, the quemada like potato fields, -- in the gathering darkness we also began to indulge in fancies on a barren hill in the distance we clearly saw a lunatic asylum in the latest pavilion style.

Captain Caetano "Hilmo."

231 The dreadful dogs that hastened toward us, barking, were ill-suited to bringing us back to a clear and sober conception of reality. These cur, small, skeletal specimens, with pointed mouts, light whitish-yellow fur, and glassy, watery eyes, looked as though they scratched up the dead out of the graves in the cemetery at night.

122 185 Received by old Captain Caetano and a few young chaps, we were put up in the guest house. The term is synonymous with guest room or guest stall. The only furniture a trough-like, unfinished bark canoe on a stand in the corner, which we were permitted to use as a dresser and table.

Annatto

/137 cont./

[291] the process of being cleared. The piles of smoke that had drawn our attention for several days is explained: the force who

[292] being cleared in order to lay out a planting. Eagerly scanning, we climb up, and again we are wandering along the forest path.

/138/ "Bacalf," somebody cries in a suppressed voice and

[293] triumphantly points to a few crumbs, which give us the prospect of new provisions. "They have bacalf," each one murmurs to the man behind him.

[294] There -- a further-discovered arrow leans against a tree

[295] -- the tube of ubá, the wood from which the Imperador /emperor/ of the legend created the Bacalf. We become more solemn, and even the Negroes, who, when they are ashead, like to try to give themselves courage by chattering much on shoreby. Now and then small fires, alive or burned out. We have already been

[296] walking three-quarters of an hour. But see there, a new clearing -- a charming grove of nut-bearing Brazilian palms -- a few hamals of maize on the ground, again a bit of farm and "Chaka -- house," the first man cries.

[297] These houses of the form of a beehive: become visible; in

[298] the first hut, which blocks our path, the low door stands open. In the dark we make out a few heads. A completely naked

[299] Indian steps out, young, well built, closes the door, and comes

[300] toward us, in his hand a long arrow shaft without a point, which he holds horizontally in front of him.

I instruct Antonio to call out a greeting to him in Bacalf. "Kipaline," cries Antonio almost breathless, and -- hail to the antiquus -- the Indian answers in Bacalf. Eagerly he steps up to Antonio, leans against him, and both embrace as they walk on -- both talking at the same time, both trembling all over with fear and excitement.

[302] A joyful feeling of release overcame us all, and when Manoel, discovering that our dear savage wears a nicely shaved tonsure, now finally recovers his speech and cries out, "Oh, why that's a priest, the compadre is a priest," general laughter breaks out, and everybody talks at once.

/130 cont./

We were led into the smallest of the three huts. There we sat down on a long mat lying on the floor. Two supporting beams, adorned with a diadem of parrot feathers and wound at the bottom with a belt of dry grass mats, held up the straw roof. Many elegantly worked arrows were sticking in the wall.

These Bakairi had never seen human beings of another color. They said that there were a few more settlements downstream. This was the last inclusion, the one we passed here -- great news -- and the town -- naturally, we were eager to learn this -- lies north. It is called Tanizetsile. After 12 days' journey there comes another, larger one from the left, the Xingu.

Thus all favorable circumstances seemed to converge and the hardships of the trip were amply outweighed.

We could not endure it much longer in the hut. Outside /136/ others appeared, including two women -- one, whose youth and beauty were long gone, busily stripping ahuai with flushed face. A triangular, straw-yellow leaf fastened to a string, which was slung around the hips and drawn through the perineum, constituted her scanty clothing. Our friend who was doing the honors wore around his waist three strings, on which were alternately strung bits of mahogany black seeds, in each ear lobe two coquettish yellow feathers, and above the ankles a tight band of bast. His hair had a dark reddish sheen. It was cut in Roman style around a bowl. The texture was as correct as in other well-known cases where the discoverers of a tribe were misled by it into believing that the heralds of Christianity must have been active there earlier. The type of physiognomy was without doubt in conformity with the Bakairi.

Soon a second principal figure appeared on the scene: a medium-sized Indian with a fine hooked nose and heavily painted red, who was coming from hunting. He drew near uneasily in a roundabout way, talking partly to himself and partly, parrying, to us. We called him the professor because of his incredibly dignified manner of examining every object most minutely, like a person who knows a thing thoroughly, but cannot quite understand why this or that does not fit.

/[illegible]/

Countless gourd vessels /[illegible], see glossary, p. [illegible]/ and calabashes, brownish-yellow, some of them painted black in designs not without [illegible].

In the lower roof-bamboo are stuck the arrows, averaging two meters long, and the bows, which almost reach a length of two and a half meters. The arrows, made of [illegible], have simple wood or bone points, at the end of the shaft broad feathers are set equally.

Feathers, even bunches of them and whole tail coverts, are kept in mats placed together portfolio-like; spindles, pig-mats, bones, rare pieces, shells, and the like are kept in small baskets and sets. On the ends of the hammocks are found as decoration a couple of feathers or shells and -- the comb. This under article consists of small, narrow sticks placed next to one another and held together by two cross-sticks of bamboo by means of a plaiting of cotton threads; the hard sticks project beyond the lower cross-stick as the teeth of the comb.

The hammocks are quite can hardly say woven, but rather knotted. Two posts stand in the ground; they are wound with a skein of cotton in the way that our women wind knitting wool on a chair; through the horizontal, parallel threads, vertical threads are drawn at four-centimeter intervals with guide sticks and knotted; the parts of the skein which lie close to the post and are not knotted (the entire bundle of horizontal threads pressed together) form the loop that receives the hammock rope.

A plaited matting above the door and waves of alternating black and light straw are worked with a natural artistic sense. The fire is fanned with a triangular piece of matting.

The hair of the women, cut unevenly and longest behind the ears, hangs down to the shoulders; the forehead is almost completely covered. A young woman had the latter painted with thick red color during the visit on the river. No ornaments. Only the old woman wears a string over her left shoulder, which goes under her right arm; three trouser buttons, which she cut off from us and the soldiers with her own hands, are strung on it.

/Tida cuna./

The triangular garment of the women, a folded piece of bark bast, supposedly from the silkwild tree, has a base of four centimeters and a height of one to one and a half centimeters.

A girl about ten years old is still completely naked.

The nasal septum of the men is not pierced. The beard hair, /hair/ of a natural tendency for it is present, as well as all the hair among the women, may with the exception of the beard hair, the eyebrows, and eyelashes, is carefully removed.

Around 11:00 in the forenoon Cleum came with Antonio, a few men also arrived from hunting, among them the chief, an Indian gentleman with an extremely middle official face and a fat little belly. We count ten men, seven women, five boys, four girls.

Clothing of the Bakairí women.

Paulhaga showed us how they make fire. They take two long, thin sticks of the same dry wood, into one a notch is scraped, while one man now holds this in position on the ground with two small sticks, a second man twirls the other stick rapidly between both hands in the notch. The dust that is rubbed loose glimmers.

We did some bartering. I measured a few men. They patiently allowed it to be done.

These "wild" Bakairí are alert, teachable, and certainly very good-natured. They do not steal, although we are carrying treasures with us. They have no intoxicating drink; they refuse tobacco. On the second day, together with their wives, they visit us in our camp -- the "docile ones" on the Rio-novo, on the other hand, preferred to sleep with those in the bush as long as we were in the aldea. On the first evening a savage drinks a medicine that I

/148 cont./

[514] other, the professor, naked, but, along with bow and arrow, one of our matches in his hand. We were undoubtedly well recommended.

[532] Shortly before the exit from the woods we came across a wonderful display of about a dozen animal figures along one side of the path, /149/ probably the remains from a festival. They were made of leaves and straw, mostly quadrupeds with long, thin bodies, consisting of practically nothing but spinal column and long legs; the tallest ones reached to our hips. Something that was evidently supposed to be a monkey was climbing up a pole. A human figure was incised in a tree, with ample use of a depression present in the bark. Such is the beginning of art in the primeval forest.

[361] [341] After we had passed a [illegible] and low shrub planting, we saw four huts, two large ones and two small ones, lying correspondingly opposite each other. The nobility was assembled on the [276] [576] place; a friendly "[illegible]" (that is you) with raised hand welcomed each one. Then, one after the other, we were grasped [345] at the wrists by our hosts, mostly by two at the same time, and led before the festival hut, where beam and stool were ready.

There we sat in long rows with our guns, and immediately the serving of [illegible] began. Then we did our tricks, cut nails, [125] let them look through the opera glasses, lighted a match with fire steel, etc. The professor beamed; he was reaping honor with us.

[301] [629] A sturdy young man, a diadem of stiff jaguar skin over his forehead, seemed to be acting as herald. He poured busily, spoke louder than the others, and grasped everything most quickly. I had the feeling that we were traveling circus artists and were being informally received and treated in a club. One

● 302 531 of the younger sportsmen had had his body painted with black squares, which were joined at the edges with short lines. The drawing on the upper thigh of another -- a black wavy line and in the depressions of it black dots -- definitely resembled the skin marking of a fish, the pintado.

/169 cont./

I acquired cheaply some bell strings of round stone disks of the diameter of a thick pencil, as well as a necklace of jaguar claws, by hooking the fish hook, an art ornament, into the ear lobes of these people, who do not know how to appreciate it as a means of catching fish.

The chief was striking because of his stupid face and a big nose. He treated us with aristocratic indolence and indifference. Several wore two yellow feathers in each ear; these were stuck in a little bunch of red feathers that protruded from a small bun. The most beautiful head-ornament, however, was a simple row of yellow feathers up to 12 centimeters long, in the center of which towered a long macaw feather.

Stealthily a few women appeared. There was an old woman here, too, who /170/ kept the wife in order. She had curly hair. One woman, who had a boy astride her right hip, was painted all over her body with a disgusting yellow pigment.

The two large huts were round, the two small ones elliptically long, resembling stalls. In one of them, the festival hut, we discovered strange things. Between the supporting beams, or cross-poles, hung a great number of the most diverse colorful headpieces. They all had a straw frame for fitting them on the head. The colors were white, black, red, and orange, all applied crudely. There were open cylinders of bast of the consistency of cardboard, red, set with black squares; two large round /illustration appears here/ vessels, one with small yellow feathers pasted overall, the other with small blue feathers, and smaller ones painted with red and white areas; on the edge burnt fibers one meter long hung down like a woman's hair; a stuffed hide of a little fox, likewise an otter, both with a straw frame for putting them on. Two black and white sword-like pieces of wood -- representing rattlesnakes according to Antonio. A stiff frame of stalks, in which sat little swallows, with cotton stuffed in between everywhere. The birds perfectly recognizable in shape, white, head and back of neck black, a few with yellow belly. A larger bird, painted red and black, was looking out of one of the cylinders (1).

1. Cf. the first ethnological plate /see pp. 160-162/.

/172 cont./

the more uncertain I am in determining the common features. The Kumeyaay has his face and half of his lower thigh painted red, like markings; the upper thighs are covered with a sooty black, in which, however, curled stripes are left black. On his back he has two red stripes, and in addition black arm-bands. Numerous scratches, which are made with the teeth of the puma-cachorro (dogfish). The Bakalil, too, are painted more than usual with red. One has a black stripe on either side from eye to ear, another has painted himself black over the middle of his forehead, nose, lips, and chin, and bright brick-red on the sides of the forehead and the face. Among some, the hair, too, is saturated with the red oil. Below the knees are bands of /Illustration appears here/ /172/ burnt straw; a skein of cotton, colored a dirty reddish brown, is tied around the waist. Some have strings or bands of cotton wound over the ankles or under the knees, around the legs, or around the upper arms. There is no uniformity anywhere.

The tonsure is shaved with a bent piece of spear grass. Its diameter is seven centimeters.

To our surprise we also found an iron chisel tip and on a child a little string of blue beads. We could not find out definitely how these had found their way here. I interpreted their description and Antonio's unclear account to mean that they had been brought back from a raid on the lower Paranatinga whom the grandfather had visited on a raiding expedition.

Even in Aldea II the men had become happily excited by the discovery of tobacco seed. Smoking was also done here. The leaves were so dry that they could be rubbed almost to powder. They were rolled into cigarettes about two decimeters long, and the fresh green leaf of an unknown tree was split lengthwise and used as the wrapping. This wrapper burned with a pleasant, balsam odor. The smoke was inhaled.

The women made excellent beijú; it tasted like fresh French roll. We also ate a fish ragout à la coquille, of which we would have liked to have had more than they gave us.

[Text Continues on P. 59]

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I: Steinen--56 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi

Flute duet among the Bakairí.

/175/

000 Off at 9:00. Soundlessly with Valentin in the lead; occasionally a bird is aroused in the bushes. Doves coo, otherwise deep silence. The last morning mists heavy on the water.

133 From the shore a blue serra /sierra; see the glossary, p. 172 /
361 visible in NW. At 10:00 we reached the harbor of Aldea IV. Here we were already expected. It is the only one that lies on the right shore, about three kilometers inland. -- A half-dozen
609 older people received us with their "am(b)ɨ" and accompanied us along the way. They stopped often in order to make clear to us, with many gestures of satisfaction, that they were Bakaïrí and masters of the entire region. Mostly through meadow and
[361] campo along the edge of the forest. -- It was the largest village, seven huts, and in the middle an open plaza. Twenty-four men stood there in several groups, foremost a heavily blackened fellow who swung bow and arrows wildly, beat on them clatteringly, and shouted with a stentorian voice: "Bakaïrí, Kɨ́ura Bakaïrí" (we, the Bakaïrí). And the chorus joined in: "Kɨ́ura Bakaïrí --
[624] Kustenaú...Trumaí hu-hu,"...other tribal names, incomprehensible words, triumphant gestures; finally the herald, with a gesture of his hand, invited us to pass. Apparently they were trying to make as forceful an impression as possible on us.

• 302 Only the hair of a few individuals was dyed red; otherwise they blackened their faces, chests, and legs. No one was dis-
[301] tinguished by special finery; they wore their belt strings, arm and leg bands of cotton or burití bast.

[142] The skin color seemed to me a little darker than among the other Bakaïrí, but I may have been misled by the black painting, which did not show any particular designs anywhere, but rather was manifested in a simple coating of the body. The spinal column was left free, and likewise the parts from which the color could rub off in sitting. Membrum virile parvum, praeputium longum.

142 The epidermis of several individuals was thickened ichthyosis-like and covered with hard, dry scales over the entire body. Many had curly hair.

162 /58 cont./ unfortunately, she scratched her head far too often,
621 and though this may occasionally have occurred out of embarrassment,
515 nevertheless lice had their visible part in it.

Eva's friend, about twelve years old, "my intended" (Pl. 5, third
[262] from the right), was in the habit of picking them out and eating them.
162 In general this one had all the good things in the village, and many
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[301]

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Fig. 2. "Eva," Tumayana's daughter.

162 beads that I had given others I later found around her neck. She was the
621 little daughter of the deceased chief and his /59/ heiress. Her uncle
[622] Tumayaua was only the provisional chief; if I had followed Paleko's
[123] very seriously meant suggestion and had married his niece, he would have had to turn over the government to me. Even today I cannot deny that,
[291] quite apart from the excellent match with which there was associated no greater demands in the way of dress than a string of beads and a piece of bark-bast the size of a small human ear, a better opportunity of becoming acquainted with the ethnology of the Kulisehu could scarcely have been imagined. I saw little of the other women, with the exception,
[142] perhaps, of the "Egyptian," who also came over from the second village, a tall greedy person with an Egyptian profile and almond-shaped eyes (Pl. 5, second from the right).

[See P. 28--Analyst]

2: Steinen--28 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate V

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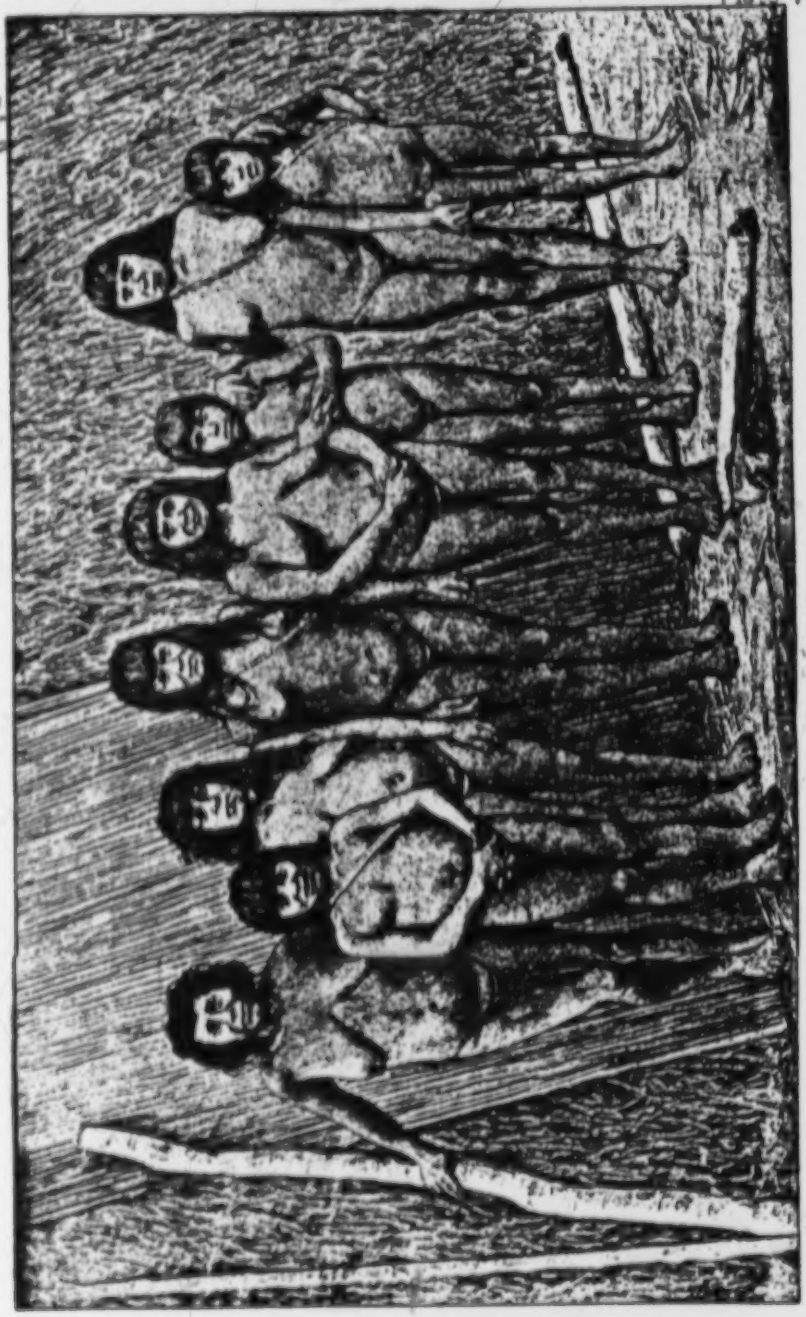

/85 cont./

000 brought three large fat barbados, which traveled to the grill and well deserved being eaten, even at the witching hour, in the scenery of the roaring waterfall gloriously illuminated by the moon.

122 On 2 October we set out at 6:30 and reached the Bakaïrí harbor at 2:15. Good Paleko was already standing there with a bowl of mandioca paste. Wilhelm and I immediately went to the 123 village. It was very entertaining /86/ to observe how one welcoming scene followed the other, since the canoes arrived at intervals; new guests, again and again new excitement, and a new rushing forth out of the flute-house, where we sat amidst beijús 302 and calabashes. Some of the people had adorned themselves festively with colored designs. Kulekule had decorated his face and upper body with orange-red lines and dots, my intended had red serpentine lines on her upper thighs, the Egyptian a red forehead and nose, Tumayaua's small grandchildren were daubed and smeared black, their mother Eva appeared with her hair and skin 301 powdered white from her beijú work. Good-natured Awiá wore a cake knife, that is, a beijú turner, in her hair in a curious fashion.

628 There were also foreign visitors present from Village II and 574 III; we counted 18 hammocks in Paleko's house and 13 in Tumayaua's 126 houses. Ehrenreich was taking photographs. For each shot the models were compensated with a few beads. They were somewhat afraid, but the beads conquered the fear of danger. The women's group on Plate 5 was obtained only with difficulty. The women had let themselves be positioned and arranged, and Ehrenreich was on the point of exposing the plate, when they suddenly discovered their mirrored images in the lens and, astonished, fell upon the apparatus in order to examine it more closely. The photographer in dire distress! Tumayaua had gained possession of a useless plate of glass -- "páru," water - and with it, following Vogel's directions, he set the first window in the straw dome of his house.

123 On this fine day I wanted to present a gift of honor to my hosts. Two young ladies of Berlin had given me a pretty blond doll to bring along, which they themselves had fitted out with a

[see p. 28--Analyst]

2: Steinen--138 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Pl. XIII

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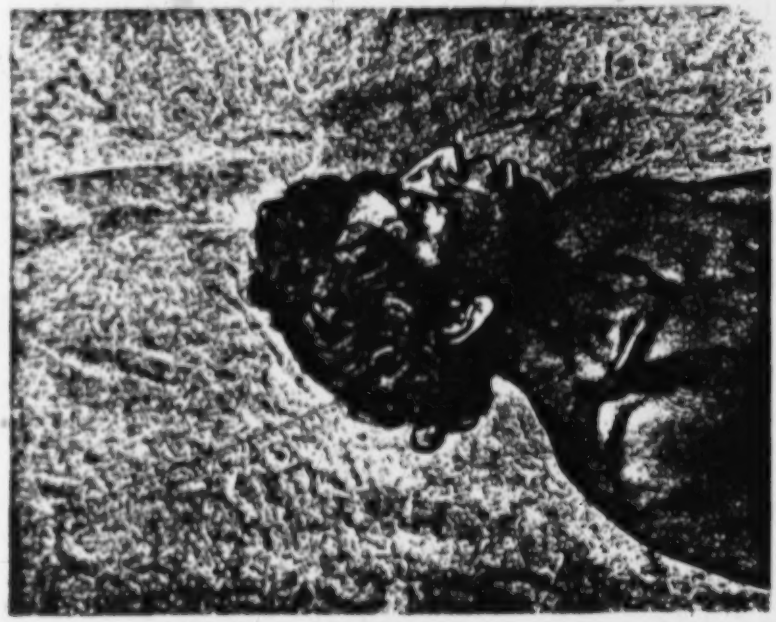

Bakairi "Izzy"

/171 cont./

B/T 302 The lashes were plucked, especially among the Nahuquá until the last trace had disappeared. The same was true of the beard hair. We often, however, came across a moderate mustache or chin beard, occasionally even a cheek beard, mostly among the Kamayurá. Underarm and pubic hair was also plucked out.

B 142 The facial type of the individual tribes showed certain differences which are difficult to define. There is a Bakaïrí face which I would be confident about not confusing with a face of any other Kulisehu tribe, but which has the greatest similarity with the Karaiben of the Guianas. I would immediately take for a Bakaïrí a Karaiber Apiaká /Apiaca/ of the Tokantíns whom Ehrenreich photographed. Other Bakaïrí, however, could also belong to any of the other Kulisehu tribes on the basis of their physiognomy. The more Indians one became acquainted with, of course, the more uncertain one became. The Bakaïrí or Karaiben face that I am referring to almost has a European structure, the prognathism is slight, the forehead not high but well rounded, the nose has a somewhat wide bridge, pronounced alae, a rounded tip, wide upper lips, the eyes are beautifully almond-shaped and full. On the other hand, there is a second Bakaïrí type with strong prognathism, a markedly receding chin, low, sloping forehead, and a rather long nose with aquiline bridge, which we noticed particularly among the Bakaïrí of the Paranatinga. A peculiar specialty of the third Bakaïrí village was the distinct Jewish physiognomies. The photogravure Plate 13[1]/172/ shows us the best representative of this variety, who owed his name "Izzy" to our travel mood. Izzy was the smallest Bakaïrí, but very agile and strong and, as may be seen in the photograph, equipped with a powerful chest; he had black curly hair, a broad-bridged, aquiline nose, and would probably not be taken for an Indian by a naïve person. If there are people today, aside from the Mormons, who would have the children of Israel immigrating to America and being the tribal fathers of the redskins, they may take Izzy's picture as excellent documentary proof. Probably a few Egyptians also joined the caravan of lost tribes; at any rate, a few women in their hair style,

[1] [see P. 138--Analyst]

/173 cont./

the grosser ones. The huntsman first adorned himself with the feathers of the captured birds before he picked flowers for himself. Before he shot birds in order to adorn himself with their feathers, however, he shot birds in order to eat them. From ancient times he has painted his naked body with colored loams. It is true, the pretty colors lie on the shore in nature and are stepped in day after day. But would it not more likely have struck the human being that the wet loam cooled his skin or that the mosquitoes no longer stung than that he observed how his foot had acquired beauty? I believe that /174/ at first he consciously daubed himself only because he was utilitarian enough to take advantage of such opportunities.

Some people, however, will not hear of such a beginning. They seem to be of the opinion that something to be despised is connected with the useful. Why, heaven only knows. I, too, believe that ornamentation arises from pleasure, that, like play and dance, it comes from an excess of tonic powers, but the things that are used for personal adornment were first known through their usefulness. We may also, as soon as people begin to adorn themselves, note two main trends. There is a type of vanity that is related to heroic deeds, the vanity of testimonies of bravura displayed before everyone, let us call it the vanity of the trophy and the scar, and there is the more subdued vanity that is content with the impression made by beautiful or even hideous colors, let us call it the vanity of cosmetics. Everywhere we can see among our Indians methods that serve useful purposes and those that serve for beautification employed together harmoniously, and we have every reason to assume that the former are the older.

\171 302 The hair. The hair style of the men is a calotte with tonsure. The hair is combed from the crown radially toward all sides, falls on the forehead in front, reaches on the side to the ear opening, and in back not quite to the start of the neck. Whereas the Suyá are in the habit of shearing the front part of the head bare and having the tonsure of Apostle Paul, the Kulisehu Indians all have the tonsure of Apostle Peter, a circular bald spot up to seven centimeters in diameter on the crown. When the

/174 cont./

*171 young Bakaïrí Luchu paraded around in Vogel's brown woolen,
302 waterproof poncho, he looked like a monastery pupil from "Ekkehard." It was believed that the Indians had borrowed the tonsure from the example of the padres, which would certainly be in keeping with their disposition, but the tonsure was in America before the Catholic priests. It was extraordinarily widespread among the primitive peoples of South America, and since the Portuguese called the shorn ones "Coroados," from coróa, crown, tonsure, wholly disparate tribes were confusingly considered with the same designation. Father Dobrizhoffer reports that among the Abipon of Paraguay the tonsure was regarded as a mark of the higher caste. There was no question of this among our tribes. Every
[881] boy received the tonsure at puberty, and Antonio told me that he had wept and was very rebellious when his father sheared the spot bald for him for the first time. The habit was described to me as an ancient custom of the grandfathers. People were not always very careful about shaving. Among older people in particular, the tonsure often had bristly hair growing over it; it was said, one bothers about it less "when one is old and father and mother are dead."

The vain young men among the Bakaïrí also knew how to provide themselves with a full head of curls by means of wooden curlers. Small pieces of cork-like wood, /175/ cut with a shell, covered the head; the tufts of hair that were to be curled lay clamped in the sticks. This beauty treatment, however, seemed to be practiced only rarely.

The women wore their hair on the forehead in the same manner, except a little fuller, but on the sides and in back it hung down loosely; over the back it usually reached to the tips of the shoulder blades. The ears were usually covered, and the hair falling down in back rested on the shoulders. Thus one may probably assume that the tonsure of the men is nothing more than a result of the distinction in the hair style customary for the two sexes. The man shortened his hair in the back and on the sides, the woman only over the forehead. The man, in order to facilitate

/175 cont./

* 171 ● 302 the cut desired by him, went a step further and cut off at the roots a part of the hair falling down in back and on the sides. The additional advantage connected with this was that, during combing, the hair could easily be evenly distributed on all sides. The tonsure of the Indians extended chiefly downward over the back of the head (cf. Fig. 14 /see p. 170 /). The Suyá men, on the other hand, with their tonsure of Apostle Paul, went further in the removal of the hair falling over the forehead and, instead, wore their hair hanging down to their shoulders

[142] [301]

Fig. 11. Bakairí girl.

in back or knotted up. Long back hair and the crown tonsure do not occur together. Copying the priests was not required for this simple procedure.

/176/ All the other body hair, with the exception of the eyebrows, was shaved or unhesitatingly plucked out. The lashes were not, as among the Yuruna on the lower Schingú, placed on a tucum thread and torn out all at once with a jerk, but were pulled out one by one at the earliest age of the children. The shaving of the tonsure was done with a tip of spear grass; these razor blades were kept planted near the house. The hair was cut with the teeth of the piranha fish. I never saw among

[824] [442] [237]

/176 cont./

I never saw among

#191 302 the men the reciprocal and daily delousing practiced so happily by the women. The comb, plaited out of pointed bamboo sticks, 515 412 hung on the hammock. The hair was not excluded from the painting with urucú red; sometimes it dripped with the red oil and designs might even be applied: one Auetó who was in a festive mood had painted a stripe of urucú red two fingers wide along the lower edge of the calotte, while two stripes ran upward from the ears to the tonsure, so that Wilhelm, who was well-informed in matters of costume, was moved to compare it with a helmet of the early Middle Ages.

151 302 I often watched Tumayaua in particular when he plucked out his sparse beard hair. In the possession of a mirror, he could devote himself to this contemplative occupation with great concentration for hours at a time; he evidently did not feel any pain, but rather the enjoyment of an industrious man who loves his stimulating work. Accustomed to the procedure from childhood as a matter of course, he was scarcely acquainted with the more disagreeable part of the operation, the fear of it. The people are vain to a high degree, but it is improbable that the nerves of the Indians react more dully to begin with than ours, to judge from the behavior of children. The same man who, with an expression of only slight pain, scratched open his swollen skin with the scarifier to which I shall come back later, thinking that he would cure himself by this, cried out at the first unexpected feeling of pain when I held the burning-glass over his hand.

#191 302 Undoubtedly, with regard to the plucking of hair, we are dealing today with an old custom, with a fashion for which no one would any longer think of asking the reason, or, more probably, the reasons. People practice the custom, are used to it, and therefore find ugly the strangers who do not know about it. It has been remarked that the beard is plucked precisely by those peoples who are already sparsely provided with this adornment by nature, and it was not enough to say that it is easier in this case to pluck them out; rather it was believed that the sparsity as such looked ugly to the people. My long and thick beard, however, really seemed ugly to the women, and one or another of the Indian women, tugging at it with familiar aversion, gave me the

/176 cont./

*171 well-meaning advice that I should pluck it out. The lashes re-
● 302 moved so radically would not by any means grow scantily, as is proved by the magnificent lashes of the "docile" Indians. /Pl. XIV appears here./ /177/ Moreover, the grooming of the beard was by far the most neglected, and thus the custom of removing the hair probably did not start with it.

Regarding the pubic hair, which only the Suyá men did not remove, whereas their absolutely naked women did, one can expect the rather coarsely naïve natives to regard its presence as particularly ugly. Yet it is scarcely satisfactory to assume that it is only man's innate pleasure in a smooth skin which has prompted the unclothed native to carry on such energetic destructive warfare against all body hair. There is no lack of reasons why it often seems annoying. People say that even insects which are not eaten as lice are get into the beard, underarm, and pubic hair and mat it down, just as in our case bees in particular became entangled there; people remember the tubercles and blisters on perspiring skin, which are doubly sensitive in hair, the uncleanness caused by blood and dirt, the convenience of attack for underbrush as well as for the pugnacity of one's fellow men, and thus they find many situations in which the body hair of a naked person may cause more annoyance than pleasure. On
[519] the other hand, the pastime and enjoyment which plucking the hair and working over the bodies with small implements provide people in lazy hours must also be given their due. Finally, it is
[826] perhaps not entirely irrelevant that hair and feathers are regarded
[811] as a sort of plant growth. The word for hair and feathers among
[192] the Bakaïrí, and probably also in other languages, was originally the same as forest, and the concepts are basically related, regardless of whether the vegetative was taken from the corporeal, or vice versa. Hair and plants grow; they are also cleared away, at least the short weeds.

I should like to put foremost, however, a simple motive operating daily. Just as skin and hair belong together, I am thinking, in association with the custom of plucking, of a connection with the other custom of body painting, of cosmetics, which Joest maintains is older than bathing. For the painting of

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 164]

/177 cont./

*171 the body, with which we shall soon occupy ourselves in greater
302 detail, the removal of hair is extremely advisable, because the latter absorbs the color which is supposed to be rubbed into the skin lying under it. Anyone who wants to paint a hide shaves it
[751] first. One main purpose of painting, the killing of insects, would otherwise not be achieved. Furthermore, a very natural explanation for the removal of pubic hair is found in the conflict between it and the devices used here at the very time when it appears. In particular manipulations with the hip cord among the men would definitely be impeded. In short, a person who removes the hair is better off and yet misses nothing. This alone is sufficient to justify the custom. Plucking, clipping, and shaving are only a question of thoroughness or technical means or consideration for personal sensitivity. Less attention is given to the comb; they would sooner cut and pluck their hair than use a comb.

/178/ Strangest of all, and certainly no pastime, is the plucking of the lashes, because this operation, as one may call it, is performed quite generally, even on small children of both sexes, and cannot be explained on the basis of tribal or sex differences.*

[BC] [755]

*In the case of primitive peoples one far too often attributes a thing to their desire for physical hardening, but I never saw children being hardened. The sir fathers, not to speak of the mothers, were inclined more to sentimentality than to strictness toward their very self-willed offspring, who could not cry without their parents being bitterly hurt as well. They were definitely
[751] caused pain only when it was believed to be for their own good; their health was always a matter of extreme concern and amulets were hung on them.

/178 cont./

#171 826 If the eye is the most valuable of all human organs, these forest dwellers in quest of animals and fruits are dependent on it to the highest degree imaginable. Never have I heard an Indian complain and whimper as did the chief of the Yaulapiti bemoaning his blindness. Yet in treatment they do not necessarily develop [159] the insight that seems proper to us. Since tobacco smoke is the best medical remedy, a badly inflamed conjunctiva is blown full of smoke as forcefully as possible. Thus the idea that the lashes protect the eye is quite foreign to the Indians. They maintain that the lashes hinder the eye in seeing, especially if they want to peer sharply into the distance. That they are anxious to care for [159] the precious organ according to the best of their knowledge is [411] shown by the fact that the area around the eye of the boy who is to become a skilled archer is scratched bloody with the scarifier -- naturally because they believe in this "medicine" and not because [302] they want to harden him. In the case of the lashes in particular, the seemingly cruel plucking, since it is radical, is nevertheless a relatively mild procedure. To endure the cutting and shaving on the edge of the lid with fish teeth and shells would indeed be heroic.

#171 302 304 The skin. The skin is pierced to receive ornaments, it is painted with color, and it is scratched with spines or teeth. The two last methods have developed into artistic treatment, into body painting or tattooing -- one would only like to know what original purposes lie behind them.

#171 301 If we observe, on the basis of thousands of examples, to what degree coquetry and vanity triumph over physical discomfort in matters crude and fine among our pampered, civilized human beings, we shall not be surprised that the vanity of primitive peoples is even more reckless. The chief difference between us and them is merely that they are obliged to do on the skin what we are able to do with clothing. Among them, however, it was everywhere first of all the man who adorned himself. He began doing so as a hunter, and since there is the matter of manifesting the hunter's virtuosity, we may conclude that man first developed the idea of the trophy by not separating himself from the parts of the booty that were inedible, /179/ yet could easily be preserved and

/184 cont./

000 skill, and only then did sensuous pleasure come into its own.

*171 I entered in my journal each instance of body painting
• 302 and was able to observe that even today there are two types of
[126] body painting here. /185/ The one which occurs to us first, that of external adornment, was the more uncommon and had one characteristic that distinguished it rather definitely from the other. This characteristic was that a design, simple or elaborate, was part of the adornment. A distinction must be made between daubing and painting the body. In daubing the useful is the decisive factor; in design painting, the beautiful.
[322] The love of color is present in both cases, but secondary. Even the effect of urucú red is overestimated by us. If it had been so esteemed generally, all tribes could have used it. A person who lives with the truly gaudy adornment of the parrots is supposed to regard himself as particularly beautiful if he daubs himself with soot or even brick-red! Let us pause in front of the magnificent feather ornaments of tropical South America in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde and confidently compare with these the most beautiful and the most colorful things that our modern technology, which has certainly accomplished no little, is able to conjure up -- nature can still stand up under the comparison, and surely its feather splendor surpasses the modest black-white-red which charcoal, loam, and the orlean bush provide for the Indian.

*171 The Indians never use white for body painting! I already
302 hear the answer: "he finds white not becoming to him." There
322 is probably something in this. He valued our white beads less than the red ones; he preferred the blue ones to both, for they contrasted best with his skin. One could retort, to be sure, that he made these distinctions merely at a glance and before he saw the beads on his body, but it may be that he liked red better than white and blue better than all the rest, not because he preferred the, to him, more unusual colors, but purely as a matter of taste. But this still does not explain why he avoided white altogether; one would only understand why he used it

/185 cont./

171 more sparingly and could not by any means conceive why he
302 did not use it merely to bring out the other colors better. He
822 wears feather caps, which look most charming, of pure white with a few, small yellow-red feathers in between.

171 The chalky, fine-grained clay is not suitable for the
302 design-painting of the body. If it were mixed, like charcoal,
336 with the yellowish oil, it could likewise be applied in lines, but the white color would be lost. Mixed with water, however, the lines would be very impermanent and mostly fall off when dry. On the masks, white furnishes only the background or appears in wide stripes on the most artless ones. On the other hand, if the native used his pigment for body adornment primarily for the sake of the color effect, nothing would prevent him from beautifying himself with white also, by powdering himself over large areas with the clay. Thus the thighs of the string-twisting women are chalk-white; moreover, the fine, flour-dust, with which the women who bake beijú are often covered white, would be available to him. But neither the white baker-woman nor the Indian daubed red or black over large areas /186/ has dressed himself up this way in order to adorn himself. This is everyday clothing, not Sunday attire.

171 The question thus is: of what use is the daubing? As is
302 well known, and as I know very well from my long experience
751 of going barefoot, the mud has a cooling effect; it is extremely pleasant in the heat to keep the skin moist. In particular it cools stung spots, and it protects the ones stung from the mosquitoes, whether it be red, yellow, black, or white. I cannot believe that whenever a person waded through the mud of the shore, he seemed particularly adorned because of it; it may be different on other soil, where the earth colors are more unusual. In our territory, at any rate, the agreeableness for the skin takes precedence over that for the eye. The Indian has replaced the mud with oil, but a finely powdered addition is said to make it more consistent and sticky, and this addition is a
[822] pigment, soot and urucú red. Undoubtedly the Bakairí like the red better, since they did not have to tend and cultivate the plant if the soot were just as pretty, and within these limits one adorns himself also by daubing himself.

/186 cont./

*171 ●302 751 one adorns himself also by daubing himself. The native daubs himself with oil paint, either black or red, in order to keep the skin agreeably soft in the heat and so that the mosquitoes and stinging flies that alight on his body stick to it and perish. He does not set out for the hunt until his loving spouse has smeared him, especially on chest and back, with oil paint; he takes with him in the canoe, as we saw in the case of our companions, the small oil-calabash, in order to renew the coating on the way, and in the morning he and his companions perform this service of love for each other. After a day of rowing, such a back is dotted with countless small black cadavers which are quickly removed by a bath in the river. Among the Mehinakú I also saw a number of women blackened with dry charcoal all over their bodies, who were busily going about their ordinary tasks and, to all appearances, had not in any way thought of dressing up. Unfortunately, however, I do not know for what purpose they had rubbed themselves and only suspect that some kind of hygienic measures were involved.

Now, I should not like to maintain that daubing and design-painting are sharply separated. It is the same as with clothing. It is worn differently for work and for festivities. If clothing were decoratively created, with better materials, brighter colors, a special cut, I should not like to conclude from that that it was fundamentally only adornment. Oil color is actually the clothing of the Indian, as he requires it: its real and oldest purpose is protection, not against cold, but against warmth, against chapping and certain kinds of external assaults. He has only one form of clothing which he can do without better than we can that of ours, which also does not have the secondary characteristic of concealing, like that of ours, and he has therefore not arrived at the feeling of modesty that we have. Just as our clothing /187/ is altered out of considerations of adornment, so his oil color and in earlier times, I imagine, his mud. Just as some people more than others are affected even in their everyday clothing, by the consideration of a more attractive outward appearance, so also does an Indian fop, like

/187 cont./

*171 the Bakaïrí Luchu, in a pleasant idle hour, treat himself to a
● 302 serpentine line with dots beside it on his thigh, and just as plainer
751 people among us dress only modestly even on Sunday, so an Indian of more unassuming temperament is content to permit himself for the celebration of a joyful event merely a painting of the forehead and nose or of the calves, instead of a linear design. By and large, however, I find it clearly evident that daubing is done for utilitarian purposes and one decorates himself with designs for beautification purposes, and I conclude from this that cosmetics were not adornment at first. And this is all the
[822] more to be maintained inasmuch as to this day only secondary value is put on the color of their coloring materials, since they scorn white altogether, make no particular distinction between red and black, and since they have disproportionately more
[192] beautiful colors at their disposal in their feather ornaments. The development of color words, as we shall see, also speaks in favor of this view.

I need scarcely point out that among the purposes of daubing regarded as useful the medicinal ones were not lacking and encouraged the custom. I shall cite a specific and very common case presently in connection with the scarifier. When Moritona, the great medicine man of the Yaulapiti, smeared the remainder of our pea soup over a broad area of his chest, the motive of delight in color probably played only a minor part.

*171 The designs were of different kinds. Simple finger
302 strokes, bold stripes, for example, from eye to ear, or the beautifying of the same Moritona: a black stripe from the nose to the navel, stripes that followed the contours of the shoulder blades, dots on chest and arms, wavy lines along the thighs, dotted arcs across the chest, a zigzag down the back and legs, and the like. In part there was involved in this a bold outlining
[619] or intersection of the anatomical contours, in part imitation animal skin-design, but everything was the choice of the individual person and there were no tribal designs. The conspicuous painting of individual parts of the body, for instance, forehead and nose, may be regarded as a transition to the ordinary broader

/187 cont./

*171 daubing. The cotton bands wound the upper arm or lower leg
●302 offered a not unpopular motif. One day I saw on the Bakaïrí Kulekule, who was an enthusiastic admirer of mine, a black horseshoe-like arc below either nipple, and when I jokingly asked him what it was, to my surprise he pointed to my boots, which impressed him very much: he had painted the heels on himself. A veritable work of art was displayed by a young Auetó who was solemnly decked out for the journey with us to Cuyabá -- his father ordered him to accompany us --, but who left us already among /188/ the Mehinakú, in spite of a pot of flour that had been given to take along as provisions. The mereschu lozenge-pattern, which I shall subsequently discuss in greater detail, covered his chest and sides down to the middle of the calves, in contrast to which the lower half of his face and the sides of his neck from the ear to the collarbone stood out with a coating of pure, deep black. Otherwise it was primarily on the festive occasion of a reception or, as among the Nahuquá, for the dance that people decorated themselves with designs. In everyday life there was practically nothing to be seen, just as little as of feather ornaments. When I appeared with my traveling companions from Independencia, almost all of the Bakaïrí of the first village, including the women, received us in a painted state; the smaller grandsons of Tumayaua had been carefully smeared over their whole bodies, and Tumayaua told me specifically that we were supposed to see how pleased the women were.

*171 Scratch-scars. Scratching the skin is a sort of panacea.
304 It is used on young and old and in the same way among all the tribes. With the /Fig. 15 appears here/ scarifier, a triangular
[237] piece of gourd shell set with a row of small, pointed teeth of fish
[324] (trahira) or claws of rodents (aguti), the skin is scratched, allowed to bleed for a while, which is helped by stroking with a bone, and is then rubbed either with yellow loam or with soot or the juice of a fruit (natunsãn among the Auetó). One sees the scratch-scars everywhere, especially on the arms. Actual

/191 cont./

128 only their natural skin and no artificial fabric cover over their bodies, we must ask ourselves first of all whether the skin, in its relation to an external world to which it is directly exposed, can be affected by the changes of sexual life, and we must in any case approach this subject with clinical frankness and not with the idea of a civilized human being who is suddenly required to undress. Let us begin with a survey of the various methods used among the individual tribes for the treatment of the partes pudendae from the time of maturity on, and only from this time on. They do not at any point apply to children.

171 29 [302] Among the Kulisehu tribes, with the exception of the Trumaí, the men do not show anything very special at first glance. The pubic hair is plucked; they wear only a belt-cord in the form of a cotton string on which are occasionally strung small pieces of stalks or bored seed kernels or tiny pieces of snail shell, but usually in such a way that the greater part of the string is left free. One might examine the photographs, for example, Plate 14 / see p. 163/: one finds the hip cord, without exception, on every man. Often, instead of the string, there is a hank of cotton, as in the case of one of the Nahuquá, page 71, or in the picture of the Bakaírí Luchu, Plate 6 /see

*The Nahuquá on the left lacks a hip cord because it came into our possession shortly before the picture was taken.

p. 40/. It was in the case of this particular youth, who had reached maturity a short while before and had not yet finished removing his pubic hair, that I learned about the purpose of the hip cord, which is of interest to us here. Up until then I had regarded it, along with the hank of cotton, as a carrying cord, often provided with decoration, for people who have no pockets, or as a supply of binding material that was always at hand, but in fact light tools, such as shells and fish teeth or the comb or knives given by us, were worn, not on the hip cord, but on the chest or back on a string around the neck. Also, the very

BO /193 cont./
291 of the Paraguay that they wear, not the cuff, but the string:
17 "The men tie only the glans around their abdomen by means of
[283] a fine bast thread, so that they keep themselves free of insects
and are not hindered in running."

B All methods, with slight variations, achieve the same re-
*17 sult, the covering of the glans, either by simply extending the
[291] praeputium or by tying it up besides and even also enclosing it
in palm straw.

B As for the women, I have mentioned that they all remove
[302] the pubic hair.

B The Suyá women, who adorned themselves with neck chains
[30] and wore thick, rolled-up palm-leaf strips resembling tape meas-
[291] ures in their pierced ear-lobes, went about completely naked.

T The Trumaí women wore a band of soft, grayish-white
29 bast; it was twisted into a rope so that there was concealment
[287] only within the most modest limits and surely could not have
been intentional, since merely a wider strip could have been
used. They rolled a long, narrow, folded bast-strip up a little
at one end, held this little roll with one hand pressed against the
lower corner of the mons pubis, twisted the free strip around
themselves several times with the other hand, and drew it up
toward the back between the legs, came to the front again to the
little roll, pressed it to them with the strip drawn across it, and
turned back over the other hip to the small of the back, where
they twisted in the free end and tied it securely.

BO The Bororó women likewise had the soft, gray bast band,
291 which they replaced by a black one during the menses, but they
[287] fastened the band to a hip cord. Twisted in there in front, three
[841] to four fingers wide, it ran, becoming narrower, over the fissure
of the vulva and the perineum to the small of the back and was
BO again tied to the hip cord. In place of the hip cord, a wide,
[287] tightly embracing piece of bark was also worn around the body.
See the illustration, "Bororó, Mother and Daughter" /see p.589 /.

B /198 cont./

*171 a combination of bandage and cushion -- is twisted like a rope, in
291 the case of the uluri wearers the narrow bark strip makes possible
841 the stretching over the perineum; in both bases there is provided a
T support pressing against the pubic symphysis, in the former case by
171 means of the little roll, in the latter case by means of the springy
291 triangle. One realizes that it was not cleanliness which prompted
841 the procedure, but the medical attempt to counteract the loss of blood. These are truly not inventions of modesty, such as aprons or similar loose hangings.

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Fig. 19. Squatting Bakaïrí.

000 similar loose hangings.

B In the case of the men, the explanation is not so obvious. Here,
*171 too, an attempt has been made to preserve the connection with a
291 causative, primary sense of modesty. The view has been expressed
834 that shame was felt only when the glans of the penis was exposed to the gaze of others and therefore it alone was covered. Unfortunately, I did not observe anything that might settle the question directly. I saw that the people were not ashamed when they gave us their devices

/209 cont./

*171 Category B could probably be considerably enlarged. It
241 depended on the need. The fruit trees under this were planted
245 with great care. I have mentioned that in the first Bakaïrí village there was a sort of avenue of pikí trees; the Nahuquá cultivated this species with great enthusiasm. The mangabas were popular and thrive especially well among the Bakaïrí, among the Kamayurá, and in particular, as was reported to me, among the Waurá, so that the Trumaí word "waurarú" seems to mean simply the Waurá fruit. The fruta de lobo was less fre-
*171 quently found near the village. Then, however, plants which
249 they needed in any way for their implements and weapons were set out as required, if they did not occur in the vicinity of the
[302] village. Thus they transplanted near the village the spear grass
[824] growing in swampy soil, with which they shaved themselves,
[248] the bast plants that /210/ furnished them thread, occasionally perhaps also the sapé grass with which the houses were covered. Most interesting, however, it seems to me, is the assurance that they planted the ubá arrow reed in larger quantities on the Batovy, so as not to have to fetch it from distant places.

Besides casual inclinations and knowledge of management, the nature of the soil apparently played an important role.
[276] Tobacco grew excellently among the Suyá and the Auetó and was commonly smoked by the men, except in the first Bakaïrí village on the Batovy.* It plays an important part in medical

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[113]

* This circumstance may have occasioned H. v. Ihering to say: "v. d. Steinen missed tobacco among the Bakaïrí of the Upper Schingú just as completely as bananas or metals" [Zeitschrift f. Ethnologie, 1893, p. 195]. I describe, cf. Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, p. 173 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 55/, for Village III of the Batovy-Bakaïrí, the real part played by smoking, as the discoverers of the

/210 cont./

114 276 [177] Antilles found it. On the other hand, I share the opinion of v. Ihering, which I often expressed in lectures before I read his article, that the pipe in Brazil is of modern origin. Like the fishhook.

*171 276 757 793 It[1] plays an important part in medical treatment and is regarded as a very ancient acquisition of the culture heroes, who, as legend indicates, received it from the north. The drinking bowls and calabashes, especially the Cucurbita lagenaria, represented a major product for the

*171 249 [248] [302] Nahuquá, a somewhat lesser one for the Bakaïrí. The Mehinakú and the Bakaïrí had the best cotton. The orlean bush was valued above all by the Bakaïrí, the Mehinakú neglected it completely because watering it made too much work; the surprising circumstance upon my arrival in the village, namely, that no red-painted, but many black-painted figures were walking about, finds a very natural explanation.

*171 241 Maize, represented among the Suyá by a species characterized by smallness of ears and a golden color of the kernels, and mandioca were found everywhere, but the latter was planted in decidedly greater amounts among the Mehinakú. They were the richest farmers of the upper Schingú; their word for mandioca was also adopted by the Trumaí. Of tuber plants, besides mandioca, we saw yams of two kinds and batatas, which we first found in quantities among the Mehinakú. Our men designated beans as "feijaõ de vara," pole beans, or as "feijão de roça," plantation beans. Of edible gourds, abóbora /Abobra/, we saw only the seeds which the Suya brought us in 1884 for eating, so we understood. The mandubi peanut occurred in a small species. There were definitely no guavas or bananas on the Schingú.

*171 174 241 In my report about the first journey I pointed out the absence of bananas and especially stressed that for the question as to whether or not the banana was introduced in America only after the arrival of the Europeans this must be all the more decisive since the different Schingú tribes are of different origin and yet not a single one brought along the banana from the previous

[1] [i.e., The Tobacco -- Analyst]

B
*171 /252 cont./
532 enormous ear flaps, like my Island of Zanzibar. And after I
BO heard from a high-ranking German official that Brazil and Rio
171 de Janeiro are located on the west side of the continent, on the
532 Pacific Ocean, I am perfectly content to have the Bakaïrí, cf. Kulisehu plate I, put the mustaches of Herren Ehrenreich and Perrot on top of their heads. In these two instances the mustache was put in afterwards. The Indians themselves pluck out all the beard hair, and no matter where the beard hair is located, they differentiate hanging and transverse beard-hair according to their first impression, without giving a more accurate account; they reproduce the former, if they do not draw the hairs separately in great numbers (cf. Bororó I and the Nahuquá drawing, Kulisehu II), by a curved line open at the top, the latter by a curved line open at the bottom. They concern themselves with the "where" only for the grossest topography; the beard is indeed connected with the head and face, and the only thing that matters to them is to show the feature itself. If they take it into their heads to draw the anus, they put it, too, in front, although in this case they must know from experience, which they lack in the case of the beard, that it belongs elsewhere.

B
BO
[302]

What is missing, what is there, it all depends on interest. The head, the beard, the sexualia are drawn with a will -- let the rest appear wherever it may or be absent altogether. Is not the greatest master of portraiture and the most gifted characterizer of physiognomy accused of neglecting the hands? Opposites attract, Franz Lenbach and the Kulisehu Indians are contemporaries. If the latter or the Bororó take pencil in hand, they give a more or less complete account: their enumeration of the body parts, and whatever interests them, is emphasized, anything that leaves them indifferent at the moment is treated negligently or left out. In the case of animals, the outlines are important; not one of those drawn for us had eyes, with the exception of the fish drawn in the sand, cf. Figs. 34 and 35 /see p. 262/; in the latter case they are probably more likely to come to it because the head, set off only by the gill arch, does not seem sufficiently characterized. The Nahuquá, Kulisehu I, gives the jaguar a lurking position with

75 /251 cont./
first and foremost jatobá /Hymnenaea/, then copaiba, the white or yellow trumpetbush /peúva de flôres brancas ou amarellas/, the vinhatico, the pindahiba /Xylopia/, etc. Knowing this, the first concern of the curer (piahi) called to treat the sick is to extract the sliver of wood that causes the discomfort, which is achieved by sucking on the patient.

764 Sometimes, in spite of the treatment, the latter dies.
775 Then the dead man is painted with urucú (anoto); there are put in his ears and nostrils the feathers that adorned them in
[302] life; his belongings (icehiko) are gathered up, such as bow,
[301] arrows, etc., which are deposited along with their owner /252/ in the hole that will serve as grave, well covered with earth stamped down with the feet. In the afternoon the shadow rises in the guise of the curiangu (Pokuráu, Caprimulgus) and comes to drink mingáu, which was placed at the grave, on the spot that corresponds to the head. After a while it no longer returns.

775 The Bacaeris also speak of kχadopa, which is equivalent to our hobgoblins or lost souls and, it would seem, are the shadows of those who died a violent death. The following passage describes most clearly what is said concerning these beings.

Kχadopa goes wandering in the afternoon, says the piahi; it is all bone; it has holes for eyes; it wanders through the forest; manioc is its food; it wanders in the cultivated clearings; caterpillars, bicho de pau /"wood insect"/ and ants are its food; it comes to the house to drink mingáu (poʔu); take the food of the kχadopa outside, take beiju /manioc cakes/ and pirão /boiled manioc flour/ (pakχa); at night, in order to sleep, burn rubber, rub it on the door, on the door bar (anaχu, "nose"); the kχadopa does not come in, the rubber stinks and
[533] he does not like the smell. Take his food to the grave; if you do not intone the song (erému) of the kχadopa, he does

/257 cont./

539 in quiet areas, where there are no human beings, it is always
825 on the move in the morning and afternoon, except during the hot hours in the middle of the day which it spends sleeping"; in other words, all of the phrases between quotation marks, taken from the book by Dr. Goeldi on the mammals of our land (pp. 92, 99, 103, and 106), confirm what has been said concerning the shadowy character of the Yamüras.

539 /258/ Other considerations, however, seem to us of
174 greater moment.

First of all, in the enumeration of the belongings of the Yamüras, we have a basis for a list of the cultural acquisitions of the Bacaeris. We learn that they had nets for fishing before [227] they had nets /hammocks/ for sleeping, that they traveled by [352] water when they did not yet have pestles, and that they proba- [501] bly had maracá before they had the masks with which they [412] appear at their festivals. [532]

We also see that although theoretically the abode of the
539 Yamüra is in the sky, a large part of his existence is spent on
776 the earth from which he derives his sustainance. Subsistence, however, is not his sole concern; free of the contingencies of time and space, he travels swiftly as the wind, he is an envious being who spies upon all actions and weighs upon the living with crushing pressure. There is hardly an act that he does not influence: gestation, childbirth, alimentation, festivals, walking hours, everything falls within his inexorable reach, as we shall see later. It would seem that the Bacaeris could paint their bodies as they please. But this is not so.

776 Yamüra does not like urucú, --this is why one must not
789 scatter the urucú seed, says the piahi;--Yamüra goes into the
824 houses of people with children, --this is why we burn the juice
● 302 of the rubber tree--when it is burned it is rubbed on the door;--fathers of boys, when they go to the river, paint themselves with genipap, --paint themselves with urucú, --so Yamüra thinks that it is blood; if the boy's father does not paint himself

/258 cont./

776 and goes to the river, Yamüra throws himself in the water;--
789 he likes guanandi /Calophyllum brasiliense/ resin;--burned
824 cotton seed makes Yamüra run far /259/ away; Yamüra is very
302 fond of colored clay and loam;--he does not like copaiba resin;--when jatobá is burned Yamüra does not like it, says the piahi.

776 Finally, since there are certain animals which for him are
825 a means of subsistence, his ferramenta /iron tools/, if it is permissible to say this in connection with peoples who have not reached the metal stage, it is natural that Yamüra should protect them with the same care and vigor with which a Bacaeri
[784] would protect his canoe or his bow. There are animals whose injury is punished immediately, for example, the Sucuri, in one of the passages cited above, or the Topiéhi, a little bird that will be dealt with more conveniently later on. These are truly tabú or tapú, an expression used in Australia, and which, being widely known, demands no explanation. It is possible to come to terms with regard to the others, and this is done in a most reasonable way, by giving to the Yamüra in prepared form the food that he would have to prepare in the campo. It is mandatory, however, that the dead animal be put to good
[782] use; otherwise antas, pacas, and pigs will attack clearings,
[796] destroying them; and to propitiate the Yamüra it is necessary
[532] to give a feast, naturally masked, which they attend incognito. After eating well, they regard themselves as satisfied and the scourge ceases.

825 The following passage expresses more clearly the idea of
796 payment, and, although it is somewhat repetitious, it is not
782 redundant.
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If the Guariba /howler monkey/ (Mycetes) is killed, it must be paid for, says the piahi; if the macaco Coatá /spider monkey/ (Ateles) is killed, if the Preguiça /three-toed sloth/

/21 cont./

701 disturb the Brazilian campesinos in these regions. According to
648 Herrmann Meyer (28) they had already wreaked serious destruction

28. Herrmann Meyer, "Bericht uber seine zweite Xingú-Expedition," loc. cit., pp. 115 and 116.

in the region of the Serra Trombador and killed several inhabitants. At the time of my stay on the Corrego Fundo ranch, the Kayabí had penetrated the mountains above the Rio Paranatinga up to some six leagues from Corrego Fundo and attacked Cacique Antonio as he was looking for rubber with his people for Señor Jange Soares, the owner of the ranch. But Antonio had driven them back with his armed people and killed a Kayabí on this occasion.

622 Cacique Antonio's big house where I visited him had been
342 built a year earlier. It consisted of a large middle room which communicated on the left side of the entrance with two other rooms which formed the dwelling house proper of the cacique and Doña Rosa, and on the right side with a large room for guests that fulfilled exactly the functions of the house for fiestas
622 of the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River regions. All the men
342 and boys of the aldea could go in and out of it as they pleased.
574 This room also served for dancing, and during my stay in it,
[302] from time to time, some Xinguanos would enter, their faces
[533] painted in red and black, and sing their monotonous melodies
[535] as they danced around the post set in the middle of the room.
[352] Cacique Antonio's own dwelling already had at this time quite a modern appearance. In the "dining room" there was a table
[123] and a large armchair as well as dishes and spoons, and I was entertained at his table in the Brazilian manner with a dish of
622 meat with rice and flour. He obviously enjoyed renewing old
115 memories of the journeys he had made with Karl von den Steinen. He looked with great interest at Karl von den Steinen's works about his travels and, on his part, showed me some photographs

/28 cont./

178 in form, placed in front under the belt, which consists of glass
[535] beads strung on a thread. Face and body were painted with
[291] urucú and genipap in red and black. At this time, too, cases
[302] of illness were imputed to the influence of some sorcerer, and
[754] shortly before the expedition of Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa a Paranatinga Bakairí had been shot to death because the Indians ascribed the consequences of a flu epidemic to his witchcraft.

114 In his book Unter Indianern und Riesenschlangen (36)

[113] 36. Hintermann, Heinrich, Unter Indianern und Riesenschlangen /Among Indians and Boa Constrictors/, Zurich and Leipzig, 1926.

Heinrich Hintermann relates the incidents and outcome of a journey to the region of the upper Xingu River tributaries. He had the opportunity to accompany a military expedition led by the Brazilian, Captain Vicente de Vasconcellos, which was carried out in the year 1924 for the Commissão de Linhas Telegr. Est. de Matto Grosso ao Amazonas to measure the Rio Ronuro and establish relations between the administration of the new Simões Lopes Post, established by the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios /Indian Protection Service/, and the Indians of the
[166] Kulisehu and Kuluene rivers. We know from Hintermann that already at that time, all the Kulisehu Bakairí had moved to the Simões Lopes Post, which was established at the same place where José Coroado had already set up his aldea before.

During my journey carried out in the year 1927 I had the opportunity to become personally acquainted once more, after an interval of 26 years, with the conditions of the Bakairí. (37)

[113] 37. Cf. the preliminary reports on the results of this trip: Max Schmidt, "Ergebnisse meiner zweijährigen Forschungreise in Matto Grosso.

Plate IV

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Fig. 4. House of the Bakairí, Pires, cacique of the Xinguanos in Simões Lopes.

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Fig. 5. Cacique Pires with his family in front of his house in Simões Lopes.

4:Schmidt--64 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate VI

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Fig. 8. The old Bakairí, Luju, from Maigeri aldea, in Simões Lopes.

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Fig. 9. The Bakairí, Joaquim Carpintero, in Simões Lopes

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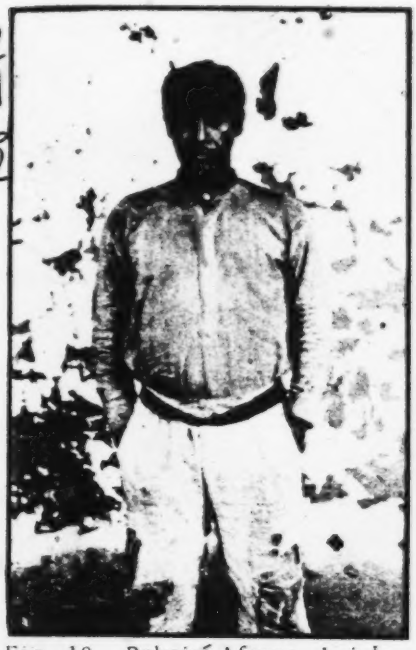

Fig. 10. Bakairí Afonso, Luju's son, in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 11. Bakairí Hieronymo, in Simões Lopes.

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Fig. 12. Cacique Roberto, from the Rio Novo, with his family, in Simões Lopes.

4:Schmidt--66 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate VIII

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Fig. 13. Bakairí, son of the Xinguano Kapinage, in Simões Lopes.

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Fig. 14. The author with Xinguanos in front of their house, situated near the Paranatinga.

4:Schmidt--67 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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Fig. 15. Xinguano Patagude with his son Ka'iura, in Cuiabá.

Fig. 16. Xinguano Ka'iura.

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Fig. 17. Xinguanos in front of their house, situated near the Rio Paranatinga.

4:Schmidt--68 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SPT Bacairi SPT

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Fig. 18. Xinguano Kapinage. in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 19. Paranatinga Xinguano boy.

Fig. 20. Rio Paranatinga Xinguanos.

352 415 wooden benches, and dishes and cups made from gourds.

434 As the Bacairí were extensive travelers and
226 depended upon fish for a considerable part of
501 their food supply, canoes were an important part
of their equipment. The Bacairí canoe (*pépi*)
396 was made from the bark of the jatobá tree. The
[824] tough, heavy bark was first stripped from one-
half of the tree. Small fires were then lighted on
the inside of the bark trough to make it curl.
Braces were placed at intervals along the entire
length, the bow was tapered, and the stern was
squared off by forcing the bark upward at one end.
501 Bacairí canoes varied in size, the larger ones being
able to carry as many as 8 men. Canoes of jatobá
bark are used by the Bacairí today and are the
[171] predominant type among the Indians of the
415 Upper Xingú. The Bacairí also made large
[824] tubs out of jatobá bark which were used as settling
352 vessels for manioc juice. The juice of the manioc
contains a fine powder or starch which settles on
the bottom of the vessel, to be gathered after the
241 liquid is poured off. For gardening, the Bacairí
formerly used a digging stick made of hardwood.
411 For hunting, they used a bow (*ñiku*), round or
824 slightly oval in cross section and from 2 to 2½
meters in length, made from a yellow or reddish
wood which was first matured by burying it in
mud. The bowstring was made from the fibers of
imbauba bark. Arrows (*pirés*) were made from
[237] cane with hardwood or bone points. Hunting
arrows had two feathers, but arrows used for
shooting fish had serrated wooden points and no
412 feathers. The cutting tools of the Bacairí consisted
of knives made from bamboo, stone, bones, and
409 shell. Transportation was by canoe, or if over
482 land, goods were carried in a wicker basket sup-
ported on the back by a tump line.

ORNAMENTS

291 While living on the banks of the Kuliseu River,
[171] the Bacairí, in common with the other Upper
Xingú River tribes, did not use clothing. Men
sometimes wore a narrow cotton band (*omegís*)
around the waist, with a few tassels hanging in
front. Women, after puberty, wore the ulurí.
● 302 Men wore their hair cut short. Women wore their
hair long at the back but cut straight across over
[412] the forehead. Hair was cut with a knife made
[837] by setting sharp fish teeth into a wooden stick,

302 412 and was combed with a comb (*aekáji*) made by weaving slender cane teeth into a cotton holder.

301 237 Although clothing, in the strict sense of the term, was nonexistent, the Bacairí used, on ceremonial occasions, beautiful, skillfully made ornaments. An important ornament was the *orógo*, a diadem or feather headdress strapped to the forehead. The *orógo* was made by fastening a row of green parrot feathers to a cotton band, above which was fastened another row of yellow weaver bird feathers. Two long blue macaw feathers were set in the center so as to stand straight up above the forehead. The *orógo* was worn only by men. These headdresses are still used, for some were seen in the village of Simão Lopes.

There were at least four kinds of necklaces. The *megesáuwu* was made from small thin round disks of white or pink snail shell, as many as 400 being strung on a string. This necklace was worn around the neck by women and around the waist by men and girls. The *ikwihéno* was also made from snail shell, but the disks were oblong with holes in both ends through which strings were passed. Although the *ikwihéno* was particularly used by men, women sometimes wore it together with the *megesáuwu*. The *sawalápi* was a necklace [124] made from black disks of tucum palm nut and could be worn by both men and women at all times. Both men and women also wore necklaces made from the teeth or claws of the jaguar called the *dodojéri*. The Bacairí still use the *megesáuwu*, *ikwihéno*, and the *sawalápi*.

Besides necklaces, the Bacairí used a variety of other ornaments. The *upauwí* were armlets and anklets of cotton material decorated with feathers of different colors. The armlets, which were about 2 inches wide, were fastened tightly above the [126] biceps and were believed necessary for the development of the muscle, with similar bands worn below the knee and around the ankles. Both men and women used the bands. An American missionary who experimented with Bacairí arm bands claimed that they caused him a great deal of distress but he has observed no ill effects among the Indians. The *pei* was a feather ear ornament made from red toucan and yellow parrot feathers [304] suspended from the lobes of the ears. Holes in the ears were made with a sharpened jaguar bone or with a sharpened rhea feather. The *tajikaino*, worn only by men, consisted of two blue macaw feathers

301 placed in a hole in the septum of the nose, so that
237 the feathers swung one on each side of the head.
[304] Although the *péiko*, or scratcher, was not strictly
413 an ornament, it is mentioned here because it had
757 ritual meaning. The *péiko* was made by setting fish teeth into a gourd holder and was used for scarifying the skin of the arms, legs, chest, and back so as to cause bleeding. The wounds were first
[75] washed with water and later smeared with the juice of the *mukúsu* vine. The *péiko* was used by
[281] boys and girls during puberty seclusion and by adults who had sores on their bodies. It was believed that the use of the *péiko* made people
304 strong and healthy. As far as could be ascertained the Bacairí did not mutilate the teeth, genitals, or other parts of the body. There was no sign of
[302] tattooing, but pubic hair was carefully pulled out
231 by both men and women. Formerly the Bacairí kept large birds, believed to belong to the eagle family, in their villages for their feathers. The Brazilians call the bird "harpía" and claim that it is still kept by the Indians in the Xingú Basin. The "harpía" was captured by shooting it with a blunted arrow, and it was kept in a special hut and fed. Villages often had several of these birds in captivity, the feathers being used particularly for feathering arrows. Parrots and macaws were also kept, their feathers being used only for ceremonial decorations.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

282 Vegetable foods formed the basis of Bacairí diet, with fish and meat taking second and third places.
324 The principal animals hunted were monkeys, deer, wild pigs, tapir, and the jaguar. The jaguar, however, was not eaten, but was hunted for its skin, teeth, and claws. The principal weapon used was the bow and arrow. Hunters would stalk game alone or in groups with the aid of dogs driving game into water or into steep rocky enclosures. There is no mention of the spear being used, but deadfalls and pitfalls were used. Many varieties
224 of large fish were shot with the bow and arrow, either from canoes or from the river bank. Lizards,
222 turtles, and a wide variety of wild fruits, roots, tender shoots, and honey were collected at certain seasons of the year.

241 The major part of the food supply, however, was obtained through agriculture. The Bacairí cultivated bitter manioc, *ópa*; sweet manioc, *taiej*;

Yaruma SP25
Bacairi SP7
Waura SP18

Y 302 105 171 During the trip, at various times, a number of men were seen that were covered completely with soot. However, it could not be ascertained for what reason this was done. By my Bakairi, several explanations were given: that the man had been working in clearing the fields, or that he had partaken in some ceremony and the soot had not as yet worn off, or that he had put it on for caprice.

The women often covered the forehead and the face down to the cheekbones with a thick layer of urucum. The children also were often so painted. This seemed to be purely for aesthetic reasons. The men never did it, and it was practiced more often by the young women. It was evidently done with a great deal of pride and pleasure, the mothers finding especial delight in painting the children in that manner every morning.

B 302 751 177 One of my Bakairi, whose original home had been on the Rio Novo, one morning appeared with the identical facial painting, but instead of using urucum, he had used soot. On my inquiring about it, he said he had done it to protect his eyes from the glare, but on being pressed he gave me the impression that there were other reasons. The anxiety of the Bakairi to appear devoid of practices which are not European undoubtedly prevented getting the real reason. Soon after our conversation he wiped it off.

W 302 532 304 The Mehinaku and Yawalapiti women bore three painted parallel lines on the wrists, on the forearm, and on the cheek. One of them was actually tattooed in this manner. One Mehinaku living with the Naravute bore painted geometric designs on the legs, too indistinct, however, to reproduce.

Y 302 105 171 There is no doubt that body painting for decoration is practiced widely and whenever the mood comes upon the woman. In the case of the men, they bear no painting other than the ordinary urucum protective coating except when they take part in some ceremony. The paint is not washed off afterwards, but remains on the body until it wears off.

The universal style of wearing the hair among the men is to cut it evenly around the head, following a line a little above the eyebrows. In addition, the crown is shaven. This latter practice, like the wearing of the waistband, is abandoned by the old men sometimes.

The women cut the hair across the forehead, but let the rest grow long and wear it loose.

/102 cont./

342 round, beehive-like. The larger one was 19 paces in diameter, covered high up on the outside with acuri straw, whereas the framework in the interior exhibited a circle of supporting posts one and a third meters high, upon which the basket of this structure, which actually consisted merely of a roof, rose with many horizontal bamboo rings. At the top was an air vent; a number of the /103/ framework poles crossing one another here extended to the outside. The entrance, a hole one and a half meters high, was surrounded by pepper plants. In any case, the interior space was far larger and finer than in the new houses.

433 24 The people led an idyllic existence; they carried on agri-

142 291 302 622

Captain Reginaldo and wife.

433 241 culture and stock-raising, went hunting, planted mandioca /manioc/, beans, maize, rice, and some tobacco and sugar cane. 177 They were civilized, despite the pierced ear lobes and nasal septa. 304 Their average height was 1.65 meters; they were striking because 142 of their broad and powerful chests. Their skin was yellowish, 141 clay-colored, and rather light, the hair of most of them was black and slightly curly or wavy. In general they had beautiful, open 151 eyes. Reginaldo's excellent vision was demonstrated on one occasion in a way that amazed us all. We noticed far in the distance a /illustration appears here/ figure in the grass; with an excellent field-glass I took it to be Tupy riding up; the entire company, among them Daniel, who was seldom mistaken, agreed with me;

/164 cont./

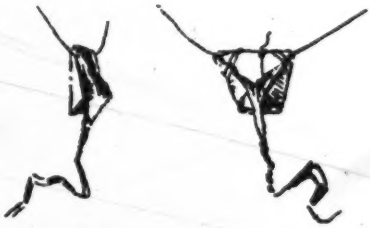
287 The triangular garment of the women, a folded piece of
291 bark bast, supposedly from the schischá tree, has a base of four centimeters and a height of one to one and a half centimeters.

A girl about ten years old is still completely naked.

302 The nasal septum of the men is not pierced; the beard hair,
[304] /165/ if a natural tendency for it is present, as well as all the hair (among the women, too) with the exception of the head hair, the eyebrows, and eyelashes, is carefully removed.

224 Around 10:00 in the forenoon Clauss came with Antonio; a
[622] few men also arrived from hunting, among them the chief, an older gentleman with an anxiously serious official face and a
162 fat little belly. We count ten men, seven women, five boys, four girls.

291



Clothing of the Bakaïrí women.

372 Pauhaga showed us how they make fire. They take two long, thin sticks of the same dry wood; into one a notch is scraped; while one man now holds this in position on the ground with two small sticks, a second man twirls the other stick rapidly between both hands in the notch. The dust that is rubbed loose glimmers.

126 We did some bartering; I measured a few men. They patiently allowed it to be done.

157 These "wild" Bakaïrí are alert, teachable, and certainly very good-natured. They do not steal, although we are carrying
[273] treasures with us. They have no intoxicating drink; they refuse
[276] tobacco. On the second day, together with their wives, they visit
609 us in our camp -- the "docile ones" on the Rio-novo, on the other hand, preferred to sleep with those in the bush as long as we were in the aldea. On the first evening a savage drinks a medicine that I

/64 cont./

291 the upper arms or under one knee or above one ankle. One youth
[301] or another would also stick a feather into his pierced ear-lobe;
[304] one must not think, however, that the Indian always appears in his entire festive array, as on tobacco-store signs.

000 I should like, however, to say a few words at this point about the general impression that the "nakedness" makes on the unself-conscious visitor. One does not see this evil nakedness at all after a quarter of an hour, and if one then purposely reminds oneself of it and asks whether the naked human beings, father, mother, children, who are innocently standing or walking around there ought to be condemned or pitied because of their lack of modesty, one must either laugh about it as about something incredibly silly or raise a protest against it as against something contemptible. From the aesthetic standpoint the lack of covering has its pros and cons, like all truth: youth and vigor often looked delightful in their unconstrained movements, old age and disease
291 often dreadful in their decay. Our clothing seemed as strange
123 to the good people as their nakedness seemed to us. I was accompanied by men and women when I went to bathe and was obliged to submit to having all my onion skins examined in the greatest detail. They lacked any understanding of the embarrassed feeling that I was well-bred enough to feel with respect to their curiosity; they thoughtfully examined my Polynesian tattooing, especially a blue kiwi of New Zealand, but, to my satisfaction, they were obviously disappointed by the fact that there were not greater wonders hidden under the careful and unusual packing.

123 They themselves, of course, also wore something resem-
535 bling clothes for their masquerade and dance, apparel plaited out of palm straw, the name of which is éti = house, and thus my shirt was given the grand name of "back-house"; I had a "head-house" and a "leg-house." Since the women do not dance and only the men may use this apparel in their flute-house, Eva's question as to whether "karáiba pekóto," the women of the Karaiben, also wore clothes, "houses," was probably not so un-
000 justified. -- How quickly one can become accustomed to the naked

/178 cont./

*171 826 If the eye is the most valuable of all human organs, these forest dwellers in quest of animals and fruits are dependent on it to the highest degree imaginable. Never have I heard an Indian complain and whimper as did the chief of the Yaulapiti bemoaning his blindness. Yet in treatment they do not necessarily develop [957] the insight that seems proper to us. Since tobacco smoke is the best medical remedy, a badly inflamed conjunctiva is blown full of smoke as forcefully as possible. Thus the idea that the lashes protect the eye is quite foreign to the Indians. They maintain that the lashes hinder the eye in seeing, especially if they want to peer sharply into the distance. That they are anxious to care for [957] the precious organ according to the best of their knowledge is [411] shown by the fact that the area around the eye of the boy who is to become a skilled archer is scratched bloody with the scarifier -- naturally because they believe in this "medicine" and not because [302] they want to harden him. In the case of the lashes in particular, the seemingly cruel plucking, since it is radical, is nevertheless a relatively mild procedure. To endure the cutting and shaving on the edge of the lid with fish teeth and shells would indeed be heroic.

*171 302 ● 304 The skin. The skin is pierced to receive ornaments, it is painted with color, and it is scratched with spines or teeth. The two last methods have developed into artistic treatment, into body painting or tattooing -- one would only like to know what original purposes lie behind them.

*171 301 If we observe, on the basis of thousands of examples, to what degree coquetry and vanity triumph over physical discomfort in matters crude and fine among our pampered, civilized human beings, we shall not be surprised that the vanity of primitive peoples is even more reckless. The chief difference between us and them is merely that they are obliged to do on the skin what we are able to do with clothing. Among them, however, it was everywhere first of all the man who adorned himself. He began doing so as a hunter, and since there is the matter of manifesting the hunter's vanity, we may conclude that man first developed the idea of the trophy by not separating himself from the parts of the booty that were inedible, /179/ yet could easily be preserved and

/179 cont./

*171 301 carried, but rather saved them for acknowledgment by his contemporaries and attached them to his body. We find this all the more natural, since we know that with such parts, in his opinion, the characteristics of the game animal were acquired. Thus he [789] wore claws, teeth, and feathers as trophy and talisman. While *171 301 he could tie most of these things on a string, he was in difficulty with a feather which he wanted to keep as a memento of a good ● 304 shot: he pierced his ear lobe and stuck it in there, where it was secure and did not get in his way. The ancestors of all our tribes hit upon this; some of them were soon not content with ear holes, but also pierced the nose and lips. For the idea of the trophy, at first applied only to the laborious attainment, was extended to a wearing not connected with much pain or labor. A new result, worthy of admiration, was produced, and a young man undoubtedly felt "better tailored," in the fullest sense of the expression, if he displayed his treasure in a hole in his nose, lip, or ears, than *171 301 if he wore it around his neck on a string. Once the wearing of the trophy became habitual, it was inevitable that attention was 822 turned to its external qualities as well, the previously secondary characteristics of color and form. Even objects that had merely been used to keep the holes open and prevent them from healing shut became ornaments and decorations. More or less vaguely felt perceptions of pleasing color contrasts were associated with ideas about the difficult, the unusual, the power-endowed.

*171 304 619 The artificial injury, however, became an end in itself through the circumstance that it furnished a permanent distinguishing mark and thus shaped various forms of the custom. It was not only excellently suited for distinguishing brave and ruling persons within a tribe, who were usually also the most vain, but it often formed the consciously worn symbol of nationality from tribe to tribe. It provided the means for giving even children lasting [648] marks. The Indians have always passionately engaged in kidnapping among foreign tribes in order to rear warriors and women; hence children were marked so that they could be recognized, as the herd-owner stamps his livestock. When we were with the Bororó, an old woman swore by all that was holy that our Antonio,

/179 cont./

*171 although he understood not a word of Bororó, was her son stolen
● 304 years before by enemies; she wailed and lamented loudly all
619 night long; then it was strange to see how the Bororó carefully undertook to examine on the half-laughing, half-outraged Antonio his lower lip, which among them is pierced as early as infancy and unanimously set him free when, instead of their little lip-hole, they found a pierced nasal septum. Thus among the
[648] Bakaïrí there were abducted Paressí women; among the Nahuquá, Mehinakú women; among the Suyá, the captured Manitsauá, who were immediately distinguishable from the rest by the tribal marking. /180/ The artificial injury thus developed into a regu-
[86] lar arrangement for expediency. Moreover, the foreign was re-
*171 garded as ugly or comical, the indigenous as beautiful and noble.
304

The piercing of the ear lobes is generally widespread among
[301] the men of all tribes. It serves solely for feather ornaments.
[239] Among no tribe of the Kulisehu do the women have pierced ear-lobes, and no woman wears feather ornaments of any kind anywhere else on her body; the woman does not hunt -- the origin from the hunting trophy is still unmistakably distinct. The ear of the boy is pierced at the time when he begins to practice with a small-sized bow and arrow.* /Fig. 12 appears here./

*Among the Suyá men and women wear rolls of palm leaf strips in the slit-open ear-lobe, which is gradually extended into a long rein, but here, too, feather ornaments are confined to the men.

The piercing of the lower part of the nasal septum, so that the alae, slightly turned upward, rest on the object stuck through it, is found only among the Bakaïrí, on the Paranatinga and Rio Novo, on the Batovy, and in the first Kulisehu village among both sexes, in the second Kulisehu village only among the men, in the third neither among men nor women. This geographical
[648] distribution makes it seem not improbable to me that the custom is based on that of the Paressí, /181/ who were formerly in active

/181 cont./

*171 304 [648] contact, sometimes peaceful, sometimes hostile, with the western Bakaïrí, of whom we still found two women, kidnapped as children, in the Paratinga village. The Paressí pierced the ear lobes of their women so that they could always be distinguished from the Bakaïrí women, and their men pierced the nasal septum, inserted a little

[532] [237]

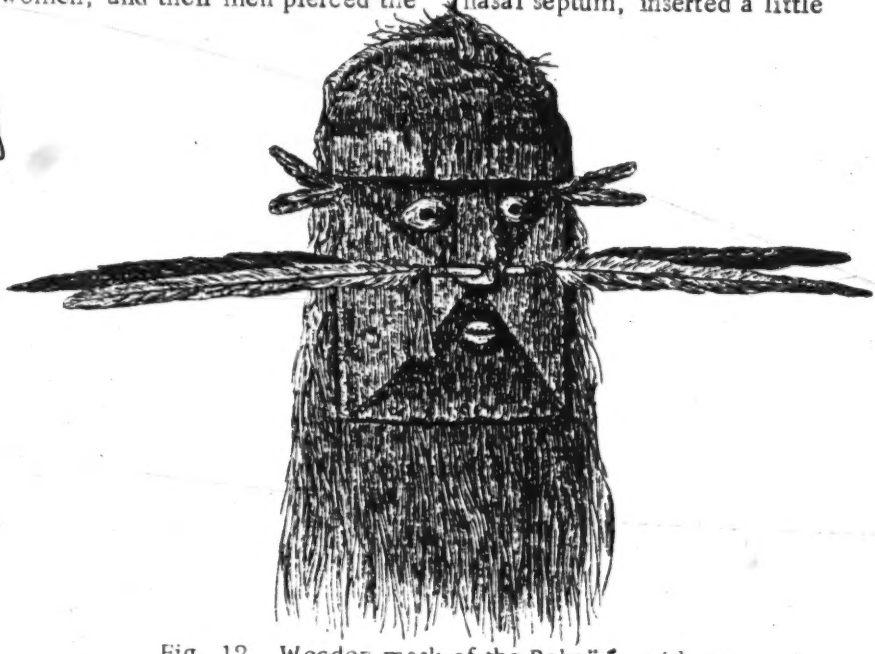


Fig. 12. Wooden mask of the Bakaïrí, with ear and nose feathers.

piece of reed in it, and stuck into only one end of this a long arara feather or ordinary toucan feather, whereas the ear ornament of the women consisted of a little triangular piece of nut shell.

301 304 [178] [532] Among the Bakaïrí today feathers are no longer worn in the nose, but we found masks with a hole in the elongated septum of the wooden nose, through which an arara feather stuck into a piece of reed projected out on either side. There is also a difference in the size of the hole among men and women, to which my attention was especially drawn by the Bakaïrí themselves; in it the men wear a thin piece of kambayuwa reed, in which the feather or a thin bone is inserted, the women a thick kambayuva peg or a thick bone or stone. The latter is never used by the men.

/181 cont./

000 or stone. The latter is never used by the men. On the Kulisehu
*171 we collected a few ornamental stones made out of grayish white
301 quartzite with a dull shine, which were ground into the shape of
[324] a pointed spindle and were six centimeters long. We saw the nose-spindle, natáko, in actual use only in the case of a pregnant woman, who also had many ornaments hanging around her
[317] neck. These stones came from the Batovy or the Ponekuro, the right source-river of the Kulisehu; they were said to be rare, so that ordinary bones or reed had to help out. We also obtained
[237] bones of similar shape, eight and a half centimeters long, and a spindle seven centimeters long and gleaming like mother-of-pearl, which was cut out of a shell. The operation is performed
[304] in approximately the fifth year of life and is said to be accompanied by profuse bleeding on occasion.

000 I may add on here the binding of the extremeties, although

301

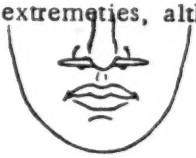


Fig. 13. Ornamental nose-stone of the Bakaïrí women.

*171 I may add on here the binding of the extremeties, although
301 it was still foreign to our Indians in the degree where it might
304 be spoken of as a bodily injury. It was much in use among all
826 the tribes. For this they used thick, wide straw binding, hanks
[283] of cotton, cotton ropes, or bands crocheted with wooden needles, and wore them on the upper arm and below the knee or above the ankle. The custom was most striking in the third Bakaïrí village, where one saw chubby, almost swollen calves. We never observed, however, such thick, protruding calves as are shown in illustrations of the male or female Karaiben of the north. We noticed the straw bindings especially among the Nahuquá (cf. Fig. 4 /see p. 71/). /182/ Only the men made use of the binding. It makes one strong, I was told by way of explanation.
[237] As dance ornaments bands decorated with colored feathers are worn around the upper arm.

/187 cont./

*171 302 daubing. The cotton bands wound the upper arm or lower leg offered a not unpopular motif. One day I saw on the Bakaïrí Kulekule, who was an enthusiastic admirer of mine, a black horseshoe-like arc below either nipple, and when I jokingly asked him what it was, to my surprise he pointed to my boots, which impressed him very much: he had painted the heels on himself. A veritable work of art was displayed by a young Auetó who was solemnly decked out for the journey with us to Cuyabá -- his father ordered him to accompany us --, but who left us already among /188/ the Mehinakú, in spite of a pot of flour that had been given to take along as provisions. The mereschu lozenge-pattern, which I shall subsequently discuss in greater detail, covered his chest and sides down to the middle of the calves, in contrast to which the lower half of his face and the sides of his neck from the ear to the collarbone stood out with a coating of pure, deep black. Otherwise it was primarily on the festive occasion of a reception or, as among the Nahuquá, for the dance that people decorated themselves with designs. In everyday life there was practically nothing to be seen, just as little as of feather ornaments. When I appeared with my traveling companions from Independencia, almost all of the Bakaïrí of the first village, including the women, received us in a painted state; the smaller grandsons of Tumayaua had been carefully smeared over their whole bodies, and Tumayaua told me specifically that we were supposed to see how pleased the women were.

*171 ●304 [237] [824] Scratch-scars. Scratching the skin is a sort of panacea. It is used on young and old and in the same way among all the tribes. With the /Fig. 15 appears here/ scarifier, a triangular piece of gourd shell set with a row of small, pointed teeth of fish (trahira) or claws of rodents (agutí), the skin is scratched, allowed to bleed for a while, which is helped by stroking with a bone, and is then rubbed either with yellow loam or with soot or the juice of a fruit (natunsán among the Auetö). One sees the scratch-scars everywhere, especially on the arms. Actual

/188 cont./

*171 304 decorative scars are altogether absent, which agrees with a statement by Joest, that they are confined to the dark peoples. So that boys will develop a sure eye and a strong arm for shooting, the face and upper arm are treated with the scarifier. I saw it *171 757 used with very good results in the case of a bad swelling of the foot. The procedure is pure Baunscheidtism /a method of healing by acupuncture/ and is expressly represented as a medical one. It is clear that in many cases relief is actually obtained by a lessening of pressure and inflammation. It is no less clear how people hit upon it, for in the case of insect bites, everyone scratches until there is bleeding and the pain or itching stops, and one also tries to let out anything harmful that has penetrated the skin. Finally, it is not mysterious why people rub them-

[304]

Fig. 15.
Scarifier.

selves with soot or earth; again they do not wish to adorn themselves, but to increase or alleviate, according to need, the irritation and stop the blood. Bleeding was also checked with ashes.

*171 304 Thus the native has now arrived at tattooing, without inventing it; I often observed colored scratch-lines in the skin as a regular, albeit unintentional tattooing among tribes who did not /189/ concern themselves with this art at all. One may not speak of accident, however, since the habit of medicinal scarification of necessity called forth the secondary experience of coloring. Purposeful application is a matter of subsequent notions. Tattooing also becomes an artificial method and a distinguishing aid which is put on the skin where clothing is not present. Nothing is more natural than that tattooing decreases as clothing appears and easier ways to the same ends are opened up. Felipe, the docile Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ from the Paranatinga village, lieutenant of the Brazilian militia and owner of a

B /189 cont./
*171 patent and of a cast-off, gallooned uniform, visited his rediscovered
● 304 brothers in name, along with Antonio, after our first expedition;
he told me that he was asked to go to the Kustenaŭ /Custenau/
and have himself tattooed. "But I didn't want to," he told me,
"after all, I have my galloon."

Tattooing is limited to the Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ tribes,

A
142
302
304

Fig. 16. Kamayurá woman with scratch-scars.

B
*171 namely, the Mehinakŭ /Mehinacu/, Kustenaŭ, Waurá, and
304 Yaulapiti -- to tribes who are fond of blackening their bodies,
who could thus best observe the coloring of the scratches -- and
is occasionally laid claim to by the neighboring Bakaïrí. It is
B done in earliest childhood with the thorn of a bromelia, gravatá,
[824] or the tooth of the dogfish; soot or the juice of the tarumá fruit
serves for the color.

/189 cont./

*171 ● 304 We saw an artistic tattooing only once; a chief of the Mehinakú had the rhombus shape of the mereschu fish tattoed on either side of his chest; from the upper and outer corner of the rhombus a double line ran up to the shoulder. Proudly counting up for us the tribes that knew him, he each time pointed to a corner of the rhombus; I use even this little humorous touch to substantiate my opinion that what primitive peoples do with their skin, mutatis mutandis, corresponds to what we undertake with our clothing. The Mehinakú counts off on the corners of his tattoo design, we on the buttons of our vest. The men had /190/ as tattooing a line or a double line that followed the inner contours of their shoulder blades, sometimes as obtuse or approximately right angles which have the vertex turned toward the spinal column, sometimes as an arc -- a design that has gone over into the art of the Mehinakú and appears outside on the bottoms of the large pots; cf. Plate 15 /see p.253 /. The women wore, either on the upper arm or around the wrist or on the upper thigh, two or three horizontal curved lines, encircling the front part of the limbs, thus representing semicircles.

In general, tattooing does not as yet achieve more than simple lines and still reveals its origin from the clumsy scarification with the fish tooth. In this respect the illustration on the preceding page of a Kamayurá /Camayura/ woman seemingly tattooed, but merely scratched for medicinal purposes, is strange. The Kamayurá did not have any tattooing, but hands and arms were often closely lined with scratch-scars from the scarifier.

[554] Tattooing, however, did serve as a conscious distinction. It marked men and women of the chiefs' families, who, unlike the Bakaïrí Felipe, were not in a position to wear galloons; this distinction was provided even for small children. Here, therefore, it first furnishes a mark of differentiation within the tribe, which in the course of time, however, like every badge of rank, will sink to generalization. Individual Bakaïrí and Nahuquá aristocrats were tempted to strive for the foreign distinction. The Nahuquá had several Mehinakú women with tattooing. Among the Mehinakú I met a visiting Kamayurá, and he,

/190 cont./

*171 characteristically, wore on his arm the two tattoo lines of the
● 304 Mehinakú women, painted on, to be sure, and not tattooed. I
believe, but cannot maintain and prove, that there is a connec-
tion here with the system of matriarchy. According to the Indian
[619] conception, the sons belong to the tribe of the mother, and in
every case they visit the tribal village of the mother under
peaceful circumstances. It is certain that the Mehinakú women
and the Mehinakú pots bore their home stamp.

II. Sexualia.

*171 The devices among men and women are not coverings. Protec-
291 tion of the mucous membrane and benefits with the onset of
puberty. Origin among the women, however, as bandage and
cushion, among the men as gymnastic treatment for phimosis.

*171 Our natives do not have any secret body parts. They joke
291 about them in word and picture with such complete ingenuous-
831 ness that it would be foolish to call them indecent. They envy us
for our clothing as though for a valuable ornament; they put it
on and wear it in our company with such utter disregard of our
simplest rules and such complete misunderstanding of all the
devices designed for them that their paradisiacal naïveté is
[881] most convincingly proved. Some of them celebrate /191/ the
onset of puberty for both sexes with noisy folk festivals, in
which general attention and boisterousness is demonstratively
[602] concerned with the "private parts." If a man wishes to tell a
[201] stranger that he is the father of another or a woman wishes to
introduce herself as the mother of a child, they gravely acknowl-
edge themselves as worthy begetters in that, with the most
spontaneous and natural explanation in the world, they grasp
the organs from which life issues.

128 Hence it is not possible to understand these people properly
unless we leave aside our ideas of "clothing," unless we take
them as they are and as they prove themselves in their own way.
Keeping in mind as our point of departure the fact that they have

/198 cont./

*171 or occasionally took them off, just as a number of Trumaí did
291 not even wear the string, but the penis had always been pushed
834 back so far and the skin was so wrinkled that nothing was visible of the glans. I even believe, perhaps because, without corroborating material, I myself am gazing through the spectacles of civilization, that they would be ashamed to expose the glans to the eyes of another, especially a stranger. Except that I would regard this feeling of modesty as the result of the firmly rooted custom and not as its cause. I find it very strange, however, that a feeling given by temperament should be awakened for only a small anatomical part of an organ which in its function also claims other parts, and I should like to hear of a case having been observed, say, in which a person taken by surprise in a naked state covers himself, not with his hand, but with only two fingers. It should not be forgotten that erections are neither prevented nor concealed by the tying-off. Moreover, there are also
•[304] circumcised persons who go naked or did.•

[113] •Cf. the example of the cacique of Gotera; R. Andree, Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche, new series, Leipzig, 1889, p. 202.

ooo And here we have arrived at the point that must be considered above all. We must take into consideration the opposite treatment of the glans, which shortens or cuts open the praeputium. The majority of mankind has given preference to circumcision. Along with Ploss and Andree, •• I am of the opinion that the

•• Op. cit., p. 212.

original meaning of circumcision was that of an "operative preparatory act for the sexual function of the man"; "one wants to make the young man at once mature and normal sexually, /199/ with it he is taken into the ranks of marriageable men." Now, if our primitives have decided on the opposite method, they could not have been impelled by an opposite motive, which would be irrational. One may well ask, however, whether their

/205 cont./

*171 237 412 [825] be broken off evenly. A scarcely less important tool was furnished by the peixe cachorro, or dogfish, called Cynodon zoologically, which has in its lower jaw two pointed teeth three to three and a half centimeters long, each projecting upward through a hole. The edge of these teeth, ground knife-sharp, was used for cutting, but chiefly for puncturing, for example, in connection with tattooing, for scratching, for example, in decorating the tortoise spindle disks, and for boring reeds, as in the case of the arrows, in order to put through the threads for fastening the feathers and [824] points. /206/ The triangular pieces of gourd which, as the scarifier, represented the most important instrument in the little surgery of the Indians, cf. Figure 15 /see p. 179/, were studded with the small, pointed teeth of the trahira fish, Erythrinus. The [825] little teeth of the aguti, Dasyprocta aguti, served the same purpose. Of the rodents, the capybara, Hydrochoerus capybara, fur- [284] nished indispensable scraping chisels with the front teeth of its lower jaw; the tooth, six to eight centimeters long, was fastened to a piece of ubá reed with cotton thread, or two teeth were lashed together and cemented with a little wax. /Figs. 23-26 appear here./ The arrow holes were likewise bored with the aguti tooth. [301] Monkey teeth, pierced at the root and artfully plaited together into a chain, were a favorite belt or neck ornament.

[411] Bones. Arm and leg bones of monkeys, which were kept in thick bundles in the little tool basket at home, served as arrowheads. They were ground to shape and, with their hollow tubes, mounted on the stick between the arrowhead and arrow shaft. The tail radiation of the ray was likewise an arrowhead. Small, pointed ● [304] bones were added as barbs. /207/ Mammal bones had many uses: the skin treated with the scarifier was rubbed with the thigh bone of the deer; we saw a splinter of a jaguar bone pointed to pierce ear lobes; the wax smeared over the lashing on arrowheads was applied with a bone. The front claws of the giant armadillo, [825] Dasypus gigas, served man, as well as the animal itself, for digging and grubbing up the ground and were the earth hoe of our Indians. The spindle disks in many cases came from the ventral piece of the tortoise shell, which was broken to pieces with a stone. Jaguar

/207 cont./

*171 claws were worn as neck chains, fish vertebrae on the Jaguar belt cord;
237 a bone stuck crosswise through the nasal septum adorned the old
301 Bakaïrí.
● 304

Shells. Flat river shells were extensively used for cutting, less
*171 for cutting through than for scoring longitudinally, for scraping, planing,
237 smoothing. The work shells brought back from the Kamayurá /Fig. 27
412 appears here/ were identified by Herr Professor von Martens: tyutsí,
[325] Anodonta, was the shell for scraping the mandioca root, "maniôka pináp";
[324]

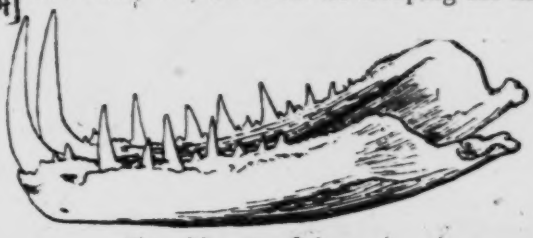


Fig. 23. Dogfish.
(1/1 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 24. Piranha.
(1/2 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

[284]
→

Fig. 25. Front claws of the giant armadillo. (Grubbing hoe.) (2/5 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 26. Capybara teeth. (Scraping chisel.) (1/2 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

the women sat on a couple of pieces of bamboo placed together, and they scraped, scrubbed, scratched, until their legs disappeared in the
[322] heap of parings. This shell also served as a plane to smooth the handle of the stone ax or the oar by means of finer scraping, not with the edge,

/418 cont./

171 White is chalky white clay, a supply of which is kept in the
386 huts in the form of balls the size of a child's head. The women,
[283] when they spin, rub it on the right thigh, on which they twist the thread. It is simply mixed with water. It is never used to paint the body; it also falls far back for the implements and appears almost solely on the masks, the painting of which need last but a few days, on painted bark pieces, and the like.

/419/ Charcoal and soot, the berry-pulp of the genipap tree, (Genipa) and a number of resins furnish black. In order to blacken the inside of the gourd shells charcoal from the bark of the buriti shaft is used.

The yellowish-red to brownish-red loam seems to have been
[262] driven out by the urucú dyestuff. It was formerly eaten and is
524 still molded into heavy dolls for children and is rubbed on wounds
[304] for scarification.

Charcoal and soot are rubbed in directly, like the white, or they are also mixed with liquid, like the urucú. Either the oil
[824] from the pikí fruit (Caryocar butyrosum) is used, or the yellow extract containing caoutchouc from a tree of the campo cerrado, which the Bakaïrí call ochogohi and the bark of which is grated and made into an extract with water. The colors are mixed in a gourd shell or a pot or, when a hard resin is broken up with the ax blade, most conveniently in the cup-shaped depression of a stool. Urucú is always found as a paste wrapped in leaves in the little workbasket beside the hammock.

The dyestuffs available to the natives are therefore white, black, red, and yellow. The genipap-black is blue-black, the urucú-red a brick-red to orange, which, mixed with the yellow ochogohi juice, loses a good deal of its red. There are no blue or green dyestuffs.

121 The theory that the color sense developed gradually for
196 human beings, based on the fact that color distinction in language is inadequate up to a high level of culture and that blue and green in particular are extraordinarily often designated with the same word, has now been abandoned. It was found among all the primitive peoples investigated that they distinguish excellently

/422 cont./

171 192 825 boa-snake which Martius calls "viridis vel azureus Coluber aestivus L." The ordinary distinctions according to color, the number of which is smaller than one would expect, are black, white, red, and yellow; without placing any importance on absolute accuracy, I count 28 birds, 23 fish, 9 mammals, 4 snakes, and 12 lower animals which are differentiated according to those four colors. But now two more words occur for "colorful" /bunt, "gay-colored, mixed, spotted"/, one of which, pinima, with the verb "to paint" of the same stem, is used for fish, three birds, the jaguar, one snake, one lizard, one crayfish, and the other, paragoa, means simply "parrot" and also furnishes a parrot-fish and a parrot-snake. Pure "green" is always parrot-colored or parakeet-colored; where a "blue" is to be distinguished, the animal is also given the additional word una (burned) = black or dark.

171 192 It cannot be expressed more clearly that the Indian is induced to make a sharp color-distinction only when it is a matter of color qualities familiar to him from the dyestuffs, in other words, that his own experience, not his sense of color, furnishes the material for the sharply defined concepts.

171 192 824 The list of plant names by Martius, somewhat over 1000 in number, offers an interesting comparison. Eight plants are given the title black, 7 white, 7 red, 2 yellow. It is obvious that among the plants "green" does not form a distinguishing mark. Yet here, too, we come across on one occasion the cugui or "parakeet-colored," sometimes translated "green," sometimes "blue," and, to be sure, it corresponds to /423/ a specific blue, since it refers to Indigofera anil L. Three plants are "colorful," but "pinima"; the parrot-colorfulness (paragoa) is lacking.

171 386 The natives could have obtained indigo from the plant just mentioned, but they did not know how. Martius asserts that in the manufacture of indigo the Brazilian industrialists use Indian labor, that it was first introduced by the Portuguese and produces a not very desirable kind. Genipap-black has a blue tinge and [192] thus corresponds very well to the referring of blue to black in the [304] color designations. The blue of the tattooing also comes from the black.

/33 cont./

226 at least up to where the post is located /cited in English/."
114 At the time of Karl von den Steinen's expedition, the matrinchã̃n fish was held as the most precious boon in the country of the Paranatinga Bakairí, and in its honor they held their most beautiful fiesta. (39) When Karl von den Steinen suggested to

39. Karl v. d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., pp. 24 and 25.

Cacique Felipe that his aldea, which seemed to be losing all its population then, should be moved closer to Cuiabá, his sole reply was /34/ matrinchã̃n. Later at the aldea, then situated
[123] farther upriver, I was treated almost every day to a tasty matrinchã̃n, and when I visited the Xinguanos in the year 1927 in their settlement on the Rio Paranatinga, they also offered me fish. Of course, it may be that this abundance of fish in the Rio Paranatinga is restricted to certain times of the year.

I also regard as incorrect Petrullo's observation that the
114 Bakairí of the post had substituted hammocks made of cotton
177 thread for the ancestral ones of buriti fiber. From the beginning
283 the hammock made of cotton thread was typical especially of
352 the Bakairí of the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, in contrast to the hammocks woven of buriti fiber used by the other tribes in this region. But already at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions, (40) the Bakairí of the Rio

40. Ibid., p. 239.

Paranatinga had hammocks made of buriti fiber, which, they said, old Cacique Caetano had introduced among them. As for
114 Petrullo's opinion that the custom of filing the upper incisors
177 is ancestral with the Bakairí and that they still retain it, I must
● 304 contest it with the fact that the Bakairí of the region of the

/34 cont./

114 tributaries of the upper Xingu River never had this custom, but
177 that I had the opportunity to observe it among several of my
304 Mato Grosso attendants, who had presumably adopted it through African influences. If the present-day Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post file their teeth, this is no doubt an innovation brought about by foreign influences.

165 We know through Petrullo that the high mortality of the
164 Paranatinga Bakairí unfortunately has continued in spite of the
648 care of the Inspectoria da Protecção aos Indios /Indian Protection Service/. (41) It seems that fevers are rapidly diminishing the

41. Vincent M. Petrullo, loc. cit., pp. 128 and 129.

Bakairí population. According to Petrullo, syphillis, caught through contact with the whites, probably has also caused high mortality among these Indians.

622 Finally, I must still mention the last news I received when
159 I had already left Mato Grosso. It was the news of the death
178 of the man who had withdrawn from all innovations at the close of his life because he wished to retain his independence but who nevertheless will remain the best-known Bakairí in Bakairí history: the death of Cacique Antonio.

184 II. Change and Continuity in the Cultural Goods
198 of the Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post
177

In discussing in the preceding section the history of the Bakairí, I mention that the sedentary Bakairí on the Rio Paranatinga and the Rio Novo, before they entered into relations with their fellow countrymen of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, had still retained some of the articles of their /35/ ancestral culture although they had almost completely become Brazilian campesinos. Through contact with the Xinguanos and as a

/263 cont./

000 dangers that surrounded them. Pregnancy, enokua, was
843 recognized by the cessation of the menstrual periods. When
262 the abdomen of the pregnant woman began to attain visible proportions, a diet based on vegetal foods and fish was initiated.
844 As the time of delivery drew near, a separate section was
[784] built inside the houses; the parturient was segregated and remained uanki. Female relatives helped in the delivery under the direction of an experienced woman. The parturient gave
[845] birth sitting on her heels. In difficult cases they washed her abdomen and sides with a hot infusion of cotton leaves. The umbilical cord was cut by the parturient herself or by her husband, and it was buried along with the placenta outside the
844 house. After the birth, eraseli, the child was washed and
784 handed over to the parents; later it would be given the name
846 of some dead relative. During the birth and for some time
[553] afterward, the child and its parents remained in a state of uanki. The end of the seclusion was signaled by the first
846 menstrual period of the parturient, and it was marked by a
796 feast called tadaunúto. The restoration of the parents and the
784 child to the bosom of the community was accomplished by means of a feast called itabiénli.

When children reached puberty they were secluded, uanki, for a period of several months. They could not come out in daylight, and they were fed and looked after by their
[856] relatives. It was believed that the greater or lesser duration of the young people's uanki period would lead to their better
[622] or worse physical constitution. On the other hand, a chief's son had to remain in seclusion longer than usual. The period
881 of seclusion began for boys with the ritual of the perforation of
304 the ears (usually undergone in groups). Girls had their ears
784 perforated immediately after birth, and their seclusion was marked by the advent of the first menses. The end of the uanki
784 state was also celebrated with the tadaunúto. The girls then
881 began to wear uluri, that is to say, triangular genital coverings
796 about three centimeters square made of tree bark.
881
291

302 and was combed with a comb (*aekáji*) made
412 by weaving slender cane teeth into a cotton holder.
301 Although clothing, in the strict sense of the
237 term, was nonexistent, the Bacairí used, on ceremonial occasions, beautiful, skillfully made ornaments. An important ornament was the *orógo*, a diadem or feather headdress strapped to the forehead. The *orógo* was made by fastening a row of green parrot feathers to a cotton band, above which was fastened another row of yellow weaver bird feathers. Two long blue macaw feathers were set in the center so as to stand straight up above the forehead. The *orógo* was worn only by men. These headdresses are still used, for some were seen in the village of Simão Lopes.

There were at least four kinds of necklaces. The *megesáuwa* was made from small thin round disks of white or pink snail shell, as many as 400 being strung on a string. This necklace was worn around the neck by women and around the waist by men and girls. The *ikwihéno* was also made from snail shell, but the disks were oblong with holes in both ends through which strings were passed. Although the *ikwihéno* was particularly used by men, women sometimes wore it together with the *megesáuwa*. The *sawalápi* was a necklace
[824] made from black disks of tucum palm nut and could be worn by both men and women at all times. Both men and women also wore necklaces made from the teeth or claws of the jaguar called the *dodojéri*. The Bacairí still use the *megesáuwa*, *ikwihéno*, and the *sawalápi*.

Besides necklaces, the Bacairí used a variety of other ornaments. The *upauwí* were armlets and anklets of cotton material decorated with feathers of different colors. The armlets, which were about 2 inches wide, were fastened tightly above the
[826] biceps and were believed necessary for the development of the muscle, with similar bands worn below the knee and around the ankles. Both men and women used the bands. An American missionary who experimented with Bacairí arm bands claimed that they caused him a great deal of distress but he has observed no ill effects among the Indians. The *pai* was a feather ear ornament made from red toucan and yellow parrot feathers
[304] suspended from the lobes of the ears. Holes in the ears were made with a sharpened jaguar bone or with a sharpened rhea feather. The *tajikaino*, worn only by men, consisted of two blue macaw feathers

301 placed in a hole in the septum of the nose, so that
237 the feathers swung one on each side of the head.
[304] Although the *páiko*, or scratcher, was not strictly
413 an ornament, it is mentioned here because it had
757 ritual meaning. The *páiko* was made by setting fish teeth into a gourd holder and was used for scarifying the skin of the arms, legs, chest, and back so as to cause bleeding. The wounds were first
[752] washed with water and later smeared with the juice of the *mukúna* vine. The *páiko* was used by
[281] boys and girls during puberty seclusion and by adults who had sores on their bodies. It was believed that the use of the *páiko* made people
304 strong and healthy. As far as could be ascertained the Bacairí did not mutilate the teeth, genitals, or other parts of the body. There was no sign of
[302] tattooing, but pubic hair was carefully pulled out
231 by both men and women. Formerly the Bacairí kept large birds, believed to belong to the eagle family, in their villages for their feathers. The Brazilians call the bird "harpía" and claim that it is still kept by the Indians in the Xingú Basin. The "harpía" was captured by shooting it with a blunted arrow, and it was kept in a special hut and fed. Villages often had several of these birds in captivity, the feathers being used particularly for feathering arrows. Parrots and macaws were also kept, their feathers being used only for ceremonial decorations.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

212 Vegetable foods formed the basis of Bacairí diet, with fish and meat taking second and third places.
224 The principal animals hunted were monkeys, deer, wild pigs, tapir, and the jaguar. The jaguar, however, was not eaten, but was hunted for its skin, teeth, and claws. The principal weapon used was the bow and arrow. Hunters would stalk game alone or in groups with the aid of dogs driving game into water or into steep rocky enclosures. There is no mention of the spear being used, but deadfalls and pitfalls were used. Many varieties
226 of large fish were shot with the bow and arrow, either from canoes or from the river bank. Lizards,
222 turtles, and a wide variety of wild fruits, roots, tender shoots, and honey were collected at certain seasons of the year.

241 The major part of the food supply, however, was obtained through agriculture. The Bacairí cultivated bitter manioc, *ópa;* sweet manioc, *taisę;*

844 with a bamboo sliver. The placenta was wrapped in a piece of cotton cloth and buried because it was believed that if it were picked at by birds it would cause sickness and misfortune to the mother and child. The child was then washed, wrapped, [553] and given to the mother. Later it was given the name of one of its ancestors.

846 During the seclusion period the mother and child were believed to be in a state of ritual danger (*wanki*). They were not permitted to go out in daylight and had to be fed and cared for by the female relatives. The first menses released the mother and child from seclusion, this release being known as *tadaunúto*. Shortly afterward the father invited the villagers to a ceremony (*itabienli*) [533] during which the *nokigóra* and *tadánwa* flutes were [535] played and only the women danced. By means of this ceremony the mother was reintegrated into the life of the family and the village.

857 After 3 years of age both boys and girls began to 868 copy their elders, the boys playing with bows and arrows and the girls with spindles. By the time the boys and girls reached puberty they knew how to perform most adult activities.

PUBERTY RITES

881 When the girls had their first menses and the boys reached the age of 13 or 14, they had to go into seclusion (*posegéiro*) for a period of 2 months to a year. It was believed that the longer the young people stayed in seclusion the stronger they would become physically. The longer periods of seclusion were also believed to enhance the prestige of the family. The boys and girls were not permitted to come out in daylight, and were fed and cared for by their parents. While the boys and girls were in seclusion they made pots and baskets for family use.

881 With boys the seclusion was inaugurated by an 304 ear-piercing ceremony. A number of men with sons of about the same age would perform this rite collectively before invited guests. After eating [535] and drinking, the *poinwáto* song and dance were performed. The boys were now in a state of *wánki*, ritual danger, and were secluded immediately after this rite. The girls' ears were pierced when they were babies, but the ear piercing of the boys corresponded to the period of the first menses of the girls.

527 gather the ceremonial corn. Later in the day the women prepared large quantities of corn porridge and roasted ears.

On the morning of the third day the actual ceremony began in front of the *kadoéti*. The organizer of the dance distributed roasted ears or pieces of ears to all the villagers, children included. Then at a signal from the leader, the villagers began throwing the roasted corn in all directions and at one another. After the roasted corn was [262] disposed of, the people ate the corn porridge and meat prepared on the preceding day. They then washed themselves in the river and put on their paint and ornaments. When the villagers had again gathered before the *kadoéti* the dance leader took a piece of corn husk and went from man to man asking for a song leader. The man who 527 took the offered corn husk then began the 533 *yawaisári*, or song in praise of corn. Little by little the others joined in the singing and eventually began to dance. The words of the song told how corn came to the Bacairí and how it made the people strong and healthy.

881 The *ransegéro*, or ear-piercing ceremony, was 304 performed just before a boy went into puberty seclusion. It was customary for men who had sons of about the same age to cooperate in getting large quantities of food ready for the feast. After the feast was over the ears of the boys were pierced [533] and the *poinwáto* song was sung. When boys and girls came out of seclusion there was another ceremony during which all the songs and dances were performed with the exception of the sacred flute tunes.

342 The *mahulawári* was performed during coopera- 476 tive house building in which the whole village participated. While the women prepared food and some men were putting up the frame, a certain [824] number of men went in search of palm fronds for thatching. When these men returned with the palm fronds they danced and sang before the new house with their loads on their backs and in full ceremonial regalia.

286 The custom of distributing cotton by a woman 574 with a good cotton crop and having other women weave hammocks for her has already been mentioned. When the women had completed their weaving and returned the hammocks to the donor of the cotton, she gave a feast during which the [535] women sang and danced the *yamaikúma*. This

Geographically the post is situated ideally on a high land removed from the river and cleared of all vegetation, the jungle appearing only as a narrow fringe along the river banks. Like the rest of the high plateau it is wind swept, and generally pleasant. It must be added that contact with white people, such as is had when a small group of natives go to Cuyabá, has brought syphilis to them, and it may be their mortality is due to this.

One occupation enjoyed in former times is denied them, and that is fishing. There are practically no fish in the Paranatinga, at least up to where the post is located. Since meat is gotten only on rare occasions, and no hunting is done, the diet is mainly one of vegetables and considerably poorer than when they were living in their original state. This may also explain their lowered resistance to disease.

Very little museum material which represents their own products can be collected from the Bakairi. What has not been gotten from the Inspectoria has been brought back on excursions to the Kuluseu. Pottery has not been made since their coming to the post, according to them. The huge vessels that they possess either have been brought with them from their former homes or bartered from the tribes on the Kuluseu. It is claimed that the proper clay cannot be found in the neighborhood of Simõe Lopes.

Arrows are still being made, an iron nail generally being substituted for the old bone point, but most of the arrows also come from the Kuluseu.

For the old hammock made of palm-leaf fibre the cotton hammock has been substituted, but the same open net style has been kept.

Mussel shell ornaments have also been bought from the tribes of the Kuluseu. In brief, almost anything that is found in their village must bear the suspicion that it is not a Bakairi product.

However, they have preserved a few customs, such as filing the upper teeth to a point, wearing under the European clothing the gee string, and ceremonial use of the bull-roarer, and they probably remember many of their ceremonies.

The short time spent at the post was mostly devoted to taking anthropmetric measurements, which were subsequently lost on the Kuluseu, but in some notes I do find the statement that in blood groupings most belong to groups three and four, the former predominating.

The heads of the boys before arriving at puberty are often shaven, but the girls wear the hair in the same style as the older women until puberty, when the hair is not cut and must be worn over the face until after the end of the initiatory period [Plate XII, 3, 4]. Y [881] 302 105 171

Body hair, especially of the genital parts, is pulled out by both sexes. Hair of the legs and arms is not pulled out unless it is unusually thick, but the trunk, the armpits, the face, receive careful attention. For this purpose a spiny grass is used. In contrast with the Bororo, the eyebrows are not taken off. Bo [302]

With the exception of ear piercing, which is performed on the boys, no other type of body mutilation is practiced, though the use of piranha-teeth scrapers to draw the evil out of the body in case of sickness, done by the individual himself, often leaves marks on the body. This is done also to alleviate itching. Y 105 171 304

Filing the upper teeth is limited to the Bakairi, who file the upper front teeth to a point. [755] Ba 304

* * * *

Each village is composed of a number of houses, generally about five, with a headman to each. The heads of households are interrelated, often being brothers. In each household a number of families live together, each having its own possessions, and its own section of the hut. Such a household generally consists of the headman and his wife, his unmarried children and the married females with their husbands and children. The young man goes to live in the house of his wife's father, but when he is capable of it he may build his own house. Y 105 171 621 [592] [591]

There is a nominal head to the village. His authority, however, is limited to the ceremonial; in other things he is more of a counsellor than a leader. Y [622]

The women are actually the authoritative persons in the village. Succession and inheritance is traced through them, and though the stranger deals with the men, they consult their women in everything and refuse to do anything unless the women are compliant. Often the women are openly more aggressive than the men. Y 105 171 562 621

Marriage takes place soon after the puberty initiations, which both boys and girls have to undergo. For the girl, the initiation consists in having her legs bound in the manner already described, covering the body Y 881 [582]

[text continues on p. 171]

/88 cont./

361 The village could be reached in half an hour or an hour from
311 the river, depending on whether one landed sooner or later. It was surrounded by cultivated land to an extent that aroused our
241 greatest astonishment. On the three different paths that we followed, we came through long stretches where the forest had been cut down with the stone ax. In March and April the trees are felled and in September and October the wood which has dried in the meantime is burned. We examined with admiration a number of thick trunks, the cross-sections of which were covered with the dull blow-marks of the stone axes, and regretted that we could not saw off such a marked surface and take it along. I silently begged forgiveness of the Indians at whom I had often laughed when they were swinging themselves in their hammocks at home, as though their lives were one long Sunday.

361 /89/ In Iguéti there were three large family-houses and a
345 very respectable flute-house in which many dance costumes made
535 of palm straw were hanging. On the village plaza a cage rose
343 up higher than a house, which consisted of long poles set together
231 in the form of a pointed cone; in it sat a mighty Harpia destructor, although the village is called igu-eti = sparrow-hawk village.
231 The once heraldic bird had probably long since departed. The beautiful eagle was named after its favorite food, mégo-zóto, lord
412 of the monkeys. Beside the chief's house lay a large whetstone
[171] for the stone axes; it gave me much pleasure because it showed the same grooves that we had observed in the sambaquis of Sta. Catharina.

621 The community numbered some 40 persons. They spoke of
162 three chiefs, but we met in this capacity only the good-natured,
622 very broad-shouldered Aramöke, who was characterized by a waddling walk. He had a sly expression and with his clumsy body was very polite, for, striding ahead of me in the forest, he broke off the branches, which might have snapped back in my face, more graciously than he probably would have for a woman. A large knife and a red scarf made him the happiest of mortals.
574 He showed us great hospitality. Fresh golden beijûs were con-
437 stantly brought forth, a row of calabashes filled with pogu were

/215 cont./

*171 323

present provide the other tribes with cooking vessels in Guiana, although he says that the Aruak make abundant pots for their own use, but do not dispose of them as trade goods, like the Karaiben. Martius says of the Makuschi, the most populous Karaiben tribe of the Rio Branco area: "All implements of these Indians are neatly and carefully made, the weapons decorated with feathers, and only in pottery are they inferior to the Indians of the coast."

ceramics, also from an artistic point of view, as we shall see.

At first, and before I knew that the peculiar dependency on the Nu-Aruak existed for all tribes, I believed that there happened to be no clay available. This was an error, however. [135] There was suitable clay, not only among the Nahuquá, but also among the Bakaïrí, and the only thing I cannot say /216/ is whether the quality was a degree poorer than among the potter tribes, which, however, is probably of no concern for our problem.*

● [312]

* The Bakaïrí were the only ones who fetched good drinking water from a crystal-clear brook; the Nahuquá and, even more, the Mehinakú and Auetó drank from muddy loam pools and stagnant canal waters.

*171 323 415 [439]

But let us consider another circumstance: the Bakaïrí and Nahuquá had gourds and calabashes, which, on the other hand, were lacking among the potter tribes and which the latter obtained from the Nahuquá, where special care or better soil, I know not, produced splendid fruits for vessels. Finally, if we learn that the Waurá made very attractive pots of exactly the shape and size of the gourd vessels, with imitations of the drawings put on them, that the basic form of the pots is clearly that of the drinking bowl, the gourd, and that the pots as well as the

/32 cont./

114 enemy Indian. Just as an untiring search for the "martyrs" in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River finally broke the health of Officer Paulo Castro 25 years before, so too Colonel Fawcett perished in the same regions in his fantastic race for the "mysterious city."

177 178 Although in the year 1927 nearly all the Bakairí dressed in European-type garments and lived in Brazilian-style ranchos, and although they had also adopted many other articles of European culture, there survived among them various articles of their native culture with which I shall deal in the section that follows.

361 Already at the time of my stay among the Bakairí at Simões Lopes there was frequent talk of an imminent move of the post. [312] The Indians were not satisfied with their present location because [241] in times of drought there was no water available except at a great distance, and because there was no ground suitable to make plantations in the immediate vicinity of the post. As for the selection of a place for the new post, the opinions of the Indians differed a great deal, and it was interesting to note that the Xinguanos especially wanted the location to be closer to the capital, Cuiabá, while the Paranatinganos, on the contrary, wanted a place which would be beyond the Rio Paranatinga.

[114] /33/ We learned a few details concerning the later conditions of the Bakairí who lived in the new Simões Lopes Post from Vincent M. Petrullo, who in the year 1931 undertook a journey carried out in part with pack oxen, by water, and in part by air to the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, passing this Indian post along the way. (38) According to

[113] 38. Vincent M. Petrullo, "Primitive Peoples of Matto Grosso, Brazil," The Museum Journal, Vol. XXIII, Number 2, Philadelphia, pp. 127-130.

/329 cont./

*171 237 301 All feather ornamentation, except for an occasional feather stuck in the ear, especially among the Bakaïrí, belongs to festive occasions, including the solemn reception. It is the same with the feathers as with the body painting.

*171 524 Children's games. Among the Bakaïrí we saw catch-balls wadded together out of maize straw; instead of the usual long feather, a tail of maize straw was tied inside. There were rubber balls, huge ones, among the Auetö. The sap of a figueira /Ficus/ [314] or the mangabeira is rolled into a little ball on the chest, steeped in water with ashes, and the ball punctured all around in such a way that on the outside it looks as though it were covered with [386] *plaiting. The balls are dyed* red with urucú.

[824] Tops were made from the unripe peanut (Arachis hypogaea) or mandubí. Twice as big as a cherry, it was pierced and pushed onto a small bamboo stick so that only a small part of the latter emerged, and here it was wound with a tuft of cotton flocks to prevent it from sliding off. The fruit would spin upward on the long handle. Several such tops were set in a pot and made to spin together.

[526] We must count the wrestling described on page 93 among the games of the adults, but children liked to practice wrestling. The same was true, of course, of shooting the bow. We also saw children's throwing-sticks. Older children played with the heavy clay dolls. I was asked several times to perform a sort of test of strength in that I was supposed to lift a boy up in the air with my free arm. I may add here the observation that the Indians were unable to balance a pole on one finger.

/330/ Chapter XII.

000 I. Law and Custom. II. Magic.

I. Property. Kinship. Marriage. Morals. Barter. Names. Birth. Couvade and its explanation. Burial.

II. Sorcery in various stages and on various levels of culture. Dream experiences. Pars pro toto. Good and bad medicine-men.

725 came back to the village to play tricks on people. The Bacairí did not believe that the ghosts of the dead caused death and, therefore, were not afraid
726 of them. They were, however, afraid of certain
761 evil spirits—for instance, *eradupíra*, who caused
753 death and sickness.

756 To become a shaman (*piáji*), a young unmarried man would train with an old shaman for a period of 6 months to a year. During this period
[785] sexual intercourse was forbidden, fasts were periodically observed, and the novice had to abstain from eating meat. Much of the training took place in the woods, where the old shaman would
[735] teach the novice the curative properties of roots and herbs and, also, how to get in touch with the
756 ghosts of dead shamans. The training would be
767 complete when the novice acquired his own spirit
[775] helper, which was always the ghost of a dead shaman. Sometimes the revelation was so powerful that the young novice would fall to the ground in a trance. The spirit that then appeared to
[534] him instructed him how to make a flute (either *emíni* or *kanagéra*), which he kept in the sacred flute house, and gave him a special tune by which he could always call his spirit helper. The novice had then to prove himself by curing some sick person or by finding lost property. If he were successful he became a recognized shaman.

756 Before beginning a performance, shamans al-
755 ways fasted for several days and smoked heavily. In curing a sick person the shaman asked his spirit helper for instructions which usually were explanations of how to remove objects from the body which caused the illness. Besides removing
756 objects from the body the shamans prepared med-
757 icines. Headaches and pains in the body were cured by juice of the *peméira* tuber, and *turógi* leaves were used for pains in the chest. For
[755] healing the wounds made by the scratcher the juice made by boiling the *kumatáni* plant was
[830] used. The Bacairí also prepared aphrodisiacs from the *katáino* plant and by mixing piqui nuts, honey, and turtle eggs.

GAMES

526 The Bacairí played, and still play, a form of Indian football called *toinyaméli*. The ball (*toin*)
[314] was made by covering a round gourd with native rubber, leaving a small opening. The gourd was

/181 cont./

000 or stone. The latter is never used by the men. On the Kulísehu
*171 we collected a few ornamental stones made out of grayish white
301 quartzite with a dull shine, which were ground into the shape of
[324] a pointed spindle and were six centimeters long. We saw the
nose-spindle, natáko, in actual use only in the case of a preg-
nant woman, who also had many ornaments hanging around her
[317] neck. These stones came from the Batovy or the Ponekuro, the
right source-river of the Kulisehu; they were said to be rare, so
that ordinary bones or reed had to help out. We also obtained
[237] bones of similar shape, eight and a half centimeters long, and
a spindle seven centimeters long and gleaming like mother-of-
[304] pearl, which was cut out of a shell. The operation is performed
in approximately the fifth year of life and is said to be accom-
panied by profuse bleeding on occasion.

000 I may add on here the binding of the extremeties, although

301

Fig. 13. Ornamental nose-stone of the Bakaïrí women.

*171 I may add on here the binding of the extremeties, although
301 it was still foreign to our Indians in the degree where it might
304 be spoken of as a bodily injury. It was much in use among all
826 the tribes. For this they used thick, wide straw binding, hanks
[283] of cotton, cotton ropes, or bands crocheted with wooden needles,
and wore them on the upper arm and below the knee or above
the ankle. The custom was most striking in the third Bakaïrí
village, where one saw chubby, almost swollen calves. We
never observed, however, such thick, protruding calves as are
shown in illustrations of the male or female Karaiben of the north.
We noticed the straw bindings especially among the Nahuquá
(cf. Fig. 4 /see p. 71/). /182/ Only the men made use of the
binding. It makes one strong, I was told by way of explanation.
[237] As dance ornaments bands decorated with colored feathers are
worn around the upper arm.

/203 cont./

proper, we started first with the primitive peoples, we should not fail to recognize that there is Paleolithic as well as Neolithic work among them even today, depending on the kind of stone available, the material provided from another quarter, and the technical purposes present. We should see that the negative term "metal-less" is, of course, appropriate, but that the positive name "Stone Age" can be very unfortunate. We should also consider the case where man has no stones at all or unsuitable ones and still makes excellent tools and weapons. As an unprejudiced observer, it would scarcely have occurred to me to maintain that the Schingú Indians are living in the "Stone Age."

B *171 412 439 T 171 412 439

It is certainly true that their most difficult accomplishments -- clearing the forest, building houses, building canoes, making stools, and the like -- go back to the stone ax. But the various tribes were entirely dependent on one source, which was in the possession of the Trumaí. Neither the Bakaírí nor the Nahúquá nor the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ and their relatives, nor the Auetó nor Kamayurá /Camayura/ had stone axes of their own manufacture. Their sandstone was not suitable for axes. I have asserted exactly the same thing about the former times of the docile Bakaírí of the Paranatinga: in this region the Kayabi /Cayabi/ had a monopoly on the stone axes; the neighboring Bakaírí were obliged to get them from them, later their deadly enemies. The tribes of the Batovy, Kulisehu, and Kuluëne obtained their stone axes from the Trumaí (the Suyá living on the main river had some of their own). Thus, the stone ax is presented to us here as an import article.

Fig. 20.
Stone ax.
(1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.

T B 412 317

In answer to my inquiries, I was told that the stones were found "along a brook in the sand." The material has been identified by Herr Professor Arzruni /204/ of Aachen as diabase, a rock consisting of augite, plagioclase, mica, chlorite, and magnetite, in which are

/204 cont./

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[317]

embedded individual crystals of olivine and quite a number of quartz granules. The blades, 11-21 centimeters long, are usually evenly cylindrical, but some are round in the center like a roller, taper toward the rear, and have a broad front end with a bow-shaped cutting edge. Without any lashing, they fit into a wooden handle 0.5 meters long on the average, which consists of a cylindrical upper piece bored crosswise and a thinner handle set off from this like a reed stalk from its spike. The stone points inserted in the darts and the ornamental stones of the neck chains are made of the same diabase. The Trumaí ground the blades to a point on their stones and bored the ornamental stones; besides them, only the neighboring Yaulapiti did this. The other tribes simply sharpened on the river sandstone the axes that became dull. Shells and stones were bored with a twirl-borer. A triangular, hard splinter of stone was clamped to a small staff, and, to be sure, at both ends so that one could alternate them, and was secured by cord lashing. The little staff was almost half a meter long and was twirled between the hands. If stone was to be bored, sand was added. This is all the Indians achieved in the working of stone; they had

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412

Fig. 21.
Twirl-borer.*
(1/2 nat. size/ as shown in the original illustration/.)

*The twirl-staff is represented discontinuously.

/208 cont./

* 191 Feathers lend wings to the arrow, on whose shaft end two
[25] split halves of feathers are sewed opposite each other in spiral
30 turns. Otherwise they seem to be used exclusively, but in great
[411] volume here, for ornaments, such as ear feathers, feather crowns,
[289] feather caps, feather arm bands, feather cloaks (among the Kamayurá), and in hundredfold decoration on small ornaments, where little colored bundles hung on hammocks, combs, gourd rattles, arrow throwers, masks, etc. The most magnificent ma-
[325] terial was available, from the yellow, blue, red, and green of the arara, toucan, weaver birds, and parrots, from the beautiful stripes or speckles of the curassows, falcons, and owls, to the shimmering white of the heron and storks or the black of the urubu vulture. The big, broad, black-and-white striped flag
[325] of the Harpyia destructor was magnificent.

* 171 The spoils of hunting and fishing therefore offered an
[239] abundance of the most necessary things. In particular it furnished
[412] tools for cutting, scraping, polishing, piercing, boring, scratch-
[433] ing, and digging. Agriculture assured the natives a sedentary existence and improved their economic condition, but they still remained fishermen and hunters, though to a lesser extent. They were hunters without dogs, fishermen without hooks, farmers without plow and spade. They afford us an excellent example
[32] that teaches us how manifold the methods of work for the purpose of making a living could have been before the possession of any metal technique, an example that warns us about overestimating the importance of stone implements, which, of course are preserved the best and most plentifully for posterity, and about throwing indiscriminately into the great pot of the Stone Age everything that comes before the use of metal and, in comparison to the small span of time established for this, must embrace unimaginably long periods.

* 191 If one judges culture according to the extent and thorough-
433 ness with which the surrounding nature is exploited by the human
511 beings, then our natives certainly did not stand on a low level.
[289] They hunted and fished with arrow /209/ and bow, they fished with nets, catch-baskets, and weir-baskets; they had their fish

B /182 cont./
*171 Chains. Both sexes adorned themselves with neck chains; the
301 men also wore ornaments on their hip cord. Children and pregnant women had the most chain-ornaments hung on them. Our beads were also requested primarily for the children.

The Bakaïrí, with great pains, made very pretty neck chains, trophies of the kind of work that was quite popular among the other tribes, which we also found among the Suyá in 1884; cf. the
B *171 Kamayurá of Figure 14. These are rectangular, slightly convex
301 pieces which are cut from a convolution of the shell of píu, Orthalicus
321 melanostomus (Prof. v. Martens), two to three centimeters long, one

A 142 301 302

Fig. 14. Kamayurá with shell chain.

B
*171 to one and a half centimeters wide, almost pure white, and known
301 as píu orãli. They overlap on the long side, like roof tiles, and are
321 generally pierced at the top and bottom, but fastened only at the
[253] top with small threads to the neck cord. Especially thick shells were
B chosen, broken, and ground on stones. They were pierced with the
[412] tooth of the dogfish or with the twirling stick, at the end of which was
[239] lashed a triangular splinter of stone; in this way a conical hole was formed.

/182 cont./

*171 301 ●321 Another type consists of small disks or smooth beads only one millimeter thick and three to five millimeters in diameter. They are evenly circular, with a dull, whitish-gray to bluish sheen. The little pieces of the broken shell were bitten off with the teeth, made approximately even in size, and were pierced like the squares. The tiny little things are so evenly ground /183/ that on the string they form a thin, flexible coil. [824] They are usually alternated with similarly shaped tucum beads (Bactris), which are bitten out of the shell of the palm nut. The tucum beads are likewise pierced with the tooth of the dogfish. For these and the small shell disks, the evenness is achieved by stringing the beads and, not grinding the roll on a stone, but rubbing and smoothing it between two pot shards. The shell beads are a very natural product, if colored or shiny pieces of shell are saved at all; they are strung on a cord, since they are hard to fasten otherwise, and they are matched up, which is most easily accomplished if one simply grinds them *171 301 439 all around. In this way the most diverse primitive peoples, with their respective shell material, have arrived at beads that look so much alike as to be mistaken for one another. The beads, however, also have all the characteristics required to circulate from tribe to tribe wherever intercourse takes place and provide the best opportunity to become acquainted with the extent of the intercourse, which some regard as unlimited. The Bakaïrí of the Batovy, more than those of the Kulisehu, are "zóto," lords, of the shell chains.

*171 301 The tucum beads are made chiefly by the Nahuquá; the latter had as shell beads the rose-colored little spindle pieces of Bulimus in particular, whose "zóto" they were, a single one of which interrupted the coil of the nut beads at short intervals. The Nahuquá were distinguished by a great wealth of chains, especially of plant material, which, moreover, also played a more important role among the Bakaïrí than among the tribes living downstream. [824] The Bakaïrí of Máigéri greatly prized "grass beads," kanakúni, which Antonio explained were fruits of a tall, rare grass growing along lagoons, each stalk of which produces only a few.

B /183 cont./
*171 We found pieces of stalks, pieces of bark, seed kernels,
301 and berries of the most diverse kinds: nut beads from the large
824 and the small tucum palm, fruits of a climbing plant, of a campo tree takipé, of a plant called (Bakaïrí) udayáki, red and black seeds of Papilionaceae, of mamona-Ricinus, tonka beans (Dipteryx odorata), among the Auetö gourd seeds and almeisca kernels, and even a small, bottle-shaped gourd seven centimeters long.

B Among the Yaulapiti, Trumaí, and, coming from them,
*171 among their neighbors, stone chains were frequent: pierced
301 disks and cylinders which the Nahuquá imitated in the amber-
T like jatobá resin and in clay. It was the diorite of the stone
171 axes and throwing-stick arrows /Wurfholz-Pfeile/; it was
301 pierced with the stone chip fastened to the twirling stick and
B the addition of sand. Small, pear-shaped stones, such as go with
T the darts /Wurfpfeilen/, are popularly hung on children's chains
[321] by the Mehinakú and Auetö.

Thus there were distinct differences in the material, which were probably, as is certainly the case with the stones, locally conditioned. All chains made of white shell pieces went back to the Bakaïrí, all those of red to the Nahuquá, all those made of stones to the Trumaí or Yaulapiti.

B /184/ Animal material was found everywhere. There
*171 were horn beads and bone beads, the latter also in the form of
301 little rods; they were sometimes strung on individually, some-
237 times joined for whole chains, especially monkey teeth and
T jaguar teeth. Cf. the illustration of the Auetö chief, page 90.
171 Among the Nahuquá we procured a chain with jaguar teeth
301 and small, colored feathers. The Trumaí prized capybara
237 teeth. Among the Mehinakú in particular there was an abundance of children's ornaments, which were hung in bunches on infants; besides the others, monkey teeth in particular, teeth of the jaguatirica (Felis mitis), fish vertebrae, bones of the bagadú fish, once a huge, black beetle-horn. Also claws or hoofs of the tapir (Kamayurá), jaguar, and deer.

/204 cont./

*171 412 no triangular arrowheads of stone, no stone knives, no celts, no stone saws, no scrapers, etc. Among the Bakaïrí I struck two pieces of sandstone containing iron together so that sparks shot out and to my amazement saw that they were not familiar with the phenomenon. They were Neolithic people who could have learned many a useful craft secret from the Paleolithic fraternity.

000 I do not venture to say that the Schingú Indians lived in the *[171] "Tooth Age," the "Shell Age," or "Wood Age," although, as a ●[321] matter of fact, the great majority of weapons, tools, implements, [322] and ornaments are put together out of teeth, shells, and wood, [372] and they produced fire by rubbing sticks. I do not venture to say this even with regard to the eastern Brazilian forest tribes, among whom the stone ax must have played a wholly secondary role, since they neither carried on agriculture nor built canoes or solid huts. Obviously, however, it is only the transference of ideas gained elsewhere -- and in connection with excavation, in a very understandable way -- if, in order to identify the cultural level, one selects from among the natural materials available for tools and weapons that which has been worked and used least of all. The culture of the old Brazilian hunting tribes living in the forest will be very much misunderstood if, with the classification of "Stone Age" peoples, /205/ the image of people of the Ice Age is conjured up. We impede our study of the spatial distribution of culture circles and man's dependence on his place of residence; every tribe learned to utilize the material of its environment, upon which it was dependent, and thus has come into the possession of methods which a neighborhood only sparsely supplied with the same materials would not have found, but which it learns to use and exercise only for its own advancement. Bastian says, "it appears to be conditioned by the geographical environment whether, beside the Stone Age preceding the metals, there must be put a Wood Age (as in the Brazilian alluviums, for example), a Bone Age (in the case of livestock on barren plains or hunting in such areas), or a Shell Age (as occasionally on coral islands)." I therefore prefer to

/224 cont./

*171 The tinder is a light brown, fine meshed bast tissue which is
392 furnished best by the young uakumá palm (a Cocos species). In
[824] the campo, tinder from the guarirobá palm (Cocos oleracea) or of dry grass and leaves also helps out. Its purpose is to furnish the flame with which one transfers the fire to the twigs. Ehrenreich reports from the Karayá /Caraja/, Im Thurn from the Warrau of Guiana, that their wood catches fire so easily that it does not need tinder; "it in itself furnishes the tinder."

As is seen, it is not necessary to have a hard and a soft wood for rubbing fire with the "drill" /Bohrer, borer, drill, auger/. The Schingú Indians always take only one kind; the Karayá drill bamboo in urucú.

ooo We find the movement of twirling very difficult; indeed, we are scarcely acquainted with it in everyday life because our drills terminate in a screw, and we do not use it at all for drilling, but for mixing, for example, in the kitchen, to mix yeast or eggs with milk, or in connection with the preparation of a cocktail.

*171 It is easy to understand how the drilling and twirling of the natives
174 originated. At first holes were made with a pointed tooth or bone.
412 /225/ When the object was very resistant, a turning pressure against and into it was tried, and this gradually and naturally developed into the twirl-drilling, if only one worked steadily and evenly so as not to split the object, clamped it down securely so as not to lose the point drilled on, and thus had both hands to
[321] work with. This twirl-drilling is practiced by the Indian with a tooth or particle of stone fastened to a little stick (cf. p. 201) for all piercing of shells, bone, stone, armadillo carapace, and hard wood. One very often sees him occupied with it, using his feet
ooo as a brace. We are now, however, confronted with a riddle if we wish to explain how this fire-drilling with two pieces of wood could have originated. How did people happen to drill wood with wood if they were not purposely setting out to "invent fire?"

It has been said in all seriousness that in grinding or drilling tools out of wood, bone, and stone, people found by experience that friction produces warmth, they observed that the warmth increases the harder the rubbing, and they then tried to rub

/204 cont./

*171 412 no triangular arrowheads of stone, no stone knives, no celts, no stone saws, no scrapers, etc. Among the Bakaïrí I struck two pieces of sandstone containing iron together so that sparks shot out and to my amazement saw that they were not familiar with the phenomenon. They were Neolithic people who could have learned many a useful craft secret from the Paleolithic fraternity.

000 I do not venture to say that the Schingú Indians lived in the *[171] "Tooth Age," the "Shell Age," or "Wood Age," although, as a 321 matter of fact, the great majority of weapons, tools, implements, ● 322 and ornaments are put together out of teeth, shells, and wood, 372 and they produced fire by rubbing sticks. I do not venture to say this even with regard to the eastern Brazilian forest tribes, among whom the stone ax must have played a wholly secondary role, since they neither carried on agriculture nor built canoes or solid huts. Obviously, however, it is only the transference of ideas gained elsewhere -- and in connection with excavation, in a very understandable way -- if, in order to identify the cultural level, one selects from among the natural materials available for tools and weapons that which has been worked and used least of all. The culture of the old Brazilian hunting tribes living in the forest will be very much misunderstood if, with the classification of "Stone Age" peoples, /205/ the image of people of the Ice Age is conjured up. We impede our study of the spatial distribution of culture circles and man's dependence on his place of residence; every tribe learned to utilize the material of its environment, upon which it was dependent, and thus has come into the possession of methods which a neighborhood only sparsely supplied with the same materials would not have found, but which it learns to use and exercise only for its own advancement. Bastian says, "it appears to be conditioned by the geographical environment whether, beside the Stone Age preceding the metals, there must be put a Wood Age (as in the Brazilian alluviums, for example), a Bone Age (in the case of livestock on barren plains or hunting in such areas), or a Shell Age (as occasionally on coral islands)." I therefore prefer to

/207 cont./

*171 237 301 304 claws were worn as neck chains, fish vertebrae on the belt cord; Jaguar a bone stuck crosswise through the nasal septum adorned the old Bakaïrí.

Shells. Flat river shells were extensively used for cutting, less *171 237 412 [825] [824] for cutting through than for scoring longitudinally, for scraping, planing, smoothing. The work shells brought back from the Kamayurá /Fig. 27 appears here/ were identified by Herr Professor von Martens: tyutsí, Anodonta, was the shell for scraping the mandioca root, "maniôka pináp";

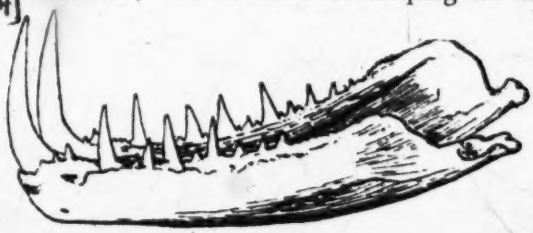

Fig. 23. Dogfish. (1/1 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 24. Piranha. (1/2 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

[284] →

Fig. 25. Front claws of the giant armadillo. (Grubbing hoe.) (2/5 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 26. Capybara teeth. (Scraping chisel.) (1/2 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

the women sat on a couple of pieces of bamboo placed together, and they scraped, scrubbed, scratched, until their legs disappeared in the heap of parings. This shell also served as a plane to smooth the handle [322] of the stone ax or the oar by means of finer scraping, not with the edge,

/207 cont./

*171 but with a hole made in the center. The people bit off the outer-
239 most shell with their teeth and knocked the planing hole into it with
412 the pointed akurí nut. Another type of Anodonta, ita-í, "little
[322] mussel," was also used for the fine scraping of wood. This and the
[415] other types were also used to store the pigment with which one painted himself red or black; they were usually hung on the hammocks. A second large shell for scraping roots was itá,
[825] "mussel," a variety of the Leila pulvinata Hupé, brought back from the Araguay /Araguaia/ by Castelnau. With the largest species, itá kuraá, /208/ Unio orbignanus, the bows were smoothed, and, to be sure, with the outer surface of the shell.

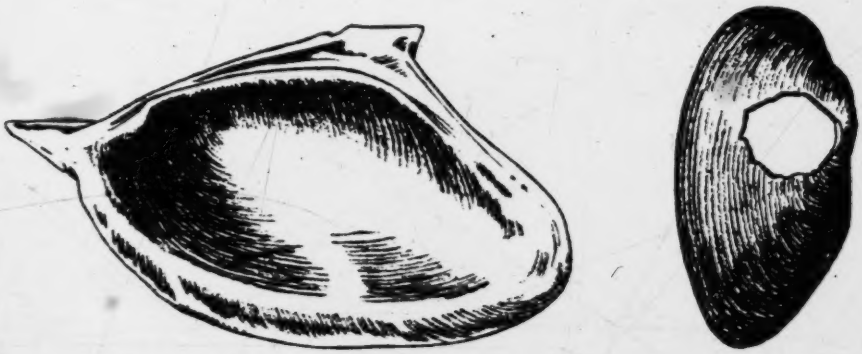

Fig. 27. Knife-shell and plane-shell.

[825] A flat Hyria, itá mukú, was interesting because it had a sharp, pointed extension with which pikí fruits, for example, were opened. It corresponds best to our pocketknife, an instrument that was regarded very disapprovingly by the Indians because they were able to open it only with indescribable effort; they were as clumsy with it as we with the unfamiliar twirl-borer. The shell was hung around the necks when one set out on journeys; the fish and game animals caught were cut open with it; the shell was used to hollow out the little depression in the fire-stick, in which a second stick was twirled to the glowing point; for
[301] all carving of wood it was indispensable. Snail shells were used in many ways: pieces of Bulimus shells were used for chain orna-
[825] ments. Cf. page 170. Orthalicus melanostomus sometimes dangled in thick hangings on the mask costume.

/302 cont./

535 framework of stalks in which sat small sanyassa birds amidst flocks of cotton, lizards plaited out of straw, as well as two sword-like pieces of wood painted black and white, which represented rattlesnakes -- /303/ all, except the circularly cutout ball-gourds, were provided with straw funnels for setting them on the head. In addition, rattle-
[534] gourds and foot-rattles made of hard fruit shells.

532 As for masks, I obtained in
535 Maigéri a longish oval mask of net plaiting with a beard of buriti fibers, a pendant of Orthalicus shells, and a wide-meshed net hood trimmed with curassow feathers. In the upper third, which is vertically intersected by a white stripe, but otherwise is painted red and dotted with black, there are the two eyes in the form of two straw rings; a band of straw borders the tongue-shaped nose which is on the edge above the eyes.
[531] The lower two thirds have a white loam background and on it exhibit the mereschu design in black and neatly drawn. The most striking thing, however, is the picture of a piava fish, tonischi, which in the continuation of the stripe in the center of the face stands in the middle of the mereschu design. The black dotting of the upper part is probably also connected with it.

Fig. 93.
Net plaited-mask with piava fish. Bakaïrí. (1/10 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

We obtained eight wooden masks, all with black, red, and usually also white painting. They are heavy, flat wooden plates
[322] laboriously worked out with the stone ax, out of which the forehead part projects with considerable curvature.

/24 cont./

231 a table made of vertigas and provided regularly with meat, if possible monkey meat.

178 Among the various crafts of the Kulisehu Bakairí, pottery-
[323] making, plaiting, and spinning were still maintained in the
[285] ancestral form. Food preparation was also still the same as
[283] described by Karl von den Steinen for times past. The only
[252] essential difference appeared in regard to woodworking, for
177 which at this time metal tools were used, so that this craft no
322 longer depended on stone axes, drills with stone points, shells,
412 and the teeth of fish or other animals. Another acquisition from
[301] the various expeditions which had passed through their territory were ear pendants of multicolored glass beads with which many women and children, especially, were well provided. European
[291] clothing was seen only in exceptional cases. Thus the first man who came out of his house in Maigeri aldea to greet me had on trousers which he had been given at the time of a visit to the Rio Paranatinga aldea and which surely had never been washed since. As a rule the uluri (small triangle of bark) was the sole
[291] national garment of the women and young girls, and a fine thread belt and body paint the men's apparel.

114 When Karl von den Steinen visited the Rio Kulisehu Indians,
361 the first Bakairí aldea, called Maigeri, consisted of only two
342 large houses of kinsfolk and one small house for fiestas with an
345 oval base, while the second and third aldeas each consisted of three large houses of kinsfolk and of one house for fiestas. Thus
[161] the number of houses in Bakairí aldeas at the time of my stay among these Indians had increased, and for this reason I do not hold as correct Herrmann Meyer's observation that this tribe was
114 already "greatly declining" at the time. (30) No doubt there
361
161

30. Herrmann Meyer, Ibid., p. 126.

were then only two Bakairí aldeas on the Rio Kulisehu, the first, Maigeri, already mentioned by Karl von den Steinen, and the

/162 cont./

512 I did them an injustice; at half-past seven a procession of seven comes around the corner in the fastest quickstep, one behind the other, the tribal sorceress at their head, all loaded with [482] mandioca roots. The old woman is carrying a bundle of them loose on her head, and behind her runs a young woman with a heavy back-basket; is it her husband who is following her? Likewise [854] bent under the load of a basket he walks forward, on his left hip a straddling boy whom he clasps heedlessly, as though he had hurriedly picked him up from the ground.

592 We visit the house of the professor. In the moderately light [352] room one at first distinguishes only a number of vertical and [252] horizontal posts, brown hammocks; the old woman and a younger one are sitting on the floor most diligently scraping mandioca with a shell, the naked legs buried in the parings.

[353] Two families have divided up in the space; the conjugal chambers are characterized by the fact that two hammocks are fastened, one above the other, to the same post. In the center there is an empty circle, and round about, /163/ radially, the "individual rooms" divided off, not by partitions, but merely by [354] the posts. The upper vault is blackened by smoke. Three or [251] four stones form the simple hearth. The flour is put into huge [252] pot vessels (up to 77 centimeters in diameter); the beijús are [323] roasted on flat, rimless bowls. The clay is blackish brown, the vessels are made by hand by the women.

352 We sit on small, low benches; they are rectangular, slightly concave, made out of dark-brown palm-wood, usually in octavo form, and not a decimeter high.

412 The stone axes, which are sticking in the wall (the longest [353] 24 centimeters), all have the same shape: a thick wooden cylinder, [135] offset at the bottom by a thinner handle. The stone is supposedly found farther downstream (1). /Illustration appears here./

1. Herr Prof. Arzruni of Aachen was kind enough to examine the material carefully and has identified it as diabase, a rock made up of augite, plagioclase, mica, chlorite, and

/93 cont./

126 stored, dark yellow reed diadems, such as Luchu is wearing on
534 Plate 6,[1] others with radiating tips, large Panpipes, an oar deco-
783 rated with drawings, spinning whorls of the simplest type, that
[301] is, disks made of potsherds, and a quantity of remarkable
[239] cylinder-shaped sticks, which are covered with ornamentation
177 and worn on the back at festivals. But in the equipment of these
third Bakaïrí it was clearly shown that we were with the section
of the tribe living next to the rest of the Kulisehu Indians; all
kinds of imported goods were present and were designated as such
439 here. The Bakaïrí do not make any pots themselves and do not
● [323] themselves have a place where they might fetch stones for stone
axes, but here we were immediately told that the pots came
from the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ and the stone axes from the
Trumaí. Among the pots one in the shape of a turtle represented
an absolute masterpiece of primitive plastic art, on which the head,
tail, and feet, as well as the shell drawing, were magnificently
worked out. From the Auetó we found a half-broken clay doll;
also originating from the Mehinakú, balls of finely spun cotton;
from the Trumaí and Suyá, dainty feather caps. From our own
possessions of 1884 we discovered two iron chisels, parts of a
ramrod, which had been sharpened to a point on stones.

We met a Nahuquá in person; unfortunately, the man was
648 obviously an idiot and had little to offer for my purposes. It is
732 strange that this is not an isolated phenomenon: the Kustenaú
of 1884 had a simple-minded Bakaïrí among them, the Yuruna
likewise an Arara Indian definitely feeble-minded, and it seems
to me I often noticed similar instances. Do the people become
stupid in the new environment or are only the stupid specimens
entrusted to neighbors for their use?

126 In the flute-house anthropological measurements and photo-
graphs were taken in exchange for beads. In this village there
was a pronounced Sémitic type, of which Plate 13[1] represents a
classic example. The people submitted to everything and called
the caliper compass núna, "moon." Only one man was indignant
when, after Ehrenreich had measured him from head to foot in
all directions, I handed him the fee of three beautiful, large
[153] beads. He wanted to have as many beads as there were measurements

[1] [See p. 138 -- Analyst]

/215 cont./

*171 462 satisfied with scant remains and would suffer hunger if they did not provide for themselves in time and stealthily set aside part of the contents of the cooking pots still during the cooking or eat already during their work." This among the modern Karaiben Makuschi /Macusi/ in Guiana. Appun, Unter den Tropen /Below the Tropics/, II, p. 399, Jena, 1871, and among many other tribes.

[113]

was therefore dependent on the booty of plant foods that she herself could obtain. On the Schingú the men plaited the roasting rack, roasted fish and meat, the women baked the beijús, boiled the beverages, the fruits, and grilled palm nuts -- what other meaning could this division into animal cookery by the men and vegetable cookery by the women have than that each of the two sexes had remained in its ancient sphere?

[252]

[252] The men did the roasting, but never the boiling. Starting *171 from this fact, we come by way of the same line of thought ● 323 to a similar conclusion corroborated by quite analogous observations. Scarcely anything else on the Schingú seemed stranger to me at first than the fact that the art of making pots was limited [439] to the Nu-Aruak tribes. The Bakairí did not own a single pot that did not come from the Kustenaú or Mehinakú. The docile Bakairí [199] expressly told me that they had learned pottery from the Parexí, their Nu-Aruak neighbors. Thus old Caetano, in other words, the man, contrary to all original custom, made pots on the modern Paranatinga. The Nahuquá had pots from the Mehinakú and also made some themselves, as was demonstrated before our eyes by a woman kneading the moist clay: but this woman wore the tattooing of the Mehinakú women and had married into the Nahuquá: the art actually came from the Mehinakú. The Tupí tribes, too, had pots from the Nu-Aruak, especially from the Waurá. Thus, the one tribal group ▬ was the sole bearer of

▬ According to Im Thurn, the Karaiben at

/215 cont./

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present provide the other tribes with cooking vessels in Guiana, although he says that the Aruak make abundant pots for their own use, but do not dispose of them as trade goods, like the Karaiben. Martius says of the Makuxchi, the most populous Karaiben tribe of the Rio Branco area: "All implements of these Indians are neatly and carefully made, the weapons decorated with feathers, and only in pottery are they inferior to the Indians of the coast."

ceramics, also from an artistic point of view, as we shall see.

At first, and before I knew that the peculiar dependency on the Nu-Aruak existed for all tribes, I believed that there happened to be no clay available. This was an error, however. [135] There was suitable clay, not only among the Nahuquá, but also among the Bakairí, and the only thing I cannot say /216/ is whether the quality was a degree poorer than among the potter tribes, which, however, is probably of no concern for our problem.*

[312]

* The Bakairí were the only ones who fetched good drinking water from a crystal-clear brook; the Nahuquá and, even more, the Mehinakú and Auetó drank from muddy loam pools and stagnant canal waters.

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But let us consider another circumstance: the Bakairí and Nahuquá had gourds and calabashes, which, on the other hand, were lacking among the potter tribes and which the latter obtained from the Nahuquá, where special care or better soil, I know not, produced splendid fruits for vessels. Finally, if we learn that the Waurá made very attractive pots of exactly the shape and size of the gourd vessels, with imitations of the drawings put on them, that the basic form of the pots is clearly that of the drinking bowl, the gourd, and that the pots as well as the

/216 cont. /

*171 gourd bowls were blackened on the inside, we shall understand
● 323 the connection.
415

Originally the Indian pot had nothing to do with cooking
*171 and was merely a substitute for the gourd. The women fetched
174 water in the gourds to the huts or the campsites. How they
323 managed when they had no gourds we see to this day in the little
415 baskets smeared with loam, which are familiar from several tribes. The leaky canoe is also smeared with loam; the body is smeared with loam, the beginning of body painting, and the loam itself is transported in baskets, as we have observed, and that was probably the main thing. If gourds were often not available, the women soon learned to make their loam baskets more solid by a more lavish use of the plastic clay; moreover, they could dispense with the plaited work as soon as they noticed that the dried loam forms were sufficiently resistant by themselves. They set them in the sun or over the fire and thus found the cheapest source of supply for artificial gourds.

The women did not make this discovery, however, until sedentary times; the wife of the roving hunter could not have replaced the gourd with the heavy and breakable pot. Still less could the hunting man have been the inventor of the pot. It is exactly the same situation as for the origin of agriculture.

*171 The pot in the beginning is only a container, like a gourd,
174 or, in certain instances, a basket. When we hear that people
415 are buried in pots, all the associations that we have with our pots come to mind; we think of a sort of cooking pot and are inclined to feel an obscure connection with cremation. Thus it is important to learn that the hunter tribe of the Bororó laid the skeletons of their dead, not in big pots, like Humboldt's Aturen, but in feather-decorated basket-bags, so that here, too, the preliminary stage has been preserved.

/217/ Just as gourds were used for drinking and eating, pots
[126] were also used at first for only these purposes. The great number of small and medium-sized pots which we brought back from the Kuliseu are almost all "bowls," not cooking pots. The filtrate

/217 cont./ The Filtrate

*191 194 415 252 of the mandioca mass was boiled in huge pots, but otherwise only a jam of fruits was boiled and occasionally a dish of small fish which were not worth turning on the grill.

*191 194 252 402 Soup meat and meat broth were unknown; the men knew only roasting. One may ask, perhaps, how did they happen to discover roasting? I shall prove in the next chapter that we have here a matter of experience of hunters and men. They set fire to the campo in a circle in order to overpower the animals being pursued, and there they found roasted small animals and found fruits which, though unripe, had been made edible and even tasty by the heat.

Now, since the men and hunters, in their sphere, do not yet know about cooking, boiling or cooking must have been invented in connection with the preparation of plant food. One often sees the women grilling all kinds of small fruits in quantities on the beijú pans. Only in this way does unripe fruit become edible, the crispness gives seeds and nuts greater tastiness. And they also began with the roasting of fruits. The roasting [323] racks of the men for meat and fish, plaited out of climbing plants, let the fruits fall through the meshes; the base again may have been smeared with loam, and from that only a small step was lacking for the earthen frying pan, the subsequent beijú pan. On the other hand, if one wanted to "roast" fruits or roots soaked in water, the vessels filled with these, either natural ones -- the Botokude cooks in bamboo sections -- or artificial ones covered with clay, were set on the fire, and thus one "cooked." Therefore, "cooking with water" was done only by the women!

If the mandioca industry was founded by one tribe whose descendants are still living and are included in the present classification, this was in all probability the Nu-Aruak. On the Schingú they most certainly deserve credit for its introduction, since the preparation of flour without earthen pots and beijú pans is impossible. Even in the northern regions, however, the Aruak are the best flour-workers and have always been the most

/217 cont./

*171 skillful potters, although the Karaiben in Guiana have at present
174 become the manufacturers for that region. That is to say, the
252 women! When the Karaiben in the north of the Amazon River
462 and on the Lesser Antilles subjugated the Aruak tribes and killed half the population, it was fortunate that this half was the men; the women with their agriculture, their potter's art, and their flour technique survived.

174 Thus, among our Indians we see how the higher culture sur-
462 passing hunting arose out of the natural division of labor, and it is also /218/ owing to this that, with feuds and with the formation of new tribal communities, it could be handed down to future generations: The woman was more than the working animal, she was also the working human being; just as the man developed the technique of weapons and of the tools arising out of hunting, she, with the same self-reliance, developed the cultural elements placed in her hands, such as gathering, carrying, preparing fruits and roots; the Indian owes his tasty flour-drink in the earthen vessels to the woman. The individual pieces of evidence put together for this conclusion, which might be more useful for a toast to the ladies than for the serious struggle of our women in order to work (a struggle rooted in modern necessity and not in prehistory), are still preserved intact in the Brazilian culture circle. The realization that -- at least here -- the possibility of becoming sedentary goes back to the obvious merit of the women's activity naturally forced into a certain direction by the hunter vocation of the men, elevates the female sex for this phase of development at least up to the level of the male sex.

[433] The hunter and agriculturalist schema only now comes alive;
man and woman, both, represent a standing or a certain sum of
• [323] technical knowledge. Thus it is very plain that the less advanced tribes of the Schingú could not make their pots, although they had loam. They lacked Nu-Aruak women, and the Nahuquá, who had taken some of them into their community, had thus taken the right path; they now began to make their own pots, whereas the Bakairí had not yet produced the smallest pot.

/241 cont./

into bowls, the fresh fruits are wound with palm fiber and scratched along it with a shell. If a bowl cracks during use, it is sewed; the small holes are bored with the pointed tooth of the dogfish and the sewing is done with a buriti thread rubbed with wax, the knots of which are cut off close to the shell by the tooth edge ground knife-sharp. The drawings that decorate the surface are incised with the same tooth, unless one prefers to burn them in with a red-hot stick. The drinking bowls and small ladle-gourds or spoons are given a coating of black lacquer on the inside. The lacquer is the soot of the charred buriti shaft mixed with the yellow, sticky liquid extract of the grated rind of the ochoguhi tree from the campo cerrado /densely covered campo/. Special small, spherical gourds served to hold the oil with which the body was rubbed and were closed with a stopper; the Bakairí called the fruit pêru. They sometimes hung in a closely plaited net. I shall consider the rattle gourd in connection with the dance music.

Pottery. In the chapter on the "Stone Age" culture, cf. pages 217 ff., I have discussed in detail the origin of the pots in our region, the monopoly of the Nu-Aruak tribes, and the manufacture limited to only the female sex. Only in the later chapter on the plastic arts, when the development of Indian art has become clear, shall I be in a position to speak of the ornamental aspect of the pots.

Three types of pots were distinguished according to size and purpose. First, the huge mawukíru of the Mehinaků, in which the grated manioca root was cooked; they had a diameter of almost three-fourths of a meter. We were unable to bring home any of these pots, but took a photograph among the Auetó, from which their shape and, since a man -- by rights it should have been a woman -- is squatting beside it, also their size are clear. Cf. Plate 15 /see p. 253/. The largest and most attractive pots are furnished by the Waurá. For cooking they were set on three low clay feet of cylindrical shape and bulging at the bottom.

A second type, the cooking pot for fruit and small fish, had a diameter of 18-20 centimeters, a height of about 12 centimeters; it was round with rather steep, slightly bulging walls and sometimes had a rim two and a half centimeters wide and

/242 cont./

not have to build up the walls with thin clay cylinders put on top of one another as is ordinarily described. She smoothed the walls with a piece of gourd, not a stone. She modeled the ornamental edge-projections, which represented the body parts of an animal, and then put them on; she scratched in the eyes and nose with a little bamboo rod. An old broken-out bottom or a beiji pan is popularly taken as a model for the bottom of the pot.

The clay is whitish-gray to grayish-yellow. Only the Waurá pots have a pretty, light red clay. The new pot is properly dried in the sun and then turned upside down on a very sooty fire; for that they use the green bark of a campo tree which the Bakairí call kondre, or of the guanandí (Calophyllum) saturated with sticky resin. Thus the pot, like the gourd, is blackened on the inside.

/243/

Chapter X.

I. Drawing.

Origin from the drawing gesture. Descriptive drawing older than artistic drawing. Sand drawings. Pencil drawings. Explanation of the plates. Profile position. Proportions. Number of fingers. Bark drawings.

The simplest drawing that we can observe is probably the one directly connected with an explanatory gesture. Just as the native, to demonstrate the sense of hearing, cleverly reproduces the characteristic voice sounds of an animal and is always tempted to do this in connection with any lively narrative, so also, with respect to the sense of sight, he imitates the animal in pose, walk, movements and, for better understanding, draws any peculiar body parts, such as ears, snout, or horns, in the air, or he outlines his own corresponding body parts with his hand. The drawing gesture is exactly parallel to the imitation of animal voices. As soon as this procedure is no longer adequate, however,

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four halves, and the hole is surrounded by a fifth central one, as is often the case in the incised designs as well.

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Painting of the pots. On the clay bowls that represent animals, a drawing of the animal is sometimes copied; cf. Figure 87, the lizard pot, in the chapter on ceramic plastic art /see p. 333/. More often the medium-sized and large pots are painted, and, to be sure, on the outer wall, besides on the bottom, with parallel vertical stripes and designs. One sees applied especially often the tattooing lines of the Mehinakú, which go around the shoulder blades on the inside in angles or curves. Plate 15 /see p. 253/ with the large pots shows us this motif on the bottom of the pot in the upper left in an already richer form, in that the curves are not only double, as also occurs in the tattooing itself, /277/ but triple, and are painted with dots between the two inner ones and with serpentine zigzags between the two outer ones. Smaller curves, such as the women have tattooed on their arms, are applied above the center field, which is filled in with color. The pot bottom in the foreground contains a center circle with network and around it the serpentine zigzag as well as a few lines in the direction of the lateral stripes. The drawing is irregular enough to prevent us from seeing it as a "star," which the Indian woman did not have in mind.

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III. Plastic Representation and Ceramics.

Introduction. Small chain-figures. Straw figures. Loam dolls. Wax figures. Wooden figures (dance birds and fish, mandioca digging-sticks, beijú turners, combs, stools). Pots.

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The art of the Indians in imitating body forms is disproportionately more advanced than that of drawing. From the start, as Ricci also points out with respect to the efforts of children, it has the great advantage that the difficulties of perspective drop away. The parts may be clumsily worked out, but they are in their proper place; it is not necessary to put them in the wrong place in order to show them. Just as in drawing, indeed to a greater extent since the number of motifs is far more considerable,

B
[325]

Truma: SP23
Aueto SP6
Camayura
Yaruma SP25
Nahuqua
Waura SP18
Mehinacu

A T W 352 532 825 /288 cont./ In the case of all the birds, the supporting boards /Figs. 84 and 85 appear here/ of the simple stool, provided with rails, have been retained, except that they are now spread farther apart and are set on the center line of the abdomen. The seat-plate and the supporting boards consist of one piece. The upper surface is extremely carefully smoothed. The measurements of the double vulture, which correspond to those of the others, are as follows: 61 centimeters long, 24 centimeters wide, 25 centimeters high.

Y 352 532 825 We found two quadrupeds. Here, too, higher types were chosen. The support boards have been transformed into four legs. Among the Nahuquá we acquired a not very handsome monkey, 46 centimeters long, characterized by the ears, nose, and the long horizontal tail. The back had its natural roundness. The animal was /Fig. 86 appears here/ always immediately identified correctly among the other tribes. The most splendid specimen of our collection, however, is the jaguar of the Mehinakú, a chunky creature, 90 centimeters long and 18 centimeters wide, /Plates XXIII and XXIV appear here/ /289/ with a clumsy head and a well worked-out neck, a long plate-like back and a long, slightly raised tail. The cat's ears are excellently reproduced, the nose is limited to a vague elevation, the mouth is a wide cross-furrow, and the eyes are a pair of round Unio-shell pieces with a mother-of-pearl sheen.

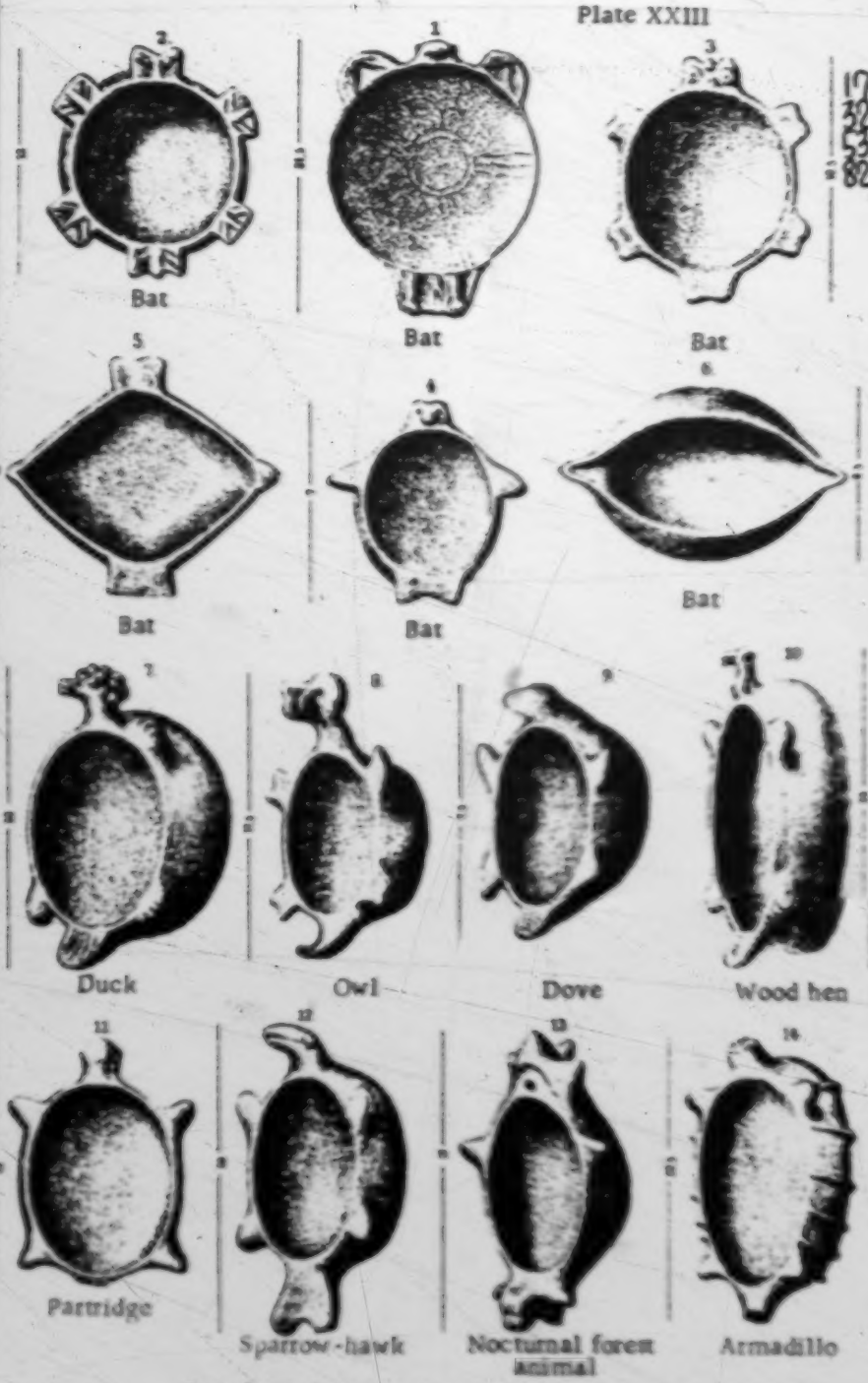
W 352 532 825

B * 171 323 Pots. The basic form of the clay bowls (cf. pages 254, 255) with which we are exclusively concerned here is, like that of the gourd bowls, hemispherical to almost the shape of half an egg. The pots drawn on the two plates 23 and 24 /see pp. 328-329/ are all in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde. They come from no particular village, but were made exclusively by Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ women. With the exception of Numbers 25, 26, and 27 of the second plate, all forms are animal motifs. We obtained pot No. 26 among the Mehinakú; it was attributed to the Waurá women, the chief artists of the Nu-Aruak group. It consists of reddish clay, which heightens the similarity to a real gourd bowl, is covered with an attractive mereschu design, and has a string fastened to it. We acquired No. 25, the spiny shell of a forest fruit, from the family of the Yanumakapú-Nahuquá whose

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 330]

2: Steinen--328 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate XXIII



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825

Pots from the Kulisehu. Measurements in centimeters.

2: Steinen--329 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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825

Plate XXIV

Marten

Tick

Sloth

Asellus

Crayfish

Toad

Lizard

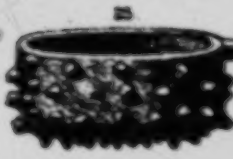
Lagoon fish

Turtle

Cascudo fish

Gourd bowl

Paint pot


Forest fruit

Pots from the Kulisehu. Measurements in centimeters.

/289 cont./

*171 323 acquaintance we made in the Auetö harbor. No. 27, with the "goblet shape," indented along the edge on the outside, is regarded as a paint pot of the Waurá. Beaker and goblet have not yet penetrated to our Indians; this form, too, has a gourd-bowl motif, which, however, is less to be seen than to be heard. The flat sphere at the bottom is not put on, say, simply for an easier grip, but represents precisely the essential part of the plastic production, a rattle gourd. It harbors on the inside a few small stones or seeds which give off a rather weak rattling sound if one shakes the "goblet."

*171 323 532 825 While these three pots have a free edge, all the others are characterized by a greater or lesser number of projections. These projections, modeled in many different ways, characterize the animal portrayed. Almost everywhere the roundness of the gourd is retained; indeed, it is obvious that this has given direction to the artistic idea. Just as the ordinary, merely crescent-shaped disks of the beijú turners represent the animal body as soon as a handle carved as head and neck is added, so the rounded bowl becomes the animal body when head and limbs are added with the edge-projections. This, then, is a clear and unequivocal history of development. Once the new artistic element has been achieved, it develops with independent freedom, presses on to a variety of forms, and, in the most popular and oft-repeated forms, rapidly deteriorates to stylization.

The most common, by far the most common form of the pot is the one with the bat motif. Apparently Indian sensibility is not guided by our refined considerations of taste. Our ladies would not be agreeably affected if they were obliged to eat out of bats, toads, and ticks; we men, however, can wash our hands in innocence, for it is the women who had these indelicate notions. To do them justice, I am assuming that /290/ they were influenced in their realism by the color and form of the original animals and were led to choose those whose imitation would turn out most favorably for pots. The bat, besides its roundish body, is exactly the color of the clay, and the toad (No. 21), which is likewise not infrequent, turned out excellently in the

/290 cont./

*171 circular, bellied pot. Armadillos and turtles are, indeed, noth-
323 ing but walking pot-shells and were therefore deemed worthy of
532 the imitation of their shells in the curvature of the pots. The
825 lizard swinging from the hammock by its tied tail, presents itself, as a good domestic animal, for friendly consideration. Finally, there were also several types of caymans and cascudo fish, both armored. The other motifs are unique.

We found and added to our collection the following animals in imitations.

Mammals: Two species of bats (1-6), deer, page 333, squirrel, irara marten (Galictis barbara) (15), sloth (16), little anteater or Tamanduá mirim (Myrmecophaga tetradactyla), armadillo, a small tatú /tatou/ (14), as well as tatú canastra, or giant armadillo (Dasypus gigas), and finally, a nocturnal forest animal that was said to be similar to an armadillo (13).

Birds: White sparrow-hawk (Buteo pterocles) (12), coruja owl (8), dove (9), makuko wood hen (Trachypelmus brasiliensis) (10), inyambú partridge (11), duck (7), and an unidentified flying bird.

Creeping and amphibious animals: trakajá river turtle (Emys tracaxa) (20), kágado turtle (Emys depressa), jabutí forest turtle (Testudo tabulata), cayman, lizard (22), sinimbú or chameleon (Anolis), toad (21).

Fish: cascudo, akará, or armored sheatfish (24), lagoon fish (23), ray.

Insects and lower animals: karapato or tick (Ixodes) (17), crayfish (19), asellus (18).

The most beautiful specimen, the trakajá turtle, No. 20, is really a work of art, not so much because the drawing of the shell is so carefully incised, but because of the extremely felicitous modeling of head, tail, and limbs. The front feet in particular are bent over so pliantly and naturally that one marvels at the talent for form and the gift of observation of the unknown Mehinakú woman. I must say, in her honor, that she copies nature more faithfully than the Berlin sketcher and lithographer did her reproduction.

/290 cont./

*171 ● 323 532 825 In the case of some animals one may speak of a direct copy hollowed out rather than of a pot with anatomical structure. For example, the turtle 20, the toad 21, the bat 1, the lizard 22, on which, in the drawing of my cousin, Figure 87 /see p. 333/, the body painting is still visible. The bat is particularly remarkable because of the outspread wing membrane from which the rear extremities are carefully worked out. In /291/ No. 2 the projections are simply incised, the head with the eyes has a couple of lines for the eyes, the other projections have been given two pairs of strokes for the lines of the wing membranes. These strokes may be left out, and one sees merely a six-projection pot and is surprised to hear it called "bat" regularly and among the most diverse tribes. In Nos. 3 and 4 the facial parts are even more precisely portrayed, in No. 3 the tail is broader than the extremity-projections, in No. 4 the legs and the tail are joined inside the wing membrane, as in /Fig. 87 appears here/ No. 1, and not further indicated. Nos. 5 and 6, too, were bats, but it was said they were a different, smaller species than the round six-projection pots. We are immediately reminded of the bat rhombuses drawn by the Bakairí, Plate 20 /see p. 280/.

In a more careful examination of the pots one will be able to understand, at least to a certain extent, the characteristic feature that differentiates most of them. At least one of the three elements, head, limbs, or tail, is always provided with an identifying "special mark." /Fig. 88 appears here./ In connection with this, the inference per exclusionem is never to be forgotten.

No. 15, the marten-like Galictis, is probably the most difficult to recognize. The snout is more pointed in the original. The sloth, No. 16, is identified by the shape of the head and the position of the four legs at the corners. But it was obviously not easy with the four-footed mammals. For example, the only exception arose among them: a deer (6.5 × 13.5 centimeters in diameter) was set on its legs and the hollow opened in the back. Figure 88 /see p. 333/. The shape of the head, the tail, and the stance permitted even foreign Indians to identify the little pot

/291 cont./

*171 immediately as a deer. The happy thought, whic could lead
●323 the portrayal into entirely new directions, was notencount-
532 ered by us in any other example.
825

In the case of the birds, wing and leg stumps re not differentiated; the feathers are incised in the tail cf. 7 and 12; that of the sparrow-hawk is /292/ indented. The head of the drake, 7, and of the owl, 8, are well charaterized;

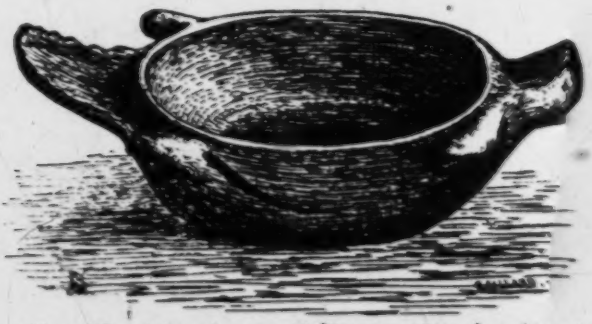


Fig. 87. Lizard pot. (1/3 nat. size /as shon in the original illustration/.)

in the case of the dove, 9, there is the same hed shape as on the little figures of the neck stones; the sparrowhawk, 12, has a powerful beak, and a nicely formed little ead is set on

Fig. 88. Deer pot. (2/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

the makuku, 10. In the case of the indistinct partridge, 11, the tail is broken off.

Fish were extremely rare. No. 23 has a long tail, the end of which was already broken off when we acquired the pot, but on the journey it lost still another piece. The head shapes of 23 and 24 are similar to the lizard, but they have a peculiar mouth.

/292 cont./

*171 ●323 532 825 The tick, 17, has four knobs on its head, which are probably supposed to represent maxillary feelers and mouth parts. The notched edge is most amusing; it reproduces not at all badly the general impression of the creeping and crawling of the eight crooked legs, which, in the case of animals that have sucked their fill, form a wreath at the top of the sac. I do not know whether the isopod, 18, bears up under zoological scrutiny. It is eyeless, like the Asellus, one of which it is supposed to represent, as far as I understood my informants. In No. 19, the crayfish, we note richly scalloped extremities and a tail fin. For eyes it has a pair of small knobs in which is pierced a fine little hole.

*171 323 532 176

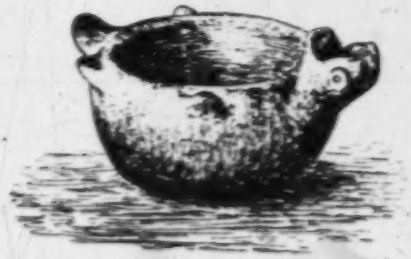


Fig. 89. Suyá toad-pot. (1/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

In conclusion I am adding a pot (diameter 10 X 15 centimeters) with a human representation! It is too much to demand, however, that anyone should suspect anything human about it. The woman artist who brought it to us shook with laughter over her creation. She wanted to make a toad-pot and had already copied the tail and leg projections, as well as the head with the bulging eyes of toad form. Then, when she was [304] modeling the wide mouth and it happened to turn out open in- [186] stead of closed, she noticed the similarity with the much-ridiculed lip disk of the despised Suyá, which stands out in front of the teeth of these Indians like a movable saucer. She laughed about it, set the stiff mouth flap neatly perpendicular to the toad face, and called the pot a "Suyá figure." Thus, for once, an ornament of the men was used as a motif by the women, analogous to the uluri motif, which was so popular among the gentlemen artists.

/24 cont./

231 a table made of vertigas and provided regularly with meat, if possible monkey meat.

178 Among the various crafts of the Kulisehu Bakairí, pottery-
[323] making, plaiting, and spinning were still maintained in the
[285] ancestral form. Food preparation was also still the same as
[283] described by Karl von den Steinen for times past. The only
[252] essential difference appeared in regard to woodworking, for
177 which at this time metal tools were used, so that this craft no
322 longer depended on stone axes, drills with stone points, shells,
412 and the teeth of fish or other animals. Another acquisition from
[301] the various expeditions which had passed through their territory were ear pendants of multicolored glass beads with which many women and children, especially, were well provided. European
[291] clothing was seen only in exceptional cases. Thus the first man who came out of his house in Maigeri aldea to greet me had on trousers which he had been given at the time of a visit to the Rio Paranatinga aldea and which surely had never been washed since. As a rule the uluri (small triangle of bark) was the sole
[291] national garment of the women and young girls, and a fine thread belt and body paint the men's apparel.

114 When Karl von den Steinen visited the Rio Kulisehu Indians,
361 the first Bakairí aldea, called Maigeri, consisted of only two
342 large houses of kinsfolk and one small house for fiestas with an
345 oval base, while the second and third aldeas each consisted of three large houses of kinsfolk and of one house for fiestas. Thus
[161] the number of houses in Bakairí aldeas at the time of my stay among these Indians had increased, and for this reason I do not hold as correct Herrmann Meyer's observation that this tribe was
114 already "greatly declining" at the time. (30) No doubt there
361
161

30. Herrmann Meyer, Ibid., p. 126.

were then only two Bakairí aldeas on the Rio Kulisehu, the first, Maigeri, already mentioned by Karl von den Steinen, and the

/35 cont./

184 result of the latter's continuous movement to the Rio Parana-
198 tinga, Indian influence on the eastern Bakairí had increased
199 once more, and when in the year 1927 I visited the Simões Lopes Post, where in the interval all the Bakairí had settled either at the post itself or in its vicinity, it was still possible to find there many ancestral implements and customs. In the
126 Bakairí houses there were many objects made in the native
[198] manner, so that I was able to acquire a relatively large collection for the Berlin Ethnographic Museum. Among the objects
126 in this collection were, as already mentioned above, several
184 that came from the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu
[439] River itself, which the Xinguanos had brought with them when they had moved to the Rio Paranatinga or which these Indians had received later from Indians of other tribes as the latter
323 visited Simões Lopes. Among the objects from the region of
184 the upper Xingu River tributaries we may note especially the fired clay vessels which were imported in large quantities, because, according to the Bakairí, there was no clay suitable for making them at Simões Lopes. The large fired clay ollas found
[439] in large numbers in Bakairí houses and used to boil the pyserego drink were obtained from the Mehinakú. A good example of the small vessels that came from the region of the upper Xingu
323 River tributaries is shown in Figure 25. This vessel (V.B.
126 9870), (42) one of the appendages of which is characterized.
532

42. This is the catalog number of the Berlin Ethnographic Museum.

by the formation of a mouth, by an animal head, corresponds in shape to a specimen of such a vessel which I brought in the year 1901 from the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí (43) and to other similar

43. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brazilien, loc. cit., p. 401, Fig. 275 /257/.

323 /35 cont./
[126] specimens collected by Karl von den Steinen which were said to
[53?] represent bats. To the basic, dark color of the outer surface of
[531] the vessel, brown paint is applied on the walls in parallel vertical strips and on the bottom of the vessel in curved lines emerging from the circumference of a circle whose center is the center of the pot bottom. The height of this pot reaches 10.5 cm. and the diameter of its upper rim, 26.5 cm. Two other fired clay vessels, both smaller, are represented in Figures 26 and 27, one of which (V.B. 9877) has a height of 11.5 cm. and an upper rim diameter of 26 cm., and the other (V.B. 9874) a height of 12.5 cm. and an upper rim diameter of 20 cm. Of the other objects from the region of the upper Xingu River
301 most were ornaments. The necklace shown in Figure 24 (V.B.
126 9957) and made of small shell disks (diameter: 0.8 cm.) and a large stone bead was given to me in Simões Lopes by my old friend, the Bakairí, Karía, as a particularly precious object from former times. Other ornamental objects in my collection are shown in the following photographs:

Figure 24, a. A necklace of small shell plates /chapitas/ (V.B. 9956. Length of the plates, 2.5 cm.).

/36/ Figure 23, c. A necklace of shell disks with a zoomorphic (bird) pendant of fruit rind (V.B. 9954).

Figure 23, b. Zoomorphic stone pendant for a necklace.

Figure 23, a. Feather diadem. (V.B. 9968.) Length 46 cm. Width 8 cm.

285 Among the cultural goods of the Bakairí which we must
184 list regard as products of the native industry, but which, in contrast with those just described, were apparently made by the Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post themselves, we may point out first of all the various kinds of plaited objects, because they will serve to complement on various points my previous publications on Bakairí plaited objects. (44) For this reason I shall

[113]

44. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., pp. 330-371.

241 beans, *ipiú*; peanuts, *oremí*; sweetpotatoes, *mahédo*; "cará," *nári*; maize, *éuji*; potatoes, *wúla*; cotton, *kodokíru*; urucú, *dunto*; tobacco, *tawí*; piqui fruit, *ipu*. Manioc, maize, and sweetpotatoes
248 were the principal food crops. Cotton was grown for making hammocks and the various belts and
276 strings used. Tobacco leaves, after being dried, were smoked by being rolled into cigars (*tapdíri*).
[755] Tobacco seems to have had a ritual use, as the shamans smoked heavily before performing a rite.
252 Bitter manioc was shredded on a shredding board into which fish teeth or fine pieces of shell had been embedded. The pulp was squeezed in a piece of cotton cloth in order to remove the poisonous acids. The meal was then used for baking cakes. The fine powder or flour which settled at the bottom of the settling tub was also used for baking cakes after it was thoroughly dried. Maize was eaten boiled or roasted. Sweetpotatoes were
272 roasted over coals. Maize meal was prepared and mixed with wild honey and water to make a nonalcoholic beverage. The Bacairí claim not to have used any form of alcoholic beverage.

241 Cultivated plots were located outside the village, each large household usually having a continuous area. Maize and many other crops were planted in September and October when the rains began. Sweet manioc and sweetpotatoes could be planted the year around, especially on river banks after the rivers went down following the rainy season. April was the harvest month and also the beginning of the ceremonial season.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

572 The occupants of the large communal houses usually worked together in the fields, went hunting or fishing together, and generally cooperated in economic activities. Families could work individually if they wished or did not need the help
241 of others. It was the task of the men to burn and
462 prepare the fields for planting. As the men loosened the soil with the digging stick women planted the seeds, slips, or pieces of stalk, as the case might be. Women and children thereafter took care of the weeding.

462 Division of labor by sex existed to a certain
[755] extent. Women wove mats (*anapíu*) out of various
[276] fibers, and hammocks out of cotton yarn which was also spun by women. Men wove baskets.
[723] Both men and women made clay pots. Bacairí

[P 02-B]

Bacairi

pots are quite distinct from the pottery of the Indians living on the Upper Paraguay River. Bacairi pots are flat-bottomed and have straight vertical walls with everted rims. The pots in common use were, and still are, black in color, unglazed, and undecorated. Some of the pots here were made in the forms of frogs, turtles, fish, and birds. The Bacairi claim that they formerly had decorated pottery called *awipe*, painted with black, gray, red, and brown designs.

The Bacairi also had economic activities in which the whole village, or a number of communal houses, participated. The *kowati*, or collective land clearing, was one of these. A man would invite a large number of relatives and friends to assist him in clearing a new piece of forest land. The women would participate by preparing large amounts of food and honey beverage for the workers. The new field would remain the property of the man who initiated the *kowati*, obligating him to work in return if called upon, but sometimes the group of men who cleared the field would divide it among them.

House building was always an enterprise in which the whole village took part. The group that was interested in raising the house cut the beams and poles necessary for the framework and prepared large quantities of food. While a certain number of men began to put up the framework, others went to gather grass for thatching. When they returned with the thatching they put on their ceremonial decorations and danced the *eulalowori* dance. House building was thus not only an economic act but also a ceremonial occasion.

Hammock weaving was, at times, a collective enterprise. A woman with a larger than usual cotton crop distributed cotton among her friends and when the work was completed she organized a feast and dance.

Ceremonial trading expeditions (*halibi*) were organized by the chief of the village. During the rainy seasons, when the rivers were high and canoe travel easy, the men of a village would collect whatever excess goods they had, such as bows, baskets, ornaments, hammocks, and even food, and would go to a neighboring village where the chief would receive them before the ceremonial house. The two chiefs would then supervise the exchange of commodities. After the trading was

Bacairi SP7

Geographically the post is situated ideally on a high land removed from the river and cleared of all vegetation, the jungle appearing only as a narrow fringe along the river banks. Like the rest of the high plateau it is wind swept, and generally pleasant. It must be added that contact with white people, such as is had when a small group of natives go to Cuyabá, has brought syphilis to them, and it may be their mortality is due to this.

One occupation enjoyed in former times is denied them, and that is fishing. There are practically no fish in the Paranatinga, at least up to where the post is located. Since meat is gotten only on rare occasions, and no hunting is done, the diet is mainly one of vegetables and considerably poorer than when they were living in their original state. This may also explain their lessened resistance to disease.

Very little museum material which represents their own products can be collected from the Bakairi. What has not been gotten from the Inspectoria has been brought back as curiosities to the Kalunas. Pottery has not been made since their coming to the post, according to them. The large vessels that they possess either have been brought with them from their former homes or bartered from the tribes on the Kalunas. It is claimed that clay proper they cannot be found in the neighborhood of Simão Lopes.

Arrows are still being made, an iron nail generally being substituted for the old bone point, but most of the arrows also come from the Kalunas.

For the old hammock made of palm leaf fibre the cotton hammock has been substituted, but the same open net style has been kept.

Shell ornaments have also been brought from the tribes of the Kalunas. In brief, almost anything that is found in their village must bear the suspicion that it is not a Bakairi product.

However, they have preserved a few customs, such as filing the upper teeth to a point, wearing under the European clothing the gee string, and ceremonial use of the bull-roarer, and they probably remember many of their ceremonies.

The short time spent at the post was mostly devoted to taking anthropometric measurements, which were subsequently lost on the Kalunas, but in some notes I do find the statement that in blood groupings most belong to groups three and four, the former predominating.

Bacaiqi 327
Yaruma 525

The absence of good clay perhaps is responsible for the paucity of the industry, for tribes of the same linguistic stock in other parts make good pottery.

The most common form has a circular base and a turned out rim. The sides are thick, and the pots are disproportionately heavy. The clay fires black. In many cases the outside of the pot is painted. The top of the out-turned rim often bears simple incised designs, such as are seen on Plate XX, 12. These pots are used in the preparation of manioc farina and in boiling piki. To the Bakairi they were so valuable that they begged to be permitted to take several of them back to Simão Lopes. [Plate XII, 2.]

Smaller pots are made, sometimes with different shaped rims, such as were collected by Von den Steinen. They are comparatively rare and do not seem to have much importance in the culture. A great many of the pots are traded from the tribes further north.

Other Receptacles

However, good substitutes for pottery have been found in calabashes and gourds, which are obtained in almost any quantity and are of any desired size. They further have the advantage of being light and do not break easily. They can be made to serve as bottles, dishes, cups, spoons, and every other kind of receptacle, by cutting off a section of the neck, or a section on the side, or by splitting in two along the neck to the base. The inner surface is charred and often decorated with painted red dot designs, the most common of which is a cross made by the crossing of two sets of two parallel lines of dots. Some of the other typical designs are shown in Plate XXIII. The outside of the receptacles are also often decorated—never with red dots, but always with linear painted geometric patterns. A few are also shown in the same Plate.

A great variety of basketry exists, being made in many shapes, utilizing diverse weaves, and are used for many purposes. The carrying basket has been described. Another common type is a circular flat instrument basket of hexagonal weave. It is of especial interest since this type can be duplicated in Oceania, Africa and other regions. For temporary purposes, a basket is quickly made from a single palm leaf by braiding the leaflets together. A number of intricate weaves are known producing interesting basketry designs. [Plate XXI.]

/181 cont./

or stone. The latter is never used by the men. On the Kulisehu we collected a few ornamental stones made out of grayish white quartzite with a dull shine, which were ground into the shape of a pointed spindle and were six centimeters long. We saw the nose-spindle, natiko, in actual use only in the case of a pregnant woman, who also had many ornaments hanging around her neck. These stones came from the Batovy or the Ponekuro, the right source-river of the Kulisehu; they were said to be rare, so that ordinary bones or reed had to help out. We also obtained bones of similar shape, eight and a half centimeters long, and a spindle seven centimeters long and gleaming like mother-of-pearl, which was cut out of a shell. The operation is performed in approximately the fifth year of life and is said to be accompanied by profuse bleeding on occasion.

I may add on here the binding of the extremeties, although

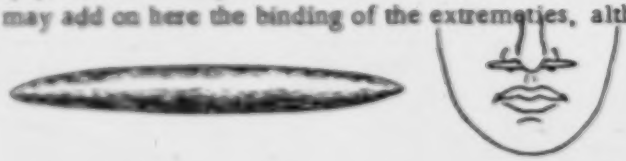


Fig. 13. Ornamental nose-stone of the Bakaïrí women.

I may add on here the binding of the extremeties, although it was still foreign to our Indians in the degree where it might be spoken of as a bodily injury. It was much in use among all the tribes. For this they used thick, wide straw binding, hanks of cotton, cotton ropes, or bands crocheted with wooden needles, and wore them on the upper arm and below the knee or above the ankle. The custom was most striking in the third Bakaïrí village, where one saw chubby, almost swollen calves. We never observed, however, such thick, protruding calves as are shown in illustrations of the male or female Karaiben of the north. We noticed the straw bindings especially among the Nahuquá (cf. Fig. 4 /see p. 71/). /182/ Only the men made use of the binding. It makes one strong, I was told by way of explanation. As dance ornaments bands decorated with colored feathers are worn around the upper arm.

/204 cont./

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[317]

embedded individual crystals of olivine and quite a number of quartz granules. The blades, 11-21 centimeters long, are usually evenly cylindrical, but some are round in the center like a roller, taper toward the rear, and have a broad front end with a bow-shaped cutting edge. Without any lashing, they fit into a wooden handle 0.5 meters long on the average, which consists of a cylindrical upper piece bored crosswise and a thinner handle set off from this like a reed stalk from its spike. The stone points inserted in the darts and the ornamental stones of the neck chains are made of the same diabase. The Trumaí ground the blades to a point on their stones and bored the ornamental stones; besides them, only the neighboring Yaulapiti did this. The other tribes simply sharpened on the river sandstone the axes that became dull. Shells and stones were bored with a twirl-borer. A triangular, hard splinter of stone was clamped to a small staff, and, to be sure, at both ends so that one could alternate them, and was secured by cord lashing. The little staff was almost half a meter long and was twirled between the hands. If stone was to be bored, sand was added. This is all the Indians achieved in the working of stone; they had

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[411]
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Fig. 21.
Twirl-borer.*
(1/2 nat. size/ as shown in the original illustration/.)

*The twirl-staff is represented discontinuously.

/278 cont./

In like manner, small pieces of the greenish, black-speckled stone of the stone axes are: fish if they are flat, or birds if the roller-shaped body flattens out into a tail. Nature is helped along somewhat by grinding. In Figure 64, page 313, the first two chains show pierced stone disks (two to three centimeters in diameter) and stone cylinders (three centimeters long) between the nut-beads, such as are made by the Trumaí and Yaulapiti. In the third, the figures of the Nahuquá are made of clay. In the fourth copied by them out of the transparent, amber-like jatobá resin (Hymenaea), the third chain also contains an amber bead. A bird is strung on the first and fourth chain. The stone bird, with a small knob recognizable as a beak, is designated as a dove. The pear-shaped stones of the dam, in a small size, are also worn on the chains, tied on, not pierced, and, to be sure, we also found them imported among the Mehinakú, who have neither stones nor throwing sticks.

Similar figures are carved out of nut shells and bones. Among the Mehinakú we acquired a

Fig. 63.
Bird figure made out of mussel shell. (2/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

piece of bagadó fish-bone seven centimeters long, a square with bow-shaped flared sides, which represents a quadruped, while a smaller piece represents a ray with the tail and beside it the ventral fins. Unfortunately, I discovered too late that there was always a definite meaning attached to the figures and am therefore unable to say what some of them mean. All guessing is pointless here.

2. Steinen--1996 D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1896 SP7 Becain SP7

/202 cont./

excellently tended, extensive plantings -- finally, we see the rest of the Schingú Indian dependent on the produce of the fields, but in their entire thinking and feeling filled with delight in the original hunters' calling.

But, according to the scheme, the process could not have taken place so discontinuously in steps and more or less intermittently. In order to understand this we must approach still another problem. The Schingú tribes had no metal. It is said that they lived in the "Stone Age."

Unfortunately, the study of the pre-metallic period has quite predominantly been built on the mute evidence of excavations. Thus, first of all, there was permitted to arise such a confusion of concepts that "Stone Age" and "prehistory" are commonly regarded as identical terms, although the peoples who have written their own history did so only after they had long had metals, and although, side by side with them and at the same time, there lived metal-less peoples, "prehistorical" with historical peoples. Then, however, /203/ according to our prehistoric finds, one could distinguish an older period, in which same implements were made by striking and splintering the stones, and a more recent period, in which they were produced by grinding, and, not content to limit this process -- I am not saying this process of development -- to the areas where it was observed, but, generalizing the experiences, it was concluded that man necessarily, in order to obtain his tools, began everywhere by breaking up stones and then proceeded to grinding them. Whereas prehistory ought to pronounce the final word and furnish the definitions for the explanation of cultural beginnings only where observation among primitive peoples reaches its limits, nevertheless today the reports from Alaska or from a South Sea island are predominantly regarded as valuable material for the prehistorian who delightedly sees his perspicacious interpretations confirmed by reality, and when, on the other hand, the traveling /Fig. 20 appears here/ researcher comes to a place where people are unfamiliar with metal, he cries out that they are living in the "Stone Age" -- a folly which became clear to me because I myself frequently committed it. If, as in

/80/

Seventh Chapter

March from Cuyabá to the Docile Bakairí on the Rio Novo

/Pages 80-98 are omitted in the translation./

/98/

132 14 June. 6.40 A.M.: dry. 18.9, wet. 18.2, sat. 8, S 2-3. Like yesterday, the south wind brings low-moving cloud masses.

122 Today the men are ready very quickly: off shortly before seven o'clock in the morning.

[137] [487] Predominantly meadow, a narrow, hard path leads through it, on which one can merrily trot. A number of oxen greet us as the first eminaries. A wide expanse of campo has been freshly burned off; it is said that wild animals like to seek out these "queimadas" /see the glossary, p. 172 / because of the salty ashes. A number of curicacas (ibis), in the distance an ostrich, which Pedro and the dogs pursue in vain.

[136]

361 At nine o'clock we see the "aldeamento"[2] /see the glossary, p.170 / of the Bakairí /Bacairi/ in the distance; four houses; the sunshine gives the illusion of slate roofs. a few naked women hasten inside, clothed persons step outside. In the immediate vicinity the settlement shrinks to actual palm-straw huts.

[342]

622 /99/ Daniel is on the spot and introduces us to "Captain Reginaldo." Reginaldo da Silva Nogueira, from the walnut forest /Nusswald/. A man in his forties with a broad chest, long, curly black hair, a friendly look, but silent. hat, shirt, trousers in good condition.

574 General handshaking. A half dozen, mostly young, broad-shouldered men, likewise in their Sunday best, sit on the fence of the cattle yard. The crowd of creation is absent. -- Gradually the procession draws up, and everyone settles down at home. By way of greeting, sugar cane is sucked and a swallow of liquor permitted.

2 [i.e. village -- Brazilian]

/100 cont./

101 115 [119] to the Christians. It is said that they are white and friendly: one reason why they are regarded as a horde of the Paricys."

Martius has them living at the southernmost sources of [131] the Schingú and also lists them at the sources of the Arinos and Juruena. He also classifies /101/ them under the Parecí /Pareesi/ who are scattered across the watershed between Tapajoz, Madeira, and Paraguay.

101 Now it turns out that placing the Parecí and the Bakairí together in this way was erroneous. The well-known closest relatives of the Bakairí, as I wish to point out briefly in advance, are settled north of the Amazon River, and a tribe somewhat more distantly related to them, but belonging to the same group, lives in the source region of the Madeira. I myself was familiar only with the note of Martius, and on the journey I had no idea how interesting this little tribe was

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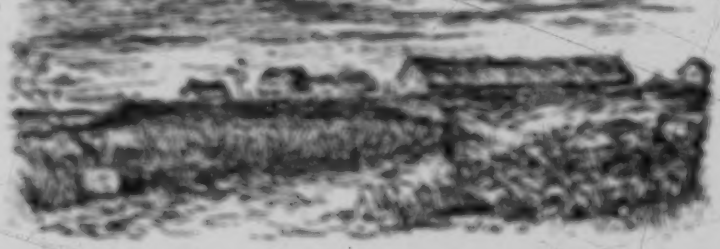

Bakairí village.

122 and how many hours I would later spend pondering over its past.

It was a very fortunate circumstance that Reginaldo -- 115 123 who was always ready to smoke a cigarette with me and [191] warmed up more and more and gradually became highly amused by my notations -- had an amazing gift of quick perception and was able to express himself clearly for practical purposes in a somewhat crude Portuguese. Such an opportunity [122] never came again later. Reginaldo was a good person, intelligent, and held the reins of his chieftainship in strong, paternal hands.

/101 cont./

There were two settlements of "docile" Bakairí: the aldeament on the Rio Novo, as this first was called, after a tributary of the Arinos, and the aldeament on the Paranatinga. The two villages are not yet old, all the adults were born farther up the Paranatinga, on the "Salto" /waterfall; see the glossary, p. 172 /; the Bakairí, however, were probably spread over this entire region in small hordes, as is shown by the fact that they were noted as far as the Rio das Mortes. In the twenties, when the gold-seeker expedition under the leadership of F. Lopez pushed into this region, they were converted to Christianity, on which occasion, as Reginaldo related, his grandfather and many others lost their lives.

/102/ We eagerly inquired as to whether he knew about a river beyond the Paranatinga? Today, he replied, this region is completely strange to them. He remembered from his youth, however, that one way supposed to come to a large river if one went from the Paranatinga toward the rising sun, and on this river there were said to be Bakairí still living, the "antiguos" /the ancients/, who were not Christians.

The two aldeamente are under the administration of the "Director dos Indios" in Cuyabá /Cuiabá/. Reginaldo is a Brazilian captain, his successor as chief of the tribe, Joaquim, is a lieutenant. Our seeing no women was due to the fact that they were living in an aldeament two leguas away. The huts which we occupied were used only when the farm work required it or when there were visitors. Reginaldo /illustration apparently here/ completely forgot to say how sorry he was that he could greet us only as a guan widower.

The village numbered six huts, the population amounted to 55: 16 men, 19 women, 20 children. The soldiers were usually quartered in the big house that Reginaldo otherwise occupied with a few others: a rectangle 57 paces long and five paces wide, which was divided into a number of separate rooms by means of partitions. We occupied the guest house -- it was only 17 paces long. It was modern construction, learned from the colonists. Twenty minutes away we found two deserted old-style huts,

/102 cont./

342 round, beehive-like. The larger one was 19 paces in diameter, covered high up on the outside with acuri straw, whereas the framework in the interior exhibited a circle of supporting posts one and a third meters high, upon which the basket of this structure, which actually consisted merely of a roof, rose with many horizontal bamboo rings. At the top was an air vent: a number of the /103/ framework poles crossing one another here extended to the outside. The entrance, a hole one and a half meters high, was surrounded by pepper plants. In any case, the interior space was far larger and finer than in the new houses.

433 241 The people led an idyllic existence: they carried on agri-

142 241 342 622

Captain Reginaldo and wife.

433 241 culture and mock-eating, went hunting, planted manioca /manioc/, beans, maize, rice, and some tobacco and sugar cane. They were civilized, despite the pierced ear lobes and nasal septa. 304 Their average height was 1.65 meters. They were striking because 142 of their broad and powerful chests. Their skin was yellowish, 241 clay-colored, and rather light, the hair of most of them was black and slightly curly or wavy. In general they had beautiful, open 151 eyes. Reginaldo's excellent vision was demonstrated on one occasion in a way that amazed us all. We noticed far in the distance a /illustration appears here/ figure in the grass, with an excellent field-glass I took it to be Tupy riding up. the entire company, among them Daniel, who was seldom mistaken, agreed with me.

/123 cont./

162 Agosta. -- A boy Irineo (parents dead).
621 Luis (Bolivian), Martin (Brazilian) with wife Carlotta (Paraguayan) and child.

126 I could not rejoice enough about the fortunate circumstance
115 that I was able to make the linguistic survey on the Rio Novo. Even with the intelligent Reginaldo it had been difficult enough to determine phonetically the inimitable tongue exercises that make up the Bakairí language, but with Captain Mêmo, who did nothing but nod contentedly, and the others who either laughed or grew impatient, nothing could be done.

On the other hand, I am indebted to Caetano for the legends which I shall retell later.

● 342 The largest house, which Captains Caetano and Felipe oc-
824 cupied together, was 21 paces long and 9 1/2 paces wide. The roof and walls, the latter supported by cross rods of tacoara /bamboo: see the glossary, p. 172 / consisted entirely of buriti /see the glossary, p. 170 / straw. Only Miguel owned a round house, the inner frame of tacoara covered with buriti leaves.
[343] There were seven houses and two new buildings. In addition two pig huts. In the case of one new building, I inquired about the timber that made up the frame. Two tall aruera posts supported the uppermost longitudinal roof-beam of aricá wood (also cunhão de porco). The sloping side-beams of the roof likewise cunhão de porco, the two longitudinal beams guanandí. The smaller posts that supported the roof beams, timbó, peuva, carvão, branco. The roof was also covered with campo grass.

164 I visited Miguel, who had an attack of fever, in his bee-
352 /124/ hive. He lay in his cotton hammock and let himself be
353 waited on by pretty Maria. The whole room hung full of calabashes, rice and farinha baskets, skins, arrows -- things left by his grandfather. It was far more comfortable in this still true heathen affair than in the characterless huts of the adherents of
123 a mock civilization. With dreadful gestures of disgust, the old
[357] man swallowed the bitter quinine and buried his fever-reddened
[383] face in the hammock. Maria, in gratitude, baked me a beijú.
[C4 glossary on p. 170 --Analyst]

/124 cont./

123 and showed me how the raw cotton, merely cleaned of seeds, is
283 twisted into thread with the spindle. The coton plants stand
241 between the huts everywhere; beside them grows mamona /castor
[372] oil plant/, whose oil serves us for wretched illumination in the
[251] evening, and peppers. Mats are spread out on racks in order to dry the mandioca farina.

The roça,* the cultivated field, lies some distance away. The Bakairí plant mandioca, beans, rice, sweet potatoes, sugar, and deliver to the Fazenda Corrego fundo. Their rapadura was
272 excellent, the melada, a honey-sweet syrup, moved us to ex-
clamations of admiration. The sugar cane is pressed between
249 two cylinders in the simplest way. (Cf. the vignette at the be-

342

Old-style hut.

[249] ginning of this chapter /see p. 2/).

We found Caetano's hut divided into three rooms. Caetano received us in the high, airy center room and shut the door, behind which little Luiza was doing housework. Felipe and Carlotta
354 Pancó lived in the corner room opposite. Three canga blocks
482 formed the hearth. Plaited back-baskets, which are carried by a forehead band and in which the women are said to carry up to six
412 arrobas. Graters to grate the mandioca, hard little spikes from
424 the rib of the buriti leaf are neatly set into the middle part of a narrow piece of wood almost a meter long.

/157 cont./

241 the process of being charred. The pillar of smoke that had drawn our attention for several days is explained: the forest was
122 being cleared in order to lay out a planting. Eagerly scouting, we climb up, and again we are wandering along the forest path.

/158/ "Beijú," somebody cries in a suppressed voice and
[262] triumphantly points to a few crumbs, which give us the prospect of new provisions. "they have beijú," each one murmurs to the man behind him.

[41] There -- a feather-decorated arrow leans against a tree
[324] -- the tube of ubá, the wood from which the Imperador /emperor/
[275] of the legend created the Bakairí. We become more serious, and even the Negroes, who, when they are afraid, like to try to give themselves courage by chattering march on silently. Now and then small fires, alive or burned out. We have already been
[130] walking three-quarters of an hour. But see there, a new clearing -- a charming grove of nut-bearing bacayuva palms -- a few kernels of maize on the ground, again a bit of forest and "Casas -- houses," the first man cries.

34 Three houses of the form of a beehive become visible; in
342 the first hut, which blocks our path, the low door stands open, in the dark we make out a few heads. A completely naked
[205] Indian steps out, young, well built, closes the door, and comes
[294] toward us, in his hand a long arrow shaft without a point, which he holds horizontally in front of him.

I instruct Antonio to call out a greeting to him in Bakairí. "Kpaiano," cries Antonio almost breathless, and -- hail to the antiguo -- the Indian answers in Bakairí. Eagerly he steps up to Antonio, leans against him, and both embrace as they walk on -- both talking at the same time, both trembling all over with fear and excitement.

[302] A joyful feeling of release overcame us all, and when Manoel, discovering that our dear savage wears a nicely shaved tonsure, now finally recovers his speech and cries out, "Oh, why that's a priest, the compadre is a person," general laughter breaks out, and everybody talks at once.

/158 cont./

342 We were led into the smallest of the three huts; there we
353 sat down on a long trunk lying on the floor. Two supporting beams, adorned with a diadem of parrot feathers and wound at the bottom with a belt of dry grass stalks, held up the straw roof. Many elegantly worked arrows were sticking in the wall.

179 These Bakairi had never seen human beings of another color.
361 They said that there were a few more settlements downstream.
133 This was the last cachoeira, the one we passed here -- great news -- and the river -- naturally, we were eager to learn this -- runs north, it is called Tamitatala. After 12 days' journey there comes another, larger one from the left, the Rosario.

080 That all favorable circumstances seemed to converge and the hardships of the trip were amply outweighed.

162 We could not endure it much longer in the hut. Outside /159/ others appeared, including two women -- one, whose youth and beauty were long gone, busily tripping about with
291 disheled hair. A triangular, straw-yellow leaf fastened to a string, which was slung around the hips and drawn through the perineum, constituted her scanty clothing. Our friend who was doing the
301 honors wore around his waist three strings, on which were alternately strung bits of white and black seeds; in each ear lobe two coquettish yellow feathers, and above the ankles a tight band of
302 bast. His hair had a dark reddish sheen. It was cut in Roman style around a bowl; the tonsure was as correct as in other well-known cases where the discoverers of a tribe were misled by it into believing that the heralds of Christianity must have been active
[142] there earlier. The type of physiognomy was without doubt in conformity with the Bakairi.

605 Soon a second principal figure appeared on the scene: a
[142] medium-sized Indian with a fine hooked nose and heavily painted
[302] red, who was coming from hunting. He drew near uneasily in a roundabout way, talking partly to himself and partly, parrying, to us; we called him the professor because of his incredibly dignified manner of examining every object most minutely, like a person who knows a thing thoroughly, but cannot quite understand why this or that does not fit.

L. Stephen--39 B.E.S. (1884) 1888 Gift Recd. 1/7/7
361
342

Sokoto village.

/169 cont./

126 301 I acquired cheaply some belt strings of round stone disks with the diameter of a thick pencil,[1] as well as a necklace of jaguar claws, by hooking the fish hook, as an ornament, into the ear lobes of these people, who do not know how to appreciate it as a means of catching fish.

622 The chief was striking because of his stupid face and a big nose; he treated us with aristocratic indolence and indifference. -- 301 237 Several wore two yellow feathers in each ear; these were stuck in a little bunch of red feathers that protruded from a small bush. The most beautiful head-ornament, however, was a simple row of yellow feathers up to 12 centimeters long, in the center of which towered a long ararra feather.

542 554 302 Stealthily a few women appeared. There was an old woman here, too, who /170/ kept the tribe in order; she had curly hair. The woman, who had a boy astride her right hip, was painted all over her body with a disgusting yellow pigment.

342 The two large huts were round, the two small ones elliptically long, resembling scales. In one of them, the festival hut, 345 353 we discovered strange things. Between the supporting beams, on cross-poles, hung a great number of the most diverse colorful 292 532 headpieces. They all had a straw frame for fitting them on the head. The colors were white, black, red, and orange, all applied crudely. There were open cylinders of bast of the consistency of cardboard, red, set with black squares; two large gourd /illustration appears here/ vessels, one with small yellow feathers pasted over it, the other with small blue feathers, and smaller ones painted with red and white areas; on the edge burnt fibers one meter long hung down like a woman's hair; a stuffed hide of a little fox, likewise an otter, both with a straw frame for putting them on. Two black and white sword-like pieces of wood -- representing rattlesnakes, according to Antonio. A stiff frame of stalks, in which sat little swallows, with cotton stuffed in between everywhere. The birds, perfectly recognizable in shape, white, head and back of neck black, a few with yellow belly. A larger bird, painted red and black, was looking out of one of the cylinders (1).

1. Cf. the first ethnological plate /see pp. 160-162/.

/171 cont./

122 19 Aug. φ 12° 53'.0, λ 12'.4, km. 31.03, total 193.45.
132 6:35 A.M.: dry. 15.0, water 24.3.
5:43 P.M.: I 742.2, dry. 28.1, water 26.0.
9:30 P.M.: I 742.8, dry. 21.1.

137 /172/ The river landscape changes its physiognomy somewhat. Shrubs and light-green, fine-leaved bushes, which form tall bowers or rounded, dense masses, occupy the foreground. Willow-like trees often stand as though planted, with delicate, slender trunks. We have not exactly come out of the forest river into a meadow river, but the low-plain character predominates. The sand bananas is steep. Easterly direction of the river.

122 20 Aug. φ 12° 52'.1 λ 12'.8, km. 6.27, total 201.72.
132 7:00 A.M.: dry. 19.3, water 25.1, at night 2-3:00 thunderstorm in NW.

Today the sky is covered with cirro-cumulus and the air is showery damp.

133 At an early hour we reached a branch stream 20 meters wide, emptying in quietly from the right. Finally a tributary.

361 The third aldea, located on the left bank, is not quite two
(342) kilometers from the factory. There are three huts, lower, smaller,
122 and less conical than previously. We there again install ourselves for a night among the good people, and even Antonio, who has given up his mistrust, sleeps along with us.

364 As agreeable as this "little village" is, it must be called
345 the dirtiest of the three. The floor of the festival hut is covered with dry grass and refuse of all kinds; the sun dazes through the roof, so that inside we are able to light our pipe with the burning glass. It is obviously still unfinished and new; besides a few arrows
(338) and several rattles, flat wooden fish are stuck on the walls as the products of local artistic activity.

142 Census: 13 men, 12 women and -- the most favorable proportion so far -- 19 children. Among them there are a man and a woman of another tribe whom we are to meet farther
142 downstream, the Kuneuil /Cuneuau/. In type I am unable to see any essential difference; in fact, the more Bakairi we meet, the more uncertain I am in distinguishing the Chamacoco Indians.

Flure dues among the Sakes.

/175 cont./

We counted 27 men, 18 women, and eight children, but as some of the men, who stayed longer than we, reported, a whole troop of women and children later came out of the woods.

I measured the largest house more carefully. It was 40 paces long, 24 paces wide. In the center line stood four supporting beams, 8-8.5 meters high (!) and 30 centimeters in diameter, the middle ones five paces apart, the outer ones each six paces from these; they had several bands painted with geometrical designs.

The distance of the two outer supporting beams from each other, /176/ 17 paces according to the above, also gave the length of the roof timbers. All around, 72 posts, up to 25 centimeters thick, one meter 72 high, served to support the elliptical roof basket. This was also the height of the two entrances, 77 centimeters wide, which lay opposite each other on the long sides and were made somewhat lower by the straw hanging down from the outside.

The roof basket, made up of large horizontal bamboo rings fastened by vertical poles bent against them, which converged at the top and projected to the outside through an opening, was built with great skill and regularity. The covering was made of straw-dry palm leaves. The leaf ribs lay horizontally; the free ends of the individual leaf spears hanging down from them, however, were all bent inward around the bare rib, so that solid mats were produced in the simplest manner. These overlapped like roof tiles.

We make the rounds through all the huts. The sense of order of the peaceful profence is lacking. They are full of refuse. Instead of the fine supply baskets, balls of the mana /dough/ one meter long, a half meter thick, and packed in leaves are found on simple racks. Little maize. Many fish nets made of tucum fiber; a wide-meshed bag hangs from a ring 80 centimeters long, 35 centimeters wide, which sits on a long pole. They probably get the fish out of the blocked-off lagoons with these nets from the top of their scaffold.

000 /Chapter I-III, pp. 1-45, including Fig. 1 and Plates II and III, are omitted in the translation./

/46/ Chapter IV.

First Encounter with the Indians.

Bark canoes. Traces of Indians. My trip with Antonio and Carlos. Animal life. Reverie before supper. Mouth of the Ponekuru. Cataracts. Signs of colonization increase. Chief Tumayaua. To the first Bakaïrí village. Arrival of the "Karaiben."

396 [324] After tapping several times in vain, Antonio found a jatobá (Hymenaea sp.) with serviceable bark. A pole scaffold is erected around the tree; a long rectangular strip of bark is loosened with ax blows and, carefully taken down, is placed on low supports; then the bark is made pliable with heat, a fire being lighted underneath and twigs also set afire on top, and the edges of the longitudinal sides are bent upward. In front a point is formed; in the rear the bark is pushed forward toward the inside to produce a slightly hollowed out bulkhead with acute-angled edges, at which the bark is soon likely to split. The canoe was to be finished in a day and brought to the water the next morning.

000 Antonio came home from his work noticeably pleased. I believed it was because the canoe had turned out well. I talked to him about it for a while and then, referring once more to our plans, said: "So you are not afraid that the river is without inhabitants?" "No," he replied in dismissal, "I've already found a rancho." "Why didn't you say so?" "Well, I intended to." 224 In looking for wood for the canoe, he had discovered a collapsed 342 hunting-hut covered with palm straw; its posts showed the blunt [412] gash-marks of a stone ax. Beside it lay charred logs still in the [394] radial arrangement of the Indian campfire; adjacent jatobás had been tested with stone axes for their usefulness, a still recognizable path led through the brush to a "harbor" on the river. Antonio thought it was probably a year ago that the visitors had stopped here.

/53 cont./

122 Who was more pleased, Tumayaua, who hurried on ahead in order to announce us and rapidly disappeared from view, or [487] we ourselves, is difficult to say. We trudged behind one another along the narrow path in the terrain cleared by burning, stepped [361] into the forest after a few minutes, heard loud shouting and /54/ [342] a confusion of calls, and a few hundred feet farther, after we had crossed a crystal-clear brook on a tree trunk serving as a bridge, we came in sight of three beehive-like huts which had 609 an open space between them. Awaiting us there, with Tumayaua enthusiastically gesticulating at the head, was a naked, brown band of men and, in the rear guard, of women and children, all gathered in a tight group and half embarrassed, half joyful, [576] but in any case most surprised. The men stepped toward us, stretching out the right hand, and said "ãma = "you," "that is you," or "ãma kχarãiba" = "you, the Karaibe /Carib/."

829 Not they, but we are the "Karaiben" in their eyes, and I, who among us speak of the Karaiben tribe of the Bakaïrí, was called there the "pĩma kχarãiba," the chief of the Karaiben.

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/55/

Chapter V.

Bakaïrí Idyl.

I.

Information about Kulisehu and Kuluëne. Antonio and Carlos back. A part of the world in which there is no laughing. Village layout. Introduction of the persons. My flute-house. In Paleko's house. Hospitality. Bean-cooking and dance songs. External appearance of the Indians. Nakedness and feeling of modesty. Eating and feeling of modesty. Tobacco club. Pantomime: river journey, days' journeys, tribes, work with the stone ax. Presentation of "mãh" and "wauwau." Tobacco planting. Fishing in the lagoon. Canoe-building.

/56 cont./

114 Bakairí, against such views about their characteristics as are
159 found, typically expressed, in the following sentences by Oscar Peschel (Abhandlungen zur Erde- und Völkerkunde /Essays on Geography and Ethnology/, Leipzig, 1877, Vol. I, p. 421): "In no other continent on earth did one hear less happy laughter before 1492 than in America. The so-called red man remains the same in all climates, /57/ everywhere he is gloomy, silent, withdrawn, and intent on a certain dignified bearing."

159 These assertions are in no way applicable to the Bakairí; they were gay, talkative, and trustful, as I observed them in their association with one another and as they acted toward me alone. I shall not fail to give examples of this. In this village I laughed and heard laughter almost as often as under the coconut palms of Samoa and Tonga. It is true, their temperament is less vivacious and their entire view of life less sunny than among the children of the South Seas, the girls do not dance in the moonlight and the men do not sing on canoe trips, shyness and mistrust are more easily aroused, but all this is a long way from the sadness and reserve which, like the black horsehair and the Mongolian eyes, are summarily attributed to the Indian on the basis of appearances, as though there were but a single family between the Bering Strait and the Strait of Magellan.

361 The "village" was very small, it consisted of two large
[342] round houses, in each of which several families lives, and a
[592] small, empty, somewhat dilapidated oblong house, in which I
[122] took up my residence. Between the houses stretched the "tasára,"
[417] an open place where a few racks stood for drying the white
[251] mandioca flour spread out on mats, where in the center lay a
[241] long, slender log for sitting, and, toward the edge, there grew a few stalks of cotton, Orleans bushes (Bixa orellana), and
245 Ricinus plants. Numerous fruit trees were planted all around, bakayuva palms (Acrocomia), mangaba /fruit of the mangabeira/ (Hancornia speciosa), fruta de lobo (Solanum lycocarpum), and a
487 sort of avenue of stately pikí trees (Caryocar butyrosum). Toward
361 the east a path led to the "harbor" across the nearby brook, toward
824

/59 cont./

231 safety of the smoke vent, and, if he suddenly shot down and raced around us like a wild animal, he was quickly chased back to his observation post, where he locked down, his head bent inquisitively and his beak open. /60/ Sometimes one of the little mice 224 [262] so busily active at night came spying about and, if it did not scamper away in time, was shot with a child's arrow and brought 136 to the women as a roast. Almost constant guests were large black-white striped bees, which, like a butterfly that now and then fluttered into the entrance, would calmly let themselves be seized and put aside. On a hot noonday I often had the feeling of sitting in the midst of a beehive filled with buzzing and droning.

123 It was at this hour on the third day that I fled from the bees [342] and flies to Paleko's large house and entered it for the first time. It was wonderfully cool and comfortable in there and no annoying insects. Only ants laden with grains of flour marched down their street to the mandioca pestle. The men were swinging in the hammocks, their chief occupation at home, and [519] [574] after I had sat a while, for the sake of politeness, on the stool [352] of honor, which was as high as a cigar box, I soon followed their example.

342 One had the feeling of being in a huge beehive, fortunately without the bees. The ground plan was almost circular with a diameter of 15 meters, two mighty posts standing nine meters high and three and a half meters apart, supported in the center the huge straw dome, the framework of which consisted of horizontal bamboo rings and over these vertical poles bent upward toward the vent. It was smoke-blackened, glistening like tar. The walling all around, above which it rose, a tightly closed ring of posts one and a half meters high, interrupted only by two door entrances opposite each other, which were much [352] too low for me. From the wall towards the interior, in the direction of the radii, the hammocks were stretched, fastened on either end to particularly strong posts, so that the outer space 353 was divided into a number of rooms, albeit open. The large center space around the main posts and under the vent, which

/60 cont./

353 remained free, was the kitchen and storage place for supply baskets, pots, earthen beiré pans, sieves, mats, back baskets, mortars, pestles, and calabashes. Sticks were plaited with vines onto the main posts, where again gourd bowls or bundles [538] of tobacco were hanging. from a cross beam dangled large [251] birds with straw-plaited legs and tails, which looked very mysterious and were solely for the purpose of storing the maize ears, out of which their insides and wings were constructed, in a manner pleasing to the eye. The floor was covered with a stone-hard deposit of the fine white manioca flour, the mortars and pestles were flour-white, and the pots smoke-blackened. Above the doors, baskets with calabashes, basket-wear, fishing nets; on the walls of the "rooms," bows, stone axes, the gaily feathered arrows projecting out of the straw of the dome, a stock of small baskets, drinking bowls, and smaller utensils; on the floor, white balls of loam, little pots, stools, pieces of wood, fire fans, and the ashes of the small fire which everyone maintains at night beside and almost under his hammock; hanging on the hammock, a small bunch of colorful feathers and the comb; here and there a pyramid made of rods with the grill. /61/ a couple of the sticks with which [392] fire is rubbed were also hung up and beside them was tied a small packet of the tinder bast.

356 In short: family dwelling in full operation, precisely as [353] much disorder as was required for comfort, everything clean [412] and nicely arranged, everything hung up, bowed, turned upside down, no iron nails and screws, but only cord and plaiting, all worked with stone ax, animal tooth, and shell. Total impression: the wall, the hammocks, the calabashes, the human beings, brown; brown in every shade, but harmoniously 342 tinted, all crust /Kraus/. Here and there the sun shone through a crack in the straw dome, in front of the door the daylight was sharply cut off, and the lane between the doors lay in semishade; through the vent, which was quite tightly closed, a few bright rings and circles fell on the floor, and faint motes of sunlight danced in the ascending smoke.

1922

342 Tumayana's house was a little smaller; here Eva's children peeped out of the little hammocks, but otherwise the picture was the same.

122 262 The lodgings pleased me more than the second part of the room-and-board. As far as my diet was concerned, it was bad. I did not see meat at all during my stay in the village, if I except two mice that were shot. Fish was given to me rarely and in small portions as though it were one of the costliest of dishes: once a little pot of creatures the length of a little finger in a saltless broth with a corncob stalk as a spoon; twice a piece of [852] grilled fish barely hand-size and served on beijú as on a small plate, and once a piece of electric eel, almost too fat, but good and with a skin like smoked eel. Then once I was allowed to dip beijú in fish oil, which would not have been a special delicacy even for the Bakairí if in their childhood they had been obliged to take cod-liver oil. I do not find anything else recorded in my [852] journal -- on the other hand, on the first day my intended shared with me roasted maize kernels which she held in her lap as she squatted on the ground. occasionally she also brought me a couple of mangabas, and during the inquiry about vocabulary, Eva offered me ants, a palm-boring beetle which still had half a leg, and a fat larva, all of which were supposed to be "iwakulukulu," the superlative of everything good and fine in Bakairí. There was no 272 lack of manihoca flat-cakes or beijús and drinks. The festive drink, piñerego, however, lasted for only two days, greenish gray like soapy water, warm and covered with bubbly foam, it never-262 theless had a pleasant, insipid, sweet taste. The beijús were very different in quality, depending on the type of flour; they were usually crumbled and, mixed with water, taken as a drink.

[122] On the other hand, my hosts were heartily willing to relish the little that I had with me in the way of beans and salt and urgently begged for them. There was some difficulty with the beans. Paleko and I together cooked them, but both for the first time in our lives. I kindled the fire and he fetched sticks of wood; we set an earthen pot with the beans in it on three stones and cooked 533 away. Paleko sang to it, plaiting his basket and beating time softly 122

/80 cont./

535 and captivated me. Others placed themselves behind the three, sang and stamped along with them, more and more joined, and finally those nearest the door ran out, bent over and one following the other, the entire train turned in a long chain over to the chief's house with uninterrupted ohihuxâ, came back to the flute-house, and back and forth across the plaza. We guests did not fail to take part in at least a few rounds of the musical marathon, but the good Sakalîf ran, sang, stamped -- the whole night. It thus seems to be a very old custom to dance until broad daylight. Except that the men did the work by themselves. It was excellent to go to sleep by: like the familiar and often tested method of falling asleep by imagining an endless herd of sheep jumping over a fence and counting the individual leaping animals, their firm ohihuxâ hypnotized with deadly certainty.

On our second visit we saw nothing of the kind.

123 A small shooting demonstration aroused more fear than amusement: the women ran behind the houses, a tall youth fled into the hammock and covered his ears. After the third shot the chief begged "Ûle," "it is enough." Afterwards they again had a desire for it and set tasks, to hit birds circling high in the air, which only Cooper's hunters could have fulfilled. At any rate, one must beware of sending off a shot about which one is not certain.

The photographic apparatus was set up opposite the chief's house. Aramôke accepted the invitation, stuck his head under the black cloth, viewed the picture with great pleasure, and chattered enthusiastically about it. The others did not trust the thing.

● 342 Aramôke's house, a magnificent example of primitive architecture, was larger and more carefully built than Paleko's in
353 Maigêri. Many storage baskets were piled up between the center
531 posts, and from the dome hung numerous maize birds and cobs. What absorbed our interest primarily, however, was a frieze of crude drawings which ran all around, about two meters above the doors, to a total length of about 56 meters. /91/ On narrow sheets of blackened tree bark, dots, rings, linear patterns, and in between

/131 cont./

would take exaggerated care of them by removing them on occasions when even for children it would not be necessary.

In the first Bakairi village the population had increased by one young soul. Fathiaga had become a father and was observing the lying-in period along with his wife. I shall come back to the scene, which seemed comical to us, in discussing the crowds. The maize was a [illegible] green. We were offered excellent, somewhat dry maize beer. My tobacco planting on village plaza had [illegible] luxuriantly and was fenced in all around by a palisade.

[illegible] light of behind [illegible] house. A new [illegible] two, already far advanced, of a strange kind. Curiosity, one of my familiar apparitions. The Bakairi had taken on a [illegible] as a model and, coming of their brethren, had started a house with a triangular gable /132/ and a two-sided roof. We had believed we were seeing something genuine in a remote corner, and already it was disappearing. "The first glimpse of light," says Bastian, "will also be the last."

Fig. 8.
Indian disguised as Europeans.

Tumayaua, who was going along to Independencia, nevertheless carried out the official farewell in Maigéri. He handed me two large gourd bowls. A little while after that he came to fetch me, seized me vehemently by the arm, and, shouting loudly all around, led me from the hut to the beam in the middle of the plaza and, with a sort of enthusiasm, pushed me down on to the seat. Soon four Karaiben were sitting there in a row, side by side.

/21 cont./

901 648 dmark the Brazilian campesinos in these regions. According to Hermann Meyer (28) they had already wreaked serious destruction

28. Hermann Meyer, "Bericht über seine zweite Xingú-Expedition," loc. cit., pp. 115 and 116.

in the region of the Suya Tsuntsaiar and killed several inhabitants. At the time of my stay on the Corrego Fundo ranch, the Kayabí had penetrated the mountain above the Rio Paranatinga up to some six leagues from Corrego Fundo and attacked Cacique Antonio as he was looking for rubber with his people for Senhor Jaime Soares, the owner of the ranch. But Antonio had driven them back with his armed people and killed a Kayabí on this occasion.

622 342 Cacique Antonio's big house where I visited him had been built a year earlier. It consisted of a large middle room which communicated on the left side of the entrance with two other rooms which formed the dwelling house proper of the cacique and Dofia Rosa, and on the right side with a large room for guests that fulfilled exactly the functions of the house for foreigners of the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River region. All the men and boys of the aldea could go in and out of it as they pleased. 622 342 594 This room also served for dancing, and during my stay in it, from time to time, some Xinguanos would enter, their faces painted in red and black, and sing their monotonous melodies as they danced around the post set in the middle of the room. 302 533 536 Cacique Antonio's own dwelling already had at this time quite a modern appearance. In the "dining room" there was a table and a large armchair as well as dishes and spoons, and I was entertained at his table in the Brazilian manner with a dish of meat with rice and flour. He obviously enjoyed renewing old memories of the journeys he had made with Karl von den Steinen. He looked with great interest at Karl von den Steinen's works about his travels and, on his part, showed me some photographs 358 123 622 115

/21 cont./

622 that he still kept from these days. Antonio had no children by
115 Dona Rosa. I had the opportunity to become acquainted with
[123] her when, returning in poor health from the Rio Kulisehu, I
was most generously accommodated in her house although
Antonio was away.

• 347 José Corado's house, situated in front of his stepfather
352 Antonio's house, was just as large and built in the same style.
353 Its interior gave much more of a native impression than Antonio's
house. In the half-dark rooms several women lay in the ham-
mocks /22/ among them one with José's little daughter, who
was only a few weeks old. All the walls in the house showed in
the upper part, directly under the ceiling, beards painted in
black and white. These frieze made by the Xinguanos showed
the typical paintings of the Bakairí. All of the decorations
known to the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River region appeared
in these paintings, such as, for example, the figures called
159 ulu, meretu, and mamai. José, in spite of his youth, had
191 already had a great deal of experience. The hole in his lower
lip at once recalled his early childhood among his own fellow
[87] countrymen, the Suyá, whom he still knew. As al-
ready mentioned above, he had come with his mother to the
house of Cacique Antonio when he was a boy of five or six, but
he had received part of his education in the capital, Cuiabá,
so that he was better acquainted than any other Rio Paranatinga
Bakairí with the Portuguese language, which he also used in
159 talking with his mother. When he was an adult, Cacique
619 Antonio had taken him along on a trip to the Batovy and Kulisehu
48 rivers. Already at that time he had had trouble with his step-
father because he had become too involved with the pretty girls
of the first aldea of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí and had thus
damaged the good relations with the inhabitants of that aldea.
The anger of the inhabitants of the first Rio Kulisehu aldea
caused by José Corado's behavior still continued at the time of
my journey to the Rio Kulisehu, and José did not dare to ac-
company me to that aldea because he had learned that its

/23 cont./

241 114 648

in contrast with Hermann Meyer's observations, made two years before in the year 1899, on his own experiences among the same Bakairí. (29) To account for the fact that it was

29. Hermann Meyer, "Bericht über seine zweite Xingú-Expedition," loc. cit., pp. 126 and 127.

absolutely impossible for him to obtain provisions from the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí, he said that these Indians depended for their subsistence almost entirely on their fellow countrymen of the Rio Paranatinga and that their agriculture had almost completely disappeared. When Meyer passed by the aldeas of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí, conditions for his expedition, which comprised a large number of participants, were very precarious, especially because of lack of provisions, and no doubt the fact that he was unable to get from the Bakairí the provisions he had asked for was for him a severe disappointment. It is possible that the Bakairí at this time could not /24/ supply such large quantities of provisions to accommodate such a large number of strangers. Since it is certain that the Bakairí at the time of my stay among them possessed large plantations, it does not seem possible that their agriculture, two years earlier, should have been at the vanishing point. Nor can I corroborate

114 342

Hermann Meyer's comment that the Bakairí of the first two aldeas on the Rio Kulisehu, at the time of his expedition, had changed their good houses for "miserable huts." The two aldeas of the Kulisehu Bakairí which I visited each consisted of four large houses of kin folk, built in the same form with an oval base as the houses had in former times. All of the houses in Maimaieti aldea were quite new and made a good impression

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inside and outside. About one league from Maimaieti were the then abandoned houses of the old aldea which the Bakairí of Maimaieti had still occupied a short time earlier and where a large bird of prey, a kind of harpy eagle /arpiá/, was kept on

/24 cont./

231 a table made of vertigas and provided regularly with meat, if possible monkey meat.

178 Among the various crafts of the Kuikuru people, pottery-
323 making, plaiting, and spinning were still maintained in the
286 ancestral form. Food preparation was the selfsame as
283 described by Karl von den Steinen for times past. The only
252 essential difference appeared in regard to woodworking, for
179 which at this time metal tools were used, so that this craft no
322 longer depended on stone axes, drills with rush points, shells,
412 and the teeth of fish or other animals. Another acquisition from
301 the various expeditions which had passed through their territory
were ear pendants of multicolored glass beads with which many women and children, especially, were well provided. European
291 clothing was seen only in exceptional cases. Yes the first man who came out of his house in Maigeri aldea wanted me had on trousers which he had been given at the time of a visit to the Rio Paranatinga aldea and which surely had never been washed since. As a rule the aluri (small triangle of bark) was the sole
291 national garment of the women and young girls and a fine thread belt and body paint the men's apparel.

114 When Karl von den Steinen visited the Kuikuru Indians,
361 the first Bakairi aldea, called Maigeri, consisted of only two
342 large houses of kinsfolk and one small house forfiesta, with an
345 oval base, while the second and third aldeas each consisted of three large houses of kinsfolk and of one house or fiesta. Thus the number of houses in Bakairi aldeas at the time of my stay
161 among these Indians had increased, and for this reason I do not hold to correct Herrmann Meyer's observation tat this tribe was
114 already "greatly declining" at the time. (30) No doubt there
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161

30. Herrmann Meyer, Ibid., p. 126

were then only two Bakairi aldeas on the Rio Kuikuru, the first, Maigeri, already mentioned by Karl von den Steinen, and the

Plate III

Fig. 2. Captain Amouna with his family in front of his house, in the year 1927.

Fig. 3. Administration building at the Simões Lopes Post.

[illegible]--62 — F-6 [illegible] 1931-1947 NPT Records NPT

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Fig. 4. House of the Bakairi. From a cacique of the Xingu-no in Simões Lopes.

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620.

Fig. 5. Cacique Pires with his family in front of his house in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 7. House of the family of the old Bakairi, Luju, in Simões Lopes.

Plate VIII

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Fig. 13. Bakauf, son of the Xinguano Kapinage, in Sumber Lepes.

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Fig. 14. The author with Xinguanos in front of their house, situated near the Paranatinga.

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Fig. 15. Xinguano Paiaguá with his son Ka'uza, in Cuzabá.

Fig. 16. Xinguano Ka'uza.

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Fig. 17. Xinguanos in front of their house, situated near the Rio Paranatinga.

Fig. 21. Home of Rio Piranhanga Kugiunai

Fig. 22. Kukuri João Pedrozo with his family in front of his home situated on the Rio Piranhanga

/260 cont./

114 informant. (3) Karl von den Steinen, on the other hand,

[113] 3. Capistrano de Abreu.
"Os Bacairys /The Bacairi/."
Revista Brasileira. Year I.
Volumes 3 and 4. Rio de
Janeiro. 1895.

worked with several informants, and, what is more important in our opinion, personally visited Bakairí aldeas, (4) which

[113] 4. Karl von den Steinen.
Durch Central-Brasilien
/Through Central Brazil/.
Leipzig. 1886; Unter den
Naturvölkern Zentral-
Brasiliens /Among the Central
Brazilian Primitive Peoples/.
Berlin. 1894.

[127] Capistrano did not do. These documents, studied comparatively, permit us /261/ to support the conclusions we expect to reach on Bakairí beliefs and customs.

197 The Bakairí belong to the Karaib /Carib/ linguistic
361 family. Their old aldeas consisted of large communal houses,
[342] ellipsoidal in form, around a square. In each house there
[592] lived from two to five families. In the center of the aldea
[344] there was a house, kadoeti, where the ceremonial adornments of the men were kept and where visitors were lodged. Access to the kadoeti was open not only to the men but to women
[346] and children as well. Attached to the kadoeti was a small
[534] house, its entrance turned to the rising sun, where the flutes,
[784] buzzers or bull-roarer, and other sacred objects were kept. Access to this latter house was forbidden to women and children.

/261 cont./

352 The Bakairí slept in hammocks, amaka, woven of palm fiber.
[415] Their furnishings can be summed up as benches of a solid
[285] piece of wood, clay pots, mats and baskets. The diet rests
262 upon manioc, piquí, sweet potatoes, maize, and fish. How-
224] ever, the hunting of monkeys, wild pig, tapir, and other ani-
mals was not scorned. Most of the food reserves, however,
[241] were of vegetable origin, and the most important harvests
were made up of manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, and piquí.
Yams /cará/, cotton, urucú, and tobacco were also planted.

342 The occupants of a communal house worked together on
476 the building of a new house, acquiring thereby the right to
622 reside in it. This construction work, however, was led by the
individual who had the most prestige in the group, usually the
old head of the house, who thus set himself up as the head of
241 the new house. The tasks of clearing fields and planting
476 generally depended on the participation of all the aldea. When
529 beginning a new clearing, the Bakairí would give a feast,
kométe, with the distribution of food to the Indians who worked
501 on the field. The Bakairí made canoes from the bark of the
[824] jatobá tree, in the Xinguano way. This construction, as well
as fishing, hunting, and agricultural activities, were accom-
[282] panied by propitiatory rituals.

Their products were bartered among neighboring groups
437 in the course of visits called tuliki which depended on the
574 presence of the chiefs of both aldeas. After the exchange of
the objects desired, the visitors were honored with a feast
called tulake.

621 /262/ The Bakairí were not a warlike people, and their
181 political organization does not seem very elaborate. Each
622 aldea had a chief, pima, assisted by a subchief, itáida. The
624 Bakairí do not remember the existence of a chief for the whole
[643] tribe, and there is no evidence that such a figure ever existed.
The selection of the itáida was made by means of agreement
of the aldea, but it generally fell on the son of the pima him-
self. The pima's functions were chiefly ceremonial, economic,
and juridical.

[P 90-9]

	Men	Men	Women	Children	Total
175 Rio Novo	6	18	19	20	55
162 Paranatinga	7	6	8	3	17
On Rio Batovi:					
First village	3	10	7	9	26
Second village	4	18	17	7	42
Third village	3	13	12	19	44
Fourth village	7	27	18	8	53
Total	30	90	81	66	237

175 By the time Max Schmidt visited the Bacairi
161 in 1900–1901, the Bacairi settlement had dimin-
[162] ished. On the Paranatinga he met 34 Bacairi
and at Rio Novo, 60. On the Kuliseu River where
[361] Von den Steinen had visited four villages, Max Schmidt was able to find only two.

ECONOMY

SHELTER

361 While in the Xingú watershed the Bacairi lived in villages built on the banks of the Rio Kuliseu. A village (*utanári*) consisted of three to eight houses (*tovieí*) built in a circle around a central
342 plaza, *tasáru*. The Bacairi house was a large communal building, oblong in shape, with rounded ends and with the roof thatching reaching to the
[592] ground. These large domelike buildings were occupied by three to five families.

346 In the center of every village there was a ceremonial or flute house (*kadoiti*) in which the men kept their ornaments and musical instruments and in which visitors were entertained. Men, women, and children are permitted to enter the *kadoiti*. Attached to the common house there was a smaller building, usually oriented in
[53] the direction of the rising sun, in which the sacred
[56] flutes were kept. Women were not permitted to enter this house, as they were not allowed to see
[48] the sacred flutes. The villages were connected by roads running along the river bank.

EQUIPMENT

251 In the center of each house there was a storage space (*jirdu*) where maize, manioc meal, and
[45] other foods were kept in gourd vessels (*káiko*).
343 Cooking was done in a small shed at the back of
344 the house, but food was eaten indoors. Around
352 the walls each family had its hammocks (*amáka*) in which the people slept. Other furnishings of
[45] the house consisted of mats, baskets, clay pots,

[P 92-B]

Bacairí

323 pots are quite distinct from the pottery of the Indians living on the Upper Paraguay River. Bacairí pots are flat-bottomed and have straight vertical walls with everted rims. The pots in common use were, and still are, black in color, unglazed, and undecorated. Some of the pots [532] been were made in the forms of frogs, turtles, fish, and birds. The Bacairí claim that they [531] formerly had decorated pottery called *amúga*, painted with black, gray, red, and brown designs.

476 The Bacairí also had economic activities in which the whole village, or a number of com-
241 munal houses, participated. The *kometí*, or col-
476 lective land clearing, was one of these. A man would invite a large number of relatives and friends to assist him in clearing a new piece of forest land. The women would participate by pre- [262] paring large amounts of food and honey beverage
423 for the workers. The new field would remain the
476 property of the men who initiated the *kometí*, obligating him to work in return if called upon, but sometimes the group of men who cleared the field would divide it among them.

● 342 House building was always an enterprise in
476 which the whole village took part. The group that was interested in raising the house cut the beams and poles necessary for the framework and prepared large quantities of food. While a certain number of men began to put up the framework, others went to gather grass for thatching. When they returned with the thatching they put [539] on their ceremonial decorations and danced the *mahulawíri* dance. House building was thus not only an economic act but also a ceremonial occasion.

286 Hammock weaving was, at times, a collective
476 enterprise. A woman with a larger than usual cotton crop distributed cotton among her friends and when the work was completed she organized a feast and dance.

437 Ceremonial trading expeditions (*tulíki*) were
628 organized by the chief of the village. During
574 the rainy seasons, when the rivers were high and
[622] canoe travel easy, the men of a village would collect whatever excess goods they had, such as bows, baskets, ornaments, hammocks, and even food, and would go to a neighboring village where the chief would receive them before the ceremonial house. The two chiefs would then supervise the exchange of commodities. After the trading was

527 gather the ceremonial corn. Later in the day the women prepared large quantities of corn porridge and roasted ears.

On the morning of the third day the actual ceremony began in front of the *kadoéti*. The organizer of the dance distributed roasted ears or pieces of ears to all the villagers, children included. Then at a signal from the leader, the villagers began throwing the roasted corn in all directions and at one another. After the roasted corn was [262] disposed of, the people ate the corn porridge and meat prepared on the preceding day. They then washed themselves in the river and put on their paint and ornaments. When the villagers had again gathered before the *kadoéti* the dance leader took a piece of corn husk and went from man 527 to man asking for a song leader. The man who 533 took the offered corn husk then began the *yawaisári*, or song in praise of corn. Little by little the others joined in the singing and eventually began to dance. The words of the song told how corn came to the Bacairí and how it made the people strong and healthy.

881 The *ransegéro*, or ear-piercing ceremony, was 304 performed just before a boy went into puberty seclusion. It was customary for men who had sons of about the same age to cooperate in getting large quantities of food ready for the feast. After the feast was over the ears of the boys were pierced [533] and the *poinwáto* song was sung. When boys and girls came out of seclusion there was another ceremony during which all the songs and dances were performed with the exception of the sacred flute tunes.

342 The *mahulawári* was performed during coopera- 476 tive house building in which the whole village participated. While the women prepared food and some men were putting up the frame, a certain [824] number of men went in search of palm fronds for thatching. When these men returned with the palm fronds they danced and sang before the new house with their loads on their backs and in full ceremonial regalia.

286 The custom of distributing cotton by a woman 574 with a good cotton crop and having other women weave hammocks for her has already been mentioned. When the women had completed their weaving and returned the hammocks to the donor of the cotton, she gave a feast during which the [535] women sang and danced the *yamaikúma*. This

/123 cont./

162 Agosta. -- A boy Irineo (parents dead).
621 Luis (Bolivian), Martin (Brazilian) with wife Carlotta (Paraguayan) and child.

126 I could not rejoice enough about the fortunate circumstance
115 that I was able to make the linguistic survey on the Rio Novo. Even with the intelligent Reginaldo it had been difficult enough to determine phonetically the inimitable tongue exercises that make up the Bakairí language, but with Captain Mêmo, who did nothing but nod contentedly, and the others who either laughed or grew impatient, nothing could be done.

On the other hand, I am indebted to Caetano for the legends which I shall retell later.

342 The largest house, which Captains Caetano and Felipe oc-
824 cupied together, was 21 paces long and 9 1/2 paces wide. The roof and walls, the latter supported by cross rods of tacoara /bamboo; see the glossary, p. 172 / consisted entirely of buritî /see the glossary, p.170 / straw. Only Miguel owned a round house, the inner frame of tacoara covered with buritî leaves.
[343] There were seven houses and two new buildings. In addition two pig huts. In the case of one new building, I inquired about the timber that made up the frame. Two tall aruerà posts supported the uppermost longitudinal roof-beam of aricá wood (also cunhão de porco). The sloping side-beams of the roof likewise cunhão de porco, the two longitudinal beams guanandí. The smaller posts that supported the roof beams: timbó, peuva, carvão, branco. One roof was also covered with campo grass.

164 I visited Miguel, who had an attack of fever, in his bee-
352 /124/ hive. He lay in his cotton hammock and let himself be
353 waited on by pretty Maria. The whole room hung full of calabashes, rice and farinha baskets, skins, arrows -- things left by his grandfather; it was far more comfortable in this still true heathen affair than in the characterless huts of the adherents of
123 a mock civilization. With dreadful gestures of disgust, the old
[157] man swallowed the bitter quinine and buried his fever-reddened
[283] face in the hammock. Maria, in gratitude, baked me a beijú [Cf. glossary on p. 170 --Analyst

2: Steinen--61€ D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/88 cont./

487 grandeur. We had to move the stones laboriously out of the way at the edge of the palings in order to pass through even with our narrow canoes. Behind this a width of 124 meters.

000 At the last rapids Vogel was shipwrecked. The instruments remained dry, but the condensed-soup tablets suffered a premature

[343]

Fig. 3. Bird cage.

soaking. So we utilized the opportunity to brew, for once, an extravagantly strong soup from the hopelessly softened pieces. We [122] stopped behind the site of the accident, from here visited the Bakaïrí village on the next day, 4 October, and meanwhile had the canoes transported to the harbor. On this stretch, too, Vogel's canoe hit a stone and went under. On this occasion a water thermometer given us by Herr von Danckelman sank into the depths, true to its destiny, but remained below, never to be seen again, and eluded a reading.

/88 cont./

361 The village could be reached in half an hour or an hour from
311 the river, depending on whether one landed sooner or later. It was surrounded by cultivated land to an extent that aroused our
241 greatest astonishment. On the three different paths that we followed, we came through long stretches where the forest had been cut down with the stone ax. In March and April the trees are felled and in September and October the wood which has dried in the meantime is burned. We examined with admiration a number of thick trunks, the cross-sections of which were covered with the dull blow-marks of the stone axes, and regretted that we could not saw off such a marked surface and take it along. I silently begged forgiveness of the Indians at whom I had often laughed when they were swinging themselves in their hammocks at home, as though their lives were one long Sunday.

361 /89/ In Iguéti there were three large family-houses and a
345 very respectable flute-house in which many dance costumes made
535 of palm straw were hanging. On the village plaza a cage rose
343 up higher than a house, which consisted of long poles set together
231 in the form of a pointed cone; in it sat a mighty Harpia destructor, although the village is called igu-eti = sparrow-hawk village.
231 The once heraldic bird had probably long since departed. The beautiful eagle was named after its favorite food, mégo-zóto, lord
412 of the monkeys. Beside the chief's house lay a large whetstone
[171] for the stone axes; it gave me much pleasure because it showed the same grooves that we had observed in the sambaquis of Sta. Catharina.

621 The community numbered some 40 persons. They spoke of
162 three chiefs, but we met in this capacity only the good-natured,
622 very broad-shouldered Aramóke, who was characterized by a waddling walk. He had a sly expression and with his clumsy body was very polite, for, striding ahead of me in the forest, he broke off the branches, which might have snapped back in my face, more graciously than he probably would have for a woman. A large knife and a red scarf made him the happiest of mortals.
974 He showed us great hospitality. Fresh golden beijús were con-
437 stantly brought forth, a row of calabashes filled with pogu were

/218 cont./

*171 I shall sum up. Ancient agriculture is most compatible
174 with the type of hunting practiced here. The Indians were pri-
433 marily fishermen. The yield in their area on the upper course of a river was not sufficient for pure ichthyophagy; on the other hand, it was not small during the months when the fish traveled upstream in the rising water and were found in all the canals and lagoons in great numbers, or when, as the water receded, the opportunity for a catch in the artificially barricaded parts of the river branches became considerably greater. Fishing and
*171 hunting, furthermore, furnished the indispensable tools. There
174 were no domestic animals in our sense; dogs were unfamiliar
433 to the native. He took pleasure in the colored birds, whose
231 feathers he sometimes pulled out, especially in the talking
[343] parrots and cawing araras; he let those that he happened to catch young walk around in the village, woodpecker or heron or curassow, and kept in huge pole-cages, for the edification of the community, the spitting eagle, Harpyia destructer, or some other predatory bird. he had lizards hanging by their tails from the hammock, so that they would clean up a bit among the annoying crickets -- he had not succeeded any further in the utilization of animals, and though wild plants were established near the village to be used as desired, the rearing of edible
[825] animals was not considered. /219/ Indeed, the attitude that the
[262] Indian took toward the animal kingdom made him feel a definite repugnance about ultimately consuming animals that he had raised, just as we do not eat dogs.

*171 The relative sedentariness connected with the life of the
174 fisherman could not become permanent until the women learned
433 to plant, to make pots, and to prepare flour. Although agricul-
*171 ture on the Schingú had already reached respectable improve-
174 ment, nevertheless there were small indications that showed
24 what its origin had been, at least here. People planted the use-
648 ful plants found in the vicinity, each tribe acquired its own experience on its own soil, and they were disseminated by the
174 women who, in war or peace, came to other tribes. The fact
773 that the Bakaïrí-Karaiben were once furthered in this way in

[P.70-A]

	Women	Children	Total
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On Rio Batovi:			
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Second village	17	7	42
Third village	12	19	44
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Total	81	66	237

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[534] the direction of the rising sun, in which the sacred
[562] flutes were kept. Women were not permitted to enter this house, as they were not allowed to see
[487] the sacred flutes. The villages were connected by roads running along the river bank.

EQUIPMENT

251 In the center of each house there was a storage space (*jirdu*) where maize, manioc meal, and
[415] other foods were kept in gourd vessels (*kdiko*).
343 Cooking was done in a small shed at the back of
244 the house, but food was eaten indoors. Around
352 the walls each family had its hammocks (*amáka*) in which the people slept. Other furnishings of
[445] the house consisted of mats, baskets, clay pots,

/260 cont./

114 informant. (3) Karl von den Steinen, on the other hand,

[113] 3. Capistrano de Abreu, "Os Bacaerys /The Bacairi/." Revista Brasileira, Year I, Volumes 3 and 4, Rio de Janeiro, 1895.

worked with several informants, and, what is more important in our opinion, personally visited Bakairí aldeas, (4) which

[113] 4. Karl von den Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien /Through Central Brazil/, Leipzig, 1886; Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens /Among the Central Brazilian Primitive Peoples/, Berlin, 1894.

[127] Capistrano did not do. These documents, studied comparatively, permit us /261/ to support the conclusions we expect to reach on Bakairí beliefs and customs.

197 The Bakairí belong to the Karaib /Carib/ linguistic
361 family. Their old aldeas consisted of large communal houses,
[342] ellipsoidal in form, around a square. In each house there
[592] lived from two to five families. In the center of the aldea
[344] there was a house, kadoeti, where the ceremonial adornments of the men were kept and where visitors were lodged. Access to the kadoeti was open not only to the men but to women
[346] and children as well. Attached to the kadoeti was a small
[534] house, its entrance turned to the rising sun, where the flutes,
[784] buzzers or bull-roarer, and other sacred objects were kept. Access to this latter house was forbidden to women and children.

/168 cont./

574 other, the professor, naked, but, along with bow and arrow, one of our mirrors in his hand. We were undoubtedly well recommended.

532 Shortly before the exit from the woods we came across a wonderful display of about a dozen animal figures along one side of the path, /169/ probably the remains from a festival. They were made of leaves and straw, mostly quadrupeds with long, thin bodies, consisting of practically nothing but spinal column and long legs; the tallest ones reached to our hips. Something that was evidently supposed to be a monkey was climbing up a pole. A human figure was incised in a tree, with roguish use of a depression present in the bark. Such is the beginning of art in the primeval forest.

361 After we had passed a roça and low shrub planting, we saw
[241] four huts, two large ones and two small ones, lying correspondingly opposite each other. The nobility was assembled on the
574 plaza; a friendly "am(b)á" (that is you) with raised hand wel-
[576] comed each one. Then, one after the other, we were grasped
[345] at the wrists by our hosts, mostly by two at the same time, and led before the festival hut, where beam and stool were ready. Here we sat is long rows with our guns, and immediately the serving of mingau began. Then we did our tricks, cut nails,
[123] let them look through the opera glasses, lighted a match with fire steel, etc. The professor beamed; he was reaping honor with us.

[301] A sturdy young man, a diadem of stiff jaguar skin over his
[624] forehead, seemed to be acting as herald. He poured busily, screamed louder than the others, and grasped everything most quickly. I had the feeling that we were traveling circus artists and were being informally received and treated in a club. One
302 of the younger sportsmen had had his body painted with black
531 squares, which were joined at the edges with short lines. The drawing on the upper thigh of another -- a black wavy line and in the depressions of it black dots -- definitely resembled the skin marking of a fish, the pintado.

/169 cont./

126 [301] I acquired cheaply some belt strings of round stone disks with the diameter of a thick pencil, as well as a necklace of jaguar claws, by hooking the fish hook, as an ornament, into the ear lobes of these people, who do not know how to appreciate it as a means of catching fish.

622 The chief was striking because of his stupid face and a big nose; he treated us with aristocratic indolence and indifference. -- 301 237 Several wore two yellow feathers in each ear; these were stuck in a little bunch of red feathers that protruded from a small husk. The most beautiful head-ornament, however, was a simple row of yellow feathers up to 12 centimeters long, in the center of which towered a long arara feather.

562 [554] [302] Stealthily a few women appeared. There was an old woman here, too, who /170/ kept the tribe in order; she had curly hair. One woman, who had a boy astride her right hip, was painted all over her body with a disgusting yellow pigment.

342 345 353 292 532 The two large huts were round, the two small ones elliptically long, resembling scales. In one of them, the festival hut, we discovered strange things. Between the supporting beams, on cross-poles, hung a great number of the most diverse colorful headpieces. They all had a straw frame for fitting them on the head. The colors were white, black, red, and orange, all applied crudely. There were open cylinders of bast of the consistency of cardboard, red, set with black squares; two large gourd /illustration appears here/ vessels, one with small yellow feathers pasted over it, the other with small blue feathers, and smaller ones painted with red and white areas; on the edge buriti fibers one meter long hung down like a woman's hair; a stuffed hide of a little fox, likewise an otter, both with a straw frame for putting them on. Two black and white sword-like pieces of wood -- representing rattlesnakes, according to Antonio. A stiff frame of stalks, in which sat little swallows, with cotton stuffed in between everywhere. The birds, perfectly recognizable in shape, white, head and back of neck black, a few with yellow belly. A larger bird, painted red and black, was looking out of one of the cylinders (1).

1. Cf. the first ethnological plate /see pp. 166-162/.

/170 cont./

291 Besides these products of the most primitive carving art, /171/ the most interesting article was: a buritĩ shirt -- "the" shirt of the upper Schingú -- which proved the invention of [286] clothing even among the Bakaírí. The fibers were knotted in meshes, following the method for the hammock; the doublet was wide at the neck in order to be stepped into; it had short sleeves and trousers, from the bottom edge of which long fibers hung down. Many simple, meter-long buritĩ-fiber 372 hangings seemed apron-like. Two triangular fire-fans had 237 small downy feathers pasted on them. Hard, open shells, 535

In the Bakaírí festival-hut.

345 352 353

535 the size of half-walnuts, were gathered into a rattling bundle 534 that is tied around the ankles for dancing. Another rattle instrument was a dried gourd shell, which contained seeds, impaled on a stick (1).

[171] 1. Hans Stadi (1556) tells of the "Tuppin Inbas": "They believe in a thing that grows like a gourd, is as large as a half-measure scoop. It is hollow inside; they stick a little stick through it, cut a little hole in it, like a mouth, and put little stones in it,

/171 cont./

122 19 Aug. φ 12° 53'.0, λ 12'.4, km. 31.03, total 195.45.
132 6:35 A.M.: dry. 15.0, water 24.3.
5:43 P.M.: I 742.2, dry. 26.1, water 26.0.
9:30 P.M.: I 742.8, dry. 21.1.

137 /172/ The river landscape changes its physiognomy somewhat. Shrubs and light-green, fine-leaved bushes, which form tall bowers or rounded, dense masses, occupy the foreground. Willow-like trees often stand as though planted, with delicate, slender trunks. We have not exactly come out of the forest river into a meadow river, but the low-plain character predominates. The sand barranca is steep. Easterly direction of the river.

122 20 Aug. φ 12° 51'.1 λ 12'.8, km. 6.27, total 201.72.
132 7:00 A.M.: dry. 19.3, water 25.1, at night 2-3:00 thunderstorm in NW.

Today the sky is covered with strato-cumulus and the air is showery damp.

133 At an early hour we reached a branch stream 20 meters wide, emptying in quietly from the right. Finally a tributary.

361 The third aldea, located on the left bank, is not quite two
[342] kilometers from the Batovy. There are three huts, lower, smaller,
and less conical than previously. We three again install ourselves
122 for a night among the good people, and even Antonio, who has given up his mistrust, sleeps along with us.

364 As agreeable as this "little village" is, it must be called
• 345 the dirtiest of the three. The floor of the festival hut is covered with dry grass and refuse of all kinds; the sun shines through the roof, so that inside we are able to light our pipe with the burning-
[532] glass. It is obviously still unfinished and new; besides a few arrows and several rattles, flat wooden fish are stuck on the walls as the products of local artistic activity.

162 Census: 13 men, 12 women and -- the most favorable proportion so far -- 19 children. Among them there are a man and a woman of another tribe whom we are to meet farther
142 downstream, the Kustenaũ /Custenau/. In type I am unable to see any essential differences; in fact, the more Bakairí we meet, The more uncertain I am in abstracting the common features.

/176 cont./

433 It is clear that here agriculture falls behind hunting and
181 fishing: Aldea IV is military in character and forms the frontier
648 defense against alien tribes.

963 In one hut lay an ancient, paralytic little woman emaciated to a skeleton, whose soul seemed to say "ãla Bakaïrí" (it is enough Bakaïrí) and was trying impatiently to flutter away. The hammock was resting partly on the ground; two women squatted beside it and, as garrulous cronies, explained to us the suffering of the dying little mother.

231 Of tame animals we found a heron, small parrots, a kingfisher and the socó-morena.

345 The festival hut was 18 meters long, nine meters wide.
532 There were clumsily carved wooden fish hanging there, as well as a few finless specimens, wound bands which perhaps represented the electric eel.

Two square pieces of wood, painted red and white, with modeled nose and two eye sockets were striking; they are held in front of the face and represent doves, whose voice the artist can imitate better than the head (1).

1. Cf. the second ethnological plate /see p. 165/.

534 /177/ Four menis and a number of rattles were stuck in the
353 side walling.

624 Only in the festival hut did the herald put down his bow and arrows, but he did not part with them during our entire stay, even
[296] when he handed us a few bundles of tobacco. The latter, by the way, was better than among the earlier Bakaïrí. A few modest old
622 people were there, none with gray hair; among them the chief and, if I understood correctly, a vice-chief, the authority during the time the former is absent.

123 A shooting demonstration on the plaza filled them with
152 terror; they jumped with fright and turned away convulsively, most of all the mighty herald. His "ãla, ãla" was very humble and urgent.

/59 cont./

123 During the first two days I modestly restrained myself in order not to alarm the good people. I also noticed that one of the men was almost always detached for special duty near me and thus a sort of guard was established. When on the first night, after I had taken my leave, I wanted to stay up for a while with a light and write in my journal, old Paleho appeared at the door and asked me just as politely as urgently to go to sleep and blow out the candle. My discretion bore good fruit: they soon took me into the two large houses: in one Paleho and my intended were the chief occupants, in the other Tumayaua and
[122] his daughter. They took me out to fish, to the launching of the new canoe, and the like, and everything could not have been better, if only I had not suffered from chronic hunger as a result of their hospitable, but for me absolutely inadequate
[206] board. I had to try to help myself by heavy smoking and in this
[512] respect achieved what was humanly possible, whereas almost the only time the Indians gave themselves up to this pleasure, but then in a body and with great enthusiasm, was during our nightly tobacco meeting outside on the plaza, the jolliest hours of the day.

345 My little house had served at the time of the festivals as
[122] the dance house, "kxato-éti," or "flute house." Two reed
[534] flutes hanging on the wall in a case made of buriti-palm straw were the only remains of past glory. For me, however, it was
[562] better this way, for the women, who passed in and out of this ruin freely, may never enter the flute house of the men. It was seven paces wide and nine and a half long; the main posts in the center, standing two and a half paces apart, which supported the roof, were four and a half meters high. At the top, in the straw roof, a vent one meter and three and three-fourths meters long was left open. A couple of fish weirs stood in one corner, but otherwise there was nothing but the two posts, from one of which I had stretched the hammock over to the wall.
231 Besides my guard of honor, I also had the company of a japú (Cassicus), who seemed like a green tropical Jim Crow /Hans Huckebein/ to me; he was permitted to sit only up in the

/88 cont./

361 The village could be reached in half an hour or an hour from
311 the river, depending on whether one landed sooner or later. It was surrounded by cultivated land to an extent that aroused our
241 greatest astonishment. On the three different paths that we followed, we came through long stretches where the forest had been cut down with the stone ax. In March and April the trees are felled and in September and October the wood which has dried in the meantime is burned. We examined with admiration a number of thick trunks, the cross-sections of which were covered with the dull blow-marks of the stone axes, and regretted that we could not saw off such a marked surface and take it along. I silently begged forgiveness of the Indians at whom I had often laughed when they were swinging themselves in their hammocks at home, as though their lives were one long Sunday.

361 /89/ In Iguéti there were three large family-houses and a
345 very respectable flute-house in which many dance costumes made
535 of palm straw were hanging. On the village plaza a cage rose
343 up higher than a house, which consisted of long poles set together
231 in the form of a pointed cone; in it sat a mighty Harpia destructor, although the village is called igu-eti = sparrow-hawk village.
231 The once heraldic bird had probably long since departed. The beautiful eagle was named after its favorite food, mégo-zóto, lord
412 of the monkeys. Beside the chief's house lay a large whetstone
[191] for the stone axes; it gave me much pleasure because it showed the same grooves that we had observed in the sambaquis of Sta. Catharina.

621 The community numbered some 40 persons. They spoke of
162 three chiefs, but we met in this capacity only the good-natured,
622 very broad-shouldered Aramöke, who was characterized by a waddling walk. He had a sly expression and with his clumsy body was very polite, for, striding ahead of me in the forest, he broke off the branches, which might have snapped back in my face, more graciously than he probably would have for a woman. A large knife and a red scarf made him the happiest of mortals.
974 He showed us great hospitality. Fresh golden beijûs were con-
437 stantly brought forth, a row of calabashes filled with pogu were

/92 cont./

574 night. We sat down in the middle of the large plaza in a long row. Each one was brought a drinking bowl; the largest, along
574 with a cigar, fell to me. Speeches of welcome were now ex-
576 changed with great volubility.

ãma, you = that is you. ehé úra, yes, I = indeed, that is I.

bakaïrí úra, I (am a) Bakaïrí. kɣarãiba úra, I (am a) Karaibe.

bakaïrí kɣúra, (the) Bakaïrí (are) good. kɣarãiba iwakulukúlu,

(the) Karaiben (are) very good. pí ma ãma? (are) you (the) chief?

píma úra, I (am the) chief.

123 Opposite each Karaiben squatted a Bakaïrí and admired him and what he wore. The Swedish matches, knives, mirrors, buttons, beads -- it was always the same routine. Except that in the case of Porisa it was my notebook that was most appreciated, and it was not the written pages or those covered with drawings, but the white, empty sheets that elicited exclamations of delight from him. We also strode about the plaza in pairs, arm in arm, in affable conversation. We studied the geographical distribution of the Kulisehu tribes in detail, but the dwelling places of the Trumaí still remained as obscure as before.

345 The flute-house was large and spacious, its roof dilapidated, much straw lay on the floor inside, and here, as in the houses, we missed the cleanliness which pleased us so in the other vil-
534 lages. In front of the flute-house, resting on cross-sticks, lay a
[532] huge hollow tree-trunk -- a morcego (bat) tree our men called it -- /93/ irregularly painted with human figures and fish vertebrae. During festivals they drummed on this giant instrument with thick wooden clubs, similar to the mandioca pestles.

535 Inside there were handsome masks and a new form of dance costume; two huge crinolines ten meters in circumference, covered with straw, and comparable to small huts, koãlu, which
126 the dancer wore on a ring on his shoulder. Soon enthusiastic
301 barter was under way everywhere. We obtained fine feather
237 ornaments, crowns made of arara feathers, which are light blue
534 on one side, yellow on the other, dainty mats in which they are
283

/93 cont./

126 taken on him. With lively gesticulations and a /94/ memory
153 worthy of appreciation, he repeated the entire procedure: the head from front to back, from side to side, the nose from top to bottom, the space between the eyes, the length of the extremities and their parts, the height of the navel above the ground, etc., etc., and after each pantomime he stretched out his hand toward the katakuá, the beads. There was nothing for it, the man's claim must be admitted, but I was obliged to compensate him with small embroidery beads; for when I started to pay him, he faithfully went over the number of measurements again after each pair of beads, first pointing to the latter, then to the corresponding part of the body, and he did not rest until the long list was quite carefully brought to an end. If these instances pile up, I said to myself, and if the Bakaïrí produce many such critical natures, their art of counting will make rapid progress. Here, indeed, was a tangible example of how trade fructifies and develops arithmetical gifts!

126 The women offered some resistance. It was quite impossible
345 to take the readings on them in the flute-house. They were not
562 permitted to enter it, although the noble building was already half in ruins. Hence they were measured and photographed on the plaza.

123 We carefully packed up our bartered treasures and asked Porisa to keep them for us in his house until our return. We did not dare overload our canoes and had to provide room for the collection among the tribes living downstream. Porisa, before our eyes, shoved the bundles onto a high cross-beam between the center posts and promised that no one would touch them.

At 4:30 we then set out, very satisfied, for the harbor once
226 more. Antonio with eight Indians had gone out in front of the
[197] inlet where fishing was more rewarding and there demonstrated the use of the hook and line. His companions were able to set out homeward toward the village with a heavy load of piranhas, a
122 bagadú, and a pintado. We traded one of our small canoes for a better, larger one.

/296/

I. Masks.

* 171 532 535 On the second journey our yield of dance ornaments and, above all, of face-masks was considerably larger than on the first. This is all the more important since the masks, which are, after all, distributed throughout the world in the most diverse forms and for the most diverse purposes, and which play such an important part among the Indians of northern America, have so far been observed only to a relatively slight extent in South America. It seems that they occur in particular in the Amazonas region, but it may only seem so. All the tribes have their dance festivals, all have pantomimes in which animals are portrayed, people adorn themselves with natural ornaments of skins or feathers, imitate the voices and movements, and spontaneously arrive at the characterizing mummery which makes the spectacle more effective. The technical skill of the mummery and its characterization certainly differs, but probably all hunting peoples reached the level which we come across among the Schingú tribes, again with an entirely different development of mimic devices. We are so poorly informed about this only because the opportunities to investigate living tribes in an undisturbed state are rare and can be only superficially exploited during a fleeting visit. Our own journey is the best example. In one region where [126] in 1884 we came across strange headgear with animal imitations of straw, etc., but only two wooden dove-masks, in 1887 we brought back a handsome collection of face masks which, now in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde, permit an interesting comparison with the grotesque animal masks of the Tekuná /Tucuna/ from the upper Amazon River that are present there. Ehrenreich, too, brought back from the Karayá /Caraja/ on the Araguay /Araguaia/ a number of huge dance masks adorned in the most colorful manner with feathers, which in their construction remind one most strikingly of the Duk-duk of the South Sea.

[184] Not only each tribe, but each village has its own masked [345] dances. The center is always the "flute house." In their character the dances are extraordinarily alike throughout Brazil. Always the running around in a circle and the jerky singing corresponding

/298 cont./

*171 Furthermore, however, it is easily understandable that the
345 women are strictly excluded from the ceremonious dances and
535 may not enter the flute house, the house of the men where for-
562 eign visitors are welcomed and entertained. It is probably in this sense that one should interpret the strange masquerade which we experienced in the second Bakaïrí village, when the food and drink for our flute-house band was fetched by a masked Indian of the first village from the women, who would not have been permitted to bring it. Cf. page 63.* Behind the jest lay the

[114]

* At that place there is a sentence which was left in by mistake and which contains an idea long since given up by me -- the final sentence that there is perhaps a connection with the custom of eating alone. /The sentence referred to, which was omitted in the translation in accordance with the corrections listed on p. 571, reads as follows. Perhaps there is a connection between the custom of being veiled when one brings his gift of hospitality and the custom of eating alone, against which one cannot transgress without arousing the sense of shame of the others./

serious motive that strangers and women should be limited in their intercourse. The Mohammedan takes the opposite course, in that he masks his women and shuts them up in special chambers.

*171 In the origin of the dance itself, moreover, there is a funda-
535 mental reason against the participation of the female sex. These
562 are "unfeminine" pleasures which have developed from hunters festivals. Nevertheless, there seem to be distinctions. The women never take part in the big festivals, the Bakaïrí said, but in the small ones they do, they are also said to dance by themselves occasionally, without men. The Suyá, however, seem to think otherwise, at any rate, the Bakaïrí expressed themselves very contemptuously about the misbehavior there, "men danced with women." Perhaps it is advisable to point out,

/298 cont./

*171 535 562 finally, that there was not the slightest trace of any secrets and mysteries or of any special relationship of the medicine men to the dances which were supposed to be kept secret from the women.

*171 ●345 562 It is also for protection against feminine curiosity that the entrances of the flute houses on the Kulisehu are made so low that one can enter only in a very stooped position or even must slide in on the knees. I do not know to what extent the prohibition for the women is carried out in practice in everyday life, but we did not obtain permission to measure them in the flute house, and certainly it was said "the women would be killed if they went into the flute house" -- a rather crude variant of "mulier taceat in ecclesia" /the woman is to be silent in church/. [797] That the custom was still taken seriously among the docile Bakaïrí some 30 or 40 years ago is best illustrated by an experience which, according to the story of an old Brazilian, the priests who brought Christianity were obliged to undergo. They found nothing more natural than to assemble the new congregation in the flute house which was so well suited for church purposes because it was uninhabited. /299/ The men came willingly enough, but the women remained outside and were persuaded only with great difficulty to risk physical danger for the sake of the salvation of their souls.

*171 535 Among all the tribes the body is partially or completely covered with aprons or cloaks for the masked dances. Leaf strips of buriti straw or dry grass blades about a meter long were strung on a cord to make a wide apron and were wound around the neck several times so that they hung down from the shoulders, or around the /Fig. 90 appears here/ hips so that they reached to the ankles, or combined in both forms. The chief difference [825] is in the ornament for the head. Common to all is the connection with animals. Here we may distinguish

1. Imitations of animals are put on. Bakaïrí.

2. Straw caps with long fiber hangings, in part bearing attributes of the animal. Bakaïrí.

3. Fish net in front of the face. Nahuquá.

4. Straw lattice in the fashion of the sieve-filter, in an oval hoop. Without facial parts. Bakaïrí, Nahuquá. Facial parts of wax. Auetö.

/24 cont./

231 a table made of vertigas and provided regularly with meat, if possible monkey meat.

178 Among the various crafts of the Kulisehu Bakairí, pottery-
[323] making, plaiting, and spinning were still maintained in the
[285] ancestral form. Food preparation was also still the same as
[283] described by Karl von den Steinen for times past. The only
[252] essential difference appeared in regard to woodworking, for
177 which at this time metal tools were used, so that this craft no
[322] longer depended on stone axes, drills with stone points, shells,
[412] and the teeth of fish or other animals. Another acquisition from
[301] the various expeditions which had passed through their territory were ear pendants of multicolored glass beads with which many women and children, especially, were well provided. European
[291] clothing was seen only in exceptional cases. Thus the first man who came out of his house in Maigeri aldea to greet me had on trousers which he had been given at the time of a visit to the Rio Paranatinga aldea and which surely had never been washed since. As a rule the uluri (small triangle of bark) was the sole
[291] national garment of the women and young girls, and a fine thread belt and body paint the men's apparel.

114 When Karl von den Steinen visited the Rio Kulisehu Indians,
361 the first Bakairí aldea, called Maigeri, consisted of only two
342 large houses of kinsfolk and one small house for fiestas with an
345 oval base, while the second and third aldeas each consisted of three large houses of kinsfolk and of one house for fiestas. Thus
[161] the number of houses in Bakairí aldeas at the time of my stay among these Indians had increased, and for this reason I do not hold as correct Herrmann Meyer's observation that this tribe was
114 already "greatly declining" at the time. (30) No doubt there
361
161

30. Herrmann Meyer, Ibid., p. 126.

were then only two Bakairí aldeas on the Rio Kulisehu, the first, Maigeri, already mentioned by Karl von den Steinen, and the

/263 cont./

756 He does not live in the village, but in a house apart, the
[346] dance house (Kχadóeti), where festivals are held and guests accommodated, and where women may not enter; he cannot speak to the latter, and for greater safety, not only does the master curer frighten the novice by telling him that the voices he hears are not those of women but of Karówi, but he slings his hammock across the door so that his disciple cannot go out in an unguarded moment.

[825] After a time the master and disciple go wandering about, and the latter, who has easily learned the language of Karówi, begins to speak the language of the jaguar. This is a sign that the initiation is nearly over; the curer gives him the cipó de cobra /caapeba/ (aʔukur-iokχu), the piahi candidate dies, becomes yamüra, and goes to the sky to present himself to Nakoeri.

776 Nakoeri, whom we already know, owns many domestic
825 animals: araras, pombas /Columbiformes/, rolas /small Columbiformes/, jacus, jacucaca, mutum, maracaña, parakeets, parrots, toucans, araçari, anuns, chickens, tamanduas, etc. What these animals have in common, only a naturalist familiar with the Indians' way of thinking could state with any certainty. Some seem to have been chosen on account of the brilliance of the plumage, others for their early-rising habits, and others, finally, because of the fact that they disappear for a time, reappearing fatter, as though they had dwelt in greener pastures.

756 The differences between the curer and the common
776 yamüra begin after death: the latter, as has been seen, climbs /264/ a cotton ladder; the disciple and master climb together, but how this is done is not stated.

When the piahi-he-ini goes to see the sky, the sky dwellers see him coming from afar; Who goes there? the yamüras say to Nakoeri; then Nakoeri appears at the door;

/260 cont./

114 informant. (3) Karl von den Steinen, on the other hand,

[113] 3. Capistrano de Abreu, "Os Bacaerys /The Bacairi/," Revista Brasileira, Year I, Volumes 3 and 4, Rio de Janeiro, 1895.

worked with several informants, and, what is more important in our opinion, personally visited Bakairí aldeas, (4) which

[113] 4. Karl von den Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien /Through Central Brazil/, Leipzig, 1886; Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens /Among the Central Brazilian Primitive Peoples/, Berlin, 1894.

[127] Capistrano did not do. These documents, studied comparatively, permit us /261/ to support the conclusions we expect to reach on Bakairí beliefs and customs.

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361 family. Their old aldeas consisted of large communal houses,
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[344] there was a house, kadoeti, where the ceremonial adornments of the men were kept and where visitors were lodged. Access to the kadoeti was open not only to the men but to women
[346] and children as well. Attached to the kadoeti was a small
[534] house, its entrance turned to the rising sun, where the flutes, buzzers or bull-roarer, and other sacred objects were kept.
[784] Access to this latter house was forbidden to women and children.

[P. 70-A]

	Houses	Men	Women	Children	Total
175 Rio Novo	6	16	19	20	55
162 Paranatinga	7	6	8	3	17
On Rio Batovi:					
First village	3	10	7	9	26
Second village	4	18	17	7	42
Third village	3	13	12	19	44
Fourth village	7	27	18	8	53
Total	30	90	81	66	237

175 By the time Max Schmidt visited the Bacairí
161 in 1900–1901, the Bacairí settlement had diminished. On the Paranatinga he met 34 Bacairí
[162] and at Rio Novo, 60. On the Kuliseu River where
[361] Von den Steinen had visited four villages, Max Schmidt was able to find only two.

ECONOMY

SHELTER

361 While in the Xingú watershed the Bacairí lived in villages built on the banks of the Rio Kuliseu. A village (*utanári*) consisted of three to eight houses (*towisę*) built in a circle around a central
342 plaza, *taséra*. The Bacairí house was a large communal building, oblong in shape, with rounded ends and with the roof thatching reaching to the
[592] ground. These large domelike buildings were occupied by three to five families.

● 346 In the center of every village there was a ceremonial or flute house (*kadoẻti*) in which the men kept their ornaments and musical instruments and in which visitors were entertained. Men, women, and children are permitted to enter the *kadoẻti*. Attached to the common house there was a smaller building, usually oriented in
[534] the direction of the rising sun, in which the sacred
[562] flutes were kept. Women were not permitted to enter this house, as they were not allowed to see
[487] the sacred flutes. The villages were connected by roads running along the river bank.

EQUIPMENT

251 In the center of each house there was a storage space (*jiráu*) where maize, manioc meal, and
[415] other foods were kept in gourd vessels (*káiko*).
343 Cooking was done in a small shed at the back of
264 the house, but food was eaten indoors. Around
352 the walls each family had its hammocks (*amáka*) in which the people slept. Other furnishings of
[415] the house consisted of mats, baskets, clay pots,

534 nut hulls tied together and fastened to the ankles of the dancers. There were at least four kinds of flutes. The *emíni* flute was made from two pieces of soft sapling hollowed out and fastened together with wax and string. This flute was about 3 feet long with four finger holes and a separate mouthpiece. The *kanagéra* flute was made like the *emíni* but was shorter and had a different sound. Both the *emíni* and the *kanagéra* were sacred flutes of the shamans and were always kept in the sacred flute house connected to the *kadoéti* where they were played only at night so as to prevent women from seeing them. If a woman were to see one of these flutes, misfortune woud befall her. When the sacred flutes were played there was dancing but no singing. The *tadánoa* was a bamboo flute made in five different lengths without finger holes and was not sacred. The *nokigóra* was made by fastening four short tubes of bamboo of different lengths together. It was played in pairs, one player answering the other. This flute was not sacred and could be accompanied by singing. In addition to the rattles and flutes, the Bacairí used highly decorated sticks or batons called *kadóapurí* in some of their dances.

[D.56] [346] [562] [535] [533] [535]

53 Besides the flutes and the dances performed to
535 their tunes, the Bacairí had songs and their corresponding dances which were not always accompanied by flute music; for instance, the *oríko* was a song and a dance performed with the decorated batons which could be performed at any time; the *pahoewáto*, another general song and dance which also could be performed at any time; the *yawaisári*, the corn song and dance in which neither the flutes nor batons were used; the *mahulawári*, performed during the house building ceremony without batons or flutes; and the *poinwáto*, sung and danced during the boys' ear piercing ceremony.

527 One of the most important ceremonial everts of the year was the annual corn dance (*anjéiat-abienli*), which was performed when the corn ripened in the fields. The man who had the largest corn crop was the organizer of the ceremony. In order to have enough corn, the Bacairí usually planted special fields, the yields of which were used on this occasion. On the day before the corn gathering all the men went on a big hunt in order to have large quantities of meat ready for the feast. Early in the morning of the following day everyone went out to the fields to

[243] [224]

/123 cont./

162 Agosta. -- A boy Irineo (parents dead).
621 Luis (Bolivian), Martin (Brazilian) with wife Carlotta (Paraguayan) and child.

126 I could not rejoice enough about the fortunate circumstance
115 that I was able to make the linguistic survey on the Rio Novo. Even with the intelligent Reginaldo it had been difficult enough to determine phonetically the inimitable tongue exercises that make up the Bakaïrí language, but with Captain Mêmo, who did nothing but nod contentedly, and the others who either laughed or grew impatient, nothing could be done.

On the other hand, I am indebted to Caetano for the legends which I shall retell later.

342 The largest house, which Captains Caetano and Felipe oc-
824 cupied together, was 21 paces long and 9 1/2 paces wide. The roof and walls, the latter supported by cross rods of tacoara /bamboo; see the glossary, p. 172 / consisted entirely of buritĩ /see the glossary, p. 170 / straw. Only Miguel owned a round house, the inner frame of tacoara covered with buritĩ leaves.
[343] There were seven houses and two new buildings. In addition two pig huts. In the case of one new building, I inquired about the timber that made up the frame. Two tall aruera posts supported the uppermost longitudinal roof-beam of aricá wood (also cunhão de porco). The sloping side-beams of the roof likewise cunhão de porco, the two longitudinal beams guanandí. The smaller posts that supported the roof beams: timbó, peuva, carvão, branco. One roof was also covered with campo grass.

164 I visited Miguel, who had an attack of fever, in his bee-
•352 /124/ hive. He lay in his cotton hammock and let himself be
353 waited on by pretty Maria. The whole room hung full of calabashes, rice and farinha baskets, skins, arrows -- things left by his grandfather; it was far more comfortable in this still true heathen affair than in the characterless huts of the adherents of
123 a mock civilization. With dreadful gestures of disgust, the old
[157] man swallowed the bitter quinine and buried his fever-reddened
[283] face in the hammock. Maria, in gratitude, baked me a beijú
[C.f. glossary on p. 170 --Analyst

/162 cont./

512 I did them an injustice; at half-past seven a procession of seven comes around the corner in the fastest quickstep, one behind the other, the tribal sorceress at their head, all loaded with [482] mandioca roots. The old woman is carrying a bundle of them loose on her head, and behind her runs a young woman with a heavy back-basket; is it her husband who is following her? Like- [854] wise bent under the load of a basket he walks forward, on his left hip a straddling boy whom he clasps heedlessly, as though he had hurriedly picked him up from the ground.

592 We visit the house of the professor. In the moderately light [352] room one at first distinguishes only a number of vertical and [252] horizontal posts, brown hammocks; the old woman and a younger one are sitting on the floor most diligently scraping mandioca with a shell, the naked legs buried in the parings.

[353] Two families have divided up in the space; the conjugal chambers are characterized by the fact that two hammocks are fastened, one above the other, to the same post. In the center there is an empty circle, and round about, /163/ radially, the "individual rooms" divided off, not by partitions, but merely by [354] the posts. The upper vault is blackened by smoke. Three or [251] four stones form the simple hearth. The flour is put into huge [252] pot vessels (up to 77 centimeters in diameter); the beijûs are [323] roasted on flat, rimless bowls. The clay is blackish brown, the vessels are made by hand by the women.

352 We sit on small, low benches; they are rectangular, slightly concave, made out of dark-brown palm-wood, usually in octavo form, and not a decimeter high.

412 The stone axes, which are sticking in the wall (the longest [353] 24 centimeters), all have the same shape: a thick wooden cylinder, offset at the bottom by a thinner handle. The stone is supposedly [135] found farther downstream (1). /Illustration appears here./

1. Herr Prof. Arzruni of Aachen was kind enough to examine the material carefully and has identified it as diabase, a rock made up of augite, plagioclase, mica, chlorite, and

/170 cont./

291 Besides these products of the most primitive carving art, /171/ the most interesting article was: a buritĩ shirt -- "the" shirt of the upper Schingú -- which proved the invention of [286] clothing even among the Bakaïrí. The fibers were knotted in meshes, following the method for the hammock; the doublet was wide at the neck in order to be stepped into; it had short sleeves and trousers, from the bottom edge of which long fibers hung down. Many simple, meter-long buritĩ-fiber 372 hangings seemed apron-like. Two triangular fire-fans had 237 small downy feathers pasted on them. Hard, open shells, 535

345 ●352 353

In the Bakaïrí festival-hut.

535 the size of half-walnuts, were gathered into a rattling bundle 534 that is tied around the ankles for dancing. Another rattle instrument was a dried gourd shell, which contained seeds, impaled on a stick (1).

[171] 1. Hans Stadl (1556) tells of the "Tuppin Inbas": "They believe in a thing that grows like a gourd, is as large as a half-measure scoop. It is hollow inside; they stick a little stick through it, cut a little hole in it, like a mouth, and put little stones in it,

1: Steinen--56 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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353
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534
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Flute duet among the Bakairí.

/59 cont./

231 rafters of the smoke vent, and, if he suddenly shot down and raced around us like a wild animal, he was quickly chased back to his observation post, where he looked down, his head bent inquisi-
224 tively and his beak open. /60/ Sometimes one of the little mice
[262] so busily active at night came spying about and, if it did not scamper away in time, was shot with a child's arrow and brought
136 to the women as a roast. Almost constant guests were large black-white striped bees, which, like a butterfly that now and then fluttered into the entrance, would calmly let themselves be seized and put aside. On a hot noonday I often had the feeling of sitting in the midst of a beehive filled with buzzing and droning.

123 It was at this hour on the third day that I fled from the bees
[342] and flies to Paleko's large house and entered it for the first time. It was wonderfully cool and comfortable in there and no annoying insects. Only ants laden with grains of flour marched
[517] down their street to the mandioca pestle. The men were swing-
[574] ing in the hammocks, their chief occupation at home, and
[352] after I had sat a while, for the sake of politeness, on the stool of honor, which was as high as a cigar box, I soon followed their example.

342 One had the feeling of being in a huge beehive, fortunately without the bees. The ground plan was almost circular with a diameter of 15 meters; two mighty posts standing nine meters high and three and a half meters apart, supported in the center the huge straw dome, the framework of which consisted of horizontal bamboo rings and over these vertical poles bent upward toward the vent. It was smoke-blackened, glistening like tar. The walling all around, above which it rose, a tightly closed ring of posts one and a half meters high, interrupted only by two door entrances opposite each other, which were much
[352] too low for me. From the wall towards the interior, in the direction of the radii, the hammocks were stretched, fastened on either end to particularly strong posts, so that the outer space
353 was divided into a number of rooms, albeit open. The large center space around the main posts and under the vent, which

/196 cont./

*171 On the other hand, the swarm of "carapatos" (Ixodidae), the ticks
29 stripped off and shaken down from leaves in great numbers as
136 one goes through the forest, makes protection of the glans ex-
951 tremely desirable for the forest dwellers. These little parasites, in part very tiny, attach themselves to the skin, pump themselves full of blood, swell up to the size of peas as a result of their expansible body walls, and cling so tightly with the hooked tips of their maxillary feelers which sharply penetrate the skin that one tears them apart in trying to pluck them off, and painful inflammed areas are caused by the parts that remain behind. The Brazilian, who often comes out of the forest as though strewed with carapatos, hastily removes his clothing and shakes his shirt and trousers out over the campfire; if one of the parasites has bored into the glans, he goes after it with a burning cigarette as close to the body as his own sensitivity will permit, so that the little animal, tortured by the heat, will voluntarily give up its abode and withdraw from the mucous membrane without being torn apart. All of us, in spite of our clothing, have had to resort to this procedure at one time or another and have experienced the situation, before relief was achieved, as one of the most painful. I am also of the opinion that the protection which the Indians enjoy is more reliable than that of covering clothing.

How many other biting, pinching, sucking, increeping insects can in like manner afflict the South American forest dweller is familiar to every traveler who has sat on the ground
*171 in the Brazilian forest. These annoyances are most vividly made
136 clear by the fact that it was the inhabitant of the South American
352 tropical forest who was forced to invent the hammock, which the
516 English and French still call "amáka" from the Nu-Aruak word.
951 Forced certainly not only because of the wet ground of the Hylaea. The Indian very wisely averts such attacks somewhat by customarily sitting in a squatting position. The women, if they sit down flat during the scraping of mandioca roots and similar occupations which would be inconvenient to do in a squatting position, use a couple of flat pieces of bamboo, fastened together as an underlayer, even when they are in the house, which, of course, is crawling with ants. Their domestic tasks

/237 cont./

*171 Bakaïrí used for the very differently constructed carrying basket.
285 The accompanying illustration /see Fig. 31, p. 247/ shows
[482] the three-walled carrying basket used by all tribes, the "mayáku" of the Bakaïrí, while the manner in which it is carried, hanging from the head with a bast loop, may be seen in the picture of Tumayaua, Plate 6 /see p. 40/. The contents were covered with leaves, which are also used to line the inside; then the side walls were bound together as tightly as possible. Small back-baskets were even hung on children.

The storage baskets for the mandioca flour should also be mentioned. While the lower tribes had clumsy supply baskets, resembling the back-baskets in form, those of the Bakaïrí (oádu) were the product of careful work. Five or six thin poles as tall as a man were put together with a couple of cross-rings of vines to form a circular framework supported in some way, this was lined with Heliconia leaves, several of which were strung over one another with thread, spread out, and on the outside wound in horizontal circular turns with reddish pindahyba bast from bottom to top, with the bast knotted continuously from piece to piece. While this type of basket was therefore unplaited, there were others with an open, hexagonal /238/ mesh plaiting, which were likewise lined with leaves. The baskets were hung by strips of embira.

[372] The plaiting of mats did not play an important role. Small fan-shaped or square mats for fanning the fire were very pretty.
[352] Larger mats for sleeping were lacking, since hammocks were
[252] used. Mats were used in the preparation of flour, first of all drying mats plaited out of palm leaves, and then sieve-mats consisting of four-edged small reed rods knotted together with cross-threads for sifting and pressing out the roots grated on the grating boards studded with palm spines. Similar rod mats served as cases for storing feather ornaments. The feathers were placed in them as in a file folder; the mat was then held stiff by means of three clamps, one each on the top, on the bottom, and in the middle, made by bending split reed stalks together and, with the cut side lying against them, stretching them across transversally and tying the projecting ends together at the right.

/238 cont./

*171 it is often made of wood, and only among the Bakaïrí does it
283 consist of an ordinary, crude clay disk which might have been broken out of the bottom of an old pot and ground to shape.

[531] /239/ I shall speak later of the designs incised on the first two types mentioned; the Bakaïrí leave their wood and clay disks undecorated, and we did not find any tortoise-shell whorls among them. The women powdered their upper thighs with white, chalky clay for protection against perspiration. They kept the material in the form of balls the size of a child's head, from which they scraped off a little with a shell for use.

The thread is made in two or three different thicknesses and kept in balls which are wrapped in green leaves. The balls [431] are popular hospitable gifts of the Bakaïrí and Mehinakú, which [594] were given to us likewise at the reception, just as Columbus reports this in the case of his islanders on 12 October 1492.

*171 The "loom" is as primitive as can be. Two low posts, which
286 need not be half a meter high, a good distance apart, that is all. The origin of the weaving from the plaiting is still clearly evident. A thick skein of cotton is wound around the posts as a warp, a thread without end; the cross-threads are pulled through with guide sticks.

286 The Bakaïrí hammock represents a rather loose net, long,
352 rectangular, two and a third meters by one and a quarter meters. The rows running lengthwise are broken at irregular intervals of two to three and a half centimeters by transverse rows; one can easily stick one's finger through the interstices. The type of weave is very simple. Two longitudinal threads, two to three millimeters thick, are wound around each time through the thinner transverse threads which are only one millimeter thick, and, to be sure, there are four transverse threads, of which two run wave-like in front of, and two in back of, the longitudinal threads, crossing between the latter. Where the transverse threads come out on either side, they are knotted; thus on each longitudinal side one finds some 70 knots with the four cut-off ends of the threads. The loop left free on either post is wound in the center, so that, on the one hand, an eyelet to receive the suspension

/239 cont./

286 352 ropes is produced, and, on the other hand, the longitudinal threads, uncrossed here for a length of 30-35 centimeters, diverge from this fixed point toward the net when it is stretched out.

*171 286 352 Besides this typical cotton hammock, there is a hammock in which the warp consists of buriti palm-fiber thread and only the woof is of cotton. And, to be sure, this cotton woof may be limited to only a few transverse threads, which ran at intervals of 10-20 centimeters among the Mehinakú. The buriti hammock is native among the Nu-Aruak tribes. The docile Bakaïrí on the Paranatinga also had it, and they told me that their old chief, Caetano, had first introduced it. The palm-fiber hammocks were usually of the same length or even longer (up to two and three-fourths meters) than the cotton hammocks, but not one meter wide, so that the comfortable diagonal position which the Brazilian quite rightly likes to assume was almost impossible.

A third type was produced by the more abundant use of cotton. Thus, among the Auetõ, we saw all the transitions from a space of six to seven centimeters between the /240/ cotton transverse threads to a space of one or two centimeters, or even half a centimeter. Finally, however, the cotton threads were pressed so closely together that one could no longer see the palm fiber, and a strong cloth, worked almost as tightly as sailcloth, was produced. Here the palm-fiber longitudinal thread, about one and a half millimeters wide, was wound with two pairs of cotton transverse threads that crossed, not singly, but doubled, between it and the next longitudinal thread. Naturally, the long sides of the hammock were densely studded with knots; at the four ends the strands were allowed to hang down a bit and [386] ended in tassels. In many cases, at intervals of about 40 centimeters, bluish-black transverse stripes were achieved by the use of dyed cotton. Otherwise all hammocks were brown; the cotton hammock, as well as the one of palm fiber, which was already light brown in its natural color, was colored a dirty brown by the bodies oiled with urucú red.

/240 cont./

*191 286 352 The hammocks of pure cotton were a specialty of the Bakaïrí; among them, too, buriti hammocks could be found even on the Kulisehu. The stoutest cloth was made by the Auetö. The hammocks for small children among the Nahuquá were peculiar: merely a bundle of stalks tied together at the top and bottom and hung up.

Thus, the most varied forms existed and were in the process of becoming uniform. The Suyá were still sleeping on large palm-straw mats following the custom of the Gẽs. When we visited them, they were on the point of adopting the hammock; they had a few specimens and were weaving some themselves. Perhaps the art came from the Trumaí women whom they had with them. After my journey of 1884 I pointed out the parallelism between the Schingú region and the Guianas, namely, that in both areas the cotton hammock seems to be native to the Karaiben, the palm-fiber hammock to the Nu-Aruak, and that furthermore this ethnographic conformity corresponds exactly to the linguistic one. In both cases, the technique arises from plaiting, only the material is different. The Bakaïrí were the most backward: they did not have the cloth-like fabric. It is [283] also striking that their spinning whorls, although they completely fulfilled their purpose, were less artistic than among the other tribes.

*191 285 415 A parallel technique was shown in a type of sieve-mat. The stalks were covered more or less closely with cotton yarn, so that stiff and at the same time very flexible, tight mats were produced, between which the mandioca was pressed dry. We also saw pieces of cloth used for the same purpose.

*191 415 [824] Gourd vessels. The fruits of Crescentia cuyeté /C. cujete/ and the cucurbit Lagenaria provide vessels of the most diverse shapes. There are some that are ball-shaped, cucumber-shaped, bottle-shaped, hourglass-shaped, as well as many others of an irregular nature; after cutting them in two one obtains correspondingly shaped bowls. The green fruits are tied into the desired shape; the hourglass shape, in particular, is a product of this method. In order /Pl. XV appears here/ /241/ to divide them

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 254]

Aueto SP6
Waura SP18
Mehinaco
Yaruma SP25
Nahugua

W
Y
412
531

/285 cont./

Combs were decorated with carving among the Mehinakú and Nahuquá. Hard wooden rods form the teeth, are plaited together in the center section, and, to be sure, often with an attractive rhomboid design, and are held together at the top and bottom of the plaiting by an additional pair of bamboo cross-strips.

A
[412]

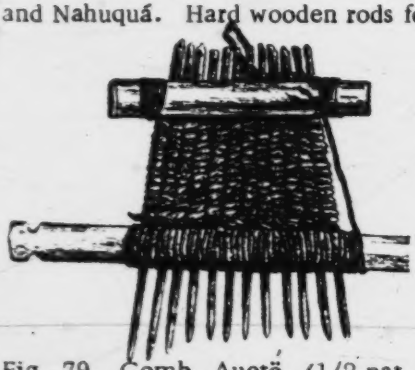
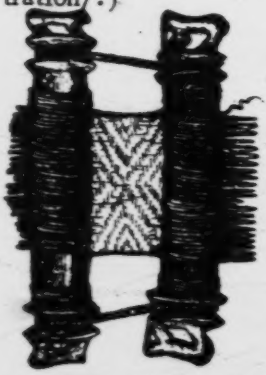


Fig. 79. Comb. Auetö. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

W
Y
412
531
532
825



/286/ Cf. the Auetö comb, Figure 79. A more advanced technique replaces the lashed strips with cross-sticks in which a longitudinal plate is cut out; the comb is pushed through this. Comb-holders of this type up to 18 centimeters long have small animal figures mounted on each end, so that one comb has four of them. With their tools of fish-teeth and shells, however, the people were unable to turn out delicate figures. The head was usually joined to the base by a "proboscis," just as the

Fig. 80. Comb with jaguars. Mehinakú. (2/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

B
[352]

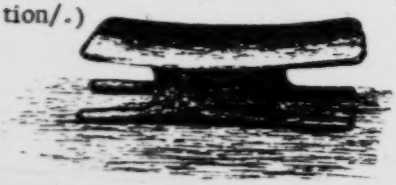


Fig. 81. Stool. (1/10 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Aueto SP6
Camayura
Waura SP18
Mehinacu
Yaruma SP25
Nahugua

W
Y
4/2
531
532
825

/286 cont./

bronze horses of our monuments often seem to have run a post through their bodies; if the combs had been excavated, the unknown makers would forthwith be identified as having immigrated from regions where there were elephants or walruses. The figures on the Mehinakú comb illustrated in No. 80 /see p. 323/ are jaguars, similar ones from the Nahuquá and no less difficult for us to identify, represented the agutí, Dasyprocta aguti, a leaping, rabbit-like rodent. Here, too, the motifs for the combs are comprehensible. The colorful jaguar and the agutí, "or the golden hare, as it is doubtless called because of its pretty fur, one of the handsomest members of the family" (Brehm, Säugetiere /Mammals/ II, p. 583), whose glistening fur shows a lovely iridescence when the animal moves or in changing light, are both characterized by strikingly beautiful fur. The agutí washes itself even more assiduously than the cat.

W
Y
[113]

B
*171
●352

The chief products of carving art are the stools for sitting. It is noteworthy that the Bakaïrí call them apüka and the Auetö and Kamayurá apükáp, the former is the borrowed word, since Tupí has the related verb stem aypg, "to sit down," etc. The simplest form (Fig. 81 /see p. 323/) consists of a rectangular, slightly concave seat-plate and two small supporting boards running along it lengthwise, with rail-like prolongations front and back, but all worked out of one /287/ piece. An average size is 42 centimeters long, 19 centimeters wide, and 14 centimeters high; there were little things 21 × 10 centimeters and seven centimeters high, which were tricky to sit on. There were not many specimens of either these simple ones or the more artful ones, but they were always to be found in the house of the chief and were offered to the guest. The seat-plate sometimes had a /Fig. 82 appears here/ more oval form which was prolonged front and back into a triangular tail piece and represented a fish.

W
A
352
532
825

We saw bird figures most commonly. Thus we acquired a tujujú stork, Mycteria americana, from the Kamayurá (Fig. 82 /see p. 325/), and among the Mehinakú (Fig. 83) a wood-ibis, /Fig. 83 appears here/ Tantalus loculator, called jabiru or João grande, big John, by the Brazilians. The two animals differ

/257 cont./

539 in quiet areas, where there are no human beings, it is always
825 on the move in the morning and afternoon, except during the hot hours in the middle of the day which it spends sleeping"; in other words, all of the phrases between quotation marks, taken from the book by Dr. Goeldi on the mammals of our land (pp. 92, 99, 103, and 106), confirm what has been said concerning the shadowy character of the Yamüras.

539 /258/ Other considerations, however, seem to us of
174 greater moment.

First of all, in the enumeration of the belongings of the Yamüras, we have a basis for a list of the cultural acquisitions of the Bacaeris. We learn that they had nets for fishing before [227] they had nets /hammocks/ for sleeping, that they traveled by [352] water when they did not yet have pestles, and that they proba- [501] bly had maracá before they had the masks with which they [412] appear at their festivals. [532]

We also see that although theoretically the abode of the
539 Yamüra is in the sky, a large part of his existence is spent on
776 the earth from which he derives his sustainance. Subsistence, however, is not his sole concern; free of the contingencies of time and space, he travels swiftly as the wind, he is an envious being who spies upon all actions and weighs upon the living with crushing pressure. There is hardly an act that he does not influence: gestation, childbirth, alimentation, festivals, walking hours, everything falls within his inexorable reach, as we shall see later. It would seem that the Bacaeris could paint their bodies as they please. But this is not so.

776 Yamüra does not like urucú, --this is why one must not
789 scatter the urucú seed, says the piahi;--Yamüra goes into the
824 houses of people with children, --this is why we burn the juice
302 of the rubber tree--when it is burned it is rubbed on the door;--fathers of boys, when they go to the river, paint themselves with genipap, --paint themselves with urucú, --so Yamüra thinks that it is blood; if the boy's father does not paint himself

/21 cont./

701 disturb the Brazilian campesinos in these regions. According to
648 Herrmann Meyer (28) they had already wreaked serious destruction

28. Herrmann Meyer, "Bericht uber seine zweite Xingú-Expedition," loc. cit., pp. 115 and 116.

in the region of the Serra Trombador and killed several inhabitants. At the time of my stay on the Corrego Fundo ranch, the Kayabí had penetrated the mountains above the Rio Paranatinga up to some six leagues from Corrego Fundo and attacked Cacique Antonio as he was looking for rubber with his people for Señor Jange Soares, the owner of the ranch. But Antonio had driven them back with his armed people and killed a Kayabí on this occasion.

622 Cacique Antonio's big house where I visited him had been
342 built a year earlier. It consisted of a large middle room which communicated on the left side of the entrance with two other rooms which formed the dwelling house proper of the cacique and Doña Rosa, and on the right side with a large room for guests that fulfilled exactly the functions of the house for fiestas
622 of the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River regions. All the men
342 and boys of the aldea could go in and out of it as they pleased.
574 This room also served for dancing, and during my stay in it,
[302] from time to time, some Xinguanos would enter, their faces
[533] painted in red and black, and sing their monotonous melodies
[535] as they danced around the post set in the middle of the room.
[352] Cacique Antonio's own dwelling already had at this time quite
[123] a modern appearance. In the "dining room" there was a table and a large armchair as well as dishes and spoons, and I was entertained at his table in the Brazilian manner with a dish of
622 meat with rice and flour. He obviously enjoyed renewing old
115 memories of the journeys he had made with Karl von den Steinen. He looked with great interest at Karl von den Steinen's works about his travels and, on his part, showed me some photographs

/21 cont./

622 that he still kept from those days. Antonio had no children by
115 Doña Rosa. I had the opportunity to become acquainted with
[123] her when, returning in poor health from the Rio Kulisehu, I was most generously accommodated in her house although Antonio was away.

342 José Coroado's house, situated in front of his stepfather
352 Antonio's house, was just as large and built in the same style.
353 Its interior gave much more of a native impression than Antonio's house. In the half-dark rooms several women lay in the hammocks, /22/ among them one with Jose's little daughter, who was only a few weeks old. All the walls in the house showed in the upper part, directly under the ceiling, boards painted in black and white. These friezes made by the Xinguanos showed the typical paintings of the Bakairí. All of the decorations known to the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River regions appeared in these paintings, such as, for example, the figures called
159 uluri, merechu, and maimai. José, in spite of his youth, had
191 already had a great deal of experience. The hole in his lower lip at once recalled his early childhood among his own fellow
[871] countrymen, the Bororo, whose idiom he still knew. As already mentioned above, he had come with his mother to the house of Cacique Antonio when he was a boy of five or six, but he had received part of his education in the capital, Cuiabá, so that he was better acquainted than any other Rio Paranatinga Bakairí with the Portuguese language, which he also used in
159 talking with his mother. When he was an adult, Cacique
619 Antonio had taken him along on a trip to the Batovy and Kulisehu
[484] rivers. Already at that time he had had trouble with his stepfather because he had become too involved with the pretty girls of the first aldea of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí and had thus damaged the good relations with the inhabitants of that aldea. The anger of the inhabitants of the first Rio Kulisehu aldea caused by José Coroado's behavior still continued at the time of my journey to the Rio Kulisehu, and José did not dare to accompany me to that aldea because he had learned that its

/33 cont./

226 at least up to where the post is located /cited in English/."
114 At the time of Karl von den Steinen's expedition, the matrinchãn fish was held as the most precious boon in the country of the Paranatinga Bakairí, and in its honor they held their most beautiful fiesta. (39) When Karl von den Steinen suggested to

39. Karl v. d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., pp. 24 and 25.

Cacique Felipe that his aldea, which seemed to be losing all its population then, should be moved closer to Cuiabá, his sole reply was /34/ matrinchãn. Later at the aldea, then situated
[123] farther upriver, I was treated almost every day to a tasty matrinchãn, and when I visited the Xinguanos in the year 1927 in their settlement on the Rio Paranatinga, they also offered me fish. Of course, it may be that this abundance of fish in the Rio Paranatinga is restricted to certain times of the year.

114 I also regard as incorrect Petrullo's observation that the
177 Bakairí of the post had substituted hammocks made of cotton
283 thread for the ancestral ones of buriti fiber. From the beginning
352 the hammock made of cotton thread was typical especially of the Bakairí of the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, in contrast to the hammocks woven of buriti fiber used by the other tribes in this region. But already at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions, (40) the Bakairí of the Rio

40. Ibid., p. 239.

Paranatinga had hammocks made of buriti fiber, which, they said, old Cacique Caetano had introduced among them. As for
114 Petrullo's opinion that the custom of filing the upper incisors
177 is ancestral with the Bakairí and that they still retain it, I must
304 contest it with the fact that the Bakairí of the region of the

/261 cont./

352 The Bakairí slept in hammocks, amaka, woven of palm fiber.
[415] Their furnishings can be summed up as benches of a solid
[285] piece of wood, clay pots, mats and baskets. The diet rests
262 upon manioc, piquí, sweet potatoes, maize, and fish. How-
224] ever, the hunting of monkeys, wild pig, tapir, and other ani-
mals was not scorned. Most of the food reserves, however,
[241] were of vegetable origin, and the most important harvests
were made up of manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, and piquí.
Yams /cará/, cotton, urucú, and tobacco were also planted.

342 The occupants of a communal house worked together on
476 the building of a new house, acquiring thereby the right to
622 reside in it. This construction work, however, was led by the
individual who had the most prestige in the group, usually the
old head of the house, who thus set himself up as the head of
241 the new house. The tasks of clearing fields and planting
476 generally depended on the participation of all the aldea. When
529 beginning a new clearing, the Bakairí would give a feast,
kométe, with the distribution of food to the Indians who worked
501 on the field. The Bakairí made canoes from the bark of the
[824] jatobá tree, in the Xinguano way. This construction, as well
as fishing, hunting, and agricultural activities, were accom-
[782] panied by propitiatory rituals.

Their products were bartered among neighboring groups
437 in the course of visits called tuliki which depended on the
574 presence of the chiefs of both aldeas. After the exchange of
the objects desired, the visitors were honored with a feast
called tulake.

621 /262/ The Bakairí were not a warlike people, and their
181 political organization does not seem very elaborate. Each
622 aldea had a chief, pima, assisted by a subchief, itáida. The
624 Bakairí do not remember the existence of a chief for the whole
[643] tribe, and there is no evidence that such a figure ever existed.
The selection of the itáida was made by means of agreement
of the aldea, but it generally fell on the son of the pima him-
self. The pima's functions were chiefly ceremonial, economic,
and juridical.

[P.70-A]

	Houses	Men	Women	Children	Total
175 Rio Novo	6	16	19	20	55
162 Paranatinga	7	6	8	3	17
On Rio Batovi:					
First village	3	10	7	9	26
Second village	4	18	17	7	42
Third village	3	13	12	19	44
Fourth village	7	27	18	8	53
Total	30	90	81	66	237

175 By the time Max Schmidt visited the Bacairí
161 in 1900–1901, the Bacairí settlement had diminished. On the Paranatinga he met 34 Bacairí
[162] and at Rio Novo, 60. On the Kuliseu River where
[361] Von den Steinen had visited four villages, Max Schmidt was able to find only two.

ECONOMY

SHELTER

361 While in the Xingú watershed the Bacairí lived in villages built on the banks of the Rio Kuliseu. A village (*utanári*) consisted of three to eight houses (*towisę*) built in a circle around a central
342 plaza, *tasára*. The Bacairí house was a large communal building, oblong in shape, with rounded ends and with the roof thatching reaching to the
[592] ground. These large domelike buildings were occupied by three to five families.

346 In the center of every village there was a ceremonial or flute house (*kadoéti*) in which the men kept their ornaments and musical instruments and in which visitors were entertained. Men, women, and children are permitted to enter the *kadoéti*. Attached to the common house there was a smaller building, usually oriented in
[534] the direction of the rising sun, in which the sacred flutes were kept. Women were not permitted to
[562] enter this house, as they were not allowed to see
[487] the sacred flutes. The villages were connected by roads running along the river bank.

EQUIPMENT

251 In the center of each house there was a storage space (*jirdu*) where maize, manioc meal, and
[415] other foods were kept in gourd vessels (*káiko*).
343 Cooking was done in a small shed at the back of
264 the house, but food was eaten indoors. Around
352 the walls each family had its hammocks (*amáka*) in which the people slept. Other furnishings of
[415] the house consisted of mats, baskets, clay pots,

352 wooden benches, and dishes and cups made from
415 gourds.

484 As the Bacairí were extensive travelers and
226 depended upon fish for a considerable part of
501 their food supply, canoes were an important part
396 of their equipment. The Bacairí canoe (*pépi*)
[824] was made from the bark of the jatobá tree. The tough, heavy bark was first stripped from one-half of the tree. Small fires were then lighted on the inside of the bark trough to make it curl. Braces were placed at intervals along the entire length, the bow was tapered, and the stern was squared off by forcing the bark upward at one end.
501 Bacairí canoes varied in size, the larger ones being able to carry as many as 8 men. Canoes of jatobá bark are used by the Bacairí today and are the
[171] predominant type among the Indians of the
415 Upper Xingú. The Bacairí also made large
[824] tubs out of jatobá bark which were used as settling
352 vessels for manioc juice. The juice of the manioc contains a fine powder or starch which settles on the bottom of the vessel, to be gathered after the
241 liquid is poured off. For gardening, the Bacairí formerly used a digging stick made of hardwood.
411 For hunting, they used a bow (*túka*), round or
824 slightly oval in cross section and from 2 to 2½ meters in length, made from a yellow or reddish wood which was first matured by burying it in mud. The bowstring was made from the fibers of imbauba bark. Arrows (*piréu*) were made from
[237] cane with hardwood or bone points. Hunting arrows had two feathers, but arrows used for shooting fish had serrated wooden points and no
412 feathers. The cutting tools of the Bacairí consisted of knives made from bamboo, stone, bones, and
409 shell. Transportation was by canoe, or if over
482 land, goods were carried in a wicker basket supported on the back by a tump line.

ORNAMENTS

291 While living on the banks of the Kuliseu River,
[171] the Bacairí, in common with the other Upper Xingú River tribes, did not use clothing. Men sometimes wore a narrow cotton band (*onegín*) around the waist, with a few tassels hanging in front. Women, after puberty, wore the ulurí.
302 Men wore their hair cut short. Women wore their hair long at the back but cut straight across over
[412] the forehead. Hair was cut with a knife made
[237] by setting sharp fish teeth into a wooden stick,

539 again "Is this right?" Keri responded "Now it is." Then Keri let go the red urubú who was furious.

At that time the moon was made of japú feathers, the sun of toucan and red arara feathers and the red of the sunset of toucan feathers. This was what the ancient ones were taught. If it is different now, as you say, I know nothing about it, nor does anyone else. Then someone had to blow in order to make the sun turn to fire.

Keri thought for a long time about what he should do with the sun and the moon. It was always day. Ewaki, also, could not tell him what to do. At last he made a big pot and put it over them. Then it was dark. Keri gave the moon to Kame. When he took away the pot it was day. . . .

Sleep and Burity Hammocks. I do not know if the necessity to sleep manifested itself with the long continuation of clear irradiation by the sun when it was still uncovered, but in any case Keri and Kame wanted badly to sleep, but they did not know how. Discontented, they went to find Ewaki, their always well-informed aunt, who told them where they could find sleep. Po, the lizard, owned sleep. He received Keri and Kame kindly and said, "Oh, my grandsons." They stayed at his house and lay in a hammock of burity and slept. When they awoke, they felt better. The next morning they said goodby and went away taking the hammock which the lizard had given them.[46] On the road, after they had walked a league, they wanted to try to sleep. They lay down in the hammock but were not able to sleep. They tried and tried in vain. They returned then to the lizard's house, they caught him and pulled out his eyelids, of which they took a very large piece. The lizard became very angry but Keri and Kame now had eyelids and were able to sleep.

Exchange of Heaven and Earth. It was also at that time that Keri left the heaven. "At first the earth was heaven; here, where we are now, the Bakairí were not born. The heaven has a floor, the same as the earth. Heaven and earth are very close to one another; from there one can cross over to here." Keri said to heaven, "You should not stay here. My people die here. And you want to stay here? You are good. But I do not want my people to die." Heaven responded, "I want to stay here." Keri said then, "Then I move." He went with all the people to the earth and the heaven went there where it is now, and where today one is able to see that everything happened as the Bakairí say.

Fire. Keri and Kame went to Ewaki who sent them to go and get fire. The fox owned the fire. He had it in his eyes where it gave a leap when he wanted to light a fire. The fox (*Canis vetulus* "catches crayfish and crabs," Brehm *Saugeterie II* S. 57) had put out a bow-net to catch fish. Keri and Kame went there and found in the bow-net a "jejum" fish and a snail. Keri entered the "jejum" (a smooth lake fish about 4 inches long) and Kame entered the shell. "Each was well hidden in his animal." The fox came, singing, and made a fire. Then he went to see

[46] Another time I was told that before there were hammocks, people slept standing up, leaning against trees. Protection against snakes and malignant insects is really one of the greatest advantages of the hammock.

[325 P25]

Bacairi SP7

Geographically the post is situated ideally on a high land removed from the river and cleared of all vegetation, the jungle appearing only as a narrow fringe along the river banks. Like the rest of the high plateau it is wind swept, and generally pleasant. It must be added that contact with white people, such as is had when a small group of natives go to Cuyabá, has brought syphilis to them, and it may be their mortality is due to this.

One occupation enjoyed in former times is denied them, and that is fishing. There are practically no fish in the Paranatinga, at least up to where the post is located. Since meat is gotten only on rare occasions, and no hunting is done, the diet is mainly one of vegetables and considerably poorer than when they were living in their original state. This may also explain their lowered resistance to disease.

Very little museum material which represents their own products can be collected from the Bakairi. What has not been gotten from the Inspectoria has been brought back on excursions to the Kuluseu. Pottery has not been made since their coming to the post, according to them. The huge vessels that they possess either have been brought with them from their former homes or bartered from the tribes on the Kuluseu. It is claimed that the proper clay cannot be found in the neighborhood of Simõe Lopes.

Arrows are still being made, an iron nail generally being substituted for the old bone point, but most of the arrows also come from the Kuluseu.

For the old hammock made of palm-leaf fibre the cotton hammock has been substituted, but the same open net style has been kept.

Mussel shell ornaments have also been bought from the tribes of the Kuluseu. In brief, almost anything that is found in their village must bear the suspicion that it is not a Bakairi product.

However, they have preserved a few customs, such as filing the upper teeth to a point, wearing under the European clothing the gee string, and ceremonial use of the bull-roarer, and they probably remember many of their ceremonies.

The short time spent at the post was mostly devoted to taking anthropmetric measurements, which were subsequently lost on the Kuluseu, but in some notes I do find the statement that in blood groupings most belong to groups three and four, the former predominating.

/123 cont./

162 Agosta. -- A boy Irineo (parents dead).
621 Luis (Bolivian), Martin (Brazilian) with wife Carlotta (Paraguayan) and child.

126 I could not rejoice enough about the fortunate circumstance
115 that I was able to make the linguistic survey on the Rio Novo. Even with the intelligent Reginaldo it had been difficult enough to determine phonetically the inimitable tongue exercises that make up the Bakaïrí language, but with Captain Mêmo, who did nothing but nod contentedly, and the others who either laughed or grew impatient, nothing could be done.

On the other hand, I am indebted to Caetano for the legends which I shall retell later.

342 The largest house, which Captains Caetano and Felipe oc-
824 cupied together, was 21 paces long and 9 1/2 paces wide. The roof and walls, the latter supported by cross rods of tacoara /bamboo; see the glossary, p. 172 / consisted entirely of burití /see the glossary, p. 170 / straw. Only Miguel owned a round house, the inner frame of tacoara covered with burití leaves.
[343] There were seven houses and two new buildings. In addition two pig huts. In the case of one new building, I inquired about the timber that made up the frame. Two tall aruera posts supported the uppermost longitudinal roof-beam of aricá wood (also cunhão de porco). The sloping side-beams of the roof likewise cunhão de porco, the two longitudinal beams guanandí. The smaller posts that supported the roof beams: timbó, peuva, carvão, branco. One roof was also covered with campo grass.

164 I visited Miguel, who had an attack of fever, in his bee-
352 /124/ hive. He lay in his cotton hammock and let himself be
● 353 waited on by pretty Maria. The whole room hung full of calabashes, rice and farinha baskets, skins, arrows -- things left by his grandfather; it was far more comfortable in this still true heathen affair than in the characterless huts of the adherents of
123 a mock civilization. With dreadful gestures of disgust, the old
[357] man swallowed the bitter quinine and buried his fever-reddened
[283] face in the hammock. Maria, in gratitude, baked me a beijú [Cf. glossary on p. 170 --Analyst

/158 cont./

342 We were led into the smallest of the three huts; there we
353 sat down on a long trunk lying on the floor. Two supporting beams, adorned with a diadem of parrot feathers and wound at the bottom with a belt of dry grass stalks, held up the straw roof. Many elegantly worked arrows were sticking in the wall.

179 These Bakaïrí had never seen human beings of another color.
361 They said that there were a few more settlements downstream.
133 This was the last cachoeira, the one we passed here -- great news -- and the river -- naturally, we were eager to learn this -- runs north, it is called Tamitatoala; after 12 days' journey there comes another, larger one from the left, the Ronuro.

000 Thus all favorable circumstances seemed to converge and the hardships of the trip were amply outweighed.

162 We could not endure it much longer in the hut; outside /159/ others appeared, including two women -- one, whose youth and beauty were long gone, busily tripping about with
291 tousled hair. A triangular, straw-yellow leaf fastened to a string, which was slung around the hips and drawn through the perineum,
301 constituted her scanty clothing. Our friend who was doing the honors wore around his waist three strings, on which were alternately strung bits of stalks and black seeds, in each ear lobe two coquettish yellow feathers, and above the ankles a tight band of
302 bast. His hair had a dark reddish sheen; it was cut in Russian style around a bowl; the tonsure was as correct as in other well-known cases where the discoverers of a tribe were misled by it into believing that the heralds of Christianity must have been active
[142] here earlier. The type of physiognomy was without doubt in conformity with the Bakaïrí.

609 Soon a second principal figure appeared on the scene: a
[142] medium-sized Indian with a fine hooked nose and heavily painted
[302] red, who was coming from hunting; he drew near uneasily in a roundabout way, talking partly to himself and partly, parrying, to us; we called him the professor because of his incredibly dignified manner of examining every object most minutely, like a person who knows a thing thoroughly, but cannot quite understand why this or that does not fit.

/162 cont./

512 I did them an injustice; at half-past seven a procession of seven comes around the corner in the fastest quickstep, one behind the other, the tribal sorceress at their head, all loaded with [482] mandioca roots. The old woman is carrying a bundle of them loose on her head, and behind her runs a young woman with a heavy back-basket; is it her husband who is following her? Like- [854] wise bent under the load of a basket he walks forward, on his left hip a straddling boy whom he clasps heedlessly, as though he had hurriedly picked him up from the ground.

592 We visit the house of the professor. In the moderately light [352] room one at first distinguishes only a number of vertical and [252] horizontal posts, brown hammocks; the old woman and a younger one are sitting on the floor most diligently scraping mandioca with a shell, the naked legs buried in the parings.

[353] Two families have divided up in the space; the conjugal chambers are characterized by the fact that two hammocks are fastened, one above the other, to the same post. In the center there is an empty circle, and round about, /163/ radially, the "individual rooms" divided off, not by partitions, but merely by [354] the posts. The upper vault is blackened by smoke. Three or [251] four stones form the simple hearth. The flour is put into huge [252] pot vessels (up to 77 centimeters in diameter); the beijús are [323] roasted on flat, rimless bowls. The clay is blackish brown, the vessels are made by hand by the women.

352 We sit on small, low benches; they are rectangular, slightly concave, made out of dark-brown palm-wood, usually in octavo form, and not a decimeter high.

412 The stone axes, which are sticking in the wall (the longest [353] 24 centimeters), all have the same shape: a thick wooden cylinder, [135] offset at the bottom by a thinner handle. The stone is supposedly found farther downstream (1). /Illustration appears here./

1. Herr Prof. Arzruni of Aachen was kind enough to examine the material carefully and has identified it as diabase, a rock made up of augite, plagioclase, mica, chlorite, and

/163 cont./

412
135

1. (cont.)
magnetite, in which are embedded individual crystals of olivine and quite a number of quartz granules.

415 Tall storage baskets of biconcave profile (one meter 40 centimeters long, 35 centimeters wide at the top), wound with brown bast bands and lined in the interior with maize leaves, contain the flour and are very stout. The grating boards on which the mandioca is pulverized are about 115 centimeters long and 80 centimeters wide.

412

415
531

Gourd-vessel (drinking-vessel) designs of the Bakaïrí.

251 High up a great quantity of dusty corncobs.

532 A number of strange dolls, which hang down from the vault on long strings, seem the most striking; they are plaited out of maize leaves: turkey-sized birds, projecting wings made out of one leaf and circularly twisted legs with three toes; others are slender, human-like figures, /164/ a small head on top, broken up below into narrow frippery. In our house we found two lizards made of grass, whose four feet come together in a ring, so that one can put them on one's head.

[353]
[824]

/169 cont./

126 I acquired cheaply some belt strings of round stone disks with
[301] the diameter of a thick pencil, as well as a necklace of jaguar claws, by hooking the fish hook, as an ornament, into the ear lobes of these people, who do not know how to appreciate it as a means of catching fish.

622 The chief was striking because of his stupid face and a big nose; he treated us with aristocratic indolence and indifference. --
301 Several wore two yellow feathers in each ear; these were stuck
237 in a little bunch of red feathers that protruded from a small husk. The most beautiful head-ornament, however, was a simple row of yellow feathers up to 12 centimeters long, in the center of which towered a long arara feather.

562 Stealthily a few women appeared. There was an old woman
[554] here, too, who /170/ kept the tribe in order; she had curly hair.
[302] One woman, who had a boy astride her right hip, was painted all over her body with a disgusting yellow pigment.

342 The two large huts were round, the two small ones ellipti-
345 cally long, resembling scales. In one of them, the festival hut,
353 we discovered strange things. Between the supporting beams, on cross-poles, hung a great number of the most diverse colorful
292 headpieces. They all had a straw frame for fitting them on the
532 head. The colors were white, black, red, and orange, all applied crudely. There were open cylinders of bast of the consistency of cardboard, red, set with black squares; two large gourd /illustration appears here/ vessels, one with small yellow feathers pasted over it, the other with small blue feathers, and smaller ones painted with red and white areas; on the edge buriti fibers one meter long hung down like a woman's hair; a stuffed hide of a little fox, likewise an otter, both with a straw frame for putting them on. Two black and white sword-like pieces of wood -- representing rattlesnakes, according to Antonio. A stiff frame of stalks, in which sat little swallows, with cotton stuffed in between everywhere. The birds, perfectly recognizable in shape, white, head and back of neck black, a few with yellow belly. A larger bird, painted red and black, was looking out of one of the cylinders (1).

1. Cf. the first ethnological plate /see pp. 160-162/.

/170 cont./

291 Besides these products of the most primitive carving art, /171/ the most interesting article was: a buritĩ shirt -- "the" shirt of the upper Schingú -- which proved the invention of [286] clothing even among the Bakaïrĩ. The fibers were knotted in meshes, following the method for the hammock; the doublet was wide at the neck in order to be stepped into; it had short sleeves and trousers, from the bottom edge of which long fibers hung down. Many simple, meter-long buritĩ-fiber 372 hangings seemed apron-like. Two triangular fire-fans had 237 small downy feathers pasted on them. Hard, open shells, 535

345 352 353

In the Bakaïrĩ festival-hut.

535 the size of half-walnuts, were gathered into a rattling bundle 534 that is tied around the ankles for dancing. Another rattle instrument was a dried gourd shell, which contained seeds, impaled on a stick (1).

[171] 1. Hans Stadl (1556) tells of the "Tuppin Inbas": "They believe in a thing that grows like a gourd, is as large as a half-measure scoop. It is hollow inside; they stick a little stick through it, cut a little hole in it, like a mouth, and put little stones in it,

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Flute duet among the Bakairí.

/175 cont./

162 We counted 27 men, 18 women, and eight children, but
621 as some of the men, who stayed longer than we, reported, a
609 whole troop of women and children later came out of the woods.

342 I measured the largest house more carefully. It was 40 paces long, 24 paces wide. In the center line stood four supporting beams, 8-8.5 meters high (!) and 30 centimeters in diameter. the middle ones five paces apart, the outer ones each six paces
[531] from these; they had several bands painted with geometrical designs.

The distance of the two outer supporting beams from each other, /176/ 17 paces according to the above, also gave the length of the roof timbers. All around, 72 posts, up to 25 centimeters thick, one meter 72 high, served to support the elliptical roof basket. This was also the height of the two entrances, 77 centimeters wide, which lay opposite each other on the long sides and were made somewhat lower by the straw hanging down from the outside.

The roof basket, made up of large horizontal bamboo rings fastened by vertical poles bent against them, which converged at the top and projected to the outside through an opening, was built with great skill and regularity. The covering was made of straw-dry palm leaves. The leaf ribs lay horizontally; the free ends of the individual leaf spears hanging down from them, however, were all bent inward around the bare rib, so that solid mats were produced in the simplest manner. These overlapped like roof tiles.

364 We make the rounds through all the huts. The sense of order of the peaceful professor is lacking. They are full of refuse. In-
• 353 stead of the fine supply baskets, balls of the massa /dough/ one
[251] meter long, a half meter thick, and packed in leaves are found
[227] on simple racks. Little maize. Many fish nets made of tucum fiber: a wide-meshed bag hangs from a ring 80 centimeters long, 35 centimeters wide, which sits on a long pole. They probably
226 get the fish out of the blocked-off lagoons with these nets from the top of their scaffold.

/176 cont./

433 It is clear that here agriculture falls behind hunting and
181 fishing; Aldea IV is military in character and forms the frontier
648 defense against alien tribes.

763 In one hut lay an ancient, paralytic little woman emaciated to a skeleton, whose soul seemed to say "ãla Bakaïrí" (it is enough Bakaïrí) and was trying impatiently to flutter away. The hammock was resting partly on the ground; two women squatted beside it and, as garrulous cronies, explained to us the suffering of the dying little mother.

231 Of tame animals we found a heron, small parrots, a kingfisher and the socõ-morena.

345 The festival hut was 18 meters long, nine meters wide.
532 There were clumsily carved wooden fish hanging there, as well as a few finless specimens, wound bands which perhaps represented the electric eel.

Two square pieces of wood, painted red and white, with modeled nose and two eye sockets were striking; they are held in front of the face and represent doves, whose voice the artist can imitate better than the head (1).

1. Cf. the second ethnological plate /see p. 165/.

534 /177/ Four menis and a number of rattles were stuck in the
353 side walling.

624 Only in the festival hut did the herald put down his bow and arrows, but he did not part with them during our entire stay, even
[276] when he handed us a few bundles of tobacco. The latter, by the way, was better than among the earlier Bakaïrí. A few modest old
622 people were there, none with gray hair; among them the chief and, if I understood correctly, a vice-chief, the authority during the time the former is absent.

123 A shooting demonstration on the plaza filled them with
152 terror; they jumped with fright and turned away convulsively, most of all the mighty herald. His "ãla, ãla" was very humble and urgent.

/59 cont./

231 rafters of the smoke vent, and, if he suddenly shot down and raced around us like a wild animal, he was quickly chased back to his observation post, where he looked down, his head bent inquisi-
224 tively and his beak open. /60/ Sometimes one of the little mice
[262] so busily active at night came spying about and, if it did not scamper away in time, was shot with a child's arrow and brought
136 to the women as a roast. Almost constant guests were large black-white striped bees, which, like a butterfly that now and then fluttered into the entrance, would calmly let themselves be seized and put aside. On a hot noonday I often had the feeling of sitting in the midst of a beehive filled with buzzing and droning.

123 It was at this hour on the third day that I fled from the bees
[342] and flies to Paleko's large house and entered it for the first time. It was wonderfully cool and comfortable in there and no annoying insects. Only ants laden with grains of flour marched
[517] down their street to the mandioca pestle. The men were swing-
[574] ing in the hammocks, their chief occupation at home, and
[352] after I had sat a while, for the sake of politeness, on the stool of honor, which was as high as a cigar box, I soon followed their example.

342 One had the feeling of being in a huge beehive, fortunately without the bees. The ground plan was almost circular with a diameter of 15 meters; two mighty posts standing nine meters high and three and a half meters apart, supported in the center the huge straw dome, the framework of which consisted of horizontal bamboo rings and over these vertical poles bent upward toward the vent. It was smoke-blackened, glistening like tar. The walling all around, above which it rose, a tightly closed ring of posts one and a half meters high, interrupted only by two door entrances opposite each other, which were much
[352] too low for me. From the wall towards the interior, in the direction of the radii, the hammocks were stretched, fastened on either end to particularly strong posts, so that the outer space
353 was divided into a number of rooms, albeit open. The large center space around the main posts and under the vent, which

/60 cont./

353 remained free, was the kitchen and storage place for supply baskets, pots, earthen beijú pans, sieves, mats, back baskets, mortars, pestles, and calabashes. Sticks were plaited with [532] vines onto the main posts, where again gourd bowls or bundles [251] of tobacco were hanging, from a cross beam dangled large birds with straw-plaited legs and tails, which looked very mysterious and were solely for the purpose of storing the maize ears, out of which their insides and wings were constructed, in a manner pleasing to the eye. The floor was covered with a stone-hard deposit of the fine white mandioca flour, the mortars and pestles were flour-white, and the pots smoke-blackened. Above the doors, baskets with calabashes, basket-weirs, fishing nets, on the walls of the "rooms," bows, stone axes, the gaily feathered arrows projecting out of the straw of the dome, a stock of small baskets, drinking bowls, and smaller utensils; on the floor, white balls of loam, little pots, stools, pieces of wood, fire fans, and the ashes of the small fire which everyone maintains at night beside and almost under his hammock; hanging on the hammock, a small bunch of colorful feathers and the comb; here and there a pyramid made of rods with the grill, /61/ a couple of the sticks with which [372] fire is rubbed were also hung up and beside them was tied a small packet of the tinder bast.

356 In short: family dwelling in full operation, precisely as [353] much disorder as was required for comfort, everything clean [412] and nicely arranged, everything hung up, boxed, turned up-side down, no iron nails and screws, but only cord and plaiting, all worked with stone ax, animal tooth, and shell. Total impression: the wall, the hammocks, the calabashes, the human beings, brown; brown in every shade, but harmoniously 342 tinted, all crust /Knaus/. Here and there the sun shone through a crack in the straw dome, in front of the door the daylight was sharply cut off, and the lane between the doors lay in semishade, through the vent, which was quite tightly closed, a few bright rings and circles fell on the floor, and faint motes of sunlight danced in the ascending smoke.

/90 cont./

535 and captivated me. Others placed themselves behind the three, sang and stamped along with them, more and more joined, and finally those nearest the door ran out, bent over and one following the other, the entire train trotted in a long chain over to the chief's house with uninterrupted ohúhoχó, came back to the flute-house, and back and forth across the plaza; we guests did not fail to take part in at least a few rounds of the musical marathon, but the good Bakaïrí ran, sang, stamped -- the whole night. It thus seems to be a very old custom to dance until broad daylight. Except that the men did the work by themselves. It was excellent to go to sleep by; like the familiar and often tested method of falling asleep by imagining an endless herd of sheep jumping over a fence and counting the individual leaping animals, their firm ohóhuχó hypnotized with deadly certainty.

On our second visit we saw nothing of the kind.

123 A small shooting demonstration aroused more fear than astonishment; the women ran behind the houses; a tall youth fled into the hammock and covered his ears. After the third shot the chief begged "ãle," "it is enough." Afterwards they again had a desire for it and set tasks, to hit birds circling high in the air, which only Cooper's hunters could have fulfilled. At any rate, one must beware of sending off a shot about which one is not certain.

The photographic apparatus was set up opposite the chief's house; Aramöke accepted the invitation, stuck his head under the black cloth, viewed the picture with great pleasure, and chattered enthusiastically about it. The others did not trust the thing.

342 Aramöke's house, a magnificent example of primitive architecture, was larger and more carefully built than Paleko's in
●353 Maigéri. Many storage baskets were piled up between the center
531 posts, and from the dome hung numerous maize birds and cobs. What absorbed our interest primarily, however, was a frieze of crude drawings which ran all around, about two meters above the doors, to a total length of about 56 meters. /91/ On narrow sheets of blackened tree bark, dots, rings, linear patterns, and in between

/91 cont./

353 a couple of fish drawings were drawn on with white loam. To our
531 greatest astonishment, triangles and squares were meant as illustrations of concrete objects and were not merely "geometric
126 figures." Wilhelm copied the entire frieze with painstaking precision, as Plates 20 and 21 show.[1] I shall later compare the practices among the Bakaïrí with those among the rest of the Kulisehu tribes. Unfortunately it was not possible to bring home the originals. The loam was so loosely applied that it immediately crumbled off, and so coarse-grained that it could not be permanently fixed with a coating of collodion, as was done successfully with the masks.

000 Toward sundown, led by Aramöke, who was parading around in his red scarf, we went to the camp, which was now pitched at the actual harbor, and there, after the new shipwreck, we encountered a great "drying of laundry." Antonio's oar was also broken.

123 A number of Indians stood and sat around on the slope of the shore when we set out on 6 October shortly after 7:00. João Pedro had ordered for himself half a dozen fresh beijús and was served promptly in the early morning, as by a civilized baker.

133 The powerful rapids called "kulúri" by the Bakaïrí, which we soon cut through without peril, was the last one on the Kulisehu: "túxu ãle," the stones are "all gone." On this stretch the river again greatly resembled the section beyond Independencia; many fallen trees in the water, frequent elevated sandy beaches or steep
[136] loam banks, the current somewhat faster. The small masarico with its little red legs came tripping rapidly toward us across the sand, called "go away, come, come," and flew ahead a little distance, to wait for us there again. The bends in the river were very numerous and the trip became a deadly bore. The sunlight was reflected glaringly by the light sand and the water glistened unbearably. At 2:45 we passed a right tributary-brook about eight meters wide, the Pakuneru. This is the same name that the Paranatinga bears among the Bakaïrí. At its source -- far away
[101] ih.... -- the kayáxo, the Kayapó /Cayapo/, are said to live;

[1] [See pp. 280-281 -- Analyst]

A /257 cont./
171 Mützel can in any way identify his illustration with that of the
532 Indian artist.
825

Therefore it is comforting to find no difficulty with the center figure of the bottom row. It represents a macaco or Cebus monkey and is well characterized by the human-like limbs with the usual three toes and the long tail. For comparison I am adding the illustration of a Mehinakú flute, /258/ where the same monkey -- not inappropriately, since it too emits flute tones -- appears and is treated very similarly, except that it also enjoys a neck.

W [534] [532]

A very remarkable creature was depicted on one post (Fig. 41), a sort of female figure with riding habit and a wasp waist, two-fingered arms, and a triangular face under a hat brim. This is Cryptocerus atratus, the tokandira, tokanteira, tokangira of the Brazilians, a huge ant that does not have a social life, but crawls around individually on tree trunks.

W 532

Finally, mereschu designs, which are still to be discussed, were found on trees in the harbor of the Mehinakú.

II. Ornamental Drawing.

000

Ornamental frieze of the Bakaïrí. Mereschu and uluri. The Auetö ornamentation. Conclusions. Use of ornamentation. Calabashes, beijú turners, spindle whorls. Painting of pots.

B
531
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[353]

On pages 64-65, in the report about the visit to the second Bakaïrí village, I mentioned the large wall frieze of pieces of bark painted white, which went around inside the house of the chief, in several places in a double row, to a length of approximately 56 meters; the width of the pieces of bark varied between approximately 15 to 40 centimeters. Our first impression was that these zigzags, dots, rings, chains of rhombuses and triangles were ornamental fancies which were attractive and charming, but did not mean anything beyond that. The bark, blackened with soot, came from a forest tree which the Bakaïrí called noïschi, the white or often yellowish loam was applied with the fingers, so

/21 cont./

622 that he still kept from those days. Antonio had no children by
115 Doña Rosa. I had the opportunity to become acquainted with
[123] her when, returning in poor health from the Rio Kulisehu, I was most generously accommodated in her house although Antonio was away.

342 José Coroado's house, situated in front of his stepfather
352 Antonio's house, was just as large and built in the same style.
● 353 Its interior gave much more of a native impression than Antonio's house. In the half-dark rooms several women lay in the hammocks, /22/ among them one with Jose's little daughter, who was only a few weeks old. All the walls in the house showed in the upper part, directly under the ceiling, boards painted in black and white. These friezes made by the Xinguanos showed the typical paintings of the Bakairí. All of the decorations known to the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River regions appeared in these paintings, such as, for example, the figures called
159 uluri, merechu, and maimai. José, in spite of his youth, had
191 already had a great deal of experience. The hole in his lower lip at once recalled his early childhood among his own fellow
[871] countrymen, the Bororo, whose idiom he still knew. As already mentioned above, he had come with his mother to the house of Cacique Antonio when he was a boy of five or six, but he had received part of his education in the capital, Cuiabá, so that he was better acquainted than any other Rio Paranatinga Bakairí with the Portuguese language, which he also used in
159 talking with his mother. When he was an adult, Cacique
619 Antonio had taken him along on a trip to the Batovy and Kulisehu
[484] rivers. Already at that time he had had trouble with his stepfather because he had become too involved with the pretty girls of the first aldea of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí and had thus damaged the good relations with the inhabitants of that aldea. The anger of the inhabitants of the first Rio Kulisehu aldea caused by José Coroado's behavior still continued at the time of my journey to the Rio Kulisehu, and José did not dare to accompany me to that aldea because he had learned that its

159 /22 cont./
619 inhabitants planned to poison him. So he remained in the port near our canoes. But the difficulties this caused me were compensated for by the fact that during his visit to the second aldea of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí, he had married a local Indian girl and taken her to the Rio Paranatinga.

159 José was already trying then in every possible way to be-
593 come independent from his stepfather. I found this out primarily
114 from a conversation between José and his mother which I overheard during my stay in Antonio's house. Already then he had several Xinguanos working in his service, and although they were not as numerous as the Xinguanos in the service of Cacique Antonio, this competition could be seen as a factor that was beginning to curtail Antonio's power, which had reached its zenith at the time, and that threatened sooner or later to lead to a violent outcome. This discord between Antonio and his son-in-law /sic/ was important to the outcome of the expedition I had undertaken to the Rio Kulisehu insofar as José Coroado was ready to accompany me with his brother-in-law Chico, who was from the second Bakairí aldea on the Rio Kulisehu, while Antonio made his help to my undertaking contingent on inordinately high demands which far exceeded my then rather scant resources for travel. Finally I was able to persuade Antonio to let me have two of his people to accompany me to the embarkation point on the Rio Kulisehu and then to return with my pack oxen to the Rio Paranatinga.

619 As a result of the active and close contact which had pre-
182 vailed since the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions between the Bakairí of the Paranatinga and their fellow countrymen of the upper Xingu River region, the /23/ way of life of the former had regained a more native character. I have already
● 353 mentioned that José Coroado's large house showed friezes with
619 paintings of a purely Bakairí nature. Antonio was again partici-
182 pating, painted above the waist, in native dances and because
756 of the frequency of illnesses at the time among the Paranatinga Bakairí, he wanted to induce a doctor from the second Bakairí

/105 cont./

533 sounds not unpleasant, and has something both gentle and fascinatingly eerie about it at the same time, just as the wailing night-wind blowing down the chimney is described when the storyteller /106/ first gives thanks to God that he is lying warm and safe in his snug bed, but is again and again obliged to listen to the weird lament and finally sees in a dream the ghost of a 122 friend who lies dying. We sat crowded against one another in the [354] small room; a gourd filled with fat, in which a wick was burning, lay upon the floor; I was glad when the gourd also started to burn and we were able to step outside where the stars glistened and we shook ourselves -- the shuddering was over.

562 The women held out until 19 June; then they came; Reginaldo fetched them; a dozen in number, they walked one behind the other across the campo, the father of the tribe in the lead.

[609] On this afternoon, however, not one of them would let herself be looked at closely; the procession entered the big house and disappeared. Reginaldo came to ask us for an opera glass that he wanted to show to the women. Toward evening they appeared again and left single file as before. During the night they slept in the forest, a brief half an hour away.

292 On 20 June they appeared again; Reginaldo looked superb [301] at their head; he wore his gray felt hat, his blue captain's uniform and white trousers, walked barefoot, and had a blue-white 123 feather stuck crosswise in each ear lobe. He was very agreeable [126] that Wilhelm should sketch him in all his glory. Moreover, he assumed, and we daily encouraged him in this, that we were conducting all inquiries concerning the Bakaïrí only in order to report them again to the Emperor of Brazil -- at least the man understood that and for this purpose he was glad to oblige.

[291] He also accompanied us to the women; they were barefoot, of course, but otherwise wore the complete costume of the female rural inhabitant; the majority were of a mature age; I liked best one big, strong girl whom Homer would have called βοῶπις. -- The captain's wife, christened Ines, was quiet and pious and looked as though she had had many a care. We tried to

/124 cont./

123 and showed me how the raw cotton, merely cleaned of seeds, is
283 twisted into thread with the spindle. The cotton plants stand
241 between the huts everywhere; beside them grows mamona /castor
[372] oil plant/, whose oil serves us for wretched illumination in the
[251] evening, and peppers. Mats are spread out on racks in order to dry the mandioca farina.

The roça," the cultivated field, lies some distance away. The Bakairí plant mandioca, beans, rice, sweet potatoes, sugar, and deliver to the Fazenda Corrego fundo. Their rapadura was
272 excellent; the melada, a honey-sweet syrup, moved us to exclamations of admiration. The sugar cane is pressed between
249 two cylinders in the simplest way. (Cf. the vignette at the be-

342

Old-style hut.

[249] ginning of this chapter /see p. 2/).

We found Caetano's hut divided into three rooms: Caetano received us in the high, airy center room and shut the door, behind which little Luisa was doing housework. Felipe and Carlotta
●354 Pareci lived in the corner room opposite. Three canga blocks
482 formed the hearth. Plaited back-baskets, which are carried by a forehead band and in which the women are said to carry up to six
412 arrobas. Graters to grate the mandioca: hard little spikes from
824 the rib of the buriti leaf are neatly set into the middle part of a narrow piece of wood almost a meter long.

/162 cont./

512 I did them an injustice; at half-past seven a procession of seven comes around the corner in the fastest quickstep, one behind the other, the tribal sorceress at their head, all loaded with [482] mandioca roots. The old woman is carrying a bundle of them loose on her head, and behind her runs a young woman with a heavy back-basket; is it her husband who is following her? Likewise [854] bent under the load of a basket he walks forward, on his left hip a straddling boy whom he clasps heedlessly, as though he had hurriedly picked him up from the ground.

592 We visit the house of the professor. In the moderately light [352] room one at first distinguishes only a number of vertical and [252] horizontal posts, brown hammocks; the old woman and a younger one are sitting on the floor most diligently scraping mandioca with a shell, the naked legs buried in the parings.

[353] Two families have divided up in the space; the conjugal chambers are characterized by the fact that two hammocks are fastened, one above the other, to the same post. In the center there is an empty circle, and round about, /163/ radially, the "individual rooms" divided off, not by partitions, but merely by [354] the posts. The upper vault is blackened by smoke. Three or [251] four stones form the simple hearth. The flour is put into huge [252] pot vessels (up to 77 centimeters in diameter); the beijús are [323] roasted on flat, rimless bowls. The clay is blackish brown, the vessels are made by hand by the women.

352 We sit on small, low benches; they are rectangular, slightly concave, made out of dark-brown palm-wood, usually in octavo form, and not a decimeter high.

412 The stone axes, which are sticking in the wall (the longest [353] 24 centimeters), all have the same shape: a thick wooden cylinder, [135] offset at the bottom by a thinner handle. The stone is supposedly found farther downstream (1). /Illustration appears here./

1. Herr Prof. Arzruni of Aachen was kind enough to examine the material carefully and has identified it as diabase, a rock made up of augite, plagioclase, mica, chlorite, and

000 /Chapter I-III, pp. 1-45, including Fig. 1 and Plates II and III, are omitted in the translation./

/46/ Chapter IV.

First Encounter with the Indians.

Bark canoes. Traces of Indians. My trip with Antonio and Carlos. Animal life. Reverie before supper. Mouth of the Ponekuru. Cataracts. Signs of colonization increase. Chief Tumayaua. To the first Bakaïrí village. Arrival of the "Karaiben."

396 [824] After tapping several times in vain, Antonio found a jatobá (Hymenaea sp.) with serviceable bark. A pole scaffold is erected around the tree; a long rectangular strip of bark is loosened with ax blows and, carefully taken down, is placed on low supports; then the bark is made pliable with heat, a fire being lighted underneath and twigs also set afire on top, and the edges of the longitudinal sides are bent upward. In front a point is formed; in the rear the bark is pushed forward toward the inside to produce a slightly hollowed out bulkhead with acute-angled edges, at which the bark is soon likely to split. The canoe was to be finished in a day and brought to the water the next morning.

000 Antonio came home from his work noticeably pleased. I believed it was because the canoe had turned out well. I talked to him about it for a while and then, referring once more to our plans, said: "So you are not afraid that the river is without inhabitants?" "No," he replied in dismissal, "I've already found a rancho." "Why didn't you say so?" "Well, I intended to."

224 342 [412] [354] In looking for wood for the oars, he had discovered a collapsed hunting-hut covered with palm straw; its posts showed the blunt gash-marks of a stone ax. Beside it lay charred logs still in the radial arrangement of the Indian campfire; adjacent jatobás had been tested with stone axes for their usefulness, a still recognizable path led through the brush to a "harbor" on the river. Antonio thought it was probably a year ago that the visitors had stopped here.

/60 cont./

353 remained free, was the kitchen and storage place for supply baskets, pots, earthen beijú pans, sieves, mats, back baskets, mortars, pestles, and calabashes. Sticks were plaited with [532] vines onto the main posts, where again gourd bowls or bundles [251] of tobacco were hanging, from a cross beam dangled large birds with straw-plaited legs and tails, which looked very mysterious and were solely for the purpose of storing the maize ears, out of which their insides and wings were constructed, in a manner pleasing to the eye. The floor was covered with a stone-hard deposit of the fine white mandioca flour, the mortars and pestles were flour-white, and the pots smoke-blackened. Above the doors, baskets with calabashes, basket-weirs, fishing nets; on the walls of the "rooms," bows, stone axes, the gaily feathered arrows projecting out of the straw of the dome, a stock of small baskets, drinking bowls, and smaller utensils; on the floor, white balls of foam, little pots, stools, pieces of wood, fire fans, and the ashes of the small fire which everyone maintains at night beside and almost under his hammock; hanging on the hammock, a small bunch of colorful feathers and the comb; here and there a pyramid made of rods with the grill; /61/ a couple of the sticks with which [372] fire is rubbed were also hung up and beside them was tied a small packet of the tinder bast.

● 356 In short: family dwelling in full operation, precisely as [353] much disorder as was required for comfort, everything clean [412] and nicely arranged, everything hung up, boxed, turned upside down, no iron nails and screws, but only cord and plaiting, all worked with stone ax, animal tooth, and shell. Total impression: the wall, the hammocks, the calabashes, the human beings, brown; brown in every shade, but harmoniously 342 tinted, all crust /Knaus/. Here and there the sun shone through a crack in the straw dome, in front of the door the daylight was sharply cut off, and the lane between the doors lay in semishade; through the vent, which was quite tightly closed, a few bright rings and circles fell on the floor, and faint motes of sunlight danced in the ascending smoke.

/80/

Seventh Chapter

000 March from Cuyabá to the Docile Bakaïrí on the Rio Novo

/Pages 80-98 are omitted in the translation./

/98/

132 14 June. 6:40 A.M.: dry. 18.9, wet. 18.2, strat. 8, S 2-3. Like yesterday, the south wind brings low-moving cloud masses.

122 Today the men are ready very quickly; off shortly before seven o'clock in the morning.

[137] Predominantly meadow, a narrow, hard path leads through
[487] it, on which one can merrily trot. A number of oxen greet us as the first emissaries. A wide expanse of campo has been freshly burned off; it is said that wild animals like to seek out these "quemadas" /see the glossary, p. 172 / because of the salty
[136] ashes. A number of curicacas (ibis); in the distance an ostrich, which Pedro and the dogs pursue in vain.

• 361 At nine o'clock we see the "aldeamento"[7] /see the glossary, p.170 / of the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ in the distance; four houses; the sunshine gives the illusion of slate roofs; a few naked torsos hasten inside, clothed persons step outside. In the immediate
[342] vicinity the settlement shrinks to actual palm-straw huts.

622 /99/ Daniel is on the spot and introduces us to "Captain Reginaldo." Reginaldo da Silva Nogueira, from the walnut forest /Nusswald/. A man in his forties with a broad chest, long, curly black hair, a friendly look, but silent; hat, shirt, trousers in good condition.

574 General handshaking. A half dozen, mostly young, broad-shouldered men, likewise in their Sunday best, sit on the fence of the cattle yard. The crown of creation is absent. -- Gradually the procession draws up, and everyone settles down at home. By way of greeting, sugar cane is sucked and a swallow of liquor permitted.

[7] [i.e. village -- Analyst]

/100 cont./

101 to the Christians. It is said that they are white and friendly:
175 one reason why they are regarded as a horde of the Paricys."
[177] Martius has them living at the southernmost sources of
[131] the Schingú and also lists them at the sources of the Arinos and Juruena. He also classifies /101/ them under the Pareci /Paressi/ who are scattered across the watershed between Tapajoz, Madeira, and Paraguay.

101 Now it turns out that placing the Pareci and the Bakaïrí together in this way was erroneous. The well-known closest relatives of the Bakaïrí, as I wish to point out briefly in advance, are settled north of the Amazon River, and a tribe somewhat more distantly related to them, but belonging to the same group, lives in the source region of the Madeira.
122 I myself was familiar only with the note of Martius, and on the journey I had no idea how interesting this little tribe was

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361

Bakaïrí village.

122 and how many hours I would later spend pondering over its past.

115 It was a very fortunate circumstance that Reginaldo --
123 who was always ready to smoke a cigarette with me and
[191] warmed up more and more and gradually became highly amused by my notations -- had an amazing gift of quick perception and was able to express himself clearly for practical purposes in a somewhat crude Portuguese. Such an opportunity
[622] never came again later. Reginaldo was a good person, intelligent, and held the reins of his chieftainship in strong, paternal hands.

/101 cont./

361 [101] There were two settlements of "docile" Bakairí: the aldeament on the Rio Novo, as this first was called, after a tributary of the Arinos, and the aldeament on the Paranatinga. The two villages are not yet old; all the adults were born farther up the Paranatinga, on the "Salto" /waterfall; see the glossary, [131] p. 172 /; the Bakairí, however, were probably spread over this entire region in small hordes, as is shown by the fact that they were noted as far as the Rio das Mortes. In the Twenties, when 179 648 997 the gold-seeker expedition under the leadership of P. Lopez pushed into this region, they were converted to Christianity, on which occasion, as Reginaldo related, his grandfather and many others lost their lives.

823 /102/ We eagerly inquired as to whether he knew about a river beyond the Paranatinga? Today, he replied, this region is [131] completely strange to them, he remembered from his youth, [101] however, that one was supposed to come to a large river if one went from the Paranatinga toward the rising sun, and on this river there were said to be Bakairí still living, the "antiguos" /the ancients/, who were not Christians.

361 The two aldeamente are under the administration of the 648 "Director dos Indios" in Cuyabá /Cuiabá/. Reginaldo is a [822] Brazilian captain, his successor as chief of the tribe, Joaquim, 361 is a lieutenant. Our seeing no women was due to the fact that they were living in an aldeament two legoas away; the huts which we occupied were used only when the farm work required it or when there were visitors. Reginaldo /illustration appears here/ completely forgot to say how sorry he was that he could greet us only as a gran widower.

[162] The village numbered six huts; the population amounted 342 to 55: 16 men, 19 women, 20 children. The soldiers were usually quartered in the big house that Reginaldo otherwise occupied with a few others: a rectangle 57 paces long and five paces wide, which was divided into a number of separate rooms by means of partitions. We occupied the guest house -- it was only 17 paces [199] long. It was modern construction, learned from the colonists. Twenty minutes away we found two deserted old-style huts,

/119 cont./

•341 The aldeament on the Paranatinga was smaller than the
622 one on the Rio Novo. Moreover, the order of the community
578 seemed seriously disturbed. Old Captain Caetano, probably near
[111] his eighties, despite his black hair, /120/ had been divested of
his sovereignty in favor of a younger man, Felipe, at the instiga-
tion of the Martyrios expedition, which, with the help of the Bakairí,
had crossed the Paranatinga and passed through a section of the
sertão /wilderness; see the glossary, p. 172/ in a northerly direc-
tion. The Bakairí, of course, felt more obligated to obey Captain
Caetano than Captain Felipe, and the result was that each one
made himself as independent as possible and worked on his own.
164 Moreover, the tribe had been hard hit about eight years before
by sarampão /measles/, an epidemic disease; the Brazilians put
part of the blame for the number of deaths on the Indians because,
in the heat of the fever, they had always run into the river.

162 At the time of our visit the Bakairí population was made up
621 of five men, five women, three children -- not present were five
men, three women, one boy, whose return was, in part, no
longer expected. Moreover, there were two Parecí women, one
of whom was numbered among those not present, and two Cajibí*
women, who had been adopted into the tribe. Finally, two
Brazilians, caoutchouc-seekers, who had recovered from the fever
in the village, had attached themselves, a mulatto Luiz and a
certain Martin who had a Paraguayan, Carlotta, as a wife, with
a small son. Altogether there were 20 individuals present.

115 Luiz, who had lived an adventurous life, a "philosophe,"
as he called himself, a "conversador," as his friend Daniel
called him, was intimately acquainted with conditions; he
[111] chattered endlessly and was probably not altogether reliable,
but he made himself useful, since the Portuguese of Caetano, who
best knew the language, consisted of an extremely modest stock
by words: "eue mémo" -- "nimmt auffallend" /that is exactly/
in German -- was the quintessence of his knowledge, so that the
144 soldiers soon called him nothing but "Capitão Mémo." Luiz
maintained that Caetano was the son of a Bakairí father and

* [Cajibí = Cayabi, a tribe classified under SP2 Africa in The Outline of World Cultures -- Anderson]

/157 cont./

241 the process of being charred. The pillar of smoke that had drawn our attention for several days is explained: the forest was 122 being cleared in order to lay out a planting. Eagerly scouting, we climb up, and again we are wandering along the forest path.

/158/ "Beijú," somebody cries in a suppressed voice and [842] triumphantly points to a few crumbs, which give us the prospect of new provisions. "they have beijús," each one murmurs to the man behind him.

[411] There -- a feather-decorated arrow leans against a tree [929] -- the tube of ubá, the wood from which the Imperador /emperor/ [973] of the legend created the Bakairí. We become more serious, and even the Negroes, who, when they are afraid, like to try to give themselves courage by chattering march on silently. Now and then small fires, alive or burned out. We have already been [139] walking three-quarters of an hour. But see there, a new clearing -- a charming grove of nut-bearing bacayuva palms -- a few kernels of maize on the ground, again a bit of forest and "Casas -- houses," the first man cries.

● 341 Three houses of the form of a beehive become visible; in 342 the first hut, which blocks our path, the low door stands open; in the dark we make out a few heads. A completely naked 609 Indian steps out, young, well built, closes the door, and comes [294] toward us, in his hand a long arrow shaft without a point, which he holds horizontally in front of him.

I instruct Antonio to call out a greeting to him in Bakairí. "Kualino," cries Antonio almost breathless, and -- hail to the antiguos -- the Indian answers in Bakairí. Eagerly he steps up to Antonio, leans against him, and both embrace as they walk on -- both talking at the same time, both trembling all over with fear and excitement.

[302] A joyful feeling of release overcame us all, and when Manoel, discovering that our dear savage wears a nicely shaved tonsure, now finally recovers his speech and cries out, "Oh, why that's a priest, the compadre is a person," general laughter breaks out, and everybody talks at once.

/158 cont./

342 We were led into the smallest of the three huts; there we
353 sat down on a long trunk lying on the floor. Two supporting beams, adorned with a diadem of parrot feathers and wound at the bottom with a belt of dry grass stalks, held up the straw roof. Many elegantly worked arrows were sticking in the wall.

199 These Bakairí had never seen human beings of another color.
361 They said that there were a few more settlements downstream.
133 This was the last cachoeira, the one we passed here -- great news -- and the river -- naturally, we were eager to learn this -- run north, it is called Tamitatoala; after 12 days' journey there comes another, larger one from the left, the Roruro.

000 Thus all favorable circumstances seemed to converge and the hardships of the trip were amply outweighed.

162 We could not endure it much longer in the hut; outside /159/ others appeared, including two women -- one, whose youth and beauty were long gone, busily tripping about with
291 tousled hair. A triangular, straw-yellow leaf fastened to a string, which was slung around the hips and drawn through the perineum,
301 constituted her scanty clothing. Our friend who was doing the honors wore around his waist three strings, on which were alternately strung bits of stalks and black seeds, in each ear lobe two coquettish yellow feathers, and above the ankles a tight band of
302 bast. His hair had a dark reddish sheen; it was cut in Russian style around a bowl; the tonsure was as correct as in other well-known cases where the discoverers of a tribe were misled by it into believing that the heralds of Christianity must have been active
[142] here earlier. The type of physiognomy was without doubt in conformity with the Bakairí.

609 Soon a second principal figure appeared on the scene: a
[142] medium-sized Indian with a fine hooked nose and heavily painted
[302] red, who was coming from hunting. He drew near uneasily in a roundabout way, talking partly to himself and partly, parrying, to us; we called him the professor because of his incredibly dignified manner of examining every object most minutely, like a person who knows a thing thoroughly, but cannot quite understand why this or that does not fit.

1: Steinen--39 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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342

Bakairi village.

/168 cont./

126 During the night there was heavy dew; in the forenoon we dried Wilhelm's things; it is a pity the way the drawings look, the sheets are stuck together and bent. How could we have brought photographic chemicals through here?

136 At 1:00 in the afternoon slowly off. Several times a sandy shore 20 meters wide; masaricos, small black-white, red-legged shore-birds. Numerous traces of the tracajá turtle; the people poke in the sand with an arrow or generally simply follow the tracks of the tracajá and with their hands dig up the shallow pit that shows the impression of their bodies. In one nest there are 17 eggs, in another 15; the egg is white and gradually shades to gray; 4.9 centimeters long, 3.2 centimeters wide. Temperature of the sand 57°.4. The verdict about the empty nests, merely in passing by, is often: "Here the lizard has fed."

It is wondrously summer-like: current, sun, charming leafy shores, yellow butterflies, and no mosquitoes or wasps. Many novatos. Endless meanderings; we covered about two legoas.

Valentin caught a large pintado fish; see the glossary, p. 171/; Satyr was almost pulled out of the canoe by a pirahyba that was supposedly as long as he was. Loud buzzing and chirping in the night air. The sabiá was singing.

122 17 Aug. φ 13° 7'.3, λ 6'.1, km. 0.57, total 142.32.
132 6:35 A.M.: dry. 11.3, water 23.5.
7:30 P.M.: II 732.0, dry. 21.0.

Shivering I awoke during the night and believed that I had fever. It was the cold. Very soon we arrived in the harbor of the [361] second village.

227 A fisherman's hut lies at the entrance of the forest; here are baskets shaped somewhat like an elongated spiked helmet, into which, from the inner rim, a small collecting funnel with a narrow 487 opening leads inside. The path stretches inland one legoa and is very similar to the one from the first village.

574 After a few steps we were received by two good acquaintances from Aldea I, who had gone overland to announce us to their fellows. One of them in blue trousers and red striped shirt, the

/168 cont./

574 other, the professor, naked, but, along with bow and arrow, one of our mirrors in his hand. We were undoubtedly well recommended.

532 Shortly before the exit from the woods we came across a wonderful display of about a dozen animal figures along one side of the path, /169/ probably the remains from a festival. They were made of leaves and straw, mostly quadrupeds with long, thin bodies, consisting of practically nothing but spinal column and long legs; the tallest ones reached to our hips. Something that was evidently supposed to be a monkey was climbing up a pole. A human figure was incised in a tree, with roguish use of a depression present in the bark. Such is the beginning of art in the primeval forest.

361 After we had passed a roça and low shrub planting, we saw
[241] four huts, two large ones and two small ones, lying correspondingly opposite each other. The nobility was assembled on the
574 plaza; a friendly "am(b)á" (that is you) with raised hand wel-
[576] comed each one. Then, one after the other, we were grasped
[345] at the wrists by our hosts, mostly by two at the same time, and led before the festival hut, where beam and stool were ready./ Here we sat is long rows with our guns, and immediately the serving of mingau began. Then we did our tricks, cut nails,
[123] let them look through the opera glasses, lighted a match with fire steel, etc. The professor beamed; he was reaping honor with us.

[301] A sturdy young man, a diadem of stiff jaguar skin over his
[624] forehead, seemed to be acting as herald. He poured busily, screamed louder than the others, and grasped everything most quickly. I had the feeling that we were traveling circus artists and were being informally received and treated in a club. One
302 of the younger sportsmen had had his body painted with black
531 squares, which were joined at the edges with short lines. The drawing on the upper thigh of another -- a black wavy line and in the depressions of it black dots -- definitely resembled the skin marking of a fish, the pintado.

/171 cont./

534
171

1. (cont.)
so that it rattles. They rattle with it when they sing and dance, and call it tammaraka." The soothsayer lets the rattle speak "and just a word so that one cannot really perceive whether the rattle is doing it or whether he is doing it. And the other people think that the rattle is doing it... but when I saw the fraud, I went out of the hut; I thought, what a poor, deluded people that is."

361 The aldea was otherwise similar to the first in everything. All around puva racks, cotton, spear grass, fruta de lobo, and
162 nearby a brook running over white sand. We counted 18 men, 17 women, 7 children; it is possible, however, that one or another has been counted twice; again the small number of children is very striking. Toward evening we returned to the river; I had done some good bartering.

122 18 Aug, φ 12° 59'.9, λ 8'.7, km. 22.10, total 164.42.
[132] 7:30 A.M.: dry. 14.0, water 22.7.
5:35 P.M.: I 742.8, II 733.4, dry. 25.0.

From the wool /Wolle," wool, down, hair, cotton"/ obtained in the village fish lines were twisted. During the night
[136] five pirararas /see the glossary, p. 172/ and nine piranhas were caught. The former has the bad habit, when it is hauled on land, of emitting a farewell sound, which is audible far and wide, with the part that leaves the water last. It tastes fatty; the broth is somewhat strong; it is also supposed to produce ulcers. -- The
[482] professor went home again; besides arrow, bow, and the treasured mirror, he carried his hammock on his back in a net held by a forehead band: this is the way the Bakairí goes traveling. -- A young, handsome chap accompanies us to the next village. He
[291] wears a red-black flannel shirt and around his head a green cloth with the Brazilian coat of arms. At the campsite he removes this clothing.

/171 cont./

122 19 Aug. φ 12° 53'.0, λ 12'.4, km. 31.03, total 195.45.

132 6:35 A.M.: dry. 15.0, water 24.3.

5:43 P.M.: I 742.2, dry. 26.1, water 26.0.

9:30 P.M.: I 742.8, dry. 21.1.

137 /172/ The river landscape changes its physiognomy somewhat. Shrubs and light-green, fine-leaved bushes, which form tall bowers or rounded, dense masses, occupy the foreground. Willow-like trees often stand as though planted, with delicate, slender trunks. We have not exactly come out of the forest river into a meadow river, but the low-plain character predominates. The sand barranca is steep. Easterly direction of the river.

122 20 Aug. φ 12° 51'.1 λ 12'.8, km. 6.27, total 201.72.

132 7:00 A.M.: dry. 19.3, water 25.1, at night 2-3:00 thunderstorm in NW.

Today the sky is covered with strato-cumulus and the air is showery damp.

133 At an early hour we reached a branch stream 20 meters wide, emptying in quietly from the right. Finally a tributary.

● 361 The third aldea, located on the left bank, is not quite two
[342] kilometers from the Batovy. There are three huts, lower, smaller,
and less conical than previously. We three again install ourselves
122 for a night among the good people, and even Antonio, who has given up his mistrust, sleeps along with us.

364 As agreeable as this "little village" is, it must be called
345 the dirtiest of the three. The floor of the festival hut is covered with dry grass and refuse of all kinds; the sun shines through the roof, so that inside we are able to light our pipe with the burning-
[532] glass. It is obviously still unfinished and new; besides a few arrows and several rattles, flat wooden fish are stuck on the walls as the products of local artistic activity.

162 Census: 13 men, 12 women and -- the most favorable proportion so far -- 19 children. Among them there are a man and a woman of another tribe whom we are to meet farther
142 downstream, the Kustenaú /Custenau/. In type I am unable to see any essential differences; in fact, the more Bakaïrí we meet, the more uncertain I am in abstracting the common features.

/175/

000 Off at 9:00. Soundlessly with Valentin in the lead; occasionally a bird is aroused in the bushes. Doves coo, otherwise deep silence. The last morning mists heavy on the water.

133 From the shore a blue serra /sierra; see the glossary, p. 172/ visible in NW. At 10:00 we reached the harbor of Aldea IV.

●361 Here we were already expected. It is the only one that lies on the right shore, about three kilometers inland. -- A half-dozen

609 older people received us with their "am(b)á" and accompanied us along the way. They stopped often in order to make clear to us, with many gestures of satisfaction, that they were Bakaïrí and masters of the entire region. Mostly through meadow and

[361] campo along the edge of the forest. -- It was the largest village, seven huts, and in the middle an open plaza. Twenty-four men stood there in several groups, foremost a heavily blackened fellow who swung bow and arrows wildly, beat on them clatteringly, and shouted with a stentorian voice: "Bakaïrí, Kɣura Bakaïrí" (we, the Bakaïrí). And the chorus joined in: "Kɣura Bakaïrí --

[624] Kustenaú...Trumaí hu-hu,"...other tribal names, incomprehensible words, triumphant gestures; finally the herald, with a gesture of his hand, invited us to pass. Apparently they were trying to make as forceful an impression as possible on us.

302 Only the hair of a few individuals was dyed red; otherwise they blackened their faces, chests, and legs. No one was dis-

[301] tinguished by special finery; they wore their belt strings, arm and leg bands of cotton or burití bast.

[142] The skin color seemed to me a little darker than among the other Bakaïrí, but I may have been misled by the black painting, which did not show any particular designs anywhere, but rather was manifested in a simple coating of the body. The spinal column was left free, and likewise the parts from which the color could rub off in sitting. Membrum virile parvun, praeputium longum.

142 The epidermis of several individuals was thickened ichthyosis-like and covered with hard, dry scales over the entire body. Many had curly hair.

1: Steinen

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SP7 Bacairi SP7

A	B	C	D	E	F
G	H	I	J	K	L

Chart of Positions of End Map /Facing p. 173/

1: Steinen--173),E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Special map of the Schingú River. From the records and position-findings of Dr. O. Clauss, reduced to the scale of 1:500,000.

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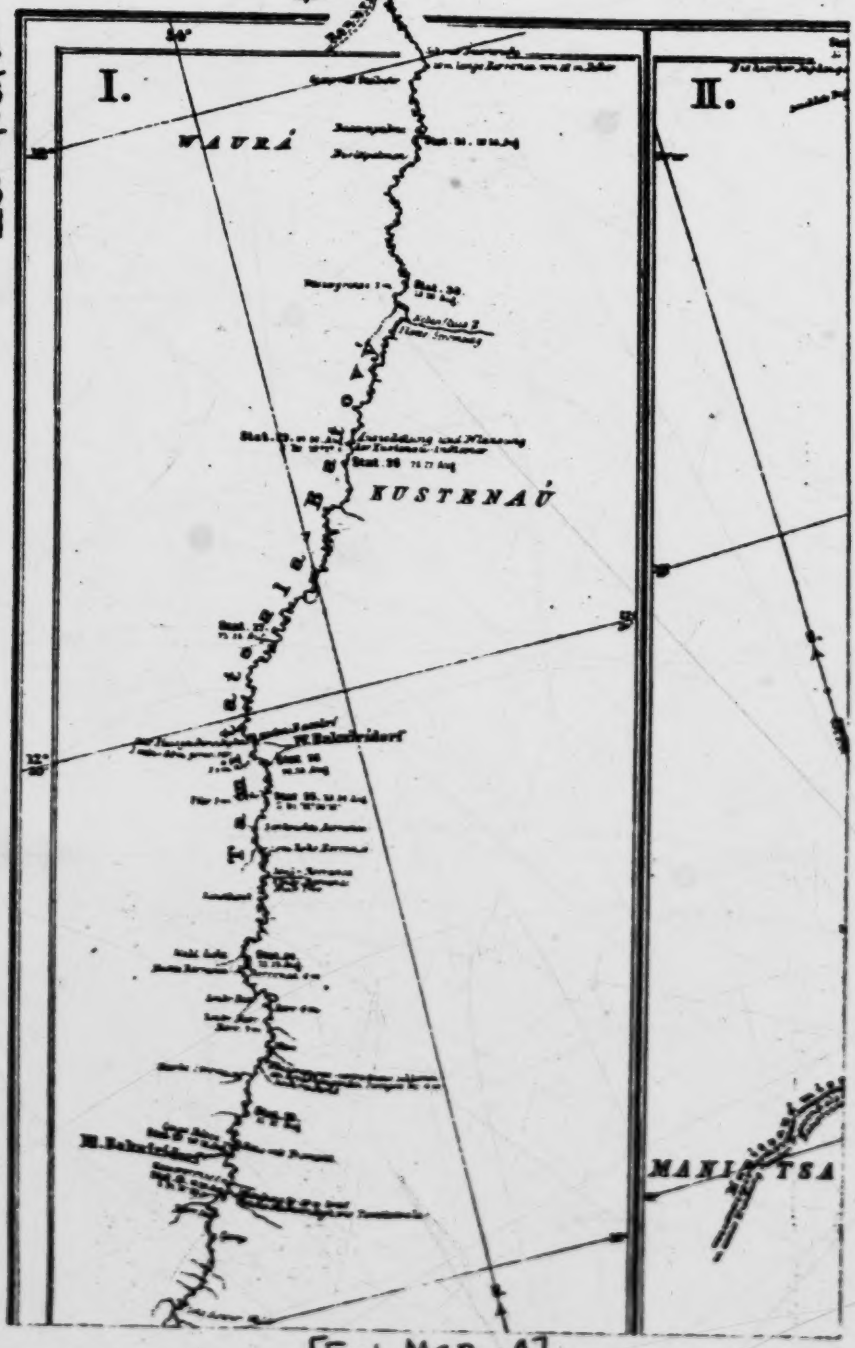

[End Map, A]

1: Steinen--174 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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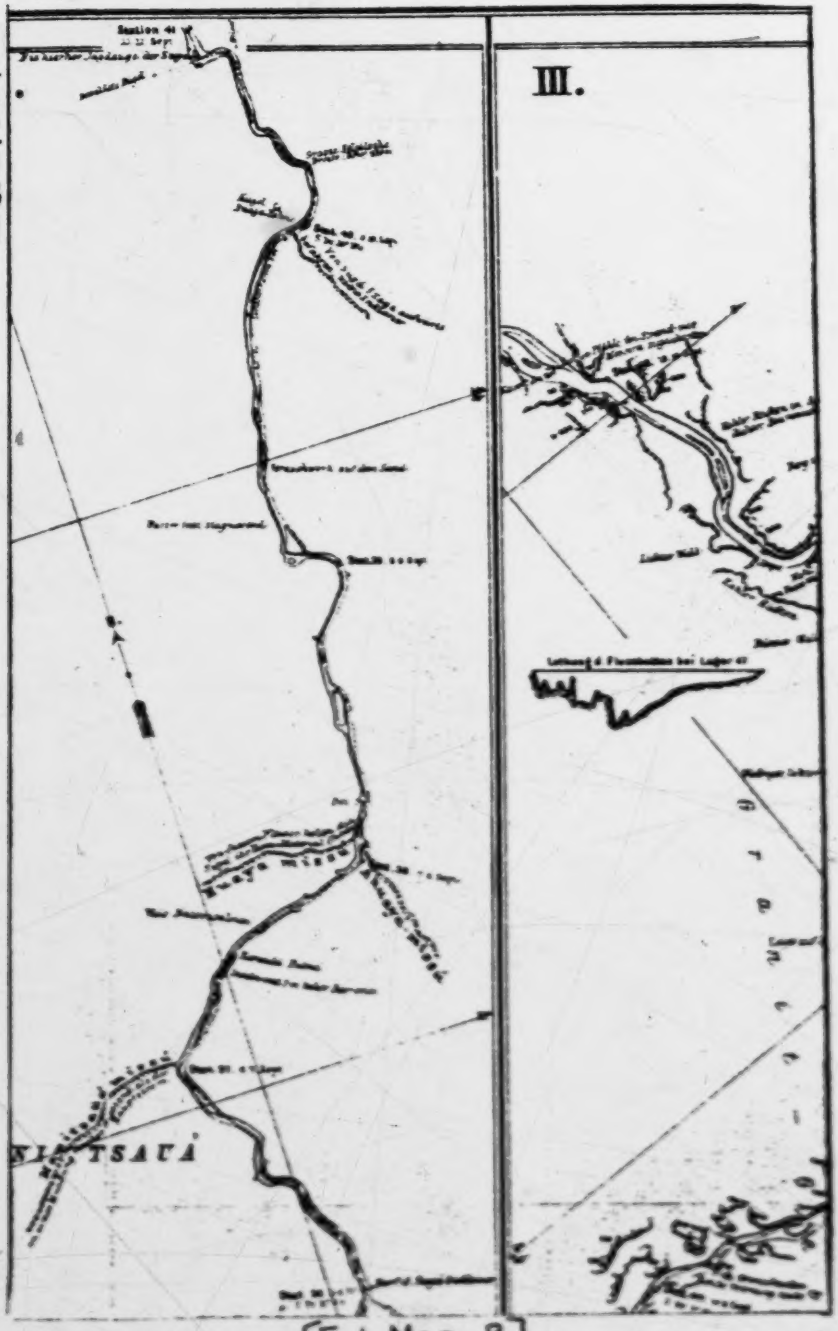

[End Map, 8]

1: Steinen--175 ☽, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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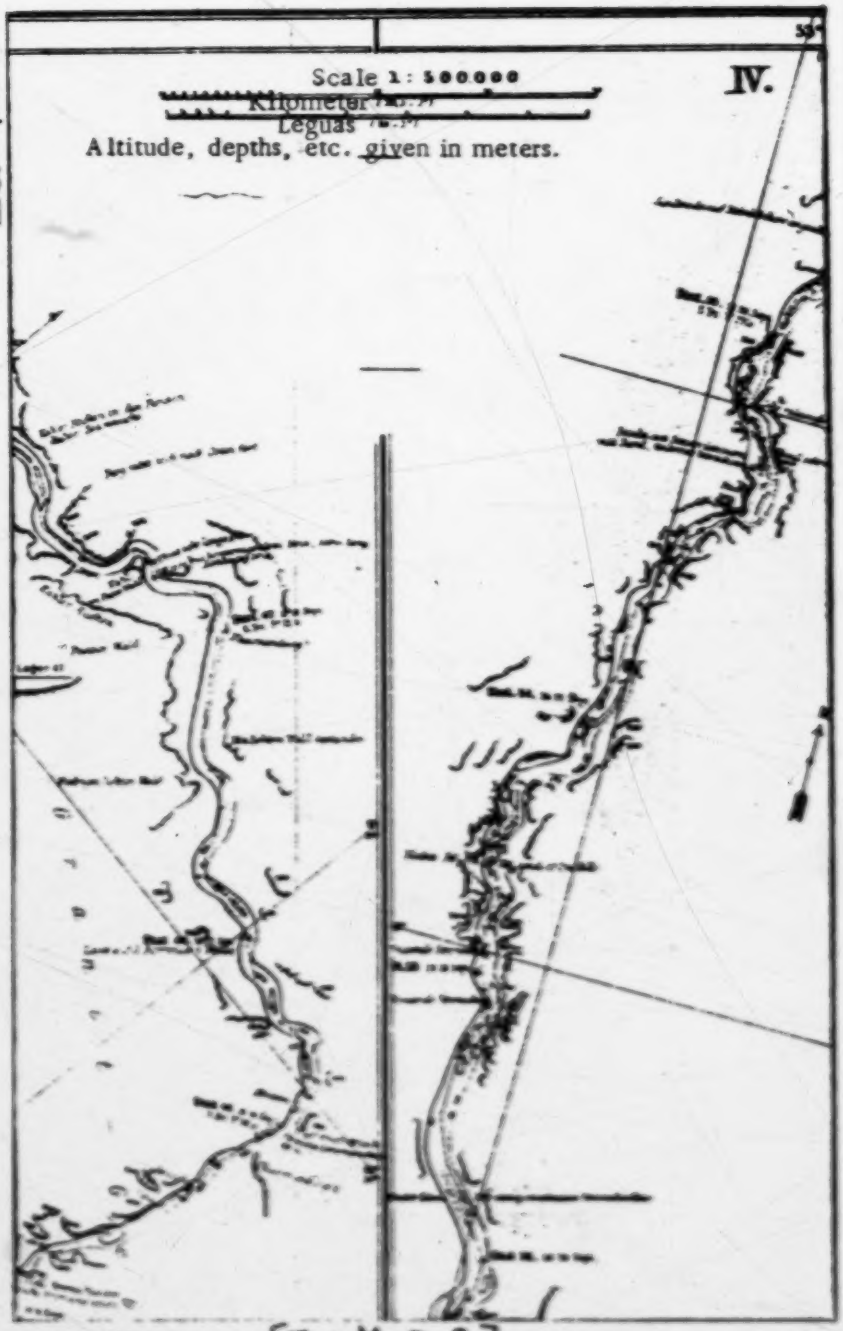

[End Map, C]

1: Steinen--176 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP?

Explanation:

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route of the v. d. Steinen Expedition 1884.

Δ Stat. 34 Stopping places on it, with dates 4, 5 Oct.

In the case of stations determined by astronomical calculations, the latitude that was ascertained is noted.

camp = treeless land overgrown with tall grass

= forest

Seringeiro = Brazilian caoutchouc gatherer

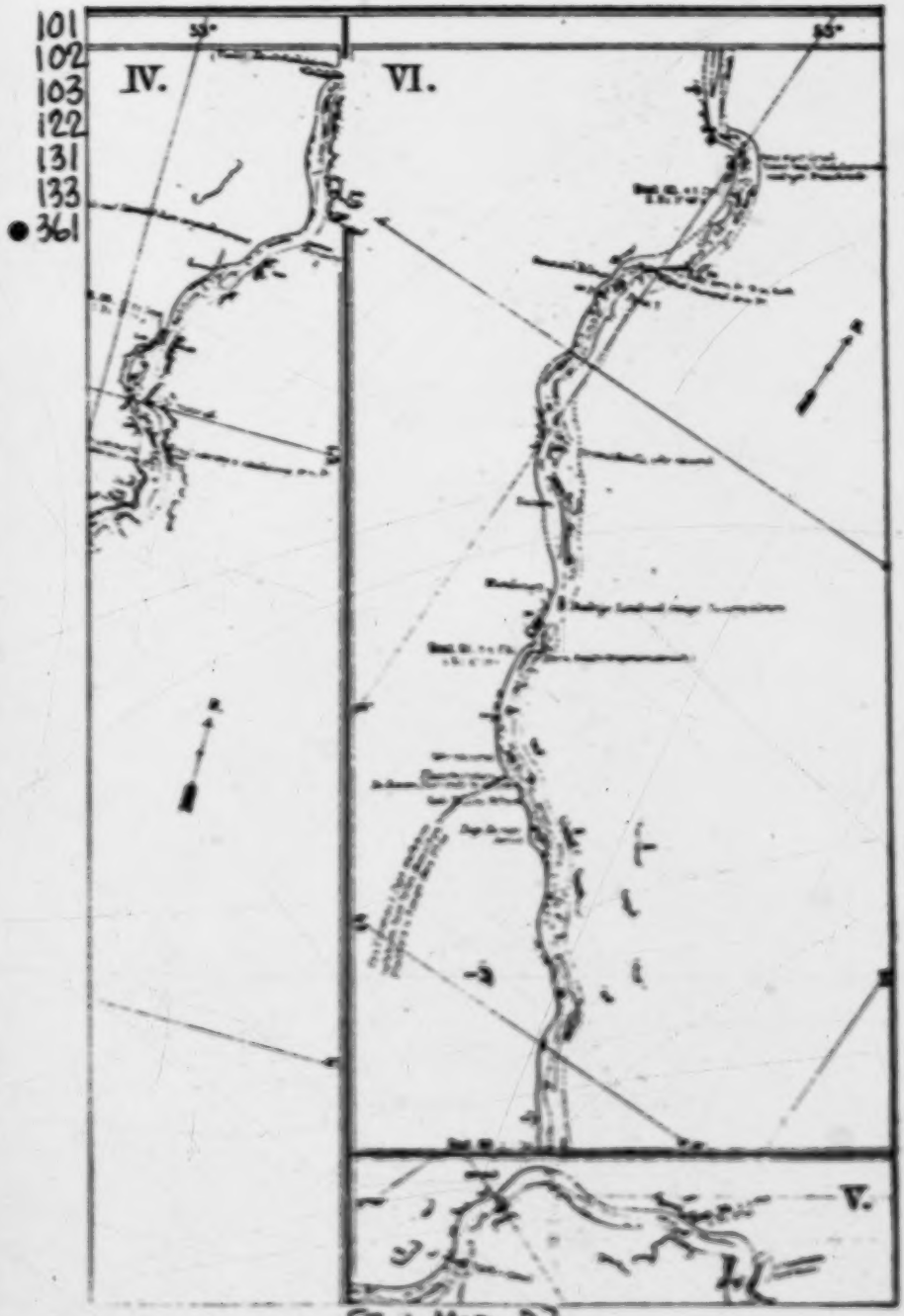
cataracts and rapids

rocks, partly covered with plant growth. Barranca = steep, sandy shore

sand banks

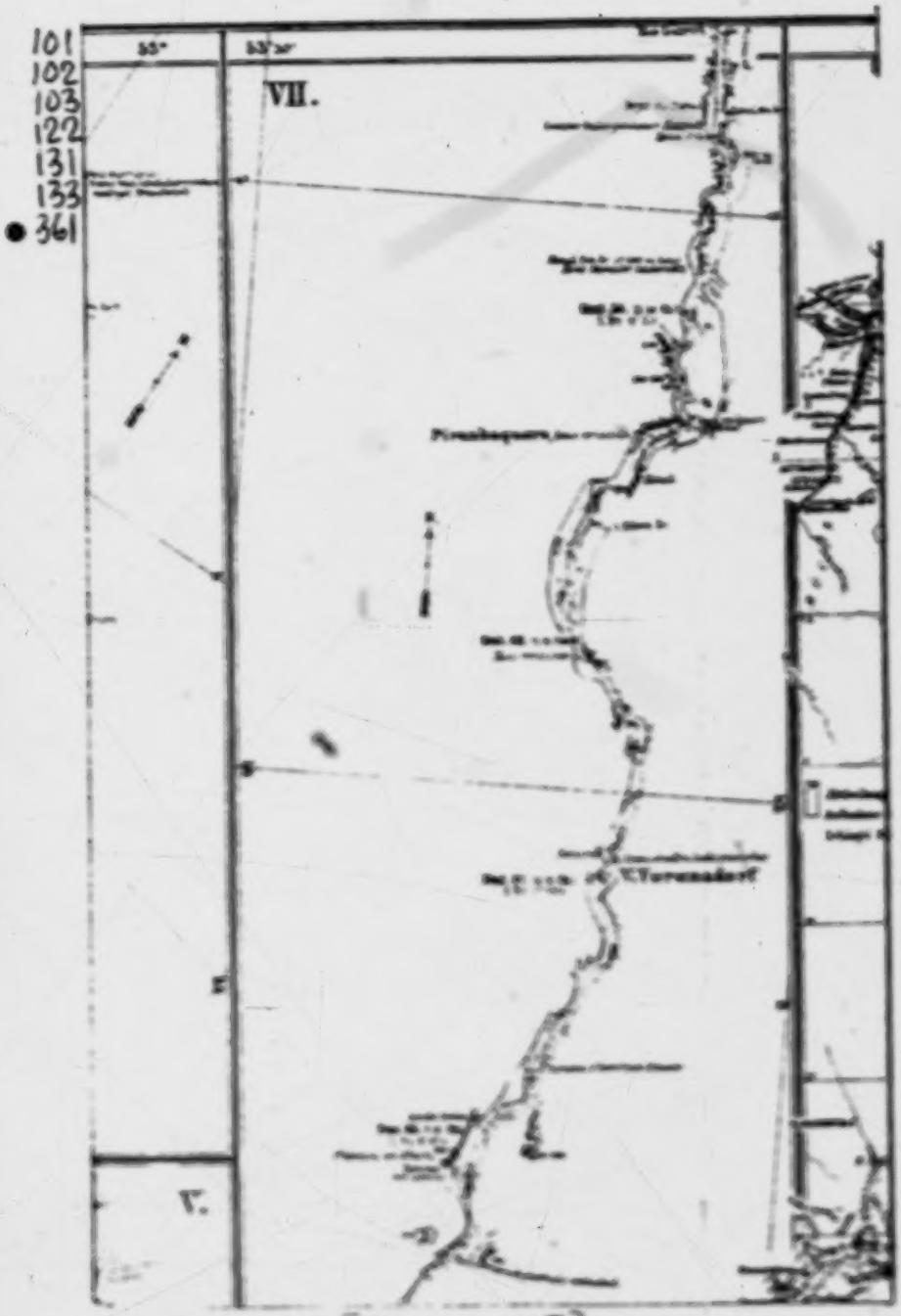
[Legend Appearing Below Scale on End Map, C]

1: Steinen--177 D E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7



[End Map, D]

1: Steinen--178 E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacalri SP7



[Eng. map, E]

1: Ste[illegible]-179 D,E 5 (188[illegible]) 1886 SP7 Recair SP7

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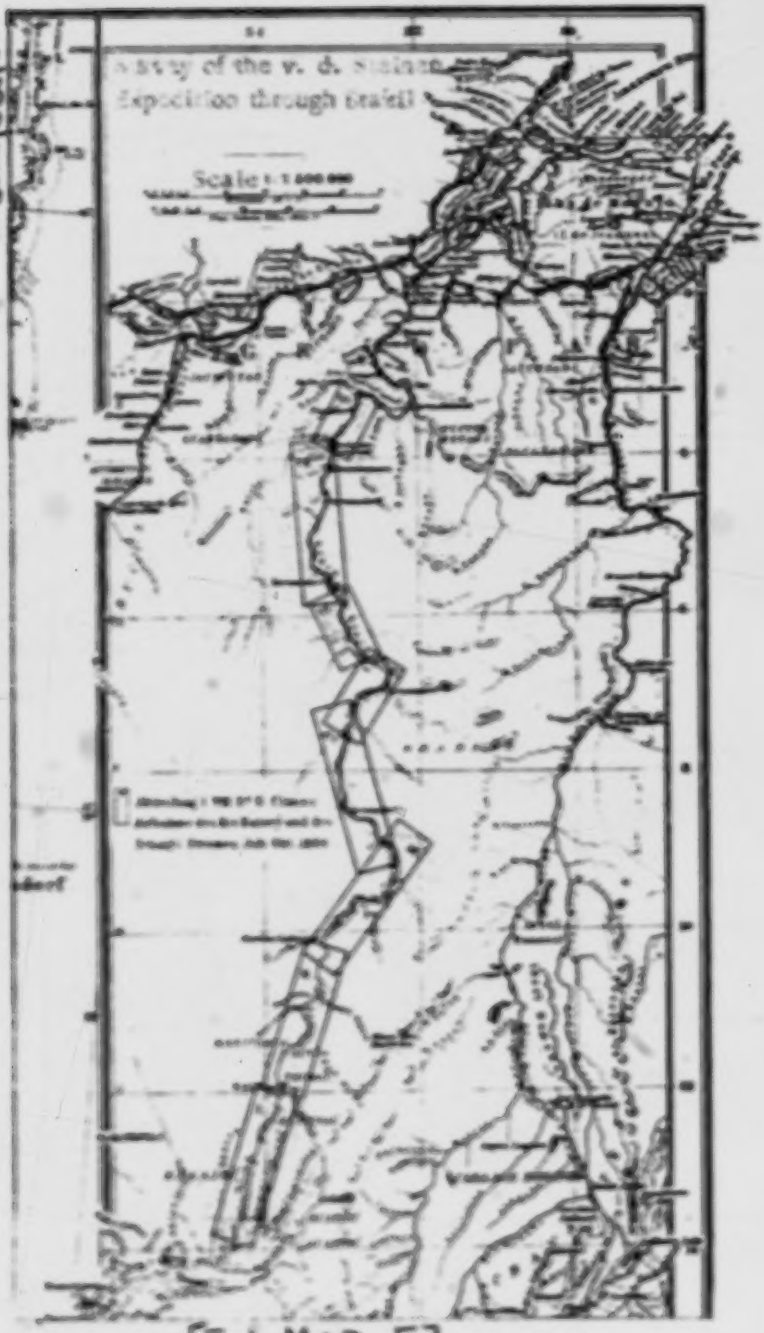

[End Map, F]

1: Steiner - 180 D 5-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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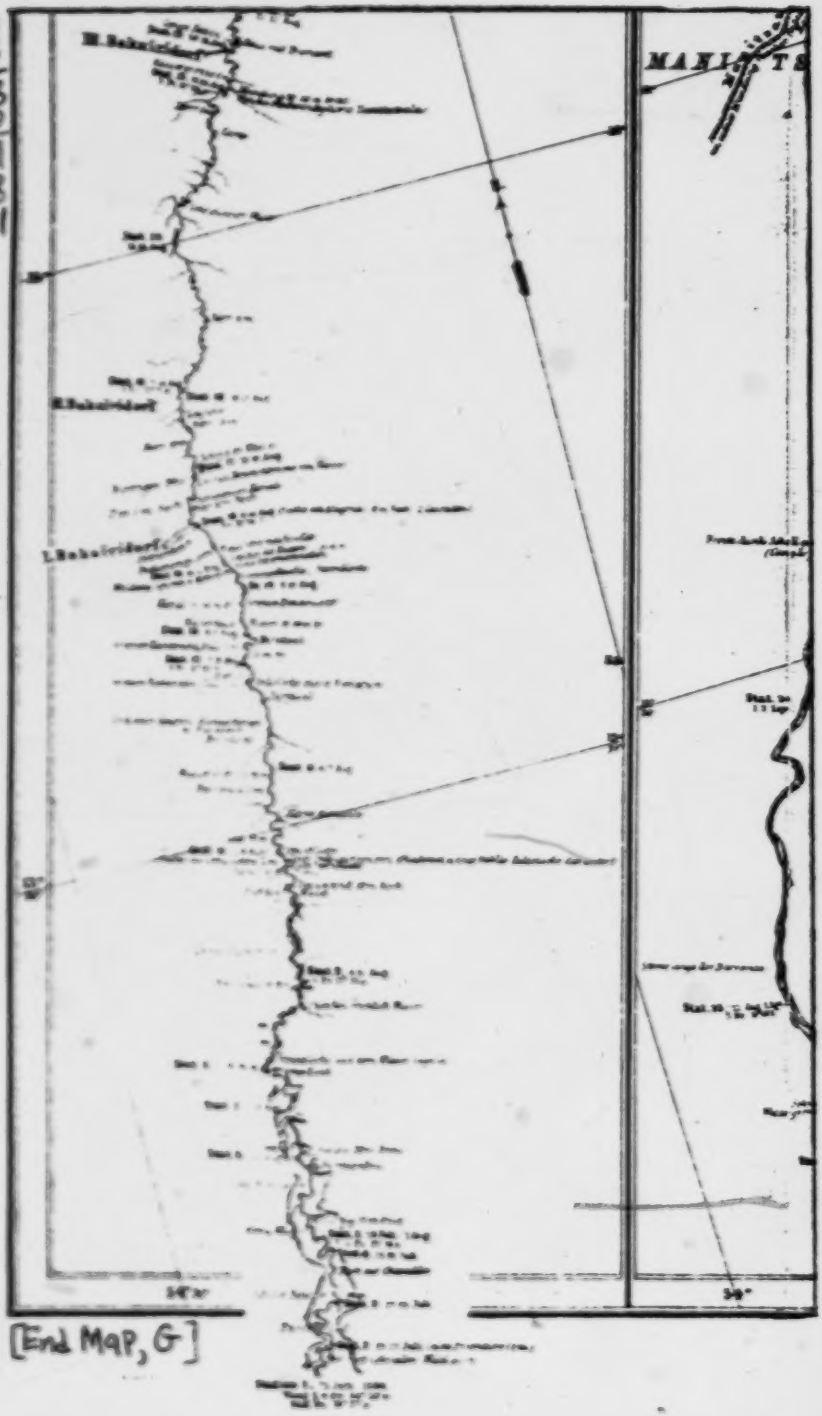

[End Map, G]

1: Steinen--181), E-5 (1884) 1886 Sp? Backall SP7

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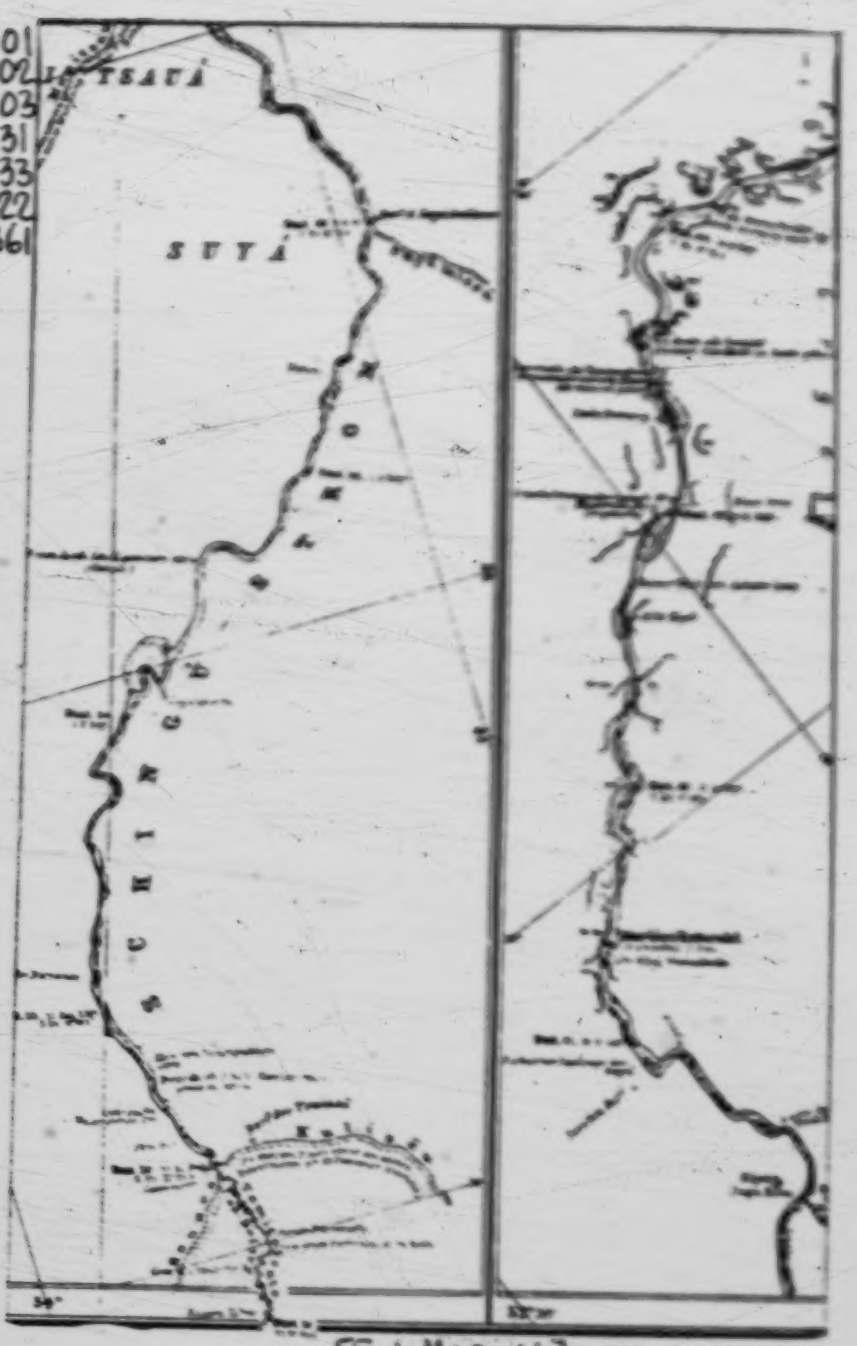
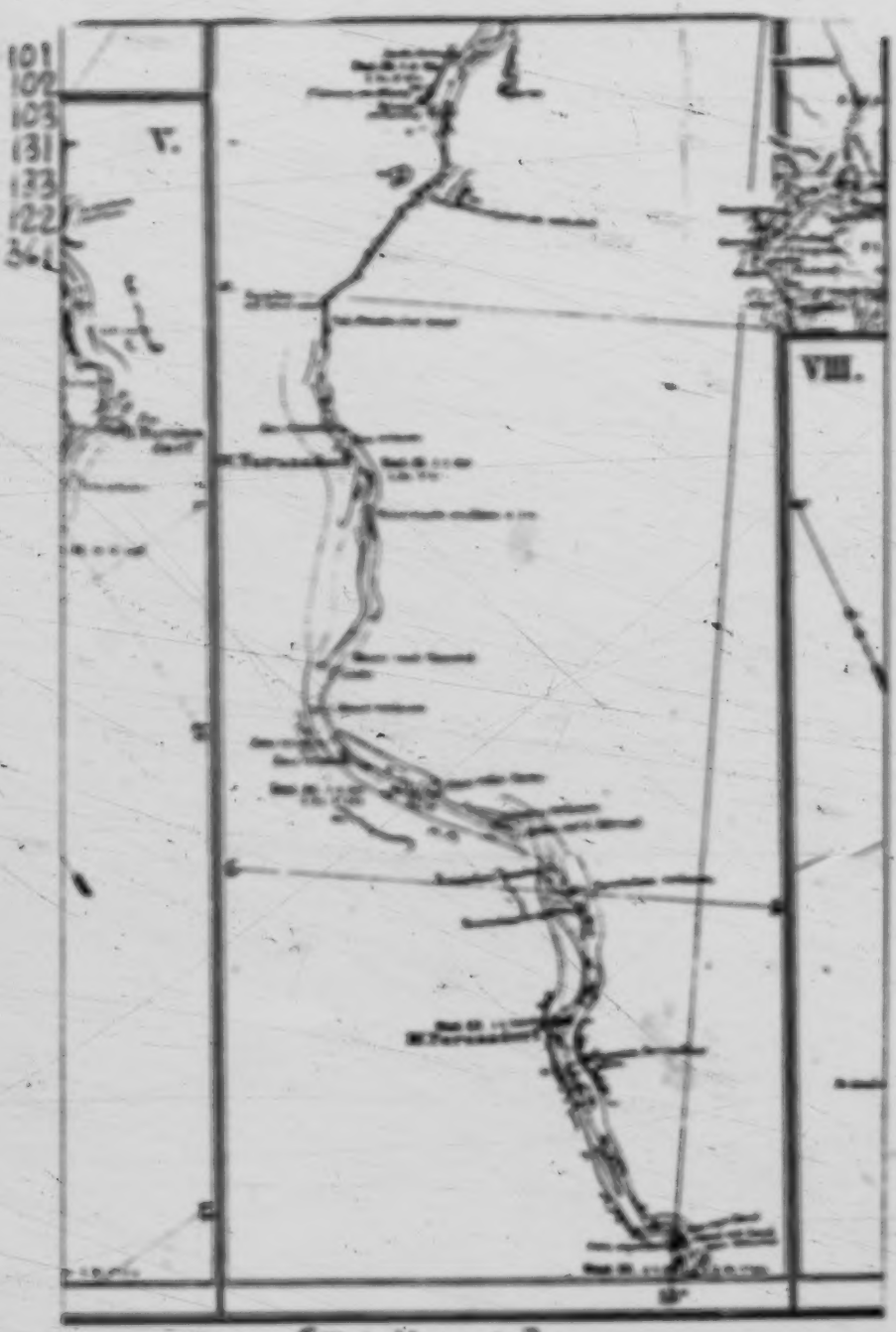


[End Map, H]

[End Map, I]

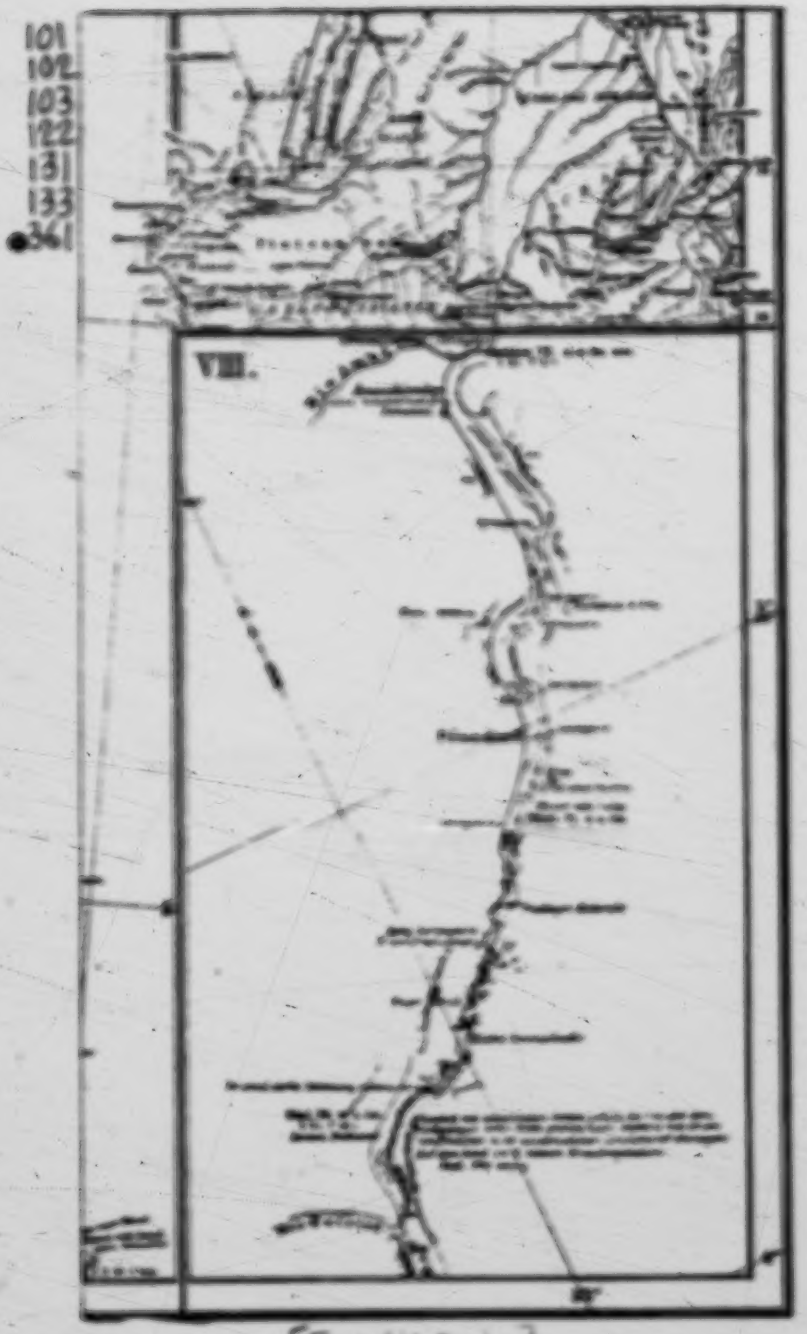
[End Map, J]

1: Sheet--194 DE-5 (1894) 1886 NT Facsimile SPP



[End Map, K]

I: Stenzel--185 D E-3 (1884) 1886 SPT Bacain: 577



[End MAP, L]

2. Steinen

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SP7 Bacairi SP7

/For a map showing place names, location of settlements, physical relationships of the various tribesdiscussed in the text, and topographical features of the area covered by the second vo den Steinen expedition, see category 116, pp. 664-684./

/53 cont./

122 Who was more pleased, Tumayaua, who hurried on ahead in order to announce us and rapidly disappeared from view, or [487] we ourselves, is difficult to say. We trudged behind one another along the narrow path in the terrain cleared by burning, stepped [361] into the forest after a few minutes, heard loud shouting and /54/ [342] a confusion of calls, and a few hundred feet farther, after we had crossed a crystal-clear brook on a tree trunk serving as a bridge, we came in sight of three beehive-like huts which had 609 an open space between them. Awaiting us there, with Tumayaua enthusiastically gesticulating at the head, was a naked, brown band of men and, in the rear guard, of women and children, all gathered in a tight group and half embarrassed, half joyful, [576] but in any case most surprised. The men stepped toward us, stretching out the right hand, and said "ĩma = "you," "that is you," or "ĩma kχarĩiba" = "you, the Karaibe /Carib/."

829 Not they, but we are the "Karaiben" in their eyes, and I, who among us speak of the Karaiben tribe of the Bakaïrí, was called there the "pĩma kχarĩiba," the chief of the Karaiben.

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/55/

Chapter V.

Bakaïrí Idyl.

I.

Information about Kulisehu and Kuluëne. Antonio and Carlos back. A part of the world in which there is no laughing. Village layout. Introduction of the persons. My flute-house. In Paleko's house. Hospitality. Bean-cooking and dance songs. External appearance of the Indians. Nakedness and feeling of modesty. Eating and feeling of modesty. Tobacco club. Pantomime: river journey, days' journeys, tribes, work with the stone ax. Presentation of "mãh" and "wauwau." Tobacco planting. Fishing in the lagoon. Canoe-building.

/55 cont./

B 101 131 361 On the very first evening I obtained a fairly clear conception of the Kulisehu dwellers whom we might see. There were three Bakaírí villages; they were supposed to be followed by a village of the "Nahuquí," two villages of the "Minakú," a village of the "Auití," a village of the "Yaulapihũ," and on the "Kuluĕne" a village of the "Trumaí," Between the Kulisehu and the Tamitotoala-Batovy, the "Kamayulá" and the "Waurá" were said to be living. The meaning of the river name "Kuluĕne," which I now heard for the first time, remained uncertain. Only gradually did I come to understand that it is the chief river in the east, larger than the Kulisehu which empties into it. Thus the river that we had seen in 1884 flowing in from the southeast at Schingú-Koblenz /Xingu-Coblenz/ was not actually the "Kulisehu," as we had understood at that time and had believed up to now, but rather the combined Kuluĕne-Kulisehu; the name "Kuluĕne" was retained for the Schingú itself below the large fork, so that the Suyá, for instance, lived on the Kuluĕne. If one wished to go by the nomenclature of the natives, one would have to use the name "Kuluĕne" instead of "Schingú" and now say that the Kuluĕne first receives the Kulisehu and then, at "Koblenz," the Ronuro along with the Tamitotoala-Batovy.

B 823 B 101 T 114 It was a difficult piece of work to get these statements from the Bakaírí; there was much drawing in the sand, much pantomime carried on, and, if a section of the route remained obscure, they always began again from the beginning. For the time being I knew enough; the individual tribes apparently did not live very far apart, at most a journey of three days. I was also given some bad news, and I confess that for me it spoiled the hitherto very pleasant memory of the first expedition: when the Trumaí /56/ at that time at Koblenz had dashed away from us in sheer flight, and our soldiers had pursued them in order to recover some of the objects that they had taken along in spite of their haste, a Trumaí had been killed, as I now learned, in the foolhardy shooting that the men had permitted themselves and that allegedly was only aimed into the air. We could therefore hardly count on a cordial welcome there.

/56 cont./

122 On the following day, 11 September 1887, I sent Antonio
[437] and Carlos back to Independencia with the news. In exchange for a bush knife I had acquired one of the two canoes that the Bakaïrí possessed. I myself wanted to remain behind to have a new canoe made and, for the sake of my studies, to take advantage of the rare opportunity to stay alone among these chil-
[361] dren of nature. I heard that in the second Bakaïrí village lying downstream there were three canoes and we could perhaps obtain two of them. While a good rancho was to be built for those remaining behind at our permanent quarters, one or two men who were now to be fetched by Antonio and Carlos were to ride with me to the second Bakaïrí village; there we could complete our outfitting and then, if all went well, row back to Independencia with four canoes, in order finally to commence the actual river journey. Moreover, to save time, Antonio and Carlos were to leave their canoe at the first large cachoeira and find Independencia overland. Thus, along with the experiences gained in the meantime by the gentlemen at Independencia, the terrain would be thoroughly explored and the question settled as to whether the permanent quarters could not be pushed forward closer to the first Bakaïrí village.

123 After I had brought the two worthies to the harbor and they had soon disappeared in the nearest bend of the river, I returned to my new friends and soon felt so comfortable in their midst that without hesitation I count those idyllic days among the
[121] happiest that I have experienced. I shall try to do them justice in a little sketch; this will give me the opportunity to report many little traits of the good people which could not be put in a purely scientific report, but which nevertheless are not without value, because they reveal the Indians to us not wholly as we are accustomed to imagine them. Not a little of this disappeared when the larger group arrived later; the complete unconcern which they showed toward me as a single individual did not remain, and their behavior more closely resembled the well-
114 known pattern customarily described in books.--And here I
157 should immediately like to enter a protest, with regard to my

/56 cont./

114 Bakaīrí, against such views about their characteistics as are
157 found, typically expressed, in the following sentences by Oscar Peschel (Abhandlungen zur Erde- und Völkerkunde /Essays on Geography and Ethnology/, Leipzig, 1877, Vol.I, p. 421): "In no other continent on earth did one hear lesshappy laughter before 1492 than in America. The so-called rec man remains the same in all climates, /57/ everywhere he isgloomy, silent, withdrawn, and intent on a certain dignified bearing."

157 These assertions are in no way applicable tothe Bakaīrí; they were gay, talkative, and trustful, as I obsewed them in their association with one another and as they aced toward me alone. I shall not fail to give examples of his. In this village I laughed and heard laughter almost as often as under the coconut palms of Samoa and Tonga. It is tue, their temperament is less vivacious and their entire iew of life less sunny than among the children of the SouthSeas, the girls do not dance in the moonlight and the men do ot sing on canoe trips; shyness and mistrust are more easiy aroused, but all this is a long way from the sadness and reserve which, like the black horsehair and the Mongolian eye, are summarily attributed to the Indian on the basis of appearances, as though there were but a single family berween the Berig Strait and the Strait of Magellan.

361 The "village" was very small; it consistedof two large
[342] round houses, in each of which several familieslives, and a
[592] small, empty, somewhat dilapidated oblong hone, in which I
[122] took up my residence. Between the houses stretcnd the "tasára,"
[417] an open place where a few racks stood for drying the white
[251] mandioca flour spread out on mats, where in the center lay a
[241] long, slender log for sitting, and, toward the edge, there grew a few stalks of cotton, Orleans bushes (Bixa orellana), and
245 Ricinus plants. Numerous fruit trees were planted all around, bakayuva palms (Acrocomia), mangaba /fruit of the mangabeira/ (Hancornia speciosa), fruta de lobo (Solanum lycocarpum), and a
487 sort of avenue of stately pikí trees (Caryocar butyrosum). Toward
361 the east a path led to the "harbor" across the nearby brook, toward
824

/57 cont./

487 the northeast a wide path through tall sapé grass, with which the
[824] houses are covered, to the river rapids below, toward the south
[361] a path to the mandioca planting, and everywhere tall forest moved in close to the inhabited and planted clearing.

162 The community numbered nine men, seven women, five
621 children. The names of the men were: Tumayaua, the chief,
551 our guide, who was primarily responsible for the planting (Pl.
[463] 6).[2] Paleko, his father, a charming old gentleman, with whom I struck up a close friendship and who in his declining years plaited baskets and fish weirs, Alakuai, the shrewd carpenter and canoe-builder, Awia, the painter, Yapü, the fat one, Kalawaku, the modest one, and the young men Kulekule,
[574] Luchu (Pl. 6), and Pauhaga. After a few days a couple of visitors came from the second village, among them one whose parents had died young and who therefore -- had no name.

The names of the women were not to be discovered: "pekóto ĩra" was the regular answer, "I am a woman." Thus
162 I have had to /58/ invent my own designations here; there was,
621 as always, an old woman who had a great deal to say and who, with her lean wrinkled body, was not exactly beautiful, the "tribal witch," Paleko's wife (see Pl. 5, left).[2] Her antithesis was her granddaughter "Eva," Tumayaua's daughter, mother of two children and the youthful wife of the muscular, magnificently strongly built Kulekule, who, before I knew his name, seemed to me worthy of being called "Adam" in this little paradise and also possessed a fine yellowish-red loam color.
[142] Eva had a finely chiseled European face with full lips, pale rosy cheeks which were closely framed with wavy hair, and the most beautiful eyes that I saw in Brazil -- and that is saying not a little -- large eyes whose sweet /Fig. 2 appears here/ glance contained no coquetry at all, but in whose radiant fire, with a full, naïvely tender upward glance, glowed that spark of innocent lust that must once upon a time have kindled the eternal fires of the universe; thus, with a body never mistreated by any lacing, she really looked like a young Mother Eva. Unfortunately, she scratched her head far too often,

[2] [See P. 40--Analysis]
[2] [See P. 28--Analysis]

/88 cont./

361 The village could be reached in half an hour or an hour from
311 the river, depending on whether one landed sooner or later. It was surrounded by cultivated land to an extent that aroused our
241 greatest astonishment. On the three different paths that we followed, we came through long stretches where the forest had been cut down with the stone ax. In March and April the trees are felled and in September and October the wood which has dried in the meantime is burned. We examined with admiration a number of thick trunks, the cross-sections of which were covered with the dull blow-marks of the stone axes, and regretted that we could not saw off such a marked surface and take it along. I silently begged forgiveness of the Indians at whom I had often laughed when they were swinging themselves in their hammocks at home, as though their lives were one long Sunday.

361 /89/ In Iguéti there were three large family-houses and a
345 very respectable flute-house in which many dance costumes made
535 of palm straw were hanging. On the village plaza a cage rose
343 up higher than a house, which consisted of long poles set together
231 in the form of a pointed cone; in it sat a mighty Harpia destructor, although the village is called igu-eti = sparrow-hawk village.
231 The once heraldic bird had probably long since departed. The beautiful eagle was named after its favorite food, mégo-zóto, lord
412 of the monkeys. Beside the chief's house lay a large whetstone
[191] for the stone axes; it gave me much pleasure because it showed the same grooves that we had observed in the zambaquis of Sta. Catharina.

621 The community numbered some 40 persons. They spoke of
162 three chiefs, but we met in this capacity only the good-natured,
622 very broad-shouldered Aramóke, who was characterized by a waddling walk. He had a sly expression and with his clumsy body was very polite, for, striding ahead of me in the forest, he broke off the branches, which might have snapped back in my face, more graciously than he probably would have for a woman. A large knife and a red scarf made him the happiest of mortals.
974 He showed us great hospitality. Fresh golden beijûs were con-
437 stantly brought forth, a row of calabashes filled with pogu were

/91 cont./

133 Tumayaua declared that he had heard them shout. It is probable
[101] that the fire glow which we had repeatedly noticed in the east, and which had been regularly observed in the evening at Independencia, came from them. Barely an hour later, the Kewayeli, about 12 meters wide, flowed in from the left. On both banks queimada and plantings.

484 From the second village Tumayaua had taken along as a companion Pakurali, a short, stocky old man who did not look as though he were a great sorcerer, and whom we, with a lack of respect, called the "cab driver." They did not have much
[482] luggage with them and easily packed it into the mayakus, their
[286] back-baskets for carrying loads. They had taken along on the journey, not cotton hammocks, but hammocks made of palm fiber, which are lighter and dry quickly if they become wet. /92/ The two made rapid progress, even though they were bent on fishing at every favorable spot. We had let the great sorcerer sniff a bottle of ammonia, which had horrified him no little. After that he could no longer be enticed to smell any of our things. If one of us calls from a corner that it stinks there, everybody runs over and sniffs.

103 To the Third Bakairí Village (Kuyaqualiéti).

361 The harbor at which we arrived at 4:45 lay at the end of a lateral inlet and would not have been found without a guide.

The next morning, 6 October, we departed at 7:00 for the village and reached it in three-quarters of an hour on the usual
[532] winding forest-trail. On the way we saw a large human figure carved in tree bark, with three fingers on the hands and stump-like feet.

Harpia village, "kuyaquali-éti," also had only three houses and a flute-house, but was the liveliest of the three villages.
162 I counted 31 men and just about as many women and children.
621 Some of the latter, however, had run into the woods. There
574 were probably about 100 souls in the village. The chief, Porina,
622 was a small, friendly gentleman; he had had beijú baked at night.

B /153 cont./
S the second journey. By and large, one must say, the statements
101 of our informant were confirmed. His river branchings, it is true,
131 cannot satisfy the cartographic demands of our Karaiben exacti-
823 tude, but even here he was more accurate than we could realize when we mistook the Kulisehu for the Kuluëne. But the astronomical position of the localities in relation to one another turned out to be completely distorted, since the Suyá needed a very long line to show the large number along the one branch of the source and blithely extended it endlessly to the south.

B We do not know the dwellers along the Ronuro; Vogel under-
101 stood the Auetó chief who navigated the mouth at Schingú-
131 Koblenz with him to say that there are Kabischí /Cabishi/ and Kayapó /Cayapo/ there. The Kabischí about whom anything is known live in the source region of the Tapajoz /Tapajós/ as part of the docile Pareuí Indians. It would be most interesting and significant if the Pareuí, like the Bakairí /Bacairi/, could be divided into a "docile" and a "wild" group, since it is precisely in this once populous and highly developed Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ tribe that the crude civilizing process has destroyed what cannot be replaced. It would not be surprising at all if the widely distributed Kayapó were on the Ronuro, since they frequently appeared on the Paranatinga and had merely been mistaken here for the Coroados-Bororó by the Brazilians.

B Along the tributary of the Ronuro, the Batovy-Tamitotsala*,
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● 361

* Formerly incorrectly written Tamitanoala. tamindo, falcon, owl & they killed (schóle) a falcon, as the Bakairí themselves told me.

down which we traveled in 1884, there are four villages of the Bakairí. Its lower course and the adjacent region on the right belongs to the Kustenaú /Custenau/ and the Waurá.

/154/ There follows, toward the east, the Kulisehu. On its left bank we have the three villages of the Bakairí, Maigéri or "tapir died," Iguéti or sparrow-hawk village, Kayaqualidti or [illegible] village.

2. Steinen- 128 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25
Waura SP18
Aueto SP6
Trumai SP23

/154 cont./

harpy village. Then, on the right bank, comes the village of the Nahuquá. Again on the left, somewhat apart and not visited by us, there is a fourth village of the Bakairí. Farther downstream the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ are on the left bank in the two villages which the Bakairí designated as Paischuéti (dogfish village) and Kalúti. It seems, however, that there are three villages, the Paischuéti-Mehinakú also spoke of the Yutapihú -- this would be "Kaluti" -- whose harbor we passed on 15 October, of the Atapihú, and at the same time warning us against the Ualapihú, Ulavapitú, that is, our Yaulapiti. From the Mehinakú territory there begin numerous canals, which, along with several lagoons, are found throughout the region between the lower courses of the Kulisehu and Batovy. The village of the Aueto may be regarded as a sort of central point for the canal traffic.*

* It is really strange that their name seems to have this meaning. They are called "Auití" by their neighbors; now in Guaraní the unsoftened adjectival form apité means "what is at the center, in the middle."

On two lagoons, in two villages, we find the Yaulapiti, on a third lagoon the Kamayurá /Camayura/, who had four villages close together and were on the point of uniting them into a single one. The Arauití (see p. 94) are a mixture of Yaulapiti and Aueto.

The Kulisehu flows into the Kuluéne; a few hours of rowing led to the Trumaí settled in two villages on its right bank not far above Schungu-Kobenan. The wife, driven away by the Suyá, had the intention of founding a new home near the Aueto. The Nahuquá live upstream on the Kuluéne, and also on small tributaries between it and the Kulisehu, in a series of villages that have separate names. We become acquainted with single individuals from the Guapirí, Yanumakapú, Guikurú /Kuikuru/, and Yaurikumá; the Yanumakapú, the Enomakabihú of the Bakairí, do not live on the main river, and of the Guapirí the Bakairí specifically pointed out that they are found overland between the Kulisehu and Kuluéne.

2 Steinen--134 E D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacat: 289
Trumai: 5223

/158 cont./

The Nu-Aruak fall into the subdivisions of the Nu tribes and the Aruak. "Nu-" is the characteristic fossil of these tribes, the pronominal prefix of the first person, highly characteristic for most of them, which we come across from Bolivia and the Mato Grosso to the Lesser Antilles. In the Guianas we see the Nu-Aruak in intimate contact with the Karaiben; on the Lesser Antilles, where the Aruak were attached and oppressed by the Karaiben, a true amalgamation would in all probability have come about without the arrival of the Europeans, bringing destruction. Father Raymond Breton in 1665 left us a dictionary of the Island Karaiben, whose Indian-French part, unfortunately only this, has become generally available in a facsimile edition, thanks to Julius Platzmann (Leipzig, 1892), and strove earnestly to separate the words of the Karaiben men and the Aruak women, where they differed, but proved by his compilation that two languages were no longer spoken independently of each other, as was mentioned above, but that the Karaiben men had allowed the substance and form of their old "mother tongue" to be tremendously changed by the new "language of their mothers."

On the distant Kulisehu we met the exact minor image of the conditions in the Guianas. The Mehinaki, Kumenaí, Waurá, and Taulapiti are Nu-Aruak; their influence was clearly asserted in language and culture traits among the Nahuquá who had taken several Mehinaki women.

Therefore, according to linguistic investigation, the tribes of the Schingú source region are to be classified as follows (the number of villages in parentheses):

Karaiben: Bakairí (8), Nahuquá (9).
Nu-Aruak: Mehinaki (3), Waurá (1), Kumenaí (1), Taulapiti (2).
Tupí: Kamayurá (6), Aweté (1).

/159/ Just as the Nahuquá embrace nine different "tribes," which correspond merely to nine different independent villages, we could likewise put the Mehinaki, Waurá, and Kumenaí together as one tribe. These three tribes speak exactly the same idiom. They also, as we shall see, form an ethnological unit.

/300/

III. Hunting, Agriculture, and "Stone Age" Culture.

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Population figures. Location of the villages. Combination of ancient agriculture and the world view of hunters. Hunting and fishing must furnish the most important tools for the tribes lacking metals, for whom the expression "Stone Age" is incorrect. Stone-as monopoly, teeth, bones, shells, feathers. List of useful plants and distribution according to tribes. No bananas. Plant names as evidence of continuous development. Lack of intoxicating flour-beverages proves that simplicity is not the same as degeneration. Combination of hunting and agriculture made possible through the division of labor of the sexes. Indian women do the agriculture, they invent pots to replace gourds; the men do the roasting, the women the boiling. Culture with agriculture, pottery, and the preparation of flour was spread and maintained by foreign women after wars, in particular by Nu-Aruak women.

B 161 128 The population of the Schingú /Xingu/ source region probably amounts to approximately 2500-3000 souls. I am not in a position to give more than a very superficial estimate. Even in the third Bakairí village, the young women and girls fled into the woods when we arrived. Usually the fugitives gradually returned, to be sure, but we never knew for certain whether we were seeing before us the normal number of inhabitants. The opposite also occurred, namely, that visitors from the neighboring villages had come in, and the company surrounding us seemed too large. B 162 21 The smallest villages consisted of only two family-houses, the largest of almost 20. In general, it will be correct if one reckons for the villages, depending on their size, a population of 30 to 150 and, where it is high, up to 200 inhabitants.

T 51 181 Only the Trumaí and, beyond Schingú-Kahima, the Suyá lived along the river bank. These were the most warlike and restless tribes. One might regard the Suyá as the pike in a B 341 fish pond. The rest lived in peaceful security, often more than two hours of travel inland from the river. But while the river in B 2 the region of the Bakairí /Bacairi/ was still narrow and had 177

/378 cont./

539 For three days they ran with it down toward the valley. Then they came to the salto of the Paranatinga, but it was not yet a waterfall, only dry rock. They themselves now brought the water to the salto and let it wait on the other side of the falls. But since they were now staying here, Keri soon had ducks and doves come and other birds who took the water with them and fed it on.

House, fishing, festival dances, tribes. Tumehi or Tumeng, a grandfather of Keri, lived on the salto. He was the husband of the grandmother or, as we have called her up to now, Aunt Iwaki (mother and aunt, great-aunt and grandmother have the same merit as kinsfolk). Tumehi was a bat and had a dark gray skin. Old Caetano variously called him Semimo (Bak. semimo, bat) and Rei de Congo! The king of the Congo, a term which he got hold of, heaven knows how, from Singoen, fleeing slaves or workers on the fazendas, and applied to the black Tumehi. Tumehi belongs to the oldest kin-group of Kamuchini, Mero, and Iwaki, and his correct name is probably Semimo, for tumehi, tumeng, is an adjective. The salto had been his stone house before the water came; it should not be surprising to us that it is precisely the bat, which prefers to "keep house" in rock clefts, that is regarded as the builder of the stone chasm and that the latter, with one or another overhanging rock-roof, is regarded as a house. Thus, Tumehi was pedreiro, stonecutter.

Keri and Kame had Tumehi build each of them a stone house. The latter provided himself with stones by blowing on termites; that is how stones were produced.

They learned more from Tumehi on the salto, however. Their knowledgeable grandfather showed them how to make and to set weirs and catch matrichan fish in them, how to plait roasting racks and roast fish.

Now Keri and Kame have reached the stage where they are regarded as adult human beings, they have acquired everything one needs: sun and moon, hammock and sleep, fire, the best river with the salto and its fish, house, and roasting rack. Their life had to start in heaven, and now it has been carried forward to the time when the actual tribal history begins at the oldest residence site of the Bakairi, on the salto of the Paranatinga.

/386 cont./

539 the jaguar stood up and went in the direction the ant bear had
725 gone. The ant bear was inside the mountain and was singing. The jaguar went into the house. Singing, the ant bear came along with his back to the door. As he was coming, the jaguar seized him. He ate some of his leg. When he had eaten, he let go and went home. The termites made the ant bear well again. When he had recovered, the ant bear got up.

The little ant-bear (Myrmecophaga tetradactyla) said he would kill the jaguar. "Oh pshaw, you're no giant," the people said to him. "Then take magic poison along," the people told him. The little ant bear did as they said; he took magic poison in a gourd to Oka's house and placed the gourd in front of the door. Oka went out. When he caught sight of the gourd, he said, "That is something nice for me," and opened it. Then Oka became ill. The jaguar died.

/387/

Chapter XIV.

On the Question of the Original Home of the Karaiben.

I. Historical Data on the Bakairí.

101 In contrast to the East Bakairí /Bacairi/ of the Schingú, found first by our expedition of 1884 and 1887, I call the Bakairí west of the Paranatinga, long known to the Brazilians, the West Bakairí. Today there is one village of them, to which our
131 [361] Antonio belongs, on the left bank of the Paranatinga, and a second one on the small tributary stream of the Arinos, the Rio Novo, where Reginaldo ruled as chief and where in 1884 we made
[464] our first acquaintance with the tribe. A few individuals, whom one can count on one's fingers, however, are to be found as workers on one fazenda or another in the western source-region of the Paranatinga; there are also supposed to be a few on the Rio Preto in the vicinity of Diamantino, who represent the
131 remains of a former settlement. At any rate, since the Arinos
133 and Paranatinga flow into the Tapajos /Tapajós/, the West

/389 cont./

127 from March 13, 1872, is classic. It had become necessary to take into account the tremendous and widely known changes which the Paraguay war had brought about in the southern part of the province. Of the tribes listed as Nos. 3-15 in 1848, three were crossed out, the total figure was reduced from 13,020 to 8670; on the other hand, for tribes 1, 2, 16-33 the old report was again copied verbatim, so that no human being seems to have been born or died here in the 24 years.

175 The Bakaïrí of the Paranatinga and Rio Novo maintained them-
[199] selves in their two poor villages; they were occasionally visited
[164] by gold-seeker expeditions who would then arrange a small mass-baptism and introduce syphilis and measles. Many perished from
[159] measles, the disease, relatively harmless for us, is not only /390/ often fatal to the Indians, but they also have the bad habit of plunging into the river in the middle of the highest fever and not drying themselves after they leave the cool bath.

173 I made an effort to learn more details about the history of
[115] the tribe from the aged Caetano, retired chief, and his successor, Felipe, on the Paranatinga, as well as from Antonio. A history of more recent times can clearly be separated out, during which a shift to the southwest took place. Whereas the forefathers on the
173 salto of the Paranatinga lived several days' journey below the
131 present village and somewhat above the emptying of the Rio Verde
169 coming from the left, the West Bakaïrí, at least since the middle
361 of the previous century, have occupied the border area between the source rivers of the Arinos, Cuyabá, and Paranatinga, where the village on the Rio Novo is still to be found. On the Ribeirão Caixão there were more than six villages; there was a large village on the Ribeirão da Pedra. The first baptism of the Bakaïrí took place in Diamantino. Caetano, born in the previous century according to all calculations, first saw the light of the world where
[177] the Rio Beijaflor empties into the Paranatinga. The Paranatinga village now located above this is a creation of modern times,

/390 cont./

131 brought about by the gold-seeker Correa. The expeditions in
173 search of the fabulous gold mines of the Martyrios were able to
177 cross the Paranatinga most conveniently here and wanted to use
167 the canoes of the Bakaïrí as well as to obtain food supplies from
●361 them. Antonio was born toward the end of the fifties, at the earliest, in Limoeiro, a small settlement.

131 The ancestors of Antonio offer a chronological handle. His
173 father, Seseriari, also had a Portuguese name; his grandfather,
601 like an Indian in the first Batovy village, was called Karawako, his great-grandfather Yakauka, his great-great-grandfather Kupare, and the last one whose name Antonio still knew was his great-great-great-grandfather, Mariukara. The latter lived near the salto of the Paranatinga. If we estimate 30 years per generation, the succession might go back to before the middle of the eighteenth century. Caetano, probably born around 1790, was still supposed to be able to call by name six or seven ancestors, which I unfortunately could no longer confirm, so that his genealogy would reach back to the middle of the seventeenth century. Caetano's father was born on the Paranatinga, above the salto, it was his grandfather who was born on the salto itself. In any case, the statements of the Bakaïrí agree perfectly with the report of Antonio Pires that the Bakaïrí were in contact with the tribes on the upper course of the Cuyabá at the beginning of the previous century.

131 It is not unimportant to determine as much of the tradition
173 as possible, insofar as it does not yet appear as legend and fairy
[101] tale, because it is very desirable to know whether the present-day West Bakaïrí, the inhabitants of the Tapajoz source-region, or the East Bakaïrí in the source region of the Schingú /Xingu/ occupy the older habitations.

/391/ The West Bakaïrí definitely put the original home of the entire tribe at the salto of the Paranatinga, so that our Karaiben /Carib/ tribe would originally have belonged to the Tapajoz. But the western source-rivers of the Schingú and the eastern ones of the Paranatinga lie so close together that it is a matter of pure chance where the tribes moving downstream arrive. "One of the grandfathers" of Caetano was slain in the forest by

/391 cont./ [illegible] another Bakairí; at that time there were serious conflicts within the tribe, and the result was -- according to the report of the Paranatinga people -- that one part of the Bakairí moved from the xaho to the Kulisehu.

Between the Paranatinga and the Roncro, too, there is a "tapera," a ruined settlement of bygone days, known to the West Bakairí. At one time a route led from the xaho as far as the Auetó on the Kulisehu, which therefore must have led across the Roncro or its source streams and the Batovy. The Bakairí are said to have fled along this route and to have settled in part on the Batovy, in part on the Kulisehu. They were said to have obtained mandioca twigs, batatas, and caiá /Dioscorea/ fruits from the Nahuquá for planting.

These are, therefore, very definite statements. It is difficult to say, however, when the separation between West and East Bakairí took place and whether it occurred in several strata. Just as the tribe of the Auetó and of the Nahuquá appears in the tradition of the Paranatinga village, to have the names of the rest of the Kulisehu tribes, the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, Tauiapiti, Kuseneú /Cuseneu/, Waurá, Kamayurá /Camayura/, and Trumai, been known there from the times of Caetano's grandfathers. In the third Bakairí village on the Batovy we found a small piece of iron that was said to have been brought in former times from the Pakuhoni, the Paranatinga; thus occasional visits back and forth may have occurred, or at least Paranatinga-Bakairí may now and then have reached the Schingú.

In general, however, I gained the impression that the actual separation of the two Bakairí groups took place around the middle or the beginning of the previous century at the latest, when the Brazilians settled in the Mato Grosso and caused major shifts of the tribes. Probably it was not merely a matter of individual internal feuds among the people at the xaho, but also of malevolent neighbors who oppressed and occasionally drove away the peaceable Bakairí.

In the Brazilian sources the Nambiquara /Nambicuara/, Tapanhuna /Tapanyuna/, and Kayabí /Cayabi/ are given as

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/13 cont./ I shall first deal with the western Bakairí, most of whom lived in two aldeias about two leagues apart, located on the Corrego Saint'Anna, a tributary of the Rio Novo, and the rest on the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires). (6) The Bakairí of the Rio Paranatinga lived at that time

6. Cf. the map drawn by Vogel and published in Karl v.d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit.

in a single aldeia, located 17 kilometers downriver from the mouth of the Piava and right in the narrow river valley. (7)

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7. Cf. Antonio Pyrineu de Sousa, Exploração do Rio Paranatinga e seu levantamento topographico bem como o do Rio S. Manoel e Telles Pires /Exploration of the Rio Paranatinga and its Topographic Survey as well as that of the São Manoel and Telles Pires Rivers/. Commissão de Linhas Telegraphicas, etc., Publication No. 34, Appendix No. 2. Rio de Janeiro, 1916, pp. 35 and 61.

Besides these Bakairí of the Rio Novo and the Rio Paranatinga, it was said that there were some of these Indians living on the Rio Preto in the vicinity of Diamantino, the remainder of the inhabitants of a settlement of former times, (8) and a few

8. Karl v.d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., p. 387.

individuals working on one ranch or another in the western region of the headwaters of the Rio Paranatinga.

/15 cont./

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12. Karl v.d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern. l. c., p. 393.

of this period were marked enemies of the Brazilian campesinos, and to whom we must attribute the attacks against the ranches of the upper Cuiabá River, attributed in Brazilian documents to the "Coroado." (13) The incursions of the Mundurukú

13. Ibid., p. 394.

/Mundurucu/, who had extended farther south in earlier times, were still clearly remembered by the western Bakairí, but in this period the former did not appear. The principal enemies were undoubtedly the Kayabí of the Rio Verde with whom they had long lived in a state of almost hostility. The Bakairí

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place their ancestral land at the famous falls of the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Teles Pires), located upriver from the mouth of the Rio Verde. They said that old Cacique Caetano's had been born in the old aldea situated at the falls. It was said that at that time the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí had traveled to just below the mouth of the Rio Verde but had later returned from fear of the Kayabí. Cacique Caetano's father had already

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been born in an aldea situated farther upriver. Antonio Pyrineus de Souza, in his expedition down the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Teles Pires), found habitation ruins below the mouth of the Beija-flor near the Cerro de Piquirizal and on the right side of the river, where it was said that the Bakairí had had a large

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aldea in former times. It is also said that they fought with the Kayabí and the Tapanhuna /Tapanyuna/ when they lived in this place. (14) Undoubtedly the Bakairí had /16/ lived closer to

14. A. Pyrineus de Souza, loc. cit., p. 69.

173 /16 cont. /Undoubtedly the Bakairí had /15/ lived closer to
648 the Kayabí than in later times, because they had moved their
726 aldea successively farther upriver. But hostilities with their
727 enemies then had still lasted. One night in a raid the Kayabí
361 had killed Felipe's father and carried away a child. On this account some 20 Bakairí men had undertaken an expedition for revenge and had killed two Kayabí men and carried away two girls, who were living at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions in the aldea situated on the Paranatinga River, where they were married to two Bakairí men and were called Luiza and Maria. When I met Luiza, in the year 1927, among the Bakairí of Simões Lopes, she was an old woman. Given the fact that the population of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga River had dwindled to so few individuals, even at their later location, the Kayabí remained a danger for them.

648 The Bakairí were known by the Paresí as old neighbors,
727 and the Paresí, Charlotte, who was the wife of Cacique Felipe, had been carried away from Diamantino by the Bakairí. (15)

15. Karl v. d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 122. Idem., Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., p. 3 4.

174 From the extraordinary concordance of the legends of the Paresí
648 with those of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga River, noted by
177 Karl von den Steinen, it follows that in earlier times, there was extensive contact between the western Bakairí and the
174 Paresí. (16) Unfortunately we do not know the legends of the
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16. Karl v. d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., pp. 364 and 365.

eastern Bakairí, who live in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River, so that we do not know to what extent these legends

175 /17 cont./
619 in subsequent times to a high degree the history of the two
128 groups of the Bakairí tribe, so different one from the other.

After Karl von den Steinen's second expedition to the
175 Xingu River, the next event in the history of the Bakairí, and especially of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga, was the last expedition of Captain Telles Pires in the year 1889. This explorer, accompanied by Lieutenant Oscar Miranda and 26 boatmen, among whom were also Paranatinga Bakairí, had endeavored to go down the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires) from the mouth of the Rio S. Manuel /São Manuel River/.
175 Among the 21 companions who perished with Telles Pires in
622 this undertaking was Cacique Felipe of the Paranatinga Bakairí, who died of fever on the way. The Bakairí, Bruno, raised and adopted by this cacique, who had accompanied his father, was not heard of again after this excursion and it was supposed
175 that he also had perished. When the Bakairí got the news of
622 their cacique's death, they burned their houses /28/ and
166 abandoned their aldea to settle farther upriver. The harbor of
361 the new aldea, situated like the previous aldea on the left
[103] side of the river, was 18 kilometers downriver from the mouth of the Rio S. Manuel on the Rio Paranatinga, or Rio Telles Pires as it was officially named after the ill-fated undertaking of Captain Telles Pires, and the aldea itself was 1,600 meters inland from the riverbank and 200 meters from the small Corrego do Tanî /"Armadillo Stream"/. (21)

21. A. Pyrineu de Souza, loc. cit., pp. 61, 68, and 69.

175 Who the first cacique of the aldea was after Felipe's death
622 I do not know. At the close of the last decade of the past century, when Antonio Correa da Costa was president of the state of Mato Grosso (in the years from 1891 to the beginning of 1896, with a gap in the year 1897), the cacique of the aldea

/19 cont./

175 I must also mention here an expedition of five North
648 Americans who, half a year before Hermann Meyer's second expedition, went down the Rio Kuliseu to look for rubber. No doubt, like the other expeditions to these regions, they took along Bakairí Indians. The details of the tragic outcome of this expedition, whose five participants were all massacred by the Suyá with clubs, were told me several times by the Bakairí and the Auetö in the same way, and I have noted down the particulars of this event with care in my book, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien. (26)

26. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 42.

In the year 1900, Paulo Castro had once more entered the region east of the Rio Paranatinga, this time as head of an expedition outfitted in grand style by the Mato Grosso government, as they said, to prepare, at the top of the water divide between the Xingu and Araguaya rivers, a route that would lead to the Amazon River, in order to facilitate the transportation of livestock from Mato Grosso to Pará. Shortly before the return of my expedition to the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River in June, 1901, the survivors of Paulo Castro's expedition, which had been a total failure, returned to Cuiabá. The great hardships of this last expedition of Paulo Castro caused this explorer, untiring in his search for the "martyrs," never to be well until his death.

114 In the year 1901 I led my own expedition to the region of the source of the Xingu River, when I had the opportunity to become acquainted with the conditions of the life of the Bakairí of the Rio Novo and the Rio Paranatinga, and also, especially, of those of the Bakairí of the Rio Kuliseu.

114 /20/ Shortly before crossing the Rio Novo I passed out of
36 the two aldeas of the Rio Novo Bakairí, but I had only a passing

/20 cont./

114 took at this settlement situated on the left side of the Rio Novo.
•36) The main aldea of these Indians, which consisted of five ranchos, was at a distance of three turns of the river from the small Brazilian pueblo of Rio Novo situated on the right side of the
[648] river. At this place I met Mr. Fliseu, who then held the title of subdirector over the Bakairí.

114 Conditions among the Rio Novo Bakairí had hardly changed
178 since the time when Karl von den Steinen described them.
622 Also, the population, which I estimated at 60 individuals, was
[162] more or less the same. Reguakão, who had meanwhile become an old man, was still cacique of the two communities of Rio Novo Bakairí. Plate V of my book Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien presents a photograph taken in the aldea of these Indians showing Cacique Reguakão with his wife in the midst of several other Bakairí, standing in front of the door of his house. The book which he holds in his hand is the work Durch Centralbrasilien, published by Karl von den Steinen, in which he is also represented in a drawing and at which he is
114 looking with great interest. In the aldea there were still various
198 objects which were products of typical Bakairí work, such as for
[285] example the large baskets of twigs /bananas/ woven in the an-
531 cestral way, and other kinds of baskets which matched exactly
184 in terms of technique and decoration those made by the Bakairí
[411] of the tributaries of the Xingu River. (27) The Rio Novo Bakairí

27. Cf. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., Fig. 17a, p. 347.

also still used, besides firearms, bows and arrows for hunting, and these corresponded exactly to those of their fellow country-
179 men of the Xingu River region. But outside of these objects,
.23 made in native fashion, these Bakairí had been changed completely into Brazilian campesinos as a result of the fact that

/24 cont./

231 a table made of vertigas and provided regularly with meat, if possible monkey meat.

178 Among the various crafts of the Kuliseiu Bakairí, pottery-
323 making, plaiting, and spinning were still maintained in the
285 ancestral form. Food preparation was also still the same as
283 described by Karl von den Steinen for times past. The only
252 essential difference appeared in regard to woodworking, for
179 which at this time metal tools were used, so that this craft no
322 longer depended on stone axes, drill, with stone points, shells,
412 and the teeth of fish or other animals. Another acquisition from
301 the various expeditions which had passed through their territory were ear pendants of multicolored glass beads with which many women and children, especially, were well provided. European
291 clothing was seen only in exceptional cases. Thus the first man who came out of his house in Mangeri-aldea to greet me had on trousers which he had been given at the time of a visit to the Rio Paranatinga aldea and which surely had never been washed since. As a rule the uburi (small triangle of bark) was the sole
291 national garment of the women and young girls, and a fine thread belt and body paint the men's apparel.

114 When Karl von den Steinen visited the Rio Kuliseiu Indians, the first Bakairí aldea, called Mangeri, consisted of only two
361 large houses of kuñaile and one small house for fiesta; with an
342 oval base, while the second and third aldeas each consisted of
345 three large houses of kuñaile and of one house for fiesta. Thus the number of houses in Bakairí aldeas at the time of my stay
161 among these Indians had increased, and for this reason I do not hold to Hermann Meyer's observation that this tribe was already "greatly declining" at the time. (30) No doubt there

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30. Hermann Meyer, Ibid., p. 128.

were then only two Bakairí aldeas on the Rio Kuliseiu, the first, Mangeri, already mentioned by Karl von den Steinen, and the

/24 cont./

114 second. Maimaieti, also called Mutika, but for a short /25/
161 time there was also an aldea called Bodoku in the region that
361 extends between the Kulisehu and Batovy rivers. From the fact that the wife of the Bakairí, Mayukí, who was the head of one of the Maimaieti houses, lived in that aldea, it follows that there were intimate relations between the inhabitants of these two aldeas.

Unfortunately I was unable to obtain, during my journey to the Rio Kulisehu, exact data on the population of the first aldea of Maigeri and of Bodoku aldea situated between the Kulisehu and Batovy rivers, just as it is not possible to determine exactly the population movement of the Bakairí of the Rio Kulisehu in the period of time which elapsed between Karl von den Steinen's expedition and my stay among these Indians in the year 1901. But I can still recall clearly that the population of Maigeri aldea had more than the 21 individuals it had at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expedition. Also, from the fact that the aldea consisted at the time of my trip of four houses of simbaik instead of the two houses that Karl von den Steinen found, it can be concluded that the population had increased considerably in the interval. As for the inhabitants of the second Rio Kulisehu aldea, Karl von den Steinen estimated them at some 40 individuals, which corresponds more or less to the population of Maimaieti aldea in later times, which I estimated at 45 individuals. The population of the third Bakairí aldea, which had formerly existed on the Kulisehu, numbered, according to Karl von den Steinen, some 100 individuals, a figure that seems very high compared with the number (three) of houses in this aldea and with the population of the other aldeas. If we add up the figures estimated and noted by Karl von den Steinen for the population of the Bakairí aldeas which existed at the time of his expedition on the Rio Kulisehu, we get a total of some 160 Bakairí who lived on the Rio Kulisehu. When I was in Maimaieti there were 45 individuals present in this aldea, but they said that a number of the inhabitants were

/25 cont./

114 161 361 temporarily absent at the time, so we must take into account a population in Maimaieti of more than 45 persons. I have already mentioned above that the population of Maigeri aldea at the time of my trip was much larger than Karl von den Steinen estimated it to be at an earlier time. Still to be added is the population of the aldea recently founded between the Kulisehu and Batovy rivers, whose total we do not know, because it should undoubtedly be regarded as having been founded by Rio Kulisehu Bakairí and a part of the Xinguanos, who have moved temporarily or for longer to the Rio Paranatinga.

115 681 It is certain that the epilogues of the expeditions made to the regions of the sources of the Xingu River have been played out with regard to the subsequent history of the Bakairí of the Kulisehu and Batovy rivers. Thus, Cacique Tumaysua of the first aldea on the Kulisehu, who had first helped Karl von den Steinen in his undertaking in these regions, had been assassinated by his own fellow countrymen shortly before the time of my expedition. I have already mentioned that the inhabitants of this same aldea had lain in wait for José Cassado because he had become too involved /26/ with the women.

648 198 Another consequence of these expeditions was the fact that the relations of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí with the other tribes that lived farther down this river, especially the Nahukuá and the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, had already become strained at the time because these Indians envied the Bakairí for having received the lion's share of the precious articles brought by the explorers. But, in short, the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí, after their first contact with the whites, had gone on living as before without being discommoded by others. Their social organization, their legal ideas, the form of their economy, their customs, and their crafts were at the time of my stay among them still almost the same as in former times.

114 361 We received the first information on the Bakairí, after my journey, in the year 1915 through Antonio Pyrineu de Souza, who, on the occasion of his expedition devoted to measuring

P26 cont. /

114 the Rio S. Manuel and the Rio Paranatinga (officially named
•361 Rio Teilen Pires), encountered the Bakairí of the Rio Novo and the Rio Paranatinga and those who had settled at the "Cabeceira do Chapadão." (31)

31. Antonio Pyrineus de Souza, loc. cit., p. 70.

361 In the aldea situated on the Rio Novo there still lived at
682 this time the old cacique, Reginaldo, who then wore a long, white beard. He had good plantations, he carried on some
[249] raising of cattle and horses, and he had a stand of rubber trees
361 from which he had rubber sought. (32) A small group of

32. Ibid.

Bakairí from the Arinos region lived at this time on the Cabeceira do Pedão, a tributary of the Rio Arinos. They were the Bakairí,
[423] André, and four fellow tribesmen who owned plantations and
[464] worked as rubber workers. (33)

33. Ibid., pp. 70 and 71.

159 Meanwhile changes had taken place among the Rio
682 Paranatinga Bakairí. Antonio was still cacique of the aldea,
593 which was still at the same place, slightly downriver from the
361 mouth of the São Manuel River on the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Teilen Pires), where it had been set up after the death of Cacique Felipe. Since the aldea consisted at this time of seven houses, it may be assumed that Antonio still commanded a relatively large number of Bakairí. But he was no longer the sole ruler of all the Paranatinga Bakairí. The differences which
159 had already existed for a long time between Antonio and his
593 nephew, José Corado, had become intensified, and after a
361 serious quarrel between them, José Corado had left Antonio's

/26 cont./

159 593 361 aldea and established with his people his own village, situated 13 kilometers downriver on the right side of the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires) and four kilometers from the main river on the small Ribeirão Azul. This was the same place where at the time of my trip in the year 1927 the Posto de Simões Lopes /Simões Lopes Post/ was.

159 593 Through Antonio Pyrineus de Souza we know that Dona Rosa Bororo, José Corondo's mother and for many years Cacique Antonio's wife, had died in January, 1913 in her son's village. [174] /27/ From this piece of information it may be deduced, on the one hand, that José Corondo's move to the Ribeirão Azul had already taken place before the year 1913, and on the other hand, that Rosa Bororo, in the quarrel between her husband and her son, followed the latter and left Antonio. The latter had already married in 1915 a young woman who, according to Antonio Pyrineus, was a daughter of old Cacique Reginaldo by a Kayabí woman. [114] Possibly Antonio Pyrineus made a mistake with respect to this piece of information, for we know through Karl von den Steinen that the cacique who had married young Luiza Kayabí was old Caetano, who was then cacique of the aldea situated on the Rio Paranatinga, while I never heard it said that the wife of Cacique Reginaldo, whom I knew in person, was a Kayabí. If the information that the second wife of Cacique Antonio was a Kayabí is correct, I would presume that she was the daughter of Luiza Kayabí, who was still living at the time of my trip in the year 1927, at the Simões Lopes Post and thus the legitimate daughter, although presumably not the natural daughter, of old Cacique Caetano.

162 361 166 A considerable increase in the population of the Rio Paranatinga had been caused by the fact that Cacique Kurunã of the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River had moved with 180 Xinguanos to the Rio Paranatinga. Cacique Kurunã's new aldea was situated eight kilometers downriver from Cacique Antonio's aldea, on the left side of the Rio Paranatinga and some 200 meters from the river. But of these 180 Xinguanos, already as

/27 cont./

162 the year 1915, no more than nine men with some women and
32 children lived with their cacique in the new aldea. The rest
166 had died or had moved to the other Bakairí aldeas situated on the Rio Paranatinga.

178 According to Antonio Pyrineus de Souza's description, the
433 Bakairí of the Rio Novo and Rio Paranatinga still had in the
622 year 1915 a life with sufficient means of subsistence. Cacique
[361] Antonio, whose authority of former times had undoubtedly de-
[241] creased through José Conrado's defection with his people and
[231] through the independent stand of Cacique Kurumí, was still chief of the old aldea on the Rio Paranatinga, which still consisted of seven houses and whose inhabitants planted manioc, maize, sugar cane, bananas, and abóboras /gourds/, and raised
[23] many pigs and chickens. In former times they had also devoted
[60] themselves to the raising of cattle and horses, but the rancher large houses had made them give this up. Already at this time, Antonio was urgently pressing his rights in the region bound by the Serra Azul, the Ribeirão Bananal, and the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Teles Pires) and occupied for many years by the Bakairí. (34)

34. A. Pyrineus de Souza, loc. cit., p. 64.

184 José Conrado's aldea consisted of three well-built houses.
361 He had large plantations of manioc and maize and raised some
241 pigs and chickens. (35) The inhabitants of Cacique Kurumí's
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35. Ibid., p. 65.

aldea, which consisted of three large houses, also had good plantations and lived comfortably.

178 /28/ At that time, also, the customs and ideas of the
[535] Rio Paranatinga Bakairí were largely Indian. When dancing,
[291] the men were nude except for a small cotton apron, rectangular

/29 cont./

114 met one of the Bakairí who had accompanied me in the year
115 1901 on my journey to the Rio Kuliseu. He too was already
[164] very old and he was ill, his body being covered with tumors.

When I reached the Simões Lopes Post I met with highly
114 unfavorable circumstances. My pack oxen were the first to
361 reach Simões Lopes after the long interruption of all traffic be-
tween this post and the capital Cuiabá caused by the revolutionaries
[173] led by Prestes. For this reason there was at that time a scarcity
of /30/ provisions, and in addition there was among the Indians
a bad epidemic of malaria, which the head of the post, Señor
Benedito, and his family also had. The post at the time was
still at the same location where it was first established, where
José Coronado had had his aldea before, and thus 13 kilometers
downriver from the old aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí and
four kilometers inland on the right side of the river near the
small Ribeirão Azul. It consisted of some administrative build-
ings (cf. Figure 3) and some 20 ranches for the Bakairí Indians
(cf. Figures 4, 6, and 7). There is no doubt that all the Bakairí
lived at this time in areas near the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Teles
Pires) and had relations with the Simões Lopes Post, but only
part of them lived at the post, and since the plantations of the
individual Indian families were rather far from the settlement,
the Indians who lived at the post also stayed temporarily in their
small houses built near their plantations.

361 In the middle of the post was the house of the Bakairí, Pires,
622 whom the administration had entrusted with the cacicqueship over
162 the Bakairí who had moved from the region of the upper Xingu
169 River and who were called Xinguanos. (Cf. Figures 4 and 5.)
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In one of the houses of the post I met the Bakairí, Lachu,
114 who came from the first aldea on the Rio Kuliseu, who with
115 Cacique Tumayawa had accompanied Karl von den Steinen on
his expedition and who is shown in a photograph in the book
[199] Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens. As shown in the
photograph in Figure 8, he had grown quite old since and was

/30 cont./

114 dressed in European manner, and with his rough beard he bears
115 little resemblance to the photograph taken by Karl von den
[109] Steinen some 39 years earlier. In another house there still
lived Luisa Kayabí, whom Karl von den Steinen had met when
she was the young wife of old Cacique Cuetano.

114 Most of the Bakairí whom I had known 26 years before in
731 Maigeri and Maimaieti aldeas had perished in a flu epidemic
753 that had wreaked havoc among the population of Mato Grosso
648 some years earlier. Since the high number of deaths among
361 the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River was attributed to the witch-
[166] craft of evil neighboring tribes, especially the Mehinakú and
the Nahukuá, who had been envious of the economic benefits
derived by the Bakairí from their contact with civilization, all
the Bakairí of the Sangoy and Kuliseku rivers had moved to the
Rio Paranatinga. Undoubtedly petty jealousies and other dis-
cords had caused these Bakairí, called Xinguanos, not to get
along with their fellow natives on the Paranatinga, and for this
reason they had settled at some distance from the post, farther
downriver. I found the first of these Xinguano settlements at the
place where the Ribeirão Azul enters the Rio Paranatinga. It
was situated on the right side of this river and consisted of four
small houses. (Cf. Figures 21 and 22.) A little farther down-
river I reached a Bakairí plantation near which was a rancho
occupied by some people. (Cf. Figure 20.)

/31/ From there a path led to the principal settlement of
361 the Bakairí who had moved from the Rio Kuliseku. It consisted
622 of two rather large houses. (Cf. Figure 17.) I was told that a
159 little farther downriver there were some more settlements, and
114 among them also that of my old friend from Maimaieti aldea,
[487] Karíá. I had already encountered Karíá when I visited Cacique
Antonio, and he had recognized me. He was no longer cacique,
622 and I was told that at the time of my stay in Maimaieti he had
159 merely been a temporary cacique in the place of his brother
114 who was then away. He had grown much older and no longer

/21 cont./

622 had people at his command so that he no doubt lived in great
159 poverty. Some time later he visited me at the Simões Lopes
114 Post and brought me a beautiful bow with arrows and an old-style necklace made of stone and shell beads.

114 During my stay at Simões Lopes I twice visited the Xinguano
115 settlement situated on the Rio Paranatinga, and each time I was received very kindly and entertained well by the inhabitants, among whom I still found some acquaintances from Maimaieti. There I again met Marcelino Camirage and his family (cf. figures 15-17), and also the son of the Bakairí, Chico, who had accompanied me on my previous trip from the Rio Paranatinga to Maimaieti aldea and who had since died. The son of this Chico, called André, had been raised on the ranch of Jorge Soares so that he was good at the tasks related to a trip with pack oxen. I hired him for the rest of my journey, and I must mention here that he was always a good and faithful companion in my trip to the Kayabí Post, Pedro Dantas, and on the return to Cuiabá, at one time being my only companion and going through many difficulties with me. I still remember one day, when things were going very badly for us, he said to me, "My father, before, always stayed near you on your trip, and so now I stay near you too."

341 Also on the right side of the Rio Paranatinga but some dis-
622 tance from the river and beyond the Rio Vermelho that flows
(166) into the river below the Simões Lopes Post, was the settlement of the Bakairí who had moved from their two aldeas situated on the Rio Novo. The cacique of this group of Bakairí was at this time a man of advanced age called Roberto. (Cf. Figure 12.) The settlement consisted of 11 houses, only three of which were occupied at this time. But besides these houses Roberto also had a house at the Simões Lopes Post itself, where he occasionally
114 stayed with his people. On leaving Simões Lopes to continue my journey to the Pedro Dantas Post, I had the opportunity to visit the houses of the Bakairí who had come from the Rio Novo.

/32 cont./

114 enemy Indian. Just as an unusual search for the "martyrs" in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River finally broke the health of Officer Paulo Castro 25 years before, so too Colonel Fawcett perished in the same regions in his fantastic race for the "mysterious city."

177 178 Although in the year 1927 nearly all the Bakairí dressed in European-type garments and lived in Brazilian-style ranches, and although they had also adopted many other articles of European culture, there survived among them various articles of their native culture with which I shall deal in the sections that follows.

● 361 Already at the time of my stay among the Bakairí at Simões Lopes there was frequent talk of an imminent move of the post. [342] The Indians were not satisfied with their present location because [241] in times of drought there was no water available except at a great distance, and because there was no ground suitable to make plantations in the immediate vicinity of the post. As for the selection of a place for the new post, the opinions of the Indians differed a great deal, and it was interesting to note that the Kuiguaios especially wanted the location to be closer to the capital, Cuiabá, while the Paranatinguaos, on the contrary, wanted a place which would be beyond the Rio Paranatinga.

[114] /33/ We learned a few details concerning the later conditions of the Bakairí who lived in the new Simões Lopes Post from Vincent M. Petrullo, who in the year 1931 undertook a journey carried out in part with pack oxen, by water, and in part by air to the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, passing this Indian post along the way. (38) According to

[113] 38. Vincent M. Petrullo, "Primitive Peoples of Matto Grosso, Brazil," The Museum Journal, Vol. XXIII, Number 2, Philadelphia, pp. 127-130.

361 648 FN3 cont. / According To

Petrullo the new post is situated on top of a mountain some distance from the edge of the Rio Paranatinga. The post itself consisted of some excellent administrative buildings, and at some distance from these stood the Bakairí *aldeia*, so that the Indians kept a certain independence. The post had a school which tried [871] to teach the Bakairí youth to read and write in the Portuguese language and the rudiments of arithmetic. The administration kept a herd of cattle, and each of the Bakairí wished to have [231] some oxen and cows.

114 648 137 241 Without wishing to malign Petrullo's precious information, I must note below some points on which I cannot quite agree with his opinions, because they contradict my experiences among these Indians. I believe that a false impression of the previous living conditions of the Bakairí in the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River led to Petrullo's interpretations when he says that the post administration had not experimented in order to change the Bakairí, who in former times had led a semisedentary life, into a sedentary group of agriculturists. The Bakairí of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River were, like all the other Indian tribes of the Rio Kulisehu, with the possible exception of the Trumai, a typical agricultural people. The rites related to agriculture made up the chief part of their ceremonies, and they had extensive plantations in the vicinity of their houses. They led a totally sedentary existence in their *aldeias*, even moving these closer to their plantations when the latter, owing to the successive exploitation of the soil on the closest hill, were little by little moved too distant [231] from their houses. Livestock they did not have, so that there has been a change in their way of life at the post, with the transformation of a previously agricultural people into a people who raise cattle, no doubt to get a bigger income.

226 114 Also, I cannot believe that the unusual abundance of fish in the Rio Paranatinga, extolled in former times by the Bakairí, should have dwindled so thoroughly as to warrant Petrullo's observation, "There are practically no fish in the Paranatinga.

4:Schmidt--3/9 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate I

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Territory of the Bakairi

— — — Itinerary of the author.

/259/

121 In order to protect themselves against the numerous
756 supernatural dangers that surrounded them, the Bakairí
784 /Bacairi/ made use of two methods: shamanism and the uanki state, or ritual seclusion. The aim of this article is to examine these two methods of Bakairí culture in the light of data gathered by us (1) and with the help of the existing relevant

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[122]

1. The data that we present were gathered in 1947, during a visit to the Simões Lopes Indian Post of the Indian Protection Service, which was sponsored by the School of Sociology and Political Science of São Paulo in collaboration with the Institute of Social Anthropology of the Smithsonian Institution. Except where specifically mentioned in a footnote, the data mentioned were obtained from the Simões Lopes Indians.

114 literature. However, although the Bakairí have been visited
121 from an early date by several ethnologists and their customs have been mentioned in the literature to support ethnological theories, very little is yet known on their culture as a whole. Most of the reports left by scholars do not give a rounded view of Bakairí culture and focus rather on their technology. On
[177] the other hand, the present-day Bakairí are quite acculturated, and it is difficult to obtain complete data on their old culture. We shall attempt nevertheless to try to contribute here to a clarification of the problem.

161 The Bakairí now number about 250 individuals, according to the estimates of the Indian Protection Service, /260/
131 in 1947. They live in aldeas in Mato Grosso, at the Simões
361 Lopes Post of the Indian Protection Service, on the banks of the Paranatinga River, and in groups scattered along the

/260 cont./

131 Rio Novo, also in that state. The Simões Lopes Indians claim
● 361 that in the past all the Bakairí lived in aldeas by the Paraná-
173 tinga River, moving later to the north under pressure of enemy
131 groups. (2) Later on the tribe divided as a result of internal
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2. For a better discussion of the possible origins of the Bakairí, see Max Schmidt's article, "Los
[113] Bakairí" /The Bacairi/, Revista do Museu Paulista, New Series, Vol. I, pp. 11-58, São Paulo, 1947.

disputes; part moved to the banks of the Rio Culiseu, one of the sources of the Xingu, and the other part was distributed along the Rio Novo. Perhaps the truth about these reports can only be obtained with the help of archaeology. Meanwhile, the old villages of the Bakairí on the sources of the
619 Xingu no longer exist. The Xinguano Indians suffered a great
175 deal from repeated outbreaks of influenza, and the last
931 Bakairí found in that area were brought to the Simões Lopes
648 Post a few years ago by officials of the Indian Protection Ser-
166 vice. The Rio Novo Bakairí, practically as a whole, adopted
619 the customs of the neighboring Brazilian populations and live
177 independent of the control of the Indian Protection Service.
184 As for the Simões Lopes Indians, although they are quite
[178] acculturated, they still retain many traits of their old culture, they all still speak Bakairí, and some of them still remember the time when they lived in Xinguano aldeas, and make good informants.

114 As for the authors who have dealt with the Bakairí, we shall note among the best, Capistrano de Abreu and Karl von den Steinen. The former left us valuable information on the Bakairí language and on the beliefs of these Indians. The only weakness of his material is that it is based on only one

/200 cont./

114 informant. (3) Karl von den Steinen, on the other hand,

[113] 3. Capistrano de Abreu, "Os Bacaerys /The Bacairi/." Revista Brasileira. Year I. Volumes 3 and 4. Rio de Janeiro. 1895.

worked with several informants, and, what is more important in our opinion, personally visited Bakairí aldeas, (4) which

[113] 4. Karl von den Steinen. Durch Central-Brasilien /Through Central Brazil/. Leipzig. 1886; Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens /Among the Central Brazilian Primitive Peoples/. Berlin. 1894.

[127] Capistrano did not do. These documents, studied comparatively, permit us /261/ to support the conclusions we expect to reach on Bakairí beliefs and customs.

197 The Bakairí belong to the Karaib /Carib/ linguistic family. Their old aldeas consisted of large communal houses,
361 ellipsoidal in form, around a square. In each house there
[342] lived from two to five families. In the center of the aldea
[592] there was a house, kadoeti, where the ceremonial adornments
[344] of the men were kept and where visitors were lodged. Access to the kadoeti was open not only to the men but to women
[346] and children as well. Attached to the kadoeti was a small
[534] house, its entrance turned to the rising sun, where the flutes,
[784] buzzers or bull-roarer, and other sacred objects were kept. Access to this latter house was forbidden to women and children.

[269-A]

THE BACAIRI

This brief account of the Bacairi is based on field work done among the Bacairi living in the Government Indian Post on the Rio Paranatinga in June 1947. The field work was carried out in the course of a reconnaissance survey which the writer was then making of some of the central and northern Indian tribes of Mato Grosso. This and other trips at the time were made in a Ford truck put at the disposal of the writer by the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios. By using a truck the trip to the Paranatinga could be made over the Planalto do Matogrossense in 2 days in contrast to the old route along the Rio Cuiabá which, on horseback with pack oxen, takes from 2 to 3 weeks. The writer was accompanied by Fernando Altenfelder Silva of the Escola de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo and by Rev. Thomas Young and Rev. W. L. Buckman of the South American Indian Mission. The Reverend Mr. Young, who has spent more than 10 years among the Bacairi, was of great help in selecting informants and in adding to our knowledge of the Bacairi.

According to estimates made in 1947 by the Brazilian Indian Service (Serviço de Proteção aos Indios) there are between 200 and 250 Bacairi living in the northern part of Mato Grosso State, Brazil, divided between the Indian Post of Simão Lopes on the Rio Paranatinga and the village of Rio Novo some distance to the northwest. The Bacairi claim that the whole tribe originally lived together on the Rio Paranatinga (headwaters of the Tapajos River), but attacks by other Indians and Brazilians forced them to move about 90 years ago. Owing to a dispute the tribe split, one group moving north to settle on the banks of the Rio Kuliseu, a tributary of the Xingú River, the other moving to Rio Novo. After about 50 years in the Kuliseu Basin, this group moved to the present location of Simão Lopes, not far from the original Bacairi settlement on the Rio Paranatinga. Although the Rio Novo group has adopted Brazilian customs and manages without Government help, some have moved to Simão Lopes where the Bacairi now live on reservation lands and receive assistance from the Brazilian Government.

Brazilian Government. The information presented here was obtained at Simão Lopes from the Bacairi who lived on the Rio Kulisevo and relates to the life that they lived there about 40 years ago.

Linguistically the Bacairi belong to the Carib-speaking family and appear to be closely related culturally to the other Carib-speaking tribes in the Upper Xingú Basin. The Bacairi are short in stature, broad-shouldered and well-built. The head is broad, the nose straight or aquiline, the face narrow, the lips fairly thin. In physical appearance the Bacairi remind one of the Arawak-speaking Paresi, but contrast sharply with the large-framed, coarse-featured Bororo, Umotina, and Guaná living in the headwaters of the Paraguay River to the south.

The Bacairi Indians are first mentioned by Gonçalves da Fonseca in his account of his travels to the Madeira region in 1749. In the atlas of Thomas Jeffry, 1776, the "Bacairyis" are located on the Rio Paranatinga. Ayres do Casal, in 1817, refers to the "Bacairyis" as living in the region around the Rio das Mortes. Martius places them in the headwaters of the Xingú. From 1820 on, more or less permanent contact has been maintained with the Bacairi living on the Rio Novo and Rio Paranatinga. In 1920 a P. Lopes led an expedition in search for gold into the area and with him came priests who began to convert the Bacairi to Christianity. With these contacts came disease and conflicts (Von den Steinen, 1942, p. 123).

The first scientific account of the Bacairi dates from the voyage of Von den Steinen down the Xingú River in 1884. Traveling over land from Cuiabá, he and his party reached the Christianized Bacairi living in the villages of Rio Novo and Paranatinga with whose help he continued his voyage down the Batovi River where he was the first to make contact with the four pagan villages of the Bacairi located between latitudes 13°30' and 12°20' S.

The following table gives size and number of inhabitants of the villages visited by Von den Steinen (1942, appendix, table 8, p. 418):

	Women	Men	Girls	Boys	Total
Rio Novo	8	18	10	20	56
Paranatinga	7	6	6	8	27
On Rio Sacre:					
First village	8	10	7	9	34
Second village	6	18	17	7	48
Third village	9	13	12	10	44
Fourth village	7	27	10	9	53
Total	50	90	61	63	267

By the time Max Schmidt visited the Bacairi in 1900–1901, the Bacairi settlement had diminished. On the Paranatinga he met 34 Bacairi and at Rio Novo, 63. On the Kulisevo River where Von den Steinen had visited four villages, Max Schmidt was able to find only two.

ECONOMY

SHELTER

While in the Xingú watershed the Bacairi lived in villages built on the banks of the Rio Kulisevo. A village (*ainairi*) consisted of three to eight houses (*bowiu*) built in a circle around a central plaza, *naiwe*. The Bacairi house was a large communal building, oblong in shape, with rounded ends and with the roof thatching reaching to the ground. These large domelike buildings were occupied by three to five families.

In the center of every village there was a ceremonial or flute house (*kadoiti*) in which the men kept their ornaments and musical instruments and in which visitors were entertained. Men, women, and children are permitted to enter the *kadoiti*. Attached to the common house there was a smaller building, usually oriented in the direction of the rising sun, in which the sacred flutes were kept. Women were not permitted to enter this house, as they were not allowed to see the sacred flutes. The villages were connected by roads running along the river bank.

EQUIPMENT

In the center of each house there was a storage space (*jirda*) where maize, manioc meal, and other foods were kept in gourd vessels (*kiiko*). Cooking was done in a small shed at the back of the house, but food was eaten indoors. Around the walls each family had its hammocks (*ondiko*) in which the people slept. Other furnishings of the house consisted of mats, baskets, clay pots,

Mato Grosso 1931
Barueri 1927

M 114

clearing. After dropping a sack filled with trade goods, we flew back to Cuyabá, surprising its population for the second time by our safe return. On this trip we had been away almost the entire day, so that practically no hope was held out for us, though there was a rumor that we had found gold, which caused our delay.

The distance from Cuyabá to where the plane could land on the Xingu was so great that if we wanted to do any further air exploring we had to get a deposit of gasoline there. It was therefore decided that I was to transport overland ten cases of gasoline. The plane would pay my party a visit on the sixth week after my departure from Cuyabá, that being the time calculated that it would take to reach it overland, at the same place where we had landed at the mouth of the Kuluene.

M 119 122

After recruiting four men in Cuyabá, three of whom were recommended by Major Noronha and proved to be the finest that could be employed, we set off for the Bakairi post in two motor trucks. Our baggage consisted of airplane gasoline, an outboard motor, gasoline and oil for it, trading goods, personal equipment and food. No tents were taken for shelter, nor canvas cotton, and so forth. Our food consisted of manioc flour, beans, rice, coffee and meat. In addition, we carried six sealed jars containing emergency rations for a few days, of which we had occasion to make use later. Our camping equipment was as simple as that of the camarada, merely a hammock, blanket and mosquito net. Our only luxury was a portable phonograph, which as long as we had it helped to keep the men and aborigines in good humor.

It took us three days to reach the Bakairi post, after an early end of the expedition was threatened by the breaking of two wheels of the truck. Beyond Chapada the road is good. This section was built by the Bakairi under the direction of Major Noronha. On our way we stopped at the Protestant Mission at Burity, where we were hospitably entertained by Mr. and Mrs. Moore. It is on the property of the Mission that the Veiu de Noiva Falls are.

THE BAKAIRI

B 361 648

The peoples of a number of villages speaking Bakairi have been collected at the post, Simão Lopes, on the Paranatinga river. The post consists of a number of excellent government buildings in charge of an agent and a small staff. A little distance away is the Bakairi village, in

a wire fence enclosure. The effort of the Inspectoria has been to give aborigines the isolation that they want and not to interfere in anything that they may do. The tribal organization is kept as of old, and the Bakairi lead their own life in their own way. They are not forced to stay at the post, or in any way bounded to do so the agent says. The agent is merely a teacher. He talks to them and advises them on any problem that may be facing them, but it is understood that they are free men and that they can do as they please.

The post maintains a school, the effort being made to teach every child to read and write Portuguese and to learn the rudiments of arithmetic. In addition to this, an attempt is made to teach them vocations, such as weaving on the loom, tailoring, shoemaking, barbering, and so forth. Generally, if a boy shows unusual talent he is taken to Cuyabá and even to Rio de Janeiro to be given further instruction. This education is not compulsory, however, though most of the Bakairi take advantage of the opportunity. It is the project of the Inspectoria to form good self-sustaining citizens of each groups of the native population as come under its tutelage.

The post has a herd of cattle and the Indians are being taught the principles of cattle raising. It is the desire of every Bakairi to own cattle. No attempt is made to turn the Bakairi into a sedentary agricultural people, it being thought unwise to attempt to transform the manner of life of the Bakairi by tying them down to the soil, where they have been used to a semi-nomadic existence. On the other hand, they are encouraged to practice some agriculture, raising manioc, sweet potatoes, some maize and cotton. Each man clears his own land yearly, and plants his foods.

In spite of the liberal attitude and practice of the Inspectoria the Bakairi have been dying fast. Fevers seem to dominate them rapidly, though all efforts are made to keep medical supplies on hand and to supply medical attention. Their life is not as strenuous as formerly, ignorant of the improved methods, and this may account for the lessened resistance. On the other hand, there is no doubt but that at the head waters of the Paranatinga it is less healthy than in the region of their former homes. Even the Indians from the lower Kuluene who followed our expedition on its return to the post suffered greatly from fevers upon reaching it, though it was the dry season and there were few insects.

Bauai. 527

Geographically the post is situated ideally on a high land removed from the river and cleared of all vegetation, the jungle appearing only as a narrow fringe along the river banks. Like the rest of the high plateau it is wind swept, and generally pleasant. It must be added that contact with white people, such as is had when a small group of natives go to Cayabi, has brought syphilis to them, and it may be their mortality is due to this.

Our navigation enjoyed in former times is denied them, and that is fishing. There are practically no fish in the Paranatinga, at least up to where the post is located. Some meat is gotten only on rare occasions, and no hunting is done, the diet is mainly one of vegetables and considerably poorer than when they were living in their original state. This may also explain their lessened resistance to disease.

Very little numerous material which represents their own products can be collected from the Bakairi. What has not been gotten from the Importantia has been brought back on excursions to the Kuluene. Pottery has not been made since their coming to the post, according to them. The large vessels that they possess either have been brought with them from their former homes or bartered from the tribes on the Kuluene. It is claimed that pots are not found in the neighborhood of Simão Lopes.

Arrows are still being made, an iron nail generally being substituted for the old bone point, but most of the arrows also come from the Kuluene.

For the old hammock made of palm-leaf fibre the cotton hammock has been substituted, but the same open net style has been kept.

Mussel shell ornaments have also been brought from the tribes of the Kuluene. In brief, almost anything that is found in their village must bear the suspicion that it is not a Bakairi product.

However, they have preserved a few customs, such as filing the upper teeth to a point, wearing under the European clothing the gee string, and ceremonial use of the bull-roarer, and they probably remember many of their ceremonies.

The short time spent at the post was mostly devoted to taking anthropometric measurements, which were subsequently lost on the Kuluene, but in some notes I do find the statement that in blood groupings most belong to groups three and four, the former predominating.

SPR Record
Bocain. SP7
Yaruro SP25

and a number went on the sick list with fever. From this time on, at least three of my fifteen men were daily suffering from some malady that incapacitated them for hard work.

Just below the rapids formerly were located a number of Sukurí villages, as reported for instance by Von der Steinen. We passed the sites of the villages known as Marika, Iguri, Waiuri, names meaning mosquito, harpy eagle, and turtle, respectively.

In this time some of the camaradas began to show restlessness, especially one man that I had brought from Devuchiko to act as my foreman but who had failed in most of his duties to show the efficiency necessary. This, the fact that there was so much illness, and because we were behind our schedule, urged me to make use of the outbound motor now that we were in clear water. Accordingly three canoes were lashed together and the other four were towed in pairs. We made good speed, but an odd change came over the men. From being expert canoemen they became clumsy in their movements, as if that were the first time that they had seen canoes. Also, having nothing to do, they became increasingly restless in their places. This resulted in disaster several days later, after we left the Anchikaia, at whose port we had encamped.

Pressed for time in order to keep our scheduled meeting with the plane at the mouth of the Kuluene, the Anchikaia village was not visited. We camped opposite their port late in the afternoon, and soon afterwards Ubaike, the chief headman, and some of his followers, appeared on the opposite bank. He came alone, since none of his men apparently had the courage to visit us. A few gifts were made to him and he went over, promising to be back in the morning with his people and food for us.

Ubaike kept his word, for in the morning the opposite bank was crowded with naked men, women and children, carrying calabashes filled with farina, baskets filled with beiju, and pikí wrapped in leaves. Our phonograph kept them amused on their crossing over, but our presents to them interested them more. In the few hours that we stayed with them I tried to make as many notes as possible and collected a number of objects—work that was of no avail, for a few hours later everything was lost under fifty feet of water.

Authority among the Anchikaia did not exist. In vain that Ubaike tried to impress us with his power; everyone behaved as he

[text continues on p. 136]

moved to the Kuluene. A comparison of the map with that of Von den Steinen will reveal that a number of changes have been made.

Formerly the four Bakairi villages were to be found below the Tuenay falls, being the first habitations that were encountered on descending the Kuluene. These have now been abandoned, and the Bakairi peoples, including those of the Rio Novo who are almost extinct, have withdrawn to the Inspectoria's post on the Paranatinga. Thus, the first people to be met are the Anuhakua, whose village is on the right bank, in about the same location as that given by Von den Steinen. Several days of paddling downstream in the port of the Mehinaku, on the left bank, and the village is so usual several hours' march away from the bank. This also is in the approximate location given by Von den Steinen. At the time of our visit, however, the Mehinaku were hastily building a village on the right bank. Their fields were ready, the eagle house was built with the eagle in possession, and one house was almost completed. The reason given for the movement outward was that there was necessity of seeking better fields. Another Arawak people, the Yawa, also have a port on the west bank of the Kuluene, below that of the Mehinaku, but their village must be close to the Batovy. A group of them that came to visit our camp came by way of the Batovy and Kuluene.

Below the mouth of the Kuluene there is a lagoon and lowland on which are located three villages. The southernmost is that of the Auiti, a Tupi people, who have in addition a port on the Kuluene. Next to them to the north are the Yawalapiti, who are Arawak, and close to the mouth are the Kamayurá, also Tupi, a numerous and much-feared people. Fishing in the lagoon is restricted to members of each group within certain limits.

The Kuluene river up to the rapids is in possession of Carib peoples. Just below the rapids are the Nafuquá, and then going northward are met the Kalapalo, the Kuikuri (Cuiseu) and the Trumai, all having their villages on the west bank. These groups are in constant warfare with the Tupaya-speaking people that wander over the territory east of the Kuluene, and creep westward, but to the south of the Nafuquá and Anuhakua. It would seem that the Tupaya peoples actually surround the other peoples of different linguistic stocks that have more permanent settlement.

D. Petrolio E-5 (1931)1932
SPI Boxes SP8
Boxes: 5P7

[Facing P 180-A]
[Plate XXV-A]

[Plate XXV-B] [Facing P. 180-B]

//171 cont.//

122 10 Aug. φ 12° 53'.0, λ 12°.4, km. 31.03, total 195.63.
132 6.35 A.M.: dry. 15.0, water 26.3.
5.45 P.M.: I 742.2, dry. 28.1, water 28.0.
9.30 P.M.: I 742.6, dry. 21.1.

139 //172// The river landscape changes its physiognomy somewhat. Shrub and light-green, fine-leaved bushes, which form tall bowers or rounded, dense masses, occupy the foreground. Willow-like trees often stand as though planted, with delicate, slender trunks. We have not exactly come out of the forest river into a meadow river, but the low-plain character predominates. The wind-bamboo is steep. Entirely direction of the river.

122 20 Aug. φ 12° 51'.1 λ 12°.0, km. 6.27, total 201.72.
132 7.00 A.M.: dry. 19.3, water 25.1, at night 2-3.00 thunderstorm in NW.

Today the sky is covered with strato-cumulus and the air is showery damp.

133 At an early hour we reached a branch stream 20 meters wide, emptying in quietly from the right. Finally a tributary.

361 The third aldeia, located on the left bank, is not quite two
[342] kilometers from the factory. There are three huts, lower, smaller, and less conical than previously. We three again install ourselves
122 for a night among the good people, and even Antonio, who has given up his mistrust, sleeps along with us.

●364 As agreeable as this "little village" is, it must be called
345 the dirtiest of the three. The floor of the festival hut is covered with dry grass and refuse of all kinds; the sun shines through the roof, so that inside we are able to light our pipe with the burning-
[532] glass. It is obviously still unfinished and new; besides a few arrows and several rattles, flat wooden fish are stuck on the walls as the products of local artistic activity.

162 Census: 13 men, 12 women and -- the most favorable proportion so far -- 19 children. Among them there are a man and a woman of another tribe whom we are to meet farther
142 downstream, the Kutenaú /Custenau/. In type I am unable to see any essential differences; in fact, the more Bakairí we meet, The more uncertain I am in abstracting the common features.

/175 cont./

We counted 27 men, 10 women, and eight children, but as some of the men, who stayed longer than we, reported, a whole troop of women and children later came out of the woods.

I measured the largest house more carefully. It was 48 paces long, 24 paces wide. In the center line stood four supporting beams, 5-5.5 meters high (!) and 30 centimeters in diameter, the middle ones five paces apart, the outer ones each six paces from these. They had several bands painted with geometrical designs.

The distance of the two outer supporting beams from each other, /176/ 17 paces according to the above, also gave the length of the roof timbers. All around, 72 posts, up to 25 centimeters thick, one meter 72 high, served to support the elliptical roof basket. This was also the height of the two entrances, 77 centimeters wide, which lay opposite each other on the long sides and were made somewhat lower by the straw hanging down from the outside.

The roof basket, made up of large horizontal bamboo rings fastened by vertical poles bent against them, which converged at the top and projected to the outside through an opening, was built with great skill and regularity. The covering was made of straw-dry palm leaves. The leaf ribs lay horizontally, the free ends of the individual leaf spears hanging down from them, however, were all bent inward around the bare rib, so that solid mats were produced in the simplest manner. These overlapped like roof tiles.

We make the rounds through all the huts. The sense of order of the peaceful professor is lacking. They are full of refuse. Instead of the fine supply baskets, balls of the masa /dough/ one meter long, a half meter thick, and packed in leaves are found on simple racks. Little maize. Many fish nets made of tucum fiber: a wide-meshed bag hangs from a ring 80 centimeters long, 35 centimeters wide, which sits on a long pole. They probably get the fish out of the blocked-off lagoons with these nets from the top of their scaffold.

/224 cont./

and showed me how the raw cotton, merely cleaned of seeds, is twisted into thread with the spindle. The cotton plants stand between the huts everywhere. Beside them grows mamona /castor oil plant/, whose oil serves us for wretched illumination in the evening, and pepper. Mats are spread out on racks in order to dry the mandioca farina.

The roça,* the cultivated field, lies some distance away. The Bakairi plant mandioca, beans, rice, sweet potatoes, sugar, and deliver to the Fazenda Cuiabá fundo. Their rapadura was excellent, the melado, a honey-sweet syrup, moved us to exclamations of admiration. The sugar cane is pressed between two cylinders in the simplest way. (Cf. the vignette at the be-

Old-style hut.

ginning of this chapter /see p. 2/).

We found Caetano's hut divided into three rooms. Caetano received us in the high, airy center room and shut the door, behind which little Luiza was doing housework. Felipe and Carlotta Parecí lived in the corner room opposite. Three canga blocks formed the hearth. Plaited back-baskets, which are carried by a forehead band and in which the women are said to carry up to six arrobas. Graters to grate the mandioca: hard little spikes from the rib of the buriti leaf are neatly set into the middle part of a narrow piece of wood almost a meter long.

/164 cont./

289 The triangular garment of the women, a folded piece of
291 bark bast, supposedly from the schischi tree, has a base of four centimeters and a height of one to one and a half centimeters.

A girl about ten years old is still completely naked.

302 The nasal septum of the men is not pierced. the beard hair,
[304] /165/ if a natural tendency for it is present, as well as all the hair (among the women, too) with the exception of the head hair, the eyebrows, and eyelashes, is carefully removed.

224 Around 10:00 in the forenoon Claus came with Antonio; a
[222] few men also arrived from hunting, among them the chief, an older gentleman with an anxiously serious official face and a
162 fat little belly. We count ten men, seven women, five boys, four girls.

291

Clothing of the Bakairí women.

• 372 Paubaga showed us how they make fire. They take two long, thin sticks of the same dry wood. into one a notch is scraped, while one man now holds this in position on the ground with two small sticks, a second man twirls the other stick rapidly between both hands in the notch. The dust that is rubbed loose glimmers.

126 We did some bartering. I measured a few men. They patiently allowed it to be done.

157 These "wild" Bakairí are alert, teachable, and certainly very good-natured. They do not steal, although we are carrying
[273] treasures with us. They have no intoxicating drink; they refuse
[274] tobacco. On the second day, together with their wives, they visit
609 us in our camp -- the "docile ones" on the Rio-novo, on the other hand, preferred to sleep with those in the bush as long as we were in the aldea. On the first evening a savage drinks a medicine that I

/170 cont./

291 Besides these products of the most primitive carving art, /171/ the most interesting article was: a buritî shirt -- "the" shirt of the upper Schingû -- which proved the invention of [Bac] clothing even among the Bakairî. The fibers were knotted in meshes, following the method for the hammock; the doublet was wide at the neck in order to be stepped into; it had short sleeves and trousers, from the bottom edge of which long fibers hung down. Many simple, meter-long buritî-fiber •272 239 535 hangings seemed apron-like. Two triangular fire-fans had small downy feathers pasted on them. Hard, open shells,

In the Bakairî festival-hut.

535 the size of half-walnuts, were gathered into a rattling bundle 534 that is tied around the ankles for dancing. Another rattle instrument was a dried gourd shell, which contained seeds, impaled on a stick (1).

[n1] 1. Hans Stadl (1556) tells of the "Tuppin Inbas": "They believe in a thing that grows like a gourd, is as large as a half-measure scoop. It is hollow inside; they stick a little stick through it, cut a little hole in it, like a mouth, and put little stones in it,

/60 cont./

353 remained free, was the kitchen and storage place for supply baskets, pots, earthen beiñi pans, sieves, mats, back baskets, mortars, pestles, and calabashes. Sticks were plaited with vines onto the main posts, where again gourd bowls or bundles [532] [251] of tobacco were hanging, from a cross beam dangled large birds with straw-plaited legs and tails, which looked very mysterious and were solely for the purpose of storing the maize ears, out of which their insides and wings were constructed, in a manner pleasing to the eye. The floor was covered with a stone-hard deposit of the fine white mandioca flour, the mortars and pestles were flour-white, and the pots smoke-blackened. Above the doors, baskets with calabashes, basket-weirs, fishing nets, on the walls of the "rooms," bows, stone axes, the gaily feathered arrows projecting out of the straw of the dome, a stock of small baskets, drinking bowls, and smaller utensils, on the floor, white balls of loam, little pots, stools, pieces of wood, fire fans, and the ashes of the small fire which everyone maintains at night beside and almost under his hammock; hanging on the hammock, a small bunch of colorful feathers and the comb, here and there a pyramid made of rods with the grill. /61/ a couple of the sticks with which [372] fire is rubbed were also hung up and beside them was tied a small packet of the tinder bast.

356 In short: family dwelling in full operation, precisely as [353] much disorder as was required for comfort, everything clean [412] and nicely arranged, everything hung up, boxed, turned upside down, no iron nails and screws, but only cord and plaiting, all worked with stone ax, animal tooth, and shell. Total impression: the wall, the hammocks, the calabashes, the human beings, brown; brown in every shade, but harmoniously 342 tinted, all crust /Knaus/. Here and there the sun shone through a crack in the straw dome, in front of the door the daylight was sharply cut off, and the lane between the doors lay in semishade, through the vent, which was quite tightly closed, a few bright rings and circles fell on the floor, and faint motes of sunlight danced in the ascending smoke.

/204 cont./

*171 412 no triangular arrowheads of stone, no stone knives, no celts, no stone saws, no scrapers, etc. Among the Bakairí I struck two pieces of sandstone containing iron together so that sparks shot out and to my amazement saw that they were not familiar with the phenomenon. They were Neolithic people who could have learned many a useful craft secret from the Paleolithic fraternity.

000 I do not venture to say that the Schingú Indians lived in the *[171] "Tooth Age," the "Shell Age," or "Wood Age," although, as a 321 matter of fact, the great majority of weapons, tools, implements, 322 and ornaments are put together out of teeth, shells, and wood, 372 and they produced fire by rubbing sticks. I do not venture to say this even with regard to the eastern Brazilian forest tribes, among whom the stone ax must have played a wholly secondary role, since they neither carried on agriculture nor built canoes or solid huts. Obviously, however, it is only the transference of ideas gained elsewhere -- and in connection with excavation, in a very understandable way -- if, in order to identify the cultural level, one selects from among the natural materials available for tools and weapons that which has been worked and used least of all. The culture of the old Brazilian hunting tribes living in the forest will be very much misunderstood if, with the classification of "Stone Age" peoples, /205/ the image of people of the Ice Age is conjured up. We impede our study of the spatial distribution of culture circles and man's dependence on his place of residence; every tribe learned to utilize the material of its environment, upon which it was dependent, and thus has come into the possession of methods which a neighborhood only sparsely supplied with the same materials would not have found, but which it learns to use and exercise only for its own advancement. Bastian says, "it appears to be conditioned by the geographical environment whether, beside the Stone Age preceding the metals, there must be put a Wood Age (as in the Brazilian alluviums, for example), a Bone Age (in the case of livestock on barren plains or hunting in such areas), or a Shell Age (as occasionally on coral islands)." I therefore prefer to

/220 cont./

The influence on the animal kingdom was strange and remarkable. All beasts of prey very deliberately made use of the occurrence, sought and found their victims, not so much near the blazing fire as on the smoking burned place where many a rodent was probably charred. Numerous falcons hovered over the dark clouds of the "queimada"; wild game hastened to it from far away, to lick the salty ash, and preferred the night, perhaps because it could not hide on the bare expanse. The ground radiated an agreeable warmth.

224 539 Hunting by means of fire is found among many primitive peoples. The Schingú Indians no longer seemed to practice it, but in any case it was well known to the Bakairí, /221/ and the legend of "Kame in the Mouse" tells us that Keri went hunting with the possessor of fire, the campo fox, and the latter caught "only a burned mouse," inside of which was Keri's brother Kame:

" Keri met the campo fox. "Let's make fire in the campo, grandpapa," said Keri. They set out to make fire; it burned all around. Kame was in a mouse. Keri did not know that he had gone inside. The fire burned down and stopped. Keri hunted, did not see a mouse. The campo fox found a burned mouse. After he saw it, he ate it. He met Keri. "Grandpapa, what kind of roast did you eat?" "I ate only a mouse."

● 372 The "queimada," or burned place, furnished many experiences about the usefulness of fire: fleeing animals when the fire began, later charred animals and fruits, animals that came to * 171 251 it, salty ashes, warmth. Here the hunter could learn how to roast meat, which, on a smaller scale, took on the significance for him that flour preparation has for the field cultivator. Roasting preserves. After many days roasted meat, which otherwise would long since have become putrid, is still tasty; the Bororó went out hunting for weeks and returned with a rich supply of roasted game; the Aueto were absent for several days on fishing expeditions and brought home a canoe heavily laden with roasted fish; among the Mehinakú we saw baskets filled with very appetizing, golden yellow baked fish. Even today roasting is continued until the meat has a thick charcoal crust -- the burned skin --with a very popular salty taste.

/223 cont./

600 mentally assimilated only by a person who is already in possession of the separate processes. If now and then the storm actually started a fire, man probably quickly took a brand so that wind or rain would not extinguish it. Perhaps he also observed that a falling tree killed an animal and, happily frightened, seized the unexpected booty, but we would rather not date from this historic moment his having reached for the club and found a weapon with which to kill animals. He must have learned these skills in some other way. Up to the present time such an extremely simple explanation for any primitive achievement has not been satisfactory; it has always soon been realized that there had been produced a more or less ingenious myth which lacked only the name of the originator to merit adoption in popular mythology. Today, too, the fancy of the speculative mythologist, praised or condemned, is perpetuated in all the literature, along with the Prometheus legend, and will, it seems, always be associated with it.

It is clear that we must not be led astray by the subsequent mystic, poetic, religious, or scientific conceptions related to fire and regard primitive man, who is a sober, limited, practical individual, as something he is not, either as a philosopher or a modern inventor. If we turn to living experience, the obstacle immediately disappears at the start, namely, the contradiction, which is not insoluble except in an age of fully developed property concepts, that a thing will strike terror and at the same time become indispensable day and night.

For the first stage, with the origin of which we need not concern ourselves further here, when man reached the point of deliberately keeping the wild, free fire burning and making it permanently serviceable to himself by continuous transplanting, with all its advantages, the comparison that he established, tended, and tamed it, like a species of domestic animal, may
*171 not be inappropriate. But it is only with the further problem of
174 how the method of producing fire came about that we find our-
● 372 selves on firm ground among primitive peoples; we immediately see among them various methods for this work, and they must therefore be examined in connection with other work methods.

It was from this point of view that I tried to gather information

/223 cont./

*171 174 372 among the Schingú Indians, and I believe I shall be able to prove how their way of producing fire must have originated. It is the simplest one of the "fire drill," very widespread in America and other parts of the world, whereas in Polynesia a "stick" is rubbed in a "groove."

*171 372 /224/ The natives take two sticks not quite as thin as a little finger, about three-fourths of a meter long, and still covered with the bark that keeps them dry, and cut a small depression into one with a shell. While one man lays this stick on the ground and keeps it firmly pressed down, a second man sets the other stick into the depression and twirls it with great speed between his hands which glide nimbly up and down on it. Through the twirling the little depression is enlarged, a fine dust is loosened, and this begins to glow and to smoke. Tinder is brought forth, blown upon, and immediately the flame is there. The small depression now appears extremely smooth and charred on the surface. The process from start to finish does not take a minute. The one who twirls really exerts himself, it would be an exaggeration to make more of it, although a person who is not practiced and allows small pauses to occur, which is detrimental to the result, will not succeed without a supreme effort. In an emergency, a single individual will manage very well with the procedure by holding the stick firmly on the ground with his feet.

[824] The fire sticks are usually two straight twigs from the orlean bush or urucú, which have a light, porous wood. Other wood, too, has "fire in it," as the Indian understands it, especially ubá and kambayuva, the two types of arrow reed. If the hunter on his way has no fire with him and needs it, he knows how to help himself: he breaks an arrow and drills one piece into the other. The arrow is precious, however, and rubbing is strenuous. We several times observed that the men on their way to the harbor and into the forest took along burning chunks from the smoldering clearing, which they later heedlessly tossed aside. On excursions that involved an absence from home for days they took along with them in the canoe a huge smoldering piece of dry rotten wood from the forest.

/224 cont./

*171 The tinder is a light brown, fine meshed bast tissue which is
●372 furnished best by the young uakumã palm (a Cocos species). In
[824] the campo, tinder from the guarirobá palm (Cocos oleracea) or of dry grass and leaves also helps out. Its purpose is to furnish the flame with which one transfers the fire to the twigs. Ehrenreich reports from the Karayá /Caraja/, Im Thurn from the Warrau of Guiana, that their wood catches fire so easily that it does not need tinder; "it in itself furnishes the tinder."

As is seen, it is not necessary to have a hard and a soft wood for rubbing fire with the "drill" /Bohrer, borer, drill, auger/. The Schingú Indians always take only one kind; the Karayá drill bamboo in ucucú.

ooo We find the movement of twirling very difficult; indeed, we are scarcely acquainted with it in everyday life because our drills terminate in a screw, and we do not use it at all for drilling, but for mixing, for example, in the kitchen, to mix yeast or eggs with milk, or in connection with the preparation of a cocktail.
*171 It is easy to understand how the drilling and twirling of the natives
174 originated. At first holes were made with a pointed tooth or bone.
412 /225/ When the object was very resistant, a turning pressure against and into it was tried, and this gradually and naturally developed into the twirl-drilling, if only one worked steadily and evenly so as not to split the object, clamped it down securely so as not to lose the point drilled on, and thus had both hands to
[321] work with. This twirl-drilling is practiced by the Indian with a tooth or particle of stone fastened to a little stick (cf. p. 201) for all piercing of shells, bone, stone, armadillo carapace, and hard wood. One very often sees him occupied with it, using his feet
ooo as a brace. We are now, however, confronted with a riddle if we wish to explain how this fire-drilling with two pieces of wood could have originated. How did people happen to drill wood with wood if they were not purposely setting out to "invent fire?"

It has been said in all seriousness that in grinding or drilling tools out of wood, bone, and stone, people found by experience that friction produces warmth, they observed that the warmth increases the harder the rubbing, and they then tried to rub

/225 cont./

000 wood so hard that it would not only become warm, but also glowed, lighted, burned! If the gentlemen who make this suggestion about our revered ancestors were stranded on an uninhabited, wooded coral island -- I am willing to assume, with some protest, that with their technical and theoretical knowledge they would hit upon the idea of rubbing wood with wood to make a campfire for themselves. The man of prehistoric times, however long he had had live fire and had known its value, could have been purposely forced to the discovery only if the wood warmed by rubbing had also glowed; then he would perhaps have made the attempt to increase the glow to a flame. The Bakairí, for ex-
[372] ample, actually reasoned in this way. The campo fox, they said, struck fire out of his eyes.

In the aforementioned suggestion for the solution of the problem, there is, however, a sound core, namely, that one should not allow too much room for chance concerning an invention. Actually, if one wishes to believe that people only incidentally, in connection with the making of tools, made the observation that fire is produced when wood is rubbed or drilled with wood, then it should at least be presented in a direct and intimate connection with the use of fire. If wood was drilled, it was undoubtedly drilled with tooth, bone, or stone, and although it is possible that on occasion, if this material were lacking, a hard piece of wood was used for twirl-drilling, which then produced a smoldering powder, this undeniable possibility does not seem quite convincing to me because it does not grow out of the fire technique itself. Nor can one see, for a practical case, if the customary tool were lacking, why people would necessarily set such great store by boring through wood that they chose the laborious method and did not achieve their purpose more conveniently by tying or breaking or some other way. A little /226/ reflection and a few facts lead us to an approach that is possibly more promising.

174 Man had fire, kept it going, but could not produce it. It
372 is clear that the first skill which had to be learned and was learned at this stage was to revive the fire and transfer it to another place.

/226 cont./

*171 Several times on the expedition's return trip, during the rainy
●392 period, we were able to maintain sufficient fire only with great trouble in the morning, although the log was still glowing; all the wood was wet and would not burn. Our men were able to remedy the situation only by peeling the bark off the damp twigs and whittling out with a knife a few rather dry shavings from the inside, putting these with great care and patience, almost individually, on the glowing coals, and then gradually blowing up feeble flames which, cleverly nursed, would grow stronger to become a vigorous fire. Im Thurn describes the same procedure among the Guiana Indians. It is reported of the North American natives that they carried glowing tree fungi with them all day and thus transplanted their campfire from place to place. The decayed logs which our Indians took along in the canoe easily smoldered for one or two days.

000 The technique of tinder was developed early, before fire could be produced at will. People transferred the fire from a feebly glowing log to twigs by adding dry stalks, shavings, leaves, or the like. They learned to know the parts of plants that burned easily. For their wanderings they provided themselves with tinder of spongy plant fibers; they also kept a supply of it at their camp site, since any rain or negligence might extinguish the fire. They used the shavings whittled loose during working on wood, stone-ax handles, and weapons, or, if they bored through wood with tooth, shell, or stone, the dust resulting from this. If this natural tinder was lacking or was perhaps soaking wet, they simply made some. With their tools of tooth, shell, or stone, they pulverized, scraped, or whittled light wood. When the ax blade was inserted in a wooden groove and lashed there -- in this way it could be more easily attached at an acute angle and put in the position most suitable for canoe building -- they may have scraped the tinder dust into a groove, here, as well as when the wooden handle of the stone ax was bored through crosswise, they probably did not overlook the fact that the dust falling at the time was especially fine and easily inflammable. They observed that the relatively heavy, less quickly kindled wood tinder glowed for a longer time than spongy fiber and pith.

/237 cont./

*171 Bakaïrí used for the very differently constructed carrying basket.
285 The accompanying illustration /see Fig. 31, p. 247/ shows
[482] the three-walled carrying basket used by all tribes, the "mayáku" of the Bakaïrí, while the manner in which it is carried, hanging from the head with a bast loop, may be seen in the picture of Tumayaua, Plate 6 /see p. 40/. The contents were covered with leaves, which are also used to line the inside; then the side walls were bound together as tightly as possible. Small back-baskets were even hung on children.

The storage baskets for the mandioca flour should also be mentioned. While the lower tribes had clumsy supply baskets, resembling the back-baskets in form, those of the Bakaïrí (oádu) were the product of careful work. Five or six thin poles as tall as a man were put together with a couple of cross-rings of vines to form a circular framework supported in some way, this was lined with Heliconia leaves, several of which were strung over one another with thread, spread out, and on the outside wound in horizontal circular turns with reddish pindahyba bast from bottom to top, with the bast knotted continuously from piece to piece. While this type of basket was therefore unplaited, there were others with an open, hexagonal /238/ mesh plaiting, which were likewise lined with leaves. The baskets were hung by strips of embira.

• [372] The plaiting of mats did not play an important role. Small fan-shaped or square mats for fanning the fire were very pretty.
[352] Larger mats for sleeping were lacking, since hammocks were
[252] used. Mats were used in the preparation of flour, first of all drying mats plaited out of palm leaves, and then sieve-mats consisting of four-edged small reed rods knotted together with cross-threads for sifting and pressing out the roots grated on the grating boards studded with palm spines. Similar rod mats served as cases for storing feather ornaments. The feathers were placed in them as in a file folder; the mat was then held stiff by means of three clamps, one each on the top, on the bottom, and in the middle, made by bending split reed stalks together and, with the cut side lying against them, stretching them across transversally and tying the projecting ends together at the right.

/238 cont./

128 I shall discuss the reed diadems and plaited dance costumes in the chapter on masks.

*171 283 286 Textile work. The material: pineapple silk, aloe hemp, palm fiber from the tucum and buriti, and cotton. The fibers are put in neat bundles, and twisted on the thigh, but the cotton tufts, on the other hand, are drawn out into a thread by means of the spindle likewise made to turn rapidly on the thigh and then [462] spinning freely. Only the women spin and weave. The fiber strings serve as the actual tie-threads and ropes; fish nets, carrying nets, in certain cases hammocks, and finally bowstrings are made of them. Knitting is done with bamboo rods or long wooden needles that have eyes.

*171 ● 392 285

Fig. 32. Fire fan (1/9 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

*171 283 The spindle is a disk through which is stuck a thin, not very straight, and smoothly worked stick sometimes notched at the tip. To it is attached a tuft of cotton, freed of seeds, whereupon the whorl is rapidly turned on the thigh and the whole allowed to hang; as a result of the even rotation, the cotton is twisted into a thread. The thread is wound on the little stick, until a thick, cone-shaped ball rests against the whorl, which prevents it from slipping off. Diameter of the whorl-disk, five and a half to six centimeters; length of spindle shaft, 30-35 centimeters. The [239] whorl usually consists of a piece of the ventral shell of the turtle,

/37 cont./

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III. Plaited Objects of the Bakairí in Simões Lopes

Most of the plaited objects that I acquired from the Bakairí in Simões Lopes belong to that kind of plaiting which I called in my respective previous publications Stufengeflecht (stepped plaiting).

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The two fire fans shown in Figures 35 a and 35 b (a: (above) V.B. 9918. Length of the upper rim 45 cm. Width 19 cm. b. (below) V.B. 9919. Length of the upper rim 43 cm. Width 17.5 cm.) are similar in their external form to those, with which we are familiar, of the Kulisehu Bakairí of former times, but in regard to technique they already show certain signs of degeneration. In the chapter "Geflechte und Geflechtsornamentik im Xingú-Quellgebiet /Plaited Objects and Their Ornamentation in the Headwater Region of the Xingu/" in my already-mentioned book, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, I dealt at length with the technique used in the construction of such fire fans, because these plaited objects were especially suitable to show the dependence of the ornamentation of plaited objects on the technique of plaiting used in their construction. It is possible to determine exactly the specific units in the plaited object and the order in which they were successively fashioned, and the specimens shown in photographs in the work mentioned clearly reveal how the ornamental lines between these specific units of the plaited article and, successively, the overall ornamentation of the respective fans, are intimately bound to the technical conditions of the plaiting. Thus, in all fans of this kind /obtained/ from the Kulisehu Indians, the two triangular units of the plaited object, which begin with their bases on the two sides of the lower edge of the object, are striped horizontally, that is to say, parallel to the lower edge, while the middle part of the fan, which integrates /?/ the beginning of the plaited object and is shaped like a square resting on its corner, is usually striped vertically.

/37 cont./

285 As shown by the fan represented in the photograph in Figure 191
372 of the above-mentioned book, there are cases where this middle
531 part is striped horizontally without this leading to /38/ technical complications, and as in these cases also the two triangular units of the object, which begin with their bases on the two sides of the lower edge of the fan, are for technical reasons striped horizontally, all of these plaited units in this fan have the same ornamental striping. But the vertical striping that runs throughout the fan represented in Figure 154, a /35 top?/ and coming from Simões Lopes is incompatible with the technical conditions of the ancestral form of these plaited objects. The structure of the plaiting of this fan shows that it, too, was plaited so that the work began in the middle part of the fan in the shape of a square resting on one corner, and then the two lower triangles were made by folding and plaiting the free
285 ends of the fibers used to make the middle part. Among the
372 numerous specimens of such fans at the Berlin Ethnographic
178 Museum, there are none whose triangular parts at the lower
531 base of the fan show striping going in a vertical direction, and the imperfection of the lower edge of the fan from Simões Lopes, in comparison with the firm, smooth edges of the fans from the Kuliseiu Bakairí, clearly shows that in the case of the fan from Simões Lopes we are dealing with a degeneration of the Bakairí plaiting technique, which in times past was more skillful and more dependent on certain principles. The fire fan shown in Figure 154, b /35 bottom?/ also contains, in spite of its superficial good looks, so many imperfections in the ornamentation and so many irregularities in the structure of the plaiting that its later origin is at once evident.

285 There is a great similarity, we might even say identity,
184 between the flat baskets acquired in Simões Lopes and those
171 which the Bakairi of the upper Xingu tributaries made in former
531 times. The flat basket shown in Figure 36 (V.B. 9909. Diameter 51 cm.) is surprisingly similar to such a basket collected by Herrmann Meyer from the Nahukuá and described

Plate XVI

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Fig. 35. Fire fans. Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

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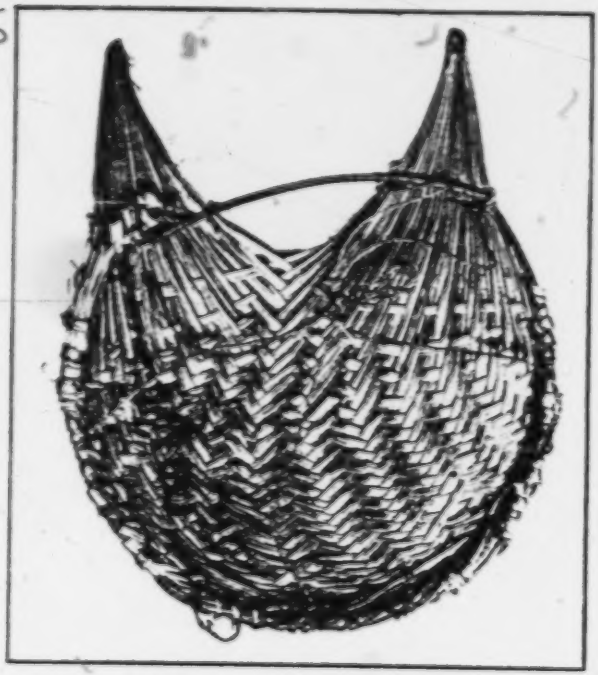

Fig. 36. Fruit basket made from two buriti leaves. Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

/185 cont./

*171 302 822 more sparingly and could not by any means conceive why he did not use it merely to bring out the other colors better. He wears feather caps, which look most charming, of pure white with a few, small yellow-red feathers in between.

*171 302 386 The chalky, fine-grained clay is not suitable for the design-painting of the body. If it were mixed, like charcoal, with the yellowish oil, it could likewise be applied in lines, but the white color would be lost. Mixed with water, however, the lines would be very impermanent and mostly fall off when dry. On the masks, white furnishes only the background or appears in wide stripes on the most artless ones. On the other hand, if the native used his pigment for body adornment primarily for the sake of the color effect, nothing would prevent him from beautifying himself with white also, by powdering himself over large areas with the clay. Thus the thighs of the string-twisting women are chalk-white; moreover, the fine, flour-dust, with which the women who bake beijú are often covered white, would be available to him. But neither the white baker-woman nor the Indian daubed red or black over large areas /186/ has dressed himself up this way in order to adorn himself. This is everyday clothing, not Sunday attire.

*171 302 751 The question thus is: of what use is the daubing? As is well known, and as I know very well from my long experience of going barefoot, the mud has a cooling effect; it is extremely pleasant in the heat to keep the skin moist. In particular it cools stung spots, and it protects the ones stung from the mosquitoes, whether it be red, yellow, black, or white. I cannot believe that whenever a person waded through the mud of the shore, he seemed particularly adorned because of it; it may be different on other soil, where the earth colors are more unusual. In our territory, at any rate, the agreeableness for the skin takes precedence over that for the eye. The Indian has replaced the mud with oil, but a finely powdered addition is said to make it more consistent and sticky, and this addition is a [822] pigment, soot and urucú red. Undoubtedly the Bakaïrí like the red better, since they did not have to tend and cultivate the plant if the soot were just as pretty, and within these limits one adorns himself also by daubing himself.

/239 cont./

286 ropes is produced, and, on the other hand, the longitudinal
352 threads, uncrossed here for a length of 30-35 centimeters, diverge from this fixed point toward the net when it is stretched out.

*171 Besides this typical cotton hammock, there is a hammock
286 in which the warp consists of buriti palm-fiber thread and only
352 the woof is of cotton. And, to be sure, this cotton woof may be limited to only a few transverse threads, which ran at intervals of 10-20 centimeters among the Mehinakú. The buriti hammock is native among the Nu-Aruak tribes. The docile Bakaïrí on the Paranatinga also had it, and they told me that their old chief, Caetano, had first introduced it. The palm-fiber hammocks were usually of the same length or even longer (up to two and three-fourths meters) than the cotton hammocks, but not one meter wide, so that the comfortable diagonal position which the Brazilian quite rightly likes to assume was almost impossible.

A third type was produced by the more abundant use of cotton. Thus, among the Auetö, we saw all the transitions from a space of six to seven centimeters between the /240/ cotton transverse threads to a space of one or two centimeters, or even half a centimeter. Finally, however, the cotton threads were pressed so closely together that one could no longer see the palm fiber, and a strong cloth, worked almost as tightly as sailcloth, was produced. Here the palm-fiber longitudinal thread, about one and a half millimeters wide, was wound with two pairs of cotton transverse threads that crossed, not singly, but doubled, between it and the next longitudinal thread. Naturally, the long sides of the hammock were densely studded with knots; at the four ends the strands were allowed to hang down a bit and
[386] ended in tassels. In many cases, at intervals of about 40 centimeters, bluish-black transverse stripes were achieved by the use of dyed cotton. Otherwise all hammocks were brown; the cotton hammock, as well as the one of palm fiber, which was already light brown in its natural color, was colored a dirty brown by the bodies oiled with urucú red.

B /241 cont./
*171 415 into bowls, the fresh fruits are wound with palm fiber and scratched
[412] along it with a shell. If a bowl cracks during use, it is sewed;
the small holes are bored with the pointed tooth of the dogfish
and the sewing is done with a buriti thread rubbed with wax, the
knots of which are cut off close to the shell by the tooth edge
B [531] ground knife-sharp. The drawings that decorate the surface are
incised with the same tooth, unless one prefers to burn them in
B with a red-hot stick. The drinking bowls and small ladle-gourds
[386] or spoons are given a coating of black lacquer on the inside. The
[824] lacquer is the soot of the charred buriti shaft mixed with the
yellow, sticky liquid extract of the grated rind of the ochogohi
tree from the campo cerrado /densely covered campo/. Special
small, spherical gourds served to hold the oil with which the body
was rubbed and were closed with a stopper; the Bakairi called
B [128] the fruit pétu. They sometimes hung in a closely plaited net. I
shall consider the rattle gourd in connection with the dance music.

B Pottery. In the chapter on the "Stone Age" culture, cf.
128 pages 217 ff., I have discussed in detail the origin of the pots
323 in our region, the monopoly of the Nu-Aruak tribes, and the
manufacture limited to only the female sex. Only in the later
chapter on the plastic arts, when the development of Indian art
has become clear, shall I be in a position to speak of the orna-
mental aspect of the pots.

B Three types of pots were distinguished according to size and
*171 415 purpose. First, the huge mawukuru of the Mehinakú, in which
W the grated mandioca root was cooked. they had a diameter of
[415] [252] almost three-fourths of a meter. We were unable to bring home
[126] any of these pots, but took a photograph among the Auetó, from
which their shape and, since a man -- by rights it should have
been a woman -- is squatting beside it, also their size are clear.
Cf. Plate 15 /see p. 253/. The largest and most attractive pots
are furnished by the Waurá. For cooking they were set on three
low clay feet of cylindrical shape and bulging at the bottom.

A second type, the cooking pot for fruit and small fish,
had a diameter of 18-20 centimeters, a height of about 12 centi-
meters; it was round with rather steep, slightly bulging walls
and sometimes had a rim two and a half centimeters wide and

/329 cont./

*171 239 301 All feather ornamentation, except for an occasional feather stuck in the ear, especially among the Bakaïrí, belongs to festive occasions, including the solemn reception. It is the same with the feathers as with the body painting.

*171 524 Children's games. Among the Bakaïrí we saw catch-balls wadded together out of maize straw; instead of the usual long feather, a tail of maize straw was tied inside. There were rubber balls, huge ones, among the Auetó. The sap of a figueira /Ficus/ [314] or the mangabeira is rolled into a little ball on the chest, steeped in water with ashes, and the ball punctured all around in such a way that on the outside it looks as though it were covered with ● [386] plaiting. The balls are dyed red with urucú.

[324] Tops were made from the unripe peanut (Arachis hypogaea) or mandubí. Twice as big as a cherry, it was pierced and pushed onto a small bamboo stick so that only a small part of the latter emerged, and here it was wound with a tuft of cotton flocks to prevent it from sliding off. The fruit would spin upward on the long handle. Several such tops were set in a pot and made to spin together.

[526] We must count the wrestling described on page 93 among the games of the adults, but children liked to practice wrestling. The same was true, of course, of shooting the bow. We also saw children's throwing-sticks. Older children played with the heavy clay dolls. I was asked several times to perform a sort of test of strength in that I was supposed to lift a boy up in the air with my free arm. I may add here the observation that the Indians were unable to balance a pole on one finger.

/330/ Chapter XII.

000 I. Law and Custom. II. Magic.

I. Property. Kinship. Marriage. Morals. Barter. Names. Birth. Couvade and its explanation. Burial.

II. Sorcery in various stages and on various levels of culture. Dream experiences. Pars pro toto. Good and bad medicine-men.

/418 cont./

802 196 reach back only to the proof of the origin from manual work, to make an uninterrupted chain of inductive evidence.

In Tupí "2" is mokõi, made up with the causative mo-; koi is translated "pair." Thus "2" = "makes pair." But what is koi? Now strangely enough, kopi -- the exact equivalent of the Bakaïrí sake -- means "to chop wood"! Between the two vowels in koi a softened consonant has been dropped; let us assume it arose from koui, kobi, which would be a very common process, and we would have the same origin of "2" as would be conceivable in Bakaïrí.

Finally I must also consider "tokále," "1." It is made up of "toka" and the augmentative particle "-le." "tóka" means "bow." Since each man has only one bow, or since many arrows go with one bow, the bow is the simplest example for "1" among all the implements. The derivation is a bit questionable because it is almost too perfect. To be sure, "toka" is so constructed phonetically that, according to the phonetic laws prevailing in the Bakaïrí, it need not change. It seems very striking that there are so few equivalents for "tokále" among the Karaiben of the north; they are fewer in number than those for "ahewão" and far fewer than those for "ahãge." It is surely permissible to exclude coincidence here and to see in this circumstance, as regards language as well, evidence that actual, conceptual counting began with the "2."

II. Color Words

000 Available dyestuffs. Corresponding to the number of color words. Strange statements intelligible through etymology. Dyestuffs older than the need for color words. Use in connection with the names of animals and plants. Green never = blue-black.

196 Color words, no less than number words, show how development depends on interest.

191 As has already been mentioned, the following dyestuffs are
386 used on the Schingú /Xingu/.

/418 cont./

171 White is chalky white clay, a supply of which is kept in the
386 huts in the form of balls the size of a child's head. The women,
[283] when they spin, rub it on the right thigh, on which they twist the thread. It is simply mixed with water. It is never used to paint the body; it also falls far back for the implements and appears almost solely on the masks, the painting of which need last but a few days, on painted bark pieces, and the like.

/419/ Charcoal and soot, the berry-pulp of the genipap tree, (Genipa) and a number of resins furnish black. In order to blacken the inside of the gourd shells charcoal from the bark of the buriti shaft is used.

The yellowish-red to brownish-red loam seems to have been
[262] driven out by the urucú dyestuff. It was formerly eaten and is
524 still molded into heavy dolls for children and is rubbed on wounds
[304] for scarification.

Charcoal and soot are rubbed in directly, like the white, or they are also mixed with liquid, like the urucú. Either the oil
[824] from the pikí fruit (Caryocar butyrosum) is used, or the yellow extract containing caoutchouc from a tree of the campo cerrado, which the Bakairí call ochogohi and the bark of which is grated and made into an extract with water. The colors are mixed in a gourd shell or a pot or, when a hard resin is broken up with the ax blade, most conveniently in the cup-shaped depression of a stool. Urucú is always found as a paste wrapped in leaves in the little workbasket beside the hammock.

The dyestuffs available to the natives are therefore white, black, red, and yellow. The genipap-black is blue-black, the urucú-red a brick-red to orange, which, mixed with the yellow ochogohi juice, loses a good deal of its red. There are no blue or green dyestuffs.

121 The theory that the color sense developed gradually for
196 human beings, based on the fact that color distinction in language is inadequate up to a high level of culture and that blue and green in particular are extraordinarily often designated with the same word, has now been abandoned. It was found among all the primitive peoples investigated that they distinguish excellently

/422 cont./

171 boa-snake which Martius calls "viridis vel azureus Coluber
192 aestivus L." The ordinary distinctions according to color, the
825 number of which is smaller than one would expect, are black, white, red, and yellow; without placing any importance on absolute accuracy, I count 28 birds, 23 fish, 9 mammals, 4 snakes, and 12 lower animals which are differentiated according to those four colors. But now two more words occur for "colorful" /bunt, "gay-colored, mixed, spotted"/, one of which, pinima, with the verb "to paint" of the same stem, is used for fish, three birds, the jaguar, one snake, one lizard, one crayfish, and the other, paragoa, means simply "parrot" and also furnishes a parrot-fish and a parrot-snake. Pure "green" is always parrot-colored or parakeet-colored; where a "blue" is to be distinguished, the animal is also given the additional word una (burned) = black or dark.

171 It cannot be expressed more clearly that the Indian is in-
192 duced to make a sharp color-distinction only when it is a matter of color qualities familiar to him from the dyestuffs, in other words, that his own experience, not his sense of color, furnishes the material for the sharply defined concepts.

171 The list of plant names by Martius, somewhat over 1000 in
192 number, offers an interesting comparison. Eight plants are given
824 the title black, 7 white, 7 red, 2 yellow. It is obvious that among the plants "green" does not form a distinguishing mark. Yet here, too, we come across on one occasion the cugui or "parakeet-colored," sometimes translated "green," sometimes "blue," and, to be sure, it corresponds to /423/ a specific blue, since it refers to Indigofera anil L. Three plants are "colorful," but "pinima"; the parrot-colorfulness (paragoa) is lacking.

171 The natives could have obtained indigo from the plant just
386 mentioned, but they did not know how. Martius asserts that in the manufacture of indigo the Brazilian industrialists use Indian labor, that it was first introduced by the Portuguese and produces a not very desirable kind. Genipap-black has a blue tinge and
[192] thus corresponds very well to the referring of blue to black in the
[304] color designations. The blue of the tattooing also comes from the black.

000 /Chapter I-III, pp. 1-45, including Fig. 1 and Plates II and III, are omitted in the translation./

/46/ Chapter IV.

First Encounter with the Indians.

Bark canoes. Traces of Indians. My trip with Antonio and Carlos. Animal life. Reverie before supper. Mouth of the Ponekuru. Cataracts. Signs of colonization increase. Chief Tumayaua. To the first Bakaïrí village. Arrival of the "Karaiben."

396 [824] After tapping several times in vain, Antonio found a jatobá (Hymenaea sp.) with serviceable bark. A pole scaffold is erected around the tree; a long rectangular strip of bark is loosened with ax blows and, carefully taken down, is placed on low supports; then the bark is made pliable with heat, a fire being lighted underneath and twigs also set afire on top, and the edges of the longitudinal sides are bent upward. In front a point is formed; in the rear the bark is pushed forward toward the inside to produce a slightly hollowed out bulkhead with acute-angled edges, at which the bark is soon likely to split. The canoe was to be finished in a day and brought to the water the next morning.

000 Antonio came home from his work noticeably pleased. I believed it was because the canoe had turned out well. I talked to him about it for a while and then, referring once more to our plans, said: "So you are not afraid that the river is without inhabitants?" "No," he replied in dismissal, "I've already found a rancho." "Why didn't you say so?" "Well, I intended to."

224 342 [412] [354] In looking for wood for the oars, he had discovered a collapsed hunting-hut covered with palm straw; its posts showed the blunt gash-marks of a stone ax. Beside it lay charred logs still in the radial arrangement of the Indian campfire; adjacent jatobás had been tested with stone axes for their usefulness, a still recognizable path led through the brush to a "harbor" on the river. Antonio thought it was probably a year ago that the visitors had stopped here.

/48 cont./

000 We therefore named our camping place, which we had taken possession of shortly after 4:00, Pouso do Jakaré. Antonio took [396] charge of the unfortunate canoe; he shoved it onto a low framework of forked supports, lighted a fire of brush under it, and bent the front part up as much as possible; he stuffed the crack with rags and smeared it with beeswax. Howling monkeys gave us [136] an evening concert and carried on as dreadfully as though we were supposed to learn how to shudder.

136 We were glad to get up early the next morning; we cursed 137 the mosquitoes and set out at 6:30 into the light mist floating over the water. The birds twittered and chirped noisily; a kaitetú pig was swimming across the river in the distance. We rowed as soundlessly as possible between the shores covered with campo vegetation: much tall leafy brush and bamboo thicket, out of which rose the tree of the red ants, the imbauva. A fat Mutum cavallo with black plumage shimmering greenish-blue and a sealing-wax red crest was successfully caught and immediately plucked; Antonio carefully collected the wing and tail feathers, which, split and turned spirally, are set on the end of the arrow shaft, for his fellows on the Paranatinga, so that he would have something to bring them from the journey. A small piece of the meat served as bait when we passed through some rapids with exposed boulders and disturbed the matrinchams, which allegedly sleep there between the stones. The two men threw out their lines and at each throw let them strike enticingly a couple of times; they were snapped at, but unfortunately there were no bites. They shot at a couple of playful ariranhas, large fish otters that surface like seals, spit, disappear quick as lightning, and suddenly appear again somewhere far downstream.

224 Shortly after midday Antonio observed torn-off branches on the right bank; we disembarked and, on closer investigation, saw that a piece of slain game, probably a capybara, had been placed on a bed of twigs and leaves in order to protect the meat from sand while it was being eviscerated. There was neither hut nor evidence of fire; the booty had therefore been taken from this spot to the /Pl. IV appears here/ /49/ camping place or even to the village.

[Text Continues on p.6]

/234 cont./

*171 501 with a shaft and crook-handle (cf. the illustration /see Fig. 29, p. 243/). Holding the crook-handle with one hand and the lower part of the shaft with the other, the Indian pushes the oar down rather vertically by his side and levers it forward with powerful pressure. Often the thrusts follow one another very rapidly, the oar is thrown high in the air and changes hands with lightning [502] speed. One of the rowers usually sits in front, the other in the rear; the one in the rear steers with his paddle, the one in front shoots at fish. The only place to sit is a low clamped-in piece of [415] branch. In the center lies a carrying basket, protected from the rain with leaves. Loam and resin play a great part; /235/ the [396] bark easily cracks, especially in the bent-in stern, and lets in *171 502 water. Thanks to their great skill as pilots, the Bakaïrí shoot even through the swell of the cataracts without danger; the rapids with a greater fall downstream in the region of the Yuruna, however, could not be surmounted with the low and fragile bark canoes -- a noteworthy obstacle against the shifting of our tribes toward the north. Perhaps no less difficult would be the beating of the waves on the broader stream, which every strong wind [396] brings. On the other hand, the bark canoes have the tremendous advantage of being made in the shortest time. For this reason even the people at the Fazenda S. Manoel were satisfied with a canoe furnished by the Bakaïrí, which cost only one day's work. [482] They are easy to carry out of the forest to the shore; bast rings protect the shoulders.

*171 484 Fishing is done just as much as possible during a trip, and similarly eating. Smoking and singing en route are unknown.

*171 226 Fishing implements. The shooting of fish with bow and arrow provides only a little booty, in terms of number. I have reported on the fences or palings with which the river was blocked off near the second Bakaïrí village, on the "chiqueiras," the barrier made with twigs that closes off the mouths of brooks or the arms of lagoons, on the stone circles that were laid out, often in great numbers, in the shallow river bed near rapids, and where the fish entered from above through a narrow opening and, driven downstream, were caught in nets at the opposite exit, and, finally,

/269 cont./

539 fat in order to stay warm. The Indians wanted the sun to come out, and so they donned their apparel, painted their bodies, and began to ask Orimoto, the great spirit. Orimoto was not an Indian but a man who lived in a stone house with some animals which he had created. The Indians went on asking until finally the light broke out; but the Indians had already grown old and the children had already grown up.

776 The data at our disposal do not permit us to place in Bakairí cosmology beings such as Tchini-numa, Keri-kamé, or Orimoto and Nakoeri. Nevertheless, we prefer to regard Nakoeri as the supreme being of the Bakairí, leaving to Tchini-numa, Keri-kamé (the sun and the moon), and Orimoto the role of culture heroes, until new work clarifies their respective functions.

182 13 433 Compelled to deal with a hostile environment, such as the savannas and forests of the headwaters of the Xingu, and lacking an adequate technology, the Bakairí, like the other Xinguano Indians, depended to a large extent on uncertain factors such as the amount of rainfall and the resulting annual increase of waters, which led to a scarcity or an abundance of food. Lacking an adequate technology, they did not store 789 their produce but lived on a subsistence economy. Their hunt- [224] ing and fishing activities were followed by magic rituals with [226] which they attempted to control the possibility of sudden future [241] calamities or even of illnesses. Thus agricultural activities [396] and the building of houses or canoes had to be followed by [782] propitiations. In order to utilize the vegetal or animal raw [262] materials, it was necessary to know how to control uncertain elements: How explain, for example, why one canoe splits and another does not, when both were made by the same crafts-man? How explain how the same /270/ foods sometimes ap- 77 peared harmless and sometimes made people ill? The system of beliefs of the Bakairí seems to us an interpretation that

252 415 wooden benches, and dishes and cups made from gourds.

494 226 501 396 [824] As the Bacairí were extensive travelers and depended upon fish for a considerable part of their food supply, canoes were an important part of their equipment. The Bacairí canoe (*pépi*) was made from the bark of the jatobá tree. The tough, heavy bark was first stripped from one-half of the tree. Small fires were then lighted on the inside of the bark trough to make it curl. Braces were placed at intervals along the entire length, the bow was tapered, and the stern was squared off by forcing the bark upward at one end. 501 Bacairí canoes varied in size, the larger ones being able to carry as many as 8 men. Canoes of jatobá bark are used by the Bacairí today and are the [171] predominant type among the Indians of the 415 Upper Xingú. The Bacairí also made large [824] tubs out of jatobá bark which were used as settling 252 vessels for manioc juice. The juice of the manioc contains a fine powder or starch which settles on the bottom of the vessel, to be gathered after the 241 liquid is poured off. For gardening, the Bacairí formerly used a digging stick made of hardwood. 411 For hunting, they used a bow (*túka*), round or 824 slightly oval in cross section and from 2 to 2½ meters in length, made from a yellow or reddish wood which was first matured by burying it in mud. The bowstring was made from the fibers of imbauba bark. Arrows (*pirẽu*) were made from [237] cane with hardwood or bone points. Hunting arrows had two feathers, but arrows used for shooting fish had serrated wooden points and no 412 feathers. The cutting tools of the Bacairí consisted of knives made from bamboo, stone, bones, and 489 shell. Transportation was by canoe, or if over 482 land, goods were carried in a wicker basket supported on the back by a tump line.

ORNAMENTS

291 [171] While living on the banks of the Kuliseu River, the Bacairí, in common with the other Upper Xingú River tribes, did not use clothing. Men sometimes wore a narrow cotton band (*onegín*) around the waist, with a few tassels hanging in front. Women, after puberty, wore the ulurí. 302 Men wore their hair cut short. Women wore their hair long at the back but cut straight across over [412] the forehead. Hair was cut with a knife made [833] by setting sharp fish teeth into a wooden stick,

Bacairi SP7
Mato Grosso SP1

B 464 [551]

Nine canoemen, recommended by Major Noronha, were recruited from the Bakairi. The nine included Paghuli, or Marcellino, and Apacanu, both of whom had lived on the Kuluseu before the withdrawal of the Bakairi to the post. Both of these men can speak Anahukua to some extent, and are the only men who know how to make bark canoes. Unfortunately, their Portuguese is poor, necessitating another interpreter. Their knowledge and skill in matters of river travel made them invaluable, however.

[191] [396]

B 501

The Bakairi have the reputation of being the best canoemen of the region. The children are taught to paddle from infancy, and become extremely skillful in paddling the clumsy and heavy canoes. The paddle used is short and narrow, and a quick, short stroke is employed, the paddler shifting his paddle from one side to the other with every two or three strokes. Steering is accomplished more by the bowman than by the man in the stern. The use of the stern paddle as a rudder is not well understood. Poling is resorted to by the man in the bow when going up the stream, in which case the efforts of the man in the stern are given to guiding the canoe, which is accomplished by quick shifting of the paddling from one side to the other. Among the Bakairi, as indeed among all of the aborigines encountered, the women are as good paddlers as the men, but they never were seen poling.

* * * *

B M 114

As soon as our personnel was completed, with the addition of a young Italian explorer, Giacomo Anzil, who had been forced to abandon his project to reach the Amazon upon reaching the post, our baggage was transferred to the backs of oxen and mules, which were to transport it to the Kuluseu river. The men not concerned with driving the oxen went afoot. It was indeed an odd caravan. Mounted men busy with the oxen, men afoot carrying bows and arrows and guns, long-horned oxen, small mules, filed in a long line across the wastes of the plateau. All of the men wore a red kerchief wound about the head, and the usual bantering conversation was carried on. The Bakairi, of course, wore trousers and shirts, and even sandals made of old automobile tires, in imitation of the Brazilian camaradas.

B [177] [29]

As we moved eastward and slightly north, it became more often necessary to build bridges for the animals, across small but high-banked

B
M
114

in the morning with the other oxen, with another extension on its life span. The extra men that had driven the oxen also returned to Simões Lopes, their fear of attack by the Kayapó hastening their journey back.

We were now totally out of touch with the world that we had left. The underbrush of a patch of jungle was cleared for our camp. This was always our practice, the insects and the moisture being less troublesome there than in the open. Furthermore we could swing our hammocks between trees, whereas it would have been necessary to set up hammock poles were we to camp in the open. As to danger of attack by the aborigines, it was felt that one is equally safe in the forest.

The following day the Bakairi began the search for suitable jatuba trees, for our canoes were to be made from the bark. The Bakairi set out early, without the customary breakfast, and carrying nothing but their weapons, without which they would not stir from camp. Were a man to eat before setting out to locate the trees he would never find one, they said. In case, by some fortuitous accident he did, the bark would be too thin, or too thick, or too dry, or would crack. Therefore nothing must be eaten until the trees are found. In the afternoon they returned with news that several had been located and also that a trail marked with broken twigs had been discovered running almost in a circle around our camp, indicating the presence of the Kayapó in the neighborhood. During the night it was claimed that strange calls were heard, but during our stay at this camp we were not molested.

For the comfort of the Brazilian camaradas I permitted the making of a dugout canoe; with this sort of watercraft they were familiar, but were distrustful of the bark canoes. Subsequently I had occasion to repent my decision and they their request.

B
● 396

In four days the Bakairi made six canoes, two of which were of good size, each capable of carrying an estimated load of fifteen hundred pounds. The dugout was not completed until the seventh day, and it proved hardly serviceable then. Its only baggage was two cases of gasoline, and it gave infinite trouble to its men in the rapids because of its non-flexibility and great weight.

On the other hand, the jatuba bark canoe is flexible; this feature, combined with the thickness of the bark, diminishes the chances of perforation or capsizing on hitting a submerged rock or tree, which cannot be avoided, especially in the upper waters of the rivers. Such a

bark canoe suffers little or no damage where a dugout would either capsize or split. Canvas canoes would tear too easily. B 396

When a jutuba tree suitable in size and condition of the bark is found, a platform of slender poles is built around it. Three upright poles are set up forming a triangle around the tree. Cross pieces in which the worker stands are lashed across from pole to pole. The outline of the canoe is then marked on the tree and is peeled off carefully by driving in flexible wedges in between the bark and the wood. B [40]

The bark thus gotten is bent into the proper shape by building a smoldering fire on its inner surface and by means of poles used as levers on the sides, forming eventually a framework in which the canoe is wedged. The bending in of the sides too much is prevented by cross pieces. Sometimes the maker etches out a design on the outer bark.

The canoe thus obtained is a shallow affair and practically flat bottomed, which gives it stability. The bow is open and clay is used along the edges as a bank to keep out the water. The stern is raised somewhat but often water enters by it likewise.

The Bakairi, while making the canoes, fasted until the end of the day's work, when they ate pure food, in this case rice, farina and meat. It was explained that really they should have eaten nothing but piranha and biiju, foods that we did not possess. Sexual abstinence is necessary, and were some women in the catamenial period to pass nearby, the bark would split. After work is begun no one, in fact, must approach, and if he, unaware that a canoe is being made, does come near, he must not leave on any account. B 396 784

Though we found other signs of the presence of aborigines in the neighborhood we never saw them; but that we were being watched carefully, there was no doubt. ooo

With overloaded canoes we finally embarked on the next lap of our journey to the mouth of the Kuluseu river. For another seven days we worked in the rapids, fatiguing and morale-destroying work. Often we had to cut our way through fallen trees; for long distances canoes were dragged over dangerous stretches; many times the canoes had to be unloaded and the luggage portaged. The men worked naked in the water, and it remains a marvel how we came past the rapids without having suffered some serious injury and without having lost either canoes or baggage. However, the work in the water told on the men

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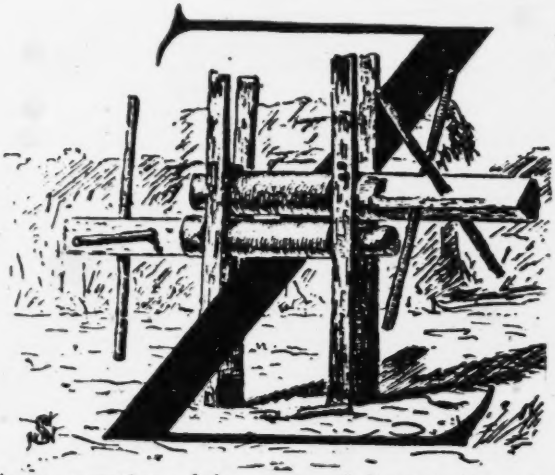
/100/

Eighth Chapter

The First Bakaïrí Village. -- March to the Paranatinga. -- The Second Bakaïrí Village.



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[407]

In the report of José Gonçalves da Fonseca about a trip from Pará to the source region of the Madeira in the year 1749, I find, for the first time, mention of the name of the Bakaïrí, who consequently must have been known already to the first generation of Mata Grosso discoverers. In discussing the probable origin of the Schingú /Xingu/, he says that the rivers lying between the sources of the Tapajoz /Tapajós/ and the Tocantins, called "Bacaris" and "das Mortes," may undoubtedly be regarded as the source rivers of the Schingú. -- In the atlas of Thomas Jeffery of the year 1776, the "Bacahyris" on the Paranatinga are recorded.

Ayras de Cazal notes about our tribe in 1817: "The Baccahirys, who inhabit the regions adjacent to the Rio das Mortes, wage an incessant war against all kinds of quadrupeds and birds. [177] Up to the present time this people has not shown any hostility

[This drawing illustrates a Sugar Cane Press — C.f. P. 22 -- Analyst]

/157 cont./

241 the process of being charred. The pillar of smoke that had drawn our attention for several days is explained: the forest was
122 being cleared in order to lay out a planting. Eagerly scouting, we climb up, and again we are wandering along the forest path.

/158/ "Beijú," somebody cries in a suppressed voice and
[262] triumphantly points to a few crumbs, which give us the prospect of new provisions; "they have beijús," each one murmurs to the man behind him.

[411] There -- a feather-decorated arrow leans against a tree
824 -- the tube of ubá, the wood from which the Imperador /emperor/
[073] of the legend created the Bakaïrí. We become more serious, and even the Negroes, who, when they are afraid, like to try to give themselves courage by chattering march on silently. Now and then small fires, alive or burned out. We have already been walking three-quarters of an hour. But see there, a new clear-
[137] ing -- a charming grove of nut-bearing bacayuva palms -- a few kernels of maize on the ground, again a bit of forest and: "Casas -- houses," the first man cries.

361 Three houses of the form of a beehive become visible; in
342 the first hut, which blocks our path, the low door stands open; in the dark we make out a few heads. A completely naked
609 Indian steps out, young, well built, closes the door, and comes
[291] toward us, in his hand a long arrow shaft without a point, which he holds horizontally in front of him.

I instruct Antonio to call out a greeting to him in Bakaïrí. "Kyulino," cries Antonio almost breathless, and -- hail to the antiguos -- the Indian answers in Bakaïrí. Eagerly he steps up to Antonio, leans against him, and both embrace as they walk on -- both talking at the same time, both trembling all over with fear and excitement.

[302] A joyful feeling of release overcame us all, and when Manoel, discovering that our dear savage wears a nicely shaved tonsure, now finally recovers his speech and cries out, "Oh, why that's a priest, the compadre is a parson," general laughter breaks out, and everybody talks at once.

/160 cont./

437 carried each piece that she captured to a secret repository lying
439 back off the road, immediately most hurriedly hastening forth
[554] for new deeds.

609 At noon Wilhelm and I went to the aldea;[1] Antonio accompanied us, but, suspicious of his fellow tribesmen, he could not make up his mind to stay with them during the night and returned to the river in the evening.

122 We set up housekeeping in the festival hut, and, alone with the charming little people, we felt indescribably content. When toward evening the mosquitoes started to annoy us, we took a
[137] walk to the roça.[2] Greedily we looked about for the "frutas de lobo," apple-round fruits which were present in numbers on gray-green shrubs, but unfortunately not ripe; the Bakaïrí boys are no different from ours. A magnificent estate; the horizon was bordered by a dark park, behind which the sun was setting in
291 reddish orange. We met Pauhaga, as our apostle of peace is
177 called, and his relatives on the plaza between the three huts, trying on clothes in great embarrassment. They urgently needed our help; not only did they put the trousers on in reverse and upside down over the legs, but they also tried to draw them up over their arms and wanted to stick their legs into a shirt. Putting on a coat alone was an impossible thing. They were unaware of the most obvious offenses against the elements of propriety. A safety pin was hugely admired, but most of all a pair of scissors with which
412 one could so conveniently cut one's nails. Their tool, the stone ax -- a ground stone is wedged into a wooden handle -- with which they fell trees and make posts, deserves our appreciation no less, from the standpoint of how much can be accomplished with the simplest means, even though in the unspoken accompanying thought that we ourselves /161/ might have to go back to this
[411] stage there is a slight admixture of horror. They have no spears,
[231] no bananas, no dogs, and tobacco is nowhere to be found. Bones,
[276] teeth, shells must serve them as tools, along with the stone ax.
[237] /Illustration appears here./

[1] [i.e. village -- Analyst]
[2] [i.e. Cultivated field -- Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 40]

/164 cont./

415 Countless gourd vessels /cuyen; see glossary, p. 170 / and
531 calabashes, brownish-yellow, some of them painted black in designs not without taste.

411 In the lower roof-basket are stuck the arrows, averaging two meters long, and the bows, which almost reach a length of two and a half meters. The arrows, made of ubá, have simple wood or bone points; at the end of the shaft broad feathers are set spirally.

237 Feathers, even bunches of them and whole tail rosettes,
415 are kept in mats placed together portfolio-like; spindles, pigment, bones, root pieces, shells, and the like are kept in small baskets and nets. On the cords of the hammocks are found as decoration a couple of feathers or shells and -- the comb. This
412 toilet article consists of small, narrow sticks placed next to one
[284] another and held together by two cross-sticks of bamboo by means of a plaiting of cotton threads; the hard sticks project beyond the lower cross-stick as the teeth of the comb.

286 The hammocks are (one can hardly say woven, but rather knotted. Two posts stand in the ground; they are wound with a skein of cotton in the way that our women wind knitting wool on a chair; through the horizontal, parallel threads, vertical threads are drawn at four-centimeter intervals with guide sticks and knotted; the parts of the skein which lie close to the post and are not knotted (the entire bundle of horizontal threads pressed together) form the loop that receives the hammock ropes.

285 A plaited matting above the door and sieves of alternating black and light straw are worked with a natural artistic sense. The fire is fanned with a triangular piece of matting.

302 The hair of the women, cut unevenly and longest behind the ears, hangs down to the shoulders; the forehead is almost completely covered. A young woman had the latter painted with thick red color during the visit on the river. No ornaments. Only
301 the old woman wears a string over her left shoulder, which goes under her right arm; three trouser buttons, which she cut off from us and the soldiers with her own hands, are strung on it.

/52 cont./

123 the tree skeleton, as though the man were dancing there like
609 a cannibal in a show booth. "Bakaïrí ...," I commence once more, when luckily Antonio comes bounding up with mighty leaps, and, half out of breath from excitement, he for his part now shouts a long explanation downriver, which again I do not understand, but which releases a grateful howl of exultation on the part of the entrenched hero and clarifies the situation as though by a stroke of magic.

The canoe shot out of its hiding place and hastened
[501] at once, a fine, long, dry bark-canoe, toward our sad,
[129] crooked, wax-plastered, loam-smeared vessel laved with
[411] dirty water -- truly, I thought, we were the ones who were entering the sphere of a higher culture here; even though the noble boatman was dressed with only a belt-cord and carried with him nothing but the neatly worked, feather-trimmed arrows and the bow which lay on the floor of the canoe beside a calabash filled with honey, nevertheless in its trimness and cleanliness this total picture gliding toward us contrasted most advantageously with us ragged bearers of civilization beside the piece of wet-rot bark that was called our boat. Well, the newcomer clearly showed by his facial expression that for his part he nevertheless admired us.

123 He did not behave at all like the silent, gloomy Indian
152 whose soul, as I might have expected on the basis of our school-wisdom, reflected the monotonous, oppressive environment of the tropical forest; rather, he laughed /53/ and chatted with his fellow tribesman Antonio as though he had
[576] grown up in a fortunate country of the temperate zone. In a few minutes we were good friends; at my urging he even told us his name, which, of course, according to the custom of his country, he could not do without modest hemming and
551 hawing. His name was Tumayaua and he was the chief of
622 a village of the Bakaïrí a few hours away.

123 Thus actually of the Bakaïrí! The hope of the past
609 weeks was fulfilled, we entered our research area among a good-natured little people well known to us, and our debut

2: Steinen--40 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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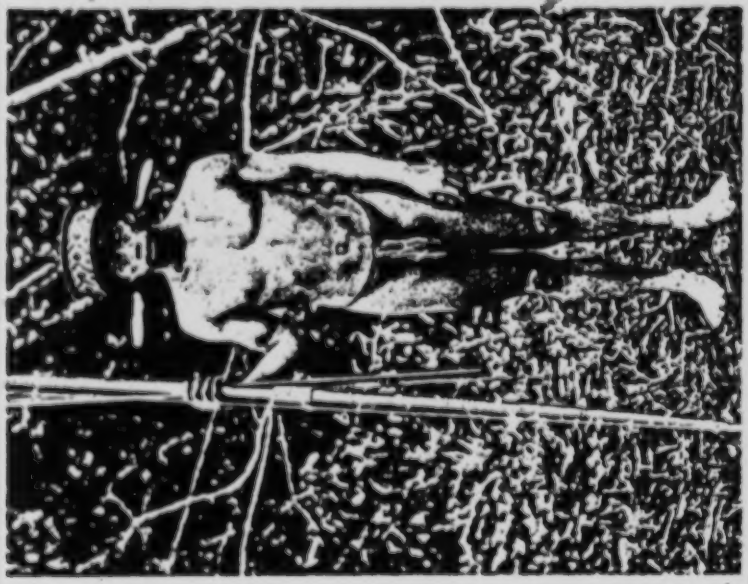
Plate VI

[482]

Tumayaua



Bakairî

Luchu

/178 cont./

*171 826 If the eye is the most valuable of all human organs, these forest dwellers in quest of animals and fruits are dependent on it to the highest degree imaginable. Never have I heard an Indian complain and whimper as did the chief of the Yaulapiti bemoaning his blindness. Yet in treatment they do not necessarily develop [957] the insight that seems proper to us. Since tobacco smoke is the best medical remedy, a badly inflamed conjunctiva is blown full of smoke as forcefully as possible. Thus the idea that the lashes protect the eye is quite foreign to the Indians. They maintain that the lashes hinder the eye in seeing, especially if they want to peer sharply into the distance. That they are anxious to care for [957] the precious organ according to the best of their knowledge is [411] shown by the fact that the area around the eye of the boy who is to become a skilled archer is scratched bloody with the scarifier -- naturally because they believe in this "medicine" and not because [302] they want to harden him. In the case of the lashes in particular, the seemingly cruel plucking, since it is radical, is nevertheless a relatively mild procedure. To endure the cutting and shaving on the edge of the lid with fish teeth and shells would indeed be heroic.

*171 302 304 The skin. The skin is pierced to receive ornaments, it is painted with color, and it is scratched with spines or teeth. The two last methods have developed into artistic treatment, into body painting or tattooing -- one would only like to know what original purposes lie behind them.

*171 301 If we observe, on the basis of thousands of examples, to what degree coquetry and vanity triumph over physical discomfort in matters crude and fine among our pampered, civilized human beings, we shall not be surprised that the vanity of primitive peoples is even more reckless. The chief difference between us and them is merely that they are obliged to do on the skin what we are able to do with clothing. Among them, however, it was everywhere first of all the man who adorned himself. He began doing so as a hunter, and since there is the matter of manifesting the hunter's vanity, we may conclude that man first developed the idea of the trophy by not separating himself from the parts of the booty that were inedible, /179/ yet could easily be preserved and

/204 cont./

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[317]

embedded individual crystals of olivine and quite a number of quartz granules. The blades, 11-21 centimeters long, are usually evenly cylindrical, but some are round in the center like a roller, taper toward the rear, and have a broad front end with a bow-shaped cutting edge. Without any lashing, they fit into a wooden handle 0.5 meters long on the average, which consists of a cylindrical upper piece bored crosswise and a thinner handle set off from this like a reed stalk from its spike. The stone points inserted in the darts and the ornamental stones of the neck chains are made of the same diabase. The Trumaí ground the blades to a point on their stones and bored the ornamental stones; besides them, only the neighboring Yaulapiti did this. The other tribes simply sharpened on the river sandstone the axes that became dull. Shells and stones were bored with a twirl-borer. A triangular, hard splinter of stone was clamped to a small staff, and, to be sure, at both ends so that one could alternate them, and was secured by cord lashing. The little staff was almost half a meter long and was twirled between the hands. If stone was to be bored, sand was added. This is all the Indians achieved in the working of stone; they had

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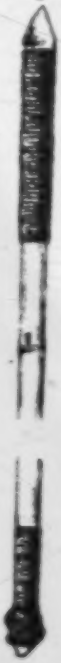

Fig. 21.
Twirl-borer.*
(1/2 nat. size/ as shown in the original illustration/.)

*The twirl-staff is represented discontinuously.

/205 cont./

*171 be broken off evenly. A scarcely less important tool was furnished
237 by the peixe cachorro, or dogfish, called Cynodon zoologically,
412 which has in its lower jaw two pointed teeth three to three and a
[825] half centimeters long, each projecting upward through a hole. The edge of these teeth, ground knife-sharp, was used for cutting, but chiefly for puncturing, for example, in connection with tattooing, for scratching, for example, in decorating the tortoise spindle disks, and for boring reeds, as in the case of the arrows, in order to put through the threads for fastening the feathers and
[824] points. /206/ The triangular pieces of gourd which, as the scarifier, represented the most important instrument in the little surgery of the Indians, cf. Figure 15 /see p. 179/, were studded with the small, pointed teeth of the trahira fish, Erythrinus. The
[825] little teeth of the aguti, Dasyprocta aguti, served the same purpose. Of the rodents, the capybara, Hydrochoerus capybara, fur-
[284] nished indispensable scraping chisels with the front teeth of its lower jaw; the tooth, six to eight centimeters long, was fastened to a piece of ubá reed with cotton thread, or two teeth were lashed together and cemented with a little wax. /Figs. 23-26 appear here./ The arrow holes were likewise bored with the aguti tooth.
[301] Monkey teeth, pierced at the root and artfully plaited together into a chain, were a favorite belt or neck ornament.

Bones. Arm and leg bones of monkeys, which were kept in
• [411] thick bundles in the little tool basket at home, served as arrowheads. They were ground to shape and, with their hollow tubes, mounted on the stick between the arrowhead and arrow shaft. The tail radiation of the ray was likewise an arrowhead. Small, pointed
[304] bones were added as barbs. /207/ Mammal bones had many uses: the skin treated with the scarifier was rubbed with the thigh bone of the deer; we saw a splinter of a jaguar bone pointed to pierce ear lobes; the wax smeared over the lashing on arrowheads was applied with a bone. The front claws of the giant armadillo,
[825] Dasypus gigas, served man, as well as the animal itself, for digging and grubbing up the ground and were the earth hoe of our Indians. The spindle disks in many cases came from the ventral piece of the tortoise shell, which was broken to pieces with a stone. Jaguar

/208 cont./

*171 Feathers lend wings to the arrow, on whose shaft end two
237 split halves of feathers are sewed opposite each other in spiral
30 turns. Otherwise they seem to be used exclusively, but in great
● 411 volume here, for ornaments, such as ear feathers, feather crowns,
287 feather caps, feather arm bands, feather cloaks (among the Kamayurá), and in hundredfold decoration on small ornaments, where little colored bundles hung on hammocks, combs, gourd rattles, arrow throwers, masks, etc. The most magnificent ma-
825 terial was available, from the yellow, blue, red, and green of the arara, toucan, weaver birds, and parrots, from the beautiful stripes or speckles of the curassows, falcons, and owls, to the shimmering white of the herons and storks or the black of the urubu vulture. The big, broad, black-and-white striped flag
825 of the Harpyia destructor was magnificent.

*171 The spoils of hunting and fishing therefore offered an
239 abundance of the most necessary things; in particular it furnished
412 tools for cutting, scraping, polishing, piercing, boring, scratch-
433 ing, and digging. Agriculture assured the natives a sedentary existence and improved their economic condition, but they still remained fishermen and hunters, though to a lesser extent. They were hunters without dogs, fishermen without hooks, farmers without plow and spade. They afford us an excellent example
32 that teaches us how manifold the methods of work for the purpose of making a living could have been before the possession of any metal technique, an example that warns us about overestimating the importance of stone implements, which, of course are preserved the best and most plentifully for posterity, and about throwing indiscriminately into the great pot of the Stone Age everything that comes before the use of metal and, in comparison to the small span of time established for this, must embrace unimaginably long periods.

*171 If one judges culture according to the extent and thorough-
433 ness with which the surrounding nature is exploited by the human
511 beings, then our natives certainly did not stand on a low level.
227 They hunted and fished with arrow /209/ and bow; they fished with nets, catch-baskets, and weir-baskets; they had their fish

/228 cont./

fire-maker; I also remembered the stick of pressed dry cow dung which is allowed to glow for many hours on the decks of Indian ships for the use of smokers. Perhaps a corresponding use of wood dust is to be found here and there. Wood shavings were used by us in historical Germany up to the beginning of this century, along with flint and steel.

V. Weapons, Implements, Industry.

Bows and arrows. Throwing stick. Club. Canoe. Fishing implements. Plaiting and textile work. Buriti and cotton hammocks. Gourd vessels. Pottery.

128 I have reported on the settlements, the way of life, and the tools of our Indians, insofar as they present peculiarities. What remains to be said about one implement or another will follow naturally within the framework of the description of arts and crafts, which, on account of the many new things, requires a special survey. On the other hand, it is advisable to say a little more about the appearance and the use of the weapons, as well as about the simplest craft skills.

* 171 Bows and arrows are the only weapon common to all our
● 411 Indians. Clubs are used among the Suyá and Trumaí. Nowhere are there lances. Nowhere blowgun and poisoned arrows. Only
[754] the sorcerer has a kind of theoretical poisoned arrow when, as we shall see, he secretly and with powerful witchcraft hurls poisoned twigs at his victim; at any rate, the idea of a projectile poison comes before us here.

/229/ Bows and arrows are distinguished by their size, the arrows by the extremely neat and pleasing workmanship. The length of the bows is more than two and a third meters, that of the arrows one and a half to almost two meters. The wood
[824] of the bow is yellowish or light brown and comes from the arará tree, Tecoma, and others. We found palm wood in only a few
[531] bows of the Tupí tribes; here, too, the bow was plaited round with cotton in an attractive pattern, something unknown among
[283] the other tribes. The bowstring is twisted out of tucum fiber.

/229 cont./

*171 The arrow is by no means a simple work of art; if one
●411 compares the arrows of our tribes, among whom an ethnographic leveling has taken place, with the arrows from neighboring regions, one always notices, on careful examination, differences of material or technique. The arrows of the Yuruna on the lower Schingú, those of the Karayá /Caraja/ in the east toward the Araguay /Araguaia/, those of the Paressí in the west, those of the Bororó in the south, as well as those of the Yarumá, always have their distinct characteristics. Like comparative linguistic research, it is possible to carry on comparative arrow research. When we came to a new tribe we often saw with what interest the specimens brought along from the neighbors were examined and judged, aside from our clothes, nothing seemed stranger to these people than our lack of bows and arrows. If it is diffi-
[619] cult to understand how the Indian imagines that his culture heroes created the individual tribes by bewitchment of the arrow reed that they stuck into the ground, nevertheless it is easy to understand the basic idea that the arrow is the characteristic mark of the tribe, the great sorcerer also chooses for each tribe the type
[824] of reed that distinguishes its arrows. The kambayuva reed furnishes more delicate, thinner shafts than the ubá reed, the docile Bakaïrí, since they have made the acquaintance of rifles, have given up the ubá reed commonly used on the upper Schingú and now have, if not exactly toy arrows, at any rate small arrows in comparison with those of the Schingú. The bows, (1.70 meters), too, have become smaller.

*171 The simplest arrow consists of the feathered reed shaft and,
411 driven into it, a thin stick of wood which protrudes a third of a
237 meter and is slightly pointed. Below the point there is sometimes fastened a small barb, for which a small tooth or preferably the maxillary spike of the great ant-bear is used. Or else a long piece of hollow cylindrical bone from monkey arm or leg bones, whole bundles of which are collected at home and the bone ground down, is driven onto the wooden point at the top. Wax, which is applied with a bone, is used as a binding agent. The ray spine also makes an arrow point. Finally, the barb may be made by placing a curved, double pointed piece of bone into the

B /229 cont./
*171 laterally hollowed end of the wooden support, lashing it, and
●411 covering it with resin.
[237] Sometimes a pierced, hollow tucum nut is shoved up on the arrow shaft to slightly above the middle; one or two holes are cut into the nut on the side. In flight a high-pitched whirring or whistling is heard. /230/ While the noise-making arrows are used only for bird hunting, the others are intended for all hunting and the shooting of fish; those with barbs are exclusively
B fish arrows. Arrows with sawlike notched wooden points do not
[101] occur on the Schingú except among the Yarumá, whom we regard as a southern group of the Mundurukú /Mundurucu/ of the Tapajoz /Tapajós/.

T The Suyá and Trumaí had arrows with long pointed bamboo
171 knives for war and for hunting jaguar. Spindle-shaped bamboo
411 splinters up to 35 centimeters long and up to 36 millimeters wide,
[824] knife-sharp on the edges, are mounted on the wooden stick driven deep into the reed shaft; the wooden stick is embedded in a groove
T cut below along the inner surface of the splinter. And, to be
[284] sure, the pointed spindle is only loosely fastened with a little resin and thread; when shot it remains in the body that was hit, while the shaft with the wooden stick flies off behind it.

B The most remarkable thing about the arrow is the feathering
*171 at the lower end. Two feathers, more correctly two halves of
411 feathers, for the feather is split at the shaft, are carefully fastened
237 in a spiral twist which goes around one-fourth of the circumfer-
ence, each flag stands with the plane of its upper part perpendicu-
B lar on that of its lower part, so that the flying arrow spirals
[284] through the air. The feathers are set in a row of small holes, which are made with an agutí tooth and enlarged with a pointed buriti splinter, and, one may say, are sewed onto the arrow; the cotton thread is wound around the ends and is itself protected by
B being wound with waimbé bark (Philodendron). Usually the
[825] feathers come from gallinaceous birds, jakú (Penelope) and mutung (Crax), from the falcon, and from the blue arara. Where the hand grasps the arrow shaft there is a wrapping of waimbé. At the bottom a notch is cut in parallel to the upper part of the feathers.

/230 cont./

*171 Children's arrows are similar, but smaller, with wood and
● 411 bone points or (those of the earliest youth) flexible, thin stalks split off from palm-leaf panicles.

The bow is usually held vertically. The arrow lies to the left of the bow. It is held between the index finger and the middle finger, which draw back the bowstring, while the fourth and fifth fingers also help to stretch the bowstring. The thumb is not used. This way of drawing the bow, corresponding to the Mediterranean draw of Edward S. Morse, is different from that of the Bororó. Devices to protect the finger against the strong friction of the bowstring are not used. The left hand, holding the bow, can also hold a second arrow in reserve.

The arrow is sighted at the target only for short distances; if the distance is great the bow is held up high, the arrow flies upward in a vertical direction toward the target and sinks down toward it. On the river, for example, if an otter playing in the distance is to be shot, an extremely fascinating sight, with the picturesque pose of the naked archer standing in the low
*171 canoe! /231/ In shooting fish the arrow point is frequently dipped
411 into the water to test the degree of light refraction. No little
226 practice is required for fish-shooting. The companion sitting in
[822] the rear rows slowly while the archer stands in front ready to shoot and sharply on the lookout. One of us does not see any more than the Indian would if he were to look into the microscope for the first time. A slight change of wave form already discloses the booty to him. With this he must remain as quiet as a mouse; the oar is soundlessly dipped. Many a shot, moreover, goes astray, and often two or three of the beautiful arrows drift sadly on the water until they are recovered. No wonder that our fishing rod seemed like a revelation to the Indians. Although they were not acquainted with the rod, they nevertheless knew about bait. But that floating freely. The archer tossed a scarlet berry into the river from the canoe; at the moment when a snout snapping at it from below tried to gulp it, the arrow whizzed
*171 from the bow. Anyone looking for a new sport might try it. The
411

B /231 cont./
*171 Indians practice on the village plaza and, as a target, plant a
411 shaft which bears at the top a cylindrical or conical piece of cork wood.

T The throwing board, in our case, where there is no "board"
171 often called a throwing stick,* is now a rare weapon which was
411

* For our case the best expression would be "arrow thrower." "Throwing stick" too easily gives rise to confusion with sticks that are thrown.

found among only the two Tupí tribes, the Kamayurá /Camayura/ and Auetö, and among the Trumaí. It was the greatest ethnological surprise of our journey. Ehrenreich then also came across it among the Karayá on the Araguay. Replaced by the bow, it has remained in active use only among the wood-poor Eskimo. The North American Indians, as far as is known, were not familiar with it; among the ancient Mexicans and among the Maya, as well as among the inhabitants of Colombia, it appears in limited use, though a wider distribution in early times may be inferred; it is regarded as the weapon of the Inca warriors; and finally we see individual examples of it among South American primitive peoples, especially Tupís, on the high Amazon as well as in eastern Brazil. Among our tribes, too, the throwing stick had lost its real importance, or at least was on the point of losing it. Nevertheless, in every house there were more throwing boards than bows; the Indians said that they never used the weapon any more for hunting, to be sure, but certainly in war. In 1884, when the Trumaí appeared before our camp, they had no throwing boards with them; the stone balls with which the darts are equipped for serious use were not present in any number among the Auetö and Kamayurá; they, too, had to get them from the Trumaí, and thus, for the Tupí tribes at any rate, if only because of their geographical location, the days of the throwing board are numbered. As a
T
[526] sporting weapon, however, it still enjoys great esteem and
[535] assiduous use; in connection with the dance, I shall also have to mention the throwing-board dance, which portrays being wounded in battle.

/270 cont./

000 Civilized man today begins even his first bungling efforts in the drawing art with triangles, squares, circles, and with these and similar figures our ancestors developed the science that is regarded as the highest; he does not see lines and geometric figures anywhere around him in nature -- therefore, he concludes, these fundamental concepts have sprung from his own rich inner self. That they could have originated from the models of pubic coverings, bats, or fish seems to him not only unworthy, but also a ridiculously roundabout course. For what is simpler than drawing a triangle? What is simpler, I reply, than counting to five? Even 531 802 811 now the Bakairí explains each triangle that I draw for him as a picture of the uluri; he cannot yet count things without the help of his fingers. The number word "5" = hand, which is still found among many primitive peoples, corresponds exactly to the uluri - triangle; in both cases the inner perception of the pattern or the abstraction is derived only from the object, in both the concrete original 000 has asserted its rights for a long time. Neither the facility with which we toss these ideas about nor the fact that the meaning of our number words has evaded all the probings of philology proves that our ancestors followed a course different from that of primitive peoples.

The teacher of geometry today certainly need not take particular pleasure in an uluri in order to sketch a triangle. The uluri is a sort of archaeopteryx of mathematics. How should the flying bird appreciate the fact that it is descended from the creeping or, at best, fluttering reptiles? Nevertheless the bird's inability to understand this origin does not prove the least thing against it. In the same way nothing is proved if we who are excellent flyers in the heights of mathematics can scarcely imagine that earlier human beings were unable to rise to the minor achievement of producing a simple triangle by themselves.

*171 411 531 Use of the ornamentation. On the weapons used -- there were only bows and arrows -- painted designs were scarcely applicable. The throwing stick, too, was decorated only with plaiting around it; a cork cone that was mounted on an arrow shaft as a tip exhibited the decoration of the mereschu design, cf. the illustration, page 91.

/20 cont./

114 look at this settlement situated on the left side of the Rio Novo.
36 The main aldea of these Indians, which consisted of five ranchos, was at a distance of three turns of the river from the small Brazilian pueblo of Rio Novo situated on the right side of the
[648] river. At this place I met Mr. Eliseu, who then held the title of subdirector over the Bakairí.

114 Conditions among the Rio Novo Bakairí had hardly changed
178 since the time when Karl von den Steinen described them.
622 Also, the population, which I estimated at 60 individuals, was
[162] more or less the same. Reginaldo, who had meanwhile become an old man, was still cacique of the two communities of Rio Novo Bakairí. Plate V of my book Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien presents a photograph taken in the aldea of these Indians showing Cacique Reginaldo with his wife in the midst of several other Bakairí, standing in front of the door of his house. The book which he holds in his hand is the work Durch Centralbrasilien, published by Karl von den Steinen, in which he is also represented in a drawing and at which he is
114 looking with great interest. In the aldea there were still various
178 objects which were products of typical Bakairí work, such as for
[285] example the large baskets of twigs /banastas/ woven in the an-
531 cestral way, and other kinds of baskets which matched exactly
184 in terms of technique and decoration those made by the Bakairí
[411] of the tributaries of the Xingu River. (27) The Rio Novo Bakairí

27. Cf. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., Fig. 174, p. 347.

also still used, besides firearms, bows and arrows for hunting, and these corresponded exactly to those of their fellow country-
179 men of the Xingu River region. But outside of these objects,
231 made in native fashion, these Bakairí had been changed completely into Brazilian campesinos as a result of the fact that

/20 cont./

177 Reginaldo and his people had a large number of cattle and
231 several saddle horses. Although among themselves they spoke
[191] only in the Bakairí language, all of the men knew the Brazilian
language, and it was said that Cacique Reginaldo knew how to
619 read and speak some French. The Rio Novo Bakairí maintained
at the time active relations with their fellow countrymen on
the Rio Paranatinga. With the eastern Bakairí they hardly had
any contacts, except for the Bakairí Joaquim who was the uncle
of Cacique Antonio of the Paranatinga aldea and who had a
young Bakairí from the Rio Batovi river in his service.

Different were the conditions of the Bakairí in the Rio
114 Paranatinga aldea at the time of my visit. While the popu-
161 lation at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions had
dwindled in such a way that Karl von den Steinen foresaw the
end of this community, the population of the aldea had in-
creased in the meantime with the addition of numerous Bakairí
from the Xingu River region. The number of these Bakairí,
called by their Paranatinga fellow countrymen Xinguanos,
climbed to 34 at the time of my stay with these Indians. The
622 leader of the community was Antonio, who was at this time at
554 the peak of his power. The only insignia /21/ of his rank as
comandante of the Indians of the upper Xingu River region,
[648] officially granted by the Mato Grosso government, were a pair
[411] of red soldier's trousers with a wide white stripe which ran down
the side of each leg, but a more practical symbol of his power
were several good firearms hanging in his house, which he
also used occasionally, according to the Mato Grosso men,
against insubordinate fellow countrymen. The majority of the
Xinguanos then living in his aldea were totally dependent upon
him with regard to economic conditions and made up a valuable
component of his power, for he had supplied the most trust-
worthy men among them with firearms. This small military
701 force was important above all to insure contact between the
648 Rio Paranatinga and the tributaries of the Xingu River against
the Kayabí who had unquestionably begun at this time to

619
182 /23 cont./
756 aldea on the Rio Kulisehu to settle with his arts on the Paranatinga.

When I was with the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí in May and June
177 of 1901, 14 years had elapsed since their first contact with
178 articles of European culture. After Karl von den Steinen's
[114] expedition, other explorers had also passed through their land. They had become familiar with iron axes, knives, scissors, matches, and other objects of modern culture, and by bartering their native products they had become amply provided with such objects, but their natures and their way of life had barely
•[411] changed. They had become acquainted with the firearms of the Europeans and of their fellow countrymen of the Rio Paranatinga, but they still regarded them with a certain mis-
[226] giving and did not use them either. Fishing, which had been of the greatest importance in the economy of these Indians, was still carried out on a broad scale and in the ancestral way,
[224] fishhooks not being used. In hunting, too, they only used their
241 arrows and long bows built like the ones of old. Agriculture
412 was also carried out in the same manner and with the same digging sticks, with the mere exception that the work of clearing was made much easier by the numerous iron axes that replaced the stone axes of times past. I did not see any more stone axes among these Indians. Undoubtedly they had all been replaced by the far more useful iron axes brought by the explorers who
241 passed through these regions. There were large plantations in
114 the vicinity of the aldeas or at a distance from them, and I myself had the opportunity to observe in the aldea of Maimaieti, situated on the Rio Kulisehu, the way in which a big part of the mountain was cleared for a future plantation. The Indians proudly showed me a spot planted in sweet /mansa, "mild"/ manioc, of which they had received cuttings from the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí. During my stay among the Bakairí of Maimaieti aldea there was never a scarcity of manioc, and I and my companions were always generously provided with
[648] manioc cakes /beijús/. I mention this fact especially, because

252 415 wooden benches, and dishes and cups made from gourds.

484 As the Bacairí were extensive travelers and 226 depended upon fish for a considerable part of 501 their food supply, canoes were an important part of their equipment. The Bacairí canoe (*pépi*) 396 was made from the bark of the jatobá tree. The [824] tough, heavy bark was first stripped from one-half of the tree. Small fires were then lighted on the inside of the bark trough to make it curl. Braces were placed at intervals along the entire length, the bow was tapered, and the stern was squared off by forcing the bark upward at one end. 501 Bacairí canoes varied in size, the larger ones being able to carry as many as 8 men. Canoes of jatobá bark are used by the Bacairí today and are the [171] predominant type among the Indians of the 415 Upper Xingú. The Bacairí also made large [824] tubs out of jatobá bark which were used as settling 252 vessels for manioc juice. The juice of the manioc contains a fine powder or starch which settles on the bottom of the vessel, to be gathered after the 241 liquid is poured off. For gardening, the Bacairí formerly used a digging stick made of hardwood. 411 For hunting, they used a bow (*túka*), round or 824 slightly oval in cross section and from 2 to 2½ meters in length, made from a yellow or reddish wood which was first matured by burying it in mud. The bowstring was made from the fibers of imbauba bark. Arrows (*piréu*) were made from [237] cane with hardwood or bone points. Hunting arrows had two feathers, but arrows used for shooting fish had serrated wooden points and no 412 feathers. The cutting tools of the Bacairí consisted of knives made from bamboo, stone, bones, and 409 shell. Transportation was by canoe, or if over 482 land, goods were carried in a wicker basket supported on the back by a tump line.

ORNAMENTS

291 While living on the banks of the Kuliseu River, [171] the Bacairí, in common with the other Upper Xingú River tribes, did not use clothing. Men sometimes wore a narrow cotton band (*onegín*) around the waist, with a few tassels hanging in front. Women, after puberty, wore the ulurí. 302 Men wore their hair cut short. Women wore their hair long at the back but cut straight across over [412] the forehead. Hair was cut with a knife made [237] by setting sharp fish teeth into a wooden stick,

Bacairi SP7

Geographically the post is situated ideally on a high land removed from the river and cleared of all vegetation, the jungle appearing only as a narrow fringe along the river banks. Like the rest of the high plateau it is wind swept, and generally pleasant. It must be added that contact with white people, such as is had when a small group of natives go to Cuyabá, has brought syphilis to them, and it may be their mortality is due to this.

One occupation enjoyed in former times is denied them, and that is fishing. There are practically no fish in the Paranatinga, at least up to where the post is located. Since meat is gotten only on rare occasions, and no hunting is done, the diet is mainly one of vegetables and considerably poorer than when they were living in their original state. This may also explain their lowered resistance to disease.

Very little museum material which represents their own products can be collected from the Bakairi. What has not been gotten from the Inspectoria has been brought back on excursions to the Kuluseu. Pottery has not been made since their coming to the post, according to them. The huge vessels that they possess either have been brought with them from their former homes or bartered from the tribes on the Kuluseu. It is claimed that the proper clay cannot be found in the neighborhood of Simõe Lopes.

Arrows are still being made, an iron nail generally being substituted for the old bone point, but most of the arrows also come from the Kuluseu.

For the old hammock made of palm-leaf fibre the cotton hammock has been substituted, but the same open net style has been kept.

Mussel shell ornaments have also been bought from the tribes of the Kuluseu. In brief, almost anything that is found in their village must bear the suspicion that it is not a Bakairi product.

However, they have preserved a few customs, such as filing the upper teeth to a point, wearing under the European clothing the gee string, and ceremonial use of the bull-roarer, and they probably remember many of their ceremonies.

The short time spent at the post was mostly devoted to taking anthropmetric measurements, which were subsequently lost on the Kuluseu, but in some notes I do find the statement that in blood groupings most belong to groups three and four, the former predominating.

/124 cont./

123 and showed me how the raw cotton, merely cleaned of seeds, is
283 twisted into thread with the spindle. The cotton plants stand
241 between the huts everywhere; beside them grows mamona /castor
[372] oil plant/, whose oil serves us for wretched illumination in the
[251] evening, and peppers. Mats are spread out on racks in order to dry the mandioca farina.

The roça," the cultivated field, lies some distance away. The Bakairí plant mandioca, beans, rice, sweet potatoes, sugar, and deliver to the Fazenda Corrego fundo. Their rapadura was
272 excellent; the melada, a honey-sweet syrup, moved us to exclamations of admiration. The sugar cane is pressed between
249 two cylinders in the simplest way. (Cf. the vignette at the be-

342

Old-style hut.

[249] ginning of this chapter /see p. 2/).

We found Caetano's hut divided into three rooms: Caetano received us in the high, airy center room and shut the door, behind which little Luisa was doing housework. Felipe and Carlotta
354 Pareci lived in the corner room opposite. Three canga blocks
482 formed the hearth. Plaited back-baskets, which are carried by a forehead band and in which the women are said to carry up to six
●412 arrobas. Graters to grate the mandioca: hard little spikes from
824 the rib of the buriti leaf are neatly set into the middle part of a narrow piece of wood almost a meter long.

/160 cont./

437 carried each piece that she captured to a secret repository lying
439 back off the road, immediately most hurriedly hastening forth
[554] for new deeds.

609 At noon Wilhelm and I went to the aldea;[1] Antonio accompanied us, but, suspicious of his fellow tribesmen, he could not make up his mind to stay with them during the night and returned to the river in the evening.

122 We set up housekeeping in the festival hut, and, alone with the charming little people, we felt indescribably content. When toward evening the mosquitoes started to annoy us, we took a
[137] walk to the roca.[2] Greedily we looked about for the "frutas de lobo," apple-round fruits which were present in numbers on gray-green shrubs, but unfortunately not ripe; the Bakaïrí boys are no different from ours. A magnificent estate; the horizon was bordered by a dark park, behind which the sun was setting in
291 reddish orange. We met Pauhaga, as our apostle of peace is
177 called, and his relatives on the plaza between the three huts, trying on clothes in great embarrassment. They urgently needed our help; not only did they put the trousers on in reverse and upside down over the legs, but they also tried to draw them up over their arms and wanted to stick their legs into a shirt. Putting on a coat alone was an impossible thing. They were unaware of the most obvious offenses against the elements of propriety. A safety pin was hugely admired, but most of all a pair of scissors with which
412 one could so conveniently cut one's nails. Their tool, the stone ax -- a ground stone is wedged into a wooden handle -- with which they fell trees and make posts, deserves our appreciation no less, from the standpoint of how much can be accomplished with the simplest means, even though in the unspoken accompanying thought that we ourselves /161/ might have to go back to this
[411] stage there is a slight admixture of horror. They have no spears,
[231] no bananas, no dogs, and tobacco is nowhere to be found. Bones,
[276] teeth, shells must serve them as tools, along with the stone ax.
[237] /Illustration appears here./

[1] [i.e. village -- Analyst]
[2] [i.e. cultivated field -- Analyst]

[Text continues on p. 40]

/162 cont./

512 I did them an injustice; at half-past seven a procession of seven comes around the corner in the fastest quickstep, one behind the other, the tribal sorceress at their head, all loaded with [482] mandioca roots. The old woman is carrying a bundle of them loose on her head, and behind her runs a young woman with a heavy back-basket; is it her husband who is following her? Likewise [854] bent under the load of a basket he walks forward, on his left hip a straddling boy whom he clasps heedlessly, as though he had hurriedly picked him up from the ground.

592 We visit the house of the professor. In the moderately light [352] room one at first distinguishes only a number of vertical and [252] horizontal posts, brown hammocks; the old woman and a younger one are sitting on the floor most diligently scraping mandioca with a shell, the naked legs buried in the parings.

[353] Two families have divided up in the space; the conjugal chambers are characterized by the fact that two hammocks are fastened, one above the other, to the same post. In the center there is an empty circle, and round about, /163/ radially, the "individual rooms" divided off, not by partitions, but merely by [354] the posts. The upper vault is blackened by smoke. Three or [251] four stones form the simple hearth. The flour is put into huge [252] pot vessels (up to 77 centimeters in diameter); the beijús are [323] roasted on flat, rimless bowls. The clay is blackish brown, the vessels are made by hand by the women.

352 We sit on small, low benches; they are rectangular, slightly concave, made out of dark-brown palm-wood, usually in octavo form, and not a decimeter high.

412 The stone axes, which are sticking in the wall (the longest [353] 24 centimeters), all have the same shape: a thick wooden cylinder, offset at the bottom by a thinner handle. The stone is supposedly [135] found farther downstream (1). /Illustration appears here./

1. Herr Prof. Arzruni of Aachen was kind enough to examine the material carefully and has identified it as diabase, a rock made up of augite, plagioclase, mica, chlorite, and

/163 cont./

412
135

1. (cont.)
magnetite, in which are embedded individual crystals of olivine and quite a number of quartz granules.

415 Tall storage baskets of biconcave profile (one meter 40 centimeters long, 35 centimeters wide at the top), wound with brown bast bands and lined in the interior with maize leaves, contain the flour and are very stout. The grating boards on which the mandioca is pulverized are about 115 centimeters long and 80 centimeters wide.

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415
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Gourd-vessel (drinking-vessel) designs of the Bakaïrí.

251 High up a great quantity of dusty corncobs.

532 A number of strange dolls, which hang down from the vault on long strings, seem the most striking; they are plaited out of maize leaves: turkey-sized birds, projecting wings made out of one leaf and circularly twisted legs with three toes; others are slender, human-like figures, /164/ a small head on top, broken up below into narrow frippery. In our house we found two lizards made of grass, whose four feet come together in a ring, so that one can put them on one's head.

[353]
[824]

/164 cont./

415 Countless gourd vessels /cuyen; see glossary, p. 170 / and
531 calabashes, brownish-yellow, some of them painted black in designs not without taste.

411 In the lower roof-basket are stuck the arrows, averaging two meters long, and the bows, which almost reach a length of two and a half meters. The arrows, made of ubá, have simple wood or bone points; at the end of the shaft broad feathers are set spirally.

237 Feathers, even bunches of them and whole tail rosettes,
415 are kept in mats placed together portfolio-like; spindles, pigment, bones, root pieces, shells, and the like are kept in small baskets and nets. On the cords of the hammocks are found as
412 decoration a couple of feathers or shells and -- the comb. This
[284] toilet article consists of small, narrow sticks placed next to one another and held together by two cross-sticks of bamboo by means of a plaiting of cotton threads; the hard sticks project beyond the lower cross-stick as the teeth of the comb.

286 The hammocks are (one can hardly say woven, but rather knotted. Two posts stand in the ground; they are wound with a skein of cotton in the way that our women wind knitting wool on a chair; through the horizontal, parallel threads, vertical threads are drawn at four-centimeter intervals with guide sticks and knotted; the parts of the skein which lie close to the post and are not knotted (the entire bundle of horizontal threads pressed together) form the loop that receives the hammock ropes.

285 A plaited matting above the door and sieves of alternating black and light straw are worked with a natural artistic sense. The fire is fanned with a triangular piece of matting.

302 The hair of the women, cut unevenly and longest behind the ears, hangs down to the shoulders; the forehead is almost completely covered. A young woman had the latter painted with thick red color during the visit on the river. No ornaments. Only
301 the old woman wears a string over her left shoulder, which goes under her right arm; three trouser buttons, which she cut off from us and the soldiers with her own hands, are strung on it.

1: Steinen--164 D E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Suya SP21

B
412
B
301
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S
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/From Ethnological Pl. I:
7, Bakairí comb. 10, Bakairí necklace of jaguar claws; 13, Suyá feather-diadem.

1. Steinen--167 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Yuruna SQ26

B
501

/From Ethnological Pl. II:
3, Bakairí stone ax; 4, Bakairí oar; 12, Yuruna flute./

B
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Y
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Fig. 1.

000 /Chapter I-III, pp. 1-45, including Fig. 1 and Plates II and III, are omitted in the translation./

/46/ Chapter IV.

First Encounter with the Indians.

Bark canoes. Traces of Indians. My trip with Antonio and Carlos. Animal life. Reverie before supper. Mouth of the Ponekuru. Cataracts. Signs of colonization increase. Chief Tumayaua. To the first Bakaïrí village. Arrival of the "Karaiben."

396 [824] After tapping several times in vain, Antonio found a jatobá (Hymenaea sp.) with serviceable bark. A pole scaffold is erected around the tree; a long rectangular strip of bark is loosened with ax blows and, carefully taken down, is placed on low supports; then the bark is made pliable with heat, a fire being lighted underneath and twigs also set afire on top, and the edges of the longitudinal sides are bent upward. In front a point is formed; in the rear the bark is pushed forward toward the inside to produce a slightly hollowed out bulkhead with acute-angled edges, at which the bark is soon likely to split. The canoe was to be finished in a day and brought to the water the next morning.

000 Antonio came home from his work noticeably pleased. I believed it was because the canoe had turned out well. I talked to him about it for a while and then, referring once more to our plans, said: "So you are not afraid that the river is without inhabitants?" "No," he replied in dismissal, "I've already found a rancho." "Why didn't you say so?" "Well, I intended to." 224 342 [412] [354] In looking for wood for the canoe, he had discovered a collapsed hunting-hut covered with palm straw; its posts showed the blunt gash-marks of a stone ax. Beside it lay charred logs still in the radial arrangement of the Indian campfire; adjacent jatobás had been tested with stone axes for their usefulness, a still recognizable path led through the brush to a "harbor" on the river. Antonio thought it was probably a year ago that the visitors had stopped here.

/60 cont./

353 remained free, was the kitchen and storage place for supply baskets, pots, earthen beijú pans, sieves, mats, back baskets, mortars, pestles, and calabashes. Sticks were plaited with [532] vines onto the main posts, where again gourd bowls or bundles [251] of tobacco were hanging, from a cross beam dangled large birds with straw-plaited legs and tails, which looked very mysterious and were solely for the purpose of storing the maize ears, out of which their insides and wings were constructed, in a manner pleasing to the eye. The floor was covered with a stone-hard deposit of the fine white mandioca flour, the mortars and pestles were flour-white, and the pots smoke-blackened. Above the doors, baskets with calabashes, basket-weirs, fishing nets; on the walls of the "rooms," bows, stone axes, the gaily feathered arrows projecting out of the straw of the dome, a stock of small baskets, drinking bowls, and smaller utensils; on the floor, white balls of loam, little pots, stools, pieces of wood, fire fans, and the ashes of the small fire which everyone maintains at night beside and almost under his hammock; hanging on the hammock, a small bunch of colorful feathers and the comb; here and there a pyramid made of rods with the grill; /61/ a couple of the sticks with which [372] fire is rubbed were also hung up and beside them was tied a small packet of the tinder bast.

356 In short: family dwelling in full operation, precisely as [353] much disorder as was required for comfort, everything clean [412] and nicely arranged, everything hung up, boxed, turned up-side down, no iron nails and screws, but only cord and plaiting, all worked with stone ax, animal tooth, and shell. Total impression: the wall, the hammocks, the calabashes, the human beings, brown; brown in every shade, but harmoniously 342 tinted, all crust /Knaus/. Here and there the sun shone through a crack in the straw dome, in front of the door the daylight was sharply cut off, and the lane between the doors lay in semishade; through the vent, which was quite tightly closed, a few bright rings and circles fell on the floor, and faint motes of sunlight danced in the ascending smoke.

/71 cont./

536 412 171 I may mention at once that the mimicry of the Bakaïrí mutatis mutandis with more or less temperament was repeated among all tribes, that only the interjections differed, but the gestures were exactly the same. Here in the tobacco club I also first became acquainted with the stone-ax pantomime which, though in itself very touching, we later had to endure in the case of each tribe to the point of boredom. It described the contrast between the stone ax and the iron ax, which was immediately demonstrated to them by Antonio, and to my feeling, before I became dulled by the repetition, indeed at the beginning, just because it was so inexorably repeated, it had something unusually gripping about it, like a sort of stammering protest of metal-less humanity against the crushing hammer blows of civilization, a protest which, as I still experienced it here, must have resounded unheard a thousand times in all the corners of the earth.

536 412 How the Bakaïrí tortures himself to fell a tree: early in the morning, when the sun, tschischi, rises -- it rises there in the east -- he starts to swing the stone ax. And tschischi travels upward and the Bakaïrí goes on striking bravely, tsök, tsök, tsök. His arms grow ever wearier -- they are rubbed and drop down limply, he blows a weak puff of air out of his mouth and passes his hand over his exhausted face; he goes on striking, no longer with tsök, tsök, but with a groan drawn from the depths of his chest. The sun stands high in the zenith; his stomach -- his flat hand rubs over it or is laid deep in a fold -- is empty; how hungry the Bakaïrí is -- his face is drawn into the most pitiful expression. Finally, when tschischi is already very low, a tree falls: tokále = one, the little finger points out. But you, the Karaibe -- suddenly everything about the mimic is alive and strong -- the Karaibe takes his iron ax, swings it aloft, brings it down heavily, tsök, tsök, pum -- ah..., there lies the tree, a hard stamp with the foot, on the ground already. And here and there and here again, one sees them falling everywhere. Conclusion for the Karaiben: give us your iron axes.

/71 cont./

201 No activity with a tool of metal, stone, tooth, or wood
412 was discussed without the appearance also of the appropriate sounds
[536] to portray it. It is true that a good part of this was to communicate with me, who knew only the rudiments of their language; they were more sparing with these /72/ sounds and gestures in their own conversation, but they nevertheless had at their disposal in ample measure the auxiliary language of expressive movement and used it in their communications with other tribes, as I saw later, in exactly the same way as with me. Thus the disadvantage that each tribe speaks a different language is of little concern; understanding was possible without difficulty even for a Karaiben, for the gestures, stereotyped, to be sure, nevertheless contain full clarity and still are not reduced to conventional abbreviations.

They also manifested an attentive interest in the inter-
123 jections and gestures peculiar to me, which, of course, involun-
153 tarily took on a livelier expression than at home. If I accompanied
201 any feeling with a sound that was strange to them, it was imitated; if I whistled softly to myself, I could soon hear one of them whistling happily along with me. Particularly if I laughed loudly and struck my leg, there was general acknowledgement: they would immediately slap their naked thighs, and Homeric laughter filled the village plaza.

126 My linguistic notes of the day, which I would bring out, were gone over once more in our tobacco club and were enriched by small contributions. The constellations, the names of animals, the inexhaustible material for parts of the body, and whatever the moment offered were noted down, read aloud, and confirmed with approval.

123 I, too, however, offered mimic performances, for which my interesting oxhide offered the first occasion; I demonstrated our domestic animals to them and achieved a greater measure of success among my small, but grateful public than could ever have fallen to the lot of even the author of "Tierleben" /Animal Life/ or much-admired performing artists. Above all they became acquainted with cattle, sheep, and dogs, whose size and characteristics I described graphically to them as best I could,

/73 cont./

123 Tumayaua had me plant tobacco in front of his house, a
[249] proposal that astonished me somewhat until I realized that with my assistance he anticipated an excellent harvest or quality; hence I asked only that he start it, and then I crushed the capsules and put the seed into the ground, as though I had been a tobacco
[226] planter all my life. With Kulekule I had to go to the cataract
[177] below the village and help him with the fishing rod; he must not suspect that I had not swung this implement since grammar school days, when I had trouble rescuing it from the police.

226 One forenoon we took a very pleasant fishing excursion with
123 half a dozen persons, among them a few women, to the saímo, a pond that lay in the campo about two and a half kilometers from
[301] the village. We walked a short distance through the woods, the
[412] women carrying fishing baskets and weirs, Paleko with a section of fish teeth on a string around his neck, and under his arm a stone ax that he had sharpened on a stone at the river, during which he
[271] moistened it with saliva at his mouth. Meanwhile it was amusing to see how my intended and her sister drank out of the Kulisehu: mouth in water, supported on their two little hands, one leg in the air, not unlike young monkeys. On the way we sang together our ohohó ohohú hu in restrained tones, and I disturbed the morning quiet with a few louder songs. Alakuai took the liberty of removing my hat, but he was so happy with this adornment that in the name of all the saints I exposed my head to the pitiless campo sun.

226 Far away, to the edge of the wooded shore, stretched a queimada /burned clearing/ covered with fresh grass; only a single shade-giving tree stood beside the pond. In the middle of the knee-deep swampy water were set three weirs, half of which, with their mouths, protruded out. Then, with the fishing baskets, kútu, which had the shape of a blunted cone open at the top and bottom and were put together out of thin, pointed sticks, /74/ several persons walked through the pond in a bent position and stabbed the ground quickly: the kútu were inverted over the little fish and the latter pulled out from the top with the hand and placed in a hanging basket. After they had been working in this fashion for a while, they converged from various sides toward the center, where the weirs lay,

/75 cont./

301 from the Batovy to the Kulisehu. I was confronted by one
438 woman who wore nothing but a copper button on a string on her breast, and on this button was the 8 of the eighth Cuyaban battalion, to which our soldiers had belonged at that time. "Is it tuchú,
301 stone?" asked these living prehistorics. Of course, the beads were likewise stone, and, on account of their gay colors, they
153 preferred them to gold, which left them quite indifferent. I
177 had given them a few pins and had also showed them a needle, the only one that I had with me: they brought a pin back to me and asked me to make a hole in it, like the one in the needle.

Most peculiar was the alacrity with which they classified the things unfamiliar to them among those that were familiar to them and also immediately assigned familiar names to them directly and without any restrictive additions. They cut their
[412] hair with sharp shells or the teeth of the piranha fish, and my
[237] scissors, the object of unreserved delight, which cut hair so smoothly and evenly, were simply called "piranha tooth." The mirror was "water!" "Show the water," they cried when they wanted to see the mirror. And I made a much slighter impression with it than I had expected.

The compass was called "sun," the watch "moon." I had showed them that, no matter how I turned and twisted the case, the needle always pointed to the highest position of the sun, and the very similar watch, whose spring they said was a hair, seemed to them the natural counterpart, for the /76/ special reason that it "did not sleep at night." Often in the middle of the conversation they would demand that I take out the watch, and then they would laugh very contentedly when it was actually awake and ticking.

Nothing would be more erroneous than to think that this sincere curiosity and admiration was based on an actual thirst for knowledge or a deeper need of understanding. They never got beyond the question: "Did you make that?" No, I simply did my circus act, I displayed my tricks, and they were pleased that at any moment I could show them in all elegance and never disgraced myself. The most baffling example of superficial satisfaction

/88 cont./

361 The village could be reached in half an hour or an hour from
311 the river, depending on whether one landed sooner or later. It was surrounded by cultivated land to an extent that aroused our
241 greatest astonishment. On the three different paths that we followed, we came through long stretches where the forest had been cut down with the stone ax. In March and April the trees are felled and in September and October the wood which has dried in the meantime is burned. We examined with admiration a number of thick trunks, the cross-sections of which were covered with the dull blow-marks of the stone axes, and regretted that we could not saw off such a marked surface and take it along. I silently begged forgiveness of the Indians at whom I had often laughed when they were swinging themselves in their hammocks at home, as though their lives were one long Sunday.

361 /89/ In Iguéti there were three large family-houses and a
345 very respectable flute-house in which many dance costumes made
535 of palm straw were hanging. On the village plaza a cage rose
343 up higher than a house, which consisted of long poles set together
231 in the form of a pointed cone; in it sat a mighty Harpia destructor, although the village is called igu-eti = sparrow-hawk village.
231 The once heraldic bird had probably long since departed. The beautiful eagle was named after its favorite food, mégo-zóto, lord
412 of the monkeys. Beside the chief's house lay a large whetstone
[171] for the stone axes; it gave me much pleasure because it showed the same grooves that we had observed in the sambaquis of Sta. Catharina.

621 The community numbered some 40 persons. They spoke of
162 three chiefs, but we met in this capacity only the good-natured,
622 very broad-shouldered Aramöke, who was characterized by a waddling walk. He had a sly expression and with his clumsy body was very polite, for, striding ahead of me in the forest, he broke off the branches, which might have snapped back in my face, more graciously than he probably would have for a woman. A large knife and a red scarf made him the happiest of mortals.
574 He showed us great hospitality. Fresh golden beijûs were con-
437 stantly brought forth, a row of calabashes filled with pogu were

/172 cont./

B 142 especially the "Egyptian woman" of the first village, with her narrow face and her long, slightly aquiline nose, showed great resemblance to the women of the ancient kingdom of the Nile, as these have come down to us.

B T 142 Bulging foreheads were found here and there among all tribes, but they were typical of the Trumaí and doubly conspicuous among these little people. They also had the greatest prognathism and the most receding chins; they had a narrow nasal root and little space between the eyes, while the Mehinakú were striking because of their slight prognathism, protruding chin, wide, low faces, and eyes far apart. The faces of the Nahuquá differed from those of the Bakaïrí in their coarser character; in contrast to the oval shape of the latter, they had a somewhat square and thick-set one, with very prominent jaw angles. The most finely chiseled faces were to be found among the Kamayurá.

The iris was dark brown and only as an exception light brown; the Trumaí had relatively light eyes. We found one blue-eyed Nahuquá. He had nothing special in the way of hair and skin color; his hair was black and quite straight. He was the father of a young man with dark brown eyes, but his own eyes had a definitely blue iris. The position of the eyes was horizontal or slightly oblique, the form was almond-shaped; the eyeslit among the Bakaïrí was commonly wide open, among the rest, especially among the Nahuquá and Kamayurá, rather small and low. We did not see Mongolian eyes; only one Kamayurá could be regarded as Mongoloid.

Beautiful teeth were extremely rare. They were more often opaque, rather than translucent, the color was yellowish and only as an exception white, the position largely irregular; they were rather bulky, but among the Mehinakú frequently small and fine. B T [515] Almost everywhere they appeared greatly chewed down. One never sees the Indians brushing their teeth or rinsing their mouths, which would be very advisable in view of their starchy diet. B T [412] They use their teeth very incautiously if they do not have any fish teeth or shells at hand; moreover, they bite a hole into the oyster-like, hard shells of river mussels, in order to smooth wood

/172 cont./

B 142 412 with these sharp edges, and they crush with their te[illegible] he shells from which they make their beads, a type of mistreatm[illegible]t that is bound to be disastrous to better teeth, the mere sight of which pained me deeply.

/173/ Chapter IX.

I. Dress: Hair and Skin.

Preliminary remarks concerning clothing and ornamentation. The hair. Head hair, body hair, lashes. The skin. Piercing. Binding. Chains. Daubing and painting. Scratch-scars. Tattooing.

B 128 Since in this and the following chapter I shall try to go back as much as possible to the origin of the dress observed among our natives, I should like to begin with two fundamental remarks.

B *171 291 First, I consider it erroneous that clothing, arising out of a feeling of modesty, is required for man's humanity. We became acquainted with representatives for various tribal groups of the Indians on the upper Schingú, and they do not need clothing in this sense, as I deduce from the fact that they have no such clothing. Their devices, which from our custom we would be inclined to call pubic coverings, are by no means coverings, and the feeling of modesty that is supposed to have produced the coverings is not present. As early as 1584 the Jesuit Father Cardim wrote about the Brazilian natives: "All go naked, men as well as women, and have no clothing of any kind and in no case verecundant /feel shame/, but rather it seems that in this part they are in a state of innocence."

Secondly, I must explain my position somewhat with respect to the origin of ornamentation. It is established that nowadays among primitive peoples there are many types of ornament for which no real or imaginary use is apparent and which, at present, are solely articles of adornment. Nevertheless, it is probably impossible that the finer feelings were stirred before

/175 cont./

*171 302 the cut desired by him, went a step further and cut off at the roots a part of the hair falling down in back and on the sides. The additional advantage connected with this was that, during combing, the hair could easily be evenly distributed on all sides. The tonsure of the Indians extended chiefly downward over the back of the head (cf. Fig. 14 /see p. 170 /). The Suyá men, on the other hand, with their tonsure of Apostle Paul, went further in the removal of the hair falling over the forehead and, instead, wore their hair hanging down to their shoulders

[142] [301]

Fig. 11. Bakaïrí girl.

in back or knotted up. Long back hair and the crown tonsure do not occur together. Copying the priests was not required for this simple procedure.

/176/ All the other body hair, with the exception of the eyebrows, was shaved or unhesitatingly plucked out. The lashes were not, as among the Yuruna on the lower Schingú, placed on a tucum thread and torn out all at once with a jerk, but were pulled out one by one at the earliest age of the children. The shaving of the tonsure was done with a tip of spear grass; these razor blades were kept planted near the house. The hair was cut with the teeth of the piranha fish. I never saw among

[824] [442] [237]

/176 cont./

I never saw among

*171 the men the reciprocal and daily delousing practiced so happily
302 by the women. The comb, plaited out of pointed bamboo sticks,
515 hung on the hammock. The hair was not excluded from the paint-
412 ing with urucú red; sometimes it dripped with the red oil and designs might even be applied: one Auetö who was in a festive mood had painted a stripe of urucú red two fingers wide along the lower edge of the calotte, while two stripes ran upward from the ears to the tonsure, so that Wilhelm, who was well-informed in matters of costume, was moved to compare it with a helmet of the early Middle Ages.

151 I often watched Tumayaua in particular when he plucked
302 out his sparse beard hair. In the possession of a mirror, he could devote himself to this contemplative occupation with great concentration for hours at a time; he evidently did not feel any pain, but rather the enjoyment of an industrious man who loves his stimulating work. Accustomed to the procedure from childhood as a matter of course, he was scarcely acquainted with the more disagreeable part of the operation, the fear of it. The people are vain to a high degree, but it is improbable that the nerves of the Indians react more dully to begin with than ours, to judge from the behavior of children. The same man who, with an expression of only slight pain, scratched open his swollen skin with the scarifier to which I shall come back later, thinking that he would cure himself by this, cried out at the first unexpected feeling of pain when I held the burning-glass over his hand.

*171 Undoubtedly, with regard to the plucking of hair, we are
302 dealing today with an old custom, with a fashion for which no one would any longer think of asking the reason, or, more probably, the reasons. People practice the custom, are used to it, and therefore find ugly the strangers who do not know about it. It has been remarked that the beard is plucked precisely by those peoples who are already sparsely provided with this adornment by nature, and it was not enough to say that it is easier in this case to pluck them out; rather it was believed that the sparsity as such looked ugly to the people. My long and thick beard, however, really seemed ugly to the women, and one or another of the Indian women, tugging at it with familiar aversion, gave me the

B /182 cont./
*171 Chains. Both sexes adorned themselves with neck chains; the
301 men also wore ornaments on their hip cord. Children and pregnant women had the most chain-ornaments hung on them. Our beads were also requested primarily for the children.

The Bakaïrí, with great pains, made very pretty neck chains, trophies of the kind of work that was quite popular among the other tribes, which we also found among the Suyá in 1884; cf. the
B *171 Kamayurá of Figure 14. These are rectangular, slightly convex
301 pieces which are cut from a convolution of the shell of píu, Orthalicus
321 melanostomus (Prof. v. Martens), two to three centimeters long, one

A 142 301 302

Fig. 14. Kamayurá with shell chain.

B *171 to one and a half centimeters wide, almost pure white, and known
301 as píu oráli. They overlap on the long side, like roof tiles, and are
321 generally pierced at the top and bottom, but fastened only at the
[283] top with small threads to the neck cord. Especially thick shells were chosen, broken, and ground on stones. They were pierced with the
B [412] tooth of the dogfish or with the twirling stick, at the end of which was
[237] lashed a triangular splinter of stone; in this way a conical hole was formed.

/203 cont./

000 proper, we started first with the primitive peoples, we should not fail to recognize that there is Paleolithic as well as Neolithic work among them even today, depending on the kind of stone available, the material provided from another quarter, and the technical purposes present. We should see that the negative term "metal-less" is, of course, appropriate, but that the positive name "Stone Age" can be very unfortunate. We should also consider the case where man has no stones at all or unsuitable ones and still makes excellent tools and weapons. As an unprejudiced observer, it would scarcely have occurred to me to maintain that the Schingú Indians are living in the "Stone Age."

B *171 •412 439 I 171 412 439 It is certainly true that their most difficult accomplishments -- clearing the forest, building houses, building canoes, making stools, and the like -- go back to the stone ax. But the various tribes were entirely dependent on one source, which was in the possession of the Trumaí. Neither the Bakaïrí nor the Nahuquá nor the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ and their relatives, nor the Auetó nor Kamayurá /Camayura/ had stone axes of their own manufacture. Their sandstone was not suitable for axes. I have asserted exactly the same thing about the former times of the docile Bakaïrí of the Paranatinga: in this region the Kayabi /Cayabi/ had a monopoly on the stone axes; the neighboring Bakaïrí were obliged to get them from them, later their deadly enemies. The tribes of the Batovy, Kulisehu, and Kuluëne obtained their stone axes from the Trumaí (the Suyá living on the main river had some of their own). Thus, the stone ax is presented to us here as an import article.

Fig. 20.
Stone ax.
(1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.

T B 412 317 In answer to my inquiries, I was told that the stones were found "along a brook in the sand." The material has been identified by Herr Professor Arzruni /204/ of Aachen as diabase, a rock consisting of augite, plagioclase, mica, chlorite, and magnetite, in which are

/204 cont./

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[317]

embedded individual crystals of olivine and quite a number of quartz granules. The blades, 11-21 centimeters long, are usually evenly cylindrical, but some are round in the center like a roller, taper toward the rear, and have a broad front end with a bow-shaped cutting edge. Without any lashing, they fit into a wooden handle 0.5 meters long on the average, which consists of a cylindrical upper piece bored crosswise and a thinner handle set off from this like a reed stalk from its spike. The stone points inserted in the darts and the ornamental stones of the neck chains are made of the same diabase. The Trumaí ground the blades to a point on their stones and bored the ornamental stones; besides them, only the neighboring Yaulapiti did this. The other tribes simply sharpened on the river sandstone the axes that became dull. Shells and stones were bored with a twirl-borer. A triangular, hard splinter of stone was clamped to a small staff, and, to be sure, at both ends so that one could alternate them, and was secured by cord lashing. The little staff was almost half a meter long and was twirled between the hands. If stone was to be bored, sand was added. This is all the Indians achieved in the working of stone; they had

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Fig. 21: Twirl-borer.* (1/2 nat. size/ as shown in the original illustration/.)

*The twirl-staff is represented discontinuously.

/204 cont./

*171 no triangular arrowheads of stone, no stone knives, no celts, no
● 412 stone saws, no scrapers, etc. Among the Bakaïrí I struck two pieces of sandstone containing iron together so that sparks shot out and to my amazement saw that they were not familiar with the phenomenon. They were Neolithic people who could have learned many a useful craft secret from the Paleolithic fraternity.

000 I do not venture to say that the Schingú Indians lived in the
*[171] "Tooth Age," the "Shell Age," or "Wood Age," although, as a
[321] matter of fact, the great majority of weapons, tools, implements,
[322] and ornaments are put together out of teeth, shells, and wood,
[372] and they produced fire by rubbing sticks. I do not venture to say this even with regard to the eastern Brazilian forest tribes, among whom the stone ax must have played a wholly secondary role, since they neither carried on agriculture nor built canoes or solid huts. Obviously, however, it is only the transference of ideas gained elsewhere -- and in connection with excavation, in a very understandable way -- if, in order to identify the cultural level, one selects from among the natural materials available for tools and weapons that which has been worked and used least of all. The culture of the old Brazilian hunting tribes living in the forest will be very much misunderstood if, with the classification of "Stone Age" peoples, /205/ the image of people of the Ice Age is conjured up. We impede our study of the spatial distribution of culture circles and man's dependence on his place of residence; every tribe learned to utilize the material of its environment, upon which it was dependent, and thus has come into the possession of methods which a neighborhood only sparsely supplied with the same materials would not have found, but which it learns to use and exercise only for its own advancement. Bastian says, "it appears to be conditioned by the geographical environment whether, beside the Stone Age preceding the metals, there must be put a Wood Age (as in the Brazilian alluviums, for example), a Bone Age (in the case of livestock on barren plains or hunting in such areas), or a Shell Age (as occasionally on coral islands)." I therefore prefer to

/205 cont./

say simply that our Indians were not yet familiar with metals and were, for the time being, dependent on shells, teeth, and wood in their work methods, if only because in large part they did not even have more suitable stones.

*171 433 239 And now I have come back to my point of departure. In spite of their agriculture and in spite of their land-clearing with the stone ax, the Schingú Indians were not only able to maintain their hunting, but they had to maintain it, because fishing and hunting provided them, aside from a change of diet, with the indispensable tools for making weapons and implements.

171 239 ● 412 [825] Teeth. The sets of teeth of the piranha (Serrasalmo)

* There were two species, a smaller black "piranya preta" or "olho de fogo" (fire eye),

Fig. 22. Fire-eye piranha.
(1/4 nat. size/ as shown in the original illustration/.)

and a larger "papo amarello" (yellow maw), whose "yellow" is a brilliant orange.

served for cutting. They were opened with any suitable wooden hook and carefully examined: the lower jaw, four centimeters long and containing 14 small, triangular teeth, was then cut out with a shell. Hard things and soft things, the spines of the buriti palms or human hair, but especially all threads and fibers, were cut with the sharp teeth. They called my scissors "piranha teeth." Bamboo and other reeds were scored with them until they could

/205 cont./

*171 be broken off evenly. A scarcely less important tool was furnished
[237] by the peixe cachorro, or dogfish, called Cynodon zoologically,
● 412 which has in its lower jaw two pointed teeth three to three and a
[825] half centimeters long, each projecting upward through a hole.
The edge of these teeth, ground knife-sharp, was used for cutting, but chiefly for puncturing, for example, in connection with tattooing, for scratching, for example, in decorating the tortoise spindle disks, and for boring reeds, as in the case of the arrows, in order to put through the threads for fastening the feathers and
[824] points. /206/ The triangular pieces of gourd which, as the scarifier, represented the most important instrument in the little surgery of the Indians, cf. Figure 15 /see p. 179/, were studded with the small, pointed teeth of the trahira fish, Erythrinus. The
[825] little teeth of the aguti, Dasyprocta aguti, served the same purpose. Of the rodents, the capybara, Hydrochoerus capybara, fur-
[284] nished indispensable scraping chisels with the front teeth of its lower jaw; the tooth, six to eight centimeters long, was fastened to a piece of ubá reed with cotton thread, or two teeth were lashed together and cemented with a little wax. /Figs. 23-26 appear here./ The arrow holes were likewise bored with the aguti tooth.
[301] Monkey teeth, pierced at the root and artfully plaited together into a chain, were a favorite belt or neck ornament.

[411] Bones. Arm and leg bones of monkeys, which were kept in thick bundles in the little tool basket at home, served as arrowheads. They were ground to shape and, with their hollow tubes, mounted on the stick between the arrowhead and arrow shaft. The tail radiation of the ray was likewise an arrowhead. Small, pointed
[304] bones were added as barbs. /207/ Mammal bones had many uses: the skin treated with the scarifier was rubbed with the thigh bone of the deer; we saw a splinter of a jaguar bone pointed to pierce ear lobes; the wax smeared over the lashing on arrowheads was applied with a bone. The front claws of the giant armadillo,
[825] Dasypus gigas, served man, as well as the animal itself, for digging and grubbing up the ground and were the earth hoe of our Indians. The spindle disks in many cases came from the ventral piece of the tortoise shell, which was broken to pieces with a stone. Jaguar

/207 cont./

Jaguar

*171 claws were worn as neck chains, fish vertebrae on the belt cord.
237 a bone stuck crosswise through the nasal septum adorned the old
30 Bakairí.
304

Shells. Flat river shells were extensively used for cutting, less
*171 for cutting through than for scoring longitudinally, for scraping, planing,
237 smoothing. The work shells brought back from the Kamayurá /Fig. 27
● 412 appears here/ were identified by Herr Professor von Martens: tyutsí,
[325] Anodonta, was the shell for scraping the mandioca root, "maniôka pinâp";
[324]

Fig. 23. Dogfish.
(1/1 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 24. Piranha.
(1/2 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

[284]
→

Fig. 25. Front claws of the giant armadillo. (Grubbing hoe.) (2/5 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 26. Capybara teeth. (Scraping chisel.) (1/2 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

the women sat on a couple of pieces of bamboo placed together, and they scraped, scrubbed, scratched, until their legs disappeared in the
[322] heap of parings. This shell also served as a plane to smooth the handle of the stone ax or the oar by means of finer scraping, not with the edge,

/207 cont./

[171] but with a hole made in the center. The people bit off the outer-
[239] most shell with their teeth and knocked the planing hole into it with
[416] the pointed akurí nut. Another type of Anodonta, ita-í, "little
[302] mussel," was also used for the fine scraping of wood. This and the
[415] other types were also used to store the pigment with which one painted himself red or black; they were usually hung on the hammocks. A second large shell for scraping roots was itá,
[325] "mussel," a variety of the Leila pulvinata Hupé, brought back from the Araguay /Araguaia/ by Castelnau. With the largest species, itá kuraá, /208/ Unio orbignanus, the bows were smoothed, and, to be sure, with the outer surface of the shell.

Fig. 27. Knife-shell and plane-shell.

[325] A flat Hyria, itá mukú, was interesting because it had a sharp, pointed extension with which pikí fruits, for example, were opened. It corresponds best to our pocketknife, an instrument that was regarded very disapprovingly by the Indians because they were able to open it only with indescribable effort; they were as clumsy with it as we with the unfamiliar twirl-borer. The shell was hung around the necks when one set out on journeys; the fish and game animals caught were cut open with it; the shell was used to hollow out the little depression in the fire-stick, in which a second stick was twirled to the glowing point; for
[301] all carving of wood it was indispensable. Snail shells were used in many ways: pieces of Bulimus shells were used for chain orna-
[325] ments. Cf. page 170. Orthalicus melanostomus sometimes dangled in thick hangings on the mask costume.

/208 cont./

*171 Feathers lend wings to the arrow, on whose shaft end two
239 split halves of feathers are sewed opposite each other in spiral
30 turns. Otherwise they seem to be used exclusively, but in great
[411] volume here, for ornaments, such as ear feathers, feather crowns,
[289] feather caps, feather arm bands, feather cloaks (among the Kamayurá), and in hundredfold decoration on small ornaments, where little colored bundles hung on hammocks, combs, gourd rattles, arrow throwers, masks, etc. The most magnificent ma-
[325] terial was available, from the yellow, blue, red, and green of the arara, toucan, weaver birds, and parrots, from the beautiful stripes or speckles of the curassows, falcons, and owls, to the shimmering white of the herons and storks or the black of the urubu vulture. The big, broad, black-and-white striped flag
[325] of the Harpyia destructor was magnificent.

*171 The spoils of hunting and fishing therefore offered an
[239] abundance of the most necessary things; in particular it furnished
[412] tools for cutting, scraping, polishing, piercing, boring, scratch-
[433] ing, and digging. Agriculture assured the natives a sedentary existence and improved their economic condition, but they still remained fishermen and hunters, though to a lesser extent. They were hunters without dogs, fishermen without hooks, farmers without plow and spade. They afford us an excellent example
[32] that teaches us how manifold the methods of work for the purpose of making a living could have been before the possession of any metal technique, an example that warns us about overestimating the importance of stone implements, which, of course are preserved the best and most plentifully for posterity, and about throwing indiscriminately into the great pot of the Stone Age everything that comes before the use of metal and, in comparison to the small span of time established for this, must embrace unimaginably long periods.

*171 If one judges culture according to the extent and thorough-
433 ness with which the surrounding nature is exploited by the human
511 beings, then our natives certainly did not stand on a low level.
[229] They hunted and fished with arrow /209/ and bow; they fished with nets, catch-baskets, and weir-baskets; they had their fish

/212 cont./

*171 244 In the cultivation of mandioca, which today, along with maize, is penetrating into the farthest corners of Africa, as though both of these purely American plants had been native there forever, the metal-less South American has gained achievement which need not fear any comparison with other parts of the world. Today there is a cultivated, harmless species, but the [252] [272] original root, which was found only on the Schingú, first had to be divested of its strongly toxic juice, the expressed flour, obtained by grating and pounding, first had to be roasted before a foodstuff was produced, and, to be sure, one of many uses, in a solid state and as a pappy drink, Manihot "utilissima." It far surpasses maize in importance in the household of our Indians. It furnishes the principal food and is really responsible [262] [412] for having forced the natives, who received it from more advanced tribes, to become sedentary, for its preparation presupposes a series of procedures requiring patience and presupposes implements, which, like the grating board studded with palm spines, could be produced only at a great cost of time and work with the [252] inferior tools. Unknown on the upper Schingú is the ingenious typytí, a tube plaited out of elastic stalks, which is filled with the grated mass and, pulled lengthwise by means of a weight, presses out the poisonous juice; our Indians filtered and pressed the juice through plaited sieves.

*171 293 Of greater interest, however, is the fact that the method of fermenting larger quantities of extract by means of chewing balls of flour or kernels of maize, which is used today probably everywhere in South America where maize and mandioca are cultivated by natives, was still unknown in our region; also, nothing was known there about the preparation of pajauará, popular among the North Karaiben, where the fresh beijús soaked in water are wrapped in leaves and buried for a few days. /213/ The püserego [292] of the Schingú does not have an intoxicating effect; it merely represents the tastiest pap-beverage, it is a soup, not an alcoholic drink. No palm wine is made either, one becomes intoxicated only with dancing or, if one wishes, with tobacco, and achieved what was humanly possible in the quantitative consumption of the pap-beverages. On the other hand, the Kamayurá

/224 cont./

*171 The tinder is a light brown, fine meshed bast tissue which is
372 furnished best by the young uakumá palm (a Cocos species). In
[824] the campo, tinder from the guarirobá palm (Cocos oleracea) or of dry grass and leaves also helps out. Its purpose is to furnish the flame with which one transfers the fire to the twigs. Ehrenreich reports from the Karayá /Caraja/, Im Thurn from the Warrau of Guiana, that their wood catches fire so easily that it does not need tinder; "it in itself furnishes the tinder."

As is seen, it is not necessary to have a hard and a soft wood for rubbing fire with the "drill" /Bohrer, borer, drill, auger/. The Schingú Indians always take only one kind; the Karayá drill bamboo in urucú.

ooo We find the movement of twirling very difficult; indeed, we are scarcely acquainted with it in everyday life because our drills terminate in a screw, and we do not use it at all for drilling, but for mixing, for example, in the kitchen, to mix yeast or eggs with milk, or in connection with the preparation of a cocktail.

*171 It is easy to understand how the drilling and twirling of the natives
174 originated. At first holes were made with a pointed tooth or bone.
● 412 /225/ When the object was very resistant, a turning pressure against and into it was tried, and this gradually and naturally developed into the twirl-drilling, if only one worked steadily and evenly so as not to split the object, clamped it down securely so as not to lose the point drilled on, and thus had both hands to
[321] work with. This twirl-drilling is practiced by the Indian with a tooth or particle of stone fastened to a little stick (cf. p. 201) for all piercing of shells, bone, stone, armadillo carapace, and hard wood. One very often sees him occupied with it, using his feet
ooo as a brace. We are now, however, confronted with a riddle if we wish to explain how this fire-drilling with two pieces of wood could have originated. How did people happen to drill wood with wood if they were not purposely setting out to "invent fire?"

It has been said in all seriousness that in grinding or drilling tools out of wood, bone, and stone, people found by experience that friction produces warmth, they observed that the warmth increases the harder the rubbing, and they then tried to rub

B /241 cont./
*171 415 into bowls, the fresh fruits are wound with palm fiber and scratched along it with a shell. If a bowl cracks during use, it is sewed;
B [412] the small holes are bored with the pointed tooth of the dogfish and the sewing is done with a buriti thread rubbed with wax, the knots of which are cut off close to the shell by the tooth edge
B [531] ground knife-sharp. The drawings that decorate the surface are incised with the same tooth, unless one prefers to burn them in
B [386] with a red-hot stick. The drinking bowls and small ladle-gourds
[824] or spoons are given a coating of black lacquer on the inside. The lacquer is the soot of the charred buriti shaft mixed with the yellow, sticky liquid extract of the grated rind of the ochogohi tree from the campo cerrado /densely covered campo/. Special small, spherical gourds served to hold the oil with which the body was rubbed and were closed with a stopper; the Bakairí called
B [128] the fruit péru. They sometimes hung in a closely plaited net. I shall consider the rattle gourd in connection with the dance music.

Pottery. In the chapter on the "Stone Age" culture, cf.
B 128 323 pages 217 ff., I have discussed in detail the origin of the pots in our region, the monopoly of the Nu-Aruak tribes, and the manufacture limited to only the female sex. Only in the later chapter on the plastic arts, when the development of Indian art has become clear, shall I be in a position to speak of the ornamental aspect of the pots.

B
*171 415 Three types of pots were distinguished according to size and purpose. First, the huge mawukúru of the Mehinakú, in which
W [415] the grated mandioca root was cooked; they had a diameter of
[252] almost three-fourths of a meter. We were unable to bring home
[126] any of these pots, but took a photograph among the Auetó, from which their shape and, since a man -- by rights it should have been a woman -- is squatting beside it, also their size are clear. Cf. Plate 15 /see p. 253/. The largest and most attractive pots are furnished by the Waurá. For cooking they were set on three low clay feet of cylindrical shape and bulging at the bottom.

A second type, the cooking pot for fruit and small fish, had a diameter of 18-20 centimeters, a height of about 12 centimeters; it was round with rather steep, slightly bulging walls and sometimes had a rim two and a half centimeters wide and

B /279 cont./
285 mention, nor the surrounding figures, nor the construction of
532 twigs made this likely. All doubts vanished, however, when the Indian showed us, inside two squares, which were otherwise made up merely of crosswise twigs, several narrow, and in themselves quite meaningless, stretches of plaiting on which was wound a
B little yellow straw, and then explained: "capybara teeth." In
[237] other words, teeth of Hydrachoerus capybara or water hog, the
[136] large rodent characterized by huge incisors, the chisel of the
[412] natives. One had to admit that the outlines were roughly similar, but no European would have hit upon this correct inter-
B pretation by himself. Finally, we saw in the artists' hut of the
* [171] Auetö a plaited strip which they designated for us as "fish bones." It was the same figure as No. 5, Plate 20 /see p. 280/.

Y I would have referred to these examples earlier, along with
285 the drawings, and not here if they had not been connected with
524 peculiarly plaited figures or dolls which we found among the
532 Nahuquá. Of the two illustrations 65 and 66 /see p. 315/, the one is easily understandable and suitable for a kindergarten, it represents a /280/ toad; the other, however, I, at any rate, would not have interpreted correctly even if I had thought about it for a year. We have to recognize it as a deer! And actually it is quite simple. First I need to start out that it is an animal; then the sharply protruding corner piece /Figs. 65-67 appear here/ to the right must be the head, and thus I have a four-footed animal, whereas I do not pay any attention to the three peaks on the back, since a Nahuquá is not familiar with a dromedary or a camel, to say nothing of an animal with three elevations on its back. It must, moreover, be a type of quadruped for which the tail, since it is missing, is not characteristic. What I see in the way of feet, however, corresponds most closely to the hoofs of the deer. Thus, I come slowly limping along behind the Nahuquá with my conclusions, while the Indian of another tribe, after brief reflection, finds the correct solution by himself.

BO Inasmuch as I considered the Bororó in connection with
285 the drawings, their analogous Froebel toy might be taken up in
524 this connection. The folded piece of palm leaf, Fig. 67 left
532 /see p. 315/ represents a "Bororó woman," that is to say, it is

/257 cont./

539 in quiet areas, where there are no human beings, it is always
825 on the move in the morning and afternoon, except during the hot hours in the middle of the day which it spends sleeping"; in other words, all of the phrases between quotation marks, taken from the book by Dr. Goeldi on the mammals of our land (pp. 92, 99, 103, and 106), confirm what has been said concerning the shadowy character of the Yamüras.

539 /258/ Other considerations, however, seem to us of
174 greater moment.

First of all, in the enumeration of the belongings of the Yamüras, we have a basis for a list of the cultural acquisitions of the Bacaeris. We learn that they had nets for fishing before [227] they had nets /hammocks/ for sleeping, that they traveled by [352] water when they did not yet have pestles, and that they proba- [501] bly had maracá before they had the masks with which they [412] appear at their festivals. [532]

We also see that although theoretically the abode of the
539 Yamüra is in the sky, a large part of his existence is spent on
776 the earth from which he derives his sustainance. Subsistence, however, is not his sole concern; free of the contingencies of time and space, he travels swiftly as the wind, he is an envious being who spies upon all actions and weighs upon the living with crushing pressure. There is hardly an act that he does not influence: gestation, childbirth, alimentation, festivals, walking hours, everything falls within his inexorable reach, as we shall see later. It would seem that the Bacaeris could paint their bodies as they please. But this is not so.

776 Yamüra does not like urucú, --this is why one must not
789 scatter the urucú seed, says the piahi;--Yamüra goes into the
824 houses of people with children, --this is why we burn the juice
302 of the rubber tree--when it is burned it is rubbed on the door;--fathers of boys, when they go to the river, paint themselves with genipap, --paint themselves with urucú, --so Yamüra thinks that it is blood; if the boy's father does not paint himself

619
182 /23 cont./
756 aldea on the Rio Kulisehu to settle with his arts on the Paranatinga.

When I was with the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí in May and June
177 of 1901, 14 years had elapsed since their first contact with
178 articles of European culture. After Karl von den Steinen's
[114] expedition, other explorers had also passed through their land. They had become familiar with iron axes, knives, scissors, matches, and other objects of modern culture, and by bartering their native products they had become amply provided with such objects, but their natures and their way of life had barely
[411] changed. They had become acquainted with the firearms of the Europeans and of their fellow countrymen of the Rio Paranatinga, but they still regarded them with a certain mis-
[226] giving and did not use them either. Fishing, which had been of the greatest importance in the economy of these Indians, was still carried out on a broad scale and in the ancestral way,
[224] fishhooks not being used. In hunting, too, they only used their
241 arrows and long bows built like the ones of old. Agriculture
[412] was also carried out in the same manner and with the same digging sticks, with the mere exception that the work of clearing was made much easier by the numerous iron axes that replaced the stone axes of times past. I did not see any more stone axes among these Indians. Undoubtedly they had all been replaced by the far more useful iron axes brought by the explorers who passed through these regions. There were large plantations in
241 the vicinity of the aldeas or at a distance from them, and I
114 myself had the opportunity to observe in the aldea of Maimaieti, situated on the Rio Kulisehu, the way in which a big part of the mountain was cleared for a future plantation. The Indians proudly showed me a spot planted in sweet /mansa, "mild"/ manioc, of which they had received cuttings from the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí. During my stay among the Bakairí of Maimaieti aldea there was never a scarcity of manioc, and I and my companions were always generously provided with
[648] manioc cakes /beijús/. I mention this fact especially, because

/24 cont./

a table made of vertigas and provided regularly with meat, if possible monkey meat.

Among the various crafts of the Kulisehu Bakairí, pottery-making, plaiting, and spinning were still maintained in the ancestral form. Food preparation was also still the same as described by Karl von den Steinen for times past. The only essential difference appeared in regard to woodworking, for which at this time metal tools were used, so that this craft no longer depended on stone axes, drills with stone points, shells, and the teeth of fish or other animals. Another acquisition from the various expeditions which had passed through their territory were ear pendants of multicolored glass beads with which many women and children, especially, were well provided. European clothing was seen only in exceptional cases. Thus the first man who came out of his house in Maigeri aldea to greet me had on trousers which he had been given at the time of a visit to the Rio Paranatinga aldea and which surely had never been washed since. As a rule the uluri (small triangle of bark) was the sole national garment of the women and young girls, and a fine thread belt and body paint the men's apparel.

When Karl von den Steinen visited the Rio Kulisehu Indians, the first Bakairí aldea, called Maigeri, consisted of only two large houses of kinsfolk and one small house for fiestas with an oval base, while the second and third aldeas each consisted of three large houses of kinsfolk and of one house for fiestas. Thus the number of houses in Bakairí aldeas at the time of my stay among these Indians had increased, and for this reason I do not hold as correct Herrmann Meyer's observation that this tribe was already "greatly declining" at the time. (30) No doubt there

30. Herrmann Meyer, Ibid., p. 126.

were then only two Bakairí aldeas on the Rio Kulisehu, the first, Maigeri, already mentioned by Karl von den Steinen, and the

/36 cont./

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Cf. Idem., "Ableitung südamerikanischer Geflechtsmuster aus der Technik des Flechtens /Derivation of South American Plaiting Pattern from the Technique of Plaiting/," Zeitsch. f. Ethn., 1904, Heft 3 and 4, pp. 490-512. Idem., "Die technischen Voraussetzungen in der Ornamentik der Eingeborenen Südamerikas /The Technical Bases in the Ornamentation of the South American Natives/," Ipek. Jahrbuch für Prähistorische und Ethnographische Kunst, 1926, pp. 142-174.

discuss the plaited objects that I collected from the Simões Lopes Bakairí in a special section that follows. In addition to
126 plaited objects I was primarily concerned with the acquisition
●412 of a mortar and its corresponding pestle and a triangular barbecue, because the relevant collections of the Berlin Ethnographic Museum did not include any specimen of these Bakairí objects which are to be found in almost every settlement of these Indians. The wooden mortar which I brought from Simões Lopes (V.B. 9883, called óro by the Kulisehu Bakairí) is shown in Figure 29. Its height reaches 38 cm. and the rim diameter 25 cm. From the irregular shape of the botton it may be assumed that the lower part of the mortar was implanted in the ground. The corresponding pestle (V.B. 9884) has a length of 95 cm. and is shown in Figure 28. The barbecue shown in
252 Figure 30 and called by the Kulisehu Bakairí si(r)ka has the
417 usual triangular shape of Bakairí barbecues. The sticks of which this barbecue consists are bound together with tree bark. Its height reaches 105 cm.

535 I found the dancing sticks shown in Figure 33 a-d and 34
126 a-d (V.B. 9942, 9943, 9945-9948, 9951, and ~~10071~~) in

Plate XII

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Fig. 25. Baked clay vessel (bat). Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 28. Pestle for a mortar. Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

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Fig. 26. Baked clay vessel. Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 29. Wooden mortar. Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 27. Baked clay vessel. Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

352 415 wooden benches, and dishes and cups made from gourds.

409 As the Bacairí were extensive travelers and 226 depended upon fish for a considerable part of 501 their food supply, canoes were an important part of their equipment. The Bacairí canoe (*pépi*) 396 was made from the bark of the jatobá tree. The [824] tough, heavy bark was first stripped from one-half of the tree. Small fires were then lighted on the inside of the bark trough to make it curl. Braces were placed at intervals along the entire length, the bow was tapered, and the stern was squared off by forcing the bark upward at one end. 501 Bacairí canoes varied in size, the larger ones being able to carry as many as 8 men. Canoes of jatobá bark are used by the Bacairí today and are the [171] predominant type among the Indians of the 415 Upper Xingú. The Bacairí also made large [824] tubs out of jatobá bark which were used as settling 352 vessels for manioc juice. The juice of the manioc contains a fine powder or starch which settles on the bottom of the vessel, to be gathered after the 241 liquid is poured off. For gardening, the Bacairí formerly used a digging stick made of hardwood. 411 For hunting, they used a bow (*túka*), round or 824 slightly oval in cross section and from 2 to 2½ meters in length, made from a yellow or reddish wood which was first matured by burying it in mud. The bowstring was made from the fibers of imbauba bark. Arrows (*piréu*) were made from [237] cane with hardwood or bone points. Hunting arrows had two feathers, but arrows used for shooting fish had serrated wooden points and no 412 feathers. The cutting tools of the Bacairí consisted of knives made from bamboo, stone, bones, and 409 shell. Transportation was by canoe, or if over 412 land, goods were carried in a wicker basket supported on the back by a tump line.

ORNAMENTS

291 While living on the banks of the Kuliseu River, [171] the Bacairí, in common with the other Upper Xingú River tribes, did not use clothing. Men sometimes wore a narrow cotton band (*onegín*) around the waist, with a few tassels hanging in front. Women, after puberty, wore the ulurí. 302 Men wore their hair cut short. Women wore their hair long at the back but cut straight across over [412] the forehead. Hair was cut with a knife made [237] by setting sharp fish teeth into a wooden stick,

302 and was combed with a comb (*aekáji*) made
412 by weaving slender cane teeth into a cotton holder.
301 Although clothing, in the strict sense of the
237 term, was nonexistent, the Bacairí used, on ceremonial occasions, beautiful, skillfully made ornaments. An important ornament was the *orógo*, a diadem or feather headdress strapped to the forehead. The *orógo* was made by fastening a row of green parrot feathers to a cotton band, above which was fastened another row of yellow weaver bird feathers. Two long blue macaw feathers were set in the center so as to stand straight up above the forehead. The *orógo* was worn only by men. These headdresses are still used, for some were seen in the village of Simão Lopes.

There were at least four kinds of necklaces. The *megesáuwa* was made from small thin round disks of white or pink snail shell, as many as 400 being strung on a string. This necklace was worn around the neck by women and around the waist by men and girls. The *ikwihéno* was also made from snail shell, but the disks were oblong with holes in both ends through which strings were passed. Although the *ikwihéno* was particularly used by men, women sometimes wore it together with the *megesáuwa*. The *sawalápi* was a necklace
[824] made from black disks of tucum palm nut and could be worn by both men and women at all times. Both men and women also wore necklaces made from the teeth or claws of the jaguar called the *dodojéri*. The Bacairí still use the *megesáuwa*, *ikwihéno*, and the *sawalápi*.

Besides necklaces, the Bacairí used a variety of other ornaments. The *upauwí* were armlets and anklets of cotton material decorated with feathers of different colors. The armlets, which were about 2 inches wide, were fastened tightly above the
[826] biceps and were believed necessary for the development of the muscle, with similar bands worn below the knee and around the ankles. Both men and women used the bands. An American missionary who experimented with Bacairí arm bands claimed that they caused him a great deal of distress but he has observed no ill effects among the Indians. The *pai* was a feather ear ornament made from red toucan and yellow parrot feathers
[304] suspended from the lobes of the ears. Holes in the ears were made with a sharpened jaguar bone or with a sharpened rhea feather. The *tajikaino*, worn only by men, consisted of two blue macaw feathers

/172 cont./

000 the more uncertain I am in abstracting the common features. The
171 Kustenaú has his foot and half of his lower thigh painted red, like
302 stockings; the upper thighs are covered with a sooty black, in which, however, arched stripes are left blank. On his back he has two red stripes, and in addition black arm-bands. Numerous scratches, which are made with the tooth of the peixe-cachorro
302 (dogfish). The Bakaïrí, too, are painted more than usual with
[531] red; one has a black stripe on either side from eye to ear; another has painted himself black over the middle of his forehead, nose, lips, and chin, and bright brick-red on the sides of the forehead and the face. Among some, the hair, too, is saturated with the
301 red oil. Below the knees are bands of /Illustration appears here/ /173/ burití straw; a skein of cotton, colored a dirty reddish brown, is tied around the waist. Some have strings or bands of cotton wound over the ankles or under the knees, around the legs, or around the upper arms. There is no uniformity anywhere.

302 The tonsure is shaved with a bent piece of spear grass. Its
● 413 diameter is seven centimeters.

177 To our surprise we also found an iron chisel tip and on a child a little string of blue beads. We could not find out definitely how these had found their way here; I interpreted their descrip-
[721] tion and Antonio's unclear account to mean that they had been brought back from a tribe on the lower Paranatinga whom the grandfather had visited on a raiding expedition.

276 Even in Aldea II the men had become happily excited by the discovery of tobacco seed; smoking was also done here. The leaves were so dry that they could be rubbed almost to powder; they were rolled into cigarettes about two decimeters long, and the fresh green leaf of an unknown tree was split lengthwise and used as the wrapping. This wrapper burned with a pleasant, balsam odor. The smoke was inhaled.

262 The women made excellent beijú; it tasted like fresh French rolls. We also ate a fish ragout à la coquille, of which we would have liked to have had more than they gave us.

[Text Continues on P. 57]

301 placed in a hole in the septum of the nose, so that
237 the feathers swung one on each side of the head.
[304] Although the *páiko*, or scratcher, was not strictly
413 an ornament, it is mentioned here because it had
757 ritual meaning. The *páiko* was made by setting fish teeth into a gourd holder and was used for scarifying the skin of the arms, legs, chest, and back so as to cause bleeding. The wounds were first
[752] washed with water and later smeared with the juice of the *mukúna* vine. The *páiko* was used by
[881] boys and girls during puberty seclusion and by adults who had sores on their bodies. It was believed that the use of the *páiko* made people
304 strong and healthy. As far as could be ascertained the Bacairí did not mutilate the teeth, genitals, or other parts of the body. There was no sign of
[302] tattooing, but pubic hair was carefully pulled out
231 by both men and women. Formerly the Bacairí kept large birds, believed to belong to the eagle family, in their villages for their feathers. The Brazilians call the bird "harpía" and claim that it is still kept by the Indians in the Xingú Basin. The "harpía" was captured by shooting it with a blunted arrow, and it was kept in a special hut and fed. Villages often had several of these birds in captivity, the feathers being used particularly for feathering arrows. Parrots and macaws were also kept, their feathers being used only for ceremonial decorations.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

212 Vegetable foods formed the basis of Bacairí diet, with fish and meat taking second and third places.
224 The principal animals hunted were monkeys, deer, wild pigs, tapir, and the jaguar. The jaguar, however, was not eaten, but was hunted for its skin, teeth, and claws. The principal weapon used was the bow and arrow. Hunters would stalk game alone or in groups with the aid of dogs driving game into water or into steep rocky enclosures. There is no mention of the spear being used, but deadfalls and pitfalls were used. Many varieties
226 of large fish were shot with the bow and arrow, either from canoes or from the river bank. Lizards,
222 turtles, and a wide variety of wild fruits, roots, tender shoots, and honey were collected at certain seasons of the year.

241 The major part of the food supply, however, was obtained through agriculture. The Bacairí cultivated bitter manioc, *ópa;* sweet manioc, *toisé;*

/163 cont./

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1. (cont.)
magnetite, in which are embedded individual crystals of olivine and quite a number of quartz granules.

415 Tall storage baskets of biconcave profile (one meter 40 centimeters long, 35 centimeters wide at the top), wound with brown bast bands and lined in the interior with maize leaves, contain the flour and are very stout. The grating boards on which the mandioca is pulverized are about 115 centimeters long and 80 centimeters wide.

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Gourd-vessel (drinking-vessel) designs of the Bakairí.

251 High up a great quantity of dusty corncobs.

532 A number of strange dolls, which hang down from the vault on long strings, seem the most striking; they are plaited out of maize leaves: turkey-sized birds, projecting wings made out of one leaf and circularly twisted legs with three toes; others are slender, human-like figures, /164/ a small head on top, broken up below into narrow frippery. In our house we found two lizards made of grass, whose four feet come together in a ring, so that one can put them on one's head.

[353]
[824]

/164 cont./

415 Countless gourd vessels /cuyen; see glossary, p. 170 / and
531 calabashes, brownish-yellow, some of them painted black in designs not without taste.

411 In the lower roof-basket are stuck the arrows, averaging two meters long, and the bows, which almost reach a length of two and a half meters. The arrows, made of ubá, have simple wood or bone points; at the end of the shaft broad feathers are set spirally.

237 Feathers, even bunches of them and whole tail rosettes,
415 are kept in mats placed together portfolio-like; spindles, pigment, bones, root pieces, shells, and the like are kept in small baskets and nets. On the cords of the hammocks are found as decoration a couple of feathers or shells and -- the comb. This
412 toilet article consists of small, narrow sticks placed next to one
[284] another and held together by two cross-sticks of bamboo by means of a plaiting of cotton threads; the hard sticks project beyond the lower cross-stick as the teeth of the comb.

286 The hammocks are (one can hardly say woven, but rather knotted. Two posts stand in the ground; they are wound with a skein of cotton in the way that our women wind knitting wool on a chair; through the horizontal, parallel threads, vertical threads are drawn at four-centimeter intervals with guide sticks and knotted; the parts of the skein which lie close to the post and are not knotted (the entire bundle of horizontal threads pressed together) form the loop that receives the hammock ropes.

285 A plaited matting above the door and sieves of alternating black and light straw are worked with a natural artistic sense. The fire is fanned with a triangular piece of matting.

302 The hair of the women, cut unevenly and longest behind the ears, hangs down to the shoulders; the forehead is almost completely covered. A young woman had the latter painted with thick red color during the visit on the river. No ornaments. Only
301 the old woman wears a string over her left shoulder, which goes under her right arm; three trouser buttons, which she cut off from us and the soldiers with her own hands, are strung on it.

Flute duet among the Bakairí.

I. Seligmann-56 R.E.-6 (1886) 1886 SPT Bacairi 772

/173 cont./

535 In the evening there was a musical performance. A flickering fire of twigs faintly illuminated the night. The men appeared [534] in pairs with menis, the meter-long flutes; one had the rattling shells tied around his foot. One pair stationed themselves near us, the other one in front of the opposite house. The former started to blow, stamping rhythmically with the right foot in one spot, our two dipped the menis in water and cried loudly "uh -- uh," then started to blow also and began moving toward the hut at the left, beating time regularly with the right foot. The ones across the way came blowing toward us, while the others, without ceasing their melancholy wail, stood still again, stamping and bending their bodies forward. Finally this pair, too, returned to their starting point; during the finale the lament of the night wind whistling in the chimney increased to the most miserable wail, and the quartet [512] was at an end. Courteously we were then immediately served the strengthening mingau.

This was the "tödödidite," a word infinitely jollier than the dance itself, which it designates.

122 21 Aug. φ 12° 49'.3, λ 14'.3, km. 11.08, total 212.80.
132 /174/ 11:00 A.M.: I 745.8, II 736.4, dry. 29.0.
5:20 P.M.: I 743.6, II 734.2, dry. 27.0, wet. 24.1, water 25.8.

ooo Back to the camp early. During the night the bottom of Israel's canoe split with a bang and the load sank. Some of Wilhelm's things, among them the oil sketches of the place of embarkation, were destroyed. The beans lay in the water for hours.

122 Off at 1:00 in the afternoon; soon there was campo on the right; we noticed a hut which we investigated; it did not seem to be finished or else was merely a supply station. A number of well-[415] filled baskets, pots, bags with gourd vessels, a rack for the puvas, and bunches of urucú capsules, whose angular seeds furnish the red pigment, were completely abandoned. The path to a roça led into the woods.

/131 cont./

would take exaggerated care of them by removing them on occasions when even for children it would not be necessary.

In the first Bakaïrí village the population had increased by one young soul. Pauhaga had become a father and was observing the lying-in period along with his wife. I shall come back to the scene, which seemed comical to us, in discussing the couvade. The maize was a succulent green; we were offered excellent, somewhat dry maize beijus. My tobacco planting on village plaza had shot up tremendously and was fenced in all around by a palisade.

But what did our astonished eyes catch sight of behind Paleko's house? A new construction, already far advanced, of a strange kind. Or rather, one of very familiar appearance. The Bakaïrí had taken our rancho at Independencia as a model and, instead of their beehive, had started a house with a triangular gable /132/ and a two-sided roof. We had believed we were seeing something genuine in a remote corner, and already it was disappearing. "The first glimpse of light," says Bastian, "will also be the last."

Fig. 8.
Indians disguised as Europeans.

Tumayaua, who was going along to Independencia, nevertheless carried out the official farewell in Maigéri. He handed me two large gourd bowls. A little while after that he came to fetch me, seized me vehemently by the arm, and, shouting loudly all around, led me from the hut to the beam in the middle of the plaza and, with a sort of enthusiasm, pushed me down on to the seat. Soon four Karaiben were sitting there in a row, side by side.

/207 cont./

#171 but with a hole made in the center. The people bit off the outer-
[29] most shell with their teeth and knocked the planing hole into it with
41 the pointed akurí nut. Another type of Anodonta, ita-í, "little
[302] mussel," was also used for the fine scraping of wood. This and the
[415] other types were also used to store the pigment with which one
painted himself red or black; they were usually hung on the
hammocks. A second large shell for scraping roots was itá,
[825] "mussel," a variety of the Leila pulvinata Hupé, brought back
from the Araguay /Araguaia/ by Castelnau. With the largest
species, itá kuraá, /208/ Unio orbignanus, the bows were
smoothed, and, to be sure, with the outer surface of the shell.

Fig. 27. Knife-shell and plane-shell.

[825] A flat Hyria, itá mukú, was interesting because it had a sharp,
pointed extension with which pikí fruits, for example, were
opened. It corresponds best to our pocketknife, an instrument
that was regarded very disapprovingly by the Indians because
they were able to open it only with indescribable effort; they
were as clumsy with it as we with the unfamiliar twirl-borer.
The shell was hung around the necks when one set out on journeys;
the fish and game animals caught were cut open with it; the
shell was used to hollow out the little depression in the fire-stick,
in which a second stick was twirled to the glowing point; for
[301] all carving of wood it was indispensable. Snail shells were used
in many ways: pieces of Bulimus shells were used for chain orna-
[825] ments. Cf. page 170. Orthalicus melanostomus sometimes
dangled in thick hangings on the mask costume.

/215 cont./

*171 323

present providethe other tribes with cooking vessels in Guiaia, although he says that the Aruak make abundant pots for their own use, but do not dispose of them as trade goods, like the Karaiben. Martius says of the Makuschi, the most populous Karaiben tribe of the Rio Branco area: "All implements of these Indians are neatly and carefully made, the weapons decorated withfeathers, and only in pottery are they inferior to the Indians of the coast."

ceramics, also from an artistic point of view, as we shall see.

At first, and before knew that the peculiar dependency on the Nu-Aruak existed for all tribes, I believed that there happened to be no clay avaiable. This was an error, however. [135] There was suitable clay, not only among the Nahuquá, but also among the Bakaïrí, and he only thing I cannot say /216/ is whether the quality was a degree poorer than among the potter tribes, which, however, s probably of no concern for our problem.*

[312]

* The Bakaïrí were the only ones who fetched good drinking water from a crystal-clear brook; the Nahuquá and, even more, the Mehinakú and Kuetó drank from muddy loam pools and stagnant canal waters.

*171 323 ●415 [439]

But let us consider another circumstance: the Bakaïrí and Nahuquá had gourds and calabashes, which, on the other hand, were lacking among the potter tribes and which the latter obtained from the Nahuquá, where special care or better soil, I know not, produced splendid fruits for vessels. Finally, if we learn that the Waurá made very attractive pots of exactly the shape and size of the gourd vessels, with imitations of the drawings put on them, that the basic form of the pots is clearly that of the drinking bowl, the gourd, and that the pots as well as the

/216 cont. /

*171 323 415 gourd bowls were blackened on the inside, we shall understand the connection.

Originally the Indian pot had nothing to do with cooking

*171 174 323 415 and was merely a substitute for the gourd. The women fetched water in the gourds to the huts or the campsites. How they managed when they had no gourds we see to this day in the little baskets smeared with loam, which are familiar from several tribes. The leaky canoe is also smeared with loam; the body is smeared with loam, the beginning of body painting, and the loam itself is transported in baskets, as we have observed, and that was probably the main thing. If gourds were often not available, the women soon learned to make their loam baskets more solid by a more lavish use of the plastic clay; moreover, they could dispense with the plaited work as soon as they noticed that the dried loam forms were sufficiently resistant by themselves. They set them in the sun or over the fire and thus found the cheapest source of supply for artificial gourds.

The women did not make this discovery, however, until sedentary times; the wife of the roving hunter could not have replaced the gourd with the heavy and breakable pot. Still less could the hunting man have been the inventor of the pot. It is exactly the same situation as for the origin of agriculture.

*171 174 415 The pot in the beginning is only a container, like a gourd, or, in certain instances, a basket. When we hear that people are buried in pots, all the associations that we have with our pots come to mind; we think of a sort of cooking pot and are inclined to feel an obscure connection with cremation. Thus it is important to learn that the hunter tribe of the Bororó laid the skeletons of their dead, not in big pots, like Humboldt's Aturen, but in feather-decorated basket-bags, so that here, too, the preliminary stage has been preserved.

/217/ Just as gourds were used for drinking and eating, pots were also used at first for only these purposes. The great number [126] of small and medium-sized pots which we brought back from the Kulisehu are almost all "bowls," not cooking pots. The filtrate

/217 cont./ The filtrate

*171 174 415 252 of the mandioca mass was boiled in huge pots, but otherwise only a jam of fruits was boiled and occasionally a dish of small fish which were not worth turning on the grill.

*171 174 252 462 Soup meat and meat broth were unknown; the men knew only roasting. One may ask, perhaps, how did they happen to discover roasting? I shall prove in the next chapter that we have here a matter of experience of hunters and men. They set fire to the campo in a circle in order to overpower the animals being pursued, and there they found roasted small animals and found fruits which, though unripe, had been made edible and even tasty by the heat.

Now, since the men and hunters, in their sphere, do not yet know about cooking, boiling or cooking must have been invented in connection with the preparation of plant food. One often sees the women grilling all kinds of small fruits in quantities on the beijú pans. Only in this way does unripe fruit become edible, the crispness gives seeds and nuts greater tastiness. And they also began with the roasting of fruits. The roasting [323] racks of the men for meat and fish, plaited out of climbing plants, let the fruits fall through the meshes; the base again may have been smeared with loam, and from that only a small step was lacking for the earthen frying pan, the subsequent beijú pan. On the other hand, if one wanted to "roast" fruits or roots soaked in water, the vessels filled with these, either natural ones -- the Botokude cooks in bamboo sections -- or artificial ones covered with clay, were set on the fire, and thus one "cooked." Therefore, "cooking with water" was done only by the women!

If the mandioca industry was founded by one tribe whose descendants are still living and are included in the present classification, this was in all probability the Nu-Aruak. On the Schingú they most certainly deserve credit for its introduction, since the preparation of flour without earthen pots and beijú pans is impossible. Even in the northern regions, however, the Aruak are the best flour-workers and have always been the most

/234 cont./

*171 501 with a shaft and crook-handle (cf. the illustration /see Fig. 29, p. 243/). Holding the crook-handle with one hand and the lower part of the shaft with the other, the Indian pushes the oar down rather vertically by his side and levers it forward with powerful pressure. Often the thrusts follow one another very rapidly, the oar is thrown high in the air and changes hands with lightning [502] speed. One of the rowers usually sits in front, the other in the rear; the one in the rear steers with his paddle, the one in front shoots at fish. The only place to sit is a low clamped-in piece of [415] branch. In the center lies a carrying basket, protected from the rain with leaves. Loam and resin play a great part; /235/ the [396] bark easily cracks, especially in the bent-in stern, and lets in *171 502 water. Thanks to their great skill as pilots, the Bakaïrí shoot even through the swell of the cataracts without danger; the rapids with a greater fall downstream in the region of the Yuruna, however, could not be surmounted with the low and fragile bark canoes -- a noteworthy obstacle against the shifting of our tribes toward the north. Perhaps no less difficult would be the beating of the waves on the broader stream, which every strong wind [396] brings. On the other hand, the bark canoes have the tremendous advantage of being made in the shortest time. For this reason even the people at the Fazenda S. Manoel were satisfied with a canoe furnished by the Bakaïrí, which cost only one day's work. [482] They are easy to carry out of the forest to the shore; bast rings protect the shoulders.

*171 484 Fishing is done just as much as possible during a trip, and similarly eating. Smoking and singing en route are unknown.

*171 226 Fishing implements. The shooting of fish with bow and arrow provides only a little booty, in terms of number. I have reported on the fences or palings with which the river was blocked off near the second Bakaïrí village, on the "chiqueiras," the barrier made with twigs that closes off the mouths of brooks or the arms of lagoons, on the stone circles that were laid out, often in great numbers, in the shallow river bed near rapids, and where the fish entered from above through a narrow opening and, driven downstream, were caught in nets at the opposite exit, and, finally,

/240 cont./

*171 286 352 The hammocks of pure cotton were a specialty of the Bakaïrí; among them, too, buriti hammocks could be found even on the Kulisehu. The stoutest cloth was made by the Auetö. The hammocks for small children among the Nahuquá were peculiar: merely a bundle of stalks tied together at the top and bottom and hung up.

Thus, the most varied forms existed and were in the process of becoming uniform. The Suyá were still sleeping on large palm-straw mats following the custom of the Gês. When we visited them, they were on the point of adopting the hammock; they had a few specimens and were weaving some themselves. Perhaps the art came from the Trumaí women whom they had with them. After my journey of 1884 I pointed out the parallelism between the Schingú region and the Guianas, namely, that in both areas the cotton hammock seems to be native to the Karaiben, the palm-fiber hammock to the Nu-Aruak, and that furthermore this ethnographic conformity corresponds exactly to the linguistic one. In both cases, the technique arises from plaiting, only the material is different. The Bakaïrí were the most backward; they did not have the cloth-like fabric. It is [283] also striking that their spinning whorls, although they completely fulfilled their purpose, were less artistic than among the other tribes.

*171 285 A parallel technique was shown in a type of sieve-mat. The stalks were covered more or less closely with cotton yarn, so that stiff and at the same time very flexible, sieves were produced, between which the mandioca was pressed dry. We also saw pieces of cloth used for the same purpose.

*171 415 [824] Gourd vessels. The fruits of Crescentia cuyeté /C. cujete/ and the cucurbit Lagenaria provide vessels of the most diverse shapes. There are some that are ball-shaped, cucumber-shaped, bottle-shaped, hourglass-shaped, as well as many others of an irregular nature; after cutting them in two one obtains correspondingly shaped bowls. The green fruits are tied into the desired shape; the hourglass shape, in particular, is a product of this method. In order /Pl. XV appears here/ /241/ to divide them

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 254]

B /241 cont./
*171 into bowls, the fresh fruits are wound with paln fiber and scratched
415 along it with a shell. If a bowl cracks during use, it is sewed;
B [412] the small holes are bored with the pointed tooti of the dogfish
and the sewing is done with a buriti thread rubled with wax, the
knots of which are cut off close to the shell by the tooth edge
B [531] ground knife-sharp. The drawings that decorae the surface are
incised with the same tooth, unless one prefersto burn them in
B [386] with a red-hot stick. The drinking bowls and mall ladle-gourds
[824] or spoons are given a coating of black lacquer on the inside. The
lacquer is the soot of the charred buriti shaft mixed with the
yellow, sticky liquid extract of the grated rindof the ochogohi
tree from the campo cerrado /densely coveredcampo/. Special
small, spherical gourds served to hold the oil with which the body
was rubbed and were closed with a stopper; the Bakairí called
B the fruit péru. They sometimes hung in a closely plaited net. I
[128] shall consider the rattle gourd in connection with the dance music.

Pottery. In the chapter on the "Stone Age" culture, cf.
B 128 pages 217 ff., I have discussed in detail theorigin of the pots
323 in our region, the monopoly of the Nu-Aruakribes, and the
manufacture limited to only the female sex. Only in the later
chapter on the plastic arts, when the development of Indian art
has become clear, shall I be in a position to speak of the orna-
mental aspect of the pots.

B Three types of pots were distinguished according to size and
*171 415 purpose. First, the huge mawukiru of the Mhinakú, in which
W [415] the grated mandioca root was cooked; they hd a diameter of
[252] almost three-fourths of a meter. We were unable to bring home
[126] any of these pots, but took a photograp among the Aueto, from
which their shape and, since a man -- by has it should have
been a woman -- is squatting beside it, also their [illegible]
Cf. Plate 15 /see p. 253/. The largest and most attractive pots
are furnished by the Waurá. For cooking they were set on three
low clay feet of cylindrical shape and bulging at the bottom.

A second type, the cooking pot for fruit and small fish,
had a diameter of 18-20 centimeters, a height of about 12 centi-
meters; it was round with rather steep, slightly bulging walls
and sometimes had a rim two and a half centimeters wide and

B /241 cont./
*171 bent outward horizontally. These pots were not, as one would
415 expect, the most common ones, but rather the rarest. I scarcely
B [252] believe that there was one in each dwelling. Cooking did not play an important part, except for the preparation of flour, and for that the large kettles were required. On the other hand, a third type was found quite abundantly. These are the many-shaped warming and eating bowls 10-24 centimeters in diameter, which are represented by typical examples on the two plates, 23 and 24, "Ceramic Motifs" /see pp. 328 - 329/. A glance at the two plates teaches us the important fact that the basic form of these pots studded with edge projections is that of the roundish-oval vessel-fruit, whose /242/ curvature they have retained, although a flat bottom should be preferable for the pot. On the other hand, the curvature has made possible the plastic motif of the animal body. These clay bowls, as they are probably best called, were also by no means numerous in the houses. We saw the smallest number of them among the Auetõ and Kamayurá. From the Trumaí we acquired only two small round pots, but this does not mean anything because they were in flight. We
B [126] searched out every specimen because of their artistic value; we brought back some 80 in our collection, and if I now estimate that in the villages visited by us there might have been twice that many in all, I am sure the figure is too high. There are probably scarcely three small pots per household on the average. The gourd vessels still have precedence. There was, of course, every transition in size, as well as in use, to the small cooking
B [264] pots. Eating was always done, however, out of the clay bowls, while the contents of the cooking pots were dished out. The clay bowls were preferred for children.

W 323 Unfortunately, we did not observe how the kettle-pots were shaped. We saw only the extremely simple manner in which a Mehinakú woman in the Nahuquá village made a scarcely medium-sized pot. She brought out a basket filled with loam -- it interested me more than anything else in relation to the history of the origin of the pots -- added water to the clay, and pressed the superfluous water through a sieve. She shaped it, kneading and scraping it, and, in view of the smallness of the pot, did

/270 cont./

B *171 531 532 Otherwise it may be said that all festive adornment, insofar as it offered suitable areas, was without exception painted with designs. This is most noticeable on the masks, for which all tribes greatly preferred the mereschu, as will be shown in the more detailed description of masks.

B 531 [501] /271/ I shall briefly enumerate the most characteristic examples of decoration with designs. Among the Bakaïrí we saw a canoe painted with the ray rings and the zigzag of the anaconda. As for oars, apart from the one in Figure 51, we found only one where the snake design was applied or had been preserved. On B [534] the drum-tree lying in the third Bakaïrí village, besides the mereschu figures mentioned under bark drawings, there was a long fish-bone drawing painted on, like that of the first plate showing ornamentation /Pl. XX, see p. 280/. In the harbor of the Mehinakú, as I have also mentioned, several trees bore attractive mereschu designs scratched into them.

B 531 ●415 Among the Bakaïrí it was primarily the gourds that were adorned with designs, the drinking bowls as well as the ball-shaped calabashes and the bottle-shaped ones that were used for storing feathers. /Figs. 52 and 53 appear here./ Sometimes the uluri design, sometimes the mereschu design covered them net-shaped, corresponding to the slice cut out at the stem of the calabashes, and also directly opposite, there was drawn a circle toward which the designs converged and of which a half-circle remained on the side when the gourds were cut in two for drinking bowls. On one specimen we saw that the mereschus had been pushed over one another in one corner, which gave the impression of plaiting. Occasionally mereschus and bats alternated and were differentiated only by the fact that in the case of the latter the corners were B [301] not filled in, like No. 10 on Plate 20. The back-sticks were all closely covered with designs, as described. Cf. page 296.

Y 171 531 Among the Nahuquá we were likewise particularly struck by the decorated gourds, except that here principally the rattle-gourds used in the dance were decorated. Their whole painting did not amount to much. Yet it is possible that I underestimate them, because during our first visit they had moved out their household

Y /271 cont./
17| utensils and perhaps had still withheld some of them during our
531 second visit. This is not particularly likely, however, since they were very anxious to do business with us.

A The Auetö proved to be assiduous painters, surpassing the
531 Mehinakú and Kamayurá, especially the former. Among the
W Mehinakú, the gourds, which among the Kamayurá were pro-
[531] vided with attractive designs, fell behind the pots. The mandioca digging-sticks were decorated with mereschu designs and also, as we shall see, with carvings. Both are also extended
W to the beijú turners, with which the flat cakes were tossed from
[412] one side to the other. I am giving /272/ an example of a beijú turner from the Kamayurá (a) and one from the Yaulapiti (b), these poor devils who had nothing to offer us except four wooden beijú turners and only one stone-hard beijú. The Kamayurá artist enjoyed drawing the dividing lines more than the mereschus, which he dismisses with four halves. In this apt example, which will presently find its counterpart, one may clearly

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Fig. 52. Drinking gourd (Bakaïrí) with mereschu and bat designs. (1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 53. Feather gourd (Bakaïrí) with mereschu design. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

A
531 see how the original motif is pushed aside, in the fullest sense of
000 the term, and ornamentation for its own sake takes over. The

Plate XII

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Fig. 25. Baked clay vessel (bat). Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 28. Pestle for a mortar. Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

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Fig. 26. Baked clay vessel. Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 29. Wooden mortar. Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 27. Baked clay vessel. Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

/261 cont./

352 The Bakairí slept in hamnocks, amaka, woven of palm fiber.
[415] Their furnishings can be summed up as benches of a solid
[285] piece of wood, clay pots, mats and baskets. The diet rests
262 upon manioc, piquí, sweet potatoes, maize, and fish. How-
224] ever, the hunting of monkeys, wild pig, tapir, and other ani-
mals was not scorned. Most of the food reserves, however,
[241] were of vegetable origin, and the most important harvests
were made up of manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, and piquí.
Yams /cará/, cotton, urucú, and tobacco were also planted.

342 The occupants of a communal house worked together on
476 the building of a new house, acquiring thereby the right to
622 reside in it. This construction work, however, was led by the
individual who had the most prestige in the group, usually the
old head of the house, who thus set himself up as the head of
241 the new house. The tasks of clearing fields and planting
476 generally depended on the participation of all the aldea. When
529 beginning a new clearing, the Bakairí would give a feast,
kométe, with the distribution of food to the Indians who worke
501 on the field. The Bakairí made canoes from the bark of the
[824] jatobá tree, in the Xinguano way. This construction, as well
[782] as fishing, hunting, and agricultural activities, were accom-
panied by propitiatory rituals.

Their products were bartered among neighboring groups
437 in the course of visits called tuliki which depended on the
574 presence of the chiefs of both aldeas. After the exchange of
the objects desired, the visitors were honored with a feast
called mlake.

621 /262/ The Bakairí were not a warlike people, and their
181 political organization does not seem very elaborate. Each
622 aldea had a chief, pima, assisted by a subchief, itáida. The
624 Bakairí do not remember the existence of a chief for the whole
[643] tribe, and there is no evidence that such a figure ever existed.
The selection of the itáida was made by means of agreement
of the aldea, but it generally fell on the son of the pima him-
self. The pima's functions were chiefly ceremonial, economic,
and juridical.

[P.70-A]

	Women	Men	Women	Children	Total
175 Rio Novo	6	16	19	20	55
162 Paranatinga	7	6	8	3	17
On Rio Batovi:					
First village	3	10	7	9	26
Second village	4	18	17	7	42
Third village	3	13	12	19	44
Fourth village	7	27	18	8	53
Total	30	90	81	66	237

175 By the time Max Schmidt visited the Bacairi
161 in 1900–1901, the Bacairi settlement had dimin-
[165] ished. On the Paranatinga he met 34 Bacairi
[36] and at Rio Novo, 60. On the Kulisevu River where Von den Steinen had visited four villages, Max Schmidt was able to find only two.

ECONOMY

SHELTER

361 While in the Xingú watershed the Bacairi lived in villages built on the banks of the Rio Kulisevu. A village (*utendri*) consisted of three to eight houses (*tewiej*) built in a circle around a central
342 plaza, *tazéru*. The Bacairi house was a large communal building, oblong in shape, with rounded ends and with the roof thatching reaching to the
[592] ground. These large domelike buildings were occupied by three to five families.

346 In the center of every village there was a ceremonial or flute house (*kudoéti*) in which the men kept their ornaments and musical instruments and in which visitors were entertained. Men, women, and children are permitted to enter the *kudoéti*. Attached to the common house there was a smaller building, usually oriented in
[539] the direction of the rising sun, in which the sacred
[58] flutes were kept. Women were not permitted to
[58] enter this house, as they were not allowed to see
[492] the sacred flutes. The villages were connected by roads running along the river bank.

EQUIPMENT

251 In the center of each house there was a storage space (*jirdu*) where maize, manioc meal, and
[445] other foods were kept in gourd vessels (*kdiko*).
342 Cooking was done in a small shed at the back of
224 the house, but food was eaten indoors. Around
352 the walls each family had its hammocks (*ondiki*) in which the people slept. Other furnishings of
[445] the house consisted of mats, baskets, clay pots,

352 415 wooden benches, and dishes and cups made from gourds.

404 As the Bacairí were extensive travelers and 224 depended upon fish for a considerable part of 501 their food supply, canoes were an important part of their equipment. The Bacairí canoe (*pépi*) 396 was made from the bark of the jatobá tree. The (224) tough, heavy bark was first stripped from one-half of the tree. Small fires were then lighted on the inside of the bark trough to make it curl. Braces were placed at intervals along the entire length, the bow was tapered, and the stern was squared off by forcing the bark upward at one end. 501 Bacairí canoes varied in size, the larger ones being able to carry as many as 8 men. Canoes of jatobá bark are used by the Bacairí today and are the (171) predominant type among the Indians of the 415 Upper Xingú. The Bacairí also made large (224) tubs out of jatobá bark which were used as settling 352 vessels for manioc juice. The juice of the manioc contains a fine powder or starch which settles on the bottom of the vessel, to be gathered after the 241 liquid is poured off. For gardening, the Bacairí formerly used a digging stick made of hardwood. 441 For hunting, they used a bow (*béke*), round or 624 slightly oval in cross section and from 2 to 2½ meters in length, made from a yellow or reddish wood which was first matured by burying it in mud. The bowstring was made from the fibers of imbauba bark. Arrows (*pówe*) were made from (233) cane with hardwood or bone points. Hunting arrows had two feathers, but arrows used for shooting fish had serrated wooden points and no 412 feathers. The cutting tools of the Bacairí consisted of knives made from bamboo, stone, bones, and 449 shell. Transportation was by canoe, or if over 442 land, goods were carried in a wicker basket supported on the back by a tump line.

ORNAMENTS

271 While living on the banks of the Kuliseu River, (171) the Bacairí, in common with the other Upper Xingú River tribes, did not use clothing. Men sometimes wore a narrow cotton band (*onapin*) around the waist, with a few tassels hanging in front. Women, after puberty, wore the ubirí. 302 Men wore their hair cut short. Women wore their hair long at the back but cut straight across over the forehead. Hair was cut with a knife made (42) by setting sharp fish teeth into a wooden stick, (233)

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932

SP8 Bororo

Bacairi: SP7
Yaruna SP25
Waura SP18

PLATE XXIII

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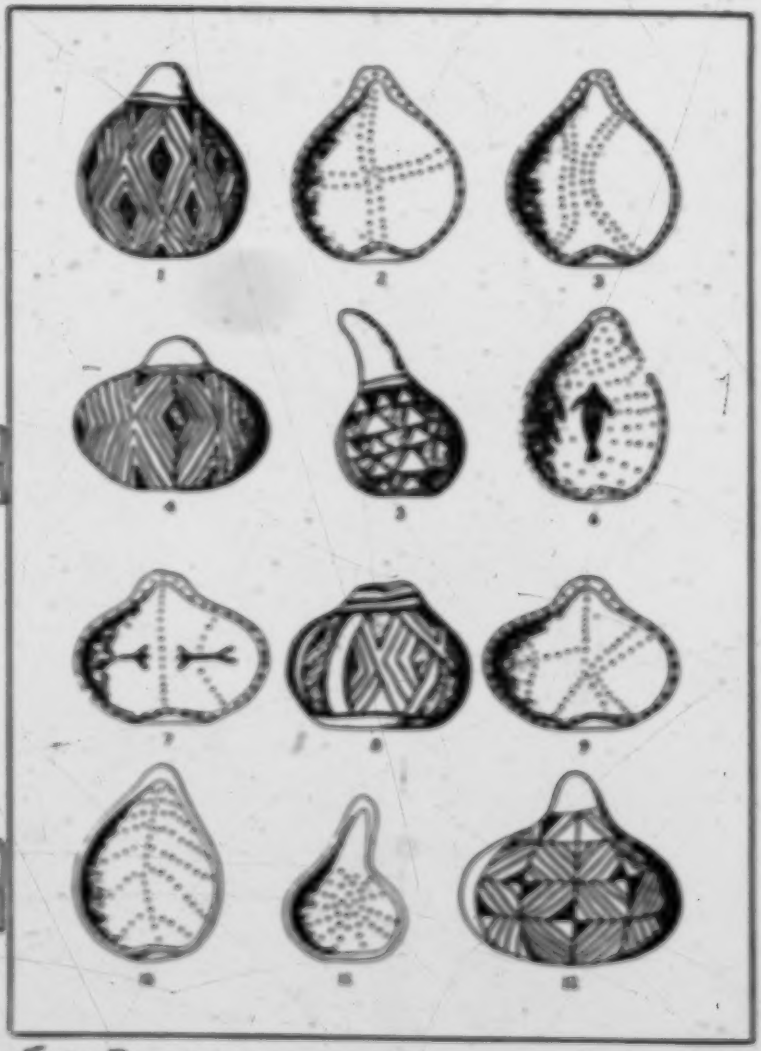
[415
[531]



[P. 178]

– [For captions, see cat. 116, p. 89.]

/56 cont./

114 Bakaïrí, against such views about their characteristics as are
157 found, typically expressed, in the following sentences by Oscar Peschel (Abhandlungen zur Erde- und Völkerkunde /Essays on Geography and Ethnology/, Leipzig, 1877, Vol. I, p. 421): "In no other continent on earth did one hear less happy laughter before 1492 than in America. The so-called red man remains the same in all climates, /57/ everywhere he is gloomy, silent, withdrawn, and intent on a certain dignified bearing."

159 These assertions are in no way applicable to the Bakaïrí; they were gay, talkative, and trustful, as I observed them in their association with one another and as they acted toward me alone. I shall not fail to give examples of this. In this village I laughed and heard laughter almost as often as under the coconut palms of Samoa and Tonga. It is true, their temperament is less vivacious and their entire view of life less sunny than among the children of the South Seas, the girls do not dance in the moonlight and the men do not sing on canoe trips; shyness and mistrust are more easily aroused, but all this is a long way from the sadness and reserve which, like the black horsehair and the Mongolian eyes, are summarily attributed to the Indian on the basis of appearances, as though there were but a single family between the Bering Strait and the Strait of Magellan.

361 The "village" was very small; it consisted of two large
[342] round houses, in each of which several families lives, and a
[592] small, empty, somewhat dilapidated oblong house, in which I
[122] took up my residence. Between the houses stretched the "taséra,"
[417] an open place where a few racks stood for drying the white
[251] mandioca flour spread out on mats, where in the center lay a
[241] long, slender log for sitting, and, toward the edge, there grew a few stalks of cotton, Orleans bushes (Bixa orellana), and
245 Ricinus plants. Numerous fruit trees were planted all around, bakayuva palms (Acrocomia), mangaba /fruit of the mangabeira/ (Hancornia speciosa), fruta de lobo (Solanum lycocarpum), and a
487 sort of avenue of stately pikí trees (Caryocar butyrosum). Toward
361 the east a path led to the "harbor" across the nearby brook, toward
824

/131 cont./

would take exaggerated care of them by removing them on occasions when even for children it would not be necessary.

In the first Bakaïrí village the population had increased by one young soul. Pauhaga had become a father and was observing the lying-in period along with his wife. I shall come back to the scene, which seemed comical to us, in discussing the couvade. The maize was a succulent green; we were offered excellent, somewhat dry maize beijús. My tobacco planting on village plaza had shot up tremendously and was fenced in all around by a palisade.

But what did our astonished eyes catch sight of behind Paleko's house? A new construction, already far advanced, of a strange kind. Or rather, one of very familiar appearance. The Bakaïrí had taken our rancho at Independencia as a model and, instead of their beehive, had started a house with a triangular gable /132/ and a two-sided roof. We had believed we were seeing something genuine in a remote corner, and already it was disappearing. "The first glimpse of light," says Bastian, "will also be the last."

Fig. 8.
Indians disguised as Europeans.

Tumayaua, who was going along to Independencia, nevertheless carried out the official farewell in Maigéri. He handed me two large gourd bowls. A little while after that he came to fetch me, seized me vehemently by the arm, and, shouting loudly all around, led me from the hut to the beam in the middle of the plaza and, with a sort of enthusiasm, pushed me down on to the seat. Soon four Karaiben were sitting there in a row, side by side.

/36 cont./

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Cf. Idem., "Ableitung südamerikanischer Geflechtmuster aus der Technik des Flechtens /Derivation of South American Plaiting Pattern from the Technique of Plaiting/." Zeitsch. f. Ethn., 1904. Heft 3 and 4, pp. 490-512. Idem., "Die technischen Voraussetzungen in der Ornamentik der Eingeborenen Südamerikas /The Technical Bases in the Ornamentation of the South American Natives/." Ipek. Jahrbuch für Prähistorische und Ethnographische Kunst, 1926, pp. 142-174.

discuss the plaited objects that I collected from the Simões Lopes Bakairí in a special section that follows. In addition to plaited objects I was primarily concerned with the acquisition of a mortar and its corresponding pestle and a triangular barbecue, because the relevant collections of the Berlin Ethnographic Museum did not include any specimen of these Bakairí objects which are to be found in almost every settlement of these Indians. The wooden mortar which I brought from Simões Lopes (V.B. 9883, called óro by the Kulisehu Bakairí) is shown in Figure 29. Its height reaches 38 cm. and the rim diameter 25 cm. From the irregular shape of the bottom it may be assumed that the lower part of the mortar was implanted in the ground. The corresponding pestle (V.B. 9884) has a length of 95 cm. and is shown in Figure 28. The barbecue shown in Figure 30 and called by the Kulisehu Bakairí si(r)ka has the usual triangular shape of Bakairí barbecues. The sticks of which this barbecue consists are bound together with tree bark. Its height reaches 105 cm.

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I found the dancing sticks shown in Figures 33 a-d and 34 a-d (V.B. 9942, 9943, 9945-9948, 9951, and 10071) in

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Plate XIV

Fig. 30. Rattrame of Bakairi of Simões Lopes.

Fig. 31 a. Notched board for remembering numbers. b. Ball of an ear of maize. Bakairi in Simões Lopes.

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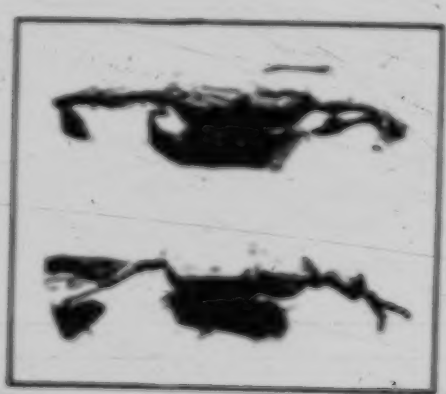

Fig. 32 Figures in the form of birds, made from maize husks. Bakairi-Kingdom of the Rio Paranatinga.

/330 cont./

CCD Their methods. To die in narcosis. The medicine man in heaven. Tobacco. Conjuration of the weather.

I.

*171 131 The boundaries between the regions of the tribes are natural ones. "This brook belongs to the neighboring tribe," we were regularly informed along the way. The one bank of the Kulisehu, for example, belonged to the Nahuquá, the other to the Mehinaká [226] /Mehinacu/. Fishing with bow and arrow on the river was open to everyone.

*171 The plantings were common property. Everyone had his ● 422 personal property in the house, even the women, who, we saw, [428] often objected to having it given to us; it was handed down to one's children, sons and daughters. We often observed, however, [422] that persons to whom we had given beads, etc. were obliged to hand them over to the chief.

*171 The power of the chief was not great. In all the larger vil- 422 lages there were several chiefs who lived in different houses; in dealings with us, there was always only one who appeared as representative. "Representation" was the most important obligation during peacetime. The chief directed the business connected with planting, he saw to it that the necessary supply of flour was put away, he had the beijús baked and the drinks prepared for all festive occasions and for the visits of strangers. He was apparently a family-father in greater style, but could not be very thrifty if he was concerned about the esteem of his fellow citizens, to say nothing of his neighboring tribesmen. Thus, the chief of the first Batovy village was "kurípa," bad - stingy. He had only a few [519] beijús baked for the guests. Stinginess is regarded as the ugliest trait. This type of rule must be difficult, however. Antonio told me about a certain João Cadete in the Paranatinga village, who was in line to become chief, but preferred to emigrate "com medo de tratar gente," for fear of having to entertain people, [521] /331/ so Felipe took his place. If the community is dissatisfied [526] with its chief, it knows a remedy: it breaks away from him and simply moves to another place. The office is hereditary, hence

/26 cont./

114 the Rio S. Manuel and the Rio Paranatinga (officially named
361 Rio Teiles Pires), encountered the Bakairí of the Rio Novo and the Rio Paranatinga and those who had settled at the "Cabeceira do Chapadão." (31)

31. Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa, loc. cit., p. 70.

361 In the aldea situated on the Rio Novo there still lived at
622 this time the old cacique, Reginaldo, who then wore a long, white beard. He had good plantations, he carried on some
[249] raising of cattle and horses, and he had a stand of rubber trees
361 from which he had rubber sought. (32) A small group of

32. Ibid.

Bakairí from the Arinos region lived at this time on the Cabeceira do Pião, a tributary of the Rio Arinos. They were the Bakairí,
[423] André, and four fellow tribesmen who owned plantations and
[464] worked as rubber workers. (33)

33. Ibid., pp. 70 and 71.

159 Meanwhile changes had taken place among the Rio
622 Paranatinga Bakairí. Antonio was still cacique of the aldea,
593 which was still at the same place, slightly downriver from the
361 mouth of the São Manuel River on the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Teiles Pires), where it had been set up after the death of Cacique Felipe. Since the aldea consisted at this time of seven houses, it may be assumed that Antonio still commanded a relatively large number of Bakairí. But he was no longer the sole ruler of all the Paranatinga Bakairí. The differences which
159 had already existed for a long time between Antonio and his
593 nephew, José Corondo, had become intensified, and after a
361 serious quarrel between them, José Corondo had left Antonio's

Bacairí

323 pots are quite distinct from the pottery of the Indians living on the Upper Paraguay River. Bacairí pots are flat-bottomed and have straight vertical walls with everted rims. The pots in common use were, and still are, black in color, unglazed, and undecorated. Some of the pots [532] seen were made in the forms of frogs, turtles, fish, and birds. The Bacairí claim that they [531] formerly had decorated pottery called *awége*, painted with black, gray, red, and brown designs.

476 The Bacairí also had economic activities in which the whole village, or a number of communal houses, participated. The *kometí*, or col- 241 476 lective land clearing, was one of these. A man would invite a large number of relatives and friends to assist him in clearing a new piece of forest land. The women would participate by pre- [212] paring large amounts of food and honey beverage 483 for the workers. The new field would remain the 476 property of the man who initiated the *kometí*, obligating him to work in return if called upon, but sometimes the group of men who cleared the field would divide it among them.

342 House building was always an enterprise in 476 which the whole village took part. The group that was interested in raising the house cut the beams and poles necessary for the framework and prepared large quantities of food. While a certain number of men began to put up the framework, others went to gather grass for thatching. When they returned with the thatching they put [538] on their ceremonial decorations and danced the *makalowéri* dance. House building was thus not only an economic act but also a ceremonial occasion.

296 Hammock weaving was, at times, a collective 476 enterprise. A woman with a larger than usual cotton crop distributed cotton among her friends and when the work was completed she organized a feast and dance.

487 Ceremonial trading expeditions (*tulíh*) were 128 organized by the chief of the village. During 574 the rainy seasons, when the rivers were high and canoe travel easy, the men of a village would [622] collect whatever excess goods they had, such as bows, baskets, ornaments, hammocks, and even food, and would go to a neighboring village where the chief would receive them before the ceremonial house. The two chiefs would then supervise the exchange of commodities. After the trading was

/330 cont./

ooo Their methods. To die in narcosis. The medicine man in heaven. Tobacco. Conjuration of the weather.

I.

*171 131 The boundaries between the regions of the tribes are natural ones. "This brook belongs to the neighboring tribe," we were regularly informed along the way. The one bank of the Kulisehu, for example, belonged to the Nahuquŝ, the other to the Mehinakú [226] /Mehinacu/. Fishing with bow and arrow on the river was open to everyone.

*171 422 The plantings were common property. Everyone had his personal property in the house, even the women, who, we saw, [428] often objected to having it given to us; it was handed down to one's children, sons and daughters. We often observed, however, [622] that persons to whom we had given beads, etc. were obliged to hand them over to the chief.

*171 622 The power of the chief was not great. In all the larger villages there were several chiefs who lived in different houses; in dealings with us, there was always only one who appeared as representative. "Representation" was the most important obligation during peacetime. The chief directed the business connected with planting, he saw to it that the necessary supply of flour was put away, he had the beijûs baked and the drinks prepared for all festive occasions and for the visits of strangers. He was apparently a family-father in greater style, but could not be very thrifty if he was concerned about the esteem of his fellow citizens, to say nothing of his neighboring tribesmen. Thus, the chief of the first Batovy village was "kurŝpa," bad = stingy. He had only a few [919] beijûs baked for the guests. Stinginess is regarded as the ugliest trait. This type of rule must be difficult, however. Antonio told me about a certain João Cadete in the Paranatinga village, who was in line to become chief, but preferred to emigrate "com medo de tratar gente," for fear of having to entertain people, [621] /331/ so Felipe took his place. If the community is dissatisfied [626] with its chief, it knows a remedy: it breaks away from him and simply moves to another place. The office is hereditary, hence

/337 cont./

*171 842 846 took a new name; in order to explain this, it is by no means necessary to assume that the "soul" of the father entered into the son each time. It is exactly the same in the Karaiben. imu is egg or testicles or father or child, the latter among several tribes already differentiated phonetically.

Ipurucoto /Puricoto/ imu "egg," Bakairí "testicles," Tamanako "father," Makuschi /Macuxi/ mum "seed." With the pronominal suffix -ru, we find imu-ru, "child," among various tribes: Kumanagoto /Cumanagoto/ umo my father," amo "your father," Nahuquá umú-ru "my child," aú-ru "your child." Naturally, it comes about everywhere that qualifying additions are supplied or words originally identical deviate from one another phonetically, with the connection forgotten. Thus, Kamayurá has ye-rup "my father," upiá "egg," ye-reapiá "my testicles"; Auetó has i-tupiá "my testicle," a-upiá "his eggs"; the lingoa geral has capyá "testicles," coiá "egg." Among the Bakairí "child" and "little" are iméri, "the child of the chief" píma iméri; we may translate it as either "the child of the chief" or "the little chief" as we wish and do not realize in connection with the latter form, which we might apply jokingly to the son, that for the Indian the child is really only the little chief himself, a small edition of the big one. For our feeling, too, this conception is strange and scarcely comprehensible in the case where a girl is involved. But even the girl is the little father and not the little mother; she is made only by the father. In Bakairí [601] there are no special words for "son" and "daughter," but rather, if the distinction is required the sex is added. "píma iméri" may [622] mean the daughter as well as the son of the chief. The only [423] daughter of the chief is the heiress of the property and rank, both of which, along with her own property, go to her husband.

*171 842 The little father comes into the world the umbilical cord is cut, the big father fasts at least until the wound is healed, and with this the new little human being may be regarded as an independent being. The father would surely not observe any precautionary measures if the little one immediately /338/ ran about as healthy as a little chick, but it bleeds and is in danger since it

/165 cont./

609 mix for him -- whereas the boy of a Brazilian colonist, to whom I was called in Rosario, leaped out of bed and fled from me into the forest.

186 The old sibyl joined us this evening on the open plaza.
823 She pointed to the west, "Bakairí!"; to the south, "Bakairí!", to the north and east likewise "Bakairí!" and finally, describing a circle in the air, she summed up with proud satisfaction, "Bakairí!" In translation: "All this is subject to me, admit that I am fortunate."

132 14 Aug. 6:00 A.M.: dry. 11.7, wet. 10.6.
2:00 P.M.: dry. 34.9, wet. 20.0, clear, NE 1.
4:05 P.M.: I 740.8, II 730.0, dry. 34.0, hypsom. 98.825.
9:00 P.M.: dry. 18.0, wet. 17.0.

126 /166/ I was fortunately able to measure three women.
[124] Antonio is very useless as an interpreter and causes more difficulties
[532] than the harmless people themselves. I also traded for a few maize-straw dolls, judging from the ease with which the transaction was made, there seemed to be no higher or in any sense a religious meaning attached to them.

592 We spent some time in Pauhaga's, or rather Chief Cavéco's house; it differed in nothing essential from that of the professor; there were no straw dolls.

139 We found inhame (Dioscorea, yams), which we greeted
252 with joy. -- The fish are grilled on just such racks as we came across on the Batovy; they are exposed to the fire until they are encased in a thick charcoal crust; capybara leg, which tasted like fat fish, and monkey steak were also charred on the outside in this fashion. The crisp charcoal gives the insipid-tasting meat, which is not salted, an -- faute de mieux -- improved flavor. The
[243] Bakairí are also familiar with a very medicinal tasting salt made from tree ashes, which, however, they do not seem to use in the preparation of food.

609 The soldiers, who were paying their farewell visit, were
431 given generous quantities of beijú, pavu, and polvilho /manioc
252 flour; see the glossary, p.172 / as presents. The grated and pounded mandioca is pressed through mats; the pulp is put into

B /132 cont./
123 Then he dragged up one of the nicely plaited storage baskets
431 three-quarters of a meter high and, boasting happily, put it be-
[285] fore us as a present. The best was yet to come, however. A
B round mat was placed on the ground, the chief called, and out
[262] of the houses all the women and children came running and
slapped a beijú onto the mat, each one running back immediately
to make room. The agile flurry with which the beijús came
flying was charming. Some 16 cakes were lying there. Then
"ile" was said and we were dismissed. We, of course, outdid
ourselves in praise of the hospitality of the Bakairí and secretly
made up our mind to pay them back handsomely in Independencia.

B Since a heavy thunderstorm broke out, we stayed in the vil-
123 lage the last night. It was raining in torrents outside and
Tumayaua was describing his journeys. We all sat for a long time
around the fire, which the Indians let blaze up wildly by reck-
lessly tearing bunches of straw out of the wall of the festival hut.
Luchu had taken possession of the black frock-coat as his sole
article of clothing; another man had decorated his ear with a
fishhook. My erstwhile intended - it pains me not to be able
to keep this a secret -- honored me with scarcely a glance.

The song of woman's constancy!

ooo /The remainder of Ch. VI, pp. 132-137, and Ch. VII, pp. 138-
152, are omitted in the translation./

/153/ Chapter VIII

1. Geography and Classification of the Tribes of the Schingú Source-region

B
101 The old chief of the Suyá, distinguished from his companions
131 by an extremely modest lip-plug, had enumerated for us in 1884
823 the long list of tribes that were settled on the upper Schingú
[115] /Xingu/ and with his finger had drawn in the sand the source
rivers on whose banks they lived. Cf. Durch Central-brasilien
/Through Central Brazil/, page 234 /see 1: Steinen, this file,
pp. 104-106/. His 13 tribal names had tempted us to undertake

/238 cont./

#171 283 it is often made of wood, and only among the Bakairí does it consist of an ordinary, crude clay disk which might have been broken out of the bottom of an old pot and ground to shape.

[531] /239/ I shall speak later of the designs incised on the first two types mentioned; the Bakairí leave their wood and clay disks undecorated, and we did not find any tortoise-shell whorls among them. The women powdered their upper thighs with white, chalky clay for protection against perspiration. They kept the material in the form of balls the size of a child's head, from which they scraped off a little with a shell for use.

The thread is made in two or three different thicknesses and kept in balls which are wrapped in green leaves. The balls [431] [594] are popular hospitable gifts of the Bakairí and Mehinaki, which were given to us likewise at the reception, just as Columbus reports this in the case of his islanders on 12 October 1492.

#171 286 The "loom" is as primitive as can be. Two low posts, which need not be half a meter high, a good distance apart, that is all. The origin of the weaving from the plaiting is still clearly evident. A thick skein of cotton is wound around the posts as a warp, a thread without end; the cross-threads are pulled through with guide sticks.

286 352 The Bakairí hammock represents a rather loose net, long, rectangular, two and a third meters by one and a quarter meters. The rows running lengthwise are broken at irregular intervals of two to three and a half centimeters by transverse rows; one can easily stick one's finger through the interstices. The type of weave is very simple. Two longitudinal threads, two to three millimeters thick, are wound around each time through the thinner transverse threads which are only one millimeter thick, and, to be sure, there are four transverse threads, of which two run wave-like in front of, and two in back of, the longitudinal threads, crossing between the latter. Where the transverse threads come out on either side, they are knotted; thus on each longitudinal side one finds some 70 knots with the four cut-off ends of the threads. The loop left free on either post is wound in the center, so that, on the one hand, an eyelet to receive the suspension

/394 cont./

173 source region of the Tapajoz, and from there some of them emi-
167 grated to the Batovy and Kulisehu in the source region of the Schingú. According to the legend, they reached the salto from the source region of the Paranatinga and Roturo.

The separation of the West Bakaïrí and East Bakaïrí would under all circumstances have to be dated back to at least the previous century and before the time when the Bakaïrí spread to the southwest into the source region of the Cuyabá. The
174 linguistic comparison agrees well with these conclusions; the
197 two groups of Bakaïrí speak a language that is identical in form and content, with slight dialectal differences. A few fish and trees are designated differently; the name of the akurí palm of the Kulisehu is that of the oausú palm of the Paranatinga, and
[177] vice versa. As far as the Schingú Bakaïrí are concerned, it is absolutely certain that they have never had any contact with the white man.

619 As a result of our expedition of 1884, West Bakaïrí and East
[123] Bakaïrí came together again. Antonio, after his return home
[166] to the Paranatinga, told of the fellow tribesmen on the Batovy, and the practical Chief Felipe had the idea that he must try to
[484] persuade them to settle on the Paranatinga. In September of 1886 he set out with Antonio and another man. they reached the Batovy in three days and required another three days along the river until they reached the first village.

/395/ Chief Luku was kurípa and did not entertain them as splendidly as they had expected, but several East Bakaïrí, our "professor" of 1884 in the lead, accompanied them to the
619 Paranatinga. The visitors had great fear of the cattle, but great
● 431 joy over the visitors-gifts, with which Felipe did not stint. I inquired specifically what they had been given to take along. "We gave them all the iron we had, chickens (this, however, was later denied), small banana plants, mandioca twigs, maize, and rice." Thus one sees how the first opportunity is immediately used to transplant the cultivated produce! If the experiment succeeded, our successors on the Schingú will be able to eat bananas!

771 The release from seclusion was signalized by the feast of iudevuiu. The parents of the young people accumulated much food and went on a big hunt on the day before the feast. The chief and all the villagers were invited to the ceremony during which all the Bacairi songs and dances were performed and the young people were presented gifts by the villagers. The girls would now take the strings of beads from around their waists and wear them around their necks and their mothers would give them cotton cords which they put around their hips and to which the pubiri were attached. The boys and girls were now eligible for marriage.

MARRIAGE (TODOBOKÜINLE)

584 Marriages were arranged by parents or by older brothers or sisters. The father and mother of the boy, for instance, would take presents of ornaments and food to the parents of the girl. If the parents of the girl accepted the gifts it meant that they favored the marriage, and if they refused it meant that the suitor was not acceptable. The marriage ceremony took place in the girl's home, the date being arranged by the parents. At the girl's house the young couple were seated side by side with linked arms. They were then given advice by their respective parents and relatives. Marriage was not considered a period of ritual danger, nor were extensive feasts given. It appears to have been an affair involving only the families of the young couple.

BURIAL (KPIODELE)

764 The body was painted, ornaments were put on, and then the body was wrapped in a hammock and buried in a grave with the feet to the east so that the face would be toward the rising sun. Although old and worn objects were burnt, most of the property of the dead was shared among the relatives. The part of the house occupied by the dead person was washed, and clean sand was sprinkled on the floor. There was a mourning period (kopiou) of 1 month, during which the immediate relatives were in a state of uutdi.

SHAMANISM

775 When a person died, the ghost (kodipe) went into the sky or into the water or sometimes wandered upon the earth. Ghosts of the dead often

[i.e. a state of ritual danger]

/283 cont./

its course with the furrow of the spine as well as where it ends with a somewhat deeply cut division, is free of all schematization. The head reminds one of that of an Eskimo in its round hood, which is the result, first of all, of the absence of a neck, and then of the shallow depression dug out below the hair line for the face and in which the nose was left standing. In the case of the loam man of the Bakairí, it can be seen on closer inspection that there was also a depression (but extremely shallow) for the face.

Wax figures. Again, as in the case of maize, merely an artistic way of preserving the material. The black wax was shaped into pretty little animal figures, and, to be sure, most attractively among the Mehinakú, and thus hung up or placed in a basket until needed. Among the Bakairí we found a human figure better modeled than the loam dolls. The civilized Indians converted to Christianity have modified their saints out of wax and soil

Fig. 72. Wax figure: peccary. Mehinakú. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration)./

Fig. 73. Wax figure: karijo dove. Mehinakú. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

them. The plastic wax best revealed what the artists could do. Some animals were very well modeled, for instance, the small peccary or tayassu, 6.5 centimeters long, of Figure 72, Dicotyles aruguatus. The eyes are represented by a pair of small plates of shell, the nostrils of the proboscis put in deeply. Of other mammals we also saw the large swamp deer and a howling monkey in the form of wax figures. More common were the hanging

/102 cont./

342 round, beehive-like. The larger one was 19 paces in diameter, covered high up on the outside with acuri straw, whereas the framework in the interior exhibited a circle of supporting posts one and a third meters high, upon which the basket of this structure, which actually consisted merely of a roof, rose with many horizontal bamboo rings. At the top was an air vent; a number of the /103/ framework poles crossing one another here extended to the outside. The entrance, a hole one and a half meters high, was surrounded by pepper plants. In any case, the interior space was far larger and finer than in the new houses.

433 241 The people led an idyllic existence; they carried on agri-

142 291 302 622

Captain Reginaldo and wife.

433 241 culture and stock-raising, went hunting, planted mandioca /manioc/, beans, maize, rice, and some tobacco and sugar cane. 192 They were civilized, despite the pierced ear lobes and nasal septa. 304 Their average height was 1.65 meters; they were striking because 142 of their broad and powerful chests. Their skin was yellowish, (141) clay-colored, and rather light, the hair of most of them was black and slightly curly or wavy. In general they had beautiful, open 151 eyes. Reginaldo's excellent vision was demonstrated on one occasion in a way that amazed us all. We noticed far in the distance a /illustration appears here/ figure in the grass; with an excellent field-glass I took it to be Tupy riding up; the entire company, among them-Daniel, who was seldom mistaken, agreed with me;

/176 cont./

433 It is clear that here agriculture falls behind hunting and
181 fishing; Aldea IV is military in character and forms the frontier
648 defense against alien tribes.

763 In one hut lay an ancient, paralytic little woman emaciated to a skeleton, whose soul seemed to say "ãla Bakaïrí" (it is enough Bakaïrí) and was trying impatiently to flutter away. The hammock was resting partly on the ground; two women squatted beside it and, as garrulous cronies, explained to us the suffering of the dying little mother.

231 Of tame animals we found a heron, small parrots, a kingfisher and the socó-morena.

345 The festival hut was 18 meters long, nine meters wide.
532 There were clumsily carved wooden fish hanging there, as well as a few finless specimens, wound bands which perhaps represented the electric eel.

Two square pieces of wood, painted red and white, with modeled nose and two eye sockets were striking; they are held in front of the face and represent doves, whose voice the artist can imitate better than the head (1).

1. Cf. the second ethnological plate /see p. 165/.

534 /177/ Four menis and a number of rattles were stuck in the
353 side walling.

624 Only in the festival hut did the herald put down his bow and arrows, but he did not part with them during our entire stay, even
[276] when he handed us a few bundles of tobacco. The latter, by the way, was better than among the earlier Bakaïrí. A few modest old
622 people were there, none with gray hair; among them the chief and, if I understood correctly, a vice-chief, the authority during the time the former is absent.

123 A shooting demonstration on the plaza filled them with
152 terror; they jumped with fright and turned away convulsively, most of all the mighty herald. His "ãla, ãla" was very humble and urgent.

B /200 cont./
133 ceased its raging in the last cataracts, while dense campo wilder-
489 ness with sandy soil still prevailed in the landscape here, a vast network of canals and lagoons developed downstream and, for persons familiar with the winding waterways, in which the stranger could not find his way, made communication there effortless and extensive, not only from village to village, but also from the village to the plantings, and more fertile soil made work more rewarding.

B If we wish to use the schema of fisherman and hunter or
191 agriculturalist, we find a mixed situation among our natives.
433 The hunting of mammals naturally fell back before fishing among the sedentary river dwellers. The latter was important, both for the purpose of food and for that of use for technical requirements. Skins offered no advantages, since clothing for
B [281] warmth was not worn; the skin of a slain mammal was usually
[252] not stripped off, but roasted as well, and to be sure, until it was charred, when it tasted pleasantly crisp and salty. Hunting, beyond that eagerly undertaken for large gallinaceous birds and the other inhabitants of the river-forest, yielded only occasional game and, if it were to have been carried on more seriously, /201/ would have required larger expeditions. We saw this later
BO among the Bororó, who also lived on a river rich in fish, but
433 among whom, conversely, the hunting of mammals predomi-
[252] nated; they were away from home for weeks and returned with large quantities of roasted meat; they did not as yet practice agriculture.

B Mentally -- and this is a highly significant point -- the
181 Schingú Indians, in spite of intensive agriculture, still lived
825 completely on the true hunting level. At any rate, with regard to the Bakairí I can confirm this statement in its broadest sense. I have described with what attentiveness they observed, even in the village, every sound issuing from the forest, every occurrence in animal life that they chanced to see. Outside, on the campo or forest path, in the canoe, in the overnight camp, the Indian always felt that he was hunting. He was not aware of any gulf between him and the animal world, he saw

/205 cont./

say simply that our Indians were not yet familiar with metals and were, for the time being, dependent on shells, teeth, and wood in their work methods, if only because in large part they did not even have more suitable stones.

And now I have come back to my point of departure. In spite of their agriculture and in spite of their land-clearing with the stone ax, the Schingú Indians were not only able to maintain their hunting, but they had to maintain it, because fishing and hunting provided them, aside from a change of diet, with the indispensable tools for making weapons and implements.

Teeth. The set of teeth of the piranha (Serrasalmo)*

* There were two species, a smaller black "piranya preta" or "olho de fogo" (fire eye),

Fig. 22. Fire-eye piranha. (1/4 nat. size/ as shown in the original illustration/.)

and a larger "pa o amarello" (yellow maw), whose "yellow" is a brilliant orange.

served for cutting. They were opened with any suitable wooden hook and carefully examined: the lower jaw, four centimeters long and containing 14 small, triangular teeth, was then cut out with a shell. Hard things and soft things, the spines of the buriti palms or human hair, but especially all threads and fibers, were cut with the sharp teeth. They called my scissors "piranha teeth." Bamboo and other reeds were scored with them until they could

/208 cont./

* 191 Feathers lend wings to the arrow, on whose shaft end two
25/ split halves of feathers are sewed opposite each other in spiral
30 turns. Otherwise they seem to be used exclusively, but in great
511 volume here, for ornaments, such as ear feathers, feather crowns,
[289] feather caps, feather arm bands, feather cloaks (among the Kamayurá), and in hundredfold decoration on small ornaments, where little colored bundles hung on hammocks, combs, gourd rattles, arrow throwers, masks, etc. The most magnificent ma-
[325] terial was available, from the yellow, blue, red, and green of the arara, toucan, weaver birds, and parrots, from the beautiful stripes or speckles of the curassows, falcons, and owls, to the shimmering white of the herons and storks or the black of the urubu vulture. The big, broad, black-and-white striped flag
[325] of the Harpyia destructor was magnificent.

* 17 The spoils of hunting and fishing therefore offered an
[239] abundance of the most necessary things. In particular it furnished
[412] tools for cutting, scraping, polishing, piercing, boring, scratch-
● [433] ing, and digging. Agriculture assured the natives a sedentary existence and improved their economic condition, but they still remained fishermen and hunters, though to a lesser extent. They were hunters without dogs, fishermen without hooks, farmers without plow and spade. They afford us an excellent example
[32] that teaches us how manifold the methods of work for the purpose of making a living could have been before the possession of any metal technique, an example that warns us about overestimating the importance of stone implements, which, of course are preserved the best and most plentifully for posterity, and about throwing indiscriminately into the great pot of the Stone Age everything that comes before the use of metal and, in comparison to the small span of time established for this, must embrace unimaginably long periods.

* 191 If one judges culture according to the extent and thorough-
433 ness with which the surrounding nature is exploited by the human
511 beings, then our natives certainly did not stand on a low level.
[229] They hunted and fished with arrow /209/ and bow; they fished with nets, catch-baskets, and weir-baskets; they had their fish

2 Steinen--208 D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/209 cont./

#171 433 511 229

hurdles in the river, planted the stream with fences and barriers, and closed off arms of lagoons in order to confine the fish, they worked hard to clear large stretches of forest; they built themselves splendid houses, piled up considerable supplies in them, filled them with a great variety of things from an industrious craftman's skill, arrayed themselves with gay body ornaments, and decorated all their implements with graceful design. In view of the fact that the people of Cuyabá have showered me with angry newspaper articles to the effect that I have said the savages of the Schingú had neater and better homes than many people of the Mato Grosso, I should like, without comparing reasons, to set their minds at rest by adding that even in old Europe there are plenty of villages in the mountains and along the coast where people lead a more miserable life than on the Kulisehu.

#171 511

#171 241

I shall list the cultivated useful plants which we observed among the Indians. They are arranged, under A, as those that were common in the northern part of South America before the Europeans appeared, and, under B, as those that grew wild in the immediate environment.

A.

Maize	Zea mays.	Cotton	Gossypium.
Mandioca	Manihot utilissima.	Cuyeté	Crescentia cuyeté
Batata:	Convolvus batatas.	Bottle gourd	Cucurbita lagenaria.
Cará	Dioscorea.	Edible gourd	Cucurbita.
Peanut	Arachis hypogaea.	Mamona	Ricinus.
Bean	Phaseolus.	Urucú shrub	Bixa orellana.
Pepper	Capsicum.	Tobacco	Nicotiana tabacum.

B.

Bakayuva palm	Acrocomia.	Genipapo	Genipa.
Pikí	Caryocar butyrosum.	Arrow reed, ubá	Gynerium parviflorum.
Mangaba	Hancornia speciosa.	Spear grass	Scleria.
Fruta de lobo	Solanum lycocarpum.	Pitá bast-plant	Fourcroya? Agave?

/217 cont./

#171 skillful potters, although the Karaiben in Guiana have at present
194 become the manufacturers for that region. That is to say, the
252 women! When the Karaiben in the north of the Amazon River
#2 and on the Lesser Antilles subjugated the Aruak tribes and killed half the population, it was fortunate that this half was the men; the women with their agriculture, their potter's art, and their flour technique survived.

194 Thus, among our Indians we see how the higher culture sur-
#2 passing hunting arose out of the natural division of labor, and it is also /218/ owing to this that, with feuds and with the formation of new tribal communities, it could be handed down to future generations. The woman was more than the working animal, she was also the working human being. Just as the man developed the technique of weapons and of the tools arising out of hunting, she, with the same self-reliance, developed the cultural elements placed in her hands, such as gathering, carrying, preparing fruits and roots; the Indian owes his tasty flour-drink in the earthen vessels to the woman. The individual pieces of evidence put together for this conclusion, which might be more useful for a toast to the ladies than for the serious struggle of our women in order to work (a struggle rooted in modern necessity and not in prehistory), are still preserved intact in the Brazilian culture circle. The realization that -- at least here -- the possibility of becoming sedentary goes back to the obvious merit of the women's activity naturally forced into a certain direction by the hunter vocation of the men, elevates the female sex for this phase of development at least up to the level of the male sex.

[433] The hunter and agriculturalist schema only now comes alive;
man and woman, both, represent a standing or a certain sum of
[323] technical knowledge. Thus it is very plain that the less advanced tribes of the Schingú could not make their pots, although they had loam. They lacked Nu-Aruak women, and the Nahuquá, who had taken some of them into their community, had thus taken the right path; they now began to make their own pots, whereas the Bakairí had not yet produced the smallest pot.

/218 cont./

#171 174 433 I shall sum up. Ancient agriculture is most compatible with the type of hunting practiced here. The Indians were primarily fishermen. The yield in their area on the upper course of a river was not sufficient for pure ichthyophagy; on the other hand, it was not small during the months when the fish traveled upstream in the rising water and were found in all the canals and lagoons in great numbers, or when, as the water receded, the opportunity for a catch in the artificially barricaded parts of the river branches became considerably greater. Fishing and hunting, furthermore, furnished the indispensable tools. There were no domestic animals in our sense; dogs were unfamiliar to the native. He took pleasure in the colored birds, whose feathers he sometimes pulled out, especially in the talking parrots and cawing aras; he let those that he happened to catch young walk around in the village, woodpecker or heron or curassow, and kept in huge pole-cages, for the edification of the commonjay, the spitting eagle, Harpyia destructor, or some other predatory bird. he had lizards hanging by their tails from the hammock, so that they would clean up a bit among the annoying crickets -- he had not succeeded any further in the utilization of animals, and though wild plants were established near the village to be used as desired, the rearing of edible animals was not considered. /219/ Indeed, the attitude that the Indian took toward the animal kingdom made him feel a definite repugnance about ultimately consuming animals that he had raised, just as we do not eat dogs.

#171 174 433 The relative sedentariness connected with the life of the fisherman could not become permanent until the women learned to plant, to make pots, and to prepare flour. Although agriculture on the Schingú had already reached respectable improvement, nevertheless there were small indications that showed what its origin had been, at least here. People planted the useful plants found in the vicinity, each tribe acquired its own experience on its own soil, and they were disseminated by the women who, in war or peace, came to other tribes. The fact that the Bakairí-Karaiben were once furthered in this way in

/27 cont./

162 the year 1915, no more than nine men with some women and
36 children lived with their cacique in the new aldea. The rest
166 had died or had moved to the other Bakairí aldeas situated on the Rio Paranatinga.

178 According to Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa's description, the
433 Bakairí of the Rio Novo and Rio Paranatinga still had in the
622 year 1915 a life with sufficient means of subsistence. Cacique
[361] Antonio, whose authority of former times had undoubtedly de-
[241] creased through José Corozado's defection with his people and
[231] through the independent stand of Cacique Kurutú, was still chief of the old aldea on the Rio Paranatinga, which still consisted of seven houses and whose inhabitants planted manioc, maize, sugar cane, bananas, and aboborra /gourds/, and raised
[231] many pigs and chickens. In former times they had also devoted
[648] themselves to the raising of cattle and horses, but the rancher Jange Soares had made them give this up. Already at this time, Antonio was urgently pressing his rights in the region bound by the Serra Azul, the Ribeirão Bananal, and the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires) and occupied for many years by the Bakairí. (34)

34. A. Pyrineus de Sousa, loc. cit., p. 64.

184 José Corozado's aldea consisted of three well-built houses.
361 He had large plantations of manioc and maize and raised some
241 pigs and chickens. (35) The inhabitants of Cacique Kurutú's
231

35. Ibid., p. 65.

aldea, which consisted of three large houses, also had good plantations and lived comfortably.

178 /28/ At that time, also, the customs and ideas of the
[535] Rio Paranatinga Bakairí were largely Indian. When dancing,
[291] the men were nude except for a small coarse apron, rectangular

/269 cont./

539 fat in order to stay warm. The Indians wanted the sun to come out, and so they donned their apparel, painted their bodies, and began to ask Orimoto, the great spirit. Orimoto was not an Indian but a man who lived in a stone house with some animals which he had created. The Indians went on asking until finally the light broke out; but the Indians had already grown old and the children had already grown up.

996 The data at our disposal do not permit us to place in Bakairí cosmology beings such as Tchini-ouma, Keri-kamé, or Orimoto and Nakoeri. Nevertheless, we prefer to regard Nakoeri as the supreme being of the Bakairí, leaving to Tchini-ouma, Keri-kamé (the sun and the moon), and Orimoto the role of culture heroes, until new work clarifies their respective functions.

122 13 433 Compelled to deal with a hostile environment, such as the savannas and forests of the headwaters of the Xingu, and lacking an adequate technology, the Bakairí, like the other Xinguano Indians, depended to a large extent on uncertain factors such as the amount of rainfall and the resulting annual increase of waters, which led to a scarcity or an abundance of food. Lacking an adequate technology, they did not store 789 their produce but lived on a subsistence economy. Their hunt- [224] ing and fishing activities were followed by magic rituals with [226] which they attempted to control the possibility of sudden future [241] calamities or even of illnesses. Thus agricultural activities [396] and the building of houses or canoes had to be followed by [782] propitiations. In order to utilize the vegetal or animal raw [262] materials, it was necessary to know how to control uncertain elements: How explain, for example, why one canoe splits and another does not, when both were made by the same craftsman? How explain how the same /270/ foods sometimes ap- 77 peared harmless and sometimes made people ill? The system of beliefs of the Bakairí seems to us an interpretation that

/159 cont./

862 574 It contributed no little to the enhanc ent of the holiday mood that plenty of beijús, as well as puva /see the glossary, p. 172/, brick-like pieces of dried mandic pulp, and, above all, mingaus /see the glossary, p. 171/ we served. Everyone [292] was separately offered in large bowls three nds: a whitish, thin, scarcely refreshing beaten paste of starch ff, another, yellow one, tasting of squash, and a third one, wa and pleasantly sweet, toward which everyone crowded in er to grant the palate this half forgotten quality of sensation.

609 Most delightful was the absolutely ec l treatment that was given us and the soldiers. Chico, this Afri n ape-man, even seemed to impress the little people particu ly, and he, like all the others, leaning on his gun, accepte he homage with great dignity and drank in enormous draugh

It cannot be said that the barbarians tually expressed great astonishment. In general they did no ay any attention to skin color and beard; true, they admire he clothing, the knives, the opera glass, but as children wh e not experiencing this for the first time do with their presents Christmas. A [152] demonstration shot filled them with terror; e women ran away, the men winced and, puzzled, joined in th laughter when they saw our gaiety. To avoid a repetition, hov er, they urgently begged "âla, âla -- it is enough." At the ange /160/ appearance of our dogs the professor was so frighte d that he manifested the best intention of shooting them dead.

12 August.

● 437 439 The Bakairí paid us a return visit wi wife and child. They were heavily laden with beijús. Soon an e usiastic barter with the soldiers was in progress; the latter bart d for arrows or feathers and puvas in exchange for buttons d worn articles of clothing. The buttons, which could be stru on the belt-string, were highly prized. The guests, however, pecially preferred [554] knives, plates, and spoons. The tribal sorc en ran about busily; in vain she speculated on a cooking pot, wi h she excitedly examined from all sides; but she won a spc a tin plate, and

/160 cont./

437 carried each piece that she captured to a secret repository lying
439 back off the road, immediately most hurriedly hastening forth
[564] for new deeds.

609 At noon Wilhelm and I went to the aldea.* Antonio accompanied us, but, suspicious of his fellow tribesmen, he could not make up his mind to stay with them during the night and returned to the river in the evening.

122 We set up housekeeping in the festival hut, and, alone with the charming little people, we felt indescribably content. When toward evening the mosquitoes started to annoy us, we took a
[137] walk to the roça.* Greedily we looked about for the "frutas de lobo," apple-round fruits which were present in numbers on gray-green shrubs, but unfortunately not ripe; the Bakairi boys are no different from ours. A magnificent estate; the horizon was bordered by a dark park, behind which the sun was setting in
291 reddish orange. We met Paubaga, as our apostle of peace is
199 called, and his relatives on the plaza between the three huts, trying on clothes in great embarrassment. They urgently needed our help; not only did they put the trousers on in reverse and upside down over the legs, but they also tried to draw them up over their arms and wanted to stick their legs into a shirt. Putting on a coat alone was an impossible thing. They were unaware of the most obvious offenses against the elements of propriety. A safety pin was hugely admired, but most of all a pair of scissors with which
412 one could so conveniently cut one's nails. Their tool, the stone ax -- a ground stone is wedged into a wooden handle -- with which they fell trees and make posts, deserves our appreciation no less, from the standpoint of how much can be accomplished with the simplest means, even though in the unspoken accompanying thought that we ourselves /161/ might have to go back to this
[411] stage there is a slight admixture of horror. They have no spears,
[231] no bananas, no dogs, and tobacco is nowhere to be found. Bones,
[276] teeth, shells must serve them as tools, along with the stone ax.
[237] /Illustration appears here./

* [i.e. village -- Analyst]
* [i.e. cultivated field -- Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 40]

/166 cont./

252 brick shape -- puvas, used for mingau. They boil the strained liquid in large pots, whereby the finest flour is deposited -- polvilho; this makes the best beijús.

501 Back in the afternoon. Four canoes were acquired with an
[439] ax, shirt, and trousers. We are not in good shape, in spite of all that. Quintilian's canoe burst when it was hauled down. The
[531] Bakairí canoes differ from ours only in their more careful workmanship: one of them is painted with black rings on the outside of the longitudinal sides. The oars, the size of a walking stick, have a crook-shaped handle, shaft, and a long lance-shaped blade, which is slightly hollowed out like a shovel.

133 The height of the two uppermost levels of the salto amounts to four meters; two meters more may be figured for the falls
[224] below. Baskets for catching fish hang on ropes, which, in turn, are held by stakes standing in the middle of the whirlpool.

We call this waterfall the Salto da Alegria. Our happiness
136 is only slightly marred by a swarm of bees and wasps; among the latter, the kind that sting very painfully. -- The transport of the
122 canoes, for which there is a route, is completed. /Illustration appears here./

/167/

132 15 Aug. φ 13° 11'.7, λ 5'.7, km. 6.41, total 130.85.
122 7:00 A.M.: dry. 11.8, wet. 9.9, clear, calm.

000 We have only nine canoes; one is very battered. Castro and I separated, he is traveling with Manoel, I with Compadre Valentin. Off about 9:30 A.M.; immediately an accident happened. At a small rapids Wilhelm's boat capsized, and the foolish Negro Chico behaved as clumsily as possible. With the knapsack and the suitcase in his hands, he stood in the middle of the water, which was flowing over the baggage as though over a mill wheel, as bewildered as a porter in a railroad station who has lost sight of his stranger. He almost drowned, but was luckily pulled out by Clementino. We dried out on both shores. Delay until 1:00 in the afternoon.

[Text continues on P. 48--Analyst]

/56 cont./

122 On the following day, 11 September 1887, I sent Antonio
[439] and Carlos back to Independencia with the news. In exchange
for a bush knife I had acquired one of the two canoes that the
Bakairí possessed. I myself wanted to remain behind to have
a new canoe made and, for the sake of my studies, to take ad-
vantage of the rare opportunity to stay alone among these chil-
[36] dren of nature. I heard that in the second Bakairí village lying
downstream there were three canoes and we could perhaps ob-
tain two of them. While a good rancho was to be built for those
remaining behind at our permanent quarters, one or two men
who were now to be fetched by Antonio and Carlos were to
ride with me to the second Bakairí village; there we could
complete our outfitting and then, if all went well, row back
to Independencia with four canoes, in order finally to com-
mence the actual river journey. Moreover, to save time,
Antonio and Carlos were to leave their canoe at the first large
cachoeira and find Independencia overland. Thus, along with
the experiences gained in the meantime by the gentlemen at
Independencia, the terrain would be thoroughly explored and
the question settled as to whether the permanent quarters could
not be pushed forward closer to the first Bakairí village.

123 After I had brought the two worthies to the harbor and they
had soon disappeared in the nearest bend of the river, I returned
to my new friends and soon felt so comfortable in their midst
that without hesitation I count those idyllic days among the
[121] happiest that I have experienced. I shall try to do them justice
in a little sketch, this will give me the opportunity to report
many little traits of the good people which could not be put in
a purely scientific report, but which nevertheless are not without
value, because they reveal the Indians to us not wholly as we are
accustomed to imagine them. Not a little of this disappeared
when the larger group arrived later; the complete unconcern
which they showed toward me as a single individual did not
remain, and their behavior more closely resembled the well-
114 known pattern customarily described in books. And here I
159 should immediately like to enter a protest, with regard to my

/88 cont./

361 The village could be reached in half an hour or an hour from
311 the river, depending on whether one landed sooner or later. It was surrounded by cultivated land to an extent that aroused our
241 greatest amonishment. On the three different paths that we followed, we came through long stretches where the forest had been cut down with the stone ax. In March and April the trees are felled and in September and October the wood which has dried in the meantime is burned. We examined with admiration a number of thick trunks, the cross-sections of which were covered with the dull blow-marks of the stone axes, and regretted that we could not saw off such a marked surface and take it along. I silently begged forgiveness of the Indians at whom I had often laughed when they were swinging themselves in their hammocks at home, as though their lives were one long Sunday.

361 /89/ In Iguéti there were three large family-houses and a
345 very respectable flute-house in which many dance costumes made
535 of palm straw were hanging. On the village plaza a cage rose
343 up higher than a house, which consisted of long poles set together
231 in the form of a pointed cone; in it sat a mighty Harpia destructor, although the village is called igu-eti = sparrow-hawk village.
231 The once heraldic bird had probably long since departed. The beautiful eagle was named after its favorite food, mégo-zóto, lord
412 of the monkeys. Beside the chief's house lay a large whetstone
[191] for the stone axes; it gave me much pleasure because it showed the same grooves that we had observed in the zambaquis of Sta. Catharina.

621 The community numbered some 40 persons. They spoke of
162 three chiefs, but we met in this capacity only the good-natured,
622 very broad-shouldered Aramóke, who was characterized by a waddling walk. He had a sly expression and with his clumsy body was very polite, for, striding ahead of me in the forest, he broke off the branches, which might have snapped back in my face, more graciously than he probably would have for a woman. A large knife and a red scarf made him the happiest of mortals.
914 He showed us great hospitality. Fresh golden beijûs were con-
●437 stantly brought forth, a row of calabashes filled with pogu were

/89 cont./

574 always standing ready, a thin, very sweet pūserego was offered
[439] in superabundance, and for our beads we obtained a supply of fine polvilho flour for the journey.

462 The women baking away so busily seemed to us small and ugly, but friendly. They fetched water only accompanied by men.

535 When I was in Iguéti the first time on 20 September with Vogel and Ehrenreich, we experienced a strange scene which I should like to insert here. We were sitting in the flute-house in the evening when a few came in, squatted down beside the ashes of the fire, and uttered a loud ih... Then a couple of others put on the straw apparel hanging there and ran around for a while like roaring lions. I believed it to be pure fun and pastime, but all of them remained perfectly serious. Then one of the maskers ran outside while the chorus again cried ih...hi, stuck his arms out of the straw, and made a rustling sound with the fringe. He disappeared into a house and soon came out again, laden with beijú and fish. The same thing was repeated, and Luchu was the third to go, returning with drink. The departure was always announced by the general ih..., so that the people in the houses were prepared. Since the straw apparel covers the entire body down to the feet, the person that hides in it cannot be recognized.

/90/ Later in the evening three men started to sing. They
[534] stepped close to the door entrance of the flute-house, and, to be sure, in such a way that they turned their backs to the rest of us. two of them shook the gourd rattle, which differs from our first cradle toy only in the material, and the third stamped in steady
[533] perseverance with his right foot. The three sang: ihaí, ihíif huχó, ihaí ohuhoχó.... Perhaps the eternal huχu, huχo is nothing but the word for "foot," which, pupu in ancient Karaibe, changed phonetically to χuχu, huχu. It was a solemn, almost melancholy sounding, but very powerful "makanari," as the Bakaïrí call their festival songs. Ehrenreich was very impatient with the invariable, unchanging monotony of the singing, rattling, and stamping. for my part, however, I can only say that the very sameness made an impression on me and in a way intoxicated

B /333 cont./

*191 439 I 191 439 How important good relations with neighboring tribes must be becomes clear from the, one might almost say, necessity of barter. One tribe is zôto, master of one article, the other of another. I have given the most important information about this in detail on pages 199, 209, 216. The Bakaïrí had as their speciality the neck chains with white rectangular pieces of shell, shell beads, urucú, cotton thread, and hammocks; the Nahuquá, gourds, as well as chains with red pieces of shell and tucum beads; the Mehinakú and their relatives, pots and fine cotton thread; the Trumaí and Suyá, stone axes and tobacco; the Trumai and possibly also the Yaulapiti, chains with pierced stones. The Trumaí salt prepared from bamboo ashes was also popular among other tribes. These were all articles of trade. Some of them traveled the great distance from the Bakaïrí to the Suyá, going from tribe to tribe. The Suyá traded with the Kamayurá, the latter with the potter tribes, among whom the Mehinakú had the closest association with the Nahuquá, and the Kustenaú with the Bakaïrí of the Batovy. The uppermost Bakaïrí of the Kulisehu obtained their Suyá stone axes and Kustenaú pots from their Batovy relatives, and the Bakaïrí of the third Kulisehu village from the Nahuquá, with whom they maintained close B [439] relations. In 1884, when we had given the Bakaïrí on the Batovy some of our Karaiben things, the chief of the first village took advantage of the favorable trade outlook and set out on a business trip to the lower region of the Kulisehu; in this way tribes who were not neighbors occasionally also had trade relations. The articles traded by the Suyá for stone axes are hammocks, shell chains, arara feathers, and pots.

B *191 439 Although there was an old and necessary barter-trade, nevertheless the concept of value was lacking, at least to a certain extent. The person arriving brought along this or that and delivered it when he was served at the reception. He was given the desired return gift in smaller quantities at the reception, in larger amounts when he took his leave. In Maigéri we experienced a typical example upon our departure, cf. page 125; we were made to sit down and then received a basket of flour. Thus, the docile

2: Steinen--391 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/333 cont./

#171 439 Bakaïrí translated the Portuguese word comprar, "to buy," as yekadile, "to sit down." Trade is therefore still an exchange of hospitable gifts. But this has its origin only in the level of culture, not in nobility of character. The Indian is not at all hospitable in the sense that he feels greatly honored by the visit and feels absolutely obliged to entertain lavishly with beijús and drinks. For this effort he would certainly like a reciprocal one; he soon becomes impatient if the guest is staying only because living is cheap, and he frankly asks him to leave the village. It is even reported in the Bakaïrí legends, along with the invention of the dance, that the people who were invited and entertained had given gifts of arrows and string. Our travel companions undoubtedly offered us fish en route /334/ only when they themselves were satisfied, and it was not the best beijús which they left for us. The endless talk among themselves as to whether this or that tribe was "kóra" clearly shows that they were only naïvely hospitable; there was always the greatest gratification when we declared a tribe to be "kurópa," because this meant that for our part we had done less business with that one. They praised themselves far too much for the recipient to be able to believe in the pure virtue of the unselfish savage.

#171 123 439 Our matter-of-fact, businesslike way of exchanging one object for another was at first completely new to all the tribes. They quickly learned, however. Nevertheless, the funniest enormities occurred. One man gathered up a handful of mangabas and then impetuously demanded a large knife. One wanted to have beads in exchange for the bandaging of his hand. Only if it were explained to them that one had but a single specimen of an object was one not bothered further.

#171 55 [998] Names. The son, soon after birth, is given the name of the grandfather, uncle, or an ancestor, not that of the father. The names among the Bakaïrí are animal names in part, but I believe only a small part. The following are the only ones whose meaning I understand. Luchu, for example, is a water snake; the native name of Chief Reginaldo on the Rio Novo was izána = cayman; an old man in Igueti was named póne = black piranha.

/261 cont./

352 The Bakairí slept in hammocks, amaka, woven of palm fiber.
[415] Their furnishings can be summed up as benches of a solid
[285] piece of wood, clay pots, mats and baskets. The diet rests
262 upon manioc, piquí, sweet potatoes, maize, and fish. How-
224 ever, the hunting of monkeys, wild pig, tapir, and other ani-
[241] mals was not scorned. Most of the food reserves, however, were of vegetable origin, and the most important harvests were made up of manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, and piquí. Yams /cará/, cotton, urucú, and tobacco were also planted.

342 The occupants of a communal house worked together on
476 the building of a new house, acquiring thereby the right to
622 reside in it. This construction work, however, was led by the individual who had the most prestige in the group, usually the old head of the house, who thus set himself up as the head of
241 the new house. The tasks of clearing fields and planting
476 generally depended on the participation of all the aldea. When
529 beginning a new clearing, the Bakairí would give a feast, kométe, with the distribution of food to the Indians who worked
501 on the field. The Bakairí made canoes from the bark of the
[824] jatobá tree, in the Xinguano way. This construction, as well
[782] as fishing, hunting, and agricultural activities, were accompanied by propitiatory rituals.

437 Their products were bartered among neighboring groups
574 in the course of visits called tuliki which depended on the presence of the chiefs of both aldeas. After the exchange of the objects desired, the visitors were honored with a feast called tulake.

621 /262/ The Bakairí were not a warlike people, and their
181 political organization does not seem very elaborate. Each
622 aldea had a chief, pima, assisted by a subchief, itãida. The
624 Bakairí do not remember the existence of a chief for the whole
[643] tribe, and there is no evidence that such a figure ever existed. The selection of the itãida was made by means of agreement of the aldea, but it generally fell on the son of the pima himself. The pima's functions were chiefly ceremonial, economic, and juridical.

Bacairí

323 pots are quite distinct from the pottery of the Indians living on the Upper Paraguay River. Bacairí pots are flat-bottomed and have straight vertical walls with everted rims. The pots in common use were, and still are, black in color, unglazed, and undecorated. Some of the pots [532] been were made in the forms of frogs, turtles, fish, and birds. The Bacairí claim that they [531] formerly had decorated pottery called *amiga*, painted with black, gray, red, and brown designs.

476 The Bacairí also had economic activities in which the whole village, or a number of com-
241 munal houses, participated. The *kometi*, or col-
476 lective land clearing, was one of these. A man would invite a large number of relatives and friends to assist him in clearing a new piece of forest land. The women would participate by pre- [262] paring large amounts of food and honey beverage
403 for the workers. The new field would remain the
476 property of the man who initiated the *kometi*, obligating him to work in return if called upon, but sometimes the group of men who cleared the field would divide it among them.

342 House building was always an enterprise in
476 which the whole village took part. The group that was interested in raising the house cut the beams and poles necessary for the framework and prepared large quantities of food. While a certain number of men began to put up the framework, others went to gather grass for thatching. When they returned with the thatching they put [533] on their ceremonial decorations and danced the *mahulawari* dance. House building was thus not only an economic act but also a ceremonial occasion.

286 Hammock weaving was, at times, a collective
476 enterprise. A woman with a larger than usual cotton crop distributed cotton among her friends and when the work was completed she organized a feast and dance.

● 437 Ceremonial trading expeditions (*taltu*) were
628 organized by the chief of the village. During
574 the rainy seasons, when the rivers were high and
[622] canoe travel easy, the men of a village would collect whatever excess goods they had, such as bows, baskets, ornaments, hammocks, and even food, and would go to a neighboring village where the chief would receive them before the ceremonial house. The two chiefs would then supervise the exchange of commodities. After the trading was

[P. 73-A] After the trade of war

[437] over the chiefs organized wrestling matches be-
[628] tween teams of the two villages. Before the
[574] visitors left, a feast (*tuláki*, swallow feast) was
[526] given in their honor. The motives for these trading expeditions were both economic and ceremonial. They were organized by a chief when the villagers actually required certain economic goods, but even when there was no economic need, goods were exchanged and the men of the two villages participated in wrestling, dancing, and feasting.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

[181] The Bacairí claim not to have been a warlike
[721] people. They defended themselves if attacked, but say that they did not attack others. Each village had a chief (*pima*) who was assisted by an
[622] *itáida*. There was no chief for the whole tribe.
[624] The *itáida*, who was a young man, was selected by the chief with the consent of the villagers. The *itáida* could be the son of the chief but this is not a requirement, for any able young man was eligible for this position. At the death of the chief the *itáida* succeeded him.

[622] The principal functions of the chief were economic, judicial, and ceremonial. As we have seen, the chief organized trading expeditions and participated in such activities as collective planting and house building. He also represented the people of his village when visitors arrived or when his own village made formal visits. If the
[624] village feared attack the *pima* selected a particularly brave man to lead the defense or to under-
[627] take retaliation. Discussions concerning disputes and other village affairs took place in the
[682] ceremonial house. Murderers were exiled or if a war was on the murderer was made to bear the
[68] brunt of the attack. Thieves, adulterers, and others who persisted in disturbing the peace and harmony of the village were exiled through the
[681] common action of the villagers. Exile was con-
[762] sidered severe punishment, for the Bacairí say that individuals who were exiled often committed suicide. Chiefs among the Bacairí, therefore, were not war leaders, nor was succession governed by descent. Chiefs seem, thus, to have been primarily leaders of social activities. The part which a chief played in ceremonial life will be described later.

/74 cont./

157 In short, Bakaïrí kúra, the Bakaïrí are good. It would be foolish to misunderstand them in the Rousseau sense, for there was not a trace of any kind of idealism, they were nothing but the product of very simple and undisturbed conditions and gave the visitor who approached with eyes accustomed to motion and strife a picture of an "idyl." Whether one comes from Giessbach, river, or sea, one will feel the magic of a quiet lagoon, that is all.

/75/

II.

Psychological notes about the attitude of the Bakaïrí toward new things. Limits of understanding. Studies with the one on special duty. Difficulties of understanding and of linguistic recording: substantives, verbs, superordinate concepts.

123 152 I have reported about the interest that the Bakaïrí took in my clothing. It gradually turned to the pockets in particular, and they soon knew exactly what was hidden in this one and what in that one.

"Had I made shirt and trousers myself?" This question, which annoyed me, always came up. "Had I made the hammock, the moskiteiro myself?" They were strangely affected by the fact that there was nothing that came to light in all my property for which I had answered in the affirmative. It was clearly to be seen that the objects whose origin they could picture to themselves to a certain extent also more actively occupied their attention. The texture of the Paraguayan hammock was felt and eagerly discussed every day.

They wanted to have everything. "Ura" "(it is) mine" was the simple explanation. The men preferred for themselves the practical thing, for wives and children the ornaments, for themselves knives, for the former beads. At sight of the beads, the women became positively excited and only my tin plate was sought with the same covetousness. "Buttons" seemed to be regarded as a kind of bead. Among several women I discovered ornaments that came from our first expedition and had traveled

301 438

/75 cont./

301 from the Batovy to the Kulisehu. I was confronted by one
438 woman who wore nothing but a copper button on a string on her breast, and on this button was the 8 of the eighth Cuyaban battalion, to which our soldiers had belonged at that time. "Is it tuchú,
301 stone?" asked these living prehistorics. Of course, the beads were likewise stone, and, on account of their gay colors, they
153 preferred them to gold, which left them quite indifferent. I
179 had given them a few pins and had also showed them a needle, the only one that I had with me: they brought a pin back to me and asked me to make a hole in it, like the one in the needle.

Most peculiar was the alacrity with which they classified the things unfamiliar to them among those that were familiar to them and also immediately assigned familiar names to them directly and without any restrictive additions. They cut their
[412] hair with sharp shells or the teeth of the piranha fish, and my
[237] scissors, the object of unreserved delight, which cut hair so smoothly and evenly, were simply called "piranha tooth." The mirror was "water!" "Show the water," they cried when they wanted to see the mirror. And I made a much slighter impression with it than I had expected.

The compass was called "sun," the watch "moon." I had showed them that, no matter how I turned and twisted the case, the needle always pointed to the highest position of the sun, and the very similar watch, whose spring they said was a hair, seemed to them the natural counterpart, for the /76/ special reason that it "did not sleep at night." Often in the middle of the conversation they would demand that I take out the watch, and then they would laugh very contentedly when it was actually awake and ticking.

Nothing would be more erroneous than to think that this sincere curiosity and admiration was based on an actual thirst for knowledge or a deeper need of understanding. They never got beyond the question: "Did you make that?" No, I simply did my circus act, I displayed my tricks, and they were pleased that at any moment I could show them in all elegance and never disgraced myself. The most baffling example of superficial satisfaction

/159 cont./

262 It contributed no little to the enhancement of the holiday
574 mood that plenty of beijús, as well as puvas /see the glossary, p. 172/, brick-like pieces of dried mandioca pulp, and, above all, mingaus /see the glossary, p. 171/ were served. Everyone
[272] was separately offered in large bowls three kinds: a whitish, thin, scarcely refreshing beaten paste of starch flour, another, yellow one, tasting of squash, and a third one, warm and pleasantly sweet, toward which everyone crowded in order to grant the palate this half forgotten quality of sensation.

609 Most delightful was the absolutely equal treatment that was given us and the soldiers. Chico, this African ape-man, even seemed to impress the little people particularly, and he, like all the others, leaning on his gun, accepted the homage with great dignity and drank in enormous draughts.

It cannot be said that the barbarians actually expressed great astonishment. In general they did not pay any attention to skin color and beard; true, they admired the clothing, the knives, the opera glass, but as children who are not experiencing this for the first time do with their presents at Christmas. A
[152] demonstration shot filled them with terror; the women ran away, the men winced and, puzzled, joined in the laughter when they saw our gaiety. To avoid a repetition, however, they urgently begged "åla, åla -- it is enough." At the strange /160/ appearance of our dogs the professor was so frightened that he manifested the best intention of shooting them dead.

12 August.

437 The Bakaïrí paid us a return visit with wife and child. They
•439 were heavily laden with beijús. Soon an enthusiastic barter with the soldiers was in progress; the latter bartered for arrows or feathers and puvas in exchange for buttons and worn articles of clothing. The buttons, which could be strung on the belt-string, were highly prized. The guests, however, especially preferred
[554] knives, plates, and spoons. The tribal sorceress ran about busily; in vain she speculated on a cooking pot, which she excitedly examined from all sides; but she won a spoon, a tin plate, and

/160 cont./

437 439 [554] carried each piece that she captured to a secret repository lying back off the road, immediately most hurriedly hastening forth for new deeds.

609 At noon Wilhelm and I went to the aldea.[1] Antonio accompanied us, but, suspicious of his fellow tribesmen, he could not make up his mind to stay with them during the night and returned to the river in the evening.

122 We set up housekeeping in the festival hut, and, alone with the charming little people, we felt indescribably content. When toward evening the mosquitoes started to annoy us, we took a [137] walk to the roca.[2] Greedily we looked about for the "frutas de lobo," apple-round fruits which were present in numbers on gray-green shrubs, but unfortunately not ripe; the Bakaïrí boys are no different from ours. A magnificent estate; the horizon was bordered by a dark park, behind which the sun was setting in 291 reddish orange. We met Pauhaga, as our apostle of peace is 177 called, and his relatives on the plaza between the three huts, trying on clothes in great embarrassment. They urgently needed our help: not only did they put the trousers on in reverse and upside down over the legs, but they also tried to draw them up over their arms and wanted to stick their legs into a shirt. Putting on a coat alone was an impossible thing. They were unaware of the most obvious offenses against the elements of propriety. A safety pin was hugely admired, but most of all a pair of scissors with which 412 one could so conveniently cut one's nails. Their tool, the stone ax -- a ground stone is wedged into a wooden handle -- with which they fell trees and make posts, deserves our appreciation no less, from the standpoint of how much can be accomplished with the simplest means, even though in the unspoken accompanying thought that we ourselves /161/ might have to go back to this [411] stage there is a slight admixture of horror. They have no spears, [231] no bananas, no dogs, and tobacco is nowhere to be found. Bones, [276] teeth, shells must serve them as tools, along with the stone ax. [237] /Illustration appears here./

[1] [i.e. village -- Analyst]
[2] [i.e. Cultivated field -- Analyst]

[Text continues on p. 40]

/177 cont./

[829] [101] We inquired eagerly about other tribes. It became clear that the Kustenaú and the Trumaí were to be met downstream. Waurá was a name about which we could not be certain. Was it a tribe? Or a little stream like "Tapacuya," which had given us a great deal of trouble and turned out to be the name of a nearby brook -- frequently mentioned to distinguish it from this aldea.

[101] The Kamayurá /Camayura/ lived ten days overland in the east. The principal role in all the descriptions, however, was played by the Schuyá (1), about whom the people in Aldea III

1. Suyá, pronounced Schuyá by the Bakaïrí.

had also spoken with excitement. They said they were taller -- they always pointed to me for a comparison --, very muscular, wore long hair down to their shoulders, and -- apparently lip plugs. By way of illustration, they pulled the lower lip forward forcefully with both hands, leaped about, and uttered a dreadful, intermittent roar; there was no doubt about it, the "Schuyá" were regarded with extraordinary respect among the Bakaïrí. But we! We might indeed risk it -- a young chap pointed to our guns, and all the heroes laughed and nodded to each other.

●439 They showed us a number of articles that came from the Suyá: a fine headdress of orange-red and green feathers, arm bands of such feathers, a flute (simple bamboo cylinder with side hole and an opening in the top), arrows with bamboo knives. A nicely carved stool, which represented a bird, was supposed to have been obtained from the Kamayurá.

[101] A string with small perforated stone disks, one of which was larger in the center and could be interpreted as human-like, came from the Nahuquá (2) likewise living in the east.

2. Apparently the Uanaquá of the Suyá geographer.

/93 cont./

126 stored, dark yellow reed diadems, such as Luchu is wearing on
534 Plate 6,* others with radiating tips, large Panpipes, an oar deco-
783 rated with drawings, spinning whorls of the simplest type, that
[301] is, disks made of potsherds, and a quantity of remarkable
[239] cylinder-shaped sticks, which are covered with ornamentation
177 and worn on the back at festivals. But in the equipment of these
third Bakaïrí it was clearly shown that we were with the section
of the tribe living next to the rest of the Kulisehu Indians; all
kinds of imported goods were present and were designated as such
439 here. The Bakaïrí do not make any pots themselves and do not
[323] themselves have a place where they might fetch stones for stone
axes, but here we were immediately told that the pots came
from the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ and the stone axes from the
Trumaí. Among the pots one in the shape of a turtle represented
an absolute masterpiece of primitive plastic art, on which the head,
tail, and feet, as well as the shell drawing, were magnificently
worked out. From the Auetó we found a half-broken clay doll;
also originating from the Mehinakú, balls of finely spun cotton;
from the Trumaí and Suyá, dainty feather caps. From our own
possessions of 1884 we discovered two iron chisels, parts of a
ramrod, which had been sharpened to a point on stones.

We met a Nahuquá in person; unfortunately, the man was
648 obviously an idiot and had little to offer for my purposes. It is
732 strange that this is not an isolated phenomenon: the Kustenaú
of 1884 had a simple-minded Bakaïrí among them, the Yuruna
likewise an Arara Indian definitely feeble-minded, and it seems
to me I often noticed similar instances. Do the people become
stupid in the new environment or are only the stupid specimens
entrusted to neighbors for their use?

126 In the flute-house anthropological measurements and photo-
graphs were taken in exchange for beads. In this village there
was a pronounced Sémitic type, of which Plate 13* represents a
classic example. The people submitted to everything and called
the caliper compass núna, "moon." Only one man was indignant
when, after Ehrenreich had measured him from head to foot in
all directions, I handed him the fee of three beautiful, large
[153] beads. He wanted to have as many beads as there were measurements

*[See p. 138 -- Analyst]

/182 cont./

*171 301 321 Another type consists of small disks or smooth beads only one millimeter thick and three to five millimeters in diameter. They are evenly circular, with a dull, whitish-gray to bluish sheen. The little pieces of the broken shell were bitten off with the teeth, made approximately even in size, and were pierced like the squares. The tiny little things are so evenly ground /183/ that on the string they form a thin, flexible coil. [824] They are usually alternated with similarly shaped tucum beads (Bactris), which are bitten out of the shell of the palm nut. The tucum beads are likewise pierced with the tooth of the dogfish. For these and the small shell disks, the evenness is achieved by stringing the beads and, not grinding the roll on a stone, but rubbing and smoothing it between two pot shards. The shell beads are a very natural product, if colored or shiny pieces of shell are saved at all, they are strung on a cord, since they are hard to fasten otherwise, and they are matched up, which is most easily accomplished if one simply grinds them *171 301 439 all around. In this way the most diverse primitive peoples, with their respective shell material, have arrived at beads that look so much alike as to be mistaken for one another. The beads, however, also have all the characteristics required to circulate from tribe to tribe wherever intercourse takes place and provide the best opportunity to become acquainted with the extent of the intercourse, which some regard as unlimited. The Bakaïrí of the Batovy, more than those of the Kulisehu, are "zóto," lords, of the shell chains.

*171 301 The tucum beads are made chiefly by the Nahuquá; the latter had as shell beads the rose-colored little spindle pieces of Bulimus in particular, whose "zóto" they were, a single one of which interrupted the coil of the nut beads at short intervals. The Nahuquá were distinguished by a great wealth of chains, especially of plant material, which, moreover, also played a more important role among the Bakaïrí than among the tribes living downstream. [824] The Bakaïrí of Maigéri greatly prized "grass beads," kanakũni, which Antonio explained were fruits of a tall, rare grass growing along lagoons, each stalk of which produces only a few.

/203 cont./

000 proper, we started first with the primitive peoples, we should not fail to recognize that there is Paleolithic as well as Neolithic work among them even today, depending on the kind of stone available, the material provided from another quarter, and the technical purposes present. We should see that the negative term "metal-less" is, of course, appropriate, but that the positive name "Stone Age" can be very unfortunate. We should also consider the case where man has no stones at all or unsuitable ones and still makes excellent tools and weapons. As an unprejudiced observer, it would scarcely have occurred to me to maintain that the Schingú Indians are living in the "Stone Age."

B *171 412 439 It is certainly true that their most difficult accomplishments -- clearing the forest, building houses, building canoes, making stools, and the like -- go back to the stone ax. But the various tribes were entirely dependent on one source, which was in the possession of the Trumaí. Neither the Bakaïrí nor the Nahuquá nor the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ and their relatives, nor the Auetó nor Kamayurá /Camayura/ had stone axes of their own manufacture. Their sandstone was not suitable for axes. I have asserted exactly the same thing about the former times of the docile Bakaïrí of the Paranatinga: in this region the Kayabi /Cayabi/ had a monopoly on the stone axes; the neighboring Bakaïrí were obliged to get them from them, later their deadly enemies. The tribes of the Batovy, Kulisehu, and Kuluëne obtained their stone axes from the Trumaí (the Suyá living on the main river had some of their own). Thus, the stone ax is presented to us here as an import article.

I 171 412 439

Fig. 20.
Stone ax.
(1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.

T B 412 317 In answer to my inquiries, I was told that the stones were found "along a brook in the sand." The material has been identified by Herr Professor Arzruni /204/ of Aachen as diabase, a rock consisting of augite, plagioclase, mica, chlorite, and magnetite, in which are

/215 cont./

*171 462 satisfied with scant remains and would suffer hunger if they did not provide for themselves in time and stealthily set aside part of the contents of the cooking pots still during the cooking or eat already during their work." This among the modern Karaiben Makuschi [113] /Macusi/ in Guiana. Appun, Unter den Tropen /Below the Tropics/, II, p. 399, Jena, 1871, and among many other tribes.

was therefore dependent on the booty of plant foods that she herself could obtain. On the Schingú the men plaited the roast-[252] ing rack, roasted fish and meat, the women baked the beijús, boiled the beverages, the fruits, and grilled palm nuts -- what other meaning could this division into animal cookery by the men and vegetable cookery by the women have than that each of the two sexes had remained in its ancient sphere?

[252] The men did the roasting, but never the boiling. Starting *171 from this fact, we come by way of the same line of thought 323 to a similar conclusion corroborated by quite analogous observations. Scarcely anything else on the Schingú seemed stranger to me at first than the fact that the art of making pots was limited ●[439] to the Nu-Aruak tribes. The Bakaïrí did not own a single pot that did not come from the Kustenaú or Mehinakú. The docile Bakaïrí [177] expressly told me that they had learned pottery from the Paressí, their Nu-Aruak neighbors. Thus old Caetano, in other words, the man, contrary to all original custom, made pots on the modern Paranatinga. The Nahuquá had pots from the Mehinakú and also made some themselves, as was demonstrated before our eyes by a woman kneading the moist clay; but this woman wore the tattooing of the Mehinakú women and had married into the Nahuquá; the art actually came from the Mehinakú. The Tupí tribes, too, had pots from the Nu-Aruak, especially from the Waurá. Thus, the one tribal group ** was the sole bearer of

** According to Im Thurn, the Karaiben at

/215 cont./

*171 323

present provide the other tribes with cooking vessels in Guiana, although he says that the Aruak make abundant pots for their own use, but do not dispose of them as trade goods, like the Karaiben. Martius says of the Makuschi, the most populous Karaiben tribe of the Rio Branco area: "All implements of these Indians are neatly and carefully made, the weapons decorated with feathers, and only in pottery are they inferior to the Indians of the coast."

ceramics, also from an artistic point of view, as we shall see.

At first, and before I knew that the peculiar dependency on the Nu-Aruak existed for all tribes, I believed that there happened to be no clay available. This was an error, however. [135] There was suitable clay, not only among the Nahuquá, but also among the Bakaïrí, and the only thing I cannot say /216/ is whether the quality was a degree poorer than among the potter tribes, which, however, is probably of no concern for our problem.*

[312]

* The Bakaïrí were the only ones who fetched good drinking water from a crystal-clear brook; the Nahuquá and, even more, the Mehinakú and Auetó drank from muddy loam pools and stagnant canal waters.

*171 323 415 [439]

But let us consider another circumstance: the Bakaïrí and Nahuquá had gourds and calabashes, which, on the other hand, were lacking among the potter tribes and which the latter obtained from the Nahuquá, where special care or better soil, I know not, produced splendid fruits for vessels. Finally, if we learn that the Waurá made very attractive pots of exactly the shape and size of the gourd vessels, with imitations of the drawings put on them, that the basic form of the pots is clearly that of the drinking bowl, the gourd, and that the pots as well as the

B /333 cont./

*171 439 How important good relations with neighboring tribes must be becomes clear from the, one might almost say, necessity of barter. One tribe is zõto, master of one article, the other of another. I have given the most important information about this in detail on pages 199, 209, 216. The Bakaïrí had as their specialty the neck-chains with white rectangular pieces of shell, shell beads, urucú, cotton thread, and hammocks; the Nahuquá, gourds, as well as chains with red pieces of shell and tucum beads; the Mehinakú and their relatives, pots and fine cotton thread; the Trumaí and Suyá, stone axes and tobacco; the Trumai and possibly also the Yaulapiti, chains with pierced stones. The Trumaí salt prepared from bamboo ashes was also popular among other tribes. These were all articles of trade. Some of them traveled the great distance from the Bakaïrí to the Suyá, going from tribe to tribe. The Suyá traded with the Kamayurá, the latter with the potter tribes, among whom the Mehinakú had the closest association with the Nahuquá, and the Kustenaú with the Bakaïrí of the Batovy. The uppermost Bakaïrí of the Kulisehu obtained their Suyá stone axes and Kustenaú pots from their Batovy relatives, and the Bakaïrí of the third Kulisehu village from the Nahuquá, with whom they maintained close B [437] relations. In 1884, when we had given the Bakaïrí on the Batovy some of our Karaiben things, the chief of the first village took advantage of the favorable trade outlook and set out on a business trip to the lower region of the Kulisehu; in this way tribes who were not neighbors occasionally also had trade relations. The articles traded by the Suyá for stone axes are hammocks, shell chains, arara feathers, and pots.

B *171 437 Although there was an old and necessary barter-trade, nevertheless the concept of value was lacking, at least to a certain extent. The person arriving brought along this or that and delivered it when he was served at the reception. He was given the desired return gift in smaller quantities at the reception, in larger amounts when he took his leave. In Maigéri we experienced a typical example upon our departure, cf. page 125; we were made to sit down and then received a basket of flour. Thus, the docile

/11/

I. Historical Data on the Bakairí /Bacairi/

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The same title which I have given to the present part of this publication was given by Karl von den Steinen to Chapter 14 of his book, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens /Among the Natives of Central Brazil/ (1) in which he deals at

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1. Karl von den Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens. Berlin, 1894, pp. 387-395.

length with the history of the Bakairí up to the year of his second expedition, carried out in the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River in the year 1887, based on comparative literature and on information received from the Bakairí themselves.

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There follows from the research of Karl von den Steinen that in the time prior to his first expedition to the Xingu River, very little was known on the Bakairí, although the western part of these Indians, that is to say, the Bakairí who lived on the Rio Paranatinga and the Rio Novo, had lived for a long time in fairly active contact with the Brazilians and came occasionally to the capital, Cuiabá, to sell the rubber they had produced and to ask for some donatives from the government. Martius, too, knows almost nothing about them, and treats them as if they were a Paressi group. (2) It is noteworthy that Martius

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2. Martius, Zur Ethnographie Amerikas zumal Brasiliens /Toward an Ethnography of the Americas, especially of Brazil/, Vol. I, 1867, p. 779.

already mentions the existence of Bakairí in the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River: "Bacahiri, Bacchyri also live on the southern headwaters of the Xingu River"; (3) but with

3. Ibid., p. 382.

/19 cont./

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Xingú-Expedition /Report on His Second Xingu Expedition/." February 3, 1900, Verh. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde z. Berlin, Vol. XXVII. 1900, pp. 112-128. Idem., "Uber seine zweite Reise in Central-Brasilien," loc. cit.

175 Antonio with
166 his stepson José Coroado, already an adult, had then visited
159 several times the Bakairí in the region of the tributaries of the
622 Xingu River, and a big part of these had moved in with their
162 fellow countrymen of the Rio Paranatinga, so that Theodor Koch, a participant in Herrmann Meyer's second expedition to the Xingu River, estimated the population of the aldea of the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí, at this date, at more than 60 individuals.(24)

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24. Dr. Theodor Koch, "Reise in Matto Grosso (Brasilien). Expedition in das Quellgebiet des Xingú /Journey in Mato Grosso (Brazil). Expedition to the Region of the Headwaters of the Xingu/." Communication, d. K. K. Geogr. Ges. in Vienna, p. 335.

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At this time, the Rio Batovy Bakairí had canoes and also a port on the Rio Jatobá. Also the Nahukuá /Nahuqua/ had then risked for the first time the journey to the Rio Paranatinga and had carried away from there sugar cane and porotos /French beans/ for planting. (25)

25. Dr. Herrmann Meyer, "Bericht uber seine zweite Xingú-Expedition," loc. cit., p. 127.

/35 cont./

184 result of the latter's continuous movement to the Rio Parana-
198 tinga. Indian influence on the eastern Bakairí had increased
199 once more, and when in the year 1927 I visited the Simões Lopes Post, where in the interval all the Bakairí had settled either at the post itself or in its vicinity, it was still possible to find there many ancestral implements and customs. In the
126 Bakairí houses there were many objects made in the native
[198] manner, so that I was able to acquire a relatively large collection for the Berlin Ethnographic Museum. Among the objects
126 in this collection were, as already mentioned above, several
184 that came from the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu
[439] River itself, which the Xinguanos had brought with them when they had moved to the Rio Paranatinga or which these Indians had received later from Indians of other tribes as the latter
323 visited Simões Lopes. Among the objects from the region of
184 the upper Xingu River tributaries we may note especially the fired clay vessels which were imported in large quantities, because, according to the Bakairí, there was no clay suitable for making them at Simões Lopes. The large fired clay ollas found
[439] in large numbers in Bakairí houses and used to boil the pyserego drink were obtained from the Mehinakú. A good example of the small vessels that came from the region of the upper Xingu
323 River tributaries is shown in Figure 25. This vessel (V.B.
126 9870), (42) one of the appendages of which is characterized.
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42. This is the catalog number of the Berlin Ethnographic Museum.

by the formation of a mouth, by an animal head, corresponds in shape to a specimen of such a vessel which I brought in the year 1901 from the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí (43) and to other similar

43. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brazilien, loc. cit., p. 401, Fig. 275 /257/.

Bacairi SP7

Geographically the post is situated ideally on a high land removed from the river and cleared of all vegetation, the jungle appearing only as a narrow fringe along the river banks. Like the rest of the high plateau it is wind swept, and generally pleasant. It must be added that contact with white people, such as is had when a small group of natives go to Cuyabá, has brought syphilis to them, and it may be their mortality is due to this.

One occupation enjoyed in former times is denied them, and that is fishing. There are practically no fish in the Paranatinga, at least up to where the post is located. Since meat is gotten only on rare occasions, and no hunting is done, the diet is mainly one of vegetables and considerably poorer than when they were living in their original state. This may also explain their lowered resistance to disease.

Very little museum material which represents their own products can be collected from the Bakairi. What has not been gotten from the Inspectoria has been brought back on excursions to the Kuluseu. Pottery has not been made since their coming to the post, according to them. The huge vessels that they possess either have been brought with them from their former homes or bartered from the tribes on the Kuluseu. It is claimed that the proper clay cannot be found in the neighborhood of Simão Lopes.

Arrows are still being made, an iron nail generally being substituted for the old bone point, but most of the arrows also come from the Kuluseu.

For the old hammock made of palm-leaf fibre the cotton hammock has been substituted, but the same open net style has been kept.

Mussel shell ornaments have also been bought from the tribes of the Kuluseu. In brief, almost anything that is found in their village must bear the suspicion that it is not a Bakairi product.

However, they have preserved a few customs, such as filing the upper teeth to a point, wearing under the European clothing the gee string, and ceremonial use of the bull-roarer, and they probably remember many of their ceremonies.

The short time spent at the post was mostly devoted to taking anthropometric measurements, which were subsequently lost on the Kuluseu, but in some notes I do find the statement that in blood groupings most belong to groups three and four, the former predominating.

Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25 Y
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The absence of good clay perhaps is responsible for the poorness of the industry, for tribes of the same linguistic stock in other parts make good pottery.

The most common form has a circular base and a turned out rim. The sides are thick, and the pots are disproportionately heavy. The clay fires black. In many cases the outside of the pot is painted. The top of the out-turned rim often bears simple incised designs, such as are seen on Plate XX, 12. These pots are used in the preparation of manioc farina and in boiling piki. To the Bakairi they were so valuable that they begged to be permitted to take several of them back to Simõe Lopes. [Plate XII, 2.] B [323 439]

Smaller pots are made, sometimes with different shaped rims, such as were collected by Von den Steinen. They are comparatively rare and do not seem to have much importance in the culture. A great many of the pots are traded from the tribes further north. Y [439]

Other Receptacles

However, good substitutes for pottery have been found in calabashes and gourds, which are obtained in almost any quantity and are of any desired size. They further have the advantage of being light and do not break easily. They can be made to serve as bottles, dishes, cups, spoons, and every other kind of receptacle, by cutting off a section of the neck, or a section on the side, or by splitting in two along the neck to the base. The inner surface is charred and often decorated with painted red dot designs, the most common of which is a cross made by the crossing of two sets of two parallel lines of dots. Some of the other typical designs are shown in Plate XXIII. The outside of the receptacles are also often decorated— never with red dots, but always with linear painted geometric patterns. A few are also shown in the same Plate. Y 105 171 415 Y [322 531]

A great variety of basketry exists, being made in many shapes, utilizing divers weaves, and are used for many purposes. The carrying basket has been described. Another common type is a circular flat bottomed basket of hexagonal weave. It is of especial interest since this type can be duplicated in Oceania, Africa and other regions. For temporary purposes, a basket is quickly made from a single palm leaf by braiding the leaflets together. A number of intricate weaves are known producing interesting basketry designs. [Plate XXI.] Y 105 171 285

/77 cont./

115 The various men on detached duty were very different in
157 their usefulness for my purposes. Some tired too quickly, others were too unsteady. Fat, peasant-like Yapü, for example, yawned after a few minutes, and his face seemed to say, "Sir, you are asking too much," and Luchu, the vain fop, only wanted to amuse himself. Of the younger ones, only the remarkable Kulekule was of any use to me. He was, in fact, taciturn and reserved, but he obviously liked to come, laughed quietly to himself, and then when he opened his mouth to speak, he answered better than the rest. He had received beads from me for a pot, but he had to give them up; I presented him with new ones and did not accept another pot that he brought me. He was happy about that, gave
[123] me a bowl of the insipid pogu drink, and sat down beside me, leaning his head confidently against my shoulder. My most faithful guardian was Paleko; with his long hair sprinkled with gray, his fine old face, he could very well have been /78/ director
000 emeritus of a Gymnasium. In fact, we were often reminded of European physiognomies, whose owners would perhaps protest at being compared to a naked Indian. Ehrenreich and I, for example, were jokingly and seriously in complete agreement that we recognized a couple of gentlemen from the Berliner Anthropologischen Gesellschaft on the Kulisehu; naturally these gentlemen did not resemble the Indians, but the Indians resembled the
123 gentlemen. I was alone with Paleko for half days at a time. Now and then, Eva or my intended or the Egyptian came alone or together, giving the two of us a little company.

●461 Paleko plaited dainty little baskets, repaired weirs, twisted twine out of palm fibers, and did whatever else there was
126 in the way of such light tasks requiring patience. He gave me not
191 only words and sentences from his mother tongue, but also a list of Nahuquá words, which proved that he had associated a great deal
114 with these neighbors. He put less value on learning my language than the young people did. I would rather have given them German words instead of the Portuguese, but I regarded it as my duty not to confuse the poor souls for the future. Since my knowledge of Bakaïrí was still very meager, I progressed but slowly.

B /102 cont./
123 been among the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, although he did not know their language, to carry out my plan, but one was encouraged by the example of the other.

W 122 We set out early on 10 October and reached the harbor of the
B Mehinakú on 12 October at 11:00 in the forenoon. We had not
461 hurried particularly; the two rowed best only when I provided a good example. The most dreadful thing to me was that they traced all the bends in the river and never cut off one of them by crossing it. There was not a fish, not a bird, that did not hold their attention. They shot at, without hitting, several gallinaceous birds, a capybara that was swimming across the river was wounded in its hind leg and, with the arrow, ran screaming into the woods. We slept that night beside an inlet with an abundance of fish and made a good catch. The two roasted fish all night long, carefully keeping the fire going under the wooden grill; they had set up their hammocks so close that they could comfortably reach out, turn the fish, occasionally consume a piece, and have the benefit of the fire's warmth.

W [142] [302] ←

B 252

Fig. 4. Mehinakú woman.

W 131 On the second morning they told me that the bank on the left
B belonged to the Mehinakú, on the right to the Nahuquá. The
504 harbor lay along a steep sandbank where a small brook emptied.
W [531] Rhomboid designs were scratched on the trees. The Bakairí shoved
B the canoe far up into the brook and carefully concealed the oars
581 and carrying baskets, which still contained remnants of fish and
B 576 beijús, in the woods. Tumayaua prepared a gift for the Mehinakú hosts and for this purpose hung a rosary-like cord around his neck,
B on which were strung fruits with an oily content. The oil was
[757] rubbed on the skin scratched by the medicinal scarifier of the Indians.

/89 cont./

574 always standing ready, a thin, very sweet püserego was offered
[437] in superabundance, and for our beads we obtained a supply of fine polvilho flour for the journey.

•462 The women baking away so busily seemed to us small and ugly, but friendly. They fetched water only accompanied by men.

535 When I was in Iguéti the first time on 20 September with Vogel and Ehrenreich, we experienced a strange scene which I should like to insert here. We were sitting in the flute-house in the evening when a few came in, squatted down beside the ashes of the fire, and uttered a loud ih... Then a couple of others put on the straw apparel hanging there and ran around for a while like roaring lions. I believed it to be pure fun and pastime, but all of them remained perfectly serious. Then one of the maskers ran outside while the chorus again cried ih...hi, stuck his arms out of the straw, and made a rustling sound with the fringe. He disappeared into a house and soon came out again, laden with beijú and fish. The same thing was repeated, and Luchu was the third to go, returning with drink. The departure was always announced by the general ih..., so that the people in the houses were prepared. Since the straw apparel covers the entire body down to the feet, the person that hides in it cannot be recognized.

/90/ Later in the evening three men started to sing. They stepped close to the door entrance of the flute-house, and, to be
[534] sure, in such a way that they turned their backs to the rest of us; two of them shook the gourd rattle, which differs from our first cradle toy only in the material, and the third stamped in steady
[533] perseverance with his right foot. The three sang: ĩhaí, ihãíí huχó, ihaí ohuhoχó.... Perhaps the eternal huχu, huχa is nothing but the word for "foot," which, pupu in ancient Karaibe, changed phonetically to χuχu, huχu. It was a solemn, almost melancholy sounding, but very powerful "makanari," as the Bakaïrí call their festival songs. Ehrenreich was very impatient with the invariable, unchanging monotony of the singing, rattling, and stamping; for my part, however, I can only say that the very sameness made an impression on me and in a way intoxicated

/213 cont./

174 way, always and at all times, what we call history was enacted. Here and there a tribe was driven away by attackers or was split by internal feuds, a long period of wandering took place before settlement again followed, but in general people shifted and intermingled from one river valley to another.

Nothing but an eternal alternation of isolation and unification, in which now the former, now the latter was more sharply pronounced, could have produced the multitude of simultaneous linguistic /214/ differences and conformities within the same family of languages; that, in spite of the changes, a true stability predominated, however, is shown by the surprisingly large number of congruities, particularly in view of the paucity of our material. Where it is possible to establish phonetic laws, we see the same certainty and regularity that we find in our European languages. Thus we may only conclude that there was an orderly course of development, despite occasional catastrophes. Even the tribes of hunters must have already had a form of settled, though more irregular existence, in order to acquire the splendid technique of bow and arrow; only in the peaceful, day-by-day life for generations could the useful plants have been acquired, and it is not at all necessary that it was always large and mighty tribes that brought about progress. We see in the case of the Schingú people that primitive agriculture needed fishing and hunting, if only to furnish it with its tools. The realization that is now becoming accepted in North America, namely, that the restless redskins were sedentary to a far greater extent than we should credit them with today, that these wild tribes of hunters are in part the product of the revolution stirred up by us, is perfectly in agreement with the conclusions forced upon us by our experiences along the Schingú.

*171 462 For our Indians -- far be it from me to generalize -- there is a deeper and yet very simple reason that very well explains the juxtaposition of the bloody hunt and the peaceful tillage of the soil. To put it bluntly: the man practiced hunting and

/214 cont./

*171 meanwhile the woman invented agriculture. The women, as all
462 over Brazil, have exclusive charge, not only of the mandioca preparation in the house, but also of its cultivation. They clear the ground of weeds with pointed sticks, place in the ground the pieces of stalk with which the mandioca is transplanted, and daily fetch what they need, which they carry home in heavily packed back-baskets. The man, on the other hand, plants the tobacco which the woman does not need. On the Schingú the woman already voices a strong opinion; in more primitive circumstances she may actually have been a beast of burden and of work, and even today she must stay away during most of the festivals and animal dances of the men. But let us consider the situation somewhat more closely. The man is more courageous and more agile, to him belongs the hunt and the practice of arms. Where fishing and hunting still play an important part, therefore, insofar as there is any division of labor, the woman must concern herself with procuring the rest of the food, with its transport and preparation. The division is not arbitrary, but one of natural circumstances; yet it has the insufficiently appreciated result that in her field of work the woman acquires her own knowledge, just as the man does in his. This must necessarily hold good on every lower or higher level. The counterpart of the Indian woman's carrying on mandioca cultivation with wise understanding is already found in the pure hunting culture. /215/ The Bororó woman went into the forest armed with a pointed stick and looked for roots and tubers; in connection with the roving expeditions through the campo or wherever a band of Indians changed their residence, such hunting was the task of the woman while the man pursued animals; climbing, she fetched down the palm nuts and dragged home heavy loads of them. And if the
[562] Indian woman was subordinate to the man, this position certainly was no benefit to her in the distribution of fish and meat*; she

*"After the men have eaten comes the turn of the women and children, who must often be

/215 cont./

*171 •462 satisfied with scant remains and would suffer hunger if they did not provide for themselves in time and stealthily set aside part of the contents of the cooking pots still during the cooking or eat already during their work." This among the modern Karaiben Makuschi [113] /Macusi/ in Guiana. Appun, Unter den Tropen /Below the Tropics/, II, p. 399, Jena, 1871, and among many other tribes.

was therefore dependent on the booty of plant foods that she herself could obtain. On the Schingú the men plaited the roast- [252] ing rack, roasted fish and meat, the women baked the beijús, boiled the beverages, the fruits, and grilled palm nuts -- what other meaning could this division into animal cookery by the men and vegetable cookery by the women have than that each of the two sexes had remained in its ancient sphere?

[252] The men did the roasting, but never the boiling. Starting *171 from this fact, we come by way of the same line of thought 323 to a similar conclusion corroborated by quite analogous observations. Scarcely anything else on the Schingú seemed stranger to me at first than the fact that the art of making pots was limited [439] to the Nu-Aruak tribes. The Bakaïrí did not own a single pot that did not come from the Kustenaú or Mehinakú. The docile Bakaïrí [177] expressly told me that they had learned pottery from the Paressí, their Nu-Aruak neighbors. Thus old Caetano, in other words, the man, contrary to all original custom, made pots on the modern Paranatinga. The Nahuquá had pots from the Mehinakú and also made some themselves, as was demonstrated before our eyes by a woman kneading the moist clay; but this woman wore the tattooing of the Mehinakú women and had married into the Nahuquá; the art actually came from the Mehinakú. The Tupí tribes, too, had pots from the Nu-Aruak, especially from the Waurá. Thus, the one tribal group ** was the sole bearer of

** According to Im Thurn, the Karaiben at

/217 cont./ The filtrate

*171 174 415 252 of the mandioca mass was boiled in huge pots, but otherwise only a jam of fruits was boiled and occasionally a dish of small fish which were not worth turning on the grill.

*171 174 252 462 Soup meat and meat broth were unknown; the men knew only roasting. One may ask, perhaps, how did they happen to discover roasting? I shall prove in the next chapter that we have here a matter of experience of hunters and men. They set fire to the campo in a circle in order to overpower the animals being pursued, and there they found roasted small animals and found fruits which, though unripe, had been made edible and even tasty by the heat.

Now, since the men and hunters, in their sphere, do not yet know about cooking, boiling or cooking must have been invented in connection with the preparation of plant food. One often sees the women grilling all kinds of small fruits in quantities on the beijú pans. Only in this way does unripe fruit become edible, the crispness gives seeds and nuts greater tastiness. And they also began with the roasting of fruits. The roasting [323] racks of the men for meat and fish, plaited out of climbing plants, let the fruits fall through the meshes; the base again may have been smeared with loam, and from that only a small step was lacking for the earthen frying pan, the subsequent beijú pan. On the other hand, if one wanted to "roast" fruits or roots soaked in water, the vessels filled with these, either natural ones -- the Botokude cooks in bamboo sections -- or artificial ones covered with clay, were set on the fire, and thus one "cooked." Therefore, "cooking with water" was done only by the women!

If the mandioca industry was founded by one tribe whose descendants are still living and are included in the present classification, this was in all probability the Nu-Aruak. On the Schingú they most certainly deserve credit for its introduction, since the preparation of flour without earthen pots and beijú pans is impossible. Even in the northern regions, however, the Aruak are the best flour-workers and have always been the most

/217 cont./

*171 skillful potters, although the Karaiben in Guiana have at present
174 become the manufacturers for that region. That is to say, the
252 women! When the Karaiben in the north of the Amazon River
462 and on the Lesser Antilles subjugated the Aruak tribes and killed half the population, it was fortunate that this half was the men; the women with their agriculture, their potter's art, and their flour technique survived.

174 Thus, among our Indians we see how the higher culture sur-
462 passing hunting arose out of the natural division of labor, and it is also /218/ owing to this that, with feuds and with the formation of new tribal communities, it could be handed down to future generations. The woman was more than the working animal, she was also the working human being; just as the man developed the technique of weapons and of the tools arising out of hunting, she, with the same self-reliance, developed the cultural elements placed in her hands, such as gathering, carrying, preparing fruits and roots; the Indian owes his tasty flour-drink in the earthen vessels to the woman. The individual pieces of evidence put together for this conclusion, which might be more useful for a toast to the ladies than for the serious struggle of our women in order to work (a struggle rooted in modern necessity and not in prehistory), are still preserved intact in the Brazilian culture circle. The realization that -- at least here -- the possibility of becoming sedentary goes back to the obvious merit of the women's activity naturally forced into a certain direction by the hunter vocation of the men, elevates the female sex for this phase of development at least up to the level of the male sex.

[433] The hunter and agriculturalist schema only now comes alive;
man and woman, both, represent a standing or a certain sum of
[323] technical knowledge. Thus it is very plain that the less advanced tribes of the Schingú could not make their pots, although they had loam. They lacked Nu-Aruak women, and the Nahuquá, who had taken some of them into their community, had thus taken the right path: they now began to make their own pots, whereas the Bakaïrí had not yet produced the smallest pot.

/237/

*171 is covered with more small sticks, so that a triangular horizontal
251 grill is formed. The fish are opened with a longitudinal slash along
252 the middle line and a crosswise cut on the side; the flap is opened, the entrails removed, and the fish are placed on the roasting rack.

*171 Plaiting. The material was furnished by the
285 bakayuva, buriti, akuri, and
[824] carandasinha palms, bamboo cane, and Maranta stalks, which were split, the climbing palm urumbamba (Desmoncus), and the indispensable vines. The men
[462] were the ones who plaited. They used both feet to help out, one foot holding the transverse stalks, the other the longitudinal ones. The basket plaiting was not on a high level. There were little standing and hanging baskets, closely plaited and wide-meshed, in
[482] which odds and ends were stored, fish carried, and the like, but there was no advance beyond the generally familiar forms. Some
[531] variety was achieved by plaiting in black-colored strips. The Mehinakú and Auetö had larger, rectangular, trough-like standing baskets, which were characterized by a neat appearance, were also decorated with tassels at the corners, and were used to store gourds and the like. The Mehinakú called these baskets mayáku, a word which the

Fig. 31.
Carrying basket: (1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

/238 cont./

128 I shall discuss the reed diadems and plaited dance costumes in the chapter on masks.

*171 283 286 Textile work. The material: pineapple silk, aloe hemp, palm fiber from the tucum and buriti, and cotton. The fibers are put in neat bundles, and twisted on the thigh, but the cotton tufts, on the other hand, are drawn out into a thread by means of the spindle likewise made to turn rapidly on the thigh and then [462] spinning freely. Only the women spin and weave. The fiber strings serve as the actual tie-threads and ropes; fish nets, carrying nets, in certain cases hammocks, and finally bowstrings are made of them. Knitting is done with bamboo rods or long wooden needles that have eyes.

*171 392 285

Fig. 32. Fire fan (1/9 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

*171 283 The spindle is a disk through which is stuck a thin, not very straight, and smoothly worked stick sometimes notched at the tip. To it is attached a tuft of cotton, freed of seeds, whereupon the whorl is rapidly turned on the thigh and the whole allowed to hang; as a result of the even rotation, the cotton is twisted into a thread. The thread is wound on the little stick, until a thick, cone-shaped ball rests against the whorl, which prevents it from slipping off. Diameter of the whorl-disk, five and a half to six centimeters; length of spindle shaft, 30-35 centimeters. The [239] whorl usually consists of a piece of the ventral shell of the turtle,

/300 cont./

*171 527 535 against appearing in the "flute house" at an inappropriate time, though they may hope to come out again alive, or at most only half dead. Carnival on the Kulisehu is also followed by a period of fasting, for it does not end -- the reason is not one connected with the cult -- before everything that is there has been eaten [462] and drunk insofar as possible. The women have an enormous [262] job satisfying the demands for beijús and drinks; they must pound, [272] boil, and bake incessantly, and this necessity has probably also contributed somewhat to their being kept away from the dancing, so that they could meanwhile carry out their duties.

535 Bakaïrí. On the Rio Novo and Paranatinga the old customs are still observed. "Everybody dances like the wild Bakaïrí," said Antonio, "tudo dansa como Bakaïrí brabo." He described to me the festival held last April, when the people from the Rio Novo had invited those of the Paranatinga. They danced the yatuka dance, the makanri, and the imeo. Yatuka is a fish dance; wooden fish are worn on the head, especially the black pakú and the matrincham; heads of men and women are made of calabashes painted black and white or black and red and surrounded with Bromelia hair.

Makanari is a general term. The Bakaïrí calls almost everything and anything that is part of his dance adornment makanari; he calls specific dances makanari. "bakaïrí makanári zóto," the Bakaïrí is master of the makanari. It is the dance of his tribe. The imeo is a type of makanari, a specific figure. In fact, it seems that the concept of makanari was originally narrower and [532] referred to a specific dance with straw plaiting. Among the docile Bakaïrí there are no wooden masks. Here the principal makanari is the bat dance, and, to be sure, semímo, the small [533] bat, and aluá, the large bat. Antonio recited the text of the aluá dance* for me, but, in spite of a great deal of trouble, it

535 539 *One man sings: ohuhaaha-áhá yumáa ohú.... yumarí uvanuká, yumari uvanuká huyaná vitá öö....yohohohú. Then another: mauá káua

241 beans, *ipié;* peanuts, *oremí;* sweetpotatoes, *mahódo;* "cará," *návi;* maize, *ánji;* potatoes, *múla;* cotton, *kodokíra;* urucú, *áunto;* tobacco, *tauwí;* piqui fruit, *ípa*. Manioc, maize, and sweetpotatoes
248 were the principal food crops. Cotton was grown for making hammocks and the various belts and
276 strings used. Tobacco leaves, after being dried, were smoked by being rolled into cigars (*tapáki*).
[755] Tobacco seems to have had a ritual use, as the shamans smoked heavily before performing a rite.
252 Bitter manioc was shredded on a shredding board into which fish teeth or fine pieces of shell had been embedded. The pulp was squeezed in a piece of cotton cloth in order to remove the poisonous acids. The meal was then used for baking cakes. The fine powder or flour which settled at the bottom of the settling tub was also used for baking cakes after it was thoroughly dried. Maize was eaten boiled or roasted. Sweetpotatoes were
272 roasted over coals. Maize meal was prepared and mixed with wild honey and water to make a nonalcoholic beverage. The Bacairí claim not to have used any form of alcoholic beverage.

241 Cultivated plots were located outside the village, each large household usually having a continuous area. Maize and many other crops were planted in September and October when the rains began. Sweet manioc and sweetpotatoes could be planted the year around, especially on river banks after the rivers went down following the rainy season. April was the harvest month and also the beginning of the ceremonial season.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

592 The occupants of the large communal houses usually worked together in the fields, went hunting or fishing together, and generally cooperated in economic activities. Families could work individually if they wished or did not need the help
241 of others. It was the task of the men to burn and
462 prepare the fields for planting. As the men loosened the soil with the digging stick women planted the seeds, slips, or pieces of stalk, as the case might be. Women and children thereafter took care of the weeding.

462 Division of labor by sex existed to a certain
[285] extent. Women wove mats (*anegéu*) out of various
[286] fibers, and hammocks out of cotton yarn which was also spun by women. Men wove baskets.
[323] Both men and women made clay pots. Bacairí

/57 cont./

487 the northeast a wide path through tall sapé grass, with which the
[824] houses are covered, to the river rapids below, toward the south
[361] a path to the mandioca planting, and everywhere tall forest moved in close to the inhabited and planted clearing.

162 The community numbered nine men, seven women, five
621 children. The names of the men were: Tumayaua, the chief,
551 our guide, who was primarily responsible for the planting (Pl.
[463] 6).[2] Paleko, his father, a charming old gentleman, with whom I struck up a close friendship and who in his declining years plaited baskets and fish weirs, Alakuai, the shrewd carpenter and canoe-builder, Awia, the painter, Yapü, the fat one, Kalawaku, the modest one, and the young men Kulekule,
[574] Luchu (Pl. 6), and Pauhaga. After a few days a couple of visitors came from the second village, among them one whose parents had died young and who therefore -- had no name.

The names of the women were not to be discovered: "pekóto úra" was the regular answer, "I am a woman." Thus
162 I have had to /58/ invent my own designations here; there was,
621 as always, an old woman who had a great deal to say and who, with her lean wrinkled body, was not exactly beautiful, the "tribal witch," Paleko's wife (see Pl. 5, left).[2] Her antithesis was her granddaughter "Eva," Tumayaua's daughter, mother of two children and the youthful wife of the muscular, magnificently strongly built Kulekule, who, before I knew his name, seemed to me worthy of being called "Adam" in this little paradise and also possessed a fine yellowish-red loam color.
[142] Eva had a finely chiseled European face with full lips, pale rosy cheeks which were closely framed with wavy hair, and the most beautiful eyes that I saw in Brazil -- and that is saying not a little -- large eyes whose sweet /Fig. 2 appears here/ glance contained no coquetry at all, but in whose radiant fire, with a full, naïvely tender upward glance, glowed that spark of innocent lust that must once upon a time have kindled the eternal fires of the universe; thus, with a body never mistreated by any lacing, she really looked like a young Mother Eva. Unfortunately, she scratched her head far too often,

[1] [See P. 40--Analyst]
[2] [See P. 28--Analyst]

/386 cont./

539 the jaguar stood up and went in the direction the ant bear had
825 gone. The ant bear was inside the mountain and was singing. The jaguar went into the house. Singing, the ant bear came along with his back to the door. As he was coming, the jaguar seized him. He ate some of his leg. When he had eaten, he let go and went home. The termites made the ant bear well again. When he had recovered, the ant bear got up.

The little ant-bear (Myrmecophaga tetradactyla) said he would kill the jaguar. "Oh pshaw, you're no giant," the people said to him. "Then take magic poison along," the people told him. The little ant bear did as they said; he took magic poison in a gourd to Oka's house and placed the gourd in front of the door. Oka went out. When he caught sight of the gourd, he said, "That is something nice for me," and opened it. Then Oka became ill. The jaguar died.

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Chapter XIV.

000

On the Question of the Original Home of the Karaiben.

I. Historical Data on the Bakaïrí.

101 In contrast to the East Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ of the Schingú, found first by our expedition of 1884 and 1887, I call the Bakaïrí west of the Paranatinga, long known to the Brazilians, the West
131 Bakaïrí. Today there is one village of them, to which our
[361] Antonio belongs, on the left bank of the Paranatinga, and a second one on the small tributary stream of the Arinos, the Rio Novo, where Reginaldo ruled as chief and where in 1884 we made
[464] our first acquaintance with the tribe. A few individuals, whom one can count on one's fingers, however, are to be found as workers on one fazenda or another in the western source-region of the Paranatinga; there are also supposed to be a few on the Rio Preto in the vicinity of Diamantino, who represent the
131 remains of a former settlement. At any rate, since the Arinos
133 and Paranatinga flow into the Tapajoz /Tapajós/, the West

/26 cont./

114 the Rio S. Manuel and the Rio Paranatinga (officially named
361 Rio Telles Pires), encountered the Bakairí of the Rio Novo and the Rio Paranatinga and those who had settled at the "Cabeceira do Chapadão." (31)

31. Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa, loc. cit., p. 70.

361 In the aldea situated on the Rio Novo there still lived at
622 this time the old cacique, Reginaldo, who then wore a long, white beard. He had good plantations, he carried on some
[249] raising of cattle and horses, and he had a stand of rubber trees
361 from which he had rubber sought. (32) A small group of

32. Ibid.

Bakairí from the Arinos region lived at this time on the Cabeceira do Pitão, a tributary of the Rio Arinos. They were the Bakairí,
[423] André, and four fellow tribesmen who owned plantations and
[464] worked as rubber workers. (33)

33. Ibid., pp. 70 and 71.

159 Meanwhile changes had taken place among the Rio
622 Paranatinga Bakairí. Antonio was still cacique of the aldea,
593 which was still at the same place, slightly downriver from the
361 mouth of the São Manuel River on the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires), where it had been set up after the death of Cacique Felipe. Since the aldea consisted at this time of seven houses, it may be assumed that Antonio still commanded a relatively large number of Bakairí. But he was no longer the sole ruler of all the Paranatinga Bakairí. The differences which
159 had already existed for a long time between Antonio and his
593 stepson, José Coroado, had become intensified, and after a
361 serious quarrel between them, José Coroado had left Antonio's

Bacairi SP7.
Mato Grosso SP1

B 464 [551]

Nine canoemen, recommended by Major Noronha, were recruited from the Bakairi. The nine included Paghuli, or Marcellino, and Apacanu, both of whom had lived on the Kulusen before the withdrawal of the Bakairi to the post. Both of these men can speak Anahukua to some extent, and are the only men who know how to make bark canoes. Unfortunately, their Portuguese is poor, necessitating another interpreter. Their knowledge and skill in matters of river travel made them invaluable, however.

[191] [396]

B 501

The Bakairi have the reputation of being the best canoemen of the region. The children are taught to paddle from infancy, and become extremely skillful in paddling the clumsy and heavy canoes. The paddle used is short and narrow, and a quick, short stroke is employed, the paddler shifting his paddle from one side to the other with every two or three strokes. Steering is accomplished more by the bowman than by the man in the stern. The use of the stern paddle as a rudder is not well understood. Poling is resorted to by the man in the bow when going up the stream, in which case the efforts of the man in the stern are given to guiding the canoe, which is accomplished by quick shifting of the paddling from one side to the other. Among the Bakairi, as indeed among all of the aborigines encountered, the women are as good paddlers as the men, but they never were seen poling.

* * * *

B M 114

As soon as our personnel was completed, with the addition of a young Italian explorer, Giacomo Anzil, who had been forced to abandon his project to reach the Amazon upon reaching the post, our baggage was transferred to the backs of oxen and mules, which were to transport it to the Kulusen river. The men not concerned with driving the oxen went afoot. It was indeed an odd caravan. Mounted men busy with the oxen, men afoot carrying bows and arrows and guns, long-horned oxen, small mules, filed in a long line across the wastes of the plateau. All of the men wore a red kerchief wound about the head, and the usual bantering conversation was carried on. The Bakairi, of course, wore trousers and shirts, and even sandals made of old automobile tires, in imitation of the Brazilian camaradas.

B [177] [29]

As we moved eastward and slightly north, it became more often necessary to build bridges for the animals, across small but high-banked

/67 cont./

000 knew how to master our feelings; when the sugar supply, the rapadura, dwindled, it became necessary to distribute the remainder individually, so that each one at the camp could prepare his refreshing drink in a thrifty or extravagant way, as he wished, and later, at the Fazenda San Manoel, when we found only a small supply of rapadura, which we cut into pieces of exactly the same size, we became seriously excited about the discovery that the soldiers, with whom we shared fairly, had secretly obtained a number of the bonbon bricks.

476 The Bakaïrí lived like a single family; they mutually distributed the booty from fishing and hunting among the various houses; in each house there had to be a further distribution among 000 the various families. The time when they learned to plant mandioca and maize, and were then able to assure themselves of a regular supply of food, was a new era. Until /68/ then they had lived from hand to mouth, as we did on the expedition, and being alone for the sake of peace and quiet was then perhaps a reasonable, useful arrangement. That arrangement, practiced from childhood on and having become a habit which was in their blood, was carried over into the period of sedentary life when agriculture predominated and it no longer had any meaning. Then the feeling of modesty developed. For it could no longer be justified as truly sensible, it was not examined as to its justification by circumstances, every old habit is there for its own sake; it is then called "sacred" because it has simply become a matter of feeling. One is ashamed when a person violates it, and is the more righteously ashamed the less one is able to say what grievous thing he has actually committed. One who has passed through another process of development, who looks at the matter itself and not the false conception arrived at through a reinterpretation, and who is in their position, asks astonished: "Why is it not proper not to eat alone?" "Why," the Bakaïrí asks us, "is it not proper to be naked?" The one would have to know that one remains "naked" under his clothing; the other that one eats "alone" even in the largest company. Quite certainly our feeling of modesty in the

/261 cont./

352 The Bakairí slept in hammocks, amaka, woven of palm fiber.
[415] Their furnishings can be summed up as benches of a solid
[285] piece of wood, clay pots, mats and baskets. The diet rests
262 upon manioc, piquí, sweet potatoes, maize, and fish. How-
224 ever, the hunting of monkeys, wild pig, tapir, and other ani-
[241] mals was not scorned. Most of the food reserves, however, were of vegetable origin, and the most important harvests were made up of manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, and piquí. Yams /cará/, cotton, urucú, and tobacco were also planted.

342 The occupants of a communal house worked together on
476 the building of a new house, acquiring thereby the right to
622 reside in it. This construction work, however, was led by the individual who had the most prestige in the group, usually the old head of the house, who thus set himself up as the head of
241 the new house. The tasks of clearing fields and planting
476 generally depended on the participation of all the aldea. When
527 beginning a new clearing, the Bakairí would give a feast, kométe, with the distribution of food to the Indians who worked
501 on the field. The Bakairí made canoes from the bark of the
[824] jatobá tree, in the Xinguano way. This construction, as well as fishing, hunting, and agricultural activities, were accom-
[782] panied by propitiatory rituals.

Their products were bartered among neighboring groups
437 in the course of visits called tuliki which depended on the
574 presence of the chiefs of both aldeas. After the exchange of the objects desired, the visitors were honored with a feast called tulake.

621 /262/ The Bakairí were not a warlike people, and their
181 political organization does not seem very elaborate. Each
622 aldea had a chief, pima, assisted by a subchief, itáida. The
624 Bakairí do not remember the existence of a chief for the whole
[643] tribe, and there is no evidence that such a figure ever existed. The selection of the itáida was made by means of agreement of the aldea, but it generally fell on the son of the pima himself. The pima's functions were chiefly ceremonial, economic, and juridical.

Bacairí

323 pots are quite distinct from the pottery of the Indians living on the Upper Paraguay River. Bacairí pots are flat-bottomed and have straight vertical walls with everted rims. The pots in common use were, and still are, black in color, unglazed, and undecorated. Some of the pots [532] seen were made in the forms of frogs, turtles, fish, and birds. The Bacairí claim that they [531] formerly had decorated pottery called *ezuiga*, painted with black, gray, red, and brown designs.

●476 The Bacairí also had economic activities in which the whole village, or a number of communal houses, participated. The *kometé*, or col- 241 476 lective land clearing, was one of these. A man would invite a large number of relatives and friends to assist him in clearing a new piece of forest land. The women would participate by pre- [262] paring large amounts of food and honey beverage 423 476 for the workers. The new field would remain the property of the man who initiated the *kometé*, obligating him to work in return if called upon, but sometimes the group of men who cleared the field would divide it among them.

342 476 House building was always an enterprise in which the whole village took part. The group that was interested in raising the house cut the beams and poles necessary for the framework and prepared large quantities of food. While a certain number of men began to put up the framework, others went to gather grass for thatching. When they returned with the thatching they put [535] on their ceremonial decorations and danced the *mahulawári* dance. House building was thus not only an economic act but also a ceremonial occasion.

286 476 Hammock weaving was, at times, a collective enterprise. A woman with a larger than usual cotton crop distributed cotton among her friends and when the work was completed she organized a feast and dance.

437 628 574 Ceremonial trading expeditions (*tuláli*) were organized by the chief of the village. During the rainy seasons, when the rivers were high and [622] canoe travel easy, the men of a village would collect whatever excess goods they had, such as bows, baskets, ornaments, hammocks, and even food, and would go to a neighboring village where the chief would receive them before the ceremonial house. The two chiefs would then supervise the exchange of commodities. After the trading was

527 gather the ceremonial corn. Later in the day the women prepared large quantities of corn porridge and roasted ears.

On the morning of the third day the actual ceremony began in front of the *kadoéti*. The organizer of the dance distributed roasted ears or pieces of ears to all the villagers, children included. Then at a signal from the leader, the villagers began throwing the roasted corn in all directions and at one another. After the roasted corn was [262] disposed of, the people ate the corn porridge and meat prepared on the preceding day. They then washed themselves in the river and put on their paint and ornaments. When the villagers had again gathered before the *kadoéti* the dance leader took a piece of corn husk and went from man 527 to man asking for a song leader. The man who 533 took the offered corn husk then began the *yawaisári*, or song in praise of corn. Little by little the others joined in the singing and eventually began to dance. The words of the song told how corn came to the Bacairí and how it made the people strong and healthy.

881/ The *ransegéro*, or ear-piercing ceremony, was 304 performed just before a boy went into puberty seclusion. It was customary for men who had sons of about the same age to cooperate in getting large quantities of food ready for the feast. After the feast was over the ears of the boys were pierced [533] and the *poinwáto* song was sung. When boys and girls came out of seclusion there was another ceremony during which all the songs and dances were performed with the exception of the sacred flute tunes.

342 The *mahulawári* was performed during coopera- 476 tive house building in which the whole village participated. While the women prepared food and some men were putting up the frame, a certain [824] number of men went in search of palm fronds for thatching. When these men returned with the palm fronds they danced and sang before the new house with their loads on their backs and in full ceremonial regalia.

286 The custom of distributing cotton by a woman 574 with a good cotton crop and having other women weave hammocks for her has already been mentioned. When the women had completed their weaving and returned the hammocks to the donor of the cotton, she gave a feast during which the [535] women sang and danced the *yamaikúma*. This

/124 cont./

123 and showed me how the raw cotton, merely cleaned of seeds, is
283 twisted into thread with the spindle. The cotton plants stand
241 between the huts everywhere; beside them grows mamona /castor
[372] oil plant/, whose oil serves us for wretched illumination in the
[251] evening, and peppers. Mats are spread out on racks in order to dry the mandioca farina.

The roça," the cultivated field, lies some distance away. The Bakairí plant mandioca, beans, rice, sweet potatoes, sugar, and deliver to the Fazenda Corrego fundo. Their rapadura was
272 excellent; the melada, a honey-sweet syrup, moved us to exclamations of admiration. The sugar cane is pressed between
249 two cylinders in the simplest way. (Cf. the vignette at the be-

342

Old-style hut.

[249] ginning of this chapter /see p. 2/).

We found Caetano's hut divided into three rooms: Caetano received us in the high, airy center room and shut the door, behind which little Luisa was doing housework. Felipe and Carlotta
354 Pareci lived in the corner room opposite. Three canga blocks
482 formed the hearth. Plaited back-baskets, which are carried by a forehead band and in which the women are said to carry up to six
412 arrobas. Graters to grate the mandioca: hard little spikes from
824 the rib of the buriti leaf are neatly set into the middle part of a narrow piece of wood almost a meter long.

/162 cont./

512 I did them an injustice; at half-past seven a procession of seven comes around the corner in the fastest quickstep, one behind the other, the tribal sorceress at their head, all loaded with [482] mandioca roots. The old woman is carrying a bundle of them loose on her head, and behind her runs a young woman with a heavy back-basket; is it her husband who is following her? Likewise [854] bent under the load of a basket he walks forward, on his left hip a straddling boy whom he clasps heedlessly, as though he had hurriedly picked him up from the ground.

592 We visit the house of the professor. In the moderately light [352] room one at first distinguishes only a number of vertical and [252] horizontal posts, brown hammocks; the old woman and a younger one are sitting on the floor most diligently scraping mandioca with a shell, the naked legs buried in the parings.

[353] Two families have divided up in the space; the conjugal chambers are characterized by the fact that two hammocks are fastened, one above the other, to the same post. In the center there is an empty circle, and round about, /163/ radially, the "individual rooms" divided off, not by partitions, but merely by [354] the posts. The upper vault is blackened by smoke. Three or [251] four stones form the simple hearth. The flour is put into huge [252] pot vessels (up to 77 centimeters in diameter); the beijûs are [323] roasted on flat, rimless bowls. The clay is blackish brown, the vessels are made by hand by the women.

352 We sit on small, low benches; they are rectangular, slightly concave, made out of dark-brown palm-wood, usually in octavo form, and not a decimeter high.

412 The stone axes, which are sticking in the wall (the longest [353] 24 centimeters), all have the same shape: a thick wooden cylinder, [135] offset at the bottom by a thinner handle. The stone is supposedly found farther downstream (1). /Illustration appears here./

1. Herr Prof. Arzruni of Aachen was kind enough to examine the material carefully and has identified it as diabase, a rock made up of augite, plagioclase, mica, chlorite, and

/171 cont./

534 171 1. (cont.)
so that it rattles. They rattle with it when they sing and dance, and call it tammaraka." The soothsayer lets the rattle speak "and just a word so that one cannot really perceive whether the rattle is doing it or whether he is doing it. And the other people think that the rattle is doing it... but when I saw the fraud, I went out of the hut; I thought, what a poor, deluded people that is."

361 The aldea was otherwise similar to the first in everything. All around puva racks, cotton, spear grass, fruta de lobo, and
162 nearby a brook running over white sand. We counted 18 men, 17 women, 7 children; it is possible, however, that one or another has been counted twice; again the small number of children is very striking. Toward evening we returned to the river; I had done some good bartering.

122 18 Aug, φ 12° 59'.9, λ 7'.7, km. 22.10, total 164.42.
[132] 7:30 A.M.: dry. 14.0, water 22.7.
5:35 P.M.: I 742.8, II 733.4, dry. 25.0.

From the wool /Wolle," wool, down, hair, cotton"/ obtained in the village fish lines were twisted. During the night
[136] five pirararas /see the glossary, p. 172/ and nine piranhas were caught. The former has the bad habit, when it is hauled on land, of emitting a farewell sound, which is audible far and wide, with the part that leaves the water last. It tastes fatty; the broth is somewhat strong; it is also supposed to produce ulcers. -- The
[482] professor went home again; besides arrow, bow, and the treasured mirror, he carried his hammock on his back in a net held by a forehead band: this is the way the Bakaïrí goes traveling. -- A young, handsome chap accompanies us to the next village. He
[291] wears a red-black flannel shirt and around his head a green cloth with the Brazilian coat of arms. At the campsite he removes this clothing.

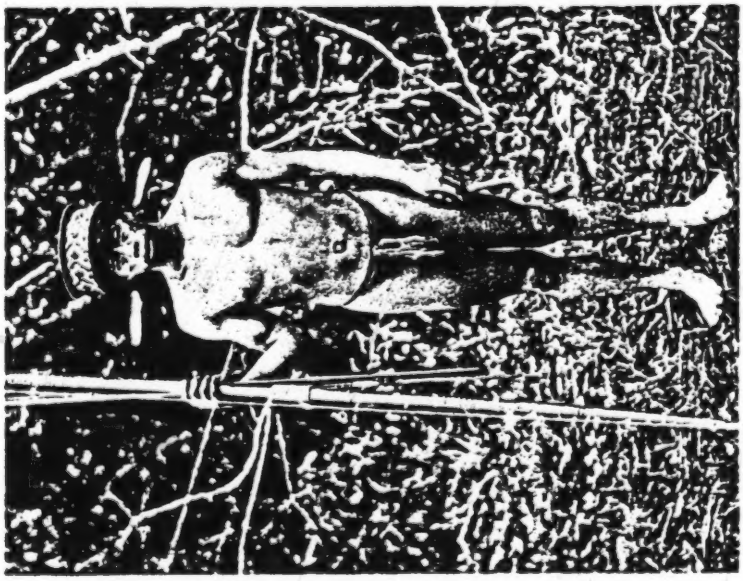
142
291
411
516

Plate VI

[482]

Tumayaua

Bakairí



Iuchu

/74 cont./

226 and sought to drive the fish into them. It was an amusing sight: the girls extremely agile, the men less quick, fat Yapü in particular not at all in his element apparently, much laughing and splashing, in the air a few hovering dragonflies and humming bees without number, on the shore under the tree the busily commenting old Paleko, who leaned with his left hand on a stick and held pressed under his upper arm on the same side the very superfluous stone ax. The fish were called poniũ or poriũ, the jejú of the Brazilians.

● 482 [122] The bark canoe that I had ordered was ready on September 18; the stone ax had worked slowly, but very neatly. Four men carried the vessel to the river; on their shoulders they had placed rings plaited out of brown bast and with exactly the same appearance as those our market women wear on their heads.

123 [114] I had now been alone with the good Bakaïri for more than a week and I noticed that they were becoming somewhat impatient. They asked far too often when the "younger brothers" were coming. What I had carried with me in the way of valuables was long since in their possession anyway; even my amẽma ikúto ("figure of the lizard"), a reptile with glass scales and ruby-red eyes, which they had greedily attempted to get belonged to them.

But our good understanding remained the same up to the final hour. If it had been up to me, I would have preferred to [262] spend the entire rainy season with them, although I could not get [122] rid of a sourish taste in my throat from the eternal starchy food 157 and I was also suffering from digestive upsets. My first impressions about the peaceable and sympathetic character of my hosts needed no correction. The elders were wise and solicitous, the young people vigorous and agile, the women industrious and domestic, all of them well-meaning, a little vain, and, with the exception of a few mothers absorbed by their duties, always gay and talkative. All were honest. No one ever took anything of mine, lost things were often brought to me, anything that I had received in trade was always regarded as my property.

/91 cont./

133 Tumayaua declared that he had heard them shout. It is probable
[101] that the fire glow which we had repeatedly noticed in the east, and which had been regularly observed in the evening at Independencia, came from them. Barely an hour later, the Kewayeli, about 12 meters wide, flowed in from the left. On both banks queimada and plantings.

484 From the second village Tumayaua had taken along as a companion Pakurali, a short, stocky old man who did not look as though he were a great sorcerer, and whom we, with a lack of respect, called the "cab driver." They did not have much
[482] luggage with them and easily packed it into the mayakus, their
[286] back-baskets for carrying loads. They had taken along on the journey, not cotton hammocks, but hammocks made of palm fiber, which are lighter and dry quickly if they become wet. /92/ The two made rapid progress, even though they were bent on fishing at every favorable spot. We had let the great sorcerer sniff a bottle of ammonia, which had horrified him no little. After that he could no longer be enticed to smell any of our things. If one of us calls from a corner that it stinks there, everybody runs over and sniffs.

103 To the Third Bakaïrí Village (Kuyaqualiéti).

361 The harbor at which we arrived at 4:45 lay at the end of a lateral inlet and would not have been found without a guide.

The next morning, 6 October, we departed at 7:00 for the village and reached it in three-quarters of an hour on the usual
[532] winding forest-trail. On the way we saw a large human figure carved in tree bark, with three fingers on the hands and stump-like feet.

Harpia village, "kuyaquali-éti," also had only three houses and a flute-house, but was the liveliest of the three villages.
162 I counted 31 men and just about as many women and children.
621 Some of the latter, however, had run into the woods. There
574 were probably about 100 souls in the village. The chief, Porisa,
622 was a small, friendly gentleman; he had had beijú baked at night.

/234 cont./

*171 501 with a shaft and crook-handle (cf. the illustration /see Fig. 29, p. 243/). Holding the crook-handle with one hand and the lower part of the shaft with the other, the Indian pushes the oar down rather vertically by his side and levers it forward with powerful pressure. Often the thrusts follow one another very rapidly, the oar is thrown high in the air and changes hands with lightning [502] speed. One of the rowers usually sits in front, the other in the rear; the one in the rear steers with his paddle, the one in front shoots at fish. The only place to sit is a low clamped-in piece of [415] branch. In the center lies a carrying basket, protected from the rain with leaves. Loam and resin play a great part; /235/ the [396] bark easily cracks, especially in the bent-in stern, and lets in *171 502 water. Thanks to their great skill as pilots, the Bakaïrí shoot even through the swell of the cataracts without danger; the rapids with a greater fall downstream in the region of the Yuruna, however, could not be surmounted with the low and fragile bark canoes -- a noteworthy obstacle against the shifting of our tribes toward the north. Perhaps no less difficult would be the beating of the waves on the broader stream, which every strong wind [396] brings. On the other hand, the bark canoes have the tremendous advantage of being made in the shortest time. For this reason even the people at the Fazenda S. Manoel were satisfied with a canoe furnished by the Bakaïrí, which cost only one day's work. [482] They are easy to carry out of the forest to the shore; bast rings protect the shoulders.

*171 484 Fishing is done just as much as possible during a trip, and similarly eating. Smoking and singing en route are unknown.

*171 226 Fishing implements. The shooting of fish with bow and arrow provides only a little booty, in terms of number. I have reported on the fences or palings with which the river was blocked off near the second Bakaïrí village, on the "chiqueiras," the barrier made with twigs that closes off the mouths of brooks or the arms of lagoons, on the stone circles that were laid out, often in great numbers, in the shallow river bed near rapids, and where the fish entered from above through a narrow opening and, driven downstream, were caught in nets at the opposite exit, and, finally,

/237/

*171 is covered with more small sticks, so that a triangular horizontal
251 grill is formed. The fish are opened with a longitudinal slash along
252 the middle line and a crosswise cut on the side; the flap is opened, the entrails removed, and the fish are placed on the roasting rack.

*171 Plaiting. The mate-
285 rial was furnished by the
[824] bakayuva, buriti, akurí, and carandasinha palms, bamboo cane, and Maranta stalks, which were split, the climbing palm urumbamba (Desmoncus), and the in-
[462] dispensable vines. The men were the ones who plaited. They used both feet to help out, one foot holding the transverse stalks, the other the longitudinal ones. The basket plaiting was not on a high level. There were little standing and hanging baskets, closely plaited and wide-meshed, in
• [482] which odds and ends were stored, fish carried, and the like, but there was no ad-
→ vance beyond the generally familiar forms. Some
[531] variety was achieved by plaiting in black-colored strips. The Mehinakú and Auetö had larger, rectangular, trough-like standing baskets, which were characterized by a neat appearance, were also decorated with tassels at the corners, and were used to store gourds and the like. The Mehinakú called these baskets mayáku, a word which the

Fig. 31.
Carrying basket. (1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

/237 cont./

*171 Bakaïrí used for the very differently constructed carrying basket.
285 The accompanying illustration /see Fig. 31, p. 247/ shows
[482] the three-walled carrying basket used by all tribes, the "mayáku" of the Bakaïrí, while the manner in which it is carried, hanging from the head with a bast loop, may be seen in the picture of Tumayaua, Plate 6 /see p. 40/. The contents were covered with leaves, which are also used to line the inside; then the side walls were bound together as tightly as possible. Small back-baskets were even hung on children.

The storage baskets for the mandioca flour should also be mentioned. While the lower tribes had clumsy supply baskets, resembling the back-baskets in form, those of the Bakaïrí (oádu) were the product of careful work. Five or six thin poles as tall as a man were put together with a couple of cross-rings of vines to form a circular framework supported in some way, this was lined with Heliconia leaves, several of which were strung over one another with thread, spread out, and on the outside wound in horizontal circular turns with reddish pindahyba bast from bottom to top, with the bast knotted continuously from piece to piece. While this type of basket was therefore unplaited, there were others with an open, hexagonal /238/ mesh plaiting, which were likewise lined with leaves. The baskets were hung by strips of embira.

[372] The plaiting of mats did not play an important role. Small fan-shaped or square mats for fanning the fire were very pretty.
[352] Larger mats for sleeping were lacking, since hammocks were
[252] used. Mats were used in the preparation of flour, first of all drying mats plaited out of palm leaves, and then sieve-mats consisting of four-edged small reed rods knotted together with cross-threads for sifting and pressing out the roots grated on the grating boards studded with palm spines. Similar rod mats served as cases for storing feather ornaments. The feathers were placed in them as in a file folder; the mat was then held stiff by means of three clamps, one each on the top, on the bottom, and in the middle, made by bending split reed stalks together and, with the cut side lying against them, stretching them across transversally and tying the projecting ends together at the right.

352 415 wooden benches, and dishes and cups made from gourds.

454 As the Bacairí were extensive travelers and 226 depended upon fish for a considerable part of 501 their food supply, canoes were an important part of their equipment. The Bacairí canoe (*pépi*) 396 was made from the bark of the jatobá tree. The [824] tough, heavy bark was first stripped from one-half of the tree. Small fires were then lighted on the inside of the bark trough to make it curl. Braces were placed at intervals along the entire length, the bow was tapered, and the stern was squared off by forcing the bark upward at one end. 501 Bacairí canoes varied in size, the larger ones being able to carry as many as 8 men. Canoes of jatobá bark are used by the Bacairí today and are the [171] predominant type among the Indians of the 415 Upper Xingú. The Bacairí also made large [824] tubs out of jatobá bark which were used as settling 352 vessels for manioc juice. The juice of the manioc contains a fine powder or starch which settles on the bottom of the vessel, to be gathered after the 241 liquid is poured off. For gardening, the Bacairí formerly used a digging stick made of hardwood. 411 For hunting, they used a bow (*túka*), round or 821 slightly oval in cross section and from 2 to 2½ meters in length, made from a yellow or reddish wood which was first matured by burying it in mud. The bowstring was made from the fibers of imbauba bark. Arrows (*piréu*) were made from [237] cane with hardwood or bone points. Hunting arrows had two feathers, but arrows used for shooting fish had serrated wooden points and no 412 feathers. The cutting tools of the Bacairí consisted of knives made from bamboo, stone, bones, and 409 shell. Transportation was by canoe, or if over 482 land, goods were carried in a wicker basket supported on the back by a tump line.

ORNAMENTS

291 While living on the banks of the Kuliseu River, [171] the Bacairí, in common with the other Upper Xingú River tribes, did not use clothing. Men sometimes wore a narrow cotton band (*onegín*) around the waist, with a few tassels hanging in front. Women, after puberty, wore the ulurí. 302 Men wore their hair cut short. Women wore their hair long at the back but cut straight across over [412] the forehead. Hair was cut with a knife made [237] by setting sharp fish teeth into a wooden stick,

/91 cont./

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/394 cont./

173 source region of the Tapajoz, and from there some of them emi-
167 grated to the Batovy and Kulisehu in the source region of the Schingú. According to the legend, they reached the salto from the source region of the Paranatinga and Ronuro.

The separation of the West Bakaïrí and East Bakaïrí would under all circumstances have to be dated back to at least the previous century and before the time when the Bakaïrí spread to the southwest into the source region of the Cuyabá. The
174 linguistic comparison agrees well with these conclusions; the
197 two groups of Bakaïrí speak a language that is identical in form and content, with slight dialectal differences. A few fish and trees are designated differently; the name of the akurí palm of the Kulisehu is that of the oaussú palm of the Paranatinga, and
[177] vice versa. As far as the Schingú Bakaïrí are concerned, it is absolutely certain that they have never had any contact with the white man.

619 As a result of our expedition of 1884, West Bakaïrí and East
[123] Bakaïrí came together again. Antonio, after his return home
[166] to the Paranatinga, told of the fellow tribesmen on the Batovy, and the practical Chief Felipe had the idea that he must try to
[484] persuade them to settle on the Paranatinga. In September of 1886 he set out with Antonio and another man; they reached the Batovy in three days and required another three days along the river until they reached the first village.

/395/ Chief Luku was kurápa and did not entertain them as splendidly as they had expected, but several East Bakaïrí, our "professor" of 1884 in the lead, accompanied them to the
619 Paranatinga. The visitors had great fear of the cattle, but great
431 joy over the visitors-gifts, with which Felipe did not stint. I inquired specifically what they had been given to take along. "We gave them all the iron we had, chickens (this, however, was later denied), small banana plants, mandioca twigs, maize, and rice." Thus one sees how the first opportunity is immediately used to transplant the cultivated produce! If the experiment succeeded, our successors on the Schingú will be able to eat bananas!

B 619 [484] [177]

/395 cont./

In January of 1887 Felipe gaily set out for Cuyabá to let himself be presented with more iron goods, but his hopes were not appreciated there, and he was sent home empty-handed. Tumayaua told us in 1887 that the Bakairi of the first Batovy village had again gone to the Paranatinga; they must have arrived there shortly after our departure. I had no further opportunity to hear more details about this later.

II. Shift of the Karaiben to the North.

B C 121 174

Chiefly relying on linguistic evidence, I attempted, on the basis of the results of the first Schingú /Xingu/ expedition, to defend the hypothesis that the newly discovered Karaiben /Carib/ in the source region of the Tapajoz /Tapajós/ and Schingú lived closer to the original seats of the tribe than did the Karaiben north of the Amazonas, that the latter immigrated from the south into the Guianas and from there crossed over to the Lesser Antilles.

A B C 174

I advanced a movement in the same direction only for the Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ always appearing next to the Karaiben, although I was well aware that there was far greater uncertainty here than in the case of the Karaiben. Cf. Durch Central-brasilien, page 297 /omitted in 1 Steinen of this file, a translation of the work cited/. "Whether the common ancestors lived in the northern or southern part of the stretch of country over which we find the grandchildren distributed is rather unimportant considering the present state of our knowledge. My feeling -- that is all -- is more inclined to assume that the movement started from the plateau." My feeling, however, deceived me for an important part of the Nu-Aruak group, the Parexí, of whom I had erroneous ideas based on reports of Cuyabans; for, at least according to the statements that I obtained from them directly in 1888, they definitely advanced from north to south, even though the boundary may be uncertain with regard to how far north their homeland is to be shifted. At the present time the problem concerning the Nu-Aruak is not yet to be taken in at a glance; we know too little about the Moxos /Mojo/ and

B A 174

/21 cont./

622 that he still kept from those days. Antonio had no children by
115 Dofia Rosa. I had the opportunity to become acquainted with
[123] her when, returning in poor health from the Rio Kulisehu, I
was most generously accommodated in her house although
Antonio was away.

342 José Coroado's house, situated in front of his stepfather
355 Antonio's house, was just as large and built in the same style.
353 Its interior gave much more of a native impression than Antonio's
house. In the half-dark rooms several women lay in the ham-
mocks, /22/ among them one with Jose's little daughter, who
was only a few weeks old. All the walls in the house showed in
the upper part, directly under the ceiling, boards painted in
black and white. These friezes made by the Xinguanos showed
the typical paintings of the Bakairí. All of the decorations
known to the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River regions appeared
in these paintings, such as, for example, the figures called
159 uluri, merechu, and maimai. José, in spite of his youth, had
191 already had a great deal of experience. The hole in his lower
lip at once recalled his early childhood among his own fellow
[871] countrymen, the Bororo, whose idiom he still knew. As al-
ready mentioned above, he had come with his mother to the
house of Cacique Antonio when he was a boy of five or six, but
he had received part of his education in the capital, Cuiabá,
so that he was better acquainted than any other Rio Paranatinga
Bakairí with the Portuguese language, which he also used in
159 talking with his mother. When he was an adult, Cacique
619 Antonio had taken him along on a trip to the Batovy and Kulisehu
484 rivers. Already at that time he had had trouble with his step-
father because he had become too involved with the pretty girls
of the first aldea of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí and had thus
damaged the good relations with the inhabitants of that aldea.
The anger of the inhabitants of the first Rio Kulisehu aldea
caused by José Coroado's behavior still continued at the time of
my journey to the Rio Kulisehu, and José did not dare to ac-
company me to that aldea because he had learned that its

352 415 wooden benches, and dishes and cups made from gourds.

484 226 501 As the Bacairí were extensive travelers and depended upon fish for a considerable part of their food supply, canoes were an important part of their equipment. The Bacairí canoe (*pépi*) 396 was made from the bark of the jatobá tree. The [824] tough, heavy bark was first stripped from one-half of the tree. Small fires were then lighted on the inside of the bark trough to make it curl. Braces were placed at intervals along the entire length, the bow was tapered, and the stern was squared off by forcing the bark upward at one end. 501 Bacairí canoes varied in size, the larger ones being able to carry as many as 8 men. Canoes of jatobá bark are used by the Bacairí today and are the [171] predominant type among the Indians of the 415 Upper Xingú. The Bacairí also made large [824] tubs out of jatobá bark which were used as settling 352 vessels for manioc juice. The juice of the manioc contains a fine powder or starch which settles on the bottom of the vessel, to be gathered after the 241 liquid is poured off. For gardening, the Bacairí formerly used a digging stick made of hardwood. 411 For hunting, they used a bow (*túku*), round or 824 slightly oval in cross section and from 2 to 2½ meters in length, made from a yellow or reddish wood which was first matured by burying it in mud. The bowstring was made from the fibers of imbauba bark. Arrows (*pirétu*) were made from [237] cane with hardwood or bone points. Hunting arrows had two feathers, but arrows used for shooting fish had serrated wooden points and no 412 feathers. The cutting tools of the Bacairí consisted of knives made from bamboo, stone, bones, and 409 shell. Transportation was by canoe, or if over 482 land, goods were carried in a wicker basket supported on the back by a tump line.

ORNAMENTS

291 While living on the banks of the Kuliseu River, [171] the Bacairí, in common with the other Upper Xingú River tribes, did not use clothing. Men sometimes wore a narrow cotton band (*onegín*) around the waist, with a few tassels hanging in front. Women, after puberty, wore the ulurí. 302 Men wore their hair cut short. Women wore their hair long at the back but cut straight across over [412] the forehead. Hair was cut with a knife made [335] by setting sharp fish teeth into a wooden stick,

/~~119~~/

000 Clauss, Castro, and the majority stayed at the fazenda. The owner, for his part, rode to a compadre /Gavatter in the Ger.; in the original source, p. 191 (translated p. 72) "compadre" is translated as the Ger. Gevatter; the latter term is given in the glossary of Brazilian expressions, p. 171 / eight legoas away, who was supposed to sell farinha. Thus everyone was busy.

133 Wilhelm and I arrived at twilight after a four-hour march over a series of hilly ranges, having crossed a few small tributaries of the Paranatinga. We could have sworn that we were in the Bergischen /a hilly countryside near the Rhine/ or Westphalia -- farm houses in front of the bush, the quemada like potato fields; -- in the gathering darkness we also began to indulge in fancies: on a barren hill in the distance we clearly saw a lunatic asylum in the latest pavilion style.

[322] [142] [291] [301] [302] [241]

Captain Caetano "Mêmo."

231 The dreadful dogs that hastened toward us, barking, were ill-suited to bringing us back to a clear and sober conception of reality. These curs, small, skeletal specimens, with pointed snouts, light whitish-yellow fur, and glassy, watery eyes, looked as though they scratched up the dead out of the graves in the cemetery at night.

122 485 Received by old Captain Caetano and a few young chaps, we were put up in the guest house. The term is synonymous with guest room or guest stall. The only furniture a trough-like, unfinished bark canoe on a stand in the corner, which we were permitted to use as a dresser and table.

/80/

Seventh Chapter

000 March from Cuyabá to the Docile Bakaïrí on the Rio Novo

/Pages 80-98 are omitted in the translation./

/98/

132 14 June. 6:40 A.M.: dry. 18.9, wet. 18.2, strat. 8, S 2-3. Like yesterday, the south wind brings low-moving cloud masses.

122 Today the men are ready very quickly; off shortly before seven o'clock in the morning.

[137] Predominantly meadow, a narrow, hard path leads through
[487] it, on which one can merrily trot. A number of oxen greet us as the first emissaries. A wide expanse of campo has been freshly burned off; it is said that wild animals like to seek out these "quemadas" /see the glossary, p. 172 / because of the salty
[136] ashes. A number of curicacas (ibis); in the distance an ostrich, which Pedro and the dogs pursue in vain.

361 At nine o'clock we see the "aldeamento"[1] /see the glossary, p.170 / of the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ in the distance; four houses; the sunshine gives the illusion of slate roofs; a few naked torsos hasten inside, clothed persons step outside. In the immediate
[342] vicinity the settlement shrinks to actual palm-straw huts.

622 /99/ Daniel is on the spot and introduces us to "Captain Reginaldo." Reginaldo da Silva Nogueira, from the walnut forest /Nusswald/. A man in his forties with a broad chest, long, curly black hair, a friendly look, but silent; hat, shirt, trousers in good condition.

574 General handshaking. A half dozen, mostly young, broad-shouldered men, likewise in their Sunday best, sit on the fence of the cattle yard. The crown of creation is absent. -- Gradually the procession draws up, and everyone settles down at home. By way of greeting, sugar cane is sucked and a swallow of liquor permitted.

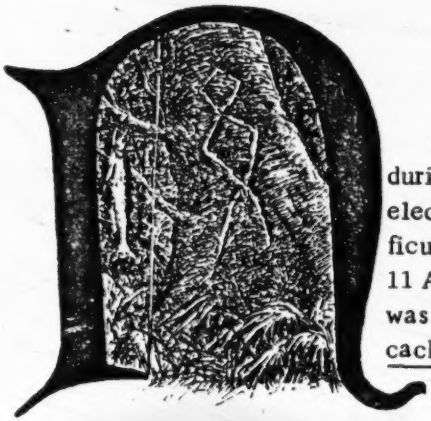
[1] [i.e. village -- Analyst]

Eleventh Chapter

000

The Wild Bakaïrí. The Kustenaú /Custenau/.

122
133



After all kinds of troubles during the morning, we traveled for a stretch without difficulties on the afternoon of 11 August, and again there was heard the rumble of the cachoeira /cataract; see the glossary, p. 170 /, which by this time had become positively gruesome for us all. To our joyous amazement we found an Indian canoe on the left shore. Below a beautiful waterfall poured forth on two ledges; poles and steps were set in it; it foamed and churned in a basin, only to form another level farther below.

[487]

122 For the moment, however, we have no eye for the salto; where are the Indians? We all gather, leave behind three men to guard the canoes, and push forward, gun in hand. -- The ground is strewn with jatobá /see the glossary, p. 171 / fruits; a well-trod path leads inland. We pass by a tree, into the bark of which the outlines, one-half life-sized, of a man above and a woman below have been crudely carved.

[137] [487] [532]

241 Silently our column marches through the forest -- the narrow path stops -- a clearing. There is thick smoke and steam rising from the tree stumps that stand there like broken pillars, in between a tangle of trunks and boughs on the ground, everything in

/168 cont./

126 During the night there was heavy dew; in the forenoon we dried Wilhelm's things; it is a pity the way the drawings look, the sheets are stuck together and bent. How could we have brought photographic chemicals through here?

136 At 1:00 in the afternoon slowly off. Several times a sandy shore 20 meters wide; masaricos, small black-white, red-legged shore-birds. Numerous traces of the tracajá turtle; the people poke in the sand with an arrow or generally simply follow the tracks of the tracajá and with their hands dig up the shallow pit that shows the impression of their bodies. In one nest there are 17 eggs, in another 15; the egg is white and gradually shades to gray; 4.9 centimeters long, 3.2 centimeters wide. Temperature of the sand 57°.4. The verdict about the empty nests, merely in passing by, is often: "Here the lizard has fed."

It is wondrously summer-like: current, sun, charming leafy shores, yellow butterflies, and no mosquitoes or wasps. Many novatos. Endless meanderings; we covered about two legoas.

Valentin caught a large pintado fish; see the glossary, p. 171/; Satyr was almost pulled out of the canoe by a pirahyba that was supposedly as long as he was. Loud buzzing and chirping in the night air. The sabiá was singing.

122 17 Aug. φ 13° 7'.3, λ 6'.1, km. 0.57, total 142.32.
132 6:35 A.M.: dry. 11.3, water 23.5.
7:30 P.M.: II 732.0, dry. 21.0.

Shivering I awoke during the night and believed that I had [361] fever. It was the cold. Very soon we arrived in the harbor of the second village.

227 A fisherman's hut lies at the entrance of the forest; here are baskets shaped somewhat like an elongated spiked helmet, into which, from the inner rim, a small collecting funnel with a narrow ●487 opening leads inside. The path stretches inland one legoa and is very similar to the one from the first village.

574 After a few steps we were received by two good acquaintances from Aldea I, who had gone overland to announce us to their fellows. One of them in blue trousers and red striped shirt, the

/53 cont./

122 Who was more pleased, Tumayaua, who hurried on ahead in order to announce us and rapidly disappeared from view, or [487] we ourselves, is difficult to say. We trudged behind one another along the narrow path in the terrain cleared by burning, stepped [361] into the forest after a few minutes, heard loud shouting and /54/ [342] a confusion of calls, and a few hundred feet farther, after we had crossed a crystal-clear brook on a tree trunk serving as a bridge, we came in sight of three beehive-like huts which had 609 an open space between them. Awaiting us there, with Tumayaua enthusiastically gesticulating at the head, was a naked, brown band of men and, in the rear guard, of women and children, all gathered in a tight group and half embarrassed, half joyful, [576] but in any case most surprised. The men stepped toward us, stretching out the right hand, and said "ãma = "you," "that is you," or "ãma kχarãiba" = "you, the Karaibe /Carib/."

829 Not they, but we are the "Karaiben" in their eyes, and I, who among us speak of the Karaiben tribe of the Bakaïrí, was called there the "pĩma kχarãiba," the chief of the Karaiben.

000

/55/

Chapter V.

Bakaïrí Idyl.

I.

Information about Kulisehu and Kuluëne. Antonio and Carlos back. A part of the world in which there is no laughing. Village layout. Introduction of the persons. My flute-house. In Paleko's house. Hospitality. Bean-cooking and dance songs. External appearance of the Indians. Nakedness and feeling of modesty. Eating and feeling of modesty. Tobacco club. Pantomime: river journey, days' journeys, tribes, work with the stone ax. Presentation of "mäh" and "wauwau." Tobacco planting. Fishing in the lagoon. Canoe-building.

/56 cont./

114 Bakaïrí, against such views about their characteristics as are
157 found, typically expressed, in the following sentences by Oscar Peschel (Abhandlungen zur Erde- und Völkerkunde /Essays on Geography and Ethnology/, Leipzig, 1877, Vol. I, p. 421): "In no other continent on earth did one hear less happy laughter before 1492 than in America. The so-called red man remains the same in all climates, /57/ everywhere he is gloomy, silent, withdrawn, and intent on a certain dignified bearing."

157 These assertions are in no way applicable to the Bakaïrí; they were gay, talkative, and trustful, as I observed them in their association with one another and as they acted toward me alone. I shall not fail to give examples of this. In this village I laughed and heard laughter almost as often as under the coconut palms of Samoa and Tonga. It is true, their temperament is less vivacious and their entire view of life less sunny than among the children of the South Seas, the girls do not dance in the moonlight and the men do not sing on canoe trips; shyness and mistrust are more easily aroused, but all this is a long way from the sadness and reserve which, like the black horsehair and the Mongolian eyes, are summarily attributed to the Indian on the basis of appearances, as though there were but a single family between the Bering Strait and the Strait of Magellan.

361 The "village" was very small; it consisted of two large
[342] round houses, in each of which several families lives, and a
[592] small, empty, somewhat dilapidated oblong house, in which I
[122] took up my residence. Between the houses stretched the "taséra,"
[417] an open place where a few racks stood for drying the white
[251] mandioca flour spread out on mats, where in the center lay a
[241] long, slender log for sitting, and, toward the edge, there grew a few stalks of cotton, Orleans bushes (Bixa orellana), and
245 Ricinus plants. Numerous fruit trees were planted all around, bakayuva palms (Acrocomia), mangaba /fruit of the mangabeira/ (Hancornia speciosa), fruta de lobo (Solanum lycocarpum), and a
487 sort of avenue of stately pikí trees (Caryocar butyrosum). Toward
361 the east a path led to the "harbor" across the nearby brook, toward
824

/57 cont./

487 the northeast a wide path through tall sapé grass, with which the
824 houses are covered, to the river rapids below, toward the south
361 a path to the mandioca planting, and everywhere tall forest moved in close to the inhabited and planted clearing.

162 The community numbered nine men, seven women, five
621 children. The names of the men were: Tumayaua, the chief,
551 our guide, who was primarily responsible for the planting (Pl.
463 6).[1] Paleko, his father, a charming old gentleman, with whom I struck up a close friendship and who in his declining years plaited baskets and fish weirs, Alakuai, the shrewd carpenter and canoe-builder, Awia, the painter, Yapü, the fat one, Kalawaku, the modest one, and the young men Kulekule,
574 Luchu (Pl. 6), and Pauhaga. After a few days a couple of visitors came from the second village, among them one whose parents had died young and who therefore -- had no name.

The names of the women were not to be discovered: "pekóto úra" was the regular answer, "I am a woman." Thus
162 I have had to /58/ invent my own designations here; there was,
621 as always, an old woman who had a great deal to say and who, with her lean wrinkled body, was not exactly beautiful, the "tribal witch," Paleko's wife (see Pl. 5, left).[2] Her antithesis was her granddaughter "Eva," Tumayaua's daughter, mother of two children and the youthful wife of the muscular, magnificently strongly built Kulekule, who, before I knew his name, seemed to me worthy of being called "Adam" in this little paradise and also possessed a fine yellowish-red loam color.
142 Eva had a finely chiseled European face with full lips, pale rosy cheeks which were closely framed with wavy hair, and the most beautiful eyes that I saw in Brazil -- and that is saying not a little -- large eyes whose sweet /Fig. 2 appears here/ glance contained no coquetry at all, but in whose radiant fire, with a full, naïvely tender upward glance, glowed that spark of innocent lust that must once upon a time have kindled the eternal fires of the universe; thus, with a body never mistreated by any lacing, she really looked like a young Mother Eva. Unfortunately, she scratched her head far too often,

[1] [See P. 40--Analyst]
[2] [See P. 28--Analyst]

/87 cont./

000 During the first few hours beyond Maigéri, the Kulisehu flowed along with heavenly calm; the canoe with its oars was undistortedly mirrored in the bottle-green surface, and a long trail of foam bubbles indicated the path. Somber, but shot through with yellowish sunlight, the picture of the forest back-drop contrasted with the shimmering, glittering surface. Clothed in full foliage, the tree outlines were rounded, and luxuriant light-green masses of bamboo filled all the gaps. Overhanging bushes and low trees, which, bending far over, seemed pushed back from the shore, spread out roofs of shade, in the shelter of which one enjoyed gliding along. Nothing is more beautiful than the universal silence of nature before the cachoeira comes; one knows that soon the roaring will be heard, at first far away and low, then louder and louder, and one enjoys the quiet which would overwhelm our spirit with oppressive boredom were it not for the prospect of the approaching, all too
226 lively contrast. When we traveled the same stretch for the first time on 20 September, I had enjoyed the sight of graceful Luchu, who with bow and arrow, standing upright in the canoe, was looking for pakú fish. The Indian, to whom the fishhook was unfamiliar, nevertheless used bait. He tossed bean-sized bright red berries (iwáulu) quite far out into the river, quickly stretched the bow, aimed at the berry, and sent off the arrow the moment the pakú shapped at it and the berry disappeared.

•487 At that time we had comfortably reached Iguéti in one day, for we left the canoes as soon as possible and went overland. This time we could not spare ourselves any of the rapids. There were eight of them in all up to the so-called harbor, but after the seventh, at 5:30, we already pitched our camp. It had taken us 40 minutes at the fourth one to push the canoes through the extensive maze of stones. Our canoe became stuck fast between two boulders and was half filled with water. It is an unpleasant feeling when the flexible floor of the vessel bends under one's feet
[226] like a wave. At 4:00 we found the entire /88/ river blocked and studded crosswise by high palings and stones, where the Bakaïrí can cut off and open a passage for the fish at their discretion. It was a very strange sight and, if one considers what they have to work with and the cultural progress of the Bakaïrí, not without

/88 cont./

487 grandeur. We had to move the stones laboriously out of the way at the edge of the palings in order to pass through even with our narrow canoes. Behind this a width of 124 meters.

000 At the last rapids Vogel was shipwrecked. The instruments remained dry, but the condensed-soup tablets suffered a premature

[343]

Fig. 3. Bird cage.

soaking. So we utilized the opportunity to brew, for once, an extravagantly strong soup from the hopelessly softened pieces. We [122] stopped behind the site of the accident, from here visited the Bakaïrí village on the next day, 4 October, and meanwhile had the canoes transported to the harbor. On this stretch, too, Vogel's canoe hit a stone and went under. On this occasion a water thermometer given us by Herr von Danckelman sank into the depths, true to its destiny, but remained below, never to be seen again, and eluded a reading.

/154 cont./

000 harpy village. Then, on the right bank, comes the village of
B the Nahuquá. Again on the left, somewhat apart and not visited
W by us, there is a fourth village of the Bakaïrí. Farther down-
101 stream the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ are on the left bank in the
361 two villages which the Bakaïrí designated as Paischuéti (dogfish
103 village) and Kalúti. It seems, however, that there are three villages; the Paischuéti-Mehinakú also spoke of the Yutapühü -- this would be "Kaluti" -- whose harbor we passed on 15 October, of the Atapilú, and at the same time warning us against the Ualapihü, Ulavapitü, that is, our Yaulapiti. From the Mehinakú
B territory there begin numerous canals, which, along with several
W lagoons, are found throughout the region between the lower
487 courses of the Kulisehu and Batovy. The village of the Auetö
A may be regarded as a sort of central point for the canal traffic.*
[36]

A
[101]

* It is really strange that their name seems to have this meaning. They are called "Auití" by their neighbors; now in Guaraní the unsoftened adjectival form apité means "what is at the center, in the middle."

A
W
101 On two lagoons, in two villages, we find the Yaulapiti, on a
361 third lagoon the Kamayurá /Camayura/, who had four villages close together and were on the point of uniting them into a single one. The Arauití (see p. 94) are a mixture of Yaulapiti and Auetö.

T
101 - . The Kulisehu flows into the Kuluëne; a few hours of rowing
361 led to the Trumaí settled in two villages on its right bank not
167 far above Schingú-Koblenz. This tribe, driven away by the Suyá, had the intention of founding a new home near the Auetö.
Y
361 The Nahuquá live upstream on the Kuluëne, and also on small
103 tributaries between it and the Kulisehu, in a series of villages
101 that have separate names. We become acquainted with single individuals from the Guapirí, Yanumakapü, Guikurú /Kuikuru/, and Yaurikumá; the Yanumakapü, the Enomakabihü of the Bakaïrí, do not live on the main river, and of the Guapirí the Bakaïrí specifically pointed out that they are found overland between the Kulisehu and Kuluëne.

2: Steinen--195E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP23

/200/

600

III. Hunting, Agriculture, and "Stone Age" Culture.

Population figures. Location of the villages. Combination of ancient agriculture and the world view of hunters. Hunting and fishing must furnish the most important tools for the tribes lacking metals, for whom the expression "Stone Age" is incorrect. Stone-ax monopoly, teeth, bones, shells, feathers. List of useful plants and distribution according to tribes. No bananas. Plant names as evidence of continuous development. Lack of intoxicating flour-beverages proves that simplicity is not the same as degeneration. Combination of hunting and agriculture made possible through the division of labor of the sexes. Indian women do the agriculture; they invent pots to replace gourds; the men do the roasting, the women the boiling. Culture with agriculture, pottery, and the preparation of flour was spread and maintained by foreign women after wars, in particular by Nu-Aruak women.

B 161 128 The population of the Schingú /Xingu/ source region probably amounts to approximately 2500-3000 souls. I am not in a position to give more than a very superficial estimate. Even in the third Bakaïrí village, the young women and girls fled into the woods when we arrived. Usually the fugitives gradually returned, to be sure, but we never knew for certain whether we were seeing before us the normal number of inhabitants. The opposite also occurred, namely, that visitors from the neighboring villages had come in, and the company surrounding us seemed too large.
B 162 621* The smallest villages consisted of only two family-houses, the largest of almost 20. In general, it will be correct if one reckons for the villages, depending on their size, a population of 30 to 150 and, where it is high, up to 200 inhabitants.

T 361 181 Only the Trumaí and, beyond Schingú-Koblenz, the Suyá lived along the river bank. These were the most warlike and restless tribes; one might regard the Suyá as the pike in a
B [361] fish pond. The rest lived in peaceful security, often more than two hours of travel inland from the river. But while the river in
B 133 487 the region of the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ was still narrow and had

B /200 cont./
133 ceased its raging in the last cataracts, while dense campo wilder-
487 ness with sandy soil still prevailed in the landscape here, a vast network of canals and lagoons developed downstream and, for persons familiar with the winding waterways, in which the stranger could not find his way, made communication there effortless and extensive, not only from village to village, but also from the village to the plantings, and more fertile soil made work more rewarding.

B If we wish to use the schema of fisherman and hunter or
*191 agriculturalist, we find a mixed situation among our natives.
433 The hunting of mammals naturally fell back before fishing among the sedentary river dwellers. The latter was important, both for the purpose of food and for that of use for technical re-
B [281] quirements. Skins offered no advantages, since clothing for
[252] warmth was not worn; the skin of a slain mammal was usually not stripped off, but roasted as well, and to be sure, until it was charred, when it tasted pleasantly crisp and salty. Hunting, beyond that eagerly undertaken for large gallinaceous birds and the other inhabitants of the river-forest, yielded only occasional game and, if it were to have been carried on more seriously, /201/ would have required larger expeditions. We saw this later
BO 433 among the Bororó, who also lived on a river rich in fish, but
[252] among whom, conversely, the hunting of mammals predominated; they were away from home for weeks and returned with large quantities of roasted meat; they did not as yet practice agriculture.

B Mentally, -- and this is a highly significant point -- the
181 Schingú Indians, in spite of intensive agriculture, still lived
825 completely on the true hunting level. At any rate, with regard to the Bakaïrí I can confirm this statement in its broadest sense. I have described with what attentiveness they observed, even in the village, every sound issuing from the forest, every occurrence in animal life that they chanced to see. Outside, on the campo or forest path, in the canoe, in the overnight camp, the Indian always felt that he was hunting. He was not aware of any gulf between him and the animal world, he saw

173 /391 cont./ "one of the grandfathers" of Caetano was slain in the forest by
131 another Bakaïrí; at that time there were serious conflicts within
[167] the tribe, and the result was -- according to the report of the Paranatinga people -- that one part of the Bakaïrí moved from the salto to the Kulisehu.

[361] Between the Paranatinga and the Ronuro, too, there is a "tapeira," a ruined settlement of bygone days, known to the West
[487] Bakaïrí. At one time a route led from the salto as far as the Auetö on the Kulisehu, which therefore must have led across the Ronuro or its source streams and the Batovy. The Bakaïrí are
[167] said to have fled along this route and to have settled in part on the Batovy, in part on the Kulisehu. They were said to have ob-
[177] tained mandioca twigs, batatas, and cará /Dioscorea/ fruits from the Nahuquá for planting.

These are, therefore, very definite statements. It is difficult to say, however, when the separation between West and East Bakaïrí took place and whether it occurred in several thrusts.
[101] Just as the tribe of the Auetö and of the Nahuquá appears in the tradition of the Paranatinga village, so have the names of the rest of the Kulisehu tribes, the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, Yaulapiti, Kustenaú /Custenau/, Waurá, Kamayurá /Camayura/, and Trumaï, been known there from the times of Caetano's grandfathers. In the third Bakaïrí village on the Batovy we found a small piece of iron that was said to have been brought in former times from the Pakuneru, the Paranatinga; thus occasional visits back and forth may have occurred, or at least Parantinga-Bakaïrí may now and then have reached the Schingú.

[167] In general, however, I gained the impression that the actual separation of the two Bakaïrí groups took place around the middle or the beginning of the previous century at the latest, when the Brazilians settled in the Mato Grosso and caused major shifts of the tribes. Probably it was not merely a matter of individual internal feuds among the people at the salto, but also of malevolent neighbors who oppressed and occasionally drove away the peaceable Bakaïrí.

175 In the Brazilian sources the Nambiquara /Nambicuara/,
648 Tapanhuna /Tapanyuna/, and Kayabí /Cayabi/ are given as

/30 cont./

114 dressed in European manner, and with his rough beard he bears
115 little resemblance to the photograph taken by Karl von den
[177] Steinen some 39 years earlier. In another house there still lived Luisa Kayabí, whom Karl von den Steinen had met when she was the young wife of old Cacique Caetano.

114 Most of the Bakairí whom I had known 26 years before in
731 Maigeri and Maimaieti aldeas had perished in a flu epidemic
753 that had wreaked havoc among the population of Mato Grosso
648 some years earlier. Since the high number of deaths among
361 the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River was attributed to the witch-
[166] craft of evil neighboring tribes, especially the Mehinakú and the Nahukuá, who had been envious of the economic benefits derived by the Bakairí from their contact with civilization, all the Bakairí of the Batovy and Kulisehu rivers had moved to the Rio Paranatinga. Undoubtedly petty jealousies and other discords had caused these Bakairí, called Xinguanos, not to get along with their fellow natives on the Paranatinga, and for this reason they had settled at some distance from the post, farther downriver. I found the first of these Xinguano settlements at the place where the Ribeirão Azul enters the Rio Paranatinga. It was situated on the right side of this river and consisted of four small houses. (Cf. Figures 21 and 22.) A little farther downriver I reached a Bakairí plantation near which was a rancho occupied by some people. (Cf. Figure 20.)

361 /31/ From there a path led to the principal settlement of
622 the Bakairí who had moved from the Rio Kulisehu. It consisted
159 of two rather large houses. (Cf. Figure 17.) I was told that a
114 little farther downriver there were some more settlements, and
[487] among them also that of my old friend from Maimaieti aldea, Karía. I had already encountered Karía when I visited Cacique
622 Antonio, and he had recognized me. He was no longer cacique,
159 and I was told that at the time of my stay in Maimaieti he had
114 merely been a temporary cacique in the place of his brother who was then away. He had grown much older and no longer

[P.70-A]

	Houses	Men	Women	Children	Total
175 Rio Novo	6	16	19	20	55
162 Paranatinga	7	6	8	3	17
On Rio Batovi:					
First village	3	10	7	9	26
Second village	4	18	17	7	42
Third village	3	13	12	19	44
Fourth village	7	27	18	8	53
Total	30	90	81	66	237

175 By the time Max Schmidt visited the Bacairí
161 in 1900–1901, the Bacairí settlement had diminished. On the Paranatinga he met 34 Bacairí
[162] and at Rio Novo, 60. On the Kuliseu River where
[361] Von den Steinen had visited four villages, Max Schmidt was able to find only two.

ECONOMY

SHELTER

361 While in the Xingú watershed the Bacairí lived in villages built on the banks of the Rio Kuliseu. A village (*utandri*) consisted of three to eight houses (*towisę*) built in a circle around a central
342 plaza, *tasêra*. The Bacairí house was a large communal building, oblong in shape, with rounded ends and with the roof thatching reaching to the
[592] ground. These large domelike buildings were occupied by three to five families.

346 In the center of every village there was a ceremonial or flute house (*kadoóti*) in which the men kept their ornaments and musical instruments and in which visitors were entertained. Men, women, and children are permitted to enter the *kadoóti*. Attached to the common house there was a smaller building, usually oriented in
[534] the direction of the rising sun, in which the sacred
[562] flutes were kept. Women were not permitted to enter this house, as they were not allowed to see
[487] the sacred flutes. The villages were connected by roads running along the river bank.

EQUIPMENT

251 In the center of each house there was a storage space (*jirâu*) where maize, manioc meal, and
[415] other foods were kept in gourd vessels (*kúiko*).
343 Cooking was done in a small shed at the back of
264 the house, but food was eaten indoors. Around
352 the walls each family had its hammocks (*amáku*) in which the people slept. Other furnishings of
[415] the house consisted of mats, baskets, clay pots,

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932
SP8 Bororo SP8
Bacairi SP7
Ba
Bo
102
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133
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487
361

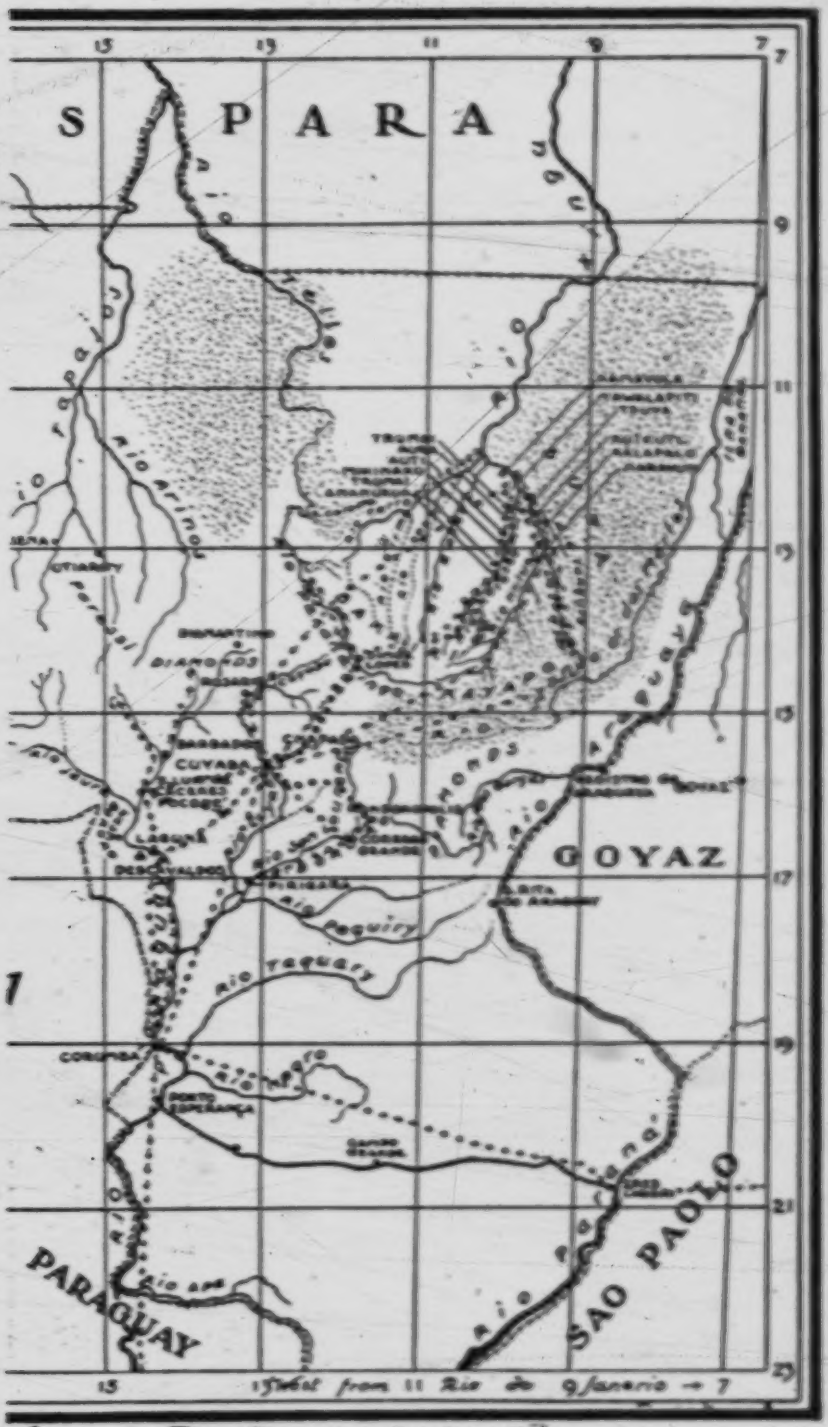
[Facing P. 180-A]
[Plate XXV-A]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8

Bacairi SP7

PLATE XXV

Bc
Bo
102
131
133
172
361
487



[Plate XXV-B] [Facing P. 180-B]

352 415 wooden benches, and dishes and cups made from gourds.

494 As the Bacairí were extensive travelers and 226 depended upon fish for a considerable part of 501 their food supply, canoes were an important part of their equipment. The Bacairí canoe (*pépi*) 396 was made from the bark of the jatobá tree. The [124] tough, heavy bark was first stripped from one-half of the tree. Small fires were then lighted on the inside of the bark trough to make it curl. Braces were placed at intervals along the entire length, the bow was tapered, and the stern was squared off by forcing the bark upward at one end. 501 Bacairí canoes varied in size, the larger ones being able to carry as many as 8 men. Canoes of jatobá bark are used by the Bacairí today and are the [171] predominant type among the Indians of the 415 Upper Xingú. The Bacairí also made large [124] tubs out of jatobá bark which were used as settling 352 vessels for manioc juice. The juice of the manioc contains a fine powder or starch which settles on the bottom of the vessel, to be gathered after the 241 liquid is poured off. For gardening, the Bacairí formerly used a digging stick made of hardwood. 411 For hunting, they used a bow (*tíka*), round or 824 slightly oval in cross section and from 2 to 2½ meters in length, made from a yellow or reddish wood which was first matured by burying it in mud. The bowstring was made from the fibers of imbauba bark. Arrows (*pirku*) were made from [233] cane with hardwood or bone points. Hunting arrows had two feathers, but arrows used for shooting fish had serrated wooden points and no 412 feathers. The cutting tools of the Bacairí consisted of knives made from bamboo, stone, bones, and 409 shell. Transportation was by canoe, or if over 412 land, goods were carried in a wicker basket supported on the back by a tump line.

ORNAMENTS

271 While living on the banks of the Kuliseu River, [171] the Bacairí, in common with the other Upper Xingú River tribes, did not use clothing. Men sometimes wore a narrow cotton band (*ewapía*) around the waist, with a few tassels hanging in front. Women, after puberty, wore the ululí. 302 Men wore their hair cut short. Women wore their hair long at the back but cut straight across over [412] the forehead. Hair was cut with a knife made [235] by setting sharp fish teeth into a wooden stick,

/106 cont./

123 shake hands with each one, but they evidently did not know the purpose of this; when we put bracelets and earrings on them, however, they understood this immediately. The children had to have something too.

[126] Wilhelm was allowed to sketch Frau Ines behind the house; as yet I did not dare think about taking the measurements of the women, and then fate knocked on the door.

122 Very unpleasant discoveries about the condition of the supplies changed the entire situation.

On 18 June we had already reached an agreement with

142
291
302

Bakaīrí boy.

122 Castro to wait at most three more days for Tupy; in view of our uncertain /107/ future it was not to be justified if we did not use the favorable time of year better. The Bakaīrí figured five days more to the Paranatinga; another stop was necessary in the second aldeament; let Tupy follow us there. As far as the lost iron goods [501] were concerned, we had become less worried; Daniel had first called our attention to the bark canoes of the Bakaīrí; on the Rio Novo there was only a very small one that was being used as a trough; we were to see them on the Paranatinga; if we could make up our minds to make do with these bark canoes, we would need only a few tools, which perhaps could be obtained from a fazendeiro /see "Fazenda" in the glossary, p.171 / living near the Paranatinga. The advice was good.

/131 cont./

122 At night we write busily: two benches serve as tables; for sitting, knapsack and hammock. Outside the frogs are croaking;
[534] the Bakaïrí João, whom we call the minnesinger, is improvising on his violin; he cannot be parted from it and even takes it along to bathe. Thus, for the time being, the last night under a roof.

[133] 5 July. It was late afternoon before the staff crossed over. The river was about 150 meters wide. On either side is a barranca
[501] about five meters high. The long bark canoes give a confidence-inspiring impression. We shall have to become accustomed to
[123] them. Antiono already feels completely at home with us; he has fallen in love with a mouth organ that I gave him.

[136] 6 July. The river sent up mists in the early morning. Pedro caught a big pirahyba (Bagrus reticulatus). He is parading around in a soldier's coat, under which, and, to be sure, over his trousers, he is wearing an old flannel shirt of mine. Our ladies would take him for a curly-haired Neapolitan boy with a gentle, melancholy disposition, and yet the youth is only interested /132/ in killing everything that creeps and flies, and in between times in sucking sugar cane.

123 First Caetano came, in order to have breakfast with us once more. A number of women followed, brought us more beijús, and squatted to one side, the two Carlottas combing their long hair. The over-jackets had already disappeared on the second day.
122 Luis appeared last of all, when all the canoes were already at our shore; he went as far as the last sandstone slab, took off his clothes, and tried to wade across naked. But he was afraid and stood irresolute. "Well, come along," cried Felipe's wife. The minnesinger finally went after him. /Illustration appears here./

At ten o'clock we set out; for a long time the laughing and shouting of the women sounded behind us.

132 I am supplying the missing meteorological data for the stay in Corrego fundo and the Bakaïrí village:

/132 cont./

132 28 June. (Corrego fundo.) 4:00 P.M.: I 735.0, II 722.8, dry. 30.7, ground warming max. 41.2.
9:00 P.M.: dry. 16.4, wet. 13.1, clear, light wind.

29 June. 7:00 A.M.: dry. 12.6, wet. 11.5, clear, calm. Ground min. 14.1 (since 6:45 P.M., depth 50 centimeters).
10:00 A.M.: I 738.0, II 726.6.
2:45 P.M.: dry. 32.0, wet. 17.6, cum. 1. Since 10:00 /133/ NNW to 5, ground 24.0 (since 10:00, depth 60 centimeters), radiation surface max. 46.0.

•501

132

Bark canoes on the Paranatinga.

4:20 P.M.: I 736.0, II 724.0.
9:10 P.M.: dry. 17.6, wet. 14.2, clear, calm.

30 June. 7:00 A.M.: dry. 12.2, wet. 11.7, clear, calm, radiation min. 14.8.
10:15 A.M.: I 738.0, II 726.2.
2:10 P.M.: dry. 31.2, wet. 18.4, cum. s. 4. Since 11:00 gusts from N. Radiation max. 47.8.

/166 cont./

252 brick shape -- puvas, used for mingau. They boil the strained liquid in large pots, whereby the finest flour is deposited -- polvilho; this makes the best beijús.

501 [437] Back in the afternoon. Four canoes were acquired with an ax, shirt, and trousers. We are not in good shape, in spite of all that. Quintilian's canoe burst when it was hauled down. The [531] Bakaïrí canoes differ from ours only in their more careful workmanship; one of them is painted with black rings on the outside of the longitudinal sides. The oars, the size of a walking stick, have a crook-shaped handle, shaft, and a long lance-shaped blade, which is slightly hollowed out like a shovel.

133 The height of the two uppermost levels of the salto amounts to four meters; two meters more may be figured for the falls [226] below. Baskets for catching fish hang on ropes, which, in turn, are held by stakes standing in the middle of the whirlpool.

We call this waterfall the Salto da Alegria. Our happiness 136 is only slightly marred by a swarm of bees and wasps; among the latter, the kind that sting very painfully. -- The transport of the 122 canoes, for which there is a route, is completed. /Illustration appears here./

/167/

132 15 Aug. φ 13° 11'.7, λ 5'.7, km. 6.41, total 130.85.
122 7:00 A.M.: dry. 11.8, wet. 9.9, clear, calm.

000 We have only nine canoes; one is very battered. Castro and I separated, he is traveling with Manoel, I with Compadre Valentin. Off about 9:30 A.M.; immediately an accident happened. At a small rapids Wilhelm's boat capsized, and the foolish Negro Chico behaved as clumsily as possible. With the knapsack and the suitcase in his hands, he stood in the middle of the water, which was flowing over the baggage as though over a mill wheel, as bewildered as a porter in a railroad station who has lost sight of his stranger. He almost drowned, but was luckily pulled out by Clementino. We dried out on both shores. Delay until 1:00 in the afternoon.

[Text continues on P. 48--Analyst]

Y 411 [824] [237] Y [439] /241 cont./

The bows are four-edged, dark brown, a little over two meters long; the arrows are of cambaiuva, a light, hard reed, with pretty, colored feathers, pointed bones, or long bamboo blades. Heavy, dark brown clubs, one meter 35 centimeters long, the shape of a staff, and nicely grooved, come from the Karajá (2).

2. Cf. the second ethnographic plate /see p.168/.

Y 501 Y [531] Y [824]

The oars have a flared crook by which one levers with the one hand, while the other grasps the shank, and a broad blade which works powerfully in the water; I found one painted with a simple line pattern. (Handle 62 centimeters, blade 83 centimeters long.)

The ubá is not a bark canoe, but rather a tree canoe consisting of a cedar trunk hollowed out with fire and ax. Ten persons could easily sit in the largest ones, without any goods to limit the space.

In front and rear a horizontal footboard is left where the hollowing begins.

B T S 501

I measured the canoes that brought us safely this far; besides the single canoe that we ourselves made on the Batovy, the flotilla contained specimens of the shipbuilding art of the Bakairí, Trumaí, and Suyá:

	Length	Center Width above	Center Width below	Depth	Width of Stern	Thickness of Bark
Ours from Batovy	6.70	70 cm.	56 cm.	27.5 cm.	67 cm.	37 mm.
Bakairí	8	64	56	24	63	11-21
Trumaí	7.70	53	39	27	57	16
Suyá	9	65	54	33	59	19

Y 501 Yuruha ubá: length 10.60 meters, greatest width 95 centimeters, depth 39 centimeters, thickness of wall 25 millimeters. Front footboard: one meter long, 90 centimeters wide. Rear footboard: 57 centimeters long, 44 centimeters wide.

1: Steinen--167 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7 Yuruna SP26

B 501

B 412

Y 534

/From Ethnological Pl. II:
3, Bakaïrí stone ax; 4, Bakaïrí oar; 12, Yuruna flute./

/51 cont./

226 Beyond the cachoeira we counted 13 so-called "currals" /corrals/, circles of boulders in shallower places in the river bed; the fish can enter through a gap in the circle and are then herded together by the Indians and shot. I was not a little surprised when, 823 151 farther downstream in quiet water, Antonio suddenly stated that a canoe had been here yesterday or the day before; all I noticed was a quantity of small white bubbles near the shore. The foam of the oar stroke is preserved in a path on calm water; not destroyed by waves, the air bubbles remain on the water and are gradually driven to the shore by the wind.

000 /52/ For two hours we rowed on vigorously, spoke but little and with a soft voice, and, cautiously on the lookout, proceeded into each new bend close to the inner edge. But all [137] signs had ceased. On either side lay tall, silent forest, the river glistened in the sunlight, nothing living stirred within a wide radius, and only a yellow butterfly fluttered past here and [133] there. Shortly before midday the stream bed opened into a rather wide inlet; one could not quite make out whether this was a lagoon or an island formation and the river divided into two types; we landed and I sent the two off to cross the bit of woods that separated us from the lagoon and to examine the course of the water beyond.

123 I sat on the beach waiting; Carlos was already coming 609 back, when suddenly I notice a canoe a gunshot downstream. [501] A single naked Indian is standing in it and swiftly making for the shore; there he steers the vessel behind the skeleton of a fallen tree and cautiously crouches down in the shelter of it. "Bakaïrí, Bakaïrí," I cried with all my might, "kúra Bakaïrí, áma Bakaïrí, úra Bakaïrí, we are Bakaïrí, you are a Bakaïrí, I am a Bakaïrí, the Bakaïrí are good" -- in short, I shout in joyful excitement whatever is inspired in me by the ghost of reminiscences from the greeting formulas of that particular tribe. And behold: "Bakaïrí, Bakaïrí, Bakaïrí" comes resounding back. Other words are added, which unfortunately I do not understand, but the high voice, rising in uncertainty, bears an unhappily anxious and mistrustful expression, and the arms swing wildly in the air behind

/52 cont./

123 the tree skeleton, as though the man were dancing there like
609 a cannibal in a show booth. "Bakaïrí ...," I commence once more, when luckily Antonio comes bounding up with mighty leaps, and, half out of breath from excitement, he for his part now shouts a long explanation downriver, which again I do not understand, but which releases a grateful howl of exultation on the part of the entrenched hero and clarifies the situation as though by a stroke of magic.

The canoe shot out of its hiding place and hastened
[501] at once, a fine, long, dry bark-canoe, toward our sad,
[29] crooked, wax-plastered, loam-smeared vessel laved with
[411] dirty water -- truly, I thought, we were the ones who were entering the sphere of a higher culture here; even though the noble boatman was dressed with only a belt-cord and carried with him nothing but the neatly worked, feather-trimmed arrows and the bow which lay on the floor of the canoe beside a calabash filled with honey, nevertheless in its trimness and cleanliness this total picture gliding toward us contrasted most advantageously with us ragged bearers of civilization beside the piece of wet-rot bark that was called our boat. Well, the newcomer clearly showed by his facial expression that for his part he nevertheless admired us.

123 He did not behave at all like the silent, gloomy Indian
152 whose soul, as I might have expected on the basis of our school-wisdom, reflected the monotonous, oppressive environment of the tropical forest; rather, he laughed /53/ and chatted with his fellow tribesman Antonio as though he had
[576] grown up in a fortunate country of the temperate zone. In a few minutes we were good friends; at my urging he even told us his name, which, of course, according to the custom of his country, he could not do without modest hemming and
551 hawing. His name was Tumayaua and he was the chief of
622 a village of the Bakaïrí a few hours away.

123 Thus actually of the Bakaïrí! The hope of the past
609 weeks was fulfilled, we entered our research area among a good-natured little people well known to us, and our debut

B /102 cont./
123 been among the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, although he did not know their language, to carry out my plan, but one was encouraged by the example of the other.

W 122 We set out early on 10 October and reached the harbor of the
B 461 Mehinakú on 12 October at 11:00 in the forenoon. We had not hurried particularly; the two rowed best only when I provided a good example. The most dreadful thing to me was that they traced all the bends in the river and never cut off one of them by crossing it. There was not a fish, not a bird, that did not hold their attention. They shot at, without hitting, several gallinaceous birds, a capybara that was swimming across the river was wounded in its hind leg and, with the arrow, ran screaming into the woods. We slept that night beside an inlet with an abundance of fish and made a good catch. The two roasted fish all night long, carefully keeping the fire going under the wooden grill; they had set up their hammocks so close that they could comfortably reach out, turn the fish, occasionally consume a piece, and have the benefit of the fire's warmth.

W [142] [302] ←

B 252

Fig. 4. Mehinakú woman.

W 131 On the second morning they told me that the bank on the left
B 504 belonged to the Mehinakú, on the right to the Nahuquá. The harbor lay along a steep sandbank where a small brook emptied.
W [531] Rhomboid designs were scratched on the trees. The Bakaïrí shoved
B 581 the canoe far up into the brook and carefully concealed the oars and carrying baskets, which still contained remnants of fish and
B 576 beijús, in the woods. Tumayaua prepared a gift for the Mehinakú hosts and for this purpose hung a rosary-like cord around his neck,
B [757] on which were strung fruits with an oily content. The oil was rubbed on the skin scratched by the medicinal scarifier of the Indians.

2: Steinen--121 E D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate XI

122
133
137
501

Kulisehu journey.

W /130 cont./
132 rained by buckets, and the shower bath was quite cold, scarcely
W more than 15°. Our good Mehinakú were unhappy that we did
[821] not follow their example and puff against the heavenly sluices;
they hastily built a protective roof, probably more to keep busy,
and complained incessantly "uläpe, uläpe!"

W In the harbor of the Mehinakú we acquired another canoe;
122 meanwhile the Auetö who had accompanied us this far had dis-
appeared without a trace. Vogel's hunting knife was also
missing.

Y The Nahuquá village was in the middle of the pikí harvest.
245 Like cannon balls in an arsenal, the pikí lay in piles outside
Y and inside. Racks had been set up in the houses to dry the seeds,
251 the women were busy peeling the fruit, cooking it, and scraping
the seeds, human beings and utensils butter yellow -- Caryocar
Y butyrosum. No pogu, but pikí juice; the pikí seeds with an
[157] almond-like taste, an electuary "pikí herb" not at all bad in
Y moderate doses. Many sick in the hammocks, stomach and skin
164 affected; one old baldhead, face and head covered with sores.
Y Tumayaua was given pikí as a parting gift for the trip. Only
123 one newborn child, which the mother brought to us so that we
[431] would blow on it, seemed to know nothing yet about pikí.

B In Bakaírí village III, which, by the way, the Nahuquá
Y accompanying us did not want to enter, the old festival hut had
648 burned down and the people were very much afraid of the
B previously greatly admired matches. But we did find magnifi-
731 cent bird-masks and fish-masks. Of the two canoes we ordered,
B one was not yet finished and the other had been wrecked.
532
B
122
501

Bakaírí village II seemed deserted. The occupants were,
B in part absent, why remained unclear; also, we had apparently
123 seen foreign guests the first time and included them. Chief
B Aramöke, however, was gracious as ever and had set before us
[622] beijús which we could have offered the most distinguished tea
guests at home. It was only with great difficulty that we found
a few men to transport part of the collection for some distance
B overland. It was always said that they had to stay with the
752 children. Then in the chief's house lay a woman with burns on

T 171 411 /234 cont./

corresponded exactly to the Karayá club found among the Yuruna in 1884, a dark brown staff chamfered vertically all around, sharply grooved, lopped off bluntly at top and bottom, with a smooth intermediate piece for the hand. The Yuruna in that case, and the Kamayurá here, had transformed the murder weapon into a peaceful walking stick. One must admit that the defense weapons of the men on the Kulisehu do not point to warlike habits.

B *171 ●501 [824]

The canoes are commonly made from the bark of the jatobá, as I described it in the case of our vessels. See Plates 10 and 11 /see pages 109 and 121/. A Bakaïrí canoe measured in 1884 had the following measurements: length eight meters, width in the center 64 centimeters on top, 56 centimeters below, depth 24 centimeters, width of stern 63 centimeters, thickness of bark 11 to 21 millimeters. On our second journey we saw longer specimens, and the ark which we acquired among the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ was considerably wider, was, in fact, unique in its corpulence. The Bakaïrí canoes that had to travel in the shallower river bed strewn with stones were somewhat shallower than those farther downstream. Among the Yaulapiti the rim was turned over slightly.

B [531] ←

Fig. 29. Bakaïrí oar. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

The oar, somewhat over a meter long, consisted of a slightly hollowed-out blade 60 centimeters long and ten centimeters wide,

/234 cont./

*171 with a shaft and crook-handle (cf. the illustration /see Fig. 29,
●501 p. 243/). Holding the crook-handle with one hand and the lower part of the shaft with the other, the Indian pushes the oar down rather vertically by his side and levers it forward with powerful pressure. Often the thrusts follow one another very rapidly, the oar is thrown high in the air and changes hands with lightning
[502] speed. One of the rowers usually sits in front, the other in the rear; the one in the rear steers with his paddle, the one in front shoots at fish. The only place to sit is a low clamped-in piece of
[415] branch. In the center lies a carrying basket, protected from the rain with leaves. Loam and resin play a great part; /235/ the
[396] bark easily cracks, especially in the bent-in stem, and lets in
*171 water. Thanks to their great skill as pilots, the Bakaïrí shoot
502 even through the swell of the cataracts without danger; the rapids with a greater fall downstream in the region of the Yuruna, however, could not be surmounted with the low and fragile bark canoes -- a noteworthy obstacle against the shifting of our tribes toward the north. Perhaps no less difficult would be the beating of the waves on the broader stream, which every strong wind
[396] brings. On the other hand, the bark canoes have the tremendous advantage of being made in the shortest time. For this reason even the people at the Fazenda S. Manoel were satisfied with a canoe furnished by the Bakaïrí, which cost only one day's work.
[482] They are easy to carry out of the forest to the shore; bast rings protect the shoulders.

*171 Fishing is done just as much as possible during a trip, and
484 similarly eating. Smoking and singing en route are unknown.

*171 Fishing implements. The shooting of fish with bow and arrow
226 provides only a little booty, in terms of number. I have reported on the fences or palings with which the river was blocked off near the second Bakaïrí village, on the "chiqueiras," the barrier made with twigs that closes off the mouths of brooks or the arms of lagoons, on the stone circles that were laid out, often in great numbers, in the shallow river bed near rapids, and where the fish entered from above through a narrow opening and, driven downstream, were caught in nets at the opposite exit, and, finally,

/269 cont./

171 531 possible for us to recognize the path, which, in the case of the former, is by this time revealed only in the names.

Among the Auetö the artistic form is already of primary importance; among the Bakaïrí the emphasis is still on the fact that the designs are likenesses. Better than all discussion, the strange situation among the Bakaïrí can be explained by one example among many, namely, the accompanying illustration of an oar covered with primitive "scribbles." [825] The four circles are the ring marking of a ray, beyond the dividing line there follow mereschus in net meshes, then a pakú fish, and finally several "kuómi" fish, a design that does not occur elsewhere and the original model of which is a fish unfamiliar to me: pinukái, merêschu, páte, kuómi. I am far from wanting to maintain that these four designs in their assemblage have a meaning; at most I believe that the person who made them wanted to put fish on an oar. It is extremely instructive, however, to see that, even though these scribbles undoubtedly do not mean anything in association with one another, that is, are not hieroglyphics, nevertheless each one is by no means simply an arbitrary

[501]

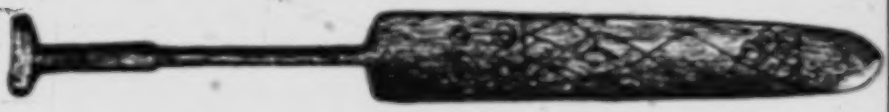


Fig. 51. Oar of the Bakaïrí. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Ray rings. Mereschu fish in the net. Pakú fish. Kuomi fish.

curlicue, but the pattern of a very definite object and thus actually represents the element of a hieroglyphic. We should never explain these patterns correctly by studying them; one must find out from the people themselves what they mean or simply give up. For my part, I have become extraordinarily humble about interpreting, but on the other hand, regard it as very superficial to dismiss as curlicues figures which we do not understand. Where /270/ figures are regularly repeated, where there are designs at all, one may be sure that the first people who drew them also had a definite model in mind, the meaning of which, however, their successors may have neglected and, under the influence of linguistic differentiation of what are now technical words, may have forgotten completely.

/270 cont./

B *171 531 532 Otherwise it may be said that all festive adomment, insofar as it offered suitable areas, was without exception painted with designs. This is most noticeable on the masks, for which all tribes greatly preferred the mereschu, as will be shown in the more detailed description of masks.

B 531 [501] /271/ I shall briefly enumerate the most characteristic examples of decoration with designs. Among the Bakaírí we saw a canoe painted with the ray rings and the zigzag of the anaconda. As for oars, apart from the one in Figure 51, we found only one where the snake design was applied or had been preserved. On B [534] the drum-tree lying in the third Bakaírí village, besides the mereschu figures mentioned under bark drawings, there was a long fish-bone drawing painted on, like that of the first plate showing ornamentation /Pl. XX, see p. 280/. In the harbor of the Mehinakú, as I have also mentioned, several trees bore attractive mereschu designs scratched into them.

B 531 415 Among the Bakaírí it was primarily the gourds that were adorned with designs, the drinking bowls as well as the ball-shaped calabashes and the bottle-shaped ones that were used for storing feathers. /Figs. 52 and 53 appear here./ Sometimes the uluri design, sometimes the mereschu design covered them net-shaped; corresponding to the slice cut out at the stem of the calabashes, and also directly opposite, there was drawn a circle toward which the designs converged and of which a half-circle remained on the side when the gourds were cut in two for drinking bowls. On one specimen we saw that the mereschus had been pushed over one another in one corner, which gave the impression of plaiting. Occasionally mereschus and bats alternated and were differentiated only by the fact that in the case of the latter the corners were B [301] not filled in, like No. 10 on Plate 20. The back-sticks were all closely covered with designs, as described. Cf. page 296.

Y 171 531 Among the Nahuquá we were likewise particularly struck by the decorated gourds, except that here principally the rattle-gourds used in the dance were decorated. Their whole painting did not amount to much. Yet it is possible that I underestimate them, because during our first visit they had moved out their household

/257 cont./

539 in quiet areas, where there are no human beings, it is always
825 on the move in the morning and afternoon, except during the hot hours in the middle of the day which it spends sleeping"; in other words, all of the phrases between quotation marks, taken from the book by Dr. Goeldi on the mammals of our land (pp. 92, 99, 103, and 106), confirm what has been said concerning the shadowy character of the Yamūras.

539 /258/ Other considerations, however, seem to us of
174 greater moment.

First of all, in the enumeration of the belongings of the Yamūras, we have a basis for a list of the cultural acquisitions of the Bacaeris. We learn that they had nets for fishing before they had nets /hammocks/ for sleeping, that they traveled by water when they did not yet have pestles, and that they probably had maracá before they had the masks with which they appear at their festivals.

[220] [352] [501] [412] [532]

539 We also see that although theoretically the abode of the
776 Yamūra is in the sky, a large part of his existence is spent on the earth from which he derives his sustainance. Subsistence, however, is not his sole concern; free of the contingencies of time and space, he travels swiftly as the wind, he is an envious being who spies upon all actions and weighs upon the living with crushing pressure. There is hardly an act that he does not influence: gestation, childbirth, alimentation, festivals, walking hours, everything falls within his inexorable reach, as we shall see later. It would seem that the Bacaeris could paint their bodies as they please. But this is not so.

776 Yamūra does not like urucú, --this is why one must not
789 scatter the urucú seed, says the piahi;--Yamūra goes into the
824 houses of people with children, --this is why we burn the juice
302 of the rubber tree--when it is burned it is rubbed on the door;--fathers of boys, when they go to the river, paint themselves with genipap, --paint themselves with urucú, --so Yamūra thinks that it is blood; if the boy's father does not paint himself

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Xingú-Expedition /Report on His Second Xingu Expedition/." February 3, 1900, Verh. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde z. Berlin, Vol. XXVII, 1900, pp. 112-128. Idem., "Uber seine zweite Reise in Central-Brasilien," loc. cit.

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Antonio with his stepson José Coroado, already an adult, had then visited several times the Bakairí in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River, and a big part of these had moved in with their fellow countrymen of the Rio Paranatinga, so that Theodor Koch, a participant in Herrmann Meyer's second expedition to the Xingu River, estimated the population of the aldea of the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí, at this date, at more than 60 individuals.(24)

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24. Dr. Theodor Koch, "Reise in Matto Grosso (Brasilien). Expedition in das Quellgebiet des Xingú /Journey in Mato Grosso (Brazil). Expedition to the Region of the Headwaters of the Xingu/." Communication. d. K. K. Geogr. Ges. in Vienna, p. 335.

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[439]

At this time, the Rio Batovy Bakairí had canoes and also a port on the Rio Jatobá. Also the Nahuíuá /Nahuqua/ had then risked for the first time the journey to the Rio Paranatinga and had carried away from there sugar cane and poroto /French beans/ for planting. (25)

25. Dr. Herrmann Meyer, "Bericht uber seine zweite Xingú-Expedition," loc. cit., p. 127.

/281 cont./

352 The Bakairí slept in hammocks, amaka, woven of palm fiber.
[415] Their furnishings can be summed up as benches of a solid
[285] piece of wood, clay pots, mats and baskets. The diet rests
262 upon manioc, piquí, sweet potatoes, maize, and fish. How-
224 ever, the hunting of monkeys, wild pig, tapir, and other ani-
[241] mals was not scorned. Most of the food reserves, however, were of vegetable origin, and the most important harvests were made up of manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, and piquí. Yams /cará/, cotton, urucú, and tobacco were also planted.

342 The occupants of a communal house worked together on
476 the building of a new house, acquiring thereby the right to
622 reside in it. This construction work, however, was led by the individual who had the most prestige in the group, usually the old head of the house, who thus set himself up as the head of
241 the new house. The tasks of clearing fields and planting
476 generally depended on the participation of all the aldea. When
529 beginning a new clearing, the Bakairí would give a feast, hométe, with the distribution of food to the Indians who worked
501 on the field. The Bakairí made canoes from the bark of the
[824] jatobá tree, in the Xinguano way. This construction, as well
[182] as fishing, hunting, and agricultural activities, were accompanied by propitiatory rituals.

Their products were bartered among neighboring groups
437 in the course of visits called tuliki which depended on the
574 presence of the chiefs of both aldeas. After the exchange of the objects desired, the visitors were honored with a feast called mlake.

621 /262/ The Bakairí were not a warlike people, and their
181 political organization does not seem very elaborate. Each
622 aldea had a chief, pima, assisted by a subchief, itáida. The
624 Bakairí do not remember the existence of a chief for the whole
[643] tribe, and there is no evidence that such a figure ever existed. The selection of the itáida was made by means of agreement of the aldea, but it generally fell on the son of the pima himself. The pima's functions were chiefly ceremonial, economic, and juridical.

wooden benches, and dishes and cups made from gourds.

As the Bacairí were extensive travelers and depended upon fish for a considerable part of their food supply, canoes were an important part of their equipment. The Bacairí canoe (*pipi*) was made from the bark of the jatobá tree. The tough, heavy bark was first stripped from one-half of the tree. Small fires were then lighted on the inside of the bark trough to make it curl. Braces were placed at intervals along the entire length, the bow was tapered, and the stern was squared off by forcing the bark upward at one end. Bacairí canoes varied in size, the larger ones being able to carry as many as 8 men. Canoes of jatobá bark are used by the Bacairí today and are the predominant type among the Indians of the Upper Xingú. The Bacairí also made large tubs out of jatobá bark which were used as settling vessels for manioc juice. The juice of the manioc contains a fine powder or starch which settles on the bottom of the vessel, to be gathered after the liquid is poured off. For gardening, the Bacairí formerly used a digging stick made of hardwood. For hunting, they used a bow (*tika*), round or slightly oval in cross section and from 2 to 2½ meters in length, made from a yellow or reddish wood which was first matured by burying it in mud. The bowstring was made from the fibers of imbauba bark. Arrows (*pirá*) were made from cane with hardwood or bone points. Hunting arrows had two feathers, but arrows used for shooting fish had serrated wooden points and no feathers. The cutting tools of the Bacairí consisted of knives made from bamboo, stone, bones, and shell. Transportation was by canoe, or if over land, goods were carried in a wicker basket supported on the back by a tump line.

ORNAMENTS

While living on the banks of the Kuliseu River, the Bacairí, in common with the other Upper Xingú River tribes, did not use clothing. Men sometimes wore a narrow cotton band (*ouagis*) around the waist, with a few tassels hanging in front. Women, after puberty, wore the uluri. Men wore their hair cut short. Women wore their hair long at the back but cut straight across over the forehead. Hair was cut with a knife made by setting sharp fish teeth into a wooden stick,

Bacairi SP7
Mato Grosso SP1

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Nine canoemen, recommended by Major Noronha, were recruited from the Bakairi. The nine included Paghuli, or Marcellino, and Apacanu, both of whom had lived on the Kuluseu before the withdrawal of the Bakairi to the post. Both of these men can speak Anahukna to some extent, and are the only men who know how to make bark canoes. Unfortunately, their Portuguese is poor, necessitating another interpreter. Their knowledge and skill in matters of river travel made them invaluable, however.

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The Bakairi have the reputation of being the best canoemen of the region. The children are taught to paddle from infancy, and become extremely skillful in paddling the clumsy and heavy canoes. The paddle used is short and narrow, and a quick, short stroke is employed, the paddler shifting his paddle from one side to the other with every two or three strokes. Steering is accomplished more by the bowman than by the man in the stern. The use of the stern paddle as a rudder is not well understood. Poling is resorted to by the man in the bow when going up the stream, in which case the efforts of the man in the stern are given to guiding the canoe, which is accomplished by quick shifting of the paddling from one side to the other. Among the Bakairi, as indeed among all of the aborigines encountered, the women are as good paddlers as the men, but they never were seen poling.

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As soon as our personnel was completed, with the addition of a young Italian explorer, Giovanni Amil, who had been forced to abandon his project to reach the Amazon upon reaching the post, our baggage was transferred to the backs of oxen and mules, which were to transport it to the Kuluseu river. The men not concerned with driving the oxen went afoot. It was indeed an odd caravan. Mounted men busy with the oxen, men afoot carrying bows and arrows and guns, long-horned oxen, small mules, men in a long line across the wastes of the plateau. All of the men wore a red kerchief wound about the head, and the usual kantering conversation was carried on. The Bakairi, of course, wore trousers and shirts, and even sandals made of old automobile tires, in imitation of the Brazilian camaradas.

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As we moved eastward and slightly north, it became more often necessary to build bridges for the animals, across small but high-banked

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*171 501 with a shaft and crook-handle (cf. the illustration /see Fig. 29, p. 243/). Holding the crook-handle with one hand and the lower part of the shaft with the other, the Indian pushes the oar down rather vertically by his side and levers it forward with powerful pressure. Often the thrusts follow one another very rapidly, the oar is thrown high in the air and changes hands with lightning speed. One of the rowers usually sits in front, the other in the [502] rear; the one in the rear steers with his paddle, the one in front shoots at fish. The only place to sit is a low clamped-in piece of [415] branch. In the center lies a carrying basket, protected from the rain with leaves. Loam and resin play a great part; /235/ the [396] bark easily cracks, especially in the bent-in stern, and lets in water. Thanks to their great skill as pilots, the Bakaïrí shoot *171 502 even through the swell of the cataracts without danger; the rapids with a greater fall downstream in the region of the Yuruna, however, could not be surmounted with the low and fragile bark canoes -- a noteworthy obstacle against the shifting of our tribes toward the north. Perhaps no less difficult would be the beating of the waves on the broader stream, which every strong wind [396] brings. On the other hand, the bark canoes have the tremendous advantage of being made in the shortest time. For this reason even the people at the Fazenda S. Manoel were satisfied with a canoe furnished by the Bakaïrí, which cost only one day's work. [482] They are easy to carry out of the forest to the shore; bast rings protect the shoulders.

*171 484 Fishing is done just as much as possible during a trip, and similarly eating. Smoking and singing en route are unknown.

*171 226 Fishing implements. The shooting of fish with bow and arrow provides only a little booty, in terms of number. I have reported on the fences or palings with which the river was blocked off near the second Bakaïrí village, on the "chiqueiras," the barrier made with twigs that closes off the mouths of brooks or the arms of lagoons, on the stone circles that were laid out, often in great numbers, in the shallow river bed near rapids, and where the fish entered from above through a narrow opening and, driven downstream, were caught in nets at the opposite exit, and, finally,

B /102 cont./
123 been among the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, although he did not know their language, to carry out my plan, but one was encouraged by the example of the other.

W
122 We set out early on 10 October and reached the harbor of the
B Mehinakú on 12 October at 11:00 in the forenoon. We had not
461 hurried particularly; the two rowed best only when I provided a good example. The most dreadful thing to me was that they traced all the bends in the river and never cut off one of them by crossing it. There was not a fish, not a bird, that did not hold their attention. They shot at, without hitting, several gallinaceous birds, a capybara that was swimming across the river was wounded in its hind leg and, with the arrow, ran screaming into the woods. We slept that night beside an inlet with an abundance of fish and made a good catch. The two roasted fish all night long, carefully keeping the fire going under the wooden grill; they had set up their hammocks so close that they could comfortably reach out, turn the fish, occasionally consume a piece, and have the benefit of the fire's warmth.

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Fig. 4. Mehinakú woman.

W
121 On the second morning they told me that the bank on the left
B belonged to the Mehinakú, on the right to the Nahuquá. The
●504 harbor lay along a steep sandbank where a small brook emptied.
W
[531] Rhomboid designs were scratched on the trees. The Bakairí shoved
B the canoe far up into the brook and carefully concealed the oars
581 and carrying baskets, which still contained remnants of fish and
B beijús, in the woods. Tumayaua prepared a gift for the Mehinakú
576 hosts and for this purpose hung a rosary-like cord around his neck,
B on which were strung fruits with an oily content. The oil was
[757] rubbed on the skin scratched by the medicinal scarifier of the Indians.

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Xingú-Expedition /Report on His Second Xingu Expedition/," February 3, 1900, Verh. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde z. Berlin, Vol. XXVII, 1900, pp. 112-128. Idem., "Uber seine zweite Reise in Central-Brasilien," loc. cit.

175 Antonio with
166 his stepson José Coroado, already an adult, had then visited
159 several times the Bakairí in the region of the tributaries of the
622 Xingu River, and a big part of these had moved in with their
162 fellow countrymen of the Rio Paranatinga, so that Theodor Koch, a participant in Herrmann Meyer's second expedition to the Xingu River, estimated the population of the aldea of the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí, at this date, at more than 60 individuals.(24)

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[501] on the Rio Jatobá. Also the Nahukuá /Nahuqua/ had then
[504] risked for the first time the journey to the Rio Paranatinga and
[439] had carried away from there sugar cane and porotos /French beans/ for planting. (25)

25. Dr. Herrmann Meyer, "Bericht uber sein zweite Xingú-Expedition," loc. cit., p. 127.

/208 cont./

*171 Feathers lend wings to the arrow, on whose shaft end two
239 split halves of feathers are sewed opposite each other in spiral
30 turns. Otherwise they seem to be used exclusively, but in great
[411] volume here, for ornaments, such as ear feathers, feather crowns,
[289] feather caps, feather arm bands, feather cloaks (among the Kamayurá), and in hundredfold decoration on small ornaments, where little colored bundles hung on hammocks, combs, gourd rattles, arrow throwers, masks, etc. The most magnificent ma-
[825] terial was available, from the yellow, blue, red, and green of the arara, toucan, weaver birds, and parrots, from the beautiful stripes or speckles of the curassows, falcons, and owls, to the shimmering white of the herons and storks or the black of the
[825] urubu vulture. The big, broad, black-and-white striped flag of the Harpyia destructor was magnificent.

*171 The spoils of hunting and fishing therefore offered an
[239] abundance of the most necessary things; in particular it furnished
[412] tools for cutting, scraping, polishing, piercing, boring, scratch-
[433] ing, and digging. Agriculture assured the natives a sedentary existence and improved their economic condition, but they still remained fishermen and hunters, though to a lesser extent. They were hunters without dogs, fishermen without hooks, farmers without plow and spade. They afford us an excellent example
[32] that teaches us how manifold the methods of work for the purpose of making a living could have been before the possession of any metal technique, an example that warns us about overestimating the importance of stone implements, which, of course are preserved the best and most plentifully for posterity, and about throwing indiscriminately into the great pot of the Stone Age everything that comes before the use of metal and, in comparison to the small span of time established for this, must embrace unimaginably long periods.

*171 If one judges culture according to the extent and thorough-
433 ness with which the surrounding nature is exploited by the human
● 511 beings, then our natives certainly did not stand on a low level.
[229] They hunted and fished with arrow /209/ and bow; they fished with nets, catch-baskets, and weir-baskets; they had their fish

/209 cont./

*171 433 511 229 hurdles in the river, planted the stream with fences and barriers, and closed off arms of lagoons in order to confine the fish; they worked hard to clear large stretches of forest; they built themselves splendid houses, piled up considerable supplies in them, filled them with a great variety of things from an industrious craftman's skill, arrayed themselves with gay body ornaments, and decorated all their implements with graceful design. In *171 511 view of the fact that the people of Cuyabá have showered me with angry newspaper articles to the effect that I have said the savages of the Schingú had neater and better homes than many people of the Mato Grosso, I should like, without comparing reasons, to set their minds at rest by adding that even in old Europe there are plenty of villages in the mountains and along the coast where people lead a more miserable life than on the Kulisehu.

*171 241 I shall list the cultivated useful plants which we observed among the Indians. They are arranged, under A, as those that were common in the northern part of South America before the Europeans appeared, and, under B, as those that grew wild in the immediate environment:

A.

Maize	Zea mays.	Cotton	Gossypium.
Mandioca	Manihot utilissima.	Cuyeté	Crescentia cuyeté
Batatas	Convolvus batatas.	Bottle gourd	Cucurbita lagenaria.
Cará	Dioscorea.	Edible gourd	Cucurbita.
Peanut	Arachis hypogaea.	Mamona	Ricinus.
Bean	Phaseolus.	Urucú shrub	Bixa orellana.
Pepper	Capsicum.	Tobacco	Nicotiana tabacum.

B.

Bakayuva palm	Acrocomia.	Genipapo	Genipa.
Pikí	Caryocar butyrosum.	Arrow reed, ubá	Ginerium parviflorum.
Mangaba	Hancornia speciosa.	Spear grass	Scleria.
Fruta de lobo	Solanum lycocarpum.	Pita bast-plant	Fourcroya? Agave?

/162 cont./

512 I did them an injustice; at half-past seven a procession of seven comes around the corner in the fastest quickstep, one behind the other, the tribal sorceress at their head, all loaded with [482] mandioca roots. The old woman is carrying a bundle of them loose on her head, and behind her runs a young woman with a heavy back-basket; is it her husband who is following her? Likewise [854] bent under the load of a basket he walks forward, on his left hip a straddling boy whom he clasps heedlessly, as though he had hurriedly picked him up from the ground.

592 We visit the house of the professor. In the moderately light [352] room one at first distinguishes only a number of vertical and [252] horizontal posts, brown hammocks; the old woman and a younger one are sitting on the floor most diligently scraping mandioca with a shell, the naked legs buried in the parings.

[353] Two families have divided up in the space; the conjugal chambers are characterized by the fact that two hammocks are fastened, one above the other, to the same post. In the center there is an empty circle, and round about, /163/ radially, the "individual rooms" divided off, not by partitions, but merely by [354] the posts. The upper vault is blackened by smoke. Three or [251] four stones form the simple hearth. The flour is put into huge [252] pot vessels (up to 77 centimeters in diameter); the beijús are [323] roasted on flat, rimless bowls. The clay is blackish brown, the vessels are made by hand by the women.

352 We sit on small, low benches; they are rectangular, slightly concave, made out of dark-brown palm-wood, usually in octavo form, and not a decimeter high.

412 The stone axes, which are sticking in the wall (the longest [353] 24 centimeters), all have the same shape: a thick wooden cylinder, [135] offset at the bottom by a thinner handle. The stone is supposedly found farther downstream (1). /Illustration appears here./

1. Herr Prof. Arzruni of Aachen was kind enough to examine the material carefully and has identified it as diabase, a rock made up of augite, plagioclase, mica, chlorite, and

/59 cont./

123 During the first two days I modestly restrained myself in order not to alarm the good people; I also noticed that one of the men was almost always detached for special duty near me and thus a sort of guard was established; when on the first night, after I had taken my leave, I wanted to stay up for a while with a light and write in my journal, old Paleko appeared at the door and asked me just as politely as urgently to go to sleep and blow out the candle. My discretion bore good fruit; they soon took me into the two large houses: in one Paleko and my intended were the chief occupants, in the other Tumayaua and [122] his daughter. They took me out to fish, to the launching of the new canoe, and the like, and everything could not have been better, if only I had not suffered from chronic hunger as a result of their hospitable, but for me absolutely inadequate [276] board. I had to try to help myself by heavy smoking and in this [512] respect achieved what was humanly possible, whereas almost the only time the Indians gave themselves up to this pleasure, but then in a body and with great enthusiasm, was during our nightly tobacco meeting outside on the plaza, the jolliest hours of the day.

345 My little house had served at the time of the festivals as [122] the dance house, "kxato-éti," or "flute house." Two reed [534] flutes hanging on the wall in a case made of buriti-palm straw were the only remains of past glory. For me, however, it was [562] better this way, for the women, who passed in and out of this ruin freely, may never enter the flute house of the men. It was seven paces wide and nine and a half long; the main posts in the center, standing two and a half paces apart, which supported the roof, were four and a half meters high. At the top, in the straw roof, a vent one meter and three and three-fourths meters long was left open. A couple of fish weirs stood in one corner, but otherwise there was nothing but the two posts, from one of which I had stretched the hammock over to the wall.

231 Besides my guard of honor, I also had the company of a japú (Cassicus), who seemed like a green tropical Jim Crow /Hans Huckebein/ to me; he was permitted to sit only up in the

/61 cont./

•512 The taciturn Indians, men and women, chattered con-
[152] stantly, and Eva's delightful laughter rang out merrily. The
[278] women were all busy. One was scraping a reddish bark which, when cooked, furnishes a curative brew, a second was pounding mandioca grains in a mortar. Now and then a swallow was brought to one of the men in the hammock. A beautiful
[272] picture there by the flickering fire that leaped up at the enormous kettle; the naked woman with long hair was skimming off the milk-like, gently bubbling foam of the püserego in a little pot and pouring it back again and again with a vigorous swing of her arm. Others stepped up, yours truly as well, and tasted, licking their fingers. My intended looked very trim,
[231] too, her "raven-black Mongolian hair" had glints of faded light brown, and she was squatting in front of three discontentedly cawing green parakeets which she was feeding out of
[262] a little pot. Then my turn came; she placed a freshly baked, golden yellow beiiü flat-cake in front of me and did not forget to remark that it was her own handiwork.

Fat Yapü had fallen asleep. I, too, was overcome by a pleasant weariness in the unfamiliar, mood-evoking equableness of the domestic activity. I could not resist the pleasant invitation to take a midday nap, although in the largest hammock there I squirmed like a fish in the net.

I had slept soundly. The picture had changed. The women
[515] sat outside on the plaza, five in a row one behind the other, busily engaged in delousing. Anyone who caught a little
[262] animal placed it on the tip of the tongue and swallowed the delicacy or gave it to the original owner, who received it from the rear in her upturned right hand. The men were attentively watching swallows, "iri": Luchu shot at them without hitting them; when a pair took its prey in the air, this aroused general interest, and good old Paleko furnished explanatory comments. Everywhere dolce far niente. Only the ants did not celebrate; large carregadores marched by, heavily laden with pieces of stalks and charcoal.

/68 cont./

intercourse between the two sexes goes back to a time when each man had to see to it that he had his wife for himself alone, sought to protect her from the lustful glances of his fellow tribesmen, and, for this purpose, used the clothing that developed either out of the pleasure of adornment or out of reasons of utility. Then clothing itself became sacred. It is certainly an interesting parallel if we regard the naked Indians as an indecent lot and imagine ourselves in the soul of a Bakairi who would not know what to do out of shame if he saw the dreadfully indecent Europeans united at a table d'hôte. He would quickly become accustomed to it, however, and would perhaps the very next night dream that he was back on the Kuliseku, would find old and young cozily gathered together dining on a tapir roast, and would be astonished to be informed by the chief: "We always eat together now."

276 [512] Tobacco club. My friends were most natural in the evening after the day's burden and toil, when we men sat together smoking on the village plaza. A more harmless conviviality could scarcely be imagined, although, or if one wishes, because, there was no drinking. Punctually, with his long pipe, like the first of the people of rank at the table reserved for the regular guests, stiff-legged old Paleko appeared, the spindle-shaped bundle of tobacco, a twig with leaves for wrapping, and a chunk of wood in his hands, and squatted down on the sitting beam, sighing con-
[516] tentedly. My back soon became sore in this sitting position a handbreadth above the ground, and I would drag my oxhide out of the hut. A couple of sticks were placed together radially, along with the glowing chunk of wood, and a small fire kindled. The clay pipe was unknown; /69/ they smoked cigars or regular cigarettes, albeit 25 centimeters long. The leaf wrapping was still green and was held over the fire for only a few seconds; it gave off a balsamy odor. The cigar went out frequently; it was held against the embers to light it again. Occasionally one would have fire given to him from the cigar of his neighbor, but in that case he handed him his own which the other would put

/264 cont./

794 survives death. (6) During sleep, kagatopuri leaves the body

6. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 43, 44.

and goes wandering through distant regions; on returning it
[513] causes the individual to awaken. To awaken a person sudden-
ly might kill him, for kagatopuri would not have time to re-
775 turn to the body. After death the fluid soul leaves the body
once and for all and changes into kadopa. The kadopa are
[776] wandering souls that continue in this way until their final
transformation into iamiira which occurred in the domains of
776 Nakoeri, the culture hero. Nakoeri was a combination culture
773 hero and creator god of the Bakairí. In a /265/ text obtained
by Capistrano de Abreu, Nakoeri first makes all the animals,
and, using a plaster of clay, creates the Bakairí. (7) Next he

7. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 47.

776
775 makes a cotton ladder and climbs to the sky.

776 The kadopa and iamiira suffer hunger and thirst and eat
like the other Indians. For this they use the bodies of animals.
775 When the kadopa disturbed the aldeas, rituals were performed
to try to attract the wandering souls in order next to frighten
them. One Bakairí account refers to the kadopa thus:

775
787
539 "... if you do not intone kadopa's song he does
not go to the sky. Because of this /after/ many
days of sleeping put manioc paste /mingáu/ in
two small clay cups /cúias/; put the paste in
the middle of the grave; two persons armed
with clubs intone the song; the cups are smashed
and they flee. Coming from afar, one gives
a blessing, saying ku ku ku (now, cheer up!).

/69 cont./

276 in his mouth and light. The smoke was inhaled. They even smoked my heavy black tobacco in the same manner and in the same size, and they tolerated it without difficulty, although theirs was light as straw.

517 Not a sound came from the houses; the plaiting had been pushed in front of the entrance. Were the women not lying awake in the hammocks? The two araras, who during the day were in the habit of cawing from the roof poles, were asleep on a partly withered palm. No insects were annoying us. For two or three hours we sat under the star-studded dome of the heavens, surrounded all around by the dark mass of the woods. The smallest cloud that rose anywhere was observed and became the subject of a discussion about where from and where to. As soon as an animal sound became audible in the woods, everyone would be silent for a moment, waiting to see whether it was repeated, and then they would whisper to each other "a tapir," "an armadillo," or the like, while one man half mechanically whistled in imitation of the animal cry. There was also no lack of in-
517 voluntary sounds. Sucking sounds with saliva, belching, or break-
576 ing wind was not restrained. Bakaïrí sum, nihil humani a me
[514] alienum puto. But the moment someone behaved too badly, there immediately followed, as a direct reflex movement of all the colleagues, a brief violent spitting to one side, without an interruption in the conversation. To be sure, if there were a
[626] repetition, Tumayaua or Paleko would mutter something that seemed to mean, "Confound it, we have a guest, after all," and the culprit would lose himself in the shadows six paces away. It was very patriarchal.

823 We discussed in detail the subject most important for me,
829 the geography of the Kulisehu. The river was drawn in the sand, the tribes were enumerated and designated with maize kernels. Thus I gradually learned to understand the correct relationship of the Kulisehu and Kuluëne and learned that the main body of the Nahuquá tribes, each of which was designated by a special
829 name, lived on the Kuluëne. All people were either good,
577 "kúra," or bad, "kurápa." The distinction was made chiefly,

/334 cont./

* 171 55 [124] One of the women in the Paranatinga village was called makála - tujujú stork. The names of the men were usually obtained without difficulty; sometimes there was a little reluctance and it was preferred that a friend give the information. One Bakairí allegedly had no name because his parents had died early. From the women on the Kulisehu I always received only the answer, "I am a woman"; however, I neglected to ask a third person.

* 171 553 797 I have described the custom of exchanging names; cf. pages 115 and 122. It explains why the Indians make so little fuss about submitting to Christian baptism. To them it means simply a ceremony by means of which they lose their old name.

* 171 844 [849] [872] Birth and couvade. Abortions are said to take place frequently. The women are afraid of childbirth. Among the Bakairí they make a tea from the root of a campo tree called perovinha. Probably there are also mechanical procedures. The woman gives birth in a kneeling position on the floor, hanging on to a post. The hammock is not supposed to be soiled. Women - who demonstrated this to us in pantomime and who knew about it from experience stated emphatically that the pains were great.

* 171 846 They soon get up, however, and go to work, and the man goes through the well-known couvade, the male lying-in, during which he adheres to a strict diet, does not touch weapons, and spends most of his time in the hammock. On our return we saw such a couvade in Malgéri in Paleko's house. An actual lying-in room had been /335/ set up by stretching two man-high walls of hanging buriti leaves from one of the main posts to the outer wall. In this way a three-cornered segment was closed off. I was gladly allowed to enter so that I could give the child beads. Inside there were stretched four hammocks, sheltering two women with babies and two men. A strong odor of pikí, coming from rubbings, filled the room. The babies were kurápa, ill, weak, [755] the parents complained. The fathers and mothers were ceaselessly occupied with blowing on them, and, to be sure, with hollow-sounding noises with the mouth nearly closed, which was hardly interrupted for a moment throughout the following night. The [514] [862] husbands left the house only to relieve themselves; they lived exclusively on thin pogu, mandioca cakes crumbled in water.

162 /58 cont./ unfortunately, she scratched her neck far too often,
621 and though this may occasionally have occurred out of embarrassment,
515 nevertheless lice had their visible part in it.

Eva's friend, about twelve years old, "my intended" (Pl. 5, third
[262] from the right), was in the habit of picking them out and eating them.
162 In general this one had all the good things in the village, and many
621
[301]

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Fig. 7. "Eva," Tumayana's daughter.

162 beads that I had given others I later found around her neck. She was the
621 little daughter of the deceased chief and his /59/ heiress. Her uncle
[622] Tumayaua was only the provisional chief. If I had followed Paleho's
[123] very seriously meant suggestion and had married his niece, he would have had to turn over the government to me. Even today I cannot deny that,
[291] quite apart from the excellent match with which there was associated no greater demands in the way of dress than a string of beads and a piece of bark-bast the size of a small human ear, a better opportunity of becoming acquainted with the ethnology of the Kulisehu could scarcely have been imagined. I saw little of the other women, with the exception,
[142] perhaps, of the "Egyptian," who also came over from the second village, a tall greedy person with an Egyptian profile and almond-shaped eyes (Pl. 5, second from the right).

[See P. 88--Analyst]

/61 cont./

512 The tacitum Indians, men and women, chattered con-
[152] stantly, and Eva's delightful laughter rang out merrily. The
[278] women were all busy. One was scraping a reddish bark which, when cooked, furnishes a curative brew, a second was pounding mandioca grains in a mortar. Now and then a swallow was brought to one of the men in the hammock. A beautiful
[272] picture there by the flickering fire that leaped up at the enormous kettle; the naked woman with long hair was skimming off the milk-like, gently bubbling foam of the pûserego in a little pot and pouring it back again and again with a vigorous swing of her arm. Others stepped up, yours truly as well, and tasted, licking their fingers. My intended looked very trim,
[231] too, her "raven-black Mongolian hair" had glints of faded light brown, and she was squatting in front of three discontentedly cawing green parakeets which she was feeding out of
[262] a little pot. Then my turn came; she placed a freshly baked, golden yellow beiiú flat-cake in front of me and did not forget to remark that it was her own handiwork.

Fat Yapú had fallen asleep. I, too, was overcome by a pleasant weariness in the unfamiliar, mood-evoking equableness of the domestic activity. I could not resist the pleasant invitation to take a midday nap, although in the largest hammock there I squirmed like a fish in the net.

I had slept soundly. The picture had changed. The women
[515] sat outside on the plaza, five in a row one behind the other, busily engaged in delousing. Anyone who caught a little
[262] animal placed it on the tip of the tongue and swallowed the delicacy or gave it to the original owner, who received it from the rear in her upturned right hand. The men were attentively watching swallows, "izi". Luchu shot at them without hitting them; when a pair took its prey in the air, this aroused general interest, and good old Paléko furnished explanatory comments. Everywhere dolce far niente. Only the ants did not celebrate; large carregadores marched by, heavily laden with pieces of stalks and charcoal.

B 142 /172 cont./
especially the "Egyptian woman" of the first village, with her narrow face and her long, slightly aquiline nose, showed great resemblance to the women of the ancient kingdom of the Nile, as these have come down to us.

B 142 Bulging foreheads were found here and there among all tribes, but they were typical of the Trumaí and doubly conspicuous among these little people. They also had the greatest prognathism and the most receding chins; they had a narrow nasal root and little space between the eyes, while the Mehinakú were, striking because of their slight prognathism, protruding chin, wide, low faces, and eyes far apart. The faces of the Nahuquá differed from those of the Bakairí in their coarser character; in contrast to the oval shape of the latter, they had a somewhat square and thick-set one, with very prominent jaw angles. The most finely chiseled faces were to be found among the Kamayurá.

The iris was dark brown and only as an exception light brown; the Trumaí had relatively light eyes. We found one blue-eyed Nahuquá. He had nothing special in the way of hair and skin color; his hair was black and quite straight. He was the father of a young man with dark brown eyes, but his own eyes had a definitely blue iris. The position of the eyes was horizontal or slightly oblique, the form was almond-shaped; the eyelid among the Bakairí was commonly wide open, among the rest, especially among the Nahuquá and Kamayurá, rather small and low. We did not see Mongolian eyes; only one Kamayurá could be regarded as Mongoloid.

Beautiful teeth were extremely rare. They were more often opaque, rather than translucent, the color was yellowish and only as an exception white, the position largely irregular, they were rather bulky, but among the Mehinakú frequently small and fine. Almost everywhere they appeared greatly chewed down. One B [515] never sees the Indians brushing their teeth or rinsing their mouths, which would be very advisable in view of their starchy diet. They use their teeth very incautiously if they do not have any B [412] fish teeth or shells at hand; moreover, they bite a hole into the oyster-like, hard shells of river mussels, in order to smooth wood

/176 cont./

I never saw among

#191 302 the men the reciprocal and daily delousing practiced so happily
595 by the women. The comb, plaited out of pointed bamboo sticks,
419 hung on the hammock. The hair was not excluded from the painting with urucú red, sometimes it dripped with the red oil and designs might even be applied: one Auetö who was in a festive mood had painted a stripe of urucú red two fingers wide along the lower edge of the calotte, while two stripes ran upward from the ears to the tonsure, so that Wilhelm, who was well-informed in matters of costume, was moved to compare it with a helmet of the early Middle Ages.

151 302 I often watched Tumayaua in particular when he plucked out his sparse beard hair. In the possession of a mirror, he could devote himself to this contemplative occupation with great concentration for hours at a time; he evidently did not feel any pain, but rather the enjoyment of an industrious man who loves his stimulating work. Accustomed to the procedure from childhood as a matter of course, he was scarcely acquainted with the more disagreeable part of the operation, the fear of it. The people are vain to a high degree, but it is improbable that the nerves of the Indians react more dully to begin with than ours, to judge from the behavior of children. The same man who, with an expression of only slight pain, scratched open his swollen skin with the scarifier to which I shall come back later, thinking that he would cure himself by this, cried out at the first unexpected feeling of pain when I held the burning-glass over his hand.

#191 302 Undoubtedly, with regard to the plucking of hair, we are dealing today with an old custom, with a fashion for which no one would any longer think of asking the reason, or, more probably, the reasons. People practice the custom, are used to it, and therefore find ugly the strangers who do not know about it. It has been remarked that the beard is plucked precisely by those peoples who are already sparsely provided with this adornment by nature, and it was not enough to say that it is easier in this case to pluck them out; rather it was believed that the sparsity as such looked ugly to the people. My long and thick beard, however, really seemed ugly to the women, and one or another of the Indian women, tugging at it with familiar aversion, gave me the

2: Steinen--28 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate V

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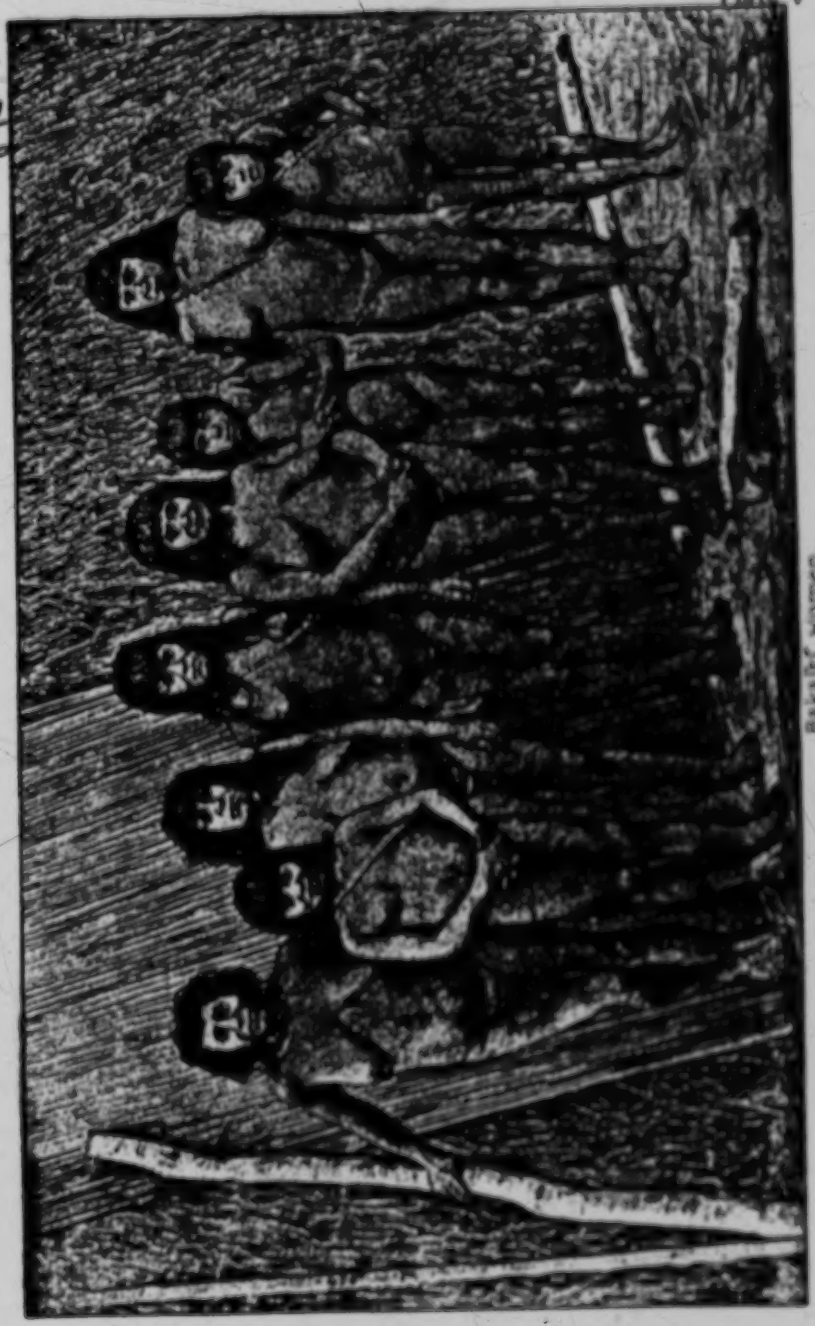

Bakairi women.

/68 cont./

intercourse between the two sexes goes back to a time when each man had to see to it that he had his wife for himself alone, sought to protect her from the lustful glances of his fellow tribesmen, and, for this purpose, used the clothing that developed either out of the pleasure of adornment or out ofreasons of utility. Then clothing itself became sacred. It is certanly an interesting parallel if we regard the naked Indians as in indecent lot and imagine ourselves in the soul of a Bakairi who would not know what to do out of shame if he saw the dreadfully indecent Europeans united at a table d'hôte. He wouldquickly become accustomed to it, however, and would perhaps the very next night dream that he was back on the Kulisehu, would find old and young cozily gathered together dining on a tapirroast, and would be astonished to be informed by the chief: "We always eat together now."

276 [512] Tobacco club. My friends were most natural in the evening after the day's burden and toil, when the men sat together smoking on the village plaza. A more harmles conviviality could scarcely be imagined, although, or if onewishes, because, there was no drinking. Punctually, with his long pipe, like the first of the people of rank at the table reservedfor the regular guests, stiff-legged old Paleko appeared, the spindle-shaped bundle of tobacco, a twig with leaves for wrapping, and a chunk of wood in his hands, and squatted down on the sitting beam, sighing contentedly. [516] My back soon became sore in this sitting position a handbreadth above the ground, and I would drag my oxhide out of the hut. A couple of sticks were placed together radially, along with the glowing chunk of wood, and a small fire kindled. The clay pipe was unknown; /69/ they smokeccigars or regular cigarettes, albeit 25 centimeters long. The leaf wrapping was still green and was held over the fire for only a few seconds; it gave off a balsamy odor. The cigar went out frequently; it was held against the embers to light it again. Occasionally one would have fire given to him from the cigar of his neighbor, but in that case he handed him his own which the other would put

2: Steinen--40 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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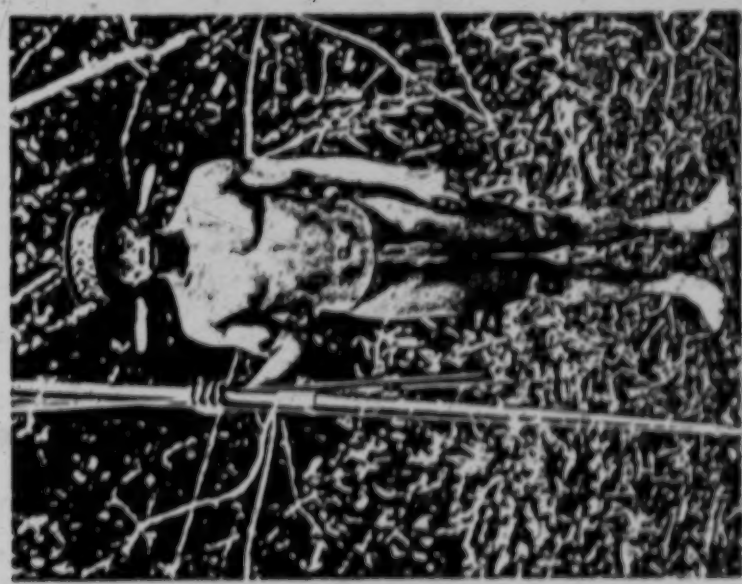
Plate VI

[482]

Tumayáua



Bakairí

/196 cont./

#171 29 136 951 On the other hand, the swarm of "carapatos" (Ixodidae), the ticks stripped off and shaken down from leaves in great numbers as one goes through the forest, makes protection of the glans extremely desirable for the forest dwellers. These little parasites, in part very tiny, attach themselves to the skin, pump themselves full of blood, swell up to the size of peas as a result of their expansible body walls, and cling so tightly with the hooked tips of their maxillary feelers which sharply penetrate the skin that one tears them apart in trying to pluck them off, and painful inflammed areas are caused by the parts that remain behind. The Brazilian, who often comes out of the forest as though strewed with carapatos, hastily removes his clothing and shakes his shirt and trousers out over the campfire; if one of the parasites has bored into the glans, he goes after it with a burning cigarette as close to the body as his own sensitivity will permit, so that the little animal, tortured by the heat, will voluntarily give up its abode and withdraw from the mucous membrane without being torn apart. All of us, in spite of our clothing, have had to resort to this procedure at one time or another and have experienced the situation, before relief was achieved, as one of the most painful. I am also of the opinion that the protection which the Indians enjoy is more reliable than that of covering clothing.

How many other biting, pinching, sucking, increeping insects can in like manner afflict the South American forest dweller is familiar to every traveler who has sat on the ground in the Brazilian forest. These annoyances are most vividly made clear by the fact that it was the inhabitant of the South American tropical forest who was forced to invent the hammock, which the English and French still call "amáka" from the Nu-Aruak word. Forced certainly not only because of the wet ground of the Hylaea. The Indian very wisely averts such attacks somewhat by customarily sitting in a squatting position. The women, if they sit down flat during the scraping of manditoca roots and similar occupations which would be inconvenient to do in a squatting position, use a couple of flat pieces of bamboo, fastened together as an underlayer, even when they are in the house, which, of course, is crawling with ants. Their domestic tasks

#171 136 352 516 951

/196 cont./ their domestic tasks

have made them less accustomed to squatting than the men, and they are therefore less protected. In the illustration on the next page /see p. 192/ a group of Bakairí from the second village shows very well the characteristic positions of both sexes in sitting or squatting.

In the case of the women, too, if protection of the mucous membrane was to be effected by their devices, this purpose would probably be achieved and certainly be achieved better than, say, the purpose of concealment. Furthermore, it should be realized that, assuming the purpose to be protection of the mucous membrane, a need for this was at least increased through sexual life, since in the case of the young /197/ woman the mucosa became more accessible, in the pregnant state more turgescent, and as a result of childbirth more slack.

Thus it would indeed be improper, on the basis of local conditions, to doubt that the methods described could offer the adults of both sexes protection against external assaults and that there was no lack of occasions when they were bound to be useful in this sense. It would also be natural for young people to be duly furnished with them as early as the onset of puberty when they began to work with the older ones. The explanation, however, cannot possibly be exhaustive. For the importance and indispensableness of the devices are out of proportion to the idea /Fig. 19 appears here/ of protective apparatus. Why should they not have been removed more often, especially at night in the hammock? Why should the young men have been so intent on training the praeputium. Why should particular fuss have been made one day about wearing the uluri or the cuff? The connections with sexual life must be direct and not merely indirect.

In the case of the female sex one encounters no difficulty. Suddenly bleeding appears; there is illness here. That the Indian thought this originally is clearly proved by the utterly superfluous medical treatment of the menstruating girl customary among most tribes, /198/ with isolation, fumigation, diet, incisions, and other remedies against the unknown foes. One neatly removed the pubic hair and donned a bandage, the bast loop, or a cushion, the uluri. The bast loop among the Trumaí women --

/198 cont./

a combination of bandage and cushion -- is twisted like a rope, in the case of the uluri wearers the narrow bark strip makes possible the stretching over the perineum; in both bases there is provided a support pressing against the pubic symphysis, in the former case by means of the little roll, in the latter case by means of the springy triangle. One realizes that it was not cleanliness which prompted this procedure, but the medical attempt to counteract the loss of blood. These are truly not inventions of modesty, such as aprons or similar loose hangings.

Fig. 19. Squatting Bakairí.

similar loose hangings.

In the case of the men, the explanation is not so obvious. Here, too, an attempt has been made to preserve the connection with a cactative, primary sense of modesty. The view has been expressed that shame was felt only when the glans of the penis was exposed to the gaze of others and therefore it alone was covered. Unfortunately, I did not observe anything that might settle the question directly. I saw that the people were not ashamed when they gave us their devices.

4:Schmidt--60 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate II

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Fig. 1. Captain Antonio, Cacique of the Paranatinga Bakairi, in the year 1927.

4:Schmidt--61 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate III

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Fig. 2. Captain Antonio with his family in front of his house, in the year 1927.

Fig. 3. Administration building at the Simões Lopes Post.

4:Schmidt--62 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate IV

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Fig. 4. House of the Bikairí. Pires, cacique of the Xinguanos in Simões Lopes.

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Fig. 5. Cacique Pires with his family in front of his house in Simões Lopes.

4:Schmidt--63 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate V

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(354)

Fig. 6. Bakairi house, in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 7. House of the family of the old Bakairi, Luju, in Simões Lopes.

4:Schmidt--64 , E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate VI

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Fig. 8. The old Bakairí, Luju, from Maigeri aldeia, in Simões Lopes.

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Fig. 9. The Bakairí, Joaquim Carpintero, in Simões Lopes

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Fig. 10. Bakairí Afonso, Luju's son, in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 11. Bakairí Hieronymo, in Simões Lopes.

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Fig. 12. Cacique Roberto, from the Rio Novo, with his family, in Simões Lopes.

4:Schmidt--66 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate VIII

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Fig. 13. Bakairí, son of the Xinguano Kapinage, in Simões Lopes.

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Fig. 14. The author with Xinguanos in front of their house, situated near the Paranatinga.

4Schmidt--67 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SPT.Bucaui SPT

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Fig. 15. Xinguano Patagade with his son Ka'iura, in Cuiabé.

Fig. 16. Xinguano Ka'iura.

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Fig. 17. Xinguanos in front of their house, situated near the Rio Paranatinga.

Aschmann--68 E-6 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SPT Barcaini SPT

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Fig. 18. Xinguano Kaponage in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 19. Paranatinga Xinguano boys.

Fig. 20. Rio Paranatinga Xinguanos.

6.Schmidt-Leo / E-o (1901 1927-1934) 1947 SP: Bacairi SP7

Plate XI

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Fig. 21. House of Rio Paranatinga Xingurnos.

Fig. 22. Bakairi João Pedroso with his family in front of his house situated near the Rio Paranatinga

/39 cont./

231 rafters of the smoke vent, and, if he suddenly shot down and raced around us like a wild animal, he was quickly chased back to his observation post, where he looked down, his head bent inquisi-
224 tively and his beak open. /60/ Sometimes one of the little mice
[262] so busily active at night came spying about and, if it did not scamper away in time, was shot with a child's arrow and brought
136 to the women as a roast. Almost constant guests were large black-white striped bees, which, like a butterfly that now and then fluttered into the entrance, would calmly let themselves be seized and put aside. On a hot noonday I often had the feeling of sitting in the midst of a beehive filled with buzzing and droning.

123 It was at this hour on the third day that I fled from the bees
[342] and flies to Paleko's large house and entered it for the first time. It was wonderfully cool and comfortable in there and no annoying insects. Only ants laden with grains of flour marched
[519] down their street to the mandioca pestle. The men were swing-
[574] ing in the hammocks, their chief occupation at home, and
[352] after I had sat a while, for the sake of politeness, on the stool of honor, which was as high as a cigar box, I soon followed their example.

342 One had the feeling of being in a huge beehive, fortunately without the bees. The ground plan was almost circular with a diameter of 15 meters; two mighty posts standing nine meters high and three and a half meters apart, supported in the center the huge straw dome, the framework of which consisted of horizontal bamboo rings and over these vertical poles bent upward toward the vent. It was smoke-blackened, glistening like tar. The walling all around, above which it rose, a tightly closed ring of posts one and a half meters high, interrupted only by two door entrances opposite each other, which were much
[352] too low for me. From the wall towards the interior, in the direction of the radii, the hammocks were stretched, fastened/ on either end to particularly strong posts, so that the outer space
353 was divided into a number of rooms, albeit open. The large center space around the main posts and under the vent, which

/69 cont./

276 in his mouth and light. The smoke was inhaled. They even smoked my heavy black tobacco in the same manner and in the same size, and they tolerated it without difficulty, although theirs was light as straw.

•517 Not a sound came from the houses; the plaiting had been pushed in front of the entrance. Were the women not lying awake in the hammocks? The two arazas, who during the day were in the habit of cawing from the roof poles, were asleep on a partly withered palm. No insects were annoying us. For two or three hours we sat under the star-studded dome of the heavens, surrounded all around by the dark mass of the woods. The smallest cloud that rose anywhere was observed and became the subject of a discussion about where from and where to. As soon as an animal sound became audible in the woods, everyone would be silent for a moment, waiting to see whether it was repeated, and then they would whisper to each other "a tapir," "an armadillo," or the like, while one man half mechanically whistled in imitation of the animal cry. There was also no lack of in-
517 voluntary sounds. Sucking sounds with saliva, belching, or break-
576 ing wind was not restrained. Bakalŕ nem, nihil humani a me
[514] alienum puto. But the moment someone behaved too badly, there immediately followed, as a direct reflex movement of all the colleagues, a brief violent spitting to one side, without an interruption in the conversation. To be sure, if there were a
[626] repetition, Tumayaua or Paleko would mutter something that seemed to mean, "Confound it, we have a guest, after all," and the culprit would lose himself in the shadows six paces away. It was very patriarchal.

823 We discussed in detail the subject most important for me,
829 the geography of the Kulisehu. The river was drawn in the sand, the tribes were enumerated and designated with maize kernels. Thus I gradually learned to understand the correct relationship of the Kulisehu and Kuluëne and learned that the main body of the Nahuquŕ tribes, each of which was designated by a special
829 name, lived on the Kuluëne. All people were either good,
577 "kŕra," or bad, "kurŕpa." The distinction was made chiefly,

/176 cont./

[171 302] well-meaning advice that I should pluck it out. The lashes removed so radically would not by any means grow scantily, as is proved by the magnificent lashes of the "docile" Indians. /Pl. XIV appears here./ /177/ Moreover, the grooming of the beard was by far the most neglected, and thus the custom of removing the hair probably did not start with it.

Regarding the pubic hair, which only the Suyá men did not remove, whereas their absolutely naked women did, one can expect the rather coarsely naïve natives to regard its presence as particularly ugly. Yet it is scarcely satisfactory to assume that it is only man's innate pleasure in a smooth skin which has prompted the unclothed native to carry on such energetic destructive warfare against all body hair. There is no lack of reasons why it often seems annoying. People say that even insects which are not eaten as lice are get into the beard, underarm, and pubic hair and mat it down, just as in our case bees in particular became entangled there; people remember the tubercles and blisters on perspiring skin, which are doubly sensitive in hair, the uncleanness caused by blood and dirt, the convenience of attack for underbrush as well as for the pugnacity of one's fellow men, and thus they find many situations in which the body hair of a naked person may cause more annoyance than pleasure. On [519] the other hand, the pastime and enjoyment which plucking the hair and working over the bodies with small implements provide people in lazy hours must also be given their due. Finally, it is [824] perhaps not entirely irrelevant that hair and feathers are regarded [811] as a sort of plant growth. The word for hair and feathers among [192] the Bakairí, and probably also in other languages, was originally the same as forest, and the concepts are basically related, regardless of whether the vegetative was taken from the corporeal, or vice versa. Hair and plants grow; they are also cleared away, at least the short weeds.

I should like to put foremost, however, a simple motive operating daily. Just as skin and hair belong together, I am thinking, in association with the custom of plucking, of a connection with the other custom of body painting, of cosmetics, which Joest maintains is older than bathing. For the painting of

[Text continues on p. 164]

/76 cont./

153 Their need for probing into the natu of new things was
199 exhausted, except for the question as to whether I had made them, with the second one as to their names /77/ Eabu?" "Eabu?" "What is that called?" cried the whole comany in unison, and they all took honest pains to repeat after mthe Portuguese word. One or another would often go on whisperin the word to himself for a long time while the conversation wente. They were unable to pronounce two consonants in succesne. But if now and then they succeeded in correctly reproducin the appropriate word, their joy was great, and I had the impressio that the object itself now also seemed more familiar to them. "apéra," from the Portuguese papel, "paper," was given as thename for my notebook, and whereas at first they could not exmine and touch the incomprehensible thing enough, they couldow quickly come to terms with it: it was quite simply "papéi."

522 Anywhere in the world a foreign language is encountered,
[192] one will very soon know what "a pretty girl'is. Their "pekóto iwáku" or the more endearing "pekóto iwakiukílu" I could translate for them with the words "moça bonita, which they were well able to imitate and which they now practice with delight. I had first taught my "moça bonita" to Eva; she laghed, blushed, and pronounced it daintily and distinctly. She ontinued to laugh, poked her husband Kulekule in the ribs -- just as a vigorous person who is pleased about a good idea would do amog us -- the two whispered together, and I was asked to say vat "a handsome man" might be. When I once imitated Tumayaua attempts at Portuguese, which in truth were not very sucessful, even though he was chief, the entire chorus laughed so nch that they were unable to talk for laughing; they fairly yodled with abandon.

576 These were the gloomy and reservedndians. If the talk became too much for them, everybody yawed openly and without holding the hand in front of the mouth. It ws not to be denied that the wholesome reflex was catching here too. Then one after another would stand up and I remained lone with my guard.

/65 cont./

124 way, an Arab, who would feel awkward about looking into the un-
93 veiled face of a European woman, or a Chinese, who would fall
[192] into the most anguished embarrassment if chance showed him her stockingless little foot. It is true, the subject that seems shocking to us gave the Bacairi, men and women, decided pleasure, and if a pedantic ponderer who wants to have modesty in our sense preserved at any price as the innate heritage of humanity would like to conclude from this increased measure of merriment that the bad conscience of a tribe that had sunk from a higher morality was stirring, I can only reply to him that their merry laughter was neither impudent nor did it give the impression of cloaking an inner embarrassment. On the other hand, it undoubtedly had a slightly erotic timbre, and, much as occasion and accompanying circumstances among true primitive peoples must differ, it altogether resembled the laughter that one hears at our spinning-party jokes, at games of forfeit, or other harmless entertainment in the intercourse between the two sexes. For from this same
[531] natural joy, as we shall see later, there resulted one of the most common ornaments in their painting, namely, the uluri of the women, represented on numerous implements as the original form of the triangle.

126 I wished to have the uluris made in larger quantities for the collection. Which aroused great merriment. Thus one afternoon there was lively tailoring. We were sitting behind Tumayaua's
[252] house, an old woman was baking beijús outside, pouring the flour
[524] on the pan, spreading it smooth, and /66/ skillfully tossing the
[283] finished flat-cake on a sieve, the children licked up piserego and
[289] played catch with feather-decorated maize balls, and four women and girls were twisting the threads out of palm fiber, folding the "little skirts" out of brownish-yellow leaves, and handing me the
126 neat work in quantity and in all sizes. The only thing that I must
291 add is that one woman was very baffled and looked about helplessly when I asked for an uluri that she was wearing. But no feeling of modesty related to the exposure had anything to do with this embarrassment; rather, what feeling of modesty was present should be called a physiological one, the existence of which I do not

/280 cont./

B0 285 524 532

nothing more than the pubic band with the back belt holding it. A "Bororó man" was represented by a palm leaf strip folded in the same way and then only a thread tied around it, the waist cord, which he wears besides his cuff and wore long before the invention of the cuff.

B 285 532 535

B 524 [illegible]

The straw figures of the Bakairí dance festivals are a special group. I shall have to discuss them in connection with the masks. They represented animals and were worn on the head. Span-long dolls served as children's toys and were also stuck on a pole in the roof of the festival

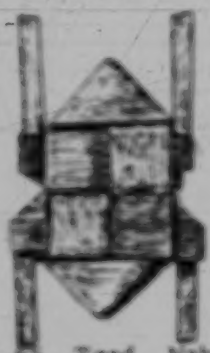

Fig. 65. Toad. Nahuquá. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Y 285 524 532

but as a sign that a masquerade was being celebrated, they announced to all the world: "Big dance entertainment today."

Fig. 66. Deer. Nahuquá. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

B 524

The two little dolls of Figure 68 /see p. 316/ seem to be very expressively summoning one for the merriment. In 1884 we came across larger straw figures, which were not used as headdresses, in front of the second Bakairí village

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Fig. 67. Woman's and man's figure. Bororó. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

on the Batovy. "Shortly before the exit from the woods we came across a wonderful display of about a dozen animal figures along one side of the path, probably the remains from a festival." (They

/280 cont./

285 were meant to welcome the participants from the neigh-
552 boring villages.) "They were made of leaves and straw,
535 /281/ mostly quadrupeds with long, thin bodies, consisting of practically nothing but spinal column and long legs. the tallest ones reached to our hips. Something that was evidently supposed to be a monkey was climbing up a pole." (Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, page 168 /see 1. Steinen, this file, p. 50/.

Fig. 68. Invitation to the dance. Bakairí. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

[524]

285 The maize figures, almost exclusively
552 birds, are extremely characteristic of their
825 enjoyment of art. we found the most attractive examples of them in the second Bakairí village. There they hung, almost as large as turkeys, on a long string from the vault of the dome, a strange sight for the person entering, who undoubtedly

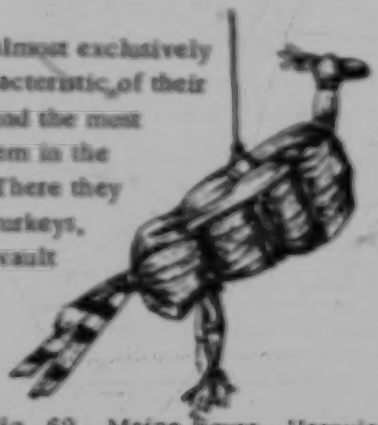

Fig. 69. Maize figure: Harpyia destructor. Bakairí. (1/10 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

[251] would think of idols and fetishes. But these fine birds were nothing but lovingly trimmed maize ears which were stored in their natural straw husks. I listed figures of Harpia destructor, a large and a small species of falcon, the snake

/281 cont./

285 bird, and the jabiru or giant stork. A human-like figure, a doll
532 with a knob on top instead of a head, represented the imoto
825 dancer in his straw garb. Otherwise there were always birds, and, to be sure, large birds. Often a pair of genuine tail feathers were stuck in or a few colored bands painted on the maize straw. The accompanying Harpia destructor (Fig. 69 /see p. 316/) is characterized by its strong beak and its crest, the tail feathers are banded with black; the toes are lovingly made out of twisted straw and where the foot emerges from the feathers of the leg there is a lashing. More impressive was the tujujú stork; it hung with wings outspread! A thick maize ear, as the center section, formed the body. only the stem was not cut off on it, but rather, projecting far out, formed the somewhat thin, but long beak. On either side eleven maize ears in
[252] a row were clamped between a couple of twigs, and this beautifully suspended bridge then represented Mycteria americana, the individual parts of which were broken off one by one and roasted. Nothing mysterious, nothing symbolic, only a stork which the Bakairí were very willing to roast crispy for the astonished European.

524 /282/ Loam dolls. A similar unexpected combination of
532 the beautiful and useful is shown by a heavy, red, loam doll,
261 30 centimeters long, 24 centimeters wide, and seven centimeters thick, Fig. 70 /see p. 318/. Four rounded stumps, which are produced by two lateral and one lower /Fig. 70 appears here/ indentation in the body lump, are the extremities; a clumsy, cube-shaped projection, the head. Two little holes, the eyes; a depression, the mouth sliding sharply downward, and another little hole, the navel. This red loam man is an edible doll for children. It consists of the material which the Bakairí say their grandfathers consumed before they were acquainted with mandioca. Today the heavy, fat dough is probably no longer a prized delicacy. The doll is also not very suitable as a plaything because of its weight. I was told that children licked it. We found similar dolls made of whitish, harder, nonedible loam, however, and saw nothing of loam being

/282 cont./ we found similar dolls made of whitish, reddish loam, however, and saw nothing of loam being eaten by the Kalusche Indians, whereas among the Bororó I saw that they absent-mindedly broke off and nibbled little pieces of the wall of the station house in front of which we stood talking.

Fig. 70. Loam doll. Bakairí. (1/6-1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Among the Bakairí we discovered a small female doll of baked clay, which they attributed to the Auetö, the only one of its kind. Among the Auetö themselves we did not find anything similar. The arms are broken off close to the shoulder, the legs somewhat lower

Fig. 71. Clay doll. Auetö. (3/4 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

in the middle of the shapeless, swollen thighs. /283/ Aside from this elephantiasis, the modeling is not bad at all. The torso especially is praiseworthy, the navel is in the right place, and the back, both in

2. Steinen--319 E D-5 (1884, 1887-1889) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/283 cont./

its course with the furrow of the spine as well as where it ends with a somewhat deeply cut division, is free of all schematization. The head reminds one of that of an Eskimo in its round hood, which is the result, first of all, of the absence of a neck, and then of the shallow depression dug out below the hair line for the face and in which the nose was left standing. In the case of the loam man of the Bakairí, it can be seen on closer inspection that there was also a depression (but extremely shallow) for the face.

Wax figures. Again, as in the case of maize, merely an artistic way of preserving the material. The black wax was shaped into pretty little animal figures, and, to be sure, most attractively among the Mehinakú, and thus hung up or placed in a basket until needed. Among the Bakairí we found a human figure better modeled than the loam dolls. The civilized Indians converted to Christianity have modified their saints out of wax and sell

Fig. 72. Wax figure: peccary. Mehinakú. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration)./

Fig. 73. Wax figure: karijo dove. Mehinakú. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

them. The plastic wax best revealed what the artists could do. Some animals were very well modeled, for instance, the small peccary or tayassu, 6.5 centimeters long, of Figure 72, Dicotyles torquatus. The eyes are represented by a pair of small plates of shell, the nostrils of the proboscis put in deeply. Of other mammals we also saw the large swamp deer and a howling monkey in the form of wax figures. More common were the hanging

/329 cont./

*171 All feather ornamentation, except for an occasional feather
239 stuck in the ear, especially among the Bakaïrí, belongs to festive
301 occasions, including the solemn reception. It is the same with the feathers as with the body painting.

*171 Children's games. Among the Bakaïrí we saw catch-balls
●524 wadded together out of maize straw; instead of the usual long feather, a tail of maize straw was tied inside. There were rubber balls, huge ones, among the Auetó. The sap of a figueira /Ficus/
[314] or the mangabeira is rolled into a little ball on the chest, steeped in water with ashes, and the ball punctured all around in such a way that on the outside it looks as though it were covered with
[386] plaiting. The balls are dyed red with urucú.

[324] Tops were made from the unripe peanut (Arachis hypogaea) or mandubí. Twice as big as a cherry, it was pierced and pushed onto a small bamboo stick so that only a small part of the latter emerged, and here it was wound with a tuft of cotton flocks to prevent it from sliding off. The fruit would spin upward on the long handle. Several such tops were set in a pot and made to spin together.

[526] We must count the wrestling described on page 93 among the games of the adults, but children liked to practice wrestling. The same was true, of course, of shooting the bow. We also saw children's throwing-sticks. Older children played with the heavy clay dolls. I was asked several times to perform a sort of test of strength in that I was supposed to lift a boy up in the air with my free arm. I may add here the observation that the Indians were unable to balance a pole on one finger.

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Chapter XII.

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I. Law and Custom. II. Magic.

I. Property. Kinship. Marriage. Morals. Barter. Names. Birth. Couvade and its explanation. Burial.

II. Sorcery in various stages and on various levels of culture. Dream experiences. Pars pro toto. Good and bad medicine-men.

/418 cont./

171 White is chalky white clay, a supply of which is kept in the
386 huts in the form of balls the size of a child's head. The women,
[283] when they spin, rub it on the right thigh, on which they twist the thread. It is simply mixed with water. It is never used to paint the body; it also falls far back for the implements and appears almost solely on the masks, the painting of which need last but a few days, on painted bark pieces, and the like.

/419/ Charcoal and soot, the berry-pulp of the genipap tree, (Genipa) and a number of resins furnish black. In order to blacken the inside of the gourd shells charcoal from the bark of the buriti shaft is used.

The yellowish-red to brownish-red loam seems to have been
[262] driven out by the urucú dyestuff. It was formerly eaten and is
524 still molded into heavy dolls for children and is rubbed on wounds
[304] for scarification.

Charcoal and soot are rubbed in directly, like the white, or they are also mixed with liquid, like the urucú. Either the oil
[824] from the pikí fruit (Caryocar butyrosum) is used, or the yellow extract containing caoutchouc from a tree of the campo cerrado, which the Bakairí call ochogohi and the bark of which is grated and made into an extract with water. The colors are mixed in a gourd shell or a pot or, when a hard resin is broken up with the ax blade, most conveniently in the cup-shaped depression of a stool. Urucú is always found as a paste wrapped in leaves in the little workbasket beside the hammock.

The dyestuffs available to the natives are therefore white, black, red, and yellow. The genipap-black is blue-black, the urucú-red a brick-red to orange, which, mixed with the yellow ochogohi juice, loses a good deal of its red. There are no blue or green dyestuffs.

121 The theory that the color sense developed gradually for
196 human beings, based on the fact that color distinction in language is inadequate up to a high level of culture and that blue and green in particular are extraordinarily often designated with the same word, has now been abandoned. It was found among all the primitive peoples investigated that they distinguish excellently

/104 cont./

122 The cadet was familiar with only two forms of activity: he slept or ate. It was indeed a pleasure, however, to sleep within four walls once more, although at night the wind often whistled through strongly. And there were all kinds of things to eat that were 262 not furnished on the march. There was plenty of sugar cane; the cooked mandioca root with roasted bacon cubes was a dish for the gods; a piglet was slaughtered; a few chickens forfeited their lives; [224] the young chaps had also killed a tapir one day under a regular volley of small shot; it furnished a very tasty ragout. The women sent fresh, crisp "beijûs," a simple baked product made of mandioca

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Antonio Quirino

262 flour, of the shape and approximately the taste of matzoth. Since 272 there was no shortage of rapadura /a crude form of sugar; see the glossary, p.172 /, "jacuba" was constantly being prepared as refreshment; in a gourd bowl a plentiful amount of rapadura, a plentiful amount of farinha /manioc flour; see the glossary p.171 /, 231 and water as desired. Even milk appeared. In the evening the 526 calves were separated from their mothers; the herd was driven into the "curral" /corral; see glossary, p.170 /, and the calves were lassoed with a great hullabaloo, while a large and appreciative 526 audience /105/ sat all around on the fence. That was something

/105 cont./

526 for Pedro, to hang on by the tail of a cow rushing out at top speed and to maintain this seat as long as possible during the gigantic leaps -- that was something to laugh about.

533 As soon as darkness set in, the music-making began. The [177] Bakaïrí had learned from the colonist of Mato Grosso to carve [534] guitars for themselves, and they played them with enthusiasm. They improvised short "verses" in praise of dogs, bananas, the 534 moon, a house, etc. One evening they showed up with

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534 their original and peculiar tribal instruments. Characteristically enough, they had hidden them nearby in the forest.

They were large and small flutes, the meni and the kyanuarílʌ. The latter has nothing special; it is made out of [824] bamboo, one might say bassoon-like. The meni, made out of vinhatico wood, is a little over a meter long; it is held with the feet. On the upper section there is a small hole into which the player blows. Not far below it there is a square opening in the tube, just as there is a series of smaller ones in the lower part. 533 The music is simple, but has to be learned. It consists of five tones,

/329 cont./

*171 237 301 All feather ornamentation, except for an occasional feather stuck in the ear, especially among the Bakaïrí, belongs to festive occasions, including the solemn reception. It is the same with the feathers as with the body painting.

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[P. 73-A] After the trading war

437 over the chiefs organized wrestling matches be-
628 tween teams of the two villages. Before the
574 visitors left, a feast (*tuláki*, swallow feast) was
[526] given in their honor. The motives for these trading expeditions were both economic and ceremonial. They were organized by a chief when the villagers actually required certain economic goods, but even when there was no economic need, goods were exchanged and the men of the two villages participated in wrestling, dancing, and feasting.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

181 The Bacairí claim not to have been a warlike
727 people. They defended themselves if attacked, but say that they did not attack others. Each village had a chief (*píma*) who was assisted by an
622 *itáida*. There was no chief for the whole tribe.
624 The *itáida*, who was a young man, was selected by the chief with the consent of the villagers. The *itáida* could be the son of the chief but this is not a requirement, for any able young man was eligible for this position. At the death of the chief the *itáida* succeeded him.

622 The principal functions of the chief were economic, judicial, and ceremonial. As we have seen, the chief organized trading expeditions and participated in such activities as collective planting and house building. He also represented the people of his village when visitors arrived or when his own village made formal visits. If the
[624] village feared attack the *píma* selected a particularly brave man to lead the defense or to undertake retaliation. Discussions concerning dis-
[622] putes and other village affairs took place in the
[602] ceremonial house. Murderers were exiled or if a war was on the murderer was made to bear the
[68] brunt of the attack. Thieves, adulterers, and others who persisted in disturbing the peace and harmony of the village were exiled through the
[68] common action of the villagers. Exile was con-
[762] sidered severe punishment, for the Bacairí say that individuals who were exiled often committed suicide. Chiefs among the Bacairí, therefore, were not war leaders, nor was succession governed by descent. Chiefs seem, thus, to have been primarily leaders of social activities. The part which a chief played in ceremonial life will be described later.

came back to the village to play tricks on people. The Bacairí did not believe that the ghosts of the dead caused death and, therefore, were not afraid of them. They were, however, afraid of certain evil spirits—for instance, *eradupíra*, who caused death and sickness.

To become a shaman (*piáji*), a young unmarried man would train with an old shaman for a period of 6 months to a year. During this period sexual intercourse was forbidden, fasts were periodically observed, and the novice had to abstain from eating meat. Much of the training took place in the woods, where the old shaman would teach the novice the curative properties of roots and herbs and, also, how to get in touch with the ghosts of dead shamans. The training would be complete when the novice acquired his own spirit helper, which was always the ghost of a dead shaman. Sometimes the revelation was so powerful that the young novice would fall to the ground in a trance. The spirit that then appeared to him instructed him how to make a flute (either *emíni* or *kanagéra*), which he kept in the sacred flute house, and gave him a special tune by which he could always call his spirit helper. The novice had then to prove himself by curing some sick person or by finding lost property. If he were successful he became a recognized shaman.

Before beginning a performance, shamans always fasted for several days and smoked heavily. In curing a sick person the shaman asked his spirit helper for instructions which usually were explanations of how to remove objects from the body which caused the illness. Besides removing objects from the body the shamans prepared medicines. Headaches and pains in the body were cured by juice of the *peméira* tuber, and *turógi* leaves were used for pains in the chest. For healing the wounds made by the scratcher the juice made by boiling the *kumatáni* plant was used. The Bacairí also prepared aphrodisiacs from the *katáino* plant and by mixing piqui nuts, honey, and turtle eggs.

GAMES

The Bacairí played, and still play, a form of Indian football called *toinyaméli*. The ball (*toin*) was made by covering a round gourd with native rubber, leaving a small opening. The gourd was

526 then crushed, the pieces were taken out through the hole, air was blown into the ball, and the hole was covered over with rubber. The balls varied in size from 3 to 8 inches in diameter. The game was played on a field about 50 yards square with four goals placed midway on each of the four sides. Small white circles (*shipíri*) marked the goals, and another circle about a yard in diameter (*yotíri*) was placed in the center of the field.

The game was played by two teams with equal but varying numbers on each side. One team, called *pidto*, had the north and east goals, and the other team, called *tosúndo*, had the south and west goals. To score a point a team had to put the ball across the opponent's goal. The ball could not be carried in the hand but could be kicked over the goalkeeper. Each side had a leader who did not play but encouraged his players. The organizer of the game threw the ball from the center of the field to the *pidto* side at the beginning of the game or when the ball went out of bounds. The game lasted until the players were tired, the winners being the team with the greater number of points.

The Bacairí also organized wrestling matches called *taddinpudili*. The object of the match was to knock down the opponent by pushing or hitting with the shoulders; grasping or hitting with the hands was not allowed. The loser was the one who had the greater number of falls.

CEREMONIALISM

527 796 Among the Bacairí ceremonialism was highly developed. Although songs and dances were performed whenever the people had an abundance of food and economic activities permitted the leisure time, there were special occasions (the ripening of corn, ear piercing of boys preparatory to going into seclusion, the coming out of seclusion of a woman after childbirth, house building, the distribution of cotton by women) during which particular songs and dances had to be performed. At these times it was customary to invite people from neighboring villages to participate in the festivities.

534 The musical instruments of the Bacairí consisted of rattles and flutes. The drum does not appear to have been used. Rattles were of two kinds: the common gourd rattle (*pdko*) and piqui

/296 cont./

*171 532 535 [538] to the stamping. It is extremely characteristic that the Bakaïrí have the same word for "dancing" and "singing." "The meaning of the songs," says Martius, "is simple: praise of the warlike and hunting deeds of individuals or hordes, enumeration of certain animals and remarks about their characteristics. If masks appear at the festival, most of which represent animals, the wearers imitate their voices."

*171 123 532 We did not observe anything that would permit us to conclude that the masks are in any way regarded as sacred. The pieces plaited out of palm straw in particular were all heedlessly tossed aside after use. True, the masks were sometimes hidden from us, but only in the same way that /297/ all portable utensils and ornaments were hidden from us, out of fear of robbery. Once the people had gained confidence in us, they surrendered their masks to us without further ado and made new ones to order. They were demonstrated for us with joking and laughter, like a pretty toy.

● 529 Among the docile Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ on the Paranatinga and the Rio Novo the principal festival usually occurred in April. I, with my civilized conceptions, was pursuing the idea of a feast of thanksgiving and thought of the possibility that the festival held at harvest time was somehow being celebrated in praise and honor of some friendly powers regarded as the givers of good things. I therefore tried to find out from Antonio whether anything like that could be established. Antonio, however, did not respond to my suggestion. "We celebrate the festival around harvest time," he declared, "because then we have something to celebrate; in the dry period we must save, in the rainy season everything would become moldy." Materialistic, but understandable.*

*"Usually a surplus of supplies for the beverages is the occasion for the festival," says Martius, "but where European custom has asserted itself and Christians live next to Indians, a saint's day will probably be chosen for it."

/297 cont./

B
527 According to everything that the natives told us about the
535 festivals, they primarily amounted to what they thought were
993 riotous feasting and drinking bouts. Bakaïrí legend describes the
*[191] origin to us in the same way. Kame, the tribal ancestor of the Arinos tribes, built the first flute house, carved the first flute, invited his friends to the dance, and served them starch-paste. Keri, the tribal ancestor of the Bakaïrí, who most eagerly competed with Kame in invention, for his part invited Kami to the dance; the legend tells us in what manner the festival took place and speaks of the makanari and the imeo, the straw costumes without face-masks, but with characterizing and partly disguising headdresses, as Keri's invention.

B
527 "Keri, too, called his people together. Toward evening
535 they went dancing on the village plaza. Then from the house
539 Keri fetched pogu to be drunk. Immediately thereafter they plaited makanari. Keri called Kame. Many people came and Keri was master of the dance. They danced all day. Toward evening they rested. After dark they danced all through the night. Early in the morning they went to the river to bathe. After the bath they came to the flute house. They began with the imeo and danced the whole day. They likewise danced all night. -- Then the festival was at an end."

B
T
527 A noteworthy feature of the legend is the circumstance that
535 the different tribes united for the dance festival. It is a universal
628 custom that the villages invite one another to the big festivals.
648 Friendly neighboring tribes also send numerous participants. In
B 1884, when we met the Trumaí and Kamayurá /Camayura/ to-
*[191] gether (see p. 105), the two tribes had just celebrated a joint festival.

B
*191 For one thing it is understandable under these circumstances
197 that an exchange and leveling out between the customs and
535 dance gear of the tribes takes place. /298/ Each tribe knew the songs of the neighboring tribes, without understanding their content precisely, as we learned in numerous cases; one tribe would also become acquainted with new types of masks from another, and finally the mereschu design, to which I shall come back after describing the masks, gained its general distribution.

/299 cont./

*171 535 5. Oval frames on which are stretched netting, cotton plaiting, and cotton weaving. Facial parts of wax pasted on, eyes of cotton flocks, beans, mother-of-pearl. Painted. Bakaïrí, Auetó, Kamayurá, Trumaí.

*171 532 535 6. Wooden masks. Square wooden plates with mighty bulging forehead and nose of human form. Painted on: natural markings of the animal, outline of the animal, body parts of the animal (wings, fins), stylized animal designs. Eyes of mussel shell, mouth with fish teeth pasted on with wax; the latter, like the former, again of human shape. Bakaïrí, Nahuquá, Auetó, Kamayurá, and, in the largest development, Mehinakú /Mehinacu/. The Mehinakú had only wooden masks. A transitional form between 5 and 6, without the forehead bulge and oval, among the Auetó.

Fig. 90. Imeo dancer. Bakaïrí.

*171 ●527 535 [177] In the masked festivals borrowings from foreign tribes, which are suggested through visits, and local cultivation of special variations are undoubtedly mixed.

Cologne, Düsseldorf, Mainz, and Trier also have, in their carnival societies, different caps, different insignia, different customs /300/ in the meetings, different songs, different slogans, and different motifs for the vehicles of the procession. Here, too, special "ladies' meetings" are announced for the participation of the female sex, and the women rigorously guard

/300 cont./

*171 •527 535 against appearing in the "flute house" at an inappropriate time, though they may hope to come out again alive, or at most only half dead. Carnival on the Kulisehu is also followed by a period of fasting, for it does not end -- the reason is not one connected with the cult -- before everything that is there has been eaten [462] and drunk insofar as possible. The women have an enormous [262] job satisfying the demands for beijús and drinks; they must pound, [272] boil, and bake incessantly, and this necessity has probably also contributed somewhat to their being kept away from the dancing, so that they could meanwhile carry out their duties.

535 Bakaïrí. On the Rio Novo and Paranatinga the old customs are still observed. "Everybody dances like the wild Bakaïrí," said Antonio, "tudo dansa como Bakaïrí brabo." He described to me the festival held last April, when the people from the Rio Novo had invited those of the Paranatinga. They danced the yatuka dance, the makanri, and the imeo. Yatuka is a fish dance; wooden fish are worn on the head, especially the black pakú and the matrincham; heads of men and women are made of calabashes painted black and white or black and red and surrounded with Bromelia hair.

Makanari is a general term. The Bakaïrí calls almost everything and anything that is part of his dance adornment makanari; he calls specific dances makanari. "bakaïrí makanári zóto," the Bakaïrí is master of the makanari. It is the dance of his tribe. The imeo is a type of makanari, a specific figure. In fact, it seems that the concept of makanari was originally narrower and [532] referred to a specific dance with straw plaiting. Among the docile Bakaïrí there are no wooden masks. Here the principal makanari is the bat dance, and, to be sure, semímo, the small [533] bat, and aluá, the large bat. Antonio recited the text of the aluá dance* for me, but, in spite of a great deal of trouble, it

535 539 *One man sings: ohuhaaha-âhá yumáa ohú..... yumarí uvanuká, yumari uvanuká huyaná vitá öö....yohohohú. Then another: mauá káua

/320 cont./

*171 532 535 How should we picture to ourselves the developmental history of the masks? Let us take as a starting point the straw hoods of the Bakaïrí and their pintado mask, page 346. This masquerade was already a great advance as compared to their dressing up in an animal skin and hangings of strips of straw. The people plaited animals for themselves, put some on their heads and crawled into others. From the products of the drawing art and from the plaited figures we know how little they need for characterization. They drew a piece of vine through the upper part of the costume; that was the barbels and sufficed for a demonstration of a pintado fish. They do not find it necessary to carry the imitation further; even today they do not need a pintado face-mask. The Indians enhanced the effect of their straw hoods, however, by putting wax eyes, nose, and mouth on them and plaiting in a hoop that outlined the oval of a face. This mask was more decorative than imitative; it developed from the straw lattice to the fiber plaiting that could have loam put on it and be painted, it was provided with the fish design or the markings of an animal, or an animal was painted on.

*171 535 532 825 [527] It is very natural that fish should play the chief role, since they were caught in masses on their expeditions and thus furnished the opportunity for a general festival. The yakuí dance, the dance of the small schakú chickens, may also be associated with more abundant hunting booty. "All the larger species maintain themselves individually, the smaller ones usually gather in large flocks which may grow to a hundred or more individuals." (Brehm's Tierleben /Animal Life/, Vögel /Birds/ II, page 628). Thus we are not surprised that we hear nothing about the jaguar or the tapir or other game mammals that appear in the Tekuna masks: these furnished only occasional booty, whereas it was precisely quantity that offered the occasion for a banquet to be celebrated with many neighbors.

*171 532 535 /321/ If one recalls, however, how the Nahuquá covered the head with a fish net for their eremo dance and demonstrated by their pantomime the herding together of fish by a band of people, one will not reject the thought that the oval woven mask has more

/261 cont./

352 The Bakairí slept in hammocks, amaka, woven of palm fiber.
[415] Their furnishings can be summed up as benches of a solid
[285] piece of wood, clay pots, mats and baskets. The diet rests
262 upon manioc, piquí, sweet potatoes, maize, and fish. How-
224] ever, the hunting of monkeys, wild pig, tapir, and other ani-
[241] mals was not scorned. Most of the food reserves, however, were of vegetable origin, and the most important harvests were made up of manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, and piquí. Yams /corá/, cotton, urucú, and tobacco were also planted.

342 The occupants of a communal house worked together on
476 the building of a new house, acquiring thereby the right to
622 reside in it. This construction work, however, was led by the individual who had the most prestige in the group, usually the old head of the house, who thus set himself up as the head of
241 the new house. The tasks of clearing fields and planting
476 generally depended on the participation of all the aldea. When
529 beginning a new clearing, the Bakairí would give a feast, kométe, with the distribution of food to the Indians who worked
501 on the field. The Bakairí made canoes from the bark of the
[824] jatobá tree, in the Xinguano way. This construction, as well
[782] as fishing, hunting, and agricultural activities, were accompanied by propitiatory rituals.

437 Their products were bartered among neighboring groups
574 in the course of visits called tuliki which depended on the presence of the chiefs of both aldeas. After the exchange of the objects desired, the visitors were honored with a feast called tulake.

621 /262/ The Bakairí were not a warlike people, and their
181 political organization does not seem very elaborate. Each
622 aldea had a chief, pima, assisted by a subchief, itáida. The
624 Bakairí do not remember the existence of a chief for the whole
[643] tribe, and there is no evidence that such a figure ever existed. The selection of the itáida was made by means of agreement of the aldea, but it generally fell on the son of the pima himself. The pima's functions were chiefly ceremonial, economic, and juridical.

526 then crushed, the pieces were taken out through the hole, air was blown into the ball, and the hole was covered over with rubber. The balls varied in size from 3 to 8 inches in diameter. The game was played on a field about 50 yards square with four goals placed midway on each of the four sides. Small white circles (*skipíri*) marked the goals, and another circle about a yard in diameter (*yotdri*) was placed in the center of the field.

The game was played by two teams with equal but varying numbers on each side. One team, called *pidto*, had the north and east goals, and the other team, called *tosdundo*, had the south and west goals. To score a point a team had to put the ball across the opponent's goal. The ball could not be carried in the hand but could be kicked over the goalkeeper. Each side had a leader who did not play but encouraged his players. The organizer of the game threw the ball from the center of the field to the *pidto* side at the beginning of the game or when the ball went out of bounds. The game lasted until the players were tired, the winners being the team with the greater number of points.

The Bacairí also organized wrestling matches called *tuddinpudili*. The object of the match was to knock down the opponent by pushing or hitting with the shoulders; grasping or hitting with the hands was not allowed. The loser was the one who had the greater number of falls.

CEREMONIALISM

527 796 Among the Bacairí ceremonialism was highly developed. Although songs and dances were performed whenever the people had an abundance of food and economic activities permitted the leisure time, there were special occasions (the ripening of corn, ear piercing of boys preparatory to going into seclusion, the coming out of seclusion of a woman after childbirth, house building, the distribution of cotton by women) during which particular songs and dances had to be performed. At these times it was customary to invite people from neighboring villages to participate in the festivities.

534 The musical instruments of the Bacairí consisted of rattles and flutes. The drum does not appear to have been used. Rattles were of two kinds: the common gourd rattle (*pdko*) and piqui

534 nut hulls tied together and fastened to the ankles of the dancers. There were at least four kinds of flutes. The *emíni* flute was made from two pieces of soft sapling hollowed out and fastened together with wax and string. This flute was about 3 feet long with four finger holes and a separate mouthpiece. The *kunagóru* flute was made like the *emíni* but was shorter and had a different sound. Both the *emíni* and the *kunagóru* [534] were sacred flutes of the shamans and were always [346] kept in the sacred flute house connected to the [562] *kadoiti* where they were played only at night so as to prevent women from seeing them. If a woman were to see one of these flutes, misfortune would befall her. When the sacred flutes were played [535] there was dancing but no singing. The *taddiwu* was a bamboo flute made in five different lengths without finger holes and was not sacred. The *nokigóru* was made by fastening four short tubes of bamboo of different lengths together. It was played in pairs, one player answering the other. [533] This flute was not sacred and could be accompanied by singing. In addition to the rattles and flutes, [535] the Bacairi used highly decorated sticks or batons called *kadóapuri* in some of their dances.

533 Besides the flutes and the dances performed to 535 their tunes, the Bacairi had songs and their corresponding dances which were not always accompanied by flute music; for instance, the *ertiko* was a song and a dance performed with the decorated batons which could be performed at any time; the *paloewdto*, another general song and dance which also could be performed at any time; the *yewesiadri*, the corn song and dance in which neither the flutes nor batons were used; the *mahalaudri*, performed during the house building ceremony without batons or flutes; and the *poiawdto*, sung and danced during the boys' ear piercing ceremony.

● 527 One of the most important ceremonial events of the year was the annual corn dance (*aujéistabiali*), which was performed when the corn ripened in the fields. The man who had the largest corn crop was the organizer of the ceremony. In order to have enough corn, the Bacairi [243] usually planted special fields, the yields of which were used on this occasion. On the day before [234] the corn gathering all the men went on a big hunt in order to have large quantities of meat ready for the feast. Early in the morning of the following day everyone went out to the fields to

527 gather the ceremonial corn. Later in the day the women prepared large quantities of corn porridge and roasted ears.

On the morning of the third day the actual ceremony began in front of the *kadoiti*. The organizer of the dance distributed roasted ears or pieces of ears to all the villagers, children included. Then at a signal from the leader, the villagers began throwing the roasted corn in all directions and at one another. After the roasted corn was [262] disposed of, the people ate the corn porridge and meat prepared on the preceding day. They then washed themselves in the river and put on their paint and ornaments. When the villagers had again gathered before the *kadoiti* the dance leader took a piece of corn husk and went from man to man asking for a song leader. The man who 527 took the offered corn husk then began the 533 *yawiadri*, or song in praise of corn. Little by little the others joined in the singing and eventually began to dance. The words of the song told how corn came to the Bacairi and how it made the people strong and healthy.

The *ransegiro*, or ear-piercing ceremony, was 304 performed just before a boy went into puberty seclusion. It was customary for men who had sons of about the same age to cooperate in getting large quantities of food ready for the feast. After the feast was over the ears of the boys were pierced [533] and the *poinudio* song was sung. When boys and girls came out of seclusion there was another ceremony during which all the songs and dances were performed with the exception of the sacred flute tunes.

342 The *makulawdri* was performed during coopera- 476 tive house building in which the whole village participated. While the women prepared food and some men were putting up the frame, a certain [529] number of men went in search of palm fronds for thatching. When these men returned with the palm fronds they danced and sang before the new house with their loads on their backs and in full ceremonial regalia.

The custom of distributing cotton by a woman 576 with a good cotton crop and having other women weave hammocks for her has already been mentioned. When the women had completed their weaving and returned the hammocks to the donor of the cotton, she gave a feast during which the [535] women sang and danced the *yawaikima*. This

/321 cont./

*171 than external similarity in common with the fish net stretched in
532 a frame in the same shape. If the Indian had hit upon the idea of
535 the mask-hoop by starting from the shape of the face, he would have used the entire field for the face, whereas the latter now takes up only a part of the space and is treated with less care than the painting. The fish makanari of the Bakaïrí is nothing but a net with narrow meshes and thus suitable for holding the loam.
[237] The net hood attached to it could be there today for the sake of the feather ornamentation, since the feathers must be tied into the meshes, but for this reason it is just as likely possible that the net is older then the feathers, which are otherwise missing on the hoods. Perhaps our oldest oval plaited mask, therefore, is merely the fish net added to the straw costume and decoratively fashioned. In this case it is far easier to understand why the characterization of the animal is so little emphasized; the net was decorated and even characteristically decorated, but it was not incorporated into the costume for the sake of an anatomical likeness.

-171 This also gives us an explanation of the mereschu design. The
● 53 mask -- fish-net was plaited more closely because it concealed better and could now be painted. But the old, wide-meshed net was painted on and the little fish set in. There is one point which seems to me to prove that I am right, a point which is very strange by itself, but would then be quite easily explained. My cousin Wilhelm pointed out to me that the Indian always paints the mereschu design standing, that is to say, the larger diagonal of the rhombus upright, the smaller one crosswise. This can no longer be seen on the round spindle whorls when they are finished, but we watched the incising and observed that the figure was made standing, and precisely the same thing happened in the pencil drawings. I could not therefore show the figure on page 288, Fig. 43, horizontally, which would probably have seemed more natural to us, I therefore also arranged all the spindle whorls with the mereschus horizontal, and lastly, though more for fun, I stood the original mereschu, page 286, on its tail.

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How does the artist arrive at this peculiarity? After all, on the frieze (cf.Plate 21/see p. 281/) the fish are drawn as they swim. Well, on the masks the fish also stand on their tails; one need only look at the fish makanari of the Bakaïrí, page 349, and the black Kamayurá mask, page 368. Indeed, the only time we come across the mereschu fish as a single individual outside the net, on the gull mask of the Bakaïrí, page 289, Fig. 44, it is standing vertically. On the woven masks, however, which are the ones that matter since they are the oldest, the fish was drawn in a position unnatural in itself and for the fish, /322/ because they have the elongated oval position corresponding to the face. if one imagines the piava of the fish makanari, page 349, as horizontal, one will realize, first, that the fish would then be contracted, secondly, that it would look positively unnatural to have the fish swimming across the face because it would be contrary to the main direction. A glance at door and window arrangements shows the same requirement for us.

Thus, net and fish were painted with upright rhombuses on the elongated oval mask. Look at the great number of the mask illustrations with the mereschu design: the same position everywhere. We saw only one exception and it proves the rule rather than running counter to it. This is a Trumaí mask. The good Trumaí, however, borrowed the masks from the Kamayurá, just as they learned of cotton and the sieve-mat among them, and they designate them with the Tupí name. They did not take part in the developmental process.

T
[532]
[535]
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We now also understand the close connection between net and mereschu fish and the abundant production of this particular fish. Within each mesh was drawn a fish, which had to be small, because otherwise it would not fit in the space, which also had the same rhomboid shape as the net mesh. Finally, we understand how, with the fine work, the representation of the head, fins, and tail was done by filling in the corners. In short, everything agrees so excellently, both for the design and for the course of development, that I regard the proof as demonstrated, insofar as this is possible.

/322 cont./

*171 531 825 Nowadays the design has become purely ornamental. There is no direct, inherent connection between the mandioca digging sticks and the little lagoon fish. But one thing will have to be admitted. The significance of the little fish grew far beyond what it was originally because it recalled happy days of festivity; all industry having to do with drinking, feasting, and adornment seized upon it. Thus, there is good reason why the large gourds and calabashes in which the pogu is served, the beijũ turners with which the hospitable cakes are tirelessly turned on such days, the gourd vessels in which the gorgeous feathers were kept, the rattle-gourds waved for the dance, the spindle whorls with which the thread for the woven masks was spun, why all these and similar things were decorated with the mereschu fish. The origin of ornamentation lies in a motivated feeling, and it is only when its manifestations have become numerous and trivial that no one sees anything but figure and color. The favorite pictures of our people appear after all on colored handkerchiefs. The mereschu design was able to spread from tribe to tribe and became established everywhere just because it grew out of the festival dances in which all the tribes joined.

/323/ Yet it should not be forgotten that the Indian even today remains aware of the concrete original. The Bakaïrí does [532] not put a mereschu fish on his masks, with the exception of the [535] gull mask, Figure 44, and the fish makanari, Figure 93, and among other tribes too -- see the wax masks of the Auetö and the black, white, and red masks of the Trumaí -- there are distinct differences which I am unable to define more specifically. In the beginning, the fish was not appropriate in all the cases where today the rhombus has already crept in or will creep in soon.

*171 ● 53 One must now ask the question: if the woven masks and the mereschu design go back to the fish net, are there any facts for determining which tribe was the inventor? The mereschu fish was designated to me as a "lagoon fish" (we ate it among the Yaulapiti), but it occurs everywhere in our area, even in the [226] Paranatinga. Fishing with nets is also practiced by all tribes.

Waura SP18
Mehinacu
Yaruma SP25
Nahuqua
Auetó SP6
Camayurá

B /323 cont./

*171 Thus, nothing can be determined here. Nevertheless, the ethno-
● 53 logical leveling with the mereschu design and the masks has not yet gone so far that a negative conclusion cannot be reached, at least for a few tribes. The Bakaïrí, I believe, are out of the question. They are the "masters of the makanari and the imeo," the plaited costumes, and the docile Bakaïrí did not have real
B [283] masks at all. The Bakaïrí also did not have the spindle whorls
Y decorated with the mereschu. Among the Nahuquá we did not
532 find any woven masks and only poor wooden masks, which they
171 designated with the name yakuſkatú of the Tupí dance; they may have more to offer on the Kuluëne, but on the basis of what we know about them up to now, we can scarcely give them as much credit as the Bakaïrí and certainly not more. I have previously been obliged to deny originality for the Trumaí.

W The Mehinakú with their relatives and the Tupí tribes remain.
171 The former permitted us to see only wooden masks. The wooden
53 masks show the same arrangement as the woven masks with center stripe and design, so they do not show any peculiar origin and
W signify only a technical advance. The Mehinakú were the best
[322] carvers, as the stools show, and thus I should be inclined to give them first place for the invention of the wooden mask. I do not know but that they may also have dances with woven masks, since the word koahálu was also familiar to the Kustenaú and Waurá whom I questioned in the Auetó harbor; it is impossible to decide, since one tribe would know the dances of the other.

A The Tupí tribes of the Kamayurá and Auetó, especially the
171 latter, probably deserve the most consideration. The Auetó had
53 the largest number of plaited and woven masks, their word
[286] "koahálu" had been passed on to the Nu-Aruak tribes, also all the wooden masks among them were painted with the mereschu, they were the best painting artists who made purely stylized drawings, and among them and the Kamayurá in particular the most firmly woven cloth was present. Thus we see among them
W the oldest practice of the very arts which are required here, /324/
[322] weaving and painting, while the Mehinakú accomplish more in
[323] ceramics and carving. Therefore it is my humble opinion that

/163 cont./

412 1. (cont.)
135 magnetite, in which are embedded individual crystals of olivine and quite a number of quartz granules.

415 Tall storage baskets of biconcave profile (one meter 40 centimeters long, 35 centimeters wide at the top), wound with brown bast bands and lined in the interior with maize
412 leaves, contain the flour and are very stout. The grating boards on which the mandioca is pulverized are about 115 centimeters long and 80 centimeters wide.

415
531

Gourd-vessel (drinking-vessel) designs of the Bakaïrí.

251 High up a great quantity of dusty corncobs.

532 A number of strange dolls, which hang down from the
[353] vault on long strings, seem the most striking; they are
[824] plaited out of maize leaves: turkey-sized birds, projecting wings made out of one leaf and circularly twisted legs with three toes; others are slender, human-like figures, /164/ a small head on top, broken up below into narrow frippery. In our house we found two lizards made of grass, whose four feet come together in a ring, so that one can put them on one's head.

/164 cont./

415 Countless gourd vessels /cuyen; see glossary, p. 170 / and
●531 calabashes, brownish-yellow, some of them painted black in designs not without taste.

411 In the lower roof-basket are stuck the arrows, averaging two meters long, and the bows, which almost reach a length of two and a half meters. The arrows, made of ubá, have simple wood or bone points; at the end of the shaft broad feathers are set spirally.

237 Feathers, even bunches of them and whole tail rosettes,
415 are kept in mats placed together portfolio-like; spindles, pigment, bones, root pieces, shells, and the like are kept in small baskets and nets. On the cords of the hammocks are found as decoration a couple of feathers or shells and -- the comb. This
412 toilet article consists of small, narrow sticks placed next to one
[284] another and held together by two cross-sticks of bamboo by means of a plaiting of cotton threads; the hard sticks project beyond the lower cross-stick as the teeth of the comb.

286 The hammocks are (one can hardly say woven, but rather knotted. Two posts stand in the ground; they are wound with a skein of cotton in the way that our women wind knitting wool on a chair; through the horizontal, parallel threads, vertical threads are drawn at four-centimeter intervals with guide sticks and knotted; the parts of the skein which lie close to the post and are not knotted (the entire bundle of horizontal threads pressed together) form the loop that receives the hammock ropes.

285 A plaited matting above the door and sieves of alternating black and light straw are worked with a natural artistic sense. The fire is fanned with a triangular piece of matting.

302 The hair of the women, cut unevenly and longest behind the ears, hangs down to the shoulders; the forehead is almost completely covered. A young woman had the latter painted with thick red color during the visit on the river. No ornaments. Only
301 the old woman wears a string over her left shoulder, which goes under her right arm; three trouser buttons, which she cut off from us and the soldiers with her own hands, are strung on it.

/166 cont./

252 brick shape -- puvas, used for mingau. They boil the strained liquid in large pots, whereby the finest flour is deposited -- polvilho; this makes the best beijús.

501 Back in the afternoon. Four canoes were acquired with an
[437] ax, shirt, and trousers. We are not in good shape, in spite of all that. Quintilian's canoe burst when it was hauled down. The
[531] Bakaïrí canoes differ from ours only in their more careful workmanship; one of them is painted with black rings on the outside of the longitudinal sides. The oars, the size of a walking stick, have a crook-shaped handle, shaft, and a long lance-shaped blade, which is slightly hollowed out like a shovel.

133 The height of the two uppermost levels of the salto amounts to four meters; two meters more may be figured for the falls
[226] below. Baskets for catching fish hang on ropes, which, in turn, are held by stakes standing in the middle of the whirlpool.

We call this waterfall the Salto da Alegria. Our happiness
136 is only slightly marred by a swarm of bees and wasps; among the latter, the kind that sting very painfully. -- The transport of the
122 canoes, for which there is a route, is completed. /Illustration appears here./

/167/

132 15 Aug. φ 13° 11'.7, λ 5'.7, km. 6.41, total 130.85.
122 7:00 A.M.: dry. 11.8, wet. 9.9, clear, calm.

000 We have only nine canoes; one is very battered. Castro and I separated, he is traveling with Manoel, I with Compadre Valentin. Off about 9:30 A.M.; immediately an accident happened. At a small rapids Wilhelm's boat capsized, and the foolish Negro Chico behaved as clumsily as possible. With the knapsack and the suitcase in his hands, he stood in the middle of the water, which was flowing over the baggage as though over a mill wheel, as bewildered as a porter in a railroad station who has lost sight of his stranger. He almost drowned, but was luckily pulled out by Clementino. We dried out on both shores. Delay until 1:00 in the afternoon.

[Text continues on P. 48--Analyst]

/168 cont./

574 other, the professor, naked, but, along with bow and arrow, one of our mirrors in his hand. We were undoubtedly well recommended.

532 Shortly before the exit from the woods we came across a wonderful display of about a dozen animal figures along one side of the path, /169/ probably the remains from a festival. They were made of leaves and straw, mostly quadrupeds with long, thin bodies, consisting of practically nothing but spinal column and long legs; the tallest ones reached to our hips. Something that was evidently supposed to be a monkey was climbing up a pole. A human figure was incised in a tree, with roguish use of a depression present in the bark. Such is the beginning of art in the primeval forest.

361 After we had passed a roça and low shrub planting, we saw
[241] four huts, two large ones and two small ones, lying correspondingly opposite each other. The nobility was assembled on the
574 plaza; a friendly "am(b)á" (that is you) with raised hand wel-
[576] comed each one. Then, one after the other, we were grasped
[345] at the wrists by our hosts, mostly by two at the same time, and led before the festival hut, where beam and stool were ready.

Here we sat is long rows with our guns, and immediately the serving of mingau began. Then we did our tricks, cut nails,
[123] let them look through the opera glasses, lighted a match with fire steel, etc. The professor beamed; he was reaping honor with us.

[301] A sturdy young man, a diadem of stiff jaguar skin over his
[624] forehead, seemed to be acting as herald. He poured busily, screamed louder than the others, and grasped everything most quickly. I had the feeling that we were traveling circus artists and were being informally received and treated in a club. One
302 of the younger sportsmen had had his body painted with black
531 squares, which were joined at the edges with short lines. The drawing on the upper thigh of another -- a black wavy line and in the depressions of it black dots -- definitely resembled the skin marking of a fish, the pintado.

/172 cont./

000 the more uncertain I am in abstracting the common features. The
171 Kustenaú has his foot and half of his lower thigh painted red, like
302 stockings; the upper thighs are covered with a sooty black, in which, however, arched stripes are left blank. On his back he has two red stripes, and in addition black arm-bands. Numerous scratches, which are made with the tooth of the peixe-cachorro
302 (dogfish). The Bakaïrí, too, are painted more than usual with
[531] red; one has a black stripe on either side from eye to ear; another has painted himself black over the middle of his forehead, nose, lips, and chin, and bright brick-red on the sides of the forehead and the face. Among some, the hair, too, is saturated with the
301 red oil. Below the knees are bands of /Illustration appears here/ /173/ burití straw; a skein of cotton, colored a dirty reddish brown, is tied around the waist. Some have strings or bands of cotton wound over the ankles or under the knees, around the legs, or around the upper arms. There is no uniformity anywhere.

302 The tonsure is shaved with a bent piece of spear grass. Its
413 diameter is seven centimeters.

177 To our surprise we also found an iron chisel tip and on a child a little string of blue beads. We could not find out definitely how these had found their way here; I interpreted their descrip-
[721] tion and Antonio's unclear account to mean that they had been brought back from a tribe on the lower Paranatinga whom the grandfather had visited on a raiding expedition.

276 Even in Aldea II the men had become happily excited by the discovery of tobacco seed; smoking was also done here. The leaves were so dry that they could be rubbed almost to powder; they were rolled into cigarettes about two decimeters long, and the fresh green leaf of an unknown tree was split lengthwise and used as the wrapping. This wrapper burned with a pleasant, balsam odor. The smoke was inhaled.

262 The women made excellent beijú; it tasted like fresh French rolls. We also ate a fish ragout à la coquille, of which we would have liked to have had more than they gave us.

[Text Continues on P. 57]

/175 cont./

162 We counted 27 men, 18 women, and eight children, but
621 as some of the men, who stayed longer than we, reported, a
609 whole troop of women and children later came out of the woods.

342 I measured the largest house more carefully. It was 40 paces long, 24 paces wide. In the center line stood four supporting beams, 8-8.5 meters high (!) and 30 centimeters in diameter, the middle ones five paces apart, the outer ones each six paces
[531] from these; they had several bands painted with geometrical designs.

The distance of the two outer supporting beams from each other, /176/ 17 paces according to the above, also gave the length of the roof timbers. All around, 72 posts, up to 25 centimeters thick, one meter 72 high, served to support the elliptical roof basket. This was also the height of the two entrances, 77 centimeters wide, which lay opposite each other on the long sides and were made somewhat lower by the straw hanging down from the outside.

The roof basket, made up of large horizontal bamboo rings fastened by vertical poles bent against them, which converged at the top and projected to the outside through an opening, was built with great skill and regularity. The covering was made of straw-dry palm leaves. The leaf ribs lay horizontally; the free ends of the individual leaf spears hanging down from them, however, were all bent inward around the bare rib, so that solid mats were produced in the simplest manner. These overlapped like roof tiles.

364 We make the rounds through all the huts. The sense of order of the peaceful professor is lacking. They are full of refuse. In-
353 stead of the fine supply baskets, balls of the massa /dough/ one
[251] meter long, a half meter thick, and packed in leaves are found
[227] on simple racks. Little maize. Many fish nets made of tucum fiber: a wide-meshed bag hangs from a ring 80 centimeters long, 35 centimeters wide, which sits on a long pole. They probably
226 get the fish out of the blocked-off lagoons with these nets from the top of their scaffold.

/65 cont./

124 say, an Arab, who would feel awkward about looking into the un-
83 veiled face of a European woman, or a Chinese, who would fall
[192] into the most anguished embarrassment if chance showed him her stockingless little foot. It is true, the subject that seems shocking to us gave the Bakaïrí, men and women, decided pleasure, and if a pedantic ponderer who wants to have modesty in our sense preserved at any price as the innate heritage of humanity would like to conclude from this increased measure of merriment that the bad conscience of a tribe that had sunk from a higher morality was stirring, I can only reply to him that their merry laughter was neither impudent nor did it give the impression of cloaking an inner embarrassment. On the other hand, it undoubtedly had a slightly erotic timbre, and, much as occasion and accompanying circumstances among true primitive peoples must differ, it altogether resembled the laughter that one hears at our spinning-party jokes, at games of forfeit, or other harmless entertainment in the intercourse between the two sexes. For from this same
[531] natural joy, as we shall see later, there resulted one of the most common ornaments in their painting, namely, the uluri of the women, represented on numerous implements as the original form of the triangle.

126 I wished to have the uluris made in larger quantities for the collection. Which aroused great merriment. Thus one afternoon there was lively tailoring. We were sitting behind Tumayaua's
[252] house, an old woman was baking beijús outside, pouring the flour
[524] on the pan, spreading it smooth, and /66/ skillfully tossing the
[283] finished flat-cake on a sieve, the children licked up püserego and
[289] played catch with feather-decorated maize balls, and four women and girls were twisting the threads out of palm fiber, folding the "little skirts" out of brownish-yellow leaves, and handing me the
126 neat work in quantity and in all sizes. The only thing that I must
291 add is that one woman was very baffled and looked about helplessly when I asked for an uluri that she was wearing. But no feeling of modesty related to the exposure had anything to do with this embarrassment; rather, what feeling of modesty was present should be called a physiological one, the existence of which I do not

/90 cont./

535 and captivated me. Others placed themselves behind the three, sang and stamped along with them, more and more joined, and finally those nearest the door ran out, bent over and one following the other, the entire train trotted in a long chain over to the chief's house with uninterrupted ohúhoχó, came back to the flute-house, and back and forth across the plaza; we guests did not fail to take part in at least a few rounds of the musical marathon, but the good Bakaïrí ran, sang, stamped -- the whole night. It thus seems to be a very old custom to dance until broad daylight. Except that the men did the work by themselves. It was excellent to go to sleep by; like the familiar and often tested method of falling asleep by imagining an endless herd of sheep jumping over a fence and counting the individual leaping animals, their firm ohóhuχó hypnotized with deadly certainty.

On our second visit we saw nothing of the kind.

123 A small shooting demonstration aroused more fear than astonishment; the women ran behind the houses; a tall youth fled into the hammock and covered his ears. After the third shot the chief begged "ãle," "it is enough." Afterwards they again had a desire for it and set tasks, to hit birds circling high in the air, which only Cooper's hunters could have fulfilled. At any rate, one must beware of sending off a shot about which one is not certain.

The photographic apparatus was set up opposite the chief's house; Aramöke accepted the invitation, stuck his head under the black cloth, viewed the picture with great pleasure, and chattered enthusiastically about it. The others did not trust the thing.

342 Aramöke's house, a magnificent example of primitive architecture, was larger and more carefully built than Paleko's in
353 Maigéri. Many storage baskets were piled up between the center
531 posts, and from the dome hung numerous maize birds and cobs. What absorbed our interest primarily, however, was a frieze of crude drawings which ran all around, about two meters above the doors, to a total length of about 56 meters. /91/ On narrow sheets of blackened tree bark, dots, rings, linear patterns, and in between

/91 cont./

353 a couple of fish drawings were drawn on with white loam. To our
531 greatest astonishment, triangles and squares were meant as illustrations of concrete objects and were not merely "geometric
126 figures." Wilhelm copied the entire frieze with painstaking precision, as Plates 20 and 21 show.[1] I shall later compare the practices among the Bakaïrí with those among the rest of the Kulisehu tribes. Unfortunately it was not possible to bring home the originals. The loam was so loosely applied that it immediately crumbled off, and so coarse-grained that it could not be permanently fixed with a coating of collodion, as was done successfully with the masks.

000 Toward sundown, led by Aramöke, who was parading around in his red scarf, we went to the camp, which was now pitched at the actual harbor, and there, after the new shipwreck, we encountered a great "drying of laundry." Antonio's oar was also broken.

123 A number of Indians stood and sat around on the slope of the shore when we set out on 6 October shortly after 7:00. João Pedro had ordered for himself half a dozen fresh beijús and was served promptly in the early morning, as by a civilized baker.

133 The powerful rapids called "kulúri" by the Bakaïrí, which we soon cut through without peril, was the last one on the Kulisehu: "tũxu ãle," the stones are "all gone." On this stretch the river again greatly resembled the section beyond Independencia; many fallen trees in the water, frequent elevated sandy beaches or steep
[136] loam banks, the current somewhat faster. The small masarico with its little red legs came tripping rapidly toward us across the sand, called "go away, come, come," and flew ahead a little distance, to wait for us there again. The bends in the river were very numerous and the trip became a deadly bore. The sunlight was reflected glaringly by the light sand and the water glistened unbearably. At 2:45 we passed a right tributary-brook about eight meters wide, the Pakuneru. This is the same name that the Paranatinga bears among the Bakaïrí. At its source -- far away
[101] ih.... -- the kayãxo, the Kayapó /Cayapo/, are said to live;

[1] [See pp. 280-281 -- Analyst]

/228 cont./

000 fire-maker; I also remembered the stick of pressed dry cow dung which is allowed to glow for many hours on the decks of Indian ships for the use of smokers. Perhaps a corresponding use of wood dust is to be found here and there. Wood shavings were used by us in historical Germany up to the beginning of this century, along with flint and steel.

V. Weapons, Implements, Industry.

Bows and arrows. Throwing stick. Club. Canoe. Fishing implements. Plaiting and textile work. Buriti and cotton hammocks. Gourd vessels. Pottery.

128 I have reported on the settlements, the way of life, and the tools of our Indians, insofar as they present peculiarities. What remains to be said about one implement or another will follow naturally within the framework of the description of arts and crafts, which, on account of the many new things, requires a special survey. On the other hand, it is advisable to say a little more about the appearance and the use of the weapons, as well as about the simplest craft skills.

*171 411 Bows and arrows are the only weapon common to all our Indians. Clubs are used among the Suyá and Trumaí. Nowhere are there lances. Nowhere blowgun and poisoned arrows. Only [754] the sorcerer has a kind of theoretical poisoned arrow when, as we shall see, he secretly and with powerful witchcraft hurls poisoned twigs at his victim; at any rate, the idea of a projectile poison comes before us here.

/229/ Bows and arrows are distinguished by their size, the arrows by the extremely neat and pleasing workmanship. The length of the bows is more than two and a third meters, that of the arrows one and a half to almost two meters. The wood [824] of the bow is yellowish or light brown and comes from the aratã tree, Tecoma, and others. We found palm wood in only a few [531] bows of the Tupí tribes; here, too, the bow was plaited round with cotton in an attractive pattern, something unknown among [283] the other tribes. The bowstring is twisted out of tucum fiber.

T 171 411 /234 cont./
corresponded exactly to the Karayá club found among the Yuruna in 1884, a dark brown staff chamfered vertically all around, sharply grooved, lopped off bluntly at top and bottom, with a smooth intermediate piece for the hand. The Yuruna in that case, and the Kamayurá here, had transformed the murder weapon into a peaceful walking stick. One must admit that the defense weapons of the men on the Kulisehu do not point to warlike habits.

B *171 501 [824]

B [531]

The canoes are commonly made from the bark of the jatobá, as I described it in the case of our vessels. See Plates 10 and 11 /see pages 109 and 121/. A Bakaïrí canoe measured in 1884 had the following measurements: length eight meters, width in the center 64 centimeters on top, 56 centimeters below, depth 24 centimeters, width of stern 63 centimeters, thickness of bark 11 to 21 millimeters. On our second journey we saw longer specimens, and the ark which we acquired among the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ was considerably wider, was, in fact, unique in its corpulence. The Bakaïrí canoes that had to travel in the shallower river bed strewn with stones were somewhat shallower than those farther downstream. Among the Yaulapiti the rim was turned over slightly.

Fig. 29. Bakaïrí oar. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

The oar, somewhat over a meter long, consisted of a slightly hollowed-out blade 60 centimeters long and ten centimeters wide,

/237/

*171 is covered with more small sticks, so that a triangular horizontal
251 grill is formed. The fish are opened with a longitudinal slash along
252 the middle line and a crosswise cut on the side; the flap is opened, the entrails removed, and the fish are placed on the roasting rack.

*171 Plaiting. The mate-
285 rial was furnished by the
[824] bakayuva, buriti, akuri, and carandasinha palms, bamboo cane, and Maranta stalks, which were split, the climbing palm urumbamba (Desmoncus), and the in-
[462] dispensable vines. The men were the ones who plaited. They used both feet to help out, one foot holding the transverse stalks, the other the longitudinal ones. The basket plaiting was not on a high level. There were little standing and hanging baskets, closely plaited and wide-meshed, in
[482] which odds and ends were stored, fish carried, and the like, but there was no ad-
→ vance beyond the generally familiar forms. Some
• [531] variety was achieved by plaiting in black-colored strips. The Mehinakú and Auetõ had larger, rectangular, trough-like standing baskets, which were characterized by a neat appearance, were also decorated with tassels at the corners, and were used to store gourds and the like. The Mehinakú called these baskets mayáku, a word which the

Fig. 31.
Carrying basket. (1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

/238 cont./

*171 283 it is often made of wood, and only among the Bakaïrí does it consist of an ordinary, crude clay disk which might have been broken out of the bottom of an old pot and ground to shape.

[531] /239/ I shall speak later of the designs incised on the first two types mentioned; the Bakaïrí leave their wood and clay disks undecorated, and we did not find any tortoise-shell whorls among them. The women powdered their upper thighs with white, chalky clay for protection against perspiration. They kept the material in the form of balls the size of a child's head, from which they scraped off a little with a shell for use.

The thread is made in two or three different thicknesses and kept in balls which are wrapped in green leaves. The balls [431] [574] are popular hospitable gifts of the Bakaïrí and Mehinakú, which were given to us likewise at the reception, just as Columbus reports this in the case of his islanders on 12 October 1492.

*171 286 The "loom" is as primitive as can be. Two low posts, which need not be half a meter high, a good distance apart, that is all. The origin of the weaving from the plaiting is still clearly evident. A thick skein of cotton is wound around the posts as a warp, a thread without end; the cross-threads are pulled through with guide sticks.

286 352 The Bakaïrí hammock represents a rather loose net, long, rectangular, two and a third meters by one and a quarter meters. The rows running lengthwise are broken at irregular intervals of two to three and a half centimeters by transverse rows; one can easily stick one's finger through the interstices. The type of weave is very simple. Two longitudinal threads, two to three millimeters thick, are wound around each time through the thinner transverse threads which are only one millimeter thick, and, to be sure, there are four transverse threads, of which two run wave-like in front of, and two in back of, the longitudinal threads, crossing between the latter. Where the transverse threads come out on either side, they are knotted; thus on each longitudinal side one finds some 70 knots with the four cut-off ends of the threads. The loop left free on either post is wound in the center, so that, on the one hand, an eyelet to receive the suspension

B /241 cont./
*171 into bowls, the fresh fruits are wound with palm fiber and scratched
415 along it with a shell. If a bowl cracks during use, it is sewed;
B [412] the small holes are bored with the pointed tooth of the dogfish
and the sewing is done with a buriti thread rubbed with wax, the
knots of which are cut off close to the shell by the tooth edge
B [531] ground knife-sharp. The drawings that decorate the surface are
incised with the same tooth, unless one prefers to burn them in
B with a red-hot stick. The drinking bowls and small ladle-gourds
[386] or spoons are given a coating of black lacquer on the inside. The
[824] lacquer is the soot of the charred buriti shaft mixed with the
yellow, sticky liquid extract of the grated rind of the ochogohi
tree from the campo cerrado /densely covered campo/. Special
small, spherical gourds served to hold the oil with which the body
was rubbed and were closed with a stopper; the Bakaïrí called
B the fruit péru. They sometimes hung in a closely plaited net. I
[128] shall consider the rattle gourd in connection with the dance music.

Pottery. In the chapter on the "Stone Age" culture, cf.
B 128 pages 217 ff., I have discussed in detail the origin of the pots
323 in our region, the monopoly of the Nu-Aruak tribes, and the
manufacture limited to only the female sex. Only in the later
chapter on the plastic arts, when the development of Indian art
has become clear, shall I be in a position to speak of the orna-
mental aspect of the pots.

B Three types of pots were distinguished according to size and
+171 purpose. First, the huge mawukúru of the Mehinakú, in which
415 the grated mandioca root was cooked; they had a diameter of
W [415] almost three-fourths of a meter. We were unable to bring home
[252] any of these pots, but took a photograph among the Auetö, from
[126] which their shape and, since a man -- by rights it should have
been a woman -- is squatting beside it, also their size are clear.
Cf. Plate 15 /see p. 253/. The largest and most attractive pots
are furnished by the Waurá. For cooking they were set on three
low clay feet of cylindrical shape and bulging at the bottom.

A second type, the cooking pot for fruit and small fish,
had a diameter of 18-20 centimeters, a height of about 12 centi-
meters; it was round with rather steep, slightly bulging walls
and sometimes had a rim two and a half centimeters wide and

B /243 cont./
*171 one draws on the ground or in the sand. In taking down the
20 vocabulary, I was extraordinarily often able to convince myself
532 that the inner perception was converted into an explanatory
[124] sand-drawing involuntarily and without being demanded by me.
To be sure, it happened most often if the shape of the animal was
particularly suitable for this, as in the case of snakes, an alligator
head, and fish, where, in addition, a voice could not be imi-
tated. Furthermore, it is to be freely admitted that the impulse
for the realm of hearing was disproportionately stronger among
these hunters, and also that in intercourse among themselves
they undoubtedly confined themselves to the drawing gesture for
the sense of sight. Indeed, they could actually limit themselves
to this. Toward me there was the additional thought: "since
the man does not understand our language, how can we in this
case be adequately clear?" and they drew in the sand.

It is enough if one is justified in concluding from the be-
havior of the Indians that the drawing gesture, on the level where
it still forms a not unessential supplement to the language,
easily develops into actual drawing. /244/ We see, and this is
the important thing, that here among primitive peoples drawing
is used like gesture, to convey a message and not to reproduce
graceful forms, and, on the basis of the personal impression that
I gained from the directness of explanatory drawing, I believe
B that it is older than the ornamental-artistic kind. One may per-
[531] haps object that the Schingú /Xingu/ Indians are already artists
who cover all their implements with drawings and ornamentation
and that is why drawing as a means of expression is particularly
BO natural to them. To this I can only reply that the Bororó, whom
171 I should like to mention often in this connection in an anticipatory
532 way, made magnificent feather ornaments, to be sure, but knew
practically nothing about the graphic arts, and that they were
the very ones who had a greater skill and greater fancy for draw-
BO ing in the sand for explanation than did the Schingú people. They
[224] were restless fellows, however, who lived from the hunt; they
had never found the leisure to practice painting and plastic art
like those who, to be sure, still practiced hunting and fishing but
had already advanced to sedentary farming.

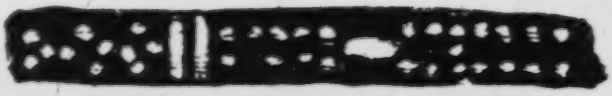
2· Steinen--280 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

531
825

1. Sukuri snake. 2. Rays I.

3. Pakú fish. 4. Armored fish.

5. Fish bones.



6. Pinado fish (sharpfish)

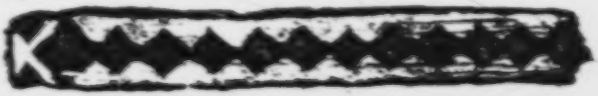
7. Rays II. 8. Half fish.

9. Pakú fish.

10. Bats.

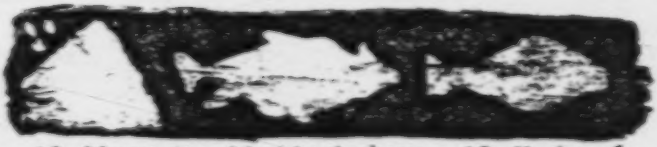
Bakaïrí ornamentation I.

531
825



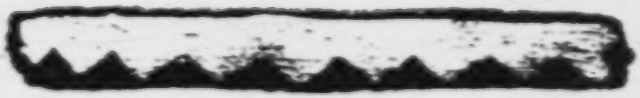
11. Jiboya snake.

12. Agau snake with head.

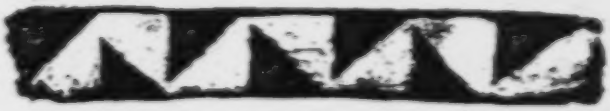


13. Women's triangle. 14. Matrincham. 15. Kurimatã.

531



14. Women's triangles (uluri).



15. Women's triangles (uluri).

16. Women's triangles (uluri).

[824]

17. Palmito leaves.

Bakairí ornamentation II.

A /257 cont. /
171 Mützel can in any way identify his illustration with that of the
532 Indian artist.
825

Therefore it is comforting to find no difficulty with the center figure of the bottom row. It represents a macaco or Cebus monkey and is well characterized by the human-like limbs with the usual three toes and the long tail. For comparison I am adding the il-
W [534] lustration of a Mehinakú flute, /258/ where the same monkey --
[532] not inappropriately, since it too emits flute tones -- appears and is treated very similarly, except that it also enjoys a neck.

A very remarkable creature was depicted on one post (Fig. 41), a sort of female figure with riding habit and a wasp waist, two-fingered arms, and a triangular face under a hat brim. This is Cryptocerus atratus, the tokandira, tokanteira, tokangira of the Brazilians, a huge ant that does not have a social life, but crawls around individually on tree trunks.

W Finally, mereschu designs, which are still to be discussed,
532 were found on trees in the harbor of the Mehinakú.

II. Ornamental Drawing.

000

Ornamental frieze of the Bakaïrí. Mereschu and uluri. The Auetö ornamentation. Conclusions. Use of ornamentation. Calabashes, beijú turners, spindle whorls. Painting of pots.

B
531 On pages 64-65, in the report about the visit to the second
825 Bakaïrí village, I mentioned the large wall frieze of pieces of
[353] bark painted white, which went around inside the house of the chief, in several places in a double row, to a length of approximately 56 meters; the width of the pieces of bark varied between approximately 15 to 40 centimeters. Our first impression was that these zigzags, dots, rings, chains of rhombuses and triangles were ornamental fancies which were attractive and charming, but did not mean anything beyond that. The bark, blackened with soot, came from a forest tree which the Bakaïrí called noíschi, the white or often yellowish loam was applied with the fingers, so

/258 cont./

531 that one could not expect delicate lines in these fresco daubings.
825 When I sought to enlarge my word list with the names of the decorations, I was surprised to hear several fish names familiar to me, whereupon I went to the heart of the matter. For each design I was given the name of a concrete original, and the more we concerned ourselves with the decorations on household utensils here and among the other tribes, the more we discovered that there was the same procedure everywhere. Ehrenreich then pursued the problem
[114] further among the Araguay /Araguaia/ Indians and there, to my delight, found only confirmation.

On the two plates 20 and 21 /see pp. 280-281/, Bakaïrí ornamentation I and II, which give characteristic samples of all the bark pieces, we see first of all in Numbers 14 and 15* two

* On Plate 21, as the result of an oversight, the numbers 14 and 15 occur twice.

well-drawn fish, the frequently mentioned, favorite fish of the Bakaïrí, the matrincham, and the many-boned kurimatá, /259/ Salmo curimatá. They are painted on with reference to the entire surface. The noróku ikúto, "picture of the matrincham," was set down with positive elegance and dash. Next to it, in No. 13, we have an ulúri ikúto, a picture of the woman's triangle. And in this manner each decoration was said to be an ikúto. Sometimes individual ones are set apart by short vertical lines; cf. 3 and 4 or 7 and 8 on plate I /see p. 280/. Only a single picture is taken from the vegetable kingdom, No. 17. It represents the leaves of
[824] a small, "cabbage" yielding forest palm, yemariáli, a word that means hand-leaf. We see a number of twin pinnae pointing alternately up and down and arranged exactly like the uluris in No. 16; to us the figure gives the impression of a plaiting design.

Our attempts at interpretation, however, would soon come to grief. We observe among the decorations some in which the natural skin markings of an animal are reproduced, some in which the outlines of the animal are drawn, and some in which both are combined. No. 6 has the dotted and spotted markings of a sheatfish, schurúi, whose spotted skin has given rise to the Portuguese name

/259 cont./

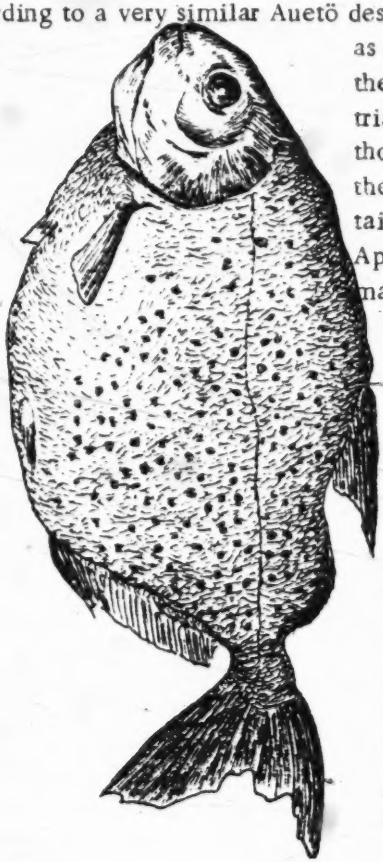
531 "pintado." We shall come across it again in connection with the
8·25 mask costumes. No. 7 was described as the dotted markings of a ray, pinukái, while in No. 2 a second species of ray, schiwári (a word generally present among the North Karaiben /Carib/ as schibali, sipari, chuparé, etc.), is shown with the characteristic rings and spots of its skin.

Zigzags and wavy lines are snakes, whose characteristic skin marking, for which there was probably no room on the narrow strip, was cold-bloodedly added in the surroundings. Thus, No. 12, a common land snake or cobra of the Brazilians, has its tail end on the left and, on the right, the clearly recognizable head described to me as such; the dots are put in between the zigzags. After the artist had drawn the snake, he remembered to characterize it by its spots. The same thing happened in No. 1, in the case of the sukurí watersnake or anaconda, Boa scytale. On the other hand, in No. 11, the picture of the Boa constrictor, we see the marking of the snake skin divided up into numerous small triangles; it runs along the two edges of the board, and, to be sure, both times in such a way that the triangles project inward with their tips and border the unpainted background to form a chain of black rhombuses. According to my notes, the snake has a head, but it is difficult to see how the bit of a figure on the left, with which the drawing begins, can represent one.

No. 5, kána igúri ikúto, the fish-bones picture, is readily understandable. It had the considerable length of three and one-fourth meters. The armored fish, No. 4, which joins the dividing line, makes greater demands on the imagination. This tupára of the Bakaírí is the akará of the Tupí and the Acara or armored sheatfish of the zoologist, the cascudo of the Brazilians. On the other hand, the pakú fish in No. 3, Prochilodus, páte-ikúto, though we should scarcely have recognized them as fish, became clear to us from the picture of the kurimatá, koalú ikúto (No. 15). The fish /260/ figure in No. 15, with the entire surface filled in, appears only in a stylized outline in 3, the body becomes a rhombus, the tail a triangle, and both are used purely ornamentally in any number desired, next to one another or each one alone. Thus we see in No. 3 on the left two body rhombuses and a tail triangle of the

/260 cont./

●531 825 pakú, while there are three rhombuses in succession at the right. In the two rhombuses on the left the gill arch sets off the head, as in Figures 34 and 35 /see p. 263/ and also in the carved bark fish. The same thing is repeated in No. 8, núki-ikuto, the picture of the nuki fish, which cannot be identified more specifically, but, according to a very similar Auetö design, may perhaps be regarded as a armored sheatfish, where, on the right, triangle, rhombus, rhombus, triangle succeed one another, as though two fishes were touching at their mouths, and, on the left, four tail-triangles are joined in a row. Apparently it is because of the skin marking of the nuki fish that it is distinguished from the pakú by triangles filled in with white. The pakú, on the other hand, is characterized by small dots; in No. 9 we see on the left a sample of the design on its skin and next to it, on the right, a number of body rhombuses, each of which has a little dot in the center, and which, if we wanted to associate them with fish, we should probably say were an illustration of an armor-like, scaly skin, which the pakú does not have at all.



[136] Fig. 42. Mereschu. (2/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

I must admit that I did not quite know whether to laugh at our good-natured interpreter or to give in to a feeling of mute bafflement that may be summed up in the exclamation "how differently

/260 cont./

531 825 the world is pictured in these minds!" No. 10, semímo ikuto, pictures of bats! Rhombuses strung together. Head, extremities, tail, where are they? We shall come across bats again, however, in other drawings and especially on the pots, where they are re-
[113] duced to the same rhombus form. In Brehm's Tierleben I, 1890, page 363, there is an illustration of Vesperugo noctula, the Abendsegler /"evening swift"/, which in the specimen on the left, wrapped in a wing membrane and hanging, shows us a somewhat similar outline; if it were stylized, it could also be developed into a rhombus. -- /261/ Let us now confirm the fact that on these two plates we have rhombuses in three patterns: that of the pakú, either an outline or spotted-surface design; that of the nuki, with diagonal triangles, and the one of the bat, which is simply filled in. The negative drawing of the bats, No. 10, would be exactly like No. 11, the Boa constrictor or jiboya snake. One sees, at any rate, that one can arrive at the geometric figure of the rhombus in very different ways.

171 531 825 Mereschu and uluri. /Fig. 43 appears here./ Strangely enough, the frieze of the Bakaïrí house lacked a design which is the most common one, not only among the Bakaïrí, but also among all the tribes of the upper Schingú. On our first journey we noticed it often enough, but did not appreciate and understand it. In my report Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/ it is found on page 163 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 42/ as a drinking-bowl design of the Bakaïrí and on page 213 /see 1. Steinen, this file, p. 104/ as a pencil drawing of the Suyá in the handsomest delineation: rhombuses whose corners are filled in with small triangles. Only after the discovery was made in the second Bakaïrí village was
[136] the explanation given. The original of the decoration is a small, flat lagoon fish, a Serrasalmo or Myletes, related to the piranhas. The one drawn by Wilhelm measured 19 centimeters in length, 9.5 centimeters in width, and was silver-gray with brown spots. No
[123] artist has ever had more success with a picture than did Wilhelm with this drawing. People came crowding up and all were positively happy to view it. And this was repeated among all the tribes. Even the Paressí in Cuyabá were delighted with it and

/261 cont./

*171 identified it. We retained the Bakaïrí name of the important
●531 little fish, the one we learned first, for our use. In the Kulisehu
825 languages the animal has the following names: Bakaïrí meréschu (the accented e /262/ long), Nahuquá irínko, Mehinakú kulupé,

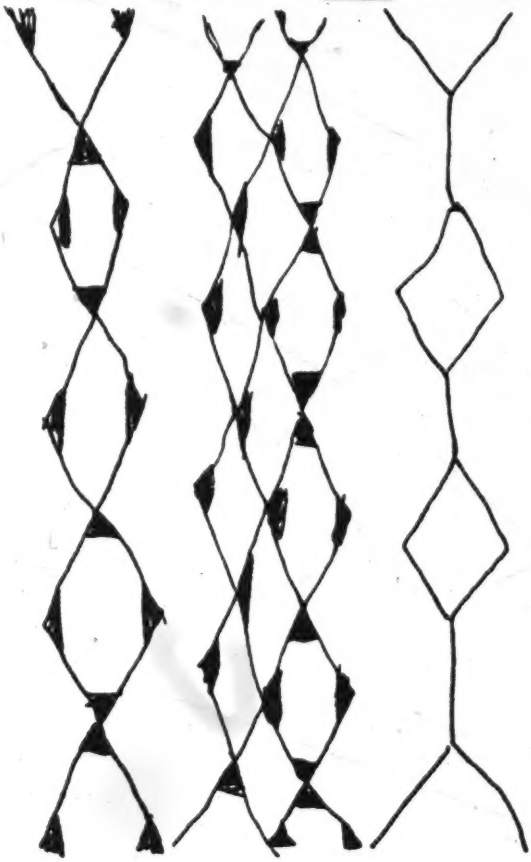


Fig. 43. Mereschu design drawn with pencil (1/1 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

B /262 cont./
*171 Kustenaú /Custenau/, kulupéi, Waurá warjái (French j), Yaulapiti
● 531 marirítyi, Auetö pirapévit, Kamayurá tapaká, Trumaí pakí.
825 Everywhere the design has the name of the fish.

In Figure 43 /see p. 288/ the first and second designs were drawn in pencil by the Bakaïrí, the third by a Nahuquá. The noble Nahuquá, exactly as in my portrait on Plate 17,[1] made it very easy for himself by being contented with the simplest outline imaginable, but he is alone in this negligent originality. The Nahuquá apply the design not only for the mereschu fish irínko, but also for a related one called íru or íno. A similar situation probably accounts for the fact that the Waurá word differs from that of the Mehinakú and the Kustenaú.

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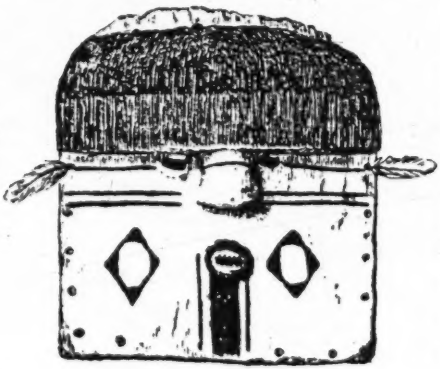

Fig. 44.
Wooden mask with mereschu design. (Gull, Bakaïrí.) (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Figure 44, the Bakaïrí wooden mask, shows the mereschu design in typical fashion. It is especially in the painting of the masks that it plays the greatest role. The rhombus corresponds to the body of the fish and the four filled-in corners are head, tail, dorsal fin, and anal fin. The execution of the corners varies in plenitude, so that sometimes an octagon, sometimes a square is left inside. According to our feeling, such a filled-in triangle can only correspond to the head; we can, if necessary, imagine the fins drawn into the rhombus as set on, not drawn in, but for the time being we do not know what to make of the tail, which, as a triangle, ought to have its tip pointed inward and not outward, but we shall find the explanation later.

A
531 The two Auetö masks, Figs. 45 and 46 /see p. 291/, show
532 how the mereschu typically appears as a surface design, one showing the decoration on wood, the other on cloth-like material. The mereschus are framed by lines; they are embedded in a net with

[1] [See p. 266--Analyst]

A /262 cont./
531 rhombus-shaped meshes: "fish in the net," said the Bakaïrí. The
532 term "net," as we shall see, is by no means figurative, but means a fish net.

B In spite of the purely ornamental nature of the figure, which
*171 absolutely forbids the expression "illustration" in our sense, the
531 Indian is still most definitely aware of the concrete meaning. Where the design covered a mask or a spindle whorl, each mesh with its mereschu was placed separately against the adjoining one and by no means was a net produced first by the intersection of
A [531] lines. At most the Auetö, who /263/ as we shall see, were the
[532] most advanced in schematic ornamentation, were capable of genuine drawing, as, indeed, practice in connection with a regular, craftsman-like procedure should gradually lead to this automatically: one clearly sees in the drawing of the wooden mask that the artist /Figs. 45-47 appear here/ did not practice the mathematical art in dividing up the space, whereas one might doubt this in the case of the cloth mask. The Bakaïrí, at any
W rate, were still far from any such progress. The two spindle whorls
[283] of the Mehinakú (Fig. 47), in one of which the hole in the center
[531] is surrounded by a mereschu, also show how the /264/ individual fish are set next to one another and, on closer observation, reveal numerous small irregularities. It was great fun to watch the people at their scribbling. But it is impossible for me to think that this "design," which best expresses the high degree of ethnological leveling among the tribes, is a product of more recent times. If the degree of stylization could serve as a relative measure of time, the Auetö would have had it longest.

One cannot say, for example, that the people drew rhomboid figures in which they made lines intersect at equal intervals, filled out the corners, and then said: "why, that looks like a mereschu fish, is mereschu-shaped, or the like," and had thus, in accordance with the comparison, given the design its name. This is refuted by the manner of manufacture, setting the figures next to one another, one by one, and by the simple fact that the design is no longer mereschu-shaped, but has already deviated from the concrete original, as is shown in particular by the tail-corner. None of us

[Text Continues on p. 292]

/264 cont./

*171 531 would recognize it as a fish at all. The pakũ-fish at the left in No. 3 (Plate 20 /see p. 280/) is still recognizable as an illustration of a fish, with the help of the kurimatá, No. 15 /see p. 281/ although two rhombus bodies are already united with the tail triangle, but in the case of the rhomboid bodies at the right in No. 3, no sketcher whose hands happen to create them could say that they reminded him of a pakũ fish, but rather it is only possible the other way around, from the picture of a concrete original to the stylization. Not to speak of No. 9, the dotted rhombuses = pakũ fish with stippling or the bats.

The relationship to the original model is the very thing that gives the Indian pleasure in drawing, which, after all, is very natural. It amuses him that he can draw a fish with a few strokes. Probably, however, a technical factor was important. Drawing was in most cases scratching, not painting. It was only the scratched line that was filled with color. The designs were scratched on spindle whorls and gourds; even on the masks they were scratched out of the previously applied white clay background with a bamboo stick. Thus, it is not surprising that motifs like the rhombus of the mereschu and the triangle of the uluri with its sharp corners, which we shall discuss presently, have gained the upper hand to such an overwhelming extent and recur everywhere in endless repetition. It was particularly easy to scratch out the sharp corners. One could work better than with circles and wavy lines, which could also represent animals. The scratching inevitably led to stylization.

In the case of the uluri, the woman's triangle, our pleasure in the concrete model is perhaps more easily understandable than in the case of a tasty little fish. Cf. Figure 18, page 187. Even we, to this day, have the same point of view as the Kulisehu Indians. Except that we civilized human beings have stylized the anatomical model, while the crude primitive peoples were satisfied with the dainty "little garment." /Plate XXII appears here./ /265/ And strangely enough, it is the rhombus, discussed so much here, that we have in place of the uluri. The Bakaïrí research traveler,

[Text continues on p. 294]

/265 cont./

ooo probably to his great satisfaction, would rediscover -- I do not know whether in all parts of Germany -- countless examples of his pakũ fish, the rhombus with the center dot, incised, scratched, and painted on our trees, walls, doors, exactly as he makes it. Woe to him who has once formed the habit of seeing this Indian pakũ design wherever it appears among us. If he wanted to get away from it, he could no longer set foot in a railroad station, an avenue of trees, a scenic spot, in short, any place where people pass by, for it seems as though an unknown, mysterious society had conspired to pursue him with it; he finds it in the bark of ancient forest giants, he finds it in freshly fallen snow.

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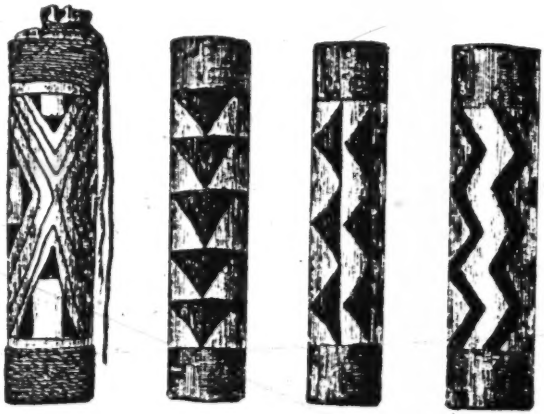

Fig. 48. Bakaïrí back-sticks with the designs: mereschu, uluri, bat, and snake. (1/4 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/. Cf. the following page /see p. 295/.

*[171] 531 [291] The Kulisehu Indians made no secret of their delight in the uluri; a shapeless bast band would not have offered them the model. If they have the geometric conception of a triangle, they owe it entirely to the uluri. It would not have spontaneously occurred to them to draw triangles. Among the pencil drawings on Plate 17 /see p. 266/ there is an uluri which a Bakaïrí, unasked, drew in my book for me. In the frieze, Plate 21 /see p. 281/, a large single specimen is shown in No. 13, in 14 we see the uluris joined into a flat zigzag band.

531

/265 cont./

● 531 No. 15 shows them in a strange succession, two adjoining ones touching only at one corner and alternately at the upper and lower edge of the bark board. In No. 16 four uluris lie with their bases alternately against the lower and upper edge and are separated somewhat by diagonal bars extending from base to base. The bars represent the grossly thickened groin strings and are analogous to the mereschu fish-net.

If I drew an equilateral triangle for the Bakaïrí, they laughed happily and cried "ulúri." It often appeared on their drinking bowls, covering the entire surface in a neat arrangement, and the dividing lines were put on with the awareness that they were originally strings.

[301] /266/ The four back-sticks of Figure 48 /see p. 294/, wooden cylinders which were worn on the back on strings for festival adornment in the third Bakaïrí village and represented stylized mandioca digging-sticks, show us various designs painted on in [825] black in attractive execution. The first shows mereschu fish, the third hanging bats, which we shall also come across among the Auetö, the fourth the agau snake corresponding to No. 12 of Plate 21, the second uluris. Never, as far as I remember, does the uluri triangle occur as a triangle composed of only three lines, except in the pencil drawing on Plate 17. The triangle is always filled in and thus gives an even more direct impression of the concrete original. /Figs. 49 and 50 appear here./

*[171] On Nahuquá whizzer sticks, cf. chapter "Mask Ornamentation and Dance Ornaments," III, illustration /see Fig. 122, p. 382/, zigzags of the same kind as those on the back sticks occur and here, too, are regarded as the picture of a snake.

531 The back sticks also gave us two more very strange decora-
825 tions. One of them, to our eyes different from the mereschu
[301] only by the smallness of the filled-in corners, was a grasshopper, töviga of the Bakaïrí, tukúra of the Tupí. The design was combined with that of the mereschu fish; the long lines extending from the corners of the rhombus are the grasshopper legs.

B 531 825 /266 cont./

The other decoration refers to a "small bird," yaritamáze, of the Bakaïrí, which I cannot identify more specifically. One can easily see that it represents a flying bird. But the Indians demand more; they insist on the yaritamáze.

A 531 171 The Auetö decorations are characterized by the most extensive stylization. In the "artists' hut" of the village, numerous designs were painted over the doors and on the wall posts, the most remarkable of which are assembled on Plate 22, "Auetö ornamentation" /see p. 293/. All of them are made up of triangles and rhombuses. Whereas the Bakaïrí painted with white loam on blackened bark, the Auetö applied black color on a light wood background or incised the design and rubbed color on afterwards. My cousin therefore used to call his Auetö colleagues black-artists and his Bakaïrí colleagues plein-airists.

B [531] →

B [301] [531] [825] ←

A 531 825 →

Fig. 49. Back stick with grasshopper. (1/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 50. Back stick with birds. (1/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

/267/ No. 5 is a genuine, quite pleasing mereschu design. No. 4, too, is supposed to represent mereschu fish. The same word, tepirapevetú, was given for both. This is, to be sure, the only example in which the mereschu rhombus is filled in, not only at the corners, but all over. On the other hand, the net, inside the meshes of which the fish are worked in, is treated in greater detail.

/267 cont./

A 531 825 of Figure 48 /see p. 294/ are also thought of as hanging bats. If I think of flying foxes that hang in trees like hams, I understand the triangular ornament perfectly, and others agree with me to a certain extent; but no one pretends to understand me when I maintain that I now see bats everywhere, on tile-covered floors or in the tiles over a kitchen sink, etc.

Perhaps even more surprising is mura-yöt, the design of "young" or "small" bora bees or bird bees: the black fields of a A [262] /268/ chess board standing on one corner! A design that surrounds us on all sides and that, despite the greatest power of imagination, would not call to mind the picture of the young bee, which the Indian is so passionately fond of eating, or even its cell. In comparison with these, the fish vertebrae, No. 8, two equilateral triangles joined at the apex, resembling stylized hourglasses, are strikingly realistic.

B *171 53 Conclusions. What we call geometric figures are designated by the Indian with names of concrete originals. One must ask again whether these are perhaps not merely names which he uses for the sake of comparison. This cannot in any way be maintained, however. We, too, have no better expression than "serpentine line," but we never draw dots beside it and do not distinguish, according to the number and arrangement of dots, serpentine lines that correspond to different kinds of snakes, as the Bakaïrí do in Nos. 1 and 12 of Plates 20 and 21 /see pp. 280-281/. In No. 12 we have the figure with dots and on the fourth back-stick, page 294, the same snake in the, according to our view, purely geometric figure of the serpentine line. But even this is not a geometric figure to the native; the certainly inevitable subsequent stage, where the concrete object becomes transformed into an abstraction, can have only just begun. The Indian could say of the triangles, they are "uluri-shaped," but, for one thing, he calls them simply uluris, although his language is perfectly capable of expressing the comparison even adjectivally, and then, too, he sometimes connects them, as in No. 16, by means of the groin strings. There is even more cogent proof for the mereschu design, however, when the native explains to me that the surrounding net is the fish net, the filled-in corners of the rhombus are head,

/268 cont./

*171 tail, and fins, and when he records side by side on the same
●531 frieze the developmental stages of the fish stylization in No. 15, No. 3, and No. 9, and finally when he draws the rhombuses one by one, even where they cover a broad area, and does not produce them by the intersection of parallel lines. I promise to place the mereschu design in front of any number of unprejudiced and imaginative persons, and I believe not one out of a hundred will interpret it as a fish. In fact, the thing is so extreme, we can be glad if we understand the figures to a certain degree after we know what the Indian calls them; but if we wanted to maintain that he created the names according to the resemblances, we ourselves should surely have observed the resemblances in the first place. How, in all probability, the mereschu design originated and gained its general distribution, I shall not be able to discuss until the next chapter; see II below /see pp. 369 ff./.

Conversely, nothing is easier to understand than the development of the geometric figure from an illustration. Certain things gave the people pleasure, and assuming that they draw such things -- regardless of how they progressed to drawing -- then out of the ideas of various artists, such as we still see in /269/ colorful confusion in the Bakaïrí frieze, one or another must soon gain more general acceptation when the object in question is easy to recognize because of the natural simplicity of its outlines. A rhomboid fish will retain more similitude in unskilled hands than any quadruped. A series of uluris are at first still varied individually, as is admirably shown in Nos. 16, 15, and 14, but from the multitude of individual variations, the one that wins out will be the one which eliminates secondary details, which sacrifices similitude to simplicity, and can most easily be mass-produced, if I may express it thus. The less one needs to deliberate, the better able to survive is the form, for it can be accomplished even by lesser talents. Art makes some progress here when it achieves the endlessly repeated pattern; only thus can it gain a foothold and become a general need and be preserved from generation to generation. We are at this stage in the case of the Auetö; the Bakairi are still partly below this level and make it

/269 cont./

*171 possible for us to recognize the path, which, in the case of the former,
● 531 is by this time revealed only in the names.

Among the Auetö the artistic form is already of primary importance; among the Bakaïrí the emphasis is still on the fact that the designs are likenesses. Better than all discussion, the strange situation among the Bakaïrí can be explained by one example among many, namely, the accompanying illustration of an oar covered with primitive "scribbles."

[825] The four circles are the ring marking of a ray, beyond the dividing line there follow mereschus in net meshes, then a pakú fish, and finally several "kuómi" fish, a design that does not occur elsewhere and the original model of which is a fish unfamiliar to me: pinukái, meréschu, páte, kuómi. I am far from wanting to maintain that these four designs in their assemblage have a meaning; at most I believe that the person who made them wanted to put fish on an oar. It is extremely instructive, however, to see that, even though these scribbles undoubtedly do not mean anything in association with one another, that is, are not hieroglyphics, nevertheless each one is by no means simply an arbitrary

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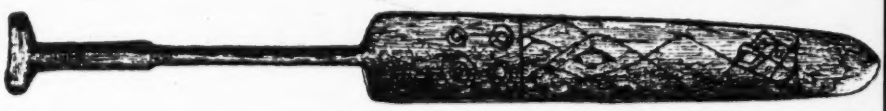

Fig. 51. Oar of the Bakaïrí. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Ray rings. Mereschu fish in the net. Pakú fish. Kuomi fish.

curlicue, but the pattern of a very definite object and thus actually represents the element of a hieroglyphic. We should never explain these patterns correctly by studying them; one must find out from the people themselves what they mean or simply give up. For my part, I have become extraordinarily humble about interpreting, but on the other hand, regard it as very superficial to dismiss as curlicues figures which we do not understand. Where /270/ figures are regularly repeated, where there are designs at all, one may be sure that the first people who drew them also had a definite model in mind, the meaning of which, however, their successors may have neglected and, under the influence of linguistic differentiation of what are now technical words, may have forgotten completely.

/270 cont./

000 Civilized man today begins even his first bungling efforts in the drawing art with triangles, squares, circles, and with these and similar figures our ancestors developed the science that is regarded as the highest; he does not see lines and geometric figures anywhere around him in nature -- therefore, he concludes, these fundamental concepts have sprung from his own rich inner self. That they could have originated from the models of pubic coverings, bats, or fish seems to him not only unworthy, but also a ridiculously roundabout course. For what is simpler than drawing a triangle? What is simpler, I reply, than counting to five? Even now the Bakairí explains each triangle that I draw for him as a picture of the uluri; he cannot yet count things without the help of his fingers. The number word "5" = hand, which is still found among many primitive peoples, corresponds exactly to the uluri - triangle, in both cases the inner perception of the pattern or the abstraction is derived only from the object, in both the concrete original has asserted its rights for a long time. Neither the facility with which we toss these ideas about nor the fact that the meaning of our number words has evaded all the probings of philology proves that our ancestors followed a course different from that of primitive peoples.

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The teacher of geometry today certainly need not take particular pleasure in an uluri in order to sketch a triangle. The uluri is a sort of archaeopteryx of mathematics. How should the flying bird appreciate the fact that it is descended from the creeping or, at best, fluttering reptiles? Nevertheless the bird's inability to understand this origin does not prove the least thing against it. In the same way nothing is proved if we who are excellent flyers in the heights of mathematics can scarcely imagine that earlier human beings were unable to rise to the minor achievement of producing a simple triangle by themselves.

Use of the ornamentation. On the weapons used -- there were only bows and arrows -- painted designs were scarcely applicable. The throwing stick, too, was decorated only with plaiting around it; a cork cone that was mounted on an arrow shaft as a tip exhibited the decoration of the mereschu design, cf. the illustration, page 91.

*171 411 531

/270 cont./

B *171 Otherwise it may be said that all festive adornment, insofar as it
531 offered suitable areas, was without exception painted with designs.
532 This is most noticeable on the masks, for which all tribes greatly preferred the mereschu, as will be shown in the more detailed description of masks.

B 531 /271/ I shall briefly enumerate the most characteristic ex-
[501] amples of decoration with designs. Among the Bakaïrí we saw a canoe painted with the ray rings and the zigzag of the anaconda. As for oars, apart from the one in Figure 51, we found only one
B where the snake design was applied or had been preserved. On
[534] the drum-tree lying in the third Bakaïrí village, besides the mereschu figures mentioned under bark drawings, there was a long fish-bone drawing painted on, like that of the first plate showing ornamentation /Pl. XX, see p. 280/. In the harbor of the Mehinakú, as I have also mentioned, several trees bore attractive mereschu designs scratched into them.

B 531 Among the Bakaïrí it was primarily the gourds that were
415 adorned with designs, the drinking bowls as well as the ball-shaped calabashes and the bottle-shaped ones that were used for storing feathers. /Figs. 52 and 53 appear here./ Sometimes the uluri design, sometimes the mereschu design covered them net-shaped, corresponding to the slice cut out at the stem of the calabashes, and also directly opposite, there was drawn a circle toward which the designs converged and of which a half-circle remained on the side when the gourds were cut in two for drinking bowls. On one specimen we saw that the mereschus had been pushed over one another in one corner, which gave the impression of plaiting. Occasionally mereschus and bats alternated and were differentiated
B only by the fact that in the case of the latter the corners were
[301] not filled in, like No. 10 on Plate 20. The back-sticks were all closely covered with designs, as described. Cf. page 296.

Y 171 Among the Nahuquá we were likewise particularly struck by
531 the decorated gourds, except that here principally the rattle-gourds used in the dance were decorated. Their whole painting did not amount to much. Yet it is possible that I underestimate them, because during our first visit they had moved out their household

Y /271 cont./
171 utensils and perhaps had still withheld some of them during our
531 second visit. This is not particularly likely, however, since they were very anxious to do business with us.

A The Auetö proved to be assiduous painters, surpassing the
531 Mehinakú and Kámayurá, especially the former. Among the
W Mehinakú, the gourds, which among the Kamayurá were pro-
[531] vided with attractive designs, fell behind the pots. The mandioca digging-sticks were decorated with mereschu designs
W and also, as we shall see, with carvings. Both are also extended
[412] to the beijú turners, with which the flat cakes were tossed from one side to the other. I am giving /272/ an example of a beijú turner from the Kamayurá (a) and one from the Yaulapiti (b), these poor devils who had nothing to offer us except four wooden beijú turners and only one stone-hard beijú. The Kamayurá artist enjoyed drawing the dividing lines more than the mereschus, which he dismisses with four halves. In this apt example, which will presently find its counterpart, one may clearly

B
415
531

Fig. 52. Drinking gourd (Bakaïrí) with mereschu and bat designs. (1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 53. Feather gourd (Bakaïrí) with mereschu design. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

A
531 see how the original motif is pushed aside, in the fullest sense of
000 the term, and ornamentation for its own sake takes over. The

/272 cont./

A W 531 beijú turner of the Yaulapiti shows half a mereschu above and below and, in the center, the armored fish decoration of the Auetö, about which, however, I do not know, as I do in the case of the mereschu, whether it has the same meaning among the Yaulapiti.

A W 283 531 B [283] [531] [239] The spindle whorl offers the richest material in the way of drawings among the Mehinakú, Auetö, and Kamayurá, in equal fashion. While the Bakaïrí had whorls of wood and clay, a disk cut out of the ventral carapace of the turtle was used predominantly here and was almost always decorated on one side and not infrequently on both sides. The design was scratched in with the tooth of the dogfish and smeared with saliva and charcoal.

A W [412]

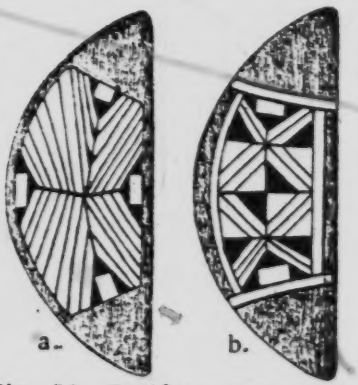

Fig. 54. Beijú turners.
a. Kamayurá, b. Yaulapiti.
(1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

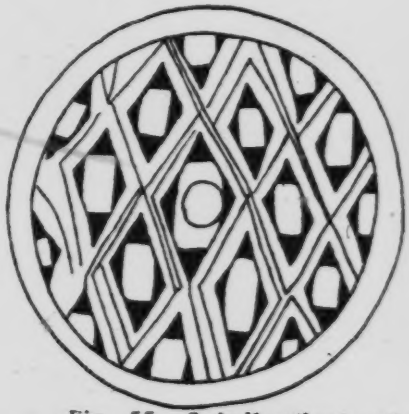

Fig. 55. Spindle whorl with mereschu design (Mehinakú.) (1/1 nat. size (as shown in the original illustration/.)

I have already reproduced two turtle spindle-whorls of the Mehinakú on page 291. A similar one of wood is shown in Figure 55. The designer ran into difficulties with his dividing lines. This type is the common one. Occasionally, however, we found whorls that show great progress. On the small work surface, a sure hand is developed and purely artistic motifs are produced. In order to demarcate the mereschus all around, a concentric circle used to be drawn close to the

A 283 531 /276 cont./
four halves, and the hole is surrounded by a fifth central one, as is often the case in the incised designs as well.

B *171 323 531 [532] Painting of the pots. On the clay bowls that represent animals, a drawing of the animal is sometimes copied; cf. Figure 87, the lizard pot, in the chapter on ceramic plastic art /see p. 333/. More often the medium-sized and large pots are painted, and, to be sure, on the outer wall, besides on the bottom, with parallel vertical stripes and designs. One sees applied especially often the tattooing lines of the Mehinakú, which go around the shoulder blades on the inside in angles or curves. Plate 15 /see p. 253/ with the large pots shows us this motif on the bottom of the pot in the upper left in an already richer form, in that the curves are not only double, as also occurs in the tattooing itself, /277/ but triple, and are painted with dots between the two inner ones and with serpentine zigzags between the two outer ones. Smaller curves, such as the women have tattooed on their arms, are applied above the center field, which is filled in with color. The pot bottom in the foreground contains a center circle with network and around it the serpentine zigzag as well as a few lines in the direction of the lateral stripes. The drawing is irregular enough to prevent us from seeing it as a "star," which the Indian woman did not have in mind.

ooo

III. Plastic Representation and Ceramics.

Introduction. Small chain-figures. Straw figures. Loam dolls. Wax figures. Wooden figures (dance birds and fish, mandioca digging-sticks, beijú turners, combs, stools). Pots.

B *171 532 The art of the Indians in imitating body forms is disproportionately more advanced than that of drawing. From the start, as Ricci also points out with respect to the efforts of children, it has the great advantage that the difficulties of perspective drop away. The parts may be clumsily worked out, but they are in their proper place; it is not necessary to put them in the wrong B [825] place in order to show them. Just as in drawing, indeed to a greater extent since the number of motifs is far more considerable,

/294 cont./

*171 ●531 532 825 In conclusion I shall list the animal motifs observed by us and shall add in what form they occur. F means plaited work, M maize bird, S carving, T pots, W wax, Z drawing, incising, or painting.

Mammals: Monkey (macaque) Z, S; (howling monkey) W. Bat (several species) Z, T. Jaguar Z, S. Irara marten T. Squirrel T. Agutí S. Capybara (teeth) F. Porcupine Z. Sloth T. Armadillo (giant armadillo, small species) T. Little anteater T. Swamp deer /Odocoileus dichotomus/ W. Roe deer F, T. Peccary W.

Birds: King vulture (red urubu) S. White urubu S. Harpy M. Falcon, sparrow hawk M, S, T. Owl T. Songbirds S. Swallow F, Z. Dove S, T, W. Partridge T. Wood hen T. Massarico S. Giant stork M, S. Tujujú stork M, S. Spoonbill S. Snake bird M.

Creeping animals and amphibians: Turtles (trakayá, jabutí, kágado) T, Z. Cayman Z. Iguana (also loam figure) T. Lizards (several species) T, Z. Snake (several species) S, Z. Toad F, T.

Fish: Armored sheatfish Z. Kuomi Z. Kurimatá Z. Lagoon fish T, Z. Matrincham Z. Mereschu Z. Nuki Z. Pakú Z. Piava D. Pintado sheatfish Z. Ray (two species) Z, S. Unidentified S, Z. Bones F, Z.

Insects and lower animals: Grasshopper Z. Digger wasp S. Tokandira ant Z. Tick T. Crayfish S, T. Asellus T.

All kinds of new motifs are added in the masks.

500 /295/

Chapter XI.

Mask Ornamentation and Dance Ornaments.

Preliminary remarks. I. Masks. Dancing and singing. "Idols"? Feasts and invitations. Participation of the women. Types of mummery. Bakaírí dances (makanári) and masks. Nahuquá (fish-net dance). Mehinakú (cayman dance). Auetö (koahálu dance, yakuíkatú dance). Kamayurá (hüvát dance). Trumaí. II. Common origin of the masks and the mereschu design. The

/302 cont./

535 framework of stalks in which sat small sanyassa birds amidst flocks of cotton, lizards plaited out of straw, as well as two sword-like pieces of wood painted black and white, which represented rattlesnakes -- /303/ all, except the circularly cutout ball-gourds, were provided with straw funnels for setting

[534] them on the head. In addition, rattle-gourds and foot-rattles made of hard fruit shells.

532 As for masks, I obtained in

535 Maigêri a longish oval mask of net plaiting with a beard of buriti fibers, a pendant of Orthalicus shells, and a wide-meshed net hood trimmed with curassow feathers. In the upper third, which is vertically intersected by a white stripe, but otherwise is painted red and dotted with black, there are the two eyes in the form of two straw rings; a band of straw borders the tongue-shaped nose which is on the edge above the eyes.

[531] The lower two thirds have a white loam background and on it exhibit the mereschu design in black and neatly drawn. The most striking thing, however, is the picture of a piava fish, tonfschi, which in the continuation of the stripe in the center of the face stands in the middle of the mereschu design. The black dotting of the upper part is probably also connected with it.

Fig. 93.
Net plaited-mask with piava fish. Bakaîrî.
(1/10 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

We obtained eight wooden masks, all with black, red, and usually also white painting. They are heavy, flat wooden plates

[302] laboriously worked out with the stone ax, out of which the forehead part projects with considerable curvature.

/322 cont./

*171 Nowadays the design has become purely ornamental. There
● 531 is no direct, inherent connection between the mandioca digging
825 sticks and the little lagoon fish. But one thing will have to be admitted. The significance of the little fish grew far beyond what it was originally because it recalled happy days of festivity; all industry having to do with drinking, feasting, and adornment seized upon it. Thus, there is good reason why the large gourds and calabashes in which the pogu is served, the beijũ turners with which the hospitable cakes are tirelessly turned on such days, the gourd vessels in which the gorgeous feathers were kept, the rattle-gourds waved for the dance, the spindle whorls with which the thread for the woven masks was spun, why all these and similar things were decorated with the mereschu fish. The origin of ornamentation lies in a motivated feeling, and it is only when its manifestations have become numerous and trivial that no one sees anything but figure and color. The favorite pictures of our people appear after all on colored handkerchiefs. The mereschu design was able to spread from tribe to tribe and became established everywhere just because it grew out of the festival dances, in which all the tribes joined.

/323/ Yet it should not be forgotten that the Indian even
[562] today remains aware of the concrete original. The Bakaīrí does
[535] not put a mereschu fish on his masks, with the exception of the gull mask, Figure 44, and the fish makanari, Figure 93, and among other tribes too -- see the wax masks of the Auetõ and the black, white, and red masks of the Trumaí -- there are distinct differences which I am unable to define more specifically. In the beginning, the fish was not appropriate in all the cases where today the rhombus has already crept in or will creep in soon.

*171 One must now ask the question: if the woven masks and the
53 mereschu design go back to the fish net, are there any facts for determining which tribe was the inventor? The mereschu fish was designated to me as a "lagoon fish" (we ate it among the Yaulapiti), but it occurs everywhere in our area, even in the
[226] Paranatinga. Fishing with nets is also practiced by all tribes.

/423 cont./

the black. If one examines the collections in the Museum für Völkerkunde, which are still free of blue embroidery beads and fabrics, one will understand the entire situation at a glance. There on the painted implements one finds only red, yellow, white, and black, and the feather ornamentation also shows green and blue; it shows both colors in brilliant purity, but unsorted, arbitrarily blended together in any fashion, and, with the other colors, in a luminous total picture which invites general admiration but not detailed analysis. In modern art this is called a color symphony, and it is understandable that from a symphony one does not learn scales. In the soul of the Indian it looks the same as in a shop window. The only blue and green he has at home is in the shape of his parakeets and parrots or similar ornamental birds, and so he takes their name for the color name, which suffices for blue and green.

He always definitely made one distinction between blue and green: he ranked blue, but not green, with black or dark. Why does he not sometimes also call a green "black-dark"? The only reason seems to be that cases where a green is so striking that it is used as the distinguishing feature of a designation are very rare, aside from the parrots themselves, as the lists show, and then it is always a matter of a luminous parrot-green. On the other hand, among the animals distinguished with "black-dark" = blue, the dark blue always predominates; thus, even the arararuna, probably the lightest of these, has, according to Brehm, "all upper parts along with the tail-coverts dark sky-blue"; the feathers often have even a very blackish shade on the outer part of the vane, and only when the bird is flying along bathed in full sunlight does a lighter, misty azure become notable.

/424/

Chapter XVI.
The Paressí.

On the history of the Paressí and tribes related to them. Our visitors. Language. Anthropological. On the ethnography (dress, ethnographic yields, intoxicating beverages, dance

/20 cont./

114 look at this settlement situated on the left side of the Rio Novo.
36) The main aldea of these Indians, which consisted of five ranchos, was at a distance of three turns of the river from the small Brazilian pueblo of Rio Novo situated on the right side of the
[648] river. At this place I met Mr. Eliseu, who then held the title of subdirector over the Bakairí.

114 Conditions among the Rio Novo Bakairí had hardly changed
178 since the time when Karl von den Steinen described them.
622 Also, the population, which I estimated at 60 individuals, was
[162] more or less the same. Reginaldo, who had meanwhile become an old man, was still cacique of the two communities of Rio Novo Bakairí. Plate V of my book Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien presents a photograph taken in the aldea of these Indians showing Cacique Reginaldo with his wife in the midst of several other Bakairí, standing in front of the door of his house. The book which he holds in his hand is the work Durch Centralbrasilien, published by Karl von den Steinen, in which he is also represented in a drawing and at which he is
114 looking with great interest. In the aldea there were still various
178 objects which were products of typical Bakairí work, such as for
[285] example the large baskets of twigs /banastas/ woven in the an-
531 cestral way, and other kinds of baskets which matched exactly
184 in terms of technique and decoration those made by the Bakairí
[411] of the tributaries of the Xingu River. (27) The Rio Novo Bakairí

27. Cf. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., Fig. 174, p. 347.

also still used, besides firearms, bows and arrows for hunting, and these corresponded exactly to those of their fellow country-
179 men of the Xingu River region. But outside of these objects,
231 made in native fashion, these Bakairí had been changed completely into Brazilian campesinos as a result of the fact that

323 /35 cont./
[126] specimens collected by Karl von den Steinen which were said to
[532] represent bats. To the basic, dark color of the outer surface of
[531] the vessel, brown paint is applied on the walls in parallel vertical strips and on the bottom of the vessel in curved lines emerging from the circumference of a circle whose center is the center of the pot bottom. The height of this pot reaches 10.5 cm. and the diameter of its upper rim, 26.5 cm. Two other fired clay vessels, both smaller, are represented in Figures 26 and 27, one of which (V.B. 9877) has a height of 11.5 cm. and an upper rim diameter of 26 cm., and the other (V.B. 9874) a height of 12.5 cm. and an upper rim diameter of 20 cm. Of the other objects from the region of the upper Xingu River
301 most were ornaments. The necklace shown in Figure 24 (V.B.
126 9957) and made of small shell disks (diameter: 0.8 cm.) and a large stone bead was given to me in Simões Lopes by my old friend, the Bakairí, Karía, as a particularly precious object from former times. Other ornamental objects in my collection are shown in the following photographs:

Figure 24, a. A necklace of small shell plates /chapitas/ (V.B. 9956. Length of the plates, 2.5 cm.).

/36/ Figure 23, c. A necklace of shell disks with a zoomorphic (bird) pendant of fruit rind (V.B. 9954).

Figure 23, b. Zoomorphic stone pendant for a necklace.

Figure 23, a. Feather diadem. (V.B. 9968.) Length 36 cm. Width 8 cm.

285 Among the cultural goods of the Bakairí which we must
184 also regard as products of the native industry, but which, in contrast with those just described, were apparently made by the Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post themselves, we may point out first of all the various kinds of plaited objects, because they will serve to complement on various points my previous publications on Bakairí plaited objects. (44) For this reason I shall

[113] 44. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., pp. 330-371.

/36 cont./

535 Cacique Pires' house, where they were used in the dance fiestas
126 staged at specific times by the Xinguanos. The fire-engraved
[531] embellishments enhanced with black paint are wholly ancestral. Besides circles and spirals they also include other decorative elements of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí. The length of these sticks reaches from 76 cm. to 100 cm. and their diameter from 1.7 cm. to 4.5 cm.

532 Of the figures made of maize husks, such as the Bakairí
126 of the upper Xingu River tributaries had in former times, I found two specimens in the settlement of Xinguanos on the Rio Paranatinga, which represent birds (V.B. 9964 and 9965. Length 15 cm.) A ball made of husks of ears of maize (V.B. 9966. Length 21 cm.) such as was used by the Bakairí of the Kulisehu in general for their game with a ball, which they called tóju, is shown in Figure 31, b.

126 Small figures in the form of the human figure shown on
532 Figure 23, d (V.B. 9961. Length 10 cm.) were placed, in
751 Simões Lopes, around the /37/ necks of newborn babies to protect them from illness. I had acquired a good, old specimen of such a figure which was tied with an animal claw from the necklace of the little girl of a woman belonging to the Bakairí who had moved from the Rio Novo. A day later she came with her child to ask me to return to her the necklace with the pendant, because the child had fallen ill after the loss of the necklace. She exchanged the old figure for the new one shown in Figure 23, d.

211 Finally, I must still mention the notched board shown on
194 Figure 31, a (V.B. 9969. Length 23.5 cm.) Since such boards,
177 probably intended as mnemonic aids, are not found among the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River tributaries, we must assume that this case is an instance of foreign influence in later times.

/37 cont./

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III. Plaited Objects of the Bakairí in Simões Lopes

Most of the plaited objects that I acquired from the Bakairí in Simões Lopes belong to that kind of plaiting which I called in my respective previous publications Stufengeflecht (stepped plaiting).

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The two fire fans shown in Figures 35 a and 35 b (a: (above) V.B. 9918. Length of the upper rim 45 cm. Width 19 cm. b. (below) V.B. 9919. Length of the upper rim 43 cm. Width 17.5 cm.) are similar in their external form to those, with which we are familiar, of the Kulisehu Bakairí of former times, but in regard to technique they already show certain signs of degeneration. In the chapter "Geflechte und Geflechtsornamentik im Xingú-Quellgebiet /Plaited Objects and Their Ornamentation in the Headwater Region of the Xingu/" in my already-mentioned book, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, I dealt at length with the technique used in the construction of such fire fans, because these plaited objects were especially suitable to show the dependence of the ornamentation of plaited objects on the technique of plaiting used in their construction. It is possible to determine exactly the specific units in the plaited object and the order in which they were successively fashioned, and the specimens shown in photographs in the work mentioned clearly reveal how the ornamental lines between these specific units of the plaited article and, successively, the overall ornamentation of the respective fans, are intimately bound to the technical conditions of the plaiting. Thus, in all fans of this kind /obtained/ from the Kulisehu Indians, the two triangular units of the plaited object, which begin with their bases on the two sides of the lower edge of the object, are striped horizontally, that is to say, parallel to the lower edge, while the middle part of the fan, which integrates /?/ the beginning of the plaited object and is shaped like a square resting on its corner, is usually striped vertically.

[178]

[531]

/37 cont./

285 As shown by the fan represented in the photograph in Figure 191
372 of the above-mentioned book, there are cases where this middle
531 part is striped horizontally without this leading to /38/ technical complications, and as in these cases also the two triangular units of the object, which begin with their bases on the two sides of the lower edge of the fan, are for technical reasons striped horizontally, all of these plaited units in this fan have the same ornamental striping. But the vertical striping that runs throughout the fan represented in Figure 154, a /35 top?/ and coming from Simões Lopes is incompatible with the technical conditions of the ancestral forms of these plaited objects. The structure of the plaiting of this fan shows that it, too, was plaited so that the work began in the middle part of the fan in the shape of a square resting on one corner, and then the two lower triangles were made by folding and plaiting the free
285 ends of the fibers used to make the middle part. Among the
372 numerous specimens of such fans at the Berlin Ethnographic Museum, there are none whose triangular parts at the lower
178 base of the fan show striping going in a vertical direction, and
531 the imperfection of the lower edge of the fan from Simões Lopes, in comparison with the firm, smooth edges of the fans from the Kulisehu Bakairí, clearly shows that in the case of the fan from Simões Lopes we are dealing with a degeneration of the Bakairí plaiting techniques, which in times past was more skillful and more dependent on certain principles. The fine fan shown in Figure 154, b /35 bottom?/ also contains, in spite of its superficial good looks, so many imperfections in the ornamentation and so many irregularities in the structure of the plaiting that its later origin is at once evident.

285 There is a great similarity, we might even say identity,
184 between the flat baskets acquired in Simões Lopes and those
171 which the Bakairi of the upper Xingu tributaries made in former times. The flat basket shown in Figure 36 (V.B. 9909.
531 Diameter 51 cm.) is surprisingly similar to such a basket collected by Herrmann Meyer from the Nahukuá and described

285 /38 cont./
184 by me elsewhere. (45) Both baskets are woven of the fibers of
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531

45. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, pp. 349-351 and Fig. 176.

buriti leaves, whose stalks protrude at one side of the basket, and the rim is emphasized by a wooden hoop. These two baskets differ only in their ornamentation: that of the basket from the Simões Lopes Bakairí consisting of a simple striping that runs through the entire basket in the same direction, whereas the plaiting of the specimen acquired by Herrmann Meyer from the Nahukuá consists of several units which contrast among themselves in the opposite orientation of their striping, so that on the surface of the basket appears the rhomboidal ornamentation common among those Indians. Although up to now a specimen of a basket similar to this one was unknown among the Bakairí, we should not regard the flat basket shown in Figure 36 as a product of the Nahukuá, because the cultural goods of these two tribes, which are also related with respect to language, shows on the whole great similarities.

285 /39/ The flat, round basket shown in Figure 37 and called
184 by the Kulisehu Bakairí apa (V.B. 9906. Diameter 36 cm.
531 Height 10 cm.) must be held in terms of technique and ornamentation as a faultless product of the ancestral Bakairí art of plaiting. The technique of this basket and its rhomboidal ornamentation running symmetrically over its entire surface and emphasized further by the different color of the respective fibers of the plaiting oriented vertically and horizontally, are similar to a specimen acquired by Herrmann Meyer from the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí shown in a photograph in my already-mentioned publication. (46) There are only unimportant

46. Ibid., p. 350, Fig. 177.

/39 cont./

285 184 531

differences in the ornamentation of these two flat baskets: the small rhombs of the flat basket from Simões Lopes are white with a black dot in the middle and are surrounded by two black squares and one white square, while the rhombs of the other basket are black with a white dot in the middle and are surrounded only by a white square and a black one. Technically, this difference is explained by the fact that each plaited unit of the basket from Simões Lopes, marked by the ornamental striping running in the same direction, consists of 12 fibers going vertically and 12 fibers going horizontally, whereas the number of each one of these two groups of fibers in the flat basket from the Rio Kulisehu is nine. Otherwise, the two baskets differ in the way in which one of the two groups of fibers (vertical or horizontal) of the plaiting has been colored black. Both baskets are plaited in such a way that the respective stem fibers in one of the two groups of these fibers are placed with their outer, smooth surface above and their inner, rough surface under, while the fibers of the other group, running vertically to the fibers of the first group, are placed with their rough surface above and their smooth surface under. But the way in which the black coloring of the rough surface of these fibers is done is different in the two baskets. In the flat basket from Simões Lopes the rough surface of the plaiting fibers is stained black before they are plaited, whereas the coloring of the flat basket from the Rio Kulisehu is done in such a way that the entire basket, plaited as described above but without prior dyeing of the rough surface of the respective fibers, is stained with soot and washed immediately. Through washing the soot disappeared from the parts of the surface of the basket formed by the smooth surface of the plaiting fibers, while the parts where the fibers appear with their rough surface at the surface of the basket remained black. The way of forming a pretty border with the free ends of the plaiting fibers emerging from its upper edge is the same in both baskets.

/39 cont./

184 285 177 531 171

The basket from the Simões Lopes Bakairí shown in Figure 38 (V.B. 9907. Diameter 26 cm. Height 6.5 cm.) must be held as a transitional product of a new age. In its /40/ external form and its rim, formed with the ends of the plaiting fibers, it is altogether similar to the basket just described. Its peculiarity consists in that, along with the rhomboidal ornamentation common among the Bakairí, it also presents a winding /given in Portuguese, meandro/ ornamentation. It was characteristic of the Bakairí of the upper Xingu tributaries that in the ornamentation of their plaited objects and in the ornamentation derived from the latter, the winding pattern was almost nonexistent, while this decoration is common, for example, in the ornamentation of the Kayabí, neighbors of the Bakairí, and also appears sporadically in the ornamentation of other tribes neighboring on the Bakairí, in the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River. Thus we must regard the winding pattern which appears on the surface of the flat basket from the Simões Lopes Bakairí as an element alien to typical Bakairí ornamentation and introduced to them through the influence of other tribes. Since there were Kayabí women among the Paranatinga Bakairí, it may be assumed that they introduced this new decoration to the Bakairí. The diagram in Figure 47 shows that in this basket, too, the winding lines of the ornamentation of the plaiting were formed in the usual way whereby in certain parts of the plaiting the individual square units are placed in such a way that four of them do not touch corners in the same spot, while in those areas of the work where this does occur, there appear the rhomboidal or cross-shaped decorations common among the Bakairí. The fact that in this case a foreign influence is involved is also derived from the various irregularities in the weaving structure, which contrasts to the well formed plaited work of the Bakairí in former times. The workmanship in this basket conveys the impression that the Bakairí in this case accepted the new decoration without being sufficiently familiar with its technical conditions to produce a more accomplished

/40 cont./

184 work, as also occurs often among other tribes in the process of
285 transition in their cultural goods. The diagram in Figure 47
179 shows that, in the middle of the basket, a secondary fiber was
•531 added arbitrarily to the other fibers that formed the plaited
171 object, and that the triple mesh plaiting is changed several times into double mesh. Important irregularities occur, especially in the center of one of the rhomboidal figures.

285 The basket shown in Figure 39 and called by the Bakairí
531 humureba (V.B. 9885. Height 14 cm. Width of the bottom 20 cm. Width of the upper rim 28 cm.) is a good example of those plaited objects from the Simões Lopes Bakairí which were made strictly in accordance with ancestral Bakairí technique. I have dealt at length elsewhere (47) with this type of basketry, which

47. Max Schmidt, "Die technischen Voraussetzungen in der Ornamentik der Eingeborenen Südamerikas," loc. cit., pp. 157-158. Idem., Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 355, Fig. 180.

is also common among other Indian tribes, and shown that in such cases the beginning of the plaiting consists of a square flat piece the middle part of which forms the bottom of the basket, while the four corners are folded upward to form the four walls of the basket. In order to obtain uniform striping of the four walls, the square piece which forms the beginning of the basket must consist of at least four square units marked /41/ by two changes of the direction of the striping and with their four inner corners meeting in the middle of the bottom of the basket so that, in accordance with the two combination possibilities, the common decorative elements of the rhomboidal form or the shape of a cross results. If the surface of the bottom of the basket shows the rhomboidal ornamentation, as does the basket from Simões Lopes (see diagram for Figure 39), the

/41 cont./

285 walls of the resulting basket will show uniform striping running
● 531 horizontally, while a basket the walls of which show striping running vertically will result if the surface of the bottom has a cross-shaped decorative element. (Cf. the basket shown in a photograph in my above-mentioned book (48).)

48. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 354, Fig. 180.

285 Already on my trip made in the year 1901, I found among
184 the Kulisehu Bakairí a kind of basket which, in its external
531 form, corresponds to the basket just described but which, in terms of the structure of the plaiting of its bottom suggests a completely different beginning of the plaiting. (49) A hoop

49. Ibid., pp. 360-362.

for adorning the head brought by me from the same Bakairí shows, instead of the usual decorative elements of these Indians, the special figure that appears in the middle of the bottom of
[114] these baskets.(50) See the diagram shown in Figure 50. On my
[126]

50. Ibid., p. 414, Fig. 272.

last trip, made in the year 1927, I acquired from the Bakairí of Simões Lopes several specimens of such baskets. Of the three specimens of baskets of this kind shown in Figures 40 (V.B. 9890. Height 17 cm. Width of the bottom 30 cm. Width of the upper rim 33 cm.), 41 (V.B. 9889. Height 18 cm. Width of the bottom 21 cm. Width of the upper rim 28.5 cm.), and 42 (V.B. 9880. Height 25 cm. Width of the bottom 21 cm. Width of the upper rim 33 cm.), each shows a different structure of plaiting in the center of the bottom of the basket: that of the basket shown in Figure 40 has four

/41 cont./

285 three-step figures (cf. diagram in Figure 51), that of the basket
184 in Figure 41, four four-step figures (cf. diagram in Figure 52),
● 53) and that of the basket in Figure 42 four five-step figures (cf. diagram in Figure 50).

With the whole leaf of the buriti palm, the Simões Lopes Bakairí made, besides the flat baskets described above, ordinary baskets also, and this in two different forms depending on whether only one palm leaf or two palm leaves were used to make the plaited object.

[126] Of such baskets made from a single leaf, no specimens are known from the Bakairí of the upper Xingu tributaries, but I acquired such a specimen in the year 1901 from the Rio Novo Bakairí, which I have described and shown in a photograph in the above-mentioned work. (51) But it is likely that the Bakairí

51. Ibid., pp. 347-348
Figs. 174-175.

of the upper Xingu tributaries also had baskets of this type in former times and that this was not noted by the respective explorers. The /42/ Kulisehu Bakairi called this kind of basket very common among the Bakairí of Simões Lopes, korá. Of the specimens acquired in Simões Lopes, one is shown in Figure 43 (V.B. 9900. Height 24 cm. Width 25 cm.). The making of such baskets proceeds as follows: the leaf strands are divided into two groups and the strands in the first group are plaited with those in the second group, in twill fashion and beginning with the middle strands. The plaiting, of single mesh to quadruple mesh, presents the characteristic striping of strip plaiting, at first going in a vertical direction but passing to the horizontal direction in the second unit of plaiting formed on the front side on the edge of the leaf by folding the free ends of the strands and plaiting them in the opposite direction. Cf. the diagram shown in Figure 53.

/42 cont./

285 184 53 [126]

Of the baskets plaited of two buriti palm leaves, called by the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí bo'idéju, several specimens were already known from the Bakairí of the upper Xingu tributaries, which are similar with respect to their form and manner of plaiting, on the whole, to the baskets which I acquired from the Simões Lopes Bakairí. In these baskets, too, of which three specimens are shown in photographs in Figures 44-46 (V.B. 9899. Height 36 cm. Width 32 cm. V.B. 9904. Height 32 cm. Width 34 cm. V.B. 9901. Height 37 cm. Width 34 cm.), the plaiting consists of single mesh or triple mesh. I have described the plaiting technique *used in these baskets at length* in my above-mentioned book, (52) with the aid of a diagram,

52. Ibid., pp. 356-359, Figs. 182-184.

and I have shown that the beginning of the plaiting is formed by two square plaited units, of which one situated at the front side of the basket (square ABCD in the diagram in Figure 48) is plaited from the strands of half of each of the two leaves, and the other unit, situated at the back side of the basket (square AEIG in the diagram), /is woven/ from the other half of each of the two leaves. These two square units of plaiting, placed corner to corner, and, in their original position, placed one before the other, are united by two other units of plaiting made from the free fibers of the first two units (squares ADHG and ABFE in the diagram), in such a way that these four square units together form one unit (square HIFC in the diagram) the size of which is twice that of the two original units. While the four corners of this unit of plaiting (square HIFC in the diagram) are folded upward in a vertical position (triangles DBC, BFE, EIG, and GDH in the diagram) and serve as parts of the four walls of the basket, the bottom of the basket is formed by the middle part of this unit (square GEBD in the diagram) which

/42 cont./
285 remains in a horizontal position. The plaiting of the basket
184 acquired by me from the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí and that of the
53 Simões Lopes basket shown in Figure 44 consist solely of such
[126] a square plaited unit whose corners are folded upward to serve as walls for the basket, without the addition of other plaited units to /43/ complete the four walls of the basket. But the two baskets from Simões Lopes shown in Figures 45 and 46 present a more advanced form of this type of basketry in so far as the four blank spaces which appear between the four triangular parts folded upward to serve as part of the walls are filled secondarily to complete the plaiting up to the upper rim of the basket. Since the free ends of the fibers in a plaiting done in this manner all come out at the upper rim of the basket, it is possible, in order to secure them in this place, to fashion a very even and solid rim from which emerge, on both front sides, the ends of the stalks of the two buriti leaves used in the plaiting.

An interesting contribution to the problem of the dependence of basketry ornamentation on technique, and of the derivation of ornamentation from technique, is furnished by a comparison of the two baskets from Simões Lopes shown in Figure 45 and 46. The ornamentation of these two baskets is basically different from that of baskets of which plaiting is formed by loose fibers, such as that of the baskets shown in Figures 39-42. These baskets are also plaited in such a way that a flat square forms the beginning of the basket with the middle part forming the bottom of the basket and the four corners, folded upward, forming parts of the four walls. But by the fact that this flat square of plaiting is composed, in turn, of four plaited units marked by different directions of the striping of its ornamentation, uniform striping is achieved for all four walls, since in this case the striping in the four corners of the main unit, when folded upward, runs in the same direction. With regard to the Bakairí baskets woven of two buriti leaves, such uniformity in the

/43 cont./

285 184 531

striping of the walls has not been achieved because the square unit which forms the beginning of the object, in this case, contains only one diagonal stripe running in the same direction. The binding of the strands to the stalks of the leaves, which determines to a large degree the formation of the beginning of the basket, has placed a limitation, in this case, on the development of the formation of more complex units of the plaiting. The diagram in Figure 48 shows that of the four triangular corners of the flat square striped in only one direction, when folded upward, one pair (triangles GDH and BEF) present striping going in a horizontal direction and the other pair (triangles DBC and EGI in the diagram), striping going in a vertical direction. This condition also holds for the two baskets shown in Figures 45 and 46. In order to explain this more easily, I refer once more to the diagram in Figure 48. In this diagram the square GEBD comprises the plaited unit that forms the bottom. In the basket shown in Figure 46, the part of the front wall which is striped vertically corresponds to triangle DBC in the diagram, and the corresponding part of the back wall, not visible in the photograph, to triangle GEI. The corresponding parts of the two lateral walls of the basket present, in accordance with triangles EBE and DGH in the diagram, horizontal striping which also continues in the plaited complements done to fill out the remaining gaps in the four walls of the basket, /44/ so that the parts of the walls which must be regarded as accessory supplements to them present horizontal striping. The ornamentation of the basket shown in Figure 45 differs from that of the basket just described in the direction of the striping in specific parts of the walls, with those parts which are striped vertically in the basket shown in Figure 46 being striped horizontally, and vice versa. This variation of the ornamentation is brought about by the way in which the diagonal striping in the flat square which forms the beginning of the plaiting goes toward the other diagonal line in this square unit, so that the middle part of the front wall and that of the back wall present striping running in a horizontal

285
●537 /44 cont./
184 direction, while the corresponding parts of the lateral walls and corresponding plaited supplements have vertical striping.

285 Examples of the kind of plaiting called by me in my
227 respective previous publications Doppelfadengeflechte (double-
184 thread plaiting) are represented by the fish trap shown in Figure 54 and the flat basket shown in Figure 55. Fish traps like the one shown in Figure 54 (V.B. 9914. Length 54 cm. Diameter of the upper rim 25 cm.) were very common among the Bakairí of the upper Xingu tributaries, and the Berlin Ethnographic Museum possesses several specimens collected by Karl von den Steinen, who mentions them briefly in his above-mentioned book, Unter den Natürvolkern Zentral-Brasiliens. (53) He says

53. Karl v.d. Steinen, Unter den Natürvolkern Zentral-Brasiliens, loc. cit., p. 236.

there: "As for fish traps, there were two kinds: one called by the Bakairí puroschi was broader and had rectangular intermediary spaces, while the other, called tanaschi, was narrow and long and had high, large meshes oriented vertically." In Karl von den Steinen's book, there is no drawing or photograph of such
126 a fish trap. The specimen which I got from the Simões Lopes Bakairí and which they call tikíshi consists of slender twigs bound at regular intervals by a double strand which, starting at the bottom, goes through the twigs in spiral fashion. A funnel-shaped entrance made of thicker twigs is placed at the upper edge.

285 The flat basket shown in Figure 55 (Length 65 cm. Width 37 cm.) serves to store fish and consists of a wooden hoop filled in with double-thread plaiting in the form of a small mat like those the Bakairí used to strain their liquids.

Finally, I must mention the small basket shown in Figure 56 (V.B. 9891. Height 20 cm. Width of the upper rim 19 cm.)

4:Schmidt--73 F-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate XV

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531

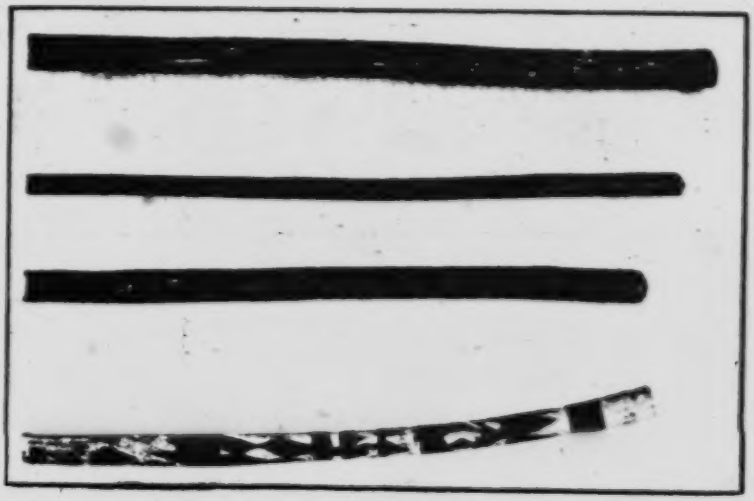

Fig. 33. a-d. Dance sticks of the Xinguanos in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 34, a-d. Dance sticks of the Xinguanos in Simões Lopes.

4:Schmidt--75 F-5 (1901, 192[illegible]-1934) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate XVII

285
531

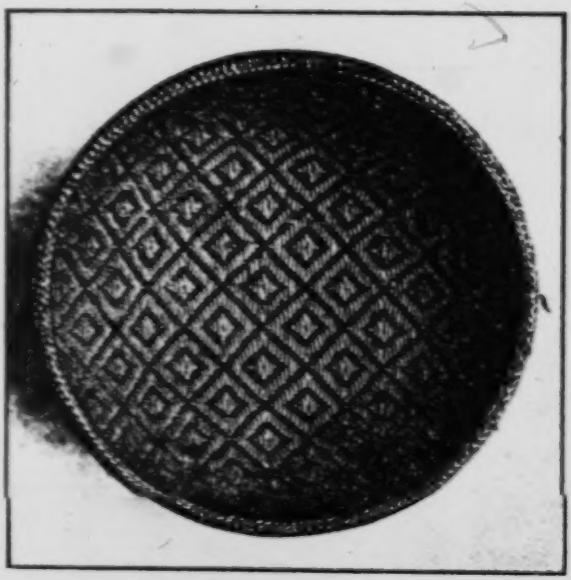

Fig. 37. Flat basket. Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

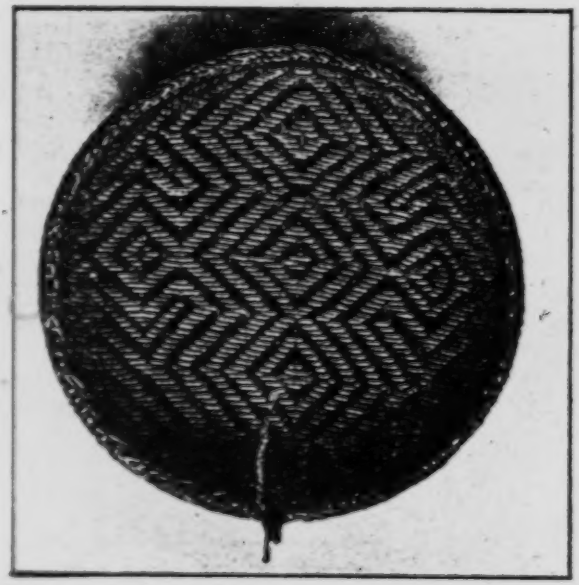

Fig. 38. Flat basket. Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

4:Schmidt--79 F-5 (1901 192?-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate
XXI

285
531

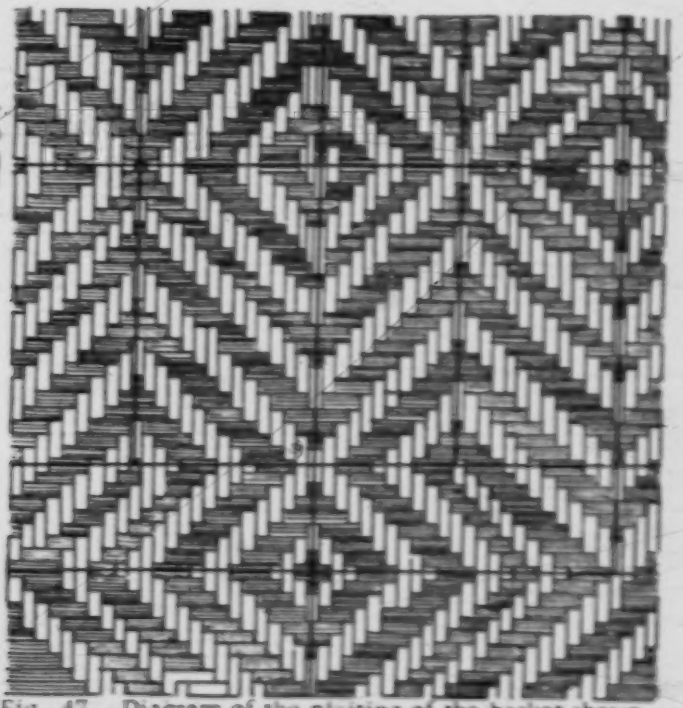

Fig. 47. Diagram of the plaiting of the basket shown in Fig. 38.

285

Fig. 48. Diagram of the technique of the baskets plaited from two buriti leaves.

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53i

Plate XXII

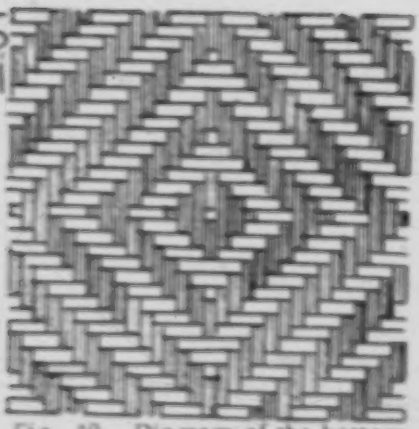


Fig. 49. Diagram of the bottom of the basket shown in Fig. 39.

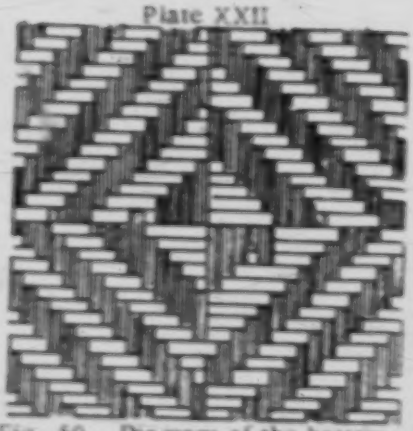
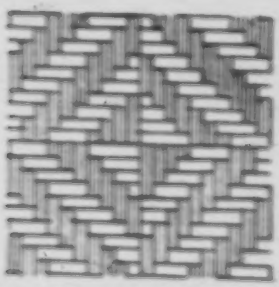


Fig. 50. Diagram of the bottom of the basket shown in Fig. 42



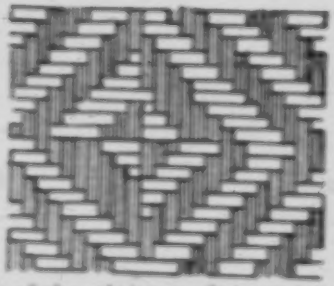


Fig. 51 and 52. Diagram of the plaiting of the bottom of the baskets shown in Fig. 40 and 41, respectively.

285

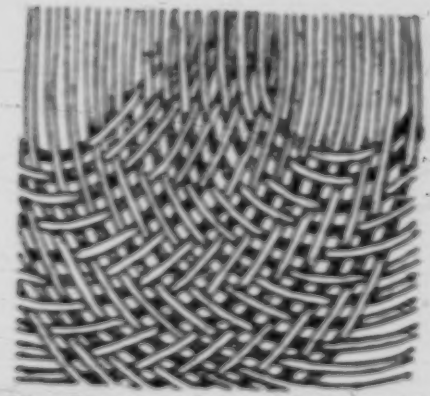


Fig. 53. Diagram of the technique of the baskets woven from only one betti leaf.

/267 cont./

756 262 785 In regard to initiation, Karl von den Steinen tells us that the candidate had to subsist solely on starch broth, hit himself continually on the head, and at the same time scratch his arms and chest until blood ran. (14) On the other hand,

14. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., pp. 440-441.

276 Capistrano de Abreu relates that the novice had to swallow "drugs such as timbo, pindova, vaimbé, and other cipos" and learn the language of karoui. On the day of the initiation the candidate would go for a walk with his master, who gave him the infusion to drink. (15)

15. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 235-238.

796 The Bakairí had quite an elaborate ceremonial system, as may be inferred from the information obtained /268/ the Indians of Simões Lopes. Dancing and singing were done not only when there was an abundance of food or when economic activities permitted it, but especially at times such as the maize harvest, or the occasion when the ears of the boys about to be secluded were pierced, or at times of the celebration of the tadaunúto, or end of the uanki state, the building of houses, the beginning of the clearing of a field, or finally the distribution of cotton among the women. On those occasions 574 neighboring groups were invited and the festivities lasted for 534 days. Bakairí musical instruments consisted of bamboo flutes and bells for the feet made of piquí shells. The informants recalled four kinds of flutes: enimi and kanagera, sacred flutes kept hidden from the eyes of women and children, and tadãua and nakigoro, used in secular festivities. 531 The Bakairí also had gourds filled with seeds or stones, called pako, and wooden sticks decorated with geometric designs.

Bacairí

323 pots are quite distinct from the pottery of the Indians living on the Upper Paraguay River. Bacairí pots are flat-bottomed and have straight vertical walls with everted rims. The pots in common use were, and still are, black in color, unglazed, and undecorated. Some of the pots [532] seen were made in the forms of frogs, turtles, fish, and birds. The Bacairí claim that they [531] formerly had decorated pottery called *amúga*, painted with black, gray, red, and brown designs.

476 The Bacairí also had economic activities in which the whole village, or a number of communal houses, participated. The *kometé*, or col-
241 476 lective land clearing, was one of these. A man would invite a large number of relatives and friends to assist him in clearing a new piece of forest land. The women would participate by pre- [262] paring large amounts of food and honey beverage
423 476 for the workers. The new field would remain the property of the man who initiated the *kometé*, obligating him to work in return if called upon, but sometimes the group of men who cleared the field would divide it among them.

342 476 House building was always an enterprise in which the whole village took part. The group that was interested in raising the house cut the beams and poles necessary for the framework and prepared large quantities of food. While a certain number of men began to put up the framework, others went to gather grass for thatching. When they returned with the thatching they put [533] on their ceremonial decorations and danced the *mahulawíri* dance. House building was thus not only an economic act but also a ceremonial occasion.

286 476 Hammock weaving was, at times, a collective enterprise. A woman with a larger than usual cotton crop distributed cotton among her friends and when the work was completed she organized a feast and dance.

437 620 574 [622] Ceremonial trading expeditions (*tulíki*) were organized by the chief of the village. During the rainy seasons, when the rivers were high and canoe travel easy, the men of a village would collect whatever excess goods they had, such as bows, baskets, ornaments, hammocks, and even food, and would go to a neighboring village where the chief would receive them before the ceremonial house. The two chiefs would then supervise the exchange of commodities. After the trading was

3;Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo

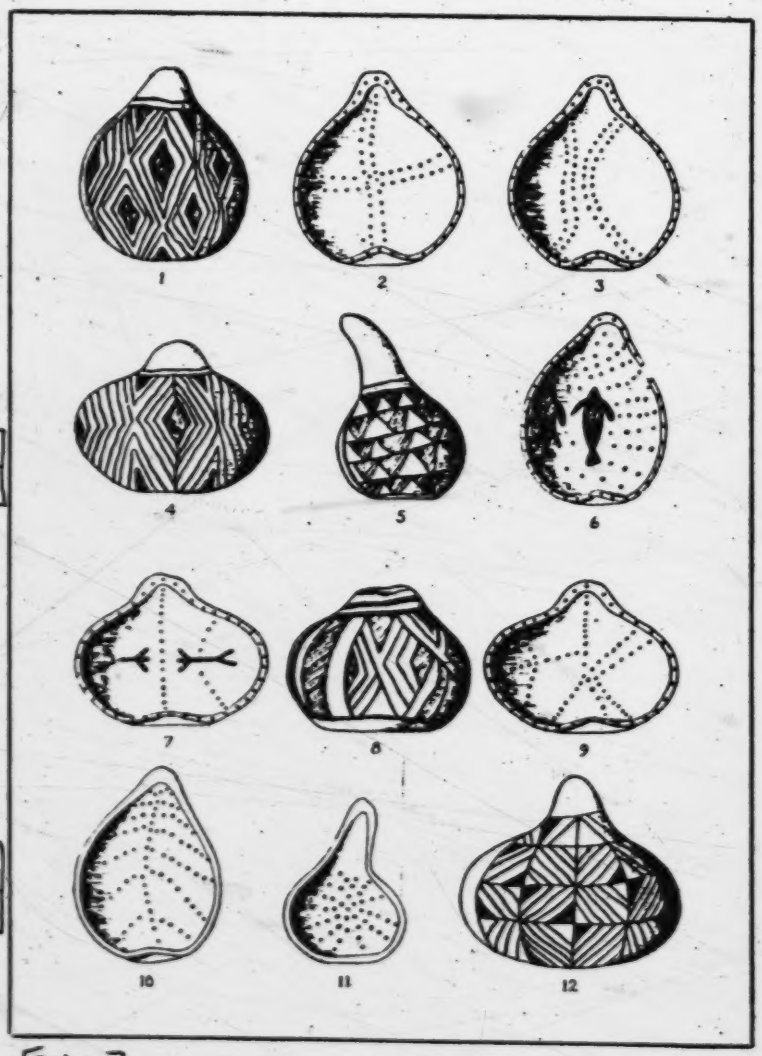
Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25
Waura SP18

PLATE XXIII

Y
105
171
415
531

B
[415
531]

W
[415
531]



[P. 178]

[for captions, see cat. 116, p. 89.]

1: Steinen--34 D E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Eleventh Chapter

The Wild Bakaïrí. The Kustenaú /Custenau/.

122
133

After all kinds of troubles during the morning, we traveled for a stretch without difficulties on the afternoon of 11 August, and again there was heard the rumble of the cachoeira /cataract; see the glossary, p. 170 /, which by this time had become positively gruesome for us all. To our joyous amazement we found an Indian canoe on the left shore. Below a beautiful waterfall poured forth on two ledges; poles and steps were set in it; it foamed and churned in a basin, only to form another level farther below.

[487]

122 For the moment, however, we have no eye for the salto; where are the Indians? We all gather, leave behind three men to guard the canoes, and push forward, gun in hand. -- The ground is strewn with jatobá /see the glossary, p. 171 / fruits; a well-trod path leads inland. We pass by a tree, into the bark of which the outlines, one-half life-sized, of a man above and a woman below have been crudely carved.

[137] [487] [532]

241 Silently our column marches through the forest -- the narrow path stops -- a clearing. There is thick smoke and steam rising from the tree stumps that stand there like broken pillars, in between a tangle of trunks and boughs on the ground, everything in

/163 cont./

412 1. (cont.)
135 magnetite, in which are embedded individual crystals of olivine and quite a number of quartz granules.

415 Tall storage baskets of biconcave profile (one meter 40 centimeters long, 35 centimeters wide at the top), wound with brown bast bands and lined in the interior with maize
412 leaves, contain the flour and are very stout. The grating boards on which the mandioca is pulverized are about 115 centimeters long and 80 centimeters wide.

415
531

Gourd-vessel (drinking-vessel) designs of the Bakaïrí.

251 High up a great quantity of dusty corncobs.
532 A number of strange dolls, which hang down from the
[353] vault on long strings, seem the most striking; they are
[824] plaited out of maize leaves: turkey-sized birds, projecting wings made out of one leaf and circularly twisted legs with three toes; others are slender, human-like figures, /164/ a small head on top, broken up below into narrow frippery. In our house we found two lizards made of grass, whose four feet come together in a ring, so that one can put them on one's head.

/165 cont./

609 mix for him -- whereas the boy of a Brazilian colonist, to whom I was called in Rosario, leaped out of bed and fled from me into the forest.

186 The old sibyl joined us this evening on the open plaza.
823 She pointed to the west, "Bakaïrí!"; to the south, "Bakaïrí!"; to the north and east likewise "Bakaïrí!" and finally, describing a circle in the air, she summed up with proud satisfaction, "Bakaïrí!" In translation: "All this is subject to me, admit that I am fortunate."

132 14 Aug. 6:00 A.M.: dry. 11.7, wet. 10.6.
2:00 P.M.: dry. 34.9, wet. 20.0, clear, NE 1.
4:05 P.M.: I 740.8, II 730.0, dry. 34.0, hypsom. 98.825.
9:00 P.M.: dry. 18.0, wet. 17.0.

126 /166/ I was fortunately able to measure three women.
[124] Antonio is very useless as an interpreter and causes more difficulties
[532] than the harmless people themselves. I also traded for a few maize-straw dolls; judging from the ease with which the transaction was made, there seemed to be no higher or in any sense a religious meaning attached to them.

592 We spent some time in Pauhaga's, or rather Chief Cavácos's house; it differed in nothing essential from that of the professor; there were no straw dolls.

137 We found inhame (Dioscorea, yams), which we greeted
252 with joy. -- The fish are grilled on just such racks as we came across on the Batovy; they are exposed to the fire until they are encased in a thick charcoal crust; capybara leg, which tasted like fat fish, and monkey steak were also charred on the outside in this fashion. The crisp charcoal gives the insipid-tasting meat, which is not salted, an -- faute de mieux -- improved flavor. The
[263] Bakaïrí are also familiar with a very medicinal tasting salt made from tree ashes, which, however, they do not seem to use in the preparation of food.

609 The soldiers, who were paying their farewell visit, were
431 given generous quantities of beijús, puvas, and polvilho /manioc
252 flour; see the glossary, p.172 / as presents. The grated and pounded mandioca is pressed through mats; the pulp is put into

/168 cont./

574 other, the professor, naked, but, along with bow and arrow, one of our mirrors in his hand. We were undoubtedly well recommended.

532 Shortly before the exit from the woods we came across a wonderful display of about a dozen animal figures along one side of the path, /169/ probably the remains from a festival. They were made of leaves and straw, mostly quadrupeds with long, thin bodies, consisting of practically nothing but spinal column and long legs; the tallest ones reached to our hips. Something that was evidently supposed to be a monkey was climbing up a pole. A human figure was incised in a tree, with roguish use of a depression present in the bark. Such is the beginning of art in the primeval forest.

361 After we had passed a roça and low shrub planting, we saw
[241] four huts, two large ones and two small ones, lying correspondingly opposite each other. The nobility was assembled on the
574 plaza; a friendly "am(b)á" (that is you) with raised hand wel-
[576] comed each one. Then, one after the other, we were grasped
[345] at the wrists by our hosts, mostly by two at the same time, and led before the festival hut, where beam and stool were ready./ Here we sat is long rows with our guns, and immediately the serving of mingau began. Then we did our tricks, cut nails,
[123] let them look through the opera glasses, lighted a match with fire steel, etc. The professor beamed; he was reaping honor with us.

[301] A sturdy young man, a diadem of stiff jaguar skin over his
[624] forehead, seemed to be acting as herald. He poured busily, screamed louder than the others, and grasped everything most quickly. I had the feeling that we were traveling circus artists and were being informally received and treated in a club. One
302 of the younger sportsmen had had his body painted with black
531 squares, which were joined at the edges with short lines. The drawing on the upper thigh of another -- a black wavy line and in the depressions of it black dots -- definitely resembled the skin marking of a fish, the pintado.

/169 cont./

126 I acquired cheaply some belt strings of round stone disks with
[301] the diameter of a thick pencil, as well as a necklace of jaguar claws, by hooking the fish hook, as an ornament, into the ear lobes of these people, who do not know how to appreciate it as a means of catching fish.

622 The chief was striking because of his stupid face and a big nose; he treated us with aristocratic indolence and indifference. --
301 Several wore two yellow feathers in each ear; these were stuck
237 in a little bunch of red feathers that protruded from a small husk. The most beautiful head-ornament, however, was a simple row of yellow feathers up to 12 centimeters long, in the center of which towered a long arara feather.

562 Stealthily a few women appeared. There was an old woman
[554] here, too, who /170/ kept the tribe in order; she had curly hair.
[302] One woman, who had a boy astride her right hip, was painted all over her body with a disgusting yellow pigment.

342 The two large huts were round, the two small ones ellipti-
345 cally long, resembling scales. In one of them, the festival hut,
353 we discovered strange things. Between the supporting beams, on cross-poles, hung a great number of the most diverse colorful
292 headpieces. They all had a straw frame for fitting them on the
● 532 head. The colors were white, black, red, and orange, all applied crudely. There were open cylinders of bast of the consistency of cardboard, red, set with black squares; two large gourd /illustration appears here/ vessels, one with small yellow feathers pasted over it, the other with small blue feathers, and smaller ones painted with red and white areas; on the edge buriti fibers one meter long hung down like a woman's hair; a stuffed hide of a little fox, likewise an otter, both with a straw frame for putting them on. Two black and white sword-like pieces of wood -- representing rattlesnakes, according to Antonio. A stiff frame of stalks, in which sat little swallows, with cotton stuffed in between everywhere. The birds, perfectly recognizable in shape, white, head and back of neck black, a few with yellow belly. A larger bird, painted red and black, was looking out of one of the cylinders (1).

1. Cf. the first ethnological plate /see pp. 166-162/.

/171 cont./

122 19 Aug. φ 12° 53'.0, λ 12'.4, km. 31.03, total 195.45.

132 6:35 A.M.: dry. 15.0, water 24.3.

5:43 P.M.: I 742.2, dry. 26.1, water 26.0.

9:30 P.M.: I 742.8, dry. 21.1.

137 /172/ The river landscape changes its physiognomy somewhat. Shrubs and light-green, fine-leaved bushes, which form tall bowers or rounded, dense masses, occupy the foreground. Willow-like trees often stand as though planted, with delicate, slender trunks. We have not exactly come out of the forest river into a meadow river, but the low-plain character predominates. The sand barranca is steep. Easterly direction of the river.

122 20 Aug. φ 12° 51'.1 λ 12'.8, km. 6.27, total 201.72.

132 7:00 A.M.: dry. 19.3, water 25.1, at night 2-3:00 thunderstorm in NW.

Today the sky is covered with strato-cumulus and the air is showery damp.

133 At an early hour we reached a branch stream 20 meters wide, emptying in quietly from the right. Finally a tributary.

361 The third aldea, located on the left bank, is not quite two
[342] kilometers from the Batovy. There are three huts, lower, smaller, and less conical than previously. We three again install ourselves
122 for a night among the good people, and even Antonio, who has given up his mistrust, sleeps along with us.

364 As agreeable as this "little village" is, it must be called
345 the dirtiest of the three. The floor of the festival hut is covered with dry grass and refuse of all kinds; the sun shines through the roof, so that inside we are able to light our pipe with the burning-
[532] glass. It is obviously still unfinished and new; besides a few arrows and several rattles, flat wooden fish are stuck on the walls as the products of local artistic activity.

162 Census: 13 men, 12 women and -- the most favorable proportion so far -- 19 children. Among them there are a man and a woman of another tribe whom we are to meet farther
142 downstream, the Kustenaŭ /Custenau/. In type I am unable to see any essential differences; in fact, the more Bakaïrí we meet, the more uncertain I am in abstracting the common features.

/176 cont/

433 It is clear that here agriculture falls behind hunting and
181 fishing; Aldea IV is military in character and forms the frontier
648 defense against alien tribes.

763 In one hut lay an ancient, paralytic little woman emaciated to a skeleton, whose soul seemed to say "ãla Bakaïrí" (it is enough Bakaïrí) and was trying impatiently to flutter away. The hammock was resting partly on the ground; two women squatted beside it and, as garrulous cronies, explained to us the suffering of the dying little mother.

231 Of tame animals we found a heron, small parrots, a kingfisher and the socõ-morena.

345 The festival hut was 18 meters long, nine meters wide.
532 There were clumsily carved wooden fish hanging there, as well as a few finless specimens, wound bands which perhaps represented the electric eel.

Two square pieces of wood, painted red and white, with modeled nose and two eye sockets were striking; they are held in front of the face and represent doves, whose voice the artist can imitate better than the head (1).

1. Cf. the second ethnological plate /see p. 165/.

534 /177/ Four menis and a number of rattles were stuck in the
353 side walling.

624 Only in the festival hut did the herald put down his bow and arrows, but he did not part with them during our entire stay, even
[276] when he handed us a few bundles of tobacco. The latter, by the way, was better than among the earlier Bakaïrí. A few modest old
622 people were there, none with gray hair; among them the chief and, if I understood correctly, a vice-chief, the authority during the time the former is absent.

123 A shooting demonstration on the plaza filled them with
152 terror; they jumped with fright and turned away convulsively, most of all the mighty herald. His "ãla, ãla" was very humble and urgent.

1: Steinen--160 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

292
532

Ethnological Plate I /reproduced on pp. 160/-164/. 1-10 Bakaïrí: 1-4, headdresses from festival hut. 5. Straw wreath with feathers. 6. Ear feathers. 7. Comb. 8-10. Necklaces: 8, little stone disks; 9, pieces of shell (also very popular among the Suyá); 10, jaguar claws. 11. Trumaí feather cap. 12 and 13. Suyá feather diadem. 14. Yuruna ear-feather.

1: Steinen--161 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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/From Ethnological Pl. I:
2 and 3, Bakaïrí headdresses
from the festival hut./

1: Steinen--162 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP23
Suya SP21
Yuruna SQ26

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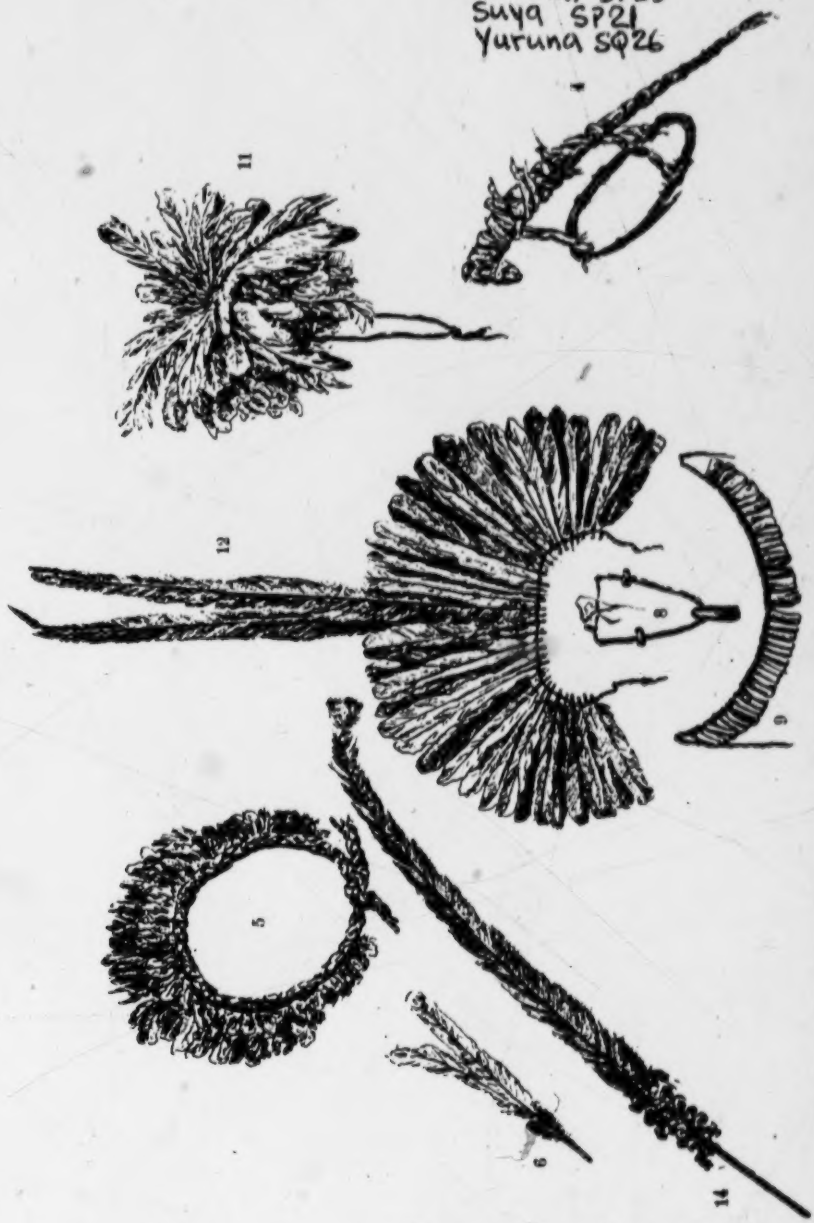

/See caption on following page./

1: Steinen--163 D E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP23
Suya SP21
Yuruna SQ26

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/From Ethnological Pl. I: 4, Bakaírí headdress from the festival hut; 5, Bakaírí straw wreath with feathers; 6, Bakaírí ear feathers; 8-9, Bakaírí necklaces (8, stone disks; 9, pieces of shell and also popular among the Suyá); 11, Trumaí feather-cap; 12, Suyá feather-diadem; 14, Yuruna ear-feather./

1: Steinen--165 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP23
Suya SP21
Yuruna SQ26

T 411

Y 534

B 532

S 411

Ethnological Plate II

/reproduced on pp. 165-169/. Bakaïrí: 1. Dove mask for a dance. 2. Flute (meni). 3. Stone ax. 4. Oar. Trumaí: 5. Club. Suyá: 6. Club. 7. Arrow thrower (throwing board). 8. Stone ax. 9. Bone knife. 10. Beijú turner. Yuruna: 11. Oar. 12. Flute. 13. Gourd rattle. Karajá: 14. Club.

/60 cont./

353 remained free, was the kitchen and storage place for supply baskets, pots, earthen beiji pans, sieves, mats, back baskets, mortars, pestles, and calabashes. Sticks were plaited with vines onto the main posts, where again gourd bowls or bundles [532] [251] of tobacco were hanging, from a cross beam dangled large birds with straw-plaited legs and tails, which looked very mysterious and were solely for the purpose of storing the maize ears, out of which their insides and wings were constructed, in a manner pleasing to the eye. The floor was covered with a stone-hard deposit of the fine white mandioca flour, the mortars and pestles were flour-white, and the pots smoke-blackened. Above the doors, baskets with calabashes, basket-weirs, fishing nets, on the walls of the "rooms," bows, stone axes, the gaily feathered arrows projecting out of the straw of the dome, a stock of small baskets, drinking bowls, and smaller utensils; on the floor, white balls of loam, little pots, stools, pieces of wood, fire fans, and the ashes of the small fire which everyone maintains at night beside and almost under his hammock; hanging on the hammock, a small bunch of colorful feathers and the comb; here and there a pyramid made of rods with the grill; /61/ a couple of the sticks with which [372] fire is rubbed were also hung up and beside them was tied a small packet of the tinder bast.

356 In short: family dwelling in full operation, precisely as [353] much disorder as was required for comfort, everything clean [412] and nicely arranged, everything hung up, boxed, turned upside down, no iron nails and screws, but only cord and plaiting, all worked with stone ax, animal tooth, and shell. Total impression: the wall, the hammocks, the calabashes, the human beings, brown; brown in every shade, but harmoniously 342 tinted, all crust /Knaus/. Here and there the sun shone through a crack in the straw dome, in front of the door the daylight was sharply cut off, and the lane between the doors lay in semishade; through the vent, which was quite tightly closed, a few bright rings and circles fell on the floor, and faint motes of sunlight danced in the ascending smoke.

/91 cont./

133 Tumayaua declared that he had heard them shout. It is probable
[101] that the fire glow which we had repeatedly noticed in the east, and which had been regularly observed in the evening at Independencia, came from them. Barely an hour later, the Kewayeli, about 12 meters wide, flowed in from the left. On both banks quéimada and plantings.

484 From the second village Tumayaua had taken along as a companion Pakurali, a short, stocky old man who did not look as though he were a great sorcerer, and whom we, with a lack of
[482] respect, called the "cab driver." They did not have much luggage with them and easily packed it into the mayakus, their
[286] back-baskets for carrying loads. They had taken along on the journey, not cotton hammocks, but hammocks made of palm fiber, which are lighter and dry quickly if they become wet. /92/ The two made rapid progress, even though they were bent on fishing at every favorable spot. We had let the great sorcerer sniff a bottle of ammonia, which had horrified him no little. After that he could no longer be enticed to smell any of our things. If one of us calls from a corner that it stinks there, everybody runs over and sniffs.

103 To the Third Bakairí Village (Kuyaqualiéti).

361 The harbor at which we arrived at 4:45 lay at the end of a lateral inlet and would not have been found without a guide.

The next morning, 6 October, we departed at 7:00 for the village and reached it in three-quarters of an hour on the usual
[532] winding forest-trail. On the way we saw a large human figure carved in tree bark, with three fingers on the hands and stump-like feet.

Harpia village, "kuyaquali-éti," also had only three houses and a flute-house, but was the liveliest of the three villages.
162 I counted 31 men and just about as many women and children.
621 Some of the latter, however, had run into the woods. There
574 were probably about 100 souls in the village. The chief, Porisa,
622 was a small, friendly gentleman; he had had beiju baked at night.

/92 cont./

574 night. We sat down in the middle of the large plaza in a long row. Each one was brought a drinking bowl; the largest, along
574 with a cigar, fell to me. Speeches of welcome were now ex-
576 changed with great volubility.

ãma, you = that is you. ehẽ ũra, yes, I = indeed, that is I. bakaĩrĩ ũra, I (am a) Bakaĩrĩ. kyarãiba ũra, I (am a) Karaibe. bakaĩrĩ kyũra, (the) Bakaĩrĩ (are) good. kyarãiba iwakulukũlu, (the) Karaiben (are) very good. pĩma ãma? (are) you (the) chief? pĩma ũra, I (am the) chief.

183 Opposite each Karaiben squatted a Bakaĩrĩ and admired him and what he wore. The Swedish matches, knives, mirrors, buttons, beads -- it was always the same routine. Except that in the case of Porim it was my notebook that was most appreciated, and it was not the written pages or those covered with drawings, but the white, empty sheets that elicited exclamations of delight from him. We also strode about the plaza in pairs, arm in arm, in affable conversation. We studied the geographical distribution of the Kuliseiu tribes in detail, but the dwelling places of the Trumaĩ still remained as obscure as before.

345 The flute-house was large and spacious, its roof dilapidated, much straw lay on the floor inside, and here, as in the houses, we missed the cleanliness which pleased us so in the other vil-
534 lages. In front of the flute-house, resting on cross-sticks, lay a
[532] huge hollow tree-trunk -- a morcego (bat) tree our men called it -- /93/ irregularly painted with human figures and fish vertebrae. During festivals they drummed on this giant instrument with thick wooden clubs, similar to the mandioca pestles.

535 Inside there were handsome masks and a new form of dance costume; two huge crinolines ten meters in circumference, covered with straw, and comparable to small huts, koãlu, which
126 the dancer wore on a ring on his shoulder. Soon enthusiastic
301 barter was under way everywhere. We obtained fine feather
239 ornaments, crowns made of arara feathers, which are light blue
526 on one side, yellow on the other, dainty mats in which they are
283

W /130 cont./
132 rained by buckets, and the shower bath was quite cold, scarcely
W more than 15°. Our good Mehinakú were unhappy that we did
[821] not follow their example and puff against the heavenly sluices;
they hastily built a protective roof, probably more to keep busy,
and complained incessantly "ulãpe, ulãpe!"

W In the harbor of the Mehinakú we acquired another canoe;
122 meanwhile the Auetó who had accompanied us this far had dis-
appeared without a trace. Vogel's hunting knife was also
missing.

Y The Nahuquá village was in the middle of the piki harvest.
245 Like cannon balls in an arsenal, the piki lay in piles outside
Y and inside. Racks had been set up in the houses to dry the seeds,
251 the women were busy peeling the fruit, cooking it, and scraping
the seeds, human beings and utensils butter yellow -- Caryocar
Y butyrosum. No pogu, but piki juice; the piki seeds with an
[151] almond-like taste, an electuary "piki herb" not at all bad in
Y moderate doses. Many sick in the hammocks, stomach and skin
164 affected, one old baldhead, face and head covered with sores.
Y Tumayaua was given piki as a parting gift for the trip. Only
123 one newborn child, which the mother brought to us so that we
[431] would blow on it, seemed to know nothing yet about piki.

B In Bakaíri village III, which, by the way, the Nahuquá
648 accompanying us did not want to enter, the old festival hut had
B burned down and the people were very much afraid of the
731 previously greatly admired matches. But we did find magnifi-
B 552 cent bird-masks and fish-masks. Of the two canoes we ordered,
B one was not yet finished and the other had been wrecked.
122
501

Bakaíri village II seemed deserted. The occupants were
B in part absent, why remained unclear; also, we had apparently
123 seen foreign guests the first time and included them. Chief
B Aramóke, however, was gracious as ever and had set before us
[822] beijús which we could have offered the most distinguished tea
guests at home. It was only with great difficulty that we found
a few men to transport part of the collection for some distance
overland. It was always said that they had to stay with the
B 752 children. Then in the chief's house lay a woman with burns on

/181 cont./

*171 304 [648] contact, sometimes peaceful, sometimes hostile, with the western Bakaïrí, of whom we still found two women, kidnapped as children, in the Paranatinga village. The Paressí pierced the ear lobes of their women so that they could always be distinguished from the Bakaïrí women, and their men pierced the nasal septum, inserted a little

[532] [237]

Fig. 12. Wooden mask of the Bakaïrí, with ear and nose feathers.

piece of reed in it, and stuck into only one end of this a long arara feather or ordinary toucan feather, whereas the ear ornament of the women consisted of a little triangular piece of nut shell.

301 304 [178] [532] Among the Bakaïrí today feathers are no longer worn in the nose, but we found masks with a hole in the elongated septum of the wooden nose, through which an arara feather stuck into a piece of reed projected out on either side. There is also a difference in the size of the hole among men and women, to which my attention was especially drawn by the Bakaïrí themselves; in it the men wear a thin piece of kambayuwa reed, in which the feather or a thin bone is inserted, the women a thick kambayuva peg or a thick bone or stone. The latter is never used by the men.

/201 cont./

181 only that all creatures behaved essentially as he did, that they
825 had their family life, communicated with one another by means of sounds, had dwellings, sometimes fought with one another, and nourished themselves from hunting booty or from fruits; in short, he felt as though he were primus inter pares, not above them; he knew nothing about all those good things to the effect that there is a difference whether one draws conclusions in situational images or in concepts, and whether one acts purposefully according to associations which are inherited complete within the species, or according to tradition which is handed down by the parents by means of language. His myths and legends, which
[773] to us seem like pure fairy tales and animal fables and which he takes just as seriously as we do the sacred books with their doctrine, in which he lets human beings and animals mingle, would necessarily be only playful jests if he regarded himself as created out of a different substance than other creatures are. We can understand these human beings only if we regard them as the product of a hunting culture. They gathered the main body of their experiences from animals, and with these experiences primarily, since it is only through the old that one is capable of understanding the new, they explained nature, fashioned their world view.
[532] Accordingly, their artistic motifs, as we shall see, are borrowed, with amazing one-sidedness, from the animal kingdom; indeed, their entire, surprisingly rich art is rooted in the hunting life and did not flower until a more peaceful existence provided protection for the buds. From the outset I cannot refer often enough to these conditions, since otherwise we should not properly evaluate the material culture of the natives and should not understand their mental culture at all.

*171 On the other hand, it is a fact that the products of agricul-
174 ture -- except in the case of the Trumaí -- have been in the
241 possession of our Indians since time immemorial. A comparison of the languages furnishes irrefutable proof. It teaches us first of all that the tribes of the Schingú belong to different language families. It teaches us furthermore that in the case of each one the branching off from the basic people concerned took place

W /242 cont./
323 not have to build up the walls with thin clay cylinders put on top of one another as is ordinarily described. She smoothed the walls with a piece of gourd, not a stone. She modeled the ornamental edge-projections, which represented the body parts of an animal, and then put them on; she scratched in the eyes and nose with a little bamboo rod. An old broken-out bottom or a beijú pan is popularly taken as a model for the bottom of the pot.

B The clay is whitish-gray to grayish-yellow. Only the Waurá
*171 pots have a pretty, light red clay. The new pot is properly
323 dried in the sun and then turned upside down on a very sooty fire;
824 for that they use the green bark of a campo tree which the Bakaïrí call kutére, or of the guanandí (Calophyllum) saturated with sticky resin. Thus the pot, like the gourd, is blackened on the inside.

000 /243/

Chapter X.

I. Drawing.

Origin from the drawing gesture. Descriptive drawing older than artistic drawing. Sand drawings. Pencil drawings. Explanation of the plates. Profile position. Proportions. Number of fingers. Bark drawings.

B The simplest drawing that we can observe is probably the one
*171 directly connected with an explanatory gesture. Just as the na-
201 tive, to demonstrate the sense of hearing, cleverly reproduces
532 the characteristic voice sounds of an animal and is always tempted to do this in connection with any lively narrative, so also, with respect to the sense of sight, he imitates the animal in pose, walk, movements and, for better understanding, draws any peculiar body parts, such as ears, snout, or horns, in the air, or he outlines his own corresponding body parts with his hand. The drawing gesture is exactly parallel to the imitation of animal voices. As soon as this procedure is no longer adequate, however,

B /243 cont./
*171 one draws on the ground or in the sand. In taking down the
20 vocabulary, I was extraordinarily often able to convince myself
●532 that the inner perception was converted into an explanatory
[124] sand-drawing involuntarily and without being demanded by me.
To be sure, it happened most often if the shape of the animal was
particularly suitable for this, as in the case of snakes, an alligator
head, and fish, where, in addition, a voice could not be imi-
tated. Furthermore, it is to be freely admitted that the impulse
for the realm of hearing was disproportionately stronger among
these hunters, and also that in intercourse among themselves
they undoubtedly confined themselves to the drawing gesture for
the sense of sight. Indeed, they could actually limit themselves
to this. Toward me there was the additional thought: "since
the man does not understand our language, how can we in this
case be adequately clear?" and they drew in the sand.

It is enough if one is justified in concluding from the be-
havior of the Indians that the drawing gesture, on the level where
it still forms a not unessential supplement to the language,
easily develops into actual drawing. /244/ We see, and this is
the important thing, that here among primitive peoples drawing
is used like gesture, to convey a message and not to reproduce
graceful forms, and, on the basis of the personal impression that
I gained from the directness of explanatory drawing, I believe
B that it is older than the ornamental-artistic kind. One may per-
[531] haps object that the Schingú /Xingu/ Indians are already artists
who cover all their implements with drawings and ornamentation
and that is why drawing as a means of expression is particularly
BO natural to them. To this I can only reply that the Bororó, whom
171 I should like to mention often in this connection in an anticipatory
532 way, made magnificent feather ornaments, to be sure, but knew
practically nothing about the graphic arts, and that they were
the very ones who had a greater skill and greater fancy for draw-
BO ing in the sand for explanation than did the Schingú people. They
[224] were restless fellows, however, who lived from the hunt; they
had never found the leisure to practice painting and plastic art
like those who, to be sure, still practiced hunting and fishing, but
had already advanced to sedentary farming.

/245 cont./

000 associated with the older representation. In the field of painting, we come across such productions in the form of geometric ornamentation. Dots and dashes may be the equivalents of the old markings. But even such "simple" figures as triangles and squares, which one would think could be freely constructed by the most primitive artists, originated only through the stylization of representations, and, since they automatically recommended themselves to the technique as types, they easily won out over more complicated structures in the struggle for existence.

*171 Now just a word about the motifs of our Indian art. They
● 532 have been borrowed exclusively from the animal kingdom.
Andree in his well-known /246/ article, "Das Zeichnen bei
[113] Naturvölkern /Drawing Among Primitive Peoples/,"* points out

*Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche, n.s., Leipzig, 1889, p. 59.

that the plant only rarely plays a role and adds: "In order to arrive at an understanding of this phenomenon we need only remember that among our children, too, when they make their first independent attempts at drawing on the blackboard, animals and human beings in crude forms are represented first; the living, mobile animal is more apt to capture their attention, is also easier to grasp in its entire figure than the plant consisting of numerous leaves and blossoms."

000 This pertinent remark is in perfect accord with the relationship between gesture and drawing which I maintain. By means of gestures I imitate an animal, not a tree, and not only because the latter does not move actively. It is easy for me to express parts of the animal body by means of gestures, because in doing so, proceeding from my own body, if, for example, I wanted to depict a pair of donkey ears or some antlers, I would immediately indicate the position and the type of the organ, whereas I should be unable to express parts of a plant by means of gestures, unless
*171 I use words to help out. Among our Indians, however, drawing is
181 only a special case; the animal motif dominates their entire
825

/246 cont./

*171 mental world in every art and science, no matter what it is
18 called, and there can be no foundation for this other than their
825 hunting culture.

000 The material interest in the animal precedes the formal or esthetic interest. The flower in art is secondary, exactly as it is in ornamentation; first the feather in the ear and then the little bunch of flowers on the hat. I saw araucarias portrayed in the "picture writing" of the virador in Rio Grande do Sul. A palm tree would be just as easy to draw as a pine, but no palm in the north furnishes such indispensable food as the araucaria formerly provided for the "bugre" /wild Indian/ of that southern province. Before art went after bread, if I may alter the meaning of the sentence somewhat, it went after meat and fish. I shall have to come back to this subject, especially in connection with the products of the ceramic art.

*171 Sand drawings. They are at first a form of communication,
212 like words. I have spoken of how the descriptive gesture readily
●532 and easily became a picture. Map drawings were the most com-
823 mon. Our second journey arose through the sand drawing of the arrangement of the upper Schingú, with which the Suyá geographer illustrated his statements; cf. page 126. "He enumerated all the tribes that are settled on the upper Schingú; in order to be quite clear, he drew the course of the river in the sand with his finger. To our greatest surprise, he drew the Batovy, the only one which he portrayed in this way, and, to be sure, entirely on his own initiative with corkscrew-like, tortuous course." (Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, p. 213 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 104/.) The Batovy, as we learned to our sorrow, was a true River Meander.

*171 /247/ We saw the same thing among the Kulisehu tribes.
212 The number, sometimes of tribes, sometimes of rapids, was
532 indicated by dashes. Circles were houses; wreaths of circles, villages, corresponding to the actual arrangement of the circular
[126] houses around the large plaza. All these figures were also drawn with pencil in our book, while the accompanying words were taken down as dictation. A certain individualization, as in the

/247 cont./

171 212 532 case of the Batovy above, with zigzag or serpentine lines, seemed to occur more often, but could not be controlled by us. It is in no way remarkable after what we have heard on page 133 /untranslated/ about the map picture in the head of the Indian. Thus, in Figure 33 we see a pencil drawing of river courses, which a Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ made in Wilhelm's sketchbook; of the names we are only familiar with that of the Kuluëne the main source river; paranayubá is Tupí = yellow river. Moreover, in order to symbolize villages lying along brooks, zigzag lines were drawn,

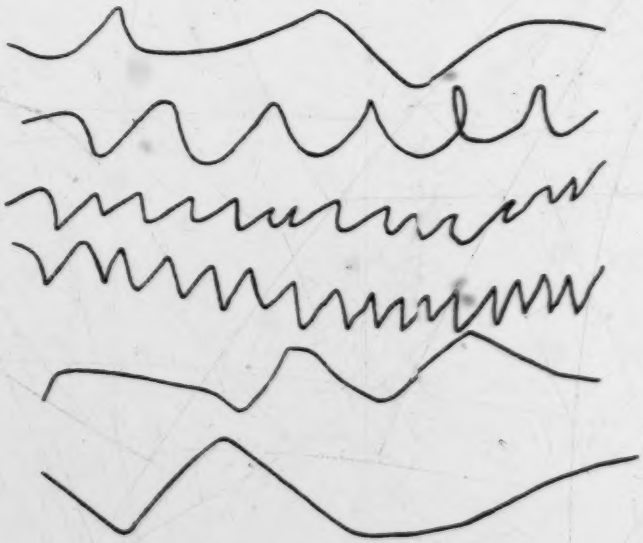


Fig. 33. Pencil drawing of the rivers. (2/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration.) From top to bottom: kuluéne, kanakayutuí, auiná, aúiýa, paranayubá, pareyutó.

along each of which extended a row of circles. They liked best to draw all over the page. One sheet covered with short parallel lines was devoted to the river rapids. Other statements were made between times in conversation; for example, the various words with which different tribes name "water" or "beijú" were enumerated.

/247 cont./

*171 Among the Nahuquá, circles on the ground indicated the place
212 where pikí fruits, which are as round as apples, had fallen unripe
●532 from the tree and were buried.

[825] One day on the return trip our canoe passed a sandy beach which our Indian companions had already passed before us; there, to our /248/ surprise, we saw two fish drawn in the sand, which Antonio said were matrinchams. We stopped, fished, and actually caught matrinchams! It was just as though the word had been

Fig. 34.
Sand drawing of a matrincham.

Fig. 35.
Sand drawing of a ray and paku.

Fig. 36.
Mehinakú sand-drawing. (1:130 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

written there and an invitation to try his luck there too had been handed to Antonio quite intentionally. Another case remains more obscure to me than this instructive example. Almost exactly in the middle of the path between the harbor and the village of the Mehinaku /Mehinacu/ I found a ray and a pakú fish drawn in the sand. The narrow forest path widened at this spot into a small

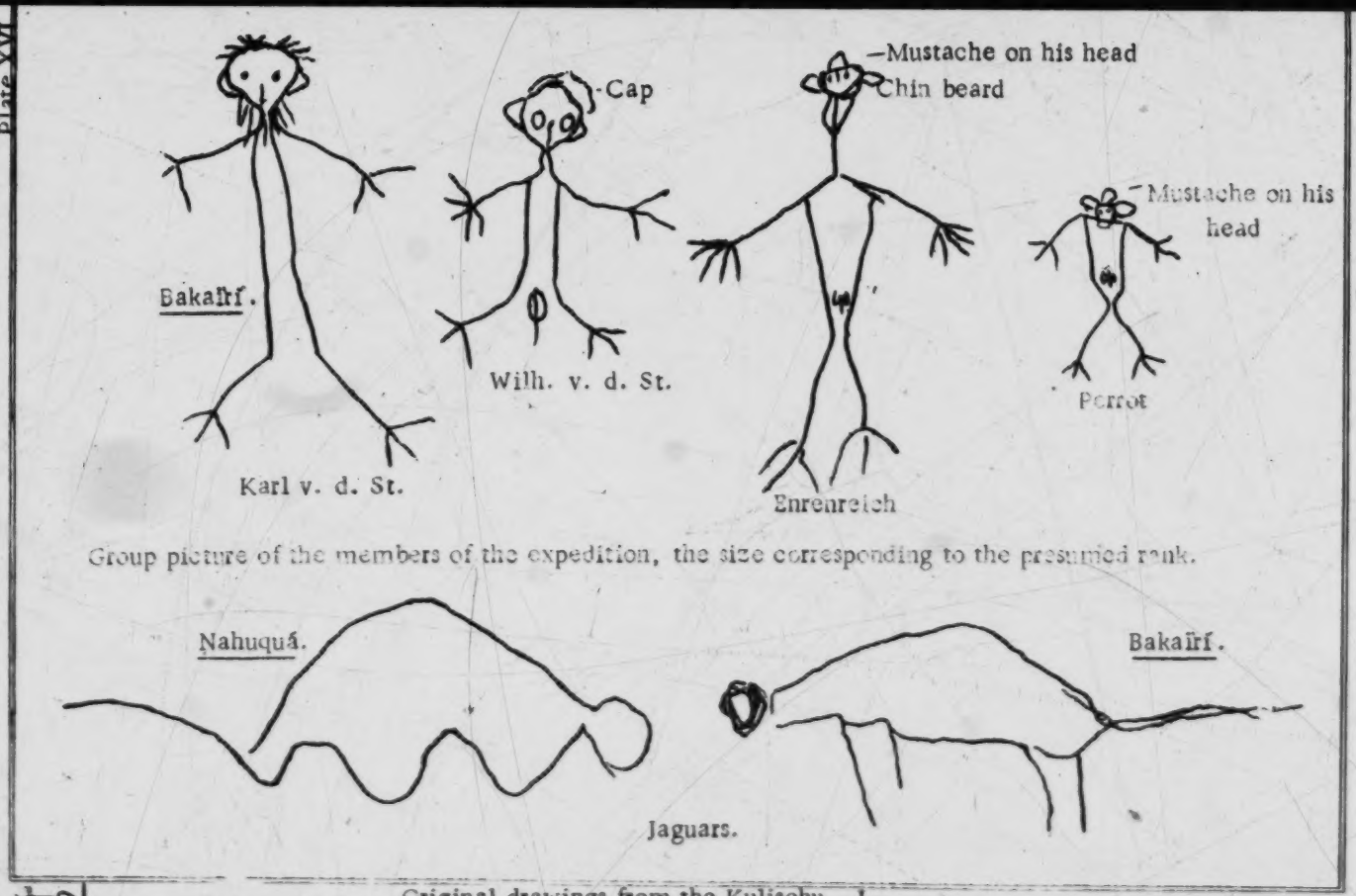
B /248 cont./
*171 circular area. My companions, two Bakaïrí, immediately sat
212 down to rest. I do not know whether a weary wanderer before us
532 who stopped there on his way home from the river so neatly drew the two animals purely for diversion, or because he had just dealt with rays and pakûs, and, frankly, I find it quite immaterial whether the one or the other was the case.

Even more inexplicable as to its exact meaning was the circular figure drawn in the sand, which is shown in Figure 36 and which was found under a beautiful tree approximately half a kilometer from the Mehinakû village. It was called aturuá
B and was four and a half meters in diameter. When we left the
[533] village accompanied by several men, they made a round inside the circle on either side up to very near the network and sang ka ā ā...; there were also numerous traces of former rounds. Since the men wanted to turn back at this point and spoke of the women, there was probably some reference to the arrival or departure of guests here on the edge of the forest or a quarter of an hour from home. The network of the drawing was turned toward the village. The two curves occur similarly as tattoo patterns and on the outside on the bottom of the large pots of the Mehinakû (cf. Plate 15 /see p. 253/). I had copied the figure in my journal a few days before my cousin saw it; there, in place of the small central circle with the two supports, two circles are represented touching each other, the lower one being slightly larger and going over into the network; one might imagine head and body.

Bo The Bororó, whom I am including here, contributed not only
171 purely explanatory, but even semi-artistic pictures in the sand,
532 which we /Plates XVI-XIX appear here/ /249/ had no opportunity to see on the Schingú. In the evening in the moonlight they took special pleasure in drawing hunting animals and hunting scenes in the sand for us. I say "scenes," for their amateurishness did not by any means shrink from a difficult composition. Nor were they content to draw in outlines; with their hands they shoveled the surface sand out of the outline of the animal being represented and filled this depression, shaped, for example, like a jaguar or a tapir, with grayish-white ashes; thus they made the body with its

[Text Continues on P. 269]

2: Steinen--265 Ep-5 (1884,1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7 Plate XVI



Original drawings from the Kulisehu. I.
2/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.

*177 532

2: Steinen--266 ED-5 (1884, 188[illegible]-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate XII

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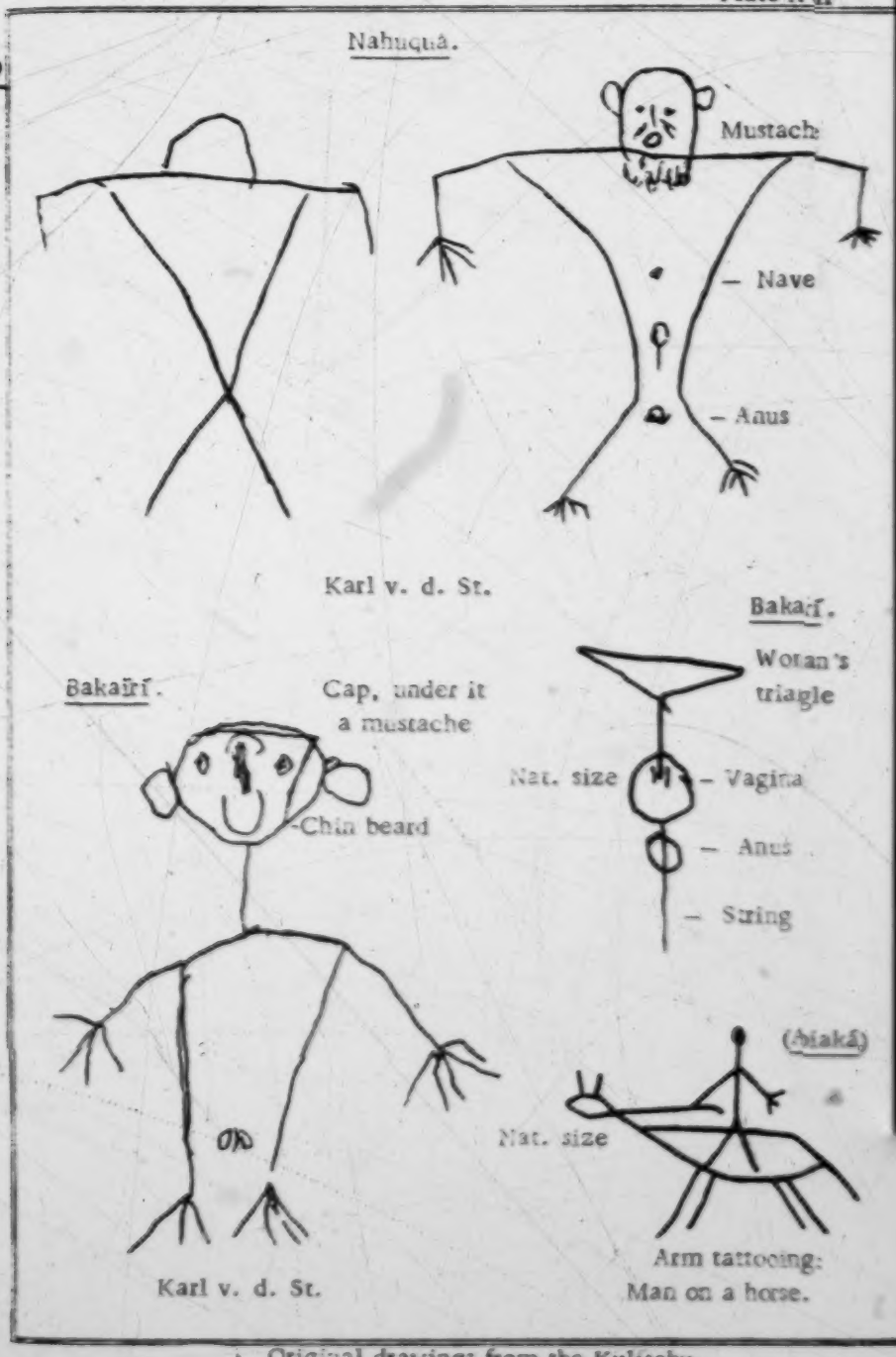

Original drawings from the Kulisehu.

II. 2/3 nat. size /all references to size are given for the illustrations a they appeared in the original source/.

BO /249 cont./
171 extremities look like a shimmering whitish painting. The eye and
532 the spotted markings of the skin were indicated with dark sand. Since the figures were at least life-sized, they gave a surprisingly lifelike impression in the evening twilight; it looked as though huge, shimmering and glistening skins were spread out on the ground.

B Pencil drawings. Even in 1884 we let the Suyá draw with
*171 pencil in our notebooks. They themselves were amused by it;
532 they were not awkward, and only at first did they superfluously
BO hold the pencil point into the flame, being accustomed, for their
171 part, to drawing with resin-saturated sticks. They drew rhombus-
532 shaped designs, similar to those on their gourd bowls, which at that time I dismissed with the label "geometric figures." This time
B we had them draw a series of persons and objects which turned out
BO to be extremely instructive. On the four plates, 16-19 /see pp.
[126] 265-268/, these artistic productions, which could still be considerably improved, have been reproduced with painful accuracy; there are portraits of the members of the expedition, especially of me, and furthermore two jaguars and a woman's triangle with the accompanying topography done by Kulisehu Indians, as well as a soldier, a woman, a pipe, a whizzer stick, two jaguars, a tapir pursued by a dog, a monkey, a hummingbird, and three turtles by the Bororó. The animal pictures of the Bororó, like the sand drawings covered with ashes, are filled with black inside the outline and show that these artists already had higher aspirations, although in their sparse ornamentation they did not achieve more than is shown by the whizzer stick.

000 At first the pencil drawings vividly remind one of the pictures in the copybook of little Moritz. In fact, in the interesting little book by Corrado Ricci, l'arte dei bambini /The Art of Children/, Bologna, 1887, which reports on studies of many children's drawings, there are many correspondences, and more than the author himself assumes when he considers the drawings of primitive peoples. Children describe a human being, instead of reproducing him artistically, "just as they would describe him with words." In their first attempts they are satisfied with the most

B /250 cont./
*171 On plate I from the Kulisehu,[1] four members of the expedition
532 are standing side by side, a picture from the third Bakairí village. In it I am recognizable as the tallest and the one with the longest beard; the second one, my cousin, is characterized by his jaunty little cap, the third is Ehrenreich with a shorter full beard and next to me in body size; the fourth, quite small and delicate, is Lieutenant Perrot to whom a lower rank was imputed because he did not take part in the investigations. Here, as well as with most of the drawings, I performed the test of showing them afterwards to other Indians with the question, who might that be? They identified the persons correctly, hopefully not because of the
B0 resemblance, but according to the outstanding characteristics.
171 Actually the turtles and the tapir of the Bororó (Bororó II) are
532 quite satisfactory, even for our requirements, whereas the pursuing dog was probably recognizable only because he was the four-legged animal running behind the tapir, which could not be a second tapir because of the tail and the absence of a trunk. Inference *per exclusionem* must often help out.

B /251/ The two likenesses of me done by a Nahuquá (Kulisehu
*171 II) are interesting.[2] Strangely enough, the man first drew a hori-
532 zontal line containing the unbroken shoulder line and the upper arms, put a sort of semicircle on this, two diagonal crossed lines underneath, and handed this worthless picture back to me as finished. I protested, pointing out to him that I was provided with eyes, ears, etc., in the normal fashion, and demanded an entirely new, revised edition, which he, looking me over attentively, then made. He now went to the other extreme and drew, not only more than he saw, but more than he could have seen.

B0 In similar contrast are the two upper pictures on the Bororó
171 plate I, drawn by two different people: on the right I was born
532 without arms and feet; on the left I appear most lovingly depicted and equipped. Here, besides all my limbs, including -- as likewise in the case of the Indian woman on Bororó II -- knobby joints, I have: cap, pipe, notebook, belt, and shoes. In the same manner, the jolly little fellow below that, my cousin, was

[1] [See p. 265 -- Analyst]
[2] [See p. 266 -- Analyst]

/251 cont./

80 197 532 given cap, pipe, and the fine hunting knife. Children, to whom smoking as such seems strange, would have thick smoke coming out of the pipe, but the Indians are interested only in the apparatus. In the corner on the right, the Brazilian soldier was given a uniform with three buttons, that is to say, only the coat, from which emerge the usual lines for arms without sleeves. The armless figure above it is the only one where an attempt was made to do justice to our trousers, even at the expense of the feet.

80 197 532 831 The chief attribute of the men, especially in the externally more meagerly equipped portraits on Kulisehu I and II, is the one conferred on them by nature. Here we have the child's standpoint altogether, namely, that it does not matter to the sketcher whether he sees with his eyes what he feels duty-bound to indicate because he knows it is there. For the Indian who goes unclothed, this is the characteristic feature and so he shows it: he even adds it where he expressly draws the clothing, cf. the soldier. Thus, the navel is also often taken into consideration. Indeed, the Nahuquá from whom I demanded completeness (Kulisehu II) did not want to forget even the anus.

80 197 532 80 197 532 The spatial arrangement is not quite a secondary to the Indians as it is to the youngest children, but strange things are done with it. The fact that the pipe (Bororó I) is put next to the mouth does not mean anything when in the same picture one sees the mustache above the eyes. I would have declared it to be a pair of joined eyebrows, what Goethe calls Bänel, but I was emphatically informed that the line represents the mustache. The same is true of the small central figure below it. And the Bakairí do the same thing with the unfamiliar mustache. On the Kulisehu plate II, lower left, we see the mustache below the cap, which is carefully cut off from the roundness of the head by a cross line, and the chin beard, separated from it by a large nose, /252/ is kept entirely inside the face. This head is precisely my map of Africa, with the lakes imperturbably put north or south of the Congo and the Nile sources; out of all proportion, the dreadful line of the neck looks like my Isthmus of Suez, and the

2: Steinen--273 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Bororo SP8

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/252 cont./

enormous ear flaps, like my Island of Zanzibar. And after I heard from a high-ranking German official that Brazil and Rio de Janeiro are located on the west side of the continent, on the Pacific Ocean, I am perfectly content to have the Bakairí, cf. Kulisehu plate I, put the mustaches of Herren Ehrenreich and Perrot on top of their heads. In these two instances the mustache was put in afterwards. The Indians themselves pluck out all the beard hair, and no matter where the beard hair is located, they differentiate hanging and transverse beard-hair according to their first impression, without giving a more accurate account; they reproduce the former, if they do not draw the hairs separately in great numbers (cf. Bororó I and the Nahuquá drawing, Kulisehu II), by a curved line open at the top, the latter by a curved line open at the bottom. They concern themselves with the "where" only for the grossest topography: the beard is indeed connected with the head and face, and the only thing that matters to them is to show the feature itself. If they take it into their heads to draw the anus, they put it, too, in front, although in this case they must know from experience, which they lack in the case of the beard, that it belongs elsewhere.

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What is missing, what is there, it all depends on interest. The head, the beard, the sexualia are drawn with a will -- let the rest appear wherever it may or be absent altogether. Is not the greatest master of portraiture and the most gifted characterizer of physiognomy accused of neglecting the hands? Opposite attract, Franz Lenbach and the Kulisehu Indians are contemporaries. If the latter or the Bororó take pencil in hand, they give a more or less complete account: their enumeration of the body parts, and whatever interests them, is emphasized, anything that leaves them indifferent at the moment is treated negligently or left out. In the case of animals, the outlines are important, not one of those drawn for us had eyes, with the exception of the fish drawn in the sand, cf. Figs. 34 and 35 /see p. 262/: in the latter case they are probably more likely to come to it because the head, set off only by the gill arch, does not seem sufficiently characterized. The Nahuquá, Kulisehu I, gives the jaguar a lurking position with

/252 cont./

B *171 532 BO 171 532 a huge arched back and the long tail, the extremities form a wavy line; the picture was always recognized by others without difficulty as a jaguar. When for all the Bororó animals the faces are simply filled in black, one might attribute this to the drawing style of the sketchers and point out that the rest of the body is treated in the same way, but even the Bakaïrí on the Kulisehu plate I scribbles over the face of his jaguar. The Indian woman, Bororó II, who, of all the figures, shows the best proportions, has a completely scribbled /253/ head. Above the fine beard covering the torso of the center figure at the bottom, Bororo I, eyes, nose, and ears have been forgotten, the legs are stunted into beetle pincers. In none of the five Bakaïrí portraits has the mouth been drawn; none lacks the nose, which the Bakaïrí pierces. On the other hand, for the Bororó, who pierces the lower lip, it cannot happen that he would omit the mouth, whereas he forgot the nose twice.

BO [304]

The profile position, so popular in the art of children, is absent in the Indian drawings of human beings and invariable in the case of four-legged animals. The former is to be regretted, since there can be no comparison with the cases where children give the profile two eyes and then, when they remember that the nose comes between the eyes, sometimes two noses as well, and furthermore where they attach double arms on the exposed side, since two must, of course, be shown, and so forth. It is to be hoped that these efforts of a childlike mind would by this time be impossible for the Indians. Nevertheless, among the sand drawings, we have to show an example that corresponds exactly to childlike art. The matrincham (Fig. 34 /see p. 263/) has two eyes next to the gill arch; the pakú (Fig. 35 /see p. 263/) in profile is likewise drawn with two eyes. That these are profile positions is shown in the case of the matrincham by the indication of the side line, the gill arch (exactly as in the case of the wooden fish), the fin position, and, finally, as also in the case of the pakú, the tail position. In the case of the ray, the two eyes are justified, since the Indian naturally avoids the problem of drawing it from the side.

B *171 532

B /253 cont./

*171 On the Kulisehu plate II there is a drawing of an arm
532 tattooing which we observed in Cuyabá on a man of the Tupí
BO tribe of the Apiaká /Apiaca/ living on the upper Tapajoz
171 /Tapajós/, and which I add here parenthetically. Here the two
532 legs are on the same side, exactly as in the case of children's drawings of "riders on horseback." The legs of the horse are placed one behind the other, exactly like those of the jaguar, Bororó II. The animal's long ears are handsome.

Why are all human beings drawn en face, all four-footed animals in profile? The reason can only be that in the case of the former the outline was given indifferently as self-evident, and the characterization of the details, to be distributed on two sides or to be judged better in their full extent from the front, was decisive; in the case of the latter, the outline more easily characterized in profile. The monkey on Bororó II, with legs and tail in profile, shows the arms symmetrically, but might have been conceived with the upper part of the body turned forward. The jaguar with the spotted fur was drawn by a man who was obviously aware of the fact that the animal has only two legs on one side: he omitted the legs on the right side.

The proportions are deficient. The pipe and notebook of the principal figure on Bororó were actually in the reverse size-proportions. The artist was in no way disturbed by the fact that the relationship between the torso and the extremities was like that of a lizard propped upright. The disproportion of /254/ the Nahuquá portrait on the Kulisehu plate II is also charming. Whereas the neck often resembles a pole, here, as in the case of Perrot, Kulisehu I, the shoulder line runs across the mouth region. It is five times as wide as the width of the hips, which, in the first version next to it, shrinks to a point. The legs always come out worst of all. In the most extreme deformity, Kulisehu II, bottom left, they are absent, to judge from the position of the sexualia, and the toes are attached to the torso. If only this one portrait was presented, one might explain the long lines on the sides as legs originating at shoulder height, but, strangely enough, in all the Kulisehu portraits, the torso is not closed off at the

/254 cont./

bottom, indeed not even the head in my portrait and Wilhelm's, Kulischu I! Only the Nahuquá treat the body as a triangle, at least in his first version. The lateral contours of the torso veer out at an angle without converging -- in the case of Wilhelm, Kulischu I, almost horizontally -- and after extending a short distance, without knee, without foot, are finished off on either side with a little line, and these three-toed chicken legs are then human legs, my legs. "You resemble the spirit you comprehend, not me!" /Translator's note: this is a quotation from Faust./ Besides being short, the legs are usually also unequal, even where the torso is closed off, cf. jolly Wilhelm, Bororó I.

The number of fingers and toes deserves special attention. If one of us who is a hunter should sketch a stag's head, he will be careful to provide it with antlers of a particular shape, whatever he happens to have in his mind's eye. Another person, however, will pay scarcely any attention to whether there are more or fewer prongs, not even if he is superficially copying an original before him, he will be content if he has put on the head a number of prongs in a very questionable arrangement of branches. The only thing is, it will not satisfy his idea of stag antlers to draw two forks, he will put down at least three prongs each. Similarly, if I make a schematic drawing of a little fir tree, my minimum will be three pairs of symmetrical diagonal lines on a vertical line, the whole finished off at the bottom with a horizontal line; two pairs would indeed make a little tree, but not a little fir tree. Thus, even without counting, I will supply a minimum of components, in accordance with my inner perception. Our children, who are drilled early in the five of the fingers, will take it into account even in drawings which otherwise contain the grossest sins, and even before they think of reproducing the hand, they will correctly draw five fingers. In the case of the drawings of primitive peoples, we encounter an uncertainty about the number of fingers, and especially three fingers, with such regularity that we must recognize a law here, as in the case of the stag antlers and the fir tree. They undoubtedly did not count 1, 2, 3, and the only thing that can be at the basis of it is that

/254 cont./

they feel impelled to put in more than two lines, in order to define their vague inner conception at least to the extent that a bifurcation does not result.

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/255/ If we consider the five Bakairí portraits, we have, if we put the number of fingers in the numerator and the number of toes in the denominator, the following relationships: $\frac{3}{3}$, $\frac{3}{3}$, $\frac{5}{3}$, $\frac{3}{3}$, $\frac{5}{3}$, $\frac{5}{3}$, $\frac{3}{3}$, $\frac{3}{3}$ (Kulisehu I) and $\frac{4}{3}$ $\frac{5}{4}$ (Kulisehu II). I had them show me on my hand which fingers they had drawn; they took hold of my thumb, little finger, and middle finger and pointed to the corresponding lines in such a way that the little finger was the one in the center of the three which, in my portrait, happened to be the longest in the group of four. Ehrenreich is provided with two five-fingered arms; Wilhelm at least with one such arm. The lower extremities have three toes, with the exception of my portrait, Kulisehu II, where four are present on one side. On the same plate, the Nahuquá, after his first effort had been criticized, drew the correct number of fingers in the second, not from memory, to be sure, but with careful contemplation of the insulted original.

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Among the Bororó we find on plate I, aside from the armless portrait of me, Wilhelm with five fingers on each arm, the soldier with three on each arm, and similarly on plate II the Indian woman with three fingers. As for the rest, there is great progress to be seen here. Not only elbows and knee-joints appear in the form of thick knots, but also hands and feet. In the classic picture showing me with pipe and notebook, touching care has been devoted to the left thumb, which has been joined to the hand in a thick mass; on the right hand we note, to our surprise, seven fingers, but find a perfect explanation in the fact that the two extra fingers must grasp the little book; the legs are standing on shoes, as are Wilhelm's below. The soldier has been planted in the ground, with two lines for legs. The center figure next to him has most peculiar hands and feet, but at least it has some; they are extraordinarily reminiscent of the blood-sucking ticks. One also notes here a tendency to give the

/255 cont./

BO 171 532 extremities a second dimension. The feet of the Indian woman, Bororó II, an amusing contrast to the absent hands, are drawn in excellent outline and in good horizontal position; one might take them for shoes if three toes, not unlike short hairs, were not planted in them.

Of the animal pictures, only among the Bororó do the tapir and monkey have jointed feet. The jaguar legs end in round knobs -- cat paws. The tail is always featured; only in the case of the spotted jaguar may one reasonably wonder about the bushy stump. In the case of the flying hummingbird, whose legs are missing and indeed may be missing, we see a long and divided tail, such as more commonly occurs for this species.

B *171 532 Bark drawings. Rather seldom, except among the Nahuquá, where they were numerous, were human figures found carved in trees, that is to say, incised in outline or with the surface peeled out of the bark, along the forest path leading from the river to the village. They were, as far as /256/ /Figs. 37 and 38 appear here/ I remember, exclusively men in 1887. in 1884, however, we found a male figure above a female one in front of the first Batovy village of the Bakairí and a female figure in front of the second one, "with roguish utilization of a depression present in the bark." In the accompanying Bark figure of the Bakairí /see p. 279/, a great advance has been made by means of the surface cutting in comparison with the line drawings. Where the fingers were clearly worked out, they corresponded exactly to the three of the pencil drawings; the toes, on the other hand, were never treated more accurately. The legs ran down shapelessly, like stockings. We were particularly struck by the tree figure. along the forest path of the Nahuquá they had formations resembling donkey ears, but somewhat longer, on either side of the head, which represented ear feathers. There was also one or another animal figure. If I add to this the fact that there were human figures carved on the huge hollow drum-tree lying in front of the festival hut of the third Bakairí village, there follows the noteworthy fact that the use of the human figure in the art of drawing was present only on trees. The pencil drawings were done at my request.

3 [271]

/256 cont./

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B [532]

Fig. 37. Bakairí bark-figure.

Among the Auetö we saw animal figures in the interior of the "artists' hut," scratched and blackened on the posts.[1] They are all long and usually narrow figures, conforming to the posts. The first seems to be a snake with its mouth wide open; it was called nanyetá. We see an ordinary snake in the last figure, mói of the Auetö and Kamayurá /Camayura/, agáu of the Bakairí, and ü of the potter tribes. Moreover, in the first figure of the second row we have a /Plates XX and XXI appear here/ /257/ lizard, called tetú by the Auetö, teiú by the Tupí, and Teius by the zoologist. The last figure in the first row, however, in spite of its twists, represents a pakú fish. It seems even stranger to us to have the natives say that the second figure, not unlike a buckle rubbing its legs together, signifies a "small turtle," [illegible], [illegible]. Here the [illegible] is [illegible] like the tail of the pakú fish. The animal [illegible] to the little turtle, a four-footed one, was called [illegible] by the Auetö and Kamayurá. In view of this agreement, the word may be regarded as a

Y [532]

Fig. 38. Nahuquá bark-figures.

[1] [see P. 282--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 282]

B /262 cont./
*1711 Kustenaú /Custenau/, kulupêi, Waurá warjâi (French j), Yaulapiti
531 marirítyi, Auetö pirapêvit, Kamayurá tapaká, Trumaí pakí.
825 Everywhere the design has the name of the fish.

In Figure 43 /see p. 288/ the first and second designs were drawn in pencil by the Bakaírí, the third by a Nahuquá. The noble Nahuquá, exactly as in my portrait on Plate 17, 1/2 made it very easy for himself by being contented with the simplest outline imaginable, but he is alone in this negligent originality. The Nahuquá apply the design not only for the mereschu fish irínko, but also for a related one called íru or íno. A similar situation probably accounts for the fact that the Waurá word differs from that of the Mehinakú and the Kustenaú.

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Fig. 44.
Wooden mask with mereschu design. (Gull, Bakaírí.) (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Figure 44, the Bakaírí wooden mask, shows the mereschu design in typical fashion. It is especially in the painting of the masks that it plays the greatest role. The rhombus corresponds to the body of the fish and the four filled-in corners are head, tail, dorsal fin, and anal fin. The execution of the corners varies in plenitude, so that sometimes an octagon, sometimes a square is left inside. According to our feeling, such a filled-in triangle can only correspond to the head; we can, if necessary, imagine the fins drawn into the rhombus as set on, not drawn in, but for the time being we do not know what to make of the tail, which, as a triangle, ought to have its tip pointed inward and not outward, but we shall find the explanation later.

A The two Auetö masks, Figs. 45 and 46 /see p. 291/, show
531 how the mereschu typically appears as a surface design, one show-
532 ing the decoration on wood, the other on cloth-like material. The mereschus are framed by lines; they are embedded in a net with
[See p. 266-- Analysis]

/270 cont./

B *171 531 532 Otherwise it may be said that all festive adornment, insofar as it offered suitable areas, was without exception painted with designs. This is most noticeable on the masks, for which all tribes greatly preferred the mereschu, as will be shown in the more detailed description of masks.

B 531 [501] /271/ I shall briefly enumerate the most characteristic examples of decoration with designs. Among the Bakaïrí we saw a canoe painted with the ray rings and the zigzag of the anaconda. As for oars, apart from the one in Figure 51, we found only one B [534] where the snake design was applied or had been preserved. On the drum-tree lying in the third Bakaïrí village, besides the mereschu figures mentioned under bark drawings, there was a long fish-bone drawing painted on, like that of the first plate showing ornamentation /Pl. XX, see p. 280/. In the harbor of the Mehinaků, as I have also mentioned, several trees bore attractive mereschu designs scratched into them.

B 531 415 Among the Bakaïrí it was primarily the gourds that were adorned with designs, the drinking bowls as well as the ball-shaped calabashes and the bottle-shaped ones that were used for storing feathers. /Figs. 52 and 53 appear here./ Sometimes the ulugi design, sometimes the mereschu design covered them net-shaped, corresponding to the slice cut out at the stem of the calabashes, and also directly opposite, there was drawn a circle toward which the designs converged and of which a half-circle remained on the side when the gourds were cut in two for drinking bowls. On one specimen we saw that the mereschus had been pushed over one another in one corner, which gave the impression of plaiting. Occasionally mereschus and bats alternated and were differentiated B only by the fact that in the case of the latter the corners were [304] not filled in, like No. 10 on Plate 29. The back-sticks were all closely covered with designs, as described. Cf. page 296.

Y 171 531 Among the Nahuquá we were likewise particularly struck by the decorated gourds, except that here principally the rattle-gourds used in the dance were decorated. Their whole painting did not amount to much. Yet it is possible that I underestimate them, because during our first visit they had moved out their household

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four halves, and the hole is surrounded by a fifth central one, as is often the case in the incised designs as well.

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Painting of the pots. On the clay bowls that represent animals, a drawing of the animal is sometimes copied; cf. Figure 87, the lizard pot, in the chapter on ceramic plastic art /see p. 333/. More often the medium-sized and large pots are painted, and, to be sure, on the outer wall, besides on the bottom, with parallel vertical stripes and designs. One sees applied especially often the tattooing lines of the Mehinakú, which go around the shoulder blades on the inside in angles or curves. Plate 15 /see p. 253/ with the large pots shows us this motif on the bottom of the pot in the upper left in an already richer form, in that the curves are not only double, as also occurs in the tattooing itself, /277/ but triple, and are painted with dots between the two inner ones and with serpentine zigzags between the two outer ones. Smaller curves, such as the women have tattooed on their arms, are applied above the center field, which is filled in with color. The pot bottom in the foreground contains a center circle with network and around it the serpentine zigzag as well as a few lines in the direction of the lateral stripes. The drawing is irregular enough to prevent us from seeing it as a "star," which the Indian woman did not have in mind.

III. Plastic Representation and Ceramics.

Introduction. Small chain-figures. Straw figures. Loam dolls. Wax figures. Wooden figures (dance birds and fish, mandioca digging-sticks, beijú turners, combs, stools). Pots.

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The art of the Indians in imitating body forms is disproportionately more advanced than that of drawing. From the start, as Ricci also points out with respect to the efforts of children, it has the great advantage that the difficulties of perspective drop away. The parts may be clumsily worked out, but they are in their proper place; it is not necessary to put them in the wrong place in order to show them. Just as in drawing, indeed to a greater extent since the number of motifs is far more considerable,

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[825]

/277 cont./

*171 the animal motif is predominant here. Aside from the fact that
●532 the pots are made to look like gourds, from which they probably
825 arose, it is solely and entirely a matter of imitation of animals.
[535] Only in the dance art is there an equally inexhaustible abundance of motifs which arise from the joy in the hunting life and its observations.

*171 The plastic art, too, still permits one clearly to recognize
532 that it was originally merely descriptive. We must not expect to be able to trace its course back as far as in the case of drawing, the best efforts of which still remain a sort of cartographic enumeration of the characteristic features and preserve these even in the geometric modification, but we have here another indication which is no less clear. In the fashioning of bodily forms the material that is being worked on comes to the fore much more than in the incising of lines. Just as rhyme often furnishes the thought, so does a form already present often furnish the motif. Thus, there is a very striking frugality shown in the characteristic features that are stressed; any small resemblance is sufficient to define the object as a particular creature. On a higher level, the native adorns a utensil with a freely invented motif, and this then turns into geometric stylization exactly like the drawings.

*171 /278/ Small chain-figures. The meager characterization
30 is most striking in the small figures which are kept on the neck
532 chains, mostly those of babies and very small children, between the seed kernels, the shell beads, and the nut beads. The material is wholly unimportant. A piece of the convolution of the
[239] rose-colored snail shell has an edge which runs into irregular projections and indentations: that is a crayfish. The Bakairí
[239] cut birds and fish out of the shell of the caramujo branco,
[136] Orthalicus melanostomus. We see a shield-shaped piece, the body, which at the bottom continues into a narrower tail and at the top into a sort of neck piece (Fig. 63). This "neck piece," however, is the head, commonly pierced at the side to receive the string, and seems to be treated quite indifferently. If the tail piece is notched like a fin, we have before us a fish instead of a bird. /Figure 63 appears here./

/278 cont./

*171 301 ●532 [324] In like manner, small pieces of the greenish, black-speckled stone of the stone axes are: fish if they are flat, or birds if the roller-shaped body flattens out into a tail. Nature is helped along somewhat by grinding. In Figure 64, page 313, the first two chains show pierced stone disks (two to three centimeters in diameter) and stone cylinders (three centimeters long) between the nut-beads, such as are made by the Trumaí and Yaulapiti, in the third, the figures of the Nahuquá are made of clay; in the fourth copied by them out of the transparent, amber-like jatobá resin (Hymenaea); the third chain also contains an amber bead. A bird is strung on the first and fourth chain. The stone bird, with a small knob recognizable as a beak, is designated as a dove. The pear-shaped stones of the darts, in a small size, are also worn on the chains, tied on, not pierced, and, to be sure, we also found them imported among the Mehinakú, who have neither stones nor throwing sticks.

Similar figures are carved out of nut shells and bones. Among the Mehinakú we acquired a

[237] Fig. 63. Bird figure made out of mussel shell. (2/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

piece of bagadú fish-bone seven centimeters long, a square with bow-shaped flared sides, which represents a quadruped, while a smaller piece represents a ray with the tail and beside it the ventral fins. Unfortunately, I discovered too late that there was always a definite meaning attached to the figures and am therefore unable to say what some of them mean. All guessing is pointless here.

/278 cont./

285 532 Straw figures. Anyone who still feels confident about always being able to interpret the pictures and figures of the Indians I should have liked to have had beside me in the hut of the Bakaïrí which contains the large frieze, not so much because of the painted decorations, as because of a plaited design above the door. When the master of the house had explained the pictures to us, he led us to /279/ this door, as though he wanted to say: "Now here I have another little work of art." There was a plaiting made out of thin, black twigs lying crosswise and yellow straw stretched vertically. One saw two rows of squares between three rods, divided alternately in a diagonal direction from top left to bottom right and from top right to bottom left in such a way that each of them was made up of a black triangle of twigs and a yellow triangle of straw. The Bakaïrí explained these triangles as "swallow feathers," "tárîga yuchúto." The

Fig. 64. Small chain-figures. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

tárîga is a black and yellow swallow,* while the îri is black and white.

[114] * Erroneously described as half black, half "white" in my book, Die Bakaïrí-Sprache /The Bakaïrí Language/, p. 39.

Apparently the yellow triangles of the design represented the wings. It is by no means a matter of a casual design, for neither its special

B /279 cont./

285 mention, nor the surrounding figures, nor the construction of
532 twigs made this likely. All doubts vanished, however, when the Indian showed us, inside two squares, which were otherwise made up merely of crosswise twigs, several narrow, and in themselves quite meaningless, stretches of plaiting on which was wound a little yellow straw, and then explained: "capybara teeth." In other words, teeth of Hydrachoerus capybara or water hog, the large rodent characterized by huge incisors, the chisel of the natives. One had to admit that the outlines were roughly similar, but no European would have hit upon this correct interpretation by himself. Finally, we saw in the artists' hut of the Auetö a plaited strip which they designated for us as "fish bones." It was the same figure as No. 5, Plate 20 /see p. 280/.

B [257] [136] [412]

B * [171]

Y 285 I would have referred to these examples earlier, along with the drawings, and not here if they had not been connected with
524 peculiarly plaited figures or dolls which we found among the
532 Nahuquá. Of the two illustrations 65 and 66 /see p. 315/, the one is easily understandable and suitable for a kindergarten, it represents a /280/ toad; the other, however, I, at any rate, would not have interpreted correctly even if I had thought about it for a year. We have to recognize it as a deer! And actually it is quite simple. First I need to start out that it is an animal, then the sharply protruding corner piece /Figs. 65-67 appear here/ to the right must be the head, and thus I have a four-footed animal, whereas I do not pay any attention to the three peaks on the back, since a Nahuquá is not familiar with a dromedary or a camel, to say nothing of an animal with three elevations on its back. It must, moreover, be a type of quadruped for which the tail, since it is missing, is not characteristic. What I see in the way of feet, however, corresponds most closely to the hoofs of the deer. Thus, I come slowly limping along behind the Nahuquá with my conclusions, while the Indian of another tribe, after brief reflection, finds the correct solution by himself.

B0 285 Inasmuch as I considered the Bororó in connection with the drawings, their analogous Froebel toy might be taken up in
524 this connection. The folded piece of palm leaf, Fig. 67 left
532 /see p. 315/ represents a "Bororó woman," that is to say, it is

BO 285 524 532

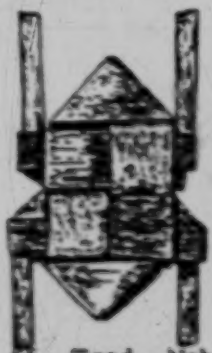
/280 cont./

nothing more than the pubic band with the bark belt holding it. A "Bororó man" was represented by a palm leaf strip folded in the same way and then only a thread tied around it, the waist cord, which he wears besides his cuff and wore long before the invention of the cuff.

B 285 532 535

B 524 [208]

The straw figures of the Bakaírí dance festivals are a special group. I shall have to discuss them in connection with the masks. They represented animals and were worn on the head. Span-long dolls served as children's toys and were also stuck on a pole in the roof of the festival



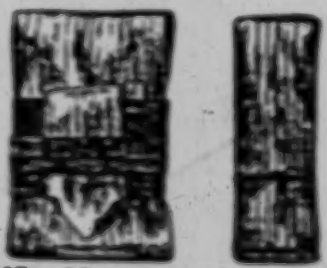
Y 285 524 532

Fig. 65. Toad. Nahuquá. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

hut as a sign that a masquerade was being celebrated; they announced to all the world: "Big dance entertainment today."

Fig. 66. Deer. Nahuquá. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

B 524



The two little dolls of Figure 68 /see p. 316/ seem to be very expressively summoning one for the merriment. In 1884 we came across larger straw figures, which were not used as headdresses, in front of the second Bakaírí village

BO 285 524 532

Fig. 67. Woman's and man's figure. Bororó. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

on the Batovy. "Shortly before the exit from the woods we came across a wonderful display of about a dozen animal figures along one side of the path, probably the remains from a festival." (They

/280 cont./

285 were meant to welcome the participants from the neigh-
532 boring villages.) "They were made of leaves and straw,
535 /281/ mostly quadrupeds with long, thin bodies, consisting of practically nothing but spinal column and long legs; the tallest ones reached to our hips. Something that was evidently supposed to be a monkey was climbing up a pole." (Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, page 168 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 50/.

Fig. 68. Invitation to the dance. Bakairí. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

[524]
→

285 The maize figures, almost exclusively
532 birds, are extremely characteristic of their
525 enjoyment of art; we found the most attractive examples of them in the second Bakairí village. There they hung, almost as large as turkeys, on a long string from the vault of the dome, a strange sight for the person entering, who undoubtedly

Fig. 69. Maize figure: Harpyia destructor. Bakairí. (1/10 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

[251] would think of idols and fetishes. But these fine birds were nothing but lovingly trimmed maize ears which were stored in their natural straw husks. I listed figures of Harpia destructor, a large and a small species of falcon, the snake

/281 cont./

285 bird, and the jabiru or giant stork. A human-like figure, a doll
532 with a knob on top instead of a head, represented the imoto
825 dancer in his straw garb. Otherwise there were always birds, and, to be sure, large birds. Often a pair of genuine tail feathers were stuck in or a few colored bands painted on the maize straw. The accompanying Harpia destructor (Fig. 69 /see p. 316/) is characterized by its strong beak and its crest, the tail feathers are banded with black; the toes are lovingly made out of twisted straw and where the foot emerges from the feathers of the leg there is a lashing. More impressive was the tujujú stork, it hung with wings outspread! A thick maize ear, as the center section, formed the body, only the stem was not cut off on it, but rather, projecting far out, formed the somewhat thin, but long beak. On either side eleven maize ears in
[250] a row were clamped between a couple of twigs, and this beautifully suspended bridge then represented Mycteria americana, the individual parts of which were broken off one by one and roasted. Nothing mysterious, nothing symbolic, only a stork which the Bakairí were very willing to roast crispy for the astonished European.

/282/ Loam dolls. A similar unexpected combination of
524 the beautiful and useful is shown by a heavy, red, loam doll,
532 30 centimeters long, 24 centimeters wide, and seven centi-
861 meters thick, Fig. 70 /see p. 318/. Four rounded stumps, which are produced by two lateral and one lower /Fig. 70 appears here/ indentation in the body lump, are the extremities; a clumsy, cube-shaped projection, the head. Two little holes, the eyes; a depression, the mouth sliding sharply downward, and another little hole, the navel. This red loam man is an edible doll for children. It consists of the material which the Bakairí say their grandfathers consumed before they were acquainted with mandioca. Today the heavy, fat dough is probably no longer a prized delicacy. The doll is also not very suitable as a plaything because of its weight. I was told that children licked it. We found similar dolls made of whitish, harder, nonedible loam, however, and saw nothing of loam being

B
524 /282 cont./ we found similar dolls made of whitish,
532 edible loam, however, and saw nothing of loam being
261 eaten by the Kulisehu Indians, whereas among the Bororó I saw
171 that they absent-mindedly broke off and nibbled little pieces of the
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wall of the station house in front of which we stood talking.

Among the Bakaïrí we discovered a small female doll of baked clay, which they attributed to the Auetö, the only one of its kind. Among the Auetö themselves we did not find anything similar. The arms are broken off close to the shoulder, the legs somewhat lower

Fig. 70. Loam doll. Bakaïrí. (1/6-1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 71. Clay doll. Auetö. (3/4 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

in the middle of the shapeless, swollen thighs. /283/ Aside from this elephantiasis, the modeling is not bad at all. The torso especially is praiseworthy, the navel is in the right place, and the back, both in

/283 cont./

*191 524 532 its course with the furrow of the spine as well as where it ends with a somewhat deeply cut division, is free of all schematization. The head reminds one of that of an Eskimo in its round hood, which is the result, first of all, of the absence of a neck, and then of the shallow depression dug out below the hair line for the face and in which the nose was left standing. In the case of the loam man of the Bakairí, it can be seen on closer inspection that there was also a depression (but extremely shallow) for the face.

*191 239 532 125 Wax figures. Again, as in the case of maize, merely an artistic way of preserving the material. The black wax was shaped into pretty little animal figures, and, to be sure, most attractively among the Mehinakú, and thus hung up or placed in a basket until needed. Among the Bakairí we found a human figure better modeled than the loam dolls. The civilized Indians converted to Christianity have modified their saints out of wax and sell

Fig. 72. Wax figure: peccary. Mehinakú. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration)./

[191 532]

Fig. 73. Wax figure: kariro dove. Mehinakú. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

them. The plastic wax best revealed what the artists could do. Some animals were very well modeled, for instance, the small peccary or tayassu, 6.5 centimeters long, of Figure 72, Dicotyles torquatus. The eyes are represented by a pair of small plates of shell, the nostrils of the proboscis put in deeply. Of other mammals we also saw the large swamp deer and a howling monkey in the form of wax figures. More common were the hanging

/283 cont./

#171 birds, often painted red. In Illustration 73 /see p. 319/ we see
237 a karijo dove, the figure, 15 centimeters long, with the short
532 wing stumps, turned out very stiff.
525

Wooden figures. In discussing the dance ornaments I shall
537 deal with the carved and painted wooden masks separately. The
535 Bakairí, whose festival finery consisted mostly of straw caps,
525 straw suits, and straw animals worn on the head, carved birds of light wood for their headpieces. In 1884 we brought back from the Batovy a wonderful head-structure (illustrated in Durch Centralbrasilien, page 322 /see 1:Steinen, this file, p. 16/), where seven colorfully painted birds are mounted on three long rods wound with flocks of cotton, /284/ birds which at that time I took to be swallows, but in the meantime have been able to identify as sanyassú (Tanagra sayaca Neuw.). Those shown in No. 74 are similar birds, the larger of which represents a falcon, the small one the nimble shore birds - massarico (Calidris arenaria), there were many of them in the third Bakairí village on the Kulisehu. The neck is sharply set off from the body, a few lines show the markings of the feathers and a long stalk stuck

Fig. 74. Wooden figures: falcon and massarico. Bakairí. (1/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 75. Wooden fish of the Batovy Bakairí. (1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

[301]

Fig. 76. Mandioca digger as a back-stick. Bakairí. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

through the body on the right and left and with its ends coming together again at the bottom represents the legs.

B 532

/284 cont./

On the Batovy we found fish (Fig. 75 /see p. 320/) crudely carved out of hard bark and pierced for hanging up, 30-40 centimeters long, flat and wide, with fins or band-like without fins, and the gill cover marked by a curve, just as in the rhombus drawings of fish one corner is filled in to represent the head. We found similar fish in 1887 among the Nahuquá. Here, however, they are whizzer sticks, which I shall discuss under musical instruments in the chapter "Mask Ornamentation and Dance Ornaments, III" /see pp. 381 - 382/.

B [271] [28]

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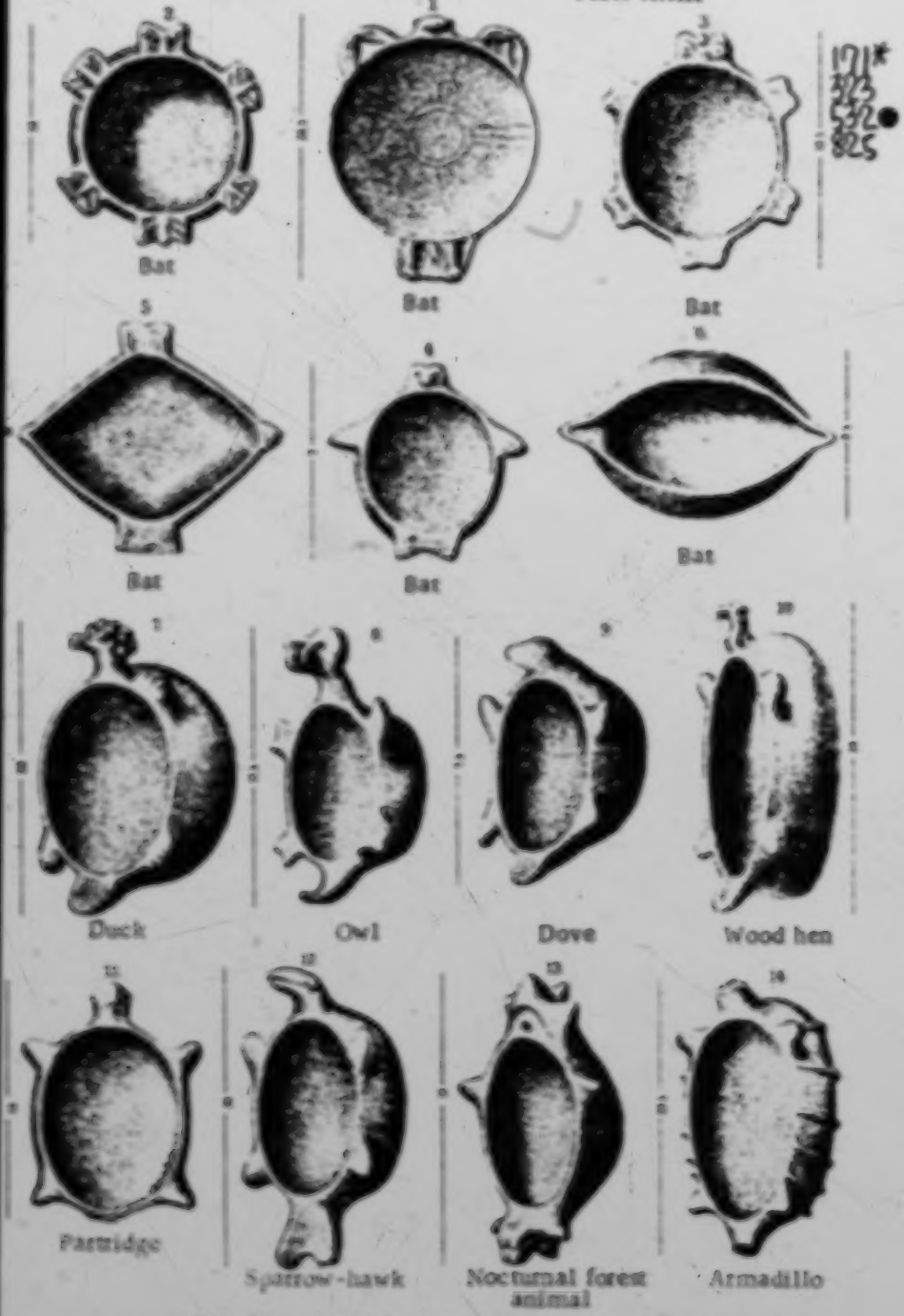
The manioca digging-sticks among the Mehinakú showed a carved decoration of great interest. The ordinary digging-stick is a smooth, pointed stick made of hard wood 60-65 centimeters long and of exactly the same shape as the ornamental stick of Fig. 76 /see p. 320/, which is decorated with the meresehu design and plaited round in several places. These pointed sticks take the place of the spade. Now it occurs to imaginative minds /Fig. 76 appears here/ to carve the head and part of the body of the digger wasp, a little animal that also throws up the sand, on the blunt end of the stick. See Fig. 77 /see p. 322/. The first picture of the series shows us this motif in the first stage. we see the constricted body sharply set off and on it the head with an eye of wax on either side (cf. also Fig. 78 /see p. 322/. In the three following pictures the figure is stylized. the last one, a simple point, does not seem to be connected with this development, but it is striking that the /285/ pointed piece is set off on a free edge. Figures 2, 3, and 4 are thus stylized digger wasps; they would be as little recognizable as such as are the horses' heads on many a gable of the farmhouses in Pomerania, if one /Fig. 77 appears here/ did not know their story, and without it they would certainly be regarded as purely ornamental. In our case the motif is truly motivated. the Indians laughingly demonstrated for me how they themselves tear up the ground, just as the /Fig. 78 appears here/ digger wasp burrows and throws up the sand. The Mehinakú called it kukúi, the Bakairí koinghoíng.

2. Steinen--328 E D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate XXIII



Pots from the Kulisehu. Measurements in centimeters.

2: Steinen--329 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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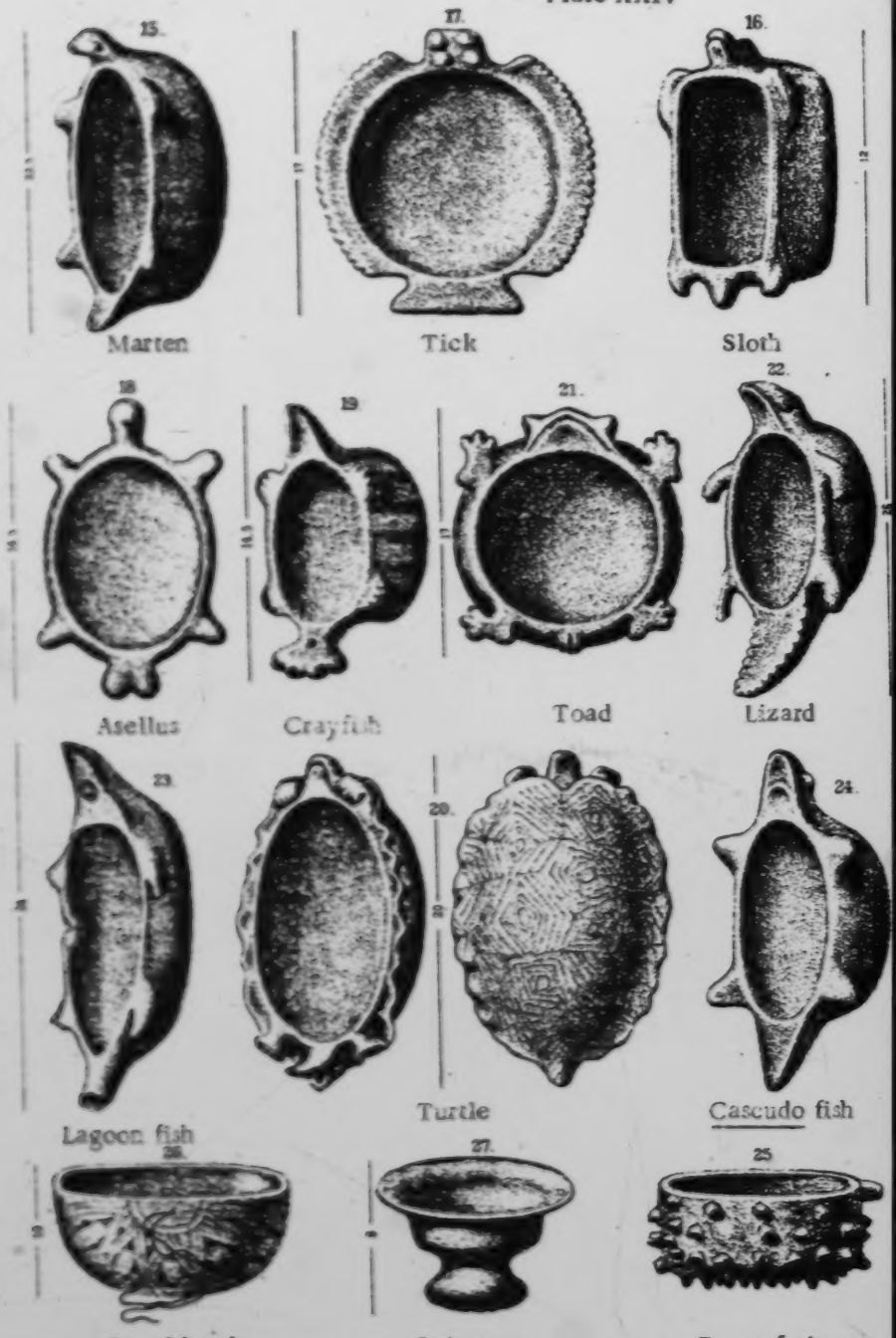
Plate XXIV



Pots from the Kulisehu. Measurements in centimeters.

/289 cont./

*171 323 acquaintance we made in the Auetö harbor. No. 27, with the "goblet shape," indented along the edge on the outside, is regarded as a paint pot of the Waurá. Beaker and goblet have not yet penetrated to our Indians; this form, too, has a gourd-bowl motif, which, however, is less to be seen than to be heard. The flat sphere at the bottom is not put on, say, simply for an easier grip, but represents precisely the essential part of the plastic production, a rattle gourd. It harbors on the inside a few small stones or seeds which give off a rather weak rattling sound if one shakes the "goblet."

*171 323 532 825 While these three pots have a free edge, all the others are characterized by a greater or lesser number of projections. These projections, modeled in many different ways, characterize the animal portrayed. Almost everywhere the roundness of the gourd is retained; indeed, it is obvious that this has given direction to the artistic idea. Just as the ordinary, merely crescent-shaped disks of the beijú turners represent the animal body as soon as a handle carved as head and neck is added, so the rounded bowl becomes the animal body when head and limbs are added with the edge-projections. This, then, is a clear and unequivocal history of development. Once the new artistic element has been achieved, it develops with independent freedom, presses on to a variety of forms, and, in the most popular and oft-repeated forms, rapidly deteriorates to stylization.

The most common, by far the most common form of the pot is the one with the bat motif. Apparently Indian sensibility is not guided by our refined considerations of taste. Our ladies would not be agreeably affected if they were obliged to eat out of bats, toads, and ticks; we men, however, can wash our hands in innocence, for it is the women who had these indelicate notions. To do them justice, I am assuming that /290/ they were influenced in their realism by the color and form of the original animals and were led to choose those whose imitation would turn out most favorably for pots. The bat, besides its roundish body, is exactly the color of the clay, and the toad (No. 21), which is likewise not infrequent, turned out excellently in the

: Steinen--331 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/290 cont./

#171 323 532 825

circular, bellied pot. Armadillos and turtles are, indeed, nothing but walking pot-shells and were therefore deemed worthy of the imitation of their shells in the curvature of the pots. The lizard swinging from the hammock by its tied tail, presents itself, as a good domestic animal, for friendly consideration. Finally, there were also several types of caymans and cascudo fish, both armored. The other motifs are unique.

We found and added to our collection the following animals in imitations.

Mammals: Two species of bats (1-6), deer, page 333, squirrel, irara marten (Galictis barbara) (15), sloth (16), little anteater or Tamanduá mirim (Myrmecophaga tetradactyla), armadillo, a small tatú /tatou/ (14), as well as tatú canastra, or giant armadillo (Dasypus gigas), and finally, a nocturnal forest animal that was said to be similar to an armadillo (13).

Birds: White sparrow-hawk (Buteo pterocles) (12), coruja owl (8), dove (9), makuko wood hen (Trachypelmus brasiliensis) (10), inyambú partridge (11), duck (7), and an unidentified flying bird.

Creeping and amphibious animals: trakajá river turtle (Emys tracaxa) (20), kágado turtle (Emys depressa), jabuti forest turtle (Testudo tabulata), cayman, lizard (22), sinimbú or chameleon (Anolis), toad (21).

Fish: cascudo, akará, or armored sheatfish (24), lagoon fish (23), ray.

Insects and lower animals: karapato or tick (Ixodes) (17), crayfish (19), asellus (18).

The most beautiful specimen, the trakajá turtle, No. 20, is really a work of art, not so much because the drawing of the shell is so carefully incised, but because of the extremely felicitous modeling of head, tail, and limbs. The front feet in particular are bent over so pliantly and naturally that one marvels at the talent for form and the gift of observation of the unknown Mehinakú woman. I must say, in her honor, that she copies nature more faithfully than the Berlin sketcher and lithographer did her reproduction.

/290 cont./

In the case of some animals one may speak of a direct copy hollowed out rather than of a pot with anatomical structure. For example, the turtle 20, the toad 21, the bat 1, the lizard 22, on which, in the drawing of my cousin, Figure 87 /see p. 333/, the body painting is still visible. The bat is particularly remarkable because of the outspread wing membrane from which the rear extremities are carefully worked out. In /291/ No. 2 the projections are simply incised, the head with the eyes has a couple of lines for the eyes, the other projections have been given two pairs of strokes for the lines of the wing membranes. These strokes may be left out, and one sees merely a six-projection pot and is surprised to hear it called "bat" regularly and among the most diverse tribes. In Nos. 3 and 4 the facial parts are even more precisely portrayed, in No. 3 the tail is broader than the extremity-projections, in No. 4 the legs and the tail are joined inside the wing membrane, as in /Fig. 87 appears here/ No. 1, and not further indicated. Nos. 5 and 6, too, were bats, but it was said they were a different, smaller species than the round six-projection pots. We are immediately reminded of the bat rhombuses drawn by the Bakairí, Plate 20 /see p. 280/.

In a more careful examination of the pots one will be able to understand, at least to a certain extent, the characteristic feature that differentiates most of them. At least one of the three elements, head, limbs, or tail, is always provided with an identifying "special mark." /Fig. 88 appears here./ In connection with this, the inference per exclusionem is never to be forgotten.

No. 15, the marten-like Galictis, is probably the most difficult to recognize. The snout is more pointed in the original. The sloth, No. 16, is identified by the shape of the head and the position of the four legs at the corners. But it was obviously not easy with the four-footed mammals. For example, the only exception arose among them: a deer (6.5 × 13.5 centimeters in diameter) was set on its legs and the hollow opened in the back. Figure 88 /see p. 333/. The shape of the head, the tail, and the stance permitted even foreign Indians to identify the little pot

/291 cont./

171 immediately as a deer. The happy thought, which could lead
323 the portrayal into entirely new directions, was not encount-
532 ered by us in any other example.
525

In the case of the birds, wing and leg stumps are not differentiated; the feathers are incised in the tail, cf. 7 and 12, that of the sparrow-hawk is /292/ indented. The head of the drake, 7, and of the owl, 8, are well characterized;

Fig. 87. Lizard pot. (1/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

in the case of the dove, 9, there is the same head shape as on the little figures of the neck stones; the sparrow-hawk, 12, has a powerful beak, and a nicely formed little head is set on

Fig. 88. Deer pot. (2/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

the makuku, 10. In the case of the indistinct partridge, 11, the tail is broken off.

Fish were extremely rare. No. 23 has a long tail, the end of which was already broken off when we acquired the pot, but on the journey it lost still another piece. The head shapes of 23 and 24 are similar to the lizard, but they have a peculiar mouth.

/292 cont./

The tick, 17, has four knobs on its head, which are probably supposed to represent maxillary feelers and mouth parts. The notched edge is most amusing. It reproduces not at all badly the general impression of the creeping and crawling of the eight crooked legs, which, in the case of animals that have sucked their fill, form a wreath at the top of the sac. I do not know whether the isopod, 18, bears up under zoological scrutiny. It is eyeless, like the Asellus, one of which it is supposed to represent, as far as I understood my informant. In No. 19, the crayfish, we note richly scalloped extremities and a tail fin. For eyes it has a pair of small knobs in which is pierced a fine little hole.

Fig. 89. Suyá toad-pot. (1/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

In conclusion I am adding a pot (diameter 10 x 15 centimeters) with a human representation! It is too much to demand, however, that anyone should suspect anything human about it. The woman artist who brought it to us shook with laughter over her creation. She wanted to make a toad-pot and had already copied the tail and leg projections, as well as the head with the bulging eyes of toad form. Then, when she was modeling the wide mouth and it happened to turn out open instead of closed, she noticed the similarity with the much-ridiculed lip disk of the despised Suyá, which stands out in front of the teeth of these Indians like a movable saucer. She laughed about it, set the stiff mouth flap neatly perpendicular to the toad face, and called the pot a "Suyá figure." Thus, for once, an ornament of the men was used as a motif by the women, analogous to the uluri motif, which was so popular among the gentlemen artists.

2: Steinen--335 f, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SPT Bacairi 577

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IV. Relationship between the Animal Motif and the Technique.

What appears as a joke in the case of the Suyá pot, namely, the influence of the technique on the determination of the motif, makes itself felt on a wider scale as a lawful process. Let us examine once again the list of animals portrayed in pots. It is interesting on account of the animals which are not there. One might say that the same difference is discernible as in the modern motifs of men and women artists on the average, especially in the still lifes: on the one hand, flowers, fruits, butterflies, flies, market fish, and ham, on the other hand, game and herring. For among the animals of the pots, the smaller animals and, with the exception of the ticks, the tamer ones predominate. At any rate, it is noteworthy that, by and large, jaguar, tapir, pig, and the parrots providing the feather ornaments and kept at home are entirely absent. These animals are also missing, however -- again for a special reason to be mentioned later -- in the animal masks of the men's festivals, and it should be further noted that one sees the above-mentioned connection between motif and form of presentation even more clearly from the negative side.

Snakes and monkeys, with their elongated bodies, were entirely unsuitable for the earthenware gourds, whereas the former were excellently adapted to the long bark boards of the frieze or the sword-shaped whizzer stick or the canoe, and the latter to a hut post or a flute. The handle of the half-moon of the beiju turner could easily be transformed into the neck of a bird or the fore part of a snake, but it did not become, for example, a fish, which simply cannot be combined with the half-moon and a one-sided elongation. On the other hand, the whizzer stick with its long, narrow shape became a fish (cf. Chapter XI under III /see p. 381 /), and the cord could be very conveniently wound up on the tail end; the hole for the cord is not therefore, say, in the eyes on the head end. The drawn and incised fish-body becomes a rhombus, the mereschu design dominates the entire art of drawing, and a Waurá woman even scratches it in the gourd-pot, but it does not occur to anyone to depict a

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mereichu as a pot? Why? The mereichu won in the struggle for existence among the incised designs because it was easiest to incise a figure characterized by sharp and readily scratched-out corners. It was easy to make and still retained the likeness. Likewise the ulutu. Occasionally, cf. Pot 5 /see p. 328/, a rhombus-shaped pot was produced, but it belongs in the developmental series of bat forms, while for the fish the more natural oval outline can assert itself here, where other animals also have it, cf. 23 and 24 /see p. 329/.

A law is clearly expressed in this. It is not symbolic subtlety that directs the artistic impulse. Neither in small things nor in large. The woman artist neither shies away from making a toad-pot because the toad is an unappetizing animal, /294/ nor does she choose the bat because this creature also occurs in the mythology of the Indians. In view of the role played by the animal in the mental life of the Indian, animal motifs suggest themselves as a matter of course. The choice, however, may be prompted first of all by the nature or activity of the animal: the shell of the turtle corresponds to the pot, the digger wasp decorates the mandioca digging stick; the agutí with its handsome fur, the comb; the picture of the hissing snake, the whizzer stick; that of the whistling monkey, the flute. Then, however, as soon as artistic activity is practiced with sufficient vigor, the form and size and color of the object also have a decisive effect, so that the animal that is most appropriate for them is chosen for reproduction. The artist need not be aware of this at all. It comes by itself if attempts in another direction turn out unsatisfactorily. This phenomenon manifests itself most of all in the reproduction of birds: we saw only a small bird painted on a back-stick, whereas the plastic birds -- carved, molded out of wax, or in the form of maize-straw dolls -- were extremely numerous. It was easier for the Indians to form characteristically the outlines of the head, beak, and tail, as well as the proportions, in plastic form than in drawing.

/294 cont./

In conclusion I shall list the animal motifs observed by us and shall add in what form they occur. F means plaited work, M maize bird, S carving, T pots, W wax, Z drawing, incising, or painting.

Mammals: Monkey (macaque) Z, S; (howling monkey) W. Bat (several species) Z, T. Jaguar Z, S. Irara marten T. Squirrel T. Agutí S. Capybara (teeth) F. Porcupine Z. Sloth T. Armadillo (giant armadillo, small species) T. Little anteater T. Swamp deer /Odocoileus dichotomus/ W. Roe deer F, T. Peccary W.

Birds: King vulture (red urubu) S. White urubu S. Harpy M. Falcon, sparrow hawk M, S, T. Owl T. Songbirds S. Swallow F, Z. Dove S, T, W. Partridge T. Wood hen T. Mamarico S. Giant stork M, S. Tujujú stork M, S. Spoonbill S. Snake bird M.

Creeping animals and amphibians: Turtles (wakayú, jabutí, kágado) T, Z. Cayman Z. Iguana (also loam figure) T. Lizards (several species) T, Z. Snake (several species) S, Z. Toad F, T.

Fish: Armored sheatfish Z. Kuomi Z. Kurimatá Z. Lagoon fish T, Z. Matrincham Z. Mereschu Z. Nuki Z. Pakú Z. Piava D. Pintado sheatfish Z. Ray (two species) Z, S. Unidentified S, Z. Bones F, Z.

Insects and lower animals: Grasshopper Z. Digger wasp S. Tokandira ant Z. Tick T. Crayfish S, T. Ascilus T.

All kinds of new motifs are added in the masks.

/295/

Chapter XI.

Mask Ornamentation and Dance Ornaments.

Preliminary remarks. I. Masks. Dancing and singing. "Idols"? Feasts and invitations. Participation of the women. Types of mummery. Bakairí dances (makanári) and masks. Nahuquá (fish-net dance). Mehinahú (cayman dance). Auetó (koahílu dance, yakuíkatú dance). Kamayurá (hüvát dance). Trumaí. II. Common origin of the masks and the mereschu design. The

2. Steinen--339 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/296/

I. Masks.

191 ● 532 535 On the second journey our yield of dance ornaments and, above all, of face-masks was considerably larger than on the first. This is all the more important since the masks, which are, after all, distributed throughout the world in the most diverse forms and for the most diverse purposes, and which play such an important part among the Indians of northern America, have so far been observed only to a relatively slight extent in South America. It seems that they occur in particular in the Amazonas region, but it may only seem so. All the tribes have their dance festivals, all have pantomimes in which animals are portrayed, people adorn themselves with natural ornaments of skins or feathers, imitate the voices and movements, and spontaneously arrive at the characterizing mummery which makes the spectacle more effective. The technical skill of the mummery and its characterization certainly differs, but probably all hunting peoples reached the level which we come across among the Schingú tribes, again with an entirely different development of mimic devices. We are so poorly informed about this only because the opportunities to investigate living tribes in an undisturbed state are rare and can be only superficially exploited during a fleeting visit. Our own journey is the best example. In one region where [126] in 1884 we came across strange headgear with animal imitations of straw, etc., but only two wooden dove-masks, in 1887 we brought back a handsome collection of face masks which, now in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde, permit an interesting comparison with the grotesque animal masks of the Tehuna /Tucuna/ from the upper Amazon River that are present there. Ehrenreich, too, brought back from the Karayá /Caraja/ on the Araguay /Araguaia/ a number of huge dance masks adorned in the most colorful manner with feathers, which in their construction remind one most strikingly of the Duk-duk of the South Sea.

[184 345] Not only each tribe, but each village has its own masked dances. The center is always the "flute house." In their character the dances are extraordinarily alike throughout Brazil. Always the running around in a circle and the jerky singing corresponding

/296 cont./

* 171 to the stamping. It is extremely characteristic that the Bakairí
• 532 have the same word for "dancing" and "singing." "The mean-
536 ing of the songs," says Martius, "is simple: praise of the warlike
[538] and hunting deeds of individuals or hordes, enumeration of certain animals and remarks about their characteristics. If masks appear at the festival, most of which represent animals, the wearers imitate their voices."

* 171 We did not observe anything that would permit us to con-
123 clude that the masks are in any way regarded as sacred. The
532 pieces plaited out of palm straw in particular were all heedlessly tossed aside after use. True, the masks were sometimes hidden from us, but only in the same way that /297/ all portable utensils and ornaments were hidden from us, out of fear of robbery. Once the people had gained confidence in us, they surrendered their masks to us without further ado and made new ones to order. They were demonstrated for us with joking and laughter, like a pretty toy.

529 Among the docile Bakairí /Bacairi/ on the Paranatinga and the Rio Novo the principal festival usually occurred in April. I, with my civilized conceptions, was pursuing the idea of a feast of thanksgiving and thought of the possibility that the festival held at harvest time was somehow being celebrated in praise and honor of some friendly powers regarded as the givers of good things. I therefore tried to find out from Antonio whether anything like that could be established. Antonio, however, did not respond to my suggestion. "We celebrate the festival around harvest time," he declared, "because then we have something to celebrate; in the dry period we must save, in the rainy season everything would become moldy." Materialistic, but understandable.*

*"Usually a surplus of supplies for the beverages is the occasion for the festival," says Martius, "but where European custom has asserted itself and Christians live next to Indians, a saint's day will probably be chosen for it."

/299 cont./

* 191 535 5. Oval frames on which are stretched netting, cotton plaiting, and cotton weaving. Facial parts of wax pasted on, eyes of cotton flocks, beans, mother-of-pearl. Painted. Bakairí, Auetó, Kamayurá, Trumaí.

* 191 ● 532 535 6. Wooden masks. Square wooden plates with mighty bulging forehead and nose of human form. Painted on natural markings of the animal, outline of the animal, body parts of the animal (wings, fins), stylized animal designs. Eyes of mussel shell, mouth with fish teeth pasted on with wax; the latter, like the former, again of human shape. Bakairí, Nahuquá, Auetó, Kamayurá, and, in the largest development, Mehinakú /Mehinacu/. The Mehinakú had only wooden masks. A transitional form between 5 and 6, without the forehead bulge and oval, among the Auetó.

Fig. 99. Imeo dancer. Bakairí.

* 191 527 535 [197] In the masked festivals borrowings from foreign tribes, which are suggested through visits, and local cultivation of special variations are undoubtedly mixed.

Cologne, Düsseldorf, Mainz, and Trier also have, in their carnival societies, different caps, different insignia, different customs /300/ in the meetings, different songs, different slogans, and different motifs for the vehicles of the procession. Here, too, special "ladies' meetings" are announced for the participation of the female sex, and the women rigorously guard

/300 cont./

* 191 against appearing in the "flute house" at an inappropriate time,
589 though they may hope to come out again alive, or at most only
535 half dead. Carnival on the Kuliseku is also followed by a period of fasting, for it does not end -- the reason is not one connected with the cult -- before everything that is there has been eaten
[242] and drunk insofar as possible. The women have an enormous
[242] job satisfying the demands for beijûs and drinks; they must pound,
[292] boil, and bake incessantly, and this necessity has probably also contributed somewhat to their being kept away from the dancing, so that they could meanwhile carry out their duties.

535 Bakaïrí. On the Rio Novo and Paranatinga the old customs are still observed. "Everybody dances like the wild Bakaïrí," said Antonio, "todo dansa como Bakaïrí bravo." He described to me the festival held last April, when the people from the Rio Novo had invited those of the Paranatinga. They danced the yatuka dance, the makanari, and the imeo. Yatuka is a fish dance: wooden fish are worn on the head, especially the black pakú and the matrincham; heads of men and women are made of calabashes painted black and white or black and red and surrounded with Bromelia hair.

Makanari is a general term. The Bakaïrí calls almost everything and anything that is part of his dance adornment makanari; he calls specific dances makanari. "bakaïrí makanari zóto," the Bakaïrí is master of the makanari. It is the dance of his tribe. The imeo is a type of makanari, a specific figure. In fact, it seems that the concept of makanari was originally narrower and
* [532] referred to a specific dance with straw plaiting. Among the docile Bakaïrí there are no wooden masks. Here the principal makanari is the bat dance, and, to be sure, zemîmo, the small
[533] bat, and aluã, the large bat. Antonio recited the text of the aluã dance* for me, but, in spite of a great deal of trouble, it

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*One man sings: ohuhaaha-ihã yumãa ohũ.....
yumarí uvanukã, yumari uvanukã huyanã vitã
õõ....yohohohũ. Then another: mauã kãua

/301 cont./

535 of vine characterizes the barbels of the fish. The costume for the other figures of the dance consists of a straw cap with long fiber hangings all around, pulled down over the entire head, and a garment plaited out of buriti leaf strips, which we found on the Batovy evening 1884. Straw caps without a stem belong to the semimo or bat dancer; the imôdo (on the left in Figure 92 /see p. 348/) has on its cap a stem with one or even two knob-like thickenings, the imeo (Figure 92, right) a bundle of knobbed stems. The imodo was also hung up in the hut as a maize doll (cf. page 317). Finally, a cap with five little cane rods arranged like Panpipes plaited into the stem was called enoschibiro; this, however, is the name of the wood out of which the flutes are carved. The mask represented a whistling bird which I could not identify. The measurements of this cap are: total length 86 centimeters, top piece 11.5 centimeters, actual cap 22.5 centimeters, hangings 52 centimeters.

[532]

Fig. 91. Sheatfish mask. Bakairí. (1/16 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

The buriti doublet of the imeo dance, with fringed sleeves and trousers, Fig. 92, is very remarkable. We also found separate sleeves, which were worn in connection with the loose straw hangings. One steps into the suit at the neck, the width there is one and a quarter meters and a string is inserted for drawing it together. The Bakairí tried to put on European shirts in the same awkward way. Between the trouser legs there is a slit that is laced together with a thin cord. /302/ If our clothing owes its origin to a sense of modesty, the Bakairí has taken another course, or he must be regarded as a bad satirist, for on some specimens he has hung on the outside a penis consisting of a

[831]

/302 cont./

535 framework of stalks in which sat small sanyama birds amidst flocks of cotton, lizards plaited out of straw, as well as two sword-like pieces of wood painted black and white, which represented rattlesnakes -- /303/ all, except the circularly cutout ball-gourds, were provided with straw funnels for setting

[530] them on the head. In addition, rattle-gourds and foot-rattles made of hard fruit shells.

• 532 535 As for masks, I obtained in Maigdri a longish oval mask of net plaiting with a beard of buriti fibers, a pendant of Orthalicus shells, and a wide-meshed net hood trimmed with curassow feathers. In the upper third, which is vertically intersected by a white stripe, but otherwise is painted red and dotted with black, there are the two eyes in the form of two straw rings; a band of straw borders the tongue-shaped nose which is on the edge above the eyes.

[531] The lower two thirds have a white loam background and on it exhibit the mereschu design in black and neatly drawn. The most striking thing, however, is the picture of a piava fish, tonfichi, which in the continuation of the stripe in the center of the face stands in the middle of the mereschu design. The black dotting of the upper part is probably also connected with it.

Fig. 93.
Net plaited-mask with piava fish. Bakairí. (1/10 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

We obtained eight wooden masks, all with black, red, and usually also white painting. They are heavy, flat wooden plates

[302] laboriously worked out with the stone ax, out of which the forehead part projects with considerable curvature.

/303 cont./

532 part projects with considerable curvature. They also have a huge
535 nose of human shape, which, along with the rest, is carved out
[239] of one piece. The mouth consists of a set of piranha teeth pasted on with wax. The eyes are small holes decorated with little pieces of mother-of-pearl, or they appear in two masks as a pair of river mussels pierced in the center. Hoods, from which, as always, long straw hangings flutter down, are plaited on the wooden
[239] plates for putting them on the head. In the places corresponding
[619] to the ears, the Bakairí were in the habit of inserting two beautiful yellow japú feathers (Cassicus), which they themselves wear as a sort of tribal mask. These feathers are also to be noted on the costume of the man with the imeo cap (cf. page 344).

532 Six of the masks were identified for us as bird masks. We
535 have, first of all, a mask, Fig. 94 /see p. 351/, which represents
525 a dove, papadíri, secondly a /304/ /Figs. 94-97 appear here/ /305/ gull mask, kakaya, see Fig. 44, page 289, thirdly the mask of a small bird unknown to us, which is said to live along lagoons and is called alapübe, Fig. 95, fourthly the arakuma mask, which represents a cock of the woods and is characterized by a wooden stem representing the head ornament of the animal, Fig. 96, and, finally, two tiwetiwe masks, one with a black indented decoration, the other with a red one, which refer to a songbird with a white head and red shoulder markings, Fig. 97. Of the bird masks described, only the gull mask (cf. the illustration on page 289) has the mereschu decoration, and it may doubtless be assumed that this is supposed to characterize the fish-catching water bird, since the mereschu is not shown in the net but separately.

The two most attractive masks were called yakuš-ikúto, that is, "piranha picture." They bear red cheek markings; on the one specimen we see two red triangles with the tips touching between nose and mouth, and the triangles are so large that each takes up one-fourth of the plate. (Cf. Fig. 12, p. 168.) By means of this painting the larger piranha species of those waters, the papo amarello (yellow throat) of the Brazilians, adorned with a brilliant orange, is reproduced. The eyes are pierced shells. The

[TEXT Continues on P. 352]

2. Steinen--351 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894. SP7 Bakairi-P7

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Fig. 94.
Papaüiri dove. Bakairí. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 96. Wood cock. Bakairí. (1/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

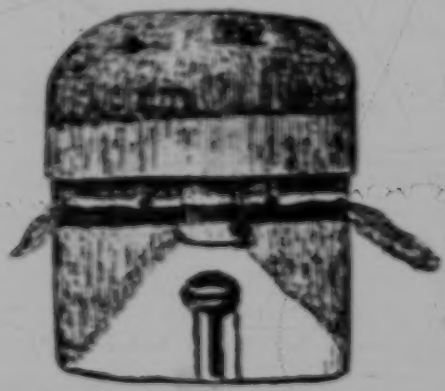

Fig. 95.
Alapübe bird. Bakairí. (1/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 97. Tüwetüwe bird. Bakairí. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

/305 cont./

532 The handsomest decoration of these two masks, however, are the
535 enormous arara feathers inserted in the elongated nasal septum
825 and projecting far to the right and left. They are inserted into
237 a little bamboo rod decorated with tauch. Thus the Indians are so far from feeling obliged to give the animal represented its zoological physiognomy that they even pierce its nasal septum and adorn it with feathers, in accordance with their own custom.

535 We came across three fantastic dance costumes in the flute house of the third Bakairí village. Only one, however, was still in good condition. It was called kualôhe and looked like a small hut. This straw costume was truly a small house, and hence it is probably on account of the straw covering that the Bakairí call their dance costumes, including the buriti doublet provided with trouser legs and sleeves, "houses." The straw hoods were also called "head houses." The expression, however, when the word was transferred to our woolen shirts and cloth trousers, became incomprehensible. The monster was much too heavy for us to take along. It was almost ten meters in circumference at the bottom. It was constructed like a huge crinoline with five cross-hoops heavily covered with straw, but was worn on the shoulder with two bast loops attached to the upper ring. One of the Indians obliged us by crawling into it. He put on the tûwetûwe mask and went into twisting and rocking movements. The hollow tree lying in front of the festival hut was beaten as an accompaniment to the kualôhe. "It is not a makanari," the Bakairí say. I do not know whether they meant that it was of foreign origin. Also, I am un-
[136] able to decide whether there is a connection between this dance and the kurimatá fish (Salmo curimata), which in Bakairí /306/
[530] is called koâlu. At any rate, the tûwetûwe mask, which the native dancing before us put on, does not go with it, but rather a kuâbi sieve-mat. A sieve-mat consisting of little reed rods plaited together was provided with feather ornaments and worn in front of the face. This rush mask, or kuabi, however, lay in shreds on the ground.

2. Steinen--353 C,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25
Nahuqua

Y ?306 cont./
535 Nahuquá. I have already described on page 77 the eremo dance which the Nahuquá performed for us and in which a woman also took part. Plate 7 /see p. 73/ reproduces the little drama very well. The dancers, who, with nets in front of their faces, strode toward each other in an extremely stooped position and beat their green branches together rhythmically, were demonstrating with their pantomime the kinds of fishing done at the river hurdle or at

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Fig. 88. Kualõhe dancer with tũwetũwe mask. Bakairí.

Y
535 similarly obstructed places; the fish are driven together at the narrow
Y [534] exit and plunge into the nets held ready there. I have also reported on page 77 about the big round dance which they called amakakatí; obviously the gourd rattle, which is especially prized by the Nahuquá, played an important role in it.

/317 cont./

I 532 535 [171] as for straw mats. Some /318/ of the plaited masks are of the same type as among the Auetö and Kamayurá, but usually the entire surface of the texture is covered with the black mereschu design on a white background, in one case with horizontal rhombuses and without neck stripe or center stripe, while on others the latter is reduced to a black line. /Figs. 116 and 117 appear here./

Eyes and nose are usually three equal-sized lumps of wax next to one another in a row and knotted on with a piece of buriti fiber. On only one mask is a pair of bright shell disks pressed on the eye-lumps. The mouth is a black wax ring that looks like a pessary and so large that nose and mouth have room in it. All the facial parts are confined to the upper half, in fact the upper third, of the oval.

On a number of masks the painting is simply a black background with a red center stripe or a red background with a black center stripe in which nose and mouth are placed or which extends only to the mouth.

/319/ In the case of three masks, however, there is more. On No. 1: black background, white center stripe accompanied by a white line on either side; touching it is the triangular cheek part which consists of a red and a white stripe, the black background stripe, and a red border triangle. The mask reminds one very much of the first wax mask of the Auetö, Fig. 107 /see p. 360/. No. 2: black /Fig. 118 appears here/ background, red center stripe, two white border triangles on either side, outlined by a white zigzag line. No. 3: white background on the outside and top, inside a black background the width of the eyes and to a height to include the eyes, with a red center stripe up to the mouth ring.

B *171 532 535

II. Common Origin of the Masks and the Mereschu Design.

We have no difficulty understanding the Bakairí who put on animal figures plaited out of straw and heads of animal skins, but we cannot help but find it strange that there are facial parts of human form on the animal masks. One would expect a dove

[Text continues on p. 371]

2: Steinen--371 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP23

/319 cont./

B 171* 532 535

mask, for example, to have a bill and not a nose with a mouth beneath it. On seeing such a dancer, one has the feeling that he is going to call out to us pleasantly: "Don't think that I am really a dove. I am a

T 532 535

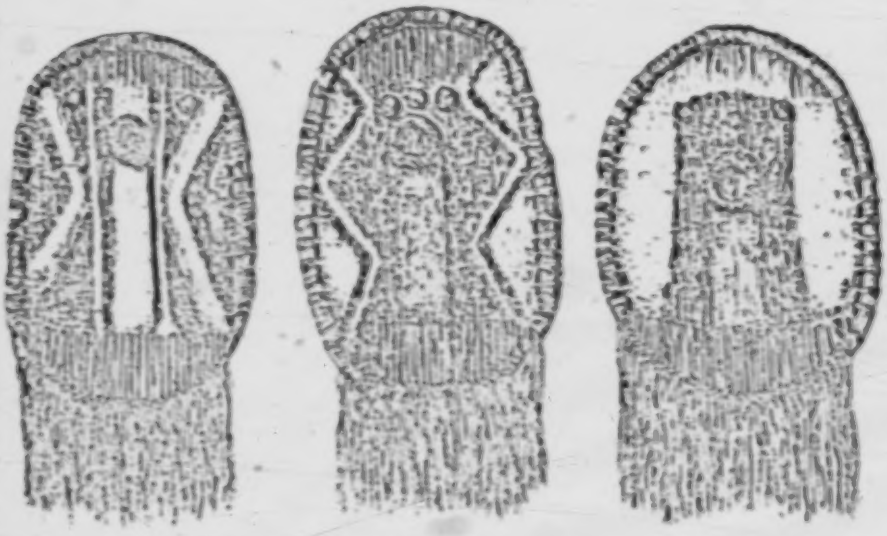

Fig. 118. Trumaí masks, painted black, white, and red. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

B 171* 532 535

human being, like you, and am merely /320/ pretending to be a dove as you can hear by my cooing and can convince yourself by the painted dots on my feathers."

"Know ye, therefore, that I am Hans Schnock, the carpenter
Not a wild lion, forsooth, and not a lion's wife."

In fact, the masks are not by any means merely face masks. Eyes, nose, and mouth are restricted to the upper part of the field, and the center stripe marks the continuation of the body with the neck. wing, fin, side line, neck and shoulder markings appear next to it. On the fish makanari of the Bakaïrí, which is a work made with great care and love, we miss the mouth and see a large fish in the middle of the mereschu design. The Auetõ, finally, look out from under their masks, through the hood; moreover, a large part of the wooden-mask eyes are made so that the holes are too small and not the proper distance apart to be suitable for looking through; they are for the spectator, not for the wearer.

/320 cont./

*171 532 535 How should we picture to ourselves the developmental history of the masks? Let us take as a starting point the straw hoods of the Bakairí and their pintado mask, page 346. This masquerade was already a great advance as compared to their dressing up in an animal skin and hangings of strips of straw. The people plaited animals for themselves, put some on their heads and crawled into others. From the products of the drawing art and from the plaited figures we know how little they need for characterization. They drew a piece of vine through the upper part of the costume; that was the barbels and sufficed for a demonstration of a pintado fish. They do not find it necessary to carry the imitation further; even today they do not need a pintado face-mask. The Indians enhanced the effect of their straw hoods, however, by putting wax eyes, nose, and mouth on them and plaiting in a hoop that outlined the oval of a face. This mask was more decorative than imitative; it developed from the straw lattice to the fiber plaiting that could have loam put on it and be painted. It was provided with the fish design or the markings of an animal, or an animal was painted on.

*171 535 532 525 [527] It is very natural that fish should play the chief role, since they were caught in masses on their expeditions and thus furnished the opportunity for a general festival. The yakuí dance, the dance of the small schakú chickens, may also be associated with more abundant hunting booty. "All the larger species maintain themselves individually, the smaller ones usually gather in large flocks which may grow to a hundred or more individuals." (Brehm's Tierleben /Animal Life/, Vögel /Birds/ II, page 628). Thus we are not surprised that we hear nothing about the jaguar or the tapir or other game mammals that appear in the Tekuna masks: these furnished only occasional booty, whereas it was precisely quantity that offered the occasion for a banquet to be celebrated with many neighbors.

*171 532 535 /321/ If one recalls, however, how the Nahuquá covered the head with a fish net for their eremo dance and demonstrated by their pantomime the herding together of fish by a band of people, one will not reject the thought that the oval woven mask has more

/321 cont./

*171 532 535 than external similarity in common with the fish net stretched in a frame in the same shape. If the Indian had hit upon the idea of the mask-hoop by starting from the shape of the face, he would have used the entire field for the face, whereas the latter now takes up only a part of the space and is treated with less care than the painting. The fish makanari of the Bakairí is nothing but a net with narrow meshes and thus suitable for holding the loam. [237] The net hood attached to it could be there today for the sake of the feather ornamentation, since the feathers must be tied into the meshes, but for this reason it is just as likely possible that the net is older then the feathers, which are otherwise missing on the hoods. Perhaps our oldest oval plaited mask, therefore, is merely the fish net added to the straw costume and decoratively fashioned. In this case it is far easier to understand why the characterization of the animal is so little emphasized; the net was decorated and even characteristically decorated, but it was not incorporated into the costume for the sake of an anatomical likeness.

*171 53 This also gives us an explanation of the mereschu design. The mask -- fish-net was plaited more closely because it concealed better and could now be painted. But the old, wide-meshed net was painted on and the little fish set in. There is one point which seems to me to prove that I am right, a point which is very strange by itself, but would then be quite easily explained. My cousin Wilhelm pointed out to me that the Indian always paints the mereschu design standing, that is to say, the larger diagonal of the rhombus upright, the smaller one crosswise. This can no longer be seen on the round spindle whorls when they are finished, but we watched the incising and observed that the figure was made standing, and precisely the same thing happened in the pencil drawings. I could not therefore show the figure on page 288, Fig. 43, horizontally, which would probably have seemed more natural to us, I therefore also arranged all the spindle whorls with the mereschus horizontal, and lastly, though more for fun, I stood the original mereschu, page 286, on its tail.

/322 cont./

*171 531 825 Nowadays the design has become purely ornamental. There is no direct, inherent connection between the mandioca digging sticks and the little lagoon fish. But one thing will have to be admitted. The significance of the little fish grew far beyond what it was originally because it recalled happy days of festivity: all industry having to do with drinking, feasting, and adornment seized upon it. Thus, there is good reason why the large gourds and calabashes in which the pogu is served, the beijú turners with which the hospitable cakes are tirelessly turned on such days, the gourd vessels in which the gorgeous feathers were kept, the rattle-gourds waved for the dance, the spindle whorls with which the thread for the woven masks was spun, why all these and similar things were decorated with the mereschu fish. The origin of ornamentation lies in a motivated feeling, and it is only when its manifestations have become numerous and trivial that no one sees anything but figure and color. The favorite pictures of our people appear after all on colored handkerchiefs. The mereschu design was able to spread from tribe to tribe and became established everywhere just because it grew out of the festival dances in which all the tribes joined.

/323/ Yet it should not be forgotten that the Indian even today remains aware of the concrete original. The Bakaïrí does [562] [535] not put a mereschu fish on his masks, with the exception of the gull mask, Figure 44, and the fish makanari, Figure 93, and among other tribes too -- see the wax masks of the Auetö and the black, white, and red masks of the Trumaí -- there are distinct differences which I am unable to define more specifically. In the beginning, the fish was not appropriate in all the cases where today the rhombus has already crept in or will creep in soon.

*171 53 One must now ask the question: if the woven masks and the mereschu design go back to the fish net, are there any facts for determining which tribe was the inventor? The mereschu fish was designated to me as a "lagoon fish" (we ate it among the Yaulapiti), but it occurs everywhere in our area, even in the [226] Paranatinga. Fishing with nets is also practiced by all tribes.

/257 cont./

539 in quiet areas, where there are no human beings, it is always
825 on the move in the morning and afternoon, except during the hot hours in the middle of the day which it spends sleeping"; in other words, all of the phrases between quotation marks, taken from the book by Dr. Goeldi on the mammals of our land (pp. 92, 99, 103, and 106), confirm what has been said concerning the shadowy character of the Yamūras.

539 /258/ Other considerations, however, seem to us of
174 greater moment.

First of all, in the enumeration of the belongings of the Yamūras, we have a basis for a list of the cultural acquisitions of the Bacaeris. We learn that they had nets for fishing before
[229] they had nets /hammocks/ for sleeping, that they traveled by
[352] water when they did not yet have pestles, and that they proba-
[501] bly had maracá before they had the masks with which they
[412] appear at their festivals.
[532]

We also see that although theoretically the abode of the
539 Yamūra is in the sky, a large part of his existence is spent on
776 the earth from which he derives his sustainance. Subsistence, however, is not his sole concern; free of the contingencies of time and space, he travels swiftly as the wind, he is an envious being who spies upon all actions and weighs upon the living with crushing pressure. There is hardly an act that he does not influence: gestation, childbirth, alimentation, festivals, walking hours, everything falls within his inexorable reach, as we shall see later. It would seem that the Bacaeris could paint their bodies as they please. But this is not so.

776 Yamūra does not like urucú, --this is why one must not
789 scatter the urucú seed, says the piahi;--Yamūra goes into the
824 houses of people with children, --this is why we burn the juice
302 of the rubber tree--when it is burned it is rubbed on the door;--fathers of boys, when they go to the river, paint themselves with genipap, --paint themselves with urucú, --so Yamūra thinks that it is blood; if the boy's father does not paint himself

/258 cont./

776 and goes to the river, Yamũra throws himself in the water;--
789 he likes guanandi /Calophyllum brasiliense/ resin;--burned
824 cotton seed makes Yamũra run far /259/ away; Yamũra is very
302 fond of colored clay and loam;--he does not like copaiba resin;--when jatobá is burned Yamũra does not like it, says the piahi.

796 Finally, since there are certain animals which for him are
825 a means of subsistence, his ferramenta /iron tools/, if it is permissible to say this in connection with peoples who have not reached the metal stage, it is natural that Yamũra should protect them with the same care and vigor with which a Bacaeri would protect his canoe or his bow. There are animals whose
[784] injury is punished immediately: for example, the Sucuri, in one of the passages cited above, or the Topiéhi, a little bird that will be dealt with more conveniently later on. These are truly tabú or tapú, an expression used in Australia, and which, being widely known, demands no explanation. It is possible to come to terms with regard to the others, and this is done in a most reasonable way, by giving to the Yamũra in prepared form the food that he would have to prepare in the campo. It is mandatory, however, that the dead animal be put to good
[782] use; otherwise antas, pacas, and pigs will attack clearings,
[796] destroying them; and to propitiate the Yamũra it is necessary
[532] to give a feast, naturally masked, which they attend incognito. After eating well, they regard themselves as satisfied and the scourge ceases.

825 The following passage expresses more clearly the idea of
796 payment, and, although it is somewhat repetitious, it is not
782 redundant.
796

If the Guariba /howler monkey/ (Mycetes) is killed, it must be paid for, says the piahi; if the macaco Coatá /spider monkey/ (Ateles) is killed, if the Preguiça /three-toed sloth/

/35 cont./

184 result of the latter's continuous movement to the Rio Parana-
178 tinga. Indian influence on the eastern Bakairí had increased
179 once more, and when in the year 1927 I visited the Simões Lopes Post, where in the interval all the Bakairí had settled either at the post itself or in its vicinity, it was still possible to find there many ancestral implements and customs. In the
126 Bakairí houses there were many objects made in the native
[178] manner, so that I was able to acquire a relatively large collection for the Berlin Ethnographic Museum. Among the objects
126 in this collection were, as already mentioned above, several
184 that came from the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu
[439] River itself, which the Xinguanos had brought with them when they had moved to the Rio Paranatinga or which these Indians had received later from Indians of other tribes as the latter
323 visited Simões Lopes. Among the objects from the region of
184 the upper Xingu River tributaries we may note especially the fired clay vessels which were imported in large quantities, because, according to the Bakairí, there was no clay suitable for making them at Simões Lopes. The large fired clay ollas found
[439] in large numbers in Bakairí houses and used to boil the pyserego drink were obtained from the Mehinakú. A good example of the small vessels that came from the region of the upper Xingu
323 River tributaries is shown in Figure 25. This vessel (V.B.
126 9870), (42) one of the appendages of which is characterized,
●532

42. This is the catalog number of the Berlin Ethnographic Museum.

by the formation of a mouth, by an animal head, corresponds in shape to a specimen of such a vessel which I brought in the year 1901 from the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí (43) and to other similar

43. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brazilien, loc. cit., p. 401, Fig. 275 /257/.

323 /35 cont./
[126] specimens collected by Karl von den Steinen which were said to
[532] represent bats. To the basic, dark color of the outer surface of
[531] the vessel, brown paint is applied on the walls in parallel vertical strips and on the bottom of the vessel in curved lines emerging from the circumference of a circle whose center is the center of the pot bottom. The height of this pot reaches 10.5 cm. and the diameter of its upper rim, 26.5 cm. Two other fired clay vessels, both smaller, are represented in Figures 26 and 27, one of which (V.B. 9877) has a height of 11.5 cm. and an upper rim diameter of 26 cm., and the other (V.B. 9874) a height of 12.5 cm. and an upper rim diameter of 20 cm. Of the other objects from the region of the upper Xingu River
301 most were ornaments. The necklace shown in Figure 24 (V.B.
126 9957) and made of small shell disks (diameter: 0.8 cm.) and a large stone bead was given to me in Simões Lopes by my old friend, the Bakairí, Karía, as a particularly precious object from former times. Other ornamental objects in my collection are shown in the following photographs:

Figure 24, a. A necklace of small shell plates /chapitas/ (V.B. 9956. Length of the plates, 2.5 cm.).

/36/ Figure 23, c. A necklace of shell disks with a zoomorphic (bird) pendant of fruit rind (V.B. 9954).

Figure 23, b. Zoomorphic stone pendant for a necklace.

Figure 23, a. Feather diadem. (V.B. 9968.) Length 36 cm. Width 8 cm.

285 Among the cultural goods of the Bakairí which we must
184 also regard as products of the native industry, but which, in contrast with those just described, were apparently made by the Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post themselves, we may point out first of all the various kinds of plaited objects, because they will serve to complement on various points my previous publications on Bakairí plaited objects. (44) For this reason I shall

[113] 44. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., pp. 330-371.

/36 cont./

535 Cacique Pires' house, where they were used in the dance fiestas
126 staged at specific times by the Xinguanos. The fire-engraved
[531] embellishments enhanced with black paint are wholly ancestral. Besides circles and spirals they also include other decorative elements of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí. The length of these sticks reaches from 76 cm. to 100 cm. and their diameter from 1.7 cm. to 4.5 cm.

532 Of the figures made of maize husks, such as the Bakairí
126 of the upper Xingu River tributaries had in former times, I found two specimens in the settlement of Xinguanos on the Rio Paranatinga, which represent birds (V.B. 9964 and 9965. Length 15 cm.) A ball made of husks of ears of maize (V.B. 9966. Length 21 cm.) such as was used by the Bakairí of the Kulisehu in general for their game with a ball, which they called tõju, is shown in Figure 31, b.

126 Small figures in the form of the human figure shown on
532 Figure 23, d (V.B. 9961. Length 10 cm.) were placed, in
751 Simões Lopes, around the /37/ necks of newborn babies to protect them from illness. I had acquired a good, old specimen of such a figure which was tied with an animal claw from the necklace of the little girl of a woman belonging to the Bakairí who had moved from the Rio Novo. A day later she came with her child to ask me to return to her the necklace with the pendant, because the child had fallen ill after the loss of the necklace. She exchanged the old figure for the new one shown in Figure 23, d.

211 Finally, I must still mention the notched board shown on
194 Figure 31, a (V.B. 9969. Length 23.5 cm.) Since such boards,
199 probably intended as mnemonic aids, are not found among the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River tributaries, we must assume that this case is an instance of foreign influence in later times.

Plate XII

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Fig. 25. Baked clay vessel (bat). Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 28. Pestle for a mortar. Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

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[412]

Fig. 26. Baked clay vessel. Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 27. Baked clay vessel. Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 29. Wooden mortar. Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

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Fig. 30. Barbecue of Bakairi in Simões Lopes.

Plate XIV

Fig. 31. a. Notched board for remembering numbers. b. Ball of ashes of maize. Bakairi in Simões Lopes.

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Fig. 32. Figures in the form of birds, made from maize husks. Bakairi-Xingu-Coos of the Rio Paranatinga.

/268 cont./

534 sticks decorated with geometric designs. These sticks are still used in Bakairí dances in Simões Lopes.

535 533 Our informants remembered the following dances and songs: oriko, a dance performed with the help of the adorned sticks, at no specific time; iauaisári, the maize song; mahulauari, performed at the time of the construction of a new house; pahoevatá, performed at the time of the ceremony of the perforation of the boys' ears, and the maize celebration, or anjéintabiénli.

535 532 825 [784] In the sacred dances, barred to women, masks representing various animals were used. In our opinion these masks did not represent the animals proper but rather the iamũra, lords of these animals. This would justify the fact that these representations are so far removed from reality, even in terms of native art.

703 The Bakairí myths related by Karl von den Steinen and Capistrano de Abreu mention Tchini (or Keri, the sun), Numa (or Kame, the moon), (16) and Nakoeri. (17) Tchina and Numa

16. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., pp. 447-492.

17. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 45-50, 235-240.

or Keri and Kame, the sun and the moon, are twin creator heroes of the Bakairí. The same task of /269/ creating the [616] Bakairí is attributed to Nakoeri. The nonexistence of moieties [174] among the Bakairí leads us to regard the myth of the twin heroes as a borrowed feature, since there does not seem to be a justifying correspondence in their social organization. The 539 Paranatinga Indians told us the following myth:

Iamadili or the Origin of the Day.

In the beginning the world was so dark and so cold that the Indians had to cover their bodies with

[P 92-B]

Bacairí

323 pots are quite distinct from the pottery of the Indians living on the Upper Paraguay River. Bacairí pots are flat-bottomed and have straight vertical walls with everted rims. The pots in common use were, and still are, black in color, unglazed, and undecorated. Some of the pots [532] seen were made in the forms of frogs, turtles, fish, and birds. The Bacairí claim that they [531] formerly had decorated pottery called *awúga*, painted with black, gray, red, and brown designs.

476 The Bacairí also had economic activities in which the whole village, or a number of communal houses, participated. The *kometí*, or col- 241 476 lective land clearing, was one of these. A man would invite a large number of relatives and friends to assist him in clearing a new piece of forest land. The women would participate by pre- [262] paring large amounts of food and honey beverage 423 for the workers. The new field would remain the 476 property of the man who initiated the *kometí*, obligating him to work in return if called upon, but sometimes the group of men who cleared the field would divide it among them.

342 House building was always an enterprise in 476 which the whole village took part. The group that was interested in raising the house cut the beams and poles necessary for the framework and prepared large quantities of food. While a certain number of men began to put up the framework, others went to gather grass for thatching. When they returned with the thatching they put [535] on their ceremonial decorations and danced the *malukwiri* dance. House building was thus not only an economic act but also a ceremonial occasion.

286 Hammock weaving was, at times, a collective 476 enterprise. A woman with a larger than usual cotton crop distributed cotton among her friends and when the work was completed she organized a feast and dance.

437 Ceremonial trading expeditions (*tulíki*) were 628 organized by the chief of the village. During 574 the rainy seasons, when the rivers were high and [622] canoe travel easy, the men of a village would collect whatever excess goods they had, such as bows, baskets, ornaments, hammocks, and even food, and would go to a neighboring village where the chief would receive them before the ceremonial house. The two chiefs would then supervise the exchange of commodities. After the trading was

/105 cont./

526 for Pedro. to hang on by the tail of a cow rushing out at top speed and to maintain this seat as long as possible during the gigantic leaps -- that was something to laugh about.

533 As soon as darkness set in, the music-making began. The [177] Bakairí had learned from the colonist of Mato Grosso to carve [534] guitars for themselves, and they played them with enthusiasm. They improvised short "verses" in praise of dogs, bananas, the 534 moon, a house, etc. One evening they showed up with

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André

534 their original and peculiar tribal instruments. Characteristically enough, they had hidden them nearby in the forest.

They were large and small flutes, the meni and the kyanuarík. The latter has nothing special; it is made out of [824] bamboo, one might say bassoon-like. The meni, made out of vinhatico wood, is a little over a meter long; it is held with the feet. On the upper section there is a small hole into which the player blows. Not far below it there is a square opening in the tube, just as there is a series of smaller ones in the lower part. 533 The music is simple, but has to be learned. It consists of five tones,

/105 cont./

533 sounds not unpleasant, and has something both gentle and fascinatingly eerie about it at the same time, just as the wailing night-wind blowing down the chimney is described when the storyteller /106/ first gives thanks to God that he is lying warm and safe in his snug bed, but is again and again obliged to listen to the weird lament and finally sees in a dream the ghost of a
122 friend who lies dying. We sat crowded against one another in the
[354] small room; a gourd filled with fat, in which a wick was burning, lay upon the floor; I was glad when the gourd also started to burn and we were able to step outside where the stars glistened and we shook ourselves -- the shuddering was over.

562 The women held out until 19 June; then they came; Reginaldo fetched them; a dozen in number, they walked one behind the other across the campo, the father of the tribe in the lead.

[609] On this afternoon, however, not one of them would let herself be looked at closely; the procession entered the big house and disappeared. Reginaldo came to ask us for an opera glass that he wanted to show to the women. Toward evening they appeared again and left single file as before. During the night they slept in the forest, a brief half an hour away.

292 On 20 June they appeared again; Reginaldo looked superb
[301] at their head; he wore his gray felt hat, his blue captain's uniform and white trousers, walked barefoot, and had a blue-white
123 feather stuck crosswise in each ear lobe. He was very agreeable
[126] that Wilhelm should sketch him in all his glory. Moreover, he assumed, and we daily encouraged him in this, that we were conducting all inquiries concerning the Bakairí only in order to report them again to the Emperor of Brazil -- at least the man understood that and for this purpose he was glad to oblige.

[291] He also accompanied us to the women; they were barefoot, of course, but otherwise wore the complete costume of the female rural inhabitant, the majority were of a mature age; I liked best one big, strong girl whom Homer would have called βοῶπις -- The captain's wife, christened Ines, was quiet and pious and looked as though she had had many a care. We tried to

/62/
342 Tumayaua's house was a little smaller; here Eva's children peeped out of the little hammocks, but otherwise the picture was the same.

122 The lodgings pleased me more than the second part of the
262 room-and-board. As far as my diet was concerned, it was bad. I did not see meat at all during my stay in the village, if I except two mice that were shot. Fish was given to me rarely and in small portions as though it were one of the costliest of dishes: once a little pot of creatures the length of a little finger in a saltless broth with a corncob stalk as a spoon; twice a piece of
[252] grilled fish barely hand-size and served on beijú as on a small plate; and once a piece of electric eel, almost too fat, but good and with a skin like smoked eel. Then once I was allowed to dip beijú in fish oil, which would not have been a special delicacy even for the Bakairí if in their childhood they had been obliged to take cod-liver oil. I do not find anything else recorded in my
[252] journal -- on the other hand, on the first day my intended shared with me roasted maize kernels which she held in her lap as she squatted on the ground; occasionally she also brought me a couple of mangabas, and during the inquiry about vocabulary, Eva offered me ants, a palm-boring beetle which still had half a leg, and a fat larva, all of which were supposed to be "iwakulukulu," the superlative of everything good and fine in Bakairí. There was no
272 lack of mandioca flat-cakes or beijús and drinks. The festive drink, pũserego, however, lasted for only two days, greenish gray like soapy water, warm and covered with bubbly foam, it never-
262 theless had a pleasant, insipid, sweet taste. The beijús were very different in quality, depending on the type of flour; they were usually crumbled and, mixed with water, taken as a drink.

[122] On the other hand, my hosts were heartily willing to relish the little that I had with me in the way of beans and salt and urgently begged for them. There was some difficulty with the beans. Paleko and I together cooked them, but both for the first time in our lives. I kindled the fire and he fetched sticks of wood; we set an earthen pot with the beans in it on three stones and cooked
•533 122 away. Paleko sang to it, plaiting his basket and beating time softly

/62 cont./

533 with one foot. I tried to get the words and read them back to
[126] him, singing lustily in his fashion. Unfortunately I do not understand the text, and unfortunately the notes even less. I can only say that the rhythm was very pronounced and that, when only the old man sang, one thought one was hearing a whole company as they ran and stamped in a circle.

539 kuyé kuyé kutapayó kuyé -- kutapayó hohóhohohú
533 yaliwayáhahú ohohú uhó -- ohóhóho huhohohú ohóhóchú.
énu hitenó kuyé -- kutápayó yekútapá yekútapá ohó.
This verse contains something about eyes, a similar one with kámi hitenó etc., about the sun (*).

*káme, sun, Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ word. The following yawalí is the name for the throwing stick and the throwing-stick dance of the Tupí tribes of the Kulizehu. The words are probably only partly Bakairí.

/63/ yáwalí, yáwalí i.í ií pekóto, yawalí ii ii éh hé hé yawalíiawí.
yáwalí pinakú yawalí eh he hé, yawalí henemánekabó yawalí eh he hé, yawáli he he hé.
yawalí nawí ehé, yawalí nawí ehé, yawalí nawí ehé, yawalí nawí ehé-yá.
Like the yawali song there was another with endless repetition: wákutuyéh, wákutuyéh five times, wakú wákutuyéh etc. ad infinitum. Then Paleko also knew a song of the Nahuquá that referred to the beautiful sex, tíu, woman: yámikú hezé hezémitíu -- yámikú ereheze meze mitíu.

533 In spite of the rousing marching songs, no boiling and gurgling appeared in our bean pot; only modest bubbles of foam floated on top, and after two hours the slightly heated legumes were still raw. Not until my intended came along and took charge of the matter did the tempo of the beans become livelier. She, too, sang "kuyáuhu kuyáuhú (diphthong au) with a soft voice
[539] a little like the melody, "Wir hatten gebauet ein stattliches Haus" /"We built a stately house, "a German student-song (translator's
a [see the discussion of the throwing stick on p 239ff.--Ander]

/63 cont./

533 note)/: kuyšuhu kuyšuhuhũ -- kirũhayẽ kiruhayẽ (four times) --
539 kuyšuhu kuyšu.

Softly and rather muffled, solemnly slow, lingering a long time on the au.

The principal song that we were to sing together often was the following: yawĩ yawĩ nakũ -- novĩ ritõ hahẽ -- ohõ hohũ, nikẽ wekẽ nikẽ, nikẽ wekẽ nikẽ, notũ arĩte nõhuhẽ, ohõhuhõ huhũ, nikẽ wekẽ nikẽ, notũ arĩte õhohu, ohõhuhõ, etc.

Muffled and softly, but faster and faster with a stamped beat and a jerky emphasis that impels one to stride forward; the õhohu... is repeated until one is almost out of breath, and then one recovers on the more solemn: nõ tũ hã -- notũ arĩte nõhuhẽ nuhã hahũ -- notũ arĩte nõhuhẽ nuhã hahũ nõ tũ hã, nõ tũ hã -- õho hũ hu.

533 A greater contrast can scarcely be imagined than between a jolly students' drinking song and these songs whose rendition was scarcely to be called singing, but seemed merely intended to accompany the dancing march of the feet with suppressed tones. I
[123] sang, too, of course, running the risk of not giving the good people a generally valid idea of our music, since I have at my disposal only "my own melodies." I achieved a small moral success, but they were a little overwhelmed because of the unfamiliar noise connected with the volume of tone. Natural sounds, however, such as "rudirallala," my friend Paleko liked exceptionally well; he was passionately eager to learn them and bent double laughing when he could not follow quickly enough.

291 Feeling of modesty. In this narrative part I wish to avoid
[128] describing clothing and ornaments in detail and shall limit myself, as far as personal appearance is concerned, to the remark that both sexes went about unclothed, that the women, as may
[289] be seen from Plate 5,[1] wore the "ulũri," a yellowish brown piece
[301] of bark-bast folded in a triangle and fastened to strings, and around their necks a string with pieces of shell, pieces of stalks, and seeds, that the men always wore a hip cord, with or without such ornaments, and frequently bast /64/ or cotton bands around

[1] [See P 28 -- Analyst]

/89 cont./

574 always standing ready, a thin, very sweet pũserego was offered
[437] in superabundance, and for our beads we obtained a supply of fine polvilho flour for the journey.

462 The women baking away so busily seemed to us small and ugly, but friendly. They fetched water only accompanied by men.

535 When I was in Iguẽti the first time on 20 September with Vogel and Ehrenreich, we experienced a strange scene which I should like to insert here. We were sitting in the flute-house in the evening when a few came in, squatted down beside the ashes of the fire, and uttered a loud ih... Then a couple of others put on the straw apparel hanging there and ran around for a while like roaring lions. I believed it to be pure fun and pastime, but all of them remained perfectly serious. Then one of the maskers ran outside while the chorus again cried ih...hi, stuck his arms out of the straw, and made a rustling sound with the fringe. He disappeared into a house and soon came out again, laden with beijú and fish. The same thing was repeated, and Luchu was the third to go, returning with drink. The departure was always announced by the general ih..., so that the people in the houses were prepared. Since the straw apparel covers the entire body down to the feet, the person that hides in it cannot be recognized.

/90/ Later in the evening three men started to sing. They stepped close to the door entrance of the flute-house, and, to be
[534] sure, in such a way that they turned their backs to the rest of us; two of them shook the gourd rattle, which differs from our first cradle toy only in the material, and the third stamped in steady
[533] perseverance with his right foot. The three sang: ĩhaí, ĩhãĩí huχõ, ihaí ohuhoχõ.... Perhaps the eternal huχu, huχo is nothing but the word for "foot," which, pupu in ancient Karaibe, changed phonetically to χuχu, huχu. It was a solemn, almost melancholy sounding, but very powerful "makanari," as the Bakaïrí call their festival songs. Ehrenreich was very impatient with the invariable, unchanging monotony of the singing, rattling, and stamping; for my part, however, I can only say that the very sameness made an impression on me and in a way intoxicated

B /248 cont./
*171 circular area. My companions, two Bakaïrí, immediately sat
212 down to rest. I do not know whether a weary wanderer before us
532 who stopped there on his way home from the river so neatly drew the two animals purely for diversion, or because he had just dealt with rays and pakûs, and, frankly, I find it quite immaterial whether the one or the other was the case.

Even more inexplicable as to its exact meaning was the circular figure drawn in the sand, which is shown in Figure 36 and which was found under a beautiful tree approximately half a kilometer from the Mehinakú village. It was called aturuá
B and was four and a half meters in diameter. When we left the
[533] village accompanied by several men, they made a round inside the circle on either side up to very near the network and sang ka ã ã..., there were also numerous traces of former rounds. Since the men wanted to turn back at this point and spoke of the women, there was probably some reference to the arrival or departure of guests here on the edge of the forest or a quarter of an hour from home. The network of the drawing was turned toward the village. The two curves occur similarly as tattoo patterns and on the outside on the bottom of the large pots of the Mehinakú (cf. Plate 15 /see p. 253/). I had copied the figure in my journal a few days before my cousin saw it; there, in place of the small central circle with the two supports, two circles are represented touching each other, the lower one being slightly larger and going over into the network; one might imagine head and body.

Bo The Bororó, whom I am including here, contributed not only
171 purely explanatory, but even semi-artistic pictures in the sand,
532 which we /Plates XVI-XIX appear here/ /249/ had no opportunity to see on the Schingú. In the evening in the moonlight they took special pleasure in drawing hunting animals and hunting scenes in the sand for us. I say "scenes," for their amateurishness did not by any means shrink from a difficult composition. Nor were they content to draw in outlines; with their hands they shoveled the surface sand out of the outline of the animal being represented and filled this depression, shaped, for example, like a jaguar or a tapir, with grayish-white ashes; thus they made the body with its

[Text Continues on P. 269]

/296 cont./

*171 532 535 [533] to the stamping. It is extremely characteristic that the Bakaïrí have the same word for "dancing" and "singing." "The meaning of the songs," says Martius, "is simple: praise of the warlike and hunting deeds of individuals or hordes, enumeration of certain animals and remarks about their characteristics. If masks appear at the festival, most of which represent animals, the wearers imitate their voices."

*171 123 532 We did not observe anything that would permit us to conclude that the masks are in any way regarded as sacred. The pieces plaited out of palm straw in particular were all heedlessly tossed aside after use. True, the masks were sometimes hidden from us, but only in the same way that /297/ all portable utensils and ornaments were hidden from us, out of fear of robbery. Once the people had gained confidence in us, they surrendered their masks to us without further ado and made new ones to order. They were demonstrated for us with joking and laughter, like a pretty toy.

527 Among the docile Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ on the Paranatinga and the Rio Novo the principal festival usually occurred in April. I, with my civilized conceptions, was pursuing the idea of a feast of thanksgiving and thought of the possibility that the festival held at harvest time was somehow being celebrated in praise and honor of some friendly powers regarded as the givers of good things. I therefore tried to find out from Antonio whether anything like that could be established. Antonio, however, did not respond to my suggestion. "We celebrate the festival around harvest time," he declared, "because then we have something to celebrate; in the dry period we must save, in the rainy season everything would become moldy." Materialistic, but understandable.*

*"Usually a surplus of supplies for the beverages is the occasion for the festival," says Martius, "but where European custom has asserted itself and Christians live next to Indians, a saint's day will probably be chosen for it."

/300 cont./

*171 527 535 against appearing in the "flute house" at an inappropriate time, though they may hope to come out again alive, or at most only half dead. Carnival on the Kulisehu is also followed by a period of fasting, for it does not end -- the reason is not one connected with the cult -- before everything that is there has been eaten [462] and drunk insofar as possible. The women have an enormous [262] job satisfying the demands for beijús and drinks; they must pound, [272] boil, and bake incessantly, and this necessity has probably also contributed somewhat to their being kept away from the dancing, so that they could meanwhile carry out their duties.

535 Bakaïrí. On the Rio Novo and Paranatinga the old customs are still observed. "Everybody dances like the wild Bakaïrí," said Antonio, "tudo dansa como Bakaïrí brabo." He described to me the festival held last April, when the people from the Rio Novo had invited those of the Paranatinga. They danced the yatuka dance, the makanri, and the imeo. Yatuka is a fish dance; wooden fish are worn on the head, especially the black pakú and the matrincham; heads of men and women are made of calabashes painted black and white or black and red and surrounded with Bromelia hair.

Makanari is a general term. The Bakaïrí calls almost everything and anything that is part of his dance adornment makanari; he calls specific dances makanari. "bakaïrí makanári zóto," the Bakaïrí is master of the makanari. It is the dance of his tribe. The imeo is a type of makanari, a specific figure. In fact, it seems that the concept of makanari was originally narrower and [532] referred to a specific dance with straw plaiting. Among the docile Bakaïrí there are no wooden masks. Here the principal makanari is the bat dance, and, to be sure, semímo, the small •[533] bat, and aluá, the large bat. Antonio recited the text of the aluá dance* for me, but, in spite of a great deal of trouble, it

535 539 *One man sings: ohuhaaha-áhá yumáa ohú..... yumarí uvanuká, yumari uvanuká huyaná vitá öö....yohohohú. Then another: mauá káua

/300 cont./

535 539 káuayú, mauákauayú hohohú. aluá...aluhá, aluá miyevené yanávitá hö...ohohohú. ihöhö... hohú, he..hirámiturí hohó, yukévené yohó hohohohú. Now all in circular motion: ohú namiturí ohú namituhurí ohoyócho yóchu hohuhó. ayarívénení kayarílö ohó namiturí ohú namituhurú ohó oyochó yochu. Now out on the plaza: yochó huyócho huyóchó huyóchohú huyócho. makavó makavó yuuávitirá inávitáhané, iná yochohuyócho..... Finally, turning around: aschimámayú ohuhohú ayavarikú hohuhoo, eveschírini mahúraní hoo, aschimámayú ohohu.....

535 533 was impossible for me to obtain a translation or even an explanation of the content. He said that he himself no longer understands the old words. I believe there was some truth in this, and that he was not merely, in his awkwardness, handing me an excuse, because even aluá itself is not a Bakaïrí or Karaiben /Carib/ word at all, but a Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ word. (See also the footnote, page 24.) Perhaps the text is also in part old Aruak -- no longer understood /301/ after it had been sung together at joint festivals and was taken over and mixed with Bakaïrí words.

535 The imeo makanàri is common to all Bakaïrí. On the Kulisehu imóto, imódo, is added as a related figure. Imeo is a [825] white animal that lives in the dried-up buriti palm -- as far as I understood, the larva of a palm-boring beetle; imodo, a related creature, reddish with a black head. A strange selection, somewhat reminiscent of the Midsummer Night's Dream. It [824] is explained, however, if one remembers that the material for the dance costumes is furnished primarily by the buriti palm, which that insect inhabits. And this may be a tasty morsel besides. /Fig. 91 appears here./ Other animals also appear in this makanari, especially the bat and the pintado sheatfish, Fig. 91 /see p. 347/. The latter mask is easy to understand. A costume plaited out of coarse, hard grass covers the body, but the wearer can look through the plaiting without difficulty, and a long piece

/325 cont./

*171 535 board and the club die out as weapons among the more peacefully minded field-cultivators, but they remain as dance ornaments; the throwing stones are replaced on the arrow by lumps of wax, and small ones hang around the necks of the children as amulets. The Bakaïrí makes two insects living in the palm tree the center of his dances with buriti plaiting. The Kamayurá wears the set of teeth of the dogfish as a festive ornament during the fish dance; he and the Auetõ also make ornamental whorls in place of the work spindle-whorls and immediately arrive at new designs because they need paint them with only temporary designs for the purpose of the moment (cf. page 307); the Bakaïrí, in the back-sticks, creates a peculiar dance ornament out of the mandioca digging sticks, and here, too, in the free exercise of art, there arise new motifs, both the form, in that the pointed wooden cylinder was changed, and the design of the drawing (cf. pages 294, 296, 320).

Everywhere here we still find the prosaic, useful activity, either hunting, fishing, or other work, preceding the ornamentation. Let us make clear to ourselves once again that man did not adorn himself by looking around in free nature for something that was attractive and putting it on his body; rather, he discovered beauty only after he had sought and adopted the material for useful purposes. But meanwhile he has gained a great supply of form- and color-motifs; he seeks to apply them everywhere and has raised the ornamentation itself to a kind of art which unfolds most freely in dance and festive play where an excess of energy asserts itself.

-171 ● 533 Musical instruments. "In the music of the Indian the feeling for rhythm is most pronounced, but he produces only weak fragments of melodies and /326/ he seems to have no idea of the emotional power of harmony." I am quoting Martius here, if only because I am not sure whether the Indians are not more musical than I am. It was true, everything that we heard was *171 534 merely an expression of beat and rhythm. I am therefore counting the rattles, which only produce noise, among their musical instruments. They had foot rattles, bunches of hard

75 /251 cont./
first and foremost jatobá /Hymnenaea/, then copaiba, the white or yellow trumpetbush /peúva de flôres brancas ou amarellas/, the vinhatico, the pindahiba /Xylopia/, etc. Knowing this, the first concern of the curer (piahi) called to treat the sick is to extract the sliver of wood that causes the discomfort, which is achieved by sucking on the patient.

764 775 [302] [301] Sometimes, in spite of the treatment, the latter dies. Then the dead man is painted with urucú (anoto); there are put in his ears and nostrils the feathers that adorned them in life; his belongings (icehiko) are gathered up, such as bow, arrows, etc., which are deposited along with their owner /252/ in the hole that will serve as grave, well covered with earth stamped down with the feet. In the afternoon the shadow rises in the guise of the curiangu (Pokuráu, Caprimulgus) and comes to drink mingáu, which was placed at the grave, on the spot that corresponds to the head. After a while it no longer returns.

775 The Bacaeris also speak of kχadopa, which is equivalent to our hobgoblins or lost souls and, it would seem, are the shadows of those who died a violent death. The following passage describes most clearly what is said concerning these beings.

Kχadopa goes wandering in the afternoon, says the piahi; it is all bone; it has holes for eyes; it wanders through the forest; manioc is its food; it wanders in the cultivated clearings; caterpillars, bicho de pau /"wood insect"/ and ants are its food; it comes to the house to drink mingáu (poʔu); take the food of the kχadopa outside, take beiju /manioc cakes/ and pirão /boiled manioc flour/ (pakχa); at night, in order to sleep, burn rubber, rub it on the door, on the door bar (anaχu, "nose"); the kχadopa does not come in, the rubber stinks and [533] he does not like the smell. Take his food to the grave; if you do not intone the song (erému) of the kχadopa, he does

/252 cont./

775 not go to the sky. Because of this, having slept several days,
[533] put mingáu in two small gourds; put the mingáu on the middle of the grave; two persons armed with clubs intone the song; when the song is over the two gourds are smashed and they flee. Coming from afar, one gives a blessing, saying;
[539] Kχukχukú (come, take heart!). When stopping, there is a blessing, saying: Aúfá! Go inside the sky, to our people, to our mother, to our father, here there is no one, inside the sky it is good, go, we, too, are going to die, it is said, -- the piahi teaches.

/253/ Another passage has kχadopa in the form of a tatou (Mugaru, Dasypus) in the middle of an abandoned village /tapéra/ and advises that no one should walk where a fight took place.

For a while bodies and spirits wander through the world, and the words of the piahi contain repeated descriptions of dead men's heads that wander about at night, livers that sit in doorways, or intestines on which one might step at night. Finally the shadow is free, and it climbs to the sky on a ladder of spun cotton, which passes underneath the star Toχoreŋ. At the entrance of the sky there is the Urubu with his trap; those who do not have pierced ears and nostrils and do not wear feathers are blessed by the Urubu, i.e., blown upon, and fall into the trap; those who are marked run no danger, and they go see Nakoeri.

19 Nakoéri is a word whose etymology cannot be explained
174 by means of kχura-itano; fortunately, the language of the
775 Acawoyos /Acawai/, Indians of British Guiana, Caribas like the Bacaeris, offers us a valuable hint in this connection. In the translation of the first part of Genesis, and of the Gospel according to St. Matthew, recently published in London (11)

11. I owe the acquisition of this book to the kindness of my friend, Dr. Eduardo Prado, to whom I repeat my thanks.

/21 cont./

701 disturb the Brazilian campesinos in these regions. According to
648 Herrmann Meyer (28) they had already wreaked serious destruction

28. Herrmann Meyer, "Bericht uber seine zweite Xingú-Expedition," loc. cit., pp. 115 and 116.

in the region of the Serra Trombador and killed several inhabitants. At the time of my stay on the Corrego Fundo ranch, the Kayabí had penetrated the mountains above the Rio Paranatinga up to some six leagues from Corrego Fundo and attacked Cacique Antonio as he was looking for rubber with his people for Señor Jange Soares, the owner of the ranch. But Antonio had driven them back with his armed people and killed a Kayabí on this occasion.

622 Cacique Antonio's big house where I visited him had been
342 built a year earlier. It consisted of a large middle room which communicated on the left side of the entrance with two other rooms which formed the dwelling house proper of the cacique and Doña Rosa, and on the right side with a large room for guests that fulfilled exactly the functions of the house for fiestas
622 of the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River regions. All the men
342 and boys of the aldea could go in and out of it as they pleased.
574 This room also served for dancing, and during my stay in it,
[302] from time to time, some Xinguanos would enter, their faces
[533] painted in red and black, and sing their monotonous melodies
[535] as they danced around the post set in the middle of the room.
[352] Cacique Antonio's own dwelling already had at this time quite
[123] a modern appearance. In the "dining room" there was a table and a large armchair as well as dishes and spoons, and I was entertained at his table in the Brazilian manner with a dish of
622 meat with rice and flour. He obviously enjoyed renewing old
115 memories of the journeys he had made with Karl von den Steinen. He looked with great interest at Karl von den Steinen's works about his travels and, on his part, showed me some photographs

/268 cont./

534 sticks decorated with geometric designs. These sticks are still used in Bakairí dances in Simões Lopes.

535 533 Our informants remembered the following dances and songs: oriko, a dance performed with the help of the adorned sticks, at no specific time; iauaisári, the maize song; mahulauari, performed at the time of the construction of a new house; pahoevatá, performed at the time of the ceremony of the perforation of the boys' ears, and the maize celebration, or anjéintabiénli.

535 532 825 [784] In the sacred dances, barred to women, masks representing various animals were used. In our opinion these masks did not represent the animals proper but rather the iamüra, lords of these animals. This would justify the fact that these representations are so far removed from reality, even in terms of native art.

773 The Bakairí myths related by Karl von den Steinen and Capistrano de Abreu mention Tchini (or Keri, the sun), Numa (or Kame, the moon), (16) and Nakoeri. (17) Tchina and Numa

16. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., pp. 447-492.

17. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 45-50, 235-240.

or Keri and Kame, the sun and the moon, are twin creator heroes of the Bakairí. The same task of /269/ creating the [616] Bakairí is attributed to Nakoeri. The nonexistence of moieties [174] among the Bakairí leads us to regard the myth of the twin heroes as a borrowed feature, since there does not seem to be a justifying correspondence in their social organization. The 539 Paranatinga Indians told us the following myth:

Iamadili or the Origin of the Day.

In the beginning the world was so dark and so cold that the Indians had to cover their bodies with

844 with a bamboo sliver. The placenta was wrapped in a piece of cotton cloth and buried because it was believed that if it were picked at by birds it would cause sickness and misfortune to the mother and child. The child was then washed, wrapped, [553] and given to the mother. Later it was given the name of one of its ancestors.

846 During the seclusion period the mother and child were believed to be in a state of ritual danger (*wanki*). They were not permitted to go out in daylight and had to be fed and cared for by the female relatives. The first menses released the mother and child from seclusion, this release being known as *tadaunúto*. Shortly afterward the father invited the villagers to a ceremony (*itabienli*) [533] during which the *nokigóra* and *tadánwa* flutes were [535] played and only the women danced. By means of this ceremony the mother was reintegrated into the life of the family and the village.

857 After 3 years of age both boys and girls began to 868 copy their elders, the boys playing with bows and arrows and the girls with spindles. By the time the boys and girls reached puberty they knew how to perform most adult activities.

PUBERTY RITES

881 When the girls had their first menses and the boys reached the age of 13 or 14, they had to go into seclusion (*posegéiro*) for a period of 2 months to a year. It was believed that the longer the young people stayed in seclusion the stronger they would become physically. The longer periods of seclusion were also believed to enhance the prestige of the family. The boys and girls were not permitted to come out in daylight, and were fed and cared for by their parents. While the boys and girls were in seclusion they made pots and baskets for family use.

881 With boys the seclusion was inaugurated by an 304 ear-piercing ceremony. A number of men with sons of about the same age would perform this rite collectively before invited guests. After eating [535] and drinking, the *poinwáto* song and dance were performed. The boys were now in a state of *wánki*, ritual danger, and were secluded immediately after this rite. The girls' ears were pierced when they were babies, but the ear piercing of the boys corresponded to the period of the first menses of the girls.

881 The release from seclusion was signalized by the feast of *tadaunúto*. The parents of the young people accumulated much food and went on a big hunt on the day before the feast. The chief and all the villagers were invited to the ceremony during which all the Bacairí songs and dances were performed and the young people were presented gifts by the villagers. The girls would now take the strings of beads from around their waists and wear them around their necks and their mothers would give them cotton cords which they put around their hips and to which the ulurí were attached. The boys and girls were now eligible for marriage.

[533] [535] [431] [301] [291] [582]

MARRIAGE (TODOHOKÛINLE)

584 Marriages were arranged by parents or by older brothers or sisters. The father and mother of the boy, for instance, would take presents of ornaments and food to the parents of the girl. If the parents of the girl accepted the gifts it meant that they favored the marriage, and if they refused it meant that the suitor was not acceptable. The marriage ceremony took place in the girl's home, the date being arranged by the parents. At the girl's house the young couple were seated side by side with linked arms. They were then given advice by their respective parents and relatives. Marriage was not considered a period of ritual danger, nor were extensive feasts given. It appears to have been an affair involving only the families of the young couple.

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BURIAL (EPIODÍLE)

764 The body was painted, ornaments were put on, and then the body was wrapped in a hammock and buried in a grave with the feet to the east so that the face would be toward the rising sun

768 Although old and worn objects were burnt, most of the property of the dead was shared among the relatives. The part of the house occupied by the dead person was washed, and clean sand was sprinkled on the floor. There was a mourning

765 period (*logúno*) of 1 month, during which the immediate relatives were in a state of *wánki*.[1]

SHAMANISM

775 When a person died, the ghost (*kadópe*) went into the sky or into the water or sometimes wandered upon the earth. Ghosts of the dead often

[1] [ie. a state of ritual danger]

534 nut hulls tied together and fastened to the ankles of the dancers. There were at least four kinds of flutes. The *emíni* flute was made from two pieces of soft sapling hollowed out and fastened together with wax and string. This flute was about 3 feet long with four finger holes and a separate mouthpiece. The *kanagéra* flute was made like the *emíni* but was shorter and had a different sound. Both the *emíni* and the *kanagéra* [556] [346] were sacred flutes of the shamans and were always kept in the sacred flute house connected to the [562] *kadoéti* where they were played only at night so as to prevent women from seeing them. If a woman were to see one of these flutes, misfortune would [535] befall her. When the sacred flutes were played there was dancing but no singing. The *tadánwa* was a bamboo flute made in five different lengths without finger holes and was not sacred. The *nokigóra* was made by fastening four short tubes of bamboo of different lengths together. It was played in pairs, one player answering the other. [533] This flute was not sacred and could be accompanied by singing. In addition to the rattles and flutes, [535] the Bacairí used highly decorated sticks or batons called *kadóapurí* in some of their dances.

● 533 Besides the flutes and the dances performed to 535 their tunes, the Bacairí had songs and their corresponding dances which were not always accompanied by flute music; for instance, the *oríko* was a song and a dance performed with the decorated batons which could be performed at any time; the *pahoewáto*, another general song and dance which also could be performed at any time; the *yawaisári*, the corn song and dance in which neither the flutes nor batons were used; the *mahulawári*, performed during the house building ceremony without batons or flutes; and the *poinwáto*, sung and danced during the boys' ear piercing ceremony.

527 One of the most important ceremonial events of the year was the annual corn dance (*anjéintabienli*), which was performed when the corn ripened in the fields. The man who had the largest corn crop was the organizer of the cere- [243] mony. In order to have enough corn, the Bacairí usually planted special fields, the yields of which [224] were used on this occasion. On the day before the corn gathering all the men went on a big hunt in order to have large quantities of meat ready for the feast. Early in the morning of the following day everyone went out to the fields to

527 gather the ceremonial corn. Later in the day the women prepared large quantities of corn porridge and roasted ears.

On the morning of the third day the actual ceremony began in front of the *kadoéti*. The organizer of the dance distributed roasted ears or pieces of ears to all the villagers, children included. Then at a signal from the leader, the villagers began throwing the roasted corn in all directions and at one another. After the roasted corn was [262] disposed of, the people ate the corn porridge and meat prepared on the preceding day. They then washed themselves in the river and put on their paint and ornaments. When the villagers had again gathered before the *kadoéti* the dance leader took a piece of corn husk and went from man 527 to man asking for a song leader. The man who 533 took the offered corn husk then began the *yawaisári*, or song in praise of corn. Little by little the others joined in the singing and eventually began to dance. The words of the song told how corn came to the Bacairí and how it made the people strong and healthy.

881 The *ransegéro*, or ear-piercing ceremony, was 304 performed just before a boy went into puberty seclusion. It was customary for men who had sons of about the same age to cooperate in getting large quantities of food ready for the feast. After the feast was over the ears of the boys were pierced [533] and the *poinwáto* song was sung. When boys and girls came out of seclusion there was another ceremony during which all the songs and dances were performed with the exception of the sacred flute tunes.

342 The *mahulawári* was performed during coopera- 476 tive house building in which the whole village participated. While the women prepared food and some men were putting up the frame, a certain [824] number of men went in search of palm fronds for thatching. When these men returned with the palm fronds they danced and sang before the new house with their loads on their backs and in full ceremonial regalia.

286 The custom of distributing cotton by a woman 574 with a good cotton crop and having other women weave hammocks for her has already been mentioned. When the women had completed their weaving and returned the hammocks to the donor of the cotton, she gave a feast during which the [535] women sang and danced the *yamaikúma*. This

286 574 535 dance was given at night accompanied by flute playing.

When a woman came out of seclusion after the 846 535 533 birth of a child the women of the village danced to the tunes of the *tadánwa* and *nokigóra* flutes.

ORIGIN MYTHS

773 [126] Although the Bacairí have many myths, only two were obtained. One of these is the *yamadílli*, or the origin of day: In the beginning it was so dark and cold in the world that the people had to cover their bodies with grease to keep warm. The people wanted the sun to come out, so they put on their ornaments and painted their bodies and began to pray to *orimóto*, the great spirit who lived in the north. The Bacairí believed that *orimóto* was not an Indian but just a man who lived in a stone house with some of the animals which he had created. The people continued praying to *orimóto* and when light finally came the people were old and the children had grown up.

Yawétihadúho, or "those who died in the fire," is a story which tells about the origin of cultivated plants and the *yawaisári*, or corn dance: Once long ago there were a number of boys who were in puberty seclusion. At that time there were no cultivated plants, the people living by hunting and collecting wild plant foods. The boys were kept in seclusion so long and had so little to eat that they became very tired. One day when the relatives of the boys went out to collect food the boys all committed suicide. When the relatives returned and found the boys dead they were sorry and angry with themselves for neglecting them. They built a large fire and after dancing around the fire naked they jumped into the flames and were burned to death. The leader of this act was *yawíti*. Later the soul of *yawíti* returned and spoke through one of the living Indians. He explained to the Indians how to grow corn and other food crops and how to perform the corn dance. After that the corn dance (*yawaisári*) has always been performed.

773 171 [127] As the Bacairí formerly lived in association with the other Upper Xingú tribes, it is perhaps useful to compare their following origin myths as gathered by Von den Steinen with those of the Camayurá. There appears to be a close resemblance between *Kamuschiní* of the Bacairí and

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526 for Pedro, to hang on by the tail of a cow rushing out at top speed and to maintain this seat as long as possible during the gigantic leaps -- that was something to laugh about.

533 As soon as darkness set in, the music-making began. The [177] Bakaïrí had learned from the colonist of Mato Grosso to carve [534] guitars for themselves, and they played them with enthusiasm. They improvised short "verses" in praise of dogs, bananas, the 534 moon, a house, etc. One evening they showed up with

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André

534 their original and peculiar tribal instruments. Characteristically enough, they had hidden them nearby in the forest.

They were large and small flutes, the meni and the kyanuat ñ. The latter has nothing special; it is made out of [824] bamboo, one might say bassoon-like. The meni, made out of vinhatico wood, is a little over a meter long; it is held with the feet. On the upper section there is a small hole into which the player blows. Not far below it there is a square opening in the tube, just as there is a series of smaller ones in the lower part.

533 The music is simple, but has to be learned. It consists of five tones,

/131 cont./

122 At night we write busily: two benches serve as tables; for
[534] sitting, knapsack and hammock. Outside the frogs are croaking; the Bakairí João, whom we call the minnesinger, is improvising on his violin; he cannot be parted from it and even takes it along to bathe. Thus, for the time being, the last night under a roof.

[133] 5 July. It was late afternoon before the staff crossed over.
[501] The river was about 150 meters wide. On either side is a barranca about five meters high. The long bark canoes give a confidence-
[123] inspiring impression. We shall have to become accustomed to them. Antonio already feels completely at home with us; he has fallen in love with a mouth organ that I gave him.

[136] 6 July. The river sent up mists in the early morning. Pedro caught a big pirahyba (Bagrus reticulatus). He is parading around in a soldier's coat, under which, and, to be sure, over his trousers, he is wearing an old flannel shirt of mine. Our ladies would take him for a curly-haired Neapolitan boy with a gentle, melancholy disposition, and yet the youth is only interested /132/ in killing everything that creeps and flies, and in between times in sucking sugar cane.

123 First Caetano came, in order to have breakfast with us once more. A number of women followed, brought us more beijús, and squatted to one side, the two Carlottas combing their long hair. The over-jackets had already disappeared on the second day.
122 Luis appeared last of all, when all the canoes were already at our shore; he went as far as the last sandstone slab, took off his clothes, and tried to wade across naked. But he was afraid and stood irresolute. "Well, come along," cried Felipe's wife. The minnesinger finally went after him. /Illustration appears here./

At ten o'clock we set out; for a long time the laughing and shouting of the women sounded behind us.

132 I am supplying the missing meteorological data for the stay in Corrego fundo and the Bakairí village:

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291 Besides these products of the most primitive carving art, /171/ the most interesting article was: a buritĩ shirt -- "the" shirt of the upper Schingũ -- which proved the invention of [286] clothing even among the Bakaïrĩ. The fibers were knotted in meshes, following the method for the hammock; the doublet was wide at the neck in order to be stepped into; it had short sleeves and trousers, from the bottom edge of which long fibers hung down. Many simple, meter-long buritĩ-fiber 372 239 hangings seemed apron-like. Two triangular fire-fans had small downy feathers pasted on them. Hard, open shells, 535

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In the Bakaïrĩ festival-hut.

535 the size of half-walnuts, were gathered into a rattling bundle •534 that is tied around the ankles for dancing. Another rattle instrument was a dried gourd shell, which contained seeds, impaled on a stick (1).

[171] 1. Hans Stadl (1556) tells of the "Tuppin Inbas": "They believe in a thing that grows like a gourd, is as large as a half-measure scoop. It is hollow inside; they stick a little stick through it, cut a little hole in it, like a mouth, and put little stones in it,

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•534 171

1. (cont.)
so that it rattles. They rattle with it when they sing and dance, and call it tammaraka." The soothsayer lets the rattle speak "and just a word so that one cannot really perceive whether the rattle is doing it or whether he is doing it. And the other people think that the rattle is doing it... but when I saw the fraud, I went out of the hut; I thought, what a poor, deluded people that it."

361 The aldea was otherwise similar to the first in everything. All around puva racks, cotton, spear grass, fruta de lobo, and
162 nearby a brook running over white sand. We counted 18 men, 17 women, 7 children; it is possible, however, that one or another has been counted twice; again the small number of children is very striking. Toward evening we returned to the river; I had done some good bartering.

122 18 Aug. φ 12° 59'.9, λ 7'.7, km. 22.10, total 164.42.
[132] 7:30 A.M.: dry. 14.0, water 22.7.
5:35 P.M.: I 742.8, II 733.4, dry. 25.0.

From the wool /Wolle," wool, down, hair, cotton"/ obtained in the village fish lines were twisted. During the night
[134] five pirararas /see the glossary, p. 172/ and nine piranhas were caught. The former has the bad habit, when it is hauled on land, of emitting a farewell sound, which is audible far and wide, with the part that leaves the water last. It tastes fatty; the broth is somewhat strong; it is also supposed to produce ulcers. -- The
[482] professor went home again; besides arrow, bow, and the treasured mirror, he carried his hammock on his back in a net held by a forehead band; this is the way the Bakairí goes traveling. -- A young, handsome chap accompanies us to the next village. He
[291] wears a red-black flannel shirt and around his head a green cloth with the Brazilian coat of arms. At the campsite he removes this clothing.

1: Steinen--56 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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Flute duet among the Bakairi.

/173 cont./

535 In the evening there was a musical performance. A flickering fire of twigs faintly illuminated the night. The men appeared
[534] in pairs with menis, the meter-long flutes; one had the rattling shells tied around his foot. One pair stationed themselves near us, the other one in front of the opposite house. The former started to blow, stamping rhythmically with the right foot in one spot, our two dipped the menis in water and cried loudly "uh -- uh," then started to blow also and began moving toward the hut at the left, beating time regularly with the right foot. The ones across the way came blowing toward us, while the others, without ceasing their melancholy wail, stood still again, stamping and bending their bodies forward. Finally this pair, too, returned to their starting point; during the finale the lament of the night wind whistling in the chimney increased to the most miserable wail, and the quartet
[212] was at an end. Courteously we were then immediately served the strengthening mingau.

This was the "tŏtŏdidlte," a word infinitely jollier than the dance itself, which it designates.

122 21 Aug. φ 12° 49'.3, λ 14'.3, km. 11.08, total 212.80.
132 /174/ 11:00 A.M.: I 745.8, II 736.4, dry. 29.0.
5:20 P.M.: I 743.6, II 734.2, dry. 27.0, wet. 24.1, water 25.8.

000 Back to the camp early. During the night the bottom of Israel's canoe split with a bang and the load sank. Some of Wilhelm's things, among them the oil sketches of the place of embarkation, were destroyed. The beans lay in the water for hours.

122 Off at 1:00 in the afternoon; soon there was campo on the right; we noticed a hut which we investigated; it did not seem to
[415] be finished or else was merely a supply station. A number of well-filled baskets, pots, bags with gourd vessels, a rack for the puvas, and bunches of urucú capsules, whose angular seeds furnish the red pigment, were completely abandoned. The path to a roça led into the woods.

/176 cont./

433 It is clear that here agriculture falls behind hunting and
181 fishing; Aldea IV is military in character and forms the frontier
648 defense against alien tribes.

763 In one hut lay an ancient, paralytic little woman emaciated to a skeleton, whose soul seemed to say "ãla Bakaïrí" (it is enough Bakaïrí) and was trying impatiently to flutter away. The hammock was resting partly on the ground; two women squatted beside it and, as garrulous cronies, explained to us the suffering of the dying little mother.

231 Of tame animals we found a heron, small parrots, a kingfisher and the socõ-morena.

345 The festival hut was 18 meters long, nine meters wide.
532 There were clumsily carved wooden fish hanging there, as well as a few finless specimens, wound bands which perhaps represented the electric eel.

Two square pieces of wood, painted red and white, with modeled nose and two eye sockets were striking; they are held in front of the face and represent doves, whose voice the artist can imitate better than the head (1).

1. Cf. the second ethnological plate /see p. 165/.

534 /177/ Four menis and a number of rattles were stuck in the
353 side walling.

624 Only in the festival hut did the herald put down his bow and arrows, but he did not part with them during our entire stay, even
[276] when he handed us a few bundles of tobacco. The latter, by the way, was better than among the earlier Bakaïrí. A few modest old
622 people were there, none with gray hair; among them the chief and, if I understood correctly, a vice-chief, the authority during the time the former is absent.

123 A shooting demonstration on the plaza filled them with
152 terror; they jumped with fright and turned away convulsively, most of all the mighty herald. His "ãla, ãla" was very humble and urgent.

1: Steinen--166 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Suya SP21

S
411
→

B
534
←

/From Ethnological Pl. II: 2, Bakaïrí flute (meni); 6, Suyá club./

/59 cont./

123 During the first two days I modestly restrained myself in order not to alarm the good people; I also noticed that one of the men was almost always detached for special duty near me and thus a sort of guard was established; when on the first night, after I had taken my leave, I wanted to stay up for a while with a light and write in my journal, old Paleko appeared at the door and asked me just as politely as urgently to go to sleep and blow out the candle. My discretion bore good fruit; they soon took me into the two large houses: in one Paleko and my intended were the chief occupants, in the other Tumayaua and [122] his daughter. They took me out to fish, to the launching of the new canoe, and the like, and everything could not have been better, if only I had not suffered from chronic hunger as a result of their hospitable, but for me absolutely inadequate [276] board. I had to try to help myself by heavy smoking and in this [512] respect achieved what was humanly possible, whereas almost the only time the Indians gave themselves up to this pleasure, but then in a body and with great enthusiasm, was during our nightly tobacco meeting outside on the plaza, the jolliest hours of the day.

345 My little house had served at the time of the festivals as [122] the dance house, "kxato-éti," or "flute house." Two reed [534] flutes hanging on the wall in a case made of buriti-palm straw were the only remains of past glory. For me, however, it was [562] better this way, for the women, who passed in and out of this ruin freely, may never enter the flute house of the men. It was seven paces wide and nine and a half long; the main posts in the center, standing two and a half paces apart, which supported the roof, were four and a half meters high. At the top, in the straw roof, a vent one meter and three and three-fourths meters long was left open. A couple of fish weirs stood in one corner, but otherwise there was nothing but the two posts, from one of which I had stretched the hammock over to the wall.

231 Besides my guard of honor, I also had the company of a japú (Cassicus), who seemed like a green tropical Jim Crow /Hans Huckebein/ to me; he was permitted to sit only up in the

/89 cont./

574 always standing ready, a thin, very sweet püserego was offered
[437] in superabundance, and for our beads we obtained a supply of fine polvilho flour for the journey.

462 The women baking away so busily seemed to us small and ugly, but friendly. They fetched water only accompanied by men.

535 When I was in Iguéti the first time on 20 September with Vogel and Ehrenreich, we experienced a strange scene which I should like to insert here. We were sitting in the flute-house in the evening when a few came in, squatted down beside the ashes of the fire, and uttered a loud ih... Then a couple of others put on the straw apparel hanging there and ran around for a while like roaring lions. I believed it to be pure fun and pastime, but all of them remained perfectly serious. Then one of the maskers ran outside while the chorus again cried ih...hi, stuck his arms out of the straw, and made a rustling sound with the fringe. He disappeared into a house and soon came out again, laden with beijú and fish. The same thing was repeated, and Luchu was the third to go, returning with drink. The departure was always announced by the general ih..., so that the people in the houses were prepared. Since the straw apparel covers the entire body down to the feet, the person that hides in it cannot be recognized.

/90/ Later in the evening three men started to sing. They stepped close to the door entrance of the flute-house, and, to be
[534] sure, in such a way that they turned their backs to the rest of us; two of them shook the gourd rattle, which differs from our first cradle toy only in the material, and the third stamped in steady
[533] perseverance with his right foot. The three sang: ĩhaí, ihâĩí huχó, ihaí ohuhoχó.... Perhaps the eternal huχu, huχo is nothing but the word for "foot," which, pupu in ancient Karaibe, changed phonetically to χuχu, huχu. It was a solemn, almost melancholy sounding, but very powerful "makanari," as the Bakaïrí call their festival songs. Ehrenreich was very impatient with the invariable, unchanging monotony of the singing, rattling, and stamping; for my part, however, I can only say that the very sameness made an impression on me and in a way intoxicated

/92 cont./

574 night. We sat down in the middle of the large plaza in a long row. Each one was brought a drinking bowl; the largest, along
574 with a cigar, fell to me. Speeches of welcome were now ex-
576 changed with great volubility.

áma, you = that is you. ehé úra, yes, I = indeed, that is I. bakaïrí úra, I (am a) Bakaïrí. kχaráiba úra, I (am a) Karaibe. bakaïrí kχúra, (the) Bakaïrí (are) good. kχaráiba iwakulukúlu, (the) Karaiben (are) very good. píma áma? (are) you (the) chief? píma úra, I (am the) chief.

123 Opposite each Karaiben squatted a Bakaïrí and admired him and what he wore. The Swedish matches, knives, mirrors, buttons, beads -- it was always the same routine. Except that in the case of Porisa it was my notebook that was most appreciated, and it was not the written pages or those covered with drawings, but the white, empty sheets that elicited exclamations of delight from him. We also strode about the plaza in pairs, arm in arm, in affable conversation. We studied the geographical distribution of the Kulisehu tribes in detail, but the dwelling places of the Trumaí still remained as obscure as before.

345 The flute-house was large and spacious, its roof dilapidated, much straw lay on the floor inside, and here, as in the houses, we missed the cleanliness which pleased us so in the other vil-
● 534 lages. In front of the flute-house, resting on cross-sticks, lay a
[532] huge hollow tree-trunk -- a morcego (bat) tree our men called it -- /93/ irregularly painted with human figures and fish vertebrae. During festivals they drummed on this giant instrument with thick wooden clubs, similar to the mandioca pestles.

535 Inside there were handsome masks and a new form of dance costume; two huge crinolines ten meters in circumference, covered with straw, and comparable to small huts, koálu, which
126 the dancer wore on a ring on his shoulder. Soon enthusiastic
301 barter was under way everywhere. We obtained fine feather
237 ornaments, crowns made of arara feathers, which are light blue
534 on one side, yellow on the other, dainty mats in which they are
283

/93 cont./.

126 stored, dark yellow reed diadems, such as Luchu is wearing on
534 Plate 6,[1] others with radiating tips, large Panpipes, an oar deco-
582 rated with drawings, spinning whorls of the simplest type, that
[301] is, disks made of potsherds, and a quantity of remarkable
[239] cylinder-shaped sticks, which are covered with ornamentation
177 and worn on the back at festivals. But in the equipment of these
third Bakaïrí it was clearly shown that we were with the section
of the tribe living next to the rest of the Kulisehu Indians; all
kinds of imported goods were present and were designated as such
439 here. The Bakaïrí do not make any pots themselves and do not
[323] themselves have a place where they might fetch stones for stone
axes, but here we were immediately told that the pots came
from the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ and the stone axes from the
Trumaí. Among the pots one in the shape of a turtle represented
an absolute masterpiece of primitive plastic art, on which the head,
tail, and feet, as well as the shell drawing, were magnificently
worked out. From the Auetó we found a half-broken clay doll;
also originating from the Mehinakú, balls of finely spun cotton;
from the Trumaí and Suyá, dainty feather caps. From our own
possessions of 1884 we discovered two iron chisels, parts of a
ramrod, which had been sharpened to a point on stones.

648 We met a Nahuquá in person; unfortunately, the man was
732 obviously an idiot and had little to offer for my purposes. It is
strange that this is not an isolated phenomenon: the Kustenaú
of 1884 had a simple-minded Bakaïrí among them, the Yuruna
likewise an Arara Indian definitely feeble-minded, and it seems
to me I often noticed similar instances. Do the people become
stupid in the new environment or are only the stupid specimens
entrusted to neighbors for their use?

126 In the flute-house anthropological measurements and photo-
graphs were taken in exchange for beads. In this village there
was a pronounced Sémitic type, of which Plate 13[1] represents a
classic example. The people submitted to everything and called
the caliper compass núna, "moon." Only one man was indignant
when, after Ehrenreich had measured him from head to foot in
all directions, I handed him the fee of three beautiful, large
[153] beads. He wanted to have as many beads as there were measurements

[1] [See p. 138 -- Analyst]

/255 cont./

BO 171 532 extremities a second dimension. The feet of the Indian woman, Bororó II, an amusing contrast to the absent hands, are drawn in excellent outline and in good horizontal position; one might take them for shoes if three toes, not unlike short hairs, were not planted in them.

Of the animal pictures, only among the Bororó do the tapir and monkey have jointed feet. The jaguar legs end in round knobs -- cat paws. The tail is always featured; only in the case of the spotted jaguar may one reasonably wonder about the bushy stump. In the case of the flying hummingbird, whose legs are missing and indeed may be missing, we see a long and divided tail, such as more commonly occurs for this species.

B *171 532 Bark drawings. Rather seldom, except among the Nahuquá, where they were numerous, were human figures found carved in trees, that is to say, incised in outline or with the surface peeled out of the bark, along the forest path leading from the river to the village. They were, as far as /256/ /Figs. 37 and 38 appear here/ I remember, exclusively men in 1887; in 1884, however, we found a male figure above a female one in front of the first Batovy village of the Bakaïrí and a female figure in front of the second one, "with roguish utilization of a depression present in the bark." In the accompanying bark figure of the Bakaïrí /see p. 279/, a great advance has been made by means of the surface cutting in comparison with the line drawings. Where the fingers were clearly worked out, they corresponded exactly to the three of the pencil drawings; the toes, on the other hand, were never treated more accurately. The legs ran down shapelessly, like stockings. We were particularly struck by the tree figures along the forest path of the Nahuquá; they had formations resembling donkey ears, but somewhat longer, on either side of the head, which represented ear feathers. There was also one or another B [534] animal figure. If I add to this the fact that there were human figures carved on the huge hollow drum-tree lying in front of the festival hut of the third Bakaïrí village, there follows the noteworthy fact that the use of the human figure in the art of drawing was present only on trees. The pencil drawings were done at my request.

/270 cont./

B *171 531 532 Otherwise it may be said that all festive adornment, insofar as it offered suitable areas, was without exception painted with designs. This is most noticeable on the masks, for which all tribes greatly preferred the mereschu, as will be shown in the more detailed description of masks.

B 531 [501] /271/ I shall briefly enumerate the most characteristic examples of decoration with designs. Among the Bakaïrí we saw a canoe painted with the ray rings and the zigzag of the anaconda. As for oars, apart from the one in Figure 51, we found only one where the snake design was applied or had been preserved. On B [534] the drum-tree lying in the third Bakaïrí village, besides the mereschu figures mentioned under bark drawings, there was a long fish-bone drawing painted on, like that of the first plate showing ornamentation /Pl. XX, see p. 280/. In the harbor of the Mehinakú, as I have also mentioned, several trees bore attractive mereschu designs scratched into them.

B 531 415 Among the Bakaïrí it was primarily the gourds that were adorned with designs, the drinking bowls as well as the ball-shaped calabashes and the bottle-shaped ones that were used for storing feathers. /Figs. 52 and 53 appear here./ Sometimes the uluri design, sometimes the mereschu design covered them net-shaped; corresponding to the slice cut out at the stem of the calabashes, and also directly opposite, there was drawn a circle toward which the designs converged and of which a half-circle remained on the side when the gourds were cut in two for drinking bowls. On one specimen we saw that the mereschus had been pushed over one another in one corner, which gave the impression of plaiting. Occasionally mereschus and bats alternated and were differentiated B only by the fact that in the case of the latter the corners were [301] not filled in, like No. 10 on Plate 20. The back-sticks were all closely covered with designs, as described. Cf. page 296.

Y 171 531 Among the Nahuquá we were likewise particularly struck by the decorated gourds, except that here principally the rattle-gourds used in the dance were decorated. Their whole painting did not amount to much. Yet it is possible that I underestimate them, because during our first visit they had moved out their household

/302 cont./

535 framework of stalks in which sat small sanyassa birds amidst flocks of cotton, lizards plaited out of straw, as well as two sword-like pieces of wood painted black and white, which represented rattlesnakes -- /303/ all, except the circularly cutout ball-gourds, were provided with straw funnels for setting them on the head. In addition, rattle-
[534] gourds and foot-rattles made of hard fruit shells.

532 As for masks, I obtained in
535 Maigéri a longish oval mask of net plaiting with a beard of buriti fibers, a pendant of Orthalicus shells, and a wide-meshed net hood trimmed with curassow feathers. In the upper third, which is vertically intersected by a white stripe, but otherwise is painted red and dotted with black, there are the two eyes in the form of two straw rings; a band of straw borders the tongue-shaped nose which is on the edge above the eyes.
[531] The lower two thirds have a white loam background and on it exhibit the mereschu design in black and neatly drawn. The most striking thing, however, is the picture of a piava fish, tonischi, which in the continuation of the stripe in the center of the face stands in the middle of the mereschu design. The black dotting of the upper part is probably also connected with it.

Fig. 93.
Net plaited-mask with piava fish. Bakaïrí. (1/10 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

We obtained eight wooden masks, all with black, red, and usually also white painting. They are heavy, flat wooden plates
[322] laboriously worked out with the stone ax, out of which the forehead part projects with considerable curvature.

/325 cont./

*171 535 board and the club die out as weapons among the more peacefully minded field-cultivators, but they remain as dance ornaments; the throwing stones are replaced on the arrow by lumps of wax, and small ones hang around the necks of the children as amulets. The Bakaïrí makes two insects living in the palm tree the center of his dances with buriti plaiting. The Kamayurá wears the set of teeth of the dogfish as a festive ornament during the fish dance; he and the Auetö also make ornamental whorls in place of the work spindle-whorls and immediately arrive at new designs because they need paint them with only temporary designs for the purpose of the moment (cf. page 307); the Bakaïrí, in the back-sticks, creates a peculiar dance ornament out of the mandioca digging sticks, and here, too, in the free exercise of art, there arise new motifs, both the form, in that the pointed wooden cylinder was changed, and the design of the drawing (cf. pages 294, 296, 320).

Everywhere here we still find the prosaic, useful activity, either hunting, fishing, or other work, preceding the ornamentation. Let us make clear to ourselves once again that man did not adorn himself by looking around in free nature for something that was attractive and putting it on his body; rather, he discovered beauty only after he had sought and adopted the material for useful purposes. But meanwhile he has gained a great supply of form- and color-motifs; he seeks to apply them everywhere and has raised the ornamentation itself to a kind of art which unfolds most freely in dance and festive play where an excess of energy asserts itself.

171 533 Musical instruments. "In the music of the Indian the feeling for rhythm is most pronounced, but he produces only weak fragments of melodies and /326/ he seems to have no idea of the emotional power of harmony." I am quoting Martius here, if only because I am not sure whether the Indians are not more musical than I am. It was true, everything that we heard was *171 534 merely an expression of beat and rhythm. I am therefore counting the rattles, which only produce noise, among their musical instruments. They had foot rattles, bunches of hard

/326 cont./ They had foot rattles, bunches of hard
*171 fruit shells, and in particular halved pikí seeds which the dancer
584 wore tied around the ankle of the stamping foot. (Cf. Figure 90,
[824] page 344.) Clinking shell and nut-shell pendants that hung on cotton tassels from neck cords, the shell bundle of the fish makanari of the Bakaïrí, served the same purpose.

The rattle gourd containing seeds and pieces of mussel shells and pierced by a little bamboo stick, which was shaken rhythmically with the hand, had the same name as the foot rattles* among the Bakaïrí, Nahuquá, and Kamayurá. A strange

* kamitü among the Kamayurá, not maráka as in Tupí, which among them means song and dance. Auetö teruá and foot rattle aimára, which could be related to maráka.

sight for us when the adult people with great enthusiasm swing the musical instrument of our infants. One would seek in vain for the rattle among children. While we saw no rattle gourds among the Bakaïrí, they were very numerous among the Nahuquá and were provided with all kinds of decorations of small feathers, small lumps of wax, and cotton tassels. We
[237] also found a young turtle impaled on a small stick in place of the gourd, and among the Auetö even the blue, polished-looking egg of a gallinaceous bird, with a handle more than a third of a meter long. Occasionally there were two rattle gourds on one handle.

Bottle-shaped gourds were used for rhythmical stamping. Round ones with a bamboo tube inserted formed a sort of transition to the flute.

In the third Bakaïrí village and among the Kamayurá a hollow tree which lay on the ground was used as a drum.

Flutes. A hollow palm nut, six centimeters long, provided with two holes into which one blew, served as a little pipe. The most popular and accomplished flute, three-fourths to one meter long, six centimeters thick, was called méni among the Bakaïrí, while among the rest of the tribes it

B /326 cont./

*171 carried the following names, apparently all related: Mehinakú
534 kolutá, Kustenaú kulútu, Trumaí kut (foot rattle kutchót), Nahuquá kulúta, karúto, Kamayurá kurutá, kuruá, Auetõ kalötú. A thick wax stopper is inserted into a tube at one end in such a way that a channel remains open along the wall. This is blown into at the top; the channel leads to a square air hole in the wall of the tube. In the lower quarter of the flute there are four finger-holes for the index and middle fingers of both hands; the partition-wall that closes off the lower end is pierced. Sometimes the tube consists of two halves stuck together with wax along the entire length of the flute; wrapping with bark strips, reed, or cotton. Slanting the mouthpiece is also found. The dance sleeves plaited out of buriti straw furnished carrying cases. Smaller /327/ flutes (up to 80 centimeters long) of bamboo are treated less carefully. Panpipes occur, from the delicate shepherd's flute on up to huge sizes. Thus, in 1884 among the Suyá, we found a specimen with three tubes of one and a half meters, one meter, and three-quarters of a meter long, 13 1/2, 13, and five centimeters in circumference; in the upper part, on the side, there is a rectangular air hole, and farther up a curved piece of bamboo ten centimeters long is pasted on and is open only at the bottom where it catches the stream of air coming out of the rectangular hole.

W Whizzer sticks. Next to the dance masks in the flute house
171 of the Mehinakú hung a whizzer stick 60 centimeters long and
534 in the form of a sword blade colored black with a red center section; cf. Fig. 121 /see p. 382/. The narrow board, /Figs. 121 and 122 appear here/ swung through the air on a rope, produces a buzzing or whizzing noise that makes a somewhat uncanny impression because it seems to swell more strongly by itself and can thereby howl or whistle with a force that one would not expect behind the insignificant and simple thing.

Y Among the Nahuquá we acquired the whizzer sticks illustrated
171 in No. 122 /see p. 382/, one of which is painted with the
531 snake decoration, while the other one was painted black and
534 thereby had a row of fish or bat rhombuses left free. These

000 /328 cont./

B * 171 ● 534 the implement. The Bakaïrí give it the name yélo, iyelo, which is their word for thunder and lightning combined, something like "thunderstorm." If we wish to speak as they do, we must not call it "lightning," as I did at first, but "thunder," according to its sound. By means of this Bakaïrí word we also gain an explanation as to why the whizzer stick was used precisely for rainmaking by the Australian medicine-men, who can fly to heaven with it and who carve figures of water flowers on it. They produced thunder and electrical storms with the magical stick; the idea of rain was secondary.

B * 171 237 301

Fig. 123. Ear feathers. Kamayurá. (1/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

A [237] [301] ←

Feather ornaments and diadems. I have already listed on page 207 the birds that furnish the most important feather ornaments. The feathers were worked into diadems, especially those of the arara, the parrot, the japú (Cassicus), and the falcon. The tail feathers of the arara were usually put on as the center section of the diadem, where they towered high above the other smaller ones. The lower quill end was turned in and tied to strings; in order to cover the exposed quills, a band made of small red or yellow feathers was placed all around. Feathers tied to a straw wreath were made into a feather wreath encircling the head. Feather hoods were made by tying the feathers (preferably white ones from herons and storks interspersed with small colored feathers), and, to be sure, the

/260 cont./

114 informant. (3) Karl von den Steinen, on the other hand,

[113] 3. Capistrano de Abreu. "Os Bacaerys /The Bacairi/." Revista Brasileira. Year I. Volumes 3 and 4. Rio de Janeiro, 1895.

worked with several informants, and, what is more important in our opinion, personally visited Bakairí aldeas, (4) which

[113] 4. Karl von den Steinen. Durch Central-Brasilien /Through Central Brazil/. Leipzig, 1886; Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens /Among the Central Brazilian Primitive Peoples/. Berlin, 1894.

[127] Capistrano did not do. These documents, studied comparatively, permit us /261/ to support the conclusions we expect to reach on Bakairí beliefs and customs.

197 The Bakairí belong to the Karaib /Carib/ linguistic family. Their old aldeas consisted of large communal houses, 361 ellipsoidal in form, around a square. In each house there [342] lived from two to five families. In the center of the aldea [592] there was a house, kadoeti, where the ceremonial adornments [344] of the men were kept and where visitors were lodged. Access to the kadoeti was open not only to the men but to women [346] and children as well. Attached to the kadoeti was a small house, its entrance turned to the rising sun, where the flutes, [534] buzzers or bull-roarer, and other sacred objects were kept. [784] Access to this latter house was forbidden to women and children.

/267 cont./

756 [262] [785] In regard to initiation, Karl von den Steinen tells us that the candidate had to subsist solely on starch broth, hit himself continually on the head, and at the same time scratch his arms and chest until blood ran. (14) On the other hand,

14. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., pp. 440-441.

[276] Capistrano de Abreu relates that the novice had to swallow "drugs such as timbo, pindova, vaimbé, and other cipos" and learn the language of karoui. On the day of the initiation the candidate would go for a walk with his master, who gave him the infusion to drink. (15)

15. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 235-238.

796 The Bakairí had quite an elaborate ceremonial system, as may be inferred from the information obtained /268/ the Indians of Simões Lopes. Dancing and singing were done not only when there was an abundance of food or when economic activities permitted it, but especially at times such as the maize harvest, or the occasion when the ears of the boys about to be secluded were pierced, or at times of the celebration of the tadaunúto, or end of the uanki state, the building of houses, the beginning of the clearing of a field, or finally the distribution of cotton among the women. On those occasions [574] neighboring groups were invited and the festivities lasted for 534 days. Bakairí musical instruments consisted of bamboo flutes and bells for the feet made of piquí shells. The informants recalled four kinds of flutes: enimi and kanagera, sacred flutes kept hidden from the eyes of women and children, and tadlua [531] and nakigoro, used in secular festivities. The Bakairí also had gourds filled with seeds or stones, called pako, and wooden sticks decorated with geometric designs.

/268 cont./

534 sticks decorated with geometric designs. These sticks are still used in Bakairí dances in Simões Lopes.

535 533 Our informants remembered the following dances and songs: oriko, a dance performed with the help of the adorned sticks, at no specific time; iauaisári, the maize song; mahulauari, performed at the time of the construction of a new house; pahoevatá, performed at the time of the ceremony of the perforation of the boys' ears, and the maize celebration, or anjéintabiénli.

535 532 825 [784] In the sacred dances, barred to women, masks representing various animals were used. In our opinion these masks did not represent the animals proper but rather the iamíra, lords of these animals. This would justify the fact that these representations are so far removed from reality, even in terms of native art.

773 The Bakairí myths related by Karl von den Steinen and Capistrano de Abreu mention Tchini (or Keri, the sun), Numa (or Kame, the moon), (16) and Nakoeri. (17) Tchina and Numa

16. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., pp. 447-492.

17. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 45-50, 235-240.

or Keri and Kame, the sun and the moon, are twin creator heroes of the Bakairí. The same task of /269/ creating the [616] [174] Bakairí is attributed to Nakoeri. The nonexistence of moieties among the Bakairí leads us to regard the myth of the twin heroes as a borrowed feature, since there does not seem to be a justifying correspondence in their social organization. The 539 Paranatinga Indians told us the following myth:

Iamadili or the Origin of the Day.

In the beginning the world was so dark and so cold that the Indians had to cover their bodies with

[P.90-A]

	Men	Women	Children	Total
175 162 Rio Novo	6 15	19 20	20	55
Paranatinga	7 6	8	3	17
On Rio Batovi:				
First village	3 10	7	9	26
Second village	4 13	17	7	42
Third village	3 13	12	19	44
Fourth village	7 27	18	8	53
Total	30 90	81	66	237

175 By the time Max Schmidt visited the Bacairi
161 in 1900–1901, the Bacairi settlement had dimin-
[162] ished. On the Paranatinga he met 34 Bacairi
[36] and at Rio Novo, 60. On the Kuliseu River where Von den Steinen had visited four villages, Max Schmidt was able to find only two.

ECONOMY

SHELTER

361 While in the Xingú watershed the Bacairi lived in villages built on the banks of the Rio Kuliseu. A village (*utendri*) consisted of three to eight houses (*tawisi*) built in a circle around a central
34 plaza, *tasóre*. The Bacairi house was a large communal building, oblong in shape, with rounded ends and with the roof thatching reaching to the
[592] ground. These large domelike buildings were occupied by three to five families.

34 In the center of every village there was a ceremonial or flute house (*kadoéti*) in which the men kept their ornaments and musical instruments and in which visitors were entertained. Men, women, and children are permitted to enter the *kadoéti*. Attached to the common house there was a smaller building, usually oriented in
[534] the direction of the rising sun, in which the sacred
[58] flutes were kept. Women were not permitted to enter this house, as they were not allowed to see
[492] the sacred flutes. The villages were connected by roads running along the river bank.

EQUIPMENT

251 In the center of each house there was a storage space (*jirda*) where maize, manioc meal, and
[45] other foods were kept in gourd vessels (*bdiko*).
352 Cooking was done in a small shed at the back of
224 the house, but food was eaten indoors. Around
352 the walls each family had its hammocks (*awdka*) in which the people slept. Other furnishings of
[45] the house consisted of mats, baskets, clay pots,

725 came back to the village to play tricks on people. The Bacairí did not believe that the ghosts of the dead caused death and, therefore, were not afraid
726 of them. They were, however, afraid of certain
761 evil spirits—for instance, *eudupíru*, who caused
753 death and sickness.

756 To become a shaman (*pidji*), a young unmarried man would train with an old shaman for a period of 6 months to a year. During this period
[745] sexual intercourse was forbidden, fasts were periodically observed, and the novice had to abstain from eating meat. Much of the training took place in the woods, where the old shaman would
[755] teach the novice the curative properties of roots and herbs and, also, how to get in touch with the
756 ghosts of dead shamans. The training would be
757 complete when the novice acquired his own spirit
[755] helper, which was always the ghost of a dead shaman. Sometimes the revelation was so powerful that the young novice would fall to the ground in a trance. The spirit that then appeared to
[534] him instructed him how to make a flute (either *emísi* or *kunapíru*), which he kept in the sacred flute house, and gave him a special tune by which he could always call his spirit helper. The novice had then to prove himself by curing some sick person or by finding lost property. If he were successful he became a recognized shaman.

754 Before beginning a performance, shamans al-
755 ways fasted for several days and smoked heavily. In curing a sick person the shaman asked his spirit helper for instructions which usually were explanations of how to remove objects from the body which caused the illness. Besides removing
758 objects from the body the shamans prepared med-
757 icines. Headaches and pains in the body were cured by juice of the *pemíru* tuber, and *turógi* leaves were used for pains in the chest. For
[755] healing the wounds made by the scratcher the juice made by boiling the *kumatáni* plant was used. The Bacairí also prepared aphrodisiacs
[P.75] from the *kutdino* plant and by mixing piqui nuts, honey, and turtle eggs.

GAMES

526 The Bacairí played, and still play, a form of Indian football called *toinzumíli*. The ball (*toin*)
[347] was made by covering a round gourd with native rubber, leaving a small opening. The gourd was

526 then crushed, the pieces were taken out through the hole, air was blown into the ball, and the hole was covered over with rubber. The balls varied in size from 3 to 8 inches in diameter. The game was played on a field about 50 yards square with four goals placed midway on each of the four sides. Small white circles (*skipóri*) marked the goals, and another circle about a yard in diameter (*potóri*) was placed in the center of the field.

The game was played by two teams with equal but varying numbers on each side. One team, called *pidíto*, had the north and east goals, and the other team, called *tsadundo*, had the south and west goals. To score a point a team had to put the ball across the opponent's goal. The ball could not be carried in the hand but could be kicked over the goalkeeper. Each side had a leader who did not play but encouraged his players. The organizer of the game threw the ball from the center of the field to the *pidíto* side at the beginning of the game or when the ball went out of bounds. The game lasted until the players were tired, the winners being the team with the greater number of points.

The Bacairí also organized wrestling matches called *toddinpudíli*. The object of the match was to knock down the opponent by pushing or hitting with the shoulders; grasping or hitting with the hands was not allowed. The loser was the one who had the greater number of falls.

CEREMONIALISM

527 Among the Bacairí ceremonialism was highly
796 developed. Although songs and dances were performed whenever the people had an abundance of food and economic activities permitted the leisure time, there were special occasions (the ripening of corn, ear piercing of boys preparatory to going into seclusion, the coming out of seclusion of a woman after childbirth, house building, the distribution of cotton by women) during which particular songs and dances had to be performed. At these times it was customary to invite people from neighboring villages to participate in the festivities.

● 534 The musical instruments of the Bacairí consisted of rattles and flutes. The drum does not appear to have been used. Rattles were of two kinds: the common gourd rattle (*pdíke*) and piqui

534 nut hulls tied together and fastened to the ankles of the dancers. There were at least four kinds of flutes. The *emini* flute was made from two pieces of soft sapling hollowed out and fastened together with wax and string. This flute was about 3 feet long with four finger holes and a separate mouthpiece. The *kenagóru* flute was made like the *emini* but was shorter and had a different sound. Both the *emini* and the *kenagóru* were sacred flutes of the shamans and were always kept in the sacred flute house connected to the *kadoiti* where they were played only at night so as to prevent women from seeing them. If a woman [illegible] befall her. When the sacred flutes were played there was dancing but no singing. The *tadóuwu* was a bamboo flute made in five different lengths without finger holes and was not sacred. The *nokigóru* was made by fastening four short tubes of bamboo of different lengths together. It was played in pairs, one player answering the other. This flute was not sacred and could be accompanied by singing. In addition to the rattles and flutes, the Bacairí used highly decorated sticks or batons called *kadóapuri* in some of their dances.

[D56] [346] [562] [535] [533] [535]

533 Besides the flutes and the dances performed to
535 their tunes, the Bacairí had songs and their corresponding dances which were not always accompanied by flute music; for instance, the *ortko* was a song and a dance performed with the decorated batons which could be performed at any time; the *pokorudio*, another general song and dance which also could be performed at any time; the *yewoiséri*, the corn song and dance in which neither the flutes nor batons were used; the *mokuloudri*, performed during the house building ceremony without batons or flutes; and the *poiaudio*, sung and danced during the boys' ear piercing ceremony.

527 One of the most important ceremonial events of the year was the annual corn dance (*enjéiatsóoli*), which was performed when the corn ripened in the fields. The man who had the largest corn crop was the organizer of the ceremony. In order to have enough corn, the Bacairí usually planted special fields, the yields of which were used on this occasion. On the day before the corn gathering all the men went on a big hunt in order to have large quantities of meat ready for the feast. Early in the morning of the following day everyone went out to the fields to

[243] [249]

Bacairi SP7

Geographically the post is situated ideally on a high land removed from the river and cleared of all vegetation, the jungle appearing only as a narrow fringe along the river banks. Like the rest of the high plateau it is wind swept, and generally pleasant. It must be added that contact with white people, such as is had when a small group of natives go to Cuyabá, has brought syphilis to them, and it may be their mortality is due to this.

One occupation enjoyed in former times is denied them, and that is fishing. There are practically no fish in the Paranatinga, at least up to where the post is located. Since meat is gotten only on rare occasions, and no hunting is done, the diet is mainly one of vegetables and considerably poorer than when they were living in their original state. This may also explain their lowered resistance to disease.

Very little museum material which represents their own products can be collected from the Bakairi. What has not been gotten from the Inspectoria has been brought back on excursions to the Kulusen. Pottery has not been made since their coming to the post, according to them. The huge vessels that they possess either have been brought with them from their former homes or bartered from the tribes on the Kulusen. It is claimed that the proper clay cannot be found in the neighborhood of Simão Lopes.

Arrows are still being made, an iron nail generally being substituted for the old bone point, but most of the arrows also come from the Kulusen.

For the old hammock made of palm-leaf fibre the cotton hammock has been substituted, but the same open net style has been kept.

Mussel shell ornaments have also been bought from the tribes of the Kulusen. In brief, almost anything that is found in their village must bear the suspicion that it is not a Bakairi product.

However, they have preserved a few customs, such as filing the upper teeth to a point, wearing under the European clothing the gee string, and ceremonial use of the bull-roarer, and they probably remember many of their ceremonies.

The short time spent at the post was mostly devoted to taking anthropometric measurements, which were subsequently lost on the Kulusen, but in some notes I do find the statement that in blood groupings most belong to groups three and four, the former predominating.

Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25

Y 105 171 352 *Seats*

In front of the men's houses a log is usually kept, on which the men sit, and which guests occupy until bird stools, or in the case of the Naravute, bark stools are brought by the headmen of the village.

Y [345] In the houses the hammocks take the place of stools or mats, except when biiju is being prepared by the women. In the men's house there are two parallel logs running almost its entire length, lashed to the main posts.

Y [285] [531] In the villages, sitting on the ground is avoided whenever possible. Mats, made of lengths of taquora, held together by two strings passed through holes in the individual pieces, are used. Such a mat is shown in Plate XXIV, 4. Often the upper surface is decorated with incised rectilinear geometric patterns, as shown in the sketch. These mats are especially used when making farina or biiju.

The bark stools seen among the Naravute which were brought to us, as the guests, in place of the bird stools, consist merely of a piece of bark about thirty centimetres long, bent inward and lengthwise. They bear no decorations of any kind.

Y [231] [532] The bird stools are of the type shown in Plate XXIV, 10, 11. They are carved from one piece of wood, the head of the bird and the tail being easily recognized, although the style is extremely simple. The bird represented is the harpy eagle, and is in some way connected with the keeping of the bird in the cage in the village as described.

Y [574] [622] Of the bark and bird stools there are but a few in the village, owned only by the headmen, and are used on those occasions when visitors arrive at the village.

Y 516 [501] In the canoes the occupants sit on sticks placed crosswise on the bottom. The paddlers hold the legs straight before them, or bent, but never under them.

When not sitting on stools, hammocks or mats, the men squat. The women double the legs under them as seen in Plate XII, 3. When standing they frequently lean on each other's shoulders, and also employ the crane's posture [Plate XII, 4].

Ba *Musical Instruments*

Y 534 105 171 Pan's pipes are known to all of the peoples on the Kulusen and Kuluene rivers, including the Bakairi. One type consists of five reeds

Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25
Waura SP18

of different lengths, closed at one end. Two or three of the pipes are played in unison. Though the intervals between the lowest note and the next two in the scale are well defined, there seems to be but a very slight difference, if any at all, in the pitch of the notes produced by the shorter pipes. This type is used for practicing the music and for personal amusement, but not in ceremonies. They are easily made and are carried about frequently. Though different sets may be pitched differently, the note intervals seem to be the same, at least in the three sets that are in the University Museum collection, though they were collected from the Bakairi, the Naravute and the Kalapalu. [Plate XIX, 7.] Ba Y 105 171 534

In the Yawalapiti village, the two clowns used pipes made of bamboo. Instead of five, they consisted of three pieces, the longest of which measured over one and a half metres. The three notes produced, though different in pitch, corresponded to the three lowest notes produced on the pipes described above. In this particular ceremony, each of the men in turn played what may be called the lead part, while the other played the accompaniment. W 522 534 533

Single end-blown flutes, such as are illustrated in Plate XIX, 6, are common to the entire area. They were seen in the Tsuva, Yawalapiti, and Naravute village, and apparently were known to the Bakairi and to peoples of the other villages. They are made of taquara, and to be played they must be well soaked in water. The upper part is so cut out that when the flute is played the chin rests on it. At the other end, there is a narrow aperture. Four holes control the pitch of the notes. It was noted that the note intervals were the same as those of the Pan's pipes. They are used strictly in the ceremonies, and the sight of them is prohibited to the women, death being feared for failure to observe the tabu. However, not only are the women permitted to listen to them, but they are listened to with great pleasure. It was the women that prohibited the men to sell them to us in the Tsuva village, and in the Yawalapiti village, the women pretended to weep when it was decided to let us have them. Three flutes are played together in the ceremony. Both the flutes and the office of playing them in the ceremonies seem to be inherited. Ba Y 534 105 171 Y Ba [784 562] W [425 562 152]

Another flute, smaller than the above mentioned, was obtained at the Yawalapiti village; it differs from the others in that close to the top W 534

[text continues on p. 163]

Wauka SP18
Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25

there is a small aperture for blowing. This type need not be wet to play. [Plate XIX, 8.] W 534

The only other object that might be called a musical instrument, that was seen in use, was composed of a number of nut shells joined together by a string and worn by the dance leader on the right ankle. In the dance, the beat is always accentuated by the stamping of the right foot and these rattles help to make it more pronounced. Y 534 105 171 535

Gourd rattles were collected from the Bakairi, and they informed me of the existence among them of the bull roarer, which is taba to the women, but neither of these were seen among the other peoples of the Kuluseu-Kuluene area. Ba 534 784 171

The men were never heard to sing. In the ceremonies that are accompanied with singing, the women take that part, generally accompanying it with a dance, consisting of linking arms with the palms of the hands against each other and the fingers interlaced, and taking three steps forward and three backward, leading with the right foot. While traveling, the women were heard to sing softly to themselves, and apparently the repertoire is a large one. Y 105 171 533 484

Other Ceremonial Objects

The use of stools, flutes, and rattles, in connection with ceremonies has been noted. Although no ceremonies other than those described in the narrative were observed, a number of ceremonial objects were collected which show interesting features. Y 105 171 796

One of the Naravute masks consists of a piece of knotless netting with two splint rings sewed at the upper portion to represent the eyes, and with a painted geometric design in black and red to suggest the face. When worn, the net falls over the face and breast, and is kept in place by a string that is tied about the waist, and another about the head. Y 532 796

A Yawalapiti mask consists of a tightly woven piece of cloth, ovoid in shape, bearing a painted design in black and white, suggesting the face. Grass is attached to it on every side, so that when the mask is worn, the grass falls to the knees. W 532 796

Another Yawalapiti specimen consists of a conical shaped hat with grass attached to the sides, so that it falls over the face and neck to the shoulders.

/170 cont./

291 Besides these products of the most primitive carving art, /171/ the most interesting article was: a buritĩ shirt -- "the" shirt of the upper Schingũ -- which proved the invention of [286] clothing even among the Bakaïrĩ. The fibers were knotted in meshes, following the method for the hammock; the doublet was wide at the neck in order to be stepped into; it had short sleeves and trousers, from the bottom edge of which long fibers hung down. Many simple, meter-long buritĩ-fiber 372 hangings seemed apron-like. Two triangular fire-fans had 237 small downy feathers pasted on them. Hard, open shells, ●535

345 352 353

In the Bakaïrĩ festival-hut.

535 the size of half-walnuts, were gathered into a rattling bundle 534 that is tied around the ankles for dancing. Another rattle instrument was a dried gourd shell, which contained seeds, impaled on a stick (1).

[171] 1. Hans Stadl (1556) tells of the "Tuppin Inbas": "They believe in a thing that grows like a gourd, is as large as a half-measure scoop. It is hollow inside; they stick a little stick through it, cut a little hole in it, like a mouth, and put little stones in it,

/173 cont./

•535 In the evening there was a musical performance. A flickering fire of twigs faintly illuminated the night. The men appeared [534] in pairs with menis, the meter-long flutes; one had the rattling shells tied around his foot. One pair stationed themselves near us, the other one in front of the opposite house. The former started to blow, stamping rhythmically with the right foot in one spot, our two dipped the menis in water and cried loudly "uh -- uh," then started to blow also and began moving toward the hut at the left, beating time regularly with the right foot. The ones across the way came blowing toward us, while the others, without ceasing their melancholy wail, stood still again, stamping and bending their bodies forward. Finally this pair, too, returned to their starting point; during the finale the lament of the night wind whistling in the chimney increased to the most miserable wail, and the quartet [212] was at an end. Courteously we were then immediately served the strengthening mingau.

This was the "tŏtŏdidlte," a word infinitely jollier than the dance itself, which it designates.

122 21 Aug. ♀ 12° 49'.3, λ14'.3, km. 11.08, total 212.80.
132 /174/ 11:00 A.M.: I 745.8, II 736.4, dry. 29.0.
5:20 P.M.: I 743.6, II 734.2, dry. 27.0, wet. 24.1, water 25.8.

ooo Back to the camp early. During the night the bottom of Israel's canoe split with a bang and the load sank. Some of Wilhelm's things, among them the oil sketches of the place of embarkation, were destroyed. The beans lay in the water for hours.

122 Off at 1:00 in the afternoon; soon there was campo on the right; we noticed a hut which we investigated; it did not seem to [415] be finished or else was merely a supply station. A number of well-filled baskets, pots, bags with gourd vessels, a rack for the puvas, and bunches of urucũ capsules, whose angular seeds furnish the red pigment, were completely abandoned. The path to a roça led into the woods.

/64 cont./

291 the upper arms or under one knee or above one ankle. One youth
301 or another would also stick a feather into his pierced ear-lobe;
304 one must not think, however, that the Indian always appears in his entire festive array, as on tobacco-store signs.

000 I should like, however, to say a few words at this point about the general impression that the "nakedness" makes on the unself-conscious visitor. One does not see this evil nakedness at all after a quarter of an hour, and if one then purposely reminds oneself of it and asks whether the naked human beings, father, mother, children, who are innocently standing or walking around there ought to be condemned or pitied because of their lack of modesty, one must either laugh about it as about something incredibly silly or raise a protest against it as against something contemptible. From the aesthetic standpoint the lack of covering has its pros and cons, like all truth: youth and vigor often looked delightful in their unconstrained movements, old age and disease
291 often dreadful in their decay. Our clothing seemed as strange
123 to the good people as their nakedness seemed to us. I was accompanied by men and women when I went to bathe and was obliged to submit to having all my onion skins examined in the greatest detail. They lacked any understanding of the embarrassed feeling that I was well-bred enough to feel with respect to their curiosity; they thoughtfully examined my Polynesian tattooing, especially a blue kiwi of New Zealand, but, to my satisfaction, they were obviously disappointed by the fact that there were not greater wonders hidden under the careful and unusual packing.

123 They themselves, of course, also wore something resem-
535 bling clothes for their masquerade and dance, apparel plaited out of palm straw, the name of which is éti = house, and thus my shirt was given the grand name of "back-house"; I had a "head-house" and a "leg-house." Since the women do not dance and only the men may use this apparel in their flute-house, Eva's question as to whether "karáiba pekóto," the women of the Karaiben, also wore clothes, "houses," was probably not so un-
000 justified. -- How quickly one can become accustomed to the naked

/88 cont./

361 The village could be reached in half an hour or an hour from
311 the river, depending on whether one landed sooner or later. It was surrounded by cultivated land to an extent that aroused our
241 greatest astonishment. On the three different paths that we followed, we came through long stretches where the forest had been cut down with the stone ax. In March and April the trees are felled and in September and October the wood which has dried in the meantime is burned. We examined with admiration a number of thick trunks, the cross-sections of which were covered with the dull blow-marks of the stone axes, and regretted that we could not saw off such a marked surface and take it along. I silently begged forgiveness of the Indians at whom I had often laughed when they were swinging themselves in their hammocks at home, as though their lives were one long Sunday.

361 /89/ In Iguéti there were three large family-houses and a
345 very respectable flute-house in which many dance costumes made
● 535 of palm straw were hanging. On the village plaza a cage rose
343 up higher than a house, which consisted of long poles set together
231 in the form of a pointed cone; in it sat a mighty Harpia destructor, although the village is called igu-eti = sparrow-hawk village.
231 The once heraldic bird had probably long since departed. The beautiful eagle was named after its favorite food, mégo-zóto, lord
412 of the monkeys. Beside the chief's house lay a large whetstone
[171] for the stone axes; it gave me much pleasure because it showed the same grooves that we had observed in the sambaquis of Sta. Catharina.

621 The community numbered some 40 persons. They spoke of
162 three chiefs, but we met in this capacity only the good-natured,
622 very broad-shouldered Aramöke, who was characterized by a waddling walk. He had a sly expression and with his clumsy body was very polite, for, striding ahead of me in the forest, he broke off the branches, which might have snapped back in my face, more graciously than he probably would have for a woman. A large knife and a red scarf made him the happiest of mortals.
574 He showed us great hospitality. Fresh golden beijús were con-
437 stantly brought forth, a row of calabashes filled with pogu were

/89 cont./

574 always standing ready, a thin, very sweet püserego was offered
[437] in superabundance, and for our beads we obtained a supply of fine polvilho flour for the journey.

462 The women baking away so busily seemed to us small and ugly, but friendly. They fetched water only accompanied by men.

●535 When I was in Iguéti the first time on 20 September with Vogel and Ehrenreich, we experienced a strange scene which I should like to insert here. We were sitting in the flute-house in the evening when a few came in, squatted down beside the ashes of the fire, and uttered a loud ih... Then a couple of others put on the straw apparel hanging there and ran around for a while like roaring lions. I believed it to be pure fun and pastime, but all of them remained perfectly serious. Then one of the maskers ran outside while the chorus again cried ih...hi, stuck his arms out of the straw, and made a rustling sound with the fringe. He disappeared into a house and soon came out again, laden with beijú and fish. The same thing was repeated, and Luchu was the third to go, returning with drink. The departure was always announced by the general ih..., so that the people in the houses were prepared. Since the straw apparel covers the entire body down to the feet, the person that hides in it cannot be recognized.

/90/ Later in the evening three men started to sing. They
[534] stepped close to the door entrance of the flute-house, and, to be sure, in such a way that they turned their backs to the rest of us; two of them shook the gourd rattle, which differs from our first cradle toy only in the material, and the third stamped in steady
[533] perseverance with his right foot. The three sang: ĩhaí, ĩhãĩĩ huχõ, ihaí ohuhoχõ.... Perhaps the eternal huχu, huχo is nothing but the word for "foot," which, pupu in ancient Karaibe, changed phonetically to χuχu, huχu. It was a solemn, almost melancholy sounding, but very powerful "makanari," as the Bakaïrí call their festival songs. Ehrenreich was very impatient with the invariable, unchanging monotony of the singing, rattling, and stamping; for my part, however, I can only say that the very sameness made an impression on me and in a way intoxicated

/90 cont./

535 and captivated me. Others placed themselves behind the three, sang and stamped along with them, more and more joined, and finally those nearest the door ran out, bent over and one following the other, the entire train trotted in a long chain over to the chief's house with uninterrupted ohúhoχõ, came back to the flute-house, and back and forth across the plaza; we guests did not fail to take part in at least a few rounds of the musical marathon, but the good Bakaïrí ran, sang, stamped -- the whole night. It thus seems to be a very old custom to dance until broad daylight. Except that the men did the work by themselves. It was excellent to go to sleep by; like the familiar and often tested method of falling asleep by imagining an endless herd of sheep jumping over a fence and counting the individual leaping animals, their firm ohõhuχõ hypnotized with deadly certainty.

On our second visit we saw nothing of the kind.

123 A small shooting demonstration aroused more fear than astonishment; the women ran behind the houses; a tall youth fled into the hammock and covered his ears. After the third shot the chief begged "ãle," "it is enough." Afterwards they again had a desire for it and set tasks, to hit birds circling high in the air, which only Cooper's hunters could have fulfilled. At any rate, one must beware of sending off a shot about which one is not certain.

The photographic apparatus was set up opposite the chief's house; Aramöke accepted the invitation, stuck his head under the black cloth, viewed the picture with great pleasure, and chattered enthusiastically about it. The others did not trust the thing.

342 Aramöke's house, a magnificent example of primitive architecture, was larger and more carefully built than Paleko's in
353 Maigéri. Many storage baskets were piled up between the center
531 posts, and from the dome hung numerous maize birds and cobs. What absorbed our interest primarily, however, was a frieze of crude drawings which ran all around, about two meters above the doors, to a total length of about 56 meters. /91/ On narrow sheets of blackened tree bark, dots, rings, linear patterns, and in between

/92 cont./

574 night. We sat down in the middle of the large plaza in a long row. Each one was brought a drinking bowl; the largest, along
574 with a cigar, fell to me. Speeches of welcome were now ex-
576 changed with great volubility.

ámа, you = that is you. ehé úra, yes, I = indeed, that is I. bakaïrí úra, I (am a) Bakaïrí. kχaráiba úra, I (am a) Karaibe. bakaïrí kχúra, (the) Bakaïrí (are) good. kχaráiba iwakulukúlu, (the) Karaiben (are) very good. pí ma áma? (are) you (the) chief? píma úra, I (am the) chief.

123 Opposite each Karaiben squatted a Bakaïrí and admired him and what he wore. The Swedish matches, knives, mirrors, buttons, beads -- it was always the same routine. Except that in the case of Porisa it was my notebook that was most appreciated, and it was not the written pages or those covered with drawings, but the white, empty sheets that elicited exclamations of delight from him. We also strode about the plaza in pairs, arm in arm, in affable conversation. We studied the geographical distribution of the Kulisehu tribes in detail, but the dwelling places of the Trumaí still remained as obscure as before.

345 The flute-house was large and spacious, its roof dilapidated, much straw lay on the floor inside, and here, as in the houses, we missed the cleanliness which pleased us so in the other vil-
534 lages. In front of the flute-house, resting on cross-sticks, lay a
[532] huge hollow tree-trunk -- a morcego (bat) tree our men called it -- /93/ irregularly painted with human figures and fish vertebrae. During festivals they drummed on this giant instrument with thick wooden clubs, similar to the mandioca pestles.

• 535 Inside there were handsome masks and a new form of dance costume; two huge crinolines ten meters in circumference, covered with straw, and comparable to small huts, koálu, which
126 the dancer wore on a ring on his shoulder. Soon enthusiastic
301 barter was under way everywhere. We obtained fine feather
237 ornaments, crowns made of arara feathers, which are light blue
534 on one side, yellow on the other, dainty mats in which they are
283

/277 cont./

*171 532 825 the animal motif is predominant here. Aside from the fact that the pots are made to look like gourds, from which they probably arose, it is solely and entirely a matter of imitation of animals. [535] Only in the dance art is there an equally inexhaustible abundance of motifs which arise from the joy in the hunting life and its observations.

*171 532 The plastic art, too, still permits one clearly to recognize that it was originally merely descriptive. We must not expect to be able to trace its course back as far as in the case of drawing, the best efforts of which still remain a sort of cartographic enumeration of the characteristic features and preserve these even in the geometric modification, but we have here another indication which is no less clear. In the fashioning of bodily forms the material that is being worked on comes to the fore much more than in the incising of lines. Just as rhyme often furnishes the thought, so does a form already present often furnish the motif. Thus, there is a very striking frugality shown in the characteristic features that are stressed; any small resemblance is sufficient to define the object as a particular creature. On a higher level, the native adorns a utensil with a freely invented motif, and this then sinks into geometric stylization exactly like the drawings.

*171 301 532 /278/ Small chain-figures. The meager characterization is most striking in the small figures which are kept on the neck chains, mostly those of babies and very small children, between the seed kernels, the shell beads, and the nut beads. The material is wholly unimportant. [237] A piece of the convolution of the rose-colored snail shell has an edge which runs into irregular projections and indentations: that is a crayfish. The Bakairí [237] cut birds and fish out of the shell of the caramujo branco, [136] Orthalicus melanostomus. We see a shield-shaped piece, the body, which at the bottom continues into a narrower tail and at the top into a sort of neck piece (Fig. 63). This "neck piece," however, is the head, commonly pierced at the side to receive the string, and seems to be treated quite indifferently. If the tail piece is notched like a fin, we have before us a fish instead of a bird. /Figure 63 appears here./

BO 285 524 532

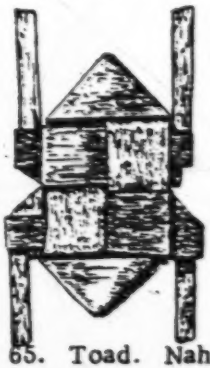
/280 cont./

nothing more than the pubic band with the bark belt holding it. A "Bororó man" was represented by a palm leaf strip folded in the same way and then only a thread tied around it, the waist cord, which he wears besides his cuff and wore long before the invention of the cuff.

B 285 532 535

B 524 202

The straw figures of the Bakaïrí dance festivals are a special group. I shall have to discuss them in connection with the masks. They represented animals and were worn on the head. Span-long dolls served as children's toys and were also stuck on a pole in the roof of the festival



Y 285 524 532

Fig. 65. Toad. Nahuquá. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

hut as a sign that a masquerade was being celebrated; they announced to all the world: "Big dance entertainment today."

Fig. 66. Deer. Nahuquá. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

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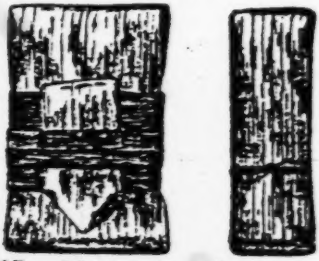

The two little dolls of Figure 68 /see p. 316/ seem to be very expressively summoning one for the merriment. In 1884 we came across larger straw figures, which were not used as headdresses, in front of the second Bakaïrí village

BO 285 524 532

Fig. 67. Woman's and man's figure. Bororó. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

on the Batovy. "Shortly before the exit from the woods we came across a wonderful display of about a dozen animal figures along one side of the path, probably the remains from a festival." (They

/280 cont./

285 were meant to welcome the participants from the neigh-
532 boring villages.) "They were made of leaves and straw,
535 /281/ mostly quadrupeds with long, thin bodies, consisting of practically nothing but spinal column and long legs; the tallest ones reached to our hips. Something that was evidently supposed to be a monkey was climbing up a pole." (Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, page 168 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 50/.

[E24]

Fig. 68. Invitation to the dance. Bakaïrí. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

285 The maize figures, almost exclusively
532 birds, are extremely characteristic of their
825 enjoyment of art; we found the most attractive examples of them in the second Bakaïrí village. There they hung, almost as large as turkeys, on a long string from the vault of the dome, a strange sight for the person entering, who undoubtedly

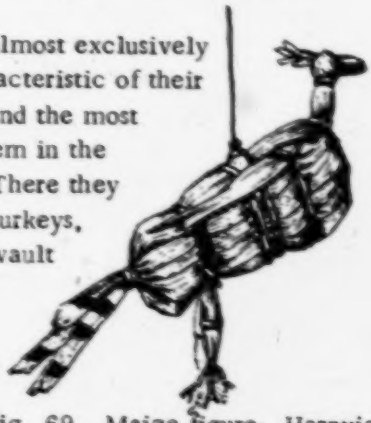

Fig. 69. Maize figure: Harpyia destructor. Bakaïrí. (1/10 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

[251] would think of idols and fetishes. But these fine birds were nothing but lovingly trimmed maize ears which were stored in their natural straw husks. I listed figures of Harpia destructor, a large and a small species of falcon, the snake

/283 cont./

*171 birds, often painted red. In illustration 73 /see p. 319/ we see
237 a karijo dove; the figure, 15 centimeters long, with the short
532 wing stumps, turned out very stiff.
825

Wooden figures. In discussing the dance ornaments I shall
532 deal with the carved and painted wooden masks separately. The
535 Bakaïrí, whose festival finery consisted mostly of straw caps,
825 straw suits, and straw animals worn on the head, carved birds of light wood for their headpieces. In 1884 we brought back from the Batovy a wonderful head-structure (illustrated in Durch Centralbrasilien, page 322 /see 1:Steinen, this file, p. 16/), where seven colorfully painted birds are mounted on three long rods wound with flocks of cotton, /284/ birds which at that time I took to be swallows, but in the meantime have been able to identify as sanyassú (Tanagra sayaca Neuw.). Those shown in No. 74 are similar birds, the larger of which represents a falcon, the small one the nimble shore birds : massarico (Calidris arenaria); there were many of them in the third Bakaïrí village on the Kulisehu. The neck is sharply set off from the body, a few lines show the markings of the feathers and a long stalk stuck

Fig. 74. Wooden figures: falcon and massarico. Bakaïrí. (1/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 75. Wooden fish of the Batovy Bakaïrí. (1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

[301]

Fig. 76. Mandioca digger as a back-stick. Bakaïrí. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

through the body on the right and left and with its ends coming together again at the bottom represents the legs.

2: Steinen--339 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/296/

I. Masks.

191 532 535 On the second journey our yield of dance ornaments and, above all, of face-masks was considerably larger than on the first. This is all the more important since the masks, which are, after all, distributed throughout the world in the most diverse forms and for the most diverse purposes, and which play such an important part among the Indians of northern America, have so far been observed only to a relatively slight extent in South America. It seems that they occur in particular in the Amazonas region, but it may only seem so. All the tribes have their dance festivals, all have pantomimes in which animals are portrayed, people adorn themselves with natural ornaments of skins or feathers, imitate the voices and movements, and spontaneously arrive at the characterizing mummery which makes the spectacle more effective. The technical skill of the mummery and its characterization certainly differs, but probably all hunting peoples reached the level which we come across among the Schingú tribes, again with an entirely different development of mimic devices. We are so poorly informed about this only because the opportunities to investigate living tribes in an undisturbed state are rare and can be only superficially exploited during a fleeting visit. Our own journey is the best example. In one region where [126] in 1884 we came across strange headgear with animal imitations of straw, etc., but only two wooden dove-masks, in 1887 we brought back a handsome collection of face masks which, now in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde, permit an interesting comparison with the grotesque animal masks of the Tekuna /Tucuna/ from the upper Amazon River that are present there. Ehrenreich, too, brought back from the Karayá /Caraja/ on the Araguay /Araguaia/ a number of huge dance masks adorned in the most colorful manner with feathers, which in their construction remind one most strikingly of the Duk-duk of the South Sea.

[184] [345] Not only each tribe, but each village has its own masked dances. The center is always the "flute house." In their character the dances are extraordinarily alike throughout Brazil. Always the running around in a circle and the jerky singing corresponding

/296 cont./

* 171 to the stamping. It is extremely characteristic that the Bakairí
532 have the same word for "dancing" and "singing." "The mean-
● 535 ing of the songs," says Martius, "is simple: praise of the warlike
[538] and hunting deeds of individuals or hordes, enumeration of certain animals and remarks about their characteristics. If masks appear at the festival, most of which represent animals, the wearers imitate their voices."

* 171 We did not observe anything that would permit us to con-
123 clude that the masks are in any way regarded as sacred. The
532 pieces plaited out of palm straw in particular were all heedlessly tossed aside after use. True, the masks were sometimes hidden from us, but only in the same way that /297/ all portable utensils and ornaments were hidden from us, out of fear of robbery. Once the people had gained confidence in us, they surrendered their masks to us without further ado and made new ones to order. They were demonstrated for us with joking and laughter, like a pretty toy.

527 Among the docile Bakairí /Bacairi/ on the Paranatinga and the Rio Novo the principal festival usually occurred in April. I, with my civilized conceptions, was pursuing the idea of a feast of thanksgiving and thought of the possibility that the festival held at harvest time was somehow being celebrated in praise and honor of some friendly powers regarded as the givers of good things. I therefore tried to find out from Antonio whether anything like that could be established. Antonio, however, did not respond to my suggestion. "We celebrate the festival around harvest time," he declared, "because then we have something to celebrate; in the dry period we must save, in the rainy season everything would become moldy." Materialistic, but understandable.*

*"Usually a surplus of supplies for the beverages is the occasion for the festival," says Martius, "but where European custom has asserted itself and Christians live next to Indians, a saint's day will probably be chosen for it."

/297 cont./

B 527 535 993 *[191] According to everything that the natives told us about the festivals, they primarily amounted to what they thought were riotous feasting and drinking bouts. Bakaïrí legend describes the origin to us in the same way. Kame, the tribal ancestor of the Arinos tribes, built the first flute house, carved the first flute, invited his friends to the dance, and served them starch-paste. Keri, the tribal ancestor of the Bakaïrí, who most eagerly competed with Kame in invention, for his part invited Kami to the dance; the legend tells us in what manner the festival took place and speaks of the makanari and the imeo, the straw costumes without face-masks, but with characterizing and partly disguising headdresses, as Keri's invention.

B 529 535 539 "Keri, too, called his people together. Toward evening they went dancing on the village plaza. Then from the house Keri fetched pogu to be drunk. Immediately thereafter they plaited makanari. Keri called Kame. Many people came and Keri was master of the dance. They danced all day. Toward evening they rested. After dark they danced all through the night. Early in the morning they went to the river to bathe. After the bath they came to the flute house. They began with the imeo and danced the whole day. They likewise danced all night. -- Then the festival was at an end."

B T 529 535 628 648 B *[191] A noteworthy feature of the legend is the circumstance that the different tribes united for the dance festival. It is a universal custom that the villages invite one another to the big festivals. Friendly neighboring tribes also send numerous participants. In 1884, when we met the Trumaí and Kamayurá /Camayura/ together (see p. 105), the two tribes had just celebrated a joint festival.

B *191 199 535 For one thing it is understandable under these circumstances that an exchange and leveling out between the customs and dance gear of the tribes takes place. /298/ Each tribe knew the songs of the neighboring tribes, without understanding their content precisely, as we learned in numerous cases; one tribe would also become acquainted with new types of masks from another, and finally the mereschu design, to which I shall come back after describing the masks, gained its general distribution.

/298 cont./

171 345 535 562 Furthermore, however, it is easily understandable that the women are strictly excluded from the ceremonious dances and may not enter the flute house, the house of the men where foreign visitors are welcomed and entertained. It is probably in this sense that one should interpret the strange masquerade which we experienced in the second Bakairí village, when the food and drink for our flute-house band was fetched by a masked Indian of the first village from the women, who would not have been permitted to bring it. Cf. page 63. Behind the jest lay the

[114]

* At that place there is a sentence which was left in by mistake and which contains an idea long since given up by me -- the final sentence that there is perhaps a connection with the custom of eating alone. /The sentence referred to, which was omitted in the translation in accordance with the corrections listed on p. 571, reads as follows. Perhaps there is a connection between the custom of being veiled when one brings his gift of hospitality and the custom of eating alone, against which one cannot transgress without arousing the sense of shame of the others./

serious motive that strangers and women should be limited in their intercourse. The Mohammedan takes the opposite course, in that he masks his women and shuts them up in special chambers.

*171 535 562 In the origin of the dance itself, moreover, there is a fundamental reason against the participation of the female sex. These are "unfeminine" pleasures which have developed from hunters' festivals. Nevertheless, there seem to be distinctions. The women never take part in the big festivals, the Bakairí said, but in the small ones they do. they are also said to dance by themselves occasionally, without men. The Suyá, however, seem to think otherwise. at any rate, the Bakairí expressed themselves very contemptuously about the misbehavior there, "men danced with women." Perhaps it is advisable to point out,

/298 cont./

*171 finally, that there was not the slightest trace of any secrets and
●535 mysteries or of any special relationship of the medicine men to
562 the dances which were supposed to be kept secret from the women.

It is also for protection against feminine curiosity that the
*171 entrances of the flute houses on the Kulisehu are made so low
345 that one can enter only in a very stooped position or even must
562 slide in on the knees. I do not know to what extent the prohibition for the women is carried out in practice in everyday life, but we did not obtain permission to measure them in the flute house; and certainly it was said "the women would be killed if they went into the flute house" -- a rather crude variant of "mulier taceat in ecclesia" /the woman is to be silent in church/.

[299] That the custom was still taken seriously among the docile Bakairí some 30 or 40 years ago is best illustrated by an experience which, according to the story of an old Brazilian, the priests who brought Christianity were obliged to undergo. They found nothing more natural than to assemble the new congregation in the flute house which was so well suited for church purposes because it was uninhabited. /299/ The men came willingly enough, but the women remained outside and were persuaded only with great difficulty to risk physical danger for the sake of the salvation of their souls.

*171 Among all the tribes the body is partially or completely
535 covered with aprons or cloaks for the masked dances. Leaf strips of buriti straw or dry grass blades about a meter long were strung on a cord to make a wide apron and were wound around the neck several times so that they hung down from the shoulders, or around the /Fig. 90 appears here/ hips so that they reached to the ankles, or combined in both forms. The chief difference

[325] is in the ornament for the head. Common to all is the connection with animals. Here we may distinguish

1. Imitations of animals are put on. Bakairí.

2. Straw caps with long fiber hangings, in part bearing attributes of the animal. Bakairí.

3. Fish net in front of the face. Nahuquá.

4. Straw lattice in the fashion of the sieve-filter, in an oval hoop. Without facial parts. Bakairí, Nahuquá. Facial parts of wax. Aueto.

/299 cont./

* 171 535 5. Oval frames on which are stretched netting, cotton plaiting, and cotton weaving. Facial parts of wax pasted on, eyes of cotton flocks, beans, mother-of-pearl. Painted. Bakaïrí, Auetó, Kamayurá, Trumaí.

* 171 532 635 6. Wooden masks. Square wooden plates with mighty bulging forehead and nose of human form. Painted on natural markings of the animal, outline of the animal, body parts of the animal (wings, fins), stylized animal designs. Eyes of mussel shell, mouth with fish teeth pasted on with wax; the latter, like the former, again of human shape. Bakaïrí, Nahuquá, Auetó, Kamayurá, and, in the largest development, Mehinakú /Mehinacu/. The Mehinakú had only wooden masks. A transitional form between 5 and 6, without the forehead bulge and oval, among the Auetó.

Fig. 90. Imeo dancer. Bakaïrí.

* 171 529 535 [197] In the masked festival: borrowings from foreign tribes, which are suggested through visits, and local cultivation of special variations are undoubtedly mixed.

Cologne, Düsseldorf, Mainz, and Trier also have, in their carnival societies, different caps, different insignia, different customs /300/ in the meetings, different songs, different slogans, and different motifs for the vehicles of the procession. Here, too, special "ladies' meetings" are announced for the participation of the female sex, and the women rigorously guard

/300 cont./

*171 527 535 against appearing in the "flute house" at an inappropriate time, though they may hope to come out again alive, or at most only half dead. Carnival on the Kulisehu is also followed by a period of fasting, for it does not end -- the reason is not one connected with the cult -- before everything that is there has been eaten [462] and drunk insofar as possible. The women have an enormous [262] job satisfying the demands for beijús and drinks; they must pound, [272] boil, and bake incessantly, and this necessity has probably also contributed somewhat to their being kept away from the dancing, so that they could meanwhile carry out their duties.

535 Bakaírí. On the Rio Novo and Paranatinga the old customs are still observed. "Everybody dances like the wild Bakaírí," said Antonio, "tudo dansa como Bakaírí brabo." He described to me the festival held last April, when the people from the Rio Novo had invited those of the Paranatinga. They danced the yatuka dance, the makanri, and the imeo. Yatuka is a fish dance; wooden fish are worn on the head, especially the black pakú and the matrincham; heads of men and women are made of calabashes painted black and white or black and red and surrounded with Bromelia hair.

Makanari is a general term. The Bakaírí calls almost everything and anything that is part of his dance adornment makanari; he calls specific dances makanari. "bakaírí makanári zóto," the Bakaírí is master of the makanari. It is the dance of his tribe. The imeo is a type of makanari, a specific figure. In fact, it seems that the concept of makanari was originally narrower and [532] referred to a specific dance with straw plaiting. Among the docile Bakaírí there are no wooden masks. Here the principal makanari is the bat dance, and, to be sure, semímo, the small [533] bat, and aluá, the large bat. Antonio recited the text of the aluá dance* for me, but, in spite of a great deal of trouble, it

535 539

*One man sings: ohuhaaha-áhá yumáa ohú.... yumarí uvanuká, yumari uvanuká huyaná vitá öö....yohohohú. Then another: mauá káua

/300 cont./

535 539 káuayú, mauákauayú hohohú. aluá...aluhá, aluá miyevené yanávitá hö...ohohohú. ihöhö... hohú, he..hirámiturí hohó, yukévené yohó hohohohú. Now all in circular motion: ohú namiturí ohú namituhurí ohoyócho yóchu hohuhó. ayarívénení kayarílö ohó namiturí ohú namituhurú ohó oyochó yochu. Now out on the plaza: yochó huyócho huyóchó huyóchohú huyócho. makavó makavó yuuávitirá inávitáhané, iná yochohuyócho..... Finally, turning around: aschimámayú ohuhohú ayavarikú hohuhoo, eveschírini mahúraní hoo, aschimámayú ohohu.....

535 533 was impossible for me to obtain a translation or even an explanation of the content. He said that he himself no longer understands the old words. I believe there was some truth in this, and that he was not merely, in his awkwardness, handing me an excuse, because even aluá itself is not a Bakaïrí or Karaiben /Carib/ word at all, but a Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ word. (See also the footnote, page 24.) Perhaps the text is also in part old Aruak -- no longer understood /301/ after it had been sung together at joint festivals and was taken over and mixed with Bakaïrí words.

535 The imeo makanari is common to all Bakaïrí. On the Kulisehu imóto, imódo, is added as a related figure. Imeo is a [825] white animal that lives in the dried-up buriti palm -- as far as I understood, the larva of a palm-boring beetle, imodo, a related creature, reddish with a black head. A strange selection, somewhat reminiscent of the Midsummer Night's Dream. It [824] is explained, however, if one remembers that the material for the dance costumes is furnished primarily by the buriti palm, which that insect inhabits. And this may be a tasty morsel besides. /Fig. 91 appears here./ Other animals also appear in this makanari, especially the bat and the pintado sheatfish, Fig. 91 /see p. 347/. The latter mask is easy to understand. A costume plaited out of coarse, hard grass covers the body, but the wearer can look through the plaiting without difficulty, and a long piece

/301 cont./

535 of vine characterizes the barbels of the fish. The costume for the other figures of the dance consists of a straw cap with long fiber hangings all around, pulled down over the entire head; and a garment plaited out of buriti leaf strips, which we found on the Batovy even in 1884. Straw caps without a stem belong to the semímo or bat dancer the imódo (on the left in Figure 92 /see p. 348/) has on its cap a stem with one or even two knob-like thickenings, the imeo (Figure 92, right) a bundle of knobbed stems. The imodo was also hung up in the hut as a maize doll (cf. page 317). Finally, a cap with five little cane rods arranged like Pan-pipes plaited into the stem was called enoschibíro; this, however, is the name of the wood out of which the [532] flutes are carved. The mask represented a whistling bird which I could not identify. The measurements of this cap are: total length 86 centimeters, top piece 11.5 centimeters, actual cap 22.5 centimeters, hangings 52 centimeters.

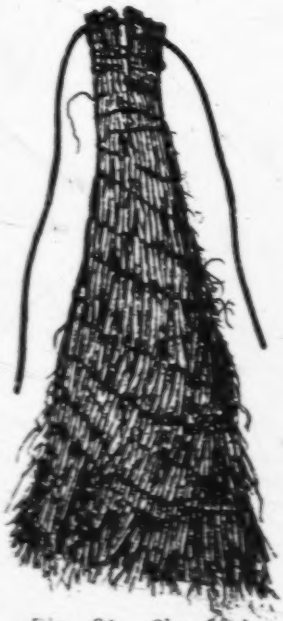

Fig. 91. Sheatfish mask. Bakaírí. (1/16 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

The buriti doublet of the imeo dance, with fringed sleeves and trousers, Fig. 92, is very remarkable. We also found separate sleeves, which were worn in connection with the loose straw hangings. One steps into the suit at the neck; the width there is one and a quarter meters and a string is inserted for drawing it together. The Bakaírí tried to put on European shirts in the same awkward way. Between the trouser legs there is a slit that is laced together with a thin cord. /302/ If our cloth- [831] ing owes its origin to a sense of modesty, the Bakaírí has taken another course, or he must be regarded as a bad satirist, for on some specimens he has hung on the outside a penis consisting of a

/302 cont./

535 little piece of an ear of maize together with testicles of plaiting.
[831] Inevitably we feel forced to assume that a human individual is being presented to us. This is not necessarily the case, however, for,
[825] conversely, it seems self-evident to the Indian that the animal portrayed appears and acts with all human characteristics, and he

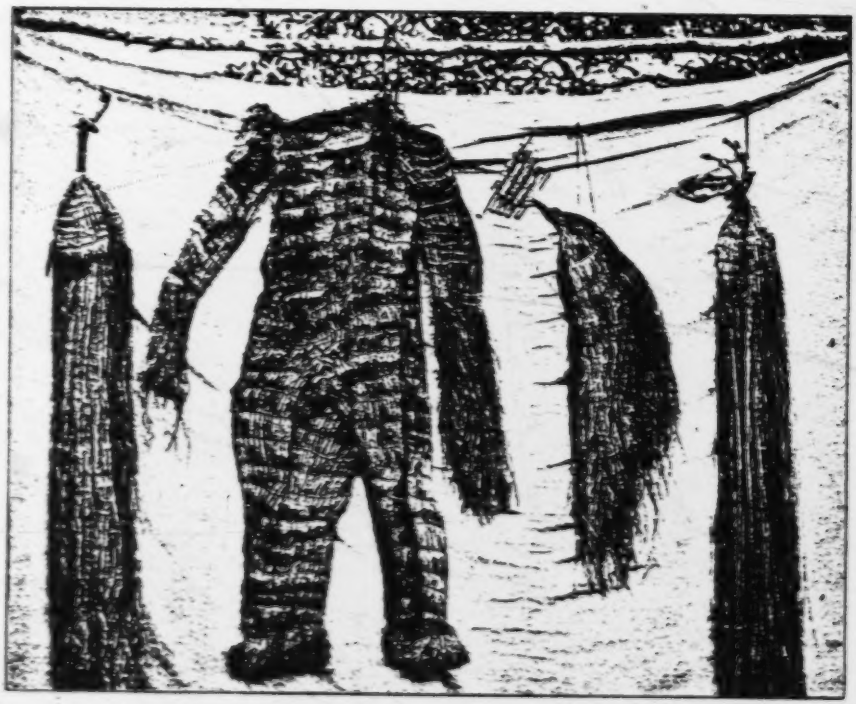

Fig. 92. Makanari of the Bakairi.
Imeo. Imeo. Enoschibiro. Imeo.

also gives the face masks of his animals human features.

The dance on the Batovy, the ornamental attire for which we found in 1884 in the flute house of the second Bakairi village, is called imiga. (Cf. Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, (p. 170 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 51/.) There were painted gourds, with feathers pasted on and open at the bottom, with carved birds looking out, the stuffed skin of a campo fox and an otter, a

/302 cont./

●535 framework of stalks in which sat small sanyassa birds amidst flocks of cotton, lizards plaited out of straw, as well as two sword-like pieces of wood painted black and white, which represented rattle-snakes -- /303/ all, except the circularly cutout ball-gourds, were provided with straw funnels for setting [534] them on the head. In addition, rattle-gourds and foot-rattles made of hard fruit shells.

532 535 As for masks, I obtained in Maigéri a longish oval mask of net plaiting with a beard of buriti fibers, a pendant of Orthalicus shells, and a wide-meshed net hood trimmed with curassow feathers. In the upper third, which is vertically intersected by a white stripe, but otherwise is painted red and dotted with black, there are the two eyes in the form of two straw rings; a band of straw borders the tongue-shaped nose which is on the edge above the eyes. [531] The lower two thirds have a white loam background and on it exhibit the mereschu design in black and neatly drawn. The most striking thing, however, is the picture of a piava fish, tonischi, which in the continuation of the stripe in the center of the face stands in the middle of the mereschu design. The black dotting of the upper part is probably also connected with it.

Fig. 93.
Net plaited-mask with piava fish. Bakaïrí. (1/10 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

We obtained eight wooden masks, all with black, red, and usually also white painting. They are heavy, flat wooden plates [322] laboriously worked out with the stone ax, out of which the forehead part projects with considerable curvature.

/303 cont./

532 part projects with considerable curvature. They also have a huge
535 nose of human shape, which, along with the rest, is carved out
[237] of one piece. The mouth consists of a set of piranha teeth pasted on with wax. The eyes are small holes decorated with little pieces of mother-of-pearl, or they appear in two masks as a pair of river mussels pierced in the center. Hoods, from which, as always, long straw hangings flutter down, are plaited on the wooden
[237] plates for putting them on the head. In the places corresponding
[619] to the ears, the Bakaïrí were in the habit of inserting two beautiful yellow japú feathers (Cassicus), which they themselves wear as a sort of tribal mark. These feathers are also to be noted on the costume of the man with the imeo cap (cf. page 344).

532 Six of the masks were identified for us as bird masks. We
535 have, first of all, a mask, Fig. 94 /see p. 351/, which represents
825 a dove, papadüri, secondly a /304/ /Figs. 94-97 appear here/ /305/ gull mask, kakaya, see Fig. 44, page 289, thirdly the mask of a small bird unknown to us, which is said to live along lagoons and is called alapübe, Fig. 95, fourthly the arakuma mask, which represents a cock of the woods and is characterized by a wooden stem representing the head ornament of the animal, Fig. 96, and, finally, two tüwetüwe masks, one with a black indented decoration, the other with a red one, which refer to a songbird with a white head and red shoulder markings, Fig. 97. Of the bird masks described, only the gull mask (cf. the illustration on page 289) has the mereschu decoration, and it may doubtless be assumed that this is supposed to characterize the fish-catching water bird, since the mereschu is not shown in the net but separately.

The two most attractive masks were called yakuá-ikúto, that is, "piranha picture." They bear red cheek markings; on the one specimen we see two red triangles with the tips touching between nose and mouth, and the triangles are so large that each takes up one-fourth of the plate. (Cf. Fig. 12, p. 168.) By means of this painting the larger piranha species of those waters, the papo amarello (yellow throat) of the Brazilians, adorned with a brilliant orange, is reproduced. The eyes are pierced shells. The

[Text Continues on p. 352]

2: Steinen--351 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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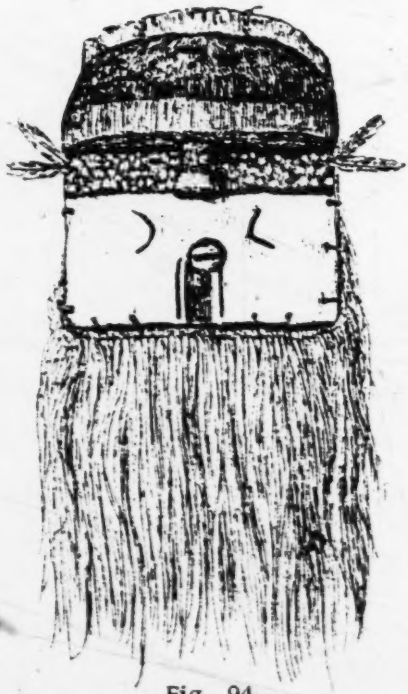

Fig. 94.
Papadüri dove. Bakaïrí. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

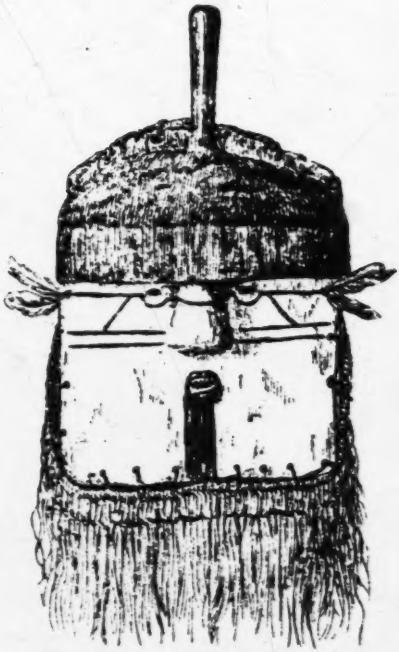

Fig. 96. Wood cock.
Bakaïrí. (1/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

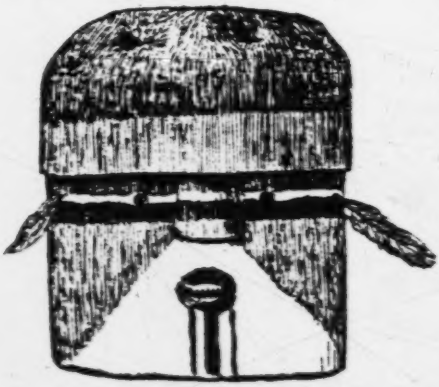

Fig. 95.
Alapübe bird. Bakaïrí. (1/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 97. Tüwetüwe bird.
Bakaïrí. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

/305 cont./

532 The handsomest decoration of these two masks, however, are the
535 enormous arara feathers inserted in the elongated nasal septum
825 and projecting far to the right and left. They are inserted into
237 a little bamboo rod decorated with tassels. Thus the Indians are so far from feeling obliged to give the animal represented its zoological physiognomy that they even pierce its nasal septum and adorn it with feathers, in accordance with their own custom.

535 We came across three fantastic dance costumes in the flute house of the third Bakaïrí village. Only one, however, was still in good condition. It was called kualóhe and looked like a small hut. This straw costume was truly a small house, and hence it is probably on account of the straw covering that the Bakaïrí call their dance costumes, including the buriti doublet provided with trouser legs and sleeves, "houses." The straw hoods were also called "head houses." The expression, however, when the word was transferred to our woolen shirts and cloth trousers, became incomprehensible. The monster was much too heavy for us to take along; it was almost ten meters in circumference at the bottom. It was constructed like a huge crinoline with five cross-hoops heavily covered with straw, but was worn on the shoulder with two bast loops attached to the upper ring. One of the Indians obliged us by crawling into it; he put on the tüwetüwe mask and went into twisting and rocking movements. The hollow tree lying in front of the festival hut was beaten as an accompaniment to the kualóhe. "It is not a makanari," the Bakaïrí say. I do not know whether they meant that it was of foreign origin. Also, I am un-
[136] able to decide whether there is a connection between this dance and the kurimatá fish (Salmo curimata), which in Bakaïrí /306/
[532] is called koálu. At any rate, the tüwetüwe mask, which the native dancing before us put on, does not go with it, but rather a kuábi sieve-mat. A sieve-mat consisting of little reedrods plaited together was provided with feather ornaments and worn in front of the face. This rush mask, or kuabi, however, lay in shreds on the ground.

2: Steinen--353 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25
Nahuqua

Y /306 cont./
535 Nahuquá. I have already described on page 77 the eremo dance which the Nahuquá performed for us and in which a woman also took part. Plate 7 /see p. 73/ reproduces the little drama very well. The dancers, who, with nets in front of their faces, strode toward each other in an extremely stooped position and beat their green branches together rhythmically, were demonstrating with their pantomime the kinds of fishing done at the river hurdle or at

B
532
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Fig. 98. Kualóhe dancer with tüwetüwe mask. Bakaïrí.

Y
535 similarly obstructed places; the fish are driven together at the narrow
Y [534] exit and plunge into the nets held ready there. I have also reported on page 77 about the big round dance which they called amakakatí; obviously the gourd rattle, which is especially prized by the Nahuquá, played an important role in it.

/317 cont./

T 532 535 [171]

as for straw hats. Some /318/ of the plaited masks are of the same type as among the Auetö and Kamayurá, but usually the entire surface of the texture is covered with the black mereschu design on a white background, in one case with horizontal rhombuses and without neck stripe or center stripe, while on others the latter is reduced to a black line. /Figs. 116 and 117 appear here./

Eyes and nose are usually three equal-sized lumps of wax next to one another in a row and knotted on with a piece of buriti fiber. On only one mask is a pair of bright shell disks pressed on the eye-lumps. The mouth is a black wax ring that looks like a pessary and so large that nose and mouth have room in it. All the facial parts are confined to the upper half, in fact the upper third, of the oval.

On a number of masks the painting is simply a black background with a red center stripe or a red background with a black center stripe in which nose and mouth are placed or which extends only to the mouth.

/319/ In the case of three masks, however, there is more. On No. 1: black background, white center stripe accompanied by a white line on either side; touching it is the triangular cheek part which consists of a red and a white stripe, the black background stripe, and a red border triangle. The mask reminds one very much of the first wax mask of the Auetö, Fig. 107 /see p. 360/. No. 2: black /Fig. 118 appears here/ background, red center stripe, two white border triangles on either side, outlined by a white zigzag line. No. 3: white background on the outside and top, inside a black background the width of the eyes and to a height to include the eyes, with a red center stripe up to the mouth ring.

B *171 532 535

II. Common Origin of the Masks and the Mereschu Design.

We have no difficulty understanding the Bakaïrí who put on animal figures plaited out of straw and heads of animal skins, but we cannot help but find it strange that there are facial parts of human form on the animal masks. One would expect a dove

[Text Continues on P. 371]

/319 cont./ B 171* 532 535

mask, for example, to have a bill and not a nose with a mouth beneath it. On seeing such a dancer, one has the feeling that he is going to call out to us pleasantly: "Don't think that I am really a dove. I am a

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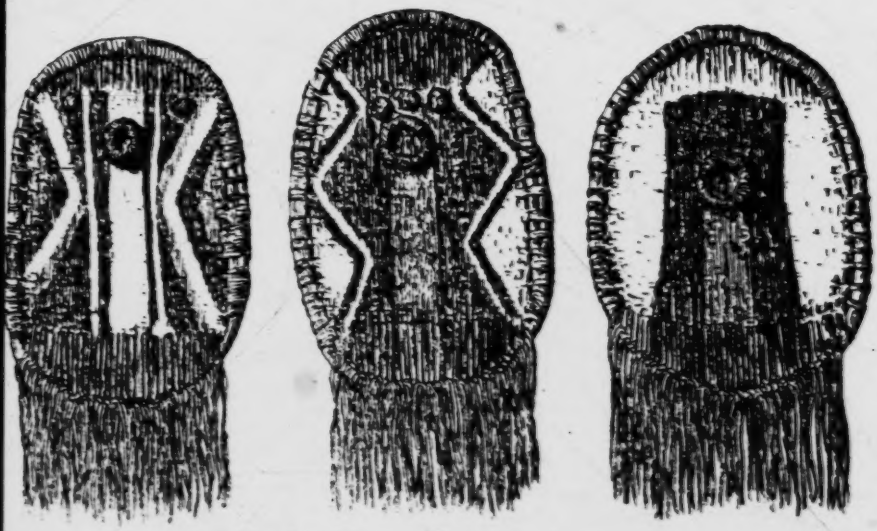

Fig. 118. Trumaí masks, painted black, white, and red. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

B 171* 532 535

human being, like you, and am merely /320/ pretending to be a dove as you can hear by my cooing and can convince yourself by the painted dots on my feathers."

"Know ye, therefore, that I am Hans Schnock, the carpenter
Not a wild lion, forsooth, and not a lion's wife."

In fact, the masks are not by any means merely face masks. Eyes, nose, and mouth are restricted to the upper part of the field, and the center stripe marks the continuation of the body with the neck; wing, fin, side line, neck and shoulder markings appear next to it. On the fish makanari of the Bakaïrí, which is a work made with great care and love, we miss the mouth and see a large fish in the middle of the mereschu design. The Auetö, finally, look out from under their masks, through the hood; moreover, a large part of the wooden-mask eyes are made so that the holes are too small and not the proper distance apart to be suitable for looking through; they are for the spectator, not for the wearer.

/320 cont./

*171 532 535 How should we picture to ourselves the developmental history of the masks? Let us take as a starting point the straw hoods of the Bakairí and their pintado mask, page 346. This masquerade was already a great advance as compared to their dressing up in an animal skin and hangings of strips of straw. The people plaited animals for themselves, put some on their heads and crawled into others. From the products of the drawing art and from the plaited figures we know how little they need for characterization. They drew a piece of vine through the upper part of the costume; that was the barbels and sufficed for a demonstration of a pintado fish. They do not find it necessary to carry the imitation further; even today they do not need a pintado face-mask. The Indians enhanced the effect of their straw hoods, however, by putting wax eyes, nose, and mouth on them and plaiting in a hoop that outlined the oval of a face. This mask was more decorative than imitative; it developed from the straw lattice to the fiber plaiting that could have loam put on it and be painted; it was provided with the fish design or the markings of an animal, or an animal was painted on.

*171 535 532 825 [527] It is very natural that fish should play the chief role, since they were caught in masses on their expeditions and thus furnished the opportunity for a general festival. The yakuí dance, the dance of the small schakú chickens, may also be associated with more abundant hunting booty. "All the larger species maintain themselves individually, the smaller ones usually gather in large flocks which may grow to a hundred or more individuals." (Brehm's Tierleben /Animal Life/, Vögel /Birds/ II, page 628). Thus we are not surprised that we hear nothing about the jaguar or the tapir or other game mammals that appear in the Tekuna masks: these furnished only occasional booty, whereas it was precisely quantity that offered the occasion for a banquet to be celebrated with many neighbors.

*171 532 535 /321/ If one recalls, however, how the Nahuquá covered the head with a fish net for their eremo dance and demonstrated by their pantomime the herding together of fish by a band of people, one will not reject the thought that the oval woven mask has more

/321 cont./

*171 than external similarity in common with the fish net stretched in
532 a frame in the same shape. If the Indian had hit upon the idea of
535 the mask-hoop by starting from the shape of the face, he would have used the entire field for the face, whereas the latter now takes up only a part of the space and is treated with less care than the painting. The fish makanari of the Bakaïrí is nothing but a net with narrow meshes and thus suitable for holding the loam.
[239] The net hood attached to it could be there today for the sake of the feather ornamentation, since the feathers must be tied into the meshes, but for this reason it is just as likely possible that the net is older then the feathers, which are otherwise missing on the hoods. Perhaps our oldest oval plaited mask, therefore, is merely the fish net added to the straw costume and decoratively fashioned. In this case it is far easier to understand why the characterization of the animal is so little emphasized; the net was decorated and even characteristically decorated, but it was not incorporated into the costume for the sake of an anatomical likeness.

-171 This also gives us an explanation of the mereschu design. The
53 mask -- fish-net was plaited more closely because it concealed better and could now be painted. But the old, wide-meshed net was painted on and the little fish set in. There is one point which seems to me to prove that I am right, a point which is very strange by itself, but would then be quite easily explained. My cousin Wilhelm pointed out to me that the Indian always paints the mereschu design standing, that is to say, the larger diagonal of the rhombus upright, the smaller one crosswise. This can no longer be seen on the round spindle whorls when they are finished, but we watched the incising and observed that the figure was made standing, and precisely the same thing happened in the pencil drawings. I could not therefore show the figure on page 288, Fig. 43, horizontally, which would probably have seemed more natural to us, I therefore also arranged all the spindle whorls with the mereschus horizontal, and lastly, though more for fun, I stood the original mereschu, page 286, on its tail.

/322 cont./

*171 531 825 Nowadays the design has become purely ornamental. There is no direct, inherent connection between the mandioca digging sticks and the little lagoon fish. But one thing will have to be admitted. The significance of the little fish grew far beyond what it was originally because it recalled happy days of festivity; all industry having to do with drinking, feasting, and adornment seized upon it. Thus, there is good reason why the large gourds and calabashes in which the pogu is served, the beijú turners with which the hospitable cakes are tirelessly turned on such days, the gourd vessels in which the gorgeous feathers were kept, the rattle-gourds waved for the dance, the spindle whorls with which the thread for the woven masks was spun, why all these and similar things were decorated with the mereschu fish. The origin of ornamentation lies in a motivated feeling, and it is only when its manifestations have become numerous and trivial that no one sees anything but figure and color. The favorite pictures of our people appear after all on colored handkerchiefs. The mereschu design was able to spread from tribe to tribe and became established everywhere just because it grew out of the festival dances in which all the tribes joined.

/323/ Yet it should not be forgotten that the Indian even today remains aware of the concrete original. The Bakairí does [562] not put a mereschu fish on his masks, with the exception of the [535] gull mask, Figure 44, and the fish makanari, Figure 93, and among other tribes too -- see the wax masks of the Aueto and the black, white, and red masks of the Trumaí -- there are distinct differences which I am unable to define more specifically. In the beginning, the fish was not appropriate in all the cases where today the rhombus has already crept in or will creep in soon.

*171 53 One must now ask the question: if the woven masks and the mereschu design go back to the fish net, are there any facts for determining which tribe was the inventor? The mereschu fish was designated to me as a "lagoon fish" (we ate it among the Yaulapiti), but it occurs everywhere in our area, even in the [226] Paranatinga. Fishing with nets is also practiced by all tribes.

/324 cont./

A 535 "song," and therefore their chief dance was called yauarí-maraká. One man also gave a strange performance by dancing bent over and rubbing two arrows over the ground, a woman behind him: kurukú he.

A 533 The women, kunyá, who are, of course, regarded as the best booty, were often mentioned in the songs. In the dance pantomime, especially during the amurikumá dance, it was often made clear that the women were handing over fish. The dances start early in the morning and last until sunset.

T 191 526 Dance clubs, similar to the one of the Kamayurá, illustrated, in part with plaiting prettily around them, were also found A 412 among the Trumaí. Among the Aueto we obtained a dance ornament, the shape of which was reminiscent of the horsetail of a drum major: from a piece of hoop, on either side and in the center, hung tails of buriti fibers almost half a meter long.

Fig. 120. Dogfish dance-staff. Kamayurá. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

A 239 For the dance with hívát máiks among the Kamayurá there were two staffs, haéaté, 80 centimeters long, at the tip of which the set of teeth of a dogfish was plaited into a /325/ triangular attachment in such a way that the two long pointed teeth, the favorite boring and cutting instruments of the Indian, stuck out at the top.

B #171 535 As may be seen, the dance has its psychological development. It clearly reflects the progress of culture. In the beginning the animal is presented in pantomime, its voice is imitated, and its shape copied in the straw masquerade; the masking art with its fertile motifs for all painting develops from the fish net -- here the implement with its technique has already become the chief focus of interest as over against the animal figure. The throwing

/325 cont./

*191 board and the club die out as weapons among the more peace-
535 fully minded field-cultivators, but they remain as dance ornaments; the throwing stones are replaced on the arrow by lumps of wax, and small ones hang around the necks of the children as amulets. The Bakaïrí makes two insects living in the palm tree the center of his dances with buriti plaiting. The Kamayurá wears the set of teeth of the dogfish as a festive ornament during the fish dance; he and the Auetö also make ornamental whorls in place of the work spindle-whorls and immediately arrive at new designs because they need paint them with only temporary designs for the purpose of the moment (cf. page 307); the Bakaïrí, in the back-sticks, creates a peculiar dance ornament out of the mandioca digging sticks, and here, too, in the free exercise of art, there arise new motifs, both the form, in that the pointed wooden cylinder was changed, and the design of the drawing (cf. pages 294, 296, 320).

Everywhere here we still find the prosaic, useful activity, either hunting, fishing, or other work, preceding the ornamentation. Let us make clear to ourselves once again that man did not adorn himself by looking around in free nature for something that was attractive and putting it on his body; rather, he discovered beauty only after he had sought and adopted the material for useful purposes. But meanwhile he has gained a great supply of form- and color-motifs; he seeks to apply them everywhere and has raised the ornamentation itself to a kind of art which unfolds most freely in dance and festive play where an excess of energy asserts itself.

-191 Musical instruments. "In the music of the Indian the feel-
533 ing for rhythm is most pronounced, but he produces only weak fragments of melodies and /326/ he seems to have no idea of the emotional power of harmony." I am quoting Martius here, if only because I am not sure whether the Indians are not more
*191 musical than I am. It was true, everything that we heard was
534 merely an expression of beat and rhythm. I am therefore counting the rattles, which only produce noise, among their musical instruments. They had foot rattles, bunches of hard

/21 cont./

701 disturb the Brazilian campesinos in these regions. According to
648 Herrmann Meyer (28) they had already wreaked serious destruction

28. Herrmann Meyer, "Bericht uber seine zweite Xingú-Expedition," loc. cit., pp. 115 and 116.

in the region of the Serra Trombador and killed several inhabitants. At the time of my stay on the Corrego Fundo ranch, the Kayabí had penetrated the mountains above the Rio Paranatinga up to some six leagues from Corrego Fundo and attacked Cacique Antonio as he was looking for rubber with his people for Señor Jange Soares, the owner of the ranch. But Antonio had driven them back with his armed people and killed a Kayabí on this occasion.

622 Cacique Antonio's big house where I visited him had been
342 built a year earlier. It consisted of a large middle room which communicated on the left side of the entrance with two other rooms which formed the dwelling house proper of the cacique and Doña Rosa, and on the right side with a large room for guests that fulfilled exactly the functions of the house for fiestas
622 of the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River regions. All the men
342 and boys of the aldea could go in and out of it as they pleased.
574 This room also served for dancing, and during my stay in it,
[302] from time to time, some Xinguanos would enter, their faces
[533] painted in red and black, and sing their monotonous melodies
[535] as they danced around the post set in the middle of the room.
[352] Cacique Antonio's own dwelling already had at this time quite a modern appearance. In the "dining room" there was a table
[123] and a large armchair as well as dishes and spoons, and I was entertained at his table in the Brazilian manner with a dish of
622 meat with rice and flour. He obviously enjoyed renewing old
115 memories of the journeys he had made with Karl von den Steinen. He looked with great interest at Karl von den Steinen's works about his travels and, on his part, showed me some photographs

/27 cont./

162 the year 1915, no more than nine men with some women and
361 children lived with their cacique in the new aldea. The rest
166 had died or had moved to the other Bakairí aldeas situated on the Rio Paranatinga.

178 According to Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa's description, the
433 Bakairí of the Rio Novo and Rio Paranatinga still had in the
622 year 1915 a life with sufficient means of subsistence. Cacique
[361] Antonio, whose authority of former times had undoubtedly de-
[241] creased through José Coroado's defection with his people and
[231] through the independent stand of Cacique Kurutú, was still chief of the old aldea on the Rio Paranatinga, which still consisted of seven houses and whose inhabitants planted manioc, maize, sugar cane, bananas, and aboborra /gourds/, and raised
[234] many pigs and chickens. In former times they had also devoted
[648] themselves to the raising of cattle and horses, but the rancher Jange Soares had made them give this up. Already at this time, Antonio was urgently pressing his rights in the region bound by the Serra Azul, the Ribeirão Bananal, and the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires) and occupied for many years by the Bakairí. (34)

34. A. Pyrineus de Sousa, loc. cit., p. 64.

184 José Coroado's aldea consisted of three well-built houses.
361 He had large plantations of manioc and maize and raised some
241 pigs and chickens. (35) The inhabitants of Cacique Kurutú's
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35. Ibid., p. 65.

aldea, which consisted of three large houses, also had good plantations and lived comfortably.

178 /28/ At that time, also, the customs and ideas of the
[535] Rio Paranatinga Bakairí were largely Indian. When dancing,
[291] the men were nude except for a small coarse apron, rectangular

/28 cont./

178 in form, placed in front under the belt, which consists of glass
[535] beads strung on a thread. Face and body were painted with
[291] urucú and genipap in red and black. At this time, too, cases
[302] of illness were imputed to the influence of some sorcerer, and
[754] shortly before the expedition of Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa a Paranatinga Bakairí had been shot to death because the Indians ascribed the consequences of a flu epidemic to his witchcraft.

114 In his book Unter Indianern und Riesenschlangen (36)

[113] 36. Hintermann, Heinrich.
Unter Indianern und Riesenschlangen
/Among Indians and Boa Constrictors/.
Zurich and Leipzig, 1926.

Heinrich Hintermann relates the incidents and outcome of a journey to the region of the upper Xingu River tributaries. He had the opportunity to accompany a military expedition led by the Brazilian, Captain Vicente de Vasconcellos, which was carried out in the year 1924 for the Commissão de Linhas Telegr. Est. de Matto Grosso ao Amazonas to measure the Rio Roruno and establish relations between the administration of the new Simões Lopes Post, established by the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios /Indian Protection Service/, and the Indians of the
[166] Kulisehu and Kuluene rivers. We know from Hintermann that already at that time, all the Kulisehu Bakairí had moved to the Simões Lopes Post, which was established at the same place where José Coroado had already set up his aldea before.

During my journey carried out in the year 1927 I had the opportunity to become personally acquainted once more, after an interval of 26 years, with the conditions of the Bakairí. (37)

[113] 37. Cf. the preliminary reports on the results of this trip: Max Schmidt, "Ergebnisse meiner zweijährigen Forschungreise in Matto Grosso.

/36 cont./

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Cf. Idem., "Ableitung südamerikanischer Geflechtsmuster aus der Technik des Flechtens /Derivation of South American Plaiting Pattern from the Technique of Plaiting/." Zeitsch. f. Ethn., 1904, Heft 3 and 4, pp. 490-512. Idem., "Die technischen Voraussetzungen in der Ornamentik der Eingeborenen Südamerikas /The Technical Bases in the Ornamentation of the South American Natives/." Ipek. Jahrbuch für Prähistorische und Ethnographische Kunst, 1926, pp. 142-174.

discuss the plaited objects that I collected from the Simões Lopes Bakairí in a special section that follows. In addition to plaited objects I was primarily concerned with the acquisition of a mortar and its corresponding pestle and a triangular barbecue, because the relevant collections of the Berlin Ethnographic Museum did not include any specimen of these Bakairí objects which are to be found in almost every settlement of these Indians. The wooden mortar which I brought from Simões Lopes (V.B. 9883, called ôro by the Kulisehu Bakairí) is shown in Figure 29. Its height reaches 38 cm. and the rim diameter 25 cm. From the irregular shape of the bottom it may be assumed that the lower part of the mortar was implanted in the ground. The corresponding pestle (V.B. 9884) has a length of 95 cm. and is shown in Figure 28. The barbecue shown in Figure 30 and called by the Kulisehu Bakairí si(r)ka has the usual triangular shape of Bakairí barbecues. The sticks of which this barbecue consists are bound together with tree bark. Its height reaches 105 cm.

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I found the dancing sticks shown in Figures 33 a-d and 34 a-d (V.B. 9942, 9943, 9945-9948, 9951, and 10071) in

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/36 cont./

535 Cacique Pires' house, where they were used in the dance fiestas
126 staged at specific times by the Xinguanos. The fire-engraved
[531] embellishments enhanced with black paint are wholly ancestral. Besides circles and spirals they also include other decorative elements of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí. The length of these sticks reaches from 76 cm. to 100 cm. and their diameter from 1.7 cm. to 4.5 cm.

532 Of the figures made of maize husks, such as the Bakairí
126 of the upper Xingu River tributaries had in former times, I found two specimens in the settlement of Xinguanos on the Rio Paranatinga, which represent birds (V.B. 9964 and 9965. Length 15 cm.) A ball made of husks of ears of maize (V.B. 9966. Length 21 cm.) such as was used by the Bakairí of the Kulisehu in general for their game with a ball, which they called nõju, is shown in Figure 31, b.

126 Small figures in the form of the human figure shown on
532 Figure 23, d (V.B. 9961. Length 10 cm.) were placed, in
751 Sumões Lopes, around the /37/ necks of newborn babies to protect them from illness. I had acquired a good, old specimen of such a figure which was tied with an animal claw from the necklace of the little girl of a woman belonging to the Bakairí who had moved from the Rio Novo. A day later she came with her child to ask me to return to her the necklace with the pendant, because the child had fallen ill after the loss of the necklace. She exchanged the old figure for the new one shown in Figure 23, d.

211 Finally, I must still mention the notched board shown on
194 Figure 31, a (V.B. 9969. Length 23.5 cm.) Since such boards,
199 probably intended as mnemonic aids, are not found among the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River tributaries, we must assume that this case is an instance of foreign influence in later times.

Pate XV

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Fig. 33. a-d. Dance [illegible] of the Xinguanos in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 34. a-d. Dance sticks of the Xinguanos in Simões Lopes.

/268 cont./

534 sticks decorated with geometric designs. These sticks are still used in Bakairí dances in Simões Lopes.

535 533 Our informants remembered the following dances and songs: oriko, a dance performed with the help of the adorned sticks, at no specific time; iauaisari, the maize song; mahulauari, performed at the time of the construction of a new house; pahoevatá, performed at the time of the ceremony of the perforation of the boys' ears, and the maize celebration, or anjéintabiénli.

535 532 825 [784] In the sacred dances, barred to women, masks representing various animals were used. In our opinion these masks did not represent the animals proper but rather the iamlira, lords of these animals. This would justify the fact that these representations are so far removed from reality, even in terms of native art.

793 The Bakairí myths related by Karl von den Steinen and Capistrano de Abreu mention Tchini (or Keri, the sun), Numa (or Kame, the moon), (16) and Nakoeri. (17) Tchina and Numa

16. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., pp. 447-492.

17. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 45-50, 235-240.

or Keri and Kame, the sun and the moon, are twin creator heroes of the Bakairí. The same task of /269/ creating the [616] [174] Bakairí is attributed to Nakoeri. The nonexistence of moieties among the Bakairí leads us to regard the myth of the twin heroes as a borrowed feature, since there does not seem to be a justifying correspondence in their social organization. The 539 Paranatinga Indians told us the following myth:

Iamadili or the Origin of the Day.

In the beginning the world was so dark and so cold that the Indians had to cover their bodies with

Bacairí

323 pots are quite distinct from the pottery of the Indians living on the Upper Paraguay River. Bacairí pots are flat-bottomed and have straight vertical walls with everted rims. The pots in common use were, and still are, black in color, unglazed, and undecorated. Some of the pots [532] been were made in the forms of frogs, turtles, fish, and birds. The Bacairí claim that they [531] formerly had decorated pottery called *amége*, painted with black, gray, red, and brown designs.

476 The Bacairí also had economic activities in which the whole village, or a number of communal houses, participated. The *kowatí*, or col- 241 476 lective land clearing, was one of these. A man would invite a large number of relatives and friends to assist him in clearing a new piece of forest land. The women would participate by pre- [242] paring large amounts of food and honey beverage 423 476 for the workers. The new field would remain the property of the man who initiated the *kowatí*, obligating him to work in return if called upon, but sometimes the group of men who cleared the field would divide it among them.

342 House building was always an enterprise in 476 which the whole village took part. The group that was interested in raising the house cut the beams and poles necessary for the framework and prepared large quantities of food. While a certain number of men began to put up the framework, others went to gather grass for thatching. [538] When they returned with the thatching they put on their ceremonial decorations and danced the *malulwuéri* dance. House building was thus not only an economic act but also a ceremonial occasion.

286 Hammock weaving was, at times, a collective 476 enterprise. A woman with a larger than usual cotton crop distributed cotton among her friends and when the work was completed she organized a feast and dance.

437 Ceremonial trading expeditions (*tulíh*) were 628 organized by the chief of the village. During the rainy seasons, when the rivers were high and 574 [622] canoe travel easy, the men of a village would collect whatever excess goods they had, such as bows, baskets, ornaments, hammocks, and even food, and would go to a neighboring village where the chief would receive them before the ceremonial house. The two chiefs would then supervise the exchange of commodities. After the trading was

844 with a bamboo sliver. The placenta was wrapped in a piece of cotton cloth and buried because it was believed that if it were picked at by birds it would cause sickness and misfortune to the mother and child. The child was then washed, wrapped, [553] and given to the mother. Later it was given the name of one of its ancestors.

846 During the seclusion period the mother and child were believed to be in a state of ritual danger (*wanki*). They were not permitted to go out in daylight and had to be fed and cared for by the female relatives. The first menses released the mother and child from seclusion, this release being known as *tadawuito*. Shortly afterward the father invited the villagers to a ceremony (*itabirali*) [533] during which the *nokigóro* and *tadáuwa* flutes were [535] played and only the women danced. By means of this ceremony the mother was reintegrated into the life of the family and the village.

857 After 3 years of age both boys and girls began to 868 copy their elders, the boys playing with bows and arrows and the girls with spindles. By the time the boys and girls reached puberty they knew how to perform most adult activities.

PUBERTY RITES

871 When the girls had their first menses and the boys reached the age of 13 or 14, they had to go into seclusion (*poespíro*) for a period of 2 months to a year. It was believed that the longer the young people stayed in seclusion the stronger they would become physically. The longer periods of seclusion were also believed to enhance the prestige of the family. The boys and girls were not permitted to come out in daylight, and were fed and cared for by their parents. While the boys and girls were in seclusion they made pots and baskets for family use.

871 With boys the seclusion was inaugurated by an 304 ear-piercing ceremony. A number of men with sons of about the same age would perform this rite collectively before invited guests. After eating [535] and drinking, the *poinuáto* song and dance were performed. The boys were now in a state of *uáuki*, ritual danger, and were secluded immediately after this rite. The girls' ears were pierced when they were babies, but the ear piercing of the boys corresponded to the period of the first menses of the girls.

881 The release from seclusion was signalized by the feast of *tadaunúto*. The parents of the young people accumulated much food and went on a big hunt on the day before the feast. The chief and all the villagers were invited to the ceremony [533] during which all the Bacairí songs and dances [535] were performed and the young people were presented gifts by the villagers. [431] The girls would now take the strings of beads from around their [301] waists and wear them around their necks and their mothers would give them cotton cords which [291] they put around their hips and to which the nluri were attached. The boys and girls were now [512] eligible for marriage.

MARRIAGE (TODOHOKÚINLE)

584 Marriages were arranged by parents or by older brothers or sisters. The father and mother of the boy, for instance, would take presents of ornaments and food to the parents of the girl. If the parents of the girl accepted the gifts it meant that they favored the marriage, and if they refused it meant that the suitor was not acceptable. 585 The marriage ceremony took place in the girl's home, the date being arranged by the parents. At the girl's house the young couple were seated side by side with linked arms. They were then given advice by their respective parents and relatives. Marriage was not considered a period of ritual danger, nor were extensive feasts given. It appears to have been an affair involving only the families of the young couple.

BURIAL (EPIODÍLE)

764 The body was painted, ornaments were put on, and then the body was wrapped in a hammock and buried in a grave with the feet to the east so that the face would be toward the rising sun 768 Although old and worn objects were burnt, most of the property of the dead was shared among the relatives. The part of the house occupied by the dead person was washed, and clean sand was sprinkled on the floor. 765 There was a mourning period (*loyíno*) of 1 month, during which the immediate relatives were in a state of *udaki*.[1]

SHAMANISM

725 When a person died, the ghost (*kadópe*) went into the sky or into the water or sometimes wandered upon the earth. Ghosts of the dead often

[1] [ie. a state of ritual danger]

534 nut hulls tied together and fastened to the ankles of the dancers. There were at least four kinds of flutes. The *emíni* flute was made from two pieces of soft sapling hollowed out and fastened together with wax and string. This flute was about 3 feet long with four finger holes and a separate mouthpiece. The *kunagéru* flute was made like the *emíni* but was shorter and had a different sound. Both the *emíni* and the *kunagéru* were sacred flutes of the shamans and were always kept in the sacred flute house connected to the *kudoéti* where they were played only at night so as to prevent women from seeing them. If a woman were to see one of these flutes, misfortune would befall her. When the sacred flutes were played there was dancing but no singing. The *tadéuru* was a bamboo flute made in five different lengths without finger holes and was not sacred. The *nokigéru* was made by fastening four short tubes of bamboo of different lengths together. It was played in pairs, one player answering the other. This flute was not sacred and could be accompanied by singing. In addition to the rattles and flutes, the Bacairi used highly decorated sticks or batons called *kudóapuri* in some of their dances.

[534] [346] [562] [535] [533] [535]

533 535 Besides the flutes and the dances performed to their tunes, the Bacairi had songs and their corresponding dances which were not always accompanied by flute music; for instance, the *ortko* was a song and a dance performed with the decorated batons which could be performed at any time; the *pakowudio*, another general song and dance which also could be performed at any time; the *yawuiadri*, the corn song and dance in which neither the flutes nor batons were used; the *mahalawuéri*, performed during the house building ceremony without batons or flutes; and the *poiawdio*, sung and danced during the boys' ear piercing ceremony.

527 One of the most important ceremonial events of the year was the annual corn dance (*ozjéiatabiuli*), which was performed when the corn ripened in the fields. The man who had the largest corn crop was the organizer of the ceremony. In order to have enough corn, the Bacairi usually planted special fields, the yields of which were used on this occasion. On the day before the corn gathering all the men went on a big hunt in order to have large quantities of meat ready for the feast. Early in the morning of the following day everyone went out to the fields to

[243] [244]

527 gather the ceremonial corn. Later in the day the women prepared large quantities of corn porridge and roasted ears.

On the morning of the third day the actual ceremony began in front of the *kadoéti*. The organizer of the dance distributed roasted ears or pieces of ears to all the villagers, children included. Then at a signal from the leader, the villagers began throwing the roasted corn in all directions and at one another. After the roasted corn was [262] disposed of, the people ate the corn porridge and meat prepared on the preceding day. They then washed themselves in the river and put on their paint and ornaments. When the villagers had again gathered before the *kadoéti* the dance leader took a piece of corn husk and went from man 527 to man asking for a song leader. The man who 533 took the offered corn husk then began the *yawiadri*, or song in praise of corn. Little by little the others joined in the singing and eventually began to dance. The words of the song told how corn came to the Bacairi and how it made the people strong and healthy.

881 The *ranaepéro*, or ear-piercing ceremony, was 364 performed just before a boy went into puberty seclusion. It was customary for men who had sons of about the same age to cooperate in getting large quantities of food ready for the feast. After the feast was over the ears of the boys were pierced [533] and the *poiaudto* song was sung. When boys and girls came out of seclusion there was another ceremony during which all the songs and dances were performed with the exception of the sacred flute tunes.

342 The *makulawdri* was performed during coopera- 376 tive house building in which the whole village participated. While the women prepared food and some men were putting up the frame, a certain [872] number of men went in search of palm fronds for thatching. When these men returned with the palm fronds they danced and sang before the new house with their loads on their backs and in full ceremonial regalia.

286 The custom of distributing cotton by a woman 537 with a good cotton crop and having other women weave hammocks for her has already been mentioned. When the women had completed their weaving and returned the hammocks to the donor of the cotton, she gave a feast during which the [535] women sang and danced the *yamaikima*. This

286 574 dance was given at night accompanied b flute
535 playing.

When a woman came out of seclusion afer the
846 birth of a child the women of the village anced
535 533 to the tunes of the *tadánuo* and *nokigóru* fites.

ORIGIN MYTHS

773 Although the Bacairí have many myth, only
[126] two were obtained. One of these is the *yuadilli*, or the origin of day: In the beginning it as so dark and cold in the world that the peope had to cover their bodies with grease to keep warm. The people wanted the sun to come out, s they put on their ornaments and painted their odies and began to pray to *orimóto*, the great spit who lived in the north. The Bacairí believe that *orimóto* was not an Indian but just a ma who lived in a stone house with some of the aimals which he had created. The people cotinued praying to *orimóto* and when light finally cme the people were old and the children had grow up.

Yawítiladiko, or "those who died in te fire," is a story which tells about the origin of cutivated plants and the *yawisári*, or corn danc: Once long ago there were a number of boys whowere in puberty seclusion. At that time there ere no cultivated plants, the people living by unting and collecting wild plant foods. The bos were kept in seclusion so long and had so littl to eat that they became very tired. One day wen the relatives of the boys went out to collect iod the boys all committed suicide. When the latives returned and found the boys dead they we sorry and angry with themselves for neglectin them. They built a large fire and after dancingaround the fire naked they jumped into the flaes and were burned to death. The leader of his act was *yawíti*. Later the soul of *yawíti* retumed and spoke through one of the living Indians. He explained to the Indians how to grow corn and other food crops and how to perform the corn dance. After that the corn dance (*yawisári*) has always been performed.

773 As the Bacairí formerly lived in associatice
171 with the other Upper Xingú tribes, it is perhaps useful to compare their following origin myths as
[127] gathered by Von den Steinen with those of the Camayurá. There appears to be a close resemblance between *Kamuschiní* of the Bacairí and

/71 cont./

536 412 171 I may mention at once that the mimicry of the Bakaïrí mutatis mutandis with more or less temperament was repeated among all tribes, that only the interjections differed, but the gestures were exactly the same. Here in the tobacco club I also first became acquainted with the stone-ax pantomime which, though in itself very touching, we later had to endure in the case of each tribe to the point of boredom. It described the contrast between the stone ax and the iron ax, which was immediately demonstrated to them by Antonio, and to my feeling, before I became dulled by the repetition, indeed at the beginning, just because it was so inexorably repeated, it had something unusually gripping about it, like a sort of stammering protest of metal-less humanity against the crushing hammer blows of civilization, a protest which, as I still experienced it here, must have resounded unheard a thousand times in all the corners of the earth.

536 412 How the Bakaïrí tortures himself to fell a tree: early in the morning, when the sun, tschischi, rises -- it rises there in the east -- he starts to swing the stone ax. And tschischi travels upward and the Bakaïrí goes on striking bravely, tsök, tsök, tsök. His arms grow ever wearier -- they are rubbed and drop down limply, he blows a weak puff of air out of his mouth and passes his hand over his exhausted face; he goes on striking, no longer with tsök, tsök, but with a groan drawn from the depths of his chest. The sun stands high in the zenith; his stomach -- his flat hand rubs over it or is laid deep in a fold -- is empty; how hungry the Bakaïrí is -- his face is drawn into the most pitiful expression. Finally, when tschischi is already very low, a tree falls: tokfle = one, the little finger points out. But you, the Karaibe -- suddenly everything about the mimic is alive and strong -- the Karaibe takes his iron ax, swings it aloft, brings it down heavily, tsök, tsök, pum -- ah..., there lies the tree, a hard stamp with the foot, on the ground already. And here and there and here again, one sees them falling everywhere. Conclusion for the Karaiben: give us your iron axes.

/71 cont./

201 412 [536] No activity with a tool of metal, stone, tooth, or wood was discussed without the appearance also of the appropriate sounds to portray it. It is true that a good part of this was to communicate with me, who knew only the rudiments of their language; they were more sparing with these /72/ sounds and gestures in their own conversation, but they nevertheless had at their disposal in ample measure the auxiliary language of expressive movement and used it in their communications with other tribes, as I saw later, in exactly the same way as with me. Thus the disadvantage that each tribe speaks a different language is of little concern; understanding was possible without difficulty even for a Karaiben, for the gestures, stereotyped, to be sure, nevertheless contain full clarity and still are not reduced to conventional abbreviations.

123 153 201 They also manifested an attentive interest in the interjections and gestures peculiar to me, which, of course, involuntarily took on a livelier expression than at home. If I accompanied any feeling with a sound that was strange to them, it was imitated; if I whistled softly to myself, I could soon hear one of them whistling happily along with me. Particularly if I laughed loudly and struck my leg, there was general acknowledgement; they would immediately slap their naked thighs, and Homeric laughter filled the village plaza.

126 My linguistic notes of the day, which I would bring out, were gone over once more in our tobacco club and were enriched by small contributions. The constellations, the names of animals, the inexhaustible material for parts of the body, and whatever the moment offered were noted down, read aloud, and confirmed with approval.

123 I, too, however, offered mimic performances, for which my interesting oxhide offered the first occasion; I demonstrated our domestic animals to them and achieved a greater measure of success among my small, but grateful public than could ever have fallen to the lot of even the author of "Tierleben" /Animal Life/ or much-admired performing artists. Above all they became acquainted with cattle, sheep, and dogs, whose size and characteristics I described graphically to them as best I could,

/79 cont./

193 The simple result is that all kinds of things that do not belong to it are regarded as part of the stem, and the form is used on all kinds of occasions where it is appropriate neither according to person, time sequence, or other nuances contained in it. The organic structure of words becomes rigid, and the sentence becomes a mosaic of the crudest sort made up of nothing but fragments. But there is provision for understanding; for the Indian, with his talent for the characteristic, the chopped-off fragment of a word suffices completely for the entire sentence, and, what is worse, if one wants to make progress in the language, it is all the more agreeable, of course, if one needs only the clumsy content of the communication; he himself soon adopts the new manner of expression: fluent conversations are carried on by barter with stamped coins instead with living words.

126 What made my recording not a little difficult was the cir-
192 cumstance that the Bakairí did not understand my questioning tone.
[194] They imitated it instead of answering. Obtaining the names of
[153] the objects present was done without any trouble; they even anticipated the need, pointed to those I had not yet asked about,
126 and said the names. I went into great detail with the parts of the
193 body because they are always joined with pronominal prefixes; thus the Indian does not say, for example, "tongue," but always, with the addition of the person, "my tongue," "your tongue," "his tongue," and thus there is a grammatical value in this category of the list. It was therefore well to note whether the part of the body whose stem one was asking for was shown on oneself, on the person questioned, or on a third person, for the answer was accordingly: your ïlu, my ulu, his ilu, or in general kïulu, the tongue of all of us here.

126 Recording animal names was a pleasure, for here the imita-
192 tion with sounds and gestures was the most artful. A snake, an
● 536 alligator head, or the like was also drawn in the sand. The
825 quantity of the many individual statements was a hindrance to me, since I did not know enough about the voices and the behavior of their animals; they offered me subtleties in the distinction of species which, to their surprise, I was unable to appreciate, and

/79 cont./

126 192 536 825 sometimes I am afraid I betrayed what to them were incredible gaps in the most ordinary education.

The most difficult problem lay in the verbs, and, to be sure, not only because of the complication of forms. If I succeeded in writing down short sentences in which something was said about an occurrence that was just going on, even if I myself performed all kinds of actions, such as eating and drinking now of this, now of that, which were supposed to give them the content of a sentence, /80/ gross errors were nevertheless unavoidable. Unfortunately, they often said things that were different from what they were supposed to say according to my request and criticized the action instead of naming it. They were thinking for themselves and not for me. And in these efforts their readiness to imitate was disturbing to a high degree. I thought nothing would be easier than to obtain at least those intransitive verbs that could be evoked by unequivocal mimicry on my part; I would indeed need only to sneeze, cough, weep, yawn, snore, only to get up, sit down, to fall, and so forth, in order to be immediately rewarded with the matching words. But they either clung to the contemplation of the process itself, thought I wanted to go away when I stood up, righteously joined in when I yawned, because they, too, were tired, or were royally amused at my strange doings, and, amidst much laughter, would likewise abandon themselves to sneezing, coughing, and snoring, without, however, saying the redeeming words.

126 192 153

I made the best progress when I gave them the Portuguese word and applied the formula: the Karaibe says it thus, how does the Bakairi say it? Here I finally almost always met with understanding and response, for they were mad about learning my language.

They were very grieved that they did not understand me better, and, confusing hearing and understanding, they asked me to cure them. I had to put saliva on my fingers and with it rub the auditory entrance for them. Their comprehension of Portuguese was even more deficient than they themselves realized. They have

[811] 151 191 194

/69 cont./

829 579 as I noted to my astonishment, according to the extent of the hospitality that they offered, to be "kéra" meant not to let there be any lack of beijûs and pincrego, the flat cakes and the best paste-drink made of mandioca, at the reception. As far as the Nahuquá and possibly also the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ were concerned, it was the same information, based in part on experience, in part on hearsay, which is regarded as the most important for our autumn journeys: good and bad hosts.

823 539 805 But what a difference between a printed Baedeker and this gesticulation, this sound-painting, this relentless creeping from one halting-place to another in the enumeration of stations! From where we are to the second Bakairí /70/ village one day's journey, from the second to the third two, and so on -- no, one did not race madly along like that in the good old days that I was experiencing here. First one sits down in the canoe, "pépi," and rows, rows, "pépi, pépi, pépi" -- one rows with paddles, dipping right and left, and one comes to rapids, bubuhu... How high it drops: with each bu, bu, the hand goes one step down from the top, and how frightened the women are and cry: "pekéno ih, ih, ih...!" At this spot the pépi -- a vigorous step toward the ground -- must be pushed forward through rocks, with what groaning, and the "mayáku," the carrying baskets, laboriously -- the left shoulder is tapped one, two, three times -- carried overland. But one climbs in again and rows, pépi, pépi, pépi. Far, far -- the voice soars ih....., so far ih....., and the mouth, pouted like a snout, while the head is convulsively bent back at the nape, shows in what direction of the compass ih..... Over this the sun sinks: the hand, outstretched as far as possible, reaches toward the west, describing an arc, and aims at the point in the sky where the sun will be standing when one -- ináh.....é -- enters the harbor. "Here we shall be among the." "Bakairí, Bakairí, Bakairí!" "Kéra, kéra!" and here we shall be well received. Perhaps one has also passed a place where there is good fishing, where "matrinchamu" or "piranyas" are to be shot: whereas otherwise words have the accent on the penultimate syllable,

/70 cont./

123 305 (531) nosiku, pine, it is now -- as though we were to say "jahrê" /the German word for "years," but with the accent on the final syllable/ -- transferred to the last one "noroid," "pond," and the arrow flies, nik, nik, from the bow.

Beyond the Nahuquê, however, where the knowledge of details becomes vague, only the days' journeys themselves are given. The right hand, slowly rising in even motion, describes an arc from east to west, arrives down there, and suddenly is laid on the cheek coming up to meet it, remains there while the eyes are wearily closed, and then grasps the little finger of the left hand: sleep once. Then again the same figure, but the ring finger is grasped with the little finger and both are drawn aside: sleep twice, and so forth. Be attentive, noble listener, for woe to you if you ask a question -- there is no other way to help you but to begin again from the beginning.

123 [302] But revenge is sweet. My turn also came, for they wanted to know how far it is to Cuyabá, my starting point. Their faces were priceless when I counted off, first, the fingers of my left hand, then my right, then, exactly according to their method of counting, went over the toes of the left foot and those of the right, traveled and slept between each two fingers and each two toes in the prescribed way, and finally had to grasp my hair, pulling it apart, to demonstrate that the number of days still did not extend far enough and was more than 20! Then they murmured their "ikhu, ikhu" of amazement or "ôko, ôko, ke ôko" more and more impatiently; all talked at once and finally joined in the hearty laughter of sheer disbelief.

186 /71/ Individual Indian tribes were also ridiculed in vivid pantomime on account of their peculiarities: the Nahuquê were funny because of their beards, the Suyá, or, as the Bakairí say, Schuyá, had to bear the brunt because of their cork-disk which they wore in the lower lip, for which the actors stretched their lower lip far forward and produced a made-up jargon of mapping tones; the Trumaí were imitated with a horrible "huhuhuhu" and, because of their barbaric habit of tossing war captives into the river with their hands tied behind them, were presented as objects partly of scorn or disgust, partly of fear.

Y /267 cont./
535 back and forth in this way for hours. They held bow and arrow in their hands and were led by a masked figure which, in the semidarkness, looked like a man dressed as a woman at a carnival. The clothing was feminine, the abrupt movements masculine.
Y [292] This costume consisted of a cotton cap with red, yellow, and green feather trimming all around and a long white cloak of loosely knotted cotton cord that terminated at the bottom with a wreath of black mutum feathers pointing downward. -- Castro said that he had interpreted the explanation of an Yuruna to mean that this festival dance preserves the memory of former times when a great chief was received with much pomp in the villages that he visited. That chief is represented by the man in
OOO the cloak and the feather crown. /The remainder of Ch. 16 and Ch. 17, pp. 267-281, are omitted in the translation./

/282/ Eighteenth Chapter

Legends of the Bakaïrí

B 293 The name that plays the chief role in the story of jolly
[115] Captain Caetano Mêmo, which unfortunately was told in such miserably broken Portuguese, is that of the "Imperador." If
B [299] the missionaries had the intention of causing the greatest possible confusion of concepts in the heads of the Bakaïrí whom they were to convert, they achieved their purpose to such an extent that one can only with effort separate a little clarity and
B concreteness from the general confusion. Let us imagine:
• 539 Imperador the sun-god of the Indians. He bears two other names. Keri and Schischi. His brother is called Kame and also Nuna. Schischi, however, is the sun, Nuna the moon. Keri and Kame are merely two other names for the two celestial bodies, which are found among many "Guck tribes" (cf. chart of the Nu /untranslated/) interestingly enough in reverse, Keri belonging to the moon, Kamu to the sun.

/282 cont./

539 Keri and Kame are the sons of "Utoto," the bright jaguar (onça pintada) and Atanumagale. Utoto's father is unknown; his mother's name is Mero, whose parents are again unknown. Of Atanumagale's procreators only the father's name has been handed down: Kamuschini. "Kamuschini" also seems to contain "Kamu" and is reminiscent of tamoussi, the old one of the heavens in Galibi. He, also older than Mero (the mother of his son-in-law), is the oldest of all, is, says Caetano: Adam!

Besides the realm of light in which the sky, sun, moon, and the spotted jaguar appear, there are representatives of darkness. Here there appears as the oldest Semino, the bat, and his wife, Evaki, about whose parents nothing can be discovered. Evaki, Çaetano informs us, is Eva! One sees that the pious fathers have not let any advantage escape them. But the best is yet to come; the son of the bat and of Evaki /283/ is Tumeng: this word perhaps originally means dark, black -- it is formed exactly like the color adjectives (cf. Bakairi words 251-256 /in the appendix, which is omitted in the translation/). Only Caetano does not use the name Tumeng in his story, but rather calls the ruler of darkness -- truly a worthy counterpart to the Imperador -- the Rey de Congo, the King of the Congo. What could be more natural! The Whites call the emperor of Brazil their ruler; the Blacks, the king of the Congo.

In the beginning everything was dark night; only where Guroto, the red vulture, flew did it become light, and it became dark again when he flew away. His brother, the white vulture, was also called Guroto, but where he dwelt it remained dark. The red vulture owned the sun; the Imperador acquired it from him. The latter used a ruse in order to reach his goal. From "aka," a wood as soft as mandioca, he made the tapir, and made "pemera," small flies. Through the flies the tapir acquired a bad odor, which was supposed to attract the red vulture. cunningly the Imperador hid himself in a front foot of the tapir. The red vulture came along and seized the tapir, but at the moment when he was going to tear his heart out, the

/283 cont./

539 hidden Imperador seized him by the throat and threatened to kill him if he did not give him the sun. The sun stood in the house of the red vulture in the sky and the white vulture had to fetch it. The Imperador handed it to the old aunt Evaki for safe-keeping. The sky, the house, moves, the sun does not; it stands in an "oven" in a big "pot" which is covered with a lid. Evaki covers it at night and opens it in the morning, after the house, the sky, has moved back during the night.

Evaki also gave sleep to human beings and animals. Before that only the lizard slept. Evaki drew the sleep out of its eyes and distributed it to all.

About the origin of the moon and stars, Caetano has nothing to report, just as he is also silent about Kame, Keri's brother.

Keri, the Imperador, created human beings from plants. He blessed (tezou) the "uvá," the arrow reed, and the Bakairí and Cajibí came into being. He created the Coroá from "tacoara" (bamboo), the Negroes from "penacholo," a black wood, the ancestors of the Portuguese from "pirecenõ," a tree of the campo cerrado /see "Campo" in the glossary, p.170 /. The Imperador made the forest, the grass, the horse, the cattle; he blessed the termites and they became -- prettily enough -- the stones.

Ochobi, a large snake, made the water. It is not known where Ochobi came from. Who made the ground? "Não sei mémo, I myself do not know that," replied the friendly old man.

/284/ The first Bakairí lived on the Rio Verde, a left tributary of the Paranatinga. Our friends like to tell about the waterfall that the Paranatinga forms about six days' journey downstream; most of them were born there, nature is full of wonders there. They regard even the turbulent salto, with which their knowledge of the stream presumably ends, as a unique spectacle. In the midst of it stands a stone house, a house such as they have here, habitable, but with roof and walls of stone. Nearby urubús fly about in the air; they watch the natural fish trap which is to be found there, a large stone slab on which the fish traveling upstream

4 [i.e. grassland with dense, low, stunted trees / scrub --Ahlbrecht]

/284 cont./

539 and whirled upward out of the water remain lying helpless and die.

Ochobi, Caetano relates, made a large basin in the source mountains of the Paranatinga, filled it with water, and let the latter run toward the noonday sun. This became the Pakuneru, the Paranatinga of the Brazilians. Farther toward the rising sun there flows parallel to it another river, which would perhaps be the Schingú which we sought. The Imperador, accompanied by Bakaïrí, and a white man went for a walk, the former along the Paranatinga, the other along the other river whose name is not known. The white man suddenly no longer answered when the Imperador called to him. A great fish, a jaú, had devoured him. Then Keri sent a duck which made the jaú spit out the

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Hieroglyphics on the Paranatinga.

539 white man again unharmed. He then wandered along the river farther and farther until he came to the great "poço" (spring, here perhaps lagoon, the sea is meant), where he embarked and later returned with the gun. -- Tumeng made the stone house on the salto, so that the Imperador would live there, and also made the fish trap, so that the countless urubús would find something to eat.

The distinction, clearly present, between a light /285/ and a dark sphere of gods forms the nucleus of these legends, insofar as it grew out of pre-Christian ideas. Furthermore, the gigantic animal figures, which are closely connected with the beginning

/285 cont./

539 of creation and in point of time precede the anthropomorphic gods, the creators of mankind, are a characteristic trait that is very widespread throughout the Indian myth.

1972 Near the waterfall, on the shore, there is an old inscription; I am reproducing it just as it was copied by the Italian Luiz Oddi, who traveled down the Paranatinga to the salto a few years ago in the hope of finding the gold site of the Martyrios. Oddi thinks that the signs were scratched in with a knife and stem from the Paulistas, whose traces he endeavored to follow. Caetano, however, although he is unable to state anything definite, believes that the picture writing was made by Indian hands and is ancient. The presence of the "cross figure" does not prove anything opposing this view; it probably represents a human being and corresponds almost exactly to one of the drawings given in

000 Wallace's book about Amazonas. /Chapters 19-24, pp. 286-329 in the original source, are omitted in the translation, except for the map facing p. 298, which appears in the translation as pp. 154 -159, and the illustrations facing pp. 322 and 326, which follow as pp. 160-164 and pp. 165 - 169, respectively. The "Appendix," pp. 330-366 in the original source, is omitted in the translation./

/62 cont./

533 with one foot. I tried to get the words and read them back to
[126] him, singing lustily in his fashion. Unfortunately I do not understand the text, and unfortunately the notes even less. I can only say that the rhythm was very pronounced and that, when only the old man sang, one thought one was hearing a whole company as they ran and stamped in a circle.

•539 kuyé kuyé kutapayó kuyé -- kutapayó hohóhohohú
533 yaliwayéhahú ohohú uhó -- ohóhóho huhohohú ohóhóchú.
énu hitenó kuyé -- kutápayó yekútapá yekútapá ohó.
This verse contains something about eyes, a similar one with kámi hitenó etc., about the sun (*).

*káme, sun, Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ word. The following yawalí is the name for the throwing stick and the throwing-stick dance of the Tupí tribes of the Kulizehu. The words are probably only partly Bakairí.

/63/ yáwalí, yáwalí i í ií pekóto, yawalí ii ii éh hé hé yawalíawí.
yáwalí pinakú yawalí eh he hé, yawalí henemánekabó yawalí eh he hé, yawáli he he hé.
yawalí nawí ehé, yawalí nawí ehé, yawalí nawí ehé, yawalí nawí ehé-yá.
Like the yawali song there was another with endless repetition: wákutuyéh, wákutuyéh five times, wakú wákutuyéh etc. ad infinitum. Then Paleko also knew a song of the Nahuquá that referred to the beautiful sex, ifu, woman: yámikú hezé hezémitíu -- yámikú erehezé mezé mitíu.

533 In spite of the rousing marching songs, no boiling and gurgling appeared in our bean pot; only modest bubbles of foam floated on top, and after two hours the slightly heated legumes were still raw. Not until my intended came along and took charge of the matter did the tempo of the beans become livelier. She, too, sang "kuyéuhu kuyéuhú (diphthong au) with a soft voice
[539] a little like the melody, "Wir hatten gebauet ein stattliches Haus" /"We built a stately house, "a German student-song (translator's
•[See The discussion of the Throwing Stick on P 2344 Author]

/63 cont./

533 note)/: kuyšuhu kuyšuhuhũ -- kiruhayẽ kiruhayẽ (four times) --
539 kuyšuhu kuyšu.

Softly and rather muffled, solemnly slow, lingering a long time on the au.

The principal song that we were to sing together often was the following: yawĩ yawĩ nakũ -- novĩ rinõ habẽ -- ohõ hohõ, nikẽ wekẽ nikẽ, nikẽ wekẽ nikẽ, notõ arẽte nõhuhẽ, ohõhuhõ hũ'ã, nikẽ wekẽ nikẽ, notõ arẽte šhohu, ohõhuhõ, etc.

Muffled and softly, but faster and faster with a stamped beat and a jerky emphasis that impels one to stride forward, the šhohu... is repeated until one is almost out of breath, and then one recovers on the most solemn: nõ tũ hã -- notõ arẽte nõhuhẽ nuhã hahũ -- notõ arẽte nõhuhẽ nuhã hahũ nõ tũ hã, nõ tũ hã -- šho hũ hu.

533 A greater contrast can scarcely be imagined than between a jolly students' drinking song and these songs whose rendition was scarcely to be called singing, but seemed merely intended to accompany the dancing march of the feet with suppressed tones. I
[123] sang, too, of course, running the risk of not giving the good people a generally valid idea of our music, since I have at my disposal only "my own melodies." I achieved a small moral success, but they were a little overwhelmed because of the unfamiliar noise connected with the volume of tone. Natural sounds, however, such as "nuiralhalã," my friend Paleko liked exceptionally well; he was passionately eager to learn them and bent double laughing when he could not follow quickly enough.

291 Feeling of modesty. In this narrative part I wish to avoid
[128] describing clothing and ornaments in detail and shall limit myself, as far as personal appearance is concerned, to the remark that both sexes went about unclothed, that the women, as may
289] be seen from Plate 5,[5] wore the "ulõri," a yellowish brown piece
[301] of bark-bast folded in a triangle and fastened to strings, and around their necks a string with pieces of shell, pieces of uaika, and seeds, that the men always wore a hip cord, with or without such ornaments, and frequently bair /64/ or cotton bands around

[5] [See p. 28 -- Analyst]

/220 cont./

The influence on the animal kingdom was strange and remarkable. All beasts of prey very deliberately made use of the occurrence, sought and found their victims, not so much near the blazing fire as on the smoking burned place where many a rodent was probably charred. Numerous falcons hovered over the dark clouds of the "queimada"; wild game hastened to it from far away, to lick the salty ash, and preferred the night, perhaps because it could not hide on the bare expanse. The ground radiated an agreeable warmth.

224 Hunting by means of fire is found among many primitive
599 peoples. The Schingú Indians no longer seemed to practice it, but in any case it was well known to the Bakairí, /221/ and the legend of "Kame in the Mouse" tells us that Keri went hunting with the possessor of fire, the campo fox, and the latter caught "only a burned mouse," inside of which was Keri's brother Kame.

Keri met the campo fox. "Let's make fire in the campo, grandpapa," said Keri. They set out to make fire. It burned all around. Kame was in a mouse. Keri did not know that he had gone inside. The fire burned down and stopped. Keri hunted, did not see a mouse. The campo fox found a burned mouse. After he saw it, he ate it. He met Keri. "Grandpapa, what kind of roast did you eat?" "I ate only a mouse."

392 The "queimada," or burned place, furnished many experiences about the usefulness of fire: fleeing animals when the fire began, later charred animals and fruits, animals that came to
25 it, salty ashes, warmth. Indeed the hunter could learn how to roast meat, which, on a smaller scale, took on the significance for him that flour preparation has for the field cultivators. Roasting preserves. After many days roasted meat, which otherwise would long since have become putrid, is still tasty. The Bororó went out hunting for weeks and returned with a rich supply of roasted game; the Aweró were absent for several days on fishing expeditions and brought home a canoe heavily laden with roasted fish; among the Mehinakú we saw baskets filled with very appetizing, golden yellow baked fish. Even today roasting is continued until the meat has a thick charcoal crust -- the burned skin -- with a very popular salty taste.

/297 cont./

B 527 533 533 533 *[191]

According to everything that the natives told us about the festivals, they primarily amounted to what they thought were riotous feasting and drinking bouts. Bakairí legend describes the origin to us in the same way. Kame, the tribal ancestor of the Arinos tribes, built the first flute house, carved the first flute, invited his friends to the dance, and served them starch-paste. Keri, the tribal ancestor of the Bakairí, who most eagerly competed with Kame in invention, for his part invited Kami to the dance; the legend tells us in what manner the festival took place and speaks of the makanari and the imeo, the straw costumes without face-masks, but with characterizing and partly disguising headdresses, as Keri's invention.

B 527 535 539

"Keri, too, called his people together. Toward evening they went dancing on the village plaza. Then from the house Keri fetched pogu to be drunk. Immediately thereafter they plaited makanari. Keri called Kame. Many people came and Keri was master of the dance. They danced all day. Toward evening they rested. After dark they danced all through the night. Early in the morning they went to the river to bathe. After the bath they came to the flute house. They began with the imeo and danced the whole day. They likewise danced all night. -- Then the festival was at an end."

B 527 535 539 *[191]

A noteworthy feature of the legend is the circumstance that the different tribes united for the dance festival. It is a universal custom that the villages invite one another to the big festivals. Friendly neighboring tribes also send numerous participants. In 1884, when we met the Trumaí and Kamayurá /Camayura/ together (see p. 103), the two tribes had just celebrated a joint festival.

B 527 535

For one thing it is understandable under these circumstances that an exchange and leveling out between the costume and dance gear of the tribes takes place. /298/ Each tribe knew the songs of the neighboring tribes, without understanding their content precisely, as we learned in numerous cases; one tribe would also become acquainted with new types of masks from another, and finally the mereichu design, to which I shall come back after describing the masks, gained its general distribution.

/300 cont./

★ 191 527 535 against appearing in the "flute house" at an inappropriate time, though they may hope to come out again alive, or at most only half dead. Carnival on the Kulisehu is also followed by a period of fasting, for it does not end -- the reason is not one connected with the cult -- before everything that is there has been eaten [462] and drunk insofar as possible. The women have an enormous [262] job satisfying the demands for beijûs and drinks; they must pound, [292] boil, and bake incessantly, and this necessity has probably also contributed somewhat to their being kept away from the dancing, so that they could meanwhile carry out their duties.

535 Bakairí. On the Rio Novo and Paranatinga the old customs are still observed. "Everybody dances like the wild Bakairí," said Antonio, "tudo dansa como Bakairí brabo." He described to me the festival held last April, when the people from the Rio Novo had invited those of the Paranatinga. They danced the yatuka dance, the makanari, and the imeo. Yatuka is a fish dance; wooden fish are worn on the head, especially the black pakú and the matrincham; heads of men and women are made of calabashes painted black and white or black and red and surrounded with Bromelia hair.

Makanari is a general term. The Bakairí calls almost everything and anything that is part of his dance adornment makanari; he calls specific dances makanari. "bakairí makanari zéto," the Bakairí is master of the makanari. It is the dance of his tribe. The imeo is a type of makanari, a specific figure. In fact, it seems that the concept of makanari was originally narrower and [532] referred to a specific dance with straw plaiting. Among the docile Bakairí there are no wooden masks. Here the principal makanari is the bat dance, and, to be sure, semíno, the small [533] bat, and aluá, the large bat. Antonio recited the text of the aluá dance* for me, but, in spite of a great deal of trouble, it

535 539 *One man sings: ohuhasha-ihá yumâa ohá.... yumarí uvanuká, yumari uvanuká huyaná vitá ká.... yohohohá. Then another: mauá kíua

/300 cont./

535 539 káuayú, mauŝkauayú hohohú. aluŝ...aluhŝ, aluŝ míyevené yanŝvitá hö...ohohohú. ihöhö... hohú, he..hirámiturí hohó, yukévené yohó hohohohú. Now all in circular motion: ohú namiturí ohú namituhurí ohoyócho yóchu hohuhö. ayarívénení kayarílö ohó namiturí ohú namituhurú ohó oyochó yochu. Now out on the plaza: yochó huyócho huyóchó huyóchohú huyócho. makavó makavó yuŝvitirá inŝvitíhanó, iná yochohuyócho..... Finally, turning around: aschimámayú ohuhohú ayavarikú hohuhoo, eveschírini mahúraní hoo, aschimámayú ohohu.....

535 533 was impossible for me to obtain a translation or even an explanation of the content. He said that he himself no longer understands the old words. I believe there was some truth in this, and that he was not merely, in his awkwardness, handing me an excuse, because even aluŝ itself is not a Bakaírí or Karaiben /Carib/ word at all, but a Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ word. (See also the footnote, page 24.) Perhaps the text is also in part old Aruak -- no longer understood /301/ after it had been sung together at joint festivals and was taken over and mixed with Bakaírí words.

535 The imeo makanari is common to all Bakaírí. On the Kulisehu imóto, imódo, is added as a related figure. Imeo is a [825] white animal that lives in the dried-up buriti palm -- as far as I understood, the larva of a palm-boring beetle; imodo, a related creature, reddish with a black head. A strange selection, somewhat reminiscent of the Midsummer Night's Dream. It [824] is explained, however, if one remembers that the material for the dance costumes is furnished primarily by the buriti palm, which that insect inhabits. And this may be a tasty morsel besides. /Fig. 91 appears here./ Other animals also appear in this makanari, especially the bat and the pintado sheatfish, Fig. 91 /see p. 347/. The latter mask is easy to understand. A costume plaited out of coarse, hard grass covers the body, but the wearer can look through the plaiting without difficulty, and a long piece

/346 cont./

*191 755 "Heaven has a ground, as here. The piaje who was there says so." "??..." "He drank liana poison and died. He was then no longer like human beings, he could go into a jaguar or a cobra snake or a sukurí snake or a falcon. He ascended to heaven, came back, awoke as a human being, and was just as he was before. This happened on the Paranatinga. The same thing also happened formerly among the antigos, and the people of the Tamitotoala (Batovy) used to say the same thing." Thereupon Antonio reported his specific example. "He drank the poison in the hammock itself, he drank out of a gourd vessel in which there was mixed a great deal of water, he died in the hammock. He went to heaven and there met the antigos. He also met that one....., what is he called?" (Tries in vain to think of the name.) "Oh, his mother also went to heaven." "Jesu Christo?" "The same. He conversed with him for a long time. This Kritó had him sit down on a stool and brought him calabashes with pogé and pikí juice. There was a great deal of it. They talked a very long time. This Kritó provided him with arara feathers for flying. Then he blew on him. Then he let him return. He woke up in his hammock." I wanted to find out in greater detail how he had come out. "The shadow rose up a little above heaven, carefully looked for the hole by which one gets out of heaven, and flew back here." "So the shadow had been in heaven?" "Since the body does not go and cannot rise up because it is dead, the shadow goes."

191 755 The transformation thus takes place in the dream, which is induced by a narcotic. It is regarded as real and the story of such a dream, wholly true or nowadays only very much partially true in professional practice, furnishes the material for the belief in the art of the /347/ witch doctors. Their actual merit lies only in their knowledge of the narcotics, and in particular, from our point of view, that of tobacco narcosis. Antonio told me that

* The occasion for becoming acquainted with the narcotic effect was probably during the fanning of the smoldering fire. One must seek in the forest the dry leaves which are thrown on, which

/361 cont./

972 desired. Therefore, we have up there the oldest bewitched peo-
973 ple and things. The feather ball, the vulture, the jaguar, the tapir prove to the Indian the deeds of the oldest medicine men. The only thing needed for a fully logical conclusion would be to regard every dream as a bewitched state.

973 I have already discussed in the story about the vulture and
821 the turtle, how the coherent text of the legends comes into being, even before a dim historical tradition furnishes special material. There is no lack of material, since the various animals and things which one sees side by side up there must stimulate, according to their characteristics, all kinds of notions which explain
539 their being together. Thus legend tells how the king vulture, before Keri took the sun away from him, appeared with it in the dark hole of the Milky Way and then flew around in the sky. Well, the sun is apperceived as a feather ball; during the day it reaches the highest heights of the heavens where at night one sees a dark hole, and there the "red urubu" or magnificently colored king vulture, "the prince and ruler of his kindred (Brehm)," is the most conspicuous citizen in the realm of the air -- when this material has been gathered, only the inquisitive question is required and the connection cannot fail to appear. There is not much bother about the moon. It was "together with the sun at first"; later Keri and Kame divided the feathers between them.

I was given the following story about the five stars in Perseus. The giant armadillo -- we have seen that it, as the largest of the spherical tatfu, leaving its dirt behind, eventually covers the moon -- met Keri on his way. It was carrying a basket with pikf fruit, gave Keri some, and went on. Keri called after it, it stopped, again gave Keri some, and said: "I shall not give more." Then he seized the tatfi, the fruits rolled all around, and the tatfi worked its way into the ground. Keri made himself claws out of jatobá resin and dug it out. Again it worked its way /362/ in, again he dug it out. This happened five times in all and the five holes are the five stars. Therefore we have here only a meeting between Keri and the tatfi already given, we know furthermore from the flute (Twim) that stars are thought of as holes; what is

/362 cont./

539 more natural than that the tatú, well known for quickly digging itself in, should, as soon as it eludes its pursuer, make a group of those star holes. All that was missing for establishing the game of escape and pursuit was the quarrel, and the "apple of discord," for which again is chosen the favorite fruit, which is round and has butter-yellow meat, but any other might have been chosen. In short, the story originates, without any great power of invention, by making a connection between the characteristics of one of the heavenly animals that presented itself through the natural stimulus and a suitable group of stars that attracts the attention of the inquiring mind. Then the name runs "the giant armadillo comes out." All that is required is the interest that produces the question, and the explanatory ideas are inevitable.

773 128 One generation may have contributed this, another generation that. To continue the analysis up to the final details is simply impossible, if one because the comparative material with other Karaiben tribes is very meager.

761 655 512 Transformation. A large part of the Bakaïrí explanation of nature rests on the supposition of sorcery. They have no development, but only transformation. This takes place in two ways.

The first is that a dead person is blown upon and comes to life, or that a thing is blown upon and comes to life. To the dead person the breath which he lacks is given back; to the thing, breath is imparted and with it life. This blowing, proceeding from the most natural attempt at resuscitation, and the tobacco-blowing of the modern medicine man must not be confused. The weak newborn babies in Maigéri (cf. p. 392), for whose life one feared, were blown upon day and night, but not with tobacco. It was only in practice that the two methods merged. The blowing of tobacco smoke on a patient was merely added by transference to the smoking of the doctor -- which, as we have seen (cf. p. 407), is merely the easiest and most pleasant of the various types of narcosis otherwise induced by drinking, or the use of which his art seems to be based. It has probably long been forgotten that by

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793 how powerfully, from time immemorial, civilization was seized by the attraction toward the west. all the tribes who bury their dead -- since they cannot place a compass in the grave -- with the face toward the rising sun, are supposed to have come from the east. "Where does Keri live?" I asked Antonio. "In heaven." "But in which direction?" "In the east; that is where he keeps the sun. The pot that covers it at night stands in his house." Old Caetano called Keri the "Imperador" /emperor/, and he, too, had him living in the east, namely, in Rio de Janeiro. I do not see the slightest reason for mixing up the first act in heaven of the Keri myth with a migration myth. The sun was there before Keri; he simply regulated its course. If he goes with the sun, he must live in the east or the west; the Bakaïr decided on the east and could now have easily come to the conclusion, which they did not draw, that their ancestors came from there. The ancestors, however, could not very well have lived in the east wherever this conclusion is drawn. It need not cause surprise, however, that Keri goes with the sun, since he is merely the person who was added to the sun in the story by way of explanation, and since the person who is supposed to represent the founder of the tribe and who is linked with the most important achievements has been added to the story, the culture hero must also be the "god of light."

II. The Texts.

The parents of Keri and Kame. Origin and death of the mother. The latter avenged. Sun, sleep, and buriti hammock. Heaven and earth interchanged. Fire. Rivers. To the salto of the Paranatinga. House, fishing, festival dances, tribes. Departure of Keri and Kame. Tobacco and cotton. Manioca; deer antlers. The ugly ostrich. Keri and the campo fox out hunting. The jaguar and the ant bear.

108 113 539 I have published the originaltexts of the Bakaïr /Bacairi/ legends, with interlinear translation, in the Bakaïr-Grammatik.

/372 cont./

128 Here I shall try to relate their content, which, to be understood,
539 requires the essential supplements furnished by Antonio. They themselves consist of very short sentences and have an extremely terse form of expression.

539 The parents of Keri and Kame. The first part of the legend takes place in heaven. Almost everything that is now on earth existed at that time. Nothing is reported about an actual creation; it is only told how the heroes Keri and Kame acquire all kinds of good and important things from others. There were always Bakaïri present, though "at the beginning /373/ only a few." There were also people of other tribal affiliations, especially various jaguars and their relatives, who killed and devoured many Bakaïri. For example, Kamuschini, with whom the story begins, was also "of another people."

Kamuschini, when he was looking for leaves of the tucum palm in the forest in order to provide himself with cord for bowstrings, met the jaguar Oka, was afraid of him, and promised to make women for him if he would spare him. First he felled trees with red wood (newiti), took the blocks home, set them in a maize mortar, blew on them, and withdrew for a while. When he returned, however, they had all turned into men who were carving arrows. He killed them, went out again and with a stone axe felled five or six other trees, proceeded with them as with the first, and, after he had left the ones blown upon to themselves for a while, found that this time they had become women. They all said "Papa" to him and, with the exception of the last ones who sat there lazily and whom he therefore angrily killed at once,* they were busily pounding maize -- "it is said that there

* For five of them I was given the names Nimagakanito, Atanumagale, Ichoge, Koyaka, and Tawaglri. In Bakaïri-Grammatik, p. 226, I erroneously said that Kamuschini felled five pikí trees, and besides that I was guilty of accusing Kamuschini of an error. He first felled two pikí trees, from which came

[114]

/973 cont./

• 539

Nimagakaniro and Ichoge. Ichoge contains ipó, pihí (= ITó-ge, with pihí). Tawagiri, too, is the name of a tree, from which the two lazy women were made, the Portuguese olho de boi, oxeye. Koyaka (= koyá-ke, with koyá?) came from a tree with rough bark and yellow fruit. Antonio did not know anything more specific about Atacumagale's tree-origin. She and Koyaka likewise became the wives and mothers of jaguars, although this (K. 36) is put down as uncertain. Atacumagale was later designated as the wife of Kuára, the son of Mero.

was not yet any mandioca at that time" -- and were making beijú and drinks. Kamucchiri gave the two oldest ones, Nimagakaniro and Ichoge, to the jaguar Oka, and he led them home. On the way, however, Ichoge came to grief: she climbed up a buriti palm to fetch herself some nuts and fell down.

Nimagakaniro swallowed two Bakairí finger-bones, of which there were many in the house because Oka needed them for his arrow points and killed many Bakairí, whose flesh he ate. The woman became pregnant from the finger bones, and from
[525] these only, not from Oka. Now, however, her fate was approaching in the shape of her mother-in-law, Mero, whose husband is unknown and who, besides Oka (the large onça pintada, the spotted jaguar), had two more jaguar sons, Kuára (the "canguçú" variety of the Brazilian) and Zaupányua (a "red-colored" species). Mero came for a visit while Oka was hunting: "she did not want him to have sons by a Bakairí," for she hated and devoured the Bakairí. She tore Nimagakaniro's eyes out with her claws and departed. Nimagakaniro died, but the uncle, Kuára -- a jaguar who in heaven performs a Caesarean section on a dead woman! -- cut open her belly, took out the twins Keri and Kame, and put them in a calabash like young parrots. Then he and his people cut Nimagakaniro into bits, roasted and ate her, and served

/373 cont./

539 the rest to the /374/ returning Oka, who unwittingly ate it. Furiously angry when he learned what had happened, he ran to kill Meno, but desisted because she said: "I am your mother." The jaguar former-father reared Keri and Kame; he let them ride on his back and taught them to shoot with arrows. Now, however, they asked him about their mother; he had been silent about her death because he was ashamed of having eaten her flesh and now, too, gave no information. The grandmother, however, or Aunt Ewaki, who belonged to the family of the Bakaïri and is named here for the first time, reported Meno's crime. Keri and Kame went out and killed Meno, although she received them with the friendly greeting, "oh my grandsons."

"Meno *safada*, the cursed Meno" (Antonio hated her from the bottom of his heart) "was not buried, oh no, she was burned." Keri and Kame gathered faggots and lighted a fire; then they dug a hole in order to watch. Meno burned *hopopopo*. . . . One can see the fire to this day in the large Magellanic Cloud. At that time Keri and Kame did not yet have human form. Kame inquisitively crawled out of his hole and caught fire. He burned up, died. Keri blew upon him and made him nose and hands and feet, such as human beings have. But Keri, too, caught fire (the small Magellanic Cloud is the fire of Keri and Kame), burned up, died, was blown to life by Kame and given human shape. Then came three kinds of animals, which can also be seen in the sky, the small fish otter who took her tail from Keri and Kame, the large one (*ariranha*) who took hands and feet from them, and the toucan who took his beak from them. Keri had had a larger beak than Kame.

Only now do the two have a human appearance, and they soon start their activity for the benefit of those living today. How did Kamuschini, Meno, and Oka look? "Oka is the spotted jaguar, isn't he?" "Yes." "And he shot with arrows?" "Yes, at that time the jaguar shot with arrows." "He shot the Bakaïri and devoured them." Meno had "something of the *joko*" (*Cryptonus noctivagus*) "and *makuku*" (*Titamus brasiliensis*), two wood hens.

(825)

/374 cont./

539 But their claws were as large as thumbs. "So the mother of the jaguars was a bird?" "Yes, it is said that to this day the jaguar does not devour any johô and makuku." This is again a true Indian reason for the senseless relationship between the jaguar kin-group and the wood-hen kin-group. If there is anything historical here it has been inseparably mixed with the zoological. "Mero devoured so many Bakairí that scarcely any remained. Keri had to make new ones."

The person of Kamuchini, finally, is also linked with an animal observation and, although we learn to understand his sojourn in heaven, makes even greater demands on our power of imagination. He has "a black tin, is moderately haired, he makes threads like a spider." "The spiders come each year in July and then have children; in August and /375/ September, when the rain comes, they make threads and then they go to heaven and the thread trails after them. Kamuchini is like these spiders."

Keri and Kame, on the other hand, have human shape by this time. They now take revenge on their foster-father for the death of their mother. But they shrink from it and want to have the deed performed by others. They ask the jaguar to make them arrows; they place them upright in a circle in the ground and blow upon them. "There came" the Kayahí /Cayahi/, the neighbors of the Paranatinga Bakairí, who in former times were supposed to have lived peaceably with them but who became their mortal enemies because of the more men and women. The arrows which the jaguar made for Keri and Kame and in addition to which the latter conjured up the Kayahí were stalks of buriti leaves, for at that time Keri and Kame were still children and used toy arrows. Keri told the Kayahí to shoot at Oka, but they missed. Then Keri himself shot, the arrow penetrated the knee of the jaguar, "the jaguar leaped into the water and escaped." The legend simply says: "thereupon they killed their father," but Antonio gave this different version and added: "If the jaguar had been killed, there wouldn't be any today."

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539 Suñ. Keri and Kame were now instructed by their aunt, Ewaki, to fetch the sun, which was owned by the red urubu or king vulture. Everything that has been told so far took place at night, unless the king vulture happened to appear with the sun. In the zenith there is a black hole that belongs to the urubu. The tapir which one sees in the Milky Way fell into this hole because it was a dark night. Keri saw the tapir and went into his front foot.* Kame, however, entered a small yellow songbird,

> * Old Caetano said that Keri made the tapir out of ika, a soft wood like mandioca, and then made small flies which were to give the tapir a disagreeable odor and attract the urubu.

similar to the bemnevi, and sat down on a branch; he was supposed to inform Keri, who could not see anything, about everything that was going on. The red vulture uncovered the sun, it became light and thus the urubus caught sight of the tapir. The entire "urubuiada," black and white vultures -- only the red one stayed away -- pounced upon the tapir. They fetched liana ropes, pulled him out of the hole with all their might, and wanted to divide him up. Then Kame on his branch went "neng, neng, neng," Keri blew, and the vultures could not open the tapir with their beaks. They called the king vulture to help; he came, and Kame stopped going "neng, neng, neng." The red vulture opened the tapir with his beak, and at that moment Keri seized him, grasping him so firmly that he almost died. He was told that only if he gave up the sun could he remain alive. Then the king vulture sent his brother, the white vulture, to fetch the sun. He brought the dawn. "Is that right?" Kame asked Keri, who had to hang on. "No, not the dawn," replied Keri. So the white urubu brought the moon. "Is that right?" asked Kame. "Certainly not," replied Keri. Then /376/ the white urubu brought the sun, and when Kame asked, "Is that right?" Keri replied: "This time, yes." Then he released the red urubu, who was very angry.

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539 "At that time the moon consisted of japú feathers; the sun, the feathers of the toucan and the red arara; the dawn, toucan feathers. That is how the old ones knew it. If now, as you say, it is supposed to be different, I do not know anything about it, and nobody does. Then it must have been blown on so that it became like fire."

Keri thought and thought about what he ought to do with the sun and the moon. It was light all the time. Ewaki did not know how to advise him either. Finally he made a large pot and turned it over them. Then it was dark. He gave Kame the moon. Sun and moon were both under the pot. When the pot is lifted, it is day. -- Concerning the service rendered by the hummingbird and the snail, as well as the lizard and the armadillos, cf. p. 424.

Sleep and buriti hammock. Whether the need arose with the long-lasting brightness of the sun, which had not yet been put away, I do not know, but Keri and Kame very much wanted to sleep and, to their sorrow, were unable to. They went to Ewaki and the always well-informed aunt told them where they should go to fetch sleep. Po, the lizard, possessed sleep. She received Keri and Kame in a friendly way and said, "Oh, my grandsons." They stayed in her house, lay down in the buriti hammock, and slept. When they awoke, they felt well again. The next morning they said farewell and set out with the hammock which the lizard had given them as a present.* On the

* Another time it was said that before there was a hammock people slept standing up, leaning with their backs against the trees. Protection from snakes and insects on the ground is indeed one of the chief advantages of the hammock.

way, after they had gone a league, they thought they would try to sleep. They lay down in the hammock and tried, but it was no good. They struggled in vain. Then they went back to the

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●539 house of the lizard, seized her, and pulled out her eyelid. They took a large piece for themselves, and the lizard was very angry. Now they had eyelids and could sleep.

Heaven and earth interchanged. At that time it also came to pass that Keri left heaven. "At first the earth was heaven; no Bakaïrí were born here where we are now. Heaven had a ground on which everything looked the same as here on earth. Heaven and earth were very close to each other; one could go over to the earth." Keri said to heaven: "You shall not stay here. My people die here. And you want to stay here? You are good! But I don't want my people to die." Heaven replied: "I want to stay here." Whereupon Keri said: "Then I'll change." He with all his people went to the earth and heaven rose up high where it now is, and where to this day one can see that everything happened as the Bakaïrí tell it.

/377/ Fire. Keri and Kame went to Ewaki and she ordered them to fetch fire. The campo fox was the lord of fire. He had it in his eyes and struck it out when he wanted to kindle wood.
[825] The campo fox (Canis vetulus "catches crayfish and crabs," Brehm, Säugetiere /Mammals/ II, page 57) had set up a weir basket in order to catch fish. Keri and Kame went to the weir basket; in it they found a jejum fish and a caramujo snail. Keri went into the jejum (a smooth, span-long lagoon fish) and Kame went into the shell. "Both were well hidden in them." The campo fox came along singing and made a fire. Then he looked to see what was in the weir basket, fetched the fish and the snail, and laid them in the fire in order to roast them. But the two poured water in the fire. Angrily the campo fox seized the snail, but it jumped into the river and fetched more water and poured it into the fire until the latter was almost completely extinguished. The campo fox seized it again and wanted to beat it to pieces on a piece of wood, but the snail slipped away from him and fell on the other side. That was too much for the campo fox; he angrily ran away. Keri and Kame, however, blew up the fire and took it to Ewaki.

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539 Rivers. Ewaki sent the two boys out to fetch water. They wandered for three days. They found three pots which belonged to the ochobi water-make. There was water in the pots; in two of them there was good water, but in the third there was foul water which one cannot drink without dying. They did not have anything to do with this third pot; they wanted to have good water. They smashed the other two pots; the water that ran out of one was the Paranatinga; the water of the other, the Ronuro and Kulisehu.* Keri took charge of the Paranatinga water;

* The text of the legend speaks only of the Ronuro; Antonio added: "along with it was the water of the Kulisehu."

Kame, the Ronuro-Kulisehu water. Both rivers ran on, and Keri and Kame each ran behind his; they called to each other so that they would not lose each other. Suddenly Kame's calls ceased. Keri shouted and shouted, but he got no answer. Then he had the Paranatinga stand still and wait, and he went to the Ronuro. Stupid Kame had picked out the worst river. He could not cope with it; the water swelled and grew wide, and Kame drowned. A huge jahũ fish swallowed him. Keri arrived and found the Ronuro standing still; Kame had disappeared. At once he started to fish; he caught three jahũs and one was greatly swollen. He tore open its belly and saw kame, who was dead. He laid the corpse on large, green leaves and blew upon it. Then Kame stood up and said: "I slept well." "No," cried Keri, "You did not sleep at all! A jahũ devoured you." They did not want to have anything more to do with the Ronuro; Keri sent for a duck and ordered it to take the water along. So the duck escorted the river farther and the two boys -- at this time, as Antonio pointed out by comparison, they were the age /378/ of the son of a German acquaintance of ours in Cuyabá, about eight years old -- set out for Keri's Paranatinga, which was still patiently waiting. "This is the water," said Keri, "that we want to take along."

2: Steinen--453 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP? Bacairi SP7

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• 539 For three days they ran with it down toward the valley. Then they came to the salto of the Paranatinga, but it was not yet a waterfall, only dry rock. They themselves now brought the water to the salto and let it wait on the other side of the falls. But since they were now staying here, Keri soon had ducks and doves come and other birds who took the water with them and led it on.

House, fishing,-festival dances, tribes. Tumehi or Tumeng, a grandfather of Keri, lived on the salto. He was the husband of the grandmother or, as we have called her up to now, Aunt Ewaki (mother and aunt, great-aunt and grandmother have the same merit as kinsfolk). Tumehi was a bat and had a dark gray skin. Old Caetano variously called him Semimo (Bak. semímo, bat) and Rei de Congo! The king of the Congo, a term which he got hold of, heaven knows how, from Negroes, fleeing slaves or workers on the fazendas, and applied to the black Tumehi. Tumehi belongs to the oldest kin-group of Kamuschini, Mero, and Ewaki, and his correct name is probably Semimo, for tumehi, tumeng, is an adjective. The salto had been his stone house before the water came; it should not be surprising to us that it is precisely the bat, which prefers to "keep house" in rock clefts, that is regarded as the builder of the stone charm and that the latter, with one or another overhanging rock-roof, is regarded as a house. Thus, Tumehi was pedreiro, stonecutter.

Keri and Kame had Tumehi build each of them a stone house. The latter provided himself with stones by blowing on termites; that is how stones were produced.

They learned more from Tumehi on the salto, however. Their knowledgeable grandfather showed them how to make and to set weirs and catch matrincham fish in them, how to plait roasting racks and roast fish.

Now Keri and Kame have reached the stage where they are regarded as adult human beings, they have acquired everything one needs: sun and moon, hammock and sleep, fire, the best river with the salto and its fish, house, and roasting rack. Their life had to start in heaven, and now it has been carried forward to the time when the actual tribal history begins at the oldest residence site of the Bakaírí, on the salto of the Paranatinga.

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539 The Bakaïrí lived with Keri; Keri's house lay on the east side of the salto. Both together also made a hill on the west side of the Paranatinga, from which one had a broad view.

Kame first built a festival hut and first carved a flute. He invited Keri and his people. They all danced to the sound of the flute, stamping and swinging their arms in rhythm, from the dwellings to the flute house and back again. Kame served his guests pogu to drink and /379/ beijós. In return they gave presents of arrows and cotton thread.

Keri then called his people together, too, for a dance festival; they danced and also drank pogu in the afternoon on the large open place which one can still see at the salto; then they plaited makanari and imiga costumes out of buriti, swung the rattles, blew the flutes. Now Keri could also invite Kame and his people. Many came; Keri was the master of the imeo dance, and people danced for two days and two nights in succession, resting only a little in the evening and refreshing themselves in the morning with a bath in the river.

But during the festival a quarrel broke out between the brothers about the people. Keri had made many Bakaïrí out of ubí reed, but Kame had made nothing. Keri accused him of laziness; they quarreled, and Kame, the weaker one, fled. He took refuge in the southwest, made a hill on the Rio Beijaflor (hummingbird), a left tributary of the Paranatinga, and there also made tribes: Apiahí /Apiaca/, Paresí, and Guaní. It is very interesting that the Guaní are also mentioned
[101] here, a Paraguayan tribe split up into several divisions, of whose presence in this part of the country nothing was ever said; in very, very ancient times they also "lived on the Beijaflor."

Keri climbed up his hill on the Paranatinga and discovered smoke in the distance. He went to look for Kame and found many, many people. Angrily he accosted Kame: "Why did you make so many people?" Again they started quarreling, but Kame left the Paresí, with whom he was living, and accompanied Keri back to the salto. It was not long before another quarrel broke out because of the people. Keri had made new

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539 ones and Kame fled, but this time to the Arinos. Keri looked for him, found him, and again brought him back to the Paranatingo salto. It seems that this quarreling and roaming about are described in order to make it possible for each of the two to have made a number of tribes living far apart. Finally, Keri [101] made the Bakaïrí, Kayabí, Bororó, Nahuquá, Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, and Kame made the Apiakí, Paresí, Guaná, Mauó, Suyá, Mundurukú /Mundurucu/, "all the Arinos tribes." I have already discussed (cf. p. 436) how this grouping can be viewed essentially as an eastern one for Keri and a western one for Kame, and I mentioned that if there is a distinction here according to the sun = east and the moon = west, Keri is actually to be thought of as lord of the "eastern" tribes, despite his Aruak meaning = moon (cf. p. 439), for the Bakaïrí hero with the moon-name merely given to him by the Aruak /Arawak/ women was, of course, for the Bakaïrí the owner of the sun = east. All the tribes were made out of arrow-reed, the Portuguese out of a dark kind, the color of the gun stock. Keri had first given the gun to the Bakaïrí (naturally!). But they did not know how to handle it: one of them would shoot past another's ear. They were afraid of shooting, "just as we still have seen among the people on the Kulisehu." Then Keri gave the rifle to the Karaiben /Carib/.

/380/ Departure of Keri and Kame. Keri and Kame again leave the salto, and Keri appoints Arimoto as chief of the Bakaïrí remaining there. Arimoto was also born at the salto. This chief, however, misused his position and killed many Bakaïrí. "But wasn't he a Bakaïrí himself?" I asked. "Probably, but he was a wretched scoundrel. If he had been good, his descendants would be chiefs of the Bakaïrí to this day." This time Keri and Kame went to the Kulisehu. The Bakaïrí followed him in their distress and complained about Arimoto. At once Keri and Kame went back and killed the faithless one, who defended himself violently and for his part tried to kill Keri.

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• 539 This brings us to the end of the activities of Keri and Kame insofar as the principal legend reports it. They left the Bakairí an abundance of matrinchams, climbed a hill, from which they called down once more to the Bakairí, who answered them animatedly, and "went forth on their way. No one knows where they went. The ancestors did not know where they went. Today one knows less than ever where they are."

Even though the legend ends in such a melancholy way, however, the people had their own ideas. Tumehi -- not to forget this old bat -- went away with Keri. What happened to Kame? "He was always together with Keri. Perhaps he is dead now." And Keri? Caetano, the grand old man, who knew how to adjust to the new conditions extremely well, said that Keri was the Imperador /emperor/ in Rio de Janeiro, Emperor Pedro Segundo. The good [124] Bakairí patiently answered all my innumerable questions because I had told them I needed to know everything in order to report it to the Imperador. That meant a great deal to them. I made the objection, "what if the Imperador in Rio de Janeiro dies?" "If the Imperador dies," ran the answer, the correctness of which, however, must unfortunately be refuted, "then all the Bakairí will die also."

Chief Felipe told me something else. "Keri went to the Ronuro and Kulisehu with a hundred men. He traveled downstream to the sea. That is what the people on the Batovy say too!"

Antonio adhered to the text of the legend as he had learned it from his mother. But in another connection he said that Keri lives in heaven, his house is there where the sun rises. "Then is Keri 'God' (Deus), about whom the Portuguese have told you?" "No, that is another, about whom we know nothing. Keri is the grandfather of the Bakairí."

539 Tobacco and cotton. Besides the coherent legends, the con-
825 tents of which I have told thus far, other achievements of Keri were occasionally mentioned. For example, he took from the sawari the tobacco with which people are cured. Sawari did not want to give it up; he said it was very good tobacco. Keri, however, took the seed away and gave it to the Bakairí. If one makes

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539 a cigar out of this tobacco and blows on people, they die. /381/
825 but if other people then come and blow on the dead one, he will come to life again and go his way. Cotton, too, and the hammock woven from it come from the sawari. Where the sawari obtained the tobacco and the cotton hammock is not known. It is very rare and lives gregariously downstream on the Paranatinga. It is an animal of the campo cerrado, is somewhat smaller and has a slightly more pointed snout than the irara (Galictis, marten-like, cf. Brehm, Säugetiere /Mammals/ I, page 614) related to it. It climbs and sleeps during the day in tree holes; there are some that are more black, and some that are more white. The description exactly fits the kinkajou, Cercoleptes caudivolvulus, which in its entire build is extraordinarily like the irara, although it is not related to it (cf. the illustration in Brehm, Säugetiere II, page 287, with that of the irara at the place cited). Among the Makuschí /Macusi/, who are closely related to the Bakairí linguistically, the kinkajou is called yawari.* According to

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* Schomburgk, Rich. Versuch einer Fauna und Flora von Britisch-Guiana /Attempt at a Flora and Fauna of British Guiana/, Leipzig, 1848, Vol. II, p. 435. "Von Tschudi gives it geographical distribution up to 10° south latitude. The colonists call it yamanack, the Arawaaks wawula, the Macusis yawali, the Warraus uvari."

Brehm, "we know that the kinkajou is widely distributed. It occurs throughout northern Brazil, in Peru, and northward as far as Mexico, in fact, even in southern Louisiana and Florida."

Sawari also had the tobacco that one smokes. The Bakairí, however, had obtained this from the karazóto = "master of the fish," a large fish found in the Kulisehu, but not in the Paranatinga. Antonio had also seen it in the Kulisehu, "but not very well."

[262] I myself ate it in Maigéri, where Tumayaua gave me a piece of karazóto; it was very oily. According to the description, it is an electric eel, but I cannot give the meaning as wholly certain.

2: Steinen--430 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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The karauto from whom the Bakaïrí obtained smoking tobacco lived in the "tobacco river." "He had received the tobacco, no one knows where, but he gave some to the Bakaïrí when they visited him in his house." It is probably obvious that the animals were used as geographical indications. Tribal names were "sound and smoke," the animals always remained comprehensible.

Mandioca; deer antlers. Keri obtained mandioca from the campo deer or Portuguese veado (Cervus simplicicornis). Before that, however, we must find out how the deer itself came to possess mandioca. It belonged to the bagadú fish (Phractocephalus, cf. the illustration in Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, p. 221 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 110/), also called pirarara, an oily fish which we often caught but did not relish particularly. The bagadú (kʒ.áto) lived in the "beijú river." "Perhaps," Antonio added of his own accord and thus for the first time put me on the track of the "geographical" animals, "it was a branch of the Roncro, for there are bagadú there, there are none in the Paranatinga." "The beijú river was in the east." How the deer obtained mandioca from the bagadú is told as follows.

/382/ The deer was thirsty and looked for water. Then it found the bagadú (in a side branch of the river where it had gone at high water and now, with low water, could no longer get out). The bagadú lay high and dry and gasped for air. Then it said to the deer: "Carry me! Plait a bast loop in order to carry me." After the deer had plaited one out of embira, it stowed the bagadú on its back and brought it to the slope of the beijú river. "Here I should like to rest," it said. (The deer was afraid to go down to the bottom of the river.) But the bagadú did not feel like it. Thus they talked and walked down the slope. At the bottom they leaped into the water. The deer enjoyed itself in the waves. So the bagadú took the deer along to its dwelling. When they arrived the deer drank pogu. It also ate beijú. (Both were refreshments as yet unknown to it.) The bagadú took the deer along to the mandioca planting. it ran along behind. When they saw the mandioca, they broke off branches and tied three together. Then

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539 125 they went home. "Tomorrow I shall go," said the deer and slept that night in the house of the bagadí. The next morning the bagadí said: "Take the mandioca branches along. Fell trees and then plant them." "If they are well planted, you will soon have mandioca," it declared. "Farewell!" said the bagadí to the deer. It climbed out of the water. "Now then, go!" "I am going back home," it said. But it put down the branches together in a heap on the bank; it could not manage alone and did not reach its dwelling until late in the evening. Soon it returned to the place with its son and the two carried the branches home. They rested for a while, then they cut wood in the campo. (A great folly in the eyes of the Bakaírí, over which they laughed heartily.) But the mandioca does not flourish in the campo. They therefore then felled trees in the forest. They built a fire, burned the wood off, and planted.

Now the deer was master of the mandioca. Keri met it and wanted to have some. Up to that time Keri's beijú had consisted of the red earth found at the salto of the Paranatinga. But while the two were talking about it, they began to quarrel. The deer did not want to give up the mandioca. Then Keri grew angry, seized the deer by its neck, and blew; suddenly it had its antlers. But Keri laughed and called out, "That is how the master of the mandioca looks," took the mandioca along, and presented it to the women of the Bakaírí and showed them, as he had learned from the deer, what they had to do so that they would not die of the poison. "But now the deer has its antlers, eats leaves, and gnaws the bark off the twigs."

The deer was thus the first, because it eats leaves and bark, to be credited with the ability to remove the poison from the mandioca. Antonio was firmly convinced that the deer was perfectly familiar with the treatment of mandioca and showed it to Keri. It was from Keri that the Bakaírí women learned it.

/383/ The ugly ostrich. The South American ostrich or nandu (Rhea) of the zoologists is called ema in Brazil, and another bird, the seriema, sariema of the Brazilians, is regarded as its relative because it, too, hurries across the campo at a fast run, though the zoologists classify it as Dicholophus cristatus

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539 in order of the cranes, under the family name of make-storks.
825 Cf. the illustration in Brehm, Vögel /Birds/ II, page 686. Here there is also a quotation from Burmeister to the effect that the seriema "runs along faster than a horse can trot, and can be overtaken only at a gallop."

Keri ran a race with the seriema. The seriema stopped for a brief moment. Keri passed her and the seriema fell back. Then he challenged the ostrich. They ran and Keri fell back; the ostrich hurried on. Keri was very angry at the ostrich. He fetched himself leaves of the uakumã palm, he seized the ostrich and punished it. Then the ostrich lost its beautiful feathers; today it has nothing but small, ugly feathers.

Keri and the campo fox out hunting. Keri met the "grandpapa" campo fox and agreed to hunt with him, during which the campo fox, as master of fire, would light the mamoga grass in a circle. Whatever animals were surrounded were to be burned. Now stupid Kame had just entered a mouse. "Keri did not know anything about it; he thought Kame was outside." The fire stopped, and the two roamed about to see whether they could find booty. Keri did not find a roast. The fox found a charred mouse and ate it up. Then the two met again. "Grandpapa, what kind of roast did you eat?" "I only ate a mouse." Then Keri realizes that the campo fox has swallowed his brother, and he thinks up a strange method of getting him back without having to kill and cut open the campo fox. "Let us race, Grandpapa," said Keri. "All right, my grandson." They raced a long distance. They stood still. When the fox stood still, he vomited. After he had vomited, he quickly ran away. Keri went to the spot where the fox had vomited. He saw the mouse bones and gathered them up. After he had gathered them up, he blew. After he had blown, Kame rose up. "I slept well," he said. "You didn't sleep at all! The campo fox ate you."

The jaguar and the ant bear. This strange story no longer has anything to do with Keri and Kame. Nevertheless it deals with the same contrast of the clever one and the stupid one. The stupid one is the strong jaguar, the clever one the large ant-bear,

2: Steinen--461 E D-5 (1894, 1897-1899) 1894 SP7 Bacairi 897

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539 tamanduá bandeira (striped) of the Brazilians and Myrmecophaga
825 jubata of the zoologists, which is no match for the other in bodily strength and agility. The relationship of the two animals interests the Brazilian hunters very much, they maintain that the ant bear can cope very well with the jaguar, not out on the campo, to be sure, but in the forest, by standing upright like our bears and embracing the jaguar. At times this struggle is said to cost both of them their lives.

/364/ Our tale is also concerned, however, with the particular circumstance that the jaguar eats only wild game and the ant bear only ants, and it asserts it in a rather drastic manner, applying the schema of the wager to a very unusual case. Aside from this point, the animals act entirely like human beings: they light fire, roast meat, wander about with the back-basket, dance, the ant bear cuts its tonsure (the hair of its head is very short and bristly), in fact, the little ant-bear, Myrmecophaga tetradactyla, which appears at the end, poisons the jaguar with the magic poison of the medicine men that is contained in a calabash. The moral of this tale, which delightfully reflects the humor of the Indian, is that artifice and cunning triumph over physical strength, this most important experience of the hunting life. The jaguar is sometimes called by the general name of the species, utóto, sometimes by the name of the onça pintada, ôka, under which we became acquainted with him as Keri's and Kame's foster-father.

The ant bear met the jaguar. Then the ant bear said: "Let us cach, my friend, with eyes closed." They closed their eyes and cached. While the jaguar had his eyes closed, the ant bear laid Oka's heap under himself. The ant bear laid his own heap under the jaguar. When he had arranged them nicely, the ant bear said: "Let's open our eyes." "Let's look at our heaps," said the ant bear to the jaguar. The ant bear cried out: "I ate meat!" The ant bear said to the jaguar: "You ate termites!" "I don't eat termites!" the jaguar said to the ant bear.

/384 cont./

539 825 The tapir came to where they had cacked. When the jaguar saw the tapir, he demanded that the ant bear go and kill the tapir. (Now the ant bear had an opportunity to prove his boast that he eats meat.) As ordered, the ant bear followed the trail of the tapir. The ant bear killed -- a tree! Then the jaguar set out to kill the tapir. The jaguar actually killed the tapir. Meanwhile the ant bear, eating termites, had gone on and did not return until the tapir was dead. "Where did the tapir go, my friend?" the jaguar asked the ant bear. "I did not see him," said the ant bear to the jaguar. "Didn't you see him?" said the ant bear to the jaguar and went on: "I do not eat meat, I always eat termites, meat I do not eat." "I killed him," said the jaguar. The jaguar disembowled the tapir and gave the excrement of the tapir to the ant bear (crude revenge, as though to say: "There you also have a meat-eater"). "Light a fire, my friend," said the jaguar. The ant bear lighted a fire. The jaguar set up the roasting rack and roasted the meat.

"I'm thirsty," said the ant bear. "There's no water here!" said the jaguar. "Yes there is," said the ant bear, "there are wild buriti palms over there." The ant bear left, he went far, but he did not find water. /385/ Then he pissed, drank his urine, and washed himself with it too. In his urine he found a little lambaré fish. (The storyteller makes things a bit easier for himself by providing the ant bear with evidence for his assertion.) He went back to the camping place, and when he arrived the jaguar asked: "Did you drink water, my friend?" "I drank," said the ant bear. "Look at the lambaré that I caught!" "I shall go to drink too. Is it far?" "It's a bit far," said the ant bear. The jaguar went to drink water. When the jaguar had already gone far, he called: "Where is the water, where?" "Farther! Farther!"

When the ant bear no longer heard the distant jaguar, he laid the tapir roast in a back-basket and climbed up a jatobá tree. The jaguar came back to the roasting rack; there was no longer any tapir roast. The jaguar followed the scent and saw the ant bear up in the jatobá. "Come, let's eat!" said the jaguar.

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539 125 to the ant bear. The ant bear ate the tapir and -- it was his turn to ridicule the other -- he tossed the tapir bones to the jaguar. The jaguar (who could not climb up the tall, slender trunk of the jatobá and was trying to think how he could get the ant bear down) called the biting ants. The biting ants climbed up the jatobá. But the ant bear blew. Then the biting ants went away again. Now the jaguar called the wind. The wind came to break the tree. He came to the ant bear and uprooted the jatobá. The jatobá crashed. The ant bear fled. To be sure, the jaguar pounced, but he caught only a termite nest sitting on the jatobá.

The jaguar set out and searched. At last he met the ant bear as it was eating termites. The ant bear had shaved himself a tonsure. "You there, my friend, you ate my roast." "Your roast?" said the ant bear, "I didn't eat your roast." "You are the very one who has just eaten up my roast," said the jaguar to the ant bear. "Someone that looks like me ate it. Matawiwe (a small member of the species) is the one who ate your roast," said the ant bear. "Did I look as though I'd eaten it?" asked the ant bear. "You want to deceive me. You shaved yourself a tonsure," said the jaguar.

(It is impossible to decide the case, so the ant bear proposes a competition, the one who wins is right. He felt very secure in this type of "dancing" and at first the jaguar did not feel like going into it.) Then the ant bear said: "Let's dance properly, my friend." "Let us leave dancing alone," said the jaguar. "But all right, let's just dance," said the jaguar. First the jaguar carried the ant bear. Then the ant bear carried the jaguar. Again the jaguar carried the ant bear. (He was able to carry the ant bear oftener than the latter would have given him credit for, and he was on the point of winning.) Then the ant bear tore out the jaguar's eyes and fled. The little pindoreiro bird saw the ant bear run away.

/386/ The agutí (Dasyprocta aguti, a pretty little rodent, "golden hare," very clever at tracing a scent) found the eyes and put them back in the jaguar. When his eyes had been set in,

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539 the jaguar stood up and went in the direction the ant bear had
P25 gone. The ant bear was inside the mountain and was singing. The jaguar went into the house. Singing, the ant bear came along with his back to the door. As he was coming, the jaguar seized him. He ate some of his leg. When he had eaten, he let go and went home. The termites made the ant bear well again. When he had recovered, the ant bear got up.

The little ant-bear (Myrmecophaga tetradactyla) said he would kill the jaguar. "Oh pshaw, you're no giant," the people said to him. "Then take magic poison along," the people told him. The little ant bear did as they said. He took magic poison in a gourd to Oka's house and placed the gourd in front of the door. Oka went out. When he caught sight of the gourd, he said, "That is something nice for me," and opened it. Then Oka became ill. The jaguar died.

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Chapter XIV.

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On the Question of the Original Home of the Karaiben.

I. Historical Data on the Bakairí.

101 In contrast to the East Bakairí /Bacairi/ of the Schingú, found first by our expedition of 1884 and 1887, I call the Bakairí west of the Paranatinga, long known to the Brazilians, the West
131 Bakairí. Today there is one village of them, to which our
[361] Antonio belongs, on the left bank of the Paranatinga, and a second one on the small tributary stream of the Arinos, the Rio Novo, where Reginaldo ruled as chief and where in 1884 we made
[364] our first acquaintance with the tribe. A few individuals, whom one can count on one's fingers, however, are to be found as workers on one fazenda or another in the western source-region of the Paranatinga; there are also supposed to be a few on the Rio Preto in the vicinity of Diamantino, who represent the
131 remains of a former settlement. At any rate, since the Arinos
133 and Paranatinga flow into the Tapajoz /Tapajós/, the West

/first conv./

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1 **Bakaíri, warán, kuaraiwa acyebidáo**
Bakairi Tapuia frazilira when they quarreled

arinedili
they became.

2 **Kuiwimári iewirápadili**
Our captain became angry

3 **Ayi amarémo tokedáo tohi**
Enough you /pl./ when he said people

ewánu iniyadili.
their illness made it.

4 **Iniyatáo idanára anayido áyá kodiyeli**
When made it sil animal with we died

5 **Ilapúriñe emedili wáyá yamadili.**
Then down above became dark.

6 **Xixi eyacého yamu inenawili.**
Sun his coming out dark closed-it.

7 **Inenawudáo iyawinu iniyadili.**
When closed it cold made it.

8 **Xixi eyacedáo yamadili.**
Sun when came out became dark.

9 **Yamatáo xirimúka eyacéli.**
When became dark star came out.

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10 **Ayõ** **yamu** **iyawinu** **iniyadili.**
Quite dark cold made it.

11 **Aritiõ** **udõdo** **ahepanokeli.**
Then jaguar appeared.

12 **Péto** **ayõ** **ayaetiño-modo** **iniyadili.**
Fire enough ancients made it.

13 **Taso** **ahitokili** **pireu** **ahitokili.**
Knife played arrow played.

14 **Tãwi-ye** **iyedãri** **tunaneŋ**
Their hunger with those who did not die strong

niye-pa **tohinõhe.**
die not remain.

15 **Ilapüriñe** **iwerã-pa-itiio** **xixi** **eyaceli.**
Then today not being sun came out.

16 **Xixi** **lourotal** **ayaetiño-modo** **amidnadili.**
Sun midday ancients ate.

17 **Ilapüriñe** **ayi** **xikidiio** **péto** **õro**
Then much slept fire earth

odãlou **eyaceli.**
inside came out.

18 **Xixi** **péto-ára** **idili.**
Sun fire like became.

19 **Ce** **adapiki-ye** **iyeli.**
Tree heat with died.

20 **Páru** **çaveli.**
Water dried.

21 **Páru** **çavediio** **kuána** **iyeli.**
Water when dried fish died.

22 **Kuána** **iyediio** **cenena** **kuana**
Fish when dried urubu fish

çani.
ate-it.

23 **Páru** **çavediio** **anayido** **iyeli** **páru**
Water when dried animal died water

tinenedili.
wanted to drink.

24 **Apa** **anáhi** **idanára** **iyeli.**
Manioca maize all died.

25 **Áritibiñe** **kuüyeli.**
Then we died.

26 **Kuüyediio** **cenerá-la** **kuani.**
When we died urubu ate us.

27 **Áráyi** **kuapüráne** **be-ba** **awiliye.**
Someone buries us is not thus.

28 **Idanára** **anayido** **iyeli.**
All animals died.

29 **Aritibiñe** **ayi-pa** **kuitiio**
Then many not when we remained

192 /220/ **kuiwimiri** **parutába** **inepehmiji.**
193 our captain sea blessed it (blew).

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30 **Aritsio** **parutába** **ayo-idiji,** **péto** **emaxkiji.**
Then sea row, fire put it out

31 **Kuaraiwa** **idamú-do** **nibretudiji.**
Brazilian his grandfather dreamed-it.

32 **Mára** **minu** **iwáyá** **parutába** **iwéhe**
That moon over sea will swell

yamira **keli.**
spirit said.

33 **Tomudó-** **na** **kedso** **mirjewadiji-la**
His people for when said you lie

itumudo **keli.**
his people said.

34 **Tumudo** **kedúo** **pi** **inanadiji.**
His people when said as picked it up.

35 **Pepi** **ima** **xiyace.**
Canoe large made it.

36 **Ata** **takoaheq** **pepi.**
House high canoe.

37 **Iliie** **tipiniri** **inadiji** **pepi** **odaÀ.**
Then his food takes it canoe inside.

38 **Iliie** **kuopáe** **timeri** **tiwúdi**
Then at night his child his wife

/231/ áyâ anela oxedili.
with alone sailed

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39 Oxedibi-ñe parutaba çalokxúli.
When he sailed sea rose.

40 Çalokxuli kxopae.
Rose at night.

41 Aritúo idanara anayido ayâ kxõiyêli.
Then all animal with we died.

42 Tõiwedúo çayuno iniyadili.
When swelled sand made it.

43 Iwerâ-pa mâra tapiku wâyâ çavelli.
Today not that heat above came down.

44 Çavedúo çayúno tuxũe
When came down sand stone to

atuyudili
turned.

45 Ilapũriñe õro acemakêli.
Then the earth is exchanged.

46 Kxái-na õro idâli.
Sky to earth went.

45 /47/ Idâdúo kxáu ayá-na xirimúca idâli.
When went sky with star went.

48 Pimiri ara tawõyeŋ atuyudili.
Ant like flying thing became.

192 /232/49 Tawöγen atuγudili kxonopio ara.
193 Flying thing became little bird like.

• 539 50 Idanâra anaγido ara kxidatuγudili.
All animals like we became.

51 Ilapūriñe aγökxitúo tohi ewanu-γe
Then when we grew our work with

kxidacenomedadili.
we learned.

52 Idu-pe-ba ilapūriñe pohi ara
Forest there was not then grass like

idu yahele.
forest grew.

53 Mâra adapiku wâγâ apa
That heat over mandioca

ewili ipūri-būri eγabeli
its fruit its old seed germinated

pohi anaλ
grass (campo) middle of.

193 Before giving the translation of this text, let us take it as the theme to accompany a few grammatical explanations.

One fact strikes us at once: the sentences follow one another, each usually with only one verb, without interdependence or subordination. In other words: as far as syntax is concerned, Kxura-itano uses parataxis exclusively. /233/ The greatest complexity attained by the sentence is that of apposition, enumeration, or parallelism, which does not exceed the scope of parataxis.

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193 Here is now a list of the personal pronouns, divided into the two classes of

	Agent Pronouns	Patient Pronouns
1	*u, ura, ahe, kx (a)*	*ie, i, u*
2	*m (a). ama, mahe*	*a, ai, e*
3	*a, e, i, a*	*ė, i, n, ç*
4	*kxi (d), kxidahe, kxura, hina, xina*	*kx.*

The reciprocal is *t, d, ç, h, x.*

193 539 There follows a free translation of the passage given above (8), for which a good knowledge of kxura-itano is needed

8. From ewâri, "arm," which is the same as çawõli, "wing," comes the verb apari (Bakairi Sprache, pp. 82 and 108), which means "to swim." ikiwâru means "the river is swimming"--rapids; kxudupi paru ohe yuwaru (B. Sp., p. 82), "the gourd is swimming in the river." It seems that aside from paru, which is very common, and tuna, retained only in tunata, the Bacaeris also have for "water" i or ik, which we find in the preposition ikale, "inside," which is applied only to water. According to Irineu, when they wish to ask whether an animal lives in the river or on land, they commonly use the phrase: adik, õro par-ikano menoro. If it is a land animal, the answer is: par-ikano keba menoro. (Cf. B. S., p. 31.)

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in order to understand the interlinear translation. Its subject matter is the destruction of the world by fire and flood.

This is what happened to the Bacaeris, the Brazilians, the Tapuias /Tapuya/ after they quarreled. --Our captain became angry;--enough, he said, and made the people's illness, and with the other animals we all died. --Then at dawn it became dark;--the darkness stopped the sun from coming out, --when it stopped it, it caused the cold;--after sun came out, the darkness continued;--with the darkness the stars came out;--the darkness caused much cold.

/247/ Then the jaguars appeared; the ancients made much fire; the knives fought with the knives, the arrows fought with the arrows;--those who did not die of hunger, the strong ones, do not die anymore, they remain. --Then, after a time, the sun came out; the ancients ate at midday. --Then, having slept for many nights, fire came out from inside the earth;--the fire was like the sun; the trees died from the heat; the rivers dried up; -when they dried up, the fish died, --and the urubu ate the fish. --When the rivers dried up, the animals died of thirst;--mandioca, maize, they died out altogether. --Then we ourselves died, --and the urubu ate us because there was no one to bury us. --All the animals died. --After we had been reduced to a few, our captain blessed the sea;--then the sea rose and put out the fire.

The grandfathers of the Brazilians dreamed;--in the next moon the sea will swell, the spirits said to them. When he told this to his people: you are lying, his people said to him. --Then he took his ax, --made a large canoe, --tall as a house; he took his food inside the canoe; at night, alone with his wife and children, he embarked. --When he embarked, the sea rose, it rose at night. Then with all the animals we died.

When the sea rose it made the sand. --After a year it came down--and the sand turned into stone. Then the sky

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539 and the earth changed places; the earth went to the sky, the sky came to the earth with the stars.

Flying things arose in the form of ants;--then the flying things became little birds;--we all turned into animals.--Then, when we grew, we learned to work;--there was no forest;--then the forest arose as grass.--In the next year the mandioca fruits burst out in the middle of the campo.

/248/ Before closing, here are a few indications concerning the formation of the words.

193 The derivative adjective is often formed by adding t to the substantive, and the ending neŋ or ɣeŋ to indicate presence, and neni or neri or ɣeni to indicate absence; for example, isehike, "goods, baggage," tisehikeneŋ, "rich," tisehikeneri, "poor"; odo or çodo, "lord," todoneŋ, "belonging to another" (literally, "has owner"); çawõri, "wing," tawõɣeŋ, "flying thing" (9).

9. The passage cited is not part of what has been published.

ɣe is also used to form adjectives, but its chief role is with verbs, to which it always lends the idea of destruction or dismantlement: thus, from itubi, "peeling," is made kɣanituɣeli, "I peeled off"; acemakeɣa, "to run away" ("elude the grasp"); iɣuru, "foot," iɣuɣeli, "to fall."

The reflexive verbs are formed by adding to the radical the patient pronoun represented by h, for example, Kɣahinaraki, "I remained" ("I left myself"), while xinoraki is active and means "I left him," ãhipanãkeli, "appeared (himself)," inepanãkeli, "caused to appear," or they are represented by x or ç, for example, axodili, "is found," iniodili, "finds him," or by d or t, adãile, "comes to an end," inãili, "puts an end to it."

The idea of repetition is obtained by introducing nono between the verbal radical and the temporal index: eɣatuhe, "I tell," eɣatunono-he, "I again tell."

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775 [533] not go to the sky. Because of this, having slept several days, put mingáu in two small gourds; put the mingáu on the middle of the grave; two persons armed with clubs intone the song; when the song is over the two gourds are smashed and they flee. Coming from afar, one gives a blessing, saying; [539] Kɣukɣukú (come, take heart!). When stopping, there is a blessing, saying: Aúfá! Go inside the sky, to our people, to our mother, to our father, here there is no one, inside the sky it is good, go, we, too, are going to die, it is said, -- the piahi teaches.

/253/ Another passage has kɣadopa in the form of a tatou (Mugaru, Dasypus) in the middle of an abandoned village /tapéra/ and advises that no one should walk where a fight took place.

For a while bodies and spirits wander through the world, and the words of the piahi contain repeated descriptions of dead men's heads that wander about at night, livers that sit in doorways, or intestines on which one might step at night. Finally the shadow is free, and it climbs to the sky on a ladder of spun cotton, which passes underneath the star Toɣoreŋ. At the entrance of the sky there is the Urubu with his trap; those who do not have pierced ears and nostrils and do not wear feathers are blessed by the Urubu, i.e., blown upon, and fall into the trap; those who are marked run no danger, and they go see Nakoeri.

19 174 775 Nakoéri is a word whose etymology cannot be explained by means of kɣura-itano; fortunately, the language of the Acawoyos /Acawai/, Indians of British Guiana, Caribas like the Bacaeris, offers us a valuable hint in this connection. In the translation of the first part of Genesis, and of the Gospel according to St. Matthew, recently published in London (11)

11. I owe the acquisition of this book to the kindness of my friend, Dr. Eduardo Prado, to whom I repeat my thanks.

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19 by the "Society for promoting Christian Knowledge," one reads
174 the famous sentence, the spirit of God moved over the waters
775 (Genesis, 1, 2): Makonàima "Yakwarri" otoupou tona poropohru, in which "Yakwarri" means "spirit." "Nakoeri" and "Yakwarri" are identical words, semantically and even phonetically, since the n in the former, like the y in the latter, are /254/ possessive indices of the third person; the double r in the English transcription must represent the same sound as the single r in our writing (12) and the transformation of a into o, o into w,

12. Any statement is risky concerning the English R. "The consonant R," writes Miss Laura Soames, "is the most perplexing element in our language. Dr. Ellis wrote in 1875, that after more than thirty years study, he was not certain whether he had yet mastered its protean intricacies" /cited in English/ (An introduction to Phonetics, 56, London, 1891.)

is a common occurrence in the most diverse languages. We can thus translate Nakoeri in the same manner as Yakwarri, as "spirit."

19 The Akawoio /Acawai/ permits us to take another step
174 forward. Fiat lux in Akawoio is: Akwa weijima. Would not akwa, "light," be the radical of Nakoeri and Yakwarri, and would not these names signify originally "the shining one"? The answer is reserved for the grammarians; the continuation of this study may possibly prove that the affirmative is to be concluded from the Bacaeri traditions.

● 539 The Bacaeri himself will explain better what he knows about Nakoeri.

/254 cont./

539 When there were no people here on earth, long ago, Nakoeri was born, when there was no sun, no moon, etc.; only Urubu existed, only Jaguar existed in the old days; then Nakoeri at first made only the Tamandua, the Jaguar and the Pig, he made the animals because he was the Lord of prayer (urenvi);--then he made the clay for the grandfather of the Bacaeris; -Nakoeri made the clay (orina) like people; when he finished doing this, he put it at the foot of a tree. --In those days, long ago, Nakoeri did not have a house. When he finished putting it at the foot of a tree, Nakoeri blessed it, --when he blessed it the grandfather of the Bacaeris was born, --small as the animals was born the grandfather /255/ of the Bacaeris; when they grew, the ancients ate dry wood and rotten wood; without arrows and without clubs the grandfathers of the Bacaeris were born; --when they increased, the grandfathers of the Bacaeris appeared each with his own people; men alone, women alone, etc., went the Bacaeris;--when they grew, when he made the animals, Nakoeri made a cotton ladder, --of spun cotton Nakoeri made it;--under the ember star totoreo and at the door of Nakoeri;--when he made his ladder, Nakoeri went to the sky;--this is why the souls of the Bacaeris go to their captain Nakoeri;--when he reached the sky, Nakoeri made his house;--after he made his house, Nakoeri made a lake; cold is Nakoeri's lake; in the sky Nakoeri does not die;--at dawn Nakoeri goes to bathe in his waters; when Nakoeri goes, he undresses;--at dawn Nakoeri becomes a boy;--in the afternoon Nakoeri becomes an old man;--not on that day alone (i.e., every day) Nakoeri undresses;--Nakoeri's lake does not dry up, there are very many (ai kuru) souls of the Bacaeris in Nakoeri's village;--there are hornets, there are urubus, there are large sparrow-hawks, there are white sparrow-hawks.

Wara bakaéri una ine atuli, concluded I.; "this is how the Bacaeri tells this story." Let us leave it, however, for it will be more to the point farther on.

/255 cont./

539 775 In the sky the shadow, which had already been changed previously into a Kxadopa or Caprimulgus, reaches its final evalution by transubstantiating into the Yamũra. For an explanation of this word, we need not go beyond the Bacaeri: Yamũra plainly comes from Yamu, "dark," and signifies the dark, gloomy principle.

It is natural to inquire whether the icekiko, that is, the belongings, the "baggage" as I. translated it, which are put with the dead man, /256/ undergo a transformation similar to that of the owner. The texts do not answer categorically, but lead one to understand that this is the case, because the yamũra own canoes, baskets, clubs, which are, however, in no way similar to those used on earth: they are animals. The reader may judge this according to the following passage.

539 825 Anta is the basket of Yamũra; Anta goes about on the back of Yamũra, --Yamũra goes to eat mandioca, to eat squash, to eat gourds, to eat beans; it is not the Anta that eats;--in the basket Yamũra gathers squash, gathers beans, gathers gourds, etc.; when he gathers Yamũra carries away.

Also the Queixada /white-lipped peccary/--the Queixada comes to the clearing to eat mandioca--the Queixada also comes on the back of Yamũra--it roots up mandioca, it roots up cará /Dioscorea/, it roots up batata, --when it roots up, Yamũra carries it away, the Queixada;--this is why Queixada is not to be found--Queixada does not appear because Yamũra hid it.

Also the Anta, etc.; at midday the Anta sleeps, it walks at night, etc.

Caitetú /collared peccary/ is also basket of Yamũra. Caitetú only goes in threes; it digs up tree roots, it digs up mandioca roots, it digs up cará roots, it digs up batata roots.

In his resting place, Yamũra makes mingáu, grates mandioca, cooks cará, cooks batata, bakes beijú.

/256 cont./

539 325 Tracajá /a species of turtle/ is the gourd of Yamũra;--inside the Tracajá he mixes and seasons his drink, he drinks his drink;--Tracajá is the maracá /gourd rattle/ of Yamũra, etc. Jahú /Paulicea lutkeni/ is the canoe of Yamũra--inside of Jahú he grates mandioca, extracts the polvilho /fine manioc flour/, prepares manipueira /milky juice of grated manioc/, etc.; this is why, when Jahú is caught, one pays--one pays with mingáu, one pays with pirão. Yamũra comes to drink mingáu in the house, --this is why one puts mingáu on the path, puts pirão, etc.

/257/ Also the Jacaré /cayman/: Jacaré is the grater of Yamũra--it grates mandioca, it grates cará, it grates batata, etc.

Also the Sucuri /water boa/ is the net with which Yamũra fishes--Yamũra catches deer /veado/, catches paca, catches cotia /agouti/, etc.; this is why, when Sucuri is killed, there is thunder, there is rain, etc.

The pintado fish is the club of Yamũra;--the Ray is the baking grill of Yamũra; on the top of the ray, Yamũra bakes his beijú, bakes his fermented mandioca, bakes his polvilho, toasts mudubim.

A naturalist might note in connection with this passage that the Cotia (Dasyprocta aguti) "spends most of the day hidden in a hollow trunk or in a hole underneath the roots and at nightfall goes out looking for food"; that the Paca (Coelogenys paca) "leads primarily a nocturnal existence, sleeping during the day in a hole which it digs itself, preferably underneath the roots of a tree, and comes out at nightfall"; that the Marsh Deer /Veado galheiro, "big-horned deer"/, at least, "in late afternoon, after sunset, during the night, and at dawn comes out in search of food"; that Queixada and Caitetú (Dycotyles) come out "now during the day, now at night, in search of food, digging the ground for roots"; that the Anta "in inhabited regions leads primarily a nocturnal life;

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539 825 in quiet areas, where there are no human beings, it is always on the move in the morning and afternoon, except during the hot hours in the middle of the day which it spends sleeping"; in other words, all of the phrases between quotation marks, taken from the book by Dr. Goeldi on the mammals of our land (pp. 92, 99, 103, and 106), confirm what has been said concerning the shadowy character of the Yamūras.

539 174 /258/ Other considerations, however, seem to us of greater moment.

First of all, in the enumeration of the belongings of the Yamūras, we have a basis for a list of the cultural acquisitions of the Bacaeris. We learn that they had nets for fishing before they had nets /hammocks/ for sleeping, that they traveled by water when they did not yet have pestles, and that they probably had maracá before they had the masks with which they appear at their festivals.

[227] [352] [501] [412] [532]

539 776 We also see that although theoretically the abode of the Yamūra is in the sky, a large part of his existence is spent on the earth from which he derives his sustainance. Subsistence, however, is not his sole concern; free of the contingencies of time and space, he travels swiftly as the wind, he is an envious being who spies upon all actions and weighs upon the living with crushing pressure. There is hardly an act that he does not influence: gestation, childbirth, alimentation, festivals, walking hours, everything falls within his inexorable reach, as we shall see later. It would seem that the Bacaeris could paint their bodies as they please. But this is not so.

776 789 824 302 Yamūra does not like urucú, --this is why one must not scatter the urucú seed, says the piahi;--Yamūra goes into the houses of people with children, --this is why we burn the juice of the rubber tree--when it is burned it is rubbed on the door;--fathers of boys, when they go to the river, paint themselves with genipap, --paint themselves with urucú, --so Yamūra thinks that it is blood; if the boy's father does not paint himself

/273 cont./

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The captains of the trees spoke first, the piahi relates; the yellow trumpetbush, the red trumpetbush, the jatobá, the copaiba, the pau de morcego spoke, the piahi relates--aúfá! let us all go, let us ripen our leaves, said the jatobá, the piahi relates; yes, let us do it, Captain, said his people, the piahi relates; when they said this, the leaves of the trees all ripened, the piahi relates; when the leaves were completely ripe, they spoke again, the piahi relates; aúfá! let us drop our leaves, my people, said the yellow trumpetbush, said the jatobá, the piahi relates; when the captain spoke, they all responded, the piahi relates; when they spoke again, all the leaves of the trees fell, the piahi relates; when they had all fallen, their captains spoke, the piahi relates; aúfá! let us flower, my people, said the yellow trumpetbush and the copaiba, the piahi relates; when the copaiba and the trumpetbush spoke, their people responded, all of us, yes, we shall do so, Captain, his people said, the piahi relates; when they said this, all the trees flowered, the piahi relates; when they all flowered the red trumpetbush, the yellow trumpetbush spoke, the piahi relates; now let us all drop our flowers, my people, said their captains, the piahi relates; yes, we shall do so, Captain, said their people, the /274/ piahi relates; when they said this, all the flowers of the trees fell, the piahi relates; let us go, let us bear fruit, my people, said the yellow trumpetbush, said the red trumpetbush, the piahi relates; when they spoke, they sprouted branches, they bore fruits, the piahi relates; the rubber tree, the red trumpetbush, the yellow trumpetbush, the paratudo, the tarumarana da mata bore seeds, the piahi relates; when their seeds burst, the red trumpetbush, the yellow trumpetbush spoke, the piahi relates; let us go, now let us burst our seeds, my people, said their captains, the piahi relates; yes, we are doing so, Captain, said their people, the piahi relates; when they said this, at the time of drinking, they drank, the piahi relates; when they spoke, all the seeds of the trees burst, the piahi relates; when

/274 cont./

824 539 the seeds burst, they spoke once more, the piahi relates; let us all go, now let us grow! said their captains, the piahi relates.

This was not the only occasion when the trees spoke, says the piahi: (Mâra-ume nelõ-ba cé are/eli, tokehe piahi).

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774 survives death. (o) During sleep, kagatopuri leaves the body

6. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 43, 44.

and goes wandering through distant regions; on returning it
[513] causes the individual to awaken. To awaken a person sudden-
ly might kill him, for kagatopuri would not have time to re-
775 turn to the body. After death the fluid soul leaves the body
once and for all and changes into kadopa. The kadopa are
[776] wandering souls that continue in this way until their final
transformation into iamũra which occurred in the domains of
776 Nakoeri, the culture hero. Nakoeri was a combination culture
773 hero and creator god of the Bakairí. In a /265/ text obtained
by Capistrano de Abreu, Nakoeri first makes all the animals,
and, using a plaster of clay, creates the Bakairí. (7) Next he

7. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 47.

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775 makes a cotton ladder and climbs to the sky.

776 The kadopa and iamũra suffer hunger and thirst and eat like the other Indians. For this they use the bodies of animals.
775 When the kadopa disturbed the aldeas, rituals were performed to try to attract the wandering souls in order next to frighten them. One Bakairí account refers to the kadopa thus:

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●539 "... if you do not intone kadopa's song he does not go to the sky. Because of this /after/ many days of sleeping put manioc paste /míngáu/ in two small clay cups /cũias/; put the paste in the middle of the grave; two persons armed with clubs intone the song; the cups are smashed and they flee. Coming from afar, one gives a blessing, saying ku ku ku (now, cheer up!).

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775 789 ●539 When finished, one gives a benediction... saying: Aufa! Go inside the sky, to our people, to our mother, to our father, here there is no one, inside the sky it is good, go, we also are going to pass away, it is said, the piahi teaches." (8)

8. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 44.

776 [775] In Nakoeri's aldea, the kadopa change into iamũra. But the iamũra also wander on the earth using the bodies of animals. Although their behavior was not intentionally malignant, the Bakairí had to take precautions when they went hunting or fishing or when they planted. On killing game or fish, the Indians left certain offerings for the iamũra portrayed by these animals. (9)

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9. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 49.

776 756 By means of certain rituals a Bakairí might, while still alive, make contact with the iamũra, acquiring the corresponding powers, and become a sorcerer-doctor.

776 Capistrano de Abreu (10) and Karl von den Steinen (11)

10. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 235, 239, 240.

[113] 11. Karl von den Steinen, Entre os aborígenes do Brasil Central /Among the Aborigines of Central Brazil/, São Paulo, 1940, transl., p. 448.

mention yet other supernatural beings that surrounded the

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534 sticks decorated with geometric designs. These sticks are still used in Bakairí dances in Simões Lopes.

535 533 Our informants remembered the following dances and songs: oriko, a dance performed with the help of the adorned sticks, at no specific time; iauaisãri, the maize song; mahulauari, performed at the time of the construction of a new house; pahoevatã, performed at the time of the ceremony of the perforation of the boys' ears, and the maize celebration, or anjéintabiénli.

535 532 825 [784] In the sacred dances, barred to women, masks representing various animals were used. In our opinion these masks did not represent the animals proper but rather the iamĩra, lords of these animals. This would justify the fact that these representations are so far removed from reality, even in terms of native art.

703 The Bakairí myths related by Karl von den Steinen and Capistrano de Abreu mention Tchini (or Keri, the sun), Numa (or Kame, the moon), (16) and Nakoeri. (17) Tchina and Numa

16. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., pp. 447-492.

17. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 45-50, 235-240.

or Keri and Kame, the sun and the moon, are twin creator heroes of the Bakairí. The same task of /269/ creating the [616] [194] Bakairí is attributed to Nakoeri. The nonexistence of moieties among the Bakairí leads us to regard the myth of the twin heroes as a borrowed feature, since there does not seem to be a justifying correspondence in their social organization. The 539 Paranatinga Indians told us the following myth:

Iamadili or the Origin of the Day.

In the beginning the world was so dark and so cold that the Indians had to cover their bodies with

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539 fat in order to stay warm. The Indians wanted the sun to come out, and so they donned their apparel, painted their bodies, and began to ask Orimoto, the great spirit. Orimoto was not an Indian but a man who lived in a stone house with some animals which he had created. The Indians went on asking until finally the light broke out; but the Indians had already grown old and the children had already grown up.

776 The data at our disposal do not permit us to place in Bakairí cosmology beings such as Tchini-numa, Keri-kamé, or Orimoto and Nakoeri. Nevertheless, we prefer to regard Nakoeri as the supreme being of the Bakairí, leaving to Tchini-numa, Keri-kamé (the sun and the moon), and Orimoto the role of culture heroes, until new work clarifies their respective functions.

182 13 433 Compelled to deal with a hostile environment, such as the savannas and forests of the headwaters of the Xingu, and lacking an adequate technology, the Bakairí, like the other Xinguano Indians, depended to a large extent on uncertain factors such as the amount of rainfall and the resulting annual increase of waters, which led to a scarcity or an abundance of food. Lacking an adequate technology, they did not store 789 their produce but lived on a subsistence economy. Their hunt- 224 ing and fishing activities were followed by magic rituals with 226 which they attempted to control the possibility of sudden future 241 calamities or even of illnesses. Thus agricultural activities 396 and the building of houses or canoes had to be followed by 782 propitiations. In order to utilize the vegetal or animal raw 262 materials, it was necessary to know how to control uncertain elements: How explain, for example, why one canoe splits and another does not, when both were made by the same craftsman? How explain how the same /270/ foods sometimes ap- 77 peared harmless and sometimes made people ill? The system of beliefs of the Bakairí seems to us an interpretation that

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171 Mavutsiné of the Camayurá. Both are original personages. It is also interesting to note that the Bacairí myth speaks of a time when there was maize but no manioc. Camayurá legends speak of the origin of manioc only. All the tribes are made from uba cane. The Camayurá, as we noted, were made by Mavutsiné from *cumiuac* wood.

539 *The Parents of Keri and Kame.* The first part of this legend takes place in heaven. At that time there was almost everything that there is on earth today. They tell nothing of their own creation, they narrate only how it is that the heroes Keri and Kame obtain of other personages a part of the useful and important things. The Bakairí always existed, even if "in the beginning there were only a few." There were also other people that were not Bakairí, chiefly the different jaguar tribes and their relatives, who killed and ate many Bakairí. Kamoschini, with whom the story begins, also was "of another people."

Kamuschini went into the forest in search of tucum palm leaves to make bowstrings, where he met the jaguar Oka, whom he feared very much, and promised to get him some women if he were spared. First he felled red wood trees (*arwiti*), took the logs home, put them in a maize mortar, blew on them, and went away for a little while. But when he returned all the logs had turned into men who were busy making arrows. He killed them and went to fell five or six trees of another species which he handled as he had the other ones.

Returning, after a short absence, he saw that this time the trees had turned into women. They all called him "papa" and—with the exception of the last two, who, remaining seated without moving, infuriated him and he killed them immediately [4]—were busily grinding maize—"they say that at that time there was no manioc"—to make beijiu and drink. Kamuschini gave the two oldest ones, Nimagakaniro and Ichoge, to the jaguar Oka, who took them home. On the way, however, Ichoge, climbing a burity palm for nuts, fell to the ground and died.

Nimagakaniro swallowed two Bakairí finger bones, which were spread around the house in great numbers as Oka used them to make arrowheads with which he killed many Bakairí, whose flesh he ate. It was due to these bones, only these, not Oka, which made her pregnant. Now, however, destiny threatened her in the person of her mother-in-law, Mero. Her husband is not known and besides Oka she had two other jaguar sons, Kuiza

[114] [4] I obtained the names of five women: Nimagakaniro, Ahamumagale, Ichoge, Koyuiu, and Tawaguri. In my Bakairí grammar, p. 238, I erroneously wrote that Kamuschini killed five pupui trees and committed the injustice of attributing to him a mistake. The name Ichoge contains ipá pupui (ipá - pu, with pupui). Tawaguri also is the name of a tree, of which the two lazy ones were made. In Portuguese it is called "olho de Boi" (bull's eye). Koyuiu (koyá-ba, with koyá?) grew out of a tree with rough bark and yellow fruit. About Ahamumagale's tree origin Antonio could give no further information. Both she and Koyuiu were also wives and mothers of jaguars, although this information is given as uncertain. Later on Ahamumagale is designated as the wife of Kuiza, Mero's son.

539 and Zuapáryua. One day Mero visited her daughter-in-law while Oka was out hunting: "she did not want him to have sons by a Bakairi woman," because she hated and ate them. With her claws she tore out Nimagakanro's eyes and went away. Nimagakanro died, but uncle Kuáry—a jaguar, who in heaven practices the "Caesarian operation" on a dead woman—opened her womb and took out the twins Keri and Kame whom he put in a calabash like young parrots. Then he and his men cut Nimagakanro into pieces, roasted and ate her. When Oka came home, they offered him the leftovers which he ate unsuspectingly. After he heard what had happened, Oka became very angry and ran to kill Mero but desisted when she said "I am your mother." A jaguar foster father raised Keri and Kame; he let them ride on his back and taught them to shoot with arrows. One day they asked him about their mother; he had not told them about her death because he was ashamed to have eaten of her flesh, and even then he did not tell them. However, their grandmother, or Aunt Ewaki, who belonged to the Bakairi race, and who is mentioned here for the first time, told the two about Mero's crime. Keri and Kame went and killed Mero although she received them kindly, greeting them, "Oh, my grandsons."

"Damned Mero (Antonio hated her with all his heart) was not buried, oh, no, she was burned." Keri and Kame made a stake, lighted it, then they dug a hole from where they could watch. Mero burned *bepepepo* . . . The fire can still be seen today in the big Magalhães cloud. At that time Keri and Kame did not yet have human form. Kame was curious and crawled out of his hole and caught on fire. He burned and died. Keri blew on him and made him a nose and hands and feet as men have. But Keri too caught on fire (the small Magalhães cloud is the fire of Keri and Kame), burned and died. Kame blew on him making life return to him and gave him a human form. Then there came three animals which can still be seen in the sky, the small otter which took Keri and Kame's tails, the big otter (arirunha) who took their hands and feet, and the toucan took their beaks. Keri's beak was bigger than Kame's.

Now the two appeared in human form and began, shortly, their activities in benefit of the living. But then what did Kamuschinf, Mero and Oka look like? "Oka is the spotted jaguar?" "Yes." "And he shot with arrows?" "Yes, then the Jaguar shot with arrows." "He shot the Bakairi and ate them." Mero had some resemblance to the jacú (*Crypturus noctivagus*) and the marumo (*Tinamus brasiliensis*), two gallinaceous birds. But her claws were as big as thumbs. "Then the mother of the jaguars was a bird?" "Yes, they say that even today the jaguars will not eat jacú nor marumo." This again is a typical Indian reason for an absurd relationship between the jaguar and the wild forest hens. Should there be a historical reason it is inseparably amalgamated with the zoological one. "Mero ate so many Bakairi, that hardly any were left. Keri had to make new ones."

Kamuschinf is also connected with animal life and although we can conceive his story in heaven we need an even greater imagination to understand it. He "is black,

● 579 has sparse hair, and makes threads like a spider." "Spiders come every year in July and breed; in August and September, when the rains come, they make threads and go up to heaven leaving the thread hanging down behind them."

Keri and Kame now have human forms. Now also they avenge the death of their mother on their foster father. But they do not dare do it and want others to do it for them. They ask the jaguar to make arrows for them. The two brothers put these upright in the ground in a circle and blow on them. "Thus came" the Kayabí, neighbors of the Paranatinga Bakairí, who, so we are told, lived in peace with one another in former times but became deadly enemies because of stone axes and women. The arrows, which the jaguar made for Keri and Kame and to which by magic, they added the Kayabí; were stems of burity leaves, for at that time Keri and Kame were still children and used children's arrows. Keri told the Kayabí to shoot Oka but they missed him. In view of this, Keri resolved to shoot him; the arrow went into the jaguar's knee, "the jaguar jumped into the water and escaped." The myth then says simply that "then they killed their father," but Antonio added "if the jaguar had been killed there would not be any today."

The Sun. Then, Ewaki, the aunt of Keri and Kame, ordered them to get the sun, who was kept by the red urubú or urubú-rei (vulture.) Everything that was told up to now took place during the night before the urubú-rei came. In the zenith there was a red hole which belonged to the urubús. Because it was a dark night, the tapir, which can be seen in the Milky Way, fell into the hole. Keri saw the tapir and went in as his paw.* Kame, however, went in as a small yellow singing bird, which resembles the bemtevi, and sat on a branch from where he would be able to inform Keri, who could not see, of all that happened. The red urubú opened the sun, it became light and the urubús discovered the tapir. All the urubús, black ones and white ones—only the red one still stayed at a distance—attacked the tapir. They brought cipó cords, with which, after much work, they pulled him out of the hole. Then they wanted to cut him up. At that moment, Kame, who saw everything from his branch, sang "nem, nem, nem". Keri blew and the urubús could not open the tapir with their beaks. They asked the urubú-rei to help them. When he came near Kame stopped saying "nem, nem, nem". The urubú-rei opened the tapir with his beak but at that moment Keri attacked him and held him so firmly that he nearly killed him. Keri told him he would let him live if he would give up the sun. Then the urubú-rei sent his brother, the white urubú, to bring the sun. The white urubú returned, bringing the red of the sunset. "Is this right," Kame asked Keri who had to hold the urubú-rei. "No, it was not the red of the sunset that I asked for," replied Keri. Then the white urubú brought the moon. "Is this right?" asked Kame. "Of course not!" replied Keri. Then the white urubú brought the sun and when Kame asked

* Old Caetano told me that Keri made the tapir of dita, a wood as soft a tinsiba, and then he made small flies which caused the tapir to small bad so that the urubú would be unnerved.

6:Oberg E-5 (1947)1953 SP7 Bacairi SP7
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539 again "Is this right?" Keri responded "Now it is." Then Keri let go the red urubú who was furious.

At that time the moon was made of japú feathers, the sun of toucan and red arara feathers and the red of the sunset of toucan feathers. This was what the ancient ones were taught. If it is different now, as you say, I know nothing about it, nor does anyone else. Then someone had to blow in order to make the sun turn to fire.

Keri thought for a long time about what he should do with the sun and the moon. It was always day. Ewaki, also, could not tell him what to do. At last he made a big pot and put it over them. Then it was dark. Keri gave the moon to Kame. When he took away the pot it was day. . . .

Sleep and Burity Hammocks. I do not know if the necessity to sleep manifested itself with the long continuation of clear irradiation by the sun when it was still uncovered, but in any case Keri and Kame wanted badly to sleep, but they did not know how. Discontented, they went to find Ewaki, their always well-informed aunt, who told them where they could find sleep. Po, the lizard, owned sleep. He received Keri and Kame kindly and said, "Oh, my grandsons." They stayed at his house and lay in a hammock of burity and slept. When they awoke, they felt better. The next morning they said goodby and went away taking the hammock which the lizard had given them.[46] On the road, after they had walked a league, they wanted to try to sleep. They lay down in the hammock but were not able to sleep. They tried and tried in vain. They returned them to the lizard's house, they caught him and pulled out his eyelids, of which they took a very large piece. The lizard became very angry but Keri and Kame now had eyelids and were able to sleep.

Exchange of Heaven and Earth. It was also at that time that Keri left the heaven. "At first the earth was heaven; here, where we are now, the Bakairí were not born. The heaven has a floor, the same as the earth. Heaven and earth are very close to one another; from there one can cross over to here." Keri said to heaven, "You should not stay here. My people die here. And you want to stay here? You are good. But I do not want my people to die." Heaven responded, "I want to stay here." Keri said then, "Then I move." He went with all the people to the earth and the heaven went there where it is now, and where today one is able to see that everything happened as the Bakairí say.

Fire. Keri and Kame went to Ewaki who sent them to go and get fire. The fox owned the fire. He had it in his eyes where it gave a leap when he wanted to light a fire. The fox (*Cassis cetulus* "catches crayfish and crabs," Brehm *Saugetierie II* S. 57) had put out a bow-net to catch fish. Keri and Kame went there and found in the bow-net a "jejum" fish and a snail. Keri entered the "jejum" (a smooth lake fish about 4 inches long) and Kame entered the shell. "Each was well hidden in his animal." The fox came, singing, and made a fire. Then he went to see

[46] Another time I was told that before there were hammocks, people slept standing up, leaning against trees. Protection against snakes and malignant insects is really one of the greatest advantages of the hammock.

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539 what was in the net and took the fish and the shell putting them on the fire to roast. But the two brothers poured water on the fire. Furious, the fox picked up the snail, but it jumped into the river and brought more water, poured it on the fire almost extinguishing it. The fox caught him again and wanted to cut him into pieces on a piece of wood, but the snail escaped to the other side. With this, the fox lost patience, and went away very angry. Keri and Kame blew on the almost extinct fire and took it to Ewaki.

Rivers. Ewaki sent the two boys to get some water. They wandered about for 3 days. There they found three pots which belonged to Ochobi, a watersnake. There was water in the pots; two of them contained good water, but the third, bad water, which one could not drink without dying. They did not touch this third pot, because they only wanted good water. They broke the other two pots, the water which flowed from one was the Paranatinga, and of the other, the Ronuro and Kuliseu.* Keri took care of the Paranatinga, and Kame of the Ronuro. Both rivers continued to flow and Keri and Kame ran each after his river; they each called to the other, so that they would not get lost. Suddenly Kame's voice could no longer be heard. Keri shouted and shouted, but no answer came. Then he made the Paranatinga stand still and wait, and went to the Ronuro. Silly Kame had chosen the worse river, and could not master it, the water had spread and grown and Kame was drowned. An enormous jahú fish swallowed him. Keri came and found the Ronuro standing still, Kame having disappeared. At once he began to fish, he caught three jahús, one of which was swollen. He opened his belly and saw Kame, who was dead. He laid the corpse on big green leaves and blew on it. Kame got up and said "I slept very well." "No" exclaimed Keri, "You certainly did not sleep. A jahú devoured you." They were bored with the Ronuro and so Keri called a duck and told her to lead the water on. Thus the duck conducted the river farther on and the two boys—who, then, were about 8 years old, as Antonio ascertained, comparing them with the son of a German whom we had met in Cuiabá—returned to the Paranatinga, which was patiently waiting. Keri said, "This is the water which we shall take along."

For three days they walked on with the river toward the valley. Then they came to the fall of the Paranatinga, which was not yet a waterfall but only a dry rock. They took the water up to the falls and then let it wait on the other side. As they wanted to stay where they were, Keri called ducks and pigeons and other birds, which took the water forward.

House, Fishing, Ceremonial Dances, Tribes. The reason why they stayed at the waterfall was because Tumehi or Tumeng, a grandfather of Keri, lived there. He was the husband of the grandmother, or as we have called her up to now Aunt Ewaki (mother and aunt, great-aunt and grandmother have the same value in kinship relationships). Tumehi was a bat and had a gray-black skin. Old Caetano referred to him sometimes as Semimo (Bak. *semimo*

* In the myth, only the Ronuro is mentioned, but Antonio added "that was the water of the Kuliseu River."

539 moreego) and sometimes as King of the Congo. The latter expression the old man had heard from the fugitive slaves or farm workers and applied it to the black Tumehi. Tumehi belongs to the oldest kinship group just as Kamuschinî, Mero and Ewaki and probably his real name is Semimo, since *tumehi* and *tumeag* are adjectives. Before the water reached the falls, this was his stone house; it is not astonishing that the bat should be considered the builder of clefts, as it prefers these clefts for its "habitat" and that these with one or the other outstanding rock above them be considered a house. Tumehi was also a mason.

Keri and Kame asked Tumehi to build a stone house for each of them. Tumehi, in order to obtain stones, blew on termites: it was thus that stones originated.

They also learned other things from Tumehi at the waterfall. The grandfather, rich in knowledge, showed them how to make and lay out bow-nets and how to catch fish, matrinchã, in them. He taught them, also, how to make a grill to roast the fish.

Keri and Kame had now come so far that they might be taken for adult men, they had obtained everything they needed: the sun and the moon, the hammock and sleep, the fire, the best river with a waterfall and fish, houses and fireplaces. Their life had started in heaven and is told up to the time when the real history of the tribe begins in the oldest Bakairi settlement near the Paranatinga Falls.

The Bakairi lived with Keri: his house was on the east side of the falls. They made a hill on the western side from where they could overlook the whole area. First, Kame built a ceremonial hut and a flute. He invited Keri and his people. Everyone danced to the tune of the flute, stamping with their feet and shaking their arms in response to the music, marching from their houses to the flute house and back again. Kame offered his guests pogu and beijûs. In exchange they gave him arrows and cotton thread.

After this, Keri also called his people together for a dance; they danced and drank pogu in the afternoon in the big square, which still can be seen near the falls; then they made garments of burity, makanari and imiga, shook their rattles and played the flute. Now Keri, too, could invite Kame and his people. Many of them came and Keri was the owner of the imeo dance, which lasts two days and nights, refreshing themselves in the morning with a bath in the river.

But because of the people the brothers began to fight during the dance. Keri had made many Bakairi of ubá cane, whereas Kame had made none. Keri blamed him for his laziness; they quarreled and Kame, the weaker one, fled. He escaped to the southwest, made a hill at the Beijafior River, a left tributary of the Paranatinga, and there he made the tribes: Apiaká, Paressí, and Guaná. It is very interesting to note that the Guaná are also mentioned here, being a widely spread tribe, from Paraguay, of whose existence, in this part of the country nobody had heard; a very, very long time ago, they also lived along the Beijafior River.

Keri climbed a hill at the Paranatinga and from there he could see the smoke far away. He went to visit Kame

● 539 and there found many, many people. He scolded Kame, furiously, "Why did you make so many people?" Once again they began to quarrel, but Kame abandoned the Paressí with whom he was living, and returned with Keri to the falls. Within a short time a new misunderstanding arose because of the people. Keri had made more, and Kame escaped, but this time to the Arinos. Keri looked for him, found him and brought him back again to the Paranatinga Falls. It seems that these fights and wanderings are narrated to give both of them the possibility to create a number of different tribes, which live at great distances. Keri created the Bakairí, Kayabí, Bororó, Nahuquá and Mehinakú; and Kame the Apiaká, Paressí, Guaná, Maué, Suyá, Mundurukú, and all "Arinos tribes." I have already given consideration to the fact that all eastern tribes may be assigned to Keri and all western ones to Kame (. . .) and mentioned that there exists a difference between sun-east and moon-west and that Keri, although his name in Arawak means moon, really should be taken as chief of the eastern tribes (. . .) as the Bakairí hero with his moon name, which he received from Arawak women, naturally would be the owner of the sun-east, for the Bakairí. All tribes were made out of reeds, of which arrows are made, and the Portuguese of a dark kind of the color of a gun stock. In the first place, Keri, of course, gave the gun to the Bakairí, but they did not know how to handle it, one shot past another person's ear. They were so scared of shooting as "we saw among the people on the Kuliseu." Then Keri gave the gun to the Caraibas.

Parting of Keri and Kame. Keri and Kame leave the falls and Keri names Arimoto chief of the remaining Bakairí. Arimoto was also born at the Falls. This chief abused his position and killed many Bakairí. "Was he not himself a Bakairí?" I asked. "Probably but he was a vile scoundrel. Had he been good, his descendants would still be the chiefs of the Bakairí." This time Keri and Kame went to the Kuliseu. The Bakairí, in great need, followed them and accused Arimoto. Keri and Kame returned at once, killed the traitor who defended himself violently and tried to kill Keri.

This is the end of the deeds of Keri and Kame, according to the principal myth. They left the Bakairí with many matrinchãs and went up the hill, from where they once more answered the wildly crying Bakairí and then "went along the trail. No one knows where they went. The ancient ones did not know where they had gone. Today we know much less where they went."

Even though the myth has such a tragic ending, the people had their own opinion about it. Tumehi—not to forget the old bat—left together with Keri. What happened to Kame? "He was always together with Keri. Perhaps he is dead now." And Keri? The divine ancient Caetano, who could adjust himself excellently to new conditions, declared that Keri was the Emperor in Rio de Janeiro, D. Pedro II. The good Bakairí patiently answered all my innumerable questions, because I had told them that I had to report everything to the emperor. And this was of great importance to them. I inquired "and what if the emperor in Rio de Janeiro should die?" "If the

539 emperor die, then all Bakairí will die too." was the answer, which fortunately, in the meantime, proved to be wrong.

Chief Felipe gave me a different account. "Keri went with a hundred men to the Ronuro and Kuliseu. He sailed down the river into the ocean. This the people at the Batovi also say."

Antonio believed in the text of the myths as he had

539 learned it from his mother. But in a different context he maintained that Keri lived in heaven, his house being there where the sun rose. "Is Keri the god about whom the Portuguese told you?" "No, that is somebody else, about whom we do not know anything. Keri is the grandfather of the Bakairí [Von den Steinen, 1894, ch. 13, pp. 373–381].

/52 cont./

123 the tree skeleton, as though the man were dancing there like
609 a cannibal in a show booth. "Bakaïrí ...," I commence once more, when luckily Antonio comes bounding up with mighty leaps, and, half out of breath from excitement, he for his part now shouts a long explanation downriver, which again I do not understand, but which releases a grateful howl of exultation on the part of the entrenched hero and clarifies the situation as though by a stroke of magic.

The canoe shot out of its hiding place and hastened
[501] at once, a fine, long, dry bark-canoe, toward our sad,
[29] crooked, wax-plastered, loam-smeared vessel laved with
[411] dirty water -- truly, I thought, we were the ones who were entering the sphere of a higher culture here; even though the noble boatman was dressed with only a belt-cord and carried with him nothing but the neatly worked, feather-trimmed arrows and the bow which lay on the floor of the canoe beside a calabash filled with honey, nevertheless in its trimness and cleanliness this total picture gliding toward us contrasted most advantageously with us ragged bearers of civilization beside the piece of wet-rot bark that was called our boat. Well, the newcomer clearly showed by his facial expression that for his part he nevertheless admired us.

123 He did not behave at all like the silent, gloomy Indian
152 whose soul, as I might have expected on the basis of our school-wisdom, reflected the monotonous, oppressive environment of the tropical forest; rather, he laughed /53/ and chatted with his fellow tribesman Antonio as though he had
[576] grown up in a fortunate country of the temperate zone. In a few minutes we were good friends; at my urging he even told us his name, which, of course, according to the custom of his country, he could not do without modest hemming and
55 hawing. His name was Tumayaua and he was the chief of
622 a village of the Bakaïrí a few hours away.

123 Thus actually of the Bakaïrí! The hope of the past
609 weeks was fulfilled, we entered our research area among a good-natured little people well known to us, and our debut

/57 cont./

487 the northeast a wide path through tall sapé grass, with which the
[824] houses are covered, to the river rapids below, toward the south
[361] a path to the mandioca planting, and everywhere tall forest moved in close to the inhabited and planted clearing.

162 The community numbered nine men, seven women, five
621 children. The names of the men were: Tumayaua, the chief,
● 551 our guide, who was primarily responsible for the planting (Pl.
[463] 6).[1] Paleko, his father, a charming old gentleman, with whom I struck up a close friendship and who in his declining years plaited baskets and fish weirs, Alakuai, the shrewd carpenter and canoe-builder, Awia, the painter, Yapü, the fat one, Kalawaku, the modest one, and the young men Kulekule,
[574] Luchu (Pl. 6), and Pauhaga. After a few days a couple of visitors came from the second village, among them one whose parents had died young and who therefore -- had no name.

The names of the women were not to be discovered: "pekóto úra" was the regular answer, "I am a woman." Thus
162 I have had to /58/ invent my own designations here; there was,
621 as always, an old woman who had a great deal to say and who, with her lean wrinkled body, was not exactly beautiful, the "tribal witch," Paleko's wife (see Pl. 5, left).[2] Her antithesis was her granddaughter "Eva," Tumayaua's daughter, mother of two children and the youthful wife of the muscular, magnificently strongly built Kulekule, who, before I knew his name, seemed to me worthy of being called "Adam" in this little paradise and also possessed a fine yellowish-red loam color.
[142] Eva had a finely chiseled European face with full lips, pale rosy cheeks which were closely framed with wavy hair, and the most beautiful eyes that I saw in Brazil -- and that is saying not a little -- large eyes whose sweet /Fig. 2 appears here/ glance contained no coquetry at all, but in whose radiant fire, with a full, naïvely tender upward glance, glowed that spark of innocent lust that must once upon a time have kindled the eternal fires of the universe; thus, with a body never mistreated by any lacing, she really looked like a young Mother Eya. Unfortunately, she scratched her head far too often,

[1] [See P. 40--Analyst]
[2] [See P. 28--Analyst]

/333 cont./

*171 437 Bakaïrí translated the Portuguese word comprar, "to buy," as yekadile, "to sit down." Trade is therefore still an exchange of hospitable gifts. But this has its origin only in the level of culture, *171 574 not in nobility of character. The Indian is not at all hospitable in the sense that he feels greatly honored by the visit and feels 577 absolutely obliged to entertain lavishly with beijús and drinks. For this effort he would certainly like a reciprocal one; he soon becomes impatient if the guest is staying only because living is cheap, and he frankly asks him to leave the village. It is even reported in the Bakaïrí legends, along with the invention of the dance, that the people who were invited and entertained had given gifts of arrows and string. Our travel companions undoubtedly offered us fish en route /334/ only when they themselves were satisfied, and it was not the best beijús which they left for us. [186] The endless talk among themselves as to whether this or that tribe was "kúra" clearly shows that they were only naïvely hospitable; there was always the greatest gratification when we declared a tribe to be "kurápa," because this meant that for our part we had done less business with that one. They praised themselves far too much for the recipient to be able to believe in the pure virtue of the unselfish savage.

*171 123 437 Our matter-of-fact, businesslike way of exchanging one object for another was at first completely new to all the tribes. They quickly learned, however. Nevertheless, the funniest enormities occurred. One man gathered up a handful of mangabas and then impetuously demanded a large knife. One wanted to have beads in exchange for the bandaging of his hand. Only if it were explained to them that one had but a single specimen of an object was one not bothered further.

*171 55 [553] Names. The son, soon after birth, is given the name of the grandfather, uncle, or an ancestor, not that of the father. The names among the Bakaïrí are animal names in part, but I believe only a small part. The following are the only ones whose meaning I understand: Luchu, for example, is a water snake; the native name of Chief Reginaldo on the Rio Novo was izána = cayman; an old man in Igueti was named póne = black piranha.

/334 cont./

*171 One of the women in the Paranatinga village was called makála =
● 551 tujujú stork. The names of the men were usually obtained with-
[124] out difficulty; sometimes there was a little reluctance and it was preferred that a friend give the information. One Bakaïrí allegedly had no name because his parents had died early. From the women on the Kulisehu I always received only the answer, "I am a woman"; however, I neglected to ask a third person.

*171 I have described the custom of exchanging names; cf. pages 115
553 and 122. It explains why the Indians make so little fuss about
797 submitting to Christian baptism. To them it means simply a ceremony by means of which they lose their old name.

*171 Birth and couvade. Abortions are said to take place fre-
844 quently. The women are afraid of childbirth. Among the
[849] Bakaïrí they make a tea from the root of a campo tree called
[272] perovinha. Probably there are also mechanical procedures. The woman gives birth in a kneeling position on the floor, hanging on to a post. The hammock is not supposed to be soiled. Women who demonstrated this to us in pantomime and who knew about it from experience stated emphatically that the pains were great.

*171 They soon get up, however, and go to work, and the man goes
846 through the well-known couvade, the male lying-in, during which he adheres to a strict diet, does not touch weapons, and spends most of his time in the hammock. On our return we saw such a couvade in Maigéri in Paleko's house. An actual lying-in room had been /335/ set up by stretching two man-high walls of hanging buriti leaves from one of the main posts to the outer wall. In this way a three-cornered segment was closed off. I was gladly allowed to enter so that I could give the child beads. Inside there were stretched four hammocks, sheltering two women with babies and two men. A strong odor of pikí, coming from rubbings, filled the room. The babies were kurápa, ill, weak,
[755] the parents complained. The fathers and mothers were ceaselessly occupied with blowing on them, and, to be sure, with hollow-sounding noises with the mouth nearly closed, which was hardly interrupted for a moment throughout the following night. The
[514] husbands left the house only to relieve themselves; they lived
[262] exclusively on thin pogu, mandioca cakes crumbled in water.

/28 cont./

114 Sept. 1926 bis Aug. 1928
[113] /Results of My Two Year Exploratory
Trip in Mato Grosso. Sept. 1926
to Aug. 1928/," pp. 86-88.
Zeitschrift fur Ethnologie,
Annual Set 60, Heft 1/3.

114 In Cuiabá I had already encountered some Bakairí
115 who had come from Simões Lopes with a herd of oxen to the capital. Since at that time the revolutionaries, led by /Luiz Carlos/ Prestes, were passing through Mato Grosso and also were making the vicinity of Cuiabá insecure, these Bakairí were prevented from undertaking their return journey for the same reason I was unable to carry out my projected trip to Simões Lopes. They were four men and one boy of ten, and when they visited me one day in my house, it turned out that one of these Indians, called Marcellino Caminago, or by his native name, Palugude, came from the second Bakairí aldea on the Rio Kulisehu. At the time of my stay in this aldea 26 years earlier, he had been a small boy, but he still remembered me well. It was interesting to note how this memory gradually came back to him when I played on my violin the same melody that I had played many times in the Maimaieti aldea among the Kulisehu Bakairí. He asked one of the other Bakairí what my name was, and when I told him that my name was "Doctor Macimo," he knew at once that his memory had not deceived him and he
[551] greeted me as an old acquaintance. Naturally, from this
[191] moment on he frequented my house with his small son, Lorenzo,
[126] whose native name was Kaiura, and with the other Bakairí, and since some /29/ of these Bakairí were quite familiar with the Portuguese language I had a good chance to take down linguistic notes and to obtain at this time exact data on the changes which had taken place with respect to conditions among the Bakairí
[622] since my former journey. Among other news they told me that
[159] old Cacique Reginaldo had lived on for a long time and had

Bacairi SP7.
Mato Grosso SP1

B 464 [551] [191] [396]

Nine canoemen, recommended by Major Noronha, were recruited from the Bakairi. The nine included Paghuli, or Marcellino, and Apacanu, both of whom had lived on the Kuluseu before the withdrawal of the Bakairi to the post. Both of these men can speak Anahukua to some extent, and are the only men who know how to make bark canoes. Unfortunately, their Portuguese is poor, necessitating another interpreter. Their knowledge and skill in matters of river travel made them invaluable, however.

B 501

The Bakairi have the reputation of being the best canoemen of the region. The children are taught to paddle from infancy, and become extremely skillful in paddling the clumsy and heavy canoes. The paddle used is short and narrow, and a quick, short stroke is employed, the paddler shifting his paddle from one side to the other with every two or three strokes. Steering is accomplished more by the bowman than by the man in the stern. The use of the stern paddle as a rudder is not well understood. Poling is resorted to by the man in the bow when going up the stream, in which case the efforts of the man in the stern are given to guiding the canoe, which is accomplished by quick shifting of the paddling from one side to the other. Among the Bakairi, as indeed among all of the aborigines encountered, the women are as good paddlers as the men, but they never were seen poling.

* * * *

B M 114

As soon as our personnel was completed, with the addition of a young Italian explorer, Giacomo Anzil, who had been forced to abandon his project to reach the Amazon upon reaching the post, our baggage was transferred to the backs of oxen and mules, which were to transport it to the Kulusen river. The men not concerned with driving the oxen went afoot. It was indeed an odd caravan. Mounted men busy with the oxen, men afoot carrying bows and arrows and guns, long-horned oxen, small mules, filed in a long line across the wastes of the plateau. All of the men wore a red kerchief wound about the head, and the usual bantering conversation was carried on. The Bakairi, of course, wore trousers and shirts, and even sandals made of old automobile tires, in imitation of the Brazilian camaradas.

B [177] [29]

As we moved eastward and slightly north, it became more often necessary to build bridges for the animals, across small but high-banked

/125/

648 Carlotta showed us the captain's commission (from 1882) of her absent husband. As a seal an imitation gold capsule with a bas-relief cross, which had lost its shine, was set on a piece of pink ribbon; in addition, a chest bow in the Brazilian colors.

574 553 Luis, whose new house is not yet finished, is hospitably taken in by Carlotta, who, during Felipe's absence, claims most of the space; his real affection, however, is for his namesake, 837 Luisa Cajibí. He said that he and Maria Cajibí had had a little son who had died. "And did Miguel know about it?" I asked timidly. "Oh, he," replied the vain mulatto, whose face in comparison with that of the Indians is like roasted coffee as against unroasted, "he was completely in favor of the affair and, of course, he immediately knew of the Brazilian descent of the child by its light skin and its hair."

563 Luis is extremely satisfied with his life among the Bakairí who are so far beneath him; he says that he has everything that he needs, does not owe anybody a copper, and the Indians are [829] good people; later on he would perhaps like to go to Lisbon, because, according to what a friend told him, it must be the most 123 beautiful city in the world. He was impertinent enough to interfere with quite unjustifiable demands in the transaction concerning the delivery of rice which Daniel had made with Caetano on the first day. Daniel, who is easily aroused, seized his comblain and hit him over the head with the butt; the philosopher hastily bolted on his long brown legs and, standing bent over in the doorway of the chief's hut, exchanged a flood of compliments with Daniel, while that good creature, old Captain Mêmo, in his tattered, coarse cotton suit, which apparently came from the prison, squatted on the floor and stared forward with a friendly expression.

Our idyll was unpleasantly interrupted on 1 July by the news that Tupy had appeared the evening before at the fazenda. On the way he had met the men sent back by us, commanded them to return, and rode on ahead of them. The sergeant, hunting pigs, had lost the correspondence in the forest.

/333 cont./

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/334 cont./

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/263 cont./

000 dangers that surrounded them. Pregnancy, enokua, was
843 recognized by the cessation of the menstrual periods. When
262 the abdomen of the pregnant woman began to attain visible
proportions, a diet based on vegetal foods and fish was initiated.
844 As the time of delivery drew near, a separate section was
[784] built inside the houses; the parturient was segregated and re-
mained uanki. Female relatives helped in the delivery under
the direction of an experienced woman. The parturient gave
[845] birth sitting on her heels. In difficult cases they washed her
abdomen and sides with a hot infusion of cotton leaves. The
umbilical cord was cut by the parturient herself or by her hus-
band, and it was buried along with the placenta outside the
844 house. After the birth, eraseli, the child was washed and
784 handed over to the parents; later it would be given the name
846 of some dead relative. During the birth and for some time
[553] afterward, the child and its parents remained in a state of
uanki. The end of the seclusion was signaled by the first
846 menstrual period of the parturient, and it was marked by a
796 feast called tadaunúto. The restoration of the parents and the
784 child to the bosom of the community was accomplished by
means of a feast called itabiénli.

When children reached puberty they were secluded,
uanki, for a period of several months. They could not come
out in daylight, and they were fed and looked after by their
[856] relatives. It was believed that the greater or lesser duration
of the young people's uanki period would lead to their better
[622] or worse physical constitution. On the other hand, a chief's
son had to remain in seclusion longer than usual. The period
881 of seclusion began for boys with the ritual of the perforation of
304 the ears (usually undergone in groups). Girls had their ears
784 perforated immediately after birth, and their seclusion was
marked by the advent of the first menses. The end of the uanki
784 state was also celebrated with the tadaunúto. The girls then
881 began to wear uluri, that is to say, triangular genital coverings
796 about three centimeters square made of tree bark.
881
291

844 with a bamboo sliver. The placenta was wrapped in a piece of cotton cloth and buried because it was believed that if it were picked at by birds it would cause sickness and misfortune to the mother and child. The child was then washed, wrapped, [555] and given to the mother. Later it was given the name of one of its ancestors.

846 During the seclusion period the mother and child were believed to be in a state of ritual danger (*wuahi*). They were not permitted to go out in daylight and had to be fed and cared for by the female relatives. The first menses released the mother and child from seclusion, this release being known as *tadaunito*. Shortly afterward the father invited the villagers to a ceremony (*itabienki*) [533] during which the *sokigóre* and *taddaure* flutes were [535] played and only the women danced. By means of this ceremony the mother was reintegrated into the life of the family and the village.

857 After 3 years of age both boys and girls began to 868 copy their elders, the boys playing with bows and arrows and the girls with spindles. By the time the boys and girls reached puberty they knew how to perform most adult activities.

PUBERTY RITES

881 When the girls had their first menses and the boys reached the age of 13 or 14, they had to go into seclusion (*poerphiro*) for a period of 2 months to a year. It was believed that the longer the young people stayed in seclusion the stronger they would become physically. The longer periods of seclusion were also believed to enhance the prestige of the family. The boys and girls were not permitted to come out in daylight, and were fed and cared for by their parents. While the boys and girls were in seclusion they made pots and baskets for family use.

887 With boys the seclusion was inaugurated by an 3c4 ear-piercing ceremony. A number of men with sons of about the same age would perform this rite collectively before invited guests. After eating [535] and drinking, the *poiaudo* song and dance were performed. The boys were now in a state of *uahi*, ritual danger, and were secluded immediately after this rite. The girls' ears were pierced when they were babies, but the ear piercing of the boys corresponded to the period of the first menses of the girls.

/159 cont./

862 It contributed no little to the enhancement of the holiday
574 mood that plenty of beijús, as well as puvas /see the glossary, p. 172/, brick-like pieces of dried mandioca pulp, and, above all, mingaus /see the glossary, p. 171/ were served. Everyone
[292] was separately offered in large bowls three kinds: a whitish, thin, scarcely refreshing beaten paste of starch flour, another, yellow one, tasting of squash, and a third one, warm and pleasantly sweet, toward which everyone crowded in order to grant the palate this half forgotten quality of sensation.

609 Most delightful was the absolutely equal treatment that was given us and the soldiers. Chico, this African ape-man, even seemed to impress the little people particularly, and he, like all the others, leaning on his gun, accepted the homage with great dignity and drank in enormous draughts.

It cannot be said that the barbarians actually expressed great astonishment. In general they did not pay any attention to skin color and beard; true, they admired the clothing, the knives, the opera glass, but as children who are not experiencing this for the first time do with their presents at Christmas. A
[152] demonstration shot filled them with terror; the women ran away, the men winced and, puzzled, joined in the laughter when they saw our gaiety. To avoid a repetition, however, they urgently begged "âla, âla -- it is enough." At the strange /160/ appearance of our dogs the professor was so frightened that he manifested the best intention of shooting them dead.

12 August.

437 The Bakaïrí paid us a return visit with wife and child. They
439 were heavily laden with beijús. Soon an enthusiastic barter with the soldiers was in progress; the latter bartered for arrows or feathers and puvas in exchange for buttons and worn articles of clothing. The buttons, which could be strung on the belt-string, were highly prized. The guests, however, especially preferred
[554] knives, plates, and spoons. The tribal sorceress ran about busily; in vain she speculated on a cooking pot, which she excitedly examined from all sides; but she won a spoon, a tin plate, and

/160 cont./

437 carried each piece that she captured to a secret repository lying
439 back off the road, immediately most hurriedly hastening forth
[554] for new deeds.

609 At noon Wilhelm and I went to the aldea.[1] Antonio accompanied us, but, suspicious of his fellow tribesmen, he could not make up his mind to stay with them during the night and returned to the river in the evening.

122 We set up housekeeping in the festival hut, and, alone with the charming little people, we felt indescribably content. When toward evening the mosquitoes started to annoy us, we took a
[137] walk to the roca.[2] Greedily we looked about for the "frutas de lobo," apple-round fruits which were present in numbers on gray-green shrubs, but unfortunately not ripe; the Bakairí boys are no different from ours. A magnificent estate; the horizon was bordered by a dark park, behind which the sun was setting in
291 reddish orange. We met Pauhaga, as our apostle of peace is
177 called, and his relatives on the plaza between the three huts, trying on clothes in great embarrassment. They urgently needed our help; not only did they put the trousers on in reverse and upside down over the legs, but they also tried to draw them up over their arms and wanted to stick their legs into a shirt. Putting on a coat alone was an impossible thing. They were unaware of the most obvious offenses against the elements of propriety. A safety pin was hugely admired, but most of all a pair of scissors with which
412 one could so conveniently cut one's nails. Their tool, the stone ax -- a ground stone is wedged into a wooden handle -- with which they fell trees and make posts, deserves our appreciation no less, from the standpoint of how much can be accomplished with the simplest means, even though in the unspoken accompanying thought that we ourselves /161/ might have to go back to this
[411] stage there is a slight admixture of horror. They have no spears,
[231] no bananas, no dogs, and tobacco is nowhere to be found. Bones,
[276] teeth, shells must serve them as tools, along with the stone ax.
[237] /Illustration appears here./

[1] [i.e. village -- Analyst]
[2] [i.e. Cultivated field -- Analyst]

[Text continues on p. 40]

/169 cont./

126 I acquired cheaply some belt strings of round stone disks with
[301] the diameter of a thick pencil, as well as a necklace of jaguar claws, by hooking the fish hook, as an ornament, into the ear lobes of these people, who do not know how to appreciate it as a means of catching fish.

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237 in a little bunch of red feathers that protruded from a small husk. The most beautiful head-ornament, however, was a simple row of yellow feathers up to 12 centimeters long, in the center of which towered a long arara feather.

562 Stealthily a few women appeared. There was an old woman
[554] here, too, who /170/ kept the tribe in order; she had curly hair.
[302] One woman, who had a boy astride her right hip, was painted all over her body with a disgusting yellow pigment.

342 The two large huts were round, the two small ones ellipti-
345 cally long, resembling scales. In one of them, the festival hut,
353 we discovered strange things. Between the supporting beams, on cross-poles, hung a great number of the most diverse colorful
292 headpieces. They all had a straw frame for fitting them on the
532 head. The colors were white, black, red, and orange, all applied crudely. There were open cylinders of bast of the consistency of cardboard, red, set with black squares; two large gourd /illustration appears here/ vessels, one with small yellow feathers pasted over it, the other with small blue feathers, and smaller ones painted with red and white areas; on the edge buriti fibers one meter long hung down like a woman's hair; a stuffed hide of a little fox, likewise an otter, both with a straw frame for putting them on. Two black and white sword-like pieces of wood -- representing rattlesnakes, according to Antonio. A stiff frame of stalks, in which sat little swallows, with cotton stuffed in between everywhere. The birds, perfectly recognizable in shape, white, head and back of neck black, a few with yellow belly. A larger bird, painted red and black, was looking out of one of the cylinders (1).

1. Cf. the first ethnological plate /see pp. 160-162/.

/189 cont./

*171 304 We saw an artistic tattooing only once; a chief of the Mehinakú had the rhombus shape of the mereschu fish tattoed on either side of his chest; from the upper and outer corner of the rhombus a double line ran up to the shoulder. Proudly counting up for us the tribes that knew him, he each time pointed to a corner of the rhombus; I use even this little humorous touch to substantiate my opinion that what primitive peoples do with their skin, mutatis mutandis, corresponds to what we undertake with our clothing. The Mehinakú counts off on the corners of his tattoo design, we on the buttons of our vest. The men had /190/ as tattooing a line or a double line that followed the inner contours of their shoulder blades, sometimes as obtuse or approximately right angles which have the vertex turned toward the spinal column, sometimes as an arc -- a design that has gone over into the art of the Mehinakú and appears outside on the bottoms of the large pots; cf. Plate 15 /see p.253 /. The women wore, either on the upper arm or around the wrist or on the upper thigh, two or three horizontal curved lines, encircling the front part of the limbs, thus representing semicircles.

In general, tattooing does not as yet achieve more than simple lines and still reveals its origin from the clumsy scarification with the fish tooth. In this respect the illustration on the preceding page of a Kamayurá /Camayura/ woman seemingly tattooed, but merely scratched for medicinal purposes, is strange. The Kamayurá did not have any tattooing, but hands and arms were often closely lined with scratch-scars from the scarifier.

• [554] Tattooing, however, did serve as a conscious distinction. It marked men and women of the chiefs' families, who, unlike the Bakaïrí Felipe, were not in a position to wear galloons; this distinction was provided even for small children. Here, therefore, it first furnishes a mark of differentiation within the tribe, which in the course of time, however, like every badge of rank, will sink to generalization. Individual Bakaïrí and Nahuquá aristocrats were tempted to strive for the foreign distinction. The Nahuquá had several Mehinakú women with tattooing. Among the Mehinakú I met a visiting Kamayurá, and he,

/20 cont./

177 231 [191] 619

Reginaldo and his people had a large number of cattle and several saddle horses. Although among themselves they spoke only in the Bakairí language, all of the men knew the Brazilian language, and it was said that Cacique Reginaldo knew how to read and speak some French. The Rio Novo Bakairí maintained at the time active relations with their fellow countrymen on the Rio Paranatinga. With the eastern Bakairí they hardly had any contacts, except for the Bakairí Joaquim who was the uncle of Cacique Antonio of the Paranatinga aldea and who had a young Bakairí from the Rio Batovi river in his service.

114 161

Different were the conditions of the Bakairí in the Rio Paranatinga aldea at the time of my visit. While the population at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions had dwindled in such a way that Karl von den Steinen foresaw the end of this community, the population of the aldea had increased in the meantime with the addition of numerous Bakairí from the Xingu River region. The number of these Bakairí, called by their Paranatinga fellow countrymen Xinguanos, climbed to 34 at the time of my stay with these Indians. The leader of the community was Antonio, who was at this time at the peak of his power. The only insignia /21/ of his rank as comandante of the Indians of the upper Xingu River region, officially granted by the Mato Grosso government, were a pair of red soldier's trousers with a wide white stripe which ran down the side of each leg, but a more practical symbol of his power were several good firearms hanging in his house, which he also used occasionally, according to the Mato Grosso men, against insubordinate fellow countrymen. The majority of the Xinguanos then living in his aldea were totally dependent upon him with regard to economic conditions and made up a valuable component of his power, for he had supplied the most trustworthy men among them with firearms. This small military force was important above all to insure contact between the Rio Paranatinga and the tributaries of the Xingu River against the Kayabí who had unquestionably begun at this time to

622 554 [648] [411] 701 648

/105 cont./

533 sounds not unpleasant, and has something both gentle and fascinatingly eerie about it at the same time, just as the wailing night-wind blowing down the chimney is described when the storyteller /106/ first gives thanks to God that he is lying warm and safe in his snug bed, but is again and again obliged to listen to the weird lament and finally sees in a dream the ghost of a
122 friend who lies dying. We sat crowded against one another in the
[354] small room; a gourd filled with fat, in which a wick was burning, lay upon the floor; I was glad when the gourd also started to burn and we were able to step outside where the stars glistened and we shook ourselves -- the shuddering was over.

562 The women held out until 19 June; then they came; Reginaldo fetched them; a dozen in number, they walked one behind the other across the campo, the father of the tribe in the lead.

[609] On this afternoon, however, not one of them would let herself be looked at closely; the procession entered the big house and disappeared. Reginaldo came to ask us for an opera glass that he wanted to show to the women. Toward evening they appeared again and left single file as before. During the night they slept in the forest, a brief half an hour away.

292 On 20 June they appeared again; Reginaldo looked superb
[301] at their head; he wore his gray felt hat, his blue captain's uniform and white trousers, walked barefoot, and had a blue-white
123 feather stuck crosswise in each ear lobe. He was very agreeable
[126] that Wilhelm should sketch him in all his glory. Moreover, he assumed, and we daily encouraged him in this, that we were conducting all inquiries concerning the Bakaïrí only in order to report them again to the Emperor of Brazil -- at least the man understood that and for this purpose he was glad to oblige.

[291] He also accompanied us to the women; they were barefoot, of course, but otherwise wore the complete costume of the female rural inhabitant; the majority were of a mature age; I liked best one big, strong girl whom Homer would have called βοῶπις. -- The captain's wife, christened Ines, was quiet and pious and looked as though she had had many a care. We tried to

/169 cont./

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[301] the diameter of a thick pencil, as well as a necklace of jaguar claws, by hooking the fish hook, as an ornament, into the ear lobes of these people, who do not know how to appreciate it as a means of catching fish.

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1. Cf. the first ethnological plate /see pp. 166-162/.

/59 cont./

123 During the first two days I modestly restrained myself in order not to alarm the good people; I also noticed that one of the men was almost always detached for special duty near me and thus a sort of guard was established; when on the first night, after I had taken my leave, I wanted to stay up for a while with a light and write in my journal, old Paleko appeared at the door and asked me just as politely as urgently to go to sleep and blow out the candle. My discretion bore good fruit; they soon took me into the two large houses: in one Paleko and my intended were the chief occupants, in the other Tumayaua and [122] his daughter. They took me out to fish, to the launching of the new canoe, and the like, and everything could not have been better, if only I had not suffered from chronic hunger as a result of their hospitable, but for me absolutely inadequate [276] board. I had to try to help myself by heavy smoking and in this [512] respect achieved what was humanly possible, whereas almost the only time the Indians gave themselves up to this pleasure, but then in a body and with great enthusiasm, was during our nightly tobacco meeting outside on the plaza, the jolliest hours of the day.

345 My little house had served at the time of the festivals as [122] the dance house, "kxato-éti," or "flute house." Two reed [534] flutes hanging on the wall in a case made of buriti-palm straw were the only remains of past glory. For me, however, it was [562] better this way, for the women, who passed in and out of this ruin freely, may never enter the flute house of the men. It was seven paces wide and nine and a half long; the main posts in the center, standing two and a half paces apart, which supported the roof, were four and a half meters high. At the top, in the straw roof, a vent one meter and three and three-fourths meters long was left open. A couple of fish weirs stood in one corner, but otherwise there was nothing but the two posts, from one of which I had stretched the hammock over to the wall.

231 Besides my guard of honor, I also had the company of a japú (Cassicus), who seemed like a green tropical Jim Crow /Hans Huckebein/ to me; he was permitted to sit only up in the

/93 cont./

126 taken on him. With lively gesticulations and a /94/ memory
153 worthy of appreciation, he repeated the entire procedure: the head from front to back, from side to side, the nose from top to bottom, the space between the eyes, the length of the extremities and their parts, the height of the navel above the ground, etc., etc., and after each pantomime he stretched out his hand toward the katakuá, the beads. There was nothing for it, the man's claim must be admitted, but I was obliged to compensate him with small embroidery beads; for when I started to pay him, he faithfully went over the number of measurements again after each pair of beads, first pointing to the latter, then to the corresponding part of the body, and he did not rest until the long list was quite carefully brought to an end. If these instances pile up, I said to myself, and if the Bakaïrí produce many such critical natures, their art of counting will make rapid progress. Here, indeed, was a tangible example of how trade fructifies and develops arithmetical gifts!

126 The women offered some resistance. It was quite impossible
345 to take the readings on them in the flute-house. They were not
●562 permitted to enter it, although the noble building was already half in ruins. Hence they were measured and photographed on the plaza.

123 We carefully packed up our bartered treasures and asked Porisa to keep them for us in his house until our return. We did not dare overload our canoes and had to provide room for the collection among the tribes living downstream. Porisa, before our eyes, shoved the bundles onto a high cross-beam between the center posts and promised that no one would touch them.

At 4:30 we then set out, very satisfied, for the harbor once
226 more. Antonio with eight Indians had gone out in front of the
[177] inlet where fishing was more rewarding and there demonstrated the use of the hook and line. His companions were able to set out homeward toward the village with a heavy load of piranhas, a
122 bagadú, and a pintado. We traded one of our small canoes for a better, larger one.

/214 cont./

171 462 meanwhile the woman invented agriculture. The women, as all over Brazil, have exclusive charge, not only of the mandioca preparation in the house, but also of its cultivation. They clear the ground of weeds with pointed sticks, place in the ground the pieces of stalk with which the mandioca is transplanted, and daily fetch what they need, which they carry home in heavily packed back-baskets. The man, on the other hand, plants the tobacco which the woman does not need. On the Schingú the woman already voices a strong opinion; in more primitive circumstances she may actually have been a beast of burden and of work, and even today she must stay away during most of the festivals and animal dances of the men. But let us consider the situation somewhat more closely. The man is more courageous and more agile, to him belongs the hunt and the practice of arms. Where fishing and hunting still play an important part, therefore, insofar as there is any division of labor, the woman must concern herself with procuring the rest of the food, with its transport and preparation. The division is not arbitrary, but one of natural circumstances; yet it has the insufficiently appreciated result that in her field of work the woman acquires her own knowledge, just as the man does in his. This must necessarily hold good on every lower or higher level. The counterpart of the Indian woman's carrying on mandioca cultivation with wise understanding is already found in the pure hunting culture. /215/ The Bororó woman went into the forest armed with a pointed stick and looked for roots and tubers; in connection with the roving expeditions through the campo or wherever a band of Indians changed their residence, such hunting was the task of the woman while the man pursued animals; climbing, she fetched down the palm nuts and dragged home heavy loads of them. And if the [562] Indian woman was subordinate to the man, this position certainly was no benefit to her in the distribution of fish and meat; she

*"After the men have eaten comes the turn of the women and children, who must often be

/219 cont./

174 their civilization by Nu-Aruak women is shown in their tribal
773 legend, as I should like to mention here already, in a way that can scarcely be misinterpreted. They have two culture heroes, the twin brothers Keri and Kame, the former of whom is strongly favored by the legend. The two names are the generally widespread Nu-Aruak words, always appearing together, for moon and sun, so that an influence from the Nu-Aruak side is obvious, however one explains the "personification." Kame is the leader of the Nu-Aruak and other tribes; Keri, of the Bakaïrí. Everything that Keri and Kame undertake in the best interests of the [562] tribe is traced back to the advice of Aunt Ewaki, who takes the place of the mother; the woman who always first points out ways and means to them could not possibly, however, have been conceived as a stupid work-animal.

IV. Fire and the Discovery of Wooden Fire-makers.

Introduction. Campo fires and the behavior of the animal kingdom. Ancient hunting. The "queimada," a civilizing place. The awe of primitive man. The myth of instruction by the storms. Fire-making and work methods. Procedure on the Schingú. Origin of wood-rubbing. Stage of maintaining the fire and tinder-technique. Prehistoric vagabonds and Prometheus. Confirmation by experiment.

If I have already been obliged in the previous chapters to discuss my observations on the Schingú with respect to their general culture-historical value, I shall be even less able to avoid doing so in connection with the subject that I am about to take up. I am far from believing that the Schingú Indians were the first who produced fire by drilling or rubbing pieces of wood, I am not by any means yielding to the pleasant delusion that I /220/ have discovered a paradisiacal ancestral seat where all the most important discoveries were made. I should simply like to proceed from these little primitive people, who are still unfamiliar

/298 cont./

171 345 535 562 Furthermore, however, it is easily understandable that the women are strictly excluded from the ceremonious dances and may not enter the flute house, the house of the men where foreign visitors are welcomed and entertained. It is probably in this sense that one should interpret the strange masquerade which we experienced in the second Bakaïrí village, when the food and drink for our flute-house band was fetched by a masked Indian of the first village from the women, who would not have been permitted to bring it. Cf. page 63. Behind the jest lay the

[114]

* At that place there is a sentence which was left in by mistake and which contains an idea long since given up by me -- the final sentence that there is perhaps a connection with the custom of eating alone. /The sentence referred to, which was omitted in the translation in accordance with the corrections listed on p. 571, reads as follows. Perhaps there is a connection between the custom of being veiled when one brings his gift of hospitality and the custom of eating alone, against which one cannot transgress without arousing the sense of shame of the others./

serious motive that strangers and women should be limited in their intercourse. The Mohammedan takes the opposite course, in that he masks his women and shuts them up in special chambers.

*171 535 562 In the origin of the dance itself, moreover, there is a fundamental reason against the participation of the female sex. These are "unfeminine" pleasures which have developed from hunters festivals. Nevertheless, there seem to be distinctions. The women never take part in the big festivals, the Bakaïrí said, but in the small ones they do, they are also said to dance by themselves occasionally, without men. The Suyá, however, seem to think otherwise, at any rate, the Bakaïrí expressed themselves very contemptuously about the misbehavior there, "men danced with women." Perhaps it is advisable to point out,

/298 cont./

*171 535 ●562 finally, that there was not the slightest trace of any secrets and mysteries or of any special relationship of the medicine men to the dances which were supposed to be kept secret from the women.

*171 345 562 It is also for protection against feminine curiosity that the entrances of the flute houses on the Kulisehu are made so low that one can enter only in a very stooped position or even must slide in on the knees. I do not know to what extent the prohibition for the women is carried out in practice in everyday life, but we did not obtain permission to measure them in the flute house, and certainly it was said "the women would be killed if they went into the flute house" -- a rather crude variant of "mulier taceat in ecclesia" /the woman is to be silent in church/. [997] That the custom was still taken seriously among the docile Bakaïrí some 30 or 40 years ago is best illustrated by an experience which, according to the story of an old Brazilian, the priests who brought Christianity were obliged to undergo. They found nothing more natural than to assemble the new congregation in the flute house which was so well suited for church purposes because it was uninhabited. /299/ The men came willingly enough, but the women remained outside and were persuaded only with great difficulty to risk physical danger for the sake of the salvation of their souls.

*171 535 Among all the tribes the body is partially or completely covered with aprons or cloaks for the masked dances. Leaf strips of buriti straw or dry grass blades about a meter long were strung on a cord to make a wide apron and were wound around the neck several times so that they hung down from the shoulders, or around the /Fig. 90 appears here/ hips so that they reached to the ankles, or combined in both forms. The chief difference [825] is in the ornament for the head. Common to all is the connection with animals. Here we may distinguish:

1. Imitations of animals are put on. Bakaïrí.

2. Straw caps with long fiber hangings, in part bearing attributes of the animal. Bakaïrí.

3. Fish net in front of the face. Nahuquá.

4. Straw lattice in the fashion of the sieve-filter, in an oval hoop. Without facial parts. Bakaïrí, Nahuquá. Facial parts of wax. Auetö.

*171 /331 cont./
591 see, could occupy the lying-in room at the home of the parents-
844 in-law. Although the people lived in monogamy and the father
*171 was the head of the family, the mother's brother was still re-
604 garded as equal to the father as a protector of the child and in
any case, if the father died, assumed all responsibilities until
[593] the children were grown. He, not the mother, was in charge of
their property.

*171 Among all the tribes, older and younger brothers had differ-
601 ent designations. The younger brother was on the same level as
the cousin and had a name in common with him. The Bakaïrí
*171 called me "older brother" and later in the third village also
123 "grandfather"; the Mehinakú called me "uncle" (mother's
602 brother). My traveling companions were always called my
"younger brothers or cousins" and were also addressed in this way
by the Indians themselves.

*171 Marriages were concluded without wedding celebrations;
583 the parents, first the fathers, then the mothers, talk matters over,
585 and the father of the bride receives /332/ arrows and stone axes;
the bridegroom must also work with him in the clearing "to show
that he knows how," he hangs his hammock above that of the
girl, and everything is in order. That older men have young
*171 wives and younger men older wives was clearly pronounced only
582 on the Paranatinga, but not on the Kulisehu (this prerogative of
the old thus appears only with the decline of the tribe). At least
the few matrimonial unions with which I became more closely
586 acquainted in Maigéri were evenly matched. Divorce among the
Bakaïrí takes place without any trouble, it was said, even if the
husband is not in favor of it. "The woman leaves, perhaps he
will catch her again."

*171 I have spoken earlier about the division of labor between the
●562 sexes; cf. pp. 216 ff. The woman did not occupy an undignified
[593] position. The husband let her carry a larger load than he himself
carried, he kept her away from the flute house where the
men consulted, smoked, celebrated festivals, and where strangers
were lodged, he was her lord and master -- and he did what she
wanted. When Martius says that the woman does not occupy an
inferior position "in spite of slavish subordination as a result of

/332 cont./

*171 the gay activity /der heitern Geschäftigkeit/," this is perfectly
●562 applicable to our Indians with the reservation that the slavish subordination was very much in the background. The woman needed protection, first, because she was weak and "wept" whenever there was danger, and then because she had to be protected from foreign lusts. In returning home from the plantings, she walked in front of her husband, since, heavily loaded, she hastened forward rapidly and everything was safe; in the forest she walked behind him so that he would be the first to meet any possible danger. She was protected from foreign guests, and, if they were of a dubious nature, as we were, the women and children ran into the forest.

*171 What occurs in dramas of adultery I do not know. We had
681 no opportunity to observe anything that belonged to the sphere
123 of the administration of justice. If I asked Antonio about crimes
674 of any kind, he always answered that such things probably happened in former times, but no longer occur now.

*171 Theft of things belonging to us was, in any case, very fre-
123 quent, except among the Bakaïrí, although friend Luchu, at
674 the time he visited us in Independencia, was no longer altogether trustworthy. When the confusion in the Trumaí camp arose
[648] because I was obliged to demand the return of a glass of my stolen arsenic pills, we saw that the Yaulapiti, who had come with
*171 us, were trying to snatch the stone axes of the Trumaí. Always and
186 without exception it was supposed to have been a stranger who had done the stealing. The people living together also had little that they needed to take from one another, and the thief could scarcely have enjoyed it without being discovered. There is nothing more natural, therefore, than that the idea of morals rests most particularly on tribal affiliation. Among the Bakaïrí kurá means "we," "we all," "our" and at the same time "good" ("our people"); kurápa, "not we," "not our," and at the same
[754] time "bad, stingy, unhealthy." All evil comes /333/ from foreigners, and not least sickness and death, which are sent from outside sorcerers.

/365 cont./

773 Karaiben, one would suppose that the Bakaïrí word would have agreed with the Aruak word.

out of the question, because the two names always go together, both as moon and sun among the Nu-Aruak, as well as in the Bakaïrí legend in which the two heroes are twins. Except that kéri is moon, and káme, kámu, sun, whereas in the Bakaïrí legend Keri is the chief person, Kame usually plays the "fool," and Keri is allotted the sun, Kame the moon. Finally, kamu, sun, seems to be contained in Kamuschini, the oldest person in the legend. It is an important circumstance that tradition is [562] transmitted preferably by the women. Antonio had all the myths from his mother and he told me that this was the rule. In that case a constant differentiation must necessarily be assumed; many alien women were taken into the Bakaïrí tribe in the course of time. In legend Keri appears as the culture hero of the Bakaïrí, Kame as the one of the Arinos tribes. Old Caetano also designated the two simply with the Bakaïrí words for sun and moon in the form of proper names: Tschischi and Nuna. It was amusing enough when he said in Bakaïrí: "Keri took tschischi," and in Portuguese: "Tschischi tomou o sol."

With the two brothers we gradually arrive at the other end of the legend of creation, its termination in the actual ancestor legend or tribal history. After the events in heaven have come to an end, that is to say, after Keri and Kame were born and brought up and accomplished their deeds, to which are owed the possession of daylight, the interchange of heaven and earth, sleep, fire, the rivers, they come to the Paranatinga, move to the old seat of the Bakaïrí at the salto /waterfall/, make various tribes out of arrows, teach festival dances, procure tobacco, mandioca, and the like, and finally depart, never to return.
773 Where in this is the end of pure legend and the beginning of
173 history, from which some actual facts are supposed to have been preserved in the accounts concerning the rivers, concerning the relationship to other tribes, and concerning the origin of cultivated

[P.70-A]

	Houses	Men	Women	Children	Total
175 Rio Novo	6	16	19	20	55
162 Paranatinga	7	6	8	3	17
On Rio Batovi:					
First village	3	10	7	9	26
Second village	4	18	17	7	42
Third village	3	13	12	19	44
Fourth village	7	27	18	8	53
Total	30	90	81	66	237

175 By the time Max Schmidt visited the Bacairí
161 in 1900–1901, the Bacairí settlement had diminished. On the Paranatinga he met 34 Bacairí
[165] and at Rio Novo, 60. On the Kuliseu River where
[361] Von den Steinen had visited four villages, Max Schmidt was able to find only two.

ECONOMY

SHELTER

361 While in the Xingú watershed the Bacairí lived in villages built on the banks of the Rio Kuliseu. A village (*utanári*) consisted of three to eight houses (*towisę́*) built in a circle around a central
342 plaza, *tasére*. The Bacairí house was a large communal building, oblong in shape, with rounded ends and with the roof thatching reaching to the
[592] ground. These large domelike buildings were occupied by three to five families.

346 In the center of every village there was a ceremonial or flute house (*kadoéti*) in which the men kept their ornaments and musical instruments and in which visitors were entertained. Men, women, and children are permitted to enter the *kadoéti*. Attached to the common house there was a smaller building, usually oriented in
[534] the direction of the rising sun, in which the sacred
[562] flutes were kept. Women were not permitted to enter this house, as they were not allowed to see
[487] the sacred flutes. The villages were connected by roads running along the river bank.

EQUIPMENT

251 In the center of each house there was a storage space (*jirdu*) where maize, manioc meal, and
[415] other foods were kept in gourd vessels (*káiko*).
343 Cooking was done in a small shed at the back of
264 the house, but food was eaten indoors. Around
352 the walls each family had its hammocks (*amáka*) in which the people slept. Other furnishings of
[415] the house consisted of mats, baskets, clay pots,

534 nut hulls tied together and fastened to the ankles of the dancers. There were at least four kinds of flutes. The *emíni* flute was made from two pieces of soft sapling hollowed out and fastened together with wax and string. This flute was about 3 feet long with four finger holes and a separate mouthpiece. The *kunagéru* flute was made like the *emíni* but was shorter and had a different sound. Both the *emíni* and the *kunagéru* [256] [346] were sacred flutes of the shamans and were always kept in the sacred flute house connected to the [562] *kadoéti* where they were played only at night so as to prevent women from seeing them. If a woman were to see one of these flutes, misfortune would befall her. When the sacred flutes were played [535] there was dancing but no singing. The *taddnuu* was a bamboo flute made in five different lengths without finger holes and was not sacred. The *nokigóru* was made by fastening four short tubes of bamboo of different lengths together. It was played in pairs, one player answering the other. [533] This flute was not sacred and could be accompanied by singing. In addition to the rattles and flutes, [535] the Bacairí used highly decorated sticks or batons called *kadóapari* in some of their dances.

533 Besides the flutes and the dances performed to 535 their tunes, the Bacairí had songs and their corresponding dances which were not always accompanied by flute music; for instance, the *ortko* was a song and a dance performed with the decorated batons which could be performed at any time; the *pakoeudto*, another general song and dance which also could be performed at any time; the *yawoiadri*, the corn song and dance in which neither the flutes nor batons were used; the *mahulowéri*, performed during the house building ceremony without batons or flutes; and the *poinudto*, sung and danced during the boys' ear piercing ceremony.

527 One of the most important ceremonial events of the year was the annual corn dance (*enjéintabienli*), which was performed when the corn ripened in the fields. The man who had the largest corn crop was the organizer of the ceremony. In order to have enough corn, the Bacairí [243] usually planted special fields, the yields of which were used on this occasion. On the day before [224] the corn gathering all the men went on a big hunt in order to have large quantities of meat ready for the feast. Early in the morning of the following day everyone went out to the fields to

Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25
Waura SP18

of different lengths, closed at one end. Two or three of the pipes are played in unison. Though the intervals between the lowest note and the next two in the scale are well defined, there seems to be but a very slight difference, if any at all, in the pitch of the notes produced by the shorter pipes. This type is used for practicing the music and for personal amusement, but not in ceremonies. They are easily made and are carried about frequently. Though different sets may be pitched differently, the note intervals seem to be the same, at least in the three sets that are in the University Museum collection, though they were collected from the Bakairi, the Naravute and the Kalapalu. [Plate XIX, 7.] Ba Y 105 171 534

In the Yawalapiti village, the two clowns used pipes made of bamboo. Instead of five, they consisted of three pieces, the longest of which measured over one and a half metres. The three notes produced, though different in pitch, corresponded to the three lowest notes produced on the pipes described above. In this particular ceremony, each of the men in turn played what may be called the lead part, while the other played the accompaniment. W 522 534 533

Single end-blown flutes, such as are illustrated in Plate XIX, 6, are common to the entire area. They were seen in the Tsuva, Yawalapiti, and Naravute village, and apparently were known to the Bakairi and to peoples of the other villages. They are made of taquara, and to be played they must be well soaked in water. The upper part is so cut out that when the flute is played the chin rests on it. At the other end, there is a narrow aperture. Four holes control the pitch of the notes. It was noted that the note intervals were the same as those of the Pan's pipes. They are used strictly in the ceremonies, and the sight of them is prohibited to the women, death being feared for failure to observe the taba. However, not only are the women permitted to listen to them, but they are listened to with great pleasure. It was the women that prohibited the men to sell them to us in the Tsuva village, and in the Yawalapiti village, the women pretended to weep when it was decided to let us have them. Three flutes are played together in the ceremony. Both the flutes and the office of playing them in the ceremonies seem to be inherited. Ba Y 534 105 171 Y Ba [781 562] W [425 562 152]

Another flute, smaller than the above mentioned, was obtained at the Yawalapiti village; it differs from the others in that close to the top W 534

[text continues on p. 163]

/125/

648 Carlotta showed us the captain's commission (from 1882) of her absent husband. As a seal an imitation gold capsule with a bas-relief cross, which had lost its shine, was set on a piece of pink ribbon; in addition, a chest bow in the Brazilian colors.

584 553 Luis, whose new house is not yet finished, is hospitably taken in by Carlotta, who, during Felipe's absence, claims most of the space; his real affection, however, is for his namesake, 837 Luiza Cajibí. He said that he and Maria Cajibí had had a little son who had died. "And did Miguel know about it?" I asked timidly. "Oh, he," replied the vain mulatto, whose face in comparison with that of the Indians is like roasted coffee as against unroasted, "he was completely in favor of the affair and, of course, he immediately knew of the Brazilian descent of the child by its light skin and its hair."

•563 Luis is extremely satisfied with his life among the Bakaíri who are so far beneath him; he says that he has everything that he needs, does not owe anybody a copper, and the Indians are [829] good people; later on he would perhaps like to go to Lisbon, because, according to what a friend told him, it must be the most 123 beautiful city in the world. He was impertinent enough to interfere with quite unjustifiable demands in the transaction concerning the delivery of rice which Daniel had made with Caetano on the first day. Daniel, who is easily aroused, seized his comblain and hit him over the head with the butt; the philosopher hastily bolted on his long brown legs and, standing bent over in the doorway of the chief's hut, exchanged a flood of compliments with Daniel, while that good creature, old Captain Mêmo, in his tattered, coarse cotton suit, which apparently came from the prison, squatted on the floor and stared forward with a friendly expression.

Our idyll was unpleasantly interrupted on 1 July by the news that Tupy had appeared the evening before at the fazenda. On the way he had met the men sent back by us, commanded them to return, and rode on ahead of them. The sergeant, hunting pigs, had lost the correspondence in the forest.

/13 cont./

161 Going on from the Rio Preto Bakairí, on whom we do not have more precise data than that they were few, the remaining Bakairí population and, especially, those of the Rio Paranatinga was also very scant in this period. As Karl von den Steinen, [114] on his second expedition to the Xingu River in the year 1887, [175] did not have the opportunity to visit the Bakairí of the Rio Novo, we have no precise data concerning their population in this year. We only know that their population three years earlier, in the year 1884, was 55, among whom were 16 men, 19 women, [131] and 20 children. In the same year the population of the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí was much smaller because these Indians had been hit, some six years before, by a measles epidemic. The entire population of the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí at the time consisted of only 10 men, eight women, and four children, of whom five men, three women, and a boy were /14/ absent, [563] and some of these were not expected to return.(9) This number

9. Karl v.d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 120. Idem., Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens, loc. cit., p. 25.

is increased, however, if we add the two Paressí women and the two Kayabí women who were married to Bakairí men. When Karl von den Steinen visited this Bakairí village again, in the year 1887, one Bakairí man had died in the interval, some had moved to the ranches, and no increase by birth had occurred. If we add up the above-mentioned figures and include the four Paressí and Kayabí women, the total number for all the Bakairí of the Rio Novo and the Rio Paranatinga reaches 81 individuals.

175 The above-mentioned aldeas of the western Bakairí were 622 at this time under the Indian Superintendent in Cuiabá, and the 648 administration of the state of Mato Grosso has exerted repeated influence on the various Bakairí units, increasing the authority of the caciques or strengthening it with insignia. Thus Cacique

/16 cont./

174 correspond to those of their western fellow countrymen. From
184 the fact that the names of the two legendary heroes, Keri and
648 Kame, who represent in Bakairí legends the sun and the moon,
793 are not words of the Bakairí language (which belongs to the
177 Karaíb /Carib/ group) but words of the Aruak /Arawak/ linguistic group, it follows that the Paressí, who belong to this linguistic group, were, in this case, the authors of these legends rather than the Bakairí, and thus that the legends of the Paranatinga Bakairí were influenced by the Paressí; just as the Bakairí are mentioned in the legends of the Paressí, the latter are also mentioned in the legends of the Bakairí. According to Paressí legends, the Bakairí, or Matokoso as they are called by them, belong with other enemy tribes to the kin group of Chinikálore (Tchenikauré according to Karl v. d. Steinen), the big jaguar, who killed his brother Kamázo and the latter's wife, but then became the victim of Uakomo, the son of Kamázo, who avenged his father when he grew up. (17) We also find

17. Ibid., p. 431.

this tale of Chinikálore in the texts of Paressí legends. In these legends Chinikálore, from whose six arrows the Bakairí were born, appears as a distinctly hostile hero. Thus it may be assumed that the Bakairí, who belonged to his kin group, were also enemies of the Paressí. On this basis, relations between the Bakairí and the Paressí were already hostile in former times, and this hostility still persisted at the time of /17/ Karl von den Steinen's expeditions. Some years earlier, the Bakairí had
175 attacked the Paressí on the road that leads to Diamantino, to
722 capture their women, and had killed many of them /i.e.,
729 Paressí men/. (18) As already mentioned above, besides the
[563]

18. Ibid., p. 438.

two Kayabí women, two Paressí women were also living among

175 /17 cont./
722 the Paranatinga Bakairí, one of whom, named Charlotta, was
727 the wife of Cacique Felipe. To the influence of such women,
[563] captured in hostile encounters with the Paressí, we must
[177] attribute, in the first place, the extensive assimilation of the legends of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga River. (19)

19. Ibid., p. 365.

173 According to the statements of the western Bakairí, the
166 origin of the Bakairí who live in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River was due to the fact that, as a result of quarrels among the Bakairí, who were still living in former times by the falls, part of them broke away and emigrated to the Rio Kulisehu. (20) We do not know whether this represents

20. Ibid., p. 391.

a historical fact or merely legendary superstitions of the
175 Paranatinga Bakairí. For lack of any objective knowledge of the presence of these Indians in former times on the two tributaries of the Xingu River, the Batovy and the Kulisehu, and for lack of any statements about their former life by these /Indians/ themselves, the history of these eastern Bakairí begins only at the time of Karl von den Steinen's first expedition to the Xingu River in the year 1884, which brought attention upon them for the first time and was their first historical event. As for the first effects of this event, so important for the subsequent fate of the eastern Bakairí, Karl von den Steinen was already able to recognize them himself and make use of them in his
175 section "History of the Bakairí." The first mutual visits be-
619 tween the Bakairí of the Paranatinga and their fellow country-men on the Rio Batovy marked the beginning of relations between these two Bakairí groups. In what follows we shall deal
[128] with the manner in which these relations gradually increased, extending also to the Bakairí of the Rio Kulisehu and influencing

/80/

Seventh Chapter

000 March from Cuyabá to the Docile Bakaïrí on the Rio Novo

/Pages 80-98 are omitted in the translation./

/98/

132 14 June. 6:40 A.M.: dry. 18.9, wet. 18.2, strat. 8, S 2-3. Like yesterday, the south wind brings low-moving cloud masses.

122 Today the men are ready very quickly; off shortly before seven o'clock in the morning.

[137] [487] Predominantly meadow, a narrow, hard path leads through it, on which one can merrily trot. A number of oxen greet us as the first emissaries. A wide expanse of campo has been freshly burned off; it is said that wild animals like to seek out these "quemadas" /see the glossary, p. 172 / because of the salty [136] ashes. A number of curicacas (ibis); in the distance an ostrich, which Pedro and the dogs pursue in vain.

361 At nine o'clock we see the "aldeamento"[1] /see the glossary, p.170 / of the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ in the distance; four houses; the sunshine gives the illusion of slate roofs; a few naked torsos hasten inside, clothed persons step outside. In the immediate [342] vicinity the settlement shrinks to actual palm-straw huts.

622 /99/ Daniel is on the spot and introduces us to "Captain Reginaldo." Reginaldo da Silva Nogueira, from the walnut forest /Nusswald/. A man in his forties with a broad chest, long, curly black hair, a friendly look, but silent; hat, shirt, trousers in good condition.

574 General handshaking. A half dozen, mostly young, broad-shouldered men, likewise in their Sunday best, sit on the fence of the cattle yard. The crown of creation is absent. -- Gradually the procession draws up, and everyone settles down at home. By way of greeting, sugar cane is sucked and a swallow of liquor permitted.

[1] [i.e. village -- Analyst]

/125/

648 Carlotta showed us the captain's commission (from 1882) of her absent husband. As a seal an imitation gold capsule with a bas-relief cross, which had lost its shine, was set on a piece of pink ribbon; in addition, a chest bow in the Brazilian colors.

●574 553 Luis, whose new house is not yet finished, is hospitably taken in by Carlotta, who, during Felipe's absence, claims most of the space; his real affection, however, is for his namesake, 837 Luisa Cajibí. He said that he and Maria Cajibí had had a little son who had died. "And did Miguel know about it?" I asked timidly. "Oh, he," replied the vain mulatto, whose face in comparison with that of the Indians is like roasted coffee as against unroasted, "he was completely in favor of the affair and, of course, he immediately knew of the Brazilian descent of the child by its light skin and its hair."

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/159 cont./

262 It contributed no little to the enhancement of the holiday
574 mood that plenty of beijús, as well as puvas /see the glossary, p. 172/, brick-like pieces of dried mandioca pulp, and, above
[272] all, mingaus /see the glossary, p. 171/ were served. Everyone was separately offered in large bowls three kinds: a whitish, thin, scarcely refreshing beaten paste of starch flour, another, yellow one, tasting of squash, and a third one, warm and pleasantly sweet, toward which everyone crowded in order to grant the palate this half forgotten quality of sensation.

609 Most delightful was the absolutely equal treatment that was given us and the soldiers. Chico, this African ape-man, even seemed to impress the little people particularly, and he, like all the others, leaning on his gun, accepted the homage with great dignity and drank in enormous draughts.

It cannot be said that the barbarians actually expressed great astonishment. In general they did not pay any attention to skin color and beard; true, they admired the clothing, the knives, the opera glass, but as children who are not experiencing this for the first time do with their presents at Christmas. A
[152] demonstration shot filled them with terror; the women ran away, the men winced and, puzzled, joined in the laughter when they saw our gaiety. To avoid a repetition, however, they urgently begged "ǎla, ǎla -- it is enough." At the strange /160/ appearance of our dogs the professor was so frightened that he manifested the best intention of shooting them dead.

12 August.

437 The Bakaïrí paid us a return visit with wife and child. They
439 were heavily laden with beijús. Soon an enthusiastic barter with the soldiers was in progress; the latter bartered for arrows or feathers and puvas in exchange for buttons and worn articles of clothing. The buttons, which could be strung on the belt-string, were highly prized. The guests, however, especially preferred
[554] knives, plates, and spoons. The tribal sorceress ran about busily; in vain she speculated on a cooking pot, which she excitedly examined from all sides; but she won a spoon, a tin plate, and

/168 cont./

126 During the night there was heavy dew; in the forenoon we dried Wilhelm's things; it is a pity the way the drawings look, the sheets are stuck together and bent. How could we have brought photographic chemicals through here?

136 At 1:00 in the afternoon slowly off. Several times a sandy shore 20 meters wide; masaricos, small black-white, red-legged shore-birds. Numerous traces of the tracajá turtle; the people poke in the sand with an arrow or generally simply follow the tracks of the tracajá and with their hands dig up the shallow pit that shows the impression of their bodies. In one nest there are 17 eggs, in another 15; the egg is white and gradually shades to gray; 4.9 centimeters long, 3.2 centimeters wide. Temperature of the sand 57°.4. The verdict about the empty nests, merely in passing by, is often: "Here the lizard has fed."

It is wondrously summer-like: current, sun, charming leafy shores, yellow butterflies, and no mosquitoes or wasps. Many novatos. Endless meanderings; we covered about two legoas.

Valentin caught a large pintado fish; see the glossary, p. 171/; Satyr was almost pulled out of the canoe by a pirahyba that was supposedly as long as he was. Loud buzzing and chirping in the night air. The sabiá was singing.

122 17 Aug. φ 13° 7'.3, λ 6'.1, km. 0.57, total 142.32.
132 6:35 A.M.: dry. 11.3, water 23.5.
7:30 P.M.: II 732.0, dry. 21.0.

Shivering I awoke during the night and believed that I had [361] fever. It was the cold. Very soon we arrived in the harbor of the second village.

227 A fisherman's hut lies at the entrance of the forest; here are baskets shaped somewhat like an elongated spiked helmet, into which, from the inner rim, a small collecting funnel with a narrow 487 opening leads inside. The path stretches inland one legoa and is very similar to the one from the first village.

574 After a few steps we were received by two good acquaintances from Aldea I, who had gone overland to announce us to their fellows. One of them in blue trousers and red striped shirt, the

/168 cont./

574 other, the professor, naked, but, along with bow and arrow, one of our mirrors in his hand. We were undoubtedly well recommended.

532 Shortly before the exit from the woods we came across a wonderful display of about a dozen animal figures along one side of the path, /169/ probably the remains from a festival. They were made of leaves and straw, mostly quadrupeds with long, thin bodies, consisting of practically nothing but spinal column and long legs; the tallest ones reached to our hips. Something that was evidently supposed to be a monkey was climbing up a pole. A human figure was incised in a tree, with roguish use of a depression present in the bark. Such is the beginning of art in the primeval forest.

361 After we had passed a roça and low shrub planting, we saw
[241] four huts, two large ones and two small ones, lying correspondingly opposite each other. The nobility was assembled on the
574 plaza; a friendly "am(b)á" (that is you) with raised hand wel-
[576] comed each one. Then, one after the other, we were grasped
[345] at the wrists by our hosts, mostly by two at the same time, and led before the festival hut, where beam and stool were ready./ Here we sat is long rows with our guns, and immediately the serving of mingau began. Then we did our tricks, cut nails,
[123] let them look through the opera glasses, lighted a match with fire steel, etc. The professor beamed; he was reaping honor with us.

[301] A sturdy young man, a diadem of stiff jaguar skin over his
[624] forehead, seemed to be acting as herald. He poured busily, screamed louder than the others, and grasped everything most quickly. I had the feeling that we were traveling circus artists and were being informally received and treated in a club. One
302 of the younger sportsmen had had his body painted with black
531 squares, which were joined at the edges with short lines. The drawing on the upper thigh of another -- a black wavy line and in the depressions of it black dots -- definitely resembled the skin marking of a fish, the pintado.

/57 cont./

487 the northeast a wide path through tall sapé grass, with which the
[824 houses are covered, to the river rapids below, toward the south
361] a path to the mandioca planting, and everywhere tall forest moved in close to the inhabited and planted clearing.

162 The community numbered nine men, seven women, five
621 children. The names of the men were: Tumayaua, the chief,
551 our guide, who was primarily responsible for the planting (Pl.
[463] 6).[2] Paleko, his father, a charming old gentleman, with whom I struck up a close friendship and who in his declining years plaited baskets and fish weirs, Alakuai, the shrewd carpenter and canoe-builder, Awia, the painter, Yapü, the fat one, Kalawaku, the modest one, and the young men Kulekule,
[574] Luchu (Pl. 6), and Pauhaga. After a few days a couple of visitors came from the second village, among them one whose parents had died young and who therefore -- had no name.

The names of the women were not to be discovered: "pekóto úra" was the regular answer, "I am a woman." Thus
162 I have had to /58/ invent my own designations here; there was,
621 as always, an old woman who had a great deal to say and who, with her lean wrinkled body, was not exactly beautiful, the "tribal witch," Paleko's wife (see Pl. 5, left).[2] Her antithesis was her granddaughter "Eva," Tumayaua's daughter, mother of two children and the youthful wife of the muscular, magnificently strongly built Kulekule, who, before I knew his name, seemed to me worthy of being called "Adam" in this little paradise and also possessed a fine yellowish-red loam color.
[142] Eva had a finely chiseled European face with full lips, pale rosy cheeks which were closely framed with wavy hair, and the most beautiful eyes that I saw in Brazil -- and that is saying not a little -- large eyes whose sweet /Fig. 2 appears here/ glance contained no coquetry at all, but in whose radiant fire, with a full, naïvely tender upward glance, glowed that spark of innocent lust that must once upon a time have kindled the eternal fires of the universe; thus, with a body never mistreated by any lacing, she really looked like a young Mother Eva. Unfortunately, she scratched her head far too often,

[2] [See P. 40--Analyst]
[2] [See P. 28--Analyst]

/59 cont./

231 rafters of the smoke vent, and, if he suddenly shot down and raced around us like a wild animal, he was quickly chased back to his observation post, where he looked down, his head bent inquisi-
224 tively and his beak open. /60/ Sometimes one of the little mice
[262] so busily active at night came spying about and, if it did not scamper away in time, was shot with a child's arrow and brought
136 to the women as a roast. Almost constant guests were large black-white striped bees, which, like a butterfly that now and then fluttered into the entrance, would calmly let themselves be seized and put aside. On a hot noonday I often had the feeling of sitting in the midst of a beehive filled with buzzing and droning.

123 It was at this hour on the third day that I fled from the bees
[342] and flies to Paleko's large house and entered it for the first time. It was wonderfully cool and comfortable in there and no annoying insects. Only ants laden with grains of flour marched
[517] down their street to the mandioca pestle. The men were swing-
[574] ing in the hammocks, their chief occupation at home, and
[352] after I had sat a while, for the sake of politeness, on the stool of honor, which was as high as a cigar box, I soon followed their example.

342 One had the feeling of being in a huge beehive, fortunately without the bees. The ground plan was almost circular with a diameter of 15 meters; two mighty posts standing nine meters high and three and a half meters apart, supported in the center the huge straw dome, the framework of which consisted of horizontal bamboo rings and over these vertical poles bent upward toward the vent. It was smoke-blackened, glistening like tar. The walling all around, above which it rose, a tightly closed ring of posts one and a half meters high, interrupted only by two door entrances opposite each other, which were much
[352] too low for me. From the wall towards the interior, in the direction of the radii, the hammocks were stretched, fastened on either end to particularly strong posts, so that the outer space
353 was divided into a number of rooms, albeit open. The large center space around the main posts and under the vent, which

/85 cont./

000 brought three large fat barbados, which traveled to the grill and well deserved being eaten, even at the witching hour, in the scenery of the roaring waterfall gloriously illuminated by the moon.

122 On 2 October we set out at 6:30 and reached the Bakaïrí harbor at 2:15. Good Paleko was already standing there with a bowl of mandioca paste. Wilhelm and I immediately went to the
123 village. It was very entertaining /86/ to observe how one welcoming scene followed the other, since the canoes arrived at intervals; new guests, again and again new excitement, and a new rushing forth out of the flute-house, where we sat amidst beijús
302 and calabashes. Some of the people had adorned themselves festively with colored designs. Kulekule had decorated his face and upper body with orange-red lines and dots, my intended had red serpentine lines on her upper thighs, the Egyptian a red forehead and nose, Tumayaua's small grandchildren were daubed and smeared black, their mother Eva appeared with her hair and skin
301 powdered white from her beijú work. Good-natured Awiã wore a cake knife, that is, a beijú turner, in her hair in a curious fashion.

628 There were also foreign visitors present from Village II and
●574 III; we counted 18 hammocks in Paleko's house and 13 in Tumayaua's
126 houses. Ehrenreich was taking photographs. For each shot the models were compensated with a few beads. They were somewhat afraid, but the beads conquered the fear of danger. The women's group on Plate 5,[1] was obtained only with difficulty. The women had let themselves be positioned and arranged, and Ehrenreich was on the point of exposing the plate, when they suddenly discovered their mirrored images in the lens and, astonished, fell upon the apparatus in order to examine it more closely. The photographer in dire distress! Tumayaua had gained possession of a useless plate of glass -- "páru," water - and with it, following Vogel's directions, he set the first window in the straw dome of his house.

123 On this fine day I wanted to present a gift of honor to my hosts. Two young ladies of Berlin had given me a pretty blond doll to bring along, which they themselves had fitted out with a

[1] [see p. 28--Analyst]

/88 cont./

361 The village could be reached in half an hour or an hour from
311 the river, depending on whether one landed sooner or later. It was surrounded by cultivated land to an extent that aroused our
241 greatest astonishment. On the three different paths that we followed, we came through long stretches where the forest had been cut down with the stone ax. In March and April the trees are felled and in September and October the wood which has dried in the meantime is burned. We examined with admiration a number of thick trunks, the cross-sections of which were covered with the dull blow-marks of the stone axes, and regretted that we could not saw off such a marked surface and take it along. I silently begged forgiveness of the Indians at whom I had often laughed when they were swinging themselves in their hammocks at home, as though their lives were one long Sunday.

361 /89/ In Iguéti there were three large family-houses and a
345 very respectable flute-house in which many dance costumes made
535 of palm straw were hanging. On the village plaza a cage rose
343 up higher than a house, which consisted of long poles set together
231 in the form of a pointed cone; in it sat a mighty Harpia destructor, although the village is called igu-eti = sparrow-hawk village.
231 The once heraldic bird had probably long since departed. The beautiful eagle was named after its favorite food, mégo-zóto, lord
412 of the monkeys. Beside the chief's house lay a large whetstone
[171] for the stone axes; it gave me much pleasure because it showed the same grooves that we had observed in the sambaquis of Sta. Catharina.

621 The community numbered some 40 persons. They spoke of
162 three chiefs, but we met in this capacity only the good-natured,
622 very broad-shouldered Aramöke, who was characterized by a waddling walk. He had a sly expression and with his clumsy body was very polite, for, striding ahead of me in the forest, he broke off the branches, which might have snapped back in my face, more graciously than he probably would have for a woman. A large knife and a red scarf made him the happiest of mortals.
● 574 He showed us great hospitality. Fresh golden beijús were con-
437 stantly brought forth, a row of calabashes filled with pogu were

/89 cont./

574 always standing ready, a thin, very sweet püserego was offered
[437] in superabundance, and for our beads we obtained a supply of fine polvilho flour for the journey.

462 The women baking away so busily seemed to us small and ugly, but friendly. They fetched water only accompanied by men.

535 When I was in Iguéti the first time on 20 September with Vogel and Ehrenreich, we experienced a strange scene which I should like to insert here. We were sitting in the flute-house in the evening when a few came in, squatted down beside the ashes of the fire, and uttered a loud ih... Then a couple of others put on the straw apparel hanging there and ran around for a while like roaring lions. I believed it to be pure fun and pastime, but all of them remained perfectly serious. Then one of the maskers ran outside while the chorus again cried ih...hi, stuck his arms out of the straw, and made a rustling sound with the fringe. He disappeared into a house and soon came out again, laden with beijú and fish. The same thing was repeated, and Luchu was the third to go, returning with drink. The departure was always announced by the general ih..., so that the people in the houses were prepared. Since the straw apparel covers the entire body down to the feet, the person that hides in it cannot be recognized.

/90/ Later in the evening three men started to sing. They
[534] stepped close to the door entrance of the flute-house, and, to be sure, in such a way that they turned their backs to the rest of us; two of them shook the gourd rattle, which differs from our first cradle toy only in the material, and the third stamped in steady
[533] perseverance with his right foot. The three sang: ĩhaí, ĩháĩĩ huχó, ihaí ohuhoχõ.... Perhaps the eternal huχu, huχo is nothing but the word for "foot," which, pupu in ancient Karaibe, changed phonetically to χuχu, huχu. It was a solemn, almost melancholy sounding, but very powerful "makanari," as the Bakaïrí call their festival songs. Ehrenreich was very impatient with the invariable, unchanging monotony of the singing, rattling, and stamping; for my part, however, I can only say that the very sameness made an impression on me and in a way intoxicated

/91 cont./

133 Tumayaua declared that he had heard them shout. It is probable
[101] that the fire glow which we had repeatedly noticed in the east, and which had been regularly observed in the evening at Independencia, came from them. Barely an hour later, the Kewayeli, about 12 meters wide, flowed in from the left. On both banks queimada and plantings.

484 From the second village Tumayaua had taken along as a companion Pakurali, a short, stocky old man who did not look as though he were a great sorcerer, and whom we, with a lack of
[482] respect, called the "cab driver." They did not have much luggage with them and easily packed it into the mayakus, their
[286] back-baskets for carrying loads. They had taken along on the journey, not cotton hammocks, but hammocks made of palm fiber, which are lighter and dry quickly if they become wet. /92/ The two made rapid progress, even though they were bent on fishing at every favorable spot. We had let the great sorcerer sniff a bottle of ammonia, which had horrified him no little. After that he could no longer be enticed to smell any of our things. If one of us calls from a corner that it stinks there, everybody runs over and sniffs.

103 To the Third Bakaïrí Village (Kuyaqualiéti).

361 The harbor at which we arrived at 4:45 lay at the end of a lateral inlet and would not have been found without a guide.

The next morning, 6 October, we departed at 7:00 for the village and reached it in three-quarters of an hour on the usual
[532] winding forest-trail. On the way we saw a large human figure carved in tree bark, with three fingers on the hands and stump-like feet.

Harpia village, "kuyaquali-éti," also had only three houses and a flute-house, but was the liveliest of the three villages.
162 I counted 31 men and just about as many women and children.
621 Some of the latter, however, had run into the woods. There
574 were probably about 100 souls in the village. The chief, Porisa,
622 was a small, friendly gentleman; he had had beijú baked at night.

/92 cont./

● 574 night. We sat down in the middle of the large plaza in a long row. Each one was brought a drinking bowl; the largest, along
574 with a cigar, fell to me. Speeches of welcome were now ex-
576 changed with great volubility.

ámа, you = that is you. ehẽ úra, yes, I = indeed, that is I. bakaïrí úra, I (am a) Bakaïrí. kχaráiba úra, I (am a) Karaibe. bakaïrí kχúra, (the) Bakaïrí (are) good. kχaráiba iwakulukúlu, (the) Karaiben (are) very good. pí ma áma? (are) you (the) chief? píma úra, I (am the) chief.

123 Opposite each Karaiben squatted a Bakaïrí and admired him and what he wore. The Swedish matches, knives, mirrors, buttons, beads -- it was always the same routine. Except that in the case of Porisa it was my notebook that was most appreciated, and it was not the written pages or those covered with drawings, but the white, empty sheets that elicited exclamations of delight from him. We also strode about the plaza in pairs, arm in arm, in affable conversation. We studied the geographical distribution of the Kulisehu tribes in detail, but the dwelling places of the Trumaí still remained as obscure as before.

345 The flute-house was large and spacious, its roof dilapidated, much straw lay on the floor inside, and here, as in the houses, we missed the cleanliness which pleased us so in the other vil-
534 lages. In front of the flute-house, resting on cross-sticks, lay a
[532] huge hollow tree-trunk -- a morcego (bat) tree our men called it -- /93/ irregularly painted with human figures and fish vertebrae. During festivals they drummed on this giant instrument with thick wooden clubs, similar to the mandioca pestles.

535 Inside there were handsome masks and a new form of dance costume; two huge crinolines ten meters in circumference, covered with straw, and comparable to small huts, koálu, which
126 the dancer wore on a ring on his shoulder. Soon enthusiastic
301 barter was under way everywhere. We obtained fine feather
237 ornaments, crowns made of arara feathers, which are light blue
534 on one side, yellow on the other, dainty mats in which they are
283

/238 cont./

*171 283 it is often made of wood, and only among the Bakaïrí does it consist of an ordinary, crude clay disk which might have been broken out of the bottom of an old pot and ground to shape.

[531] /239/ I shall speak later of the designs incised on the first two types mentioned; the Bakaïrí leave their wood and clay disks undecorated, and we did not find any tortoise-shell whorls among them. The women powdered their upper thighs with white, chalky clay for protection against perspiration. They kept the material in the form of balls the size of a child's head, from which they scraped off a little with a shell for use.

The thread is made in two or three different thicknesses and kept in balls which are wrapped in green leaves. The balls [431] are popular hospitable gifts of the Bakaïrí and Mehinakú, which [574] were given to us likewise at the reception, just as Columbus reports this in the case of his islanders on 12 October 1492.

*171 286 The "loom" is as primitive as can be. Two low posts, which need not be half a meter high, a good distance apart, that is all. The origin of the weaving from the plaiting is still clearly evident. A thick skein of cotton is wound around the posts as a warp, a thread without end; the cross-threads are pulled through with guide sticks.

286 352 The Bakaïrí hammock represents a rather loose net, long, rectangular, two and a third meters by one and a quarter meters. The rows running lengthwise are broken at irregular intervals of two to three and a half centimeters by transverse rows; one can easily stick one's finger through the interstices. The type of weave is very simple. Two longitudinal threads, two to three millimeters thick, are wound around each time through the thinner transverse threads which are only one millimeter thick, and, to be sure, there are four transverse threads, of which two run wave-like in front of, and two in back of, the longitudinal threads, crossing between the latter. Where the transverse threads come out on either side, they are knotted; thus on each longitudinal side one finds some 70 knots with the four cut-off ends of the threads. The loop left free on either post is wound in the center, so that, on the one hand, an eyelet to receive the suspension

/333 cont./

*171 437 Bakaïrí translated the Portuguese word comprar, "to buy," as yekadile, "to sit down." Trade is therefore still an exchange of hospitable gifts. But this has its origin only in the level of culture, *171 ● 574 577 not in nobility of character. The Indian is not at all hospitable in the sense that he feels greatly honored by the visit and feels absolutely obliged to entertain lavishly with beijûs and drinks. For this effort he would certainly like a reciprocal one; he soon becomes impatient if the guest is staying only because living is cheap, and he frankly asks him to leave the village. It is even reported in the Bakaïrí legends, along with the invention of the dance, that the people who were invited and entertained had given gifts of arrows and string. Our travel companions undoubtedly offered us fish en route /334/ only when they themselves were satisfied, and it was not the best beijûs which they left for us. [186] The endless talk among themselves as to whether this or that tribe was "kûra" clearly shows that they were only naïvely hospitable; there was always the greatest gratification when we declared a tribe to be "kurápa," because this meant that for our part we had done less business with that one. They praised themselves far too much for the recipient to be able to believe in the pure virtue of the unselfish savage.

*171 123 437 Our matter-of-fact, businesslike way of exchanging one object for another was at first completely new to all the tribes. They quickly learned, however. Nevertheless, the funniest enormities occurred. One man gathered up a handful of mangabas and then impetuously demanded a large knife. One wanted to have beads in exchange for the bandaging of his hand. Only if it were explained to them that one had but a single specimen of an object was one not bothered further.

*171 55 [558] Names. The son, soon after birth, is given the name of the grandfather, uncle, or an ancestor, not that of the father. The names among the Bakaïrí are animal names in part, but I believe only a small part. The following are the only ones whose meaning I understand: Luchu, for example, is a water snake; the native name of Chief Reginaldo on the Rio Novo was izána = cayman; an old man in Igueti was named pône = black piranha.

/21 cont./

701 disturb the Brazilian *campesinos* in these regions. According to
648 Herrmann Meyer (28) they had already wreaked serious destruction

> 28. Herrmann Meyer, "Bericht uber seine zweite Xingú-Expedition," *loc. cit.*, pp. 115 and 116.

in the region of the *Serra Trombador* and killed several inhabitants. At the time of my stay on the Corrego Fundo ranch, the Kayabí had penetrated the mountains above the Rio Paranatinga up to some six leagues from Corrego Fundo and attacked Cacique Antonio as he was looking for rubber with his people for Señor Jange Soares, the owner of the ranch. But Antonio had driven them back with his armed people and killed a Kayabí on this occasion.

622 Cacique Antonio's big house where I visited him had been
342 built a year earlier. It consisted of a large middle room which communicated on the left side of the entrance with two other rooms which formed the dwelling house proper of the cacique and Doña Rosa, and on the right side with a large room for guests that fulfilled exactly the functions of the house for fiestas
622 of the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River regions. All the men
342 and boys of the *aldea* could go in and out of it as they pleased.
574 This room also served for dancing, and during my stay in it,
[302] from time to time, some Xinguanos would enter, their faces
[533] painted in red and black, and sing their monotonous melodies
[535] as they danced around the post set in the middle of the room.
[352] Cacique Antonio's own dwelling already had at this time quite
[123] a modern appearance. In the "dining room" there was a table and a large armchair as well as dishes and spoons, and I was entertained at his table in the Brazilian manner with a dish of
622 meat with rice and flour. He obviously enjoyed renewing old
115 memories of the journeys he had made with Karl von den Steinen. He looked with great interest at Karl von den Steinen's works about his travels and, on his part, showed me some photographs

/261 cont./

352 The Bakairí slept in hammocks, amaka, woven of palm fiber.
415 Their furnishings can be summed up as benches of a solid
285 piece of wood, clay pots, mats and baskets. The diet rests
262 upon manioc, piquí, sweet potatoes, maize, and fish. How-
224 ever, the hunting of monkeys, wild pig, tapir, and other ani-
241 mals was not scorned. Most of the food reserves, however, were of vegetable origin, and the most important harvests were made up of manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, and piquí. Yams /czrá/, cotton, urucú, and tobacco were also planted.

342 The occupants of a communal house worked together on
476 the building of a new house, acquiring thereby the right to
622 reside in it. This construction work, however, was led by the individual who had the most prestige in the group, usually the old head of the house, who thus set himself up as the head of
241 the new house. The tasks of clearing fields and planting
406 generally depended on the participation of all the aldea. When
529 beginning a new clearing, the Bakairí would give a feast, kométe, with the distribution of food to the Indians who worked
501 on the field. The Bakairí made canoes from the bark of the
824 jatobá tree, in the Xinguano way. This construction, as well
182 as fishing, hunting, and agricultural activities, were accompanied by propitiatory rituals.

437 Their products were bartered among neighboring groups
574 in the course of visits called tuliki which depended on the presence of the chiefs of both aldeas. After the exchange of the objects desired, the visitors were honored with a feast called tulake.

621 /262/ The Bakairí were not a warlike people, and their
181 political organization does not seem very elaborate. Each
622 aldea had a chief, pima, assisted by a subchief, itáida. The
624 Bakairí do not remember the existence of a chief for the whole
643 tribe, and there is no evidence that such a figure ever existed. The selection of the itáida was made by means of agreement of the aldea, but it generally fell on the son of the pima himself. The pima's functions were chiefly ceremonial, economic, and juridical.

/267 cont./

756 In regard to initiation, Karl von den Steinen tells us that
[262] the candidate had to subsist solely on starch broth, hit himself
[785] continually on the head, and at the same time scratch his arms and chest until blood ran. (14) On the other hand,

14. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., pp. 440-441.

[276] Capistrano de Abreu relates that the novice had to swallow "drugs such as timbo, pindova, vaimbé, and other cipos" and learn the language of karoui. On the day of the initiation the candidate would go for a walk with his master, who gave him the infusion to drink. (15)

15. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 235-238.

796 The Bakairí had quite an elaborate ceremonial system, as may be inferred from the information obtained /268/ the Indians of Simões Lopes. Dancing and singing were done not only when there was an abundance of food or when economic activities permitted it, but especially at times such as the maize harvest, or the occasion when the ears of the boys about to be secluded were pierced, or at times of the celebration of the tadaunúto, or end of the uanki state, the building of houses, the beginning of the clearing of a field, or finally the distribution of cotton among the women. On those occasions
[574] neighboring groups were invited and the festivities lasted for
534 days. Bakairí musical instruments consisted of bamboo flutes and bells for the feet made of piquí shells. The informants recalled four kinds of flutes: enimi and kanagera, sacred flutes kept hidden from the eyes of women and children, and tadãua
[531] and nakigoro, used in secular festivities. The Bakairí also had gourds filled with seeds or stones, called pako, and wooden sticks decorated with geometric designs.

Bacairí

323 pots are quite distinct from the pottery of the Indians living on the Upper Paraguay River. Bacairí pots are flat-bottomed and have straight vertical walls with everted rims. The pots in common use were, and still are, black in color, unglazed, and undecorated. Some of the pots [532] been were made in the forms of frogs, turtles, fish, and birds. The Bacairí claim that they [531] formerly had decorated pottery called *awápe*, painted with black, gray, red, and brown designs.

476 The Bacairí also had economic activities in which the whole village, or a number of communal houses, participated. The *kemétí*, or col- 241 476 lective land clearing, was one of these. A man would invite a large number of relatives and friends to assist him in clearing a new piece of forest land. The women would participate by pre- [262] paring large amounts of food and honey beverage 423 476 for the workers. The new field would remain the property of the man who initiated the *kemétí*, obligating him to work in return if called upon, but sometimes the group of men who cleared the field would divide it among them.

342 476 House building was always an enterprise in which the whole village took part. The group that was interested in raising the house cut the beams and poles necessary for the framework and prepared large quantities of food. While a certain number of men began to put up the framework, others went to gather grass for thatching. When they returned with the thatching they put [538] on their ceremonial decorations and danced the *wakulumíri* dance. House building was thus not only an economic act but also a ceremonial occasion.

286 476 Hammock weaving was, at times, a collective enterprise. A woman with a larger than usual cotton crop distributed cotton among her friends and when the work was completed she organized a feast and dance.

437 628 574 [622] Ceremonial trading expeditions (*tulíki*) were organized by the chief of the village. During the rainy seasons, when the rivers were high and canoe travel easy, the men of a village would collect whatever excess goods they had, such as bows, baskets, ornaments, hammocks, and even food, and would go to a neighboring village where the chief would receive them before the ceremonial house. The two chiefs would then supervise the exchange of commodities. After the trading was

[P. 73-A] After the trade-up year

over the chiefs organized wrestling matches between teams of the two villages. Before the visitors left, a feast (*tuiki*, swallow feast) was given in their honor. The motives for these trading expeditions were both economic and ceremonial. They were organized by a chief when the villagers actually required certain economic goods, but even when there was no economic need, goods were exchanged and the men of the two villages participated in wrestling, dancing, and feasting.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Bacairi claim not to have been a warlike people. They defended themselves if attacked, but say that they did not attack others. Each village had a chief (*ptwa*) who was assisted by an *itiide*. There was no chief for the whole tribe. The *itiide*, who was a young man, was selected by the chief with the consent of the villagers. The *itiide* could be the son of the chief but this is not a requirement, for any able young man was eligible for this position. At the death of the chief the *itiide* succeeded him.

The principal functions of the chief were economic, judicial, and ceremonial. As we have seen, the chief organized trading expeditions and participated in such activities as collective planting and house building. He also represented the people of his village when visitors arrived or when his own village made formal visits. If the village feared attack the *ptwa* selected a particularly brave man to lead the defense or to undertake retaliation. Discussions concerning disputes and other village affairs took place in the ceremonial house. Murderers were exiled or if a war was on the murderer was made to bear the brunt of the attack. Thieves, adulterers, and others who persisted in disturbing the peace and harmony of the village were exiled through the common action of the villagers. Exile was considered severe punishment, for the Bacairi say that individuals who were exiled often committed suicide. Chiefs among the Bacairi, therefore, were not war leaders, nor was succession governed by descent. Chiefs seem, thus, to have been primarily leaders of social activities. The part which a chief played in ceremonial life will be described later.

527 gather the ceremonial corn. Later in the day the women prepared large quantities of corn porridge and roasted ears.

On the morning of the third day the actual ceremony began in front of the *kadoiti*. The organizer of the dance distributed roasted ears or pieces of ears to all the villagers, children included. Then at a signal from the leader, the villagers began throwing the roasted corn in all directions and at one another. After the roasted corn was [262] disposed of, the people ate the corn porridge and meat prepared on the preceding day. They then washed themselves in the river and put on their paint and ornaments. When the villagers had again gathered before the *kadoiti* the dance leader took a piece of corn husk and went from man 527 to man asking for a song leader. The man who 533 took the offered corn husk then began the *yawriadri*, or song in praise of corn. Little by little the others joined in the singing and eventually began to dance. The words of the song told how corn came to the Bacairi and how it made the people strong and healthy.

881 The *rexaegéro*, or ear-piercing ceremony, was 304 performed just before a boy went into puberty seclusion. It was customary for men who had sons of about the same age to cooperate in getting large quantities of food ready for the feast. After the feast was over the ears of the boys were pierced [533] and the *poinudto* song was sung. When boys and girls came out of seclusion there was another ceremony during which all the songs and dances were performed with the exception of the sacred flute tunes.

342 The *makulaudri* was performed during coopera- 476 tive house building in which the whole village participated. While the women prepared food and some men were putting up the frame, a certain [529] number of men went in search of palm fronds for thatching. When these men returned with the palm fronds they danced and sang before the new house with their loads on their backs and in full ceremonial regalia.

286 The custom of distributing cotton by a woman 577 with a good cotton crop and having other women weave hammocks for her has already been mentioned. When the women had completed their weaving and returned the hammocks to the donor of the cotton, she gave a feast during which the [535] women sang and danced the *yaneiktma*. This

286 574 dance was given at night accompanied by flute
535 playing.

When a woman came out of seclusion after the
546 535 birth of a child the women of the village danced
533 to the tunes of the *tadánwa* and *nokigóra* flutes.

ORIGIN MYTHS

773 Although the Bacairí have many myths, only
[126] two were obtained. One of these is the *yamadílli*, or the origin of day: In the beginning it was so dark and cold in the world that the people had to cover their bodies with grease to keep warm. The people wanted the sun to come out, so they put on their ornaments and painted their bodies and began to pray to *orimóto*, the great spirit who lived in the north. The Bacairí believed that *orimóto* was not an Indian but just a man who lived in a stone house with some of the animals which he had created. The people continued praying to *orimóto* and when light finally came the people were old and the children had grown up.

Yawétihadúho, or "those who died in the fire," is a story which tells about the origin of cultivated plants and the *yawaisári*, or corn dance: Once long ago there were a number of boys who were in puberty seclusion. At that time there were no cultivated plants, the people living by hunting and collecting wild plant foods. The boys were kept in seclusion so long and had so little to eat that they became very tired. One day when the relatives of the boys went out to collect food the boys all committed suicide. When the relatives returned and found the boys dead they were sorry and angry with themselves for neglecting them. They built a large fire and after dancing around the fire naked they jumped into the flames and were burned to death. The leader of this act was *yawíti*. Later the soul of *yawíti* returned and spoke through one of the living Indians. He explained to the Indians how to grow corn and other food crops and how to perform the corn dance. After that the corn dance (*yawaisári*) has always been performed.

773 As the Bacairí formerly lived in association
171 with the other Upper Xingú tribes, it is perhaps
[127] useful to compare their following origin myths as gathered by Von den Steinen with those of the Camayurá. There appears to be a close resemblance between *Kamuschisí* of the Bacairí and

Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25
Waura SP18
Trumai SP23

Y 622 554 [562] pleased. The women were as outspoken as the men, but it was noticed that the younger women kept behind the older, peering over their shoulders, a custom that was observed among the Bororo and the Bakairi also.

000 Propelled by the outboard motor we covered a great distance, until late in the afternoon three canoes were capsized by one of the men who lost his head. This occurred in one of the deepest pools in the river, and all our efforts to recover the canoes failed. Making an inventory of our resources we found that all of our dried meat was lost, most of the sugar, a good portion of the salt, beans, rice, and farina. For this last we were not concerned, for we could buy it from the Indians. More serious was the loss of most of the ammunition, some rifles, revolvers, knives, over half of our trade goods, including most of the hardware, the cameras, anthropometric instruments, Schick and Dick Test material, blood grouping sera, and all of my notes and specimens. We had lost enough beans and rice to last us some four weeks with care, and a sufficient quantity of coffee. I decided to go on anyway, but as a matter of fact we were not able to move in any direction, since the few small canoes would not carry all of the personnel.

On the second day after this event a Mehinaku appeared in a canoe with his wife and two children. Understanding our plight, he paddled to his people further down stream and the next day returned with men and canoes, having traveled day and night to reach us quickly. In the meantime the plane had flown by on its way to the meeting place, without having seen our smoke signals.

B W 574 609 648 197 Paddling all day and a good portion of the night, we arrived at the Mehinaku port of a village on the right bank, in the process of being built. Farina and biiju were given us and we found the people delighted and charming hosts. Putting up our hammocks under the trees, some of us retired, but the Bakairi, though tired, sat up most of the night conversing with the Mehinaku, though each other's language was mutually unintelligible.

T 142 146 648 On the opposite bank to the port of the Mehinaku, we found a group of about twenty-five Trumai men and women. They had no canoes, but the Mehinaku ferried them across. They were exceptionally small, being both short and thin, in contrast with other peoples that were met, but always appeared to be well nourished. In the morning, when we

/168 cont./

574 other, the professor, naked, but, along with bow and arrow, one of our mirrors in his hand. We were undoubtedly well recommended.

532 Shortly before the exit from the woods we came across a wonderful display of about a dozen animal figures along one side of the path, /169/ probably the remains from a festival. They were made of leaves and straw, mostly quadrupeds with long, thin bodies, consisting of practically nothing but spinal column and long legs; the tallest ones reached to our hips. Something that was evidently supposed to be a monkey was climbing up a pole. A human figure was incised in a tree, with roguish use of a depression present in the bark. Such is the beginning of art in the primeval forest.

361 After we had passed a roça and low shrub planting, we saw
[241] four huts, two large ones and two small ones, lying correspond-
574 ingly opposite each other. The nobility was assembled on the
[576] plaza; a friendly "am(b)á" (that is you) with raised hand wel-
[345] comed each one. Then, one after the other, we were grasped at the wrists by our hosts, mostly by two at the same time, and led before the festival hut, where beam and stool were ready. Here we sat is long rows with our guns, and immediately
[123] the serving of mingau began. Then we did our tricks, cut nails, let them look through the opera glasses, lighted a match with fire steel, etc. The professor beamed; he was reaping honor with us.

[301] A sturdy young man, a diadem of stiff jaguar skin over his
[624] forehead, seemed to be acting as herald. He poured busily, screamed louder than the others, and grasped everything most quickly. I had the feeling that we were traveling circus artists and were being informally received and treated in a club. One
302 of the younger sportsmen had had his body painted with black
531 squares, which were joined at the edges with short lines. The drawing on the upper thigh of another -- a black wavy line and in the depressions of it black dots -- definitely resembled the skin marking of a fish, the pintado.

/v/

Foreword

114
[576]

ámа! -- you!
úra! -- I!

So runs the simple formula with which people introduce themselves to each other on the Kulisehu, and I would gladly spare the kind reader what follows, if I did not also have to bid him to greet my "younger brothers," my companions on the journey, and, in addition, have a few other things at heart.

[601] For "younger brother" and "cousin" the Indians have one and the same word; thus, their designation truly fits our special artist, Wilhelm von den Steinen of Düsseldorf, in its fullest sense, for, according to our concepts, he is my cousin, to be sure, but he is commonly taken for my younger brother. He rowed down the Schingú /Xingu/ with me as early as 1884.

The second man, Dr. Paul Ehrenreich of Berlin, was likewise no newcomer to Brazil; in Espíritu Santo he had already become closely acquainted with the Botokuden /Botocudo/; after the completion of our joint undertaking, he had traveled the Araguay /Araguaia/ and the Purus and thus today has probably seen more of the interior of the mighty realm than any other German traveler. He is to be thanked for the photographs and the body measurements.

The recording of the route and the astronomical findings, along with geological investigations, were undertaken by Professor Dr. Peter Vogel of Munich. In 1882-83, on the German Polar Expedition to South Georgia, whose deputy leader he was, we two shared the cramped cabin in joy and sorrow for a year; in 1887 he again felt a powerful impulse to set out, and so he was willing to carry on in new territory the work of Dr. Otto Claus, our /vi/ Antarctic colleague and the geographer of the first Schingú expedition.

/52 cont./

123 the tree skeleton, as though the man were dancing there like
609 a cannibal in a show booth. "Bakaïrí ...," I commence once more, when luckily Antonio comes bounding up with mighty leaps, and, half out of breath from excitement, he for his part now shouts a long explanation downriver, which again I do not understand, but which releases a grateful howl of exultation on the part of the entrenched hero and clarifies the situation as though by a stroke of magic.

The canoe shot out of its hiding place and hastened
[501] at once, a fine, long, dry bark-canoe, toward our sad,
[29] crooked, wax-plastered, loam-smeared vessel laved with
[411] dirty water -- truly, I thought, we were the ones who were entering the sphere of a higher culture here; even though the noble boatman was dressed with only a belt-cord and carried with him nothing but the neatly worked, feather-trimmed arrows and the bow which lay on the floor of the canoe beside a calabash filled with honey, nevertheless in its trimness and cleanliness this total picture gliding toward us contrasted most advantageously with us ragged bearers of civilization beside the piece of wet-rot bark that was called our boat. Well, the newcomer clearly showed by his facial expression that for his part he nevertheless admired us.

123 He did not behave at all like the silent, gloomy Indian
152 whose soul, as I might have expected on the basis of our school-wisdom, reflected the monotonous, oppressive environment of the tropical forest; rather, he laughed /53/ and chatted with his fellow tribesman Antonio as though he had
● [576] grown up in a fortunate country of the temperate zone. In a few minutes we were good friends; at my urging he even told us his name, which, of course, according to the custom of his country, he could not do without modest hemming and
551 hawing. His name was Tumayaua and he was the chief of
622 a village of the Bakaïrí a few hours away.

123 Thus actually of the Bakaïrí! The hope of the past
609 weeks was fulfilled, we entered our research area among a good-natured little people well known to us, and our debut

/53 cont./

122 Who was more pleased, Tumayaua, who hurried on ahead in order to announce us and rapidly disappeared from view, or
[487] we ourselves, is difficult to say. We trudged behind one another along the narrow path in the terrain cleared by burning, stepped
[361] into the forest after a few minutes, heard loud shouting and /54/
[342] a confusion of calls, and a few hundred feet farther, after we had crossed a crystal-clear brook on a tree trunk serving as a bridge, we came in sight of three beehive-like huts which had
609 an open space between them. Awaiting us there, with Tumayaua enthusiastically gesticulating at the head, was a naked, brown band of men and, in the rear guard, of women and children, all gathered in a tight group and half embarrassed, half joyful,
• [576] but in any case most surprised. The men stepped toward us, stretching out the right hand, and said "áma = "you," "that is you," or "áma kχaráiba" = "you, the Karaibe /Carib/."

829 Not they, but we are the "Karaiben" in their eyes, and I, who among us speak of the Karaiben tribe of the Bakaïrí, was called there the "píma kχaráiba," the chief of the Karaiben.

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Chapter V.

Bakaïrí Idyl.

I.

Information about Kulisehu and Kuluëne. Antonio and Carlos back. A part of the world in which there is no laughing. Village layout. Introduction of the persons. My flute-house. In Paleko's house. Hospitality. Bean-cooking and dance songs. External appearance of the Indians. Nakedness and feeling of modesty. Eating and feeling of modesty. Tobacco club. Pantomime: river journey, days' journeys, tribes, work with the stone ax. Presentation of "mäh" and "wauwau." Tobacco planting. Fishing in the lagoon. Canoe-building.

/66 cont./

126 dispute. When I then asked several women at the same time for
291 their uluris and precluded any misunderstanding by pointing to the collection, it was granted me unhesitatingly /"anstandslos"/ and laughingly.

264 On the other hand, I observed a clear feeling of modesty
576 on an entirely different occasion, and, to be sure, in -- eating. I had an opportunity to confirm it only among the men, and I should imagine that it is even less likely to be absent among the women.

On the evening of 13 September, outside on the plaza where we men stood talking beside the mandioca rack, Tumayaua offered me a piece of fish that I, overjoyed, wanted to eat immediately. All of them bowed their heads, looked down in front of them or turned away with expressions of painful embarrassment, and Paleko pointed to my hut. They were ashamed. Astonished and taken aback, I went into the flute-house to eat the fish. I had not yet finished my meal when Kulekule entered; he wanted to be shown in greater detail the use of a fishhook that had been presented to him. With a face that clearly said, "Ah, you are not yet finished," he sat down on the floor, silent, turned away and with head bowed, and waited. On the next evening I again received fish outside, but it was already dark; I ate, turning modestly toward the dark background of trees and thus did not seem to give offense.

When Paleko brought me the pot of little fish, we two were alone in the flute-house; he turned his back to me and did not say a word during the long time while I was struggling with the bones. I gave Tumayaua some of our bean dish; he took the portion and walked as far as his house, where he sat down, ate, and in between, but without turning his head, called over and took part in our conversation. He had thus quite purposely removed himself. In the house the women were eating, each by herself, in the vicinity of the fire; they brought the men their meal, and each one ate at his place. Alakuai, for instance, was making himself very comfortable; lying in his hammock, he reached down to the pot on the floor, dipped into it with his fingers,

/66 cont./

264 and licked them off as he swung himself, but no one bothered
576 another with his company. In eating beijú they were perhaps a little more liberal, at least toward me, but in the evening I often saw the men turn aside individually to consume a piece. Later Ehrenreich /67/ found something similar among the Karajá /Caraja/ on the Araguay /Araguaia/. "Etiquette demands that each one eat by himself, turned away from the other. Anyone who violates this must endure the mockery of the others."

264 Now among the Bakaïrí this etiquette was definitely
276 stricter, certainly in relation to the guest at least, for they com-
123 pletely lost their sense of humor over my lack of manners. I certainly did many things that were not the practice of the country, I sang loudly, I asked men and women their names, I refused the delicate beetle larvae and committed similar quite inexcusable things, but I never noticed that people were ashamed. In this case, however, it was more a matter of something improper; I had been indecent. There can be no doubt about that.

264 If we must admit, along with Heine, that we all are naked
261 inside our clothes and may be granted only relative justification for our feeling of modesty, the Bakaïrí, too, cannot be offended in his nobler feelings by the mere fact of eating, insofar as the individual takes care of the process for himself. Involuntarily one thinks of some animal that carries its portion of the meal to one side, but obviously out of the fear that another will take it away.
[146] I do believe that fish and meat were relatively scarce among the Bakaïrí, who, with a certain indolence, limited themselves more to mandioca and maize than they themselves liked; I am certain that if I had stayed there a week longer I would voluntarily have sat down in a quiet corner with every good morsel that I had justly or unjustly got hold of, in order to consume it protected from the glances of the others. Even at that time, I am afraid, I was casting hungry glances toward the others. The origin of the feeling of modesty described, however, must be rooted in ancient times.

ooo Good heavens, when we were on short rations on the expedition, how we so-called civilized human beings checked each other's portions, I can only say with greed and envy, although we

/69 cont./

276 in his mouth and light. The smoke was inhaled. They even smoked my heavy black tobacco in the same manner and in the same size, and they tolerated it without difficulty, although theirs was light as straw.

517 Not a sound came from the houses; the plaiting had been pushed in front of the entrance. Were the women not lying awake in the hammocks? The two araras, who during the day were in the habit of cawing from the roof poles, were asleep on a partly withered palm. No insects were annoying us. For two or three hours we sat under the star-studded dome of the heavens, surrounded all around by the dark mass of the woods. The smallest cloud that rose anywhere was observed and became the subject of a discussion about where from and where to. As soon as an animal sound became audible in the woods, everyone would be silent for a moment, waiting to see whether it was repeated, and then they would whisper to each other "a tapir," "an armadillo," or the like, while one man half mechanically whistled in imitation of the animal cry. There was also no lack of in-
517 voluntary sounds. Sucking sounds with saliva, belching, or break-
576 ing wind was not restrained. Bakaïrí sum, nihil humani a me
[514] alienum puto. But the moment someone behaved too badly, there immediately followed, as a direct reflex movement of all the colleagues, a brief violent spitting to one side, without an interruption in the conversation. To be sure, if there were a
[626] repetition, Tumayaua or Paleko would mutter something that seemed to mean, "Confound it, we have a guest, after all," and the culprit would lose himself in the shadows six paces away. It was very patriarchal.

823 We discussed in detail the subject most important for me,
829 the geography of the Kulisehu. The river was drawn in the sand, the tribes were enumerated and designated with maize kernels. Thus I gradually learned to understand the correct relationship of the Kulisehu and Kuluëne and learned that the main body of the Nahuquá tribes, each of which was designated by a special
829 name, lived on the Kuluëne. All people were either good,
577 "kúra," or bad, "kurápa." The distinction was made chiefly,

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153 Their need for probing into the nature of new things was
197 exhausted, except for the question as to whether I had made them, with the second one as to their names /77/ "Eséti?" "Eséti?" "What is that called?" cried the whole company in unison, and they all took honest pains to repeat after me the Portuguese words. One or another would often go on whispering the word to himself for a long time while the conversation went on. They were unable to pronounce two consonants in succession. But if now and then they succeeded in correctly reproducing the appropriate word, their joy was great, and I had the impression that the object itself now also seemed more familiar to them. "Papéra," from the Portuguese papel, "paper," was given as the name for my notebook, and whereas at first they could not examine and touch the incomprehensible thing enough, they could now quickly come to terms with it: it was quite simply "papéra."

522 Anywhere in the world a foreign language is encountered,
[192] one will very soon know what "a pretty girl" is. Their "pekóto iwáku" or the more endearing "pekóto iwakulukúlu" I could translate for them with the words "moça bonita," which they were well able to imitate and which they now practiced with delight. I had first taught my "moça bonita" to Eva; she laughed, blushed, and pronounced it daintily and distinctly. She continued to laugh, poked her husband Kulekule in the ribs -- just as a vigorous person who is pleased about a good idea would do among us -- the two whispered together, and I was asked to say what "a handsome man" might be. When I once imitated Tumayaua's attempts at Portuguese, which in truth were not very successful, even though he was chief, the entire chorus laughed so much that they were unable to talk for laughing; they fairly yodeled with abandon.

576 These were the gloomy and reserved Indians. If the talk became too much for them, everybody yawned openly and without holding the hand in front of the mouth. It was not to be denied that the wholesome reflex was catching here, too. Then one after another would stand up and I remained alone with my guard.

/92 cont./

574 night. We sat down in the middle of the large plaza in a long row. Each one was brought a drinking bowl; the largest, along
574 with a cigar, fell to me. Speeches of welcome were now ex-
576 changed with great volubility.

ámа, you = that is you. ehé úra, yes, I = indeed, that is I. bakaïrí úra, I (am a) Bakaïrí. kχaráiba úra, I (am a) Karaibe. bakaïrí kχúra, (the) Bakaïrí (are) good. kχaráiba iwakulukúlu, (the) Karaiben (are) very good. píma áma? (are) you (the) chief? píma úra, I (am the) chief.

123 Opposite each Karaiben squatted a Bakaïrí and admired him and what he wore. The Swedish matches, knives, mirrors, buttons, beads -- it was always the same routine. Except that in the case of Porisa it was my notebook that was most appreciated, and it was not the written pages or those covered with drawings, but the white, empty sheets that elicited exclamations of delight from him. We also strode about the plaza in pairs, arm in arm, in affable conversation. We studied the geographical distribution of the Kulisehu tribes in detail, but the dwelling places of the Trumaí still remained as obscure as before.

345 The flute-house was large and spacious, its roof dilapidated, much straw lay on the floor inside, and here, as in the houses, we missed the cleanliness which pleased us so in the other vil-
534 lages. In front of the flute-house, resting on cross-sticks, lay a
[532] huge hollow tree-trunk -- a morcego (bat) tree our men called it -- /93/ irregularly painted with human figures and fish vertebrae. During festivals they drummed on this giant instrument with thick wooden clubs, similar to the mandioca pestles.

535 Inside there were handsome masks and a new form of dance costume; two huge crinolines ten meters in circumference, covered with straw, and comparable to small huts, koálu, which
126 the dancer wore on a ring on his shoulder. Soon enthusiastic
301 barter was under way everywhere. We obtained fine feather
237 ornaments, crowns made of arara feathers, which are light blue
534 on one side, yellow on the other, dainty mats in which they are
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B /102 cont./
123 been among the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, although he did not know their language, to carry out my plan, but one was encouraged by the example of the other.

W 122 We set out early on 10 October and reached the harbor of the
B Mehinakú on 12 October at 11:00 in the forenoon. We had not
461 hurried particularly; the two rowed best only when I provided a good example. The most dreadful thing to me was that they traced all the bends in the river and never cut off one of them by crossing it. There was not a fish, not a bird, that did not hold their attention. They shot at, without hitting, several gallinaceous birds; a capybara that was swimming across the river was wounded in its hind leg and, with the arrow, ran screaming into the woods. We slept that night beside an inlet with an abundance of fish and made a good catch. The two roasted fish all night long, carefully keeping the fire going under the wooden grill; they had set up their hammocks so close that they could comfortably reach out, turn the fish, occasionally consume a piece, and have the benefit of the fire's warmth.

W [142] [302] ←

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Fig. 4. Mehinakú woman.

W 131 On the second morning they told me that the bank on the left
B belonged to the Mehinakú, on the right to the Nahuquá. The
504 harbor lay along a steep sandbank where a small brook emptied.
W [531] Rhomboid designs were scratched on the trees. The Bakaïrí shoved
B the canoe far up into the brook and carefully concealed the oars
581 and carrying baskets, which still contained remnants of fish and
B beijús, in the woods. Tumayaua prepared a gift for the Mehinakú
576 hosts and for this purpose hung a rosary-like cord around his neck,
B on which were strung fruits with an oily content. The oil was
[157] rubbed on the skin scratched by the medicinal scarifier of the Indians.

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128 These few lines indicate how much could be done on these grounds yet to be explored.

/249/ And now that this linguistic step has been overcome and the reader already has a slight idea of the sounds and forms of Kxura-itano, let us question the Bacaeris concerning their conception of the world, family, and society, their cultural acquisitions, their migrations, etc.

Four, or at most five points will suffice for this.

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II
The Conception of the World

The Bacaeris believe that man consists of two elements: kxa'atopūri, "our shadow, going /andadura/ or running /corrida/," and kxati, "our shirt," or kxutubi, "our skin." They may be translated as "body and soul," but the translation is inadequate.

The shadow puts on and takes off its shirt with ease and often, going out and coming in, now normally, now abnormally, now temporarily, now permanently.

The egress is normal when there is shouting, because the shadow, with the same speed with which it goes to the place where the echo rebounds, returns to its skin, or when one is sleeping and dreaming. When sleep becomes agitated, it indicates the ascent of hills, the fording of streams, or evil encounters. The person who is asleep is not awakened, for the shadow may not yet have put its shirt back on (10).

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10. Matias Ruiz Blanco in his Conversión de Piritú /Conversion of Piritu/, published in 1690, gives a variant of the same idea among the Indians of that region, who, like the Bacaeris, were also

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Caribas: "The manner of greeting is for one to say to another, 'Is it you? Have you come? Have you arrived? Are you well?' and no one speaks to the guests upon their arrival, nor do they speak for a while, because they say that they are waiting for their souls to arrive, which is arrant nonsense." (Conv. en Piritú, 62, repr. Madrid, 1892.) The greeting between Bacaeris is ama, "you," to which one replies, ura, "I"; or mawili, "you came," to which one replies, ĕĕ krauili, "yes I came."

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774 When we sleep, we dream says the piahi;--when we sleep, our shadow converses with the /251/ spirits (yamũra);--our shadow travels far, --when our shadow returns, we awaken;--when our shadow is afraid, at night, when it is time to sleep, we talk;--while our shadow sleeps, we dream;--we climb trees, we climb hills;--we walk with the yamũras, --we drink mingáu /a manioc gruel or paste/, we eat, etc.

The egress is abnormal, but temporary, when a person faints from fright, because, with much shouting and fanning with ipenakóro leaves, there is success in getting the shadow to return, or when one has offended the piahis and yamũra, because, if duly propitiated, they pardon the crime and permit the shadow to return, as we shall see later.

[M1] It is abnormal and permanent at death.

75 The Bacaeris, in a very expressive phrase, claim that they do not fall ill from sickness itself (to-ewanõ-ĕe Bakaĕri tõwane-pa); illness is always injected by sorcerers (ome-odo, "lord of poison"), and the poisons, all of vegetable origin, are

/69 cont./

276 in his mouth and light. The smoke was inhaled. They even smoked my heavy black tobacco in the same manner and in the same size, and they tolerated it without difficulty, although theirs was light as straw.

517 Not a sound came from the houses; the plaiting had been pushed in front of the entrance. Were the women not lying awake in the hammocks? The two ararat, who during the day were in the habit of cawing from the roof poles, were asleep on a partly withered palm. No insects were annoying us. For two or three hours we sat under the star-studded dome of the heavens, surrounded all around by the dark mass of the woods. The smallest cloud that rose anywhere was observed and became the subject of a discussion about where from and where to. As soon as an animal sound became audible in the woods, everyone would be silent for a moment, waiting to see whether it was repeated, and then they would whisper to each other "a tapir," "an armadillo," or the like, while one man half mechanically whistled in imitation of the animal cry. There was also no lack of in-
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829 the geography of the Kulisehu. The river was drawn in the sand, the tribes were enumerated and designated with maize kernels. Thus I gradually learned to understand the correct relationship of the Kulisehu and Kuluene and learned that the main body of the Nahuquá tribes, each of which was designated by a special
829 name, lived on the Kuluene. All people were either good,
577 "hira," or bad, "kurifpa." The distinction was made chiefly,

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829 as I noted to my astonishment, according to the extent of the
577 hospitality that they offered; to be "kúra" meant not to let there be any lack of beijús and püserego, the flat cakes and the best paste-drink made of mandioca, at the reception. As far as the Nahuquá and possibly also the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ were concerned, it was the same information, based in part on experience, in part on hearsay, which is regarded as the most important for our autumn journeys: good and bad hotels.

823 But what a difference between a printed Baedeker and this
537 gesticulation, this sound-painting, this relentless creeping from
805 one halting-place to another in the enumeration of stations! From where we are to the second Bakaïrí /70/ village one day's journey, from the second to the third two, and so on -- no, one did not race madly along like that in the good old days that I was experiencing here. First one sits down in the canoe, "pépi," and rows, rows, "pépi, pépi, pépi" -- one rows with paddles, dipping right and left, and one comes to rapids, bububu... How high it drops: with each bu, bu, the hand goes one step down from the top, and how frightened the women are and cry: "pekóto äh, äh, äh...!" At this spot the pépi -- a vigorous step toward the ground -- must be pushed forward through rocks, with what groaning, and the "mayáku," the carrying baskets, laboriously -- the left shoulder is tapped one, two, three times -- carried overland. But one climbs in again and rows, pépi, pépi, pépi. Far, far -- the voice soars ih....., so far ih....., and the mouth, pointed like a snout, while the head is convulsively bent back at the nape, shows in what direction of the compass ih..... Over this the sun sinks: the hand, outstretched as far as possible, reaches toward the west, describing an arc, and aims at the point in the sky where the sun will be standing when one -- lah.....á -- enters the harbor. Here we shall be among the: "Bakaïrí, Bakaïrí, Bakaïrí!" "Kúra, kúra!" and here we shall be well received. Perhaps one has also passed a place where there is good fishing, where "matrinchams" or "piranyas" are to be shot: whereas otherwise words have the accent on the penultimate syllable,

/330 cont./

CCC Their methods. To die in narcosis. The medicine man in heaven. Tobacco. Conjuration of the weather.

I.

*171 131 The boundaries between the regions of the tribes are natural ones. "This brook belongs to the neighboring tribe," we were regularly informed along the way. The one bank of the Kuliseku, for example, belonged to the Nahuquá, the other to the Mehinakú [226] /Mehinacu/. Fishing with bow and arrow on the river was open to everyone.

*171 422 The plantings were common property. Everyone had his personal property in the house, even the women, who, we saw, [428] often objected to having it given to us; it was handed down to one's children, sons and daughters. We often observed, however, [622] that persons to whom we had given beads, etc. were obliged to hand them over to the chief.

*171 622 The power of the chief was not great. In all the larger villages there were several chiefs who lived in different houses; in dealings with us, there was always only one who appeared as representative. "Representation" was the most important obligation during peacetime. The chief directed the business connected with planting, he saw to it that the necessary supply of flour was put away, he had the beijús baked and the drinks prepared for all festive occasions and for the visits of strangers. He was apparently a family-father in greater style, but could not be very thrifty if he was concerned about the esteem of his fellow citizens, to say nothing of his neighboring tribesmen. Thus, the chief of the first Batovy village was "kurápa," bad = stingy. He had only a few [599] beijús baked for the guests. Stinginess is regarded as the ugliest trait. This type of rule must be difficult, however. Antonio told me about a certain João Cadete in the Paranatinga village, who was in line to become chief, but preferred to emigrate "com medo de tratar gente," for fear of having to entertain people, [621] /331/ so Felipe took his place. If the community is dissatisfied [626] with its chief, it knows a remedy: it breaks away from him and simply moves to another place. The office is hereditary, hence

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*171 439 Bakairí translated the Portuguese word comprar, "to buy," as yekadile, "to sit down." Trade is therefore still an exchange of hospitable gifts. But this has its origin only in the level of culture, not in nobility of character. The Indian is not at all hospitable in the sense that he feels greatly honored by the visit and feels absolutely obliged to entertain lavishly with beijú and drinks. For this effort he would certainly like a reciprocal one; he soon becomes impatient if the guest is staying only because living is cheap, and he frankly asks him to leave the village. It is even reported in the Bakairí legends, along with the invention of the dance, that the people who were invited and entertained had given gifts of arrows and string. Our travel companions undoubtedly offered us fish en route /334/ only when they themselves were satisfied, and it was not the best beijú which they left for us. The endless talk among themselves as to whether this or that tribe was "kíra" clearly shows that they were only salvely hospitable. There was always the greatest gratification when we declared a tribe to be "kurípa," because this meant that for our part we had done less business with that one. They praised themselves far too much for the recipient to be able to believe in the pure virtue of the unselfish savage.

*171 123 439 Our matter-of-fact, businesslike way of exchanging one object for another was at first completely new to all the tribes. They quickly learned, however. Nevertheless, the funniest enormities occurred. One man gathered up a handful of mangabas and then impetuously demanded a large knife. One wanted to have beads in exchange for the bandaging of his hand. Only if it were explained to them that one had but a single specimen of an object was one not bothered further.

*171 55 [98] Names. The son, soon after birth, is given the name of the grandfather, uncle, or an ancestor, not that of the father. The names among the Bakairí are animal names in part, but I believe only a small part. The following are the only ones whose meaning I understand. Luchu, for example, is a water snake; the native name of Chief Reginaldo on the Rio Novo was irúna = cayman; an old man in Igueti was named póne = black piranha.

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361 The aldeament on the Paranatinga was smaller than the
622 one on the Rio Novo. Moreover, the order of the community
578 seemed seriously disturbed. Old Captain Caetano, probably near
[199] his eighties, despite his black hair, /120/ had been divested of his sovereignty in favor of a younger man, Felipe, at the instigation of the Martyrios expedition, which, with the help of the Bakaïrí, had crossed the Paranatinga and passed through a section of the sertão /wilderness; see the glossary, p. 172/ in a northerly direction. The Bakaïrí, of course, felt more obligated to obey Captain Caetano than Captain Felipe, and the result was that each one made himself as independent as possible and worked on his own.
164 Moreover, the tribe had been hard hit about eight years before by sarampão /measles/, an epidemic disease; the Brazilians put part of the blame for the number of deaths on the Indians because, in the heat of the fever, they had always run into the river.

162 At the time of our visit the Bakaïrí population was made up
621 of five men, five women, three children -- not present were five men, three women, one boy, whose return was, in part, no longer expected. Moreover, there were two Parecí women, one of whom was numbered among those not present, and two Cajibí[1] women, who had been adopted into the tribe. Finally, two Brazilians, caoutchouc-seekers, who had recovered from the fever in the village, had attached themselves, a mulatto Luis and a certain Martin who had a Paraguayan, Carlotta, as a wife, with a small son. Altogether there were 20 individuals present.

115 Luis, who had lived an adventurous life, a "philosopho," as he called himself, a "conversador," as his friend Daniel called him, was intimately acquainted with conditions; he
[191] chattered endlessly and was probably not altogether reliable, but he made himself useful, since the Portuguese of Caetano, who best knew the language, consisted of an extremely modest stock by words; "este mêmo" -- "stimmt auffallend" /that's it exactly/ in German -- was the quintessence of his knowledge, so that the
144 soldiers soon called him nothing but "Capitão Mêmo." Luis maintained that Caetano was the son of a Bakaïrí father and

[1] [Cajibí = Cayabi, a Tribe classified under SP2 Apiaca in The Outline of World Cultures -- Analyst]

/14 cont./

105 Portuguese. The lobes of their ears and the nasal septa were
177 still perforated, and Cacique Reginaldo sometimes wore, in
178 addition to his captain's uniform, the little sticks adorned with feathers in his ear lobes as well. In the aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí there still stood in the year 1884, besides the /15/ rectangular houses in the Brazilian rancho style, a round hut built like the houses of the eastern Bakairí who live in the regions of the headwaters of the Xingu River, in which lived an old Bakairí man with a young Kayabí woman. Bows and arrows were still used, occasionally, for hunting and fishing, and among the plaited objects had been kept the ancestral forms of the large twig baskets, sieves, and hammocks.

175 In the aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí the order of things
622 was gravely disturbed at the time of Karl von den Steinen's
648 expeditions (11) because the occupants of this village felt greater
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11. Karl v.d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 120.

loyalty to the old cacique, Caetano, than to Cacique Felipe, installed as cacique instead of the former by the Mato Grosso government. The Bakairí, Antonio, who accompanied Karl von
[115] den Steinen on his expeditions to the Xingu River and who later became the most important figure in the history of the Bakairí, was then a youth.

175 The western Bakairí were at that time the Indians to whom
648 had come the most remote shoots of European culture in these regions. What was farther on was still unexplored land, with free Indians, because of whom the mobility of the Bakairí was hampered to a high degree. It seems that the Bakairi to the south and southwest had peaceful relations with the Kayapó /Cayapo/ with whom, in earlier times, they had once been allied in order jointly to expel the Suyá from the Rio Verde region. (12) This friendship is interesting in so far as the Kayapó

/120 cont./

144 mother, but that among his forefathers, as among Reginaldo's, mixture with "Brazilian" blood had taken place. This, however, seemed to be more a conclusion based on the wavy, soft hair of the two, rather than on definite knowledge. In any case, it was noteworthy that Luis declared the two brothers João and Antonio to be the purest Bakaïrí; to me, too, they had seemed the most typical physiognomies and most resembled the Rio Novo charac-
126 ter. Since Antonio is the one who was induced to accompany us
[142] and could thus be photographed in Rio, I may call attention to his picture as the most faithful reproduction of a true Bakaïrí.
[732] Unfortunately the handsome youth had a slightly shortened leg as the result of a fracture, so I contented myself with a bust portrait. The defect was not very pronounced, by the way, and /121/ /illustration appears here/ /122/ the awkwardness that Antonio, strength and agility themselves, presents in full figure amidst the group of Kameraden /see the glossary, p. 171 / (page 28) is largely due to the anxious moment in front of the photographer's apparatus.

Wilhelm made all the other portraits with the camera clara.

162 Carlotta was a Parecí brought back from Diamantino and the wife of the absent Captain Felipe; her small eyes and the root of her nose, which was flat from eyebrow level to the inner corner of the eye, distinguished her strikingly from the Bakaïrí
[548] women. The two Cajibí -- a tribe that lives on the lower Rio Verde, a left tributary of the Paranatinga -- had been caught in the forest as children. /Illustration appears here./ The two
[532] young and pretty creatures were given as wives to the two oldest matrimonial cripples of the tribe, Caetano and Miguel, for the immoral reason that the youngest, as the best workers, belong to the mightier ones. Delicate skin, fine little nose under the likewise flat root, eye slits narrowed and drawn up toward the outside, in connection with which, however, the sharply folded upper lid did not overlap, they reminded one of the Japanese type, especially Caetano's not very feminine little wife.

[Text continues on p. 20]

/331 cont./

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/262 cont./

601 In their kinship system the Bakairí distinguished parallel
605 cousins (paigo and koro or iri and iia, for men or women, respectively for male or female Ego) from cross cousins (pama and imiapi or eisambi and ierudu, for men and women, respectively for male or female Ego). The former were
601 identified with brothers and sisters, respectively. The term
604 referring to the father, chogo, was extended to the father's brother, and the term referring to the mother, seko, was extended to the mother's sister. On the other hand, the mother's brother, kogo, and the father's sister, iupuri, got special
601 designations. There were special terms for male or female Ego, in Ego's generation (as we have already seen), and in the first descending generation. Thus the children of male Ego and those of Ego's brother were called imeri, without distinction of sex, while the children of Ego's sister were called tekau and uasi, respectively for the boy and girl. For female Ego, her children, as well as the children of Ego's sister, were called imeri, while Ego's brother's children were uadoin and uasi, respectively for boy and girl. In the second ascending
[603] generation, the grandparents were distinguished according to sex, being called tako and nigo, respectively, for man and woman. In the second descending generation a single term, iveri, designated all individuals.

• 582 Marriage between cross cousins was common but not preferential. According to the data we obtained, there do not
606 seem to have been among the Bakairí any special rules concern-
591 ing residence or taboos referring to the father-in-law or mother-in-law, or moieties or clans. Marriage was usually monogamous,
595 although polygamous unions were allowed. Judging by the Xinguano tribes, it is probable that such polygamous unions assumed the form of a sororate.

784 /263/ The life cycle of the Bakairí was characterized by a series of seclusions, or uanki ("confinement"), during which individuals were protected against the numerous supernatural dangers that surrounded them.

/263 cont./

about three centimeters square made of tree bark. After the seclusion boys and girls were eligible for /264/ marriage. Marriage, todohokúinle, was joined by the parents of the young people by means of an exchange of gifts, and it does not seem to have merited any special ceremony.

The Bakairí do not seem to have believed in the possibility of a natural death. After death, which was always caused by the sorcery of some enemy, the corpse was painted and attired in the finery used in life. The corpse was rolled up in the hammock used by the deceased, and buried with the head pointing west and the feet east. There followed a mourning period, during which the closer relatives remained uanki and from which they emerged through the tadaunúb feast.

The world of the Bakairí was surrounded by supernatural beings, good and evil, such as the iamũra, topehe, karoui, kadopa, and kilaimo. (5) Plants and animals were nothing but

5. Capistrano de Abeu, "Os Bacaerys," Revista Brasileira, Year I, Vol. 4, pp. 44, 45, 47, 48, 234, 240, 241. Rio de Janeiro, 1895.

drapery used by the iamura and kadopa. Hunting, fishing, and agricultural activities thus had to be accompanied by propitiatory activities intended to appease the anger of the iamũra deprived of their animals and plants. On the other hand, karoui and kilaimo wandered through the forest menacing the Bakairí. Against such beings the Indians required the protection of their sorcerer-doctors as well as periods of seclusion in the most dangerous moments.

The Bakairí believed that men had two souls: one called kati or kutulu, heavier and thicker, corresponding to a camisa worn by the second soul, kagatopuri, a more fluid element that

There appears to be no evidence that the Bacairí had clans or moieties. The kinship nomenclature is of the bifurcate merging type with parallel kin merged with lineal kin and with separate terms for mother's brother and father's sister and for cross cousins. (See chart 3.) The kinship terms in ego's generation and in the children's generation are distinct for men and women. Beyond the bar prohibiting marriage between anyone called brother, sister, parent, or child, there were no special rules governing marriage. Cross-cousin marriage was common but not preferred. There were no residence rules or avoidances of the mother-in-law or father-in-law. As the Bacairí lived in large communal houses, marriages often took place between young people brought up in the same house. After marriage they would take over a section of the house as their private quarters. The Bacairí say that families could move to another house with the consent of the house elder. Although polygyny was permissible marriages were generally monogamous. The father and the father's brother had great authority and were highly respected. Younger brothers were not permitted to joke or play rough with their eldest brother. The mother's brother and father's sister were also respected but less than the eldest brother. The relationship between brothers and sisters was one of great respect, the informant saying that incest was unthinkable.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH (ERASÊLLI)

Pregnancy (*ruokúa*) was recognized as being caused by sexual intercourse. In advanced pregnancy a woman was not permitted to eat the flesh of such large animals as deer, capybara, or tapir. When the time of delivery drew near a portion of the house was screened off, where the woman gave birth and remained secluded until the normal menses began. The expectant mother was assisted by her mother and other female relatives, a shaman being called only in cases of difficult birth.

A woman gave birth in a squatting position, the midwife holding her under the arms and gently pressing her stomach. Sometimes the stomach and back of the woman were bathed with poultices made from boiled cotton leaves. It was the duty of the woman's mother to cut the umbilical cord

881 The release from seclusion was signalized by the feast of *tadaunúto*. The parents of the young people accumulated much food and went on a big hunt on the day before the feast. The chief and all the villagers were invited to the ceremony [533] during which all the Bacairí songs and dances [535] were performed and the young people were pre- [481] sented gifts by the villagers. The girls would [301] now take the strings of beads from around their waists and wear them around their necks and [291] their mothers would give them cotton cords which they put around their hips and to which the uluri were attached. The boys and girls were now [582] eligible for marriage.

MARRIAGE (TODOHOKÚINLE)

584 Marriages were arranged by parents or by older brothers or sisters. The father and mother of the boy, for instance, would take presents of ornaments and food to the parents of the girl. If the parents of the girl accepted the gifts it meant that they favored the marriage, and if they refused it meant that the suitor was not accepta-
585 ble. The marriage ceremony took place in the girl's home, the date being arranged by the parents. At the girl's house the young couple were seated side by side with linked arms. They were then given advice by their respective parents and relatives. Marriage was not considered a period of ritual danger, nor were extensive feasts given. It appears to have been an affair involving only the families of the young couple.

BURIAL (EPIODÍLE)

764 The body was painted, ornaments were put on, and then the body was wrapped in a hammock and buried in a grave with the feet to the east so that the face would be toward the rising sun.
768 Although old and worn objects were burnt, most of the property of the dead was shared among the relatives. The part of the house occupied by the dead person was washed, and clean sand was sprinkled on the floor. There was a mourning
765 period (*logíne*) of 1 month, during which the immediate relatives were in a state of *udaki*.[2]

SHAMANISM

775 When a person died, the ghost (*kodépe*) went into the sky or into the water or sometimes wandered upon the earth. Ghosts of the dead often

[2] [ie. a state of ritual danger]

with ashes, letting the hair grow long and over the face, and keeping away from the sight of men. During this period she is taught by the old women the various duties that fall to the lot of women. Everyone in the village, men and women, feels a responsibility toward her, and watch her development with sympathetic interest. Numerous gifts are made to her so that she may become more desirable to the men. The boys undergo a corresponding ceremony, but very little data was obtained concerning it. Y 881

The method of seeking a girl in marriage seems to be as follows: After the man has given the girl's parents some presents, and has received some encouragement from the girl, at nightfall he goes to her house and hangs his hammock below hers. They sleep that way that night. On the following day, if the girl accepts the proposal she hangs her hammock below his. That being a sign that she has accepted, they cohabit that night, and are accepted as man and wife by the community. They live with the girl's parents until the man is ready to build a house of his own. Probably there are other ceremonial performances to be gone through, but a marriage not having been witnessed, no more information was had on this point. Y 584 591 171 105

For the boys, marriage occurs later, since often there are no girls in that community or a friendly community available for marriage. Sometimes it is the male who is lacking, and in that case the girl fares badly. However, in most of the marriages the couple seemed to be of about the same age. Only among the Bakairi did I note that several of my young camaraden were married to much older women. Lack of marriageable women in a community often brings about a raid on another community. In the Tonva village I found a girl hidden away in one of the houses in a special compartment. She refused to go outside. It developed that she had been married to a Kamayalua, had had a son by him who was then living with her, while the husband had died. Having no protectors in the tribe she ran away to her own people, but was kept in hiding lest the Kamayalua learn of her whereabouts and attack the village. Y 105 171 582 721 B [582]

The usual form of marriage is monogamous. It is a purely practical custom. The middle-aged men, and the headmen often have two wives, but only if they can support that number and the children that may come from that union. A second wife is desired principally for the sake Y 595 105 171

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[P.74-B]

881 The release from seclusion was signalled by the feast of Aukuendo. The parents of the young people accumulated much food and went on a big hunt on the day before the feast. The chief and all the villagers were invited to the ceremony during which all the Bacairi songs and dances were performed and the young people were presented gifts by the villagers. The girls would now take the strings of beads from around their waists and wear them around their necks and their mothers would give them cotton cords which they put around their hips and to which the shirt were attached. The boys and girls were now eligible for marriage.

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765

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*171 called me "older brother" and later in the third village also
123 "grandfather"; the Mehinakú called me "uncle" (mother's
602 brother). My traveling companions were always called my
"younger brothers or cousins" and were also addressed in this way
by the Indians themselves.

*171 Marriages were concluded without wedding celebrations;
583 the parents, first the fathers, then the mothers, talk matters over,
585 and the father of the bride receives /332/ arrows and stone axes;
the bridegroom must also work with him in the clearing "to show
that he knows how," he hangs his hammock above that of the
girl, and everything is in order. That older men have young
*171 wives and younger men older wives was clearly pronounced only
582 on the Paranatinga, but not on the Kulisehu (this prerogative of
the old thus appears only with the decline of the tribe). At least
the few matrimonial unions with which I became more closely
586 acquainted in Maigéri were evenly matched. Divorce among the
Bakairí takes place without any trouble, it was said, even if the
husband is not in favor of it. "The woman leaves, perhaps he
will catch her again."

*171 I have spoken earlier about the division of labor between the
582 sexes; cf. pp. 216 ff. The woman did not occupy an undignified
[593] position. The husband let her carry a larger load than he himself
carried, he kept her away from the flute house where the
men consulted, smoked, celebrated festivals, and where strangers
were lodged, he was her lord and master -- and he did what she
wanted. When Martius says that the woman does not occupy an
inferior position "in spite of slavish subordination as a result of

/262 cont./

601 In their kinship system the Bakairí distinguished parallel
605 cousins (paigo and koro or iri and iia, for men or women, respectively for male or female Ego) from cross cousins (pama and imiapi or eisambi and ierudu, for men and women, respectively for male or female Ego). The former were
601 identified with brothers and sisters, respectively. The term
604 referring to the father, chogo, was extended to the father's brother, and the term referring to the mother, seko, was extended to the mother's sister. On the other hand, the mother's brother, kogo, and the father's sister, inpuri, got special
601 designations. There were special terms for male or female Ego, in Ego's generation (as we have already seen), and in the first descending generation. Thus the children of male Ego and those of Ego's brother were called imeri, without distinction of sex, while the children of Ego's sister were called tekau and uasi, respectively for the boy and girl. For female Ego, her children, as well as the children of Ego's sister, were called imeri, while Ego's brother's children were uadoin and uasi, respectively for boy and girl. In the second ascending
[603] generation, the grandparents were distinguished according to sex, being called tako and nigo, respectively, for man and woman. In the second descending generation a single term, iveri, designated all individuals.

582 Marriage between cross cousins was common but not preferential. According to the data we obtained, there do not
606 seem to have been among the Bakairí any special rules concerning residence or taboos referring to the father-in-law or mother-
591 in-law, or moieties or clans. Marriage was usually monogamous,
595 although polygamous unions were allowed. Judging by the Xinguano tribes, it is probable that such polygamous unions assumed the form of a sororate.

784 /263/ The life cycle of the Bakairí was characterized by a series of seclusions, or uanki ("confinement"), during which individuals were protected against the numerous supernatural dangers that surrounded them.

There appears to be no evidence that the Bacairí had clans or moieties. The kinship nomenclature is of the bifurcate merging type with parallel kin merged with lineal kin and with separate terms for mother's brother and father's sister and for cross cousins. (See chart 3.) The kinship terms in ego's generation and in the children's generation are distinct for men and women. Beyond the bar prohibiting marriage between anyone called brother, sister, parent, or child, there were no special rules governing marriage. Cross-cousin marriage was common but not preferred. There were no residence rules or avoidances of the mother-in-law or father-in-law. As the Bacairí lived in large communal houses, marriages often took place between young people brought up in the same house. After marriage they would take over a section of the house as their private quarters. The Bacairí say that families could move to another house with the consent of the house elder. Although polygyny was permissible marriages were generally monogamous. The father and the father's brother had great authority and were highly respected. Younger brothers were not permitted to joke or play rough with their eldest brother. The mother's brother and father's sister were also respected but less than the eldest brother. The relationship between brothers and sisters was one of great respect, the informant saying that incest was unthinkable.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH (ERASÊLLI)

Pregnancy (*ewéria*) was recognized as being caused by sexual intercourse. In advanced pregnancy a woman was not permitted to eat the flesh of such large animals as deer, capybara, or tapir. When the time of delivery drew near a portion of the house was screened off, where the woman gave birth and remained secluded until the normal menses began. The expectant mother was assisted by her mother and other female relatives, a shaman being called only in cases of difficult birth.

A woman gave birth in a squatting position, the midwife holding her under the arms and gently pressing her stomach. Sometimes the stomach and back of the woman were bathed with poultices made from boiled cotton leaves. It was the duty of the woman's mother to cut the umbilical cord

/162 cont./

512 I did them an injustice; at half-past seven a procession of seven comes around the corner in the fastest quickstep, one behind the other, the tribal sorceress at their head, all loaded with [482] mandioca roots. The old woman is carrying a bundle of them loose on her head, and behind her runs a young woman with a heavy back-basket; is it her husband who is following her? Like- [854] wise bent under the load of a basket he walks forward, on his left hip a straddling boy whom he clasps heedlessly, as though he had hurriedly picked him up from the ground.

592 We visit the house of the professor. In the moderately light [352] room one at first distinguishes only a number of vertical and [252] horizontal posts, brown hammocks; the old woman and a younger one are sitting on the floor most diligently scraping mandioca with a shell, the naked legs buried in the parings.

[363] Two families have divided up in the space; the conjugal chambers are characterized by the fact that two hammocks are fastened, one above the other, to the same post. In the center there is an empty circle, and round about, /163/ radially, the "individual rooms" divided off, not by partitions, but merely by [354] the posts. The upper vault is blackened by smoke. Three or [251] four stones form the simple hearth. The flour is put into huge [252] pot vessels (up to 77 centimeters in diameter); the beijûs are [323] roasted on flat, rimless bowls. The clay is blackish brown, the vessels are made by hand by the women.

352 We sit on small, low benches; they are rectangular, slightly contave, made out of dark-brown palm-wood, usually in octavo form, and not a decimeter high.

412 The stone axes, which are sticking in the wall (the longest [353] 24 centimeters), all have the same shape: a thick wooden cylinder, [135] offset at the bottom by a thinner handle. The stone is supposedly found farther downstream (1). /Illustration appears here./

1. Herr Prof. Arzruni of Aachen was kind enough to examine the material carefully and has identified it as diabase, a rock made up of augite, plagioclase, mica, chlorite, and

/165 cont./

609 mix for him -- whereas the boy of a Brazilian colonist, to whom I was called in Rosario, leaped out of bed and fled from me into the forest.

186 823 The old sibyl joined us this evening on the open plaza. She pointed to the west, "Bakairi!"; to the south, "Bakairi!", to the north and east likewise "Bakairi!" and finally, describing a circle in the air, she summed up with proud satisfaction, "Bakairi!" In translation: "All this is subject to me, admit that I am fortunate."

132 14 Aug. 6:00 A.M.: dry. 11.7, wet. 10.5.
2:00 P.M.: dry. 34.9, wet. 20.0, clear, NE 1.
4:05 P.M.: I 740.8, II 730.0, dry. 34.0, hypsom. 98.825.
9:00 P.M.: dry. 18.0, wet. 17.1.

126 /166/ I was fortunately able to measure three women.
[124] Antonio is very useless as an interpreter and causes more difficulties
[532] than the harmless people themselves. I also traded for a few maize-straw dolls, judging from the ease with which the transaction was made, there seemed to be no higher or in any sense a religious meaning attached to them.

• 592 We spent some time in Paulhaga's, or rather Chief Cavico's house, it differed in nothing essential from that of the professor; there were no straw dolls.

139 We found inhame (Dioscorea, yams), which we greeted
252 with joy. -- The fish are grilled on just such racks as we came across on the Batovy: they are exposed to the fire until they are encased in a thick charcoal crust; capybara leg, which tasted like fat fish, and monkey steak were also charred on the outside in this fashion. The crisp charcoal gives the insipid-tasting meat, which is not salted, an -- faute de mieux -- improved flavor. The
[243] Bakairi are also familiar with a very medicinal tasting salt made from tree ashes, which, however, they do not seem to use in the preparation of food.

609 437 The soldiers, who were paying their farewell visit, were given generous quantities of beijiú, puvas, and polvilho /manioc
252 flour; see the glossary, p.172 / as presents. The grated and pounded mandioca is pressed through mats, the pulp is put into

/56 cont./

114 Bakairí, against such views about their characteristics as are
157 found, typically expressed, in the following sentences by Oscar Peschel (Abhandlungen zur Erde- und Völkerkunde /Essays on Geography and Ethnology/, Leipzig, 1877, Vol. I, p. 421): "In no other continent on earth did one hear less happy laughter before 1492 than in America. The so-called red man remains the same in all climates, /57/ everywhere he is gloomy, silent, withdrawn, and intent on a certain dignified bearing."

157 These assertions are in no way applicable to the Bakairí; they were gay, talkative, and trustful, as I observed them in their association with one another and as they acted toward me alone. I shall not fail to give examples of this. In this village I laughed and heard laughter almost as often as under the coconut palms of Samoa and Tonga. It is true, their temperament is less vivacious and their entire view of life less sunny than among the children of the South Seas, the girls do not dance in the moonlight and the men do not sing on canoe trips; shyness and mistrust are more easily aroused, but all this is a long way from the sadness and reserve which, like the black horsehair and the Mongolian eyes, are summarily attributed to the Indian on the basis of appearances, as though there were but a single family between the Bering Strait and the Strait of Magellan.

361 The "village" was very small. It consisted of two large
[342] round houses, in each of which several families lived, and a
[392] small, empty, somewhat dilapidated oblong house, in which I
[122] took up my residence. Between the houses stretched the "tandra,"
[447] an open place where a few racks stood for drying the white
[251] manioca flour spread out on mats, where in the center lay a
[241] long, slender log for sitting, and, toward the edge, there grew a
few stalks of cotton, Orleans bushes (Bixa orellana), and
245 Ricinus plants. Numerous fruit trees were planted all around, bakayuva palms (Acrocomia), mangaba /fruit of the mangabeira/ (Hancornia speciosa), fruta de lobo (Solanum lycocarpum), and a
[489] sort of avenue of stately piká trees (Caryocar butyrosum). Toward
[342] the east a path led to the "harbor" across the nearby brook, toward
[824]

/260 cont./

114 informant. (3) Karl von den Steinen, on the other hand,

[113] 3. Capistrano de Abreu.
"Os Bacaerys /The Bacairi/."
Revista Brasileira. Year I.
Volumes 3 and 4. Rio de
Janeiro, 1895.

worked with several informants, and, what is more important in our opinion, personally visited Bakairí aldeas, (4) which

[113] 4. Karl von den Steinen.
Durch Central-Brasilien
/Through Central Brazil/.
Leipzig, 1886; Unter den
Naturvölkern Zentral-
Brasiliens /Among the Central
Brazilian Primitive Peoples/.
Berlin, 1894.

[127] Capistrano did not do. These documents, studied comparatively, permit us /261/ to support the conclusions we expect to reach on Bakairí beliefs and customs.

197 The Bakairí belong to the Karaib /Carib/ linguistic
361 family. Their old aldeas consisted of large communal houses,
[342] elliptoidal in form, around a square. In each house there
[592] lived from two to five families. In the center of the aldea
[344] there was a house, kadoeti, where the ceremonial adornments of the men were kept and where visitors were lodged. Access to the kadoeti was open not only to the men but to women
[346] and children as well. Attached to the kadoeti was a small
[534] house, its entrance turned to the rising sun, where the flutes,
[784] buzzers or bull-roarer, and other sacred objects were kept. Access to this latter house was forbidden to women and children.

[P.90-A]

	Men	Men	Women	Women	Total
	Adults	Children	Adults	Children	
175 Rio Novo	5	16	19	20	55
162 Paranatinga	7	6	8	2	17
On Rio Batovi:					
First village	3	10	7	9	29
Second village	4	18	17	7	42
Third village	3	13	12	19	44
Fourth village	7	27	18	8	52
Total	30	90	81	66	237

175 By the time Max Schmidt visited the Bacairi
161 in 1900–1901, the Bacairi settlement had dimin-
[169] ished. On the Paranatinga he met 34 Bacairi
[96] and at Rio Novo, 60. On the Kuliseu River where Von den Steinen had visited four villages, Max Schmidt was able to find only two.

ECONOMY

SHELTER

36 While in the Xingú watershed the Bacairi lived in villages built on the banks of the Rio Kuliseu. A village (*utendri*) consisted of three to eight houses (*tewiu*) built in a circle around a central
3-2 plaza, *tadru*. The Bacairi house was a large communal building, oblong in shape, with rounded ends and with the roof thatching reaching to the
[512] ground. These large domelike buildings were occupied by three to five families.

39 In the center of every village there was a ceremonial or flute house (*kadedi*) in which the men kept their ornaments and musical instruments and in which visitors were entertained. Men, women, and children are permitted to enter the *kadedi*. Attached to the common house there was a smaller building, usually oriented in
[53] the direction of the rising sun, in which the sacred
[56] flutes were kept. Women were not permitted to enter this house, as they were not allowed to see
[48] the sacred flutes. The villages were connected by roads running along the river bank.

EQUIPMENT

251 In the center of each house there was a storage space (*ytrdu*) where maize, manioc meal, and
[108] other foods were kept in gourd vessels (*kidu*).
[137] Cooking was done in a small shed at the back of
[239] the house, but food was eaten indoors. Around
352 the walls each family had its hammocks (*ewuiku*) in which the people slept. Other furnishings of
[145] the house consisted of mats, baskets, clay pots,

241 beans, *ipid;* peanuts, *ovenj;* sweetpotatoes, *mahdo;* "cará," *nini;* maize, *dnji;* potatoes, *mila;* cotton, *kodokire;* urucú, *dunio;* tobacco, *tawej;* piqui fruit, *ipa.* Manioc, maize, and sweetpotatoes
241 were the principal food crops. Cotton was grown for making hammocks and the various belts and
276 strings used. Tobacco leaves, after being dried, were smoked by being rolled into cigars (*tepdki*).
[258] Tobacco seems to have had a ritual use, as the shamans smoked heavily before performing a rite.
252 Bitter manioc was shredded on a shredding board into which fish teeth or fine pieces of shell had been embedded. The pulp was squeezed in a piece of cotton cloth in order to remove the poisonous acids. The meal was then used for baking cakes. The fine powder or flour which settled at the bottom of the settling tub was also used for baking cakes after it was thoroughly dried. Maize was eaten boiled or roasted. Sweetpotatoes were
272 roasted over coals. Maize meal was prepared and mixed with wild honey and water to make a nonalcoholic beverage. The Bacairi claim not to have used any form of alcoholic beverage.

241 Cultivated plots were located outside the village, each large household usually having a continuous area. Maize and many other crops were planted in September and October when the rains began. Sweet manioc and sweetpotatoes could be planted the year around, especially on river banks after the rivers went down following the rainy season. April was the harvest month and also the beginning of the ceremonial season.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

● 572 The occupants of the large communal houses usually worked together in the fields, went hunting or fishing together, and generally cooperated in economic activities. Families could work individually if they wished or did not need the help
241 of others. It was the task of the men to burn and
242 prepare the fields for planting. As the men loosened the soil with the digging stick women planted the seeds, slips, or pieces of stalk, as the case might be. Women and children thereafter took care of the weeding.

242 Division of labor by sex existed to a certain extent. Women wove mats (*ensepla*) out of various fibers, and hammocks out of cotton yarn which
[276] was also spun by women. Men wove baskets.
[225] Both men and women made clay pots. Bacairi

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/122 cont./

191 Unfortunately neither Carlotta nor Luisa and Maria spoke one syllable of their mother tongue.

837 The young men had the old women. It is therefore not improbable that Luiz, who himself boasted of the conquest of three women's hearts, was not wrong when he maintained that occasional /123/ unfaithfulness is not uncommon and also is not

•593 severely judged. The good-natured, aged Caetano, he said, even fell sick, to his astonishment, a short time after the visit of the Martyrios expedition, but he was unable to be rallied with his Lilonha for more than a few days.

162

Luiz Cajibí and Carlotta Parecí.

847 161 The use of abortive remedies is said to be common and to explain the small number of children. The end of this community can clearly be foreseen.

162 [161] [125] The following was the result of my census:

Felipe (absent) married to Carlotta Parecí, children.
Caetano " " Luisa Cajibí, children.
Miguel, Joaquim } brothers " " Felicíana, one small daughter.
João, Antonio } brothers (out companion).
Joaquina, sister of Miguel and Joaquim.
Mariana.

/331 cont./
171 591 599 see, could occupy the lying-in room at the home of the parents-in-law. Although the people lived in monogamy and the father
171 604 was the head of the family, the mother's brother was still regarded as equal to the father as a protector of the child and in
[593] any case, if the father died, assumed all responsibilities until the children were grown. He, not the mother, was in charge of their property.

171 601 Among all the tribes, older and younger brothers had different designations. The younger brother was on the same level as the cousin and had a name in common with him. The Bakairi
171 123 602 called me "older brother" and later in the third village also "grandfather"; the Mehinaki called me "uncle" (mother's brother). My traveling companions were always called my "younger brothers or cousins" and were also addressed in this way by the Indians themselves.

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171 592 [593] I have spoken earlier about the division of labor between the sexes; cf. pp. 216 ff. The woman did not occupy an undignified position. The husband let her carry a larger load than he himself carried, he kept her away from the flute house where the men consulted, smoked, celebrated festivals, and where strangers were lodged, he was her lord and master -- and he did what she wanted. When Martius says that the woman does not occupy an inferior position "in spite of slavish subordination as a result of

159 /22 cont./
619 inhabitants planned to poison him. So he remained in the port near our canoes. But the difficulties this caused me were compensated for by the fact that during his visit to the second aldea of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí, he had married a local Indian girl and taken her to the Rio Paranatinga.

159 José was already trying then in every possible way to be-
593 come independent from his stepfather. I found this out primarily
114 from a conversation between José and his mother which I overheard during my stay in Antonio's house. Already then he had several Xinguanos working in his service, and although they were not as numerous as the Xinguanos in the service of Cacique Antonio, this competition could be seen as a factor that was beginning to curtail Antonio's power, which had reached its zenith at the time, and that threatened sooner or later to lead to a violent outcome. This discord between Antonio and his son-in-law /sic/ was important to the outcome of the expedition I had undertaken to the Rio Kulisehu insofar as José Coroado was ready to accompany me with his brother-in-law Chico, who was from the second Bakairí aldea on the Rio Kulisehu, while Antonio made his help to my undertaking contingent on inordinately high demands which far exceeded my then rather scant resources for travel. Finally I was able to persuade Antonio to let me have two of his people to accompany me to the embarkation point on the Rio Kulisehu and then to return with my pack oxen to the Rio Paranatinga.

619 As a result of the active and close contact which had pre-
182 vailed since the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions between the Bakairí of the Paranatinga and their fellow countrymen of the upper Xingu River region, the /23/ way of life of the former had regained a more native character. I have already
353 mentioned that José Coroado's large house showed friezes with
619 paintings of a purely Bakairí nature. Antonio was again partici-
182 pating, painted above the waist, in native dances and because
756 of the frequency of illnesses at the time among the Paranatinga Bakairí, he wanted to induce a doctor from the second Bakairí

/26 cont./

114 the Rio S. Manuel and the Rio Paranatinga (officially named
361 Rio Telles Pires), encountered the Bakairí of the Rio Novo and the Rio Paranatinga and those who had settled at the "Cabeceira do Chapadão." (31)

31. Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa, loc. cit., p. 70.

361 In the aldea situated on the Rio Novo there still lived at
622 this time the old cacique, Reginaldo, who then wore a long, white beard. He had good plantations, he carried on some
[249] raising of cattle and horses, and he had a stand of rubber trees
361 from which he had rubber sought. (32) A small group of

32. Ibid.

Bakairí from the Arinos region lived at this time on the Cabeceira do Pitão, a tributary of the Rio Arinos. They were the Bakairí,
[423] André, and four fellow tribesmen who owned plantations and
[464] worked as rubber workers. (33)

33. Ibid., pp. 70 and 71.

159 Meanwhile changes had taken place among the Rio
622 Paranatinga Bakairí. Antonio was still cacique of the aldea,
593 which was still at the same place, slightly downriver from the
361 mouth of the São Manuel River on the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires), where it had been set up after the death of Cacique Felipe. Since the aldea consisted at this time of seven houses, it may be assumed that Antonio still commanded a relatively large number of Bakairí. But he was no longer the sole ruler of all the Paranatinga Bakairí. The differences which
159 had already existed for a long time between Antonio and his
593 stepson, José Coroado, had become intensified, and after a
361 serious quarrel between them, José Coroado had left Antonio's

/26 cont./

159 aldea and established with his people his own village, situated
593 13 kilometers downriver on the right side of the Rio Paranatinga
361 (Rio Telles Pires) and four kilometers from the main river on the small Ribeirão Azul. This was the same place where at the time of my trip in the year 1927 the Puesto de Simões Lopes /Simões Lopes Post/ was.

159 Through Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa we know that Doña Rosa
593 Bororo, José Coroado's mother and for many years Cacique Antonio's wife, had died in January, 1913 in her son's village.
[174] /27/ From this piece of information it may be deduced, on the one hand, that José Coroado's move to the Ribeirão Azul had already taken place before the year 1913, and on the other hand, that Rosa Bororo, in the quarrel between her husband and her son, followed the latter and left Antonio. The latter had already married in 1915 a young woman who, according to Antonio Pyrineus, was a daughter of old Cacique Reginaldo by
[114] a Kayabí woman. Possibly Antonio Pyrineus made a mistake with respect to this piece of information, for we know through Karl von den Steinen that the cacique who had married young Luisa Kayabí was old Caetano, who was then cacique of the aldea situated on the Rio Paranatinga, while I never heard it said that the wife of Cacique Reginaldo, whom I knew in person, was a Kayabí. If the information that the second wife of Cacique Antonio was a Kayabí is correct, I would presume that she was the daughter of Luisa Kayabí, who was still living at the time of my trip in the year 1927, at the Simões Lopes Post and thus the legitimate daughter, although presumably not the natural daughter, of old Cacique Caetano.

162 A considerable increase in the population of the Rio
361 Paranatinga had been caused by the fact that Cacique Kurutú
166 of the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River had moved with 180 Xinguanos to the Rio Paranatinga. Cacique Kurutú's new aldea was situated eight kilometers downriver from Cacique Antonio's aldea, on the left side of the Rio Paranatinga and some 200 meters from the river. But of these 180 Xinguanos, already in

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THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH (ERASÉLAI)

Pregnancy (*ewéwin*) was recognized as being caused by sexual intercourse. In advanced pregnancy a woman was not permitted to eat the flesh of such large animals as deer, capybara, or tapir. When the time of delivery drew near a portion of the house was screened off, where the woman gave birth and remained secluded until the normal menses began. The expectant mother was assisted by her mother and other female relatives, a shaman being called only in cases of difficult birth.

A woman gave birth in a squatting position, the midwife holding her under the arms and gently pressing her stomach. Sometimes the stomach and back of the woman were bathed with poultices made from boiled cotton leaves. It was the duty of the woman's mother to cut the umbilical cord

2.Sorensen--ULC,D-5 (1894, 1887-1888) 1894 SPT Bacairi SPT

/v/

Foreword

114 [976]

ãma! -- you!
ãa! -- I!

So runs the simple formula with which people introduce themselves to each other on the Kuliwhu, and I would gladly spare the kind reader what follows, if I did not also have to bid him to greet my "younger brothers," my companions on the journey, and, in addition, have a few other things at heart.

[601] For "younger brother" and "cousin" the Indians have one and the same word; thus, their designation truly fits our special artist, Wilhelm von den Steinen of Düsseldorf, in its fullest sense, for, according to our concepts, he is my cousin, to be sure, but he is commonly taken for my younger brother. He rowed down the Schingû /Xingu/ with me as early as 1884.

The second man, Dr. Paul Ehrenreich of Berlin, was likewise no newcomer to Brazil. In Espírito Santo he had already become closely acquainted with the Botokuden /Botocudo/; after the completion of our joint undertaking, he had traveled the Araguay /Araguaia/ and the Purus and thus today has probably seen more of the interior of the mighty realm than any other German traveler. He is to be thanked for the photographs and the body measurements.

The recording of the route and the astronomical findings, along with geological investigations, were undertaken by Professor Dr. Peter Vogel of Munich. In 1882-83, on the German Polar Expedition to South Georgia, whose deputy leader he was, we two shared the cramped cabin in joy and sorrow for a year; in 1887 he again felt a powerful impulse to set out, and so he was willing to carry on in new territory the work of Dr. Otto Claus, our /vi/ Antarctic colleague and the geographer of the first Schingû expedition.

/331 cont./

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*171 601 *171 123 602 Among all the tribes, older and younger brothers had different designations. The younger brother was on the same level as the cousin and had a name in common with him. The Bakairí called me "older brother" and later in the third village also "grandfather"; the Mehinakú called me "uncle" (mother's brother). My traveling companions were always called my "younger brothers or cousins" and were also addressed in this way by the Indians themselves.

*171 583 585 Marriages were concluded without wedding celebrations, the parents, first the fathers, then the mothers, talk matters over, and the father of the bride receives /332/ arrows and stone axes; the bridegroom must also work with him in the clearing "to show that he knows how," he hangs his hammock above that of the girl, and everything is in order. That older men have young *171 582 wives and younger men older wives was clearly pronounced only on the Paranatinga, but not on the Kulisehu (this prerogative of the old that appears only with the decline of the tribe). At least the few matrimonial unions with which I became more closely 586 acquainted in Maigíri were evenly matched. Divorce among the Bakairí takes place without any trouble, it was said, even if the husband is not in favor of it. "The woman leaves, perhaps he will catch her again."

*171 592 [593] I have spoken earlier about the division of labor between the sexes; cf. pp. 216 ff. The woman did not occupy an undignified position. The husband let her carry a larger load than he himself carried, he kept her away from the flute house where the men consulted, smoked, celebrated festivals, and where strangers were lodged, he was her lord and master -- and he did what she wanted. When Martius says that the woman does not occupy an inferior position "in spite of slavish subordination as a result of

/337 cont./

[171] [172] [173] took a new name; in order to explain this, it is by no means necessary to assume that the "soul" of the father entered into the son each time. It is exactly the same in the Karaiben. imu is egg or testicles or father or child, the latter among several tribes already differentiated phonetically:

Iporucoto /Puricoto/ imu "egg," Bakairí "testicles," Tamanako "father," Makuschi /Macusi/ imum "seed." With the pronominal suffix -ru, we find imu-ru, "child," among various tribes: Kumanagoto /Cumanagoto/ umu "my father," amo "your father," Nahuquá umú-ru "my child," amú-ru "your child." Naturally, it comes about everywhere that qualifying additions are supplied or words originally identical deviate from one another phonetically, with the connection forgotten. Thus, Kamayurá has ye-rup "my father," upiá "eggs," ye-reapiá "my testicles"; Aweté has i-tupiá "my testicles," n-upiá "his eggs"; the lingoa geral has capyá "testicles," copiá "egg." Among the Bakairí "child" and "little" are imári, "the child of the chief" pfma imári; we may translate it as either "the child of the chief" or "the little chief" as we wish and do not realize in connection with the latter form, which we might apply jokingly to the son, that for the Indian the child is really only the little chief himself, a small edition of the big one. For our feeling, too, this conception is strange and scarcely comprehensible in the case where a girl is involved. But even the girl is the little father and not the little mother; she is made only by the father. In Bakairí [201] there are no special words for "son" and "daughter," but rather, if the distinction is required the sex is added. "pfma imári" may [202] [203] mean the daughter as well as the son of the chief. The only daughter of the chief is the heiress of the property and rank, both of which, along with her own property, go to her husband.

[174] The little father comes into the world, the umbilical cord is cut, the big father fasts at least until the wound is healed, and with this the new little human being may be regarded as an independent being. The father would surely not observe any precautionary measures if the little one immediately /338/ ran about as healthy as a little chick, but it bleeds and is in danger since it

2: Steinen--435€,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi 377

/365 cont./

plants? Indeed, the Kayabí /Cayabi/ appear when it is still night on earth, before the sun has been fetched by Keri!

I should be happy if I could answer the question even somewhat satisfactorily. Antonio was able to enumerate for me the names of his ancestors up to his great-great-great-grandfather Mashikara who was supposed to have lived near the salto of the Paranatinga; this, if one figures 30 years per generation, would go back to the middle of the eighteenth century. Assuming the reliability of the statement, we would have what would probably be the natural limit in the case of a tribe without writing and without any particular carriers of tradition, an oral tradition that extends personally to the grandfather and, since the latter likewise /366/ could have been instructed by his grandfather, to the grandfather of the grandfather. If, mindful of the various life spans, we allow two more generations, we shall probably have reached the limit of credibility. None of our Indians doubts that with these ancestors we arrive at the time when Keri and Kame fetched the sun. To be sure, there were Bakairí before that and Kayabí were also already present before the sky and earth were interchanged. Since I am inclined to think the best of the good Bakairí, I believe after all that we shall be completely fair to them if we have them living on the Paranatinga since time immemorial and have them learn there about manioca and tobacco.

Now are Keri and Kame the names of two specific chiefs who really lived several centuries ago and who are now exaggeratedly credited with having regulated the course of the sun and providing the Bakairí and their neighbors with sleep, fire, rivers, etc.? The history of our hunter tribes living for centuries as extended families is not very well suited for creating personalities whose names could not be forgotten. But aside from this, if only the one name "moon" existed, one might still be able to imagine a real ancestor with this name, but it is asking too much for us to assume two with the names "sun" and "moon."

/390 cont./

131 brought about by the gold-seeker Correa. The expeditions in
193 search of the fabulous gold mines of the Martyrs were able to
197 cross the Paranatinga most conveniently here and wanted to use
169 the canoes of the Bakairí as well as to obtain food supplies from
341 them. Antonio was born toward the end of the fifties, at the earliest, in Limoeiro, a small settlement.

131 The ancestors of Antonio offer a chronological handle. His
193 father, Senerari, also had a Portuguese name; his grandfather,
601 like an Indian in the first Batovy village, was called Karawako, his great-grandfather Yahauha, his great-great-grandfather Kupare, and the last one whose name Antonio still knew was his great-great-great-grandfather, Mariukara. The latter lived near the salto of the Paranatinga. If we estimate 30 years per generation, the succession might go back to before the middle of the eighteenth century. Caetano, probably born around 1790, was still supposed to be able to call by name six or seven ancestors, which I unfortunately could no longer confirm, so that his genealogy would reach back to the middle of the seventeenth century. Caetano's father was born on the Paranatinga, above the sito, it was his grandfather who was born on the salto itself. In any case, the statements of the Bakairí agree perfectly with the report of Antonio Pires that the Bakairí were in contact with the tribes on the upper course of the Cuyabá at the beginning of the previous century.

131 It is not unimportant to determine as much of the tradition
193 as possible, insofar as it does not yet appear as legend and fairy
[201] tale, because it is very desirable to know whether the present-day West Bakairí, the inhabitants of the Tapajoz source-region, or the East Bakairí in the source region of the Schingú/Xingu/ occupy the older habitations.

/391/ The West Bakairí definitely put the original home of the entire tribe at the salto of the Paranatinga, so that our Karaiben /Carib/ tribe would originally have belonged to the Tapajoz. But the western source-rivers of the Schingú and the eastern ones of the Paranatinga lie so close together that it is a matter of pure chance where the tribes moving downstream arrive. "One of the grandfathers" of Caetano was slain in the forest by

/262 cont./

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Gráfico 3 — Bacairí, Cartografia

601
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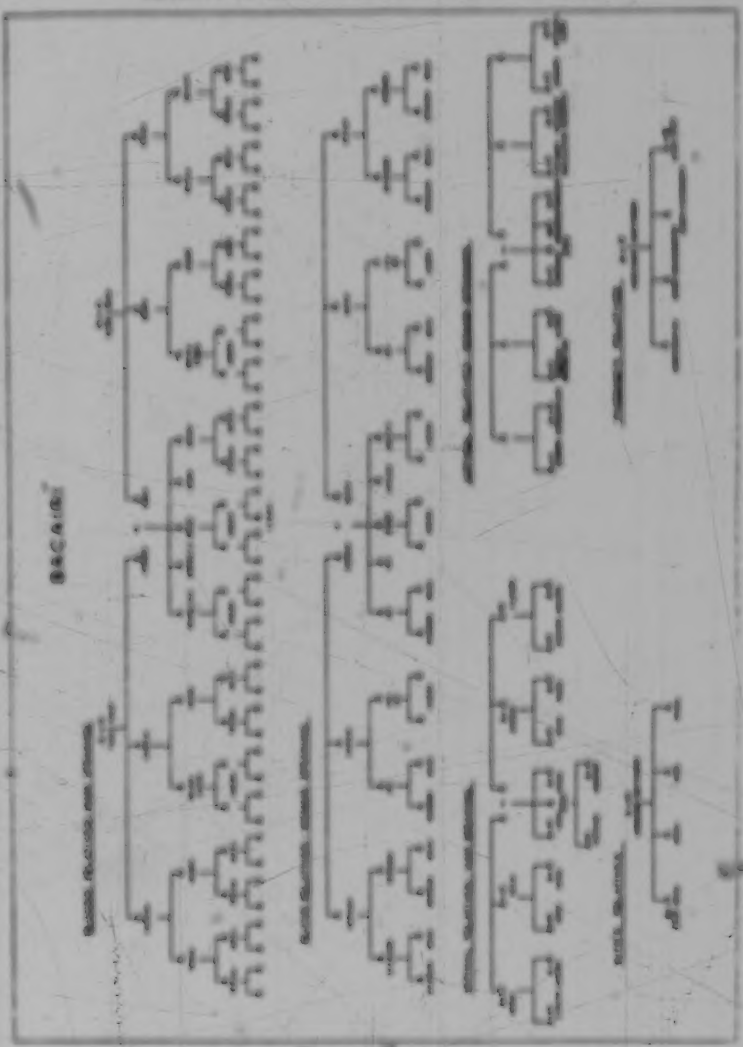

[p. 114]

/190 cont./

*171 characteristically, wore on his arm the two tattoo lines of the
304 Mehinakú women, painted on, to be sure, and not tattooed. I believe, but cannot maintain and prove, that there is a connection here with the system of matriarchy. According to the Indian
[619] conception, the sons belong to the tribe of the mother, and in every case they visit the tribal village of the mother under peaceful circumstances. It is certain that the Mehinakú women and the Mehinakú pots bore their home stamp.

II. Sexualia.

*171 The devices among men and women are not coverings. Protec-
291 tion of the mucous membrane and benefits with the onset of puberty. Origin among the women, however, as bandage and cushion, among the men as gymnastic treatment for phimosis.

*171 Our natives do not have any secret body parts. They joke
291 about them in word and picture with such complete ingenuous-
83 ness that it would be foolish to call them indecent. They envy us for our clothing as though for a valuable ornament; they put it on and wear it in our company with such utter disregard of our simplest rules and such complete misunderstanding of all the devices designed for them that their paradisiacal naïveté is
[881] most convincingly proved. Some of them celebrate /191/ the onset of puberty for both sexes with noisy folk festivals, in which general attention and boisterousness is demonstratively
[602] concerned with the "private parts." If a man wishes to tell a
[201] stranger that he is the father of another or a woman wishes to introduce herself as the mother of a child, they gravely acknowledge themselves as worthy begetters in that, with the most spontaneous and natural explanation in the world, they grasp the organs from which life issues.

128 Hence it is not possible to understand these people properly unless we leave aside our ideas of "clothing," unless we take them as they are and as they prove themselves in their own way. Keeping in mind as our point of departure the fact that they have

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601 designations. There were special terms for male or female Ego, in Ego's generation (as we have already seen), and in the first descending generation. Thus the children of male Ego and those of Ego's brother were called imeri, without distinction of sex, while the children of Ego's sister were called tekau and uasi, respectively for the boy and girl. For female Ego, her children, as well as the children of Ego's sister, were called imeri, while Ego's brother's children were uadoin and uasi, respectively for boy and girl. In the second ascending
[603] generation, the grandparents were distinguished according to sex, being called tako and nigo, respectively, for man and woman. In the second descending generation a single term, iveri, designated all individuals.

582 Marriage between cross cousins was common but not preferential. According to the data we obtained, there do not
606 seem to have been among the Bakairí any special rules concern-
591 ing residence or taboos referring to the father-in-law or mother-in-law, or moieties or clans. Marriage was usually monogamous,
595 although polygamous unions were allowed. Judging by the Xinguano tribes, it is probable that such polygamous unions assumed the form of a sororate.

784 /263/ The life cycle of the Bakairí was characterized by a series of seclusions, or uanki ("confinement"), during which individuals were protected against the numerous supernatural dangers that surrounded them.

/262 cont./

601 In their kinship system the Bakairí distinguished parallel
605 cousins (paigo and koro or iri and iia, for men or women, respectively for male or female Ego) from cross cousins (pama and imiapi or eisambi and ierudu, for men and women, respectively for male or female Ego). The former were
601 identified with brothers and sisters, respectively. The term
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784 /263/ The life cycle of the Bakairí was characterized by a series of seclusions, or uanki ("confinement"), during which individuals were protected against the numerous supernatural dangers that surrounded them.

61 There appears to be no evidence that the Bacairí
601 had clans or moieties. The kinship nomenclature is of the bifurcate merging type with parallel kin merged with lineal kin and with separate terms for mother's brother and father's sister and for cross cousins. (See chart 3.) The kinship terms in ego's generation and in the children's generation are dis-
582 tinct for men and women. Beyond the bar prohibiting marriage between anyone called brother, sister, parent, or child, there were no special rules governing marriage. Cross-cousin marriage was
591 common but not preferred. There were no resi-
● 606 dence rules or avoidances of the mother-in-law or father-in-law. As the Bacairí lived in large com-
592 munal houses, marriages often took place between
[582] young people brought up in the same house. After
[591] marriage they would take over a section of the house as their private quarters. The Bacairí say that families could move to another house with the
595 consent of the house elder. Although polygyny was permissible marriages were generally monog-
593 amous. The father and the father's brother had
604 great authority and were highly respected. Younger brothers were not permitted to joke or play rough with their eldest brother. The mother's brother and father's sister were also respected but
593 less than the eldest brother. The relationship
835 between brothers and sisters was one of great respect, the informant saying that incest was unthinkable.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH (ERASÊLLI)

843 Pregnancy (*enokúa*) was recognized as being
[842] caused by sexual intercourse. In advanced pregnancy a woman was not permitted to eat the flesh of such large animals as deer, capybara, or
844 tapir. When the time of delivery drew near a portion of the house was screened off, where the woman gave birth and remained secluded until the normal menses began. The expectant mother was assisted by her mother and other female relatives,
[756] a shaman being called only in cases of difficult birth.

A woman gave birth in a squatting position, the midwife holding her under the arms and gently pressing her stomach. Sometimes the stomach and back of the woman were bathed with poultices made from boiled cotton leaves. It was the duty of the woman's mother to cut the umbilical cord

/105 cont./

533 sounds not unpleasant, and has something both gentle and fascinatingly eerie about it at the same time, just as the wailing night-wind blowing down the chimney is described when the storyteller /106/ first gives thanks to God that he is lying warm and safe in his snug bed, but is again and again obliged to listen to the weird lament and finally sees in a dream the ghost of a
122 friend who lies dying. We sat crowded against one another in the
[354] small room; a gourd filled with fat, in which a wick was burning, lay upon the floor; I was glad when the gourd also started to burn and we were able to step outside where the stars glistened and we shook ourselves -- the shuddering was over.

562 The women held out until 19 June; then they came; Reginaldo fetched them; a dozen in number, they walked one behind the other across the campo, the father of the tribe in the lead.

[609] On this afternoon, however, not one of them would let herself be looked at closely; the procession entered the big house and disappeared. Reginaldo came to ask us for an opera glass that he wanted to show to the women. Toward evening they appeared again and left single file as before. During the night they slept in the forest, a brief half an hour away.

292 On 20 June they appeared again; Reginaldo looked superb
[301] at their head; he wore his gray felt hat, his blue captain's uniform and white trousers, walked barefoot, and had a blue-white
123 feather stuck crosswise in each ear lobe. He was very agreeable
[126] that Wilhelm should sketch him in all his glory. Moreover, he assumed, and we daily encouraged him in this, that we were conducting all inquiries concerning the Bakaïrí only in order to report them again to the Emperor of Brazil -- at least the man understood that and for this purpose he was glad to oblige.

[291] He also accompanied us to the women; they were barefoot, of course, but otherwise wore the complete costume of the female rural inhabitant; the majority were of a mature age; I liked best one big, strong girl whom Homer would have called βοωπις. -- The captain's wife, christened Ines, was quiet and pious and looked as though she had had many a care. We tried to

/157 cont./

241 the process of being charred. The pillar of smoke that had drawn our attention for several days is explained: the forest was
122 being cleared in order to lay out a planting. Eagerly scouting, we climb up, and again we are wandering along the forest path.

/158/ "Beijú," somebody cries in a suppressed voice and
[262] triumphantly points to a few crumbs, which give us the prospect of new provisions; "they have beijús," each one murmurs to the man behind him.

[411] There -- a feather-decorated arrow leans against a tree
824 -- the tube of ubá, the wood from which the Imperador /emperor/
[213] of the legend created the Bakaïrí. We become more serious, and even the Negroes, who, when they are afraid, like to try to give themselves courage by chattering march on silently. Now and then small fires, alive or burned out. We have already been walking three-quarters of an hour. But see there, a new clear-
[137] ing -- a charming grove of nut-bearing bacayuva palms -- a few kernels of maize on the ground, again a bit of forest and: "Casas -- houses," the first man cries.

361 Three houses of the form of a beehive become visible; in
342 the first hut, which blocks our path, the low door stands open; in the dark we make out a few heads. A completely naked
● 609 Indian steps out, young, well built, closes the door, and comes
[291] toward us, in his hand a long arrow shaft without a point, which he holds horizontally in front of him.

I instruct Antonio to call out a greeting to him in Bakaïrí. "Kyulino," cries Antonio almost breathless, and -- hail to the antiguos -- the Indian answers in Bakaïrí. Eagerly he steps up to Antonio, leans against him, and both embrace as they walk on -- both talking at the same time, both trembling all over with fear and excitement.

[302] A joyful feeling of release overcame us all, and when Manoel, discovering that our dear savage wears a nicely shaved tonsure, now finally recovers his speech and cries out, "Oh, why that's a priest, the compadre is a parson," general laughter breaks out, and everybody talks at once.

/158 cont./

342 We were led into the smallest of the three huts; there we
353 sat down on a long trunk lying on the floor. Two supporting beams, adorned with a diadem of parrot feathers and wound at the bottom with a belt of dry grass stalks, held up the straw roof. Many elegantly worked arrows were sticking in the wall.

179 These Bakaïrí had never seen human beings of another color.
361 They said that there were a few more settlements downstream.
133 This was the last cachoeira, the one we passed here -- great news -- and the river -- naturally, we were eager to learn this -- runs north, it is called Tamitatoala; after 12 days' journey there comes another, larger one from the left, the Ronuro.

000 Thus all favorable circumstances seemed to converge and the hardships of the trip were amply outweighed.

162 We could not endure it much longer in the hut; outside /159/ others appeared, including two women -- one, whose youth and beauty were long gone, busily tripping about with
291 tousled hair. A triangular, straw-yellow leaf fastened to a string, which was slung around the hips and drawn through the perineum,
301 constituted her scanty clothing. Our friend who was doing the honors wore around his waist three strings, on which were alternately strung bits of stalks and black seeds, in each ear lobe two coquettish yellow feathers, and above the ankles a tight band of
302 bast. His hair had a dark reddish sheen; it was cut in Russian style around a bowl; the tonsure was as correct as in other well-known cases where the discoverers of a tribe were misled by it into believing that the heralds of Christianity must have been active
[142] here earlier. The type of physiognomy was without doubt in conformity with the Bakaïrí.

609 Soon a second principal figure appeared on the scene; a
[142] medium-sized Indian with a fine hooked nose and heavily painted
[302] red, who was coming from hunting; he drew near uneasily in a roundabout way, talking partly to himself and partly, parrying, to us; we called him the professor because of his incredibly dignified manner of examining every object most minutely, like a person who knows a thing thoroughly, but cannot quite understand why this or that does not fit.

/159 cont./

262 It contributed no little to the enhancement of the holiday
574 mood that plenty of beijús, as well as puvas /see the glossary, p. 172/, brick-like pieces of dried mandioca pulp, and, above all, mingaus /see the glossary, p. 171/ were served. Everyone
[292] was separately offered in large bowls three kinds: a whitish, thin, scarcely refreshing beaten paste of starch flour, another, yellow one, tasting of squash, and a third one, warm and pleasantly sweet, toward which everyone crowded in order to grant the palate this half forgotten quality of sensation.

•609 Most delightful was the absolutely equal treatment that was given us and the soldiers. Chico, this African ape-man, even seemed to impress the little people particularly, and he, like all the others, leaning on his gun, accepted the homage with great dignity and drank in enormous draughts.

It cannot be said that the barbarians actually expressed great astonishment. In general they did not pay any attention to skin color and beard; true, they admired the clothing, the knives, the opera glass, but as children who are not experiencing this for the first time do with their presents at Christmas. A
[152] demonstration shot filled them with terror; the women ran away, the men winced and, puzzled, joined in the laughter when they saw our gaiety. To avoid a repetition, however, they urgently begged "ãla, ãla -- it is enough." At the strange /160/ appearance of our dogs the professor was so frightened that he manifested the best intention of shooting them dead.

12 August.

437 The Bakairí paid us a return visit with wife and child. They
439 were heavily laden with beijús. Soon an enthusiastic barter with the soldiers was in progress; the latter bartered for arrows or feathers and puvas in exchange for buttons and worn articles of clothing. The buttons, which could be strung on the belt-string, were highly prized. The guests, however, especially preferred
[554] knives, plates, and spoons. The tribal sorceress ran about busily; in vain she speculated on a cooking pot, which she excitedly examined from all sides; but she won a spoon, a tin plate, and

/160 cont./

437 carried each piece that she captured to a secret repository lying
439 back off the road, immediately most hurriedly hastening forth
[554] for new deeds.

609 At noon Wilhelm and I went to the aldea.[1] Antonio accompanied us, but, suspicious of his fellow tribesmen, he could not make up his mind to stay with them during the night and returned to the river in the evening.

122 We set up housekeeping in the festival hut, and, alone with the charming little people, we felt indescribably content. When toward evening the mosquitoes started to annoy us, we took a
[137] walk to the roca.[2] Greedily we looked about for the "frutas de lobo," apple-round fruits which were present in numbers on gray-green shrubs, but unfortunately not ripe; the Bakairí boys are no different from ours. A magnificent estate; the horizon was bordered by a dark park, behind which the sun was setting in
291 reddish orange. We met Pauhaga, as our apostle of peace is
177 called, and his relatives on the plaza between the three huts, trying on clothes in great embarrassment. They urgently needed our help: not only did they put the trousers on in reverse and upside down over the legs, but they also tried to draw them up over their arms and wanted to stick their legs into a shirt. Putting on a coat alone was an impossible thing. They were unaware of the most obvious offenses against the elements of propriety. A safety pin was hugely admired, but most of all a pair of scissors with which
412 one could so conveniently cut one's nails. Their tool, the stone ax -- a ground stone is wedged into a wooden handle -- with which they fell trees and make posts, deserves our appreciation no less, from the standpoint of how much can be accomplished with the simplest means, even though in the unspoken accompanying thought that we ourselves /161/ might have to go back to this
[411] stage there is a slight admixture of horror. They have no spears,
[231] no bananas, no dogs, and tobacco is nowhere to be found. Bones,
[276] teeth, shells must serve them as tools, along with the stone ax.
[237] /Illustration appears here./

[1] [i.e. village -- Analyst]
[2] [i.e. Cultivated field -- Analyst]

[Text continues on p. 40]

/164 cont./

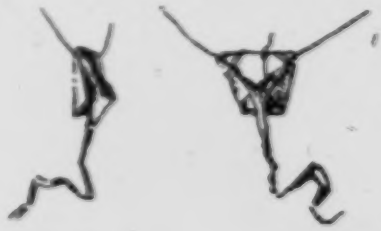
289 The triangular garment of the women, a folded piece of
291 bark bast, supposedly from the schischâ tree, has a base of four centimeters and a height of one to one and a half centimeters.

A girl about ten years old is still completely naked.

302 The nasal septum of the men is not pierced; the beard hair,
[304] /165/ if a natural tendency for it is present, as well as all the hair (among the women, too) with the exception of the head hair, the eyebrows, and eyelashes, is carefully removed.

224 Around 10:00 in the forenoon Clauss came with Antonio; a
[622] few men also arrived from hunting, among them the chief, an older gentleman with an anxiously serious official face and a
162 fat little belly. We count ten men, seven women, five boys, four girls.

291



Clothing of the Bakaïrí women.

372 Pauhaga showed us how they make fire. They take two long, thin sticks of the same dry wood; into one a notch is scraped; while one man now holds this in position on the ground with two small sticks, a second man twirls the other stick rapidly between both hands in the notch. The dust that is rubbed loose glimmers.

126 We did some bartering; I measured a few men. They patiently allowed it to be done.

157 These "wild" Bakaïrí are alert, teachable, and certainly very good-natured. They do not steal, although we are carrying
[273] treasures with us. They have no intoxicating drink; they refuse
[276] tobacco. On the second day, together with their wives, they visit
609 us in our camp -- the "docile ones" on the Rio-novo, on the other hand, preferred to sleep with those in the bush as long as we were in the aldea. On the first evening a savage drinks a medicine that I

/165 cont./

609 mix for him -- whereas the boy of a Brazilian colonist, to whom I was called in Rosario, leaped out of bed and fled from me into the forest.

186 The old sibyl joined us this evening on the open plaza.
823 She pointed to the west, "Bakaïrí!"; to the south, "Bakaïrí!", to the north and east likewise "Bakaïrí!" and finally, describing a circle in the air, she summed up with proud satisfaction, "Bakaïrí!" In translation "All this is subject to me, admit that I am fortunate."

132 14 Aug. 6:00 A.M.: dry. 11.7, wet. 10.6.
2:00 P.M.: dry. 34.9, wet. 20.0, clear, NE 1.
4:05 P.M.: I 740.8, II 730.0, dry. 34.0, hypsom. 98.825.
9:00 P.M.: dry. 18.0, wet. 17.0.

126 /166/ I was fortunately able to measure three women.
[124] Antonio is very useless as an interpreter and causes more difficulties
[532] than the harmless people themselves. I also traded for a few maize-straw dolls, judging from the ease with which the transaction was made, there seemed to be no higher or in any sense a religious meaning attached to them.

592 We spent some time in Pauhaga's, or rather Chief Cavácos house, it differed in nothing essential from that of the professor; there were no straw dolls.

137 We found inhame (Dioscorea, yams), which we greeted
252 with joy. -- The fish are grilled on just such racks as we came across on the Batovy; they are exposed to the fire until they are encased in a thick charcoal crust; capybara leg, which tasted like fat fish, and monkey steak were also charred on the outside in this fashion. The crisp charcoal gives the insipid-tasting meat, which is not salted, an -- faute de mieux -- improved flavor. The
[263] Bakaïrí are also familiar with a very medicinal tasting salt made from tree ashes, which, however, they do not seem to use in the preparation of food.

609 The soldiers, who were paying their farewell visit, were
431 given generous quantities of beijús, puvas, and polvilho /manioc
252 flour; see the glossary, p.172 / as presents. The grated and pounded mandioca is pressed through mats; the pulp is put into

/175/

000 Off at 9:00. Soundlessly with Valentin in the lead; occasionally a bird is aroused in the bushes. Doves coo, otherwise deep silence. The last morning mists heavy on the water.

133 From the shore a blue serra /sierra; see the glossary, p. 172 /
361 visible in NW. At 10:00 we reached the harbor of Aldea IV. Here we were already expected. It is the only one that lies on the right shore, about three kilometers inland. -- A half-dozen
609 older people received us with their "am(b)á" and accompanied us along the way. They stopped often in order to make clear to us, with many gestures of satisfaction, that they were Bakaïrí and masters of the entire region. Mostly through meadow and
[361] campo along the edge of the forest. -- It was the largest village, seven huts, and in the middle an open plaza. Twenty-four men stood there in several groups, foremost a heavily blackened fellow who swung bow and arrows wildly, beat on them clatteringly, and shouted with a stentorian voice: "Bakaïrí, Kõura Bakaïrí" (we, the Bakaïrí). And the chorus joined in: "Kõura Bakaïrí --
[624] Kustenaú...Trumaí hu-hu,"...other tribal names, incomprehensible words, triumphant gestures; finally the herald, with a gesture of his hand, invited us to pass. Apparently they were trying to make as forceful an impression as possible on us.

302 Only the hair of a few individuals was dyed red; otherwise they blackened their faces, chests, and legs. No one was dis-
[301] tinguished by special finery; they wore their belt strings, arm and leg bands of cotton or burití bast.

[142] The skin color seemed to me a little darker than among the other Bakaïrí, but I may have been misled by the black painting, which did not show any particular designs anywhere, but rather was manifested in a simple coating of the body. The spinal column was left free, and likewise the parts from which the color could rub off in sitting. Membrum virile parvum, praeputium longum.

142 The epidermis of several individuals was thickened ichthyosis-like and covered with hard, dry scales over the entire body. Many had curly hair.

/175 cont./

168 We counted 27 men, 18 women, and eight children, but
621 as some of the men, who stayed longer than we, reported, a
609 whole troop of women and children later came out of the woods.

342 I measured the largest house more carefully. It was 40 paces long, 24 paces wide. In the center line stood four supporting beams, 8-8.5 meters high (!) and 30 centimeters in diameter, the middle ones five paces apart, the outer ones each six paces
[531] from these; they had several bands painted with geometrical designs.

The distance of the two outer supporting beams from each other, /176/ 17 paces according to the above, also gave the length of the roof timbers. All around, 72 posts, up to 25 centimeters thick, one meter 72 high, served to support the elliptical roof basket. This was also the height of the two entrances, 77 centimeters wide, which lay opposite each other on the long sides and were made somewhat lower by the straw hanging down from the outside.

The roof basket, made up of large horizontal bamboo rings fastened by vertical poles bent against them, which converged at the top and projected to the outside through an opening, was built with great skill and regularity. The covering was made of straw-dry palm leaves. The leaf ribs lay horizontally; the free ends of the individual leaf spears hanging down from them, however, were all bent inward around the bare rib, so that solid mats were produced in the simplest manner. These overlapped like roof tiles.

364 We make the rounds through all the huts. The sense of order of the peaceful professor is lacking. They are full of refuse. In-
353 stead of the fine supply baskets, balls of the massa /dough/ one
[251] meter long, a half meter thick, and packed in leaves are found
[227] on simple racks. Little maize. Many fish nets made of tucum fiber: a wide-meshed bag hangs from a ring 80 centimeters long, 35 centimeters wide, which sits on a long pole. They probably
226 get the fish out of the blocked-off lagoons with these nets from the top of their scaffold.

/51 cont./

226 Beyond the cachoeira we counted 13 so-called "currals" /corrals/, circles of boulders in shallower places in the river bed; the fish can enter through a gap in the circle and are then herded together by the Indians and shot. I was not a little surprised when, 823 151 farther downstream in quiet water, Antonio suddenly stated that a canoe had been here yesterday or the day before; all I noticed was a quantity of small white bubbles near the shore. The foam of the oar stroke is preserved in a path on calm water; not destroyed by waves, the air bubbles remain on the water and are gradually driven to the shore by the wind.

000 /52/ For two hours we rowed on vigorously, spoke but little and with a soft voice, and, cautiously on the lookout, proceeded into each new bend close to the inner edge. But all [137] signs had ceased. On either side lay tall, silent forest, the river glistened in the sunlight, nothing living stirred within a wide radius, and only a yellow butterfly fluttered past here and [133] there. Shortly before midday the stream bed opened into a rather wide inlet; one could not quite make out whether this was a lagoon or an island formation and the river divided into two types; we landed and I sent the two off to cross the bit of woods that separated us from the lagoon and to examine the course of the water beyond.

123 I sat on the beach waiting; Carlos was already coming 609 back, when suddenly I notice a canoe a gunshot downstream. [501] A single naked Indian is standing in it and swiftly making for the shore; there he steers the vessel behind the skeleton of a fallen tree and cautiously crouches down in the shelter of it. "Bakaïrí, Bakaïrí," I cried with all my might, "kúra Bakaïrí, áma Bakaïrí, úra Bakaïrí, we are Bakaïrí, you are a Bakaïrí, I am a Bakaïrí, the Bakaïrí are good" -- in short, I shout in joyful excitement whatever is inspired in me by the ghost of reminiscences from the greeting formulas of that particular tribe. And behold: "Bakaïrí, Bakaïrí, Bakaïrí" comes resounding back. Other words are added, which unfortunately I do not understand, but the high voice, rising in uncertainty, bears an unhappily anxious and mistrustful expression, and the arms swing wildly in the air behind

/52 cont./

123 the tree skeleton, as though the man were dancing there like
609 a cannibal in a show booth. "Bakaïrí ...," I commence once more, when luckily Antonio comes bounding up with mighty leaps, and, half out of breath from excitement, he for his part now shouts a long explanation downriver, which again I do not understand, but which releases a grateful howl of exultation on the part of the entrenched hero and clarifies the situation as though by a stroke of magic.

The canoe shot out of its hiding place and hastened
[501] at once, a fine, long, dry bark-canoe, toward our sad,
[29] crooked, wax-plastered, loam-smeared vessel laved with
[411] dirty water -- truly, I thought, we were the ones who were entering the sphere of a higher culture here; even though the noble boatman was dressed with only a belt-cord and carried with him nothing but the neatly worked, feather-trimmed arrows and the bow which lay on the floor of the canoe beside a calabash filled with honey, nevertheless in its trimness and cleanliness this total picture gliding toward us contrasted most advantageously with us ragged bearers of civilization beside the piece of wet-rot bark that was called our boat. Well, the newcomer clearly showed by his facial expression that for his part he nevertheless admired us.

123 He did not behave at all like the silent, gloomy Indian
152 whose soul, as I might have expected on the basis of our school-wisdom, reflected the monotonous, oppressive environment of the tropical forest; rather, he laughed /53/ and chatted with his fellow tribesman Antonio as though he had
[576] grown up in a fortunate country of the temperate zone. In a few minutes we were good friends; at my urging he even told us his name, which, of course, according to the custom of his country, he could not do without modest hemming and
551 hawing. His name was Tumayaua and he was the chief of
622 a village of the Bakaïrí a few hours away.

123 Thus actually of the Bakaïrí! The hope of the past
609 weeks was fulfilled, we entered our research area among a good-natured little people well known to us, and our debut

/53 cont./

123 was assured. Tumayaua, as I now learned from Antonio, had
[609] been no little disconcerted by my call; he had answered that he
was a Bakaïrí, but that we were not Bakaïrí. Obligingly, the
good man offered us his canoe, he himself climbed into ours,
and took charge of guiding us. But we chatted no less busily
101 than we rowed. The Bakaïrí of the Batovy were Tumayaua's
114 relatives and friends. There was wonderful news about the first
village that we had visited in 1884. The old Indian whom we
at that time had called the "professor" was on his way to the
Paranatinga with a few others! They wanted to pay a new visit
to Antonio and his tribal brothers. Pauhaga, the first Bakaïrí
whom we had greeted on the Batovy on our previous journey,
lived at the moment in Tumayaua's community, and a strange
coincidence thus decreed that we were to see him again likewise
131 in the very first village of the Kulisehu. Were we really on the
103 Kulisehu? Yes, the river was called Kulisehu, Kulisëu, or
Kulihëu, since "h" and "s" are interchangeable in Bakaïrí, and
all the tribes that we were looking for apparently also lived
on its shores.

133 Cachoeiras, however, interrupted the conversation. We
had set out at 12:00; after half an hour there came a low rock-
cachoeira 60 meters long, through which we laboriously wound
our way; then shortly after 1:00 No. 4 of this day's series, where
we had to unload and stop for half an hour. At 2:45 we came
to the fifth and last, which poured over the boulders in a mighty
122 surge. Here, however, the pilot went on strike against going
any farther in our canoe, which was succumbing to acute
dropsy. We took him aboard as a fourth and left the corpse to
its fate. Tumayaua, we had to acknowledge approvingly, had
truly come our way at a good time; it is highly improbable that
we three with our baggage and without knowing the way would
have reached the village through the final cachoeiras in the
miserable canoe that could no longer carry the single Indian.
Certainly we would not have reached this goal today. At 3:15
we landed on the left bank; we were in the "harbor."

/53 cont./

122 Who was more pleased, Tumayaua, who hurried on ahead in order to announce us and rapidly disappeared from view, or [487] we ourselves, is difficult to say. We trudged behind one another along the narrow path in the terrain cleared by burning, stepped [361] into the forest after a few minutes, heard loud shouting and /54/ [342] a confusion of calls, and a few hundred feet farther, after we had crossed a crystal-clear brook on a tree trunk serving as a bridge, we came in sight of three beehive-like huts which had ● 609 an open space between them. Awaiting us there, with Tumayaua enthusiastically gesticulating at the head, was a naked, brown band of men and, in the rear guard, of women and children, all gathered in a tight group and half embarrassed, half joyful, [576] but in any case most surprised. The men stepped toward us, stretching out the right hand, and said "ãma = "you," "that is you," or "ãma kχarãiba" = "you, the Karaibe /Carib/."

829 Not they, but we are the "Karaiben" in their eyes, and I, who among us speak of the Karaiben tribe of the Bakaïrí, was called there the "pĩma kχarãiba," the chief of the Karaiben.

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/55/

Chapter V.

Bakaïrí Idyl.

I.

Information about Kulisehu and Kuluëne. Antonio and Carlos back. A part of the world in which there is no laughing. Village layout. Introduction of the persons. My flute-house. In Paleko's house. Hospitality. Bean-cooking and dance songs. External appearance of the Indians. Nakedness and feeling of modesty. Eating and feeling of modesty. Tobacco club. Pantomime: river journey, days' journeys, tribes, work with the stone ax. Presentation of "mäh" and "wauwau." Tobacco planting. Fishing in the lagoon. Canoe-building.

Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25
Waura SP18
Trumai SP23

Y
622 pleased. The women were as outspoken as the men, but it was noticed
554 that the younger women kept behind the older, peering over their shoul-
[562] ders, a custom that was observed among the Bororo and the Bakairi also.

000 Propelled by the outboard motor we covered a great distance, until late in the afternoon three canoes were capsized by one of the men who lost his head. This occurred in one of the deepest pools in the river, and all our efforts to recover the canoes failed. Making an inventory of our resources we found that all of our dried meat was lost, most of the sugar, a good portion of the salt, beans, rice, and farina. For this last we were not concerned, for we could buy it from the Indians. More serious was the loss of most of the ammunition, some rifles, revolvers, knives, over half of our trade goods, including most of the hardware, the cameras, anthropometric instruments, Schick and Dick Test material, blood grouping sera, and all of my notes and specimens. We had lost enough beans and rice to last us some four weeks with care, and a sufficient quantity of coffee. I decided to go on anyway, but as a matter of fact we were not able to move in any direction, since the few small canoes would not carry all of the personnel.

On the second day after this event a Mehinaku appeared in a canoe with his wife and two children. Understanding our plight, he paddled to his people further down stream and the next day returned with men and canoes, having traveled day and night to reach us quickly. In the meantime the plane had flown by on its way to the meeting place, without having seen our smoke signals.

B Paddling all day and a good portion of the night, we arrived at the
W Mehinaku port of a village on the right bank, in the process of being
574 built. Farina and biiju were given us and we found the people delighted
609 and charming hosts. Putting up our hammocks under the trees, some
648 of us retired, but the Bakairi, though tired, sat up most of the night
197 conversing with the Mehinaku, though each other's language was mutually unintelligible.

On the opposite bank to the port of the Mehinaku, we found a group
T of about twenty-five Trumai men and women. They had no canoes,
142 but the Mehinaku ferried them across. They were exceptionally small,
146 being both short and thin, in contrast with other peoples that were met,
648 but always appeared to be well nourished. In the morning, when we

Y
B
648 kinsmen. One of my Bakairi was treated as a headman, loaded with
[609] presents and made to lead a dance, taking the place of the master of ceremonies, by these people.

The Mehinaku were in fear of all the tribes but the Aura and Yawalapiti, who are also Arawaks. The Kamayula and especially the Kuikutl were feared by all.

Y
123 In our contact with these tribes, the fears of the Bakairi and the
648 Mehinaku seemed to be somewhat justified, though at no time did we
439 clash with any group. Disputes sometimes arose, springing from the
177 difficulty of making our mutual requests understood, but we were able to settle everything amicably. At one time we were warned that the Kamayala were lying in wait for us, having resented our failure to visit their village, which was due to my inability to walk at the time. However, on passing the place where they were supposed to be in ambush, we were not molested. We were told that, having waited for us several days, their food supplies had been exhausted, and that they had gone to their village for food. The Kuikutl were a little troublesome, being somewhat arrogant, yet several of their men performed excellent and quiet service, for the axes and knives that were given them. All of the tribes met have been very little affected by the outside world; in fact, the only articles that we saw not of their own manufacture were a few nails which had been converted into arrow points. Thus, in our dealings with them we had to depend entirely on trade goods. Knives were wanted and prized by all, but axes were not wanted. Fish hooks of all sizes, and fishing lines were wanted and given to everyone. Clothing was wanted as a protection from the insects, but we were not supplied with it. Necklaces came next in importance as trade goods. Other objects were taken, but not with the same enthusiasm as the ones mentioned.

Y
171 In the region under discussion, three of the most widely disseminated
105 linguistic stocks are represented, and yet no appreciable differences in their material culture were discovered in the field. An examination of the collections that have been brought back has resulted in verifying the first impression.

All are a fishing people, and the methods employed are common to all; manioc is the other food staple, and the associated traits in the cultivation and preparation of it are found in every village; the houses are constructed in the same manner; the bows and arrows used are

61 There appears to be no evidence that the Bacairí
601 had clans or moieties. The kinship nomenclature is of the bifurcate merging type with parallel kin merged with lineal kin and with separate terms for mother's brother and father's sister and for cross cousins. (See chart 3.) The kinship terms in ego's generation and in the children's generation are dis-
582 tinct for men and women. Beyond the bar prohibiting marriage between anyone called brother, sister, parent, or child, there were no special rules governing marriage. Cross-cousin marriage was
591 common but not preferred. There were no resi-
606 dence rules or avoidances of the mother-in-law or father-in-law. As the Bacairí lived in large com-
592 munal houses, marriages often took place between
[582] young people brought up in the same house. After
[591] marriage they would take over a section of the house as their private quarters. The Bacairí say that families could move to another house with the
595 consent of the house elder. Although polygyny was permissible marriages were generally nonog-
593 amous. The father and the father's brother had
604 great authority and were highly respected. Younger brothers were not permitted to joke or play rough with their eldest brother. The mother's brother and father's sister were also respected but
593 less than the eldest brother. The relationship
35 between brothers and sisters was one of great respect, the informant saying that incest was unthinkable.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH (ERASÊLLI)

843 Pregnancy (*enokúa*) was recognized as being
[842] caused by sexual intercourse. In advanced pregnancy a woman was not permitted to eat the flesh of such large animals as deer, capybara, or
844 tapir. When the time of delivery drew near a portion of the house was screened off, where the woman gave birth and remained secluded until the normal menses began. The expectant mother was assisted by her mother and other female relatives,
[756] a shaman being called only in cases of difficult birth.

A woman gave birth in a squatting position, the midwife holding her under the arms and gently pressing her stomach. Sometimes the stomach and back of the woman were bathed with poultices made from boiled cotton leaves. It was the duty of the woman's mother to cut the umbilical cord

/331 cont./

*171 not always in the best hands, and goes to the son, or, if there is
682 none, to the son of the sister. In Maigéri the chief had died and left only a daughter, "my intended" in the Bakairí idyl. Tumayaua, the brother of the widow, now became temporary chief; as soon as the girl married, her husband took his place. She received a quantity of the beads which we had given to others; the chief's stool belonged to her.

*171 A number of characteristics of matriarchy are recognizable
● 611 in the little that I am able to report about these conditions. The
648 sons belong to the tribe of the mother; Antonio said that if one of the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ married to Paressí women had children, they would be Paressí. Which, of course, in the case of abducted
*171 women, can only be meant very theoretically. In our time
582 marriages took place between Mehinakú and Nahuquá, between
648 Auetó and Yaulapiti, as well as between Kamayurá /Camayura/, and Auetó, between Kamayurá and Mehinakú, between Batovy Bakaïrí and Kustenaú /Custenau/, between Kulisehu Bakaïrí and
*171 Nahuquá. Just as Mehinakú women lived among the Nahuquá,
591 so had Auetö men married Yaulapiti women and lived in two
648 houses somewhat apart from the Auetó village; they were called "Arauití."* On the other hand, a Kustenaú man and a Nahuquá

*The Suyá chief who in 1884 gave us the map of the river course was also called an "Arauití" by the Auetó chief. His strikingly small lip-plug was explained by the fact that he had had the operation later; he himself traced his geographical knowledge back to his own journeys.

man had married and lived among the Bakaïrí, whereas we never observed the opposite, that Bakaïrí women married into
*171 another tribe. Pauhaga, from the first Bakaïrí village on the
591 Batovy, had as his wife Awía's daughter from Maigéri and, when
844 his wife was ready to give birth, came with her to Awiá's house on the Kulisehu, so that she, or rather both of them, as we shall

/268 cont./

534 sticks decorated with geometric designs. These sticks are still used in Bakairí dances in Simões Lopes.

535 533 Our informants remembered the following dances and songs: oriko, a dance performed with the help of the adorned sticks, at no specific time; iauaisári, the maize song; mahulauari, performed at the time of the construction of a new house; pahoevatá, performed at the time of the ceremony of the perforation of the boys' ears, and the maize celebration, or anjéintabiénli.

535 532 825 [784] In the sacred dances, barred to women, masks representing various animals were used. In our opinion these masks did not represent the animals proper but rather the iamüra, lords of these animals. This would justify the fact that these representations are so far removed from reality, even in terms of native art.

773 The Bakairí myths related by Karl von den Steinen and Capistrano de Abreu mention Tchini (or Keri, the sun), Numa (or Kame, the moon), (16) and Nakoeri. (17) Tchina and Numa

16. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., pp. 447-492.

17. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 45-50, 235-240.

or Keri and Kame, the sun and the moon, are twin creator heroes of the Bakairí. The same task of /269/ creating the Bakairí is attributed to Nakoeri. The nonexistence of moieties [616] among the Bakairí leads us to regard the myth of the twin [174] heroes as a borrowed feature, since there does not seem to be a justifying correspondence in their social organization. The 539 Paranatinga Indians told us the following myth:

Iamadili or the Origin of the Day.

In the beginning the world was so dark and so cold that the Indians had to cover their bodies with

S /155 cont./ The Suyá geographer
101 already mentioned the "Kayuquará" as the outermost inhabitants, and I had assumed at that time, correctly it now seems, that by that the KayaX6-Kayapó were meant.

B The long list of names looks worse than it actually is. Each
101 village has its name, and the stranger who hears it cannot at first
103 judge whether he should expect a new or a familiar tribe there.
621 The simplest example is the Nahuquá. For the Indian, "Nahuquá"
Y refers only to the inhabitants of the Kulisehu village; the
101 Yaurikumá, Guikurú, etc. do not call themselves Nahuquá, and
621 it was merely because of our happening to stop first among the
"Nahuquá" that I am using this name as the tribal name. There
Y may be slight dialectal differences, but I was able to record a
[197] list of the most important words from the Yanumakapü and am convinced, and for the Yaurikumá and Guikurú as well, that their language corresponds throughout with the "Nahuquá." The
B Bakaïrí are inspired by a strong feeling of nationality, for they
101 call themselves Bakaïrí whether they live in the source region of
62 the Arinos, the Paranatinga, the Batovy, or the Kulisehu. By
[619] analogy with the Nahuquá, the Bakaïrí of the Kulisehu would
[103] have to call themselves by their village names: Maigéri, Iguéti, and Kuyaqualiéti.

B It would have been a blessing for ethnography if all the
101 tribes had taken as a model this fine example of the Bakaïrí.
128 We have several clear examples here of how a family community,
197 or, if one wishes, a tribe, becomes scattered, how each separate
619 community is inclined to give up the old connection and therefore loses it irrevocably, must become a new "tribe" if the displacement continues, and closer relations are maintained, not with neighbors related by blood, but those of another extraction. Under these circumstances, there is nothing else for us to do /156/ but to determine first of all the linguistic relationships. They are not to be confused with blood relationships. But under the simple narrow circumstances which are involved here, linguistic relationship and blood relationship coincide far more than among more highly civilized peoples, who, through writing, possess a language that has developed a distinct character. If a

B /156 cont./
101 couple of foreign individuals enter one of these family communi
128 ties, they will, it is readily admitted, bring about a crossbreeding
197 which is not disclosed by a study of the language. But inter-
619 mixtures on a greater scale also change the language tremendously.
The foreign women who become mothers exert an influence on
the language of the children, which, in the Island Karaiben, for
000 example, is plainly evident. The children of the Karaiben men
and Aruak women did not by any means speak Karaiben, as the
young mulattoes in Brazil speak Portuguese, but rather spoke a
new language which had important grammatical elements and
phonetic peculiarities from the mothers. This is not very sur-
prising, for the cultural differences between the two tribes were
not basic, the number of foreign women was large, and they
brought all their local traditions into the marriage, since the
conquering men came from the outside. The children were com-
pelled both to make a compromise with the language materials
on the father's and the mother's side, and to choose between the
prefixes and suffixes offered by the one and the other, which are
of decisive importance for the alteration of the word roots as a
result of the influence on the stem's initial or final sound, and
they experienced the reciprocal effect, uncurbed by any school-
master culture, but instead freely active, of the phonetic laws
B valid up to then in the two parental tribes. Among these primi-
101 tive peoples, the measure of linguistic differentiation will also
197 be roughly the measure of anthropological differentiation.

If we wish to cast about for linguistic relationship among the Kulisehu "tribes" and thus reduce the list, we must dwell for a moment on the linguistic groups occurring in the rest of Brazil.

T There are still many individual tribes who, either because
101 their linguistic relatives are no longer living or because we do
197 not know them, speak isolated languages. We must first of all
put the Trumaí among them, in order to dispose of them im-
T mediately. I did not succeed in finding a place for them anywhere,
[192] near or far. They have borrowed a good many words from the
culture of their neighbors, the Kamayurá and Auetö, but the core
and essence of the idiom is peculiar and of a different origin.

/179 cont./

*171 301 carried, but rather saved them for acknowledgment by his contemporaries and attached them to his body. We find this all the more natural, since we know that with such parts, in his opinion, the characteristics of the game animal were acquired. Thus he [789] wore claws, teeth, and feathers as trophy and talisman. While *171 301 304 he could tie most of these things on a string, he was in difficulty with a feather which he wanted to keep as a memento of a good shot: he pierced his ear lobe and stuck it in there, where it was secure and did not get in his way. The ancestors of all our tribes hit upon this; some of them were soon not content with ear holes, but also pierced the nose and lips. For the idea of the trophy, at first applied only to the laborious attainment, was extended to a wearing not connected with much pain or labor. A new result, worthy of admiration, was produced, and a young man undoubtedly felt "better tailored," in the fullest sense of the expression, if he displayed his treasure in a hole in his nose, lip, or ears, than *171 301 822 if he wore it around his neck on a string. Once the wearing of the trophy became habitual, it was inevitable that attention was turned to its external qualities as well, the previously secondary characteristics of color and form. Even objects that had merely been used to keep the holes open and prevent them from healing shut became ornaments and decorations. More or less vaguely felt perceptions of pleasing color contrasts were associated with ideas about the difficult, the unusual, the power-endowed.

*171 304 ●619 The artificial injury, however, became an end in itself through the circumstance that it furnished a permanent distinguishing mark and thus shaped various forms of the custom. It was not only excellently suited for distinguishing brave and ruling persons within a tribe, who were usually also the most vain, but it often formed the consciously worn symbol of nationality from tribe to tribe. It provided the means for giving even children lasting [648] marks. The Indians have always passionately engaged in kidnapping among foreign tribes in order to rear warriors and women; hence children were marked so that they could be recognized, as the herd-owner stamps his livestock. When we were with the Bororó, an old woman swore by all that was holy that our Antonio,

/179 cont./

*171 although he understood not a word of Bororó, was her son stolen
304 years before by enemies; she wailed and lamented loudly all
●619 night long, then it was strange to see how the Bororó carefully undertook to examine on the half-laughing, half-outraged Antonio his lower lip, which among them is pierced as early as infancy and unanimously set him free when, instead of their little lip-hole, they found a pierced nasal septum. Thus among the
[648] Bakaïrí there were abducted Paressí women; among the Nahuquá, Mehinakú women; among the Suyá, the captured Manitsauá, who were immediately distinguishable from the rest by the tribal marking. /180/ The artificial injury thus developed into a regu-
[186] lar arrangement for expediency. Moreover, the foreign was re-
*171 garded as ugly or comical, the indigenous as beautiful and noble.
304

The piercing of the ear lobes is generally widespread among
[301] the men of all tribes. It serves solely for feather ornaments.
[239] Among no tribe of the Kulisehu do the women have pierced ear-lobes, and no woman wears feather ornaments of any kind anywhere else on her body; the woman does not hunt -- the origin from the hunting trophy is still unmistakably distinct. The ear of the boy is pierced at the time when he begins to practice with a small-sized bow and arrow.* /Fig. 12 appears here./

*Among the Suyá men and women wear rolls of palm leaf strips in the slit-open ear-lobe, which is gradually extended into a long rein, but here, too, feather ornaments are confined to the men.

The piercing of the lower part of the nasal septum, so that the alae, slightly turned upward, rest on the object stuck through it, is found only among the Bakaïrí, on the Paranatinga and Rio Novo, on the Batovy, and in the first Kulisehu village among both sexes, in the second Kulisehu village only among the men, in the third neither among men nor women. This geographical
[648] distribution makes it seem not improbable to me that the custom is based on that of the Paressí, /181/ who were formerly in active

/187 cont./

*171 302 751 the Bakairí Luchu, in a pleasant idle hour, treat himself to a serpentine line with dots beside it on his thigh, and just as plainer people among us dress only modestly even on Sunday, so an Indian of more unassuming temperament is content to permit himself for the celebration of a joyful event merely a painting of the forehead and nose or of the calves, instead of a linear design. By and large, however, I find it clearly evident that daubing is done for utilitarian purposes and one decorates himself with designs for beautification purposes, and I conclude from this that cosmetics were not adornment at first. And this is all the [822] more to be maintained inasmuch as to this day only secondary value is put on the color of their coloring materials, since they scorn white altogether, make no particular distinction between red and black, and since they have disproportionately more [192] beautiful colors at their disposal in their feather ornaments. The development of color words, as we shall see, also speaks in favor of this view.

I need scarcely point out that among the purposes of daubing regarded as useful the medicinal ones were not lacking and encouraged the custom; I shall cite a specific and very common case presently in connection with the scarifier. When Moritona, the great medicine man of the Yaulapiti, smeared the remainder of our pea soup over a broad area of his chest, the motive of delight in color probably played only a minor part.

*171 302 The designs were of different kinds. Simple finger strokes, bold stripes, for example, from eye to ear, or the beautifying of the same Moritona: a black stripe from the nose to the navel, stripes that followed the contours of the shoulder blades, dots on chest and arms, wavy lines along the thighs, dotted arcs across the chest, a zigzag down the back and legs, and the like. In part there was involved in this a bold outlining [619] or intersection of the anatomical contours, in part imitation animal skin-design, but everything was the choice of the individual person and there were no tribal designs. The conspicuous painting of individual parts of the body, for instance, forehead and nose, may be regarded as a transition to the ordinary broader

/190 cont./

*171 characteristically, wore on his arm the two tattoo lines of the
304 Mehinakú women, painted on, to be sure, and not tattooed. I
believe, but cannot maintain and prove, that there is a connec-
tion here with the system of matriarchy. According to the Indian
[619] conception, the sons belong to the tribe of the mother, and in
every case they visit the tribal village of the mother under
peaceful circumstances. It is certain that the Mehinakú women
and the Mehinakú pots bore their home stamp.

II. Sexualia.

*171 The devices among men and women are not coverings. Protec-
291 tion of the mucous membrane and benefits with the onset of
puberty. Origin among the women, however, as bandage and
cushion, among the men as gymnastic treatment for phimosis.

*171 Our natives do not have any secret body parts. They joke
291 about them in word and picture with such complete ingenuous-
83 ness that it would be foolish to call them indecent. They envy us
for our clothing as though for a valuable ornament; they put it
on and wear it in our company with such utter disregard of our
simplest rules and such complete misunderstanding of all the
devices designed for them that their paradisiacal naïveté is
[881] most convincingly proved. Some of them celebrate /191/ the
onset of puberty for both sexes with noisy folk festivals, in
which general attention and boisterousness is demonstratively
[602] concerned with the "private parts." If a man wishes to tell a
[201] stranger that he is the father of another or a woman wishes to
introduce herself as the mother of a child, they gravely acknowl-
edge themselves as worthy begetters in that, with the most
spontaneous and natural explanation in the world, they grasp
the organs from which life issues.

128 Hence it is not possible to understand these people properly
unless we leave aside our ideas of "clothing," unless we take
them as they are and as they prove themselves in their own way.
Keeping in mind as our point of departure the fact that they have

/229 cont./

#171 411 The arrow is by no means a simple work of art; if one compares the arrows of our tribes, among whom an ethnographic leveling has taken place, with the arrows from neighboring regions, one always notices, on careful examination, differences of material or technique. The arrows of the Yuruna on the lower Schingú, those of the Karayá /Caraja/ in the east toward the Araguay /Araguaia/, those of the Paressí in the west, those of the Bororó in the south, as well as those of the Yarumá, always have their distinct characteristics. Like comparative linguistic research, it is possible to carry on comparative arrow research. When we came to a new tribe we often saw with what interest the specimens brought along from the neighbors were examined and judged; aside from our clothes, nothing seemed stranger to these people than our lack of bows and arrows. If it is diffi- [619] cult to understand how the Indian imagines that his culture heroes created the individual tribes by bewitchment of the arrow reed that they stuck into the ground, nevertheless it is easy to understand the basic idea that the arrow is the characteristic mark of the tribe; the great sorcerer also chooses for each tribe the type [824] of reed that distinguishes its arrows. The kambayuva reed furnishes more delicate, thinner shafts than the ubá reed; the docile Bakaïrí, since they have made the acquaintance of rifles, have given up the ubá reed commonly used on the upper Schingú and now have, if not exactly toy arrows, at any rate small arrows in comparison with those of the Schingú. The bows, (1.70 meters), too, have become smaller.-

#171 411 239 The simplest arrow consists of the feathered reed shaft and, driven into it, a thin stick of wood which protrudes a third of a meter and is slightly pointed. Below the point there is sometimes fastened a small barb, for which a small tooth or preferably the maxillary spike of the great ant-bear is used. Or else a long piece of hollow cylindrical bone from monkey arm or leg bones, whole bundles of which are collected at home and the bone ground down, is driven onto the wooden point at the top. Wax, which is applied with a bone, is used as a binding agent. The ray spine also makes an arrow point. Finally, the barb may be made by placing a curved, double pointed piece of bone into the

/303 cont./

532 part projects with considerable curvature. They also have a huge
535 nose of human shape, which, along with the rest, is carved out
[237] of one piece. The mouth consists of a set of piranha teeth pasted on with wax. The eyes are small holes decorated with little pieces of mother-of-pearl, or they appear in two masks as a pair of river mussels pierced in the center. Hoods, from which, as always, long straw hangings flutter down, are plaited on the wooden
[237] plates for putting them on the head. In the places corresponding
[619] to the ears, the Bakaïrí were in the habit of inserting two beautiful yellow japú feathers (Cassicus), which they themselves wear as a sort of tribal mark. These feathers are also to be noted on the costume of the man with the imeo cap (cf. page 344).

532 Six of the masks were identified for us as bird masks. We
535 have, first of all, a mask, Fig. 94 /see p. 351/, which represents
825 a dove, papadüri, secondly a /304/ /Figs. 94-97 appear here/ /305/ gull mask, kakaya, see Fig. 44, page 289, thirdly the mask of a small bird unknown to us, which is said to live along lagoons and is called alapübe, Fig. 95, fourthly the arakuma mask, which represents a cock of the woods and is characterized by a wooden stem representing the head ornament of the animal, Fig. 96, and, finally, two tüwetüwe masks, one with a black indented decoration, the other with a red one, which refer to a songbird with a white head and red shoulder markings, Fig. 97. Of the bird masks described, only the gull mask (cf. the illustration on page 289) has the mereschu decoration, and it may doubtless be assumed that this is supposed to characterize the fish-catching water bird, since the mereschu is not shown in the net but separately.

The two most attractive masks were called yakuá-ikúto, that is, "piranha picture." They bear red cheek markings; on the one specimen we see two red triangles with the tips touching between nose and mouth, and the triangles are so large that each takes up one-fourth of the plate. (Cf. Fig. 12, p. 168.) By means of this painting the larger piranha species of those waters, the papo amarello (yellow throat) of the Brazilians, adorned with a brilliant orange, is reproduced. The eyes are pierced shells. The

[Text Continues on p. 352]

/362 cont./

761 blowing it was intended to breathe in the breath. But in the
755 legends the dead and things are always brought to life by simple
812 but indispensable blowing, and the Bakaïrí sometimes translates epeheni, "to blow," into the Portuguese with rezar, "to pray, to bless," while ordinarily he uses soprar, "to blow," or assoprar, "to blow upon," just as the substantive related to epeheni is sapehénu, "wind."

Although I said that things become living or animate through blowing, on closer observation this is a very incorrect expression. The /363/ sorcerer accomplishes far more than breathing a "soul"
773 or, as into the dead, "life," into them. We learn this from the
812 most important example that human beings are made from things: men from arrows, women from maize pestles, after the necessary arrows and pestles have been carved out of cane and wood. To be sure, there were always Bakaïrí, but if there was a scarcity of them, the culture hero made new ones by fashioning arrows out of ubá reed, thrusting them upright into the ground, and blowing on them. In the same way each of the other tribes were made out of the arrow reed that they still carry today and that therefore still differentiates them today; the European was made from a wood resembling the stock of his gun. The fundamental
[69] observation, which is later, as always, regarded as confirmation of the proceedings described, is that the tribes are differentiated by their arrows. Moreover, the arrow is the characteristic feature of the man. The women, on the other hand, come into being when maize pestles are carved, set upright against the mortar, and get the breath of life by being blown upon; those carved out of good wood start working immediately, the others are idle.

Neither arrows nor pestles are given a "soul," but rather the whole "person." When the sorcerer is finished, the man stands beside his arrow, the woman beside her pestle. The story-teller himself seems to be not entirely at ease about the process, for the sorcerer, as soon as he has blown, "goes to one side a little" and upon his return finds the men or women finished. An insect, which through mimicry has come to look like a jatobá leaf and is called "jatobá leaf" by the Bakaïrí, was created by blowing on the leaf; we might say "it came alive" or call it a "transformed leaf." The person is added to the already present reed, wood, leaf.

/394 cont./

173 source region of the Tapajoz, and from there some of them emi-
167 grated to the Batovy and Kulisehu in the source region of the Schingú. According to the legend, they reached the salto from the source region of the Paranatinga and Ronuro.

The separation of the West Bakaïrí and East Bakaïrí would under all circumstances have to be dated back to at least the previous century and before the time when the Bakaïrí spread to the southwest into the source region of the Cuyabá. The
174 linguistic comparison agrees well with these conclusions; the
197 two groups of Bakaïrí speak a language that is identical in form and content, with slight dialectal differences. A few fish and trees are designated differently; the name of the akurí palm of the Kulisehu is that of the oaussú palm of the Paranatinga, and vice versa. As far as the Schingú Bakaïrí are concerned, it is
[177] absolutely certain that they have never had any contact with the white man.

619 As a result of our expedition of 1884, West Bakaïrí and East
[123] Bakaïrí came together again. Antonio, after his return home
[166] to the Paranatinga, told of the fellow tribesmen on the Batovy, and the practical Chief Felipe had the idea that he must try to persuade them to settle on the Paranatinga. In September of
[484] 1886 he set out with Antonio and another man, they reached the Batovy in three days and required another three days along the river until they reached the first village.

/395/ Chief Luku was kurápa and did not entertain them as splendidly as they had expected, but several East Bakaïrí, our "professor" of 1884 in the lead, accompanied them to the
619 Paranatinga. The visitors had great fear of the cattle, but great
431 joy over the visitors-gifts, with which Felipe did not stint. I inquired specifically what they had been given to take along. "We gave them all the iron we had, chickens (this, however, was later denied), small banana plants, mandioca twigs, maize, and rice." Thus one sees how the first opportunity is immediately used to transplant the cultivated produce! If the experiment succeeded, our successors on the Schingú will be able to eat bananas!

B /395 cont./
619 In January of 1887 Felipe gaily set out for Cuyabá to let
[484] himself be presented with more iron goods, but his hopes were
[177] not appreciated there, and he was sent home empty-handed. Tumayaua told us in 1887 that the Bakaïri of the first Batovy village had again gone to the Paranatinga; they must have arrived there shortly after our departure. I had no further opportunity to hear more details about this later.

II. Shift of the Karaiben to the North.

B
C
121 Chiefly relying on linguistic evidence, I attempted, on the
174 basis of the results of the first Schingú /Xingu/ expedition, to defend the hypothesis that the newly discovered Karaiben /Carib/ in the source region of the Tapajoz /Tapajós/ and Schingú lived closer to the original seats of the tribe than did the Karaiben north of the Amazonas, that the latter immigrated from the south into the Guianas and from there crossed over to the Lesser Antilles.

A I advanced a movement in the same direction only for the
B Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ always appearing next to the Karaiben, al-
C though I was well aware that there was far greater uncertainty
174 here than in the case of the Karaiben. Cf. Durch Centralbrasilien, page 297 /omitted in 1:Steinen of this file, a translation of the work cited/. "Whether the common ancestors lived in the northern or southern part of the stretch of country over which we find the grandchildren distributed is rather unimportant considering the present state of our knowledge. My feeling -- that is all -- is more inclined to assume that the movement
B started from the plateau." My feeling, however, deceived me
A
174 for an important part of the Nu-Aruak group, the Paressí, of whom I had erroneous ideas based on reports of Cuyabans; for, at least according to the statements that I obtained from them directly in 1888, they definitely advanced from north to south, even though the boundary may be uncertain with regard to how far north their homeland is to be shifted. At the present time the problem concerning the Nu-Aruak is not yet to be taken in at a glance: we know too little about the Moxos /Mojo/ and

/12 cont./

114 influence on the later development of these Indians, with their
648 very marked feeling of nationality, that they changed their
175 primordial customs completely during the 50 years following
[177] Karl von den Steinen's second expedition carried out in the
114 region of the headwaters of the Xingu River. Thanks to a series
121 of data on events among the Bakairí in this interval, we find ourselves in the fortunate position of being able to investigate that transformation. We are oriented in detail on the personality and life history of several Bakairí who have influenced in a special way the later development of their tribe, like Cacique Reginaldo and, especially, Cacique Antonio and his stepson José Coroado, so that we can give our historical report on the Bakairí a more personal character than would be possible with respect to other Indian tribes.

114 If we differentiate, according to Karl von den Steinen, the
101 Bakairí who live west of the Rio Paranatinga (in later times officially Rio Telles Pires) as western Bakairí and the eastern Bakairí, who have their homes in the regions east of this river, on the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, it can be said that in the period of Karl von den Steinen's first expedition to the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River, no contacts took place between these two Bakairí groups, and certainly none had
[115] taken place for a long time. Old Cacique Reginaldo told Karl von den Steinen that he still remembered, from the days of his youth, that traveling from the Rio Paranatinga eastward, one would reach a big river on which it was said that Bakairí also lived, but that at the present date they did not know any-
174 thing about this region. (4) Certainly no contacts had taken
177
●619
[113]

4. Karl v.d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien /Through Central Brazil/. Leipzig, 1886. p. 182.

place between the western Bakairí and those of the east from the time when the former established closer contact with the

/12 cont./
174 Brazilians, for otherwise the Bakairí of the Batovy and Kulisehu
177 rivers could not have remained so totally free of /13/ any Euro-
619 pean influence. In my book, Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien
114 (5), I discussed at length the causes of this long isolation of the
175
619
[643]
[113]

5. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien. Erlebnisse und Ethnologische. Ergebnisse einer Reise in den Jahren 1900-1901 /Indian Studies in Central Brazil. Adventure and Ethnology. Results of a Journey in the Years 1900-1901/. Berlin, 1905, p. 320.

eastern Bakairí, and among these causes I especially emphasized the hostility which existed between the Bakairí and their neighbors the Kayabí /Cayabi/, who long made unsafe the region located between the settlements of the western and eastern Bakairí. Contact between these two Bakairí groups was re-established when Karl von den Steinen took along with him on his first expedition to the Xingu River, the Bakairí, Antonio, who later became cacique of the Bakairí, so that he had the opportunity to become acquainted with his fellow countrymen who lived on the Rio Batovy. Already in the year 1886, that is, before Karl von den Steinen's second expedition, the Bakairí, Felipe, who was then cacique of the Paranatinga Bakairí, had on his part visited, along with the above-mentioned Antonio and another Bakairí, his fellow countrymen on the Rio Batovy and had succeeded in getting some of them to make, in turn, a visit to the Rio Paranatinga.

128 In order to make a connection with Karl von den Steinen's
101 historical report, I shall first refer in a few words to the conditions in which this author found the Bakairí at the time of his second expedition in the year 1887. I shall first deal with the

175 /17 cont./
726 the Paranatinga Bakairí, one of whom, named Charlotta, was
727 the wife of Cacique Felipe. To the influence of such women,
[563] captured in hostile encounters with the Paressí, we must
[177] attribute, in the first place, the extensive assimilation of the legends of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga River. (19)

19. Ibid., p. 365.

173 According to the statements of the western Bakairí, the
166 origin of the Bakairí who live in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River was due to the fact that, as a result of quarrels among the Bakairí, who were still living in former times by the falls, part of them broke away and emigrated to the Rio Kulisehu. (20) We do not know whether this represents

20. Ibid., p. 391.

a historical fact or merely legendary superstitions of the
175 Paranatinga Bakairí. For lack of any objective knowledge of the presence of these Indians in former times on the two tributaries of the Xingu River, the Batovy and the Kulisehu, and for lack of any statements about their former life by these /Indians/ themselves, the history of these eastern Bakairí begins only at the time of Karl von den Steinen's first expedition to the Xingu River in the year 1884, which brought attention upon them for the first time and was their first historical event. As for the first effects of this event, so important for the subsequent fate of the eastern Bakairí, Karl von den Steinen was already able to recognize them himself and make use of them in his
175 section "History of the Bakairí." The first mutual visits be-
619 tween the Bakairí of the Paranatinga and their fellow country-men on the Rio Batovy marked the beginning of relations between these two Bakairí groups. In what follows we shall deal
[128] with the manner in which these relations gradually increased, extending also to the Bakairí of the Rio Kulisehu and influencing

175 /17 cont./
619 in subsequent times to a high degree the history of the two
128 groups of the Bakairí tribe, so different one from the other.

After Karl von den Steinen's second expedition to the
175 Xingu River, the next event in the history of the Bakairí, and especially of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga, was the lost expedition of Captain Telles Pires in the year 1889. This explorer, accompanied by Lieutenant Oscar Miranda and 26 boatmen, among whom were also Paranatinga Bakairí, had endeavored to go down the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires) from the mouth of the Rio S. Manuel /São Manuel River/.
175 Among the 21 companions who perished with Telles Pires in
622 this undertaking was Cacique Felipe of the Paranatinga Bakairí, who died of fever on the way. The Bakairí, Irineo, raised and adopted by this cacique, who had accompanied his father, was not heard of again after this excursion and it was supposed
175 that he also had perished. When the Bakairí got the news of
622 their cacique's death, they burned their houses /18/ and
166 abandoned their aldea to settle farther upriver. The harbor of
361 the new aldea, situated like the previous aldea on the left
[103] side of the river, was 18 kilometers downriver from the mouth of the Rio S. Manuel on the Rio Paranatinga, or Rio Telles Pires as it was officially named after the ill-fated undertaking of Captain Telles Pires, and the aldea itself was 1,600 meters inland from the riverbank and 200 meters from the small Corrego do Tatú /"Armadillo Stream"/. (21)

21. A. Pyrineus de Sousa, loc. cit., pp. 61, 68, and 69.

175 Who the first cacique of the aldea was after Felipe's death
622 I do not know. At the close of the last decade of the past century, when Antonio Correa da Costa was president of the state of Mato Grosso (in the years from 1895 to the beginning of 1898, with a gap in the year 1897), the cacique of the aldea

/20 cont./

177 231 [191] Reginaldo and his people had a large number of cattle and several saddle horses. Although among themselves they spoke only in the Bakairí language, all of the men knew the Brazilian language, and it was said that Cacique Reginaldo knew how to read and speak some French. The Rio Novo Bakairí maintained at the time active relations with their fellow countrymen on the Rio Paranatinga. With the eastern Bakairí they hardly had any contacts, except for the Bakairí Joaquim who was the uncle of Cacique Antonio of the Paranatinga aldea and who had a young Bakairí from the Rio Batovi river in his service.

619

114 161 Different were the conditions of the Bakairí in the Rio Paranatinga aldea at the time of my visit. While the population at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions had dwindled in such a way that Karl von den Steinen foresaw the end of this community, the population of the aldea had increased in the meantime with the addition of numerous Bakairí from the Xingu River region. The number of these Bakairí, called by their Paranatinga fellow countrymen Xinguanos, climbed to 34 at the time of my stay with these Indians. The leader of the community was Antonio, who was at this time at the peak of his power. The only insignia /21/ of his rank as comandante of the Indians of the upper Xingu River region, officially granted by the Mato Grosso government, were a pair of red soldier's trousers with a wide white stripe which ran down the side of each leg, but a more practical symbol of his power were several good firearms hanging in his house, which he also used occasionally, according to the Mato Grosso men, against insubordinate fellow countrymen. The majority of the Xinguanos then living in his aldea were totally dependent upon him with regard to economic conditions and made up a valuable component of his power, for he had supplied the most trustworthy men among them with firearms. This small military force was important above all to insure contact between the Rio Paranatinga and the tributaries of the Xingu River against the Kayabí who had unquestionably begun at this time to

622 554 [648] [411] 701 648

/21 cont./

622 that he still kept from those days. Antonio had no children by
115 Doña Rosa. I had the opportunity to become acquainted with
[123] her when, returning in poor health from the Rio Kulisehu, I was most generously accommodated in her house although Antonio was away.

342 José Coroado's house, situated in front of his stepfather
352 Antonio's house, was just as large and built in the same style.
353 Its interior gave much more of a native impression than Antonio's house. In the half-dark rooms several women lay in the hammocks, /22/ among them one with Jose's little daughter, who was only a few weeks old. All the walls in the house showed in the upper part, directly under the ceiling, boards painted in black and white. These friezes made by the Xinguanos showed the typical paintings of the Bakairí. All of the decorations known to the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River regions appeared in these paintings, such as, for example, the figures called
159 uluri, merechu, and maimai. José, in spite of his youth, had
191 already had a great deal of experience. The hole in his lower lip at once recalled his early childhood among his own fellow
[871] countrymen, the Bororo, whose idiom he still knew. As already mentioned above, he had come with his mother to the house of Cacique Antonio when he was a boy of five or six, but he had received part of his education in the capital, Cuiabá, so that he was better acquainted than any other Rio Paranatinga Bakairí with the Portuguese language, which he also used in
159 talking with his mother. When he was an adult, Cacique
●619 Antonio had taken him along on a trip to the Batovy and Kulisehu
484 rivers. Already at that time he had had trouble with his stepfather because he had become too involved with the pretty girls of the first aldea of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí and had thus damaged the good relations with the inhabitants of that aldea. The anger of the inhabitants of the first Rio Kulisehu aldea caused by José Coroado's behavior still continued at the time of my journey to the Rio Kulisehu, and José did not dare to accompany me to that aldea because he had learned that its

159 /22 cont./
619 inhabitants planned to poison him. So he remained in the port near our canoes. But the difficulties this caused me were compensated for by the fact that during his visit to the second aldea of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí, he had married a local Indian girl and taken her to the Rio Paranatinga.

159 José was already trying then in every possible way to be-
593 come independent from his stepfather. I found this out primarily
114 from a conversation between José and his mother which I overheard during my stay in Antonio's house. Already then he had several Xinguanos working in his service, and although they were not as numerous as the Xinguanos in the service of Cacique Antonio, this competition could be seen as a factor that was beginning to curtail Antonio's power, which had reached its zenith at the time, and that threatened sooner or later to lead to a violent outcome. This discord between Antonio and his son-in-law /sic/ was important to the outcome of the expedition I had undertaken to the Rio Kulisehu insofar as José Coroado was ready to accompany me with his brother-in-law Chico, who was from the second Bakairí aldea on the Rio Kulisehu, while Antonio made his help to my undertaking contingent on inordinately high demands which far exceeded my then rather scant resources for travel. Finally I was able to persuade Antonio to let me have two of his people to accompany me to the embarkation point on the Rio Kulisehu and then to return with my pack oxen to the Rio Paranatinga.

619 As a result of the active and close contact which had pre-
182 vailed since the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions between the Bakairí of the Paranatinga and their fellow countrymen of the upper Xingu River region, the /23/ way of life of the former had regained a more native character. I have already
353 mentioned that José Coroado's large house showed friezes with
619 paintings of a purely Bakairí nature. Antonio was again partici-
182 pating, painted above the waist, in native dances and because
756 of the frequency of illnesses at the time among the Paranatinga Bakairí, he wanted to induce a doctor from the second Bakairí

619
182 /23 cont./
756 aldea on the Rio Kulisehu to settle with his arts on the Paranatinga.

When I was with the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí in May and June
177 of 1901, 14 years had elapsed since their first contact with
178 articles of European culture. After Karl von den Steinen's
[114] expedition, other explorers had also passed through their land. They had become familiar with iron axes, knives, scissors, matches, and other objects of modern culture, and by bartering their native products they had become amply provided with such objects, but their natures and their way of life had barely
[411] changed. They had become acquainted with the firearms of the Europeans and of their fellow countrymen of the Rio Paranatinga, but they still regarded them with a certain mis-
[226] giving and did not use them either. Fishing, which had been of the greatest importance in the economy of these Indians, was still carried out on a broad scale and in the ancestral way,
[224] fishhooks not being used. In hunting, too, they only used their
[241] arrows and long bows built like the ones of old. Agriculture
[412] was also carried out in the same manner and with the same digging sticks, with the mere exception that the work of clearing was made much easier by the numerous iron axes that replaced the stone axes of times past. I did not see any more stone axes among these Indians. Undoubtedly they had all been replaced by the far more useful iron axes brought by the explorers who passed through these regions. There were large plantations in
241 the vicinity of the aldeas or at a distance from them, and I
114 myself had the opportunity to observe in the aldea of Maimaieti, situated on the Rio Kulisehu, the way in which a big part of the mountain was cleared for a future plantation. The Indians proudly showed me a spot planted in sweet /mansa, "mild"/ manioc, of which they had received cuttings from the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí. During my stay among the Bakairí of Maimaieti aldea there was never a scarcity of manioc, and I and my companions were always generously provided with
[648] manioc cakes /beijús/. I mention this fact especially, because

/29 cont./

114 died a short time before. Cacique Karía, who in times past
115 had received me so hospitably in Maimaieti aldea, was still
159 living but very old. He was quite isolated, for his wife as well
622 as his two daughters, whom I had known as little girls, had
died. Cacique Antonio was also still alive but was also already
old and had remained with his family and a few people at the
location of the old Bakairí aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí.
622 Antonio always clung stubbornly to the idea that the land bound
159 by the Serra Azul, the Riberão Bananal, and the Rio Paranatinga
619 belonged to him and his Bakairí, and he did not want to leave
648 his aldea so as not to lose the right to this region. As for the
114 changes brought about by the establishment of the Simões Lopes
Post, he maintained a very cautious attitude and did not recognize the authority of the Post administration, according to which the Bakairí, Pires, was named cacique of the Xinguanos in his place and appointed to administer the affairs of this part of the Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post. When I later met Cacique Antonio, he told me repeatedly that he was still Capitão and the legitimate chief of his fellow tribesmen. Among other news received from the Bakairí in Cuiabá, I heard that José Coroado and his brother-in-law Chico, who had accompanied me with the latter on my expedition to the Rio Kulisehu, had died since.

114 In the course of the journey which I finally undertook,
622 leaving Cuiabá on January 27, 1927, I was able to make only
159 a passing visit to Cacique Antonio in his aldea, but he himself
[123] visited me at Simões Lopes several times. (Cf. Fig. 1.) I was
very well received in his house as an old friend and treated to
a glass of guarana drink. Whereas Antonio had no issue by Rosa
Bororo, he had after her death three sons by his second wife.
The photograph shown in Figure 2 shows Antonio before his
house with his family, and his horse on the right. The condition
of his house, in contrast with that of previous times when I
visited him at the height of his power, conveyed an impression
114 of poverty. In a small house situated close to Antonio's, I also
115

/260 cont./

131 Rio Novo, also in that state. The Simões Lopes Indians claim
361 that in the past all the Bakairí lived in aldeas by the Parana-
173 tinga River, moving later to the north under pressure of enemy
131 groups. (2) Later on the tribe divided as a result of internal
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619

2. For a better discussion of the possible origins of the Bakairí, see Max Schmidt's article, "Los Bakairí" /The Bacairi/, Revista do Museu Paulista, New Series, Vol. I, pp. 11-58, São Paulo, 1947.

[113]

disputes; part moved to the banks of the Rio Culiseu, one of the sources of the Xingu, and the other part was distributed along the Rio Novo. Perhaps the truth about these reports can only be obtained with the help of archaeology. Meanwhile, the old villages of the Bakairí on the sources of the
619 Xingu no longer exist. The Xinguano Indians suffered a great
175 deal from repeated outbreaks of influenza, and the last
231 Bakairí found in that area were brought to the Simões Lopes
648 Post a few years ago by officials of the Indian Protection Ser-
166 vice. The Rio Novo Bakairí, practically as a whole, adopted
619 the customs of the neighboring Brazilian populations and live
177 independent of the control of the Indian Protection Service.
184 As for the Simões Lopes Indians, although they are quite
[178] acculturated, they still retain many traits of their old culture, they all still speak Bakairí, and some of them still remember the time when they lived in Xinguano aldeas, and make good informants.

114 As for the authors who have dealt with the Bakairí, we shall note among the best, Capistrano de Abreu and Karl von den Steinen. The former left us valuable information on the Bakairí language and on the beliefs of these Indians. The only weakness of his material is that it is based on only one

/119 cont./

361 The aldeament on the Paranatinga was smaller than the
622 one on the Rio Novo. Moreover, the order of the community
578 seemed seriously disturbed. Old Captain Caetano, probably near
[177] his eighties, despite his black hair, /120/ had been divested of
his sovereignty in favor of a younger man, Felipe, at the instigation of the Martyrios expedition, which, with the help of the Bakaïrí, had crossed the Paranatinga and passed through a section of the sertão /wilderness; see the glossary, p. 172/ in a northerly direction. The Bakaïrí, of course, felt more obligated to obey Captain Caetano than Captain Felipe, and the result was that each one made himself as independent as possible and worked on his own.
164 Moreover, the tribe had been hard hit about eight years before by sarampão /measles/, an epidemic disease; the Brazilians put part of the blame for the number of deaths on the Indians because, in the heat of the fever, they had always run into the river.

162 At the time of our visit the Bakaïrí population was made up
621 of five men, five women, three children -- not present were five men, three women, one boy, whose return was, in part, no longer expected. Moreover, there were two Parecí women, one of whom was numbered among those not present, and two Cajibí[7] women, who had been adopted into the tribe. Finally, two Brazilians, caoutchouc-seekers, who had recovered from the fever in the village, had attached themselves, a mulatto Luis and a certain Martin who had a Paraguayan, Carlotta, as a wife, with a small son. Altogether there were 20 individuals present.

115 Luis, who had lived an adventurous life, a "philosopho," as he called himself, a "conversador," as his friend Daniel called him, was intimately acquainted with conditions; he
[191] chattered endlessly and was probably not altogether reliable, but he made himself useful, since the Portuguese of Caetano, who best knew the language, consisted of an extremely modest stock by words; "esse mêmo" -- "stimmt auffallend" /that's it exactly/ in German -- was the quintessence of his knowledge, so that the
144 soldiers soon called him nothing but "Capitão Mêmo." Luis maintained that Caetano was the son of a Bakaïrí father and

[7] [Cajibí = Cayabi, a Tribe classified under SP2 Apiaca in The Outline of World Cultures -- Analyst]

/122 cont./

191 Unfortunately neither Carlotta nor Luisa and Maria spoke one syllable of their mother tongue.

837 The young men had the old women. It is therefore not improbable that Luis, who himself boasted of the conquest of three women's hearts, was not wrong when he maintained that occasional /123/ unfaithfulness is not uncommon and also is not

593 severely judged. The good-natured, aged Caetano, he said, even fell sick, to his astonishment, a short time after the visit of the Martyrios expedition, but he was unable to be sullen with his Luisinha for more than a few days.

162

Luisa Cajibí and Carlotta Parecí.

847 The use of abortive remedies is said to be common and to
161 explain the small number of children. The end of this community can clearly be foreseen.

162 The following was the result of my census:
621 Felipe (absent) married to Carlotta Parecí, childless.
[125] Caetano " " Luisa Cajibí, childless.
Miguel } brothers " " Feliciana, one small daughter.
Joaquim }
João } brothers
Antonio } (our companion).
Joaquina, sister of Miguel and Joaquim.
Marianna.

/123 cont./

162 Agosta. -- A boy Irineo (parents dead).

•621 Luis (Bolivian), Martin (Brazilian) with wife Carlotta (Paraguayan) and child.

126 I could not rejoice enough about the fortunate circumstance
115 that I was able to make the linguistic survey on the Rio Novo. Even with the intelligent Reginaldo it had been difficult enough to determine phonetically the inimitable tongue exercises that make up the Bakaïrí language, but with Captain Mêmo, who did nothing but nod contentedly, and the others who either laughed or grew impatient, nothing could be done.

On the other hand, I am indebted to Caetano for the legends which I shall retell later.

342 The largest house, which Captains Caetano and Felipe oc-
824 cupied together, was 21 paces long and 9 1/2 paces wide. The roof and walls, the latter supported by cross rods of tacoara /bamboo; see the glossary, p. 172 / consisted entirely of buritĩ /see the glossary, p.170 / straw. Only Miguel owned a round house, the inner frame of tacoara covered with buritĩ leaves.
[343] There were seven houses and two new buildings. In addition two pig huts. In the case of one new building, I inquired about the timber that made up the frame. Two tall aruera posts supported the uppermost longitudinal roof-beam of aricá wood (also cunhão de porco). The sloping side-beams of the roof likewise cunhão de porco, the two longitudinal beams guanandí. The smaller posts that supported the roof beams: timbó, peuva, carvão, branco. One roof was also covered with campo grass.

164 I visited Miguel, who had an attack of fever, in his bee-
352 /124/ hive. He lay in his cotton hammock and let himself be
353 waited on by pretty Maria. The whole room hung full of calabashes, rice and farinha baskets, skins, arrows -- things left by his grandfather; it was far more comfortable in this still true heathen affair than in the characterless huts of the adherents of
123 a mock civilization. With dreadful gestures of disgust, the old
[157] man swallowed the bitter quinine and buried his fever-reddened
[283] face in the hammock. Maria, in gratitude, baked me a beijú *
* [Cf. glossary on p. 170 --Analyst

/175 cont./

167 We counted 27 men, 18 women, and eight children, but
621 as some of the men, who stayed longer than we, reported, a
609 whole troop of women and children later came out of the woods.

342 I measured the largest house more carefully. It was 40 paces long, 24 paces wide. In the center line stood four supporting beams, 8-8.5 meters high (!) and 30 centimeters in diameter, the middle ones five paces apart, the outer ones each six paces
[531] from these; they had several bands painted with geometrical designs.

The distance of the two outer supporting beams from each other, /176/ 17 paces according to the above, also gave the length of the roof timbers. All around, 72 posts, up to 25 centimeters thick, one meter 72 high, served to support the elliptical roof basket. This was also the height of the two entrances, 77 centimeters wide, which lay opposite each other on the long sides and were made somewhat lower by the straw hanging down from the outside.

The roof basket, made up of large horizontal bamboo rings fastened by vertical poles bent against them, which converged at the top and projected to the outside through an opening, was built with great skill and regularity. The covering was made of straw-dry palm leaves. The leaf ribs lay horizontally; the free ends of the individual leaf spears hanging down from them, however, were all bent inward around the bare rib, so that solid mats were produced in the simplest manner. These overlapped like roof tiles.

364 We make the rounds through all the huts. The sense of order of the peaceful professor is lacking. They are full of refuse. In-
353 stead of the fine supply baskets, balls of the massa /dough/ one
[251] meter long, a half meter thick, and packed in leaves are found
[227] on simple racks. Little maize. Many fish nets made of tucum fiber: a wide-meshed bag hangs from a ring 80 centimeters long, 35 centimeters wide, which sits on a long pole. They probably
226 get the fish out of the blocked-off lagoons with these nets from the top of their scaffold.

/57 cont./

487 the northeast a wide path through tall sapé grass, with which the
[824] houses are covered, to the river rapids below, toward the south
[361] a path to the mandioca planting, and everywhere tall forest moved in close to the inhabited and planted clearing.

162 The community numbered nine men, seven women, five
621 children. The names of the men were: Tumayaua, the chief,
551 our guide, who was primarily responsible for the planting (Pl.
[463] 6),[1] Paleko, his father, a charming old gentleman, with whom I struck up a close friendship and who in his declining years plaited baskets and fish weirs, Alakuai, the shrewd carpenter and canoe-builder, Awia, the painter, Yapü, the fat one, Kalawaku, the modest one, and the young men Kulekule,
[574] Luchu (Pl. 6), and Pauhaga. After a few days a couple of visitors came from the second village, among them one whose parents had died young and who therefore -- had no name.

The names of the women were not to be discovered: "pekóto úra" was the regular answer, "I am a woman." Thus
162 I have had to /58/ invent my own designations here; there was,
621 as always, an old woman who had a great deal to say and who, with her lean wrinkled body, was not exactly beautiful, the "tribal witch," Paleko's wife (see Pl. 5, left).[2] Her antithesis was her granddaughter "Eva," Tumayaua's daughter, mother of two children and the youthful wife of the muscular, magnificently strongly built Kulekule, who, before I knew his name, seemed to me worthy of being called "Adam" in this little paradise and also possessed a fine yellowish-red loam color.
[142] Eva had a finely chiseled European face with full lips, pale rosy cheeks which were closely framed with wavy hair, and the most beautiful eyes that I saw in Brazil -- and that is saying not a little -- large eyes whose sweet /Fig. 2 appears here/ glance contained no coquetry at all, but in whose radiant fire, with a full, naïvely tender upward glance, glowed that spark of innocent lust that must once upon a time have kindled the eternal fires of the universe; thus, with a body never mistreated by any lacing, she really looked like a young Mother Eya. Unfortunately, she scratched her head far too often,

[1] [See P. 40--Analyst]
[2] [See P. 28--Analyst]

162 /58 cont./ unfortunately, she scratched her head far too often,
621 and though this may occasionally have occurred out of embarrassment,
515 nevertheless lice had their visible part in it.

Eva's friend, about twelve years old, "my intended" (Pl. 5, third
[262] from the right),[2] was in the habit of picking them out and eating them.
162 In general this one had all the good things in the village, and many
621
[301]
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Fig. 2. "Eva," Tumayana's daughter.

162 beads that I had given others I later found around her neck. She was the
621 little daughter of the deceased chief and his /59/ heiress. Her uncle
[122] Tumayaua was only the provisional chief; if I had followed Paleko's
[123] very seriously meant suggestion and had married his niece, he would have had to turn over the government to me. Even today I cannot deny that,
[291] quite apart from the excellent match with which there was associated no greater demands in the way of dress than a string of beads and a piece of bark-bast the size of a small human ear, a better opportunity of becoming acquainted with the ethnology of the Kuliseha could scarcely have been imagined. I saw little of the other women, with the exception,
[142] perhaps, of the "Egyptian," who also came over from the second village, a tall greedy person with an Egyptian profile and almond-shaped eyes (Pl. 5, second from the right).

[2] [See P. 28--Analyst]

/88 cont./

361 The village could be reached in half an hour or an hour from
311 the river, depending on whether one landed sooner or later. It was surrounded by cultivated land to an extent that aroused our
241 greatest astonishment. On the three different paths that we followed, we came through long stretches where the forest had been cut down with the stone ax. In March and April the trees are felled and in September and October the wood which has dried in the meantime is burned. We examined with admiration a number of thick trunks, the cross-sections of which were covered with the dull blow-marks of the stone axes, and regretted that we could not saw off such a marked surface and take it along. I silently begged forgiveness of the Indians at whom I had often laughed when they were swinging themselves in their hammocks at home, as though their lives were one long Sunday.

361 /89/ In Iguéti there were three large family-houses and a
345 very respectable flute-house in which many dance costumes made
535 of palm straw were hanging. On the village plaza a cage rose
343 up higher than a house, which consisted of long poles set together
231 in the form of a pointed cone; in it sat a mighty Harpia destructor, although the village is called igu-eti = sparrow-hawk village.
231 The once heraldic bird had probably long since departed. The beautiful eagle was named after its favorite food, mégo-zóto, lord
412 of the monkeys. Beside the chief's house lay a large whetstone
[171] for the stone axes; it gave me much pleasure because it showed the same grooves that we had observed in the sambaquis of Sta. Catharina.

621 The community numbered some 40 persons. They spoke of
162 three chiefs, but we met in this capacity only the good-natured,
622 very broad-shouldered Aramöke, who was characterized by a waddling walk. He had a sly expression and with his clumsy body was very polite, for, striding ahead of me in the forest, he broke off the branches, which might have snapped back in my face, more graciously than he probably would have for a woman. A large knife and a red scarf made him the happiest of mortals.
974 He showed us great hospitality. Fresh golden beijús were con-
437 stantly brought forth, a row of calabashes filled with pogu were

/91 cont./

133 Tumayaua declared that he had heard them shout. It is probable
[101] that the fire glow which we had repeatedly noticed in the east, and which had been regularly observed in the evening at Independencia, came from them. Barely an hour later, the Kewayeli, about 12 meters wide, flowed in from the left. On both banks queimada and plantings.

484 From the second village Tumayaua had taken along as a companion Pakurali, a short, stocky old man who did not look as though he were a great sorcerer, and whom we, with a lack of respect, called the "cab driver." They did not have much
[482] luggage with them and easily packed it into the mayakus, their
[286] back-baskets for carrying loads. They had taken along on the journey, not cotton hammocks, but hammocks made of palm fiber, which are lighter and dry quickly if they become wet. /92/ The two made rapid progress, even though they were bent on fishing at every favorable spot. We had let the great sorcerer sniff a bottle of ammonia, which had horrified him no little. After that he could no longer be enticed to smell any of our things. If one of us calls from a corner that it stinks there, everybody runs over and sniffs.

103 To the Third Bakaïrí Village (Kuyaqualiéti).

361 The harbor at which we arrived at 4:45 lay at the end of a lateral inlet and would not have been found without a guide.

The next morning, 6 October, we departed at 7:00 for the village and reached it in three-quarters of an hour on the usual
[532] winding forest-trail. On the way we saw a large human figure carved in tree bark, with three fingers on the hands and stump-like feet.

Harpia village, "kuyaquali-éti," also had only three houses and a flute-house, but was the liveliest of the three villages.
162 I counted 31 men and just about as many women and children.
621 Some of the latter, however, had run into the woods. There
574 were probably about 100 souls in the village. The chief, Porisa,
622 was a small, friendly gentleman; he had had beijú baked at night.

S /155 cont./ The Suyá geographer
101 already mentioned the "Kayuquará" as the outermost inhabitants, and I had assumed at that time, correctly it now seems, that by that the KayaX-ó-Kayapó were meant.

B The long list of names looks worse than it actually is. Each
101 village has its name, and the stranger who hears it cannot at first
103 judge whether he should expect a new or a familiar tribe there.
621 The simplest example is the Nahuquá. For the Indian, "Nahuquá"
Y refers only to the inhabitants of the Kulisehu village; the
101 Yaurikumá, Guikurú, etc. do not call themselves Nahuquá, and
621 it was merely because of our happening to stop first among the "Nahuquá" that I am using this name as the tribal name. There
Y may be slight dialectal differences, but I was able to record a
[197] list of the most important words from the Yanumakapü and am convinced, and for the Yaurikumá and Guikurú as well, that their language corresponds throughout with the "Nahuquá." The
B Bakaïrí are inspired by a strong feeling of nationality, for they
101 call themselves Bakaïrí whether they live in the source region of
62 the Arinos, the Paranatinga, the Batovy, or the Kulisehu. By
[619] analogy with the Nahuquá, the Bakaïrí of the Kulisehu would
[103] have to call themselves by their village names: Maigéri, Iguéti, and Kuyaqualiéti.

B It would have been a blessing for ethnography if all the
101 tribes had taken as a model this fine example of the Bakaïrí.
128 We have several clear examples here of how a family community,
197 or, if one wishes, a tribe, becomes scattered, how each separate
619 community is inclined to give up the old connection and therefore loses it irrevocably, must become a new "tribe" if the displacement continues, and closer relations are maintained, not with neighbors related by blood, but those of another extraction. Under these circumstances, there is nothing else for us to do /156/ but to determine first of all the linguistic relationships. They are not to be confused with blood relationships. But under the simple narrow circumstances which are involved here, linguistic relationship and blood relationship coincide far more than among more highly civilized peoples, who, through writing, possess a language that has developed a distinct character. If a

2: Steinen--195E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP23

/200/

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III. Hunting, Agriculture, and "Stone Age" Culture.

Population figures. Location of the villages. Combination of ancient agriculture and the world view of hunters. Hunting and fishing must furnish the most important tools for the tribes lacking metals, for whom the expression "Stone Age" is incorrect. Stone-ax monopoly, teeth, bones, shells, feathers. List of useful plants and distribution according to tribes. No bananas. Plant names as evidence of continuous development. Lack of intoxicating flour-beverages proves that simplicity is not the same as degeneration. Combination of hunting and agriculture made possible through the division of labor of the sexes. Indian women do the agriculture; they invent pots to replace gourds; the men do the roasting, the women the boiling. Culture with agriculture, pottery, and the preparation of flour was spread and maintained by foreign women after wars, in particular by Nu-Aruak women.

B 161 128 The population of the Schingú /Xingu/ source region probably amounts to approximately 2500-3000 souls. I am not in a position to give more than a very superficial estimate. Even in the third Bakaïrí village, the young women and girls fled into the woods when we arrived. Usually the fugitives gradually returned, to be sure, but we never knew for certain whether we were seeing before us the normal number of inhabitants. The opposite also occurred, namely, that visitors from the neighboring villages had come in, and the company surrounding us seemed too large.

B 162 621 The smallest villages consisted of only two family-houses, the largest of almost 20. In general, it will be correct if one reckons for the villages, depending on their size, a population of 30 to 150 and, where it is high, up to 200 inhabitants.

T 361 181 Only the Trumaí and, beyond Schingú-Koblenz, the Suyá lived along the river bank. These were the most warlike and restless tribes; one might regard the Suyá as the pike in a fish pond. The rest lived in peaceful security, often more than two hours of travel inland from the river. But while the river in the region of the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ was still narrow and had

B [361] B 133 487

/330 cont./

000 Their methods. To die in narcosis. The medicine man in heaven. Tobacco. Conjuration of the weather.

I.

*171 131 The boundaries between the regions of the tribes are natural ones. "This brook belongs to the neighboring tribe," we were regularly informed along the way. The one bank of the Kulisehu, for example, belonged to the Nahuquá, the other to the Mehinakú [226] /Mehinacu/. Fishing with bow and arrow on the river was open to everyone.

*171 422 The plantings were common property. Everyone had his personal property in the house, even the women, who, we saw, [428] often objected to having it given to us; it was handed down to one's children, sons and daughters. We often observed, however, [622] that persons to whom we had given beads, etc. were obliged to hand them over to the chief.

*171 622 The power of the chief was not great. In all the larger villages there were several chiefs who lived in different houses; in dealings with us, there was always only one who appeared as representative. "Representation" was the most important obligation during peacetime. The chief directed the business connected with planting, he saw to it that the necessary supply of flour was put away, he had the beijús baked and the drinks prepared for all festive occasions and for the visits of strangers. He was apparently a family-father in greater style, but could not be very thrifty if he was concerned about the esteem of his fellow citizens, to say nothing of his neighboring tribesmen. Thus, the chief of the first Batovy village was "kurápa," bad = stingy. He had only a few [519] beijús baked for the guests. Stinginess is regarded as the ugliest trait. This type of rule must be difficult, however. Antonio told me about a certain João Cadete in the Paranatinga village, who was in line to become chief, but preferred to emigrate "com medo de tratar gente," for fear of having to entertain people, [621] /331/ so Felipe took his place. If the community is dissatisfied [626] with its chief, it knows a remedy: it breaks away from him and simply moves to another place. The office is hereditary, hence

/261 cont./

352 The Bakairí slept in hammocks, amaka, woven of palm fiber.
[415] Their furnishings can be summed up as benches of a solid
[285] piece of wood, clay pots, mats and baskets. The diet rests
262 upon manioc, piquí, sweet potatoes, maize, and fish. How-
224] ever, the hunting of monkeys, wild pig, tapir, and other ani-
[241] mals was not scorned. Most of the food reserves, however, were of vegetable origin, and the most important harvests were made up of manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, and piquí. Yams /cará/, cotton, urucú, and tobacco were also planted.

342 The occupants of a communal house worked together on
476 the building of a new house, acquiring thereby the right to
622 reside in it. This construction work, however, was led by the individual who had the most prestige in the group, usually the old head of the house, who thus set himself up as the head of
241 the new house. The tasks of clearing fields and planting
476 generally depended on the participation of all the aldea. When
527 beginning a new clearing, the Bakairí would give a feast, komête, with the distribution of food to the Indians who worked
501 on the field. The Bakairí made canoes from the bark of the
[824] jatobá tree, in the Xinguano way. This construction, as well
[782] as fishing, hunting, and agricultural activities, were accompanied by propitiatory rituals.

437 Their products were bartered among neighboring groups
574 in the course of visits called tuliki which depended on the presence of the chiefs of both aldeas. After the exchange of the objects desired, the visitors were honored with a feast called tulake.

621 /262/ The Bakairí were not a warlike people, and their
181 political organization does not seem very elaborate. Each
622 aldea had a chief, pima, assisted by a subchief, itáida. The
624 Bakairí do not remember the existence of a chief for the whole
[643] tribe, and there is no evidence that such a figure ever existed. The selection of the itáida was made by means of agreement of the aldea, but it generally fell on the son of the pima himself. The pima's functions were chiefly ceremonial, economic, and juridical.

/80/

Seventh Chapter

000 March from Cuyabá to the Docile Bakaïrí on the Rio Novo

/Pages 80-98 are omitted in the translation./

/98/

132 14 June. 6:40 A.M.: dry, 18.9, wet. 18.2, strat. 8, S 2-3. Like yesterday, the south wind brings low-moving cloud masses.

122 Today the men are ready very quickly; off shortly before seven o'clock in the morning.

[137] [487] Predominantly meadow, a narrow, hard path leads through it, on which one can merrily trot. A number of oxen greet us as the first emissaries. A wide expanse of campo has been freshly burned off; it is said that wild animals like to seek out these "quemadas" /see the glossary, p. 172 / because of the salty [136] ashes. A number of curicacas (ibis); in the distance an ostrich, which Pedro and the dogs pursue in vain.

361 At nine o'clock we see the "aldeamento"[7] /see the glossary, p.170 / of the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ in the distance; four houses; the sunshine gives the illusion of slate roofs; a few naked torsos hasten inside, clothed persons step outside. In the immediate [342] vicinity the settlement shrinks to actual palm-straw huts.

● 622 /99/ Daniel is on the spot and introduces us to "Captain Reginaldo." Reginaldo da Silva Nogueira, from the walnut forest /Nusswald/. A man in his forties with a broad chest, long, curly black hair, a friendly look, but silent; hat, shirt, trousers in good condition.

574 General handshaking. A half dozen, mostly young, broad-shouldered men, likewise in their Sunday best, sit on the fence of the cattle yard. The crown of creation is absent. -- Gradually the procession draws up, and everyone settles down at home. By way of greeting, sugar cane is sucked and a swallow of liquor permitted.

[7] [i.e. village -- Analyst]

/100 cont./

101 to the Christians. It is said that they are white and friendly:
175 one reason why they are regarded as a horde of the Paricys."
[177] Martius has them living at the southernmost sources of
[131] the Schingú and also lists them at the sources of the Arinos and Juruena. He also classifies /101/ them under the Parecí /Paressi/ who are scattered across the watershed between Tapajoz, Madeira, and Paraguay.

101 Now it turns out that placing the Parecí and the Bakaïrí together in this way was erroneous. The well-known closest relatives of the Bakaïrí, as I wish to point out briefly in advance, are settled north of the Amazon River, and a tribe somewhat more distantly related to them, but belonging to the same group, lives in the source region of the Madeira.
122 I myself was familiar only with the note of Martius, and on the journey I had no idea how interesting this little tribe was

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361

Bakaïrí village.

122 and how many hours I would later spend pondering over its past.

115 It was a very fortunate circumstance that Reginaldo --
123 who was always ready to smoke a cigarette with me and
[191] warmed up more and more and gradually became highly amused by my notations -- had an amazing gift of quick perception and was able to express himself clearly for practical purposes in a somewhat crude Portuguese. Such an opportunity
[622] never came again later. Reginaldo was a good person, intelligent, and held the reins of his chieftainship in strong, paternal hands.

/101 cont./

361 [101] There were two settlements of "docile" Bakaïrí: the aldeament on the Rio Novo, as this first was called, after a tributary of the Arinos, and the aldeament on the Paranatinga. The two villages are not yet old; all the adults were born farther up the Paranatinga, on the "Salto" /waterfall; see the glossary, [131] p. 172 /; the Bakaïrí, however, were probably spread over this entire region in small hordes, as is shown by the fact that they were noted as far as the Rio das Mortes. In the 'twenties, when 179 648 797 the gold-seeker expedition under the leadership of P. Lopez pushed into this region, they were converted to Christianity, on which occasion, as Reginaldo related, his grandfather and many others lost their lives.

823 /102/ We eagerly inquired as to whether he knew about a river beyond the Paranatinga? Today, he replied, this region is [131] [101] completely strange to them; he remembered from his youth, however, that one was supposed to come to a large river if one went from the Paranatinga toward the rising sun, and on this river there were said to be Bakaïrí still living, the "antiguos" /the ancients/, who were not Christians.

361 The two aldeamente are under the administration of the 648 "Director dos Indios" in Cuyabá /Cuiabá/. Reginaldo is a [622] Brazilian captain, his successor as chief of the tribe, Joaquim, 361 is a lieutenant. Our seeing no women was due to the fact that they were living in an aldeament two legoas away; the huts which we occupied were used only when the farm work required it or when there were visitors. Reginaldo /illustration appears here/ completely forgot to say how sorry he was that he could greet us only as a grass widower.

[162] The village numbered six huts; the population amounted 342 to 55: 16 men, 19 women, 20 children. The soldiers were usually quartered in the big house that Reginaldo otherwise occupied with a few others: a rectangle 57 paces long and five paces wide, which was divided into a number of separate rooms by means of partitions. We occupied the guest house -- it was only 17 paces [199] long. It was modern construction, learned from the colonists. Twenty minutes away we found two deserted old-style huts,

/102 cont./

342 round, beehive-like. The larger one was 19 paces in diameter, covered high up on the outside with acuri straw, whereas the framework in the interior exhibited a circle of supporting posts one and a third meters high, upon which the basket of this structure, which actually consisted merely of a roof, rose with many horizontal bamboo rings. At the top was an air vent; a number of the /103/ framework poles crossing one another here extended to the outside. The entrance, a hole one and a half meters high, was surrounded by pepper plants. In any case, the interior space was far larger and finer than in the new houses.

433 241 The people led an idyllic existence; they carried on agri-

142 291 302 622

Captain Reginaldo and wife.

433 241 culture and stock-raising, went hunting, planted mandioca /manioc/, beans, maize, rice, and some tobacco and sugar cane. 177 They were civilized, despite the pierced ear lobes and nasal septa. 304 Their average height was 1.65 meters; they were striking because 142 of their broad and powerful chests. Their skin was yellowish, 141 clay-colored, and rather light, the hair of most of them was black and slightly curly or wavy. In general they had beautiful, open 151 eyes. Reginaldo's excellent vision was demonstrated on one occasion in a way that amazed us all. We noticed far in the distance a /illustration appears here/ figure in the grass; with an excellent field-glass I took it to be Tupy riding up; the entire company, among them Daniel, who was seldom mistaken, agreed with me;

/119/

000 Clauss, Castro, and the majority stayed at the fazenda. The owner, for his part, rode to a compadre /Gavatter in the Ger.; in the original source, p. 191 (translated p. 72) "compadre" is translated as the Ger. Gevatter; the latter term is given in the glossary of Brazilian expressions, p. 171 / eight legoas away, who was supposed to sell farinha. Thus everyone was busy.

133 Wilhelm and I arrived at twilight after a four-hour march over a series of hilly ranges, having crossed a few small tributaries of the Paranatinga. We could have sworn that we were in the Bergischen /a hilly countryside near the Rhine/ or Westphalia -- farm houses in front of the bush, the quemada like potato fields; -- in the gathering darkness we also began to indulge in fancies: on a barren hill in the distance we clearly saw a lunatic asylum in the latest pavilion style.

[622] [142] [291] [301] [302] [241]

Captain Caetano "Mêmo."

231 The dreadful dogs that hastened toward us, barking, were ill-suited to bringing us back to a clear and sober conception of reality. These curs, small, skeletal specimens, with pointed snouts, light whitish-yellow fur, and glassy, watery eyes, looked as though they scratched up the dead out of the graves in the cemetery at night.

122 485 Received by old Captain Caetano and a few young chaps, we were put up in the guest house. The term is synonymous with guest room or guest stall. The only furniture a trough-like, unfinished bark canoe on a stand in the corner, which we were permitted to use as a dresser and table.

/119 cont./

361 The aldeament on the Paranatinga was smaller than the
622 one on the Rio Novo. Moreover, the order of the community
578 seemed seriously disturbed. Old Captain Caetano, probably near
[197] his eighties, despite his black hair, /120/ had been divested of
his sovereignty in favor of a younger man, Felipe, at the instigation of the Martyrios expedition, which, with the help of the Bakaïrí, had crossed the Paranatinga and passed through a section of the sertão /wilderness; see the glossary, p. 172/ in a northerly direction. The Bakaïrí, of course, felt more obligated to obey Captain Caetano than Captain Felipe, and the result was that each one made himself as independent as possible and worked on his own.
164 Moreover, the tribe had been hard hit about eight years before by sarampão /measles/, an epidemic disease; the Brazilians put part of the blame for the number of deaths on the Indians because, in the heat of the fever, they had always run into the river.

162 At the time of our visit the Bakaïrí population was made up
621 of five men, five women, three children -- not present were five men, three women, one boy, whose return was, in part, no longer expected. Moreover, there were two Parecí women, one of whom was numbered among those not present, and two Cajibí[1] women, who had been adopted into the tribe. Finally, two Brazilians, caoutchouc-seekers, who had recovered from the fever in the village, had attached themselves, a mulatto Luis and a certain Martin who had a Paraguayan, Carlotta, as a wife, with a small son. Altogether there were 20 individuals present.

115 Luis, who had lived an adventurous life, a "philosopho," as he called himself, a "conversador," as his friend Daniel called him, was intimately acquainted with conditions; he
[191] chattered endlessly and was probably not altogether reliable, but he made himself useful, since the Portuguese of Caetano, who best knew the language, consisted of an extremely modest stock by words; "esse mêmo" -- "stimmt auffallend" /that's it exactly/ in German -- was the quintessence of his knowledge, so that the
144 soldiers soon called him nothing but "Capitão Mêmo." Luis maintained that Caetano was the son of a Bakaïrí father and

[1] [Cajibí = Cayabi, a Tribe classified under SP2 Apiaca in The Outline of World Cultures -- Analyst]

/164 cont./

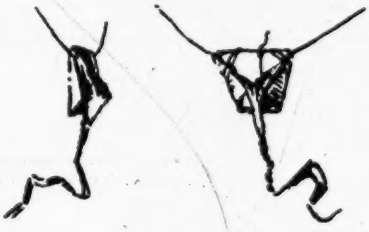
287 The triangular garment of the women, a folded piece of
291 bark bast, supposedly from the schischá tree, has a base of four centimeters and a height of one to one and a half centimeters.

A girl about ten years old is still completely naked.

302 The nasal septum of the men is not pierced; the beard hair,
[304] /165/ if a natural tendency for it is present, as well as all the hair (among the women, too) with the exception of the head hair, the eyebrows, and eyelashes, is carefully removed.

224 Around 10:00 in the forenoon Clauss came with Antonio; a
[622] few men also arrived from hunting, among them the chief, an older gentleman with an anxiously serious official face and a
162 fat little belly. We count ten men, seven women, five boys, four girls.

291



Clothing of the Bakaïrí women.

372 Pauhaga showed us how they make fire. They take two long, thin sticks of the same dry wood; into one a notch is scraped; while one man now holds this in position on the ground with two small sticks, a second man twirls the other stick rapidly between both hands in the notch. The dust that is rubbed loose glimmers.

126 We did some bartering; I measured a few men. They patiently allowed it to be done.

157 These "wild" Bakaïrí are alert, teachable, and certainly very good-natured. They do not steal, although we are carrying
[273] treasures with us. They have no intoxicating drink; they refuse
[276] tobacco. On the second day, together with their wives, they visit
609 us in our camp -- the "docile ones" on the Rio-novo, on the other hand, preferred to sleep with those in the bush as long as we were in the aldea. On the first evening a savage drinks a medicine that I

/169 cont./

126 I acquired cheaply some belt strings of round stone disks with
[301] the diameter of a thick pencil, as well as a necklace of jaguar claws, by hooking the fish hook, as an ornament, into the ear lobes of these people, who do not know how to appreciate it as a means of catching fish.

622 The chief was striking because of his stupid face and a big nose; he treated us with aristocratic indolence and indifference. --
301 Several wore two yellow feathers in each ear; these were stuck
237 in a little bunch of red feathers that protruded from a small husk. The most beautiful head-ornament, however, was a simple row of yellow feathers up to 12 centimeters long, in the center of which towered a long arara feather.

562 Stealthily a few women appeared. There was an old woman
[554] here, too, who /170/ kept the tribe in order; she had curly hair.
[302] One woman, who had a boy astride her right hip, was painted all over her body with a disgusting yellow pigment.

342 The two large huts were round, the two small ones ellipti-
345 cally long, resembling scales. In one of them, the festival hut,
353 we discovered strange things. Between the supporting beams, on cross-poles, hung a great number of the most diverse colorful
292 headpieces. They all had a straw frame for fitting them on the
532 head. The colors were white, black, red, and orange, all applied crudely. There were open cylinders of bast of the consistency of cardboard, red, set with black squares; two large gourd /illustration appears here/ vessels, one with small yellow feathers pasted over it, the other with small blue feathers, and smaller ones painted with red and white areas; on the edge buriti fibers one meter long hung down like a woman's hair; a stuffed hide of a little fox, likewise an otter, both with a straw frame for putting them on. Two black and white sword-like pieces of wood -- representing rattlesnakes, according to Antonio. A stiff frame of stalks, in which sat little swallows, with cotton stuffed in between everywhere. The birds, perfectly recognizable in shape, white, head and back of neck black, a few with yellow belly. A larger bird, painted red and black, was looking out of one of the cylinders (1).

1. Cf. the first ethnological plate /see pp. 168-162/.

/176 cont./

433 It is clear that here agriculture falls behind hunting and
181 fishing; Aldea IV is military in character and forms the frontier
648 defense against alien tribes.

763 In one hut lay an ancient, paralytic little woman emaciated to a skeleton, whose soul seemed to say "ãla Bakaïrí" (it is enough Bakaïrí) and was trying impatiently to flutter away. The hammock was resting partly on the ground; two women squatted beside it and, as garrulous cronies, explained to us the suffering of the dying little mother.

231 Of tame animals we found a heron, small parrots, a kingfisher and the socó-morena.

345 The festival hut was 18 meters long, nine meters wide.
532 There were clumsily carved wooden fish hanging there, as well as a few finless specimens, wound bands which perhaps represented the electric eel.

Two square pieces of wood, painted red and white, with modeled nose and two eye sockets were striking; they are held in front of the face and represent doves, whose voice the artist can imitate better than the head (1).

1. Cf. the second ethnological plate /see p. 165/.

534 /177/ Four menis and a number of rattles were stuck in the
353 side walling.

624 Only in the festival hut did the herald put down his bow and arrows, but he did not part with them during our entire stay, even
[296] when he handed us a few bundles of tobacco. The latter, by the way, was better than among the earlier Bakaïrí. A few modest old
622 people were there, none with gray hair; among them the chief and, if I understood correctly, a vice-chief, the authority during the time the former is absent.

123 A shooting demonstration on the plaza filled them with
152 terror; they jumped with fright and turned away convulsively, most of all the mighty herald. His "ãla, ãla" was very humble and urgent.

/52 cont./

123 the tree skeleton, as though the man were dancing there like
609 a cannibal in a show booth. "Bakaïrí ...," I commence once more, when luckily Antonio comes bounding up with mighty leaps, and, half out of breath from excitement, he for his part now shouts a long explanation downriver, which again I do not understand, but which releases a grateful howl of exultation on the part of the entrenched hero and clarifies the situation as though by a stroke of magic.

The canoe shot out of its hiding place and hastened
[501] at once, a fine, long, dry bark-canoe, toward our sad,
[29] crooked, wax-plastered, loam-smeared vessel laved with
[411] dirty water -- truly, I thought, we were the ones who were entering the sphere of a higher culture here; even though the noble boatman was dressed with only a belt-cord and carried with him nothing but the neatly worked, feather-trimmed arrows and the bow which lay on the floor of the canoe beside a calabash filled with honey, nevertheless in its trimness and cleanliness this total picture gliding toward us contrasted most advantageously with us ragged bearers of civilization beside the piece of wet-rot bark that was called our boat. Well, the newcomer clearly showed by his facial expression that for his part he nevertheless admired us.

123 He did not behave at all like the silent, gloomy Indian
152 whose soul, as I might have expected on the basis of our school-wisdom, reflected the monotonous, oppressive environment of the tropical forest; rather, he laughed /53/ and chatted with his fellow tribesman Antonio as though he had
[576] grown up in a fortunate country of the temperate zone. In a few minutes we were good friends; at my urging he even told us his name, which, of course, according to the custom of his country, he could not do without modest hemming and
551 hawing. His name was Tumayaua and he was the chief of
622 a village of the Bakaïrí a few hours away.

123 Thus actually of the Bakaïrí! The hope of the past
609 weeks was fulfilled, we entered our research area among a good-natured little people well known to us, and our debut

162 /58 cont./ unfortunately, she scratched her head far too often,
621 and though this may occasionally have occurred out of embarrassment,
515 nevertheless lice had their visible part in it.

Eva's friend, about twelve years old, "my intended" (Pl. 5, third
[262] from the right),[2] was in the habit of picking them out and eating them.
162 In general this one had all the good things in the village, and many
62
[301]
142
291
302

Fig. 2. "Eva," Tumayana's daughter.

162 beads that I had given others I later found around her neck. She was the
621 little daughter of the deceased chief and his /59/ heiress. Her uncle
[622] Tumayaua was only the provisional chief; if I had followed Paleko's
[123] very seriously meant suggestion and had married his niece, he would have had to turn over the government to me. Even today I cannot deny that,
[291] quite apart from the excellent match with which there was associated no greater demands in the way of dress than a string of beads and a piece of bark-bast the size of a small human ear, a better opportunity of becoming acquainted with the ethnology of the Kuliseha could scarcely have been imagined. I saw little of the other women, with the exception,
[142] perhaps, of the "Egyptian," who also came over from the second village, a tall greedy person with an Egyptian profile and almond-shaped eyes (Pl. 5, second from the right).

[2] [See P. 28--Analyst]

/88 cont./

361 The village could be reached in half an hour or an hour from
311 the river, depending on whether one landed sooner or later. It was surrounded by cultivated land to an extent that aroused our
241 greatest astonishment. On the three different paths that we followed, we came through long stretches where the forest had been cut down with the stone ax. In March and April the trees are felled and in September and October the wood which has dried in the meantime is burned. We examined with admiration a number of thick trunks, the cross-sections of which were covered with the dull blow-marks of the stone axes, and regretted that we could not saw off such a marked surface and take it along. I silently begged forgiveness of the Indians at whom I had often laughed when they were swinging themselves in their hammocks at home, as though their lives were one long Sunday.

361 /89/ In Iguéti there were three large family-houses and a
345 very respectable flute-house in which many dance costumes made
535 of palm straw were hanging. On the village plaza a cage rose
343 up higher than a house, which consisted of long poles set together
231 in the form of a pointed cone; in it sat a mighty Harpia destructor, although the village is called igu-eti = sparrow-hawk village.
231 The once heraldic bird had probably long since departed. The beautiful eagle was named after its favorite food, mégo-zóto, lord
412 of the monkeys. Beside the chief's house lay a large whetstone
[171] for the stone axes; it gave me much pleasure because it showed the same grooves that we had observed in the sambaquis of Sta. Catharina.

621 The community numbered some 40 persons. They spoke of
162 three chiefs, but we met in this capacity only the good-natured,
● 622 very broad-shouldered Aramõke, who was characterized by a waddling walk. He had a sly expression and with his clumsy body was very polite, for, striding ahead of me in the forest, he broke off the branches, which might have snapped back in my face, more graciously than he probably would have for a woman. A large knife and a red scarf made him the happiest of mortals.
974 He showed us great hospitality. Fresh golden beijûs were con-
437 stantly brought forth, a row of calabashes filled with pogu were

/91 cont./

133 Tumayana declared that he had heard them shout. It is probable
[101] that the fire glow which we had repeatedly noticed in the east, and which had been regularly observed in the evening at Independencia, came from them. Barely an hour later, the Kewayeli, about 12 meters wide, flowed in from the left. On both banks queimada and plantings.

484 From the second village Tumayana had taken along as a companion Pakurali, a short, stocky old man who did not look as though he were a great sorcerer, and whom we, with a lack of
[482] respect, called the "cab driver." They did not have much luggage with them and easily packed it into the mayakus, their
[286] back-baskets for carrying loads. They had taken along on the journey, not cotton hammocks, but hammocks made of palm fiber, which are lighter and dry quickly if they become wet. /92/ The two made rapid progress, even though they were bent on fishing at every favorable spot. We had let the great sorcerer sniff a bottle of ammonia, which had horrified him no little. After that he could no longer be enticed to smell any of our things. If one of us calls from a corner that it stinks there, everybody runs over and sniffs.

103 To the Third Bakairí Village (Kuyaquatiéti).

361 The harbor at which we arrived at 4:45 lay at the end of a lateral inlet and would not have been found without a guide.

The next morning, 6 October, we departed at 7:00 for the village and reached it in three-quarters of an hour on the usual
[532] winding forest-trail. On the way we saw a large human figure carved in tree bark, with three fingers on the hands and stump-like feet.

Harpia village, "kuyaquali-éti," also had only three houses and a flute-house, but was the liveliest of the three villages.
162 I counted 31 men and just about as many women and children.
621 Some of the latter, however, had run into the woods. There
574 were probably about 100 souls in the village. The chief, Porina,
622 was a small, friendly gentleman; he had had beijú baked at night.

W /130 cont./
132 rained by buckets, and the shower bath was quite cold, scarcely
W more than 15°. Our good Mehinakú were unhappy that we did
[82] not follow their example and puff against the heavenly sluices;
they hastily built a protective roof, probably more to keep busy,
and complained incessantly "ulãpe, ulãpe!"

W In the harbor of the Mehinakú we acquired another canoe,
122 meanwhile the Aueto who had accompanied us this far had dis-
appeared without a trace. Vogel's hunting knife was also
missing.

Y The Nahuquá village was in the middle of the pikí harvest.
245 Like cannon balls in an arsenal, the pikí lay in piles outside
Y and inside. Racks had been set up in the houses to dry the seeds,
251 the women were busy peeling the fruit, cooking it, and scraping
the seeds, human beings and utensils butter yellow -- Caryocar
Y butyrosum. No pogu, but pikí juice; the pikí seeds with an
[157] almond-like taste, an electuary "pikí herb" not at all bad in
Y moderate doses. Many sick in the hammocks, stomach and skin
164 affected. one old baldhead, face and head covered with sores.
Y Tumayaua was given pikí as a parting gift for the trip. Only
123 one newborn child, which the mother brought to us so that we
[131] would blow on it, seemed to know nothing yet about pikí.

B In Bakairí village III, which, by the way, the Nahuquá
648 accompanying us did not want to enter, the old festival hut had
B burned down and the people were very much afraid of the
731 previously greatly admired matches. But we did find magnifi-
B cent bird-masks and fish-masks. Of the two canoes we ordered,
532 one was not yet finished and the other had been wrecked.

B Bakairí village II seemed deserted. The occupants were
122 in part absent, why remained unclear; also, we had apparently
501 seen foreign guests the first time and included them. Chief
B Aramóke, however, was gracious as ever and had set before us
123 beijú which we could have offered the most distinguished tea
B guests at home. It was only with great difficulty that we found
[122] a few men to transport part of the collection for some distance
overland. It was always said that they had to stay with the
B children. Then in the chief's house lay a woman with burns on
752

/330 cont./

000 Their methods. To die in narcosis. The medicine man in heaven. Tobacco. Conjuration of the weather.

I.

*171 131 The boundaries between the regions of the tribes are natural ones. "This brook belongs to the neighboring tribe," we were regularly informed along the way. The one bank of the Kulisehu, for example, belonged to the Nahuquá, the other to the Mehinakú [226] /Mehinacu/. Fishing with bow and arrow on the river was open to everyone.

*171 422 The plantings were common property. Everyone had his personal property in the house, even the women, who, we saw, [428] often objected to having it given to us; it was handed down to one's children, sons and daughters. We often observed, however, ● [622] that persons to whom we had given beads, etc. were obliged to hand them over to the chief.

*171 622 The power of the chief was not great. In all the larger villages there were several chiefs who lived in different houses; in dealings with us, there was always only one who appeared as representative. "Representation" was the most important obligation during peacetime. The chief directed the business connected with planting, he saw to it that the necessary supply of flour was put away, he had the beijús baked and the drinks prepared for all festive occasions and for the visits of strangers. He was apparently a family-father in greater style, but could not be very thrifty if he was concerned about the esteem of his fellow citizens, to say nothing of his neighboring tribesmen. Thus, the chief of the first Batovy village was "kurápa," bad - stingy. He had only a few [979] beijús baked for the guests. Stinginess is regarded as the ugliest trait. This type of rule must be difficult, however. Antonio told me about a certain João Cadete in the Paranatinga village, who was in line to become chief, but preferred to emigrate "com medo de tratar gente," for fear of having to entertain people, [621] /331/ so Felipe took his place. If the community is dissatisfied [626] with its chief, it knows a remedy: it breaks away from him and simply moves to another place. The office is hereditary, hence

/331 cont./

*171 not always in the best hands, and goes to the son, or, if there is
● 622 none, to the son of the sister. In Maigéri the chief had died and left only a daughter, "my intended" in the Bakairí idyl. Tumayaua, the brother of the widow, now became temporary chief; as soon as the girl married, her husband took his place. She received a quantity of the beads which we had given to others; the chief's stool belonged to her.

*171 A number of characteristics of matriarchy are recognizable
611 in the little that I am able to report about these conditions. The
648 sons belong to the tribe of the mother; Antonio said that if one of the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ married to Paressí women had children, they would be Paressí. Which, of course, in the case of abducted
*171 women, can only be meant very theoretically. In our time
582 marriages took place between Mehinakú and Nahuquá, between
648 Auetö and Yaulapiti, as well as between Kamayurá /Camayura/, and Auetö, between Kamayurá and Mehinakú, between Batovy Bakaïrí and Kustenaú /Custenau/, between Kulisehu Bakaïrí and
*171 Nahuquá. Just as Mehinakú women lived among the Nahuquá,
591 so had Auetö men married Yaulapiti women and lived in two
648 houses somewhat apart from the Auetö village; they were called "Arauití."* On the other hand, a Kustenaú man and a Nahuquá

*The Suyá chief who in 1884 gave us the map of the river course was also called an "Arauití" by the Auetö chief. His strikingly small lip-plug was explained by the fact that he had had the operation later; he himself traced his geographical knowledge back to his own journeys.

man had married and lived among the Bakaïrí, whereas we never observed the opposite, that Bakaïrí women married into
*171 another tribe. Pauhaga, from the first Bakaïrí village on the
591 Batovy, had as his wife Awía's daughter from Maigéri and, when
844 his wife was ready to give birth, came with her to Awiá's house on the Kulisehu; so that she, or rather both of them, as we shall

/337 cont./

*171 842 846 took a new name; in order to explain this, it is by no means necessary to assume that the "soul" of the father entered into the son each time. It is exactly the same in the Karaiben. imu is egg or testicles or father or child, the latter among several tribes already differentiated phonetically:

Ipurucoto /Puricoto/ imu "egg," Bakaïrí "testicles," Tamanako "father," Makuschi /Macusi/ imum "seed." With the pronominal suffix -ru, we find imu-ru, "child," among various tribes: Kumanagoto /Cumanagoto/ umo "my father," amo "your father," Nahuquá umú-ru "my child," amú-ru "your child." Naturally, it comes about everywhere that qualifying additions are supplied or words originally identical deviate from one another phonetically, with the connection forgotten. Thus, Kamayurá has ye-rup "my father," upiá "eggs," ye-reapiá "my testicles"; Auetó has i-tupiá "my testicles," n-upiá "his eggs"; the lingoa geral has çapyá "testicles," çopiá "egg." Among the Bakaïrí "child" and "little" are iméri, "the child of the chief" píma iméri; we may translate it as either "the child of the chief" or "the little chief" as we wish and do not realize in connection with the latter form, which we might apply jokingly to the son, that for the Indian the child is really only the little chief himself, a small edition of the big one. For our feeling, too, this conception is strange and scarcely comprehensible in the case where a girl is involved. But even the girl is the little father and not the little mother; she is made only by the father. In Bakaïrí [601] there are no special words for "son" and "daughter," but rather, if the distinction is required the sex is added. "píma iméri" may [622] mean the daughter as well as the son of the chief. The only [428] daughter of the chief is the heiress of the property and rank, both of which, along with her own property, go to her husband.

*171 846 The little father comes into the world, the umbilical cord is cut, the big father fasts at least until the wound is healed, and with this the new little human being may be regarded as an independent being. The father would surely not observe any precautionary measures if the little one immediately /338/ ran about as healthy as a little chick, but it bleeds and is in danger since it

/13 cont./

161 Going on from the Rio Preto Bakairí, on whom we do not have more precise data than that they were few, the remaining Bakairí population and, especially, those of the Rio Paranatinga was also very scant in this period. As Karl von den Steinen, [114] on his second expedition to the Xingu River in the year 1887, [175] did not have the opportunity to visit the Bakairí of the Rio Novo, we have no precise data concerning their population in this year. We only know that their population three years earlier, in the year 1884, was 55, among whom were 16 men, 19 women, [731] and 20 children. In the same year the population of the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí was much smaller because these Indians had been hit, some six years before, by a measles epidemic. The entire population of the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí at the time consisted of only 10 men, eight women, and four children, of whom five men, three women, and a boy were /14/ absent, [563] and some of these were not expected to return.(9) This number

9. Karl v.d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 120. Idem., Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens, loc. cit., p. 25.

is increased, however, if we add the two Paressí women and the two Kayabí women who were married to Bakairí men. When Karl von den Steinen visited this Bakairí village again, in the year 1887, one Bakairí man had died in the interval, some had moved to the ranches, and no increase by birth had occurred. If we add up the above-mentioned figures and include the four Paressí and Kayabí women, the total number for all the Bakairí of the Rio Novo and the Rio Paranatinga reaches 81 individuals.

175 The above-mentioned aldeas of the western Bakairí were 622 at this time under the Indian Superintendent in Cuiabá, and the 648 administration of the state of Mato Grosso has exerted repeated influence on the various Bakairí units, increasing the authority of the caciques or strengthening it with insignia. Thus Cacique

/14 cont./

175 Reginaldo, who ruled the two Bakairí villages on the Rio Novo,
● 622 held the grade of "captain" and his intended successor, Joaquim,
648 was a "lieutenant." In the village on the Rio Paranatinga the administration had deprived old chief Caetano, whose age was calculated at 80 years, of the chiefship and had entrusted it to a younger man called Felipe who had the rank of "captain," in the year 1882.

105 The way of life of the western Bakairí, at the time of Karl
[177] von den Steinen's expeditions differed little from that of the Brazilian campesinos. Already from the year 1820 they had all been baptized. Men's and women's dress was similar in general to that of the campesinos as the style of their rectangular houses was similar to the Brazilian rancho. Besides some dogs many pigs and chickens were raised. Cattle was also raised, and they had some milch cows and a herd of oxen. They planted manioc, maize, porotos /var. of French bean, from Quechua purutu/, rice, sweet potatoes, bananas, sugar cane, and a little tobacco. This agriculture was carried out to a sufficient degree to permit them to sell a surplus to the cattle ranch at Corrego Fundo. An important element of nourishment was provided the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí by the abundance of fish in the river, and especially the excellent matrinchan that was caught in the season of its collective migration upriver. (10) These western Bakairí worked then

10. Karl von den Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 23.

on a temporary basis for neighboring ranches, but they also produced rubber for their own use and brought the product with their herds of oxen to Cuiabá.

105 In spite of this almost complete assimilation of the western
177 Bakairí to the ways of life of Brazilian campesinos, they still
178 kept some of their ancestral customs. Above all they kept their
[191] native language, and only a few understood and spoke some Portuguese.

/14 cont./

105 Portuguese. The lobes of their ears and the nasal septa were
177 still perforated, and Cacique Reginaldo sometimes wore, in
178 addition to his captain's uniform, the little sticks adorned with feathers in his ear lobes as well. In the aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí there still stood in the year 1884, besides the /15/ rectangular houses in the Brazilian rancho style, a round hut built like the houses of the eastern Bakairí who live in the regions of the headwaters of the Xingu River, in which lived an old Bakairí man with a young Kayabí woman. Bows and arrows were still used, occasionally, for hunting and fishing, and among the plaited objects had been kept the ancestral forms of the large twig baskets, sieves, and hammocks.

175 In the aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí the order of things
● 622 was gravely disturbed at the time of Karl von den Steinen's
648 expeditions (11) because the occupants of this village felt greater
578

11. Karl v.d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 120.

loyalty to the old cacique, Caetano, than to Cacique Felipe, installed as cacique instead of the former by the Mato Grosso government. The Bakairí, Antonio, who accompanied Karl von
[115] den Steinen on his expeditions to the Xingu River and who later became the most important figure in the history of the Bakairí, was then a youth.

175 The western Bakairí were at that time the Indians to whom
648 had come the most remote shoots of European culture in these regions. What was farther on was still unexplored land, with free Indians, because of whom the mobility of the Bakairí was hampered to a high degree. It seems that the Bakairi to the south and southwest had peaceful relations with the Kayapó /Cayapo/ with whom, in earlier times, they had once been allied in order jointly to expel the Suyá from the Rio Verde region. (12) This friendship is interesting in so far as the Kayapó

175 /17 cont./
619 in subsequent times to a high degree the history of the two
128 groups of the Bakairí tribe, so different one from the other.

After Karl von den Steinen's second expedition to the
175 Xingu River, the next event in the history of the Bakairí, and especially of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga, was the lost expedition of Captain Telles Pires in the year 1889. This explorer, accompanied by Lieutenant Oscar Miranda and 26 boatmen, among whom were also Paranatinga Bakairí, had endeavored to go down the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires) from the mouth of the Rio S. Manuel /São Manuel River/.
175 Among the 21 companions who perished with Telles Pires in
622 this undertaking was Cacique Felipe of the Paranatinga Bakairí, who died of fever on the way. The Bakairí, Irineo, raised and adopted by this cacique, who had accompanied his father, was not heard of again after this excursion and it was supposed
175 that he also had perished. When the Bakairí got the news of
622 their cacique's death, they burned their houses /18/ and abandoned their aldea to settle farther upriver. The harbor of
166 the new aldea, situated like the previous aldea on the left
361 side of the river, was 18 kilometers downriver from the mouth
[103] of the Rio S. Manuel on the Rio Paranatinga, or Rio Telles Pires as it was officially named after the ill-fated undertaking of Captain Telles Pires, and the aldea itself was 1,600 meters inland from the riverbank and 200 meters from the small Corrego do Tatú /"Armadillo Stream"/. (21)

21. A. Pyrineus de Sousa, loc. cit., pp. 61, 68, and 69.

175 Who the first cacique of the aldea was after Felipe's death
622 I do not know. At the close of the last decade of the past century, when Antonio Correa da Costa was president of the state of Mato Grosso (in the years from 1895 to the beginning of 1898, with a gap in the year 1897), the cacique of the aldea

/18 cont./

175 of the Paranatinga Bakairí was already the same Antonio who
622 had accompanied Karl von den Steinen on his two expeditions to the Xingu River and who had become acquainted on his return from the first of these expeditions with Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires. President Antonio Correa da Costa confirmed his
[648] caciqueship, extending his authority over the whole region of the Indians who lived on the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, naming him the comandante of all the Indians of the upper
175 Xingu River. This extension of the authority of Cacique Antonio
622 by the president of the state was instigated, according to
648 Herrmann Meyer, (22) by the same Paulo Castro who, in the
159

[113]

22. Dr. Herrmann Meyer, "Uber seine zweite Reise in Central-Brasilien (IV. Xingú-Expedition) /On His Second Journey in Central Brazil (IV. Xingu Expedition)/," aus einem Brief an Herrn Prof. Dr. Karl von den Steinen /From a letter to Prof. Karl von den Steinen/, Cuiabá, d. March 5, 1899, (Verh. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin. Vol. XXVI, 1899, pp. 261-265), p. 265.

years following his participation in Karl von den Steinen's expedition to the Xingu River, traveled through these regions several times in his tireless search for the "martyrs," and thus had had the opportunity to meet the Bakairí of the Paranatinga. Cacique Antonio then for a long time was the most influential figure in the subsequent development not only of the western Bakairí but also of the eastern Bakairí. He had been born in the Limoeira handicrafts center and came from a family who had lived for a long time in the Rio Paranatinga aldea. The most remote ancestors of whom he had knowledge had still

/18 cont./

175 lived in the vicinity of the falls. His grandfather, Karavako,
159 and his father, Seseriari, had participated in the above-
● 622 mentioned expedition for revenge undertaken against the Kayabí,
648 in which the two Kayabí women who lived in the Rio Paranatinga aldea were captured. At the time of Karl von den Steinen's expedition, his parents were no longer living, but he had an older brother living with his wife and with a small son in the Paranatinga aldea. As a companion to Karl von den Steinen in the year 1888, Antonio had met in the Reducíon de Bororo de Thereza Christina, situated on the Rio S. Lourenzo /São Lourenço River/, the Bororo Indian woman Rosa, well known for the fact that while a prisoner of Officer Duarte, she had undertaken to mediate in the agreement /?conivencia/ between Bororo and Brazilians so that it became possible to establish the above-mentioned Bororo reducíon /pueblo of Christianized Indians/. She was a widow at the time and Antonio took her along toward the Paranatinga. Rosa brought with her a small son, five or six years of age, who was raised in the house of Cacique Antonio and who later, under the name of José /19/ Coroado, achieved a certain stature in the Bakairí community of the Paranatinga, so that I must refer to him several times in what follows.

175 Already in the last decade of the past century, when
166 Herrmann Meyer passed the aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí in his two expeditions to the Xingu River in the years 1896 and 1899, much activity was taking place there. (23) Antonio with

[113]

23. Dr. Herrmann Meyer, "Über seine Expedition nach Zentral-Brasilien /On His Expedition toward Central Brazil/," March 6, Verhandl. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde z. Berlin, Vol. XXIV, 1897, pp. 172-198. Idem., "Bericht über seine zweite

/19 cont./

175 166 113 Xingú-Expedition /Report on His Second Xingu Expedition/," February 3, 1900, Verh. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde z. Berlin, Vol. XXVII, 1900, pp. 112-128. Idem., "Uber seine zweite Reise in Central-Brasilien," loc. cit.

175 166 159 622 162 Antonio with his stepson José Coroado, already an adult, had then visited several times the Bakairí in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River, and a big part of these had moved in with their fellow countrymen of the Rio Paranatinga, so that Theodor Koch, a participant in Herrmann Meyer's second expedition to the Xingu River, estimated the population of the aldea of the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí, at this date, at more than 60 individuals.(24)

[113] 24. Dr. Theodor Koch, "Reise in Matto Grosso (Brasilien). Expedition in das Quellgebiet des Xingú /Journey in Mato Grosso (Brazil). Expedition to the Region of the Headwaters of the Xingu/." Communication, d. K. K. Geogr. Ges. in Vienna, p. 335.

175 [501] [504] [439] At this time, the Rio Batovy Bakairí had canoes and also a port on the Rio Jatobá. Also the Nahukuá /Nahuqua/ had then risked for the first time the journey to the Rio Paranatinga and had carried away from there sugar cane and porotos /French beans/ for planting. (25)

25. Dr. Herrmann Meyer, "Bericht uber seine zweite Xingú-Expedition," loc. cit., p. 127.

/20 cont./

114 look at this settlement situated on the left side of the Rio Novo.
36) The main aldea of these Indians, which consisted of five ranchos, was at a distance of three turns of the river from the small Brazilian pueblo of Rio Novo situated on the right side of the
[648] river. At this place I met Mr. Eliseu, who then held the title of subdirector over the Bakairí.

114 Conditions among the Rio Novo Bakairí had hardly changed
178 since the time when Karl von den Steinen described them.
● 622 Also, the population, which I estimated at 60 individuals, was
[162] more or less the same. Reginaldo, who had meanwhile become an old man, was still cacique of the two communities of Rio Novo Bakairí. Plate V of my book Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien presents a photograph taken in the aldea of these Indians showing Cacique Reginaldo with his wife in the midst of several other Bakairí, standing in front of the door of his house. The book which he holds in his hand is the work Durch Centralbrasilien, published by Karl von den Steinen, in which he is also represented in a drawing and at which he is
114 looking with great interest. In the aldea there were still various
178 objects which were products of typical Bakairí work, such as for
[285] example the large baskets of twigs /banastas/ woven in the an-
531 cestral way, and other kinds of baskets which matched exactly
184 in terms of technique and decoration those made by the Bakairí
[411] of the tributaries of the Xingu River. (27) The Rio Novo Bakairí

27. Cf. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., Fig. 174, p. 347.

also still used, besides firearms, bows and arrows for hunting, and these corresponded exactly to those of their fellow country-
177 men of the Xingu River region. But outside of these objects,
231 made in native fashion, these Bakairí had been changed completely into Brazilian campesinos as a result of the fact that

/20 cont./

Reginaldo and his people had a large number of cattle and several saddle horses. Although among themselves they spoke only in the Bakairí language, all of the men knew the Brazilian language, and it was said that Cacique Reginaldo knew how to read and speak some French. The Rio Novo Bakairí maintained at the time active relations with their fellow countrymen on the Rio Paranatinga. With the eastern Bakairí they hardly had any contacts, except for the Bakairí Joaquim who was the uncle of Cacique Antonio of the Paranatinga aldea and who had a young Bakairí from the Rio Batovi river in his service.

Different were the conditions of the Bakairí in the Rio Paranatinga aldea at the time of my visit. While the population at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions had dwindled in such a way that Karl von den Steinen foresaw the end of this community, the population of the aldea had increased in the meantime with the addition of numerous Bakairí from the Xingu River region. The number of these Bakairí, called by their Paranatinga fellow countrymen Xinguanos, climbed to 34 at the time of my stay with these Indians. The leader of the community was Antonio, who was at this time at the peak of his power. The only insignia /21/ of his rank as comandante of the Indians of the upper Xingu River region, officially granted by the Mato Grosso government, were a pair of red soldier's trousers with a wide white stripe which ran down the side of each leg, but a more practical symbol of his power were several good firearms hanging in his house, which he also used occasionally, according to the Mato Grosso men, against insubordinate fellow countrymen. The majority of the Xinguanos then living in his aldea were totally dependent upon him with regard to economic conditions and made up a valuable component of his power, for he had supplied the most trustworthy men among them with firearms. This small military force was important above all to insure contact between the Rio Paranatinga and the tributaries of the Xingu River against the Kayabí who had unquestionably begun at this time to

/21 cont./

701 disturb the Brazilian campesinos in these regions. According to
648 Herrmann Meyer (28) they had already wreaked serious destruction

28. Herrmann Meyer, "Bericht uber seine zweite Xingú-Expedition," loc. cit., pp. 115 and 116.

in the region of the Serra Trombador and killed several inhabitants. At the time of my stay on the Corrego Fundo ranch, the Kayabí had penetrated the mountains above the Rio Paranatinga up to some six leagues from Corrego Fundo and attacked Cacique Antonio as he was looking for rubber with his people for Señor Jange Soares, the owner of the ranch. But Antonio had driven them back with his armed people and killed a Kayabí on this occasion.

622 Cacique Antonio's big house where I visited him had been
342 built a year earlier. It consisted of a large middle room which communicated on the left side of the entrance with two other rooms which formed the dwelling house proper of the cacique and Doña Rosa, and on the right side with a large room for guests that fulfilled exactly the functions of the house for fiestas
622 of the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River regions. All the men
342 and boys of the aldea could go in and out of it as they pleased.
574 This room also served for dancing, and during my stay in it,
[302] from time to time, some Xinguanos would enter, their faces
[533] painted in red and black, and sing their monotonous melodies
[535] as they danced around the post set in the middle of the room.
[352] Cacique Antonio's own dwelling already had at this time quite
[123] a modern appearance. In the "dining room" there was a table and a large armchair as well as dishes and spoons, and I was entertained at his table in the Brazilian manner with a dish of
622 meat with rice and flour. He obviously enjoyed renewing old
115 memories of the journeys he had made with Karl von den Steinen. He looked with great interest at Karl von den Steinen's works about his travels and, on his part, showed me some photographs

/21 cont./

622 that he still kept from those days. Antonio had no children by
115 Doña Rosa. I had the opportunity to become acquainted with
[123] her when, returning in poor health from the Rio Kulisehu, I was most generously accommodated in her house although Antonio was away.

342 José Coroado's house, situated in front of his stepfather
352 Antonio's house, was just as large and built in the same style.
353 Its interior gave much more of a native impression than Antonio's house. In the half-dark rooms several women lay in the hammocks, /22/ among them one with Jose's little daughter, who was only a few weeks old. All the walls in the house showed in the upper part, directly under the ceiling, boards painted in black and white. These friezes made by the Xinguanos showed the typical paintings of the Bakairí. All of the decorations known to the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River regions appeared in these paintings, such as, for example, the figures called
159 uluri, merechu, and maimai. José, in spite of his youth, had
191 already had a great deal of experience. The hole in his lower lip at once recalled his early childhood among his own fellow
[871] countrymen, the Bororo, whose idiom he still knew. As already mentioned above, he had come with his mother to the house of Cacique Antonio when he was a boy of five or six, but he had received part of his education in the capital, Cuiabá, so that he was better acquainted than any other Rio Paranatinga Bakairí with the Portuguese language, which he also used in
159 talking with his mother. When he was an adult, Cacique
619 Antonio had taken him along on a trip to the Batovy and Kulisehu
[484] rivers. Already at that time he had had trouble with his stepfather because he had become too involved with the pretty girls of the first aldea of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí and had thus damaged the good relations with the inhabitants of that aldea. The anger of the inhabitants of the first Rio Kulisehu aldea caused by José Coroado's behavior still continued at the time of my journey to the Rio Kulisehu, and José did not dare to accompany me to that aldea because he had learned that its

/26 cont./

114 the Rio S. Manuel and the Rio Paranatinga (officially named
361 Rio Telles Pires), encountered the Bakairí of the Rio Novo and the Rio Paranatinga and those who had settled at the "Cabeceira do Chapadão." (31)

31. Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa, loc. cit., p. 70.

361 In the aldea situated on the Rio Novo there still lived at
622 this time the old cacique, Reginaldo, who then wore a long, white beard. He had good plantations, he carried on some
[249] raising of cattle and horses, and he had a stand of rubber trees
361 from which he had rubber sought. (32) A small group of

32. Ibid.

Bakairí from the Arinos region lived at this time on the Cabeceira do Pitão, a tributary of the Rio Arinos. They were the Bakairí,
[423] André, and four fellow tribesmen who owned plantations and
[464] worked as rubber workers. (33)

33. Ibid., pp. 70 and 71.

159 Meanwhile changes had taken place among the Rio
622 Paranatinga Bakairí. Antonio was still cacique of the aldea,
593 which was still at the same place, slightly downriver from the
361 mouth of the São Manuel River on the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires), where it had been set up after the death of Cacique Felipe. Since the aldea consisted at this time of seven houses, it may be assumed that Antonio still commanded a relatively large number of Bakairí. But he was no longer the sole ruler of all the Paranatinga Bakairí. The differences which
159 had already existed for a long time between Antonio and his
593 stepson, José Coroado, had become intensified, and after a
361 serious quarrel between them, José Coroado had left Antonio's

/27 cont./

162 the year 1915, no more than nine men with some women and
361 children lived with their cacique in the new aldea. The rest
166 had died or had moved to the other Bakairí aldeas situated on the Rio Paranatinga.

178 According to Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa's description, the
433 Bakairí of the Rio Novo and Rio Paranatinga still had in the
622 year 1915 a life with sufficient means of subsistence. Cacique
[361] Antonio, whose authority of former times had undoubtedly de-
[241] creased through José Coroado's defection with his people and
[231] through the independent stand of Cacique Kurutú, was still chief of the old aldea on the Rio Paranatinga, which still consisted of seven houses and whose inhabitants planted manioc, maize, sugar cane, bananas, and aboborra /gourds/, and raised
[231] many pigs and chickens. In former times they had also devoted
[648] themselves to the raising of cattle and horses, but the rancher Jange Soares had made them give this up. Already at this time, Antonio was urgently pressing his rights in the region bound by the Serra Azul, the Ribeirão Bananal, and the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires) and occupied for many years by the Bakairí. (34)

34. A. Pyrineus de Sousa, loc. cit., p. 64.

184 José Coroado's aldea consisted of three well-built houses.
361 He had large plantations of manioc and maize and raised some
241 pigs and chickens. (35) The inhabitants of Cacique Kurutú's
231

35. Ibid., p. 65.

aldea, which consisted of three large houses, also had good plantations and lived comfortably.

178 /28/ At that time, also, the customs and ideas of the
[535] Rio Paranatinga Bakairí were largely Indian. When dancing,
[291] the men were nude except for a small coarse apron, rectangular

/28 cont./

114 [113] Sept. 1926 bis Aug. 1928
/Results of My Two Year Exploratory
Trip in Mato Grosso. Sept. 1926
to Aug. 1928/." pp. 86-88.
Zeitschrift fur Ethnologie,
Annual Set 60. Heft 1/3.

114 In Cuiabá I had already encountered some Bakairí
115 who had come from Simões Lopes with a herd of oxen to the capital. Since at that time the revolutionaries, led by /Luiz Carlos/ Prestes, were passing through Mato Grosso and also were making the vicinity of Cuiabá insecure, these Bakairí were prevented from undertaking their return journey for the same reason I was unable to carry out my projected trip to Simões Lopes. They were four men and one boy of ten, and when they visited me one day in my house, it turned out that one of these Indians, called Marcellino Caminago, or by his native name, Paiugude, came from the second Bakairí aldea on the Rio Kulisehu. At the time of my stay in this aldea 26 years earlier, he had been a small boy, but he still remembered me well. It was interesting to note how this memory gradually came back to him when I played on my violin the same melody that I had played many times in the Maimaieti aldea among the Kulisehu Bakairí. He asked one of the other Bakairí what my name was, and when I told him that my name was "Doctor Macimo," he knew at once that his memory had not deceived him and he
[551] greeted me as an old acquaintance. Naturally, from this
[191] moment on he frequented my house with his small son, Lorenzo,
[126] whose native name was Kaiura, and with the other Bakairí, and since some /29/ of these Bakairí were quite familiar with the Portuguese language I had a good chance to take down linguistic notes and to obtain at this time exact data on the changes which had taken place with respect to conditions among the Bakairí
[622] since my former journey. Among other news they told me that
[159] old Cacique Reginaldo had lived on for a long time and had

/29 cont./

114 died a short time before. Cacique Karía, who in times past
115 had received me so hospitably in Maimaieri aldea, was still
159 living but very old. He was quite isolated, for his wife as well
●622 as his two daughters, whom I had known as little girls, had
died. Cacique Antonio was also still alive but was also already
old and had remained with his family and a few people at the
location of the old Bakairí aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí.
622 Antonio always clung stubbornly to the idea that the land bound
159 by the Serra Azul, the Ribeirão Bananal, and the Rio Paranatinga
619 belonged to him and his Bakairí, and he did not want to leave
648 his aldea so as not to lose the right to this region. As for the
114 changes brought about by the establishment of the Simões Lopes
Post, he maintained a very cautious attitude and did not recognize the authority of the Post administration, according to which the Bakairí, Pires, was named cacique of the Xinguanos in his place and appointed to administer the affairs of this part of the Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post. When I later met Cacique Antonio, he told me repeatedly that he was still Capitão and the legitimate chief of his fellow tribesmen. Among other news received from the Bakairí in Cuiabá, I heard that José Corozado and his brother-in-law Chico, who had accompanied me with the latter on my expedition to the Rio Kulisehu, had died since.

114 In the course of the journey which I finally undertook,
622 leaving Cuiabá on January 27, 1927, I was able to make only
159 a passing visit to Cacique Antonio in his aldea, but he himself
[123] visited me at Simões Lopes several times. (Cf. Fig. 1.) I was
very well received in his house as an old friend and treated to
a glass of guarana drink. Whereas Antonio had no issue by Rosa
Bororo, he had after her death three sons by his second wife.
The photograph shown in Figure 2 shows Antonio before his
house with his family, and his horse on the right. The condition
of his house, in contrast with that of previous times when I
visited him at the height of his power, conveyed an impression
114 of poverty. In a small house situated close to Antonio's, I also
115

/29 cont./

114 met one of the Bakairí who had accompanied me in the year
115 1901 on my journey to the Rio Kulisehu. He too was already
[164] very old and he was ill, his body being covered with tumors.

When I reached the Simões Lopes Post I met with highly
114 unfavorable circumstances. My pack oxen were the first to
361 reach Simões Lopes after the long interruption of all traffic between this post and the capital Cuiabá caused by the revolutionaries
[173] led by Prestes. For this reason there was at that time a scarcity of /30/ provisions, and in addition there was among the Indians a bad epidemic of malaria, which the head of the post, Señor Benedito, and his family also had. The post at the time was still at the same location where it was first established, where José Coroado had had his aldea before, and thus 13 kilometers downriver from the old aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí and four kilometers inland on the right side of the river near the small Ribeião Azul. It consisted of some administrative buildings (cf. Figure 3) and some 20 ranchos for the Bakairí Indians (cf. Figures 4, 6, and 7). There is no doubt that all the Bakairí lived at this time in areas near the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires) and had relations with the Simões Lopes Post, but only part of them lived at the post, and since the plantations of the individual Indian families were rather far from the settlement, the Indians who lived at the post also stayed temporarily in their small houses built near their plantations.

361 In the middle of the post was the house of the Bakairí, Pires,
622 whom the administration had entrusted with the caciqueship over
166 the Bakairí who had moved from the region of the upper Xingu
101 River and who were called Xinguanos. (Cf. Figures 4 and 5.)

In one of the houses of the post I met the Bakairí, Luchu,
114 who came from the first aldea on the Rio Kulisehu, ~~who with~~
115 Cacique Tumayaua had accompanied Karl von den Steinen on his expedition and who is shown in a photograph in the book
[177] Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens. As shown in the photograph in Figure 8, he had grown quite old since and was

/30 cont./

114 dressed in European manner, and with his rough beard he bears
115 little resemblance to the photograph taken by Karl von den
[177] Steinen some 39 years earlier. In another house there still lived Luisa Kayabí, whom Karl von den Steinen had met when she was the young wife of old Cacique Caetano.

114 Most of the Bakairí whom I had known 26 years before in
731 Maigeri and Maimaieti aldeas had perished in a flu epidemic
753 that had wreaked havoc among the population of Mato Grosso
648 some years earlier. Since the high number of deaths among
361 the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River was attributed to the witch-
[166] craft of evil neighboring tribes, especially the Mehinakú and the Nahukuá, who had been envious of the economic benefits derived by the Bakairí from their contact with civilization, all the Bakairí of the Batovy and Kulisehu rivers had moved to the Rio Paranatinga. Undoubtedly petty jealousies and other discords had caused these Bakairí, called Xinguanos, not to get along with their fellow natives on the Paranatinga, and for this reason they had settled at some distance from the post, farther downriver. I found the first of these Xinguano settlements at the place where the Ribeřão Azul enters the Rio Paranatinga. It was situated on the right side of this river and consisted of four small houses. (Cf. Figures 21 and 22.) A little farther downriver I reached a Bakairí plantation near which was a rancho occupied by same people. (Cf. Figure 20.)

361 /31/ From there a path led to the principal settlement of
622 the Bakairí who had moved from the Rio Kulisehu. It consisted
159 of two rather large houses. (Cf. Figure 17.) I was told that a
114 little farther downriver there were some more settlements, and
[487] among them also that of my old friend from Maimaieti aldea, Karía. I had already encountered Karía when I visited Cacique
622 Antonio, and he had recognized me. He was no longer cacique,
159 and I was told that at the time of my stay in Maimaieti he had
114 merely been a temporary cacique in the place of his brother who was then away. He had grown much older and no longer

/31 cont./

622 had people at his command so that he no doubt lived in great
159 poverty. Some time later he visited me at the Simões Lopes
114 Post and brought me a beautiful bow with arrows and an old-style necklace made of stone and shell beads.

114 During my stay at Simões Lopes I twice visited the Xinguano
115 settlement situated on the Rio Paranatinga, and each time I was received very kindly and entertained well by the inhabitants, among whom I still found some acquaintances from Maimaieti. There I again met Marcellino Caminage and his family (cf. Figures 15-17), and also the son of the Bakairí, Chico, who had accompanied me on my previous trip from the Rio Paranatinga to Maimaieti aldea and who had since died. The son of this Chico, called André, had been raised on the ranch of Jange Soares so that he was good at the tasks related to a trip with pack oxen. I hired him for the rest of my journey, and I must mention here that he was always a good and faithful companion on my trip to the Kayabí Post, Pedro Dantas, and on the return to Cuiabá, at one time being my only companion and going through many difficulties with me. I still remember one day, when things were going very badly for us, he said to me, "My father, before, always stayed near you on your trip, and so now I stay near you too."

361 Now on the right side of the Rio Paranatinga but some dis-
622 tance from the river and beyond the Rio Vermelho that flows
[166] into the river below the Simões Lopes Post, was the settlement of the Bakairí who had moved from their two aldeas situated on the Rio Novo. The cacique of this group of Bakairí was at this time a man of advanced age called Roberto. (Cf. Figure 12.) The settlement consisted of 11 houses, only three of which were occupied at this time. But besides these houses Roberto also had a house at the Simões Lopes Post itself, where he occasionally
114 stayed with his people. On leaving Simões Lopes to continue my journey to the Pedro Dantas Post, I had the opportunity to visit the houses of the Bakairí who had come from the Rio Novo,

/34 cont./

114 tributaries of the upper Xingu River never had this custom, but
177 that I had the opportunity to observe it among several of my
304 Mato Grosso attendants, who had presumably adopted it through African influences. If the present-day Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post file their teeth, this is no doubt an innovation brought about by foreign influences.

165 We know through Petrullo that the high mortality of the
164 Paranatinga Bakairí unfortunately has continued in spite of the
[648] care of the Inspectoria da Protecção aos Indios /Indian Protection Service/. (41) It seems that fevers are rapidly diminishing the

41. Vincent M. Petrullo, loc. cit., pp. 128 and 129.

Bakairí population. According to Petrullo, syphillis, caught through contact with the whites, probably has also caused high mortality among these Indians.

622 Finally, I must still mention the last news I received when
159 I had already left Mato Grosso. It was the news of the death
178 of the man who had withdrawn from all innovations at the close of his life because he wished to retain his independence but who nevertheless will remain the best-known Bakairí in Bakairí history: the death of Cacique Antonio.

184 II. Change and Continuity in the Cultural Goods
198 of the Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post
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In discussing in the preceding section the history of the Bakairí, I mention that the sedentary Bakairí on the Rio Paranatinga and the Rio Novo, before they entered into relations with their fellow countrymen of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, had still retained some of the articles of their /35/ ancestral culture although they had almost completely become Brazilian campesinos. Through contact with the Xinguanos and as a

4:Schmidt--60 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate II

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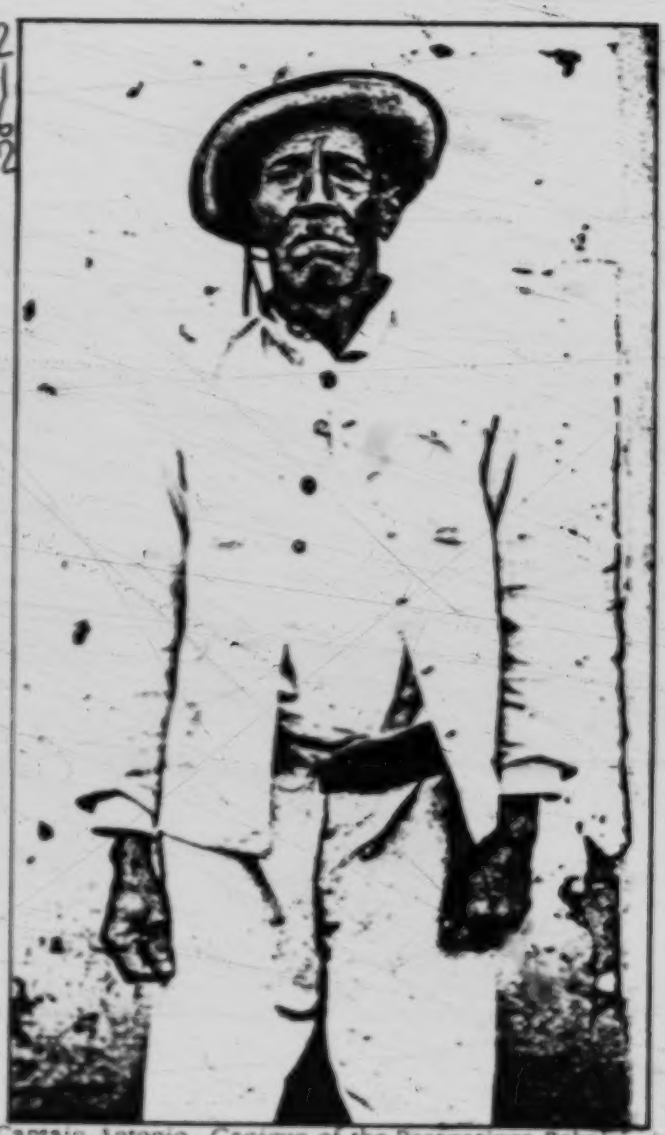

Fig. 1. Captain Antonio, Cacique of the Paranatinga Bakairi, in the year 1927.

4:Schmidt--61 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate III

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Fig. 2. Captain Antonio with his family in front of his house, in the year 1927.

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Fig. 3. Administration building at the Simões Lopes Post.

4:Schmidt--62 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate IV

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Fig. 4. House of the Bakairí, Pires, cacique of the Xinguanos in Simões Lopes.

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Fig. 5. Cacique Pires with his family in front of his house in Simões Lopes.

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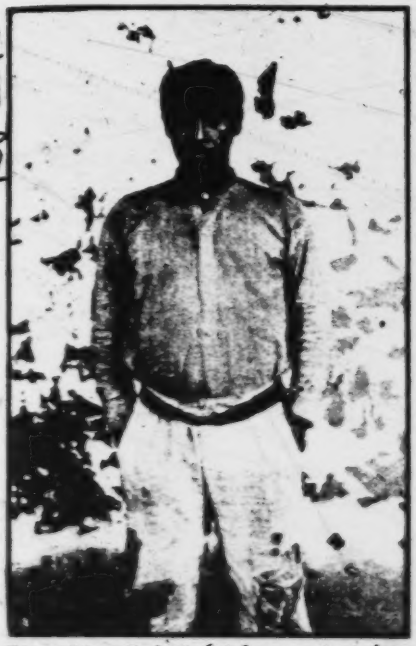

Fig. 10. Bakairí Afonso, Luju's son, in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 11. Bakairí Hieronymo, in Simões Lopes.

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Fig. 12. Cacique Roberto, from the Rio Novo, with his family, in Simões Lopes.

/261 cont./

352 The Bakairí slept in hammocks, amaka, woven of palm fiber.
[415] Their furnishings can be summed up as benches of a solid
[285] piece of wood, clay pots, mats and baskets. The diet rests
262 upon manioc, piquí, sweet potatoes, maize, and fish. How-
224] ever, the hunting of monkeys, wild pig, tapir, and other ani-
mals was not scorned. Most of the food reserves, however,
[241] were of vegetable origin, and the most important harvests
were made up of manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, and piquí.
Yams /cará/, cotton, urucú, and tobacco were also planted.

342 The occupants of a communal house worked together on
476 the building of a new house, acquiring thereby the right to
622 reside in it. This construction work, however, was led by the
individual who had the most prestige in the group, usually the
old head of the house, who thus set himself up as the head of
241 the new house. The tasks of clearing fields and planting
476 generally depended on the participation of all the aldea. When
529 beginning a new clearing, the Bakairí would give a feast,
kométe, with the distribution of food to the Indians who worked
501 on the field. The Bakairí made canoes from the bark of the
[824] jatobá tree, in the Xinguano way. This construction, as well
[782] as fishing, hunting, and agricultural activities, were accom-
panied by propitiatory rituals.

437 Their products were bartered among neighboring groups
574 in the course of visits called tuliki which depended on the
presence of the chiefs of both aldeas. After the exchange of
the objects desired, the visitors were honored with a feast
called tulake.

621 /262/ The Bakairí were not a warlike people, and their
181 political organization does not seem very elaborate. Each
622 aldea had a chief, pima, assisted by a subchief, itáida. The
624 Bakairí do not remember the existence of a chief for the whole
[643] tribe, and there is no evidence that such a figure ever existed.
The selection of the itáida was made by means of agreement
of the aldea, but it generally fell on the son of the pima him-
self. The pima's functions were chiefly ceremonial, economic,
and juridical.

/263 cont./

000 dangers that surrounded them. Pregnancy, enokua, was
843 recognized by the cessation of the menstrual periods. When
262 the abdomen of the pregnant woman began to attain visible proportions, a diet based on vegetal foods and fish was initiated.
844 As the time of delivery drew near, a separate section was
[784] built inside the houses; the parturient was segregated and remained uanki. Female relatives helped in the delivery under the direction of an experienced woman. The parturient gave
[845] birth sitting on her heels. In difficult cases they washed her abdomen and sides with a hot infusion of cotton leaves. The umbilical cord was cut by the parturient herself or by her husband, and it was buried along with the placenta outside the
844 house. After the birth, eraseli, the child was washed and
784 handed over to the parents; later it would be given the name
846 of some dead relative. During the birth and for some time
[553] afterward, the child and its parents remained in a state of uanki. The end of the seclusion was signaled by the first
846 menstrual period of the parturient, and it was marked by a
796 feast called tadaunúto. The restoration of the parents and the
784 child to the bosom of the community was accomplished by means of a feast called itabiénli.

When children reached puberty they were secluded, uanki, for a period of several months. They could not come out in daylight, and they were fed and looked after by their
[856] relatives. It was believed that the greater or lesser duration of the young people's uanki period would lead to their better
[622] or worse physical constitution. On the other hand, a chief's son had to remain in seclusion longer than usual. The period
881 of seclusion began for boys with the ritual of the perforation of
304 the ears (usually undergone in groups). Girls had their ears
784 perforated immediately after birth, and their seclusion was marked by the advent of the first menses. The end of the uanki
784 state was also celebrated with the tadaunúto. The girls then
881 began to wear uluri, that is to say, triangular genital coverings
796 about three centimeters square made of tree bark.
881
291

Bacairí

323 pots are quite distinct from the pottery of the Indians living on the Upper Paraguay River. Bacairí pots are flat-bottomed and have straight vertical walls with everted rims. The pots in common use were, and still are, black in color, unglazed, and undecorated. Some of the pots [532] been were made in the forms of frogs, turtles, fish, and birds. The Bacairí claim that they [531] formerly had decorated pottery called *amúga*, painted with black, gray, red, and brown designs.

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476 enterprise. A woman with a larger than usual cotton crop distributed cotton among her friends and when the work was completed she organized a feast and dance.

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[P. 73-A] After the trading year

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/168 cont./

574 other, the professor, naked, but, along with bow and arrow, one of our mirrors in his hand. We were undoubtedly well recommended.

532 Shortly before the exit from the woods we came across a wonderful display of about a dozen animal figures along one side of the path, /169/ probably the remains from a festival. They were made of leaves and straw, mostly quadrupeds with long, thin bodies, consisting of practically nothing but spinal column and long legs; the tallest ones reached to our hips. Something that was evidently supposed to be a monkey was climbing up a pole. A human figure was incised in a tree, with roguish use of a depression present in the bark. Such is the beginning of art in the primeval forest.

361 After we had passed a roca and low shrub planting, we saw
[241] four huts, two large ones and two small ones, lying correspondingly opposite each other. The nobility was assembled on the
574 plaza; a friendly "am(b)á" (that is you) with raised hand wel-
[576] comed each one. Then, one after the other, we were grasped
[345] at the wrists by our hosts, mostly by two at the same time, and led before the festival hut, where beam and stool were ready.

Here we sat is long rows with our guns, and immediately the serving of mingau began. Then we did our tricks, cut nails,
[123] let them look through the opera glasses, lighted a match with fire steel, etc. The professor beamed; he was reaping honor with us.

[301] A sturdy young man, a diadem of stiff jaguar skin over his
[624] forehead, seemed to be acting as herald. He poured busily, screamed louder than the others, and grasped everything most quickly. *I had the feeling that we were traveling circus troops* and were being informally received and treated in a club. One
302 of the younger sportsmen had had his body painted with black
531 squares, which were joined at the edges with short lines. The drawing on the upper thigh of another -- a black wavy line and in the depressions of it black dots -- definitely resembled the skin marking of a fish, the pintado.

/175/

000 Off at 9:00. Soundlessly with Valentin in the lead; occasionally a bird is aroused in the bushes. Doves coo, otherwise deep silence. The last morning mists heavy on the water.

133 From the shore a blue serra /sierra; see the glossary, p. 172/ visible in NW. At 10:00 we reached the harbor of Aldea IV.

361 Here we were already expected. It is the only one that lies on the right shore, about three kilometers inland. -- A half-dozen

609 older people received us with their "am(b)ɨ" and accompanied us along the way. They stopped often in order to make clear to us, with many gestures of satisfaction, that they were Bakaïrí and masters of the entire region. Mostly through meadow and

[361] campo along the edge of the forest. -- It was the largest village, seven huts, and in the middle an open plaza. Twenty-four men stood there in several groups, foremost a heavily blackened fellow who swung bow and arrows wildly, beat on them clatteringly, and shouted with a stentorian voice: "Bakaïrí, Kɑ̄ura Bakaïrí" (we, the Bakaïrí). And the chorus joined in: "Kɑ̄ura Bakaïrí --

[624] Kustenaú...Trumaí hu-hu,"...other tribal names, incomprehensible words, triumphant gestures; finally the herald, with a gesture of his hand, invited us to pass. Apparently they were trying to make as forceful an impression as possible on us.

302 Only the hair of a few individuals was dyed red; otherwise they blackened their faces, chests, and legs. No one was dis-

[301] tinguished by special finery; they wore their belt strings, arm and leg bands of cotton or burití bast.

[142] The skin color seemed to me a little darker than among the other Bakaïrí, but I may have been misled by the black painting, which did not show any particular designs anywhere, but rather was manifested in a simple coating of the body. The spinal column was left free, and likewise the parts from which the color could rub off in sitting. Membrum virile parvum, praeputium longum.

142 The epidermis of several individuals was thickened ichthyosis-like and covered with hard, dry scales over the entire body. Many had curly hair.

/176 cont./

433 It is clear that here agriculture falls behind hunting and
181 fishing; Aldea IV is military in character and forms the frontier
648 defense against alien tribes.

763 In one hut lay an ancient, paralytic little woman emaciated to a skeleton, whose soul seemed to say "ãla Bakaïrí" (it is enough Bakaïrí) and was trying impatiently to flutter away. The hammock was resting partly on the ground; two women squatted beside it and, as garrulous cronies, explained to us the suffering of the dying little mother.

231 Of tame animals we found a heron, small parrots, a kingfisher and the socó-morena.

345 The festival hut was 18 meters long, nine meters wide.
532 There were clumsily carved wooden fish hanging there, as well as a few finless specimens, wound bands which perhaps represented the electric eel.

Two square pieces of wood, painted red and white, with modeled nose and two eye sockets were striking; they are held in front of the face and represent doves, whose voice the artist can imitate better than the head (1).

1. Cf. the second ethnological plate /see p. 165/.

534 /177/ Four menis and a number of rattles were stuck in the
353 side walling.

● 624 Only in the festival hut did the herald put down his bow and arrows, but he did not part with them during our entire stay, even
[296] when he handed us a few bundles of tobacco. The latter, by the way, was better than among the earlier Bakaïrí. A few modest old
622 people were there, none with gray hair; among them the chief and, if I understood correctly, a vice-chief, the authority during the time the former is absent.

123 A shooting demonstration on the plaza filled them with
152 terror; they jumped with fright and turned away convulsively, most of all the mighty herald. His "ãla, ãla" was very humble and urgent.

/261 cont./

352 The Bakairí slept in hammocks, amaka, woven of palm fiber.
[415] Their furnishings can be summed up as benches of a solid
[285] piece of wood, clay pots, mats and baskets. The diet rests
262 upon manioc, piquí, sweet potatoes, maize, and fish. How-
224] ever, the hunting of monkeys, wild pig, tapir, and other ani-
[241] mals was not scorned. Most of the food reserves, however, were of vegetable origin, and the most important harvests were made up of manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, and piquí. Yams /cará/, cotton, urucú, and tobacco were also planted.

342 The occupants of a communal house worked together on
476 the building of a new house, acquiring thereby the right to
622 reside in it. This construction work, however, was led by the individual who had the most prestige in the group, usually the old head of the house, who thus set himself up as the head of
241 the new house. The tasks of clearing fields and planting
476 generally depended on the participation of all the aldea. When
529 beginning a new clearing, the Bakairí would give a feast, kométe, with the distribution of food to the Indians who worked
501 on the field. The Bakairí made canoes from the bark of the
[824] jatobá tree, in the Xinguano way. This construction, as well as fishing, hunting, and agricultural activities, were accom-
[782] panied by propitiatory rituals.

Their products were bartered among neighboring groups
437 in the course of visits called tuliki which depended on the
574 presence of the chiefs of both aldeas. After the exchange of the objects desired, the visitors were honored with a feast called tulake.

621 /262/ The Bakairí were not a warlike people, and their
181 political organization does not seem very elaborate. Each
622 aldea had a chief, pima, assisted by a subchief, itáida. The
624 Bakairí do not remember the existence of a chief for the whole
[643] tribe, and there is no evidence that such a figure ever existed. The selection of the itáida was made by means of agreement of the aldea, but it generally fell on the son of the pima himself. The pima's functions were chiefly ceremonial, economic, and juridical.

[P. 73-A] After the trading war

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/69 cont./

276 in his mouth and light. The smoke was inhaled. They even smoked my heavy black tobacco in the same manner and in the same size, and they tolerated it without difficulty, although theirs was light as straw.

517 Not a sound came from the houses; the plaiting had been pushed in front of the entrance. Were the women not lying awake in the hammocks? The two ararat, who during the day were in the habit of cawing from the roof poles, were asleep on a partly withered palm. No insects were annoying us. For two or three hours we sat under the star-studded dome of the heavens, surrounded all around by the dark mass of the woods. The smallest cloud that rose anywhere was observed and became the subject of a discussion about where from and where to. As soon as an animal sound became audible in the woods, everyone would be silent for a moment, waiting to see whether it was repeated, and then they would whisper to each other "a tapir," "an armadillo," or the like, while one man half mechanically whistled in imitation of the animal cry. There was also no lack of in-
517 voluntary sounds. Sucking sounds with saliva, belching, or break-
576 ing wind was not restrained. Bakairí sum, nihil humani a me
[514] alienum puto. But the moment someone behaved too badly, there immediately followed, as a direct reflex movement of all the colleagues, a brief violent spitting to one side, without an interruption in the conversation. To be sure, if there were a
[826] repetition, Tumayaua or Paleko would mutter something that seemed to mean, "Confound it, we have a guest, after all," and the culprit would lose himself in the shadows six paces away. It was very parisechal.

823 We discussed in detail the subject most important for me,
829 the geography of the Kulisehu. The river was drawn in the sand, the tribes were enumerated and designated with maize kernels. Thus I gradually learned to understand the correct relationship of the Kulisehu and Kuluene and learned that the main body of the Nahuquá tribes, each of which was designated by a special
829 name, lived on the Kuluene. All people were either good,
577 "kíra," or bad, "kurípa." The distinction was made chiefly,

/330 cont./

CCD Their methods. To die in narcosis. The medicine man in heaven. Tobacco. Conjuration of the weather.

I.

*171 131 The boundaries between the regions of the tribes are natural ones. "This brook belongs to the neighboring tribe," we were regularly informed along the way. The one bank of the Kulisehu, for example, belonged to the Nahuquá, the other to the Mehinaká [226] /Mehinacu/. Fishing with bow and arrow on the river was open to everyone.

*171 422 The plantings were common property. Everyone had his personal property in the house, even the women, who, we saw, [428] often objected to having it given to us; it was handed down to one's children, sons and daughters. We often observed, however, [422] that persons to whom we had given beads, etc. were obliged to hand them over to the chief.

*171 422 The power of the chief was not great. In all the larger villages there were several chiefs who lived in different houses; in dealings with us, there was always only one who appeared as representative. "Representation" was the most important obligation during peacetime. The chief directed the business connected with planting, he saw to it that the necessary supply of flour was put away, he had the beijús baked and the drinks prepared for all festive occasions and for the visits of strangers. He was apparently a family-father in greater style, but could not be very thrifty if he was concerned about the esteem of his fellow citizens, to say nothing of his neighboring tribesmen. Thus, the chief of the first Batovy village was "kutipa," bad = stingy. He had only a few [917] beijús baked for the guests. Stinginess is regarded as the ugliest trait. This type of rule must be difficult, however. Antonio told me about a certain João Cadete in the Paranatinga village, who was in line to become chief, but preferred to emigrate "com medo de tratar gente," for fear of having to entertain people, [421] /331/ so Felipe took his place. If the community is dissatisfied [226] with its chief, it knows a remedy: it breaks away from him and simply moves to another place. The office is hereditary, hence

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/85 cont./

000 brought three large fat barbados, which traveled to the grill and well deserved being eaten, even at the witching hour, in the scenery of the roaring waterfall gloriously illuminated by the moon.

122 On 2 October we set out at 6:30 and reached the Bakairí harbor at 2:15. Good Paleko was already standing there with a bowl of mandioca paste. Wilhelm and I immediately went to the
123 village. It was very entertaining /86/ to observe how one welcoming scene followed the other, since the canoes arrived at intervals; new guests, again and again new excitement, and a new rushing forth out of the flute-house, where we sat amidst beijús
302 and calabashes. Some of the people had adorned themselves festively with colored designs. Kulekule had decorated his face and upper body with orange-red lines and dots, my intended had red serpentine lines on her upper thighs, the Egyptian a red forehead and nose, Tumayaua's small grandchildren were daubed and smeared black, their mother Eva appeared with her hair and skin
301 powdered white from her beijú work. Good-natured Awiú wore a cake knife, that is, a beijú turner, in her hair in a curious fashion.

● 628 There were also foreign visitors present from Village II and
574 III: we counted 18 hammocks in Paleko's house and 13 in Tumayaua's
126 houses. Ehrenreich was taking photographs. For each shot the models were compensated with a few beads. They were somewhat afraid, but the beads conquered the fear of danger. The women's group on Plate 5 was obtained only with difficulty. The women had let themselves be positioned and arranged, and Ehrenreich was on the point of exposing the plate, when they suddenly discovered their mirrored images in the lens and, astonished, fell upon the apparatus in order to examine it more closely. The photographer in dire distress! Tumayaua had gained possession of a useless plate of glass -- "pâru," water - and with it, following Vogel's directions, he set the first window in the straw dome of his house.

123 On this fine day I wanted to present a gift of honor to my hosts. Two young ladies of Berlin had given me a pretty blond doll to bring along, which they themselves had fitted out with a

! [See p. 28--Analysis]

/297 cont./

B 529 535 539 *[191] According to everything that the natives told us about the festivals, they primarily amounted to what they thought were riotous feasting and drinking bouts. Bakairí legend describes the origin to us in the same way. Kame, the tribal ancestor of the Arinos tribes, built the first flute house, carved the first flute, invited his friends to the dance, and served them starch-paste. Keri, the tribal ancestor of the Bakairí, who most eagerly competed with Kame in invention, for his part invited Kami to the dance; the legend tells us in what manner the festival took place and speaks of the makanari and the imeo, the straw costumes without face-masks, but with characterizing and partly disguising headdresses, as Keri's invention.

B 529 535 539 "Keri, too, called his people together. Toward evening they went dancing on the village plaza. Then from the house Keri fetched pogu to be drunk. Immediately thereafter they plaited makanari. Keri called Kame. Many people came and Keri was master of the dance. They danced all day. Toward evening they rested. After dark they danced all through the night. Early in the morning they went to the river to bathe. After the bath they came to the flute house. They began with the imeo and danced the whole day. They likewise danced all night. -- Then the festival was at an end."

B 529 535 628 648 *[191] A noteworthy feature of the legend is the circumstance that the different tribes united for the dance festival. It is a universal custom that the villages invite one another to the big festivals. Friendly neighboring tribes also send numerous participants. In 1884, when we met the Trumaí and Kamayurá /Camayura/ together (see p. 105), the two tribes had just celebrated a joint festival.

B *191 199 535 For one thing it is understandable under these circumstances that an exchange and leveling out between the customs and dance gear of the tribes takes place. /298/ Each tribe knew the songs of the neighboring tribes, without understanding their content precisely, as we learned in numerous cases; one tribe would also become acquainted with new types of masks from another, and finally the mereschu design, to which I shall come back after describing the masks, gained its general distribution.

/343/

171 754 756 The medicine men are differentiated as good and bad. According to Antonio, there are "few among the Bakaïrí and Auetó, more among the Nahuquá, many among the Mehinakú, and too many among the Kamayurá." There were none living on the Paranatinga at the time. Anyone can become one, but it is very difficult. "One must learn a great deal." One is supposed to [862] [785] drink only starchy broth for four months, enjoy no salt and eat no

[861] [826] * This fasting is also very good if one wants to excel in the art of shooting fish, and in this case it is sufficient if one does not eat anything but starch-paste for a month. Antonio did this and was very satisfied with the result.

meat, fish, or fruits; one is not supposed to sleep but to drum ceaselessly on the skull with the fists so that the swollen eyes are very painful in the morning, bathe a great deal, scratch arm and chest bloody, etc. Antonio wanted to study medicine, but was afraid of this difficult internship; Felipe made a good start in the same endeavor, but did not succeed, because he had no teacher. *171 754 The chief art of the accomplished master of sorcery is exhibited in the use of poisons. With these he kills others and he even kills himself in order to be able to change himself into another shape. We are to become acquainted here with a conception of death which takes some getting used to, but which is in direct agreement with the life of the shadow during sleep.

• [828] Let us hear first how sickness and death come into the world, in spite of the good medicine-man of one's own village, who with all his might combats the evil one from the foreign village. [825] [824] The evil one is a bad person whom no one likes because he kills instead of healing, he mixes the poison from wasps, from the tocandyra ant, and from other such animals with oil and resin from the almesca and pindahyba in a calabash. From the man whom he wishes to harm he obtains either hair, by stepping on it when it is being cut or even cutting it himself when the man is asleep, or a bit of blood by tossing a finely pointed twig of jatobá, pindahyba, or pau de olho in his direction and then picking

Bacairí

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6:Oberg E-5 (1947)1953 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Bacairi claim not to have been a warlike people. They defended themselves if attacked, but say that they did not attack others. Each village had a chief (*ptma*) who was assisted by an *itéide*. There was no chief for the whole tribe. The *itéide*, who was a young man, was selected by the chief with the consent of the villagers. The *itéide* could be the son of the chief but this is not a requirement, for any able young man was eligible for this position. At the death of the chief the *itéide* succeeded him.

The principal functions of the chief were economic, judicial, and ceremonial. As we have seen, the chief organized trading expeditions and participated in such activities as collective planting and house building. He also represented the people of his village when visitors arrived or when his own village made formal visits. If the village feared attack the *ptma* selected a particularly brave man to lead the defense or to undertake retaliation. Discussions concerning disputes and other village affairs took place in the ceremonial house. Murderers were exiled or if a war was on the murderer was made to bear the brunt of the attack. Thieves, adulterers, and others who persisted in disturbing the peace and harmony of the village were exiled through the common action of the villagers. Exile was considered severe punishment, for the Bacairi say that individuals who were exiled often committed suicide. Chiefs among the Bacairi, therefore, were not war leaders, nor was succession governed by descent. Chiefs seem, thus, to have been primarily leaders of social activities. The part which a chief played in ceremonial life will be described later.

/281 cont./

352 The Bakairí slept in hammocks, amaka, woven of palm fiber.
[415 Their furnishings can be summed up as benches of a solid
285] piece of wood, clay pots, mats and baskets. The diet rests
262 upon manioc, piquí, sweet potatoes, maize, and fish. How-
224] ever, the hunting of monkeys, wild pig, tapir, and other ani-
[241] mals was not scorned. Most of the food reserves, however, were of vegetable origin, and the most important harvests were made up of manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, and piquí. Yams /cará/, cotton, urucú, and tobacco were also planted.

342 The occupants of a communal house worked together on
476 the building of a new house, acquiring thereby the right to
622 reside in it. This construction work, however, was led by the individual who had the most prestige in the group, usually the old head of the house, who thus set himself up as the head of
241 the new house. The tasks of clearing fields and planting
476 generally depended on the participation of all the aldea. When
529 beginning a new clearing, the Bakairí would give a feast, kométe, with the distribution of food to the Indians who worked
501 on the field. The Bakairí made canoes from the bark of the
[824 jatobá tree, in the Xinguano way. This construction, as well
as fishing, hunting, and agricultural activities, were accom-
[282] panied by propitiatory rituals.

437 Their products were bartered among neighboring groups
574 in the course of visits called tuliki which depended on the presence of the chiefs of both aldeas. After the exchange of the objects desired, the visitors were honored with a feast called tulake.

621 /282/ The Bakairí were not a warlike people, and their
181 political organization does not seem very elaborate. Each
622 aldea had a chief, pima, assisted by a subchief, itsída. The
624 Bakairí do not remember the existence of a chief for the whole
[243] tribe, and there is no evidence that such a figure ever existed. The selection of the itsída was made by means of agreement of the aldea, but it generally fell on the son of the pima himself. The pima's functions were chiefly ceremonial, economic, and juridical.

/101 cont./

361 [101] There were two settlements of "docile" Bakairí: the aldeament on the Rio Novo, as this first was called, after a tributary of the Arinos, and the aldeament on the Paranatinga. The two villages are not yet old; all the adults were born farther up the Paranatinga, on the "Salto" /waterfall; see the glossary, [131] p. 172 /; the Bakairí, however, were probably spread over this entire region in small hordes, as is shown by the fact that they were noted as far as the Rio das Mortes. In the twenties, when 199 • 648 997 the gold-seeker expedition under the leadership of P. Lopez pushed into this region, they were converted to Christianity, on which occasion, as Reginaldo related, his grandfather and many others lost their lives.

823 /102/ We eagerly inquired as to whether he knew about a river beyond the Paranatinga? Today, he replied, this region is [131] completely strange to them. he remembered from his youth, [101] however, that one was supposed to come to a large river if one went from the Paranatinga toward the rising sun, and on this river there were said to be Bakairí still living, the "antiguos" /the ancients/, who were not Christians.

361 648 [622] The two aldeamente are under the administration of the "Director dos Indios" in Cuyabá /Cuiabá/. Reginaldo is a Brazilian captain, his successor as chief of the tribe, Joaquim, is a lieutenant. Our seeing no women was due to the fact that 361 they were living in an aldeament two legoas away; the huts which we occupied were used only when the farm work required it or when there were visitors. Reginaldo /illustration appears here/ completely forgot to say how sorry he was that he could greet us only as a gram widower.

[162] The village numbered six huts; the population amounted 342 to 55: 16 men, 19 women, 20 children. The soldiers were usually quartered in the big house that Reginaldo otherwise occupied with a few others: a rectangle 57 paces long and five paces wide, which was divided into a number of separate rooms by means of partitions. We occupied the guest house -- it was only 17 paces [199] long. It was modern construction, learned from the colonists. Twenty minutes away we found two deserted old-style huts,

/103 cont./

151 only Reginaldo, who joined us, laughed and said definitely that the person approaching was Claus coming on foot. And he was right.

191 They all understood at least a few scraps of Portuguese.
648 They are on good terms with the Coroá, who, they said, call themselves Kayacho. It seems that they impress them because of their rifles. Reginaldo did not like to talk about this point. One had the impression that, according to his inner feeling, he was, after all, on the side of the wild Indians and against the Whites. As a clever man, he took advantage of the benefits offered by the Brazilians and did not fall out with the barbarians.

142
291
302

João and Joaquina.

648 The Bakairí manner /meek Bacairi/ bow to authority; in their hearts they are the same people as the antigues.

126 /104/ We were busy for a number of days. Claus worked out the itinerary and took the ground temperature, Wilhelm drew, I took body measurements and made the glossary that ap-
[115] pears in the appendix. Besides Reginaldo, I was aided in particular by good-natured Antonio, who put up with everything and would have given anything to go with us. But he did not even dare ask the strict captain for permission. Castro, too,
122 was busy with notes. We shared the hut with him and the cadet.

/120 cont./

144 mother, but that among his forefathers, as among Reginaldo's, mixture with "Brazilian" blood had taken place. This, however, seemed to be more a conclusion based on the wavy, soft hair of the two, rather than on definite knowledge. In any case, it was noteworthy that Luis declared the two brothers João and Antonio to be the purest Bakairí; to me, too, they had seemed the most typical physiognomies and most resembled the Rio Novo character. Since Antonio is the one who was induced to accompany us 126 [142] and could thus be photographed in Rio, I may call attention to his picture as the most faithful reproduction of a true Bakairí. [152] Unfortunately the handsome youth had a slightly shortened leg as the result of a fracture, so I contented myself with a bust portrait. The defect was not very pronounced, by the way, and /121/ /illustration appears here/ /122/ the awkwardness that Antonio, strength and agility themselves, presents in full figure amidst the group of Kameraden /see the glossary, p. 171 / (page 28) is largely due to the anxious moment in front of the photographer's apparatus.

Wilhelm made all the other portraits with the camera clara.

162 Carlotta was a Pareci brought back from Diamantino and the wife of the absent Captain Felipe; her small eyes and the root of her nose, which was flat from eyebrow level to the inner corner of the eye, distinguished her strikingly from the Bakairí women. The two Cajibí -- a tribe that lives on the lower Rio [148] Verde, a left tributary of the Paranatinga -- had been caught in the forest as children. /Illustration appears here./ The two [182] young and pretty creatures were given as wives to the two oldest matrimonial cripples of the tribe, Caetano and Miguel, for the immoral reason that the youngest, as the best workers, belong to the mightier ones. Delicate skin, fine little nose under the likewise flat root, eye slits narrowed and drawn up toward the outside, in connection with which, however, the sharply folded upper lid did not overlap, they reminded one of the Japanese type, especially Caetano's not very feminine little wife.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 20]

/125/

648 Carlotta showed us the captain's commission (from 1882) of her absent husband. As a seal an imitation gold capsule with a bas-relief cross, which had lost its shine, was set on a piece of pink ribbon; in addition, a chest bow in the Brazilian colors.

584 553 Luis, whose new house is not yet finished, is hospitably taken in by Carlotta, who, during Felipe's absence, claims most of the space; his real affection, however, is for his namesake, 839 Luiza Cajibí. He said that he and Maria Cajibí had had a little son who had died. "And did Miguel know about it?" I asked timidly. "Oh, he," replied the vain mulatto, whose face in comparison with that of the Indians is like roasted coffee as against unroasted, "he was completely in favor of the affair and, of course, he immediately knew of the Brazilian descent of the child by its light skin and its hair."

563 Luis is extremely satisfied with his life among the Bakairí who are so far beneath him; he says that he has everything that he needs, does not owe anybody a copper, and the Indians are [829] good people. Later on he would perhaps like to go to Lisbon, because, according to what a friend told him, it must be the most 123 beautiful city in the world. He was impertinent enough to interfere with quite unjustifiable demands in the transaction concerning the delivery of rice which Daniel had made with Caetano on the first day. Daniel, who is easily aroused, seized his combiain and hit him over the head with the butt; the philosopher hastily bolted on his long brown legs and, standing bent over in the doorway of the chief's hut, exchanged a flood of compliments with Daniel; while that good creature, old Captain Mêmo, in his tattered, coarse cotton suit, which apparently came from the prison, squatted on the floor and stared forward with a friendly expression.

OCC Our idyll was unpleasantly interrupted on 1 July by the news that Tupy had appeared the evening before at the fazenda. On the way he had met the men sent back by us, commanded them to return, and rode on ahead of them. The sergeant, hunting pigs, had lost the correspondence in the forest.

/176 cont./

433 It is clear that here agriculture falls behind hunting and
181 fishing. Aldea IV is military in character and forms the frontier
648 defense against alien tribes.

763 In one hut lay an ancient, paralytic little woman emaciated to a skeleton, whose soul seemed to say "ala Bakairí" (it is enough Bakairí) and was trying impatiently to flutter away. The hammock was resting partly on the ground; two women squatted beside it and, as garrulous cronies, explained to us the suffering of the dying little mother.

231 Of tame animals we found a heron, small parrots, a kingfisher and the socó-morena.

345 The festival hut was 18 meters long, nine meters wide.
532 There were clumsily carved wooden fish hanging there, as well as a few finless specimens, wound bands which perhaps represented the electric eel.

Two square pieces of wood, painted red and white, with modeled nose and two eye sockets were striking; they are held in front of the face and represent doves, whose voice the artist can imitate better than the head (1).

1. Cf. the second ethnological plate /see p. 165/.

534 /177/ Four menis and a number of rattles were stuck in the
353 side walling.

624 Only in the festival hut did the herald put down his bow and arrows, but he did not part with them during our entire stay, even
[296] when he handed us a few bundles of tobacco. The latter, by the way, was better than among the earlier Bakairí. A few modest old
622 people were there, none with gray hair; among them the chief and, if I understood correctly, a vice-chief, the authority during the time the former is absent.

123 A shooting demonstration on the plaza filled them with
152 terror; they jumped with fright and turned away convulsively, most of all the mighty herald. His "ala, ala" was very humble and urgent.

/93 cont./

126 stored, dark yellow reed diadems, such as Luchu is wearing on
534 Plate 6,[2] others with radiating tips, large Panpipes, an oar deco-
582 rated with drawings, spinning whorls of the simplest type, that
[301] is, disks made of potsherds, and a quantity of remarkable
[234] cylinder-shaped sticks, which are covered with ornamentation
177 and worn on the back at festivals. But in the equipment of these
third Bakaïrí it was clearly shown that we were with the section
of the tribe living next to the rest of the Kulisehu Indians; all
kinds of imported goods were present and were designated as such
439 here. The Bakaïrí do not make any pots themselves and do not
[323] themselves have a place where they might fetch stones for stone
axes, but here we were immediately told that the pots came
from the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ and the stone axes from the
Trumaí. Among the pots one in the shape of a turtle represented
an absolute masterpiece of primitive plastic art, on which the head,
tail, and feet, as well as the shell drawing, were magnificently
worked out. From the Aueto we found a half-broken clay doll,
also originating from the Mehinakú, balls of finely spun cotton,
from the Trumaí and Suyá, dainty feather caps. From our own
possessions of 1884 we discovered two iron chisels, parts of a
ramrod, which had been sharpened to a point on stones.

• 648 We met a Nahuquá in person; unfortunately, the man was
732 obviously an idiot and had little to offer for my purposes. It is
strange that this is not an isolated phenomenon: the Kustenaú
of 1884 had a simple-minded Bakaïrí among them, the Yuruna
likewise an Arara Indian definitely feeble-minded, and it seems
to me I often noticed similar instances. Do the people become
stupid in the new environment or are only the stupid specimens
entrusted to neighbors for their use?

126 In the flute-house anthropological measurements and photo-
graphs were taken in exchange for beads. In this village there
was a pronounced Semitic type, of which Plate 13[2] represents a
classic example. The people submitted to everything and called
the caliper compass nina, "moon." Only one man was indignant
when, after Ehrenreich had measured him from head to foot in
all directions, I handed him the fee of three beautiful, large
[153] beads. He wanted to have as many beads as there were measurements

[2] [See p. 138 -- Analyst]

/94 cont./

II. To the Nahuquá.

000

Intercourse between the Bakairí and Nahuquá. Surprised in the harbor. Strange reception. Village vacated. A Yaurikumá. Overnight. Mehinakú in the village. Dances. Sad prospects for Professor Bastian. I go on ahead to the Mehinakú. Improvement of conditions. News about the battle between the Suyá and the Trumaí.

Y 648 B 131 648 Y 649

Without question the Nahuquá have all kinds of intercourse with the Bakairí. Even from old Paleko I had learned a whole series of Nahuquá words and from these, to my great delight, was immediately able to tell that there was a new Karaiben /Carib/ tribe involved. Paleko told me that he had formerly lived for a time among the Nahuquá. Tumayaua, too, had already been among them and /95/ knew many words of their language, whereas all of the Bakairí of the Mehinakú living downstream from the Nahuquá did not know half a dozen words.

Y 123 361

The Nahuquá who lived in the third village of the Bakairí accompanied us when, on 7 October 1887, we traveled from the harbor of the third Bakairí to his fellow tribesmen only a day's journey away, and late in the afternoon he climbed out at a place where a path led up, in order to announce us in the village. Three Bakairí from the harpy village, including Chief Porim, had also /Fig. 4 appears here/ joined us. We had started off at 6:30 and were obliged to pass through another small rapid with a strong swell. It, with a few fish corrals, still belonged to the Bakairí, while a small brook to the right, two meters wide, which we passed about 9:00 and which was closed off by a fish fence, was already the property of the Nahuquá. At 11:00 another wide brook flowed in from the right, the Hiirí of the Bakairí, or Rísa of the Nahuquá in whose territory it lay. Much high sandy beach, four to five meters above the water level in the dry season, willow bushes, countless dead and fallen trees. At 1:00 we made a /96/ halt at a place with abundant fish; the piranhas snapped so quickly that one had only to toss out the line and they were already caught, one large, meter-long hagadí that Antonio had caught with iguana

B 123 B 123 Y 131 133 226 B 226

W /130 cont./
132 rained by buckets, and the shower bath was quite cold, scarcely
W more than 15°. Our good Mehinakú were unhappy that we did
[321] not follow their example and puff against the heavenly sluices;
they hastily built a protective roof, probably more to keep busy,
and complained incessantly "ulípe, ulípe!"

W In the harbor of the Mehinakú we acquired another canoe;
122 meanwhile the Auetó who had accompanied us this far had dis-
appeared without a trace. Vogel's hunting knife was also
missing.

Y The Nahuquá village was in the middle of the pikí harvest.
245 Like cannon balls in an arsenal, the pikí lay in piles outside
Y and inside. Racks had been set up in the houses to dry the seeds,
251 the women were busy peeling the fruit, cooking it, and scraping
the seeds, human beings and utensils butter yellow -- Caryocar
Y butyrosum. No pogu, but pikí juice; the pikí seeds with an
[351] almond-like taste, an electuary "pikí herb" not at all bad in
Y moderate doses. Many sick in the hammocks, stomach and skin
164 affected. one old baldhead, face and head covered with sores.
Y Tumayaua was given pikí as a parting gift for the trip. Only
[431] one newborn child, which the mother brought to us so that we
would blow on it, seemed to know nothing yet about pikí.

B In Bakairí village III, which, by the way, the Nahuquá
Y accompanying us did not want to enter, the old festival hut had
751 burned down and the people were very much afraid of the
B previously greatly admired masches. But we did find magnifi-
592 cent bird-masks and fish-masks. Of the two canoes we ordered,
B one was not yet finished and the other had been wrecked.
501

Bakairí village II seemed deserted. The occupants were
B in part absent, why remained unclear; also, we had apparently
123 seen foreign guests the first time and included them. Chief
B Aramóke, however, was gracious as ever and had set before us
[422] beijú which we could have offered the most distinguished tea
guests at home. It was only with great difficulty that we found
a few men to transport part of the collection for some distance
overland. It was always said that they had to stay with the
B 752 children. Then in the chief's house lay a woman with burns on

/179 cont./

#171 301 carried, but rather saved them for acknowledgment by his contemporaries and attached them to his body. We find this all the more natural, since we know that with such parts, in his opinion, the characteristics of the game animal were acquired. Thus he [199] wore claws, teeth, and feathers as trophy and talisman. While #171 301 304 he could tie most of these things on a string, he was in difficulty with a feather which he wanted to keep as a memento of a good shot: he pierced his ear lobe and stuck it in there, where it was secure and did not get in his way. The ancestors of all our tribes hit upon this; some of them were soon not content with ear holes, but also pierced the nose and lips. For the idea of the trophy, at first applied only to the laborious attainment, was extended to a wearing not connected with much pain or labor. A new result, worthy of admiration, was produced, and a young man undoubtedly felt "better tailored," in the fullest sense of the expression, if he displayed his treasure in a hole in his nose, lip, or ears, than #171 301 822 if he wore it around his neck on a string. Once the wearing of the trophy became habitual, it was inevitable that attention was turned to its external qualities as well, the previously secondary characteristics of color and form. Even objects that had merely been used to keep the holes open and prevent them from healing shut became ornaments and decorations. More or less vaguely felt perceptions of pleasing color contrasts were associated with ideas about the difficult, the unusual, the power-endowed.

#171 304 619 The artificial injury, however, became an end in itself through the circumstance that it furnished a permanent distinguishing mark and thus shaped various forms of the custom. It was not only excellently suited for distinguishing brave and ruling persons within a tribe, who were usually also the most vain, but it often formed the consciously worn symbol of nationality from tribe to tribe. It provided the means for giving even children lasting [648] marks. The Indians have always passionately engaged in kidnapping among foreign tribes in order to rear warriors and women, hence children were marked so that they could be recognized, as the herd-owner stamps his livestock. When we were with the Bororó, an old woman swore by all that was holy that our Antonio,

/179 cont./

[171] [304] [617] although he understood not a word of Bororó, was her son stolen years before by enemies; she wailed and lamented loudly all night long, then it was strange to see how the Bororó carefully undertook to examine on the half-laughing, half-outraged Antonio his lower lip, which among them is pierced as early as infancy and unanimously set him free when, instead of their little lip-hole, they found a pierced nasal septum. Thus among the [418] Bakairí there were abducted Pareseí women, among the Nahuquá, Mehinakú women; among the Suyá, the captured Manitsauá, who were immediately distinguishable from the rest by the tribal marking. /180/ The artificial injury thus developed into a regular arrangement for expediency. Moreover, the foreign was regarded as ugly or comical, the indigenous as beautiful and noble.

[11] [172] [304] The piercing of the ear lobes is generally widespread among [301] the men of all tribes. It serves solely for feather ornaments. [239] Among no tribe of the Kulisehu do the women have pierced ear-lobes, and no woman wears feather ornaments of any kind anywhere else on her body; the woman does not hunt -- the origin from the hunting trophy is still unmistakably distinct. The ear of the boy is pierced at the time when he begins to practice with a small-sized bow and arrow.* /Fig. 12 appears here./

*Among the Suyá men and women wear rolls of palm leaf strips in the slit-open ear-lobe, which is gradually extended into a long rein, but here, too, feather ornaments are confined to the men.

The piercing of the lower part of the nasal septum, so that the alae, slightly turned upward, rest on the object stuck through it, is found only among the Bakairí, on the Paranatinga and Rio Novo, on the Batovy, and in the first Kulisehu village among both sexes, in the second Kulisehu village only among the men, in the third neither among men nor women. This geographical [418] distribution makes it seem not improbable to me that the custom is based on that of the Pareseí, /181/ who were formerly in active

/181 cont./

*171 304 [648] contact, sometimes peaceful, sometimes hostile, with the western Bakaïrí, of whom we still found two women, kidnapped as children, in the Paranatinga village. The Paressí pierced the ear lobes of their women so that they could always be distinguished from the Bakaïrí women, and their men pierced the nasal septum, inserted a little

[532] [237]

Fig. 12. Wooden mask of the Bakaïrí, with ear and nose feathers.

piece of reed in it, and stuck into only one end of this a long arara feather or ordinary toucan feather, whereas the ear ornament of the women consisted of a little triangular piece of nut shell.

301 304 [178] [532] Among the Bakaïrí today feathers are no longer worn in the nose, but we found masks with a hole in the elongated septum of the wooden nose, through which an arara feather stuck into a piece of reed projected out on either side. There is also a difference in the size of the hole among men and women, to which my attention was especially drawn by the Bakaïrí themselves; in it the men wear a thin piece of kambayuwa reed, in which the feather or a thin bone is inserted, the women a thick kambayuva peg or a thick bone or stone. The latter is never used by the men.

/218 cont./

*171 174 433 I shall sum up. Ancient agriculture is most compatible with the type of hunting practiced here. The Indians were primarily fishermen. The yield in their area on the upper course of a river was not sufficient for pure ichthyophagy; on the other hand, it was not small during the months when the fish traveled upstream in the rising water and were found in all the canals and lagoons in great numbers, or when, as the water receded, the opportunity for a catch in the artificially barricaded parts of the river branches became considerably greater. Fishing and hunting, furthermore, furnished the indispensable tools. There *171 174 433 were no domestic animals in our sense; dogs were unfamiliar to the native. He took pleasure in the colored birds, whose 231 feathers he sometimes pulled out, especially in the talking [343] parrots and cawing araras; he let those that he happened to catch young walk around in the village, woodpecker or heron or curassow, and kept in huge pole-cages, for the edification of the community, the spitting eagle, Harpyia destructor, or some other predatory bird; he had lizards hanging by their tails from the hammock, so that they would clean up a bit among the annoying crickets -- he had not succeeded any further in the utilization of animals, and though wild plants were established near the village to be used as desired, the rearing of edible [825] animals was not considered. /219/ Indeed, the attitude that the [262] Indian took toward the animal kingdom made him feel a definite repugnance about ultimately consuming animals that he had raised, just as we do not eat dogs.

*171 174 433 The relative sedentariness connected with the life of the fisherman could not become permanent until the women learned to plant, to make pots, and to prepare flour. Although agricul- *171 174 241 ture on the Schingú had already reached respectable improvement, nevertheless there were small indications that showed ● 648 what its origin had been, at least here. People planted the useful plants found in the vicinity, each tribe acquired its own experience on its own soil, and they were disseminated by the 174 women who, in war or peace, came to other tribes. The fact 973 that the Bakairí-Karaiben were once furthered in this way in

/297 cont./

B According to everything that the natives told us about the
529 festivals, they primarily amounted to what they thought were
535 riotous feasting and drinking bouts. Bakairí legend describes the
533 origin to us in the same way. Kame, the tribal ancestor of the
*[191] Atinos tribes, built the first flute house, carved the first flute, invited his friends to the dance, and served them starch-paste. Keri, the tribal ancestor of the Bakairí, who most eagerly competed with Kame in invention, for his part invited Kami to the dance; the legend tells us in what manner the festival took place and speaks of the makanari and the imeo, the straw costumes without face-masks, but with characterizing and partly disguising headdresses, as Keri's invention.

B "Keri, too, called his people together. Toward evening
529 they went dancing on the village plaza. Then from the house
535 Keri fetched pogu to be drunk. Immediately thereafter they
539 plaited makanari. Keri called Kame. Many people came and Keri was master of the dance. They danced all day. Toward evening they rested. After dark they danced all through the night. Early in the morning they went to the river to bathe. After the bath they came to the flute house. They began with the imeo and danced the whole day. They likewise danced all night. -- Then the festival was at an end."

B A noteworthy feature of the legend is the circumstance that
T the different tribes united for the dance festival. It is a universal
529 custom that the villages invite one another to the big festivals.
535 Friendly neighboring tribes also send numerous participants. In
628 1884, when we met the Trumaí and Kamayurá /Camayura/ to-
● 648 gether (see p. 105), the two tribes had just celebrated a joint
B
*[191] festival.

B For one thing it is understandable under these circumstances
*191 that an exchange and leveling out between the customs and
199 dance gear of the tribes takes place. /298/ Each tribe knew the
535 songs of the neighboring tribes, without understanding their content precisely, as we learned in numerous cases; one tribe would also become acquainted with new types of masks from another, and finally the mereschu design, to which I shall come back after describing the masks, gained its general distribution.

/331 cont./

*171 not always in the best hands, and goes to the son, or, if there is
622 none, to the son of the sister. In Maigéri the chief had died and left only a daughter, "my intended" in the Bakairí idyl. Tumayana, the brother of the widow, now became temporary chief; as soon as the girl married, her husband took his place. She received a quantity of the beads which we had given to others; the chief's stool belonged to her.

*171 A number of characteristics of matriarchy are recognizable
611 in the little that I am able to report about these conditions. The
●648 sons belong to the tribe of the mother; Antonio said that if one of the Bakairí /Bacairi/ married to Paresií women had children, they would be Paresií. Which, of course, in the case of abducted
*171 women, can only be meant very theoretically. In our time
582 marriages took place between Mehinakú and Nahuquá, between
648 Auetó and Yaulapiti, as well as between Kamayurá /Camayura/, and Auetó, between Kamayurá and Mehinakú, between Batovy Bakairí and Kustenaú /Custenau/, between Kulisehu Bakairí and
*171 Nahuquá. Just as Mehinakú women lived among the Nahuquá,
591 so had Auetó men married Yaulapiti women and lived in two
648 houses somewhat apart from the Auetó village; they were called "Arauití."* On the other hand, a Kustenaú man and a Nahuquá

*The Suyá chief who in 1884 gave us the map of the river course was also called an "Arauití" by the Auetó chief. His strikingly small lip-plug was explained by the fact that he had had the operation later; he himself traced his geographical knowledge back to his own journeys.

man had married and lived among the Bakairí, whereas we never observed the opposite, that Bakairí women married into
*171 another tribe. Pauhaga, from the first Bakairí village on the
591 Batovy, had as his wife Awía's daughter from Maigéri and, when
844 his wife was ready to give birth, came with her to Awiá's house on the Kulisehu, so that she, or rather both of them, as we shall

/332 cont./

* 171 the gay activity /der heitern Geschäftigkeit/," this is perfectly
502 applicable to our Indians with the reservation that the slavish subordination was very much in the background. The woman needed protection, first, because she was weak and "wept" whenever there was danger, and then because she had to be protected from foreign lusts. In returning home from the plantings, the walked in front of her husband, since, heavily loaded, the hastened forward rapidly and everything was safe; in the forest she walked behind him so that he would be the first to meet any possible danger. She was protected from foreign guests, and, if they were of a dubious nature, as we were, the women and children ran into the forest.

* 171 What occurs in dramas of adultery I do not know. We had
681 no opportunity to observe anything that belonged to the sphere
123 of the administration of justice. If I asked Antonio about crimes
674 of any kind, he always answered that such things probably happened in former times, but no longer occur now.

* 171 Theft of things belonging to us was, in any case, very fre-
123 quent, except among the Bakairí, although friend Luchu, at
674 the time he visited us in Independencia, was no longer altogether trustworthy. When the confusion in the Trumaí camp arose
● [448] because I was obliged to demand the return of a glass of my stolen arsenic pills, we saw that the Yaulapiti, who had come with
* 171 us, were trying to march the stone axes of the Trumaí. Always and
186 without exception it was supposed to have been a stranger who had done the stealing. The people living together also had little that they needed to take from one another, and the thief could scarcely have enjoyed it without being discovered. There is nothing more natural, therefore, than that the idea of morals rests most particularly on tribal affiliation. Among the Bakairí kurá means "we," "we all," "our" and at the same time "good" ("our people"); kurápa, "not we," "not our," and at the same
[754] time "bad, stingy, unhealthy." All evil comes /333/ from foreigners, and not least sickness and death, which are sent from outside sorcerers.

/391 cont./ [illegible] another Bakairí; at that time there were serious conflicts within the tribe, and the result was -- according to the report of the Paranatinga people -- that one part of the Bakairí moved from the salto to the Kulisehu.

Between the Paranatinga and the Ronuro, too, there is a "tapeira," a ruined settlement of bygone days, known to the West Bakairí. At one time a route led from the salto as far as the Auetö on the Kulisehu, which therefore must have led across the Ronuro or its source streams and the Batovy. The Bakairí are said to have fled along this route and to have settled in part on the Batovy, in part on the Kulisehu. They were said to have obtained manioca twigs, batatas, and cará /Dioscorea/ fruits from the Nahuquá for planting.

These are, therefore, very definite statements. It is difficult to say, however, when the separation between West and East Bakairí took place and whether it occurred in several thrusts. Just as the tribe of the Auetö and of the Nahuquá appears in the tradition of the Paranatinga village, so have the names of the rest of the Kulisehu tribes, the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, Yaulapiti, Kustenaú /Custenau/, Waurá, Kamayurá /Camayura/, and Trumaí, been known there from the times of Caetano's grandfathers. In the third Bakairí village on the Batovy we found a small piece of iron that was said to have been brought in former times from the Pakuneru, the Paranatinga; thus occasional visits back and forth may have occurred, or at least Parantinga-Bakairí may now and then have reached the Schingú.

In general, however, I gained the impression that the actual separation of the two Bakairí groups took place around the middle or the beginning of the previous century at the latest, when the Brazilians settled in the Mato Grosso and caused major shifts of the tribes. Probably it was not merely a matter of individual internal feuds among the people at the salto, but also of malevolent neighbors who oppressed and occasionally drove away the peaceable Bakairí.

In the Brazilian sources the Nambiquara /Nambicuara/, Tapanhuna /Tapanyuna/, and Kayabí /Cajabi/ are given as

2: Steinen-472E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi 597
Apiaca 592
Cayabi
Mundurucu 593

B 175 648

/391 cont./

enemies of the Bakaïrí, but there is no more specific information about them. The Nambiquara and Tapanhuna, enemies of the Apiaká, lived in the Arinos region. of the Tapanhuna, Joaquim Ferreira Moutinho* states that they spoke the Bakaïrí

B [113]

* Noticia da Provincia de Mato Grosso, S. Paulo, 1869, p. 216.

language: unfortunately no notes were ever made on the language of the Bakaïrí, let alone on that of the Tapanhuna, /392/ and unfortunately the author has no claim to any credibility in these matters, as we shall see among the Bororó.

B M 175 648 [113] M [131] B M [101]

A statement in the fortieth volume of the Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico (Rio de Janeiro, 1877, II, p. 97) is worth mentioning. it refers to the tribe of the Mundrukú /Mundurucu/, once feared far and wide, which today sits along the middle and lower Tapajoz, but formerly lived farther upstream. Antonio Manoel Gonçalves Tocantins, who visited them in 1875, remarks: "In former times they also overcame the Bakaïrí, whom they call Mureufuãtes and whom they forced to go into the Matogrosso where they ('aldeiert') settled in villages." The latter addition shows that this can only refer to events of relatively recent times, in the Brazilian era. Nor should one believe, on the basis of this passage, that the Baikiri lived in the province of Pará, among the dwellers along the lower Tapajoz, the region of the upper course and of the source arms Juruena and Arinos is called "Matogrosso"; the Mundrukú themselves lived next to the Apiaká in the province of Mato Grosso, where they are called Saruma, and harassed all the tribes of the Arinos and Schingú area with their attacks. The Bakaïrí, who called them "Mandurukú," remembered them vividly, but said that their attacks no longer occur, since they have moved to the north.

B 173 648

The chief enemies of the West Bakaïrí, and probably even of the united Bakaïrí, if the tradition is correct, were the Kayabí. "Unvanquished savages in the vicinity of the salto," says the report of the Directoria dos Indios. The following is what I was

/392 cont./ The following is what I was

A 105 101 gradually able to learn about them from the Bakairí. The Kayabí call themselves Parusí; they are said to be -- but this requires confirmation -- relatives of the Kamayurá on the Kuliseiu, according to their language, and would therefore be a Tupí tribe.

A 244 241 They are strong people and, like the Tupí tribe of Apiaká living nearby, practitioners of anthropophagy. They plant manihoca, maize, batatas, mandubí, etc., just like the rest. They have

A 411 nicely worked clubs of bakayuva palm-wood with plaiting around them, which, about one and a half meters long, have the shape of flat staffs and are worn in a rope on the arm. In this respect, too, they would correspond with the Kamayurá. The arrows are of kambayuva reed, like those of the Yuruna, but smaller. They do not have throwing boards -- an important difference from the Kamayurá.

A 131 The Kayabí live on the Rio Verde, whose sources lie between the Rio Novo village and the Paranatinga village of the

B 101 Bakairí and which flows into the Paranatinga from the right, below the famous salto. They are therefore, of course, the very closest neighbors of the Bakairí. The hostility has existed

B 173 since ancient times. Only in the very beginning did they tolerate

448 each other. It is said that the Kayabí appeared among the Bakairí in order to live near them and settled along a brook in their vicinity; then the strife began. I recall the Kayabí of the Keri legend; there they already appear in heaven, cf. p. 448. The old Bakairí are said to have traveled down the Paranatinga to below the Rio Verde and /393/ to have come back again out of fear of the Kayabí. The Kayabí possessed stone axes and that had given rise to conflicts.

B 173 921 More specific information was reported to me about clashes in more recent times. The Kayabí killed the father of Felipe; they attacked at night and also took a child along. Antonio's grandfather, father, and uncle pushed forward as far as the mouth of the Rio Verde; the Kayabí were hunting there and looking for mussels. The Bakairí arrived in the afternoon and cautiously held back, but early in the morning, when the Kayabí were still

/363 cont./

B A 173 921 A [302] B [929]

lying in their hammocks, they made an assault and killed two, while the others ran away. The Kayabí were rubbed with arimenca oil (from a vine) and urucú and stank like the devil. They had with them gourd bowls, a different kind of urucú, and bows and arrows. In 1884 in the Paranatinga village we found two Kayabí women, Maria and Luisa Kayabí,* who unfortunately

* See Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, p. 283 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 151/, and the body measurements in the table following p. 364 /omitted in 1:Steinen/. Erroneously written Cajibi there.

no longer knew a word of their mother tongue. Some 20 Bakairí had undertaken the raid at the mouth of the Rio Verde and captured the two small girls along with a sister of Luisa, who, however, bit everyone around her so furiously that she had to be killed.

B 173 167

Although, in addition to the version that dissension among the Bakairí themselves necessitated an exodus to the Schingú, I was also given another one, that a number of Bakairí fled there from the Kayabí, it is quite possible that both are justified and refer to different occasions.

S 131 167 [101]

A shift in the same direction was reported to me for the Suyá, which necessarily surprised me no little. The Suyá, whom we found in 1884 on the upper course of the Schingú, are a true Gê tribe and linguistically are most closely related to the Apinagés /Apinaye/ of the province of Goyaz /Goiás/ between the Tocantins and Araguay /Araguaia/. They are likewise said to have lived on the Rio Verde west of the Paranatinga and to have come there from the nearby Arinos. They must therefore, since we may cling to their eastern origin, first have been driven across the Schingú and Paranatinga toward the west and then moved back. The Bakairí say that they joined the Kayapó /Cayapo/, who were excellent archers, and drove the Suyá out of the neighborhood along the Rio Verde. A great many Suyá

B [648] [173] S [648]

B 678 193 5 167 645

/393 cont./ A great many Suyá were said to have been killed and the tribe fled to the Schingú. Hyacintho, the oldest Indian of the Rio Novo village, was said to have taken part in the battle, along with Antonio's grandfather, so that at the earliest the event would have occurred in the first quarter of our century.

B 678 B [175]

In the south and southeast the West Bakairí evidently had friendly relations with the Gês tribe of the Kayapó. In the Brazilian sources, which in general underestimate the extent of this tribe, there is nothing /394/ known about the Kayapó having extended into this region. They report only attacks of the "Coroados" on the fazendas of the upper Cuyabá, but the Bakairí, who were necessarily better informed, designated this tribe as "kayáXo" = Kayapó, and they also call the source river of the Paranatinga coming farthest from the east the Kayapó River. The same Kayapó are eastern or southeastern neighbors of the Kulisehu Bakairí, as the latter informed me.

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Finally, I tried to find out how far the sphere of the West Bakairí extends to the west: the Parecís are well known to them as old neighbors. To the west beyond Diamantino, behind the Parecís, live the "Woimaré" and "Eneuzá," it was said. They allegedly are not relatives of the Parecís, a statement which is incorrect for the "Woimaré," as we shall see in the discussion of the Parecís. The "Eneuzá" are otherwise unknown. Much farther still live the "Pekoban," likewise unknown. The ancestors pushed forward as far as that and said that there was a large river there and that the Pekoban lived beyond it. This could only be the Guaporé, the upper course of the Madeira.

In conclusion, a note about the Guaná is very remarkable; in very, very ancient times they were said to have lived on the Rio Beijaflor, a left tributary of the Paranatinga, which flows into it above the Rio Verde. Cf. page 454.

B 193 167

This is all that I could learn from the West Bakairí about the history of the tribe and its relations to its neighbors. To summarize the traditions: the oldest Bakairí were settled at the salto of the Paranatinga, thus in any case belonged to the

4zSchmidt--1 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/11/

I. Historical Data on the Bakairí /Bacairi/

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The same title which I have given to the present part of this publication was given by Karl von den Steinen to Chapter 14 of his book, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens /Among the Natives of Central Brazil/ (1) in which he deals at

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1. Karl von den Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens. Berlin, 1894, pp. 387-395.

length with the history of the Bakairí up to the year of his second expedition, carried out in the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River in the year 1887, based on comparative literature and on information received from the Bakairí themselves.

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There follows from the research of Karl von den Steinen that in the time prior to his first expedition to the Xingu River, very little was known on the Bakairí, although the western part of these Indians, that is to say, the Bakairí who lived on the Rio Paranatinga and the Rio Novo, had lived for a long time in fairly active contact with the Brazilians and came occasionally to the capital, Cuiabá, to sell the rubber they had produced

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and to ask for some donatives from the government. Martius, too, knows almost nothing about them, and treats them as if they were a Paressi group. (2) It is noteworthy that Martius

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2. Martius, Zur Ethnographie Amerikas zumal Brasiliens /Toward an Ethnography of the Americas, especially of Brazil/, Vol. I, 1867, p. 779.

already mentions the existence of Bakairí in the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River: "Bacahiri, Bacchyri also live on the southern headwaters of the Xingu River"; (3) but with

3. Ibid., p. 382.

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114 101 133 respect to this piece of information we must keep in mind the fact that in those times the Rio Paranatinga wa regarded as a tributary of the Xingu River.

From an objective standpoint I have nothing to add to Karl von den Steinen's full account. I merely propose to com- [121] plement it in time and to add what we know of the more recent history of the Bakairí since that period when Karl von den Steinen wrote his history of the Bakairí. I feel impelled to carry out this mission, especially in view of the fact that of my two expeditions, in which I had the most extensive contact with the Bakairí, the first took place 26 years before the second, so that I had a good opportunity to observe personally a great part of the change in the living conditions of the Bakairí in the times after Karl von den Steinen's publication. The Bakairí [115] André, who was my faithful companion /12/ on the trip from the Simões Lopes Post to the Pedro Dantas Post, established to civilize the Kayabí /Cayabí/, and on the return to Cuiabá, was the son of a Bakairí, born on the Rio Kulisehu and called Chico, who had been one of my traveling companions to the Rio Kulisehu in the year 1901. I also encountered in the year 1927 many old acquaintances among whom I had lived 26 years before in their village, Maimaieti, on the Rio Kulisehu. They all still remembered well the time we had spent together in the past. During my later stay in Cuiabá, up to the year 1931, the Bakairí boys who went to school in Cuiabá visited my house often, so that it enabled me to keep informed up to that date about all that went on among the Bakairí.

114 648 175 Karl von den Steinen's two expeditions to the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River should be noted as an important event not only in the general history of discoveries but also, especially, in the history of the Bakairí. Through them was re-established the long broken connection between the Bakairí living on the Rio Paranatinga and their fellow countrymen on [197] the Batovy and Kulisehu rivers. This fact had such an incisive

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114 influence on the later development of these Indians, with their
608 very marked feeling of nationality, that they changed their
175 primordial customs completely during the 50 years following
[179] Karl von den Steinen's second expedition carried out in the
114 region of the headwaters of the Xingu River. Thanks to a series
12 of data on events among the Bakairí in this interval, we find ourselves in the fortunate position of being able to investigate that transformation. We are oriented in detail on the personality and life history of several Bakairí who have influenced in a special way the later development of their tribe, like Cacique Reginaldo and, especially, Cacique Antonio and his stepson José Corado, so that we can give our historical report on the Bakairí a more personal character than would be possible with respect to other Indian tribes.

114 If we differentiate, according to Karl von den Steinen, the
101 Bakairí who live west of the Rio Paranatinga (in later times officially Rio Telles Pires) as western Bakairí and the eastern Bakairí who have their homes in the regions east of this river, on the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, it can be said that in the period of Karl von den Steinen's first expedition to the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River, no contacts took place between these two Bakairí groups, and certainly none had
[115] taken place for a long time. Old Cacique Reginaldo told Karl von den Steinen that he still remembered, from the days of his youth, that traveling from the Rio Paranatinga eastward, one would reach a big river on which it was said that Bakairí also lived, but that at the present date they did not know anything about this region. (4) Certainly no contacts had taken

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4. Karl v.d. Steinen. Durch Central-Brasilien /Through Central Brazil/. Leipzig, 1886. p. 182.

place between the western Bakairí and those of the east from the time when the former established closer contact with the

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174 177 619 Brazilians, for otherwise the Bakairí of the Batovy and Kulisehu rivers could not have remained so totally free of /13/ any Euro-pean influence. In my book, Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien (5), I discussed at length the causes of this long isolation of the

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5. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien. Erlebnisse und Ethnologische. Ergebnisse einer Reise in den Jahren 1900-1901 /Indian Studies in Central Brazil. Adventure and Ethnology. Results of a Journey in the Years 1900-1901/. Berlin, 1905, p. 320.

eastern Bakairí, and among these causes I especially emphasized the hostility which existed between the Bakairí and their neighbors the Kayabí /Cayabi/, who long made unsafe the region located between the settlements of the western and eastern Bakairí. Contact between these two Bakairí groups was re-established when Karl von den Steinen took along with him on his first expedition to the Xingu River, the Bakairí, Antonio, who later became cacique of the Bakairí, so that he had the opportunity to become acquainted with his fellow countrymen who lived on the Rio Batovy. Already in the year 1886, that is, before Karl von den Steinen's second expedition, the Bakairí Felipe, who was then cacique of the Paranatinga Bakairí, had on his part visited, along with the above-mentioned Antonio and another Bakairí, his fellow countrymen on the Rio Batovy and had succeeded in getting some of them to make, in turn, a visit to the Rio Paranatinga.

128 101 In order to make a connection with Karl von den Steinen's historical report, I shall first refer in a few words to the conditions in which this author found the Bakairí at the time of his second expedition in the year 1887. I shall first deal with the

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161 Going on from the Rio Preto Bakairí, on whom we do not have more precise data than that they were few, the remaining Bakairí population and, especially, those of the Rio Paranatinga was also very scant in this period. As Karl von den Steinen, on his second expedition to the Xingu River in the year 1887, did not have the opportunity to visit the Bakairí of the Rio Novo, we have no precise data concerning their population in this year. We only know that their population three years earlier, in the year 1884, was 55, among whom were 16 men, 19 women, and 20 children. In the same year the population of the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí was much smaller because these Indians had been hit, some six years before, by a measles epidemic. The entire population of the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí at the time consisted of only 10 men, eight women, and four children, of whom five men, three women, and a boy were /14/ absent, and some of these were not expected to return.(9) This number

[114] [175] [131] [563]

9. Karl v. d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 120. Idem., Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens, loc. cit., p. 25.

is increased, however, if we add the two Paressí women and the two Kayabí women who were married to Bakairí men. When Karl von den Steinen visited this Bakairí village again, in the year 1887, one Bakairí man had died in the interval, some had moved to the ranches, and no increase by birth had occurred. If we add up the above-mentioned figures and include the four Paressí and Kayabí women, the total number for all the Bakairí of the Rio Novo and the Rio Paranatinga reaches 81 individuals.

175 622 648 The above-mentioned aldeas of the western Bakairí were at this time under the Indian Superintendent in Cuiabá, and the administration of the state of Mato Grosso has exerted repeated influence on the various Bakairí units, increasing the authority of the caciques or strengthening it with insignia. Thus Cacique

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195 Reginaldo, who ruled the two Bakairí villages on the Rio Novo,
622 held the grade of "captain" and his intended successor, Joaquim,
648 was a "lieutenant." In the village on the Rio Paranatinga the administration had deprived old chief Caetano, whose age was calculated at 80 years, of the chiefship and had entrusted it to a younger man called Felipe who had the rank of "captain," in the year 1882.

106 The way of life of the western Bakairí, at the time of Karl
[177] von den Steinen's expeditions differed little from that of the Brazilian campesinos. Already from the year 1820 they had all been baptized. Men's and women's dress was similar in general to that of the campesinos as the style of their rectangular houses was similar to the Brazilian rancho. Besides some dogs many pigs and chickens were raised. Cattle was also raised, and they had some milch cows and a herd of oxen. They planted manioc, maize, pororoh /var. of French bean, from Quechua purutu/, rice, sweet potatoes, bananas, sugar cane, and a little tobacco. This agriculture was carried out to a sufficient degree to permit them to sell a surplus to the cattle ranch at Corrego Fundo. An important element of nourishment was provided the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí by the abundance of fish in the river, and especially the excellent matrinchan that was caught in the season of its collective migration upriver. (10) These western Bakairí worked then

10. Karl von den Steinen,
Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit.,
p. 23.

on a temporary basis for neighboring ranches, but they also produced rubber for their own use and brought the product with their herd of oxen to Cuiabá.

105 In spite of this almost complete assimilation of the western
177 Bakairí to the ways of life of Brazilian campesinos, they still
178 kept some of their ancestral customs. Above all they kept their
[191] native language, and only a few understood and spoke some Portuguese.

/14 cont./

106 Portuguese. The lobes of their ears and the nasal septa were
177 still perforated, and Cacique Reginaldo sometimes wore, in
178 addition to his captain's uniform, the little sticks adorned with feathers in his ear lobes as well. In the aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí there still stood in the year 1884, besides the /15/ rectangular houses in the Brazilian rancho style, a round hut built like the houses of the eastern Bakairí who live in the regions of the headwaters of the Xingu River, in which lived an old Bakairí man with a young Kayabí woman. Bows and arrows were still used, occasionally, for hunting and fishing, and among the plaited objects had been kept the ancestral forms of the large twig baskets, sieves, and hammocks.

175 In the aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí the order of things
622 was gravely disturbed at the time of Karl von den Steinen's
• 648 expeditions (11) because the occupants of this village felt greater
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11. Karl v.d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 120.

loyalty to the old cacique, Caetano, than to Cacique Felipe, installed as cacique instead of the former by the Mato Grosso government. The Bakairí, Antonio, who accompanied Karl von
[115] den Steinen on his expeditions to the Xingu River and who later became the most important figure in the history of the Bakairí, was then a youth.

175 The western Bakairí were at that time the Indians to whom
648 had come the most remote shoots of European culture in these regions. What was farther on was still unexplored land, with free Indians, because of whom the mobility of the Bakairí was hampered to a high degree. It seems that the Bakairi to the south and southwest had peaceful relations with the Kayapó /Cayapo/ with whom, in earlier times, they had once been allied in order jointly to expel the Suyá from the Rio Verde region. (12) This friendship is interesting in so far as the Kayapó

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12. Karl v. d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, l. c., p. 393.

of this period were marked enemies of the Brazilian campesinos, and to whom we must attribute the attacks against the ranches of the upper Cuiabá River, attributed in Brazilian documents to the "Cerosado." (13) The incursions of the Mundurukú

13. Ibid., p. 394.

/Mundurucu/, who had extended farther south in earlier times, were still clearly remembered by the western Bakairí, but in this period the former did not appear. The principal enemies were undoubtedly the Kayabí of the Rio Verde with whom they had long lived in a state of intense hostility. The Bakairí place their ancestral land at the famous falls of the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Teles Pires), located upriver from the mouth of the Rio Verde. They said that old Cacique Caetano's had been born in the old aldea situated at the falls. It was said that at that time the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí had traveled to just below the mouth of the Rio Verde but had later returned from fear of the Kayabí. Cacique Caetano's father had already been born in an aldea situated farther upriver. Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa, in his expedition down the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Teles Pires), found habitation ruins below the mouth of the Beija-flor near the Cerro de Piquirizal and on the right side of the river, where it was said that the Bakairí had had a large aldea in former times. It is also said that they fought with the Kayabí and the Tapanhuna /Tapanyuna/ when they lived in this place. (14) Undoubtedly the Bakairí had /16/ lived closer to

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14. A. Pyrineus de Sousa, loc. cit., p. 69.

173 /16 cont./ Undoubtedly the Bakairí had /15/ lived closer to
648 the Kayabí than in later times, because they had moved their
726 aldea successively farther upriver. But hostilities with their
727 enemies then had still lasted. One night in a raid the Kayabí
361 had killed Felipe's father and carried away a child. On this account some 20 Bakairí men had undertaken an expedition for revenge and had killed two Kayabí men and carried away two girls, who were living at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions in the aldea situated on the Paranatinga River, where they were married to two Bakairí men and were called Luiza and Maria. When I met Luiza, in the year 1927, among the Bakairí of Simões Lopes, she was an old woman. Given the fact that the population of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga River had dwindled to so few individuals, even at their later location, the Kayabí remained a danger for them.

648 The Bakairí were known by the Paresí as old neighbors,
727 and the Paresí, Charlotta, who was the wife of Cacique Felipe, had been carried away from Diamantino by the Bakairí. (15)

15. Karl v. d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 122. Idem., Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., p. 3 4.

174 From the extraordinary concordance of the legends of the Paresí
648 with those of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga River, noted by
177 Karl von den Steinen, it follows that in earlier times, there was extensive contact between the western Bakairí and the
174 Paresí. (16) Unfortunately we do not know the legends of the
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16. Karl v. d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., pp. 364 and 365.

eastern Bakairí, who live in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River, so that we do not know to what extent their legends

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174 correspond to those of their western fellow countrymen. From
184 the fact that the names of the two legendary heroes, Keri and
648 Kambe, who represent in Bakairí legends the sun and the moon,
793 are not words of the Bakairí language (which belongs to the
177 Karaíb /Carib/ group) but words of the Aruak /Arawak/ linguistic group, it follows that the Paressí, who belong to this linguistic group, were, in this case, the authors of these legends rather than the Bakairí, and thus that the legends of the Paranatinga Bakairí were influenced by the Paressí; just as the Bakairí are mentioned in the legends of the Paressí, the latter are also mentioned in the legends of the Bakairí. According to Paressí legends, the Bakairí, or Matokóso as they are called by them, belong with other enemy tribes to the kin group of Chinikálore (Tchenikauré according to Karl v. d. Steinen), the big jaguar, who killed his brother Kamázo and the latter's wife, but then became the victim of Uakomo, the son of Kamázo, who avenged his father when he grew up. (17) We also find

17. Ibid., p. 431.

this tale of Chinikálore in the texts of Paressí legends. In these legends Chinikálore, from whose six arrows the Bakairí were born, appears as a distinctly hostile hero. Thus it may be assumed that the Bakairí, who belonged to his kin group, were also enemies of the Paressí. On this basis, relations between the Bakairí and the Paressí were already hostile in former times, and this hostility still persisted at the time of /17/ Karl von den
175 Steinen's expeditions. Some years earlier, the Bakairí had
722 attacked the Paressí on the road that leads to Diamantino, to
729 capture their women, and had killed many of them /i.e., Paressí men/. (18) As already mentioned above, besides the
[563]

18. Ibid., p. 438.

two Kayabí women, two Paressí women were also living among

/18 cont./

175 of the Paranatinga Bakairí was already the same Antonio who
622 had accompanied Karl von den Steinen on his two expeditions to the Xingu River and who had become acquainted on his return from the first of these expeditions with Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires. President Antonio Correa da Costa confirmed his
[648] caciqueship, extending his authority over the whole region of the Indians who lived on the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, naming him the comandante of all the Indians of the upper
175 Xingu River. This extension of the authority of Cacique Antonio
622 by the president of the state was instigated, according to
648 Herrmann Meyer, (22) by the same Paulo Castro who, in the
159

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22. Dr. Herrmann Meyer, "Uber seine zweite Reise in Central-Brasilien (IV. Xingú-Expedition) /On His Second Journey in Central Brazil (IV. Xingu Expedition)/." aus einem Brief an Herrn Prof. Dr. Karl von den Steinen /From a letter to Prof. Karl von den Steinen/, Cuiabá, d. March 5, 1899. (Verh. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin. Vol. XXVI, 1899, pp. 261-265). p. 265.

years following his participation in Karl von den Steinen's expedition to the Xingu River, traveled through these regions several times in his tireless search for the "martyrs," and thus had had the opportunity to meet the Bakairí of the Paranatinga. Cacique Antonio then for a long time was the most influential figure in the subsequent development not only of the western Bakairí but also of the eastern Bakairí. He had been born in the Limoeira handicrafts center and came from a family who had lived for a long time in the Rio Paranatinga aldea. The most remote ancestors of whom he had knowledge had still

/18 cont./

175 159 622 648

lived in the vicinity of the falls. His grandfather, Karavako, and his father, Seseriari, had participated in the above-mentioned expedition for revenge undertaken against the Kayabí in which the two Kayabí women who lived in the Rio Paranatinga aldea were captured. At the time of Karl von den Steinen's expedition, his parents were no longer living, but he had an older brother living with his wife and with a small son in the Paranatinga aldea. As a companion to Karl von den Steinen in the year 1888, Antonio had met in the Reducion de Bororo de Thereza Christina, situated on the Rio S. Lourenzo /São Lourenço River/, the Bororo Indian woman Rosa, well known for the fact that while a prisoner of Officer Duarte, she had undertaken to mediate in the agreement /?conivencia/ between Bororo and Brazilians so that it became possible to establish the above-mentioned Bororo reducion /pueblo of Christianized Indians/. She was a widow at the time and Antonio took her along toward the Paranatinga. Rosa brought with her a small son, five or six years of age, who was raised in the house of Cacique Antonio and who later, under the name of José /19/ Coroado, achieved a certain stature in the Bakairí community of the Paranatinga, so that I must refer to him several times in what follows.

175 166

Already in the last decade of the past century, when Herrmann Meyer passed the aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí in his two expeditions to the Xingu River in the years 1896 and 1899, much activity was taking place there. (23) Antonio with

[113]

23. Dr. Herrmann Meyer "Über seine Expedition nach Zentral Brasilien /On His Expedition toward Central Brazil/." March 6 Verhandl. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde z. Berlin Vol. XXIV, 1897, pp. 172-198. Idem., "Bericht über seine zweite

/19 cont./

175 I must also mention here an expedition of five North
648 Americans who, half a year before Herrmann Meyer's second expedition, went down the Rio Kulisehu to look for rubber. No doubt, like the other expeditions to these regions, they took along Bakairí Indians. The details of the tragic outcome of this expedition, whose five participants were all massacred by the Suyá with clubs, were told me several times by the Bakairí and the Auetö in the same way, and I have noted down the particulars of this event with care in my book, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien. (26)

26. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 42.

In the year 1900, Paulo Castro had once more entered the region east of the Rio Paranatinga, this time as head of an expedition outfitted in grand style by the Mato Grosso government, as they said, to prepare, at the top of the water divide between the Xingu and Araguaya rivers, a route that would lead to the Amazon River, in order to facilitate the transportation of livestock from Mato Grosso to Pará. Shortly before the return of my expedition to the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River in June, 1901, the survivors of Paulo Castro's expedition, which had been a total failure, returned to Cuiabá. The great hardships of this last expedition of Paulo Castro caused this explorer, untiring in his search for the "martyrs," never to be well until his death.

114 In the year 1901 I led my own expedition to the region of the source of the Xingu River, when I had the opportunity to become acquainted with the conditions of the life of the Bakairí of the Rio Novo and the Rio Paranatinga, and also, especially, of those of the Bakairí of the Rio Kulisehu.

114 /20/ Shortly before crossing the Rio Novo I passed one of
36 the two aldea of the Rio Novo Bakairí, but I had only a passing

/20 cont./

114 look at this settlement situated on the left side of the Rio Novo.
36 The main aldea of these Indians, which consisted of five ranchos, was at a distance of three turns of the river from the small Brazilian pueblo of Rio Novo situated on the right side of the
[648] river. At this place I met Mr. Eliseu, who then held the title of subdirector over the Bakairí.

114 Conditions among the Rio Novo Bakairí had hardly changed
178 since the time when Karl von den Steinen described them.
622 Also, the population, which I estimated at 60 individuals, was
[162] more or less the same. Reginaldo, who had meanwhile become an old man, was still cacique of the two communities of Rio Novo Bakairí. Plate V of my book Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien presents a photograph taken in the aldea of these Indians showing Cacique Reginaldo with his wife in the midst of several other Bakairí, standing in front of the door of his house. The book which he holds in his hand is the work Durch Centralbrasilien, published by Karl von den Steinen, in which he is also represented in a drawing and at which he is
114 looking with great interest. In the aldea there were still various
178 objects which were products of typical Bakairí work, such as for
[285] example the large baskets of twigs /banastas/ woven in the an-
531 cestral way, and other kinds of baskets which matched exactly
784 in terms of technique and decoration those made by the Bakairí
[411] of the tributaries of the Xingu River. (27) The Rio Novo Bakairí

27. Cf. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., Fig. 174, p. 347.

also still used, besides firearms, bows and arrows for hunting, and these corresponded exactly to those of their fellow country-
179 men of the Xingu River region. But outside of these objects,
231 made in native fashion, these Bakairí had been changed completely into Brazilian campesinos as a result of the fact that

/20 cont./

Reginaldo and his people had a large number of cattle and several saddle horses. Although among themselves they spoke only in the Bakairí language, all of the men knew the Brazilian language, and it was said that Cacique Reginaldo knew how to read and speak some French. The Rio Novo Bakairí maintained at the time active relations with their fellow countrymen on the Rio Paranatinga. With the eastern Bakairí they hardly had any contacts, except for the Bakairí Joaquim who was the uncle of Cacique Antonio of the Paranatinga aldea and who had a young Bakairí from the Rio Batovi river in his service.

Different were the conditions of the Bakairí in the Rio Paranatinga aldea at the time of my visit. While the population at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions had dwindled in such a way that Karl von den Steinen foresaw the end of this community, the population of the aldea had increased in the meantime with the addition of numerous Bakairí from the Xingu River region. The number of these Bakairí, called by their Paranatinga fellow countrymen Xinguanos, climbed to 34 at the time of my stay with these Indians. The leader of the community was Antonio, who was at this time at the peak of his power. The only insignia /21/ of his rank as comandante of the Indians of the upper Xingu River region, officially granted by the Mato Grosso government, were a pair of red soldier's trousers with a wide white stripe which ran down the side of each leg, but a more practical symbol of his power were several good firearms hanging in his house, which he also used occasionally, according to the Mato Grosso men, against insubordinate fellow countrymen. The majority of the Xinguanos then living in his aldea were totally dependent upon him with regard to economic conditions and made up a valuable component of his power, for he had supplied the most trustworthy men among them with firearms. This small military force was important above all to insure contact between the Rio Paranatinga and the tributaries of the Xingu River against the Kayabí who had unquestionably begun at this time to

/21 cont./

701 disturb the Brazilian campesinos in these regions. According to
● 648 Herrmann Meyer (28) they had already wreaked serious destruction

28. Herrmann Meyer, "Bericht uber seine zweite Xingú-Expedition," loc. cit., pp. 115 and 116.

in the region of the Serra Trombador and killed several inhabitants. At the time of my stay on the Corrego Fundo ranch, the Kayabí had penetrated the mountains above the Rio Paranatinga up to some six leagues from Corrego Fundo and attacked Cacique Antonio as he was looking for rubber with his people for Señor Jange Soares, the owner of the ranch. But Antonio had driven them back with his armed people and killed a Kayabí on this occasion.

622 Cacique Antonio's big house where I visited him had been
342 built a year earlier. It consisted of a large middle room which communicated on the left side of the entrance with two other rooms which formed the dwelling house proper of the cacique and Doña Rosa, and on the right side with a large room for guests that fulfilled exactly the functions of the house for fiestas
622 of the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River regions. All the men
342 and boys of the aldea could go in and out of it as they pleased.
574 This room also served for dancing, and during my stay in it,
[302] from time to time, some Xinguanos would enter, their faces
[533] painted in red and black, and sing their monotonous melodies
[535] as they danced around the post set in the middle of the room.
[352] Cacique Antonio's own dwelling already had at this time quite
[123] a modern appearance. In the "dining room" there was a table and a large armchair as well as dishes and spoons, and I was entertained at his table in the Brazilian manner with a dish of
622 meat with rice and flour. He obviously enjoyed renewing old
115 memories of the journeys he had made with Karl von den Steinen. He looked with great interest at Karl von den Steinen's works about his travels and, on his part, showed me some photographs

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182 /23 cont./
756 aldea on the Rio Kulisehu to settle with his arts on the Paranatinga.

When I was with the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí in May and June
177 of 1901, 14 years had elapsed since their first contact with
178 articles of European culture. After Karl von den Steinen's
[114] expedition, other explorers had also passed through their land. They had become familiar with iron axes, knives, scissors, matches, and other objects of modern culture, and by bartering their native products they had become amply provided with such objects, but their natures and their way of life had barely
[411] changed. They had become acquainted with the firearms of the Europeans and of their fellow countrymen of the Rio Paranatinga, but they still regarded them with a certain mis-
[226] giving and did not use them either. Fishing, which had been of the greatest importance in the economy of these Indians, was still carried out on a broad scale and in the ancestral way,
[224] fishhooks not being used. In hunting, too, they only used their
241 arrows and long bows built like the ones of old. Agriculture
412 was also carried out in the same manner and with the same digging sticks, with the mere exception that the work of clearing was made much easier by the numerous iron axes that replaced the stone axes of times past. I did not see any more stone axes among these Indians. Undoubtedly they had all been replaced by the far more useful iron axes brought by the explorers who passed through these regions. There were large plantations in
241 the vicinity of the aldeas or at a distance from them, and I
114 myself had the opportunity to observe in the aldea of Maimaieti, situated on the Rio Kulisehu, the way in which a big part of the mountain was cleared for a future plantation. The Indians proudly showed me a spot planted in sweet /mansa, "mild"/ manioc, of which they had received cuttings from the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí. During my stay among the Bakairí of Maimaieti aldea there was never a scarcity of manioc, and I and my companions were always generously provided with
[648] manioc cakes /beijús/. I mention this fact especially, because

/23 cont./

241 it contrasts with Herrmann Meyer's observation, made two
114 years before in the year 1899, on his own experiences among
● 648 the same Bakairí. (29) To account for the fact that it was

29. Herrmann Meyer, "Bericht uber seine zweite Xingú-Expedition," loc. cit., pp. 126 and 127.

absolutely impossible for him to obtain provisions from the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí, he said that these Indians depended for their subsistence almost entirely on their fellow countrymen of the Rio Paranatinga and that their agriculture had almost completely disappeared. When Meyer passed by the aldeas of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí, conditions for his expedition, which comprised a large number of participants, were very precarious, especially because of lack of provisions, and no doubt the fact that he was unable to get from the Bakairí the provisions he had asked for was for him a severe disappointment. It is possible that the Bakairí at this time could not /24/ supply such large quantities of provisions to accommodate such a large number of strangers. Since it is certain that the Bakairí at the time of my stay among them possessed large plantations, it does not seem possible that their agriculture, two years earlier,
114 should have been at the vanishing point. Nor can I corroborate
342 Herrmann Meyer's comment that the Bakairí of the first two aldeas on the Rio Kulisehu, at the time of his expedition, had changed their good houses for "miserable huts." The two aldeas of the Kulisehu Bakairí which I visited each consisted of four large houses of kin folk, built in the same form with an oval base as the houses had in former times. All of the houses in Maimaieti aldea were quite new and made a good impression
231 inside and outside. About one league from Maimaieti were the then abandoned houses of the old aldea which the Bakairí of Maimaieti had still occupied a short time earlier and where a large bird of prey, a kind of harpy eagle /arpía/, was kept on

/25 cont./

114 temporarily absent at the time, so we must take into accont
161 a population in Maimaieti of more than 45 persons. I hav
361 already mentioned above that the population of Maigeri aldea at the time of my trip was much larger than Karl von den Steinen estimated it to be at an earlier time. Still to be added is the population of the aldea recently founded between th Kulisehu and Batovy rivers, whose total we do not know, because it should undoubtedly be regarded as having been founded by Rio Kulisehu Bakairí and a part of the Xinguanos, who have moved temporarily or for longer to the Rio Paranatinga.

115 It is certain that the epilogues of the expeditions mad to
681 the regions of the sources of the Xingu River have been plaed out with regard to the subsequent history of the Bakairí of the Kulisehu and Batovy rivers. Thus, Cacique Tumayauaof the first aldea on the Kulisehu, who had first helped Karl von den Steinen in his undertaking in these regions, had been assassinated by his own fellow countrymen shortly before the time of my expedition. I have already mentioned that the inhabitants of this same aldea had lain in wait for José Corado because he had become too involved /26/ with the women

● 648 Another consequence of these expeditions was the fact thathe
178 relations of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí with the other tribes that lived farther down this river, especially the Nahukuá and te Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, had already become strained at the time because these Indians envied the Bakairí for having received the lion's share of the precious articles brought by te explorers. But, in short, the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí, after thir first contact with the whites, had gone on living as before without being discommoded by others. Their social organization, their legal ideas, the form of their economy, their customs, and their crafts were at the time of my stay amog them still almost the same as in former times.

114 We received the first information on the Bakairí, afte
361 my journey, in the year 1915 through Antonio Pyrineus deSousa, who, on the occasion of his expedition devoted to measuring

/27 cont./

162 the year 1915, no more than nine men with some women and
361 children lived with their cacique in the new aldea. The rest
166 had died or had moved to the other Bakairí aldeas situated on the Rio Paranatinga.

178 According to Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa's description, the
433 Bakairí of the Rio Novo and Rio Paranatinga still had in the
622 year 1915 a life with sufficient means of subsistence. Cacique
[361] Antonio, whose authority of former times had undoubtedly de-
[241] creased through José Coroado's defection with his people and
[231] through the independent stand of Cacique Kurutú, was still chief of the old aldea on the Rio Paranatinga, which still consisted of seven houses and whose inhabitants planted manioc, maize, sugar cane, bananas, and aboborra /gourds/, and raised
[231] many pigs and chickens. In former times they had also devoted
[648] themselves to the raising of cattle and horses, but the rancher Jange Soares had made them give this up. Already at this time, Antonio was urgently pressing his rights in the region bound by the Serra Azul, the Ribeirão Bananal, and the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Teiles Pires) and occupied for many years by the Bakairí. (34)

34. A. Pyrineus de Sousa, loc. cit., p. 64.

184 José Coroado's aldea consisted of three well-built houses.
361 He had large plantations of manioc and maize and raised some
241 pigs and chickens. (35) The inhabitants of Cacique Kurutú's
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35. Ibid., p. 65.

aldea, which consisted of three large houses, also had good plantations and lived comfortably.

178 /28/ At that time, also, the customs and ideas of the
[535] Rio Paranatinga Bakairí were largely Indian. When dancing,
[291] the men were nude except for a small coarse apron, rectangular

/29 cont./

114 died a short time before. Cacique Karín, who in times past
115 had received me so hospitably in Maimaieri aldea, was still
159 living but very old. He was quite isolated, for his wife as well
622 as his two daughters, whom I had known as little girls, had died. Cacique Antonio was also still alive but was also already old and had remained with his family and a few people at the location of the old Bakairí aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí.
622 Antonio always clung stubbornly to the idea that the land bound
159 by the Serra Azul, the Ribeirão Bananal, and the Rio Paranatinga
619 belonged to him and his Bakairí, and he did not want to leave
648 his aldea so as not to lose the right to this region. As for the
114 changes brought about by the establishment of the Simões Lopes Post, he maintained a very cautious attitude and did not recognize the authority of the Post administration, according to which the Bakairí, Pires, was named cacique of the Xinguanos in his place and appointed to administer the affairs of this part of the Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post. When I later met Cacique Antonio, he told me repeatedly that he was still Capitão and the legitimate chief of his fellow tribesmen. Among other news received from the Bakairí in Cuiabá, I heard that José Corado and his brother-in-law Chico, who had accompanied me with the latter on my expedition to the Rio Kuliseiu, had died since.

114 In the course of the journey which I finally undertook,
622 leaving Cuiabá on January 27, 1927, I was able to make only
159 a passing visit to Cacique Antonio in his aldea, but he himself
[123] visited me at Simões Lopes several times. (Cf. Fig. 1.) I was very well received in his house as an old friend and treated to a glass of guarana drink. Whereas Antonio had no issue by Rosa Bororo, he had after her death three sons by his second wife. The photograph shown in Figure 2 shows Antonio before his house with his family, and his horse on the right. The condition of his house, in contrast with that of previous times when I visited him at the height of his power, conveyed an impression
114 of poverty. In a small house situated close to Antonio's, I also
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/30 cont./

114 dressed in European manner, and with his rough beard he bears
115 little resemblance to the photograph taken by Karl von den
[199] Steinen some 39 years earlier. In another house there still lived Luisa Kayabí, whom Karl von den Steinen had met when she was the young wife of old Cacique Caetano.

114 Most of the Bakairí whom I had known 26 years before in
731 Maigeri and Maimaieti aldeas had perished in a flu epidemic
753 that had wreaked havoc among the population of Mato Grosso
648 some years earlier. Since the high number of deaths among
361 the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River was attributed to the witch-
[166] craft of evil neighboring tribes, especially the Mehinakú and the Nahukuá, who had been envious of the economic benefits derived by the Bakairí from their contact with civilization, all the Bakairí of the Batovy and Kulisehu rivers had moved to the Rio Paranatinga. Undoubtedly petty jealousies and other discords had caused these Bakairí, called Xinguanos, not to get along with their fellow natives on the Paranatinga, and for this reason they had settled at some distance from the post, farther downriver. I found the first of these Xinguano settlements at the place where the Ribeirão Azul enters the Rio Paranatinga. It was situated on the right side of this river and consisted of four small houses. (Cf. Figures 21 and 22.) A little farther downriver I reached a Bakairí plantation near which was a rancho occupied by some people. (Cf. Figure 20.)

361 /31/ From there a path led to the principal settlement of
622 the Bakairí who had moved from the Rio Kulisehu. It consisted
159 of two rather large houses. (Cf. Figure 17.) I was told that a
114 little farther downriver there were some more settlements, and
487 among them also that of my old friend from Maimaieti aldea, Karía. I had already encountered Karía when I visited Cacique
622 Antonio, and he had recognized me. He was no longer cacique,
159 and I was told that at the time of my stay in Maimaieti he had
114 merely been a temporary cacique in the place of his brother who was then away. He had grown much older and no longer

361 /33 cont. / According To
648 Petrullo the new post is situated on top of a mountain some distance from the edge of the Rio Paranatinga. The post itself consisted of some excellent administrative buildings, and at some distance from these stood the Bakairí aldea, so that the Indians
[871] kept a certain independence. The post had a school which tried to teach the Bakairí youth to read and write in the Portuguese language and the rudiments of arithmetic. The administration
[231] kept a herd of cattle, and each of the Bakairí wished to have some oxen and cows.

114 Without wishing to malign Petrullo's precious information,
648 I must note below some points on which I cannot quite agree
177 with his opinions, because they contradict my experiences
241 among these Indians. I believe that a false impression of the previous living conditions of the Bakairí in the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River led to Petrullo's interpretations when he says that the post administration had not experimented in order to change the Bakairí, who in former times had led a seminomadic life, into a sedentary group of agriculturalists. The Bakairí of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River were, like all the other Indian tribes of the Rio Kulisehu, with the possible exception of the Trumaí, a typical agricultural people. The tasks related to agriculture made up the chief part of their activities, and they had extensive plantations in the vicinity of their houses. They led a totally sedentary existence in their aldeas, even moving these closer to their plantations when the latter, owing to the successive exploitation of the land on the closest hill, were little by little moved too distant
[231] from their houses. Livestock they did not have, so that there has been a change in their way of life at the post, with the transformation of a previously agricultural people into a people who raise cattle, no doubt to get a bigger income.

226 Also, I cannot believe that the unusual abundance of fish
114 in the Rio Paranatinga, extolled in former times by the Bakairí, should have dwindled so thoroughly as to warrant Petrullo's observation, "There are practically no fish in the Paranatinga.

/34 cont./

114 tributaries of the upper Xingu River never had this custom, but
177 that I had the opportunity to observe it among several of my
304 Mato Grosso attendants, who had presumably adopted it through African influences. If the present-day Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post file their teeth, this is no doubt an innovation brought about by foreign influences.

165 We know through Petrullo that the high mortality of the
164 Paranatinga Bakairí unfortunately has continued in spite of the
[648] care of the Inspectoria da Protecção aos Indios /Indian Protection Service/. (41) It seems that fevers are rapidly diminishing the

41. Vincent M. Petrullo, op. cit., pp. 128 and 129.

Bakairí population. According to Petrullo, syphillis, caught through contact with the whites, probably has also caused high mortality among these Indians.

622 Finally, I must still mention the last news I received when
159 I had already left Mato Grosso. It was the news of the death
178 of the man who had withdrawn from all innovations at the close of his life because he wished to retain his independence but who nevertheless will remain the best-known Bakairí in Bakairí history: the death of Cacique Antonio.

184 II. Change and Continuity in the Cultural Goods
198 of the Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post
177

In discussing in the preceding section the history of the Bakairí, I mention that the sedentary Bakairí on the Rio Paranatinga and the Rio Novo, before they entered into relations with their fellow countrymen of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, had still retained some of the articles of their /35/ ancestral culture although they had almost completely become Brazilian campesinos. Through contact with the Xinguanos and as a

/260 cont./

131 Rio Novo, also in that state. The Simões Lopes Indians claim
361 that in the past all the Bakairí lived in aldeas by the Paranatinga River, moving later to the north under pressure of enemy
173 131 groups. (2) Later on the tribe divided as a result of internal
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2. For a better discussion of the possible origins of the Bakairí, see Max Schmidt's article, "Los Bakairí" /The Bacairi/, Revista do Museu Paulista, New Series, Vol. I, pp. 11-58, São Paulo, 1947.

[113]

disputes; part moved to the banks of the Rio Culiseu, one of the sources of the Xingu, and the other part was distributed along the Rio Novo. Perhaps the truth about these reports can only be obtained with the help of archaeology. Meanwhile, the old villages of the Bakairí on the sources of the
619 Xingu no longer exist. The Xinguano Indians suffered a great
175 deal from repeated outbreaks of influenza, and the last
931 Bakairí found in that area were brought to the Simões Lopes
648 Post a few years ago by officials of the Indian Protection Ser-
166 vice. The Rio Novo Bakairí, practically as a whole, adopted
619 the customs of the neighboring Brazilian populations and live
177 independent of the control of the Indian Protection Service.
184 As for the Simões Lopes Indians, although they are quite
[178] acculturated, they still retain many traits of their old culture, they all still speak Bakairí, and some of them still remember the time when they lived in Xinguano aldeas, and make good informants.

114 As for the authors who have dealt with the Bakairí, we shall note among the best, Capistrano de Abreu and Karl von den Steinen. The former left us valuable information on the Bakairí language and on the beliefs of these Indians. The only weakness of his material is that it is based on only one

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[P69-A]

THE BACAIRI

114 This brief account of the Bacairí is based on
[101] field work done among the Bacairí living in the Government Indian Post on the Rio Paranatinga
[121] in June 1947. The field work was carried out in the course of a reconnaissance survey which the writer was then making of some of the central and northern Indian tribes of Mato Grosso.
[122] This and other trips at the time were made in a Ford truck put at the disposal of the writer by the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios. By using a truck the trip to the Paranatinga could be made over the Planalto do Matogrossense in 2 days in contrast to the old route along the Rio Cuiabá which, on horseback with pack oxen, takes from 2 to 3 weeks. The writer was accompanied by Fernando Altenfelder Silva of the Escola de Sociologia e Politica de São Paulo and by Rev. Thomas Young and Rev. W. L. Buckman of the South American Indian Mission. The Reverend Mr.
[115] Young, who has spent more than 10 years among the Bacairí, was of great help in selecting informants and in adding to our knowledge of the Bacairí.

161 According to estimates made in 1947 by the
36 Brazilian Indian Service (Serviço de Proteção aos Indios) there are between 200 and 250 Bacairí living in the northern part of Mato Grosso State, Brazil, divided between the Indian Post of Simão Lopes on the Rio Paranatinga and the village of
173 Rio Novo some distance to the northwest. The
361 Bacairí claim that the whole tribe originally
167 lived together on the Rio Paranatinga (headwaters
[648] of the Tapajoz River), but attacks by other Indians and Brazilians forced them to move about 90 years ago. Owing to a dispute the tribe split, one group moving north to settle on the banks of the Rio Kuliseu, a tributary of the Xingú River, the other moving to Rio Novo. After about 50 years in the Kuliseu Basin, this group moved to the present location of Simão Lopes, not far from the original Bacairí settlement
177 on the Rio Paranatinga. Although the Rio Novo
166 group has adopted Brazilian customs and manages
648 without Government help, some have moved to Simão Lopes where the Bacairí now live on reservation lands and receive assistance from the Brazilian Government.

1:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo
Mato Grosso SP1
Bacairi SP7

clearing. After dropping a sack filled with trade goods, we flew back to Cuyabá, surprising its population for the second time by our safe return. On this trip we had been away almost the entire day, so that practically no hope was held out for us, though there was a rumor that we had found gold, which caused our delay.

M 114

The distance from Cuyabá to where the plane could land on the Xingu was so great that if we wanted to do any further air exploring we had to get a deposit of gasoline there. It was therefore decided that I was to transport overland ten cases of gasoline. The plane would pay my party a visit on the sixth week after my departure from Cuyabá, that being the time calculated that it would take to reach it overland, at the same place where we had landed at the mouth of the Kuluseu.

M 114 122

After recruiting four men in Cuyabá, three of whom were recommended by Major Noronha and proved to be the finest that could be employed, we set off for the Bakairi post in two motor trucks. Our baggage consisted of airplane gasoline, an outboard motor, gasoline and oil for it, trading goods, personal equipment and food. No tents were taken for shelter, nor canvas canoes, and so forth. Our food consisted of manioc flour, beans, rice, coffee and meat. In addition, we carried six sealed tins containing emergency rations for a few days, of which we had occasion to make use later. Our camping equipment was as simple as that of the camarada, merely a hammock, blanket and mosquito net. Our only luxury was a portable phonograph, which as long as we had it helped to keep the men and aborigines in good humor.

It took us three days to reach the Bakairi post, after an early end of the expedition was threatened by the breaking of two wheels of the truck. Beyond Chapada the road is good. This section was built by the Bakairi under the direction of Major Noronha. On our way we stopped at the Protestant Mission at Burity, where we were hospitably entertained by Mr. and Mrs. Moser. It is on the property of the Mission that the Veio de Noiva Falls are.

THE BAKAIRI

B 361 648

The peoples of a number of villages speaking Bakairi have been collected at the post, Simõe Lopes, on the Paranatinga river. The post consists of a number of excellent government buildings in charge of an agent and a small staff. A little distance away is the Bakairi village, in

Bacairi SP7
Mato Grosso SP1

B 361 648

a wire fence enclosure. The effort of the Inspectoria has been to give aborigines the isolation that they want and not to interfere in anything that they may do. The tribal organization is kept as of old, and the Bakairi lead their own life in their own way. They are not forced to stay at the post, or in any way bound to do as the agent says. The agent is merely a teacher. He talks to them and advises them on any problem that may be facing them, but it is understood that they are free men and that they can do as they please.

B 177 648 M 658

The post maintains a school, the effort being made to teach every child to read and write Portuguese and to learn the rudiments of arithmetic. In addition to this, an attempt is made to teach them vocations, such as weaving on the loom, tailoring, shoemaking, barbering, and so forth. Generally, if a boy shows unusual talent he is taken to Cuyabá and even to Rio de Janeiro to be given further instruction. This education is not compulsory, however, though most of the Bakairi take advantage of the opportunity. It is the project of the Inspectoria to form good self-sustaining citizens of such groups of the native population as come under its tutelage.

B 177 [233]

The post has a herd of cattle and the Indians are being taught the principles of cattle raising. It is the desire of every Bakairi to own cattle. No attempt is made to turn the Bakairi into a sedentary agricultural people, it being thought unwise to attempt to transform the manner of life of the Bakairi by tying them down to the soil, when they have been used to a semi-nomadic existence. On the other hand, they

B [241]

are encouraged to practice some agriculture, raising manioc, sweet potatoes, some maize and cotton. Each man clears his own land yearly, and plants his foods.

B 164 [165]

In spite of the liberal attitude and practice of the Inspectoria the Bakairi have been dying fast. Fevers seem to decimate them rapidly, though all efforts are made to keep medical supplies on hand and to supply medical attention. Their life is not as strenuous as formerly, because of the improved methods, and this may account for the lowered resistance. On the other hand, there is no doubt but that at the headwaters of the Paranatinga it is less healthy than in the region of their former homes. Even the Indians from the lower Kuluseu who followed our expedition on its return to the post suffered greatly from fevers upon reaching it, though it was the dry season and there were few insects.

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Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25
Waura SP8
Trumai SP23

Y 622 554 [562] pleased. The women were as outspoken as the men, but it was noticed that the younger women kept behind the older, peering over their shoulders, a custom that was observed among the Bororo and the Bakairi also.

Propelled by the outboard motor we covered a great distance, until 000 late in the afternoon three canoes were capsized by one of the men who lost his head. This occurred in one of the deepest pools in the river, and all our efforts to recover the canoes failed. Making an inventory of our resources we found that all of our dried meat was lost, most of the sugar, a good portion of the salt, beans, rice, and farina. For this last we were not concerned, for we could buy it from the Indians. More serious was the loss of most of the ammunition, some rifles, revolvers, knives, over half of our trade goods, including most of the hardware, the cameras, anthropometric instruments, Schick and Dick Test material, blood grouping sera, and all of my notes and specimens. We had lost enough beans and rice to last us some four weeks with care, and a sufficient quantity of coffee. I decided to go on anyway, but as a matter of fact we were not able to move in any direction, since the few small canoes would not carry all of the personnel.

On the second day after this event a Mehinaku appeared in a canoe with his wife and two children. Understanding our plight, he paddled to his people further down stream and the next day returned with men and canoes, having traveled day and night to reach us quickly. In the meantime the plane had flown by on its way to the meeting place, without having seen our smoke signals.

B W 574 609 648 197 Paddling all day and a good portion of the night, we arrived at the Mehinaku port of a village on the right bank, in the process of being built. Farina and hiipi were given us and we found the people delighted and charming hosts. Putting up our hammocks under the trees, some of us retired, but the Bakairi, though tired, sat up most of the night conversing with the Mehinaku, though each other's language was mutually unintelligible.

On the opposite bank to the port of the Mehinaku, we found a group T 142 146 648 of about twenty-five Trumai men and women. They had no canoes, but the Mehinaku ferried them across. They were exceptionally small, being both short and thin, in contrast with other peoples that were met, but always appeared to be well nourished. In the morning, when we

TRUMAI SP23
BACAIRI SP7
YARUMA SP25

The Trumai were met on the west bank of the Kuluene, between the Anahukua and Mehinaku ports. They had no canoes. We learned that their village was close to the Batovy. It would seem that they also have shifted their village site since Von den Steinen's encounter with them. T 101 361 648 [50]

All of these people live at peace with each other, though of course quarrels arose at times. Their common enemies are, however, the tribes living to the east and west, tribes that roam across the headwaters and depend on hunting rather than fishing for food.

The Bakairi gave the following list of tribes that are supposed to live in the forests east of the Kuluene: Kayabó (Kayapó); Kaviji; Turi; Maritava; Phoi, who are pygmies, a little over a metre high; Penrloako, who are a very large people; Tonyakadi, who also are very large; Yaruma; Suya; Touruna; and, on the Paranatinga, the Tonali, who are also known as Kayabi, Kajabi; Apinkala (Apinka) and the Pana, who are a very tall people. B 101 829

The Kalapalu gave the names of the following tribes who are supposed to live to the east of the Kuluene and with whom they are permanently in a state of war: lower part of Kuluene, the Sinya (Suya) and Touruna (Juruna); directly to the east of their village, the Ahinkotl, Turi, Jaruma, Tumbilyaka, Kayapo (big feet) Alitsowa, Aiiva, Yabá, Ravine, Aruga (hide away to kill people), Yarpitsu (kill people), Tabulgi (pygmies). [See map, Plate XXV.] Y 101 829 648

Our attempt to meet some of these tribes that are supposed to have their villages close to the banks of the Seventh of September river was not successful. In view of the above linguistic grouping of the tribes, it is interesting to note their attitude toward each other. The Bakairi, who are Caribs, distrust and fear the Anahukua, who are of the same linguistic stock, affirming to me again and again that they are a bad people. They were relieved when we left their neighborhood. On the other hand they praised the Mehinaku, and were not even afraid to leave their goods about. The Mehinaku are Arawaks. My canoemen were also at ease with the Aura and the Yawalapiti, and seemed to expect nothing from the Trumai, whom they considered an inferior and poor people. The Auiti were watched with suspicion, but the Kamayura were actually feared, as well as the Tonva, Kuikutl and Kalapalu, the first being Tupi, and the last three Caribs; but the Paravate were praised for their honesty and peaceful disposition, and seemed to recognize in the Bakairi. Y B 648

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[608]

kinsmen. One of my Bakairi was treated as a headman, loaded with presents and made to lead a dance, taking the place of the master of ceremonies, by these people.

The Mehinaku were in fear of all the tribes but the Aura and Yawalapiti, who are also Arawaks. The Kamayula and especially the Kuikutl were feared by all.

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In our contact with these tribes, the fears of the Bakairi and the Mehinaku seemed to be somewhat justified, though at no time did we clash with any group. Disputes sometimes arose, springing from the difficulty of making our mutual requests understood, but we were able to settle everything amicably. At one time we were warned that the Kamayula were lying in wait for us, having resented our failure to visit their village, which was due to my inability to walk at the time. However, on passing the place where they were supposed to be in ambush, we were not molested. We were told that, having waited for us several days, their food supplies had been exhausted, and that they had gone to their village for food. The Kuikutl were a little troublesome, being somewhat arrogant, yet several of their men performed excellent and quiet service, for the axes and knives that were given them. All of the tribes met have been very little affected by the outside world; in fact, the only articles that we saw not of their own manufacture were a few nails which had been converted into arrow points. Thus, in our dealings with them we had to depend entirely on trade goods. Knives were wanted and prized by all, but axes were not wanted. Fish hooks of all sizes, and fishing lines were wanted and given to everyone. Clothing was wanted as a protection from the insects, but we were not supplied with it. Necklaces came next in importance as trade goods. Other objects were taken, but not with the same enthusiasm as the ones mentioned.

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In the region under discussion, three of the most widely disseminated linguistic stocks are represented, and yet no appreciable differences in their material culture were discovered in the field. An examination of the collections that have been brought back has resulted in verifying the first impression.

All are a fishing people, and the methods employed are common to all; manioc is the other food staple, and the associated traits in the cultivation and preparation of it are found in every village; the houses are constructed in the same manner; the bows and arrows used are

/332 cont./

*171 562 the gay activity /der heitern Geschäftigkeit/," this is perfectly applicable to our Indians with the reservation that the slavish subordination was very much in the background. The woman needed protection, first, because she was weak and "wept" whenever there was danger, and then because she had to be protected from foreign lusts. In returning home from the plantings, she walked in front of her husband, since, heavily loaded, she hastened forward rapidly and everything was safe; in the forest she walked behind him so that he would be the first to meet any possible danger. She was protected from foreign guests, and, if they were of a dubious nature, as we were, the women and children ran into the forest.

*171 681 123 674 What occurs in dramas of adultery I do not know. We had no opportunity to observe anything that belonged to the sphere of the administration of justice. If I asked Antonio about crimes of any kind, he always answered that such things probably happened in former times, but no longer occur now.

*171 123 674 Theft of things belonging to us was, in any case, very frequent, except among the Bakaïrí, although friend Luchu, at the time he visited us in Independencia, was no longer altogether trustworthy. When the confusion in the Trumaí camp arose [848] because I was obliged to demand the return of a glass of my stolen arsenic pills, we saw that the Yaulapiti, who had come with us, were trying to snatch the stone axes of the Trumaí. *171 186 Always and without exception it was supposed to have been a stranger who had done the stealing. The people living together also had little that they needed to take from one another, and the thief could scarcely have enjoyed it without being discovered. There is nothing more natural, therefore, than that the idea of morals rests most particularly on tribal affiliation. Among the Bakaïrí kurá means "we," "we all," "our" and at the same time "good" ("our people"); kurápa, "not we," "not our," and at the same time "bad, stingy, unhealthy." All evil comes /333/ from for- [754] eigners, and not least sickness and death, which are sent from outside sorcerers.

[P. 73-A] After the trading war

437 over the chiefs organized wrestling matches be-
628 tween teams of the two villages. Before the
574 visitors left, a feast (*tuláki*, swallow feast) was
[526] given in their honor. The motives for these trading expeditions were both economic and ceremonial. They were organized by a chief when the villagers actually required certain economic goods, but even when there was no economic need, goods were exchanged and the men of the two villages participated in wrestling, dancing, and feasting.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

181 The Bacairí claim not to have been a warlike
721 people. They defended themselves if attacked, but say that they did not attack others. Each village had a chief (*pima*) who was assisted by an
622 *itáida*. There was no chief for the whole tribe.
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622 The principal functions of the chief were economic, judicial, and ceremonial. As we have seen, the chief organized trading expeditions and participated in such activities as collective planting and house building. He also represented the people of his village when visitors arrived or when his own village made formal visits. If the
[624] village feared attack the *pima* selected a particularly brave man to lead the defense or to under-
[627] take retaliation. Discussions concerning disputes and other village affairs took place in the
[682] ceremonial house. Murderers were exiled or if a war was on the murderer was made to bear the
[68] brunt of the attack. Thieves, adulterers, and others who persisted in disturbing the peace and harmony of the village were exiled through the
[681] common action of the villagers. Exile was con-
[762] sidered severe punishment, for the Bacairí say that individuals who were exiled often committed suicide. Chiefs among the Bacairí, therefore, were not war leaders, nor was succession governed by descent. Chiefs seem, thus, to have been primarily leaders of social activities. The part which a chief played in ceremonial life will be described later.

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/25 cont./

114 temporarily absent at the time, so we must take into account
161 a population in Maimaieti of more than 45 persons. I have
361 already mentioned above that the population of Maigeri aldea at the time of my trip was much larger than Karl von den Steinen estimated it to be at an earlier time. Still to be added is the population of the aldea recently founded between the Kulisehu and Batovy rivers, whose total we do not know, because it should undoubtedly be regarded as having been founded by Rio Kulisehu Bakairí and a part of the Xinguanos, who have moved temporarily or for longer to the Rio Paranatinga.

115 It is certain that the epilogues of the expeditions made to
● 681 the regions of the sources of the Xingu River have been played out with regard to the subsequent history of the Bakairí of the Kulisehu and Batovy rivers. Thus, Cacique Tumayaua of the first aldea on the Kulisehu, who had first helped Karl von den Steinen in his undertaking in these regions, had been assassinated by his own fellow countrymen shortly before the time of my expedition. I have already mentioned that the inhabitants of this same aldea had lain in wait for José Coroado because he had become too involved /26/ with the women.

648 Another consequence of these expeditions was the fact that the
178 relations of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí with the other tribes that lived farther down this river, especially the Nahukuá and the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, had already become strained at the time because these Indians envied the Bakairí for having received the lion's share of the precious articles brought by the explorers. But, in short, the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí, after their first contact with the whites, had gone on living as before without being discommoded by others. Their social organization, their legal ideas, the form of their economy, their customs, and their crafts were at the time of my stay among them still almost the same as in former times.

114 We received the first information on the Bakairí, after
36 my journey, in the year 1915 through Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa, who, on the occasion of his expedition devoted to measuring

[P. 73-A] After the trading war

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/20 cont./

Reginaldo and his people had a large number of cattle and several saddle horses. Although among themselves they spoke only in the Bakairí language, all of the men knew the Brazilian language, and it was said that Cacique Reginaldo knew how to read and speak some French. The Rio Novo Bakairí maintained at the time active relations with their fellow countrymen on the Rio Paranatinga. With the eastern Bakairí they hardly had any contacts, except for the Bakairí Joaquim who was the uncle of Cacique Antonio of the Paranatinga aldea and who had a young Bakairí from the Rio Batovi river in his service.

Different were the conditions of the Bakairí in the Rio Paranatinga aldea at the time of my visit. While the population at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions had dwindled in such a way that Karl von den Steinen foresaw the end of this community, the population of the aldea had increased in the meantime with the addition of numerous Bakairí from the Xingu River region. The number of these Bakairí, called by their Paranatinga fellow countrymen Xinguanos, climbed to 34 at the time of my stay with these Indians. The leader of the community was Antonio, who was at this time at the peak of his power. The only insignia /21/ of his rank as comandante of the Indians of the upper Xingu River region, officially granted by the Mato Grosso government, were a pair of red soldier's trousers with a wide white stripe which ran down the side of each leg, but a more practical symbol of his power were several good firearms hanging in his house, which he also used occasionally, according to the Mato Grosso men, against insubordinate fellow countrymen. The majority of the Xinguanos then living in his aldea were totally dependent upon him with regard to economic conditions and made up a valuable component of his power, for he had supplied the most trustworthy men among them with firearms. This small military force was important above all to insure contact between the Rio Paranatinga and the tributaries of the Xingu River against the Kayabí who had unquestionably begun at this time to

/21 cont./

701 disturb the Brazilian campesinos in these regions. According to
648 Herrmann Meyer (28) they had already wreaked serious destruction

28. Herrmann Meyer, "Bericht uber seine zweite Xingú-Expedition," loc. cit., pp. 115 and 116.

in the region of the Serra Trombador and killed several inhabitants. At the time of my stay on the Corrego Fundo ranch, the Kayabí had penetrated the mountains above the Rio Paranatinga up to some six leagues from Corrego Fundo and attacked Cacique Antonio as he was looking for rubber with his people for Señor Jange Soares, the owner of the ranch. But Antonio had driven them back with his armed people and killed a Kayabí on this occasion.

622 Cacique Antonio's big house where I visited him had been
342 built a year earlier. It consisted of a large middle room which communicated on the left side of the entrance with two other rooms which formed the dwelling house proper of the cacique and Doña Rosa, and on the right side with a large room for guests that fulfilled exactly the functions of the house for fiestas
622 of the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River regions. All the men
342 and boys of the aldea could go in and out of it as they pleased.
574 This room also served for dancing, and during my stay in it,
[302] from time to time, some Xinguanos would enter, their faces
[533] painted in red and black, and sing their monotonous melodies
[535] as they danced around the post set in the middle of the room. Cacique Antonio's own dwelling already had at this time quite
[352] a modern appearance. In the "dining room" there was a table
[123] and a large armchair as well as dishes and spoons, and I was entertained at his table in the Brazilian manner with a dish of
622 meat with rice and flour. He obviously enjoyed renewing old
115 memories of the journeys he had made with Karl von den Steinen. He looked with great interest at Karl von den Steinen's works about his travels and, on his part, showed me some photographs

/172 cont./

000 the more uncertain I am in abstracting the common features. The
171 Kustenaũ has his foot and half of his lower thigh painted red, like
302 stockings; the upper thighs are covered with a sooty black, in which, however, arched stripes are left blank. On his back he has two red stripes, and in addition black arm-bands. Numerous scratches, which are made with the tooth of the peixe-cachorro
302 (dogfish). The Bakaĩrĩ, too, are painted more than usual with
[531] red; one has a black stripe on either side from eye to ear; another has painted himself black over the middle of his forehead, nose, lips, and chin, and bright brick-red on the sides of the forehead and the face. Among some, the hair, too, is saturated with the
301. red oil. Below the knees are bands of /Illustration appears here/ /173/ buritĩ straw; a skein of cotton, colored a dirty reddish brown, is tied around the waist. Some have strings or bands of cotton wound over the ankles or under the knees, around the legs, or around the upper arms. There is no uniformity anywhere.

302 The tonsure is shaved with a bent piece of spear grass. Its
413 diameter is seven centimeters.

177 To our surprise we also found an iron chisel tip and on a child a little string of blue beads. We could not find out definitely how these had found their way here; I interpreted their descrip-
[721] tion and Antonio's unclear account to mean that they had been brought back from a tribe on the lower Paranatinga whom the grandfather had visited on a raiding expedition.

276 Even in Aldea II the men had become happily excited by the discovery of tobacco seed; smoking was also done here. The leaves were so dry that they could be rubbed almost to powder; they were rolled into cigarettes about two decimeters long, and the fresh green leaf of an unknown tree was split lengthwise and used as the wrapping. This wrapper burned with a pleasant, balsam odor. The smoke was inhaled.

262 The women made excellent beijũ; it tasted like fresh French rolls. We also ate a fish ragout à la coquille, of which we would have liked to have had more than they gave us.

[Text Continues on P. 57]

/392 cont./ The following is what I was
A 105 [101] gradually able to learn about them from the Bakaïrí. The Kayabí call themselves Paruá; they are said to be -- but this requires confirmation -- relatives of the Kamayurá on the Kulisehu, according to their language, and would therefore be a Tupí tribe.
A [266] [241] They are strong people and, like the Tupí tribe of Apiaká living nearby, practitioners of anthropophagy. They plant mandioca, maize, batatas, mandubí, etc., just like the rest. They have
A [411] nicely worked clubs of bakayuva palm-wood with plaiting around them, which, about one and a half meters long, have the shape of flat staffs and are worn in a rope on the arm. In this respect, too, they would correspond with the Kamayurá. The arrows are of kambayuva reed, like those of the Yuruna, but smaller. They do not have throwing boards -- an important difference from the Kamayurá.

A [131] The Kayabí live on the Rio Verde, whose sources lie between the Rio Novo village and the Paranatinga village of the
B A [101] Bakaïrí and which flows into the Paranatinga from the right, below the famous salto. They are therefore, of course, the
B A 173 648 very closest neighbors of the Bakaïrí. The hostility has existed since ancient times. Only in the very beginning did they tolerate each other: it is said that the Kayabí appeared among the Bakaïrí in order to live near them and settled along a brook in their vicinity; then the strife began. I recall the Kayabí of the Keri legend; there they already appear in heaven, cf. p. 448. The old Bakaïrí are said to have traveled down the Paranatinga to below the Rio Verde and /393/ to have come back again out of fear of the Kayabí. The Kayabí possessed stone axes and that had given rise to conflicts.

B A 173 721 More specific information was reported to me about clashes in more recent times. The Kayabí killed the father of Felipe; they attacked at night and also took a child along. Antonio's grandfather, father, and uncle pushed forward as far as the mouth of the Rio Verde; the Kayabí were hunting there and looking for mussels. The Bakaïrí arrived in the afternoon and cautiously held back, but early in the morning, when the Kayabí were still

/393 cont./

B A 173 721 A [302] B [727]

lying in their hammocks, they made an assault and killed two, while the others ran away. The Kayabí were rubbed with arimesca oil (from a vine) and urucú and stank like the devil. They had with them gourd bowls, a different kind of urucú, and bows and arrows. In 1884 in the Paranatinga village we found two Kayabí women, Maria and Luisa Kayabí,* who unfortunately

* See Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, p. 283 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 151/, and the body measurements in the table following p. 364 /omitted in 1:Steinen/. Erroneously written Cajibi there.

no longer knew a word of their mother tongue. Some 20 Bakaïrí had undertaken the raid at the mouth of the Rio Verde and captured the two small girls along with a sister of Luisa, who, however, bit everyone around her so furiously that she had to be killed.

B 173 167

Although, in addition to the version that dissension among the Bakaïrí themselves necessitated an exodus to the Schingú, I was also given another one, that a number of Bakaïrí fled there from the Kayabí, it is quite possible that both are justified and refer to different occasions.

S 131 167 [101]

A shift in the same direction was reported to me for the Suyá, which necessarily surprised me no little. The Suyá, whom we found in 1884 on the upper course of the Schingú, are a true Gês tribe and linguistically are most closely related to the Apinagês /Apinaye/ of the province of Goyaz /Goiás/ between the Tocantins and Araguay /Araguaia/. They are likewise said to have lived on the Rio Verde west of the Paranatinga and to have come there from the nearby Arinos. They must therefore, since we may cling to their eastern origin, first have been driven across the Schingú and Paranatinga toward the west and then moved back. The Bakaïrí say that they joined the Kayapó /Cayapo/, who were excellent archers, and drove the Suyá out of the neighborhood along the Rio Verde. A great many Suyá

B [648] [173] S [648]

[P. 73-A] After the trading war

437 over the chiefs organized wrestling matches be-
628 tween teams of the two villages. Before the
574 visitors left, a feast (*tuláki*, swallow feast) was
[526] given in their honor. The motives for these trading expeditions were both economic and ceremonial. They were organized by a chief when the villagers actually required certain economic goods, but even when there was no economic need, goods were exchanged and the men of the two villages participated in wrestling, dancing, and feasting.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

181 The Bacairí claim not to have been a warlike
721 people. They defended themselves if attacked, but say that they did not attack others. Each village had a chief (*píma*) who was assisted by an
622 *itáida*. There was no chief for the whole tribe.
624 The *itáida*, who was a young man, was selected by the chief with the consent of the villagers. The *itáida* could be the son of the chief but this is not a requirement, for any able young man was eligible for this position. At the death of the chief the *itáida* succeeded him.

622 The principal functions of the chief were economic, judicial, and ceremonial. As we have seen, the chief organized trading expeditions and participated in such activities as collective planting and house building. He also represented the people of his village when visitors arrived or when his own village made formal visits. If the
[624] village feared attack the *píma* selected a particularly brave man to lead the defense or to undertake retaliation. Discussions concerning dis-
[622] putes and other village affairs took place in the
[682] ceremonial house. Murderers were exiled or if a war was on the murderer was made to bear the
[68] brunt of the attack. Thieves, adulterers, and others who persisted in disturbing the peace and harmony of the village were exiled through the
[68] common action of the villagers. Exile was con-
[762] sidered severe punishment, for the Bacairí say that individuals who were exiled often committed suicide. Chiefs among the Bacairí, therefore, were not war leaders, nor was succession governed by descent. Chiefs seem, thus, to have been primarily leaders of social activities. The part which a chief played in ceremonial life will be described later.

/15 cont./

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12. Karl v.d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, l. c., p. 393.

of this period were marked enemies of the Brazilian campesinos, and to whom we must attribute the attacks against the ranches of the upper Cuiabá River, attributed in Brazilian documents to the "Coroado." (13) The incursions of the Mundurukú

13. Ibid., p. 394.

/Mundurucu/, who had extended farther south in earlier times, were still clearly remembered by the western Bakairí, but in this period the former did not appear. The principal enemies were undoubtedly the Kayabí of the Rio Verde with whom they had long lived in a state of intense hostility. The Bakairí
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place their ancestral land at the famous falls of the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires), located upriver from the mouth of the Rio Verde. They said that old Cacique Caetano's had been born in the old aldea situated at the falls. It was said that at that time the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí had traveled to just below the mouth of the Rio Verde but had later returned from fear of the Kayabí. Cacique Caetano's father had already
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been born in an aldea situated farther upriver. Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa, in his expedition down the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires), found habitation ruins below the mouth of the Beija-flor near the Cerro de Piquirizal and on the right side of the river, where it was said that the Bakairí had had a large
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726
aldea in former times. It is also said that they fought with the Kayabí and the Tapanhuna /Tapanyuna/ when they lived in this place. (14) Undoubtedly the Bakairí had /16/ lived closer to

14. A. Pyrineus de Sousa, loc. cit., p. 69.

173 /16 cont./ unboubtedly the Bakairí had /16/ lived closer to
648 the Kayabí than in later times, because they had moved their
726 aldea successively farther upriver. But hostilities with their
727 enemies then had still lasted. One night in a raid the Kayabí
361 had killed Felipe's father and carried away a child. On this
account some 20 Bakairí men had undertaken an expedition for revenge and had killed two Kayabí men and carried away two girls, who were living at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions in the aldea situated on the Paranatinga River, where they were married to two Bakairí men and were called Luiza and Maria. When I met Luiza, in the year 1927, among the Bakairí of Simões Lopes, she was an old woman. Given the fact that the population of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga River had dwindled to so few individuals, even at their later location, the Kayabí remained a danger for them.

648 The Bakairí were known by the Paressí as old neighbors,
727 and the Paressí, Charlotta, who was the wife of Cacique Felipe, had been carried away from Diamantino by the Bakairí. (15)

15. Karl v. d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 122. Idem., Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., p. 3 4.

174 From the extraordinary concordance of the legends of the Paressí
648 with those of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga River, noted by
177 Karl von den Steinen, it follows that in earlier times, there was extensive contact between the western Bakairí and the
174 Paressí. (16) Unfortunately we do not know the legends of the
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16. Karl v. d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., pp. 364 and 365.

eastern Bakairí, who live in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River, so that we do not know to what extent their legends

/16 cont./

174 correspond to those of their western fellow countrymen. From
184 the fact that the names of the two legendary heroes, Keri and
648 Kame, who represent in Bakairí legends the sun and the moon,
773 are not words of the Bakairí language (which belongs to the
177 Karaíb /Carib/ group) but words of the Aruak /Arawak/ linguistic group, it follows that the Paressí, who belong to this linguistic group, were, in this case, the authors of these legends rather than the Bakairí, and thus that the legends of the Paranatinga Bakairí were influenced by the Paressí; just as the Bakairí are mentioned in the legends of the Paressí, the latter are also mentioned in the legends of the Bakairí. According to Paressí legends, the Bakairí, or Matokoso as they are called by them, belong with other enemy tribes to the kin group of Chinikálore (Tchenikauré according to Karl v. d. Steinen), the big jaguar, who killed his brother Kamázo and the latter's wife, but then became the victim of Uakomo, the son of Kamázo, who avenged his father when he grew up. (17) We also find

17. Ibid., p. 431.

this tale of Chinikálore in the texts of Paressí legends. In these legends Chinikálore, from whose six arrows the Bakairí were born, appears as a distinctly hostile hero. Thus it may be assumed that the Bakairí, who belonged to his kin group, were also enemies of the Paressí. On this basis, relations between the Bakairí and the Paressí were already hostile in former times, and this hostility still persisted at the time of /17/ Karl von den Steinen's expeditions. Some years earlier, the Bakairí had
175 attacked the Paressí on the road that leads to Diamantino, to
• 726 capture their women, and had killed many of them /i.e.,
729 Paressí men/. (18) As already mentioned above, besides the
[563]

18. Ibid., p. 438.

two Kayabí women, two Paressí women were also living among

175 /17 cont./
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723 the wife of Cacique Felipe. To the influence of such women,
[563] captured in hostile encounters with the Paressí, we must
[177] attribute, in the first place, the extensive assimilation of the legends of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga River. (19)

19. Ibid., p. 365.

173 According to the statements of the western Bakairí, the
166 origin of the Bakairí who live in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River was due to the fact that, as a result of quarrels among the Bakairí, who were still living in former times by the falls, part of them broke away and emigrated to the Rio Kulisehu. (20) We do not know whether this represents

20. Ibid., p. 391.

a historical fact or merely legendary superstitions of the
175 Paranatinga Bakairí. For lack of any objective knowledge of the presence of these Indians in former times on the two tributaries of the Xingu River, the Batovy and the Kulisehu, and for lack of any statements about their former life by these /Indians/ themselves, the history of these eastern Bakairí begins only at the time of Karl von den Steinen's first expedition to the Xingu River in the year 1884, which brought attention upon them for the first time and was their first historical event. As for the first effects of this event, so important for the subsequent fate of the eastern Bakairí, Karl von den Steinen was already able to recognize them himself and make use of them in his
175 section "History of the Bakairí." The first mutual visits be-
619 tween the Bakairí of the Paranatinga and their fellow country-men on the Rio Batovy marked the beginning of relations between these two Bakairí groups. In what follows we shall deal
[128] with the manner in which these relations gradually increased, extending also to the Bakairí of the Rio Kulisehu and influencing

/393 cont./

B A 173 721 A [302] B [729]

lying in their hammocks, they made an assault and killed two, while the others ran away. The Kayabí were rubbed with arimesca oil (from a vine) and urucú and stank like the devil. They had with them gourd bowls, a different kind of urucú, and bows and arrows. In 1884 in the Paranatinga village we found two Kayabí women, Maria and Luisa Kayabí,* who unfortunately

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W /130 cont./
132 rained by buckets, and the shower bath was quite cold, scarcely
W more than 15°. Our good Mehinakú were unhappy that we did
[821] not follow their example and puff against the heavenly sluices;
they hastily built a protective roof, probably more to keep busy,
and complained incessantly "uläpe, uläpe!"

W In the harbor of the Mehinakú we acquired another canoe;
122 meanwhile the Auetó who had accompanied us this far had dis-
appeared without a trace. Vogel's hunting knife was also
missing.

Y The Nahuquá village was in the middle of the pikí harvest.
245 Like cannon balls in an arsenal, the pikí lay in piles outside
Y and inside. Racks had been set up in the houses to dry the seeds,
251 the women were busy peeling the fruit, cooking it, and scraping
the seeds, human beings and utensils butter yellow -- Caryocar
Y butyrosum. No pogu, but pikí juice; the pikí seeds with an
[157] almond-like taste, an electuary "pikí herb" not at all bad in
Y moderate doses. Many sick in the hammocks, stomach and skin
164 affected; one old baldhead, face and head covered with sores.
Y Tumayaua was given pikí as a parting gift for the trip. Only
123 one newborn child, which the mother brought to us so that we
[431] would blow on it, seemed to know nothing yet about pikí.

B In Bakaïrí village III, which, by the way, the Nahuquá
648 accompanying us did not want to enter, the old festival hut had
B burned down and the people were very much afraid of the
731 previously greatly admired matches. But we did find magnifi-
B cent bird-masks and fish-masks. Of the two canoes we ordered,
532 one was not yet finished and the other had been wrecked.
B
122
501 Bakaïrí village II seemed deserted. The occupants were
B in part absent, why remained unclear; also, we had apparently
123 seen foreign guests the first time and included them. Chief
B Aramóke, however, was gracious as ever and had set before us
[622] beijús which we could have offered the most distinguished tea
guests at home. It was only with great difficulty that we found
a few men to transport part of the collection for some distance
B overland. It was always said that they had to stay with the
752 children. Then in the chief's house lay a woman with burns on

/13 cont./

161 Going on from the Rio Preto Bakairí, on whom we do not have more precise data than that they were few, the remaining Bakairí population and, especially, those of the Rio Paranatinga was also very scant in this period. As Karl von den Steinen, [114] on his second expedition to the Xingu River in the year 1887, [175] did not have the opportunity to visit the Bakairí of the Rio Novo, we have no precise data concerning their population in this year. We only know that their population three years earlier, in the year 1884, was 55, among whom were 16 men, 19 women, [131] and 20 children. In the same year the population of the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí was much smaller because these Indians had been hit, some six years before, by a measles epidemic. The entire population of the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí at the time consisted of only 10 men, eight women, and four children, of whom five men, three women, and a boy were /14/ absent, [563] and some of these were not expected to return.(9) This number

9. Karl v.d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 120. Idem., Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens, loc. cit., p. 25.

is increased, however, if we add the two Paressí women and the two Kayabí women who were married to Bakairí men. When Karl von den Steinen visited this Bakairí village again, in the year 1887, one Bakairí man had died in the interval, some had moved to the ranches, and no increase by birth had occurred. If we add up the above-mentioned figures and include the four Paressí and Kayabí women, the total number for all the Bakairí of the Rio Novo and the Rio Paranatinga reaches 81 individuals.

175 The above-mentioned aldeas of the western Bakairí were 622 at this time under the Indian Superintendent in Cuiabá, and the 648 administration of the state of Mato Grosso has exerted repeated influence on the various Bakairí units, increasing the authority of the caciques or strengthening it with insignia. Thus Cacique

/29 cont./

114 met one of the Bakairí who had accompanied me in the year
115 1901 on my journey to the Rio Kulisehu. He too was already
[164] very old and he was ill, his body being covered with tumors.

When I reached the Simões Lopes Post I met with highly
114 unfavorable circumstances. My pack oxen were the first to
361 reach Simões Lopes after the long interruption of all traffic between this post and the capital Cuiabá caused by the revolutionaries
[731] led by Prestes. For this reason there was at that time a scarcity of /30/ provisions, and in addition there was among the Indians a bad epidemic of malaria, which the head of the post, Señor Benedito, and his family also had. The post at the time was still at the same location where it was first established, where José Coroado had had his aldea before, and thus 13 kilometers downriver from the old aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí and four kilometers inland on the right side of the river near the small Riberão Azul. It consisted of some administrative buildings (cf. Figure 3) and some 20 ranchos for the Bakairí Indians (cf. Figures 4, 6, and 7). There is no doubt that all the Bakairí lived at this time in areas near the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires) and had relations with the Simões Lopes Post, but only part of them lived at the post, and since the plantations of the individual Indian families were rather far from the settlement, the Indians who lived at the post also stayed temporarily in their small houses built near their plantations.

361 In the middle of the post was the house of the Bakairí, Pires,
622 whom the administration had entrusted with the caciqueship over
166 the Bakairí who had moved from the region of the upper Xingu
101 River and who were called Xinguanos. (Cf. Figures 4 and 5.)

In one of the houses of the post I met the Bakairí, Luchu,
114 who came from the first aldea on the Rio Kulisehu, who with
115 Cacique Tumayaua had accompanied Karl von den Steinen on his expedition and who is shown in a photograph in the book
[177] Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens. As shown in the photograph in Figure 8, he had grown quite old since and was

/30 cont./

114 dressed in European manner, and with his rough beard he bears
115 little resemblance to the photograph taken by Karl von den
[177] Steinen some 39 years earlier. In another house there still lived Luisa Kayabí, whom Karl von den Steinen had met when she was the young wife of old Cacique Caetano.

114 Most of the Bakairí whom I had known 26 years before in
731 Maigeri and Maimaieti aldeas had perished in a flu epidemic
753 that had wreaked havoc among the population of Mato Grosso
648 some years earlier. Since the high number of deaths among
361 the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River was attributed to the witch-
[166] craft of evil neighboring tribes, especially the Mehinakú and the Nahukuá, who had been envious of the economic benefits derived by the Bakairí from their contact with civilization, all the Bakairí of the Batovy and Kulisehu rivers had moved to the Rio Paranatinga. Undoubtedly petty jealousies and other discords had caused these Bakairí, called Xinguanos, not to get along with their fellow natives on the Paranatinga, and for this reason they had settled at some distance from the post, farther downriver. I found the first of these Xinguano settlements at the place where the Riberão Azul enters the Rio Paranatinga. It was situated on the right side of this river and consisted of four small houses. (Cf. Figures 21 and 22.) A little farther downriver I reached a Bakairí plantation near which was a rancho occupied by some people. (Cf. Figure 20.)

361 /31/ From there a path led to the principal settlement of
622 the Bakairí who had moved from the Rio Kulisehu. It consisted
159 of two rather large houses. (Cf. Figure 17.) I was told that a
114 little farther downriver there were some more settlements, and
[487] among them also that of my old friend from Maimaieti aldea, Karía. I had already encountered Karía when I visited Cacique
622 Antonio, and he had recognized me. He was no longer cacique,
159 and I was told that at the time of my stay in Maimaieti he had
114 merely been a temporary cacique in the place of his brother who was then away. He had grown much older and no longer

/260 cont./

131 Rio Novo, also in that state. The Simões Lopes Indians claim
361 that in the past all the Bakairí lived in aldeas by the Parana-
173 tinga River, moving later to the north under pressure of enemy
131 groups. (2) Later on the tribe divided as a result of internal
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2. For a better discussion of the possible origins of the Bakairí, see Max Schmidt's article, "Los
[113] Bakairí" /The Bacairi/, Revista do Museu Paulista, New Series, Vol. I, pp. 11-58, São Paulo, 1947.

disputes; part moved to the banks of the Rio Culiseu, one of the sources of the Xingu, and the other part was distributed along the Rio Novo. Perhaps the truth about these reports can only be obtained with the help of archaeology. Meanwhile, the old villages of the Bakairí on the sources of the
619 Xingu no longer exist. The Xinguano Indians suffered a great
175 deal from repeated outbreaks of influenza, and the last
231 Bakairí found in that area were brought to the Simões Lopes
648 Post a few years ago by officials of the Indian Protection Ser-
166 vice. The Rio Novo Bakairí, practically as a whole, adopted
619 the customs of the neighboring Brazilian populations and live
177 independent of the control of the Indian Protection Service.
184 As for the Simões Lopes Indians, although they are quite
[178] acculturated, they still retain many traits of their old culture, they all still speak Bakairí, and some of them still remember the time when they lived in Xinguano aldeas, and make good informants.

114 As for the authors who have dealt with the Bakairí, we shall note among the best, Capistrano de Abreu and Karl von den Steinen. The former left us valuable information on the Bakairí language and on the beliefs of these Indians. The only weakness of his material is that it is based on only one

/120 cont./

144 mother, but that among his forefathers, as among Reginaldo's, mixture with "Brazilian" blood had taken place. This, however, seemed to be more a conclusion based on the wavy, soft hair of the two, rather than on definite knowledge. In any case, it was noteworthy that Luis declared the two brothers João and Antonio to be the purest Bakaïrí; to me, too, they had seemed the most typical physiognomies and most resembled the Rio Novo charac-
126 ter. Since Antonio is the one who was induced to accompany us
[142] and could thus be photographed in Rio, I may call attention to his picture as the most faithful reproduction of a true Bakaïrí.
[732] Unfortunately the handsome youth had a slightly shortened leg as the result of a fracture, so I contented myself with a bust portrait. The defect was not very pronounced, by the way, and /121/ /illustration appears here/ /122/ the awkwardness that Antonio, strength and agility themselves, presents in full figure amidst the group of Kameraden /see the glossary, p. 171 / (page 28) is largely due to the anxious moment in front of the photographer's apparatus.

Wilhelm made all the other portraits with the camera clara.

162 Carlotta was a Parecí brought back from Diamantino and the wife of the absent Captain Felipe; her small eyes and the root of her nose, which was flat from eyebrow level to the inner corner of the eye, distinguished her strikingly from the Bakaïrí women. The two Cajibí -- a tribe that lives on the lower Rio
[648] Verde, a left tributary of the Paranatinga -- had been caught in the forest as children. /Illustration appears here./ The two
[582] young and pretty creatures were given as wives to the two oldest matrimonial cripples of the tribe, Caetano and Miguel, for the immoral reason that the youngest, as the best workers, belong to the mightier ones. Delicate skin, fine little nose under the likewise flat root, eye slits narrowed and drawn up toward the outside, in connection with which, however, the sharply folded upper lid did not overlap, they reminded one of the Japanese type, especially Caetano's not very feminine little wife.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 20]

/93 cont./

126 stored, dark yellow reed diadems, such as Luchu is wearing on
534 Plate 6,[1] others with radiating tips, large Panpipes, an oar deco-
783 rated with drawings, spinning whorls of the simplest type, that
[301] is, disks made of potsherds, and a quantity of remarkable
[237] cylinder-shaped sticks, which are covered with ornamentation
177 and worn on the back at festivals. But in the equipment of these
third Bakaïrí it was clearly shown that we were with the section
of the tribe living next to the rest of the Kulisehu Indians; all
kinds of imported goods were present and were designated as such
439 here. The Bakaïrí do not make any pots themselves and do not
[323] themselves have a place where they might fetch stones for stone
axes, but here we were immediately told that the pots came
from the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ and the stone axes from the
Trumaí. Among the pots one in the shape of a turtle represented
an absolute masterpiece of primitive plastic art, on which the head,
tail, and feet, as well as the shell drawing, were magnificently
worked out. From the Auetó we found a half-broken clay doll;
also originating from the Mehinakú, balls of finely spun cotton;
from the Trumaí and Suyá, dainty feather caps. From our own
possessions of 1884 we discovered two iron chisels, parts of a
ramrod, which had been sharpened to a point on stones.

648 We met a Nahuquá in person; unfortunately, the man was
● 732 obviously an idiot and had little to offer for my purposes. It is
strange that this is not an isolated phenomenon: the Kustenaú
of 1884 had a simple-minded Bakaïrí among them, the Yuruna
likewise an Arara Indian definitely feeble-minded, and it seems
to me I often noticed similar instances. Do the people become
stupid in the new environment or are only the stupid specimens
entrusted to neighbors for their use?

126 In the flute-house anthropological measurements and photo-
graphs were taken in exchange for beads. In this village there
was a pronounced Sémitic type, of which Plate 13[1] represents a
classic example. The people submitted to everything and called
the caliper compass núna, "moon." Only one man was indignant
when, after Ehrenreich had measured him from head to foot in
all directions, I handed him the fee of three beautiful, large
[153] beads. He wanted to have as many beads as there were measurements

[1] [See p. 138 -- Analyst]

/250 cont./

171 774 576 Caribas: "The manner of greeting is for one to say to another, 'Is it you? Have you come? Have you arrived? Are you well?' and no one speaks to the guests upon their arrival, nor do they speak for a while, because they say that they are waiting for their souls to arrive, which is arrant nonsense." (Conv. en Piritú, 62, repr. Madrid, 576 1892.) The greeting between Bacaeris is ama, "you," to which one replies, ura, "I"; or mawili, "you came," to which one replies, êê kɣauili, "yes I came."

774 When we sleep, we dream says the piahi;--when we sleep, our shadow converses with the /251/ spirits (yamüra);--our shadow travels far,--when our shadow returns, we awaken;--when our shadow is afraid, at night, when it is time to sleep, we talk;--while our shadow sleeps, we dream;--we climb trees, we climb hills;--we walk with the yamüras,--we drink mingáú /a manioc gruel or paste/, we eat, etc.

The egress is abnormal, but temporary, when a person faints from fright, because, with much shouting and fanning with ipenakóro leaves, there is success in getting the shadow to return, or when one has offended the piahis and yamüra, because, if duly propitiated, they pardon the crime and permit the shadow to return, as we shall see later.

[761] It is abnormal and permanent at death.

The Bacaeris, in a very expressive phrase, claim that they
• 75 do not fall ill from sickness itself (to-ewanü-ʔe Bakaéri töwane-pa); illness is always injected by sorcerers (ome-odo, "lord of poison"), and the poisons, all of vegetable origin, are

75 /251 cont./
first and foremost jatobá /Hymnenaea/, then copaiba, the white or yellow trumpetbush /peúva de flôres brancas ou amarellas/, the vinhatico, the pindahiba /Xylopia/, etc. Knowing this, the first concern of the curer (piahi) called to treat the sick is to extract the sliver of wood that causes the discomfort, which is achieved by sucking on the patient.

764 775 [302] [301] Sometimes, in spite of the treatment, the latter dies. Then the dead man is painted with urucú (anoto); there are put in his ears and nostrils the feathers that adorned them in life; his belongings (icehiko) are gathered up, such as bow, arrows, etc., which are deposited along with their owner /252/ in the hole that will serve as grave, well covered with earth stamped down with the feet. In the afternoon the shadow rises in the guise of the curiangu (Pokuráu, Caprimulgus) and comes to drink mingáu, which was placed at the grave, on the spot that corresponds to the head. After a while it no longer returns.

775 The Bacaeris also speak of kχadopa, which is equivalent to our hobgoblins or lost souls and, it would seem, are the shadows of those who died a violent death. The following passage describes most clearly what is said concerning these beings.

Kχadopa goes wandering in the afternoon, says the piahi; it is all bone; it has holes for eyes; it wanders through the forest; manioc is its food; it wanders in the cultivated clearings; caterpillars, bicho de pau /"wood insect"/ and ants are its food; it comes to the house to drink mingáu (poχu); take the food of the kχadopa outside, take beiju /manioc cakes/ and pirão /boiled manioc flour/ (pakχa); at night, in order to sleep, burn rubber, rub it on the door, on the door bar (anaχu, "nose"); the kχadopa does not come in, the rubber stinks and [533] he does not like the smell. Take his food to the grave; if you do not intone the song (erému) of the kχadopa, he does

/269 cont./

• 75 For his part, the curer can also steal the shadow of a person.

He takes advantage of the sleep of the one against whom he is angry (piahi iewirocenibiiri), and, seizing the shadow that is passing by, he takes it to various places, asking it mercilessly whether it knows where it is. Soon the piahi iewiroceni-biiri feels cold and feverish and falls ill. The grandfather and the mother beg for the protection of the curer: Come to see my son, says the mother; come to see what is making this son of mine sick. If they do not say this, the piahi makes the person die. /270/ If they do say it, the piahi replies: "Your son is a coward, this is why he is ill; but he is lying only so that no one will know that it was he. In the afternoon he goes out shouting down the path; at night he returns home shouting, he orders the fire to be put out, and the ceremony is almost the same as for the Topiebe, and the curer's payment is a cotton netting.

At the end of this story which we are summarizing, the power of the curer is stressed once more.

756 Piahi wanders about with yamiira, wanderr about with the jaguar (udo-do, the same radical as udo, udoréri, "enemy"), he goes to the sky, he goes to the water, he goes into the snake, he goes into the sucuri /water boa/, he goes into little birds, he goes into any flying thing; this is why he frightens us; inside the snake he bites us, inside the jaguar; he knows who dies; he goes like the wind, he goes into the village, he goes nearby, he tears down houses with a hook, he does all these things when he is angry.

776 Thus, the Bacaeri sees three great forces in the world:
775 Nakoeri, inactive, kind, and remote, who requires no cult
756 because he does no harm; yamiiras, souls of the ancestors, who have gone to the sky and, while able to do good, can likewise do evil and must be propitiated continuously; the piahi, yamiiras

/177 cont./

*171 302 the body, with which we shall soon occupy ourselves in greater detail, the removal of hair is extremely advisable, because the latter absorbs the color which is supposed to be rubbed into the skin lying under it. Anyone who wants to paint a hide shaves it first. One main purpose of painting, the killing of insects, would otherwise not be achieved. Furthermore, a very natural explanation for the removal of pubic hair is found in the conflict between it and the devices used here at the very time when it appears. In particular manipulations with the hip cord among the men would definitely be impeded. In short, a person who removes the hair is better off and yet misses nothing. This alone is sufficient to justify the custom. Plucking, clipping, and shaving are only a question of thoroughness or technical means or consideration for personal sensitivity. Less attention is given to the comb; they would sooner cut and pluck their hair than use a comb.

[751]

/178/ Strangest of all, and certainly no pastime, is the plucking of the lashes, because this operation, as one may call it, is performed quite generally, even on small children of both sexes, and cannot be explained on the basis of tribal or sex differences.*

[BC1] [RSS]

*In the case of primitive peoples one far too often attributes a thing to their desire for physical hardening, but I never saw children being hardened. The sir fathers, not to speak of the mothers, were inclined more to sentimentality than to strictness toward their very self-willed offspring, who could not cry without their parents being bitterly hurt as well. They were definitely caused pain only when it was believed to be for their own good, their health was always a matter of extreme concern and amulets were hung on them.

[751]

/184 cont./

*171 301 [128] With this the most essential constituents of the chain ornaments have probably been enumerated; in the later chapter on the plastic art of our Indians I shall come back to details, insofar as all kinds of figures were also carved and ground.

●[751] I am unable to say to what extent useful and therapeutic effects were attributed to individual objects. That the "ornament" was often "talisman" is shown by the fact that, as mentioned, children and pregnant women were the most bedecked. If the remains of a matchbox were also hung around, this, too, did not originate from a sense of beauty. The grass beads of the Bakaïrí greatly resembled fine fish-bones, but I obtained such a chain only with the greatest difficulty; in the eyes of their owners they were decidedly "more beautiful" than those with fish beads, because they were rarer.

*171 301 Daubing and painting. Why do the Indians daub themselves with oil color, either with black, like those who are less familiar with the orlean bush, or with red, as the others prefer? To frighten the enemy by means of display and disfigurement? This is certainly a practical use, but only for this particular instance.

[822] Could the love of color explain everything? If so, we are obliged to recognize the delight in black as a primary sensation of pleasure. In that case we should have to note with amazement that a natural source has eluded our Indians, a source used so profusely in Polynesia, for example, and one that is abundantly available for this purpose even in the river-forest area which is relatively poor in flowers -- neither men nor women adorned themselves with flowers. I believe the only question that Antonio asked me of his own initiative was the following in Cuyabá: "Why do the women wear flowers in their hair?" The idea that it is done in order to adorn oneself with gay colors was worlds removed from his way of thinking. No, the gay parrot feathers only later developed into colored ornaments; first came the pleasure in the hunt or in animal life and the boastfulness concerning the hunter's

*171 301 824

000

/185 cont./

*171 302 822 more sparingly and could not by any means conceive why he did not use it merely to bring out the other colors better. He wears feather caps, which look most charming, of pure white with a few, small yellow-red feathers in between.

*171 302 386 The chalky, fine-grained clay is not suitable for the design-painting of the body. If it were mixed, like charcoal, with the yellowish oil, it could likewise be applied in lines, but the white color would be lost. Mixed with water, however, the lines would be very impermanent and mostly fall off when dry. On the masks, white furnishes only the background or appears in wide stripes on the most artless ones. On the other hand, if the native used his pigment for body adornment primarily for the sake of the color effect, nothing would prevent him from beautifying himself with white also, by powdering himself over large areas with the clay. Thus the thighs of the string-twisting women are chalk-white; moreover, the fine, flour-dust, with which the women who bake beijũ are often covered white, would be available to him. But neither the white baker-woman nor the Indian daubed red or black over large areas /186/ has dressed himself up this way in order to adorn himself. This is everyday clothing, not Sunday attire.

*171 302 751 The question thus is: of what use is the daubing? As is well known, and as I know very well from my long experience of going barefoot, the mud has a cooling effect; it is extremely pleasant in the heat to keep the skin moist. In particular it cools stung spots, and it protects the ones stung from the mosquitoes, whether it be red, yellow, black, or white. I cannot believe that whenever a person waded through the mud of the shore, he seemed particularly adorned because of it; it may be different on other soil, where the earth colors are more unusual. In our territory, at any rate, the agreeableness for the skin takes precedence over that for the eye. The Indian has replaced the mud with oil, but a finely powdered addition is said to make it more consistent and sticky, and this addition is a [822] pigment, soot and urucũ red. Undoubtedly the Bakairĩ like the red better, since they did not have to tend and cultivate the plant if the soot were just as pretty, and within these limits one adorns himself also by daubing himself.

/186 cont./

*171 302 751 one adorns himself also by daubing himself. The native daubs himself with oil paint, either black or red, in order to keep the skin agreeably soft in the heat and so that the mosquitoes and stinging flies that alight on his body stick to it and perish. He does not set out for the hunt until his loving spouse has smeared him, especially on chest and back, with oil paint; he takes with him in the canoe, as we saw in the case of our companions, the small oil-calabash, in order to renew the coating on the way, and in the morning he and his companions perform this service of love for each other. After a day of rowing, such a back is dotted with countless small black cadavers which are quickly removed by a bath in the river. Among the Mehinakú I also saw a number of women blackened with dry charcoal all over their bodies, who were busily going about their ordinary tasks and, to all appearances, had not in any way thought of dressing up. Unfortunately, however, I do not know for what purpose they had rubbed themselves and only suspect that some kind of hygienic measures were involved.

Now, I should not like to maintain that daubing and design-painting are sharply separated. It is the same as with clothing. It is worn differently for work and for festivities. If clothing were decoratively created, with better materials, brighter colors, a special cut, I should not like to conclude from that that it was fundamentally only adornment. Oil color is actually the clothing of the Indian, as he requires it: its real and oldest purpose is protection, not against cold, but against warmth, against chapping and certain kinds of external assaults. He has only one form of clothing which he can do without better than we can that of ours, which also does not have the secondary characteristic of concealing, like that of ours, and he has therefore not arrived at the feeling of modesty that we have. Just as our clothing /187/ is altered out of considerations of adornment, so his oil color and in earlier times, I imagine, his mud. Just as some people more than others are affected even in their everyday clothing, by the consideration of a more attractive outward appearance, so also does an Indian fop, like

/187 cont./

*171 the Bakaïrí Luchu, in a pleasant idle hour, treat himself to a
302 serpentine line with dots beside it on his thigh, and just as plainer
● 751 people among us dress only modestly even on Sunday, so an Indian of more unassuming temperament is content to permit himself for the celebration of a joyful event merely a painting of the forehead and nose or of the calves, instead of a linear design. By and large, however, I find it clearly evident that daubing is done for utilitarian purposes and one decorates himself with designs for beautification purposes, and I conclude from this that cosmetics were not adornment at first. And this is all the
[822] more to be maintained inasmuch as to this day only secondary value is put on the color of their coloring materials, since they scorn white altogether, make no particular distinction between red and black, and since they have disproportionately more
[192] beautiful colors at their disposal in their feather ornaments. The development of color words, as we shall see, also speaks in favor of this view.

I need scarcely point out that among the purposes of daubing regarded as useful the medicinal ones were not lacking and encouraged the custom; I shall cite a specific and very common case presently in connection with the scarifier. When Moritona, the great medicine man of the Yaulapiti, smeared the remainder of our pea soup over a broad area of his chest, the motive of delight in color probably played only a minor part.

*171 The designs were of different kinds. Simple finger
302 strokes, bold stripes, for example, from eye to ear, or the beautifying of the same Moritona: a black stripe from the nose to the navel, stripes that followed the contours of the shoulder blades, dots on chest and arms, wavy lines along the thighs, dotted arcs across the chest, a zigzag down the back and legs, and the like. In part there was involved in this a bold outlining
[619] or intersection of the anatomical contours, in part imitation animal skin-design, but everything was the choice of the individual person and there were no tribal designs. The conspicuous painting of individual parts of the body, for instance, forehead and nose, may be regarded as a transition to the ordinary broader

B /195 cont./
*171 naked Suyá women washed their sexual parts at the river in our
291 presence.
831

If the glans constantly threatens to become exposed through
B erections and sexual intercourse, could the wish arise on the
*171 part of maturing men to keep it covered for protection? There is
291 much to be said in favor of this. To be sure this need for pro-
136 tection might least of all be related to underbrush and thorns.
751 More seriously to be considered are the assaults of the animal
T kingdom. If the Trumaí, as was maintained of them, were
171 animals who lived in the water and slept on the bottom of the
291 river, they would be urgently required to close off the urethral
751 opening against the little candiru fish (Cetopsis candiru). This
136 transparent, span-long little monster, whose occurrence we noted in the Batovy in 1884, has the peculiar habit of penetrating the body openings accessible to it when human beings are in the water; it slips into the urethra, cannot get back because of its fins, and may easily cause the death of the unfortunate one who has no other recourse but, willy-nilly, to perform the urethrotomia externa with his knife.*

*The Brazilians' fear of this fish, so harmless in and of itself, is thus probably justified; it is best characterized by a Munchausenism which an officer, with a perfectly straight face, reported to us as true: in the waters beside Villa Cáceres the candiru is so vicious and so consumed with its passion that even when a person relieves himself on the shore it quickly goes up in the jet of water.

T Since, however, the amphibian nature of the Trumaí will
171 justifiably encounter skepticism, and the stay in the water,
136 even for the fisherman or the rower hauling his canoe through the
291 cataracts, plays only an insignificant role, it is /196/ not neces-
751 sary to grasp at the only occasional danger from the candiru. On

/196 cont./

*17 29 136 ● 95 On the other hand, the swarm of "carapatos" (Ixodidae), the ticks stripped off and shaken down from leaves in great numbers as one goes through the forest, makes protection of the glans extremely desirable for the forest dwellers. These little parasites, in part very tiny, attach themselves to the skin, pump themselves full of blood, swell up to the size of peas as a result of their expansible body walls, and cling so tightly with the hooked tips of their maxillary feelers which sharply penetrate the skin that one tears them apart in trying to pluck them off, and painful inflammed areas are caused by the parts that remain behind. The Brazilian, who often comes out of the forest as though strewed with carapatos, hastily removes his clothing and shakes his shirt and trousers out over the campfire; if one of the parasites has bored into the glans, he goes after it with a burning cigarette as close to the body as his own sensitivity will permit, so that the little animal, tortured by the heat, will voluntarily give up its abode and withdraw from the mucous membrane without being torn apart. All of us, in spite of our clothing, have had to resort to this procedure at one time or another and have experienced the situation, before relief was achieved, as one of the most painful. I am also of the opinion that the protection which the Indians enjoy is more reliable than that of covering clothing.

How many other biting, pinching, sucking, increeping insects can in like manner afflict the South American forest dweller is familiar to every traveler who has sat on the ground in the Brazilian forest. These annoyances are most vividly made clear by the fact that it was the inhabitant of the South American tropical forest who was forced to invent the hammock, which the English and French still call "amáka" from the Nu-Aruak word. Forced certainly not only because of the wet ground of the Hylaea. The Indian very wisely averts such attacks somewhat by customarily sitting in a squatting position. The women, if they sit down flat during the scraping of mandioca roots and similar occupations which would be inconvenient to do in a squatting position, use a couple of flat pieces of bamboo, fastened together as an underlayer, even when they are in the house, which, of course, is crawling with ants. Their domestic tasks

*17 136 352 516 95

B /196 cont./ Their domestic tasks

*171 have made them less accustomed to squatting than the men,
136 and they are therefore less protected. In the illustration on the
516 next page /see p. 192/ a group of Bakaïrí from the second village
751 shows very well the characteristic positions of both sexes in sitting or squatting.

B *171 291 136 751 In the case of the women, too, if protection of the mucous membrane was to be effected by their devices, this purpose would probably be achieved and certainly be achieved better than, say, the purpose of concealment. Furthermore, it should be realized that, assuming the purpose to be protection of the mucous membrane, a need for this was at least increased through sexual life, since in the case of the young /197/ woman the mucosa became more accessible, in the pregnant state more turgescent, and as a result of childbirth more slack.

Thus it would indeed be improper, on the basis of local conditions, to doubt that the methods described could offer the adults of both sexes protection against external assaults and that there was no lack of occasions when they were bound to be useful in this sense. It would also be natural for young people to be duly furnished with them as early as the onset of puberty when they began to work with the older ones. The explanation, however,

B *171 291 83 [751] cannot possibly be exhaustive. For the importance and indispensableness of the devices are out of proportion to the idea /Fig. 19 appears here/ of protective apparatus. Why should they not have been removed more often, especially at night in the hammock? Why should the young men have been so intent on training the praeputium. Why should particular fuss have been made one day about wearing the uluris or the cuffs? The connections with sexual life must be direct and not merely indirect.

B *171 291 84 T 171 291 841 In the case of the female sex one encounters no difficulty. Suddenly bleeding appears; there is illness here. That the Indian thought this originally is clearly proved by the utterly superfluous medical treatment of the menstruating girl customary among most tribes, /198/ with isolation, fumigation, diet, incisions, and other remedies against the unknown foes. One neatly removed the pubic hair and donned a bandage, the bast loop, or a cushion, the uluri. The bast loop among the Trumaí women --

/36 cont./

535 Cacique Pires' house, where they were used in the dance fiestas
126 staged at specific times by the Xinguanos. The fire-engraved
[531] embellishments enhanced with black paint are wholly ancestral. Besides circles and spirals they also include other decorative elements of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí. The length of these sticks reaches from 76 cm. to 100 cm. and their diameter from 1.7 cm. to 4.5 cm.

532 Of the figures made of maize husks, such as the Bakairí
126 of the upper Xingu River tributaries had in former times, I found two specimens in the settlement of Xinguanos on the Rio Paranatinga, which represent birds (V.B. 9964 and 9965. Length 15 cm.) A ball made of husks of ears of maize (V.B. 9966. Length 21 cm.) such as was used by the Bakairí of the Kulisehu in general for their game with a ball, which they called tóju, is shown in Figure 31, b.

126 Small figures in the form of the human figure shown on
532 Figure 23, d (V.B. 9961. Length 10 cm.) were placed, in
751 Simões Lopes, around the /37/ necks of newborn babies to protect them from illness. I had acquired a good, old specimen of such a figure which was tied with an animal claw from the necklace of the little girl of a woman belonging to the Bakairí who had moved from the Rio Novo. A day later she came with her child to ask me to return to her the necklace with the pendant, because the child had fallen ill after the loss of the necklace. She exchanged the old figure for the new one shown in Figure 23, d.

211 Finally, I must still mention the notched board shown on
194 Figure 31, a (V.B. 9969. Length 23.5 cm.) Since such boards,
177 probably intended as mnemonic aids, are not found among the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River tributaries, we must assume that this case is an instance of foreign influence in later times.

Yaruma SP25
Bacairi SP7
Waura SP18

Y 302 105 171 During the trip, at various times, a number of men were seen that were covered completely with soot. However, it could not be ascertained for what reason this was done. By my Bakairi, several explanations were given: that the man had been working in clearing the fields, or that he had partaken in some ceremony and the soot had not as yet worn off, or that he had put it on for caprice.

The women often covered the forehead and the face down to the cheekbones with a thick layer of urucum. The children also were often so painted. This seemed to be purely for aesthetic reasons. The men never did it, and it was practiced more often by the young women. It was evidently done with a great deal of pride and pleasure, the mothers finding especial delight in painting the children in that manner every morning.

B 302 751 177 One of my Bakairi, whose original home had been on the Rio Novo, one morning appeared with the identical facial painting, but instead of using urucum, he had used soot. On my inquiring about it, he said he had done it to protect his eyes from the glare, but on being pressed he gave me the impression that there were other reasons. The anxiety of the Bakairi to appear devoid of practices which are not European undoubtedly prevented getting the real reason. Soon after our conversation he wiped it off.

W 302 532 304 The Mehinaku and Yawalapiti women bore three painted parallel lines on the wrists, on the forearm, and on the cheek. One of them was actually tattooed in this manner. One Mehinaku living with the Naravute bore painted geometric designs on the legs, too indistinct, however, to reproduce.

Y 302 105 171 There is no doubt that body painting for decoration is practiced widely and whenever the mood comes upon the woman. In the case of the men, they bear no painting other than the ordinary urucum protective coating except when they take part in some ceremony. The paint is not washed off afterwards, but remains on the body until it wears off.

The universal style of wearing the hair among the men is to cut it evenly around the head, following a line a little above the eyebrows. In addition, the crown is shaven. This latter practice, like the wearing of the waistband, is abandoned by the old men sometimes.

The women cut the hair across the forehead, but let the rest grow long and wear it loose.

W /130 cont./
132 rained by buckets, and the shower bath was quite cold, scarcely
W more than 15°. Our good Mehinakú were unhappy that we did
[821] not follow their example and puff against the heavenly sluices;
they hastily built a protective roof, probably more to keep busy,
and complained incessantly "uläpe, uläpe!"

W In the harbor of the Mehinakú we acquired another canoe;
122 meanwhile the Auetó who had accompanied us this far had dis-
appeared without a trace. Vogel's hunting knife was also
missing.

Y The Nahuquá village was in the middle of the pikí harvest.
245 Like cannon balls in an arsenal, the pikí lay in piles outside
Y and inside. Racks had been set up in the houses to dry the seeds,
251 the women were busy peeling the fruit, cooking it, and scraping
the seeds, human beings and utensils butter yellow -- Cáryocar
Y butyrosum. No pogu, but pikí juice; the pikí seeds with an
[157] almond-like taste, an electuary "pikí herb" not at all bad in
Y moderate doses. Many sick in the hammocks, stomach and skin
164 affected, one old baldhead, face and head covered with sores.
Y Tumayaña was given pikí as a parting gift for the trip. Only
[431] one newborn child, which the mother brought to us so that we
would blow on it, seemed to know nothing yet about pikí.

B In Bakaïrí village III, which, by the way, the Nahuquá
Y accompanying us did not want to enter, the old festival hut had
648 burned down and the people were very much afraid of the
B previously greatly admired matches. But we did find magnifi-
731 cent bird-masks and fish-masks. Of the two canoes we ordered,
B one was not yet finished and the other had been wrecked.
532

B Bakaïrí village II seemed deserted. The occupants were
122 in part absent, why remained unclear; also, we had apparently
501 seen foreign guests the first time and included them. Chief
B Aramöke, however, was gracious as ever and had set before us
123 beijús which we could have offered the most distinguished tea
B guests at home. It was only with great difficulty that we found
[622] a few men to transport part of the collection for some distance
overland. It was always said that they had to stay with the
B children. Then in the chief's house lay a woman with burns on
752

/130 cont./

752 her arm, who also needed company. A colleague with a very
752 professional look on his face sat beside her and occasionally had
755 a therapeutic seizure, during which, moaning pitiably, he blew clouds of tobacco smoke over the sick woman or, turned toward the wall, groaned dreadfully. The "cab driver," who, with Tumayaua, had accompanied us as far as the Auetó and who was a great witch-doctor, took leave of us here. He by all means had to take part in the treatment and was not to be persuaded to leave the case solely to his colleague, who was, after all, blowing extremely efficiently. As a reward for this
123 civilized behavior, we provided him with a /131/ civilized
177 exterior in the form of a shirt and head covering, which, along
291 with a big knife, was the goal of his ambition. We solemnly dressed him up, along with Tumayaua, who had been parading about for a long time in a black and white checked shirt and white linen trousers underneath, and we photographed the two, as is shown in Figure 8 /see p. 125/. Wilhelm had been saving up a few prizes for the deserving travel companions, a magnificent Düsseldorf carnival-cap, worn by him himself as Prince Carnival on a high triumphal chariot, green, yellow, white, and red, with sparkling bells, likewise the medal of His Foolish Majesty, set with brilliants and worn around the neck -- these two pieces went to Tumayaua -- and a genuine carnival cap of the still gayer sister city on the Rhine, which we put over the tonsure of the cab-driver colleague, for want of a doctoral hood. /Figure 8 appears here./ In addition, Tumayaua was given a black frock-coat purchased by Wilhelm in Rio de Janeiro, an import from Paris et le dernier mot de la perfection /and the
000 last word in perfection/. The illustration gives us a faint idea of how ghastly the two fools, puffed up with pride, appeared in their clothing, both certainly not the most handsome types, but now they suddenly looked positively ugly, bent and crooked, and the reason for this, more than the shabbiness of the costume, was that all the contour lines were obliterated and had lost their character. Tumayaua in shirt and trousers was as clumsy as on the first day; he would tear them in the forest, but then again

301 placed in a hole in the septum of the nose, so that
237 the feathers swung one on each side of the head.
[304] Although the *páiko*, or scratcher, was not strictly
413 an ornament, it is mentioned here because it had
257 ritual meaning. The *páiko* was made by setting fish teeth into a gourd holder and was used for scarifying the skin of the arms, legs, chest, and back so as to cause bleeding. The wounds were first
[252] washed with water and later smeared with the juice of the *mukúna* vine. The *páiko* was used by
[301] boys and girls during puberty seclusion and by adults who had sores on their bodies. It was believed that the use of the *páiko* made people
304 strong and healthy. As far as could be ascertained the Bacairí did not mutilate the teeth, genitals, or other parts of the body. There was no sign of
[302] tattooing, but pubic hair was carefully pulled out by both men and women. Formerly the Bacairí
231 kept large birds, believed to belong to the eagle family, in their villages for their feathers. The Brazilians call the bird "harpía" and claim that it is still kept by the Indians in the Xingú Basin. The "harpía" was captured by shooting it with a blunted arrow, and it was kept in a special hut and fed. Villages often had several of these birds in captivity, the feathers being used particularly for feathering arrows. Parrots and macaws were also kept, their feathers being used only for ceremonial decorations.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

262 Vegetable foods formed the basis of Bacairí diet, with fish and meat taking second and third places.
224 The principal animals hunted were monkeys, deer, wild pigs, tapir, and the jaguar. The jaguar, however, was not eaten, but was hunted for its skin, teeth, and claws. The principal weapon used was the bow and arrow. Hunters would stalk game alone or in groups with the aid of dogs driving game into water or into steep rocky enclosures. There is no mention of the spear being used, but
226 deadfalls and pitfalls were used. Many varieties of large fish were shot with the bow and arrow, either from canoes or from the river bank. Lizards,
222 turtles, and a wide variety of wild fruits, roots, tender shoots, and honey were collected at certain seasons of the year.

241 The major part of the food supply, however, was obtained through agriculture. The Bacairí cultivated bitter manioc, *ópa;* sweet manioc, *taisę;*

725 came back to the village to play tricks on people. The Bacairí did not believe that the ghosts of the dead caused death and, therefore, were not afraid
726 of them. They were, however, afraid of certain
761 evil spirits—for instance, *eradupíra*, who caused
753 death and sickness.

756 To become a shaman (*pidji*), a young unmarried man would train with an old shaman for a period of 6 months to a year. During this period
[785] sexual intercourse was forbidden, fasts were periodically observed, and the novice had to abstain from eating meat. Much of the training took place in the woods, where the old shaman would
[735] teach the novice the curative properties of roots and herbs and, also, how to get in touch with the
756 ghosts of dead shamans. The training would be
787 complete when the novice acquired his own spirit
[775] helper, which was always the ghost of a dead shaman. Sometimes the revelation was so powerful that the young novice would fall to the ground in a trance. The spirit that then appeared to
[534] him instructed him how to make a flute (either *emíni* or *kanagéra*), which he kept in the sacred flute house, and gave him a special tune by which he could always call his spirit helper. The novice had then to prove himself by curing some sick person or by finding lost property. If he were successful he became a recognized shaman.

756 Before beginning a performance, shamans al-
755 ways fasted for several days and smoked heavily. In curing a sick person the shaman asked his spirit helper for instructions which usually were explanations of how to remove objects from the body which caused the illness. Besides removing
756 objects from the body the shamans prepared med-
757 icines. Headaches and pains in the body were cured by juice of the *peméira* tuber, and *turógi* leaves were used for pains in the chest. For
[252] healing the wounds made by the scratcher the juice made by boiling the *kumatáni* plant was
[8-32] used. The Bacairí also prepared aphrodisiacs from the *katáino* plant and by mixing piqui nuts, honey, and turtle eggs.

GAMES

526 The Bacairí played, and still play, a form of Indian football called *toinyaméli*. The ball (*toin*)
[314] was made by covering a round gourd with native rubber, leaving a small opening. The gourd was

B /338 cont./
*171 between father and child; the child is a duplication of him, the
846 father has become double, and, for the sake of the helpless, irrational creature which represents a miniature edition of himself, he must himself behave like a child who must not come to
B harm. Supposing that the child dies during the first days, how
[753] could the father who is filled with such ideas and who has eaten
[761] indigestible things doubt that he himself is at fault, especially
B since all sickness arises through the fault of another? What we
[811] call "pars pro toto" dominates popular belief everywhere with respect to sorcery or healing magic, although I do not believe that the sorcerer /339/ has a clear image of a "part" with which he is working. The "couvade" is carried out according to the same logic, except that here is a case where the whole intercedes for the "part." It is all the same whether I poison the hair of the enemy and thereby cause him to waste away, or whether, to the detriment of the child which has become detached from me, I eat food that it might not tolerate at all or at least not during the days when the separation takes place.

B
*171 Burial. All the tribes of the Kulisehu bury their dead; the
764 body lies in west-east in such a way that the head looks toward the rising sun. (According to the statements of the Kamayurá, the Suyá bury their dead in a squatting position, the head with the feather ornament bent back and the eyes turned toward the setting sun.) The grave is on the village plaza. Among the Mehinakú we saw in front of the festival hut a heap of brush under which, at a shallow depth, the grave pit was said to be located; fat beetles were crawling out of holes in the ground
A and the place was alive with flies. Among the Aueto a square
[764] in front of the festival hut was staked off with thick, low posts connected by plaiting. It is photographed on Plate 15 /see p. 253/. I do not know whether it is a coincidence that the two sinuated sides of the square resemble the characteristic shape of the handle-plate of the throwing board. Among the Yaulapiti we saw a square grave fence.

/344 cont./

*171 754 and hangs it over the fire. When the water starts to boil, the amápö falls sick and, when the lizard dies, he dies.

[753] All illnesses are caused by sorcery; "there are said to be people who commission the medicine men to poison their enemies." On the Schingú one must not make an enemy of one's hairdresser. Then it was really very careless of me, I jokingly interrupted Antonio, to have had him cut my hair. "No," he replied, "I am not bad, I am no omeóto (= ome-zóto, master of poison)." "So all illnesses come from the omeotos?" "All." "Did you ever see one?" "Not among the Bakaírí, we would chase away such bad people." "But among the Kamayurá?" "Pode ser, *171 could be." "Have you ever seen good medicine-men (piáje, 754 French j)?" "Yes, several on the Kulisehu. Pakurali was one. 756 Formerly also on the Paranatinga. The Auetó chief Auayáto was one." It is very characteristic that all bad (kχurá-pa = not our) sorcerers live in foreign villages. The terms omeóto and piáje, by the way, do not seem to be differentiated very strictly. In any case, the laudable, better medicine-men have not been free of professional fraud for a long time, since they cannot very well believe that they have sucked the poisoned cotton threads, which they spit out, from the body of the sick person. The purer origin of their art, however, in the sense of the introductory remarks, is still easily recognizable.

*171 754 The fact that the practice of magic is nothing but a stimulation of the imagination becomes evident in the practical accomplishment even more clearly than in the asceticism of the study of medicine. Pain tells the sick person that he is being attacked by someone. He does not see that anyone in the village is doing it; no one here is so evil. Hence the enemy is outside. The *171 person who wants to get the better of him must, first of all, be 755 stronger than he and, secondly, be able to reach the unseen one. For one who does not know otherwise than that the miracles wrought in a dream are reality, both things become possible through a doctor who /345/ puts himself into a highly excited state, for this alone accomplishes what cannot be accomplished

/30 cont./

114 dressed in European manner, and with his rough beard he bears
115 little resemblance to the photograph taken by Karl von den
[177] Steinen some 39 years earlier. In another house there still lived Luisa Kayabí, whom Karl von den Steinen had met when she was the young wife of old Cacique Caetano.

114 Most of the Bakairí whom I had known 26 years before in
731 Maigeri and Maimaieti aldeas had perished in a flu epidemic
753 that had wreaked havoc among the population of Mato Grosso
648 some years earlier. Since the high number of deaths among
361 the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River was attributed to the witch-
[166] craft of evil neighboring tribes, especially the Mehinakú and the Nahukuá, who had been envious of the economic benefits derived by the Bakairí from their contact with civilization, all the Bakairí of the Batovy and Kulisehu rivers had moved to the Rio Paranatinga. Undoubtedly petty jealousies and other discords had caused these Bakairí, called Xinguanos, not to get along with their fellow natives on the Paranatinga, and for this reason they had settled at some distance from the post, farther downriver. I found the first of these Xinguano settlements at the place where the Ribeirão Azul enters the Rio Paranatinga. It was situated on the right side of this river and consisted of four small houses. (Cf. Figures 21 and 22.) A little farther downriver I reached a Bakairí plantation near which was a rancho occupied by some people. (Cf. Figure 20.)

361 /31/ From there a path led to the principal settlement of
622 the Bakairí who had moved from the Rio Kulisehu. It consisted
159 of two rather large houses. (Cf. Figure 17.) I was told that a
114 little farther downriver there were some more settlements, and
[487] among them also that of my old friend from Maimaieti aldea, Karía. I had already encountered Karía when I visited Cacique Antonio, and he had recognized me. He was no longer cacique,
622 and I was told that at the time of my stay in Maimaieti he had
159 merely been a temporary cacique in the place of his brother
114 who was then away. He had grown much older and no longer

/265 cont./

796 Bakairí: /266/ Kilaimo, Karoui, Inanagurorо, and Topiehe. Kilaimo is a wandering spirit that wanders through the forest at night. Karoui is the sorcerer-doctor's enemy; he possesses an axe in the shape of a toad. Inanagurorо is the lord of hunting; one of the sides of his chest is larger than the other, and he clasps against it and kills the Indians who offend him. Topiehe is a bird whose death would result inevitably in the death of the guilty party. There was also a lake inhabited by maleficent supernatural beings, and where animals reached gigantic proportions.

[756] [224] [825] [823]

825 Capistrano de Abreu mentions the attribution of special powers to certain animals. Thus the lizard was the lord of sleep; the fox, of fire; the urubu, of benches; the sea snail, of the sun; the porcupine, of thorns; the kingfisher, of fishes; the deer, of manioc. (12)

12. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 242.

756 The sorcerer, piaji (piehi or piaje) performed very important functions among the Bakairí. Besides the function of curing illness, he performed such tasks as the prediction of enemy attacks, the localizing of game, the finding of lost objects, and interceding with supernatural beings when necessary.

753 [754] For the Bakairí illness was always caused either by hostile sorcerers or those in the service of enemies, or by spirits such as the iamiira, topiehe, inanagurorо, or karoui. On being called to heal a sick person, the piaji requested the assistance of his guardian iamiira with the help of a gourd which he shook in accompaniment to songs of invocation. On examining the patient, the piaji decided upon the cause of the illness, whether it had been induced by an enemy or by a spirit. In the second case, the piaji would intercede with the offended spirit, appeasing it. But in the event the illness had been

756 755 000

754 755 /266 cont./ But in the event the illness had been caused by another sorcerer, it would be necessary to find out first the vehicle of the disease. This might be a small piece of charred wood, a thin cotton thread, or a small piece of bone, tossed from a distance and thus introduced into the patient's body. The sorcerer would suck at the afflicted part, thus withdrawing the cause of the illness.

754 114 755 /267/ Our informants could tell us nothing about diseases caused by omeono (evil sorcerers) mentioned by Karl von den Steinen. According to the latter, in order to injure an Indian, a sorcerer would cook in a pot a lizard into whose throat he had previously inserted the skin of the middle finger of a corpse. The agony and death of the lizard were matched simultaneously by the agony and death of the victim. (13)

13. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., p. 442.

114 199 In our opinion, this method hardly seems to be indigenous and is probably the result of acculturation. However, our informants did not know about it.

756 834 262 784 In order to become a sorcerer, a youth had to undergo training for a period that lasted from six to 12 months, submitting to rigorous sexual abstinence and an exclusively vegetal diet. Throughout the initiation period the candidate remained tanki, enclosed in the kajoeti. Part of the training, meanwhile, was carried out in distant places, where the novice learned the healing properties of certain roots, as well as the secrets related to the supernatural world. The training ended with the acquisition, on the candidate's part, of a guardian spirit, or iamiira. This acquisition was made during a trance into which the candidate has fallen by mean of the ingestion of narcotic substances. After this the new sorcerer had to prove his power, either through small acts such as finding lost objects or by curing a sick person.

789 296

came back to the village to play tricks on people. The Bacairi did not believe that the ghosts of the dead caused death and, therefore, were not afraid of them. They were, however, afraid of certain evil spirits—for instance, *eradupire*, who caused death and sickness.

To become a shaman (*piéji*), a young unmarried man would train with an old shaman for a period of 6 months to a year. During this period sexual intercourse was forbidden, fasts were periodically observed, and the novice had to abstain from eating meat. Much of the training took place in the woods, where the old shaman would teach the novice the curative properties of roots and herbs and, also, how to get in touch with the ghosts of dead shamans. The training would be complete when the novice acquired his own spirit helper, which was always the ghost of a dead shaman. Sometimes the revelation was so powerful that the young novice would fall to the ground in a trance. The spirit that then appeared to him instructed him how to make a flute (either *emini* or *kenapire*), which he kept in the sacred flute house, and gave him a special tune by which he could always call his spirit helper. The novice had then to prove himself by curing some sick person or by finding lost property. If he were successful he became a recognized shaman.

Before beginning a performance, shamans always fasted for several days and smoked heavily. In curing a sick person the shaman asked his spirit helper for instructions which usually were explanations of how to remove objects from the body which caused the illness. Besides removing objects from the body the shamans prepared medicines. Headaches and pains in the body were cured by juice of the *pemére* tuber, and *tarépi* leaves were used for pains in the chest. For healing the wounds made by the scratcher the juice made by boiling the *kwentini* plant was used. The Bacairi also prepared aphrodisiacs from the *kutéise* plant and by mixing piqui nuts, honey, and turtle eggs.

GAMES

The Bacairi played, and still play, a form of Indian football called *teinpenéli*. The ball (*tein*) was made by covering a round gourd with native rubber, leaving a small opening. The gourd was

/228 cont./

fire-maker; I also remembered the stick of pressed dry cow dung which is allowed to glow for many hours on the decks of Indian ships for the use of smokers. Perhaps a corresponding use of wood dust is to be found here and there. Wood shavings were used by us in historical Germany up to the beginning of this century, along with flint and steel.

V. Weapons, Implements, Industry.

Bows and arrows. Throwing stick. Club. Canoe. Fishing implements. Plaiting and textile work. Buriti and cotton hammocks. Gourd vessels. Pottery.

128 I have reported on the settlements, the way of life, and the tools of our Indians, insofar as they present peculiarities. What remains to be said about one implement or another will follow naturally within the framework of the description of arts and crafts, which, on account of the many new things, requires a special survey. On the other hand, it is advisable to say a little more about the appearance and the use of the weapons, as well as about the simplest craft skills.

* 191 411 Bows and arrows are the only weapon common to all our Indians. Clubs are used among the Suyá and Trumaí. Nowhere are there lances. Nowhere blowgun and poisoned arrows. Only [754] the sorcerer has a kind of theoretical poisoned arrow when, as we shall see, he secretly and with powerful witchcraft hurls poisoned twigs at his victim; at any rate, the idea of a projectile poison comes before us here.

/229/ Bows and arrows are distinguished by their size, the arrows by the extremely neat and pleasing workmanship. The length of the bows is more than two and a third meters, that of the arrows one and a half to almost two meters. The wood [824] of the bow is yellowish or light brown and comes from the arará tree, Tecoma, and others. We found palm wood in only a few [531] bows of the Tupí tribes; here, too, the bow was plaited round with cotton in an attractive pattern, something unknown among [283] the other tribes. The bowstring is twisted out of tucum fiber.

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*171 562 the gay activity /der heitern Geschäftigkeit/," this is perfectly applicable to our Indians with the reservation that the slavish subordination was very much in the background. The woman needed protection, first, because she was weak and "wept" whenever there was danger, and then because she had to be protected from foreign lusts. In returning home from the plantings, she walked in front of her husband, since, heavily loaded, she hastened forward rapidly and everything was safe; in the forest she walked behind him so that he would be the first to meet any possible danger. She was protected from foreign guests, and, if they were of a dubious nature, as we were, the women and children ran into the forest.

*171 681 123 674 What occurs in dramas of adultery I do not know. We had no opportunity to observe anything that belonged to the sphere of the administration of justice. If I asked Antonio about crimes of any kind, he always answered that such things probably happened in former times, but no longer occur now.

*171 123 674 Theft of things belonging to us was, in any case, very frequent, except among the Bakaïrí, although friend Luchu, at the time he visited us in Independencia, was no longer altogether trustworthy. When the confusion in the Trumaí camp arose [748] because I was obliged to demand the return of a glass of my stolen arsenic pills, we saw that the Yaulapiti, who had come with *171 186 us, were trying to snatch the stone axes of the Trumaí. Always and without exception it was supposed to have been a stranger who had done the stealing. The people living together also had little that they needed to take from one another, and the thief could scarcely have enjoyed it without being discovered. There is nothing more natural, therefore, than that the idea of morals rests most particularly on tribal affiliation. Among the Bakaïrí kurá means "we," "we all," "our" and at the same time "good" ("our people"); kurápa, "not we," "not our," and at the same time "bad, stingy, unhealthy." All evil comes /333/ from for- [754] eigners, and not least sickness and death, which are sent from outside sorcerers.

/343/

171 ●754 756 The medicine men are differentiated as good and bad. According to Antonio, there are "few among the Bakaïrí and Auetó, more among the Nahuquá, many among the Mehinakú, and too many among the Kamayurá." There were none living on the Paranatinga at the time. Anyone can become one, but it is very [262] difficult. "One must learn a great deal." One is supposed to [785] drink only starchy broth for four months, enjoy no salt and eat no

[261] [266] * This fasting is also very good if one wants to excel in the art of shooting fish, and in this case it is sufficient if one does not eat anything but starch-paste for a month. Antonio did this and was very satisfied with the result.

meat, fish, or fruits; one is not supposed to sleep but to drum ceaselessly on the skull with the fists so that the swollen eyes are very painful in the morning, bathe a great deal, scratch arm and chest bloody, etc. Antonio wanted to study medicine, but was afraid of this difficult internship; Felipe made a good start in the same endeavor, but did not succeed, because he had no teacher. *171 754 The chief art of the accomplished master of sorcery is exhibited in the use of poisons. With these he kills others and he even kills himself in order to be able to change himself into another shape. We are to become acquainted here with a conception of death which takes some getting used to, but which is in direct agreement with the life of the shadow during sleep.

[628] Let us hear first how sickness and death come into the world, in spite of the good medicine-man of one's own village, who with all his might combats the evil one from the foreign village. [825] [824] The evil one is a bad person whom no one likes because he kills instead of healing, he mixes the poison from wasps, from the tocandyra ant, and from other such animals with oil and resin from the alsmesca and pindahyba in a calabash. From the man whom he wishes to harm he obtains either hair, by stepping on it when it is being cut or even cutting it himself when the man is asleep, or a bit of blood by tossing a finely pointed twig of jatobá, pindahyba, or pau de olho in his direction and then picking

/343 cont./

*171 it up. This hair or blood is put into the poison calabash, which is
●754 closed up, and the original owner immediately falls sick. Hair is supposedly used "because headache is produced in this way" -- actually, no doubt, because it is most convenient to obtain. If the sorcerer has no hair or blood, he soaks a little pindahyba twig or a little wool thread /Wollfadchen/ in the poison and hides it in a crack of the house or under the clay foot on which the cooking pot stands, or he surreptitiously throws it -- for it flies very far -- toward the person pursued, or he shoots it with an arrow ** into a

** One may make the subtle distinction between this magic arrow and the weapon of the poisoned arrow which is unknown to the Indians in that the former is not actually poisoned, but rather only dispatches the poisoned fragment.

*171 tree where the person lives. The good medicine-man, however,
754 often finds it, for he looks everywhere and even climbs up into
755 the tree to fetch it down, lays it in water, and thus renders it harmless; for that he receives from the recovered one, say,/344/ a hammock, for he deserves a fine gift. If the poisoned twig has scratched the patient, the good medicine-man -- and only he -- discovers the spot where it has penetrated, sucks it until the little twig or wool thread appears, and spits it out.

*171 Thus we have one method where something from the body is
754 poisoned, and one where the poison is merely brought into its vicinity. There is a third where any connection with it is absent, but instead an animal is killed simultaneously. Its purpose is never merely sickness, but always death. The man to be killed is called åmápö or amápö. In this case the sorcerer needs a piece of skin from the middle finger of any corpse and an ugá lizard; he dries the skin at the fire, pulverizes it with his magic poison, stuffs the mixture deep into the throat of the lizard, which is tightly bound around the neck and body so that it cannot get out, tosses the animal thus treated into a pot of water, covers it tightly,

/344 cont./

*171 and hangs it over the fire. When the water starts to boil, the
●754 amápö falls sick and, when the lizard dies, he dies.

[753] All illnesses are caused by sorcery; "there are said to be people who commission the medicine men to poison their enemies." On the Schingú one must not make an enemy of one's hairdresser. Then it was really very careless of me, I jokingly interrupted Antonio, to have had him cut my hair. "No," he replied, "I am not bad, I am no omeóto (= ome-zóto, master of poison)." "So all illnesses come from the omeotos?" "All." "Did you ever see one?" "Not among the Bakaïrí, we would chase away such bad people." "But among the Kamayurá?" "Pode ser,
*171 could be." "Have you ever seen good medicine-men (piáje,
754 French j)?" "Yes, several on the Kulisehu. Pakurali was one.
756 Formerly also on the Paranatinga. The Auetó chief Auayáto was one." It is very characteristic that all bad (kχurá-pa = not our) sorcerers live in foreign villages. The terms omeóto and piáje, by the way, do not seem to be differentiated very strictly. In any case, the laudable, better medicine-men have not been free of professional fraud for a long time, since they cannot very well believe that they have sucked the poisoned cotton threads, which they spit out, from the body of the sick person. The purer origin of their art, however, in the sense of the introductory remarks, is still easily recognizable.

*171 The fact that the practice of magic is nothing but a stimula-
754 tion of the imagination becomes evident in the practical accomplishment even more clearly than in the asceticism of the study of medicine. Pain tells the sick person that he is being attacked by someone. He does not see that anyone in the village is doing it, no one here is so evil. Hence the enemy is outside. The
*171 person who wants to get the better of him must, first of all, be
755 stronger than he and, secondly, be able to reach the unseen one. For one who does not know otherwise than that the miracles wrought in a dream are reality, both things become possible through a doctor who /345/ puts himself into a highly excited state, for this alone accomplishes what cannot be accomplished

/363 cont./

773 812 I mean to say that these cases are essentially different from those in the legends where things are "personified," that is, speak and act like animal and human being. The falling turtle of the Amazon legend sees a boulder in the direction of her fall and calls out to it: "Get out of my way!" Obediently the stone removes itself and she falls on soft ground. The stone, which understands her words, could also have replied. Keri quarrels with the sky and, angered, goes over to the earth with his people, where the Bakaïrí, as a result, live today. The wind is called in order to tear down a tree. In these cases there is no blowing or sorcery. The storyteller lets the things hear, speak, in order to say that they do or do not want something, are tractable or refractory, and need not realize, as we do, that he is thus endowing them with a "soul." "How could the sky talk?" "I don't know, at that time it talked." More was not to be learned from Antonio. If today in ordinary life a thing suddenly causes harm, that is the fault of an evil sorcerer, whereas an animal acts by itself.

754 756 812 /364/ The second type of transformation is that of the sorcerer himself into any animal shape desired. No one seems to know how he does this. He does not actually become the animal itself, however; he always goes into the animal and is always implanted in the animal; in fact, he can be in the foot of the tapir and seize the vulture. Now does the "soul" go out of one person and into the other? But in that case at least we ought not ask either where the soul of the animal or where the body of the culture hero remains, or whether the "shade," which in the case of the modern, narcotized medicine man lying in the hammock leaves the body for the transformation into jaguar or snake, was previously "inside" the medicine man, or whether the shade can get inside an animal- - I believe we are overdoing a good thing if we speak of the activities of the "soul" among primitive peo-
[774] ples. I, at any rate, merely had the impression that with regard to the "soul" the Indians sometimes think of the shade, sometimes of the breath, but do not account for all the specific details, and instead always preserve the image of the entire "living" personality. It seems to me one comes closest to the real situation if one

/364 cont./

754 imagines the sorcerer as being in an animal approximately like the
756 Indian in an animal mask, who now is a dove, for example, and
812 behaves like a dove in voice and movement, but remains fellow tribesman X and is therefore able to fetch a gourd bowl full of pogu from the women, although he is a bird.

773 [772] Keri and Kame and the ancestor legend. The general basis of the world view of the Bakaïrí is his relationship to animal life. It assumes, however, one might say, that his science and poetry are of heavenly origin. The oldest Bakaïrí lived in heaven; this is proved to us by all that we know about the sun and moon, and everything that we see up there, the figures of the Milky Way, the starless areas, and the shining Magellanic Clouds. Strangely enough, there was nothing to be discovered in the way of ideas about thunderstorms, windstorms, clouds, rain, which are productive in a similar sense among other peoples. One had the impression that meteorology was still quite unexplored. There always remained the astronomical heavenly animals, to which were added the personages of the ancestor legend. The second main source of legend material flows in the memories of the tribe, but the two streams are so tightly intermingled that it is scarcely possible to distinguish what was originally supplied by the one and what by the other. The jaguar, behind which is concealed a cannibalistic neighboring tribe of ancient times, has become one with the jaguar of the Milky Way and to top it all, the zoological varieties of the jaguar family are available as a number of brothers.

[777] The names Keri and Kame show that foreign, and, to be sure, Aruak influence has played a significant role. These are the names for moon and sun of the Nu-Aruak tribes; they are not Karaiben /365/ words at all.* A coincidence is completely

*Cf. Bakaïrí-Grammatik /Bakaïrí Grammar/, p. 57. The Island Karaiben have a benign "deity," ischeiri, which can scarcely be connected with keri phonetically; if there is a connection and ischeiri is ancient

/28 cont./

178 in form, placed in front under the belt, which consists of glass
[535] beads strung on a thread. Face and body were painted with
[291] urucú and genipap in red and black. At this time, too, cases
[302] of illness were imputed to the influence of some sorcerer, and
[754] shortly before the expedition of Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa a Paranatinga Bakairí had been shot to death because the Indians ascribed the consequences of a flu epidemic to his witchcraft.

114 In his book Unter Indianern und Riesenschlangen (36)

[113] 36. Hintermann, Heinrich, Unter Indianern und Riesenschlangen /Among Indians and Boa Constrictors/, Zurich and Leipzig, 1926.

Heinrich Hintermann relates the incidents and outcome of a journey to the region of the upper Xingu River tributaries. He had the opportunity to accompany a military expedition led by the Brazilian, Captain Vicente de Vasconcellos, which was carried out in the year 1924 for the Commissão de Linhas Telegr. Est. de Matto Grosso ao Amazonas to measure the Rio Ronuro and establish relations between the administration of the new Simões Lopes Post, established by the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios /Indian Protection Service/, and the Indians of the
[166] Kulisehu and Kuluene rivers. We know from Hintermann that already at that time, all the Kulisehu Bakairí had moved to the Simões Lopes Post, which was established at the same place where José Coroado had already set up his aldea before.

During my journey carried out in the year 1927 I had the opportunity to become personally acquainted once more, after an interval of 26 years, with the conditions of the Bakairí. (37)

[113] 37. Cf. the preliminary reports on the results of this trip: Max Schmidt, "Ergebnisse meiner zweijährigen Forschungreise in Matto Grosso.

/263 cont./

about three centimeters square made of tree bark. After the seclusion boys and girls were eligible for /264/ marriage. Marriage, todohokűinle, was joined by the parents of the young people by means of an exchange of gifts, and it does not seem to have merited any special ceremony.

The Bakairí do not seem to have believed in the possibility of a natural death. After death, which was always caused by the sorcery of some enemy, the corpse was painted and attired in the finery used in life. The corpse was rolled up in the hammock used by the deceased, and buried with the head pointing west and the feet east. There followed a mourning period, during which the closer relatives remained uanki and from which they emerged through the tadaunúto feast.

The world of the Bakairí was surrounded by supernatural beings, good and evil, such as the iamüra, topiehe, karoui, kadopa, and kilaimo. (5) Plants and animals were nothing but

5. Capistrano de Abeu, "Os Bacaerys," Revista Brasileira, Year I, Vol. 4, pp. 44, 45, 47, 48, 234, 240, 241. Rio de Janeiro, 1895.

drapery used by the iamura and kadopa. Hunting, fishing, and agricultural activities thus had to be accompanied by propitiatory activities intended to appease the anger of the iamüra deprived of their animals and plants. On the other hand, karoui and kilaimo wandered through the forest menacing the Bakairí. Against such beings the Indians required the protection of their sorcerer-doctors as well as periods of seclusion in the most dangerous moments.

The Bakairí believed that men had two souls: one called kati or kutulu, heavier and thicker, corresponding to a camisa worn by the second soul, kagatopuri, a more fluid element that

/265 cont./

776 Bakairí: /266/ Kilaimo, Karoui, Iuanaguroro, and Topiehe. Kilaimo is a wandering spirit that wanders through the forest
[756] at night. Karoui is the sorcerer-doctor's enemy; he possesses an axe in the shape of a toad. Iuanaguroro is the lord of hunt-
[224] ing; one of the sides of his chest is larger than the other, and he clasps against it and kills the Indians who offend him.
[825] Topiehe is a bird whose death would result inevitably in the death of the guilty party. There was also a lake inhabited by
[823] maleficent supernatural beings, and where animals reached gigantic proportions.

825 Capistrano de Abreu mentions the attribution of special powers to certain animals. Thus the lizard was the lord of sleep; the fox, of fire; the urubu, of benches; the sea snail, of the sun; the porcupine, of thorns; the kingfisher, of fishes; the deer, of manioc. (12)

12. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 242.

756 The sorcerer, piaji (piahi or piaje) performed very important functions among the Bakairí. Besides the function of curing illness, he performed such tasks as the prediction of enemy attacks, the localizing of game, the finding of lost objects, and interceding with supernatural beings when necessary.

753 For the Bakairí illness was always caused either by hostile
[754] sorcerers or those in the service of enemies, or by spirits such as the iamüra, topiehe, iuanaguroro, or karoui. On being
756 called to heal a sick person, the piaji requested the assistance
755 of his guardian iamüra with the help of a gourd which he shook in accompaniment to songs of invocation. On examining the patient, the piaji decided upon the cause of the illness, whether it had been induced by an enemy or by a spirit. In the second case, the piaji would intercede with the offended
000 spirit, appeasing it. But in the event the illness had been

754 /266 cont./ But in the event the illness had been
755 caused by another sorcerer, it would be necessary to find out first the vehicle of the disease. This might be a small piece of charred wood, a thin cotton thread, or a small piece of bone, tossed from a distance and thus introduced into the patient's body. The sorcerer would suck at the afflicted part, thus withdrawing the cause of the illness.

754 /267/ Our informants could tell us nothing about diseases
[114] caused by omeoto (evil sorcerers) mentioned by Karl von den
[753] Steinen. According to the latter, in order to injure an Indian, a sorcerer would cook in a pot a lizard into whose throat he had previously inserted the skin of the middle finger of a corpse. The agony and death of the lizard were matched simultaneously by the agony and death of the victim. (13)

13. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., p. 442.

[114] In our opinion, this method hardly seems to be indigenous and
[177] is probably the result of acculturation. However, our informants did not know about it.

756 In order to become a sorcerer, a youth had to undergo
[834] training for a period that lasted from six to 12 months, sub-
[262] mitting to rigorous sexual abstinence and an exclusively vegetal
[784] diet. Throughout the initiation period the candidate remained uanki, enclosed in the kadoeti. Part of the training, meanwhile, was carried out in distant places, where the novice learned the healing properties of certain roots, as well as the secrets related to the supernatural world. The training ended
[787] with the acquisition, on the candidate's part, of a guardian
[276] spirit, or iamũra. This acquisition was made during a trance into which the candidate has fallen by means of the ingestion of narcotic substances. After this the new sorcerer had to prove his power, either through small acts such as finding lost objects or by curing a sick person.

/130 cont./

752 her arm, who also needed company. A colleague with a very
752 professional look on his face sat beside her and occasionally had
755 a therapeutic seizure, during which, moaning pitiably, he blew clouds of tobacco smoke over the sick woman or, turned toward the wall, groaned dreadfully. The "cab driver," who, with Tumayaua, had accompanied us as far as the Auetõ and who was a great witch-doctor, took leave of us here. He by all means had to take part in the treatment and was not to be persuaded to leave the case solely to his colleague, who was, after all, blowing extremely efficiently. As a reward for this
123 civilized behavior, we provided him with a /131/ civilized
177 exterior in the form of a shirt and head covering, which, along
291 with a big knife, was the goal of his ambition. We solemnly dressed him up, along with Tumayaua, who had been parading about for a long time in a black and white checked shirt and white linen trousers underneath, and we photographed the two, as is shown in Figure 8 /see p. 125/. Wilhelm had been saving up a few prizes for the deserving travel companions, a magnificent Düsseldorf carnival-cap, worn by him himself as Prince Carnival on a high triumphal chariot, green, yellow, white, and red, with sparkling bells, likewise the medal of His Foolish Majesty, set with brilliants and worn around the neck -- these two pieces went to Tumayaua -- and a genuine carnival cap of the still gayer sister city on the Rhine, which we put over the tonsure of the cab-driver colleague, for want of a doctoral hood. /Figure 8 appears here./ In addition, Tumayaua was given a black frock-coat purchased by Wilhelm in Rio de Janeiro, an import from Paris et le dernier mot de la perfection /and the
000 last word in perfection/. The illustration gives us a faint idea of how ghastly the two fools, puffed up with pride, appeared in their clothing, both certainly not the most handsome types, but now they suddenly looked positively ugly, bent and crooked, and the reason for this, more than the shabbiness of the costume, was that all the contour lines were obliterated and had lost their character. Tumayaua in shirt and trousers was as clumsy as on the first day; he would tear them in the forest, but then again

/334 cont./

*171 551 [124] One of the women in the Paranatinga village was called makála = tujujú stork. The names of the men were usually obtained without difficulty; sometimes there was a little reluctance and it was preferred that a friend give the information. One Bakaïrí allegedly had no name because his parents had died early. From the women on the Kulisehu I always received only the answer, "I am a woman"; however, I neglected to ask a third person.

*171 553 797 I have described the custom of exchanging names; cf. pages 115 and 122. It explains why the Indians make so little fuss about submitting to Christian baptism. To them it means simply a ceremony by means of which they lose their old name.

*171 844 [847] [872] Birth and couvade. Abortions are said to take place frequently. The women are afraid of childbirth. Among the Bakaïrí they make a tea from the root of a campo tree called perovinha. Probably there are also mechanical procedures. The woman gives birth in a kneeling position on the floor, hanging on to a post. The hammock is not supposed to be soiled. Women who demonstrated this to us in pantomime and who knew about it from experience stated emphatically that the pains were great.

*171 846 They soon get up, however, and go to work, and the man goes through the well-known couvade, the male lying-in, during which he adheres to a strict diet, does not touch weapons, and spends most of his time in the hammock. On our return we saw such a couvade in Maigéri in Paleko's house. An actual lying-in room had been /335/ set up by stretching two man-high walls of hanging buriti leaves from one of the main posts to the outer wall. In this way a three-cornered segment was closed off. I was gladly allowed to enter so that I could give the child beads. Inside there were stretched four hammocks, sheltering two women with babies and two men. A strong odor of pikí, coming from rubbings, filled the room. The babies were kurápa, ill, weak, [755] the parents complained. The fathers and mothers were ceaselessly occupied with blowing on them, and, to be sure, with hollow-sounding noises with the mouth nearly closed, which was hardly interrupted for a moment throughout the following night. The [514] [862] husbands left the house only to relieve themselves; they lived exclusively on thin pogu, mandioca cakes crumbled in water.

/343 cont./

*171 754 it up. This hair or blood is put into the poison calabash, which is closed up, and the original owner immediately falls sick. Hair is supposedly used "because headache is produced in this way" -- actually, no doubt, because it is most convenient to obtain. If the sorcerer has no hair or blood, he soaks a little pindahyba twig or a little wool thread /Wollfadchen/ in the poison and hides it in a crack of the house or under the clay foot on which the cooking pot stands, or he surreptitiously throws it -- for it flies very far -- toward the person pursued, or he shoots it with an arrow ** into a

** One may make the subtle distinction between this magic arrow and the weapon of the poisoned arrow which is unknown to the Indians in that the former is not actually poisoned, but rather only dispatches the poisoned fragment.

*171 754 ● 755 tree where the person lives. The good medicine-man, however, often finds it, for he looks everywhere and even climbs up into the tree to fetch it down, lays it in water, and thus renders it harmless; for that he receives from the recovered one, say,/344/ a hammock, for he deserves a fine gift. If the poisoned twig has scratched the patient, the good medicine-man -- and only he -- discovers the spot where it has penetrated, sucks it until the little twig or wool thread appears, and spits it out.

*171 754 Thus we have one method where something from the body is poisoned, and one where the poison is merely brought into its vicinity. There is a third where any connection with it is absent, but instead an animal is killed simultaneously. Its purpose is never merely sickness, but always death. The man to be killed is called ʔmápö or amápö. In this case the sorcerer needs a piece of skin from the middle finger of any corpse and an ugá lizard; he dries the skin at the fire, pulverizes it with his magic poison, stuffs the mixture deep into the throat of the lizard, which is tightly bound around the neck and body so that it cannot get out, tosses the animal thus treated into a pot of water, covers it tightly,

/344 cont./

*171 754 and hangs it over the fire. When the water starts to boil, the amápõ falls sick and, when the lizard dies, he dies.

[753] All illnesses are caused by sorcery; "there are said to be people who commission the medicine men to poison their enemies." On the Schingú one must not make an enemy of one's hairdresser. Then it was really very careless of me, I jokingly interrupted Antonio, to have had him cut my hair. "No," he replied, "I am not bad, I am no omeóto (= ome-zóto, master of poison)." "So all illnesses come from the omeotos?" "All." "Did you ever see one?" "Not among the Bakaíří, we would chase away such bad people." "But among the Kamayurá?" "Pode ser, could be." "Have you ever seen good medicine-men (piáje, French j)?" "Yes, several on the Kulisehu. Pakurali was one. Formerly also on the Paranatinga. The Auetó chief Auayáto was one." It is very characteristic that all bad (kxurá-pa = not our) sorcerers live in foreign villages. The terms omeóto and piáje, by the way, do not seem to be differentiated very strictly. In any case, the laudable, better medicine-men have not been free of professional fraud for a long time, since they cannot very well believe that they have sucked the poisoned cotton threads, which they spit out, from the body of the sick person. The purer origin of their art, however, in the sense of the introductory remarks, is still easily recognizable.

*171 754 The fact that the practice of magic is nothing but a stimulation of the imagination becomes evident in the practical accomplishment even more clearly than in the asceticism of the study of medicine. Pain tells the sick person that he is being attacked by someone. He does not see that anyone in the village is doing it, no one here is so evil. Hence the enemy is outside. The *171 person who wants to get the better of him must, first of all, be 755 stronger than he and, secondly, be able to reach the unseen one. For one who does not know otherwise than that the miracles wrought in a dream are reality, both things become possible through a doctor who /345/ puts himself into a highly excited state, for this alone accomplishes what cannot be accomplished

B /345 cont./
*[171] by ordinary means. This brings about the amusing reverse situa-
755 tion whereby the doctor takes medicine in order to heal. The
[276] more he can bear, the stronger he is. He knows all kinds of poisons that intoxicate and he uses them: tobacco, âgukuriôku or (cipó de cobra) snake-vine, seúwi or timbo vine (Paullinia pinnata), the leaves of the forest tree ãtíko. Everyone listens
B attentively to the unintelligible stuff that he offers during his
[787] stupor, or to the strange experiences that he reports about his
B shadow after he wakes up from deep narcosis. He becomes a
[756] great man, he enjoys the admiration and the gifts; like many other great men, he first permits himself to be led to slight exaggerations and then touches up his own achievements when they are not entirely adequate, so as not to disappoint the stupid
BO folk. Among the Bororó, a person who, at the time of the best
[756] palm wine, consumes the largest quantities during the sumptuous
[203] drinking bouts and, most successfully withstanding the intoxication, makes the longest speeches is recognized as a witch doctor; the concepts of the doctoral banquet and the doctoral examination coincide.

B The tobacco narcosis of the doctor is the most common
[276] medicine for the patient among all our tribes, as well as among many others; the sick body is blown upon with huge clouds, at the same time it is spat upon vigorously, and in between it is kneaded with the use of all the muscular strength amidst terrible groans reverberating throughout the village, not from the patient, but from the doctor. This goes on for a long time; the doctor permits himself only brief pauses in the kneading, during which he laments loudly and at the same time smokes passionately. The cigars are furnished by the family. Finally he starts to suck and, with convulsive outbursts, spits out the cause of the illness.

A The Auetö chief had drunk plant poisons, but he had not yet
[622] undergone the greatest test, taking snake poison, which was often
[755] done in "former" times. It is emphatically pointed out that the poison calabash of the sorcerer cannot harm the good medicine-man, but, of course, it is not explained how the latter can fall ill. The Auetö chief had already been dead. When the medicine

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#191 955 994 man takes the strong poisons, "he dies." When the medicine He lies "dead" in the hammock until his shadow returns. For the time being I should like to ignore what the result of this conception of loss of consciousness is for the conception of death. During his narcosis the witch doctor is able to transform himself into any animal form and immediately reach any place desired. The transformation occurs in such a way that he "enters" into the animal. Even today the best doctors are those who drink poison and transform themselves in the intoxicated state. "These piaje who drink Ingkurifiku and go to heaven," said Antonio literally, "are very good, they cure everything, and the others who do not take poison, who merely blow with tobacco, they cure also, but they do not cure severe /346/ illness." The origin and the meaning of magic cannot be expressed more clearly: one puts himself into a state of excitement in order to make himself capable of what would otherwise be impossible, he works miracles, in which everyone believes, by stimulating his power of imagination; the ultimate basis of all sorcery is the conviction of the reality of what is dreamed or imagined.

Antonio's statements, in the literal wording, about the visit of a narcotized piaje in heaven will explain the situation better than my interpretation. The docile Bakairi have, I can only say, [177] snapped up a few Christian ideas and have made them their own in the most curious distortion; for me, at any rate, it was extremely difficult to remain serious when before my astonished eyes Christ, Mary, and the angels suddenly appeared in Schingü dress amidst beijú and surrounded by gourds filled with starch-paste and yellow pikí juice. At the same time we were assured that the [975] [973] non-Christian ancestors, the "antigos" of the narrative piaje, visited heaven and, drinking poison, changed themselves into all kinds of wild animals. I was given the story when I tried to learn their ideas of heaven.

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#191 "Heaven has a ground, as here. The piaje who was there
● 155 says so." "??..." "He drank liana poison and died. He was
001 then no longer like human beings, he could go into a jaguar or a
005 cobra snake or a nakuri snake or a falcon. He ascended to
539 heaven, came back, awoke as a human being, and was just as he was before. This happened on the Paranatinga. The same thing also happened formerly among the anigon, and the people of the Tamitonsis (Batovy) used to say the same thing." Thereupon Antonio reported his specific example. "He drank the poison in the hammock itself, he drank out of a gourd vessel in which there was mixed a great deal of water, he died in the hammock. He went to heaven and there met the anigon. He also met that one...., what is he called?" (Tries in vain to think of the name.) "Oh, his mother also went to heaven." "Jesu Christo?" "The same. He conversed with him for a long time. This Kriro had him sit down on a stool and brought him calabashes with pogo and nikí juice. There was a great deal of it. They talked a very long time. This Kriro provided him with arara feathers for flying. Then he blew on him. Then he let him return. He woke up in his hammock." I wanted to find out in greater detail how he had come out. "The shadow rose up a little above heaven, carefully looked for the hole by which one goes out of heaven, and flew back here." "So the shadow had been in heaven?" "Since the body does not go and cannot rise up because it is dead, the shadow goes."

#194 The transformation thus takes place in the dream, which is
155 induced by a narcotic. It is regarded as real and the story of such
08 a dream, wholly true or nowadays only very much partially true in professional practice, furnishes the material for the belief in the art of the /347/ witch doctors. Their actual merit lies only in their knowledge of the narcotics, and in particular, from our point of view, that of tobacco narcosis.* Antonio told me that

* The occasion for becoming acquainted with the narcotic effect was probably during the fanning of the smoldering fire. One must seek in the forest the dry leaves which are thrown on, which

2. Steinen--410 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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smoke and flare up more or less quickly when one blows on them. Leaves burning with an aromatic or stupefying smoke would strike the sensitive nose of the Indian while he was blowing on them and would be found useful by him for his medicinal sorcerer's kitchen. He inhaled the smoke and swallowed it (hence always the expression "drink" among the discoverers of America).

there are two kinds of "tobacco": the tobacco which one smokes for pleasure is different from the kind that cures and is much weaker. In the cures which I saw the ordinary tobacco was used; probably there are other leaves that have a stronger narcotic effect. The Schingil cigarette in its green aromatic leaf-wrapping is probably one of the simplest forms of regular smoking enjoyment. Tobacco smoke cures everything. I saw infected eyes, inflammation of the hip joint, burns, abdominal pains, and other such things treated with it. The Suyá blew it into my ears and talked into them loudly, so that I would understand their language better. Perhaps if a patient is blown upon for a long time with a thick cloud of smoke a slight drowsiness is aimed at, but in each case the patient, already suffering, must lapse into a dull state as a result of the untiring, monotonous moaning and kneading, in which he may experience transformations just as well as the medicine man. I did not obtain any accounts or examples of this, however.

In the following chapter I must discuss a simpler method of blowing, by means of which the sorcerer transforms, not himself, but others, and which occurs without tobacco smoke.

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The medicine man or anyone else blows in a different way when he drives away a thunderstorm by blowing. Saliva is puffed out through a spray funnel against the clouds. I myself saw the remedy work several times and was then sorry that in my overly great caution, in spite of the urgent requests of the Indians, I had not puffed along with them. I lacked the power of imagination.

/362 cont./

539 more natural than that the tatú, well known for quickly digging itself in, should, as soon as it eludes its pursuer, make a group of those star holes. All that was missing for establishing the game of escape and pursuit was the quarrel, and the "apple of discord," for which again is chosen the favorite fruit, which is round and has butter-yellow meat, but any other might have been chosen. In short, the story originates, without any great power of invention, by making a connection between the characteristics of one of the heavenly animals that presented itself through the natural stimulus and a suitable group of stars that attracts the attention of the inquiring mind. Then the name runs "the giant armadillo comes out." All that is required is the interest that produces the question, and the explanatory ideas are inevitable.

773 128 One generation may have contributed this, another generation that. To continue the analysis up to the final details is simply impossible, if one because the comparative material with other Karaiben tribes is very meager.

761 655 512 Transformation. A large part of the Bakairí explanation of nature rests on the supposition of sorcery. They have no development, but only transformation. This takes place in two ways.

The first is that a dead person is blown upon and comes to life, or that a thing is blown upon and comes to life. To the dead person the breath which he lacks is given back, to the thing, breath is imparted and with it life. This blowing, proceeding from the most natural attempt at resuscitation, and the tobacco-blowing of the modern medicine man must not be confused. The weak newborn babies in Maigéri (cf. p. 392), for whose life one feared, were blown upon day and night, but not with tobacco. It was only in practice that the two methods merged. The blowing of tobacco smoke on a patient was merely added by transference to the smoking of the doctor -- which, as we have seen (cf. p. 407), is merely the easiest and most pleasant of the various types of narcosis otherwise induced by drinking, on the use of which his art seems to be based. It has probably long been forgotten that by

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761 blowing it was intended to breathe in the breath. But in the
755 legends the dead and things are always brought to life by simple
812 but indispensable blowing, and the Bakaïrí sometimes translates epeheni, "to blow," into the Portuguese with rezar, "to pray, to bless," while ordinarily he uses soprar, "to blow," or assoprar, "to blow upon," just as the substantive related to epeheni is sapehénu, "wind."

Although I said that things become living or animate through blowing, on closer observation this is a very incorrect expression. The /363/ sorcerer accomplishes far more than breathing a "soul"
773 or, as into the dead, "life," into them. We learn this from the
812 most important example that human beings are made from things: men from arrows, women from maize pestles, after the necessary arrows and pestles have been carved out of cane and wood. To be sure, there were always Bakaïrí, but if there was a scarcity of them, the culture hero made new ones by fashioning arrows out of ubá reed, thrusting them upright into the ground, and blowing on them. In the same way each of the other tribes were made out of the arrow reed that they still carry today and that therefore still differentiates them today; the European was made from a wood resembling the stock of his gun. The fundamental
[69] observation, which is later, as always, regarded as confirmation of the proceedings described, is that the tribes are differentiated by their arrows. Moreover, the arrow is the characteristic feature of the man. The women, on the other hand, come into being when maize pestles are carved, set upright against the mortar, and get the breath of life by being blown upon; those carved out of good wood start working immediately, the others are idle.

Neither arrows nor pestles are given a "soul," but rather the whole "person." When the sorcerer is finished, the man stands beside his arrow, the woman beside her pestle. The storyteller himself seems to be not entirely at ease about the process, for the sorcerer, as soon as he has blown, "goes to one side a little" and upon his return finds the men or women finished. An insect, which through mimicry has come to look like a jatobá leaf and is called "jatobá leaf" by the Bakaïrí, was created by blowing on the leaf; we might say "it came alive" or call it a "transformed leaf." The person is added to the already present reed, wood, leaf.

/268 cont./

756 It has been mentioned that in certain cases both the piahi
776 and the yamũra can take the shadow of a person who has offended
774 them; but only the piahi can return what he took; and, conversely, he can return the shadow stolen by a yamũra.

825 This leads us to mention Topiehe, a Mato Grosso bird which
196 we were unable to identify and in whose name there is probably the same radical as is found in piahi and epiwado.

825 Topiehe, when killed, steals the person's shadow; this is
774 why Topiehe is not killed; it takes a person's shadow far away;
756 then the person dies. The house of Topiehe is in the sky;
755 the Topiehe does not die /569/ really, says the piahi. The one who (seemingly) killed the Topiehe becomes cold; when he reaches home, he falls ill then the piahi is called, and when he arrives, the bench is washed very clean; then the tail of the arara is tied with cotton to the maracá. While the curer is doing this, no one speaks, and the fire is put out; the bench is placed at the door, and the curerholds it, plays the maracá, and then shouts. When he is not near, yamũra does not come quickly. When he arrives, the bench moves and if the curer does not make it fast, it runs away this is why the curer does not let go of the bench, on whichsits yamũra, with whom the piahi converses: Don't you see, relative, I am calling, I am talking, I am singing, I am shouting, says the curer. I did this, because he committed this crime (inutudohe), answers Topiehe.-- He is a human being, he does not know what he is doing, that is why he killed you, answers the curer. When the piahi spoke, Topiehe said: Take him. When the cotton was grasped our shadow is above and then the murderer gets well. After the return: I am going away. I heard your shout and this is why I came, says Topiehe. When Yamũra goes away, the people talk, the curer goes to the patient; he was sick because he killed Topiehe; Topiehe is not to be killed, says the curer.

/265 cont./

776 Bakairí: /266/ Kilaimo, Karoui, Iuanaguroro, and Topiehe. Kilaimo is a wandering spirit that wanders through the forest
[756] at night. Karoui is the sorcerer-doctor's enemy; he possesses an axe in the shape of a toad. Iuanaguroro is the lord of hunt-
[224] ing; one of the sides of his chest is larger than the other, and he clasps against it and kills the Indians who offend him.
[825] Topiehe is a bird whose death would result inevitably in the
[823] death of the guilty party. There was also a lake inhabited by maleficent supernatural beings, and where animals reached gigantic proportions.

825 Capistrano de Abreu mentions the attribution of special powers to certain animals. Thus the lizard was the lord of sleep; the fox, of fire; the urubu, of benches; the sea snail, of the sun; the porcupine, of thorns; the kingfisher, of fishes; the deer, of manioc. (12)

12. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 242.

756 The sorcerer, piaji (piahi or piaje) performed very important functions among the Bakairí. Besides the function of curing illness, he performed such tasks as the prediction of enemy attacks, the localizing of game, the finding of lost objects, and interceding with supernatural beings when necessary.

753 For the Bakairí illness was always caused either by hostile
[754] sorcerers or those in the service of enemies, or by spirits such as the iamũra, topiehe, iuanaguroro, or karoui. On being
756 called to heal a sick person, the piaji requested the assistance
755 of his guardian iamũra with the help of a gourd which he shook in accompaniment to songs of invocation. On examining the patient, the piaji decided upon the cause of the illness, whether it had been induced by an enemy or by a spirit. In the second case, the piaji would intercede with the offended
000 spirit, appeasing it. But in the event the illness had been

754 /266 cont./ But in the event the illness had been
755 caused by another sorcerer, it would be necessary to find out first the vehicle of the disease. This might be a small piece of charred wood, a thin cotton thread, or a small piece of bone, tossed from a distance and thus introduced into the patient's body. The sorcerer would suck at the afflicted part, thus withdrawing the cause of the illness.

754 /267/ Our informants could tell us nothing about diseases
[114] caused by omeoto (evil sorcerers) mentioned by Karl von den
[753] Steinen. According to the latter, in order to injure an Indian, a sorcerer would cook in a pot a lizard into whose throat he had previously inserted the skin of the middle finger of a corpse. The agony and death of the lizard were matched simultaneously by the agony and death of the victim. (13)

13. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., p. 442.

[114] In our opinion, this method hardly seems to be indigenous and
[177] is probably the result of acculturation. However, our informants did not know about it.

756 In order to become a sorcerer, a youth had to undergo
[834] training for a period that lasted from six to 12 months, sub-
[262] mitting to rigorous sexual abstinence and an exclusively vegetal
[284] diet. Throughout the initiation period the candidate remained nanki, enclosed in the kabeni. Part of the training, meanwhile, was carried out in distant places, where the novice learned the healing properties of certain roots, as well as the secrets related to the supernatural world. The training ended
[787] with the acquisition, on the candidate's part, of a guardian
[276] spirit, or iamūra. This acquisition was made during a trance into which the candidate has fallen by means of the ingestion of narcotic substances. After this the new sorcerer had to prove his power, either through small acts such as finding lost objects or by curing a sick person.

241 beans, *ipié;* peanuts, *oremí;* sweetpotatoes, *mahódo;* "cará," *návi;* maize, *ánji;* potatoes, *múla;* cotton, *kodokíra;* urucú, *ánto;* tobacco, *tauwí;* piqui fruit, *ípa.* Manioc, maize, and sweetpotatoes
248 were the principal food crops. Cotton was grown for making hammocks and the various belts and
276 strings used. Tobacco leaves, after being dried, were smoked by being rolled into cigars (*tapáki*).
[755] Tobacco seems to have had a ritual use, as the shamans smoked heavily before performing a rite.
252 Bitter manioc was shredded on a shredding board into which fish teeth or fine pieces of shell had been embedded. The pulp was squeezed in a piece of cotton cloth in order to remove the poisonous acids. The meal was then used for baking cakes. The fine powder or flour which settled at the bottom of the settling tub was also used for baking cakes after it was thoroughly dried. Maize was eaten boiled or roasted. Sweetpotatoes were
272 roasted over coals. Maize meal was prepared and mixed with wild honey and water to make a nonalcoholic beverage. The Bacairí claim not to have used any form of alcoholic beverage.

241 Cultivated plots were located outside the village, each large household usually having a continuous area. Maize and many other crops were planted in September and October when the rains began. Sweet manioc and sweetpotatoes could be planted the year around, especially on river banks after the rivers went down following the rainy season. April was the harvest month and also the beginning of the ceremonial season.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

592 The occupants of the large communal houses usually worked together in the fields, went hunting or fishing together, and generally cooperated in economic activities. Families could work individually if they wished or did not need the help
241 of others. It was the task of the men to burn and
462 prepare the fields for planting. As the men loosened the soil with the digging stick women planted the seeds, slips, or pieces of stalk, as the case might be. Women and children thereafter took care of the weeding.

462 Division of labor by sex existed to a certain
[295] extent. Women wove mats (*anegéu*) out of various
[296] fibers, and hammocks out of cotton yarn which was also spun by women. Men wove baskets.
[323] Both men and women made clay pots. Bacairí

725 came back to the village to play tricks on people. The Bacairí did not believe that the ghosts of the dead caused death and, therefore, were not afraid
726 of them. They were, however, afraid of certain
761 evil spirits—for instance, *eradupíra*, who caused
753 death and sickness.

756 To become a shaman (*pidji*), a young unmarried man would train with an old shaman for a period of 6 months to a year. During this period
[785] sexual intercourse was forbidden, fasts were periodically observed, and the novice had to abstain from eating meat. Much of the training took place in the woods, where the old shaman would
[735] teach the novice the curative properties of roots and herbs and, also, how to get in touch with the
756 ghosts of dead shamans. The training would be
757 complete when the novice acquired his own spirit
[715] helper, which was always the ghost of a dead shaman. Sometimes the revelation was so powerful that the young novice would fall to the ground in a trance. The spirit that then appeared to
[534] him instructed him how to make a flute (either *emíni* or *kanagéra*), which he kept in the sacred flute house, and gave him a special tune by which he could always call his spirit helper. The novice had then to prove himself by curing some sick person or by finding lost property. If he were successful he became a recognized shaman.

756 Before beginning a performance, shamans al-
755 ways fasted for several days and smoked heavily. In curing a sick person the shaman asked his spirit helper for instructions which usually were explanations of how to remove objects from the body which caused the illness. Besides removing
756 objects from the body the shamans prepared med-
757 icines. Headaches and pains in the body were cured by juice of the *peméira* tuber, and *turógi* leaves were used for pains in the chest. For
[255] healing the wounds made by the scratcher the juice made by boiling the *kumatáni* plant was
[8-32] used. The Bacairí also prepared aphrodisiacs from the *katdino* plant and by mixing piqui nuts, honey, and turtle eggs.

GAMES

526 The Bacairí played, and still play, a form of Indian football called *toinyamíli*. The ball (*toin*) was made by covering a round gourd with native
[314] rubber, leaving a small opening. The gourd was

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171 754 ● 756 The medicine men are differentiated as good and bad. According to Antonio, there are "few among the Bakaïrí and Auetó, more among the Nahuquá, many among the Mehinakú, and too many among the Kamayurá." There were none living on the Paranatinga at the time. Anyone can become one, but it is very difficult. "One must learn a great deal." One is supposed to [262] [785] drink only starchy broth for four months, enjoy no salt and eat no

[261] [266]

* This fasting is also very good if one wants to excel in the art of shooting fish, and in this case it is sufficient if one does not eat anything but starch-paste for a month. Antonio did this and was very satisfied with the result.

meat, fish, or fruits; one is not supposed to sleep but to drum ceaselessly on the skull with the fists so that the swollen eyes are very painful in the morning, bathe a great deal, scratch arm and chest bloody, etc. Antonio wanted to study medicine, but was afraid of this difficult internship; Felipe made a good start in the same endeavor, but did not succeed, because he had no teacher. *171 754 The chief art of the accomplished master of sorcery is exhibited in the use of poisons. With these he kills others and he even kills himself in order to be able to change himself into another shape. We are to become acquainted here with a conception of death which takes some getting used to, but which is in direct agreement with the life of the shadow during sleep.

[628] Let us hear first how sickness and death come into the world, in spite of the good medicine-man of one's own village, who with all his might combats the evil one from the foreign village. [825] [824] The evil one is a bad person whom no one likes because he kills instead of healing, he mixes the poison from wasps, from the tocandyra ant, and from other such animals with oil and resin from the alsmeica and pindahyba in a calabash. From the man whom he wishes to harm he obtains either hair, by stepping on it when it is being cut or even cutting it himself when the man is asleep, or a bit of blood by tossing a finely pointed twig of jatobá, pindahyba, or pau de olho in his direction and then picking

/344 cont./

*171 954 and hangs it over the fire. When the water starts to boil, the amápõ falls sick and, when the lizard dies, he dies.

[953] All illnesses are caused by sorcery; "there are said to be people who commission the medicine men to poison their enemies." On the Schingú one must not make an enemy of one's hairdresser. Then it was really very careless of me, I jokingly interrupted Antonio, to have had him cut my hair. "No," he replied, "I am not bad, I am no omeóto (= ome-zóto, master of poison)." "So all illnesses come from the omeotos?" "All." "Did you ever see one?" "Not among the Bakaïrí, we would chase away such bad people." "But among the Kamayurá?" "Pode ser, could be." "Have you ever seen good medicine-men (piáje, French j)?" "Yes, several on the Kulisehu. Pakurali was one. Formerly also on the Paranatinga. The Auetó chief Auayáto was one." It is very characteristic that all bad (kxurá-pa = not our) sorcerers live in foreign villages. The terms omeóto and piáje, by the way, do not seem to be differentiated very strictly. In any case, the laudable, better medicine-men have not been free of professional fraud for a long time, since they cannot very well believe that they have sucked the poisoned cotton threads, which they spit out, from the body of the sick person. The purer origin of their art, however, in the sense of the introductory remarks, is still easily recognizable.

*171 954 956

*171 954 The fact that the practice of magic is nothing but a stimulation of the imagination becomes evident in the practical accomplishment even more clearly than in the asceticism of the study of medicine. Pain tells the sick person that he is being attacked by someone. He does not see that anyone in the village is doing it, no one here is so evil. Hence the enemy is outside. The

*171 955 person who wants to get the better of him must, first of all, be stronger than he and, secondly, be able to reach the unseen one. For one who does not know otherwise than that the miracles wrought in a dream are reality, both things become possible through a doctor who /345/ puts himself into a highly excited state, for this alone accomplishes what cannot be accomplished

B /345 cont./
*171 by ordinary means. This brings about the amusing reverse situa-
755 tion whereby the doctor takes medicine in order to heal. The
[276] more he can bear, the stronger he is. He knows all kinds of poisons that intoxicate and he uses them: tobacco, ãgukuriôku or (cipó de cobra) snake-vine, seúwi or timbo vine (Paullinia pinnata), the leaves of the forest tree ãtíko. Everyone listens
B attentively to the unintelligible stuff that he offers during his
[789] stupor, or to the strange experiences that he reports about his shadow after he wakes up from deep narcosis. He becomes a
B great man, he enjoys the admiration and the gifts; like many
[756] other great men, he first permits himself to be led to slight exaggerations and then touches up his own achievements when they are not entirely adequate, so as not to disappoint the stupid
B0 folk. Among the Bororó, a person who, at the time of the best
[756] palm wine, consumes the largest quantities during the sumptuous
[273] drinking bouts and, most successfully withstanding the intoxication, makes the longest speeches is recognized as a witch doctor; the concepts of the doctoral banquet and the doctoral examination coincide.

B The tobacco narcosis of the doctor is the most common
[274] medicine for the patient among all our tribes, as well as among many others; the sick body is blown upon with huge clouds, at the same time it is spat upon vigorously, and in between it is kneaded with the use of all the muscular strength amidst terrible groans reverberating throughout the village, not from the patient, but from the doctor. This goes on for a long time; the doctor permits himself only brief pauses in the kneading, during which he laments loudly and at the same time smokes passionately. The cigars are furnished by the family. Finally he starts to suck and, with convulsive outbursts, spits out the cause of the illness.

A The Aueto chief had drunk plant poisons, but he had not yet
[222] undergone the greatest test, taking snake poison, which was often
[195] done in "former" times. It is emphatically pointed out that the poison calabash of the sorcerer cannot harm the good medicine-man, but, of course, it is not explained how the latter can fall ill. The Aueto chief had already been dead. When the medicine

/363 cont./

773 812 I mean to say that these cases are essentially different from those in the legends where things are "personified," that is, speak and act like animal and human being. The falling turtle of the Amazon legend sees a boulder in the direction of her fall and calls out to it: "Get out of my way!" Obediently the stone removes itself and she falls on soft ground. The stone, which understands her words, could also have replied. Keri quarrels with the sky and, angered, goes over to the earth with his people, where the Bakaïrí, as a result, live today. The wind is called in order to tear down a tree. In these cases there is no blowing or sorcery. The storyteller lets the things hear, speak, in order to say that they do or do not want something, are tractable or refractory, and need not realize, as we do, that he is thus endowing them with a "soul." "How could the sky talk?" "I don't know, at that time it talked." More was not to be learned from Antonio. If today in ordinary life a thing suddenly causes harm, that is the fault of an evil sorcerer, whereas an animal acts by itself.

754 756 812 /364/ The second type of transformation is that of the sorcerer himself into any animal shape desired. No one seems to know how he does this. He does not actually become the animal itself, however; he always goes into the animal and is always implanted in the animal; in fact, he can be in the foot of the tapir and seize the vulture. Now does the "soul" go out of one person and into the other? But in that case at least we ought not ask either where the soul of the animal or where the body of the culture hero remains, or whether the "shade," which in the case of the modern, narcotized medicine man lying in the hammock leaves the body for the transformation into jaguar or snake, was previously "inside" the medicine man, or whether the shade can get inside an animal- - I believe we are overdoing a good thing if we speak of the activities of the "soul" among primitive peo-
[974] ples. I, at any rate, merely had the impression that with regard to the "soul" the Indians sometimes think of the shade, sometimes of the breath, but do not account for all the specific details, and instead always preserve the image of the entire "living" personality. It seems to me one comes closest to the real situation if one

/364 cont./

754 imagines the sorcerer as being in an animal approximately like the
● 756 Indian in an animal mask, who now is a dove, for example, and
812 behaves like a dove in voice and movement, but remains fellow tribesman X and is therefore able to fetch a gourd bowl full of pogu from the women, although he is a bird.

793 [792] Keri and Kame and the ancestor legend. The general basis of the world view of the Bakaïrí is his relationship to animal life. It assumes, however, one might say, that his science and poetry are of heavenly origin. The oldest Bakaïrí lived in heaven; this is proved to us by all that we know about the sun and moon, and everything that we see up there, the figures of the Milky Way, the starless areas, and the shining Magellanic Clouds. Strangely enough, there was nothing to be discovered in the way of ideas about thunderstorms, windstorms, clouds, rain, which are productive in a similar sense among other peoples. One had the impression that meteorology was still quite unexplored. There always remained the astronomical heavenly animals, to which were added the personages of the ancestor legend. The second main source of legend material flows in the memories of the tribe, but the two streams are so tightly intermingled that it is scarcely possible to distinguish what was originally supplied by the one and what by the other. The jaguar, behind which is concealed a cannibalistic neighboring tribe of ancient times, has become one with the jaguar of the Milky Way and to top it all, the zoological varieties of the jaguar family are available as a number of brothers.

[799] The names Keri and Kame show that foreign, and, to be sure, Aruak influence has played a significant role. These are the names for moon and sun of the Ilu-Aruak tribes. they are not Karaiben /365/ words at all.* A coincidence is completely

*Cf. Bakaïrí-Grammatik /Bakaïrí Grammar/, p. 57. The Iriland Karaiben have a benign "deity," Ischeiri, which can scarcely be connected with keri phonetically, if there is a connection and Ischeiri is ancient

/260 cont./

796 for now merely stressing the following on this point: the masked dances and festivals are true religious ceremonies.

796 Let us now consider the piahi, whose important role has
● 756 already been indicated.

One word suffices to describe him: the piahi is a Yamîka.

Piahi is a word that, with slight variations, appears in several South American languages and, like Caraiba can be interpreted in various ways. In Bacairi it is related perhaps to epiwado, "payment," an idea whose scope we have already had occasion to mention. Basically /261/ it means the curer, the doctor. Thus it must not be confused with "sorcerer": ome-odo, "the lord of poison," may take a person's health and life; amapiodo, "the lord of the hand of the dead," can vanquish the "lord of poison"; but both are mortal, while the curer is immortal and controls the forces of nature.

756 A few examples taken at random will show how the piahi appears to the mind of the Bacairi.

796 The son of a curer was walking with his father, when
756 suddenly he was attacked by a jaguar. He defended himself
793 as best he could, and, arriving home, he said: I have beaten a jaguar.--You are lying, said the curer, you have beaten me. This proves that the curer can get into the bodies of animals, or, to use the native expression, "make an animal his shirt."

Parutamido killed a tatou at the edge of a lake, cut it open, washed it, and refused to hand it over to the Yamîka who demanded it in the water, as an animal of his creation (/). To punish him, the Yamîka drowned him. When some time had passed without news of him, a curer who was his brother-in-law dreamed of what had happened to him. He went into the lake, where the Yamîka explained why he had drowned Parutamido, treated him very well, presented him with minaki, with beijiu, and taught him the dance of the Kwarubwo. This shows what different relations the yamîkas

/261 cont./

have with the piahi and with the common people (wanololo, from waono, "first"; cf. Ger. "der erste der beste" /first come first served/.

At the waterfalls of the Paranatinga, a fearsome place where Keri and Came tossed the Mama, an enchanted red stone /262/ with which they killed Miro and Arimoto, there is underneath the Mama the dream (Vbdo) which they tore from the lizard's eyes. There dwells the father of smallpox (turi); those who come near him fall ill; when the time for the leaping of the matrimam /a kind of fish/ comes, anyone nearby who talks or laughs is thrown into the water. The curer runs no risk by coming near; if he becomes angry, he can bless the sleep and this one gets up and wanders off.

How does the curer reach this fullness of powers which in his discourses he so often hurls at those whom he contemptuously calls "common people"? Through a very long and painful apprenticeship, which few persons have the courage to undergo to the end and to the letter.

First of all, the curer candidate (piahi-be-ini) must find an experienced curer who will tell him what he must do and protect him against the enemies whom he is bound to encounter. On his part, in addition, the future curer must not leave a single breach through which the enemy, the Kadwi, might enter, the so envious and so evil yamiras, whose principal occupation, it would seem, is to go in search of the slightest carelessness in order to punish it unmercifully.

Such is the object of the rigorous training to which he must submit if he wishes to rise to the heights where the true curer dwells.

The novice begins by drinking various drogs, such as tunbe, pindowa, vainibd, and other cipos, in order to learn the language of animals and of Kadwi, a sort of Curupira; he cannot eat piribb, mingbo, fat, meat, lambari /a kind of fish/, flying things, /263/ tamanduas, or honey; his food consists exclusively of beijó and polvilho bruh.

/263 cont./

756 [346] He does not live in the village, but in a house apart, the dance house (Kwáóeti), where festivals are held and guests accommodated, and where women may not enter; he cannot speak to the latter, and for greater safety, not only does the master curer frighten the novice by telling him that the voices he hears are not those of women but of Kaúwi, but he sling his hammock across the door so that his disciple cannot go out in an unguarded moment.

[825] After a time the master and disciple go wandering about, and the latter, who has easily learned the language of Kaúwi, begins to speak the language of the jaguar. This is a sign that the initiation is nearly over; the curer gives him the cipó de cobra /caapeba/ (aíkur-ináyu), the piahi candidate dies, becomes yamíra, and goes to the sky to present himself to Nakoeri.

776 825 Nakoeri, whom we already know, owns many domestic animals: aracs, pombas /Columbiformes/, rolas /small Columbiformes/, jacú, jacucaca, mutum, maracanã, parakeets, parrots, toucans, araçari, anum, chickens, tamanduas, etc. What these animals have in common, only a naturalist familiar with the Indians' way of thinking could state with any certainty. Some seem to have been chosen on account of the brilliance of the plumage, others for their early-rising habits, and others, finally, because of the fact that they disappear for a time, reappearing later, as though they had dwelt in greener pastures.

756 776 The differences between the curer and the common yamíra begin after death: the latter, as has been seen, climbs /264/ a cotton ladder; the disciple and master climb together, but how this is done is not stated.

When the piahi-te-ini goes to see the sky, the sky dwellers see him coming from afar: Who goes there? the yamíras say to Nakoeri; then Nakoeri appears at the door;

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the piahi and his disciple draw near. Ah! It is you, you have come? says Nakoeri;--Yes, it is I. I have come to see you, replies the disciple;--Yes, you did not like your drink, your beijú, your food, it is good, this is why you came, common people do not come to my village, says Nakoeri.

Then Nakoeri puts benches outside and talks outside to the disciple of the curer; first, he puts down a red bench; then he puts down two white benches; the disciple does not sit on the red bench; he brings out three red benches (five in all, with the red ones closer to the candidate, to tempt him); the candidate walks by the three red benches without sitting down (if he sat down, he would commit a crime and would not rise to piahi) and sits on the white bench. You are an upright man (aturudo-ko), yes, you are brave, Nakoeri tells him.

Then Nakoeri fetches mandioca dough; he ties the tail of a red macaw with cotton to the tip of the handle of the maracá, and he intones his song and plays the maracá; then the candidate's bench moves, and on the bench he goes inside the house; as he goes in, Nakoeri interrupts his song: You are going inside the sky, says Nakoeri.--Yes, Captain, I am, says the candidate.--Take him inside the sky, says Nakoeri to his companion, and he intones his song anew.

The bench goes to the sky, swirling; Nakoeri's companion holds on to the bench and instructs the candidate, who cannot see anyone. Here, Nakoeri's companion says, is the plaza of the old night; there, the /265/ plaza of the old heads, further on, the plaza of the old ribs, he goes on saying (15). The

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15. The word "old" in this passage corresponds to the suffix pûri or bûri, which, as we have already seen, indicates the past of the substantives.

candidate sees nothing, he merely hears the talk of Nakoeri's companion; in the sky darkness alone reigns, and thus he does not see anyone.

/285 cont./

756 After much wandering, the sky becomes cooler. We are
776 close to the village, says Nakoeri's companion. Then they reach the village of the hornets, and the candidate hears nothing but hornet language: Did you come, my brother? Did you come, my father? Did you come, my uncle? Did you come, my son? the candidate hears, but he sees nothing, because one cannot see through the darkness of the sky.

The bench moves on again, and then, as though awakening, they reach Nakoeri's house and go into it. You wandered much, says Nakoeri.--Yes, I did, Captain, answers the candidate.

After a short while, the candidate says to Nakoeri: Captain, I am going away. Yes, replies Nakoeri, You may go now; you will return again one day.

114 Let us now interrupt this passage in order to comment
115 upon it.
776 Dr. Carlos von den Steinen heard from Antonio something which probably referred to Nakoeri; he thought, however, that the story,--naturally poorly developed, since Antonio spoke in Portuguese, which he did not know well, and an Indian only narrates with pleasure and clarity in his native tongue--showed the influence of Christianity. Thus, when Antonio, unable to recall at once the name of the personage who dwelt in the sky, was searching for it in his own mind, the German traveler asked him if it might not be Jesus /266/ Christo.--"Crito mesmo /Christ himself/," said Antonio, possibly accepting the suggestion (16).

[113] 16. Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral Brasiliens /Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil/, 346 /see 2:Steinen, this file, p. 409/.

/267 cont./

756 What remains of the story of the piahi candidate can be summarized in a few lines:

[774] After having spoken to Nakoeri, the candidate goes away; at the door of the sky, the shadow puts on its old shirt and, once in it, lies down and goes to sleep; no one can go where he is, except the curer who initiated him. In the afternoon he awakens.--Do you want mingíu, are you hungry? asks the curer; and when the candidate replies in the affirmative he goes to make him mingáu with sour dough. After having slept for three days, he eats fresh beijú, then polvilho and puherewo. The curer does not yet allow him to leave the dance house; in the next moon he eats piñão; after two moons he may go out a little, and then he eats game, matrinxã, and white pacú. Three months later, he is piahi; he wanders about, goes into a jaguar, into an anta, into a queixada, etc.

756 776 Once consecrated piahi, we have already seen some of the things that he is able to do. We shall give one more story, however, to show the difference between piahi and yamũra.

/268/ Both have died, and it is precisely from death that they acquire the power which makes them so feared by their countrymen; but after death the piahi returns to life by permission of Nakoeri, and then he never dies again, while the yamũra may appear on the earth, enter into the bodies of animals, even put on a human shirt as in the masked festivals, but in reality he never again lives down here below.

Both have almost unlimited powers over nature, but in reality the piahi is the more powerful, because the yamũra respects him and addresses him as "brother-in-law," and he has ways to placate the yamũra and even to scare him away, such as burning cotton seed, or painting with urucú the person against whom the yamũra has been angered.

Both represent dark powers, but the piahi represents some luminosity which he acquired from his association with Nakoeri.

/208 cont./

756 796 794 It has been mentioned that in certain cases both the piaki and the yamîra can take the shadow of a person who has offended them; but only the piaki can return what he took; and, conversely, he can return the shadow stolen by a yamîra.

825 196 This leads us to mention Topuehe, a Mato Grosso bird which we were unable to identify and in whose name there is probably the same radical as is found in piaki and epiwado.

825 794 756 755 Topuehe, when killed, steals the person's shadow; this is why Topuehe is not killed; it takes a person's shadow far away; then the person dies. The house of Topuehe is in the sky; the Topuehe does not die /208/ really, says the piaki. The one who (seemingly) killed the Topuehe becomes cold; when he reaches home, he falls ill; then the piaki is called, and when he arrives, the bench is washed very clean; then the tail of the arara is tied with cotton to the maracá. While the curer is doing this, no one speaks, and the fire is put out; the bench is placed at the door, and the curer holds it, plays the maracá, and then shouts. When he is not near, yamîra does not come quickly. When he arrives, the bench moves and if the curer does not make it fast, it runs away; this is why the curer does not let go of the bench, on which sits yamîra, with whom the piaki converses: Don't you see, relative, I am calling, I am talking, I am singing, I am shouting, says the curer. I did this, because he committed this crime (mundoho), answers Topuehe.-- He is a human being, he does not know what he is doing, that is why he killed you, answers the curer. When the piaki spoke, Topuehe said: Take him. When the cotton was grasped our shadow is above and then the murderer gets well. After the return: I am going away. I heard your shout and this is why I came, says Topuehe. When Yamîra goes away, the people talk, the curer goes to the patient; he was sick because he killed Topuehe; Topuehe is not to be killed, says the curer.

/269 cont./

75 For his part, the curer can also steal the shadow of a person.

He takes advantage of the sleep of the one against whom he is angry (piahi sewuocenibiri), and, seizing the shadow that is passing by, he takes it to various places, asking it mercilessly whether it knows where it is. Soon the piahi sewuocesi-biri feels cold and feverish and falls ill. The grandfather and the mother beg for the protection of the curer: Come to see my son, says the mother; come to see what is making this son of mine sick. If they do not say this, the piahi makes the person die. /270/ If they do say it, the piahi replies: "Your son is a coward, this is why he is ill; but he is lying only so that no one will know that it was he. In the afternoon he goes out shooting down the paths; at night he returns home shooting. He orders the fire to be put out, and the ceremony is almost the same as for the Tapuiha, and the curer's payment is a cotton netting.

At the end of this story which we are summarizing, the power of the curer is stressed once more.

● 756 Piahi wanders about with yamika, wanders about with the jaguar (uko-ao, the same radical as uko, ukorori, "enemy"). He goes to the sky, he goes to the water, he goes into the snake, he goes into the ururi /water hen/, he goes into little birds, he goes into any flying thing; this is why he frightens us; under the snake he lures us, under the jaguar; he knows who dies; he goes like the wind, he goes into the village, he goes nearby, he tears down houses with a hook. He does all these things when he is angry.

76 Thus, the Bacairi sees three great forces in the world: 77 Nanoki, inactive, kind, and remote, who requires no cult 78 because he does no harm; yamikra, souls of the ancestors, who have gone to the sky and, while able to do good, can likewise do evil and must be propitiated continuously; the piahi, yamikra

/270 cont./

of a higher order because they come back to life after they have died and return to live among men.

Aside from these three principles, we find unclear figures and concepts, probably vestiges of older ideas.

Dr. C. v. d. Steinen speaks of Kitaino ocotiko, which he translates as "devil." I. is not familiar with such a being, but simply /271/ Kitaino, evil beings who dwell in the forest or in the hills, assume various forms, eat mice and small birds, do not pass water, hide dead game and the arrows shot, the things that fall from people's hands; answer the shouts of a person, and shout in order to mislead those who walk through the forest.

Of the same type are: Kitarowi, who goes about at night, carrying a toad for an ax, always animated by the desire to do evil to the Bacaeri, but usually duped by the latter, in short similar to the Curupiras of the Amazon as they appear in the stories collected by Barbosa Rodrigues; and Twanaguoro, the lord of the hunt, easy to identify because one side of his chest is larger than the other, and he kills against it the persons who offend him--a figure similar to the Caipora of the Tupi.

There is also mention of a lake where the grandfather of the cachorro fish, the grandfather of the piranha, the grandfather of the snake, the grandfather of the otter, the grandfather of the needlefish, the grandfather of drums, etc. dwell. Ghosts appear in the middle of the water. No anta, capybara, or quetzada goes there, no flying thing flies across it. Ancient Bacaeris took a canoe there, but a whirlpool overturned it, the Kuarisio (a sort of enchanted otter) ate them, and only the dead men's bellies appeared.

The jaguar auil, the horse auil, the quetzada auil, the turtle auil, the crab auil of fresh water, etc. are also there. Everything is swinging at the edge of the water. The Kuarisio and the Kuaubie shake their heads which sound like thunder, and those who hear this sound fall ill and die, and those who see the grandfathers of the animals also die. /272/ At the edge of the lake there is a swamp, and the lake is the semen of Aiuerib.

159 /22 cont./
619 inhabitants planned to poison him. So he remained in the port near our canoes. But the difficulties this caused me were compensated for by the fact that during his visit to the second aldea of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí, he had married a local Indian girl and taken her to the Rio Paranatinga.

159 José was already trying then in every possible way to be-
593 come independent from his stepfather. I found this out primarily
114 from a conversation between José and his mother which I overheard during my stay in Antonio's house. Already then he had several Xinguanos working in his service, and although they were not as numerous as the Xinguanos in the service of Cacique Antonio, this competition could be seen as a factor that was beginning to curtail Antonio's power, which had reached its zenith at the time, and that threatened sooner or later to lead to a violent outcome. This discord between Antonio and his son-in-law /sic/ was important to the outcome of the expedition I had undertaken to the Rio Kulisehu insofar as José Corondo was ready to accompany me with his brother-in-law Chico, who was from the second Bakairí aldea on the Rio Kulisehu, while Antonio made his help to my undertaking contingent on inordinately high demands which far exceeded my then rather scant resources for travel. Finally I was able to persuade Antonio to let me have two of his people to accompany me to the embarkation point on the Rio Kulisehu and then to return with my pack oxen to the Rio Paranatinga.

619 As a result of the active and close contact which had pre-
182 vailed since the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions between the Bakairí of the Paranatinga and their fellow countrymen of the upper Xingu River region, the /23/ way of life of the former had regained a more native character. I have already
353 mentioned that José Corondo's large house showed friezes with
619 paintings of a purely Bakairí nature. Antonio was again partici-
182 pating, painted above the waist, in native dances and because
756 of the frequency of illnesses at the time among the Paranatinga Bakairí, he wanted to induce a doctor from the second Bakairí

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aldea on the Rio Kulisehu to settle with his arts on the Paranatinga.

When I was with the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí in May and June of 1901, 14 years had elapsed since their first contact with articles of European culture. After Karl von den Steinen's expedition, other explorers had also passed through their land. They had become familiar with iron axes, knives, scissors, matches, and other objects of modern culture, and by bartering their native products they had become amply provided with such objects, but their natures and their way of life had barely changed. They had become acquainted with the firearms of the Europeans and of their fellow countrymen of the Rio Paranatinga, but they still regarded them with a certain misgiving and did not use them either. Fishing, which had been of the greatest importance in the economy of these Indians, was still carried out on a broad scale and in the ancestral way, fishhooks not being used. In hunting, too, they only used their arrows and long bows built like the ones of old. Agriculture was also carried out in the same manner and with the same digging sticks, with the more exception that the work of clearing was made much easier by the numerous iron axes that replaced the stone axes of times past. I did not see any more stone axes among these Indians. Undoubtedly they had all been replaced by the far more useful iron axes brought by the explorers who passed through these regions. There were large plantations in the vicinity of the aldeas or at a distance from them, and I myself had the opportunity to observe in the aldea of Maimaieti, situated on the Rio Kulisehu, the way in which a big part of the mountain was cleared for a future plantation. The Indians proudly showed me a spot planted in sweet /mama, "mild"/ manioc, of which they had received cuttings from the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí. During my stay among the Bakairí of Maimaieti aldea there was never a scarcity of manioc, and I and my companions were always generously provided with manioc cakes /beijú/. I mention this fact especially, because

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121 In order to protect themselves against the numerous
● 756 supernatural dangers that surrounded them, the Bakairí
784 /Bacairi/ made use of two methods: shamanism and the uanki state, or ritual seclusion. The aim of this article is to examine these two methods of Bakairí culture in the light of data gathered by us (1) and with the help of the existing relevant

[114] [122]

1. The data that we present were gathered in 1947, during a visit to the Simões Lopes Indian Post of the Indian Protection Service, which was sponsored by the School of Sociology and Political Science of São Paulo in collaboration with the Institute of Social Anthropology of the Smithsonian Institution. Except where specifically mentioned in a footnote, the data mentioned were obtained from the Simões Lopes Indians.

114 121 literature. However, although the Bakairí have been visited from an early date by several ethnologists and their customs have been mentioned in the literature to support ethnological theories, very little is yet known on their culture as a whole. Most of the reports left by scholars do not give a rounded view of Bakairí culture and focus rather on their technology. On [179] the other hand, the present-day Bakairí are quite acculturated, and it is difficult to obtain complete data on their old culture. We shall attempt nevertheless to try to contribute here to a clarification of the problem.

161 The Bakairí now number about 250 individuals, according to the estimates of the Indian Protection Service, /260/ in 1947. They live in aldeas in Mato Grosso, at the Simões 131 Lopes Post of the Indian Protection Service, on the banks of 361 the Paranatinga River, and in groups scattered along the

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about three centimeters square made of tree bark. After the seclusion boys and girls were eligible for /264/ marriage. Marriage, todohokúinle, was joined by the parents of the young people by means of an exchange of gifts, and it does not seem to have merited any special ceremony.

The Bakairí do not seem to have believed in the possibility of a natural death. After death, which was always caused by the sorcery of some enemy, the corpse was painted and attired in the finery used in life. The corpse was rolled up in the hammock used by the deceased, and buried with the head pointing west and the feet east. There followed a mourning period, during which the closer relatives remained uanki and from which they emerged through the tadaunéo feast.

The world of the Bakairí was surrounded by supernatural beings, good and evil, such as the iamúra, topiehe, karoui, kadope, and kilaimo. (5) Plants and animals were nothing but

5. Capistrano de Abeu, "Os Bacaerys." Revista Brasileira. Year I. Vol. 4. pp. 44, 45, 47, 48, 234, 240, 241. Rio de Janeiro, 1895.

drapery used by the iamura and kadope. Hunting, fishing, and agricultural activities thus had to be accompanied by propitiatory activities intended to appease the anger of the iamúra deprived of their animals and plants. On the other hand, karoui and kilaimo wandered through the forest menacing the Bakairí. Against such beings the Indians required the protection of their sorcerer-doctors as well as periods of seclusion in the most dangerous moments.

The Bakairí believed that men had two souls: one called kati or [illegible], heavier and thicker, corresponding to a cadáver while the second soul, kagatopun, a more fluid element that

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When finished, one gives a benediction... saying: Aufa! Go inside the sky, to our people, to our mother, to our father, here there is no one, inside the sky it is good, go, we also are going to pass away, it is said, the piahi teaches." (8)

8. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 44.

776 [775]

In Nakbert's aldea, the kadopa change into iamüra. But the iamüra also wander on the earth using the bodies of animals. Although their behavior was not intentionally malignant, the Bakairí had to take precautions when they went hunting or fishing or when they planted. On killing game or fish, the Indians left certain offerings for the iamüra portrayed by these animals. (9)

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9. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 49.

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By means of certain rituals a Bakairí might, while still alive, make contact with the iamüra, acquiring the corresponding powers, and become a sorcerer-doctor.

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Capistrano de Abreu (10) and Karl von den Steinen (11)

10. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 235, 239, 240.

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11. Karl von den Steinen, Entre os aborígenes do Brasil Central /Among the Aborigines of Central Brazil/, São Paulo, 1940, transl., p. 448.

mention yet other supernatural beings that surrounded the

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776 Bakairí: /266/ Kilaimo, Karoui, Inanguroro, and Topiehe. Kilaimo is a wandering spirit that wanders through the forest at night. Karoui is the sorcerer-doctor's enemy; he possesses an axe in the shape of a toad. Inanguroro is the lord of hunting; one of the sides of his chest is larger than the other, and he clasps against it and kills the Indians who offend him. Topiehe is a bird whose death would result inevitably in the death of the guilty party. There was also a lake inhabited by maleficent supernatural beings, and where animals reached gigantic proportions.

[754] [224] [825] [823]

825 Capistrano de Abreu mentions the attribution of special powers to certain animals. Thus the lizard was the lord of sleep; the fox, of fire; the urubu, of benches; the sea snail, of the sun; the porcupine, of thorns; the kingfisher, of fishes; the deer, of manioc. (12)

12. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 242.

756 The sorcerer, piaji (piahi or piaje) performed very important functions among the Bakairí. Besides the functions of curing illness, he performed such tasks as the prediction of enemy attacks, the localizing of game, the finding of lost objects, and interceding with supernatural beings when necessary.

753 [754] For the Bakairí illness was always caused either by hostile sorcerers or those in the service of enemies, or by spirits such as the iamiika, topiehe, inanguroro, or karoui. On being called to heal a sick person, the piaji requested the assistance of his guardian iamiika with the help of a gourd which he shook in accompaniment to songs of invocation. On examining the patient, the piaji decided upon the cause of the illness, whether it had been induced by an enemy or by a spirit. In the second case, the piaji would intercede with the offended spirit, appeasing it. But in the event the illness had been

756 755

[illegible]

754 755 /266 cont./ But in the event the illness had been caused by another sorcerer, it would be necessary to find out first the vehicle of the disease. This might be a small piece of charred wood, a thin cotton thread, or a small piece of bone, tossed from a distance and thus introduced into the patient's body. The sorcerer would suck at the afflicted part, thus withdrawing the cause of the illness.

754 114 755 /267/ Our informants could tell us nothing about diseases caused by omeonu (evil sorcerers) mentioned by Karl von den Steinen. According to the latter, in order to injure an Indian, a sorcerer would cook in a pot a lizard into whose throat he had previously inserted the skin of the middle finger of a corpse. The agony and death of the lizard were matched simultaneously by the agony and death of the victim. (13)

13. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., p. 442.

114 199 In our opinion, this method hardly seems to be indigenous and is probably the result of acculturation. However, our informants did not know about it.

756 834 262 784 In order to become a sorcerer, a youth had to undergo training for a period that lasted from six to 8 months, submitting to rigorous sexual abstinence and an exclusively vegetal diet. Throughout the initiation period the candidate remained nude, enclosed in the kajaeti. Part of the training, meanwhile, was carried out in distant places, where the novice learned the healing properties of certain roots as well as the secrets related to the supernatural world. The training ended 787 with the acquisition, on the candidate's part, of a guardian spirit, or iamdra. This acquisition was made during a trance 276 into which the candidate has fallen by means of the ingestion of narcotic substances. After this the new sorcerer had to prove his power, either through small acts such as finding lost objects or by curing a sick person.

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756 262 785 In regard to initiation, Karl von den Steinen tells us that the candidate had to subsist solely on starch broth, hit himself continually on the head, and at the same time scratch his arms and chest until blood ran. (14) On the other hand,

14. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., pp. 440-441.

276 Capistrano de Abreu relates that the novice had to swallow "drugs such as tumbe, pendava, vaimbé, and other cipos" and learn the language of kanoni. On the day of the initiation the candidate would go for a walk with his master, who gave him the infusion to drink. (15)

15. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 235-238.

796 The Bakairi had quite an elaborate ceremonial system, as may be inferred from the information obtained /268/ the Indian of Simões Lopes. Dancing and singing were done not only when there was an abundance of food or when economic activities permitted it, but especially at times such as the maize harvest, or the occasions when the ears of the boys about to be included were pierced, or at times of the celebration of the tadaunino, or end of the uaini mate, the building of houses, the beginning of the clearing of a field, or finally the distribution of cotton among the women. On these occasions 594 neighboring groups were invited and the festivities lasted for 534 days. Bakairi musical instruments consisted of bamboo flutes and bells for the feet made of pequi shells. The informants recalled four kinds of flutes: ouemi and kanagova, sacred flutes kept hidden from the eyes of women and children, and tadikua 531 and nakigomo, used in secular festivities. The Bakairi also had gourds filled with seeds or stones, called pako, and wooden sticks decorated with geometric designs.

77 /270 cont./
satisfies effectively the cultural exigencies. The Bakairí lived in a world dominated by iamiríra and other supernatural beings. Animals and plants were nothing more than draperies which were used by these supernatural beings. The Bakairí himself was a dual being: a spirit, kagaraplíri, using a draping, the physical body, animated by another, denser spirit, kani. After death kagaraplíri went through the stages of kadopa, a wandering spirit, and finally iamiríra. For this reason the Bakairí did not appear to be afraid of their dead; bodies were more than sentiment, but the kadopa were indeed dangerous.

711 112 In order to protect themselves against the innumerable dangers presented by the constellation of supernatural beings, such as iamiríra, kadopa, tapiehe, karoui, tuanaguene, and kilisimo, the Bakairí used two methods. The first was seclusion, uaiki, at the most difficult moments, such as birth, puberty, death, and shamanistic initiation. Uaiki was followed by the reintegration of the individual /to the community/ through the tadpuiína celebration. The other method was shamanism. Shamanism was open to all and it must actually have constituted a normal stage in the life evolution of the Bakairí. Yet few of them managed to become sorcerers, for the trials they had to undergo were not easy. Contact with the supernatural was achieved by sorcerers through the use of tobacco or other narcotic substances. In their trances the sorcerers came to control the iamiríra and acquired the powers peculiar to these supernatural beings.

(79) 756 711 112 956 957 276

195 Finally, the post-mortem life of the Bakairí, in Nakoeri's longe ziaka, reflects as might be expected the organization of their ziaka. Once changed into iamiríra, the Bakairí join their ancestors and old friends; the pleasures of eating and drinking are not denied them since they also feel hunger and thirst, but they are now invulnerable to the perils of the forest. They can use the animals and plants, at their pleasure, as weapons for their wanderings through the air, in the rivers, or on the ground.

There appears to be no evidence that the Bacairi had clans or moieties. The kinship nomenclature is of the bifurcate merging type with parallel kin merged with lineal kin and with separate terms for mother's brother and father's sister and for cross cousins. (See chart 2.) The kinship terms in ego's generation and in the children's generation are distinct for men and women. Beyond the bar prohibiting marriage between anyone called brother, sister, parent, or child, there were no special rules governing marriage. Cross-cousin marriage was common but not preferred. There were no residence rules or avoidances of the mother-in-law or father-in-law. As the Bacairi lived in large communal houses, marriages often took place between young people brought up in the same house. After marriage they would take over a section of the house as their private quarters. The Bacairi say that families could move to another house with the consent of the house elder. Although polygyny was permissible marriages were generally monogamous. The father and the father's brother had great authority and were highly respected. Younger brothers were not permitted to joke or play rough with their eldest brother. The mother's brother and father's sister were also respected but less than the eldest brother. The relationship between brothers and sisters was one of great respect, the informant saying that incest was unthinkable.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH (ERAÉRLE)

Pregnancy (*ewéle*) was recognized as being caused by sexual intercourse. In advanced pregnancy a woman was not permitted to eat the flesh of such large animals as deer, capybara, or tapir. When the time of delivery drew near a portion of the house was screened off, where the woman gave birth and remained secluded until the normal menses began. The expectant mother was assisted by her mother and other female relatives, a shaman being called only in cases of difficult birth.

A woman gave birth in a squatting position, the midwife holding her under the arms and gently pressing her stomach. Sometimes the stomach and back of the woman were bathed with poultices made from boiled cotton leaves. It was the duty of the woman's mother to cut the umbilical cord

[P75-A]

735 came back to the village to play tricks on people. The Barnett did not believe that the ghosts of the dead caused death and, therefore, were not afraid 736 of them. They were, however, afraid of certain 737 evil spirits—for instance, *cradapiro*, who caused 738 death and sickness.

● 754 To become a shaman (*pidji*), a young unmarried man would train with an old shaman for a period of 6 months to a year. During this period [745] sexual intercourse was forbidden, fasts were periodically observed, and the novice had to abstain from eating meat. Much of the training took place in the woods, where the old shaman would [755] teach the novice the curative properties of roots and herbs and, also, how to get in touch with the 756 ghosts of dead shamans. The training would be 757 complete when the novice acquired his own spirit [758] helper, which was always the ghost of a dead shaman. Sometimes the revelation was so powerful that the young novice would fall to the ground in a trance. The spirit that then appeared to [759] him instructed him how to make a flute (either *ewiei* or *kwagiro*), which he kept in the sacred flute house, and gave him a special tune by which he could always call his spirit helper. The novice had then to prove himself by curing some sick person or by finding lost property. If he were successful he became a recognized shaman.

761 Before beginning a performance, shamans al-762 ways fasted for several days and smoked heavily. In curing a sick person the shaman asked his spirit helper for instructions which usually were explanations of how to remove objects from the body which caused the illness. Besides removing 763 objects from the body the shamans prepared medi-764 cines. Headaches and pains in the body were cured by juice of the *pendive* tuber, and *tarigi* leaves were used for pains in the chest. For [765] healing the wounds made by the scratcher the juice made by boiling the *kwamiini* plant was used. The Barnett also prepared aphrodisiacs [766] from the *kaiino* plant and by mixing *piyai* roots, honey, and turtle eggs.

GAMES

768 The Barnett played, and still play, a form of Indian football called *tonguendi*. The ball (*tain*) [767] was made by covering a round gourd with native rubber, leaving a small opening. The gourd was

537 not bulls tied together and fastened to the ankles of the dancers. There were at least four kinds of flutes. The *ewini* flute was made from two pieces of soft sapling hollowed out and fastened together with wax and string. This flute was about 3 feet long with four finger holes and a separate mouthpiece. The *kowapiwa* flute was made like the *ewini* but was shorter and had a different sound. Both the *ewini* and the *kowapiwa* were sacred flutes of the shamans and were always kept in the sacred flute house connected to the *bailebi* where they were played only at night so as to prevent women from seeing them. If a woman were to see one of these flutes, misfortune would befall her. When the sacred flutes were played there was dancing but no singing. The *tadiowa* was a bamboo flute made in five different lengths without finger holes and was not sacred. The *nokipiwa* was made by fastening four short tubes of bamboo of different lengths together. It was played in pairs, one player answering the other. This flute was not sacred and could be accompanied by singing. In addition to the rattles and flutes, the Bacairi used highly decorated sticks or batons called *kodiapori* in some of their dances.

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/123 cont./

162 Agosta. -- A boy Irineo (parents dead).
621 Luis (Bolivian), Maria (Brazilian) with wife Carlota (Paraguayan) and child.

126 I could not rejoice enough about the fortunate circumstance
115 that I was able to make the linguistic survey on the Rio Novo. Even with the intelligent Reginaldo it had been difficult enough to determine phonetically the inimitable tongue exercises that make up the Bakairi language, but with Captain Mimo, who did nothing but nod consentedly, and the others who either laughed or grew impatient, nothing could be done.

On the other hand, I am indebted to Caetano for the legends which I shall retell later.

348 The largest house, which Captains Caetano and Felipe oc-
124 cupied together, was 21 paces long and 9 1/2 paces wide. The roof and walls, the latter supported by cross rods of tacoara /bamboo, see the glossary, p. 172 / consisted entirely of buriti /see the glossary, p. 176 / straw. Only Miguel owned a round house, the inner frame of tacoara covered with buriti leaves.
(349) There were seven houses and two new buildings. In addition two pig huts. In the case of one new building, I inquired about the timber that made up the frame. Two tall anuera posts supported the uppermost longitudinal roof-beam of aricá wood (also cunhão de pancu). The sloping side-beams of the roof likewise cunhão de pancu, the two longitudinal beams guanandi. The smaller posts that supported the roof beams: timbó, pacu, carvão, branco. One roof was also covered with campo grass.

164 I visited Miguel, who had an attack of fever, in his bee-
352 /124/ hive. He lay in his cotton hammock and let himself be
353 waited on by pretty Maria. The whole room hung full of calabashes, rice and bamboo baskets, skins, arrows -- things left by his grandfather. It was far more comfortable in this still true heathen affair than in the characterless huts of the adherents of a much civilization. With dreadful gestures of disgust, the old
123 man swallowed the bitter quinine and buried his fever-reddened
(350) face in the hammock. Maria, in gratitude, baked me a beijú
(351) [C+ glossary on p. 190 --Analyst]

/102 cont./

been among the Mehinaků /Mehinacu/, although he did not know their language, to carry out my plan, but one was encouraged by the example of the other.

We set out early on 10 October and reached the harbor of the Mehinaků on 12 October at 11:00 in the forenoon. We had not hurried particularly; the two rowed best only when I provided a good example. The most dreadful thing to me was that they traced all the bends in the river and never cut off one of them by crossing it. There was not a fish, not a bird, that did not hold their attention. They shot at, without hitting, several gallinaceous birds; a capybara that was swimming across the river was wounded in its hind leg and, with the arrow, ran screaming into the woods. We slept that night beside an inlet with an abundance of fish and made a good catch. The two roasted fish all night long, carefully keeping the fire going under the wooden grill; they had

Fig. 6. Mehinaků woman.

set up their hammocks so close that they could comfortably reach out, turn the fish, occasionally consume a piece, and have the benefit of the fire's warmth.

On the second morning they told me that the bank on the left belonged to the Mehinaků, on the right to the Nahuquá. The harbor lay along a steep sandbank where a small brook emptied. Thumbnail designs were scratched on the trees. The Bakaïri shoved the canoe far up into the brook and carefully concealed the oars and carrying baskets, which still contained remnants of fish and beans, in the woods. Tumayaua prepared a gift for the Mehinaků hosts and for this purpose hung a rosary-like cord around his neck, on which were strung fruits with an oily content. The oil was rubbed on the skin scratched by the medicinal scarifier of the Indians.

/178 cont./

#171 826 If the eye is the most valuable of all human organs, these forest dwellers in quest of animals and fruits are dependent on it to the highest degree imaginable. Never have I heard an Indian complain and whimper as did the chief of the Yaulapiti bemoaning his blindness. Yet in treatment they do not necessarily develop [159] the insight that seems proper to us. Since tobacco smoke is the best medical remedy, a badly inflamed conjunctiva is blown full of smoke as forcefully as possible. Thus the idea that the lashes protect the eye is quite foreign to the Indians. They maintain that the lashes hinder the eye in seeing, especially if they want to peer sharply into the distance. That they are anxious to care for [159] the precious organ according to the best of their knowledge is [411] shown by the fact that the area around the eye of the boy who is to become a skilled archer is scratched bloody with the scarifier -- naturally because they believe in this "medicine" and not because [302] they want to harden him. In the case of the lashes in particular, the seemingly cruel plucking, since it is radical, is nevertheless a relatively mild procedure. To endure the cutting and shaving on the edge of the lid with fish teeth and shells would indeed be heroic.

#171 302 304 The skin. The skin is pierced to receive ornaments, it is painted with color, and it is scratched with spines or teeth. The two last methods have developed into artistic treatment, into body painting or tattooing -- one would only like to know what original purposes lie behind them.

#171 301 If we observe, on the basis of thousands of examples, to what degree coquetry and vanity triumph over physical discomfort in matters crude and fine among our pampered, civilized human beings, we shall not be surprised that the vanity of primitive peoples is even more reckless. The chief difference between us and them is merely that they are obliged to do on the skin what we are able to do with clothing. Among them, however, it was everywhere first of all the man who adorned himself. He began doing so as a hunter, and since there is the matter of manifesting the hunter's virility, we may conclude that man first developed the idea of [illegible] by not separating himself from the parts of the booty that were inedible, /179/ yet could easily be preserved and

/188 cont./

#171 304 decorative scars are altogether absent, which agrees with a statement by Joest, that they are confined to the dark peoples. So that boys will develop a sure eye and a strong arm for shooting, the face and upper arm are treated with the scarifier. I saw it #171 ● 757 used with very good results in the case of a bad swelling of the foot. The procedure is pure Baunscheidtism /a method of healing by acupuncture/ and is expressly represented as a medical one. It is clear that in many cases relief is actually obtained by a lessening of pressure and inflammation. It is no less clear how people hit upon it, for in the case of insect bites, everyone scratches until there is bleeding and the pain or itching stops, and one also tries to let out anything harmful that has penetrated the skin. Finally, it is not mysterious why people rub them-

[304]

Fig. 15.
Scarifier.

selves with soot or earth; again they do not wish to adorn themselves, but to increase or alleviate, according to need, the irritation and stop the blood. Bleeding was also checked with ashes.

#171 304 Thus the native has now arrived at tattooing, without inventing it. I often observed colored scratch-lines in the skin as a regular, albeit unintentional tattooing among tribes who did not /189/ concern themselves with this art at all. One may not speak of accident, however, since the habit of medicinal scarification of necessity called forth the secondary experience of coloring. Purposeful application is a matter of subsequent notions. Tattooing also becomes an artificial method and a distinguishing aid which is put on the skin where clothing is not present. Nothing is more natural than that tattooing decreases as clothing appears and easier ways to the same ends are opened up. Felipe, the docile Bakairí /Bacairi/ from the Paranatinga village, lieutenant of the Brazilian militia and owner of a

/210 cont./

114 296 [177] Antilles found it. On the other hand, I share the opinion of v. Ihering, which I often expressed in lectures before I read his article, that the pipe in Brazil is of modern origin. Like the fishhook.

It plays an important part in medical

*171 296 757 773 treatment and is regarded as a very ancient acquisition of the culture heroes, who, as legend indicates, received it from the north. The drinking bowls and calabashes, especially the Cucurbita lagenaria, represented a major product for the

*171 249 [248] [302] Nahuquá, a somewhat lesser one for the Bakaïrí. The Mehinakú and the Bakaïrí had the best cotton. The orlean bush was valued above all by the Bakaïrí, the Mehinakú neglected it completely because watering it made too much work, the surprising circumstance upon my arrival in the village, namely, that no red-painted, but many black-painted figures were walking about, finds a very natural explanation.

*171 241 Maize, represented among the Suyá by a species characterized by smallness of ears and a golden color of the kernels, and mandioca were found everywhere, but the latter was planted in decidedly greater amounts among the Mehinakú. They were the richest farmers of the upper Schingú, their word for mandioca was also adopted by the Trumaí. Of tuber plants, besides mandioca, we saw yams of two kinds and batatas, which we first found in quantities among the Mehinakú. Our men designated beans as "feijão de vara," pole beans, or as "feijão de roça," plantation beans. Of edible gourds, abóbora /Abobra/, we saw only the seeds which the Suya brought us in 1884 for eating, so we understood. The mandubi peanut occurred in a small species. There were definitely no guavas or bananas on the Schingú.

*171 174 241 In my report about the first journey I pointed out the absence of bananas and especially stressed that for the question as to whether or not the banana was introduced in America only after the arrival of the Europeans this must be all the more decisive since the different Schingú tribes are of different origin and yet not a single one brought along the banana from the previous

n² [i.e., The Tobacco -- Analyst]

/389 cont./

127 from March 13, 1872, is classic. It had become necessary to take into account the tremendous and widely known changes which the Paraguay war had brought about in the southern part of the province. Of the tribes listed as Nos. 3-15 in 1848, three were crossed out, the total figure was reduced from 13,020 to 8672. on the other hand, for tribes 1, 2, 16-33 the old report was again copied verbatim, so that no human being seems to have been born or died here in the 24 years.

195 The Bakairí of the Paranatinga and Rio Novo maintained them-
[199] selves in their two poor villages; they were occasionally visited
[164] by gold-seeker expeditions who would then arrange a small mass-
baptism and introduce syphilis and measles. Many perished from
[159] measles, the disease, relatively harmless for us, is not only /390/ often fatal to the Indians, but they also have the bad habit of plunging into the river in the middle of the highest fever and not drying themselves after they leave the cool bath.

193 I made an effort to learn more details about the history of
[115] the tribe from the aged Caetano, retired chief, and his successor, Felipe, on the Paranatinga, as well as from Antonio. A history of more recent times can clearly be separated out, during which a shift to the southwest took place. Whereas the forefathers on the
193 salto of the Paranatinga lived several days' journey below the
131 present village and somewhat above the emptying of the Rio Verde
169 coming from the left, the West Bakairí, at least since the middle
361 of the previous century, have occupied the border area between the source rivers of the Arinos, Cuyabá, and Paranatinga, where the village on the Rio Novo is still to be found. On the Ribeirão Caixão there were more than six villages; there was a large village on the Ribeirão da Pedra. The first baptism of the Bakairí took place in Diamantino. Caetano, born in the previous century according to all calculations, first saw the light of the world where
[177] the Rio Beijaflor empties into the Paranatinga. The Paranatinga village now located above this is a creation of modern times,

placed in a hole in the septum of the nose, so that the feathers swung one on each side of the head. Although the *pitiko*, or scratcher, was not strictly an ornament, it is mentioned here because it had ritual meaning. The *pitiko* was made by setting fish teeth into a gourd holder and was used for scarifying the skin of the arms, legs, chest, and back so as to cause bleeding. The wounds were first washed with water and later smeared with the juice of the *wadrina* vine. The *pitiko* was used by boys and girls during puberty seclusion and by adults who had worn on their bodies. It was believed that the use of the *pitiko* made people strong and healthy. As far as could be ascertained the Bacairi did not mutilate the teeth, genitals, or other parts of the body. There was no sign of tattooing, but pubic hair was carefully pulled out by both men and women. Formerly the Bacairi kept large birds, believed to belong to the eagle family, in their villages for their feathers. The Brazilians call the bird "harpia" and claim that it is still kept by the Indians in the Xingu Basin. The "harpia" was captured by shooting it with a blunted arrow, and it was kept in a special hut and fed. Villages often had several of these birds in captivity, the feathers being used particularly for feathering arrows. Parrots and macaws were also kept, their feathers being used only for ceremonial decorations.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Vegetable foods formed the basis of Bacairi diet, with fish and meat taking second and third places. The principal animals hunted were monkeys, deer, wild pigs, tapir, and the jaguar. The jaguar, however, was not eaten, but was hunted for its skin, teeth, and claws. The principal weapon used was the bow and arrow. Hunters would stalk game alone or in groups with the aid of dogs driving game into water or into steep rocky enclosures. There is no mention of the spear being used, but deadfalls and pitfalls were used. Many varieties of large fish were shot with the bow and arrow, either from canoes or from the river bank. Lizards, turtles, and a wide variety of wild fruits, roots, tender shoots, and honey were collected at certain seasons of the year.

The major part of the food supply, however, was obtained through agriculture. The Bacairi cultivated bitter manioc, *ôpa;* sweet manioc, *tsiej;*

735 came back to the village to play tricks on people. The Bacairi did not believe that the ghosts of the dead caused death and, therefore, were not afraid
736 of them. They were, however, afraid of certain
737 evil spirits—for instance, *ewakpive*, who caused
738 death and sickness.

739 To become a shaman (*pakpi*), a young unmarried man would train with an old shaman for a period of 6 months to a year. During this period
[P 76] sexual intercourse was forbidden, fasts were periodically observed, and the novice had to abstain from eating meat. Much of the training took place in the woods, where the old shaman would
● [P 77] teach the novice the curative properties of roots and herbs and, also, how to get in touch with the
740 ghosts of dead shamans. The training would be
741 complete when the novice acquired his own spirit
[P 78] helper, which was always the ghost of a dead shaman. Sometimes the revelation was so powerful that the young novice would fall to the ground in a trance. The spirit that then appeared to
[P 79] him instructed him how to make a flute (either *ewinei* or *kwaupive*), which he kept in the sacred flute house, and gave him a special tune by which he could always call his spirit helper. The novice had then to prove himself by curing some sick person or by finding lost property. If he were successful he became a recognized shaman.

742 Before beginning a performance, shamans al-
743 ways fasted for several days and smoked heavily. In curing a sick person the shaman called his spirit helper for instructions which usually were explanations of how to remove objects from the body which caused the illness. Besides removing
744 objects from the body the shamans prepared medi-
745 cines. Headaches and pains in the body were cured by juice of the *pewiwa* tuber, and *tacipi* leaves were used for pains in the chest. For
[P 80] healing the wounds made by the scratcher the juice made by boiling the *kwautini* plant was used. The Bacairi also prepared aphrodisiacs
[P 81] from the *kutiive* plant and by mixing *piqui* nuts, honey, and turtle eggs.

GAMES

526 The Bacairi played, and still play, a form of Indian football called *tuiqawili*. The ball (*tuie*)
[P 82] was made by covering a round gourd with native rubber, leaving a small opening. The gourd was

/336 cont./

B [171] [846] between father and child, the child is a duplication of him, the father has become double, and, for the sake of the religion, irrational creature which represents a miniature edition of himself, he must himself behave like a child who must not come to

B [753] [761] harm. Supposing that the child dies during the first days, how could the father who is filled with such ideas and who has eaten indigestible things doubt that he himself is at fault, especially

B [811] since all sickness arises through the fault of another? What we call "pars pro toto" dominates popular belief everywhere with respect to sorcery or healing magic, although I do not believe that the sorcerer /336/ has a clear image of a "part" with which he is working. The "conveyance" is carried out according to the same logic, except that here it is a case where the whole intercedes for the "part." It is all the same whether I pounce the hair of the enemy and thereby cause him to waste away, or whether, to the detriment of the child which has become detached from me, I eat food that it might not tolerate at all or at least not during the days when the separation takes place.

B [171] [764] Burial. All the tribes of the Kulisehu bury their dead. The body lies in west-east in such a way that the head looks toward the rising sun. (According to the statements of the Kamayurá, the Suyá bury their dead in a squatting position, the head with the feather ornament bent back and the eyes turned toward the setting sun.) The grave is on the village plaza. Among the Mehinaká we saw in front of the festival hut a heap of brush under which, at a shallow depth, the grave pit was said to be located. Fat beetles were crawling out of holes in the ground

A [764] and the place was alive with flies. Among the Auetó a square in front of the festival hut was staked off with thick, low posts connected by plaiting. It is photographed on Plate 15 /see p. 253/. I do not know whether it is a coincidence that the two unusual sides of the square resemble the characteristic shape of the handle-plate of the throwing board. Among the Yaulapiti we saw a square grave fence.

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Chapter XIII.

Science and Legend of the Bakairi

1. The Basic View.

Man need not die. Knowledge of the existence after death. Explanation of nature by means of stories. Animals = persons. Animals actually furnish culture, hence some explanation carried over for unknown origin. Origin of explanatory story. Celestial bodies, the oldest things, and animals. Significance of the Milky Way. Transformation. Men from arrows, women from maize pestles. Keri and Kame and the ancestor legend. The twins and their mother are not profound personifications.

When in the course of making my linguistic recordings I gave Antonio* the sentence, "everyone must die," he was silent for

* Bakairi-Grammatik /Bacairi Grammar/, p. 183.

some time, to my astonishment. There ensued the same long pause which I always had to cope with when I presented him with one of those abstractions so familiar to us, but so foreign to him. I learned then for the first time that the Bakairi /Bacairi/ does not know "must," he has not yet reached the point of deducing a general necessity from a series of always identical, recurring phenomena. Quite specifically, however, he does not understand that man must die. He is still far from the thought which we memorize in the lowest classes of the Gymnasium,** "nemo mortem

** As a boy I refused to believe it at heart and for many years, until I became more intimately acquainted with the nature of death, clung stubbornly to the hope that I might perhaps be an exception and not die, as is otherwise customary in the history of the world.

/348 cont./

961 *ellugiwa pasam*" /no one can flee death/. Antonio's translation, which avoided the word "must," yet showed that he correctly understood my view, came out rather twisted after a quarter of an hour of thinking: "I die *only* (and) we (die)." The interpreter, however, shook his head, dissatisfied. He had doubts which we, too, should scarcely be able to surpass if it were maintained: "all men must be murdered." The Indian seeks the cause of death *only* externally, in a nasty trick. If there were *only* good human beings, there would be neither sickness nor death. He knows nothing about a natural ebbing of the life process.

995 /349/ A second, not unessential difference between the interpretation of our Indians and that of civilized peoples concerns existence after death. That the earth's goods are unevenly distributed and a poor person may one day experience the bliss of abundance, that justice is imperfect here below and the good person will one day be rewarded, the evil person punished, these ethical demands have not arisen in the simple social conditions of the native. His conception of the existence after death does not arise from hope and faith. It is, however, linked with the idea of agreeable conditions to the extent that in the future life with the "*antigos*" in heaven fish, game, and *pilé* juice will be very abundantly provided, and it also takes into account the behavior of worthless fellows, for they roam about at night in the forest as malicious spirits, *ellain-ensika*, spreading terror and alarm, not because they are, say, "cursed," but because they naturally continue their wickedness in another place.

961 For the native, however, the root of the conviction about
994 continued existence lies, not in feeling, but in intellect, despite
995 the fact that the two are inseparably joined. For his level of
998 judgment, it is a matter of knowledge. According to the conception of civilized peoples, the soul leaves the body for the first time at death, something entirely new happens, about which they know nothing from experience and observation, unless through spiritualistic means; because of this unknown, new thing, they cannot prove immortality, but are obliged to content themselves with believing it for ethical reasons. For the Indian, on

/949 cont./

the other hand, the process of the separation of soul and body is not new. he experiences it day after day, as we have seen, when the shade /Schamen, " shadow, shade"/ hastens away in the dream and leaves his body behind in the hammock. Ordinary death is a deep unconsciousness (coma) brought about by the poison which the sorcerer administers, and it differs from sleep only in the fact that the shade hastens too far away to be able to return. Only the medicine man who poisons himself returns to life. The experiences of the shade during sleep were already "real". hence its "experiences" after death are just as "real." One is faithful with this reality, which is merely life in another place, from daily experience and has it amply confirmed by the deceased, with whose shades our own communicates during the dream, and by the sorcerers who occasionally visit the realm of the dead. in the Lower Hambet may find the wanderers who return from the regions of the unknown country. To die to sleep, no more /cited in English/.

945 The shades of the dead Bakaïri go to heaven to the ancestors. Heaven is first of all not the land of the future, but of the past, the old ones are still there where all history began. The heaven [946] in which the first Bakaïri lived lay beside the earth in former times, and one could easily get over to it. Too many people died there, however, /950/ so the people moved to earth, and heaven rose up to where it is now and where the animals, the places, and the things which occur in the old stories may be seen to this day. "Everything remained as it was." "There were always Bakaïri, but in the beginning there were very few." One [911] need only hold fast to a few specific points, and one will recognize, in spite of all flights of fancy and in spite of all the elaboration by tradition, a core of naïve, sound logic in the Indians' explanation of nature.

911 The Indians know no "must." They regard every occurrence in nature as a unique occurrence, or more correctly as a unique action. Indeed, laws are in fact known only as the result of the common work of many -- those who live and have lived. And as long as there are no laws and at best only habits, each individual is at the center of the

/360 cont./

921 923 order to watch as their dead grandmother Memo was burned. They had set the fire themselves -- one can still see it in the large Magellanic Cloud -- while another, the small Magellanic Cloud, arose through their carelessness, which I shall speak of later in detail. Kent in particular is the hero of all these stories: he caught the mutung with the bird snare; he robbed the king vulture of the sun-ball by assuming the shape of a tapir whose dark form one can still clearly distinguish in the Argo part of the Milky Way. Besides the tapir, one can also see a jaguar and an ant bear of the legend. In fact, one need not be an Indian in order to observe the animals. I, too, distinctly recognized the tapir in particular.

921 151 The native predominantly sees animals up there for the same reason that he sees them down here in all kinds of things that remind him of some animal merely by some small characteristic; he cannot do otherwise because he apperceives chiefly in accordance with his hunter interests. It did not escape him, however, that the animals and things in the sky have a different appearance than their originals on earth, according to which they are determined. /361/ They are only figures. And yet they are more. For even though they may have been made at some time, he cannot regard them as works of art like his animal stools or sand drawings, because they move and are in the midst of a highly variable shifting of wind, clouds, and weather that takes place independently without one's seeing any human being. They must be bewitched.

922 923 All the more so since the same result is reached in another way. They are necessarily the oldest animals and things that there are. Each earlier generation, no matter what it thought of them, saw them as complete as does the present one, whereas, according to all present-day and earlier experience, the rivers and trees and inhabitants of the earth of all kinds are small at first and then grow big. Now all the ancestors have disappeared, year in, year out those who die are always disappearing -- where else should the oldest people be than among the oldest things? But to [361] die is to be bewitched and transformed, just as the medicine man who takes poison and dies changes himself into any animal shape desired.

/363 cont./

539 more natural than that the tatú, well known for quickly digging itself in, should, as soon as it eludes its pursuer, take a group of those star holes. All that was missing for establishing the game of escape and pursuit was the quarrel, and its "apple of discord," for which again is chosen the favorite fruit, which is round and has butter-yellow meat, but any other might have been chosen. In short, the story originates, without any great power of invention, by making a connection between the characteristics of one of the heavenly animals that presented itself through the natural stimulus and a suitable group of stars that attracts the attention of the inquiring mind. Then the name runs "the giant armadillo comes out." All that is required is the interest that produces the question, and the explanatory ideas are inevitable.

993 128 One generation may have contributed this, another generation that. To continue the analysis up to the final details is simply impossible, if one because the comparative material with other Karaiben tribes is very meager.

761 055 512 Transformation. A large part of the Bakairi explanation of nature rests on the supposition of sorcery. They have no development, but only transformation. This takes place in two ways.

The first is that a dead person is blown upon and comes to life, or that a thing is blown upon and comes to life. To the dead person the breath which he lacks is given back, to the thing, breath is imparted and with it life. This blowing, proceeding from the most natural attempt at resuscitation, as the tobacco-blowing of the modern medicine man must not be confused. The weak newborn babies in Maigéri (cf. p. 392), for those life one feared, were blown upon day and night, but not with tobacco. It was only in practice that the two methods merged. The blowing of tobacco smoke on a patient was merely added by transference to the smoking of the doctor -- which, as we have seen (cf. p. 407), is merely the easiest and most pleasant of the various types of narcosis otherwise induced by drinking, on the use of which his art seems to be based. It has probably long been forgotten that by

/361 cont./

blowing it was intended to breathe in the breath. But in the legends the dead and things are always brought to life by simple but indispensable blowing, and the Bakairí sometimes translates epehení, "to blow," into the Portuguese with rezar, "to pray, to bless," while ordinarily he uses soprar, "to blow," or assoprar, "to blow upon," just as the substantive related to epehení is sopéhru, "wind."

Although I said that things become living or animate through blowing, on closer observation this is a very incorrect expression. The /361/ sorcerer accomplishes far more than breathing a "soul" or, as into the dead, "life," into them. We learn this from the most important example that human beings are made from things: men from arrows, women from maize pestles, after the necessary arrows and pestles have been carved out of cane and wood. To be sure, there were always Bakairí, but if there was a scarcity of them, the culture hero made new ones by fashioning arrows out of ubá reed, thrusting them upright into the ground, and blowing on them. In the same way each of the other tribes were made out of the arrow reed that they still carry today and that therefore still differentiates them today; the European was made from a wood resembling the stock of his gun. The fundamental observation, which is later, as always, regarded as confirmation of the proceedings described, is that the tribes are differentiated by their arrows! Moreover, the arrow is the characteristic feature of the man. The women, on the other hand, come into being when maize pestles are carved, set upright against the mortar, and get the breath of life by being blown upon; those carved out of good wood start working immediately, the others are idle.

Neither arrows nor pestles are given a "soul," but rather the whole "person." When the sorcerer is finished, the man stands beside his arrow, the woman beside her pestle. The storyteller himself seems to be not entirely at ease about the process, for the sorcerer, as soon as he has blown, "goes to one side a little" and upon his return finds the men or women finished. An insect, which through mimicry has come to look like a jatobá leaf and is called "jatobá leaf" by the Bakairí, was created by blowing on the leaf. We might say "it came alive" or call it a "transformed leaf." The person is added to the already present reed, wood, leaf.

/Ø31 cont./

Caribes: "The manner of greeting is for one to say to another, 'Is it you? Have you come? Have you arrived? Are you well?' and no one speaks to the guests upon their arrival, nor do they speak for a while, because they say that they are waiting for their souls to arrive, which is certain nonsense." (Conv. en Paraí, 62, repr. Madrid, 1892.) The greeting between Bacairi is ama, "you," to which one replies, ura, "I"; or mawili, "you came," to which one replies, Ø? kyauik, "yes I came."

Ø14 When we sleep, we dream says the piaiu;--when we sleep, our shadow converses with the /Ø31/ spirits (yamika);--our shadow travels far,--when our shadow returns, we awaken;--when our shadow is afraid, at night, when it is time to sleep, we talk;--while our shadow sleeps, we dream;--we climb trees, we climb hills;--we walk with the yamika;--we drink manioc /a manioc gruel or paste/, we eat, etc.

The express is abnormal, but temporary, when a person faints from fright, because, with much shouting and fanning with uruaidno leaves, there is success in getting the shadow to return, or when one has offended the piaiu and yamika, because, if duly propitiated, they pardon the crime and permit the shadow to return, as we shall see later.

[Ø] It is abnormal and permanent at death.

The Bacairi, in a very expressive phrase, claim that they do not fall ill from sickness itself (to-ewanõ-ñe Bakaíri tõwane-pa); illness is always injected by sorcerers (ome-odo, "sore of poison"), and the poisons, all of vegetable origin, are

/Bibliography/

000 582 about three centimeters square made of tree bark. After the seclusion boys and girls were eligible for /Bibliography/ marriage.

585 Marriage, *nakiwilitale*, was joined by the parents of the young people by means of an exchange of gifts, and it does not seem to have merited any special ceremony.

• 761 764 [194] The Bakairí do not seem to have believed in the punitivity of a natural death. After death, which was always caused by the sorcery of some enemy, the corpse was painted and armed in the finery used in life. The corpse was rolled up in the hammock used by the deceased, and buried with the head pointing west and the feet east. There followed a mourning

764 784 period, during which the closer relatives remained *nakiri* and from which they emerged through the *tekumiko* feast.

776 795 [124] [125] The world of the Bakairí was surrounded by supernatural beings, good and evil, such as the *iamiira*, *ingiehe*, *kanoe*, *kadoge*, and *kilaimo*. (5) Plants and animals were nothing but

[113]

5. Capistrano de Abreu, "On Bacaerys." Revista Brasileira, Year I, Vol. 4, pp. 44, 45, 47, 48, 234, 240, 241. Rio de Janeiro, 1895.

794 792 791 782 784 756 drapery used by the *iamura* and *kadoge*. Hunting, fishing, and agricultural activities thus had to be accompanied by propitiatory activities intended to appease the anger of the *iamiira* deprived of their animals and plants. On the other hand, *kanoe* and *kilaimo* wandered through the forest menacing the Bakairí. Against such beings the Indians required the protection of their sorcerer-doctors as well as periods of seclusion in the most dangerous moments.

774 The Bakairí believed that men had two souls: one called *xati* or *xatale*, heavier and thicker, corresponding to a *camisa* worn by the second soul, *kagatopuri*, a more fluid element that

[P 75-A]

735 came back to the village to play tricks on people. The Bacairi did not believe that the ghosts of the dead caused death and, therefore, were not afraid 736 of them. They were, however, afraid of certain 737 evil spirits—for instance, *ewalapiro*, who caused 738 death and sickness.

739 To become a shaman (*paiyé*), a young unmarried man would train with an old shaman for a period of 6 months to a year. During this period [740] sexual intercourse was forbidden, fasts were periodically observed, and the novice had to abstain from eating meat. Much of the training took place in the woods, where the old shaman would [741] teach the novice the curative properties of roots and herbs and, also, how to get in touch with the 742 ghosts of dead shamans. The training would be 743 complete when the novice acquired his own spirit [744] helper, which was always the ghost of a dead shaman. Sometimes the revelation was so powerful that the young novice would fall to the ground in a trance. The spirit that then appeared to [745] him instructed him how to make a flute (either *ewiai* or *kenaqiwi*), which he kept in the sacred flute house, and gave him a special tune by which he could always call his spirit helper. The novice had then to prove himself by curing some sick person or by finding lost property. If he were successful he became a recognized shaman.

746 Before beginning a performance, shamans al-747 ways fasted for several days and smoked heavily. In curing a sick person the shaman asked his spirit helper for instructions which usually were explanations of how to remove objects from the body which caused the illness. Besides removing 748 objects from the body the shamans prepared medi-749 cines. Headaches and pains in the body were cured by juice of the *penéwe* tuber, and twigs leaves were used for pains in the chest. For [750] healing the wounds made by the scratcher the juice made by boiling the *kwanéni* plant was used. The Bacairi also prepared aphrodisiacs [751] from the *kéttiwe* plant and by mixing piqui nuts, honey, and turtle eggs.

GAMES

526 The Bacairi played, and still play, a form of Indian football called *tsinpendi*. The ball (*tsin*) [752] was made by covering a round gourd with native rubber, leaving a small opening. The gourd was

over the chiefs organized wrestling matches between teams of the two villages. Before the visitors left, a feast (*ndibi*, swallow feast) was given in their honor. The motives for these trading expeditions were both economic and ceremonial. They were organized by a chief when the villagers actually required certain economic goods, but even when there was no economic need, goods were exchanged and the men of the two villages participated in wrestling, dancing, and feasting.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Bacairi claim not to have been a warlike people. They defended themselves if attacked, but say that they did not attack others. Each village had a chief (*piwu*) who was assisted by an *ndibi*. There was no chief for the whole tribe. The *ndibi*, who was a young man, was selected by the chief with the consent of the villagers. The *ndibi* could be the son of the chief but this is not a requirement, for any able young man was eligible for this position. At the death of the chief the *ndibi* succeeded him.

The principal functions of the chief were economic, judicial, and ceremonial. As we have seen, the chief organized trading expeditions and participated in such activities as collective planting and house building. He also represented the people of his village when visitors arrived or when his own village made formal visits. If the village feared attack the *piwu* selected a particularly brave man to lead the defense or to undertake retaliation. Discussions concerning disputes and other village affairs took place in the ceremonial house. Murderers were exiled or if a war was on the murderer was made to bear the brunt of the attack. Thieves, adulterers, and others who persisted in disturbing the peace and harmony of the village were exiled through the common action of the villagers. Exile was considered severe punishment, for the Bacairi say that individuals who were exiled often committed suicide. Chiefs among the Bacairi, therefore, were not war leaders, nor was succession governed by descent. Chiefs seem, thus, to have been primarily leaders of social activities. The part which a chief played in ceremonial life will be described later.

/176 cont./

433 It is clear that here agriculture falls behind hunting and
181 fishing: Aldea IV is military in character and forms the frontier
648 defense against alien tribes.

763 In one hut lay an ancient, paralytic little woman emaciated to a skeleton, whose soul seemed to say "ãla Bakairí" (it is enough Bakairí) and was trying impatiently to flutter away. The hammock was resting partly on the ground; two women squatted beside it and, as garrulous cronies, explained to us the suffering of the dying little mother.

231 Of tame animals we found a heron, small parrots, a kingfisher and the socó-morena.

245 The festival hut was 18 meters long, nine meters wide.
532 There were clumsily carved wooden fish hanging there, as well as a few finless specimens, wound bands which perhaps represented the electric eel.

Two square pieces of wood, painted red and white, with modeled nose and two eye sockets were striking; they are held in front of the face and represent doves, whose voice the artist can imitate better than the head (1).

1. Cf. the second ethnological plate /see p. 165/.

534 /177/ Four menis and a number of rattles were stuck in the
353 side walling.

624 Only in the festival hut did the herald put down his bow and arrows, but he did not part with them during our entire stay, even
[296] when he handed us a few bundles of tobacco. The latter, by the way, was better than among the earlier Bakairí. A few modest old
622 people were there, none with gray hair; among them the chief and, if I understood correctly, a vice-chief, the authority during the time the former is absent.

123 A shooting demonstration on the plaza filled them with
152 terror. they jumped with fright and turned away convulsively, most of all the mighty herald. His "ãla, ãla" was very humble and urgent.

B /338 cont./
*171 846 between father and child; the child is a duplication of him, the father has become double, and, for the sake of the helpless, irrational creature which represents a miniature edition of himself, he must himself behave like a child who must not come to harm. Supposing that the child dies during the first days, how could the father who is filled with such ideas and who has eaten indigestible things doubt that he himself is at fault, especially since all sickness arises through the fault of another? What we call "pars pro toto" dominates popular belief everywhere with respect to sorcery or healing magic, although I do not believe that the sorcerer /339/ has a clear image of a "part" with which he is working. The "couvade" is carried out according to the same logic, except that here is a case where the whole intercedes for the "part." It is all the same whether I poison the hair of the enemy and thereby cause him to waste away, or whether, to the detriment of the child which has become detached from me, I eat food that it might not tolerate at all or at least not during the days when the separation takes place.

B [753] [761] B [811]

B *171 764 Burial. All the tribes of the Kulisehu bury their dead; the body lies in west-east in such a way that the head looks toward the rising sun. (According to the statements of the Kamayurá, the Suyá bury their dead in a squatting position, the head with the feather ornament bent back and the eyes turned toward the setting sun.) The grave is on the village plaza. Among the Mehinakú we saw in front of the festival hut a heap of brush under which, at a shallow depth, the grave pit was said to be located; fat beetles were crawling out of holes in the ground and the place was alive with flies. Among the Auetó a square in front of the festival hut was staked off with thick, low posts connected by plaiting. It is photographed on Plate 15 /see p. 253/; I do not know whether it is a coincidence that the two sinuated sides of the square resemble the characteristic shape of the handle-plate of the throwing board. Among the Yaulapiti we saw a square grave fence.

A [764]

B /339 cont./
*171
764

The body is wrapped in the hammock* The grave gifts are

* In Cuyabá slaves and poor people from the Misericordia Hospital were buried in a hammock or a coverlet. A coffin has the shape of a long box, the bottom and ends of which consist of slats; this framework has a white cloth stretched over it on the inside, a black one on the outside.

B [775] bow and arrows for the man, sieve-mat, spindle, and pot for the woman. The earthly division of labor continues in the future
A 766 life. The Kamayurá described to us the burial of a chief. To make the grave, they dig two pits and join them with a passage so that the layout has the form of a dumbbell. While everyone is weeping and lamenting, fires are lighted, and each man breaks his throwing stick and the arrows that go with it and throws them
A [765] [302] in the fire. The nearest relatives fast for some time, ** but then

** See the burial among the Paressí /see p. 531 /.

they adorn themselves in festive array, the tonsure is renewed, and the body painted black with genipap, which the Kamayurá prefer to urucú. The widow goes about with her head shaved. The grave that we saw among the Auetó (cf. Plate 15 /see p. 253/) contained the wife of a chief, a Kamayurá woman; it was said that mourners from all the tribes had come for the burial.

II. Magic and Medicine Men.

One tends to think of the magic and sorcery of primitive peoples as an art entirely foreign to us. If one proceeds from the nature of its /340/ art, however, nothing is more common even in the life of civilized man than sorcery, albeit an unsystematic and unprofessional sorcery. A person who dreams

75 /251 cont./
first and foremost jatobá /Hymnenaea/, then copaiba, the white or yellow trumpetbush /pejiva de flôres brancas ou amarellas/, the vinhatico, the pindahiba /Xylopia/, etc. Knowing this, the first concern of the curer (piahi) called to treat the sick is to extract the sliver of wood that causes the discomfort, which is achieved by sucking on the patient.

764 Sometimes, in spite of the treatment, the latter dies.
775 Then the dead man is painted with urucú (anoto); there are
put in his ears and nostrils the feathers that adorned them in
[302] life; his belongings (icehiko) are gathered up, such as bow,
[301] arrows, etc., which are deposited along with their owner /252/ in the hole that will serve as grave, well covered with earth stamped down with the feet. In the afternoon the shadow rises in the guise of the curiangu (Pokuráu, Caprimulgus) and comes to drink mingáu, which was placed at the grave, on the spot that corresponds to the head. After a while it no longer returns.

775 The Bacaeris also speak of kxadopa, which is equivalent to our hobgoblins or lost souls and, it would seem, are the shadows of those who died a violent death. The following passage describes most clearly what is said concerning these beings.

Kxadopa goes wandering in the afternoon, says the piahi; it is all bone; it has holes for eyes; it wanders through the forest; manioc is its food; it wanders in the cultivated clearings; caterpillars, bicho de pau /"wood insect"/ and ants are its food; it comes to the house to drink mingáu (poʔu); take the food of the kxadopa outside, take beiju /manioc cakes/ and pirão /boiled manioc flour/ (pakxa); at night, in order to sleep, burn rubber, rub it on the door, on the door bar (anaxu, "nose"); the kxadopa does not come in, the rubber stinks and
[533] he does not like the smell. Take his food to the grave; if you do not intone the song (erému) of the kxadopa, he does

/263 cont./

about three centimeters square made of tree bark. After the seclusion boys and girls were eligible for /264/ marriage. Marriage, todohokúinle, was joined by the parents of the young people by means of an exchange of gifts, and it does not seem to have merited any special ceremony.

The Bakairí do not seem to have believed in the possibility of a natural death. After death, which was always caused by the sorcery of some enemy, the corpse was painted and attired in the finery used in life. The corpse was rolled up in the hammock used by the deceased, and buried with the head pointing west and the feet east. There followed a mourning period, during which the closer relatives remained uanki and from which they emerged through the tadaunúto feast.

The world of the Bakairí was surrounded by supernatural beings, good and evil, such as the iamũra, topiehe, karoui, kadopa, and kilaimo. (5) Plants and animals were nothing but

5. Capistrano de Abeu, "Os Bacaerys," Revista Brasileira, Year I, Vol. 4, pp. 44, 45, 47, 48, 234, 240, 241. Rio de Janeiro, 1895.

drapery used by the iamura and kadopa. Hunting, fishing, and agricultural activities thus had to be accompanied by propitiatory activities intended to appease the anger of the iamũra deprived of their animals and plants. On the other hand, karoui and kilaimo wandered through the forest menacing the Bakairí. Against such beings the Indians required the protection of their sorcerer-doctors as well as periods of seclusion in the most dangerous moments.

The Bakairí believed that men had two souls: one called kati or kutulu, heavier and thicker, corresponding to a camisa worn by the second soul, kagatopuri, a more fluid element that

6:Oberg E-5 (1947)1953 SP7 Bacairi SP7
[P.94-B]

881 The release from seclusion was signalized by the feast of *tadauxáito*. The parents of the young people accumulated much food and went on a big hunt on the day before the feast. The chief and all the villagers were invited to the ceremony [533] during which all the Bacairí songs and dances [535] were performed and the young people were pre- [481] sented gifts by the villagers. The girls would now take the strings of beads from around their [301] waists and wear them around their necks and their mothers would give them cotton cords which [291] they put around their hips and to which the uluri were attached. The boys and girls were now [582] eligible for marriage.

MARRIAGE (TODOHOKÜINLE)

584 Marriages were arranged by parents or by older brothers or sisters. The father and mother of the boy, for instance, would take presents of ornaments and food to the parents of the girl. If the parents of the girl accepted the gifts it meant that they favored the marriage, and if they refused it meant that the suitor was not acceptable. The marriage ceremony took place in the girl's home, the date being arranged by the parents. At the girl's house the young couple were seated side by side with linked arms. They were then given advice by their respective parents and relatives. Marriage was not considered a period of ritual danger, nor were extensive feasts given. It appears to have been an affair involving only the families of the young couple.

BURIAL (EPIODÍLE)

764 The body was painted, ornaments were put on, and then the body was wrapped in a hammock and buried in a grave with the feet to the east so that the face would be toward the rising sun

768 Although old and worn objects were burnt, most of the property of the dead was shared among the relatives. The part of the house occupied by the dead person was washed, and clean sand was sprinkled on the floor. There was a mourning

765 period (*logúno*) of 1 month, during which the immediate relatives were in a state of *wánki*.[1]

SHAMANISM

775 When a person died, the ghost (*kadópe*) went into the sky or into the water or sometimes wandered upon the earth. Ghosts of the dead often

[1] [ie. a state of ritual danger]

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Y 105 101 345 B and for guests. Generally, outside and in front of the house there is a log on which newly come visitors sit, until the bird stools are brought.

Y 768 On our visit to the Tsuva we saw the charred framework of a house, and upon inquiring about it, we were informed that on the death of one of the inmates of the house it burned down. The Bakairi confirmed the existence of this custom among their people.

Y 105 171 241 The fields are situated close to the village and are always cleared forest land. The trees are burned down, sometimes cut down and burned, as well as the underbrush. The ashes give greater fertility to the soil. The manioc cuttings are then planted. The men do, as usual, the heavy work, the women helping as much as they can.

Most of the groups cultivate nothing but the bitter manioc or cassava, but a few of them have maize and sweet potatoes, neither of which are extensively cultivated. The Arawak groups seem to be better and more interested husbandmen. The Mehinaku had maize seed and sweet potatoes. The Yawalapiti had maize. W [243] [244]

W 532 243 Of interest are the maize effigies which were seen in the houses of the Yawalapiti and Mehinaku. One ear of maize is embellished with legs, arms, a skirt and a painted visage. These figures are hung from the rafters of the roof. Some of them, instead of representing human beings, are made in the likeness of birds. Several of these effigies are in the collections of the University Museum.

Y 105 171 482 415 The crops are transported to the village in 'carrying baskets.' The framework of these baskets is of wicker, consisting of an elliptical loop for the bottom, and similar loops lashed to it and to each other forming the sides. Each loop is filled in with a network of bark strips. These baskets are made in all sizes, some of the larger ones measuring over a metre in length. It is carried on the back, with a tumpline, also made of bark fiber, across the chest and upper arms. This method leaves the arms and hands free, while the load needs no balancing. No women, however, were ever seen carrying a load in this manner, preferring to carry on the head, a method utilized also by the men. [Plate XI, 2-4.]

Y 105 171 252 When the manioc is brought to the village it is first grated to a mass. The grater is a board with piranha teeth inserted into it or bits of shell. In order to extract the juice, which is poisonous, this manioc mass is squeezed between the hands or sometimes in wicker mats. It then is put out in the sun to dry in the form of cakes. If not for immediate use,

/269 cont./

539 fat in order to stay warm. The Indians wanted the sun to come out, and so they donned their apparel, painted their bodies, and began to ask Orimoto, the great spirit. Orimoto was not an Indian but a man who lived in a stone house with some animals which he had created. The Indians went on asking until finally the light broke out; but the Indians had already grown old and the children had already grown up.

776 The data at our disposal do not permit us to place in Bakairí cosmology beings such as Tchini-numa, Keri-kamé, or Orimoto and Nakoeri. Nevertheless, we prefer to regard Nakoeri as the supreme being of the Bakairí, leaving to Tchini-numa, Keri-kamé (the sun and the moon), and Orimoto the role of culture heroes, until new work clarifies their respective functions.

182 13 433 Compelled to deal with a hostile environment, such as the savannas and forests of the headwaters of the Xingu, and lacking an adequate technology, the Bakairí, like the other Xinguano Indians, depended to a large extent on uncertain factors such as the amount of rainfall and the resulting annual increase of waters, which led to a scarcity or an abundance of food. Lacking an adequate technology, they did not store 789 their produce but lived on a subsistence economy. Their hunt- [224] ing and fishing activities were followed by magic rituals with [226] which they attempted to control the possibility of sudden future [241] calamities or even of illnesses. Thus agricultural activities [396] and the building of houses or canoes had to be followed by [782] propitiations. In order to utilize the vegetal or animal raw [262] materials, it was necessary to know how to control uncertain elements: How explain, for example, why one canoe splits and another does not, when both were made by the same craftsman? How explain how the same /270/ foods sometimes ap- 77 peared harmless and sometimes made people ill? The system of beliefs of the Bakairí seems to us an interpretation that

/270 cont./

77 satisfies effectively the cultural exigencies. The Bakairí lived in a world dominated by iamũra and other supernatural beings. Animals and plants were nothing more than draperies which were used by these supernatural beings. The Bakairi himself was a dual being: a spirit, kagatopũri, using a draping, the physical body, animated by another, denser spirit, kati. After death kagatopũri went through the stages of kadopa, a wandering spirit, and finally iamũra. For this reason the Bakairi did not appear to be afraid of their dead; bodies were more than vestments, but the kadopa were indeed dangerous.

784 182 In order to protect themselves against the innumerable dangers presented by the constellation of supernatural beings, such as iamũra, kadopa, topiehe, karoui, iuanaguroro, and kiĵaimo, the Bakairí used two methods. The first was seclusion: uanki, at the most difficult moments, such as birth, puberty, [796] death, and shamanistic initiation. Uanki was followed by the restoration of the individual /to the community/ through the 756 tadaunũto celebration. The other method was shamanism. 784 Shamanism was open to all and it must actually have consti- 182 tuted a normal stage in the life evolution of the Bakairí. Yet few of them managed to become sorcerers, for the trials they 756 had to undergo were not easy. Contact with the supernatural 787 was achieved by sorcerers through the use of tobacco or other 276 narcotic substances. In their trances the sorcerers came to control the iamũra and acquired the powers peculiar to these supernatural beings.

795 Finally, the post-mortem life of the Bakairí, in Nakoeri's large aldea, reflects as might be expected the organization of their aldeas. Once changed into iamũra, the Bakairí join their ancestors and old friends; the pleasures of eating and drinking are not denied them since they also feel hunger and thirst, but they are now invulnerable to the perils of the forest. They can use the animals and plants, at their pleasure, as wrappers for their wanderings through the air, in the rivers, or on the ground.

/349 cont./

961 the other hand, the process of the separation of soul and body is
994 not new; he experiences it day after day, as we have seen, when
995 the shade /Schatten," shadow, shade"/ hastens away in the dream
828 and leaves his body behind in the hammock. Ordinary death is a deep unconsciousness (coma) brought about by the poison which the sorcerer administers, and it differs from sleep only in the fact that the shade hastens too far away to be able to return. Only the medicine man who poisons himself returns to life. The experiences of the shade during sleep were already "real"; hence its "experiences" after death are just as "real." One is familiar with this reality, which is merely life in another place, from daily experience and has it amply confirmed by the deceased, with whose shades our own communicates during the dream, and by the sorcerers who occasionally visit the realm of the dead; in the latter Hamlet may find the wanderers who return from the regions of the unknown country. To die to sleep, no more /cited in English/.

995 The shades of the dead Bakaïrí go to heaven to the ancestors. Heaven is first of all not the land of the future, but of the past, the old ones are still there where all history began. The heaven
[992] in which the first Bakaïrí lived lay beside the earth in former times, and one could easily get over to it. Too many people died there, however, /350/ so the people moved to earth, and heaven rose up to where it is now and where the animals, the - places, and the things which occur in the old stories may be seen to this day. "Everything remained as it was." "There were always Bakaïrí, but in the beginning there were very few." One
[811] need only hold fast to a few specific points, and one will recognize, in spite of all flights of fancy and in spite of all the elaboration by tradition, a core of naïve, sound logic in the Indians' explanation of nature.

811 The Indians know no "must." They regard every occurrence in nature as a unique occurrence, or more correctly as a unique action. Indeed, laws are in fact known only as the result of the common work of many -- those who live and have lived. And as long as there are no laws and at best only habits, each individual is at the center of the

2: Steinen--415 ED-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/351 cont./

772 By far the most important instance of the lack of abstract divisions, which at the same time is the most difficult to approach with our way of feeling and thinking, is the relationship of human beings to animals and of the individual animal species to one another. We say the native anthropomorphizes in his "fairy tales," he lets the animals speak and act like human beings. This is all right from our point of view, but if we were to believe that he gives animals human traits only for the purpose of telling a good story, this would be a tremendous misunderstanding, it would mean nothing more and nothing less than that we are denying him all his belief and knowledge: his belief for he has the same confidence in the wonderful stories that he tells about animals as every confirmed Christian has in the miracles of the Bible; his knowledge, for he could as little conceive of the world around him without his fairy-tale animals as the physicist the centers of energy without the atoms of matter -- si parva licet componere magnis /if it be permitted to compare small things with great ones/.

We must imagine that there are no boundaries at all between man and animal. An animal may be cleverer or more stupid, stronger or weaker, than the Indian, it may have an entirely different way of life, but in his eyes it is a person, exactly as he is; the animals are united, like human beings, in families and tribes, they have different languages, just like human tribes, but human being, jaguar, deer, bird, fish, they are all only persons of different appearance and different characteristics. One need only be a medicine man who can do everything, then one can change oneself from one person into another, then one will also understand all the languages spoken in the forest or in the air or
[812] in the water. The underlying reason for this view is that there is as yet no ethical humanity; there is goodness and badness only in the crude sense that one causes another displeasure or pleasure, but moral judgment and ideal volition, influenced either by the prospect of reward or the fear of punishment, are altogether lacking. In that case, why should an insurmountable barrier between man and animal be assumed? The external observation of the

/351 cont./

772 ways of life, to which the Indian is limited, can at best merely indicate to man the position of primus inter pares. To be sure, the animal does not have bow and arrow and maize pestle, but that is the chief difference in the eyes of the Indian, and that is why the men arose from arrows, the women from maize pestles, but it does have, like man, important tools, for example, such as teeth and claws, which, indeed, he takes away from it.

825 Moreover, the Indian lacks our division into species, insofar as the one does not interbreed with another. This distinction, which /352/ experience certainly makes easily recognizable, is again completely obliterated because the barrier based on our anatomical knowledge falls away. Let us consider for a moment what our popular belief is capable of concerning this error: here one is confronted with a genuine mouse-skin, a genuine dog-foot, etc. If the Indian can explain something by the crossing of different species of animals or by that of animal and man, nothing prevents him from asserting it: on the contrary, he will see proof of it and merely conclude that such things no longer happen now because they are no longer necessary. Today, our learned men say, there is no longer generatio aequivoca, but at one time it surely occurred. The difference is all the more obliterated since the native is obliged to use the convenient explanatory principle of transformation in the widest latitude. Finally, he does not concern himself further about reproduction within the species, since the child is nothing but the father; the species or the tribe is like a single individual, which always appears under the same name; various subspecies, for example, the jaguar cats, large and small and differing in color, are brothers. Each of these "jaguars," however, appear by name, "campo fox," "deer," "ant bear" -- in all kinds of stories and no one asks whether it is, say, campo fox "V" or campo fox "XXIII." It is also precisely the same for the human forefathers in the ancestor legends: the women are usually taken as given, and the fellow tribesmen who accompany them always are.

772 811 I repeat, we are justified in using the expression "anthropomorphize" only as a schema, and it becomes false if one tries to

/352 cont./

B 772 811 interpret it as though the Indian says, "I am a human being and let the animals behave like human beings too." The reverse, that human beings are animals, also occurs, and, to be sure, in the good and bad sense. The Trumaí are water animals because they sleep at the bottom of the river. The Bakaïrí say this in all seriousness. We likewise encounter among other tribes this same belief in human beings who live in the water. The Bororó maintain that if one chews certain leaves one can remain for hours under the surface of the water and catch fish. I was unable to learn anything more specific about the "water life" of the Trumaí, except that they like to attack other tribes on the river and supposedly throw captives in the water with their arms tied. I do not know whether they were formerly river nomads, like the Guató; at any rate, they first learned agriculture from their neighbors. Whatever may have suggested this belief about them to the Bakaïrí, it will not be vitiated by any conclusions that we might draw on the basis of our natural laws, "but, after all, the Trumaí are not animals, not fishes"; rather, the Bakaïrí concludes that because the Trumaí sleep in the river they are water animals, and he mocks and despises them, as happens to every tribe with strange customs. The Bororó pride themselves on the fact that they are red araras. They not only turn into araras after death, /353/ as well as into certain other animals, not only are the araras Bororó and treated accordingly -- they also express their relationship to the brilliant bird so cold-bloodedly that they designate themselves as araras as though a caterpillar were to say that it is a butterfly and, in doing so, do not at all wish to give themselves merely a name completely independent from their nature.

B [186] B [171] BO [827] BO 772 811 [775]

B 772 811 [171] Thus, the Trumaí are water animals because they have a habit of water animals, the Bororó are araras because their dead are transformed into araras. One tries to interpret these and similar phenomena by the confusion of names and things which easily occurs in tradition. This is decidedly not the case among our Indians. Though it may be readily conceded that, where the basic view is present, such confusion automatically appears, nevertheless the basic view, undoubtedly present, must be put

/353 cont./

772 first as the main point. Or would we who lack it and who may also
811 experience confusion ever believe our geographers and historians if they said that the Finns were a nation of tapeworms?

But if the essential distinction is absent, then the matter is
772 entirely different. Then there is nothing to prevent the campo
773 fox, the nocturnal predator who has fire in his eyes glowing in the
811 dark, from giving this fire to human beings by striking it out of his eyes. Or, to take a common variant of the ancestor legend, there is nothing to prevent the jaguar from being the ancestor of a cannibalistic tribe; for it is always emphatically reported that this tribal ancestor "jaguar" killed and devoured the ancestors of the local tribe, Bakairí or Paressí. I can state most emphatically that my informant was firmly convinced that the evil ancestor in question in the legend was a jaguar and was not merely called that, although he shot with arrows. To say that the earlier time in which the legend originated only symbolized and the descendants confused names and things is a convenient supposition, but an unreliable one, for in that case the entire tradition would consist of nothing but confusions. The earlier generation had the same basic view as the present one: It explained the cannibalistic custom of the neighboring tribe by descent from the jaguar for whom it is characteristic to devour human beings. They did not know the tribal ancestor, because he cannot be known by any tribe, although he always must have been present. Since the essential distinction between man and animal is lacking, they had no difficulty in concluding that, because these people always devoured human beings, our own forefathers, the tribal ancestor was therefore a jaguar, and their causal requirement was satisfied -- which was much more essential than the possible objection that today the son of a jaguar is always a jaguar and that today, after all, no jaguar shoots with bow and arrow as, of course, the ancestors of the hostile tribe did.

773 /354/ We understand that the Indian presents animals as though
811 they were persons when he reports their conversations, for one
825 knows that animals call to each other and communicate in loving or threatening tones, but to furnish animals with cultural products and implements seems to us to exceed the limit of what is permissible. In fact, according to the Indian ancestral legends, man

/360 cont./

821 order to watch as their dead grandmother Mero was burned. They
773 had set the fire themselves -- one can still see it in the large Magellanic Cloud -- while another, the small Magellanic Cloud, arose through their carelessness, which I shall speak of later in detail. Keri in particular is the hero of all these stories: he caught the mutung with the bird snare; he robbed the king vulture of the sun-ball by assuming the shape of a tapir whose dark forms one can still clearly distinguish in the Argo part of the Milky Way. Besides the tapir, one can also see a jaguar and an ant bear of the legend. In fact, one need not be an Indian in order to observe the animals; I, too, distinctly recognized the tapir in particular.

821 The native predominantly sees animals up there for the
151 same reason that he sees them down here in all kinds of things that remind him of some animal merely by some small characteristic; he cannot do otherwise because he apperceives chiefly in accordance with his hunter interests. It did not escape him, however, that the animals and things in the sky have a different appearance than their originals on earth, according to which they are determined. /361/ They are only figures. And yet they are more. For even though they may have been made at some time, he cannot regard them as works of art like his animal stools or sand drawings, because they move and are in the midst of a highly variable shifting of wind, clouds, and weather that takes place independently without one's seeing any human being. They must be bewitched.

772 All the more so since the same result is reached in another
773 way. They are necessarily the oldest animals and things that there are. Each earlier generation, no matter what it thought of them, saw them as complete as does the present one, whereas, according to all present-day and earlier experience, the rivers and trees and inhabitants of the earth of all kinds are small at first and then grow big. Now all the ancestors have disappeared; year in, year out those who die are always disappearing -- where else should the oldest people be than among the oldest things? But to
[761] die is to be bewitched and transformed, just as the medicine man who takes poison and dies changes himself into any animal shape desired.

/361 cont./

772 desired. Therefore, we have up there the oldest bewitched peo-
773 ple and things. The feather ball, the vulture, the jaguar, the tapir prove to the Indian the deeds of the oldest medicine men. The only thing needed for a fully logical conclusion would be to regard every dream as a bewitched state.

773 I have already discussed in the story about the vulture and
821 the turtle, how the coherent text of the legends comes into being, even before a dim historical tradition furnishes special material. There is no lack of material, since the various animals and things which one sees side by side up there must stimulate, according to their characteristics, all kinds of notions which explain
539 their being together. Thus legend tells how the king vulture, before Keri took the sun away from him, appeared with it in the dark hole of the Milky Way and then flew around in the sky. Well, the sun is apperceived as a feather ball; during the day it reaches the highest heights of the heavens where at night one sees a dark hole, and there the "red urubu" or magnificently colored king vulture, "the prince and ruler of his kindred (Brehm)," is the most conspicuous citizen in the realm of the air -- when this material has been gathered, only the inquisitive question is required and the connection cannot fail to appear. There is not much bother about the moon. It was "together with the sun at first"; later Keri and Kame divided the feathers between them.

I was given the following story about the five stars in Perseus. The giant armadillo -- we have seen that it, as the largest of the spherical tatûs, leaving its dirt behind, eventually covers the moon -- met Keri on his way. It was carrying a basket with pikí fruit, gave Keri some, and went on. Keri called after it, it stopped, again gave Keri some, and said: "I shall not give more." Then he seized the tatû, the fruits rolled all around, and the tatú worked its way into the ground. Keri made himself claws out of jatobá resin and dug it out. Again it worked its way /362/ in, again he dug it out. This happened five times in all and the five holes are the five stars. Therefore we have here only a meeting between Keri and the tatú already given, we know furthermore from the flute (Twins) that stars are thought of as holes; what is

/364 cont./

754 imagines the sorcerer as being in an animal approximately like the
756 Indian in an animal mask, who now is a dove, for example, and
812 behaves like a dove in voice and movement, but remains fellow tribesman X and is therefore able to fetch a gourd bowl full of pogu from the women, although he is a bird.

773 [772] Keri and Kame and the ancestor legend. The general basis of the world view of the Bakaïrí is his relationship to animal life. It assumes, however, one might say, that his science and poetry are of heavenly origin. The oldest Bakaïrí lived in heaven; this is proved to us by all that we know about the sun and moon, and everything that we see up there, the figures of the Milky Way, the starless areas, and the shining Magellanic Clouds. Strangely enough, there was nothing to be discovered in the way of ideas about thunderstorms, windstorms, clouds, rain, which are productive in a similar sense among other peoples. One had the impression that meteorology was still quite unexplored. There always remained the astronomical heavenly animals, to which were added the personages of the ancestor legend. The second main source of legend material flows in the memories of the tribe, but the two streams are so tightly intermingled that it is scarcely possible to distinguish what was originally supplied by the one and what by the other. The jaguar, behind which is concealed a cannibalistic neighboring tribe of ancient times, has become one with the jaguar of the Milky Way and to top it all, the zoological varieties of the jaguar family are available as a number of brothers.

[774] The names Keri and Kame show that foreign, and, to be sure, Aruak influence has played a significant role. These are the names for moon and sun of the Nu-Aruak tribes; they are not Karaiben /365/ words at all.* A coincidence is completely

*Cf. Bakaïrí-Grammatik /Bakaïrí Grammar/, p. 57. The Island Karaiben have a benign "deity," ischeiri, which can scarcely be connected with keri phonetically; if there is a connection and ischeiri is ancient

/157 cont./

241 the process of being charred. The pillar of smoke that had drawn our attention for several days is explained: the forest was
122 being cleared in order to lay out a planting. Eagerly scouting, we climb up, and again we are wandering along the forest path.

/158/ "Beijú," somebody cries in a suppressed voice and
[262] triumphantly points to a few crumbs, which give us the prospect of new provisions; "they have beijús," each one murmurs to the man behind him.

[411] There -- a feather-decorated arrow leans against a tree
824 -- the tube of ubá, the wood from which the Imperador /emperor/
[073] of the legend created the Bakaïrí. We become more serious, and even the Negroes, who, when they are afraid, like to try to give themselves courage by chattering march on silently. Now and then small fires, alive or burned out. We have already been
[137] walking three-quarters of an hour. But see there, a new clearing -- a charming grove of nut-bearing bacayuva palms -- a few kernels of maize on the ground, again a bit of forest and: "Casas -- houses," the first man cries.

361 Three houses of the form of a beehive become visible; in
342 the first hut, which blocks our path, the low door stands open; in the dark we make out a few heads. A completely naked
609 Indian steps out, young, well built, closes the door, and comes
[291] toward us, in his hand a long arrow shaft without a point, which he holds horizontally in front of him.

I instruct Antonio to call out a greeting to him in Bakaïrí. "Kɣulino," cries Antonio almost breathless, and -- hail to the antiguos -- the Indian answers in Bakaïrí. Eagerly he steps up to Antonio, leans against him, and both embrace as they walk on -- both talking at the same time, both trembling all over with fear and excitement.

[302] A joyful feeling of release overcame us all, and when Manoel, discovering that our dear savage wears a nicely shaved tonsure, now finally recovers his speech and cries out, "Oh, why that's a priest, the compadre is a parson," general laughter breaks out, and everybody talks at once.

Y /267 cont./
535 back and forth in this way for hours. They held bow and arrow in their hands and were led by a masked figure which, in the semidarkness, looked like a man dressed as a woman at a carnival. Y The clothing was feminine, the abrupt movements masculine. [292] This costume consisted of a cotton cap with red, yellow, and green feather trimming all around and a long white cloak of loosely knotted cotton cord that terminated at the bottom with a wreath of black mutum feathers pointing downward. -- Castro said that he had interpreted the explanation of an Yuruna to mean that this festival dance preserves the memory of former times when a great chief was received with much pomp in the villages that he visited. That chief is represented by the man in ooo the cloak and the feather crown. /The remainder of Ch. 16 and Ch. 17, pp. 267-281, are omitted in the translation./

/282/ Eighteenth Chapter

Legends of the Bakaïrí

B
773 The name that plays the chief role in the story of jolly [115] Captain Caetano Mêmo, which unfortunately was told in such miserably broken Portuguese, is that of the "Imperador." If B [297] the missionaries had the intention of causing the greatest possible confusion of concepts in the heads of the Bakaïrí whom they were to convert, they achieved their purpose to such an extent that one can only with effort separate a little clarity and B 539 concreteness from the general confusion. Let us imagine: Imperador the sun-god of the Indians. He bears two other names. Keri and Schischi. His brother is called Kame and also Nuna. Schischi, however, is the sun, Nuna the moon. Keri and Kame are merely two other names for the two celestial bodies, which are found among many "Guck tribes" (cf. chart of the Nu /untranslated/) interestingly enough in reverse, Keri belonging to the moon, Kamu to the sun.

/201 cont./

181 only that all creatures behaved essentially as he did, that they
825 had their family life, communicated with one another by means of sounds, had dwellings, sometimes fought with one another, and nourished themselves from hunting booty or from fruits; in short, he felt as though he were primus inter pares, not above them; he knew nothing about all those good things to the effect that there is a difference whether one draws conclusions in situational images or in concepts, and whether one acts purposefully according to associations which are inherited complete within the species, or according to tradition which is handed down by the parents by means of language. His myths and legends, which [773] to us seem like pure fairy tales and animal fables and which he takes just as seriously as we do the sacred books with their doctrine, in which he lets human beings and animals mingle, would necessarily be only playful jests if he regarded himself as created out of a different substance than other creatures are. We can understand these human beings only if we regard them as the product of a hunting culture. They gathered the main body of their experiences from animals, and with these experiences primarily, since it is only through the old that one is capable of understanding the new, they explained nature, fashioned their world view. [532] Accordingly, their artistic motifs, as we shall see, are borrowed, with amazing one-sidedness, from the animal kingdom; indeed, their entire, surprisingly rich art is rooted in the hunting life and did not flower until a more peaceful existence provided protection for the buds. From the outset I cannot refer often enough to these conditions, since otherwise we should not properly evaluate the material culture of the natives and should not understand their mental culture at all.

*171 On the other hand, it is a fact that the products of agricul-
174 ture -- except in the case of the Trumaí -- have been in the
241 possession of our Indians since time immemorial. A comparison of the languages furnishes irrefutable proof. It teaches us first of all that the tribes of the Schingú belong to different language families. It teaches us furthermore that in the case of each one the branching off from the basic people concerned took place

2: Steinen--198 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP23
Bororó SP8

B /201 cont./
*171 in remote epochs, /202/ for the phonetic softening processes
174 and the disappearance of the initial root-sounds, which are
241 present everywhere in the individual dialects, show a development in the same direction, but in different gradations everywhere with respect to degree and limits, show only equivalence, not conformity, and therefore could have started only after the separation from the basic people. Nevertheless, even the basic peoples have names for the most important useful plants; they are entirely different from one basic people to another, but for the individual basic stock they are common among a greater or lesser number of branches. For the Karaiben /Carib/ I believe I have proved these statements in my Bakaïrí grammar, I can likewise maintain them for the Tupí after more recent studies; for the Nu-Aruak /Arawak/, where the material is inadequate and difficult, I reserve all judgment and merely point out that, on the basis of historical and ethnological data, we must conclude that the Nu-Aruak undoubtedly have an older culture than the Karaiben and certainly the Gẽs, and probably also an older
T [192] one than the Tupí. The Trumaí borrowed their names for the most important useful plants in part from the Nu-Aruak, in part from the Tupí.

B [181] Thus, we have a contradiction with respect to the common conception: ancient agriculture along with the world view of
B [773] hunters. The Bakaïrí said to me: "Our grandfathers did not
[261] know anything about maize and mandioca, instead they ate earth" -- which the present-day Indians only nibble. In the bagadú legend they say that mandioca was first given as a gift
BO to the campo residents. In the Mato Grosso different stages of de-
[241] velopment are found side by side: in the case of the Bororó we
[153] shall become acquainted with a mighty tribe for whom the cultivation of food plants was an incomprehensible beginning, who, without need, most speedily pulled out and consumed the
T mandioca roots planted for them, before the roots were scarcely
[241] more than thin young shoots -- we recognize from the language and
[177] also hear from the tradition that the Trumaí were taught agriculture only recently by their neighbors, and we find among them
excellently tended, extensive plantings--

/210 cont./

114 276 [177] Antilles found it. On the other hand, I share the opinion of v. Ihering, which I often expressed in lectures before I read his article, that the pipe in Brazil is of modern origin. Like the fishhook.

It plays an important part in medical
*171 276 757 ●173 treatment and is regarded as a very ancient acquisition of the culture heroes, who, as legend indicates, received it from the north. The drinking bowls and calabashes, especially the Cucurbita lagenaria, represented a major product for the
*171 249 [248] [302] Nahuquá, a somewhat lesser one for the Bakaïrí. The Mehinakú and the Bakaïrí had the best cotton. The orlean bush was valued above all by the Bakaïrí, the Mehinakú neglected it completely because watering it made too much work; the surprising circumstance upon my arrival in the village, namely, that no red-painted, but many black-painted figures were walking about, finds a very natural explanation.

*171 241 Maize, represented among the Suyá by a species characterized by smallness of ears and a golden color of the kernels, and mandioca were found everywhere, but the latter was planted in decidedly greater amounts among the Mehinakú. They were the richest farmers of the upper Schingú, their word for mandioca was also adopted by the Trumaí. Of tuber plants, besides mandioca, we saw yams of two kinds and batatas, which we first found in quantities among the Mehinakú. Our men designated beans as "feijaõ de vara," pole beans, or as "feijão de roça," plantation beans. Of edible gourds, abóbora /Abobra/, we saw only the seeds which the Suya brought us in 1884 for eating, so we understood. The mandubi peanut occurred in a small species. There were definitely no guavas or bananas on the Schingú.

*171 174 241 In my report about the first journey I pointed out the absence of bananas and especially stressed that for the question as to whether or not the banana was introduced in America only after the arrival of the Europeans this must be all the more decisive since the different Schingú tribes are of different origin and yet not a single one brought along the banana from the previous

n² [i.e., The Tobacco -- Analyst]

/218 cont./

*171 174 433 I shall sum up. Ancient agriculture is most compatible with the type of hunting practiced here. The Indians were primarily fishermen. The yield in their area on the upper course of a river was not sufficient for pure ichthyophagy; on the other hand, it was not small during the months when the fish traveled upstream in the rising water and were found in all the canals and lagoons in great numbers, or when, as the water receded, the opportunity for a catch in the artificially barricaded parts of the river branches became considerably greater. Fishing and hunting, furthermore, furnished the indispensable tools. There *171 174 433 were no domestic animals in our sense; dogs were unfamiliar to the native. He took pleasure in the colored birds, whose 231 feathers he sometimes pulled out, especially in the talking [343] parrots and cawing araras; he let those that he happened to catch young walk around in the village, woodpecker or heron or curassow, and kept in large pole-cages, for the edification of the community, the spitting eagle, Harpyia destructor, or some other predatory bird; he had lizards hanging by their tails from the hammock, so that they would clean up a bit among the annoying crickets -- he had not succeeded any further in the utilization of animals, and though wild plants were established near the village to be used as desired, the rearing of edible [825] animals was not considered. /219/ Indeed, the attitude that the [862] Indian took toward the animal kingdom made him feel a definite repugnance about ultimately consuming animals that he had raised, just as we do not eat dogs.

*171 174 433 The relative sedentariness connected with the life of the fisherman could not become permanent until the women learned to plant, to make pots, and to prepare flour. Although agricul- *171 174 241 648 ture on the Schingú had already reached respectable improvement, nevertheless there were small indications that showed what its origin had been, at least here. People planted the useful plants found in the vicinity, each tribe acquired its own experience on its own soil, and they were disseminated by the 174 773 women who, in war or peace, came to other tribes. The fact that the Bakaïrí-Karaiben were once furthered in this way in

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174 their civilization by Nu-Aruak women is shown in their tribal
773 legend, as I should like to mention here already, in a way that can scarcely be misinterpreted. They have two culture heroes, the twin brothers Keri and Kame, the former of whom is strongly favored by the legend. The two names are the generally widespread Nu-Aruak words, always appearing together, for moon and sun, so that an influence from the Nu-Aruak side is obvious, however one explains the "personification." Kame is the leader of the Nu-Aruak and other tribes; Keri, of the Bakaïrí. Every-
[562] thing that Keri and Kame undertake in the best interests of the tribe is traced back to the advice of Aunt Ewaki, who takes the place of the mother; the woman who always first points out ways and means to them could not possibly, however, have been conceived as a stupid work-animal.

IV. Fire and the Discovery of Wooden Fire-makers.

Introduction. Campo fires and the behavior of the animal kingdom. Ancient hunting. The "queimada," a civilizing place. The awe of primitive man. The myth of instruction by the storms. Fire-making and work methods. Procedure on the Schingú. Origin of wood-rubbing. Stage of maintaining the fire and tinder-technique. Prehistoric vagabonds and Prometheus. Confirmation by experiment.

If I have already been obliged in the previous chapters to discuss my observations on the Schingú with respect to their general culture-historical value, I shall be even less able to avoid doing so in connection with the subject that I am about to take up. I am far from believing that the Schingú Indians were the first who produced fire by drilling or rubbing pieces of wood, I am not by any means yielding to the pleasant delusion that I /220/ have discovered a paradisiacal ancestral seat where all the most important discoveries were made. I should simply like to proceed from these little primitive people, who are still unfamiliar

/297 cont./

B 527 535 773 *[171] According to everything that the natives told us about the festivals, they primarily amounted to what they thought were riotous feasting and drinking bouts. Bakaïrí legend describes the origin to us in the same way. Kame, the tribal ancestor of the Arinos tribes, built the first flute house, carved the first flute, invited his friends to the dance, and served them starch-paste. Keri, the tribal ancestor of the Bakaïrí, who most eagerly competed with Kame in invention, for his part invited Kami to the dance; the legend tells us in what manner the festival took place and speaks of the makanari and the imeo, the straw costumes without face-masks, but with characterizing and partly disguising headdresses, as Keri's invention.

B 527 535 539 "Keri, too, called his people together. Toward evening they went dancing on the village plaza. Then from the house Keri fetched pogu to be drunk. Immediately thereafter they plaited makanari. Keri called Kame. Many people came and Keri was master of the dance. They danced all day. Toward evening they rested. After dark they danced all through the night. Early in the morning they went to the river to bathe. After the bath they came to the flute house. They began with the imeo and danced the whole day. They likewise danced all night. -- Then the festival was at an end."

B T 527 535 628 648 B *[171] A noteworthy feature of the legend is the circumstance that the different tribes united for the dance festival. It is a universal custom that the villages invite one another to the big festivals. Friendly neighboring tribes also send numerous participants. In 1884, when we met the Trumaí and Kamayurá /Camayura/ together (see p. 105), the two tribes had just celebrated a joint festival.

B *171 177 535 For one thing it is understandable under these circumstances that an exchange and leveling out between the customs and dance gear of the tribes takes place. /298/ Each tribe knew the songs of the neighboring tribes, without understanding their content precisely, as we learned in numerous cases; one tribe would also become acquainted with new types of masks from another, and finally the mereschu design, to which I shall come back after describing the masks, gained its general distribution.

/345 cont./

*171 755 704 man takes the strong poisons, "he dies." When the medicine He lies "dead" in the hammock until his shadow returns. For the time being I should like to ignore what the result of this conception of loss of consciousness is for the conception of death. During his narcosis the witch doctor is able to transform himself into any animal form and immediately reach any place desired. The transformation occurs in such a way that he "enters" into the animal. Even today the best doctors are those who drink poison and transform themselves in the intoxicated state. "These piajes who drink ågokurióku and go to heaven," said Antonio literally, "are very good, they cure everything, and the others who do not take poison, who merely blow with tobacco, they cure also, but they do not cure severe /346/ illness." The origin and the meaning of magic cannot be expressed more clearly; one puts himself into a state of excitement in order to make himself capable of what would otherwise be impossible, he works miracles, in which everyone believes, by stimulating his power of imagination; the ultimate basis of all sorcery is the conviction of the reality of what is dreamed or imagined.

Antonio's statements, in the literal wording, about the visit of a narcotized piaje in heaven will explain the situation better than my interpretation. The docile Bakaïrí have, I can only say, [177] snapped up a few Christian ideas and have made them their own in the most curious distortion; for me, at any rate, it was extremely difficult to remain serious when before my astonished eyes Christ, Mary, and the angels suddenly appeared in Schingú dress amidst beijús and surrounded by gourds filled with starch-paste and yellow pikí juice. At the same time we were assured that the [175] non-Christian ancestors, the "antigos" of the narrative piaje, [173] visited heaven and, drinking poison, changed themselves into all kinds of wild animals. I was given the story when I tried to learn their ideas of heaven.

/353 cont./

792 first as the main point. Or would we who lack it and who may also
811 experience confusion ever believe our geographers and historians if they said that the Finns were a nation of tapeworms?

But if the essential distinction is absent, then the matter is
792 entirely different. Then there is nothing to prevent the campo
773 fox, the nocturnal predator who has fire in his eyes glowing in the
811 dark, from giving this fire to human beings by striking it out of his eyes. Or, to take a common variant of the ancestor legend, there is nothing to prevent the jaguar from being the ancestor of a cannibalistic tribe; for it is always emphatically reported that this tribal ancestor "jaguar" killed and devoured the ancestors of the local tribe, Bakaïrí or Paressí. I can state most emphatically that my informant was firmly convinced that the evil ancestor in question in the legend was a jaguar and was not merely called that, although he shot with arrows. To say that the earlier time in which the legend originated only symbolized and the descendants confused names and things is a convenient supposition, but an unreliable one, for in that case the entire tradition would consist of nothing but confusions. The earlier generation had the same basic view as the present one. It explained the cannibalistic custom of the neighboring tribe by descent from the jaguar for whom it is characteristic to devour human beings. They did not know the tribal ancestor, because he cannot be known by any tribe, although he always must have been present. Since the essential distinction between man and animal is lacking, they had no difficulty in concluding that, because these people always devoured human beings, our own forefathers, the tribal ancestor was therefore a jaguar, and their causal requirement was satisfied -- which was much more essential than the possible objection that today the son of a jaguar is always a jaguar and that today, after all, no jaguar shoots with bow and arrow as, of course, the ancestors of the hostile tribe did.

773 /354/ We understand that the Indian presents animals as though
811 they were persons when he reports their conversations, for one
825 knows that animals call to each other and communicate in loving or threatening tones, but to furnish animals with cultural products and implements seems to us to exceed the limit of what is permissible. In fact, according to the Indian ancestral legends, man

/354 cont./

773 is supposed to have acquired from the animals all kinds of goods
811 that he possesses. The most diverse animals were "masters" or
825 "owners" of them and the culture hero took them from them. The master of medicinal tobacco and of cotton was the kinkajou, Cercoleptes caudivolvulus; the master of ordinary smoking tobacco, the electric eel; the master of the mandioca, the bagadú fish Phractocephalus; the master of sleep and the buriti hammock, the lizard; the master of the pots filled with water, from which, after they were broken, flowed the Ronuro and the Paranatinga, the ochobi river-snake; master of the sun, the king vulture, Sarcoramphus papa, and so on. How is such nonsense possible? All this, of course, is meant symbolically, says the wearer of the spectacles of civilization, and thus regards the question as answered. I can only laugh heartily when I think of the Indian hunters or fishermen, adhering to their view, as dealing with symbolic animals like the poets, painters, and, not to forget the lower spirits, the patentees of our civilized world inventing their trade-mark -- none of whom maintain close personal acquaintance with the originals of their symbolic animals.

773 No, Antonio and his fellow tribesmen would not have under-
811 stood our type of symbols, let alone discovered some themselves. I do not deny that I was sometimes dumbfounded during our conversation when I was confronted with the simple-hearted belief in the reality of the "fairy-tale" animals and their culture in all its originality, but I was also so thoroughly convinced of its genuineness that I feel duty-bound to reject any explanation that does not fully acknowledge it. I also think the matter is simple enough to understand. The Indian has, in truth, obtained the most important parts of his culture from the persons whom we call animals,
[237] and even today he must take them away from them. Teeth, bones, claws, shells are his tools, without which he would be un-
[825] able to make weapon or house or implement. He owes whatever he can accomplish to the piranha, the dogfish, the monkey, the capybara, the agutí, the giant armadillo, the mollusks, and the legend reports nothing about any of them because every child knows that these animals, the hunting of which is the most important prerequisite for those accomplishments, furnish the most

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●993 811 indispensable things to this day. What is more natural than that he should, when he thinks about it, also derive from the animals the fine and good things about whose origin he knows nothing or, as in the case of cultivated plants, very little? What is more natural than that the lizard, which sleeps for several months, provided sleep (it was drawn out of its eyes), /355/ or that the campo fox, whose eyes shine in the dark when it goes forth for prey at night, provided fire; that the sun, whose nature we shall become acquainted with, was in the possession of the sovereign of the air, the king vulture, whom the other vultures greatly respect, and that water was in the possession of a large river snake? Along with sleep the lizard must have also given up the hammock which goes with it. Now it no longer has any; it was simply taken away, and it was very angry. All those acquisitions were taken away by force or deception; that is why the animals lack them nowadays. Thus the causal requirement of the old, naïve hunters is very agreeably satisfied, and, to be sure, altogether on the foundation of the basic view that animals and human beings are merely persons with different appearances and different equipment.

Modern research has succeeded in tracing a number of the most dangerous illnesses to the presence of bacilli, and what is the result? All kinds of diseases whose cause is still obscure are also attributed to bacilli; thousands of people who have never even seen a microorganism, to say nothing of having any idea as to how the bad animals actually go about producing illness, now suspect them in everything that they eat and seem as familiar with them as with spiders and gnats. I should like to compare these proved morbific agents with the animals which have truly furnished the Indian with the most useful things, and those others that exist only in legend with the fairy-tale animals to which, proceeding along the same trend of thought, he attributes the things of unknown origin. It is a natural procedure to explain the unknown exactly as one does the known.

Sun, fire, water, sleep are things whose first possessors must simply be imagined; for them there is no historical tradition, however dim. It may be different -- not necessarily -- with

2: Steinen--421 E D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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cultivated plants. Medicinal tobacco, it is vaguely recalled, came from the north. Undoubtedly it was furnished by, let us say, a neighboring tribe, but the Bakaïrí have long since forgotten the actual, and in its details very ordinary, event; for many generations nothing has been known except that tobacco was first used for curing in the region where the kinkajou lives. The kinkajou is very rare in the region of the Bakaïrí; Antonio had never seen one, but he knew exactly how it looked, and his description, which was very exact in all its details, along with the name sawári, made it possible for me to recognize it as the phonetically identical yawari of the Makuschí /Macusi/ in Guiana, about which Schomburgk adds in his report that the occurrence of the yawari, according to v. Tschudi, is known in Peru as far as the tenth degree south latitude! Thus the kinkajou, as the characteristic person for the region from which tobacco came, furnished tobacco, just as the king vulture, as the person who comes into the region of the sun, furnished the sun.

/356/ The kinkajou interested the Bakaïrí more than the missing neighboring tribe, and throughout the centuries it remained the same. It was the lord of the northern region, and whatever came from there, whether tobacco or cotton, originated from it; hunters who extended an expedition beyond the ordinary boundaries to the north found it there or it would itself pay occasional visits to the Bakaïrí in the south. The story of the origin of medicinal tobacco and cotton was treated according to the customary and natural schema that the characteristic animal was regarded as the original owner; if, in order to carry out the above comparison with reference to our similar procedure, we put the two diseases in the place of cotton and tobacco, then the legendary bacillus was the kinkajou. The story told about him is merely the answer to the question: "How does it happen that we had no tobacco in former times?" At first it was still known that "such and such a tribe gave it to us," then the name and specific circumstances were forgotten in the course of time and a later generation may perhaps still have heard, "We got it from someone in the region where the kinkajou lives," but such information was bound to fall into the customary schema the

2: Steinen--422E D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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903 811 moment sweet curiosity asked further: "Where did those people get their tobacco?" Then there was no better answer, assuming the basic view, than: "From the kinkajou, of course," and people were very satisfied.

In exactly the same manner, as we shall see, the origin of the ordinary smoking tobacco is traced back to a fish which does not occur in the Paranatinga, but lives in the "tobacco river," and the origin of mandioca to a fish likewise not found in the Paranatinga, but which inhabited the "beijú river." Occasionally I did not conceal my skepticism from Antonio -- not often, for, like every believer, he was offended by doubts, the true core of which he himself could not fail to recognize. Then he would either maintain a hurt silence, or he would explain the present condition as the result of magic, or -- and, to be sure, in most cases -- he would simply say: "It is no longer like that now, but it used to be."

"Once upon a time" (the constantly recurring paá of the Tupí legends) is also the signature of the Indian "fairy tales." By far the greatest number of the legends try to explain the origin of something; thus they always deal with events in ancient times, and since they are always to be explained only by something special that happened, the view that there was once a time when the extraordinary was the rule was bound to be established from all this. With the most beautiful logic in the world they arrived at situations where it was always found that the human behavior of animals was the only way out, but a very excellent one. It is very easy to understand the origin of the stories, frequently spiced with a good deal of humor, if only one takes as the point of departure the point which is proved; it is obvious that the fact to be explained could not have led to the story, but rather only the story to the fact.

000 /357/ In a fairy tale* that is very widespread on the Amazon

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* Barbosa Rodriguez, "Poranduba Amazonense /Amazon History/," Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional, Vol. XIV, 2, page III, Rio de Janeiro, 1890.

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821 Celestial bodies. The Indian observes the figures in the sky and sees in them things with which he is familiar. The sky, "formerly so close," is now very, very high. Only birds that fly a long time might be able to reach it; the medicine man is there in a moment, for him it is "no higher than a house." The characteristics of fire are not attributed to heavenly bodies. The sun is a large ball of the feathers of the red arara and of the toucan, whose feathers also display magnificent orange and red, the moon is a ball of the yellow tail feathers of the weaverbird (Cassicus, japú), which the Bakaïrí /358/ wears in his ears. In the evening the sun is covered with a large pot which is lifted off again in the morning. For the time being I shall ignore the person who takes care of that; this person is an addition or supplement of little concern at the beginning of the development, for if the sun is a feather ball and this feather ball disappears for a while, it is obvious that someone covers it up during that time, whether with a pot, as the Bakaïrí maintain, or by placing it in a gourd, as the Paresí believe.

During the rainy season, when the days are long, the sun is carried by a snail (Bulimus), in the dry season, when they are short, by a hummingbird. it is well known that the wing beat of this little bird is so rapid that the eye cannot follow it. During the night the services of these animals is reversed; in the rainy period the hummingbird, and in the dry period the snail, drags the covered sun-ball back to its old place. For the phases of the moon the Bakaïrí starts with the full moon, when we see the bali in its entirety. A lizard, which we notice along the edge, comes first to take it along, on the second day an ordinary armadillo, and then a giant armadillo whose fat body soon conceals the yellow feathers altogether. It should be noted that the armadillos or tatús /tatous/ have a curved shape, are nocturnal animals, and are hunted by moonlight.

821 773 The eclipses are explained in a similar way. Antonio did not regard the phenomenon as in any way lawful, however, and explained it case by case. Thus once, when he was still small,

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821 a sorcerer on the Paranatinga changed himself into an anú, a
773 bluish-black bird (Crotophaga) and covered the sun for a while with his wings. On January 28, 1888, there was an eclipse of the moon which I called to Antonio's attention. Deprived of surprise because of my announcement beforehand, he nevertheless made his usual explanation that the lizard and the tatús were at work. I let him look at the moon through an opera glass and wanted him to tell me about the mountains. "A little dirt from the tatú has remained behind," he replied. Thus, with the grubbing and digging there was added a new circumstance which induced the ancient Bakaïrí to see in the curved form of the unilluminated part the armadillo in particular.

171 In these explanations, however, there is a definite contra-
821 diction of the views of the Karaiben /Carib/ base-people /Grundvolk/, which are handed down to us in the words for sun,*

> * Cf. Bakaïrí-Grammatik /Bakaïrí Grammar/, the table for "Fire, Sun, Wood, Tree," p. 278 and pp. 279 to 281, as well as Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, page 306 /omitted in the translation (1: Steinen, this file)/.

and in the same manner the explanations of the present-day Paressí, who also have the feathers and the armadillos, contradict the presumed views among the Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ base-people. The words for "fire" and "sun" have the same roots and are in part differentiated only by reduplication, or are even identical from one tribe to another. Thus, in the formation of the words, warmth and light must have been the first characteristics of the sun comprehended. The pot, too, with which the
821 Bakaïrí have the sun /359/ covered at night, is also a reference to the hearth, and it proves to us, since the Bakaïrí had no pots in former times, the comparatively late embellishment of the hypothesis. I modestly objected to Antonio: "But the sun is hot, after all, and there are no feathers, are there?" An objection which I bitterly regretted as soon as it had escaped my lips.

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821 side, Aldebaran is a thicker lump, the "father of the heap." "In the sky there are mandioca, plantings, forest, everything, everything." Festival ornaments too. Capella is a small husk such as the Bakaïrí wears in his ear for sticking a feather in from the front, two other stars of the Charioteer are the husks of the Kayabí /Cayabi/, the feathers of which are inserted in the back. One star, which one was uncertain but it seemed to me Procyon, is an ear-piercer, or probably more accurately, the hole pierced by him. The Twins /360/ are the holes of a large flute. Canopus did not have a name. The Southern Cross was a bird snare on a twig, and the two large stars of the Centaur represented two little sticks that belong to it. With the snare a mutum cavallo (Crax) had been caught, which one recognizes in a dark area of the Milk Way nearby: again one suggestion releases another and the one confirms the other. Not far distant, corresponding approximately to the stars of the Flying Fish and Argo, stands a sokko heron with a little basket full of small fish: lambaré, trahira, jejum. Scorpio is a carrying-net for children.

821 973 The Milky Way definitely attracted the greatest attention by far with its light and dark parts, and, next to the sun and moon, it seems to have furnished the bulk of the raw material for the entire body of legend. Whereas the stars are granules, holes, net knots, pegs and the ends of posts, here animal figures also appear, such as the aforementioned mutung hen and the sokko heron. The Milky Way itself is a huge drum-tree that lies on the ground, "like the one in the third village on the Kulisehu," which is drummed for the festival up above too; one can see its roots spreading out in the south. Keri and Kame, the two culture heroes, from whom the Bakaïrí learned their festival dances, accomplished all the deeds of their youth, which we have yet to discuss, in the vicinity of this "sata" tree. In the zenith is found the dark hole, which one can see only on the clearest nights, where the king vulture came out carrying the feather-ball of the sun in its claws, and through which the medicine man who was entertained by Christ (cf. p. 346) flew back to earth. The starless area to the east of the Cross, the Coalsack, is the hole that Keri and Kame dug in

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821 order to watch as their dead grandmother Mero was burned. They
973 had set the fire themselves -- one can still see it in the large Magellanic Cloud -- while another, the small Magellanic Cloud, arose through their carelessness, which I shall speak of later in detail. Keri in particular is the hero of all these stories: he caught the mutung with the bird snare; he robbed the king vulture of the sun-ball by assuming the shape of a tapir whose dark forms one can still clearly distinguish in the Argo part of the Milky Way. Besides the tapir, one can also see a jaguar and an ant bear of the legend. In fact, one need not be an Indian in order to observe the animals; I, too, distinctly recognized the tapir in particular.

821 The native predominantly sees animals up there for the
151 same reason that he sees them down here in all kinds of things that remind him of some animal merely by some small characteristic; he cannot do otherwise because he apperceives chiefly in accordance with his hunter interests. It did not escape him, however, that the animals and things in the sky have a different appearance than their originals on earth, according to which they are determined. /361/ They are only figures. And yet they are more. For even though they may have been made at some time, he cannot regard them as works of art like his animal stools or sand drawings, because they move and are in the midst of a highly variable shifting of wind, clouds, and weather that takes place independently without one's seeing any human being. They must be bewitched.

972 All the more so since the same result is reached in another
973 way. They are necessarily the oldest animals and things that there are. Each earlier generation, no matter what it thought of them, saw them as complete as does the present one, whereas, according to all present-day and earlier experience, the rivers and trees and inhabitants of the earth of all kinds are small at first and then grow big. Now all the ancestors have disappeared; year in, year out those who die are always disappearing -- where else should the oldest people be than among the oldest things? But to
[961] die is to be bewitched and transformed; just as the medicine man who takes poison and dies changes himself into any animal shape desired.

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772 desired. Therefore, we have up there the oldest bewitched peo-
773 ple and things. The feather ball, the vulture, the jaguar, the tapir prove to the Indian the deeds of the oldest medicine men. The only thing needed for a fully logical conclusion would be to regard every dream as a bewitched state.

773 I have already discussed in the story about the vulture and
821 the turtle, how the coherent text of the legends comes into being, even before a dim historical tradition furnishes special material. There is no lack of material, since the various animals and things which one sees side by side up there must stimulate, according to their characteristics, all kinds of notions which explain
539 their being together. Thus legend tells how the king vulture, before Keri took the sun away from him, appeared with it in the dark hole of the Milky Way and then flew around in the sky. Well, the sun is apperceived as a feather ball; during the day it reaches the highest heights of the heavens where at night one sees a dark hole, and there the "red urubu" or magnificently colored king vulture, "the prince and ruler of his kindred (Brehm)," is the most conspicuous citizen in the realm of the air -- when this material has been gathered, only the inquisitive question is required and the connection cannot fail to appear. There is not much bother about the moon. It was "together with the sun at first"; later Keri and Kame divided the feathers between them.

I was given the following story about the five stars in Perseus. The giant armadillo -- we have seen that it, as the largest of the spherical tatús, leaving its dirt behind, eventually covers the moon -- met Keri on his way. It was carrying a basket with piki fruit, gave Keri some, and went on. Keri called after it, it stopped, again gave Keri some, and said: "I shall not give more." Then he seized the tatú, the fruits rolled all around, and the tatú worked its way into the ground. Keri made himself claws out of jatobá resin and dug it out. Again it worked its way /362/ in, again he dug it out. This happened five times in all and the five holes are the five stars. Therefore we have here only a meeting between Keri and the tatú already given, we know furthermore from the flute (Twins) that stars are thought of as holes; what is

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539 more natural than that the tatú, well known for quickly digging itself in, should, as soon as it eludes its pursuer, make a group of those star holes. All that was missing for establishing the game of escape and pursuit was the quarrel, and the "apple of discord," for which again is chosen the favorite fruit, which is round and has butter-yellow meat, but any other might have been chosen. In short, the story originates, without any great power of invention, by making a connection between the characteristics of one of the heavenly animals that presented itself through the natural stimulus and a suitable group of stars that attracts the attention of the inquiring mind. Then the name runs "the giant armadillo comes out." All that is required is the interest that produces the question, and the explanatory ideas are inevitable.

●773 128 One generation may have contributed this, another generation that. To continue the analysis up to the final details is simply impossible, if one because the comparative material with other Karaiben tribes is very meager.

761 055 812 Transformation. A large part of the Bakaïrí explanation of nature rests on the supposition of sorcery. They have no development, but only transformation. This takes place in two ways.

The first is that a dead person is blown upon and comes to life, or that a thing is blown upon and comes to life. To the dead person the breath which he lacks is given back; to the thing, breath is imparted and with it life. This blowing, proceeding from the most natural attempt at resuscitation, and the tobacco-blowing of the modern medicine man must not be confused. The weak newborn babies in Maigéri (cf. p. 392), for whose life one feared, were blown upon day and night, but not with tobacco. It was only in practice that the two methods merged. The blowing of tobacco smoke on a patient was merely added by transference to the smoking of the doctor -- which, as we have seen (cf. p. 407), is merely the easiest and most pleasant of the various types of narcosis otherwise induced by drinking, on the use of which his art seems to be based. It has probably long been forgotten that by

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761 blowing it was intended to breathe in the breath. But in the
755 legends the dead and things are always brought to life by simple
812 but indispensable blowing, and the Bakaïrí sometimes translates epeheni, "to blow," into the Portuguese with rezar, "to pray, to bless," while ordinarily he uses soprar, "to blow," or assoprar, "to blow upon," just as the substantive related to epeheni is sapehénu, "wind."

Although I said that things become living or animate through blowing, on closer observation this is a very incorrect expression. The /363/ sorcerer accomplishes far more than breathing a "soul"
773 or, as into the dead, "life," into them. We learn this from the
812 most important example that human beings are made from things: men from arrows, women from maize pestles, after the necessary arrows and pestles have been carved out of cane and wood. To be sure, there were always Bakaïrí, but if there was a scarcity of them, the culture hero made new ones by fashioning arrows out of ubá reed, thrusting them upright into the ground, and blowing on them. In the same way each of the other tribes were made out of the arrow reed that they still carry today and that therefore still differentiates them today; the European was made from a wood resembling the stock of his gun. The fundamental
[619] observation, which is later, as always, regarded as confirmation of the proceedings described, is that the tribes are differentiated by their arrows. Moreover, the arrow is the characteristic feature of the man. The women, on the other hand, come into being when maize pestles are carved, set upright against the mortar, and get the breath of life by being blown upon; those carved out of good wood start working immediately, the others are idle.

Neither arrows nor pestles are given a "soul," but rather the whole "person." When the sorcerer is finished, the man stands beside his arrow, the woman beside her pestle. The story-teller himself seems to be not entirely at ease about the process, for the sorcerer, as soon as he has blown, "goes to one side a little" and upon his return finds the men or women finished. An insect, which through mimicry has come to look like a jatobá leaf and is called "jatobá leaf" by the Bakaïrí, was created by blowing on the leaf; we might say "it came alive" or call it a "transformed leaf." The person is added to the already present reed, wood, leaf.

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773 812 I mean to say that these cases are essentially different from those in the legends where things are "personified," that is, speak and act like animal and human being. The falling turtle of the Amazon legend sees a boulder in the direction of her fall and calls out to it: "Get out of my way!" Obediently the stone removes itself and she falls on soft ground. The stone, which understands her words, could also have replied. Keri quarrels with the sky and, angered, goes over to the earth with his people, where the Bakaïrí, as a result, live today. The wind is called in order to tear down a tree. In these cases there is no blowing or sorcery. The storyteller lets the things hear, speak, in order to say that they do or do not want something, are tractable or refractory, and need not realize, as we do, that he is thus endowing them with a "soul." "How could the sky talk?" "I don't know, at that time it talked." More was not to be learned from Antonio. If today in ordinary life a thing suddenly causes harm, that is the fault of an evil sorcerer, whereas an animal acts by itself.

754 756 812 /364/ The second type of transformation is that of the sorcerer himself into any animal shape desired. No one seems to know how he does this. He does not actually become the animal itself, however; he always goes into the animal and is always implanted in the animal; in fact, he can be in the foot of the tapir and seize the vulture. Now does the "soul" go out of one person and into the other? But in that case at least we ought not ask either where the soul of the animal or where the body of the culture hero remains, or whether the "shade," which in the case of the modern, narcotized medicine man lying in the hammock leaves the body for the transformation into jaguar or snake, was previously "inside" the medicine man, or whether the shade can get inside an animal- - I believe we are overdoing a good thing if we speak of the activities of the "soul" among primitive peoples. I, at any rate, merely had the impression that with regard to the "soul" the Indians sometimes think of the shade, sometimes of the breath, but do not account for all the specific details, and instead always preserve the image of the entire "living" personality. It seems to me one comes closest to the real situation if one

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754 imagines the sorcerer as being in an animal approximately like the
756 Indian in an animal mask, who now is a dove, for example, and
812 behaves like a dove in voice and movement, but remains fellow tribesman X and is therefore able to fetch a gourd bowl full of pogu from the women, although he is a bird.

773 Keri and Kame and the ancestor legend. The general
[772] basis of the world view of the Bakaïrí is his relationship to animal life. It assumes, however, one might say, that his science and poetry are of heavenly origin. The oldest Bakaïrí lived in heaven; this is proved to us by all that we know about the sun and moon, and everything that we see up there, the figures of the Milky Way, the starless areas, and the shining Magellanic Clouds. Strangely enough, there was nothing to be discovered in the way of ideas about thunderstorms, windstorms, clouds, rain, which are productive in a similar sense among other peoples. One had the impression that meteorology was still quite unexplored. There always remained the astronomical heavenly animals, to which were added the personages of the ancestor legend. The second main source of legend material flows in the memories of the tribe, but the two streams are so tightly intermingled that it is scarcely possible to distinguish what was originally supplied by the one and what by the other. The jaguar, behind which is concealed a cannibalistic neighboring tribe of ancient times, has become one with the jaguar of the Milky Way and to top it all, the zoological varieties of the jaguar family are available as a number of brothers.

[777] The names Keri and Kame show that foreign, and, to be sure, Aruak influence has played a significant role. These are the names for moon and sun of the Nu-Aruak tribes; they are not Karaiben /365/ words at all.* A coincidence is completely

* Cf. Bakaïrí-Grammatik /Bakaïrí Grammar/, p. 57. The Island Karaiben have a benign "deity," ischeiri, which can scarcely be connected with keri phonetically; if there is a connection and ischeiri is ancient

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● 773 Karaiben, one would suppose that the Bakaïrí word would have agreed with the Aruak word.

out of the question, because the two names always go together, both as moon and sun among the Nu-Aruak, as well as in the Bakaïrí legend in which the two heroes are twins. Except that kéri is moon, and kâme, kâmu, sun, whereas in the Bakaïrí legend Keri is the chief person, Kame usually plays the "fool," and Keri is allotted the sun, Kame the moon. Finally, kamu, sun, seems to be contained in Kamuschini, the oldest person in the legend. It is an important circumstance that tradition is [562] transmitted preferably by the women. Antonio had all the myths from his mother and he told me that this was the rule. In that case a constant differentiation must necessarily be assumed; many alien women were taken into the Bakaïrí tribe in the course of time. In legend Keri appears as the culture hero of the Bakaïrí, Kame as the one of the Arinos tribes. Old Caetano also designated the two simply with the Bakaïrí words for sun and moon in the form of proper names: Tschischi and Nuna. It was amusing enough when he said in Bakaïrí: "Keri took tschischi," and in Portuguese: "Tschischi tomou o sol."

With the two brothers we gradually arrive at the other end of the legend of creation, its termination in the actual ancestor legend or tribal history. After the events in heaven have come to an end, that is to say, after Keri and Kame were born and brought up and accomplished their deeds, to which are owed the possession of daylight, the interchange of heaven and earth, sleep, fire, the rivers, they come to the Paranatinga, move to the old seat of the Bakaïrí at the salto /waterfall/, make various tribes out of arrows, teach festival dances, procure tobacco, mandioca, and the like, and finally depart, never to return.
773 Where in this is the end of pure legend and the beginning of
173 history, from which some actual facts are supposed to have been preserved in the accounts concerning the rivers, concerning the relationship to other tribes, and concerning the origin of cultivated

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173 173 plants? Indeed, the Kayabí /Cayabi/ appear when it is still night on earth, before the sun has been fetched by Keri!

I should be happy if I could answer the question even somewhat satisfactorily. Antonio was able to enumerate for me [601] the names of his ancestors up to his great-great-great-grandfather Mariukara who was supposed to have lived near the salto of the Paranatinga; this, if one figures 30 years per generation, would go back to the middle of the eighteenth century. Assuming the reliability of the statement, we would have what would probably be the natural limit in the case of a tribe without writing and without any particular carriers of tradition, an oral tradition that extends personally to the grandfather and, since the latter likewise /366/ could have been instructed by his grandfather, to the grandfather of the grandfather. If, mindful of the various life spans, we allow two more generations, we shall probably have reached the limit of credibility. None of our Indians doubts that with these ancestors we arrive at the time when Keri and Kame fetched the sun. To be sure, there were Bakaïrí before that and Kayabí were also already present before the sky and earth were interchanged. Since I am inclined to think the best of the good Bakaïrí, I believe after all that we shall be completely fair to them if we have them living on the Paranatinga since time immemorial and have them learn there about mandioca and tobacco.

Now are Keri and Kame the names of two specific chiefs who really lived several centuries ago and who are now exaggeratedly credited with having regulated the course of the sun and providing the Bakaïrí and their neighbors with sleep, fire, rivers, etc.? The history of our hunter tribes living for centuries as extended families is not very well suited for creating personalities whose names could not be forgotten. But aside from this, if only the one name "moon" existed, one might still be able to imagine a real ancestor with this name, but it is asking too much for us to assume two with the names "sun" and "moon."

/366 cont./

173 173 Could we not regard Keri and Kame as personifications of the sun and moon? Only they were not moon and sun or feather balls, but merely called that; the celestial bodies sun and moon were not made out of Bakaïrí bones. Now, the oldest things and the oldest human beings belong together; the father of the tribe is the natural owner of the sun. If, in order to explain his origin, I have him come forth from some kind of substance and be animated, there is nothing there to be personified, but only to be named. The person is quite automatically furnished by the founder of the tribe, who is completely unknown historically, but is certainly to be taken for granted; it is therefore only a question of where the name came from.

101 174 In the first place one should consider whether the names do not have a geographical meaning. Let us orient ourselves! The potter tribes of the Kulisehu are, in our latitudes, the easternmost outposts of the Nu-Aruak. The huge main body lives to the west of the Arinos, the tributary of the Tapajoz. Here we have first of all, in the source region of the Arinos and Juruena, the Paressí group, formerly numerous and made up of many separate tribes, of whom we know that today they have shifted southwards. Farther to the west there are huge areas inhabited by the Nu-Aruak. The Paressí who visited us in Cuyabá called the sun kamái and the Arinos, as the river toward the rising sun that bounded their territory to the east, kame-uhína = sun-river. Still, it could have been some other tribe of the Paressí group; it could certainly have been ancestors of the /367/ Mehinakú tribes, who today have advanced eastward as far as the Kulisehu,* from whom the stimulus

* They are the very ones who have "sun" and "moon" in the unaltered form "káme" and "kéri," while the Paressí of Diamantino had kamai, sun, but kayö, moon, which, to be sure, does not mean much with respect to the old Paressí, who were split up into many subtribes.

/367 cont./

101 174 for the Bakaïrí could have come in a time that disappeared long ago, it is possible that the tribe whose women once influenced the Bakaïrí tradition so profoundly has not existed in independent form for a long time -- all these details are not to be determined. But it does not matter much. Of course, it could be significant that among the Paressí the Arinos is called sun-river, Kame-
101 174 river, or east-river. For the tribes which, according to the Bakaïri, were made by the hero Kame are "toda gente de Arinos,"
829 "all the people of the Arinos!" They enumerated the Paressí, Apiaká /Apiaca/, Mundurukú /Mundurucu/, Suyá (formerly on the Arinos), Maué (on the Tapajoz). Keri, on the other hand, made "Bakaïrí /Bacairi/, Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, Nahuquá, Bororó, Kayapó /Cayapo/, Kayabí /Cayabi/," that is to say, the tribes living east and south of the Arinos. The division has nothing whatever to do with a distinction according to languages, for there are Nu-Aruak and Gês on both sides; it embraces two large, spatially affiliated groups which are by no means lying strictly west-east; the one contains western, northwestern, and northern tribes, from the vantage point of the Bakaïrí, the other eastern, southeastern, and southern tribes. The chief representatives of the two groups, however, the Bakaïrí and Paressí, actually reside in such a way that the former live east of the
[173] latter. We thus have the following situation: 1. Kame = Nu-Aruak "sun," but among the Bakaïrí hero of the second rank and lord of the moon, is the tribal ancestor of the western and northern tribes, and 2. Keri = Nu-Aruak "moon," but among the Bakaïrí the most favored hero and lord of the sun, is the tribal ancestor of the eastern and southern tribes.

000 Here I should like to draw on an interesting example found in Alexander von Humboldt. ** In the vicinity of Maípure, the

[113] ** Reise in die Aequinoktial-Gegenden /Journey into the Equinoctial Regions/, III, p. 173.

place named after a Nu-Aruak tribe, stand two rocks in the cataracts of the Orinoco, one of which, "the so-called Keri or

/369 cont./

174 pair of twins were born who "were called" Keri and Kame and who, after they were grown up, brought us sun and moon, which, naturally, before they knew anything about the sun and moon, were called Keri and Kame. The name of the two best things which they brought to us, the Bakaïrí and Aruak, is the one which they themselves had, and that is how we know where the two things came from.

In any case, I absolutely deny that sun and moon were personified. To be sure, if I had not definitely established that they are regarded as feather balls and as things which are in the possession of persons, if we had only the names of the culture heroes "Sun" and "Moon," I would have to see this case, too, settled according to the convenient schema of personification. But that is out of the question here. The Indian concludes that someone must have brought the things, and this is, of course, the two tribal ancestors, who must necessarily have existed. And whose names he finds at hand.

174 773 Old Caetano said they are called Tschischi or Keri and Nuna or Kame. He used the Karaiben and Aruak words for sun and moon as proper names interchangeably at will, except that he reserved for his Bakaïrí (in spite of kéri = moon) the chief person, Keri, as the sun. Keri is always the clever one in the stories and Kame the stupid one! "Kame," Antonio said, "is a booby (é gente bobo) and does everything wrong, but not Keri, oh no!" With this endeavor, which is natural for every tribe, I come back to the connection with the geographical distribution and also to the explanation. Two brothers, "Sun" and "Moon," were the tribal ancestors of the Nu-Aruak and Bakaïrí, who in olden times lived together at a certain period. Naturally, each tribe chose "Sun" for its hero and gave "Moon" to the other. The Aruak women said, our Kame (sun) and your Keri (moon); the Bakaïrí men, our Tschischi (sun) and your Nuna (moon). Thus, for the children of the two, the ancestors of the present-day Bakaïrí, who were taught by both and were more concerned about the deeds of the heroes than about the word explanation, called the one who possessed the sun Tschischi, as the fathers called him, or Keri,

/369 cont./

174 as the mothers called him, and the one who possessed the moon
773 Nuna, as the fathers called him, or Kame, as the mothers called him. The Bakairi and their neighbors made Tschischi-Keri, the Aruak and their neighbors made Nuña-Kame, /370/ in other words Kame, the Arinos people living to the northwest with the Paressí, and Keri, the tribes living with the Bakaïrí to the south and east. There is no question of a conscious, primary distinction on the basis of the directions; this distinction could only have arisen secondarily by the roundabout way of Keri's having already become the chief person and the possessor of the sun; for children could not have simply called east and sun what their mothers called west and moon, and it is not an incomprehensible misunderstanding (as I myself believed in the beginning) that brought about the exchange of names, but the very understandable claim on both sides to descent from the more important of the two fraternal ancestors.

[173] I believe that the material of the astronomical observations and that of the historical memories were handled in exactly the same way: in both cases the authors of the deed were added to the story, as were the men to the arrows and the women to the maize pestles. The deed is historical, the persons are only to the extent that they are the chiefs, medicine men, or tribal ancestors whom one must assume for the beginning.

773 Let us consider a few important details of the legend: Keri and Kame are twins. Their mother is "married" to the jaguar, but it is especially emphasized that they are only his foster sons and that their mother, even though she need not be a virgin, did not conceive them by her husband; she swallowed two finger bones from Bakaïrí, which the jaguar stored away at home as arrow points, and became pregnant from them. We come across the same features in many American legends. First of all, several brothers are born as the original ancestors, and, secondly, the mother is often virginal. There is no lack of profound interpre-
[171] tations. Among the Paressí there are ten brothers, among other tribes four; the number depends either on the need, how many independent family trees were necessary for the tribes who lived

/370 cont./

773 next to one another and felt ultimately related by kinship and marriage, or it is regulated in one way or another according to the directions. In view of the Indians' conception of paternity, one may rather take it for granted that the mother is virginal. The son is always the little father; the first in line, if he is to be really first, may not, of course, have a father. A mother may exist, but the problem is how she becomes pregnant. In our case it is very happily solved; Keri and Kame each spring from a bone that gets into the mother's womb, but these bones are arrow points, and thus the common origin of the man from the arrow is preserved here, too. It is inconsequential that the bones are Bakaïrí bones, which probably points to the blending of various legends. "There were always Bakaïrí"; Ewaki, too, Keri's and Kame's aunt, already belongs among the "relatives of the Bakaïrí," and Keri only makes Bakaïrí when a shortage occurs. Keri, however, always remains the "grandfather of the Bakaïrí."

/371/ As for the mother herself, she was made out of, or more accurately into, a maize pestle carved out of pikí wood, and this, in the clear analogy to the origin of the men out of arrows, should sufficiently guarantee the purely human conception of her nature. Anyone who, in spite of this, however, wants to see in her a personfication, for example, of the morning twilight from which the sun breaks forth, will be expressing what I believe to be a very excellent idea which has only one failing, that he thought of it and not the Indian. I shall gladly, however, contribute to the myth-making concerning the myth: five maize pestles were animated; two of the women thus conjured up did not want to work and were immediately killed, whereas the future mother of the twins was one of the industrious ones; thus, diligence is personified here, and diligence is as closely connected as one could wish to the morning twilight when it is already busily awake while laziness is still asleep.

The morning twilight disappears with the light of day, and for this reason, it is explained, the mother of the culture heroes dies. I find it very cruel that the mother does not come alive

/371 cont./

773 again as evening twilight. But I must admit, this feature of the death of the mother, often observed in the American creation legends, is appropriate here too. And there, to be sure, my beautiful explanation about diligence comes to nought, for with the break of day this should be awakened to full life. Thus, I believe it is better not to put too high a value on the generalization of any fate of the mother -- dying happens very readily in the myths -- but rather to examine in each individual case to what extent death is useful for the aims of the storytellers. In our case both death itself, as the motif for the continuation of the story, and the manner in which it is combined with birth are very useful. The mother is killed by the mother-in-law because she is regarded as a Bakaïrí, and the mother-in-law and her tribe were hostile to the Bakaïrí and devoured as many of them as possible. Keri and Kame take revenge on her; she, too, is killed, and when she is burned the Magellanic Clouds arise; this fire again plays an important role for the development of the heroes. Then, however, Keri and Kame were cut out of the dead mother, and that is, after all, a circumstance which has a more startling relation to the miraculous birth, albeit fateful to the mother, of two great medicine men who soon accomplish so much than it has to the death of the personified morning-twilight! The morning twilight, moreover, like the sun, is regarded as feathers which the vulture brings in order not to have to give up the sun itself.

If only we would take the legends as what they are to the Indian himself rather than as what they could be to us and, I must admit, what they could become for him, with the advancement of a higher culture embellishing the childlike origins with a thousand arabesques. The Indian imagines the sun as a feather
[171] ball -- and not only /372/ the Bakaïrí and Paressí do that, but also the Bororó -- and he is supposed to imagine abstract "light" as a person!

In the American legends the "god of light" brings "civilization" and there is seen in this a memory of a migration from the east or an origin of civilization from the east. It is indeed strange

/372 cont./

773 how powerfully, from time immemorial, civilization was seized by the attraction toward the west; all the tribes who bury their dead -- since they cannot place a compass in the grave -- with the face toward the rising sun, are supposed ~~to~~ have come from the east. "Where does Keri live?" I asked Antonio. "In heaven." "But in which direction?" "In the east; that is where he keeps the sun. The pot that covers it at night stands in his house." Old Caetano called Keri the "Imperador" /emperor/, and he, too, had him living in the east, namely, in Rio de Janeiro. I do not see the slightest reason for mixing up the first act in heaven of the Keri myth with a migration myth. The sun was there before Keri; he simply regulated its course. If he goes with the sun, he must live in the east or the west; the Bakaïrí decided on the east and could now have easily come to the conclusion, which they did not draw, that their ancestors came from there. The ancestors, however, could not very well have lived in the east wherever this conclusion is drawn. It need not cause surprise, however, that Keri goes with the sun, since he is merely the person who was added to the sun in the story by way of explanation, and since the person who is supposed to represent the founder of the tribe and who is linked with the most important achievements has been added to the story, the culture hero must also be the "god of light."

II. The Texts.

000 The parents of Keri and Kame. Origin and death of the mother. The latter avenged. Sun, sleep, and buriti hammock. Heaven and earth interchanged. Fire. Rivers. To the salto of the Paranatinga. House, fishing, festival dances, tribes. Departure of Keri and Kame. Tobacco and cotton. Mandioca; deer antlers. The ugly ostrich. Keri and the campo fox out hunting. The jaguar and the ant bear.

128 113 539 I have published the original texts of the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ legends, with interlinear translation, in the Bakaïrí-Grammatik.

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193 first person plural inclusive and exclusive, familiar in the aba-ñeẽ, is alien to the Kxura-itano. Amaremo, "you," second person plural, is obviously of secondary formation: mo indicates plural, re is the emphatic particle, and ama is the pronoun for the second person singular.

Another series of lesser used pronouns: ahe, mahe, kxidahe.

The adjective, generally put after the substantive, is, like the latter, affected by time and number. Comparatives are avoided. A concept close to that of the superlative is expressed either with the emphatic particle or by means of the addition of certain words such as kxúru, "indeed" (comparable to the French bon, tout de /238/ bon, kxura in the Bacaeri has, among others, the meaning of "good"); ãwakukeba, "it is not a joke," etc.

193 The determinatives are affected by time and number.
801 There are only three cardinal numbers: tokale, "one"; ahaɣe, "two"; ahewaλ or ahewanela, "three." Steinen gave to Antonio, the Indian who was his informant in the Xingú region, the following sentence, "At first he (the child) walks like an animal, on all fours," and obtained only: çaɣuxõe anaɣito ara ãhe iwodo adakxobodili, that is, "he walks with the two arms." To the minds of the Bacaeris, rather than to produce a number four, it seemed easier to invent a whole story whereby Cemimu (Morcego /bat/) had a son by the daughter of Pau de Morcego /"bat wood"; Andira/ (Põdiki), and, when he found out about the paternity, he became angry at the child, breaking its knees with an arrow; since then children walk first with the two arms before they walk with the two feet (6).

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6. The matter of knees seems to have caused the minds of the Bacaeris much trouble. Mapinukai, one of their ancestors, had knees like those of a

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chicken; having won a race against Keri and Came, however, the latter broke them, and since then the knees of human beings have been as they are today.

193 As for adverbs, suffice it to say that they follow or precede the verb and may receive possessive and time.

Prepositions, which are numerous, always come after the substantive, and we shall give merely: da, which indicates "place where"; eina or eira, "place to where," generally elided to ra or na, with the preceding vowel nasalized; ohe, ōro, "upon"; ate, "with," meaning company, te, "with," instrument. The preposition de /Port./, in the sense of the English "from" or the German aus, is represented by a complicated form.

/239/ An explanation of the verbs, however superficial, would take us far afield: many points are yet to be studied, and while we are familiar with the common forms, they are not yet sufficiently analyzed.

Steinen divides verbs into two classes, in one of which the preterit is formed with raki, in the other with taki; we may accept this classification, which, on the whole, is satisfactory and lends itself perfectly to our present purposes.

Verbs have two affirmative imperatives in the second person singular, and one negative; they also have what may be called an imperative of the first person plural.

The indicative has three past tenses, which may be called remote /remoto/, intermediate /médio/, and immediate /flagrante/, since the latter, which is formed with raki or taki, may also indicate the immediate future or present.

They would seem to have two present tenses: one, in which he or ce is added to the radical, and followed by the personal pronoun; the other, uniting personal pronouns, the radical of the verb, and the auxiliary of the substantive verb,

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796 for now merely stressing the following on this point: the masked dances and festivals are true religious ceremonies.

796 Let us now consider the piahi, whose important role has
756 already been indicated.

One word suffices to describe him: the piahi is a Yamũra.

Piahi is a word that, with slight variations, appears in several South American languages and, like Carahiba can be interpreted in various ways. In Bacaeri it is related perhaps to epiwado, "payment," an idea whose scope we have already had occasion to mention. Basically /261/ it means the curer, the doctor. Thus it must not be confused with "sorcerer": ome-odo, "the lord of poison," may take a person's health and life; amapõçodo, "the lord of the hand of the dead," can vanquish the "lord of poison"; but both are mortal, while the curer is immortal and controls the forces of nature.

756 A few examples taken at random will show how the piahi appears to the mind of the Bacaeri.

796 The son of a curer was walking with his father, when
756 suddenly he was attacked by a jaguar. He defended himself
as best he could, and, arriving home, he said: I have beaten
● 793 a jaguar.--You are lying, said the curer, you have beaten me. This proves that the curer can get into the bodies of animals, or, to use the native expression, "make an animal his shirt."

Parutamido killed a tatou at the edge of a lake, cut it open, washed it, and refused to hand it over to the Yamũra who demanded it in the water, as an animal of his creation (iõi). To punish him, the Yamũra drowned him. When some time had passed without news of him, a curer who was his brother-in-law dreamed of what had happened to him. He went into the lake, where the Yamũra explained why he had drowned Parutamido, treated him very well, presented him with mingau, with beijũs, and taught him the dance of the Karitówo. This shows what different relations the yamũras

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776 have with the piahi and with the common people (wanololo,
756 from waono, "first"; cf. Ger. "der erste der beste" /first come
773 first served/.

At the waterfalls of the Paranatinga, a fearsome place
776 where Keri and Came tossed the Mama, an enchanted red
778 stone /262/ with which they killed Mero and Arimoto, there
756 is underneath the Mama the dream (Vedu) which they tore from the lizard's eyes. There dwells the father of smallpox (turi); those who come near him fall ill; when the time for the leaping of the matrimxans /a kind of fish/ comes, anyone nearby who talks or laughs is thrown into the water. The curer runs no risk by coming near; if he becomes angry, he can bless the sleep and this one gets up and wanders off.

756 How does the curer reach this fullness of powers which in his discourses he so often hurls at those whom he contemptuously calls "common people"? Through a very long and painful apprenticeship, which few persons have the courage to undergo to the end and to the letter.

First of all, the curer candidate (piahi-he-ini) must find an experienced curer who will tell him what he must do and protect him against the enemies whom he is bound to encounter. On his part, in addition, the future curer must not leave a single breach through which the enemy, the Karówi, might enter, the so envious and so evil yamũras, whose principal occupation, it would seem, is to go in search of the slightest carelessness in order to punish it inexorably.

Such is the object of the rigorous training to which he must submit if he wishes to rise to the heights where the true curer dwells.

[276] The novice begins by drinking various drugs, such as
[825] timbo, pindova, vaimbé, and other cipos, in order to learn
[262] the language of animals and of Karowi, a sort of Curupira; he cannot eat pirão, mingáu, fat, meat, lambari /a kind of fish/, flying things, /263/ tamanduas, or honey; his food consists exclusively of beijú and polvilho broth.

173 /16 cont. /undoubtedly the Bakairí had /16/ lived closer To
648 the Kayabí than in later times, because they had moved their
726 aldea successively farther upriver? But hostilities with their
727 enemies then had still lasted. One night in a raid the Kayabí
361 had killed Felipe's father and carried away a child. On this
account some 20 Bakairí men had undertaken an expedition for revenge and had killed two Kayabí men and carried away two girls, who were living at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions in the aldea situated on the Paranatinga River, where they were married to two Bakairí men and were called Luiza and Maria. When I met Luiza, in the year 1927, among the Bakairí of Simões Lopes, she was an old woman. Given the fact that the population of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga River had dwindled to so few individuals, even at their later location, the Kayabí remained a danger for them.

648 The Bakairí were known by the Paressí as old neighbors,
727 and the Paressí, Charlotta, who was the wife of Cacique Felipe, had been carried away from Diamantino by the Bakairí. (15)

15. Karl v. d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 122. Idem., Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., p. 3 4.

174 From the extraordinary concordance of the legends of the Paressí
648 with those of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga River, noted by
177 Karl von den Steinen, it follows that in earlier times, there was extensive contact between the western Bakairí and the
174 Paressí. (16) Unfortunately we do not know the legends of the
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16. Karl v. d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., pp. 364 and 365.

eastern Bakairí, who live in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River, so that we do not know to what extent their legends

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174 correspond to those of their western fellow countrymen. From
184 the fact that the names of the two legendary heroes, Keri and
648 Kame, who represent in Bakairí legends the sun and the moon,
793 are not words of the Bakairí language (which belongs to the
177 Karaíb /Carib/ group) but words of the Arwak /Arawak/ linguistic group, it follows that the Paressí, who belong to this linguistic group, were, in this case, the authors of these legends rather than the Bakairí, and thus that the legends of the Paranatinga Bakairí were influenced by the Paressí; just as the Bakairí are mentioned in the legends of the Paressí, the latter are also mentioned in the legends of the Bakairí. According to Paressí legends, the Bakairí, or Matokoso as they are called by them, belong with other enemy tribes to the kin group of Chinikálore (Tchenikauré according to Karl v. d. Steinen), the big jaguar, who killed his brother Kamázo and the latter's wife, but then became the victim of Uakomo, the son of Kamázo, who avenged his father when he grew up. (17) We also find

17. Ibid., p. 431.

this tale of Chinikálore in the texts of Paressí legends. In these legends Chinikálore, from whose six arrows the Bakairí were born, appears as a distinctly hostile hero. Thus it may be assumed that the Bakairí, who belonged to his kin group, were also enemies of the Paressí. On this basis, relations between the Bakairí and the Paressí were already hostile in former times, and this hostility still persisted at the time of /17/ Karl von den Steinen's expeditions. Some years earlier, the Bakairí had
175 attacked the Paressí on the road that leads to Diamantino, to
726 capture their women, and had killed many of them /i.e.,
727 Paressí men/. (18) As already mentioned above, besides the
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18. Ibid., p. 438.

two Kayabí women, two Paressí women were also living among

/264 cont./

794 survives death. (c) During sleep, kagatopuri leaves the body

6. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 43, 44.

and goes wandering through distant regions; on returning it causes the individual to awaken. To awaken a person sudden-
[513] ly might kill him, for kagatopuri would not have time to re-
775 turn to the body. After death the fluid soul leaves the body once and for all and changes into kadopa. The kadopa are
[776] wandering souls that continue in this way until their final transformation into iamũra which occurred in the domains of
776 Nakoeri, the culture hero. Nakoeri was a combination culture
773 hero and creator god of the Bakairí. In a /265/ text obtained by Capistrano de Abreu, Nakoeri first makes all the animals, and, using a plaster of clay, creates the Bakairí. (7) Next he

7. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 47.

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775 makes a cotton ladder and climbs to the sky.

776 The kadopa and iamũra suffer hunger and thirst and eat like the other Indians. For this they use the bodies of animals.
775 When the kadopa disturbed the aldeas, rituals were performed to try to attract the wandering souls in order next to frighten them. One Bakairí account refers to the kadopa thus:

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539 "... if you do not intone kadopa's song he does not go to the sky. Because of this /after/ many days of sleeping put manioc paste /mingãu/ in two small clay cups /ãũas/; put the paste in the middle of the grave; two persons armed with clubs intone the song; the cups are smashed and they flee. Coming from afar, one gives a blessing, saying ku ku ku (now, cheer up!).

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534 sticks decorated with geometric designs. These sticks are still used in Bakairí dances in Simões Lopes.

535 533 Our informants remembered the following dances and songs: oriko, a dance performed with the help of the adorned sticks, at no specific time; iauaisári, the maize song; mahutauari, performed at the time of the construction of a new house; pahoevarú, performed at the time of the ceremony of the perforation of the boys' ears, and the maize celebration, or anjéintabiénli.

535 532 825 [784] In the sacred dances, barred to women, masks representing various animals were used. In our opinion these masks did not represent the animals proper but rather the iamũra, lords of these animals. This would justify the fact that these representations are so far removed from reality, even in terms of native art.

• 703 The Bakairí myths related by Karl von den Steinen and Capistrano de Abreu mention Tchini (or Keri, the sun), Numa (or Kame, the moon), (16) and Nakoeri. (17) Tchina and Numa

16. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., pp. 447-492.

17. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 45-50, 235-240.

or Keri and Kame, the sun and the moon, are twin creator heroes of the Bakairí. The same task of /269/ creating the [616] Bakairí is attributed to Nakoeri. The nonexistence of moieties [174] among the Bakairí leads us to regard the myth of the twin heroes as a borrowed feature, since there does not seem to be a justifying correspondence in their social organization. The 539 Paranatinga Indians told us the following myth:

Iamadili or the Origin of the Day.

In the beginning the world was so dark and so cold that the Indians had to cover their bodies with

[P. 77-A]

286 574 535 dance was given at night accompanied by flute playing.

When a woman came out of seclusion after the 846 535 533 birth of a child the women of the village danced to the tunes of the *tadánwa* and *nokigóra* flutes.

ORIGIN MYTHS

773 [126] Although the Bacairí have many myths, only two were obtained. One of these is the *yamadílli*, or the origin of day: In the beginning it was so dark and cold in the world that the people had to cover their bodies with grease to keep warm. The people wanted the sun to come out, so they put on their ornaments and painted their bodies and began to pray to *orimóto*, the great spirit who lived in the north. The Bacairí believed that *orimóto* was not an Indian but just a man who lived in a stone house with some of the animals which he had created. The people continued praying to *orimóto* and when light finally came the people were old and the children had grown up.

Yawétihadúho, or "those who died in the fire," is a story which tells about the origin of cultivated plants and the *yawaisdri*, or corn dance: Once long ago there were a number of boys who were in puberty seclusion. At that time there were no cultivated plants, the people living by hunting and collecting wild plant foods. The boys were kept in seclusion so long and had so little to eat that they became very tired. One day when the relatives of the boys went out to collect food the boys all committed suicide. When the relatives returned and found the boys dead they were sorry and angry with themselves for neglecting them. They built a large fire and after dancing around the fire naked they jumped into the flames and were burned to death. The leader of this act was *yawíti*. Later the soul of *yawíti* returned and spoke through one of the living Indians. He explained to the Indians how to grow corn and other food crops and how to perform the corn dance. After that the corn dance (*yawaisdri*) has always been performed.

773 171 [127] As the Bacairí formerly lived in association with the other Upper Xingú tribes, it is perhaps useful to compare their following origin myths as gathered by Von den Steinen with those of the Camayurá. There appears to be a close resemblance between *Kamuschiní* of the Bacairí and

773 171 Mavutsiné of the Camayurá. Both are original personages. It is also interesting to note that the Bacairí myth speaks of a time when there was maize but no manioc. Camayurá legends speak of the origin of manioc only. All the tribes are made from uba cane. The Camayurá, as we noted, were made by Mavutsiné from *camiuva* wood.

539 *The Parents of Keri and Kame.* The first part of this legend takes place in heaven. At that time there was almost everything that there is on earth today. They tell nothing of their own creation, they narrate only how it is that the heroes Keri and Kame obtain of other personages a part of the useful and important things. The Bakairí always existed, even if "in the beginning there were only a few." There were also other people that were not Bakairí, chiefly the different jaguar tribes and their relatives, who killed and ate many Bakairí. Kamuschiní, with whom the story begins, also was "of another people."

Kamuschiní went into the forest in search of tucum palm leaves to make bowstrings, where he met the jaguar Oka, whom he feared very much, and promised to get him some women if he were spared. First he felled red wood trees (*sewéti*), took the logs home, put them in a maize mortar, blew on them, and went away for a little while. But when he returned all the logs had turned into men who were busy making arrows. He killed them and went to fell five or six trees of another species which he handled as he had the other ones.

Returning, after a short absence, he saw that this time the trees had turned into women. They all called him "papa" and—with the exception of the last two, who, remaining seated without moving, infuriated him and he killed them immediately [a]—were busily grinding maize—"they say that at that time there was no manioc"—to make beijús and drinks. Kamuschiní gave the two eldest ones, Nimagakaniro and Ichoge, to the jaguar Oka, who took them home. On the way, however, Ichoge, climbing a burity palm for nuts, fell to the ground and died.

Nimagakaniro swallowed two Bakairí finger bones, which were spread around the house in great numbers as Oka used them to make arrowheads with which he killed many Bakairí, whose flesh he ate. It was due to these bones, only these, not Oka, which made her pregnant. Now, however, destiny threatened her in the person of her mother-in-law, Mero. Her husband is not known and besides Oka she had two other jaguar sons, Kuára

[114] [a] I obtained the names of five women: Nimagakanire, Atanumagale, Ichoge, Koyaka, and Tawaguri. In my Bakairí grammar, p. 226, I erroneously wrote that Kamuschiní felled five piqui trees and committed the injustice of attributing to him a mistake. The name Ichoge contains *ipó* piqui (*irú - ge*, with pique). Tawaguri also is the name of a tree, of which the two lazy ones were made, in Portuguese it is called "olho de Boi" (bull's eye). Koyaka (*koyá-ka*, with *koyá?*) grew out of a tree with rough bark and yellow fruit. About Atanumagale's tree origin Antonio could give no further information. Both she and Koyaka were also wives and mothers of jaguars, although this information is given as uncertain. Later on Atanumagale is designated as the wife of Kuára, Mero's son.

/340 cont./

000 practices sorcery. He is not bound to place and form and is capable of any kind of accomplishment with any person or thing. Vivid play of imagination is merely quantitatively and not qualitatively distinguishable from dream-sorcery. A person who kisses the picture of his beloved is preparing himself for sorcery. Anyone who throws a kiss through the air to his distant sweetheart is already strongly to be suspected of sorcery, for it is to be feared that he believes the sweet breath will reach its destination and be felt there. Anyone, however, who, like the great sorcerer Goethe, says to his amanuensis Eckermann: "I have in the years of my youth experienced instances enough when, on lonely walks, a powerful longing for a beloved girl would seize me and I would think of her until she actually came walking toward me," such a person is already practicing sorcery according to all the rules of the art. Completely under the spell of genuine sorcery is the person who, if his ears are ringing, yields to the conviction, if only for a second, that someone has spoken good or ill of him, or who has a friend keep his fingers crossed so that he will succeed in something, or who believes that his wishes have the power to influence the course of pleasant or unpleasant events.

*171 787 794 Our Indians, like many other primitive peoples, have the firm conviction, which may, moreover, be observed on our level of civilization among children and intoxicated persons, and not only among them, that in a vivid dream they are experiencing reality; a person goes hunting, shoots fish, or fells trees when he is asleep, while the body remains in the hammock. Among the Bororó, as I shall report later, we once found that the entire village wanted to flee because one man in a dream had seen enemies creeping up. The Bakaïrí let the "shadow" of a human being -- *171 794 which we then translate as "soul" -- wander about in the dream. 828 (Cf. the Paressí chapter also for this and similar information /see p. 532/.) Antonio, whom I could study alone sufficiently, especially during the Cuyabá months, in order to obtain most of the statements which will follow later, had the fear, well known particularly from the Malays, that it is dangerous to waken a sleeping person suddenly. The "shadow," which is perhaps wandering

/340 cont./

*171 in distant regions, would not be able to return quickly enough,
● 714 and the sleeper would turn into a dead person. To my surprise,
828 he also explained the headache which one has after too little sleep at night as resulting from the fatigue of the shadow hurrying
000 back. We may not be too critical of the Indian's belief, based purely on the direct experience of the senses, if we remember that higher speculative philosophy does not find it at all simple to determine whether life is a dream or the dream is life, whether we experience reality while awake or during sleep, and we must not forget that, after we awaken, reality sometimes brings complete confirmation.

/341/ How does such a point of view arise and what are its consequences? The awakening person is conscious of having seen and heard things. He has perceived them with perfect clarity. Hence they were there. If meanwhile the body of the sleeper has been lying in the hammock, it does not occur to anyone to ask therefore whether what was seen and what happened were real. None of the fellow tribesmen would think of questioning the faithful report; in the course of time they may perhaps try to give a kind of explanation by attributing to the shadow, for example, the change of locale which the body did not actually undertake, but this is secondary and does not affect the impression left by what has just occurred. Simply because one does not understand a thing is no reason to dismiss the actual experience of the senses. It is merely a reason for attaching great importance to dreamed events that have a general interest and for everyone to become excited about them; what happened is something special and the person who experienced it is capable of more than the others. We see that it is not necessary in deciding what is real to consider whether sense impressions are received directly from the outside or whether impressions previously stored up from memory images regain their old sensuous power in an aroused state. A confusion of feeling and accomplishment is quite unavoidable, however, as soon as what is vividly imagined is regarded as real. An inflamed fancy can, in truth, devise anything it wishes; hence the person filled with it is capable of what is otherwise impossible.

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*171 755 774 man takes the strong poisons, "he dies." When the medicine He lies "dead" in the hammock until his shadow returns. For the time being I should like to ignore what the result of this conception of loss of consciousness is for the conception of death. During his narcosis the witch doctor is able to transform himself into any animal form and immediately reach any place desired. The transformation occurs in such a way that he "enters" into the animal. Even today the best doctors are those who drink poison and transform themselves in the intoxicated state. "These piajes who drink ågokurióku and go to heaven," said Antonio literally, "are very good, they cure everything, and the others who do not take poison, who merely blow with tobacco, they cure also, but they do not cure severe /346/ illness." The origin and the meaning of magic cannot be expressed more clearly; one puts himself into a state of excitement in order to make himself capable of what would otherwise be impossible, he works miracles, in which everyone believes, by stimulating his power of imagination; the ultimate basis of all sorcery is the conviction of the reality of what is dreamed or imagined.

Antonio's statements, in the literal wording, about the visit of a narcotized piaje in heaven will explain the situation better than my interpretation. The docile Bakaïrí have, I can only say, [177] snapped up a few Christian ideas and have made them their own in the most curious distortion; for me, at any rate, it was extremely difficult to remain serious when before my astonished eyes Christ, Mary, and the angels suddenly appeared in Schingú dress amidst beijús and surrounded by gourds filled with starch-paste and yellow pikí juice. At the same time we were assured that the [775] [773] non-Christian ancestors, the "antigos" of the narrative piaje, visited heaven and, drinking poison, changed themselves into all kinds of wild animals. I was given the story when I tried to learn their ideas of heaven.

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*171 755 "Heaven has a ground, as here. The piaje who was there says so." "??..." "He drank liana poison and died. He was
● 774 775 539 then no longer like human beings, he could go into a jaguar or a cobra snake or a sukurí snake or a falcon. He ascended to heaven, came back, awoke as a human being, and was just as he was before. This happened on the Paranatinga. The same thing also happened formerly among the antigos, and the people of the Tamitotoala (Batovy) used to say the same thing." Thereupon Antonio reported his specific example. "He drank the poison in the hammock itself, he drank out of a gourd vessel in which there was mixed a great deal of water, he died in the hammock. He went to heaven and there met the antigos. He also met that one...., what is he called?" (Tries in vain to think of the name.) "Oh, his mother also went to heaven." "Jesu Christo?" "The same. He conversed with him for a long time. This Krito had him sit down on a stool and brought him calabashes with pogu and pikí juice. There was a great deal of it. They talked a very long time. This Krito provided him with arara feathers for flying. Then he blew on him. Then he let him return. He woke up in his hammock." I wanted to find out in greater detail how he had come out. "The shadow rose up a little above heaven, carefully looked for the hole by which one gets out of heaven, and flew back here." "So the shadow had been in heaven?" "Since the body does not go and cannot rise up because it is dead, the shadow goes."

171 755 276 The transformation thus takes place in the dream, which is induced by a narcotic. It is regarded as real and the story of such a dream, wholly true or nowadays only very much partially true in professional practice, furnishes the material for the belief in the art of the /347/ witch doctors. Their actual merit lies only in their knowledge of the narcotics, and in particular, from our point of view, that of tobacco narcosis. Antonio told me that

* The occasion for becoming acquainted with the narcotic effect was probably during the fanning of the smoldering fire. One must seek in the forest the dry leaves which are thrown on, which

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761 effugere potest" /no one can flee death/. Antonio's translation, which avoided the word "must," yet showed that he correctly understood my view, came out rather twisted after a quarter of an hour of thinking: "I die only (and) we (die)." The interpreter, however, shook his head, dissatisfied; he had doubts which we, too, should scarcely be able to surpress if it were maintained: "all men must be murdered." The Indian seeks the cause of death only externally, in a nasty trick. If there were only good human beings, there would be neither sickness nor death. He knows nothing about a natural ebbing of the life process.

775 /349/ A second, not unessential difference between the interpretation of our Indians and that of civilized peoples concerns existence after death. That the earth's goods are unevenly distributed and a poor person may one day experience the bliss of abundance, that justice is imperfect here below and the good person will one day be rewarded, the evil person punished, these ethical demands have not arisen in the simple social conditions of the native. His conception of the existence after death does not arise from hope and faith. It is, however, linked with the idea of agreeable conditions to the extent that in the future life with the "antigos" in heaven fish, game, and pikí juice will be very abundantly provided, and it also takes into account the behavior of worthless fellows, for they roam about at night in the forest as malicious spirits, kílain-oroika, spreading terror and alarm, not because they are, say, "cursed," but because they naturally continue their wickedness in another place.

761 For the native, however, the root of the conviction about
774 continued existence lies, not in feeling, but in intellect, despite
775 the fact that the two are inseparably joined. For his level of
828 judgment, it is a matter of knowledge. According to the conception of civilized peoples, the soul leaves the body for the first time at death, something entirely new happens, about which they know nothing from experience and observation, unless through spiritualistic means; because of this unknown, new thing, they cannot prove immortality, but are obliged to content themselves with believing it for ethical reasons. For the Indian, on

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761 the other hand, the process of the separation of soul and body is
774 not new; he experiences it day after day, as we have seen, when
775 the shade /Schatten," shadow, shade"/ hastens away in the dream
828 and leaves his body behind in the hammock. Ordinary death is a deep unconsciousness (coma) brought about by the poison which the sorcerer administers, and it differs from sleep only in the fact that the shade hastens too far away to be able to return. Only the medicine man who poisons himself returns to life. The experiences of the shade during sleep were already "real"; hence its "experiences" after death are just as "real." One is familiar with this reality, which is merely life in another place, from daily experience and has it amply confirmed by the deceased, with whose shades our own communicates during the dream, and by the sorcerers who occasionally visit the realm of the dead; in the latter Hamlet may find the wanderers who return from the regions of the unknown country. To die to sleep, no more /cited in English/.

775 The shades of the dead Bakaïrí go to heaven to the ancestors. Heaven is first of all not the land of the future, but of the past, the old ones are still there where all history began. The heaven
[772] in which the first Bakaïrí lived lay beside the earth in former times, and one could easily get over to it. Too many people died there, however, /350/ so the people moved to earth, and heaven rose up to where it is now and where the animals, the places, and the things which occur in the old stories may be seen to this day. "Everything remained as it was." "There were always Bakaïrí, but in the beginning there were very few." One
[811] need only hold fast to a few specific points, and one will recognize, in spite of all flights of fancy and in spite of all the elaboration by tradition, a core of naïve, sound logic in the Indians' explanation of nature.

811 The Indians know no "must." They regard every occurrence in nature as a unique occurrence, or more correctly as a unique action. Indeed, laws are in fact known only as the result of the common work of many -- those who live and have lived. And as long as there are no laws and at best only habits, each individual is at the center of the

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773 812 I mean to say that these cases are essentially different from those in the legends where things are "personified," that is, speak and act like animal and human being. The falling turtle of the Amazon legend sees a boulder in the direction of her fall and calls out to it: "Get out of my way!" Obediently the stone removes itself and she falls on soft ground. The stone, which understands her words, could also have replied. Keri quarrels with the sky and, angered, goes over to the earth with his people, where the Bakaïrí, as a result, live today. The wind is called in order to tear down a tree. In these cases there is no blowing or sorcery. The storyteller lets the things hear, speak, in order to say that they do or do not want something, are tractable or refractory, and need not realize, as we do, that he is thus endowing them with a "soul." "How could the sky talk?" "I don't know, at that time it talked." More was not to be learned from Antonio. If today in ordinary life a thing suddenly causes harm, that is the fault of an evil sorcerer, whereas an animal acts by itself.

754 756 812 /364/ The second type of transformation is that of the sorcerer himself into any animal shape desired. No one seems to know how he does this. He does not actually become the animal itself, however; he always goes into the animal and is always implanted in the animal; in fact, he can be in the foot of the tapir and seize the vulture. Now does the "soul" go out of one person and into the other? But in that case at least we ought not ask either where the soul of the animal or where the body of the culture hero remains, or whether the "shade," which in the case of the modern, narcotized medicine man lying in the hammock leaves the body for the transformation into jaguar or snake, was previously "inside" the medicine man, or whether the shade can get inside an animal- - I believe we are overdoing a good thing if we speak of the activities of the "soul" among primitive peoples. I, at any rate, merely had the impression that with regard to the "soul" the Indians sometimes think of the shade, sometimes of the breath, but do not account for all the specific details, and instead always preserve the image of the entire "living" personality. It seems to me one comes closest to the real situation if one

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128 These few lines indicate how much could be done on these grounds yet to be explored.

/249/ And now that this linguistic step has been overcome and the reader already has a slight idea of the sounds and forms of Kxura-itano, let us question the Bacaeris concerning their conception of the world, family, and society, their cultural acquisitions, their migrations, etc.

Four, or at most five points will suffice for this.

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II
The Conception of the World

The Bacaeris believe that man consists of two elements: kxa'atopüri, "our shadow, going /andadura/ or running /corrida/," and kxati, "our shirt," or kxutubi, "our skin." They may be translated as "body and soul," but the translation is inadequate.

The shadow puts on and takes off its shirt with ease and often, going out and coming in, now normally, now abnormally, now temporarily, now permanently.

The egress is normal when there is shouting, because the shadow, with the same speed with which it goes to the place where the echo rebounds, returns to its skin, or when one is sleeping and dreaming. When sleep becomes agitated, it indicates the ascent of hills, the fording of streams, or evil encounters. The person who is asleep is not awakened, for the shadow may not yet have put its shirt back on (10).

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10. Matias Ruiz Blanco in his Conversión de Piritú /Conversion of Piritu/, published in 1690, gives a variant of the same idea among the Indians of that region, who, like the Bacaeris, were also

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Caribas: "The manner of greeting is for one to say to another, 'Is it you? Have you come? Have you arrived? Are you well?' and no one speaks to the guests upon their arrival, nor do they speak for a while, because they say that they are waiting for their souls to arrive, which is arrant nonsense." (Conv. en Piritú, 62, repr. Madrid, 1892.) The greeting between Bacaeris is ama, "you," to which one replies, ura, "I"; or mawili, "you came," to which one replies, êê kɣauili, "yes I came."

When we sleep, we dream says the piahi;--when we sleep, our shadow converses with the /251/ spirits (yamüra);--our shadow travels far,--when our shadow returns, we awaken;--when our shadow is afraid, at night, when it is time to sleep, we talk;--while our shadow sleeps, we dream;--we climb trees, we climb hills;--we walk with the yamüras,--we drink mingáu /a manioc gruel or paste/, we eat, etc.

The egress is abnormal, but temporary, when a person faints from fright, because, with much shouting and fanning with ipenakóro leaves, there is success in getting the shadow to return, or when one has offended the piahis and yamüra, because, if duly propitiated, they pardon the crime and permit the shadow to return, as we shall see later.

It is abnormal and permanent at death.

The Bacaeris, in a very expressive phrase, claim that they do not fall ill from sickness itself (to-ewanü-ɣe Bakaéri töwane-pa); illness is always injected by sorcerers (ome-odo, "lord of poison"), and the poisons, all of vegetable origin, are

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756 What remains of the story of the piahi candidate can be summarized in a few lines:

[774] After having spoken to Nakoeri, the candidate goes away; at the door of the sky, the shadow puts on its old shirt and, once in it, lies down and goes to sleep; no one can go where he is, except the curer who initiated him. In the afternoon he awakens.--Do you want mingáu, are you hungry? asks the curer; and when the candidate replies in the affirmative he goes to make him mingáu with sour dough. After having slept for three days, he eats fresh beijú, then polvilho and puherewo. The curer does not yet allow him to leave the dance house; in the next moon he eats pirão; after two moons he may go out a little, and then he eats game, matrinxã, and white macú. Three months later, he is piahi; he wanders about, goes into a jaguar, into an anta, into a queixada, etc.

756 776 Once consecrated piahi, we have already seen some of the things that he is able to do. We shall give one more story, however, to show the difference between piahi and yamũra.

/268/ Both have died, and it is precisely from death that they acquire the power which makes them so feared by their countrymen; but after death the piahi returns to life by permission of Nakoeri, and then he never dies again, while the yamũra may appear on the earth, enter into the bodies of animals, even put on a human shirt as in the masked festivals, but in reality he never again lives down here below.

Both have almost unlimited powers over nature, but in reality the piahi is the more powerful, because the yamũra respects him and addresses him as "brother-in-law," and he has ways to placate the yamũra and even to scare him away, such as burning cotton seed, or painting with urucú the persons against whom the yamũra has been angered.

Both represent dark powers, but the piahi represents some luminosity which he acquired from his association with Nakoeri.

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756 It has been mentioned that in certain cases both the piahi
776 and the yamũra can take the shadow of a person who has offended
774 them; but only the piahi can return what he took; and, conversely, he can return the shadow stolen by a yamũra.

825 This leads us to mention Topiehe, a Mato Grosso bird which
196 we were unable to identify and in whose name there is probably the same radical as is found in piahi and epiwado.

825 Topiehe, when killed, steals the person's shadow; this is
774 why Topiehe is not killed; it takes a person's shadow far away;
756 then the person dies. The house of Topiehe is in the sky;
755 the Topiehe does not die /269/ really, says the piahi. The one who (seemingly) killed the Topiehe becomes cold; when he reaches home, he falls ill; then the piahi is called, and when he arrives, the bench is washed very clean; then the tail of the arara is tied with cotton to the maracá. While the curer is doing this, no one speaks, and the fire is put out; the bench is placed at the door, and the curer holds it, plays the maracá, and then shouts. When he is not near, yamũra does not come quickly. When he arrives, the bench moves and if the curer does not make it fast, it runs away; this is why the curer does not let go of the bench, on which sits yamũra, with whom the piahi converses: Don't you see, relative, I am calling, I am talking, I am singing, I am shouting, says the curer. I did this, because he committed this crime (inutudohe), answers Topiehe.-- He is a human being, he does not know what he is doing, that is why he killed you, answers the curer. When the piahi spoke, Topiehe said: Take him. When the cotton was grasped our shadow is above and then the murderer gets well. After the return: I am going away, I heard your shout and this is why I came, says Topiehe. When Yamũra goes away, the people talk, the curer goes to the patient; he was sick because he killed Topiehe; Topiehe is not to be killed, says the curer.

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829 The idea of "Lord" appears often, but it is not easy to
776 understand what it means. When a Bacaeri states that the white
825 man is the lord of the mirror, naturally he means that he first saw this object in the hands of the Carahibas. What does he actually mean, however, when he states that the lord of the rain is the parakeet?

776 It also seems natural that, if certain things have lords, the latter be paid or granted some token of respect or homage. Only one such case is mentioned, however; those who make hammocks, before using them, sling them outside the house in homage to the Coandú /coendou/, lord of hammocks, so that their hair will not turn white. A story about a great cataclysm brought about by the death of the newt, lord of the wind, is also told.

In view of all this, the following list of lords is of minor interest, since it will only be of use if new comparative data become available:

776 The lizard is the lord of sleep; the fox, the lord of fire;
825 the parakeet, of rain; the newt, of wind; the curiango /Caprimulgus/, of the fishing hook; the urubu is lord of the bench; the sea snail, of the sun; the sucuri, of the fishing net; the heron, of the boquité (a type of basket); the uga (a kind of lizard), of the grater; the porcupine is lord of thorns; the kingfisher, lord of fish; the coendou, lord of smoke and also of the buriti net; the deer is lord of the mandioca, etc.

825 /273/ This shows that the Bacaeri does not make a very
774 great distinction between human beings and animals. For
196 "to wish" they use two words: ieyi, first person, which is applied to an animal raised by a human being; and anayido, a generic term, simply the plural of anayi, which means "who" and "someone." There is nothing strange about this, considering that human beings and animals have shadows and speak in the same fashion.

824 The trees also have shadows and speak.
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000 about three centimeters square made of tree bark. After the
582 seclusion boys and girls were eligible for /264/ marriage.
585 Marriage, todohokûinle, was joined by the parents of the young people by means of an exchange of gifts, and it does not seem to have merited any special ceremony.

761 The Bakairí do not seem to have believed in the possi-
764 bility of a natural death. After death, which was always caused by the sorcery of some enemy, the corpse was painted and
[754] attired in the finery used in life. The corpse was rolled up in the hammock used by the deceased, and buried with the head
764 pointing west and the feet east. There followed a mourning
784 period, during which the closer relatives remained uanki and from which they emerged through the tadaunûno feast.

776 The world of the Bakairí was surrounded by supernatural
775 beings, good and evil, such as the iamûra, topiehe, karoui,
[824] kadopa, and kilaimo. (5) Plants and animals were nothing but
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5. Capistrano de Abeu, "Os Bacaerys," Revista Brasileira, Year I, Vol. 4, pp. 44, 45, 47, 48, 234, 240, 241. Rio de Janeiro, 1895.

774 drapery used by the iamura and kadopa. Hunting, fishing, and
776 agricultural activities thus had to be accompanied by propitiatory
[24] activities intended to appease the anger of the iamûra deprived
776 of their animals and plants. On the other hand, karoui and
782 kilaimo wandered through the forest menacing the Bakairí.
784 Against such beings the Indians required the protection of their
756 sorcerer-doctors as well as periods of seclusion in the most dangerous moments.

774 The Bakairí believed that men had two souls: one called kati or kutulu, heavier and thicker, corresponding to a camisa worn by the second soul, kagatopuri, a more fluid element that

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794 survives death. (6) During sleep, kagatopuri leaves the body

6. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 43, 44.

and goes wandering through distant regions; on returning it
[513] causes the individual to awaken. To awaken a person sudden-
ly might kill him, for kagatopuri would not have time to re-
775 turn to the body. After death the fluid soul leaves the body
once and for all and changes into kadopa. The kadopa are
[776] wandering souls that continue in this way until their final
transformation into iamũra which occurred in the domains of
Nakoeri, the culture hero. Nakoeri was a combination culture
776 hero and creator god of the Bakairí. In a /265/ text obtained
773 by Capistráno de Abreu, Nakoeri first makes all the animals,
and, using a plaster of clay, creates the Bakairí. (7) Next he

7. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 47.

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775 makes a cotton ladder and climbs to the sky.

776 The kadopa and iamũra suffer hunger and thirst and eat
like the other Indians. For this they use the bodies of animals.
775 When the kadopa disturbed the aldeas, rituals were performed
to try to attract the wandering souls in order next to frighten
them. One Bakairí account refers to the kadopa thus:

775 "... if you do not intone kadopa's song he does
789 not go to the sky. Because of this /after/ many
539 days of sleeping put manioc paste /mingáu/ in
two small clay cups /cũias/; put the paste in
the middle of the grave; two persons armed
with clubs intone the song; the cups are smashed
and they flee. Coming from afar, one gives
a blessing, saying ku ku ku (now, cheer up!).

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764

The body is wrapped in the hammock* The grave gifts are

* In Cuyabá slaves and poor people from the Misericordia Hospital were buried in a hammock or a coverlet. A coffin has the shape of a long box, the bottom and ends of which consist of slats; this framework has a white cloth stretched over it on the inside, a black one on the outside.

B bow and arrows for the man, sieve-mat, spindle, and pot for the
[995] woman. The earthly division of labor continues in the future
A life. The Kamayurá described to us the burial of a chief. To
766 make the grave, they dig two pits and join them with a passage so that the layout has the form of a dumbbell. While everyone is weeping and lamenting, fires are lighted, and each man breaks his throwing stick and the arrows that go with it and throws them
A in the fire. The nearest relatives fast for some time, ** but then
[765]
[302]

** See the burial among the Parecí /see p. 531 /.

they adorn themselves in festive gray, the tonsure is renewed, and the body painted black with genipap, which the Kamayurá prefer to urucú. The widow goes about with her head shaved. The grave that we saw among the Aueto (cf. Plate 15 /see p. 253/) contained the wife of a chief, a Kamayurá woman; it was said that mourners from all the tribes had come for the burial."

II. Magic and Medicine Men.

One tends to think of the magic and sorcery of primitive peoples as an art entirely foreign to us. If one proceeds from the nature of its /340/ art, however, nothing is more common even in the life of civilized man than sorcery, albeit an unsystematic and unprofessional sorcery. A person who dreams

/345 cont./

#171 when the medicine man takes the strong poisons, "he dies." He lies "dead" in the hammock until his shadow returns. For the time being I should like to ignore what the result of this conception of loss of consciousness is for the conception of death. During his narcosis the witch doctor is able to transform himself into any animal form and immediately reach any place desired. The transformation occurs in such a way that he "enters" into the animal. Even today the best doctors are those who drink poison and transform themselves in the intoxicated state. "These piaje who drink Ìgokuriśku and go to heaven," said Antonio literally, "are very good, they cure everything, and the others who do not take poison, who merely blow with tobacco, they cure also, but they do not cure severe /346/ illness." The origin and the meaning of magic cannot be expressed more clearly: one puts himself into a state of excitement in order to make himself capable of what would otherwise be impossible, he works miracles, in which everyone believes, by stimulating his power of imagination; the ultimate basis of all sorcery is the conviction of the reality of what is dreamed or imagined.

Antonio's statements, in the literal wording, about the visit of a narcotized piaje in heaven will explain the situation better than my interpretation. The docile Bakairi have, I can only say, [177] mapped up a few Christian ideas and have made them their own in the most curious distortion; for me, at any rate, it was extremely difficult to remain serious when before my astonished eyes Christ, Mary, and the angels suddenly appeared in Schingi dress amidst beiji and surrounded by gourds filled with starch-paste and yellow piki juice. At the same time we were assured that the [178] [179] non-Christian ancestors, the "antigos" of the narrative piaje, visited heaven and, drinking poison, changed themselves into all kinds of wild animals. I was given the story when I tried to learn their ideas of heaven.

/346 cont./

*191 "Heaven has a ground, as here. The piaje who was there
755 says so." "??..." "He drank liana poison and died. He was
then no longer like human beings, he could go into a jaguar or a
● 775 cobra snake or a sukurf snake or a falcon. He ascended to
539 heaven, came back, awoke as a human being, and was just as he
was before. This happened on the Paranatinga. The same thing
also happened formerly among the antigos, and the people of the
Tamitotoals (Batovy) used to say the same thing." Thereupon
Antonio reported his specific example. "He drank the poison in
the hammock itself, he drank out of a gourd vessel in which there
was mixed a great deal of water, he died in the hammock. He
went to heaven and there met the antigos. He also met that
one...., what is he called?" (Tries in vain to think of the name.)
"Oh, his mother also went to heaven." "Jesu Christo?" "The
same. He conversed with him for a long time. This Krito had
him sit down on a stool and brought him calabashes with pogu
and pikf juice. There was a great deal of it. They talked a
very long time. This Krito provided him with arara feathers for
flying. Then he blew on him. Then he let him return. He woke
up in his hammock." I wanted to find out in greater detail how
he had come out. "The shadow rose up a little above heaven,
carefully looked for the hole by which one gets out of heaven,
and flew back here." "So the shadow had been in heaven?"
"Since the body does not go and cannot rise up because it is dead,
the shadow goes."

*191 The transformation thus takes place in the dream, which is
755 induced by a narcotic. It is regarded as real and the story of such
a dream, wholly true or nowadays only very much partially true
in professional practice, furnishes the material for the belief in
the art of the /347/ witch doctors. Their actual merit lies only
in their knowledge of the narcotics, and in particular, from our
point of view, that of tobacco narcotis.* Antonio told me that

* The occasion for becoming acquainted with the narcotic effect was probably during the fanning of the smoldering fire. One must seek in the forest the dry leaves which are thrown on, which

/348 cont./

761 effugere potest" /no one can flee death/. Antonio's translation, which avoided the word "must," yet showed that he correctly understood my view, came out rather twisted after a quarter of an hour of thinking: "I die only (and) we (die)." The interpreter, however, shook his head, dissatisfied; he had doubts which we, too, should scarcely be able to surpress if it were maintained: "all men must be murdered." The Indian seeks the cause of death only externally, in a nasty trick. If there were only good human beings, there would be neither sickness nor death. He knows nothing about a natural ebbing of the life process.

•775 /349/ A second, not unessential difference between the interpretation of our Indians and that of civilized peoples concerns existence after death. That the earth's goods are unevenly distributed and a poor person may one day experience the bliss of abundance, that justice is imperfect here below and the good person will one day be rewarded, the evil person punished, these ethical demands have not arisen in the simple social conditions of the native. His conception of the existence after death does not arise from hope and faith. It is, however, linked with the idea of agreeable conditions to the extent that in the future life with the "antigos" in heaven fish, game, and pikf juice will be very abundantly provided, and it also takes into account the behavior of worthless fellows, for they roam about at night in the forest as malicious spirits, kflain-oroika, spreading terror and alarm, not because they are, say, "cursed," but because they naturally continue their wickedness in another place.

761 For the native, however, the root of the conviction about
774 continued existence lies, not in feeling, but in intellect, despite
775 the fact that the two are inseparably joined. For his level of
828 judgment, it is a matter of knowledge. According to the conception of civilized peoples, the soul leaves the body for the first time at death, something entirely new happens, about which they know nothing from experience and observation, unless through spiritualistic means; because of this unknown, new thing, they cannot prove immortality, but are obliged to content themselves with believing it for ethical reasons. For the Indian, on

/349 cont./

761 the other hand, the process of the separation of soul and body is
774 not new; he experiences it day after day, as we have seen, when
775 the shade /Schatten," shadow, shade"/ hastens away in the dream
828 and leaves his body behind in the hammock. Ordinary death is a deep unconsciousness (coma) brought about by the poison which the sorcerer administers, and it differs from sleep only in the fact that the shade hastens too far away to be able to return. Only the medicine man who poisons himself returns to life. The experiences of the shade during sleep were already "real"; hence its "experiences" after death are just as "real." One is familiar with this reality, which is merely life in another place, from daily experience and has it amply confirmed by the deceased, with whose shades our own communicates during the dream, and by the sorcerers who occasionally visit the realm of the dead; in the latter Hamlet may find the wanderers who return from the regions of the unknown country. To die to sleep, no more /cited in English/.

775 The shades of the dead Bakaïrí go to heaven to the ancestors. Heaven is first of all not the land of the future, but of the past, the old ones are still there where all history began. The heaven
[772] in which the first Bakaïrí lived lay beside the earth in former times, and one could easily get over to it. Too many people died there, however, /350/ so the people moved to earth, and heaven rose up to where it is now and where the animals, the places, and the things which occur in the old stories may be seen to this day. "Everything remained as it was." "There were always Bakaïrí, but in the beginning there were very few." One
[811] need only hold fast to a few specific points, and one will recognize, in spite of all flights of fancy and in spite of all the elaboration by tradition, a core of naïve, sound logic in the Indians' explanation of nature.

811 The Indians know no "must." They regard every occurrence in nature as a unique occurrence, or more correctly as a unique action. Indeed, laws are in fact known only as the result of the common work of many -- those who live and have lived. And as long as there are no laws and at best only habits, each individual is at the center of the

75 /251 cont./
first and foremost jatobá /Hymnenaea/, then copaiba, the white or yellow trumpetbush /peúva de flôres brancas ou amarellas/, the vinhatico, the pindahiba /Xylopia/, etc. Knowing this, the first concern of the curer (piahi) called to treat the sick is to extract the sliver of wood that causes the discomfort, which is achieved by sucking on the patient.

764 775 [302] [301] Sometimes, in spite of the treatment, the latter dies. Then the dead man is painted with urucú (anoto); there are put in his ears and nostrils the feathers that adorned them in life; his belongings (icehiko) are gathered up, such as bow, arrows, etc., which are deposited along with their owner /252/ in the hole that will serve as grave, well covered with earth stamped down with the feet. In the afternoon the shadow rises in the guise of the curiangu (Pokurãu, Caprimulgus) and comes to drink mingáu, which was placed at the grave, on the spot that corresponds to the head. After a while it no longer returns.

775 The Bacaeris also speak of kxadopa, which is equivalent to our hobgoblins or lost souls and, it would seem, are the shadows of those who died a violent death. The following passage describes most clearly what is said concerning these beings.

Kxadopa goes wandering in the afternoon, says the piahi; it is all bone; it has holes for eyes; it wanders through the forest; manioc is its food; it wanders in the cultivated clearings; caterpillars, bicho de pau /"wood insect"/ and ants are its food; it comes to the house to drink mingáu (poʔu); take the food of the kxadopa outside, take beiju /manioc cakes/ and pirão /boiled manioc flour/ (pakxa); at night, in order to sleep, burn rubber, rub it on the door, on the door bar (anaxu, "nose"); the kxadopa does not come in, the rubber stinks and [533] he does not like the smell. Take his food to the grave; if you do not intone the song (erému) of the kxadopa, he does

/252 cont./

775 not go to the sky. Because of this, having slept several days,
[533] put mingáu in two small gourds; put the mingáu on the middle of the grave; two persons armed with clubs intone the song; when the song is over the two gourds are smashed and they flee. Coming from afar, one gives a blessing, saying;
[539] Kχukχukú (come, take heart!). When stopping, there is a blessing, saying: Aúfá! Go inside the sky, to our people, to our mother, to our father, here there is no one, inside the sky it is good, go, we, too, are going to die, it is said, -- the piahi teaches.

/253/ Another passage has kχadopa in the form of a tatou (Mugaru, Dasypus) in the middle of an abandoned village /tapéra/ and advises that no one should walk where a fight took place.

For a while bodies and spirits wander through the world, and the words of the piahi contain repeated descriptions of dead men's heads that wander about at night, livers that sit in doorways, or intestines on which one might step at night. Finally the shadow is free, and it climbs to the sky on a ladder of spun cotton, which passes underneath the star Toχoreŋ. At the entrance of the sky there is the Urubu with his trap; those who do not have pierced ears and nostrils and do not wear feathers are blessed by the Urubu, i.e., blown upon, and fall into the trap; those who are marked run no danger, and they go see Nakoeri.

19 Nakoéri is a word whose etymology cannot be explained
174 by means of kχura-itano; fortunately, the language of the
775 Acawoyos /Acawai/, Indians of British Guiana, Caribas like the Bacaeris, offers us a valuable hint in this connection. In the translation of the first part of Genesis, and of the Gospel according to St. Matthew, recently published in London (11)

11. I owe the acquisition of this book to the kindness of my friend, Dr. Eduardo Prado, to whom I repeat my thanks.

/253 cont./

19 by the "Society for promoting Christian Knowledge," one reads
174 the famous sentence, the spirit of God moved over the waters
● 775 (Genesis, 1, 2): Makonàima "Yakwarri" otoupou tona poropohru, in which "Yakwarri" means "spirit." "Nakoeri" and "Yakwarri" are identical words, semantically and even phonetically, since the n in the former, like the y in the latter, are /254/ possessive indices of the third person; the double r in the English transcription must represent the same sound as the single r in our writing (12) and the transformation of a into o, o into w,

> 12. Any statement is risky concerning the English R. "The consonant R," writes Miss Laura Soames, "is the most perplexing element in our language. Dr. Ellis wrote in 1875, that after more than thirty years study, he was not certain whether he had yet mastered its protean intricacies" /cited in English/ (An introduction to Phonetics, 56, London, 1891.)

is a common occurrence in the most diverse languages. We can thus translate Nakoeri in the same manner as Yakwarri, as "spirit."

19 The Akawoio /Acawaï/ permits us to take another step
174 forward. Fiat lux in Akawoio is: Akwa weijima. Would not akwa, "light," be the radical of Nakoeri and Yakwarri, and would not these names signify originally "the shining one"? The answer is reserved for the grammarians; the continuation of this study may possibly prove that the affirmative is to be concluded from the Bacaeri traditions.

539 The Bacaeri himself will explain better what he knows about Nakoeri.

/255 cont./

539 In the sky the shadow, which had already been changed
●775 previously into a Kxadopa or Caprimulgus, reaches its final evalution by transubstantiating into the Yamüra. For an explanation of this word, we need not go beyond the Bacaeri: Yamüra plainly comes from Yamu, "dark," and signifies the dark, gloomy principle.

It is natural to inquire whether the icekiko, that is, the belongings, the "baggage" as I. translated it, which are put with the dead man, /256/ undergo a transformation similar to that of the owner. The texts do not answer categorically, but lead one to understand that this is the case, because the yamüra own canoes, baskets, clubs, which are, however, in no way similar to those used on earth: they are animals. The reader may judge this according to the following passage.

539 Anta is the basket of Yamüra; Anta goes about on the back
825 of Yamüra, --Yamüra goes to eat mandioca, to eat squash, to eat gourds, to eat beans; it is not the Anta that eats;--in the basket Yamüra gathers squash, gathers beans, gathers gourds, etc.; when he gathers Yamüra carries away.

Also the Queixada /white-lipped peccary/--the Queixada comes to the clearing to eat mandioca--the Queixada also comes on the back of Yamüra--it roots up mandioca, it roots up cará /Dioscorea/, it roots up batata, --when it roots up, Yamüra carries it away, the Queixada;--this is why Queixada is not to be found--Queixada does not appear because Yamüra hid it.

Also the Anta, etc.; at midday the Anta sleeps, it walks at night, etc.

Caitetú /collared peccary/ is also basket of Yamüra. Caitetú only goes in threes; it digs up tree roots, it digs up mandioca roots, it digs up cará roots, it digs up batata roots.

In his resting place, Yamüra makes mingáu, grates mandioca, cooks cará, cooks batata, bakes beijú.

/269 cont./

75 For his part, the curer can also steal the shadow of a person.

He takes advantage of the sleep of the one against whom he is angry (piahi iewirocenibüri), and, seizing the shadow that is passing by, he takes it to various places, asking it mercilessly whether it knows where it is. Soon the piahi iewiroceni-büri feels cold and feverish and falls ill. The grandfather and the mother beg for the protection of the curer: Come to see my son, says the mother; come to see what is making this son of mine sick. ' If they do not say this, the piahi makes the person die. /270/ If they do say it, the piahi replies: "Your son is a coward, this is why he is ill; but he is lying only so that no one will know that it was he. In the afternoon he goes out shouting down the path; at night he returns home shouting, he orders the fire to be put out, and the ceremony is almost the same as for the Topiehe, and the curer's payment is a cotton netting.

At the end of this story which we are summarizing, the power of the curer is stressed once more.

756 Piahi wanders about with yamüra, wanders about with the jaguar (udo-do, the same radical as udo, udoréri, "enemy"), he goes to the sky, he goes to the water, he goes into the snake, he goes into the sucuri /water boa/, he goes into little birds, he goes into any flying thing; this is why he frightens us; inside the snake he bites us, inside the jaguar; he knows who dies; he goes like the wind, he goes into the village, he goes nearby, he tears down houses with a hook, he does all these things when he is angry.

776 Thus, the Bacaeri sees three great forces in the world:
775 Nakoeri, inactive, kind, and remote, who requires no cult
756 because he does no harm; yamüras, souls of the ancestors, who have gone to the sky and, while able to do good, can likewise do evil and must be propitiated continuously; the piahi, yamüras

/270 cont./

776 775 756 of a higher order because they come back to life after they have died and return to live among men.

Aside from these three principles, we find unclear figures and concepts, probably vestiges of older ideas.

776 [114] Dr. C. v. d. Steinen speaks of Kilaino oroiko, which he translates as "devil." I. is not familiar with such a being, but simply /271/ Kilāino, evil beings who dwell in the forest or in the hills, assume various forms, eat mice and small birds, do not pass water, hide dead game and the arrows shot, the things that fall from people's hands; answer the shouts of a person, and shout in order to mislead those who walk through the forest.

[171] Of the same type are: Kxarowi, who goes about at night, carrying a toad for an ax, always animated by the desire to do evil to the Bacaeri, but usually duped by the latter, in short similar to the Curupiras of the Amazon as they appear in the stories collected by Barbosa Rodrigues; and Ywanaguroro, the lord of the hunt, easy to identify because one side of his chest is larger than the other, and he kills against it the persons who offend him--a figure similar to the Caipora of the Tupi.

776 825 There is also mention of a lake where the grandfather of the cachorro fish, the grandfather of the piranha, the grandfather of the snake, the grandfather of the otter, the grandfather of the needlefish, the grandfather of drums, etc. dwell. Ghosts appear in the middle of the water. No anta, capybara, or queixada goes there, no flying thing flies across it. Ancient Bacaeris took a canoe there, but a whirlpool overturned it, the Kxurixio (a sort of enchanted otter) ate them, and only the dead men's bellies appeared.

The jaguar assú, the horse assú, the queixada assú, the turtle assú, the crab assú of fresh water, etc. are also there. Everything is swinging at the edge of the water. The Kxurixio and the Kxuxobe shake their heads which sound like thunder, and those who hear this sound fall ill and die, and those who see the grandfathers of the animals also die. /272/ At the edge of the lake there is a swamp, and the lake is the semen of animals.

/263 cont./

about three centimeters square made of tree bark. After the seclusion boys and girls were eligible for /264/ marriage. Marriage, todohokúinle, was joined by the parents of the young people by means of an exchange of gifts, and it does not seem to have merited any special ceremony.

The Bakairí do not seem to have believed in the possibility of a natural death. After death, which was always caused by the sorcery of some enemy, the corpse was painted and attired in the finery used in life. The corpse was rolled up in the hammock used by the deceased, and buried with the head pointing west and the feet east. There followed a mourning period, during which the closer relatives remained uanki and from which they emerged through the tadaunúto feast.

The world of the Bakairí was surrounded by supernatural beings, good and evil, such as the iamũra, topiehe, karoui, kadopa, and kilaimo. (5) Plants and animals were nothing but

5. Capistrano de Abeu, "Os Bacaerys," Revista Brasileira, Year I, Vol. 4, pp. 44, 45, 47, 48, 234, 240, 241. Rio de Janeiro, 1895.

drapery used by the iamura and kadopa. Hunting, fishing, and agricultural activities thus had to be accompanied by propitiatory activities intended to appease the anger of the iamũra deprived of their animals and plants. On the other hand, karoui and kilaimo wandered through the forest menacing the Bakairí. Against such beings the Indians required the protection of their sorcerer-doctors as well as periods of seclusion in the most dangerous moments.

The Bakairí believed that men had two souls: one called kati or kututu, heavier and thicker, corresponding to a camisa worn by the second soul, kagatopuri, a more fluid element that

/264 cont./

774 survives death. (6) During sleep, kagatopuri leaves the body

6. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 43, 44.

and goes wandering through distant regions; on returning it [513] causes the individual to awaken. To awaken a person suddenly might kill him, for kagatopuri would not have time to re- 775 turn to the body. After death the fluid soul leaves the body once and for all and changes into kadopa. The kadopa are [776] wandering souls that continue in this way until their final transformation into iamüra which occurred in the domains of 776 Nakoeri, the culture hero. Nakoeri was a combination culture 773 hero and creator god of the Bakairí. In a /265/ text obtained by Capistrano de Abreu, Nakoeri first makes all the animals, and, using a plaster of clay, creates the Bakairí. (7) Next he

7. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 47.

776 775 makes a cotton ladder and climbs to the sky.

776 The kadopa and iamüra suffer hunger and thirst and eat like the other Indians. For this they use the bodies of animals. 775 When the kadopa disturbed the aldeas, rituals were performed to try to attract the wandering souls in order next to frighten them. One Bakairí account refers to the kadopa thus:

775 789 539 "... if you do not intone kadopa's song he does not go to the sky. Because of this /after/ many days of sleeping put manioc paste /mingáu/ in two small clay cups /cúias/; put the paste in the middle of the grave; two persons armed with clubs intone the song; the cups are smashed and they flee. Coming from afar, one gives a blessing, saying ku ku ku (now, cheer up!).

/265 cont./

775 789 539 When finished, one gives a benediction... saying: Aufa! Go inside the sky, to our people, to our mother, to our father, here there is no one, inside the sky it is good, go, we also are going to pass away, it is said, the piahi teaches." (8)

8. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 44.

776 [775] In Nakoeri's aldea, the kadopa change into iamüra. But the iamüra also wander on the earth using the bodies of animals. Although their behavior was not intentionally malignant, the Bakairí had to take precautions when they went hunting or fishing or when they planted. On killing game or fish, the Indians left certain offerings for the iamüra portrayed by these animals. (9)

782 784 776 776

9. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 49.

776 756 By means of certain rituals a Bakairí might, while still alive, make contact with the iamüra, acquiring the corresponding powers, and become a sorcerer-doctor.

776 Capistrano de Abreu (10) and Karl von den Steinen (11)

10. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 235, 239, 240.

[113] 11. Karl von den Steinen, Entre os aborígenes do Brasil Central /Among the Aborigines of Central Brazil/, São Paulo, 1940, transl., p. 448.

mention yet other supernatural beings that surrounded the

77 /270 cont./
satisfies effectively the cultural exigencies. The Bakairí lived in a world dominated by iamũra and other supernatural beings. Animals and plants were nothing more than draperies which were used by these supernatural beings. The Bakairi himself was a dual being: a spirit, kagatopũri, using a draping, the physical body, animated by another, denser spirit, kati. After death kagatopũri went through the stages of kadopa, a wandering spirit, and finally iamũra. For this reason the Bakairi did not appear to be afraid of their dead; bodies were more than vestments, but the kadopa were indeed dangerous.

784 182 In order to protect themselves against the innumerable dangers presented by the constellation of supernatural beings, such as iamũra, kadopa, topiehe, karoui, iuanaguroro, and kilaimo, the Bakairí used two methods. The first was seclusion, uanki, at the most difficult moments, such as birth, puberty, [796] death, and shamanistic initiation. Uanki was followed by the restoration of the individual /to the community/ through the 756 tadaunúto celebration. The other method was shamanism. 784 Shamanism was open to all and it must actually have constituted a normal stage in the life evolution of the Bakairí. 182 Yet few of them managed to become sorcerers, for the trials they 756 had to undergo were not easy. Contact with the supernatural 787 was achieved by sorcerers through the use of tobacco or other 276 narcotic substances. In their trances the sorcerers came to control the iamũra and acquired the powers peculiar to these supernatural beings.

• 775 Finally, the post-mortem life of the Bakairí, in Nakoeri's large aldea, reflects as might be expected the organization of their aldeas. Once changed into iamũra, the Bakairí join their ancestors and old friends; the pleasures of eating and drinking are not denied them since they also feel hunger and thirst, but they are now invulnerable to the perils of the forest. They can use the animals and plants, at their pleasure, as wrappers for their wanderings through the air, in the rivers, or on the ground.

881 The release from seclusion was signalized by the feast of *tudawúto*. The parents of the young people accumulated much food and went on a big hunt on the day before the feast. The chief and all the villagers were invited to the ceremony [533] during which all the Bacairí songs and dances [535] were performed and the young people were pre- [431] sented gifts by the villagers. The girls would now take the strings of beads from around their [301] waists and wear them around their necks and their mothers would give them cotton cords which [291] they put around their hips and to which the uluri were attached. The boys and girls were now [582] eligible for marriage.

MARRIAGE (TODOHOKÚINLE)

584 Marriages were arranged by parents or by older brothers or sisters. The father and mother of the boy, for instance, would take presents of ornaments and food to the parents of the girl. If the parents of the girl accepted the gifts it meant that they favored the marriage, and if they refused it meant that the suitor was not acceptable. 585 The marriage ceremony took place in the girl's home, the date being arranged by the parents. At the girl's house the young couple were seated side by side with linked arms. They were then given advice by their respective parents and relatives. Marriage was not considered a period of ritual danger, nor were extensive feasts given. It appears to have been an affair involving only the families of the young couple.

BURIAL (EPIODÍLE)

764 The body was painted, ornaments were put on, and then the body was wrapped in a hammock and buried in a grave with the feet to the east so that the face would be toward the rising sun. 768 Although old and worn objects were burnt, most of the property of the dead was shared among the relatives. The part of the house occupied by the dead person was washed, and clean sand was sprinkled on the floor. There was a mourning 765 period (*kapéne*) of 1 month, during which the immediate relatives were in a state of *udaki*.[1]

SHAMANISM

775 When a person died, the ghost (*kadépe*) went into the sky or into the water or sometimes wandered upon the earth. Ghosts of the dead often

[1] [ie. a state of ritual danger]

735 came back to the village to play tricks on people. The Bacairí did not believe that the ghosts of the dead caused death and, therefore, were not afraid
736 of them. They were, however, afraid of certain
761 evil spirits—for instance, *eradupíru*, who caused
753 death and sickness.

756 To become a shaman (*piéji*), a young unmarried man would train with an old shaman for a period of 6 months to a year. During this period
[748] sexual intercourse was forbidden, fasts were periodically observed, and the novice had to abstain from eating meat. Much of the training took place in the woods, where the old shaman would
[755] teach the novice the curative properties of roots and herbs and, also, how to get in touch with the
756 ghosts of dead shamans. The training would be
757 complete when the novice acquired his own spirit
[758] helper, which was always the ghost of a dead shaman. Sometimes the revelation was so powerful that the young novice would fall to the ground in a trance. The spirit that then appeared to
[539] him instructed him how to make a flute (either *emíxi* or *kanapíra*), which he kept in the sacred flute house, and gave him a special tune by which he could always call his spirit helper. The novice had then to prove himself by curing some sick person or by finding lost property. If he were successful he became a recognized shaman.

756 Before beginning a performance, shamans al-
755 ways fasted for several days and smoked heavily. In curing a sick person the shaman asked his spirit helper for instructions which usually were explanations of how to remove objects from the body which caused the illness. Besides removing
758 objects from the body the shamans prepared med-
757 icines. Headaches and pains in the body were cured by juice of the *pendíra* tuber, and *tawápi* leaves were used for pains in the chest. For
[755] healing the wounds made by the scratcher the juice made by boiling the *kwanítini* plant was used. The Bacairí also prepared aphrodisiacs
[P-5] from the *kutíina* plant and by mixing *piqui* nuts, honey, and turtle eggs.

GAMES

526 The Bacairí played, and still play, a form of Indian football called *tuiapendi*. The ball (*tuia*)
[539] was made by covering a round gourd with native rubber, leaving a small opening. The gourd was

/257 cont./

539 in quiet areas, where there are no human beings, it is always
825 on the move in the morning and afternoon, except during the hot hours in the middle of the day which it spends sleeping"; in other words, all of the phrases between quotation marks, taken from the book by Dr. Goeldi on the mammals of our land (pp. 92, 99, 103, and 106), confirm what has been said concerning the shadowy character of the Yamîras.

539 /258/ Other considerations, however, seem to us of
174 greater moment.

First of all, in the enumeration of the belongings of the Yamîras, we have a basis for a list of the cultural acquisitions of the Bacaeris. We learn that they had nets for fishing before [229] they had nets /hammocks/ for sleeping, that they traveled by [352] water when they did not yet have pestles, and that they proba- [501] bly had maracá before they had the masks with which they [412] appear at their festivals. [532]

We also see that although theoretically the abode of the
539 Yamîra is in the sky, a large part of his existence is spent on
• 776 the earth from which he derives his sustainance. Subsistence, however, is not his sole concern; free of the contingencies of time and space, he travels swiftly as the wind, he is an envious being who spies upon all actions and weighs upon the living with crushing pressure. There is hardly an act that he does not influence: gestation, childbirth, alimentation, festivals, walking hours, everything falls within his inexorable reach, as we shall see later. It would seem that the Bacaeris could paint their bodies as they please. But this is not so.

776 Yamîra does not like urucú, --this is why one must not
789 scatter the urucú seed, says the piaki;--Yamîra goes into the
124 houses of people with children, --this is why we burn the juice
302 of the rubber tree--when it is burned it is rubbed on the door;--fathers of boys, when they go to the river, paint themselves with genipap, --paint themselves with urucú, --so Yamîra thinks that it is blood; if the boy's father does not paint himself

/258 cont./

776 and goes to the river, Yamíra throws himself in the water;--
789 he likes guanandi /Calophyllum brasiliense/ resin;--burned
824 cotton seed makes Yamíra run far /259/ away; Yamíra is very
302 fond of colored clay and loam;--he does not like copaiba resin;--when jatobá is burned Yamíra does not like it, says the piahi.

796 Finally, since there are certain animals which for him are
825 a means of subsistence, his ferramenta /iron tools/, if it is permissible to say this in connection with peoples who have not reached the metal stage, it is natural that Yamíra should protect them with the same care and vigor with which a Bacaeri
784] would protect his canoe or his bow. There are animals whose injury is punished immediately: for example, the Sucuri, in one of the passages cited above, or the Topiébi, a little bird that will be dealt with more conveniently later on. These are truly tabú or tapú, an expression used in Australia, and which, being widely known, demands no explanation. It is possible to come to terms with regard to the others, and this is done in a most reasonable way, by giving to the Yamíra in prepared form the food that he would have to prepare in the campo. It is mandatory, however, that the dead animal be put to good
782] use; otherwise antas, pacas, and pigs will attack clearings,
796] destroying them; and to propitiate the Yamíra it is necessary
532] to give a feast, naturally masked, which they attend incognito. After eating well, they regard themselves as satisfied and the scourge ceases.

325 The following passage expresses more clearly the idea of
796 payment, and, although it is somewhat repetitious, it is not
782 redundant.
796

If the Guariba /howler monkey/ (Mycetes) is killed, it must be paid for, says the piahi; if the macaco Coatá /spider monkey/ (Ateles) is killed, if the Preguiça /three-toed sloth/

/259 cont./

825 (Bradypus) is killed, pay for them with mingáu;--if no payment
776 is made, Yamūra will seize our shadow; Imiga (Cebus?) /260/
782 is the domestic animal that is the creation (eti) of Yamūra;
796 if you cut down forest in which Yamūra dwells, pay for it;--
seek out a place to hold a festival; makanari is payment for
the forest (13);--then, when Yamūra had drunk mingáu, he

[114]
[115]

13. After he had dictated this passage, I. expressed doubts as to whether the dance was the makanari or some other one.

goes far away (14).

[171]
[114]

14. Matias Ruiz Blanco notes a variant of the same idea among the Indians of Peritú (Colombia): "When the Indian brings in a deer or wild boar, the woman comes out with a tutuma of the drink that they make out of maize, and she opens the animal's mouth and gives it some to drink out of courtesy so that its soul will tell the others about the good treatment given to it" (Conversión de Piritú, 64, Madrid reprint.).

796 Makanari is the name of one of their festivals, and this would be the proper place to discuss them, if unfortunately, the scanty information that exists concerning this were not deficient, concealing all the ritual and devotional aspect which is its essence. We shall return to it on another occasion,

/260 cont./

796 for now merely stressing the following on this point: the masked dances and festivals are true religious ceremonies.

● 796 Let us now consider the piahi, whose important role has
756 already been indicated.

One word suffices to describe him: the piahi is a Yamũra.

Piahi is a word that, with slight variations, appears in several South American languages and, like Carahiba can be interpreted in various ways. In Bacairi it is related perhaps to epiwado, "payment," an idea whose scope we have already had occasion to mention. Basically /261/ it means the curer, the doctor. Thus it must not be confused with "sorcerer": ome-odo, "the lord of poison," may take a person's health and life; amapõçodo, "the lord of the hand of the dead," can vanquish the "lord of poison"; but both are mortal, while the curer is immortal and controls the forces of nature.

756 A few examples taken at random will show how the piahi appears to the mind of the Bacairi.

796 The son of a curer was walking with his father, when
756 suddenly he was attacked by a jaguar. He defended himself
793 as best he could, and, arriving home, he said: I have beaten a jaguar.--You are lying, said the curer, you have beaten me. This proves that the curer can get into the bodies of animals, or, to use the native expression, "make an animal his shirt."

Parutamido killed a tatou at the edge of a lake, cut it open, washed it, and refused to hand it over to the Yamũra who demanded it in the water, as an animal of his creation (iñi). To punish him, the Yamũra drowned him. When some time had passed without news of him, a curer who was his brother-in-law dreamed of what had happened to him. He went into the lake, where the Yamũra explained why he had drowned Parutamido, treated him very well, presented him with mingau, with beijús, and taught him the dance of the Kwaritówo. This shows what different relations the yamũras

/261 cont./
have with the piaiti and with the common people (wanololo, from waono, "first"; cf. Ger. "der erste der beste" /first come first served/.

At the waterfalls of the Paranatinga, a fearsome place where Keri and Came tossed the Mama, an enchanted red stone /262/ with which they killed Moro and Arimoto, there is underneath the Mama the dream (Vbdu) which they tore from the lizard's eyes. There dwells the father of smallpox (nui); those who come near him fall ill; when the time for the leaping of the matrimaan /a kind of fish/ comes, anyone nearby who talks or laughs is thrown into the water. The curer runs no risk by coming near; if he becomes angry, he can bless the sleep and this one gets up and wanders off.

How does the curer reach this fullness of powers which in his discourses he so often hurls at those whom he contemptuously calls "common people"? Through a very long and painful apprenticeship, which few persons have the courage to undergo to the end and to the letter.

First of all, the curer candidate (piaiti-he-ini) must find an experienced curer who will tell him what he must do and protect him against the enemies whom he is bound to encounter. On his part, in addition, the future curer must not leave a single breach through which the enemy, the Kaowi, might enter, the so curious and so evil yamiras, whose principal occupation, it would seem, is to go in search of the slightest carelessness in order to punish it inexorably.

Such is the object of the rigorous training to which he must submit if he wishes to rise to the heights where the true curer dwells.

The novice begins by drinking various drugs, such as timbo, pindova, vaimbé, and other cipos, in order to learn the language of animals and of Kaowi, a sort of Curupira; he cannot eat pirão, mingão, fat, meat, lambari /a kind of fish/, flying things, /263/ tamanduas, or honey; his food consists exclusively of beijú and polvilho bread.

/263 cont./

756 [346] He does not live in the village, but in a house apart, the dance house (Kwadóeti), where festivals are held and guests accommodated, and where women may not enter; he cannot speak to the latter, and for greater safety, not only does the master curer frighten the novice by telling him that the voices he hears are not those of women but of Kadówi, but he slings his hammock across the door so that his disciple cannot go out in an unguarded moment.

[829] After a time the master and disciple go wandering about, and the latter, who has easily learned the language of Kadówi, begins to speak the language of the jaguar. This is a sign that the initiation is nearly over; the curer gives him the cipó de cobra /caapeba/ (ahkur-iokgo), the piahi candidate dies, becomes yamíra, and goes to the sky to present himself to Nakoeri.

776 825 Nakoeri, whom we already know, owns many domestic animals: aracas, pombas /Columbiformes/, rolas /small Columbiformes/, jacus, jacucaca, mutum, maracaña, parakeets, parrots, toucans, araçari, anuns, chickens, tamanduas, etc. What these animals have in common, only a naturalist familiar with the Indians' way of thinking could state with any certainty. Some seem to have been chosen on account of the brilliance of the plumage, others for their early-rising habits, and others, finally, because of the fact that they disappear for a time, reappearing fatter, as though they had dwelt in greener pastures.

756 776 The differences between the curer and the common yamíra begin after death: the latter, as has been seen, climbs /264/ a cotton ladder; the disciple and master climb together, but how this is done is not stated.

When the piahi-be-ini goes to see the sky, the sky dwellers see him coming from afar; Who goes there? the yamíras say to Nakoeri; then Nakoeri appears at the door;

/264 cont./

756 the piahi and his disciple draw near. Ah! It is you, you have
776 come? says Nakoeri;--Yes, it is I. I have come to see you, replies the disciple;--Yes, you did not like your drink, your beijú, your food, it is good, this is why you came, common people do not come to my village, says Nakoeri.

Then Nakoeri puts benches outside and talks outside to the disciple of the curer; first, he puts down a red bench; then he puts down two white benches; the disciple does not sit on the red bench; he brings out three red benches (five in all, with the red ones closer to the candidate, to tempt him); the candidate walks by the three red benches without sitting down (if he sat down, he would commit a crime and would not rise to piahi) and sits on the white bench. You are an upright man (ufuzodo-ko), yes, you are brave, Nakoeri tells him.

Then Nakoeri fetches mandioca dough; he ties the tail of a red arara with cotton to the tip of the handle of the maracá, and he intones his song and plays the maracá; then the candidate's bench moves, and on the bench he goes inside the house; as he goes in, Nakoeri interrupts his song: You are going inside the sky, says Nakoeri.--Yes, Captain, I am, says the candidate.--Take him inside the sky, says Nakoeri to his companion, and he intones his song anew.

The bench goes to the sky, swirling; Nakoeri's companion holds on to the bench and instructs the candidate, who cannot see anyone. Here, Nakoeri's companion says, is the plaza of the old night; there, the /265/ plaza of the old heads, further on, the plaza of the old ribs, he goes on saying (15). The

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15. The word "old" in this passage corresponds to the suffix pũri or bũri, which, as we have already seen, indicates the past of the substantives.

candidate sees nothing, he merely hears the talk of Nakoeri's companion; in the sky darkness alone reigns, and thus he does not see anyone.

/265 cont./

756 After much wandering, the sky becomes cooler. We are
776 close to the village, says Nakoeri's companion. Then they reach the village of the hornets, and the candidate hears nothing but hornet language: Did you come, my brother? Did you come, my father? Did you come, my uncle? Did you come, my son? the candidate hears, but he sees nothing, because one cannot see through the darkness of the sky.

The bench moves on again, and then, as though awakening, they reach Nakoeri's house and go into it. You wandered much, says Nakoeri.--Yes, I did, Captain, answers the candidate.

After a short while, the candidate says to Nakoeri: Captain, I am going away. Yes, replies Nakoeri, You may go now; you will return again one day.

114 Let us now interrupt this passage in order to comment
115 upon it.

776 Dr. Carlos von den Steinen heard from Antonio something which probably referred to Nakoeri; he thought, however, that the story,--naturally poorly developed, since Antonio spoke in Portuguese, which he did not know well, and an Indian only narrates with pleasure and clarity in his native tongue--showed the influence of Christianity. Thus, when Antonio, unable to recall at once the name of the personage who dwelt in the sky, was searching for it in his own mind, the German traveler asked him if it might not be Jesus /266/ Christo.--"Crito mesmo /Christ himself/," said Antonio, possibly accepting the suggestion (16).

[113]

16. Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral Brasiliens /Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil/, 346 /see 2:Steinen, this file, p. 409/.

/266 cont./

776 Is Nakoeri really an adumbration of Christ, a vestige of
174 Catholic catechesis? We are reluctant to believe it, because
177 the animals that Nakoeri creates, the role that he fulfills in relation to the admission of shadows into his realm, his investiture of the curers, the division of the various dominions in the sky, the novel means by which one journeys there, all point to a structure in harmony with the idea of the world prevalent among the Bacaeris. Either the Christian idea is totally unrelated to the Bacaeri conception, or it was completely smothered by the native chick-peas in which it was sown.

776 Granting that Nakoeri is a spontaneous and not a foreign concept, it is fitting to inquire as to whether he is indeed a luminous deity, as was stated above.

The darkness of the sky would incline one to place him preferably among the dark powers; but his clear differentiation from the yamūras--which are, indeed, dark forces, as the name itself indicates--checks this first impulse. Further arguments are provided by the white benches on which the candidate must sit if he wants to rise to piahi; the use of cotton, a material so unpleasant to the yamūra that its burned seed drives them far from the houses that they haunt; and finally, the arara tail which he ties to the maracá. Actually in Bacaeri, kxavida tapabile[ixu torokxo means two quite different things: the tail of the beautiful psittacine with which we are familiar, and the hour /267/ that immediately precedes the rising of the sun. "First appears maekudani (probably 'anta deceiver' because the animal wakes up, thinking that day is near); then the yellow tail of the kxalokua arara; then arises the tail of the red arara; the tail of the red arara is not yet finished and the sun has already risen (kxavida tapabile[ixutaroxo nadtepala xixi eraceli)." reads a text which we have before our eyes. Thus, both as a zoological object and as an astronomical moment, the tail of the arara proves that Nakoeri represents a luminous power.

/267 cont./

756 What remains of the story of the piahi candidate can be summarized in a few lines:

[774] After having spoken to Nakoeri, the candidate goes away; at the door of the sky, the shadow puts on its old shirt and, once in it, lies down and goes to sleep; no one can go where he is, except the curer who initiated him. In the afternoon he awakens.--Do you want mingáu, are you hungry? asks the curer; and when the candidate replies in the affirmative he goes to make him mingáu with sour dough. After having slept for three days, he eats fresh beijú, then polvilho and puherẽ/o. The curer does not yet allow him to leave the dance house; in the next moon he eats pirão; after two moons he may go out a little, and then he eats game, matrinxã, and white pacú. Three months later, he is piahi; he wanders about, goes into a jaguar, into an anta, into a queixada, etc.

756 Once consecrated piahi, we have already seen some of
• 776 the things that he is able to do. We shall give one more story, however, to show the difference between piahi and yamũra.

/268/ Both have died, and it is precisely from death that they acquire the power which makes them so feared by their countrymen; but after death the piahi returns to life by permission of Nakoeri, and then he never dies again, while the yamũra may appear on the earth, enter into the bodies of animals, even put on a human shirt as in the masked festivals, but in reality he never again lives down here below.

Both have almost unlimited powers over nature, but in reality the piahi is the more powerful, because the yamũra respects him and addresses him as "brother-in-law," and he has ways to placate the yamũra and even to scare him away, such as burning cotton seed, or painting with urucú the persons against whom the yamũra has been angered.

Both represent dark powers, but the piahi represents some luminosity which he acquired from his association with Nakoeri.

/268 cont./

756 It has been mentioned that in certain cases both the piahi
776 and the yamũra can take the shadow of a person who has offended
774 them; but only the piahi can return what he took; and, conversely, he can return the shadow stolen by a yamũra.

825 This leads us to mention Topiehe, a Mato Grosso bird which
196 we were unable to identify and in whose name there is probably the same radical as is found in piahi and epiwado.

825 Topiehe, when killed, steals the person's shadow; this is
774 why Topiehe is not killed; it takes a person's shadow far away;
756 then the person dies. The house of Topiehe is in the sky;
755 the Topiehe does not die /269/ really, says the piahi. The one who (seemingly) killed the Topiehe becomes cold; when he reaches home, he falls ill; then the piahi is called, and when he arrives, the bench is washed very clean; then the tail of the arara is tied with cotton to the maracá. While the curer is doing this, no one speaks, and the fire is put out; the bench is placed at the door, and the curer holds it, plays the maracá, and then shouts. When he is not near, yamũra does not come quickly. When he arrives, the bench moves and if the curer does not make it fast, it runs away; this is why the curer does not let go of the bench, on which sits yamũra, with whom the piahi converses: Don't you see, relative, I am calling, I am talking, I am singing, I am shouting, says the curer. I did this, because he committed this crime (inutudohe), answers Topiehe.--He is a human being, he does not know what he is doing, that is why he killed you, answers the curer. When the piahi spoke, Topiehe said: Take him. When the cotton was grasped our shadow is above and then the murderer gets well. After the return: I am going away, I heard your shout and this is why I came, says Topiehe. When Yamũra goes away, the people talk, the curer goes to the patient; he was sick because he killed Topiehe; Topiehe is not to be killed, says the curer.

/269 cont./

75 For his part, the curer can also steal the shadow of a person.

He takes advantage of the sleep of the one against whom he is angry (piahi iewirocenibüri), and, seizing the shadow that is passing by, he takes it to various places, asking it mercilessly whether it knows where it is. Soon the piahi iewiroceni-büri feels cold and feverish and falls ill. The grandfather and the mother beg for the protection of the curer: Come to see my son, says the mother; come to see what is making this son of mine sick. ' If they do not say this, the piahi makes the person die. /270/ If they do say it, the piahi replies: "Your son is a coward, this is why he is ill; but he is lying only so that no one will know that it was he. In the afternoon he goes out shouting down the path; at night he returns home shouting, he orders the fire to be put out, and the ceremony is almost the same as for the Topiehe, and the curer's payment is a cotton netting.

At the end of this story which we are summarizing, the power of the curer is stressed once more.

756 Piahi wanders about with yamüra, wanders about with the jaguar (udo-do, the same radical as udo, udoréri, "enemy"), he goes to the sky, he goes to the water, he goes into the snake, he goes into the sucuri /water boa/, he goes into little birds, he goes into any flying thing; this is why he frightens us; inside the snake he bites us, inside the jaguar; he knows who dies; he goes like the wind, he goes into the village, he goes nearby, he tears down houses with a hook, he does all these things when he is angry.

776 Thus, the Bacaeri sees three great forces in the world:
775 Nakoeri, inactive, kind, and remote, who requires no cult
756 because he does no harm; yamüras, souls of the ancestors, who have gone to the sky and, while able to do good, can likewise do evil and must be propitiated continuously; the piahi, yamüras

/270 cont./

776 775 752 of a higher order because they come back to life after they have died and return to live among men.

Aside from these three principles, we find unclear figures and concepts, probably vestiges of older ideas.

776 [114] Dr. C. v. d. Steinen speaks of Kilaino oroiko, which he translates as "devil." I. is not familiar with such a being, but simply /271/ Kilãino, evil beings who dwell in the forest or in the hills, assume various forms, eat mice and small birds, do not pass water, hide dead game and the arrows shot, the things that fall from people's hands; answer the shouts of a person, and shout in order to mislead those who walk through the forest.

[171] Of the same type are: Kxarowi, who goes about at night, carrying a toad for an ax, always animated by the desire to do evil to the Bacaeri, but usually duped by the latter, in short similar to the Curupiras of the Amazon as they appear in the stories collected by Barbosa Rodrigues; and Ywanaguroro, the lord of the hunt, easy to identify because one side of his chest is larger than the other, and he kills against it the persons who offend him--a figure similar to the Caipora of the Tupi.

776 825 There is also mention of a lake where the grandfather of the cachorro fish, the grandfather of the piranha, the grandfather of the snake, the grandfather of the otter, the grandfather of the needlefish, the grandfather of drums, etc. dwell. Ghosts appear in the middle of the water. No anta, capybara, or queixada goes there, no flying thing flies across it. Ancient Bacaeris took a canoe there, but a whirlpool overturned it, the Kxurixio (a sort of enchanted otter) ate them, and only the dead men's bellies appeared.

The jaguar assú, the horse assú, the queixada assú, the turtle assú, the crab assú of fresh water, etc. are also there. Everything is swinging at the edge of the water. The Kxurixio and the Kxuxobe shake their heads which sound like thunder, and those who hear this sound fall ill and die, and those who see the grandfathers of the animals also die. /272/ At the edge of the lake there is a swamp, and the lake is the semen of animals.

/272 cont./

829 The idea of "Lord" appears often, but it isnot easy to
776 understand what it means. When a Bacaeri staes that the white
825 man is the lord of the mirror, naturally he meas that he first saw this object in the hands of the Çarahibas. What does he actually mean, however, when he states that tle lord of the rain is the parakeet?

776 It also seems natural that, if certain thingshave lords, the latter be paid or granted some token of respect or homage. Only one such case is mentioned, however; thoe who make hammocks, before using them, sling them outsde the house in homage to the Coandú /coendou/, lord of hammocks, so that their hair will not turn white. A story abot a great cataclysm brought about by the death of the newt, lord of the wind, is also told.

In view of all this, the following list of lords is of minor interest, since it will only be of use if new comparative data become available:

776 The lizard is the lord of sleep; the fox, tle lord of fire;
825 the parakeet, of rain; the newt, of wind; the uriango /Caprimulgus/, of the fishing hook; the urubuis lord of the bench; the sea snail, of the sun; the sucuri, o the fishing net; the heron, of the boquité (a type of basket); tle uga (a kind of lizard), of the grater; the porcupine is lordof thorns; the kingfisher, lord of fish; the coendou, lord of smoke and also of the buriti net; the deer is lord of the mandica, etc.

825 /273/ This shows that the Bacaeri does not make a very
774 great distinction between human beings and animals. For
196 "to wish" they use two words: ieyi, first person, which is applied to an animal raised by a human being; and anayido, a generic term, simply the plural of anayi, which means "who" and "someone." There is nothing strange about this, considering that human beings and animals have shadows and speak in the same fashion.

824 The trees also have shadows and speak.
774

/263 cont./

000 582 about three centimeters square made of tree bark. After the seclusion boys and girls were eligible for /264/ marriage.

585 Marriage, todohokúinle, was joined by the parents of the young people by means of an exchange of gifts, and it does not seem to have merited any special ceremony.

761 764 [754] The Bakairí do not seem to have believed in the possibility of a natural death. After death, which was always caused by the sorcery of some enemy, the corpse was painted and attired in the finery used in life. The corpse was rolled up in the hammock used by the deceased, and buried with the head

764 784 pointing west and the feet east. There followed a mourning period, during which the closer relatives remained uanki and from which they emerged through the tadaunúno feast.

776 995 [824] [825] The world of the Bakairí was surrounded by supernatural beings, good and evil, such as the iamũra, topiehe, karoui, kadopa, and kilaimo. (5) Plants and animals were nothing but

[113] 5. Capistrano de Abeu, "Os Bacaerys." Revista Brasileira, Year I, Vol. 4, pp. 44, 45, 47, 48, 234, 240, 241. Rio de Janeiro, 1895.

224 226 [24] 776 782 drapery used by the iamura and kadopa. Hunting, fishing, and agricultural activities thus had to be accompanied by propitiatory activities intended to appease the anger of the iamũra deprived of their animals and plants. On the other hand, karoui and kilaimo wandered through the forest menacing the Bakairí.

784 756 Against such beings the Indians required the protection of their sorcerer-doctors as well as periods of seclusion in the most dangerous moments.

774 The Bakairí believed that men had two souls: one called kati or kutulu, heavier and thicker, corresponding to a camisa worn by the second soul, kagatopuri, a more fluid element that

/264 cont./

774 survives death. (6) During sleep, kagatopuri leaves the body

6. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 43, 44.

and goes wandering through distant regions; on returning it
[513] causes the individual to awaken. To awaken a person sudden-
ly might kill him, for kagatopuri would not have time to re-
775 turn to the body. After death the fluid soul leaves the body
once and for all and changes into kadopa. The kadopa are
• [776] wandering souls that continue in this way until their final
transformation into iamiira which occurred in the domains of
776 Nakoeri, the culture hero. Nakoeri was a combination culture
773 hero and creator god of the Bakairí. In a /265/ text obtained
by Capistrano de Abreu, Nakoeri first makes all the animals,
and, using a plaster of clay, creates the Bakairí. (7) Next he

7. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 47.

776
775 makes a cotton ladder and climbs to the sky.

776 The kadopa and iamiira suffer hunger and thirst and eat
like the other Indians. For this they use the bodies of animals.
775 When the kadopa disturbed the aiócas, rituals were performed
to try to attract the wandering souls in order next to frighten
them. One Bakairí account refers to the kadopa thus:

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539 "... *if you do not intone kadopa's song he does*
not go to the sky. Because of this /after/ many
days of sleeping put manioc paste /mingãu/ in
two small clay cups /cũias/; put the paste in
the middle of the grave; two persons armed
with clubs intone the song; the cups are smashed
and they flee. Coming from afar, one gives
a blessing, saying ku ku ku (now, cheer up!).

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775 789 539 When finished, one gives a benediction... saying: Aufa! Go inside the sky, to our people, to our mother, to our father, here there is no one, inside the sky it is good, go, we also are going to pass away, it is said, the piahi teaches." (8)

8. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 44.

776 [775] In Nakoeri's aldea, the kadopa change into iamiira. But the iamiira also wander on the earth using the bodies of animals. Although their behavior was not intentionally malignant, the Bakairí had to take precautions when they went hunting or fishing or when they planted. On killing game or fish, the Indians left certain offerings for the iamiira portrayed by these animals. (9)

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9. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 49.

796 786 By means of certain rituals a Bakairí might, while still alive, make contact with the iamiira, acquiring the corresponding powers, and become a sucuri-doctor.

796 Capistrano de Abreu (10) and Karl von den Steinen (11)

10. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 235, 239, 240.

[113] 11. Karl von den Steinen, Entre os aborígenes do Brasil Central /Among the Aborigines of Central Brazil/, São Paulo, 1940, transl., p. 448.

mention yet other supernatural beings that surrounded the

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•776 Bakairí: /266/ Kitaimo, Karoui, Inanaguoro, and Topiehe. Kitaimo is a wandering spirit that wanders through the forest at night. Karoui is the sorcerer-doctor's enemy; he possesses an axe in the shape of a toad. Inanaguoro is the lord of hunting; one of the sides of his chest is larger than the other, and he clasps against it and kills the Indians who offend him. Topiehe is a bird whose death would result inevitably in the death of the guilty party. There was also a lake inhabited by maleficent supernatural beings, and where animals reached gigantic proportions.

[756] [224] [825] [823]

825 Capistrano de Abreu mentions the attribution of special powers to certain animals. Thus the lizard was the lord of sleep; the fox, of fire; the urubu, of benches; the sea snail, of the sun; the porcupine, of thorns; the kingfisher, of fishes; the deer, of manioc. (12)

12. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 242.

756 The sorcerer, piaji (piahi or piaje) performed very important functions among the Bakairí. Besides the function of curing illness, he performed such tasks as the prediction of enemy attacks, the localizing of game, the finding of lost objects, and interceding with supernatural beings when necessary.

753 [754] For the Bakairí illness was always caused either by hostile sorcerers or chant in the service of enemies, or by spirits such as the iamiira, topiehe, inanaguoro, or karoui. On being called to heal a sick person, the piaji requested the assistance of his guardian iamiira with the help of a gourd which he shook in accompaniment to songs of invocation. On examining the patient, the piaji decided upon the cause of the illness, whether it had been induced by an enemy or by a spirit. In the second case, the piaji would intercede with the offended spirit, appeasing it. But in the event the illness had been

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539 fat in order to stay warm. The Indians wanted the sun to come out, and so they donned their apparel, painted their bodies, and began to ask Orimoro, the great spirit. Orimoro was not an Indian but a man who lived in a stone house with some animals which he had created. The Indians went on asking until finally the light broke out; but the Indians had already grown old and the children had already grown up.

• 77% The data at our disposal do not permit us to place in Bakairí cosmology beings such as Tchini-ouma, Keri-kamé, or Orimoro and Nakoeri. Nevertheless, we prefer to regard Nakoeri as the supreme being of the Bakairí, leaving to Tchini-ouma, Keri-kamé (the sun and the moon), and Orimoro the role of culture heroes, until new work clarifies their respective functions.

182 13 433 Compelled to deal with a hostile environment, such as the savannas and forests of the headwaters of the Xingu, and lacking an adequate technology, the Bakairí, like the other Xinguano Indians, depended to a large extent on uncertain factors such as the amount of rainfall and the resulting annual increase of waters, which led to a scarcity or an abundance of food. Lacking an adequate technology, they did not store 78 their produce but lived on a subsistence economy. Their hunting and fishing activities were followed by magic rituals with 224 which they attempted to control the possibility of sudden future 226 calamities or even of illnesses. Thus agricultural activities 246 and the building of houses or canoes had to be followed by 396 propitiations. In order to utilize the vegetal or animal raw 782 materials, it was necessary to know how to control uncertain 264 elements: How explain, for example, why one canoe splits and another does not, when both were made by the same craftsman? How explain how the same /270/ foods sometimes ap-
77 peared harmless and sometimes made people ill? The system of beliefs of the Bakairí seems to us an interpretation that

[P 75-A]

735 came back to the village to play tricks on people. The Bacnit did not believe that the ghosts of the dead caused death and, therefore, were not afraid
736 of them. They were, however, afraid of certain
737 evil spirits—for instance, *ovalayiw*, who caused
738 death and sickness.

739 To become a shaman (*pajji*), a young unmarried man would train with an old shaman for a period of 6 months to a year. During this period
[740] sexual intercourse was forbidden, fasts were periodically observed, and the novice had to abstain from eating meat. Much of the training took place in the woods, where the old shaman would
[741] teach the novice the curative properties of roots and herbs and, also, how to get in touch with the
742 ghosts of dead shamans. The training would be
743 complete when the novice acquired his own spirit
[744] helper, which was always the ghost of a dead shaman. Sometimes the revelation was so powerful that the young novice would fall to the ground in a trance. The spirit that then appeared to
[745] him instructed him how to make a flute (either *ovini* or *kowapiw*), which he kept in the sacred flute house, and gave him a special tune by which he could always call his spirit helper. The novice had then to prove himself by curing some sick person or by finding lost property. If he were successful he became a recognized shaman.

746 Before beginning a performance, shamans al-
747 ways fasted for several days and smoked heavily. In curing a sick person the shaman asked his spirit helper for instructions which usually were explanations of how to remove objects from the body which caused the illness. Besides removing
748 objects from the body the shamans prepared medi-
749 cines. Headaches and pains in the body were cured by juice of the *pendive* tuber, and twigs leaves were used for pains in the chest. For
[750] healing the wounds made by the scratches the juice made by boiling the *kawainiwi* plant was
751 used. The Bacnit also prepared aphrodisiacs
[illegible] — plant and for relieving spirit sickness, honey, and turtle eggs.

GAMES

752 The Bacnit played, and still play, a form of Indian football called *tetepanali*. The ball (*tete*)
[753] was made by covering a round gourd with native rubber, leaving a small opening. The gourd was

/261 cont./
have with the piaiz and with the common people (wanakolo, from waono, "first"; cf. Ger. "der erste der beste" /first come first served/.

At the waterfalls of the Paranatinga, a fearsome place where Keri and Caime towed the Mama, an enchanted red stone /262/ with which they killed Moro and Arimoto, there is underneath the Mama the dream (Vidu) which they saw from the lizard's eyes. There dwells the father of smallpox (nuri); those who come near him fall ill; when the time for the leaping of the matrimaw /a kind of fish/ comes, anyone nearby who talks or laughs is thrown into the water. The curer runs no risk by coming near; if he becomes angry, he can bless the sleep and this one gets up and wanders off.

How does the curer reach this fullness of powers which in his discourses he so often hurls at those whom he contemptuously calls "common people"? Through a very long and painful apprenticeship, which few persons have the courage to undergo to the end and to the letter.

First of all, the curer candidate (piaiz-he-ini) must find an experienced curer who will tell him what he must do and protect him against the enemies whom he is bound to encounter. On his part, in addition, the future curer must not leave a single breach through which the enemy, the Kadwi, might enter, the so curious and so evil yamiras, whose principal occupation, it would seem, is to go in search of the slightest carelessness in order to punish it unerrably.

Such is the object of the rigorous training to which he must submit if he wishes to rise to the heights where the true curer dwells.

The novice begins by drinking various drugs, such as tumbo, pindova, vaimbé, and other cipos, in order to learn the language of animals and of Kaiwi, a sort of Gorgias; he cannot eat piribo, mingão, fat, meat, lambari /a kind of fish/, flying things, /263/ tamanduas, or honey; his food consists exclusively of bejiú and pohvilho broth.

/258 cont. /

776 and goes to the river, Yamũra throws himself in the water;--
789 he likes guanandi /Calophyllum brasiliense/ resin;--burned
824 cotton seed makes Yamũra run far /259/ away; Yamũra is very
302 fond of colored clay and loam;--he does not like copaiba resin;--when jatobá is burned Yamũra does not like it, says the piahi.

796 Finally, since there are certain animals which for him are
825 a means of subsistence, his ferramenta /iron tools/, if it is permissible to say this in connection with peoples who have not reached the metal stage, it is natural that Yamũra should protect them with the same care and vigor with which a Bacaeri would protect his canoe or his bow. There are animals whose
[784] injury is punished immediately: for example, the Sucuri, in one of the passages cited above, or the Topiéhi, a little bird that will be dealt with more conveniently later on. These are truly tabú or tapũ, an expression used in Australia, and which, being widely known, demands no explanation. It is possible to come to terms with regard to the others, and this is done in a most reasonable way, by giving to the Yamũra in prepared form the food that he would have to prepare in the campo. It is mandatory, however, that the dead animal be put to good
[782] use; otherwise antas, pacas, and pigs will attack clearings,
[796] destroying them; and to propitiate the Yamũra it is necessary
[532] to give a feast, naturally masked, which they attend incognito. After eating well, they regard themselves as satisfied and the scourge ceases.

325 The following passage expresses more clearly the idea of
796 payment, and, although it is somewhat repetitious, it is not
782 redundant.
796

If the Guariba /howler monkey/ (Mycetes) is killed, it must be paid for, says the piahi; if the macaco Coatá /spider monkey/ (Ateles) is killed, if the Preguiça /three-toed sloth/

/259 cont./

825 (Bradypus) is killed, pay for them with mingáu;--if no payment
796 is made, Yamũra will seize our shadow; Imiga (Cebus?) /260/
782 is the domestic animal that is the creation (eri) of Yamũra;
796 if you cut down forest in which Yamũra dwells, pay for it;--
seek out a place to hold a festival; makanari is payment for
the forest (13);--then, when Yamũra had drunk mingáu, he

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13. After he had dictated this passage, I. expressed doubts as to whether the dance was the makanari or some other one.

goes far away (14).

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14. Matia: Ruiz Blanco notes a variant of the same idea among the Indians of Peritú (Colombia): "When the Indian brings in a deer or wild boar, the woman comes out with a tutuma of the drink that they make out of maize, and she opens the animal's mouth and gives it some to drink out of courtesy so that its soul will tell the others about the good treatment given to it" (Conversión de Piritú, 64, Madrid reprint.).

796 Makanari is the name of one of their festivals, and this would be the proper place to discuss them, if unfortunately, the scanty information that exists concerning this were not deficient, concealing all the ritual and devotional aspect which is its essence. We shall return to it on another occasion.

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352 The Bakairí slept in hammocks, amaka, woven of palm fiber.
[415] Their furnishings can be summed up as benches of a solid
[285] piece of wood, clay pots, mats and baskets. The diet rests
262 upon manioc, piqui, sweet potatoes, maize, and fish. How-
224 ever, the hunting of monkeys, wild pig, tapir, and other ani-
mals was not scorned. Most of the food reserves, however,
[241] were of vegetable origin, and the most important harvests
were made up of manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, and piqui.
Yams /czrá/, cotton, urucú, and tobacco were also planted.

342 The occupants of a communal house worked together on
476 the building of a new house, acquiring thereby the right to
622 reside in it. This construction work, however, was led by the
individual who had the most prestige in the group, usually the
old head of the house, who thus set himself up as the head of
241 the new house. The tasks of clearing fields and planting
476 generally depended on the participation of all the aldea. When
529 beginning a new clearing, the Bakairí would give a feast,
hométe, with the distribution of food to the Indians who worked
501 on the field. The Bakairí made canoes from the bark of the
[824] jatobá tree, in the Xinguano way. This construction, as well
[282] as fishing, hunting, and agricultural activities, were accom-
panied by propitiatory rituals.

437 Their products were bartered among neighboring groups
574 in the course of visits called tuhki which depended on the
presence of the chiefs of both aldeas. After the exchange of
the objects desired, the visitors were honored with a feast
called tulase.

621 /262/ The Bakairí were not a warlike people, and their
181 political organization does not seem very elaborate. Each
622 aldea had a chief, pima, assisted by a subchief, ráiúa. The
624 Bakairí do not remember the existence of a chief for the whole
[243] tribe, and there is no evidence that such a figure ever existed.
The selection of the ráiúa was made by means of agreement
of the aldea, but it generally fell on the son of the pima him-
self. The pima's functions were chiefly ceremonial, economic,
and juridical.

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about three centimeters square made of tree bark. After the seclusion boys and girls were eligible for /264/ marriage. Marriage, todohoidinie, was joined by the parents of the young people by means of an exchange of gifts, and it does not seem to have merited any special ceremony.

The Bakairí do not seem to have believed in the possibility of a natural death. After death, which was always caused by the sorcery of some enemy, the corpse was painted and attired in the finery used in life. The corpse was rolled up in the hammock used by the deceased, and buried with the head pointing west and the feet east. There followed a mourning period, during which the closer relatives remained nauki and from which they emerged through the tadausiino feast.

The world of the Bakairí was surrounded by supernatural beings, good and evil, such as the iamiica, uoiahe, karoui, kadogo, and kilaimo. (5) Plants and animals were nothing but

5. Capistrano de Abreu, "Os Bacaerys," Revista Brasileira, Year I, Vol. 4, pp. 44, 45, 47, 48, 234, 240, 241. Rio de Janeiro, 1895.

drapery used by the iamuca and kadogo. Hunting, fishing, and agricultural activities thus had to be accompanied by propitiatory activities intended to appease the anger of the iamiica deprived of their animals and plants. On the other hand, karoui and kilaimo wandered through the forest menacing the Bakairí. Against such beings the Indians required the protection of their sorcerer-doctors as well as periods of seclusion in the most dangerous moments.

The Bakairí believed that men had two souls: one called kati or [illegible], heavier and thicker, corresponding to a iamiica while the second soul, kagangnui, a more fluid element that

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When finished, one gives a benediction... saying: Aufa! Go inside the sky, to our people, to our mother, to our father, here there is no one, inside the sky it is good, go, we also are going to pass away, it is said, the piahi teaches." (8)

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/259/

121 In order to protect themselves against the numerous
756 supernatural dangers that surrounded them, the Bakairí
784 /Bacairi/ made use of two methods: shamanism and the uanki
state, or ritual seclusion. The aim of this article is to examine these two methods of Bakairí culture in the light of data gathered by us (1) and with the help of the existing relevant

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1. The data that we present were gathered in 1947, during a visit to the Simões Lopes Indian Post of the Indian Protection Service, which was sponsored by the School of Sociology and Political Science of São Paulo in collaboration with the Institute of Social Anthropology of the Smithsonian Institution. Except where specifically mentioned in a footnote, the data mentioned were obtained from the Simões Lopes Indians.

114 literature. However, although the Bakairí have been visited
121 from an early date by several ethnologists and their customs have been mentioned in the literature to support ethnological theories, very little is yet known on their culture as a whole. Most of the reports left by scholars do not give a rounded view of Bakairí culture and focus rather on their technology. On
[177] the other hand, the present-day Bakairí are quite acculturated, and it is difficult to obtain complete data on their old culture. We shall attempt nevertheless to try to contribute here to a clarification of the problem.

161 The Bakairí now number about 250 individuals, according to the estimates of the Indian Protection Service, /260/
131 in 1947. They live in aldeias in Mato Grosso, at the Simões
361 Lopes Post of the Indian Protection Service, on the banks of the Paranatinga River, and in groups scattered along the

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114 informant. (3) Karl von den Steinen, on the other hand,

[113] 3. Capistrano de Abreu, "Os Bacaerys /The Bacairi/." Revista Brasileira. Year I. Volumes 3 and 4. Rio de Janeiro, 1895.

worked with several informants, and, what is more important in our opinion, personally visited Bakairí aldeas, (4) which

[113] 4. Karl von den Steinen. Durch Central-Brasilien /Through Central Brazil/. Leipzig, 1886; Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens /Among the Central Brazilian Primitive Peoples/. Berlin, 1894.

[127] Capistrano did not do. These documents, studied comparatively, permit us /261/ to support the conclusions we expect to reach on Bakairí beliefs and customs.

197 The Bakairí belong to the Karaib /Carib/ linguistic
361 family. Their old aldeas consisted of large communal houses,
[342] elliptoidal in form, around a square. In each house there
[392] lived from two to five families. In the center of the aldea
[344] there was a house, kadoeti, where the ceremonial adornments
of the men were kept and where visitors were lodged. Access
to the kadoeti was open not only to the men but to women
[346] and children as well. Attached to the kadoeti was a small
[534] house, its entrance turned to the rising sun, where the flutes,
[784] buzzers or bull-roarer, and other sacred objects were kept.
Access to this latter house was forbidden to women and children.

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601 In their kinship system the Bakairí distinguished parallel
605 cousins (paigo and koro or iri and iia, for men or women, respectively for male or female Ego) from cross cousins (pama and imiapi or eisambi and ierudu, for men and women, respectively for male or female Ego). The former were
601 identified with brothers and sisters, respectively. The term
604 referring to the father, chogo, was extended to the father's brother, and the term referring to the mother, seko, was extended to the mother's sister. On the other hand, the mother's brother, kogo, and the father's sister, iupuri, got special
601 designations. There were special terms for male or female Ego, in Ego's generation (as we have already seen), and in the first descending generation. Thus the children of male Ego and those of Ego's brother were called imeri, without distinction of sex, while the children of Ego's sister were called tekau and uasi, respectively for the boy and girl. For female Ego, her children, as well as the children of Ego's sister, were called imeri, while Ego's brother's children were uadoin and uasi, respectively for boy and girl. In the second ascending
603 generation, the grandparents were distinguished according to sex, being called tako and nugo, respectively, for man and woman. In the second descending generation a single term, iveri, designated all individuals.

582 Marriage between cross cousins was common but not
606 preferential. According to the data we obtained, there do not
591 seem to have been among the Bakairí any special rules concerning residence or taboos referring to the father-in-law or mother-in-law, or moieties or clans. Marriage was usually monogamous,
595 although polygamous unions were allowed. Judging by the Xingu-area tribes, it is probable that such polygamous unions assumed the form of a sororate.

• 784 /263/ The life cycle of the Bakairí was characterized by a series of seclusions, or uanki ("confinement"), during which individuals were protected against the numerous supernatural dangers that surrounded them.

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000 dangers that surrounded them. Pregnancy, enokua, was
843 recognized by the cessation of the menstrual periods. When
262 the abdomen of the pregnant woman began to attain visible proportions, a diet based on vegetal foods and fish was initiated.
844 As the time of delivery drew near, a separate section was
[784] built inside the houses; the parturient was segregated and remained uanki. Female relatives helped in the delivery under the direction of an experienced woman. The parturient gave
[845] birth sitting on her heels. In difficult cases they washed her abdomen and sides with a hot infusion of cotton leaves. The umbilical cord was cut by the parturient herself or by her husband, and it was buried along with the placenta outside the
844 house. After the birth, eraseli, the child was washed and
784 handed over to the parents; later it would be given the name
846 of some dead relative. During the birth and for some time
[553] afterward, the child and its parents remained in a state of uanki. The end of the seclusion was signaled by the first
846 menstrual period of the parturient, and it was marked by a
796 feast called tadaunito. The restoration of the parents and the
784 child to the bosom of the community was accomplished by means of a feast called zabiénli.

When children reached puberty they were secluded, uanki, for a period of several months. They could not come out in daylight, and they were fed and looked after by their
[856] relatives. It was believed that the greater or lesser duration of the young people's uanki period would lead to their better
[622] or worse physical constitution. On the other hand, a chief's son had to remain in seclusion longer than usual. The period
881 of seclusion began for boys with the ritual of the perforation of
304 the ears (usually undergone in groups). Girls had their ears
784 perforated immediately after birth, and their seclusion was marked by the advent of the first menses. The end of the uanki
784 state was also celebrated with the tadaunito. The girls then
881 began to wear aluri, that is to say, triangular genital coverings
796 about? three centimeters square made of bear bark.
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5. Capistrano de Abreu, "Os Bacairys," Revista Brasileira, Year I, Vol. 4, pp. 44, 45, 47, 48, 234, 240, 241. Rio de Janeiro, 1895.

drapery used by the iamuro and kadopa. Hunting, fishing, and agricultural activities thus had to be accompanied by propitiatory activities intended to appease the anger of the iamiira deprived of their animals and plants. On the other hand, karoui and kilaimo wandered through the forest menacing the Bakairí. Against such beings the Indians required the protection of their sorcerer-doctors as well as periods of seclusion in the most dangerous moments.

The Bakairí believed that man had two souls: one called [illegible], heavier and thicker, corresponding to a camisa [illegible] second soul, kagatapuri, a more fluid element that

754 755 /266 cont./ But in the event the illness had been caused by another sorcerer, it would be necessary to find out first the vehicle of the disease. This might be a small piece of charred wood, a thin cotton thread, or a small piece of bone, sewed from a distance and thus introduced into the patient's body. The sorcerer would suck at the afflicted part, thus withdrawing the cause of the illness.

754 114 755 /267/ Our informants could tell us nothing about diseases caused by omoeto (evil sorcerers) mentioned by Karl von den Steinen. According to the latter, in order to injure an Indian, a sorcerer would cook in a pot a lizard into whose throat he had previously inserted the skin of the middle finger of a corpse. The agony and death of the lizard were matched simultaneously by the agony and death of the victim. (13)

13. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., p. 442.

114 199 In our opinion, this method hardly seems to be indigenous and is probably the result of acculturation. However, our informants did not know about it.

756 834 262 374 In order to become a sorcerer, a youth had to undergo training for a period that lasted from six to 12 months, submitting to rigorous sexual abstinence and an exclusively vegetal diet. Throughout the initiation period the candidate remained until, enclosed in the kaapori. Part of the training, meanwhile, was carried out in distant places, where the novice learned the healing properties of certain roots, as well as the secrets related to the supernatural world. The training ended with the acquisition, on the candidate's part, of a guardian spirit, or iamiko. This acquisition was made during a trance into which the candidate has fallen by means of the ingestion of narcotic substances. After this the new sorcerer had to prove his power, either through small acts such as finding lost objects or by curing a sick person.

189 296

/268 cont./

534 sticks decorated with geometric designs. These sticks are still used in Bakairí dances in Simões Lopes.

535 533 Our informants remembered the following dances and songs: ariko, a dance performed with the help of the adorned sticks, at no specific time; iasaiari, the maize song; mahoiawari, performed at the time of the construction of a new house; pahoevati, performed at the time of the ceremony of the perforation of the boys' ears, and the maize celebration, or aniniatabiali.

535 532 525 [184] In the sacred dances, barred to women, masks representing various animals were used. In our opinion these masks did not represent the animals proper but rather the iamika, kinds of these animals. This would justify the fact that these representations are so far removed from reality, even in terms of native art.

903 The Bakairí myths related by Karl von den Steinen and Capistrano de Abreu mention Tchini (or Keri, the sun), Numa (or Kame, the moon), (16) and Nakoeri. (17) Tchina and Numa

16. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., pp. 447-492.

17. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 45-50, 235-241.

or Keri and Kame, the sun and the moon, are twin creator heroes of the Bakairí. The same rôle of /269/ creating the [616] [194] Bakairí is attributed to Nakoeri. The nonexistence of moieties among the Bakairí leads us to regard the myth of the twin heroes as a borrowed feature, since there does not seem to be a justifying correspondence in their social organization. The 539 Paresintings Indians told us the following myth:

Iamadili or the Origin of the Day.

In the beginning the world was so dark and so cold that the Indians had to cover their bodies with

77 /210 cont./
satisfies effectively the cultural exigencies. The Bakairí lived in a world dominated by *iamiíra* and other supernatural beings. Animals and plants were nothing more than draperies which were used by these supernatural beings. The Bakairi himself was a dual being: a spirit, *kaganogíri*, using a draping, the physical body, animated by another, denser spirit, *kati*. After death *kaganogíri* went through the stages of *kadopa*, a wandering spirit, and finally *iamiíra*. For this reason the Bakairi did not appear to be afraid of their dead; bodies were more than [illegible], but the *kadopa* were indeed dangerous.

• 717 182 In order to protect themselves against the innumerable dangers presented by the constellation of supernatural beings, such as *iamiíra*, *kadopa*, *ugiehe*, *kacoui*, *inanaguroo*, and *kilaimo*, the Bakairí used two methods. The first was seclusion, *uaki*, at the most difficult moments, such as birth, puberty, (796) death, and shamanistic initiation. *Uaki* was followed by the reintegration of the individual /to the community/ through the 756 *tadauiro* celebration. The other method was shamanism. 779 Shamanism was open to all and it must actually have constituted a normal stage in the life evolution of the Bakairí. Yet 182 few of them managed to become sorcerer, for the trials they 956 had to undergo were not easy. Contact with the supernatural 987 was achieved by sorcerer through the use of tobacco or other 276 narcotic substances. In their trances the sorcerers came to control the *iamiíra* and acquired the powers peculiar to these supernatural beings.

195 Finally, the post-mortem life of the Bakairí, in Nakoeri's large *aldea*, reflects as might be expected the organization of their *aldeas*. Once changed into *iamiíra*, the Bakairí join their ancestors and old friends; the pleasures of eating and drinking are not denied them since they also feel hunger and thirst, but they are now invulnerable to the perils of the forest. They can use the animals and plants, at their pleasure, as weapons for their wanderings through the air, in the rivers, or on the ground.

Bacairi: SP9

B 396

bark canoe suffers little or no damage where a dugout would either capsize or split. Canvas canoes would tear too easily.

When a jatuba tree suitable in size and condition of the bark is found, a platform of slender poles is built around it. Three upright poles are set up forming a triangle around the tree. Cross pieces in which the worker stands are lashed across from pole to pole. The outline of the canoe is then marked on the tree and is peeled off carefully by driving in flexible wedges in between the bark and the wood.

B [401]

The bark then gains in heat into the proper shape by building a smoldering fire on its inner surface and by means of poles used as levers on the sides, forming eventually a framework in which the canoe is wedged. The bending in of the sides too much is prevented by cross pieces. Sometimes the maker etches out a design on the outer bark.

The canoe thus obtained is a shallow affair and practically flat bottomed, which gives it stability. The bow is open and clay is used along the edges as a bank to keep out the water. The stern is raised somewhat but often water enters by it likewise.

B 396 784

The Bakairi, while making the canoes, fasted until the end of the day's work, when they ate pure food, in this case rice, farina and meat. It was explained that really they should have eaten nothing but piranha and beijo, foods that we did not possess. Sexual abstinence is necessary, and were some women in the menstrual period to pass nearby, the bark would split. After work is begun no one, in fact, must approach, and if he, unaware that a canoe is being made, does come near, he must not leave on any account.

Though we found other signs of the presence of aborigines in the neighborhood we never saw them; but that we were being watched carefully, there was no doubt.

With overloaded canoes we finally embarked on the next lap of our journey to the mouth of the Kuluene river. For another seven days we worked in the rapids, fatiguing and muscle-destroying work. Often we had to cut our way through fallen trees; for long distances canoes were dragged over dangerous stretches; many times the canoes had to be unloaded and the baggage portaged. The men worked naked in the water, and it remains a marvel how we came past the rapids without having suffered some serious injury and without having lost either canoes or baggage. However, the work in the water told on the men

Bacairi: 597
Yaruma 5925
Waura 5918

of different lengths, closed at one end. Two or three of the pipes are played in unison. Though the intervals between the lowest note and the next two in the scale are well defined, there seems to be but a very slight difference, if any at all, in the pitch of the notes produced by the shorter pipes. This type is used for practicing the music and for personal amusement, but not in ceremonies. They are easily made and are carried about frequently. Though different sets may be pitched differently, the note intervals seem to be the same, at least in the three sets that are in the University Museum collection, though they were collected from the Bakairi, the Nuruaro and the Kalapalo. [Plate XIX, 7.]

Bk Y 105 171 531

In the Yawalapiti village, the two chosen reed pipes made of bamboo, instead of five, they consisted of three pieces, the longest of which measured over one and a half meters. The three notes produced, though different in pitch, corresponded to the three lowest notes produced on the pipes described above. In this particular ceremony, each of the men in turn played what may be called the lead part, while the other played the accompaniment.

W 522 524 533

Single reed-blown flutes, such as are illustrated in Plate XIX, 6, are common to the entire area. They were seen in the Trumai, Yawalapiti, and Nuruaro village, and apparently were known to the Bakairi and to peoples of the other villages. They are made of taquara, and to be played they must be well soaked in water. The upper part is so cut out that when the flute is played the chin rests on it. At the other end, there is a narrow aperture. Four holes control the pitch of the notes. It was noted that the note intervals were the same as those of the Pan's pipes. They are used entirely in the ceremonies, and the sight of them is prohibited to the women, death being feared for failure to observe the taboo. However, not only are the women permitted to listen to them, but they are listened to with great pleasure. It was the women that prohibited the men to sell them to us in the Trumai village, and in the Yawalapiti village, the women pretended to weep when it was decided to let us have them. Three flutes are played together in the ceremony. Both the flutes and the office of playing them in the ceremonies seem to be inherited.

Bk Y 531 105 171 Y Bk 788 542 W 425 562 552

Another flute, smaller than the above mentioned, was obtained at the Yawalapiti village; it differs from the others in that close to the top

W 594

[text continues on p. 163]

SP8 Barero
William SP15
Bacon: SP7
Yadeen SP25

there is a small aperture for blowing. This type need not be wet to play. [Plate XIX, 8.]

The only other object that might be called a musical instrument, that we were in use, was composed of a number of nut shells joined together by a string and worn by the dance leader on the right ankle. In the dance, the beat is always accentuated by the stamping of the right foot and these rattles help to make it more pronounced.

Gourd rattles were collected from the Bakairi, and they informed me of the existence among them of the bull roarer, which is taboo to the women, but neither of these were seen among the other peoples of the Kalunga-Kalunga area.

The men were never heard to sing. In the ceremonies that are accompanied with singing, the women take that part, generally accompanying it with a dance, consisting of linking arms with the palms of the hands against each other and the fingers interlaced, and taking three steps forward and three backward, leading with the right foot. While travelling, the women were heard to sing softly to themselves, and apparently the repertoire is a large one.

Other Ceremonial Objects

The use of masks, flutes, and rattles, in connection with ceremonies has been noted. Although no ceremonies other than those described in the narrative were observed, a number of ceremonial objects were collected which show interesting features.

One of the Nawyate masks consists of a piece of knotless netting with two splint rings sewed at the upper portion to represent the eyes, and with a painted geometric design in black and red to suggest the face. When worn, the net falls over the face and breast, and is kept in place by a string that is tied about the waist, and another about the head.

A Yawalapiti mask consists of a tightly woven piece of cloth, ovoid in shape, bearing a painted design in black and white, suggesting the face. Grass is attached to it on every side, so that when the mask is worn, the grass falls to the knees.

Another Yawalapiti specimen consists of a conical shaped hat with grass attached to the sides, so that it falls over the face and neck to the shoulders.

/343/

The medicine men are differentiated as good and bad. According to Antonio, there are "few among the Bakairí and Auetó, more among the Nahuquá, many among the Mehinakú, and too many among the Kámayurá." There were none living on the Paranatinga at the time. Anyone can become one, but it is very difficult. "One must learn a great deal." One is supposed to drink only starchy broth for four months,* enjoy no salt and eat no

* This fasting is also very good if one wants to excel in the art of shooting fish, and in this case it is sufficient if one does not eat anything but starch-paste for a month. Antonio did this and was very satisfied with the result.

meat, fish, or fruits, one is not supposed to sleep but to drum ceaselessly on the skull with the fists so that the swollen eyes are very painful in the morning, bathe a great deal, scratch arm and chest bloody, etc. Antonio wanted to study medicine, but was afraid of this difficult internship. Felipe made a good start in the same endeavor, but did not succeed, because he had no teacher. The chief art of the accomplished master of sorcery is exhibited in the use of poisons. With these he kills others and he even kills himself in order to be able to change himself into another shape. We are to become acquainted here with a conception of death which takes some getting used to, but which is in direct agreement with the life of the shadow during sleep.

Let us hear first how sickness and death come into the world, in spite of the good medicine-man of one's own village, who with all his might combats the evil one from the foreign village. The evil one is a bad person whom no one likes because he kills instead of healing. He mixes the poison from wasps, from the tocandyra ant, and from other such animals with oil and resin from the alimesica and pindahyba in a calabash. From the man whom he wishes to harm he obtains either hair, by stepping on it when it is being cut or even cutting it himself when the man is asleep, or a bit of blood by tossing a finely pointed twig of jatobá, pindahyba, or pau de olho in his direction and then picking

/267 cont./

756 [262] [785] In regard to initiation, Karl von den Steinen tells us that the candidate had to subsist solely on starch broth, hit himself continually on the head, and at the same time scratch his arms and chest until blood ran. (14) On the other hand,

14. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., pp. 440-441.

[276] Capistrano de Abreu relates that the novice had to swallow "drugs such as timbo, pindova, vaimbé, and other cipos" and learn the language of karoui. On the day of the initiation the candidate would go for a walk with his master, who gave him the infusion to drink. (15)

15. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 235-238.

796 The Bakairí had quite an elaborate ceremonial system, as may be inferred from the information obtained /268/ the Indians of Simões Lopes. Dancing and singing were done not only when there was an abundance of food or when economic activities permitted it, but especially at times such as the maize harvest, or the occasion when the ears of the boys about to be secluded were pierced, or at times of the celebration of the tadaunúto, or end of the uanki state, the building of houses, the beginning of the clearing of a field, or finally the distribution of cotton among the women. On those occasions [574] neighboring groups were invited and the festivities lasted for 534 days. Bakairí musical instruments consisted of bamboo flutes and bells for the feet made of piquí shells. The informants recalled four kinds of flutes: enimi and kanagera, sacred flutes kept hidden from the eyes of women and children, and tadãua [531] and nakigoro, used in secular festivities. The Bakairí also had gourds filled with seeds or stones, called pako, and wooden sticks decorated with geometric designs.

came back to the village to play tricks on people. The Bacairí did not believe that the ghosts of the dead caused death and, therefore, were not afraid of them. They were, however, afraid of certain evil spirits—for instance, *ewdupéu*, who caused death and sickness.

To become a shaman (*piáji*), a young unmarried man would train with an old shaman for a period of 6 months to a year. During this period sexual intercourse was forbidden, fasts were periodically observed, and the novice had to abstain from eating meat. Much of the training took place in the woods, where the old shaman would teach the novice the curative properties of roots and herbs and, also, how to get in touch with the ghosts of dead shamans. The training would be complete when the novice acquired his own spirit helper, which was always the ghost of a dead shaman. Sometimes the revelation was so powerful that the young novice would fall to the ground in a trance. The spirit that then appeared to him instructed him how to make a flute (either *emíni* or *kunapéu*), which he kept in the sacred flute house, and gave him a special tune by which he could always call his spirit helper. The novice had then to prove himself by curing some sick person or by finding lost property. If he were successful he became a recognized shaman.

Before beginning a performance, shamans always fasted for several days and smoked heavily. In curing a sick person the shaman asked his spirit helper for instructions which usually were explanations of how to remove objects from the body which caused the illness. Besides removing objects from the body the shamans prepared medicines. Headaches and pains in the body were cured by juice of the *pemíiru* tuber, and *turópi* leaves were used for pains in the chest. For healing the wounds made by the scratcher the juice made by boiling the *kumatóni* plant was used. The Bacairí also prepared aphrodisiacs from the *kutóino* plant and by mixing piqui nuts, honey, and turtle eggs.

GAMES

The Bacairí played, and still play, a form of Indian football called *toinpumíi*. The ball (*toin*) was made by covering a round gourd with native rubber, leaving a small opening. The gourd was

/360 cont./

practices sorcery. He is not bound to place and form and is capable of any kind of accomplishment with any person or thing. Vivid play of imagination is merely quantitatively and not qualitatively distinguishable from dream-sorcery. A person who kisses the picture of his beloved is preparing himself for sorcery. Anyone who throws a kiss through the air to his distant sweetheart is already strongly to be suspected of sorcery, for it is to be feared that he believes the sweet breath will reach its destination and be felt there. Anyone, however, who, like the great sorcerer Goethe, says to his amanuensis Eckermann: "I have in the years of my youth experienced instances enough when, on lonely walks, a powerful longing for a beloved girl would seize me and I would think of her until she actually came walking toward me," such a person is already practicing sorcery according to all the rules of the art. Completely under the spell of genuine sorcery is the person who, if his ears are ringing, yields to the conviction, if only for a second, that someone has spoken good or ill of him, or who has a friend keep his fingers crossed so that he will succeed in something, or who believes that his wishes have the power to influence the course of pleasant or unpleasant events.

Our Indians, like many other primitive peoples, have the firm conviction, which may, moreover, be observed on our level of civilization among children and intoxicated persons, and not only among them, that in a vivid dream they are experiencing reality. A person goes hunting, shoots fish, or fells trees when he is asleep, while the body remains in the hammock. Among the Bororó, as I shall report later, we once found that the entire village wanted to flee because one man in a dream had seen cormics creeping up. The Bakairí let the "shadow" of a human being -- which we then translate as "soul" -- wander about in the dream. (Cf. the Pareszí chapter also for this and similar information /see p. 532/.) Antonio, whom I could study alone sufficiently, especially during the Cuyabá months, in order to obtain most of the statements which will follow later, had the fear, well known particularly from the Malays, that it is dangerous to waken a sleeping person suddenly. The "shadow," which is perhaps wandering

2 Bruzon--607E,D-5 (1884,1887-1888) 1934 587 Bacairi 527
Bororo 591
Aweto 592

/343 cont./

by ordinary means. This brings about the amusing reverse situation whereby the doctor takes medicine in order to heal. The more he can bear, the stronger he is. He knows all kinds of poisons that intoxicate and he uses them: tobacco, Ikukuridku or (cipó de cobra) snake-vine, sulwi or timbo vine (Paullinia pinnata), the leaves of the forest tree Jello. Everyone listens attentively to the unintelligible stuff that he offers during his stupor, or to the strange experiences that he reports about his shadow after he wakes up from deep stupors. He becomes a great man, he enjoys the admiration and the gifts. Like many other great men, he first permits himself to be led to slight exaggerations and then touches up his own achievements when they are not entirely adequate, so as not to disappoint the stupid folk. Among the Bororó, a person who, at the time of the best palm wine, consumes the largest quantities during the sumptuous drinking bouts and, most successfully withstanding the intoxication, makes the longest speeches is recognized as a witch doctor; the concepts of the doctoral banquet and the doctoral examination coincide.

The tobacco narcotic of the doctor is the most common medicine for the patient among all our tribes, as well as among many others: the sick body is blown upon with huge clouds, at the same time it is spat upon vigorously, and in between it is kneaded with the use of all the muscular strength amidst terrible groans reverberating throughout the village, not from the patient, but from the doctor. This goes on for a long time, the doctor permits himself only brief pauses in the kneading, during which he laments loudly and at the same time smokes passionately. The cigars are furnished by the family. Finally he starts to suck and, with convulsive outbursts, spits out the cause of the illness.

The Aueto chief had drunk plant poisons, but he had not yet undergone the greatest test, taking snake poison, which was often done in "former" times. It is emphatically pointed out that the poison calabash of the sorcerer cannot harm the good medicine-man, but, of course, it is not explained how the latter can fall ill. The Aueto chief had already been dead. When the medicine

754 755 /286 cont./ But in the event the illness had been caused by another sorcerer, it would be necessary to find out first the vehicle of the disease. This might be a small piece of charred wood, a thin cotton thread, or a small piece of bone, tossed from a distance and thus introduced into the patient's body. The sorcerer would suck at the afflicted part, thus withdrawing the cause of the illness.

754 114 755 /287/ Our informants could tell us nothing about diseases caused by omeoro (evil sorcerers) mentioned by Karl von den Steinen. According to the latter, in order to injure an Indian, a sorcerer would cook in a pot a lizard into whose throat he had previously inserted the skin of the middle finger of a corpse. The agony and death of the lizard were matched simultaneously by the agony and death of the victim. (13)

13. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., p. 442.

114 199 In our opinion, this method hardly seems to be indigenous and is probably the result of acculturation. However, our informants did not know about it.

756 834 262 784 In order to become a sorcerer, a youth had to undergo training for a period that lasted from six to 12 months, submitting to rigorous sexual abstinence and an exclusively vegetal diet. Throughout the initiation period the candidate remained nude, enclosed in the kajoeti. Part of the training, meanwhile, was carried out in distant places, where the novice learned the healing properties of certain roots, as well as the secrets related to the supernatural world. The training ended with the acquisition, on the candidate's part, of a guardian spirit, or iamilea. This acquisition was made during a trance into which the candidate has fallen by means of the ingestion of narcotic substances. After this the new sorcerer had to prove his power, either through small acts such as finding lost objects or by curing a sick person.

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77 /270 cont./
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778 182 In order to protect themselves against the innumerable dangers presented by the constellation of supernatural beings, such as iamiíra, kadapa, tapiche, karau, iuanaguano, and kilaimo, the Bakairí used two methods. The first was seclusion, uaiki, at the most difficult moments, such as birth, puberty, [796] death, and shamanistic initiation. Uaiki was followed by the restoration of the individual /to the community/ through the 756 778 182 tadauiíro celebration. The other method was shamanism. Shamanism was open to all and it must actually have constituted a normal stage in the life evolution of the Bakairí. Yet few of them managed to become sorcerers, for the trials they 756 787 276 had to undergo were not easy. Contact with the supernatural was achieved by sorcerers through the use of tobacco or other narcotic substances. In their trances the sorcerers came to control the iamiíra and acquired the powers peculiar to these supernatural beings.

795 Finally, the post-mortem life of the Bakairí, in Nahoeri's large aldea, reflects as might be expected the organization of their aldeas. Once changed into iamiíra, the Bakairí join their ancestors and old friends; the pleasures of eating and drinking are not denied them since they also feel hunger and thirst, but they are now invulnerable to the perils of the forest. They can use the animals and plants, at their pleasure, as wrappers for their wanderings through the air, in the rivers, or on the ground.

[P 75-A]

733 came back to the village to play tricks on people. The Bacairi did not believe that the ghosts of the dead caused death and, therefore, were not afraid
736 of them. They were, however, afraid of certain
737 evil spirits—for instance, *enakpiro*, who caused
739 death and sickness.

738 To become a shaman (*paipi*), a young unmarried man would train with an old shaman for a period of 6 months to a year. During this period
[739] sexual intercourse was forbidden, fasts were periodically observed, and the novice had to abstain from eating meat. Much of the training took place in the woods, where the old shaman would
[740] teach the novice the curative properties of roots and herbs and, also, how to get in touch with the
741 ghosts of dead shamans. The training would be
742 complete when the novice acquired his own spirit
[743] helper, which was always the ghost of a dead shaman. Sometimes the revelation was so powerful that the young novice would fall to the ground in a trance. The spirit that then appeared to
[744] him instructed him how to make a flute (either *enini* or *kenapiro*), which he kept in the sacred flute house, and gave him a special tune by which he could always call his spirit helper. The novice had then to prove himself by curing some sick person or by finding lost property. If he were successful he became a recognized shaman.

746 Before beginning a performance, shamans al-
747 ways fasted for several days and smoked heavily. In curing a sick person the shaman asked his spirit helper for instructions which usually were explanations of how to remove objects from the body which caused the illness. Besides removing
748 objects from the body the shamans prepared medi-
749 cines. Headaches and pains in the body were cured by juice of the *pentiro* tuber, and *tenipi* leaves were used for pains in the chest. For
[750] healing the wounds made by the scratcher the juice made by boiling the *kwanitini* plant was
[751] used. The Bacairi also prepared aphrodisiacs from the *kutiiro* plant and by mixing *piqui* nuts, honey, and turtle eggs.

GAMES

526 The Bacairi played, and still play, a form of Indian football called *tsiepenili*. The ball (*tsie*)
[527] was made by covering a round gourd with native rubber, leaving a small opening. The gourd was

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1971 301 [illegible] carried, but rather saved them for acknowledgment by his contemporaries and attached them to his body. We find this all the more natural, since we know that with such parts, in his opinion, the characteristics of the game animal were acquired. Thus he wore claws, teeth, and feathers as trophy and talisman. While he could tie most of these things on a string, he was in difficulty with a feather which he wanted to keep as a memento of a good shot. He pierced his ear lobe and stuck it in there, where it was secure and did not get in his way. The ancestors of all our tribes hit upon this. Some of them were soon not content with ear holes, but also pierced the nose and lips. For the idea of the trophy, at first applied only to the laborious attainment, was extended to a wearing not connected with much pain or labor. A new result, worthy of admiration, was produced, and a young man undoubtedly felt "better tattooed," in the fullest sense of the expression, if he displayed his treasure in a hole in his nose, lip, or ears, than if he wore it around his neck on a string. Once the wearing of the trophy became habitual, it was inevitable that attention was turned to its external qualities as well, the previously secondary characteristics of color and form. Even objects that had merely been used to keep the holes open and prevent them from healing that became ornaments and decorations. More or less vaguely felt perceptions of pleasing color contrasts were associated with ideas about the difficult, the unusual, the power-endowed.

1971 304 619 The artificial injury, however, became an end in itself through the circumstance that it furnished a permanent distinguishing mark and thus shaped various forms of the custom. It was not only excellently suited for distinguishing brave and ruling persons within a tribe, who were usually also the most vain, but it often formed the consciously worn symbol of nationality from tribe to tribe. It provided the means for giving even children lasting marks. The Indians have always passionately engaged in kidnapping among foreign tribes in order to rear warriors and women, hence children were marked so that they could be recognized, as the herd-owner stamps his livestock. When we were with the Bororó, an old woman swore by all that was holy that our Antonio,

2. Steinen--410 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SPT Bacain 577

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#171 955 296

smoke and flare up more or less quickly when one blows on them. Leaves burning with an aromatic or stupefying smoke would stifle the sensitive nose of the Indian while he was blowing on them and would be found useful by him for his medicinal sorcerer's kitchen. He inhaled the smoke and swallowed it (hence always the expression "drink" among the discoverers of America).

there are two kinds of "tobacco", the tobacco which one smokes for pleasure is different from the kind that cures and is much weaker. In the cures which I saw the ordinary tobacco was used; probably there are other leaves that have a stronger narcotic effect. The Schingl cigarette in its green aromatic leaf-wrapping is probably one of the simplest forms of regular smoking enjoyment. Tobacco smoke cures everything; I saw infected eyes, inflammation of the hip joint, burns, abdominal pains, and other such things treated with it. The Suyá blew it into my ears and talked into them loudly, so that I would understand their language better. Perhaps if a patient is blown upon for a long time with a thick cloud of smoke a slight drowsiness is aimed at, but in each case the patient, already suffering, must lapse into a dull state as a result of the untiring, monotonous massaging and kneading, in which he may experience transformations just as well as the medicine man. I did not obtain any accounts or examples of this, however.

In the following chapter I must discuss a simpler method of blowing, by means of which the sorcerer transforms, not himself, but others, and which occurs without tobacco smoke.

#171 989

The medicine man or anyone else blows in a different way when he drives away a thunderstorm by blowing. Saliva is puffed out through a spray funnel against the clouds; I myself saw the remedy work several times and was then sorry that in my overly great caution, in spite of the urgent requests of the Indians, I had not puffed along with them. I lacked the power of imagination.

/257 cont./

539 in quiet areas, where there are no human beings, it is always
125 on the move in the morning and afternoon, except during the hot hours in the middle of the day which it spends sleeping"; in other words, all of the phrases between quotation marks, taken from the book by Dr. Gaelli on the nannaas of our land (pp. 92, 99, 103, and 108), confirm that has been said concerning the shadowy character of the Yamîxa.

539 /258/ Other considerations, however, seem to us of
178 greater moment.

First of all, in the enumeration of the belongings of the Yamîxa, we have a basis for a list of the cultural acquisitions of the Sacaris. We learn that they had nets for fishing before they had nets /hammocks/ for sleeping, that they traveled by water when they did not yet have pestles, and that they probably had maracá before they had the masks with which they appear at their festivals.

[229] [352] [501] [42] [532]

539 We also see that although theoretically the abode of the
776 Yamîxa is in the sky, a large part of his existence is spent on the earth from which he derives his sustainance. Subsistence, however, is not his sole concern; free of the contingencies of time and space, he travels swiftly as the wind, he is an envious being who spies upon all actions and weighs upon the living with crushing pressure. There is hardly an act that he does not influence: gestation, childbirth, alimentation, festivals, walking hours, everything falls within his incurable reach, as we shall see later. It would seem that the Sacaris could paint their bodies as they please. But this is not so.

776 Yamîxa does not like urucú,--this is why one must not
789 scatter the urucú seed, says the piaki;--Yamîxa goes into the
124 houses of people with children,--this is why we burn the juice
302 of the rubber tree--when it is burned it is rubbed on the door;--fathers of boys, when they go to the river, paint themselves with genipap,--paint themselves with urucú,--so Yamîxa thinks that it is blood; if the boy's father does not paint himself

/216 cont./

796 789 124 302 and goes to the river, Yamíka throws himself in the water;--he likes guaranã /Calophyllum brasiliense/ resin;--burned cotton seed makes Yamíka run far /216/ away; Yamíka is very fond of colored clay and foam;--he does not like capaíba resin;--when jatobá is burned Yamíka does not like it, says the piaiti.

796 825 Finally, since there are certain animals which for him are a means of subsistence, his fornamente /non sect/, if it is permissible to say this in connection with peoples who have not reached the metal stage, it is natural that Yamíka should protect them with the same care and vigor with which a Bacairi would protect his canoe or his bow. There are animals whose injury is punished immediately: for example, the bacuri, in one of the passages cited above, or the Tapiíti, a little bird that will be dealt with more conveniently later on. [784] There are truly taboo or tapu, an expression used in Australia, and which, being widely known, demands no explanation. It is possible to come to terms with regard to the others, and this is done in a most reasonable way, by going to the Yamíka in prepared form the food that he would have to prepare in the campo. It is mandatory, however, that the dead animal be put to good use; otherwise antas, pacas, and pigs will attack clearings, [782] destroying them; and to propitiate the Yamíka it is necessary [796] to give a feast, naturally masked, which they attend incognito. [532] After eating well, they regard themselves as satisfied and the scourge ceases.

825 796 782 796 The following passage expresses more clearly the idea of payment, and, although it is somewhat repetitious, it is not redundant.

If the Guariba /howler monkey/ (Mycetes) is killed, it must be paid for, says the piaiti; if the macaco Coatá /spider monkey/ (Ateles) is killed, if the Preguiça /three-toed sloth/

/264 cont./

794 survives death. (+) During sleep, kagenpuri leaves the body

6. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 43, 44.

and goes wandering through distant regions; on returning it causes the individual to awaken. To awaken a person suddenly might kill him, for kagenpuri would not have time to re-
[513] turn to the body. After death the fluid soul leaves the body
775 once and for all and changes into kadopa. The kadopa are
[774] wandering souls that continue in this way until their final transformation into iamiica which occurred in the domain of
776 Naiweri, the culture hero. Naiweri was a combination culture
773 hero and creator god of the Bakairi. In a /265/ text obtained by Capistrano de Abreu, Naiweri first makes all the animals, and, using a plaster of clay, creates the Bakairi. (7) Next he

7. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 47.

776
775 makes a cotton ladder and climbs to the sky.

776 The kadopa and iamiica suffer hunger and thirst and eat
775 like the other Indians. For this they use the bodies of animals. When the kadopa disturbed the aldeas, rituals were performed to try to attract the wandering souls in order next to frighten them. One Bakairi account refers to the kadopa thus:

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• 789
539 "... if you do not intone kadopa's song he does not go to the sky. Because of this /after/ many days of sleeping put manioc paste /mingão/ in two small clay cups /cúias/; put the paste in the middle of the grave; two persons armed with clubs intone the song; the cups are smashed and they flee. Coming from afar, one gives a blessing, saying ku ku ku (now, cheer up!).

/215 cont./

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When finished, one gives a benediction... saying: Aufa! Go inside the sky, to our people, to our mother, to our father, here there is no one, inside the sky it is good, go, we also are going to pass away, it is said, the piaiá teaches." (8)

8. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 44.

796 (915) In Nahuori's shiwa, the kadoge change into iamiko. But the iamiko also wander on the earth using the bodies of animals. Although their behavior was not intentionally malignant, the Bakairí had to take precautions when they went hunting or fishing or when they planted. On killing game or fish, the Indians left certain offerings for the iamiko portrayed by these animals. (9)

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9. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 49.

796 856 By means of certain rituals a Bakairí might, while still alive, make contact with the iamiko, acquiring the corresponding powers, and became a sorcerer-doctor.

796 Capistrano de Abreu (10) and Karl von den Steinen (11)

10. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 235, 239, 240.

[113] 11. Karl von den Steinen, Entre os aborígenes do Brasil Central /Among the Aborigines of Central Brazil/, São Paulo, 1940, transl., p. 448.

mention yet other supernatural beings that surrounded the

/269 cont./

539 fat in order to stay warm. The Indians wanted the sun to come out, and so they donned their apparel, painted their bodies, and began to ask Orimoro, the great spirit. Orimoro was not an Indian but a man who lived in a stone house with some animals which he had created. The Indians went on asking until finally the light broke out; but the Indians had already grown old and the children had already grown up.

996 The data at our disposal do not permit us to place in Bakairí cosmology beings such as Tchini-ouma, Keri-kamé, or Orimoro and Nakoeri. Nevertheless, we prefer to regard Nakoeri as the supreme being of the Bakairí, leaving to Tchini-ouma, Keri-kamé (the sun and the moon), and Orimoro the role of culture heroes, until new work clarifies their respective functions.

182 13 433 Compelled to deal with a hostile environment, such as the savannas and forests of the headwaters of the Xingu, and lacking an adequate technology, the Bakairí, like the other Xinguano Indians, depended to a large extent on uncertain factors such as the amount of rainfall and the resulting annual increase of waters, which led to a scarcity or an abundance of food. Lacking an adequate technology, they did not store 789 their produce but lived on a subsistence economy. Their hunt- 224 ing and fishing activities were followed by magic rituals with 226 which they attempted to control the possibility of sudden future 241 calamities or even of illnesses. Thus agricultural activities 396 and the building of houses or canoes had to be followed by 782 propitiations. In order to utilize the vegetal or animal raw 262 materials, it was necessary to know how to control uncertain elements: How explain, for example, why one canoe splits and another does not, when both were made by the same craftsman? How explain how the same /270/ foods sometimes ap- 77 peared harmless and sometimes made people ill? The system of beliefs of the Bakairí seems to us an interpretation that

/216 cont./

and goes to the river. Yamíra throws himself in the water;--he likes guanandi /Calophyllum brasiliense/ resin;--burned cotton seed makes Yamíra run far /away/ away; Yamíra is very fond of colored clay and loam;--he does not like capaiba resin;--when ;ruthé is burned Yamíra does not like it, says the piaiá.

Finally, since there are certain animals which for him are a means of subsistence, his furnaments /own tools/, if it is permissible to say this in connection with peoples who have not reached the metal stage, it is natural that Yamíra should protect them with the same care and vigor with which a Bacairi would protect his canoe or his bow. There are animals whose injury is punished immediately: for example, the bacuri, in one of the passages cited above, or the Tapuíta, a little bird that will be dealt with more conveniently later on. There are truly taté or tapí, an expression used in Australia, and which, being widely known, demands no explanation. It is possible to come to terms with regard to the others, and this is done in a most reasonable way, by giving to the Yamíra in prepared form the food that he would have to prepare in the campo. It is mandatory, however, that the dead animal be put to good use; otherwise anas, pacas, and pigs will attack clearings, destroying them; and to propitiate the Yamíra it is necessary to give a feast, naturally masked, which they attend incognito. After eating well, they regard themselves as satisfied and the scourge ceases.

The following passage expresses more clearly the idea of payment, and, although it is somewhat repetitious, it is not redundant.

If the Guariba /howler monkey/ (Mycetes) is killed, it must be paid for, says the piaiá; if the macaco Coatá /spider monkey/ (Ateles) is killed, if the Preguiça /three-toed sloth/

/219 cont./

795 (tradypus) is killed, pay for them with mungku;--if no payment
797 is made, Tamika will seize our shadow; Imiga (Cebus?) /261/
982 is the domestic animal that is the creation (of) of Tamika;
796 if you cut down forest in which Tamika dwells, pay for it;--
mark out a place to hold a festival; makanari is payment for
the forest (13);--then, when Tamika had drunk mungku, he

[114 115] 13. After he had dictated this passage, I. expressed doubt as to whether the dance was the makanari or some other one.

goes far away (14).

[191 114] 14. Maria Ruiz Blanco notes a variant of the same idea among the Indians of Pirirí (Colombia): "When the Indian brings in a deer or wild boar, the woman comes out with a tutuma of the drink that they make out of maize, and she opens the animal's mouth and gives it some to drink out of courtesy so that its soul will tell the others about the good treatment given to it" (Conversión de Pirirí, 64, Madrid reprint.);

796 Makanari is the name of one of their festivals, and this would be the proper place to discuss them, if unfortunately, the scanty information that exists concerning this were not deficient, concealing all the ritual and devotional aspect which is its essence. We shall return to it on another occasion.

/260 cont./

796 for now merely stressing the following on this point: the masked dances and festivals are true religious ceremonies.

796 Let us now consider the piahi, whose important role has
756 already been indicated.

One word suffices to describe him: the piahi is a Yamĩra.

Piahi is a word that, with slight variations, appears in several South American languages and, like Carahiba can be interpreted in various ways. In Bacaeri it is related perhaps to epiwado, "payment," an idea whose scope we have already had occasion to mention. Basically /261/ it means the curer, the doctor. Thus it must not be confused with "sorcerer": ome-odo, "the lord of poison," may take a person's health and life; amapõçodo, "the lord of the hand of the dead," can vanquish the "lord of poison"; but both are mortal, while the curer is immortal and controls the forces of nature.

756 A few examples taken at random will show how the piahi appears to the mind of the Bacaeri.

796 The son of a curer was walking with his father, when
756 suddenly he was attacked by a jaguar. He defended himself
793 as best he could, and, arriving home, he said: „I have beaten a jaguar.--You are lying, said the curer, you have beaten me. This proves that the curer can get into the bodies of animals, or, to use the native expression, "make an animal his shirt."

Parutamido killed a tatou at the edge of a lake, cut it open, washed it, and refused to hand it over to the Yamĩra who demanded it in the water, as an animal of his creation (1/1). To punish him, the Yamĩra drowned him. When some time had passed without news of him, a curer who was his mother-in-law dreamed of what had happened to him. He went into the lake, where the Yamĩra explained why he had drowned Parutamido, treated him very well, presented him with mingau, with beijũs, and taught him the dance of the Karitõwo. This shows what different relations the yamĩras

/263 cont./

000 dangers that surrounded them. Pregnancy, enokua, was
843 recognized by the cessation of the menstrual periods. When
262 the abdomen of the pregnant woman began to attain visible proportions, a diet based on vegetal foods and fish was initiated.
844 As the time of delivery drew near, a separate section was
[789] built inside the houses; the parturient was segregated and remained uanki. Female relatives helped in the delivery under the direction of an experienced woman. The parturient gave
[895] birth sitting on her heels. In difficult cases they washed her abdomen and sides with a hot infusion of cotton leaves. The umbilical cord was cut by the parturient herself or by her husband, and it was buried along with the placenta outside the
844 house. After the birth, eraseli, the child was washed and
784 handed over to the parents; later it would be given the name
846 of some dead relative. During the birth and for some time
[553] afterward, the child and its parents remained in a state of uanki. The end of the seclusion was signaled by the first
846 menstrual period of the parturient, and it was marked by a
796 feast called tadaunúto. The restoration of the parents and the
784 child to the bosom of the community was accomplished by means of a feast called itabiénli.

When children reached puberty they were secluded, uanki, for a period of several months. They could not come out in daylight, and they were fed and looked after by their
[856] relatives. It was believed that the greater or lesser duration of the young people's uanki period would lead to their better
[622] or worse physical constitution. On the other hand, a chief's son had to remain in seclusion longer than usual. The period
881 of seclusion began for boys with the ritual of the perforation of
304 the ears (usually undergone in groups). Girls had their ears
784 perforated immediately after birth, and their seclusion was marked by the advent of the first menses. The end of the uanki
784 state was also celebrated with the tadaunúto. The girls then
881 began to wear uluri, that is to say, triangular genital coverings
796 about three centimeters square made of tree bark.
881
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/267 cont./

756 In regard to initiation, Karl von den Steinen tells us that
262 the candidate had to subsist solely on starch broth, hit himself
785 continually on the head, and at the same time scratch his arms and chest until blood ran. (14) On the other hand,

14. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., pp. 440-441.

276 Capistrano de Abreu relates that the novice had to swallow "drugs such as timbo, pindova, vaimbé, and other cipos" and learn the language of karoui. On the day of the initiation the candidate would go for a walk with his master, who gave him the infusion to drink. (15)

15. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 235-238.

796 The Bakairí had quite an elaborate ceremonial system, as may be inferred from the information obtained /268/ the Indians of Simões Lopes. Dancing and singing were done not only when there was an abundance of food or when economic activities permitted it, but especially at times such as the maize harvest, or the occasion when the ears of the boys about to be secluded were pierced, or at times of the celebration of the tadaunúto, or end of the uanki state, the building of houses, the beginning of the clearing of a field, or finally the distribution of cotton among the women. On those occasions
574 neighboring groups were invited and the festivities lasted for
534 days. Bakairí musical instruments consisted of bamboo flutes and bells for the feet made of piquí shells. The informants recalled four kinds of flutes: enimi and kanagera, sacred flutes kept hidden from the eyes of women and children, and tadãua
531 and nakigoro, used in secular festivities. The Bakairí also had gourds filled with seeds or stones, called pako, and wooden sticks decorated with geometric designs.

77 /270 cont./
satisfies effectively the cultural exigencies. The Bakairí lived in a world dominated by iamũra and other supernatural beings. Animals and plants were nothing more than draperies which were used by these supernatural beings. The Bakairi himself was a dual being: a spirit, kagatopũri, using a draping, the physical body, animated by another, denser spirit, kati. After death kagatopũri went through the stages of kadopa, a wandering spirit, and finally iamũra. For this reason the Bakairi did not appear to be afraid of their dead; bodies were more than vestments, but the kadopa were indeed dangerous.

784 182 In order to protect themselves against the innumerable dangers presented by the constellation of supernatural beings, such as iamũra, kadopa, tõpiehe, karoui, iuanaguroro, and kilaimo, the Bakairí used two methods. The first was seclusion, uanki, at the most difficult moments, such as birth, puberty, [796] death, and shamanistic initiation. Uanki was followed by the restoration of the individual /to the community/ through the 756 tadaunũto celebration. The other method was shamanism. 784 Shamanism was open to all and it must actually have constituted a 182 normal stage in the life evolution of the Bakairí. Yet few of them managed to become sorcerers, for the trials they had to undergo were not easy. Contact with the supernatural 756 was achieved by sorcerers through the use of tobacco or other 787 narcotic substances. In their trances the sorcerers came to 276 control the iamũra and acquired the powers peculiar to these supernatural beings.

775 Finally, the post-mortem life of the Bakairí, in Nakoeri's large aldea, reflects as might be expected the organization of their aldeas. Once changed into iamũra, the Bakairí join their ancestors and old friends; the pleasures of eating and drinking are not denied them since they also feel hunger and thirst, but they are now invulnerable to the perils of the forest. They can use the animals and plants, at their pleasure, as wrappers for their wanderings through the air, in the rivers, or on the ground.

536 then crushed, the pieces were taken out through the hole, air was blown into the ball, and the hole was covered over with rubber. The balls varied in size from 3 to 8 inches in diameter. The game was played on a field about 50 yards square with four goals placed midway on each of the four sides. Small white circles (*shipíri*) marked the goals, and another circle about a yard in diameter (*yotíri*) was placed in the center of the field.

The game was played by two teams with equal but varying numbers on each side. One team, called *pidto*, had the north and east goals, and the other team, called *tosúndo*, had the south and west goals. To score a point a team had to put the ball across the opponent's goal. The ball could not be carried in the hand but could be kicked over the goalkeeper. Each side had a leader who did not play but encouraged his players. The organizer of the game threw the ball from the center of the field to the *pidto* side at the beginning of the game or when the ball went out of bounds. The game lasted until the players were tired, the winners being the team with the greater number of points.

The Bacairí also organized wrestling matches called *toddinpudlli*. The object of the match was to knock down the opponent by pushing or hitting with the shoulders; grasping or hitting with the hands was not allowed. The loser was the one who had the greater number of falls.

CEREMONIALISM

537 Among the Bacairí ceremonialism was highly
796 developed. Although songs and dances were performed whenever the people had an abundance of food and economic activities permitted the leisure time, there were special occasions (the ripening of corn, ear piercing of boys preparatory to going into seclusion, the coming out of seclusion of a woman after childbirth, house building, the distribution of cotton by women) during which particular songs and dances had to be performed. At these times it was customary to invite people from neighboring villages to participate in the festivities.

534 The musical instruments of the Bacairí consisted of rattles and flutes. The drum does not appear to have been used. Rattles were of two kinds: the common gourd rattle (*pdko*) and piqui

/101 cont./

361 [101] There were two settlements of "docile" Bakaïrí: the aldeament on the Rio Novo, as this first was called, after a tributary of the Arinos, and the aldeament on the Paranatinga. The two villages are not yet old, all the adults were born farther up the Paranatinga, on the "Salto" /waterfall; see the glossary, [131] p. 172 /; the Bakaïrí, however, were probably spread over this entire region in small hordes, as is shown by the fact that they were noted as far as the Rio das Mortes. In the 'twenties, when 199 648 the gold-seeker expedition under the leadership of P. Lopez 199 pushed into this region, they were converted to Christianity, on which occasion, as Reginaldo related, his grandfather and many others lost their lives.

823 /102/ We eagerly inquired as to whether he knew about a river beyond the Paranatinga? Today, he replied, this region is [131] completely strange to them. he remembered from his youth, [101] however, that one was supposed to come to a large river if one went from the Paranatinga toward the rising sun, and on this river there were said to be Bakaïrí still living, the "antiguos" /the ancients/, who were not Christians.

361 The two aldeamente are under the administration of the 648 "Director dos Indios" in Cuyabá /Cuiabá/. Reginaldo is a [622] Brazilian captain, his successor as chief of the tribe, Joaquim, 361 is a lieutenant. Our seeing no women was due to the fact that they were living in an aldeament two legoas away; the huts which we occupied were used only when the farm work required it or when there were visitors. Reginaldo /illustration appears here/ completely forgot to say how sorry he was that he could greet us only as a grass widower.

[162] The village numbered six huts; the population amounted 342 to 55: 16 men, 19 women, 20 children. The soldiers were usually quartered in the big house that Reginaldo otherwise occupied with a few others: a rectangle 57 paces long and five paces wide, which was divided into a number of separate rooms by means of partitions. We occupied the guest house -- it was only 17 paces [199] long. It was modern construction, learned from the colonists. Twenty minutes away we found two deserted old-style huts,

Y /267 cont./
535 back and forth in this way for hours. They held bow and arrow in their hands and were led by a masked figure which, in the semidarkness, looked like a man dressed as a woman at a carnival. Y The clothing was feminine, the abrupt movements masculine.
[292] This costume consisted of a cotton cap with red, yellow, and green feather trimming all around and a long white cloak of loosely knotted cotton cord that terminated at the bottom with a wreath of black mutum feathers pointing downward. -- Castro said that he had interpreted the explanation of an Yuruna to mean that their festival dance preserves the memory of former times when a great chief was received with much pomp in the villages that he visited. That chief is represented by the man in
000 the cloak and the feather crown. /The remainder of Ch. 16 and Ch. 17, pp. 267-281, are omitted in the translation./

/282/ Eighteenth Chapter

Legends of the Bakaïrí

B
273 The name that plays the chief role in the story of jolly
[15] Captain Caetano Mêmo, which unfortunately was told in such miserably broken Portuguese, is that of the "Imperador." If
B
[99] the missionaries had the intention of causing the greatest possible confusion of concepts in the heads of the Bakaïrí whom they were to convert, they achieved their purpose to such an extent that one can only with effort separate a little clarity and
B concreteness from the general confusion. Let us imagine
539 Imperador the sun-god of the Indians. He bears two other names. Keri and Schischi. His brother is called Kame and also Nuna. Schischi, however, is the sun, Nuna the moon. Keri and Kame are merely two other names for the two celestial bodies, which are found among many "Guck tribes" (cf. chart of the Nu /untranslated/) interestingly enough in reverse, Keri belonging to the moon, Kamu to the sun.

/283 cont./

its course with the furrow of the spine as well as where it ends with a somewhat deeply cut division, is free of all schematization. The head reminds one of that of an Eskimo in its round hood, which is the result, first of all, of the absence of a neck, and then of the shallow depression dug out below the hair line for the face and in which the nose was left standing. In the case of the loam man of the Bakaïrí, it can be seen on closer inspection that there was also a depression (but extremely shallow) for the face.

Wax figures. Again, as in the case of maize, merely an artistic way of preserving the material. The black wax was shaped into pretty little animal figures, and, to be sure, most attractively among the Mehinakú, and thus hung up or placed in a basket until needed. Among the Bakaïrí we found a human figure better modeled than the loam dolls. The civilized Indians converted to Christianity have modified their saints out of wax and sell

Fig. 72. Wax figure: peccary. Mehinakú. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration)./

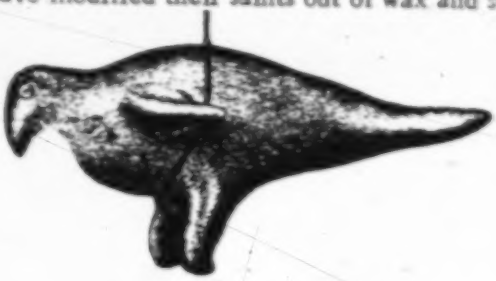

Fig. 73. Wax figure: karijo dove. Mehinakú. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

them. The plastic wax best revealed what the artists could do. Some animals were very well modeled, for instance, the small peccary or tayassu, 6.5 centimeters long, of Figure 72, Dicotyles torquatus. The eyes are represented by a pair of small plates of shell, the nostrils of the proboscis put in deeply. Of other mammals we also saw the large swamp deer and a howling monkey in the form of wax figures. More common were the hanging

/298 cont./

*171 535 562 finally, that there was not the slightest trace of any secrets and mysteries or of any special relationship of the medicinemen to the dances which were supposed to be kept secret from he women.

*171 345 562 It is also for protection against feminine curiosity hat the entrances of the flute houses on the Kulisehu are made o low that one can enter only in a very stooped position or even must slide in on the knees. I do not know to what extent the prohibition for the women is carried out in practice in everyda life, but we did not obtain permission to measure them in the flute house, and certainly it was said "the women would be killed if they went into the flute house" -- a rather crude varian of "mulier taceat in ecclesia" /the woman is to be silent n church/. [799] That the custom was still taken seriously among the docile Bakaïrí some 30 or 40 years ago is best illustrated by an experience which, according to the story of an old Brazilian, the priests who brought Christianity were obliged to undergo. The found nothing more natural than to assemble the new congregation in the flute house which was so well suited for church purposes because it was uninhabited. /299/ The men came willingly enough, but the women remained outside and were persuaded only with great difficulty to risk physical danger for the sake of the salvation of their souls.

*171 535 Among all the tribes the body is partially or completely covered with aprons or cloaks for the masked dances. Leaf strips of buriti straw or dry grass blades about a meter long were strung on a cord to make a wide apron and were wound around the neck several times so that they hung down from the shoulders, or around the /Fig. 90 appears here/ hips so that they reached to the ankles, or combined in both forms. The chief difference [825] is in the ornament for the head. Common to all is the connection with animals. Here we may distinguish:

1. Imitations of animals are put on. Bakaïrí.

2. Straw caps with long fiber hangings, in part bearing attributes of the animal. Bakaïrí.

3. Fish net in front of the face. Nahuquá.

4. Straw lattice in the fashion of the sieve-filter, in an oval hoop. Without facial parts. Bakaïrí, Nahuquá. Facial parts of wax. Auetö.

/334 cont./

*171 55 [124] One of the women in the Paranatinga village was called makála = tujujú stork. The names of the men were usually obtained without difficulty; sometimes there was a little reluctance and it was preferred that a friend give the information. One Bakaïrí allegedly had no name because his parents had died early. From the women on the Kulisehu I always received only the answer, "I am a woman"; however, I neglected to ask a third person.

*171 553 797 I have described the custom of exchanging names; cf. pages 115 and 122. It explains why the Indians make so little fuss about submitting to Christian baptism. To them it means simply a ceremony by means of which they lose their old name.

*171 844 [849] [872] Birth and couvade. Abortions are said to take place frequently. The women are afraid of childbirth. Among the Bakaïrí they make a tea from the root of a campo tree called perovinha. Probably there are also mechanical procedures. The woman gives birth in a kneeling position on the floor, hanging on to a post. The hammock is not supposed to be soiled. Women who demonstrated this to us in pantomime and who knew about it from experience stated emphatically that the pains were great.

*171 846 They soon get up, however, and go to work, and the man goes through the well-known couvade, the male lying-in, during which he adheres to a strict diet, does not touch weapons, and spends most of his time in the hammock. On our return we saw such a couvade in Maigéri in Paleko's house. An actual lying-in room had been /335/ set up by stretching two man-high walls of hanging buriti leaves from one of the main posts to the outer wall. In this way a three-cornered segment was closed off. I was gladly allowed to enter so that I could give the child beads. Inside there were stretched four hammocks, sheltering two women with babies and two men. A strong odor of pikí, coming from rubbings, filled the room. The babies were kurápa, ill, weak, [755] the parents complained. The fathers and mothers were ceaselessly occupied with blowing on them, and, to be sure, with hollow-sounding noises with the mouth nearly closed, which was hardly interrupted for a moment throughout the following night. The [514] [862] husbands left the house only to relieve themselves; they lived exclusively on thin pogu, mandioca cakes crumbled in water.

/387 cont./

131 Bakaïrí are all inhabitants of the eastern source-region of the
133 Tapajoz and are to be found only in the region of the plateau above the rapids and waterfalls that put great obstacles in the way of the journey downstream to the Amazonas /Amazon/.

175 The West Bakaïrí have been known since the first raiding
101 expeditions of the "Paulistas," the discoverers of the Mato Grosso who boldly pushed forward from the province of S. Paulo on their slave hunts at the beginning of the previous century. Even Antonio Pires de Campos, from whom we have a report* from the year 1723,

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* Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico XXV, p. 448. Rio de Janeiro, 1862.

"after the experience of so many years," had heard of them; after he has briefly characterized (page 448) the tribes -- today long since disappeared -- of the upper Cuyabá and the Rio Manso emptying into it, he continues: "All these have the same way of life, the same type of weapons, and everything else the same, they are nomadic tribes and, with their raiding expeditions, succeed in causing harm to the heathen people named Bacayris, who live on the tributaries of the Maranhão (sic!); and from there on various stations of heathens /388/ with countless villages follow one another, as I have been informed, and all very warlike people and masters of their weapons."

The Bakaïrí are also mentioned in a report from the year 1749 about a trip from Pará into the source region of the Madeira, and furthermore it may also have happened in many an old note about the origin of the Mato Grosso gold mines. It is always only a casual mention of the tribal name, which does not offer us further information. At most we may conclude from these citations that in the previous century the Bakaïrí must have been more numerous and perhaps had advanced somewhat more to the west and southwest than is the case today. This will come out more clearly, however, from their own tradition.

175 Closer contact with the Brazilians did not take place until
●797 the beginning of the 'twenties in our century. At that time

2: Steinen--466E D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/388 cont./

175 "Padre" Lopes reached as far as the region of the Paranatinga
• 177 and converted the West Bakaïrí to Christianity. Lopes was an adventurous gold-seeker, about whom the painter of the Langsdorff Expedition* of 1828 remarks that, accompanied by

[113] * Hercules Florence; cf. Revista Trimensal, Vol. 38, II, p. 280.

Apiaká /Apiaca/ Indians, he had gone up the Rio dos Peixes, a tributary of the Arinos, and "fought with many savages." At any rate, since his visit, which cost the lives of Reginaldo's grandfather and others, the West Bakaïrí have been regarded as
175 Christians. How superfluous the brutalities of the noble Lopes were comes out best from the following words of the geographer
[113] Ayras de Cazal in his Corographia Brasilica /Chorography of Brazil/ of the year 1817, therefore before Lopes: "The Baccahirys who inhabit the regions adjacent to the Rio das Mortes carry on ceaseless warfare against all types of quadrupeds and birds. To this day these people have not engaged in any hostilities against the Christians. It is said that they are white and friendly: one reason why they are regarded as a horde of the Paricys."

[101] The real reason why the Bakaïrí could have been regarded as a horde of the Paressí, as happened in the case of Martius, is simply that there was no accurate information about either one
[177] of the neighboring tribes. If the natives occasionally came to Cuyabá in small numbers in order to beg for a few gifts of ironware, shirts, trousers, or blankets from the government, they were felt to be annoying guests whom one tried to get rid of as quickly as possible, and about whose language or peculiarities no official needed to bother. They did not live, say, near an avenue of communication connecting two important towns, but rather, on the contrary, sat behind the very last little colonists, who themselves received very little attention, there where there were no avenues at all; they did not do these neighbors any harm and were therefore of no interest whatever to the government.
177 The good Chief Felipe in the Paranatinga village racked his brains

THE BACAIRI [P. 69-B]

000 101 Brazilian Government. The information presented here was obtained at Simão Lopes from the Bacairí who lived on the Rio Kuliseu and relates to the life that they lived there about 40 years ago.

[192] Linguistically the Bacairí belong to the Carib-speaking family and appear to be closely related culturally to the other Carib-speaking tribes in 142 the Upper Xingú Basin. The Bacairí are short in stature, broad-shouldered and well-built. The head is broad, the nose straight or acquiline, the face narrow, the lips fairly thin. In physical [144] appearance the Bacairí remind one of the Arawak-speaking Paressí, but contrast sharply with the large-framed, coarse-featured Bororo, Umotina, and Guató living in the headwaters of the Paraguay River to the south.

175 131 The Bacairí Indians are first mentioned by Gonçalves da Fonseca in his account of his travels to the Madeira region in 1749. In the atlas of Thomas Jeffry, 1776, the "Bacahyris" are located on the Rio Paranatinga. Ayres de Casal, in 1817, refers to the "Baccahyris" as living in the region around the Rio das Mortes. Martins places them 175 in the headwaters of the Xingú. From 1820 on, 177 more or less permanent contact has been maintained with the Bacairí living on the Rio Novo and Rio Paranatinga. In 1820 a P. Lopez led an expedition in search for gold into the area and [79] with him came priests who began to convert the Bacairí to Christianity. With these contacts came disease and conflicts (Von den Steinen, 1942, p. 123).

175 101 131 361 The first scientific account of the Bacairí dates from the voyage of Von den Steinen down the Xingú River in 1884. Traveling over land from Cuiabá, he and his party reached the Christianized Bacairí living in the villages of Rio Novo and Paranatinga with whose help he continued his voyage down the Batoví River where he was the first to make contact with the four pagan villages of the Bacairí located between latitudes 13°30′ and 12°30′ S.

175 162 The following table gives size and number of inhabitants of the villages visited by Von den Steinen (1942, appendix, table 8, p. 418):

/408 cont./

125 How did they count things that did not exceed 6 in number?
802 If I put down 1 maize kernel, the Bakaïrí immediately answered "tokále," at the same time generally grasping the kernel and then the left little finger, but both so hastily and mechanically that, even if he did so, the process seemed needless. In the case of 2 kernels, he seldom omitted taking the fingers of both hands to assist. Particularly if I put down the kernels somewhat apart, he would always shove them together and then always grasp the left little finger and the ring finger before he pronounced the number. If I put down 3 kernels and asked the number, I was not once given the answer, either by Paleko and Tumayaua or others with whom I practiced less, until the little pile had been divided into 2 and 1: they would first touch the pair of kernels, frequently breaking them up, inspecting them, then on the left grasp fingers V and IV and say "aháge"; then they would grasp the single kernel, shove finger III to the left toward IV and V, say "tokále," and finally announce: "aháge tokále." The experiments proceeded in a similar manner up to 6. Little heaps of two kernels were always made, they were always touched, and only then the finger put to use.

The right hand touched, the left hand calculated. To count on the fingers of the left hand simply by looking at the kernels, without using the fingers of the right hand, was utterly impossible even with 3 items. The little heap of two had to be positioned properly with the hand. I placed 3, 4, 5, 6 kernels before Tumayaua, let him form the little heaps, but held his left hand: he would seldom count, or rather guess, correctly with 3; for the remainder he gave a random collection of "aháge" for good measure. Thus, both hands were indispensable when 3 items were to be counted; in an emergency one could do without the left, but never without the right.

801 In the legends and tales of the Bakaïrí, to keep this in mind
802 here, the number 2 is often mentioned.

The 3 also appears; the bagadú fish gives the deer 3 mandioca twigs which he is supposed to plant. Kamuschini cuts down 5 trees; cf. page 445. The storyteller needs 3 sentences in order

/408 cont./

801 to give us this information. "He cut down two pikí trees. He
802 cut down two more the same way. He cut down one."
Kamuschini brings the 5 trees into the house and sets them against a mortar. Again 3 sentences, and, /409/ to be sure, here, in the middle of the enumeration, the second pair of trees is expressed not by the number word "ahége," but by the indefinite "zagóno," the one or the others. Thus, the three sentences run: "He set 2 against the mortar. He likewise set the others against the mortar. The single one was put against the mortar." Of course, the situation in this case need not be quite as bad as it looks. Kamuschini cuts down different kinds of trees, as Antonio also remarked to me. Thus, the storyteller may have had in mind in each of those three sentences the different trees. Nevertheless, he would not have proceeded otherwise with 5 trees of the same species, as I saw in the case of the 5 stars of Perseus; cf. page 425.

802 There is, of course, nothing to prevent them from reporting accurately even in the case of 5 items, since they have number words up to "6."

One of the stereotyped conversations had to do with the number of children. Even the Bakaïrí who arrived from the second village and had not yet been tortured by my experiments confided to me during the first quarter hour that they had 1, 2, or even 3 children, and in doing so used their fingers without exception. It seemed unheard-of among the Bakaïrí that someone calls "ahége ahége" offspring his own. Hence they got along very well with the number words and the fingers.

In fact, they did not need higher numbers than they possessed. In their simple circumstances, which were not beset with difficult problems about property, a number of pieces beyond six played no role. On their own initiative, they gave me the numbers for the child statistics just mentioned and for the days' journeys on the river, which from tribe to tribe always remained under that limit. Their deficient arithmetic means a lack of intelligence only insofar as it shows, to be sure, a limited economic horizon, but has nothing at all to do directly with poor endowment. It

/237 cont./

193 first person plural inclusive and exclusive, familiar in the aba-ñeẽ, is alien to the Kxura-itano. Amaremo, "you," second person plural, is obviously of secondary formation: mo indicates plural, re is the emphatic particle, and ama is the pronoun for the second person singular.

Another series of lesser used pronouns: abe, mahe, kxidahe.

The adjective, generally put after the substantive, is, like the latter, affected by time and number. Comparatives are avoided. A concept close to that of the superlative is expressed either with the emphatic particle or by means of the addition of certain words such as kxúru, "indeed" (comparable to the French bon, tout de /238/ bon, kxura in the Bacaeri has, among others, the meaning of "good"); Ĩwakukeba, "it is not a joke," etc.

193 The determinatives are affected by time and number.
● 801 There are only three cardinal numbers: tokale, "one"; ahaʔe, "two"; ahewaλ or ahewanela, "three." Steinen gave to Antonio, the Indian who was his informant in the Xingú region, the following sentence, "At first he (the child) walks like an animal, on all fours," and obtained only: çaʔuxõe anaʔito ara ãhe iwodo adakxobodili, that is, "he walks with the two arms." To the minds of the Bacaeris, rather than to produce a number four, it seemed easier to invent a whole story whereby Cemimu (Morcego /bat/) had a son by the daughter of Pau de Morcego /"bat wood"; Andira/ (Pödiki), and, when he found out about the paternity, he became angry at the child, breaking its knees with an arrow; since then children walk first with the two arms before they walk with the two feet (6).

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6. The matter of knees seems to have caused the minds of the Bacaeris much trouble. Mapinukai, one of their ancestors, had knees like those of a

/vi cont./

122 [113] Simultaneously with the appearance of this book, Professor Vogel is publishing his results in the organ of the Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin/Geographical Society of Berlin/ which deserves credit in connection with our journey for supporting him from the funds of the Karl Ritter Foundation. I cordially thank the president, Privy Councilor Baron von Richthofen, for his kind permission to add to my account the map drawn and edited by Dr. Richard Kiepert's trusted hand. I myself experienced substantial assistance through the Humboldt Foundation of the Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin /Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences of Berlin/, and on this occasion, too, I beg the Board of Trustees to accept my most sincere gratitude.

In the course of the journey we were given numerous demonstrations of hospitality by Brazilians as well as by countrymen in Brazil and the La Plata states, both by simple private persons and by persons in high office, who have put us most deeply under obligation to them. Though we can show our appreciation to the sons of the country to a certain extent by helping to open up the interior of a little explored province, we remain wholly indebted to our countrymen; were I merely to mention the localities where they live, I would have to recapitulate the entire route, except for the Indian paths. Thus, to all to whom these lines find their way, whether they import and export in trade or lead in a political position, or whether, as intrepid colonists, they live far from the coast, I extend the most cordial greetings and wish them the safeguard of peace and orderly conditions for their work.

128 [802] The maize has already bloomed six times since we left the source region of the Schingû -- "two two two, ahége ahége ahége," counts the Bakaïrí, and finds no words in his language [113] to express a larger number. The report has been delayed longer than I liked; I was held back primarily by preliminary linguistic studies (Die Bakaïrí-Sprache /The Bacairi Language/, K. F. Köhler, Leipzig, 1892), but I learned many things from them and gained a broader and firmer foundation than was the

/70 cont./

823 805 [539] norõku, pône, it is now -- as though we were to say "Jahre" /the German word for "years," but with the accent on the final syllable/ -- transferred to the last one "norokũ," "ponẽ," and the arrow flies, tsõk, tsõk, from the bow.

Beyond the Nahuquã, however, where the knowledge of details becomes vague, only the days' journeys themselves are given. The right hand, slowly rising in even motion, describes an arc from east to west, arrives down there, and suddenly is laid on the cheek coming up to meet it, remains there while the eyes are wearily closed, and then grasps the little finger of the left hand: sleep once. Then again the same figure, but the ring finger is grasped with the little finger and both are drawn aside: sleep twice, and so forth. Be attentive, noble listener, for woe to you if you ask a question -- there is no other way to help you but to begin again from the beginning.

123 But revenge is sweet. My turn also came, for they wanted to know how far it is to Cuyabã, my starting point. Their faces [802] were priceless when I counted off, first, the fingers of my left hand, then my right, then, exactly according to their method of counting, went over the toes of the left foot and those of the right, traveled and slept between each two fingers and each two toes in the prescribed way, and finally had to grasp my hair, pulling it apart, to demonstrate that the number of days still did not extend far enough and was more than 20! Then they murmured their "kõu, kõu" of amazement or "õko, õko, he õko" more and more impatiently; all talked at once and finally joined in the hearty laughter of sheer disbelief.

186 /71/ Individual Indian tribes were also ridiculed in vivid pantomime on account of their peculiarities; the Nahuquã were funny because of their beards, the Suyã, or, as the Bakaïrí say, Schuyã, had to bear the brunt because of their cork-disk which they wore in the lower lip, for which the actors stretched their lower lip far forward and produced a made-up jargon of snapping tones; the Trumaí were imitated with a horrible "huhuhuhu" and, because of their barbaric habit of tossing war captives into the river with their hands tied behind them, were presented as objects partly of scorn or disgust, partly of fear.

/270 cont./

000 Civilized man today begins even his first bungling efforts in the drawing art with triangles, squares, circles, and with these and similar figures our ancestors developed the science that is regarded as the highest; he does not see lines and geometric figures anywhere around him in nature -- therefore, he concludes, these fundamental concepts have sprung from his own rich inner self. That they could have originated from the models of pubic coverings, bats, or fish seems to him not only unworthy, but also a ridiculously roundabout course. For what is simpler than drawing a triangle? What is simpler, I reply, than counting to five? Even 531 now the Bakairí explains each triangle that I draw for him as a 802 picture of the uluri. He cannot yet count things without the help 811 of his fingers. The number word "5" = hand, which is still found among many primitive peoples, corresponds exactly to the uluri - triangle. In both cases the inner perception of the pattern or the abstraction is derived only from the object, in both the concrete original 000 has asserted its rights for a long time. Neither the facility with which we toss these ideas about nor the fact that the meaning of our number words has evaded all the probings of philology proves that our ancestors followed a course different from that of primitive peoples.

The teacher of geometry today certainly need not take particular pleasure in an uluri in order to sketch a triangle. The uluri is a sort of archaeopteryx of mathematics. How should the flying bird appreciate the fact that it is descended from the creeping or, at best, fluttering reptiles? Nevertheless the bird's inability to understand this origin does not prove the least thing against it. In the same way nothing is proved if we who are excellent flyers in the heights of mathematics can scarcely imagine that earlier human beings were unable to rise to the minor achievement of producing a simple triangle by themselves.

*191 Use of the ornamentation. On the weapons used -- there were 411 only bows and arrows -- painted designs were scarcely applicable. 531 The throwing stick, too, was decorated only with plaiting around it; a cork cone that was mounted on an arrow shaft as a tip exhibited the decoration of the mereschu design, cf. the illustration, page 91.

/405 cont./

a whole into its halves. Objects furnish the empirical limit of the "2" gesture. Dependence on sense of touch. Confirmation by etymology.

B 171 802 [128]

The art of counting was the least developed among the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/. With regard to the other tribes I shall limit myself to a few remarks, since I am giving the numbers in the word list /omitted in the translation; see the foreign text, pp. 524-547/.

B 171 802 171 802

All tribes counted the fingers of both hands first and then the toes of both feet. With the exception of the Bakaïrí, they commenced with the thumb of the right hand, counted up to 5 on the fingers, went over to the thumb of the left hand, counted up to 10 here, and repeated the procedure in exactly the same way for the feet.

If one regards the number words in terms of their formation, one observes among all the tribes that they have separate words for 1, 2, 3, with the exception of the Bakaïrí, whom I shall ignore for the time being, and the Trumaí, for whom, however, the records contain much that is uncertain; among the Trumaí the word for 2, hurs, is contained in the one for 3, hurstamé. On the other hand, the Trumaí and, besides them, only the Waurá (uncertain) and the Kamayurá /Camayura/ have an entirely new word for 4, whereas among all the others 4 is represented by 2 altered by an addition.

For 5 the Trumaí and the Auetó have a new word that has nothing to do with "hand." Among all the others, always with the exception of the Bakaïrí, "hand" is contained in the 5. The Kamayurá say "hand stops," yenepó momáp (Guaraní mombáb, to stop), the potter tribes say "1 hand," the Nahuquá simply "hand."

The numbers 6, 7, 8, 9 are formed out of 1, 2, 3, 4 with an addition. It is only among the Kamayurá that the latter is different for 6 and 7 than for 8 and 9. For 6 and 7 = 1 and 2 + verowák, the meaning (Guaraní guerobág) seems to be: 1 or 2 are interchanged, alternate.

/406/ Among the potter tribes and probably also the Auetó 10 contains the hands, among the others the word is a new one.

/406 cont./

B 171 802 T 171 802

With 11, among all of them, the foot enters, specified by an addition, and 12, 13, 14 are = 2, 3, 4 + foot and this addition. The Nahuquá, however, instead of their word for foot, use the word vúro, which, however, from a comparison with other Karaiben /Carib/ languages, is recognizable as a stem with the same meaning,* and now count from 11-15: "1, 2, 3, 4, 5 foot"

* vuro = upu-lu (-lu pronominal suffix);
Makusí, Island Karaiben, upu, foot.

on the right toes and from 16-20 on the left "1, 2, 3, 4, 10 foot."

From 15-19 matters are very confused; with 15 a new addition usually appears and the formations run parallel to those of the second hand from 6-9 or those of the first foot from 11-14. Among the Yaulapiti, whose numbers are formed very regularly, 1 foot means 15, whereas among the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ 11, in the former instance because the foot is finished, in the latter because it is just beginning. Thus, among the Mehinakú, the following oddity occurs: 5 = 1 hand, 11 = 1 foot, 12 = 2 foot, 13 = 3 foot, 14 = 4 foot and (since 5 = 1 hand) 15 = 1 hand, foot!

All have the feet in the 20 except the Auetó. Among the Yaulapiti the same addition which was with the hand = 10, is with the foot = 20. Among the Kustenaú /Custenau/ 15 is precariously similar to 20.

B 802

Let us now turn to the more backward Bakairí, with whom I practiced all kinds of arithmetical exercises.

The names of their counting apparatus, the fingers, have nothing to do with numbers. The thumb means "father"; the little finger, "child" or "little one", the middle finger, as among us, "the middle one"; index finger and ring finger are called the "neighbor" -- at least that is the probable meaning -- in the case of the former, of the "father," and, in the case of the latter, the "neighbor" of the "little one."

They count in words up to 6:

1 = tokále	4 = ahége ahége
2 = ahége	5 = ahége ahége tokále
3 = ahége tokále or ahewáo	6 = ahége ahége ahége

As may be seen, they have individual words only for the numbers from 1 to 3, and the numbers from 4 to 6 are made up out of ahége and tokále. It was only on the second expedition

/406 cont./

802 that I learned the word ahewáo for 3, but I just as frequently heard the form made up of 2 and 1. The inference that ahewáo is perhaps a newer word would be false, for linguistic comparison shows that it is also present among several Karaiben tribes in the northern part of the Amazon River and must be very old. It is noteworthy, however, that this 3 does not enter into any of the higher number words, not even 6.

If we disregard the nonobligatory ahewáo, the Bakaïrí counts as follows:

one, two, two-one, two-two, two-two-one, two-two-two.

He starts with the little finger of the left hand and says "tokále," grasps finger IV, joins it with V and says "ahége," goes over to III and says, /407/ holding it separately beside V and IV, "ahége tokále," goes over to II, joins it with III and says "ahége ahége," grasps the thumb and says "ahége ahége tokále," places the little finger of the right hand alongside it and says "ahége ahége ahége." Beyond "6" the Bakaïrí has come to the end of the number words and now continues with IV, III, II, I of the right hand by touching each finger in turn and simply adding "méra," "this one." In like manner he touches the toes of the left and right foot and each time says "méra." If he is still not finished, he grasps his hair and pulls it apart in all directions.

One is obliged to say to oneself that if they had wanted to designate 7 with "ahége ahége ahége tokále," they would have had to count, and in order to count they would have had to count the numbers themselves. Thus, even if there were no more profound reasons, the lack of a number word higher than 2 or 3 would have been an obstacle in itself. Apparently beyond 6 they had only a vague idea of a larger sum. One must imagine someone who wants to count the steps of stairs, but on the way, for some reason, no longer knows exactly the number of steps covered; climbing higher and higher, he remains aware of the fact that there are always more, but having once lost count, he becomes increasingly vague about how many more steps there will be and how many there are altogether. Thus the Bakaïrí climbed their stairs of 20 steps up to the end and were undoubtedly

/407 cont./

802 altogether sure that with the first foot they were farther than with the second hand, and with the second foot farther than with the first, but after they had counted, say, 10 fingers and 5 toes, there was no question of their having a precise notion such as we associate with the word "fifteen."

Their concepts came to an end with "6," and the view beyond "6" was likewise definite only to a certain degree, as long as it was bound up with seeing and feeling the fingers and toes. As soon as specific objects were to be counted, their skill scarcely went further than their concepts, that is to say, the number words.

125 802 I made a great many experiments with Paleko and Tumayaua -- I tear my hair at the memory -- and shall first mention the invariable result with a large number of maize kernels or something similar. If I put down ten kernels and asked "åtúra?" "how many?" they counted, in the manner to be described, slowly but correctly up to "6." At the seventh and eighth kernel they would, if necessary, refer to fingers IV and III of the right hand and correspondingly say "méra," "méra," but then they acted tired and morose; they reminded me of people who are supposed to play cards or solve puzzles in which they are not interested and soon exclaim, yawning: "Oh, I have no talent for that sort of thing." They, too, yawned, and, when I pressed them, they laughed foolishly or made a sullen face, complained of "kinaráchu ewáno," which, significantly, means "head-work" or "head-pain," and, if possible, ran away; in any case they went on strike.

802 /408/ On one occasion I asked Paleko whether the Nahuquá village was large. In reply he set about drawing a number of circles in the sand and pointed to the picture with a satisfied expression. His purpose was to illustrate for me the indefinite multiplicity of houses, the more precise number of which he could scarcely have had any certain knowledge, and he was not in the least aware that, putting down one circle after another he was nevertheless giving me a limited number. Paleko had no idea of the fact that there are people who can specify a dozen circles as 12 circles.

/408 cont./

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801 to give us this information. "He cut down two pikĩ trees. He
802 cut down two more the same way. He cut down one."
Kamuschini brings the 5 trees into the house and sets them against a mortar. Again 3 sentences, and, /409/ to be sure, here, in the middle of the enumeration, the second pair of trees is expressed not by the number word "ahége," but by the indefinite "zagóno," the one or the others. Thus, the three sentences run: "He set 2 against the mortar. He likewise set the others against the mortar. The single one was put against the mortar." Of course, the situation in this case need not be quite as bad as it looks. Kamuschini cuts down different kinds of trees, as Antonio also remarked to me. Thus, the storyteller may have had in mind in each of those three sentences the different trees. Nevertheless, he would not have proceeded otherwise with 5 trees of the same species, as I saw in the case of the 5 stars of Perseus; cf. page 425.

802 There is, of course, nothing to prevent them from reporting accurately even in the case of 5 items, since they have number words up to "6."

One of the stereotyped conversations had to do with the number of children. Even the Bakaĩrĩ who arrived from the second village and had not yet been tortured by my experiments confided to me during the first quarter hour that they had 1, 2, or even 3 children, and in doing so used their fingers without exception. It seemed unheard-of among the Bakaĩrĩ that someone calls "ahége ahége" offspring his own. Hence they got along very well with the number words and the fingers.

In fact, they did not need higher numbers than they possessed. In their simple circumstances, which were not beset with difficult problems about property, a number of pieces beyond six played no role. On their own initiative, they gave me the numbers for the child statistics just mentioned and for the days' journeys on the river, which from tribe to tribe always remained under that limit. Their deficient arithmetic means a lack of intelligence only insofar as it shows, to be sure, a limited economic horizon, but has nothing at all to do directly with poor endowment. It

/409 cont./

●802 means lack of practice. They have no livestock whose numbers they would be obliged to watch, they have no trade in goods that would have to be counted or referred to a unit of value; they need only inform one another now and then about the number of persons, about the number of animals, which they have encountered, which they have killed, which they divided up among themselves, about the trees that they cut, and whatever similar work there is in the household and daily life, for which their number words are adequate or for which an indefinite multiplicity may be conveyed with other means of expression in word and gesture. They have the principle of counting, the abstraction of number; the Karaiben base-people already had this in ancient times, and from there upward the further development depends only on interest. Their limited need for concerning themselves [193] with the number of things is, in my opinion, characterized by the lack of a plural even more than by the lack of number words. Tree, trees, and wood are all "se," house, houses, and village always merely "éti."

000 We whose lives are full of numbers because they represent the framework of all our knowledge possess a great many acquired items of knowledge in which all /410/ ordinary, "regularly" recurring numerical relationships are included, and in very many individual cases we do not need independent observation. It is not likely that we ever counted our toes, but it is true, there are ten of them. We can wear a vest for a year, put it on and take it off daily, and yet have no idea how many buttons are on it. Now primitive man clings to each single phenomenon and knows nothing about laws. If one asks him how many fingers he has he is glad to do us the favor of counting them. He takes the question exactly as the European does the one about the vest buttons.

171 802 How the Bakaïrí art of counting, which is extraordinarily similar to that of Australian tribes, could have developed further step by step can be seen in a frequently cited example among their near, though spatially very remote kinsmen, the Tamanako of the Orinoco. The latter have completed the

/410 cont./

171 familiar step forward and chose a number word for "5" from the
802 hand: "whole hand"; "10" are "both hands," "15" a "whole foot," and "20" "a man." The "2," the same word as among the Bakaïrí, is still contained in the "4" of the Tamanako, but they have given it an ending determining the meaning and no longer say "two-two." We again recognize exactly the same finger-gesture system of the Bakaïrí, which, however, has already provided itself with proper number-words.

800 While Paleko plaited baskets or when I often swung sleepless in my hammock during the night, I would rack my brains about their method of counting. Was one to be unable to find even here, where conditions are as simple as possible, any trace of the remarkable secret of how the abstraction of number originated in the human mind?

It has been observed everywhere among primitive peoples that they count primarily with their fingers and get along better this way than with number words. From this general experience it was concluded that number gestures are older than number words and that the latter only came out of the former. Now, in speaking of finger gestures, one must not think that it is merely a matter of gestures with which the number is to be conveyed to the questioner as though they had the immediate purpose of giving him a more vivid elucidation, in the way an Italian, for example, as soon as he says "3," stretches out 3 fingers. The native calculates with his fingers, in the way one grasps the beads on the wires of an abacus. It is true, in counting one or two objects he often touches the fingers of the left hand so fleetingly that the movement takes on the character of a purely communicative
[802] gesture. If, however, one has watched the careful and punctilious work which the counting of 3 maize kernels represents, how the Bakaïrí touches first the kernels and then the left fingers, one will not doubt that the left hand is his abacus. And in the same way beyond "6" he touches his fingers and toes one by one like the beads of an abacus, and he is far from pointing to them merely in an expressive way or even, if that were mechanically possible, from stretching them out in pantomimic demonstration.

/412 cont./

000 symbol-seeker will not indulge in the fancy that originally he conceived the first "2" by feeling a pair of eyes or wings and then transferring the sensation to his fingers.

Just as little would he have been able to abstract the "1" as the first number concept from "nose" or "mouth," whereas he could apply it to them after he already had the abstraction. But whether he placed his finger on his nose or his nose on his finger, it would not have helped him in the art of counting, as has been mentioned, for with such 1, 1, 1, 1, which without the "2" would have been no better than the demonstrative "méra" of the Bakaïrí, he would never have arrived at the first sum. His "1" could only have piled up an indefinite "many."

Now if it is not understandable how the numberless man could have made "2" out of 1 + 1, might not the solution of the problem be that he made it out of a single entity?

●802 The Bakaïrí counts, both in his finger language as well as in his word language, according to the following schema:

|, ||, || |, || ||, || || |, || || ||, and, to be sure: | tokále, || ahége.

Although he has a separate word for "3," he uses it only to a limited extent. The "2" cannot renounce its original importance and did not even tolerate the formation of an "ahewáo ahewáo = "6." The objects which are counted are divided into pairs. In the case of "3" and "5," he does not form | || "tokále ahége" and | || || "tokále ahége ahége," but || | "ahége tokále and || || | "ahége ahége tokále." Thus, it looks /413/ almost as though "2" had existed, not only before "3," but also before "1"!

000 This notion led me to the approach which I regard as the right one. This approach must be an everywhere recurrent, lawful and extremely simple process and must speak for itself, no matter what etymology says; it must be of such a nature that we have to take it for granted even when we do not know the number words at all.

Now what if man had achieved the unit "2" by dividing a whole into two pieces? What if, instead of beginning with the "number of pieces" "2" he had begun with the number of 2 pieces?

/414 cont./

171 802 If there is no natural limit for the "2" in the fingers, and one tribe calculates by beginning from the little finger, another by beginning from the thumb, that of the Coroados even at the finger joints, according to Martius, then the counting of the "2" is not learned by means of a pattern in the arrangement of the hand itself, as would be conceivable with "5." It should be remembered, however, that the Bakaïrí only calculates on the left hand what he has touched with the right. With his glance alone he cannot transfer the number of kernels to his left fingers, but must first arrange them. His counting is divided into two processes: that of the arrangement of the objects into 2 parts and that of the illustration on the fingers of pairs and individual pieces. But he already divides or counts up to 2 on his right hand and simply derives the abstraction, if I may express it thus, on his left hand. The important preliminary step, which, I believe, has been overlooked up to now, comes from the touch perception. Then, of necessity, the things he touched and somehow manipulated with his hands are responsible for the first unit of "2": these things must have in them a law that furnished the concrete "2" when they were manipulated and that with certainty produced the abstraction of "2" after the customary illustration with the fingers, because the same observation was repeated in the case of all objects.

000 One can break a thing into many fragments, but everything that one methodically breaks or cuts is first broken or cut into 2 pieces. I can take in my hand 1, 2, 3, 4 sticks and nothing teaches me to put the individual ones together in number units, but if I take a stick and break it -- it will be conceded that, as long as man has existed and wherever on earth he has broken sticks, he has always broken every stick first into "2" pieces. If one again breaks the first piece into 2 and the second piece into 2, one obtains the numerical order of the two-system of the Bakaïrí or the Australians. In the demonstration of the procedure regularly following the same course by means of the finger gestures used by primitive peoples for all illustration, the ancient Bakaïrí always pointed first to the little finger and ring finger and then, if he

/414 cont./

000 continued, to the middle finger and ring finger, while the Coroado always pointed to the two upper finger-joints of a finger: here an initial limit was marked off on the fingers, no matter where, but a limit that remained constant in the case of any one people, an empirical limit. This was the finger gesture "2," and the word "together," "finished," "much" -- there are x conventional possibilities --, which concluded the first operation, became the number word "2," and the first operation was followed by a second identical one for 3 and 4.

The conception of "2" was first formed and practiced with fragments. It may soon have been extended to other similar objects which a person had in his hand /415/ and which resembled one another as two fragments resemble each other; in the case of two wholes the two-unit looked and felt the same as in the case of two fragments. 2: (1 + 1) = 1: (1/2 + 1/2). With this advance, it must have been detached from the process of cutting and breaking and transferred to other procedures, such as giving and taking and apportioning, which were done with the hands and in the same way with fragments or wholes.

The activity of dividing was always the same, the objects changed as desired; thus, one came to disregard their nature and had the abstraction of the number "2." But it was only by means of the activity that it was achieved, not by means of the mere appearance of the objects as they represented, say, the paired organs of the body. The first firm basis was now established in experience for the fact that one could divide a whole into two halves without calculation: if one broke a single piece, he no longer had to touch and mark off, he knew that it made "2." In the case of the paired organs, however, it is primarily a matter of the halves of a whole. They were conceived, on the basis of all experience, as a correlated whole, there were no one- or three-eyed, no one- or three-legged human beings, and one had in view, even if it were not precisely defined conceptually, that one had neither more nor less.

802 The clear initial limit, which we still definitely recognize among the Bakaïrí today, is the division of the whole into its

/415 cont./

802 halves. For as soon as it comes to 3, he requires the assistance, not only of his calculating machine, but also of his sense of touch. Even today he does not know, without reflection, that he has five fingers, although he can count them; his knowledge is secure only as far as "2," as is also shown by the drawings which I had the people make. With any given number of similar objects, he is to this day confronted with an indefinite multiplicity, and that is why, when I place before him for counting 2 maize kernels which are not 2 halves of a whole, he repeats the old procedure and lets the fingers touch them; in this case, to be sure, the Bakaïrí is quite able to count without the fingers, but he seldom does so. With 3 maize kernels he cannot for the life of him say that there are 3 if he simply looks at them and does not also touch them and add 2 + 1 on his left hand.

000 It was only the touch perception that in the beginning marked off the objects that were counted. In order to understand the fatigue of the Bakaïrí, we must imagine that we are counting in the dark and have only the number words 1 and 2. We are so accustomed to count with our eyes that we can scarcely realize that this is an accomplishment achieved only through long practice, which was attainable only with the possession of the higher number-words and by an audible or silent pronunciation of them replacing the finger grasping. And yet we need only take the ears instead of the eyes and we soon realize how everything depends on practice and how in an equivalent sensory area we register or count just about as badly as the Bakaïrí does /416/ the maize kernels. Who does not count aloud or silently when he wants to count the striking of a clock, assuming, of course, that he does not know beforehand how many there will be? And now one should imagine for a moment that he does not have at his disposal a series of number words, each of which relieves us of the effort of remembering the preceding one, but rather has only the words for 1 and 2; will he not immediately use the fingers in order to ask them for the sum at 6 or 8 strokes, exactly as the Bakaïrí does in his case? The fact that one stroke after another dies away does not essentially alter anything in the comparison; I must also move my glance from one object to another.

/416 cont./

000 Conversely, let us imagine someone who has had a great deal of practice in registering aural impressions; will he be able to understand how someone like us could say he heard the clock strike but could not tell how often? How charitably he would smile at our audible counting! And he, too, would have to use his fingers to help out if among his number words he had no higher units than 2 and 3.

[802] Just as we are not practiced in hearing, so the Bakaïrí is not in the habit of counting with his eyes. He is still almost entirely limited to the result of touch perception. The foundation upon which further development, stimulated by interest and need, and the formation of higher units must have been accomplished had already been present for many generations, yet how slight were interest and need in primitive family life! Even in sharing, which -- we cannot help but think -- first of all demands "keeping accounts," one scarcely ever needed to count: it was give and take and the piece in the hand proved more than the fingers on the hand.

802 196 Let us turn once again to the number words of the Bakaïrí and see how their etymology, insofar as it offers any certainty, corresponds to the development revealed in the experiments. The comparison is not without value because the two studies were made quite independently of each other, and the explanation of the number words rests only on phonetic proof and linguistic comparison.

171 802 196 I do not know how to begin with "ahewáo," "3." It occurs among a number of tribes of the north, partly in greatly altered forms which nevertheless can probably be reconciled. The singular luxury of two numerical expressions may be bound up with the great uncertainty which the Bakaïrí still manifest in 3-counting; the important thing is still to determine the pairs and there is a separate word only for what exceeds the designation of the first pair, the most common case. In the difficult counting of objects that exceed "3," I heard only "ahége tokále," so that the two expressions are used somewhat like "twelve" and "dozen," and "ahewáo" perhaps still has something indeterminate adhering

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171 to it from its original meaning. For this reason it is not used for
802 making up higher numbers. In the Kamayurá "3" is called
196 moapüt, a word that can be definitely analyzed. It is made up of the causative mo-, mbo-, and apüt, apy, "peak," "point." The highest /417/ or peak finger is the middle finger, which marks the "3," in other words, already a natural limit, like 5 = hand. In the closely related Auetö, 1 and 3 are entirely different words than in the Kamayurá-Tupí, while 2 is the same. This is very similar to the relationship among the various Karaiben tribes.

Fortunately, the meaning of the most important number-word "ahége" is certain. It also has the greatest comparative value linguistically, for it occurs, for the most part little differentiated, among all the genuine Karaiben peoples and is a veritable guide-word. Phonetically it goes back to "atáke." It must be broken up into, first, the demonstrative a-, which also forms the pronominal prefix of the second person and refers to the nearest thing outside one's own body, and, secondly, the post-position "-take," "-sake," "-hage," "with /mit/, along with /samt/" = "there-by /da-bei/," "there-with /da-mit/," "together /zusammen/." Thus, there is nothing in it about hand or fingers, and nothing about eyes, wings, and arms.

"Many" is "aági," and even "ági," and, since I also once wrote down "ahági" and in any case there must have been a consonant between the two occurrences of a, was very probably originally identical with "ahége," "2" -- an identity which has long been lost in the linguistic feeling of the modern Bakaïrí. Consequently, the meanings "2" and "many" would have split off from the oldest meaning still demonstrable today, "therewith /dabei/," about like our "jointly /miteinander/" "together /zusammen/," and the word for the definite number and the one for the indefinite amount would be merely phonetic differentiations of the same stem form.*

ooo

* For example, in German the same stem paar /pair/ = "2" and = "einige" /a few/ is not even phonetically differentiated, but only syntactically,

/417 cont./

000 and graphically for the person who writes "Paar" and "par"; even the syntax is not consistently carried out. Because though one says, "das Paar Handschuhe" /the pair of gloves/ or "ein Paar Handschuhe" /a pair of gloves/, one also says, "die par Leute" or "ein par Leute waren da" /the few people or a few people were there/, instead of being consistent and saying "wenige Leute" /few people/ or, likewise without an article, "par Leute waren da."

●802 196 We see that the history of the Bakaïrí number-word for 2 is wholly in keeping with the presumed origin in general of the outlook regarding numbers. We only learn here in addition that the observation of how an object broken with control falls into "2" pieces was not separated for a long time from the one that in the case of an object uncontrollably broken one has in one's hand any number of pieces "together." Now, however, contrary to our psychological development, a strange ray of light falls on the etymology. The origin of the postposition "-sake" "-hage," which must mean something like "collectivity /Gemeinsamkeit/" -- to express it in a nice abstract way -- remains to be elucidated. In the material recorded there is a verbal stem which is homonymic, but which no one would connect with the concept "collectivity": chopping wood! The work of the stone ax which splits the trunk. This is at any rate interesting, and one might believe that for a Karaiben the meaning "to chop wood, pieces of wood or sticks (collectivity), together, two" could develop divergently, even though our "zusammen, samt, sammeln /together, along with, to gather/," as well as the Sanscrit sama, Zend hama, English same, that is, derselbe /in Ger./, /418/ Greek ἁμά conjointly /zugleich/, ὁμός same /derselbe/, etc. have one origin. In this case the language would be the final missing link; it would furnish proof of the origin of the first number abstraction "2" from the concrete image of something broken and would thus complete the series of conclusions from my experiments, which

/418 cont./

802 reach back only to the proof of the origin from manual work, to
196 make an uninterrupted chain of inductive evidence.

In Tupí "2" is mokói, made up with the causative mo-; koi is translated "pair." Thus "2" = "makes pair." But what is koi? Now strangely enough, kopi -- the exact equivalent of the Bakaïrí sake -- means "to chop wood"! Between the two vowels in koi a softened consonant has been dropped; let us assume it arose from koui, kobi, which would be a very common process, and we would have the same origin of "2" as would be conceivable in Bakaïrí.

Finally I must also consider "tokále," "1." It is made up of "toka" and the augmentative particle "-le." "tóka" means "bow." Since each man has only one bow, or since many arrows go with one bow, the bow is the simplest example for "1" among all the implements. The derivation is a bit questionable because it is almost too perfect. To be sure, "toka" is so constructed phonetically that, according to the phonetic laws prevailing in the Bakaïrí, it need not change. It seems very striking that there are so few equivalents for "tokále" among the Karaiben of the north; they are fewer in number than those for "ahewáo" and far fewer than those for "ahége." It is surely permissible to exclude coincidence here and to see in this circumstance, as regards language as well, evidence that actual, conceptual counting began with the "2."

II. Color Words

000 Available dyestuffs. Corresponding to the number of color words. Strange statements intelligible through etymology. Dyestuffs older than the need for color words. Use in connection with the names of animals and plants. Green never = blue-black.

196 Color words, no less than number words, show how development depends on interest.

171 As has already been mentioned, the following dyestuffs are
386 used on the Schingú /Xingu/.

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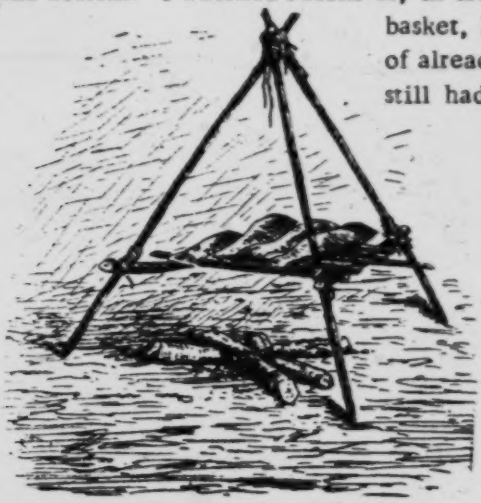
*171 227 [286] The nets, merely small hand nets, were plaited out of the twisted, very resistant tucum palm fiber. They hung as a pouch from a piece of vine with both ends bent together in an oval.

*171 227 285 Two types of weir baskets were distinguished: the puroschi of the Bakaïrí, wider, fuller with horizontal, rectangular interstices, and the other, tamaschi, narrow, long, with wide, high vertical meshes. The catch-basket, kutu, was a plaited framework of pointed sticks, shaped like a truncated cone, and open at the top and bottom. I watched Paleko as, in order to make a catch-basket, he evened up a bundle of already pointed sticks which still had different lengths. He used the following measuring stick. He took a piece of shaft reed, a-b, and another, c-d, tied them together one under the other parallel at b and c, and now used the free piece from c-d for measuring, placing the stick to be measured alongside it, pressing it against b, cracking it sharply at d, and breaking it off.

*171 227 285 ●804



[252] Fig. 30. Roasting rack (trempe). (1/30 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

*171 25 252 The Indians often set out for a few days to engage in fishing. They bring home baked fish, but they also seem to be satisfied merely to eat their fill for once outside. The pyramid of the grill, the "trempe" of the Brazilians, which one almost always finds where the Indians have stayed overnight to fish or to build a canoe, is finished in no time. Three sticks are placed together like rifles and are joined at the top with bast, somewhat below the middle a little rod is placed crosswise from one stick to each of the two neighboring ones and is lashed, and this angle

/69 cont./

829 as I noted to my astonishment, according to the extent of the
577 hospitality that they offered, to be "kĩra" meant not to let there be any lack of beijũs and pũserego, the flat cakes and the best paste-drink made of mandioca, at the reception. As far as the Nahuquá and possibly also the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ were concerned, it was the same information, based in part on experience, in part on hearsay, which is regarded as the most important for our autumn journeys: good and bad hotels.

823 But what a difference between a printed Baedeker and this
537 gesticulation, this sound-painting, this relentless creeping from
805 one halting-place to another in the enumeration of stations! From where we are to the second Bakaïrí /70/ village one day's journey, from the second to the third two, and so on -- no, one did not race madly along like that in the good old days that I was experiencing here. First one sits down in the canoe, "pẽpi," and rows, rows, "pẽpi, pẽpi, pẽpi" -- one rows with paddles, dipping right and left, and one comes to rapids, hubuhu... How high it drops: with each hu, hu, the hand goes one step down from the top, and how frightened the women are and cry, "pekũto ãh, ãh, ãh...!" At this spot the pẽpi -- a vigorous step toward the ground -- must be pushed forward through rocks, with what groaning, and the "mayãku," the carrying basket, laboriously -- the left shoulder is tapped one, two, three times -- carried overland. But one climbs in again and rows, pẽpi, pẽpi, pẽpi. Far, far -- the voice soars ih....., so far ih....., and the mouth, pointed like a snout, while the head is convulsively bent back at the nape, shows in what direction of the compass ih..... Over this the sun sinks: the hand, outstretched as far as possible, reaches toward the west, describing an arc, and aims at the point in the sky where the sun will be standing when one -- lah.....ã -- enters the harbor. Here we shall be among the: "Bakaïrí, Bakaïrí, Bakaïrí!" "Kĩra, kĩra!" and here we shall be well received. Perhaps one has also passed a place where there is good fishing, where "matrinchams" or "piranyas" are to be shot: whereas otherwise words have the accent on the penultimate syllable,

/70 cont./

S23 S05 [531] norõku, põne, it is now -- as though we were to say "jahré" /the German word for "years," but with the accent on the final syllable/ -- transferred to the last one "norokõ," "ponẽ," and the arrow flies, tsõk, tsõk, from the bow.

Beyond the Nahuquã, however, where the knowledge of details becomes vague, only the days' journeys themselves are given. The right hand, slowly rising in even motion, describes an arc from east to west, arrives down there, and suddenly is laid on the cheek coming up to meet it, remains there while the eyes are wearily closed, and then grasps the little finger of the left hand: sleep once. Then again the same figure, but the ring finger is grasped with the little finger and both are drawn aside: sleep twice, and so forth. Be attentive, noble listener, for woe to you if you ask a question -- there is no other way to help you but to begin again from the beginning.

123 But revenge is sweet. My turn also came, for they wanted to know how far it is to Cuyabá, my starting point. Their faces [802] were priceless when I counted off, first, the fingers of my left hand, then my right, then, exactly according to their method of counting, went over the toes of the left foot and those of the right, traveled and slept between each two fingers and each two toes in the prescribed way, and finally had to grasp my hair, pulling it apart, to demonstrate that the number of days still did not extend far enough and was more than 20! Then they murmured their "hõu, hõu" of amazement or "õko, õko, he õko" more and more impatiently: all talked at once and finally joined in the hearty laughter of sheer disbelief.

186 /71/ Individual Indian tribes were also ridiculed in vivid pantomime on account of their peculiarities: the Nahuquã were funny because of their beards, the Suyã, or, as the Bakairí say, Schuyã, had to bear the brunt because of their cork-disk which they wore in the lower lip, for which the actors stretched their lower lip far forward and produced a made-up jargon of snapping tones. the Trumaí were imitated with a horrible "huhuhuhu" and, because of their barbaric habit of tossing war captives into the river with their hands tied behind them, were presented as objects partly of scorn or disgust, partly of fear.

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126 192 536 825 sometimes I am afraid I betrayed what to them were incredible gaps in the most ordinary education.

The most difficult problem lay in the verbs, and, to be sure, not only because of the complication of forms. If I succeeded in writing down short sentences in which something was said about an occurrence that was just going on, even if I myself performed all kinds of actions, such as eating and drinking now of this, now of that, which were supposed to give them the content of a sentence, /80/ gross errors were nevertheless unavoidable. Unfortunately, they often said things that were different from what they were supposed to say according to my request and criticized the action instead of naming it. They were thinking for themselves and not for me. And in these efforts their readiness to imitate was disturbing to a high degree. I thought nothing would be easier than to obtain at least those intransitive verbs that could be evoked by unequivocal mimicry on my part; I would indeed need only to sneeze, cough, weep, yawn, snore, only to get up, sit down, to fall, and so forth, in order to be immediately rewarded with the matching words. But they either clung to the contemplation of the process itself, thought I wanted to go away when I stood up, righteously joined in when I yawned, because they, too, were tired, or were royally amused at my strange doings, and, amidst much laughter, would likewise abandon themselves to sneezing, coughing, and snoring, without, however, saying the redeeming words.

126 192 153

I made the best progress when I gave them the Portuguese word and applied the formula: the Karaibe says it thus, how does the Bakairi say it? Here I finally almost always met with understanding and response, for they were mad about learning my language.

• [811] They were very grieved that they did not understand me better, and, confusing hearing and understanding, they asked me to cure them. I had to put saliva on my fingers and with it rub the auditory entrance for them. Their comprehension of Portuguese was even more deficient than they themselves realized. They have

151 191 194

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192 The real poverty is in the lack of superordinate concepts,
811 as among all primitive peoples. They have a word for "bird," which probably means "winged," but the North Karaiben have another stem toro- or tono-, which among the Bakaïrí also means very ordinary birds, a species of parrot or wild chicken /Waldhuhn/. Each parrot has its particular name and the more general concept of "parrot" is completely lacking, just as the concept "palm" is lacking. They know the characteristics of each parrot and palm species very precisely, however, and cling so to these numerous individual facts that they pay no attention to the common features, which, to be sure, have no interest. Thus, one sees that their poverty is only a poverty of higher units; they are choked by the mass of material and cannot handle it economically. They deal only in small change, but in the number of pieces in their possession they should be called superrich rather than poor. In building up their thoughts they set their ideas together like an endless wall of uniform stones and as yet have scarcely any notion of architectonic structure.

811 Their ineptness at forming abstractions came out most clearly in my efforts with regard to their art of counting. About this,
128 however, I should like to report later in a separate chapter, so that now I may finally take up once more the thread of our travel chronicle and return to Independencia, to my traveling companions. In my description of my Bakaïrí idyl I have been very detailed to some extent, but will thus be saved many details in the later portrayal, since the picture among the other tribes was essentially the same, even though I was never again able to enjoy it so quietly.

/176 cont./

*171 well-meaning advice that I should pluck it out. The lashes re-
302 moved so radically would not by any means grow scantily, as is proved by the magnificent lashes of the "docile" Indians. /Pl. XIV appears here./ /177/ Moreover, the grooming of the beard was by far the most neglected, and thus the custom of removing the hair probably did not start with it.

Regarding the pubic hair, which only the Suyá men did not remove, whereas their absolutely naked women did, one can expect the rather coarsely naïve natives to regard its presence as particularly ugly. Yet it is scarcely satisfactory to assume that it is only man's innate pleasure in a smooth skin which has prompted the unclothed native to carry on such energetic destructive warfare against all body hair. There is no lack of reasons why it often seems annoying. People say that even insects which are not eaten as lice are get into the beard, underarm, and pubic hair and mat it down, just as in our case bees in particular became entangled there; people remember the tubercles and blisters on perspiring skin, which are doubly sensitive in hair, the uncleanness caused by blood and dirt, the convenience of attack for underbrush as well as for the pugnacity of one's fellow men, and thus they find many situations in which the body hair of a naked person may cause more annoyance than pleasure. On
[517] the other hand, the pastime and enjoyment which plucking the hair and working over the bodies with small implements provide people in lazy hours must also be given their due. Finally, it is
[826] perhaps not entirely irrelevant that hair and feathers are regarded as a sort of plant growth. The word for hair and feathers among
[811] the Bakaïrí, and probably also in other languages, was originally
[192] the same as forest, and the concepts are basically related, regardless of whether the vegetative was taken from the corporeal, or vice versa. Hair and plants grow; they are also cleared away, at least the short weeds.

I should like to put foremost, however, a simple motive operating daily. Just as skin and hair belong together, I am thinking, in association with the custom of plucking, of a connection with the other custom of body painting, of cosmetics, which Joest maintains is older than bathing. For the painting of

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 164]

/270 cont./

000 Civilized man today begins even his first bungling efforts in the drawing art with triangles, squares, circles, and with these and similar figures our ancestors developed the science that is regarded as the highest; he does not see lines and geometric figures anywhere around him in nature -- therefore, he concludes, these fundamental concepts have sprung from his own rich inner self. That they could have originated from the models of pubic coverings, bats, or fish seems to him not only unworthy, but also a ridiculously roundabout course. For what is simpler than drawing a triangle? What is simpler, I reply, than counting to five? Even now the Bakaïrí explains each triangle that I draw for him as a picture of the uluri; he cannot yet count things without the help of his fingers. The number word "5" = hand, which is still found among many primitive peoples, corresponds exactly to the uluri - triangle; in both cases the inner perception of the pattern or the abstraction is derived only from the object, in both the concrete original has asserted its rights for a long time. Neither the facility with which we toss these ideas about nor the fact that the meaning of our number words has evaded all the probings of philology proves that our ancestors followed a course different from that of primitive peoples.

531 802 811 000

The teacher of geometry today certainly need not take particular pleasure in an uluri in order to sketch a triangle. The uluri is a sort of archaeopteryx of mathematics. How should the flying bird appreciate the fact that it is descended from the creeping or, at best, fluttering reptiles? Nevertheless the bird's inability to understand this origin does not prove the least thing against it. In the same way nothing is proved if we who are excellent flyers in the heights of mathematics can scarcely imagine that earlier human beings were unable to rise to the minor achievement of producing a simple triangle by themselves.

*171 411 531

Use of the ornamentation. On the weapons used -- there were only bows and arrows -- painted designs were scarcely applicable. The throwing stick, too, was decorated only with plaiting around it; a cork cone that was mounted on an arrow shaft as a tip exhibited the decoration of the mereschu design, cf. the illustration, page 91.

B /338 cont./
*171 between father and child; the child is a duplication of him, the
846 father has become double, and, for the sake of the helpless, irrational creature which represents a miniature edition of himself, he must himself behave like a child who must not come to
B harm. Supposing that the child dies during the first days, how
[753] could the father who is filled with such ideas and who has eaten
[761] indigestible things doubt that he himself is at fault, especially
B since all sickness arises through the fault of another? What we
●[811] call "pars pro toto" dominates popular belief everywhere with respect to sorcery or healing magic, although I do not believe that the sorcerer /339/ has a clear image of a "part" with which he is working. The "couvade" is carried out according to the same logic, except that here is a case where the whole intercedes for the "part." It is all the same whether I poison the hair of the enemy and thereby cause him to waste away, or whether, to the detriment of the child which has become detached from me, I eat food that it might not tolerate at all or at least not during the days when the separation takes place.

B
*171 Burial. All the tribes of the Kulisehu bury their dead; the
764 body lies in west-east in such a way that the head looks toward the rising sun. (According to the statements of the Kamayurá, the Suyá bury their dead in a squatting position, the head with the feather ornament bent back and the eyes turned toward the setting sun.) The grave is on the village plaza. Among the Mehinakú we saw in front of the festival hut a heap of brush under which, at a shallow depth, the grave pit was said to be located; fat beetles were crawling out of holes in the ground
A and the place was alive with flies. Among the Auetó a square
[764] in front of the festival hut was staked off with thick, low posts connected by plaiting. It is photographed on Plate 15 /see p. 253/; I do not know whether it is a coincidence that the two sinuated sides of the square resemble the characteristic shape of the handle-plate of the throwing board. Among the Yaulapiti we saw a square grave fence.

2: Steinen--411 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Chapter XIII.

Science and Legend of the Bakaïrí

I. The Basic View.

Man need not die. Knowledge of the existence after death. Explanation of nature by means of stories. Animals = persons. Animals actually furnish culture, hence same explanation carried over for unknown origins. Origin of explanatory story. Celestial bodies, the oldest things, and animals. Significance of the Milky Way. Transformation. Men from arrows, women from maize pestles. Keri and Kame and the ancestor legend. The twins and their mother are not profound personifications.

[76] When in the course of making my linguistic recordings I gave Antonio* the sentence, "everyone must die," he was silent for

[113]

* Bakaïrí-Grammatik /Bacairi Grammar/, p. 185.

some time, to my astonishment. There ensued the same long pause which I always had to cope with when I presented him with one of those abstractions so familiar to us, but so foreign to him. [811] I learned then for the first time that the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ does not know "must," he has not yet reached the point of deducing a general necessity from a series of always identical, recurring phenomena; quite specifically, however, he does not understand that man must die. He is still far from the thought which we memorize in the lowest classes of the Gymnasium,** "nemo mortem

** As a boy I refused to believe it at heart and for many years, until I became more intimately acquainted with the nature of death, clung stubbornly to the hope that I might perhaps be an exception and not die, as is otherwise customary in the history of the world.

/349 cont./

761 the other hand, the process of the separation of soul and body is
794 not [illegible]; he experiences it day after day, as we have seen, when
795 the shade /Schatten," shadow, shade"/ hastens away in the dream
828 and leaves his body behind in the hammock. Ordinary death is a deep unconsciousness (coma) brought about by the poison which the sorcerer administers, and it differs from sleep only in the fact that the shade hastens too far away to be able to return. Only the medicine man who poisons himself returns to life. The experiences of the shade during sleep were already "real"; hence its "experiences" after death are just as "real." One is familiar with this reality, which is merely life in another place, from daily experience and has it amply confirmed by the deceased, with whose shades our own communicates during the dream, and by the sorcerers who occasionally visit the realm of the dead; in the latter Hamlet may find the wanderers who return from the regions of the unknown country. To die to sleep, no more /cited in English/.

795 The shades of the dead Bakaïrí go to heaven to the ancestors. Heaven is first of all not the land of the future, but of the past, the old ones are still there where all history began. The heaven
[772] in which the first Bakaïrí lived lay beside the earth in former times, and one could easily get over to it. Too many people died there, however, /350/ so the people moved to earth, and heaven rose up to where it is now and where the animals, the places, and the things which occur in the old stories may be seen to this day. "Everything remained as it was." "There were always Bakaïrí, but in the beginning there were very few." One
[811] need only hold fast to a few specific points, and one will recognize, in spite of all flights of fancy and in spite of all the elaboration by tradition, a core of naïve, sound logic in the Indians' explanation of nature.

811 The Indians know no "must." They regard every occurrence in nature as a unique occurrence, or more correctly as a unique action. Indeed, laws are in fact known only as the result of the common work of many -- those who live and have lived. And as long as there are no laws and at best only habits, each individual is at the center of the

/350 cont./

811 universe, which represents only the totality of his personal impressions. It is not the natural phenomenon as such, with its conditions, that is the object of contemplation, but the impression that one receives from it; a story is sufficient to explain it. We recognize the same situation in the language; each species has its name, but the number of superordinate terms is extremely small. Therefore the number of divisions and pigeonholes is small; hence it does not matter much if a thing falls out of one compartment and into another. It is definitely noted, something special has happened, but there is no inherent impossibility anymore.

Let us make a comparison with something seen indistinctly. Far off on the forest path we see something which we are not yet in a position to recognize clearly. Everyone sees what he expects to see -- a stone, a deer, a heap of wood, a woman messenger, whatever it might be. It moves us if one of the shapes in the woods turns into another before our eyes, but -- and therein lies the great difference -- we do not believe in a transformation, but rather conclude that we were mistaken at the first glance, because we forthwith sacrifice our perception to the universal laws known to us, which absolutely exclude the former possibility. In the case of a striking illusion, however, we might realize that our obstacle does not exist for an ignorant person. I heard of a case where a fleeing Negro slave was pursued, and he ran into a small thicket, a capão; people looked for him in vain and found only a large jabuti turtle. The leader of the people put the turtle on his horse, but on the way let it fall out of fright and set it free; the entire company then swore that the Negro had turned into the turtle. When, despite a careful search, the slave was not found and only the turtle was to be discovered, this personal experience was decisive. The fact simply existed; if it was unusual, it could easily be explained by saying that the Negro was a sorcerer.

/351/ The reason that all "unusual" things can be explained simply as magic is because the idea of lawfulness is lacking. One is not yet in a position to be sharp-sighted. In fact, the more unusual the occurrence, the more one likes to hear it related and the more firmly it will therefore be believed.

/351 cont./

772 ways of life, to which the Indian is limited, can at best merely indicate to man the position of primus inter pares. To be sure, the animal does not have bow and arrow and maize pestle, but that is the chief difference in the eyes of the Indian, and that is why the men arose from arrows, the women from maize pestles, but it does have, like man, important tools, for example, such as teeth and claws, which, indeed, he takes away from it.

825 Moreover, the Indian lacks our division into species, insofar as the one does not interbreed with another. This distinction, which /352/ experience certainly makes easily recognizable, is again completely obliterated because the barrier based on our anatomical knowledge falls away. Let us consider for a moment what our popular belief is capable of concerning this error; here one is confronted with a genuine mouse-skin, a genuine dog-foot, etc. If the Indian can explain something by the crossing of different species of animals or by that of animal and man, nothing prevents him from asserting it; on the contrary, he will see proof of it and merely conclude that such things no longer happen now because they are no longer necessary. Today, our learned men say, there is no longer generatio aequivoca, but at one time it surely occurred. The difference is all the more obliterated since the native is obliged to use the convenient explanatory principle of transformation in the widest latitude. Finally, he does not concern himself further about reproduction within the species, since the child is nothing but the father; the species or the tribe is like a single individual, which always appears under the same name; various subspecies, for example, the jaguar cats, large and small and differing in color, are brothers. Each of these "jaguars," however, appear by name, "campo fox," "deer," "ant bear" -- in all kinds of stories and no one asks whether it is, say, campo fox "V" or campo fox "XXIII." It is also precisely the same for the human forefathers in the ancestor legends; the women are usually taken as given, and the fellow tribesmen who accompany them always are.

772 I repeat, we are justified in using the expression "anthropo-
● 81 morphize" only as a schema, and it becomes false if one tries to

B /352 cont./
772 interpret it as though the Indian says, "I am a human being and
811 let the animals behave like human beings too." The reverse,
that human beings are animals, also occurs, and, to be sure, in
B the good and bad sense. The Trumaí are water animals because
[186] they sleep at the bottom of the river. The Bakaïrí say this in
B all seriousness. We likewise encounter among other tribes this
[171] same belief in human beings who live in the water. The Bororó
BO maintain that if one chews certain leaves one can remain for
[827] hours under the surface of the water and catch fish. I was unable
to learn anything more specific about the "water life" of the
Trumaí, except that they like to attack other tribes on the river
and supposedly throw captives in the water with their arms tied.
I do not know whether they were formerly river nomads, like the
Guató; at any rate, they first learned agriculture from their
B neighbors. Whatever may have suggested this belief about them
[186] to the Bakaïrí, it will not be vitiated by any conclusions that we
might draw on the basis of our natural laws, "but, after all, the
Trumaí are not animals, not fishes"; rather, the Bakaïrí concludes
that because the Trumaí sleep in the river they are water animals,
and he mocks and despises them, as happens to every tribe with
BO strange customs. The Bororó pride themselves on the fact that
772 they are red araras. They not only turn into araras after death,
811 /353/ as well as into certain other animals, not only are the
[775] araras Bororó and treated accordingly -- they also express their
relationship to the brilliant bird so cold-bloodedly that they desig-
nate themselves as araras as though a caterpillar were to say that
it is a butterfly and, in doing so, do not at all wish to give them-
selves merely a name completely independent from their nature.

B Thus, the Trumaí are water animals because they have a
772 habit of water animals; the Bororó are araras because their dead
811 are transformed into araras. One tries to interpret these and
[171] similar phenomena by the confusion of names and things which
easily occurs in tradition. This is decidedly not the case among
our Indians. Though it may be readily conceded that, where the
basic view is present, such confusion automatically appears,
nevertheless the basic view, undoubtedly present, must be put

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772 first as the main point. Or would we who lack it and who may also
811 experience confusion ever believe our geographers and historians if they said that the Finns were a nation of tapeworms?

772 But if the essential distinction is absent, then the matter is
773 entirely different. Then there is nothing to prevent the campo
811 fox, the nocturnal predator who has fire in his eyes glowing in the dark, from giving this fire to human beings by striking it out of his eyes. Or, to take a common variant of the ancestor legend, there is nothing to prevent the jaguar from being the ancestor of a cannibalistic tribe; for it is always emphatically reported that this tribal ancestor "jaguar" killed and devoured the ancestors of the local tribe, Bakaïrí or Paressí. I can state most emphatically that my informant was firmly convinced that the evil ancestor in question in the legend was a jaguar and was not merely called that, although he shot with arrows. To say that the earlier time in which the legend originated only symbolized and the descendants confused names and things is a convenient supposition, but an unreliable one, for in that case the entire tradition would consist of nothing but confusions. The earlier generation had the same basic view as the present one. It explained the cannibalistic custom of the neighboring tribe by descent from the jaguar for whom it is characteristic to devour human beings. They did not know the tribal ancestor, because he cannot be known by any tribe, although he always must have been present. Since the essential distinction between man and animal is lacking, they had no difficulty in concluding that, because these people always devoured human beings, our own forefathers, the tribal ancestor was therefore a jaguar, and their causal requirement was satisfied -- which was much more essential than the possible objection that today the son of a jaguar is always a jaguar and that today, after all, no jaguar shoots with bow and arrow as, of course, the ancestors of the hostile tribe did.

773 /354/ We understand that the Indian presents animals as though
811 they were persons when he reports their conversations, for one
825 knows that animals call to each other and communicate in loving or threatening tones, but to furnish animals with cultural products and implements seems to us to exceed the limit of what is permissible. In fact, according to the Indian ancestral legends, man

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773 is supposed to have acquired from the animals all kinds of goods
811 that he possesses. The most diverse animals were "masters" or
825 "owners" of them and the culture hero took them from them. The master of medicinal tobacco and of cotton was the kinkajou, Cercoleptes caudivolvulus; the master of ordinary smoking tobacco, the electric eel; the master of the mandioca, the bagadú fish Phractocephalus; the master of sleep and the buriti hammock, the lizard; the master of the pots filled with water, from which, after they were broken, flowed the Ronuro and the Paranatinga, the ochobi river-snake; master of the sun, the king vulture, Sarcoramphus papa, and so on. How is such nonsense possible? All this, of course, is meant symbolically, says the wearer of the spectacles of civilization, and thus regards the question as answered. I can only laugh heartily when I think of the Indian hunters or fishermen, adhering to their view, as dealing with symbolic animals like the poets, painters, and, not to forget the lower spirits, the patentees of our civilized world inventing their trade-mark -- none of whom maintain close personal acquaintance with the originals of their symbolic animals.

773 No, Antonio and his fellow tribesmen would not have under-
811 stood our type of symbols, let alone discovered some themselves. I do not deny that I was sometimes dumbfounded during our conversation when I was confronted with the simple-hearted belief in the reality of the "fairy-tale" animals and their culture in all its originality, but I was also so thoroughly convinced of its genuineness that I feel duty-bound to reject any explanation that does not fully acknowledge it. I also think the matter is simple enough to understand. The Indian has, in truth, obtained the most important parts of his culture from the persons whom we call animals,
[237] and even today he must take them away from them. Teeth,
bones, claws, shells are his tools, without which he would be un-
[825] able to make weapon or house or implement. He owes whatever he can accomplish to the piranha, the dogfish, the monkey, the capybara, the agutí, the giant armadillo, the mollusks, and the legend reports nothing about any of them because every child knows that these animals, the hunting of which is the most important prerequisite for those accomplishments, furnish the most

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703 811 indispensable things to this day. What is more natural than that he should, when he thinks about it, also derive from the animals the fine and good things about whose origin he knows nothing or, as in the case of cultivated plants, very little? What is more natural than that the lizard, which sleeps for several months, provided sleep (it was drawn out of its eyes), /355/ or that the campo fox, whose eyes shine in the dark when it goes forth for prey at night, provided fire; that the sun, whose nature we shall become acquainted with, was in the possession of the sovereign of the air, the king vulture, whom the other vultures greatly respect, and that water was in the possession of a large river snake? Along with sleep the lizard must have also given up the hammock which goes with it. Now it no longer has any; it was simply taken away, and it was very angry. All those acquisitions were taken away by force or deception; that is why the animals lack them nowadays. Thus the causal requirement of the old, naïve hunters is very agreeably satisfied, and, to be sure, altogether on the foundation of the basic view that animals and human beings are merely persons with different appearances and different equipment.

Modern research has succeeded in tracing a number of the most dangerous illnesses to the presence of bacilli, and what is the result? All kinds of diseases whose cause is still obscure are also attributed to bacilli; thousands of people who have never even seen a microorganism, to say nothing of having any idea as to how the bad animals actually go about producing illness, now suspect them in everything that they eat and seem as familiar with them as with spiders and gnats. I should like to compare these proved morbific agents with the animals which have truly furnished the Indian with the most useful things, and those others that exist only in legend with the fairy-tale animals to which, proceeding along the same trend of thought, he attributes the things of unknown origin. It is a natural procedure to explain the unknown exactly as one does the known.

Sun, fire, water, sleep are things whose first possessors must simply be imagined; for them there is no historical tradition, however dim. It may be different -- not necessarily -- with

/355 cont./

773 cultivated plants. Medicinal tobacco, it is vaguely recalled,
811 came from the north. Undoubtedly it was furnished by, let us say, a neighboring tribe, but the Bakaïrí have long since forgotten the actual, and in its details very ordinary, event; for many generations nothing has been known except that tobacco was first used for curing in the region where the kinkajou lives. The kinkajou is very rare in the region of the Bakaïrí; Antonio had never seen one, but he knew exactly how it looked, and his description, which was very exact in all its details, along with the name sawári, made it possible for me to recognize it as the phonetically identical yawari of the Makuschí /Macusi/ in Guiana, about which Schomburgk adds in his report that the occurrence of the yawari, according to v. Tschudi, is known in Peru as far as the tenth degree south latitude! Thus the kinkajou, as the characteristic person for the region from which tobacco came, furnished tobacco, just as the king vulture, as the person who comes into the region of the sun, furnished the sun.

/356/ The kinkajou interested the Bakaïrí more than the missing neighboring tribe, and throughout the centuries it remained the same. It was the lord of the northern region, and whatever came from there, whether tobacco or cotton, originated from it; hunters who extended an expedition beyond the ordinary boundaries to the north found it there or it would itself pay occasional visits to the Bakaïrí in the south. The story of the origin of medicinal tobacco and cotton was treated according to the customary and natural schema that the characteristic animal was regarded as the original owner; if, in order to carry out the above comparison with reference to our similar procedure, we put the two diseases in the place of cotton and tobacco, then the legendary bacillus was the kinkajou. The story told about him is merely the answer to the question: "How does it happen that we had no tobacco in former times?" At first it was still known that "such and such a tribe gave it to us," then the name and specific circumstances were forgotten in the course of time and a later generation may perhaps still have heard, "We got it from someone in the region where the kinkajou lives," but such information was bound to fall into the customary schema the

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773 811 moment sweet curiosity asked further: "Where did those people get their tobacco?" Then there was no better answer, assuming the basic view, than: "From the kinkajou, of course," and people were very satisfied.

In exactly the same manner, as we shall see, the origin of the ordinary smoking tobacco is traced back to a fish which does not occur in the Paranatinga, but lives in the "tobacco river," and the origin of mandioca to a fish likewise not found in the Paranatinga, but which inhabited the "beijú river." Occasionally I did not conceal my skepticism from Antonio -- not often, for, like every believer, he was offended by doubts, the true core of which he himself could not fail to recognize. Then he would either maintain a hurt silence, or he would explain the present condition as the result of magic, or -- and, to be sure, in most cases -- he would simply say: "It is no longer like that now, but it used to be."

"Once upon a time" (the constantly recurring paá of the Tupí legends) is also the signature of the Indian "fairy tales." By far the greatest number of the legends try to explain the origin of something; thus they always deal with events in ancient times, and since they are always to be explained only by something special that happened, the view that there was once a time when the extraordinary was the rule was bound to be established from all this. With the most beautiful logic in the world they arrived at situations where it was always found that the human behavior of animals was the only way out, but a very excellent one. It is very easy to understand the origin of the stories, frequently spiced with a good deal of humor, if only one takes as the point of departure the point which is proved; it is obvious that the fact to be explained could not have led to the story, but rather only the story to the fact.

000 /357/ In a fairy tale* that is very widespread on the Amazon

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* Barbosa Rodriguez, "Poranduba Amazonense /Amazon History/," Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional, Vol. XIV, 2, page III, Rio de Janeiro, 1890.

/359 cont./

821 For Antonio, who was clever enough to recognize the contradiction as soon as it was pointed out to him, was visibly hurt. "It may be," he finally declared sullenly, "that fire was added later through magic; in olden times there was none there." He is wrong about that, however. The heat was not added by magic, as Antonio thinks, but on the contrary, was conjured away. Nevertheless, present-day Bakaïrí science is rooted in the belief that sun and moon are feather balls, and no matter when or where it may have arisen, it furnishes us with a good example for understanding the thinking of the Indians.

811 821 It is sufficient for the explanation that a thing looks like another, more familiar one. The sun is a feather ball the moment one finds that it looks more like that than like a blazing fire. Even if the conclusion is one by analogy, it is fully convincing on this level, and the further explanations about the growing darkness and the course in the sky develop organically from the stimulus which has now been given. We say that there cannot be any animals up there, hence the heavenly bodies are not animals; the Bakaïrí, on the other hand, sees the animals or the feathers and does not ask whether they are there, but merely how they got there.

821 I obtained no information about comets; Antonio simply remarked disdainfully: "They are supposed to bring harm to the Portuguese (the Brazilians are named only in this way), they don't do anything to the Bakaïrí." As for the planets, I was given only the name for Venus, which could not be translated.

[153] Antonio was excellently informed about the heavens. He also understood the nature of my star map without any trouble. The first time I pointed out a few constellations to him, we went outside and looked for them in the sky. We returned to the room and he immediately found Sirius on the map. It along with Orion, Aldebaran, and the Pleiades are regarded as belonging together in a group. Orion is a large rack on which mandioca is dried, the larger stars are the knobs of the posts, and thus Sirius marks the end of a large cross-beam by means of which the rack is held from the side. The Pleiades, apparently the starting point of the entire conception, are a heap of grains of flour that have fallen to one

/421 cont./

171 in the color word for red, nor the word for the white clay in the
192 color word for white. I believe that the dyestuffs are far older
196 than the need for distinguishing them according to their colors.
[193] This is probable for the Bakaïrí because of two points: first, the color adjectives, with the single exception of "red, orange," do not belong to the inventory of the Karaiben base-language; secondly, their construction according to the schema t-stem-éng bears the stamp of a more recent formation.

000 I may doubtless also be permitted to use such a situation to support the earlier argument about the origin of personal color ornamentation (see pp. 172 ff.). No matter how ancient and innate the joy of color may assuredly be, nevertheless the circumstance that a need to distinguish the colors of the dyestuffs with words did not manifest itself until late speaks in favor of the view /422/ that colored ornamentation was not first used on the body for the sake of the colors. Since whatever was worn on the body as trophies or for practical purposes was actually distinguished by varying colors, which must have given pleasure, people quite naturally came to want to use them also for enjoyment, and from this time on the earliest distinctions by means of names for colors began, within these, in turn, the first certainty was gained also for the colors that were fashioned, whereas the need for distinguishing green and blue was satisfied by words which were still vague, such as "parakeet-colored."

171 One more thing must not be forgotten. The Indian does not
192 form general judgments, such as "the trees are green, the sky is
811 blue." Nothing induces him to analyze this view presented to him by the external world; it is of no interest to his person in any activity and is something taken for granted, such as that water is wet. What does interest him in making distinctions according to color is animals and plants. His principal application of the color names acquired is here and it is necessary to find out here how he proceeds with color names in his own usage.

171 With this in mind I looked through the list of animal names
192 in the glossary of Martius, in which some 1300 have been col-
825 lected from the total literature. "Parakeet-colored," cugui, for "blue and green" is used only a single time in the case of a

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772 By far the most important instance of the lack of abstract divisions, which at the same time is the most difficult to approach with our way of feeling and thinking, is the relationship of human beings to animals and of the individual animal species to one another. We say the native anthropomorphizes in his "fairy tales," he lets the animals speak and act like human beings. This is all right from our point of view, but if we were to believe that he gives animals human traits only for the purpose of telling a good story, this would be a tremendous misunderstanding, it would mean nothing more and nothing less than that we are denying him all his belief and knowledge: his belief for he has the same confidence in the wonderful stories that he tells about animals as every confirmed Christian has in the miracles of the Bible; his knowledge, for he could as little conceive of the world around him without his fairy-tale animals as the physicist the centers of energy without the atoms of matter -- si parva licet componere magnis /if it be permitted to compare small things with great ones/.

We must imagine that there are no boundaries at all between man and animal. An animal may be cleverer or more stupid, stronger or weaker, than the Indian, it may have an entirely different way of life, but in his eyes it is a person, exactly as he is; the animals are united, like human beings, in families and tribes, they have different languages, just like human tribes, but human being, jaguar, deer, bird, fish, they are all only persons of different appearance and different characteristics. One need only be a medicine man who can do everything, then one can change oneself from one person into another, then one will also understand all the languages spoken in the forest or in the air or in the water. The underlying reason for this view is that there [812] is as yet no ethical humanity; there is goodness and badness only in the crude sense that one causes another displeasure or pleasure, but moral judgment and ideal volition, influenced either by the prospect of reward or the fear of punishment, are altogether lacking. In that case, why should an insurmountable barrier between man and animal be assumed? The external observation of the

/362 cont./

539 more natural than that the tatú, well known for quickly digging itself in, should, as soon as it eludes its pursuer, make a group of those star holes. All that was missing for establishing the game of escape and pursuit was the quarrel, and the "apple of discord," for which again is chosen the favorite fruit, which is round and has butter-yellow meat, but any other might have been chosen. In short, the story originates, without any great power of invention, by making a connection between the characteristics of one of the heavenly animals that presented itself through the natural stimulus and a suitable group of stars that attracts the attention of the inquiring mind. Then the name runs "the giant armadillo comes out." All that is required is the interest that produces the question, and the explanatory ideas are inevitable.

993 128 One generation may have contributed this, another generation that. To continue the analysis up to the final details is simply impossible, if one because the comparative material with other Karaiben tribes is very meager.

761 655 512 Transformation. A large part of the Bakairí explanation of nature rests on the supposition of sorcery. They have no development, but only transformation. This takes place in two ways.

The first is that a dead person is blown upon and comes to life, or that a thing is blown upon and comes to life. To the dead person the breath which he lacks is given back; to the thing, breath is imparted and with it life. This blowing, proceeding from the most natural attempt at resuscitation, and the tobacco-blowing of the modern medicine man must not be confused. The weak newborn babies in Maigéri (cf. p. 392), for whose life one feared, were blown upon day and night, but not with tobacco. It was only in practice that the two methods merged. The blowing of tobacco smoke on a patient was merely added by transference to the smoking of the doctor -- which, as we have seen (cf. p. 407), is merely the easiest and most pleasant of the various types of narcosis otherwise induced by drinking, on the use of which his art seems to be based. It has probably long been forgotten that by

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761 blowing it was intended to breathe in the breath. But in the
755 legends the dead and things are always brought to life by simple
812 but indispensable blowing, and the Bakaïrí sometimes translates epeheni, "to blow," into the Portuguese with rezar, "to pray, to bless," while ordinarily he uses soprar, "to blow," or assoprar, "to blow upon," just as the substantive related to epeheni is sapehénu, "wind."

Although I said that things become living or animate through blowing, on closer observation this is a very incorrect expression. The /363/ sorcerer accomplishes far more than breathing a "soul"
773 or, as into the dead, "life," into them. We learn this from the
812 most important example that human beings are made from things: men from arrows, women from maize pestles, after the necessary arrows and pestles have been carved out of cane and wood. To be sure, there were always Bakaïrí, but if there was a scarcity of them, the culture hero made new ones by fashioning arrows out of ubá reed, thrusting them upright into the ground, and blowing on them. In the same way each of the other tribes were made out of the arrow reed that they still carry today and that therefore still differentiates them today; the European was made from a wood resembling the stock of his gun. The fundamental
[69] observation, which is later, as always, regarded as confirmation of the proceedings described, is that the tribes are differentiated by their arrows. Moreover, the arrow is the characteristic feature of the man. The women, on the other hand, come into being when maize pestles are carved, set upright against the mortar, and get the breath of life by being blown upon; those carved out of good wood start working immediately, the others are idle.

Neither arrows nor pestles are given a "soul," but rather the whole "person." When the sorcerer is finished, the man stands beside his arrow, the woman beside her pestle. The story-teller himself seems to be not entirely at ease about the process, for the sorcerer, as soon as he has blown, "goes to one side a little" and upon his return finds the men or women finished. An insect, which through mimicry has come to look like a jatobá leaf and is called "jatobá leaf" by the Bakaïrí, was created by blowing on the leaf; we might say "it came alive" or call it a "transformed leaf." The person is added to the already present reed, wood, leaf.

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773 812 I mean to say that these cases are essentially different from those in the legends where things are "personified," that is, speak and act like animal and human being. The falling turtle of the Amazon legend sees a boulder in the direction of her fall and calls out to it: "Get out of my way!" Obediently the stone removes itself and she falls on soft ground. The stone, which understands her words, could also have replied. Keri quarrels with the sky and, angered, goes over to the earth with his people, where the Bakaïrí, as a result, live today. The wind is called in order to tear down a tree. In these cases there is no blowing or sorcery. The storyteller lets the things hear, speak, in order to say that they do or do not want something, are tractable or refractory, and need not realize, as we do, that he is thus endowing them with a "soul." "How could the sky talk?" "I don't know, at that time it talked." More was not to be learned from Antonio. If today in ordinary life a thing suddenly causes harm, that is the fault of an evil sorcerer, whereas an animal acts by itself.

754 756 812 /364/ The second type of transformation is that of the sorcerer himself into any animal shape desired. No one seems to know how he does this. He does not actually become the animal itself, however; he always goes into the animal and is always implanted in the animal; in fact, he can be in the foot of the tapir and seize the vulture. Now does the "soul" go out of one person and into the other? But in that case at least we ought not ask either where the soul of the animal or where the body of the culture hero remains, or whether the "shade," which in the case of the modern, narcotized medicine man lying in the hammock leaves the body for the transformation into jaguar or snake, was previously "inside" the medicine man, or whether the shade can get inside an animal- - I believe we are overdoing a good thing if we speak of the activities of the "soul" among primitive peoples. I, at any rate, merely had the impression that with regard to the "soul" the Indians sometimes think of the shade, sometimes of the breath, but do not account for all the specific details, and instead always preserve the image of the entire "living" personality. It seems to me one comes closest to the real situation if one

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754 imagines the sorcerer as being in an animal approximately like the
756 Indian in an animal mask, who now is a dove, for example, and
812 behaves like a dove in voice and movement, but remains fellow tribesman X and is therefore able to fetch a gourd bowl full of pogu from the women, although he is a bird.

773 Keri and Kame and the ancestor legend. The general
[772] basis of the world view of the Bakaïrí is his relationship to animal life. It assumes, however, one might say, that his science and poetry are of heavenly origin. The oldest Bakaïrí lived in heaven; this is proved to us by all that we know about the sun and moon, and everything that we see up there, the figures of the Milky Way, the starless areas, and the shining Magellanic Clouds. Strangely enough, there was nothing to be discovered in the way of ideas about thunderstorms, windstorms, clouds, rain, which are productive in a similar sense among other peoples. One had the impression that meteorology was still quite unexplored. There always remained the astronomical heavenly animals, to which were added the personages of the ancestor legend. The second main source of legend material flows in the memories of the tribe, but the two streams are so tightly intermingled that it is scarcely possible to distinguish what was originally supplied by the one and what by the other. The jaguar, behind which is concealed a cannibalistic neighboring tribe of ancient times, has become one with the jaguar of the Milky Way and to top it all, the zoological varieties of the jaguar family are available as a number of brothers.

[774] The names Keri and Kame show that foreign, and, to be sure, Aruak influence has played a significant role. These are the names for moon and sun of the Nu-Aruak tribes; they are not Karaiben /365/ words at all.* A coincidence is completely

*Cf. Bakaïrí-Grammatik /Bakaïrí Grammar/, p. 57. The Island Karaiben have a benign "deity," ischeiri, which can scarcely be connected with keri phonetically; if there is a connection and ischeiri is ancient

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821 Celestial bodies. The Indian observes the figures in the sky and sees in them things with which he is familiar. The sky, "formerly so close," is now very, very high. Only birds that fly a long time might be able to reach it; the medicine man is there in a moment, for him it is "no higher than a house." The characteristics of fire are not attributed to heavenly bodies. The sun is a large ball of the feathers of the red arara and of the toucan, whose feathers also display magnificent orange and red, the moon is a ball of the yellow tail feathers of the weaverbird (Cassicus, japú), which the Bakaïrí /358/ wears in his ears. In the evening the sun is covered with a large pot which is lifted off again in the morning. For the time being I shall ignore the person who takes care of that; this person is an addition or supplement of little concern at the beginning of the development, for if the sun is a feather ball and this feather ball disappears for a while, it is obvious that someone covers it up during that time, whether with a pot, as the Bakaïrí maintain, or by placing it in a gourd, as the Paressí believe.

During the rainy season, when the days are long, the sun is carried by a snail (Bulimus), in the dry season, when they are short, by a hummingbird, it is well known that the wing beat of this little bird is so rapid that the eye cannot follow it. During the night the services of these animals is reversed; in the rainy period the hummingbird, and in the dry period the snail, drags the covered sun-ball back to its old place. For the phases of the moon the Bakaïrí starts with the full moon, when we see the ball in its entirety. A lizard, which we notice along the edge, comes first to take it along, on the second day an ordinary armadillo, and then a giant armadillo whose fat body soon conceals the yellow feathers altogether. It should be noted that the armadillos or tatús /tatous/ have a curved shape, are nocturnal animals, and are hunted by moonlight.

821 773 The eclipses are explained in a similar way. Antonio did not regard the phenomenon as in any way lawful, however, and explained it case by case. Thus once, when he was still small,

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821 a sorcerer on the Paranatinga changed himself into an anú, a
773 bluish-black bird (Crotophaga) and covered the sun for a while with his wings. On January 28, 1888, there was an eclipse of the moon which I called to Antonio's attention. Deprived of surprise because of my announcement beforehand, he nevertheless made his usual explanation that the lizard and the tatús were at work. I let him look at the moon through an opera glass and wanted him to tell me about the mountains. "A little dirt from the tatú has remained behind," he replied. Thus, with the grubbing and digging there was added a new circumstance which induced the ancient Bakaïrí to see in the curved form of the unilluminated part the armadillo in particular.

171 In these explanations, however, there is a definite contra-
821 diction of the views of the Karaiben /Carib/ base-people /Grundvolk/, which are handed down to us in the words for sun,*

* Cf. Bakaïrí-Grammatik /Bakaïrí Grammar/, the table for "Fire, Sun, Wood, Tree," p. 278 and pp. 279 to 281, as well as Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, page 306 /omitted in the translation (1: Steinen, this file)/.

and in the same manner the explanations of the present-day Paressí, who also have the feathers and the armadillos, contradict the presumed views among the Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ base-people. The words for "fire" and "sun" have the same roots and are in part differentiated only by reduplication, or are even identical from one tribe to another. Thus, in the formation of the words, warmth and light must have been the first characteristics of the sun comprehended. The pot, too, with which the
821 Bakaïrí have the sun /359/ covered at night, is also a reference to the hearth, and it proves to us, since the Bakaïrí had no pots in former times, the comparatively late embellishment of the hypothesis. I modestly objected to Antonio: "But the sun is hot, after all, and there are no feathers, are there?". An objection which I bitterly regretted as soon as it had escaped my lips.

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821 For Antonio, who was clever enough to recognize the contradiction as soon as it was pointed out to him, was visibly hurt. "It may be," he finally declared sullenly, "that fire was added later through magic; in olden times there was none there." He is wrong about that, however. The heat was not added by magic, as Antonio thinks, but on the contrary, was conjured away. Nevertheless, present-day Bakaïrí science is rooted in the belief that sun and moon are feather balls, and no matter when or where it may have arisen, it furnishes us with a good example for understanding the thinking of the Indians.

811 821 It is sufficient for the explanation that a thing looks like another, more familiar one. The sun is a feather ball the moment one finds that it looks more like that than like a blazing fire. Even if the conclusion is one by analogy, it is fully convincing on this level, and the further explanations about the growing darkness and the course in the sky develop organically from the stimulus which has now been given. We say that there cannot be any animals up there, hence the heavenly bodies are not animals; the Bakaïrí, on the other hand, sees the animals or the feathers and does not ask whether they are there, but merely how they got there.

821 I obtained no information about comets; Antonio simply remarked disdainfully: "They are supposed to bring harm to the Portuguese (the Brazilians are named only in this way), they don't do anything to the Bakaïrí." As for the planets, I was given only the name for Venus, which could not be translated.

[153] Antonio was excellently informed about the heavens. He also understood the nature of my star map without any trouble. The first time I pointed out a few constellations to him, we went outside and looked for them in the sky. We returned to the room and he immediately found Sirius on the map. It along with Orion, Aldebaran, and the Pleiades are regarded as belonging together in a group. Orion is a large rack on which mandioca is dried, the larger stars are the knobs of the posts, and thus Sirius marks the end of a large cross-beam by means of which the rack is held from the side. The Pleiades, apparently the starting point of the entire conception, are a heap of grains of flour that have fallen to one

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821 side, Aldebaran is a thicker lump, the "father of the heap." "In the sky there are mandioca, plantings, forest, everything, everything." Festival ornaments too. Capella is a small husk such as the Bakaïrí wears in his ear for sticking a feather in from the front, two other stars of the Charioteer are the husks of the Kayabí /Cayabi/, the feathers of which are inserted in the back. One star, which one was uncertain but it seemed to me Procyon, is an ear-piercer, or probably more accurately, the hole pierced by him. The Twins /360/ are the holes of a large flute. Canopus did not have a name. The Southern Cross was a bird snare on a twig, and the two large stars of the Centaur represented two little sticks that belong to it. With the snare a mutum cavallo (Crax) had been caught, which one recognizes in a dark area of the Milk Way nearby; again one suggestion releases another and the one confirms the other. Not far distant, corresponding approximately to the stars of the Flying Fish and Argo, stands a sokko heron with a little basket full of small fish: lambaré, trahira, jejum. Scorpio is a carrying-net for children.

821 773 The Milky Way definitely attracted the greatest attention by far with its light and dark parts, and, next to the sun and moon, it seems to have furnished the bulk of the raw material for the entire body of legend. Whereas the stars are granules, holes, net knots, pegs and the ends of posts, here animal figures also appear, such as the aforementioned mutung hen and the sokko heron. The Milky Way itself is a huge drum-tree that lies on the ground, "like the one in the third village on the Kulisehu," which is drummed for the festival up above too; one can see its roots spreading out in the south. Keri and Kame, the two culture heroes, from whom the Bakaïrí learned their festival dances, accomplished all the deeds of their youth, which we have yet to discuss, in the vicinity of this "sata" tree. In the zenith is found the dark hole, which one can see only on the clearest nights, where the king vulture came out carrying the feather-ball of the sun in its claws, and through which the medicine man who was entertained by Christ (cf. p. 346) flew back to earth. The starless area to the east of the Cross, the Coalsack, is the hole that Keri and Kame dug in

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821 order to watch as their dead grandmother Mero was burned. They
773 had set the fire themselves -- one can still see it in the large Magellanic Cloud -- while another, the small Magellanic Cloud, arose through their carelessness, which I shall speak of later in detail. Keri in particular is the hero of all these stories: he caught the mutung with the bird snare; he robbed the king vulture of the sun-ball by assuming the shape of a tapir whose dark forms one can still clearly distinguish in the Argo part of the Milky Way. Besides the tapir, one can also see a jaguar and an ant bear of the legend. In fact, one need not be an Indian in order to observe the animals; I, too, distinctly recognized the tapir in particular.

821 The native predominantly sees animals up there for the
.151 same reason that he sees them down here in all kinds of things that remind him of some animal merely by some small characteristic; he cannot do otherwise because he apperceives chiefly in accordance with his hunter interests. It did not escape him, however, that the animals and things in the sky have a different appearance than their originals on earth, according to which they are determined. /361/ They are only figures. And yet they are more. For even though they may have been made at some time, he cannot regard them as works of art like his animal stools or sand drawings, because they move and are in the midst of a highly variable shifting of wind, clouds, and weather that takes place independently without one's seeing any human being. They must be bewitched.

772 All the more so since the same result is reached in another
773 way. They are necessarily the oldest animals and things that there are. Each earlier generation, no matter what it thought of them, saw them as complete as does the present one, whereas, according to all present-day and earlier experience, the rivers and trees and inhabitants of the earth of all kinds are small at first and then grow big. Now all the ancestors have disappeared; year in, year out those who die are always disappearing -- where else should the oldest people be than among the oldest things? But to
[767] die is to be bewitched and transformed, just as the medicine man who takes poison and dies changes himself into any animal shape desired.

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772 desired. Therefore, we have up there the oldest bewitched peo-
773 ple and things. The feather ball, the vulture, the jaguar, the tapir prove to the Indian the deeds of the oldest medicine men. The only thing needed for a fully logical conclusion would be to regard every dream as a bewitched state.

773 I have already discussed in the story about the vulture and
821 the turtle, how the coherent text of the legends comes into being, even before a dim historical tradition furnishes special material. There is no lack of material, since the various animals and things which one sees side by side up there must stimulate, according to their characteristics, all kinds of notions which explain
539 their being together. Thus legend tells how the king vulture, before Keri took the sun away from him, appeared with it in the dark hole of the Milky Way and then flew around in the sky. Well, the sun is apperceived as a feather ball; during the day it reaches the highest heights of the heavens where at night one sees a dark hole, and there the "red urubu" or magnificently colored king vulture, "the prince and ruler of his kindred (Brehm)," is the most conspicuous citizen in the realm of the air -- when this material has been gathered, only the inquisitive question is required and the connection cannot fail to appear. There is not much bother about the moon. It was "together with the sun at first"; later Keri and Kame divided the feathers between them.

I was given the following story about the five stars in Perseus. The giant armadillo -- we have seen that it, as the largest of the spherical tatús, leaving its dirt behind, eventually covers the moon -- met Keri on his way. It was carrying a basket with pikí fruit, gave Keri some, and went on. Keri called after it, it stopped, again gave Keri some, and said: "I shall not give more." Then he seized the tatú, the fruits rolled all around, and the tatú worked its way into the ground. Keri made himself claws out of jatobá resin and dug it out. Again it worked its way /362/ in, again he dug it out. This happened five times in all and the five holes are the five stars. Therefore we have here only a meeting between Keri and the tatú already given, we know furthermore from the flute (Twins) that stars are thought of as holes; what is

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*171 301 carried, but rather saved them for acknowledgment by his contemporaries and attached them to his body. We find this all the more natural, since we know that with such parts, in his opinion, [789] the characteristics of the game animal were acquired. Thus he wore claws, teeth, and feathers as trophy and talisman. While *171 301 304 he could tie most of these things on a string, he was in difficulty with a feather which he wanted to keep as a memento of a good shot: he pierced his ear lobe and stuck it in there, where it was secure and did not get in his way. The ancestors of all our tribes hit upon this; some of them were soon not content with ear holes, but also pierced the nose and lips. For the idea of the trophy, at first applied only to the laborious attainment, was extended to a wearing not connected with much pain or labor. A new result, worthy of admiration, was produced, and a young man undoubtedly felt "better tailored," in the fullest sense of the expression, if he displayed his treasure in a hole in his nose, lip, or ears, than *171 301 822 if he wore it around his neck on a string. Once the wearing of the trophy became habitual, it was inevitable that attention was turned to its external qualities as well, the previously secondary characteristics of color and form. Even objects that had merely been used to keep the holes open and prevent them from healing shut became ornaments and decorations. More or less vaguely felt perceptions of pleasing color contrasts were associated with ideas about the difficult, the unusual, the power-endowed.

*171 304 619 The artificial injury, however, became an end in itself through the circumstance that it furnished a permanent distinguishing mark and thus shaped various forms of the custom. It was not only excellently suited for distinguishing brave and ruling persons within a tribe, who were usually also the most vain, but it often formed the consciously worn symbol of nationality from tribe to tribe. It provided the means for giving even children lasting [648] marks. The Indians have always passionately engaged in kidnapping among foreign tribes in order to rear warriors and women; hence children were marked so that they could be recognized, as the herd-owner stamps his livestock. When we were with the Bororó, an old woman swore by all that was holy that our Antonio,

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*171 301 [128] With this the most essential constituents of the chain ornaments have probably been enumerated; in the later chapter on the plastic art of our Indians I shall come back to details, insofar as all kinds of figures were also carved and ground.

[751] I am unable to say to what extent useful and therapeutic effects were attributed to individual objects. That the "ornament" was often "talisman" is shown by the fact that, as mentioned, children and pregnant women were the most bedecked. If the remains of a matchbox were also hung around, this, too, did not originate from a sense of beauty. The grass beads of the Bakaïrí greatly resembled fine fish-bones, but I obtained such a chain only with the greatest difficulty; in the eyes of their owners they were decidedly "more beautiful" than those with fish beads, because they were rarer.

*171 301 Daubing and painting. Why do the Indians daub themselves with oil color, either with black, like those who are less familiar with the orlean bush, or with red, as the others prefer? To frighten the enemy by means of display and disfigurement? This is certainly a practical use, but only for this particular instance.

● [822] Could the love of color explain everything? If so, we are obliged to recognize the delight in black as a primary sensation of pleasure. In that case we should have to note with amazement that a natural source has eluded our Indians, a source used so profusely in Polynesia, for example, and one that is abundantly available for this purpose even in the river-forest area which is relatively poor in flowers -- neither men nor women adorned themselves with flowers. I believe the only question that Antonio asked me of his own initiative was the following in Cuyabá: "Why do the women wear flowers in their hair?" The idea that it is done in order to adorn oneself with gay colors was worlds removed from his way of thinking. No, the gay parrot feathers only later developed into colored ornaments; first came the pleasure in the hunt or in animal life and the boastfulness concerning the hunter's

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skill, and only then did sensuous pleasure come into its own.

*171 302 [126] I entered in my journal each instance of body painting and was able to observe that even today there are two types of body painting here. /185/ The one which occurs to us first, that of external adornment, was the more uncommon and had one characteristic that distinguished it rather definitely from the other. This characteristic was that a design, simple or elaborate, was part of the adornment. A distinction must be made between daubing and painting the body. In daubing the useful is the decisive factor; in design painting, the beautiful. [822] The love of color is present in both cases, but secondary. Even the effect of urucú red is overestimated by us. If it had been so esteemed generally, all tribes could have used it. A person who lives with the truly gaudy adornment of the parrots is supposed to regard himself as particularly beautiful if he daubs himself with soot or even brick-red! Let us pause in front of the magnificent feather ornaments of tropical South America in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde and confidently compare with these the most beautiful and the most colorful things that our modern technology, which has certainly accomplished no little, is able to conjure up -- nature can still stand up under the comparison, and surely its feather splendor surpasses the modest black-white-red which charcoal, loam, and the orlean bush provide for the Indian.

*171 302 822 The Indians never use white for body painting! I already hear the answer: "he finds white not becoming to him." There is probably something in this. He valued our white beads less than the red ones; he preferred the blue ones to both, for they contrasted best with his skin. One could retort, to be sure, that he made these distinctions merely at a glance and before he saw the beads on his body, but it may be that he liked red better than white and blue better than all the rest, not because he preferred the, to him, more unusual colors, but purely as a matter of taste. But this still does not explain why he avoided white altogether; one would only understand why he used it

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*171 302 822 more sparingly and could not by any means conceive why he did not use it merely to bring out the other colors better. He wears feather caps, which look most charming, of pure white with a few, small yellow-red feathers in between.

*171 302 386 The chalky, fine-grained clay is not suitable for the design-painting of the body. If it were mixed, like charcoal, with the yellowish oil, it could likewise be applied in lines, but the white color would be lost. Mixed with water, however, the lines would be very impermanent and mostly fall off when dry. On the masks, white furnishes only the background or appears in wide stripes on the most artless ones. On the other hand, if the native used his pigment for body adornment primarily for the sake of the color effect, nothing would prevent him from beautifying himself with white also, by powdering himself over large areas with the clay. Thus the thighs of the string-twisting women are chalk-white; moreover, the fine, flour-dust, with which the women who bake beijũ are often covered white, would be available to him. But neither the white baker-woman nor the Indian daubed red or black over large areas /186/ has dressed himself up this way in order to adorn himself. This is everyday clothing, not Sunday attire.

*171 302 751 The question thus is: of what use is the daubing? As is well known, and as I know very well from my long experience of going barefoot, the mud has a cooling effect; it is extremely pleasant in the heat to keep the skin moist. In particular it cools stung spots, and it protects the ones stung from the mosquitoes, whether it be red, yellow, black, or white. I cannot believe that whenever a person waded through the mud of the shore, he seemed particularly adorned because of it; it may be different on other soil, where the earth colors are more unusual. In our territory, at any rate, the agreeableness for the skin takes precedence over that for the eye. The Indian has replaced the mud with oil, but a finely powdered addition is said to make it more consistent and sticky, and this addition is a [822] pigment, soot and urucũ red. Undoubtedly the Bakaïrí like the red better, since they did not have to tend and cultivate the plant if the soot were just as pretty, and within these limits one adorns himself also by daubing himself.

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*171 302 751 the Bakaïrí Luchu, in a pleasant idle hour, treat himself to a serpentine line with dots beside it on his thigh, and just as plainer people among us dress only modestly even on Sunday, so an Indian of more unassuming temperament is content to permit himself for the celebration of a joyful event merely a painting of the forehead and nose or of the calves, instead of a linear design. By and large, however, I find it clearly evident that daubing is done for utilitarian purposes and one decorates himself with designs for beautification purposes, and I conclude from this that cosmetics were not adornment at first. And this is all the [822] more to be maintained inasmuch as to this day only secondary value is put on the color of their coloring materials, since they scorn white altogether, make no particular distinction between red and black, and since they have disproportionately more [192] beautiful colors at their disposal in their feather ornaments. The development of color words, as we shall see, also speaks in favor of this view.

I need scarcely point out that among the purposes of daubing regarded as useful the medicinal ones were not lacking and encouraged the custom; I shall cite a specific and very common case presently in connection with the scarifier. When Moritona, the great medicine man of the Yaulapiti, smeared the remainder of our pea soup over a broad area of his chest, the motive of delight in color probably played only a minor part.

*171 302 The designs were of different kinds. Simple finger strokes, bold stripes, for example, from eye to ear, or the beautifying of the same Moritona: a black stripe from the nose to the navel, stripes that followed the contours of the shoulder blades, dots on chest and arms, wavy lines along the thighs, dotted arcs across the chest, a zigzag down the back and legs, and the like. In part there was involved in this a bold outlining [619] or intersection of the anatomical contours, in part imitation animal skin-design, but everything was the choice of the individual person and there were no tribal designs. The conspicuous painting of individual parts of the body, for instance, forehead and nose, may be regarded as a transition to the ordinary broader

/230 cont./

*171 411 Children's arrows are similar, but smaller, with wood and bone points or (those of the earliest youth) flexible, thin stalks split off from palm-leaf panicles.

The bow is usually held vertically. The arrow lies to the left of the bow. It is held between the index finger and the middle finger, which draw back the bowstring, while the fourth and fifth fingers also help to stretch the bowstring. The thumb is not used. This way of drawing the bow, corresponding to the Mediterranean draw of Edward S. Morse, is different from that of the Bororó. Devices to protect the finger against the strong friction of the bowstring are not used. The left hand, holding the bow, can also hold a second arrow in reserve.

The arrow is sighted at the target only for short distances; if the distance is great the bow is held up high, the arrow flies upward in a vertical direction toward the target and sinks down toward it. On the river, for example, if an otter playing in the distance is to be shot, an extremely fascinating sight, with the picturesque pose of the naked archer standing in the low canoe! /231/ In shooting fish the arrow point is frequently dipped into the water to test the degree of light refraction. No little practice is required for fish-shooting. The companion sitting in the rear rows slowly while the archer stands in front ready to shoot and sharply on the lookout. One of us does not see any more than the Indian would if he were to look into the microscope for the first time. A slight change of wave form already discloses the booty to him. With this he must remain as quiet as a mouse; the oar is soundlessly dipped. Many a shot, moreover, goes astray, and often two or three of the beautiful arrows drift sadly on the water until they are recovered. No wonder that our fishing rod seemed like a revelation to the Indians. Although they were not acquainted with the rod, they nevertheless knew about bait. But that floating freely. The archer tossed a scarlet berry into the river from the canoe; at the moment when a snout snapping at it from below tried to gulp it, the arrow whizzed from the bow. Anyone looking for a new sport might try it. The

*171 411 226 [822]

*171 411

/101 cont./

361 [101] There were two settlements of "docile" Bakaïrí: the aldeament on the Rio Novo, as this first was called, after a tributary of the Arinós, and the aldeament on the Paranatinga. The two villages are not yet old; all the adults were born farther up the Paranatinga, on the "Salto" /waterfall; see the glossary, [131] p. 172 /; the Bakaïrí, however, were probably spread over this entire region in small hordes, as is shown by the fact that they were noted as far as the Rio das Mortes. In the 'twenties, when 179 648 797 the gold-seeker expedition under the leadership of P. Lopez pushed into this region, they were converted to Christianity, on which occasion, as Reginaldo related, his grandfather and many others lost their lives.

●823 /102/ We eagerly inquired as to whether he knew about a river beyond the Paranatinga? Today, he replied, this region is [131] [101] completely strange to them, he remembered from his youth, however, that one was supposed to come to a large river if one went from the Paranatinga toward the rising sun, and on this river there were said to be Bakaïrí still living, the "antiguos" /the ancients/, who were not Christians.

361 648 [622] 361 The two aldeamente are under the administration of the "Director dos Indios" in Cuyabá /Cuiabá/. Reginaldo is a Brazilian captain, his successor as chief of the tribe, Joaquim, is a lieutenant. Our seeing no women was due to the fact that they were living in an aldeament two legoas away; the huts which we occupied were used only when the farm work required it or when there were visitors. Reginaldo /illustration appears here/ completely forgot to say how sorry he was that he could greet us only as a grass widower.

[162] 342 The village numbered six huts; the population amounted to 55: 16 men, 19 women, 20 children. The soldiers were usually quartered in the big house that Reginaldo otherwise occupied with a few others: a rectangle 57 paces long and five paces wide, which was divided into a number of separate rooms by means of partitions. We occupied the guest house -- it was only 17 paces [199] long. It was modern construction, learned from the colonists. Twenty minutes away we found two deserted old-style huts,

/165 cont./

609 mix for him -- whereas the boy of a Brazilian colonist, to whom I was called in Rosario, leaped out of bed and fled from me into the forest.

186 The old sibyl joined us this evening on the open plaza.
823 She pointed to the west, "Bakairí"; to the south, "Bakairí!"; to the north and east likewise "Bakairí!"; and finally, describing a circle in the air, she summed up with proud satisfaction, "Bakairí!" In translation "All this is subject to me, admit that I am fortunate."

132 14 Aug. 6:00 A.M.: dry. 11.7, wet. 10.6.
2:00 P.M.: dry. 34.9, wet. 20.0, clear, NE 1.
4:05 P.M.: I 740.8, II 730.0, dry. 34.0, hypsom. 98.825.
9:00 P.M.: dry. 18.0, wet. 17.0.

126 /166/ I was fortunately able to measure three women.
[124] Antonio is very useless as an interpreter and causes more difficulties
[532] than the harmless people themselves. I also traded for a few maize-straw dolls, judging from the ease with which the transaction was made, there seemed to be no higher or in any sense a religious meaning attached to them.

592 We spent some time in Paubaga's, or rather Chief Cavéco's house, it differed in nothing essential from that of the proknace; there were no straw dolls.

137 We found inhame (Dioscorea, yams), which we greeted
252 with joy. -- The fish are grilled on just such racks as we came across on the Batovy; they are exposed to the fire until they are encased in a thick charcoal crust; capybara leg, which tasted like fat fish, and monkey steak were also charred on the outside in this fashion. The crisp charcoal gives the insipid-tasting meat, which is not salted, an -- faute de mieux -- improved flavor. The
[243] Bakairí are also familiar with a very medicinal tasting salt made from tree ashes, which, however, they do not seem to use in the preparation of food.

609 The soldiers, who were paying their farewell visit, were
431 given generous quantities of beijú, puvas, and polvilho /manioc
252 flour; see the glossary, p.172 / as presents. The grated and pounded mandioca is pressed through mats; the pulp is put into

/51 cont./

276 Beyond the cachoeira we counted 13 so-called "curals" /curals/, circles of boulders in shallower places in the river bed: the fish can enter through a gap in the circle and are then herded together by the Indians and shot. I was not a little surprised when, farther downstream in quiet water, Antonio suddenly stated that a canoe had been here yesterday or the day before: all I noticed was a quantity of small white bubbles near the shore. The foam of the wee wrote is preserved in a path on calm water, not destroyed by waves, the air bubbles remain on the water and are gradually driven to the shore by the wind.

/52/ For two hours we rowed on vigorously, spoke but little and with a soft voice, and, cautiously on the lookout, proceeded into each new bend close to the inner edge. But all signs had ceased. On either side lay tall, silent forest, the river glistened in the sunlight, nothing living stirred within a wide radius, and only a yellow butterfly fluttered past here and there. Shortly before midday the stream bed opened into a rather wide inlet: one could not quite make out whether this was a lagoon or an island formation and the river divided into two types. We landed and I sent the two off to cross the bit of wood: that separated us from the lagoon and to examine the course of the water beyond.

I sat on the beach waiting. Carlos was already coming back, when suddenly I notice a canoe a gunshot downstream. A single naked Indian is standing in it and swiftly making for the shore. There he steers the vessel behind the skeleton of a fallen tree and cautiously crouches down in the shelter of it. "Bakairí, Bakairí," I cried with all my might, "nós Bakairí, ámu Bakairí, ins Bakairí, we are Bakairí, you are a Bakairí, I am a Bakairí, the Bakairí are good" -- in short, I shout in joyful excitement whatever is inspired in me by the ghost of reminiscences from the greeting formulas of that particular tribe. And behold: "Bakairí, Bakairí, Bakairí" comes resounding back. Other words are added, which unfortunately I do not understand, but the high voice, rising in uncertainty, bears an unhappily anxious and mournful expression, and the arms swing wildly in the air behind

/55 cont./

B 101 131 361 On the very first evening I obtained a fairly clear conception of the Kulisehu dwellers whom we might see. There were three Bakairí villages; they were supposed to be followed by a village of the "Nahuquí," two villages of the "Minakú," a village of the "Auití," a village of the "Yaulapihü," and on the "Kuluëne" a village of the "Trumaí." Between the Kulisehu and the Tamitotoala-Batovy, the "Kamayuiá" and the "Waurá" were said to be living. The meaning of the river name "Kuluëne," B 103 133 114 which I now heard for the first time, remained uncertain. Only gradually did I come to understand that it is the chief river in the east, larger than the Kulisehu which empties into it. Thus the river that we had seen in 1884 flowing in from the southeast at Schingú-Koblenz /Xingu-Coblenz/ was not actually the "Kulisehu," as we had understood at that time and had believed up to now, but rather the combined Kuluëne-Kulisehu; the name "Kuluëne" was reserved for the Schingú itself below the large fork, so that the Suyá, for instance, lived on the Kuluëne. If one wished to go by the nomenclature of the natives, one would have to use the name "Kuluëne" instead of "Schingú" and now say that the Kuluëne first receives the Kulisehu and then, at "Koblenz," the Ronuro along with the Tamitotoala-Batovy.

B 823 It was a difficult piece of work to get these statements from the Bakairí; there was much drawing in the sand, much pantomime carried on, and, if a section of the route remained B 101 T 114 obscure, they always began again from the beginning. For the time being I knew enough; the individual tribes apparently did not live very far apart, at most a journey of three days. I was also given some bad news, and I confess that for me it spoiled the hitherto very pleasant memory of the first expedition: when the Trumaí /56/ at that time at Koblenz had dashed away from us in sheer flight, and our soldiers had pursued them in order to recover some of the objects that they had taken along in spite of their haste, a Trumaí had been killed, as I now learned, in the foolhardy shooting that the men had permitted themselves and that allegedly was only aimed into the air. We could therefore hardly count on a cordial welcome there.

/69 cont./

276 in his mouth and light. The smoke was inhaled. They even smoked my heavy black tobacco in the same manner and in the same size, and they tolerated it without difficulty, although theirs was light as straw.

517 Not a sound came from the houses; the plaiting had been pushed in front of the entrance. Were the women not lying awake in the hammocks? The two araras, who during the day were in the habit of cawing from the roof poles, were asleep on a partly withered palm. No insects were annoying us. For two or three hours we sat under the star-studded dome of the heavens, surrounded all around by the dark mass of the woods. The smallest cloud that rose anywhere was observed and became the subject of a discussion about where from and where to. As soon as an animal sound became audible in the woods, everyone would be silent for a moment, waiting to see whether it was repeated, and then they would whisper to each other "a tapir," "an armadillo," or the like, while one man half mechanically whistled in imitation of the animal cry. There was also no lack of in-
517 voluntary sounds. Sucking sounds with saliva, belching, or break-
576 ing wind was not restrained. Bakaïrí sum, nihil humani a me
[514] alienum puto. But the moment someone behaved too badly, there immediately followed, as a direct reflex movement of all the colleagues, a brief violent spitting to one side, without an interruption in the conversation. To be sure, if there were a
[826] repetition, Tumayaua or Paleko would mutter something that seemed to mean, "Confound it, we have a guest, after all," and the culprit would lose himself in the shadows six paces away. It was very patriarchal.

● 823 We discussed in detail the subject most important for me,
829 the geography of the Kulisehu. The river was drawn in the sand, the tribes were enumerated and designated with maize kernels. Thus I gradually learned to understand the correct relationship of the Kulisehu and Kuluëne and learned that the main body of the Nahuquá tribes, each of which was designated by a special
829 name, lived on the Kuluëne. All people were either good,
577 "kúra," or bad, "kurúpa." The distinction was made chiefly,

/69 cont./

829 577 as I noted to my astonishment, according to the extent of the hospitality that they offered, to be "kúra" meant not to let there be any lack of beijús and püserego, the flat cakes and the best paste-drink made of mandioca, at the reception. As far as the Nahuquá and possibly also the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ were concerned, it was the same information, based in part on experience, in part on hearsay, which is regarded as the most important for our autumn journeys: good and bad hotels.

823 537 805 But what a difference between a printed Baedeker and this gesticulation, this sound-painting, this relentless creeping from one halting-place to another in the enumeration of stations! From where we are to the second Bakaïrí /70/ village one day's journey, from the second to the third two, and so on -- no, one did not race madly along like that in the good old days that I was experiencing here. First one sits down in the canoe, "pépi," and rows, rows, "pépi, pépi, pépi" -- one rows with paddles, dipping right and left, and one comes to rapids, bububu... How high it drops: with each bu, bu, the hand goes one step down from the top, and how frightened the women are and cry: "pekóto äh, äh, äh...!" At this spot the pépi -- a vigorous step toward the ground -- must be pushed forward through rocks, with what groaning, and the "mayáku," the carrying baskets, laboriously -- the left shoulder is tapped one, two, three times -- carried overland. But one climbs in again and rows, pépi, pépi, pépi. Far, far -- the voice soars ih....., so far ih....., and the mouth, pointed like a snout, while the head is convulsively bent back at the nape, shows in what direction of the compass ih..... Over this the sun sinks: the hand, outstretched as far as possible, reaches toward the west, describing an arc, and aims at the point in the sky where the sun will be standing when one -- lah.....á -- enters the harbor. Here we shall be among the: "Bakaïrí, Bakaïrí, Bakaïrí!" "Kúra, kúra!" and here we shall be well received. Perhaps one has also passed a place where there is good fishing, where "matrinchams" or "piranyas" are to be shot: whereas otherwise words have the accent on the penultimate syllable,

/70 cont./

823 805 [537] noróku, póne, it is now -- as though we were to say "Jahré" /the German word for "years," but with the accent on the final syllable/ -- transferred to the last one "norokú," "poné," and the arrow flies, tsök, tsök, from the bow.

Beyond the Nahuquá, however, where the knowledge of details becomes vague, only the days' journeys themselves are given. The right hand, slowly rising in even motion, describes an arc from east to west, arrives down there, and suddenly is laid on the cheek coming up to meet it, remains there while the eyes are wearily closed, and then grasps the little finger of the left hand: sleep once. Then again the same figure, but the ring finger is grasped with the little finger and both are drawn aside: sleep twice, and so forth. Be attentive, noble listener, for woe to you if you ask a question -- there is no other way to help you but to begin again from the beginning.

123 But revenge is sweet. My turn also came, for they wanted to know how far it is to Cuyabá, my starting point. Their faces [802] were priceless when I counted off, first, the fingers of my left hand, then my right, then, exactly according to their method of counting, went over the toes of the left foot and those of the right, traveled and slept between each two fingers and each two toes in the prescribed way, and finally had to grasp my hair, pulling it apart, to demonstrate that the number of days still did not extend far enough and was more than 20! Then they murmured their "kóu, kóu" of amazement or "óko, óko, he óko" more and more impatiently; all talked at once and finally joined in the hearty laughter of sheer disbelief.

186 /71/ Individual Indian tribes were also ridiculed in vivid pantomime on account of their peculiarities; the Nahuquá were funny because of their beards, the Suyá, or, as the Bakaïrí say, Schuyá, had to bear the brunt because of their cork-disk which they wore in the lower lip, for which the actors stretched their lower lip far forward and produced a made-up jargon of snapping tones; the Trumaí were imitated with a horrible "huhuhuhu" and, because of their barbaric habit of tossing war captives into the river with their hands tied behind them, were presented as objects partly of scorn or disgust, partly of fear.

B /132 cont./
123 Then he dragged up one of the nicely plaited storage baskets
43 three-quarters of a meter high and, boasting happily, put it be-
[285] fore us as a present. The best was yet to come, however. A
B round mat was placed on the ground, the chief called, and out
[262] of the houses all the women and children came running and slapped a beijú onto the mat, each one running back immediately to make room. The agile flurry with which the beijús came flying was charming. Some 16 cakes were lying there. Then "ále" was said and we were dismissed. We, of course, outdid ourselves in praise of the hospitality of the Bakaïrí and secretly made up our mind to pay them back handsomely in Independencia.

B Since a heavy thunderstorm broke out, we stayed in the vil-
123 lage the last night. It was raining in torrents outside and Tumayaua was describing his journeys. We all sat for a long time around the fire, which the Indians let blaze up wildly by recklessly tearing bunches of straw out of the wall of the festival hut. Luchu had taken possession of the black frock-coat as his sole article of clothing; another man had decorated his ear with a fishhook. My erstwhile intended - it pains me not to be able to keep this a secret -- honored me with scarcely a glance.

The song of woman's constancy!

000 /The remainder of Ch. VI, pp. 132-137, and Ch. VII, pp. 138-152, are omitted in the translation./

/153/ Chapter VIII

I. Geography and Classification of the Tribes of the Schingú Source-region

B S
101 The old chief of the Suyá, distinguished from his companions
131 by an extremely modest lip-plug, had enumerated for us in 1884
823 the long list of tribes that were settled on the upper Schingú
[115] /Xingu/ and with his finger had drawn in the sand the source rivers on whose banks they lived. Cf. Durch Central-brasilien /Through Central Brazil/, page 214 /see 1: Steinen, this file, pp. 104-106/. His 13 tribal names had tempted us to undertake

B /153 cont./
S the second journey. By and large, one must say, the statements
101 of our informant were confirmed. His river branchings, it is true,
131 cannot satisfy the cartographic demands of our Karaiben exacti-
823 tude, but even here he was more accurate than we could realize when we mistook the Kulisehu for the Kuluëne. But the astronomical position of the localities in relation to one another turned out to be completely distorted, since the Suyá needed a very long line to show the large number along the one branch of the source and blithely extended it endlessly to the south.

B We do not know the dwellers along the Ronuro; Vogel under-
101 stood the Auetö chief who navigated the mouth at Schingü-
131 Koblenz with him to say that there are Kabischí /Cabishi/ and Kayapó /Cayapo/ there. The Kabischí about whom anything is known live in the source region of the Tapajoz /Tapajós/ as part of the docile Paressí Indians; it would be most interesting and significant if the Paressí, like the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/, could be divided into a "docile" and a "wild" group, since it is precisely in this once populous and highly developed Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ tribe that the crude civilizing process has destroyed what cannot be replaced. It would not be surprising at all if the widely distributed Kayapó were on the Ronuro, since they frequently appeared on the Paranatinga and had merely been mistaken here for the Coroados-Bororó by the Brazilians.

B Along the tributary of the Ronuro, the Batovy-Tamitotoala*,
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* Formerly incorrectly written Tamitatoala. tamitóto, falcon, owl = they killed (schóle) a falcon, as the Bakaïrí themselves told me.

down which we traveled in 1884, there are four villages of the Bakaïrí. Its lower course and the adjacent region on the right belongs to the Kustenaú /Custenau/ and the Waurá.

/154/ There follows, toward the east, the Kulisehu. On its left bank we have the three villages of the Bakaïrí, Maigéri or "tapir died," Iguéti or sparrow-hawk village, Kuyaqualiéti or harpy village.

/154 cont./

000 between the Kulisehu and Kuluëne. In the first Bakaïrí village
B Paleko enumerated for me the Nahuquá villages of the Kuluëne
101 and indicated the direction from Maigéri in which they were to be
823 sought; starting at the upper course, there are: 1. Anuakúru
[115] or Anahukú southeast, 2. Aluíti or Kanaluíti east, 3. Yamurikumá
Y or Yaurikumá east to east-southeast, 4. Apalaquíri east-northeast,
361 5. Guikurú east-northeast, 6. Mariapé northeast. Beyond them
103 came the Trumaí. Thus, with the Guapirí, the Yanumakapü,
101 and the Nahuquá of the Kulisehu, we would have nine Nahuquá villages.

A In order to round out the picture, I shall also mention the
S Suyá, who live on the main river a journey of three short days
361 below Schingú-Koblenz and of whom we did not see anything on the second expedition, but heard bad rumors, and the Manitsauá, who live on a left tributary that flows in farther downstream and are well known to the Kamayurá and Yaulapiti.
A In 1884 we met a /155/ number of Manitsauá in captivity
S among the Suyá. Not until 1887 did we hear about the Yarumá
727 or Arumá who, very soon after the Trumaí, were said to have
Y had an unpleasant visit by the Suyá, and about whom the
101 Kamayurá gave us the remarkable information that they wore a
[648] metallic-sounding ear-ornament (cf. p. 104). It is probable
A that we must regard them as Mundurukú /Mundurucu/, the
[829] famous warrior tribe of the Tapajoz, whose trail we missed on
Y the Schingú long ago. The Paressí called the Mundurukú
[801] "Sarumá," which is phonetically the same as Yarumá. A specimen of a club of Karajá-like /Caraja/ workmanship, which was attributed to the Yarumá, cannot invalidate the evidence presented in the agreement of the names. The Aratá lead an existence even more obscure to us; the Nahuquá asserted that they were not worth anything, and the Suyá geographer described them as neighbors of theirs. A Karajá tribe?

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S
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Y
[829]

C Finally, I must also consider the Kayapó, likewise in the upper
361 source region; they are said to live between the Kulisehu and the Kuluëne, above the Nahuquá, along the sources of the Pakuneru, the small Kulisehu tributary whose name is identical with the Bakaïrí name for the Paranatinga. The Suyá geographer

/246 cont./

*171 mental world in every art and science, no matter what it is
18 called, and there can be no foundation for this other than their
825 hunting culture.

000 The material interest in the animal precedes the formal or esthetic interest. The flower in art is secondary, exactly as it is in ornamentation; first the feather in the ear and then the little bunch of flowers on the hat. I saw araucarias portrayed in the "picture writing" of the virador in Rio Grande do Sul. A palm tree would be just as easy to draw as a pine, but no palm in the north furnishes such indispensable food as the araucaria formerly provided for the "bugre" /wild Indian/ of that southern province. Before art went after bread, if I may alter the meaning of the sentence somewhat, it went after meat and fish. I shall have to come back to this subject, especially in connection with the products of the ceramic art.

*171 Sand drawings. They are at first a form of communication,
212 like words. I have spoken of how the descriptive gesture readily
532 and easily became a picture. Map drawings were the most com-
● 823 mon. Our second journey arose through the sand drawing of the arrangement of the upper Schingú, with which the Suyá geographer illustrated his statements; cf. page 126. "He enumerated all the tribes that are settled on the upper Schingú; in order to be quite clear, he drew the course of the river in the sand with his finger. To our greatest surprise, he drew the Batovy, the only one which he portrayed in this way, and, to be sure, entirely on his own initiative ,with corkscrew-like, tortuous course." (Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, p. 213 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 104/.) The Batovy, as we learned to our sorrow, was a true River Meander.

*171 /247/ We saw the same thing among the Kulisehu tribes.
212 The number, sometimes of tribes, sometimes of rapids, was
532 indicated by dashes. Circles were houses; wreaths of circles, villages, corresponding to the actual arrangement of the circular
[126] houses around the large plaza. All these figures were also drawn with pencil in our book, while the accompanying words were taken down as dictation. A certain individualization, as in the

/265 cont./

776 Bakairí: /266/ Kilaimo, Karoui, Iuanaguroro, and Topiehe. Kilaimo is a wandering spirit that wanders through the forest
[756] at night. Karoui is the sorcerer-doctor's enemy; he possesses an axe in the shape of a toad. Iuanaguroro is the lord of hunt-
[224] ing; one of the sides of his chest is larger than the other, and he clasps against it and kills the Indians who offend him.
[825] Topiehe is a bird whose death would result inevitably in the death of the guilty party. There was also a lake inhabited by
[823] maleficent supernatural beings, and where animals reached gigantic proportions.

825 Capistrano de Abreu mentions the attribution of special powers to certain animals. Thus the lizard was the lord of sleep; the fox, of fire; the urubu, of benches; the sea snail, of the sun; the porcupine, of thorns; the kingfisher, of fishes; the deer, of manioc. (12)

12. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 242.

756 The sorcerer, piaji (piahi or piaje) performed very important functions among the Bakairí. Besides the function of curing illness, he performed such tasks as the prediction of enemy attacks, the localizing of game, the finding of lost objects, and interceding with supernatural beings when necessary.

753 For the Bakairí illness was always causedeither by hostile
[754] sorcerers or those in the service of enemies, orby spirits such as the iamüra, topiehe, iuanaguroro, or karoui On being
756 called to heal a sick person, the piaji requested the assistance
755 of his guardian iamüra with the help of a gourdwhich he shook in accompaniment to songs of invocation. On examining the patient, the piaji decided upon the cause of the illness, whether it had been induced by an enemy or by a spirit. In the second case, the piaji would intercede with theoffended
000 spirit, appeasing it. But in the event the illnes had been

/105 cont.

526 for Pedro; to hang on by the tail of a cow rushing out at top speed and to maintain this seat as long as possible during the gigantic leaps -- that was something to laugh about.

533 As soon as darkness set in, the music-making began. The [177] Bakaïrí had learned from the colonist of Mato Grosso to carve [534] guitars for themselves, and they played them with enthusiasm. They improvised short "verses" in praise of dogs, bananas, the 534 moon, a house, etc. One evening they showed up with

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534 their original and peculiar tribal instruments. Characteristically enough, they had hidden them nearby in the forest.

They were large and small flutes, the meni and the kyanuaɣíλ. The latter has nothing special; it is made out of [824] bamboo, one might say bassoon-like. The meni, made out of vinhatico wood, is a little over a meter long; it is held with the feet. On the upper section there is a small hole into which the player blows. Not far below it there is a square opening in the tube, just as there is a series of smaller ones in the lower part. 533 The music is simple, but has to be learned. It consists of five tones,

/123 cont./

162 Agosta. -- A boy Irineo (parents dead).
621 Luis (Bolivian), Martin (Brazilian) with wife Carlotta (Paraguayan) and child.

126 I could not rejoice enough about the fortunate circumstance
115 that I was able to make the linguistic survey on the Rio Novo. Even with the intelligent Reginaldo it had been difficult enough to determine phonetically the inimitable tongue exercises that make up the Bakaïrí language, but with Captain Mêmo, who did nothing but nod contentedly, and the others who either laughed or grew impatient, nothing could be done.

On the other hand, I am indebted to Caetano for the legends which I shall retell later.

342 The largest house, which Captains Caetano and Felipe oc-
824 cupied together, was 21 paces long and 9 1/2 paces wide. The roof and walls, the latter supported by cross rods of tacoara /bamboo; see the glossary, p. 172 / consisted entirely of buritî /see the glossary, p. 170 / straw. Only Miguel owned a round house, the inner frame of tacoara covered with buritî leaves.
[343] There were seven houses and two new buildings. In addition two pig huts. In the case of one new building, I inquired about the timber that made up the frame. Two tall aruera posts supported the uppermost longitudinal roof-beam of aricá wood (also cunhào de porco). The sloping side-beams of the roof likewise cunhào de porco, the two longitudinal beams guanandí. The smaller posts that supported the roof beams: timbó, peuva, carvão, branco. One roof was also covered with campo grass.

164 I visited Miguel, who had an attack of fever, in his bee-
352 /124/ hive. He lay in his cotton hammock and let himself be
353 waited on by pretty Maria. The whole room hung full of calabashes, rice and farinha baskets, skins, arrows -- things left by his grandfather; it was far more comfortable in this still true heathen affair than in the characterless huts of the adherents of
123 a mock civilization. With dreadful gestures of disgust, the old
[057] man swallowed the bitter quinine and buried his fever-reddened
[283] face in the hammock. Maria, in gratitude, baked me a beijú
[Cf. glossary on p. 170 --Analyst

/124 cont./

123 and showed me how the raw cotton, merely cleaned of seeds, is
283 twisted into thread with the spindle. The cotton plants stand
241 between the huts everywhere; beside them grows mamona /castor
[372] oil plant/, whose oil serves us for wretched illumination in the
[251] evening, and peppers. Mats are spread out on racks in order to dry the mandioca farina.

The roca," the cultivated field, lies some distance away. The Bakairí plant mandioca, beans, rice, sweet potatoes, sugar, and deliver to the Fazenda Corrego fundo. Their rapadura was
272 excellent; the melada, a honey-sweet syrup, moved us to exclamations of admiration. The sugar cane is pressed between
249 two cylinders in the simplest way. (Cf. the vignette at the be-

342

Old-style hut.

[249] ginning of this chapter /see p. 2/).

We found Caetano's hut divided into three rooms: Caetano received us in the high, airy center room and shut the door, behind which little Luisa was doing housework. Felipe and Carlotta
354 Pareci lived in the corner room opposite. Three canga blocks
482 formed the hearth. Plaited back-baskets, which are carried by a forehead band and in which the women are said to carry up to six
412 arrobas. Graters to grate the mandioca: hard little spikes from
824 the rib of the buriti leaf are neatly set into the middle part of a narrow piece of wood almost a meter long.

/157 cont./

241 the process of being charred. The pillar of smoke that had drawn our attention for several days is explained: the forest was
122 being cleared in order to lay out a planting. Eagerly scouting, we climb up, and again we are wandering along the forest path.

/158/ "Beijú," somebody cries in a suppressed voice and
[262] triumphantly points to a few crumbs, which give us the prospect of new provisions; "they have beijús," each one murmurs to the man behind him.

[411] There -- a feather-decorated arrow leans against a tree
824 -- the tube of ubá, the wood from which the Imperador /emperor/
[173] of the legend created the Bakaïrí. We become more serious, and even the Negroes, who, when they are afraid, like to try to give themselves courage by chattering march on silently. Now and then small fires, alive or burned out. We have already been
[137] walking three-quarters of an hour. But see there, a new clearing -- a charming grove of nut-bearing bacayuva palms -- a few kernels of maize on the ground, again a bit of forest and: "Casas -- houses," the first man cries.

361 Three houses of the form of a beehive become visible; in
342 the first hut, which blocks our path, the low door stands open; in the dark we make out a few heads. A completely naked
609 Indian steps out, young, well built, closes the door, and comes
[291] toward us, in his hand a long arrow shaft without a point, which he holds horizontally in front of him.

I instruct Antonio to call out a greeting to him in Bakaïrí. "Kyulino," cries Antonio almost breathless, and -- hail to the antiguos -- the Indian answers in Bakaïrí. Eagerly he steps up to Antonio, leans against him, and both embrace as they walk on -- both talking at the same time, both trembling all over with fear and excitement.

[302] A joyful feeling of release overcame us all, and when Manoel, discovering that our dear savage wears a nicely shaved tonsure, now finally recovers his speech and cries out, "Oh, why that's a priest, the compadre is a parson," general laughter breaks out, and everybody talks at once.

/163 cont./

412
135

1. (cont.)
magnetite, in which are embedded individual crystals of olivine and quite a number of quartz granules.

415 Tall storage baskets of biconcave profile (one meter 40 centimeters long, 35 centimeters wide at the top), wound with brown bast bands and lined in the interior with maize leaves, contain the flour and are very stout. The grating boards on which the mandioca is pulverized are about 115 centimeters long and 80 centimeters wide.

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415
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Gourd-vessel (drinking-vessel) designs of the Bakairí.

251 High up a great quantity of dusty corncobs.

532 A number of strange dolls, which hang down from the vault on long strings, seem the most striking; they are plaited out of maize leaves: turkey-sized birds, projecting wings made out of one leaf and circularly twisted legs with three toes; others are slender, human-like figures, /164/ a small head on top, broken up below into narrow frippery. In our house we found two lizards made of grass, whose four feet come together in a ring, so that one can put them on one's head.

[353]
[824]

2: Steinen--1 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

000 /Chapter I-III, pp. 1-45, including Fig. 1 and Plates II and III, are omitted in the translation./

/46/

Chapter IV.

First Encounter with the Indians.

Bark canoes. Traces of Indians. My trip with Antonio and Carlos. Animal life. Reverie before supper. Mouth of the Ponekuru. Cataracts. Signs of colonization increase. Chief Tumayaua. To the first Bakaïrí village. Arrival of the "Karaiben."

396 [324] After tapping several times in vain, Antonio found a jatobá (Hymenaea sp.) with serviceable bark. A pole scaffold is erected around the tree; a long rectangular strip of bark is loosened with ax blows and, carefully taken down, is placed on low supports; then the bark is made pliable with heat, a fire being lighted underneath and twigs also set afire on top, and the edges of the longitudinal sides are bent upward. In front a point is formed; in the rear the bark is pushed forward toward the inside to produce a slightly hollowed out bulkhead with acute-angled edges, at which the bark is soon likely to split. The canoe was to be finished in a day and brought to the water the next morning.

000 Antonio came home from his work noticeably pleased. I believed it was because the canoe had turned out well. I talked to him about it for a while and then, referring once more to our plans, said: "So you are not afraid that the river is without inhabitants?" "No," he replied in dismissal, "I've already found a rancho." "Why didn't you say so?" "Well, I intended to." 224 342 [312] [394] In looking for wood for the oars, he had discovered a collapsed hunting-hut covered with palm straw; its posts showed the blunt gash-marks of a stone ax. Beside it lay charred logs still in the radial arrangement of the Indian campfire; adjacent jatobás had been tested with stone axes for their usefulness, a still recognizable path led through the brush to a "harbor" on the river. Antonio thought it was probably a year ago that the visitors had stopped here.

/56 cont./

114 Bakaïrí, against such views about their characteristics as are
157 found, typically expressed, in the following sentences by Oscar Peschel (Abhandlungen zur Erde- und Völkerkunde /Essays on Geography and Ethnology/, Leipzig, 1877, Vol. I, p. 421): "In no other continent on earth did one hear less happy laughter before 1492 than in America. The so-called red man remains the same in all climates, /57/ everywhere he is gloomy, silent, withdrawn, and intent on a certain dignified bearing."

159 These assertions are in no way applicable to the Bakaïrí; they were gay, talkative, and trustful, as I observed them in their association with one another and as they acted toward me alone. I shall not fail to give examples of this. In this village I laughed and heard laughter almost as often as under the coconut palms of Samoa and Tonga. It is true, their temperament is less vivacious and their entire view of life less sunny than among the children of the South Seas, the girls do not dance in the moonlight and the men do not sing on canoe trips; shyness and mistrust are more easily aroused, but all this is a long way from the sadness and reserve which, like the black horsehair and the Mongolian eyes, are summarily attributed to the Indian on the basis of appearances, as though there were but a single family between the Bering Strait and the Strait of Magellan.

361 The "village" was very small; it consisted of two large
[342] round houses, in each of which several families lives, and a
[392] small, empty, somewhat dilapidated oblong house, in which I
[122] took up my residence. Between the houses stretched the "tadra,"
[417] an open place where a few racks stood for drying the white
[251] mandioca flour spread out on mats, where in the center lay a
[241] long, slender log for sitting, and, toward the edge, there grew a few stalks of cotton, Orleans bushes (Bixa orellana), and
245 Ricinus plants. Numerous fruit trees were planted all around, bakayuva palms (Acrocomia), mangaba /fruit of the mangabeira/ (Hancornia speciosa), fruta de lobo (Solanum lycocarpum), and a
489 sort of avenue of stately piké trees (Caryocar butyrosum). Toward
[32] the east a path led to the "harbor" across the nearby brook, toward
824

/57 cont./

487 the northeast a wide path through tall sapé grass, with which the
[324] houses are covered, to the river rapids below, toward the south
[361] a path to the manioca planting, and everywhere tall forest moved in close to the inhabited and planted clearing.

162 The community numbered nine men, seven women, five
621 children. The names of the men were: Tumayaua, the chief,
551 our guide, who was primarily responsible for the planting (Pl.
[463] 6).[1] Paleko, his father, a charming old gentleman, with whom I struck up a close friendship and who in his declining years plaited baskets and fish weirs, Alakuai, the shrewd carpenter and canoe-builder, Awia, the painter, Yapü, the fat one, Kalawaku, the modest one, and the young men Kulekule,
[574] Luchu (Pl. 6), and Pauhaga. After a few days a couple of visitors came from the second village, among them one whose parents had died young and who therefore -- had no name.

The names of the women were not to be discovered: "pehdeo ira" was the regular answer, "I am a woman." Thus
162 I have had to /58/ invent my own designations here. There was,
621 as always, an old woman who had a great deal to say and who, with her lean wrinkled body, was not exactly beautiful, the "tribal witch," Paleko's wife (see Pl. 5, left).[2] Her antithesis was her granddaughter "Eva," Tumayaua's daughter, mother of two children and the youthful wife of the muscular, magnificently strongly built Kulekule, who, before I knew his name, seemed to me worthy of being called "Adam" in this little paradise and also possessed a fine yellowish-red loam color.
[142] Eva had a finely chiseled European face with full lips, pale rosy cheeks which were closely framed with wavy hair, and the most beautiful eyes that I saw in Brazil -- and that is saying not a little -- large eyes whose sweet /Fig. 2 appears here/ glance contained no coquetry at all, but in whose radiant fire, with a full, naïvely tender upward glance, glowed that spark of innocent lust that must once upon a time have kindled the eternal fires of the universe; thus, with a body never mistreated by any lacing, she really looked like a young Mother Eva. Unfortunately, she scratched her head far too often,

[1] [See P. 40--Analysis]
[2] [See P. 25--Analysis]

/175 cont./

* 171 302 the cut desired by him, went a step further and cut off at the roots a part of the hair falling down in back and on the sides. The additional advantage connected with this was that, during combing, the hair could easily be evenly distributed on all sides. The tonsure of the Indians extended chiefly downward over the back of the head (cf. Fig. 14 /see p. 170 /). The Suyá men, on the other hand, with their tonsure of Apostle Paul, went further in the removal of the hair falling over the forehead and, instead, wore their hair hanging down to their shoulders

[42] [301]

Fig. 11. Bakairí girl.

in back or knotted up. Long back hair and the crown tonsure do not occur together. Copying the priests was not required for this simple procedure.

/176/ All the other body hair, with the exception of the eyebrows, was shaved or unhesitatingly plucked out. The lashes were not, as among the Yurúna on the lower Schingú, placed on a tucum thread and torn out all at once with a jerk, but were pulled out one by one at the earliest age of the children. The shaving of the tonsure was done with a tip of spear grass, these razor blades were kept planted near the house. The hair was cut with the teeth of the piranha fish. I never saw among

[524] [242] [237]

/182 cont./

*171 301 321 Another type consists of small disks or smooth beads only one millimeter thick and three to five millimeters in diameter. They are evenly circular, with a dull, whitish-gray to bluish sheen. The little pieces of the broken shell were bitten off with the teeth, made approximately even in size, and were pierced like the squares. The tiny little things are so evenly ground /183/ that on the string they form a thin, flexible coil. [824] They are usually alternated with similarly shaped tucum beads (Bactris), which are bitten out of the shell of the palm nut. The tucum beads are likewise pierced with the tooth of the dogfish. For these and the small shell disks, the evenness is achieved by stringing the beads and, not grinding the roll on a stone, but rubbing and smoothing it between two pot shards. The shell beads are a very natural product, if colored or shiny pieces of shell are saved at all; they are strung on a cord, since they are hard to fasten otherwise, and they are matched up, which is most easily accomplished if one simply grinds them all around. *171 301 439 In this way the most diverse primitive peoples, with their respective shell material, have arrived at beads that look so much alike as to be mistaken for one another. The beads, however, also have all the characteristics required to circulate from tribe to tribe wherever intercourse takes place and provide the best opportunity to become acquainted with the extent of the intercourse, which some regard as unlimited. The Bakaïrí of the Batovy, more than those of the Kuliseiu, are "zôto," lords, of the shell chains.

*171 301 The tucum beads are made chiefly by the Nahuquá; the latter had as shell beads the rose-colored little spindle pieces of Bulimus in particular, whose "zôto" they were, a single one of which interrupted the coil of the nut beads at short intervals. The Nahuquá were distinguished by a great wealth of chains, especially of plant material, which, moreover, also played a more important role among the Bakaïrí than among the tribes living downstream. The Bakaïrí of Maigéri greatly prized [824] "grass beads," kanakíni, which Antonio explained were fruits of a tall, rare grass growing along lagoons, each stalk of which produces only a few.

/183 cont./

We found pieces of malva, pieces of bark, seed kernels, and berries of the most diverse kinds: nut beads from the large and the small tucum palm, fruits of a climbing plant, of a campo tree takipé, of a plant called (Bakairi) udeyéu, red and black seeds of Papilionaceae, of mamona-Ricinus, tonka beans (Dipteryx odorata), among the Auetö gourd seeds and almonds kernels, and even a small, bottle-shaped gourd seven centimeters long.

Among the Tesleqini, Trumaí, and, coming from them, among their neighbors, stone chains were frequent: pierced disks and cylinders which the Nahuquá intended in the amber-like yaubá resin and in clay. It was the diorite of the stone axes and throwing-stick arrows /Wurfholz-Pfeile/; it was pierced with the stone chip fastened to the throwing stick and the addition of sand. Small, pear-shaped stones, such as go with the darts /Wurfpfeilen/, are popularly hung on children's chains by the Mehinaká and Auetö.

Thus there were distinct differences in the material, which were probably, as is certainly the case with the stones, locally conditioned. All chains made of white shell pieces went back to the Bakairí, all those of red to the Nahuquá, all those made of stones to the Trumaí or Tesleqini.

/184/ Animal material was found everywhere. There were horn beads and bone beads, the latter also in the form of little rods; they were sometimes strung on individually, sometimes joined for whole chains, especially monkey teeth and jaguar teeth. Cf. the illustration of the Auetö chief, page 90. Among the Nahuquá we procured a chain with jaguar teeth and small, colored feathers. The Trumaí prized capybara teeth. Among the Mehinaká in particular there was an abundance of children's ornaments, which were hung in bunches on infants; besides the others, monkey teeth in particular, teeth of the jaguatirica (Felis mitis), fish vertebrae, bone of the bagadi fish, once a huge, black beetle-horn. Also claws or hoofs of the tapir (Kamayurá), jaguar, and deer.

/184 cont./

#171 301 (126) With this the most essential constituents of the chain ornaments have probably been enumerated. In the later chapter on the plastic art of our Indians I shall come back to details, inasfar as all kinds of figures were also carved and ground.

(95) I am unable to say to what extent useful and therapeutic effects were attributed to individual objects. That the "ornament" was often "talisman" is shown by the fact that, as mentioned, children and pregnant women were the most bedecked. If the remains of a matchbox were also hung around, this, too, did not originate from a sense of beauty. The green beads of the Bakairí greatly resembled fine fish-bones, but I obtained such a chain only with the greatest difficulty. In the eyes of their owners they were decidedly "more beautiful" than those with fish beads, because they were rarer.

#171 301 Daubing and painting. Why do the Indians daub themselves with oil color, either with black, like those who are less familiar with the urucu bush, or with red, as the others prefer? To frighten the enemy by means of display and disfigurement? This is certainly a practical use, but only for this particular instance.

(122) Could the love of color explain everything? If so, we are obliged to recognize the delight in black as a primary sensation of pleasure. In that case we should have to note

#171 301 ● 324 with amazement that a natural source has eluded our Indians, a source used so profusely in Polynesia, for example, and one that is abundantly available for this purpose even in the river-forest area which is relatively poor in flowers -- neither men nor women adorned themselves with flowers. I believe the only question that Antonio asked me of his own initiative was the following in Cuyabá: "Why do the women wear flowers in their hair?" The idea that it is done in order to adorn oneself with gay colors was wrench removed from his way of

(130) thinking. No, the gay parrot feathers only later developed into colored ornaments. First came the pleasure in the hunt or in animal life and the boastfulness concerning the hunter's

/187 cont./

* 191 302 daubing. The cotton bands wound the upper arm or lower leg offered a not unpopular motif. One day I saw on the Bakairí Kulekule, who was an enthusiastic admirer of mine, a black horseshoe-like arc below either nipple, and when I jokingly asked him what it was, to my surprise he pointed to my boots, which impressed him very much: he had painted the heels on himself. A veritable work of art was displayed by a young Auctó who was solemnly decked out for the journey with us to Cuyabá -- his father ordered him to accompany us --, but who left us already among /188/ the Mehinakú, in spite of a pot of flour that had been given to take along as provisions. The mereschu lozenge-pattern, which I shall subsequently discuss in greater detail, covered his chest and sides down to the middle of the calves, in contrast to which the lower half of his face and the sides of his neck from the ear to the collarbone stood out with a coating of pure, deep black. Otherwise it was primarily on the festive occasion of a reception or, as among the Nahuquá, for the dance that people decorated themselves with designs. In everyday life there was practically nothing to be seen, just as little as of feather ornaments. When I appeared with my traveling companions from Independencia, almost all of the Bakairí of the first village, including the women, received us in a painted state. the smaller grandsons of Tumayaua had been carefully smeared over their whole bodies, and Tumayaua told me specifically that we were supposed to see how pleased the women were.

* 191 304 Scratch-scars. Scratching the skin is a sort of panacea. It is used on young and old and in the same way among all the tribes. With the /Fig. 15 appears here/ scarifier, a triangular piece of gourd shell set with a row of small, pointed teeth of fish (trahira) or claws of rodents (agutí), the skin is scratched, allowed to bleed for a while, which is helped by stroking with a bone, and is then rubbed either with yellow loam or with soot or the juice of a fruit (nanmaño among the Auetó). One sees the scratch-scars everywhere, especially on the arms. Actual

B /189 cont./
#191 pattern [illegible] of a cast-off, galloned uniform, wanted his rediscovered
304 brother: in name, along with Antonio, after our first expedition:, he told me that he was asked to go to the Kustenaú /Cuscenau/ and have himself tattooed. "But I didn't want to," he told me, "after all, I have my galloon."

Tattooing is limited to the Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ tribes,

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Fig. 16. Kamayurá woman with scratch-scars.

B
#191 namely, the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, Kustenaú, Waurá, and
304 Yaulapiti -- to tribes who are fond of blackening their bodies, who could thus best observe the coloring of the scratches -- and is occasionally laid claim to by the neighboring Bakairí. It is done in earliest childhood with the thorn of a bromelia, gravará, B
[324] or the tooth of the dogfish. Soot or the juice of the tanumá fruit serves for the color.

/205 cont./

*171 [237] 412 [325] be broken off evenly. A scarcely less important tool was furnished by the peixe cachorro, or dogfish, called Cynodon zoologically, which has in its lower jaw two pointed teeth three to three and a half centimeters long, each projecting upward through a hole. The edge of these teeth, ground knife-sharp, was used for cutting, but chiefly for puncturing, for example, in connection with tattooing, for scratching, for example, in decorating the tortoise spindle disks, and for boring reeds, as in the case of the arrows, in order to put through the threads for fastening the feathers and [204] points. /206/ The triangular pieces of gourd which, as the scarifier, represented the most important instrument in the little surgery of the Indians, cf. Figure 15 /see p. 179/, were studded with the small, pointed teeth of the trahira fish, Erythrinus. The [325] little teeth of the agutí, Dasyprocta aguti, served the same purpose. Of the rodents, the capybara, Hydrochoerus capybara, fur- [284] nished indispensable scraping chisels with the front teeth of its lower jaw; the tooth, six to eight centimeters long, was fastened to a piece of ubá reed with cotton thread, or two teeth were lashed together and cemented with a little wax. /Figs. 23-26 appear here./ The arrow holes were likewise bored with the agutí tooth. [301] Monkey teeth, pierced at the root and artfully plaited together into a chain, were a favorite belt or neck ornament.

[411] Bones. Arm and leg bones of monkeys, which were kept in thick bundles in the little tool basket at home, served as arrowheads. They were ground to shape and, with their hollow tubes, mounted on the stick between the arrowhead and arrow shaft. The tail radiation of the ray was likewise an arrowhead. Small, pointed [304] bones were added as barbs. /207/ Mammal bones had many uses; the skin treated with the scarifier was rubbed with the thigh bone of the deer; we saw a splinter of a jaguar bone pointed to pierce ear lobes; the wax smeared over the lashing on arrowheads was applied with a bone. The front claws of the giant armadillo, [125] Dasypus gigas, served man, as well as the animal itself, for digging and grubbing up the ground and were the earth hoe of our Indians. The spindle disks in many cases came from the ventral piece of the tortoise shell, which was broken to pieces with a stone. Jaguar

/207 cont./

*171 claws were worn as neck chains, fish vertebrae on the Jaguar belt cord;
237 a bone stuck crosswise through the nasal septum adorned the old
30 Bakairí.
304

Shells. Flat river shells were extensively used for cutting, less
*171 for cutting through than for scoring longitudinally, for scraping, planing,
237 smoothing. The work shells brought back from the Kamayurá /Fig. 27
412 appears here/ were identified by Herr Professor von Martens: tyutsí,
[305] Anodonta, was the shell for scraping the mandioca root, "maniôka pinâp";
[324]

Fig. 23. Dogfish.
(1/1 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 24. Piranha.
(1/2 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

[284] →

Fig. 25. Front claws of the giant armadillo. (Grubbing hoe.) (2/5 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 26. Capybara teeth. (Scraping chisel.) (1/2 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

the women sat on a couple of pieces of bamboo placed together, and they scraped, scrubbed, scratched, until their legs disappeared in the heap of parings. This shell also served as a plane to smooth the handle
[322] of the stone ax or the oar by means of finer scraping, not with the edge.

/209 cont./

#171 24 245 Category B could probably be considerably enlarged. It depended on the need. The fruit trees under this were planted with great care. I have mentioned that in the first Bakaïrí village there was a sort of avenue of pikí trees; the Nahuquá cultivated this species with great enthusiasm. The mangabas were popular and thrive especially well among the Bakaïrí, among the Kamayurá, and in particular, as was reported to me, among the Waurá, so that the Trumaí word "wautarú" seems to mean simply the Waurá fruit. The fruta de lobo was less frequently found near the village. Then, however, plants which they needed in any way for their implements and weapons were set out as required, if they did not occur in the vicinity of the village. Thus they transplanted near the village the spear grass growing in swampy soil, with which they shaved themselves, the bast plants that /210/ furnished them thread, occasionally perhaps also the sapé grass with which the houses were covered. Most interesting, however, it seems to me, is the assurance that they planted the ubá arrow reed in larger quantities on the Batovy, so as not to have to fetch it from distant places.

#171 249 [302] [326] [248]

Besides casual inclinations and knowledge of management, the nature of the soil apparently played an important role. Tobacco grew excellently among the Suyá and the Auctó and was commonly smoked by the men, except in the first Bakaïrí village on the Batovy.* It plays an important part in medical

[296] 300

114 296 [113]

* This circumstance may have occasioned H. v. Ihering to say: "v. d. Steinen missed tobacco among the Bakaïrí of the Upper Schingú just as completely as bananas or metals" [Zeitschrift f. Ethnologie, 1893, p. 195]. I describe, cf. Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, p. 173 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 55/, for Village III of the Batovy-Bakaïrí, the real part played by smoking, as the discoverers of the

/210 cont./

*171 174 241 place of habitation. After the experiences of the second expedition I can only find my opinion confirmed. This time we also met true Tupí who did not have bananas. Among the Kamayurá I sought in vain for the /211/ word "pakôba," which the lingoa geral has for banana; they were unfamiliar with it. I gladly withdraw the suggestion that this word might be derived from the Portuguese; I no longer set any store by arbitrary etymology; today, more than at that time, however, I must lay much greater stress on the fact that among the individual tribes the names for banana do not conform to the linguistic derivation, but to formitous, local distribution. This is without precedent for the other useful plants. What is more, none of the first

•[824] discoverers mentions the banana, and the Aruak of the coast and the Island Karaiben reproduce the Spanish word "platano" so unmistakably in their "pátane" and "balatanna" that there is absolutely no doubt about the agreement. Finally, if we fully appreciate the fact that in a lost corner we find representatives of all the large linguistic families with the most excellent names for all the cultivated plants, but without banana, that a splinter group of one of these tribes, and one associating with Europeans, the docile Bakaïri, do have the banana and in their language, otherwise kept absolutely pure, simply call it "banana" (just like the Parení, by the way), I believe that this proof is as forceful

[114] as negative proof can ever be. Humboldt and Martius let themselves be persuaded by the fact that they found the banana everywhere among the Indians, but this basis for their view has now become untenable, and the experiences of linguistics, as well as the actual absence of the banana in the entire region of the upper Schingú, undoubtedly justify the opinion of the botanist, Alphonse de Candolle, that the banana was introduced into South America, though probably very soon after the appearance of Europeans.

*171 174 241 824 It is worthwhile, for a better evaluation of the linguistic methods of proof, to give an example. Let us consider the words for "pepper" among I. the Nu-Aruak, II. the Karaiben, and III. the Tupí.

/211 cont./

*171 174 241 • 824

I. On the Schingú, among the Nu-Aruak, pepper is called fi, among the Maipure on the Orinoco ai, among the Moxos /Mojo/ in Bolivia atacheti, among the Aruak haatschi, among the women of the Island Karaiben fiti, for the Taino of the island of Haiti Oviedo gives axi, aji.

II. On the Schingú, among the Karaiben Bakairí, pepper is called pãno (with a nasal ã), among the Nahuquá vóme, hómi, among the Island Karaiben pomi, pomui, among the Karaiben Orinoco tribes in Venezuela pomêi, pomuey, in the Galibí generally widespread in Guiana pomi. Among the Palmella, a Karaiben tribe on the Madeira, apómo.

III. From Tupí the Kamayurá on the Schingú have the word ãkõng, the Omagua on the upper Amazon ekei, the Guaraní in Paraguay kiy; the lingoa geral has kyiá, kyinha, etc.

These phonetic equivalents, which are absolutely certain within the tribal groups and which do not show the slightest compatibility from tribal group to tribal group, /212/ extend over more than half of South America and turn up in records that go back from 1887 to the middle of the sixteenth century. They teach us irrefutably that pepper was known since immemorial "prehistoric" times in each of the three tribal groups, whose remotest family members have preserved its equivalent on their wanderings, and none of them obtained it from any of the others. The situation with regard to the banana words cannot be reconciled with this. These congruities surprise us simply because we are caught up in the delusion, not only that the South American peoples represent a linguistic chaos, but also that these "hordes" to whom we were the first to bring metals are largely crude hunting peoples tossed hither and yon by unknown destinies, like rubble in rapids, somehow cemented together here and broken up in pieces there. In the clumsy masses which in our eyes make up the "Stone Age," however, we shall have to become accustomed to distinguishing a multitude of regular, neatly deposited cultural layers.

/223 cont./

*171 194 372 among the Schingú Indians, and I believe I shal be able to prove how their way of producing fire must hav originated. It is the simplest one of the "fire drill," very widespread in America and other parts of the world, whereas in Polynesia a "stick" is rubbed in a "groove."

*171 372 /224/ The natives take two sticks not quiteas thin as a little finger, about three-fourths of a meter lon, and still covered with the bark that keeps them dry, andcut a small depression into one with a shell. While one ma lays this stick on the ground and keeps it firmly pressed down,a second man sets the other stick into the depression and twirl it with great speed between his hands which glide nimbly upand down on it. Through the twirling the little depression is enlrged, a fine dust is loosened, and this begins to glow and tsmoke. Tinder is brought forth, blown upon, and immediatel the flame is there. The small depression now appears extremely smooth and charred on the surface. The process fromstart to finish does not take a minute. The one who twirls rally exerts himself. it would be an exaggeration to make moe of it, although a person who is not practiced and allows smallpauses to occur, which is detrimental to the result, will not succeed without a supreme effort. In an emergency, a single invidual will manage very well with the procedure by holding the stik firmly on the ground with his feet.

• [224] The fire sticks are usually two straight twis from the orieau bush or urucú, which have a light, porous wood. Other wood, too, has "fire in it," as the Indian understands, especially uhá and kambayuva, the two types of arrow reed. Ifthe hunter on his way has no fire with him and needs it, he knows how to help himself: he breaks an arrow and drills one piece into the other. The arrow is precious, however, and rubbing is strenuous. We several times observed that the men on their way to the harbor and into the forest took along burning chunks from the smoldering clearing, which they later heedlessly tossed aside. On excursions that involved an absence from home for days they took along with them in the canoe a huge smoldering piece of dry rotten wood from the forest.

/224 cont./

*191 392 [324] The tinder is a light brown, fine meshed bast tissue which is furnished best by the young uakumã palm (a Cocos species). In the campo, tinder from the guarirobá palm (Cocos oleracea) or of dry grass and leaves also helps out. Its purpose is to furnish the flame with which one transfers the fire to the twigs. Ehrenreich reports from the Karayá /Caraja/, Im Thurn from the Warrau of Guiana, that their wood catches fire so easily that it does not need tinder; "it in itself furnishes the tinder."

As is seen, it is not necessary to have a hard and a soft wood for rubbing fire with the "drill" /Bohrer, borer, drill, auger/. The Schingú Indians always take only one kind; the Karayá drill bamboo in urucú.

We find the movement of twirling very difficult; indeed, we are scarcely acquainted with it in everyday life because our drills terminate in a screw, and we do not use it at all for drilling, but for mixing, for example, in the kitchen, to mix yeast or eggs with milk, or in connection with the preparation of a cocktail. *191 194 412 It is easy to understand how the drilling and twirling of the natives originated. At first holes were made with a pointed tooth or bone. /225/ When the object was very resistant, a turning pressure against and into it was tried, and this gradually and naturally developed into the twirl-drilling, if only one worked steadily and evenly so as not to split the object, clamped it down securely so as not to lose the point drilled on, and thus had both hands to work with. [321] This twirl-drilling is practiced by the Indian with a tooth or particle of stone fastened to a little stick (cf. p. 201) for all piercing of shells, bone, stone, armadillo carapace, and hard wood. One very often sees him occupied with it, using his feet as a brace. We are now, however, confronted with a riddle if we wish to explain how this fire-drilling with two pieces of wood could have originated. How did people happen to drill wood with wood if they were not purposely setting out to "invent fire"

It has been said in all seriousness that in grinding or drilling tools out of wood, bone, and stone, people found by experience that friction produces warmth, they observed that the warmth increases the harder the rubbing, and they then tried to rub

/228 cont./

(880) fire-maker; I also remembered the stick of pressed dry cow dung which is allowed to glow for many hours on the decks of Indian ships for the use of smokers. Perhaps a corresponding use of wood dust is to be found here and there. Wood shavings were used by us in historical Germany up to the beginning of this century, along with flint and steel.

V. Weapons, Implements, Industry.

Bows and arrows. Throwing stick. Club. Canoe. Fishing implements. Plaiting and textile work. Buriti and cotton hammocks. Gourd vessels. Pottery.

128 I have reported on the settlements, the way of life, and the tools of our Indians, insofar as they present peculiarities. What remains to be said about one implement or another will follow naturally within the framework of the description of arts and crafts, which, on account of the many new things, requires a special survey. On the other hand, it is advisable to say a little more about the appearance and the use of the weapons, as well as about the simplest craft skills.

* 171 411 Bows and arrows are the only weapon common to all our Indians. Clubs are used among the Suyá and Trumaí. Nowhere are there lances. Nowhere blowgun and poisoned arrows. Only [154] the sorcerer has a kind of theoretical poisoned arrow when, as we shall see, he secretly and with powerful witchcraft hurls poisoned twigs at his victim; at any rate, the idea of a projectile poison comes before us here.

[224] Bow and arrow are distinguished by their size, the arrows by the extremely neat and pleasing workmanship. The length of the bows is more than two and a third meters, that of the arrows one and a half to almost two meters. The wood ● [824] of the bow is yellowish or light brown and comes from the arará tree, Tecoma, and others. We found palm wood in only a few [551] bows of the Tupí tribes; here, too, the bow was plaited round with cotton in an attractive pattern, something unknown among [843] the other tribes. The bowstring is twined out of tucum fiber.

/229 cont./

#171 411 The arrow is by no means a simple work of art; if one compares the arrows of our tribes, among whom an ethnographic leveling has taken place, with the arrows from neighboring regions, one always notices, on careful examination, differences of material or technique. The arrows of the Yuruna on the lower Schingú, those of the Karayá /Caraja/ in the east toward the Araguay /Araguaia/, those of the Paressí in the west, those of the Bororó in the south, as well as those of the Yarumá, always have their distinct characteristics. Like comparative linguistic research, it is possible to carry on comparative arrow research. When we came to a new tribe we often saw with what interest the specimens brought along from the neighbors were examined and judged. aside from our clothes, nothing seemed stranger to these people than our lack of bows and arrows. If it is difficult to understand how the Indian imagines that his culture heroes created the individual tribes by bewitchment of the arrow reed that they stuck into the ground, nevertheless it is easy to understand the basic idea that the arrow is the characteristic mark of the tribe. the great sorcerer also chooses for each tribe the type of reed that distinguishes its arrows. The kambayuva reed furnishes more delicate, thinner shafts than the ubá reed. the docile Bakairí, since they have made the acquaintance of rifles, have given up the ubá reed commonly used on the upper Schingú and now have, if not exactly toy arrows, at any rate small arrows in comparison with those of the Schingú. The bows, (1.70 meters), too, have become smaller.-

[419] [424]

#171 411 259 The simplest arrow consists of the feathered reed shaft and, driven into it, a thin stick of wood which protrudes a third of a meter and is slightly pointed. Below the point there is sometimes fastened a small barb, for which a small tooth or preferably the maxillary spike of the great ant-bear is used. Or else a long piece of hollow cylindrical bone from monkey arm or leg bones, whole bundles of which are collected at home and the bone ground down, is driven onto the wooden point at the top. Wax, which is applied with a bone, is used as a binding agent. The ray spine also makes an arrow point. Finally, the barb may be made by placing a curved, double pointed piece of bone into the

T 171 411

/234 cont./

corresponded exactly to the Karayá club found among the Yuruna in 1884; a dark brown staff chamfered vertically all around, sharply grooved, lopped off bluntly at top and bottom, with a smooth intermediate piece for the hand. The Yuruna in that case, and the Kamayurá here, had transformed the murder weapon into a peaceful walking stick. One must admit that the defense weapons of the men on the Kulisehu do not point to warlike habits.

B *171 501 [824]

B [531]

Fig. 29. Bakairí oar. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

The canoes are commonly made from the bark of the jatobá, as I described it in the case of our vessels. See Plates 10 and 11 /see pages 109 and 121/. A Bakairí canoe measured in 1884 had the following measurements: length eight meters, width in the center 64 centimeters on top, 56 centimeters below, depth 24 centimeters, width of stern 63 centimeters, thickness of bark 11 to 21 millimeters. On our second journey we saw longer specimens, and the ark which we acquired among the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ was considerably wider, was, in fact, unique in its corpulence. The Bakairí canoes that had to travel in the shallower river bed strewn with stones were somewhat shallower than those farther downstream. Among the Yaulapiti the rim was turned over slightly.

The oar, somewhat over a meter long, consisted of a slightly hollowed-out blade 60 centimeters long and ten centimeters wide,

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*171 251 252 is covered with more small sticks, so that a triangular horizontal grill is formed. The fish are opened with a longitudinal slash along the middle line and a crosswise cut on the side; the flap is opened, the entrails removed, and the fish are placed on the roasting rack.

*171 285 [824] Plaiting. The material was furnished by the bakayuva, buriti, akurí, and carandazinha palms, bamboo cane, and Maranta stalks, which were split, the climbing palm urumbamba (Desmoncus), and the indispensable vines. The men [482] were the ones who plaited. They used both feet to help out, one foot holding the transverse stalks, the other the longitudinal ones. The basket plaiting was not on a high level. There were little standing and hanging baskets, closely plaited and wide-meshed, in [482] which odds and ends were stored, fish carried, and the like, but there was no advance beyond the generally familiar forms. Some [531] variety was achieved by plaiting in black-colored strips. The Mehinaki and Aueto had larger, rectangular, trough-like standing baskets, which were characterized by a neat appearance, were also decorated with tassels at the corners, and were used to store gourds and the like. The Mehinaki called these baskets mayiku, a word which the

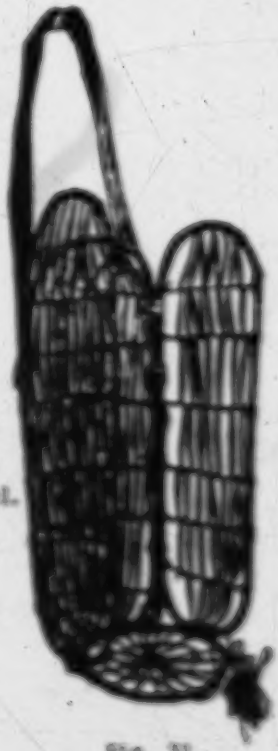

Fig. 31.
Carrying basket. (1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

/240 cont./

#191 The hammocks of pure cotton were a specialty of the Bakairí; among them, too, buriti hammocks could be found even on the Kuliseho. The mouterc cloth was made by the Aweti. The hammocks for small children among the Nahuquá were peculiar: merely a bundle of stalks tied together at the top and bottom and hung up.

Thus, the most varied forms existed and were in the process of becoming uniform. The Suyá were still sleeping on large palm-straw mats following the custom of the Gês. When we visited them, they were on the point of adopting the hammock; they had a few specimens and were weaving some themselves. Perhaps the art came from the Trumaí women whom they had with them. After my journey of 1884 I pointed out the parallelism between the Schingú region and the Guianas, namely, that in both areas the cotton hammock seems to be native to the Karaíbes, the palm-fiber hammock to the Nu-Aruak, and that furthermore this ethnographic conformity corresponds exactly to the linguistic one. In both cases, the technique arises from plaiting, only the material is different. The Bakairí were the most backward: they did not have the cloth-like fabric. It is also striking that their spinning wheels, although they completely fulfilled their purpose, were less artistic than among the other tribes.

#191 A parallel technique was shown in a type of sieve-mat. The stalks were covered more or less closely with cotton yarn, so that stiff and at the same time very flexible, tight mats were produced, between which the manioca was pressed dry. We also saw pieces of cloth used for the same purpose.

#191 Gourd vessels. The fruits of Crescentia cujete /C. cujete/ and the cucurbit Lagenaria provide vessels of the most diverse shapes. There are some that are bell-shaped, cucumber-shaped, bottle-shaped, hourglass-shaped, as well as many others of an irregular nature; after cutting them in two one obtains correspondingly shaped bowls. The green fruits are tied into the desired shape; the hourglass shape, in particular, is a product of this method. In order /Pl. XV appears here/ /261/ to divide them

[Text continues on p 254]

/241 cont./

into bowls, the fresh fruits are wound with palm fiber and scratched along it with a shell. If a bowl cracks during use, it is sewed: the small holes are bored with the pointed tooth of the dogfish and the sewing is done with a buriti thread rubbed with wax, the knots of which are cut off close to the shell by the tooth edge ground knife-sharp. The drawings that decorate the surface are incised with the same tooth, unless one prefers to burn them in with a red-hot stick. The drinking bowls and small ladle-gourds or spoons are given a coating of black lacquer on the inside. The lacquer is the soot of the charred buriti shaft mixed with the yellow, sticky liquid extract of the grated rind of the ochogohi tree from the campo cerrado /densely covered campo/. Special small, spherical gourds served to hold the oil with which the body was rubbed and were closed with a stopper: the Bakaiti called the fruit pêru. They sometimes hung in a closely plaited net. I shall consider the rattle gourd in connection with the dance music.

Pottery. In the chapter on the "Stone Age" culture, cf. pages 217 ff., I have discussed in detail the origin of the pots in our region, the monopoly of the Nu-Aruak tribes, and the manufacture limited to only the female sex. Only in the later chapter on the plastic arts, when the development of Indian art has become clear, shall I be in a position to speak of the ornamental aspect of the pots.

Three types of pots were distinguished according to size and purpose. First, the huge mawikiru of the Mehinaku, in which the grated manihot root was cooked. They had a diameter of almost three-fourths of a meter. We were unable to bring home any of these pots, but took a photograph among the Auetö, from which their shape and, since a man -- by rights it should have been a woman -- is squatting beside it, also their size are clear. Cf. Plate 15 /see p. 253/. The largest and most attractive pots are furnished by the Waurá. For cooking they were set on three low clay rows of symmetrical shape and hanging at the bottom.

A second type, the cooking pot for fruit and small fish, had a diameter of 18-20 centimeters, a height of about 12 centimeters. It was round with rather deep, slightly bulging walls and sometimes had a rim two and a half centimeters wide and

2: Steinen--236 E,D-5 (1904, 1907-1908) 1934 SP7 Bacairi 377
Wauja 5718
Mehinaku

not have to build up the walls with thin clay cylinders put on top of one another as is ordinarily described. She smoothed the walls with a piece of gourd, not a stone. She modeled the ornamental edge-projections, which represented the body parts of an animal, and then put them on; she scratched in the eyes and nose with a little bamboo rod. An old broken-out bottom or a beiji pan is popularly taken as a model for the bottom of the pot.

The clay is whitish-gray to grayish-yellow. Only the Waurá pots have a pretty, light red clay. The new pot is properly dried in the sun and then turned upside down on a very sooty fire; for that they use the green bark of a campo tree which the Bakairí call kudze, or of the guanandí (Calophyllum) saturated with sticky resin. Thus the pot, like the gourd, is blackened on the inside.

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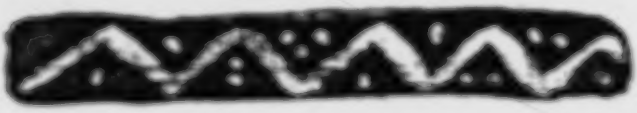
Chapter X.

1. Drawing.

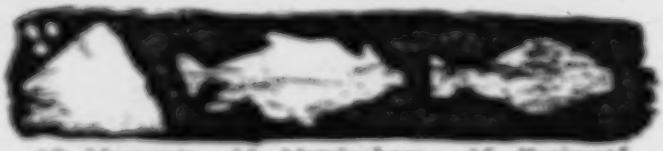
Origin from the drawing gesture. Descriptive drawing older than artistic drawing. Sand drawings. Pencil drawings. Explanation of the plates. Profile position. Proportions. Number of fingers. Back drawings.

The simplest drawing that we can observe is probably the one directly connected with an explanatory gesture. Just as the native, to demonstrate the sense of hearing, cleverly reproduces the characteristic voice sounds of an animal and is always tempted to do this in connection with any lively narrative, so also, with respect to the sense of sight, he imitates the animal in pose, walk, movements and, for better understanding, draws any peculiar body parts, such as ears, snout, or horns, in the air, or he outlines his own corresponding body parts with his hand. The drawing gesture is exactly parallel to the imitation of animal voices. As soon as this procedure is no longer adequate, however,

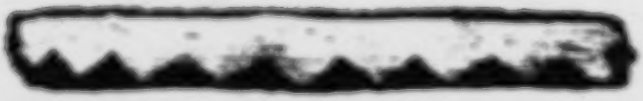
11. Ilheya snake.



12. Agau snake with head.

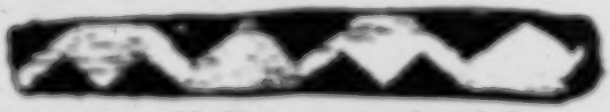


13. Women's triangle. 14. Mazinchem. 15. Kurimatl.



14. Women's triangles (ulusi).

15. Women's triangles (ulusi).



16. Women's triangles (ulusi).

17. Palmito leaves.

Bakairi ornamentation II.

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531 that one could not expect delicate lines in these fresco daubings.
825 When I sought to enlarge my word list with the names of the decorations, I was surprised to hear several fish names familiar to me, whereupon I went to the heart of the matter. For each design I was given the name of a concrete original, and the more we concerned ourselves with the decorations on household utensils here and among the other tribes, the more we discovered that there was the same procedure everywhere. Ehrenreich then pursued the problem
[114] further among the Araguay /Araguaia/ Indians and there, to my delight, found only confirmation.

On the two plates 20 and 21 /see pp. 280-281/, Bakaïrí ornamentation I and II, which give characteristic samples of all the bark pieces, we see first of all in Numbers 14 and 15* two

* On Plate 21, as the result of an oversight, the numbers 14 and 15 occur twice.

well-drawn fish, the frequently mentioned, favorite fish of the Bakaïrí, the matrincham, and the many-boned kurimatá, /259/ Salmo curimatá. They are painted on with reference to the entire surface. The noróku ikúto, "picture of the matrincham," was set down with positive elegance and dash. Next to it, in No. 13, we have an ulúri ikúto, a picture of the woman's triangle. And in this manner each decoration was said to be an ikúto. Sometimes individual ones are set apart by short vertical lines; cf. 3 and 4 or 7 and 8 on plate I /see p. 280/. Only a single picture is taken from the vegetable kingdom, No. 17. It represents the leaves of
[824] a small, "cabbage" yielding forest palm, yemariáli, a word that means hand-leaf. We see a number of twin pinnae pointing alternately up and down and arranged exactly like the uluris in No. 16; to us the figure gives the impression of a plaiting design.

Our attempts at interpretation, however, would soon come to grief. We observe among the decorations some in which the natural skin markings of an animal are reproduced, some in which the outlines of the animal are drawn, and some in which both are combined. No. 6 has the dotted and spotted markings of a sheatfish, schurúi, whose spotted skin has given rise to the Portuguese name

/300 cont./

535 539 káuayú, mauŝkauayú hohohú. aluŝ...aluhŝ, aluŝ miyevené yanŝvitá hó...ohohohú. ihohó... hohú, he..hirámiturí hohó, yukévené yohó hohohohú. Now all in circular motion. ohú namiturí ohú namituhurí ohoyócho yóchu hohuhó. ayarívénení kayarílö ohó namiturí ohú namituhurú ohó oyochó yochu. Now out on the plaza: yochó huyócho huyóchó huyóchohú huyócho. makavó makavó yuuŝvitirá inŝvitíhanö, iná yochohuyócho..... Finally, turning around: aschimámayú ohuhohú ayavarikú hohuhoo, eveschírini mahúraní hoo, aschimámayú ohohu.....

535 533 was impossible for me to obtain a translation or even an explanation of the content. He said that he himself no longer understands the old words. I believe there was some truth in this, and that he was not merely, in his awkwardness, handing me an excuse, because even aluŝ itself is not a Bakaïrí or Karaiben /Carib/ word at all, but a Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ word. (See also the footnote, page 24.) Perhaps the text is also in part old Aruak -- no longer understood /301/ after it had been sung together at joint festivals and was taken over and mixed with Bakaïrí words.

535 The imeo makanari is common to all Bakaïrí. On the Kulisehu imóto, imódo, is added as a related figure. Imeo is a [825] white animal that lives in the dried-up buriti palm -- as far as I understood, the larva of a palm-boring beetle; imodo, a related creature, reddish with a black head. A strange selection, somewhat reminiscent of the Midsummer Night's Dream. It [824] is explained, however, if one remembers that the material for the dance costumes is furnished primarily by the buriti palm, which that insect inhabits. And this may be a tasty morsel besides. /Fig. 91 appears here./ Other animals also appear in this makanari, especially the bat and the pintado theatfish, Fig. 91 /see p. 347/. The latter mask is easy to understand. A costume plaited out of coarse, hard grass covers the body, but the wearer can look through the plaiting without difficulty, and a long piece

/326 cont./ They had foot rattles, bunches of hard fruit shells, and in particular halved pilé seeds which the dancer wore tied around the ankle of the stamping foot. (Cf. Figure 90, page 344.) Clinking shell and nut-shell pendants that hung on cotton tassels from neck cords, the shell bundle of the fish makanari of the Bakalří, served the same purpose.

The rattle gourd containing seeds and pieces of mussel shells and pierced by a little bamboo stick, which was shaken rhythmically with the hand, had the same name as the foot rattle* among the Bakalří, Nahuquá, and Kamayurá. A strange

*kamini among the Kamayurá, not marika as in Tupí, which among them means song and dance. Aweté temá and foot rattle simíra, which could be related to marika.

sight for us when the adult people with great enthusiasm swing the musical instrument of our infants. One would seek in vain for the rattle among children. While we saw no rattle gourds among the Bakalří, they were very numerous among the Nahuquá and were provided with all kinds of decorations of small feathers, small lumps of wax, and cotton tassels. We also found a young turtle impaled on a small stick in place of the gourd, and among the Aweté even the blue, polished-looking egg of a gallinaceous bird, with a handle more than a third of a meter long. Occasionally there were two rattle gourds on one handle.

Bottle-shaped gourds were used for rhythmical stamping. Round ones with a bamboo tube inserted formed a sort of transition to the flute.

In the third Bakalří village and among the Kamayurá a hollow tree which lay on the ground was used as a drum.

Flutes. A hollow palm nut, six centimeters long, provided with two holes into which one blew, served as a little pipe. The most popular and accomplished flute, three-fourths to one meter long, six centimeters thick, was called mini among the Bakalří, while among the rest of the tribes it

/319 cont./

[319] All feather ornamentation, except for an occasional feather stuck in the ear, especially among the Bakairi, belongs to festive occasions, including the solemn reception. It is the same with the feathers as with the body painting.

[319] Children's games. Among the Bakairi we saw catch-balls wadded together out of maize straw, instead of the usual long feather, a tail of maize straw was tied inside. There were rubber balls, huge ones, among the Aweté. The sap of a figueira /Ficus/ or the mangabeira is rolled into a little ball on the chest, steeped in water with ashes, and the ball punctured all around in such a way that on the outside it looks as though it were covered with plaiting. The balls are dyed red with urucú.

Tops were made from the unripe peanut (Arachis hypogaea) or mandubí. Twice as big as a cherry, it was pierced and pushed onto a small bamboo stick so that only a small part of the lower emerged, and here it was wound with a tuft of cotton flocks to prevent it from sliding off. The top would spin upward on the long handle. Several such tops were set in a pot and made to spin together.

We must count the wrestling described on page 93 among the games of the adults, but children liked to practice wrestling. The same was true, of course, of shooting the bow. We also saw children's throwing-sticks. Older children played with the heavy clay dolls. I was asked several times to perform a sort of test of strength in that I was supposed to lift a boy up in the air with my free arm. I may add here the observation that the Indians were unable to balance a pole on one finger.

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Chapter XII.

I. Law and Custom. II. Magic.

I. Property. Kinship. Marriage. Morals. Barter. Names. Birth. Couvade and its explanation. Burial.

II. Sorcery in various stages and on various levels of culture. Dream experiences. Pars pro toto. Good and bad medicine-men.

/343/

The medicine men are differentiated as good and bad. According to Antonio, there are "few among the Bakairí and Auetó, more among the Mehuqué, many among the Mehinaká, and too many among the Kamayurá." There were none living on the Paranatinga at the time. Anyone can become one, but it is very difficult. "One must learn a great deal." One is supposed to drink only starchy broth for four months,* enjoy no salt and eat no meat, fish, or fruit; one is not supposed to sleep but to drum constantly on the skull with the fists so that the swollen eyes are very painful in the morning, bathe a great deal, scratch arm and chest bloody, etc. Antonio wanted to study medicine, but was afraid of this difficult internship. Felipe made a good start in the same endeavor, but did not succeed, because he had no teacher. The chief art of the accomplished master of sorcery is exhibited in the use of poisons. With these he kills others and he even kills himself in order to be able to change himself into another shape. We are to become acquainted here with a conception of death which takes some getting used to, but which is in direct agreement with the life of the shadow during sleep.

* This fasting is also very good if one wants to excel in the art of shooting fish, and in this case it is sufficient if one does not eat anything but starch-paste for a month. Antonio did this and was very satisfied with the result.

Let us hear first how sickness and death come into the world, in spite of the good medicine-man of one's own village, who with all his might combats the evil one from the foreign village. The evil one is a bad person whom no one likes because he kills instead of healing. He moves the poison from wasps, from the tucandyra ant, and from other such animals with oil and resin from the albuerca and pindahybe in a calabash. From the man whom he wishes to harm he obtains either hair, by stepping on it when it is being cut or even cutting it himself when the man is asleep, or a bit of blood by tossing a finely pointed twig of jenuhá, pindahybe, or pau de alho in his direction and then picking

/419 cont./

White is chalky white clay, a supply of which is kept in the huts in the form of balls the size of a child's head. The women, when they spin, rub it on the right thigh, on which they twist the thread. It is simply mixed with water. It is never used to paint the body. It also falls far back for the implements and appears almost solely on the masks, the painting of which need last but a few days, on painted bark pieces, and the like.

/419/ Charcoal and soot, the berry-pulp of the genipap tree, (Genipa) and a number of resins furnish black. In order to blacken the inside of the gourd shells charcoal from the bark of the buriti shaft is used.

The yellowish-red to brownish-red loam seems to have been driven out by the urucú dyestuff. It was formerly eaten and is still molded into heavy dolls for children and is rubbed on wounds for scarification.

Charcoal and soot are rubbed in directly, like the white, or they are also mixed with liquid, like the urucú. Either the oil from the pikí fruit (Caryocar butyrosum) is used, or the yellow extract containing caoutchouc from a tree of the campo cerrado, which the Bakairí call ochogohi and the bark of which is grated and made into an extract with water. The colors are mixed in a gourd shell or a pot or, when a hard resin is broken up with the ax blade, most conveniently in the cup-shaped depression of a stone. Urucú is always found as a paste wrapped in leaves in the little workbasket beside the hammock.

The dyestuffs available to the natives are therefore white, black, red, and yellow. The genipap-black is blue-black, the urucú-red a brick-red to orange, which, mixed with the yellow ochogohi juice, loses a good deal of its red. There are no blue or green dyestuffs.

The theory that the color sense developed gradually for human beings, based on the fact that color distinction in language is inadequate up to a high level of culture and that blue and green in particular are extraordinarily often designated with the same word, has now been abandoned. It was found among all the primitive peoples investigated that they distinguish excellently

/422 cont./

171 192 825 boa-snake which Martius calls "viridis vel aureus Coluber aestivus L." The ordinary distinctions according to color, the number of which is smaller than one would expect, are black, white, red, and yellow. without placing any importance on absolute accuracy, I count 28 birds, 23 fish, 9 mammals, 4 snakes, and 12 lower animals which are differentiated according to those four colors. But now two more words occur for "colorful" /hunt. "gay-colored, mixed, spotted"/, one of which, pinima, with the verb "to paint" of the same stem, is used for fish, three birds, the jaguar, one snake, one lizard, one crayfish, and the other, paragua, means simply "parrot" and also furnishes a parrot-fish and a parrot-snake. Pure "green" is always parrot-colored or parakeet-colored; where a "blue" is to be distinguished, the animal is also given the additional word una (burned) = black or dark.

191 192 It cannot be expressed more clearly that the Indian is induced to make a sharp color-distinction only when it is a matter of color qualities familiar to him from the dyestuffs, in other words, that his own experience, not his sense of color, furnishes the material for the sharply defined concepts.

171 192 824 The list of plant names by Martius, somewhat over 1000 in number, offers an interesting comparison. Eight plants are given the title black, 7 white, 7 red, 2 yellow. It is obvious that among the plants "green" does not form a distinguishing mark. Yet here, too, we come across on one occasion the cigui or "parakeet-colored," sometimes translated "green," sometimes "blue," and, to be sure, it corresponds to /[illegible]/ a specific blue, since it refers to Indigofera anil L. Three plants are "colorful," but "pinima", the parrot-colorfulness (paragua) is lacking.

191 386 The natives could have obtained indigo from the plant just mentioned, but they did not know how. Martius asserts that in the manufacture of indigo the Brazilian industrialists use Indian labor, that it was first introduced by the Portuguese and produces a not very desirable kind. Genipap-black has a blue tinge and thus corresponds very well to the referring of blue to black in the color designations. The blue of the urucuna also comes from the black.

[192] [304]

/257 cont./

539 in quiet areas, where there are no human beings, it is always
125 on the move in the morning and afternoon, except during the hot hours in the middle of the day which it spends sleeping": in other words, all of the phrases between quotation marks, taken from the book by Dr. Goeldi on the mammals of our land (pp. 92, 99, 103, and 104), confirm what has been said concerning the shadowy character of the Yamikas.

539 /258/ Other considerations, however, seem to us of
174 greater moment.

First of all, in the enumeration of the belongings of the Yamikas, we have a basis for a list of the cultural acquisitions of the Bacaeris. We learn that they had nets for fishing before they had nets /hammocks/ for sleeping, that they traveled by water when they did not yet have pottles, and that they probably had maracá before they had the masks with which they appear at their festivals.

[229] [352] [501] [412] [532]

539 We also see that although theoretically the abode of the
776 Yamika is in the sky, a large part of his existence is spent on the earth from which he derives his sustenance. Subsistence, however, is not his sole concern; free of the contingencies of time and space, he travels swiftly as the wind, he is an omnom being who spies upon all actions and weighs upon the living with crushing pressure. There is hardly an act that he does not influence: gestation, childbirth, alimentation, festivals, walking hours, everything falls within his measurable reach, as we shall see later. It would seem that the Bacaeris could paint their bodies as they please. But this is not so.

778 Yamika does not like urucú,--this is why one must not
789 scatter the urucú seed, says the pajé;--Yamika goes into the
• 129 houses of people with children,--this is why we burn the juice
302 of the rubber tree--when it is burned it is rubbed on the door;--fathers of boys, when they go to the river, paint themselves with genipap,--paint themselves with urucú,--so Yamika thinks that it is friends of the boy's father does not paint himself

/258 cont./

776 and goes to the river. Yamíra throws himself in the water;--
789 he likes guaranás /Calophyllum brasiliense/ resin;--burned
● 824 cotton seed makes Yamíra run far /259/ away; Yamíra is very
302 fond of colored clay and loam;--he does not like copaiba resin;--when jaxobá is burned Yamíra does not like it, says the piaiá.

776 Finally, since there are certain animals which for him are
825 a means of subsistence, his furamenta /from tools/, if it is permissible to say this in connection with peoples who have not reached the metal stage, it is natural that Yamíra should protect them with the same care and vigor with which a Bacairi would protect his canoe or his bow. There are animals whose
784 injury is punished immediately: for example, the bucer, in one of the passages cited above, or the Tuyúbi, a little bird that will be dealt with more conveniently later on. These are truly tabú or tapú, an expression used in Australia, and which, being widely known, demands no explanation. It is possible to come to terms with regard to the others, and this is done in a most reasonable way, by giving to the Yamíra in prepared form the food that he would have to prepare in the campo. It is mandatory, however, that the dead animal be put to good use; otherwise anas, pecas, and pigs will attack clearings,
782 destroying them; and to propitiate the Yamíra it is necessary
796 to give a feast, naturally masked, which they attend incognito.
532 After eating well, they regard themselves as satisfied and the sources cease.

825 The following passage expresses more clearly the idea of
801 payment, and, although it is somewhat repetitious, it is not
802 redundant.
796

If the Guariba /howler monkey/ (Myceteus) is killed, it must be paid for, says the piaiá; if the macaco Caxú /spider monkey/ (Ateles) is killed, if the Preguiça /three-toed sloth/

/272 cont./

829 The idea of "Lord" appears often, but it is not easy to
996 understand what it means. When a Bacairi states that the white
825 man is the lord of the mirror, naturally he means that he first saw this object in the hands of the Carahibas. What does he actually mean, however, when he states that the lord of the rain is the parakeet?

996 It also seems natural that, if certain things have lords, the latter be paid or granted some taken of respect or homage. Only one such case is mentioned, however; those who make hammocks, before using them, sling them outside the house in homage to the Council /Ceremonies/, lord of hammocks, so that their hair will not turn white. A story about a great cataclysm brought about by the death of the newt, lord of the wind, is also told.

In view of all this, the following list of lords is of minor interest, since it will only be of use if new comparative data become available:

996 The insect is the lord of sleepyette fire, the lord of fire;
825 the parakeet, of rain; the newt, of wind; the curiango /Caprimulgus/, of the fishing hook; the crabs is lord of the bending the sea snail, of the nets; the vulture, of the fishing nets; the heron, of the basket (a type of basket); the uge (a kind of lizard), of the grater; the porcupine is lord of thorns; the kingfisher, lord of fish; the cormorant, lord of smoke and also of the burnt nets; the deer is lord of the machetes, etc.

825 /273/ This shows that the Bacairi does not make a very
996 great distinction between human beings and animals. For
196 "to wish" they use two words: ueyi, first person, which is applied to an animal raised by a human being; and ueyiuki, a generic term, simply the plural of ueyi, which means "who" and "someone." There is nothing strange about this, considering that human beings and animals have shadows and speak in the same fashion.

824 The trees also have shadows and speak.
996

/273 cont./

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The captains of the trees spoke first, the piahi relates; the yellow trumpetbush, the red trumpetbush, the janohá, the copaiba, the pau de marcego spoke, the piahi relates--alli! let us all go, let us ripen our leaves, said the janohá, the piahi relates; yes, let us do it, Captain, said his people, the piahi relates; when they said this, the leaves of the trees all ripened, the piahi relates; when the leaves were completely ripe, they spoke again, the piahi relates; alli! let us drop our leaves, my people, said the yellow trumpetbush, said the janohá, the piahi relates; when the captain spoke, they all responded, the piahi relates; when they spoke again, all the leaves of the trees fell, the piahi relates; when they had all fallen, their captains spoke, the piahi relates; alli! let us flower, my people, said the yellow trumpetbush and the copaiba, the piahi relates; when the copaiba and the trumpetbush spoke, their people responded, all of us, yes, we shall do so, Captain, his people said, the piahi relates; when they said this, all the trees flowered, the piahi relates; --hun they all flowered the red trumpetbush, the yellow trumpetbush spoke, the piahi relates; now let us all drop our flowers, my people, said their captains, the piahi relates; yes, we shall do so, Captain, said their people, the /274/ piahi relates; when they said this, all the flowers of the trees fell, the piahi relates; let us go, let us bear fruit, my people, said the yellow trumpetbush, said the red trumpetbush, the piahi relates; when they spoke, they sprouted branches, they bore fruits, the piahi relates; the rubber tree, the red trumpetbush, the yellow trumpetbush, the pacaiuba, the tarumaceira da mata bore seeds, the piahi relates; when their seeds burst, the red trumpetbush, the yellow trumpetbush spoke, the piahi relates; let us go, now let us burst our seeds, my people, said their captains, the piahi relates; yes, we are doing so, Captain, said their people, the piahi relates; when they said this, at the time of drinking, they drank, the piahi relates; when they spoke, all the seeds of the trees burst, the piahi relates; when

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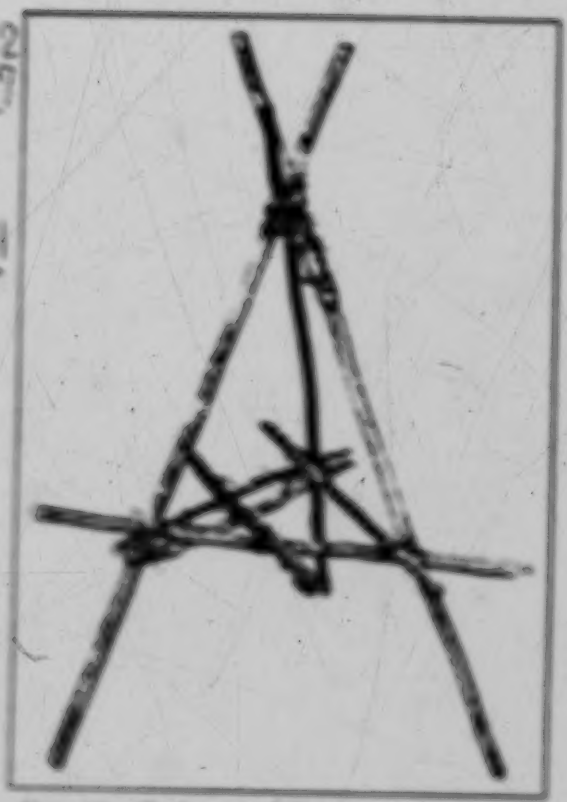
the seeds burst, they spoke once more, the *makè* relaxes; let us all go, now let us grow! said their capsules, the *makè* relaxes.

This was not the only occasion when the trees spoke, says the *makè*: (*ñâra-une neiñ-ba cé ucyéñ, wéche makè*).



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352 The Bacairi sleep in hammocks, *amaka*, woven of palm fiber.
415 Their furnishings can be summed up as benches of a solid
285 piece of wood, clay pots, mats and baskets. The diet rests
262 upon manioc, *piqui*, sweet potatoes, maize, and fish. How-
224 ever, the hunting of monkeys, wild pig, tapir, and other ani-
241 mals was not scorned. Most of the food reserves, however, were of vegetable origin, and the most important harvests were made up of manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, and *piqui*. Yams /*cará*/, cotton, urucú, and tobacco were also planted.

342 The occupants of a communal house worked together on
476 the building of a new house, acquiring thereby the right to
622 reside in it. This construction work, however, was led by the individual who had the most prestige in the group, usually the old head of the house, who thus set himself up as the head of the new house. The tasks of clearing fields and planting
241 generally depended on the participation of all the *aldeia*. When
476 beginning a new clearing, the Bacairi would give a feast,
529 *xaréu*, with the distribution of food to the Indians who worked on the fields. The Bacairi meat comes from the back of the
501 *pelvis* cow, in the Kingsmen way. This construction, as well
624 as fishing, hunting, and agricultural activities, were accom-
282 panied by propitiatory rituals.

439 Their products were bartered among neighboring groups
974 in the course of visits called *xaléu* which depended on the presence of the chiefs of both *aldeias*. After the exchange of the objects desired, the visitors were honored with a feast called *xaléu*.

621 /242/ The Bacairi were not a warlike people, and their
181 political organization does not seem very elaborate. Each
622 *aldeia* had a chief, *pima*, assisted by a subchief, *ináuia*. The
624 Bacairi do not remember the existence of a chief for the whole
243 tribe, and there is no evidence that such a figure ever existed. The selection of the *ináuia* was made by means of agreement of the *aldeia*, but it generally fell on the son of the *pima* himself. The *pima*'s functions were chiefly ceremonial, economic, and political.

/263 cont./

about three centimeters square made of tree bark. After the seclusion boys and girls were eligible for /264/ marriage. Marriage, *nobohoidale*, was joined by the parents of the young people by means of an exchange of gifts, and it does not seem to have merited any special ceremony.

The Bakairí do not seem to have believed in the possibility of a natural death. After death, which was always caused by the sorcery of some enemy, the corpse was painted and armed in the finery used in life. The corpse was rolled up in the hammock used by the deceased, and buried with the head pointing west and the feet east. There followed a mourning period, during which the closer relatives remained *uaiki* and from which they emerged through the *ukeuaiko* feast.

The world of the Bakairí was surrounded by supernatural beings, good and evil, such as the *iamiko*, *upuiko*, *kamai*, *kadepe*, and *kilaimo*. (9) Plants and animals were nothing but

9. Capistrano de Abreu, "Os Bacaerys," *Revista Brasileira*, Year I, Vol. 4, pp. 44, 45, 47, 48, 234, 240, 241. Rio de Janeiro, 1895.

drapery used by the *iamiko* and *kadepe*. Hunting, fishing, and agricultural activities thus had to be accompanied by propitiatory activities intended to appease the anger of the *iamiko* deprived of their animals and plants. On the other hand, *kamai* and *kilaimo* wandered through the forest menacing the Bakairí. Against such beings the Bakairí required the protection of their sorcerer-doctors as well as periods of seclusion in the most dangerous moments.

The Bakairí believed that man had two souls: one called *uai* or *iamiko*, heavier and thicker, corresponding to a *iamiko* which is the animal soul, *iapatapo*, a more fluid element that

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wooden benches, and dishes and cups made from gourds.

As the Bacuit were extensive travelers and depended upon fish for a considerable part of their food supply, canoes were an important part of their equipment. The Bacuit canoe (pipi) was made from the bark of the jatobá tree. The tough, heavy bark was first stripped from one-half of the tree. Small fires were then lighted on the inside of the bark trough to make it curl. Braces were placed at intervals along the entire length, the bow was tapered, and the stern was squared off by forcing the bark upward at one end. Bacuit canoes varied in size, the larger ones being able to carry as many as 8 men. Canoes of jatobá bark are used by the Bacuit today and are the predominant type among the Indians of the Upper Xingú. The Bacuit also made large tubs out of jatobá bark which were used as settling vessels for manioc juice. The juice of the manioc contains a fine powder or starch which settles on the bottom of the vessel, to be gathered after the liquid is poured off. For gardening, the Bacuit formerly used a digging stick made of hardwood. For hunting, they used a bow (tóbe), round or slightly oval in cross section and from 2 to 2½ meters in length, made from a yellow or reddish wood which was first matured by burying it in mud. The bowstring was made from the fibers of tucumã bark. Arrows (pirdé) were made from cane with hardwood or bone points. Hunting arrows had two feathers, but arrows used for shooting fish had serrated wooden points and no feathers. The cutting tools of the Bacuit consisted of knives made from bamboo, stone, bone, and shell. Transportation was by canoe, or if over land, goods were carried in a wicker basket supported on the back by a tump line.

ORNAMENTS

While living on the banks of the Kuluene River, the Bacuit, in common with the other Upper Xingú River tribes, did not use clothing. Men sometimes wore a narrow cotton band (maple) around the waist, with a few tassels hanging in front. Women, after puberty, wore the short. Men wore their hair cut short. Women wore their hair long at the back but cut straight across over the forehead. Hair was cut with a knife made by setting sharp fish teeth into a wooden stick,

and was combed with a comb (*ashijo*) made by weaving slender cane teeth into a cotton holder.

Although clothing, in the strict sense of the term, was nonexistent, the Bacairí used, on ceremonial occasions, beautiful, skillfully made ornaments. An important ornament was the *ovipe*, a diadem or feather headdress strapped to the forehead. The *ovipe* was made by fastening a row of green parrot feathers to a cotton band, above which was fastened another row of yellow weaver bird feathers. Two long blue macaw feathers were set in the center so as to stand straight up above the forehead. The *ovipe* was worn only by men. These headdresses are still used; for some were seen in the village of Simão Lopes.

There were at least four kinds of necklaces. The *mapodowa* was made from small thin round disks of white or pink snail shell, as many as 400 being strung on a string. This necklace was worn around the neck by women and around the waist by men and girls. The *dwidaiwa* was also made from snail shell, but the disks were oblong with holes in both ends through which strings were passed. Although the *dwidaiwa* was particularly used by men, women sometimes wore it together with the *mapodowa*. The *ooadipi* was a necklace made from black disks of tucum palm nut and could be worn by both men and women at all times. Both men and women also wore necklaces made from the teeth or claws of the jaguar called the *Andajibi*. The Bacairí still use the *mapodowa*, *dwidaiwa*, and the *ooadipi*.

Besides necklaces, the Bacairí used a variety of other ornaments. The *ipanaui* were armlets and anklets of cotton material decorated with feathers of different colors. The armlets, which were about 2 inches wide, were fastened tightly above the biceps and were believed necessary for the development of the muscle; with similar bands worn below the knee and around the ankles. Both men and women used the bands. An American missionary who experimented with Bacairí arm bands claimed that they caused him a great deal of distress but he has observed no ill effects among the Indians. The *pai* was a feather ear ornament made from red toucan and yellow parrot feathers suspended from the lobes of the ears. Holes in the ears were made with a sharpened jaguar bone or with a sharpened rhea feather. The *mylidaiwa*, worn only by men, consisted of two blue macaw feathers

gather the ceremonial corn. Later in the day the women prepared large quantities of corn porridge and roasted corn.

On the morning of the third day the actual ceremony began in front of the kalabi. The organizer of the dance distributed roasted corn or pieces of corn to all the villagers, children included. Then at a signal from the leader, the villagers began throwing the roasted corn in all directions and at one another. After the roasted corn was disposed of, the people ate the corn porridge and meat prepared on the preceding day. They then washed themselves in the river and put on their paint and ornaments. When the villagers had again gathered before the kalabi the dance leader took a piece of corn husk and went from man to man asking for a song leader. The man who took the offered corn husk then began the pasalabi, or song in praise of corn. Little by little the others joined in the singing and eventually began to dance. The words of the song told how corn came to the Dassiri and how it made the people strong and healthy.

The ninaplin, or ear-piercing ceremony, was performed just before a boy went into puberty seclusion. It was customary for men who had sons of about the same age to cooperate in getting large quantities of food ready for the feast. After the feast was over the ears of the boys were pierced and the pasalabi song was sung. When boys and girls came out of seclusion there was another ceremony during which all the songs and dances were performed with the exception of the sacred Bata tones.

The nadulasari was performed during cooperative house building in which the whole village participated. While the women prepared food and some men were putting up the frame, a certain number of men went in search of palm fronds for thatching. When these men returned with the palm fronds they danced and sang before the new house with their heads on their backs and in full ceremonial regalia.

The custom of distributing cotton by a woman with a good cotton crop and having other women weave hammocks for her has already been mentioned. When the women had completed their weaving and returned the hammocks to the donor of the cotton, she gave a feast during which the women sang and danced the pasalabiwa. This

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Tupi-Guarani 816
Bacairi 197 ●
Arawakan Indians 193
Cariban Indians 187
Carib 189
Macusi 1811
Roraymen 1812
Cumana 189

/For information on the terminologies and nomenclatures in the native vernacular applied by the Carib-speaking and some other northern South American tribes to various species of mammalian fauna in their habitats, see Ik Rizqwan, 8816 Fauna, Category 116, particularly pp. 4A-108./

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193 The simple result is that all kinds of things that do not belong to it are regarded as part of the stem, and the form is used on all kinds of occasions where it is appropriate neither according to person, time sequence, or other nuances contained in it. The organic structure of words becomes rigid, and the sentence becomes a mosaic of the crudest sort made up of nothing but fragments. But there is provision for understanding; for the Indian, with his talent for the characteristic, the chopped-off fragment of a word suffices completely for the entire sentence, and, what is worse, if one wants to make progress in the language, it is all the more agreeable, of course, if one needs only the clumsy content of the communication; he himself soon adopts the new manner of expression: fluent conversations are carried on by barter with stamped coins instead with living words.

126 What made my recording not a little difficult was the cir-
192 cumstance that the Bakaïrí did not understand my questioning tone.
[194] They imitated it instead of answering. Obtaining the names of
[153] the objects present was done without any trouble; they even anticipated the need, pointed to those I had not yet asked about,
126 and said the names. I went into great detail with the parts of the
193 body because they are always joined with pronominal prefixes; thus the Indian does not say, for example, "tongue," but always, with the addition of the person, "my tongue," "your tongue," "his tongue," and thus there is a grammatical value in this category of the list. It was therefore well to note whether the part of the body whose stem one was asking for was shown on oneself, on the person questioned, or on a third person, for the answer was accordingly: your ȣlu, my ulu, his ilu, or in general kχulu, the tongue of all of us here.

126 Recording animal names was a pleasure, for here the imita-
192 tion with sounds and gestures was the most artful. A snake, an
536 alligator head, or the like was also drawn in the sand. The
825 quantity of the many individual statements was a hindrance to me, since I did not know enough about the voices and the behavior of their animals; they offered me subleties in the distinction of species which, to their surprise, I was unable to appreciate, and

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126 192 536 825 sometimes I am afraid I betrayed what to them were incredible gaps in the most ordinary education.

The most difficult problem lay in the verbs, and, to be sure, not only because of the complication of forms. If I succeeded in writing down short sentences in which something was said about an occurrence that was just going on, even if I myself performed all kinds of actions, such as eating and drinking now of this, now of that, which were supposed to give them the content of a sentence, /80/ gross errors were nevertheless unavoidable. Unfortunately, they often said things that were different from what they were supposed to say according to my request and criticized the action instead of naming it. They were thinking for themselves and not for me. And in these efforts their readiness to imitate was disturbing to a high degree. I thought nothing would be easier than to obtain at least those intransitive verbs that could be evoked by unequivocal mimicry on my part; I would indeed need only to sneeze, cough, weep, yawn, snore, only to get up, sit down, to fall, and so forth, in order to be immediately rewarded with the matching words. But they either clung to the contemplation of the process itself, thought I wanted to go away when I stood up, righteously joined in when I yawned, because they, too, were tired, or were royally amused at my strange doings, and, amidst much laughter, would likewise abandon themselves to sneezing, coughing, and snoring, without, however, saying the redeeming words.

I made the best progress when I gave them the Portuguese word and applied the formula: the Karaibe says it thus, how does the Bakairí say it? Here I finally almost always met with understanding and response, for they were mad about learning my language.

[811] They were very grieved that they did not understand me better, and, confusing hearing and understanding, they asked me to cure them. I had to put saliva on my fingers and with it rub the auditory entrance for them. Their comprehension of Portuguese was even more deficient than they themselves realized. They have

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B /200 cont./
155 ceased to rage in the last cataracts, while dense campo wilder-
487 ness with sandy soil still prevailed in the landscape here, a vast network of canals and lagoons developed downstream and, for persons familiar with the winding waterways, in which the stranger could not find his way, made communication there effortless and extensive, not only from village to village, but also from the village to the plantings, and more fertile soil made work more rewarding.

B If we wish to use the schema of fisherman and hunter or
191 agriculturalist, we find a mixed situation among our natives.
433 The hunting of mammals naturally fell back before fishing among the sedentary river dwellers. The latter was important, both for the purpose of food and for that of use for technical requirements. Skins offered no advantages, since clothing for
B [251] warmth was not worn; the skin of a slain mammal was usually
[252] not stripped off, but roasted as well, and to be sure, until it was charred, when it tasted pleasantly crisp and salty. Hunting, beyond that eagerly undertaken for large gallinaceous birds and the other inhabitants of the river-forest, yielded only occasional game and, if it were to have been carried on more seriously, /201/ would have required larger expeditions. We saw this later
B0 among the Bororó, who also lived on a river rich in fish, but
433 among whom, conversely, the hunting of mammals predomi-
[252] nated; they were away from home for weeks and returned with large quantities of roasted meat; they did not as yet practice agriculture.

B Mentally -- and this is a highly significant point -- the
181 Schingú Indians, in spite of intensive agriculture, still lived
825 completely on the true hunting level. At any rate, with regard to the Bakairí I can confirm this statement in its broadest sense. I have described with what attentiveness they observed, even in the village, every sound issuing from the forest, every occurrence in animal life that they chanced to see. Outside, on the campo or forest path, in the canoe, in the overnight camp, the Indian always felt that he was hunting. He was not aware of any gulf between him and the animal world; he saw

/201 cont./

181 only that all creatures believed essentially as he did, that they
185 had their family life, communicated with one another by means of sounds, had dwellings, sometimes fought with one another, and nourished themselves from hunting booty or from fruits. In short, he felt as though he were primus inter pares, not above them. He knew nothing about all those *good* things to the effect that there is a difference whether one draws conclusions in situational images or in concepts, and whether one acts purposefully according to associations which are inherited complete within the species, or according to tradition which is handed down by the parents by means of language. His myth and legends, which
[193] to us seem like pure fairy tales and animal fables and which he takes just as seriously as we do the sacred books with their doctrine, in which he lets human beings and animals mingle, would necessarily be only playful jests if he regarded himself as created out of a different substance than other creatures are. We can understand these human beings only if we regard them as the product of a hunting culture. They gathered the main body of their experiences from animals, and with these experiences primarily, since it is only through the old that one is capable of understanding the new, they explained nature; fashioned their world view.
[532] Accordingly, their artistic motifs, as we shall see, are borrowed, with amazing one-sidedness, from the animal kingdom. Indeed, their entire, surprisingly rich art is rooted in the hunting life and did not flower until a more peaceful existence provided protection for the buds. From the outset I cannot refer often enough to these conditions, since otherwise we should not properly evaluate the material culture of the natives and should not understand their mental culture at all.

*191 On the other hand, it is a fact that the products of agricul-
194 ture -- except in the case of the Trumai -- have been in the
241 possession of our Indians since time immemorial. A comparison of the language: furnishes irrefutable proof. It teaches us first of all that the tribes of the Schingú belong to different language families. It teaches us furthermore that in the case of each one the branching off from the basic people concerned took place

/2ub cont./

say simply that our Indians were not yet familiar with metals and were, for the time being, dependent on shells, teeth, and wood in their work methods, if only because in large part they did not even have more suitable stones.

And now I have come back to my point of departure. In spite of their agriculture and in spite of their land-clearing with the stone ax, the Schingú Indians were not only able to maintain their hunting, but they had to maintain it, because fishing and hunting provided them, aside from a change of diet, with the indispensable tools for making weapons and implements.

Teeth. The sets of teeth of the piranha (Serrasalmus)*

* There were two species, a smaller black "piranya pena" or "olho de fogo" (fire eye),

Fig. 22. Fire-eye piranha.
(1/4 nat. size/ as shown in the original illustration/.)

and a larger "pa,o amarello" (yellow maw), whose "yellow" is a brilliant orange.

served for cutting. They were opened with any suitable wooden hook and carefully examined: the lower jaw, four centimeters long and containing 14 small, triangular teeth, was then cut out with a shell. Hard things and soft things, the spines of the buriti palms or human hair, but especially all threads and fibers, were cut with the sharp teeth. They called my scissors "piranha teeth." Bamboo and other reeds were scored with them until they could

/205 cont./

[291] [292] [293] [294] [295] [296] [297] [298] [299] [300] [301] [302] [303] [304] [305]

be broken off evenly. A scarcely less important tool was furnished by the peixe cachorro, or dogfish, called Cynodon zoologically, which has in its lower jaw two pointed teeth three to three and a half centimeters long, each projecting upward through a hole. The edge of these teeth, ground knife-sharp, was used for cutting, but chiefly for puncturing, for example, in connection with tattooing, for scratching, for example, in decorating the tortoise spindle disks, and for boring needs, as in the case of the arrows, in order to put through the threads for fastening the feathers and points. /206/ The triangular pieces of gourd which, as the scarifier, represented the most important instrument in the little surgery of the Indians, cf. Figure 15 /see p. 179/, were studded with the small, pointed teeth of the sailfish, Erythrinus. The little teeth of the aguiá, Dasyprocta aguti, served the same purpose. Of the rodents, the capybara, Hydrochoerus capybara, furnished indispensable scraping chisels with the front teeth of its lower jaw, the tooth, six to eight centimeters long, was fastened to a piece of uhá wood with cotton thread, or two teeth were lashed together and cemented with a little wax. /Figs. 23-26 appear here./ The arrow holes were likewise bored with the aguiá teeth. Monkey teeth, pierced at the root and artfully plaited together into a chain, were a favorite belt or neck ornament.

Bones. Arm and leg bones of monkeys, which were kept in thick bundles in the little tool basket at home, served as arrowheads. They were ground to shape and, with their hollow tubes, mounted on the stick between the arrowhead and arrow shaft. The tail radiation of the ray was likewise an arrowhead. Small, pointed bones were added as barbs. /207/ Mammal bones had many uses the skin treated with the scarifier was rubbed with the thigh bone of the deer; we saw a splinter of a jaguar bone pointed to pierce ear lobes; the wax smeared over the lashing on arrowheads was applied with a bone. The front claws of the giant armadillo, Dasypus gigas, served man, as well as the animal itself, for digging and grubbing up the ground and were the earth hoe of our Indians. The spindle disks in many cases came from the ventral piece of the tortoise shell, which was broken to pieces with a stone. Jaguar

/297 cont./

Japan

[191] claws were worn as neck-chain. Tali somehow on the left side,
[297] a bone stick (arrow) in through the nasal septum adorned the old
[301] Bakari.
[304]

Shells. The river shells were extensively used for cutting, less
[191] for cutting through than for sawing longitudinally, for scraping, planing,
[297] smoothing. The work shells brought back from the Kamajusi /Fig. 27
[401] appear here/ were identified by Ilan Professor van Bitterna. Trunk,
[305] Anodonta, was the shell for scraping the mandible tusk, "mandibu mity".
[324]

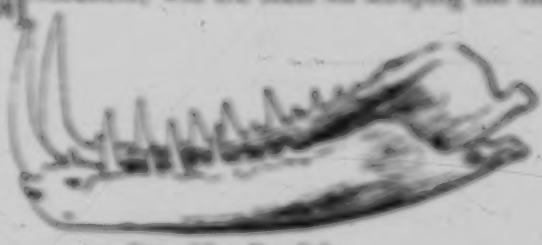


Fig. 23. Dogfish.
(1/1 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

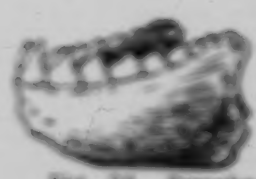


Fig. 24. Piranha.
(1/2 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

[284]

Fig. 25. Front claws of the giant armadillo. (Grubbing hoe.) (1/5 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 26. Capybara tooth. (Scraping chisel.) (1/2 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

the women sat on a couple of pieces of bamboo placed together, and they scraped, scrubbed, scratched, until their legs disappeared in the heap of parings. This shell also serves as a plane to smooth the handle
[322] of the stone axe or the oar by means of flat scraping, not with the edge.

/207 cont./

but with a hole made in the center. The people bit off the outermost shell with their teeth and knocked the planing hole into it with the pointed shell tool. Another type of knuhenya, ma-i, "little mussel," was also used for the fine scraping of wood. This and the other types were also used to store the pigments with which one painted himself red or black. They were usually hung on the hammocks. A second large shell for scraping roots was mi, "mussel," a variety of the Lampsilis ventricosa Gould, brought back from the Seaguey /Sanguaia/ by Cameron. With the larger species, mi kanak, /208/ Unio crassidens the bows were smoothed, and, to be sure, with the outer surface of the shell.

Fig. 27. Knife-shell and plane-shell.

A flat Unio, mi mukd, was interesting because it had a sharp, pointed extension with which pikd fruits, for example, were opened. It corresponds best to our pocketknife, an instrument that was regarded very disapprovingly by the Indians because they were able to open it only with indescribable effort; they were as clumsy with it as we with the unfamiliar twirl-borer. The shell was hung around the necks when one set out on journeys; the fish and game animals caught were cut open with it; the shell was used to hollow out the little depression in the fire-stick, in which a second stick was twirled to the glowing point. For all carving of wood it was indispensable. Small shells were used in many ways; pieces of Bulimus shells were used for chain ornament. Cf. page 170. Orthalicus melanostomus sometimes dangled in thick hangings on the mask costume.

/208 cont./

Feathers lend wings to the arrow, on whose shaft and two split halves of feathers are sewed opposite each other in spiral form. Otherwise they seem to be used exclusively, but in great volume here, for ornament, such as ear feathers, feather crowns, feather caps, feather arm bands, feather cheeks (among the Kamayurá), and in hundredfold decoration on small ornaments, where little colored bundles hang on hammocks, combs, gourd rattles, arrow throwers, masks, etc. The most magnificent material was available, from the yellow, blue, red, and green of the aras, toucan, weaver birds, and parrots, from the beautiful stripes or speckles of the curassows, falcons, and owls, to the shimmering white of the herons and storks or the black of the urubu vulture. The big, broad, black-and-white striped flag of the Harpyia destructor was magnificent.

The spoils of hunting and fishing therefore afforded an abundance of the most necessary things, in particular in furnished tools for cutting, scraping, polishing, piercing, boring, scratching, and digging. Agriculture assured the natives a sedentary existence and improved their economic condition, but they still remained fishermen and hunters, though to a lesser extent. They were hunters without dogs, fishermen without hooks, farmers without plow and spade. They afford us an excellent example that teaches us how manifold the methods of work for the purpose of making a living could have been before the possession of any metal technique, an example that warns us about overestimating the importance of stone implements, which, of course are preserved the best and most plentifully for posterity, and about throwing indiscriminately into the great pot of the Stone Age everything that comes before the use of metal and, in comparison to the small span of time established for this, must embrace unimaginably long periods.

If one judges culture according to the extent and thoroughness with which the surrounding nature is exploited by the human beings, then our natives certainly did not stand on a low level. They hunted and fished with arrow /209/ and bow, they fished with nets, catch-baskets, and weir-baskets, they had their fish

- //218 cont. //

I shall sum up. Ancient agriculture is most compatible with the type of hunting practiced here. The Indians were permanently fishermen. The yield in their area on the upper course of a river was not sufficient for pure ichthyophagy; on the other hand, it was not small during the months when the fish traveled upstream in the rising water and were found in all the canals and lagoons in great numbers, or when, as the water receded, the opportunity for a catch in the artificially bounded part of the river branches became considerably greater. Fishing and hunting, furthermore, furnished the indispensable meat. There were no domestic animals in our sense; dogs were unfamiliar to the natives. He took pleasure in the colored birds, whose feathers he sometimes pulled out, especially in the talking parrots and chewing macaws. So far those that he happened to catch young walk around in the village, woodpeckers or hoopoes or cuckoos, and kept in huge pole-cages, for the edification of the community, the spitting eagle, Harpyia destructor, or some other predatory bird. He had lizards hanging by their tails from the hammock, so that they would clean up a bit among the annoying cockroaches -- he had not succeeded any further in the utilization of animals, and though wild plants were established near the village to be used as demand, the rearing of edible animals was not considered. //219// Indeed, the attitude that the Indian took toward the animal kingdom made him feel a definite repugnance about ultimately consuming animals that he had raised, just as we do not eat dogs.

The relative sedentariness connected with the life of the fisherman could not become permanent until the women learned to plant, to make pots, and to prepare flour. Although agriculture on the Schingú had already reached respectable improvement, nevertheless there were small indications that showed what its origin had been, at least here. People planted the useful plants found in the vicinity, each tribe acquired its own experience on its own soil, and they were disseminated by the women who, in war or peace, came to other tribes. The fact that the Bakairí-Karaíben were once furthered in this way in

/229 cont./

Usually hollowed end of the wooden nappen, lashing it, and covering it with resin.

Sometimes a pierced, hollow metal nut is shoved up on the arrow shaft to slightly above the middle; one or two holes are cut into the nut on the side. In flight a high-pitched whizzing or whistling is heard. /230/ While the noise-making arrows are used only for bird hunting, the others are intended for all hunting and the shooting of fish. Those with barbs are exclusively fish arrows. Arrows with sewlike notched wooden points do not occur on the Schingú except among the Yaruná, whom we regard as a southern group of the Shuduruná /Shuduruna/ of the Tupaiuc /Tupaiuc/.

The Suyá and Trumai had arrows with long pointed bamboo splinters for war and for hunting jaguar. Spindle-shaped bamboo splinters up to 35 centimeters long and up to 30 millimeters wide, knife-sharp on the edges, are mounted on the wooden stick driven deep into the reed shaft; the wooden stick is embedded in a groove cut below along the inner surface of the splinter. And, to be sure, the pointed spindle is only loosely fastened with a little resin and thread; when shot it remains in the body that was hit, while the shaft with the wooden stick flies off behind it.

The most remarkable thing about the arrow is the feathering at the lower end. Two feathers, more correctly two halves of feathers, for the feather is split at the shaft, are carefully fastened in a spiral twist which goes around one-fourth of the circumference; each flag stands with the plane of its upper part perpendicular on that of its lower part, so that the flying arrow spirals through the air. The feathers are set in a row of small holes, which are made with an agouti tooth and enlarged with a pointed bone splinter, and, one may say, are sewed onto the arrow; the cotton thread is wound around the ends and is itself protected by being wound with waimbé bark (Philodendron). Usually the feathers come from gallinaceous birds, jaú (Penelope) and mutung (Crax), from the falcon, and from the blue arara. Where the hand grasps the arrow shaft there is a wrapping of waimbé. At the bottom a notch is cut in parallel to the upper part of the feathers.

/263 cont./

associated with the skin representation. In the field of painting, we come across such productions in the form of geometric ornamentation. Dots and dashes may be the equivalents of the old markings. But even such "simple" figures as triangles and squares, which one would think could be freely conceived by the most primitive artists, originated only through the stylization of representations, and, since they automatically recommended themselves to the technique as types, they easily won out over more complicated structures in the struggle for existence.

Now just a word about the motifs of our Indian art. They have been borrowed exclusively from the animal kingdom. Andree in his well-known /248/ article, "Die Zeichnen bei Naturvölkern /Drawing Among Primitive Peoples/,"* points out

*Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche, n.s., Leipzig, 1889, p. 50.

that the plant only rarely plays a role and adds: "In order to arrive at an understanding of this phenomenon we need only remember that among our children, too, when they make their first independent attempts at drawing on the blackboard, animals and human beings in crude forms are represented first. The living, mobile animal is more apt to capture their attention, is also easier to grasp in its entire figure than the plant consisting of numerous leaves and blossoms."

This pertinent remark is in perfect accord with the relationship between gesture and drawing which I maintain. By means of gestures I imitate an animal, not a tree, and not only because the latter does not move actively. It is easy for me to express parts of the animal body by means of gestures, because in doing so, proceeding from my own body, if, for example, I wanted to depict a pair of donkey ears or some antlers, I would immediately indicate the position and the type of the organ, whereas I should be unable to express parts of a plant by means of gestures, unless I use words to help out. Among our Indians, however, drawing is only a special case: the animal motif dominates their entire

/206 cont./

mental world in every art and science, no matter what it is called, and there can be no foundation for this other than their burning culture.

The material interest in the animal precedes the formal or esthetic interest. The flower is not in secondary, exactly as it is in ornamentation: first the feather in the ear and then the little bunch of flowers on the hat. I saw situations portrayed in the "picture writing" of the Guaqui in Rio Grande do Sul. A palm tree would be just as easy to draw as a pine, but no palm in the north furnishes such indispensable food as the alhucatis formerly provided for the "bugre" /wild Indian/ of that southern province. Before art went also bread, if I may alter the meaning of the sentence somewhat, it went after meat and fish. I shall have to come back to this subject, especially in connection with the products of the ceramic art.

Sand drawings. They are at first a form of communication, like words. I have spoken of how the descriptive gesture readily and easily became a picture. Map drawings were the most common. Our second journey alone through the sand drawing of the arrangement of the upper Schingú, with which the Suyá geographer illustrated his statements; cf. page 138. "He enumerated all the tribes that are settled on the upper Schingú. In order to be quite clear, he drew the course of the river in the sand with his finger. To our greatest surprise, he drew the Batovy, the only one which he portrayed in this way, and, to be sure, entirely on his own initiative with corkscrew-like, tortuous course." (Dutch Centralbrazilien /Through Central Brazil/, p. 213 /see. I. Meiner, this file, p. 104/.) The Batovy, as we learned to our sorrow, was a true River Meander.

/247/ We saw the same thing among the Kalapalo tribes. The number, sometimes of tribes, sometimes of rapids, was indicated by dashes. Circles were houses, wreaths of circles, villages, corresponding to the actual arrangement of the circular houses around the large plaza. All these figures were also drawn with pencil in our book, while the accompanying words were taken down as dictation. A certain individualization, as in the

/267 cont./

Among the Mehinaki, circles on the ground indicated the place where pikí fruits, which are as round as apples, had fallen unripe from the tree and were burned.

One day on the return trip our canoe passed a sandy beach which our Indian companions had already passed before us. Hello, to our /268/ surprise, the saw two fish drawn in the sand, which Antonio said were matinchama. We stopped, fished, and actually caught matinchama! It was just as though the wood had been

Fig. 34.
Sand drawing of a matinchama.

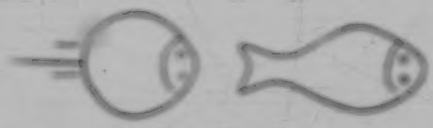


Fig. 35.
Sand drawing of a ray and pilu

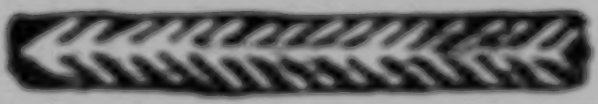
Fig. 36.
Mehinaki sand-drawing. (i [illegible] are /as shown in the original illustration.)

written there and an invitation to try his luck there too had been handed to Antonio quite intentionally. Another case remains more obscure to me than this instructive example. Almost exactly in the middle of the path between the harbor and the village of the Mehinaki /Mehinacu/ I found a ray and a pakú fish drawn in the sand. The narrow forest path widened at this spot into a small

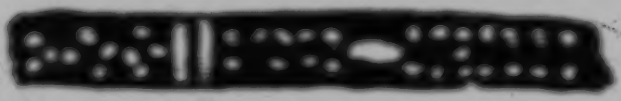
Plate XX

1. [illegible]

2. Pakŭ [illegible]. 3. [illegible]



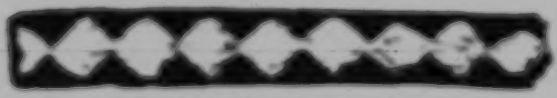
4. [illegible]



4. Pŭ[illegible] [illegible]

5. Pŭ[illegible] 12. 6. [illegible]

9. Pakŭ [illegible]

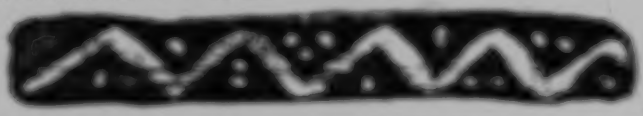


10. Bata.

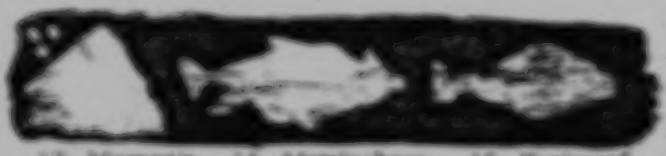
Bakaŭŭ ornament[illegible] I.

531
926

11. Ilheya mate.

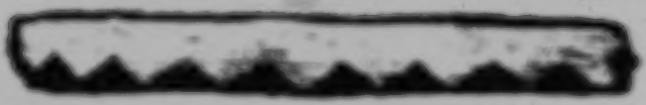


12. Agau mate with head.



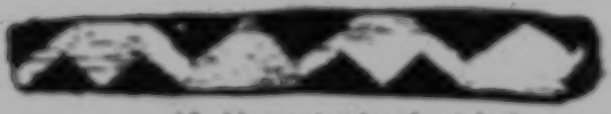
13. Women's triangle. 14. Matunchem. 15. Kutunati.

531



14. Women's triangles (uluri).

15. Women's triangles (uluri).



16. Women's triangles (uluri).

[926]

17. Palmito leaves.

Bakairi ornamentation II.

A /197 cont./

Mitzel can in any way identify his illustration with that of the Indian arrow.

Therefore it is comforting to find no difficulty with the center figure of the bottom row. It represents a macaco or Cebus monkey and is well characterized by the human-like limbs with the usual three toes and the long tail. For comparison I am adding the illustration of a Mehinaki flute, /216/ where the same monkey -- not inappropriately, since it too emits flute tones -- appears and is treated very similarly, except that it also enjoys a stick.

A very remarkable creature was depicted on one post (Fig. 61), a sort of female figure with ruffing habit and a wasp waist, two-fingered arms, and a triangular face under a hat brim. This is Cryptocenus atranus, the tokandira, tokanteira, tokangira of the Brazilians, a huge ant that does not have a social life, but crawls around individually on tree trunks.

Finally, menachu designs, which are still to be discussed, were found on trees in the harbor of the Mehinaki.

II. Ornamental Drawing.

Ornamental frieze of the Bakairi. Menachu and uluri. The Aweiro ornamentation. Conclusions. Use of ornamentation. Calabasher, beni turners, spindle whorls. Painting of pots.

B

On page: 64-65, in the report about the visit to the second Bakairi village, I mentioned the large wall frieze of pieces of bark painted white, which went around inside the house of the chief; in several places in a double row, to a length of approximately 56 meters. the width of the pieces of bark varied between approximately 15 to 40 centimeters. Our first impression was that these zigzags, dots, rings, chains of rhombuses and triangles were ornamental fancies which were attractive and charming, but did not mean anything beyond that. The bark, blackened with soot, came from a forest tree which the Bakairi called nofschi, the white or often yellowish loam was applied with the fingers, so

/218 cont./

that one could not expect delicate lines in these freeze dashings. When I sought to enlarge my word list with the names of the decorations, I was surprised to hear several fish names familiar to me, whereupon I went to the heart of the matter. For each design I was given the name of a concrete original, and the more we concerned ourselves with the decorations on household utensils here and among the other tribes, the more we discovered that there was the same procedure everywhere. Ehrenreich then pursued the problem further among the Araguay /Araguaia/ Indians and there, to my delight, found only confirmation.

On the two plates 20 and 21 /see pp. 280-281/, Bakairi ornamentation I and II, which give characteristic samples of all the bark pieces, we see first of all in Numbers 14 and 15* two

* On Plate 21, as the result of an oversight, the numbers 14 and 15 occur twice.

well-drawn fish, the frequently mentioned, favorite fish of the Bakairi, the matrincham, and the many-boned kurimatá, /259/ Salmo curimatá. They are painted on with reference to the entire surface. The nordéu ikéito, "picture of the matrincham," was set down with positive elegance and dash. Next to it, in No. 13, we have an ulúri ikéito, a picture of the woman's triangle. And in this manner each decoration was said to be an ikéito. Sometimes individual ones are set apart by short vertical lines; cf. 3 and 4 or 7 and 8 on plate I /see p. 280/. Only a single picture is taken from the vegetable kingdom, No. 17. It represents the leaves of a small, "cabbage" yielding forest palm, yemarifli, a word that means hand-leaf. We see a number of twin pinnae pointing alternately up and down and arranged exactly like the uluris in No. 16, to us the figure gives the impression of a plaiting design.

Our attempts at interpretation, however, would soon come to grief. We observe among the decorations some in which the natural skin markings of an animal are reproduced, some in which the outlines of the animal are drawn, and some in which both are combined. No. 6 has the dotted and spotted markings of a catfish, schurfi, whose spotted skin has given rise to the Portuguese name

/259 cont./

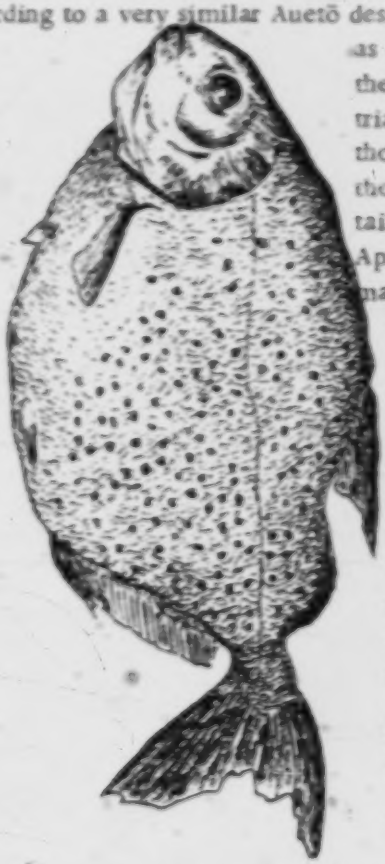
"pinada." We shall come across it again in connection with the mask costumes. No. 7 was described as the dotted markings of a ray, pinukki, while in No. 2 a second species of ray, schiwiki (a word generally present among the North Karaiben /Carib/ as schibali, tipari, chupard, etc.), is shown with the characteristic rings and spots of its skin.

Zigzags and wavy lines are snakes, whose characteristic skin marking, for which there was probably no room on the narrow strip, was cold-bloodedly added in the surroundings. Thus, No. 12, a common land snake or cobra of the Brazilians, has its tail and on the left and, on the right, the clearly recognizable head described to me as such, the dots are put in between the zigzags. After the artist had drawn the snake, he remembered to characterize it by its spots. The same thing happened in No. 1, in the case of the sahuri watersnake or anaconda, Boa scytale. On the other hand, in No. 11, the picture of the Boa constrictor, we see the marking of the snake skin divided up into numerous small triangles; it runs along the two edges of the board, and, to be sure, both times in such a way that the triangles project inward with their tips and border the unpainted background to form a chain of black rhombuses. According to my notes, the snake has a head, but it is difficult to see how the bit of a figure on the left, with which the drawing begins, can represent one.

No. 5, kâna igâri ikûto, the fish-bones picture, is readily understandable. It had the considerable length of three and one-fourth meters. The armored fish, No. 4, which joins the dividing line, makes greater demands on the imagination. This tupâra of the Bakairi is the akará of the Tupi and the Acara or armored sheatfish of the zoologist, the cascudo of the Brazilians. On the other hand, the pakû fish in No. 3, Prochilodus, pâte-ikûto, though we should scarcely have recognized them as fish, became clear to us from the picture of the kurimatâ, koalû ikûto (No. 15). The fish /260/ figure in No. 15, with the entire surface filled in, appears only in a stylized outline in 3, the body becomes a rhombus, the tail a triangle, and both are used purely ornamentally in any number desired, next to one another or each one alone. Thus we see in No. 3 on the left two body rhombuses and a tail triangle of the

/260 cont./

531 pakú, while there are three rhombuses in succession at the right.
525 In the two rhombuses on the left the gill arch sets off the head, as in Figures 34 and 35 /see p. 263/ and also in the carved bark fish. The same thing is repeated in No. 8, núki-ikuto, the picture of the nuki fish, which cannot be identified more specifically, but, according to a very similar Auetõ design, may perhaps be regarded as a armored sheatfish, where, on the right, triangle, rhombus, rhombus, triangle succeed one another, as though two fishes were touching at their mouths, and, on the left, four tail-triangles are joined in a row. Apparently it is because of the skin marking of the nuki fish that it is distinguished from the pakú by triangles filled in with white. The pakú, on the other hand, is characterized by small dots; in No. 9 we see on the left a sample of the design on its skin and next to it, on the right, a number of body rhombuses, each of which has a little dot in the center, and which, if we wanted to associate them with fish, we should probably say were an illustration of an armor-like, scaly skin, which the pakú does not have at all.



[136] Fig. 42. Mereschu. (2/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

I must admit that I did not quite know whether to laugh at our good-natured interpreter or to give in to a feeling of mute bafflement that may be summed up in the exclamation "how differently

/260 cont./

531 the world is pictured in these minds!" No. 10, semímo ikuto,
825 pictures of bats! Rhombuses strung together. Head, extremities, tail, where are they? We shall come across bats again, however, in other drawings and especially on the pots, where they are re-
[113] duced to the same rhombus form. In Brehm's Tierleben I, 1890, page 363, there is an illustration of Vesperugo noctula, the Abendsegler /"evening swift"/, which in the specimen on the left, wrapped in a wing membrane and hanging, shows us a somewhat similar outline; if it were stylized, it could also be developed into a rhombus. -- /261/ Let us now confirm the fact that on these two plates we have rhombuses in three patterns: that of the pakú, either an outline or spotted-surface design; that of the nuki, with diagonal triangles, and the one of the bat, which is simply filled in. The negative drawing of the bats, No. 10, would be exactly like No. 11, the Boa constrictor or jiboya snake. One sees, at any rate, that one can arrive at the geometric figure of the rhombus in very different ways.

171 Mereschu and uluri. /Fig. 43 appears here./ Strangely enough,
531 the frieze of the Bakaïrí house lacked a design which is the most
825 common one, not only among the Bakaïrí, but also among all the tribes of the upper Schingú. On our first journey we noticed it often enough, but did not appreciate and understand it. In my report Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/ it is found on page 163 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 42/ as a drinking-bowl design of the Bakaïrí and on page 213 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 104/ as a pencil drawing of the Suyá in the handsomest delineation: rhombuses whose corners are filled in with small triangles. Only after the discovery was made in the second Bakaïrí village was
[136] the explanation given. The original of the decoration is a small, flat lagoon fish, a Serrasalmo or Myletes, related to the piranhas. The one drawn by Wilhelm measured 19 centimeters in length, 9.5 centimeters in width, and was silver-gray with brown spots. No
[123] artist has ever had more success with a picture than did Wilhelm with this drawing. People came crowding up and all were positively happy to view it. And this was repeated among all the tribes. Even the Paresí in Cuyabá were delighted with it and

/261 cont./

171 identified it. We retained the Bakaïrí name of the important
531 little fish, the one we learned first, for our use. In the Kulisehu
825 languages the animal has the following names: Bakaïrí meréschu (the accented e /262/ long), Nahuquá irínko, Mehinakú kulupé,

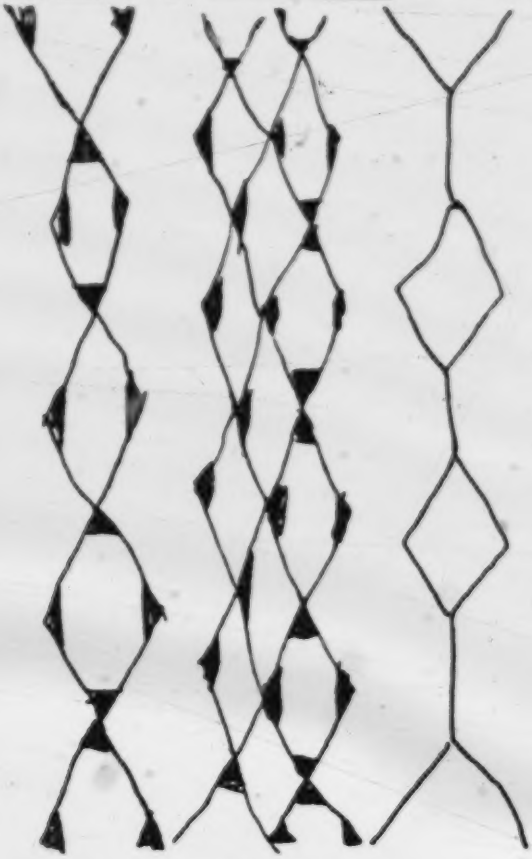


Fig. 43. Mereschu design drawn with pencil (1/1 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

B /262 cont./
*171 Kustenaú /Custenau/, kulupéi, Waurá warjái (French j), Yaulapiti
531 mariríyi, Auetö pirapévit, Kamayurá tapaká, Trumaí pakí.
●825 Everywhere the design has the name of the fish.

In Figure 43 /see p. 288/ the first and second designs were drawn in pencil by the Bakaïrí, the third by a Nahuquá. The noble Nahuquá, exactly as in my portrait on Plate 17, made it very easy for himself by being contented with the simplest outline imaginable, but he is alone in this negligent originality. The Nahuquá apply the design not only for the mereschu fish irínko, but also for a related one called íru or íno. A similar situation probably accounts for the fact that the Waurá word differs from that of the Mehinakú and the Kustenaú.

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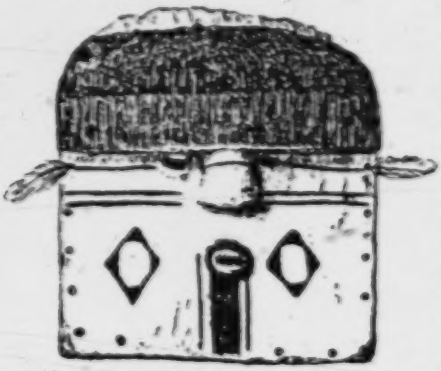

Fig. 44.
Wooden mask with mereschu design. (Gull, Bakaïrí.) (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Figure 44, the Bakaïrí wooden mask, shows the mereschu design in typical fashion. It is especially in the painting of the masks that it plays the greatest role. The rhombus corresponds to the body of the fish and the four filled-in corners are head, tail, dorsal fin, and anal fin. The execution of the corners varies in plenitude, so that sometimes an octagon, sometimes a square is left inside. According to our feeling, such a filled-in triangle can only correspond to the head; we can, if necessary, imagine the fins drawn into the rhombus as set on, not drawn in, but for the time being we do not know what to make of the tail, which, as a triangle, ought to have its tip pointed inward and not outward, but we shall find the explanation later.

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The two Auetö masks, Figs. 45 and 46 /see p. 291/, show how the mereschu typically appears as a surface design, one showing the decoration on wood, the other on cloth-like material. The mereschus are framed by lines; they are embedded in a net with
n² [See p. 266--Analyst]

/265 cont./

531 No. 15 shows them in a strange succession, two adjoining ones touching only at one corner and alternately at the upper and lower edge of the bark board. In No. 16 four uluris lie with their bases alternately against the lower and upper edge and are separated somewhat by diagonal bars extending from base to base. The bars represent the grossly thickened groin strings and are analogous to the mereschu fish-net.

If I drew an equilateral triangle for the Bakaïrí, they laughed happily and cried "ulúri." It often appeared on their drinking bowls, covering the entire surface in a neat arrangement, and the dividing lines were put on with the awareness that they were originally strings.

[301] /266/ The four back-sticks of Figure 48 /see p. 294/, wooden cylinders which were worn on the back on strings for festival adornment in the third Bakaïrí village and represented stylized mandioca digging-sticks, show us various designs painted on in black in attractive execution. The first shows mereschu fish, the [825] third hanging bats, which we shall also come across among the Auetö, the fourth the agau snake corresponding to No. 12 of Plate 21, the second uluris. Never, as far as I remember, does the uluri triangle occur as a triangle composed of only three lines, except in the pencil drawing on Plate 17. The triangle is always filled in and thus gives an even more direct impression of the concrete original. /Figs. 49 and 50 appear here./

*[171] On Nahuquá whizzer sticks, cf. chapter "Mask Ornamentation and Dance Ornaments," III, illustration /see Fig. 122, p. 382/, zigzags of the same kind as those on the back sticks occur and here, too, are regarded as the picture of a snake.

531 The back sticks also gave us two more very strange decora-
825 tions. One of them, to our eyes different from the mereschu
[301] only by the smallness of the filled-in corners, was a grasshopper, tövíga of the Bakaïrí, tukúra of the Tupí. The design was combined with that of the mereschu fish; the long lines extending from the corners of the rhombus are the grasshopper legs.

/266 cont./

B 531 825 The other decoration refers to a "small bird," yaritamáze, of the Bakaïrí, which I cannot identify more specifically. One can easily see that it represents a flying bird. But the Indians demand more; they insist on the yaritamáze.

A 531 191 The Auetõ decorations are characterized by the most extensive stylization. In the "artists' hut" of the village, numerous designs were painted over the doors and on the wall posts, the most remarkable of which are assembled on Plate 22, "Auetõ ornamentation" /see p. 293/. All of them are made up of triangles and rhombuses. Whereas the Bakaïrí painted with white loam on blackened bark, the Auetõ applied black color on a light wood background or incised the design and rubbed color on afterwards. My cousin therefore used to call his Auetõ colleagues black-artists and his Bakaïrí colleagues plein-airists.

B [531] →

B [301] [531] [825] ←

A 531 825 →

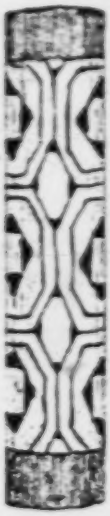

Fig. 49. Back stick with grasshopper. (1/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 50. Back stick with birds. (1/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

/267/ No. 5 is a genuine, quite pleasing mereschu design. No. 4, too, is supposed to represent mereschu fish. The same word, tepirapevetú, was given for both. This is, to be sure, the only example in which the mereschu rhombus is filled in, not only at the corners, but all over. On the other hand, the net, inside the meshes of which the fish are worked in, is treated in greater detail.

/269 cont./

171 possible for us to recognize the path, which, in the case of the former,
531 is by this time revealed only in the names.

Among the Auetö the artistic form is already of primary importance; among the Bakaïrí the emphasis is still on the fact that the designs are likenesses. Better than all discussion, the strange situation among the Bakaïrí can be explained by one example among many, namely, the accompanying illustration of an oar covered with primitive "scribbles." [825] The four circles are the ring marking of a ray, beyond the dividing line there follow mereschus in net meshes, then a pakú fish, and finally several "kuómi" fish, a design that does not occur elsewhere and the original model of which is a fish unfamiliar to me: pinukái, meréschu, páte, kuómi. I am far from wanting to maintain that these four designs in their assemblage have a meaning; at most I believe that the person who made them wanted to put fish on an oar. It is extremely instructive, however, to see that, even though these scribbles undoubtedly do not mean anything in association with one another, that is, are not hieroglyphics, nevertheless each one is by no means simply an arbitrary

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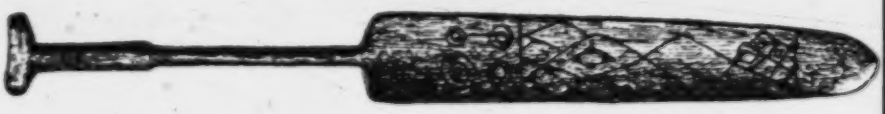

Fig. 51. Oar of the Bakaïrí. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Ray rings. Mereschu fish in the net. Pakú fish. Kuomi fish.

curlicue, but the pattern of a very definite object and thus actually represents the element of a hieroglyphic. We should never explain these patterns correctly by studying them; one must find out from the people themselves what they mean or simply give up. For my part, I have become extraordinarily humble about interpreting, but on the other hand, regard it as very superficial to dismiss as curlicues figures which we do not understand. Where /270/ figures are regularly repeated, where there are designs at all, one may be sure that the first people who drew them also had a definite model in mind, the meaning of which, however, their successors may have neglected and, under the influence of linguistic differentiation of what are now technical words, may have forgotten completely.

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four halves, and the hole is surrounded by a fifth central one, as is often the case in the incised designs as well.

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[532] Painting of the pots. On the clay bowls that represent animals, a drawing of the animal is sometimes copied; cf. Figure 87, the lizard pot, in the chapter on ceramic plastic art /see p. 333/. More often the medium-sized and large pots are painted, and, to be sure, on the outer wall, besides on the bottom, with parallel vertical stripes and designs. One sees applied especially often the tattooing lines of the Mehinakú, which go around the shoulder blades on the inside in angles or curves. Plate 15 /see p. 253/ with the large pots shows us this motif on the bottom of the pot in the upper left in an already richer form, in that the curves are not only double, as also occurs in the tattooing itself, /277/ but triple, and are painted with dots between the two inner ones and with serpentine zigzags between the two outer ones. Smaller curves, such as the women have tattooed on their arms, are applied above the center field, which is filled in with color. The pot bottom in the foreground contains a center circle with network and around it the serpentine zigzag as well as a few lines in the direction of the lateral stripes. The drawing is irregular enough to prevent us from seeing it as a "star," which the Indian woman did not have in mind.

000

III. Plastic Representation and Ceramics.

Introduction. Small chain-figures. Straw figures. Loam dolls. Wax figures. Wooden figures (dance birds and fish, mandioca digging-sticks, beijú turners, combs, stools). Pots.

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532 The art of the Indians in imitating body forms is disproportionately more advanced than that of drawing. From the start, as Ricci also points out with respect to the efforts of children, it has the great advantage that the difficulties of perspective drop away. The parts may be clumsily worked out, but they are in their proper place; it is not necessary to put them in the wrong
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[825] place in order to show them. Just as in drawing, indeed to a greater extent since the number of motifs is far more considerable,

/277 cont./

*171 the animal motif is predominant here. Aside from the fact that
532 the pots are made to look like gourds, from which they probably
●825 arose, it is solely and entirely a matter of imitation of animals.
[535] Only in the dance art is there an equally inexhaustible abundance of motifs which arise from the joy in the hunting life and its observations.

*171 The plastic art, too, still permits one clearly to recognize
532 that it was originally merely descriptive. We must not expect to be able to trace its course back as far as in the case of drawing, the best efforts of which still remain a sort of cartographic enumeration of the characteristic features and preserve these even in the geometric modification, but we have here another indication which is no less clear. In the fashioning of bodily forms the material that is being worked on comes to the fore much more than in the incising of lines. Just as rhyme often furnishes the thought, so does a form already present often furnish the motif. Thus, there is a very striking frugality shown in the characteristic features that are stressed; any small resemblance is sufficient to define the object as a particular creature. On a higher level, the native adorns a utensil with a freely invented motif, and this then sinks into geometric stylization exactly like the drawings.

*171 /278/ Small chain-figures. The meager characterization
301 is most striking in the small figures which are kept on the neck
532 chains, mostly those of babies and very small children, between the seed kernels, the shell beads, and the nut beads. The material is wholly unimportant. A piece of the convolution of the
[237] rose-colored snail shell has an edge which runs into irregular projections and indentations: that is a crayfish. The Bakairí
[237] cut birds and fish out of the shell of the caramujo branco,
[136] Orthalicus melanostomus. We see a shield-shaped piece, the body, which at the bottom continues into a narrower tail and at the top into a sort of neck piece (Fig. 63). This "neck piece," however, is the head, commonly pierced at the side to receive the string, and seems to be treated quite indifferently. If the tail piece is notched like a fin, we have before us a fish instead of a bird. /Figure 63 appears here./

/280 cont./

285 were meant to welcome the participants from the neigh-
532 boring villages.) "They were made of leaves and straw,
535 /281/ mostly quadrupeds with long, thin bodies, consisting of practically nothing but spinal column and long legs; the tallest ones reached to our hips. Something that was evidently supposed to be a monkey was climbing up a pole." (Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, page 168 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 50/.

[524]

Fig. 68. Invitation to the dance. Bakaïrí. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

285 The maize figures, almost exclusively
532 birds, are extremely characteristic of their
825 enjoyment of art; we found the most attractive examples of them in the second Bakaïrí village. There they hung, almost as large as turkeys, on a long string from the vault of the dome, a strange sight for the person entering, who undoubtedly

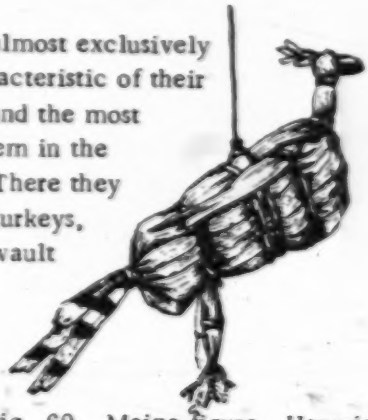

Fig. 69. Maize figure: Harpyia destructor. Bakaïrí. (1/10 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

[251] would think of idols and fetishes. But these fine birds were nothing but lovingly trimmed maize ears which were stored in their natural straw husks. I listed figures of Harpia destructor, a large and a small species of falcon, the snake

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285 532 825 bird, and the jabiru or giant stork. A human-like figure, a doll with a knob on top instead of a head, represented the imoto dancer in his straw garb. Otherwise there were always birds, and, to be sure, large birds. Often a pair of genuine tail feathers were stuck in or a few colored bands painted on the maize straw. The accompanying Harpia destructor (Fig. 69 /see p. 316/) is characterized by its strong beak and its crest, the tail feathers are banded with black; the toes are lovingly made out of twisted straw and where the foot emerges from the feathers of the leg there is a lashing. More impressive was the tujujú stork, it hung with wings outspread! A thick maize ear, as the center section, formed the body; only the stem was not cut off on it, but rather, projecting far out, formed the somewhat thin, but long beak. On either side eleven maize ears in [852] a row were clamped between a couple of twigs, and this beautifully suspended bridge then represented Mycteria americana, the individual parts of which were broken off one by one and roasted. Nothing mysterious, nothing symbolic, only a stork which the Bakaïrí were very willing to roast crispy for the astonished European.

524 532 261 /282/ Loam dolls. A similar unexpected combination of the beautiful and useful is shown by a heavy, red, loam doll, 30 centimeters long, 24 centimeters wide, and seven centimeters thick, Fig. 70 /see p. 318/. Four rounded stumps, which are produced by two lateral and one lower /Fig. 70 appears here/ indentation in the body lump, are the extremities; a clumsy, cube-shaped projection, the head. Two little holes, the eyes; a depression, the mouth sliding sharply downward, and another little hole, the navel. This red loam man is an edible doll for children. It consists of the material which the Bakaïrí say their grandfathers consumed before they were acquainted with mandioca. Today the heavy, fat dough is probably no longer a prized delicacy. The doll is also not very suitable as a plaything because of its weight. I was told that children licked it. We found similar dolls made of whitish, harder, nonedible loam, however, and saw nothing of loam being

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*171 524 532 its course with the furrow of the spine as well as where it ends with a somewhat deeply cut division, is free of all schematization. The head reminds one of that of an Eskimo in its round hood, which is the result, first of all, of the absence of a neck, and then of the shallow depression dug out below the hair line for the face and in which the nose was left standing. In the case of the loam man of the Bakaïrí, it can be seen on closer inspection that there was also a depression (but extremely shallow) for the face.

*171 239 532 825 Wax figures. Again, as in the case of maize, merely an artistic way of preserving the material. The black wax was shaped into pretty little animal figures, and, to be sure, most attractively among the Mehinakú, and thus hung up or placed in a basket until needed. Among the Bakaïrí we found a human figure better modeled than the loam dolls. The civilized Indians converted to Christianity have modified their saints out of wax and sell

Fig. 72. Wax figure: peccary. Mehinakú. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration)./

[171] [532]

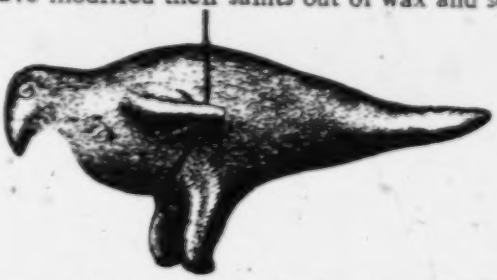

Fig. 73. Wax figure: karijo dove. Mehinakú. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

them. The plastic wax best revealed what the artists could do. Some animals were very well modeled, for instance, the small peccary or tayassu, 6.5 centimeters long, of Figure 72, Dicotyles torquatus. The eyes are represented by a pair of small plates of shell, the nostrils of the proboscis put in deeply. Of other mammals we also saw the large swamp deer and a howling monkey in the form of wax figures. More common were the hanging

/283 cont./

*171 birds, often painted red. In Illustration 73 /see p. 319/ we see
237 a karijo dove; the figure, 15 centimeters long, with the short
532 wing stumps, turned out very stiff.
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Wooden figures. In discussing the dance ornaments I shall
532 deal with the carved and painted wooden masks separately. The
535 Bakaïrí, whose festival finery consisted mostly of straw caps,
825 straw suits, and straw animals worn on the head, carved birds of light wood for their headpieces. In 1884 we brought back from the Batovy a wonderful head-structure (illustrated in Durch Centralbrasilien, page 322 /see 1:Steinen, this file, p. 16/), where seven colorfully painted birds are mounted on three long rods wound with flocks of cotton, /284/ birds which at that time I took to be swallows, but in the meantime have been able to identify as sanyassú (Tanagra sayaca Neuw.). Those shown in No. 74 are similar birds, the larger of which represents a falcon, the small one the nimble shore birds massarico (Calidris arenaria); there were many of them in the third Bakaïrí village on the Kulisehu. The neck is sharply set off from the body, a few lines show the markings of the feathers and a long stalk stuck

Fig. 74. Wooden figures: falcon and massarico. Bakaïrí. (1/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 75. Wooden fish of the Batovy Bakaïrí. (1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

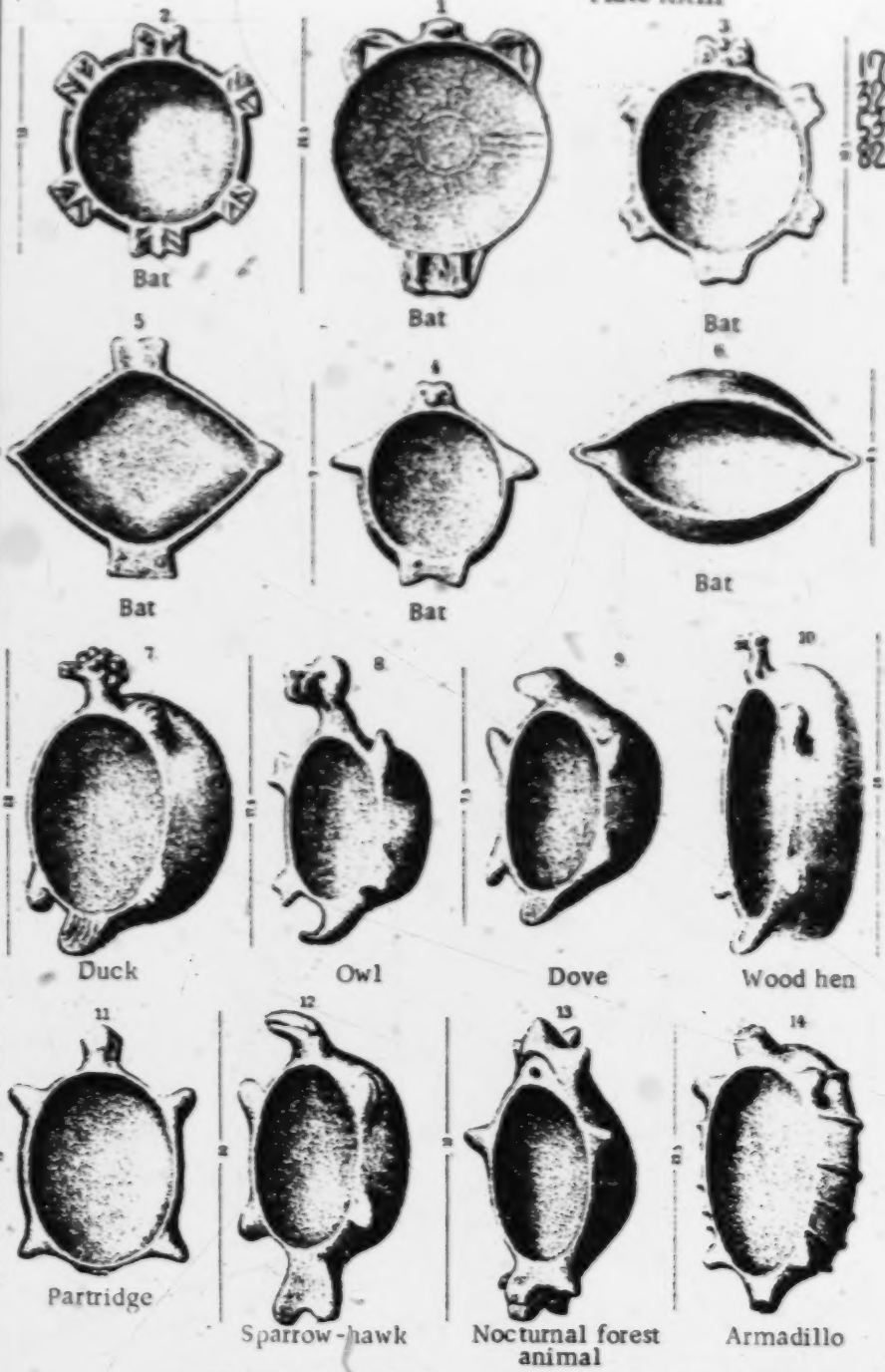
[301]

Fig. 76. Mandioca digger as a back-stick. Bakaïrí. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

through the body on the right and left and with its ends coming together again at the bottom represents the legs.

2: Steinen--328 E D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate XXIII



Pots from the Kulisehu. Measurements in centimeters.

Steinen--329€ D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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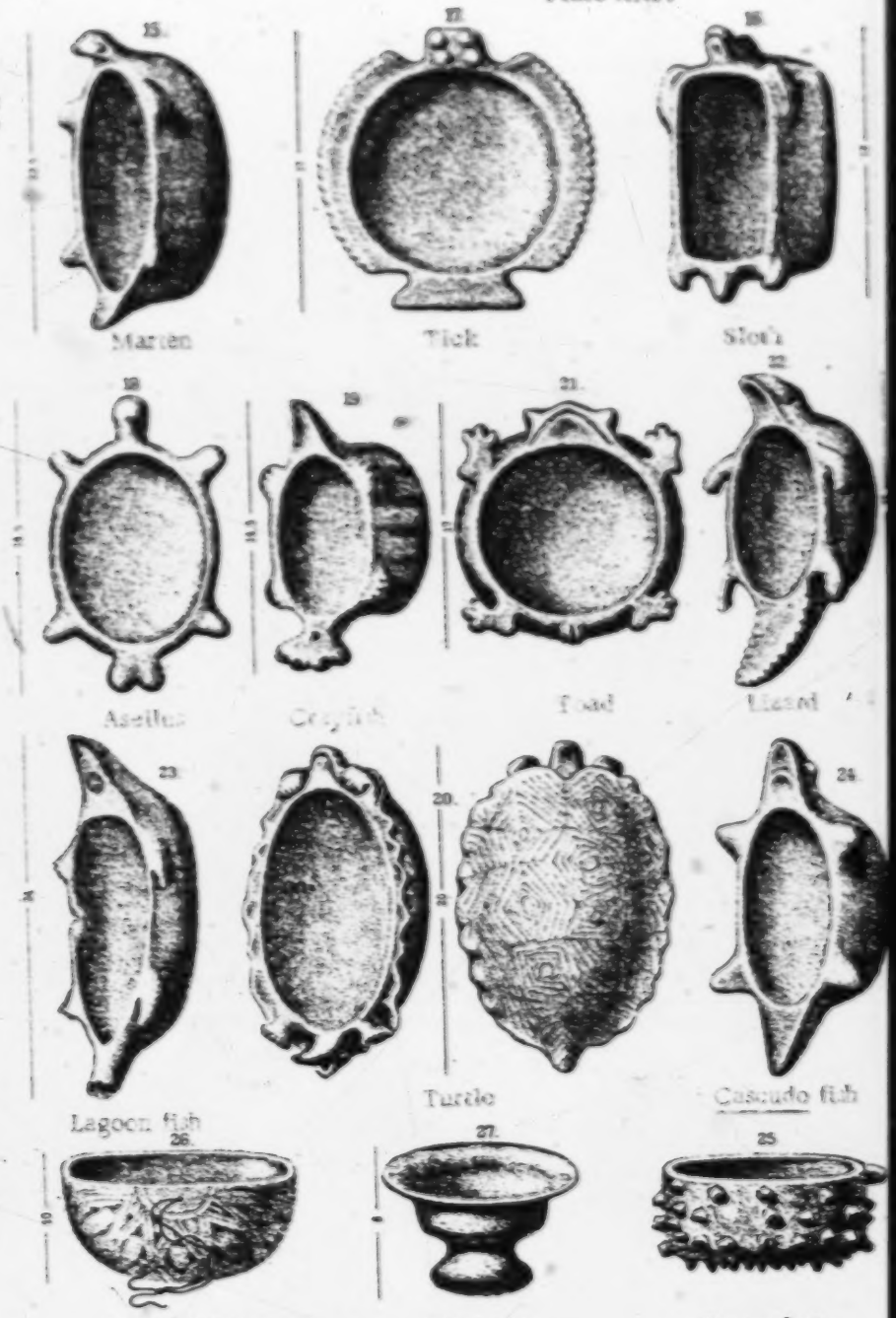
Plate XXIV



Pots from the Kulisehu. Measurements in centimeters.

/289 cont./

*1971 323 acquaintance we made in the Auetö harbor. No. 27, with the "goblet shape," indented along the edge on the outside, is regarded as a paint pot of the Waurá. Beaker and goblet have not yet penetrated to our Indians; this form, too, has a gourd-bowl motif, which, however, is less to be seen than to be heard. The flat sphere at the bottom is not put on, say, simply for an easier grip, but represents precisely the essential part of the plastic production, a rattle gourd. It harbors on the inside a few small stones or seeds which give off a rather weak rattling sound if one shakes the "goblet."

*1971 323 532 825 While these three pots have a free edge, all the others are characterized by a greater or lesser number of projections. These projections, modeled in many different ways, characterize the animal portrayed. Almost everywhere the roundness of the gourd is retained; indeed, it is obvious that this has given direction to the artistic idea. Just as the ordinary, merely crescent-shaped disks of the beijú turners represent the animal body as soon as a handle carved as head and neck is added, so the rounded bowl becomes the animal body when head and limbs are added with the edge-projections. This, then, is a clear and unequivocal history of development. Once the new artistic element has been achieved, it develops with independent freedom, presses on to a variety of forms, and, in the most popular and oft-repeated forms, rapidly deteriorates to stylization.

The most common, by far the most common form of the pot is the one with the bat motif. Apparently Indian sensibility is not guided by our refined considerations of taste. Our ladies would not be agreeably affected if they were obliged to eat out of bats, toads, and ticks; we men, however, can wash our hands in innocence, for it is the women who had these indelicate notions. To do them justice, I am assuming that /290/ they were influenced in their realism by the color and form of the original animals and were led to choose those whose imitation would turn out most favorably for pots. The bat, besides its roundish body, is exactly the color of the clay, and the toad (No. 21), which is likewise not infrequent, turned out excellently in the

2: Steinen--331 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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*171 323 532 825

circular, bellied pot. Armadillos and turtles are, indeed, nothing but walking pot-shells and were therefore deemed worthy of the imitation of their shells in the curvature of the pots. The lizard swinging from the hammock by its tied tail, presents itself, as a good domestic animal, for friendly consideration. Finally, there were also several types of caymans and cascudo fish, both armored. The other motifs are unique.

We found and added to our collection the following animals in imitations.

Mammals: Two species of bats (1-6), deer, page 333, squirrel, irara marten (Galictis barbara) (15), sloth (16), little anteater or Tamanduá mirim (Myrmecophaga tetradactyla), armadillo, a small tatú /tatou/ (14), as well as tatú canastra, or giant armadillo (Dasypus gigas), and finally, a nocturnal forest animal that was said to be similar to an armadillo (13).

Birds: White sparrow-hawk (Buteo pterocles) (12), coruja owl (8), dove (9), makuko wood hen (Trachypelmus brasiliensis) (10), inyambú partridge (11), duck (7), and an unidentified flying bird.

Creeping and amphibious animals: trakajá river turtle (Emys tracaxa) (20), kágado turtle (Emys depressa), jabutí forest turtle (Testudo tabulata), cayman, lizard (22), sinimbú or chameleon (Anolis), toad (21).*

Fish: cascudo, akará, or armored sheatfish (24), lagoon fish (23), ray.

Insects and lower animals: karapato or tick (Ixodes) (17), crayfish (19), asellus (18).

The most beautiful specimen, the trakajá turtle, No. 20, is really a work of art, not so much because the drawing of the shell is so carefully incised, but because of the extremely felicitous modeling of head, tail, and limbs. The front feet in particular are bent over so pliantly and naturally that one marvels at the talent for form and the gift of observation of the unknown Mehinakú woman. I must say, in her honor, that she copies nature more faithfully than the Berlin sketcher and lithographer did her reproduction.

/290 cont./

*1971 323 532 825 In the case of some animals one may speak of a direct copy hollowed out rather than of a pot with anatomical structure. For example, the turtle 20, the toad 21, the bat 1, the lizard 22, on which, in the drawing of my cousin, Figure 87 /see p. 333/, the body painting is still visible. The bat is particularly remarkable because of the outspread wing membrane from which the rear extremities are carefully worked out. In /291/ No. 2 the projections are simply incised, the head with the eyes has a couple of lines for the eyes, the other projections have been given two pairs of strokes for the lines of the wing membranes. These strokes may be left out, and one sees merely a six-projection pot and is surprised to hear it called "bat" regularly and among the most diverse tribes. In Nos. 3 and 4 the facial parts are even more precisely portrayed, in No. 3 the tail is broader than the extremity-projections, in No. 4 the legs and the tail are joined inside the wing membrane, as in /Fig. 87 appears here/ No. 1, and not further indicated. Nos. 5 and 6, too, were bats, but it was said they were a different, smaller species than the round six-projection pots. We are immediately reminded of the bat rhombuses drawn by the Bakairí, Plate 20 /see p. 280/.

In a more careful examination of the pots one will be able to understand, at least to a certain extent, the characteristic feature that differentiates most of them. At least one of the three elements, head, limbs, or tail, is always provided with an identifying "special mark." /Fig. 88 appears here./ In connection with this, the inference per exclusionem is never to be forgotten.

No. 15, the marten-like Galictis, is probably the most difficult to recognize. The mouth is more pointed in the original. The sloth, No. 16, is identified by the shape of the head and the position of the four legs at the corners. But it was obviously not easy with the four-footed mammals. For example, the only exception arose among them: a deer (6.5 × 13.5 centimeters in diameter) was set on its legs and the hollow opened in the back. Figure 88 /see p. 333/. The shape of the head, the tail, and the stance permitted even foreign Indians to identify the little pot

/291 cont./

171 323 532 825 immediately as a deer. The happy thought, which could lead the portrayal into entirely new directions, was not encountered by us in any other example.

In the case of the birds, wing and leg stumps are not differentiated; the feathers are incised in the tail, cf. 7 and 12; that of the sparrow-hawk is /292/ indented. The head of the drake, 7, and of the owl, 8, are well characterized;

Fig. 87. Lizard pot. (1/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

in the case of the dove, 9, there is the same head shape as on the little figures of the neck stones; the sparrow-hawk, 12, has a powerful beak, and a nicely formed little head is set on

Fig. 88. Deer pot. (2/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

the makuku, 10. In the case of the indistinct partridge, 11, the tail is broken off.

Fish were extremely rare. No. 23 has a long tail, the end of which was already broken off when we acquired the pot, but on the journey it lost still another piece. The head shapes of 23 and 24 are similar to the lizard, but they have a peculiar mouth.

/292 cont./

+171 323 532 532 525 The tick, 17, has four knobs on its head, which are probably supposed to represent maxillary feelers and mouth parts. The notched edge is most amusing. It reproduces not at all badly the general impression of the creeping and crawling of the eight crooked legs, which, in the case of animals that have sucked their fill, form a wreath at the top of the sac. I do not know whether the isopod, 18, bears up under zoological scrutiny. It is eyeless, like the Asellus, one of which it is supposed to represent, as far as I understood my informants. In No. 19, the crayfish, we note richly scalloped extremities and a tail fin. For eyes it has a pair of small knobs in which is pierced a fine little hole.

+171 323 532 176

Fig. 89. Suyá toad-pot. (1/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

In conclusion I am adding a pot (diameter 10 x 15 centimeters) with a human representation! It is too much to demand, however, that anyone should suspect anything human about it. The woman artist who brought it to us shook with laughter over her creation. She wanted to make a toad-pot and had already copied the tail and leg projections, as well as the head with the bulging eyes of toad form. Then, when she was modeling the wide mouth and it happened to turn out open instead of closed, she noticed the similarity with the much-ridiculed lip disk of the despised Suyá, which stands out in front of the teeth of these Indians like a movable saucer. She laughed about it, set the stiff mouth flap neatly perpendicular to the toad face, and called the pot a "Suyá figure." Thus, for once, an ornament of the men was used as a motif by the women, analogous to the uluri motif, which was so popular among the gentlemen artists.

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IV. Relationship between the Animal Motif and the Technique.

What appears as a joke in the case of the Suyá pot, namely, the influence of the technique on the determination of the motif, makes itself felt on a wider scale as a lawful process. Let us examine once again the list of animals portrayed in pots. It is interesting on account of the animals which are not there. One might say that the same difference is discernible as in the modern motifs of men and women artists on the average, especially in the still lifes: on the one hand, flowers, fruits, butterflies, flies, market fish, and hams; on the other hand, game and herring. For among the animals of the pots, the smaller animals and, with the exception of the ticks, the tamer ones predominate. At any rate, it is noteworthy that, by and large, jaguar, tapir, pig, and the parrots providing the feather ornaments and kept at home are entirely absent. These animals are also missing, however -- again for a special reason to be mentioned later -- in the animal masks of the men's festivals, and it should be further noted that one sees the above-mentioned connection between motif and form of presentation even more clearly from the negative side.

Snakes and monkeys, with their elongated bodies, were entirely unsuitable for the earthenware gourds, whereas the former were excellently adapted to the long bark boards of the frieze or the sword-shaped whizzer stick or the canoe, and the latter to a hut post or a flute. The handle on the half-moon of the beijú turner could easily be transformed into the neck of a bird or the fore part of a snake, but it did not become, for example, a fish, which simply cannot be combined with the half-moon and a one-sided elongation. On the other hand, the whizzer stick with its long, narrow shape became a fish (cf. Chapter XI under III /see p. 381 /), and the cord could be very conveniently wound up on the tail end; the hole for the cord is not therefore, say, in the eyes on the head end. The drawn and incised fish-body becomes a rhombus, the mereschu design dominates the entire art of drawing, and a Waurá woman even scratches it in the gourd-pot, but it does not occur to anyone to depict a

/293 cont./

171 mereschu as a pot! Why? The mereschu won in the struggle
532 for existence among the incised designs because it was easiest
825 to incise a figure characterized by sharp and readily scratched-out corners; it was easy to make and still retained the likeness. Likewise the uluri. Occasionally, cf. Pot 5 /see p. 328/, a rhombus-shaped pot was produced, but it belongs in the developmental series of bat forms, while for the fish the more natural oval outline can assert itself here, where other animals also have it, cf. 23 and 24 /see p. 329/.

A law is clearly expressed in this. It is not symbolic subtlety that directs the artistic impulse. Neither in small things nor in large. The woman artist neither shies away from making a toad-pot because the toad is an unappetizing animal, /294/ nor does she choose the bat because this creature also occurs in the mythology of the Indians. In view of the role played by the animal in the mental life of the Indian, animal motifs suggest themselves as a matter of course. The choice, however, may be prompted first of all by the nature or activity of the animal: the shell of the turtle corresponds to the pot, the digger wasp decorates the mandioca digging stick; the aguti with its handsome fur, the comb; the picture of the hissing snake, the whizzer stick; that of the whistling monkey, the flute. Then, however, as soon as artistic activity is practiced with sufficient vigor, the form and size and color of the object also have a decisive effect, so that the animal that is most appropriate for them is chosen for reproduction. The artist need not be aware of this at all; it comes by itself if attempts in another direction turn out unsatisfactorily. This phenomenon manifests itself most of all in the reproduction of birds: we saw only a small bird painted on a back-stick, whereas the plastic birds -- carved, molded out of wax, or in the form of maize-straw dolls -- were extremely numerous. It was easier for the Indians to form characteristically the outlines of the head, beak, and tail, as well as the proportions, in plastic form than in drawing.

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*171 531 532 825 In conclusion I shall list the animal motifs observed by us and shall add in what form they occur. F means plaited work, M maize bird, S carving, T pots, W wax, Z drawing, incising, or painting.

Mammals: Monkey (macaque) Z, S; (howling monkey) W. Bat (several species) Z, T. Jaguar Z, S. Irara marten T. Squirrel T. Agutí S. Capybara (teeth) F. Porcupine Z. Sloth T. Armadillo (giant armadillo, small species) T. Little anteater T. Swamp deer /Odocoileus dichotomus/ W. Roe deer F, T. Peccary W.

Birds: King vulture (red urubu) S. White urubu S. Harpy M. Falcon, sparrow hawk M, S, T. Owl T. Songbirds S. Swallow F, Z. Dove S, T, W. Partridge T. Wood hen T. Massarico S. Giant stork M, S. Tujujú stork M, S. Spoonbill S. Snake bird M.

Creeping animals and amphibians: Turtles (trakayá, jabutí, kágado) T, Z. Cayman Z. Iguana (also loam figure) T. Lizards (several species) T, Z. Snake (several species) S, Z. Toad F, T.

Fish: Armored sheatfish Z. Kuomi Z. Kurimatá Z. Lagoon fish T, Z. Matrincham Z. Mereschu Z. Nuki Z. Pakú Z. Piava D. Pintado sheatfish Z. Ray (two species) Z, S. Unidentified S, Z. Bones F, Z.

Insects and lower animals: Grasshopper Z. Digger wasp S. Tokandira ant Z. Tick T. Crayfish S, T. Asellus T.

All kinds of new motifs are added in the masks.

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Chapter XI.

Mask Ornamentation and Dance Ornaments.

Preliminary remarks. I. Masks. Dancing and singing. "Idols"? Feasts and invitations. Participation of the women. Types of mummery. Bakaïrí dances (makanári) and masks. Nahuquá (fish-net dance). Mehinakú (cayman dance). Auetö (koahálu dance, yakuíkatú dance). Kamayurá (hüvát dance). Trumaí. II. Common origin of the masks and the mereschu design. The

/298 cont./

*171 535 562 finally, that there was not the slightest trace of any secrets and mysteries or of any special relationship of the medicine men to the dances which were supposed to be kept secret from the women.

*171 345 562 It is also for protection against feminine curiosity that the entrances of the flute houses on the Kulisehu are made so low that one can enter only in a very stooped position or even must slide in on the knees. I do not know to what extent the prohibition for the women is carried out in practice in everyday life, but we did not obtain permission to measure them in the flute house, and certainly it was said "the women would be killed if they went into the flute house" -- a rather crude variant of "mulier taceat in ecclesia" /the woman is to be silent in church/. [797] That the custom was still taken seriously among the docile Bakaïrí some 30 or 40 years ago is best illustrated by an experience which, according to the story of an old Brazilian, the priests who brought Christianity were obliged to undergo. They found nothing more natural than to assemble the new congregation in the flute house which was so well suited for church purposes because it was uninhabited. /299/ The men came willingly enough, but the women remained outside and were persuaded only with great difficulty to risk physical danger for the sake of the salvation of their souls.

*171 535 Among all the tribes the body is partially or completely covered with aprons or cloaks for the masked dances. Leaf strips of buriti straw or dry grass blades about a meter long were strung on a cord to make a wide apron and were wound around the neck several times so that they hung down from the shoulders, or around the /Fig. 90 appears here/ hips so that they reached to the ankles, or combined in both forms. The chief difference [825] is in the ornament for the head. Common to all is the connection with animals. Here we may distinguish:

1. Imitations of animals are put on. Bakaïrí.

2. Straw caps with long fiber hangings, in part bearing attributes of the animal. Bakaïrí.

3. Fish net in front of the face. Nahuquá.

4. Straw lattice in the fashion of the sieve-filter, in an oval hoop. Without facial parts. Bakaïrí, Nahuquá. Facial parts of wax. Auetö.

/300 cont./

535 539 káuayú, mauákauayú hohohú. aluá...aluhá, aluá miyevené yanávitá hö...ohohohú. ihöhö... hohú, he..hirámiturí hohó, yukévené yohó hohohohú. Now all in circular motion: ohú namiturí ohú namituhurí ohoyócho yóchu hohuhó. ayarívénení kayarílö ohó namiturí ohú namituhurú ohó oyochó yochu. Now out on the plaza: yochó huyócho huyóchó huyóchohú huyócho. makavó makavó yuuávitirá inávitáhané, iná yochohuyócho..... Finally, turning around: aschimámayú ohuhohú ayavarikú hohuhoo, eveschírini mahúraní hoo, aschimámayú ohohu.....

535 533 was impossible for me to obtain a translation or even an explanation of the content. He said that he himself no longer understands the old words. I believe there was some truth in this, and that he was not merely, in his awkwardness, handing me an excuse, because even aluá itself is not a Bakaïrí or Karaiben /Carib/ word at all, but a Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ word. (See also the footnote, page 24.) Perhaps the text is also in part old Aruak -- no longer understood /301/ after it had been sung together at joint festivals and was taken over and mixed with Bakaïrí words.

535 The imeo makanari is common to all Bakaïrí. On the Kulisehu imóto, imódo, is added as a related figure. Imeo is a [825] white animal that lives in the dried-up buriti palm -- as far as I understood, the larva of a palm-boring beetle; imodo, a related creature, reddish with a black head. A strange selection, somewhat reminiscent of the Midsummer Night's Dream. It [824] is explained, however, if one remembers that the material for the dance costumes is furnished primarily by the buriti palm, which that insect inhabits. And this may be a tasty morsel besides. /Fig. 91 appears here./ Other animals also appear in this makanari, especially the bat and the pintado sheatfish, Fig. 91 /see p. 347/. The latter mask is easy to understand. A costume plaited out of coarse, hard grass covers the body, but the wearer can look through the plaiting without difficulty, and a long piece

/302 cont./

535 little piece of an ear of maize together with testicles of plaiting.
[831] Inevitably we feel forced to assume that a human individual is being presented to us. This is not necessarily the case, however, for,
[825] conversely, it seems self-evident to the Indian that the animal portrayed appears and acts with all human characteristics, and he

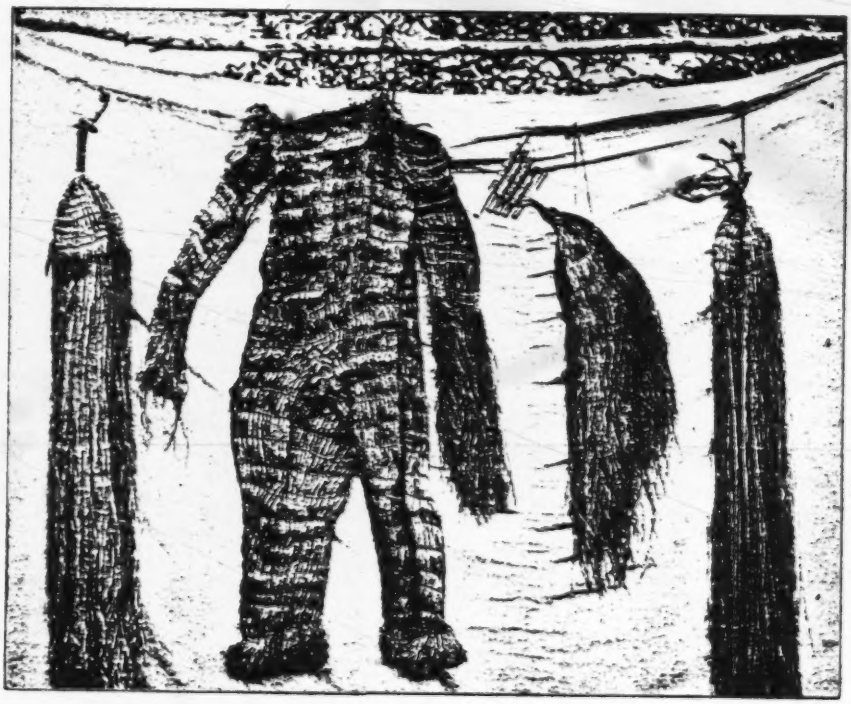

Fig. 92. Makanari of the Bakairi.
Imeo. Imeo. Enoschiburo. imeo.

also gives the face masks of his animals human features.

The dance on the Batovy, the ornamental attire for which we found in 1884 in the flute house of the second Bakairi village, is called imiga. (Cf. Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, (p. 170 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 51/.) There were painted gourds, with feathers pasted on and open at the bottom, with carved birds looking out, the stuffed skin of a campo fox and an otter, a

/303 cont./

532 part projects with considerable curvature. They also have a huge
535 nose of human shape, which, along with the rest, is carved out
[237] of one piece. The mouth consists of a set of piranha teeth pasted on with wax. The eyes are small holes decorated with little pieces of mother-of-pearl, or they appear in two masks as a pair of river mussels pierced in the center. Hoods, from which, as always, long straw hangings flutter down, are plaited on the wooden
[237] plates for putting them on the head. In the places corresponding
[619] to the ears, the Bakaïrí were in the habit of inserting two beautiful yellow japú feathers (Cassicus), which they themselves wear as a sort of tribal mark. These feathers are also to be noted on the costume of the man with the imeo cap (cf. page 344).

532 Six of the masks were identified for us as bird masks. We
535 have, first of all, a mask, Fig. 94 /see p. 351/, which represents
825 a dove, papadüri, secondly a /304/ /Figs. 94-97 appear here/ /305/ gull mask, kakaya, see Fig. 44, page 289, thirdly the mask of a small bird unknown to us, which is said to live along lagoons and is called alapübe, Fig. 95, fourthly the arakuma mask, which represents a cock of the woods and is characterized by a wooden stem representing the head ornament of the animal, Fig. 96, and, finally, two tüwetüwe masks, one with a black indented decoration, the other with a red one, which refer to a songbird with a white head and red shoulder markings, Fig. 97. Of the bird masks described, only the gull mask (cf. the illustration on page 289) has the mereschu decoration, and it may doubtless be assumed that this is supposed to characterize the fish-catching water bird, since the mereschu is not shown in the net but separately.

The two most attractive masks were called yakuá-ikúto, that is, "piranha picture." They bear red cheek markings; on the one specimen we see two red triangles with the tips touching between nose and mouth, and the triangles are so large that each takes up one-fourth of the plate. (Cf. Fig. 12, p. 168.) By means of this painting the larger piranha species of those waters, the papo amarello (yellow throat) of the Brazilians, adorned with a brilliant orange, is reproduced. The eyes are pierced shells. The

[Text Continues on p. 352]

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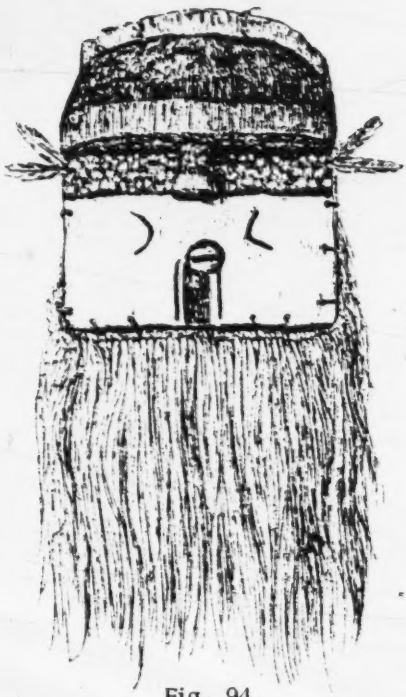

Fig. 94.
Papadüri dove. Bakaïrí. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

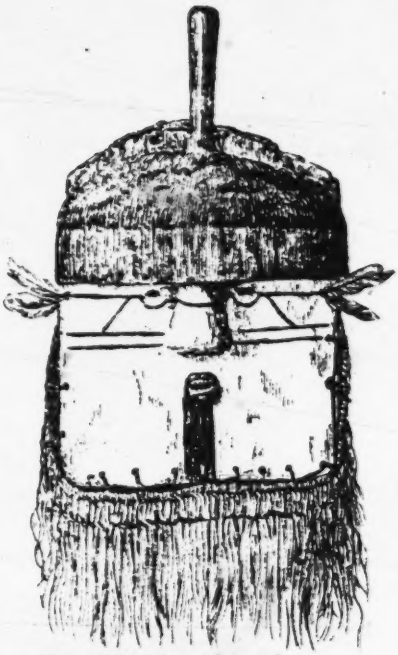

Fig. 96. Wood cock. Bakaïrí. (1/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

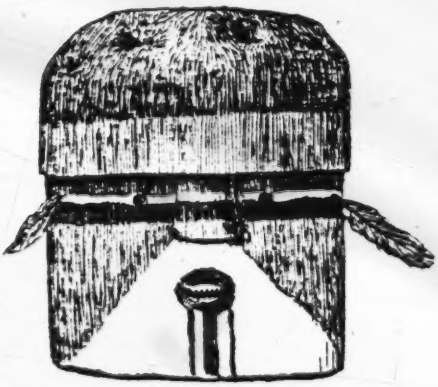

Fig. 95.
Alapübe bird. Bakaïrí. (1/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

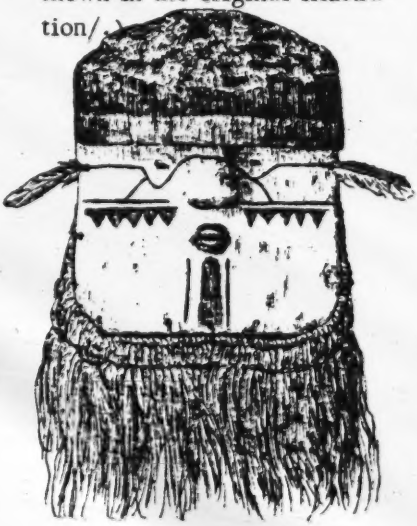

Fig. 97. Tüwetüwe bird. Bakaïrí. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

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532 The handsomest decoration of these two masks, however, are the
535 enormous arara feathers inserted in the elongated nasal septum
●825 and projecting far to the right and left. They are inserted into
237 a little bamboo rod decorated with tassels. Thus the Indians are so far from feeling obliged to give the animal represented its zoological physiognomy that they even pierce its nasal septum and adorn it with feathers, in accordance with their own custom.

535 We came across three fantastic dance costumes in the flute house of the third Bakaïrí village. Only one, however, was still in good condition. It was called kualóhe and looked like a small hut. This straw costume was truly a small house, and hence it is probably on account of the straw covering that the Bakaïrí call their dance costumes, including the buriti doublet provided with trouser legs and sleeves, "houses." The straw hoods were also called "head houses." The expression, however, when the word was transferred to our woolen shirts and cloth trousers, became incomprehensible. The monster was much too heavy for us to take along, it was almost ten meters in circumference at the bottom. It was constructed like a huge crinoline with five cross-hoops heavily covered with straw, but was worn on the shoulder with two bast loops attached to the upper ring. One of the Indians obliged us by crawling into it; he put on the tüwetüwe mask and went into twisting and rocking movements. The hollow tree lying in front of the festival hut was beaten as an accompaniment to the kualóhe. "It is not a makanari," the Bakaïrí say. I do not know whether they meant that it was of foreign origin. Also, I am un-
[136] able to decide whether there is a connection between this dance and the kurimatá fish (Salmo curimata), which in Bakaïrí /306/
[532] is called koálu. At any rate, the tüwetüwe mask, which the native dancing before us put on, does not go with it, but rather a kuábi sieve-mat. A sieve-mat consisting of little reed rods plaited together was provided with feather ornaments and worn in front of the face. This rush mask, or kuabi, however, lay in shreds on the ground.

/320 cont./

*171 532 535 How should we picture to ourselves the developmental history of the masks? Let us take as a starting point the straw hoods of the Bakairí and their pintado mask, page 346. This masquerade was already a great advance as compared to their dressing up in an animal skin and hangings of strips of straw. The people plaited animals for themselves, put some on their heads and crawled into others. From the products of the drawing art and from the plaited figures we know how little they need for characterization. They drew a piece of vine through the upper part of the costume; that was the barbels and sufficed for a demonstration of a pintado fish. They do not find it necessary to carry the imitation further; even today they do not need a pintado face-mask. The Indians enhanced the effect of their straw hoods, however, by putting wax eyes, nose, and mouth on them and plaiting in a hoop that outlined the oval of a face. This mask was more decorative than imitative; it developed from the straw lattice to the fiber plaiting that could have loam put on it and be painted; it was provided with the fish design or the markings of an animal, or an animal was painted on.

*171 535 532 825 [527] It is very natural that fish should play the chief role, since they were caught in masses on their expeditions and thus furnished the opportunity for a general festival. The yakuí dance, the dance of the small schakú chickens, may also be associated with more abundant hunting booty. "All the larger species maintain themselves individually, the smaller ones usually gather in large flocks which may grow to a hundred or more individuals." (Brehm's Tierleben /Animal Life/, Vögel /Birds/ II, page 628). Thus we are not surprised that we hear nothing about the jaguar or the tapir or other game mammals that appear in the Tekuna masks: these furnished only occasional booty, whereas it was precisely quantity that offered the occasion for a banquet to be celebrated with many neighbors.

*171 532 535 /321/ If one recalls, however, how the Nahuquá covered the head with a fish net for their eremo dance and demonstrated by their pantomime the herding together of fish by a band of people, one will not reject the thought that the oval woven mask has more

/322 cont./

*171 531 ● 825 Nowadays the design has become purely ornamental. There is no direct, inherent connection between the mandioca digging sticks and the little lagoon fish. But one thing will have to be admitted. The significance of the little fish grew far beyond what it was originally because it recalled happy days of festivity; all industry having to do with drinking, feasting, and adornment seized upon it. Thus, there is good reason why the large gourds and calabashes in which the pogu is served, the beijũ turners with which the hospitable cakes are tirelessly turned on such days, the gourd vessels in which the gorgeous feathers were kept, the rattle-gourds waved for the dance, the spindle whorls with which the thread for the woven masks was spun, why all these and similar things were decorated with the mereschu fish. The origin of ornamentation lies in a motivated feeling, and it is only when its manifestations have become numerous and trivial that no one sees anything but figure and color. The favorite pictures of our people appear after all on colored handkerchiefs. The mereschu design was able to spread from tribe to tribe and became established everywhere just because it grew out of the festival dances in which all the tribes joined.

/323/ Yet it should not be forgotten that the Indian even today remains aware of the concrete original. The Bakaĩrí does [532] [535] not put a mereschu fish on his masks, with the exception of the gull mask, Figure 44, and the fish makanari, Figure 93, and among other tribes too -- see the wax masks of the Auetõ and the black, white, and red masks of the Trumaí -- there are distinct differences which I am unable to define more specifically. In the beginning, the fish was not appropriate in all the cases where today the rhombus has already crept in or will creep in soon.

*171 53 One must now ask the question: if the woven masks and the mereschu design go back to the fish net, are there any facts for determining which tribe was the inventor? The mereschu fish was designated to me as a "lagoon fish" (we ate it among the Yaulapiti), but it occurs everywhere in our area, even in the [226] Paranatinga. Fishing with nets is also practiced by all tribes.

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171 754 756 The medicine men are differentiated as good and bad. According to Antonio, there are "few among the Bakaïrí and Auetö, more among the Nahuquá, many among the Mehinakú, and too many among the Kamayurá." There were none living on the Paranatinga at the time. Anyone can become one, but it is very [262] [785] difficult. "One must learn a great deal." One is supposed to drink only starchy broth for four months, enjoy no salt and eat no

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* This fasting is also very good if one wants to excel in the art of shooting fish, and in this case it is sufficient if one does not eat anything but starch-paste for a month. Antonio did this and was very satisfied with the result.

meat, fish, or fruits; one is not supposed to sleep but to drum ceaselessly on the skull with the fists so that the swollen eyes are very painful in the morning, bathe a great deal, scratch arm and chest bloody, etc. Antonio wanted to study medicine, but was afraid of this difficult internship; Felipe made a good start in the same endeavor, but did not succeed, because he had no teacher. *171 754 The chief art of the accomplished master of sorcery is exhibited in the use of poisons. With these he kills others and he even kills himself in order to be able to change himself into another shape. We are to become acquainted here with a conception of death which takes some getting used to, but which is in direct agreement with the life of the shadow during sleep.

[628] Let us hear first how sickness and death come into the world, in spite of the good medicine-man of one's own village, who with all his might combats the evil one from the foreign village. ● [825] [824] The evil one is a bad person whom no one likes because he kills instead of healing, he mixes the poison from wasps, from the tocandyra ant, and from other such animals with oil and resin from the alsmesca and pindahyba in a calabash. From the man whom he wishes to harm he obtains either hair, by stepping on it when it is being cut or even cutting it himself when the man is asleep, or a bit of blood by tossing a finely pointed twig of jatobá, pindahyba, or pau de olho in his direction and then picking

/351 cont./

772 ways of life, to which the Indian is limited, can at best merely indicate to man the position of primus inter pares. To be sure, the animal does not have bow and arrow and maize pestle, but that is the chief difference in the eyes of the Indian, and that is why the men arose from arrows, the women from maize pestles, but it does have, like man, important tools, for example, such as teeth and claws, which, indeed, he takes away from it.

825 Moreover, the Indian lacks our division into species, insofar as the one does not interbreed with another. This distinction, which /352/ experience certainly makes easily recognizable, is again completely obliterated because the barrier based on our anatomical knowledge falls away. Let us consider for a moment what our popular belief is capable of concerning this error; here one is confronted with a genuine mouse-skin, a genuine dog-foot, etc. If the Indian can explain something by the crossing of different species of animals or by that of animal and man, nothing prevents him from asserting it; on the contrary, he will see proof of it and merely conclude that such things no longer happen now because they are no longer necessary. Today, our learned men say, there is no longer generatio aequivoca, but at one time it surely occurred. The difference is all the more obliterated since the native is obliged to use the convenient explanatory principle of transformation in the widest latitude. Finally, he does not concern himself further about reproduction within the species, since the child is nothing but the father; the species or the tribe is like a single individual, which always appears under the same name; various subspecies, for example, the jaguar cats, large and small and differing in color, are brothers. Each of these "jaguars," however, appear by name, "campo fox," "deer," "ant bear" -- in all kinds of stories and no one asks whether it is, say, campo fox "V" or campo fox "XXIII." It is also precisely the same for the human forefathers in the ancestor legends; the women are usually taken as given, and the fellow tribesmen who accompany them always are.

772 I repeat, we are justified in using the expression "anthropo-
811 morphize" only as a schema, and it becomes false if one tries to

/353 cont./

772 first as the main point. Or would we who lack it and who may also
811 experience confusion ever believe our geographers and historians if they said that the Finns were a nation of tapeworms?

But if the essential distinction is absent, then the matter is
772 entirely different. Then there is nothing to prevent the campo-
773 fox, the nocturnal predator who has fire in his eyes glowing in the
811 dark, from giving this fire to human beings by striking it out of his eyes. Or, to take a common variant of the ancestor legend, there is nothing to prevent the jaguar from being the ancestor of a cannibalistic tribe; for it is always emphatically reported that this tribal ancestor "jaguar" killed and devoured the ancestors of the local tribe, Bakaïrí or Paressí. I can state most emphatically that my informant was firmly convinced that the evil ancestor in question in the legend was a jaguar and was not merely called that, although he shot with arrows. To say that the earlier time in which the legend originated only symbolized and the descendants confused names and things is a convenient supposition, but an unreliable one, for in that case the entire tradition would consist of nothing but confusions. The earlier generation had the same basic view as the present one. It explained the cannibalistic custom of the neighboring tribe by descent from the jaguar for whom it is characteristic to devour human beings. They did not know the tribal ancestor, because he cannot be known by any tribe, although he always must have been present. Since the essential distinction between man and animal is lacking, they had no difficulty in concluding that, because these people always devoured human beings, our own forefathers, the tribal ancestor was therefore a jaguar, and their causal requirement was satisfied -- which was much more essential than the possible objection that today the son of a jaguar is always a jaguar and that today, after all, no jaguar shoots with bow and arrow as, of course, the ancestors of the hostile tribe did.

773 /354/ We understand that the Indian presents animals as though
811 they were persons when he reports their conversations, for one
825 knows that animals call to each other and communicate in loving or threatening tones, but to furnish animals with cultural products and implements seems to us to exceed the limit of what is permissible. In fact, according to the Indian ancestral legends, man

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773 is supposed to have acquired from the animals all kinds of goods
811 that he possesses. The most diverse animals were "masters" or
825 "owners" of them and the culture hero took them from them. The master of medicinal tobacco and of cotton was the kinkajou, Cercoleptes caudivolvulus; the master of ordinary smoking tobacco, the electric eel; the master of the mandioca, the bagadú fish Phractocephalus; the master of sleep and the buriti hammock, the lizard; the master of the pots filled with water, from which, after they were broken, flowed the Ronuro and the Paranatinga, the ochobi river-snake; master of the sun, the king vulture, Sarcoramphus papa, and so on. How is such nonsense possible? All this, of course, is meant symbolically, says the wearer of the spectacles of civilization, and thus regards the question as answered. I can only laugh heartily when I think of the Indian hunters or fishermen, adhering to their view, as dealing with symbolic animals like the poets, painters, and, not to forget the lower spirits, the patentees of our civilized world inventing their trade-mark -- none of whom maintain close personal acquaintance with the originals of their symbolic animals.

773 No, Antonio and his fellow tribesmen would not have under-
811 stood our type of symbols, let alone discovered some themselves. I do not deny that I was sometimes dumbfounded during our conversation when I was confronted with the simple-hearted belief in the reality of the "fairy-tale" animals and their culture in all its originality, but I was also so thoroughly convinced of its genuineness that I feel duty-bound to reject any explanation that does not fully acknowledge it. I also think the matter is simple enough to understand. The Indian has, in truth, obtained the most important parts of his culture from the persons whom we call animals,
[237] and even today he must take them away from them. Teeth, bones, claws, shells are his tools, without which he would be un-
[825] able to make weapon or house or implement. He owes whatever he can accomplish to the piranha, the dogfish, the monkey, the capybara, the agutí, the giant armadillo, the mollusks, and the legend reports nothing about any of them because every child knows that these animals, the hunting of which is the most important prerequisite for those accomplishments, furnish the most

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Nimagakaniro and Ichoge. Ichoge contains ipó, pikí (= iχó-ge, with pikí). Tawagüri, too, is the name of a tree, from which the two lazy women were made, the Portuguese olho de boi, oxeye. Koyaka (= koyá-ke, with koyá?) came from a tree with rough bark and yellow fruit. Antonio did not know anything more specific about Atanumagale's tree-origin. She and Koyaka likewise became the wives and mothers of jaguars, although this (K. 36) is put down as uncertain. Atanumagale was later designated as the wife of Kuára, the son of Mero.

was not yet any mandioca at that time" -- and were making beijús and drinks. Kamuschini gave the two oldest ones, Nimagakaniro and Ichoge, to the jaguar Oka, and he led them home. On the way, however, Ichoge came to grief; she climbed up a buriti palm to fetch herself some nuts and fell down.

Nimagakaniro swallowed two Bakaïrí finger-bones, of which there were many in the house because Oka needed them for his arrow points and killed many Bakaïrí, whose flesh he ate. The woman became pregnant from the finger bones, and from these only, not from Oka. Now, however, her fate was approaching in the shape of her mother-in-law, Mero, whose husband is unknown and who, besides Oka (the large onça pintada, the spotted jaguar), had two more jaguar sons, Kuára (the "canguçú" variety of the Brazilian) and Zaupányua (a "red-colored" species). Mero came for a visit while Oka was hunting; "she did not want him to have sons by a Bakaïrí," for she hated and devoured the Bakaïrí. She tore Nimagakaniro's eyes out with her claws and departed. Nimagakaniro died, but the uncle, Kuára -- a jaguar who in heaven performs a Caesarean section on a dead woman! -- cut open her belly, took out the twins Keri and Kame, and put them in a calabash like young parrots. Then he and his people cut Nimagakaniro into bits, roasted and ate her, and served

[825]

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539 the rest to the /374/ returning Oka, who unwittingly ate it. Furiously angry when he learned what had happened, he ran to kill Mero, but desisted because she said: "I am your mother." The jaguar foster-father reared Keri and Kame; he let them ride on his back and taught them to shoot with arrows. Now, however, they asked him about their mother; he had been silent about her death because he was ashamed of having eaten her flesh and now, too, gave no information. The grandmother, however, or Aunt Ewaki, who belonged to the family of the Bakaïrí and is named here for the first time, reported Mero's crime. Keri and Kame went out and killed Mero, although she received them with the friendly greeting, "oh my grandsons."

"Mero safada, the cursed Mero" (Antonio hated her from the bottom of his heart) "was not buried, oh no, she was burned." Keri and Kame gathered faggots and lighted a fire; then they dug a hole in order to watch. Mero burned bopopopo. . . . One can see the fire to this day in the large Magellanic Cloud. At that time Keri and Kame did not yet have human form. Kame inquisitively crawled out of his hole and caught fire. He burned up, died. Keri blew upon him and made him nose and hands and feet, such as human beings have. But Keri, too, caught fire (the small Magellanic Cloud is the fire of Keri and Kame), burned up, died, was blown to life by Kame and given human shape. Then came three kinds of animals, which can also be seen in the sky, the small fish otter who took her tail from Keri and Kame, the large one (ariranha) who took hands and feet from them, and the toucan who took his beak from them. Keri had had a larger beak than Kame.

Only now do the two have a human appearance, and they soon start their activity for the benefit of those living today. How did Kamuschini, Mero, and Oka look? "Oka is the spotted jaguar, isn't he?" "Yes." "And he shot with arrows?" "Yes, at that time the jaguar shot with arrows." "He shot the Bakaïrí and de-
•[825] voured them." Mero had "something of the joho" (Crypturus noctivagus) "and makuku" (Tinamus brasiliensis), two wood hens.

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539 house of the lizard, seized her, and pulled out her eyelid. They took a large piece for themselves, and the lizard was very angry. Now they had eyelids and could sleep.

Heaven and earth interchanged. At that time it also came to pass that Keri left heaven. "At first the earth was heaven; no Bakaïrí were born here where we are now. Heaven had a ground on which everything looked the same as here on earth. Heaven and earth were very close to each other; one could go over to the earth." Keri said to heaven: "You shall not stay here. My people die here. And you want to stay here? You are good! But I don't want my people to die." Heaven replied: "I want to stay here." Whereupon Keri said: "Then I'll change." He with all his people went to the earth and heaven rose up high where it now is, and where to this day one can see that everything happened as the Bakaïrí tell it.

/377/ Fire. Keri and Kame went to Ewaki and she ordered them to fetch fire. The campo fox was the lord of fire. He had it in his eyes and struck it out when he wanted to kindle wood. [825] The campo fox (Canis vetulus "catches crayfish and crabs," Brehm, Säugetiere /Mammals/ II, page 57) had set up a weir basket in order to catch fish. Keri and Kame went to the weir basket; in it they found a jejum fish and a caramujo snail. Keri went into the jejum (a smooth, span-long lagoon fish) and Kame went into the shell. "Both were well hidden in them." The campo fox came along singing and made a fire. Then he looked to see what was in the weir basket, fetched the fish and the snail, and laid them in the fire in order to roast them. But the two poured water in the fire. Angrily the campo fox seized the snail, but it jumped into the river and fetched more water and poured it into the fire until the latter was almost completely extinguished. The campo fox seized it again and wanted to beat it to pieces on a piece of wood, but the snail slipped away from him and fell on the other side. That was too much for the campo fox; he angrily ran away. Keri and Kame, however, blew up the fire and took it to Ewaki.

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539 This brings us to the end of the activities of Keri and Kame insofar as the principal legend reports it. They left the Bakaïrí an abundance of matrinchama, climbed a hill, from which they called down once more to the Bakaïrí, who answered them animatedly, and "went forth on their way. No one knows where they went. The ancestors did not know where they went. Today one knows less than ever where they are."

Even though the legend ends in such a melancholy way, however, the people had their own ideas. Tumehi -- not to forget this old bat -- went away with Keri. What happened to Kame? "He was always together with Keri. Perhaps he is dead now." And Keri? Caetano, the grand old man, who knew how to adjust to the new conditions extremely well, said that Keri was the Imperador /emperor/ in Rio de Janeiro, Emperor Pedro Segundo. The good [124] Bakaïrí patiently answered all my innumerable questions because I had told them I needed to know everything in order to report it to the Imperador. That meant a great deal to them. I made the objection, "what if the Imperador in Rio de Janeiro dies?" "If the Imperador dies," ran the answer, the correctness of which, however, must unfortunately be refuted, "then all the Bakaïrí will die also."

Chief Felipe told me something else. "Keri went to the Ronuro and Kulisehu with a hundred men. He traveled downstream to the sea. That is what the people on the Batovy say too."

Antonio adhered to the text of the legend as he had learned it from his mother. But in another connection he said that Keri lives in heaven, his house is there where the sun rises. "Then is Keri 'God' (Deus), about whom the Portuguese have told you?" "No, that is another, about whom we know nothing. Keri is the grandfather of the Bakaïrí."

539 825 Tobacco and cotton. Besides the coherent legends, the contents of which I have told thus far, other achievements of Keri were occasionally mentioned. For example, he took from the sawari the tobacco with which people are cured. Sawari did not want to give it up; he said it was very good tobacco. Keri, however, took the seed away and gave it to the Bakaïrí. If one makes

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539 a cigar out of this tobacco and blows on people, they die; /381/
825 but if other people then come and blow on the dead one, he will come to life again and go his way. Cotton, too, and the hammock woven from it come from the sawari. Where the sawari obtained the tobacco and the cotton hammock is not known. It is very rare and lives gregariously downstream on the Paranatinga. It is an animal of the campo cerrado, is somewhat smaller and has a slightly more pointed snout than the irara (Galictis, marten-like, cf. Brehm, Säugetiere /Mammals/ I, page 614) related to it; it climbs and sleeps during the day in tree holes; there are some that are more black, and some that are more white. The description exactly fits the kinkajou, Cercoleptes caudivolvulus, which in its entire build is extraordinarily like the irara, although it is not related to it (cf. the illustration in Brehm, Säugetiere II, page 287, with that of the irara at the place cited). Among the Makuschí /Macusi/, who are closely related to the Bakaïrí linguistically, the kinkajou is called yawari.* According to

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* Schomburgk, Rich. Versuch einer Fauna und Flora von Britisch-Güiana /Attempt at a Flora and Fauna of British Guiana/, Leipzig, 1848, Vol. II, p. 435: "Von Tschudi gives it geographical distribution up to 10° south latitude. The colonists call it yamanack, the Arawaaks wawula, the Macusis yawali, the Warraus uvari."

Brehm, "we know that the kinkajou is widely distributed. It occurs throughout northern Brazil, in Peru, and northward as far as Mexico, in fact, even in southern Louisiana and Florida."

Sawari also had the tobacco that one smokes. The Bakaïrí, however, had obtained this from the karaaõto = "master of the fish," a large fish found in the Kulisehu, but not in the Paranatinga. Antonio had also seen it in the Kulisehu, "but not very well."

[262] I myself ate it in Maigéri, where Tumayaua gave me a piece of karaaõto; it was very oily. According to the description, it is an electric eel, but I cannot give the meaning as wholly certain.

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The karasoto from whom the Bakaïrí obtained smoking tobacco lived in the "tobacco river." "He had received the tobacco, no one knows where, but he gave some to the Bakaïrí when they visited him in his house." It is probably obvious that the animals were used as geographical indications. Tribal names were "sound and smoke," the animals always remained comprehensible.

Mandioca; deer antlers. Keri obtained mandioca from the campo deer or Portuguese veado (Cervus simplicicornis). Before that, however, we must find out how the deer itself came to possess mandioca. It belonged to the bagadú fish (Phractocephalus, cf. the illustration in Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, p. 221 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 110/), also called pirarara, an oily fish which we often caught but did not relish particularly. The bagadú (kλáto) lived in the "beijú river." "Perhaps," Antonio added of his own accord and thus for the first time put me on the track of the "geographical" animals, "it was a branch of the Ronuro, for there are bagadú there, there are none in the Paranatinga." "The beijú river was in the east." How the deer obtained mandioca from the bagadú is told as follows.

/382/ The deer was thirsty and looked for water. Then it found the bagadú (in a side branch of the river where it had gone at high water and now, with low water, could no longer get out). The bagadú lay high and dry and gasped for air. Then it said to the deer: "Carry me! Plait a bast loop in order to carry me." After the deer had plaited one out of embira, it stowed the bagadú on its back and brought it to the slope of the beijú river. "Here I should like to rest," it said. (The deer was afraid to go down to the bottom of the river.) But the bagadú did not feel like it. Thus they talked and walked down the slope. At the bottom they leaped into the water. The deer enjoyed itself in the waves. So the bagadú took the deer along to its dwelling. When they arrived the deer drank pogu. It also ate beijú. (Both were refreshments as yet unknown to it.) The bagadú took the deer along to the mandioca planting. it ran along behind. When they saw the mandioca, they broke off branches and tied three together. Then

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539 825 they went home. "Tomorrow I shall go," said the deer and slept that night in the house of the bagadú. The next morning the bagadú said: "Take the mandioca branches along. Fell trees and then plant them." "If they are well planted, you will soon have mandioca," it declared. "Farewell!" said the bagadú to the deer. It climbed out of the water. "Now then, go!" "I am going back home," it said. But it put down the branches together in a heap on the bank; it could not manage alone and did not reach its dwelling until late in the evening. Soon it returned to the place with its son and the two carried the branches home. They rested for a while, then they cut wood in the campo. (A great folly in the eyes of the Bakaírí, over which they laughed heartily.) But the mandioca does not flourish in the campo. They therefore then felled trees in the forest. They built a fire, burned the wood off, and planted.

Now the deer was master of the mandioca. Keri met it and wanted to have some. Up to that time Keri's beijú had consisted of the red earth found at the salto of the Paranatinga. But while the two were talking about it, they began to quarrel. The deer did not want to give up the mandioca. Then Keri grew angry, seized the deer by its neck, and blew; suddenly it had its antlers. But Keri laughed and called out, "That is how the master of the mandioca looks," took the mandioca along, and presented it to the women of the Bakaírí and showed them, as he had learned from the deer, what they had to do so that they would not die of the poison. "But now the deer has its antlers, eats leaves, and gnaws the bark off the twigs."

The deer was thus the first, because it eats leaves and bark, to be credited with the ability to remove the poison from the mandioca. Antonio was firmly convinced that the deer was perfectly familiar with the treatment of mandioca and showed it to Keri. It was from Keri that the Bakaírí women learned it.

/383/ The ugly ostrich. The South American ostrich or nandu (Rhea) of the zoologists is called ema in Brazil, and another bird, the seriema, sariema of the Brazilians, is regarded as its relative because it, too, hurries across the campo at a fast run, though the zoologists classify it as Dicholophus cristatus

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539 in order of the cranes, under the family name of snake-storks.
825 Cf. the illustration in Brehm, Vögel /Birds/ II, page 686. Here there is also a quotation from Burmeister to the effect that the seriema "runs along faster than a horse can trot, and can be overtaken only at a gallop."

Keri ran a race with the seriema. The seriema stopped for a brief moment. Keri passed her and the seriema fell back. Then he challenged the ostrich. They ran and Keri fell back; the ostrich hurried on. Keri was very angry at the ostrich. He fetched himself leaves of the uakumá palm; he seized the ostrich and punished it. Then the ostrich lost its beautiful feathers; today it has nothing but small, ugly feathers.

Keri and the campo fox out hunting. Keri met the "grandpapa" campo fox and agreed to hunt with him, during which the campo fox, as master of fire, would light the massega grass in a circle. Whatever animals were surrounded were to be burned. Now stupid Kame had just entered a mouse. "Keri did not know anything about it; he thought Kame was outside." The fire stopped, and the two roamed about to see whether they could find booty. Keri did not find a roast. The fox found a charred mouse and ate it up. Then the two met again. "Grandpapa, what kind of roast did you eat?" "I only ate a mouse." Then Keri realizes that the campo fox has swallowed his brother, and he thinks up a strange method of getting him back without having to kill and cut open the campo fox. "Let us race, Grandpapa," said Keri. "All right, my grandson." They raced a long distance. They stood still. When the fox stood still, he vomited. After he had vomited, he quickly ran away. Keri went to the spot where the fox had vomited. He saw the mouse bones and gathered them up. After he had gathered them up, he blew. After he had blown, Kame rose up. "I slept well," he said. "You didn't sleep at all! The campo fox ate you."

The jaguar and the ant bear. This strange story no longer has anything to do with Keri and Kame. Nevertheless it deals with the same contrast of the clever one and the stupid one. The stupid one is the strong jaguar, the clever one the large ant-bear,

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539 tamanduá bandeira (striped) of the Brazilians and Myrmecophaga
825 jubata of the zoologists, which is no match for the other in bodily strength and agility. The relationship of the two animals interests the Brazilian hunters very much; they maintain that the ant bear can cope very well with the jaguar, not out on the campo, to be sure, but in the forest, by standing upright like our bears and embracing the jaguar. At times this struggle is said to cost both of them their lives.

/384/ Our tale is also concerned, however, with the particular circumstance that the jaguar eats only wild game and the ant bear only ants, and it asserts it in a rather drastic manner, applying the schema of the wager to a very unusual case. Aside from this point, the animals act entirely like human beings; they light fire, roast meat, wander about with the back-basket, dance, the ant bear cuts its tonsure (the hair of its head is very short and bristly), in fact, the little ant-bear, Myrmecophaga tetradactyla, which appears at the end, poisons the jaguar with the magic poison of the medicine men that is contained in a calabash. The moral of this tale, which delightfully reflects the humor of the Indian, is that artifice and cunning triumph over physical strength, this most important experience of the hunting life. The jaguar is sometimes called by the general name of the species, utóto, sometimes by the name of the onça pintada, óka, under which we became acquainted with him as Keri's and Kame's foster-father.

The ant bear met the jaguar. Then the ant bear said: "Let us cack, my friend, with eyes closed." They closed their eyes and cacked. While the jaguar had his eyes closed, the ant bear laid Oka's heap under himself. The ant bear laid his own heap under the jaguar. When he had arranged them nicely, the ant bear said: "Let's open our eyes." "Let's look at our heaps," said the ant bear to the jaguar. The ant bear cried out: "I ate meat!" The ant bear said to the jaguar: "You ate termites!" "I don't eat termites!" the jaguar said to the ant bear.

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825

The tapir came to where they had cacked. When the jaguar saw the tapir, he demanded that the ant bear go and kill the tapir. (Now the ant bear had an opportunity to prove his boast that he eats meat.) As ordered, the ant bear followed the trail of the tapir. The ant bear killed -- a tree! Then the jaguar set out to kill the tapir. The jaguar actually killed the tapir. Meanwhile the ant bear, eating termites, had gone on and did not return until the tapir was dead. "Where did the tapir go, my friend?" the jaguar asked the ant bear. "I did not see him," said the ant bear to the jaguar. "Didn't you see him?" said the ant bear to the jaguar and went on: "I do not eat meat, I always eat termites; meat I do not eat." "I killed him," said the jaguar. The jaguar disembowled the tapir and gave the excrement of the tapir to the ant bear (crude revenge, as though to say: "There you also have a meat-eater"). "Light a fire, my friend," said the jaguar. The ant bear lighted a fire. The jaguar set up the roasting rack and roasted the meat.

"I'm thirsty," said the ant bear. "There's no water here!" said the jaguar. "Yes there is," said the ant bear, "there are wild buriti palms over there." The ant bear left; he went far, but he did not find water. /385/ Then he pissed, drank his urine, and washed himself with it too. In his urine he found a little lambaré fish. (The storyteller makes things a bit easier for himself by providing the ant bear with evidence for his assertion.) He went back to the camping place, and when he arrived the jaguar asked: "Did you drink water, my friend?" "I drank," said the ant bear. "Look at the lambaré that I caught!" "I shall go to drink too. Is it far?" "It's a bit far," said the ant bear. The jaguar went to drink water. When the jaguar had already gone far, he called: "Where is the water, where?" "Farther! Farther!"

When the ant bear no longer heard the distant jaguar, he laid the tapir roast in a back-basket and climbed up a jatobá tree. The jaguar came back to the roasting rack; there was no longer any tapir roast. The jaguar followed the scent and saw the ant bear up in the jatobá. "Come, let's eat!" said the jaguar

/385 cont./

539 to the ant bear. The ant bear ate the tapir and -- it was his turn
825 to ridicule the other -- he tossed the tapir bones to the jaguar. The jaguar (who could not climb up the tall, slender trunk of the jatobá and was trying to think how he could get the ant bear down) called the biting ants. The biting ants climbed up the jatobá. But the ant bear blew. Then the biting ants went away again. Now the jaguar called the wind. The wind came to break the tree. He came to the ant bear and uprooted the jatobá. The jatobá crashed. The ant bear fled. To be sure, the jaguar pounced, but he caught only a termite nest sitting on the jatobá.

The jaguar set out and searched. At last he met the ant bear as it was eating termites. The ant bear had shaved himself a tonsure. "You there, my friend, you ate my roast." "Your roast?" said the ant bear, "I didn't eat your roast." "You are the very one who has just eaten up my roast," said the jaguar to the ant bear. "Someone that looks like me ate it. Matawiwe (a small member of the species) is the one who ate your roast," said the ant bear. "Did I look as though I'd eaten it?" asked the ant bear. "You want to deceive me. You shaved yourself a tonsure," said the jaguar.

(It is impossible to decide the case, so the ant bear proposes a competition; the one who wins is right. He felt very secure in this type of "dancing" and at first the jaguar did not feel like going into it.) Then the ant bear said: "Let's dance properly, my friend." "Let us leave dancing alone," said the jaguar. "But all right, let's just dance," said the jaguar. First the jaguar carried the ant bear. Then the ant bear carried the jaguar. Again the jaguar carried the ant bear. (He was able to carry the ant bear oftener than the latter would have given him credit for, and he was on the point of winning.) Then the ant bear tore out the jaguar's eyes and fled. The little pindoreiro bird saw the ant bear run away.

/386/ The agutí (Dasyprocta aguti, a pretty little rodent, "golden hare," very clever at tracing a scent) found the eyes and put them back in the jaguar. When his eyes had been set in,

/386 cont./

539 the jaguar stood up and went in the direction the ant bear had
●825 gone. The ant bear was inside the mountain and was singing. The jaguar went into the house. Singing, the ant bear came along with his back to the door. As he was coming, the jaguar seized him. He ate some of his leg. When he had eaten, he let go and went home. The termites made the ant bear well again. When he had recovered, the ant bear got up.

The little ant-bear (Myrmecophaga tetradactyla) said he would kill the jaguar. "Oh pshaw, you're no giant," the people said to him. "Then take magic poison along," the people told him. The little ant bear did as they said; he took magic poison in a gourd to Oka's house and placed the gourd in front of the door. Oka went out. When he caught sight of the gourd, he said, "That is something nice for me," and opened it. Then Oka became ill. The jaguar died.

/387/

Chapter XIV.

000

On the Question of the Original Home of the Karaiben.

I. Historical Data on the Bakaïrí.

101 In contrast to the East Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ of the Schingú, found first by our expedition of 1884 and 1887, I call the Bakaïrí west of the Paranatinga, long known to the Brazilians, the West
131 Bakaïrí. Today there is one village of them, to which our
[361] Antonio belongs, on the left bank of the Paranatinga, and a second one on the small tributary stream of the Arinos, the Rio Novo, where Reginaldo ruled as chief and where in 1884 we made
[464] our first acquaintance with the tribe. A few individuals, whom one can count on one's fingers, however, are to be found as workers on one fazenda or another in the western source-region of the Paranatinga; there are also supposed to be a few on the Rio Preto in the vicinity of Diamantino, who represent the
131 remains of a former settlement. At any rate, since the Arinos
133 and Paranatinga flow into the Tapajoz /Tapajós/, the West

/421 cont./

171 in the color word for red, nor the word for the white clay in the
192 color word for white. I believe that the dyestuffs are far older
196 than the need for distinguishing them according to their colors.
[193] This is probable for the Bakaïrí because of two points: first, the color adjectives, with the single exception of "red, orange," do not belong to the inventory of the Karaiben base-language; secondly, their construction according to the schema t-stem-éng bears the stamp of a more recent formation.

000 I may doubtless also be permitted to use such a situation to support the earlier argument about the origin of personal color ornamentation (see pp. 172 ff.). No matter how ancient and innate the joy of color may assuredly be, nevertheless the circumstance that a need to distinguish the colors of the dyestuffs with words did not manifest itself until late speaks in favor of the view /422/ that colored ornamentation was not first used on the body for the sake of the colors. Since whatever was worn on the body as trophies or for practical purposes was actually distinguished by varying colors, which must have given pleasure, people quite naturally came to want to use them also for enjoyment, and from this time on the earliest distinctions by means of names for colors began, within these, in turn, the first certainty was gained also for the colors that were fashioned, whereas the need for distinguishing green and blue was satisfied by words which were still vague, such as "parakeet-colored."

171 One more thing must not be forgotten. The Indian does not
192 form general judgments, such as "the trees are green, the sky is
811 blue." Nothing induces him to analyze this view presented to him by the external world; it is of no interest to his person in any activity and is something taken for granted, such as that water is wet. What does interest him in making distinctions according to color is animals and plants. His principal application of the color names acquired is here and it is necessary to find out here how he proceeds with color names in his own usage.

171 With this in mind I looked through the list of animal names
192 in the glossary of Martius, in which some 1300 have been col-
825 lected from the total literature. "Parakeet-colored," cugui, for "blue and green" is used only a single time in the case of a

/422 cont./

171 boa-snake which Martius calls "viridis vel azureus Coluber
192 aestivus L." The ordinary distinctions according to color, the
825 number of which is smaller than one would expect, are black, white, red, and yellow; without placing any importance on absolute accuracy, I count 28 birds, 23 fish, 9 mammals, 4 snakes, and 12 lower animals which are differentiated according to those four colors. But now two more words occur for "colorful" /bunt, "gay-colored, mixed, spotted"/, one of which, pinima, with the verb "to paint" of the same stem, is used for fish, three birds, the jaguar, one snake, one lizard, one crayfish, and the other, paragoa, means simply "parrot" and also furnishes a parrot-fish and a parrot-snake. Pure "green" is always parrot-colored or parakeet-colored; where a "blue" is to be distinguished, the animal is also given the additional word una (burned) = black or dark.

171 It cannot be expressed more clearly that the Indian is in-
192 duced to make a sharp color-distinction only when it is a matter of color qualities familiar to him from the dyestuffs, in other words, that his own experience, not his sense of color, furnishes the material for the sharply defined concepts.

171 The list of plant names by Martius, somewhat over 1000 in
192 number, offers an interesting comparison. Eight plants are given
824 the title black, 7 white, 7 red, 2 yellow. It is obvious that among the plants "green" does not form a distinguishing mark. Yet here, too, we come across on one occasion the cugui or "parakeet-colored," sometimes translated "green," sometimes "blue," and, to be sure, it corresponds to /423/ a specific blue, since it refers to Indigofera anil L. Three plants are "colorful," but "pinima"; the parrot-colorfulness (paragoa) is lacking.

171 The natives could have obtained indigo from the plant just
386 mentioned, but they did not know how. Martius asserts that in the manufacture of indigo the Brazilian industrialists use Indian labor, that it was first introduced by the Portuguese and produces
[192] a not very desirable kind. Genipap-black has a blue tinge and thus corresponds very well to the referring of blue to black in the
[304] color designations. The blue of the tattooing also comes from the black.

/255 cont./

539 775 In the sky the shadow, which had already been changed previously into a Kxadopa or Caprimulgus, reaches its final evalution by transubstantiating into the Yamüra. For an explanation of this word, we need not go beyond the Bacaeri: Yamüra plainly comes from Yamu, "dark," and signifies the dark, gloomy principle.

It is natural to inquire whether the icekiko, that is, the belongings, the "baggage" as I. translated it, which are put with the dead man, /256/ undergo a transformation similar to that of the owner. The texts do not answer categorically, but lead one to understand that this is the case, because the yamüra own canoes, baskets, clubs, which are, however, in no way similar to those used on earth: they are animals. The reader may judge this according to the following passage.

539 825 Anta is the basket of Yamüra; Anta goes about on the back of Yamüra, --Yamüra goes to eat mandioca, to eat squash, to eat gourds, to eat beans; it is not the Anta that eats;--in the basket Yamüra gathers squash, gathers beans, gathers gourds, etc.; when he gathers Yamüra carries away.

Also the Queixada /white-lipped peccary/--the Queixada comes to the clearing to eat mandioca--the Queixada also comes on the back of Yamüra--it roots up mandioca, it roots up cará /Dioscorea/, it roots up batata, --when it roots up, Yamüra carries it away, the Queixada;--this is why Queixada is not to be found--Queixada does not appear because Yamüra hid it.

Also the Anta, etc.; at midday the Anta sleeps, it walks at night, etc.

Caitetú /collared peccary/ is also basket of Yamüra. Caitetú only goes in threes; it digs up tree roots, it digs up mandioca roots, it digs up cará roots, it digs up batata roots.

In his resting place, Yamüra makes mingáu, grates mandioca, cooks cará, cooks batata, bakes beijú.

/256 cont./

539 Tracajá /a species of turtle/ is the gourd of Yamüra;--
● 825 inside the Tracajá he mixes and seasons his drink, he drinks his drink;--Tracajá is the maracá /gourd rattle/ of Yamüra, etc. Jahú /Paulicea lutkeni/ is the canoe of Yamüra--inside Jahú he grates mandioca, extracts the polvilho /fine manioc flour/, prepares manipueira /milky juice of grated manioc/, etc.; this is why, when Jahú is caught, one pays--one pays with mingáu, one pays with pirão. Yamüra comes to drink mingáu in the house, --this is why one puts mingáu on the path, puts pirão, etc.

/257/ Also the Jacaré /cayman/: Jacaré is the grater of Yamüra--it grates mandioca, it grates cará, it grates batata, etc.

Also the Sucuri /water boa/ is the net with which Yamüra fishes--Yamüra catches deer /veado/, catches paca, catches cotia /agouti/, etc.; this is why, when Sucuri is killed, there is thunder, there is rain, etc.

The pintado fish is the club of Yamüra;--the Ray is the baking grill of Yamüra; on the top of the ray, Yamüra bakes his beijú, bakes his fermented mandioca, bakes his polvilho, toasts mudubim.

A naturalist might note in connection with this passage that the Cotia (Dasyprocta aguti) "spends most of the day hidden in a hollow trunk or in a hole underneath the roots and at nightfall goes out looking for food"; that the Paca (Coelogenys paca) "leads primarily a nocturnal existence, sleeping during the day in a hole which it digs itself, preferably underneath the roots of a tree, and comes out at nightfall"; that the Marsh Deer /Veado galheiro, "'big-horned deer"/, at least, "in late afternoon, after sunset, during the night, and at dawn comes out in search of food"; that Queixada and Caitetú (Dycotyles) come out "now during the day, now at night, in search of food, digging the ground for roots"; that the Anta "in inhabited regions leads primarily a nocturnal life;

/257 cont./

539 in quiet areas, where there are no human beings, it is always
825 on the move in the morning and afternoon, except during the hot hours in the middle of the day which it spends sleeping"; in other words, all of the phrases between quotation marks, taken from the book by Dr. Goeldi on the mammals of our land (pp. 92, 99, 103, and 106), confirm what has been said concerning the shadowy character of the Yamüras.

539 /258/ Other considerations, however, seem to us of
174 greater moment.

First of all, in the enumeration of the belongings of the Yamüras, we have a basis for a list of the cultural acquisitions of the Bacaeris. We learn that they had nets for fishing before
[227] they had nets /hammocks/ for sleeping, that they traveled by
[352] water when they did not yet have pestles, and that they proba-
[501] bly had maracá before they had the masks with which they
[412] appear at their festivals.
[532]

We also see that although theoretically the abode of the
539 Yamüra is in the sky, a large part of his existence is spent on
776 the earth from which he derives his sustainance. Subsistence, however, is not his sole concern; free of the contingencies of time and space, he travels swiftly as the wind, he is an envious being who spies upon all actions and weighs upon the living with crushing pressure. There is hardly an act that he does not influence: gestation, childbirth, alimentation, festivals, walking hours, everything falls within his inexorable reach, as we shall see later. It would seem that the Bacaeris could paint their bodies as they please. But this is not so.

776 Yamüra does not like urucú, --this is why one must not
789 scatter the urucú seed, says the piahi;--Yamüra goes into the
824 houses of people with children, --this is why we burn the juice
302 of the rubber tree--when it is burned it is rubbed on the door;--fathers of boys, when they go to the river, paint themselves with genipap, --paint themselves with urucú, --so Yamüra thinks that it is blood; if the boy's father does not paint himself

/258 cont./

776 and goes to the river, Yamüra throws himself in the water;--
789 he likes guanandi /Calophyllum brasiliense/ resin;--burned
824 cotton seed makes Yamüra run far /259/ away; Yamüra is very
302 fond of colored clay and loam;--he does not like copaiba resin;--when jatobá is burned Yamüra does not like it, says the piahi.

776 Finally, since there are certain animals which for him are
825 a means of subsistence, his ferramenta /iron tools/, if it is permissible to say this in connection with peoples who have not reached the metal stage, it is natural that Yamüra should protect them with the same care and vigor with which a Bacaeri
784 would protect his canoe or his bow. There are animals whose injury is punished immediately: for example, the Sucuri, in one of the passages cited above, or the Topiéhi, a little bird that will be dealt with more conveniently later on. These are truly tabú or tapú, an expression used in Australia, and which, being widely known, demands no explanation. It is possible to come to terms with regard to the others, and this is done in a most reasonable way, by giving to the Yamüra in prepared form the food that he would have to prepare in the campo.
782 It is mandatory, however, that the dead animal be put to good
796 use; otherwise antas, pacas, and pigs will attack clearings, destroying them; and to propitiate the Yamüra it is necessary
532 to give a feast, naturally masked, which they attend incognito. After eating well, they regard themselves as satisfied and the scourge ceases.

825 The following passage expresses more clearly the idea of
776 payment, and, although it is somewhat repetitious, it is not
782 redundant.
796

If the Guariba /howler monkey/ (Mycetes) is killed, it must be paid for, says the piahi; if the macaco Coatá /spider monkey/ (Ateles) is killed, if the Preguiça /three-toed sloth/

/259 cont./

825 (Bradypus) is killed, pay for them with mingáu;--if no payment
776 is made, Yamüra will seize our shadow; Imiga (Cebus?) /260/
782 is the domestic animal that is the creation (eri) of Yamüra;
796 if you cut down forest in which Yamüra dwells, pay for it;--
seek out a place to hold a festival; makanari is payment for
the forest (13);--then, when Yamüra had drunk mingáu, he

[114]
[115]

13. After he had dictated this passage, I. expressed doubts as to whether the dance was the makanari or some other one.

goes far away (14).

[171]
[114]

14. Matias Ruiz Blanco notes a variant of the same idea among the Indians of Peritú (Colombia): "When the Indian brings in a deer or wild boar, the woman comes out with a tutuma of the drink that they make out of maize, and she opens the animal's mouth and gives it some to drink out of courtesy so that its soul will tell the others about the good treatment given to it" (Conversión de Piritú, 64, Madrid reprint.).

796 Makanari is the name of one of their festivals, and this would be the proper place to discuss them, if unfortunately, the scanty information that exists concerning this were not deficient, concealing all the ritual and devotional aspect which is its essence. We shall return to it on another occasion,

/261 cont./

776 have with the piahi and with the common people (wanololo,
756 from waono, "first"; cf. Ger. "der erste der beste" /first come
773 first served/.

At the waterfalls of the Paranatinga, a fearsome place
776 where Keri and Came tossed the Mama, an enchanted red
778 stone /262/ with which they killed Mero and Arimoto, there
756 is underneath the Mama the dream (Vèdu) which they tore from the lizard's eyes. There dwells the father of smallpox (turi); those who come near him fall ill; when the time for the leaping of the matrimxans /a kind of fish/ comes, anyone nearby who talks or laughs is thrown into the water. The curer runs no risk by coming near; if he becomes angry, he can bless the sleep and this one gets up and wanders off.

756 How does the curer reach this fullness of powers which in his discourses he so often hurls at those whom he contemptuously calls "common people"? Through a very long and painful apprenticeship, which few persons have the courage to undergo to the end and to the letter.

First of all, the curer candidate (piahi-he-ini) must find an experienced curer who will tell him what he must do and protect him against the enemies whom he is bound to encounter. On his part, in addition, the future curer must not leave a single breach through which the enemy, the Karówi, might enter, the so envious and so evil yamũras, whose principal occupation, it would seem, is to go in search of the slightest carelessness in order to punish it inexorably.

Such is the object of the rigorous training to which he must submit if he wishes to rise to the heights where the true curer dwells.

[276] The novice begins by drinking various drugs, such as
[825] timbo, pindova, vaimbé, and other cipos, in order to learn
[262] the language of animals and of Karowi, a sort of Curupira; he cannot eat pirão, mingáu, fat, meat, lambari /a kind of fish/, flying things, /263/ tamanduas, or honey; his food consists exclusively of beijú and polvilho broth.

/263 cont./

756 He does not live in the village, but in a house apart, the
[346] dance house (Kχadóeti), where festivals are held and guests accommodated, and where women may not enter; he cannot speak to the latter, and for greater safety, not only does the master curer frighten the novice by telling him that the voices he hears are not those of women but of Karówi, but he slings his hammock across the door so that his disciple cannot go out in an unguarded moment.

[825] After a time the master and disciple go wandering about, and the latter, who has easily learned the language of Karówi, begins to speak the language of the jaguar. This is a sign that the initiation is nearly over; the curer gives him the cipó de cobra /caapeba/ (aʔukur-iokχu), the piahi candidate dies, becomes yamüra, and goes to the sky to present himself to Nakoeri.

776 Nakoeri, whom we already know, owns many domestic
825 animals: araras, pombas /Columbiformes/, rolas /small Columbiformes/, jacus, jacucaca, mutum, maracaña, parakeets, parrots, toucans, araçari, anuns, chickens, tamanduas, etc. What these animals have in common, only a naturalist familiar with the Indians' way of thinking could state with any certainty. Some seem to have been chosen on account of the brilliance of the plumage, others for their early-rising habits, and others, finally, because of the fact that they disappear for a time, reappearing fatter, as though they had dwelt in greener pastures.

756 The differences between the curer and the common
776 yamüra begin after death: the latter, as has been seen, climbs /264/ a cotton ladder; the disciple and master climb together, but how this is done is not stated.

When the piahi-he-ini goes to see the sky, the sky dwellers see him coming from afar; Who goes there? the yamüras say to Nakoeri; then Nakoeri appears at the door;

/268 cont./

756 776 774 It has been mentioned that in certain cases both the piahi and the yamüra can take the shadow of a person who has offended them; but only the piahi can return what he took; and, conversely, he can return the shadow stolen by a yamüra.

825 196 This leads us to mention Topiehe, a Mato Grosso bird which we were unable to identify and in whose name there is probably the same radical as is found in piahi and epiwado.

825 774 756 755 Topiehe, when killed, steals the person's shadow; this is why Topiehe is not killed; it takes a person's shadow far away; then the person dies. The house of Topiehe is in the sky; the Topiehe does not die /269/ really, says the piahi. The one who (seemingly) killed the Topiehe becomes cold; when he reaches home, he falls ill; then the piahi is called, and when he arrives, the bench is washed very clean; then the tail of the arara is tied with cotton to the maracá. While the curer is doing this, no one speaks, and the fire is put out; the bench is placed at the door, and the curer holds it, plays the maracá, and then shouts. When he is not near, yamüra does not come quickly. When he arrives, the bench moves and if the curer does not make it fast, it runs away; this is why the curer does not let go of the bench, on which sits yamüra, with whom the piahi converses: Don't you see, relative, I am calling, I am talking, I am singing, I am shouting, says the curer. I did this, because he committed this crime (inutudohe), answers Topiehe.--He is a human being, he does not know what he is doing, that is why he killed you, answers the curer. When the piahi spoke, Topiehe said: Take him. When the cotton was grasped our shadow is above and then the murderer gets well. After the return: I am going away, I heard your shout and this is why I came, says Topiehe. When Yamüra goes away, the people talk, the curer goes to the patient; he was sick because he killed Topiehe; Topiehe is not to be killed, says the curer.

/270 cont./

776 of a higher order because they come back to life after they
775 have died and return to live among men.
756 Aside from these three principles, we find unclear figures and concepts, probably vestiges of older ideas.

776 Dr. C. v. d. Steinen speaks of Kilaino oroiko, which he
[114] translates as "devil." I. is not familiar with such a being, but simply /271/ Kilãino, evil beings who dwell in the forest or in the hills, assume various forms, eat mice and small birds, do not pass water, hide dead game and the arrows shot, the things that fall from people's hands; answer the shouts of a person, and shout in order to mislead those who walk through the forest.

[171] Of the same type are: Kxarowi, who goes about at night, carrying a toad for an ax, always animated by the desire to do evil to the Bacaeri, but usually duped by the latter, in short similar to the Curupiras of the Amazon as they appear in the stories collected by Barbosa Rodrigues; and Ywanaguroro, the lord of the hunt, easy to identify because one side of his chest is larger than the other, and he kills against it the persons who offend him--a figure similar to the Caipora of the Tupi.

776 There is also mention of a lake where the grandfather
825 of the cachorro fish, the grandfather of the piranha, the grandfather of the snake, the grandfather of the otter, the grandfather of the needlefish, the grandfather of drums, etc. dwell. Ghosts appear in the middle of the water. No anta, capybara, or queixada goes there, no flying thing flies across it. Ancient Bacaeris took a canoe there, but a whirlpool overturned it, the Kxurixio (a sort of enchanted otter) ate them, and only the dead men's bellies appeared.

The jaguar assú, the horse assú, the queixada assú, the turtle assú, the crab assú of fresh water, etc. are also there. Everything is swinging at the edge of the water. The Kxurixio and the Kxuxobe shake their heads which sound like thunder, and those who hear this sound fall ill and die, and those who see the grandfathers of the animals also die. /272/ At the edge of the lake there is a swamp, and the lake is the semen of animals.

/272 cont./

829 The idea of "Lord" appears often, but it is not easy to
776 understand what it means. When a Bacaeri states that the white
825 man is the lord of the mirror, naturally he means that he first saw this object in the hands of the Çarahibas. What does he actually mean, however, when he states that the lord of the rain is the parakeet?

776 It also seems natural that, if certain things have lords, the latter be paid or granted some token of respect or homage. Only one such case is mentioned, however; those who make hammocks, before using them, sling them outside the house in homage to the Coandú /coendou/, lord of hammocks, so that their hair will not turn white. A story about a great cataclysm brought about by the death of the newt, lord of the wind, is also told.

In view of all this, the following list of lords is of minor interest, since it will only be of use if new comparative data become available:

776 The lizard is the lord of sleep; the fox, the lord of fire;
825 the parakeet, of rain; the newt, of wind; the curiango /Caprimulgus/, of the fishing hook; the urubu is lord of the bench; the sea snail, of the sun; the sucuri, of the fishing net; the heron, of the boquité (a type of basket); the uga (a kind of lizard), of the grater; the porcupine is lord of thorns; the kingfisher, lord of fish; the coendou, lord of smoke and also of the buriti net; the deer is lord of the mandioca, etc.

825 /273/ This shows that the Bacaeri does not make a very
774 great distinction between human beings and animals. For
196 "to wish" they use two words: ieyi, first person, which is applied to an animal raised by a human being; and anayido, a generic term, simply the plural of anayi, which means "who" and "someone." There is nothing strange about this, considering that human beings and animals have shadows and speak in the same fashion.

824 The trees also have shadows and speak.
774

/263 cont./

000 about three centimeters square made of tree bark. After the
582 seclusion boys and girls were eligible for /264/ marriage.
585 Marriage, todohokũinle, was joined by the parents of the young people by means of an exchange of gifts, and it does not seem to have merited any special ceremony.

761 The Bakairí do not seem to have believed in the possi-
764 bility of a natural death. After death, which was always caused by the sorcery of some enemy, the corpse was painted and
[754] attired in the finery used in life. The corpse was rolled up in the hammock used by the deceased, and buried with the head
764 pointing west and the feet east. There followed a mourning
784 period, during which the closer relatives remained uanki and from which they emerged through the tadaundno feast.

776 The world of the Bakairí was surrounded by supernatural
795 beings, good and evil, such as the iamíra, uoiebe, karoui,
[824] kadopa, and kilaimo. (5) Plants and animals were nothing but
[825]

[113] 5. Capistrano de Abeu, "Os Bacaerys," Revista Brasileira, Year I, Vol. 4, pp. 44, 45, 47, 48, 234, 240, 241. Rio de Janeiro, 1895.

794 drapery used by the iamura and kadopa. Hunting, fishing, and
826 agricultural activities thus had to be accompanied by propitiatory
829 activities intended to appease the anger of the iamíra deprived
796 of their animals and plants. On the other hand, karoui and
782 kilaimo wandered through the forest menacing the Bakairí.
794 Against such beings the Indians required the protection of their
756 sorcerer-doctors as well as periods of seclusion in the most dangerous moments.

794 The Bakairí believed that men had two souls: one called kati or kutalu, heavier and thicker, corresponding to a camisa worn by the second soul, kagatopuri, a more fluid element that

/265 cont./

796 Bakairí: /266/ Kitaimo, Karoui, Inanagurono, and Topiehe. Kitaimo is a wandering spirit that wanders through the forest at night. Karoui is the sorcerer-doctor's enemy; he possesses an axe in the shape of a toad. Inanagurono is the lord of hunting; one of the sides of his chest is larger than the other, and he clasps against it and kills the Indians who offend him. Topiehe is a bird whose death would result inevitably in the death of the guilty party. There was also a lake inhabited by maleficent supernatural beings, and where animals reached gigantic proportions.

[756] [224] [825] [823]

825 Capistrano de Abreu mentions the attribution of special powers to certain animals. Thus the lizard was the lord of sleep; the fox, of fire; the urubu, of bonches; the sea snail, of the sun; the porcupine, of thorns; the kingfisher, of fishes; the deer, of manioc. (12)

12. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 242.

756 The sorcerer, piaji (piahi or piaje) performed very important functions among the Bakairí. Besides the function of curing illness, he performed such tasks as the prediction of enemy attacks, the localizing of game, the finding of lost objects, and interceding with supernatural beings when necessary.

753 [754] For the Bakairí illness was always caused either by hostile sorcerers or those in the service of enemies, or by spirits such as the iamiira, topiehe, inanagurono, or karoui. On being called to heal a sick person, the piaji requested the assistance of his guardian iamiira with the help of a gourd which he shook in accompaniment to songs of invocation. On examining the patient, the piaji decided upon the cause of the illness, whether it had been induced by an enemy or by a spirit. In the second case, the piaji would intercede with the offended spirit, appeasing it. But in the event the illness had been

756 755 000

/268 cont./

534 sticks decorated with geometric designs. These sticks are still used in Bakairí dances in Simões Lopes.

535 533 Our informants remembered the following dances and songs: oriko, a dance performed with the help of the adorned sticks, at no specific time; iauaisári, the maize song; mahulauari, performed at the time of the construction of a new house; pahoevatá, performed at the time of the ceremony of the perforation of the boys' ears, and the maize celebration, or anjéintabiénli.

535 532 825 [784] In the sacred dances, barred to women, masks representing various animals were used. In our opinion these masks did not represent the animals proper but rather the iamúra, lords of these animals. This would justify the fact that these representations are so far removed from reality, even in terms of native art.

703 The Bakairí myths related by Karl von den Steinen and Capistrano de Abreu mention Tchini (or Keri, the sun), Numa (or Kame, the moon), (16) and Nakoeri. (17) Tchina and Numa

16. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., pp. 447-492.

17. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 45-50, 235-240.

or Keri and Kame, the sun and the moon, are twin creator heroes of the Bakairí. The same task of /269/ creating the [816] [194] Bakairí is attributed to Nakoeri. The nonexistence of moieties among the Bakairí leads us to regard the myth of the twin heroes as a borrowed feature, since there does not seem to be a justifying correspondence in their social organization. The 539 Paranatinga Indians told us the following myth:

Iamadili or the Origin of the Day.

In the beginning the world was so dark and so cold that the Indians had to cover their bodies with

539 again "Is this right?" Keri responded "Now it is." Then Keri let go the red uruibi who was furious.

At that time the moon was made of japú feathers, the sun of toucan and red arara feathers and the red of the sunset of toucan feathers. This was what the ancient ones were taught. If it is different now, as you say, I know nothing about it, nor does anyone else. Then someone had to blow in order to make the sun turn to fire.

Keri thought for a long time about what he should do with the sun and the moon. It was always day. Ewaki, also, could not tell him what to do. At last he made a big pot and put it over them. Then it was dark. Keri gave the moon to Kame. When he took away the pot it was day. . . .

Sleep and Hammocks. I do not know if the necessity to sleep manifested itself with the long continuation of "near twilights" by the sun when it was still uncovered, but in any case Keri and Kame wanted badly to sleep, but they did not know how. Disconcerted, they went to find Ewaki, their always well-informed aunt, who told them where they could find sleep. Po, the lizard, owned sleep. He received Keri and Kame kindly and said, "Oh, my grandsons." They stayed at his house and lay in a hammock of burity and slept. When they awoke, they felt better. The next morning they said goodby and went away taking the hammock which the lizard had given them.* On the road, after they had walked a league, they wanted to try to sleep. They lay down in the hammock but were not able to sleep. They tried and tried in vain. They returned then to the lizard's house, they caught him and pulled out his eyelids, of which they took a very large piece. The lizard became very angry but Keri and Kame now had eyelids and were able to sleep.

Exchange of Heaven and Earth. It was also at that time that Keri left the heaven. "At first the earth was heaven; here, where we are now, the Bakairí were not born. The heaven has a floor, the same as the earth. Heaven and earth are very close to one another; from there one can cross over to here." Keri said to heaven, "You should not stay here. My people die here. And you want to stay here? You are good. But I do not want my people to die." Heaven responded, "I want to stay here." Keri said then, "Then I move." He went with all the people to the earth and the heaven went there where it is now, and where today one is able to see that everything happened as the Bakairí say.

Fire. Keri and Kame went to Ewaki who sent them to go and get fire. The fox owned the fire. He had it in his eyes where it gave a leap when he wanted to light a fire. The fox (*Cerdocyon cinereus* "catches crayfish and crabs," Brehm *Saugetierk II* S. 57) had put out a bow-net to catch fish. Keri and Kame went there and found in the bow-net a "pejum" fish and a snail. Keri entered the "pejum" (a smooth lake fish about 4 inches long) and Kame entered the shell. "Each was well hidden in his animal." The fox came, singing, and made a fire. Then he went to see

* Another time I was told that before there were hammocks, people slept standing up, leaning against trees. Protection against snakes and malignant beasts is really one of the greatest advantages of the hammock.

/176 cont./

[511] well-meaning advice that I should pluck it out. The lashes re-
302 moved so radically would not by any means grow scantily, as is proved by the magnificent lashes of the "docile" Indians. /Pl. XIV appears here./ /177/ Moreover, the grooming of the beard was by far the most neglected, and thus the custom of removing the hair probably did not start with it.

Regarding the pubic hair, which only the Suyá men did not remove, whereas their absolutely naked women did, one can expect the urban usually naive natives to regard its presence as particularly ugly. Yet it is scarcely satisfactory to assume that it is only man's innate pleasure in a smooth skin which has prompted the unclothed native to carry on such energetic destructive warfare against all body hair. There is no lack of reasons why it often seems annoying. People say that even insects which are not eaten as lice are get into the beard, underarm, and pubic hair and mat it down, just as in our case bees in particular became entangled there; people remember the tubercles and blisters on perspiring skin, which are doubly sensitive in hair, the uncleanness caused by blood and dirt, the convenience of attack for underbrush as well as for the pugnacity of one's fellow men, and thus they find many situations in which the body hair of a naked person may cause more annoyance than pleasure. On
[519] the other hand, the pastime and enjoyment which plucking the hair and working over the bodies with small implements provide people in lazy hours must also be given their due. Finally, it is
[510] perhaps not entirely irrelevant that hair and feathers are regarded
[511] as a sort of plant growth. The word for hair and feathers among
[512] the Bakairí, and probably also in other languages, was originally the same as forest, and the concepts are basically related, regardless of whether the vegetative was taken from the corporeal, or vice versa. Hair and plants grow; they are also cleared away, at least the short weeds.

I should like to put foremost, however, a simple motive operating daily. Just as skin and hair belong together, I am thinking, in association with the custom of plucking, of a connection with the other custom of body painting, of cosmetics, which Joest maintains is older than bathing. For the painting of

[Text continues on p. 164]

/178 cont./

*171 826 If the eye is the most valuable of all human organs, these forest dwellers in quest of animals and fruits are dependent on it to the highest degree imaginable. Never have I heard an Indian complain and whimper as did the chief of the Yaulapiti bemoaning his blindness. Yet in treatment they do not necessarily develop [757] the insight that seems proper to us. Since tobacco smoke is the best medical remedy, a badly inflamed conjunctiva is blown full of smoke as forcefully as possible. Thus the idea that the lashes protect the eye is quite foreign to the Indians. They maintain that the lashes hinder the eye in seeing, especially if they want to peer sharply into the distance. That they are anxious to care for [759] the precious organ according to the best of their knowledge is [411] shown by the fact that the area around the eye of the boy who is to become a skilled archer is scratched bloody with the scarifier -- naturally because they believe in this "medicine" and not because [302] they want to harden him. In the case of the lashes in particular, the seemingly cruel plucking, since it is radical, is nevertheless a relatively mild procedure. To endure the cutting and shaving on the edge of the lid with fish teeth and shells would indeed be heroic.

*171 302 304 The skin. The skin is pierced to receive ornaments, it is painted with color, and it is scratched with spines or teeth. The two last methods have developed into artistic treatment, into body painting or tattooing -- one would only like to know what original purposes lie behind them.

*171 301 If we observe, on the basis of thousands of examples, to what degree coquetry and vanity triumph over physical discomfort in matters crude and fine among our pampered, civilized human beings, we shall not be surprised that the vanity of primitive peoples is even more reckless. The chief difference between us and them is merely that they are obliged to do on the skin what we are able to do with clothing. Among them, however, it was everywhere first of all the man who adorned himself. He began doing so as a hunter, and since there is the matter of manifesting the hunter's virility, we may conclude that man first developed the idea of the trophy by not separating himself from the parts of the booty that were inedible, /179/ yet could easily be preserved and

/181 cont./

000 or stone. The latter is never used by the men. On the Kulisehu
*171 we collected a few ornamental stones made out of grayish white
301 quartzite with a dull shine, which were ground into the shape of
[324] a pointed spindle and were six centimeters long. We saw the nose-spindle, natáko, in actual use only in the case of a pregnant woman, who also had many ornaments hanging around her
[319] neck. These stones came from the Batovy or the Ponekuro, the right source-river of the Kulisehu, they were said to be rare, so that ordinary bones or reed had to help out. We also obtained
[237] bones of similar shape, eight and a half centimeters long, and a spindle seven centimeters long and gleaming like mother-of-pearl, which was cut out of a shell. The operation is performed
[304] in approximately the fifth year of life and is said to be accompanied by profuse bleeding on occasion.

000 I may add on here the binding of the extremeties, although

301

Fig. 13. Ornamental nose-stone of the Bakaïrí women.

*171 I may add on here the binding of the extremeties, although
301 it was still foreign to our Indians in the degree where it might
304 be spoken of as a bodily injury. It was much in use among all
●826 the tribes. For this they used thick, wide straw binding, hanks
[283] of cotton, cotton ropes, or bands crocheted with wooden needles, and wore them on the upper arm and below the knee or above the ankle. The custom was most striking in the third Bakaïrí village, where one saw chubby, almost swollen calves. We never observed, however, such thick, protruding calves as are shown in illustrations of the male or female Karaiben of the north. We noticed the straw bindings especially among the Nahuquá (cf. Fig. 4 /see p. 71/). /182/ Only the men made use of the binding. It makes one strong, I was told by way of explanation.
[237] As dance ornaments bands decorated with colored feathers are worn around the upper arm.

/237 cont./

193 first person plural inclusive and exclusive, familiar in the aba-ñeẽ, is alien to the Kxura-itano. Amaremo, "you," second person plural, isobviously of secondary formation: mo indicates plural, re is the emphatic particle, and ama is the pronoun for the second person singular.

Another series of leser used pronouns: ahe, mahe, kxidahe.

The adjective, generally put after the substantive, is, like the latter, affectedby time and number. Comparatives are avoided. A concep close to that of the superlative is expressed either with the emphatic particle or by means of the addition of certain words such as kxura, "indeed" (compared to the French bon, tout de /238/ bon, kxura in the Bacaeri has, among others, the meaning of "good"); ẽwakukeba, "it is not a joke," etc.

193 The determinatives are affected by time and number.
801 There are only three cardinal numbers: tokale, "one"; ahaże, "two"; ahewa or ahewanela, "three." Steinen gave to Antonio, the Indian who was his informant in the Xingú region, the following sentence, "At first he (the child) walks like an animal, on all fours," and obtained only: çażuxõe anażito ara ãhe iwoco adakxobodili, that is, "he walks with the two arms." To the minds of the Bacaeris, rather than to produce a number four, it seemed easier to invent a whole story whereby Ceminu (Morcego /bat/) had a son by the daughter of Pau de Morcego /"bat wood"; Andira/ (Põdiki), and, when he found out about the paternity, he became angry at the child, breaking its knees with an arrow; since then children walk first with the two arms before they walk with the two feet (6).

● 826-
773

6. The matter of knees seems to have caused the minds of the Bacaeris much trouble. Mapinukai, one of their ancestor, had knees like those of a

/238 cont./

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chicken; having won a race against Keri and Came, however, the latter broke them, and since then the knees of human beings have been as they are today.

193 As for adverbs, suffice it to say that they follow or precede the verb and may receive possessive and time.

Prepositions, which are numerous, always come after the substantive, and we shall give merely: da, which indicates "place where"; eina or eira, "place to where," generally elided to ra or na, with the preceding vowel nasalized; ohe, ōro, "upon"; aze, "with," meaning company, ze, "with," instrument. The preposition de /Port./, in the sense of the English "from" or the German aus, is represented by a complicated form.

/239/ An explanation of the verbs, however superficial, would take us far afield: many points are yet to be studied, and while we are familiar with the common forms, they are not yet sufficiently analyzed.

Steinen divides verbs into two classes, in one of which the preterit is formed with raki, in the other with taki; we may accept this classification, which, on the whole, is satisfactory and lends itself perfectly to our present purposes.

Verbs have two affirmative imperatives in the second person singular, and one negative; they also have what may be called an imperative of the first person plural.

The indicative has three past tenses, which may be called remote /remoto/, intermediate /médio/, and immediate /flagrante/, since the latter, which is formed with raki or taki, may also indicate the immediate future or present.

They would seem to have two present tenses: one, in which he or ce is added to the radical, and followed by the personal pronoun; the other, uniting personal pronouns, the radical of the verb, and the auxiliary of the substantive verb,

302 and was combed with a comb (*aekáji*) made
412 by weaving slender cane teeth into a cotton holder.
301 Although clothing, in the strict sense of the
237 term, was nonexistent, the Bacairí used, on ceremonial occasions, beautiful, skillfully made ornaments. An important ornament was the *orógo*, a diadem or feather headdress strapped to the forehead. The *orógo* was made by fastening a row of green parrot feathers to a cotton band, above which was fastened another row of yellow weaver bird feathers. Two long blue macaw feathers were set in the center so as to stand straight up above the forehead. The *orógo* was worn only by men. These headdresses are still used, for some were seen in the village of Simão Lopes.

There were at least four kinds of necklaces. The *megesáuwa* was made from small thin round disks of white or pink snail shell, as many as 400 being strung on a string. This necklace was worn around the neck by women and around the waist by men and girls. The *ikwihéno* was also made from snail shell, but the disks were oblong with holes in both ends through which strings were passed. Although the *ikwihéno* was particularly used by men, women sometimes wore it together with the *megesáuwa*. The *sawalápi* was a necklace
[124] made from black disks of tucum palm nut and could be worn by both men and women at all times. Both men and women also wore necklaces made from the teeth or claws of the jaguar called the *dodojéri*. The Bacairí still use the *megesáuwa*, *ikwihéno*, and the *sawalápi*.

Besides necklaces, the Bacairí used a variety of other ornaments. The *upawí* were armlets and anklets of cotton material decorated with feathers of different colors. The armlets, which were about 2 inches wide, were fastened tightly above the
[126] biceps and were believed necessary for the development of the muscle, with similar bands worn below the knee and around the ankles. Both men and women used the bands. An American missionary who experimented with Bacairí arm bands claimed that they caused him a great deal of distress but he has observed no ill effects among the Indians. The *pai* was a feather ear ornament made from red toucan and yellow parrot feathers
[304] suspended from the lobes of the ears. Holes in the ears were made with a sharpened jaguar bone or with a sharpened rhea feather. The *tajikeino*, worn only by men, consisted of two blue macaw feathers

/340 cont./

000 practices sorcery. He is not bound to place and form and is capable of any kind of accomplishment with any person or thing. Vivid play of imagination is merely quantitatively and not qualitatively distinguishable from dream-sorcery. A person who kisses the picture of his beloved is preparing himself for sorcery. Anyone who throws a kiss through the air to his distant sweetheart is already strongly to be suspected of sorcery, for it is to be feared that he believes the sweet breath will reach its destination and be felt there. Anyone, however, who, like the great sorcerer Goethe, says to his amanuensis Eckermann: "I have in the years of my youth experienced instances enough when, on lonely walks, a powerful longing for a beloved girl would seize me and I would think of her until she actually came walking toward me," such a person is already practicing sorcery according to all the rules of the art. Completely under the spell of genuine sorcery is the person who, if his ears are ringing, yields to the conviction, if only for a second, that someone has spoken good or ill of him, or who has a friend keep his fingers crossed so that he will succeed in something, or who believes that his wishes have the power to influence the course of pleasant or unpleasant events.

*171 787 794 Our Indians, like many other primitive peoples, have the firm conviction, which may, moreover, be observed on our level of civilization among children and intoxicated persons, and not only among them, that in a vivid dream they are experiencing reality; a person goes hunting, shoots fish, or fells trees when he is asleep, while the body remains in the hammock. Among the Bororó, as I shall report later, we once found that the entire village wanted to flee because one man in a dream had seen enemies creeping up. The Bakaïrí let the "shadow" of a human being -- *171 794 which we then translate as "soul" -- wander about in the dream. 828 (Cf. the Paressí chapter also for this and similar information /see p. 532/.) Antonio, whom I could study alone sufficiently, especially during the Cuyabá months, in order to obtain most of the statements which will follow later, had the fear, well known particularly from the Malays, that it is dangerous to waken a sleeping person suddenly. The "shadow," which is perhaps wandering

/340 cont./

*171 in distant regions, would not be able to return quickly enough,
MY and the sleeper would turn into a dead person. To my surprise,
● 828 he also explained the headache which one has after too little
sleep at night as resulting from the fatigue of the shadow hurrying
ooo back. We may not be too critical of the Indian's belief, based
purely on the direct experience of the senses, if we remember
that higher speculative philosophy does not find it at all simple to
determine whether life is a dream or the dream is life, whether
we experience reality while awake or during sleep, and we must
not forget that, after we awaken, reality sometimes brings com-
plete confirmation.

/341/ How does such a point of view arise and what are its consequences? The awakening person is conscious of having seen and heard things. He has perceived them with perfect clarity. Hence they were there. If meanwhile the body of the sleeper has been lying in the hammock, it does not occur to anyone to ask therefore whether what was seen and what happened were real. None of the fellow tribesmen would think of questioning the faithful report; in the course of time they may perhaps try to give a kind of explanation by attributing to the shadow, for example, the change of locale which the body did not actually undertake, but this is secondary and does not affect the impression left by what has just occurred. Simply because one does not understand a thing is no reason to dismiss the actual experience of the senses. It is merely a reason for attaching great importance to dreamed events that have a general interest and for everyone to become excited about them; what happened is something special and the person who experienced it is capable of more than the others. We see that it is not necessary in deciding what is real to consider whether sense impressions are received directly from the outside or whether impressions previously stored up from memory images regain their old sensuous power in an aroused state. A confusion of feeling and accomplishment is quite unavoidable, however, as soon as what is vividly imagined is regarded as real. An inflamed fancy can, in truth, devise anything it wishes; hence the person filled with it is capable of what is otherwise impossible.

/348 cont./

761 effugere potest" /no one can flee death/. Antonio's translation, which avoided the word "must," yet showed that he correctly understood my view, came out rather twisted after a quarter of an hour of thinking: "I die only (and) we (die)." The interpreter, however, shook his head, dissatisfied; he had doubts which we, too, should scarcely be able to surpress if it were maintained: "all men must be murdered." The Indian seeks the cause of death only externally, in a nasty trick. If there were only good human beings, there would be neither sickness nor death. He knows nothing about a natural ebbing of the life process.

775 /349/ A second, not unessential difference between the interpretation of our Indians and that of civilized peoples concerns existence after death. That the earth's goods are unevenly distributed and a poor person may one day experience the bliss of abundance, that justice is imperfect here below and the good person will one day be rewarded, the evil person punished, these ethical demands have not arisen in the simple social conditions of the native. His conception of the existence after death does not arise from hope and faith. It is, however, linked with the idea of agreeable conditions to the extent that in the future life with the "antigos" in heaven fish, game, and pikí juice will be very abundantly provided, and it also takes into account the behavior of worthless fellows, for they roam about at night in the forest as malicious spirits, kflain-oroika, spreading terror and alarm, not because they are, say, "cursed," but because they naturally continue their wickedness in another place.

761 For the native, however, the root of the conviction about
774 continued existence lies, not in feeling, but in intellect, despite
775 the fact that the two are inseparably joined. For his level of
828 judgment, it is a matter of knowledge. According to the conception of civilized peoples, the soul leaves the body for the first time at death, something entirely new happens, about which they know nothing from experience and observation, unless through spiritualistic means; because of this unknown, new thing, they cannot prove immortality, but are obliged to content themselves with believing it for ethical reasons. For the Indian, on

/349 cont./

761 the other hand, the process of the separation of soul and body is
774 not new; he experiences it day after day, as we have seen, when
775 the shade /Schatten," shadow, shade"/ hastens away in the dream
828 and leaves his body behind in the hammock. Ordinary death is a deep unconsciousness (coma) brought about by the poison which the sorcerer administers, and it differs from sleep only in the fact that the shade hastens too far away to be able to return. Only the medicine man who poisons himself returns to life. The experiences of the shade during sleep were already "real"; hence its "experiences" after death are just as "real." One is familiar with this reality, which is merely life in another place, from daily experience and has it amply confirmed by the deceased, with whose shades our own communicates during the dream, and by the sorcerers who occasionally visit the realm of the dead; in the latter Hamlet may find the wanderers who return from the regions of the unknown country. To die to sleep, no more /cited in English/.

775 The shades of the dead Bakaïrí go to heaven to the ancestors. Heaven is first of all not the land of the future, but of the past, the old ones are still there where all history began. The heaven
[772] in which the first Bakaïrí lived lay beside the earth in former times, and one could easily get over to it. Too many people died there, however, /350/ so the people moved to earth, and heaven rose up to where it is now and where the animals, the places, and the things which occur in the old stories may be seen to this day. "Everything remained as it was." "There were always Bakaïrí, but in the beginning there were very few." One
[811] need only hold fast to a few specific points, and one will recognize, in spite of all flights of fancy and in spite of all the elaboration by tradition, a core of naïve, sound logic in the Indians' explanation of nature.

811 The Indians know no "must." They regard every occurrence in nature as a unique occurrence, or more correctly as a unique action. Indeed, laws are in fact known only as the result of the common work of many -- those who live and have lived. And as long as there are no laws and at best only habits, each individual is at the center of the

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648 Carlotta showed us the captain's commission (from 1882) of her absent husband. As a seal an imitation gold capsule with a bas-relief cross, which had lost its shine, was set on a piece of pink ribbon; in addition, a chest bow in the Brazilian colors.

574 553 Luis, whose new house is not yet finished, is hospitably taken in by Carlotta, who, during Felipe's absence, claims most of the space; his real affection, however, is for his namesake, 837 Luisa Cajibí. He said that he and Maria Cajibí had had a little son who had died. "And did Miguel know about it?" I asked timidly. "Oh, he," replied the vain mulatto, whose face in comparison with that of the Indians is like roasted coffee as against unroasted, "he was completely in favor of the affair and, of course, he immediately knew of the Brazilian descent of the child by *its light skin and its hair.*"

563 Luis is extremely satisfied with his life among the Bakaïrí who are so far beneath him; he says that he has everything that he needs, does not owe anybody a copper, and the Indians are [829] good people; later on he would perhaps like to go to Lisbon, because, according to what a friend told him, it must be the most 123 beautiful city in the world. He was impertinent enough to interfere with quite unjustifiable demands in the transaction concerning the delivery of rice which Daniel had made with Caetano on the first day. Daniel, who is easily aroused, seized his comblain and hit him over the head with the butt; the philosopher hastily bolted on his long brown legs and, standing bent over in the doorway of the chief's hut, exchanged a flood of compliments with Daniel, while that good creature, old Captain Mêmo, in his tattered, coarse cotton suit, which apparently came from the prison, squatted on the floor and stared forward with a friendly expression.

000 Our idyll was unpleasantly interrupted on 1 July by the news that Tupy had appeared the evening before at the fazenda. On the way he had met the men sent back by us, commanded them to return, and rode on ahead of them. The sergeant, hunting pigs, had lost the correspondence in the forest.

/177 cont./

●829 [101] We inquired eagerly about other tribes. It became clear that the Kustenaú and the Trumaí were to be met downstream. Waurá was a name about which we could not be certain. Was it a tribe? Or a little stream like "Tapacuya," which had given us a great deal of trouble and turned out to be the name of a nearby brook -- frequently mentioned to distinguish it from this aldea.

[101] The Kamayurá /Camayura/ lived ten days overland in the east. The principal role in all the descriptions, however, was played by the Schuyá (1), about whom the people in Aldea III

1. Suyá, pronounced Schuyá by the Bakaïrí.

had also spoken with excitement. They said they were taller -- they always pointed to me for a comparison --, very muscular, wore long hair down to their shoulders, and -- apparently lip plugs. By way of illustration, they pulled the lower lip forward forcefully with both hands, leaped about, and uttered a dreadful, intermittent roar; there was no doubt about it, the "Schuyá" were regarded with extraordinary respect among the Bakaïrí. But we! We might indeed risk it -- a young chap pointed to our guns, and all the heroes laughed and nodded to each other.

439 They showed us a number of articles that came from the Suyá: a fine headdress of orange-red and green feathers, arm bands of such feathers, a flute (simple bamboo cylinder with side hole and an opening in the top), arrows with bamboo knives. A nicely carved stool, which represented a bird, was supposed to have been obtained from the Kamayurá.

[101] A string with small perforated stone disks, one of which was larger in the center and could be interpreted as human-like, came from the Nahuquá (2) likewise living in the east.

2. Apparently the Uanaquá of the Suyá geographer.

/53 cont./

122 Who was more pleased, Tumayaua, who hurried on ahead in order to announce us and rapidly disappeared from view, or [487] we ourselves, is difficult to say. We trudged behind one another along the narrow path in the terrain cleared by burning, stepped [361] into the forest after a few minutes, heard loud shouting and /54/ [342] a confusion of calls, and a few hundred feet farther, after we had crossed a crystal-clear brook on a tree trunk serving as a bridge, we came in sight of three beehive-like huts which had 609 an open space between them. Awaiting us there, with Tumayaua enthusiastically gesticulating at the head, was a naked, brown band of men and, in the rear guard, of women and children, all gathered in a tight group and half embarrassed, half joyful, [576] but in any case most surprised. The men stepped toward us, stretching out the right hand, and said "ǽma = "you," "that is you," or "ǽma kχarǽiba" = "you, the Karaibe /Carib/."

● 829 Not they, but we are the "Karaiben" in their eyes, and I, who among us speak of the Karaiben tribe of the Bakaïrí, was called there the "pǐma kχarǽiba," the chief of the Karaiben.

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/55/

Chapter V.

Bakaïrí Idyl.

I.

Information about Kulisehu and Kuluëne. Antonio and Carlos back. A part of the world in which there is no laughing. Village layout. Introduction of the persons. My flute-house. In Paleko's house. Hospitality. Bean-cooking and dance songs. External appearance of the Indians. Nakedness and feeling of modesty. Eating and feeling of modesty. Tobacco club. Pantomime: river journey, days' journeys, tribes, work with the stone ax. Presentation of "mäh" and "wauwau." Tobacco planting. Fishing in the lagoon. Canoe-building.

/69 cont./

276 in his mouth and light. The smoke was inhaled. They even smoked my heavy black tobacco in the same manner and in the same size, and they tolerated it without difficulty, although theirs was light as straw.

517 Not a sound came from the houses; the plaiting had been pushed in front of the entrance. Were the women not lying awake in the hammocks? The two araras, who during the day were in the habit of cawing from the roof poles, were asleep on a partly withered palm. No insects were annoying us. For two or three hours we sat under the star-studded dome of the heavens, surrounded all around by the dark mass of the woods. The smallest cloud that rose anywhere was observed and became the subject of a discussion about where from and where to. As soon as an animal sound became audible in the woods, everyone would be silent for a moment, waiting to see whether it was repeated, and then they would whisper to each other "a tapir," "an armadillo," or the like, while one man half mechanically whistled in imitation of the animal cry. There was also no lack of in-
517 voluntary sounds. Sucking sounds with saliva, belching, or break-
576 ing wind was not restrained. Bakaïrí sum, nihil humani a me
[514] alienum puto. But the moment someone behaved too badly, there immediately followed, as a direct reflex movement of all the colleagues, a brief violent spitting to one side, without an interruption in the conversation. To be sure, if there were a
[626] repetition, Tumayaua or Paleko would mutter something that seemed to mean, "Confound it, we have a guest, after all," and the culprit would lose himself in the shadows six paces away. It was very patriarchal.

823 We discussed in detail the subject most important for me,
829 the geography of the Kulisehu. The river was drawn in the sand, the tribes were enumerated and designated with maize kernels. Thus I gradually learned to understand the correct relationship of the Kulisehu and Kuluëne and learned that the main body of the Nahuquá tribes, each of which was designated by a special
829 name, lived on the Kuluëne. All people were either good,
579 "kúra," or bad, "kurípa." The distinction was made chiefly,

/69 cont./

829 577 as I noted to my amazement, according to the extent of the hospitality that they offered. to be "kiza" meant not to let there be any lack of beijú and pinerego, the flat cakes and the best paste-drink made of mandioca, at the reception. As far as the Nahuquá and possibly also the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ were concerned, it was the same information, based in part on experience, in part on hearsay, which is regarded as the most important for our autumn journeys: good and bad hotels.

823 537 805 But what a difference between a printed Baedeker and this gesticulation, this sound-painting, this relentless creeping from one halting-place to another in the enumeration of stations! From where we are to the second Bakairí /70/ village one day's journey, from the second to the third two, and so on -- no, one did not race madly along like that in the good old days that I was experiencing here. Turn one's ear down in the canoe, "pépi," and rows, rows, "pépi, pépi, pépi" -- one rows with paddles, dipping right and left, and one comes to rapids, bubuhu... How high it drops: with each bu, bu, the hand goes one step down from the top, and how frightened the women are and cry: "pekdno ih, ih, ih...!" At this spot the pépi -- a vigorous step toward the ground -- must be pushed forward through rocks, with what groaning, and the "mayíku," the carrying baskets, laboriously -- the left shoulder is tapped one, two, three times -- carried overland. But one climbs in again and rows, pépi, pépi, pépi. Far, far -- the voice soars ih....., so far ih....., and the mouth, pointed like a snout, while the head is convulsively bent back at the nape, shows in what direction of the compass ih..... Over this the sun sinks: the hand, outstretched as far as possible, reaches toward the west, describing an arc, and aims at the point in the sky where the sun will be standing when one -- lah.....! -- enters the harbor. Here we shall be among the: "Bakairí, Bakairí, Bakairí!" "Kiza, kiza!" and here we shall be well received. Perhaps one has also passed a place where there is good fishing, where "matinchamu" or "pirarara" are to be shot: whereas otherwise words have the accent on the penultimate syllable,

/367 cont./

for the Bakairí could have come in a time that disappeared long ago. It is possible that the tribe whose women once influenced the Bakairí tradition so profoundly has not existed in independent form for a long time -- all these details are not to be determined. But it does not matter much. Of course, it could be significant that among the Paresí the Arinos is called sun-river, Kame-river, or east-river. For the tribes which, according to the Bakairí, were made by the hero Kame are "toda gente de Arinos," "all the people of the Arinos!" They enumerated the Paresí, Apiaká /Apiacá/, Mundurukú /Mundurucú/, Suyá (formerly on the Arinos), Maué (on the Tapajoz). Keri, on the other hand, made "Bakairí /Bacairi/, Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, Nahuquá, Bororó, Kayapó /Cayapo/, Kayabí /Cayabi/," that is to say, the tribes living east and south of the Arinos. The division has nothing whatever to do with a distinction according to languages, for there are Nu-Aruak and Gês on both sides. It embraces two large, spatially affiliated groups which are by no means lying strictly west-east: the one contains western, northwestern, and northern tribes, from the vantage point of the Bakairí, the other eastern, southeastern, and southern tribes. The chief representatives of the two groups, however, the Bakairí and Paresí, actually reside in such a way that the former live east of the latter. We thus have the following situation: 1. Kame = Nu-Aruak "sun," but among the Bakairí hero of the second rank and lord of the moon, is the tribal ancestor of the western and northern tribes, and 2. Keri = Nu-Aruak "moon," but among the Bakairí the most favored hero and lord of the sun, is the tribal ancestor of the eastern and southern tribes.

Here I should like to draw on an interesting example found in Alexander von Humboldt. * In the vicinity of Maipurz, the

* Reise in die Aequinoktial-Gegenden /Journey into the Equinoctial Regions/, III, p. 173.

place named after a Nu-Aruak tribe, stand two rocks in the catarects of the Orinoco, one of which, "the so-called Keri or

/272 cont./

829 The idea of "Lord" appears often, but it is not easy to
776 understand what it means. When a Bacaeri states that the white
825 man is the lord of the mirror, naturally he means that he first saw this object in the hands of the Carahibas. What does he actually mean, however, when he states that the lord of the rain is the parakeet?

776 It also seems natural that, if certain things have lords, the latter be paid or granted some token of respect or homage. Only one such case is mentioned, however; those who make hammocks, before using them, sling them outside the house in homage to the Coandú /coendou/, lord of hammocks, so that their hair will not turn white. A story about a great cataclysm brought about by the death of the newt, lord of the wind, is also told.

In view of all this, the following list of lords is of minor interest, since it will only be of use if new comparative data become available:

776 The lizard is the lord of sleep; the fox, the lord of fire;
825 the parakeet, of rain; the newt, of wind; the curiango /Caprimulgus/, of the fishing hook; the urubu is lord of the bench; the sea snail, of the sun; the sucuri, of the fishing net; the heron, of the boquité (a type of basket); the uga (a kind of lizard), of the grater; the porcupine is lord of thorns; the kingfisher, lord of fish; the coendou, lord of smoke and also of the buriti net; the deer is lord of the mandioca, etc.

825 /273/ This shows that the Bacaeri does not make a very
774 great distinction between human beings and animals. For
196 "to wish" they use two words: ieyi, first person, which is applied to an animal raised by a human being; and anayido, a generic term, simply the plural of anayi, which means "who" and "someone." There is nothing strange about this, considering that human beings and animals have shadows and speak in the same fashion.

824 The trees also have shadows and speak.
774

Trumai: SP23
Bacairi: SP7
Yawalapiti SP25

The Trumai were met on the west bank of the Kuluene, between the Anahukua and Mehinaku parts. They had no canoes. We learned that their village was close to the Batovy. It would seem that they also have shifted their village site since Von den Steinen's encounter with them. T 101 361 648 [301]

All of these people live at peace with each other, though of course quarrels arose at times. Their common enemies are, however, the tribes living to the east and west, tribes that roam across the headwaters and depend on hunting rather than fishing for food.

The Bakairi gave the following list of tribes that are supposed to live in the forests east of the Kuluene: Kayabi (Kayapó); Kariji; Turi; Maritava; Phoi, who are pygmies, a little over a metre high; Pyuekoka, who are a very large people; Tonyakadi, who also are very large; Yaruma; Suya; Tourana; and, on the Paranatinga, the Totuali, who are also known as Kayabi, Kajabi; Apinkalu (Apinka) and the Pama, who are a very tall people. B 101 [29] ●

The Kalapalu gave the names of the following tribes who are supposed to live to the east of the Kuluene and with whom they are permanently in a state of war: lower part of Kuluene, the Simya (Suya) and Tourana (Juruna); directly to the east of their village, the Ahinkuti, Turi, Jaruma, Tunhilyaka, Kayapo (big feet) Alitowa, Aiiwa, Yalak, Revine, Aruga (hide away to kill people), Yarpitou (kill people), Taloulgi (pygmies). [See map, Plate XXV.] Y 101 [29] 648

Our attempt to meet some of these tribes that are supposed to have their villages close to the banks of the Seventh of September river was not successful. In view of the above linguistic grouping of the tribes, it is interesting to note their attitude toward each other. The Bakairi, who are Caribs, distrust and fear the Anahukua, who are of the same linguistic stock, affirming to me again and again that they are a bad people. They were relieved when we left their neighborhood. On the other hand they praised the Mehinaku, and were not even afraid to leave their goods about. The Mehinaku are Arawaks. My companions were also at ease with the Aura and the Yawalapiti, and seemed to expect nothing from the Trumai, whom they considered an inferior and poor people. The Auiti were watched with suspicion, but the Kamayura were actually feared, as well as the Tonya, Kuikuri and Kalapalu, the first being Tupi and the last three Caribs; but the Paravante were praised for their honesty and peaceful disposition, and seemed to recognize in the Bakairi B 648

/64 cont./

surroundings, even in the regions of the unconscious, but shown by the fact that from the 15th to the 16th of September, as well as during the following night, I dreamed of my German home and saw all my acquaintances there just as naked as the Bakairi. I myself was astonished about it in my dream, but my table partner at a dinner party, a highly respectable lady in whom I took an interest, reassured me immediately by saying: "Everyone goes around that way now."

123 291 The purpose that we associate with clothing remained hidden from them. There was no doubt about that when one saw in what naïve fashion they put on the parts of my apparel that they got hold of for a while. And how could they know any more about the rigors of our climate than about the third chapter of the first book of Moses? They played with my garments /Pl. V appears here/ /65/ like vain children. Luchu was happy when I loaned him my poncho, and with it and my hat he walked proudly about the village plaza like the most conceited fop.

291 In the ethnographic description of the Kalisehu tribes I shall have to come back to the subject of clothing and the feeling of modesty. Here I can only truthfully report that in my association with these people I did not see anything of our feeling of modesty, but I did observe another kind, absolutely foreign to us, about which I shall report presently.

124 192 831 During the inquiry into the vocabulary, the parts of the body represented important and easily handled material. The Bakairi found it very amusing that I wanted to know everything, but, on the other hand, were very proud that their language was so rich and that the Bakairi had a word for each part. They became very merry at this point in my questioning and were not wanting in prompt answers where, according to our conceptions, they should have been ashamed and if possible answered in Latin or in the language of children. Considerately -- for at this time I, of course, was looking through my cultural spectacles and saw that they were naked -- I had waited for a moment when the women had gone out of the hut. I was astonished by the fact that the answer that was due suddenly came from the outside, from a very amused girl's voice. My caution had been purposeless. It was the caution of,

[Text continues on p. 29]

/65 cont./

124 say, an Arab, who would feel awkward about looking into the un-
83 veiled face of a European woman, or a Chinese, who would fall
[142] into the most anguished embarrassment if chance showed him her stockingless little foot. It is true, the subject that seems shocking to us gave the Bakairi, men and women, decided pleasure, and if a pedantic ponderer who wants to have modesty in our sense preserved at any price as the innate heritage of humanity would like to conclude from this increased measure of merriment that the bad conscience of a tribe that had sunk from a higher morality was stirring, I can only reply to him that their merry laughter was neither impudent nor did it give the impression of choking an inner embarrassment. On the other hand, it undoubtedly had a slightly erotic timbre, and, much as occasion and accompanying circumstances among true primitive peoples must differ, it altogether resembled the laughter that one hears at our spinning-party jokes, at games of forfeit, or other harmless entertainment in the intercourse between the two sexes. For from this same
[539] natural joy, as we shall see later, there resulted one of the most common ornaments in their painting, namely, the uluri of the women, represented on numerous implements as the original form of the triangle.

126 I wished to have the uluris made in larger quantities for the collection. Which aroused great merriment. Thus one afternoon there was lively tailoring. We were sitting behind Tumayaua's
[157] house, an old woman was baking beijú outside, pouring the flour
[524] on the pan, spreading it smooth, and /66/ skillfully tossing the
[283] finished flat-cake on a sieve, the children licked up pinorego and
[287] played catch with feather-decorated maize balls, and four women and girls were twisting the threads out of palm fiber, folding the "little skirts" out of brownish-yellow leaves, and handing me the
126 neat work in quantity and in all sizes. The only thing that I must
287 add is that one woman was very baffled and looked about helplessly when I asked for an uluri that she was wearing. But no feeling of modesty related to the exposure had anything to do with this embarrassment: rather, what feeling of modesty was present should be called a physiological one, the existence of which I do not

/190 cont./

[171] 304 characteristically, wore on his arm the two tattoo lines of the Mehinakú women, painted on, to be sure, and not tattooed. I believe, but cannot maintain and prove, that there is a connection here with the system of matriarchy. According to the Indian [219] conception, the sons belong to the tribe of the mother, and in every case they visit the tribal village of the mother under peaceful circumstances. It is certain that the Mehinakú women and the Mehinakú pots bore their home stamp.

II. Sexualia.

[171] 291 The devices among men and women are not coverings. Protection of the mucous membrane and benefits with the onset of puberty. Origin among the women, however, as bandage and cushion, among the men as gymnastic treatment for phimosis.

[171] 291 83 Our natives do not have any secret body parts. They joke about them in word and picture with such complete ingenuousness that it would be foolish to call them indecent. They envy us for our clothing as though for a valuable ornament; they put it on and wear it in our company with such utter disregard of our simplest rules and such complete misunderstanding of all the devices designed for them that their paradisical naïveté is [281] most convincingly proved. Some of them celebrate /191/ the onset of puberty for both sexes with noisy folk festivals, in which general attention and boisterousness is demonstratively concerned with the "private parts." If a man wishes to tell a [202] stranger that he is the father of another or a woman wishes to [204] introduce herself as the mother of a child, they gravely acknowledge themselves as worthy begetters in that, with the most spontaneous and natural explanation in the world, they grasp the organs from which life issues.

128 Hence it is not possible to understand these people properly unless we leave aside our ideas of "clothing," unless we take them as they are and as they prove themselves in their own way, keeping in mind as our point of departure the fact that they have

/194 cont./

1 171 2 91 just cover the beginning ofthe fissure of the vulva and fit closely against it. The introitus vaginae is not reached by the triangle, but is closed from front to rear or at least held back toward the inside by the total pressure since the perineal strip embedded in the fissure between the unrestrained labia majora is drawn taut.

The uluris are made wth great nicety and look quite coquettish when they are new. Their entire construction is so nicely thought out and especially he fastening of the groin cords, as well as that of the perinealstrip, which are sewed to the triangles, are such neat work that onecannot explain them as a native product.

1 171 2 91 3 83 What the various methds of the women have in common is the closing, not the concealment. They hold back the mucous membrane parts, just as among the men the glans is prevented from protruding. Holding bck the mucous /195/ membrane is the common mechanical efect of all the devices of both sexes. The uluri achieves it by not an extreme reduction of the covering that concealment seemsavoided as much as possible, rather than desired. The mucousmembrane, since it is held back behind the praeputium in th case of the men, behind the labia majora in the case of the women, remains hidden from the outer world in general and thus als from the glances of the circle of acquaintances.

These devices can onlyfaceteously be regarded as "articles of clothing" whose chief pupose would be to serve the sense of modesty. Sexual excitement was not concealed by them and was not kept secret, at leastamong the forest men. The little red thread of the Trumaí, to decorative uluris, the colored flag of the forest, like ornaments, invite attention instead of diverting it. To be sure, the notion o tracing the moral condition as well as these "remnants of eatlie clothing" back to degeneration, during which the natives areapposed to have sunk from a higher level to the lower one of thepresent, will be a heartfelt need for some minds, but it cannot be reconciled either with the variety of devices dominated by one similar, clearly expressed purpose, or with the complete harmony with which they fit into the entire cultural level of te Indians otherwise. The absolutely

/195 cont./
naked Suyá women washed their sexual parts at the river in our presence.

If the glans constantly threatens to become exposed through erections and sexual intercourse, could the wish arise on the part of maturing men to keep it covered for protection? There is much to be said in favor of this. To be sure this need for protection might least of all be related to underbrush and thorns. More seriously to be considered are the assaults of the animal kingdom. If the Trumaí, as was maintained of them, were animals who lived in the water and slept on the bottom of the river, they would be urgently required to close off the urethral opening against the little candiru fish (Cetopsis candiru). This transparent, span-long little monster, whose occurrence we noted in the Batovy in 1884, has the peculiar habit of penetrating the body openings accessible to it when human beings are in the water; it slips into the urethra, cannot get back because of its fins, and may easily cause the death of the unfortunate one who has no other recourse but, willy-nilly, to perform the urethrotomia externa with his knife.*

> *The Brazilians' fear of this fish, so harmless in and of itself, is thus probably justified; it is best characterized by a Münchhausenism which an officer, with a perfectly straight face, reported to us as true: in the waters beside Villa Cáceres the candiru is so vicious and so consumed with its passion that even when a person relieves himself on the shore it quickly goes up in the jet of water.*

Since, however, the amphibian nature of the Trumaí will justifiably encounter skepticism, and the stay in the water, even for the fisherman or the rower hauling his canoe through the cataracts, plays only an insignificant role, it is /196/ not necessary to grasp at the only occasional danger from the candiru. On

/196 cont./

their domestic tasks

have made them less accustomed to squatting than the men, and they are therefore less protected. In the illustration on the next page /see p. 192/ a group of Bakairí from the second village shows very well the characteristic positions of both sexes in sitting or squatting.

In the case of the women, too, if protection of the mucous membrane was to be effected by their devices, this purpose would probably be achieved and certainly be achieved better than, say, the purpose of concealment. Furthermore, it should be realized that, assuming the purpose to be protection of the mucous membrane, a need for this was at least increased through sexual life, since in the case of the young /197/ woman the mucosa became more accessible, in the pregnant state more turgescent, and as a result of childbirth more slack.

Thus it would indeed be improper, on the basis of local conditions, to doubt that the methods described could offer the adults of both sexes protection against external assaults and that there was no lack of occasions when they were bound to be useful in this sense. It would also be natural for young people to be duly furnished with them as early as the onset of puberty when they began to work with the older ones. The explanation, however, cannot possibly be exhaustive. For the importance and indispensableness of the devices are out of proportion to the idea /Fig. 19 appears here/ of protective apparatus. Why should they not have been removed more often, especially at night in the hammock? Why should the young men have been so intent on training the praeputium. Why should particular fun have been made one day about wearing the uluri or the cuffs? The connections with sexual life must be direct and not merely indirect.

In the case of the female sex one encounters no difficulty. Suddenly bleeding appears; there is illness here. That the Indian thought this originally is clearly proved by the utterly superfluous medical treatment of the menstruating girl customary among most tribes, /198/ with isolation, fumigation, diet, incisions, and other remedies against the unknown foes. One neatly removed the pubic hair and donned a bandage, the hair loop, or a cushion, the uluri. The hair loop among the Trumai women --

/251 cont./

BO 171 532 given cap, pipe, and the fine hunting knife. Children, to whom smoking as such seems strange, would have thick smoke coming out of the pipe, but the Indians are interested only in the apparatus. In the corner on the right, the Brazilian soldier was given a uniform with three buttons, that is to say, only the coat, from which emerge the usual lines for arms without sleeves. The armless figure above it is the only one where an attempt was made to do justice to our trousers, even at the expense of the feet.

B 171 532 331 The chief attribute of the men, especially in the externally more meagerly equipped portraits on Kulisehu I and II, is the one conferred on them by nature. Here we have the child's standpoint altogether, namely, that it does not matter to the sketcher whether he sees with his eyes what he feels duty-bound to indicate because he knows it is there. For the Indian who goes unclothed, this is the characteristic feature and so he shows it: he even adds it where he expressly draws the clothing, cf. the soldier. Thus, the navel is also often taken into consideration. Indeed, the Nahoquá from whom I demanded completeness (Kulisehu II) did not want to forget even the anus.

B 171 532 BO 171 532 The spatial arrangement is not quite a secondary to the Indians as it is to the youngest children, but strange things are done with it. The fact that the pipe (Bororó I) is put next to the mouth does not mean anything when in the same picture one sees the mustache above the eyes. I would have declared it to be a pair of joined eyebrows, what Goethe calls Bänel, but I was emphatically informed that the line represents the mustache. The same is true of the small central figure below it. And the Bakairí do the same thing with the unfamiliar mustache. On the Kulisehu plate II, lower left, we see the mustache below the cap, which is carefully cut off from the roundness of the head by a cross line, and the chin beard, separated from it by a large nose, /252/ is kept entirely inside the face. This head is precisely my map of Africa, with the lakes imperturbably put north or south of the Congo and the Nile sources, out of all proportion, the dreadful line of the neck looks like my Isthmus of Suez, and the

/301 cont./

535 of vine characterizes the barbels of the fish. The costume for the other figures of the dance consists of a straw cap with long fiber hangings all around, pulled down over the entire head, and a garment plaited out of buriti leaf strips, which we found on the Batovy even in 1884. Straw caps without a stem belong to the semímo or bat dancer; the imódo (on the left in Figure 92 /see p. 348/) has on its cap a stem with one or even two knob-like thickenings, the imeo (Figure 92, right) a bundle of knobbed stems. The imódo was also hung up in the hut as a maize doll (cf. page 317). Finally, a cap with five little cane rods arranged like Pan-pipes plaited into the stem was called enoschibúro; this, however, is the name of the wood out of which the [532] flutes are carved. The mask represented a whistling bird which I could not identify. The measurements of this cap are: total length 86 centimeters, top piece 11.5 centimeters, actual cap 22.5 centimeters, hangings 52 centimeters.

Fig. 91. Sheatfish mask. Bakairí. (1/16 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

The buriti doublet of the imeo dance, with fringed sleeves and trousers, Fig. 92, is very remarkable. We also found separate sleeves, which were worn in connection with the loose straw hangings. One steps into the suit at the neck; the width there is one and a quarter meters and a string is inserted for drawing it together. The Bakairí tried to put on European shirts in the same awkward way. Between the trouser legs there is a slit that is laced together with a thin cord. /302/ If our clothing owes its origin to a sense of modesty, the Bakairí has taken [531] another course, or he must be regarded as a bad satirist, for on some specimens he has hung on the outside a penis consisting of a

/302 cont./

535 little piece of an ear of maize together with testicles of plaiting.
[831] Inevitably we feel forced to assume that a human individual is being presented to us. This is not necessarily the case, however, for,
[825] conversely, it seems self-evident to the Indian that the animal portrayed appears and acts with all human characteristics, and he

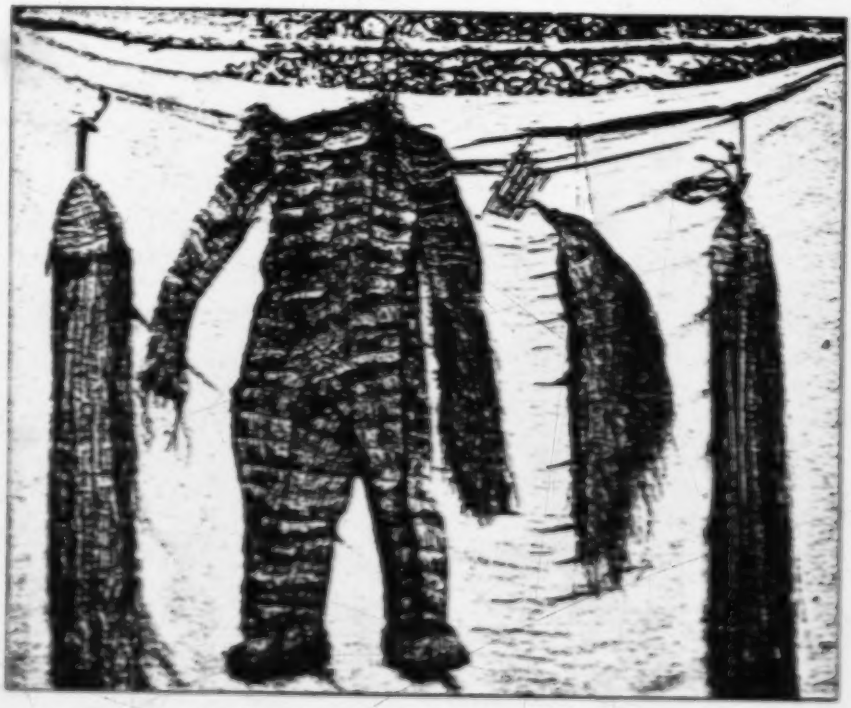

Fig. 92. Makanari of the Bakairi.
Imeo. Imeo. Enoschiburo. imeo.

also gives the face masks of his animal: human features.

The dance on the Batovy, the ornamental attire for which we found in 1884 in the flute house of the second Bakairi village, is called imiga. (Cf. Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, (p. 170 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 51/.) There were painted gourds, with feathers pasted on and open at the bottom, with carved birds looking out, the stuffed skin of a campo foxand an otter, a

735 came back to the village to play tricks on people. The Bacairí did not believe that the ghosts of the dead caused death and, therefore, were not afraid
736 of them. They were, however, afraid of certain
761 evil spirits—for instance, *eradupíra*, who caused
753 death and sickness.

756 To become a shaman (*pidji*), a young unmarried man would train with an old shaman for a period of 6 months to a year. During this period
[785] sexual intercourse was forbidden, fasts were periodically observed, and the novice had to abstain from eating meat. Much of the training took place in the woods, where the old shaman would
[755] teach the novice the curative properties of roots and herbs and, also, how to get in touch with the
756 ghosts of dead shamans. The training would be
787 complete when the novice acquired his own spirit
[775] helper, which was always the ghost of a dead shaman. Sometimes the revelation was so powerful that the young novice would fall to the ground in a trance. The spirit that then appeared to
[534] him instructed him how to make a flute (either *emíni* or *kanagéra*), which he kept in the sacred flute house, and gave him a special tune by which he could always call his spirit helper. The novice had then to prove himself by curing some sick person or by finding lost property. If he were successful he became a recognized shaman.

756 Before beginning a performance, shamans al-
755 ways fasted for several days and smoked heavily. In curing a sick person the shaman asked his spirit helper for instructions which usually were explanations of how to remove objects from the body which caused the illness. Besides removing
758 objects from the body the shamans prepared med-
757 icines. Headaches and pains in the body were cured by juice of the *pemêira* tuber, and *turógi* leaves were used for pains in the chest. For
[25] healing the wounds made by the scratcher the juice made by boiling the *kumatáui* plant was used. The Bacairí also prepared aphrodisiacs
[25] from the *kutéine* plant and by mixing piqui nuts, honey, and turtle eggs.

GAMES

526 The Bacairí played, and still play, a form of Indian football called *toiapendli*. The ball (*toia*)
[39] was made by covering a round gourd with native rubber, leaving a small opening. The gourd was

B /198 cont./

*171 291 841 T 171 291 841 a combination of bandage and cushion -- is twisted like a rope, in the case of the uluri wearers the narrow bark strip makes possible the stretching over the perineum; in both bases there is provided a support pressing against the pubic symphysis, in the former case by means of the little roll, in the latter case by means of the springy triangle. One realizes that it was not cleanliness which prompted the procedure, but the medical attempt to counteract the loss of blood. These are truly not inventions of modesty, such as aprons or similar loose hangings.

Fig. 19. Squatting Bakairí.

similar loose hangings.

B In the case of the men, the explanation is not so obvious. Here, *171 too, an attempt has been made to preserve the connection with a 291 causative, primary sense of modesty. The view has been expressed 834 that shame was felt only when the glans of the penis was exposed to the gaze of others and therefore it alone was covered. Unfortunately, I did not observe anything that might settle the question directly. I saw that the people were not ashamed when they gave us their devices

/198 cont./

171 291 834 or occasionally took them off, just as a number of Trumaí did not even wear the string, but the penis had always been pushed back so far and the skin was so wrinkled that nothing was visible of the glans. I even believe, perhaps because, without corroborating material, I myself am gazing through the spectacles of civilization, that they would be ashamed to expose the glans to the eyes of another, especially a stranger. Except that I would regard this feeling of modesty as the result of the firmly rooted custom and not as its cause. I find it very strange, however, that a feeling given by temperament should be awakened for only a small anatomical part of an organ which in its function also claims other parts, and I should like to hear of a case having been observed, say, in which a person taken by surprise in a naked state covers himself, not with his hand, but with only two fingers. It should not be forgotten that erections are neither prevented nor concealed by the tying-off. Moreover, there are also [304] circumcised persons who go naked or did.

[113] *Cf. the example of the cacique of Gotera; R. Andree, Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche, new series, Leipzig, 1889, p. 202.

And here we have arrived at the point that must be considered above all. We must take into consideration the opposite treatment of the glans, which shortens or cuts open the praeputium. The majority of mankind has given preference to circumcision. Along with Ploss and Andree, ** I am of the opinion that the

** Op. cit., p. 212.

original meaning of circumcision was that of an "operative preparatory act for the sexual function of the man": "one wants to make the young man at once mature and normal sexually. /199/ with it he is taken into the ranks of marriageable men." Now, if our primitives have decided on the opposite method, they could not have been impelled by an opposite motive, which would be irrational. One may well ask, however, whether their

754 /266 cont./ But in the event the illness had been
755 caused by another sorcerer, it would be necessary to find out first the vehicle of the disease. This might be a small piece of charred wood, a thin cotton thread, or a small piece of bone, tossed from a distance and thus introduced into the patient's body. The sorcerer would suck at the afflicted part, thus withdrawing the cause of the illness.

754 /267/ Our informants could tell us nothing about diseases
[114] caused by omeoto (evil sorcerers) mentioned by Karl von den
[753] Steinen. According to the latter, in order to injure an Indian, a sorcerer would cook in a pot a lizard into whose throat he had previously inserted the skin of the middle finger of a corpse. The agony and death of the lizard were matched simultaneously by the agony and death of the victim. (13)

13. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., p. 442.

[114] In our opinion, this method hardly seems to be indigenous and
[199] is probably the result of acculturation. However, our informants did not know about it.

756 In order to become a sorcerer, a youth had to undergo
[834] training for a period that lasted from six to 12 months, sub-
[262] mitting to rigorous sexual abstinence and an exclusively vegetal
[784] diet. Throughout the initiation period the candidate remained uanki, enclosed in the kajoeti. Part of the training, meanwhile, was carried out in distant places, where the novice learned the healing properties of certain roots, as well as the secrets related to the supernatural world. The training ended
[787] with the acquisition, on the candidate's part, of a guardian
[276] spirit, or iamlira. This acquisition was made during a trance into which the candidate has fallen by means of the ingestion of narcotic substances. After this the new sorcerer had to prove his power, either through small acts such as finding lost objects or by curing a sick person.

There appears to be no evidence that the Escuirt had clans or moieties. The kinship nomenclature is of the bifurcate merging type with parallel kin merged with lineal kin and with separate terms for mother's brother and father's sister and for cross cousins. (See chart 2.) The kinship terms in ego's generation and in the children's generation are distinct for men and women. Beyond the bar prohibiting marriage between anyone called brother, sister, parent, or child, there were no special rules governing marriage. Cross-cousin marriage was common but not preferred. There were no residence rules or avoidance of the mother-in-law or father-in-law. As the Escuirt lived in large communal houses, marriages often took place between young people brought up in the same house. After marriage they would take over a section of the house as their private quarters. The Escuirt say that families could move to another house with the consent of the house elder. Although polygyny was permissible marriages were generally monogamous. The father and the father's brother had great authority and were highly respected. Younger brothers were not permitted to joke or play rough with their eldest brother. The mother's brother and father's sister were also respected but less than the eldest brother. The relationship between brothers and sisters was one of great respect, the informant saying that incest was unthinkable.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH (SRAIÑLLO)

Pregnancy (*ewdrin*) was recognized as being caused by sexual intercourse. In advanced pregnancy a woman was not permitted to eat the flesh of such large animals as deer, capybara, or tapir. When the time of delivery drew near a portion of the house was screened off, where the woman gave birth and remained secluded until the normal menses began. The expectant mother was assisted by her mother and other female relatives, a shaman being called only in cases of difficult birth.

A woman gave birth in a squatting position, the midwife holding her under the arms and gently pressing her stomach. Sometimes the stomach and back of the woman were bathed with poultices made from boiled cotton leaves. It was the duty of the woman's mother to cut the umbilical cord

/122 cont./

191 Unfortunately neither Carlotta nor Luisa and Maria spoke one syllable of their mother tongue.

• 837 The young men had the old women. It is therefore not improbable that Luis, who himself boasted of the conquest of three women's hearts, was not wrong when he maintained that occasional /123/ unfaithfulness is not uncommon and also is not 593 severely judged. The good-natured, aged Caetano, he said, even fell sick, to his astonishment, a short time after the visit of the Martyrios expedition, but he was unable to be sullen with his Luisinha for more than a few days.

162

Luisa Cajibí and Carlotta Parecí.

847 The use of abortive remedies is said to be common and to 161 explain the small number of children. The end of this community can clearly be foreseen.

162 The following was the result of my census:

621 Felipe (absent) married to Carlotta Parecí, childless.

[125] Caetano " " Luisa Cajibí, childless.

Miguel, Joaquim } brothers " " Feliciana, one small daughter.

João, Antonio } brothers (our companion).

Joaquina, sister of Miguel and Joaquim.

Marianna.

/125/

648 Carlotta showed us the captain's commission (from 1882) of her absent husband. As a seal an imitation gold capsule with a bas-relief cross, which had lost its shine, was set on a piece of pink ribbon; in addition, a chest bow in the Brazilian colors.

594 553 Luis, whose new house is not yet finished, is hospitably taken in by Carlotta, who, during Felipe's absence, claims most of the space; his real affection, however, is for his namesake, 837 Luisa Cajibí. He said that he and Maria Cajibí had had a little son who had died. "And did Miguel know about it?" I asked timidly. "Oh, he," replied the vain mulatto, whose face in comparison with that of the Indians is like roasted coffee as against unroasted, "he was completely in favor of the affair and, of course, he immediately knew of the Brazilian descent of the child by its light skin and its hair."

563 Luis is extremely satisfied with his life among the Bakairí who are so far beneath him; he says that he has everything that he needs, does not owe anybody a copper, and the Indians are [829] good people. Later on he would perhaps like to go to Lisbon, because, according to what a friend told him, it must be the most 123 beautiful city in the world. He was impertinent enough to interfere with quite unjustifiable demands in the transaction concerning the delivery of rice which Daniel had made with Caetano on the first day. Daniel, who is easily aroused, seized his comblain and hit him over the head with the butt. The philosopher hastily bolted on his long brown legs and, standing bent over in the doorway of the chief's hut, exchanged a flood of compliments with Daniel, while that good creature, old Captain Mêmo, in his tattered, coarse cotton suit, which apparently came from the prison, squatted on the floor and stared forward with a friendly expression.

Our idyll was unpleasantly interrupted on 1 July by the news that Tupy had appeared the evening before at the fazenda. On the way he had met the men sent back by us, commanded them to return, and rode on ahead of them. The sergeant, hunting pigs, had lost the correspondence in the forest.

/196 cont./

have made them less accustomed to squatting than the men, and they are therefore less protected. In the illustration on the next page /see p. 192/ a group of Bakairi from the second village show very well the characteristic positions of both sexes in sitting or squatting.

In the case of the women, too, if protection of the mucous membrane was to be effected by their devices, this purpose would probably be achieved and certainly be achieved better than, say, the purpose of concealment. Furthermore, it should be realized that, assuming the purpose to be protection of the mucous membrane, a need for this was at least increased through sexual life, since in the case of the young /197/ women the mucosa became more accessible, in the pregnant more turgescent, and as a result of childbirth more slack.

Thus it would indeed be improper, on the basis of local conditions, to doubt that the methods described could offer the adults of both sexes protection against external assaults and that there was no lack of occasions when they were bound to be useful in this sense. It would also be natural for young people to be duly furnished with them as early as the onset of puberty when they began to work with the older men. The explanation, however, cannot possibly be exhaustive. For the importance and indispensableness of the devices are out of proportion to the idea /Fig. 19 appears here/ of protective apparatus. Why should they not have been remarked more often, especially as might as well be mammock? Why should the young men have been so intent on training the preputium. Why should particular fun have been made one day about wearing the uluri or the cuffs? The connections with sexual life must be direct and not merely indirect.

In the case of the female sex one encounters no difficulty. Suddenly bleeding appears: there is illness here. That the Indian thought this originally is clearly proved by the utterly superfluous medical treatment of the menstruating girl customary among most tribes, /198/ with isolation, fumigation, diet, incisions, and other remedies against the unknown foes. One newly removed the pubic hair and donned a bandage, the bast loop, or a cushion, the uluri. The bast loop among the Trumai women --

2: Sexuen--182 E D-5 (1894, 1887-1889) 1894 SPT Berlin 597
Trivial, SPES

/199 cont./

a combination of bandage and cushion -- is twisted like a rope, in the case of the plus weaves the narrow bark strip makes possible the stretching over the perineum; in both bases there is provided a support pressing against the pubic symphysis, in the former case by means of the little roll, in the latter case by means of the springy sheath. One realizes that it was not cleanliness which prompted the procedure, but the medical attempt to counteract the loss of blood. These are truly not inventions of modesty, such as aprons or similar loose hangings.

Fig. 19. Squatting Bakairi.

In the case of the men, the explanation is not so obvious. Here, too, an attempt has been made to preserve the connection with a causative, primary sense of modesty. The view has been expressed that shame was felt only when the glans of the penis was exposed to the gaze of others and therefore it alone was covered. Unfortunately, I did not observe anything that might settle the question directly. I saw that the people were not ashamed when they gave us their devices

/336 cont./

do not cease fasting, and then it drops off. If it is a boy, he makes a bow with arrows and fastens it to the handle of ropes of the hammock and on the clay handle of ropes he fastens many bunches of herbs, which as the fees that his son is to kill and devour, and after these ceremonies are over, they make wine which they all enjoy."

According to these valuable statements, which correspond exactly with those on the Chingú /Kingu/, one might call the father the attending physician, who perhaps also fans like the apprentice medicine man,and who, if he behaved differently, might endanger his care ad harm the child. Not only the Schingú people, however but many other tribes say that the father may not eat fish, meat, and fruits because it would be the same as though the child ate them, and there is no reason why one should not believe that the natives believe this. It is also said that the medicin man of the village is always available and that he is summoned in all other cases when mother or child becomes ill.

The father is a patier insofar as he identifies himself with the newborn child. It is,after all, not really so difficult to understand how he happens to do this. /337/ The native cannot very well know anything about the human egg-cell and the Graafian follicle; he cannot know that the mother harbors a structure corresponding tothe eggs of birds. For him the man [illegible] egg which he, to put it succinctly and clearly, lays inside [illegible] and which the latter hatches out during pregnancy. Consider [illegible] where the Indians hardrawn the male egg. Where the biologistic material is adquate, we see immediately how this extremely natural attempt to explain conception is also manifest in the words for father testicles, and egg. In Guaraní tub means father, tpawi,egg, tupil means eggs, and "tup-i" itself, the name of the tribewith the addition of -i, "little," is merely little fathers or eggs children, as one wishes, the father is egg and the child is a little father. The language itself says that the child is nothi but the father. Among the Tupí it was also the custom that a father, after the birth of each new son,

/577 cont./

took a new name. In order to explain this, it is by no means necessary to assume that the "soul" of the father entered into the son each time. It is exactly the same in the Karaiben. imu is egg or testicles or father or child, the latter among several tribes already differentiated phonetically:

Iputucuma /Putucuma/ imu "egg," Bakaiñ "testicles," Tamatako "father," Makuchi /Macuk/ imum "seed." With the pronominal suffix -ru, we find imu-ru, "child," among various tribes: Kumanagoto /Cumanagoto/ ume "my father," ano "your father," Kahuqui umi-ru "my child," ami-ru "your child." Naturally, it comes about everywhere that qualifying affixes are supplied or words originally identical devices from one another phonetically, with the connection forgotten. Thus, Kamayurá has ye-rup "my father," upiá "egg," ye-ocapiá "my testicles". Aweti has i-upiá "my testicles," u-upiá "his eggs". the lingua geral has cepyá "testicles," cupiá "egg." Among the Bakaiñ "child" and "little" are indri, "the child of the chief" pina indri, we may translate it as either "the child of the chief" or "the little chief" as we wish and do not realize in connection with the latter form, which we might apply jokingly to the son, that for the Indian the child is really only the little chief himself, a small edition of the big one. For our feeling, too, this conception is strange and scarcely comprehensible in the case where a girl is involved. But even the girl is the little father and not the little mother; she is made only by the father. In Bakaiñ there are no special words for "son" and "daughter," but rather [illegible] pina kinda, they mean the daughter as well as the son of the chief. The only daughter of the chief is the heiress of the property and rank, both of which, along with her own property, go to her husband.

The little father comes into the world, the umbilical cord is cut, the big father lies at least until the wound is healed, and with this the new little human being may be regarded as an independent being. The father would surely not observe any precautionary measures if the little one immediately /578/ ran about as healthy as a little chick, but it bleeds and is in danger since it

There appears to be no evidence that the Bunaiit had clans or moieties. The kinship nomenclature is of the bifurcate merging type with parallel kin merged with lineal kin and with separate terms for mother's brother and father's sister and for cross cousins. (See chart 1.) The kinship terms in ego's generation and in the children's generation are distinct for men and women. Beyond the bar prohibiting marriage between anyone called brother, sister, parent, or child, there were no special rules governing marriage. Cross-cousin marriage was common but not preferred. There were no residence rules or avoidances of the mother-in-law or father-in-law. As the Bunaiit lived in large communal houses, marriages often took place between young people brought up in the same house. After marriage they would take over a section of the house as their private quarters. The Bunaiit say that families could move to another house with the consent of the house elder. Although polygyny was permissible marriages were generally monogamous. The father and the father's brother had great authority and were highly respected. Younger brothers were not permitted to joke or play rough with their eldest brother. The mother's brother and father's sister were also respected but less than the eldest brother. The relationship between brothers and sisters was one of great respect, the informants saying that incest was unthinkable.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH (BRAHMAN)

Pregnancy (*ewdin*) was recognized as being caused by sexual intercourse. In advanced pregnancy a woman was not permitted to eat the tapir. When the time of delivery drew near a portion of the house was screened off, where the woman gave birth and remained secluded until the normal menses began. The expectant mother was assisted by her mother and other female relatives, a shaman being called only in cases of difficult birth.

A woman gave birth in a squatting position, the midwife holding her under the arms and gently pressing her stomach. Sometimes the stomach and back of the woman were bathed with poultices made from boiled cotton leaves. It was the duty of the woman's mother to cut the umbilical cord

/300 cont./

is not even tied off. The thing is not so strange if the mother is thought of as merely an incubator. Even during the pregnancy (see Plow, Das Kind /The Child/, II, Ch. 7) the father fasts frequently and avoids heavy work, so as not to harm the child. After birth, however, at least until the moment when the remainder of the umbilical cord drops off, he still feels in actual "connection" with the child, and at least during the days when the life of the little father seems obviously in danger, a diet must be observed and nothing eaten that does not agree with the one part. Nor is it by any means absolutely necessary that the confinement take place in the presence of the father in order to force him to fast, and hence the need for his presence cannot be the ultimate reason for the custom. As was quoted, the Island Karaiben observed their couvade even a month later. Among the Iputina on the Purus the woman, assisted by a few older women, gives birth in a forest hut and returns only "four or five days later" to her husband, who only now may see the child and who was obliged to adhere to a strict diet during this time." For an entire year yet the husband may not eat either pig or tapir meat. Chmurzeich, who reports this, adds: "a real 'men's childbed' is not customary." Well, but probably not only insofar as the father need not lie in the hammock, which, even though it is not merely a secondary phenomenon, is in any case one of least important prescriptions of the treatment. Even the Indian knows that improper nourishment is first of all harmful for the child, and therefore the most important thing is to follow a diet. Everything

80 [illegible]

the Bororó is decisive. The mother gives birth in the forest, and the father, who is never present, not only fasts, but, if the child is sick, also takes the medicine that is handed to him for the child, as we learned from the druggist of the Brazilian military colony, who was greatly surprised over this.

While the procedure for the father is the same in all the tribes, the conduct of the mother may be very different, depending on whether she is regarded as more or less ailing. She goes back to her duties again insofar as she feels strong enough and nurses the child, but that suffices. There is no mysterious correspondence

/263 cont./

600 dangers that surrounded them. Pregnancy, *enoka*, was
843 recognized by the cessation of the menstrual periods. When
262 the abdomen of the pregnant woman began to assume visible proportions, a diet based on vegetal foods and fish was initiated.
844 As the time of delivery drew near, a separate section was
[784] built inside the houses: the parturient was segregated and remained *uaki*. Female relatives helped in the delivery under the direction of an experienced woman. The parturient gave
[895] birth sitting on her heels. In difficult cases they washed her abdomen and sides with a hot infusion of cotton eaves. The umbilical cord was cut by the parturient herself or by her husband, and it was buried along with the placenta outside the
849 house. After the birth, *eraeli*, the child was washed and
784 handed over to the parents; later it would be given the name
846 of some dead relative. During the birth and for some time
[353] afterward, the child and its parents remained in a state of *uaki*. The end of the seclusion was signaled by the first
846 menstrual period of the parturient, and it was marked by a
786 feast called *tadaunino*. The restoration of the mother and the
784 child to the bosom of the community was accomplished by means of a feast called *tabiroli*.

When children reached puberty they were secluded, *uaki*, for a period of several months. They could not come out in daylight, and they were fed and looked for by their
[856] relatives. It was believed that the greater or lesser duration of the young people's *uaki* period would lead to their better
[illegible] or worse physical constitution. On the other hand, a chief's son was secluded for seven or eleven longer than [illegible] year. The period
881 of seclusion began for boys with the ritual of the perforation of
304 the ears (usually undergone in groups). Girls had the [illegible] perforated immediately after birth, and their seclusion was
784 marked by the advent of the first menses. The end of the *uaki*
784 state was also celebrated with the *tadaunino*. The girls then
881 began to wear *aluri*, that is to say, triangular genital coverings
786 about three centimeters square made of tree bark.
881
291

There appears to be no evidence that the Bacairi had clans or moieties. The kinship nomenclature is of the bifurcate merging type with parallel kin merged with lineal kin and with separate terms for mother's brother and father's sister and for cross cousins. (See chart 2.) The kinship terms in ego's generation and in the children's generation are distinct for men and women. Beyond the bar prohibiting marriage between anyone called brother, sister, parent, or child, there were no special rules governing marriage. Cross-cousin marriage was common but not preferred. There were no residence rules or avoidances of the mother-in-law or father-in-law. As the Bacairi lived in large communal houses, marriages often took place between young people brought up in the same house. After marriage they would take over a section of the house as their private quarters. The Bacairi say that families could move to another house with the consent of the house elder. Although polygyny was permissible marriages were generally monogamous. The father and the father's brother had great authority and were highly respected. Younger brothers were not permitted to joke or play rough with their eldest brother. The mother's brother and father's sister were also respected but less than the eldest brother. The relationship between brothers and sisters was one of great respect, the informants saying that incest was unthinkable.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH (BAAIÑIAI)

Pregnancy (*wodiai*) was recognized as being caused by sexual intercourse. In advanced pregnancy a woman was not permitted to eat the flesh of such large animals as deer, capybara, or tapir. When the time of delivery drew near a portion of the house was screened off, where the [illegible] normal menses began. The expectant mother was assisted by her mother and other female relatives, a shaman being called only in cases of difficult birth.

A woman gave birth in a squatting position, the midwife holding her under the arms and gently pressing her stomach. Sometimes the stomach and back of the woman were bathed with poultices made from boiled cotton leaves. It was the duty of the woman's mother to cut the umbilical cord

/331 cont./

#171 682 not always in the best hands, and goes to the son, or, if there is none, to the son of the sister. In Maigéri the chief had died and left only a daughter, "my intended" in the Bakairí idyl. Tumayana, the brother of the widow, now became temporary chief; as soon as the girl married, her husband took his place. She received a quantity of the beads which we had given to others; the chief's stool belonged to her.

#171 611 648 A number of characteristics of matriarchy are recognizable in the little that I am able to report about these conditions. The sons belong to the tribe of the mother; Antonio said that if one of the Bakairí /Bacairi/ married to Paresí women had children, they would be Paresí. Which, of course, in the case of abducted women, can only be meant very theoretically. In our time #171 592 648 marriages took place between Mehinakú and Nahuquá, between Auenó and Taulapiti, as well as between Kamayurá /Camayura/, and Auenó, between Kamayurá and Mehinakú, between Batovy Bakairí and Kuiseuá /Cuiseua/, between Kulisehu Bakairí and Nahuquá. Just as Mehinakú women lived among the Nahuquá, #171 591 648 so had Auenó men married Taulapiti women and lived in two houses somewhat apart from the Auenó village; they were called "Arauiti."* On the other hand, a Kuiseuá man and a Nahuquá

*The Suyá chief who in 1884 gave us the map of the river course was also called an "Arauiti" by the Auenó chief. His strikingly small lip-plug was explained by the fact that he had had the operation later; he himself traced his geographical knowledge back to his own [illegible]

man had married and lived among the Bakairí, whereas we never observed the opposite, that Bakairí women married into another tribe. Paulaga, from the first Bakairí village on the #171 591 Batovy, had as his wife Awía's daughter from Maigéri and, when ● 644 his wife was ready to give birth, came with her to Awiá's house on the Kulisehu /so that she, or rather both of them, as we shall

*171 591 ● 644 *171 604 [593]

/331 cont./

see, could occupy the lying-in room at the home of the parents-in-law. Although the people lived in monogamy and the father was the head of the family, the mother's brother was still regarded as equal to the father as a protector of the child and in any case, if the father died, assumed all responsibilities until the children were grown. He, not the mother, was in charge of their property.

*171 601 *171 123 602

Among all the tribes, older and younger brothers had different designations. The younger brother was on the same level as the cousin and had a name in common with him. The Bakairí called me "older brother" and later in the third village also "grandfather"; the Mehinakú called me "uncle" (mother's brother). My traveling companions were always called my "younger brothers or cousins" and were also addressed in this way by the Indians themselves.

*171 583 585

Marriages were concluded without wedding celebrations, the parents, first the fathers, then the mothers, talk matters over, and the father of the bride receives /332/ arrows and more axes, the bridegroom must also work with him in the clearing "to show that he knows how," he hangs his hammock above that of the girl, and everything is in order. That older men have young wives and younger men older wives was clearly pronounced only on the Paranatinga, but not on the Kulisehu (this prerogative of the old thus appears only with the decline of the tribe). At least the few matrimonial unions with which I became more closely acquainted in Maigdri were evenly matched. Divorce among the Bakairí takes place without any trouble, it was said, even if the husband is not in favor of it. "The woman leaves, perhaps he

*171 582 [593] 586

I have spoken earlier about the division of labor between the sexes; cf. pp. 216 ff. The woman did not occupy an undignified position. The husband let her carry a larger load than he himself carried, he kept her away from the flute house where the men consulted, smoked, celebrated festivals, and where strangers were lodged, he was her lord and master -- and he did what she wanted. When Martius says that the woman does not occupy an inferior position "in spite of slavish subordination as a result of

/334 cont./

One of the women in the Paranatinga village was called mahila o tujujú mork. The names of the men were usually obtained without difficulty; sometimes there was a little reluctance and it was preferred that a friend give the information. One Bakaïr allegedly had no name because his parents had died early. From the women on the Kuliseho I always received only the answer, "I am a woman"; however, I neglected to ask a third person. I have described the custom of exchanging names; cf. pages 115 and 122. It explains why the Indians make so little fuss about submitting to Christian baptism. To them it means simply a ceremony by means of which they lose their old name.

Birth and couvade. Abortions are said to take place frequently. The women are afraid of childbirth. Among the Bakaïr they make a tea from the root of a campo tree called perovinha. Probably there are also mechanical procedures. The woman gives birth in a kneeling position on the floor, hanging on to a post. The hammock is not supposed to be soiled. Women who demonstrated this to us in pantomime and who knew about it from experience stated emphatically that the pains were great. They soon get up, however, and go to work, and the man goes through the well-known couvade, the male lying-in, during which he adheres to a strict diet, does not touch weapons, and spends most of his time in the hammock. On our return we saw such a couvade in Maigdri in Paleho's house. An actual lying-in room had been /335/ set up by stretching two man-high walls of hanging buriti leaves from one of the main posts to the outer wall. In this way a three-cornered segment was closed off. I was gladly allowed to enter so that I could give the child beads. [illegible] with babies and two men. A strong odor of nihf, coming from rubbings, filled the room. The babies were hurfgu, ill, weak, the parents complained. The fathers and mothers were ceaselessly occupied with blowing on them, and, to be sure, with hollow-sounding noises with the mouth nearly closed, which was hardly interrupted for a moment throughout the following night. The husbands left the house only to relieve themselves; they lived exclusively on thin pogu, manioca cakes crumbled in water.

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Among our Indians the father takes care of the child, the woman returns to work sooner. That the father lies in the hammock a great deal is understandable in view of the lack of nourishment and from the mere fact that he stays at home. /336/ When does the couvade start and when does it end? The father cuts the umbilical cord of the newborn child, fasts strictly, cares for the child, and is a free man once more when the remainder of the umbilical cord drops off. Among the Bakairí he cuts the umbilical cord of boys with kanibayuva reed, of girls with takoara bamboo.

Let us compare with this the note by Martius about the Paudh /Pawi/, where the customs may be recognized particularly clearly as medical when the young woman at the onset of the menses fasts for a month, the woman in confinement remains in the dark for a month and, "like the husband, is restricted to a diet of manioca, beijú, and flour soup. The husband colors himself black and remains in the hammock during the entire period of fasting or until the dried umbilical cord of the baby drops off (six to eight days). He himself usually cuts the umbilical cord with the teeth or sharp stones, if he has no knife." Especially important, however, is a manuscript by the Jesuit Father Cardim of 1584 and preserved for us in the monastery library of Evora, the capital of the Portuguese province of Alemtejo,*

* Do principio e origem dos Indios do Brasil /The Beginning and Origin of the Indians of Brazil/, Rio de Janeiro, 1885.

which contains many reliable observations. "The women give birth on the ground, they do not pick up the child, but rather the father picks it up or some person whom they take as sponsor and with whom they [illegible] among the Christians. the father cuts the umbilical cord with the teeth or with two stones, one above the other, and immediately thereafter he lies down to fast until the navel drops off, which usually takes up to eight days, and until it drops off they

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600 [illegible] 202 dangers that surrounded them. Pregnancy, *ruchua*, was recognized by the cessation of the menstrual periods. When the abdomen of the pregnant woman began to attain visible proportions, a diet based on vegetal foods and fish was initiated. 604 As the time of delivery drew near, a separate section was [784] built inside the houses; the parturient was segregated and remained *unki*. Female relatives helped in the delivery under the direction of an experienced woman. The parturient gave [695] birth sitting on her heels. In difficult cases they washed her abdomen and sides with a hot infusion of cotton leaves. The umbilical cord was cut by the parturient herself or by her husband, and it was buried along with the placenta outside the 604 house. After the birth, *ruwaka* the child was washed and 754 handed over to the parents; later it would be given the name 606 of some dead relative. During the birth and for some time [555] afterward, the child and its parents remained in a state of *unki*. The end of the seclusion was signaled by the first 9% menstrual period of the parturient, and it was marked by a 7% feast called *tulumiro*. The reinsertion of the parents and the 7% child in the bosom of the community was accomplished by means of a feast called *nahinili*.

When children reached puberty they were secluded, *unki*, for a period of several months. They could not come out in daylight, and they were fed and looked after by their [236] relatives. It was believed that the greater or lesser duration of the young people's *unki* period would lead to their better [622] or worse physical constitution. On the other hand, a chief's son had to remain in seclusion longer than usual. The period 681 of seclusion began for boys with the ritual of the perforation of 308 the ears (usually undergone in groups). Girls had their ears 787 perforated immediately after birth, and their seclusion was marked by the advent of the first menses. The end of the *unki* period was also celebrated with the *tulumiro*. The girls then 681 begin to wear *ulum*, that is to say, triangular genital coverings 786 about three centimeters square made of tree bark.

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There appears to be no evidence that the Dawaiti had clans or moieties. The kinship nomenclature is of the bifurcate merging type with parallel kin merged with lineal kin and with separate terms for mother's brother and father's sister and for cross cousins. (See chart 2.) The kinship terms in ego's generation and in the children's generation are distinct for men and women. Beyond the bar prohibiting marriage between anyone called brother, sister, parent, or child, there were no special rules governing marriage. Cross-cousin marriage was common but not preferred. There were no residence rules or avoidances of the mother-in-law or father-in-law. As the Dawaiti lived in large communal houses, marriages often took place between young people brought up in the same house. After marriage they would take over a section of the house as their private quarters. The Dawaiti say that families could move to another house with the consent of the house elder. Although polygyny was permissible marriages were generally monogamous. The father and the father's brother had great authority and were highly respected. Younger brothers were not permitted to joke or play rough with their eldest brother. The mother's brother and father's sister were also respected but less than the eldest brother. The relationship between brothers and sisters was one of great respect, the informant saying that incest was unthinkable.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH (DAMBAI)

Pregnancy (*mabiki*) was recognized as being caused by sexual intercourse. In advanced pregnancy a woman was not permitted to eat the flesh of such large animals as deer, cassowary, or tapir. When the time of delivery drew near a portion of the house was screened off, where the woman gave birth and remained secluded until the normal menses begins. The expectant mother was assisted by her mother and other female relatives, a midwife being called only in cases of difficult birth.

A woman gave birth in a squatting position, the midwife holding her under the arms and gently pressing her stomach. Sometimes the stomach and back of the woman were bathed with poultices made from boiled cotton leaves. It was the duty of the woman's mother to cut the umbilical cord

P94 with a bamboo sliver. The placenta was wrapped in a piece of cotton cloth and buried because it was believed that if it were picked at by birds it would cause sickness and misfortune to the mother and child. The child was then washed, wrapped, and given to the mother. Later it was given the name of one of its ancestors.

P95 During the seclusion period the mother and child were believed to be in a state of ritual danger (*wendi*). They were not permitted to go out in daylight and had to be fed and cared for by the female relatives. The first menses released the mother and child from seclusion, this release being known as *tuhowdo*. Shortly afterward the father invited the villagers to a ceremony (*tadiwah*) during which the *wolipiw* and *tuhowa* flutes were played and only the women danced. By means of this ceremony the mother was reintegrated into the life of the family and the village.

P97 After 3 years of age both boys and girls began to enjoy their elders, the boys playing with bows and arrows and the girls with spindles. By the time the boys and girls reached puberty they knew how to perform most adult activities.

PUBERTY RITES

P99 When the girls had their first menses and the boys reached the age of 12 or 14, they had to go into seclusion (*pangtiw*) for a period of 2 months to a year. It was believed that the longer the young people stayed in seclusion the stronger they would become physically. The longer periods of seclusion were also believed to enhance the prestige of the family. The boys and girls were not permitted to come out in daylight, and were fed and cared for by their parents. While the boys and girls were in seclusion they made pots and baskets for family use.

P101 With boys the seclusion was inaugurated by an ear-piercing ceremony. A number of men with sons of about the same age would perform this rite [illegible] and drinking, the *pawadio* song and dance were performed. The boys were now in a state of *wadi*, ritual danger, and were secluded immediately after this rite. The girls' ears were pierced when they were babies, but the ear piercing of the boys corresponded to the period of the first menses of the girls.

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000 dangers that surrounded them. Pregnancy, enokua, was
843 recognized by the cessation of the menstrual periods. When
262 the abdomen of the pregnant woman began to attain visible
proportions, a diet based on vegetal foods and fish was initiated.
844 As the time of delivery drew near, a separate section was
[784] built inside the houses; the parturient was segregated and re-
mained uanki. Female relatives helped in the delivery under
the direction of an experienced woman. The parturient gave
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abdomen and sides with a hot infusion of cotton leaves. The
umbilical cord was cut by the parturient herself or by her hus-
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844 house. After the birth, eraseli, the child was washed and
784 handed over to the parents; later it would be given the name
846 of some dead relative. During the birth and for some time
[553] afterward, the child and its parents remained in a state of
uanki. The end of the seclusion was signaled by the first
846 menstrual period of the parturient, and it was marked by a
796 feast called tadaunúto. The restoration of the parents and the
784 child to the bosom of the community was accomplished by
means of a feast called itabiénli.

When children reached puberty they were secluded,
uanki, for a period of several months. They could not come
out in daylight, and they were fed and looked after by their
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304 the ears (usually undergone in groups). Girls had their ears
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784 state was also celebrated with the tadaunúto. The girls then
881 began to wear uluri, that is to say, triangular genital coverings
796 about three centimeters square made of tree bark.
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would take exaggerated care of them by removing them on occasions when even for children it would not be necessary.

In the first Bakairi village the population had increased by one young soul. Peutogo had become a father and was observing the lying-in period along with his wife. I shall come back to the scene, which seemed comical to us, in discussing the couvade. The maize was a succulent green. We were offered excellent, somewhat dry maize beijiu. My tobacco planting on village plaza had shot up tremendously and was fenced in all around by a palisade.

Fig. 9.
Indians disguised as Europeans.

But what did our astonished eyes catch sight of behind Paleko's house? A new construction, already far advanced, of a strange kind. Or rather, one of very familiar appearance. The Bakairi had taken our ranchs at Independencia as a model and, instead of their beehive, had started a house with a triangular gable /132/ and a two-sided roof. We had believed we were seeing something genuine in a remote corner, and already it was disappointing. "The first glimpse of light," says Bacon, "will also be the last."

Tumayaua, who was going along to Independencia, nevertheless carried out the official farewell in Maigbri. He handed me two large gourd bowls. A little while after that he came to fetch me, seized me vehemently by the arm, and, shouting loudly all around, led me from the hut to the beam in the middle of the plaza and, with a sort of enthusiasm, pulled me down on to the seat. Soon four Kazaiben were sitting there in a row, side by side.

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One of the women in the Paywantings village was called maddis - tuiuf mark. The names of the men were usually obtained without difficulty. Sometimes there was a little reluctance and it was preferred that a friend give the information. Chu Bakabf allegedly had no name because his parents had died early. From the women on the Kalimbu I always received only the answer, "I am a woman". However, I neglected to ask a third person. I have described the custom of exchanging names, cf. pages 115 and 122. It explains why the Indians make so little fuss about submitting to Christian baptism. To them it means simply a ceremony by means of which they lose their old name.

Birth and couvade. Abortions are said to take place frequently. The women are afraid of childbirth. Among the Bakabf they make a tea from the root of a compo tree called pewuinha. Probably there are also mechanical procedures. The woman given birth in a kneeling position on the floor, hanging on to a post. The hammock is not supposed to be soiled. Women who demonstrated this to us in pantomime and who knew about it from experience stated emphatically that the pains were great. They soon get up, however, and go to work, and the man goes through the well-known couvade, the male lying-in, during which he adheres to a strict diet, does not touch weapons, and spends most of his time in the hammock. On our return we saw such a couvade in Maigbi in Faleko's house. An actual lying-in room had been /325/ set up by stretching two man-high walls of hanging burnt leaves from one of the main posts to the outer wall. In this way a three-cornered segment was closed off. I was gladly allowed to enter so that I could give the child beads. Inside there were stretched four hammocks, delivering two women with babies and two men. A strong odor of pilf, coming from niddings, filled the room. The babies were hungry, ill, weak, the parents complained. The fathers and mothers were continually occupied with blowing on them, and, to be sure, with hollow-sounding noises with the mouth nearly closed, which was hardly interrupted for a moment throughout the following night. The husbands left the house only to relieve themselves, they lived exclusively on this pepo, maidiwa cakes crumbled in water.

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[117] Everything else would be harmful for the child; it would be
[118] exactly as though the child itself were eating meat, fish, or fruit.

Now nothing is more obvious than to connect the remarkable custom, which is beneficial to the women, with the hunting life; the men should stay near the wife and child during the difficult hours and the first days and should not roam about outside; there was no better means for this than to put him on a diet. And, no matter how the custom originated, it is clear that it afforded this advantage, and it is at least quite understandable that the women were in favor of it, and it became firmly established.

[119] On the modern Paranatinga, however, where it is being neglected, the women are discontented, not because they suffer under it, but because the children do. Even though it benefited the women, that is no reason why the men would have submitted to it. And yet the men do submit to it so generally and with such conviction that one realizes that a deeply rooted, ancient element of popular belief is involved. It is very doubtful whether there is any Indian tribe in Brazil which has not practiced it. One must, if possible, investigate the institution among tribes that were found in undisturbed conditions and have not simply preserved the remnants of old institutions. The Island Karaiben /Ilhéu Caribi/ usually did not eat or drink anything during the first five days, limited themselves in the following four to a drink made out of cooked manioca, and then ate more abundantly, but abstained from a few kinds of meat for several months more. "It is not likely," says the excellent Father Steere, "that the husband also screams like the wife in labor; on the contrary, I saw them coming from outside secretively and in a furtive manner one month after the birth, in order to keep their feet in seclusion." They are contemptuous of those who do not observe the custom; they say they feel better doing it and grow older, and they believe that if they omit the custom their illnesses caused by superfluous juices would be passed on to their children.

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Among the Indio the father takes care of the child, the woman returns to worksome. That the father lies in the hammock a great deal understandable in view of the lack of nourishment and further more fact that he stays at home. /336/ When does the couvade start and when does it end? The father cuts the umbilical cord of the newborn child, then equally cares for the child, as is a free man once more when the remainder of the umbilical cord drops off. Among the Bakairi he cuts the umbilicalcord of boys with kambayuva reed, of girls with takuara bamboo.

Let us compare ith this the note by Martius about the Fanda /Fens/, whose customs may be recognized particularly closely as medical wh the young woman at the onset of the menses lasts for a mth, the woman in confinement remains in the dark for a month id, "like the husband, is restricted to a diet of manioca, bel, and flour soup. The husband colors himself black and remains in the hammock during the entire period of fasting or uil the dried umbilical cord of the baby drops off (six to eighteen). He himself usually cuts the umbilical cord with the teeth sharp stones, if he has no knife." Especially important, however, is a manuscript by the jesuit Fernão Cardim of 1584 and preserved for us in the monastery library of Evora, the capital of a Portuguese province of Alemtejo,*

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which contains many little observations. "The women give birth on the ground, ty do not pick up the child, but rather the father picks it up. some person whom they take as sponsor and with whom they remain friendship, like the godfather among the Christians.he father cuts the umbilical cord with the teeth or with two nes, one above the other, and immediately thereafter he lieiows to fast until the navel drops off, which usually takes ape eight days, and until it drops off they

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do not cease laboring, and when it drops off, if it is a boy, he makes a bow with arrows and fastens it to the bundle of ropes of the hammock and on the other bundle of ropes he fastens many bunches of barks, which are the lues that his son is to kill and devour, and after these ceremonies are over, they make wine which they all enjoy."

According to these valuable statements, which correspond exactly with those on the Schingü /Xingu/, one might call the father the attending physician, who perhaps also fans like the apparentice medicine man, and who, if he behaved differently, might endanger his cure and harm the child. Not only the Schingü people, however, but many other tribes say that the father may not eat fish, meat, and fruits because it would be the same as though the child ate them, and there is no reason why one should not believe that the natives believe this. It is also said that the medicine man of the village is always available and that he is summoned in all other cases when mother or child becomes ill.

The father is a patient nurse as he identifies himself with the newborn child. It is, after all, not really so difficult to understand how he happens to do this. /305/ The native cannot very well know anything about the human egg-cell and the Graafian follicle; he cannot know that the mother shelters a structure corresponding to the eggs of birds. For him the man is the center of the egg, which he, to put it succinctly and clearly, keeps inside the mother and which the latter hatches out during pregnancy. Consider Plates 16 and 17 /see pp. 203-204/ where the Indians have drawn the male eggs. Where the linguistic material is adequate, we see immediately how this commonly natural attempt to explain conception is also reflected in the words for father, testicles, and egg. In Guaraní *tub* means father, spawn, eggs, *tuyú* means egg, and "*tuy-i*" *ambi*, the name of the tribe, with the addition of *-i*, "little," is merely little fathers or eggs or children, as one wishes, the father is egg and the child is the little father. The language itself says that the child is nothing but the father. Among the Tupí it was also the custom that the father, after the birth of each new son,

/107 cont./

ook a new name. In order to explain this, it is by no means necessary to assume that the "soul" of the father entered into the son each time. It is exactly the same in the Karaiben. _imu_ is egg or testicles or father or child, the latter among several tribes already differentiated phonetically:

Iparicoto /Paricoto/ _imu_ "egg," Bakairi "testicles," Tamanako "father," Makurchi /Macuxi/ _imum_ "seed." With the pronominal suffix _-ru_, we find _imu-ru_, "child," among various tribes: Kumanagoto /Cumanagoto/ _umo_ "my father," _amo_ "your father," Nahuqui _umi-ru_ "my child," _ami-ru_ "your child." Naturally, it comes about everywhere that qualifying affixes are supplied or words originally identical deviate from one another phonetically, with the connection forgotten. Thus, Kamayurá has _ye-rup_ "my father," _upil_ "egg," _ye-ruapil_ "my testicles". Aweti has _i-tupil_ "my testicles," _a-upil_ "his eggs", the lingua geral has _cayuá_ "testicles," _cupil_ "egg." Among the Bakairi "child" and "little" are _indri_, "the child of the chief" _pîno indri_, we may translate it as either "the child of the chief" or "the little chief" as we wish and do not realize in connection with the latter form, which we might apply jokingly to the son, that for the Indian the child is really only the little chief himself, a small edition of the big one. For our feeling, too, this conception is strange and scarcely comprehensible in the case where a girl is involved. But even the girl is the little father and not the little mother. She is made only by the father. In Bakairi there are no special words for "son" and "daughter," but rather, if the distinction is required the sex is added. "_pîno indri_" may mean the daughter as well as the son of the chief. The only daughter of the chief is the heiress of the property and rank, both of which, along with her own property, go to her husband.

The little father comes into the world, the umbilical cord is cut, the big father lies at least until the wound is healed, and with this the new little human being may be regarded as an independent being. The father would surely not observe any precautionary measures of the little one immediately /108/ can about as healthy as a little chick, but it bleeds and is in danger since it

/308 cont./

is not even tied off. The thing is not so strange if the mother is thought of as merely an incubator. Even during the pregnancy (see Flow, Das Kind /The Child/, II, Ch. 7) the father feels frequently and avoids heavy work, so as not to harm the child. After birth, however, at least until the moment when the remainder of the umbilical cord drops off, he still feels in actual "connection" with the child, and at least during the days when the life of the little father seems obviously in danger, a diet must be observed and nothing eaten that does not agree with the one part. Nor is it by any means absolutely necessary that the confinement take place in the presence of the father in order to force him to fast, and hence the need for his presence cannot be the ultimate reason for the custom. As was quoted, the Island Kanaken observed their comrade even a month later. Among the Ipurina on the Purus the woman, assisted by a few older women, gives birth in a forest hut and remains only "four or five days longer" to her husband, who only now may see the child and who was obliged to adhere to a strict diet during this time." For an entire year yet the husband may not eat either pig or tapir meat. Ehrenreich, who reports this, adds: "a real 'man's childbed' is not customary." Well, but probably not only another as the father need not lie in the hammock, which, even though it is not merely a secondary phenomenon, is in any case one of least important prescriptions of the treatment. Even the Indian knows that improper nourishment is first of all harmful for the child, and therefore the most important thing is to follow a diet. Everything else is more or less only an accessory. Finally, the behavior of the Bororó is decisive. The mother gives birth in the forest, and the father, who is never present, not only fasts, but, if the child is sick, also takes the medicine that is handed to him for the child, as we learned from the druggist of the Brazilian military colony, who was greatly surprised over this.

While the procedure for the father is the same in all the tribes, the conduct of the mother may be very different, depending on whether she is regarded as more or less ailing. She goes back to her duties again soonfor as she feels strong enough and nurses the child, but then suffers. There is no mysterious correspondence

/NW cont./

between father and child, the child is a duplication of him, the father has become double, and, for the sake of the helpless, immoral creature which represents a miniature edition of himself, he must himself behave like a child who must not come to harm. Supposing that the child dies during the first days, how could the father who is filled with such ideas and who has seen indigestible things doubt that he himself is at fault, especially since all sickness arises through the fault of another? What we call "pars pro toto" dominates popular belief everywhere with respect to sorcery or healing magic, although I do not believe that the sorcerer /NW/ has a clear image of a "part" with which he is working. The "convade" is carried out according to the same logic, except that here is a case where the whole intercedes for the "part." It is all the same whether I poison the hair of the enemy and thereby cause him to waste away, or whether, to the detriment of the child which has become detached from me, I eat food that it might not tolerate at all or at least not during the days when the separation takes place.

Burial. All the tribes of the Kuikuru bury their dead, the body lies in west-east in such a way that the head looks toward the rising sun. (According to the statements of the Kamayurá, the Suyá bury their dead in a squatting position, the head with the feather ornament bent back and the eyes turned toward the setting sun.) The grave is on the village place. Among the Nahuquá we saw in front of the festival hut a heap of brush under which, at a shallow depth, the grave pit was said to be located, for beetles were crawling out of holes in the ground and the place was alive with flies. Among the Aweti a square in front of the festival hut was dotted off with thick, low posts connected by planking. It is photographed on Plate 15 /see p. 255/. I do not know whether it is a coincidence that the two inward sides of the square resemble the characteristic shape of the handle-piece of the throwing board. Among the Tawaquiri we saw a square grave fence.

/369 cont./

dangers that surrounded them. Pregnancy, *cuikua*, was recognized by the cessation of the menstrual periods. When the abdomen of the pregnant woman began to attain visible proportions, a diet based on vegetal foods and fish was initiated. As the time of delivery drew near, a separate section was built inside the houses; the parturient was segregated and remained *unuki*. Female relatives helped in the delivery under the direction of an experienced woman. The parturient gave birth sitting on her heels. In difficult cases they washed her abdomen and sides with a hot infusion of cotton leaves. The umbilical cord was cut by the parturient herself or by her husband, and it was buried along with the placenta outside the house. After the birth, *cuauli*, the child was washed and handed over to the parents; later it would be given the name of some dead relative. During the birth and for some time afterward, the child and its parents remained in a state of *unuki*. The end of the seclusion was signaled by the first menstrual period of the parturient, and it was marked by a feast called *tulaunito*. The reinsertion of the parents and the child to the bosom of the community was accomplished by means of a feast called *yabiuli*.

When children reached puberty they were secluded, *unuki*, for a period of several months. They could not come out in daylight, and they were fed and looked after by their relatives. It was believed that the greater or lesser duration of the young people's *unuki* period would lead to their better or worse physical constitution. On the other hand, a chief's son had to remain in seclusion longer than usual. The period of seclusion began for boys with the ritual of the perforation of the ears (usually undergone in groups). Girls had their ears perforated immediately after birth, and their seclusion was marked by the advent of the first menses. The end of the *unuki* state was also celebrated with the *tulaunito*. The girls then began to wear *ulut*, that is to say, triangular genital coverings about? Tired reinforcers heavy made of bear bark.

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After 3 years of age both boys and girls begin to copy their elders, the boys playing with bows and arrows and the girls with spindles. By the time the boys and girls reached puberty they knew how to perform most adult activities.

PUBERTY RITES

When the girls had their first menses and the boys reached the age of 13 or 14, they had to go into seclusion (*pangdew*) for a period of 2 months to a year. It was believed that the longer the young people stayed in seclusion the stronger they would become physically. The longer periods of seclusion were also believed to enhance the prestige of the family. The boys and girls were not permitted to come out in daylight, and were fed and cared for by their parents. While the boys and girls were in seclusion they made pots and baskets for family use.

With boys the seclusion was inaugurated by an ear-piercing ceremony. A number of men with sons of about the same age would perform the rite collectively before invited guests. After eating and drinking, the *pulunsi* song and dance were performed. The boys were now in a state of *ambi*, ritual danger, and were secluded immediately after this rite. The girls' ears were pierced when they were babies, but the ear piercing of the boys corresponded to the period of the first menses of the girls.

[P. 99-A]

dance was given at night accompanied by flute playing.

When a woman came out of seclusion after the birth of a child the women of the village danced to the tunes of the maidens and midnight flutes.

ORIGIN MYTHS

Although the Barnett have many myths, only two were obtained. One of these is the *gwanilik*, or the origin of day. In the beginning it was so dark and cold in the world that the people had to cover their bodies with grease to keep warm. The people wanted the sun to come out, so they put on their ornaments and painted their bodies and began to pray to *crinsin*, the great spirit who lived in the north. The Barnett believed that *crinsin* was not an Indian but just a man who lived in a stone house with some of the animals which he had created. The people continued praying to *crinsin* and when light finally came the people were old and the children had grown up.

Tsentlinatlin, or "those who died in the fire," is a story which tells about the origin of cultivated plants and the *gwanisin*, or corn dance. Once long ago there were a number of boys who were in puberty seclusion. At that time there were no cultivated plants, the people living by hunting and collecting wild plant foods. The boys were kept in seclusion so long and had so little to eat that they became very tired. One day when the relatives of the boys were out to collect food the boys all committed suicide. When the relatives returned and found the boys dead they were sorry and angry with themselves for neglecting them. They built a large fire and after dancing around the fire naked they jumped into the flames and were burned to death. The leader of this act was *gwatik*. Later the soul of *gwatik* returned and spoke through one of the living Indians. He explained to the Indians how to grow corn and other food crops and how to perform the corn dance. After that the corn dance (*gwanisin*) has always been performed.

As the Barnett formerly lived in association with the other Upper Kuskokwim tribes, it is perhaps useful to compare their following origin myths as mentioned by Von den Steinen with those of the Chinookwok. There appears to be a close resemblance between *Kwanadzini* of the Barnett and

/122 cont./

191 Unfortunately neither Cariuma nor Luisa and Maria spoke one syllable of their mother tongue.

837 The young men had the old women. It is therefore not improbable that Luis, who himself boasted of the conquest of these women's hearts, was not wrong when he maintained that occasional /123/ unfaithfulness is not uncommon and also is not

573 severely judged. The good-natured, aged Caetano, he said, even fell sick, to his astonishment, a short time after the visit of the Martynos expedition, but he was unable to be rallied with his Lamuiha for more than a few days.

162

Luisa Cajibí and Cariuma Paresí.

• 947 167 The use of abortive remedies is said to be common and to explain the small number of children. The end of this community can clearly be foreseen.

162 221 [165] The following was the result of my census:

Felipe (absent) married to Cariuma Paresí, children.
Caetano " " Luisa Cajibí, children.
Miguel, Inequim, Ino, Antonio } brothers " " Felicissima, one small daughter.
Inequiha, sister of Miguel and Inequim, brothers } and companions.
Nierisma.

/104 cont./

One of the women in the Paranatinga village was called *makile* - *tunjá* mark. The names of the men were usually obtained without difficulty. Sometimes there was a little reluctance and it was preferred that a friend give the information. One Bakaiří allegedly had no name because his parents had died early. From the women on the Kuliseu I always received only the answer, "I am a woman". However, I neglected to ask a third person.

I have described the custom of exchanging names, cf. pages 115 and 122. It explains why the Indians make so little fuss about submitting to Christian baptism. To them it means simply a ceremony by means of which they lose their old name.

Birth and couvade. Abortions are said to take place frequently. The women are afraid of childbirth. Among the Bakaiří they make a tea from the root of a campo tree called *peroviuha*. Probably there are also mechanical procedures. The woman given birth in a kneeling position on the floor, hanging on to a post. The hammock is not supposed to be soiled. Women who demonstrated this to us in pantomime and who knew about it from experience stated emphatically that the pains were great. They soon got up, however, and go to work, and the man goes through the well-known couvade, the male lying-in, during which he adheres to a strict diet, does not touch weapons, and spends most of his time in the hammock. On our return we saw such a couvade in Meigiri in Paletto's house. An actual lying-in room had been /105/ set up by stretching two man-high walls of hanging burití leaves from one of the main posts to the outer wall. In this way a three-cornered segment was closed off. I was gladly allowed to enter so that I could give the child beads. Inside there were stretched four hammocks, sheltering two women with babies and two men. A strong odor of *piní*, coming from rubbings, filled the room. The babies were *lutéga*, ill, weak, the parents complained. The fathers and mothers were constantly occupied with blowing on them, and, to be sure, with hollow-sounding noises with the mouth nearly closed, which was hardly interrupted for a moment throughout the following night. The husbands left the house only to relieve themselves, they lived exclusively on thin *pogo*, manioca cakes crumbled in water.

/[illegible] cont./

512 I did them an injustice. At half-past seven a procession of seven comes around the corner to the house quickstep, one behind the other, the tribal sorcerer at their head, all loaded with [illegible] mendioca roots. The old woman is carrying a bundle of them [illegible] loose on her head, and behind her runs a young woman with a heavy back-basket. Is it her husband who is following her? Likewise bent under the load of a basket he walks forward, on his left hip a straddling boy whom he clasps headlessly, as though he had hastily picked him up from the ground.

We visit the house of the professor. In the moderately light room—one at first distinguishes only a number of vertical and horizontal posts, brown hammocks, the old woman and a younger one are sitting on the floor more diligently scraping mendioca with a shell, the naked legs buried in the pottage.

Two families have divided up in the space, the conjugal chambers are characterized by the fact that two hammocks are fastened, one above the other, to the same post. In the corner there is an empty circle, and round about, /[illegible]/ radially, the "individual rooms" divided off, not by partitions, but merely by the posts. The upper vault is blackened by smoke. Three or four ovens form the simple hearth. The floor is pot into huge hot vessels (up to 77 centimeters in diameter), the height are pressed on flat, curious bowls. The clay is blackish brown, the vessels are made by hand by the women.

352 We sit on small, low benches; they are rectangular, slightly curbed, made out of dark-brown palm-wood, usually in octave form, and not a decimeter high.

412 The stone axes, which are sticking to the wall (the longest 18 centimeters), all have the same shape: a thick wooden cylinder, offset at the bottom by a thinner handle. The stone is supposedly found further downstream (1). /Illustration appears here./

1. Here Prof. Arcoma of Ancheo was kind enough to examine the material carefully and has identified it as diabase, a rock made up of augite, plagioclase, mica, chlorite, and

Flum dum among the Bakabi.

4:Schmidt--63 E-5[1] (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate V

342
516
291
[854

Fig. 6. Bakairí house, in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 7. House of the family of the old Bakairí, Luju, in Simões Lopes.

4:Schmidt--69 E-5 (1901 1929-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate XI

342
516
291
854

Fig. 21. House of Rio Paranatinga Xinguanos.

Fig 22 Bakairí João Pedroso with his family in front of his house situated near the Rio Paranatinga

/177 cont./

• [71] the body, with which we shall soon occupy ourselves in greater
302 detail, the removal of hair is extremely advisable, because the
latter absorbs the color which is supposed to be rubbed into the
skin lying under it. Anyone who wants to paint a hide thrown it
[95] first. One main purpose of painting, the killing of insects, would
otherwise not be achieved. Furthermore, a very natural explana-
tion for the removal of pubic hair is found in the conflict between
it and the devices used here at the very time when it appears.
In particular manipulations with the hip cord among the men
would definitely be impeded. In short, a person who removes the
hair is better off and yet misses nothing. This alone is sufficient
to justify the custom. Plucking, clipping, and shaving are only
a question of thoroughness or technical means or consideration
for personal sensitivity. Less attention is given to the comb;
they would sooner cut and pluck their hair than use a comb.

/178/ Strangest of all, and certainly no pastime, is the
plucking of the lashes, because this operation, as one may call
it, is performed quite generally, even on small children of both
sexes, and cannot be explained on the basis of tribal or sex dif-
ferences.•

[81]
• [85]

¶In the case of primitive peoples one far
too often attributes a thing to their desire
for physical hardening, but I never saw
children being hardened. The sir fathers,
not to speak of the mothers, were inclined
more to sentimentality than to strictness
toward their very self-willed offspring, who
could not cry without their parents being
bitterly hurt as well. They were definitely
[75] caused pain only when it was believed to
be for their own good; their health was
always a matter of extreme concern and
amulets were hung on them.

/249 cont./

dangers that surrounded them. Pregnancy, *mutua*, was recognized by the cessation of the menstrual periods. When the abdomen of the pregnant woman began to attain visible proportions, a diet based on vegetal foods and fish was initiated. As the time of delivery drew near, a separate section was built inside the houses; the parturient was segregated and remained *uaki*. Female relatives helped in the delivery under the direction of an experienced woman. The parturient gave birth sitting on her heels. In difficult cases they washed her abdomen and sides with a hot infusion of cotton leaves. The umbilical cord was cut by the parturient herself or by her husband, and it was buried along with the placenta outside the house. After the birth, *enawili*, the child was washed and handed over to the parents; later it would be given the name of some dead relative. During the birth and for some time afterward, the child and its parents remained in a state of *uaki*. The end of the seclusion was signaled by the first menstrual period of the parturient, and it was marked by a feast called *tadaunito*. The reintegration of the parents and the child to the bosom of the community was accomplished by means of a feast called *nahiuiti*.

When children reached puberty they were secluded, *uaki*, for a period of several months. They could not come out in daylight, and they were fed and looked after by their relatives. It was believed that the greater or lesser duration of the young people's *uaki* period would lead to their better or worse physical constitution. On the other hand, a chief's son had to remain in seclusion longer than usual. The period of seclusion began for boys with the ritual of the perforation of the ears (usually undergone in groups). Girls had their ears perforated immediately after birth, and their seclusion was marked by the advent of the first menses. The end of the *uaki* state was also celebrated with the *tadaunito*. The girls then began to wear *ulisi*, that is to say, triangular genital coverings about three centimeters square made of tree bark.

with a bamboo sliver. The placenta was wrapped in a piece of cotton cloth and buried because it was believed that if it were picked at by birds it would cause sickness and misfortune to the mother and child. The child was then washed, wrapped, and given to the mother. Later it was given the name of one of its ancestors.

During the seclusion period the mother and child were believed to be in a state of ritual danger (*wabi*). They were not permitted to go out in daylight and had to be fed and cared for by the female relatives. The first menses released the mother and child from seclusion, this release being known as *tadenaki*. Shortly afterward the father invited the villagers to a ceremony (*dobiwak*) during which the religious and traditional forms were played and only the women danced. By means of this ceremony the mother was reintegrated into the life of the family and the village.

After 2 years of age both boys and girls began to copy their elders, the boys playing with bows and arrows and the girls with spindles. By the time the boys and girls reached puberty they knew how to perform most adult activities.

PUBERTY RITES

When the girls had their first menses and the boys reached the age of 12 or 14, they had to go into seclusion (*pomgaiw*) for a period of 2 months to a year. It was believed that the longer the young people stayed in seclusion the stronger they would become physically. The longer periods of seclusion were also believed to enhance the prestige of the family. The boys and girls were not permitted to come out in daylight, and were fed and cared for by their parents. While the boys and girls were in seclusion they made pots and baskets for family use.

With boys the seclusion was inaugurated by an ear-piercing ceremony. A number of men with sons of about the same age would perform this rite collectively before invited guests. After eating and drinking, the *pomodo* song and dance were performed. The boys were now in a state of *wabi*, ritual danger, and were secluded immediately after this rite. The girls' ears were pierced when they were babies, but the ear piercing of the boys corresponded to the period of the first menses of the girls.

/177 cont./

• [71] 327 the body, with which we shall now occupy ourselves in greater detail, the removal of hair is extremely advisable, because the latter absorbs the color which is supposed to be rubbed into the skin lying under it. Anyone who wants to paint a hide thrown in [151] fast. One main purpose of painting, the killing of insects, would otherwise not be achieved. Furthermore, a very natural explanation for the removal of pubic hair is found in the conflict between it and the devices used here at the very time when it appears. In particular manipulations with the lap-cord among the men would definitely be impeded. In short, a person who removes the hair is better off and yet misses nothing. This alone is sufficient to justify the custom. Plucking, clipping, and shaving are only a question of thoroughness or technical means or consideration for personal sensitivity. Less attention is given to the comb; they would sooner cut and pluck their hair than use a comb.

/178/ Strangest of all, and certainly no pastime, is the plucking of the lashes, because this operation, as one may call it, is performed quite generally, even on small children of both sexes, and cannot be explained on the basis of tribal or sex differences.*

• [71] 327 [151]

*In the case of primitive peoples one far too often attributes a thing to their desire for physical hardening, but I never saw children being hardened. The six fathers, not to speak of the mothers, were inclined more to sentimentality than to strictness toward their very self-willed offspring, who could not cry without their parents being bitterly hurt as well. They were definitely caused pain only when it was believed to be for their own good. Their health was always a matter of extreme concern and amulets were hung on them.

with a bamboo sliver. The placenta was wrapped in a piece of cotton cloth and buried because it was believed that if it were picked at by birds it would cause sickness and misfortune to the mother and child. The child was then washed, wrapped, and given to the mother. Later it was given the name of one of its ancestors.

During the seclusion period the mother and child were believed to be in a state of ritual danger (sendi). They were not permitted to go out in daylight and had to be fed and cared for by the female relatives. The first menses released the mother and child from seclusion, this release being known as indawuda. Shortly afterward the father invited the villagers to a ceremony (ndiwuli) during which the sodipiro and indiwon flutes were played and only the women danced. By means of this ceremony the mother was reintegrated into the life of the family and the village.

After 3 years of age both boys and girls began to copy their elders, the boys playing with bows and arrows and the girls with spindles. By the time the boys and girls reached puberty they knew how to perform most adult activities.

PUBERTY RITES

When the girls had their first menses and the boys reached the age of 13 or 14, they had to go into seclusion (pongdiw) for a period of 2 months to a year. It was believed that the longer the young people stayed in seclusion the stronger they would become physically. The longer periods of seclusion were also believed to enhance the prestige of the family. The boys and girls were not permitted to come out in daylight, and were fed and cared for by their parents. While the boys and girls were in seclusion they made pots and baskets for family use.

With boys the seclusion was inaugurated by an ear-piercing ceremony. A number of men with sons of about the same age would perform this rite collectively before invited guests. After eating and drinking, the poiwudo song and dance were performed. The boys were now in a state of sendi, ritual danger, and were secluded immediately after this rite. The girls' ears were pierced when they were babies, but the ear piercing of the boys corresponded to the period of the first menses of the girls.

PII cont. /

622 that he still says from these days. Antonio had no children by
115 Della Rosa. I had the opportunity to become acquainted with
[123] her when, returning in poor health from the Rio Kuliseu, I
was most generously accommodated in her house although
Antonio was away.

347 José Conado's house, situated in front of his stepfather
352 Antonio's house, was just as large and built in the same style.
353 Its interior gave much more of a native impression than Antonio's
house. In the half-dark rooms several women lay in the ham-
mocks, PIII/ among them one with José's little daughter, who
was only a few weeks old. All the walls in the house showed in
the upper part, directly under the ceiling, boards painted in
black and white. These frieze made by the Kingueses showed
the typical paintings of the Bakairí. All of the decorations
known to the Bakairí of the upper Kings River region appeared
in these paintings, such as, for example, the figures called
159 *ulu*, *mucchu*, and *mamai*. José, in spite of his youth, had
191 already had a great deal of experience. The hair in his lower
lip at once recalled his early childhood among his own fellow
• [87] countrymen, the Bororo, whose idiom he still knew. As al-
ready mentioned above, he had come with his mother to the
house of Cacique Antonio when he was a boy of five or six, but
he had received part of his education in the capital, Cuiabá,
so that he was better acquainted than any other Rio Paranatinga
Bakairí with the Portuguese language, which he also used in
talking with his mother. When he was an adult, Cacique
159 Antonio had taken him along on a trip to the Batovy and Kuliseu
.619 rivers. Already at that time he had had trouble with his step-
489 father because he had become too involved with the pretty girls
of the first aldea of the Rio Kuliseu Bakairí and had thus
damaged the good relations with the inhabitants of that aldea.
The anger of the inhabitants of the first Rio Kuliseu aldea
caused by José Conado's behavior still continued at the time of
my journey to the Rio Kuliseu, and José did not dare to ac-
company me to that aldea because he had learned that its

361 / 648 Pelle / According to

Pelle the new post is situated on top of a mountain some dis-
tance from the edge of the Rio Paranatinga. The post itself con-
sisted of some excellent administrative buildings, and at some
distance from these stood the Bakairí aldeia, so that the Indians
[371] kept a certain independence. The post had a school which tried
to teach the Bakairí youth to read and write in the Portuguese
language and the rudiments of arithmetic. The administration
[231] kept a herd of cattle, and each of the Bakairí wished to have
some oxen and cows.

114 / 648 / 177 / 241 Without wishing to malign Petrullo's previous information,
I must note below some points on which I cannot quite agree
with his opinion, because they contradict my experience
among these Indians. I believe that a false impression of the
previous living conditions of the Bakairí in the region of the
tributaries of the upper Xingu River led to Petrullo's interpreta-
tion when he says that the past administration had not experi-
mented in order to change the Bakairí, who in former times
had led a semi-nomadic life, into a sedentary group of agricul-
turalists. The Bakairí of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River
were, like all the other Indian tribes of the Rio Kuliseu, with
the possible exception of the Trumaí, a typical agricultural
people. The tasks related to agriculture made up the chief part
of their activities, and they had extensive plantations in the
vicinity of their houses. They led a totally sedentary existence
in their aldeia, even moving their houses to their plantations
when the latter, owing to the successive exploitation of the
land on the closest hill, were little by little moved too distant
[231] from their houses. Livestock they did not have, so that there
has been a change in their way of life at the post, with the trans-
formation of a previously agricultural people into a people
who raise cattle, no doubt to get a bigger income.

226 / 114 Also, I cannot believe that the unusual abundance of fish
in the Rio Paranatinga, extolled in former times by the Bakairí,
should have dwindled so thoroughly as to warrant Petrullo's
observation, "There are practically no fish in the Paranatinga.

/176 cont./

[91] 202 young Bahaïf Lucita paraded around in Vogel's brown woolen, [92] waistpaned poncho, he looked like a monastery pupil from "Eichenwald." It was believed that the Indians had borrowed the tonsure from the example of the padres, which would certainly be in keeping with their disposition, but the tonsure was in America before the Catholic priests. It was extraordinarily widespread among the primitive peoples of South America, and since the Portuguese called the shorn ones "Coroados," from coroa, crown, tonsure, wholly disparate tribes were confusingly considered with the same designation. Father Dobrizhoffer reports that among the Abipon of Paraguay the tonsure was regarded as a mark of the higher caste. There was no question of this among our tribes. Every [93] boy received the tonsure at puberty, and Antonio told me that he had wept and was very rebellious when his father shaved the spot held for him for the first time. The habit was described to me as an ancient custom of the grandfathers. People were not always very careful about shaving. Among older people in particular, the tonsure often had bristly hair growing over it; it was said, one bothers about it less "when one is old and father and mother are dead."

The vain young men among the Bahaïf also knew how to provide themselves with a full head of curls by means of wooden curlers. Small pieces of cork-like wood, /175/ cut with a shell, covered the head; the tufts of hair that were to be curled lay clamped in the sticks. This beauty treatment, however, seemed to be practiced only rarely.

The women wore their hair on the forehead in the same manner, except a little fuller, but on the sides and in back it hung down loosely; over the back it usually reached to the tips of the shoulder blades. The ears were usually covered, and the hair falling down in back rested on the shoulders. Thus one may probably assume that the tonsure of the men is nothing more than a result of the distinction in the hair style customary for the two sexes. The man shortened his hair in the back and on the sides, the woman only over the forehead. The man, in order to facilitate

/190 cont./

[191] 304 characteristically, were on his arm the two tattoo lines of the Mehinaků women, painted on, to be sure, and not tattooed. I believe, but cannot maintain and prove, that there is a connection here with the system of matriarchy. According to the Indian [190] conception, the sons belong to the tribe of the mother, and in every case they visit the tribal village of the mother under peaceful circumstances. It is certain that the Mehinaků women and the Mehinaků pots have their home stamp.

II. Sexualia.

[191] 291 The devices among men and women are not coverings. Protection of the mucous membrane and benefits with the onset of puberty. Origin among the women, however, as bandage and cushion, among the men as gymnastic treatment for phimosis.

[191] 291 83 Our natives do not have any secret body parts. They joke about them in word and picture with such complete ingenuousness that it would be foolish to call them indecent. They envy us for our clothing as though for a valuable ornament, they put it on and wear it in our company with such utter disregard of our simplest rules and such complete misunderstanding of all the devices designed for them that their paradisiacal naïveté is [88] most convincingly proved. Some of them celebrate /191/ the onset of puberty for both sexes with noisy folk festivals, in which general attention and boisterousness is demonstratively [202] concerned with the "private parts." If a man wishes to tell a [201] stranger that he is the father of another or a woman wishes to introduce herself as the mother of a child, they gravely acknowledge themselves as worthy begetter: in that, with the most spontaneous and natural explanation in the world, they grasp the organs from which life issues.

128 Hence it is not possible to understand these people properly unless we leave aside our ideas of "clothing," unless we take them as they are and as they prove themselves in their own way. Keeping in mind as our point of departure the fact that they have

/[949 cont.]/

600 dangers that surrounded them. Pregnancy, ewuhua, was
895 recognized by the cessation of the menstrual periods. When
202 the abdomen of the pregnant woman began to attain visible proportions, a diet based on vegetal foods and fish was initiated.
944 As the time of delivery drew near, a separate section was
[784] built inside the houses; the parturient was segregated and remained uanki. Female relatives helped in the delivery under the direction of an experienced woman. The parturient gave
[895] birth sitting on her heels. In difficult cases they washed her abdomen and sides with a hot infusion of cotton leaves. The umbilical cord was cut by the parturient herself or by her husband, and it was buried along with the placenta outside the
949 house. After the birth, ewaeli, the child was washed and
784 handed over to the parents; later it would be given the name
946 of some dead relative. During the birth and for some time
[553] afterward, the child and its parents remained in a state of uanki. The end of the seclusion was signaled by the first
896 menstrual period of the parturient, and it was marked by a
796 feast called tadaunito. The restoration of the parents and the
784 child to the bosom of the community was accomplished by means of a feast called nabiówli.

When children reached puberty they were secluded, uanki, for a period of several months. They could not come out in daylight, and they were fed and looked after by their
[856] relatives. It was believed that the greater or lesser duration of the young people's uanki period would lead to their better
[622] or worse physical constitution. On the other hand, a chief's son had to remain in seclusion longer than usual. The period
881 of seclusion began for boys with the ritual of the perforation of
304 the ears (usually undergone in groups). Girls had their ears
784 perforated immediately after birth, and their seclusion was marked by the advent of the first menses. The end of the uanki
784 state was also celebrated with the tadaunito. The girls then
881 began to wear uluri, that is to say, triangular genital coverings
796 about three centimeters square made of tree bark.
881
291

placed in a hole in the septum of the nose, so that the feathers swung one on each side of the head. Although the *pdiko*, or scratcher, was not strictly an ornament, it is mentioned here because it had ritual meaning. The *pdiko* was made by setting fish teeth into a gourd holder and was used for scarifying the skin of the arms, legs, chest, and back so as to cause bleeding. The wounds were first washed with water and later smeared with the juice of the *wakina* vine. The *pdiko* was used by boys and girls during puberty seclusion and by adults who had sores on their bodies. It was believed that the use of the *pdiko* made people strong and healthy. As far as could be ascertained the Bacairi did not mutilate the teeth, genitals, or other parts of the body. There was no sign of tattooing, but pubic hair was carefully pulled out by both men and women. Formerly the Bacairi kept large birds, believed to belong to the eagle family, in their villages for their feathers. The Brazilians call the bird "harpia" and claim that it is still kept by the Indians in the Xingú Basin. The "harpia" was captured by shooting it with a blunted arrow, and it was kept in a special hut and fed. Villages often had several of these birds in captivity, the feathers being used particularly for feathering arrows. Parrots and macaws were also kept, their feathers being used only for ceremonial decorations.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Vegetable foods formed the basis of Bacairi diet, with fish and meat taking second and third places. The principal animals hunted were monkeys, deer, wild pigs, tapir, and the jaguar. The jaguar, however, was not eaten, but was hunted for its skin, teeth, and claws. The principal weapon used was the bow and arrow. Hunters would stalk game alone or in groups with the aid of dogs driving game into water or into steep rocky enclosures. There is no mention of the spear being used, but deadfalls and pitfalls were used. Many varieties of large fish were shot with the bow and arrow, either from canoes or from the river bank. Lizards, turtles, and a wide variety of wild fruits, roots, tender shoots, and honey were collected at certain seasons of the year.

The major part of the food supply, however, was obtained through agriculture. The Bacairi cultivated bitter manioc, *ôpa;* sweet manioc, *tsief;*

[P.94-A]

844 with a bamboo sliver. The placenta was wrapped in a piece of cotton cloth and buried because it was believed that if it were picked at by birds it would cause sickness and misfortune to the mother and child. The child was then washed, wrapped, [553] and given to the mother. Later it was given the name of one of its ancestors.

846 During the seclusion period the mother and child were believed to be in a state of ritual danger (*wenki*). They were not permitted to go out in daylight and had to be fed and cared for by the female relatives. The first menses released the mother and child from seclusion, this release being known as *tadawudo*. Shortly afterward the father invited the villagers to a ceremony (*itabiendi*) [533] during which the *sokipóre* and *tadiaus* flutes were [535] played and only the women danced. By means of this ceremony the mother was reintegrated into the life of the family and the village.

857 After 3 years of age both boys and girls began to 868 copy their elders, the boys playing with bows and arrows and the girls with spindles. By the time the boys and girls reached puberty they knew how to perform most adult activities.

PUBERTY RITES

871 When the girls had their first menses and the boys reached the age of 13 or 14, they had to go into seclusion (*posepíre*) for a period of 2 months to a year. It was believed that the longer the young people stayed in seclusion the stronger they would become physically. The longer periods of seclusion were also believed to enhance the prestige of the family. The boys and girls were not permitted to come out in daylight, and were fed and cared for by their parents. While the boys and girls were in seclusion they made pots and baskets for family use.

871 With boys the seclusion was inaugurated by an 304 ear-piercing ceremony. A number of men with sons of about the same age would perform this rite collectively before invited guests. After eating [535] and drinking, the *poisudio* song and dance were performed. The boys were now in a state of *wenki*, ritual danger, and were secluded immediately after this rite. The girls' ears were pierced when they were babies, but the ear piercing of the boys corresponded to the period of the first menses of the girls.

881 The release from seclusion was signalized by the feast of *tadawaite*. The parents of the young people accumulated much food and went on a big hunt on the day before the feast. The chief and all the villagers were invited to the ceremony, during which all the Bacairi songs and dances were performed and the young people were presented gifts by the villagers. The girls would now take the strings of beads from around their waists and wear them around their necks and their mothers would give them cotton cords which they put around their hips and to which the *aluri* were attached. The boys and girls were now eligible for marriage.

[551] [556] [401] [301] [291] [582]

MARRIAGE (TODOHOKŬINLE)

584 Marriages were arranged by parents or by older brothers or sisters. The father and mother of the boy, for instance, would take presents of ornaments and food to the parents of the girl. If the parents of the girl accepted the gifts it meant that they favored the marriage, and if they refused it meant that the suitor was not acceptable. The marriage ceremony took place in the girl's home, the date being arranged by the parents. At the girl's house the young couple were seated side by side with linked arms. They were then given advice by their respective parents and relatives. Marriage was not considered a period of ritual danger, nor were extensive feasts given. It appears to have been an affair involving only the families of the young couple.

585

BURIAL (EPIODĬLE)

764 The body was painted, ornaments were put on, and then the body was wrapped in a hammock and buried in a grave with the feet to the east so that the face would be toward the rising sun

768 Although old and worn objects were burnt, most of the property of the dead was shared among the relatives. The part of the house occupied by the dead person was washed, and clean sand was sprinkled on the floor. There was a mourning

765 period (*logíno*) of 1 month, during which the immediate relatives were in a state of *uéuli*.[1]

SHAMANISM

775 When a person died, the ghost (*kudépe*) went into the sky or into the water or sometimes wandered upon the earth. Ghosts of the dead often

[1] [ie. a state of ritual danger]

527 gather the ceremonial corn. Later in the day the women prepared large quantities of corn porridge and roasted ears.

On the morning of the third day the actual ceremony began in front of the *kadeiti*. The organizer of the dance distributed roasted ears or pieces of ears to all the villagers, children included. Then at a signal from the leader, the villagers began throwing the roasted corn in all directions and at one another. After the roasted corn was [262] disposed of, the people ate the corn porridge and meat prepared on the preceding day. They then washed themselves in the river and put on their paint and ornaments. When the villagers had again gathered before the *kadeiti* the dance leader took a piece of corn husk and went from man 527 to man asking for a song leader. The man who 533 took the offered corn husk then began the *pawisdri*, or song in praise of corn. Little by little the others joined in the singing and eventually began to dance. The words of the song told how corn came to the Bacairi and how it made the people strong and healthy.

● 891 The *ranaséro*, or ear-piercing ceremony, was 304 performed just before a boy went into puberty seclusion. It was customary for men who had sons of about the same age to cooperate in getting large quantities of food ready for the feast. After the feast was over the ears of the boys were pierced [533] and the *poiwado* song was sung. When boys and girls came out of seclusion there was another ceremony during which all the songs and dances were performed with the exception of the sacred flute tunes.

342 The *maAulawdri* was performed during coopera- 476 tive house building in which the whole village participated. While the women prepared food and some men were putting up the frame, a certain [529] number of men went in search of palm fronds for thatching. When these men returned with the palm fronds they danced and sang before the new house with their loads on their backs and in full ceremonial regalia.

286 The custom of distributing cotton by a woman 574 with a good cotton crop and having other women weave hammocks for her has already been mentioned. When the women had completed their weaving and returned the hammocks to the donor of the cotton, she gave a feast during which the [535] women sang and danced the *yumaikuna*. This